FOCUS AND ACTIVATION IN KANKANAEY

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This descriptive study considers the interaction of discourse purposes with the syntactic structures of Kankanaey, specifically looking at positions in the clause structure, and the type of constituent used in the clause nucleus. The correlation of the definiteness operator with focal and topical expressions is defined, as is the use of pronouns for focal reference. Preposed and postposed positions outside the clause serve to identify pronominal constituents inside the clause. Speakers of Kankanaey use these devices to manage pragmatic information flow as they introduce participants, refer to accessible entities, identify participants and their roles, and activate referents for prominence, comment, or contrast in their discourses.

Introduction

Kankanaey is an Austronesian language spoken in the northern Philippines. This study looks at information structure in Kankanaey: the constructions and variables that are manipulated by a speaker to enable the hearer to identify new information and follow the flow of thought, and the pragmatic functions in the discourse context that such constructions serve. Narrow focus constructions in particular are analyzed in depth. Preposing as a participant-activation device is also examined, and its interaction with narrow focus especially explored. All examples come from native-authored texts such as letters, recorded oral anecdotes, and written stories and explanations. (Names have been changed.) The analysis is founded on Role and Reference grammar as presented in VanValin and LaPolla 1997[1], hereafter VVLP. Please refer to Appendix 1 for abbreviations used in figures and examples.[2]

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[1] VanValin, R. D., Jr. & LaPolla, R. J. (1997). *Syntax*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (VVLP hereafter.)

[2] Clitic pronouns have been orthographically separated whenever possible in the examples to reduce word length.

1. Kankanaey phrase and clause structure overview

1.1 Referring-expression structure

In Kankanaey, a referring expression (RE, analagous to a noun phrase) consists of a referring marker (RM) and a core with a referring word as its nucleus. This nucleus can take one direct argument such as a possessor or other related element. The RE structure is captured in Figures 1 and 2. The nuclear referring word can either be an unaffixed root (generally a nominal root) or an affixed root. Affixation on attributive, state or activity roots create words that can function as predicates, i.e. verbs and adjectives. These affixed roots can also function as referring words when they occur in the nucleus of a referring expression following a referring marker. The affixes that create verbs and adjectives cross-reference one semantic role involved in the resulting predicate, therefore when an affixed root is in a RE nucleus it refers to the entity that fills the role indicated by the affix. This elegant system will be exemplified repeatedly in the following study.

Figure 1. RE→RM + Core
Figure 2. RECore→Nucleus (+ Argument)

1.2 Basic clause structure

The Kankanaey basic clause also has a core, with a predicating word as its nucleus. The direct argument(s) of the predicate are REs. See Figure 3. Verbal predicates are formed from roots with affixes that cross-reference semantic roles in relation to the predicate; these roles may be subsumed under the macroroles Actor (A) and Undergoer (U). In a clause, one of these arguments fills the role that is cross-referenced by the verb affix and is assigned absolutive case. The A argument always precedes the U argument. In the examples, the cross-referencing affix on the verb is glossed with A or U to indicate the macrorole of the absolutive argument.

Figure 3. Clause Core→Nucleus + Argument(s)

In example (1) the brackets enclose the RE which is the single argument of the predicate *"Danggian"*. Within that RE is the phrase-initial RM *"din"*, and the core, *"ngadan na"* which consists of *"ngadan"* the nucleus and *"na"* its direct argument. In (2) the brackets enclose the two arguments (A and U) of the verb, in that order.

(1)   *Danggian   [din   ngadan   na]*.
        danggian   RM   name   3sII
        'Its name is danggian.'

(2)   *Ginaganas*   *[mo]*   *[din   sida]*.
        U.P.DUR.enjoy   2sII   RM   feast
        'You(A) were enjoying the feast(U).'

1.3 Equative clause structure

Equative clauses in Kankanaey assert that a specific entity is co-referential with another entity. Figure 4 shows that equative clause cores in Kankanaey have the specific referring expression (RE) in the nucleus of the clause (predicate position), and a single direct argument RE. The first RE takes direct marking for common nominals, and class III for personal and demonstrative pronouns. The second RE may be definite or indefinite.

Figure 4. Equative Clause Core → Nucleus-RE + Argument-RE

It should be pointed out here that nominal roots can fill the predicate position in a clause, but such a construction would not be an equative clause. Nominals without a NM merely predicate classification of an entity.

Thus, in (3), the hearer is informed of a classification regarding Martin; in (4) the hearer is informed of a connection between two previously-known entities. In the equative clause (7), the first RE gives a specific identification to the second RE.

(3)   *Anak ko   si Martin.*
        child 1sII   PRM Martin
        'Martin is my child.'
(4)   *Si   Martin   din anak ko.*
        PRM Martin   RM child 1sII
        'It's Martin who is my child.'

In Kankanaey, a root that is affixed to cross-reference a particular participant role not only functions as a predicate, but can also fill the nucleus of a referring expression. When a referring expression has an affixed root as its nucleus, it refers to the entity that would fulfill the participant role marked on the root. When an equative clause has such an affixed root in the second RE, the clause assertion is that the first entity fills the role cross-referenced in the second RE. Example (5) specifies a particular child as the first RE; the Undergoer-referencing affix in the second RE indicates the role of the referent in the situation glossed as "leave," namely as the one that was "left". (6) is similar, coming from a story of a melting snowman.

(5) *Din esa ay anak   di   nabay/an.*
     RM one LK child   RM U.P.leave
     'What was left was the one child.'

(6) *Owat din scarf di   naiwawaglat   sin   baliwang.*
     just   RM   scarf RM   U.P.DUR.discard ORM   yard
     'Only the scarf was left lying in the yard.'

2. Information structure

Within a clause there are two types of information, corresponding in Figure 3 to Nucleus and Arguments. The function of the nucleus is to predicate (assert, question, command, etc.), while the arguments refer to entities. A clause may make a new assertion as a whole about new referents, or predicate a new assertion about a topical referent. VVLP, crediting Lambrecht (1994), uses the labels "sentence-focus" and "predicate-focus" for these, defining "focus" as the part of an assertion "that is unpredictable or unrecoverable from the context" (p. 202). Sections 2.1 and 2.2 will expand on sentence and predicate focus constructions in Kankanaey. A "narrow-focus" clause has only one constituent in the focus domain, and asserts a relationship between two entities – a topical referent and some given or presupposed information. In such a clause, the new information is the identification of one referent as the one to be uniquely coreferential to the given information. Section 2.3 will explore the contexts in which equative clauses function as narrow-focus constructions in Kankanaey.

These variables of focal and topical information are manipulated in Kankanaey by the definiteness operator on the RM and the choice of constituent in the clause nucleus position (refer to Figure 3 above). Table 1 lists the Kankanaey referring markers for common nouns with their definite and indefinite forms, including contractions that may follow vowel-final words. See Appendix 2 for the table of personal/proper referring markers (always definite) and their corresponding pronoun classes.

Table 1. Kankanaey common referring markers

	direct		oblique	
	full	contraction	full	contraction
definite	*din*	=*n*	*sin*	--
indefinite	*di*	=*y*	*si*	=*s*

2.1 Sentence focus

Sentence focus may be expressed by a verbal or existential predicate in the nucleus with its absolutive argument marked as indefinite. Existential predicates often open a narrative or introduce participants, as in (7). Example (8) follows (7) in the story, and brings in the main characters as indefinite

entities using =y, *di,* and *si.* All the information in these two examples is new to the hearers.

(7) *Wada=y   nakayang   ay dontog   ed Bakun.*
     EXIS=RM high   LK mountain at Bakun
     'There is a high mountain in Bakun.'

(8) *Manbeey kano   di kabonyan sidi ay manpakan si man/illeng sin isdi.*
     stay   reportedly NM god   there LK feed   ONM rest   there
     'Gods live there, they say, who feed those who rest there.'

Verbal predicates can introduce inactive but accessible referents, as in (9), where the RM for the taxi and jeep is indefinite (=y); vehicles are an accessible part of a "shopping trip" context.

(9) *Ed   agsapa, en kami manmarkit yan*
     LRM morning go 1pI   A.market   and

     inila   mi=y   taxi ya jeep ay   man/asidongpal.
     U.P.see 1pII.RM taxi and jeep LK   A.RECIPR.bump
     'This morning, we went shopping and we saw a taxi and a jeep that collided.'

If a particular role becomes accessible information as a narrative unfolds, an equative clause may be used to identify the person or thing that fills that role. Thus, in (10) a new (but accessible) participant is introduced in terms of her function as companion. The relevant affixed roots are underlined for ease in following the examples with role-related REs.

(10) *Si   Bangilay din <u>nangakadwa</u>   en   sak/en.*
     PRM Bangilay RM A.DUR.be-with OPRM 1sIII
     'It was Bangilay who stayed with me.'

Example (11) identifies a location: having introduced a prospective customer for a shady deal, the storyteller sets the stage for the adventure in the well-known Burnham Park. Note that the nominalizing affixes are on the root "see" rather than "agree" since the park is the place to meet, not the place where the agreement was made.

(11) *Ed Burnham   di tolagan ay pan/asiilaanmi.*
      LRM Burnham   RM U.agree LK NOM.RECIP.see.1+3II
      'At Burnham (Park) was where it was agreed that we'd meet each other.'

2.2 Predicate focus

Predicate focus (the unmarked focus type in Kankanaey) is expressed by a predicate and one or more definite arguments that are accessible and identifiable referents. The new information is in the predicate itself. Example (2) above repeated here as (12), has predicate focus. It comes from the middle of a story about a woman going to a feast, and in this example both "you" and "feast" are activated entities, as indicated by the pronoun and the definite RM *din*.

(12) *Ginaganas   [mo]   [din sida].*
      U.P.DUR.enjoy   2sII   RM feast
      'You (A) were enjoying the feast(U).'

In (13) the recipient of a scolding letter learns that he has been overextending his parents' generosity. The new information is the money-spending; the equative construction serves to stress his role in this case, implying responsibility or blame.

(13) *Sik/a di nangastogastos   sin   pilakmi.*
      2sIII RM A.INTENS.spend ORM money.1+3II
      'You are the one who was spending all our money.'

2.3 Narrow focus

In many languages, referents that take the full focus of the clause, for example interrogative pronouns, are located in a clause-initial position outside the clause core, in what has been termed the Pre-Core Slot. Other focal REs (or NPs) may occur in cleft constructions that locate the focal phrase in an initial position. In Kankanaey, interrogative pronouns occur in the clause-nuclear position, forming equative clauses. To interpret this initial focal position as pre-core would leave a core with no nucleus, but only a topical RE.

Example (14) shows the interrogative pronoun and the answer pronoun both in the initial position of equative clauses.

(14) *Sino din anak mo?   Sisya din anak ko.*
      who RM child 2sII   3sIII RM child 1sII
      'Q: Who/which is your son? A: <u>He</u> is my son.'

Equative clauses are the structure that expresses narrow focus. When an equative clause serves the purpose of establishing the connection between two known entities, or of emphasizing the identity of the entity that fills an activated semantic role, it is expressing narrow focus. Knowing the full context is essential to interpreting the focus domain of an equative clause that identifies a participant by its role – to knowing whether it is merely identifying or actually stressing or contrasting that participant with other possible participants.

The following sub-sections of Narrow Focus expand on the variables in narrow-focus constructions: what kind of constituents may be found in the focal RE (2.3.1) and what constituents are in the topical RE (2.3.2).

2.3.1 Focal constituents: Pronouns and referring expressions

As mentioned above, interrogative pronouns are always focal, and occur as the nucleus of the clause core. Personal and demonstrative pronouns are class III in the focal position, as in (15) and example (14) above. A special use of the class I demonstrative pronoun *sa* as a general focal pronoun will be noted in section 2.3.4.

(15)   *Sinaey   man   di   inilak.*
DEM1III emphatic RM U.P.see.1sII
'This is really what I saw.'

Non-pronominal REs in focal position are always definite, and refer to a specific, accessible entity. If the focal RE is a place, date, or time it takes the Proper Locative RM *ed*; otherwise it takes the direct RM. Note that in example (16), the focal RE uses the definite form of the RM, and refers to a specific child that has just been mentioned in the preceding context.

(16)   *Din esa ay anak   di   nabay/an.*
RM one LK child   RM U.P.leave
'What was left was the one child.'

2.3.2 Topical constituents: The arguments of Focal REs

The second RE in a narrow-focus construction is a topical entity. Its nucleus can be a nominal that expresses a known, accessible referent, such as "your son" in (14) above. The RM is definite in both the question and the answer in this example, because the hearer is referring to the child that he knows I have.

As mentioned above, affixed roots can also fill the nucleus of a RE, referring to an entity that fills the semantic role indicated by the affix. When the second RE in a narrow-focus construction has such an affixed-root

nucleus, it refers to a participant in an accessible situation, and the focal RE identifies who or what that participant is. Usually then the second RE is expressing an open position or role requiring identification, and takes the indefinite RM.

Looking again at example (16) above, the presence of the RM *di* before the affixed root *nabay/an* 'left behind' indicates that this is a referring expression, and it refers to the role signaled by the affix. The first RE asserts itself to be the unique co-referent with this role (the Undergoer of the root "leave", an activated role in the context of the death of other family members). (See Appendix 3 for the verbal affixes of Kankanaey and their associated macrorole.)

The following subsections of Topical Constituents will look at argument-REs with intransitive, transitive, and nominalized verbs in their nuclei. The pertinent verb will again be underlined in the examples in these sections.

2.3.2.1 Intransitive verbs in the argument-RE nucleus

Intransitive verbs cross-reference their single argument, whether the Actor of an activity or the Undergoer of a state. For example, in (17) the focal pronoun asks for a specific entity, and the second RE (note the contracted form of the RM "=y") has the verb "come" with an affix that cross-references the Actor. This complete clause is about identifying the Actor of "will come."

(17)   *Sino=y*   *omali?*
        who=RM   A.come
        'Who will come?'

2.3.2.2 Transitive verbs in the argument-RE nucleus with Undergoer cross-reference

With transitive verbs, either the Actor or Undergoer macrorole can be cross-referenced. In transitive clauses, the unmarked construction follows an ergative pattern, with the cross-reference controlled by a non-Actor argument. In (18) the verb in the topical RE nucleus carries a cross-reference to an Undergoer; the Actor, a direct argument of the verb, appears as the clitic ergative pronoun (class II). The Undergoer of 'see' is the content of the perception, summarized by the demonstrative 'this.'

(18)   *Sinay*   *man*   *di*   *inilak.*
        DEM1III emphatic RM U.P.see.1sII
        'This is really what I saw.'

2.3.2.3 Transitive verbs in the argument-RE nucleus with Actor cross-reference

Kankanaey transitive verbs can be cross-referenced to their Actor in a clause, creating a marked construction, an intransitive (antipassive) verb. As a predicate, the antipassive verb affix is *man-*; in a referring expression, transitive verbs must use the Actor-reference nominalizing affix *maN-* (the final velar nasal assimilates to and replaces the root's initial consonant, demonstrated in (19). In (19-21) the Actor macrorole is cross-referenced on the transitive verbs in the second RE. With Actor-reference, the Undergoer argument of the transitive verb may be dropped, as in (19), or given oblique (not direct) status, as in (20-21).

(19)   *Kanan din pastor en   dakami di   manongbat. (maN+songbat)*
       say   RM pastor that 1+3III RM A.respond
       'The pastor said that we would be the ones to respond.'

(20)   *Si   Bangilay din nangakadwa   en   sak/en.*
       PRM Bangilay RM A.DUR.be.with OPRM 1sIII
       'It was Bangilay who stayed with me.'

(21)   *Sik/a di   nangastogastos   sin   pilakmi. (naN+gastogastos)*
       2sIII RM A.INTENS.spend ORM money.1+3II
       'You are the one who was spending all our money.'

When a situation includes a participant that moves with the Actor, such as an instrument or a companion, Kankanaey uses the prefix *i-* to cross-reference such an Undergoer-type participant. When the Actor in such a situation is the referent of interest, the *i-* prefix (U) is retained on the verb; the Actor-cross-reference precedes it and supersedes it in controlling the reference agreement. Thus, in (22) the English translation reflects the meaning of the root plus the *i-* prefix., namely 'take home.'

(22)   *Into=y   mangisaa   ngin   sin   daitko?*
       where=RM   A.(U).go.home   maybe   ORM   friend.1sII
       'Where is the one to take my friends home?"

2.3.2.4 Verbs in the argument-RE nucleus with non-macrorole cross-reference

If the focal RE is not a direct argument of the predicate, for example if it is the time or place of an activity, the nucleus of the second RE takes

nominalizing affixes that cannot occur on the predicate of an independent clause. Example (23) indicates the time of an activity.

(23) *Pig/an di pangradwitan Christie?*
      when RM NOM.graduate Christie
      'When will Christie graduate/When is Christie's graduation?'

Many other relationships, such as the possessor in (24), may be identified by narrow-focus clauses using the appropriate affix. See Appendix 4 for the full table of nominalizing affixes.

(24) *Sino di   akinbasol mo wada di lawa ay   maamag?*
      who RM   owner.fault if EXIS RM bad   LK   U. do
      'Whose fault is it going to be if something bad happens?'

2.3.4 Pragmatic functions of narrow-focus structure

Narrow focus structures must be understood in their context. Some uses are straightforward, such as the interrogative pronouns that ask for a specific, unique entity and the responses to such questions. Setting straight a misunderstood or misidentified entity is another purpose for focusing one participant. Example (25) is the sentence that would appropriately respond to a situation in which a different person is presumed to be my child.

(25) *Si   Martin   din anak ko.*
      PRM Martin   RM child 1sII
      'It's Martin who is my child.'

At other times a discourse or conversation is moved forward by answering potential questions regarding newly activated roles. For example, in (19) above about 'responding', the essential characters are already 'on stage', the conflict has taken place, and the example clause answers the next presumed question – who will respond to this challenge? (26) comes in the context of wedding advice mentioning possible difficulties, and the presupposed question might be something like "What is a good way to respond to such situations?"

(26) *Baken din   pag   siasian   di   ibagbaga.*
      neg   RM   always INTENS.separate RM   U.PROG.say
      'It's not always divorce! divorce! that (one) is to be saying' (i.e.
      'Don't continually threaten <u>divorce</u>.')

Another observed purpose of narrow focus in Kankanaey discourse is to specify one entity from among other possible entities as the one to fill a particular role in an already-topical situation. Assigning someone to a role often signals assigning responsibility or even blame. Example (27) comes from advice to a newly-married couple; the speaker has just admonished them to stop leaning on their parents for support. Example (28) comes from a story in which the parents send the child back and forth between them rather than stop and peel his sugarcane for him.

(27)   *Dakayo di   mangiligat   si   katagoanyo.*
       2pIII   RM A.(U).difficult ORM   livelihood.2pII
       'You are the ones to hardship-yourselves for your own livelihood.'

(28)   *Iey   mo en   inam   ta   say   mangel/ad.*
       U.go 2sII OPNM mother.2sII PURP PRO.NM A.peel
       'Take (it) to your mother for her (not me) to peel.'

Example (28) uses a general pronoun rather than the Class III personal pronoun. This is a common way to refer to something in the immediate context that will fill a role. This device does not stress the participant within the clause so much as it provides a higher-level focal emphasis on important entities, especially as they relate to causal relationships between clauses. The pronoun *siya* 'thus' or the phrase *siya sa* 'thus that' or *sa* (class I demonstrative) alone as a contraction perhaps of the phrase – any of these can function as a focal emphasis point. Examples (29-31) show the variety of usages of this construction.

(29)   *Baken siya say   panbalinam   si   kaag.*
       NEG thus PRO.NM NOM.become.2sII ONM monkey
       'That's not how/why to become a monkey.'

(30)   *...sin kad/an di simbaan di UCCP tan siyay   nandanan   da.*
       ORM place NM church NM UCCP because PRO.NM NOM.walk 3pII
       '...by the UCCP church because that's where they walked.'

(31)   *Itakin   ta san jeep ta   say   makataoli   ta   ay dagos.*
       U.take.with 1+2II NM jeep so-that PRO.NM A-POTEN.return 1+2I LK soon
       'We'll take the jeep along so we can come right back.'

3. Preposing, an activation device

Focus structures depend on the activation status of referents. Sentence focus can activate accessible or new information. Predicate focus assumes the

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topical activation status of at least one referent. Narrow focus can only be used to establish a relationship between very accessible and topical referents or roles. In a discourse, there are times when a referent may not be highly accessible or has become inactive and a specific re-activation is needed for clarity in the structure of the text. This is often achieved by mentioning a referent prior to asserting something about it, a structure called preposing. In Kankanaey, reactivation is realized as a RE with definite RM located in the "Left-Detached Position" of the sentence as shown in Figure 5.

Figure 5. Sentence→LDP + Clause

The detachment is indicated by an intonational pause (shown by a comma) or by one of three particles – *ket*, *yan*, or *pay*, as may be observed in the examples that will follow. These particles are fairly interchangeable, but *pay* is most often used to show contrast, and if the RE is rather lengthy *yan* is the preferred particle. A detachment used for contrast may also be accompanied by the preposing marker *mo* glossed as "as for."

3.1 Discourse purposes for preposing

Preposing is appropriate when a previously introduced participant first begins to function in the discourse as in (32), or when the narrative reverts back to a previous participant as in (33).

(32) *Din nay ay esay ina,   man-gapo di beteng na,*
      RM this LK one mother A.cause   RM drunk 3sII

      laylayden   na   ay en makisida.
      PROG.like.U 3sII LK go A.feast
      'Now this particular mother, because of her drunkenness, she loved to go to feasts.' (And the story goes on to detail her misadventures.)

(33) *Mo   din si   nanang na, kambaw iyat na en*
      as.for RM PRM mother 3sII PART   say 3sII LK

      mansakit din toktok na   ngem...
      A.pain   RM head 3sII but
      '(Meanwhile) as for her mother, well, she said she had a headache but....'
      (The story is moving at this point from the child in the field to the mother back at the house.)

Activation in the LDP is also called for when some background or explanatory information is given as in (34) and (35).

(34)   *Mo   din ngadan din nay ay singbaan, Spiritista.*
        as.for RM name   RM this LK church   Spiritista
        'As for the name of this church, it was Spiritista.'

(35)   *Di nemnem na yan   makilagbo   kano.*
        RM mind   3sII PART A.earn.wage EVID
        'His intention, he was going to get a job (according to him).'

A third purpose for preposing is to contrast one topical entity with others, as in (36).

(36)   *et mo   si   sik/a pay, en ka man/oto.*
        and as-for PRM 2sIII PART go 2sI A.cook
        '…and as for you, you go cook.' (in context of assigning duties)

3.2 Preposing in basic clauses with resumptive pronouns

Once activated by preposing, a participant may syntactically function in any semantic argument position – for example, a possessor in (33), an ergative Actor in (34), an absolutive Undergoer in (35), or the single argument of the predicate as in (36). These arguments are expressed as pronouns in the clause core, underlined in examples (37-40). Note that the absolutive 3sI is a null pronoun (∅). Thus the apparent absence of a resumptive pronoun following a preposed RE indicates that 3sI 'he/she/it' fills the role marked on the verb, as in (39).

(37)   *Din is/ís/ek da, danggian di   ngadan na.*
        RM U.PROG.plant.3pII danggian RM name   3sII
        'What they are planting, danggian is <u>its</u> name.'

(38)   *Sik/a ay ina,   ginaganas   mo din sida.*
        2sIII LK mother U.P.DUR.enjoy 2sII RM feast
        'You mother, <u>you</u> were enjoying the feast.'

(39)   *Mo   din istolya ay insolat   ko, indawat ko ∅ en   Jaime.*
        as.for RM story LK U.P.write 1sII U.P.give 1sII 3sI OPRM Jaime
        'As for the story I wrote, I gave <u>it</u> to Jaime.'

(40) *Mo   din Major pay,   pati sin   odom ay soldado na*
as.for RM Major PART also ORM other LK soldier 3sII

yan   naisian   da.
PART U.P.separate   3pI
'As for the Major and some of his soldiers, <u>they</u> were separated (from others).'

3.3 Preposing in equative clauses

3.3.1 Preposing the first RE with Class III pronouns

It has been noted that equative clauses in Kankanaey have a definite RE in the clause nucleus. This RE identifies an active referent, but it can be preposed when the discourse purpose is not to activate it but to contrast one active referent with others in the context as in (41)and (42). This focal contrast is on a higher information level than the clause, and is not used to identify the unique referent of the second RE in the clause. The detached phrase is syntactically coreferential with the clause nucleus rather than with its argument and the resumptive pronoun that fills the predicate position in the clause nucleus must be a free-standing pronoun III.

(41) *Mo   si   Dapyat yan   sisya di   presidenten din   pupils government da.*
as.for PRM Dapyat PART 3sIII RM president   RM   pupils government 3pII
'As for Dapyat, she's the president of their student government.' (In the context   of reporting on the speaker's various children.)

(42) *Mo   din   dowa pay,   daida di   guardia.*
as.for RM   two   yet   3pIII RM   guard
'As for the other two, they were the guards.' (In the context of describing five aircraft, three of which dropped supplies for ground forces.)

3.3.2 Preposing an argument from the second RE with resumptive pronouns

When the argument (second) RE of an equative clause has an affixed-root nucleus, any argument of that nucleus can be preposed for purposes of contrast, and a resumptive pronoun will indicate its role in relationship to the affixed nucleus. Example (43) shows the preposing of an oblique argument (underlined) that is inside the second RE of a narrow-focus clause. In example (44), a direct argument (underlined) of the affixed nucleus is preposed to contrast with others in a listing of what the speaker's children were accomplishing lately.

(43)   *Si   dooy   pay, sinoy   mapasamak en   sisya?*
        PRM DEM3III PART what.RM U.happen   OPRM 3sIII
        '(How about) that one, what will happen to him?'

(44)   *Mo   si   Narding, owat pay din mansinsinit   di am/amagen na̲.*
        as.for PRM Narding only PART RM A.PROG.offend RM U.PROG.do 3sII
        'As for Narding, it's just offensive things that he's doing (i.e. doing
        things that are bothering the parents.)'

3.3.3 Preposing the entire second RE with no resumptive pronouns

The entire argument RE (the second RE) of a narrow-focus clause can
be preposed if the speaker believes that the referent or the situation need to be
activated for clarity. This device often serves to pose an implied question of
identification, and then to answer it with the predicate RE, as in (45) and (46)
where the original narrow-focus clause is indicated in brackets on the first
line. The relationship between the assertion and the preposed argument RE of
a narrow-focus clause is still co-referential; a pause or particle indicates the
preposing, no resumptive pronoun is necessary. (The English resumptive
pronoun has been placed in parentheses in the translation.)

(45)   *[Si Martin din anak ko.]*
        Mo   din anak ko yan   si   Martin .
        as.for RM child 1sII PART PRM Martin
        'As for my son, (he's) Martin.'

(46)   *[Din esa ay anak di nabay/an.]*
        Di nabay/an, din esa ay anak .
        RM U.P.left   RM one LK child
        'Who was left, (it was) the one child.'

3.4 Post-posing with the presumptive general pronoun

Figure 5 in Section 3 indicated that preposed REs are displaced into
the left-detached position of the sentence. The Kankanaey sentence also has a
detached position to the right of the clause, see Figure 6. This position often
holds peripheral information related to the clause, such as time orientation.

Figure 6. S→(LDP +) Clause (+ RDP)

An unpredictable but accessible referent can be placed in the RDP
following a narrow-focus clause with a focal general pronoun, as in (47) and
(48), with the pronoun co-referent to the postposed RE. This narrative device

may be used to heighten suspense as it delays the identification of the participant until the last possible position.

(47) *Say   kaeegyat sina,   din doy   tornado.*
      PRO.RM scary   DEMIV RM DEMV tornado
      'That's what's scary here, those tornados.'

(48) *Say   ginamdot   na, din book.*
      PRO.RM   U.P.grasp   3sII RM hair
      'That's what it had grasped, the hair.' (From a story of a man trapped underwater by an eel.)

4. Conclusion

This study has explored the interaction of discourse purposes and syntactic structures. Speakers of Kankanaey can introduce participants, refer to accessible entities, identify participants and their roles, and activate referents for prominence, comment, or contrast in their discourses. They manage information regarding these entities by means of clause structures, choice of RE nuclear forms, definiteness markers, resumptive pronouns and pre/postposing. See Appendix 5 for a comparison of several possible configurations of one clause. Table 2 summarizes the mechanisms for focus and activation in Kankanaey.

Table 2. Information mechanisms in Kankanaey by position and focus domain

	LDP	NUCLEUS	(ERG Argument)	ABS Argument	RDP
Sentence Focus	-	Predicate	Pronoun or Indefinite RE	Indefinite RE	-
Predicate Focus	-		Pronoun or Indefinite RE	Definite RE	-
Preposing Predicate Focus	Definite RE		Resumptive pronoun for one argument or other participant		-
Narrow Focus (Equative Clause)	-	Definite RE	-	Definite RE or Indefinite RE with affixed nucleus	-
Preposing Narrow focus	Definite RE	resumptive pronoun for one participant			-
Postposing Narrow focus only	-	Resumptive general pronoun	-	Definite RE or Indefinite RE with affixed nucleus	- Definite RE

Appendix 1. Abbreviations

I Intransitive absolutive pronoun
II Ergative/possessive pronoun
III Transitive absolutive pronoun
1 First-person or near-speaker
2 Second-person or near-hearer
3 Third-person or distant
A Actor-reference
DEM Demonstrative pronoun marker
DUR Durative aspect

INTENS Intensifying aspect
LK Linker
LRM Locative RM
NOM Nominalizer

ORM Oblique referring marker
P Past/completive aspect
p plural
PART particle
PRM Personal direct RM
PORM Proper/Personal oblique RM
PROG Progressive aspect
RM referring-expression

(direct if unmarked)

RE Referring expression
s singular
U Undergoer-reference
= clitic

Appendix 2. Kankanaey personal/proper referring markers with corresponding pronoun classes

	Intransitive absolutive	Transitive absolutive	Ergative/ Possessive	Oblique
singular	*si*		*%*	*en*
plural	*da*	*(si) da*	*da*	*en da*
locative	*ed*		--	*ed*
personal pronoun	=I	*(si)* III	=II	*en* III
demonstrative pronoun	I	III	II	IV

Appendix 3. Kankanaey verbal affixes

Affix	Macrorole cross-reference	Affix	Macrorole cross-reference
ma-	Undergoer	*<om>*	Actor
i-		*ka-*	
-en		*man-*	
-an		*maN*-*	
i-...-an		*maki-*	
ka-		*maka-*	
<om>			

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*N represents a nasal that replaces a root-initial consonant at its place of articulation and is realized as a velar nasal when replacing an initial glottal stop. The prefix maN- is only used by a few roots as a predicating affix; its use is most commonly as a nominalizing affix on trasitive roots, see Appendix 4 below.

Appendix 4. Kankanaey nominalizing affixes

Affix	Root type	Semantic effect	Examples
Akin-	nominal	refers to the possessor	*akin/aso* 'dog's owner'
Ka-	activity or state	refers to a companion	*katolong* 'helper' *katokdo* 'seat-mate' *kaising* 'co-in-law'
	attribute	refers to an attribute something has or to a related time span	*kabalom* 'your youth' *kapigsan di segit* 'strength of the sunshine'
kaCVC	state	time of	*katagtago* 'lifetime'
ka-...-an	activity	refers to the activity itself as an event	*kapolagan di bato* 'falling of rocks' *kaiologan* 'translation'
	state or attribute	refers to time, place, other related concepts or entities	*kaekan* 'what one sleeps on' *kaad/adoan* 'majority, most' *kabigatan* 'next day' *kasapolan* 'what is needed'
kama-	state	refers to time of the state	*kamatago* 'lifetime'
Kina-	attribute	refers to the attribute itself	*kinatet/ewa* 'truth'
Pan—...-an	nominal	refers to something used to bring about the nominal	*pan-gapoan* 'used for reason/excuse' *panpolian* 'for purposes of breeding/descendants'
-an	*<om>* and *ma-* affixed roots	refers to the time or place of the state or activity	*emeyan* 'time/place of going' *gomabisana* 'time of becoming dawn' *naitapian* 'what sth was added/joined to'
ipaN-	activity	refers to something nonspecific used for the activity	*ipangan* 'food to eat with rice'
p-...-an (substitute *p-* for *m-*)	roots affixed with *man-*, *maN-* or *maki-*	refers to the activity itself or the associated time or place of the activity	*panliplipilan* 'repair shop' *nantolaganda* 'when/where they arranged' *nakiasawaanmi* 'time we wed' *panobtobtoban* 'act of adding sth to sth' *pangasinan* 'place to get *asin* (salt)' *nangananmi* 'place we ate'

pangi-...-an	roots affixed with *i-*	refers to the location where the activity is directed	*pangidawtan* 'who to give it to' *pangitangadan* 'who to look up to' *nangipaylan da si lokto* 'where they put yams'
maN-, mangi-	activity	refers to the Actor argument of transitive roots	*nangelay sin lokto* 'one who peeled the yams' *mangibaga* 'one who tells sth'

Appendix 5. Comparative configurations of one clause

Ginamdot di esay dalit din book Poltag.   An eel grasped Poltag's hair.
     (Sentence focus.)

Ginamdot na din book. He grasped the hair. (Predicate focus.)

Din book yan ginamdot na (%). The hair, he grasped it.
     (preposed absolutive argument)

Si Poltag pay, ginamdot din dalit din book na. As for Poltag, the eel grasped
     his hair. (preposed possessor)

Din book di ginamdot na. The hair was what he grasped. (Narrow-focus)

Di ginamdot na, din book. What he grasped, it was the hair.
     (preposed argument RE)

Din book, say ginamdot na. The hair, that was what he grasped.
     (preposed predicate RE)

Say ginamdot na, din book. That was what he grasped, the hair.
     (postposed predicate RE)