

Contents

Chapter 5	Complex Clauses and Sentences.....	166
	Introduction.....	166
5.1	Clausal juncture in the sentence.....	166
5.2	Detached positions.....	168
5.2.1	Left-detached position.....	169
5.2.2	Right-detached position	175
5.3	Clause peripheries.....	176
5.3.1	Clauses that modify in the right clause periphery.....	176
5.3.2	Clarifying restatement clauses	179
5.4	Complex clauses	180
5.4.1	Non-subordinate core junctures.....	180
5.4.2	Core subordination.....	184
5.4.3	Quotation complement subordination.....	185
5.4.4	Other clausal complements	187
5.5	The sentence complex	191
5.5.1	Reasoning sequences.....	191
5.5.2	Action sequences.....	193
5.6	Relative clauses	196

Chapter 5 Complex Clauses and Sentences

Introduction

Sentences in Kankanaey have at least one clause which forms the central component of the sentence. A sentence may have detached positions, both pre- and post-central, that require a particle or intonational pause to mark them as detached. Peripheral positions modifying the central clause are located on both left and right, but there are no sentence-level peripheries. The constituent projection showing the basic structure of the sentence is given in Figure 5.1.

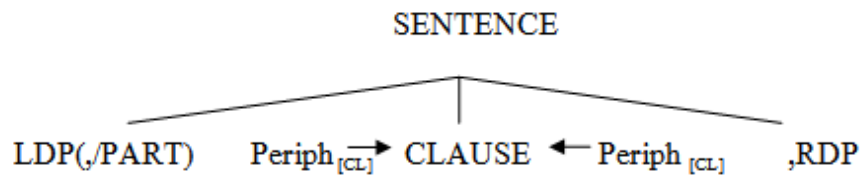


Figure 5.1. Kankanaey sentence display

Basic clause structure with its constituents and layered representation was introduced in Chapter 4. The current chapter explores how Kankanaey syntax handles complexity at various levels. Coordinate clauses can occur together in the central position of a sentence. The detached positions may hold words, phrases and clauses while the clause-level peripheries hold modifying clauses. Complexity may be found within a single clause, or in a sentence complex. Relative clauses are the final topic of this chapter. Since the influence of discourse pragmatics is greater at the sentence level than on the clause level, many of the following constructions can only be explained in terms of the pragmatic and semantic relationships between the constituents.

5.1 Clausal juncture in the sentence

A sentence may contain coordinate clauses, as indicated by the clause linkage marker (CLM) (underlined in examples 1) to 9)). Examples 1) to 3) show clausal conjunctions that bear a relation of simple temporal succession. Note that the coreferential pronouns are not deleted across these coordinate clause boundaries.

- 1) *D<om>ateng = da ya mang-(k)an = da.*
 ACT = arrive = 3pI and ACT = eat = 3pI

‘They arrived and they ate.’ (past time supplied by previous sentences)

2) *Mai-diplat = ak pag mai-beng din danom.*

UNDts-slip.fall = 1sI then UNDts -spill.out RMd water

‘I slipped and fell and then all the water spilled out.’

3) *Okis-an = da Ø asi = da i-polkaw Ø sin gambang.*

peel-UNDI = 3pII 4III and.then = 3pII UNDt-boil 4III ORMd large.pot

‘They peel them and then they boil them in the big pot.’

Another type of coordination expresses non-dependent logical succession, as in 4).

4) *Adi maka-osok din posa, isonga <in> ayag-a(n) = na*

NEG ACT.ABIL-squeeze.through RMd cat therefore UNDI.P-call < = 3sII

din otot.

RMd rat

‘The cat couldn’t squeeze through, so therefore he called the rat.’

Other semantic relations in coordinate clauses include opposition ‘but’ and choice ‘or’. Each clause is complete and independent, as can be seen in 5), where the first clause is declarative and the second interrogative.

5) *Nay laton = ak pay ngem into = y mangi-saa ngin*

DEMIV OK = 1sI PART but where = RMi NOM.Th-go.home PART

sin dait = ko ay nay mansakit?

ORMd friend = 1sII LK DEMIV sick

‘I’m just fine but who (lit. where is one who) will take these sick friends of mine home?’

Three clausal temporal conjunctions— *pag*, *asi*, and *dowan*--displace clitic pronouns, as seen in 6) and 7). These three also function as temporal timing adverbs (covered in Chapter 4) following other conjunctions, as in 8).

6) *G<om>ine~ginek din anak dowan = da = n mang-(k)an.*

CHANGE.INTS-quiet RMd child while = 3pI = DISP ACT-eat

‘The child became very still as they ate.’

7) *Asi = da keb-en Ø pag = da = n libot-an Ø*

then = 3pII wet-UND 4III then = 3pII = DISP wrap-UNDI 4III

sin tobo = n di balat.

ORMd leaf = BRMi banana

‘Then they moisten it and then they wrap it up in banana leaves.’

- 8) *Man-a~abat=tako si tapi=n di agew, ta dowan=tako=n*
 ACT-CV-meet = 1 + 2pI ORMi add = BRMi day so.that while = 1 + 2pI = DISP
man-a si dait=tako.
 ACT-get ORMi companion = 1 + 2pII
 ‘We’ll meet together another day, so that meanwhile we (can) get our other companions.’
 (guerilla fighters splitting up to go recruit others)

Coordinate clauses may also form a larger unit that is not necessarily in the sentence-central position. This is illustrated in 9), where two clauses share the left-detached position indicated by *mo* ‘if’.

- 9) *Mo s<om>aa=ak ya istolya-e(n)=k di iso =n di*
 if/when ACTm-go.home = 1sI and story-UND = 1sII RMi same = BRMi
ed Manila et ma-ap~apos-an=da.
 LOC Manila PART UNDIls-CVC-envy = 3pI
 ‘If/when I go home and tell what it’s like in Manila, they will be so jealous!’

5.2 Detached positions

Constituents in the “left-detached position” (LDP) are marked in one of two ways: by an intonational pause, as in 10), or by a small group of particles¹⁷, including *yan* or *et* as in 11). Some of these particles are homophonous with coordinate clause linkage markers, but are distinguishable from them by their context and by their interchangeability with a pause or written comma. The “right-detached” position (RDP) is set off by an intonational pause, as in 12), which differentiates it from phrases in the post-core slot, as well as from peripheral phrases and clauses.

- 10) *Ed nabaon kano, wada=y esa ay babai.*
 LOC long.ago HSY EXIS = RMi one LK woman
 ‘Long ago, they say, there was a woman.’
- 11) *Mo si Delia yan sisya di presidente =n din pupils government=da.*
 as.for PRM Delia PART 3sIII RMi president = BRMd pupils government = 3pII
 ‘As for Delia, the president of their student government is she.’
- 12) *Medyo maligligatan=ak, kalkalo ed nowani.*
 somewhat have.difficulty = 1sI especially LOC now
 ‘I’m having a rather hard time, especially right now.’

¹⁷ Dooley and Levinsohn (2001:36) note that substituting a particle for a pause is common cross-linguistically.

5.2.1 *Left-detached position*

The LDP may have a single word, a full reference phrase, or a subordinate clause. The pragmatic function of the LDP is to orient the hearer in some way to the central clause that follows, whether time/space orientation, participant orientation, or logical orientation.

5.2.1.1 Time-Space orientation in the LDP

A reference phrase (RP) may precede the central clause, giving the time or place orientation for either that particular clause or perhaps for an entire text. In 13), a simple demonstrative sets the place in contrast to other places. In 14) and 15), a time phrase gives the setting.

- 13) *Isna et iwed di am?amo=k si ibadang=ko*
 DEMIIV PART NEGEXIS RMI know=1sII ORMi help=1sII
tan pag electric.
 because all electric

‘Here, I don’t know any (lit. there is nothing that I know) way to help because everything is electric.’

- 14) *Si bigat ay agew di ponpon, adi=da <inm>ali.*
 ORMi next.day LK day BRMi burial NEG=3pI ACTm.P-come

‘The next day, the day of the burial, they didn’t come.’

- 15) *Mo mamingsan pay, ilokano=y pan-kal~kali=k.*
 if/when one.time PART Ilocano=RMI NOM-CVC-talk=1sII

‘Sometimes, however, what I use for talking is Ilocano.’

Subordinate clauses expressing prior events as time orientation are often found in the LDP as well, as illustrated in 16) to 18). An orienting event may be nominalized for time/place, as in 19). Note that the RP nucleus can only take an ergative/possessive argument, even though it has predicating affixation as well as the nominalizing affixes.

- 16) *Idi okmon-en=(n)a Ø yan man-nalisnis Ø.*
 when swallow-UND=3sII 4III PART ATT-delicious 4I

‘When he swallowed it, it was delicious.’

- 17) *Idi naka-balkot=ak, naek=ak.*
 when ACT.ABIL-pack.up=1sI slept=1sI

‘When I had managed to pack up, I slept.’

18) *Domateng = da pay, kana-en din Major...*
 arrive = 3pI PART say-UND BRMd Major

‘When they arrived, the Major said...’

19) *Sin daan = mi = n <inm> ey-an ed Bambag yan*
 ORMd not.yet = 1pII = DISP NOM.P-go < LOC Bambag PART
man-sak~sakit si Manny.
 ACT-CVC-sick PRM Manny

‘(At) our not yet having gone to Bambag, Manny was (already) being sick.’

The detachment of these time expressions that set the stage for the clause contrasts with restrictive time phrases found in the clause core periphery, as seen in Chapter 4.

5.2.1.2 Participant orientation in the LDP

A phrase in the LDP identifying a particular participant may serve to alert the listener to a change or contrast in topic participants. Topic activation and topic contrast with simple clauses is described in the next two sections. (Topicalizing with equative clauses will be addressed in Chapter 7.) The placement of vocatives in dialogue clauses is covered in §5.2.1.2.3.

5.2.1.2.1 Topic activation with a simple clause

When a speaker wants to activate an entity from the context of a discourse s/he may mention it first in the LDP before making a comment about it. The purposes served by this preposing include changing the topic to another participant, as in 20) and 21), identifying one member of a group to be singled out for comment, as in 22), and giving explanations about an entity as part of the setting, as in 23). When preposed, this RP takes absolutive case marking, and a resumptive pronoun (underlined in examples 20) to 23)) indicates its syntactic function in the clause. The 3s/4 absolutive pronoun in Kankanaey is a null form, but since the predicate cross-references the absolutive argument, there is no ambiguity when the resumptive pronoun has a null form.

20) *Mo din si nanang = na, kambaw iyat = na en man-sakit*
 as.for RMd PRM mother = 3sII PART say = 3sII QT ACT-hurt
din toktok = na ngem...
 RMd head = 3sII but

‘(Meanwhile) as for her mother, well, she said she had a headache but...’

21) *Mo din istolya ay in-solat = ko, indawat = ko Ø en Jaime.*
 as.for RMd story LK UNDt.P-write = 1sII gave = 1sII 4III OPRM Jaime

‘As for the story I wrote, I gave it to Jaime.’

22) *Si Dolika, ab~aba-en = (n)a si Salmatin.*

PRM Dolika CVC-carry.baby = 3sII PRM Salmatin

‘Dolika, she was carrying baby Salmatin.’

23) *Din <ini> s?ek = da, danggian di ngadan = na.*

RMd UNDt.P-plant = 3pII danggian RMI name = 3sII

‘What they planted, its name is *danggian*.’

5.2.1.2.2 Topic contrast

When the purpose of topic activation is to indicate a contrast with other participants, *mo* ‘as for’ often precedes the RP as seen in some examples above and in 24) to 26).

24) *Mo din bi~biteg pay, iwed di begas = da.*

as.for RMd pl-poor PART NEGEXIS RMI rice = 3pII

‘As for the poor people, they didn’t have rice.’

25) *Mo din lagba, owat nai-sa~saig Ø.*

as.for RMd basket just UNDts-CV-stack 4I

‘As for the basket, it was just stacked (with yams).’

26) *Mo din pan-sawid = na koma yan <ini> wak = da = et Ø.*

as.for RMd NOM.use-ritual = 3sII IRR PART UNDt.P-drop = 3pII = PART 4III

‘As for what they would have used for her ritual, they just dropped it (i.e. didn’t use it).’

5.2.1.2.3 Vocatives

Naming an addressee is generally accomplished with the multifunctional *ay*, which in this context is understood as marking the name as a vocative. When the vocative precedes the clause in a dialogue, it is in the LDP. An intonational pause is only used when the vocative precedes the clause, as seen in example 27).

27) *Ay nanang, ay osto na?... Ay osto adi na ay nanang?*

VOC mom Q right DEMII Q right PART DEMII VOC mom

‘Mom, is this right?...Is this really right Mom?’

5.2.1.3 Logical orientation in the LDP

Short comments can provide an orientation to the clause that follows them. Phrases and subordinate clauses that give a logical orientation, such as a condition or a reason, also appear before the pause or linking particle of the LDP. Lead-up events, such as perception or entering, which set the stage for the event in the main clause, may also be found in the LDP of a sentence.

5.2.1.3.1 Summarizing phrases

Certain single-word phrases or interjections, often augmented with semantic particles, summarize or comment on a situation from the speaker's point of view, as in 28) and 29).

28) *Olay a, into = y iyat = tako?*
Never.mind PART where = Rmi way = 1 + 2pII
'Well, never mind; what can we do?'

29) *Esa pay, maga abe din iskowila ay ka-tolong.*
one PART NEGEXIS also Rmd student LK NOM-help
'For another thing, the student helper isn't here either.'

Exclamations also serve as speaker comment, as in 30), where the narrator has just been informed of her friend's suicide plan.

30) *Wey, soy (sino = y) gapo = na pay?*
EXCL what = Rmi reason = 3sII PART
'Oh my! What's going on?'

The formulaic summary *idi siya di*¹⁸ sums up a previous section of the discourse as the circumstances providing the context for the next paragraph or episode in a text, as in 31).

31) *Idi siya = et di yan nan-a = et din nakay*
when thus = PART DEM3I PART ACT-get = PART Rmd old.man
si ando ay kaiw...
ORMi long LK wood

'That being so (finding the animals gone, not having done the work) the old man grabbed a long stick....'

¹⁸ see Chapter 3 for more about the pro-form *siya*.

5.2.1.3.2 Reasons

The reason for something usually follows the main proposition in the right core periphery (see §5.3.1), but with the phrase *gapo ta* ‘since’, a reason (often a previously-mentioned situation) can occur in a left-detached phrase, as in 32). Simple oblique RPs from the core periphery may also be preposed, as in 33), where it modifies the core ‘I didn’t tell’.

- 32) *Gapo.ta iwed pilak=ko, wada=y <in>otang=ko ay at?atik.*
 since NEGEXIS money=1sII EXIS=RMi UNDI.P-borrow=1sII LK few
 ‘Because I didn’t have any money, I incurred a little debt (lit. there was what I borrowed that was little.)’

- 33) *Si bain=ko, ad=ak in-baga ay man-sakit tili=k.*
 ORMi shame=1sII NEG=1sI UNDI.P-tell LK ACT-hurt butt=1sII
 ‘From embarrassment, I didn’t tell that my tailbone was sore.’

5.2.1.3.3 Conditionals

The subordinating word *mo* may be translated ‘if’, as in 34), or ‘when’, concepts that are very close semantically, as seen in 9) above and also illustrated in 35). Either way, the clause in the LDP sets the hypothetical, irrealis orientation for understanding the matrix clause. Again, the comma is interchangeable with particles, as seen in 36), where the particle *et* separates the dependent clause from the central clause. Example 37) shows that the range of meaning of the conditional *mo* is actually broad enough to allow it to cover both participant preposing and hypothetical condition in a coordinate structure.

- 34) *Mo sa=y agawa-an=tako di adi=tako=n ka-taktak-an*
 if DEM2I=RMi value-UNDI=1+2PII RMi NEG=1+2pII NOM.delay<
ya ma-gasto-an, i-saa=yo si Narding.
 and UNDI.s-expense-NOM UNDI-t.go.home=2pII PRM Narding
 ‘If what we value is our not being inconvenienced or having expenses, (then) take Narding home (from the hospital.)’
- 35) *Mo kedng-e(n)=m di B.S. degree=m,*
 if/when finish-UND=2sII RMi B.S.degree=2sII
into=y obla-e(n)=m ngin?
 where=RMi work-UND=2sII maybe
 ‘If/when you finish your bachelor’s degree, where might you work?’

- 36) *Mo ma-olas = ka abe et s <om> a = ka, a.*
 when UNDs-time = 2sI PART PART ACTm-go.home = 2sI PART
 ‘Also when you are dismissed (from school), go home, eh?’ (*olas* indicates ‘dismissal-time’)
- 37) *Mo sik?a ay lalaki ya en = ka maki-lagbo,*
 as.for/if 2sII LK male and go = 2sI ASSOC-wage
tayna(n) = m si asawa = m.
 leave-UNDI-2sII PRM spouse = 2sII
 ‘As for you, man, if you go take a paying job, leave your wife (at home).’

5.2.1.3.4 Lead-in events

Other types of clauses found in the LDP are events that are not mainline, but which give the necessary context for the thematic clause in the sentence. In 38), for example, the teacher had gotten chilled while finishing up her work at the school. The example sentence shows the shift from that scene to the next scene encoded as dependent clauses in the LDP, as reflected in the free translation.

- 38) *S <om> aa = ak sin kotid = mi et s <om> gep = ak,*
 ACTm-go.home = 1sI ORMd cottage = 1pII and ACTm-enter = 1sI
na-li~likod da din gait = ko sin dap?o.
 UNDs.P-CV-gather pl RMd companions = 1sII ORMd fireplace
 ‘Going home to the teachers’ cottage and entering, (I found) my companions were gathered around the fireplace.’

Perception verbs may be placed in the LDP as lead-in to the content of the perception, which is the central interesting information, as in 39), from a story about riding in an airplane. The particle *pay* ‘furthermore’ often occurs with clauses in the LDP.

- 39) *Pag man-kilat di os~osdong-ak. Tangad-ek pay*
 all ATT-white RMI look.down-UNDI.1sII look.up-UND.1sII PART
ed kayang yan man-ngisangis.
 LOC above PART sprinkle
 ‘Everything was white that I was looking down at. Looking up then, (I saw that) it was sprinkling.’

Arrival verbs are often required after movement verbs, and they are often placed in the LDP as background information, as in 40).

40) *D <om> ateng = ak pay, kanan = da en man-taoli = ak ed Trinidad.*

ACTm-arrive = 1sI PART say = 3pII QT ACT-return = 1sI LOC Trinidad

‘When I arrived, they told me to return to Trinidad.’

5.2.1.4 Ordering among constituents in the LDP

When more than one phrase or clause is placed in the LDP, the pragmatic scope of the orientation affects their order. Spatial orientation in 41) sets the stage for the logical orientation. Participant activation precedes the conditional clause in 37) above, but follows the formulaic summary *idi siya di* that signals the beginning of a new paragraph in 42).

41) *Tan mo ed Filipinas pay et mo wa = y ey-an et*

Because as.for LOC Phils. PART PART if/when EXIS = RMi NOM.go PART

lagdeng = na din siki ay man-dan.

totally = 3sII RMd leg LK walk

‘Because (as for) in the Philippines, if there is somewhere to go, (one) has no other option than to go by foot (lit. perforce the foot that walks).’

42) *Idi siya di, kambaw si Doligen, man-ot~oto sin beey = da.*

when thus DEM3I PART PRM Doligen ACT.CVCcooking ORMd house = 3pII

‘That being so, (it turns out that) Doligen, he was cooking at their house.’

5.2.2 Right-detached position

Unlike the LDP, few sentence components can be found in a right-detached position. Tag questions and clarifying RPs are in the RDP, which is defined by its intonation break and the pragmatic function of either hearer-confirmation or explanation and clarification.

5.2.2.1 Tag questions

Tag questions request confirmation and follow an intonational pause, as in 43).

43) *Na-ragsak pay.laeng, siya met?*

ATT-happy still so PART

‘Still happy, is that so?’

5.2.2.2 Clarifying RPs

Contrastive and clarifying constituents, as in 44) and 45), also follow an intonation break after the main clause. Constituents that are after-thoughts fit into this pattern as well.

44) *Sisya =y nam-(p)arsua ya nang-ay~ayowan en datako,*
 3sIII = RMi ANTI.P-create and ANTI.P-CVC. take.care OPRM 1 + 2pIII
baken din ap~apo = tako.
 NEG RMd pl-ancestor = 1 + 2pII

‘He is the one who created and has been taking care of us, not our ancestors.’

45) *Mo si Ana, in-toloy = na ay man-iskowila,*
 as.for PRM Ana UNDi-continue = 3sII LK ACT-student
daida en Ben ay sin-iyogtan.
 3sIII OPRM Ben LK unit-sibling

‘As for Ana, she continued to go to school, she and her brother Bennie.’

5.3 Clause peripheries

Like many verb-initial languages, the Kankanaey clause has both left and right peripheries, but uses the right periphery almost exclusively. Only deictics and epistemic adverbs have been observed modifying a clause in its left periphery. The right clause periphery may hold modifying clauses or clarifying restatements.

5.3.1 *Clauses that modify in the right clause periphery*

Modifying clauses that follow the clause are not right-detached, but in the right clause periphery. There is no intonational pause necessary at the margin of the periphery, although with longer constituents the breath-grouping tends to fall before the right peripheral element.

Among many others, Larson (1998:297-378) provides a thorough explanation of communication relations, as does Longacre (1996:51-97). This study does not attempt to give a detailed analysis of interclausal semantic relations, but rather points to the positions and marking that provide the syntactic framework for such an analysis. One of the difficulties in describing the complexity within Kankanaey sentences is that while there are many semantically distinguishable clause-linkage markers, many interclausal and intraclausal linkages are signalled by the ubiquitous neutral linker *ay*, for example, relative clauses, clausal complements, clarifying clauses, and linked cores in control constructions. It is left to the speaker and hearer to decipher, from the semantics of the predicates involved and the constituents of the construction, the correct interpretation of the relationship expressed by the linker *ay*.

Ad-clausal subordinate clauses are found in the right periphery, modify the whole clause, and are preceded by CLMs that express purpose, reason, and exclusive condition, as in 46) to 49). The CLMs are underlined in these examples.

46) *En=kayo ambos-en din Japs ta taoli-en=yo din papilis.*
 go=2pI ambush-UND RMd J so.that return-UND=2pII RMd papers
 ‘Go ambush the Japanese (military) so that you bring back the papers.’

47) *I-pa-chekap=yo agan?o Ø sin shop*
 UNDi-CAUS-checkup =2pII first 4III ORMd shop
 ta.say ma-pnek di bayer=yo.
 so.that UNDs-satisfied RMi buyer=2pII
 ‘Have it checked out first at the shop so that your buyer will be satisfied.’

48) *Anggay ay s<om>kaw tan man-dibidib.*
 already LK CHANGE-cold because ACT-wind.blow
 ‘It was really getting cold because the wind was blowing.’

49) *<Om>ali=kami sin June 23 mo ma-kdeng din kasal.*
 ACTm-come=1pI ORMd June 23 if UNDs-finish RMd wedding
 ‘We will come on June 23 provided the wedding is finished.’

Embedded subordinate purpose and reason clauses may have their own topicalized phrases or conditional clauses in a pre-core position, sometimes with an intonational or particle-marked pause, as in 50). In an independent clause, these constituents would be placed in the left-detached position as sister to the main clause. Bickel (1993, cited in Van Valin 2005:193) found that in German a conditional clause may be fronted into the pre-core slot, and in Kankanaey the same position is open for phrases and clauses that modify a dependent clause. These elements are placed inside the clause as sister to the core in the only pre-core slot construction evidenced in Kankanaey. Figure 5.2 shows the constituent projection of a sentence that includes the pre-core slot.

50) *I-lipet=mi Ø tan mo dakami, egyat-an=mi san paltog.*
 UNDt-report=1pII 4III because as.for 1 + 2III fear-UND1=1 + 2II DRM2 gun
 ‘We’ll report them because as for us, we’re afraid of those guns.’

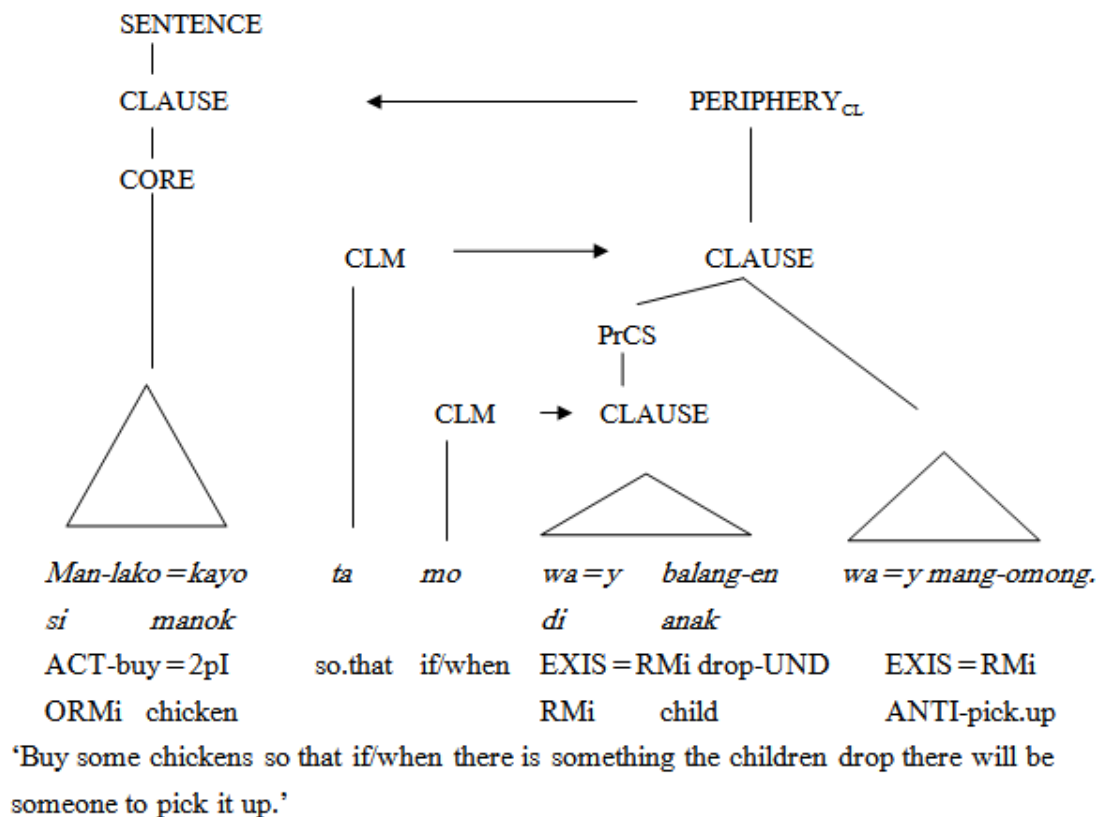


Figure 5.2. Pre-core slot in a subordinate clause

Modifying clauses can precede the main clause in the LDP or follow the main clause in its periphery, depending on the clause linkage markers that are used. Table 5.1 shows the possible positions of clauses that express logical causative relationships in Kankanaey sentences, and the clause linkage markers that express them. This group of clause-linkage markers expresses the relationship of instigation and outcome (a little broader than cause and effect). The main clause presents one side of the relationship as the more salient situation, while the subordinate clause expresses the other side, either the instigating basis or the resultant event or state. The CLMs differentiate between hypothetical or future situations and actual situations.

Table 5.1. Reasons and results
(LDP = left-detached position, R-P_{CL} = Right clause periphery)

	instigation	outcome	instigation	English approximation
irrealis	<i>mo...</i> LDP	main clause		‘If X, then Y’
	main clause	<i>ta...</i> R- P _{CL}		‘X, so that Y’
realis	<i>gapo.ta...</i> LDP	main clause		‘Since X, Y’
		main clause	<i>tan...</i> R- P _{CL}	‘X, because Y’

5.3.2 Clarifying restatement clauses

Clauses understood to be clarifying restatements or identifying clauses are not in the core, but are linked from the right clause periphery with the linker *ay* (here a CLM). The clauses may be complete, as seen in 51), where there is no coreferential argument between the two clauses.

51) *Dooy adi ma-kaan din sakit=na*
DEM3V NEG UNDS-remove RMd sick=3sII
ay anggay mat~matey=et Ø!
LK already CVC-UNDS-die=PART 3sI

‘There, his sickness isn’t being taken away, (he’s) already dying!’

In example 52) the *ay*-linked clause (in brackets) modifies the nominalized clause *sin inmaliak* ‘when I came’. The main clause is *baken kaman...* ‘(It) isn’t like...’; the *ay*-linked clause adds clarifying information and is in the right periphery of the nominalized clause.

52) *Baken kaman sin <inm>ali-a(n)=k [ay man-liboo yan kana=k en snow].*
NEG like ORMd NOM.P-come<.1sII LK ACT-cloudand say=1sII QT snow
‘(It’s) not like when I arrived, when there were clouds and I thought it was snow.’

In 53) the coreferential pronoun is omitted in the second clause, but not as core-level argument sharing, since a control/pivot relationship is not evidenced in these amplification clauses. The example in 54) is ambiguous, with one repeated pronoun and the absolutive either the null pronoun, or deleted. The position of these clarifying clauses within the matrix clause periphery allows (but does not require) coreferential pronoun deletion, a closer relationship to the matrix clause than coordinate clauses which virtually never share coreferential pronouns across the clause boundary (as noted in §5.1).

53) *Ka.e~ey=ak abe=d Baguio ay adi nan-pak~pakada.*

IMM-CV-go = 1sI also = LOC Baguio LK NEG ACT.P-CVC-say.farewell/permission

‘I would also just go off to Baguio without letting anyone know.’

54) *Et k <in> olang-an = da = et din soldado = n Lt. Polit*

and UNDI-lack < = 3pII = PART RMd soldier = BRM Lt. Polit

ay p <in> altog-an = da.

LK UNDI.gun < = 3pII

‘And they reduced the number of Lieutenant Polit’s soldiers, shooting them.’

5.4 Complex clauses

Within a clause, regardless of its position in the sentence, there may be two or more cores joined within the clause. The core juncture may be coordinate or subordinate. No evidence has been found for cosubordinate relations between clauses or clause cores. §5.4.1 covers ‘control’ constructions with coordinate cores. Subordinate core junctures may be found where clauses are joined from the right core periphery with prepositional phrases, or when a matrix predicate takes a core as its complement. All core junctures are linked with *ay*.

5.4.1 Non-subordinate core junctures

In non-subordinate core junctures, the first core carries any perfective aspect marking as well as the illocutionary force while the second core has certain restrictions on affixation and argument omission. Single-argument control, Actor-control and Undergoer-control constructions are detailed in this section.

5.4.1.1 Single-argument control construction

In these constructions the first core has a single argument, often the EXPERIENCER of an inner state. The second core may also be intransitive, as in 55), in which case the omitted pivot will be the single argument of that predicate. If the second core is transitive and the actor is the coreferential argument, there are two possible affixations. The linked core may have an Undergoer-voice predicate with the actor argument omitted, seen in 56). The second affixation possible for the linked core indexes transitive actors. This is the prefix *maN-* (*naN-* with perfective) as a “structural antipassive” (Cooreman 1994). This prefix creates a form, seen in 57), that can not function predicatively by itself. The undergoer of a transitive predicate can only be the coreferential omitted argument if it is given detransitivizing passive morphology, as in 58).

55) *I-bado = m na ta adi = ka mab~ma-bain*
 UNDt-clothes = 2sII DEMII so.that NEG = 2sI CVC-ATT-shame
ay d<om>ateng sin iskowilaan. $S_U = S_A$
 LK ACTm-arrive ORMd school

‘Wear this so you won’t feel embarrassed to arrive at the school.’

56) *Sa.pay.koma.ta na-ragsak = kayo ay datng-an nan solat = ko.* $S_U = A_T$
 hopefully UNDs.P-happy = 2pI LK arrive-UNDI DRM letter = 1sII

‘Hopefully you are happy to receive/come upon (this) my letter.’

57) *Ma-bain = ak ay manodsod (maN-sodsod).* $S_U = S_{ANTI}$
 UNDs-shame = 1sI LK ANTI-tell.negative

‘I’m embarrassed to give the bad news.’

58) *Mai-tapi = s sisya ay mai-tayaw.* $S_U = S_U$
 UNDTs-add = PRM 3sIII LK UNDTs-fly

‘He was included in being flown away.’

Verbs of motion can form core junctures with other verbs, as with the “come to get” construction in 59), which has a preceding modal operator.

59) *Ay mabalin ay <om>ali = kayo ay mang-a en sak?en sina?* $S_A = A_{ANTI}$
 Q possible LK ACTm-come = 2pI LK ANTI-get OPRM 1sIII DEMIIV

‘Would it be possible for you guys to come get me here?’

5.4.1.2 Actor-control constructions

In Actor-control constructions the first core has an ergative actor argument that controls the reference of the omitted argument of the second predicate. The omitted argument in the second core must be a direct core argument (S , A_T , U_T) but no other syntactic restrictions are placed on it. The second core may be intransitive, its single argument omitted. If the second core is transitive, there are the same two possible affixations that were noted above in §5.4.1.1. It may use the marked antipassive *maN-* or it may use an Undergoer-voice affix. In the latter case, either its actor argument or its undergoer may be omitted as the pivot of the construction, depending on the co-reference with the actor of the first core.

Cores that modify a second core by indicating manner, phase¹⁹ or other details are linked with *ay*, as in 60) to 62). In these examples the first core has a clitic actor argument, and the

¹⁹ As Perlmutter (1970) notes, phase predicates may modify at different levels. See §5.4.4.1 example 88) for clause-level phase predicates.

omitted actor of the second core is co-referential. This controller-pivot relationship is symbolized in the right column.

60) *I-ginek = na* (Ø) *ay t <om> okdo sin kad?ak.* $A_T = S_A$

UNDt-quiet = 3sII (3sI) LK CHANGE-sit ORMd place.1sII

‘She got (herself) quiet, sitting down beside me.’

61) *Kana = k* *ay man-nem~nemnem, “Tet?ewa kayman sa.”* $A_T = S_A$

say = 1sII LK ACT-CVC-think true PART DEM2I

‘I said to myself (lit. I said thinking), “Yes, that’s true.”’

62) *In-logi = mi* *ay mang-i-obla sin papeles = ko.* $A_T = A_{ANTI}$

UND.P-begin = 1pII LK ANTI-Th-work ORMd papers = 1sII

‘We began to work on my papers.’

Transitive verbs of internal experience form complex clauses with two cores in those cases when the experiencer (Actor macrorole) is also an argument in the linked clause. The controller of this construction is the Actor of the first core; the pivot is only restricted to being a direct (i.e. not oblique) argument of the second core. Note that in both 63) and 64), the omitted argument in the second core is the Actor argument; in 63) the transitive predicate takes the antipassive *maN-*, while in 64) the predicate indexes an Undergoer (the CONTENT of the request).

63) *Laydelaydek* *ay mangila = d* *Baguio.* $A_T = A_{ANTI}$

CVCCV~layad-en = ko *maN-ila = ed*

INTENS-like-UND = 1sII LK ANTI.see = LOC Baguio

‘I’d just love to see Baguio (City).’

64) *Layd-ek* *ay dop?et-en mo pig?an di <om> ey-an.* $A_T = A_T$

like-UND.1sII LK ask-UND if when Rmi NOM-go <

‘I’d like to ask when the departure-time is.’

In 65) the first Actor is coreferential with the absolutive argument of the associate-indexed predicate, in this case an Actor. In 67)a. and b., two clauses from the same text show the second core argument as an Undergoer, first indexed with the (passive) stative affix *ma-i-* in a., which can only take one direct argument, and then with the unmarked theme-Undergoer-voice affix *i-* in b. The interpretation of the pivot in 67)b is pragmatic; in this text the referent is clearly ‘the old man’; in another context it could be referring to a different deceased person, and a 3s pronoun (Ø) could be posited rather than an omitted argument.

65) *Awan, sigaa(n)=k ay maki-ey en sik?a!* $A_T = S_A$
 none dislike.UND = 1sII LK ASSOC-go OPRM 2sIII

‘No way! I don’t want to go with you!’

66) *Sigaan=(d)a abe ay ma-baa.* $A_T = S_U$
 dislike.UND = 3pII also LK UNDS-send.on.errand

‘They didn’t want to be sent on errands, either.’

67) a. *Ni-layad nina ay nakay ay mai-ponpon si kinakristiyano.* $A_T = S_U$
 UND.P-like DEM1II LK old.man LK UNDTs-bury ORMi Christianity

‘This old man wanted to be buried Christian-style.’

b. *Ni-layad=na ay i-ponpon=yo.* $A_T = U_T$
 UND.P-like = 3sII LK UNDT-bury = 2pII

‘He wanted you guys to bury him.’

Examples 68) to 72) use a variety of experience verbs of attitude and cognition. In 68) the second core uses the structural antipassive with the incorporated-theme prefix indicating the presence and definiteness of the Undergoer. 70) presents the pivot as the indexed Undergoer of the second core, while 71) has the ergative Actor as pivot. 72) has an embedded juncture, with both strategies for transitive second cores exemplified.

68) *Anosam ay mangiayoan tan na-bay Ø.* $A_T = A_{ANTI}$
anos-an=mo maN-i-ayoan
 patient-UNDI = 2sII LK ANTI-Th-care.for because UNDS-tired 3sI

‘Put up with taking care of it for him because he’s tired.’

69) *Adi=na ammo ay maki-kadwa.* $A_T = S_A$
 NEG = 3sII know.UND LK ASSOC-companion

‘He doesn’t know how to get along with others.’

70) *<Ini>tlok=na ay p<in>a-kan=ko.* $A_T = U_T$
 UNDT.P-allow = 3sII LK UNDT.P-CAUS-eat = 1sII

‘She allowed me to feed her (lit. allowed that I fed her).’

71) *Oonong-ek ay taltal-en din tangeb.* $A_T = A_T$
 persist-UND.1sII LK pry.open-UND RMD door

‘I will persist in prying open the door.’

72) *Gaan=da ay mang-adal ay basa-en din kali=tako.* $A_T = A_{ANTI} = A_T$
 dislike=3pII LK ANTI-learn LK read-UND RMD language=1+2p
 ‘They don’t want to learn how to read our language.’

5.4.1.3 Undergoer-control constructions

Undergoer-control constructions are those in which the first core is transitive and its Undergoer is the controller of the shared argument of the second core. The pivot in Undergoer-control constructions is restricted to the single argument of a (formally) intransitive predicate, indexed on the second predicate which is given voice marking to accommodate this restriction. Thus, in example 73), the Undergoer *dakami* ‘1p’ is indexed as the intransitive Actor of the second clause. In 74), the Undergoer *sak?en* ‘1s’ is indexed as the Undergoer of a state predicate, while in 75) passive morphology makes the Undergoer the single argument of the detransitivized predicate *tapi* ‘to add or join’. In 76) the second clause has a semantically transitive predicate with a specific undergoer; the antipassive predicate indexes the shared argument as the transitive Actor.

73) *Initdoan=da=s dakami ay man-getad.* $U_T = S_A$
 <in>i-todo-an

UNDI.P-teach<=3pII=PRM 1pIII LK ACT-fell.tree

‘They taught us how to cut down trees.’

74) *Keddeng-an=da=s sak?en ay ma-tey.* $U_T = S_U$
 sentence-UNDI=3pII=PRM 1sIII LK UNDS-die

‘They will sentence me to die.’

75) <In>awis=na=s sak?en ay mai-tapi sin obla=da. $U_T = S_U$
 UND.P-persuade=3sII=PRM 1sIII LK UNDTs-join ORMd work=3pII

‘He persuaded me to join (lit. be joined) in their work.’

76) *Tolong-a(n)=m kod sak?en ay en mang-anap sin antokos=ko.* $U_T = A_{ANTI}$
 help-UNDI=2sII please 1sIII LK go ANTI-search ORM glasses=1sII

‘Please help me go look for my glasses.’

5.4.2 Core subordination

Previous chapters have noted that Kankanaey makes extensive use of nominalized predicates that index an omitted absolutive argument. When such predicates have ergative arguments, these are included in the nominalized expression, creating nominalized cores. Oblique referents and phrases that modify the periphery of nominalized cores may be included,

creating nominalized clauses. Complex RPs constructed from nominalized clauses are very common in Kankanaey.

In Kankanaey, clauses with temporal and locative functions are subordinated by nominalization and expressed as an oblique-marked reference phrase in the core periphery, as in 77). A few prepositions that express temporal functions, such as *inggana* ‘until’ in the bracketed subordinate clauses in 78) and 79), can take a linked clause rather than a nominalized phrase.

77) *Pagano sisya [sin nan-tur~turay-an=(n)a si gobierno].*
 pagan 3sI ORMd ACT.P.NOM-CVC-rule<=3sII ORMi government

‘He was following the traditional religion (lit. pagan) at/during the time that he was serving in the government.’

78) *Asi=kami pay b<om>alalong [enggana ay datng-en=mi din danan].*
 then=1pI PART ACTm-go.downhill until LK arrive-UND=1pII RMd trail

‘Then we went downhill until we found the trail.’

79) *En=kami=et nan-i~inom [enggana ay l<om>abi].*
 go=1pI=PART ACT.P-CV-drink until LK CHANGE-night

‘We went out drinking until it was night.’

5.4.3 Quotation complement subordination

A direct quotation is the semantic complement of a speech or thought predicate. These complements may be whole sentences or paragraphs, and are considered as subordinate units that are extraposed as sister to the clause with the matrix (speech or thought) predicate. In Kankanaey, a direct quotation may precede or follow the matrix predicate. If it follows, it may be preceded by the CLM *en* (tagged QuoTe), as in 80). If the matrix predicate follows, there is no CLM, as in 81). Figure 5.3 shows the extraposed position of direct quotation sentences.

80) *Anggay yan kana=na en, "Na-tey baw si Nabulay."*
 already PART say.UND=3sII QT UNDs-die PART PRM Nabulay

‘That being done, he said, “I realize Nabulay has died.”’

81) *Ma-kdeng pay, "May, en=ka i-gto Ø," kana=na.*
 UNDs-finish PART OK go=2sI UNDt-store 4III say.UND=3sII

‘When that was finished, “OK, go put it away,” he said.’

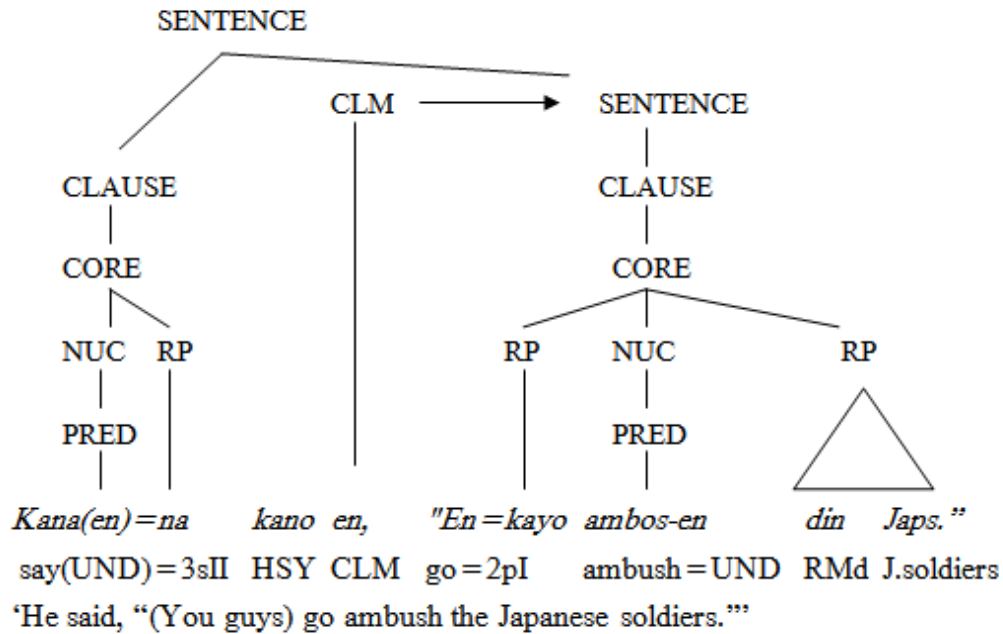


Figure 5.3. Direct quotation sentence

Indirect quotation involves a clausal complement that indirectly expresses the content of verbs of expression or mental process. In Kankanaey these complement clauses are also extraposed; they are sisters to their matrix core. Like the direct-quotation complement, the CLM is *en*, as in 82) to 84). When the complement expresses uncertainty or a question, the CLM is *mo* 'if', as in 85).

82) *Nem~nemnem-e(n)=k en adi=ak <om>ali=s bigat.*
 CVC-think-UND=1sII QT NEG=1sI ACTm-come=ORMi tomorrow
 'I am thinking/considering that I won't come tomorrow.'

83) *Kana=na en <om>ey=ak ed Kabingan sin agsapa.*
 say.UND=3sII QT ACTm-go=1sI LOC Kabingan ORMd morning
 'She said that I was to go to Kabingan in the morning.'

84) *Iyat=na en man-sakit din toktok=na.*
 say.thus=3sII QT ACT-hurt RMd head=3sII
 'She said that her head hurt.'

85) *Layd-ek ay dop?et-en mo pig?an di <om>ey-an.*
 like-UND.1sII LK ask-UND if when RMi NOM-go<
 'I'd like to ask when (someone) is to go (i.e. departure time).'

Verbs of self-reporting speech often denote mental processes, as may be seen in 86) and 87). The implication with imperfective aspect is often negative, with an opposite outcome.

86) *Kana=k en man-solat=ak si lesson plan.*

say.UND=1sII QT ACT-write=1sI ORM lesson plan

‘I intended to write lesson plans (but didn’t).’

87) *Kana=k mo na-laka ay man-asi-il~ila=tako, kambaw na-ligat Ø!*

say.UND=1sII if ATT-easyLK ACT-RECIP-CVC-see=1+2pI PART ATT-hard 4I

‘I thought (mistakenly) it would be easy for us to get together, now I realize it is difficult!’

Extrapolation is attested by the presence of core-peripheral constituents preceding the complement, such as the time phrase *ed idi* ‘previously’ in the diagram of an indirect quotation sentence in Figure 5.4.

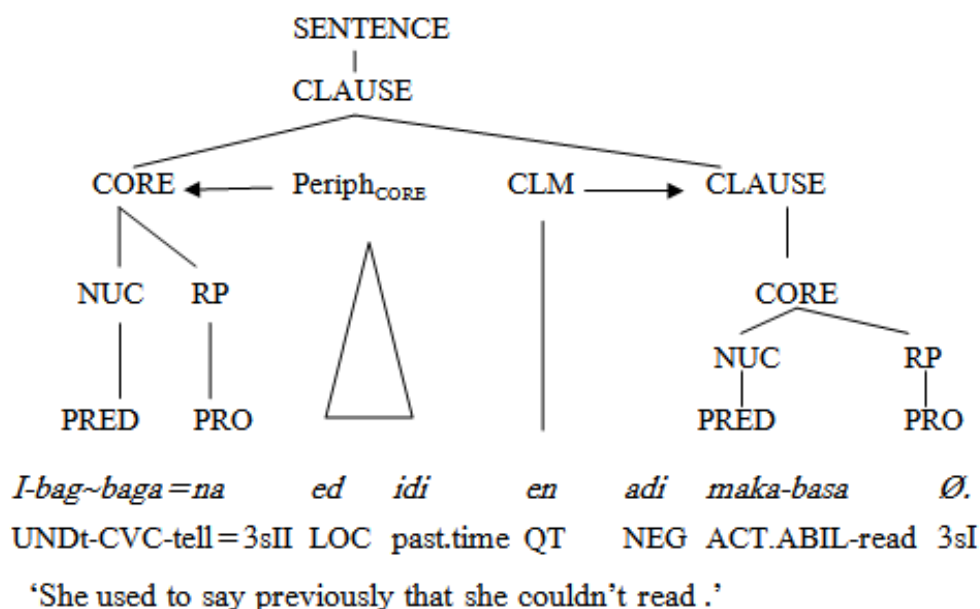


Figure 5.4. Indirect quotation sentence

5.4.4 Other clausal complements

When a clause serves as a complement (logical argument) of a Kankanaey predicate, it is preceded by *ay*, Kankanaey’s ubiquitous linker. The following sections will consider predicates that can take clausal complements; these include temporal predicates, attributive predicates, nominal predicates, perception and performative predicates.

5.4.4.1 Temporal predicates

Temporal predicates may specify a point or phase (beginning, end, etc.), as in example 88). Other temporal predicates include *kanayon* ‘all the time’, *nabayag* ‘for a long time’, as in 89), or even specific time constructions, as in 90). These predicates take clausal complements which are subordinated, preceded by the linker *ay*.

88) *Nan-logi ay nan-sakit=ak ed Trinidad.*

ACT.P-begin LK ACT-sick=1sI LOC Trinidad

‘My being sick started in Trinidad.’ (lit. It started that I was sick)

89) *Na-bayag ay adi nan-ngal~ngalat din man-bonong.*

ATT-long.time LK NEG ACT-CVC-converse RMd ACT-pray

‘The one who prays (i.e. traditional religious leader) didn’t respond/speak for a long time.’

90) *Enggay maka-bowan ay ma-ola~olaw=ak.*

already ABIL.ACT-month LK UNDs-INTENS-dizzy=1sI

‘It’s already been a month that I’ve been having dizzy spells.’

5.4.4.2 Attributive predicates

Another type of predicate that takes complements is a small group of attributive words that express the speaker’s evaluation of the state of affairs expressed in the entire clause. These propositional attitude predicates take the clause as complement, as in 91) to 93).

91) *Mayat ay ma-iwed di disturbo et na-olnos di ponpon.*

good LK UNDs-NEGEXIS RMi disturbance and ATT-orderly RMi burial

‘It was good that there was no disturbance and the funeral went smoothly.’

92) *Sigurado ay adi=na aboloy-an san in-baga=yo*

for.sure LK NEG=3sII agree-UNDI DRM UNDt.P-say=2pII

mo baken man-lig~ligat.

if NEG ACT-CVC-suffer

‘It’s certain that he would not have agreed to what you said if it were not the case that he was under duress.’

93) *Tet?ewa ay mo <om>i-turay din aklong et sa=y*

true LK if ACT(LH)-Th-rule RMd desire PART DEM2I=RMi

mang-i-turong si ka-dadael-an.

ANTI-Th-lead ORMi NOM-destroy<

‘It’s true that if desires rule a person, that will be what leads him/her to destruction.’

5.4.4.3 Nominal predicates

Kankanaey has several nonverbal predicates with an ergative/possessive argument that take a state of affairs as their second argument. Thus, in 94) the nominal predicate ‘its sufficiency was...’ takes the *ay*-linked clause as its complement. Similarly, in 95) in the second clause, beginning with *tan* ‘because’, the predicate ‘its alternative is...’ takes the following *ay*-linked clause as its argument. 96) may be seen as having a similar structure, with a full RP as the first argument and a clause as the second argument.

94) *Eped=na ay s<in>akit=ko si dowa ay agew din tili=k.*
 sufficiency=4II LK UND.P-hurt=1sIIORMi two LK day RMd butt=1sII
 ‘It was enough to make my tailbone sore for 2 days.’

95) *Ten?e(n)=m san egen=mo tan kapy=na ay*
 limit-UND=2sII DRM load=2sII because alternative=4II LK
ma-yetyet-an=ka sin danan.
 UNDIIs-dented=2sI ORMd trail

‘Limit your load because otherwise on the trail you’ll be dented (i.e. left with a dent mark in your skin).’

(from the head strap pressing on the forehead)

96) *Gandat di d<om>atng-an di odan ay ad?ado=y*
 characteristic BRMi ACTm.NOM-arrive< BRMi rain LK many=RMi
ma-pannateng.
 UNDS-colds

‘It is a customary outcome of the arrival of rainy season that many have colds.’

5.4.4.4 Perception and internal experience predicates

Verbs of perception and internal experience may also take a clausal complement when there is no shared argument. Subordinated with *ay*, as in 97) to 100), there is no restriction on the affixation in the second clause. Figure 5.5 shows embedded complementation.

97) *Mo dengng-en di aag?i=na ay mai-ponpon Ø...*
 if hear-UND RMi relatives=3sII LK UNDTs-bury 3sI
 ‘If his relatives hear that he is buried...’

98) *Na-ammo-an ay si dakami di nan-basol.*
 UNDIIs.P-know< LK PRM 1pIII RMi ACT-do.wrong
 ‘It became known that we were the ones at fault.’

99) *Sed~sed?-en=mi kasin ay <om>ali da Marlyn.*

CVC-wait-UND=1pII again LK ACTm-come pl Marlyn.

‘We are waiting again for Marlyn’s group to come.’

100) *Layd-e(n)=k ay <om>aptik din labi.*

like-UND=1sII LK CHANGE-short RMd night

‘I want/ed the night to be cut short.’

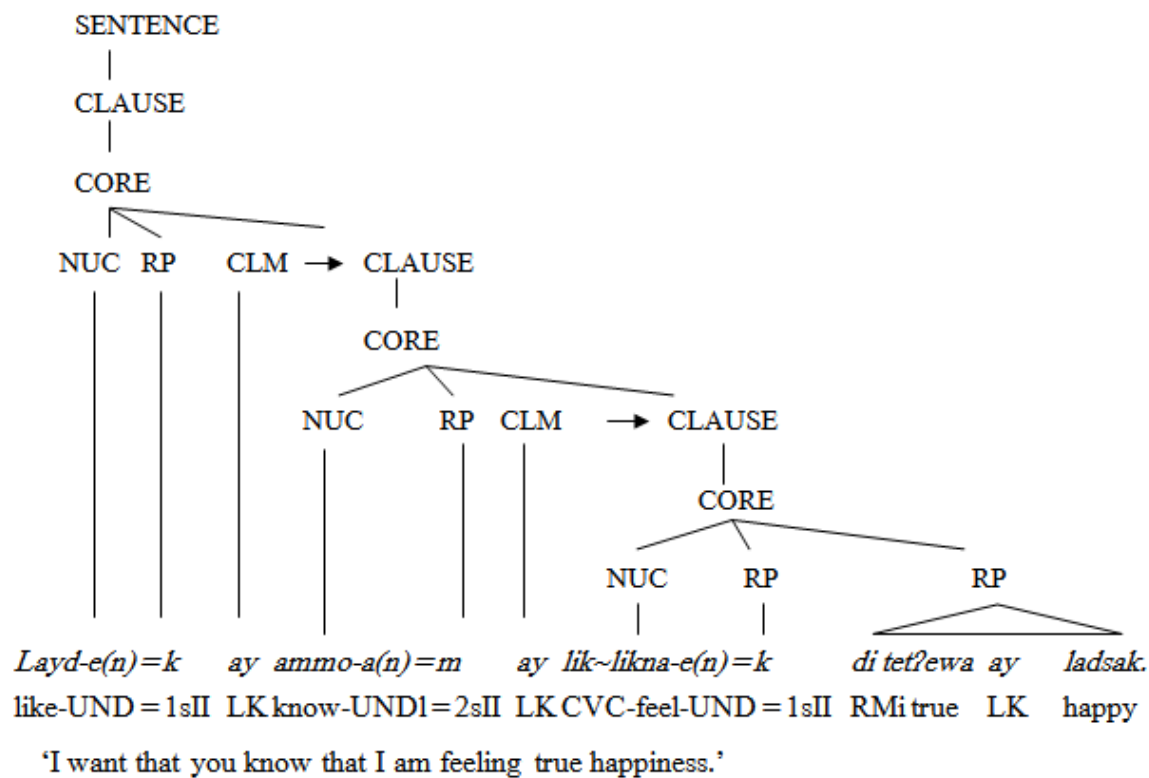


Figure 5.5. Recursive clausal complements

5.4.4.5 Performative speech predicates

Performative speech verbs such as ‘promise’ take subordinate clauses as their complement and can not take a RECIPIENT argument. The complement does not share the co-referential Actor argument with the speech-predicate core, but rather the argument is overt in each core, as may be observed in 101) and 102). For these clauses the CLM is *ay*.

101) *In-kali=n Mayor ay lokat-an=(n)a kasin din high school.*

UNDt.P-promise=BPRM Mayor LK open-UND1=3sII again RMd high school

‘Mayor promised that he would open the high school again.’

102) *Kolominto-a(n)=k ay maka-ammo=ak sin anak=yo.*
 swear-UNDI=1sII LK ABIL.ACT-know=1sI ORMd child=2pII

‘I solemnly swear that I will take responsibility (lit. able to know) for your child.’

5.5 The sentence complex

In oral and written texts, a type of sentence is often encountered that provides background information or recounts events that build or release tension toward or away from peak sections. This type of sentence consists of a running sequence of independent and dependent clauses loosely connected with a variety of CLMs. The sequence comprises a semantic unit in the story line or thematic development, and its highest node is labeled ‘sentence complex’. ‘Reasoning sequences’ tend to use explanatory CLMs, while ‘action sequences’ use CLMS that loosely indicate temporal or logical succession. Because the participants carry over from one clause to the next, co-referential argument deletion can be examined in these contexts, revealing that 1s, 2p and personal 3p pronouns almost never are omitted, and therefore the 3s and 4 (impersonal) pronouns, although null, are not dropped. Pragmatics, especially the immediately preceding clause constituents, determine the referent of the null pronouns.

5.5.1 Reasoning sequences

In the following three examples of ‘reasoning sequences’, examples 103) to 105), the CLMs are bracketed giving reasons and results and extenuating circumstances, but not actions.

103) *Tamang-en=yo amin ed demang ay doy*
 look.far-UND=2pII all LOC mid-distance LK DEM3V
sin kad?a=n di bato,
 ORMd place=BRMi stone

‘All of you look over there across the way where the stone is,’

[*ta*] *machinegun-an din soldados=ko Ø*
 so.that m.gun-UNDI BRMd soldiers=1sII 4III

‘so my soldiers will shoot at it with machine guns’

[*ta*] *ila-en=yo di ka-pigsa =n di paltog di Nipponnggo,*
 so.that see-UND=2pII RMi NOM-strong =BRMi gun BRMi Japanese

‘so you will see the strength of the guns of the Japanese,’

[*ta*] *adi=kayo las~lasoy-en Ø,*
 so.that NEG=2pI CVC-underestimate-UND 4III

‘so you won’t underestimate them,’

[tan] ed niman dakami di ap~apo=yo.
 because LOC now 1pIII RMi CVC-lord=2pII
 ‘because now we are your rulers.’

- 104) [Et mo] panggep abe din iskowila-e(n)=k,
 and if regarding also RMd student-UND=1sII
 ‘And then as regards my studies,’
 medyo ma-lig~ligat-an=ak,
 somewhat UNDIls-CVC-difficult<=1sI
 ‘I’m having a rather hard time,’
 kalkalo ed nowani
 especially LOC now
 ‘especially nowadays’
 [ay] na-ngina amin di ma-lako-an
 LK ATT-expensive all RMi UNDIls-buy<
 ‘when everything to be bought is expensive’
 [isonga] s<om>aldeng=ak
 therefore ACTm-stop=1sI
 ‘therefore I will stop (my education)’
 [ta] man-anap=ak kano=s pan-obl-a(n)=k.
 so.that ACT-look=1sI HSY=ORMi NOM-work<=1sII
 ‘so I am to look (they say) for a place for me to work.’

- 105) Siyat=da=n ila-(e)n
 necessary=3pI=DISP see-UND
 ‘They must watch out’
 [ta] adi kap~ka-p?ot-an Ø
 so.that NEG UNDIls-CVC-dew< 4I
 ‘so they (yams) don’t get dewed on’

[ono] adi ka-od~odan-an Ø

or NEG UNDLs-CVC-rain < 4I

‘or don’t get rained on’

[tan mo] ma-p?ot-an Ø, ng<om>itit Ø

because if UNDLs-dew < 4I CHANGE-dark 4I

‘because if they get dew on, they darken’

[yan] man-pait Ø mo kan-en Ø

and ATT-sour 4I if eat-UND 4III

‘and they are sour if (one) eats them’

[yan] adi abe=n kai-gto Ø si ma-bayag.

and NEG also=DISP UNDTs-store 4I ORMi UNDS-long.time

‘and they also can’t be stored for any length of time.’

5.5.2 Action sequences

‘Action sequences’ use the linkers *et* and *yan* which are almost as semantically bleached as *ay* but may indicate temporal or logical succession. Examples 106) to 108) show the types of relationships between clauses in action-sequence sentences. Again, the repetition of the personal pronouns—1s in 106) and 3p in 107)—justify the presence of the 3s and impersonal null pronouns.

Note that the first one or two clauses are marked as completive (P), setting the temporal framework for the rest of the clauses in the sequence, which are unmarked. This discourse-level temporal dependence is not restricted to action-sequence sentences, but may also cross syntactically un-linked sentence boundaries in Kankanaey.

106) Nan-sang?at=ak sin iskowilaan

ACT.P-climb = 1sI ORMd school

‘I climbed uphill by the school’

[yan] man-posopos abe

and ACT-turn also

‘and turned back again’

[et] datng-e(n)=k din ketang

and arrive-UND = 1sII RMd creek

‘and I found the creek’

[as(i)] = ak pag song-en Ø
 then = 1sI then go.upstream-UND 4III
 ‘and then I followed it upstream’
[et] d<om>ateng = ak sin danan ed na-ongdo
 and ACTm-arrive = 1sI ORMd trail LOC UNDs-above
 ‘and I arrived at the upper trail’
[et] pag = ak s<om>aa
 and then = 1sI ACTm-go.home
 ‘and then I went home’
[yan] man-sokat = ak
 and ACT-change = 1sI
 ‘and I changed clothes’
[et] pag = ak ma~ma-ek.
 and then = 1s CV-UNDs-sleep
 ‘and then I went to sleep.’

- 107) *Na-pno = da sin esa = y kowarto*
 UNDs-full = 3pI ORMd one = LK room
 ‘They filled one of the rooms’
[yan] en = ak = et i-tining Ø
 and go = 1sI = PART UNDt-peek 4III
 ‘and I went to peek (at something)’
[et] kambaw si Nanny ay anggay man-sak~sakit Ø
 and EVID PRM N LK already ACT-CVC-pain 3sI
 ‘and (I saw that) it was Nanny, who was very sick’
[ay] kaman ma-tey Ø,
 LK like UNDs-die 3sI
 ‘like she was going to die,’
[yan] pag = da = n ayag-an din anak = da ay wada = d Baguio
 and then = 3pI = DISP invite-UNDI RMd child = 3pIILK EXIS = LOC Baguio
 ‘and then they called their son who was in Baguio’

[yan] pag = da = n <om> ali
 and then = 3pI = DISP ACTm-come
 ‘and then they came’

[et] en = da i-laga-an Ø
 and go = 3pI UNDD-ritual 3sI
 ‘and they went to do rituals for her.’

108) Ad(i) = ak ammo baw Ø
 NEG = 1sI know(UND) EVID 4III
 ‘Well, I didn’t know it’

[yan] din ka-tokmang = ko ay ka-dwa = k,
 and RMD NOM-neighbor = 1sII LK NOM-two = 1sII
 adi dedan t <inm> agtag Ø
 NEG EVID ACTm.P-run 3sI

‘(but) my neighbor that was my companion, he didn’t run away’

[isonga] na-pasobo Ø
 therefore UNDS.P-endanger 3sI
 ‘so he got in a dangerous situation’

[et] istay todok-en din na-beteng Ø
 and almost stab-UND BRMD UNDS.P-drunk 3sI
 ‘and the drunk guy almost stabbed him’

[ngem] imbag.ta wada = n lagba = s di
 but luckily EXIS = RMD back-basket = DEM3IV
 ‘but luckily there was the back-basket there’

[et] sa = y t <in> okang = na ay nang-tingga
 and DEM2I = RMi UND.P-tip.over = 3sII LK ANTI-fend.off
 ‘and he knocked that over to fend him off’

[et asi pag] l <om> ayaw Ø
 and then then ACTm-flee 3sI
 ‘and then afterwards he ran away’

[yan] <om>ali Ø baw ed beb~beey
and ACTm-come 3sI EVID LOC CVC-house

‘and (evidently) he came to our home’

[ay] man-og~oga Ø
LK ACT-CVC-cry 3sI

‘he was crying’

[yan] an~anap-en=(n)a sak?en
and CVC-look-UND=3sII 1sIII

‘and he was looking for me’

[tan] in-pasobo=k Ø kano.
because UNDt.P-endanger=1sII 3sI HSY

‘because he said I had endangered him.’

5.6 Relative clauses

Relative clauses (bracketed in these examples) are modifiers in reference phrases, as introduced in Chapter 3. They are connected by the linker *ay* from the left periphery of the RP nucleus when descriptive and non-restrictive, as in 109) where the relative clause immediately precedes the nucleus, and generally from the right periphery when restrictive, as in 110).

109) Di ka-ado-an ay amag-en=da si tapey,
RMi NOM-many< LK make-UND=3pII ORMi ricewine

din [baken d<in> eas-an ay] pagey.

RMi NEG P-well.pounded-UNDI LK rice

‘Mostly what they make into rice-wine, it’s the under-pounded rice.’

110) Si naey di dad?at di ipogaw [ay na-tey
PRM DEM1III RMi story BRMi person LK UNDs.P-die

asi b<om>angon ed na-baon.]

and.then CHANGE-get.up LOC ATT-long.ago

‘This is a story of a person who died and then revived long ago.’

The predicate in the relative clause is affixed to index the semantic role of an omitted argument that is coreferential with the head of the modified RP, as in the examples above and in 111). As with some other subordinated clauses, a gapped transitive actor role is indicated by the structural antipassive as in 112). Nominalizing affixes are used if the relative clause indicates the time or place of the predicate, as in 113).

111) *Din istolya [ay in-solat di Amilikano]*

RMd story LK UNDT.P-write BRMi American

‘The stories that the Americans wrote’

112) *Wada di an?anak [ay nang-i-pa-sgep en dakami].*

EXIST RMi child LK ANTI.P-Th-CAUS-enter OPRM 1pIII

‘There was a child who invited us to come in.’

113) *din nay ay singbaan [ay pangi-mis~misa-an = da en sak?en]*

RMd DEMIV LK church LK NOM.Th-CVC-services < = 3pII OPRM 1sIII

‘this church (where) they will be holding services for me’ (e.g. mass for healing prayer)

The gap strategy cannot apply to possessors or arguments of already-nominalized predicates in the relative clause. In such cases, a resumptive pronoun is retained, using the minimally-specified impersonal (4th-person) class II pronoun, as in 114), where it is homophonous with 3rd person singular, but in 115), it is clearly impersonal because the matrix co-referent is plural. The same pronoun indicates the actor of a nominalized Undergoer-indexed predicate, as in 116), where the coreferential matrix RP head is the 1st person pronoun. In the following examples the co-referential argument is underlined.

114) *Di animal [ay na-tey di anak = na]*

RMi animal LK UNDT.P-die RMi child = 4II

‘An animal whose young has died’

115) *Dakayo [ay man-?es~?esa di poso = na]*

2pIII LK ACT-INTENS-one RMi heart = 4II

‘You whose hearts have become one’

116) *Am?amed si sak?en [ay iwed di am~?ammo = na]*

especially PRM 1sIII LK NEGEXIS RMi CVC-know.UND = 4II

‘Especially me, who knows nothing’

Conclusion

This chapter has gone beyond the simple clause to examine multiple-clause and multiple-core constructions. The RRG framework accommodated coordinate junctures and subordinate junctures at both clause and core and nuclear levels, using peripheral, extra-core and detached positions. The next chapter takes a different approach to many of these structures, looking at the grammatical relations that they evidence.