Left-dislocation in Western Subanon

A. L. Blake
University of Hawai'i at Mānoa
blakeal@hawaii.edu

Abstract

Left-dislocations in Western Subanon, an under-described language of the Philippines, are examined in this paper. Left-dislocation is demonstrated to be comprised of a clause-external pre-predicate NP which is co-referential with an argument in the main clause. Syntactically, Western Subanon left-dislocations are analyzed to be H-type (traditionally known as Hanging Topic) (López, 2014/2016). Furthermore, left-dislocation is evidenced to have several sub-functions within the main function of topicalization in this verb-initial language. In line with Payne's (1995) analysis for Austronesian languages in general, I find that the Structure Building Framework of Gernsbacher (1990) and Gernsbacher and Hargreaves (1992) explains cognitive motivations for the placement of an NP in pre-predicate position in Western Subanon left-dislocations.

Keywords: *Western Subanon, left-dislocation, topicalization, inversion, fronting*
ISO 639-3 language codes: suc

1.0 Introduction

Dislocation constructions are common in the world's languages, even among languages that otherwise observe strict word order (Lambrecht, 1996). This paper identifies the structure and functions of left-dislocations (LDs) in Western Subanon, an under-described Austronesian language of the Philippines.

While left-dislocation has been thoroughly analyzed in several languages of the Indo-European family (López, 2014/2016), less attention has been paid to describing left-dislocation in other language families. A more complete typological picture emerges when verb-initial languages such as Western Subanon are considered. Similar structures in other Philippine languages have been noted (see Constantino, 1973 for an early comparison), but this is the first description of left-dislocation in Western Subanon. Structures such as Tagalog *ay*-inversion and Tagalog "topicalization" (Fox, 1985; Fox, 1987) have been investigated, as well as Agutaynen *ay*-inversion (Quakenbush, 1992), and Kagayanen "topicalization" (Pebley, 1999). While left-dislocation in Western Subanon is similar to the "topicalization" construction of other Philippine languages, Western Subanon has no structure analagous to Tagalog *ay*-inversion.

A left-dislocation in Western Subanon comprises a clause-external pre-predicate NP which is co-referential with an argument (expressed or not) in the main clause. Functionally, the pre-predicate NP in Western Subanon is a topic. Drawing on data from texts of different genres as well as an ellicitation task, I identify four primary sub-functions of left-dislocation in Western Subanon. Left-dislocation is used to establish an entity currently in the common ground as a topic, to introduce a new entity by accommodation, or to switch the topic. Left-dislocation can also be used to contrast entities.

The remainder of this paper is organized as follows: In section 1.1, I give a brief overview of Western Subanon. In section 2, I describe the sources used for this analysis. With regards to this particular language, section 3 covers the syntactic structure of left-dislocation, while section 4 describes the identified sub-functions of left-dislocation. Section 5 situates the structure of Subanon LD typologically, as well as explains how cognitive processes might motivate Subanon LD constructions. Section 6 gives concluding remarks.

1.1 Western Subanon

Western Subanon is a member of the Western Malayo-Polynesian branch of the Austronesian language family. It is one of eight Subanen languages (Lobel, 2013) spoken by approximately 125,000 people on the Zamboanga Peninsula on the island of Mindanao in the Philippines (Lewis et al., 2016). It is the only Subanen language which is pronounced with a back vowel in the final syllable of the language name, as denoted orthographically by the name *Subanon.*

As a Philippine language, Subanon is assumed to be basically predicate-initial, permitting several alternate word orders. Subanon allows NPs to occur pre-verbally in what I call left-dislocations or left-dislocated constructions (LDs). A canonical, predicate-initial clause is shown in (1), and its left-dislocated truth-conditional semantic equivalent is shown in (2).[1]

(1) *Binogoy* *nog* *libun* *(koni)* *og* *mompalam*
OV.gave NPIV woman (this) PIV mango

sog *laki* *(koni).* (elicited)[2]
LOC man (this)
'The woman gave the mango to the man.'

(2) *Og* *mompalam* *koni,*
PIV mango this

binogoy *nog* *libun* *(koni)* *sog* *laki* *(koni).* (elicited)
OV.gave NPIV woman (this) LOC man (this)
'The mango, the woman gave it to the man.'

Voice system. Key to describing voice and grammatical relations in Philippine languages are two terms: actor and pivot. The actor, which usually corresponds to the semantic macrorole of the same name, has role-related properties attributed to it, such as control of reflexivization and equi-noun-phrase deletion. The pivot, (also referred to in the literature as the grammatical focus or topic, not to be confused with the pragmatic concepts of focus and topic,) has reference-related properties associated with it. The pivot, for instance, can be relativized by a gap strategy and launch floating quantifiers (Schachter, 1976, characterizing all Philippine languages).

Western Subanon, like other Philippine-type languages, has one core argument as its pivot, which is marked by the proclitic *og*. The grammatical role of the *og*-marked argument determines

[1] Western Subanon has the phonemes *p, t, k, b, d, g, m, n, r, s, h, w, l, ʔ, ŋ, j, i, e, a, u, ɔ*. Most phonemes are written with their corresponding IPA symbols; exceptions are *o* for /ɔ/, *'* for /ʔ/, *ng* for /ŋ/, and *y* for /j/. Most Subanon clitics are written as separate words.

[2] A word/clitic-level gloss has been used whenever possible. Verbal mood and aspect in particular has been simplified due to the author's limited understanding. However, the voice of the transitive verb is glossed.

the voice morphology of the verb. Non-pivot core arguments are marked by *nog*, and glossed as *non-pivot* (NPIV). *Og* and *nog* mark NPs. Personal name marker and pronominal paradigms also distinguish between pivot and non-pivot arguments.

Western Subanon has three voices in basic transitive sentences: actor voice (AV), object voice (OV), and directional voice (DV). In transitive constructions, the pivot which co-occurs with an actor voice verb is typically an agent. The pivot which co-occurs with an object voice verb is typically a semantic theme or patient, and the pivot which co-occurs with a directional voice verb is typically a goal, beneficiary, or location.

The semantic distinctions between the voices, as well as the pragmatic motivations for voice selection, are not discussed here.

2.0 Sources

Several Subanon short texts were examined for this study. They are listed in Table 1. A single Western Subanon native speaker, from Malayal, Zamboanga del Norte province, provided several texts and stimuli responses. The speaker, Sharon Bulalang (formerly Sharon Estioca), was recorded in Honolulu, Hawaii, USA. *Bolabow bu koding* and *Gusa bu Susu'* are told in the Siocon dialect of Western Subanon, which is similar to the Malayal dialect.

Table 1

Subanon data sources

	Data source	**Description**
Text	*Bolabow bu koding* 'The rat and the cat' (Iyon, 1989)	a traditional folktale told by Samoy Iyon and written down by William Hall in 1989
	Gusa bu Susu' 'The deer and the snail' (Dondanan, 1989)	a traditional folktale told by Siday Dondanan and written down by William Hall in 1989
	Og kusita' 'The octopus' (Estioca, 2016a: FM1-030)	a personal narrative told by Sharon Bulalang in 2016
	Crime in the area (Estioca, 2016a: FM1-028)	a historical narrative told by Sharon Bulalang in 2016
	Og kukuk 'The kukuk' (Estioca, 2016a: FM1-029)	an expository text about a mythological creature told by Sharon Bulalang in 2016
Elicitation	QUIS Picture stimulus responses (Estioca, 2016a: FM1-032 and FM1-033)	a section of Field Manual 1 (S1-1 through S1-92) of Skopeteas and colleagues' Questionnaire for Information Structure (QUIS)(2006), as answered by Sharon Bulalang in 2016

Stimuli responses were elicited using the Questionnaire for Information Structure (QUIS) (Skopeteas et al., 2006). For the purpose of this study, a section of Field Manual 1 (the picture stimuli S1-1 through S1-92) was used. The elicitor's version of the manual contains both images and specific prompts which are read to the consultant, whereas the consultant's version only

contains images; a sample from the elicitor's point of view is shown in Figure 1. The elicitor spoke English, while the consultant responded in Subanon.

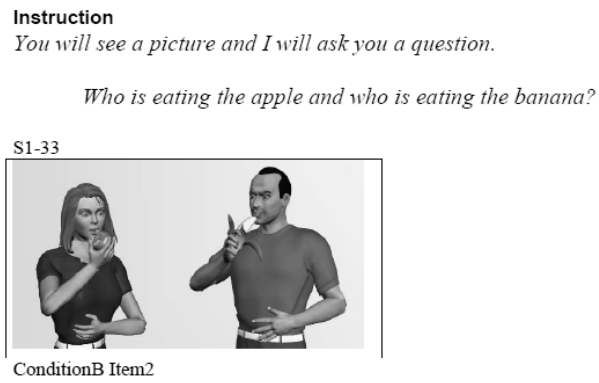


Figure 1. QUIS sample stimuli S1-33 with elicitor view

Additionally, two procedural texts (*Og gubikayu* 'cassava' (Estioca, 2016a: FM1-031) and *How to tell if a coconut is ripe* (Estioca, 2016a: FM1-028)) were examined. As these were found to have no tokens of left-dislocation, they were not analyzed further.

3.0 Syntactic structure of left-dislocations

Left-dislocated structures in Western Subanon consist of a clause-external pre-predicate NP (i.e., the left-dislocate, which is co-referential with an argument (expressed or not) in the main clause. This definition excludes superficially similar constructions in which the initial NP does not occur outside the matrix clause, such as pseudoclefts and canonical constructions with second-position pronominal enclitics (See section 3.5).

Left-dislocation constructions are also further distinguished by a number of syntactic properties, which are discussed in this section. First, left-dislocates have pivot marking, even when they are co-referential with a non-pivot argument of the main clause. Second, the co-referential argument of the main clause must be expressed under certain conditions, and is likely to be omitted in others. Third, definite marking on the left dislocate is obligatory for identifiable referents.

3.1 Left-dislocations as biclausal constructions

The pre-predicate NP in left-dislocated constructions is contained within its own clause, distinct from the matrix clause. In careful speech, the pre-predicate NP has an intonational contour distinct from that of the predicate, and there may be a short pause in between the two clauses. However, in many contexts, there is no noticeable pause and the pitch reset before the predicate is subtle.

The location of a second-position clitic provides further evidence that the fronted NP occurs external to the main clause. Examples (3) and (7) are canonical constructions, while (4) and (8) are their respective left-dislocated counterparts. As shown in (4), (5), and (6), the enclitic reportative particle *dow* cannot occur following the left-dislocated NP *og libun koni* 'this woman'. Likewise, the enclitic aspect marker *pa* in (8), (9), and (10) cannot follow the left-dislocated NP. Instead, these second-position clitics occur following the verb in the left-dislocated construction, indicating that the left-dislocated NP is extra-clausal.

(3) *Monulat dow og libun koni.* (elicited)

AV.is.going.to.write REP PIV woman this
'They say this woman is going to write.'

(4) *Og libun koni, monulat dow.* (elicited)
PIV woman this, AV.is.going.to.write REP
'This woman, they say she is going to write.'

(5) **og libun koni dow monulat.*

(6) **og libun koni, dow monulat.*

(7) *Monulat pa og libun koni.* (elicited)
AV.is.going.to.write still PIV woman this
'This woman is still going to write.'

(8) *Og libun koni, monulat pa.* (elicited)
PIV woman this, AV.is.going.to.write still
'This woman, she is still going to write.'

(9) **og libun koni pa monulat.*

(10) **og libun koni, pa monulat.*

The placement of second-position pronominal enclitics provides further evidence that the fronted NP is external to the main clause. Example (11) uses canonical word order, while (12) is its left-dislocated truth-conditional semantic equivalent. In (11), (12), (13), and (14), the third person non-pivot pronoun *non* must attach to the clause-initial element, here the predicate *pigoidan* 'hold.'

(11) *Pigoidan non og bula koyon* (modified from QUIS S1-62)
held.OV 3SG.NPIV PIV ball that
'She held that ball.'

(12) *Og bula koyon, pigoidan non* (modified from QUIS S1-62)
PIV ball that, held.OV 3SG.NPIV
'That ball, she held it.'

(13) **og bula koyon non pigoidan*

(14) **og bula koyon, non pigoidan*

Thus, the combination of evidence from intonational breaks and restriction on second position clitics (whether adverbial or pronominal) indicate that the pre-predicate NP occurs in a separate clause which precedes the main clause.

3.2 Pivot marking

The left-dislocated NP is marked the same way as a pivot NP. A lexical left dislocate is marked with *og*, a personal name left dislocate is marked with *si*, and pronominal left dislocates similarly follow the pivot pronominal paradigm. The pre-predicate NP has pivot marking regardless of whether it co-references a pivot or non-pivot argument of the main clause. Although either *nog libun koni* 'this woman' or the non-pivot third person singular pronoun *non* can be an argument of the main clause as in (15) and (16), a well-formed left-dislocation requires *og*-marking on the fronted NP, as in (17). The left-dislocation in (18) is ungrammatical due to the non-pivot marking on the fronted NP.

(15) *Binogoyan* *nog* *libun* *koni* *og* *laki* *koni* *nog* *mompalam.*
gave.DV NPIV woman this PIV man this NPIV mango
(elicited)
'The woman gave the man mango.'

(16) *Binogoyan* *non* *og* *laki* *koni* *nog* *mompalam.* (elicited)
gave.DV 3SG.NPIV PIV man this NPIV mango
'She gave the man mango.'

(17) **[Nog* *libun* *koni]$_i$,*
NPIV woman this

binogoyan *non$_i$* *og* *laki* *koni* *nog* *mompalam.* (elicited)
gave.DV 3SG.NPIV PIV man this NPIV mango
'The woman, she gave the man mango.'

(18) *[Og* *libun* *koni]$_i$*
PIV woman this

binogoyan *non$_i$* *og* *laki* *koni* *nog* *mompalam.* (elicited)
gave.DV 3SG.NPIV PIV man this NPIV mango
'The woman, she gave the man mango.'

3.3 Expressed and unexpressed arguments of the main clause

Arguments may be omitted (not overtly expressed) from Subanon clauses under certain conditions, many of which will not be elaborated here. (See Milambiling, 2011 for some examples of dropped arguments in Tagalog.) However, in left-dislocation, when a fronted NP co-references a non-pivot argument, the non-pivot argument must be overtly expressed in the main clause. Conversely, if the argument that the left-dislocate co-references is the pivot of the main clause, there is a strong preference for omitting the argument in the main clause. In (19), *og libun koni nog migaid nog bumbilia* 'this woman who was grabbing the light bulb' is the left dislocate and the semantic agent. Since the verb *migaid* 'hold' is coded as actor voice, the argument need not be overtly expressed in the main clause.

(19) *[Og* *libun* *koni* *nog* *migaid* *nog* *bumbilia]$_i$,*
PIV woman this REL AV.was.holding NPIV lightbulb

migaid *dosop* *Øi* *nog* *lampstand.* (QUIS S1-67)
AV.is.holding also Ø NPIV lampstand.
'The woman who was grabbing the light bulb, is also holding a lampstand.'

Similarly, in (20), *og bula ken* 'that ball' is the left dislocate and the semantic theme. The verb of the main clause, *pigoidan* 'hold', has object voice marking and so the argument is not overtly re-stated in the main clause.

(20) *Doksu ion,*
after that

[og bula ken]i,
PIV ball that

pigoidan *non* *Øi* *dia* *sog* *kilid* *non.* (QUIS S1-62)
held.OV 3SG.NPIV Ø there LOC side 3SG.POSS
'After that, that ball, she held at her side.'

Restating the argument in the main clause creates a construction which sounds overly-redundant to the consultant, who preferred to repair the sentence in (21) by removing *ion*.

(21) *?[Og bata' koni]i* ,
PIV child this

pitongow *ioni* *nog* *gina'* *sog* *polopanad*. (elicited)
showed.OV 3SG.PIV NPIV mother LOC teacher
'The child, the mother showed him to a teacher.'

Although elicited forms favor dropping the co-referential pivot from the main clause, naturalistic data indicate that such pivots can be overtly manifested as resumptive pronouns. For example, in (22), the speaker produces the left-dislocate *og gotowanan* 'the people,' and then the co-referential third person plural pivot pronoun *ilan*.

(22) *Dangan* *en* *miglotup,*
when 3SG.PIV exploded

og *gotowanani* *migdali'dali'* *ilani* *mangoy*
PIV people rushing 3PL.PIV to.go

sog *gongayan* *nilan* *nog* *poksolobunian* *nilan.*
LOC destination 3PL.POSS REL hiding.place 3PL.POSS
(Crime in the area)
'When there was a gunshot, the people hurriedly went to their hiding place.'

There is one instance of a left-dislocation with co-indexing pivot pronoun in the QUIS data as shown in (23). Note that the preposed NP has a lengthy modifying relative clause, *nog sog*

dialom nog dugu 'who was inside the room,' indicating that the resumptive pronoun likely helps with processing due to distance from the head (McKee & McDaniel, 2001).

(23) *[Og laki kitu' nog sog dialom nog dugu]$_i$,*
PIV man that REL LOC inside POSS room

mimonek ion$_i$ sog gugdan (from QUIS S1-38i)
AV.climbed 3SG.PIV LOC ladder
'…The man who was inside the room, he climbed a ladder…'

When the left-dislocate co-references the semantic agent of the main clause, and the main clause verb is coded for a different voice (i.e., object voice or directional voice), then overt expression of the non-pivot argument is obligatory. For example, in (24), the verb *sinipa'* is coded for object voice, and the left-dislocate *og libun kitu' nog sinumipa nog bula* 'the woman who was kicking a ball' is co-indexed by the overt non-pivot pronoun *non* in the main clause.

(24) *Tubus nion, [og libun kitu' nog sinumipa' nog bula]$_i$,*
after that, PIV woman that REL AV.was.kicking NPIV ball,

sinipa' non$_i$ nosop og sulu'. (QUIS S1-37)
OV.kicked 3SG.NPIV again PIV lamp.
'After that, the woman who was kicking a ball, she kicked a lamp, too.'

In (25), the verb *binogoyan* is coded for directional voice, and so the left-dislocate and semantic agent *og libun koni* 'this woman,' must be co-indexed by an overt non-pivot pronoun *non* in the main clause. The sentence without this pronoun is ungrammatical, as in (26).

These constraints are also similar to those of Subanon relative clauses, in which the agent can be relativized from a non-actor voice construction provided there is overt resumptive expression of the argument (Estioca, 2016b).

(25) *[Og libun koni]$_i$,*
PIV woman this

binogoyan non$_i$ og laki koni nog mompalam. (elicited)
gave.DV 3SG.NPIV PIV man this NPIV mango
'The woman, she gave the man mango.'

(26) **Og libun koni,*
PIV woman this
binogoyan Ø og laki koni nog mompalam. (elicited)
gave.DV Ø PIV man this NPIV mango
'The woman, gave the man mango.'

Finally, themes in actor voice and directional voice can be preposed, with the use of *dun* 'some, part of' as in (27) and (28); these have a partitive reading as dictated by the verbal semantics.

(27) *[Og mompalam koyon]$_i$,*
PIV mango that

migbogoy og libun dun$_i$ sog laki. (elicited)
AV.gave PIV woman some LOC man
'The mango, the woman gave some to the man.'

(28) **Og mompalam koyon,*
PIV mango that

migbogoy og libun Ø sog laki. (elicted)
AV.gave PIV woman Ø LOC man
'The mango, the woman gave to the man.'

3.4 Definite Marking

While definite marking is optional in canonical constructions, definite left-dislocated NPs must be explicitly marked as such. Overt definite marking consists of one or more demonstratives.[3] In (29), the left-dislocate *bolabow koni* includes the noun *bolabow* 'rat' and the demonstrative *koni* 'this'.

(29) *Koni dow bolabow koni, da' na gonekgonek non.*
this REP rat this, NEG already sound 3SG.POSS
(Bolabow bu koding)
'As for the rat, she was speechless.'

In canonical constructions, the definite marker is not obligatory for an identifiable referent. In (30), the cat and rat have been introduced several paragraphs ago and are simply referred to as *bolabow* 'rat' and *koding* 'cat'; demonstratives and pivot markers have been dropped.

(30) *Dadi migdunut bolabow bu koding.* (Bolabow bu koding)
then go.together rat and cat
'Thus the cat went with the rat.'

Without definite marking, a left-dislocated NP is interpreted as type-identifiable. In (31), the speaker is finishing her explanation of the mythical *kukuk* creature. She produces a left-dislocate composed of only the pivot marker *og* and the noun *kukuk*. There is no demonstrative or other definite marking on the left-dislocate, and it refers to the *kukuk* creatures in general.

(31) *Og kukuk kondokan nami*
PIV kukuk fear.DV 1PL.EXCL.NPIV
po' bila pu'un
because if at.the.moment
mokpogunut a sog bonwa nilan

[3] Demonstratives do not typically co-occur with possessive NPs like *og baloy nami* 'our house' or personal names.

accompany 2SG.PIV LOC place 3PL.POSS
ondi' a na mokuli' (Og kukuk)
NEG 2SG.PIV already abil.to.return
'We're afraid of kukuks because if you happen to go to their place, then you can no longer return.'

When prompted to create sentences beginning with NPs without demonstratives, the speaker produced the left-dislocated contrast pair shown in (32) and (33). These NPs are generic.

(32) *Og libun, mokpalda.* (elicited)
PIV woman, wear.skirt
'As for women, [they] wear skirts.'

(33) *Og laki, mokpantalun.* (elicited)
PIV man, wear.pants
'As for men, [they] wear pants.'

3.5 Structures that are not left-dislocation

There are two constructions which appear at first glance to be superficially similar to left-dislocation: namely, pseudo-clefts and clauses with pre-verbal second-position enclitics.

Subanon pseudo-clefts are equational (copular) sentences consisting of a predicate nominal and a headless relative clause. For pseudo-clefts in related languages, the relative clause contains given information, and the predicate nominal supplies new and focused information (Aldridge, 2002).

Examples (34), (35), and (36) show the canonical, pragmatically unmarked sentence along with its left-dislocated and pseudo-cleft allosentences.

(34) *Binogoy nog libun (koni) og mompalam sog laki (koni).*
OV.gave NPIV woman (this) PIV mango LOC man (this)
(elicited)
'The woman gave the mango to the man.'

(35) *Og mompalam koni,*
PIV mango this
binogoy nog libun (koni) sog laki (koni). (elicited)
OV.gave NPIV woman (this) LOC man (this)
'The mango, the woman gave to the man.'

(36) *Og mompalam og binogoy nog libun (koni)*
PIV mango PIV OV.give NPIV woman (this)
sog laki (koni). (elicited)
LOC man (this)
'It's mango that the woman gave the man.'

The differences between these structures include an intonational break (as indicated by the comma in (35) for the left-dislocation, as well as an additional pivot-marked predicate (i.e., *og binogoy* in (36).

Left-dislocations should also be distinguished from clauses with preverbal clitic pronouns, as clitic placement in Subanon is governed by other factors. In (37), the pronominal enclitic *mu* must occur pre-verbally, but this is not an instance of left-dislocation.

(37)	*Mangka*	*mu*	*pogakut*	*sog*	*baloy*	*og*	*gubikayu*	*koni.*
	and.then	2SG.NPIV	OV.haul	LOC	house	PIV	cassava	this

(modified from Og gubikayu)
'And then haul the cassava to your house.'

(38) **Mangka pog-akut mu sog baloy og gubikayu koni*

However, full forms of pronouns which occur in pre-predicate position are considered in this analysis. In (39), the full form of the first person singular pivot pronoun, *akon*, is fronted before the predicate. This is an instance of left-dislocation.

(39)	*Na,*	*akon,*	*bolian*	*u*	*ma* (Bolabow bu koding)
	PART	1SG.PIV	shaman	1SG.PIV	PART

'Now, as for me, I am a shaman!'

4.0 Functions of left-dislocation

In order to determine the functions of left-dislocation, I inspected the text and elicitation data described in §2.0, identifying 49 tokens of left-dislocation. Table 3 shows the number of left-dislocations by data type. Based on these data, in this section I detail several discourse situations where a Subanon speaker may use a left-dislocation.

Table 2

Left-dislocations by data type

Data type	**Title**	**LDs**		
		Lexical	***Pronominal***	***Personal name***
Narrative	*Bolabow bu koding* 'The rat and the cat'	5	4	
Narrative	*Gusa bu Susu'* 'The deer and the snail'			1
Narrative	*Og kusita'* 'The octopus'	1	1	
Narrative	*Crime in the area*	3	1	
Expository	*Og kukuk* 'the kukuk'	6	1	
Elicitation	QUIS Picture stimulus responses	24	1	1
Total		**39**	**8**	**2**

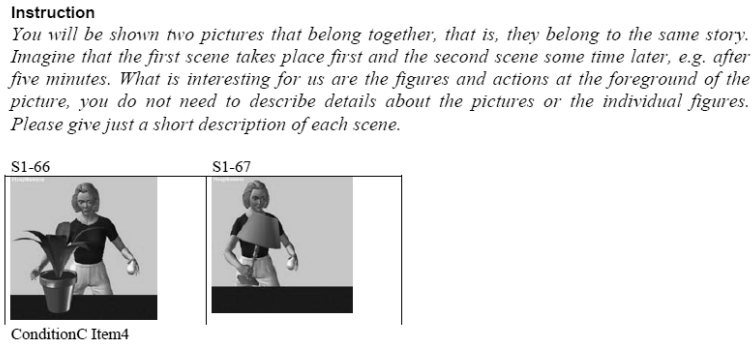
In order to determine the functions of left-dislocation, I inspected the text and elicitation data described in §2.0, identifying 49 tokens of left-dislocation. Table 3 shows the number of left-dislocations by data type. Based on these data, in this section I detail several discourse situations where a Subanon speaker may use a left-dislocation. The large number of left-dislocations in the QUIS data is striking; however, many of these were produced as false starts, some of which were then recast by the speaker using canonical word order. Thus, rather than definitively try to categorize all of the QUIS left-dislocations by function, I have selected a few examples from these data to highlight in the sections that follow. Longacre (1983; 1996) recognizes four major text types: narrative, procedural, behavioral, and expository. He also notes, however, that descriptive discourse, in which speakers describe what they see, may be an additional type distinct from expository discourse. The QUIS stimuli generally prompt the production of brief narrative and descriptive texts.

Left-dislocation in Subanon is used to designate one discourse entity as a topic. By discourse entity, I mean a referential concept with continuous identity over time. A topic is something which an interlocutor creates a cognitive "filecard" for, under which information about the topic is stored (Krifka, 2008). This information is known as the comment (Krifka, 2008). In Subanon, left-dislocation has several sub-functions which are shown to have topicalizing properties. Left-dislocation can establish an entity as a new topic, switch topics, or contrast two topics. I next turn to examining each of these identified uses of left-dislocation in Western Subanon.

4.1 Establishing a topic from an entity currently in the common ground

Left-dislocation can be used to establish a previously introduced entity as a new topic. The speaker selects an entity currently in the common ground as the new topic and places it in pre-predicate position, then produces a main clause containing a comment about the new topic. The common ground consists of information, related to both the content under discussion and the interlocutors' communicative goals, which is mutually known and is continuously modified as communication unfolds (Krifka, 2008). The common ground not only "consist[s] of a set of propositions that is assumed to be mutually accepted (or the conjunction of this set, one proposition), but also of a set of entities that have been introduced into the CG before" (Krifka, 2008:246).

When a left-dislocation is used to establish a new topic, the predicate which follows the NP may be a descriptive clause. In (40), the speaker first introduces the main human character in an existential clause using *ongon* 'there exists'. Following this introduction of *og libun* 'the woman', the speaker produces a left-dislocated clause with *og libun* 'the woman' preposed. She then gives further description about what the woman is doing, that is, holding a lamp.[4]



[4] The consultant saw QUIS S1-66 and S1-67 sequentially, not at once; she initially failed to mention the lightbulb.

(40) *Ongon og libun nog- ...*
exist PIV woman REL

s- ..
FS

Ongon og libun so:g- ...
exist PIV woman LOC

Ongon og libun nog pogindog,
exist PIV woman REL is.standing

so:g ... tolikudan nog bulakbulak koni sog pasu. (QUIS S1-66)
LOC behind POSS flower this LOC pot
'There is woman who is standing behind the flower in the pot.'

Og libun .. koni,
PIV woman this

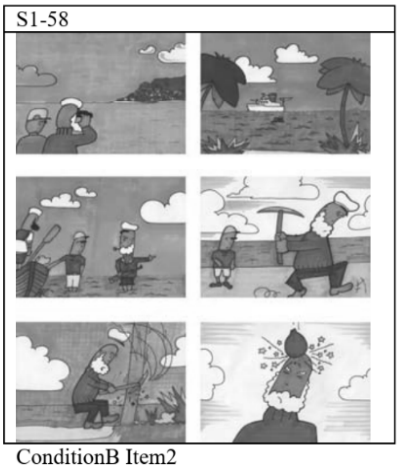
... nog migaid nog bumbilia,
REL AV.was.holding NPIV lightbulb

migaid dosop nog,
AV.was.holding PART NPIV

.. lampstand. (QUIS S1-67)
lampstand.
'The woman who was grabbing the light bulb was also holding a lampstand.'

An entity can be selected from a set of accessible participants by using left-dislocation. For example, in (41), the consultant introduces two people in a story by using an existential construction *ongon og dua kotow gotow* 'there are two people.' Then in the next clause she selects one of these as topic by using a left-dislocation which begins with *sola kotow koyon* 'that one person.' She then goes on to describe what the person is doing, that is, holding a telescope.

Instruction
You will see a picture. Please look carefully at it! Please tell me what happens.



ConditionB Item2

(41) *Ongon og dua kotow gotow sog dialom*
exist PIV two CL people LOC inside

.. *Ongon og dua kotow gotow,*
exist PIV two CL people

.. *sog* ...
LOC

kapal koyon.
boat that

Sola kotow koyon pogaid nog tolumpung non
one person that holding NPIV telescope 3SG.POSS

po' *monontong* *ilan* *nog,*
because look.for 3PL.PIV NPIV

pulu' *nog* *donggu'an* *nilan.* (from QUIS S1-58)
island REL port 3PL.POSS

'There are two people inside- There are two people on the ship. One of them was holding a telescope because he was looking for an island on which they can dock.'

Aside from the QUIS data, in the five Subanon texts, five instances of lexical topic establishment and one instance of personal name topic establishment were found. These often occurred at the beginnings of texts, when major participants were most likely to be introduced. Discourse participants are entities whose continuity of identity is maintained, in contrast with props, whose continuity of identity is ignored (Du Bois, 1980). After first explicitly introducing an entity in a post-predicate position such as within an existential clause, or as a *nog*-marked argument, a left-dislocated construction commonly supplies further description about the topic.

In (42), the first line of the folktale *Bolabow bu koding* 'The cat and the rat' introduces the main character of the story, the rat, as a genitive *nog*-marked argument. In the following sentence, *og bolabow* 'the rat,' occupies the left-dislocated position. The predicate gives further description about the rat, namely, that she has seven children.

(42) *Ngon* *dow* *buan* *ini* *og* *kigulangoy* *nog* *bolabow.*
There.is REP PART this PIV story POSS rat
'Once upon a time there was a rat.'

Og *bolabow* *koni* *pitu* *buk* *bata'* *non.* (Bolabow bu koding)
PIV rat this seven CL child 3SG.POSS
'This rat had seven children.'

Placing a noun phrase in the left-dislocate position allows it to become the current topic of discussion. Once the left-dislocated referent has been established as the topic of the following main clause, it may remain the discourse topic, without needing to be left-dislocated again. Further following clauses can continue to add description, while reverting to canonical word order with a pronoun or dropped argument, or using pseudo-clefts. In the case of this particular example, however, the narrator goes on to shift the topic to the rat's children, as she has the need to describe them as well. Immediately following the clauses of (42), the story continues with another left-dislocation beginning with *na gombata' non koyon* 'now those children of hers,' as shown in (43).

(43) *Na* *gombata'* *non* *koyon* *ondi'* *mokodag.* (Bolabow bu koding)
PART child 3SG.POSS that NEG well
'Now those children of hers were not well.'

Although the children have become the local topic, the narrator does not further describe them. The immediately following clause in (44) returns to the main story line, using canonical word order.

(44) *Dadi* *miktalu'* *bolabow* *koyon,* *long* *dow,*
Then AV.said rat that, say REP

"Ompanow *u* *pa.*
walk 1SG.PIV yet.

Mangoy *u* *pa* *monontong* *nog* *bolian."*
Go 2SG.PIV yet will.look NPIV shaman (Bolabow bu koding)

'So that rat spoke, saying, "I will go. I will look for a shaman."'

The four Subanon narratives selected for this study predominantly place the verb before its arguments for temporally sequenced main event line clauses, as do other Philippine languages (Payne, 1995; Quakenbush, 1992). In clauses which are apart from the main event line, however, Subanon speakers may produce left-dislocations.

Differences in style allow for Subanon speakers to establish an entity as topic using left-dislocation and immediately start the main event line, rather than supplying background information about the new topic. In (45), the snail and deer are first introduced as the object of a preposition. Following this, the narrator produces a left-dislocation which establishes Snail and Deer as the topics, then dives right into the action. (A more literal translation would be 'This is a story about Snail and Deer. Now Snail and Deer decided to have a race.').

(45) *Ngon dow ini kigulangoy takpil dia ni Susu' bu Usa.*
exist REP this story about OBL PN.NPIV snail and deer
'This is the story of the snail and the deer.'

Ati si Susu' bu si Usa
now PN.PIV snail and PN.PIV deer

migdag ilan dow gumobok. (Gusa bu Susu')
raced 3PL.PIV REP to.run
'Once upon a time the snail and the deer decided to have a race.'

Dadi mikpasad ilan nog
so agreed 3PL.PIV COMP

bila matong sog tolipagan moktinowagoy ilan
if come LOC river.crossing to.call.each.other 3PL.PIV

bu sima og dagon kanon non. (Gusa bu Susu')
and who PIV loser OV.be.eaten NPIV
'They agreed that whenever they came to a river crossing they would call to each other and that the winner would eat the loser.'

4.2 Introducing new entities via accommodation

In Subanon, left-dislocation is not used to explicitly introduce entities to the common ground; however left-dislocation can be used to introduce inferrable entities by pragmatic accommodation. There were three tokens of lexical left-dislocation used for this purpose found in the five texts examined for this study. In (46), the house becomes part of the common ground via accommodation of presupposition. This is to say that if the addressee can assume the referent's existence, it can be immediately introduced to the discourse in left-dislocate position. Since the addressee can presume to know that the speaker has a house, the NP *og baloy nami* 'our house' does not first need to be introduced in post-predicate position in (46).

(46) *Saka sinugu' u ma ini*
and.then OV.command 1SG.PIV EMPH this

nog gina' u sumaluy nog lana
REL mother 1SG.POSS AV.buy REL oil
'And then, my mother told me to go buy oil.'

Na	*og*	*baloy*	*nami*	*molayu*	*sog*	*tindaan.*
meanwhile	PIV	house	2PL.EXCL.POSS	far	LOC	store

'Meanwhile our house was far from the store.'

Minsan	*ompok*	*u*	*si'oy*	*sumaluy*	*nog*	*lana,*
even.though	not.willing	1SG.PIV	though	AV.buy	NPIV	oil

minangoy	*u*	*no*	*tibua* (Og kusita')
went	1SG.PIV	EMPH	anyway

'Even though I wasn't willing, I went to buy oil anyway.

In (46), the speaker is in the midst of telling a first-person narrative about catching an octopus as a child. In this narrative, the speaker's mother commands her to go buy oil, but instead she passes by the beach and helps a man catch an octopus. She departs from the main event line of the narrative about her mother's and her own actions to give some necessary background information. Although the left-dislocate *og baloy nami* 'our house' is the topic of its respective sentence in (46), it does not appear again for the rest of the narrative. Rather, the left-dislocation structure here is used as an aside or departure from the main actions of the story.

Similarly, in (47), the speaker is recalling a violent incident which occurred in her town. She has not yet introduced the [school] supervisor, but because every town has a supervisor, this entity can be introduced by accommodation using a modified left-dislocated structure with an intervening clause.

(47)

Saka	*ini,*	*og*	*supervisor*	*koni,*	
and.then	this	PIV	supervisor	this	
po'	*dali'ondow*	*mini*	*sinolod*	*og*	*molayal,*
because	dawn	EMPH.this	attacked	PIV	Malayal
migbuat	*ion.* (Crime in the area)				
woke.up	3SG.PIV				

'Then this supervisor, because it was early morning that Malayal was attacked, he got up'

Without the intervening clause, *po' dali'ondow mini sinolod og molayal* 'because it was early morning that Malayal was attacked,' the structure would be a simple left-dislocation.

In (48), there are three examples of left-dislocation. The speaker begins the expository text by placing *og subanon* 'the Subanons' in left-dislocate position. The addressees in this situation, students in a field methods class, are quite aware that Subanons exist. However, before beginning this story, the speaker gave a short summary in English of what she would be explaining, mentioning both Subanons and *kukuks*, so we cannot consider either of these to be truly discourse-new entities. However, the *kukuks'* faces have not been previously mentioned.

(48)

Og	*subanon*	*tumud*	*nog*	*ongon*	*og*	*kukuk.*
PIV	subanon	AV.believe	COMP	exist	PIV	kukuk

Og	*kukuk*	*koni*	*dia*	*pogonong*	*sog*	*tolunan,*
PIV	kukuk	this	there	staying	LOC	forest,

dia	*sog*	*pompangan,*	*dia*	*sog*	*sangub.*
there	LOC	cliff,	there	LOC	cave

Og	*bayu'bayu'*	*nog*	*kukuk*	*koni*	*mokoloti'.* (Og kukuk)
PIV	face	POSS	kukuk	this	funny

'The Subanons believe that there is a kukuk. This kukuk lives in the forest, in cliffs and caves. The kukuk's face is funny-looking.'

After starting the narrative with a left-dislocate *og subanon* 'the Subanons,' in (48), the speaker introduces the folklore creature *og kukuk* with an existential construction within a complement clause. The following clause is left-dislocated with *og kukuk koni* 'these *kukuks*' occupying the preposed position. It gives background information about the *kukuks'* locations. The speaker then creates yet another left-dislocated clause, now with *og bayu'bayu' nog kukuk koni* 'the *kukuks*' faces' as the preverbal NP. Since *kukuks* are creatures, it can be reasonably inferred that they have faces. The predicate then gives more descriptive information about their faces: namely, that they are humorous.

4.3 Switching topics

Left-dislocation can be used to switch the topic the speaker wishes to speak about. There were three instances of topic-switching lexical left-dislocation and one instance of pronominal left-dislocation in the five texts reviewed. In (49), both the rat and cat have been interacting for some time in the story and are currently activated in the common ground. In Line 3, the speaker first selects the cat as the local topic using canonical word order. In Lines 4 and 5, the cat instructs the rat to hang a net. In the following clause, a net is hung, although the rat itself does not appear in the clause in Lines 6-7 (Another translation could be 'And so indeed those children of hers were draped with a mosquito net.') The cat is the topic of the clause *bu sinumolod na dion koding koyon* 'and the cat entered it' in Line 8. Following this, the narrator switches topics by using a left-dislocation with the rat as the pre-predicate entity in Line 9. The story immediately continues in Line 10, with the cat as the topic of the subordinating clause, and the cat continues as the topic of the main clause in Line 11. In Line 12, however, the narrator switches the topic back to the rat using a left-dislocation and continues with the rat as topic.

(49)

1.	*Dadi*	*migdunut*	*bolabow*	*bu*	*koding*.
	so	went.together	rat	and	cat

'Thus the cat went with the rat.'

2.	*Bog*	*minatong*	*ilan*	*sog*	*baloy*	*nog*	*bolabow*	*koyon,*
	when	arrived	3PL.PIV	LOC	house	POSS	rat	that

3.	*long*	*dow*	*nog*	*koding,*
	said	REP	NPIV	cat

'When they arrived at the rat's house, the cat said,'

4. *"Lobu'oy* *mu* *nog* *kolambu'*
OV.to.drop 2SG.NPIV NPIV mosquito.net

5. *og* *gombata'* *mu* *koyon."*
PIV children 2SG.POSS those
'"Hang a mosquito net over your children."'

6. *Dadi* *linobu'an* *lo'* *doda'*
so DV.dropped DM indeed

7. *nog* *kolambu'* *gombata'* *non* *koyon*
NPIV mosquito.net children 3SG.POSS those

8. *bu* *sinumolod* *na* *dion* *koding* *koyon.*
and entered already there cat that
'And so indeed the rat hung a mosquito net over those children of hers and the cat entered it.'

9. *Koni* *dow* *bolabow* *koni,* *da'* *na* *gonekgonek* *non.*
this REP rat this NEG already sound 3SG.POSS
'As for the rat, she was speechless.'

10. *Dadi* *bog* *sinumolod* *dow* *koding* *sog* *kolambu'* *koyon*
so when entered REP cat LOC mosquito.net that

11. *tinipot* *non* *mongokob* *gombata'* *nog* *bolabow* *koyon.*
finished 3SG.NPIV crunched children POSS rat that
'When the cat entered that mosquito net it ate up the children of the rat.'

12. *Dadi* *koni* *dow* *bolabow* *koni,*
so this REP rat this

13. *midongog* *non* *kolokob.*
heard 3SG.NPIV crunch
'As for the rat, she heard the bones crunching.'

14. *Sa'an* *sinakan* *non* *og* *koding* *koni* *nog,*
that's.why asked 3SG.NPIV PIV cat this COMP

15. *"Olo* *mokokoyongot* *koyon?"* (Bolabow bu koding)
what crunching that
'So she asked the cat, "What is that crunching in there?"'

If left-dislocation is used for switching topics, it is not clear why the narrator does not use left-dislocation in Line 10. One possibility is that the verb *sinumolod* 'entered' allows the audience

to expect the cat to be the topic, as it is previously mentioned in Line 8 that the cat is the one who enters the mosquito net. Thus, using canonical word order, the comment of the predicate can be mentally linked to its appropriate topic, even though that topic has switched. In Line 9, if the narrator had used a canonical construction with the predicate *da' na gonekgonek* 'didn't make a noise' first, the audience might expect the established topic, the cat, to be the one who was silent. Likewise if Lines 12-13 were instead re-worded canonically, the audience might expect the cat to be the entity the verb *midongog* 'heard' is attributed to.

In (50), a man asks for the narrator's help in catching an octopus. After several clauses about the man's actions and his direct speech, the narrator switches the topic to herself using the first person singular pronoun akon in pre-predicate position. This turns out to be a false start, but the speaker continues to speak about herself after this switch.

(50) *"Tobangan u, moksangit dun."*
help.DV 1SG.PIV AV.hook it
'"Help me hook it."'

Dadi akon koni, nog kona' tanan og og ...
so 1SG.PIV this, REL NEG actually FS FS
'And so, me, not even (ready) to- to-…'

Da' u tanan kosimpan mog- luma'- mog-
NEG 1SG.PIV actually ready FS FS FS
'Not even prepared to-'

Da' kosimpan og ponopoton ku moglanguy (Og kusita')
NEG ready PIV clothes 1SG.POSS swim
'My clothes were not ready for swimming.'

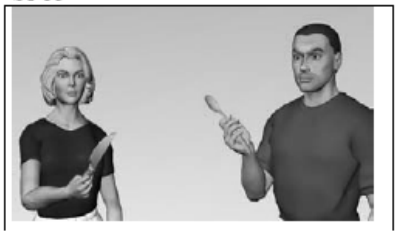
4.4 Contrasting entities

Two instances of left-dislocation can be used as a parallel structure to contrast two entities. The five texts examined contained one token of lexical left-dislocation and five tokens of pronominal left-dislocation used for contrastive purposes. In (51), the consultant contrasts the woman's actions with those of the man.

Instruction
You will see a picture and I will ask you a question.

What is the woman holding and what is the man holding?

S1-55



ConditionC Item3

(51) *Glibun* *koni* *migaid* *nog* *lot.*
PIV.woman this AV.is.holding NPIV knife.

Og *laki* *koni* *migaid* *nog* *sudu'.* (QUIS S1-55)
PIV man this AV.is.holding NPIV spoon.
'This woman is holding a knife. This man is holding a spoon.'

While examples such as (51) could be viewed as simply an instance of topic establishment followed by an instance of topic switching, there appears to be an intonational difference indicating a contrastive function. Note that (51) also has a parallel structure.

In (52), after introducing the *kukuks*, describing where they live, and what their faces look like, the speaker attempts to explain how the *kukuks* walk. To contrast how people walk with how *kukuks* walk, she produces two left-dislocations. The first one is lexical, with *og gotow* 'people' as the pre-predicate NP, while the second one is pronominal, with *ilan* as the pre-predicate NP referring to the *kukuks*.

(52) *konia* *dapit* *dinia* *molokpi',* *mama'* *ninia,*
this.here somewhere here.near.speaker be.flat like this

bu *bila* *ompanow* *mibulati'*
and if walk be.reversed
'This one here is flat, like this, and when it walks it's reversed.'

po' *og* *gotow* *bila* *ompanow* *posungu'* *sog* *gunan*
because PIV person if walk towards LOC front
'Because people, if they walk they face forward.'

ilan *og* *botis* *nilan* *mibulati'*
3PL PIV feet 3PL.POSS be.reversed
'Them, their feet are reversed,'

dadi *bila* *ompanow* *ilan*
so if walk 3PL.PIV

og *tolinting* *nilan* *og* *pok-sungu'* *dia* *nika*
PIV back 3PL.POSS PIV face.forward OBL 2SG.PIV
'So if they walk backwards they face forwards.'

5.0 Discussion

Western Subanon has been shown to place one NP in pre-predicate position external to the main clause for topicalizing purposes. In this section I first discuss the syntax of Subanon left-dislocations, then follow with the functions in sections 5.1 and 5.2.

Subanon left-dislocation conforms to cross-linguistic structural observations. In languages which have a grammatical category of definiteness, pre-predicate NPs in left-dislocations must be definite expressions. Without definiteness, they necessarily have generic interpretations

(Lambrecht, 2001). Furthermore, that the pre-predicate NP in Western Subanon has pivot marking regardless of the status of its co-referential core argument can also be expected. In other languages, the pre-predicate NP may have a default case such as nominative or absolutive (Anagnostopoulou, van Riemsdijk, & Zwarts, 1997; Lambrecht, 2001; López, 2014/2016).

Left-dislocation has been traditionally defined structurally as a form in which an NP occurs outside of, and preceding the clause which contains the predicate; this NP is co-referential with a pronominal element in the main clause (Prince, 1997; Lambrecht, 2001). Lambrecht (2001) states that the pronominal elements of left-dislocation manifest as "free pronouns (English, Hebrew, Norwegian), morphologically bound atonic pronouns (Catalan, French), inflectional morphemes (Italian or Chichewa), or null elements (Turkish, Japanese, French)" (1057).

As demonstrated in section 3.3, Western Subanon requires the co-referential non-pivot argument of the main clause to be overtly expressed (generally as the pronouns *non* or *dun*). Co-referential pivot arguments, however, do not have this requirement. López (2014/2016) reasons that Romance languages that allow left-dislocation without an overt resumptive pronoun still use subject agreement marking on the verb. Subanon verbal morphology works similarly to such agreement marking, except that Subanon verbs co-reference the pivot. It is thus not surprising that only when the pre-predicate NP co-references the pivot can the co-referential element be left unexpressed. Although overt expressions of the pivot argument can be considered unfelicitious in such LDs, they are not ungrammatical.

Because there is no syntactically-dependent relationship between the pre-predicate NP and the main clause, Subanon left-dislocations are syntactically what López (2014/2016) calls H-type, traditionally referred to as Hanging Topic Left-Dislocations or simply Left-Dislocations. These contrast with monoclausal D-type dislocations, which do have a syntactic dependency between the fronted NP and the rest of the clause. López (2014/2016) states that in languages which only have H-type dislocations, these constructions have a greater number of functions than in languages which have both H-type and D-type dislocations.

As the amount of data inspected is limited, this paper is not meant to present an exhaustive list of functions. The prevalence of LDs may vary by text type; two Subanon short procedural texts were found to have no tokens of LD. For Agutaynen, Quakenbush (1992) observes that post-verbal NPs are more common than pre-verbal NPs in narratives, but the reverse is true for expository texts. He cautions against generalizing from one discourse type, such as narrative, to the language as a whole. Furthermore, the frequencies of different types and functions of LDs found in this study's data are not expected to be representative of the Subanon language as a whole.

5.1 Western Subanon left-dislocation as topicalization

Left-dislocation establishes an entity which is currently accessible (either by recent mention or accommodation) as the pragmatic topic. The predicate which follows is "about" the topic; that is, it answers the frame, "what about X?" where X is the preposed NP. The predicate is therefore the comment; it provides information which should be stored under the topic "filecard." Once established, pragmatic topics may persist as discourse topics until they are replaced by new topics.

Some topics, such as celestial objects, inalienably possessed body parts, kin terms, and names, have permanent files (Givón, 1983). Looking cross-linguistically, Givón (1983) notes that these permanent topics do not follow typical topic distributions in the discourse. In Subanon, we see that these kinds of topics, as well as any other entities which can be presumed to exist, can be immediately introduced to the discourse using left-dislocations.

The speaker and addressee(s) are also permanent topics; they are always part of the common ground. In English they are pronounced unaccented unless they are contrastive (Chafe, 1974). In Subanon, they generally appear to be preposed as part of LD constructions for either switching the topic or contrasting entities.

5.2 Left-dislocation, foundations, and information structure

We have seen that all four sub-functions serve to make the preposed NP the pragmatic topic in Western Subanon, and that the main clause that follows the preposed NP supplies its comment. In this section I detail how cognitive motivations may be at work with regards to order of constituents in Subanon.

The only pre-predicate NPs observed within LDs either referenced an entity active in the common ground or one which could be accommodated. Therefore, Subanon appears to prefer to mention totally new entities (that is, entities which haven't been introduced to the discourse and whose existence cannot be assumed) post-verbally. Presentational or existential predicates precede the introduction of new entities. New entities are also commonly introduced post-verbally as non-pivot arguments of canonical clauses. Subanon LDs are pragmatically marked; the language tends to put NPs in pre-predicate position only when it has to.

It appears easier to process a verb-initial clause when the appropriate entity to store the information under is already activated, that is, when there is an established topic. Payne (1995) uses the Structure Building Framework developed by Gernsbacher (1990) and Gernsbacher and Hargreaves (1992) to explain pre-predicate NPs in verb-initial languages. The Structure Building Framework is a general cognitive process wherein people first mentally lay foundations, before adding structure to their foundations. They continue to build on the foundation underway unless unrelated or incoherent material requires a new foundation be built. This analysis applies to Subanon: once a topic is established, new material is stored under the topic "filecard" or added to the topic "foundation." Although Subanon generally prefers to place verbs clause-initially, this appears to only occur when a foundation has already been established. Otherwise, there is no "base," or "filecard," to store the information on/under, making processing difficult. The need for a foundation accounts for Greenberg's (1963) finding (Universal 6), that verb-initial languages must also offer alterative word order(s).

When there are multiple candidates for the foundation/topic active in the common ground, and neither/none are more expected than the other(s), the Subanon speaker can use canonical word order with lexical NPs to designate the expected topic. If the desired topic is not expected, the speaker relies on LD to switch the topic.

6.0 Conclusion

This investigation of left-dislocation in Western Subanon provides new insight on non-canonical word order in less-described languages. Subanon LDs have been shown here to be H-type; the Subanon data here support López's (2014/2016) finding that in languages that only allow H-type LDs, the LDs have a broader range of uses. These H-type LDs effectively combine functions which are divided up between D-type and H-type LDs in languages with both types. I have additionally demonstrated that canonical verb-initiality pressures Subanon to create left-dislocations in situations where a verb would otherwise be introduced without a foundation. Although this study has been limited both in type and quantity of data, it supplies a first look at this construction in this language.

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Appendix A. List of abbreviations

1	–	first person
2	–	second person
3	–	third person
AV	–	actor voice
COMP	–	complementizer
DM	–	discourse marker
DV	–	directional voice
EMPH	–	emphatic
EXCL	–	exclusive
FS	–	false start
GEN	–	genitive
INCL	–	inclusive
LOC	–	location
NEG	–	negative
NPIV	–	non-pivot core
OBL	–	oblique
OV	–	object voice
PART	–	particle
PIV	–	pivot
PL	–	plural
PN	–	personal name marker
POSS	–	possessive
REL	–	relative
REP	–	reportative
SG	–	singular