

Contents

Chapter 3	Reference Phrases	84
	Introduction	84
3.1	Reference phrase structure	85
3.1.1	Reference phrase markers	85
3.1.2	RP nucleus	88
3.1.3	Arguments of the RP nucleus.....	94
3.1.4	Peripheries in the RP	96
3.2	Operators in the RP	100
3.2.1	RP operators	101
3.2.2	Core _R operators	104
3.2.3	Nuclear _R operator: nominal aspect	108
3.3	Complex RP constructions	109
3.3.1	Phrasal juncture	109
3.3.2	Nuclear or core juncture.....	110
3.4	Affixed roots in the RP nucleus	111
3.4.1	Roots with nominalizing affixation.....	111
3.4.2	Existentials in the nucleus of a reference expression	113
3.4.3	Roots with predicating affixation	114
3.5	RP as predicate	117
3.6	The pro-form <i>siya</i>	118

Chapter 3 Reference Phrases

Introduction

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

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

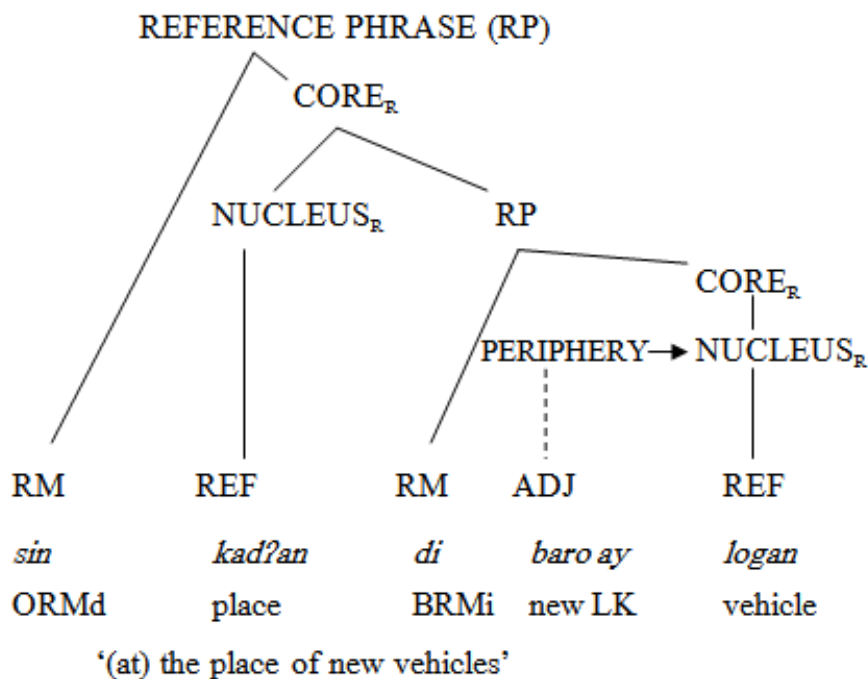


Figure 3.1. Constituent projection
of a Kankanaey reference phrase

3.1 Reference phrase structure

3.1.1 Reference phrase markers

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

3.1.1.1 Markers for common reference phrases

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

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

Table 3.1 Kankanaey common reference phrase markers

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

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

- 1) *Man-?oga din anak.* or *Man-?oga =n anak.*
 ACT-cry RMd child ACT-cry = RMd child
 ‘The child cries.’

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

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

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

3.1.1.2 Markers for proper-name reference phrases

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

Table 3.2 Kankanaey proper reference-phrase markers

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.1.1.3 Combinations of RMs

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

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

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

EXIST=RMi PRM Nabulay LOC long.ago LOC Abas

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

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

RMd child and RMd PRM mother=3sII RMi UNDs-left

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

3.1.2 *RP nucleus*

3.1.2.1 **Pronouns**

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

3.1.2.1.1 *Demonstrative pronouns*

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.1.2.1.2 Demonstrative-related RMs

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

Table 3.4 Demonstrative-related RMs

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

3.1.2.1.3 Personal pronouns

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

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

Table 3.5 Kankanaey personal pronouns

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

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

16) *Man?-oga = da.*

ACT-cry = 3pI

‘They cry.’

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

forget-UND = 3sII = PRM 1pIII

‘He/she forgets us.’

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

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

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

3.1.2.2 Lexical roots in the RP nucleus

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

priority RMd work = 1sII ORMd office

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

great RMi thankful = 1sII ORMd write = 2sII

‘I’m very grateful for your letter.’

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

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

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

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

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

RMd house just like toys RMi see = 3sII

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

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

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

3.1.3 *Arguments of the RP nucleus*

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

3.1.3.1 The direct argument of an RP nucleus

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

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

Figure 3.2 shows an oblique RP with a genitive argument.

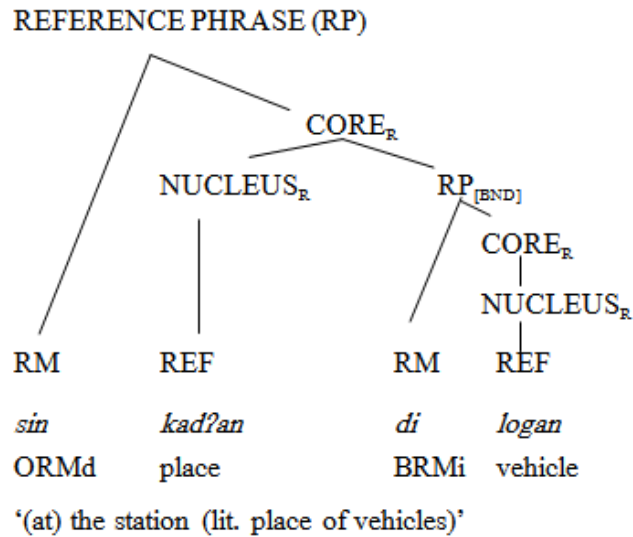


Figure 3.2. Kankanaey reference phrase with direct argument

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

3.1.3.2 Oblique core arguments of pronominal RPs

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

- 34) *kami* [*sin among=ko*]; *kayo* [*sin pamilya=m*]
 1pI ORMd boss=1sII 2pI ORMd family=2sII
 ‘my employer and I; you and your family’
- 35) *Nan-logan kami* [*en Mrs. Mayamno*] *ay man-pa-Bagyo*.
 ACT.P-vehicle 1pI OPRM Mrs. M LK ACT-CAUS-Bagyo
 ‘Mrs. Mayamno and I rode (took a bus) going to Bagyo.’
- 36) *Nan-adawag da ina=na* [*en ama=na*].
 ACT-plead PRM.pl mother=3sII OPRM father=3sII
 ‘His mother and father pled.’

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

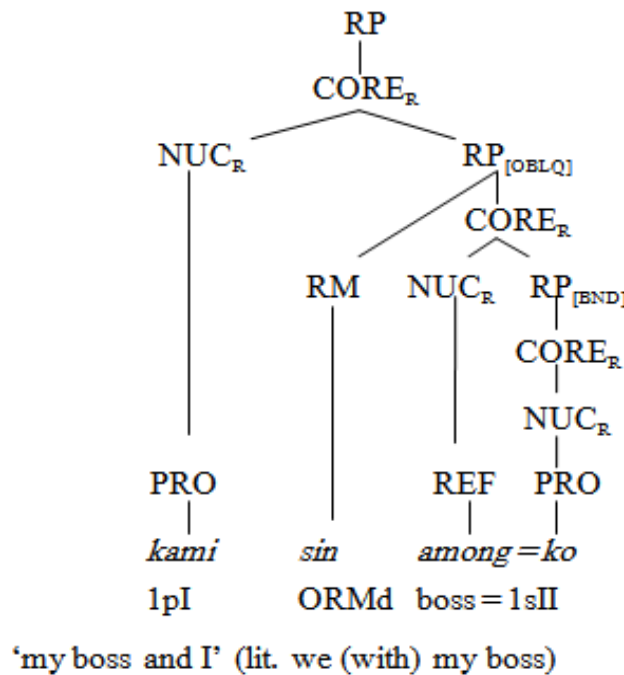


Figure 3.3. Pronominal RP with core arguments

3.1.4 Peripheries in the RP

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

3.1.4.1 RP periphery

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

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

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

ORM next.day LK day BRM burial

‘the next day, the day of the burial’

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

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

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

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

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

want-UND DEM1II LK old.man

‘This-one old man wants . . .’

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

UNDd-quiet < = 2sII LK man

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

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

what LK day RMi NOM-come < = 3pII

‘What day is the time of their coming?’

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

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

EXIS = RMi high LK mountain LOC Baknon

‘There is a high mountain at Baknon.’

3.1.4.2 Core_R peripheries

RPs with pronouns or lexical roots in their nuclei do not use the core_R periphery. When the RP is a nominalized clause, its core peripheral adjuncts are in the RP-core periphery. Nominalized clauses are described in §3.4.3.

3.1.4.3 Nuclear_R peripheries

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

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

3.1.4.3.1 Relative clauses

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

- 44) *Din gomot di dapan = ko [ay napotoan...]*
 RMd digit BRMi foot = 1sII LK UNDI_{ls}.cut
 ‘My toe (lit. digit of my foot) that had a piece cut off it.’
- 45) *si begas [ay kan-en di mantonod] [ay i-balalong = mi]*
 ORMi rice LK eat-UND BRMi harvesters LK UNDT_t-descend = 1pII
 ‘with rice that the harvesters will eat that we will carry down’
- 46) *Man-beey kano di kabonyan sidi [ay manpakan*
 ACT-house HSY RMi gods DEM3IV LK ACT.CAUS.eat
si madagaangan [ay man?illeng sin isdi]].
 ORM UNDI_{ls}.hunger LK ACT-rest ORMd DEM3IV
 ‘They say that gods live there who feed hungry (people) who rest there.’
- 47) *sin timpo [ay naki-asawa-an = mi]*
 ORMd time LK ACT_a.P-spouse-NOM = 1pII
 ‘at the time when we got married’
- 48) *din logan [ay in-baga = da din numero = na]*
 RMd vehicle LK UNDT_t.P-tell = 3pIIRMd number = 3sII
 ‘the vehicle whose number they had told (me)’

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

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

3.1.4.3.2 Attributive modifiers

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

- 50) *din* [kitkitoy ay] *anak=ko*.
 RMd small LK child=1sII
 ‘my little child’ (as distinct from the older ones)
- 51) *din pangpangoan=ko* [ay lalaki]
 RMd older.sibling=1sII LK male
 ‘my elder brother’

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

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

3.1.4.3.3 Adjunct modifiers

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

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

54) *din bayang=na [sin lopa=na]*

RMd wound=3sII ORMd face=3sII

‘his wound on his face’

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

priority RMd work=1sII ORMd office

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

3.2 Operators in the RP

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

Table 3.6 Operators in the layered structure of the RP

Nuclear_R operator:

Nominal aspect

Core_R operators:

Number

Quantification

RP operators:

Definiteness

Deixis

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

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

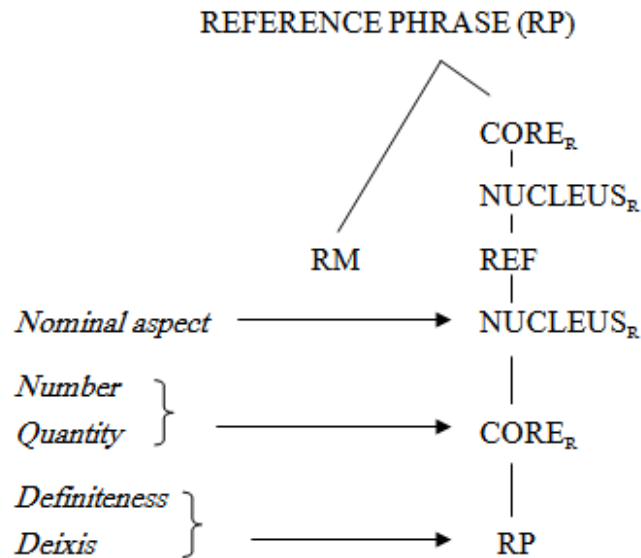


Figure 3.4. Kankanaey reference phrase structure with operator projection

3.2.1 *RP operators*

3.2.1.1 Deixis

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

Table 3.7 Kankanaey demonstrative modifiers

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

56) *Din istorya [ay nay]*
 RMd story LK DEM1V
 ‘This story (author is about to tell)’

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

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

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

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

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

3.2.1.2 Definiteness

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

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

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

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

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

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

PRM Maria RMi pa and ma LOC present-time

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

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

must EXIST=RMi map ORMi CV-hold-UNDI

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

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

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

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

3.2.1.3 Negation

Kankanaey does not have argument negation as such. Negation of an argument RP is handled by the negative existential construction, as in (67). When an RP is functioning as the predicate in an RP-RP equative clause, it may be negated with *baken* preceding the entire RP, as in (68), with the predicative RP in brackets. This, however, is predicate negation rather than argument negation.

- 67) *Iwed di begas = na.*
 NEGEXIS R_{Mi} rice = 3sII
 ‘He has no rice (lit. his rice does not exist).’
- 68) [*Baken din begas*] *di bayo-e(n) = na.*
 NEG R_{Md} rice R_{Mi} pound-UND = 3sII
 ‘What he will pound is [not the rice].’

Figure 3.5 shows an example of both constituent and operator projections for a reference phrase in Kankanaey.

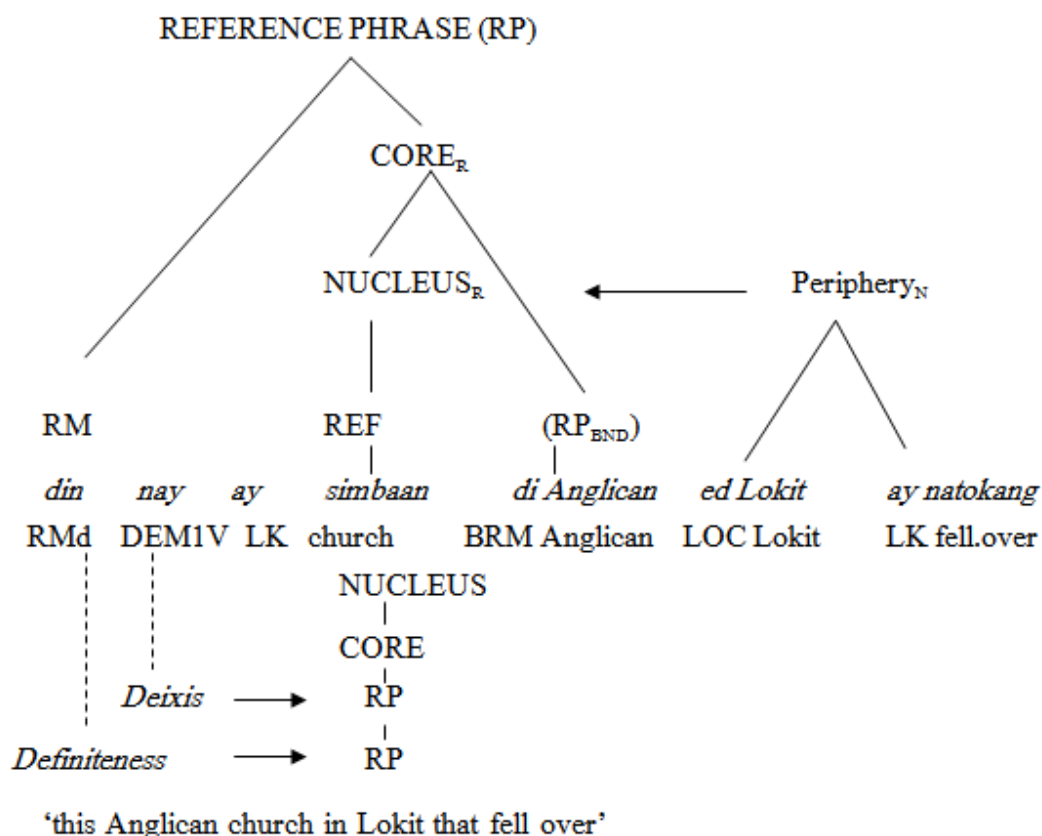


Figure 3.5. Example of RP Constituent and Operator projections

3.2.2 Core_R operators

Operators that modify the core of a reference phrase core are mostly concerned with number—plurality and quantifiers, as discussed in 3.2.2.1 and 3.2.2.2. Negation is usually considered a core operator, but in Kankanaey there is no RP-internal negation. The negator *baken* before a class root negates it as a class, not an RP referring to an instance of that class. A concept such as “no rice” is expressed with the negative existential.

3.2.2.1 Plurality

Kankanaey uses two strategies to express plurality: reduplicative affixation and an overt plural marker. Plurality is usually determined by context, but countable objects in the RP nucleus can take plural marking if necessary for clarity or emphasis.

3.2.2.1.1 Reduplication

Plurality may be indicated on countable RPs by *CV* or *CVC* reduplication (note the symbol ~), as in 69) and 70). The form of reduplication seems to be arbitrarily assigned to the lexical root. There is no other distinction between count and mass nouns.

- 69) *In-kosokos = na din be~beey sin il~ili.*
UNDt.P-collapse = 3sII RMd pl-house ORMd pl-town
'It (the earthquake) collapsed (all/many of) the houses in (all) the towns.'
- 70) *Bay?a(n) = m si ag~agi = mi.*
leave. UNDI = 2sII PRM pl-relative = 1pII
'Leave our relatives alone.'

3.2.2.1.2 Plural marker *da*

As noted in Table 3.2 and Table 3.3 above, plurality of demonstratives and proper names is obligatorily marked with *da*, as in 71) and 72).

- 71) *<om>ali [da Alicia].*
ACTm-come pl Alicia
'Alicia (and others) will come.'
- 72) *Adi = ak <in>ila [da di] ay nankakay.*
NEG = 1sI UNd.P-see pl DEM3I LK elders
'I didn't see those elders.'

The plural marker can also precede the RM as an alternative to reduplication. Often the context of a sentence makes overt plural marking unnecessary, but when a speaker wishes to specify that there are more than one, the plural *da* can precede the RM, as in 73) and 74).

- 73) *Il?ila(en) = k [da nan] litrato.*
looking = 1sII pl DRM picture
'I was looking at these pictures (in an album).'

74) *In-kosokos* = *na* *din* *be~beey ya* [*da* *din*] *sigid ay danan*.
 UNDt.P-collapse = 3s RMd pl-house and pl RMd good LK road
 ‘It collapsed the houses and (all) the good roads.’

When the nucleus is a word derived from an action or stative root (see §3.4.3 below), reduplication cannot be applied to the nucleus for overt plurality marking. In such cases overt plurality must use the plural marker *da* preceding the RM, as in 75).

75) *Man-golo* [*da* *din*] *man-bonong*.
 ACT-disrupt pl RMd ACT-pray
 ‘The (ones who) pray (i.e. the traditional priests) will make a fuss.’

3.2.2.2 Quantity

RPs may be quantified by overt numbers or by general quantifiers, the most common of which is *amin* ‘all.’

3.2.2.2.1 Numbers

Numbers are linked from the left with *ay*. The linker can be shortened to =*y* after vowel-final quantifiers and numbers, the only instances of *ay* being contracted, as in 76). Attributive modifiers in the nuclear periphery are ordered closer to the nucleus than numbers, as seen in 77). General quantifiers such as ‘many’ or ‘few’ are also linked from the left, as in 78).

76) *I-tapos* = *mi* *di* *tolo* = *y* *bowan*.
 UNDt-finish = 1pII RMi three = LK month
 ‘We will finish three months (doing something).’

77) *din* *dowa* = *y* *pasado* *ay* *mayor* = *yo*
 RMd two = LK past LK mayor = 2pII
 ‘your last two mayors’

78) *Isdi* <*in*> *aspo* = *k* *di* *adʔado* *ay* *ga-gait*.
 DEM3IV UND-meet = 1sII RMi many LK pl~friend
 ‘There I met up with many friends.’

3.2.2.2.2 Inclusive quantifiers

The quantifiers *kaadoan* ‘most’ and *amin* ‘all’ (with variants *amʔin* and *namʔin*) can function as the nucleus of an RP, as in 79) and 80).

79) *Adi ma-dlaw di kaadoan.*

NEG UNDS-notice RMi most

‘Most (of the mistakes) can’t be noticed.’

80) *Sa=y pangitaltalka(n)=k si amin.*

DEM2I=RMi NOM- trust=1sII ORMi all

‘That’s who I am relying on for everything.’

The quantifier *amin* can also modify the core of the RP. When quantifying pronouns, it follows the pronoun with no connector, as in 81) and 82). When quantifying other RP nuclei, the quantifier precedes the nucleus and is linked with *ay*, as in 83).

81) *Tamang-en=[yo amin] ed demang.*

look-UND=2pII all LOC other.side

‘All of you look over there.’

82) *[Piga amin] di daan?*

how.much all RMi not.yet

‘How much in all is still remaining?’

83) *Si dakayo di maka-ammo si [amin ay] kasapolan=yo.*

PRM 2pIII RMi ACT.ABIL-know ORMi all LK needs=2pII

‘You are responsible for all your needs.’

The general quantifier can also precede the entire RP, yielding the possibility that the quantifier is in the nucleus of an RP with the second RP as its bound argument, as in 84).

84) *Ma-agom am?in din M company*

UNDS-gather all BRMd M company

‘All of the M Company gathered together.’

Finally, the inclusive quantifier does not take a RM in a left-detached phrase expressing a general inclusiveness, as in 85) and 86), where both quantifiers appear.

85) *[Am?in ay ipogaw] et matey=da.*

all LK person PART die=3pI

‘All people, they will die.’

- 86) [Kaadoan, mo baken nam?in], et laydena ay man-i-dawat.
 most if NEG all PART want.4II LK ACT-Th-give
 ‘Most, if not all, they wanted to give something.’ (after an earthquake)

3.2.3 *Nuclear_R operator: nominal aspect*

Nominal aspect in Kankanaey indicates specification of a set of individuals denoted by the root, or a special kind of instance of that object. Kankanaey has affixes that indicate a paired unit, a large group of individuals, or a diminutive kind of referent.

The prefix *sin-* with kin terms indicates a matched pair, such as mother-child, siblings, or spouses, as in example 87).

- 87) Ed nabayag kano wada di sin-asawa.
 LOC P.long.time HSY EXIS RMi unit-spouse
 ‘Once upon a time there was a married couple.’

A large group, such as a crowd or herd, is indicated by the affix (*ka- + CVC(C)V~*) on a class root.

- 88) kabisa~bisaang
 kaCVCV-pig
 ‘herd of pigs’

Three affixes indicate the referent as different in kind from the normal denotation of the root. The prefix *sinan-* (sometimes with *CV~*) indicates imitation or representation, such as the ‘statue’ in 89). Another affixation, *CVC + <in>* as in 90), indicates the same diminution, namely representation, such as a carving. Because this affixation is identical to verbal aspect affixation, there is some doubt as to its classification as a nominal aspect marker. Falseness may denote pretense or denigration, as with the *CVC* reduplication and an infix glottal stop, as in 91).

- 89) Wada=y sinan-i~ipogaw sin sango.
 EXIS=RMi false-CV~person ORMd front
 ‘There is a statue (of someone) at the front.’

- 90) t<in>ol~toldo
 CVC<in>-eagle
 ‘eagle figure’

- 91) *bang~bang* <? > *a=k*
 CVC <? > pot(*banga*) = 1sII
 ‘My toy pots/ my little old pots’

3.3 Complex RP constructions

Three levels of juncture are possible in the referring phrase: RP phrase level as well as core_R, and nucleus_R levels. RRG posits three types of relationships cross-linguistically between units that join at any level—coordinate, subordinate, and cosubordinate. Kankanaey RPs use mostly coordinate relationships, with only the relative clause in a subordinate relationship to the nucleus_R. These will be exemplified and explained in the following sections. No evidence of cosubordinate relationships involving shared operators in the RP has been found in Kankanaey.

3.3.1 Phrasal juncture

Sometimes two RPs are joined in a coordinate construction with the conjunctions *ya* ‘and’ or *ono* ‘or’. The two RPs share the same syntactic function in a clause, such as a direct argument or an oblique adjunct. The first RM carries the syntactic case-marking function for both cores, and the second RP is given a ‘dummy’ RM—always unbound *din*, or *si* with personal names. Coordinate RPs appear in the clause, as in 92).

- 92) *Kumusta baw abe [en kadwa=m] ya [din an?ak=yo]*.
 greet PART also OPRM spouse=2sII and RMd kids=2pII
 ‘Oh yeah, greetings also to your wife and your(pl) kids.’

In 93) both RPs express a referent for which thanks is being expressed (oblique relationship to the predicate), but the relative clause is not shared with the first referent. In 94) the second RP has a deictic modifier.

- 93) *[sin solat=mo] ya [din tikit ya libro ay in-paw?it=mo]*
 ORMd letter=2sII and RMd tickets and book LK UNDis.P-send=2sII
 (Thanks) ‘for your letter and the tickets and book that you sent.’
- 94) *Marowam=ka [sin sine] ono [din doy beliard]*.
 accustomed=2sI ORMd cinema or RMd DEM3V billiard
 ‘You are used to the movies or those billiard games.’

In 95) the bound Actor function is filled by a coordinate set of RPs—‘you man or you woman.’ The bound pronoun cannot be repeated as such in the second RP, where it appears as the free-standing form of the pronoun.

- 95) *Iginka(n)[=m Ø ay lalaki] ono [sik?a ay babai]*
 UNDD-quiet < = 2sII 4III LK man or 2sIII LK woman

‘You man or you woman be quiet about it.’ (from wedding advice regarding critical thoughts)

When the first of two coordinate RPs is marked by *din*, as in 96) and 97), the second RP core will take the same marking. In such a case, it is not possible to know whether the second RM is a ‘dummy’ or not. Not every junction between RPs follows the ‘dummy-RP’ convention: a few instances with a repeated oblique RM, as in 98), have been noted.

- 96) *Sino di banolen=tako, [din siping] ono [din awak Narding]?*
 what RMI value.UND = 1 + 2p RMD money or RMD body Narding

‘What is it we value (more), the money or Narding’s body (health)?’

- 97) *Inawat=ko [din solat=yo] ya [din intatapi=yo].*
 UND.P.receive = 1sII RMD letter = 2pII and RMD UNDT. included = 2pII

‘I received your letter and what you had enclosed.’

- 98) *Man-?iyaman=ak [en Diyos] ya [en dakayo].*
 ACT-thank = 1sI OPRM God and OPRM 2pIII

‘I give thanks to God and to you...’

3.3.2 Nuclear or core juncture

A reference phrase can have two nuclei joined in a coordinate relationship by the conjunctions *ya* ‘and’ or *ono* ‘or’. Coordinate RP nuclei are exemplified in 99). In this example the nuclei share a possessor argument. In example 100) coordinate cores are shown, as each nucleus has its own possessor argument.

- 99) *ammo=tako din mayat ay [panggep ono plano]=na*
 know.UNDp = 1 + 2pII RMD good LK intention or plan = 3sII

‘We know his good intentions or plans.’

- 100) *din [anak=ko] ya [apo=k]*
 RMD child = 1sII and grandchild = 1sII

‘my children and my grandchildren’

Another example of nuclear coordination is given in 101), where the two nuclei share the bracketed non-restrictive relative clause in the RP periphery. Coordinate nuclei can also share restrictive modifiers, such as the bracketed modifier in 102).

101) *di lokto ya onas [ay l<in>a~lagba=na]*
 RMi yams and s.cane LK UND.P-DUR-basket = 3sII

‘some yams and sugarcane that she had basketed’

102) *din [odom ay] kenggit ya okook*
 RMd other LK large.trap and small.trap

‘the other (i.e. remaining) large traps and small traps’

Each nucleus in a coordinate construction can have its own periphery, however, as the bracketed modifiers show in 103) and 104). Pragmatics determines the scope of such restrictive modifiers. Descriptive words that are joined by *ya* will both modify the RP nuclear nominal, as in 105).

103) *Man- i-lak~lako=da si [bogus ay] balitok ya paltog.*
 ACT-Th-PROG-sell = 3pI ORMi bogus LK gold and gun

‘They were selling fake gold and (real) guns.’

104) *sin [nassawaan ay] kenggit ya [nassawaan abe ay] okook*
 ORMd ten LK large.trap and ten also LK small.trap

‘the ten large traps and also-ten small traps’

105) *din [na-ka~kayang ya kinittoy] ay be~beey*
 RMd ATT-pl-tall and pl.little LK pl-house

‘(both) the tall and small houses’

3.4 Affixed roots in the RP nucleus

To this point we have examined RPs with pronouns and unaffixed roots in the nucleus. However, affixed roots may also occur as the nuclear reference entity in an RP. Not at all uncommon in Kankanaey, affixed nuclei comprised 42% of the *di(n)*-marked RPs in an analysis of nearly 3,000 RPs in natural texts. Of RPs with the oblique marker *si(n)*, 29% had affixed nuclei. The affixation may be nominalizing. This will be discussed in §3.4.1. Predicative affixation, as discussed in Chapter 2, may also occur on RP nuclei. Section 3.4.3 looks at RP nuclei with predicative affixation.

3.4.1 Roots with nominalizing affixation

Table 3.9 lists a few nominalizing affixes of Kankanaey (a full table is found in Appendix 5). Attached to specific root types, they may express reference to an entity related to the root in some way, such as the possessor, companion, instrument, or means. They may refer to an

attribute as an abstract entity, or to the spatial or temporal locus of a state or event. Examples 106) to 113) show a variety of phrases with nominalized nuclei.

Table 3.9 Some nominalizing affixes in Kankanaey

Affix	root type	Denotation
<i>akin-</i>	class	owner
<i>ka-</i>	action	companion
<i>kina-</i>	attribute	quality
<i>maN-</i>	action	actor
<i>paN-, pan-</i>	various	instrument used
<i>-an</i> with some other affixes	any	time or place or event

106) *din ka-tolong = ko*

RMd NOM-help = 1sII

‘my helper (usually househelper)’

107) *gapo sin kina-ngina = na*

due.to ORMd NOM-expensive = 3sII

‘due to its expensiveness’

108) *sin panganan*

paN-kan-an

ORMd NOM-eat <

‘at the restaurant/on the plates’

109) *sin na-tey-an tatang = na*

ORMd NOM-die < daddy = 3sII

‘at the time/place/event of his dad’s death’

110) *Natken di inglis = da, kaman sin pang-i-ngadan si badbado.*

paN-i-ngadan

different RMI English = 3pII like ORMd NOM-Th-name ORMi clothing

‘Their (Australian) English is different, like what they use to name (various pieces of) clothing.’

111) *di panlaydak sin nakikalkaliak sin nankakay*
pan-layad-an = ko naki-kal~kali-an = ko

RMi NOM-happy < = 1sII ORMd NOM.P-CVC-speak < = 1sII ORMd old.men
 ‘what made me happy about my conversation with the old men’

112) *pan-logan = ko ay emey ed singbaan*
 NOM-vehicle = 1sII LK go LOC church

‘what I will use for a ride to go to church (fare money)’

113) *din ka-i-basal-an di pan-asi-ka-awat-an*

RMd NOM-Th-base < RMi NOM-RECIP-NOM-receive <

‘the memorandum of agreement (lit. basis of mutual understanding)’

3.4.2 Existentials in the nucleus of a reference expression

Existentials can be used in the nucleus of a reference phrase in two ways: with nominalizing affixes or unaffixed. The prefix *ka-* and circumfix *ka—an* refer to the existence or presence of an entity, as in 114) and 115). Note that in 116), the much-shortened *kadʔan* (probably from *ka-wada-an*) indicates ‘current location.’

114) *Mon gapo sin ka-iwed di padpadas = ko, ...*
 but reason ORMd NOM-NEGEXIS BRMi experience = 1sII

‘But due to my not having any experience...(lit. absence of)’

115) *Siya di gapo si ka-wada-an di kaag sinan daga ay nay.*
 4III RMi reason ORMi NOM-EXIS < BRMi monkey DEM1VI earth LK DEM1V

‘That is the reason for the existence/presence of monkeys here on this earth.’

116) *Into = y kadʔa = m?*
ka-wada-a(n) = m

where = RMi place = 2s

‘Where are you?’

Unaffixed existentials in the reference-phrase nucleus may refer to either located entities or possessors. If there is a locative phrase, the existential will refer to the entity that is present in that location. In 117), the argument of the existential predicate is the entity which is located by the oblique phrase. In 118) that existential fills the nucleus, referring to the omitted entity that is located as noted.

117) *Wa=y balat sin apis gowab=da.*

EXIS=RMi banana ORM area below=3pII

‘There are banana trees just below their place.’

118) *Daan maom din wada sin apis gowab=da.*

not-yet ripe RMd EXIS ORM area below=3pII

‘The ones below their place aren’t ripe yet.’

When possessive predicates formed by unaffixed existentials are functioning as reference expression nuclei, they cannot omit any arguments. In such cases, the pronominal possessor is the referent while the whole clause fills the nucleus slot, as in 119).

119) *S<inm>aa din wada di anak=na ay babai.*

ACT.P=go.home RMd EXIS RMi child=3sII LK female

‘The one who had the daughter went home.’

3.4.3 *Roots with predicating affixation*

Chapter 2 details predicate formation, and the predicate affixes were introduced there. As was mentioned in that chapter, predicating affixation performs multiple functions. One of those functions is to index or cross-reference one participant RP. In the case of predicates built from action or state roots, the predicating affixes give a cross-reference in terms of macrorole (ACT(or) or UND(ergoer)) and in terms of somewhat generalized thematic sub-roles such as MOVER, PATIENT, LOCUS, etc. With attribute roots, the affix indexes the ATTRIBUTANT.

Any affixed predicate can occur as the nucleus of a reference phrase. With such an affixed nucleus, the RP refers to an entity that would fill the semantic role indicated by its affixation. Thus an affixed attribute root such as *na-pintas* ‘pretty’ denotes ‘the pretty one’ when preceded by a RM, as in 120).

120) *Idawat=mo Ø [sin na-pintas].*

give.Th=2sII 4III ORMd ATT-pretty

‘Give it to the pretty one.’

Other examples of RPs with affixed nuclei follow in 121) to 123).

121) *din nan-akbis*

RMd ACT.P-sneeze

‘the one who sneezed’

122) *di* <*inm*>*ali*
 Rmi ACTm.P-come
 ‘those who came’

123) *Dengdengək din bogaw [di mang-an~anap en sak?en].*
maN-an~anap
 hear.1sII Rmd shout Rmi NOM-PROG-search OPRM 1sIII
 ‘I was listening to the shouts of those looking for me.’

As with other referential nuclei, direct arguments are allowed. With affixed roots they will not be possessors but ergative Actors, as in 124). With the special ‘RECENT’ affixation that marks its single argument with class II pronouns or the bound RM, the direct argument is indicated in the same way, as in 125).

124) *din oto-en = da, din i-oto-an = da*
 Rmd cook-UND = 3pII Rmd UNDD-cook < = 3pII
 ‘what they will cook, who they will cook for’

125) *din kat~ka-tey = na ay doy*
ka + CVC-tey = na
 Rmd RECENT-dead = 3sII LK DEM3V
 ‘that one who just died’

If an entire clause core is included within the RP, with peripheral phrases and other modifiers, it begins to look like a ‘headless relative clause’. In this description the presence of a RM rather than the linker *ay* that precedes relative clauses leads to an analysis of an expanded RP. This avoids an embedding analysis of every affixed root in an RP nucleus. Figure 3.6 expands the template for RPs, increasing the constituent nodes with both direct and oblique arguments and an adjunct phrase. Figure 3.7 shows two oblique arguments.

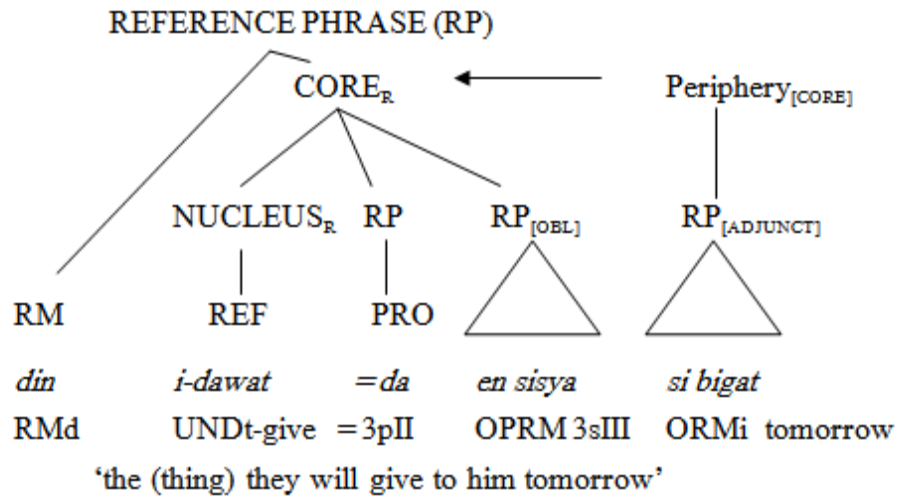


Figure 3.6. Kankanaey reference phrase constituent projection with affixed-root nucleus

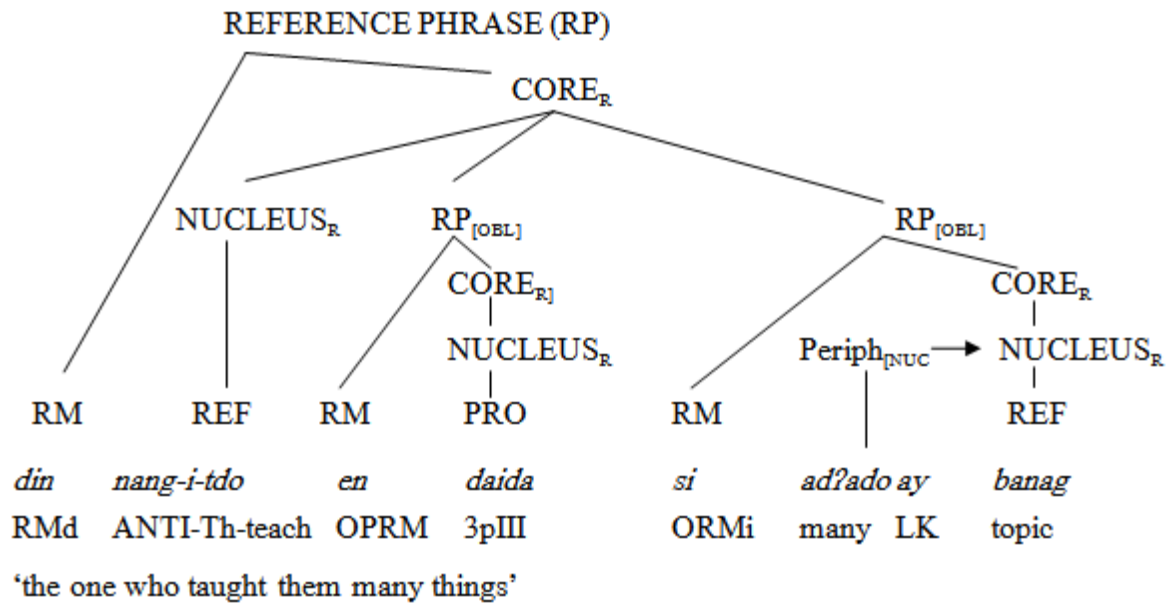


Figure 3.7. Kankanaey reference phrases: another constituent projection with affixed-root nucleus

3.5 RP as predicate

A reference phrase can function as the predicate of an equative clause. Matthews (1997:116) defines ‘equational predication’ as an assertion ‘that two referents are identical’. An equative clause in Kankanaey consists of two juxtaposed RPs; there is no copula. The first RP is always definite; the second RP may not be. The semantic force of this type of clause is to assert that the first RP is coreferential with the second, as in 126), which may pragmatically be correcting a misperception about what someone took along with him. The first RP (bracketed) serves as the predicated element of the clause. This construction is detailed in Chapter 4, and its function is fully explored in Chapter 7. This section will address the forms that an RP takes when it is functioning as a predicate. Common RPs with the predicated function in equative clauses are marked with *din* (RMd).

126) *Din lokto di i-takin = na.*
 RMd yams RMi UNDt.-take.along = 3sII
 ‘(It’s) the yams (that) he will take with him.’

Proper-name RPs are marked with *si* (PRM) for singular, *da* (PRM.pl) for plural, as in 127).

127) [*Da Elsa*] *di i-takin = na.*
 PRM.pl Elsa RMi UNDt.-take.along = 3sII
 ‘(It’s) Elsa’s group (that) he will take with him.’

Table 3.10 displays the marking of personal pronouns when they are used as predicates. Note that the PRM *si* is optional with some of the pronouns. Example 128) uses a personal pronoun in the predicate position.

Table 3.10 Personal pronouns (class III) as predicates

1s	(PRM +) <i>sak?en</i>	1p	PRM + <i>dakami</i>
2s	(PRM +) <i>sik?a</i>	2p	PRM + <i>dakayo</i>
1 + 2	PRM + <i>daita</i>	1 + 2p	PRM + <i>datako</i>
3s	<i>sisya</i>	3p	PRM + <i>daida</i>
4	<i>sa</i>		

128) [*Sak?en*]*di i-takin = na.*
 1sIII RMi UNDt.-take.along = 3sII
 ‘(It’s) me (that) he will take with him.’

Table 3.11 displays the unique forms (class III) and marking of demonstrative pronouns in predicate position. An example is given in 129). Oblique-marked class III demonstratives are found in complex constructions where a class II or class IV demonstrative, which might otherwise be acceptable, would be ambiguous or less specific. They are included in this table and an example given in 130).

Table 3.11 Demonstrative pronouns as predicates and oblique phrases

	(sing.)	(pl.)
PRM + DEM1III	(<i>si</i>) <i>naey</i>	<i>da naey</i>
PRM + DEM2III	(<i>si</i>) <i>sana</i>	<i>da sana</i>
PRM + DEM3III	(<i>si</i>) <i>dooy</i>	<i>da dooy</i>
OPRM + DEM1III	<i>en naey</i>	<i>en da naey</i>
OPRM + DEM2III	<i>en sana</i>	<i>en da sana</i>
OPRM + DEM3III	<i>en dooy</i>	<i>en da dooy</i>

129) [*Si sana*] *di i-takin* = *na*.

PRM DEM2III RMi UND_t.-take.along = 3sII

‘(It’s) that one (by you) that he will take with him.’

130) *Sin nangititdoan di padi* [*en da naey ay banag*]...

ORM_d NOM.P.teach BRMi priest OPRM pl DEM1III LK topic

‘When the priest was teaching these topics (lit. the teaching-time of the priest)...’

3.6 The pro-form *siya*

Personal pronouns and demonstrative pronouns have already been explored in this chapter. Another kind of pronoun that has not yet been discussed is *siya*. It is interesting that *siya* is cognate with the Tagalog 3rd-person singular specific pronoun (Himmelman 2005:358). The Kankanaey 3rd-person singular absolutive/predicate pronoun *sisya* is suspiciously similar to the personal reference phrase marker *si* + *siya*. This multifunctional word might be more accurately termed a “pro-form,” because it can represent not only an RP, but can also function as an adjective, a predicate, and a conjunction, and give anaphoric reference to a predicate, a clause, and even a paragraph!

As a pronoun, *siya* is 4th person (impersonal) and often functions as the first RP in RP-RP clauses, more or less interchangeably with the absolutive near-hearer demonstrative *sa*. This function is shown in 131), where the intervening particle would not be possible with *sa*. When

a person is the antecedent, *sisya* ‘3sIII’ can sometimes be interchanged with *siya*, as in 132). The second RP in the clause is bracketed to clarify these examples.

131) ...*tan siya met laeng [di os~osal-en = da.]*
 because 4III PART RMi CVC-use-UND = 3pII
 ‘because that’s what they are using anyway.’

132) *Din an?anak ay nay et siya [din mang-ay~ayoan sin man-sakit].*
 RMd child LK DEMI VPART 4III RMd ANTI-CVC-care.for ORMd ACT-sick
 ‘This kid, that’s who was taking care of the sick person.’

As an adjective, *siya* means ‘like, thus’ and can modify the DEMI in the function of first RP in the equative clause structure, as seen in 133) and 134).

133) *Layde~layd-e(n) = k ay mang-ila = d Bingga ngem siya na[= y pasamak].*
 CVCCV-enjoy-UND = 1sII LK ANTI-see = LOC Bingga but like DEMI = RMi event
 ‘I really want to visit (lit. see) Bingga (town) but like this is what has happened.’

134) *Aw, siya sa [din eg~egen-a(n) = k].*
 yes like DEMI RMd CVC-carry-UNDI = 1sII
 ‘Yes, what I am carrying is like that (the same amount).’

As a predicate, *siya* means ‘(It is) like, it is the same’ as in example 135). Followed by DEMI, it means ‘It is like this/that’. Examples 136) and 137) illustrate this function. The brackets enclose the predicate *siya* in these examples.

135) *Ban~bantay-a(n) = na abe si manang = na tan [siya abe] ay na-ataki = Ø.*
 CVC-watch-UNDI = 3sII also PRM sister = 3sII because same also LK UNDS-attack = 4I
 ‘He is taking care of his older sister because [it’s the same situation again (as a previously mentioned person)], she had a heart attack.’

136) *Na-biteg = da. [Siya ngin] di tan adi = da man-obl.*
 UNDS-poor = 3pI like PART DEM3I because NEG = 3pI ACT-work
 ‘They are poor. [It’s probably like] that because they don’t work.’

137) *Bol~bolod-e(n) = k kali = yo ngem olay a, [siya pay] di*
 CVC-borrow-UND = 1sII word = 2pII but OK PART like PART DEM3I
sin ngalat.
 ORMd conversation

‘I’m borrowing your words (i.e. English) but never mind, [it’s like] that in conversation.’

Standing alone, *siya* is a general (pro-clause?) anaphor, meaning ‘that’s it, that’s right, that’s so, yeah’ with positive connotations. *Siya* can be used as a tag question, as in 138), or to ask for confirmation of the following *ay*-linked clause, as in 139).

138) *Pag =yon <om>ey ed States, ay baken siya?*

then=2pII ACTm-go LOC States Q NEG so

‘Then you go to (i.e. leave for) the States, isn’t that so?’

139) *Wada baw di dama-ge(n)=k mo siya ay tet?ewa*

EXIS PART RMI news-UND=1sII if it’s.so LK true

din in-baga=m en Lin.

RMd UNDt.P-tell=2sII OPRM Lin

‘Oh, there is something I will ask whether it’s so that what you told Lin is true.’

Standing alone as a pro-clause, *siya* often functions as a summary concession clause ‘that may be so, even so’ before contrary information, as in 140) and 141).

140) *Et siya, mon adi=kami baw ammo.*

and it’s.so but NEG=1pI PART know.UND

‘And that was so, but it turned out that we didn’t know. (The situation was not as it had seemed!)’

141) *Adi na-kaan din bokol di bayang=ko ngem siya ay baken*

NEG UNDS-remove RMd lump RMI wound=1sII but it’s.so LK NEG

kaman din rik~rikna-e(n)=k ed idi.

like RMd CVC-feel-UND=1sII LOC past.time

‘The lump in my wound didn’t go away, but even so it isn’t like what I was feeling before.’

Siya can be followed by an oblique RP and translates ‘It’s the same for/the same goes for’. Interestingly, this use of *siya* is interchangeable with *isona* which is cognate with the 3s independent pronoun in Iloko (Rubino 2005:333). Both expressions are shown in 142) and 143).

142) [*Siya met abe] en sik?a ay babai.*

same PART PART OPRM 2sIII LK female

‘The same goes for you, woman.’

143) *Et [isona abe] en sik?a ay babai.*
 and same also OPRM 2sIII LK female
 ‘And the same goes for you, woman.’

Another use of *siya* is in the left-detached formulaic subordinate clause (*idi*) *siya di* ‘when thus that’ (bracketed). This clause wraps up the preceding clause, sentence, or even paragraph-- ‘that being the case, at that point’. Any clause that follows this introduction is an important clause on the discourse level that indicates a change of scene or action, as in 144), where the whole preceding conversation is summed up and dismissed.

144) [*Idi siya di*] *et man-ayag da din man-ot~oto ay mang-(k)an.*
 when like DEM3I PART ACT-invite pl RMd ACT-CVC-cook LK ACT-eat
 ‘At that point, the ones cooking called us to come eat.’ (and thus ended that discussion)

Finally, *siya* is part of the conjunction (*et*) *siyadin*. This is followed by full clauses, and the CLM indicates a logical connection to the larger previous discourse context “(and) so, therefore, that’s why, etc.” This has been taken over in many areas by the weaker Iloko CLM *isonga* ‘therefore’.

145) *Nai-potipot din book sin bab?a =n di dalit*
 UNDTs-twist RMd hair ORMd tooth BRMi eel
et siyadin adi ka-balin ay adi ka-lokmos = Ø.
 and therefore NEG UNDS-able LK NEG UNDS-slip.off=4I

‘The hair was twisted around the eel’s teeth and that’s why it was impossible, it could not slip off.’