

## FUNCTIONS OF CLEFT CONSTRUCTIONS IN EXPOSITORY AND HORTATORY DISCOURSE IN MAYOYAO IFUGAO

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### 1. INTRODUCTION

As a marked syntactic structure, cleft constructions have long been of interest to linguists. In general, studies of cleft constructions have centered on three aspects: a) identifying types of cleft construction, b) identifying the functions of clefts, and c) determining whether or not a unique cleft construction has a unique function. The majority of these studies have focused on narrative text or conversation in English, giving little attention to cleft constructions in other languages, or to clefts in genres other than narrative or conversation. Within Philippine linguistics, cleft constructions have been briefly described by Schachter and Otones (1972),<sup>1</sup> Naylor (1975), and de Guzman (1986). Brainard (1991) has discussed types and functions of clefts in expository discourse in Upper Tanudan Kalinga.

This paper attempts to contribute to a better understanding of cleft constructions in expository and hortatory discourse in Philippine languages and languages in general by investigating cleft constructions found in expository and hortatory discourse in Mayoyao Ifugao.<sup>2</sup> In this study, I will describe the types of cleft construction occurring in Mayoyao Ifugao, identify the functions of each type of cleft in expository and hortatory text, and determine the degree to which these functions overlap. I will show that Mayoyao Ifugao has two structural types of cleft construction, one corresponding to a WH-cleft and another corresponding to an IT-cleft. Of the two, the WH-cleft is far more common. I will identify four pragmatic functions of these cleft constructions: signaling contrast, signaling exclusivity, summarizing themes, and presenting themes. I will also provide evidence that the occurrence of cleft constructions is significantly higher in written text than in oral text, and that there is a strong tendency towards a complementary distribution of functions between the two types of cleft construction.

### 2. MORPHOSYNTAX OF BASIC CLAUSES IN MAYOYAO IFUGAO

In Mayoyao Ifugao, cleft constructions can be formed on both nonverbal and verbal clauses, and so we will give a brief overview of basic clauses.

#### 2.1 Nonverbal Clauses

The basic nonverbal clause has a topic and comment structure where the comment comes first. The comment may be a predicate nominal (1) or a predicate adjective (2).<sup>3</sup>

- (1) Hempfalay cha Pangorchihon ay Pfukhan.<sup>4</sup>  
 hin- pfalay cha Pangorchihon ay Pfukhan  
 one- household PL Pangorchihon and Pfukhan

'Pangorchihon and Pfukhan were a married-couple.'

- (2) Nala-eng hini uchichiyan.  
 na- la-eng hini uchichiyan  
 ADJ- clever NMK youngest.sibling

'The youngest sibling is clever.'

## 2.2 Verbal Clauses

The basic verbal clause in Mayoyao Ifugao has verb-initial word order. Intransitive clauses have one syntactically required argument, S, and transitive clauses have two syntactically required arguments: A, the more agentive argument, and P, the less agentive argument. An affix on the verb cross-references S in intransitive clauses and P in transitive clauses, identifying their semantic role.<sup>5</sup> Affixes also signal other information, including aspect. The main aspectual contrast is perfectivity-imperfectivity. Perfectivity views an event as a whole and makes no explicit reference to the internal temporal consistency of the event. Imperfectivity, on the other hand, makes explicit reference to the internal temporal structure of the event. Sentence (3) is an intransitive clause.

### (3) Intransitive

Immuy hini lala-e hichi gwanggwang.  
 uy -imm- hini lala-e hichi gwanggwang  
 go -PFT.TH- S boy L3 river

'The boy went to the river.'

Mayoyao Ifugao has two types of transitive clause: a VAP active construction and a VPA word order inverse construction.<sup>6</sup> Each construction differs in word order, and for each construction, A and P have a unique set of pronouns. Choice of construction is controlled by a complex topicality hierarchy involving person and pragmatic topicality, as represented in Figure 1.

1 > 2 > 3 > Pronoun > Full NP

Figure 1. Topicality Hierarchy

Briefly, when A outranks P on this hierarchy, the VAP active construction is the unmarked choice (4), but when P outranks A, the VPA inverse construction is the unmarked choice (5).<sup>7</sup>

### (4) Active construction

Hinuntuk u hi Pedro.  
 huntuk -in- u hi Pedro  
 strike -PFT- 1SG.A P Pedro

'I struck Pedro.'

(5) Inverse construction

Hinuntuka'		ay	Pedro.
huntuk	-in- -a'	ay	Pedro
strike	-PFT--1SG.P	A	Pedro

'Pedro struck me.'

Mayoyao Ifugao has two detransitive clause types: an antipassive and a passive. The antipassive is a detransitivized construction in which P of the transitive counterpart is demoted to an oblique NP or deleted, and the remaining argument, A, of the transitive counterpart, becomes S. In the appropriate aspectual or modal environment, the affix on the verb cross-references S. Sentence (7) is the antipassive counterpart of (6).

(6) Transitive

Khenodkhod		ni	pfupfai	hini	chotag.
khodkhod	-in-	ni	pfupfai	hini	chotag
cut.in.pieces	-PFT-	A	woman	P	meat

'The woman cut up the meat.'

(7) Antipassive

Nunkhodkhod		hini	pfupfai	hi	chotag.
nun-	khodkhod	hini	pfupfai	hi	chotag
PFT.AG-	cut.in.pieces	S	woman	OBL	meat

'The woman cut up meat.'

Mayoyao Ifugao has a morphological passive in which A of the transitive counterpart is obligatorily deleted, and the remaining argument, P of the transitive counterpart, becomes S. The verb takes stative morphology which cross-references S. Sentence (8) is the passive counterpart of (6).

(8) Passive

Nakhodkhod		hini	chotag.
na-	khodkhod	hini	chotag
PASS.PFT-	cut.in.pieces	S	meat

'The meat has been cut up.'

### 2.3 Case Marking

Mayoyao Ifugao has a complex split ergative case marking system that is controlled by the same topicality hierarchy that governs the selection of the active construction and the inverse construction (c.f. Figure 1). Briefly, the case marking pattern for A and P in a VAP active construction differs from the pattern of A and P in a VPA inverse construction. Also, the case marking for full NPs differs from case marking for pronouns.

**Full NPs.** When S, A, and P are full NPs, either common nouns or personal names, case marking displays two patterns, depending on whether the transitive clause is a VAP active construction or a VPA inverse construction. For VAP active constructions, case marking follows an ergative-absolutive pattern: S and P are marked alike, and A is marked differently. In the following pairs of examples, the first sentence is an intransitive clause and the second a VAP active construction. In (9) and (10), S, A, and P are common nouns; S and P are marked by *hini* and A by *ni*. In (11) and (12), S, A, and P are personal names. Here S

and P are marked by *hi*, and A is unmarked if the preceding word ends in a consonant or it is marked by *-n*, which attaches to the preceding word, if the preceding word ends in a vowel.<sup>8</sup>

- (9) Inumpfun            hini unga.  
 upfun -inum-        hini unga  
 sit    -PFT.TH-    S    child  
 'The child sat down.'

- (10) Pinakhit                ni lala-e hini ulog.  
 pakhit                -in-        ni lala-e hini ulog  
 chop.with.bolo -PFT-    A    man    P    snake  
 'The man chopped the snake.'

- (11) Inumpfun            hi Maria.  
 upfun -inum-        hi Maria  
 sit    -PFT.TH-    S    Maria  
 'Maria sat down.'

- (12) Hinuntuk            Maria hi Juanita.  
 huntuk -in-        Maria hi Juanita  
 strike -PFT-        Maria P    Juanita  
 'Maria struck Juanita.'

For VPA inverse constructions, case marking follows a tripartite system: S, A, and P are all marked differently. Sentences (13) and (14) are VPA inverse constructions; A is a common noun in (13), and a personal name in (14). For common nouns, S is marked by *hini* and A by *ay ni*; P is unmarked. For personal names, S is marked by *hi* and A by *ay*; P is unmarked.<sup>9</sup>

- (13) Hinuntuka'                ay    ni        unga.  
 huntuk -in-    -a'        ay    ni        unga  
 strike -PFT- -1SG.P    A    -        child  
 'The child struck me.'

- (14) Hinuntuka'                ay    Maria.  
 huntuk -in-    -a'        ay    Maria  
 strike -PFT- -1SG.P    A    Maria  
 'Maria struck me.'

**Pronouns.** When S, A, and P are personal pronouns, case marking patterns reverse.<sup>10</sup> For VAP active constructions, case marking has a tripartite pattern. Specifically, although none of the pronouns for S, A, or P is preceded by a case marker, most of the pronouns for these arguments have unique forms.<sup>11</sup> In the following sentences, second person pronoun is different for S, A, and P: S (15) is *aju*, A (16) is *ju*, and P (17) is *cha'ju*.

- (15) Inumpfun            aju.  
 upfun -inum-        aju  
 sit    -PFT.TH-    2PL.S  
 'You sat down.'

- (16) Hinuntuk        ju        hija.  
 huntuk -in-        ju        hija  
 strike -PFT- 2PL.A 3SG.P

'You struck him.'

- (17) Hinuntuk        u        cha'ju.  
 huntuk -in-        u        cha'ju  
 strike -PFT- 1SG.A 2PL.P

'I struck you.'

For VPA inverse constructions, case marking has an ergative-absolutive pattern. In (18), A, a second person pronoun, is preceded by the case marker *ay*, while second person pronouns for S in (15) and P in (19) have no case markers.<sup>12</sup>

- (18) Hinuntuka'                ay        cha'ju.  
 huntuk -in- -a'                ay        cha'ju  
 strike -PFT- -1SG.P        A        2PL

'You struck me.'

- (19) Hinuntuk                cha'ju        ay        chicha.  
 huntuk -in-                cha'ju        ay        chicha  
 strike -PFT-                2PL.P        A        3PL

'They struck you.'

To summarize, Mayoyao Ifugao case marking patterns form a two-way split: one split occurs between active and inverse constructions, and the other between full NPs and pronouns. The patterns are given in Table 1.

Table 1. Case Marking Patterns in Mayoyao Ifugao

	VS/VAP	VS/VPA
common nouns	ergative-absolutive	tripartite
personal names	ergative-absolutive	tripartite
pronouns	tripartite	ergative-absolutive

### 3. CLEFT CONSTRUCTIONS IN ENGLISH

In English, there are two structural types of cleft sentence, termed WH-clefts (or pseudo-clefts) and IT-clefts. In the case of a WH-cleft, the two parts of the cleft construction may be reversed to give a reversed WH-cleft. Examples (20)–(24) below show a basic, verbal clause followed by corresponding cleft constructions with the same objective information content.

- (20) Basic clause:                John painted the table.  
 (21) WH-cleft:                What John painted was the table.  
 (22) Reversed WH-cleft:        The table was what John painted.  
 (23) IT-cleft:                It was John who painted the table.

(24) IT-cleft: It was the table (that) John painted.

In each cleft construction, the information is divided into two parts: one part defines a variable and the other part specifies a particular value for that variable (DeClerck 1984). For example, in (23) the second part of the construction, 'who painted the table', defines the variable, and the first part, 'it was John', specifies the person satisfying the variable. In this paper, I shall refer to these two parts as the 'variable' and the 'focal element' respectively.

Various studies have focused on the functions of cleft constructions in English. Prince (1978) convincingly challenged an early notion that WH-clefts and IT-clefts in English are everywhere interchangeable. Later studies (DeClerck 1984, Collins 1991 among others) extended Prince's findings and continued to investigate the association between types of cleft construction and their functions. Currently, the general conclusion is that while the WH-cleft and the IT-cleft are not interchangeable, neither does each type have a unique set of functions, and a degree of overlap between cleft types and their functions remains.

#### 4. DATA

The data used in this analysis were taken from nine Mayoyao Ifugao expository and hortatory texts. The texts were contributed by four authors; some texts were written and some were transcribed from oral presentations that had been recorded on tape, as summarized in Table 2. Unless otherwise noted, all examples of cleft constructions given in this paper are taken from this corpus.

Table 2. Genre and Method of Presentation of Texts

Expository		Hortatory		Total
Oral	Written	Oral	Written	
1	3	3	2	9

The titles of the texts and their authors are as follows:

Title	Author	Genre	Written/ oral
1. <i>Tukhun</i> . <sup>13</sup> Advice on what to do when he dies.	Mr. William Holibot	Hortatory	Oral
2. <i>Tukhun</i> . Advice on what to do when she dies.	Mrs. Alummay Ba-awa	Hortatory	Oral
3. <i>Hay tukhun hana mamhod an marhin</i> . Advice to those who want to marry.	Mr. William Holibot	Hortatory	Oral
4. <i>Tukhun hay hana pa'-arhin</i> . Advice to those who are recently married.	Mrs. Carmen Sabelo	Hortatory	Written
5. <i>Tukhun ay ni napfutong</i> . Advice to a drunkard.	Mrs. Carmen Sabelo	Hortatory	Written
6. <i>Hini khapu na hi pi'takhuwan</i> . The reason for living.	Mayor Rufino Guinid	Expository	Written
7. <i>Hay aton an mi'takhu</i> . The way to live.	Mayor Rufino Guinid	Expository	Written

8. <i>Chin nita'chukhan chin pfuni.</i> <sup>14</sup> The end of traditional rituals.	Mayor Rufino Guinid	Expository	Written
9. <i>Hay enat cha an nanglapfun ay Princess Diana.</i> How they conducted the burial of Princess Diana.	Mrs. Carmen Sabelo	Expository	Oral

As genres, expository discourses and hortatory discourses differ in their communicative purpose and the kinds of information that make up their themes. The communicative purpose of expository discourse is to explain. Expository global themes are typically abstract ideas that are developed by other abstract ideas which form lower-level themes. On the other hand, the communicative purpose of hortatory discourse is to persuade. Hortatory texts typically feature prescriptions, which may be direct commands or more indirect persuasive strategies, and evaluations.

Although expository discourse and hortatory discourse differ in the ways mentioned above, both genres share certain features that relate them more closely to each other than to narrative discourse (Longacre 1976:200). In narrative discourse, events are recounted which are considered to have been accomplished at specific points in time, and the discourse progresses by chronological linkage. Narratives tend to feature named participants. In expository and hortatory discourse, time is not focal, and the discourse linkage is logical rather than chronological. Any participants tend to be generic personages.

## 5. TYPES OF CLEFT CONSTRUCTION IN MAYOYAO IFUGAO

In Mayoyao Ifugao, there are two structural types of cleft construction. In both types, the variable is a headless relative clause and the focal element is a NP. In the headless relative clause, one syntactically required NP is deleted. The head NP of the cleft construction is coreferential with the deleted NP. Eligibility for head, or focal element, in clefts operates on an obligatory ergative-absolutive pattern; that is, only S of an intransitive clause and P of a transitive clause can be the head of a cleft construction. In the example sentences given below, square brackets enclose cleft constructions in the Mayoyao Ifugao text and the corresponding part of the free English translation.

### 5.1 Cleft Construction 1: WH-cleft Construction

In the first cleft type, cleft construction 1, the focal element always comes first and consists of a NP, a pronoun, a locative, or a deictic. This type is illustrated in the following sentences, which are arranged in pairs. In each pair, the first sentence is a basic clause and the second contains its corresponding cleft construction. In (26) and (28), the focal element (i.e. head NP) is a NP.

(25)	Chengngor	ju	hitay	bilin	Apo	Jos.
	chongor	-in-	ju	hitay	bilin	Apo Jos
	hear	-PFT-	2PL.A	D1	command	God _

'You have heard the command of God.'

(26)	Un	ju	chinyat	ja	[hitay	bilin	Apo Jos	chi
	un	ju	chiyat	-in-	ja	hitay	bilin	Apo Jos
	TI	2PL.A	open.eyes	-PFT-	PAUS	D1	command	God _
								NMR

chengngor ju].  
 chongor -in- ju  
 hear -PFT- 2PL.A

'From your birth, [the command of God is what you heard].'

- (27) I timma'chug an amin hana takhu ay tay kurha.  
 uy ta'chug -imm- an amin hana takhu ay tay kurha  
 go stand.up -PFT.TH- LK all PL person OBL D1 road

'All the people went to stand on the road.'

- (28) Hay oha hi tinnig u ja allo'  
 hay oha hi tikhaw -in- u ja ali -on -u  
 NMR another LK see -PFT- 1SG.A PAUS say -IMPFT.TH -1SG.A  
 hi, anagkha an tayya an un gayyam [hitay kurha hini ay  
 hi anagkha an tayya an un gayyam hitay kurha hini uy  
 LK why LK EXCL LK ?? CNTRA D1 road NMR go

timma'chukhan<sup>15</sup> an amin hana takhu] an i  
 ta'chug -imm- -an an amin hana takhu an ay  
 stand.up -NR.PFT- - LK all PL person LK ??

ne'lapfun ay Diana.  
 ni'- lapfun ay Diana  
 PFT.AG-attend.burial OBL Diana

'Another thing I saw, I thought, why is it surprisingly that [it is the road where all the people went to stand] who attended Diana's burial?'

In (30), the focal element is a pronoun.

- (29) Hin-a-agkhi ami.  
 hin- CV- akhi -C- ami  
 REC- PL- sibling -\_- 1PL.EX.S

'We are siblings.'

- (30) [Cha'mi chi hin-a-agkhi] an tan  
 cha'mi chi hin- CV- akhi -C- an tayya -an  
 1PL.EX NMR REC- PL- fraternal.relative -\_- LK EXCL -LK  
 natoy chin pangulluwan mi an hi Carlos.  
 na- atoy chin pangulluwan mi an hi Carlos  
 STAT.PFT- die S eldest.sibling 1PL.EX.GEN LK NMR Carlos

'[We are the ones who are siblings], for our eldest sibling Carlos died.'

In (32), the focal element is a locative.

- (31) Munparti cha hichi.  
 mun- parti cha hichi  
 IMPFT.AG-butcher 3PL.S L3

'They will butcher pigs there.'

- (32) Ja kan allo' agkhu hi, ti  
 ja kan ali -on -u agkhu hi muti  
 and of.course say-IMPFT.TH -1SG.A CNTRA LK but
- i-anamot cha nin ay ni pfallay cha  
 i-anamot cha nin ay ni pfallay cha  
 IMPFT.TH- take.home 3PL.A probably OBL \_ home 3PL.GEN
- Spencer, ja nalawa an pfuglay an nunhitugwan  
 Spencer ja na- lawa an pfuglay an nun- heto -an  
 Spencer and ADJ- wide LK inhabited.place LK NR.PFT- stay.at -
- cha tay an famirya ja allo' hi, ti  
 cha tay an famirya ja ali -on -u hi muti  
 3PL.GEN D1 LK family and say -IMPFT.TH -1SG.A LK but
- anong nin ja [hichi kan chi pompartiyan<sup>16</sup>  
 anong nin ja hichi kan chi pun- parti -an  
 even probably PAUS L3 of.course NMR NR- butcher -
- cha] ta pfu-alan cha hi Diana,  
 cha ta pfu-ar -an cha hi Diana  
 3PL.GEN PURP butcher.pigs.at.wake -IMPFT.NLOC 3PL.A P Diana
- ti talaga an napfalar an takhu.  
 ti talaga an na- pfalar an takhu  
 because really LK ADJ- valuable LK person

'And so I thought, well they will take her home to the Spencers' house, a spacious place where this family lives, and I thought, well [there of course is where they will butcher pigs] so that they will butcher for Diana, because really she was a worthy person.'

When the focal element is a deictic, it may refer to an extensive section of the preceding text so that it is difficult to recover a corresponding basic clause. Sentence (34) is a simple case, not taken from the corpus of data used in this paper, where the basic clause (33) can be recovered.

- (33) Inali na hinuy.  
 ali -in- na hinuy  
 say-PFT- 3SG.A D2.P  
 'He said that.'

- (34) Hinuy chi inali na.  
 hinuy chi ali -in- na  
 D2 NMR say -PFT- 3SG.A  
 'That is what he said.'

Sentence (35) is an example where the deictic, *hitay*, refers back to a relatively complex statement about the occasion when a *pangnga* ritual would be performed.

- (35) Hitay hini allon cha an pangnga.  
 hitay hini ali -on cha an pangnga  
 D1 NMR call -IMPFT.TH 3PL.A LK rite.at.time.of.sowing.seed  
 'This is what they call the *pangnga* ritual.'

In the Mayoyao Ifugao texts used for this study, no examples were found of cleft constructions where the variable is an adjective; however, such constructions do exist, as shown by the following sentences. Sentence (36) is a nonverbal clause in which the comment is a predicate adjective; (37) is its corresponding cleft construction.

- (36) Nala-eng hini uchichiyan.  
 na- la-eng hini uchichiyan  
 ADJ- clever NMR youngest.sibling

'The youngest sibling is clever.'

- (37) Hini uchichiyan hini nala-eng.  
 hini uchichiyan hini na- la-eng  
 NMR youngest.sibling NMR ADJ- clever

'The youngest sibling is the one who is clever.'

Cleft construction 1 usually functions as the main clause of a sentence, but it can occur in a subordinate clause, as in (38).

- (38) [Hi ayya Apo Jos chi mangchat hi pi'takhuwan]  
 hi ayya Apo Jos chi mang- chat hi pi'takhuwan  
 NMR if God \_ NMR IMPFT.AG-give OBL life  
 ja maphod han pi'takhuwan.  
 ja ma- pohod han pi'takhuwan  
 then ADJ- good IND life

'If [God is the one to give life], it's a good life.'

Occasionally, two cleft constructions of this type can occur in one sentence. When this is the case, both focal elements usually have the same referent. In (39), the focal element of the first cleft is a white cloth and the focal element of the second cleft, *hija* (third person singular pronoun), refers to the same cloth.

- (39) [Hay mapuchaw hi komot chi iju  
 hay ma- puchaw hi komot chi ay -ju  
 NMR ADJ- white LK ordinary.blanket NMR ?? -2PL.A  
 alan] ja [hija chi ihapod ju] ta  
 ala -on ja hija chi i- hapod ju ta  
 get-IMPFT.TH and 3SG NMR IMPFT.TH-spread 2PL.A CNT  
 achi ju i ittugwan hi lenchum ja achi ju  
 achi ju ay itto -an hi lenchum ja achi ju  
 not 2PL.A ?? put.in-IMPFT.LOC OBL G-string and not 2PL.A  
 i cho'lon chi lamuy hi itto ju.  
 ay cho-or -on chi lamuy hi i- itto ju  
 ?? make.many -IMPFT.TH P skirt LK IMPFT.TH- put.into 2PL.A

'[An ordinary white blanket is what you will get] and [that is what you will spread inside], don't you put G-strings in and don't you make the skirts you put in many.'

This coreferential restriction is not obligatory however. For example, sentence (40) has two occurrences of cleft construction 1, each with an anaphoric deictic, *hinuy*, as the focal element. For each cleft, the referent for *hinuy* is different. In the first cleft, *hinuy* refers back to the church mentioned in the preceding clause; in the second, *hinuy* refers to the act of



In structure, cleft construction 2 corresponds most closely to the IT-cleft in English, though the content of the focal element is far more restricted. Therefore this type of cleft will be referred to as an 'IT-cleft' for the remainder of the paper.

## 6. FREQUENCY OF CLEFT CONSTRUCTIONS

Two comparisons of frequency of Mayoyao Ifugao cleft constructions are of particular interest. The first comparison is between cleft constructions in expository and hortatory text and those in narrative text.<sup>18</sup> Counts show a higher frequency of cleft constructions in expository and hortatory text compared to their frequency in narrative text. Specifically, in ten traditional narratives comprising a total of 983 sentences, only 43 sentences (4.4%) include cleft constructions: 8 IT-clefts and 35 WH-clefts.<sup>19</sup> By contrast, in the nine expository and hortatory texts investigated for this study, comprising 285 sentences, 58 sentences (20.4%) include cleft constructions: 10 IT-clefts and 48 WH-clefts. Of the 48 sentences containing WH-clefts, 4 sentences had two WH-clefts and the remaining 44 had one WH-cleft each. These figures show that cleft constructions occur about four times more often in expository and hortatory text than in narrative text.

One possible explanation for the higher proportion of cleft constructions in expository and hortatory text as compared to narrative text may have to do with the kind of themes found in the different genres and the way those themes are developed. In expository and hortatory text, themes are stated and developed in terms of logically-connected abstract concepts, but in narrative text, themes are stated and developed in terms of unique participants engaged in particular chronologically-ordered events. As we will see shortly, one function of cleft constructions is to signal pragmatic focus, either in terms of exclusivity or contrast. In expository and hortatory text, cleft constructions signaling pragmatic focus are a common device for marking themes as important information; however, in narrative text, this device is rarely used to mark themes or key participants that are important to the development of those themes. Another function of clefts is to summarize themes. In expository and hortatory text, both global themes and lower-level themes may be summarized as statements, but in narrative text, themes are almost never summarized as statements.

The second comparison of frequency of cleft constructions is between those occurring in written text and those occurring in oral text. The comparison is summarized in Table 3.

Table 3. Frequency of Clefts in Oral and Written Expository and Hortatory Texts in Mayoyao Ifugao

		Oral	Written	Total
Total sentences		243	42	285
Expository	WH-clefts	9	9	18
	IT-clefts	0	3	3
Hortatory	WH-clefts	28	2	30
	IT-clefts	7	0	7
Total clefts	Number	44	14	58
	Percentage	18.2%	33.3%	20.4%

Table 3 shows that, in the available data, the frequency of clefts in written text is almost twice the frequency in oral text. Despite the small sample size for written text, the difference in frequency is probably significant.<sup>20</sup>

This finding raises the question, why should cleft constructions be more common in written than in oral text? DeClerck (1984) notes that, in English, clefts are also much more frequent in written language than in speech.<sup>21</sup> He suggests that this is because in writing, where emphasis and intonation are not available to the reader, a cleft construction unambiguously identifies a value for a variable while, in some cases, the non-cleft counterpart may be interpreted as either identificational or predicational. In Philippine languages, however, emphasis and intonation seem to carry a relatively low informational load compared to English. This may be due to the availability of a wide range of particles to express speaker attitude, or to the variety of marked word orders that are used in combination with intonation patterns to focus attention on a particular item (Naylor 1975). When more data are available, particularly in written text, the reason for the difference in frequency of clefts between oral and written text may become clearer.

## 7. FUNCTIONS OF CLEFT CONSTRUCTIONS IN MAYOYAO IFUGAO EXPOSITORY AND HORTATORY DISCOURSE

In expository and hortatory discourse in Mayoyao Ifugao, WH-cleft and IT-cleft constructions have four functions: 1) signaling contrast, 2) signaling exclusivity, 3) summarizing themes, and 4) presenting themes. Although both types of cleft construction can perform all four functions, there is a strong tendency towards a complementary distribution of these functions.

### 7.1 Functions of WH-cleft Constructions

In the nine expository and hortatory texts used in this study, the majority of the WH-clefts signal pragmatic focus, indicating either contrast or exclusivity. Since the focal element of WH-clefts specifies a particular value for the variable against other possible values, WH-clefts always signal some degree of contrast (DeClerck 1984:271). When the range of values which may be specified is restricted by the context, WH-clefts signal contrast. Conversely, when the range of possible values is not limited by the context and the chosen value contrasts with all other possible values, WH-clefts signal exclusivity. Sentence (43) illustrates contrast: faith in God is contrasted to performing traditional rituals as a way of curing sickness.

(43)	Inannila		cha	khu	an	achi	mabnijan			
	anila	-in-	-C-	cha	khu	an	achi	ma-	pfumi	-an
	know	-PFT--CTS-	3PL.A	also	LK	not	PASS.IMPFT.NLOC-	do.ritual	-	-
	hay	chokhoh	ja	na-aan		an	[un	hay	pammati	ay
	hay	chokhoh	ja	na-	aan	an	un	hay	pammati	ay
	NRF	sickness	then	PFT.PASS-	remove	LK	just	NMR	faith	OBL
	Apo	Jos	chi	mangaan]		ja	hato	akhah	an	
	Apo	Jos	chi	mang-	aan	ja	hato	akhah	an	
	God	-	NMR	IMPFT.AG-	remove	and	Dl.PL	medicine	LK	

narpu		ay	hija	ja	angkhay.
na-	lopo	ay	hija	ja	angkhay
STAT.PFT-	come.from	OBL	3SG	LK	only

'They have also come to know that sickness isn't removed by performing rituals for it, rather [faith in God is what removes it] and the medicines that come from him alone.'

Sentence (44) illustrates exclusivity: the context does not specify any other person who would be contrasted to God as the one who blesses people.

(44) Ja	[hi	Apo	Jos	chi	munbindisyon	ay	cha'ju]
ja	hi	Apo	Jos	chi	mun-	bindisyon	ay
and	NMR	God	_	NMR	IMPFT.AG-	bless	OBL
							2PL
ta	un	aju	mahlag.				
ta	un	aju	ma-	holag			
PURP	??	2PL.S	IMPFT.TH-	reproduce			

'And [God is the one who will bless you] so that you have descendants.'

The distinction between contrast and exclusivity can be difficult to distinguish from the text alone since a comparison may depend on background information that is assumed to be available to the audience. For example, in (45), no other food is mentioned in the discourse context which could be contrasted to boiled camote; however, anybody in the intended audience would know that rice is the preferred food to serve to visitors and would interpret the speaker's remark as contrast.

(45) Ja	anong	un	linu'mu	ja	[hinuy	chi	khun
ja	anong	un	linu'mu	ja	hinuy	chi	khun
and	even	if	boiled.camote	PAUS	D2	NMR	CTS
anun]		ja	hija	ja	impatikhaw		ja
an	-on	ja	hija	ja	in-	pa-	tikhaw
eat-	IMPFT.TH	PAUS	3SG	INV	PFT.TH-	CAUS-	show
							and
penangan		hu-un	gwa	chi	sumalungkar		
pangan	-in-	hi-	un	gwacha	chi	salungkar	-um-
feed	-PFT-	LK-	when	EXT	NMR	go.to.visit	-IMPFT.TH-
hi	nunhitugwan.						
hi	nun-	heto	-an				
OBL	NR.PFT-	stay.at	-				

'And even if it is boiled camote, [that is what you eat], you bring it out and serve it when there are visitors to your home.'

Taking such assumed background information into consideration, we find that, out of a total of 52 WH-clefts in the available texts, 19 WH-clefts signal contrast and 25 WH-clefts signal exclusivity.

In many of these clefts, the focal element, which is always first, refers to the global theme or a lower-level theme. DeClerck (1984) suggests that WH-clefts may be selected in English in order to maintain continuity of theme and it could be argued that this is also the case in Mayoyao Ifugao; however, other fronting devices in Mayoyao Ifugao are also used to maintain continuity of theme, such as fronted NPs (see endnote 17). Since these non-cleft devices do not necessarily signal contrast or exclusivity, we assume that WH-clefts are selected primarily to signal contrast and exclusivity. On the other hand, it is plausible that

WH-clefts perform both functions—maintaining continuity of theme and signaling contrast or exclusivity—since themes are likely candidates for highlighting by pragmatic focus.

Of the remaining eight of the total 52 WH-clefts, six occur in sentences that summarize themes: one summarizes a global theme and five lower-level themes. None of these eight occurrences is found in the last sentence of a paragraph or text; this is of interest since IT-clefts summarizing themes generally occur in the last sentence of a paragraph or text as will be shown in section 7.2.

Sentence (46) is a summary statement that occurs near the end of an expository text about the author's reactions to a video she saw of the funeral of Princess Diana in England; the focal element of the cleft, *hitay*, refers back to the whole preceding text.

- (46) Hitay kaykhu chi tintinnig u ay ni  
 hitay kaykhu chi CVC- tikhaw -in- u ay ni  
 D1 EMPH NMR EMPH-see -PFT 1SG.A OBL \_  
 en-enat cha an nanglapfun ay Diana], an ma-id  
 CVC- at -in- cha an nang- lapfun ay Diana an ma-id  
 PL- do -PFT- 3PL.A LK PFT.AG- bury OBL Diana LK NEG.EXT  
 ina nipadpadchungan, ja anong un heto  
 ay -na ni- CVC- padchung -an ja anong un heto  
 ?? -3SG.GEN NR.PFT-INTS- be.equal -\_ and even if L1  
 pfalay ta-o ja ma-id ina  
 pfalay ta-o ja ma-id ay -na  
 home 1PL.IN.GEN PAUS NEG.EXT ?? -3SG.GEN  
 nipadchungan.  
 ni- padchung -an  
 NR.PFT- be.equal -\_

‘[This then is what I saw of the way they conducted Diana’s burial], that there was never anything like it, even here in our place, there was never anything like it.’

Sentence (47) is a summary statement for the preceding sentence which describes when the *pangnga* ritual is performed. The theme, the *pangnga* ritual, is continued in the next sentence.

- (47) Hitay hini allon cha an pangnga.  
 hitay hini ali -on cha an pangnga  
 D1 NMR call-IMPFT.TH 3PL.A LK rite.at.time.of.sowing.seed  
 ‘This is what they call the *pangnga* ritual.’

Finally, two WH-clefts have a cataphoric deictic in the focal element and are presentation statements. Sentence (48) occurs at the beginning of a new paragraph in a hortatory text where the speaker tells her family what she wants them to do when she dies. The WH-cleft introduces a lower-level theme, a prescription that is developed in the next sentence.

- (48) Hotti [hitay chi itugtukhun u ay cha’ju]  
 hotti hitay chi i- CVC- tukhun u ay cha’ju  
 so D1 NMR IMPFT.TH-INTS-advise 1SG.A OBL 2PL

ta achi aju mapfipfit.  
 ta achi aju ma- pfipfit  
 CMP not 2PL.S ADJ- disrupt.family

'So [this is what I advise you], don't you disrupt the family.'

Cataphoric WH-clefts are the only clefts that are found at the beginning of a text. Sentence (49) occurs at the beginning of a hortatory text where the speaker tells her family what they should do when she dies.

(49) Ad ugwani an lapfi an na-am-amungan  
 ad ugwani an lapfi an na- CVC- among -an  
 TI now LK night LK NR.PFT- CTS- gather -  
 ta-o ay tay pfalay cha Juan ay Maria  
 ta-o ay tay pfalay cha Juan ay Maria  
 1PL.IN.GEN OBL D1 home 3PL.GEN Juan and Maria  
 ja tayya an muntkhuna' ay cha'ju an  
 ja tayya an mun- tukhun -a' ay cha'ju an  
 PAUS EXCL LK IMPFT.AG- advise -1SG.S OBL 2PL LK  
 empfapfalay u ta [hitay chi unuchon ju].  
 empfalay -CV- u ta hitay chi unud -on ju  
 child -PL- 1SG.GEN PURP D1 NMR obey -IMPFT.TH 2PL.A

'Tonight when we are gathered in the house of Juan and Maria, well I will advise you, my children, so that [this is what you will obey].'

To summarize, all of the WH-clefts found in the nine texts used in this study perform one of four functions: signal contrast, signal exclusivity, summarize themes, and present themes. Of these functions, signaling contrast or exclusivity are the most common. Table 4 shows the distribution of the WH-clefts between the four functions. In this table, the total number of cleft constructions is counted rather than the number of sentences in which they occur.

Table 4. Distribution of WH-cleft Constructions by Function in Expository and Hortatory Text in Mayoyao Ifugao

	Number	%
Contrast	19	36.5
Exclusivity	25	48.1
Summary of theme	6	11.5
Presentation of theme	2	3.9
Total	52	100.0

## 7.2 Functions of IT-cleft Constructions

While pragmatic focus, i.e. signaling contrast or exclusivity, is the most common function of WH-clefts, summarizing themes is the most common function of IT-clefts. Of the ten IT-clefts found in the available texts, seven summarize themes: three summarize lower-level themes and four global themes. Of these seven IT-clefts, three occur in the last sentence

of a paragraph and three in the last sentence of a text. The remaining IT-cleft of these seven occurs in an embedded speech in sentence (50). Here the focal element summarizes all that the speaker has said up to that point.

- (50) Oray allon ni manong ju ja achi  
 oray ali -on ni manong ju ja achi  
 even.if say -IMPFT.TH A older.brother 2PL.GEN PAUS not
- ju huluton ta allon hi, Aa muti [hija  
 ju hulut -on ta ali -on hi aa muti hija  
 2PL.A follow -IMPFT.TH ALT say -IMPFT.TH LK yes but 3SG
- hitay chi inalin ina ta-o] ta achi  
 hitay chi ali -in- -n ina ta-o ta achi  
 D1 NMR say -PFT--LK mother 1PL.IN.GEN PURP not
- tumagwitagwid hi pe'jajana  
 CVCV- tagwid -um- hi pi'- uy -an -na  
 INTS- hinder -IMPFT.AG- LK NR.IMPFT- go - -3SG.GEN
- ad langit, ta achi' ihihidchip  
 ad langit ta achi -u i- CV- hichip -C-  
 LOC heaven PURP not -1SG.A IMPFT.TH-INTS- peep -\_-
- cha'ju hu-una' matoy.  
 cha'ju hi- un -a' ma- atoy  
 2PL.P LK- when -1SG.S STAT.IMPFT-die

'Even if your older brother tells you, don't you follow it, rather say, Yes but [this is what our mother said] so that it won't hinder her going to heaven, so that I don't come back to trouble you when I die.'

Sentence (51) is the last sentence of the last paragraph in the hortatory text in which the speaker tells his family what he wants them to do when he dies. Sentence (51) summarizes the instructions given in the paragraph where it occurs; it is followed by (52) which is the last sentence of the text.

- (51) [Hija hitay chi penhod u hi unuchon ju],  
 hija hitay chi pohod -in- u hi unud -on ju  
 3SG D1 NMR want -PFT- 1SG.A LK obey -IMPFT.TH 2PL.A
- hitay allo' an masorot.  
 hitay ali -on -u an ma- sorot  
 D1.P say -IMPFT.TH -1SG.A LK PASS.IMPFT- obey

'[This is what I want you to obey], what I am saying you should follow.'

- (52) Hija hitay chi allo' ay cha'ju an  
 hija hitay chi ali -on -u ay cha'ju an  
 3SG D1 NMR say -IMPFT.TH -1SG.A OBL 2PL LK
- hin-a-agkhi.  
 hin- CV- akhi -C-  
 REC- PL- fraternal.relative -\_-

'This is what I say to you siblings.'

Although WH-clefts may also summarize themes, when they do, they never occur in the last sentence of a paragraph or text; in contrast, when IT-clefts summarize themes, they generally do occur in the last sentence of a paragraph or text. Proportionately, it would seem that IT-clefts are the preferred cleft type for summarizing themes in the available texts. On the other hand, the following informal experiment suggests that, for summarizing themes, selection of one cleft type over the other may be a matter of speaker preference. Both author A and author B had written expository texts. Author A had used a WH-cleft to summarize the global theme, while author B had used an IT-cleft. Later author A was shown author B's text in which certain words had been deleted from the summary statement so that author A could select either an IT-cleft or a WH-cleft. When asked to fill in the blanks in the summary statement, author A inserted a WH-cleft.

Of the remaining three of the ten IT-clefts, one signals contrast and two exclusivity. Sentence (53) is an example of contrast. It occurs in a paragraph where the speaker has been urging his relatives to use guitars for music at his wake. In this sentence, guitars are contrasted to gongs, the traditional musical instrument used at wakes.

(53)	[Hija	hinuy	chi	pfattulo'	u],	an	achi	ju
	hija	hinuy	chi	pfattulo'	u	an	achi	ju
	3SG	D2	NMR	funeral.music	1SG.GEN	LK	not	2PL.A
	usaron		chi	khangha	ay	ha-in.		
	usar-on		chi	khangha	ay	ha-in		
	use	-IMPFT.TH	NMR	first.gong	OBL	1SG		

'[It is that (guitars) which will be my funeral music], don't you use gongs for me.'

Sentence (54) is an example of exclusivity. Here, doing the will of God is specified as the only genuine way to praise him.

(54)	Nu	atona		hini	penhod	Apo	Jos	ja	[hija		
	nu	at	-on	-na	hini	pohod	-in-	Apo	Jos	ja	hija
	if	do	-IMPFT.TH	-3SG.A	P	want	-PFT-	God	_	PAUS	3SG
	hinuy	hini	nahamad			an	pondaydayaw				
	hinuy	hini	na-	hamad		an	pun-	CVC-	dayaw		
	D2	NMR	STAT.PFT-	genuine		LK	NR.IMPFT-	INTS-	praise		
	na		ay	hija].							
	na		ay	hija							
	3SG.GEN		OBL	3SG							

'If he does God's will, [it is that which is his genuine praise to him].'

To summarize, while IT-clefts can signal contrast and exclusivity, their most common function is to summarize themes. Table 5 shows the distribution of the IT-clefts between their various functions.

Table 5. Distribution of IT-cleft Constructions by Function in Expository and Hortatory Text in Mayoyao Ifugao

	Number	%
Contrast	1	10
Exclusivity	2	20
Summary of theme	7	70
Presentation of theme	0	0
Total	10	100

### 7.3 Summary of Functions of WH-clefts and IT-clefts

Table 6 summarizes the distribution of four pragmatic functions between WH-clefts and IT-clefts.

In the nine expository and hortatory texts under consideration, no IT-clefts were found in presentation statements; however, since a presentation statement having an IT-cleft has been found in narrative text, we assume that, given a larger body of texts, they may also occur in expository and hortatory discourse.<sup>22</sup>

Table 6 shows clearly that WH-clefts and IT-clefts have the same range of functions. It also shows that while WH-clefts are usually selected to signal contrast or exclusivity, IT-clefts are proportionately more likely to be selected to summarize themes. The use of either type to present themes is comparatively rare.

Table 6. Distribution of WH-clefts and IT-clefts by Function in Expository and Hortatory Text in Mayoyao Ifugao

	WH-clefts		IT-clefts	
	No	%	No	%
Contrast	19	36.5	1	10.0
Exclusivity	25	48.2	2	20.0
Summary of theme	6	11.5	7	70.0
Presentation of theme	2	3.9	0	0.0
Total	52	100.0	10	100.0

## 8. CONCLUSION

In this paper, I have described the two types of cleft construction found in Mayoyao Ifugao. The first is cleft construction 1 which has structural similarities to the English WH-cleft, and has been labeled a 'WH-cleft'. The second is cleft construction 2 which has structural similarities to the English IT-cleft, and has been labeled an 'IT-cleft'. The focal element of a WH-cleft can be a full NP, a pronoun, a locative, or a deictic, while the focal element of an IT-cleft must be the third person pronoun, *hija*, followed by a deictic. Frequency of cleft constructions is found to be much higher in expository and hortatory discourse than in narrative discourse. In expository and hortatory texts, significantly more

cleft constructions are found in written text than in oral text; also, the WH-cleft occurs far more frequently than the IT-cleft.

The major pragmatic functions of cleft constructions in Mayoyao Ifugao expository and hortatory text are to signal contrast or exclusivity and to summarize themes. Occasionally they also present themes. While both types of cleft may perform each of these four functions, contrast and exclusivity are almost always signaled by a WH-cleft. In some sentences, the WH-cleft is obligatory since the focal element is a NP, in which case it could not be encoded in an IT-cleft; however, in sentences where the focal element is a deictic and so could be encoded in either a WH-cleft or an IT-cleft, the WH-cleft is still chosen. On the other hand, summaries of themes are almost always signaled by an IT-cleft, particularly when the summary is the last sentence of a paragraph or text. Although WH-clefts may also summarize themes, they are never found in the last sentence of a paragraph or text with this function.

### APPENDIX A

Case markers in Mayoyao Ifugao are shown in Table 7; a complete listing of pronouns is given in Table 8.

Table 7. Case Markers in Mayoyao Ifugao

	VS	VAP active		VPA inverse		OBL	GEN
	S	A	P	P	A		
Common nouns							
SG/PL	hini	(-n) ni	hini	—	ay ni	hi/ay/ ay ni	(-n) ni
Personal names							
SG	hi	(-n) Ø	hi	—	ay	ay	(-n) Ø
PL	cha	(-n) cha	cha	—	ay cha	ay cha	(-n) cha

Note 1: For oblique markers the analysis is not yet complete, but it appears that *hi* marks a non-referential NP and *ay* a referential NP.



- (59) pihum  
 pihu -mu  
 money -2SG.GEN  
 ‘your money’

Note 5. Marked pronoun forms following the oblique marker *ay* are the same as the forms for the P argument in the VAP active construction, with the addition of a first person singular form *ha-in*.

## APPENDIX B

### STATISTICAL COMPARISONS OF FREQUENCIES OF CLEFT CONSTRUCTIONS

A statistical test is described here which was carried out to determine whether it is justifiable to treat expository and hortatory texts together in counting the frequency of cleft constructions.

#### Statistical comparison of frequency of cleft constructions in expository and hortatory text

First, the counts of cleft constructions were broken down into those occurring in expository text and those occurring in hortatory text. These are given in Table 9. For the purposes of statistical comparison to the total number of sentences, sentences containing two WH-clefts were counted once only.

Table 9. Sentences Containing Cleft Constructions in  
 Expository and Hortatory Text in Mayoyao Ifugao

	Expository	Hortatory
Total sentences	129	156
IT-clefts	3	7
WH-clefts	18	30
Total clefts	21	37
% of sentences	16.3%	23.7%

In the statistical test, the hypothesis  $H_1$ : ‘the proportion of sentences containing cleft constructions in hortatory text differs from the proportion occurring in expository text’ was tested against the null hypothesis  $H_0$ : ‘the two proportions are the same’ (Woods, Fletcher, and Hughes 1986:183). The resulting value of Z, 1.40, is not significant at the 5% level; that is, a significant difference in the two proportions is not shown. Therefore, it seems justifiable to combine the counts of cleft constructions in the expository and hortatory texts considered.

**Statistical comparison of frequency of cleft constructions  
in oral and written text**

The percentages of cleft constructions in oral and written text are 18.2% and 33.3% respectively (cf. Table 3). Applying the same test as described in the previous section, the resulting value of *Z*, 2.06, is significant at the 5% level; that is, the difference in the percentages is probably significant. However, calculating the 95% confidence interval for the actual difference (Woods, Fletcher, and Hughes 1986:184) gives a lower limit of less than 1%. Thus, a larger body of data is needed to give a more accurate value for the difference in frequency of clefts between oral and written text.

**APPENDIX C**

**CLEFT CONSTRUCTIONS IN NARRATIVE TEXT**

Sentences (60)–(65) are all taken from the ten narrative texts on which the counts of cleft constructions were made in section 6.

In sentence (60), a WH-cleft signals contrast. In the preceding sentence, Akhinnaja was asked to choose between eggs, chicken, or pork for her viand.

- (60) Inalin            Akhinnaja hi, [Hay iklug chi podho'  
ali -in- -n Akhinnaja hi hay iklug chi pohod -on -u  
say-PFT--LK Akhinnaja LK NMR egg NMR want -IMPFT.TH -1SG.A  
hi ihcha].  
hi ihcha  
OBL viand

‘Akhinnaja said, “[Eggs are what I want for viand].”’

In sentence (61), a WH-cleft signals exclusivity: Emmamata'-on is identified as the only person who had a cooking fire burning.

- (61) Unagkhu immuy ja [un hi Emmamata'-on hichin khun  
unagkhu uy -imm- ja un hi Emmamata'-on hichin khun  
when go -PFT.TH- and ?? NMR Emmamata'-on DEF CTS  
mun-apoy] an otong chi apoy na.  
mun- apoy an otong chi apoy na  
IMPFT.AG-make.fire LK big LK fire 3SG.GEN

‘When she went, [it was Emmamata'-on who had a fire], her fire was big.’

In sentence (62), exclusivity is signaled by an IT-cleft. Turtle is trying to persuade Monkey to use the hot peppers growing in his garden as eye medicine.

- (62) Allon            Pfa'-or-or hi, [Hija hitay mah hinuy khun cha  
ali -on            Pfa'-or-or hi hija hitay mah hinuy khun cha  
say-IMPFT.TH Turtle LK 3SG D1 POL NMR CTS 3PL.A



APPENDIX D

Oral hortatory text by Mr. William Holibot, December 1993

Advice to his family on what to do when he dies.

- (1) Tayya cha'ju an empfapfalay u ja cha'ju an  
 tayya cha'ju an empfalay -CVC- u ja cha'ju an  
 EXCL 2PL LK child -PL- 1SG.GEN and 2PL LK  
 a-apo' ja cha'ju an inapo' ja  
 CV- apo -u ja cha'ju an inapo -u ja  
 PL- grandchild -1SG.GEN and 2PL LK in.law -1SG.GEN and  
 cha'ju an a-amuna-o', numpapadchung  
 cha'ju an CV- amuna-on -u nun- CV- padchung  
 2PL LK PL- niece.nephew -1SG.GEN PFT.TH-PL- be.same  
 hitay pamhod un cha'ju.  
 hitay pamhod u -ay cha'ju  
 D1.S love 1SG.GEN -OBL 2PL

'You now my children, and you my grandchildren, and you my in-laws, and you my nieces and nephews, my love for you is equal.'

- (2) Ja tayya hay allo' ay cha'ju ja achi  
 ja tayya hay ali -on -u ay cha'ju ja achi  
 and EXCL NRF say -IMPFT.TH -1SG.A OBL 2PL PAUS not  
 aju ma-opfo' an hin-a-agkhi ta  
 aju ma- opfo' an hin- CV- akhi -C- ta  
 2PL.S ADJ-resentful LK REC- PL- fraternal.relative-\_- rather  
 anong kay un gway pfumungtan chi oha  
 anong kay un gwacha -chi pfungot -um- -an chi oha  
 even \_ if EXT -NMR be.angry -NR.IMPFT- \_ LK one  
 ay cha'ju ja injujan chi oha, ti  
 ay cha'ju ja in- juja -n chi oha ti  
 OBL 2PL PAUS PFT.TH- give.way -LK A one because

ma-id lapugwona.  
 ma-id.lapugwona  
 end.in.trouble

'And now what I say to you, you shouldn't be resentful of each other as siblings, even if one has a reason to be angry, the other should give way, because it will end in trouble.'

- (3) Ti mapmaphod ami makay an  
 ti CVC- ma- pohod ami mangkay an  
 because INTS- ADJ-good 1PL.EX.S DFT LK

hin-a-agkhi.  
 hin- CV- akhi -C-  
 REC- PL- fraternal.relative -\_-

'Because, I tell you, we brothers and sisters had good relations.'

PP

(4) Ja hay allo' ay cha'ju mi'tamu  
 ja hay ali -on -u ay cha'ju mi'- tamu  
 and NMR say -IMPFT.TH -1SG.A OBL 2PL IMPFT.AG- work.at

aju ta gway pe'-an ju, ja  
 aju ta gwacha -chi pi'- an ju ja  
 2PL.S PURP EXT -NMR IMPFT.TH-eat 2PL.A and

me'khagwong aju hi khagwong chi takhu ja un  
 mi'- khagwong aju hi khagwong chi takhu ja un  
 IMPFT.TH- gather 2PL.S OBL gathering GEN person and ??

aju ma-oloy.  
 aju ma- oloy  
 2PL.S ADJ-gentle.kind

'And what I say to you, you should work so that you have food, and you join in when there are gatherings of people, and you control your tongue.'

(5) Pangpanga-ahi ju ta khipikhip chi aton ju  
 CVC- panga-ahi ju ta khipikhip chi at -on ju  
 EMPH- be.kind 2PL PURP appropriate NMR do -IMPFT.TH 2PL.A

an munhapit hi khagwong chi takhu.  
 an mun- hapit hi khagwong chi takhu  
 LK IMPFT.AG- speak OBL gathering GEN person

'I beg you, you speak appropriately at gatherings of people.'

(6) Ja un ta na-unud.  
 ja un ta na- unud  
 and ?? 1DL.S ADJ- obedient

'And we should be ready to help.'

(7) Achi ta mapfupfotong, ti lo'tat atag  
 achi ta ma- CV- pfotong ti lo'tat atag  
 not 1DL.S IMPFT- CTS- be.intoxicated because NEG.RES EMP

ja gwachay mamorta ay cha'ju wenno  
 ja gwacha -chi ma- morta ay cha'ju wenno  
 PAUS EXT -NMR PASS.IMPFT- punish OBL 2PL or

ipfalud cha'ju.  
 i- pfalud cha'ju  
 IMPFT.TH- imprison 2PL.P

'We shouldn't get drunk because one of you might be fined or you might be imprisoned.'

PP

- (8) Ja achiaju adni' amat hina, cha'jun  
 ja achiaju adni' at -um- hina cha'ju -n  
 and not 2PL.S please be.like-IMPFT.TH- L2 2PL -LK
- hin-a-agkhi, ja achi ju apfoholan  
 hin- CV- akhi -C- ja achi ju apfohor -an  
 REC- PL- fraternal.relative - - PAUS not 2PL.A mistreat -IMPFT.TH
- hay hato a-akhi' an pfinpfinupfai.  
 hay hato CV- akhi -u an CVC- pfupfai -in-  
 NMR D1.PL PL- fraternal.relative -1SG.GEN LK EMP- female -PL-

'And you siblings, please, don't you mistreat my female siblings.'

- (9) Tayya hi Juanita an pangpangulluwan, ja hi Emmayya  
 tayya hi Juanita an pangpangulluwan ja hi Emmayya  
 EXCL NMR Junaita LK eldest.sibling and NMR Emmayya
- ja hitay akhi' an hi Majagwan, ja  
 ja hitay akhi -u an hi Majagwan ja  
 and D1.S fraternal.relative -1SG.GEN LK NMR Majagwan and
- cha Ujagwa ay cha Juan.  
 cha Ujagwa ay cha Juan  
 PL Ujagwa and PL Juan

'Like Juanita the oldest, and Emmayya and my sibling Majagwan, and Ujagwa and her brother Juan and their families.'

- (10) Cha'mi chi hin-a-agkhi an tan  
 cha'mi chi hin- CV- akhi -C- an tayya -an  
 1PL.EX NMR REC- PL- fraternal.relative - - LK EXCL -LK
- natoy chin pangulluwan mi an hi Carlos.  
 na- atoy chin pangulluwan mi an hi Carlos  
 STAT.PFT- die S eldest.sibling 1PL.EX.GEN LK NMR Carlos

'We are the ones who are siblings, for our eldest sibling Carlos died.'

- (11) Ja cha Lita, hay hato chi a-akhi'.  
 ja cha Lita hay hato chi CV- akhi -u  
 and PL Lita NMR D1.PL NMR PL- fraternal.relative -1SG.GEN

'And there's Lita and her family, these are my siblings.'

- (12) Ja pangpanga-ahi ju, cha'ju an hin-a-agkhi,  
 ja pang- panga-ahi ju cha'ju an hin- CV- akhi -C-  
 and EMPH-be.kind 2PL 2PL LK REC- PL- fraternal.relative - -
- achi ju adni' apfoholan chicha.  
 achi ju adni' apfohor -an chicha  
 not 2PL.A please be.cruel -IMPFT.TH 3PL.P

'And I beg you, you siblings, don't you mistreat them.'

PP

- (13) Ja tayya ta allo' ay cha'ju,  
 ja tayya ta ali -on -u ay cha'ju  
 and EXCL LK say -IMPFT.TH -1SG.A OBL 2PL  
 epfattan u an allon ta un chah hay  
 i- pfattan u an ali -on ta un chah hay  
 IMPFT.TH- be.between 1SG.A LK say -IMPFT.TH LK RQ \_ NRF  
 pangallan ti hitay atajan ja achi  
 pang- ali -an ti hitay a- atoy -an ja achi  
 NR.IMPFT- say \_ because D1 NR- die \_ PAUS not  
 atag inila.  
 atag anila  
 EMP know

'And now I say to you, I interpose this, because even if I say it (it doesn't mean I'll die now), because one never knows with death.'

- (14) Anong un allon ja la-ahna ja  
 anong un ali -on ja la-ahna ja  
 even if say -IMPFT.TH PAUS any.time PAUS  
 matoja' hu-una' matoy.  
 ma- atoy -a' hi- un -a' ma- atoy  
 STAT.IMPFT- die -1SG.S LK- if -1SG.S STAT.IMPFT-die

'Even if I say it, I could die at any time if I'm going to die.'

- (15) Ja hay allo' ay cha'ju ja un la-ahna  
 ja hay ali -on -u ay cha'ju ja un la-ahna  
 and NMR say -IMPFT.TH -1SG.A OBL 2PL PAUS ?? any.time  
 ja khulat ta matoja' ja inila'  
 ja khulat ta ma- atoy -a' ja anila -u  
 PAUS supposing LK STAT.IMPFT- die -1SG.S PAUS know -1SG.A  
 atag an ma-id iju pangalan hi hay  
 atag an ma-id ay -ju pang- ala -an hi hay  
 EMP LK none ?? -2PL.GEN NR.IMPFT-get \_ OBL NRF

pamu-ar ju ay ha-in.  
 pang- pfu-ar ju ay ha-in  
 NR.IMPFT- sacrifice.pigs.for.dead 2PL OBL 1SG

'And what I say to you, supposing I should die, I know you don't have any way to get pigs to butcher for me.'

- (16) Ja un la-ahna ja chah hamcha', muti cho-or,  
 ja un la-ahna ja chah hamcha' muti cho-or  
 and ?? anyway PAUS NMR vegetables but many

CLEFT CONSTRUCTIONS IN MAYOYAO IFUGAO

tapfungaw ja hana kalupfaha ja hana chayyote.  
 tapfungaw ja hana kalupfaha ja hana chayyote  
 gourd and PL squash and PL sayote

'In that case, vegetables will do, anyway there are many, gourds and squash and sayote.'

- (17) Ja enala ju hay hana ja khun ju  
 ja ala -in- ju hay hana ja khun ju  
 and get -PFT.TH- 2PL.A NMR D2.PL and CTS 2PL.A  
 ihcha an mangi-ibpfun ay ha-in.  
 i- ihcha an mangi- CVC-upfun ay ha-in  
 IMPFT.TH- eat.as.viand LK IMPFT.AG&TH-CTS-sit OBL 1SG

'You get those and you eat them for viand while keeping vigil for me.'

PP

- (18) Un tugwali tolo hi arkhaw ja inlapfuna'  
 un tugwali tolo hi arkhaw ja in- lapfun -a'  
 just really three LK day then PFT.TH-bury -1SG.P  
 ay cha'ju.  
 ay cha'ju  
 A 2PL.A

'Really just three days is enough, then you bury me.'

- (19) Achi' penhod chi angkhay ay ha-in ja  
 achi -u pohod -in- chi angkhay ay ha-in ja  
 not -1SG.A want -PFT- LK only OBL 1SG PAUS  
 i-aju nalikhatan.  
 ay -aju na- likhat -an  
 ?? -2PL.S PASS.PFT.LOC- experience.difficulty -\_

'I don't want you to suffer just because of me.'

- (20) Ti ma-id atag inila' hi tamu ju an  
 ti ma-id atag anila -u hi tamu ju an  
 because NEG.EXT EMP know -1SG.A LK work 2PL.GEN LK  
 manghan mah ni' ja janitor wenno kamkamannilu.  
 manghan mah ni' ja janitor wenno CVC-kamanilu -C.  
 lowly POL EMPH PAUS janitor or EMP-road.worker -\_

'Because I'm not aware of any paid job you have, even lowly ones like janitor or road worker.'

- (21) Hotti achi aju omaamoh hato uchumna  
 hotti achi aju aamoh -um- hato uchumna  
 so not 2PL.S be.jealous -IMPFT.TH- D1.PL other  
 an takhu an pfu-alan cha ja  
 an takhu an pfu-ar -an cha ja  
 LK person LK sacrifice.pigs.for.dead -IMPFT.NLOC 3PL.A PAUS

empoy cha hi mapolo.  
 in- pa- uy cha hi ma- polo  
 PFT.TH- CAUS- go 3PL.A TI ADJ- ten

'So don't you be envious of other people who butcher for a dead person and they extend it to ten days.'

- (22) Ti un manu chicha ti gway mabalinan  
 ti un manu chicha ti gwacha -chi mabalinan  
 because ?? granted 3PL because EXT -NMR wealth  
 cha muti chita-o atag ja ma-id.  
 cha muti chita-o atag ja ma-id  
 3PL.GEN but 1PL.IN EMP PAUS NEG.EXT

'Because it's all very well for them because they have means but we don't.'

- (23) Nun-appit ta-o hi publi, manipud chin  
 nun- appit ta-o hi publi manipud chin  
 PFT.AG-be.on.side 1PL.IN.S OBL poor since DEF  
 a-ammud ta-o ja un cha publi ja ingkhana  
 CV-ammud ta-o ja un cha publi ja ingkhana  
 PL- parent 1PL.IN.GEN PAUS just 3PL.S poor PAUS until  
 ad ugwani.  
 ad ugwani  
 TI present.time

'We belong to the poor, from our forefathers, they were just poor and so it is until now.'

- (24) Hotti hija hitay chi itukhun u ay cha'ju  
 hotti hija hitay chi i- tukhun u ay cha'ju  
 so 3SG D1 NMR IMPFT.TH-advise 1SG.A OBL 2PL  
 hi aton ju.  
 hi at -on ju  
 LK do -IMPFT.TH 2PL.A

'So this is what I advise you to do.'

PP

- (25) Ja hay oha hi allo' ay cha'ju  
 ja hay oha hi ali -on -u ay cha'ju  
 and NMR another LK say -IMPFT.TH -1SG.A OBL 2PL  
 ja nu khulat ta matoja', achi ju  
 ja nu khulat ta ma- atoy -a' achi ju  
 PAUS if supposing LK STAT.IMPFT- die -1SG.S not 2PL.A  
 makay ugman hi pfinupfutong.  
 mangkay uchum -an hi CV-pfutong -in-  
 WARN augment -IMPFT.LOC OBL PL- become.intoxicated -NR-

'And another thing I say to you, supposing I die, don't you go adding drunkenness.'

- (26) Hay allo' ay cha'ju ja achi aju  
 hay ali -on -u ay cha'ju ja achi aju  
 NMR say -IMPFT.TH -1SG.A OBL 2PL PAUS not 2PL.S  
 mun-usar hi Han Mikher ja hay pfajah.  
 mun-usar hi Han Mikher ja hay pfajah  
 IMPFT.AG- use OBL San Miguel or NRF rice.wine  
 'What I say to you, don't you use San Miguel or rice wine.'

- (27) Achi' podhon.  
 achi -u pohod -on  
 not -1SG.A want -IMPFT.TH  
 'I don't want it.'

- (28) Achi' podhon hay hana chi usaron  
 achi -u pohod -on hay hana chi usar -on  
 not -1SG.A want -IMPFT.TH NMR D2.PL LK use -IMPFT.TH  
 ju ay ha-in.  
 ju ay ha-in  
 2PL.A OBL 1SG  
 'I don't want you to use those things for me.'

- (29) Ti gwacha chi tinikhaw u hi uchumna hi  
 ti gwacha chi tikhaw -in- u hi uchumna hi  
 because EXT NMR see -PFT- 1SG.A LK other LK  
 natoy, unchani ayya ta munkankanta cha  
 na-atoy unchani ayya ta mun- CVC- kanta cha  
 STAT.PFT-die later when LK IMPFT.AG- CTS- sing 3PL.S  
 ja un cha pfukngon an amin.  
 ja un cha pfutong -on an amin  
 PAUS ?? 3PL.A be.intoxicated -IMPFT.MAN LK all  
 'Because I've seen wakes for other dead people, later when they are singing, they do everything in a drunken manner.'

- (30) Achi' podhon.  
 achi -u pohod -on  
 not -1SG.A want -IMPFT.TH  
 'I don't want it.'

PP

- (31) Hay aton ju ay ha-in nu khulat ta  
 hay at -on ju ay ha-in nu khulat ta  
 NMR do -IMPFT.TH 2PL.A OBL 1SG if supposing LK  
 matoja' munkanta aju, usaron  
 ma-atoy -a' mun- kanta aju usar -on  
 STAT.IMPFT-die -1SG.S IMPFT.AG- sing 2PL.S use -IMPFT.TH

ju chi gitara una' matoy.  
 ju chi gitara un -a' ma- atoy  
 2PL.A NMR guitar if -1SG.S STAT.IMPFT-die

'What you should do for me, supposing I die, you sing, you use guitars if I die.'

- (32) Usaron ju hana gitara, ti  
 usar -on ju hana gitara ti  
 use -IMPFT.TH 2PL.A PL guitar because

gumitgitaraa'.  
 CVC- gitara -um- -a'  
 CHAR-guitar -\_- -1SG.S

'You use guitars because I'm fond of guitars.'

- (33) Un hay hana ja ne'-ad-achar u ay tay  
 un hay hana ja ni'- CVC-achar u ay tay  
 ?? NMR D2.PL PAUS PFT.TH-CTS- learn 1SG.A OBL D1

unig chi ni'tatagkhuwa'.  
 unig chi ni'- CV- takhu -C- -an -u  
 inside GEN NR.PFT-CTS- live -\_- -\_-1SG.GEN

'These are some of the things I have learned during my life.'

- (34) Hija hinuy chi pfattulo' u, an achi ju  
 hija hinuy chi pfattulo' u an achi ju  
 3SG D2 NMR funeral.music 1SG.GEN LK not 2PL.A

usaron chi khangha ay ha-in.  
 usar -on chi khangha ay ha-in  
 use -IMPFT.TH NMR first.gong OBL 1SG

'That is what will be my funeral music, don't you use gongs for me.'

- (35) Mid chamchama khangha ta-o.  
 ma-id chamchama khangha ta-o  
 NEG.EXT anyway first.gong 1PL.IN.GEN

'We don't have any gongs anyway.'

- (36) Hini gitara chi hija chi usaron ju  
 hini gitara chi hija chi usar -on ju  
 NMR guitar NMR 3SG NMR use -IMPFT.TH 2PL.A

una' matoy.  
 una -a' ma- atoy  
 when -1SG.S STAT.IMPFT- die

'Guitars are what you should use when I die.'

PP

- (37) Ja ammuna hini tolo hi arkhaw ja  
 ja ammuna hini tolo hi arkhaw ja  
 and enough NMR three LK day then

CLEFT CONSTRUCTIONS IN MAYOYAO IFUGAO

inlapfuna' ay cha'ju.  
 in- lapfun -a' ay cha'ju  
 PFT.TH- bury -1SG.P A 2PL.A

'And three days is enough, then you bury me.'

- (38) Hija hitay chi penhod u hi unuchon  
 hija hitay chi pohod -in- u hi unud -on  
 3SG D1 NMR want -PFT- 1SG.A LK obey -IMPFT.TH  
 ju hitay allo' an masorot.  
 ju hitay ali -on -u an ma- sorot  
 2PL.A D1 say -IMPFT.TH -1SG.A LK PASS.IMPFT- follow

'That's what I want you to obey, what I am saying you should follow.'

- (39) Hija hitay chi allo' ay cha'ju an  
 hija hitay chi ali -on -u ay cha'ju an  
 3SG D1 NMR say -IMPFT.TH -1SG.A OBL 2PL LK

hin-a-agkhi.  
 hin- CV-akhi -C-  
 REC-PL- fraternal.relative - -

'This is what I say to you siblings.'

APPENDIX E

Written expository text by Mayor Rufino Guinid, July 1998

The end of traditional rituals.

Chin nita'chukhan chin pfuni.  
 chin ni- ta'chug -an chin pfuni  
 DEF NR.PFT- stop.doing - DEF ritual

'The end of traditional rituals.'

- (1) An amin chi tatakhu chin hophopapna ja hay  
 an amin chi CV-takhu chin CVC-hopapna ja hay  
 LK all LK PL- person TI INTS-past.age PAUS NMR  
 pfuni chi inunud cha an amin ja ma-id uchumna.  
 pfuni chi unud -in- cha an amin ja ma-id uchumna  
 ritual NMR obey -PFT- 3PL.A LK all and NEG.EXT other

'All people in the old times, the traditional rituals are what they followed, nothing else.'

- (2) Hini pfuni chi mangpadchong ja mangpanuh  
 hini pfuni chi mang- padchong ja mang- panuh  
 NMR ritual NMR IMPFT.AG- give.direction and IMPFT.AG-order

hi	hay	aton		chi	tatakhu	an	mi'takhu	
hi	hay	at -on		chi	CV-takhu	an	mi'-	takhu
OBL	NRF	do -IMPFT.TH		A	PL- person	LK	IMPFT.AG-	live
ay	tay	lota.						
ay	tay	lota						
OBL	D1	earth						

'The rituals were what gave direction to and ordered the way people lived on earth.'

- (3) Hay aton cha an mi-i'nut hi hay  
 hay at -on cha an mi- i'nut hi hay  
 NMR do -IMPFT.TH 3PL.A LK IMPFT.AG- raise.food OBL NRF
- |             |         |      |             |              |       |
|-------------|---------|------|-------------|--------------|-------|
| anun        | cha     | ta   | gway        | aton         | cha   |
| anun        | cha     | ta   | gwacha -chi | at -on       | cha   |
| staple.food | 3PL.GEN | PURP | EXT -NMR    | do -IMPFT.TH | 3PL.A |
- |    |           |       |          |                          |       |
|----|-----------|-------|----------|--------------------------|-------|
| an | mi'takhu  | ja    | munpfuni | cha                      |       |
| an | mi'-      | takhu | ja       | mun- pfuni               | cha   |
| LK | IMPFT.AG- | live  | PAUS     | IMPFT.AG- perform.ritual | 3PL.S |
- |        |    |       |                                  |
|--------|----|-------|----------------------------------|
| ja     | un | cha   | monpanar.                        |
| ja     | un | cha   | mun- panar                       |
| before | -  | 3PL.S | IMPFT.AG- plant.rice.in.seed.bed |

'The way they worked for their food so that they could live, they performed the rituals before they planted the seedlings.'

- (4) Hitay hini allon cha an pangnga.  
 hitay hini ali -on cha an pangnga  
 D1 NMR call -IMPFT.TH 3PL.A LK rite.at.time.of.sowing.rice.seed
- 'This is what they call the *pangnga* ritual.'

- (5) Hini pangnga ja un cha  
 hini pangnga ja un cha  
 NMR rite.at.time.of.sowing.rice.seed PAUS ?? 3PL.A
- |           |           |      |                    |    |
|-----------|-----------|------|--------------------|----|
| hongon    |           | hini | pakhuy             | an |
| hongon    | -on       | hini | pakhuy             | an |
| do.ritual | -IMPFT.TH | P    | mature.rice.plants | LK |
- |         |                        |       |      |             |
|---------|------------------------|-------|------|-------------|
| empanar |                        | cha   | ta   | gway        |
| in-     | panar                  | cha   | ta   | gwacha -chi |
| PFT.TH- | plant.rice.in.seed.bed | 3PL.A | PURP | EXT -NMR    |
- |                    |     |    |                    |
|--------------------|-----|----|--------------------|
| atona              |     | an | pomhod.            |
| at -on             | -na | an | pohod -um-         |
| do -IMPFT.TH-3SG.A |     | LK | improve -IMPFT.TH- |

'The *pangnga* ritual consisted of making sacrifices for the rice they planted so that it would thrive.'

- (6) Hini pomhod ja ta cho-or chi  
 hini pohod -um- ja ta cho-or chi  
 NMR improve -IMPFT.TH- PAUS CMP many NMR

CLEFT CONSTRUCTIONS IN MAYOYAO IFUGAO

mabto' ja ma-id chi hay chupar ja  
 ma- pfoto' ja ma-id chi hay chupar ja  
 PASS.IMPFT- harvest and NEG.EXT NMR NRF withered-pannicle or

hay mangan hi pfu-at.  
 hay mang- an hi pfu-at  
 NRF IMPFT.AG- eat LK rat

'Thriving means that much rice is harvested and there are no withered pannicles and no rats eating it.'

- (7) Mapfalin an monpfoto' cha ja  
 ma- pfaalin an mun- pfoto' cha ja  
 STAT.IMPFT- finish LK IMPFT.AG- harvest.rice 3PL.S PAUS

hinignop cha.  
 hignop -in- cha  
 perform.rite.at.rice.storing -PFT- 3PL.A

'When they finished harvesting, they performed the *hignop* ritual.'

PP

- (8) Hay aton cha an manignop  
 hay at -on cha an mang- hignop  
 NMR do -IMPFT.TH 3PL.A LK IMPFT.AG- perform.rite.at.rice.storing

ja pfunijan cha hini manu' ja  
 ja pfuni -an cha hini manu' ja  
 PAUS perform.rituals -IMPFT.LOC 3PL.A P chicken then

ene'nong cha hana spiritu heto luta an khun  
 ini- onong cha hana spiritu heto luta an khun  
 PFT.TH- sacrifice 3PL.A PL spirit L1 world LK CTS

cha daydayawon.  
 cha CVC-dayaw -on  
 3PL.A CTS- praise -IMPFT.TH

'The way they did the *hignop* ritual, they did rituals over the chicken and they sacrificed it to the spirits here on earth whom they were worshipping.'

- (9) Hay pangatan cha ja ta ahop ja un  
 hay pang- at -an cha ja ta ahop ja un  
 NMR NR- do - 3PL.GEN PAUS PURP long.time before -

mapoh hini pakhuy cha.  
 ma- opoh hini pakhuy cha  
 PASS.IMPFT- consume S mature.rice 3PL.GEN

'The reason they did it, it was so that their rice wouldn't be used up for a long time.'

- (10) Anong un hay timpon chi chokhoh ja khun cha  
 anong un hay timpo-n chi chokhoh ja khun cha  
 even ?? NRF time -LK GEN sickness PAUS CTS 3PL.S

BARBARA M. HODDER

munpfuni			an	ongngan		cha	hana
mun-	pfuni		an	onong -an		cha	hana
IMPFT.AG-	perform.ritual		LK	sacrifice -IMPFT.LOC		3PL.A	PL
spiritu	an	khun		mangchat		hana	chokhoh ta
spiritu	an	khun		mang- chat		hana	chokhoh ta
spirit	LK	CTS		IMPFT.AG- give		PL	sickness PURP
gway		aton		cha an		mangaan.	
gwacha	-chi	at -on		cha an		mang- aan	
EXT	-NMR	do -IMPFT.TH		3PL.A LK		IMPFT.AG-remove	

'Even at times of sickness, they used to perform rituals where they sacrificed to the spirits who give sicknesses so that they could be removed.'

PP

(11) Cho-or chi icha aton ta gway  
 cho-or chi ay -cha at -on ta gwacha -chi  
 many NMR ?? -3PL.A do -IMPFT.TH PURP EXT -NMR

aton		khun	ni	spiritu	an	khun	cha
at -on		khun	ni	spiritu	an	khun	cha
do -IMPFT.TH		also	A	spirit	LK	CTS	3PL.A

ongngan		an	mangat		hana	khun	cha
onong -an		an	mang- at		hana	khun	cha
sacrifice -IMPFT.LOC		LK	IMPFT.AG- do		PL	CTS	3PL.A

epfokha.  
 i- pfokha  
 IMPFT.TH- ask

'They did many things so that the spirits they were sacrificing to would also do the things they were asking.'

PP

(12) Amin hay hato ja nita'chug ad ugwani.  
 amin hay hato ja ni- ta'chug ad ugwani  
 all NMR D1.PL INV PASS.PFT.TH- stop.doing TI present.time

'All these things have ended now.'

(13) Hay ina nita'chukhan ja hay  
 hay ay -na ni- ta'chug -an ja hay  
 NMR ?? -3SG.GEN NR.PFT- stop.doing - PAUS NRF

immaliyan		hay	hato	manudtuchu		ay	ni
ali -imm- -an		hay	hato	mang- tudtuchu		ay	ni
come -NR.PFT- -		NMR	D1.PL	IMPFT.AG- teach		OBL	-

Hapit	Apo	Jos,	ja	inannilan		hato	
hapit	Apo	Jos	ja	anila -in- -C- -n		hato	
word	God	-	and	know -PFT- -CTS- -LK		D1.PL	

tataku	an	ma-id	chi	hay	mapfalin	chi	spiritu	an
CV- takhu	an	ma-id	chi	hay	mapfalin	chi	spiritu	an
PL- person	LK	NEG.EXT	NMR	NRF	possible	LK	spirit	LK

CLEFT CONSTRUCTIONS IN MAYOYAO IFUGAO

mangchat		hi	hay	chokhoh	chi	hay	oha	hi
mang-	chat	hi	hay	chokhoh	chi	hay	oha	hi
IMPFT.AG-	give	OBL	NRF	sickness	LK	NRF	one	LK
ni'-unud		ay	Kristo.					
ni'-	unud	ay	Kristo					
PFT.AG-	obey	OBL	Christ					

'The reason it has ended, it is because of the coming of those who teach the Word of God, and the people have come to know that spirits have no power to cause sickness in a person who is following Kristo.'

(14)

Anannilan			hato	tatakhu		an	hi	Apo	Jos
anila	-in-	-C-	-n	hato	CV-takhu	an	hi	Apo	Jos
know	-PFT--CTS-	-LK	D1.PL	PL-	person	LK	NMR	God	_
chi	khun	midaydayaw				an	pfu-un		
chi	khun	mi-		CVC-	dayaw	an	pfu-un		
NMR	CTS	PASS.IMPFT.TH-	CTS-	praise		LK	NEG		
hato	spiritu	heto	luta.						
hato	spiritu	heto	luta						
D1.PL	spirit	L1	world						

'The people have come to know that God is the one to be praised, not the spirits here on earth.'

(15)

Anannila		cha	khu	an	khun	e-om-omod			
anila	-in-	-C-	cha	khu	an	khun	i-	CVC-	omod
know	-PFT--CTS-	3PL.A	also	LK	CTS	IMPFT.TH-INTS-	do.more		
hana	spiritu	heto	luta	an	mamarpalikhat				
hana	spiritu	heto	luta	an	mang-	CVC-	pa-	likhat	
PL	spirit	L1	world	LK	IMPFT.AG-INTS-	CAUS-	hardship		
hato	tatakhu	nu	matikhaw		cha	an	khun		
hato	CV-takhu	nu	ma-	tikhaw	cha	an	khun		
D1.PL	PL-	person	if	IMPFT-	see	3PL.A	LK	CTS	
cha	ongnga-ongngan				chicha	hi	pfapfuy	ja	
cha	CVCCV-	onong	-an		chicha	hi	pfapfuy	ja	
3PL.A	CTS-	sacrifice	-IMPFT.LOC	3PL.P	OBL	pig	and		
manu'									
manu'									
chicken									

'They already know that the spirits here on earth only do more to cause hardship to people if they see that they are sacrificing pigs and chickens to them.'

(16)

Amin	hato	ja	inannila		cha	an
amin	hato	ja	anila	-in-	-C-	cha
all	D1.PL	PAUS	know	-PFT-	-CTS-	3PL.A
						LK

ma-ipfuhur ay Apo Jos an icha pinati.  
 ma-i- pfuhur ay Apo Jos an ay -cha pati -in-  
 IMPFT.TH- oppose OBL God \_ LK ?? -3PL.A believe -PFT-

'Regarding all of these rituals, they have come to know that they oppose God whom they have believed.'

- (17) Pinati cha hi Apo Jos an hijay icha  
 pati -in- cha hi Apo Jos an hija -chi ay -cha  
 believe -PFT- 3PL.A P God \_ LK 3SG -NMR ?? -3PL.GEN
- pangehcholan hi hay likhat cha ja hay  
 pangi- hochor -an hi hay likhat cha ja hay  
 NR.IMPFT-rely \_ OBL NRF difficulty 3PL.GEN and NRF
- chokhoh cha.  
 chokhoh cha  
 sickness 3PL.GEN

'They believe that God is the one to trust with their difficulties and sicknesses.'

- (18) Hija mahpay chi ap-apo cha ja hija chi  
 hija mahpay chi ap-apo cha ja hija chi  
 3SG already NMR leader 3PL.GEN and 3SG NMR
- unuchon cha ja angkhay.  
 unud -on cha ja angkhay  
 obey -IMPFT.TH 3PL.A LK only

'He is now their leader and he alone is the one they obey.'

PP

- (19) Oha khu hi i nangta'chukhan chi tatakhu  
 oha khu hi ay nang- ta'chug -an chi CV- takhu  
 one again LK ?? NR.PFT- stop.doing \_ GEN PL- person
- an munpfuni ja ad-adchi cha  
 an mun- pfuni ja ad-adchi cha  
 LK IMPFT.AG- perform.ritual PAUS be.insufficient 3PL.A
- pa'-angina hana manu' ja pfapfuy an  
 pa'-a- ngina hana manu' ja pfapfuy an  
 ABIL- buy PL chicken and pig LK
- mabnijan an e'nong cha hana spiritu.  
 ma- pfuni -an an i- onong cha hana spiritu  
 PASS.IMPFT.LOC- do.ritual \_ LK IMPFT.TH-sacrifice 3PL.A PL spirit

'Another reason people have stopped doing the traditional rituals is that they cannot afford the chickens and pigs which are used in the rituals, which they sacrifice to the spirits.'

- (20) Inannilan hana uchu'chuna hini un cha i  
 anila -in- -C- -n hana uchu'chuna hini un cha ay  
 know -PFT--CTS--LK PL better NMR just 3PL.S ??

monpa-akhah ti nalaklaka.  
 mun- pa- akhah ti na- CVC-laka  
 IMPFT.AG- CAUS- medicine because ADJ- CMP-cheap

'They have come to know that it's better if they seek medical treatment because it's cheaper.'

- (21) Inannila cha khu an achi mabnijan  
 anila -in- -C- cha khu an achi ma- pfuni -an  
 know -PFT--CTS- 3PL.A also LK not PASS.IMPFT.LOC-do.ritual-\_  
 hay chokhoh ja na-aan an un hay pammati  
 hay chokhoh ja na- aan an un hay pammati  
 NRF sickness then PASS.PFT- remove LK just NMR faith  
 ay Apo Jos chi mangan ja hato akhah  
 ay Apo Jos chi mang- aan ja hato akhah  
 OBL God \_ NMR IMPFT.AG- remove and D1.PL medicine  
 an narpu ay hija ja angkhay.  
 an na- lopo ay hija ja angkhay  
 LK STAT.PFT- come.from OBL 3SG LK only

'They have also come to know that sickness isn't removed by performing rituals for it, rather faith in God removes it and the medicines that come only from him.'

PP

- (22) Amin hay hato ja inannila cha mahpay an un  
 amin hay hato ja anila -in- -C- cha mahpay an un  
 all NMR D1.PL PAUS know -PFT- -CTS- 3PL.A already LK ??  
 cha i punkhahtuwan hi otongngan ja angkhay.  
 cha ay pun- khahtu-an hi otongngan ja angkhay  
 3PL.A ?? IMPFT.LOC- spend -\_ OBL big LK only

'All these rituals, they now know that they are only going to spend a lot on them.'

- (23) Ma-id chi hay intolong tay an pfuni ay chicha.  
 ma-id chi hay in- tolong tay an pfuni ay chicha  
 NEG.EXT NMR NRF PFT.TH- help D1.A LK ritual OBL 3PL

'These rituals give them no help at all.'

- (24) Hay napfagtu an amin hi khapu na ta  
 hay na- pfagtu an amin hi khapu na ta  
 NMR ADJ- high LK all LK reason 3SG.GEN LK  
 nita'chug chi pfuni ja hi Apo Jos  
 ni- ta'chug chi pfuni ja hi Apo Jos  
 PASS.PFT.TH- stop.doing S ritual PAUS NMR God \_  
 mahpay chi daydayawon chi tatakhu  
 mahpay chi CVC- dayaw -on chi CV- takhu  
 already NMR CTS- praise -IMPFT.TH A PL- person

ad	ugwani	ja	hija	chi	pangehcholan		cha
ad	ugwani	ja	hija	chi	pangi-	hochor	-an cha
TI	now	and	3SG	NMR	NR.IMPFT-	rely	- 3PL.GEN
an	amin	hi	pi'takhuwan	cha.			
an	amin	hi	pi'takhuwan	cha			
LK	all	LK	life	3PL.GEN			

'The main reason that the rituals have stopped is that now it's God whom people praise, and he is the one they trust all their lives to.'

### ABBREVIATIONS

A	more agentive syntactically required argument of transitive clause	LOC	location
ABIL	abilitative	MAN	manner
ADJ	adjective	NEG	negation
AG	agent	NEG.EXT	negative existential
ALT	alternation	NEG.RES	negative result
C	consonant	NLOC	non-nuclear location
CAUS	cause	NMR	nominal marker
CHAR	characteristic	NR	nominaliser
CMP	complementizer, comparative	NRF	non-referential
CNT	content	NTH	non-nuclear theme
CNTRA	contraexpectation	OBL	oblique
CTS	continuous	P	less agentive syntactically required argument of transitive clause
CV	reduplication (consonant-vowel)	PASS	passive
D1	deictic, near speaker	PAST	past
D2	deictic, near hearer	PAUS	pause
D3	deictic, far from speaker and hearer	PFT	perfective aspect
DEF	definite	PL	plural
DFT	defiant	POL	polite
DL	dual	PP	paragraph break
EMP	empathetic	PURP	purpose
EMPH	emphatic	REC	reciprocal
EX	exclusive	RQ	rhetorical question
EXCL	exclamation	S	single syntactically required argument of intransitive clause
EXT	existential	SG	singular
GEN	genitive	STAT	stative
IMPFT	imperfective aspect	TH	theme
IN	inclusive	TI	time
IND	indefinite	V	vowel
INTS	intensive	VAP	verb - A argument - P argument
INV	inversion marker, topic precedes comment	VPA	verb - P argument - A argument
L1	locative, near speaker	WARN	warning
L2	locative, near hearer	??	uncertain function
L3	locative, far from speaker and hearer	-	discontinuous morpheme
LK	linker		

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>The label given to cleft constructions by Schachter and Otones is 'emphatic inversion'.

<sup>2</sup>Mayoyao Ifugao is spoken by the people of the Mayoyao and Aguinaldo districts of Ifugao province in the Philippines. It is estimated that there are about 35,000 speakers. Mayoyao Ifugao is a member of the Central Cordilleran sub-group of Northern Philippine languages. Of the non-Ifugao languages in the Central Cordilleran group, Mayoyao Ifugao is most closely related to Balangao, Central Bontoc and Eastern Bontoc.

Research in Mayoyao Ifugao was carried out by the author under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics during the period of January 1987 to July 1998. I wish to express sincere appreciation to Dr. Sherri Brainard for a great number of helpful comments on the content of this paper.

<sup>3</sup>Mayoyao Ifugao also has nonverbal existential and possessive clauses; however, since these cannot be clefted, they are not considered here.

<sup>4</sup>The orthography of Mayoyao Ifugao consists of 20 consonants and 5 vowels. The consonants are: *b* [b], *ch* [tʃ], *d* [d], *g* [g], *gw* [gʷ], *h* [h], *j* [dʒ], *k* [q], *kh* [kχ], *l* [l], *m* [m], *n* [n], *ng* [ŋ], *p* [p], *pf* [pʰ], *r* [r], *t* [t], *w* [w], *y* [j], ' [ʔ], and - [ʔ]. The vowels are: *a* [æ][ə], *e* [e][ɛ], *i* [i][ɪ], *o* [o][ɔ], and *u* [u][ʊ]. All vowels are retroflexed before [ɣ]. When a syllable ends in /ot/ or /ut/, both the vowel and /t/ are retroflexed. The segment *s* [s] occurs in some borrowed words. When *k* is followed by *h*, they are separated by a hyphen to distinguish from the digraph *kh*. The initial syllable of all words follow a CV(C) pattern; where the initial consonant is glottal stop, it is not written. Geminate glottal stops are written ' , as in *hu'-ud* 'spear'. Stress is phonemic but is not written.

<sup>5</sup>Some verb affixes indicate the semantic role of S and P in all aspects; others indicate semantic role only in certain aspects, e.g. imperfective aspect, but not perfective aspect. In language examples, semantic roles are labeled according to a restricted model of localist case grammar developed by DeLancey (1984, 1985, 1991) based on earlier models by Anderson (1971), Gruber (1976), and Jackendoff (1983, 1990). Within this model, core semantic roles are: Theme, an entity that changes location or state; Loc, a physical site or a state; and Agent, the primary initiator of an event. (A recipient is a human Loc, and an experiencer is a human Theme.) Non-nuclear semantic roles are core roles of a non-nuclear clause, that have been integrated into the main clause. These are: Non-nuclear Theme (Instrument or Associative); Non-nuclear Loc (Beneficiary, Goal or Source as site); and Non-nuclear Agent (Source as cause).

<sup>6</sup>This analysis is based on Givón's (1994) proposal that inverses can be distinguished by word order as well as morphology. (See Payne (1994) for an analysis of a word order inverse in Cebuano.)

<sup>7</sup>Details of the topicality hierarchy are beyond the scope of this paper, but we will note here that for certain combinations of A and P, the VAP active construction is obligatory; for other combinations of A and P, the VPA construction is obligatory; and for still other combinations, both constructions are possible, but one will be the unmarked choice.

<sup>8</sup>See Appendix A for charts of case markers.

<sup>9</sup>In an inverse construction, P is always a pronoun, and so one might argue that case marking cannot be determined when intransitive S and inverse A are full NPs, since one would be comparing unlike structures; however, as (18) and (19) show, pronouns as well as full NPs can be preceded by case markers in the Mayoyao Ifugao inverse, and so the argument is invalid.

<sup>10</sup>See Appendix A for a complete listing of pronouns in Mayoyao Ifugao.

<sup>11</sup>Exceptions to this tripartite pattern are pronouns for first person dual (1DL), first person inclusive (1IN), and third person plural (3PL). For these person and number categories, pronouns for S and A have the same forms, while those for P have different forms; however, since this pattern appears to be

idiosyncratic in that it is not controlled by an obvious semantic principle, such as person or number, it has been ignored for the purposes of identifying case marking.

<sup>12</sup>An alternate analysis would be to treat A in (18) (and also (19)) as a single complex form composed of a nominal marker plus a unique pronominal form, in which case S, A, and P would all have different forms and display a tripartite case marking pattern. On the other hand, since *ay* marks inverse A when it is a full NP, there is no principled reason for identifying *ay* as anything other than a case marker when it marks an inverse A that is a pronoun. For this reason, *ay* in (18) is analyzed as a case marker.

<sup>13</sup>Text number 1 is given in full in Appendix D. This text is included by permission of the author.

<sup>14</sup>Text number 8 is given in full in Appendix E. This text is included by permission of the author.

<sup>15</sup>In sentences like (28) where the focal element is an oblique location in the basic verbal clause, a nominalized form of the verb must be used, changing the sentence to a nonverbal equational type clause in which the location NP is one part and the nominalized clause is the other.

<sup>16</sup>See endnote 15.

<sup>17</sup>It is interesting to note that the functional equivalent of a basic WH-cleft construction in English, where the variable occurs first, would very often be expressed in Mayoyao Ifugao as a sentence with a fronted NP, as in the following:

Hay	penhod		Apo	Jos	ja	ep-ephod		hini	aton
hay	pohod	-in-	Apo	Jos	ja	CVC-	ephod	hini	at -on
NMR	want	-PFT-	God	_	PAUS	INTS-	do.well	P	do -IMPFT.TH
an	mi'tamu		an	achi	la-okan			hi	
an	mi'-	tamu	an	achi	la-ok -an			hi	
LK	IMPFT.AG-	work	LK	not	mix	-IMPFT.LOC		OBL	
napupukhit		hi	a-at.						
na-	CV-	pukhit	hi	a-	at				
ADJ-	PL-	bad	LK	NR-	do				

'What God wants, it is to do well how one does one's work, not mixing bad actions with it.'

The claim that fronted NPs in Mayoyao Ifugao can be functional equivalents of basic WH-clefts in English is supported by the fact that such NPs are commonly used in expository text to maintain the continuity and prominence of themes. This corresponds to DeClerck's (1984) assertion that basic WH-clefts in English may be chosen in preference to other constructions in order to give continuity of theme.

<sup>18</sup>See Appendix B for the justification for considering expository and hortatory text together when measuring frequency of cleft constructions.

<sup>19</sup>Cleft constructions in Mayoyao Ifugao narrative text perform the same functions as clefts in expository and hortatory text; thus, the only difference between clefts in these genres is their frequency of occurrence. See Appendix C for examples of cleft constructions and their functions in narrative text.

<sup>20</sup>See Appendix B for a statistical comparison of the frequencies.

<sup>21</sup>Data from Collins (1991: Table 6 and note 24), however, show that only IT-clefts ('clefts' in his terminology) are more frequent in written English; on the other hand, WH-clefts ('pseudo-clefts') and reversed WH-clefts are far more frequent in oral English.

<sup>22</sup>The following is an example of an IT-cleft from a narrative text which presents a lower-level theme. It is understood from the story that the speaker goes on to demonstrate how the soup should be drunk.

Hija	hitay	chi	khun	aton	an	munhipfor	an
hija	hitay	chi	khun	at -on	an	mun-hipfor	an
3SG	D1	NMR	CTS	do -IMPFT.TH	LK	IMPFT.AG- drink.soup	LK
un	ta		khun	muntuttuun.			
un	ta		khun	mun	tuttuun		
??	1DL.S	CTS	IMPFT.AG-bend.head.down				

'This is how one drinks the soup, we bend our heads down.'

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