CENTRAL BONTOC:

SENTENCE, PARAGRAPH AND DISCOURSE

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Sentence, Paragraph and Discourse

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SYMBOLS

Act	Action
Adv	Adversative
AjP	Adjectival Phrase
Alt	Alternate
AltS	Alternative Sentence
An	Antithesis
AntiS	Antithetical Sentence
Aux	Auxiliary
Bu	Build-Up
C	Clause
CauM	Cause Margin
ChS	Chance Condition Sentence
Circ	Circumstance
CircM	Circumstance Margin
CoLink	Co-ordinate Link
Compx	Complex Dialogue
Dia Para	Paragraph
Concl	Conclusion
ConcM	Concessive Margin
ConM	Conditional Margin
ConcS	Concessive Sentence
Coor	Co-ordinate
CoorS	Co-ordinate Sentence
C-RS	Circumstance-Result Sentence
DesC	Descriptive Clause
DivS	Diverse Sentence
DQ	Direct Quote
DQF	Direct Quote Formula
DQS	Direct Quote Sentence
Emph	Emphasis
EP	Episode
EqC	Equational Clause
EquQS	Equational Quote Sentence
Excl	Exclamation
ExcS	Exclusive Condition Sentence
Exhor	Exhortation
ExiC	Existential Clause
Expl	Explanatory
Expo	Exposition
ExS	Extent Sentence
ExtP	Extent Phrase
Form	Formula
GS	Grammatical Sentence
H	Head
HortS	Hortatory Sentence
Hort	Hortatory
Id	Identificational Clause
IndC	Independent Clause
Intro	Introduction
IQ	Indirect Quote
IQu	Indirect Question
IQF	Indirect Quote Formula
IQuF	Indirect Question Formula
IQS	Indirect Quote Sentence
IQuesS	Indirect Question Sentence
Lk	Link
Loc	Locative
LogGS	Logical Goal Sentence
M	Morpheme
MS	Merged Sentence
N	Noun Phrase
Narr	Narrative
Neg	Negative
Nu	Nucleus
Obj	Object
¶ , PARA	Paragraph
P	Phrase
Para	Paraphrase
ParaS	Paraphrase Sentence
Peri	Periphery
Pred	Predicate
Proc	Procedure
Proj	Project
PROP	Proposal
$\overline{\text{PROP}}$	Counter Proposal
Prop	Proposition
PS	Phonological Sentence
PurM	Purpose Margin
PurS	Purpose Sentence
(Q)	Counter Question
QS	Quote Signal
QuS	Indirect Question Signal
RAcS	Recurrent Action Sentence

R-AS	Relator-Axis Sentence
Reas	Reason
ReaS	Reason Sentence
Reinf	Reinforcement
Rel	Relator
(REM)	Remark
(REM)	Counter Remark
Res	Result
ResM	Result Margin
Resp	Response
RheS	Rhetorical Question Sentence
RQ	Referential Quote
RQF	Referential Quote Formula
RQS	Referential Quote Sentence
S	Sentence
Sb	Subject
SCon	Sentence Conjunction
Sec	Section
$\overline{\text{Sec}}$	Counter Section
SeqS	Sequence Sentence
Sim	Simultaneous
SIntro	Sentence Introducer
Sp	Speech
SpS	Speech Sentence
SS	Simple Sentence
SenS	Sensate Sentence
ST	Step
St	Sentence Topic
Sta	Statement
SubS	Subjunctive Sentence
T	Topic
$\overline{\text{T}}$	Non-Topic Clause Tagmeme
TagQ	Tag Question
Tem	Temporal
Term	Terminus
Th	Thesis
ThoS	Thought Sentence
ThQ	Thought Quote
ThQF	Thought Quote Formula
TM	Time Margin
VC	Verbal Clause
Voc	Vocative
W	Word
WhC	'Wh' Question Clause
Y-NC	Yes-No Question Clause
af	associative focus
app	apparent
att	attributive
card	cardinal
cau	causative
ch	chance condition
con	condition
conc	concessive
dep	dependent
exc	exclusive condition
eq	equational
ext	extent
fut	future
hort	hortatory
lg	logical goal
neg	negative
of	objective focus
ord	ordinal
prop	proper
pur	purpose
rac	recurrent action
rea	reason
rel	relator
rf	referential focus
rhe	rhetorical question
sen	sensate
seq	sequence
sf	subjective focus
$\overline{\text{sf}}$	non-subjective focus
sp	speech
st	stative
sto	sentence topic
sub	subjunctive
tem	temporal
y-n	yes-no question

The segmental phonemes of Bontoc are as follows (symbols in parentheses indicate orthographic conventions): a, e, o, i, p, t, k, b, d, g, m, n, ŋ (ng), l, s, w, y, and ʔ (- between a consonant and following vowel, zero word initially and between vowels. Hyphen also represents geminate glottal stop between vowels, and is used to separate the symbols n and g when they represent a sequence of those phonemes and not the velar nasal.) Stress is phonemic but is not symbolized. For further information see Reid 1963.

FOREWORD

Does grammatical structure in any significant sense of the word exist for units larger than the sentence? Or do we restrict grammar to lower levels of hierarchical structure (stem, word, phrase, clause, and sentence) and exit to lexical or content analysis when we consider the structure of larger units? While such questions as these were partially answered before beginning the Philippine project (cf. Totonac: from Clause to Discourse by Reid, Button, Bishop, and Longacre, Summer Institute of Linguistics, Norman, Oklahoma, 1968), it was during the Philippine project that significant insights were gained that put the whole matter of the grammatical structure of paragraph and discourse on a firmer basis.

Tagmemics has been defended enough by its proponents and excoriated enough by its critics that the name, if not the tenets, of this school of grammar is well known. It is taxonomic and pattern-sensitive. It postulates a unit of grammar (the tagmeme) which involves a correlation between a function and a set whose members expound the function. It defines grammatical construction in a holistic way as a contrastive string with obligatory and optional parts (almost but not quite correlating with a further distinction: nucleus versus periphery) and embracing a variety of readings, permutations, and exponential combinations. The construction (syntagmeme) is summarized and presented in a tagmemic apparatus which consists of a formula plus rules. Tagmemic grammars are hierarchically oriented from morpheme (level of zero internal grammatical structure) to discourse (level of maximal structure) with intermediate levels: stem, word, phrase, clause, sentence, and paragraph.

In approaching the problem of the grammatical structure of paragraph and discourse a practitioner of tagmemics first looks for functional slots and set members that expound such slots on these two putative levels of structure. Actually, this is not in itself difficult. It is no news that discourses contain some sort of aperture and closure with intermediate chunks such as episodes and dénouement in narrative, and points in essays and sermons. In reference to paragraphs students of rhetoric and composition are taught to develop a paragraph from a topic sentence so as to secure proper flow of exposition or movement of narrative. What then does a tagmemic analysis of discourse and paragraph have to offer that can legitimately be claimed to be new?

Here the stubborn taxonomic bent of tagmemics comes to the fore with the suggestion that discourses and paragraphs should be classified into a finite number of genre (broad classification) and types (specific structurally contrastive string= syntagmeme) and that a given discourse or paragraph is classifiable as a given genre and type. But--in view of the undoubted variety and complexity of both discourses and paragraphs--

is not such a claim patently absurd? Yes, patently and irrevocable absurd--unless we admit recursion on both levels. Once we admit that discourse may embed within discourse and paragraph within paragraph then it becomes both rational and useful to set up an inventory of discourse and paragraph types. Conversely, we can have a finite number of such types if and only if we posit such recursion.

Thus, a narrative discourse may embed within it extensive expository, procedural, and hortatory sections. When each such section embraces several paragraphs then each such chain of paragraphs is structurally an embedded discourse. This is a necessary assumption in tagmemics which does not accept unstructured and hierarchically unoriented strings of anything, be they words, clauses, sentences, or paragraphs. It is, furthermore, a useful assumption in that we find that a string of paragraphs that cluster together within a discourse do themselves have the structural features of a discourse. What then of the whole discourse which contains these sections? It is not a careless or amorphous mixture of narrative, expository, procedural, and hortatory elements. It is rather a coherently structured unit whose first and most comprehensive structure is a narrative, but which contains embedded discourses of other varieties. The embedded discourses expound functional slots of the main discourse, such as aperture, episode, dénouement, and closure. The discourse is then classifiable as to type and the various discrete parts of it are classifiable as well. Our assumption that discourses may be taxonomically classified, far from impeding our analysis, has then actually expedited it.

Ultimately, a discourse will be found to be composed of constituent paragraphs--even though we may not get down to the paragraphs until we have passed through several layers of embedded discourses. Paragraphs also need to be classified into genre and type with recursion of paragraph within paragraph. The failure to recognize such recursion is one of the main reasons that it has proven difficult through the years to analyze paragraphs. Few paragraphs are simple enough in structure to be analyzed as a simple string of functional slots each filled with one and only one grammatical sentence. With much greater frequency paragraphs display an immediate constituent structure in which certain sentences group together as a bloque and may in turn combine with another such bloque before entering directly into the structure of the main paragraph. It is claimed here that all such groups of sentences within a paragraph constitute an embedded paragraph and that each paragraph, whether main or embedded, may be classified according to a finite number of paragraph types.

The above claims are qualified in two respects: (1) This classification is carried out most surely within the bounds of a single language; and (2) as much (but no more) ambiguity as to structural type is found here as is found on lower levels of structure. The first qualification is necessary simply because languages and the cultures that they reflect reserve the right to differ. Nevertheless, it is possible that we may find within the foreseeable future that structures on the higher levels are more stereotyped and universal than those on the lower levels. The second qualification is necessary in that on any level distinct structures

may generate ambiguous exponents. Thus, the old chestnut 'Flying planes can be dangerous' leaves us in doubt as to whether flying is a modifier of plane or whether flying is a verbal with plane as its object. But this does not in the least invalidate the structural distinction between the two structures as seen, e.g., in their differing expansions. Similarly, we may find a paragraph which could be construed as narrative or exposition without invalidating the distinction between the two paragraph types.

The claim is therefore made that tagmemics offers new and fresh insight into the structure of discourses and paragraphs in the course of classifying them into genres and types. The second part of this volume by Reid is exemplary in this respect. He shows, for example, that matters of tense and person orientation within individual sentences are best understood by reference to larger units of specified genre--as are also such matters as anaphora and deletion. Reid's analysis of native Bontoc texts also shows the necessity and usefulness of a theory of recursive exponence in both discourse and paragraph structure.

A slot-class analysis of discourse and paragraph is not in itself of great significance to the understanding of such higher level units unless we can in some fashion guard against imposing such structures on the data without sufficient justification in the data themselves. Conceivably, more than one outline can be imposed on a narrative, essay, or sermon. How do we know that any such outline reflects anything more than the ingenuity of the analyst? Faced with such doubts we are driven back to the data to look for formal features of contextual connection. In the Philippine data papers in general, and here in Reid's monograph in particular, such a theory of contextual connection is proposed. It is proposed that the sentences which compose the nucleus of a paragraph of a given type are linked to each other in stateable and formally observable ways. It is further proposed that the paragraphs which form the nucleus of a discourse are likewise linked in stateable and observable ways. It emerges, in fact, that the manner in which sentences and paragraphs link on each level is more diagnostic of paragraph and discourse types than the nature of the constituents themselves. Thus, while both narrative discourses and narrative paragraphs exist, it by no means follows that a narrative discourse must have even a majority of its constituent paragraphs as narrative paragraphs. What is diagnostic is that a narrative links its paragraphs together in the manner that is characteristic of its genre. Granted this, the constituent paragraphs may be, for example, dialogue and explanatory paragraphs with or without a sprinkling of actual narrative paragraphs. I will not say more here; the volume of which this is the foreword speaks well on this and other scores.

Granted all the above, however, the question may well persist: But is this grammar? In answering this question it is necessary to remember first of all that while tagmemics posits linguistic structure in three modes--phonology, grammar, and lexicon--it does not insulate structure in any one mode from structure in the other two modes. Just as years ago Pike wrote on 'grammatical prerequisites for phonemic analysis,' we now note phonological and lexical prerequisites for

grammatical analysis. One thing at least is evident: this theory of discourse and paragraph structure takes seriously as a structural unit the grammatical sentence. The theory of paragraph structure is formed to answer the question: 'How do grammatical sentences combine to form paragraphs?' In answering this question we find that grammatically identifiable parts of sentences, e.g., the initial conjunctions and the sentence margins (for details see the first half of the Reid volume) are the stuff which serves to relate sentence to sentence within the paragraph. Presumably, since we are fitting grammatical sentences into paragraph-level slots by virtue of links which are grammatically identifiable parts of those sentences, then what we come out with is grammatical paragraphs. These are then in turn fitted into slots within what is--as the highest level of structure--necessarily not only a grammatical discourse but a phonological and lexical discourse as well. Were we doing a lexical analysis of the paragraph our procedure would be quite different and our analytical results distinct as well. We would then disregard boundaries of grammatical sentences and simply analyze the content structure. We would group as a lexical string--perhaps a lexical 'sentence'--what belonged together lexically, even if this led to cutting one grammatical sentence into several lexical parts and joining one part of one grammatical sentence to another part of another such sentence. In narrative paragraphs we would trace the even line of a paragraph even if it gave us, e.g., seven discrete events encoded in only three grammatical sentences. Such a lexical analysis is not simply programmatic and visionary; a beginning in this direction is made in a joint paper with Myra Lou Barnard and printed in the last section of volume one of the report on the Philippine project. In Barnard's study of Dibabawon text it became evident that not only are grammatical and lexical sentences not necessarily coterminous, but that similar skewing may hold between grammatical and lexical paragraphs as well.

All of this brings us down to a consideration of the first half of this volume, viz. the section on Bontoc sentence structure. Reid has written his own introduction to this half of the volume and I need not duplicate what he says there. I would call to the reader's attention, however, Reid's set of five rules for mapping the grammatical sentence onto the phonological sentence at the end of his introduction (with more formal development in an appendix). These rules are without doubt applicable to other languages than Bontoc and therefore worthy of consideration as a possible linguistic universal.

The most noteworthy feature of Reid's description of Bontoc sentences is the care with which he has assembled his tagmemic apparatuses for each sentence type (and often for sub-types). A lot of detail is included here--detail concerning the role of conjunctions and particles, the structural restrictions of component clauses, and the relevant semantic classes of verbs that may expound predicates in component clauses. Defining sentence as a level of clause combination, we must then consider that Reid's work is the most comprehensive and detailed description of sentence ever yet produced by practitioners of tagmemics. As a careful and detailed piece of work it should, furthermore, commend itself to those of other persuasions. A careful piece

of description should be able to survive the mortality of the theoretical framework with which it is associated.

The reader should note, among other things, Reid's system of sentence structure in three parameters. This is an unusual sort of sentence system in that most systems are apparently oriented in but two parameters. Balangao, which is closely related to Bontoc, has a similar system (Joanne Shetler, unpublished data paper).

Also interesting is Reid's postulation of backlooping of paragraph structures into the Sequence and Paraphrase sentences. Quite interesting here is the fact that Reid not only postulates that certain paragraph types may be backlooping exponents of sentence bases in these sentence types, but also that there are good a priori reasons for considering that other paragraph types may never occur in these situations as backlooping exponents.

Finally, of considerable interest is the manner in which Reid finds it necessary to refer to the paragraph and discourse while describing the sentence, and to the sentence while describing paragraph and discourse. The two halves of the description are mutually dependent. Sentence is analyzed in a way to fit the needs of paragraph and discourse and vice versa. Indeed, so striking is the mutual dependence of the three levels that it might well be wondered if sentence belongs not rather to the upper ranges of hierarchical structure (along with paragraph and discourse) than to the mid ranges (clause and phrase) that are the domain of what is usually called 'syntax'--in distinction to the lower ranges (word and stem) that have been termed morphological. At any rate, Reid's volume here is an important contribution to the understanding of these three upper levels of grammatical structure.

Robert E. Longacre

PREFACE

The Bontoc language is spoken mainly in Bontoc municipality, Mountain Province, Luzon, Philippines. The particular dialect upon which this analysis is based is that spoken by the 1,500 residents of Guinaang barrio.

The basis of this analysis is a corpus of texts, of various discourse types. About half of these texts (some 10, 000 words) formed the input of an IBM Concordance extensively used during the analysis. The concordance was made on the IBM 1410 computor at the University of Oklahoma by the Linguistic Information Retrieval Project of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of Oklahoma Research Institute, and sponsored by Grant GS-934 of the National Science Foundation.

This presentation was written during a three and one half month workshop conducted at the Philippine Headquarters of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, January - April 1968, as part of a project sponsored by contract 0-8-062838-0391 of the Office of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

Appreciation is here expressed to Robert E. Longacre, principal investigator of the project for providing the theoretical base, and much helpful guidance and counsel during the analysis and writing.

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PART I

SENTENCE IN CENTRAL BONTOC

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PART I

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INTRODUCTION

Transformational-generative grammarians have for some years now allowed recursion of S into the rules accounting for the deep structure of a language. This was primarily allowed to provide a more satisfactory means of handling embedded structures such as relative clauses, but it has also been given the double duty of accounting for other types of relations which exist within a string of propositions. Of these relations Chomsky (1965:224-225) mentions only coordination (probably because it is this relation which is usually associated with infinite generative capacity of language) and suggests that it be handled by the following rule schema S→ S#S # S #... #S, which introduces new propositions into other propositions. Such a schema, however, effectively conceals the richness of structure determined by the various formal relations which exist within a string of propositions in language. This failure to account for structure larger than that which expresses a simple proposition is evident in the lack of terminology within the transformational-generative school for such structures. Thus S is the structure of a simple proposition, and it is the structure of a string of propositions, even though the relations which hold within a proposition, and those that hold within a string of propositions are of a completely different character.

Tagmemicists, on the other hand, (Longacre 1967; Aileen Reid et al 1968; Pike 1966) have recognized that strings of propositions and the relations existing between them form a hierarchical level worthy of analysis and description. It should be self-evident that an adequate grammar must have the capacity to generate not only the structure of well-formed simple propositions, (clauses in tagmemic terminology) but also of strings of grammatically related propositions (sentences in tagmemic terminology) as well as well-formed paragraphs and well-formed discourses.

We describe here the system of grammatical sentence structures, i.e., the patterns of grammatically related propositions, which must be recognized for Bontoc in forming an adequate generative grammar of the language. These structures form the sentence level within the grammatical hierarchy of Bontoc.

Typically, sentences compose paragraphs, and in turn are composed of clauses; however embedding and backlooping occur, in which parts of a sentence are expounded by sentence or by paragraph. Furthermore, sentence exponents may be structures from the phrase or the word level or may be morphemes.

In my first attempts at analysis of grammatical sentences, considerable confusion was caused through undue reliance on phonological criteria for establishing grammatical sentence boundaries. In transcribing texts, phonological criteria are normally followed in

deciding when to place a comma or a period. In fact, a comma is the normal grapheme for a nonfinal sentence intonation, and a period is the normal grapheme for final sentence intonation. However, in many instances logical relations, which are lexically marked such as alternation, antithesis and coordination, and which are considered to be indicative of grammatical sentence types, occur across phonological sentence boundaries. There is evidently no one-to-one correspondence between phonological and grammatical sentences.[1] A series of hypotheses have therefore been formed to enable consistent decisions to be made in determining grammatical sentence boundaries.

These rules, then, govern the mapping of phonological onto grammatical sentences in Bontoc:

(1) Two clauses, whether phonologically bound or not, form all or part of one grammatical sentence if there is a link (e.g., a conjunction) present functioning on the sentence level.

(2) Two clauses phonologically bound, form all or part of one grammatical sentence where no such link is present but one can be plausibly supplied.

(3) Two clauses not phonologically bound (i.e., separated by final sentence intonation), form all or part of two grammatical sentences where no link is present, even though a link may be plausibly supplied.

(4) Two clauses, whether phonologically bound or not, form all or part of two grammatical sentences where a link is present whose function is to link structures higher than the sentence level.

(5) Two clauses, whether phonologically bound or not, form all or part of two grammatical sentences when there is no link present and none can be plausibly supplied.

These rules may be formalized as follows:

(1) A,/. link B = 1GS ← 1/2 PS
(2) A, (link) B = 1GS ← 1 PS
(3) A. (link) B = 2GS ← 2 PS
(4) A,/. <u>link</u> B = 2GS ← 1/2 PS
(5) A,/. B 2GS ← 1/2 PS

Key

A B = consecutive clauses
link = sentence level link (conjunction or lexical tie)
<u>link</u> = higher than sentence level link (conjunction or lexical tie)
(link) = supplied link

---

[1] D. L. Olmsted (1967) even seems to imply that the term 'sentence' is only valid as a phonological concept. In discussing Chomsky's axiom regarding the infinite length of 'sentence' (certainly a grammatical concept, from Chomsky's point-of-view) he says, 'Though we may be willing to concede that the apparently unlimited recursiveness of English sentences gives the infinite length axiom a certain grammatical utility, there are a number of reasons to view it with suspicion. One such reason is the fact that sentences consist of more than words (however defined): there are also intonation patterns ... To set out to generate a string a million words long, without any sentence-final intonation pattern, implies no chance for any possible hearer to reply, and hence implies disinterest in (or rejection of any possible reply). This is not only not communication in any usual human sense, but such a speaker would probably be committed as a raving madman, (no matter how "grammatical" his utterance) after, say, a few days of talking without ending a sentence ... ' (p. 304-305).

, = nonfinal phonological junction
. = final phonological junction
/ = or
GS = grammatical sentence
PS = phonological sentence
← = maps onto

In Bontoc there are 28 grammatical sentences (hereafter called sentence types). Two of these types are extra-systemic, i.e., the simple Sentence, and the Relator-Axis Sentence. The remaining 26 sentence types form a system which can be displayed in two three-dimensional matrices, see Chart 1 in which the numbers in the cells represent the sentence types.

The depth parameter of each matrix may be broadly classified as loose versus tight. These terms relate to the relative complexity of each member of the pair. Complexity here refers to the constraints on exponence of the constituent tagmemes, and to constraints on the exponents themselves. Thus a sentence type in which sentence embedding does not occur is 'tighter' than one in which such embedding does occur; and a sentence having restrictions on the distribution of positive and negative values between the Bases is 'tighter' than a sentence in which such restrictions do not occur.

The horizontal parameter indicates the degree to which the characteristic indicated in the vertical parameter is apparent. Thus the characteristic of concatenation is dominant in sentence type 1, Coordinate Sentence; it is distinctive in Sequence Sentence (3); but only diffusely marked in the Paraphrase Sentence (5).

Each of the terms indicated in the vertical parameter, concatenation, implication, quotation, opposition, and quasi-clausal, label characteristic relations which hold between the parts of a sentence, and are indicated by different kinds of linkage between the sentence parts. Linkage characteristics of each matrix will be described in the introduction of the section introducing the sentences of that matrix.

Key to numbers in cells of Chart 1. Numbers in parentheses refer to the appropriate section in which the sentence type is described.

1. Coordinate (3.21.1)
2. Circumstance-Result (3.21.2)
3. Sequence (3.21.3)
4. Extent (3.21.4
5. Paraphrase (3.21.6)
6. Recurrent Action (3.21.6)
7. Chance Condition (3.22.1)
8. Exclusive Condition (3.22.2)
9. Reason (3.22.3)
10. Concessive (3.22.4)
11. Hortatory (3.22.5)
12. Subjunctive (3.22.6)
13. Direct (3.23.1)
14. Equational (3.23.2)
15. Indirect (3.23.3)
16. Indirect Question (3.23.4)
17. Referential Quote (3.23.5)
18. Thought Quote (3.23.6)
19. Antithetical (3.24.1)
20. Diverse (3.24.2)
21. Alternative (3.24.3)
22. Rhetorical Question (3.24.4)
23. Purposive (3.25.1)
24. Logical Goal (3.25.2)
25. Sensate (3.24.3)
26. Speech (3.25.4)

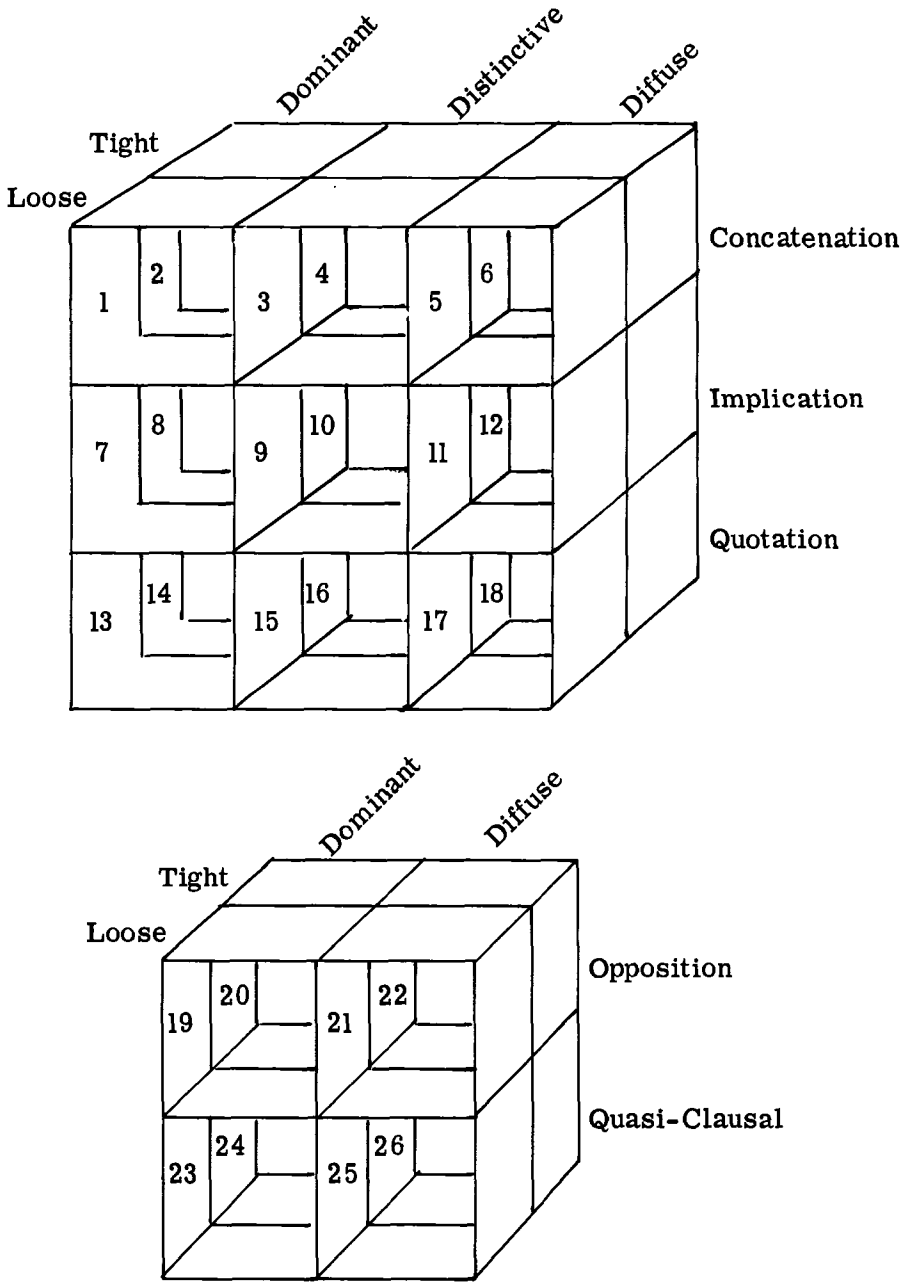

Chart 1. Bontoc Sentence System

GENERAL STRUCTURE OF SENTENCE

Every sentence type consists of a nucleus and a periphery. The nucleus is that part of a sentence consisting of both optional and obligatory tagmemes which provide the identifying-contrastive characteristics of that sentence type. The periphery consists of those tagmemes, all optional and occurring both pre- and post-nuclear, which are not pertinent in distinguishing among sentence types. Although a peripheral tagmeme typically occurs on any sentence type, there are certain restrictions. A Relator-Axis Sentence consists only of a nucleus; although a sentence expounding Axis may have peripheral tagmemes. Embedded sentences usually have restrictions on their peripheral tagmemes; these restrictions depend on the structure within which the sentence is embedded. Thus, for example, a sentence embedded in the Axis of a Cause Relator-Axis Sentence may have a preposed Conditional Margin, but not if it is embedded in the Axis of a Conditional Relator-Axis Sentence. Furthermore, stylistic considerations restrict the number of peripheral tagmemes which may occur on any sentence. A cursory scanning of the corpus seems to indicate that a maximum of four or five peripheral tagmemes is stylistically preferable.

It is probable that peripheral tagmemes can be divided into inner and outer periphery according to restrictions of occurrence on embedded structures. Thus Sentence Introducer, and Sentence Conjunction certainly do not occur on any embedded sentence. However, at this stage of analysis insufficient is known of the restrictions inherent in other peripheral tagmemes to feel justified in setting up a distinction between inner and outer periphery.

A group of seven peripheral tagmemes (Time, Circumstance, Condition, Purpose, Cause, Result, and Concessive) are margins. These are distinguished from other peripheral tagmemes by their exponents and function. All margin tagmemes have an embedded sentence (usually Relator-Axis) as the normal (statistically most frequent) exponent. Other peripheral tagmemes, on the other hand, are normally expounded only by a single morpheme.

Margin tagmemes have a function in providing linkage between sentences within a paragraph. The type of linkage present is crucial in determining paragraph structure. One peripheral tagmeme not labelled margin participates in paragraph level linkage, although it is not expounded by an embedded sentence. This is the Sentence Topic, which is expounded by a Relator-Axis Phrase. Other peripheral tagmemes do not have this function.

± SIntro	±Excl	±SCon$_1$	±Voc	± ConcM	± (+TM^2	± SCon$_2$)	± St^2	± CircM	± ConM^2	±Link
<kedeng> <kad> See 2.31	<ayye> See 2.32	ngem 'but' See 2.34	N See 2.33	R-AS$_7$ (R:<olay> 'even')	See 2.11 for ex- ponents	P$_{seqlink}$	R-AP$_{sto}$ (R:<nan> 'the')	R-AS$_5$ (R: gapo tay ('since')	R-AS$_1$ (R:<mo> 'if') Coor R-AS$_1$	ya 'and'

Chart 2. Bidimensional Array of Pre-Nuclear Peripheral Tagmemes

± PurM^2	± CauM^2	± ResM	± TagQ	± Emph
R-AS$_3$ (R:ta 'so that')	R-AS$_2$ (R:tay 'because')	R-AS$_6$ (R:isonga 'therefore')	a	ya

Chart 3. Bidimensional Array of Post-Nuclear Peripheral Tagmemes

SENTENCE PERIPHERY

Bidimensional arrays representing the peripheral tagmemes of Bontoc sentence types are presented in Charts 2 and 3. Tagmeme function labels appear at the head of each column. Structures (and morphemes) which form the tagmeme exponential set occur in the columns.[2]

Because of the relatively large number of constituent tagmemes, the possible combinations, permutations, and exponents are enormous, and the possible restrictions which exist on mutual co-occurrence and reordering must likewise be great. Only a few of the more obvious restrictions and possible permutations are here listed.

(1) SIntro, Excl, and $SCon_1$ are mutually exclusive.

(2) Voc may co-occur with SIntro, Excl, and $SCon_1$ if it is permuted to post-nucleus position.

(3) Link occurs only if immediately preceded by a margin tagmeme or Sentence Topic.

(4) ConM may immediately follow the nucleus, or it may occur between PurM and CauM.

(5) PurM and CauM are mutually permutable.

(6) Two Cause Margins may occur only if one is permuted pre-nucleus.

(7) TagQ may be permuted to follow any margin tagmeme including Sentence Topic; it may also be permuted to follow any clause level tagmeme of structures expounding the nucleus.

(8) TM may be permuted to post-nucleus position only if expounded by $R\text{-}AS_5$.

(9) Concessive Margin may be permuted to follow CauM or PurM, if the Axis of $R\text{-}AS_7$ is manifested by $R\text{-}AS_1$.

(10) Two ConM tagmemes may occur separated by another margin.

(11) ConcM may occur following ConM.

(12) A Link tagmeme expounded by ay, occurs in the following positions:

a. obligatorily after SIntro: <kedeng>
b. optionally after St, if followed by CircM, or ConM.

2.1. Margins. In this section a fuller description is given of each margin tagmeme.

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[2]The optional or obligatory status of tagmemes is indicated by the symbols + or ±. Parentheses around labels at the head of columns indicate a significant grouping of tagmemes. Within the columns parentheses surround explanatory material. A superscript numeral indicates the number of times the tagmeme may be read. Two columns having the same label (e.g., SCon) but different subscript numbers, are instances of the same tagmeme with different privileges of occurrence depending upon the exponential choice. Within the columns subscript labels and numbers indicate subclasses of constructions or Morphemes.

2.11. Time Margin. Time Margin is the most complex of all peripheral tagmemes, because of the large number of possible structures which can expound it, and because of its role in paragraph and discourse linkage. The following set of exponents has been identified: LogGS, R-AS_4, VC, EqC, P_{card}, P_{ord}, P_{hour}, N, $Stem_{tem}$, M_{tem}.

A sequence of two Time Margins frequently occurs in sentences, but at the present stage of analysis it is uncertain whether such a sequence is a sequence of two distinct TM's or a repetition of the same tagmeme. The latter analysis has been tentatively chosen.

The most common exponent of TM is an independent verbal clause. A Simple Sentence with such a TM, is structurally ambiguous with the nucleus of a Sequence Sentence, especially if the TM is followed by $SCon_2$, whose exponent (esaet 'then') is the same as that of the Link between Bases of a Sequence Sentence:

Inomdanda esadat mangan.

arrived-they then-they eat

'They arrived, and then they ate', or

'Having arrived, then they ate.'

These structures can be disambiguated by comparing the way the lexical sentence maps onto the grammatical sentence. It should be noted that, just as there is no necessary one-to-one correspondence between phonological and grammatical hierarchies, so there is no necessary one-to-one correspondence between lexical and grammatical structures at the same level. A lexical sentence may be coterminous with a grammatical sentence, or it may span the boundary between grammatical sentences.

When the beginning of a lexical sentence coincides with the beginning of a suspect grammatical sentence such as that given above, it is a Sequence Sentence, and carries the first meaning:

Kinmaanda ay omey si abongda.

departed-they link go to house-their

Inomdanda esadat mangan.

arrived-they then-they eat

'They departed to go to their house. They arrived, and then they ate.'

Notice that the verbs 'go' and 'arrive' are not considered to be parts of the same lexical sentence.

When there is no lexical sentence boundary corresponding to the grammatical sentence boundary, but rather the lexical and grammatical sentences overlap, then the latter is a Simple Sentence with a Time Margin and Sentence Conjunction, and carries the second meaning:

Kinmaanda ay omey si abongda esadat omdan.

departed-they link go to house-their then-they arrive

Inomdanda esadat mangan.

arrived-they then-they eat

'They departed to go to their house, then they arrived. Having arrived, then they ate.'

In the foregoing, 'arrive' of grammatical sentence 1, and 'arrived' of grammatical sentence 2, are considered to be parts of the same lexical sentence.

Examples: (Parentheses enclose tagmemes other than the margin being illustrated.)

Ex. 1 illustrates TM: Logical Goal Sentence.

(1) Sinmaalda ay in-gawgaw, (ya enda edanan nan
go-home-they link fishing and go-they reach the
mamaggit ad Bagiw).
young-women at Bagiw

'After they have come home from fishing, they go to reach the young women at Bagiw.'

Ex. 2 - 5 illustrate TM: Time Relator-Axis Sentence (R-AS4).

(2) Mo malpas nan doway dominggo, (nagaeb).
when finish the two-att week made

'After two weeks it is made.'

(3) Mo lomgid nan panal, (esa paabong nan ipogaw).
when develop the rice-seedlings then marry the people

'When the rice-seedlings are developing, then people marry.'

(4) (Adikayo lomayaw), mo malpas nan ag-agom.
neg-you flee when finish the feasting

'Don't flee when the feasting is finished.'

(5) Mo maiteel nan naay ketna, (as way inpaabong).
when holiday the this ketna fut there-is marry

'When we have this ketna holiday, there will be someone getting married.'

Ex. 6 - 10 illustrate TM: Verbal Clause.

(6) (... sakamit manad-alan ay omey ad Bannayoyo.)
then-we-link walk link go to Bannayoyo
Dinad-alanmi, (inomdankami, angbattang).
walked-we arrived-we afternoon

'...then we walked going to Fannayoyo. Having walked it, we arrived, it was afternoon.'

(7) (...somaalda ay naboboleg.) Somaaldas nan
go-home-they att following go-home-they-to the
ab-abongan, (dawsenda).
group-house direct-they
'...they go home in single file. When they go home to their group house, they go straight there.'

(8) Mawakas, (gapon si obaya).
next-day first of obaya
'The next day is the first of obaya holiday.'

(9) Mawiit, (inmeydad Bontok).
next-morning go-they-to Bontoc
'The next morning they went to Bontoc.'

(10) Nakakananda, (enda maseyep).
eat-they go-they sleep
'Having eaten they go to sleep.'

Ex. 11 illustrates TM: Equational Clause.

(11) Baballo da Ballong, (inmali nan iBelwang ad Guinaang).
youth pl Fallong came the people-Belwang to Guinaang
'When Fallong and his companions were youths, the Belwang people came to Guinaang.'

Ex. 12 illustrates TM: Cardinal Numeral Phrase.

(12) Esa ay bolanmi, (ya inmawidkami ad Babley).
one att month-our and return-we to village
'After one month, we returned to the village.'

Ex. 13 - 14 illustrate TM: Ordinal Numeral Phrase.

(13) Kap-at si algew, (enda isadang nan kaykay).
fourth of day go-they rack the digging-stick
'On the fourth day they go to rack the digging sticks.'

(14) Pitlona, (anongosna dis mangmangna).
seventh-it last-it that-of pig-sacrifice-his
'On the seventh day, that's when he has the last pig-sacrifice.'

Ex. 15 illustrates TM: Hour Phrase.

(15) Alas dosi, (ya engkami maseyep).
hour twelve and go-we sleep
'At twelve o'clock we went to sleep.'

Ex. 16 illustrates TM: Noun Phrase.

(16) Teel si makan, (linmiwak da Komilong an Mas-i
holiday of rice holiday-work pl Komilong and Mas-i
asnan talan-o).
in-the early-morning
'On the ceremonial holiday for rice, Komilong and Mas-i went out to work in the early morning.'

Ex. 17 - 18 illustrate TM: Temporal Stem.

(17) Sin-algew, (naligwat da Malokan an Gingan).
one-day started pl Malokan and Gingan
'One day, Malokan and Gingan started.'

(18) Aw-awni, (ya sinomgep ages nan aso).
little-later and entered also the dog
'A little while later, the dog also entered.'

Ex. 19 - 20 illustrate TM: Temporal Morpheme.

(19) Wiit, (binmangonkami).
morning, woke-we
'When it was morning, we woke.'

(20) Wakas, (deey, inloslosda am-in).
morrow there, strip-cane-they all
'When it is day, there, they all strip the leaves from sugarcane.'

Ex. 21 - 22 illustrate a sequence of two Time Margins.

(21) Nalpas nan walon algew, nawakas, ilaenda nan pagey).
after the eight days next-day see-they the rice
'After eight days (of darkness) when it became light, they looked at the rice.'

(22) Naseyepkami et nawakas (daan ya binmangonkami).
sleep-we link next-day yet and awoke-we
'Having slept, and when day came, we arose early.'

2.12. Circumstance Margin. The Circumstance Margin (CircM) is expounded only by a Circumstance Relator-Axis Sentence (R-AS5). The Relator is manifested by gapo tay which may be freely translated as 'since'.

Examples:

(1) ...gapo tay maid aso wenno manokda ay pokaw,
since none dog or chicken-their att white
daida nan natey).
they the dead
'...since they had no white dog or chicken, they were the ones who died.'

(2) Gapo tay ig inlateng ya ig in-od-oddan, (inad-in et
since very windy and very rainy forbad
nan deey makwani en omayag an dakami).
the that called quote hire of us
'Since it was very windy and very rainy, the one who was to hire us, refused.'

2.13. Conditional Margin. The Conditional Margin (ConM) is expounded by a Conditional Relator-Axis Sentence ($R\text{-}AS_1$; see Section 3.12). The Relator is expounded by mo 'if'. ConM is also expounded by a Coor $R\text{-}AS_1$, i.e. by a Coordinate Conditional Relator-Axis Sentence (see Coordinate Sentence, Section 3.21.1).

Examples:

Ex. 1-4 illustrate ConM:$R\text{-}AS_1$.

(1) Mo adi inbasa nan naay oskila, (maid selbin nan olasda).
if neg read the this pupil neg use the hour-their
'If these pupils do not read, their time is wasted.'

(2) Mo dakami ay manogla, (ikakasiw-ami).
if we att smoke do-two-actions-we
'As for us smokers, we smoke as we work.'

(3) (As pay maabaktas di), mo adita mamigbigat.
fut moreover defeated-we-in that if neg-we early-work
'We will be moreover defeated then, if we don't also go to work early.'

(4) (Mo way ipogaw), biliyena.
if there-is person choose-he
'If there is a person, he will choose.'

Ex. 5-6 illustrate ConM: Coor R-AS_1.

(5) Mo mabalin, mo tet-ewa ay laydem sak-en, (in-asawata).
if possible if truly att like-you me marry-we
'If it is possible and if you truly love me, let's marry.'

(6) Mo omeykamis di ay iGuinaang ya way
if go-we-to there att people-guinaang and there-is
matey, (omibalesda ay iyamGuinaang).
dead revenge-they att people-other-Guinaang
'If we people of Guinaang go there and someone is killed, the people of the other Guinaang village will revenge it.'

2.14. Purpose Margin. Purpose Margin (PurM) is expounded by a Purpose Relator-Axis Sentence (R-AS_3) with Relator ta 'so that'. In some environments the relator may be more freely translated as 'until' (see examples 1, 2 below), or 'because' (example 3). An apparent sequence of two Purpose Margins (see examples 3, 4) is usually a Purpose Margin expounded by a R-AS_3 whose axis is, in turn, expounded by a Simple Sentence which contains a PurM. Two PurM's can, however, occur in sequence, see example 4 under 3.12, R-AS_3.
Examples:

(1) (Omlengkayo), ta komapoy nan algew.
rest-you so-that become-weak the sun
'You take a rest until the sun is not so strong.'

(2) (Intatatabon), ta komaan nan in-owas.
hid so-that go-away the wash
'He hid until the ones washing went away.'

(3) (Som-edkas na), ta eyak inloto ta manganta.
wait-you-to here so-that go-I cook so-that eat-we
'Wait for me here, so I can go to cook, so that we can eat.'

(4) (Amongentako nan botog ya manok), ta eneytako as
gather-we the pigs and chickens so-that take-we to
papatayan ta kawaksana.
sacrifice-place so-that become-day
'Let us gather the pigs and chickens so that we can take them to the sacrificing place so that it will become day.'

(5) (Nasisiyan nan in-awid sinan kaili), ta omalida.
separate the return the village so-that come-they

'The ones who go to ask other villagers to come, separate, so that they will come.'

(6) (Kapkapyaem nan manokenmis na), ta
bless-you the chicken-we-to here so-that
omiyalikas botog.
bring-you-of pigs
'Bless the chicken sacrifice that we make here, so that you will bring us pigs.'

(7) (Gomawis nan batawa), ta somigmit ages nan
become-good the world so-that sprout also the
segwal.
sugarcane-sprouts
'The world becomes good until the sugarcane sprouts appear.'

2.15. Cause Margin. Cause Margin (CauM) is expounded by a Cause Relator-Axis Sentence (R-AS_2) with Relator tay 'because'. An apparent sequence of two Cause Margins is usually a CauM expounded by an R-AS_2 whose axis is, in turn, expounded by a Simple Sentence which contains a CauM (see example 1 below). An example of a sentence with two Cause Margins, one of which is permuted (see rule 6, p. 11) is given in example 7.

Examples:

(1) (Mak-alda), tay maid kasida onoden, tay
disperse-they because none again-they follow because
linmayawda am-in nan iyAggawa.
fled-they all the people-of-Aggawa
'They dispersed, because there were none that they could keep following, because all the people of Aggawa had fled.'

(2) (As magnakda), tay inmanak nan okol ay
fut-bear-children-they because give-birth the sow att
inonodda.
follow-they
'They will have many children, because the sow that they followed gave birth.'

(3) (Linmayawda nan Sapon ad Bontok), tay inmey nan
fled-they the Japanese to Bontoc because went the
soldado ay mamadang sinan Malikano.
soldiers link help to-the Americans

'The Japanese fled to Bontoc, because the soldiers went to help the Americans.'

(4) (Mekeda ona agtan nan naspak ay kaew), tay
should-they first give the broken att tree because
inmiyanda.
overnight-they

'They should have first offered sacrifice to the broken tree, because they stayed overnight.'

(5) (Akayo), tay domnos Agusting.
come because feast Agusting

'Come,because Agusting is having a wedding feast.'

(6) (Nablay si Dangdangtayan), tay ig indagsen nan
tired the Dangdangtayan because very heavy the
kowana.
his

'Dangdangtayan was tired, because his (load) was very heavy.'

(7) Tay inlalabos kay man, (gog-owana nan awakna),
because naked explain scratched-she the body-her
tay ingatel.
because itchy

'You understand, seeing she was naked she scratched her body, because it was itchy.'

2.16. Result Margin. Result Margin (ResM) is expounded by a Result Relator-Axis Sentence ($R\text{-}AS_6$) with Relator isonga 'that is why, so'.

Examples:

(1) (Nangon-onada nan soldado), isonga inmonoddas
go-ahead-they the soldiers that-is-why follow-they-to
na ad Guinaang.
here at Guinaang

'The soldiers went ahead, so they followed to Guinaang, here.'

(2) (Masonsonsonkami am-in), isonga mawakas en dowa
take-turn-we all so next-day link two
nan iyalimi.
the bring-we

'We all take a turn, and so each day two are brought.'

(3) (Binadangan nan soldado nan Malikano), isonga nateyda
helped the soldiers the Americans so dead-they
am-in sinan Sapon.
all the Japanese

'The soldiers helped the Americans and so all the Japanese were killed.'

(4) (Nin-asaw-ena nan sin-agi ay sinawal nan
married-he the brother-and-sister att left-over the
danom), isonga adwani, nan sin-agi in-asawada tay
water so now the relatives marry-they because
inlaplapon Lomawig.
led Lomawig

'He married the brother and sister who were left over from the flood, so now close relatives marry, because Lomawig led the way.

2.17. Concessive Margin. The Concessive Margin (ConcM) is expounded by a Concessive Relator-Axis Sentence (R-AS7; see section 3.12). The Relator is either olay or take 'even'.
Examples:

(1) Olay mo ke sa ya way pakiskisan sina,
even if should and there-is rice-mill here
(aditako kasi inbayobayo).
neg-we again pound

'Even if there were a rice mill here, we would not again be continually pounding.'

(2) (Engka isokat sinan olon Soy-a), olay adikami
go-you exchange for-the head-of Soy-a even neg-we
somaal sinan ilida.
go-home to-the village-their

'Go and exchange it for the head of Soy-a, it isn't necessary that we also go into their village.'

(3) Olay mo way pagey, (mo adika komsingan, adi
even if there-is rice if neg-you husk neg
mabalin si maloto).
possible for cook

'Even if there is rice, if you do not husk it, it isn't possible to cook it.'

(4) Take mo am-amaka, (in-ammakas bab-alo).
even if married-man-you you make-you-as youth
'Even though you are a married man, act as if you are a youth.'

2.2. Sentence Topic. Sentence Topic (St) may be expounded by a relator-axis noun or pronoun phrase.[3] The Relator is expounded by one of the <as> class relators if the exponent of the axis is correlated in the lexical hierarchy with time or site. The <as> class includes the following relators:[4] as 'future time, class$_1$ site'; ad 'past time, class$_2$ site'; (as)nan 'non-specific time, or site'; (as)san 'known time, or site'.

If the exponent of the Axis is correlated in the lexical hierarchy with one of the situational roles as actor, goal, instrument, beneficiary, possessor, etc., then Relator is expounded by one of the <nan> class relators. This class includes the following relators: nan 'common noun'; san 'known common noun'; si 'singular proper noun'; da 'plural proper noun'.

A sequence of two Sentence Topics may occur, one having an <as> class relator, the other having a <nan> class relator. (See example 5, section 2.4.)

Sentence Topic provides a setting for the new sentence, or singles out specific situational roles, either because they are significant to the understanding of the discourse, or in order to provide certain types of linkage between sentences in a paragraph.

While functioning as Sentence Topic, the exponents may not be said to be simultaneously expounding some other portmanteau function, as Topic of the clause, or Subject, or Object, or Possessor, even though similar structures occur in which items which expound Sentence Topic expound clause or phrase level tagmemes. The appropriate clause or phrase level grammatical function of lexical items occurring in Sentence Topic is supplied by pronominal reference according to the rules stated below. As further evidence that portmanteau function does not occur notice the semantic contrast which is seen in the following two examples. In (1) the locative phrase ad Bontok manifests Locative tagmeme, and specifies the destination of the action indicated in the Predicate. In (2) the same phrase manifests Sentence Topic and specifies the site at which the action began or took place.

(1) Linmayawda ad Bontok.
fled-they loc Bontoc
'They fled to Bontoc.'

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[3] Sentence Topic has been usually analyzed in Philippine languages either as an Emphasis tagmeme on the clause level (see Pike 1963:222), or as an Emphasis derivation of a clause structure (see Reid 1966:128).

[4] For a thorough study of these and other Bontoc relators, see Reid 1964.

(2) Ad Bontok, linmayawda.
loc Bontoc fled-they
'At Bontoc, they fled.'

The rules specifying restrictions on clause and phrase level exponence within the nucleus as conditioned by the reading and exponence of St have not been satisfactorily formalized as yet. They may be informally stated as follows:

(1) The choice of exponent of the appropriate Base in the nucleus, must not be incompatible with the lexical correlation of the exponent of St. For example if St is expounded by a noun phrase which correlates with actor, the Base may not be expounded by a stative verbal clause, since in Bontoc such a clause may not express an actor.

(2) If the correlation of the exponent of St is with actor then the tagmeme of the following clause which expresses actor, must be expounded by the appropriate concord reference pronoun.[5] The Base may be expounded by a non-verbal clause, in which case an embedded verbal clause expresses the lexical clause root and contains the appropriate concord reference pronoun.

(3) If the correlation of the exponent of St is with Possessor, then the clause structure expounding the Base must allow a Possession tagmeme within one of the exponent noun phrases. The Possession tagmeme is manifested by the appropriate concord referent pronoun.

(4) If the correlation of the exponent of St is with a situational role other than actor or possessor, then pronoun cross-reference is optional.

Examples:

(1) As wakas, (gab-em nan obelko).
the tomorrow make-you the fish-trap-my
'Tomorrow, you make my fish trap.'

(2) Asnan nangwaniyandas di, (linmayaw nan ongong-a).
the saying-they-of that fled the children
'When they said that the children fled.'

(3) Adwani, (teg-angayda omdan ad daya dek-angan Lomawig
now almost-they reach the sky kicked Lomawig
nan abongda).
the house-their
'Now, when they had almost reached the sky, Lomawig kicked over their house.'

[5] Although no attempt is made here to fomalize the agreement between the exponents of St and its corresponding clause level tagmeme, it should be noted that such formalization is completely possible within the current tagmemic theoretical framework, e.g., see Matson 1967.

(4) Nan obel, (gabgab-en Pakolan ad Nasuli).
the fish-trap make Pakolan at Nasuli
'The fish trap, Pakolan is making it at Nasuli.'

(5) Nan deey ay algew, (inmanok nan babais nan masdem).
the that att day chicken the woman-in the night
'On that day, the woman performs a chicken sacrifice in the evening.'

(6) Nan as kaysan, (napsong nan lobong).
the at long-ago flooded the world
'Long ago, the world was flooded.'

(7) Nan gapon nan donodas nan samal,
the first the work-their-in the soil-preparation
(kamey).
digging-stick
'The first work they do in the soil preparation season is digging stick work.'

(8) Nan babbabai, (enda insabal).
the women go-they clean
'The women, they go to clean gardens.'

(9) Am-in ay molada, (sad-i nan ninlamananda).
all att plants-their that the taste-they
'All their plants, that's what they taste.'

2.3. Other Peripheral Tagmemes.

2.31. Sentence Introducer (SIntro). A number of forms may expound SIntro. Forms which are obligatorily followed by the Link ay (see rule 12a, p. 11), form the class <kedeng>. This class includes the following items: kedeng 'only', osto 'complete', magtek 'sure'. Forms which are not followed by the Link ay form the class <kad>. This class consists of the following items: kad 'introducer', adi pay 'moreover', dey/deey 'that'. SIntro is restricted from occurring initially in a discourse. Some of the forms, particularly kedeng ay frequently introduce initial sentences in internal paragraphs of a discourse. Osto ay is usually followed by a TM.
Examples:

(1) Kedeng ay (inmeydad Bontok).
only link go-they-to Bontoc
'After that they went to Bontoc.'

(2) Osto ay (inomdandad Bontok, inilada nan
complete link arrive-they-to Bontoc saw-they the
bosita ay inmali).
visitors att came
'Having arrived in Bontoc they saw the visitors who had come.'

(3) Kad (nalpas di, engkat dida tolongan).
intro finish that go-you them help
'After that, go help them!

(4) Dey, (mo sik-a ages, ikamam).
that if you also do-you
'There, as for you also, you do it.'

(5) Adi pay (sinmaalkamis nan ilida).
moreover go-home-we-to the village-their
'Then we entered their village.'

2.32. Exclamation (Excl). This tagmeme is manifested by a class of exclamatory interjections, ranging from expressions of surprise and pleasure, through shock and anger. Typical expressions of surprise are ayye, asos, yakey; of pleasure anay, annay; of shock aney; of pain anaay; of anger sit, okin inam. The latter group could perhaps be classified as swearing.

2.33. Vocative (Voc). This tagmeme is manifested by a proper noun phrase. In addition to indigenous proper names, as Pakolan, Isso, and Palengleng, they include English and Spanish borrowed names, as well as relationship terms as Ama 'father', Ina 'mother', Anakko 'my child', Kasaodko 'my brother/sister-in-law.'

2.34. Sentence Conjunction 1 (SCon$_1$). The Sentence Conjunction$_1$ tagmeme is manifested by the form ngem 'but', which when occurring internally within a phonological sentence is interpreted as the adversative linker between clauses forming an Antithetical Sentence.

When a conjunction occurs at the beginning of a phonological sentence it is suspect of being a clause conjunction linking two clauses as all or part of a single grammatical sentence, or it is suspect of being a link between structures of a higher level. When 'but' is functioning with the latter role, it is described grammatically as a sentence conjunction occurring within the sentence periphery, rather than as manifesting a paragraph level or discourse level adversative conjunction.

The implicit structural ambiguity described above and seen in the phonological mapping rules 1 and 4 (A,/. link B = 1GS; A,/. link B = 2GS, see Introduction) may be disambiguated by the set of rules found in the Appendix. These rules govern all possible combinations. Not

all combinations have been found in texts, but all are grammatically possible. The following example illustrates Rule 11, in which 'but' functions as a sentence conjunction linking Speech 1 and Speech 2 tagmemes in a Dialogue Paragraph. Lexically, Speech 2 consists of a counter-proposal.

Kanan nan aman nan babai en, "Adim koma sa asaw-en."
said the father the girl quote neg-you should that marry
Ngem kanan nan magmaggit en, "Asaw-ek."
but said the girl quote marry-I
'The father of the girl said, "You shouldn't marry that one." But the girl said, "I will marry him."'

2.35. Sentence Conjunction 2 ($SCon_2$). The exponent of Sentence Conjunction 2 is the Sequence Link Phrase (e)sa-et 'then'. This is homophonous with the exponent of the Sequence Link tagmeme. Whenever esa-et[6] occurs initially in a phonological sentence it is an exponent of the Sequence Link tagmeme of the grammatical sentence (which may include more than one phonological sentence). It is only when TM is read that esa-et can occur as an exponent of Sentence Conjunction 2. (See also discussion in Sec. 2.11.) The ambiguity between sentence level conjunction and higher-than-sentence level conjunction which was described for $SCon_1$ does not occur in this tagmeme.

Examples:

(1) (Endas di mangan sinan abong nan pangologna.
go-they-to there eat in-the house the work-group-it
Nalpasda ay nangan), sadat (ilogi nan bayo).
finish-they link eat then-they begin the pounding
'They go to eat in the house of the work-group leader. After they have eaten, they then begin to pound.'

(2) (Enda metlaeng sakaen si tapey. Nalpas di nan
go-they just-same ransom with wine finish that the
layaw) sadat (mayomyom . . .)
layaw-ceremony then-they gather
'They go just the same and ransom them with rice wine. After that (the layaw ceremony), then they gather . . .'

(3) Lotowenda nan makan ay kanen nan deeyda in-ammas
cook-they the rice att eat the those making

[6]Note, however, the exception (described under Section 3.21.3) of the homophonous verb auxiliary marking some proposals.

kaykay. Nalpas di ay naamma nan kaykay),
digging-sticks finish that link made the dig -sticks
esadat (datadatagen nan kaykay).
then-they divide the digging-sticks

'They cook the rice which is eaten by those making digging sticks. After that, when the digging sticks are made, then they divide the digging sticks.'

2.36. TagQuestion (TagQ). TagQuestion is expounded by the morpheme a, which may be freely translated as 'Do you understand?', 'Is that right?', 'Do you agree?', etc.
Examples:

(1) (Kedeng ay masonsonkayo as di) a (mo
only link take-turns-you at there tag if
mamoltakayo am-in).
fined-you all

'So you take turns then, do you, if you are all fined?'

(2) (Deey) a, (pay-endat nan asokal sinan makan).
there tag put-they the sugar in-the rice

'After that, you understand, they put the sugar in the rice.'

(3) (Mamoltakayo ay kainiinin-a ya datako am-in) a.
fined-you att women and we all tag

'You women are fined, and all of us, don't you see?'

2.37. Emphasis (Emph). This tagmeme is manifested by the class <ya> consisting of at least the following forms ya and kayya, the latter being the stronger of the two emphasis words.
Examples:

(1) (Akas na) ya!
come-you-to here emph

'Come here!'

(2) (Egwalmo nan kanena) kayya!
give-you the food-his emph

'For goodness sake give him his food!'

2.4. Peripheral Tagmeme Combinations. The purpose of this section is to give examples of combinations of peripheral tagmemes that have been found in unelicited text materials. Each example will state the reading of peripheral tagmemes, including those which are

found in embedded sentences.

Comma (,) separates tagmemes of the same construction. Colon (:) indicates the exponence relationship. It occurs between a tagmeme function label and the exponential reading of that tagmeme. Equals (=) indicates the 'consists of' relationship. It occurs between a syntagmeme label and the reading of its component tagmemes. Parentheses, square brackets, and braces indicate relative degrees of embedding.

Preceding superscript numbers and letters (depending on degree of embedding) relate the structural description to the language material and free translation. Parentheses are used in the language material and free translation to enclose unembedded nuclear tagmemes.

(1) Nu, ^{1}PurM: R-AS$_3$ (= Rel, Axis: SS[= ^{a}ConM, ^{b}Nu, ^{c}ConM: R-AS$_1${= Rel, Axis: SS (=^{i}Nu, ^{ii}PurM, ^{iii}CauM)}])

(Mo laydem et, siya mo nan maik-ikkan sinan
if like-you it if the doing in-the
ab-abongan nan makiik-ikkanka), ^{1}ta ^{a}mo kanan
men's-house the join-doing-you so-that if say
nan amam-a en, "Sakayot inwasiwas," ^{b}gawis ^{c}mo
the men quote fut-you get-omens good if
^{i}domakalka ^{ii}ita kiwasiwaska ^{iii}tay siya
go-out-you so-that join-omen-get-you because it
di nan ikkan.
that the done

'(If you would like to, you should join in doing what is done in the men's group house), ^{1}so that ^{a}if the old men say, "You get omens," ^{b}it is good ^{c}if ^{i}you go out, ^{ii}so that you can join in omen getting, ^{iii}because that is what is done.'

(2) ^{1}ConcM, Nu, ^{2}CauM

^{1}Take mo inasaw-anka, (in-ammakas bab-alo), ^{2}tay
even if married-you make-you-of youth because
siya nan omat sinan ab-abongan.
it the happen in-the men's house

'^{1}Even though you are married, (act like you're single), ^{2}because that is what is done at the men's group house.'

(3) ^{1}SIntro, ^{2}ConM:CoorS, ^{3}ConcM, ^{4}ConM, Nu, ^{5}Emph, ^{6}PurM:R-AS$_3$ (Rel, Axis: SS[= ^{a}ConM: CoorS, ^{b}Nu])

^{1}Dey, ^{2}mo kananda en, "Ay satakot omey in-obbo,"
there if say-they quote intro fut-we go work-group

mo dol-ok, take mo in-asaw-anka, [4]mo laydem
if dol-ok-season even if married-you if like-you
ay makidol-ok (idakalmo nan ang-angelmo)
link join-dol-ok-work take-out-you the small-axe-your
[5]ya, [6]ta [a]mo maitap-ikas nan mamaggit ya nan
emph so if join-you-with the girls and the
baballos nan dol-ok, mo wa nan mangipangos nan
youths-in the dol-ok if there-is leader-in the
siwat, [b]engkayo in-siwat.
cutting-sticks go-you cut-sticks

'[1]There, [2]if they say, "Let's go work in groups," and if it is dol-ok season, [3]even though you are married, [4]if you want to join the work of the dol-ok season, (take out your small axe), [6]so that [a]if you join with the girls and fellows in the dol-ok work, and if someone leads in cutting sticks, [b]you go cut sticks!'

(4) [1]St, [2]ConM: R-AS$_1$ (=Rel, Axis: DQS) Nu, [3]PurM

[1]Nan samal, [2]mo kananda en, "Satakot inwasiwas
the soil-prep if say-they quote fut-we omen-get
ta esa mailogi nan samal," (domakalka) [3]ta
so fut begin the soil-prep go-out-you so
makiwasiwaska.
join-omen-get-you

'[1]When it is soil-preparation season, [2]if they say, "Let's go and get omens so that the soil-preparation season can begin," (go out) [3]so that you can join in getting omens.'

(5) [1]St, [2]St, Nu, [3]CauM

[1]As wakas, [2]datako ay omaatol (wasdin mangidakal
fut tomorrow we att men's-group each take-out
si patangna) [3]tay entako ingabot.
the carrying-bar-his because go-we pull-grass

'[1]Tomorrow, [2]we men's group, (each of us will take out his carrying bar) [3]because we're going to pull grass for thatching.'

(6) DQS(=[1]DQF, [2]DQS, [3]DQ: SS [=[a]Nu, [b]CauM, [c]PurM])

[1]Kanan nan doktol [2]en, [3]"[a]Iyaliyos na [6]tay
said the doctor quote bring-you-to here because

wad-ay nan masapolkos na, [c]ta ilaek sina."
there-is the need-I-at here so see-I here

'[1]The doctor said, [3"a]You bring him here, [b]because I have what I need here, [c]so I can see him here."'

(7) DQS= [1]DQF, [2]DQS, [3]DQ:SS(= [a]Nu, [b]CauM:R-AS$_2$[= Rel, Axis: SS{= [i]Nu, [ii]PurM}])

[1]Kananda [2]en, [3"a]Kamanganyo ay mangney [b]tay
say-they quote hurry-you link take because
[i]inmeydas pital [ii]ta ilaenda nan nadadael sinan
gone-they-to hospital so see-they the injury to-the
sikina."
leg-his

'[1]They said, [3"a]Hurry and take it [b]because [i]they have gone to the hospital [ii]to see the injury to his leg."'

SENTENCE NUCLEI

Sentence types constitute the system shown in Chart 1, except for two sentence types which do not fit this system and are considered to be extra-systemic.

3.1. Extra Systemic Nuclei.

3.11. Simple Sentence. The Simple Sentence (SS) is represented by the bidimensional array of Chart 4.

± Peri	+ Base	± Peri
See Chart 2	C	See Chart 3

Chart 4. Simple Sentence Array

Although theoretically a Simple Sentence may consist only of a single clause, in practice this structure is recognized only when a peripheral tagmeme is present. This is to avoid the unnecessary complication of considering any single clause exponent of a sentence level tagmeme to be first an embedded SS, then a clause. Moreover, a Simple Sentence exponent of a paragraph level tagmeme, is likewise labelled as a clause if no periphery is present (even though sentence is the primary exponent of a paragraph level tagmeme), in order to avoid unnecessary addition of nodes to the tree structure. Most of the examples of peripheral tagmemes above are cited as parts of a Simple Sentence.

3.12. Relator-Axis Sentence. The Relator-Axis Sentence (R-AS) is represented by the bidimensional array of Chart 5. Notice that this Sentence type may have neither pre- nor post-nuclear peripheral tagmemes.

+ Rel	+ Axis
rel_1	any Clause
rel_2	any Sentence
rel_3	excluding R-AS
rel_4	(however see
rel_5	below
rel_6	re. Relator:
rel_7	rel_7)
rel_8	

Chart 5. Relator-Axis Sentence Array

Relator: rel_1 introduces a Conditional Relator-Axis Sentence ($R\text{-}AS_1$). The exponent of Relator may be one of several forms (all meaning roughly 'if'). rel_1 = mo; rel_{1a} = mo kit, or mo ket; rel_{1b} = mo enet, rel_{1c} = sa mo, or siya mo, rel_{1d} = mo sa ya.

The addition of the forms ket, kit, and enet to the relator mo, require permutation of a clitic subject pronoun from post-predicate to post-relator. In addition, a sequence of ket, kit, or enet, plus a pronoun ending in a vowel requires the addition of -et to the pronoun, usually reduced morphophonemically to -t. The form enet is optionally reduced to en when a third person plural pronoun is attached to it (enetdat⇒ endat).

The exponent of Axis may not have any pre-nuclear periphery. For examples of $R\text{-}AS_1$ see Sec. 2.13. The occurrence of $R\text{-}AS_{1a}$ is one of the identifying-contrastive features of a Concessive Sentence. (See Sec. 3.22.4 for discussion and examples.) The occurrence of $R\text{-}AS_{1b}$ is one of the identifying contrastive features of a Chance Condition Sentence. (Sec. 3.22 for discussion and examples.) The occurrence of $R\text{-}AS_{1c}$ is one of the identifying characteristic features of a Hortatory Sentence. (Sec. 3.22.5 for discussion and examples.)

The following are examples of $R\text{-}AS_{1d}$ manifesting ConM of a Simple Sentence. (A time sequence of nonpast-past is not permissible between this margin and the Base.)

(1) Mo sa ya omalika, (as laydenmi).
if should come-you fut like-we
'If you should come we will like it.'

(2) Mo sa ya baken si tod-i nan inmali, (gawis).
if should not the that-one the come good

'It would have been good if that one had not come.'

(3) Mo sa ya mabalin, (omaladas nowang).
if should possible get-they-of carabao
'If it were possible, they would get a carabao.'

(4) Mo sa ya sayyonen nan omaatol, (mabalin ay
if should agree the men's-group possible link
in-gayatako).
dance-we
'If the men's group would agree it would be possible for us to dance.'

Relator: rel_2 introduces a Causative Relator-Axis Sentence ($R\text{-}AS_2$). The exponent of Relator is tay 'because'. The Axis of $R\text{-}AS_2$ permits certain peripheral tagmemes to occur before the nucleus of its exponent sentences. This periphery includes ConcM (ex. 1 below), ConM (ex. 2), TM (ex. 3), St (ex. 4).
Examples:

(1) (Adik layden) tay olay mo bayadanda ammok ay
not-I like because even if pay-they know-I link
adida kasi lomakos na.
neg-they again buy-at here
'I don't like it, because even if they pay, I know they won't buy again from here.'

(2) (Domakalka), tay mo siya nan ik-ikkanda,
go-out-you because if it the doing-they
makiik-ikkanka.
join-doing-you
'Go out, because if that is what they do, you join in doing it.'

(3) (Dinagopmi nan badomi) tay mawakas inmeykami.
packed-we the clothes-our because next-day went-we
'We packed our clothes, because the next day, we left.'

(4) (Mangon-ona nan mamaggit), tay dakami ay
go-ahead the girls because we att
lallalaki engkami in-gawgaw.
men go-we fish
'The girls go ahead, because we men, we go fishing.'

Relator: rel_3 introduces a Purpose Relator-Axis Sentence ($R\text{-}AS_3$). The exponent of Relator is ta 'so that, until, in order to,' etc. The Axis of $R\text{-}AS_3$ permits about the same degree of peripheral extension of the exponential sentences as $R\text{-}AS_2$. A common exponent of the Axis of $R\text{-}AS_3$ is a structure whose place in the Bontoc grammar is still uncertain. It consists of the pronoun siya 'it', followed by either as, ay or nan as linker to a non-verbal clause, or verbal clause.

Examples:

(1) (Entat ad Bagyo Golod), ta siyas omiyananta.
go-we to Baguio Gold so it-link stay-overnight-we
'Let's go to Gabuio Gold Mines, so that will be the place where we we will stay overnight.'

(2) (Datagenda daida), ta siyay adida ges maamong.
divide-they them so it-link neg-they also together
'They divide them so that they will not be together.'

(3) (Wasdin iilana nan dalan) ta siyay wasdin ammona
each watches the trail so it-link each know-he
nan mawaksana.
the next-day-it
'Each person watches the trail, so that each will know what to do the following day.'

The Axis of $R\text{-}AS_3$ may also be expounded by an Extent Phrase (see 3.21.4 for discussion of this phrase in relation to Extent Sentence) as in the following example.

(4) Maid inilatakos ig papatong ta engganas dagopenda
none saw-we-of very sitting so until-the gather-they
nan pidsada, ta engganas mamoknagda man.
the strength-their so until-they work-they
'We haven't seen anybody just sitting down so they could gather their strength until they go to work.'

For further examples of $R\text{-}AS_3$ see 2.14, and 2.4.

Relator: rel_4 introduces a Time Relator-Axis Sentence ($R\text{-}AS_4$). The exponent of Relator is mo 'when'. This form is homophonous with rel_1. The time relator is distinguished from the conditional relator in that the former cannot be expanded by ket, kit, or enet, as can the latter. A Time R-AS furthermore does not form the Axis of a ConcM as a conditional R-AS may. For examples of $R\text{-}AS_4$ see examples 2 - 5 Sec. 2.11.

Relator: rel_5 introduces a Circumstance Relator-Axis Sentence ($R\text{-}AS_5$). The exponent of Relator is gapo tay 'since'. This sentence is similar to $R\text{-}AS_2$ in meaning, but does not have the possible peripheral expansion of the exponent of Axis that $R\text{-}AS_2$ has. The sentence does not occur frequently, and is used mainly by the younger

generation, who have apparently borrowed the structure from Ilocano. For examples of R-AS_5 see Sec..2.12.

Relator: rel_6 introduces a Result Relator-Axis Sentence (R-AS_6). The exponent of Relator is isonga 'that is why, therefore'. This relator frequently begins a new phonological sentence, and the structures which can expound the Axis are subject to few if any restrictions. Examples occur in which a paragraph expounds the Axis of this sentence type.

Example:

SS = Nu, ^{1}ResM: R-AS_6 (=Rel, Axis: Explanatory ¶
[= Text: SS{= $^{a}St_1$, $^{b}St_2$, ^{c}Nu}, $Exposition_1$:
RQS{= ^{d}St, ^{e}Nu}, $Exposition_2$: RQS{= ^{f}St, ^{g}Nu}])

(Inonod nan iyAkkang nan inmalis na), ^{1}isonga
followed the people-Akkang the came-to here so
^{a}adwani, ^{b}nan iGinaang ^{c}nakadwada. ^{d}iyOpoop
now the people-Ginaang 2-parts-they people-Opoop
ya nan iYommad, ^{e}makwanida en iyAl-al
and the people-Yommad called-they quote people-Al-al
si iGamoyo. ^{f}Nan iyAkkang, ^{g}makwanida en
and people-Gamoyo the people-Akkang called-they quote
iKayyapa si iDatal.
people-Kayyapa and people-Datal

('The Akkang people followed the ones who had come here), ^{1}so that is why ^{a}now ^{b}the Guinaang people are ^{c}divided in two. ^{d}The Opoop people and the Yommad people, ^{e}they are called the Al-al and the Gamoyo people. ^{f}The Akkang people, ^{g}they are called the Kayyapa and Datal people.'

Relator: rel_7 introduces a Concessive Relator-Axis Sentence (R-AS_7). The exponent of Relator is olay 'even'. The Axis of R-AS_7 may be expounded by R-AS_1 (with or without the Relator) including the various relators described above under R-AS_1. The Axis may also be expounded by any structure which expounds Sentence Topic, that is R-AP_{sto} see above (Sec. 2.2) for discussion of Sentence Topic exponents.

Examples: (see also Sec. 2.17)

(1) Olay nan kanantako en, inteel sinan pisina, (mo adida
even the say-we quote live in-the office if neg-they
indono, adida mabayadan met).
work neg-they paid sure

'Even those we refer to as 'office dwellers', if they don't work,

they don't get paid.'

(2) Olay as kababallotako pay laeng (maid inilak si
even the youth-our moreover none saw-I of
mangikaman sid-i).
doing that
'Even in our youth, I never saw that being done.'

(3) Olay mo sa ya sik-a nan inmali, (as insakit
even if should you the came fut sick
metlaeng nan anakko).
just-the-same the child-my
'Even if you had been the one to come, my child would have been sick just the same.'

Relator: rel_8 introduces an Extent Relator-Axis Sentence ($R\text{-}AS_8$). The exponent of Relator is sik-od 'not until'. When this relator is present a post-predicate clitic pronoun is permuted to become clitic to the $Relator_1$ in the same manner as described above for ket, kit, and enet. For examples of $R\text{-}AS_8$ see Sec. 3.21.4, examples 22 - 27.

3.2. Systemic Nuclei. This section describes the structural characteristics of each of the nuclei of the sentence types that constitute the system of sentence structures. A bidimensional array is presented for each type. The horizontal parameter represents the syntagmeme as a pattern, and shows its functional points; the vertical parameter represents the constituent tagmemes as pattern points and indicates exponential choices for each such point.

Beneath the bidimensional array, restrictions of occurrence, possible permutations, and colligational restrictions are presented followed by a section of illustrative examples.

3.21. Concatenation. The top row of boxes in Chart 1 presents three pairs of sentence types which are characterized by concatenation. Each type has a sequence of two or more bases joined by either an optional or obligatory link.

3.21.1. Coordinate Sentence (CoorS). This sentence type is represented by the bidimensional array in Chart 6.7

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[7] Arrays will display only nuclear tagmemes. It should be remembered that the peripheral tagmemes displayed in Charts 2 and 3 are also part (although not a contrastive part) of each sentence type.

+ $Item_1$	± CoLink	+ $Item_2$	± (±CoLink	+ $Item)^n$
IndC Most S types	ya 'and'	IndC Most S types	ya 'and'	IndC Most S types

Chart 6. Coordinate Sentence Array

A great variety of structures may expound the Item tagmemes. These structures are both primary (i.e., clause) and secondary (i.e., recursive sentence) exponents. No example has been positively identified as an instance of a paragraph backlooping to expound an Item tagmeme. Possibly the nature of the coordinate link is such that a paragraph backlooping into this sentence type is not a logical possibility.

A characteristic feature of Coordinate Sentence is a tendency to parallelism between consecutive items. Thus like structures tend to occur in consecutive Item tagmemes (see ex. 1 - 5 below).

Very few colligational restrictions have become evident. Two restrictions however occur which strengthen the distinction between coordination and opposition.

(1) Consecutive Item tagmemes may not be expounded by Existential Clauses having α ,β values, i.e., a negative Existential Clause may not be followed by a positive Existential Clause, and vice versa.

(2) Consecutive Item tagmemes may not be manifested by verbal clauses having the same lexical exponent of their Predicates but having α,β values, i.e., a positive verbal clause may not be followed by a negative verbal clause having the same verb head as the preceding clause, and vice versa.

Such clauses as those proscribed by the above restrictions are in opposition and would be expressed by an Antithetical Sentence. An apparent exception to restriction 2 is found in the indirect quote of the following sentence:

Kananda en, manganta ya adita.

say-they quote eat-we and neg-we

This sentence does not mean, 'They say that we eat and we don't,' but 'They say when we should eat and when we shouldn't.' The deletion which has taken place is not just deletion of a coordinate second verb head, but deletion of most of a coordinated Indirect Quote Sentence. Thus:

Kananda en, manganta, ya (kananda en,) adita (mangan).

say-they quote eat-we and say-they quote neg-we eat

Parentheses indicate deleted parts of the Indirect Quote Sentence manifesting $Item_2$.

Other, more generalized restrictions, may exist on sequence of positive and negative in Coordinate Sentences, but insufficient data has been analysed to date to be sure that additional restrictions do exist.

R-AS$_1$ manifesting Item$_1$ may only be followed by R-AS$_1$ expounding Item$_2$, and vice versa. The Relator mo 'if' or 'when' is optionally deleted of CoLink is read. This structure is a Coor R-AS sentence and is always embedded in a ConM or TM (see ex. 14, 15, and 16).

Although time sequence is not a distinguishing feature of Coordinate Sentences, permutation of Item tagmemes is possible only when sequence through time is not present. Items which express simultaneous actions or states are mutually permutable.

(1) ^{1}Item$_1$: ExiC, ^{2}Item$_2$: ExiC

^{1}Wa nan ig banan-ig, ^{2}wa nan ig dadakkel.
there-is the very small there-is the very big
'^{1}There are some very small ones, and ^{2}there are some very big ones.'

(2) ^{1}Item$_1$: ExiC, ^{2}CoLink, ^{3}Item$_2$: ExiC, ^{4}CoLink, ^{5}Item$_3$: ExiC

^{1}Wa nan abongna, ^{2}ya ^{3}wa nan makana,
there-is the house-his and there-is the cooked-rice-his
^{4}ya ^{5}wa nan pageyna.
and there-is the rice-his
'^{1}He has a house ^{2}and ^{3}cooked rice ^{4}and ^{5}rice on the stalk.'

(3) Item$_1$: SS(= ^{1}ConM, ^{2}SNu: ExiC), Item$_2$: SS (= ^{3}ConM, ^{4}SNu: ExiC)

^{1}Mo dayyong nan laydem, ^{2}wad-ay, ^{3}mo gasang, ^{4}wad-ay.
if dayyong-rice the like-you there-is if
'^{1}If it's dayyong rice you like, ^{2}there is some, ^{3}if it's gasang rice, ^{4}there is some.'

(4) ^{1}Item$_1$: ExiC, ^{2}Item$_2$: ExiC, ^{3}Item$_3$: ExiC, ^{4}Item$_4$: ExiC

^{1}Maiwed manok, ^{2}maid botog, ^{3}maid sangdal, ^{4}maid pagey.
none chicken none pig none vat none rice
'^{1}There were no chickens, ^{2}pigs, ^{3}vats, or ^{4}rice.'

(5) ^{1}Item$_1$: VC$_{af}$, ^{2}Item$_2$: VC$_{af}$, ^{3}Item$_3$: VC$_{af}$
(Note deletion of recurring lexical items, verb and Subject-actor from Item$_2$ and Item$_3$.)

[1]Inpaeyna nan iyon-ad Kayan, [2]nan gawaan ad Gawa,
put-he the oldest-in Kayan the middle in Gawa
[3]nan naodi ad Yommad.
the youngest in Yommad

'[1]He put the oldest child in Kayan, [2]the middle one in Gawa, and [3]the youngest in Yommad.'

(6) [1]TM, [2]$Base_1$: VC_{sf}, [3]$Base_2$: CoorS ([a]$Item_1$: VC_{of}, [6]CoLink, [c]$Item_2$: VC_{af}), [4]$Base_3$: VC_{af}

[1]Malpas di, [2]omey nan lalaki ya nan aloyosnas nan
finish that go the man and the helpers-his-to the
ab-abonganda, [3a]balondenda nan tolo ay pinasek ay
group-house-their bind-they the three att split att
pinaseknas abongda [b]ya [c]eneynas an da asawana,
split-he-at house-their and take-he-to place pl wife-his
[4]isaadda.
put-down-they

'[1]After that [2]the man and his helper go to their group house, and then [3a]bind three split logs, that they have split at their house, [b]and [c]he takes it to his wife's place, [4]then they set them down.'

(7) [1]$Item_1$: WhC, [2]CoLink, [3]$Item_2$: VC_{sf}

[1]Into nan kad-am [2]ya [3]inkoopka?
where the place-your and hoot-you

'[1]Where were you when [3]you hooted?'

(8) [1]$Item_1$: VC_{sf}, [2]CoLink, [3]$Item_2$: VC_{af}, [4]CoLink, [5]$Item_3$: VC_{sf}

[1]Binmangon [2]ya [3]eneyna nan benengnas nan tongnga [4]ya
woke-up and take-he the bolo-his-to the corn and
[5]dowana insipat.
cont-he cut-down

'[1]He woke up [2]and [3]took his bolo to the corn [4]and [5]cut it down.'

(9) [1]$Item_1$: VC_{of}, [2]CoLink, [3]$Item_2$: C-RS (= [a]Circ: VC_{sf}, [b]link, [c]Res: EqC)

[1]Sanbenda pay [2]ya [3a]bomeskal [b]et [c]anito.
view-from-hiding-they moreover and came-out link spirit

'[1]They hid and watched moreover [2]and [3a]out it came--[c]it was a spirit.'

(10) [1]Item$_1$: VC$_{st}$, [2]CoLink, [3]Item$_2$: VC$_{sf}$

[1]Igak nakomeg [2]ya [3]ig ginmayawgaw nan baklag.
very-I cold and very make-itch the taro

'[1]I am very cold [2]and [3]the taro has made me itch all over.'

(11) [1]Item$_1$: VC$_{of}$, [2]CoLink, [3]Item$_2$: DQS(=[a]DQF: VC$_{rf}$, [b]QS, [c]DQ: EqC)

[1]Sagangena ad Timel, [2]ya [3a]kanana [b]en,
face-toward-he to Timel and say-he quote
[c]"Bongaw, payewko."
curse field-my

'[1]He faced towards Timel, [2]and [3a]said, [c]"Curse you, my field."'

(12) [1]Item$_1$: VC$_{sf}$, [2]CoLink, [3]Item$_2$: VC$_{st}$

[1]In-gawid [2]ya [3]matey.
return and die

'[1]He returned [2]and [3]died.'

(13) [1]Item: VC$_{sf}$, [2]CoLink, [3]Item$_2$: VC$_{st}$

[1]Eyak makisaoy ad Betwagan, [2]ya [3]nal-os nan
go-I join-buy-food at Betwagan, and left the
nan ib-ak.
the companions-my

'[1]I'm going to buy food at Betwagan, [2]and [3]my companions have left me behind.'

(14) [1]ConM: CoorR-AS$_1$ (=[a]Item$_1$: R-AS$_1$, [b]CoLink, [c]Item$_2$:R-AS$_1$)

[1a]Mo kanandaen, "Satako in-onod." [b]ya
if say-they-quote fut-we onod and
[c]makaeykad Bagiw ...
accompany-you-to Bagiw

'[1a]If they say, "Let's have the onod ceremony," [2]and [3]if you accompany them to Bagiw ...'

(15) [1]ConM: CoorR-AS$_1$ (=[a]Item$_1$: R-AS$_1$, [b]Item$_2$: R-AS$_1$)

^{1a}Mo nawayaka, ^{b}mo kaew nan kasapolam ...
if opportunity-you if wood the need-you
'^{1a}If you have opportunity and ^{b}if its wood you need ...'

(16) ^{1}ConM: CoorR-AS_1 (= ^{a}Item$_1$: R-AS_1, ^{b}CoLink, ^{c}Item$_2$: R-AS_1)

^{1a}Mo mabalin ^{b}ya ^{c}mo tet-ewa ay laydem sak-en ...
if possible and if truly link like-you me
'^{1a}If possible, ^{b}and ^{c}if you really like me ...'

3.21.2. Circumstance-Result Sentence (C-RS). This sentence type is represented by the bidimensional array in Chart 7. This sentence type is characterised by a verbal or Existential Clause expressing a circumstance linked by et or ya to a non-verbal clause expressing result. The exponents of Link, are mutually interchangeable.

+ Circumstance	± Link	+ Result
VC	ya	Non-Verbal Clause
ExiC	et	

Chart 7. Circumstance-Result Sentence Array

Examples:

(1) SeqS = ^{1}Base$_1$: VC_{of}, ^{2}Base$_2$: VC_{af}, ^{3}Base$_3$: C-RS
(=^{a}Circ: VC_{of}, ^{b}Link, ^{c}Res: EqC)

^{1}Alana nan tag-ong, ^{2}itob-ongna, ^{3a}ilanda ^{b}et ^{c}isda.
got-he the dipper dip-in-he look-they link meat
'^{1}He got the dipper, ^{2}dipped it in, ^{3a}they looked ^{b}and ^{c}it was meat.'

(2) CoorS = ^{1}Item$_1$: VC_{of}, ^{2}CoLink, ^{3}Item$_2$: C-RS
(=^{a}Circ: VC_{sf}, ^{b}Link, ^{c}Res: EqC)

^{1}Sanbenda pay ^{2}ya ^{3a}bomeskal ^{b}et
view-from-hiding-they moreover and come-out link
^{c}anito.
spirit
'^{1}They hid and watched moreover, ^{2}and ^{3a}it came out--^{c}it was a spirit.'

(3) [1]Circ: ExiC, [2]Link, [3]Res: EqC

[1]Wadas Ballong [2]et [3]walo nan pinateyda.
there-is Ballong link eight the killed-they
'[1]Ballong was there, [2]so [3]they killed eight.'

(4) [1]Circ: VC_{rf}, [2]Link, [3]Res: EqC

[1]Binodasanda nan ginab-onana [2]ya [3]ballitok.
uncovered-they the covered-he and gold
'[1]They uncovered what he had covered, [3]it was gold.'

(5) [1]Circ: VC_{sf}, [2]Res: EqC

[1]Esakayo omali, [2]solok nan sana pagey si esayo alaen.
fut-you come more the that rice the fut-you get
'[1]You come, and [2]more than that rice is what you will get.'

(6) [1]TM, [2]Circ: VC_{af}, [3]Res: DesC

[1]Binokatana nan alangna, [2]ididiil kano nan naay
opened-he the granary-his peeped report the this
in-ina nan alangna, [3]ig ed-edda nan pageyna
woman the granary-his very much the rice-his
ay daan nindedemang ay pagey.
att yet facing att rice
'[1]Having opened his granary, [2]the woman peeped into it, [3]there was very much rice still stacked up on either side of the granary.'

(7) [1]Circ: VC_{sf}, [2]Res: ExiC

[1]Inmonaangdas dis pantew nan alangna, [2]maiwed
look-they-at that-at yard the granary-his none
nan deey sinposinponda ay pagey.
the that stacked-they att rice
'[1]They looked out at the yard of the granary, [2]the rice they had stacked up had gone.'

(8) [1]Circ: VC_{of}, [2]Link, [3]Res: EqC

[1]Tag-ongena kano nan deey banga [2]et [3]begas ay
dip-he report the that pot link meat att

sin-ekep nan deey ginegegegedna.
one-double the that sliced-he
'[1]He dipped into that pot, [3]one double cut of meat is what he sliced up.'

3.21.3. Sequence Sentence (SeqS). This sentence type is represented by the bidimensional array in Chart 8.

+ $Base_1$	± SeqLink	+ $Base_2$	±(±SeqLink	+ Base)^n
VC Most Sentences Expl¶	$P_{seqlink}$ ay	same as $Base_1$	$P_{seqlink}$ ay	same as $Base_1$

Chart 8. Sequence Sentence Array

The chief characteristic of Sequence Sentence is that the activity in each base subsequent to $Base_1$ succeeds in time the activity of the preceding base. For this reason the Bases are not permutable. A Sequence Link Phrase has the structure: + (± $LinkH_1$:(e)sa ± $LinkH_2$:-et). Either Head may occur, or both. The form (e)sa is homophonous with a pre-verb auxiliary meaning 'indefinite future' which may, or may not be linked with the form et. Both the Link (e)sa, and the Aux (e)sa draw a clitic pronoun fromthe following verb; the clitic -et in both cases, if it occurs, follows the pronoun. The Aux (e)sa is distinguished structurally from the Link (e)sa in that the former is restricted distributionally to occurring in Dialogue, or in the Quote of a Quotation Sentence in which a proposal is being made or recounted, and first or second person pronouns are the actors of the proposed action.

Satakot omey.
fut-we-et go
'Let's go!'

Sakayo adi omey.
fut-you neg go
'Don't go!'

The link (e)sa, though occurring at the beginning of phonological sentences, in all cases provides a sequence link with the activity of the preceding clause.

Reading Sequence Link Phrase as minus, provides an implicit sequence between the bases on either side of the link. If Sequence Link Phrase is read, but only LinkH_1 is chosen as a reading of the phrase, the sequence between the linked Bases is explicit. If only LinkH_2 is read, immediate sequence of the second activity upon the first is implied. Reading of both phrase tagmemes implies immediate explicit sequence.

The use of the linker ay merely marks Bases in sequence, and carries little if any lexical significance. It does not occur in combination with either (e)sa or et. Usually in text either Sequence Link Phrase or ay occur exclusively between a series of bases in sequence. There are however, a few instances in which ay occurs between one pair of Bases, and Sequence Link Phrase between another pair.

There seems to be no upper limit of Bases that may occur in a Sequence Sentence. Examples have been found having ten and more Bases (see ex. 9 below).

Expl¶ has been identified as a backlooping exponent of a Sequence Sentence Base.

Paragraph types which are characterized by Time Margin linkage (e.g., Narr, Proc) do not occur as backlooping exponents of Sequence Sentence Bases, for the same reason that a Sequence Sentence may not be embedded in a Sequence Sentence Base: time sequence is considered as linear, and so of any three consecutive activities no two may be embedded (and thus constitute their own time sequence), but rather form parts of the larger sequence.

Examples:

(1) ^{1}Base$_1$: ParaS (= ^{a}Sta: VC$_{sf}$, ^{b}Para: VC$_{sf}$), ^{2}Base$_2$: DQS (= ^{a}DQF: VC$_{sf}$, ^{b}QS, ^{c}DQ: WhC)

^{1a}Inmononod nan naay esa, ^{b}inmey si Wawansan,
followed the this one went to Wawansan
^{2a}ninbogaw ^{b}en, ^{c}"Ay intokayo man?"
shouted quote ques where-you

'^{1a}This one followed, ^{b}she went to Wawansan and then ^{2a}shouted, ^{c}"Where are you?"'

(2) ^{1}Base$_1$: VC$_{sf}$, ^{2}SeqLink, ^{3}Base$_2$: CauVC$_{of}$

^{1}Kasi kano ges komawat nan otot ^{2}et ^{3}kasina
again report also climb the rat link again-he
kano ges padakalen nan dowan iting.
report also cause-take-out the two five-bundles

'^{1}Again the rat climbed (into the granary) ^{2}and ^{3}brought out again ten bundles (of rice).'

(3) ^{1}Base$_1$: VC$_{sf}$, ^{2}Base$_2$: VC$_{sf}$

[1]Somgepda kano, [2]in-og-oog-ogodda.
enter-they report tell-story-they
'[1]They entered, then [2]they kept on telling stories.'

(4) [1]TM: VC_{st}, [2]$Base_1$: VC_{af}, [3]$Base_2$: VC_{sf}, [4]SeqLink, [5]$Base_3$: SS (= [a]TM: ParaS[= [i]Sta: $VC_{st.lepas}$, [ii]Link, [iii]Para: VC_{sf}], [b]Base: VC_{of})

[1]Maloto, [2]iwatwatda, [3]manganda [4]ay [5ai]nalpas
cooked distribute-they eat-they link finish
[ii]ay [iii]makakananda, [b]enda alan nan ammog.
link eat-they go-they get the pig
'[1]When it is cooked [2]they distribute it, then [3]they eat, [4]then [5ai]when they have finished [iii]eating, [b]they go get the pig.'

(5) [1]SIntro, [2]Link, [3]$Base_1$: VC_{sf}, [4]SeqLink, [5]$Base_2$: VC_{st}

[1]Kedeng [2]ay [3]manganda [4]ay [5]mabokalda.
only link eat-they link disperse-they
'[1]After that [3]they eat [4]then [5]they disperse.'

(6) [1]TM:$VC_{st.time}$, [2]$Base_1$: VC_{rf}, [3]SeqLink, [4]$Base_2$: VC_{of}

[1]Mawakas, [2]penpenanda nan tobo [3]ay [4]lotowenda
next-day fill-they the rice-cake link cook-they
nan sinkanbong ay tobo.
the one-drum att rice-cake
'[1]The next day, [2]they fill the rice cake woven containers [3]then [4]they cook one drum full of rice cakes.'

(7) [1]TM: VC_{st}, [2]$Base_1$: VC_{of}, [3]SeqLink, [4]$Base_2$: VC_{of}, [5]SeqLink, [6]$Base_3$: VC_{sf}, [7]SeqLink, [8]$Base_4$: VC_{of}, [9]SeqLink, [10]$Base_5$: VC_{sf}, [11]SeqLink, [12]$Base_6$: VC_{st}, [13]SeqLink, [14]$Base_7$: VC_{st}

[1]Naloto, [2]tag-ongenda, [3]ay [4]gegedenda, [5]ay
cooked dip-out-they link cut-up-they link
[6]inwatwatda, [7]ay [8]gowadenda nan makan, [9]ay
distribute-they link serve-they the rice link
[10]manganda, [11]ay [12]mabokalda nan amam-a, [13]ay
eat-they link disperse-they the men link

[14]maseyepda ay sin-asawas nan abong nan lalaki.
sleep-they att husband-and-wife-in the

'[11]When it is cooked, [2]they dip it out, [4]cut it up [5]and [6]distribute it, [7]then [8]they serve the rice [9]and [10]eat, [11]then [12]the men disperse and [13]then [14]the married couple go to sleep in the husband's house.'

(8) [1]TM: VC_{sf}, [2]Link, [3]$Base_1$: ParaS (= [a]Sta: VC_{rf}, [b]Para: VC_{sf}), [4]Link, [5]$Base_2$: VC_{sf}

[1]Sinmaalda ay in-gawgaw [2]ya [3a]enda indanan
came-home-they att fishing link go-they reach
nan mamaggit ad Bagiw, [b]siya nan madataganda
the girls at Bagiw it the dividing-their
[4]sadat [5]somaal ay naboboleg.
then-they go-home att following

'[11]When those who were fishing have come home, [3a]they go to reach the girls at Bagiw, [b]that is the place where they are divided, [4]then [5]they file home.'

(9) [1]Intro, [2]Link, [3]$Base_1$: VC_{st}, [4]$Base_2$: VC_{of}, [5]Excl, [6]SeqLink, [7]$Base_3$: VC_{of}, [8]SeqLink, [9]$Base_4$: VC_{sf}, [10]SeqLink, [11]$Base_5$: VC_{sf}, [12]SeqLink, [13]$Base_6$: VC_{st}, [14]SeqLink; [15]$Base_7$: VC_{sf}, [16]SeqLink, [17]$Base_8$: VC_{sf}, [18]SeqLink, [19]$Base_9$: ParaS (= [a]Sta: VC_{af}, [b]Link, [c]Para: VC_{rf}), [20]SeqLink, [21]$Base_{10}$: Expl ¶ (= [a]Text: VC_{of}, [b]Expo: EqC)

[1]Kedeng pan [2]ay [3]matey pan tet-ewa, [4]pay-ena nan
only link die truly put-he the
bollayaw [5]ay [6]esada pan [7]awniyen nan sig-idna-[8]et
shooting-star link-they delay the sig-id-his
[9]pomanaltakow[10]et [11]manonedtakow[12]et [13]maalat nan
plant-we- link transplant-we-link got the
onas[14]et, [15]min-anitakow[16]et [17]lomamag ad nan
sugarcane-link harvest-we- link gone-up to the
in-ani [18]esada [19a]ibadoy nan pelsat an
harvesters link-they take-about the 1/4 to
Ongyod[b]ay [c]linakowanaay nowang[20]et [21a]alaen
Ongyod-link bought-he-att carabao-link get

Dayakdakay aman da Ikolan asnan min-on-onolay
Dayakdak-att father pl Ikolan of-the in-heat-att
botog. [b]Siya di nan alandas nan sig-idna.
pig it that the got-they-for the sig-id-his

'[1]After that [3]he surely died, and [4]put a shooting star in the sky, [6]then [7]they delayed his sig-id sacrifice, [9]we planted the rice [10]and [11]transplanted it, [13]had the sugarcane harvest [14]and [15]the rice harvest [16]then [17]the harvesters came up to Boyoy [18]then [19a]they took a quarter to Ongyod, [b]that is of [c]the carabao that he bought, [20]then [21a]Dayakdak, the father of Ikolan and the others, got a pig in heat. [6]That is what they got for his sig-id sacrifice.'

3.21.4. Extent Sentence (ExS). This sentence type has two subtypes. They are represented by the bidimensional arrays in Chart 9.

a.

± $Base_{1ext}$	+ $Base_{2ext}$	±(± $Link_{ext}$	+ $Base_{3ext}$)
C	ExtP	ya	C
S(?)		$P_{seqlink}$	S

b.

± $Base_{1ext}$	+ $Base_{2ext}$	+ $Link_{ext}$	+ $Base_{3ext}$
VC_{neg}	$R\text{-}AS_{8}$	$P_{seqlink}$	C
ExC_{maid}			S

Chart 9. Extent Sentence Arrays

In Subtype a $Base_1$ and $Base_3$ present two sequential activities optionally linked by either a coordinate or sequence link. $Base_2$ provides either a time or locative extent phrase which imposes a temporal or spatial limit on the preceding activity.

Subtype b presents two lexically equivalent clauses. They are obligatorily linked by the sequence link structure. In this sentence $Base_2$ indicates the time extent which elapses before the activity of $Base_3$ takes place.

The following rules are applicable to the array in Chart 9:

(1) In Subtype a either $Base_1$ or $Base_3$ is optional. One of the two bases must occur. Where a base is deleted sequential activity is implied (pre-sequence, if $Base_1$ does not occur, post-sequence, if $Base_3$ does not occur). The link is optional, but is obligatorily absent if $Base_3$ is absent. $Base_2$ is obligatory.

(2) In Subtype b only $Base_1$ is optional. The Relator-Axis Sentence which expounds the $Base_2$ in Subtype b has the form sik-od manifesting the Relator. This form is homophonous with the subjunctive auxiliary described under SubS (Subtype a). As a Relator the form is freely translated as 'not until'.

(3) In Subtype a Bases may be positive or negative, past or nonpast tense.

(4) In Subtype b $Base_1$ is obligatorily negative and nonpast. $Base_3$ is obligatorily positive and nonpast.

Extent Phrase (ExtP) has the following structure: + H ± Att ± Tem ± Loc. Head is expounded by enggana 'until'; when it is not followed by one of the optional following tagmemes, enggana is translatable as 'always'.

Two examples have been noted of an ExtS embedded in $Base_{3ext}$, one is Subtype a (ex. 19 below), the other is Subtype b (ex. 26 below). In both cases all tagmemes are read in the embedded structure. One example has been found of a structure which is similar to Subtype b but which may need to be established as a third subtype. In this example the Link is obligatorily absent, and $Base_3$ is expounded by an identificational clause:

$Base_{2ext}$: R-AS_8, $Base_{3ext}$: IdC

Sik-od gomanbek nan ani, siya di nan
not-till become-many the harvest it that the
in-alloyanan nan mamaggit si baballo.
time-harvest-song the girls and boys

'Not till there are many harvesting, that is the time the girls and boys sing the harvest song.'

Examples 1 - 21 illustrate Subtype a. In 1 - 7 $Base_1$ and $Base_3$ are both read.

Examples:

(1) SeqS = $^{1}Base_{1seq}$: ParaS (=^{a}Sta:SS [= ^{i}St, ^{ii}Base: EqC], ^{b}Para: ExS [= $^{i}Base_{1ext}$: VC_{sf}, $^{ii}Base_{2ext}$: ExtP, $^{iii}Base_{3ext}$: VC_{st}]), $^{2}Link_{seq}$: esa-et, $^{3}Base_{2seq}$: ExS(=$^{a}Base_{1ext}$: VC_{rf}, $^{b}Base_{2ext}$: ExtP)

^{1ai}Nan gapon nan donodas nan samal, ^{ii}kamey
the first the work-there-in the soil-prep dig -stick

^{bi}enda mangamkamey ^{ii}engganay malpas nan esay
go-they use-dig -stick until-att finish the one
bolan, ^{iii}malpas nan kamey, ^{2}esadat ^{3a}logiyan nan
month finish the dig-stick then-they begin the
kaot ya nan toping ^{b}engganay esay bolan.
hand-scraping and the wall until one month

'^{1ai}The first work they do in the soil-preparation season ^{ii}is digging stick work, ^{bi}they use their digging sticks ^{ii}for one month and ^{iii}when the digging stick work is finished, ^{2}then ^{3a}they begin hand-scraping (making new terraces) and wall-building ^{b}for one month.'

(2) CoorS = ^{1}TM, ^{2}Link, ^{3}Item$_{1}$: LogGS, ^{4}CoLink, ^{5}Item$_{2}$:
ExS(=^{a}Base$_{1ext}$: VC$_{af}$, ^{b}Base$_{2ext}$: ExtP, ^{c}Base$_{3ext}$:LogGS)
^{1}Nalpas ^{2}ya ^{3}inlogida ay inpakpak ^{4}ya
finished and begin-they link mud-packing and
^{5a}dalosanda kannay nan toping ^{b}engganay nalpas
clean-they same-time the wall until-att finished
ges nan pakpak, ^{c}logiyanda ay pomanal.
also the mudpacking begin-they link seed-planting

'^{1}When that is finished ^{3}they begin mudpacking, ^{4}and at the same time ^{5a}they clean the walls ^{b}until the mudpacking is finished, then ^{c}they begin to plant seed.'

(3) ExS = ^{1}TM, ^{2}Link, ^{3}Base$_{1ext}$: LogGS, ^{4}Base$_{2ext}$: ExtP,
^{5}Link$_{ext}$: esa-et, ^{6}Base$_{3ext}$: VC$_{af}$

^{1}Masiken nan panal ^{2}ya ^{3}logiyanda ay intoned
grow the seedlings and begin-they link transplant
^{4}engganay malpas nan toned, ^{5}esadat ^{6}ibogaw nan
until-att finish the planting then-they proclaim the
loslos.
loslos

'^{1}When the seedlings are grown, ^{3}they begin to transplant, ^{4}until the end of transplanting, ^{5}then ^{6}they proclaim the loslos holiday.'

(4) ExS = ^{1}Base$_{1ext}$: IdC, ^{2}Base$_{2ext}$: ExtP, ^{3}Link$_{ext}$:ya,
^{4}Base$_{3ext}$:DQS

[1]Siya nan igmi inbadbadoyan si piton algew
it the very-we walk-around for seven days
[2]engganay nablaykami [3]ya [4]kananmi en, "Satakot
until-att tired-we and said-we quote fut-we
omey ad babley."
go to village

'[1]That's where we just walked around [2]for seven days [3]and then [4]we said, "Let's go to the village."'

(5) [1]$Base_{lext}$: VC_{af}, [2]$Base_{2ext}$: ExtP, [3]$Base_{3ext}$: DQS

[1]Dowami in-igoygoy [2]engganay nalpas, [3]kanan nan Iloko
cont-we pull until-att finish say the Ilocano
en, "...
quote

'[1]We kept pulling them [2]until they were finished and then [3]the Ilocano said, "...'

(6) [1]TM, [2]$Base_{lext}$: VC_{sf}, [3]$Base_{2ext}$: ExtP, [4]$Base_{3ext}$: DQS

[1]Bomangonkami, [2]engkami indono [3]engganay angbattang,
awake-we go-we work until-att afternoon
[4]kananmi en, "...
say-we quote

'[1]After waking [2]we went to work [3]until the afternoon, [4]then we said, "...'

(7) [1]ConM, [2]$Base_{lext}$: VC_{sf}, [3]$Base_{2ext}$:ExtP, [4]$Link_{ext}$:
esa-et, [5]$Base_{3ext}$: VC_{af}

[1]Mo sino nan domno [2]enda maniwag nan amam-a
if who the feasters go-they siwag the old-men
[3]engganay malpas nan masiwagan [4]esadat [5]isaldeng.
until-att finish the siwag then-they rest

'[1]Whoever the feasters are, [2]the old men perform the siwag ceremony for them, [3]until they have all had it, [4]then [5]they rest.'

Ex. 8-18 illustrate Subtype a in which $Base_3$ is not read.

(8) [1]$Base_{lext}$: VC_{st}, [2]$Base_{2ext}$: ExtP

[1]Maseyep nan amadas an gowab [2]engganay
sleep the father-their in below until-att
maganakdas di.
have-children-at there
'[1]Their father slept below [2]until they had children there.'

(9) [1]$Base_{lext}$: VC_{sf}, [2] $Base_{2ext}$: ExtP

[1]Inpattopattongda nan baballo si mamaggit [2]engganay
play-gongs-they the youths and girls until-att
makaan nan bansal nan dinomno.
remove the feast-symbol the feasters
'[1]The young men and women play gongs [2]until the feast symbol of the feasters is removed.'

(10) [1]$Base_{lext}$: VC_{sf}, [2]$Base_{2ext}$: ExtP

[1]Adita mangan [2]engganay masdem.
neg-we eat until-att night
'[1]We don't eat [2]until night.'

(11) [1]TM, [2]$Base_{lext}$: VC_{sf}, [3]$Base_{2ext}$: ExtP

[1]Malpas nan tolon algew, [2]enda pomanal nan babbabai
after the three days go-they seed the women
asnan mabalin ay enda pomanalan [3]engganay
in-the possible link go-they plant-seed-place until-att
mabalin si maitoned sinan am-in ay payew.
possible link planted of-the all att field
'[1]After three days, [2]the women go to plant where it is possible to plant seed [3]until all the fields are planted.'

(12) SeqS = [1]$Base_{1seq}$: VC_{af}, [2]$Link_{seq}$, [3]$Base_{2seq}$: ExS
(=[a]$Base_{lext}$: VC_{st}, [b]$Base_{2ext}$: ExtP)

[1]I isadang nan baballo tet-ewa [2]et [3a]nalango [b]engganay
go rack the youths truly seq dry until-att
wad-ay ag-agom.
there-is feasting
'[1]The youths truly go and rack them [2]and [3a]they dry [b]until the feasting time.'

(13) ... $^{1}Base_{2seq}$: ExS (=$^{a}Base_{lext}$: VC_{rf}, $^{b}Base_{2ext}$: ExtP)

... ^{1a}logiyanda nan kaot ya nan toping ^{b}engganay
begin-they the hand-scraping and the walling until-att
esay bolan.
one month

'... ^{1a}They begin the hand-scraping (making new terraces) and the wall-building ^{b}for one month.'

(14) ParaS = ^{1}TM, ^{2}Sta: VC_{sf}, $^{3}Para$: ExS (=$^{a}Base_{lext}$: VC_{rf}, $^{b}Base_{2ext}$: ExtP)

^{1}Mawakas, ^{2}omapoyda, ^{3a}enda apoyan nan payew
next-day fire-they go-they fire the fields
^{b}engganay dowan algew.
until-att two days

'^{1}The next day ^{2}they perform the fire ceremony, ^{3a}they take fire to the fields ^{b}for two days.'

(15) ... $^{1}Base_{lseq}$: ExS (=$^{a}Base_{lext}$: PurS, $^{b}Base_{2ext}$: ExtP)

... ^{1a}ibaanda ay inpatpat, ^{b}engganay piton algew.
join-they lk cut-cane until-att seven days

'... ^{1a}Then they join him cutting cane ^{b}for seven days.'

(16) $^{1}Base_{lext}$: VC_{rf}, $^{2}Base_{2ext}$: ExtP

^{1}Ey iiyanan nan ipogaw nan payewda ^{2}engganay
go stay-overnight the people the fields-their until-att
omodan.
rain

'^{1}The people go and stay overnight in their fields ^{2}until the rainy season.'

(17) $^{1}Base_{lext}$: VC_{rf}, $^{2}Base_{2ext}$: ExtP (=^{a}H: enggana, ^{b}Loc)

^{1}Linaosanmi ad San Fernando ^{2a}engganab^{d} Kandon.
passed-we to San Fernando until-to Kandon

(18) $^{1}Base_{lext}$: VC_{sf}, $^{2}Base_{2ext}$: ExtP (=^{a}H: enggana, ^{b}Tem)

^{1}Inmilida ^{2a}enggana ^{b}adwani.
village-they until now

'[1]They made their village there [2a]until [b]now.'

Ex. 19 - 21 illustrate Subtype a in which $Base_1$ is not read.

(19) ExS = $^{1}Base_{2ext}$: ExtP, $^{2}Base_{3ext}$: ExS (= $^{a}Base_{1ext}$: VC_{af}, $^{b}Base_{2ext}$: ExtP, $^{c}Link_{ext}$, $^{d}Base_{3ext}$: LogGS)

[1]Engganay masiken nan pagey, [2a]ey iiyanan nan
until grow the rice go stay-overnight the
ipogaw nan payewda [b]engganay omodan, [c]sadat
people the fields-their until-att rains then-they
[d]ges in-obbo ay indalos.
also group-work link cleaning

'[1]After the rice grows [2a]the people go and stay overnight in their fields [b]until the rains come, [c]then [d]they work again in their groups, cleaning (terrace walls).'

(20) $^{1}Base_{2ext}$: ExtP, $^{2}Base_{3ext}$: VC_{sf}

[1]Engganay maiksepda, [2]i mangakkaew nan lallalaki.
until-att kesep-they go cut-wood the men

'[1]When the kesep season is upon them, [2]the men go to cut wood.'

(21) $^{1}Base_{2ext}$: ExtP, $^{2}Link_{ext}$, $^{3}Base_{3ext}$: VC_{st}

[1]Engganay kawalonas algew [2]esa [3]mawakas.
until-att eighth day then next-day

'After eight days, then it became light.'

Ex. 22 - 27 illustrate Subtype b. In ex. 22 - 24 both $Base_1$ and $Base_3$ are read.

(22) ExS = $^{1}Base_{1ext}$: ExC_{maid}, $^{2}Base_{2ext}$: $R\text{-}AS_{8}$, $^{3}Link_{ext}$: esa, $^{4}Base_{3ext}$: VC_{sf}

[1]Maid mamokboknag sid-i, [2]sik-od katlon si algew
none goes-to-work then not-until third of day
[3]esa [4]mangabowanan nan baballo.
then get-gabowanan the youths

'[1]No one works then, [2]not until the third day, [3]then [4]the youths go to get gabowanan logs.'

(23) $^{1}Base_{lext}$: ExC_{maid}, $^{2}Base_{2ext}$: $R\text{-}AS_{8}$, $^{3}Link_{ext}$, $^{4}Base_{3ext}$: DQS

^{1}Maid kapopoot si maey, ^{2}sik-od mawakas ^{3}esata
none made-clear going not-until next-day then-we
^{4}inpopoot en, "Sino nan kanpango?"
enquire quote who the leader

'^{1}The destination cannot be found out, ^{2}not until the next day, ^{3}then ^{4}we enquire, "Who is the leader?"'

(24) ^{1}St, $^{2}ConM$, $^{3}Base_{lext}$: VC_{st}, $^{4}Base_{2ext}$: $R\text{-}AS_{8}$, $^{5}Link_{ext}$, $^{6}Base_{3ext}$: VC_{st}

^{1}Nan deey inteel sinan pisina, ^{2}mo adida indono
the this stay in-the office if neg-they work
^{3}adida mabayadan met, ^{4}sik-od indono ^{5}esa
neg-they paid not-until work then
^{6}mabayadan.
paid

'^{1}These who work in the offices, ^{2}if they don't work, ^{3}they don't get paid, ^{4}not until they work do ^{6}they get paid.'

Ex. 25-27 illustrate Subtype b in which $Base_{1}$ is not read.

(25) $^{1}Base_{2ext}$: $R\text{-}AS_{8}$, $^{2}Link_{ext}$, $^{3}Base_{3ext}$: VC_{st}

^{1}Sik-od tolon algew ^{2}esa ^{3}makna nan kamey.
not-until three days then sufficient the digging-sticks

'^{1}Not until three days have passed ^{3}will there be sufficient digging sticks.'

(26) ExS = $^{1}Base_{2ext}$: $R\text{-}AS_{8}$, $^{2}Link_{ext}$: esa-et, $^{3}Base_{3ext}$: ExS (=$^{a}Base_{lext}$: PurS, $^{b}Base_{2ext}$: ExtP, $^{c}Link_{ext}$, $^{d}Base_{3ext}$: VC_{st})

^{1}Sik-od kadwan si algew ^{2}sadat ^{3a}ibaan ay inpatpat
not-until second of day then-they join link cut-cane
^{b}engganay piton algew ^{c}esadat ^{d}maidalepdep.
until-att seven day then-they dalepdep

'(No one else cuts cane) ^{1}not until the second day ^{2}then ^{3a}they

join him cutting cane [b]for seven days, [c]then [d]they have the dalepdep holiday.'

(27) [1]$Base_{2ext}$: R-AS_8, [2]$Link_{ext}$, [3]$Base_{3ext}$: PurS

[1]Sik-od maegew nan odan, [2]sakayo [3]omali ay omdan.
not-until fine the rain then-you come link reach

'(Don't come) [1]not until the rain stops, [2]then [3]you come to reach us.'

3.21.5. Paraphrase Sentence (ParaS). This sentence type is represented by the bidimensional array in Chart 10. A Paraphrase Sentence gives a paraphrase, an explanation or an exposition of the exponent of Statement tagmeme.

+ Statement	± Link	+ Paraphrase
Clause	ay	Clause
$VC_{st.\ lepas}$		Sentence
$VC_{st.\ <sapol>}$		Proc ¶
Time Phrase		Narr ¶

Chart 10. Paraphrase Sentence Array

The following rules are relevant to the reading and exponence of the array in Chart 10.

(1) Time Phrase and $VC_{st.\ lepas,}$ occur only in Paraphrase Sentences which are embedded in Time Margins. The lepas 'finish' structure has either a 3rd person singular pronoun (zero) manifesting its Topic or a demonstrative di 'that'. Other nuclear and peripheral tagmemes of a Stative Clause do not occur. Compare ex. 13 of Logical Goal Sentence (3.25.2) with ex. 9 below. In Logical Goal Sentence the Topic of Act_1 may be expounded by any appropriate pronoun or noun phrase, whereas in Act_2, Topic is obligatorily absent. In ex. 9, however, Topic occurs in both Statement and Paraphrase, although only the zero 3rd person pronoun manifests the Topic of Statement. Furthermore, unlike this variant of the Paraphrase Sentence, the LogGs is not necessarily an embedded structure.

(2) $VC_{st.\ <sapol>}$ is a Stative Clause having either sapol 'necessary', or balin 'possible' in the Predicate. A zero pronoun manifests Topic and there is an obligatory absence of other Stative Clause nuclear and peripheral tagmemes. It is obligatorily nonpast and the following

Paraphrase must also be nonpast (see ex. 10, 11 below).

(3) Link is obligatory after $VC_{st.<sapol>}$, $VC_{st.\ lepas}$ and Time Phrase. It is optional elsewhere.

(4) The exponents of Paraphrase are any clause or sentence, or Proc (see ex. 13) or Narr (see ex. 14) Paragraph.

(5) The Neg Aux does not occur in a clause manifesting Paraphrase, when $VC_{st.\ lepas}$ manifests Statement.

Backlooping of paragraphs to expound the Paraphrase tagmeme has been observed only after a VC_{sf} manifesting Statement. Attempts to identify an unambiguous case of backlooping of an Expl ¶ in this sentence type were not fruitful since if the Text of an Explanatory Paragraph is a Paraphrase Sentence, a following Exposition can invariably be considered as expounding the whole of the preceding Paraphrase Sentence and not merely the second half of it (the Paraphrase). It would be necessary for Exposition to expound only the second half of the preceding Paraphrase Sentence for backlooping to occur. Note the following example:

[1]Masdem sinan kadwan si algew, [2]siya di nan
evening of-the second day it that the
inmanokanda [3]ay [4]palpalenda nan manok
chicken-their link beat-to-death-they the chicken
wenno kinyog. [5]Mageglatdas nan esay masdem.
or chick all-together-they-in the one evening

'[1]In the evening of the second day, [2]that is when they perform the chicken sacrifice, [4]they beat to death a chicken or a chick. [5]Everybody does it in one evening.'

Although the sentence, 'Everybody does it in one evening,' is an exposition of the Paraphrase tagmeme 'They beat to death a chicken or a chick,' it is also an exposition of the Statement tagmeme, 'In the evening of the second day, that is when they perform the chicken sacrifice.' This example then is an illustration of an Explanatory ¶, consisting of Text: ParaS, Expo: SS, rather than a ParaS consisting of Sta: EqC, Para: Expl ¶ (= Text: VC_{of}, Expo: SS). (The example begins with a Time Margin.)

Examples:

(1) [1]Sta: VC_{sf}, [2]Link, [3]Para: VC_{sf}

[1]Adida manalan [2]ay [3]managtagda.
neg-they walk link run-they

'[1]They didn't walk, [3]they ran.'

(2) [1]Sta: VC_{sf}, [2]Link, [3]Para: VC_{sf}

[1]Inngitit [2]ay [3]adi inpotaak.
black link neg white
'[1]It's black, [3]not white.'

(3) [1]TM, [2]Sta: VC_{sf}, [3]Link, [4]Para: SeqS.

[1]Mawakas, [2]inponegda [3]ay [4]sinopokanda nan
next-day make-poneg-they link blow-up-they the
poto, paypay-endas dala.
intestine fill-they-with blood
'[1]The next day, [2]they make poneg, [3]that is [4]they blow up the intestines and fill them with blood.'

(4) [1]Sta: VC_{sf}, [2]Link, [3]Para: VC_{sf}

[1]Ngomannganawngawda [2]ay [3]makikigkiggawan.
loud-voices-they link join-kiggaw-chant
'[1]They make a loud noise [3]joining in the kiggaw chant.'

(5) [1]Sta: VC_{af}, [2]Link, [3]Para: VC_{af}

[1]Itikyap nan kingking [2]ay [3]nintangalnas nan toktokna
fly-up the kingfisher link grip-it-in the beak-it
nan gangal.
the glowing-coal
'[1]The kingfisher flew up, [3]gripping in its beak a glowing coal.'

(6) [1]TM, [2]Sta: VC_{sf}, [3]Para: ExS

[1]Mawakas, [2]omapoyda, [3]enda apoyan nan payew
next-day fire-they go-they fire the fields
engganay dowan algew.
until two days
'[1]The next day, [2]they perform the fire ceremony, [3]they take fire to the fields for two days.'

(7) [1]St, [2]Sta: EqC, [3]Link, [4]Para: VC_{sf}

[1]Nan gapon nan donodas nan samal, [2]kamey
the first the work-their-in the soil-prep dig-stick
[3]ay [4]enda mangamkamey sinan payewda.
link go-they use-dig-stick in-the terrace-their

'[1]The first work that they do in the soil-preparation season [2]is digging-stick work since [4]they go to use their digging sticks in their rice terraces.'

(8) [1]Sta: Time Phrase, [2]Link, [3]Para: VC_{st}

[1]Katlon si algew [2]ay [3]nagaeb nan kamey ...
third day link made the dig-stick

'[1]On the third day [3]when the digging sticks have been made ...'

(9) [1]Sta: $VC_{st.\ lepas'}$ [2]Link, [3]Para: VC_{sf}

[1]Nalpas [2]ay [3]inmeyda ...
finish link gone-they

'[1]After that, [3]when they have gone ...'

(10) [1]Sta: $VC_{st.\ <sapol>'}$ [2]Link, [3]Para: VC_{sf}

[1]Masapol [2]ay [3]omeyka.
necessary link go-you

'You [1]must [3]go.'

(11) [1]Sta: $VC_{st.\ <sapol>'}$ [2]Link, [3]Para: VC_{sf}

[1]Mabalin [2]ay [3]omeyka.
possible link go-you

'You [1]can [3]go.'

(12) [1]Sta: VC_{st}, [2]Link, [3]Para: VC_{of} (Topic deleted)

[1]Napsong nan lobong [2]ay [3]pinsong Lomawig.
flooded the world link flood Lomawig

'[1]The world was flooded, [3]Lomawig flooded it.'

(13) [1]Sta: VC_{sf}, [2]Link, [3]Para: Proc ¶ (=[a]$Step_1$: SeqS, [b]$Step_2$: SS)

[1]In-ag-agomda [2]ay [3a]isogsog-edda nan ig amam-a
feast-they link put-on-fire-they the very large
ay bosangan, ipenpenda nan tobo. [b]Datdatagenda
att pot fill-they the rice-cake divide-they
ay sin-ag-i nan toboda.
att relatives the rice-cake-their

'[1]They feast, [2]that is [3a]they put on the fire the very large pots, and fill them with rice cakes. [b]Relatives divide their rice cakes among themselves.'

(14) ^{1}TM, ^{2}Sta: VC_{sf}, ^{3}Link, ^{4}Para: Narr ¶ (=^{a}Build Up_{1}, Build Up_{2})

^{1}Nalpas nan dowan algew, ^{2}inmeykami ad Bagyo ^{3}ay
finished the two day went-we to Baguio link
^{4a}ninlogankami engganad Sinipsip ngem nadadael nan
rode-we until-to Sinipsip but broke-down the
talak sid-i. ^{b}Nangankami, naigtek nan talak, dinawesmi
bus there ate-we fixed the bus direct-we
ad Bagyo.
to Baguio

'^{1}After two days, ^{2}we went to Baguio, ^{4a}we rode as far as Sinipsip but the bus broke down there. ^{b}After we had eaten, and when the bus was fixed we went directly to Baguio.'

3.21.6. Recurrent Action Sentence (RAcS). This sentence type is represented by the bidimensional array in Chart 11. The Recurrent Action Sentence (RAcS) presents in $Base_{1}$ a setting, circumstance, time, etc., wherein the action occurring in $Base_{2}$ recurs. Only a limited number of examples have been identified in the corpus, and consequently the exponents of each Base listed, probably do not cover anywhere near the full range of exponential possibilities. No restrictions on the exponents have yet been identified.

+ $Base_{1rac}$	+ Link	+ $Base_{2rac}$
VC	en	Clause
TemP		ParaS
etc.		CoorS
		etc.

Chart 11. Recurrent Action Sentence Array

Examples:

(1) ^{1}$Base_{1rac}$: VC_{sf}, ^{2}Link, ^{3}$Base_{2rac}$: ParaS

^{1}Omeyda am-in sinan mamaggit ya nan deeyda ay
go-they all of-the girls and the those att

ongong-a ^{2}en ^{3}ngomannganawngaw ay makikigkiggawan.
children link confused-noise link join-kiggawan-chant
'^{2}All the girls and those children go, ^{3}continually making a confused noise by joining in the kiggawan chant.'

(2) ^{1}Base$_{1rac}$: VC$_{st.\ time}$, ^{2}Link, ^{3}Base$_{2rac}$: EqC

^{1}Mawakas ^{2}en ^{3}dowa nan iyalida.
next-day link two the bring-they
'^{1}Day after day ^{3}they bring two.'

(3) SS = ^{1}Base: VC$_{st}$, ^{2}CauM: R-AS$_{2}$ (=Rel, Axis: RAcS
[=^{a}Base$_{1rac}$: VC$_{af}$, ^{b}Link, ^{c}Base$_{2rac}$: CoorS])

^{1}Nasdaaw nan iyon-ana, ^{2}tay ^{a}eney nan
surprised the older-brother because take the
naodina ^{b}en ^{c}makan ya isda.
younger-brother link rice and meat
'^{1}The older brother was surprised ^{2}because ^{a}whenever the younger brother took it (food gift), ^{b}it was always rice and meat.'

(4) ParaS ^{1}Sta: Y-NC, ^{2}Link, ^{3}Para: RAcS (^{a}Base$_{1rac}$
: TemP, ^{b}Link, ^{c}Base$_{2rac}$: VC$_{sf}$)

^{1}Esa kano ngen madno nan donowem ^{2}ay ^{3a}ig
fut report doubt worked the work-your link very
aw-awni ^{b}en ^{c}engka pomatong?
little-while link go-you sit
'^{1}Will your work possibly be finished, if ^{3a}every little while ^{c}you keep on going to sit down?'

3.22. Implication. The second row of boxes in Chart 1 presents three pairs of sentence types characterized by implication. Each sentence consists of two Bases, all except Subjunctive being without a Link. Each of these Sentences contains one of the Conditional Relator-Axis Sentences as exponent of at least one of the Bases.

3.22.1. Chance Condition Sentence (ChS). This sentence type is represented by the array in Chart 12.

Base$_{1ch}$ is expounded by a Conditional Relator-Axis Sentence, in which either Rel$_{1a}$ (mo kit, mo ket) or Rel$_{1b}$ (mo enet) occurs. Base$_{2ch}$ is obligatorily nonpast. Although certain sentence types have been identified as manifesting the Base, the full allowable exponential range of this tagmeme has not yet been explored. The Bases are

+ $Base_{1ch}$	+ $Base_{2ch}$
$R\text{-}AS_{1a, b}$	C S

Chart 12. Chance Condition Sentence Array

permutable with each other (see ex. 3 below), and no restrictions exist on the distribution of positive and negative values between the bases. Pronoun permutation rules, and use of the marker et as described under Relator-Axis Sentences apply in $Base_{1ch}$.

Examples:

(1) $^{1}Base_{1ch}$: $R\text{-}AS_{1b}$, $^{2}Base_{2ch}$: PurS

^{1}Mo enetkamit adi mangan sid-i, ^{2}as omalikamis na
if lest-we-et neg eat there fut come-we-to here
ay mangan.
link eat

'^{1}If by chance we do not eat there, ^{2}we will come here to eat.'

(2) $^{1}Base_{1ch}$: $R\text{-}AS_{1a}$, $^{2}Base_{2ch}$: ParaS

^{1}Mo kitdat omey, ^{2}masapol ay il-ilanyo nan
if then-they-et go necessary link watch-you the
kowada.
possession-their

'^{1}If they happen to go, ^{2}it will be necessary for you to watch their possessions.'

(3) $^{1}Base_{2}$: VC_{sf}, $^{2}Base_{1}$: $R\text{-}AS_{1b}$

^{1}Mangankayo, ^{2}mo enet adi komaan nan bositayo.
eat-you if lest neg leave the visitors-your

'^{1}You eat, ^{2}in case your visitors don't leave.'

3.22.2. Exclusive Condition (ExcS). This sentence type is represented by the array in Chart 13. ExcS presents in $Base_{2exc}$ (the Protasis) the exclusive condition under which $Base_{1exc}$ (the Apodosis) may be fulfilled.

+ $Base_{1exc}$	+ $Base_{2exc}$
$ExiC_{maid}$ WhC	$R\text{-}AS_1$

Chart 13. Exclusive Condition Sentence Array

$Base_{1exc}$ is manifested by either a negative Existential Clause (Predicate is expounded by maid 'there is none'), or by a Wh-question Clause.

$Base_{2exc}$ is manifested by a Conditional Relator-Axis Sentence having the relator mo. The Axis is obligatorily manifested by a negative Identificational Clause, the Predicate of which is usually expounded by adi 'not', although certain environments allow the alternate use of the baken negative.

The Topics of the clauses in $Base_{1exc}$ and $Base_{2exc}$ are identical but the second Topic is regularly deleted.

The Bases of this sentence type are obligatorily nonpermutable. The double negative occurring in the sentence when a negative existential clause manifests $Base_{1exc}$, is interpreted as positive. When a Wh-question Clause manifests $Base_{1exc}$, the question is rhetorical, the answer being supplied by the Axis exponent of $Base_{2exc}$.

Examples: (Parentheses here surround the normally deleted Topic of the clause expounding the Axis of $R\text{-}AS_1$.)

(1) $^1Base_{1exc}$: $ExiC_{maid}$, $^2Base_2$: $R\text{-}AS_1$

^{1}Maid kasin tomobo ^{2}mo adi nan is-ekko (nan tomobo.)
none again grow if not the plant-I the grow
'^{1}Nothing else will grow, ^{2}if not what I plant.' (I.e., Only what I plant will grow.)

(2) ^{1}Maid kasin gawis ^{2}mo adi si Diyos (nan gawis).
none again good if not the God the good
'^{1}None other is good ^{2}if not God.'

(3) $^1Base_{1exc}$: WhC, $^2Base_2$: $R\text{-}AS_1$

^{1}Sino ngen nan as omey ^{2}mo adiyak (nan omey)?
who the go if neg-I the go
'^{1}Who will go, ^{2}if not I?'

(4) [1]Into nan kad-ana [2]mo adi as na (nan kad-ana)?
where the place-it if not to here the place-it
'[1]Where is it, [2]if not here?'

(5) [1]Sino nan edananmi [2]mo adikayo kiobbo.
who the reach-we if neg-you join-work group
'[1]Who will we go to, [2]if not to you our working group companions?'

3.22.3. Reason Sentence (ReaS). This sentence is represented by the bidimensional array in Chart 14. The Reason Sentence presents two dependent structures in apposition. The first expounding $Base_{1rea}$ is either a $R\text{-}AS_1$ with relator mo 'if' (the usual exponent of a Conditional Margin), or a noun phrase having a nominalized clause as Head of the phrase. It expresses a condition or a state for which a reason is given in $Base_{2rea}$. The exponent of $Base_{2rea}$ is either a $R\text{-}AS_2$ having the relator tay 'because' or $R\text{-}AS_3$ having the relator ta 'so that'.

+ $Base_{1rea}$	+ $Base_{2rea}$
$R\text{-}AS_1$	$R\text{-}AS_2$
N	$R\text{-}AS_3$

Chart 14. Reason Sentence Array

Examples:

(1) [1]$Base_{1rea}$: $R\text{-}AS_1$, [2]$Base_{2rea}$: $R\text{-}AS_2$
[1]Mo insakit nan sikim, [2]tay nanagtagka ad gogga.
if sore the leg-your because ran-you past yesterday
'[1]If your leg is sore [2]it's because you ran yesterday.'

(2) [1]$Base_{1rea}$: $R\text{-}AS_1$, [2]$Base_{2rea}$: $R\text{-}AS_3$
[1]Mo malpas nan donom [2]ta esaka omali ay
when finish the work-your so-that fut-you come link
makiagogong.
join-visit
'[1]When your work is finished, [2]come and visit.'

(3) $^{1}Base_{1rea}$: N, $^{2}Base_{2rea}$: R-AS_2

^{1}Nan inmaliyanmis na ^{2}tay laydenmi ay
the coming-our-to here because like-we link
mangilan dakayo.
see you

'^{1}The reason we came here, ^{2}is because we want to see you.'

(4) $^{1}Base_{1rea}$: N, $^{2}Base_{2rea}$: R-AS_3

^{1}Nan omayanmi ad Bontok, ^{2}ta omalakamis asin.
the going-we to Bontoc so-that get-we-of salt.

'^{1}The reason we are going to Bontoc ^{2}is to get some salt.'

3.22.4. Concessive Sentence (ConcS). This sentence is represented by the bidimensional array in Chart 15.

+ $Base_{1conc}$	+ $Base_{2conc}$
R-AS_7	R-AS_{1a}

Chart 15. Concessive Sentence Array

The Concessive Sentence consists of two Conditional Relator-Axis Sentences juxtaposed. The first has Rel_7 preceding the Axis. (Rel_7 consists of the concessive marker olay or take plus conditional mo, see Sec. 3.12, Relator-Axis Sentences). The second Base has Rel_{1a} preceding the Axis. (Rel_{1a} consists of the conditional mo followed by either ket, or kit.) Base2 is obligatorily nonpast. The Bases are not permutable.

The rules which relate to pronoun permutation and use of the marker et as described under Relator-Axis Sentences also apply when the R-AS_1 sentence forms part of the Concessive Sentence.

Examples: (Each example has the same structural description.)

(1) $^{1}Base_{1conc}$: R-AS_7, $^{2}Base_{2conc}$: R-AS_{1a}

^{1}Olay mo adi gawis nan kanentako, ^{2}mo kettakot
even if neg good the food-our if then-we-et
adi matey.
neg die

'^{1}Even though our food is no good, ^{2}as long as we don't die.'

(2) [1]Olay mabalodak [2]mo ketak matago.
even bound-I if then-I live
'[1]Even though I'm imprisoned [2]as long as I live.'

(3) [1]Olay mo adi maseyep nan ib-atako [2]mo kit datakos maseyep.
even if neg sleep the companion-our if then we sleep
'[1]Even though our companions do not sleep, [2]as long as we do.'

3.22.5. Hortatory Sentence (HortS). This sentence type is represented by the array in Chart 16.

$+\text{Base}_{1\text{hort}}$	$+\text{Base}_{2\text{hort}}$
R-AS_1	R-AS_{1c}

Chart 16. Hortatory Sentence Array

This sentence type presents in $\text{Base}_{2\text{hort}}$ an exhortation which is dependent upon the condition manifesting $\text{Base}_{1\text{hort}}$. The relator in the first Base is the usual conditional relator mo; in the second Base it is Rel_{1e}, consisting of either sa mo, or siya mo. The Axis following Rel_{1c} is obligatorily nonpast. The Bases are not permutable.

Examples: (The structural description of each example is the same.)

(1) $^1\text{Base}_{1\text{hort}}$: R-AS_1, $^2\text{Base}_{2\text{hort}}$: R-AS_{1c}
[1]Mo lalaydem ay omabat as Datal, [2]siya mo nan maik-ikkan sinan ab-abongan nan makiik-ikkanka.
if like-you link meet at Datal it if the done in-the men's-house the join-do-you
'[1]If you want to join the Datal group, [2]you should join in doing what is done in the men's group house.'

(2) [1]Mo way mangwani en, "Indang-as," [2]siya mo domakalka ta kidang-aska.
if there-is saying quote dang-as-work it if go-out-you so-that join-dang-as-you

'[1]If someone says, "We'll do dang-as work," [2]you should go out to join in the dang-as work.'

(3) [1]Mo kananda en, "Satakot in-gag-aya," [2]sa mo
if say-they quote fut-we-et dance that if
maninaoganka ya mangokbongka.
wear-loincloth-you and wear-hat-you
'[1]If they say, "Let's dance," [2]you should put on your dinaogan style loin cloth, and wear your basket hat.'

(4) [1]Mo sino nan ed-edda nan gedayna, kanana en, "Saaket
if who the much the slide-his say-he quote fut-I-et
indang-as," [2]sa mo kidang-aska.
dang-as that if join-dang-as-you
'[1]Whoever has a large landslide, and he says, "I'll have the dang-as work group," [2]you should join the dang-as.'

3.22.6. Subjunctive Sentence (SubS). This sentence has two subtypes; they are represented by the bidimensional array in Chart 17.

	+Base$_{1sub}$	+ Link$_{sub}$	+ Base$_{2sub}$
a.	R-AS$_{1c}$ C$_{sub}$	ya 'and' esa 'then'	Clause LogGS
b.	P$_{sub}$	ya 'and' ta 'so that'	(as above)

Chart 17. Subjunctive Sentence Array

In Subtype a, Base$_{1sub}$ presents a condition which is a prerequisite for fulfilling the activity presented in Base$_{2sub}$. A Relator-Axis Sentence with the Relator manifested by sa mo or siya mo 'should', expounds the first base. A further exponent of Base$_{1sub}$ is C$_{sub}$,

i.e., a clause having an auxiliary of the class <sak-od> (sak-od, sik-od, sikod) 'should' occurring before the Predicate Head.

Subtype b has a Subjunctive Phrase (P_{sub}) manifesting $Base_{1sub}$. The phrase is always of the form siya/sa pay koma and is
it that moreover should
freely translated as, 'It would be good if.'

$Base_{2sub}$ is manifested by a variety of structures. Further elicitation would no doubt expand the possible exponents of the second Base beyond those listed. The second Base is always nonpast. The Bases are not permutable. The link ya 'and' occurs between the Bases of both subtypes. However esa 'then' occurs only as a link in Subtype a, and ta 'so that' occurs only as a link in Subtype b. Esa functions as the sequence link of the same form, in that it draws a Subject pronoun from the following clause. Ta is homophonous with the Purpose Margin relator.

Examples:

(1) $^{1}Base_{1sub}$: R-AS_{1c}, ^{2}Link: esa, $^{3}Base_{2sub}$: VCaf

^{1}Sa mo naanoska ^{2}esak ^{3}egwal.
that if kind-you link-I give

'^{1}If you were kind, ^{2}then ^{3}I would give it you.'

(2) $^{1}Base_{1sub}$: R-AS_{1c}, ^{2}Link: esa, $^{3}Base_{2sub}$: VC_{of}

^{1}Sa mo omey ^{2}esa ^{3}wa nan alana.
that if go then there-is the get-he

'^{1}If he were to go ^{2}then ^{3}he would get it.'

(3) $^{1}Base_{1sub}$: R-AS_{1c}, ^{2}Link: ya, $^{3}Base_{2sub}$: LogGS

^{1}Sa mo sik-a, ^{2}ya ^{3}lalaydena ay omali.
that if you and like-he link come

'^{1}If it were you, ^{2}then ^{3}he would like to come.'

(4) $^{1}Base_{1sub}$: C_{sub}, ^{2}Link: esa, $^{3}Base_{2sub}$: VC_{af}

^{1}Sik-odak wada ^{2}esami ^{3}ikaman.
should-I there-is then-we do

'^{1}If I were there, ^{2}then ^{3}we would do it.'

(5) $^{1}Base_{1sub}$: R-AS_{1c}, ^{2}Link: ya, $^{3}Base_{2sub}$: VC_{af}

^{1}Sa mo wadaak ^{2}ya ^{3}ikamanmi.
that if there-is-I and do-we

'^{1}If I were there, ^{2}then ^{3}we would do it.'

(6) $^{1}Base_{1sub}$: P_{sub}, ^{2}Link: ta, $^{3}Base_{2sub}$: VC_{sf}

^{1}Sa pay koma ^{2}ta ^{3}omali.

that moreover should so-that come

'^{1}It would be good ^{2}if ^{3}he were to come.'

(7) $^{1}Base_{1sub}$: P_{sub}, ^{2}Link: ya, $^{3}Base_{2sub}$: VC_{sf}

^{1}Sa pay koma ^{2}ya ^{3}omanak sinan naay bolan.

that moreover should and give-birth in-the this month

'^{1}It would be good ^{2}if ^{3}she were to give birth this month.'

3.23. Quotation. The bottom row of boxes in Chart 1 presents three pairs of sentence types broadly characterized as quotation. All sentences (except Equational Quote) are characterized by a structure of Formula, Signal, and Quote.

3.23.1. Direct Quote Sentence (DQS). This sentence type is represented by the bidimensional array in Chart 18.

± DQF	± Q Signal	+ DQ	± (+ Link	+ QF)
$VC_{sf.}$ <bogaw>	en	Discourse	ay	$C_{rf.kan}$-T
$VC_{af.}$ <baga> -T				
$VC_{of.}$ <salodsod>-T		S		
$VC_{rf.}$ <kan> -T		C		
$VC_{st.}$ <baga>,		P		
<salodsod>		W		
LogGS		St		
SpS		M		

Chart 18. Direct Quote Sentence Array

The exponents of Direct Quote Formula include two Quasi-Clause Sentence types. Speech Sentence occurs only within the Direct Quote Formula; Logical Goal Sentence has normal sentence level distribution into paragraph; however it may be embedded in DQF if Act2 is manifested by a clause with one of the 'speech' verbs listed below, in the Predicate.[8] (e.g., Nablayak ay mangibaga... 'I'm tired of saying...')

The <bogaw> class of 'speech' verbs include bogaw 'shout, proclaim', toya 'discuss', poot 'make certain', salodsod 'enquire', songbat 'answer back', tebal 'reply'.

The <baga> class include baga 'ask, tell', baag 'reveal, tell', bogaw 'proclaim', ayyeng 'chant', dag-ay 'sing', ad-i 'negate, refuse', sodsod 'relate', sailo 'deceive'.

The <salodsod> class includes salodsod 'enquire'. The <kan> class includes kan 'say' (with its allomorph kewani) and songbat 'answer back'.

The Topic phrase of $VC_{rf.kan}$ may be expressed by a non-Topic phrase:

Kanam sinan ib-am en, 'Adikayo omey.'
say-you to-the companion-your quote neg-you go
'Tell your friends, "Don't go."'

This may transform to a Simple Sentence with Result Margin, in which Topic of the Base is expressed:

Kanam nan ib-am ta adida omey.
tell-you the companion-your so-that neg-they go
'You tell your friends, so they won't go,' or 'Tell your friends not to go.'

Both DQF and QSignal may be absent from a Direct Quote Sentence which immediately follows another Direct Quote Sentence, when change of speaker is implied:

Kanana en, "Ay sinoka pan?" "Maid ngadanko."
say-he quote ques who-you none name-my
'He said, "Who are you?" "I have no name."'

The Direct Quote Formula may optionally not occur in a few restricted environments, but the Quote Signal occurs:

Inmey si abongna, enggana kayet en, "Mo mabalin
went to house-her until even-yet qu if possible
ta somgepak."
so-that enter-I
'He went to her house, until (he said), "If possible, can I enter?"'

[8] Many other Philippine languages posit DQF_1 and DQF_2 to account for similar structures. Unlike Bontoc they have no interposed link between the two verb forms.

When DQF is present, QSignal is optional.

The post-Quote Formula is restricted to a single clause exponent, that in which kan 'say' is in the Predicate. It is linked by an obligatory ay link to the preceding Direct Quote. Its occurrence is rare and is always mutually exclusive with DQF and QSignal.

The exponents of Direct Quote are almost unrestricted, covering the complete hierarchical range, from discourse to morpheme. The only restrictions which seem to occur are on those structures (e.g., Speech Sentence) whose identifying-contrastive features include distribution into a specific higher level structure. Structures which are dependent, e.g., mang- transforms of verbal clauses, verbal clause nominalizations, and clauses with obligatory absence of Topic, are also restricted from expounding Direct Quote.

Examples:

(1) ^{1}DQF: LogGS, ^{2}QSignal, ^{3}DQ: ExiC

^{1}Nablayak ay mangwani ^{2}en, ^{3}"Maiddas na."
tired-I link saying quote none-they-to here
'^{1}I am tired of saying, ^{3}"They are not here."'

(2) ^{1}DQF: SpS, ^{2}QSignal, ^{3}DQ: VC_{of}

^{1}Kananda ay mangwani ^{2}en, ^{3}"Linpas da Tomag-ong."
say-they link saying quote finish pl Tomag-ong
'^{1}They said, ^{3}"Tomag-ong and his companions are finished."'

(3) ^{1}DQF: $VC_{af.\ <baga>}$-T, ^{2}QSignal, ^{3}DQ: SS

^{1}Iyad-in Anatos ^{2}en, ^{3}"Adika tay as pomaltogda."
refuse Anatos quote neg-you because fut shoot-they
'^{1}Anatos forbade it (saying), ^{3}"Don't, because they'll shoot you."'

(4) ^{1}DQF: $VC_{sf.\ <bogaw>}$, ^{2}QSignal, ^{3}DQ: VC_{sf}

^{1}Intot-oyada ^{2}en, ^{3}"Esata omey mangadew."
discuss-they quote fut-we go fishing
'^{1}They discussed (saying), ^{3}"Let's go fishing."'

(5) ^{1}DQF: $VC_{af.\ <baga>}$-T, ^{2}DQ: ReaS

^{1}Ibagana, ^{2}"Ay mo mabalin ta omalikas
say-he ques if possible so-that come-you-to
abongmi?"
house-our
'^{1}He said, ^{2}"Would it be possible for you to come to my house?"'

(6) ^{1}DQF: VC$_{st.\ <baga>}$; ^{2}QSignal, ^{3}DQ: EqC

^{1}Naibogaw ^{2}en, ^{3}"Teel si wakas."
shouted quote holiday tomorrow

'^{1}It was shouted, ^{3}"It's a holiday tomorrow."'

(7) ^{1}DQ: SS, ^{2}Link, ^{3}QF: VC$_{rf.\ kan}$-T

^{1}"Isaldengmo ta egwalmo nan siping," ^{2}ay kanan
cease-you so-that give-you the money link says
asawam.
wife-your

'"Stop what you're doing to give her the money," says your wife.'

The following example illustrates a DQS which has a discourse as the exponent of DQ. The discourse is entitled, Og-ogod nan amam-as
story the men-of
kaysan as sik-od ikakaman.
old of should doing

'The story of men of old as to what should be done.'
It begins as follows:

Kananda en, "Sik-od ikakaman ay kiobbo, maani
say-they quote should doing att join-obbo harvest
nan pagey engganay kesep, kanan nan amam-a en...
the rice until kesep say the men qu...

'They say, "What should be done by those joining the working group, rice is harvested until the kesep season and then the men say, ..."'

3.23.2. Equational Quote Sentence (EQS). This sentence is represented by the bidimensional array in Chart 19.

+ Base$_{1eq}$	+ Base$_{2eq}$
NP$_{<kan>}$	DQS

Chart 19. Equational Quote Sentence Array

Base$_{1eq}$ is expounded by a noun phrase with the Head expounded by VC$_{rf.kan}$-T.

$Base_{2eq}$ is expounded by a Direct Quote Sentence having the reading DQF, QSignal, DQ; or only the latter tagmeme. When the Direct Quote Formula is read it may be expounded only by $VC_{rf.kan}$-T.

Examples:

(1) $^{1}Base_{leq}$, $^{2}Base_{2eq}$: DQS (=^{a}DQF, ^{b}QSignal, ^{c}DQ)

^{1}Nan kanana, ^{2a}kanana ^{b}en, ^{c}"Teeltakos wakas."
the say-he say-he quote holiday-we-at tomorrow
'What he said was, "Let's have a holiday tomorrow."'

(2) $^{1}Base_{leq}$, $^{2}Base_{2eq}$: DQS (=DQ)

^{1}Nan kanana ad ganad, ^{2}"Maid somsomgep."
the say-he at before none enter
'^{1}What he said before was, ^{2}"Nobody can enter."'

3.23.3. Indirect Quote Sentence (IQS). This sentence is represented by the bidimensional array in Chart 20.

+ IQF	± QSignal	+ IQ
$VC_{sf.}$ <bogaw>	-en	C
$VC_{af.}$ <baga>-T		S
$VC_{of.}$ <salodsod>-T		P
$VC_{rf.}$ <kan>-T		
$VC_{st.}$ <baga>, <salodsod>		

Chart 20. Indirect Quote Sentence Array

Indirect Quote is relatively rare as a sentence type in Bontoc. From a corpus of more than 150 quotation sentences, less than half a dozen are Indirect. The rest are Direct Quote Sentences.

In general the stems which can occur in a Direct Quote Formula can also occur in an Indirect Quote Formula. However, a few stems have not been found so occurring and informants have rejected their

occurrence in IQF; these stems are dag-ay 'sing', ayyeng 'chant', and ad-i 'forbid.'

Quasi-clause sentences may not manifest IQF. Exponents of IQ are apparently more restricted than the Direct Quote counterpart, e.g., instances of paragraph and discourse backlooping into IQ have not been positively identified. The restrictions noted above on exponents of Direct Quote, also hold true for exponents of Indirect Quote.

One further restriction is on the occurrence of Wh-question Clauses, and Y-N-question Clauses. Apparent instances of IQS having these clause types are actually instances of Indirect Question Sentence, Subtype a. Thus a Direct Quote Sentence which contains a question transforms to an Indirect Question Sentence by introducing the question with mo 'if, whether' and appropriate pronoun substitution. Any question markers are removed (e.g., ay), and question intonation is changed to statement intonation:

Insalodsodkami en, "Way padnoyo?" 'We enquired, "Do you have any work?"'

transforms to the Indirect Question Sentence, Insalodsodkami mo way padnoda. 'We enquired whether they had any work.'

While Direct Quote pronouns have referents in the quoted situation, Indirect Quote pronouns have referents in the immediate context. Thus 1st person in a Direct Quote is not the reporter unless the reporter is quoting his own speech. First person in Indirect Quote invariably refers to the reporter.

Narrative Discourse context allows interpretation of a quote as direct, where ambiguity might exist, especially where folk tales are involved since a first person pronoun in a quote could not refer to the reporter:

Kinwanina en, "Wa nan inabatko ay kanana en esakami in-asawa."
'She said, "I met someone who said that we (excl.) should marry."'

The context here is a folktale in which a boy meets a girl and wishes to marry her, while she says he should wait till she asks her father. The example gives the conversation with the father. The main quote cannot be indirect since it would involve the reporter in a folktale. The embedded quote, however, is interpreted as indirect to logically agree with the preceding paragraph, in which she is the one whom the boy desires to marry. She is not reporting that the boy is desiring to marry another since there is no other girl specifically mentioned whom he could marry. Further, the in- prefix on 'marry' implies 'marry one another', rather than 'marry somebody'.

Intonation contours provide further contrast between Direct and Indirect Quote Sentences. Greater emotional tone can be placed on Direct Quote rather than Indirect. A new contour normally starts on Direct Quote.

Examples:

(1) ^{1}IQS: $VC_{rf.\,<kan>}$-T, ^{2}QSignal, ^{3}IQ: VC_{of}

^{1}Kanan nan soldado ^{2}en, ^{3}kobatenda daida.
say the soldiers quote fight-they them

'^{1}The soldiers said that ^{3}they would fight them.'

(2) ^{1}IQS: $VC_{sf.\ <bogaw>}$; ^{2}QSignal, ^{3}IQ: VC_{of}

^{1}Tinombal en, ^{2}adina layden.

replied quote neg-he like

'^{1}He replied that ^{3}he didn't like it.'

(3) ^{1}IQS: $VC_{rf.\ <kan>}$-T, ^{2}QSignal, ^{3}IQ: VC_{sf}

^{1}Kanana ^{2}en, ^{3}esakamit in-asawa.

said-he quote fut-we(excl) marry-each-other

'^{1}He said that ^{3}we should marry each other.'

3.23.4. Indirect Question Sentence (IQuesS). The bidimensional array in Chart 21 describes the Indirect Question Sentence.

The Indirect Question Sentence presents an implicit or explicit request for information in its first base and states in its second base the semantic area for which information is required. The first base utilizes 'speech' verbs (i.e., Subtype a); or utilizes 'sense' verbs (i.e., Subtype b); or refers to other activities by which information may be discovered such as 'hunt, find out,' etc. (i.e., Subtype d). Subtype c utilizes the verb 'know' with a negative auxiliary to state a gap in one's information.

Subtype a may transform to a Direct Quote Sentence. This subtype has structural similarity with Indirect Quote Sentence, in that IQuF has a similar list of exponents as IQF. QuSignal, however, is expounded by mo while QSignal is expounded by en. Furthermore, exponents of IQu are limited to interrogative clause types--the Wh-question Clause, and the Y-N-question Clause or its equivalent Yes-No subtype of the Alternative Sentence (Alt_2).

Subtype b has verbs expressing sense and associated concepts occurring in the first base. Verbs in object focus clauses are ila 'see', dengel 'hear', likna/gikna 'feel', semek 'think', and songsong 'smell'. A verb occurring in a referent focus clause is laman 'taste'.

Subtype c is established for the irregular verb ammo 'know' occurring without affixation in its underived form. This verb also allows both causative (ipaammo 'find out') and stative (maammowan 'known') transforms in this sentence type. In its unaffixed form it requires an obligatory negative auxiliary when expounding first base. The negative may be present or absent in the causative and stative forms.

adik ammo

neg-I know

'I don't know', or else the equivalent idiomatic constructions

ammo pay

know moreover

'I don't know', or ay tew-an 'I don't know'.

There appear to be no restrictions in the other subtypes of negative, or positive, past or nonpast.

	+ IQuF	+QuSignal	+ IQu
a.	$VC_{af.}$ <baga>-T 'ask' $VC_{of.}$ <salodsod>-T 'enquire' $VC_{rf.}$ <kan>-T 'say' $VC_{st.}$ <baga, salodsod, kan> -T	mo	WhC Y-NC AltS.y-n
b.	$VC_{of.}$ <ila> 'see' $VC_{af.}$ <laman> 'taste' $VC_{st.}$ <ila, laman>	mo	WhC Y-NC AltS.y-n
c.	$VC_{ammo\ (neg)}$-T 'know' causVC_{ammo}-T $VC_{st.ammo}$ -T	mo	WhC Y-NC AltS.y-n
d.	$VC_{sf.}$ <anap> 'hunt' $VC_{st.}$ <anap>	mo	WhC

Chart 21. Indirect Question Sentence Array

Subtype d is established for a limited class of verbs (of which anap 'hunt' is the only member so far identified) which are followed only by a WhC as exponent of IQu tagmeme.

Both WhC and Y-NC when not part of IQueS are preceded by an optional ay clause level Question tagmeme. However when manifesting IQu, the ay question marker is obligatorily absent.

The actor of the action in IQuF is obligatorily different from the actor of Y-NC. If the actors are the same, the structure is interpreted as a Simple Sentence with a postposed Conditional or Time Margin. Compare the following examples:

(1a) IQuesS = ^{1}IQuF: $VC_{of.\ ila}$, ^{2}QuS, ^{3}IQu: Y-NC

^{1}Ilaem nan dalan ^{2}mo ^{3}omalida.
see-you the trail link come-they
'^{1}Look at the trail to see ^{2}whether ^{3}they are coming.'

(1b) SS = ^{1}Base: VC_{of}, ^{2}ConM: $R\text{-}AS_{1}$

^{1}Ilaem nan dalan ^{2}mo omalika.
see-you the trail if/when come-you
'^{1}You watch the trail ^{2}when you come.'

Even such a sentence as 1a above may be interpreted as a base plus postposed Conditional Margin. It is proved to be such whenever the speaker permits the permutation of the putative Conditional Margin to pre-nucleus position, or the introduction of the concessive marker olay before mo:

(1c) Mo omalida, ilaem nan dalan.
'When they come, you watch the trail.'

(1d) Ilaem nan dalan, olay mo omalida.
'You watch the trail even if they come.'

Further Examples:

(2) ^{1}IQuF: $VC_{st.\ <salodsod>}$-T, ^{2}QuS, ^{3}IQu: Y-NC

^{1}Masalodsod an daida, ^{2}mo ^{3}nan babbabai nan
enquired of them link the women the
mangwaniyen adikami omey.
say-quote neg-we go
'^{1}It was enquired of them, ^{2}whether or not ^{3}it was the women who said that we not go.'

(3) ^{1}IQuF: $VC_{rf.\ <kan>}$-T, ^{2}QuS, ^{3}IQu: WhC

[1]Kanam an da tona [2]mo [3]ne nan dinngelmo.
say-you to pl this link what the heard-you
'[1]You say to these people, [3]whatever you heard.'

(4) [1]IQuF: $VC_{of.<ila>}$, [2]QuS, [3]IQu: WhC

[1]Ilaek [2]mo [3]ne nan kanegna.
see-I link what the like-it
'[1]I'll see [3]what it's like.'

(5) [1]IQuF: $VC_{of.<ila>}$, [2]QuS, [3]IQu: Y-NC

[1]Denglem [2]mo [3]tet-ewa ay binmangon.
listen-you link truly link awake
'[1]Listen to find out [2]whether or not [3]he's really awake.'

(6) [1]QuF: $VC_{af.<laman>}$, [2]QuS, [3]IQu: WhC

[1]Lamanam nan tapey [2]mo [3]ne nan kanegna.
taste-you the wine link what the like-it
'[1]Taste the wine to see [3]what it is like.'

(7) [1]IQuF: $VC_{of.<ila>}$, [2]QuS, [3]IQu: $AltS_2$

[1]Liknaenda nan badona [2]mo [3]nab-el paymo adi.
feel-they the clothes-his link wet or not
'[1]They are feeling his clothes to see [2]if [3]they are wet or not.'

(8) [1]IQuF: VC_{ammo}-T, [2]QuS, [3]IQu: Y-NC

[1]Ammo pay [2]mo [3]into nan kakad-an tod-i.
know moreover link where the place that
'[1]I don't know [3]where that one's place is.'

(9) [1]IQuF: VC_{ammo}-T, [2]QuS, [3]IQu: $AltS_2$

[1]Adik ammo [2]mo [3]laydena winno adina.
not-I know link like-he or not-he
'[1]I don't know [2]whether [3]he wants to or not.'

(10) [1]IQuF: causVC_{ammo}-T, [2]QuS, [3]IQu: WhC

[1]Esam ipaam-ammo [2]mo [3]sino nan sinomgep.
fut-you cause-know link who the entered

'[1]You find out [3]who entered.'

(11) [1]TM, [2]IQuF: $VC_{rf.<anap>}$, [3]QuS, [4]IQu: WhC

[1]As wakas [2]anapentako nan aso [3]mo [4]into nan inmayana.
fut morrow hunt-we the dog link where the gone-he
'[1]Tomorrow [2]let's hunt for the dog, [4]wherever it has gone to.'

3.23.5. Referential Quote Sentence (RQS). This sentence type is represented by the bidimensional array in Chart 22.

+ RQF	+ QSignal	+ RQ	±(+ Link	+ QF)
$VC_{rf.\ kan}$-T	en	C(-T)	ay	$VC_{rf.kan}$-T
$VC_{st.\ kan}$		P		
		W		

Chart 22. Referential Quote Sentence Array

The Quotation of a Referential Quote gives a name, simile, or explanation of some preceding statement. Differences between Referential Quote and Indirect Quote Sentence are as follows:

a. Restriction of verb stems in formula. In RQS only one verb stem may occur: kanan 'say, (refer to)' and its stative transform makwani. There do not seem to be tense restrictions, though past forms have only been elicited and do not occur in texts.

b. Referential Quote tagmeme exponence is restricted to word, phrase, or clause with deleted Topic.

c. QSignal is obligatory in RQS, but optional in IQF.

d. Referential Quote Sentence usually occurs as a backlooping exponent of the Head of a noun phrase (see ex. 1-5).

Examples:

(1) Kag man nan kananyos di en bomoda.
like the say-you-at there quote bomoda
'It's like what you refer to there as bomoda.'

(2) Siya na nan kananmi en, labtin winno kalon.
it this the say-we quote labtin or kalon
'This is what we call labtin or kalon.'

(3) Nan kanan nan iMaliggong en masongad, naoyong.
the say the Maliggong-people qu masongad bad
'What the Maligcong people refer to as masongad (means) bad.'

(4) Yakey man nan kanantako en sisim, yakey man malatiyan.
exp the say-we quote iron exp rusted
'Shucks, that which we refer to as sisim--iron, shucks, it gets rusty!'

(5) Mo inbogaw nan makwani en pomatay sinan ili...
when proclaim the called quote sacrificer of-the village
'When those who are referred to as the village sacrificers proclaim...'

(6) ...ad tag-ey ay makwani en daya.
at above att called quote sky/heaven

(7) IyOpoop ya nan iYommad, makwanida en
people-Opoop and the people-Yommad called-they quote
iyAl-al si iGamoya.
people-Al-al and people-Gamoya
'The Opoop and Yommad people, they are referred to (now) as Al-al and Gamoyo people.'

(8) Omeykamis nan inkasal ay bomaley ay kananmi.
go-we-to the wedding link housing link call-we
'We are going to the wedding, that is what we refer to as the housing ceremony.'

3.23.6. Thought Sentence (ThoS). This sentence type is represented by the array in Chart 23.

+ ThQF	+ QS	+ ThQ
$VC_{rf.kan}$-T	mo	C
LogGS	en	

Chart 23. Thought Sentence Array

This sentence type is similar to a Quotation Sentence, in that the verb kan meaning 'say' occurs in the formula. However, in this sentence type it carries the meaning of 'think', usually with the implication 'mistakenly think'. With this meaning the verb may not occur in the past tense, nor may it undergo a stative transform. These restrictions further distinguish this use of kan from the exponent of the Referential Quote Formula. ThQF may also be expounded by a LogGS in which the second Action has a 'speech' verb in the Predicate (see example 3 below).

The QS -en is unrestricted in its occurrence, although mo is the preferred form following a first person singular pronoun Subject. This environment, moreover, is the only one in which mo may occur as QS.

The exponent of ThQ is restricted to a single clause; however note the greater restriction on the Referential Quote tagmeme.

Examples:

(1) Kanak mo adikayo omali.
thought-I link neg-you come
'I thought you weren't coming.'

(2) Kananda en aw-ay maid ipogaw sina.
thought-they link maybe none people here
'They thought there were probably no people here.'

(3) Piniditna kano nan bato ay mangwani[9]
picked-he it-is said the stone link think
en mananog.
quote throw
'He picked up a stone thinking he would throw it.'

3.24. Opposition. The upper row of boxes in the second matrix of Chart 1 presents two pairs of sentence types characterized by different types of opposition. Opposition is dominant in Antithetical and Diverse Sentences, whereas it is diffuse in the Alternative Sentence and the Rhetorical Question Sentence.

3.24.1. Antithetical Sentence (AntiS). This sentence type presents an opposition expressed by Thesis and Antithesis tagmemes linked by an obligatory Adversative tagmeme manifested by ngem 'but'.[10] It is displayed in the bidimensional array of Chart 24.

Distribution of positive and negative values between Thesis and Antithesis are as follows: positive-negative (see ex. 1-3), negative-positive (see ex. 4-6), positive-positive (see ex. 7-8). No examples have been identified of negative-negative distribution.

[9]This form is built on the allomorph kewani of kan 'say'.

[10]See Sentence Conjunction 1 (and Appendix) for rules distinguishing sentence level 'but', and the 'but' conjunction which joins structures above the sentence level.

+Thesis	+ Adv	+ Antithesis
C	ngem	C
S	'but'	S

Chart 24. Antithetical Sentence Array

Examples:

(1) ^{1}Th: ExiC, ^{2}Adv, ^{3}An: VC_{st}

^{1}Wad-ay nan napaltogan ay sapon ^{2}ngem ^{3}adi
there-is the shot att Japanese but neg
natey ay osto.
dead link complete

'^{1}There was a Japanese who had been shot, ^{2}but ^{3}he wasn't properly dead.'

(2) ^{1}Th: EqC, ^{2}Adv, ^{3}An: VC_{sf}

^{1}Nan pangbeg nan babai nan inloto, ^{2}ngem ^{3}adida
the dorm-mates the girl the cook but neg-they
mangan sid-i.
eat there

'^{1}It is the dormitory-mates of the girl who cook, ^{2}but ^{3}they do not eat there.'

(3) ^{1}Th: VC_{rf}, ^{2}Adv, ^{3}An: VC_{of}

^{1}Ad-adoganmi siya ^{2}ngem ^{3}adina ammo.
death-chant-we her but neg-she know

'^{1}We sang a death chant for her ^{2}but ^{3}she didn't know it.'

(4) ^{1}Th: PurS, ^{2}Adv, ^{3}Th: PurS

^{1}Adida inmali ay makikan, ^{2}ngem ^{3}inmalida ay
neg-they came link join-eat but came-they link
inbayo.
pound

'[1]They did not come to eat with us, [2]but [3]they came to pound rice.'

(5) [1]Th: ExiC, [2]Adv, [3]An: DQS

[1]Maid manokda [2]ngem [3]kanan Agusting en,
none chicken-their but said Agusting quote
"Mangamongak."'
gather-I

'[1]They had no chickens, [2]but [3]Agusting said, "I will gather some."'

(6) [1]Th: SS, [2]Adv, [3]An: SS

[1]Mo adi gawis dobliyenda, [2]negm [3]mo gawis, adida
if neg good repeat-they but if good neg-they
kasin dobliyen.
again repeat

'[1]If it is good, they do it again, [2]but [3]if it is not good, they do not do it again.'

(7) [1]Th: VC_{st}, [2]Adv, [3]An: VC_{of}

[1]Naibalodda [2]ngem [3]binakasda nan det-al nan
imprison-they but broke-they the floor the
pagbalodan.
prison

'[1]They were imprisoned, [2]but [3]they broke the floor of the prison.'

(8) [1]TM, [2]Th: VC_{sf}, [3]Adv, [4]An: VC_{st}

[1]Teg-angay pay nawakas, [2]ingobatda kannay,
nearly moreover daybreak fought-they immediately
[3]ngem [4]naabakda nan sapon.
but defeated-they the Japanese

'[1]It was nearly daybreak, and they straight away fought, [2]but [3]the Japanese were defeated.'

3.24.2. Diverse Sentence (DivS). This sentence type is represented by the bidimensional array in Chart 25.

The Diverse Sentence presents two statements in opposition, one apparent, one real, linked by en. The Base containing the apparent statement is expounded by either an Equational Clause in which the first terminal is manifested by one of a small class of words meaning 'likeness': kaneg, kaman, etc. or by a Thought Sentence which usually expresses a mistaken thought or opinion.

+ $Base_{app}$	+ Link	+ $Base_{real}$
EqC. <kaneg> ThoS	en	C

Chart 25. Diverse Sentence Array

The clauses which expound the Base containing the real statement are frequently direct antonyms of the apparent statement, but are not necessarily so. Where an antonym is expressed in the second Base by use of a positive-negative contrast, several restrictions exist. In the following set of rules (Chart 26) the structures on the left are exponents of Topic of EqC. <kaneg> or the Quote of the Thought Sentence. The structures on the right indicate the corresponding exponents of $Base_{real}$.

In Chart 26, X = any or no other tagmemes within the string. Lexical exponents in both columns must be the same; lexical items in the right hand column are usually deleted, leaving only the negative forms, baken, adi, or maid.

The structures in the two columns are permutable before deletion takes place. When positive structures occur in the right hand column no deletion may occur of exponents of Predicate Head tagmemes (see ex. 1, 2).

When a positive-negative contrast is not employed, lexical antonyms (hot-cold, sweet-sour, sweet-bitter, big-small, etc.) may occur. The use of lexical antonyms, or psuedo-antonyms (i.e., nominal contrasts dog-cat, man-woman, etc.) require obligatory absence of the Neg. tagmeme in both $Base_{app}$ and $Base_{real}$.

This sentence type is similar to an Antithetical Sentence in which the Thesis is expounded by DQS. Compare the following two examples:

(1a) AntiS = ^{1}Th: DQS, ^{2}Adv, ^{3}An: VC

^{1}Kinwanik en omatong, ^{2}ngem ^{3}adi
said-I quote hot but not

'I said it was hot but it isn't.'

(1b) DivS = $^{1}Base_{app}$: ThoS, ^{2}Link, $^{3}Base_{real}$: VC

^{1}Kanak en omatong ^{2}en ^{3}adi.
thought-I link hot but not

'I thought it was hot but it isn't.'

$\begin{bmatrix} N \\ \\ \\ Pr \end{bmatrix}$	$EqC(= \begin{bmatrix} Pred: baken, T:N \\ \\ \\ Pred: baken, T:Pr \end{bmatrix})$
$DesC_1(= Pred:AjP_1[= ajH_1], X)$	$DesC_1(= Pred:AjP_1[= Neg:baken, ajH_1], X)$
$VC(= Pred:VP[= vH], X)$ $DesC_2(= Pred;AjP_2[= ajH_2], X)$	$VC(= Pred: VP[= Neg:adi, vH], X)$ $DesC_2(= Pred:AjP_2[= Neg:adi, ajH_2], X)$
$ExiC(= Pred: wad\text{-}ay, X)$	$ExiC(= Pred: maid, X)$

Chart 26. Positive-Negative Antonym Exponence Rules

Other examples follow:

(2) $^{1}\text{Base}_{app}$: EqC $_{<kaneg>}$, ^{2}Link, $^{3}\text{Base}_{real}$: EqC

^{1}Kaneg baken ipogaw ^{2}en ^{3}ipogaw met.
like not person link person sure
'^{1}It was not like a person, ^{2}but ^{3}it really was.'

(3) $^{1}\text{Base}_{app}$: ThoS, ^{2}Link, $^{3}\text{Base}_{real}$: DesC_{2}

^{1}Kanak mo adi gawis ^{2}en ^{3}gawis.
thought-I link neg good link good
'^{1}I thought it was no good ^{2}but ^{3}it was good.'

(4) $^{1}\text{Base}_{app}$: ThoS, ^{2}Link, $^{3}\text{Base}_{real}$: EqC

^{1}Kanak mo sik-a ^{2}en ^{3}bakenka.
thought-I link you link not-you
'^{1}I thought it was you ^{2}but ^{3}it wasn't.'

(5) $^{1}\text{Base}_{app}$: EqC $_{<kaneg>}$, ^{2}Link, $^{3}\text{Base}_{real}$: DesC_{1}

^{1}Kaman dakdakel nan inalak ^{2}en ^{3}baken.
like big the got-I link not
'^{1}The one I got looked like it was big, ^{2}but ^{3}it wasn't.'

(6) $^{1}\text{Base}_{app}$: ThoS, ^{2}Link, $^{3}\text{Base}_{real}$: VC

^{1}Kananda en omanakak ^{2}en ^{3}adiyak.
think-they link birth-I link neg-I
'^{1}They think I'm going to give birth, ^{2}but ^{3}I'm not.'

(7) $^{1}\text{Base}_{app}$: EqC$_{<kaneg>}$, ^{2}Link, $^{3}\text{Base}_{real}$: ExiC

^{1}Kaneg wad-ay inkali ^{2}en ^{3}maid.
like there-is speak link none
'^{1}It is as though someone is speaking ^{2}but ^{3}no one is.'

(8) $^{1}\text{Base}_{app}$: ThoS, ^{2}Link, $^{3}\text{Base}_{real}$: EqC

^{1}Kanak mo aw-ay otot ^{2}en ^{3}kosa.
thought-I link maybe rat link cat
'^{1}I thought it was maybe a rat ^{2}but ^{3}it was a cat.'

3.24.3. Alternative Sentence (AltS). This sentence is represented by the bidimensional array in Chart 27.

	+ $Prop_1$	+ Alt	+ $Prop_2$
a.	C SS N	paymo	C SS
b.	Y-NC	paymo winno	negC

Chart 27. Alternative Sentence Array

Alternative Sentence consists of two subtypes ($AltS_1$ and $AltS_2$). The first subtype is linked by paymo 'or' and presents two alternate propositions. The form paymo is sometimes more adequately translated as 'moreover', 'however', or 'but'. The second subtype is linked by paymo or winno and presents antithetical alternate questions.

$AltS_1$ frequently has preposed Conditional Margins to the sentences manifesting each Proposition; when a Conditional Margin occurs immediately following the alternate 'paymo' the condition relator 'mo' is deleted from the R-AS manifesting the margin.[11]

Noun phrase as exponent of $Prop_1$, has been identified in only one example (see ex. 5). It may be that $Prop_1$ in this example consists of the preceding sentence as well, in which case this would possibly be an example of a backlooping Expl ↰ within $Prop_1$.

$AltS_2$ requires a negative clause as exponent of $Prop_2$. Agreement rules are the same as those given under Diverse Sentence (see ex. 6-8).

(1) ^{1}Intro, ^{2}Link, $^3Prop_1$: SS (=^{a}TM, $^bVC_{sf}$), ^{4}Alt, $^5Prop_2$: SS (=^{a}ConM: CoorS [=^{i}R-AS_1, ^{ii}CoLink, ^{iii}R-AS_1], ^{b}Base: VC_{sf})

^{1}Kedeng ^{2}ay ^{3a}mawakas, ^{b}omeykayo as obboyo,
only link next-day go-you to work-group-your

[11] When this occurs the form paymo is reinterpreted according to its apparent constituent morphemes. pay is interpreted as the homophonous morpheme meaning 'moreover', and 'mo' is interpreted as the conditional relator 'if'.

^{4}pay ^{a_i}mo kasi mawakas ^{ii}ya ^{iii}kananyo, "Agom,"
moreover if again next-day and say-you feast
^{b}mangiyagkayo.
omen-hunt-you

'^{1}After that, ^{3a}the next day, ^{b}you go to work in your working groups, ^{4}or ^{ai}if it is the following day ^{ii}and ^{iii}if you say, "Feast," ^{b}then you go to get bird omens.'

(2) $^{1}\text{Prop}_{1}$: SS(= ^{a}ConM: CoorS [= $^{i}\text{R-AS}_{1}$, ^{ii}CoLink, $^{iii}\text{R-AS}_{1}$], $^{b}\text{Base: VC}_{of}$), ^{2}Alt, $^{3}\text{Prop}_{2}$: SS (= ^{a}ConM: WhC, $^{b}\text{Base: VC}_{of}$)

^{lai}Mo asnan deey inteeltakos nan ketna ^{ii}ya ^{iii}wa
if on-the that holiday-our-of the ketna and there-is
nan mangwani en paabongena nan anakna,
the saying quote cause-house-he the child-his
^{b}paabongena, ^{2}pay ^{3a}mo sino nan mangwani
cause-house-he moreover if who the saying
en palopisena nan anakna, ^{b}palopisena.
quote cause-lopis-he the child-his cause-lopis-he

'^{lai}If it is our holiday of ketna, ^{ii}and ^{iii}if there is someone who says he will give the housing ceremony to his child, ^{b}he will do it, ^{2}or ^{3a}whoever says he will give the lopis ceremony to his child, ^{b}he will do that.'

(3) DQ:AltS(= $^{1}\text{Prop}_{1}$: WhC, ^{2}Alt, $^{3}\text{Prop}_{2}$: EqC)

Kanan kano nan otot en, "^{1}Sino pan nan laydem
say report the rat quote what the like-you
si alak si isdam, ^{2}paymo nan deey ngabngab si
the get-I the meat-your or the that nibblings of
obi as ^{3}lomketantako?"
camote the cook-we

'The rat reportedly said, "^{1}What would you like that I should get for your meat, ^{2}or ^{3}shall we cook those nibblings of camote?"'

(4) ^{1}Intro, $^{2}\text{Prop}_{1}$: VC_{st}, ^{3}Alt, $^{4}\text{Prop}_{2}$: VC_{sf}

^{1}Adi pay ^{2}as maigabotan nan atep ^{3}paymo ^{4}as
neg moreover fut thatched the roof or fut
insisim.
galvanized-iron-covered

'^{1}Then the roof will be thatched, ^{2}or ^{3}it will be covered with galvanized iron.'

(5) ^{1}SS(= ^{a}ConM: CoorS, ^{b}Base: VC_{sf}); ^{2}AltS (= ^{a}$Prop_1$: N, ^{b}Alt, ^{c}$Prop_2$: EqC)

^{1a}Mo nawayaka, mo kaew nan kasapolam, ^{b}engka
if opportunity-you if wood the need-you go-you
omala. ^{2a}Nan deey, ^{b}paymo ^{c}teken ay madno nan ayam.
get the that or different att work the go-you

'^{1a}If you have opportunity and if it's wood you need ^{b}go and get it. ^{2a}Either that, ^{b}or ^{c}you can go and do different work.'

Examples 6 - 8 have the same structural description.

(6) ^{1}$Prop_1$: Y-NC, ^{2}Alt, ^{3}$Prop_2$: negC

^{1}Ay omalida ^{2}winno ^{3}adi?
ques come-they or not

'^{1}Are they coming ^{2}or ^{3}not?'

(7) ^{1}Ay aso di ^{2}winno ^{3}baken?'
ques dog that or not

'^{1}Is that a dog ^{2}or ^{3}not?'

(8) ^{1}Ay wad-ay pageyyo ^{2}winno ^{3}maid?
ques there-is rice-your or none

'^{1}Do you have any rice ^{2}or ^{3}not?'

3.24.4. Rhetorical Question Sentence (RheS). This sentence has the structure presented in Chart 28.

This sentence presents a rhetorical question which invariably calls for a strong opposite response. When the question is positive, the expected response is negative. When the question is negative, the expected response is positive (see ex. 3).

The Formula is expounded by one of two set phrases which identify the following structures as Rhetorical Questions. They are:

sa	pay	mo,	and	kay mo
that	moreover	if		information-request if

The whole sentence carries question intonation.

Examples:

(1) ^{1}$Form: P_{rhe}$, ^{2}$Base_{1rhe}$: NP, ^{3}Link, ^{4}$Base_{2rhe}$: EqC

+ $Form_{rhe}$	+ $Base_{1rhe}$	± (+ Link	+ $Base_{2rhe}$)
P_{rhe}	C	ya	C
	DQS	'and'	DQS
	IQS		(etc)
	(etc)		
	P		
	M		

Chart 28. Rhetorical Question Sentence Array

^{1}sa pay mo ^{2}nan ib-ay ipogaw ^{3}ya ^{4}teken nan
that moreover if the fellow man and different the
kodilda?
skin-their

'^{2}They're your fellow man, ^{3}and ^{4}do you think their skin is different?'
(Implication: it surely is not different.)

(2) ^{1}Form: P_{rhe}, ^{2}$Base_{1rhe}$: VC_{sf}

^{1}Kay mo ^{2}sak-en nan inmey.
info-request if I the went

'^{1}Do you think ^{2}I was the one who went?'
(Implication: it definitely wasn't me.)

(3) ^{1}Form: P_{rhe}, ^{2}$Base_{1rhe}$: IQS, ^{3}Link, ^{4}Base: VC_{sf}

^{1}Sa pay mo ^{2}kanamen omeyak ^{3}ya ^{4}adiyak?
that moreover if say-you-quote go-I and neg-I

'^{1}Do you think if ^{2}you tell me to go, ^{4}I'll not go?'
(Implication: I certainly would.)

(4) ^{1}Form: P_{rhe}, ^{2}$Base_{1rhe}$: pro, ^{3}Link, ^{4}$Base_{2rhe}$: WhC

[1]Sa pay mo [2]sik-a [3]ya [4]neka?
that moreover if you and what-you
'[2]So it's you, [3]and [4]who do you think you are?'
(Implication: you don't amount to anything.)

3.25. Quasi-Clausal. The second row of boxes in the lower matrix of Chart 1 presents four sentence types which are quasi-clausal structurally. They are characterized by the following features:
(1) Obligatory linking particle ay.
(2) Grammatical and semantic dependence between Act_1 and subsequent Act tagmemes.

In PurS, LogGS, and SpS, a tagmeme expressing actor occurs only in Act_1, and is deleted in all subsequent Act tagmemes. In LogGS and SenS, Topics of nonsubject focus clauses (thus expressing situational participants other than actor) which expound Act_1 are deleted and semantically interpreted through information provided by the exponent of Act_2.

Quasi-clausal sentences are superficially similar to the Paraphrase Sentence, and to that subtype of the Sequence Sentence which uses the linker ay.

These structures have at least the following differences: (1) ParaS and SeqS both have an optional Link. The Link in quasi-clausal sentences is obligatory. (2) There is no close grammatical or semantic dependence between the constituent tagmemes of ParaS and SeqS, of the kind occurring in quasi-clausal sentences. (3) SeqS has obligatory time sequence from action to action. This is not a necessary requirement of quasi-clausal sentences.

A possible alternate analysis of these sentence types would be to consider all non-initial Act tagmemes as Att tagmemes to the Head of verb phrase in the Predicate of the clause which expounds Act_1. Such an analysis, however, would result in an excessive degree of embedding of clause structures within the verb phrase. The present analysis provides mainly primary exponents of the constituent Act tagmemes.[12]

Certain restrictions are applicable to all four of these sentence types. Act_2 clauses may not have a neg Aux in the Predicate verb phrase. Furthermore, the tense of the verb in Act_2 must be nonpast if tense of the verb in Act_1 is nonpast. Past tense in Act_1, however, allows free choice of past or nonpast in Act_2. Restrictions stated for Act_2 are assumed to be valid also for further Act tagmemes when they occur.

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[12]The ay linker occurs also between some peripheral tagmemes and a following tagmeme:

kedeng ay omeyda
only link go-they
'After that, they went.'

Ay, moreover, occurs in Bontoc as a question particle and as an exclamatory particle, e.g., Ay omeyda? 'Are they going?', and Ay! 'Wow!'

3.25.1. Purpose Sentence (PurS). The bidimensional array in Chart 29 describes this sentence type in which the second Action is the purpose of the first Action. Purpose Sentence may be transformed to a Simple Sentence with a Purpose Margin.[13]

$+Act_{1pur}$	+ Link	$+Act_{2pur}$	$\pm(+$ Link	$+Act_{pur})^{n}$
$VC_{sf.<ey>}$	ay	dep VC_{sf}	ay	dep VC_{sf}
$VC_{\bar{sf}}$		VC_{mang-}		VC_{mang-}

Chart 29. Purpose Sentence Array

Verbs manifesting the Predicate of $VC_{sf.<ey>}$ are verbs of motion: ey 'go' (see example 1 below), ali 'come' (ex. 2, 3), saal 'return home' (ex. 4), ligwat 'start' (ex. 5), liwak 'work on village holiday' (ex. 6), etc.

Verbs manifesting the Predicate of $VC_{\bar{sf}}$ include the following: object focus, taya 'catch liquid in a vessel' (ex. 7), ala 'get' (ex. 8), sab-at 'meet' (ex. 9), kamang 'hurry' (ex. 12), atangay 'carry on shoulders of many men' (ex. 13); associative focus ali 'come' (ex. 14), etc.

A number of restrictions occur in the clauses manifesting Act_{2pur}. $depVC_{sf}$ is dependent in that the tagmeme expressing actor of the action (Topic) is obligatorily absent. VC_{mang-} is a subject focus clause type derived by transformation from a non-subject focus clause.[14] The

[13]Transformation rules are as follows:
(1) Substitute ta for ay
(2) Reinstate deleted Topic in Act_2
(3) Substitute underived base of VC_{mang-} for the derived structure.

[14]Relevant transformation rules are as follows:

(1) $\begin{bmatrix} -en \\ -an \\ i- \\ i--an \end{bmatrix} \Rightarrow mang- \begin{bmatrix} \emptyset \\ \emptyset \\ i- \\ i- \end{bmatrix}$

(2) $T \Rightarrow \bar{T}$

(3) $Sb \Rightarrow T$

(4) delete T

(5) opt. delete $\bar{T}$

Example:

Bakdenda nan omadas bilig.
fence of-they(Sb) the field-their-Loc mountain

Topic of this clause type is likewise obligatorily absent. The semantic interpretation of both clause types is provided by the preceding clause. If the preceding clause is VC_{sf} the lexical exponent of Topic (actor of VC_{sf}) is likewise the actor of the activity expressed in Act_{2pur}. If the preceding clause is $VC_{\bar{sf}}$, usually the lexical exponent of Subject (actor of $VC_{\bar{sf}}$) is likewise the actor of the activity expressed in Act_{2pur}. There are however, examples in which the lexical exponent of Topic (nonactor) of $VC_{\bar{sf}}$ provides the semantic interpretation of the following deleted Topic. Such a situation is apparently dependent upon choice of verb stem in the respective clauses. For example (see ex. 10 below) the combination of 'send' in Act_1 with 'go get' in Act_2 requires that the semantic interpretation of the actor of Act_2 be provided by the goal (Topic) of Act_1. Note also that the latter situation has a structure which is apparently the same as a simple nonsubject focus clause having an Attributive $slot_1$ (manifested by the same clause structures as Act_{2pur}) within the Topic noun phrase:

Os-osdonganda nan doway polis ay manganap an dida.
look-down-they the two police att hunt for them
'They looked down on the two police who were hunting for them.'

The structures may be disambiguated by the possibility of the transformation of the Purpose Sentence to Simple Sentence having nucleus plus Purpose Margin. The example above may not be so transformed.

Each subsequent Act tagmeme may become by transformation the Purpose Margin of the preceding $clause_1$ as in the following example:

Wasdin esaesa ay mangipangpangos nan agina
each one-by-one link lead the relative-his
ay somaal ay mangan.[15]
link go-home link eat
'Each goes one at a time to lead his relatives home to eat.'

This may be transformed as follows:

(a) Wasdin esaesa ta ipangpangona nan agina ay ...
each one purp lead the relative-his link

(b) Ipangpangona nan agina ta somaalda ay ...
leads-he the relative-his purp go-home-they link

---

mamaked sinan omadas bilig.
$fence_{sf}$ Obj field-their-Loc mountain
'(They) fence their field in the mountain.'

[15]The structure of the first clause of this sentence is not clear. No verbal affixation occurs, although it is interpreted as a subject focus clause.

(c) Somaalda ta manganda.
go-home-they purp eat-they

Examples:

(1) $^{1}Act_{1}$: $VC_{sf.\ <ey>}$, $^{2}Link$, $^{3}Act_{2}$: VC_{mang-}
^{1}Inmey nan inin-a ad Mainit ^{2}ay ^{3}manaoy.
went the women to Mainit link buy-food
'^{1}The women went to Mainit ^{3}to buy food.'

(2) $^{1}Act_{1}$: $VC_{sf.\ <ey>}$, $^{2}Link$, $^{3}Act_{2}$: VC_{mang-}
^{1}Inmali nan iBelwang ^{2}ay ^{3}namool sinan babaley.
came the Belwang-men link burn the village
'^{1}The Belwang men came ^{3}to burn the village.'

(3) $^{1}SeqLink$, $^{2}Base$: PurS (= $^{a}Act_{1}$: $VC_{sf.\ <ey>}$, $^{b}Link$, $^{c}Act_{2}$: $depVC_{sf}$)
...^{1}sadat ^{2a}inmali ^{b}ay ^{c}omilis nan naay ay Guinaang.
link-they came link dwell-in the this att Guinaang
'^{1}Then ^{2a}they came ^{c}to dwell in this place, Guinaang.'

(4) $^{1}Act_{1}$: $VC_{sf.\ <ey>}$, $^{2}Link$, $^{3}Act_{2}$: $depVC_{sf}$
^{1}Sinmaal nan ipogaw ^{2}ay ^{3}omalas masapolda.
return-home the people link get need-they
'^{1}The people returned ^{3}to get what they needed.'

(5) $^{1}Act_{1}$: $VC_{sf.\ <ey>}$, $^{2}Link$, $^{3}Act_{2}$: $depVC_{sf}$
^{1}Maligwatkami ^{2}ay ^{3}omey kasin ad Bagyo.
start-we link go again to Baguio
'^{1}We started ^{3}to go once again to Baguio.'

(6) $^{1}Act_{1}$: $VC_{sf.\ <ey>}$, $^{2}Link$, $^{3}Act_{2}$: VC_{mang-}
^{1}Linmiwak da Komilong an Mas-i as nan talan-o
work pl Komilong and Mas-i in the early morning
^{2}ay ^{3}mamaked sinan omadas bilig.
link fence the field-their-in mountain
'^{1}Komilong and Mas-i went ^{3}to work on the village holiday to fence their field in the mountain.'

(7) $^{1}Act_{1}$: VC_{of}, $^{2}Link$, $^{3}Act_{2}$: VC_{mang-}

^{1}Tayaendas an gowab ^{2}ay ^{3}manginom.
catch-liquid-they-at below link drink

'^{1}They caught the liquid below ^{3}to drink it.'

(8) $^{1}Act_{1}$: VC_{of}, $^{2}Link$, $^{3}Act_{2}$: $depVC_{sf}$

^{1}Alaen nan polis ^{2}ay ^{3}mangan.
get the police link eat

'^{1}The police got it ^{3}to eat it.'

(9) ^{1}TM: $VC_{st.time}$, $^{2}Act_{1}$: VC_{of}, $^{3}Link$, $^{4}Act_{2}$: VC_{mang-}

^{1}Mawakas ^{2}enda sab-aten didas nan saeban ^{3}ay
next-day go-they meet them-at the entrance link
^{4}mangalas nan pangawidana ay tobo.
get-of the gift-for-visit-their att rice-cake

'^{1}The next day ^{2}they go to meet them at the village entrance ^{4}to get their visiting gift which is rice cake.'

(10) $^{1}Act_{1}$: VC_{of}, $^{2}Link$, $^{3}Act_{2}$: $depVC_{sf}$

^{1}Baalenda nan kingking ^{2}ay ^{3}omey omalas apoy si
send-they the king-fisher link go get-of fire at
Palas.
Palas

'^{1}They sent the kingfisher ^{3}to go and get fire from Palas.'

(11) $^{1}Act_{1}$: VC_{of}, $^{2}Link$, $^{3}Act_{2}$: $depVC_{sf}$

^{1}Kaw-ena as Papatayan ^{2}ay ^{3}omalas nan logit
pass-through-he at Papatayan link get-of the scraps
nan tiniplan Piil.
the stripped Piil

'^{1}He passed by Papatayan ^{3}to get the scraps of the wood that Piil stripped the bark from.'

(12) $^{1}Act_{1}$: VC_{rf}, $^{2}Link$, $^{3}Act_{2}$: VC_{mang-}

^{1}Kamanganyo ^{2}ay ^{3}mangney.
hurry-you link take

'^{1}Hurry ^{3}to take it.'

(13) $^{1}Act_{1}$: VC_{rf}, $^{2}Link$, $^{3}Act_{2}$: VC_{mang-}

^{1}At-atangayanda ^{2}ay ^{3}mangisaal.
carry-on-shoulders-they link take-home
'^{1}They carried it on their shoulders ^{3}to bring it home.'

(14) $^{1}Act_{1}$: VC_{af}, $^{2}Link$, $^{3}Act_{2}$: VC_{mang-}

^{1}Inyalida ad Saklang ^{2}ay ^{3}mangipaila.
brought-they to Saklang link show
'^{1}They brought him to Saklang ^{3}to show him.'

3.25.2. Logical Goal Sentence (LogGS). The bidimensional array in Chart 30 presents a sentence type which may not be transformed to a Simple Sentence with a Purpose Margin.

This sentence type includes a variety of semantic relations which do not appear to be differentiated structurally. The label 'Logical Goal' is merely a cover term for such relations as inception, termination and intensification.

+ Act_{1lg}	+ Link	+ Act_{2lg}
VC_{sf}	ay	depVC
$VC_{\overline{sf}}$ -T		VC_{mang-}
VC_{st}		

Chart 30. Logical Goal Sentence Array

This structure differs from the structure presented in the preceding section in the following ways:

1(a) Topic of a nonsubject focus clause manifesting Act_1 is obligatory in PurS, although deletable according to normal discourse rules for Topic deletion. Semantic interpretation of Topic if deleted is provided by a preceding clause.

(b) Top of nonsubject focus clauses manifesting Act_1 of LogGS are obligatorily absent, the semantic interpretation of the implied Topic is provided by the following clause (i.e., exponent of the following Act tagmemes).

2(a) In PurS nonsubject focus clauses must undergo the mang- transformation to manifest Act_2.

(b) In LogGS nonsubject focus clauses are optionally derived

with the mang- transformation. If not transformed, the tagmeme expressing actor of the action (Subject) is obligatorily absent.

3(a) In PurS semantic interpretation of actor of the action manifesting Act_2 may be supplied by Topic of a nonsubject focus clause in Act_1 (see ex. 10 last section).

(b) In LogGS, since Topic (i.e., nonactor) of a nonsubject focus clause in Act_1 is obligatorily absent, semantic interpretation of the actor of the action in Act_2 is invariably provided by the actor of the clause in Act_1 (Subject if $depVC_{sf}$, Topic if VC_{sf}).

LogGS may be transformed to the nucleus of a Simple Sentence under certain conditions which have not been fully explored. Thus when Act_{1lg} is manifested by $depVC_{sf}$, the clause manifesting Act_{2lg} may be transformed to form the Topic of the clause in Act_{1lg}. Verbal affixation is stripped from the verb in the Act_2 clause when thus transformed.

Examples:

(1) $^1Act_1$: VC_{af} -T, ^{2}Link, $^3Act_2$: $depVC_{sf}$

^{1}Ilogida ^{2}ay ^{3}in-ag-agom.
begin-they link feast
'^{1}They begin ^{3}to feast.'

⇒ Ilogida nan ag-agom.
begin-they the feast
'They begin the feasting.'

(2) $^1Act_1$: VC_{of} -T, ^{2}Link, $^3Act_2$: VC_{mang-}

^{1}Igmit oologen ^{2}ay ^{3}mamigat.
very-we agree link work-early
'^{1}We always agree ^{3}to go to work early.'

⇒ Igmit oologen nan bigat.
very-we agree the early-work
'We always agree to do early work.'

(3) $^1Act_1$: VC_{of} -T, ^{2}Link, $^3Act_2$: VC_{mang-}

^{1}Linpasda ^{2}ay ^{3}nanno.
finish-they link working
'^{1}They finished ^{3}working.'

⇒ Linpasda nan dono.
finish-they the work
'They finished the work.'

When VC_{sf} manifests Act_1, the clause manifesting Act_2 may be transformed to form a non-Topic tagmeme of the clause in Act_1. Verbal affixation is stripped from the verbs in the Act_2 clause when thus transformed.

(4) $^1Act_1$: VC_{sf}, ^{2}Link, $^3Act_2$: VC_{mang-}

^{1}Somangata ^{2}ay ^{3}manglay.
tired-we link peeling

$\Rightarrow$ Somangatas nan kelay.
tired-we-of the peel
'^{1}We are tired ^{3}of peeling.'

Examples of Logical Goal Sentence which require further rules before an adequate transformation is achieved are given below. Example 5 requires a rule changing the voice affixation of the verb in Act_1. Ex. 6 if transformed requires a filtering out rule since the resulting transformation does not allow the correct semantic interpretation.

(5) $^1Act_1$: VC_{rf}-T, ^{2}Link, $^3Act_2$: $depVC_{sf}$

^{1}Logiyanda ^{2}ay ^{3}pomanal.
begin-they link plant
'^{1}They begin ^{3}to plant.'

$\Rightarrow$ Ilogida nan panal.
begin-they the planting
'They begin the planting.'

(6) $^1Act_1$: VC_{of}-T, ^{2}Link, $^3Act_2$: $depVC_{sf}$

^{1}Laydena ^{2}ay ^{3}manalan.
like-he link walk
'^{1}He likes ^{3}to walk.'

If the transformation rules are applied to this structure the following form occurs:

Laydena nan dalan.
likes-he the trail
'He likes the trail.'

This form only allows the semantic interpretation given in the free translation since dalan as an unaffixed form means only 'trail.' Compare the following example in which tagtag 'run' may occur unaffixed

with the same basic meaning.

(7) ^{1}Laydena ^{2}ay ^{3}managtag.
likes-he link run
'^{1}He likes ^{3}to run.'

⇒ Laydena nan tagtag.
likes-he the run
'He likes running.'

A depVC$_{sf}$ as exponent of Act$_2$ has been found only when a VC$_{sf}$-T having layad 'like' as exponent of the Head of the Predicate verb phrase manifests Act$_1$.

(8) ^{1}Act$_1$: VC$_{of}$-T, ^{2}Link, ^{3}Act$_2$: depVC$_{of}$
^{1}Laydek ^{2}ay ^{3}emsen nan anakko.
like-I link bathe the child-my
'^{1}I like ^{3}to bathe my child.'

This sentence does not readily transform into the nucleus of a Simple Sentence as in the earlier examples, and may be an example of a subtype of Sensate Sentence. Such a subtype might also include sentences of the following type, having -om- 'subjective voice' affixed verbs in Act$_2$, with layad 'like' in Act$_1$ (ex. 9 - 11), as well as sentences having VC$_{st}$ in Act$_1$ (ex. 12, 13) none of which readily transform to the nucleus of a Simple Sentence.

(9) ^{1}Act$_1$: VC$_{of}$-T, ^{2}Link, ^{3}Act$_2$: depVC$_{sf}$
^{1}Laydek ^{2}ay ^{3}omey.
like-I link go
'^{1}I want ^{3}to go.'

(10) Laydek ay somaal.
like-I link go-home
'I want to go home.'

(11) Laydek ay omawid.
like-I link return
'I want to return.'

(12) ^{1}Act$_1$: VC$_{st}$, ^{2}Link, ^{3}Act$_2$: depVC$_{sf}$
^{1}Masapolak ^{2}ay ^{3}managtag.
necessary-I link run

'^{1}I need ^{3}to run.'

(13) Nalpasak ay inmey.
finish-I link gone
'I had gone.'

A further subtype with the meaning 'Intensive' consists of VC_{sf} manifesting Act_1 and $depVC_{sf}$ manifesting Act_2, with identical verbs manifesting each Predicate.

(14) $^{1}Act_1$: VC_{sf}, ^{2}Link, $^{3}Act_2$: $depVC_{sf}$
^{1}Manganda ^{2}ay ^{3}mangan.
eat-they link eat
'^{1}They're eating and ^{3}eating.'

(15) Managtagda ay managtag.
run-they link run
'They're running and running.'

3.25.3. Sensate Sentence (SenS). This sentence has the structure displayed in Chart 31.

+ Act_{1sen}	+ Link	+ Act_{2sen}
$VC_{of.<ila>}$-T	ay	C

Chart 31. Sensate Sentence Array

The clause type manifesting Act_{1sen} has an obligatory absence of Topic. Examples examined to date have all been nonsubjective focus with a class of 'sense' verbs (including ila 'see', dengel 'hear', ammo 'know', likna 'touch', songsong 'smell', layad 'like', laman 'taste'), manifesting Predicate. Nominalization of the clause in Act_2 will usually provide a Topic for the clause in Act_1.

(1) $^{1}Act_1$: $VC_{of.<ila>}$-T, ^{2}Link, $^{3}Act_2$: VC_{sf}
^{1}Dinngelna ^{2}ay ^{3}komak-ayaskas nan tongnga.
heard-he link rustling-of the corn

⇒ Dinngelna nan komak-ayaskasan nan tongnga.
heard-he the rustling-of the corn

'[1]He heard [3]the rustling of the corn.'

(2) $^{1}Act_{1}$: $VC_{of.\ <ila>}$-T, $^{2}Link$, $^{3}Act_{2}$: VC_{of}

[1]Inilak [2]ay [3]emsena nan anakna.
saw-I link bathe-he the child-his
'[1]I saw [2]that [3]he was bathing his child.'

⇒ Inilak nan nangmesanas nan anakna.
saw-I the bathing-his-of the child-his
'I saw his bathing of his child.'

(3) $^{1}Act_{1}$: $VC_{of.\ <ila>}$-T, $^{2}Link$, $^{3}Act_{2}$: VC_{of}

[1]Ammok [2]ay [3]emsena nan anakna.
know-I link bathe-he the child-his
'[1]I know [2]that [3]he is bathing his child.'

⇒ Ammok nan mangmesanas nan anakna.
know-I the bathing-his-of the child-his
'I know when (where) he bathes his child.'

The nominal transformation in example 3 is interpreted as referent focus, apparently because of the verb 'know' in Act_1. (The suffix -an is homophonous as either substantive derivation, or referent focus.)

3.25.4. Speech Sentence (SpS). This sentence type is represented by the bidimensional array in Chart 32.

This sentence type is restricted in that it occurs only embedded as an exponent of a Direct Quote Formula. For a discussion of the exponent of Act_1 see section 3.23.1. Any verb which occurs in Act_1 may likewise occur in Act_2 or Act_3 with appropriate affix changes and clause deletions. (See discussion under Purpose Sentence.)

Co-occurrence restrictions have not been examined, but the same verb stem will not occur twice in the sentence, except for kan 'say' which is not infrequently followed in Act_2 by the mang- transform, mangwani 'say' (see ex. 1 below).

A negative auxiliary may not occur in the Act_1 tagmeme of Speech Sentence.

(1) $^{1}Act_{1}$: $VC_{rf.\ <kan>}$-T, $^{2}Link$, $^{3}Act_{2}$: $VC_{mang-.<kan>}$, $^{4}Link$, $^{5}Act_{3}$: $depVC_{sf.\ <bogaw>}$

[1]Kananmi [2]ay [3]mangwani [4]ay [5]intot-oya ...
say-we link saying link discussing

+ Act_{1sp}	+Link	+ Act_{2sp}	±(+Link	+Act_{3sp})
$VC_{sf.}$ <bogaw>	ay	$depVC_{sf.}$ <bogaw>	ay	Same
$VC_{af.}$ <baga>-T		VC_{mang-} <baga>		as
$VC_{of.}$ <salodsod>-T		" <salodsod>		Act_{2sp}
$VC_{rf.}$ <kan>-T		" <kan>		

Chart 32. Speech Sentence Array

'[1]We said, [5]discussing...'

(2) [1]Act_1: $VC_{rf.}$ <kan>-T, [2]Link, [3]Act_2: $depVC_{sf.}$ <bogaw>
[1]Kanana [2]ay [3]inkoop, "...
say-he link hoot
'[1]He (an owl) said, [3]hooting, "..."

(3) [1]Act_1: $VC_{rf.}$ <kan>-T, [2]Link, [3]Act_2: $VC_{mang.}$ <baga>
[1]Sinongbatan nan lalaki [2]ay [3]mangisailo, "...
answer the man link deceive
'[1]The man answered, [3]deceiving, "..."'

APPENDIX

1. (A), but (B) = AnS (= Th: $\{_{cl}$; Adv, An: $\{_{cl}$)
2. (A), but (B, C) = AnS(=Th: $\{_{cl}$; Adv; An: $\{_{s}$ [= T_s; T_s])
3. (A), but (B. C) = AnS(=Th: $\{_{cl}$; Adv; An: $\{_{\pi}$ [= T_π: $\{_{s}$; T_π : $\{_{s}$])

4. (A). But (B) = AnS(= Th: $\{_{cl}$; Adv; An: $\{_{cl}$)
5. (A). But (B, C) = $\{_{\pi\ 1\text{-}3}$ (= T_π: $\{_{s}$; $T_{\pi\ 1\text{-}3}$: $\{_{s}$ [= $SCon_1$; T_s; T_s])
6. (A). But (B. C) = $\{_{\pi\ 1\text{-}3}$ (= T_π: $\{_{s}$; $T_{\pi\ 1\text{-}3}$: $\{_{\pi}$ [= T_π: $\{_{s}$ {= $SCon_1$; T_s} ; T_π: $\{_{s}$])

7. (A, B), but (C) = AnS(=Th: $\{_{s}$ [= T_s; T_s]; Adv; An: $\{_{cl}$)
8. (A, B), but (C, D) = AnS(=Th: $\{_{s}$ [= T_s; T_s] ; Adv; An: $\{_{s}$ [= T_s: T_s])
9. (A, B), but (C. D) = AnS(=Th: $\{_{s}$ [= T_s; T_s] ; Adv; An: $\{_{\pi}$ [= T_π: $\{_{s}$; T_π: $\{_{s}$])

10. (A, B). But (C) = AnS(=Th: $\{_{s}$ [= T_s; T_s]; Adv; An: $\{_{cl}$)
11. (A, B). But (C, D) = $\{_{\pi\ 1\text{-}3}$ (= T_π: $\{_{s}$ [= T_s; T_s]; $T_{\pi\ 1\text{-}3}$: $\{_{s}$ [= $SCon_1$; T_s; T_s])
12. (A, B). But (C. D) = $\{_{\pi\ 1\text{-}3}$ (= T_π: $\{_{s}$ [= T_s; T_s]; $T_{\pi\ 1\text{-}3}$: $\{_{\pi}$ [= T_π: $\{_{s}$ {= $SCon_1$; T_s} ; T_π : $\{_{s}$])

13. (A. B), but (C) = AnS(=Th: $\{_{\pi}$ [= T_π : $\{_{s}$; T_π : $\{_{s}$]; Adv; An: $\{_{cl}$)
14. (A. B), but (C, D) = AnS(= Th: $\{_{\pi}$ [= T_π : $\{_{s}$; T_π : $\{_{s}$]; Adv; An: $\{_{s}$ [= T_s; T_s])
15. (A. B), but (C. D) = AnS(=Th: $\{_{\pi}$ [= T_π : $\{_{s}$; T_π : $\{_{s}$]; Adv; An: $\{_{\pi}$ [= T_π : $\{_{s}$; T_π : $\{_{s}$])

16. (A. B). But (C) = $\{_{D}$(=Point:$\{_{¶}$[= $T_{¶}$:$\{_{S}$;$T_{¶}$:$\{_{S}$];CPoint:$\{_{S}$ [= $SCon_{1}$;T_{S}])

or $\{_{¶\,1\text{-}3}$(=$T_{¶}$:$\{_{¶}$[=$T_{¶}$;$T_{¶}$];$T_{¶\,1\text{-}3}$:$\{_{S}$[=$SCon_{1}$;T_{S}])

17. (A. B.) But (C, D) = $\{_{D}$(=Point:$\{_{¶}$[= $T_{¶}$:$\{_{S}$;$T_{¶}$:$\{_{S}$];CPoint:$\{_{S}$ [= $SCon_{1}$;T_{S};T_{S}])

or $\{_{¶\,1\text{-}3}$(=$T_{¶}$:$\{_{¶}$[=$T_{¶}$;$T_{¶}$];$T_{¶\,1\text{-}3}$:$\{_{S}$[=$SCon_{1}$;T_{S};T_{S}])

18. (A. B.) But (C. D) = $\{_{D}$(=Point:$\{_{¶}$[= $T_{¶}$:$\{_{S}$;$T_{¶}$:$\{_{S}$];CPoint:$\{_{¶}$ [= $T_{¶}$:$\{_{S}$}=$SCon_{1}$;T_{S}} ;$T_{¶}$:$\{_{S}$])

or $\{_{¶\,1\text{-}3}$(=$T_{¶}$:$\{_{¶}$[= $T_{¶}$;$T_{¶}$];$T_{¶\,1\text{-}3}$:$\{_{¶}$[= $T_{¶}$:$\{_{S}$}=$SCon_{1}$:T_{S}} ; $T_{¶}$:$\{_{S}$])

Key:

A B C D	Consecutive clauses
(A B)	Clauses forming a unit by virtue of lexical and/or grammatical linkage
,	Non-final phonological juncture
.	Final phonological juncture
( )	Grammatical layering
=	has the structure of
:	is expounded by
;	concatenation symbol
AnS	Antithetical Sentence
Th	Thesis
Adv	Adversative
An	Antithesis
D	Discourse level
¶	Paragraph level
S	Sentence level
$SCon_{1}$	Sentence Conjunction 1
Cl	Clause level
CPoint	Counterpoint
T	Tagmeme
$\{$	Syntagmeme
$¶_{1\text{-}3}$	Antithetical paragraph Exhortatory paragraph Dialogue paragraph
$T_{1\text{-}3}$	Antisection Tagmeme Warning tagmeme $Speech_{2}$ tagmeme

PART II

NOTES

ON CENTRAL BONTOC DISCOURSE AND PARAGRAPH STRUCTURES

PART II
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INTRODUCTION

We present here a preliminary analysis of some Central Bontoc discourse and paragraph types. The discourse types discussed below are Hortatory Discourse, Narrative Discourse, Activity Discourse and Procedural Discourse. Other types of discourse, such as Expository, Prayer-tale, and at least two types of song discourse also occur in Central Bontoc but have not yet been analyzed.[1]

[1]For examples of six prayer-tales see my 'A Guinaang Wedding Ceremony,' Philippine Sociological Review 9:30-54. For examples of various song texts see my 'Dancing and Music in Guinaang,' Philippine Sociological Review 9:74-82.

1.1. Hortatory Discourse. Hortatory Discourse consists of a series of POINTS, optionally preceded by an APERTURE--introducing the discourse and stating its theme--and optionally followed by a CLOSURE tagmeme which recapitulates the theme. A FINIS tagmeme obligatorily ends unembedded Hortatory Discourse. It does not occur however in embedded Hortatory Discourse. Further identifying characteristics of Hortatory Discourse are as follows:

(1) Person Orientation. Perhaps the primary characteristic of Hortatory Discourse is its orientation towards 2nd person. In the accompanying Hortatory text in Appendix A1, 'On Joining a Village Ward' (JVW), approximately 75 % of the clauses specify 2nd person singular as one of the situational roles. There are 30 subjective focus clauses having 2nd person actor and 15 clauses in which 2nd person is Topic, but not actor. However, none of these 45 clauses is a Bontoc imperative.[2] Each is an indicative clause. Where an exhortation to better character occurs (in contrast to an exhortation to perform an activity) the 2nd person singular pronoun -ka is infrequent. The preferred form is either 2nd person dual -ta 'we two', for Topic Subject; or deletion of the pronoun, for non-Topic Subject. The use of the dual pronoun, and deletion of pronoun, are both considered to be 2nd person orientation.

Note that in POINTS 1-4 of Text JVW, in which 2nd person is being exhorted to perform certain activities, pronoun -ka 'you' is used exclusively. However, in the embedded Hortatory Discourse on reliability and endurance beginning with ¶ 5, the pronoun -ta 'we two' is used twice in S17, once in S18, 19, 21 and 23, but -ka is used in S24. In S18, there is a deleted Subject following the verb anosan 'to be patient, endure'; in S19 it is deleted following alaen 'to get'; in S23 it is deleted following anosan.

In CLOSURE, and POST-FINAL POINT, -ta 'we two' is used exclusively, even though exhortations to specific activity are included along with exhortation to develop certain character traits.

(2) Tense Orientation. Hortatory Discourse is oriented to non-past activity. In Text JVW the verbs in the nucleus of each sentence are all non-past, although two or three past tense verbs occur in the margins. (See S3 where inmab-abat 'met' and nagad-angan 'grew-up-place' are both past tense.)

(3) Composition. Hortatory Paragraphs are the most frequent exponents of Hortatory Discourse tagmemes. Embedded Hortatory Discourses may also occur (POINT 5, Text JVW). The Text JVW also illustrates Explanatory Paragraphs expounding POINT 4 and CLOSURE.

(4) Linkage. Discourses form coherent units through interacting systems of grammatical and lexical features.

A Hortatory Discourse is characterized by a type of lexical linkage which may be called expansion, and is illustrated in Fig 1.

Fig 1 Expansion Linkage

[2] Bontoc Imperative Clause is a form rarely used. It consists of a Predicate expounded by a verb root stripped of affixation followed by a Topic Subject expounded by a 2nd person singular or plural pronoun.

Expansion is a linkage system in which a theme is presented either in the APERTURE or in the first POINT, and is developed in subsequent POINTS, until its recapitulation in the CLOSURE tagmeme.

This is illustrated in Text JVW. The theme, presented as the first Exhortation in ¶ 1 is, 'If you like to join the men's group at Datal, whatever is done at the group house, you should join in doing.'[3] The balance of the first paragraph consists of a series of Result tagmemes, in which the hearer is exhorted to join in with the activities associated with omen hunting: ceremonial fishing, listening for bird calls, and culminating daw-es sacrifice, and dancing. POINT 2 exhorts the hearer to join in the dang-as work group, an activity in which for one day, all the men of a group house join in helping one of the members with work which he needs done. POINT 3 exhorts the hearer to join the obbo work group, in which the men of each group house are divided into teams to work with unmarried women mainly during the samal 'wet season', or 'soil-preparation season'. POINT 4 is explanatory. It begins with a structure parallel to that of each of the preceding paragraphs, but instead of the expected exhortation to join the onod ceremony at which the obbo groups are formed, an explanation of formation of the groups occurs. (Notice however that 2nd person is still prominent, but as goal of the activities rather than actor.) This POINT may still be considered to be an expansion of the theme stated in POINT 1. POINT 5 is an embedded Hortatory Discourse on reliability and endurance. It is also an expansion of the theme, in that these two character traits are expected of men in the group house, and of someone who plans to join the group house. POINT 1 of the embedded discourse states the subsidiary theme of reliability (Exhor) and endurance or patience (Reinf). POINT 2 of the embedded discourse develops the theme of endurance in relation to obbo work during a typhoon. Both endurance and reliability are the themes of POINT 3 of the embedded discourse, each developed with reference to the dang-as work group. CLOSURE recapitulates the theme: 'That is what is done to join the men's group house. Even though you are a married man, and you have thought that there is a place you'd like to meet at, that is what is to be done.' The POST-FINAL POINT is a further expansion of the theme which occurred to the speaker after formally closing his discourse. It develops the theme in relation to both the activities and the character traits expected of an unmarried man who wants to join the group house.

Expansion linkage is a lexical linkage. Grammatical linkage also occurs. Each consecutive paragraph is joined to the preceding paragraph by a particle which has been analyzed at the sentence level as manifesting a Sentence Introducer tagmeme. It should be noted that certain sentence introducers never occur initially in a discourse; their prime function is to formally mark paragraph junctures.

---

[3] An alternate analysis would treat Sentence 1 as APERTURE to the discourse. This would then require that Sentences 2 - 5 each be single sentence paragraphs. This analysis is rejected for two reasons: formal grammatical linkage (described elsewhere in this section), although present elsewhere in the text, does not occur in Sentences 2 - 5; secondly, the theme is itself an exhortation, and development immediately begins with what might be considered a portmanteau Result tagmeme with the Purpose Margin of the first sentence.

¶ 3 is introduced by kad, nalpas di. The form kad has no lexical content. Nalpas di 'after that', is frequently used for linking paragraphs in Narrative and Procedural Discourse. ¶ 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11 and 13 each begin with dey 'there', which in this context could be translated freely as 'having said that'. ¶ 10, 14, and 15 have no formal link. Notice that they are each embedded. However the two sections of the Coordinate Paragraph expounding POINT 3 (¶ 5, 6) are linked with dey (S13).

CLOSURE begins with the words siya di 'it that', a phrase which formally links the sentence of which it is a part with what precedes it, in this case, the whole discourse.

Paragraphs are formally linked to form discourses by both anaphora and deletion. An instance of anaphora has been shown in the preceding paragraph to provide the formal link between CLOSURE and the rest of the Discourse. A chain of anaphora which provides a formal discourse link begins in S1 with the phrase nan amam-a 'the men'. A chain of pronominal reference to 'the men' occurs in S2 - 5, 11, 13, 15-16, 19, 21, and 24. The use of the 2nd person pronoun is a further chain of anaphora providing discourse unity. (The nominal referent to this chain is not stated directly, but via Concessive Margins, e.g., S6, 11, and 26, 'even though you are a married man'.)

Deletion is not a common feature of Hortatory Discourse linkage. Its specialized use as polite 2nd person singular reference is referred to above. The use of deletion is more characteristic of Procedural Paragraphs in Procedural Discourse (see 2.5).

1.2. Narrative Discourse. Narrative Discourse is used to relate past events, either real life or folk tale. It consists of an APERTURE which introduces some or all of the dramatis personae and provides a general setting for the narrative. (See Appendix A2 for the Narrative Discourse 'The Mainit Feast', henceforward referred to as MF.) The APERTURE is followed by a series of EPISODES optionally culminating in a DENOUEMENT. These EPISODES carry the body of the discourse. They are followed by either a CLOSURE tagmeme or a MORAL tagmeme (see MF S55) and a FINIS tagmeme. The latter is obligatory in unembedded Narrative Discourse; it does not occur in embedded Narrative Discourse.

Further identifying characteristics of this discourse type are as follows:

(1) Person Orientation. Narrative Discourse is oriented chiefly to first person (as when a person reports his own activity) or to third person (as when a person reports the activities of others or narrates a folk tale). Text MF exemplifies the latter situation. Apart from the exponents of Direct Quotations, only third person pronouns (singular and plural) occur throughout the text.

(2) Tense Orientation. Narrative Discourse is oriented toward past time. Even though this is the tense orientation, a large proportion of verb forms in the sentence nuclei are non-past,[4] but are interpreted

[4]The tense of verb forms in the Sentence Margins are interpreted relative to the activity of the nucleus; thus a verb with non-past affixation in the Time Margin is interpreted as an uncompleted activity at the time of the activity of the Nucleus. If the verb has past affixation in the Time Margin, the activity is interpreted as com-

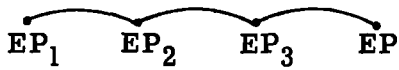
as past, because it is a Narrative Discourse.[5] There is a tendency to use past tense forms heavily in the early sentences of a Narrative Discourse. Having established tense orientation as past, the tendency is to revert to non-past forms for the body of the discourse with a return to past at the end of the discourse. In MF, S1, domno is non-past, but S2 - 4 contain verbs with past tense affixation: inmali 'came', nadkat 'visited', inmey 'went'. The nucleus of S5 is non-past (insemesemek 'thinking') but S7 contains two past verbs: inmey 'went', and inmon-onod 'followed'. Past tense nuclei occur also in S8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 22, 26, 52, 54, and 56. Non-past nuclei occur also in S9, 11, 14, 19, 20, 21, 22, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 53, and 54.

(3) Composition. A variety of paragraph types expound the tagmemes of Narrative Discourse. The most frequent exponent is probably Narrative Paragraph. MF is composed of eight Narrative Paragraphs, four Dialogue Paragraphs, and one unembedded and three embedded Explanatory Paragraphs. Hortatory and Explanatory Paragraphs also occur backlooping into the Quotation of Direct Quote Sentences in the text.

Although in MF Narrative Paragraphs occur more frequently than other paragraph types, Narrative Discourse may conceivably be composed of entirely Explanatory Paragraphs, if Narrative Discourse linkage is present.

(4) Linkage. Narrative Discourse linkage is characterized by a type of lexical linkage which may be called chaining. It is illustrated in Fig 2.

Fig 2 Chaining Linkage.



The chaining forms the chronological framework through which the activity of the discourse proceeds. Each link is either a lexical sentence which spans the boundary between two grammatical paragraphs or a time horizon which is subsequent to the time horizon of a preceding paragraph. Where the link is a lexical sentence, the first part of the lexical sentence correlates with part of a grammatical sentence towards the end of the preceding paragraph, (as for example, in the BU_n of a preceding Narrative Paragraph). The second part of the lexical sentence correlates with part of the first grammatical sentence of the new paragraph. The clause with which it correlates is a verbal clause exponent of the Time Margin of the first sentence of the paragraph. Examples of this type of linkage occur in MF between EP_1

pleted at the time of the Nucleus, e.g., MF Sentence 8, the Time Margin manad-alan ad Lang-ayan means 'as he was walking to Lang-ayan'. If the verb were nanad-alan, it would mean 'when he had walked'. See also the Cause Margin of the MF Sentence 9. Both verbs manad-alan and omon-onod are non-past, and continuative aspect. They are only interpretable as non-completed at the time of the sentence Nucleus activity. In MF Sentence 5, the TM beginning nal-osda is past and interpreted as completed 'when they had gone'.

[5]This statement appears circular, but it must be remembered that tense orientation is only one of the characteristics of Narrative Discourse. All verbs could be non-past, and a discourse could still be clearly identified as Narrative by the discourse linkage (see point 4 of this section).

and EP_2, nadkatda 'they visited' (S3), nal-osda 'after they departed' (S5); EP_2 and EP_3, inmon-onod 'he followed' (S8), manad-alan 'as he walked' (S9); EP_4 and EP_5, entad Lobbangan 'let's go to Lobbangan' (S16), inmeydad Lobbangan 'after they went to Lobbangan' (S16); EP_5 and EP_6, eneyna... 'He took it...' (S21), inneyna 'after he had taken it' (S22); EP_{12} and EP_{13}, somaalka 'you go home' (S50), sinmaal nan naay am-ama 'after the man went home' (S52).

The use of time horizons as a means of linkage does not occur in MF. Its use will be illustrated below with reference to Procedural and Activity Discourses.

A number of EPISODES do not show overt linkage of the type described above. However, other types of linkage, such as those described above for Hortatory Discourse, also occur here. These include grammatical markers such as adi pay, literally 'negative moreover', which implies a sequential activity. This is analyzed as a sentence introducer at the sentence level, but has a function in linking paragraphs within a discourse. See MF S27, 30, and 48. kedeng ay 'only', although not occurring in MF to link paragraphs, frequently does so in Narrative Discourse. It likewise implies sequential activity.

Certain lexical items on the clause level also function as links to unite a discourse. These include pay 'moreover, in addition' (MF S16, 22); kayet 'even yet, further' (S31, 37); kasi 'again' (S31); ges/ages 'also' (S31, 37, 15). Each of these lexical items occurs in the first sentence of the nucleus of a paragraph which is non-initial in a discourse. They may not occur in the initial sentence of the first paragraph of a discourse.

Anaphora and deletion (the latter only rarely in this discourse type) further serve to provide linkage. For example, the noun phrase 'this one Guinaang man', introduced as Sentence Topic to the sentence expounding the setting of the Narrative Paragraph in EPISODE 2, is referred to by pronouns five times (three ∅) in EPISODE 2; in EPISODE 3, it is also referred to by pronouns five times. At the beginning of ¶ 5, the pronoun 'they' refers back to the rat and the man, the dramatis personae of ¶ 4, thus providing a further anaphoric link in the discourse. A similar situation occurs at the beginning of EPISODE 6 (pronoun 'he') and in EPISODE 10. The MORAL is joined to the whole discourse by use of an anaphoric link: di 'that'.

A further type of link may be called lexical association. This is the type of linkage which is implicit in the equivalence classes of Harris' Discourse Analysis.[6] No systematic analysis of equivalence classes has been made of the text MF. Such an analysis would place in a single equivalence class 'the Guinaang people' of S3 with 'the people' of S5, providing a link between EPISODE 1 and EPISODE 2.

Lexical association at the very least provides linkage through the recurring dramatis personae. 'This one Guinaang person' of S5 is lexically associated, i.e., equivalent to or refers to the same dramatis persona as 'the man' of S12, 14, 'That man' of S31, 'this Guinaang man' of S37 and S52, and 'the one without relatives' of S55.

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[6]See Zellig S. Harris, Discourse Analysis Reprints, Mouton and Co, 1963.

1.3. Procedural Discourse. A Procedural Discourse is a short (usually not longer than one paragraph) procedure giving a recipe for the making of some object or set of objects. In addition to the PROCEDURE, the discourse may also have APERTURE, CLOSURE, and FINIS tagmemes. Further characteristics of Procedural Discourse are as follows:

(1) Person Orientation. Orientation of this type of discourse is either 1st person plural exclusive--exemplified in Appendix A3 in the texts on 'The Making of Sugar Cane Wine' (MSW) and 'The Making of Rice Wine' (MRW)--or 2nd person singular, exemplified in the text, 'The Making of Yeast' (MY) and also in Text WFT, 'How to Weave a Fish Trap'.

(2) Tense Orientation. Tense in a Procedural Discourse is always non-past, indicating projected time. Sentence Time Margins may be past or non-past, but these are interpreted as completed or incompleted (perfect or imperfect) in relation to the activity of the sentence nucleus, as described above under 1.2.(2).

(3) Composition. A PROCEDURE (discourse level tagmeme of a Procedural Discourse) is expounded by a Procedural Paragraph, whose identifying characteristics are also the identifying characteristics of a Procedural Discourse, since so frequently the discourse consists of only a single PROCEDURE. (For a discussion of Procedural Paragraphs see 2.5.)

(4) Linkage. A Procedural Discourse has a chronological framework, just as a Narrative Discourse has. However, because of its brevity it is the linkage of the Procedural Paragraph which forms the linkage of the discourse. A CLOSURE is linked with the rest of a Procedural Discourse by the same device noted above for Hortatory and Narrative Discourse--the use of an anaphoric link and lexical association. (For example see WFT S11.) The words siya di 'it that' are an anaphoric link with all of the preceding discourse. The lexical items amma 'make' and obel 'fish-trap' in S11 are lexically associated with the title 'What to do to weave a fish trap', as well as with a number of forms in the PROCEDURE itself: obel occurs in S1, 2, and 10; lexical associates with amma 'make' occur in S2 (amma), S3 (gomaeb 'make'), S5 (amma), S8 (ilaga 'weave'), S10 (gomaeb).

1.4. Activity Discourse. The Procedural Discourse type discussed above in 1.3. may be characterized as 'How to Make' discourse. The Activity Discourse discussed in this section may be characterized as 'What to Do' discourse. Discourses of this type relate anything from a single activity (as in the Activity Discourse of the Text WFT, which discusses in a single paragraph the use of a fish trap) to part or all of the annual cycle of village activity, (as in the Text in Appendix A4, 'The Story of Men of Long Ago, as to What Should be Done,' henceforth referred to as WSD).

Activity Discourse has characteristics of both Narrative and Procedural Discourse, yet is sufficiently distinct to warrant its being considered as a separate discourse type. The points of similarity with Narrative and Procedural Discourse will be discussed further below.

This discourse type begins with an optional APERTURE and/or DISCOURSE TOPIC. DISCOURSE TOPIC is distinct from TITLE.

Note that in WSD, both TITLE and DISCOURSE TOPIC occur with close lexical association: sik-od ikakaman 'should be done' occurs in both TITLE and DISCOURSE TOPIC. DISCOURSE TOPIC is expounded by a verb phrase, making it quite distinct from Sentence Topic, which is never manifested by a verb phrase and which also normally requires some sort of concord pronominal reference in the base clause which it immediately precedes. DISCOURSE TOPIC is, like Sentence Topic, phonologically attached to the grammatical sentence which it precedes; however, unlike Sentence Topic, it is not analyzed as part of the grammatical sentence structure but of the discourse. The body or nucleus of the discourse is presented in a series of ACTIVITY tagmemes, whose exponents will be discussed below in (3).

An optional CLOSURE tagmeme occurs, with an obligatory FINIS when the discourse is not embedded. FINIS does not occur when the discourse is embedded.

Further identifying characteristics of this Discourse type are discussed below.

(1) Person Orientation. Orientation of an Activity Discourse may be to 1st person, 2nd person (see WFT), or to 3rd person (see WSD).

(2) Tense Orientation. Activity is similar to Procedure in its tense orientation. It is oriented towards non-past, or projected activity. In WSD the only occurrence of a clause with a past tense verb in the nucleus of a sentence (that is excluding the past tense verbal forms interpreted as completed or perfect, occurring in the margins of the sentences) occurs embedded in S57. The clause is probably poorly formed in relation to the discourse; although out of context, the sentence is well formed.

(3) Composition. ACTIVITY tagmemes are primarily expounded by Project Paragraphs (14 of the 26 embedded and unembedded paragraphs in WSD are Project). They may also be expounded by Explanatory Paragraphs (8 Explanatory Paragraphs occur in WSD). An Activity Discourse may also consist of a series of ACTIVITY tagmemes expounded by embedded Activity Discourses; WSD is such a text.

In WSD, ACTIVITY 1 deals with the cycle of village activities from the time rice is harvested until the formation of obbo work groups at the beginning of samal, the soil preparation season. ACTIVITY 2 deals with the cycle of activities from this point through the preparation of the fields, planting, transplanting and growing of rice, sacrifices and ceremonies associated with the crop, harvesting of sugar cane, and other types of work until and including harvesting of rice. This completes the annual cycle, but in ACTIVITY 3 the reporter again deals with the activities from harvest until the formation of the work groups. This time, however, he focuses his attention on different aspects of the same period than those discussed in ACTIVITY 1. ACTIVITY 3 is to some degree a recapitulation of ACTIVITY 1, as is obvious from the lexical associations between the two ACTIVITIES discussed in the following section.

(4) Linkage. Activity Discourses are linked, like Narrative and Procedural Discourses, by lexical chaining, i.e., the spanning of paragraph boundaries by lexical sentences, or by consecutive time horizons from paragraph to paragraph. A very common device,

occurring frequently in WSD, is to link the second Base of an Extent Sentence (expounded by a structure indicating the temporal--or locative--extent of the preceding activity) with a Time Margin across a paragraph boundary. See WSD S5-6 'until 3 days', 'the 4th day'; S10-11 'until 2 days', 'the 3rd day'; S22-23 'until transplanting is finished', 'the next day'; S23-24 'until 2 days', 'the evening of the 2nd day'.

A time horizon which is not linked to an Extent Sentence in a preceding paragraph occurs at the beginning of S29, 'the next day'. This links with the time horizon stated at the beginning of the preceding paragraph, S24 'the evening of the 2nd day'.

Chaining via a continuance lexical sentence is likewise a frequent linking device in this type of discourse (as also in Procedural Paragraphs). Notice the following links across paragraph boundaries: S29, 34 'it is the beginning of the obaya holiday', 'after the obaya holiday is finished'; S39, 40 'Let's holiday, the holiday of sokto', 'after the holiday of three days is finished'; S43, 45 'then they work, cleaning', 'after the cleaning is finished'; S48, 49 'they holiday', 'after that holiday of three days is finished'; S49, 53 'go and harvest', 'after all the harvesting is finished'.

A Time Margin which in some respects functions as a Sentence Introducer, occurs at the beginning of S9. Adwani 'today, now', though apparently a time horizon does not link with a preceding time horizon, and is not interpreted literally. Its function is merely to indicate the chronological sequence of ACTIVITY 2 to ACTIVITY 3 of the discourse embedded in ACTIVITY 1.

Lexical association as a linkage device is well illustrated in WSD. ACTIVITY 6 and ACTIVITY 7 of embedded Activity Discourse 2 are only linked by lexical association: 'They have the dalepdep holiday', is equivalent to 'Let's holiday, holiday of sokto', since dalepdep and sokto are different names for the same event. ACTIVITIES 8 and 9 of embedded Activity Discourse 2 are linked only by lexical association: sapol 'scarecrow' of S45 is equivalent to baoy 'water-operated scarecrow' in S46, and to doklang 'beating-can scarecrow' across the paragraph boundary in S47. Likewise the verbal forms insapolan 'to place scarecrows', ibaoy 'to place water-operated scarecrows', and iyamma 'to make' in the same sentence group are equivalent.

Lexical association is furthermore the main linkage between the three major ACTIVITIES of the discourse. ACTIVITY 1 is concerned primarily with the making of kamey 'digging sticks'. The word occurs either overtly or by deletion in S1, 5, 6, 7, 9, 11, and 12. The association chain is continued across the boundary between ACTIVITY 1 and ACTIVITY 2, occurring twice in S19, and also in S20. ACTIVITY 3 begins with a formal discourse link, kedeng ay 'only, after that'. Since this ACTIVITY to some degree recapitulates ACTIVITY 1, lexical associations occur between the two. Notice, however, that there is a slight skewing between lexical and grammatical discourse structures, in that the first sentence of ACTIVITY 1 is lexically associated with the last part of ACTIVITY 2, rather than with ACTIVITY 3. Thus ani 'harvest' occurs in S1 and S49, 50, 51, 53 and is implied in S55 ('they harvest until kesep'). Kesep 'season following harvest' occurs in S1 and S55. Lexical associations between ACTIVITIES 1 and 3 begin in

S7, 8--ag-agom 'feast' occurs also in S58, the first sentence of ACTIVITY 3. Inkena 'catch, choose (of working group partners)' occurring in S8 is associated with ayag 'call' S61, the former action being the young men's activity in forming a work group, the latter being the young women's reciprocal activity. Obboda 'their (the young men's) working group' in S8 is likewise lexically associated but reciprocal to obbomi 'our (the young women's) working group' in S63.

Notice that activities which are only briefly mentioned in ACTIVITY 1 (harvest, feasting) are developed in lexical recapitulation at the end of ACTIVITY 2 and in ACTIVITY 3, whereas an activity which is well developed in ACTIVITY 1 (the making of kamey) is not mentioned in the recapitulation.

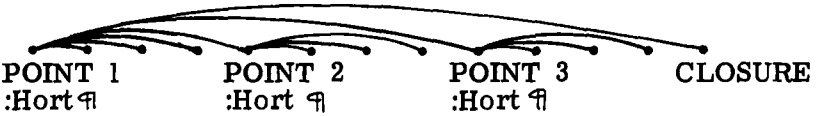
Anaphora chains are well developed in WSD since most of the activities are performed by the same group or groups of people, either the married men, the youths, the young women, or the married women. Both major activity boundaries (between ACTIVITY 1 and 2, and between ACTIVITY 2 and 3) are spanned by an anaphoric chain. See S19 'their work', 'they go to use digging sticks', etc., and S58 'they feast', 'they put on the fire', 'they fill', etc.

2. PARAGRAPH TYPES

The following presentation of some Central Bontoc paragraphs is based upon a very limited sample of analyzed data and must be considered to have a low level of generality. Although the tagmeme constituency of each paragraph type presented below is not definitive, yet the discussion of types of linkage is no doubt relevant to a much larger sample of data.

The linkage systems discussed above which give unity to the discourse are in many respects valid also as systems which give unity to the paragraph. Thus lexical expansion, characteristic of Hortatory Discourse, is also characteristic of Hortatory Paragraphs. An idealized scheme of the linkage system in a three POINT Hortatory Discourse composed of Hortatory Paragraphs is given in Fig 3.

Fig 3 Lexical Expansion in Hortatory Discourse and Paragraph



Lexical chaining, the characteristic linkage system of Narrative and Activity Discourses, is also characteristic of Narrative Paragraphs, Procedural Paragraphs and Project Paragraphs. An idealized scheme of the linkage system in a three EPISODE Narrative Discourse composed of Narrative Paragraphs is given in Fig 4.

Fig 4 Lexical Chaining in Narrative Discourse and Paragraph

Other types of linkage discussed under Discourse (e.g., lexical association, anaphora, deletion, as well as formal grammatical links such as Sentence Introducers) also have a part in paragraph linkage.

The sentences which constitute paragraphs may be considered to be composed of a Figure and a Ground. The Ground contains that part of a sentence (usually a sentence margin, but in some cases part of the sentence nucleus) which forms part of a pattern of lexical association by which the constituent tagmemes of a paragraph can be formally recognized. These patterns of lexical association within stateable grammatical constructions, in addition to giving identifying characteristics of paragraph tagmemes, also provide a formal linkage system within the paragraph. Characteristic patterns of lexical association will be discussed under each paragraph type.

2.1. Hortatory Paragraphs. The following bidimensional array represents the structure of Hortatory Paragraphs:[7]

[7] Primary exponents of paragraph level tagmemes are sentence syntagmemes. In this and other paragraph arrays in this paper, the exponents listed are merely those identified in the corpus so far analyzed. They should not be considered to be the complete exponential list.

±Intro	+Exhor	±Reinf^{n}	±Reason^{n}	±Warning	±Concl
SS	SS HortS DQS SubS CoorS ParaS	SS SubS CoorS ParaS Proj ¶ Expl ¶	SS HortS DQS Expl ¶ Hort ¶	SS	SS

Reason and Warning tagmemes may permute to between Exhor and Reinf$_1$, or to between any two Reinf tagmemes. For examples of Hortatory Paragraphs showing the above exponents see JVW, and the backlooping Hortatory Discourse in S62 of WSD.

Linkage within a Hortatory Paragraph is similar to linkage within a Hortatory Discourse. Primarily linkage is by expansion. The Introduction or Exhortation states the paragraph theme, and it is expanded and developed through the subsequent tagmemes of the paragraph. Expansion linkage occurs mainly between an Exhortation and subsequent Reinforcement tagmemes. Reason and Warning tagmemes are more directly linked to the tagmemes which they immediately follow. A Conclusion tagmeme is linked by siya 'it' or siya di 'it that' with the rest of the paragraph it concludes.

The Ground of a Hortatory Paragraph is generally more extensive than the Figure, since Hortatory Discourse relies heavily on sentence margins to present motivating factors, conditions, consequences, etc. of the Exhortation.

In Fig 5, the English translation of ¶ 5 of Text JVW is distributed on to a Figure-Ground Chart (Ground 1 = pre-nucleus sentence margins, Ground 2 = post-nucleus sentence margins) in order to display the lexical association present between an Exhortation and a Reinforcement tagmeme. A Reinforcement is an exposition or paraphrase of an Exhortation. The Figure of the Exhortation, 'don't be unreliable' is paraphrased by the words, 'be patient to accompany them', indicating that this sentence is a Reinforcement of the preceding tagmeme.

Fig 5

JVW¶8 Ground 1	Figure	Ground 2	
'There,	don't be unreliable in the work group,	because the companions won't like you if you're very unreliable.'	Exhor
	'Whoever leads to whatever kind of work, you should be patient to accompany them,	because the work which we people who join the obbo group give to be done is of many different kinds.'	Reinf

A Reason tagmeme is established when lexical association occurs between a Cause Margin and a following nucleus. Where such association is plausible, even though no Cause Margin is present, a Reason tagmeme is established. Often when the Cause Margin is absent, the sentence manifesting Reason may be transformed to become an exponent of the Axis of a Cause Relator-Axis Sentence marginal to the preceding nucleus (see Fig 6 and Fig 7).

A further variety of the Reason tagmeme is established when lexical association occurs between a Purpose margin and a following nucleus. The Purpose Margin may be explicit or implicit.

In Fig 8 a Hortatory Paragraph is presented which contains four Reason tagmemes, each lexically associated with the Purpose Margin (Ground 2) of the first sentence, the Exhortation. The Purpose Margin consists of an embedded Simple Sentence containing certain structures and lexical items which are echoed by paraphrase in each of the Reason tagmemes. These structures are as follows:

(1) A Conditional Margin expounded by a Direct Quote Sentence. The exponent of the Quote of the Direct Quote Sentence is a lexical proposal. In the Reason tagmemes the corresponding structures form Ground 1.

(2) A lexical response contained in the embedded nucleus and following Conditional Margin ('it is good if you go out'). This is either echoed exactly forming Figure and Ground 2, as in Reason 3, or the Axis of the Conditional Margin alone is echoed, forming the Figure, as in Reason 1 'go out', Reason 2 'take out' (same root, dakal, but different affixation), and Reason 4 'go out'.

(3) A Purpose Margin expounded by a clause containing the same verb as in the pre-embedded-nucleus Conditional Margin ('get omens'). In the Purpose Margin, however, the verb is prefixed by (ma)ki-, a complex form containing non-past tense, subjective voice marker, and cooperative aspect, translatable as 'to join in getting omens'. In Reason 1-3 these structures are repeated in Purpose Margins forming all or part of Ground 2. In Reason 4 they form the 2nd Base of a Purpose Merged Sentence, which although nuclear is here considered to form part of Ground 2. Reason 4 is expounded by a Hortatory Paragraph containing an Exhortation and Reinforcement. Notice, however, that the Cause Margin of the sentence manifesting the Reinforcement tagmeme echoes the Cause Margin of the embedded sentence manifesting the Purpose Margin of the first sentence of the paragraph.

A Warning tagmeme is established when lexical association occurs between a nucleus and the Conditional Margin of the following sentence, and when α, β truth values occur. The nucleus of the sentence which has the Conditional Margin must not be lexically associated with the preceding sentence (see Fig 9).

Notice in Fig 9 that the same linkage which establishes a Warning tagmeme exists embedded in the sentence manifesting Exhortation. The linkage is marked by the dotted line. This is not an uncommon device. It is probable that in Bontoc, warnings occur more frequently embedded than unembedded. In the example given in Fig 9, the unembedded Warning is merely a reinforcement of the embedded warning as evidenced by the use of the word pay 'moreover'. Furthermore this unembedded Warning also occurs embedded in an almost identical form two paragraphs preceding the above example (see Fig 10).

Fig 6

JVW¶ 9 Ground 1	Figure	Ground 2	
'There, if they say, "Let's go sluice soil in a typhoon," even though it is a typhoon,	isn't it your fellow man who is sluicing soil, so get moreover your raincape and your crowbar and and go join in sluicing soil.'	∅	Exhor
	'(Because) If he's your fellow man, do you think his skin is any different from yours?'		Reason

Fig 7

JVW¶ 3 Figure	Ground	
'After that, and if there is someone who says, "Let's do dang-as work," you should go out,	so you can join the dang-as work group, <u>because</u> what is done is this, whoever has a house that is destroyed, he goes out to us his group-fellows and says, "Let's go thatch my house."'	Exhor
'Whoever has a big landslide and he says, "I'll have the dang-as work," you should join the dang-as and not go contrary to what is done in the men's group.'		Reason1
'If you also, if you are put upon by difficulties you say, "I'll call my men's group, so we can roll away this boulder so that we can make my field good."'		Reason2

Fig 8

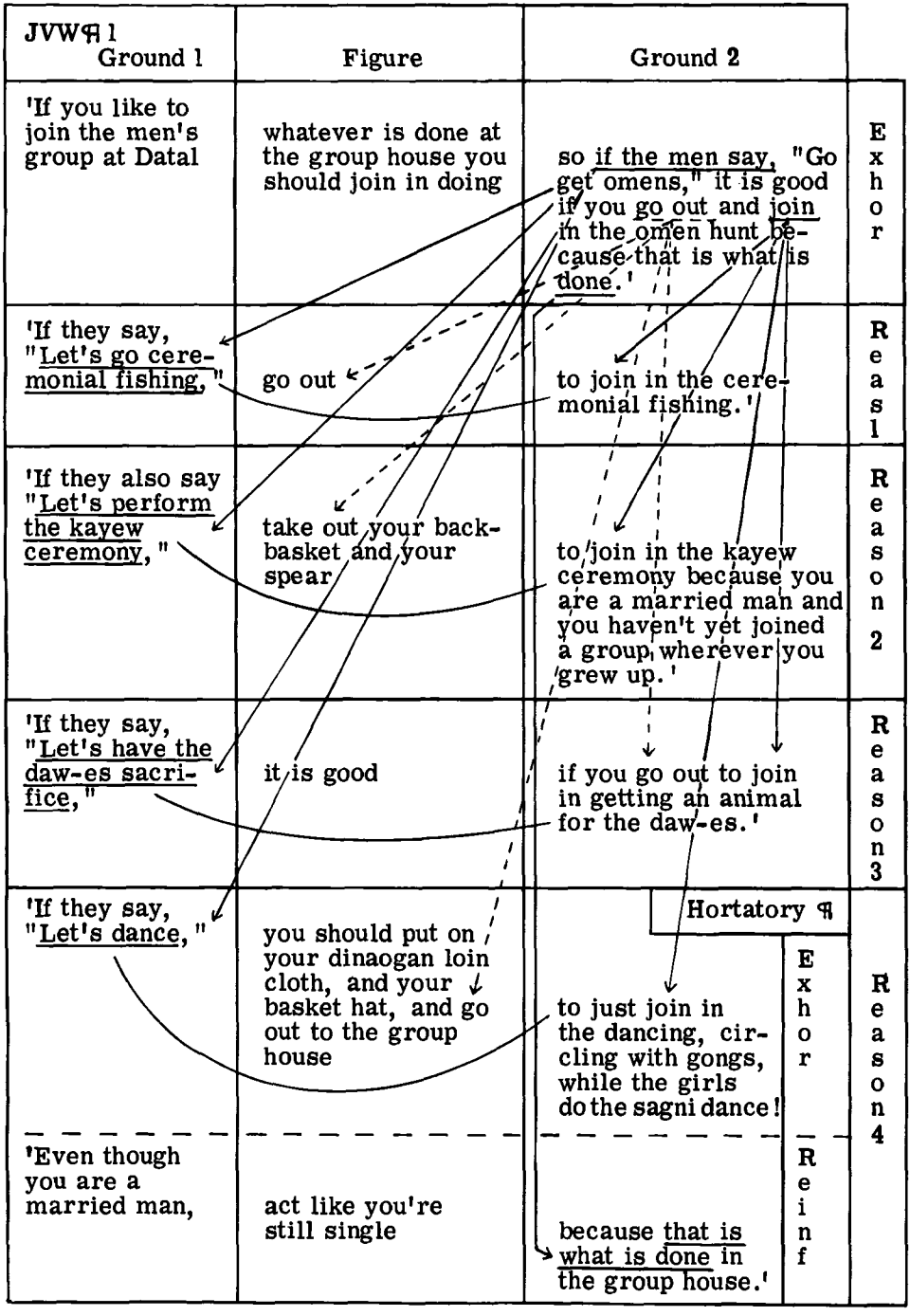

JVW¶ 1
Ground 1
Figure
Ground 2
'If you like to join the men's group at Datal
whatever is done at the group house you should join in doing
so if the men say, "Go get omens," it is good if you go out and join in the omen hunt because that is what is done.'
Exhor
'If they say, "Let's go ceremonial fishing,"
go out
to join in the ceremonial fishing.'
Reason 1
'If they also say "Let's perform the kayew ceremony,"
take out your backbasket and your spear
to join in the kayew ceremony because you are a married man and you haven't yet joined a group wherever you grew up.'
Reason 2
'If they say, "Let's have the daw-es sacrifice,"
it is good
if you go out to join in getting an animal for the daw-es.'
Reason 3
'If they say, "Let's dance,"
you should put on your dinaogan loin cloth, and your basket hat, and go out to the group house
Hortatory ¶
Exhor
to just join in the dancing, circling with gongs, while the girls do the sagni dance!
Reason 4
'Even though you are a married man,
act like you're still single
Reinf
because that is what is done in the group house.'

Fig 9

JVW¶11 Ground 1	Figure	Ground 2	
'There, like also the dang-as work, if one man has the dang-as work group and it is mudpacking which is very cold,	let's not get tired, endure to accompany,	β because if there are very many occasions on which you don't go, and comes a time when you want the dang-as work group you'll only get a little work done because there are many occasions you didn't go.'	Exhortation
'Sometimes	moreover they won't like you,	β if you are very unreliable.'	Warning

Fig 10

JVW¶8 Ground 1	Figure	Ground 2	
'There,	don't be unreliable in the work group,	because the companions won't like you if you are very unreliable.' β	Exhor

2.2. Coordinate Hortatory Paragraph. One example of this structure has so far been identified. Its structure is represented by the following array:

+ Section 1	+ Section 2
Hort ¶	Hort ¶

The two Hortatory Paragraphs expounding this Coordinate Paragraph have highly parallel lexical and grammatical structures expounding corresponding parts of the Figure and Ground. Compare the two paragraphs in the Figure-Ground Chart of Fig 11.

Fig 11

JVW ¶ 4 Ground 1	Figure	Ground 2		
		Hort ¶ (5)		
'There, if they say, "Let's go work in obbo groups, if it is dol-ok season; even though you are a married man	take out your headaxe,	so that if you join with the girls and fellows who do obbo work in the dol-ok, and if there is someone who leads in cutting sticks, go and cut sticks.'	Exhortation	Section 1
	'Just join in drinking rice wine that the girls carry.'		Reinf	
	Hort ¶ (6)			
'There, if it is the samal season and if they say, "Let's go work in obbo groups,'	that is also what will happen.'		Exhor	Section 2
'The samal season, if they say, "Let's get bird omens so we can begin the work of samal,"	go out,	to join in getting bird omens.'	Reinf	

2.3. Explanatory Paragraphs. The following bidimensional array represents the structure of Explanatory Paragraphs:

±Intro	+Text	±Exposition^{n}	±Reason	±Concl
SS	SS SeqS ExS CoorS MS$_{1}$	SS	SS	SS
	Expl ¶	Hort ¶ Proj ¶	Expl ¶	

The linkage system of Explanatory Paragraphs is the same as that just described above for Hortatory Paragraphs. Text and Exposition and Conclusion tagmemes are linked by lexical expansion, or paraphrase. Reason is linked by lexical association with a preceding Cause Margin, as described above for Hortatory Paragraphs.

Explanatory paragraphs are distinguished from Hortatory paragraphs by difference in person orientation (Explanatory Paragraphs are oriented towards the subject matter, with 3rd person pronominal references; Hortatory Paragraphs on the other hand are oriented towards 2nd person, see discussion § 1.1(1)). A further distinction between Explanatory and Hortatory Paragraphs is that the former has lexical expansion chiefly through the Figure, since the sentences manifesting the constituent tagmemes do not utilize sentence margins to the same degree that sentences in Hortatory Paragraphs utilize them.

A typical Explanatory Paragraph linkage system is illustrated in Fig 12.

Notice again the use of siya 'it' as the anaphoric link which joins the Conclusion to the whole paragraph.

Fig 12

WSD ¶ 7 Ground 1	Figure		
'On the evening of the second day,	that is when they perform the chicken sacrifice.'		Text
	'They do it together in one evening.'		Expo 1
	'The boys and the young men push chicken gizzards on to sticks and then take them to the group houses.'	Proc ¶ Step 1	Expo 2
	'They eat (them).'	Step n	
	'That is what they did in the old days.'		Concl

2.4. Narrative Paragraphs. The following bidimensional array represents the structure of Narrative Paragraphs:

±Setting	±Sp	+Bu^{n}	±Term
SS ParaS	DQS ThoS	SS CoorS MS_1 MS_2 SeqS C-RS Expl ¶	SS

Examples of each of the exponents listed above may be found in Text MF. Speech tagmeme and the Build-Up tagmeme(s) are considered to be nuclear to a Narrative Paragraph, since they carry the chronological sequence of events which is characteristic of Narrative Discourse. The Setting and Terminus on the other hand provide non-sequential material, usually explanatory in nature, and are therefore considered to be peripheral to the paragraph structure. The Speech tagmeme is not considered to be a BU because of its unique exponents and position in the tagmeme string. A Speech tagmeme presents a proposal, whose nonverbal response forms the first BU of the paragraph. The Speech tagmeme is characteristic of a well-formed Narrative Paragraph in Bontoc, although it is not obligatory. In Text MF, out of eight Narrative Paragraphs, seven contain a Speech tagmeme before the first BU.

Linkage between a Speech tagmeme and the following tagmemes consists of the lexical association between a proposal and a response.

Sometimes the activity which is the complete response of the Speech proposal is contained in the immediately following BU. Such a BU could be the final BU (BU_n) of the paragraph (see Fig 13) or it could be followed by one or more BU's which relate activities which follow the response to the Speech proposal. On the other hand, the full response to the Speech tagmeme may require several BU's, each presenting partial responses (see Fig 14) or even describing activity which follows the proposal in time but is preliminary to the response activity (see Fig 15).

Fig 13

MF ¶15-16 Figure	
'He also said, "Come and let's eat. That's plenty of meat for us."'	S p
↓ 'They ate.'	B U n

Fig 14

MF ¶ 12 - 13 Ground	Figure	
	'Once again the man said, "You go and just steal away some of the sugarcane wine. This meat, there is a great lot of it here! Shucks, we haven't had a drink of sugarcane wine!"'	S p
	'Again it is told, this rat went he filled a pitcher plant with sugarcane wine, the wine jar was placed under the eaves.'	B U 1
'Having filled two very big pitcher plants,	he was ben over with them and he took them to the man and he drank it.'	B U n

Fig 15

MF ¶ 6 - 7 Ground	Figure	
'Having gone to Lobbangan	the rat said, "You hide in this cave, there is something that I will be getting and bringing. You be the one to guard."'	S p
	'This rat truly entered the village of Mainit at night, because the feasters, let me explain, they sleep, those who guard the cooking meat.'	B U 1
(Having entered the village)	'The rat uncovered the vat filled with meat and dragged out two slices of meat.'	B U 2
(Having gotten the meat)	'He ran away with it, he made his way through the sugarcane field, and took it to Lobbangan, to the man.'	B U n

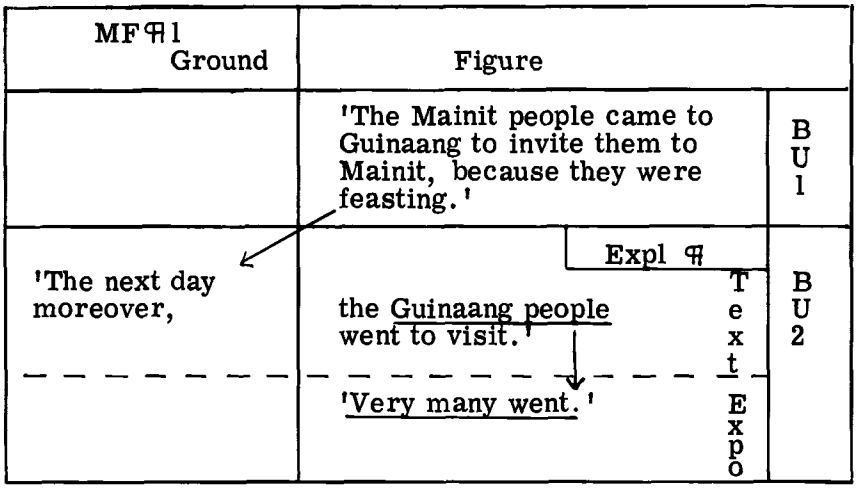
The linkage between consecutive BU tagmemes is lexical chaining of the same type as described above for Narrative Paragraphs (see Fig 4). Lexical sentences span the boundaries between consecutive BU tagmemes. Although Central Bontoc Narrative Discourse linkage of this type is frequently explicit (that is, there is a Time Margin at

the beginning of a paragraph which ends a lexical sentence begun at the end of the preceding paragraph), this type of linkage is usually implicit at the paragraph level (that is, Time Margins do not occur frequently but usually may be plausibly supplied, providing lexical linkage with the preceding BU). See Fig 14 for an example in which the link is explicit. See Fig 15 for an example in which two links are implicit, and are indicated in the chart by Time Margins in parentheses. Sentences expounding consecutive BU tagmemes in Bontoc may be transformed to a single sequence sentence with the use of the Sequence Link esa 'then', if the second sentence does not have a Time Margin.

A sequence of two BU's may be linked by a Time Margin expounded by a structure which provides a new time horizon (see Fig 16).

A sequence of BU's may also be linked by the use of a Sentence Introducer (e.g., kedeng), as between BU_1, BU_2 and BU_n of Paragraph 6, Text MF.

Fig 16



2.5. Procedural Paragraphs. The following bidimensional array represents the structure of Procedural Paragraphs analyzed to date:

+Step^n	±Alternate^2	± Term
SS SeqS MS_2	SS ParaS	SS
AntiS CoorS ExS		Anti ¶

Examples of the above exponents of Procedural Paragraph tagmemes occur in Texts MSW, MRW, MY, and WFT.

Procedural Paragraphs report goal-oriented activity; this is reflected in the fact that the majority of verbal clauses manifesting Procedural Paragraph tagmemes are goal-oriented--that is, non-subjective focus. In addition to being oriented towards a goal (that is, the product being made) procedures are normally performed by a single actor or set of actors. These facts account for a further characteristic of Procedural Paragraphs, that of deletion of certain clause level tagmemes. Deletion occurs when a tagmeme considered obligatory to the clause does not occur.[8] The Topic of goal-oriented clauses names the goal of the activity expressed in the Predicate. It is considered obligatory to the clause, but is deleted in Procedural Paragraphs if its lexical exponent has been stated in the immediately preceding sentence, or has been deleted from the immediately preceding sentence. Since a Procedural Paragraph is usually oriented towards a single goal, strings of sentences may occur in which the Topic is deleted. The Subject tagmeme of a goal-oriented clause expresses actor and is obligatory to the clause string. Since in Procedural Paragraphs the actor is usually the same through the Steps, the Subject tagmeme is not infrequently deleted. See Fig 17 for an indication of the degree of deletion which may occur.

Fig 17

	Pred (action)	Subject (actor)	Topic (goal)	Referent (location)
1.	day	we	red-rice	
2.	pound	we	ø	mortar
(3.	winnowed	-	ø)	
4.	cook	ø	ø	pot
5.	serve	ø	ø	
6.	put	ø	ø	basket
7.	yeast	ø	ø	
8.	put	ø	ø	pot
9.	shelve	ø	ø	
(10.	made	-	ø)	

Here the first 10 clauses from the sentence nuclei of text MRW are displayed. Sentences 3 and 10 are both goal-oriented as are the other clauses displayed, but have been transformed to Statives, a clause type which is obligatorily minus Subject (actor) in Central Bontoc. The third person singular Topic pronoun is zero when following Stative verbs, and so it is not possible to prove that formal deletion has taken place; however, in effect the result is the same as deletion. Third person singular Topic pronoun when following non-Stative goal-oriented clauses is siya, unless deleted. Apparently Stative transforms may occur only

[8] Tagmemes are marked in bidimensional arrays as either optional or obligatory. A tagmeme is considered obligatory if an adequate semantic interpretation of the structure presupposes the presence of that tagmeme. When deletion takes place, the hearer is required to infer the lexical exponent of the deleted tagmeme from information given earlier in the discourse.

when a Referent is not present. It is interesting to note that the exponent of the deleted Topic in clause 10 is not the same as the exponent of the deleted Topic in clause 1. In fact lexical items in the Topic of several clauses would be different from that in clause 1 if they were supplied (e.g., binayo 'pounded rice' in 3 and 4; makan 'cooked rice' in 5, 6, and 7; naasinan ay makan 'yeasted rice' in 8 and 9; tapey 'rice wine' in 10). Apparently item and processed item are considered equivalent for purposes of deletion.

Linkage between consecutive Steps within a Procedural Paragraph is by lexical chaining, as previously described for Narrative Paragraphs. It was noted above that lexical chaining within Narrative Paragraphs is mainly implicit, but is explicit between paragraphs in a Narrative Discourse. In a Procedural Paragraph, however, lexical chaining is explicit, providing the chronological sequence necessary to establish Procedural Discourse. See Figs 18 and 19 for Figure-Ground displays of two Procedural texts illustrating this linkage.

Fig 18 and 19 both show one implicit link--Step 6 in Fig 18 and Step 5 in Fig 19. A common exponent of the Time Margin which forms linkage in a Procedural Paragraph is a specialized Paraphrase Sentence,[9] in which the Statement is expounded by a Stative Clause meaning 'it is finished', and the Paraphrase is expounded by a Stative transform of a goal-oriented clause in the nucleus of the preceding sentence.

See for example MRW--malpas ay mabayo 'finished, pounded'; malpas ay matap-an 'finished, winnowed'; malpas ay naloto 'finished, cooked'. The Paraphrase may also occur on its own as a Stative Clause manifesting Time Margin, as in MRW S5--mabaew 'cooled', or manifesting the Axis of a Time Relator-Axis Sentence as in MRW S4--mo naloto 'when cooked'. A further type of lexical chaining in Procedural Paragraphs occurs between Steps 8 and 9 in MRW (see Fig 19). This occurs when the exponent of a Step is an Extent Sentence, in which the optional first Base does not occur but whose exponent would be lexically equivalent with an activity stated in the preceding nucleus. The obligatory second base in an Extent Sentence indicates the length of time the activity stated or implied continues.

Step tagmemes present procedural activities in a chronological sequence. An Alternate tagmeme presents an activity in chronological sequence with the preceding step, but indicates by the use of a Conditional Margin that that activity is only one of at least two possible procedures at that point. The other Alternate procedure(s) may or may not be stated. Alternate tagmemes show lexical association between a proposed Conditional Margin, and an explicit or implicit postposed Conditional Margin in the preceding Step (see Fig 20 for an illustration of this linkage). A further example in which an Extent Sentence is used for linkage occurs below under discussion of Alternate tagmemes of Project Paragraph (See Fig 24).

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[9] See Part I of this volume, Sec 3.21.5.

Fig 18

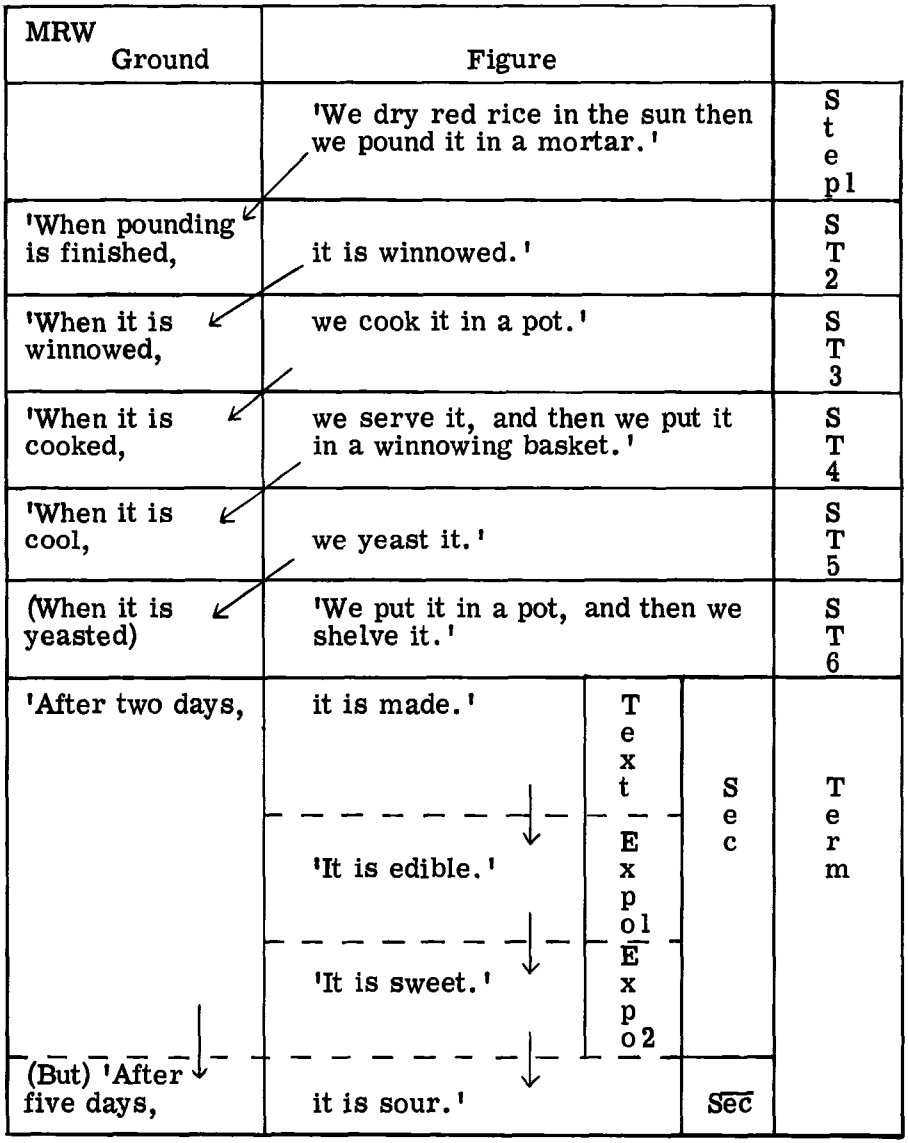
MRW
Ground
Figure
'We dry red rice in the sun then we pound it in a mortar.'
Step1
'When pounding is finished,
it is winnowed.'
ST2
'When it is winnowed,
we cook it in a pot.'
ST3
'When it is cooked,
we serve it, and then we put it in a winnowing basket.'
ST4
'When it is cool,
we yeast it.'
ST5
(When it is yeasted)
'We put it in a pot, and then we shelve it.'
ST6
'After two days,
it is made.'
Text
'It is edible.'
Expo1
'It is sweet.'
Expo2
Sec
Term
(But) 'After five days,
it is sour.'
Sec

Fig 19

WFT ¶1 Ground	Figure	
'If you want a fish trap,	we(2) go get anes bamboo at Maanes, then take it home and scrape it, then string them together, and dry them in the sun.'	S t e p1
'When you see it is dry,	you can begin to strip and clean bamboo for making the trap, but the first you strip and clean are the ribs.'	S t e p2
'When the ribs are finished,	you make a form from wood.'	S t e p3
'When the form is finished,	you weave a circlet which will be used to fasten the ribs.'	S t e p4
(When the circlet is woven)	'Put the ribs in place and fasten them, then make the bamboo strips fine, for the first weaving of its mouth.'	S t e p5
'When you see it is becoming wider,	make your strips bigger.'	S t e p6
'When you see it is sufficient to be shaped,	form the shape, widen the strips because it has become large.'	S t e p7
'When you see it is about to become smaller in diameter,	make the strips with a round section that you use to weave the trap.'	S t e p8
	(Keep weaving) 'Until it is finished becoming narrower in diameter, then you cut it, that is remove the excess, then you make an ear which you will use for carrying when you take your trap.'	S t e p9
	'That is what is done to make traps until you have made 20 (but it will take many days to make them, you understand) then they will be enough for you to go and trap mudfish.'	T e r m

Fig 20

MY Ground$_1$	Figure	Ground$_2$	
	'Pound red rice (for making wine) so you can taste the yeast you made.'	(whether it is good or not)	S t e p3
'If it is good,	it is possible to use the rest of it.'		A l t

It is assumed that a Simultaneous tagmeme presenting a procedure which occurs at the same time, rather than in chronological sequence with a preceding Step tagmeme, could also occur in Procedural Paragraphs, as it does in Project Paragraphs (see below), but as yet none have been identified in texts.

The Terminus tagmeme, as with the Conclusion of Explanatory and Hortatory Paragraphs, and the CLOSURE of discourse types, may be formally linked to the rest of the paragraph by anaphora; however, the Terminus tagmemes of both MSW and MRW are linked with time horizons to the final step of the Procedure. Notice that the sequence of time horizons, and the lexical antithesis of sweet versus sour, provide the basis for establishing an Antithetical Explanatory Paragraph in the Term of MRW. This paragraph is not further discussed because no other examples of it have been identified.

2.6. Project Paragraphs. The following bidimensional array represents the structure of Project Paragraphs:

± Setting	± Sp	+ Step^n	± Alt^2	± Sim	± Term
SS	SS DQS ExS	SS SeqS CoorS ExS MS$_1$ ParaS IQS Expl ¶	SS SeqS AntiS DQS Expl ¶	SS Proj ¶	SS

Examples of each of the above exponents of Project Paragraph tagmemes can be found in Text WSD, and in the appended Activity Discourse to text WFT.

A comparison of the structure of the Project Paragraph above, and the structures of Narrative and Procedure Paragraphs show points of similarity with each. The Project Paragraph contains a Speech tagmeme like the Narrative Paragraph, but consists primarily of Steps giving sequential activity linked by lexical chaining, with Alternate and Simultaneous tagmemes presenting non-sequential

activity, as in Procedural Paragraphs.

Procedural Paragraphs as noted above are composed of sentences containing a large proportion of non-Subjective focus clauses with the possibility of considerable deletion of clause tagmemes because of the goal-oriented nature of procedures, and the fact that the actor from Step to Step frequently remains unchanged. Project Paragraphs on the other hand are similar to Narrative in that there is a larger proportion of Subjective focus clauses, a great variety of goals, actors and activities, and consequently a much lower degree of deletion. Project paragraphs nevertheless have the same kind of time orientation as Procedural Paragraphs (see the discussion above §1.4.(2)).

The occurrence of the Speech tagmeme as a part of a Project Paragraph is well documented in WSD. Of some 14 Project paragraphs in this text, 9 contain a Speech tagmeme. Linkage between a Speech tagmeme and subsequent Step tagmemes is of the same nature as that discussed for Speech tagmemes in Narrative Paragraphs. It is the lexical association which exists between a proposal and a non-verbal response. The response may occur in the immediately following Step, with further activities described in subsequent Steps (see WSD ¶2, 10); or the response may be spread out over a series of Steps (see WSD ¶16); or the response may occur after one or more intervening Steps (see WSD ¶1).

Linkage between Steps is by lexical chaining between the nucleus and margin of the following sentence, as in Procedural Paragraphs (see Fig 21); consecutive time horizons (see Fig 22). An Extent Sentence also provides a time horizon for linkage, but draws it into the nucleus (see Fig 23). The phrase, 'not until the second day', which manifests the second Base of the Extent Sentence implies a negative clause preceding it such as 'They do not join in harvesting'. This Extent Sentence is equivalent to a Time Margin manifested by a phrase providing a time horizon, followed by a Base expressing the activity of the 3rd Base of the Extent Sentence e.g., 'On the second day, they join in harvesting'.

Alternate tagmemes link by lexical association through Conditional Margins. Fig 24 illustrates not only the Alternate tagmeme linkage system, but also lexical chaining and typical Terminus linkage by anaphora.

Fig 24 also illustrates one type of linkage which indicates a Simultaneous step. This is a lexical chain, either explicit or implicit, which indicates that the activity which follows occurs at the same time as the one which precedes. Thus, 'looking at the trail' is simultaneous with the action of 'going home'. The link in this example is implicit as is also the link in Fig 25. A further type of link which indicates a Simultaneous tagmeme is a Sentence Topic. This occurs when a Simultaneous tagmeme is presenting an activity which is performed at the same time but by a different actor, or set of actors, as the activity in the preceding Step (see Fig 26).

Fig 21

WSD ¶6 Ground	Figure	
'The first work they do in the soil preparation season,	it is digging-stick work, they use their digging sticks for one month.'	Step1
'When the digging stick work is finished,	then they begin hand scraping (making new terraces) and wall (building) for one month.'	Step2
'When that is finished,	they begin mudpacking and at the same time clean the walls until the mudpacking is finished and then they plant seed.'	Step3
'When the seedlings are grown,	they begin to transplant until the transplanting season is finished, then they proclaim the loslos ceremonial holiday.'	Stepn

Fig 22

WSD ¶1 Ground	Figure	
	'They send the children and they go and tell the married men.'	ST1
'Next day,	they take out their axes, spears and lunches.'	ST2

Fig 23

WSD ¶10-11 Ground	Figure	
	'One goes to set up his sugarcane press.' — Expl ¶ Text	Step 2
	'He is the first to harvest sugarcane.' — Expo	
	'Not until the second day then they join him harvesting cane for seven days, then they have the dalepdep holiday.'	Stepn

Fig 24

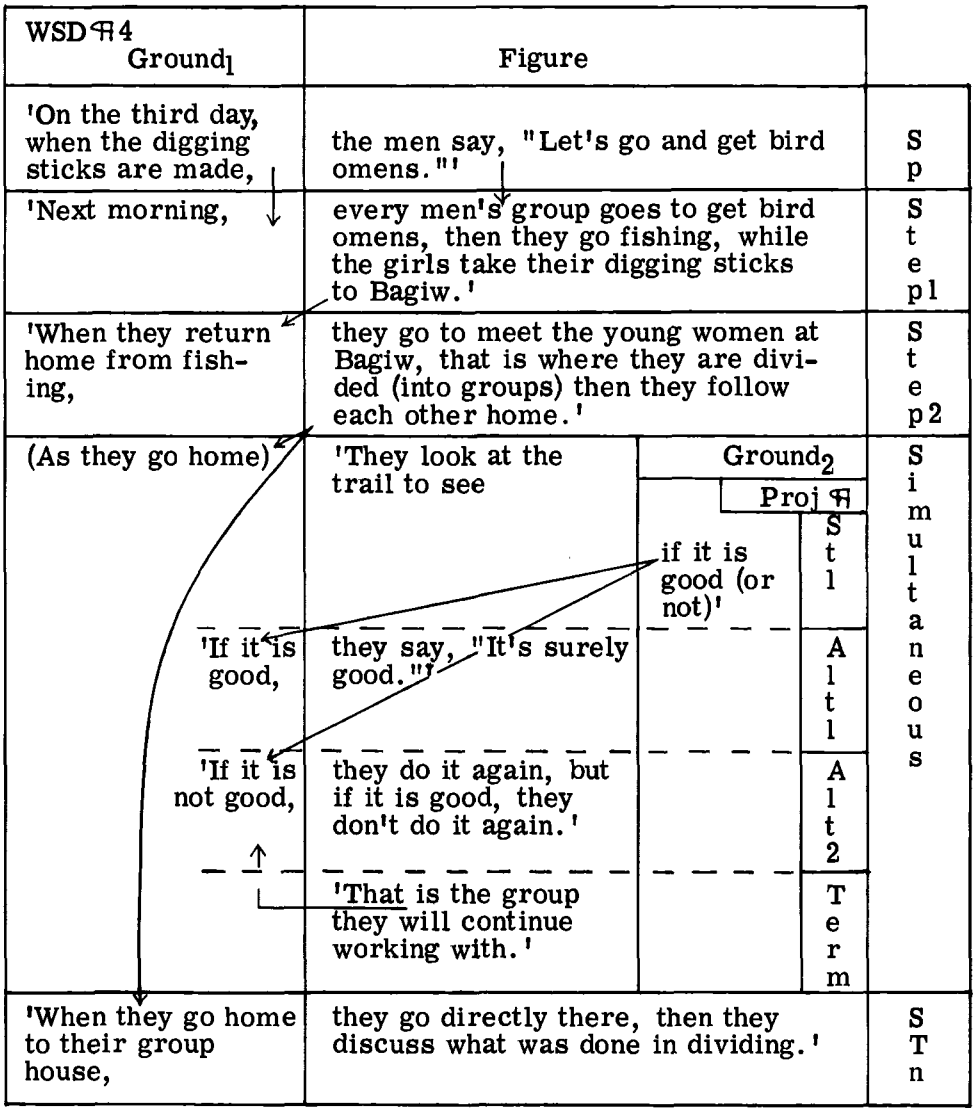
WSD ¶4
Ground1
Figure
'On the third day, when the digging sticks are made,
the men say, "Let's go and get bird omens."'
Sp
'Next morning,
every men's group goes to get bird omens, then they go fishing, while the girls take their digging sticks to Bagiw.'
Step1
'When they return home from fishing,
they go to meet the young women at Bagiw, that is where they are divided (into groups) then they follow each other home.'
Step2
(As they go home)
'They look at the trail to see
Ground2
Proj ¶
Stl
if it is good (or not)'
Simultaneous
'If it is good,
they say, "It's surely good."'
Altl
'If it is not good,
they do it again, but if it is good, they don't do it again.'
Alt2
'That is the group they will continue working with.'
Term
'When they go home to their group house,
they go directly there, then they discuss what was done in dividing.'
STn

Fig 25

WSD ¶ 13 Ground	Figure	
	'After the rice grows, the people go and stay overnight in their fields until the rains come, then they (i.e., women) work again in their groups, cleaning terrace walls.'	S t e p n
(While the women are cleaning walls)	'The men cut sticks for staking up beans.'	S i m

Fig 26

WSD ¶ 18 Ground	Figure		
	(They harvest) 'Until the kesep season, then the men go to cut wood.'		S T n
		Expl ¶	
'The women	they go to clean gardens.'	T e x t	S i
'All their plants,	that's what they taste.'	E x p o	m

2.7. Dialogue Paragraphs. Several examples of Dialogue Paragraphs have been identified in Narrative Discourse, but insufficient examples have been studied to make further comment worthwhile. Tentative analyses are presented of the Dialogue Paragraphs identified in text MF (see ¶ 3, 4, 10, and 13).

1. Hortatory Discourse 'On Joining a Village Ward' (JVW).
2. Narrative Discourse 'The Mainit Feast' (MF).
3. Procedural Discourse
   a. 'The Making of Sugar Cane Wine' (MSW).
   b. 'The Making of Rice Wine' (MRW).
   c. 'The Making of Yeast' (MY).
   d. 'How to Weave a Fish Trap' (WFT).
4. Activity Discourse 'The Story of Men of Long Ago as to What Should be Done' (WSD).

On Joining a Village Ward

P S

1 POINT 1: HORT PARA (= EXHOR, $REAS_1$, $REAS_2$, $REAS_3$, $REAS_4$)

1 EXHOR:HortS Ay mo lalaydem ay omabat
introducer if like-you link meet

as Datal siya mo nan maik-ikkan sinan ab-abongan
at Datal it if the done at-the group-house

makiik-ikkanka ta mo kanan nan amam-a en, "Sakayot
join-do-you so if say the men quote future-you

inwasiwas," gawis mo domakalka ta kiwasiwaska
get-omens good if go-out-you so join-omen-get-you

2 tay siya di nan ikkan. $REAS_1$:SS Mo kananda
because it that the done if say-they

en, "Satakot in-gawgaw domakalka ta kigawgawka.
quote future-we fishing go-out-you to join-fishing-you

3 $REAS_2$: SS Mo ges kananda en, "Satakot mangayew,"
if also say-they quote future-we kayew

idakalmo nan takbam ya nan solkodmo
take-out-you the back-basket-your and the spear-you

ta kikayewka tay inasaw-anka ya igka
to join-kayew-you because married-you and very-you

pet adi inmab-abat mo into nan igmo
negative met if where the very-you

4 nagad-angan. $REAS_3$: SS Mo kananda en, "Satakot
grew-up if say-they quote future-we

manaw-es," gawis mo domakalka ta kidaolkas
daw-es good if go-out-you to join-get-animal-you-for

2 nan deey madaw-es. $REAS_4$: HORT PARA (= EXHOR, REINF)
the this daw-es

5 EXHOR: SS Mo kananda en, "Satakot in-gag-aya,
if say-they quote future-we dance

sa mo maninaoganka ya mangokbongka,
it if loin-cloth-you and basket-hat-you

domakalkas nan ab-abongan ay ig
go-out-you-from the group-house link very

makiyanggoyanggowa ay makipattopattong,
join-dance attributive join-gong-playing

6 sagnisagniyan nan baballasang. REINF: SS Take
dance the girls even

mo inasaw-anka, in-ammakas bab-alo, tay siya
if married-you make-you-as youth because it

P S

nan omat sinan ab-abongan.
the happen in-the group-house

'If you like to join the men's group at Datal, whatever is done at the group house you should join in doing, so if the men say, "Go get omens", it is good if you go out and join in the omen hunt, because that is what is done. If they say, "Let's go ceremonial fishing," go out to join in the ceremonial fishing. If they also say, "Let's perform the kayew ceremony," take out your back-basket and your spear so you can join in the kayew ceremony, because you are a married man and you haven't yet joined a group, wherever you grew up. If they say, "Let's have the daw-es sacrifice," good if you go out to join in getting an animal for the daw-es. If they say, "Let's dance," you should put on your dinaogan loin-cloth, and your basket hat, and go out to the group house to just join in the dancing, circling with gongs, while the girls do the sagni dance. Even though you are married, act like you're still single, because that is what is done in the group house.'

3 POINT 2: HORT PARA (= EXHOR, $REAS_1$, $REAS_2$, CONCL)

7 EXHOR: HortS Kad nalpas di, ya mo way
introducer finish that and if there-is

mangwanin, "Indang-as," siya mo domakalka ta
saying-quote do-dang-as it if go-out-you so-that

kidang-aska, tay nan maikkan mo sino nan
join-dang-as-you because the done if who the

mabakas nan abongna domakal asnan datako ay
destroyed the house-his go-out to-the us link

sinpangatol ta kanana en, "Ay satakot
men's-group so say-he quote introducer future-we

8 i atpan nan abongko." $REAS_1$: HortS Mo sino nan
go thatch the house-my if who the

ed-edda nan gedayna, kananan, "Saaket indang-as,"
much the slide-his say-he-quote future-I do-dang-as

siya mo makidang-asta, adi soksokaden nan ikkan
it if join-dang-as-we negative go-contrary the do

9 nan omaatol. $REAS_2$: DQS Mo sik-a ges, mo way
the group if you also if there-is

madokotam si maligatam, kanamen, "Ay
put-upon-you of difficulty-your say-you-quote introducer

saket ayagan nan pangatolko ta sami na
future-I call the men's-group-my so future-we this

alinen nan naay dalimmog ta gawisenmi nan kowak."
roll-over the this boulder so good-we the mine

P S

10 CONCL: SS Siya di nan ik-ikkan ay sinpangatol.
it this the doing attributive men's-group

'After that, and if there is someone who says, "Let's do dang-as work," you should go out so you can join the dang-as work group, because what is done is this, whoever has a house that is destroyed, he goes out to us his group-fellows and says, "Let's go thatch my house." Whoever has a big land-slide, and he says, "I'll have the dang-as work," you should join the dang-as, and not go contrary to what is done in the men's group. If you also, if you also are put upon by difficulties, you say, "I'll call my men's group, so we can roll away this boulder, so that we can make my field good." This is what is being done by the men's group.'

4 POINT 3: COOR PARA (= SEC_1, SEC_2)

5 SEC_1: HORT PARA (= EXHOR, REINF)

11 EXHOR: SS Dey, mo kananda en, "Ay
there if say-they quote introducer

satakot omey in-obbo," mo dol-ok, take mo
future-we go obbo-work dol-ok even if

inasaw-anka, mo lalaydem ay makidol-ok, idakalmo
married-you if like-you link join-dol-ok take-out-you

nan ang-angelmo ya, ta mo maitap-ikas nan
the small-axe-your emphasis so if join-you-with the

mamaggit ya nan baballo ay in-obbos
girls and the youths attributive obbo-work-in

nan dol-ok, mo wa nan mangipangos nan siwat
the dol-ok if there-is the lead-to the cut-stick

12 engkayo insiwat. REINF: SS Ay amankat
go-you cut-stick introducer just-you

kiin-inom sinan tapey ay aw-awiten nan
join-drink of-the wine attributive carrying the

mamaggit.
girls

6 SEC_2: HORT PARA (= EXHOR, REINF)

13 EXHOR: SS Dey mo samal, ya kananda en,
there if samal and say-they quote

"Satakot in-obbo," siya ages nan oomat.
future-we work-obbo it also the happen

14 REINF: SS Nan samal, mo kananda en, "Satakot
the samal if say-they quote future-we

inwasiwas ta esa mailogi nan samal," domakalka
get-omen so future begin the samal go-out-you

P S ta makiwasiwaska.
so join-get-omen-you

'There, if they say, "Let's go work in obbo groups," and if it is dry season, even though you are a married man, if you like to join the dry-season work, take out your little axe, so that if you join with the girls and fellows who do obbo work in the dol-ok, and if there is someone who leads in cutting sticks, you go cut sticks. Just join in drinking the rice-wine that the girls carry. There, if it is the wet season, and they say, "Let's go work in obbo groups," that is also what will happen. In the wet season, if they say, "Let's go get bird omens so we can begin the work of the wet season," go out to join in getting bird omens.'

7 POINT 4: EXPL PARA (= TEXT, EXPO)

15 TEXT: SS Dey, mo kananda en, "Satakot in-onod,"
there if say-they quote future-we do-onod

ya makaeykad Bagiwet, at ibilangda sik-as
and accompany-you-to Bagiw future count-they you-in

16 nan datagmo, pangologmo. EXPO: SS Mo makap-atda,
the division-your group-your if four-they

as wadakas nan maikap-at.
future there-is-you-in the fourth

'There if they say, "Let's have the onod ceremony," and if you accompany them to Bagiw, they will count you into your section, your group. If they are divided into four, you will be in the fourth.'

POINT 5: HORTATORY DISCOURSE (= $POINT_{1-3}$)

8 POINT 1: HORT PARA (= EXHOR, REINF)

17 EXHOR: SS Dey adita ig matmatlad sinan
there negative-we very unreliable in-the

obbo tay adi lolomyad nan ib-a
work-group because negative love the companion

18 mo igta matmatlad. REINF: SubS Ay siya
if very-we unreliable introducer it

mo sino nan mangipangos nan asyaanggay ya anosan
if who the lead-to the any-kind and patient

ay makaey tay matkematken nan iyobbon
link accompany because different the obbo-work

nan datako ay in-obbo mo kiobbota.
the we attributive do-obbo if join-obbo-we

'There, don't be unreliable in the work group because the companions won't like you, if you're very unreliable. Who-

P S ever leads to whatever kind of work, you should be patient to accompany them, because the work which we people who join the obbo group give to be done is of many different kinds.'

9 POINT 2:HORT PARA(= EXHOR, REAS, REINF)

19 EXHOR: CoorS Dey, mo kananda en, "Entako
there if say-they quote go-we

in-goyogoy si nan lemlem," ay take mo
shift-soil in the typhoon introducer even if

lemlem ay nan ngen ib-am ay
typhoon question the doubt companion-your attributive

ipogaw ay in-goyogoy ya alaen pay
person attributive shift-soil and get moreover

nan salidonget ya nan ballita et enta
the rain-cape and the crowbar sequence go-we

20 kigoyogoy. REAS: RheS Sa pay mo nan
join-shift-soil if moreover if the

ib-am ay ipogaw ya teken
companion-your attributive person and different

10 nan kodilna? REINF: EXPL PARA (= TEXT, EXPO)
the skin-his

21 TEXT:MS_1 At nakomegda, tinmakdangda
future cold-they stepped-out-they

ay i in-anido, at enta in-anido.
link go warm future go-we get-warm

22 EXPO: SS On-onneytako ay lallalaki
better-we attributive men

mo nan babbabai.
than the women

'There, if they say, "Let's go sluice soil in the typhoon," even though it is a typhoon, isn't it your fellow man who is sluicing soil? And so get moreover your raincape and your crowbar, and go join in sluicing soil. If he's your fellow man, do you think his skin is any different from yours? When they are cold, and they have stepped out to go warm themselves, you can go warm yourself. We men are better off than the women (who don't stop to get warm)."

11 POINT 3: HORT PARA (= EXHOR, WARN)

23 EXHOR: ParaS Dey, omat ges nan dang-as,
there like also the dang-as

adita mabmablay ay mo indang-as nan esa
negative-we tire link if do-dang-as the one

P S

ya inpakpak ay ig inlateng, anosan
and mud-packing attributive very cold endure

kayet ay makaey tay mo ig angsan nan
even-yet link accompany because if very many the

soblim ya way mamingsan si ikwanim ay
return-you and there-is once of say-you link

indang-aska ay akit nan dang-asem tay
do-dang-as-you link little the dang-as-you because

24 ig angsan nan soblim. WARN:SS Ken adida
very many the return-you And negative-they

sik-a lalayden pay, mo mamingsan, mo igka
you like moreover if one-time if very-you

matmatlad.
unreliable

'There, just like the dang-as work, don't get tired, that is if one man has the dang-as work group and it is mud packing which is very cold, endure to accompany, because if there are many occasions on which you don't go, and comes a time when you say you want the dang-as group, you'll get only a little work done, because there are many occasions you didn't go (therefore the people for whom you didn't work, won't work for you). And sometimes moreover they won't like you if you are very unreliable.'

12 CLOSURE: EXPL PARA (= TEXT, EXPO)

25 TEXT:SS Siya di nan ikkan ay makiab-abongan.
it that the doing attributive join-group-house

26 EXPO:SS Take mo inasaw-anta ya sinmek ay wa
even if married-we and thought link there-is

nan lalaydem ay omabatan, siya di nan ikakaman.
the like-you link meeting-place it that the doing

'That is what is done to join the men's group house. Even though you are a married man, and you have thought that there is a place you'd like to meet at, that is what is to be done.'

13 POST-FINAL POINT: HORT PARA (= EXHOR, $REINF_1$, $REINF_2$)

27 EXHOR:ParaS Dey, mo bab-alota, siya di ges nan
there if youth-we it that also the

ikakaman ay nan bab-alota mo gaponta omabat, enda
done link the youth-we if first-we meet go-they

28 mangabowanan, enta kigabowanan. $REINF_1$:SS
get-gabowanan-logs go-we join-gabowanan

Mo inbob-olegda nan ib-ay baballo,
if follow-they the companions-link youth

P S

14 makibob-olegta. REINF$_2$: EXPL PARA (= TEXT, REAS)
join-follow-we

29 TEXT:CoorS Adita ig nangingi ya adita
negative-we very complain and negative-we

ig inngolongolongol tay paigokatas dis
very grumble because make-talk that-to

15 nan ib-a. REAS: EXPL PARA (= TEXT, EXPO)
the companion

30 TEXT:ParaS Masapol nga am-in ay
necessary link all attributive

31 ipogaw, mablayta. EXPO: SS Gengenekta mo
people tired-we(dual) quiet-we if

mablayta.
tired-we

'There, if you were a youth, that is also what you would do, that is, if you are a youth, and you first join, when they go to get gabowanan logs, you join in getting the gabowanan logs. If your fellow youth are following along the trail, join in following them. Don't complain and grumble because that causes us to be talked about by our companions. It is necessary that all people get tired. Just be quiet if you're tired.'

32 FINIS: SS Kedeng di.
only that

'That's all.'

2. NARRATIVE DISCOURSE

The Mainit Feast

1 APERTURE: SS Nan iMainit, domnoda kano.
the Mainit-people feast-they report

'The Mainit people, they feasted, it is said.'

1 EPISODE 1: NARR PARA (= BU$_1$, BU$_n$)

2 BU$_1$: MS Inmalida nan iMainit ay in-awid ad
came-they the Mainit-people link return to

Guinaang, tay domnoda.
Guinaang because feast-they

2 BU$_n$: EXPL PARA (= TEXT, EXPO)

3 TEXT: SS Nawakas pay nadkatda nan
next-day moreover visit-they the

4 iGuinaang. EXPO: SS Igda angsan nan inmey.
Guinaang-people very-they many the go

'The Mainit people came to Guinaang to invite them to Mainit because they were feasting. The next day moreover the Guinaang people went to visit. Very many went.'

P S

3 EPISODE 2: NARR PARA (= SETTING, SP_1, BU_n)

5 SETTING: SS Nan naay esa ay iGuinaang
the this one attributive person-Guinaang

ay maiwed madkatana, tay maid
attributive none visiting-place-his because none

agina, nal-osda kano nan ipogaw, ig insemesemek
relative-his departed report the person very thoughtful

6 sinan deey kag-aw. SP_1 (PROP): DQS "Ay eyak man
in that midday introducer go-I

7 et insalang ad Mainit." BU_n:CoorS Inmey kano,
buy-meat at Mainit went report

inmon-onod.
followed

'This one Guinaang man who had no place to visit because he had no relatives, when the people had left he was very thoughtful during that day. "I'm going to go buy meat at Mainit." He went, it is told, and followed.'

4 EPISODE 3: COMPX DIA PARA (= SETTING, SP_1, SP_1, SP_2)

8 SETTING: ParaS Manad-alan ad Lang-ayan, inilana nan
walk to Lang-ayan saw-he the

otot ay manad-alan, makidad-alan nan otot.
rat attributive walking join-walking the rat

9 SP_1 (Q):ThoS Kanana en mo ad-it ne nan ibagan
say-he quote if negative what the say

nan otot, tay apay manad-alan ya omon-onod.
the rat because why walk and follow

10 SP_1 (PROP):ThoS Piniditna kano nan bato ay
picked-up-he report the stone link

11 mangwani en mananog. SP_2 ($\overline{\text{PROP}}$): ParaS Nanbal kano
saying quote throw-at answer report

nan otot, kanana kano en, "Adika domanog,
the rat say-he report quote negative-you throw-at

tay ad Mainit nan omayak."
because to Mainit the go-I

'As he was walking to Lang-ayan he saw a rat walking, the rat was walking with him. He wondered what the rat wanted to tell him, because why was it walking and following? He picked up a stone thinking he would throw it (at the rat). The rat answered, it said, "Don't throw at me, because Mainit is my destination."'

5 EPISODE 4: COMPX DIA PARA (= SP_1, SP_2, SP_1, SP_2)

P S

12 SP_1(REM):DQS Kinwanin nan am-ama en, "Tay
said the man quote because

sak-en eyak ad Mainit, ay eyak insalang, ay maiwed
me go-I to Mainit link go-I buy-meat link none

13 agimi ad Mainit." SP_2(REM): DQS Kinwanin nan
relative-our at Mainit said the

otot en, "Sak-en siya nan omayak, ta eyak ges omalas
rat quote me that the go-I so go-I also get

watwat tay nadkatda ges nan ib-ami, ya
meat because visit-they also the companion-our and

14 maid madkatak." SP_1(PROP):DQS Kanan kano nan
none visit-I say report the

am-ama en, "Ay mo siya sa et, inbob-olegtat
man quote introducer if it that follow-we

15 ta entad Mainit ay dowa mo." SP_2(PROP):DQS
so go-we-to Mainit link two then

Kinwanin nan otot en, "Adika domanog mampay
said the rat quote negative-you throw-at then

ta entad Lobbangan et esaka kay sosom-ed ya,
so go-we-to Lobbangan then-you wait-me exclama-

et as sak-en nan i omalas watwat."
tion then future me the go get meat

'The man said, "Because as for me, I'm going to Mainit, I'm going to buy meat, I have no relatives at Mainit." The rat said, "As for me, that's where I'm going, because my companions are visiting and I have no visiting place." The man said, "If that is so, let's go together, so we can go to Mainit, the two of us." The rat said, "Don't you throw at me, so we can go to Lobbangan and then you wait for me, and it will be me who will go to get meat."'

6 EPISODE 5: NARR PARA (= SP_1, BU_1, BU_2, BU_n)

7 16 SP_1(PROP):DQS (16-18) (= TM, DQF, QSig, DQ: HORT PARA [= EXHOR, REINF])

Inmeyda pay kano ad Lobbangan, kinwanin kano
go-they moreover report to Lobbangan said report

17 nan otot en, "Intatabonkas nan naay liyang, as
the rat quote hide-you-in the this cave future

18 wa nan alaek en iyalik. Sik-a nan manotokpaw."
there-is the get-I and bring-I you the guard

19 BU_1:SS Somaal kano tet-ewa nan naay otot ad
go-home report truly the this rat to

P S

Mainit sinan labi et, tay nan domno kayman
Mainit in-the night because the feasters explain

naseyepanda nan deeyda manotokpaw sinan deey maloto
sleep-they the those guards of-the that cooked

20 ay watwat. BU_2:CoorS Kedeng ay lokaben
attributive meat only link uncover

nan naay otot nan deey sangdal ay nanapnos
the this rat the that vat attributive filled-with

21 nan watwat ya dalolosena nan dowan botol. BU_n:SeqS
the meat and dragged-he the two slices

Kedeng ay ilayawnat, isleknas nan baang et,
only link took-away-he enter-he-to the cane

eneyna ad Lobbangan sinan deey am-ama.
took-he to Lobbangan to-the that man

'Having gone to Lobbangan, the rat said, "You hide in this cave, there is something that I will be getting and bringing. You be the one to guard." This rat truly entered the village of Mainit at night, because the feasters, let me explain, they sleep, those who guard the cooking meat. The rat uncovered the vat filled with meat and dragged out two slices of meat. He ran away with it, he made his way through the sugarcane field, and took it to Lobbangan to the man.'

8 EPISODE 6: NARR PARA (= SP_1, BU_n)

9 22 SP_1(PROP):DQS (22-24) (DQF, QS, DQ: HORT PARA
23 [= SETTING, EXHOR])

Inneyna pay, ya kanana en, "Naay kan.
took-he moreover and say-he quote here

24 Totokpawam na ta kasiyak kayet i omala ya
guard-you this so again-I even-yet go get emphasis

ta eyak omakon si watwat sisa ta isaal."
so go-I transfer of meat there so take-home

10 BU_n: EXPL PARA (= TEXT, EXPO)

25 TEXT:SS Kasi kano ges tet-ewa omey.
again report also truly go

26 EXPO:ParaS Aw-ay nangaat ay in-awid
maybe how-many attributive return

tineb-awana nan deey sinsangdal ay watwat.
depleted-he the that one-vat link meat

'Having taken it, he said, "Here it is. Guard this, so I will again go to get some more, so I will go to relay meat from there to here to take home." How many times did he go back and forth, he depleted the whole vat-full of meat.'

P S

11 EPISODE 7: COMPX DIA PARA (= SP_1, SP_2, SP_3)

27 SP_1(Q):SeqS Adi pay tanggawan nan naay
negative moreover light the this

iMainit ay mamankel sinan watwat
Mainit-person attributive responsible for-the meat

et, kanana en, "Ay into pay nan inmayan
say-he quote introducer where moreover the went

san deey watwat sina tay pasig begas nan maid."
the that meat here because very meat the none

28 $SP_2(\overline{PROP})$:DQS Kananda kano en, "Ay
say-they report quote introducer

ilaenyo od man mo into nan mangmangnayana mo
look-you then if where the taking-place-it if

29 ad-it ipogaw?" SP_3(RESP):AntiS Ilaenda kano,
not person look-they report

maiwed met nangak-akang an didas nan papatonganda,
none step-between of them-of the sitting-their

ngem nan naay i manganggay sid-i, nan naay otot.
but the this go finish-off there the this rat

'Now then the Mainit man who was responsible for the meat shone a light on it and said, "Where has that meat gone, because the meat that was here has completely gone." They said, "You look where it has been taken to, if it is not someone (who has taken it away)." They looked, there was no way for anyone to pass through where they were sitting, but the one who had finished it off was this rat.'

12 EPISODE 8: NARR PARA (= SETTING, SP_1, BU_1, BU_n)

30 SETTING:SS Adi pay nan naay watwat ay
negative moreover the this meat attributive

sasad-en nan am-ama ad Lobbangan, ig sintobon.
wait the man at Lobbangan very one-pile

13 31 SP_1(PROP):DQS (31-34) (DQF, QSig, DQ: EXPL PARA [= TEXT, $REAS_1$, $REAS_2$])

Kasi kayet ges kano kanan nan deey am-ama en,
again even-yet also report say the that man quote

32 "Engka man naanalog sinan deey bayas. Yakey
33 go-you steal of-the that wine exclamation

siyas nan naay watwat et ig ed-edda na ya.
it-of the this meat link very much this emphasis

34 Yakey ig maid ininomtas bayas."
exclamation very none drunk-we-of wine

P S

35 BU_1:SeqS Kasi kano ges omey nan naay otot et,
again report also go the this rat link

pay-ena nan naay ballakew sinan deey bayas ay
put-he the this plant of-the that wine attributive

naibabadeng nan lokban sinan deey titiyan.
placed the jar at-the that dripping-place

36 BU_n:SeqS Pay-ana kano nan naay dowa ay
put-he report the this two attributive

ballakew ay ig amam-a et, iyayoayodoknat,
plants attributive very big bent-over-he

eneynas nan am-ama et, inomena.
took-he-to the man link drunk-he

'Now the meat that the man waited for at Lobbangan, it was one heap. Once again the man said, "You go and just steal away some of the sugarcane wine. This meat, there is a great lot of it here! Shucks, we haven't had a drink of sugarcane wine!" Again it is told, this rat went, he filled a pitcher plant with sugarcane wine, the wine jar was placed under the eaves. Having filled two very big pitcher plants, he was bent over with them, and he took them to the man, and he drank it.'

14 EPISODE 9: NARR PARA (= SP_1, BU_1, BU_n)

37 SP_1(PROP):DQS Kanan kayet kano ges nan naay
say even-yet report also the this

am-ama ay iGuinaang ay ipogaw
man attributive Guinaang-person attributive person

en, "Ay engkat man ta nan et makan si
quote introducer go-you so the rice the

38 naanal-am." BU_1:SeqS Kasi kano ges omey nan
get-you again report also go the

naay otot et, wa nan nagogowad et, in-alana
this rat link there-is the served link got-he

39 di et ipaeynas nan giyag. BU_n:SeqS Eneyna ges
that link put-he-in the plate took-he also

ad Lobbangan sinan am-ama et id-ana.
to Lobbangan to-the man link reach-he

'Again this Guinaang person said, "You go and just get some cooked rice." Again the rat went, there was some ladled, he got it, he put it in a plate. He took it also to Lobbangan, to the man, he reached him.'

15 EPISODE 10: NARR PARA (= SP_1, BU_n)

16 40 SP_1(PROP):DQS (40-42) (=DQF, QSig, DQ: HORT PARA
[=EXHOR, REAS])

P S

41 Kanana kano ges, "Assa, akat man ta esatat
say-he report also there come-you so future-we

42 mangan. Ay ayaka pan nas watwatta."
eat introducer sufficient this-for meat-our

43 Bu_n:SS Manganda.
eat-they

'He also said, "Come and let's eat. That's plenty of meat for us." They ate.'

17 EPISODE 11: NARR PARA (= SP_1, BU_1, BU_n)

44 SP_1(PROP):DQS Kanan kano nan am-ama en, "Ta
say report the man quote

eyak pan somiwat si soksokay sinan sana an tag-ey
go-I cut of sticks in-the that at above

45 et ibatawilta." BU_1:C-RS Adi pay
link carry-rod-we negative moreover

lidingenda kano iyakyakotkot nan naay am-ama.
stick-on-they report bend-down the this man

18 BU_n: EXPL PARA (= TEXT, EXPO)

46 TEXT:SS Aman kano omon-onod ges nan naay
just report follow also the this

47 otot ay maiwed awitna. EXPO:SS Nan
rat attributive none load-his the

naay am-ama nan mangaawit sinan deey inalada
this man the carry of-the that got-they

ay watwat.
link meat

'The man said, "I'm going to go cut sticks from up above, we will use them for carrying rods." Now then they pushed the meat on to the carrying rods, that man was bowed down with the load. The rat, without a load, just followed along. This man was the one to carry all the meat they got.'

19 EPISODE 12: COMPX DIA PARA (= SP_1, SP_2, SP_2, TERM)

48 SP_1(PROP):CoorS Adi pay, omalidas
negative moreover come-they-to

Salibangaw, kanan kano nan otot en, "O ay
Salibangaw say report the rat quote hey introducer

ingedwaenta pet, ta kaanem nan sana as sonina, ta
divide-we so remove-you the that at end-it so

ibadengmo ta isaalmo nan kowam si abongmo."
put-down-you so take-home-you the yours to house-your

P S

49 $SP_2(\overline{Q})$:DQS Kanan kano nan am-ama ay
say report the man attributive

mataag en, "Ay into pay ngen nan
surprised quote introducer where moreover doubt the

sa mangnayan tona tay maid met abong datona."
future take-place this because none house this-one

50 $SP_2(\overline{PROP})$:DQS Kanan kayet kano nan otot en,
say even-yet report the rat quote

"O, ibadengmo ya et tomaynanka, somaalka,
hey put-down-you emphasis link leave-me-you go-home-you

51 as ges igadak si omayak." TERM:SS
future also responsibility-mine of go-I

Deey, nan pet in-aabongan nan otot as liyang ad Alatey.
there the house-place the rat at cave at Alatey

'Now they came to Salibangaw and the rat said, "Let's divide it, so you remove one end of the load, you put it down, and take home yours to your house." The man said, surprised, "Where is it going to take it to, because it doesn't have a home?" The rat also said, "You put it down and leave me and go home, it's up to me where I'll go." There, the house of that rat was in the cave at Alatey.'

20 EPISODE 13: EXPL PARA (= TEXT, REAS, EXPO)

52 TEXT:SS Sinmaal pan nan naay am-ama ay
went-home the this man attributive

iGuinaang, linmawas et nan deey inalana ay
Guinaang-person went-beyond the that got-he link

watwat a, tay somaalda nan nadkat, manool
meat tag because go-home-they the guests take-shares

53 nan naayda nadkat anak-it nan idoolda. REAS:SS
the these guests little the shared-they

Manool kano nan naay am-ama ay kagwan
take-share report the this man attributive companion

nan otot, katkatlowena nan sinbotol sinan idoolnas
the rat third-he the one-slice of-the share-his-with

54 nan saggongda. EXPO:AntiS Adi pay
the neighbors-they negative moreover

insap-ey kano nan deey am-amas nan watwat ay
dry report the that man-of the meat link

idakalna ad dela, ig kano maid isap-ey nan
take-out-he to outside very report none dry the

naayda nadkat, ngem otot pay nan deey kagwana.
these guests but rat moreover the that companion-his

P S

'When this Guinaang man got home, he had more meat (than others), because when the guests came home they took shares (to their neighbors), but only little portions were shared. When this man, the rat's companion, took slices, he took thirds of one large slice to neighbors as their portion. Now this man dried his meat, he took it outside, whereas those guests didn't dry a single piece, but a rat moreover was his companion.'

55 MORAL:SS Maipanggep dis nan maid agina,
reference that-to the none relatives-his

isonga naligat nan maid aginas
that-is-why difficult the none relative-his-to

kankanan.
say

'This has been about those who have no relatives, that is why it is not good to be talking about those who have no relatives.'

56 FINIS:SS Nalpas.
finish

'It is finished.'

3a. PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE

The Making of Sugarcane Wine

TITLE:relator-axis phrase Nan Maammaan nan Bayas
the making the wine

'The Making of Sugarcane Wine.'

1 PROCEDURE: PROC PARA (= ST_1, ST_2, ST_3, ST_4, TERM)

1, 2 ST_1:SS Engkami patpaten nan onas. ST_2:SeqS Malpas
go-we cut the cane finish

ay mapatpat, iyalimis nan aaboyowan, sami
link cut bring-we-to the cooking-place then-we

3 baliwsen. ST_3:SeqS Mapno nan baldi, alaenmi,
mill fill the drum get-we

4 ipaeymis nan sangdal, sami lotowen. ST_4:SeqS
put-we-in the vat then-we cook

5 Ipaeymis nan dalay, pay-an sinan gamo. TERM:MS_2
put-we-in the jar put of-the berry

Malpas ay sinpolo ya limay algew,
finish link ten and five-attributive day

mabalin ay mainom.
possible link drinkable

'We go to cut the sugarcane. When cutting is finished we bring it to the cookingplace, then we mill it. When the drum

P S is full, we get it, and put it in the vat, and then we cook it. We put it in the wine jar, and then add the fermenting berries. After fifteen days it is drinkable.'

3b. PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE

The Making of Rice Wine

TITLE:relator-axis phrase Nan Maammaan nan Tapey
the making the wine

'The Making of Rice Wine.'

1 PROCEDURE: PROC PARA (= ST_1, ST_2, ST_3, ST_4, ST_5, ST_6 TERM)

1 ST_1:SeqS Isap-eymi nan dayyong, samit bayowen
dry-we the red-rice then-we pound

2 sinan losong. ST_2:SS Malpas ay mabayo, matap-an.
in-the mortar finish link pound winnow

3 ST_3:SS Malpas ay matap-an, lotowen sinan banga.
finish link winnow cook in-the pot

4 ST_4:SeqS Mo naloto, gowaden, pay-en sinan ligao.
when cooked serve put in-the basket

5, 6 ST_5:SS Mabaew, bobodan. ST_6:SeqS Pay-en sinan
cool yeast put in-the

2 banga, ipatang. TERM: ANTI PARA (= SEC, $\overline{\text{SEC}}$)
pot shelf

2.1 SEC: EXPL PARA (= TEXT, EXPO, REAS)

7 TEXT:SS Malpas nan doway algew,
finish the two-attributive day

8, 9 nagaeb. EXPO:SS Makan. REAS:SS Inlamsit.
made food sweet

10 $\overline{\text{SEC}}$:SS Malpas nan limay algew, in-appakang.
finish the five-attributive days sour

'We dry red rice, and then we pound it in the mortar. When pounding is finished, it is winnowed. When winnowing is finished, cook it in a pot. When it is cooked, serve it, and put it in a winnowing basket. When it is cool, put yeast on it. Put it in a pot, and place it on a shelf. After two days, it is made. The pulp is edible. It is sweet. After five days it is sour.'

3c. PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE

P S

The Making of Yeast

TITLE:relator-axis phrase Nan Maammaan nan Bobod
the making the yeast

'The Making of Yeast.'

1 PROCEDURE: PROC PARA (= ST_1, ST_2, ST_3, ALT ST_1)

1 ST_1:SeqS Palatem nan binayo, sakat
powder-you the pounded-rice then-you

someseset sinan onas onno apao samet ib-el sinan
squeeze of-the cane or cane then-you wet on-the

2 napalat ay binayo. ST_2:SeqS
powdered attributive pounded-rice

Mokmokowen samet pay-en sinan lig-o, isap-eymo
mould-you then-you put in-the basket dry-you

3 engganas malango. ST_3:SS Bomayokas nan dayyong
until dry pound-you-of the red-rice

4 ta ippengmo nan inammam ay bobod. ALT ST_1:
so taste-you the made-you attributive yeast

ParaS Mo gawis, mabalin ay osalem nan ib-ana.
if good possible link use-you the rest-it

'You powder pounded rice, then you squeeze either onas or apao sugar cane, then you use it to wet the powdered rice. You mould it (into balls) then you put it in a winnowing basket, and place in the sun until dry. Pound red rice (for making wine) so you can taste the yeast you made. If it is good, it is possible to use the rest of it.'

3d. COMPOUND DISCOURSE composed of a PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE and an ACTIVITY DISCOURSE

How to Weave a Fish Trap

PART I: PROCEDURE DISCOURSE (= TITLE, PROCEDURE, CLOSURE)

TITLE:relator-axis phrase Nan Ikaman ay Inlagas
the doing link weaving

Obel.
fish-trap

1 PROCEDURE: PROC PARA (= ST_{1-10})

1 ST_1:SeqS Mo layden ay wad-ay obel, enta
if like link there-is fish-trap go-we

manganes sinan anes ad Maanes, saet isaal
get-bamboo of-the bamboo at Maanes then take-home

ya kaisan saet paloyoden ya isap-ey.
and scrape then tie-side-by-side and dry-in-sun

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ST_2:AntiS Ilaem ay nalango, mabalin ay
see-you link dry possible link

2 ilogim ay in-owas ay omammas obel,
begin-you link strip-clean link made-of fish-trap

ngem nan omona ay owasam nan tadlang.
but the first link strip-clean-you the ribs

3 ST_3:SS Nalpas nan tadlang, gomaebkas kaew si
finish the ribs made-you-of wood the

4 litebmo. ST_4:SS Nalpas nan liteb, somablakkas
form-your finish the form make-circlet-you-for

5 mangitakdam sinan tadlang. ST_5:SeqS Iyammam
binding-you of-the ribs make-you

nan tadlang, ya itakedmo samet banan-igen nan
the ribs and tie-you then-you small the

owasmos nan gaponmo ilagas nan topekna.
strip-your-for the begin-you weave-for the mouth-it

6 ST_6:SS Ilaem ay dowa maew-ewwa, daddadakkelem
see-you link continue widen make-big-you

7 nan owasmo. ST_7:CoorS Ilam ay komnas
the strips-your see-you link enough-for

maikalpi, ikalpim, maen-enew-aem nan owasam
shaping shape-you widen-you the strip-you

8 tay dinmakkel. ST_8:SS Ilaem ges ay
because become-big see-you also link

teg-angay masagyomot, boklem nan owasam ay
nearly narrow round-you the strip-you attributive

9 ilagam sinan obel. ST_9:ExS Engganay nalpas
weave-you on-the fish-trap until-link finish

ay nasagyomot samet lipasan ay kaanem nan
link narrow then-you cut-ends link remove-you the

10 deeyda solokna. ST_{10}:SS Nalpas di, sakat gomaeb
that excess finish that then-you make

si kolengna asnan manawtaw-idam sinan mangnayam
of ear-it for-the holding-place for-the taking-you

sinan obelmo.
of-the fish-trap-your

'If a fish trap is needed, we go get bamboo from the bamboo at Maanes, then take it home, scrape it, tie it side by side and dry it in the sun. When you see it is dry, you can begin to strip and clean bamboo for making a trap, but the first you strip and clean are the ribs. After the ribs are finished, you make a form of wood. When the form is finished, you

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plait a circlet for the binding place of the ribs. Put the ribs in place and fasten them, then make small (fine) the bamboo strips you prepare for your first weaving at its mouth. When you see it is becoming wider, make your strips bigger. When you see it is sufficient to be shaped, form the shape (by twisting the ribs back to the wooden form), and widen your strips because it has become large. When you also see it is about to become narrower, make the strip with a round section, that you use to weave the fish trap. (Do this) until it has become narrow, then you cut off the ends, that is you remove the excess. When that is done, then you make its ear for a holding place, for when you take your fish trap (to the field).'

11 CLOSURE:SS Siya di nan ikkan ay in-ammas
it that the doing link make-of

obel mo engganay wad-ay ginaebmos dowan
fish-trap if until-link there-is made-you-of two

polo (ngem angsan ay algew a nan mangab-am
ten but many attributive day tag the making-your

sid-i) sa mabalin ay komnas engka
there then possible link sufficient-for go-you

iyobel sinan banisbis.
fish-trap of-the mud-fish

'That's what is done to make fishtraps until you have made twenty (but it will take you many days to make them, you understand) then there will be enough for you to go and trap mudfish.'

2 ACTIVITY: PROJ PARA (= ST_1, ALT ST_1, ALT ST_2)

12 ST_1:SeqS Mo enta mangobel ilan ay
if go-we use-fish-trap see link

maisoyaw nan algew, eney nan obel sinan
mid-afternoon the sun take the fish-trap to-the

payew samet kaoten nan pitek ya iyammam,
field then-you scoop-out the mud and place-you

kanam ay mangwani en, "Masdem mayomyomkayo
say-you link saying quote tonight gather-you

ay banisbis sinan naay obelko, tay
attributive mudfish in-the this fish-trap-my because

as talan-o, igak inwiwiit ay omali ay
future cockcrow very-I early link come link

mangala tay ig lalayden da Yadyad-an
get because very like plural Yadyad-an

anda Ag-agto nan banisbis."
with-plural Ag-agto the mudfish

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3 ALT ST_1: EXPL PARA (= TEXT, EXPO, CONCL)

13 TEXT:AntiS Tay mo omodan, siya di nan
because if rain it that the

ig angsan nan banisbis, ngem nan ad-i gawis,
very many the mudfish but the not good

nan aso, tay masdem, ena ngotngotan nan
the dog because night go-it chew-on the

14 obel. EXPO:SS Mo omeykamis nan wiit ya
trap if go-we-in the morning and

wad-ay nangotngotan, ay-ayyew nan nginotngotana
there-is chewed-on wasted the chewed-it

15 tay binakasna. CONCL:ParaS Masapol ay
because destroy-it necessary link

kasita gomaeb ges si maisokat.
again-we make also the change

16 ALT ST_2:SeqS Isaalmo di nan deey. . .
take-home-you that the that

engkalem nan deey obel ya alaem nan nakna
take-out-you the that trap and get-you the caught

mo wad-ay samet taw-iden nan obelmo
if there-is then-you tie-together-you the trap-your

ya yakyakam sinan danom ta makaan nan pitek
and shake-you in-the water so remove the mud

samet ibatawil ta somaalka.
then-you carry-bar so go-home-you

'If we go fish trapping, we see when it is midafternoon, then take the fishtraps to the field, then you scoop out mud and place them and say, "Tonight, you mudfish gather in my trap, because before dawn tomorrow I will start very early to come and get you because Yadyad-an and Ag-agto and their companions like mudfish very much." Because if it rains, that is when there are many mudfish, but what is not good is a dog, because in the night it will go and chew open the trap. If we go in the morning and if there is a chewed trap, the one that is chewed is useless, because it (the dog) has destroyed it. It is necessary that we again make replacements. You take home that. . . you get out (of the mud) that trap and get the fish that are caught if there are some, then you tie together your traps and shake them in the water so the mud will be removed, then you place them on the ends of a carrying bar so you can go home.

17 FINIS:SS Deey, nalpas.
there finish

'There, that's the end.'

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4. ACTIVITY DISCOURSE

The Story of Men of Long Ago as to What Should be Done

This whole text is an Indirect Quote Sentence. The discourse under analysis expounds the Quotation slot of the sentence.

Kanandaen, "...
say-they-quote

'They say, "...

DISCOURSE TOPIC:phrase Sik-od ikakaman ay
should doing link

kiobbo,
join-obbo-group

'What should be done by those joining the obbo working group.'

ACTIVITY 1: ACTIVITY DISCOURSE (= ACTIVITY$_{1-4}$)

1 ACTIVITY 1: PROJ PARA (= SP$_1$, ST$_1$, ST$_2$, ST$_3$, ST$_n$)

1 SP$_1$:ExS Maani nan pagey engganay kesep,
harvest the rice until kesep-season

kanan nan amam-aen, "Engkayo omalas
say the men-quote go-you(plural) get

2 kamey." ST$_1$:CoorS Baalenda nan ongong-a,
digging-stick send-they the children

3 enda inwaswas sinan inasaw-an. ST$_2$:SS
go-they tell-around to-the married

Mawakas et idakalda nan wasayda ya nan
next-day take-out-they the axe-their and the

4 solkodda ya nan sengetda. ST$_3$:SeqS
spear-their and the lunch-their

5 Maligwatdat omeydad Ayoma. ST$_n$:ExS
start-they-sequence go-they-to Ayoma

Sik-od tolon algew esa makna nan kamey.
until three days then enough the digging-sticks

'The rice is harvested until the kesep season and then the men say, "Go and get digging sticks." They send the children and they go and tell the married men. The next day, they take out their axes, spears and lunches. They start and go to Ayoma. Not until three days have passed are there enough digging sticks.'

2 ACTIVITY 2: PROJ PARA (= SP$_1$, ST$_1$, ST$_n$)

6 SP$_1$:DQS Kap-at si algew, kanandas nan
fourth day say-they-to the

7 baballowen "Engkayo isadang." ST$_1$:ExS
youths-quote go-you(plural) rack

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I isadang nan baballo tet-ewa et nalango
go rack the youths truly sequence dry

8 engganay wad-ay inag-agom. ST_n:SeqS Ilogin
until there-is feasting begin

nan esa ay in-ag-agom saet i inkena nan
the one feasting then-sequence go catch the

baballo as obboda.
youths the work-group-their

'On the fourth day they say to the youths, "Go and place them on a drying-rack." The youths truly go and rack them, and they dry until the feasting time. One begins the feasting and then the young men go to catch (choose) their working group partners.'

3 ACTIVITY 3: EXPL PARA (= TEXT, EXPO)

9 TEXT:SeqS Adwani enda alaen nan kamey
now go-they get the digging-sticks

10 et gab-endas nan ab-abongan. EXPO:ExS
sequence make-they-in the men's-house

Siya di nan iyasogan nan mamaggit ay
it that the cook-outside the girls

obboda engganay dowan algew nan
work-group-their until two days the

in-as-asogan nan mamaggit sinal makan ya nan itab.
cook-outside the girls of-the rice and the beans

'Now they go and get the digging sticks (forms) and make them in the men's group house. That is when the young women cook rice outside for their working group, for two days they cook rice and beans outside.

4 ACTIVITY 4: PROJ PARA (= SP_1, ST_1, SIM ST, ST_n)

11 SP_1:DQS Katlon si algew, ay nagaeb nan kamey
third day made the digging-sticks

kanan nan amam-aen, "Satako itakdang."
say the men-quote future-we(inclusive) step-out

12 ST_1:SeqS Mawiit, inwasiwas nan
next-morning get-bird-omen the

kaab-aab-abongan, somaalda in-gawgawda,
every-men's-group return-home-they to-fishing-they

eney nan mamaggit nan kameydad Bagiw.
take the girls the digging-stick-their-to Bagiw

13 ST_2:SeqS Sinmaalda ay in-gawgaw ya enda
came-home-they fishing and go-they

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indanan nan mamaggit ad Bagiw siya nan madataganda,
reach the girls at Bagiw it the dividing-their

sadat somaal ay naboboleg.
then-they-sequence go-home following

5 SIM ST: PROJ PARA (= ST_1, ALT ST_1, ALT ST_2, TERM)

14 ST_1:IQS Ilanda nan dalan mo gawis.
look-they the trail if good

15 ALT ST_1:DQS Mo gawis, kanandaen, "Gawis
if good say-they-quote good

16 pet." ALT ST_2:AntiS Mo adi gawis, kasida
exclamation if not good again-they

dobliyen, ngem mo gawis, adida kasin dobliyen.
repeat but if good not-they again repeat

17 TERM:SS Siya di nan itoleydas
it that the continue-they-for

in-obbowanda.
work-group-their

18 ST_n:SeqS Somaaldas nan ab-abongan
return-home-they-to the group-house

dawsenda, sadat matot-oya sinan
direct-they then-they-sequence discuss the

ikamanda ay madwa.
do-they divide

'On the third day, when the digging sticks are made, the men say, "Let's step out with it (go and get bird omens)." The next morning, every men's group goes to get bird omens, then they go fishing, while the girls take their digging sticks to Bagiw. Having returned from fishing, they go to meet the young women at Bagiw, that is where they are divided (into groups), then they follow each other home. They look at the trail (to see) whether it is good (or not). If it is good, they say, "It's surely good." If it is not good they do it again (the dividing into groups), but if it is good they don't do it again. That is the group they will continue working with. When they return to their group-house, they go directly (there), and then they discuss what was done in dividing.'

ACTIVITY 2: ACTIVITY DISCOURSE (= $ACTIVITY_{1-12}$)

6 ACTIVITY 1: PROJ PARA (= ST_{1-3}, ST_n)

19 ST_1:ExS Nan gapon nan donodas nan samal,
the first the work-their-in the samal-

kamey, enda mangamkamey
season digging-stick go-they use-digging-stick

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20 engganay malpas nan esa ay bolan. ST_2:ExS
until finish the one month

Malpas nan kamey, esadat
finish the digging-stick then-they-sequence

logiyan nan kaot ya nan toping engganay
begin the hand-scraping and the wall until

21 esay bolan. ST_3:ExS Nalpas ya inlogida ay
one month finished and begin-they

inpakpak ya dalosanda kannay nan toping
mud-packing and clean-they same-time the wall

engganay nalpas ges nan pakpak, logiyanda
until finished also the mud-packing begin-they

22 ay pomanal. ST_n:ExS Masiken nan panal
seed-planting grow the seedlings

ya logiyanda ay intoned, enggana ay malpas nan
and begin-they transplant until finish the

toned, esadat ibogaw nan
transplant then-they-sequence proclaim the

loslos.
loslos-holiday

'The first work they do in the soil-preparation season is digging-stick (work), they use their digging-sticks for one month and the digging-stick (work) is finished. When the digging-stick work is finished, then they begin hand-scraping (making of new terraces) and wall(building) for one month. When that is finished, they begin mud-packing (to prevent water drainage from terraces), and at the same time they clean the walls until the mud-packing is finished, then they begin to plant seed. When the seedlings are grown, they begin to transplant, until the transplanting (season) is finished, then they proclaim the loslos ceremonial holiday.'

23 ACTIVITY 2:ParaS Mawakas omapoyda, enda apoyan
next-day fire-they go-they fire

nan payew engganay dowan alges.
the fields until two days

'The next day they perform the fire-ceremony, they go and take fire to the fields for two days.'

7 ACTIVITY 3: EXPL PARA (= TEXT, $EXPO_1$, $EXPO_2$, CONCL)

24 TEXT:SS Masdem sinan kadwan si algew, siya di
evening of-the second day it that

25 nan inmanokanda. $EXPO_1$:SS Mageglatdas
the chicken-their all-together-they-in

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8 nan esay masdem. EXPO$_2$: PROJ PARA (= ST$_1$, ST$_n$)
the one evening

26 ST$_1$:SeqS Tebtebken nan ongong-a ya nan baballo
pierce the boys and the youths

nan batikol si manok, eneydas nan
the gizzard chicken take-they-to the

27 ab-abongan. ST$_n$:SS Kanenda.
group-house eat-they

28 CONCL:SS Siya nan ikamkamandas kaysan.
it the doing-they-in long-ago

'On the evening of the second day, that is when they perform the chicken sacrifice. Everybody sacrifices in one evening. The boys and young men push the chickens' gizzards on the sticks and then take them to the group-houses. That's what they did in the old days.'

9 ACTIVITY 4: PROJ PARA (= SETTING, ST$_{1-3}$, ST$_n$)

29 SETTING:SS Mawakas, gapon si obaya.
next-day begin obaya-holiday

30 ST$_1$:ExS Maid mamokboknag sid-i, sik-od katlon
none works then not-until third

31 si algew, esa mangabowanan nan baballo. ST$_2$:SS
day then get-gabowanan the youths

Iyon-onod nan mamaggit nan tapey ya nan
follow-with the girls the wine and the

32 tobos nan bilig. ST$_3$:SeqS Somaaldas
rice-cake-to the mountain return-home-they-to

nan babaley, lotowen nan mamaggit nan lokmog
the village cook the girls the boiled-camote

33 sinan pangis. ST$_n$:MS$_1$ Om-omey nan baballo
in-the girls'-dorm go the youths

ya nan ongong-a ay mangmangan.
and the boys eat

'The next day is the beginning of the obaya ceremonial holiday. No one works then, not until the third day, then the young men go to get gabowanan logs. The young women follow them to the mountain with rice wine and rice cakes. They return home to the village and the young women boil camote in the girls' dormitories. The young men and the boys go and eat.

10 ACTIVITY 5: PROJ PARA (= SP$_1$, ST$_{1-2}$, ST$_n$)

34 SP$_1$:DQS Nalpas nan obaya, kanan nan
finished the obaya-holiday say the

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amam-a "Esatakot belwayan
men future-we(inclusive)-sequence clear

35 nan babaley." ST_1:SS Belwayanda nan babaley ta
the village clear-they the village so

esadat alan nan onas.
future-they-sequence get the sugarcane

11 ST_2: EXPL PARA (= TEXT, EXPO)

36 TEXT:SS I iyamman nan esa nan balliwesna.
go make the one the press-his

37 EXPO:SS Siya nan mangilogi ay inpatpat.
he the first harvest-cane

38 ST_n:ExS Sik-od kadwan si algew, sadat
not-until second day then-they-sequence

ib-aan ay inpatpat, engganay piton algew,
join harvest until seven days

esadat maidalepdep.
then-they-sequence dalepdep

'After the obaya ceremonial holiday the men say, "Let's clear the village (of bad influences)." They clear the village (by sacrifice) so that they can then harvest the sugarcane. One goes to set up his sugarcane press. He is the first to harvest sugarcane. (No one else harvests) until the second day, then they join him harvesting cane, for seven days, then they have the dalepdep ceremonial holiday.'

39 ACTIVITY 6:DQS Inbokawdaen, "Satakot
shout-they-quote future-we(inclusive)-

inteel, teel si sokto."
sequence holiday holiday of sokto

'They shout, "Let's holiday, the ceremonial holiday of sokto (same as dalepdep holiday)."'

12 ACTIVITY 7: PROJ PARA (= SP_1, ST_n, SIM ST)

13 40 SP_1:DQS (40-42) (TM, DQF, QS, DQ: EXPL PARA [=TEXT, EXPO])

Malpas nan teel ay tolon algew, kanan nan
finish the holiday three days say the

amam-aen,"...
men-quote

41 TEXT:SS "Sinoka ay i inlabbo, engkat
who-you go work go-you-sequence

inlabbo tay gawis nan am-in ay
work because good the all

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42 teeltako. EXPO:SS Ngano ngen
holiday-our(inclusive) probable doubt

ya matagotako tay maid inig-igtonas
and live-we(inclusive) because none gave-it-of

adi gawis."
not good

43 ST_n:ExS Engganay masiken nan pagey, ey iiyanen
until grow the rice go stay-overnight

nan ipogaw nan payewda engganay omodan
the people the field-their until raining

sadat ges in-obbo ay indalos.
then-they-sequence also work-group clean

44 SIM ST:SS Insiwat nan lallalakis ibalotekdas
cut-sticks the men-for stake-they-to

nan itab ya nan palda.
the beans and the beans

'After the holiday of three days, the men say, ..."Whoever wants to go work (for pay), go and work, because all our holidays have been good. We will probably live because it (the spirit) hasn't given any bad (omens)." After the rice grows, the people go and stay overnight in their fields until the rains come, then they work again in their groups, cleaning (terrace walls). The men cut sticks for staking up the itab and palda beans.'

14 ACTIVITY 8: PROJ PARA (= SP_1, ST_n)

45 SP_1:CoorS Nalpas di nan dalos, bomobod nan
finished that the clean develop the

pagey, ya kanandaen, "Satakot
rice and say-they-quote future-we(inclusive)-

iteel nan losad, ta insapolan si
sequence holiday the losad so make-scarecrow

insapol tay ig kano ges angsan
scarecrow-makers because very report also many

46 nan tilin." ST_n:SS Ibaoy nan
the rice-bird animated-scarecrow the

tapina nan payewda.
some-it the field-their

'After the cleaning of walls is finished, the rice heads develop and they say, "Let's have the holiday of losad so that those who make scarecrows can prepare them, because there are very many rice birds." Some of them place water operated scarecrows in their field.'

15 ACTIVITY 9: PROJ PARA (= SP_1, ST_n)

P S

47 SP_1:ExS Dowada in-iyamma nan doklang
continue-they make the beating-can

engganay someldang, esadat kananen,
until rice-ripens then-they-sequence say-quote

48 "Iteeltakot nan saal." ST_n:CoorS
holiday-we(inclusive)-sequence the home

Inteelda omey nan ongong-as nan saeban
holiday-they go the children-to the village-entrance

ay mangiyad-is nan mamoknag.
forbid-of the work

'They keep making the beating-can (water operated) scarecrows until the rice ripens and then they say, "Let's have the saal (pre-harvest ceremonial holiday)." They have the holiday, and the children go to the village entrances to forbid the people from going to work.'

16 ACTIVITY 10: PROJ PARA (= SP_1, ST_1, ST_n, TERM)

49 SP_1:DQS Malpas di nan teel ay tolon algew
finish that the holiday three days

mo maid atinbongalen ya kanandaen, "Gawis di,
if none rainbow and say-they-quote good that

sinoka ay nabgasan nan payewmo, ya engka
who-you fruited the field-your and go-you

aniyan tay siya nan maikabiyag."
harvest because it the source-of-livelihood

50 ST_1:SS Manmanoda nan in-anis nan gapon nan
few-they the harvest the beginning the

51 ani. ST_n:ExS Sik-od gomanbek nan
harvest not-until become-many the

ani, siya di nan in-alloyanan nan mamaggit
harvest it that the time-harvest-song the girls

52 si baballo. TERM:SS Nalagsakdas di.
boys happy-they there

'When the holiday of three days is finished and there is no rainbow, they say, "That is good, whoever has a field that is ready for harvest, go and harvest it, because that is what gives life." There are only few who harvest at the beginning of the harvest. When there are many going to harvest, that is the time the young men and women sing the harvest song. They are happy there.'

17 ACTIVITY 11: EXPL PARA (= TEXT, EXPO)

53 TEXT:SS Malpas nan am-in ay ani, kedeng ad
finish the all harvest only at

P S

Bagiw nan daan, tay teken nan teelna.
Bagiw the yet because different the holiday-it

54 EXPO:SS Siya nan kanan nan amam-aen, "Mamatken
it the say the men-quote different

ad Bagiw," tay siya nan ikamkamandas kaysan.
at Bagiw because that the doing-they-in old-time

'When all the harvest is finished, only at Bagiw is still (to be harvested), because it has a different ceremonial holiday. That's what the old men say, "Make it different at Bagiw," because that's what they did in the old time.'

18 ACTIVITY 12: PROJ PARA (= ST_n, SIM ST)

55 ST_n:ExS Engganay maiksepda, i mangakkaew
until kesep-season-they go cut-wood

nan lallalaki.
the men

19 SIM ST: EXPL PARA (= TEXT, EXPO)

56 TEXT:SS Nan babbabai, enda insabal.
the women go-they clean

57 EXPO:SS Am-in ay molada, sad-i nan
all plant-their that the

ninlamananda.
tasted-they

'When kesep season (post-harvest) arrives, the men go to cut wood. The women, they go to clean gardens. All their plants, that is what they taste.'

ACTIVITY 3: ACTIVITY DISCOURSE (= $ACTIVITY_{1-2}$)

20 ACTIVITY 1: PROJ PARA (= ST_{1-2}, ST_n)

58 ST_1:ParaS Kedeng ay in-ag-agomda et, isogsog-edda
only feast-they put-on-fire-they

nan ig amam-a ay bosangan, penpenenda nan tobo.
the very large big-pot fill-they the rice-cake

59 ST_2:SS Datdatagenda ay sin-ag-i nan toboda.
divide-they relatives the rice-cake-their

21 ST_n: EXPL PARA (= TEXT, EXPO)

60 TEXT:SeqS Idakal nan mamaggit nan tobo
take-out the girls the rice-cakes

ya nan itab ya nan tapey, eneydas nan
and the beans and the wine take-they-to the

61 pangis. EXPO:SS Siya di nan enda
girls'-dorm it that the go-they

P S

iyay-ayag sinan baballo.
use-to-call the young-men

'After that, they feast, they place on the fire the very large pots and they fill them with rice cakes. Relatives divide the rice cakes between them. The young women take out rice cakes, beans and rice wine, and take them to their dormitories. That's what they use to call the young men.'

22 ACTIVITY 2: PROJ PARA (= ST_n, TERM)

62 ST_n:DQS (62-69) (DQF, QS, DQ: HORTATORY DISCOURSE [= $POINT_{1-2}$])

Kanandaen, "...
say-they-quote

'They say, "...

23 POINT 1: HORT PARA (= EXHOR, REAS)

63 EXHOR:SS "Akayo ta engkayo
come-you(plural) so go-you(plural)

mangan tay dakayo nan obbomi
eat because you(plural) the work-group-our(exclusive)

tay dakayo nan igmi
because you(plural) the very-we(exclusive)

24 ibanibanisbisan. REAS: EXPL PARA (= TEXT, EXPO)
mud-fish

64 TEXT:CoorS Kedengkayo nan pangpanganenmi
only-you(plural) the feed-we(exclusive)

ya igkami adi makikan.
and very-we(exclusive) negative join-eat

25 EXPO: HORT PARA (= EXHOR, REINF)

65 EXHOR:SS Angsaangsan nan ipakanmi
very-many the feed-we(exclusive)

ay panggep si obbo an dakayo
reference the work-group to you(plural)

ta adikayo lomalayaw mo malpas
so negative-you(plural) flee when finish

66 nan ag-agom. REINF:SS Adiyo
the feasting negative-you(plural)

ikakaman nan tapina ay om-omey ad Bagyo.
do the other-it go to Baguio

'"You come so that you will go and eat, because you are our working group, because you are the only ones we will keep on getting mudfish for. You are the only ones we'll be feeding, and we won't even join in eating with you. We will feed

P S

you very many things with reference to the working group, so that you won't flee when the feasting season is finished. Don't do what the others do who go to Baguio."'

26 POINT 2: HORT PARA (= EXHOR, $REINF_1$, $REINF_2$, CONCL)

67 EXHOR:ParaS Masapol ay ikabainyo
necessary be-ashamed-you(plural)

koma nan ligatmi an dakayo.
should the hardship-our(exclusive) for you(plural)

27 $REINF_1$: EXPL PARA (= TEXT, REAS)

68 TEXT:SS Adi bali nan in-obbowantako
never-mind the work-group-our(inclusive)

ay in-odan ya engkayo in-along ay
rain and go-you(plural) shelter

69 lallalaki. REAS:SS Iitpelmi ay
men bear-we(exclusive)

babbabai nan odan.
women the rain

28 $REINF_2$: PROJ PARA (= ST_1, ST_n, CONCL)

70 ST_1:ExS Sik-od maegew nan odan sakayo
not-until fine the rain then-you(plural)

71 omali ay omdan. ST_n:SS Omalikayo
come reach come-you(plural)

yinmayang-a nan matami panggep
became-red the eyes-our(exclusive) reference

72 nan odan. CONCL:AntiS Sa koma ya
the rain should possible and

engkami kial-along, ngem adikami
go-we(exclusive) join-shelter but negative-we-

tay siya nan ikamandas kaysan.
(exclusive) because it the do-they-in long-ago

'It is necessary that you be ashamed because of our hardships for you. Never mind when we are working in our group and it rains, and you men go to shelter. We women can bear the rain. Don't come and reach us until it becomes fine. When you come, our eyes will have become red because of the rain. It would be good if we could shelter with you, but we don't, because this is what they did in the old days.'

29 TERM: EXPL PARA (= TEXT, EXPO)

73 TEXT:SS Siya di nan in-angowan nan mamaggit
it that the play the girls

P S

si baballo mo way in-ango, tay siya
with boys if there-is play because it

74 di nan asiinil-anda. EXPO:SS Siya di
that the reciprocal-see-they it that

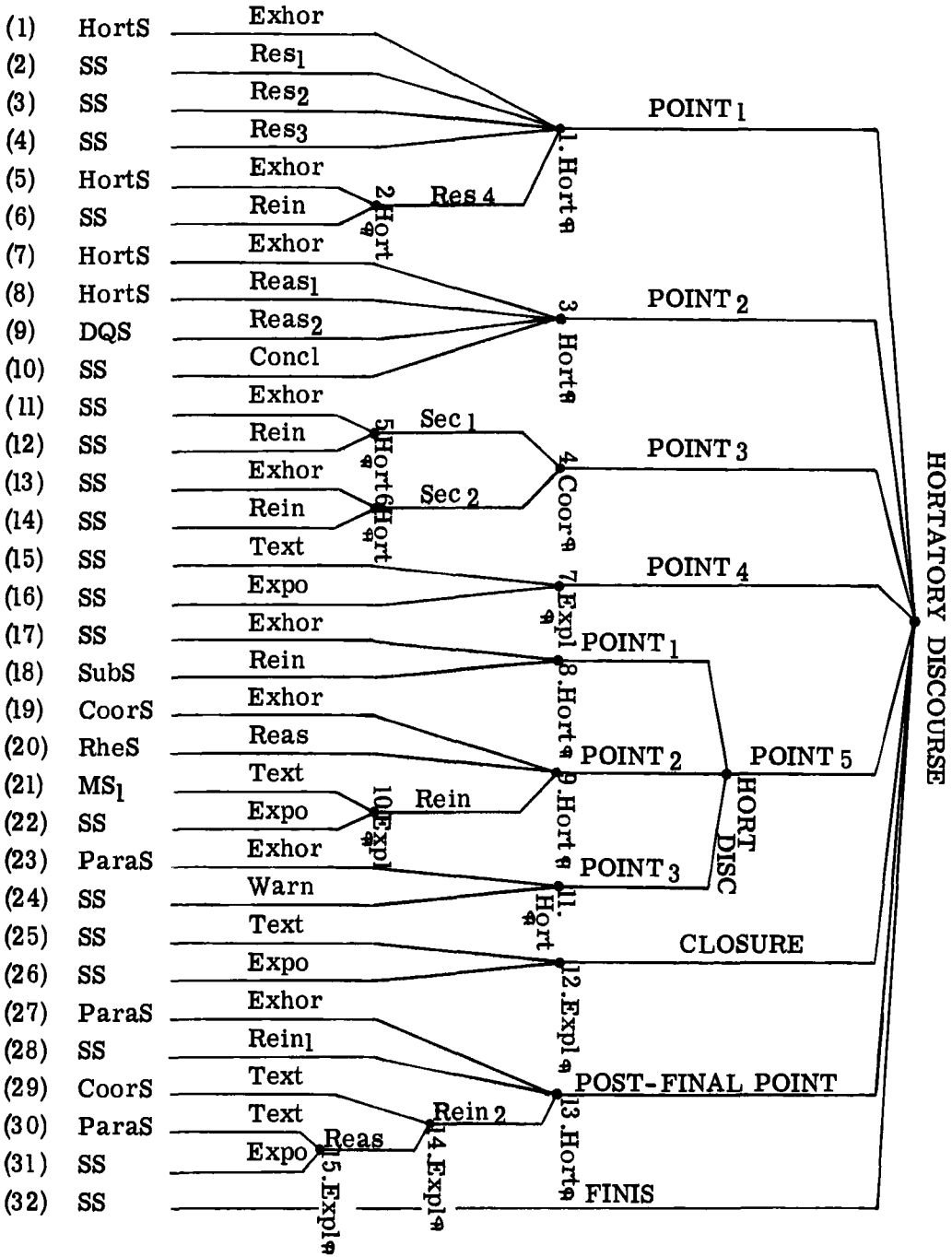
nan omingsaandas nan inlaydanda.
the accustom-they-with the like-they

'That's the playing of the young men and women, when they play, because that's the way they each see the other (become mutually acquainted). That is the way they become accustomed to the ones they like.'

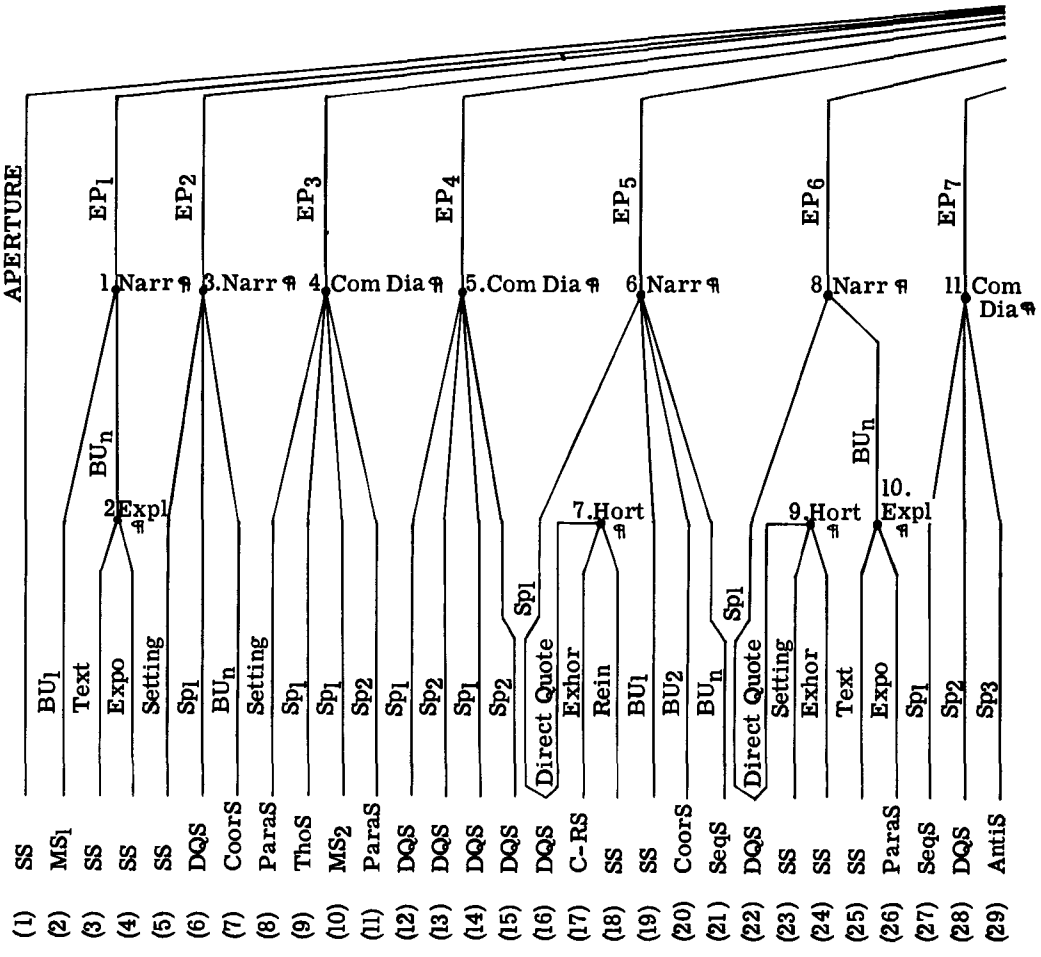
APPENDIX B: Tree Diagrams

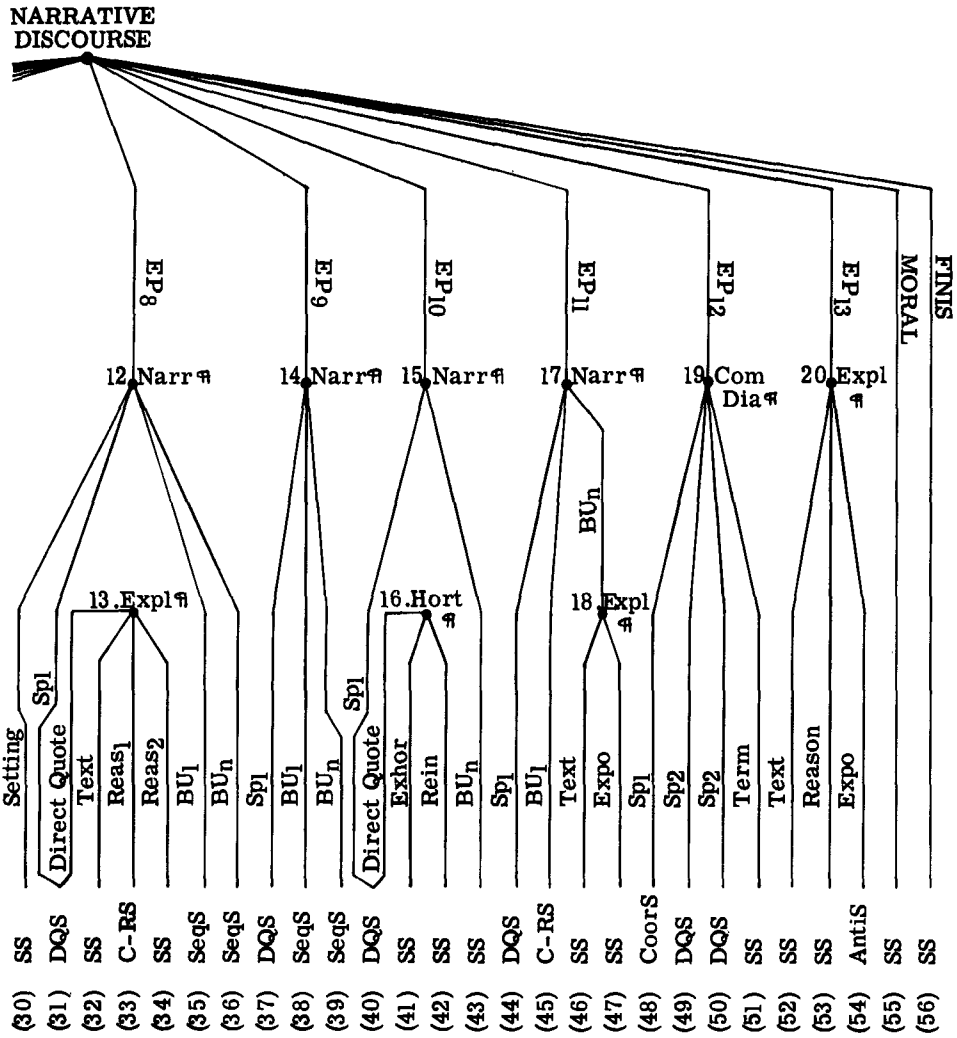
1. 'On Joining a Village Ward'
2. 'The Mainit Feast'
3a. 'The Making of Sugarcane Wine'
   b. 'The Making of Rice Wine'
   c. 'The Making of Yeast'
   d. 'How to Weave a Fish Trap'
4. 'The Story of Men of Long Ago as to What Should be Done'

1. TREE STRUCTURE OF
A CENTRAL BONTOC HORTATORY TEXT
'On Joining a Village Ward' (JVW)



2. TREE STRUCTURE OF A CENTRAL BONTOC NARRATIVE TEXT 'The Mainit Feast' (MF)




NARRATIVE DISCOURSE
EP8
EP9
EP10
EP11
EP12
EP13
MORAL
FINIS
12 Narr¶
13 Expl¶
14 Narr¶
15 Narr¶
16 Hort ¶
17 Narr¶
18 Expl ¶
19 Com Dia¶
20 Expl ¶
Setting
Direct Quote
Text
Reas1
Reas2
BU1
BUn
Sp1
Exhor
Rein
Sp2
Term
Reason
Expo
SS
DQS
C-RS
SeqS
CoorS
AntiS
(30)
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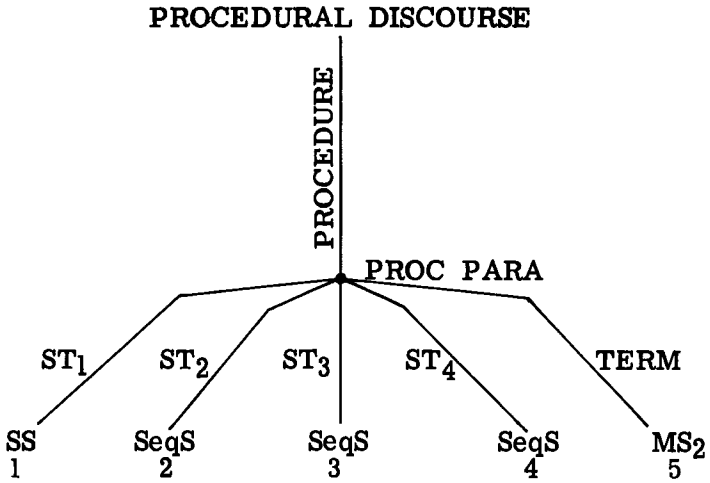
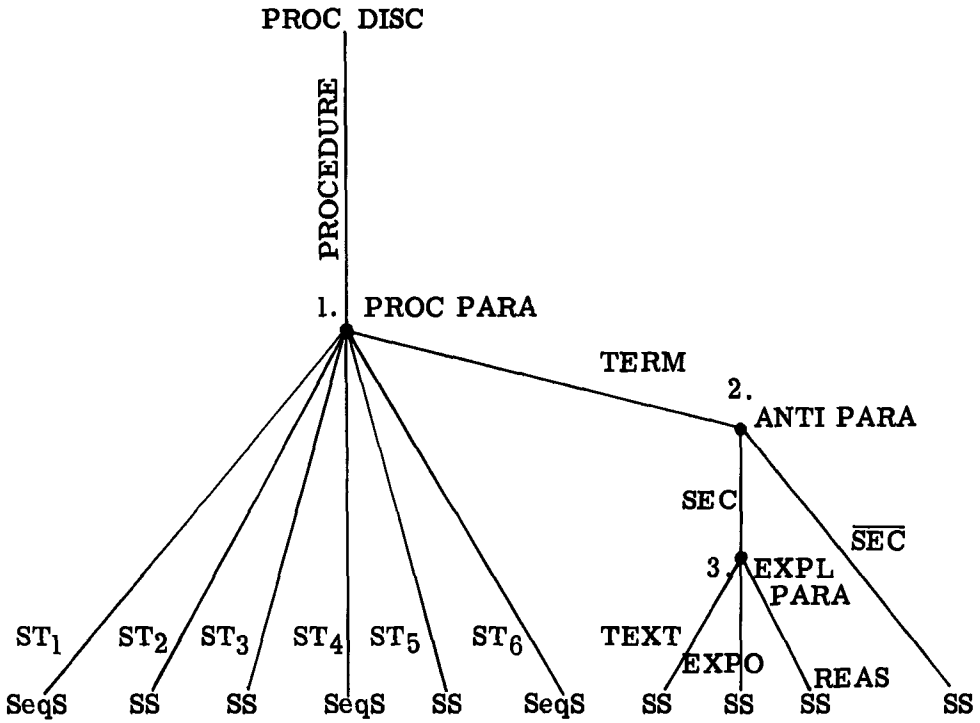
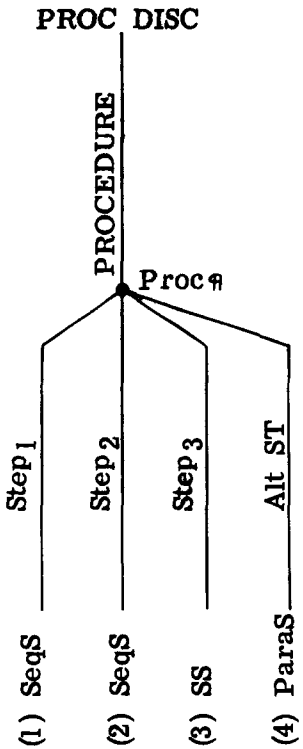


3a. Central Bontoc PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE
'The Making of Sugarcane Wine' (MSW)

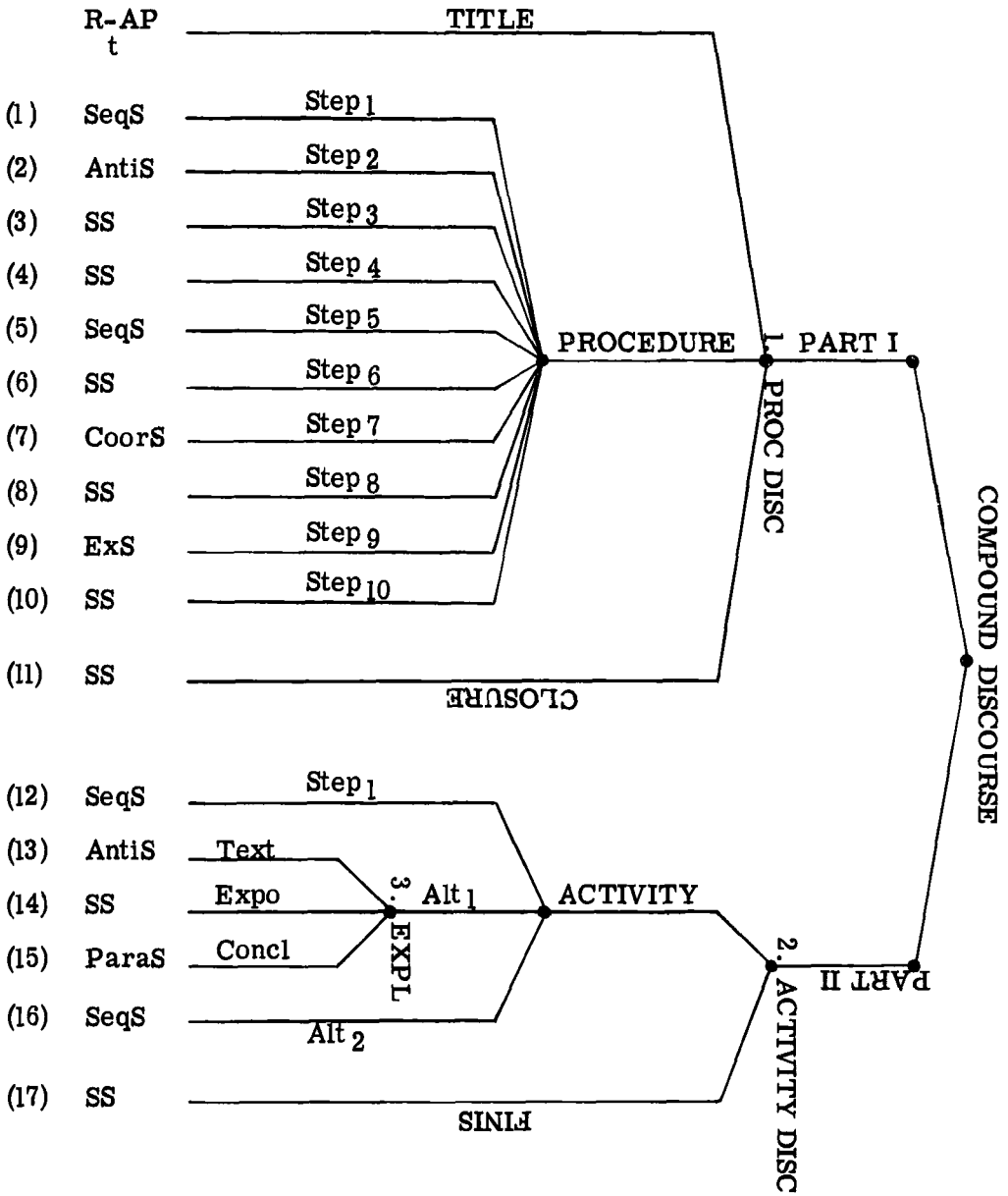


3b. Central Bontoc PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE
'The Making of Rice Wine' (MRW)

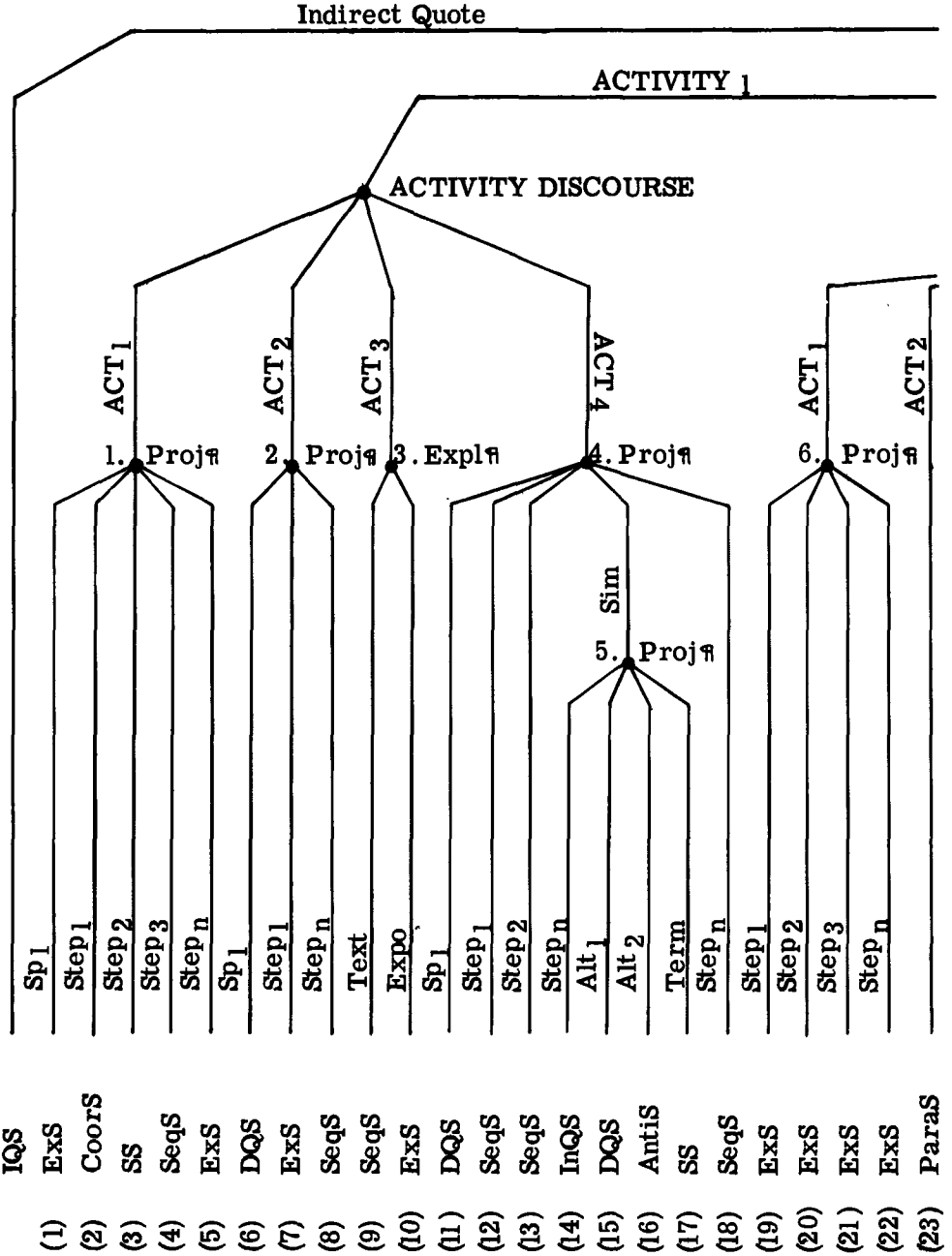


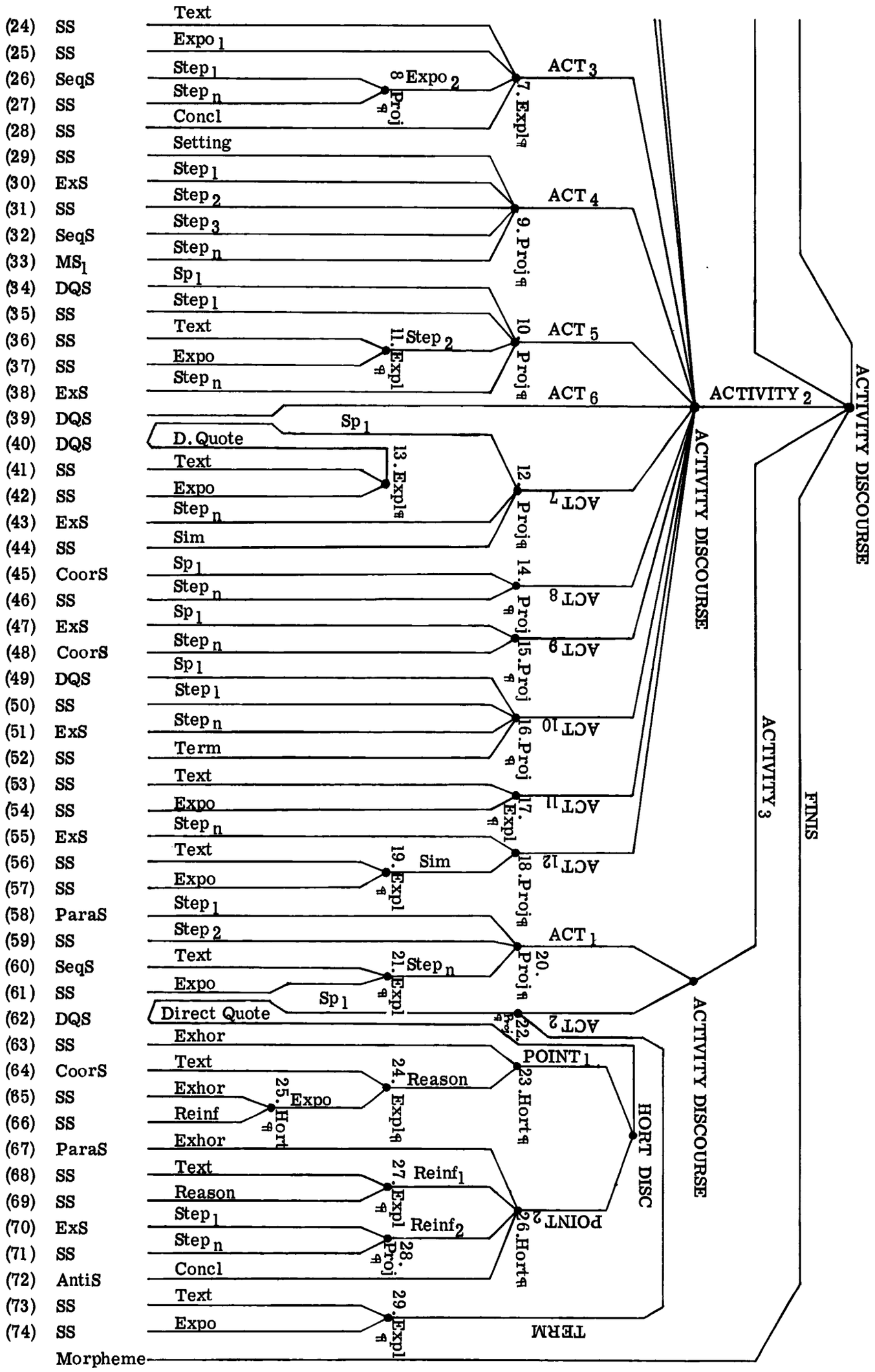
3c. TREE STRUCTURE OF A CENTRAL BONTOC PROCEDURAL TEXT
'The Making of Yeast' (MY)

3d. TREE STRUCTURE OF CENTRAL BONTOC COMPOUND DISCOURSE COMPOSED OF A PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE AND AN ACTIVITY DISCOURSE
'How to Weave a Fish Trap'
(WFT)



'The Story of Men of Long Ago
as to What Should be Done' (WSD)

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(25) SS
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(27) SS
(28) SS
(29) SS
(30) ExS
(31) SS
(32) SeqS
(33) MS1
(34) DQS
(35) SS
(36) SS
(37) SS
(38) ExS
(39) DQS
(40) DQS
(41) SS
(42) SS
(43) ExS
(44) SS
(45) CoorS
(46) SS
(47) ExS
(48) CoorS
(49) DQS
(50) SS
(51) ExS
(52) SS
(53) SS
(54) SS
(55) ExS
(56) SS
(57) SS
(58) ParaS
(59) SS
(60) SeqS
(61) SS
(62) DQS
(63) SS
(64) CoorS
(65) SS
(66) SS
(67) ParaS
(68) SS
(69) SS
(70) ExS
(71) SS
(72) AntiS
(73) SS
(74) SS
Morpheme
Text
Expo1
Step1
Stepn
Concl
8. Proj
Expo2
7. Expl
ACT3
Setting
Step1
Step2
Step3
Stepn
9. Proj
ACT4
Sp1
Step1
Text
Expo
Stepn
11. Expl
Step2
10. Proj
ACT5
ACT6
Sp1
D. Quote
Text
Expo
Stepn
13. Expl
Sim
12. Proj
ACT7
Sp1
Stepn
14. Proj
ACT8
Sp1
Stepn
15. Proj
ACT9
Sp1
Step1
Stepn
Term
16. Proj
ACT10
Text
Expo
17. Expl
ACT11
Stepn
Text
Expo
19. Expl
Sim
18. Proj
ACT12
Step1
Step2
Text
Expo
21. Expl
Stepn
20. Proj
ACT1
Sp1
Direct Quote
22. Proj
ACT2
Exhor
Text
Exhor
Reinf
25. Hort
Expo
24. Expl
Reason
23. Hort
POINT1
Exhor
Text
Reason
27. Expl
Reinf1
Step1
Stepn
Concl
28. Proj
Reinf2
26. Hort
POINT2
Text
Expo
29. Expl
TERM
ACTIVITY DISCOURSE
ACTIVITY2
ACTIVITY DISCOURSE
ACTIVITY3
ACTIVITY DISCOURSE
HORT DISC
FINIS

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