

THE FUNCTIONS OF FRONTED NOUN PHRASES IN KAGAYANEN EXPOSITORY DISCOURSE

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1. INTRODUCTION

Like all Philippine languages, Kagayanen is a verb-initial language.¹ NPs can, however, be fronted to a sentence-initial position preceding the verb. In narrative texts, such fronted NPs are fairly rare, and function mainly to introduce new themes and to signal contrast between participants.² For example, out of 69 clauses considered in a sample narrative text, only 8, or 11%, had fronted NPs. By comparison, fronted NPs in expository texts occur far more frequently. Out of 54 clauses counted in a sample expository text, 26, or 48%, had fronted NPs.³ In other words, while only about one out of ten clauses in the narrative text had a fronted NP, nearly every other clause in the expository text had a fronted NP. Such a striking difference in relative frequency of fronted NPs raises the question, what is the function of fronted NPs in expository discourse? This paper is an attempt to answer that question. In this study, we will argue that fronted NPs mark sentences containing three kinds of information that are central to the development of Kagayanen expository discourse: themes, results, and adversative information. Specifically, we will show that fronted NPs mark sentences that introduce new themes; signal changes in themes; summarize themes; mark discourse and paragraph peaks; and signal two types of pragmatic focus, specifically selective and contrastive focus.

The paper is organized as follows. Section 2 offers an overview of the morphosyntax of basic clause types found in Kagayanen. Section 3 defines the term 'fronted NP' and discusses co-referential deletion restrictions involving fronted NPs. Section 4 defines 'expository discourse' and describes briefly the general organization of this type of discourse. Section 5 discusses in detail the functions of fronted NPs in Kagayanen expository discourse.

2. MORPHOSYNTAX OF BASIC CLAUSE TYPES IN KAGAYANEN

Fronted NPs may occur on virtually any clause type in Kagayanen. The following discussion describes the morphosyntax of basic non-verbal and verbal clause types found in the language.

2.1 Non-verbal clauses

A non-verbal clause is composed of a topic and a comment. The topic is a nominal and the comment has a variety of structures. The three main types of non-verbal clause are: equational, existential, and possessive.⁴

Equational clauses. Equational clauses are composed of a comment that may be an adjective (1) or a nominal (2), and a topic that is a nominal.

- (1)
- | COMMENT | TOPIC | |
|-----------|--------|------------------|
| Kaang | luy-a | an. ⁵ |
| kaang | luy-a | an |
| spicy.hot | ginger | DEF,M |
- 'The ginger is spicy hot.'

- (2)
- | COMMENT | TOPIC | |
|---------|-------|-------|
| Maistra | bai | an. |
| maistra | bai | an |
| teacher | woman | DEF,M |
- 'The woman is a teacher.'

Existential clauses. Existential clauses are composed of a comment that is an existential verb, and a topic that is a nominal (3).

- (3)
- | COMMENT | TOPIC | |
|-----------|--------|------|
| May | tallog | dya. |
| may | tallog | dya |
| EXT,INDEF | egg | L4,N |
- 'There is an egg there.'

Possessive clauses. Possessive clauses are composed of a comment that is an existential verb plus a possessed item, and a topic that is a possessor (4).

- (4)
- | COMMENT | | TOPIC | |
|-----------|--------|-------|-------|
| May | tallog | kanen | an. |
| may | tallog | kanen | an |
| EXT,INDEF | egg | 3SG,S | DEF,M |
- 'She has an egg.'

2.2 Verbal clauses

Verbal clauses are verb-initial constructions. Affixes on the verb cross-reference S, the single required argument of an intransitive clause, and P, the less agentive required argument of a transitive clause,⁶ and identify the semantic role of the cross-referenced argument.⁷ They also signal mood, the main contrast being realis-irrealis. One function of 'realis' is to signal that an event is perceived as actually occurring or having occurred; conversely, 'irrealis' signals that an event is perceived as not occurring or not having occurred. Verbal clauses divide into six types: intransitive, active, inverse, antipassive, morphological passive, and non-morphological passive.⁸

Intransitive clauses. Intransitive clauses have one syntactically required argument, S, as in (5).

- (5)
- | | S | | | | | |
|-------------|-------|-------|-----|-------|---------------|----------|
| Gailing | kanen | an | ta | balay | magulang | ko. |
| ga=iling | kanen | an | ta | balay | magulang | ko |
| ACT,TH,R=go | 3SG,S | DEF,M | OBL | house | older.sibling | 1SG,GEN1 |
- 'He went to the house of my older sibling.'

Voice constructions. Semantically transitive verbs can be encoded in five clause types. Applying a range of syntactic and semantic criteria, these clause types have been identified as voice constructions, namely active, inverse, antipassive, and two types of passive. By definition, A and P arguments in active and inverse constructions are assumed to be grammatical relations. On the other hand, only A in an antipassive construction and only P in a passive construction are grammatical relations.⁹

Transitive constructions: active and inverse. Kagayanen has two types of transitive voice construction: an active construction and a word order inverse construction.¹⁰ Each construction has two syntactically required arguments: A and P. The active construction has VAP word order and the inverse construction has VPA word order. Each construction also has a unique combination of pronoun sets for A and P. Selection of a construction is determined in part by a person hierarchy, in part by an animacy hierarchy, and in part by pragmatic topicality. The three hierarchies are combined as a 'topicality' hierarchy in Figure 1.



Figure 1. Topicality Hierarchy in Kagayanen

The general rule for selecting a construction is: when A outranks P in any of these hierarchies, the VAP active construction is obligatory, but when P outranks A, either the VAP active construction or the VPA inverse construction is possible, but the VPA inverse construction is the unmarked choice. In (6), first person A outranks third person P, and the VAP active construction is obligatory. On the other hand, in (7) and (8) first person P outranks third person A. For this person combination, both the VAP active construction (7) and the VPA inverse construction (8) are possible, but the inverse is the unmarked choice.¹¹

- | | | | | |
|-----|--------------|-------|-------|-------|
| (6) | | A | P | |
| | Patiro | ko | kanen | an. |
| | pa=tiro | ko | kanen | an |
| | ACT,TH,R=hit | 1SG,A | 3SG,P | DEF,M |
| | 'I hit him.' | | | |

- | | | | | |
|-----|--------------|-------|-------|-------|
| (7) | | A | P | |
| | Patiro | din | yaken | i. |
| | pa=tiro | din | yaken | i |
| | ACT,TH,R=hit | 3SG,A | 1SG,P | DEF,N |
| | 'He hit me.' | | | |

- (8)
- | | | |
|--------------|-------|-------|
| | P | A |
| Patiro | a | din. |
| pa=tiro | a | din |
| ACT,TH,R=hit | 3SG,P | 1SG,A |
- 'He hit me.'

De-transitivized constructions: antipassive and two types of passive. Kagayanen has three detransitivized voice constructions: an antipassive, a morphological passive, and a non-morphological passive.

Antipassive. The antipassive construction is a clause in which P of its transitive counterpart has been demoted to oblique (9) or deleted (10), leaving A as the only syntactically required argument, and A changes to S.

- (9)
- | | | | | |
|-----------------|-------|-------|-----|--------|
| | S | | | |
| Gagelet | bai | an | ta | karni. |
| ga=gelet | bai | an | ta | karni |
| ACT,AG,R=cut.up | woman | DEF,M | OBL | meat |
- 'The woman cut up (some) meat.'

- (10)
- | | | | |
|-----------------|-------|-------|--|
| | S | | |
| Gagelet | bai | an. | |
| ga=gelet | bai | an | |
| ACT,AG,R=cut.up | woman | DEF,M | |
- 'The woman cut up.'

Morphological passive. The morphological passive construction (11) is a detransitive clause in which A of its transitive counterpart is obligatorily absent, leaving only P, which changes to S. In the morphological passive, the verb occurs with stative affixes.¹²

- (11)
- | | | | | |
|------------------|----|-------|-------|--|
| | S | | | |
| Nagelet | en | karni | an. | |
| na=gelet | en | karni | an | |
| PASS,TH,R=cut.up | CM | meat | DEF,M | |
- 'The meat has already been cut up.'

Non-morphological passive. The non-morphological passive construction (12) is also a detransitive clause in which A of its transitive counterpart has been deleted, leaving only P, which changes to S. In the non-morphological passive, the verb does not occur with stative affixes; instead, it takes the same transitive affixes as its transitive counterpart.¹³

- (12)
- | | | | | |
|-----------------|----|-------|-------|--|
| | S | | | |
| Pagelet | en | karni | an. | |
| pa=gelet | en | karni | an | |
| ACT,TH,R=cut.up | CM | meat | DEF,M | |
- 'The meat has already been cut up.'

The system governing the choice of one type of passive over another has yet to be analyzed. At present we do not know what conditions govern the selection of a morphological passive over a non-morphological passive.

2.3 Case marking

Kagayanen has a complex split ergative case-marking pattern. The split is controlled by two factors: 1) whether or not the transitive clause is an active or an inverse construction, and 2) whether S, A, and P are pronouns, common nouns, or personal names.

Pronouns. When S, A, and P are pronouns, case marking has a tripartite pattern if the transitive clause is a VAP active construction; that is, S, A, and P each have different forms. Sentence (13) is an intransitive clause; (14) and (15) are VAP active constructions. In (13), the second singular pronoun for S is *ka*; in (14), the second singular pronoun for A is *no*; and in (15), the second singular pronoun for P is *kaon*.

- (13)
- | | | | | |
|--------------------|-------|-----|---------|-------|
| | S | | | |
| Gaselled | ka | ta | tindaan | an. |
| ga=selled | ka | ta | tindaan | an |
| ACT,TH,R=go.inside | 2SG,S | OBL | store | DEF,M |
- 'You went inside the store.'

- (14)
- | | | | |
|-----------------|-------|-------|-------|
| | A | P | |
| Pagelet | no | karni | an. |
| pa=gelet | no | karni | an |
| ACT,TH,R=cut.up | 2SG,A | meat | DEF,M |
- 'You cut up the meat.'

- (15)
- | | | | |
|--------------|-------|-------|-------|
| | A | P | |
| Patiro | ko | kaon | yan. |
| pa=tiro | ko | kaon | yan |
| ACT,TH,R=hit | 1SG,A | 2SG,P | DEF,M |
- 'I hit you.'

When S, A, and P are pronouns, case marking has an ergative/absolutive pattern if the transitive clause is a VPA inverse construction; specifically, S and P have the same form, and A has a different one. Sentence (16) is an intransitive clause; (17) and (18) are VPA inverse constructions. In (16), the second person singular pronoun for S is *ka*; in (17), the second person singular pronoun for A is *no*; and in (18), the second singular pronoun for P is *ka*.

- (16)
- | | | | | |
|--------------------|-------|-----|---------|-------|
| | S | | | |
| Gaselled | ka | ta | tindaan | an. |
| ga=selled | ka | ta | tindaan | an |
| ACT,TH,R=go.inside | 2SG,S | OBL | store | DEF,M |
- 'You went inside the store.'

- (17)
- | | | |
|--------------|-------|-------|
| | P | A |
| Patiro | a | no. |
| pa=tiro | a | no |
| ACT,TH,R=hit | 1SG,P | 2SG,A |
- 'You hit me.'

- (18)
- | | | |
|--------------|-------|-------|
| | P | A |
| Patiro | ka | din. |
| pa=tiro | ka | din |
| ACT,TH,R=hit | 2SG,P | 3SG,A |
- 'He hit you.'

Common nouns. When S, A, and P are common nouns, case marking forms an ergative/absolutive pattern in both the VAP active construction and the VPA inverse construction. Specifically, S and P are marked alike in that they have no case marker and A is marked differently with *ta*. In the intransitive clause in (19), S has no case marker. In the VAP active construction in (20) and the VPA inverse construction in (21), A is marked by *ta* and P has no case marker. (The function of enclitics *i*, *an*, and *ya* will be discussed shortly.)

- (19)
- | | | | | | |
|--------------------|-------|-------|-----|---------|-------|
| | S | | | | |
| Gaselled | bai | i | ta | tindaan | an. |
| ga=selled | bai | i | ta | tindaan | an |
| ACT,TH,R=go.inside | woman | DEF,N | OBL | store | DEF,M |
- 'The woman went inside the store.'

- (20)
- | | | | | |
|-----------------|-----|-------|-------|-------|
| | A | | P | |
| Pagelet | ta | bai | karni | an. |
| pa=gelet | ta | bai | karni | an |
| ACT,TH,R=cut.up | ERG | woman | meat | DEF,M |
- 'The woman cut up the meat.'

- (21)
- | | | | | |
|---------------|-------|-------|-----|-------------------------|
| | P | | A | |
| Pakagat | bai | an | ta | bekkesan. ¹⁴ |
| pa=kagat | bai | an | ta | bekkesan |
| ACT,TH,R=bite | woman | DEF,M | ERG | snake |
- 'The snake bit the woman.'

Personal names. When S, A, and P are personal names, case marking is neutralized in all clauses, since A arguments that are personal names never occur with the ergative marker *ta*. Instead, optional deictic enclitics *i*, *an*, and *ya* take on a case-marking function, as will be shown in Section 2.4. When both A and P are personal names in a transitive clause, word order is obligatorily VAP, but when only A or P is a personal name, word order may be VPA. Sentence (22) is an intransitive clause; (23) is a VAP active construction; (24) and (25) are VPA inverse constructions.

- (22)
- | | | | | | |
|--------------------|------|-------|-----|---------|-------|
| | S | | | | |
| Gaselled | Juan | i | ta | tindaan | an. |
| ga=selled | Juan | i | ta | tindaan | an |
| ACT,TH,R=go.inside | Juan | DEF,N | OBL | store | DEF,M |
- 'Juan went inside the store.'
- (23)
- | | | | |
|--------------|------|-------|-------|
| | A | P | |
| Patiro | Juan | Pedro | an. |
| pa=tiro | Juan | Pedro | an |
| ACT,TH,R=hit | Juan | Pedro | DEF,M |
- 'Juan hit Pedro.'
- (24)
- | | | |
|--------------|-------|-------|
| | P | A |
| Patiro | a | Juan. |
| pa=tiro | a | Juan |
| ACT,TH,R=hit | 1SG,P | Juan |
- 'Juan hit me.'
- (25)
- | | | | | |
|--------------|-------|-------|-----|-------|
| | P | | A | |
| Patiro | Pedro | an | ta | bata. |
| pa=tiro | Pedro | an | ta | bata |
| ACT,TH,R=hit | Pedro | DEF,M | ERG | child |
- 'The child hit Pedro.'

The split ergative case-marking pattern is summarized in Table 1.

Table 1. Split Ergative Case-Marking Pattern in Kagayanen

	VAP active construction	VPA inverse construction
pronouns	tripartite	ergative/absolutive
common nouns	ergative/absolutive	ergative/absolutive
personal names	neutralized	—

2.4 Deictic enclitics

Kagayanen has three deictic enclitics, *i* 'near', *an* 'medium', and *ya* 'far', that may occur in NPs when the head noun is definite.¹⁵ These enclitics occur most frequently with S and P arguments, suggesting that they might be case markers. Although this is a frequently occurring pattern, the exact distribution of the enclitics is somewhat more complex.

Common nouns. If the nominal is a common noun, deictic enclitics occur optionally with S in an intransitive clause (26), and A and P in a transitive clause (27) (28). This pattern holds true for both VAP active clauses and VPA inverse clauses.¹⁶ (In the following examples, parentheses indicate that the presence of an enclitic is optional.)

- (26)
- | | | | | | |
|--------------------|-------|-------|-----|---------|-------|
| | S | | | | |
| Gaselled | bai | (i) | ta | tindaan | (an). |
| ga=selled | bai | i | ta | tindaan | an |
| ACT,TH,R=go.inside | woman | DEF,N | OBL | store | DEF,M |
- 'The woman went inside the store.'

- (27)
- | | | | | |
|-----------------|-----|-------|-------|-------------|
| | A | | P | |
| Pagelet | ta | bai | (i) | karni (an). |
| pa=gelet | ta | bai | i | karni an |
| ACT,TH,R=cut.up | ERG | woman | DEF,N | meat DEF,M |
- 'The woman cut up the meat.'

- (28)
- | | | | | |
|---------------|-------|-------|-----|---------------|
| | P | | A | |
| Pakagat | bai | (an) | ta | bekkesan (i). |
| pa=kagat | bai | an | ta | bekkesan i |
| ACT,TH,R=bite | woman | DEF,M | ERG | snake DEF,N |
- 'The snake bit the woman.'

Since enclitics can occur with both A and P when they are common nouns, they do not distinguish between A and P in transitive clauses, and so do not function as case markers with this type of nominal.

Personal names. If the nominal is a personal name, enclitics occur optionally with S (29) and P (30) (32), but never with A (30)-(31) and (33)-(34), forming an unambiguous ergative/absolutive pattern. The pattern is the same for VAP active clauses and VPA inverse clauses.

- (29)
- | | | | | |
|------------------|------|-------|-----|------------|
| | S | | | |
| Naadlek | Juan | (an) | ta | ayam (ya). |
| na=adlek | Juan | an | ta | ayam ya |
| STAT,TH,R=afraid | Juan | DEF,M | OBL | dog DEF,F |
- 'Juan was afraid of the dog.'

- (30)
- | | | | |
|--------------|------|-------|-------|
| | A | P | |
| Patiro | Juan | Pedro | (an). |
| pa=tiro | Juan | Pedro | an |
| ACT,TH,R=hit | Juan | Pedro | DEF,M |
- 'Juan hit Pedro.'

- (31) *Patiro Juan i Pedro (an).
- 'Juan hit Pedro.'

- (32)
- | | | | | |
|--------------|------|-------|-----|-------------|
| | P | | A | |
| Patiro | Juan | (an) | ta | bata (i). |
| pa=tiro | Juan | an | ta | bata i |
| ACT,TH,R=hit | Juan | DEF,M | ERG | child DEF,N |
- 'The child hit Juan.'

- (33)
- | | | | |
|--------------|-------|-------|-------|
| | P | | A |
| Patiro | a | (i) | Juan. |
| pa=tiro | a | i | Juan |
| ACT,TH,R=hit | 1SG,P | DEF,N | Juan |
- 'Juan hit me.'

- (34) *Patiro a (i) Juan an.
'Juan hit me.'

Sentence (30) shows that when A and P are both personal names, enclitics distinguish between the two arguments in transitive clauses and so function as case markers for this type of nominal.

Pronouns. When S, A, and P are pronouns, the distribution of enclitics is slightly more complex. In an intransitive clause, enclitics occur optionally with S (35).

- (35)
- | | | | | |
|------------------|-------|-------|-----|-------|
| | S | | | |
| Naadlek | danen | (an) | ta | ayam. |
| na=adlek | danen | an | ta | ayam |
| STAT,TH,R=afraid | 3PL,S | DEF,M | OBL | dog |
- 'They were afraid of the dog.'

In a VAP active clause, enclitics occur optionally with P, but never with A (36) (37).

- (36)
- | | | | | | |
|----------------|-------|-------|-------|-----|----------|
| | A | P | | | |
| Paatagan | din | danen | (an) | ta | tinapay. |
| pa--an=atag | din | danen | an | ta | tinapay |
| ACT,LOC,R=give | 3SG,A | 3PL,P | DEF,M | OBL | bread |
- 'She gave them some bread.'
- (37) *Paatagan din an danen (an) ta tinapay.
'She gave them some bread.'

In a VPA inverse clause, enclitics occur optionally with P if A is a common noun or personal name (38).

- (38)
- | | | | | |
|--------------|-------|-------|-----|-------------|
| | P | | A | |
| Patiro | kanen | (an) | ta | bata (i). |
| pa=tiro | kanen | an | ta | bata i |
| ACT,TH,R=hit | 3SG,P | DEF,M | ERG | child DEF,N |
- 'The child hit him.'

On the other hand, if the inverse A is also a pronoun, enclitics never occur with P or A (39)-(41).

- (39)
- | | | |
|--------------|-------|-------|
| | P | A |
| Patiro | a | din. |
| pa=tiro | a | din |
| ACT,TH,R=hit | 1SG,P | 3SG,A |
- 'He hit me.'

(40) *Patiro a i din.

'He hit me.'

(41) *Patiro a din an.

'He hit me.'

In sum, when both A and P are pronouns, enclitics distinguish between these two arguments in VAP active clauses (36) and so function as case markers, displaying an ergative/absolutive pattern. In VPA inverse clauses, however, enclitics are optionally present on A and P when A is a full NP and P is a pronoun (38), or obligatorily absent on A and P when both are pronouns (39). Thus, for these combinations of A and P in VPA inverse clauses, enclitics do not distinguish between A and P and so the case-marking function of enclitics is neutralized.

These patterns, which occur in natural text as well as elicited sentences, show that in addition to their pragmatic and semantic functions, enclitics function as case markers when they occur with personal names in both active and inverse clauses, or with pronouns in active clauses only. On the other hand, this case-marking function is neutralized when enclitics occur with common nouns in active and inverse clauses, and with pronouns in inverse clauses only. These patterns are summarized in Table 2. (The arguments in parentheses are those that may occur with deictic enclitics.)

Table 2. Case-marking Patterns of Deictic Enclitics in Kagayanen

	VAP active construction	VPA inverse construction
common nouns	neutralized (S,A,P)	neutralized (S,A,P)
personal names	ergative/absolutive (S,P)	ergative/absolutive (S,P)
pronouns	ergative/absolutive (S,P)	neutralized (S,A,P if A is not a pronoun) (S only if A is a pronoun)

Taken together, these patterns show that Kagayanen has two case-marking systems: one for common nouns which uses the proclitic *ta* as an ergative case marker, and another for personal names (in active and inverse clauses) and pronouns (in active clauses only) which uses optional deictic enclitics as case markers. Both systems display an ergative/absolutive pattern. For the purpose of this paper, since enclitics do not perform a case-marking function for all types of nominals, but do perform a deictic function for all types, they are labeled deictics here.

3. FRONTED NPs

Following is a definition of 'fronted NP' and a description of co-referential deletion restrictions that occur when NPs are fronted.

3.1 Definition of fronted NP

In this study, fronted NPs are NPs that occur in a sentence-initial or clause-initial position followed by a phonological pause. Fronted NPs may be arguments of a clause in the sentence, in which case they must be syntactically required arguments, i.e. S, A, or P, or they may be arguments that are not part of any clause in the sentence. Both types of fronted NP can occur together in one sentence. When this happens, the fronted NP that is not an argument of a clause in the sentence comes first, and the fronted NP that is an argument of a clause comes second, as in (42).

- (42)
- | FRONTED NP1 | FRONTED NP2 | |
|------------------|------------------|--------------|
| Kaan lao, | bakod kon an | na bekessan, |
| kaan lao | bakod kon an | na bekessan |
| eat darkness | big RS DEF,M LK | snake |
| palam-ed | din bulan an. | |
| pa=lam-ed | din bulan an | |
| ACT,TH,R=swallow | 3SG,A moon DEF,M | |
- 'An eclipse. the big snake. he swallows the moon.'

3.2 Co-referential deletion restrictions involving fronted NPs

When the fronted NP is S, A, or P of the clause, co-referential deletion interacts with the topicality hierarchy described in Section 2.2 and displays an ergative/absolutive pattern. If S of an intransitive clause is fronted, an optional co-referential pronoun is left in the clause when S is a first or second person pronoun (44), or an animate noun (46).¹⁷

- (43)
- | | |
|----------------|-------|
| Gapanaw | S |
| ga=panaw | ka. |
| ACT,TH,R=leave | 2SG,S |
- 'You left.'
- (44)
- | | | | |
|------|-------|----------------|-------|
| Kaon | yan, | gapanaw | S |
| kaon | yan | ga=panaw | (ka). |
| 2SG | DEF,M | ACT,TH,R=leave | ka |
| | | | 2SG,S |
- 'As for you, you left.'
- (45)
- | | | |
|----------------|-------|-------|
| Gapanaw | S | |
| ga=panaw | bai | an. |
| ACT,TH,R=leave | bai | an |
| | woman | DEF,M |
- 'The woman left.'
- (46)
- | | | | |
|-------|-------|----------------|-------------|
| Bai | an, | gapanaw | S |
| bai | an | ga=panaw | (kanen an). |
| woman | DEF,M | ACT,TH,R=leave | kanen an |
| | | | 3SG,S DEF,M |
- 'As for the woman, she left.'

When S is a third person pronoun (48) or an inanimate noun (51), no co-referential pronoun is left in the clause.

- (47)
- | | | | | |
|----------------|-------|-------|-----|--|
| | | | S | |
| Gapanaw | | kanen | an. | |
| ga=panaw | | kanen | an | |
| ACT,TH,R=leave | 3SG,S | DEF,M | | |
- 'He left.'
- (48)
- | | | | |
|-------|-------|----------------|--|
| Kanen | an, | gapanaw. | |
| kanen | an | ga=panaw | |
| 3SG | DEF,M | ACT,TH,R=leave | |
- 'As for him, he left.'
- (49)
- *Kanen an, gapanaw kanen an.
- 'As for him, he left.'
- (50)
- | | | | | |
|-----------------|-------|------|-------|-----|
| | | | S | |
| Gapawa | | isab | bulan | an. |
| ga=pawa | | isab | bulan | an |
| ACT,TH,R=bright | again | moon | DEF,M | |
- 'The moon became bright again.'
- (51)
- | | | | | |
|-------|-------|-----------------|-------|-------|
| Bulan | an, | gapawa | | isab. |
| bulan | an | ga=pawa | | isab |
| moon | DEF,M | ACT,TH,R=bright | again | |
- 'As for the moon, it became bright again.'
- (52)
- *Bulan an, gapawa kanen isab.
- 'As for the moon, it became bright again.'

In a transitive clause, either an active construction or an inverse construction, an obligatory co-referential pronoun must be left in the clause when A is the fronted NP, regardless of the person. As it happens, the A argument of a transitive clause must be animate, and so the animacy hierarchy in Figure 1 is irrelevant for this argument. In (54), A is a first person pronoun; in (57), it is a third person noun.

- (53)
- | | | | | |
|--------------|-------|-------|-------|-----|
| | | A | P | |
| Patiro | | ko | bata | an. |
| pa=tiro | | ko | bata | an |
| ACT,TH,R=hit | 1SG,A | child | DEF,M | |
- 'I hit the child.'
- (54)
- | | | | | | |
|-------|-------|--------------|-------|-------|-------|
| | | | A | P | |
| Yaken | i, | patiro | ko | bata | an. |
| yaken | i | pa=tiro | ko | bata | an |
| 1SG | DEF,N | ACT,TH,R=hit | 1SG,A | child | DEF,M |
- 'As for me, I hit the child.'

- (55) *Yaken i, patiro Ø bata an.

'As for me, I hit the child.'

- (56)
- | | | | | |
|--------------|-----|-------|------|-------|
| | A | | P | |
| Patiro | ta | bata | mama | an. |
| pa=tiro | ta | bata | mama | an |
| ACT,TH,R=hit | ERG | child | man | DEF,M |

'The child hit the man.'

- (57)
- | | | | | | |
|-------------|--------------|-------|------|-------|--|
| | | A | | P | |
| Bata an, | patiro | din | mama | an. | |
| bata an | pa=tiro | din | mama | an | |
| child DEF,M | ACT,TH,R=hit | 3SG,A | man | DEF,M | |

'As for the child, she hit the man.'

- (58) *Bata an, patiro Ø mama an.

'As for the child, she hit the man.'

When P of a transitive clause is the fronted NP, an optional co-referential pronoun is left in the clause when P is a first or second person pronoun (60), or an animate noun (62).

- (59)
- | | | | |
|--------------|-------|-----|-------|
| | P | A | |
| Patiro | a | ta | bai. |
| pa=tiro | a | ta | bai |
| ACT,TH,R=hit | 1SG,P | ERG | woman |

'The woman hit me.'

- (60)
- | | | | | | |
|-----------|--------------|-------|-----|-------|--|
| | | P | | A | |
| Yaken i, | patiro | (a) | ta | bai. | |
| yaken i | pa=tiro | a | ta | bai | |
| 1SG DEF,N | ACT,TH,R=hit | 1SG,P | ERG | woman | |

'As for me, the woman hit me.'

- (61)
- | | | | | |
|--------------|-----|-------|-------|-------|
| | A | | P | |
| Patiro | ta | bai | bata | an. |
| pa=tiro | ta | bai | bata | an |
| ACT,TH,R=hit | ERG | woman | child | DEF,M |

'The woman hit the child.'

- (62)
- | | | | | | |
|-------------|--------------|---------|-----|-------|--|
| | | P | | A | |
| Bata an, | patiro | (kanen) | ta | bai. | |
| bata an | pa=tiro | kanen | ta | bai | |
| child DEF,M | ACT,TH,R=hit | 3SG,P | ERG | woman | |

'As for the child, the woman hit him.'

Notice that when a co-referential pronoun is left in the clause, following the fronting of A or P, word order adjusts according to the topicality hierarchy shown in Figure 1. Specifically, when A outranks P, the clause is a VAP active construction, but when P

outranks A, it is a VPA inverse construction. For example in (61), A and P are both full NPs and equal in animacy. Here VAP word order is obligatory. In (62), P is fronted and an optional co-referential pronoun is left in the clause. Since pronouns outrank full NPs, the unmarked word order for (62) is VPA when the optional pronoun is present.

When P is a third person pronoun (64) or an inanimate noun (67), no co-referential pronoun is left in the clause.

- (63)
- | | | | | | | |
|--------------|--|-------|-------|-----|--|-------|
| | | P | | A | | |
| Patiro | | kanen | an | ta | | bai. |
| pa=tiro | | kanen | an | ta | | bai |
| ACT,TH,R=hit | | 3SG,P | DEF,M | ERG | | woman |
- 'The woman hit him.'

- (64)
- | | | | | | | |
|-------|-------|--------------|--|-----|--|-------|
| | | | | A | | |
| Kanen | an, | patiro | | ta | | bai. |
| kanen | an | pa=tiro | | ta | | bai |
| 3SG | DEF,M | ACT,TH,R=hit | | ERG | | woman |
- 'As for him, the woman hit him.'

- (65) *Kanen an, patiro kanen ta bai.
'As for him, the woman hit him.'

- (66)
- | | | | | | | | |
|------------------|--|-----|-------|----|----------|-------|-------|
| | | A | | | P | | |
| Palam-ed | | ta | bakod | na | bekessan | bulan | an. |
| pa=lam-ed | | ta | bakod | na | bekessan | bular | an |
| ACT,TH,R=swallow | | ERG | big | LK | snake | moon | DEF,M |
- 'The big snake swallowed the moon.'

- (67)
- | | | | | | | | |
|-------|-------|------------------|--|-----|-------|----|-----------|
| | | | | A | | | |
| Bulan | an, | palam-ed | | ta | bakod | na | bekessan. |
| bulan | an | pa=lam-ed | | ta | bakod | na | bekessan |
| moon | DEF,M | ACT,TH,R=swallow | | ERG | big | LK | snake |
- 'As for the moon, the big snake swallowed it.'

- (68) *Bulan an, palam-ed kanen ta bakod na bekessan.
'As for the moon, the big snake swallowed it.'

Co-referential deletion patterns involving fronted NPs in Kagayanen are summarized in Table 3. The notation (PRO) indicates that a co-referential pronoun is optional; PRO indicates that a co-referential pronoun is obligatory; a star indicates that a co-referential pronoun is obligatorily absent; and a dash indicates that the nominal type or clause type does not occur. Table 3 shows that co-referential deletion patterns display an ergative/absolutive pattern in that S and P pattern alike while A patterns differently.

Table 3. Co-referential Deletion Patterns Involving Fronted NPs in Kagayanen

	S	A		P	
		VAP	VPA	VAP	VPA
1 st or 2 nd pronoun animate noun	(PRO) (PRO)	PRO PRO	PRO PRO	— (PRO)	(PRO) (PRO)
3 rd pronoun inanimate noun	* *	PRO —	PRO —	* *	* *

4. EXPOSITORY DISCOURSE

In Kagayanen expository texts, the communicative purpose of the speaker is to explain and prove.¹⁸ The general rhetorical structure of expository texts consists of a series of abstract concepts that are related logically. One of these concepts is the global theme, which is introduced in the first paragraph of the text. The global theme is developed by other abstract concepts which form lower-level themes. These are usually themes of paragraphs. Various kinds of information help develop a theme, such as reasons, results, illustrations, and negations or adversative information. Illustrations provide detail for a theme; results and reasons provide proof for it; and negations and adversative information provide contrast for it. Each paragraph usually has a peak which is defined as the first mention of a reason or result that supports a theme (Brainard 1991). In Kagayanen, results tend to be favored over reasons for peaks.¹⁹ Thus, themes, results, and adversative information are key elements in the rhetorical structure of Kagayanen expository discourse.²⁰ Later we will see that these three kinds of information often occur in sentences that are marked by fronted NPs.

5. THE FUNCTIONS OF FRONTED NPS

The primary function of fronted NPs in Kagayanen expository discourse is to mark the three kinds of information that are most important for developing an expository text, namely theme, result, and contrast. Fronted NPs mark sentences that: 1) introduce new themes, 2) signal changes in theme, 3) summarize themes, 4) present results or reasons that are peaks, 5) signal selective focus, and 6) signal contrastive focus.

5.1 Introduction of new theme

Fronted NPs in expository discourse mark sentences that introduce new themes. A global theme is usually introduced in a fronted NP in the first paragraph of a text. In a text explaining the traditional belief about what an eclipse is, the global theme is introduced in the first fronted NP in the first sentence of the paragraph (69).²¹ It is stated again in the first fronted NP of the next sentence (70).

(69) FRONTED NP1

Kaan lao,	pagpati	ta	mga	ittaw
kaan lao	pag=pati	ta	mga	ittaw
eat darkness	NR=believe	GEN	PLM	person

FRONTED NP2

di	ta	Cagayancillo	na	bulan	an,	kaan	ta	lao.
di	ta	Cagayancillo	na	bulan	an	kaan	ta	lao
L1,N	OBL	Cagayancillo	LK	moon	DEF,M	eat	ERG	darkness

'An eclipse, a belief of people here on Cagayancillo is that the moon, darkness eats it.'

- (70) FRONTED NP1 FRONTED NP2
- | | | | | | | |
|------------------|----------|-------|-----------|-------|----|-----------|
| Kaan | lao, | bakod | kon | an | na | bekessan, |
| kaan | lao | bakod | kon | an | na | bekessan |
| eat | darkness | big | RS | DEF,M | LK | snake |
| palam-ed | | din | bulan an. | | | |
| pa=lam-ed | | din | bulan an | | | |
| ACT,TH,R=swallow | | 3SG,A | moon | DEF,M | | |

'An eclipse, the big snake, he swallows the moon.'

Notice that these sentence-initial fronted NPs are not arguments of any clause in their respective sentences. Sentences (69) and (70) do, however, contain fronted NPs that are arguments of a clause. In (69), *pati* 'believe' takes a complement clause: 'the moon, darkness eats it'. The P argument of the complement clause, *bulan* 'moon', is fronted to the initial position of its clause. In (70), the A argument of the main clause, *bakod na bekessan* 'big snake', is fronted to a sentence-initial position, following the fronted NP that states the global theme. In this text, the moon and the snake are participants that have important roles in the global theme.

Sentence (71) introduces a lower-level theme in the same text: people try to frighten the snake (which is eating the moon). The theme, partially represented by the phrase *mga itlaw* 'people', is stated in the fronted NP. Notice that the fronted NP is an argument of the immediately following dependent clause.

- (71) FRONTED NP
- | | | | | | | |
|-----|------------------|--------|----------------|------------------|---------------|------------------|
| Ta | mga | ittaw | an, | tak | nakita | danen |
| ta | mga | ittaw | an | tak | na=kita | danen |
| so | PLM | person | DEF,M | because | NVOL,TH,R=see | 3PL,A |
| na | bulan | ya, | naduwad | en | tak | palam-ed |
| na | bulan | ya | na=duwad | en | tak | pa=lam-ed |
| LK | moon | DEF,F | STAT,TH,R=lose | CM | because | ACT,TH,R=swallow |
| ta | bekessan | na | bakod, | magpukpok | danen | en |
| ta | bekessan | na | bakod | mag=pukpok | danen | en |
| ERG | snake | LK | big | ACT,AG,IRR=pound | 3PL,S | CM |
| ta | mga | lata, | mga | drum o | daw | ano man |
| ta | mga | lata | mga | drum o | daw | ano man |
| OBL | PLM | can | PLM | drum or | if | what also |
| na | makaatag | ta | sikad | sagbak | aged | na |
| na | maka=atag | ta | sikad | sagbak | aged | na |
| LK | ABIL,AG,IRR=give | OBL | very | noise | so.that | LK |

bekessan	an,	maadlek,	iluwa	din
bekessan	an	ma=adlek	i=luwa	din
snake	DEF,M	STAT,TH,IRR=afraid	ACT,TH,IRR=spit	3SG,A
bulan	ya,	ig	bekessan	an,
bulan	ya	ig	bekessan	an
moon	DEF,F	and	snake	DEF,M
			ACT,TH,IRR=run	

'So the people, because they saw that the moon, it has disappeared because the big snake swallowed it, they bang on cans or drums or whatever else gives a lot of noise so that the snake, he will be afraid, he will spit out the moon, and the snake, he will run away.'

5.2 Change of theme

Fronted NPs mark sentences that signal a change of theme. An expository text of any significant length usually has more than one lower-level theme. When the speaker changes from one lower-level theme to another, the first mention of theme 2 occurs in a fronted NP, and this usually marks the beginning of a new paragraph. Theme 2 is not necessarily a new theme since a speaker can return to a theme that he has already talked about. For example, in a text in which the speaker is talking about her family, the speaker and her husband are the theme of the first paragraph (72) (sentence 3 of the text) and the first-born daughter is the theme of the second paragraph (73) (sentence 4 of the text). The speaker and her husband are the theme in the third paragraph (74) (sentence 7 of the text) when the speaker talks about herself and her husband again.

(72) SENTENCE 3 FRONTED NP

Kami,	may	kabataan	na	limma	buok.
kami	may	ka--an=bata	na	limma	buok
2PL,EX	EXT,INDEF	NR,PL=child	LK	five	piece

'As for us, we have five children.'

(73) SENTENCE 4 FRONTED NP

Panganay	nay	na	bata	bai,	yaan
panganay	nay	na	bata	bai	yaan
first.born	1PL,EX,GEN1	LK	child	female	OBL, DEF

nagaiskwila ta Talaga Elementary School.

naga=iskwila ta Talaga Elementary School

ACT,AG,R=school OBL Talaga Elementary School

'Our first born girl, she went to school at Talaga elementary school.'

(74) SENTENCE 7 FRONTED NP1

Umpisa	ta	pag=iskwila	ta	ame	na	kabataan,
umpisa	ta	pag=iskwila	ta	ame	na	ka--an=bata
start	GEN	NR=school	GEN	1PL,EX,GEN2	LK	NR,PL=child

FRONTED NP2

karni na mag-sawa, nagasagod kay ta baboy.
 kami na mag=sawa naga=sagod kay ta baboy
 2PL,EX LK REL=spouse ACT,AG,R=raise 1PL,EX,S OBL pig

'Starting when our children went to school, my husband and I, we raised pigs.'

5.3 Summary of theme

Fronted NPs mark sentences that summarize themes. These summaries occur at the end of paragraphs, sections, and texts. Sentence (75) is taken from the eclipse text. It is the last sentence in a paragraph explaining the belief that pregnant woman should not look at an eclipse. Here the deictic *yon* 'that' is the fronted NP.

- (75) Yon, isya man na pagpati ta mga inay
 Yon isya man na pag=pati ta mga inay
 D3,N one also LK NR=believe GEN PLM mother
 na gabagnes.
 na ga=bagnes
 LK ACT,TH,R=pregnant

'That, it is another belief of mothers who are pregnant.'

One might argue that (75) is a cleft construction; however, fronted NPs and the heads of cleft constructions differ in two ways. First, fronted NPs are always followed by a phonological pause (as indicated by the comma in (75)), while head NPs of cleft constructions are never followed by a pause. Second, in cleft constructions, the linker *na* follows the head NP. Compare (75) with its fronted NP to the basic topic comment sentence in (76) and its cleft counterpart in (77).²²

- (76) Isya man na pagpati nan ta mga inay na
 Isya man na pag=pati nan ta mga inay na
 one also LK NR=belief D3,N,S GEN PLM mother LK
 gabagnes.
 ga=bagnes
 ACT,TH,R=pregnant

'That is another belief of mothers who are pregnant.'

- (77) Yon na isya man na pagpati ta mga inay na
 yon na isya man na pag=pati ta mga inay na
 D3,N LK one also LK NR=believe GEN PLM mother LK
 gabagnes.
 ga=bagnes
 ACT,TH,R=pregnant

'That is another belief of mothers who are pregnant.'

Sentence (78) is another example of a fronted NP marking a sentence that summarizes a theme. It comes from a text about the duties of the *surano*, or traditional healer.²³ It is the last sentence in a paragraph about how the healer blows on a sick person in order to determine whether the sickness has been caused by a spirit.

- (78) Pambal i na teyep, isya man na paagi aged
 pa=ambal i na teyep isya man na paagi aged
 ACT,TH,R=say DEF,N LK blow one also LK way so.that
 malaman man ta surano daw itlaw an,
 ma--an=alam man ta surano daw itlaw an
 STAT,TH,IRR=know also ERG healer if person DEF,M
 may anen man sabid.
 may anen man sabid
 EXT,INDEF EXT,DEF also sickness.from.spirits
 'What is called blowing, it is also one way that the healer knows if, a person,
 he has a sickness caused by a spirit.'

5.4 Marking of peak

Fronted NPs mark sentences that present results (or less often, reasons) that are the peak of a paragraph or an entire text.²⁴ In the eclipse text, the peak of the text occurs when the snake is frightened by the noise people are making, spits out the moon, and runs away (at which point the eclipse comes to an end). All this is stated in a single complex sentence (79) that begins with a fronted NP, *mga itlaw* 'people' and contains four clauses that have fronted NPs.²⁵

- (79) FRONTED NP1
 Ta mga itlaw an, tak nakita danen
 ta mga itlaw an tak na=kita danen
 so PLM person DEF,M because NVOL,TH,R=see 3PL,A
 FRONTED NP2
 na bulan ya, naduwad en tak palam-ed
 na bulan ya na=duwad en tak pa=lam-ed
 LK moon DEF,F STAT,TH,R=lose CM because ACT,TH,R=swallow
 ta bekessan na bakod, magpukpok danen en
 ta bekessan na bakod mag=pukpok danen en
 ERG snake LK big ACT,AG,IRR=pound 3PL,S CM
 ta mga lata, mga drum o daw ano man
 ta mga lata mga drum o daw ano man
 OBL PLM can PLM drum or if what also
 na makaatag ta sikad sagbak aged
 na maka=atag ta sikad sagbak aged
 LK ABIL,AG,IRR=give OBL very noise so.that
 FRONTED NP3
 na bekessan an, maadlek, iluwa
 na bekessan an ma=adlek i=luwa
 LK snake DEF,M STAT,TH,IRR=afraid ACT,TH,IRR=spit

FRONTED NP4

din bulan ya, ig bekessan an, mlagan.
 din bulan ya ig bekessan an m=dlagan
 3SG,A moon DEF,F and snake DEF,M ACT,TH,IRR=run

'So the people, because they saw that the moon, it has disappeared because the big snake swallowed it, they bang on cans or drums or whatever else gives a lot of noise so that the snake, he will be afraid, he will spit out the moon, and the snake, he will run away.'

5.5 Selective focus

Fronted NPs mark sentences that signal selective focus, one type of pragmatic focus. For this type of focus, one item is selected from among a presupposed set of possible values (Dik et al. 1981). Selective focus involves contrast in that it explicitly or implicitly excludes all other presupposed values. Sentence (80) is found in the healer text. Here *ingkantado* 'fairy' is selected from all other kinds of spirits that cause sickness and is placed in a fronted NP.

- (80) Ta daw may sabid itlaw an na
 ta daw may sabid itlaw an na
 so if EXT,INDEF sickness.from.spirits person DEF,M LK
 nagamasakit na gainay-inay ta luya, yon
 naga=masakit na ga=CRD=inay ta luya yon
 ACT,TH,R=sick LK ACT,TH,R=INS=gradual OBL weak D3,N,ADJ
 na masakit nan o sabid, naan
 na masakit nan o sabid naan
 LK sick D3,SP,ADJ or sickness.from.spirits OBL,DEF
 galin ta mga ingkantado tak
 ga=alin ta mga ingkantado tak
 ACT,TH,R=come.from OBL PLM fairy because

FRONTED NP

ingkantado i, dili gulpi mag-atag ta masakit.
 ingkantado i dili gulpi mag-atag ta masakit
 fairy DEF,N not suddenly ACT,AG,IRR=give OBL sick

'So if the sick person has a sickness from a spirit in which he gradually becomes weak, that sickness or sickness from a spirit, it came from fairies because a fairy, it does not give sickness suddenly.'

5.6 Contrastive focus

Finally, fronted NPs mark sentences that signal contrastive focus, another type of pragmatic focus. For this type of focus, one item is selected from a presupposed set in which the correct values are restricted (Dik et al. 1981).²⁶ In the eclipse text, the speaker talks about the beliefs of the older generation concerning the eclipse. Then in (81), he contrasts the old generation with the new generation of young people who do not hold those beliefs. The new generation is the selected item and occurs in a fronted NP.

- (81) FRONTED NP
- | | | | | | | | | |
|------|--------|------------------|-----|-------|----------|------|--------|-------|
| Piro | anduni | ta | mga | bag-o | tubo, | mga | ittaw | i, |
| piro | anduni | ta | mga | bag-o | tubo | mga | ittaw | i |
| but | now | OBL | PLM | new | grow | PLM | person | DEF,N |
| ula | en | gapati | | ta | iling | tan. | | |
| ula | en | ga=pati | | ta | iling | tan | | |
| not | CM | ACT,AG,R=believe | OBL | like | D3,N,OBL | | | |
- 'But now regarding the new generation, these people, they do not believe (in things) like that.'

Although only two types of pragmatic focus, selective and contrastive, have been noted in the available expository texts, it is likely that the selected item of other types of pragmatic focus, should they occur, would also be eligible for fronting, although this remains to be verified.

6. CONCLUSION

A notable feature of expository discourse in Kagayanen is the high frequency of fronted NPs. In this study, we have suggested that fronted NPs are a syntactic device for focusing attention on three kinds of information that are important for the development of expository discourse: theme, result, and contrast. Specifically, we have shown that fronted NPs mark sentences that: introduce new themes, signal changes in theme, summarize themes, mark peaks, and signal selective and contrastive focus.

ABBREVIATIONS

A	more agentive argument of a transitive clause
ABIL	abilitative mood
ACT	active
ADJ	adjective
AG	Agent
CM	completed aspect or perfective
CRD	complete reduplication
CTR	contrast
D1	deictic 1 - this (near speaker)
D2	deictic 2 - this (near speaker and hearer)
D3	deictic 3 - that (near hearer)
D4	deictic 4 - that (far from speaker and hearer)
DEF	definite
ERG	ergative
EMPH	emphatic
EX	exclusive
EXT	existential
GEN	genitive
IN	inclusive
INDEF	indefinite
INS	intensifier
IRR	irrealis mood
L1	locative 1 - here (near speaker)
L2	locative 2 - here (near speaker and hearer)

L3	locative 3 - there (near hearer)
L4	locative 4 - there (far from speaker and hearer)
LK	linker
LOC	Loc, location
M	medium distance
N	near, neutral
NEG	negative
NR	nominalizer
NVOL	non-volitional
OBL	oblique
P	less agentive argument of a transitive clause
PASS	passive
PL	plural
PLM	plural marker
PTL	particle
R	realis mood
RS	reported speech
S	single argument of an intransitive clause
SG	singular
SP	specific
STAT	stative
TH	Theme
VAP	verb-agent-patient word order
VPA	verb-patient-agent word order

APPENDIX A

The following includes information about various aspects of the morphosyntax of basic clauses in Kagayanen, including case markers, pronoun sets, deictics, locatives, and basic verb affixes.

1. CASE MARKERS

Table 4. Kagayanen Case Markers

	S/P	A	OBL	GEN
Common nouns	Ø	ta	ta	ta
Pronouns and personal names	Ø	Ø	ki	Ø

Note: The word *naan* (and its phonological variant *yaan*) may optionally precede the oblique marker *ta*, and only this marker, if the oblique argument is definite.

2. PERSONAL PRONOUNS

Table 5. Kagayanen Personal Pronouns

	Intransitive clause	VAP active construction		VPA inverse construction		All clauses
	S	A	P	P	A	OBL
SG						
1	a	ko	yaken	a	—	ki yaken
2	ka	no	kaon	ka	no	ki kaon
3	kanen	din	kanen	kanen	din	ki kanen
PL						
1 IN	ki	ta	kiten	ki	—	ki kiten
1 EX	kay	nay	kami	kay	—	ki kami
2	kaw	nyo	kyo	kaw	nyo	ki kyo
3	danen	danen	danen	danen	danen	ki danen

Note: Composite pronouns referring to first person A and second person P are: *takaw* 1SG,A+2SG,P and *takyo* 1SG,A+2PL,P.

3. GENITIVE PRONOUNS

Table 6. Kagayanen Genitive and Contrastive Pronouns

	Set 1	Set 2	Set 3
	Genitive only	Genitive and Contrastive	Genitive and Contrastive
	Postposition	Preposition	Preposition
SG			
1	ko	ake	kende
2	no	imo	—
3	din	iya	—
PL			
1 IN	ta	ate	tende
1 EX	nay	ame	mende
2	nyo	inyo	—
3	danen	iran	—

The first set of pronouns in Table 6 functions as genitive pronouns only. This set always follows the head noun of a genitive NP, as in (82).

(82) PRONOUN SET 1 AS GENITIVE

Tagan ko kanen an ta sid-anan ko.
 atag=an ko kanen an ta sid-anan ko
 give=ACT,LOC,IRR 1SG,A 3SG,P DEF,M OBL viand 1SG,GEN1

'I will give him some of my viand.'

The second set functions either as genitive pronouns (83) or as contrastive pronouns for S, A, and P (84)-(85). In genitive NPs, these pronouns always precede the head noun.

(83) PRONOUN SET 2 AS GENITIVE

Tagan ko kanen an ta ake i
 atag=an ko kanen an ta ake i
 give=ACT,LOC,IRR 1SG,A 3SG,P DEF,M OBL 1SG,GEN2 DEF,N

na sid-anan.

na sid-anan

LK viand

'I will give him my viand.'

(84) PRONOUN SET 2 AS CONTRASTIVE

Gaata kay ame ta sid-anan ki kanen.
 ga=atag kay ame ta sid-anan ki kanen
 ACT,AG,R=give 1PL,EX,S 1PL,CTR OBL viand OBL 3SG,OBL

'We ourselves (rather than someone else) gave some viand to him.'

(85) PRONOUN SET 2 AS CONTRASTIVE

Gaata ake ta sid-anan ki kanen.
 ga=atag ake ta sid-anan ki kanen
 ACT,AG,R=give 1SG,CTR,S OBL viand OBL 3SG,OBL

'I myself (rather than someone else) gave some viand to him.'

The third set can function as either contrastive genitive pronouns (86) or as contrastive pronouns for S, A, and P (87). In genitive NPs, these pronouns always precede the head noun.

(86) PRONOUN SET 3 AS CONTRASTIVE GENITIVE

Tagan ko kanen ta kende na sid-anan.
 atag=an ko kanen ta kende na sid-anan
 give=ACT,LOC,IRR 1SG,A 3SG,P OBL 1SG,GEN3 LK viand

'I will give him some of my (rather than someone else's) viand.'

(87) PRONOUN SET 3 AS CONTRASTIVE ONLY

Gaata a kende ta sid-anan naan
 ga=atag a kende ta sid-anan naan
 ACT,AG,R=give 1SG,S 1SG,CTR OBL viand OBL,DEF

ki kanen.

ki kanen

OBL 1SG,OBL

'I myself (rather than someone else) gave some viand to him.'

4. DEICTICS

Deictics distinguish four spatial orientations. The first, D1, indicates that an item is located near the speaker; the second, D2, indicates that the item is near both the speaker and the hearer; the third, D3, indicates that the item is near the hearer; and the fourth, D4, indicates that the item is far from both the speaker and the hearer. These forms are given in Table 7.

Table 7. Kagayanen Deictics

	Set 1	Set 2	
	S or P	A or OBL or GEN	
		N	SP
D1	ni	ti	ti ni
D2	nyan	san	san nyan
D3	nan	tan	tan nan
D4	nya	sa	sa nya

	Set 3		Set 4	
	Fronted NP or Preposed ADJ Neutral		Fronted NP or Preposed ADJ Emphatic	
	N	SP	N	SP
D1	yi/wi	yi ni	uyi/uwi	uyi ni
D2	yan	yan nyan	yan	yan nyan
D3	yon	yon nan	uyon	uyon nan
D4	yo	yo nya	uyo	uyo nya

	Set 5	Set 6
	Postposed ADJ	Enclitic
D1	nai	i
D2	nayan	(y)an
D3	naya	
D4	nayo	ya

Note: In Set 6, the D2 enclitic has two allomorphs: *an* and *yan*. The allomorph *yan* occurs only following words ending in /n/; the allomorph *an* occurs in all other phonological environments.

Set 1 deictics occur as an S (88) or a P (89) argument. Set 2 occurs as an A (90), an oblique (91), or a genitive (92) argument.

(88) DEICTIC SET 1 AS S

S

Gapanaw ni.
ga=panaw ni
ACT,TH,R=go D1,S
'This one left.'

(89) DEICTIC SET 1 AS P

	A	P			
Sekeben	ta	ni	daw	pila	
sekeb=en	ta	ni	daw	pila	
measure=ACT,TH,IRR	1PL,IN,A	D1,P	if	how.many	
gantang.					
gantang					
2.1/2.gallon.measure					
'Let's measure this for how many 2 1/2 gallon measures (there are).'					

(90) DEICTIC SET 2 AS A

	A	P			
Sekeben	ti	mais	ta	an.	
sekeb=en	ti	mais	ta	an	
measure=ACT,TH,IRR	D1,N,A	corn	1PL,GEN1	DEF,M	
'This one will measure our corn.'					

(91) DEICTIC SET 2 AS OBLIQUE

	S	OBL			
Magsekeb	ki	ti	daw	pila	
mag=sekeb	ki	ti	daw	pila	
ACT,AG,IRR=measure	1PL,IN,S	D1,N,OBL	if	how.many	
gantang.					
gantang					
2.1/2.gallon.measure					
'Let's measure this for how many 2 1/2 gallon measures (there are).'					

(92) DEICTIC SET 2 AS GENITIVE

Sekeben	ta	mais	ti.
sekeb=en	ta	mais	ti
measure=ACT,TH,IRR	1PL,IN,A	corn	D1,N,GEN
'Let's measure the corn of this one.'			

Sets 2, 3, 4 each have two forms: one is neutral (N) with respect to specificity and the other indicates some degree of specificity (SP). Specificity is relative and sensitive to the communication context; consequently, neutral and specific forms may be interchangeable in an isolated sentence. The set 2 deictic in (93) is a specific form.

(93) DEICTIC SET 2 AS SPECIFIC

Magsekeb	ki	ti	ni	daw
mag=sekeb	ki	ti	ni	daw
ACT,AG,IRR=measure	1PL,IN,S	D1,SP,OBL	D1,SP,OBL	if
pila	gantang.			
pila	gantang			
how.many	2.1/2.gallon.measure			

'Let's measure this for how many 2 1/2 gallon measures (there are).'

Both sets 3 and 4 occur either as a fronted NP or as a preposed adjective. Set 4 indicates emphasis, in that it highlights the head noun of the NP in which it occurs. Sentence (94) has the neutral form of a set 3 deictic that is a fronted NP, and sentence (95) has the specific form of the same deictic.

(94) DEICTIC SET 3 AS FRONTED NP - NEUTRAL

Yi,	sekeben	ta.
yi	sekeb=en	ta
D1,N	measure=ACT,TH,IRR	1PL,A

'This, we will measure it.'

(95) DEICTIC SET 3 AS FRONTED NP - SPECIFIC

Yi	ni,	sekeben	ta.
yi	ni	sekeb=en	ta
D1,SP	D1,SP	measure=ACT,TH,IRR	1PL,A

'This, we will measure it.'

Sentence (96) has a set 3 deictic that is a preposed adjective in a fronted NP and (97) has the specific form of the same deictic.

(96) DEICTIC SET 3 AS PREPOSED ADJECTIVE - NEUTRAL

Yi	na	mais,	sekeben	ta.
yi	na	mais	sekeb=en	ta
D1,SP	LK	corn	measure=ACT,TH,IRR	1PL,A

'This corn, we will measure it.'

(97) DEICTIC SET 3 AS PREPOSED ADJECTIVE - SPECIFIC

Yi	na	mais	ni,	sekeben	ta.
yi	na	mais	ni	sekeb=en	ta
D1,SP	LK	corn	D1,SP	measure=ACT,TH,IRR	1PL,A

'This corn, we will measure it.'

Sentence (98) has a set 3 deictic that is a preposed adjective and sentence (99) has the specific form of the same deictic.

(98) DEICTIC SET 3 AS PREPOSED ADJECTIVE

Sekeben	ta	yi	na	mais.
sekeb=en	ta	yi	na	mais
measure=ACT,TH,IRR	1PL,IN,A	D1,N, ADJ	LK	corn

'Let's measure this corn.'

(99) DEICTIC SET 3 AS SPECIFIC PREPOSED ADJECTIVE

Sekeben	ta	yi	na	mais	ni.
sekeb=en	ta	yi	na	mais	ni
measure=ACT,TH,IRR	1PL,IN,A	D1,SP,ADJ	LK	corn	D1,SP,ADJ

'Let's measure this corn.'

Sentence (100) has a set 4 deictic in a fronted NP and sentence (101) has the specific form of the same deictic.

(100) DEICTIC SET 4 AS FRONTED NP

Uyi,	sekeben	ta.
uyi	sekeb=en	ta
D1,G,EMPH	measure=ACT,TH,IRR	1PL,IN,A

'This, we will measure it.'

(101) DEICTIC SET 4 AS SPECIFIC FRONTED NP

Uyi	ni	sekeben	ta.
uyi	ni	sekeb=en	ta
D1,SP,EMPH	D1,SP,EMPH	measure=ACT,TH,IRR	1PL,IN,A

'This, we will measure it.'

Sentence (102) has a set 4 deictic as a preposed adjective in a fronted NP and (103) has the specific form of the same deictic. Sentence (104) has a preposed adjective a non-fronted NP and (105) has specific form of the same deictic.

(102) DEICTIC SET 4 AS PREPOSED ADJECTIVE IN FRONTED NP

Uyi	na	mais,	sekeben	ta.
uyi	na	mais	sekeb=en	ta
D1,SP,EMPH	LK	corn	measure=ACT,TH,IRR	1PL,IN,A

'This corn, we will measure it.'

(103) DEICTIC SET 4 AS SPECIFIC PREPOSED ADJECTIVE IN FRONTED NP

Uyi	na	mais	ni,	sekeben	ta.
uyi	na	mais	ni	sekeb=en	ta
D1,SP,EMPH	LK	corn	D1,SP,EMPH	measure=ACT,TH,IRR	1PL,IN,A

'This corn, we will measure it.'

(104) DEICTIC SET 4 AS PREPOSED ADJECTIVE

Sekeben	ta	uyi	na	mais.
sekeb=en	ta	uyi	na	mais
measure=ACT,TH,IRR	1PL,IN,A	D1,N,ADJ	LK	corn

'Let's measure this corn.'

(105) DEICTIC SET 4 AS SPECIFIC PREPOSED ADJECTIVE

Sekeben	ta	uyi	na
sekeb=en	ta	uyi	na
measure=ACT,TH,IRR	1PL,IN,A	D1,SP,EMPH,ADJ	LK

mais ni.
 mais ni
 corn D1,SP,EMPH,ADJ

'Let's measure this corn.'

Set 5 deictics occur as a postposed adjective (106).

(106) DEICTIC SET 5 AS POSTPOSED ADJECTIVE

Sekeben ta mais nai.
 sekeb=en ta mais nai
 measure=ACT,TH,IRR 1PL,IN,A corn D1,ADJ

'Let's measure this corn.'

Set 6 deictics occur as an enclitic attaching to a NP (107). These deictics distinguish only three spatial orientations: near (N), medium distance (M), and far (F).

(107) DEICTIC SET 6 ENCLITIC

Sekeben ta mais i.
 sekeb=en ta mais i
 measure=ACT,TH,IRR 1PL,IN,A corn DEF,N

'Let's measure this corn.'

5. LOCATIVES

Locatives distinguish the same four spatial orientations as deictics. As for certain deictics, locatives also have two forms: one that is neutral with respect to specificity, in that it indicates a general location, and another that signals some degree of specificity. Again, specificity of locatives is relative and sensitive to the communication context. Table 8 lists all Kagayanen locatives.

Table 8. Kagayanen Locatives

	N	SP
L1	di	unti
L2	dyan	unsan
L3	don	untan
L4	dya	unso

Sentence (108) has a neutral form of the locative and sentence (109) has the specific form of the same locative.

(108) LOCATIVE AS GENERAL SITE

Anen di nanay ko i naan
 EXT, DEF L1,N mother 1SG,GEN1 DEF,N OBL,DEF

ta balay i.
 OBL house DEF,N

'My mother is here in the house.'

(109) LOCATIVE AS SPECIFIC SITE

Anen unti nanay ko i naan
 EXT L1,SP mother 1SG,GEN1 DEF,N OBL,DEF

ta kilid ko i.
 OBL side 1SG,GEN1 DEF,N

'My mother is here at my side.'

6. BASIC VERBAL AFFIXES

Table 9 lists basic affixes that occur on Kagayanen verbs in verbal clauses. It is important to note that verb affixes and semantic roles do not have a one-to-one correspondence. In Table 9, the labels AG (Agent), TH (Theme), and LOC (Loc as site or state) are used as cover terms, for convenience of reference. For example, although the affixes in the column marked AG/TH often cross-reference Agents and Themes, they can also cross-reference other semantic roles. Also, other verb affixes can cross-reference Agents and Themes.

Table 9. Kagayanen Basic Verbal Affixes

Type	Mode	Semantic Role		
		AG/TH	TH	LOC
Active intransitive	Irrealis	mag-, m-		
	Realis	ga-		
Active intransitive	Irrealis	maga-		
	Realis	naga-		
Active transitive	Irrealis		-en	-an
	Realis		pa-	pa--an
Stative/Passive	Irrealis		ma-	ma--an
	Realis		na-	na--an

APPENDIX B

The following is the complete text of the story titled *Isturya ta Kaan ta Lao* 'A story of the eclipse' (literally 'A story of the eating of darkness'). We would like to express appreciation to Mr. Javier C. Carcelar of Barangay Sta. Cruz, Cagayancillo, Palawan, who wrote the story (and who is now deceased), and to his family who granted permission to include the text in this paper.

Title Isturya ta Kaan ta Lao
 isturya ta kaan ta lao
 story GEN eat GEN darkness

'A story of the eclipse' (Literally 'A story of the eating of darkness')

1.

1.	Kaan	lao,	pagpati	ta	mga	ittaw	di
	kaan	lao	pag=pati	ta	mga	ittaw	di
	eat	darkness	NR=believe	GEN	PLM	person	L1,N

ta	Cagayancillo	na	bulan	an,	kaan	ta	lao.
ta	Cagayancillo	na	bulan	an,	kaan	ta	lao
OBL	Cagayancillo	LK	moon	DEF,M	eat	ERG	darkness

'An eclipse, a belief of people here on Cagayancillo is that the moon, darkness eats it.'
2.

2.	Kaan	lao,	bakod	kon	an	na	bekessan,
	kaan	lao	bakod	kon	an	na	bekessan
	eat	darkness	big	RS	DEF,M	LK	snake

palam-ed	din	bulan	an.
pa=lam-ed	din	bulan	an
ACT,TH,R=swallow	3SG,A	moon	DEF,M

'An eclipse, the big snake, he swallows the moon.'
3.

3.	Palam-ed	din	bulan	an	ti	bulan	an,
	pa=lam-ed	din	bulan	an	ti	bulan	an
	ACT,TH,R=swallow	3SG,A	moon	DEF,M	so	moon	DEF,M

dili	en	magpawa.
dili	en	mag=pawa
NEG	CM	ACT,TH,IRR=bright

'He swallows the moon so the moon, it will not shine.'
4.

4.	Ta	mga	ittaw	an,	tak	nakita	danen
	ta	mga	ittaw	an	tak	na=kita	danen
	so	PLM	person	DEF,M	because	NVOL,TH,R=see	3PL,A

na	bulan	ya	naduwad	en	tak	palam-ed
na	bulan	ya	na=duwad	en	tak	pa=lam-ed
LK	moon	DEF,F	STAT,TH,R=lose	CM	because	ACT,TH,R=swallow

ta	bekessan	na	bakod,	magpukpok	danen	en
ta	bekessan	na	bakod	mag=pukpok	danen	en
ERG	snake	LK	big	ACT,AG,IRR=pound	3PL,S	CM

ta	mga	lata,	mga	drum	o	daw	ano	man	na
ta	mga	lata	mga	drum	o	daw	ano	man	na
OBL	PLM	can	PLM	drum	or	if	what	also	LK

makaatag	ta	sikad	sagbak	aged	na	bekessan
maka=atag	ta	sikad	sagbak	aged	na	bekessan
ABIL,AG,IRR=give	OBL	very	noisy	so.that	LK	snake

an,	maadlek,	iluwa	din
an	ma=adlek	i=luwa	din
DEF,M	STAT,TH,IRR=afraid	ACT,TH,IRR=spit.out	3SG,A

bulan ya, ig bekessan an, mlagan.
 bulan ya ig bekessan an m=dlagan
 moon DEF,F and snake DEF,M ACT,TH,IRR=run

'So the people, because they saw that the moon, it has disappeared because the big snake swallowed it, they bang on cans or drums or whatever else gives a lot of noise so that the snake, he will be afraid, he will spit out the moon, and the snake, he will run away.'

5. Pagluwa din ta bulan ya, miag
 pag=luwa din ta bulan ya m=liag
 NR=spit.out 3SG,GEN1 OBL moon DEF,F ACT,TH,IRR=want
- ambalen taan na bulan i, gapawa isab.
 ambal=en taan na bulan i ga=pawa isab
 say=ACT,TH,IRR maybe LK moon DEF,N ACT,TH,R=bright again
- 'His spitting out the moon, perhaps it means that the moon, it is shining again.'

6. Pagpawa isab ta bulan an, miag
 pag=pawa isab ta bulan an m=liag
 NR=bright again GEN moon DEF,M ACT,TH,IRR=want
- ambalen ya gadlagan en tak
 ambal=en ya ga=dlagan en tak
 say=ACT,TH,IRR DEF,F ACT,TH,R=run CM because
- naadlek ta sagbak ya na pabuat
 na=adlek ta sagbak ya na pa=buat
 STAT,TH,R=afraid OBL noisy DEF,F LK ACT,TH,R=make
- ta mga itlaw na papukpok danen mga lata
 ta mga itlaw na pa=pukpok danen mga lata
 ERG PLM person LK ACT,TH,R=pound 3PL,A PLM can
- an daw mga drum.
 an daw mga drum
 DEF,M and PLM drum

'The moon shining again, it means that he has run because he is afraid of the noise that the people made when they pounded on cans and drums.'

7. Piro yi, daw intindian ta
 piro yi daw intindi=en ta
 but D1,N if understand=ACT,TH,IRR 1PL,IN,A
- kagien ta mga drum an daw
 kagi=en ta mga drum an daw
 noise=ACT,TH,IRR 1PL,IN,A PLM drum DEF,M and
- lata na pok pok pok, dili gani mamatian
 lata na pok pok pok dili gani ma--an=mati
 can LK bang bang bang NEG truly ABIL,TH,IRR=hear

ta sikad madyo na naan di basak i.
 ta sikad madyo na naan di basak i
 OBL very far LK OBL,DEF L1,N soil DEF,N

'But regarding this, if we understand the noise we make beating drums and cans bang, bang, bang, it cannot truly be heard very far away here on the ground.'

8. Yan paayhan na matian ta bekessan ya
 yan paayhan na mati=an ta bekessan ya
 D2,N perhaps LK hear=ACT,TH,IRR ERG snake DEF,F
 na naan dya ta apaw ya na galam-ed
 na naan dya ta apa'w ya na ga=lam-ed
 LK OBL,DEF L4,N OBL above DEF,F LK ACT,AG,R=swallow
 ta bulan?
 ta bulan
 OBL moon

'Is that perhaps what the snake which is above which swallowed the moon hears?'

9. Yo na naan na pagpati ta mga itlaw.
 yo na naan na pag=pati ta mga itlaw
 D4,N LK OBL,DEF LK NR=believe GEN PLM person

'That is what people believe in.'

10. Piro anduni ta mga bag-o tubo, mga itlaw i,
 piro anduni ta mga bag-o tubo mga itlaw i
 but now OBL PLM new grow PLM person DEF,N
 ula en gapati ta iling tan.
 ula en ga=pati ta iling tan
 NEG CM ACT,AG,R=believe OBL like D3,N,OBL

'But now regarding the new generation, these people, they do not believe (in things) like that.'

11. Danen i, nakaiskwila en kag naistudyuan
 danen i naka=iskwila en kag na--an=istudyo
 3PL DEF,N ABIL,AG,R=school CM and NVOL,LOC,R=study
 en ta iskwila an na a kaan i lao
 en ta iskwila an na a kaan i lao
 CM OBL school DEF,M LK PTL eat DEF,N darkness
 bilang bulan an, naliperan ta alo
 bilang bulan an na--an=liped ta alo
 as moon DEF,M PASS,LOC,R=block OBL shadow
 ta kalibutan.
 ta kalibutan
 GEN earth

'As for them, they were able to go to school and they have learned at school that an eclipse is that the moon, it was blocked with the shadow of the earth.'

12. Tak naliperan ta alo ta kalibutan an,
 tak na--an=liped ta alo ta kalibutan an
 because PASS,LOC,R=block OBL shadow GEN earth DEF,M
 bulan an, dili en magpawa ta miad.
 bulan an dili en mag=pawa ta miad
 moon DEF,M NEG CM ACT,TH,IRR=bright OBL well
 'Because it was blocked with the shadow of the earth, the moon, it will not
 shine well.'
13. May kaan lao na ubos gid bulan an,
 may kaan lao na ubos gid bulan an
 EXT,INDEF eat darkness LK all INS moon DEF,M
 naduwad.
 na=duwad
 STAT,TH,R=lose
 'There is an eclipse where the whole moon disappears.'
14. Ula gapawa.
 ula ga=pawa
 NEG ACT,TH,R=bright
 'It does not shine.'
15. May kaan lao man na tise nang
 may kaan lao man na tise nang
 EXT,INDEF eat darkness also LK small only
 gagwa an ta ula kon
 ga=gwa an ta ula kon
 ACT,TH,R=outside DEF,M OBL NEG RS
 nalam-ed ta miad ta bekessan ya.
 na=lam-ed ta miad ta bekessan ya
 ABIL,TH,R=swallow OBL well ERG snake DEF,F
 'There is an eclipse where only a little of it appears because the snake was
 not able to swallow it well.'
16. Dason en man i na pagpati ta mga itlaw
 dason en man i na pag=pati ta mga itlaw
 next CM also DEF,N LK NR=believe GEN PLM person
 di, daw may kaan gani lao, mga bai
 di daw may kaan gani lao mga bai
 LI,N when EXT,INDEF eat truly darkness PLM woman
 an na may mga sawa an na
 an na may mga sawa an na
 DEF,M LK EXT,INDEF PLM spouse DEF,M LK

gabagnes, dili kon mag-angad dya.
 ga=bagnes dili kon mag=angad dya
 ACT,TH,R=pregnant NEG RS ACT,TH,IRR=look.up L4,N

'The next belief of people here, when there is indeed an eclipse, women who have a husband who are pregnant, they should not look up there.'

17. Dili kon magluag o mag-angad ta bulan
 dili kon mag=luag o mag=angad ta bulan
 NEG RS ACT,TH,IRR=look or ACT,TH,IRR=look.up OBL moon
- ya na kaan lao tak daw mag-angad
 ya na kaan lao tak daw mag=angad
 DEF,F LK eat darkness because if ACT,TH,IRR=look.up
- danen dya ta bulan yan na kaan lao o
 danen dya ta bulan yan na kaan lao o
 3PL,S L4,N OBL moon DEF,M LK eat darkness or
- magluag danen an, bata kon an danen,
 mag=luag danen an bata kon an danen
 ACT,TH,IRR=look 3PL,S DEF,M child RS DEF,M 3PL,GEN1
- daw maggwa, libat.
 daw mag=gwa libat
 when ACT,TH,IRR=outside cross.eyes

'Do not look at it or look up at the moon which is eclipsed because if they look up there at the moon which is eclipsed or they look at it, their child, when he comes out, he will be cross-eyed.'

18. Yon, isya man na pagpati ta mga inay
 yon isya man na pag=pati ta mga inay
 D3,N one also LK NR=believe GEN PLM mother
- na gabagnes.
 na ga=bagnes
 LK ACT,TH,R=pregnant

'That, it is another belief of mothers who are pregnant.'

19. Piro tama man na bata, a mga inay, galuag
 piro tama man na bata a mga inay ga=luag
 but many also LK child PTL PLM mother ACT,TH,R=look
- man ta kaan lao.
 man ta kaan lao
 also OBL eat darkness

'But many children, the mothers, they looked at the eclipse.'

20. Daw matao gani bata en, danen, ula man
 daw ma=tao gani bata en danen ula man
 when STAT,TH,IRR=born truly child CM 3PL NEG also

galibat.
ga=libat
ACT,TH,R=cross.eyes

'When the children were actually born, as for them, they were not cross-eyed.'

APPENDIX C

The following is the complete text of the story titled *Ubra ta Surano* 'The work of a healer'. We would like to express appreciation to Miss Jocelyn C. Bundal of Barangay Convento, Cagayancillo, Palawan, who wrote the story, for granting permission to include it in this paper.

Title Ubra ta Surano
ubra ta surano
work GEN healer

'The work of a healer'

1. Daw mayo itlaw na nagamasakit naan
daw m=ayo itlaw na naga=masakit naan
if ACT,AG,IRR=ask.for person LK ACT,TH,R=sick OBL,DEF

ta iran na balay, mag-umaw ta surano
ta iran na balay mag=umaw ta surano
OBL 3PL,GEN2 LK house ACT,AG,IRR=call OBL healer

aged matabangan o mabulong
aged ma--an=tabang o ma=bulong
so.that ABIL,TH, IRR=help or ABIL,TH,IRR=medicine

ta surano itlaw an na gamasakit.
ta surano itlaw an na ga=masakit
ERG healer person DEF,M LK ACT,TH,R=sick

'If a sick person in their house requests, they call the healer so that the healer will be able to help or will be able to medicate the sick person.'

2. Daw anen en surano ta balay ta itlaw
daw anen en surano ta balay ta itlaw
when EXT,DEF CM healer OBL house GEN person

na gamasakit, una anay na ubraen
na ga=masakit una anay na ubra=en
LK ACT,TH,R=sick first first LK work=ACT,TH,IRR

ta surano, pamulsuan din itlaw an
ta surano pa--an=mulso din itlaw an
ERG healer ACT,LOC,R=pulse 3SG,A person DEF,M

na may anen sakit aged
na may anen sakit aged
LK EXT,INDEF EXT,DEF sick so.that

malaman ta surano daw dasig o luya na
 ma--an=alam ta surano daw dasig o luya na
 STAT,TH,IRR=know ERG healer if fast or slow LK

pagpattik ta iya na pulso.
 pag=pattik ta iya na pulso
 NR=beat GEN 3SG,GEN2 LK pulse

'When the healer is at the house of the sick person, the very first thing that he does, he takes the pulse of the person who has a sickness so that the healer will know if the beat of his pulse is fast or slow.'

3. Daw pagpattik ta pulso na sikad dasig o lain man
 daw pag=pattik ta pulso na sikad dasig o lain man
 if NR=beat GEN pulse LK very fast or different also
- ta normal na pagpattik ta pulso, yon en,
 ta normal na pag=pattik ta pulso yon en
 OBL normal LK NR=beat GEN pulse D3,N CM
- mambal en surano i na "May anen
 m=ambal en surano i na may anen
 ACT,AG,IRR=say CM healer DEF,N LK EXT,INDEF EXT,DEF
- ka sabid," tak mulso i,
 ka sabid tak m=pulso i
 2SG,S sickness.from.spirits because ACT,AG,IRR=pulse DEF,N
- isya man na paagi na malaman man ta
 isya man na paagi na ma--an=alam man ta
 one also LK way LK STAT,TH,IRR=know also ERG
- surano daw itlaw an, may anen
 surano daw itlaw an may anen
 healer if person DEF,M EXT,INDEF EXT,DEF
- sabid.
 sabid
 sickness.from.spirits

'If the beat of the pulse is very fast or different than the normal beat of a pulse, then the healer will say, "You have a sickness from a spirit," because taking the pulse, it is one way that the healer knows if, the person, he has a sickness from the spirits.'

4. Tapos mulso, teyepan din man
 tapos m=pulso teyep=an din man
 finish ACT,AG,IRR=pulse blow=ACT,LOC,IRR 3SG,A also
- ittaw an na nagamasakit.
 ittaw an na naga=masakit
 person DEF,M LK ACT,TH,R=sick

'After taking the pulse, he blows on the sick person.'

5. Daw magteyep surano an, isya din
 daw mag=teyep surano an isya din
 when ACT,AG,IRR=blow healer DEF,M one 3SG,GEN1
 na lima, gaibit ta luy-a.
 na lima ga=ibit ta luy-a
 LK hand ACT,AG,R=hold OBL ginger
 'When the healer blows, one of his hands, it holds some ginger.'
6. Gakemkem ta luy-a aged umpisaan
 ga=kernkem ta luy-a aged umpisa=an
 ACT,TH,R=make.fist OBL ginger so.that start=ACT,TH,IRR
 din en pagteyep ta itlaw an na
 din en pag=teyep ta itlaw an na
 3SG,A CM NR=blow OBL person DEF,M LK
 may sakit.
 may sakit
 EXT,INDEF sick
 'He holds the ginger (in his fist) so that he will start blowing on the sick person.'
7. Daw lima an ta surano na gaibit
 daw lima an ta surano na ga=ibit
 and hand DEF,M GEN healer LK ACT,AG,R=hold
 ta luy-a, pabatang din naan ta ulo
 ta luy-a pa=batang din naan ta ulo
 OBL ginger ACT,TH,R=put 3SG,A OBL,DEF OBL head
 ta itlaw na may anen sakit na
 ta itlaw na may anen sakit na
 GEN person LK EXT,INDEF EXT,DEF sick LK
 gakemkem iya na lima.
 ga=kemkem iya na lima
 ACT,TH,R=make.fist 3SG,GEN2 LK hand
 'And the hand of the healer that is holding ginger, he puts it on the head of the sick person with his hand making a fist.'
8. Daw tapos teyep naan ulo, naan eman
 daw tapos teyep naan ulo naan eman
 when finish blow OBL,DEF head OBL,DEF again
 ta gettek.
 ta gettek
 OBL stomach
 'After blowing on the head, it will be done again on the stomach.'

9. Uyon eman na ubra din.
 uyon eman na ubra din
 D3,N, EMPH again LK work 3SG,GEN1
 'That again is his work.'
10. Lima din an, gakemkem na may
 lima din an ga=kemkem na may
 hand 3SG,GEN1 DEF,M ACT,TH,R=make.fist LK EXT,INDEF
 luy-a.
 luy-a
 ginger
 'His hand, it makes a fist (holding) some ginger.'
11. Pabatang din ta tudtod.
 pa=batang din ta tudtod
 ACT,TH,R=put 3SG,A OBL back
 'He puts it on the back.'
12. Uyon man gyapon na ubra din.
 uyon man gyapon na ubra din
 D3,N,EMPH also same LK work 3SG,GEN1
 'That also as before is his work.'
13. Daw indi sa teyep, naan man dya lima
 daw indi sa teyep naan man dya lima
 when where D4,N,OBL blow OBL,DEF also L4,N hand
 din an gakemkem ta luy-a.
 din an ga=kemkem ta luy-a
 3SG,GEN1 DEF,M ACT,TH,R=make.fist OBL ginger
 'Wherever he blows, his hand is also there with ginger in his fist.'
14. Pambal i na teyep, isya man na paagi
 pa=ambal i na teyep isya man na paagi
 ACT,TH,R=say DEF,N LK blow one also LK way
 aged malaman man ta surano daw itlaw
 aged ma--an=alam man ta surano daw itlaw
 so.that STAT,TH,IRR=know also ERG healer if person
 an, may anen man sabid.
 an may anen man sabid
 DEF,M EXT,INDEF EXT,DEF also sickness.from.spirits
 'What is called blowing, it is also one way that the healer knows if a person, he has a sickness from the spirits.'

15. Malaman ta surano daw may
 ma--an=alam ta surano daw may
 STAT,TH,IRR=know ERG healer if EXT,INDEF
 sabid isya na itaw paagi ta luy-a na
 sabid isya na itaw paagi ta luy-a na
 sickness.from.spirits one LK person way OBL ginger LK
 pagamit din ta pagteyep tak iya na
 pa=gamit din ta pag=teyep tak iya na
 ACT,TH,R=use 3SG,A OBL NR=blow because 3SG,GEN2 LK
 pasuppa.
 pa=suppa
 ACT,TH,R=chew

'The healer knows if a person has a sickness from the spirits by the means of the ginger which he uses in blowing because he chews it.'

16. Ta daw gakaang gani luy-a an o
 ta daw ga=kaang gani luy-a an o
 so if ACT,TH,R=spicy.hot truly ginger DEF,M or
 mambal surano an na, "Sikad man ti
 m=ambal surano an na sikad man ti
 ACT,AG,IRR=say healer DEF,M LK very also D1,N,GEN
 kaang a paryas gid matangtang ake
 kaang a paryas gid ma=tangtang ake
 spicy.hot PTL like INS STAT,TH,IRR=disconnect 1SG,GEN2
 i na ngipen," miag ambalen na
 i na ngipen m=liag ambal=en na
 DEF,N LK teeth ACT,TH,IRR=want say=ACT,TH,IRR LK
 may sabid itaw an na
 may sabid itaw an na
 EXT,INDEF sickness.from.spirits person DEF,M LK
 gamasakit.
 ga=masakit
 ACT,TH,R=sick

'So if the ginger truly becomes hot or the healer says, "This is very hot like my teeth will fall out," it means that the sick person has a sickness from the spirits.'

17. Piro daw ula gakaang luy-a an na
 piro daw ula ga=kaang luy-a an na
 but if NEG ACT,TH,R=spicy.hot ginger DEF,M LK
 pasuppa din, miag ambalen
 pa=suppa din m=liag ambal=en
 ACT,TH,R=chew 3SG,A ACT,TH,IRR=want say=ACT,TH,IRR

na ula sabid itlaw na gamasakit.
na ula sabid itlaw na ga=masakit
LK NEG sickness.from.spirits person LK ACT,TH,R=sick

'But if the ginger that he chews does not become hot, it means that the sick person does not have a sickness from a spirit.'

18. Ta daw may sabid itlaw an
ta daw may sabid itlaw an
so if EXT,INDEF sickness.from.spirits person DEF,M
- na nagamasakit na gainay-inay ta luya, yon
na naga=masakit na ga=CRD=inay ta luya yon
LK ACT,TH,R=sick LK ACT,TH,R=INS=slow OBL weak D3,SP,ADJ
- na masakit nan o sabid, naan
na masakit nan o sabid naan
LK sick D3,SP,ADJ or sickness.from.spirits OBL,DEF
- galin ta mga ingkantado tak ingkantado
ga=alin ta mga ingkantado tak ingkantado
ACT,TH,R=come.from OBL PLM fairy because fairy
- i, dili gulpi mag-atag ta masakit.
i dili gulpi mag=atag ta masakit
DEF,N NEG suddenly ACT,AG,IRR=give OBL sick

'If the sick person has a sickness from the spirits in which he gradually becomes weak, that sickness or sickness from the spirits, it came from fairies because a fairy, it does not give sickness suddenly.'

19. Piro daw nali nang pagsakit ta imo na gettek
piro daw nali nang pag=sakit ta imo na gettek
but if suddenly only NR=pain OBL 2SG,GEN2 LK stomach
- na paryas ka, mapatay ta sakit o daw
na paryas ka ma=patay ta sakit o daw
LK like 2SG,S STAT,TH,IRR=die OBL pain or if
- dili no maagwanta en, yon surano an,
dili no ma=agwanta en yon surano an
NEG 2SG,A ABIL,TH,IRR=endure CM D3,N healer DEF,M
- mag-iyaw ta piyak daw lagen din
mag=iyaw ta piyak daw luag=en din
ACT,AG,IRR=kill OBL chick and look=ACT,TH,IRR 3SG,A
- atay ya ta piyak daw may nina.
atay ya ta piyak daw may nina
liver DEF,F GEN chick if EXT,INDEF wound

'But if your stomach suddenly hurts like you, you will die from the pain or you cannot endure it, then the healer, he will kill a chick and he will look at the liver of the chick (to see) if there is a wound.'

20. Ta daw may nina atay an ta piyak,
 ta daw may nina atay an ta piyak
 so if EXT,INDEF wound liver DEF,M GEN chick
- miag ambalen na naan
 m=liag ambal=en na naan
 ACT,TH,IRR=want say=ACT,TH,IRR LK OBL,DEF
- galin ta malbal na sabid
 ga=alin ta malbal na sabid
 ACT,TH,R=come.from OBL witch LK sickness.from.spirits
- nan tak malbal i, daw gusto ka danen,
 nan tak malbal i daw gusto ka danen
 D3,N because witch DEF,N if want 2SG,P 3PL,A
- patayen ka gid.
 patay=en ka gid
 die=ACT,TH,IRR 2SG,P INS

'So if there is a wound on the liver of the chick, it means that the sickness from the spirits came from a witch because witches, if they want you, you will surely be killed.'

21. Uyon man, isya na paagi ta surano aged
 uyon man isya na paagi ta surano aged
 D3,N,EMPH also one LK way GEN healer so.that
- malaman din daw indi galin
 ma--an=alam din daw indi ga=alin
 STAT,TH,IRR=know 3SG,A if where ACT,TH,R=come.from
- sakit ta itlaw an na gamasakit.
 sakit ta itlaw an na ga=masakit
 pain GEN person DEF,M LK ACT,TH,R=sickness

'That also, it is one way of the healer so that he will know where the sickness of the sick person came from.'

22. Ta daw may sabid itlaw an
 ta daw may sabid itlaw an
 so if EXT,INDEF sickness.from.spirits person DEF,M
- o naswang atay an ta piyak,
 o na=aswang atay an ta piyak
 or STAT,TH,R=affected.by.witch liver DEF,M GEN chick
- kamangen ta surano daw batang ta ginawaan
 kamang=en ta surano daw batang ta ginawaan
 get=ACT,TH,IRR ERG healer and put OBL diaphragm
- daw begkesan ta gaming laog ta awak
 daw begkes=en ta gaming laog ta awak
 and bundle=ACT,LOC,IRR OBL cloth connect OBL waist

ta	ittaw	na	nagamasakit	aged	bulong
ta	ittaw	na	naga=masakit	aged	bulong
GEN	person	LK	ACT,TH,R=sick	so.that	medicine
din	man.				
din	man				
3SG,A	also				

'So if the person has a sickness from a spirit or the liver of the chick is affected by a witch, the healer will take it (liver) and put it on his diaphragm and tie it (there) with a cloth that wraps around the waist of the sick person so that he can medicate him.'

23. Daw patagan din ta bulong na mga gamot
 daw pa--an=atag din ta bulong na mga gamot
 and ACT,LOC,R=give 3SG,A OBL medicine LK PLM root

 ta kaoy.
 ta kaoy
 GEN tree.

'And he gives him some medicine which is the roots of trees.'

24. May daon ta kaoy na patampel.
 may daon ta kaoy na pa=tampel
 EXT,INDEF leaves GEN tree LK ACT,TH,R=apply.a.poultice

'There are leaves of trees that are applied as a poultice.'

NOTES

¹ Kagayanen is a member of the Northern Manobo subgroup of the Southern Philippine language family (Harmon 1977); however, it includes many loan words borrowed from Hiligaynon, a Visayan language. Thus, Kagayanen is similar to Manobo languages in structure, but more like Hiligaynon in vocabulary. The language is spoken by 15,000–20,000 people living on the islands of Cagayancillo, Palawan, Negros, and Panay.

This study is based on data gathered between 1987 and 1998, while the first author, the primary researcher, was living in the Republic of the Philippines, under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. The data include elicited sentences and paradigms, and natural texts.

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² See Pebley (1999c) for a discussion of the functions of fronted NPs in Kagayanen narrative texts.

³ The texts used for these two counts are: *Inaginan Ko* 'My experience' (narrative) narrated by Mrs. Veth T. Atilano of Barangay Wahig, Cagayancillo, Palawan, and *Isturya ta Kaan ta Lao* 'A story of eating of darkness' (expository) written by Mr. Javier C. Carcelar of Barangay Sta. Cruz Cagayancillo, Palawan, which is found in Appendix B.

⁴ Non-verbal clauses in Kagayanen are fairly complex, and the reader is referred to Pebley (1999a) for a detailed discussion of clause types in Kagayanen.

⁵ The examples in this paper are given in the following orthography: a [a], b [b], d [d], e [i], g [g], i [i], j [j], k [k], l [l], m [m], n [n], ng [ŋ], p [p], r [r], s [s], t [t], u [u], v [v], w [w], y [j], and - [ʔ].

The glottal stop is represented only when it follows a consonant and precedes a vowel, e.g. *kan-en* [kanʔin] 'rice'. When it occurs word initially, word finally, and intervocalically, it is not represented, e.g. *kaan* [kaʔan] 'to eat' and *ita* [ʔitaʔ] 'soft'. Kagayanen also has vowel harmony.

⁶ For this study, we have adopted the labels S, A, and P to refer to syntactically required arguments of the verb, i.e. grammatical relations. S is the single argument of an intransitive clause, A is the more agentive argument of a transitive clause, and P is the less agentive argument of a transitive clause. These are essentially the same labels as those proposed by Dixon (1979, 1994), except that where Dixon uses O, we use P. These labels reflect Dixon's premise that S, A, and O are universal core categories. Since S and A do not pattern as a grouping in Philippine languages as they do in languages like English, the labels allow discussion of grammatical relations in Kagayanen without making reference to a 'subject', a term that has been the focus of much debate in Philippine linguistics.

⁷ In this study, semantic roles are labeled according to a restricted model of localist case grammar developed by DeLancey (1984, 1985, 1991), based on earlier models by Anderson (1971), Gruber (1976), and Jackendoff (1983, 1990). Within this model, core semantic roles are Theme, an entity that changes location or state; Loc, a physical site or a state; and Agent, the primary initiator of an event. (A recipient is a human Loc, and an experiencer is a human Theme.) Non-nuclear semantic roles are core roles of a non-nuclear clause that have been integrated into the main clause. These are: Non-nuclear Theme (Instrument or Associative), Non-nuclear Loc (Beneficiary, Goal, or Source as site), and Non-nuclear Agent (Source as cause). (See Pebley (1998) for a more detailed discussion of Kagayanen verbs within a localist case grammar model.)

⁸ In this study, we have attempted to provide grammatical examples that are regarded as natural by Kagayanen speakers; however, naturalness has occasionally been sacrificed for the sake of expediency. This has usually occurred in combinations of common nouns, personal names, and pronouns; for example, some Kagayanen speakers consider the Kagayanen translation of 'The woman gave the book to the child' unnatural because all the arguments in the sentence are common nouns where it would be more usual for at least one of these to be a pronoun. While the Kagayanen translation may seem awkward unless just the right context is provided, it is still grammatical, just as is the English sentence.

⁹ Identification of grammatical relations in Kagayanen was based upon the following criteria adopted from Brainard (1994b, 1996, 1997). An argument is identified as a grammatical relation if: 1) it is uniquely coded; 2) it is the only pivot, i.e. control or target, of at least one syntactic process; and 3) as the pivot of a syntactic process, it can encode different semantic roles.

¹⁰ This analysis follows Givón's (1994a) proposal that inverses can be distinguished by word order as well as morphology. In his discussion of Cebuano, Payne (1994) was the first to identify a word order inverse in a Philippine language; however, word order inverses do not appear to be limited to Cebuano and Kagayanen, but have also been noted for Butbut Kalinga (p.c. Alfred and Racquel Mijares), Mayoyao Ifugao (p.c. Barbara Hodder), and Obo Manobo (p.c. Ena Vander Molen).

¹¹ Details of the selection of the active construction and the inverse construction are quite complex and a full discussion is beyond the scope of this paper.

¹² Compare the verb affix in (11) with the stative affix on the verb in (29).

¹³ Clause types similar to (12) have been noted for ergative languages, for example Tongan (Keenan 1985). Some linguists insist that a passive must display stative verbal morphology, but we suggest that this is an empirical question and that a complete typology of passive constructions has yet to be identified. Specifically, we reject the notion that a passive must have a verb that displays stative morphology. Instead, we define a passive as a construction in which A of its transitive counterpart has been demoted to oblique or deleted altogether, leaving P as the only required argument. The analysis of (12) as a passive is based on tests of syntactic requiredness and tests of syntactic control. A full

discussion of the Kagayanen non-morphological passive is beyond the scope of this paper, but similar constructions with passive-like functions have been noted for Tagalog by Schachter and Otnes (1972), Cebuano by Shibatani (1988) and Payne (1994), Aytá Mag-anchi by Storck and Brainard (1996), and Obo Manobo by Ena Vander Molen (p.c.).

¹⁴ The VPA construction in (21) is a grammatical, but marked choice for this sentence. The unmarked choice of clause type for this sentence is a VAP construction, as in:

Pakagat	ta	bekkesan	bai	an.
pa=kagat	ta	bekkesan	bai	an
ACT,TH,R=bite	ERG	snake	woman	DEF,M

'The snake bit the woman.'

¹⁵ The distribution and functions of deictic enclitics are quite complex. In addition to syntactically required NPs, enclitics can also occur on oblique NPs if the head noun is a common noun (but not a personal name or a pronoun). Enclitics also perform a range of discourse functions. For a more complete discussion of these forms, see Pebley (1999b).

¹⁶ Kagayanen appears to have a naturalness constraint on enclitics occurring with S and P in that Kagayanen speakers find the absence of an enclitic on these arguments more acceptable if the arguments are not clause final.

¹⁷ If a fronted NP is the topic of a non-verbal clause, co-referential deletion restrictions follow the same pattern as S in a single-argument verbal clause.

¹⁸ Expository texts can also function as mitigated hortatory texts. Here the speaker's purpose is to persuade the hearer to change an idea or a behavior. When an expository text is a mitigated hortatory text, there is usually some skewing between the surface structure and the underlying communicative purpose. (See Brainard 1991.)

¹⁹ That is, results occur more often than reasons as peaks in the available Kagayanen expository texts.

²⁰ This agrees with Brainard's (1991) claim that theme, result, and contrast are important kinds of information in expository discourse in Upper Tanudan Kalinga.

²¹ The text about the eclipse is given in full in Appendix B.

²² Sentence (75) is taken from the text in Appendix B; (76) and (77) are elicited sentences. There seem to be no natural English translations for (76) and (77) that reflect the structural difference between these two sentences and so the same gloss has been used for both.

²³ The text about the duties of the *surano* is given in full in Appendix C.

²⁴ Peaks can be marked by a variety of syntactic structures. In addition to fronted NPs, they can be marked by chiasmic structures, and by complex sentences composed of a string of dependent and independent clauses. These structures can combine to mark a single peak.

²⁵ As this sentence demonstrates, a single sentence can have more than one discourse function. As noted in Section 5.1, this sentence introduces a lower-level theme in the eclipse text (71), and here we note that it marks the peak of that text (79). It is not unusual for a new theme and a reason or result supporting that theme to be stated in the same sentence.

²⁶ Kagayanen has another syntactic device for signaling pragmatic focus, namely cleft constructions. In her study of cleft constructions in expository and hortatory discourse in Mayoyao Ifugao, Hodder (1999) notes that for WH-clefts only the reversed type occurs in the available texts used in her study. (In a reversed WH-cleft, the focused item occurs first followed by the variable, e.g. 'Rice was what they bought'.) A basic WH-cleft construction never occurs in the texts. (e.g. 'What they bought was rice'.) Hodder notes that the functional equivalent of a basic WH-cleft in Mayoyao Ifugao is a fronted NP.

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