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## Chapter 7 Information Structure<sup>23</sup>

### 7.1 Information structure

This chapter explores the interaction of discourse functions and syntactic structures to describe the process of information flow. The discourse function of most utterances is to communicate information in a context of differing states of knowledge between a speaker and a hearer. Information may be classified as identifiable or unidentifiable in terms of the prior knowledge that the speaker assumes that the hearer has. Lambrecht (1994:109) suggests that an unidentifiable reference is totally new, but may be anchored by association with an identifiable entity. Identifiable referents may have been already mentioned in the immediate discourse, predictable from the discourse or accessible from general knowledge. The speaker presupposes some shared knowledge, and asserts information that is presumed to be new.

Information structure studies use the terms ‘focus’ and ‘topic’. Focus is taken to mean “the semantic component...whereby the assertion differs from the presupposition” (Lambrecht 1994:213). The ‘focus’ of a sentence is that added information or changed

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<sup>23</sup> This chapter draws heavily on the research published as Allen 2007 in the *Philippine Journal of Linguistics* 38.

information that is in contrast to what is already in the hearer's mind, while 'topical' information is presupposed to be shared already by the speaker and hearer.

Within a clause there are two functions, corresponding in Figure 7.1 to Nucleus and Arguments. The function of the nucleus is to predicate (assert, question, command, etc.) while the function of arguments is to refer to entities. Predicates as well as referents can be either new or predictable information.

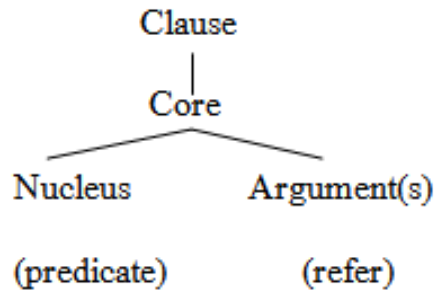


Figure 7.1. Clause structure with basic functions

The syntactic structure of Kankanaey sentences comprises left- and right-detached positions and a central clause component, as seen in chapter 5. The potential domain of new information is defined by the scope of the illocutionary force operator of the central clause (Van Valin 2005:214). The actual focus domain for a particular clause may include the entire clause (the potential focus domain) or only part of it. Phrases and clauses in detached positions are not in a 'daughter' relationship to the central clause, and thus do not fall within the focus domain. Independent coordinate clauses in a sentence each have their own potential focus domain. Thus the highest potential level of focus domain is the independent clause.

### 7.1.1 *Morphosyntactic variables in marking information*

Kankanaey speakers manipulate several constructions and variables in order to enable the hearer to identify information as new, given, or accessible; to relate it to existing knowledge, and to follow the flow of thought. Although Kankanaey follows the assumption of Dooley and Levinsohn (2001) that information is presented in intonational units involving pitch, intensity, and pause, speakers do not use special prosodic intensity to highlight focus elements. Efforts to use this method for contrastive information have met with amusement.<sup>24</sup> Some languages, e.g. Huallaga Quechua

<sup>24</sup> Wari' (Turner 2006), and Karitiâna (C. Everett 2008) are two languages in Brazil that have also been shown to depend much more on morphosyntax than prosody to highlight a narrow-focus element.

(Weber 1989, discussed in VanValin 2005:74), use evidential clitics or focus particles to indicate the focus of a sentence. Kankanaey has several evidential particles, most notably *kano* ‘hearsay’, but their placement does not correlate with focus or topical information.

A variable that is important for information structure is definiteness. Personal/proper referring markers are always definite, as are personal pronouns. As noted in Chapter 3, a Kankanaey RM (reference-phrase marker) is the defining constituent of an expression whose function is to refer. The RMs (*di* and *si*) may take a suffix *-n* (thus *din* and *sin*) indicating ‘definiteness’. This is probably an unfortunate designation, as there are several parameters that affect the presence of the suffix and they differ between the bound and free forms, but in general the ‘definite’ markers signal that the phrase is referring to an entity that the hearer can expect to identify. The indefinite markers are less constrained.

Another important variable for information structure is voice affixation in nominalization. The affixes that create verbs and adjectives index one semantic role involved in the resulting predicate. Therefore, when an affixed root is preceded by an RM, the resulting reference phrase refers to an entity that fills the role indicated by the affix. This elegant system will be exemplified repeatedly in the following description.

The third variable directly related to information flow is the syntactic structure of sentences. Detached positions and the clause nuclear position are both important, especially with the variability of nuclear components in Kankanaey clauses.

### ***7.1.2 Clauses with no focus domain***

In the course of a text such as a narrative, there are recapitulations, summaries, and highly predictable outcomes that do not share any new information. In Kankanaey texts, there are many such clauses, whose function on the discourse level is to indicate boundaries or satisfy predictable expectations, such as arrival after a journey.

In letters, where participants automatically include the writer and speaker, formalities such as inquiring and informing about health frequently have no focus structure. Their pragmatic function is to prepare the way for the new information that is the point of the letter. Kankanaey writers tend to give a short heads-up just before such new information, as seen in the overt expressions bracketed in examples 1) to 4) as well as the general preface of example 5).

- 1) *[Manang, layd-e(n)=k ay ammo-a(n)=m ay osto ay]...*  
sister like-UND = 1sII LK know-UNDI = 2sII LK correct LK  
‘Sister, I want you to really know that ...’
- 2) *[Wada baw di damag-e(n)=k mo] siya ay tet?ewa ...*  
EXIS PART RMI news-UND = 1sII if thus LK true  
‘Oh yeah, I have something to ask whether it is true that...’
- 3) *[I-pa-damag=ko abe en dakayo ay] ...*  
UNDt-CAUS-news = 1sII also OPRM 2pIII LK  
‘I report also to you that...’
- 4) *[Isonga nan-solat=ak en dakayo] ta <om>ali=kayo ...*  
therefore ACT-write = 1sI OPRM 2pIII so.that ACTm-come = 2pII  
‘So I am writing to you so that you will come...’
- 5) *Palalo=y gasat=ko ed niman ay timpo.*  
excessive = RMI luck = 1sII LOC nowadays LK time  
‘I have had a lot of bad luck recently.’

## 7.2 New information—the focus domain

Most clauses do share new information, however, and of these there are three general types. A predicate may make a totally new assertion about new referents, or predicate a new assertion about a given or accessible referent. VVLP (1997:202), crediting Lambrecht (1994), uses the labels ‘sentence-focus’ and ‘predicate-focus’ for these, noting that ‘focus’ is the part of an sentence “that is unpredictable or unrecoverable from the context.” Because the potential focus domain is not the sentence but rather the independent clause, the term ‘clause-focus’ will be used instead of ‘sentence-focus’. §7.2.1 and §7.2.2 will examine clause- and predicate-focus constructions in Kankanaey.

Lambrecht’s ‘narrow-focus’ clause has only one constituent in the actual focus domain. It asserts that an identifiable referent is the same as some other given or accessible referent. In such a clause, the new information is the identification of the first as co-referent with the second. §7.2.3 will explore the contexts in which equative clauses function as narrow-focus constructions in Kankanaey.

Speakers of Kankanaey generally introduce important participants with clause-focus constructions, move narratives forward with predicate focus constructions, and use

narrow focus to identify or contrast individual participants. They use detachment of various entities to change discourse topic or to indicate contrasting subtopics. In all these constructions they manipulate the variables of voice, constituent position, RP markers, and pronouns to reflect the degree to which they believe their hearers can identify and process the information. Exceptions to the rules of general usage can be found, of course, indicating that the correlation of structure to function may be adjusted as a speaker assesses the interest, need, or ability of the hearer to identify each referent.

The potential focus domain (dotted lines), and one possible actual focus domain (triangle) are illustrated in Figure 7.2.

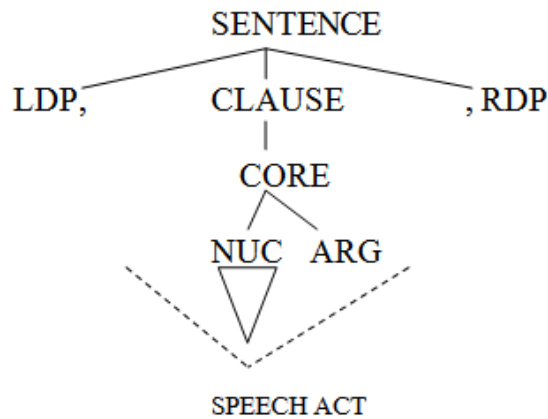


Figure 7.2. Kankanaey sentence with potential and one actual focus domain

### 7.2.1 Clause focus

Clause focus is commonly used in presentational constructions where new participants or situations are introduced. In Kankanaey this may be expressed by an existential or verbal predicate in the nucleus with its absolutive argument marked as indefinite. Existential predicates often open a narrative or introduce participants, as in 6), using the indefinite RM = *y*. The place-name *Bakun* is assumed to be known to the hearers, who live in the next municipal district. Example 7) follows 6) in the story, and brings in the main entities (gods and people) as indefinite entities using *di* and *si*. Except for the district name and the demonstrative pronoun, all the information in these two examples is new to the hearers.

- 6) *Wada=y na-kayang ay dontog ed Bakun.*  
 EXIS=RMi ATT-high LK mountain LOC Bakun  
 ‘There is a high mountain in Bakun.’

- 7) *Man-beey kano di kabonyan sidi ay man-pa-kan*  
 ACT-house HSY RMi god DEM3IV LK ACT-CAUS-eat  
*si man-illeng isdi.*  
 ORMi ACT-rest DEM3IV

‘Gods live there, they say, who feed those who rest there.’

Even when an existential introduces a new participant by name, the indefinite RM precedes the personal marker, as in 8), indicating that the name is new to the hearer. In example 9) this opening sentence of a story plunges into the tale using the indefinite RM *di* for the first mention of these participants. The use of the indefinite RM instructs the hearer to create a ‘slot’ for these participants, whose relevance will become clearer as the story progresses. A more formal story introduction is exemplified in 10), where several indefinite markers are used but translated in English as definite ‘the’.

- 8) *Wada=y si Nabulay ed na-baon ed Abas.*  
 EXIS.RMi PRM Nabulay LOC ATT-long.ago LOC Abas

‘There was a certain Nabulay long ago in Abas.’

- 9) *Na-sinop di nankakay ay man-to~tolag mo into di ma-iyat...*  
 UNDs-gather RMi elders LK ACT-CV-agree if how RMi UNDs-do

‘Some elders were gathered discussing about how to....’

- 10) *Na-solok si tolonpo ay tawen di <inm>ey ay*  
 ATT-more.than ORMi thirty LK year RMi ACTm.P-go LK

*b<inom>tak-an di gobat ay kanan=da en World War II.*  
 NOM.P-burst< RMi war LK say.UND=3pII QT World War II

‘More than thirty years (are what) have gone (since) the outbreak of the war that they call WWII.’

### 7.2.2 *Predicate Focus*

Lambrecht’s (2000) definition of predicate focus structure as quoted in VanValin (2005:70) applies to clause structures in Kankanaey in which the nucleus of the clause core is an affixed root or a class or attribute root. Such a predicate “expresses new information about [a] topic. The focus domain is the predicate phrase (or part of it).” The unmarked clause structure of Kankanaey is a predicate followed by one or two direct arguments and possibly one or two oblique referring phrases. Predicate focus (the unmarked focus type in Kankanaey) always presents the predicate as new information;

one of the arguments or obliques may also be new. The following discussion subdivides predicate focus according to which part of the clause is new information. Focal constituents are bracketed.

A description of Kankanaey in terms of ‘topic’ and ‘comment’ on the clause level is not attempted here because of the mismatch in Kankanaey of syntax with identifiability. While the single argument of an intransitive predicate patterns with the Actor argument of a transitive predicate as generally the most identifiable, continuous, and important referent (i.e. topic), it patterns with the Undergoer argument of transitive predicates syntactically as to predicate indexing and case marking. Actors are syntactically and phonologically bound to their predicates, and Kankanaey maintains an obligatory VAU word order, making a simple topic-comment division very awkward.

#### 7.2.2.1 Predicate only is new

Predicate-only focus is very common in Kankanaey narratives and letters, as the story line about the participants goes forward, expectations are met or revised, or news about topics of common interest is shared.

Example 11), from a narrative, follows the introductions of the main character and also Nabulay’s ghost and then gives the surprising information that the main character ( $\emptyset$  ‘he’) attacked it. In example 12) only the actions of the characters present new information. Note that the verbal affix *ka-* in both examples indicates precipitous action with prominence on the activity rather than its effect.

11) ...yan [ka-dama]  $\emptyset$  sin sana ay banig Nabulay.  
 ...and IMM-attack 3sI ORMd DEM2IV LK ghost Nabulay  
 ‘...and he suddenly attacked that ghost of Nabulay.’

12) [Apayaw-en] = da = s sak?en tan ka-on?ona = ak.  
 chase-UND = 3pII = PRM 1sIII because IMM-precede = 1sI  
 ‘They chased after me because I had rushed ahead.’

Class or attribute roots as the non-verbal predicate may hold the new information in a clause. Class-root predicates are not to be confused with RP predicates, covered in §7.2.3. Although in English an indefinite noun phrase can form an equative clause, for example, “John is a good friend,” in Kankanaey such a predicate cannot be an RP, as seen in 13).

- 13) \**Di siged ay gayyem si Juan.*  
       *[Sigid ay gayyem] si Juan.*  
 RMi good LK friend PRM Juan  
 ‘John is a good friend.’

#### 7.2.2.2 Undergoer is new

In many cases, an unidentifiable undergoer is introduced as an indefinite oblique referent. Cooreman (1983) found that in Chamorro the voice of the verb indicated the relative topicality (givenness) of the affected participants. In Kankanaey, when the actor is known but the undergoer is new information, the verb tends to have actor voice, which allows only the Actor as direct argument, and undergoers must be oblique.

In example 14) the speaker has been invited to go help dig for treasure. Taking a lunch and some tools is not surprising information in the context, but at this first mention, they are given oblique status and the contracted indefinite ORM =s.

- 14) ...*et nan-a=kami[=s baon ya laminta].*  
       ...and ACT.P-get=1pI=ORMi lunch and tool  
 ‘...and we got a lunch and some tools.’

New participants can enter a narrative as direct Undergoer arguments of a verb if they are ‘accessible’ from the context, as in 15), where the speaker tells of seeing an accident. Vehicles are an accessible part of a shopping trip context. Note the indefinite =y on the Undergoer argument, even though it is the argument indexed on the verb, and more new information occurs as a subordinated predicate in the relative clause.

- 15) *Ed agsapa, en=kami man-markit yan*  
       LOC morning go=1pI ACT-market and  
       <in> *ila=mi[=y taxi ya jeep ay man-asi-dongpal=da.]*  
       UND.P-see=1pII-.RMi taxi and jeep LK ACT-RECIP-bump=3pI  
 ‘This morning, we went shopping and we saw a taxi and a jeep that collided.’

#### 7.2.2.3 Predicate and Actor are new

DuBois (1987) noted several universal tendencies regarding the way transitive Actors and Objects function in a discourse. Of interest here is that themes and topics tend to be expressed more as Actors than as Objects, and that new participants tend to be introduced through an Object function much more than as Actors. In Kankanaey, it is not frequent that a new participant is introduced as the Actor of a transitive verb. Actors



are not often expressed with a full RP, but tend to be pronouns, which presupposes anaphoric reference. Even when an Actor is expressed with a common RP, it is generally assumed to be definite and the case marker may not have the overt *-n* marking, as has been mentioned. Violating this constraint can only be done under special circumstances.

When the Actor is a recoverable entity, and his role is not central to the storyline, the Kankanaey speaker may presume upon the hearer's shared knowledge and bring such Actors temporarily on stage as direct RPs without preamble. In 16), the writer is explaining why he did not arrive when planned. Casilo and Minda are known to the reader, and their minor roles in this drama are only mentioned this once. In 17) the specific identity of the new actor argument is irrelevant.

- 16) [*Kanan kano=n Casilo*]*en wada koma=y mai-dawat en sak?en*  
 say.UND HSY=BPRM Casilo QT EXIS IRR=RMI UNDTs-give OPRM 1sIII  
*ay gastos-e(n)=k] ngem [na-ladaw ay in-pa-ammo=n Minda] Ø.*  
 LK spend.UND=1sII but UND.P-late LK UNDT.P-CAUS-know Minda 4III  
 'Casilo had reportedly said that there would be something to be given to me for the fare, but Minda was late in letting (me) know it.'

- 17) *K<in>at di aso din anak=ko.*  
 UND.P-bite BRMi dog RMd child=1sII  
 'A dog bit my child.'

At narrative peaks, new information can be introduced in unconventional ways. In a story of a man who failed to come up after diving into a river, a very new and surprising participant is brought on stage in the Actor role, preceded by surprise particles that alert the listener, as in 18).

- 18) *Kambaw etay in-pe-peteng-an di dalit Ø!*  
 SURP SURP UNDD.P-CV-restrain< BRMi eel 3sIII  
 'Imagine! An eel was restraining him!'

#### 7.2.2.4 Emphasis on key pieces of information

This chapter can not cover all the devices used by Kankanaey speakers to manage information flow by marking certain constituents as pivotal or of extra importance. Chapter 4 introduced discourse-level semantic particles, one group of which is used for emphasis. Another emphasizing strategy will be presented here.

The stark clarity of the existentials—either existence or not, either present or totally absent—lends itself to emphatic uses in a discourse<sup>25</sup>. In 19) the information being presented is that the character Poltag did not come up after his dive. The narrator could have used the core negator *adi* to express this meaning. The construction using the negative existential as the predicating nucleus intensifies the knot in the narrative in this dramatic moment at the center of this underwater-rescue story. Similarly in 20), the child's failure to cooperate is the turning point for the mother in a cautionary folk tale.

19) *Maga = y t <om> emwa en Poltag.*

NEGEXIS = Rmi ACTm-emerge.upwards OPRM Poltag

'There was no emerging by Poltag! (i.e. Poltag didn't emerge)'

20) *Maga = y en nan-?oto sin anak = na.*

NEGEXIS = Rmi go ACT-cook ORMd child = 3sII

'There was no going to cook by her child. (i.e. her child didn't go cook)'

The existential *wada* is sometimes used to emphasize the reality of the assertion, nuances of which may be seen in 21) and 22).

21) *Wada ay ilan = da din galey ay mankeykey.*

EXIS LK see = 3pII RMd blanket LK move

'They actually saw the (shroud) blanket move.'

22) *Kaman = kayo ngay wada ay domateng.*

like = 2pI PART EXIS LK arrive

'It's as if you are truly arriving' (the particle adds wistfulness to the wishful assertion).

### 7.2.3 *Narrow focus*

When only one RP constituent of a clause is in the actual focus domain, the focus is narrow. The classic example of narrow focus in many languages is the fronted WH-question in the pre-core slot. Other strategies in English are the various cleft constructions, as well as intonation signals such as pitch and intensity, which indicate a focal constituent *in situ*.

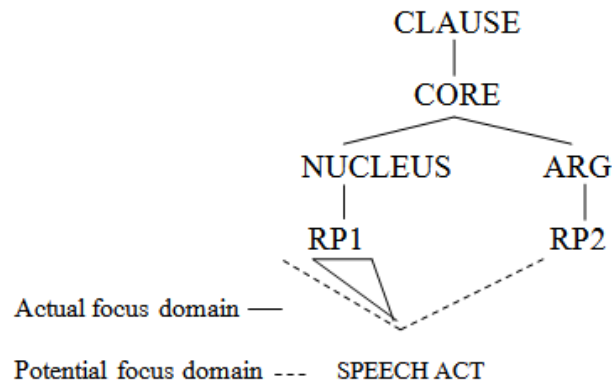
Kankanaey cannot use any of the strategies mentioned above. It is possible for focal corrective contrast on predicates to be flagged by semantic particles of contrast or

<sup>25</sup> A similar use of the existential has also been attested in Belait (Clynes 2005:439) and in Karo Batak (Woolams 2005:544).

opposition. Negating the wrong presupposition is also a syntactic option and is often strengthened by an objection particle, as in 23).

- 23) *I-bag~baga = da      en   man-pa-ila = ak      si      doktol*  
 UNDt-CVC-say = 3pII QT ACT-CAUS-see = 1sI ORMi doctor  
*ngem iwed      met      di      pilak = ko.*  
 but NEGEXIS PART RMi money = 1sII  
 ‘They keep telling me to consult a doctor (for which I would need to pay) but I don’t have any MONEY/don’t HAVE any money.’

The default construction, however, for narrow focus in Kankanaey is the equative clause, which consists of two juxtaposed RPs. This construction was briefly introduced in Chapters 3 and 4. Equative clauses, like all others in Kankanaey, are nucleus-initial; therefore, the first RP is in the nuclear position, and the second RP is its argument, as diagrammed in Figure 7.3. In this construction the first RP is the focus domain.



**Figure 7.3. Equative clause structure in Kankanaey with focus domains**

For Kankanaey it is useful to distinguish between completive and contrastive narrow focus, suggested by Dik’s (1989) four-way contrast cited in Haspelmath (2001:1086) involving completive (question-induced) and contrastive parameters.

In this section, completive narrow-focus constructions are examined, including content questions and answers, and identifying (specificational) statements. Contrastive narrow-focus constructions are also discussed, including corrective statements and statements that emphasize the uniqueness of the co-referential relationship.

### 7.2.3.1 Content questions and answers

A content question uses one of the interrogative pronouns listed in 24) as the first RP in a completive equative clause.

- 24) *sino*      who, what, which  
       *into*      where  
       *pig?an*   when

The question ‘how?’ is formed with *into = y iyat* ‘where (is) the way’ and ‘why?’ is formed with *sino = y gapo* ‘what (is) the reason’. Example 25) shows both the interrogative pronoun and the answer pronoun in the initial position of equative clauses. These are narrow-focus clauses in which the existence of “your/my son” is clearly presupposed and the first RP questions or asserts a co-referential relationship.

- 25) *Sino      din      anak = mo?      Sisya      din      anak = ko.*  
       who      RMd    child = 2sII    3sIII    RMd    child = 1sII

‘Q: Who/which is your son? A: He is my son.’ (lit. Your son is which? My son is he.)

In 26) the question ‘when?’ uses a predicate nominalized for time/place.

- 26) *Pig?an      di      pang-i-dawt-a(n) = m      en      sisya?*  
       when      Rmi    NOM-Th-give < = 2sII    OPRM    3sIII

‘When are you going to give it to him? (lit. your time of giving it to him is when?)’

### 7.2.3.2 Specificational clauses

An RP that has an affixed root in the nucleus refers to the entity that fills the semantic role indicated by the affixation. The second RP of equative clauses often has an indefinite RM and an affixed nucleus, creating an underspecified identity. When an equative clause functions to provide the identity for an underspecified referent, it is a specificational construction, in which one RP is a ‘variable’, and the other RP provides the ‘value’ for that variable (terms from Pavey 2008, citing DeClerck 1988). The Kankanaey construction places the value RP first (in the nucleus), while the variable RP is its argument. The second RP holds information that the speaker assumes the hearer is already aware of, while the first RP adds more information to specify the identity of the second RP. This most closely resembles the English pseudocleft, which has the variable RP in the subject position and the value RP as part of the predicate with the copular verb.<sup>26</sup> Example 27) shows a specifying clause and uses the English pseudocleft for the translation.

<sup>26</sup> See Pavey 2004 for a full discussion of *it*-clefts and other cleft constructions.

27) *Din opisyalis=mi di nang-i-dalom.*

RMd officials=1pII RMI ANTI-Th-file.charges

‘The (ones who) filed the charge were our officials.’

28) also shows that the first RP in the specificational clause is the entity that fills the role marked on the second RP. The first RP is definite, the second underspecified and thus indefinite.

28) [*Din address=yo ay wada en da Ben*]<sub>PRED</sub> [*di <in>osal=ko.*]<sub>ARG</sub>

RMd address=2pII LK EXIS OPRM pl Ben RMI UND.P-use=1sII

‘What I used was your address that was at Ben’s (home). (pseudocleft in English)

Because the referent of the first RP is an easily identifiable participant, the ‘new’ information of the specificational clause is the assertion of co-referentiality, a relatively weak focus force.

When a speaker presents new information, s/he generally builds on the topic at hand, filling in gaps in the addressee’s knowledge. A direct and simple clause is not always the most effective strategy. Kankanaey speakers often use instead this specificational clause, the form of answers to questions that are unasked but assumed to be relevant to the addressee. Example 29) comes in the context of wedding advice mentioning possible difficulties, and the presupposed question might be something like: “What is a good thing to avoid saying in such situations?”

29) *Baken din pag sia~sian di i-bag~baga.*

neg RM always CVCC.separate RMI UNDt-CVC-say

‘It’s not always divorce! divorce! that (one) is to be saying’ (i.e. ‘Don’t continually threaten divorce.’)

In 30) the narrow-focus clause is at the very end. Note that the idea of ‘go peek’ is introduced, and all the participants, especially the narrator herself, are ‘given’ information. In the last clause (bracketed) the pairing of the participant (1s) with her role is an example of completive narrow focus, answering the implied question or interest in who actually performed the ‘peeking’ action. This construction further serves a discourse-level function of taking the action off the main storyline.

- 30) “*En=ka i-tining mo na-pas?od-an din teyey di beey=mi*,”  
 go=2sI UNDt-peek.at if UNDI-take.in< RMd ladder BRMi house=1pII  
*kanan=da et [si sak?en di en nang-i-tining.]*  
 say.UND=3pII and PRM 1sIII RMi go ANTI-Th-peek.at  
 “‘Go peek (and see) whether the ladder to our house has been taken in,’” they  
 said, and the (one who) went to peek at it was me.’

Example 31) identifies a location in terms of the activity that gives its importance; having introduced a prospective customer for a shady deal, the storyteller sets the stage for the adventure (seeing the customer, i.e. meeting him) in the well-known Burnham Park. Note that the nominalizing affixes are on the root ‘see’ rather than ‘agree’ since the park was the place to see someone, not the place where the agreement was made.

- 31) *Ed Burnham di tolag-an ay pan-asi-ila-an=mi.*  
 LOC Burnham RMi agree-UNDI LK NOM-RECIP-see< =1pII  
 ‘At Burnham (Park) was where it was agreed that we’d meet (lit. see) each other.’

The discourse context must always be taken into account in order to interpret the pragmatic function of an equative clause that identifies a participant by its role. The purpose seen above is specificational. A second purpose is to contrast a participant with other possible participants, a relatively stronger focus force.

### 7.2.3.3 Contrastive focus clauses

Equative clauses can contrast new information with possible alternatives. The strongest contrast is most clearly expressed when correcting a presupposition. When the context for an equative clause calls for a corrective, contrastive function, both the RPs are marked as definite, as in 32) B.

- 32) A: *In-takin=mo si Biktorya.*  
 UNDt.P-take.with=2s PRM Biktorya  
 B: *Aga, si Bangilay din nang-a~kadwa en sak?en.*  
 No PRM Bangilay RMd ANTI.P-CV-be.with OPRM 1sIII  
 A: ‘You took Biktorya along.’  
 B: ‘No, the (one who) was with me was BANGILAY.’

Example 33) comes from advice to a newly-married couple; the speaker has just admonished them to stop leaning on their parents for support. His corrective admonition

uses narrow focus on the pronoun *dakayo* ‘2pIII’ to contrast the couple with the parents for the role of provider.

- 33) *Dakayo di mang-i-ligat si ka-tago-an = yo.*  
 2pIII RMi ANTI-Th-difficult ORMi NOM-live < = 2pII  
 ‘The (ones to) struggle (lit. undergo hardship) for your (own) livelihood are YOU.’

#### 7.2.3.4 Emphatic narrow focus

A second function of contrastive narrow focus is to emphasize the exclusive uniqueness of the co-referential relationship. As can be seen from example 33) above, assigning someone to a role often signals responsibility; sometimes the force is that of blame. In 34) the recipient of a scolding letter learns that he has been overextending his parents’ generosity. Both parties know the facts; the equative construction serves to stress his role in this case.

- 34) *Sik?a di nang-(g)asto~gastos sin pilak = mi.*  
 2sIII RMi ANTI.P-CVCCV-spend ORMd money = 1pI  
 ‘The (one who) kept spending all our money is you.’

When the information in both RPs of an equative clause is highly identifiable, as in the case of focal (class III) pronouns and previously-mentioned predicates, the impact of the narrow focus is to emphasize the assertion that the participant in fact fills the role, as in 35), with a corroborating emphatic particle.

- 35) *Si naey man di <in> ila = k.*  
 PRM DEM1III PART RMi UND.P-see = 1sII  
 ‘(I insist) what I saw is really this.’

#### 7.2.3.5 The demonstrative as referent in equative clauses

The class I demonstrative pronoun *sa* ‘that’ (near-hearer) can take the role of a general focal pronoun with anaphoric reference functions, as in example 36). This example comes from a story in which some parents send their child back and forth between them rather than stop their work to peel his sugarcane for him. The narrow focus is used to contrast or uniquely assign the role to one participant, who is identified by a demonstrative pronoun. In the context of repeated refusals to peel the sugarcane, the construction is clearly indicating narrow focus.

- 36) *I-ey=mo Ø en ina=m ta sa=y mang-(g)elʔad.*  
 UND<sub>t</sub>-go=2sII 4III OPNM mother=2sII so.that DEM2I=RMi ANTI-peel  
 ‘Take it to your mother so that the (one who) will peel it is that one (i.e. so THAT ONE (she, not me) will peel it).’

In 37) the immediate antecedent, ‘Aug.22’, controls the reference of the demonstrative that begins the second clause. Brackets indicate the constituent positions.

- 37) *S<om>aa=ka sin Aug. 22 tan*  
 ACT<sub>m</sub>-go.home=2sI ORMd Aug. 22 because  
 [*sa*]<sub>PRED</sub> [=y <om>ali-an da Ben]<sub>ARG</sub>  
 DEM2I =RMi NOM-come< pl Ben

‘Come home on August 22, because the coming-time of Ben and family is that.’

Sometimes the demonstrative *sa* has no anaphoric referent, but rather has cataphoric reference to a definite RP which is placed to the right in the post-core slot. The phrase that is co-referential with the predicate RP follows without intonational pause in the post-core position (unlike the English translation, which must insert a pause). The resulting clause delays the identification of the ‘value’ RP until after the ‘variable’ indexed role has been activated. This is a common construction in Kankanaey, a method of managing the information flow so that the hearer is easily able to follow and comprehend. Example 38) is a wry comment after a description of someone’s independent behaviour. The speaker activates the idea of what might be the reason for the behaviour, and then suggests the answer.

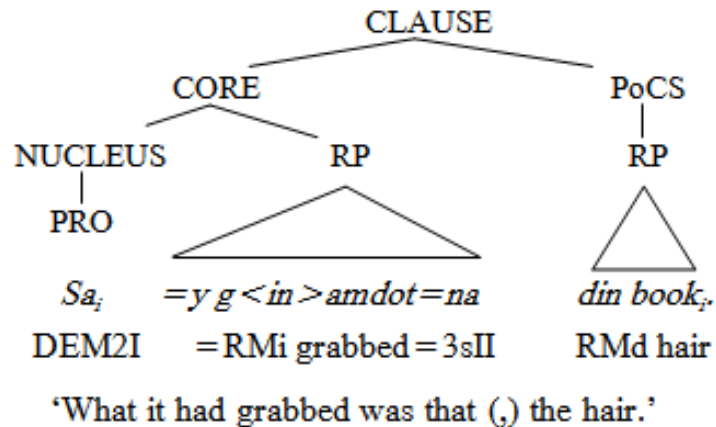
- 38) [*Sa*]<sub>PRED</sub> [=y layden=(n)a]<sub>ARG</sub> [*din angʔanggoy=na.*]<sub>PRED CO-REFERENT</sub>  
 DEM2I =RMi like.UND=3sII RMd alone=3sII

‘What he likes is that, (the) being on his own.’

The clause in Figure 7.4 comes from a similar point in a story of an eel, where the speaker acknowledges the possible question of how it (the eel) could have held down a man, and then gives the answer. The figure shows the post-core slot with the ‘value’ RP as the co-referent of the demonstrative that is in the clause nucleus. This is the only type of clause that uses the post-core position in Kankanaey. Its closest comparable form in English would be a right-dislocated reverse pseudocleft<sup>27</sup>!

<sup>27</sup> Compare to “right-dislocated pseudocleft” (Pavey 2004:56).





**Figure 7.4. Kankanaey clause structure  
with focal RP in post-core slot**

The near-hearer demonstrative *sa*, or the general-anaphoric pronoun *siya*, or the two in combination (*siya sa*) may be used in a generalized sense to refer to information that the hearer holds as activated from the immediate context. Equative clauses with the general pronoun *siya* as the first RP do not always identify or stress an entity to fill a role, but may give emphasis to important concepts on a paragraph level, especially as they relate to causal relationships between clauses, giving a general anaphoric sense of ‘thus, like, so’. This use of the pro-form *siya* was noted in Chapter 3.

An equative clause with a general deictic that refers to a large amount of information serves as a summarizing or closing device at the end of some unit at a higher level than the clause. In 39) and 40) the clause is summarizing the preceding paragraph, while 41) closes an entire discourse.

39) *Isonga mo mamingsan yan sa=y adi=mi pan-solat-an.*  
therefore if/when one.time PART DEM2I=RMi NEG=1pII NOM-write<  
‘So sometimes, (the reason for) our not writing (to you) is that.’ (i.e. ‘Sometimes that’s why we don’t write (you).’)

40) *Baken siya sa=y pan-balin-a(n)=m si kaag.*  
NEG thus DEM2I=RMi NOM-change< =2sII ORMi monkey  
‘(The reason for) becoming a monkey is not that.’ (i.e. ‘That’s no reason to turn into a monkey.’)

- 41) *Siya anggoy sa di i-baga=k en dakayo ay sin-asawa.*  
 thus only DEM2I RMI UNDT-say=1s OPNM 2pIII LK UNIT-spouse  
 ‘What I will say to you who are a (newlywed) husband-and-wife is only that (the  
 entire preceding discourse).’ (closing sentence)

### 7.3 Outside the focus domain

Information in a clause that is outside the actual focus domain is topical. Chapter 6 discussed topic continuity by means of pronoun reference across clauses. Other topical information in Kankanaey sentences is expressed by deictics, proper names, and definite RPs in any function of the clause. Both of the RPs in equative clauses hold topical reference; it is the relationship of the first RP to the second RP that is the new information in the actual focus domain.

As noted above in Figure 7.2, the Kankanaey sentence has detached positions preceding and following the central clause. Material in the left-detached position is always topical (VVLP 1997:228), and falls outside the potential focus domain. The detachment is indicated by an intonational pause (shown by a comma) or by one of four particles<sup>28</sup>—*ket*, *et*, *yan*, or *pay*. These detachment strategies will be illustrated in the examples that follow. Chapter 5 has already covered the types of information presented by full clauses in the LDP. The rest of this chapter will explore topical RPs in the LDP.

#### 7.3.1 Detached RPs with basic clauses

In introductory sentences that open narratives, a detached RP may soften the impact of the barrage of new information by mentioning a new constituent in general (accessible) terms, which then becomes the topic of the ensuing clause, as in 42) and 43). In 44), an activated Undergoer clears the way for the brand new but minor participant, the indefinite ‘dog’ as Actor.

- 42) *Din ili ay Binggo et kitkittoy ay ili Ø*  
 RMd town LK Binggo PART small LK town 4I  
*sin Municipio =n di Dupax del Martes.*  
 ORMd Municipality BRMi Dupax del Martes  
 ‘The town that is Binggo, it is a small town in the municipal district of Dupax del Martes.’

<sup>28</sup> These particles are fairly interchangeable, but *pay* is often used to show contrast or temporal relation, and if the RP is rather lengthy, *yan* is the preferred particle.

43) *Din istorya ay nay et na-pasamak Ø sin 1982.*

RMd story LK DEM1V PART UNDS-happen 4I ORMd 1982

‘This story, it happened in 1982.’

44) *Din esa=y anak=ko abe=d Tabay yan k<in>at di aso Ø.*

RMd one=LK child=1sII also=LOC Tabay PART UND.P-bit BRMi dog 3sI

‘My other (lit. one...also) child at Tabay, a dog bit him.’

In a discourse, there are referents that may not be highly accessible to the hearer. They may not have been individuated from a given group, or may have gone unmentioned for long enough that specific re-activation or identification is needed for the hearer to process additional information. This is achieved by left-detachment of the RP, which may also be accompanied by the detaching marker *mo*, glossed as ‘as for’.

Left-detachment is appropriate when a previously introduced participant first begins to function in the discourse, as in 45), or when the narrative reverts back to a previous participant, as in 46). Such a participant may begin to operate as the discourse topic, taking the most identifiable form (pronominal argument). In 45) the background has been set, introducing the family members. The left-detachment sets the mother as the discourse topic and makes her the referent of the pronouns. The story then goes on to detail her misadventures.

45) *Din nay ay esa=y ina, man-gapo di beteng=na,*

RMd DEM1V LK one=LK mother ACT-reason RMi drunk=3sII

*lay~layd-e(n)=na ay en maki-sida.*

CVC-enjoy-UND=3sII LK go ASSOC-feast

‘Now this particular mother, because of her drunkenness, she loved to go to feasts.’

Prior to the sentence in 46), the story has been about a child working in the field; it now switches back to the mother at home. Once the left-detached phrase has made the mother the discourse topic, she becomes the Actor and referent of the pronouns.

46) *Mo din si nanang=na, kambaw iyat=na en*

as.for RMd PRM mother=3sII PART say=3sII QT

*man-sakit din toktok=na ngem...*

ACT-pain RMd head=3sII but

‘(Meanwhile) as for her mother, well, she said her head ached but....’

A second purpose for left-detachment is to differentiate one entity from others in a set, as contrasting information is given about each. For example, in 47) the discourse is about funding for a project, and this particular referent stands in isolation from the others who were participants in previous clauses. Example 48) was uttered in the context of assigning duties to various members of a set.

- 47) *ngem din odom ay nan-kari en t<om>olong yan*  
 but RMd other LK ACT.P-promise QT ACT-help PART  
*iwed di sobalit = da.*  
 NEGEXIS RMi repay = 3pII

‘but the others who had promised to help, there wasn’t any payment from them.’

- 48) *et mo si sik?a pay, en = ka man-oto.*  
 and as-for PRM 2sIII PART go = 2sI ACT-cook  
 ‘...and as for you, you go cook.’

Example 49) further shows the individuation function of detached phrases from a longer section of a text of wedding advice. The detached phrases (in brackets in this example) are not necessarily the explicit topic of their clauses but serve as subtopics of the larger category introduced in the first clause.

- 49) *Man-lako = kayo abe si sin-asawa ay manok.*  
 ACT-buy = 2pI PART ORMi UNIT-spouse LK chicken  
*[Di silbi = n di manok,] mo wa = y balang-en di anak*  
 RMi purpose BRMi chicken if EXIS = RMi drop-UND BRMichild  
*si makan ya wa = y mang-omong.*  
 ORMi food PART EXIS = RMi ANTI-peck  
*[Din kawwitan,] man-tan?o Ø sin g<om>abis-a(n) = na.*  
 RMd rooster ACT-crow 4I ORMd NOM-dawn < = 4II

‘Also buy a pair of chickens. The purpose of chickens, if there is food that a child drops, there is something to peck it up. The rooster, it will crow at (its) dawn.’

### 7.3.2 Detached RPs with equative clauses

The first RP in an equative clause can be detached to activate or contrast it with other entities in the broader context. The resumptive pronoun must be a free-standing pronoun III in the clause nucleus, as in 50). The speaker has been reporting on her various children, so the detachment serves to set the referent in contrast. The equative

clause can only be interpreted as expressing completive, identificational focus. If the referent had contrastive focus, it could not simultaneously take discourse-level contrast by detachment.

- 50) *Mo si Delia yan sisya di presidente =n din pupils*  
 as.for PRM Delia PART 3sIII RMi president =BRMd pupils  
*government = da.*  
 government = 3pII  
 ‘As for Delia, the president of their student government is she.’

Prior to the sentence in 51), the narrator has been describing five wartime aircraft, three of which dropped supplies for ground forces. In 50) he contrasts the function or identity of the two remaining aircraft.

- 51) *Mo din dowa pay, daida di guardia.*  
 as.for RM two yet 3pIII RM guard  
 ‘As for the other two, the guards were they.’

The second RP in an equative clause, the RP in the argument position, can be left-detached to activate a participant role, which the nuclear RP then identifies, as in 52). The resumptive pronoun is the null ( $\emptyset$ ) 4I, leaving the clause looking like two RPs separated by a pause. The intonational pause and the indefinite RM on the first RP are the clues that it is a left-detached narrow-focus structure.

- 52) *Di nabay?an, din esa ay anak ya din si ina =na  $\emptyset$ .*  
 RMi left.behind RMd one LK child and RMd PRM mother = 3sII 4I  
 ‘The (ones who) were left, (they were) the one child and its mother.’ (after death of the man)

When the argument (second) RP of an equative clause has an affixed-root nucleus, any entity in that non-focal RP can be left-detached as a contrastive topic, and a resumptive pronoun will indicate its role. As described above, this detachment indicates contrast within the larger context. Example 53) shows the ergative argument (bracketed) of the affixed nucleus detached to contrast with others in a list.

- 53) *Mo si Nard, owat pay din man-sin~sinit di am~amag-e(n)[=na].*  
 as.for PRM Nard only PART RMd ACT-CVC-offend RMi UND-CVC-do = 3sII  
 ‘As for Nard (a toddler), what he’s doing is just bothersome things.’

Recursive preposing is possible, as in Figure 7.5, where contextual participants are activated, and then their funerals (topical in the context of mentioning their simultaneous deaths) detached as topics in an equative clause.

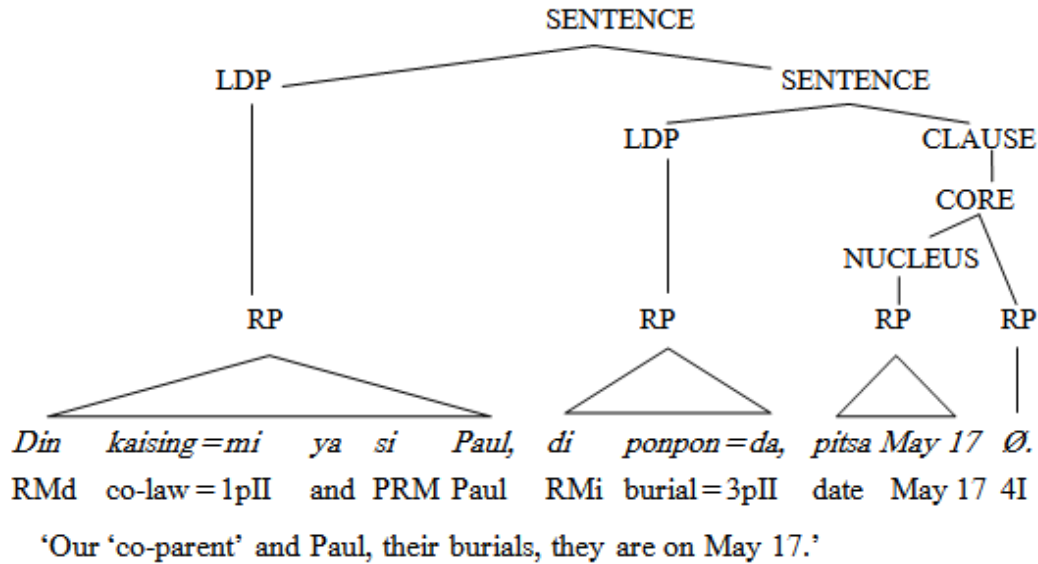


Figure 7.5. Recursive left-dislocation

This chapter has explored the ways in which Kankanaey speakers control information flow to their hearers, introducing new information and acknowledging shared information. The display below traces the interaction of information structure and Kankanaey syntax through the various possible forms of one clause. The examples in the display illustrate the variety of options available to Kankanaey speakers for successful communication.

## Comparative configurations of one clause with bracketed constituent positions

Clause focus:

- 54)  $[Wada]_{\text{PRED}} [=y \quad \text{dalit} \quad \text{ay} \quad \text{nang-(g)amdot} \quad \text{sin} \quad \text{book} \quad \text{Poltag}]_{\text{ARG}}$   
 EXIS =RMi eel LK ANTI-grasp ORMd hair Poltag  
 ‘There was an eel that grasped Poltag’s hair.’

Predicate focus:

- 55)  $[G<in>amdot]_{\text{PRED}} [=na]_{\text{ARG}} [din \quad \text{book}]_{\text{ARG}}$   
 grasp-UND.P = 3sII RMd hair  
 ‘He grasped the hair.’

Predicate focus with topical argument :

- 56)  $[Din \quad \text{book}_i \quad \text{yan}]_{\text{LDP}} [g<in>amdot]_{\text{PRED}} [=na]_{\text{ARG}} [\emptyset]_{\text{ARG}}$   
 RMd hair/eel PART grasp-UND.P = 3sII 4III  
 ‘The hair<sub>i</sub>, he grasped it<sub>i</sub>.’

- 57)  $[Din \quad \text{dalit}_i \quad \text{yan}]_{\text{LDP}} [g<in>amdot]_{\text{PRED}} [=na]_{\text{ARG}} [\emptyset]_{\text{ARG}}$   
 RMd eel PART grasp-UND.P = 3sII 4III  
 ‘The eel<sub>i</sub>, he<sub>i</sub> grasped it.’

Predicate focus with topical possessor:

- 58)  $[Si \quad \text{Poltag}_i \text{ pay,}]_{\text{LDP}} [g<in>amdot]_{\text{PRED}} [din \quad \text{dalit}]_{\text{ARG}} [din \quad \text{book} = \text{na}_i]_{\text{ARG}}$   
 PRM Poltag PART grasp-UND.P RMd eel RMd hair = 3sII  
 ‘As for Poltag<sub>i</sub>, the eel grasped his<sub>i</sub> hair.’

Completive narrow-focus:

- 59)  $[Din \quad \text{book}]_{\text{PRED}} [di \quad g<in>amdot = na]_{\text{ARG}}$   
 RMd hair RMi grasp-UND.P = 3sII  
 ‘The hair was what he grasped.’ (e.g. answers ‘What did he grasp?’)

Contrastive narrow-focus:

- 60)  $[Din \quad \text{book}]_{\text{PRED}} [din \quad g<in>amdot = na]_{\text{ARG}}$   
 RMd hair RMd grasp-UND.P = 3sII  
 ‘What he grasped was the hair.’ (e.g. corrects ‘He grasped the shirt’)

Completive narrow-focus with topicalized argument RP:

- 61)  $[Di \ g <in> amdot = na, ]_{LDP} [din \ book]_{PRED} [\emptyset]_{ARG}$   
 RMi grasp-UND.P = 3sII      RMd hair      4I

‘What he grasped, it was the hair.’

Left-detached predicate RP in completive narrow-focus clause:

- 62)  $[Din \ book, ]_{LDP} [sa]_{PRED} [=y \ g <in> amdot = na]_{ARG}$   
 RMd hair      DEM2I      RMi grasp-UND.P = 3sII

‘The hair, that was what he grasped.’

Completive narrow-focus clause with co-referential RP in post-core slot:

- 63)  $[Sa]_{PRED} [=y \ g <in> amdot = na]_{ARG} [din \ book]_{POST-CORE}$   
 DEM2I      RMi grasp-UND.P = 3sII      RMd hair

‘That was what he grasped (,) the hair.’