

KALINGA SEQUENTIAL DISCOURSE

C. R. GIESER

Summer Institute of Linguistics

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O. INTRODUCTION

Prose discourse in Philippine languages has been studied (Longacre 1968:1), and it has been found to include at least four frequently occurring genres: narrative, procedural, expository, and hortatory. Two of these genres, namely, narrative and procedural, are characterized by sequence in time: in accomplished time for narrative discourse and in projected time for procedural discourse. Without question Kalinga discourse has these two kinds of sequential discourse.¹

Narrative sequence and procedural sequence in Kalinga are differentiated from each other by a number of features of grammatical structure. One of these is difference in the usage of certain conjunctive particles in overt signaling of sequence. In particular, two coordinating particles have different patterns of usage. In narrative discourse the sequence particle is *qot*, and in procedural discourse the prominent sequence particle is *qad*.

¹Kalinga is an Austronesian language, classified by Dyen as a subfamily of the North Cordilleran Cluster of the Cordilleran Hesion of the Philippine Hesion (Dyen 1965:29-32). Thomas and Healey (1962) classify it, along with Ilocano, Tinggian, Isneg, Ibanag, Atta, Gaddang, and Agta, under the Northern Philippine Family of the Philippine Stock of the Philippine Superstock. Based upon 1960 national census records, it is estimated that it is spoken by some 60-70,000 people who live in the general region of the southern part of the Kalinga-Apayao Province in northern Luzon, Republic of the Philippines.

The data upon which this paper is based are from the subdialect of Kalinga called Guininaang, which is spoken in the municipality of Pasil in Kalinga-Apayao Province. These data were gathered in the village of Guinaang, where field work has been carried on under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics during stays of varying lengths from 1954 until 1971. The following linguistic studies have been made by the writer of the Guininaang subdialect: Gieser 1958, 1963, 1970, a manuscript referred to in Longacre 1968:2, "Notes on the sentence structure of Guininaang (Kalinga)", and a manuscript, "Phonemic and morphemic efficiency in Kalinga".

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The phonology of Guininaang Kalinga may be summarized as follows. There are eighteen segmental phonemes, including fourteen consonants, *b, k, d, g, l, m, n, ng, p, s, t, w, y*, and *q* (glottal stop), and four vowels, *a, i, o*, and *u*. In Guininaang *k*, a phoneme probably borrowed from Ilocano and neighboring subdialects, is usually replaced by a glottal stop. In addition to these segmental phonemes, there is at least one suprasegmental phoneme, namely stress.

Another feature of Kalinga grammar involved in differentiation of narrative sequence from procedural is aspect.² A contrastive interplay of incomplete and completed aspects with *qot* and *qad* exists in these two kinds of discourse. In narrative discourse, sequences indicated by *qot* are encountered in which the initial verb is completed in aspect, while subsequent verbs are incomplete: *q-in-awqán-na qanó dit qamútu si qámong qot qubút-on-na-t qamútu-ot q-im-óyon-φ*.³ (compl-put-into-he quot top wine-jar ref something-ignited seq cover-incompl-he-top wine-jar-seq incompl-depart-he) 'He put, it is said, some ignited material into the wine jar, then he covered the wine jar, then he departed.'

In procedural discourse, on the other hand, sequences with *qad* as conjunction are encountered in which the verb preceding *qad* is incomplete in aspect and that following *qad* is completed: . . . *no k-in-abíti man-qáqot-qamí si batú qad s-in-apsáp-an-mi*. (. . . subor daf-stonework incompl-transport-we ref stone seq compl-shape-we) '. . . if it is to be of stonework, we transport stone, and then we shape it.'

Difference between conjunctive particles, then, and the interplay of aspect with those particles are two ways in which the kind of sequence is shown in the grammatical, or surface, structure of Kalinga discourse. There are others. It is the purpose of this paper to discuss these.

1. DISCOURSE PROPERTIES

Before sequence is described in particular, however, material of a more general nature about Kalinga discourse is presented. This information falls under the following four headings: person orientation, narrator's viewpoint, narrative setting, and discourse organization. The first refers to all genres of discourse; the second and third apply to narrative discourse; and the last refers to narrative and procedural discourse.

²What is referred to as aspect in this paper the writer (Gieser 1963) formerly called tense. The change is prompted by the strong impression that what is being referred to is more of the nature of aspect, particularly whether an action has been completed or not, than it is temporal. *Aspect* as used in this paper is to be understood as referring to this one type of aspect, since Kalinga verbs also show other aspectual categories.

³*-na* and *-φ* represent the third person singular of the two clitic sets of pronouns in Guininaang. The set, of which *-φ* is a member, is the topic set, and this set includes the following: singular first person *-aq*, second person *-qa*, third person *-φ*, first + second person *-ta*; plural first person *-qamí*, second person *-qayú*, third person *-da*, first + second person *-taqó*. The set which includes *-na* functions as nontopic subject or nominal possessor. The members of this set are the following: singular first person *-qo* ~ *-q*, second person *-no* ~ *-m*, third person *-na*, first + second person *-ta*; plural first person *-mi*, second person *-yu*, third person *-da*, first + second person *-taqó*.

In vernacular examples spaces indicate word boundaries, and hyphens are used to separate morphemes within words. In the literal renderings, which are enclosed by parentheses, hyphens are used to unite the meanings of single vernacular words, including multiword meanings of word bases. The following abbreviations are employed in the literal renderings: (advers) adversative, (alter) alternative, (caus) causative, (compl) completed aspect, (cond) conditional particle, (cont) continuous, (coor) coordinating conjunction, (daf) derivational affix, (decl) declarative mode, (dir) directional particle, (ext) extent in time or space, (fut) futurity particle, (impl) implicational particle, (incompl) incomplete aspect, (indquest) indirect question link, (intens) intensive, (lk) connective e.g. in direct and indirect discourse sentences, (mod) modal particle, (morph) morphophonemic *n* added to vowel-final forms before *d*-initial particles, (neg) negative, (nom) nominalizing affix, (pa) particle of attribution, (pl) plural, (possm) marker of possessive phrase, (prox) proximate to speaker, (quot) hearsay particle, (redup) reduplication, (ref) referent or oblique marker, (rem) remote from speaker and hearer, (sencon) sentence conjunction, (seq) sequence particle, (subj) subject marker, (subor) subordinating conjunction, (top) topic marker, (voc) vocative marker.

1.1 PERSON ORIENTATION

Kalinga narrative discourse is either first or third person oriented. (Only in embedded direct address has second person been noted.) The difference lies only in whether the narrator is in some way included in the events narrated or he is not. Characteristically, it is the pronouns which show the person orientation of narrative discourse.

In procedural discourse person orientation is either first or third person. No second person has been noted. In one procedural text, however, which describes the way a peace pact is celebrated, some occurrences of the first-plus-second person singular pronoun *-ta* were noted. But since these occurrences are in a section in which the laws of the peace pact are being stated, it seems probable that this section is an instance of embedded hortatory discourse.

Expository discourse, of which only five texts were studied, is exclusively third person oriented.

1.2 NARRATOR'S VIEWPOINT

Ziegler (1968:67) in discussing fictional writing speaks of a property of discourse which she calls 'point of view'. She defines this as 'where the [narrator] is sitting'. Phrased another way, through whose eyes is the narrator seeing what he is narrating? Through the eyes of some all-seeing being, through those of the principal participant, or perhaps through those of one of the other participants? Five possible viewpoints are enumerated: author omniscient, first person, and three kinds of third person viewpoints.

The author omniscient viewpoint is defined as that in which the narrator 'can enter anybody's mind. He may instruct, explain, interpret, be as objective or as subjective as he pleases.' This is the viewpoint that seems to characterize Kalinga legendary narratives. The other four of Ziegler's fictional viewpoints have not been observed in legendary narratives. On the other hand, in accounts of current events Kalinga narrators take either the viewpoint of a first person participant or that of a third person.

1.3 NARRATIVE SETTING

In their description of the Saramaccan travel narrative Grimes and Glock (1970:419) speak of 'narrative setting' as the locale in which the narrative is being told. Throughout the narrative repeated reference is made to this setting by means of the deictic elements 'here' and 'there' and the way motion verbs such as 'come' and 'go' are used.

In Kalinga narratives a similar phenomenon has been noted. The narrator may reveal where he was when he related the narrative by the way he employs deictic forms, names of actual places, and certain motion verbs.

1.3.1 DEICTIC FORMS

The two deictic forms used in indicating narrative setting are *si-ná* (ref-prox) 'here' and *si-dí* (ref-rem) 'there'. The use of these is illustrated by the following from a text which involves movement away from the location of the narrator and back again: . . . *qi-*

ôy-na qod Sagáda qan didá. d-um-atông-ô qad sidí . . . (. . . incompl-go-he dir Sagada ref them. incompl-arrive-he subor there . . .) ' . . . he conveyed it to Sagada to them. When he arrived there . . . ' Clearly, Sagada is not the name of the place where the narrator was when he told his story, since *sidí* is used in reference to it. Later in the same text we find the sequence *d-umm-atông-da qad siná . . .* (compl-arrive-they subor here . . .) 'When they arrived here . . . ' The place at which they arrived when they reached 'here' is known on the basis of the route taken and the place of residence of other individuals mentioned in the narrative; therefore, the location of the narrator is known as well.

1.3.2 PLACE NAMES

Place names are another factor in narrative setting. In the text referred to above, for example, a number of place names occur. Although it is only by reference to such place names that it is possible for a reader to know the actual geographical place where a narrative is related, it is to be noted that place names are not conclusive by themselves. For example, in one narrative the name Guinaang is used repeatedly, since the happening narrated occurred there; but that does not necessarily tell where the narration was made. In fact, without other clues the narrative setting would not be known. There is at least one other, more conclusive indication of where the narrator was when he related the narrative. That is the use of the word *qumáli* 'come'.

1.3.3 MOTION VERBS

Certain motion verbs are the third factor involved in narrative setting. Two of these verbs are *q-im-ôy* (incompl-go) 'go' and *q-um-áli* (incompl-come) 'come'. *qimôy* is illustrated by the following sentence: *limá-n qalgáw nan-libbát-qamí qon q-im-ôy Báguio.* (five-pa day compl-start-out-we lk incompl-go Baguio.) 'After five days we started out to go to Baguio.' In this sentence use of *qimôy* indicates that the narrative was not related in Baguio; otherwise it reveals little as far as narrative setting is concerned. *qimôy* is used whether or not the narrative is being related in the place from which the participant went. It so happens that the narrative containing the expression above . . . *qimoy Baguio* ' . . . go to Baguio' was written in Guinaang, from whence the narrator had departed for Baguio; however, the same expression would be used if the narrator were in Manila, for example, giving his account. If, on the other hand, he were in Baguio telling about his experiences, he would use an expression such as: *limá-n qalgáw nan-libbát-qamí qon q-um-áli-q-ná.* (five-pa day compl-start-out-we pa incompl-come-ref-prox) 'After five days we started out to come here.'

Thus, *qumáli* 'come', with or without the deictic *siná* 'here', is more revealing of narrative setting than *qimôy*. This verb without any deictic refers to movement into the vicinity of the one talking. This is illustrated by the following sentence: *boqón pon si q-umm-áli-da si b-um-alu-án dat tágu no qadí . . .* (neg decl ref compl-come-they ref incompl-good-nom possm-pl person cond neg . . .) 'It is not that they came for the betterment of the people, but rather . . . ' Since later in the account the place to which 'they came' and where the main events happened is identified as Guinaang, it is obvious that the narrative setting of the account is also Guinaang. *qummáli* may be used to refer to movement to a place different from that of the narrative setting, but in that case the deictic *sidí* 'there'

would be used with it: *boqón pon si qummáli-da-s-dĩ . . .* (neg decl ref came-they-ref-rem . . .) 'It is not that they came there . . .'

1.4 DISCOURSE ORGANIZATION

Labov and Waletzky (1967) describe the organization of narratives in American English. They find that a narrative includes five parts: orientation, complication, evaluation, resolution, and coda.

Kalinga narratives are similar to what Labov and Waletzky find for American English to the extent that narratives in Kalinga are characterized by an orientation at the beginning of the discourse, a coda at the conclusion, and a body, which is the third, main part. Of the three parts of a Kalinga narrative, orientation and coda are peripheral, because not every narrative has them. On the other hand, the body is nuclear, since no narrative is without one. This organization is almost exclusively a narrative pattern. No other kinds of Kalinga discourse have been found to have this kind of organization to the degree that narratives do.

Nonnarrative discourses also sometimes have a coda, or on occasion have a titlelike element at the beginning. Other than this, however, nonnarrative discourses seem to have no identifiable part other than a body, which is coterminous with the discourse itself.

In what follows, therefore, nearly everything said concerning orientation and coda relates to narratives. Both narratives and nonnarratives, however, have a body and, since this is where the distinctions in Kalinga sequential discourse are most clearly seen, discussion of this part of a discourse comprises most of the rest of the paper.

1.4.1 ORIENTATION

The orientation is that part of a narrative which orients 'the listener in respect to *person, place, time, and behavioral situation*' (Labov and Waletzky 1967:32). Longacre speaks of this part of a narrative when he describes similarly the discourse Aperture tagmeme (1968:1.5). The orientation also contains a statement of the theme of the discourse.

An illustration of the orientation of a Guininaang legendary narrative is the following. The first sentence is a title-like statement of the theme of the discourse: *sit bilig qon naN-anup-án⁴ Kabúnyan si qugsá*. (top-past mountain pa compl-hunt-with-dog-nom Kabunyan ref deer.) 'The mountain where Kabunyan hunted deer.' In this sentence are introduced the principal participant (Kabunyan), the locality (mountains), the general time (past), and a key activity (hunting with dogs).

Sentence 2 elaborates the general spatial setting and introduces another participant (Kabunyan's hunting dog): *sit man-gag-gaggaqáy-an qod Kabúnyan si dat man-sab-sabáli qon qíli sin montanyósa qi-tag-tag-g-áqad-na⁵ dit qásu-na qon míngol*. (top-past incompl-

⁴*N* is a nasal morphophoneme which fuses with certain following consonants. In this process the nasality of the morphophoneme fuses with the point of articulation of the following consonant, resulting in a nasal at the point of articulation of the consonant. *N* + bilabial > *m*; *N* + alveolar > *n*; and *N* + velar or glottal > *ng* (Gieser 1970. 58-59).

cont-go-around-nom possm Kabunyan ref pl incompl-pl-different pa village ref mountain-region incompl-cont-take-along-he top dog-his pa good-hunter.) 'When Kabunyan was going around to the different villages in the mountain region he constantly took with him his dog, which was a good hunter.' The next two sentences give the reasons why Kabunyan liked to hunt on the high mountains and take his dog along with him.

Orientations vary in length. The one above was a longer one. Of the total number of sentences in the narrative, which is 18, 4 constitute the orientation. In another text of 18 sentences only the first is orientation, and in another of 180 sentences 18 are orientation.

It may be noted that particular grammatical constructions are typically found in an orientation. This is consistent with the more general principle that 'certain grammatical phenomena tend to be limited to certain kinds of information: transitives and true intransitives for events, statives and equatives for identificational information, locatives for settings, purpose and result and implications for background, quotations, questions, negations, and predictions for collateral information' (Grimes 1971).

For Kalinga, narrative orientations typically contain preposed margins (Longacre 1968:2), which are temporal in function. One kind is a relator-axis sentence and the other is a relator-axis phrase. In both instances the relator is the case marking particle *sit*, which always introduces a preposed margin that refers to past time. In addition, purpose and implication margins are used to convey background information in orientations.

1.4.2 CODA

In American English narratives the coda is 'a functional device for returning the verbal perspective to the present moment'. This device takes different forms. One is deixis; another is 'an incident in which one of the actors can be followed up to the present moment' in actions not necessarily related to the events in the body of the narrative; and a third is the continuing effect to the present of the events of the narrative on the narrator (Labov and Waletzky 1967:39-40).

Codas in Kalinga discourse are similar to what Labov and Waletzky find, but in nearly every case they include a deictic element. Thus, for Kalinga deixis is apparently an obligatory component of a coda, rather than an alternative as in American English. This, by the way, is also true of the three nonnarrative codas found. All three included a deictic element.

The deictic form that most often occurs in a coda is *siyádi*. This is an anaphoric form consisting of two elements, the third person singular free pronoun *siyá* and the enclitic *-di*, which signifies remoteness from both speaker and hearer.

Codas in Kalinga discourse appear to have two general functions. One is to convey that the effects of the events narrated have continued until the present: *pon qinggá-na sit siyá-di-n qalgáw naqíd pon g-um-ínga si sissíwit sin bílig qod Binalátan*. (sencon ext-its ref it-rem-pa day neg decl incompl-sound ref bird ref mountain dir Binalatan.) 'So since that day no bird has sounded on Mount Binalatan.' The other function is to restate or

⁵The extra *-g-* in *qitagtaggáqad* is gemination of C_2 of the root *tagáqad* in this reduplication pattern: $C_1V_1C_2-$ + C_2 geminated + root. *qi-* is a verbal affix, and *tag-* is the $C_1V_1C_2-$ reduplication. *-n-* in *pan-pan-n-ós-an* (2.2.2) is another instance of C_2 gemination in a derived form.

summarize in a single statement the meaning of all that precedes in the discourse: *siyá-di qanó dit na-tagú-an dat q-in-inggáw qod Amatúlug*. (it-rem quot top compl-person-nom possm-pl compl-stay dir Amatulug.) 'That is the way the ones who were on Amatulug were saved.'

There is a difference, however, between the grammatical forms of codas having the two functions. In a coda expressing the continuing effect of the narrative the deictic element is an extent phrase: *qinggá-na sit siyá-di-n qalgáw* (ext-its ref it-rem-pa day) 'since that day'. On the other hand, a coda expressing the meaning of the events narrated is cast in an equative form, whose comment is the deictic *siyádi* 'that'. This is illustrated by the sentence above about the way the ones on Amatulug were saved.

2. NARRATIVE DISCOURSE

Apart from the presence or absence of an orientation and a coda, it is primarily in the body of a discourse that those distinguishing features are found that tell the kind of discourse it is. As already noted, sequence and past time reference are the two properties that characterize narrative discourse.

2.1 NARRATIVE PAST TIME REFERENCE

Past time reference is indicated by two grammatical components, aspect and three subsets of particles. Two of these subsets are coordinating and subordinating conjunctions, and the third consists of case marking particles.

2.1.1 ASPECT

Verbs that have been inflected for completed aspect are one of the key indicators of past time reference. This aspect, however, does not play its important part independently. It has this function in the context of its interrelations with other parts of the grammatical system and with the semantic structure.

In narratives of Bontoc, a language related to Kalinga in northern Luzon, Reid finds that past tense forms tend to be used 'heavily in the early sentences' of the discourse, and then, after the orientation to past time has been established, nonpast forms are used in the body of the discourse. At the end of the discourse there is a reversion to past tense (Longacre 1968:1.3).

In contrast to the distribution of past and nonpast forms in Bontoc narratives, however, completed and incomplete aspect forms in Kalinga narratives are interspersed throughout the discourse, rather than being clustered in particular portions of it.

Two factors appear to be involved in the use of aspect in Kalinga narratives. One is the kind of information that is being conveyed. Events, for example, are usually, although not exclusively, expressed by completed aspect forms: *si Kabúnyan q-umm-illóng-φ sit lamágan qod Binalátan . . .* (top Kabunyan compl-rest-he ref resting-place dir Binalatan . . .) 'Kabunyan, he rested at the resting place on Binalatan Mountain . . .'

Another kind of information conveyed in narratives is setting, and for this incomplete

aspect is usually employed. An example is the following: *sit man-gag-gaggaqáy-an qod Kabúnyan . . .* (top **incompl-cont-go-around-nom** **pošsm** Kabunyan . . .) 'When Kabunyan was going around . . .' Later in the initial sentence of the body of the same narrative, a more specific statement of the time and space setting is made, and in this instance completed aspect is employed: *sit sin-qalgáw qon 1-umm-aqós-an-na sit bilig qon Binalátan . . .* (top-past one-day pa **compl-cross-nom-his** ref mountain pa Binalatan . . .) 'One day when he was crossing Mount Binalatan . . .'

A second factor involved in the use of aspect in Kalinga narratives is the grammatical system itself. There are certain grammatical constructions in which the speaker has no option as to which aspect to use. An illustration is the quotation formula introducing direct address, in which 'say' is always used with incomplete aspect. For example: *s-umm-ánga pon si Kabúnyan qán-na g-um-inóq-qayú nan sissíwit ta . . .* (**compl-anger** subor top Kabunyan say-**incompl-he** **incompl-be-still-you** voc bird impl . . .) 'When Kabunyan had become angry, he said: "Be still, you birds, so that . . ."' The formula for direct address used in this example is the same as that used in discourses involving nonpast time orientation. This example comes from an expository text: *qán-mi qon man-songá qon qanná-q songá-no qónno songa-ón-qo siqá* (say-**incompl-we** lk **incompl-songá** lk here-is-ref *songá*-your or *songá*-**incompl-I** you) 'We say when we perform a *songa* ceremony: "You have your *songa*" or "I am performing a *songa* on you" . . .'

2.1.2 CONJUNCTIONS

Two conjunctions are another component of Kalinga grammar that indicates past time orientation. *qot* is a coordinate conjunction, which occurs primarily in narrative discourse, and *pon*, a subordinate one which occurs only in narrative discourse. These conjunctions also indicate narrative sequence and are discussed in detail in 2.2.3.

2.1.3 CASE MARKING PARTICLES

In 1960 the writer noted that one indicator of time reference in Kalinga discourse is the occurrence of final *n* or *t* in certain case marking particles. Substantive phrases in a clause referring to nonpast time are usually marked by particles ending in *n* (*sin*, *din*, and *dan*), and those in a clause referring to past time are marked by particles ending in *t* (*sit*, *dit*, and *dat*). The occurrence of *n* or *t* is independent of aspect.

Case marking particles with final *t* are particularly diagnostic of Kalinga narrative discourse when they mark constructions that otherwise give no indication of past time reference. An example is the sentence, cited in 1.4.1, which gives the general spatial setting of the Kabunyan narrative. *sit manggaggaggaqáyan qod Kabúnyan si dat mansabsá-bali qon qili sin montanyósa qitagtaggáqadna dit qásuna qon míngol*. 'When Kabunyan was going around to the different villages in the mountain region he constantly took with him his dog, which was a good hunter.'

2.2 GRAMMATICAL INDICATORS OF NARRATIVE SEQUENCE

Chronological sequence is the distinguishing semantic feature of narrative discourse. This sequence in Kalinga narratives is expressed both grammatically and lexically.

Narrative sequence in Philippine languages has been found by Longacre (1968:1) to be expressed by linkage, a sentence initial dependent structure which refers back to all or part of the preceding sentence; successive time horizons; and conjunctive particles. These grammatical indicators are employed both between and within paragraphs, although within paragraphs they are simpler than between them.

2.2.1 LINKAGE

Linkage between two sentences in Kalinga narratives is shown by a dependent element preposed to the nucleus of the second sentence. This dependent element may be either one of two kinds of relator-axis construction. In one kind the relator is one of three postpositive subordinating conjunctions, *qad*, *man*, or *pon*. These postpositive particles most frequently occur following the first word of the construction in the axis: *d-in-ongól pon dat q-um-ili dit qúgud qod Kaling . . .* (compl-hear subor subj-pl incompl-village top speech possm Kaling . . .) 'When the inhabitants heard Kaling's words . . .'

These particles follow the second word of the axis if the second word is the hearsay particle *qanó*, or if the negative phrase *naqíd pon* 'there is none' or a temporal phrase such as *duwá-n algáw-na* (two-pa day-its) 'two days' is initial in the axis.

In the other kind of linking relator-axis construction the relator is the case marking particle *sit*. The axis of this construction may be expounded by a phrase or by a clause. An example of a relator-axis phrase is *sit timpú-n dí man-pi-pinal q-imm-oy-aq Piong . . .* (top-past time-morph possm incompl-redup-variety-of-rice-seedling compl-go-I Piong . . .) 'In a past time of planting rice for *pinal* seedlings I went to Piong . . .' An example of a relator-axis clause is: *sit na-qamín-qamí nan-ngína qaysán-qami*. (top-past compl-consume-we compl-transaction be-gone-we) 'When we had all made purchases we left.'

2.2.2. TIME HORIZONS

Another grammatical means for indicating narrative sequence is the use of temporal expressions. These forms have the effect of indicating both the general time horizon and chronological progression in the narrative.

Such temporal expressions are relator-axis constructions of the two kinds cited in the preceding section, in which the exponents of the axes are specifically temporal words or phrases. In the Kabunyan narrative, Sentence 5, which begins the body of the discourse, opens with *sit sin-qalgáw qon . . .* (top-past one-day lk . . .) 'One day when . . .' Sentence 7 is begun by *pan-pan-n-ós-an pon naN-qodás dit qásu-na . . .* (redup-relative-time-lapse-nom subor compl-come-across top dog-his . . .) 'After a short time his dog came across something . . .' The next time phrase in the narrative begins Sentence 13: *qawní pon naqíd pon polús q-um-agísit si sissíwit . . .* (relative-time-lapse subor there-is-none decl intens incompl-make-sound ref bird . . .) 'After a time there was not a sound from a bird . . .'

These time phrases are all sentence initial. Progression is also signaled by extent margins (Longacre 1968:2.33,119). In Kalinga this is a postnuclear construction whose relator is *qinggá-na qon* (ext-its lk) 'until' and whose axis is a clause: . . . *naqíd po-gáy maN-qulín qinggá-na-n mamátoq-φ* (. . . there-is-none decl-mod incompl-return ext-its-lk noon-it) ' . . . just no one returned until noon.' *siyá dit nan-qamáng-an-da qinggá-na qon naqíd dit lítap*. (It top compl-refuge-nom-their ext-its lk became-none top great-flood) 'It was where they took refuge until the great flood was over.'

2.2.3 CONJUNCTIONS

Certain subordinating and coordinating conjunctions are the third component of Kalinga grammar that expresses narrative sequence. They are *qad*, *man*, *pon*, and *qot*.

The three postpositive subordinating particles, *qad*, *man*, and *pon*, were discussed in 2.2.1 as relators of temporal margins that have a linking function in the progression of the narrative. These same three particles are also used as coordinating conjunctions between two clauses.

Reference to the Kalinga concordance, which includes some 760 sentences of procedural discourse and 1427 sentences of narrative discourse, reveals that *qad* is the most frequent of these three conjunctions. It occurs in both narrative and procedural discourse, and it has both subordinating and coordinating functions. As a subordinator, *qad* has 105 occurrences in narrative discourse and 117 in procedural discourse, and as a coordinator it has 65 occurrences in narrative discourse and 263 in procedural. The totals are 170 occurrences in narrative discourse and 380 in procedural discourse. Table 1 shows why *qad* has been called the procedural sequence conjunction even though it does have other functions.

TABLE 1
Frequency of *qad* per one hundred sentences

Function of <i>qad</i>	Kind of discourse	
	Narrative	Procedural
Subordination	7.4	15.4
Coordination	4.6	34.6

In contrast to *qad*, the conjunctions *man* and *pon* occur only in narrative discourse. Each of them has both subordinating and coordinating functions, but their subordinating function is the most frequent. The concordance reveals 43 occurrences of *man* as a subordinator and only 1 as a coordinating conjunction, while *pon* registers 191 occurrences as a subordinating conjunction and 12 as coordinator.

Although *man* and *pon*, by virtue of their function as relators, have similar grammatical functions in expressing narrative progression, they are semantically different. *man* seems to convey not only the idea of sequence, but also that the axis of its construction is in some sense the temporal setting of what is communicated in the nucleus of the sentence. This setting may be expressed by an explicit temporal word: *masdóm-φ qanó man na-búqal dat tágu-n q-imm-óy naqa-bagúngon*. (dusk-it quot subor compl-disperse top-pl person-pa compl-go compl-death-observance) 'When, it is said, it was dusk, the people who went to attend the death observance dispersed.' Another example is: *man-pangó-φ qanó man qadú dat p-in-angó-na*. (incompl-receive-help-in-work-which-is-to-be-reciprocated-she quot subor many top-pl daf-help-her) 'When, it is said, she had people help in her work, many were those who responded to her.'

As a coordinating conjunction, *man* seems to convey that what is expressed in the second clause is the outcome of the action expressed in the first clause: *man-gínga qanó-q dat bulún-na qot losán-da singit-ón dit qabút man naqíd po-gáy q-in-odas-án-da*. (incompl-

voice quot-ref pl companion-his seq all-they search-incompl top hole coor there-is-none decl-mod compl-find-they) 'He summoned his companions, then they all looked for the hole, and they found nothing.'

Of the subordinating conjunctions in Kalinga narrative discourse *pon* carries the heaviest functional load. It has the general meaning of reference to something that has occurred in the past plus sequence between the action of the axis and that of the nucleus.

Interrelated with *pon* in its reference to accomplished activity is aspect. The primary meaning of this aspect is whether or not the activity with which it is used is completed or incomplete. When used with *pon*, however, it seems to convey the same meanings as those expressed for Inibaloi by the terms 'event-span' or 'punctiliar-continuous' (Ballard, Conrad, Longacre 1971.112). An action may be viewed as happening over a span of time, or as being continuous; on the other hand, it may be considered to have happened at a point in time, or as being a single event. In Kalinga the former is encoded by incomplete aspect and the latter by completed aspect.

The conjunction *pon* relates two elements, each of which may be either incomplete or completed in aspect. Thus, in Kalinga surface structure there are four possible combinations of aspect in *pon*-related constructions.

(a) Incomplete with incomplete expresses close, immediate sequence in which action B is considered to be happening virtually at the same time as action A. This relationship may be expressed: 'upon A's being done or occurring, immediately B was the situation, or B occurred': *qimus-ón-na qanó pon dit bilig qon qigáw dat tágu qán-da qanó qon siyá-na nan bilig-a Madaldalpong*. (ask-incompl-he quot subor top mountain pa place possm-pl person say-incompl-they quot lk it-prox top mountain-pa Madaldalpong) 'Upon, it is said, his asking the mountain where the people were, they said, it is said, "This is Mount Madaldalpong."' Another example: *qinum-ón-da pon gattóq dit piyá-na*. (drink-incompl-they subor real top flavor-its) 'Upon their drinking it, it was really good.'

(b) Incomplete with completed expresses this relationship: 'during or as or while A was taking place, B occurred'. *qilá-n pon dit búqot dit dalóm dit liyang q-in-lla-na dat qadú qon na-patóg qon tápaq ya panáy*. (see-incompl subor subj hunchback top inside possm cave compl-see-he top-pl many pa compl-value pa kind-of-plate coor kind-of-plate) 'As Hunchback was looking inside the cave he saw many valuable *tapaq* and *panay*.' *maN-qála pon dit bubáqi si bálát si qan-ón dat tágu na-qappád-an-na-n taqláy di tágu sit qamútu*. (incompl-get subor top woman ref banana ref eat-incompl subj-pl person compl-touch-she-top arm possm person ref wine-jar) 'While the woman was getting bananas for the people to eat she happened to touch the arm of a person in the wine jar.'

(c) The third and fourth combinations are completed aspect-incomplete and completed. Since A has the same aspect in both of these combinations, the meanings is: 'after or when A had occurred, or when A was the situation existing, B occurred or was the existing state.' The difference between these two combinations lies in whether B is continuous, indicated by incomplete aspect, or punctiliar, indicated by completed aspect.

Examples of the third combination are these: *s-umm-ánga pon si Kabúnyan qán-na qinggá-na sin sádi naqíd pon sissíwit si g-um-ínga si-ná*. (compl-anger subor top Kabunyan say-incompl-he ext-its ref current-time there-is-none decl bird ref incompl-sound ref-prox) 'When Kabunyan had become angry, he said: "From now on no bird will make a sound here."' *nan-d-in-ámag pon dit siyá-di-n bayás qámin-a laláqi q-im-óy-da simsím-an*. (compl-news subor top it-rem-pa sugar-cane-wine all-pa man incompl-go-they taste-incompl) 'When that wine had become known all men were going and tasting it.'

(d) Of the fourth combination, these are examples: *q-in-amñ-da pon b-in-ulás-an dit nalángu q-imm-óyon-da*. (compl-consume-they subor compl-pick top compl-dry compl-depart-they) 'When they had picked all the dried ones they departed.' *d-in-ongól pon dat tágu q-imm-óy dat lal-lakáy qod Guináang maN-tadóq*. (compl-hear subor subj-pl person compl-go top-pl pl-elder possm Guinaang incompl-dance) 'When the people heard it the Guinaang elders went to dance.'

The coordinating conjunction that occurs primarily in narrative discourse and signifies sequence is *qot*. Reference to the concordance reveals 214 occurrences of this conjunction as a clause conjunction and 26 occurrences as a sentence conjunction.

With *qot*, just as with the subordinating conjunction *pon*, there is an interplay with aspect. Bases conjoined by *qot* may have verbs inflected for aspect in all four possible combinations. The most frequent combination, however, is completed-incomplete. The usual number of bases conjoined by *qot* in a single sentence is two; but examples of three and even four bases have been noted.

The initial base of an *qot* sequence sentence, being completed in aspect, indicates a particular event in the progression of the narrative. The succeeding base or bases in the sentence, related to the first by *qot*, would then be referring to events more closely related to the event of the first base than the whole cluster of events in the sentence is related to the events preceding or following. One evidence of this tighter relationship is that the subject must remain the same throughout the sentence.

The following examples illustrate the identity of the subject throughout the sequence as well as a partiality of the verbs to nonsubject focus inflection: *b-in-ogyás-an-da po-t bolóq q-in-ála-da-t qagtóy qot qabíg-on-da* (compl-open-an-animal-they subor-top pig compl-take-they-top liver seq read-omen-incompl-they) 'When they had opened up the pig they took the liver and they read its omen.' *q-in-ála-na dat lúbay qon buláwan ya dat bongól qot qamma-án-na dagúp-on dat gangsá gúsi panáy qot qiggá-na sit qosá-n liyáng-ot tuping-on-na*. (compl-take-he top-pl earring pa gold and pl bead seq careful-incompl-he gather-incompl top-pl gong Chinese-jar plate seq put-incompl-he ref one-pa cave-seq stone-wall-incompl-he) 'He took the gold earrings and the beads, then he carefully gathered together the gongs, Chinese jars, plates, then he placed them in a cave and he walled it up.'

2.3 LEXICAL INDICATORS OF NARRATIVE SEQUENCE

Not only is sequence in Kalinga narratives indicated grammatically; it is also indicated lexically. The lexical devices that show narrative progression include dialogue, expectancy chains, and repetition.

2.3.1 DIALOGUE

Dialogue consists of successive utterances by narrative participants which have the effect of showing progression. This is illustrated from a text in which a couple who had had no child went to a curer who they had heard could remedy their problem. (The numbers are the sentence numbers in the text.) 30 *sit man-qa-qágas qin-bagá-na pigá-n tawón-yu-q nan sádi*. (top incompl-redup-medicine compl-tell-he how-many year-your-ref ref current-time) 'The mediciner said: "How many years are you now?"' 31 *qopát-a tawón-mi qon naqíd pon qanáq-mi*. (four-pa year-our pa there-is-none decl child-our) ' "We are four years

without a child.” ’ 32 *sit man-qa-qágas qán-na qissá-qayú ma-danag-an. no qawád tulu-n bulán ma-búgi nan qasáwa-m ta siyá nan bulán qon ma-bugí-an din qámin-a qáyu.* (top incompl-redup-medicine say-incompl-he neg-you incompl-worry. subor there-is three-pa month incompl-pregnancy top spouse-your impl it top month pa incompl-pregnancy-nom possm all-pa tree) ‘The mediciner said: “Don’t worry. In three months your wife will become pregnant, for it is the month when all trees blossom.” ’ 34 *qasí-mi qilá-n no tuttúwa-φ.* (fut-we see-incompl cond true) ‘“We shall see if it is true.” ’

Sentences 31 and 34 are utterances made by the couple even though there is no explicit indication that they are the ones speaking. At least two factors, one grammatical and one purely lexical, show change in speaker. The grammatical evidence is the change in the person of the pronouns, and the lexical evidence is the content of what is said in relation to the context. The curer asked, ‘How many years?’ The next sentence contains the phrase ‘four years’, which is a logical response to the question asked. Likewise, the statement ‘We shall see if it is true’ is a very reasonable response to the prediction that the curer had made.

2.3.2 EXPECTANCY CHAINS

Expectancy chains are the second lexical indicator of narrative progression. These are groups of verbs that are often ‘linked together in chains of chronological or logical expectancy, so that when one member of the chain occurs, we expect to see a closely consecutive member appear next’ (Ballard, Conrad, and Longacre 1971:78). Following are a few examples of such chains that have been noted in Kalinga narratives: . . . *qot q-im-óy-φ sit siyá-di-n bílig. d-um-atóng-φ qanó pon . . .* (. . . seq incompl-go-he ref it-rem-pa mountain. incompl-arrive-he quot subor . . .) ‘. . . then he went to that mountain. Upon, it is said, his arriving . . .’ The expectancy chain in this example is *qimóy* ‘go’ and *dumatóng* ‘arrive’. A closely related chain is *qimóyon* ‘depart’ and *dumatóng* ‘arrive’: *q-im-óyon-da sit qili-da. d-umm-atóng-da pon sit bolóy-da . . .* (incompl-depart-they ref village-their. Compl-arrive-they subor ref house-their . . .) ‘They depart for their village. After they had arrived at their house . . .’ Another is *qaysán* ‘be absent’ and *dumatóng* ‘arrive’: *na-qamín-qamí pon nan-ngína qaysán-qamí. d-umm-atóng-qamí pon . . .* (compl-consume-we subor compl-transaction be-absent-we. compl-arrive-we subor . . .) ‘When we had all made purchases, we left. After we had arrived . . .’

Another possible set is *qimusón* ‘ask’ and *qan* ‘say’: *qimus-ón-na qanó pon . . . qán-da . . .* (ask-incompl-he quot subor . . . say-incompl-they . . .) ‘Upon, it is said, his asking . . ., they said . . .’ *langón* ‘burn hair from’ and *qiwá-on* ‘cut up, butcher’ is a possible set, because the Kalingas do not do the first unless they intend to do the latter: . . . *qot langon-ón-da qot qasí-da-ot qiwá-on dit bábuy* (. . . seq burn-hair-off-incompl-they seq fut-they-seq butcher-incompl top wild-pig) ‘. . . then they burn its hair off and then they butcher the wild pig.’

2.3.3 REPETITION

The final lexical indicator of narrative sequence is repetition. This commonly occurs in linkage, but it occurs otherwise as well. An example in the linkage mechanism is this: *si Kabúnyan q-umm-illóng-φ sit . . . -ot na-qillong-an-φ pon . . .* (top Kabunyan compl-rest-he ref . . . seq compl-rest-he subor . . .) ‘Kabunyan, he rested at . . . then, when he was rested, . . .’

Lexical repetition other than in the linkage mechanism is illustrated by the following examples: . . . *ta dongol-ón-na no dínu dit ni-qapon-án dit q-in-anup-án-na. si Kabúnyan qissá-na pon ma-dongól . . .* (impl hear-incompl-he indquest where top compl-direction-nom possm compl-hunt-with-dogs-his. top Kabunyan neg-he decl incompl-hear . . .) ' . . . in order to hear in what direction what he was hunting had gone. Kabunyan, he could not hear . . . ' Another example: . . . *qomyá sit qa-sis-siyá-n dit lítap naqíd pon maN-qala-án-da si qapúy.* (. . . adverb ref daf-cont-it-morph possm great-flood there-is-none decl incompl-get-nom-their ref fire) ' . . . but during the time of the great flood there was no place for them to get fire.' In Sentence 10 there is this statement: . . . *ya qanná qanó dit qapúy-da.* (. . . coor there-is quot top fire-their) ' . . . and they had fire.'

3. PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE

Kalinga procedural discourse is not characterized by an organization like that of narrative discourse, where the discourse is separable into discrete parts. Rather, except as noted in 1.4, procedural discourses generally have a unitary organization, in which the body of the discourse is coextensive with the discourse itself.

3.1 DISCOURSE THEME

Although Kalinga procedural discourses have no introductory orientation sections as narrative discourses do, in each procedural discourse there is a discourse theme.

This theme is usually stated in the initial sentence of the discourse. The form, however, by which the theme is stated, varies. It may be a sentence topic, a prenuclear substantive phrase marked by the nonpast case marking particle *sin*: *sin man-pagdót qon tupíng qannáya nan ma-qowa-án-na.* (top incompl-solid pa stone-retaining-wall this top incompl-make-nom-its) 'A solid stone retaining wall this is the way it's made.'

Another form the discourse theme may take is that of a relator-axis sentence introduced by *no*: *no qawád ma-tóy si tágu qi-páquy-da qon . . .* (subor there-is incompl-die ref person incompl-shout-they lk . . .) 'When a person dies, they shout that . . .' The axis of this dependent sentence may have a variety of exponents, such as a subject focus clause, a nonsubject focus clause, or an existential clause. A theme expressed by a *no* margin may also occur after a sentence topic: *sin q-um-uná qon ma-qowá no maN-bolóy-ta si daqól si bolóy maN-balángit-da . . .* (top incompl-precede lk incompl-do subor incompl-house-we ref big ref house incompl-lumber-for-structure-they . . .) 'What is done first when we build a big house is that they collect lumber for it . . .'

The theme may also take the form of quoted speech or thought in an indirect question sentence: *no q-um-anáq dan man-qasáwa s-in-omsomóq-da no qi-qa-balyán-da-n qanáq-da.* (subor incompl-child top-pl incompl-spouse compl-think-they indquest incompl-daf-family-they-top child-their) 'When married ones have a child they consider whether they will contract their child in marriage.'

3.2 TEMPORAL ORIENTATION

Regarding time in discourse, Longacre observes: 'To understand the function of

tense in discourses, it is necessary to distinguish time as a lexical category from tense as a grammatical category' (1970:788). This distinction is borne out in Kalinga narratives where lexical past time (2.1) is conveyed even in the absence of a grammatical category of tense. Instead this time orientation is indicated by clues in temporal margins in the discourse orientation, by the frequent use in the body of the discourse of completed aspect and the conjunctions *qot* and *pon*, and by use throughout the narrative of the past time case marking particles *sit*, *dit*, and *dat*.

Kalinga procedural discourse is characterized by an orientation toward projected time. Again, this orientation is not the effect of a grammatical category of tense as such. Rather, it is indicated by the frequent use in the body of the discourse of incomplete aspect, the conjunctivals *qad*, *no*, and *qasi* . . . *qot*, and the nonpast case marking particles *sin*, *din*, and *dan*.

3.3 GRAMMATICAL INDICATORS OF PROCEDURAL SEQUENCE

In addition to orientation to projected time, procedural discourse is characterized by sequence. Like narrative sequence, this sequence is shown by the interrelation of grammatical and lexical elements.

The grammatical means that indicate procedural sequence are linkage, sequence conjunctions, and onconjunctive phrases, accompanied by the interplay of completed and incomplete aspect in the verbs.

3.3.1 LINKAGE

Linkage to the preceding sentence is shown by two kinds of relator-axis sentences, both temporal in meaning. The relator of one is *qad*, which is a postpositive conjunction, and the relator of the other is *no*, which is proposed to its axis.

qad is the only sequence conjunction that occurs in both narrative and procedural discourse, and in both kinds of discourse it functions both as a subordinator, or relator in relator-axis constructions, and as a coordinator. Statistics, however, from the concordance show that *qad* is principally a procedural discourse conjunction (Table 1, 2.2.3). Since it is *qad* in its subordinating function that is involved in linkage, that function is considered now. The coordinate function of *qad* is treated in 3.3.2.

qad conveys that the action expressed by its accompanying axis is to be followed chronologically by another action, expressed by the sentence nucleus: *q-um-otqóng qad nan siyá-na-n pogá-n di qiwaqát-on-mi qasi-mi-ot qabós baqás-on nan dabbí qad* . . . (incompl-hard subor top it-prox-pa initial-morph possm work-incompl-we fut-we-seq also dismantle-incompl top panel seq . . .) 'When this initial work of ours hardens, then we also dismantle panels and . . .' In that *qad* has a forward-looking sense the sequence it conveys thus contrasts with that conveyed by *pon* (2.2.3), which has a backward-looking sense and indicates that the action expressed by its accompanying axis is completed and another action, expressed in the sentence nucleus, follows it chronologically.

The other relator-axis construction, with *no* 'if/when' as relator (discussed in 3.1 above), is the familiar one in Philippine languages that appears frequently to be ambiguously a temporal margin and a conditional margin. In Kalinga procedural linkage it seems most often to be unambiguously temporal in meaning: *no-ma-gampót-φ ma-dúyu qasi-mi-*

ot salsál-on nan qopát-a túqud qad . . . (subor incompl-finish-it incompl-check-for-square fut-we-seq tamp-around-incompl top four-pa post seq . . .) 'When it is finished being checked for square, then we tamp around the four posts and . . .'

3.3.2 CONJUNCTION *qad*

As stated previously, *qad* is the sequence conjunction in Kalinga procedural discourse. Its subordinating function is treated in the preceding section. As a coordinator *qad* functions as the link between two bases of a procedural sequence sentence, as illustrated in the nucleus of the following sentence: *no qawád ma-lunúg-an din danúm qawqán-mi si batú qad s-in-álsal-mi qónno pitpít-on-mi* (subor there-is incompl-escape-nom possm water put-in-incompl-we ref stone seq compl-tamp-we alter stamp-to-pack-incompl-we) 'If there is a place where water escapes we put in stone, then we tamp or we stamp it.'

In the discussion of the subordinating function of *qad* it was stated that *qad* conveys that the action expressed by the axis to which it is relator is to be followed chronologically by another action, expressed by the nucleus. As a coordinator *qad* conveys the same meaning. This is illustrated by the following pair of sentences, one of which is margin-nucleus in form and the other is base-link-base in form. Apart from any contextual constraints that would make one sentence more acceptable than the other both have essentially the same meaning: *ni-qiggá qad qabós dit bodóng ni-pa-qúli-da-bos.* (compl-put subor again top peace-pact compl-caus-return-they-again) 'When the peace pact had been established again, they returned again.' *ni-qiggá qabós dit bodóng qad ni-pa-qúli-da-bos.* (compl-put again top peace-pact seq compl-caus-return-they-again) 'The peace pact was established again, then they returned again.'

3.3.3 CONJUNCTIVE PHRASE *qasí . . . qot*

In section 2.2.3 *qot* as a narrative sequence conjunction is discussed. *qot* also occurs as the last element in the conjunctive sequence phrase *qasí . . . qot*. Between *qasí* and *qot* comes the pronoun which would otherwise be attached to the following verb. These three elements are always pronounced without juncture as a single phonological phrase. In this and other usages as a clitic *qot* has four allomorphs: *ot* following a consonant, *qot* following *a*, *yot* following *i*, and *wot* following *u* or *o*.⁶

The most frequent occurrences of the *qasí . . . qot* phrase alone are as the connective between margin and nucleus of a procedural sequence sentence. This is illustrated by the last example in 3.3.1 above, which begins *no magampót madúyu qasí-mi-ot salsálon . . .* In this sentence *no magampót madúyu* is the margin, which is followed by *qasí . . . qot* and then *salsálon* as the first element of the nucleus. *qasí . . . qot* also occurs as a sequence connective between nuclear elements: *no ma-gampót- ϕ p-um-álang-qamí si qamulátang di dopág sin tabbungán qad l-in-osá-mi qasí-mi-ot saqlót-on sin píta nan dopág.* (subor incompl-finish-it incompl-put-together-temporarily-we ref framework possm undersheeting-of-roof ref roof-structure seq compl-bring-down fut-we-seq tie-incompl ref ground top undersheeting-of-roof) 'When it is finished, we put together in temporary fashion the framework of the undersheeting of the roof on the roof structure and we bring it down, then we tie on the ground the undersheeting of the roof.'

⁶For simplicity, the clitic forms of *qot* have all been written as *-ot* in the examples in this paper.

The two conjunctive means of indicating procedural sequence, *qad* and *qasí* . . . *qot*, may occur together. Example: *ma-qannap-án-da si túbu-n di qalantáp ya túbu-n di tullábang qad qasí-da-ot pitá-an qad s-in-álsal-da*. (incompl-lining-they ref leaf-morph possm kind-of-tree coor leaf-morph possm kind-of-plant seq fut-they-seq dirt-incompl seq compl-tamp-they) 'It is to be lined by them with *qalantap* leaves and *tullabang* leaves, and then they put dirt in it and they tamp it.'

qasí . . . *qot* may also occur following *qot* in narrative discourse. Such occurrences are apparently instances of procedural sequence in a narrative. . . . *qot langon-ón-da qot qasí-da-ot qiwá-on dit bábuy* (. . . seq burn-hair-off-incompl-they seq fut-they-seq butcher-incompl top wild-pig) '. . . then they burn its hair off and then they butcher the wild pig.'

As mentioned in the introduction, a contrastive interplay of completive aspect with narrative and procedural sequence conjunctions is found in Kalinga. *qad*, for example, when it occurs alone, almost always is followed by verbs completed in aspect. This is illustrated by the verb *l-in-osá* (compl-bring-down) 'have let (something) down' in the sentence cited in the second paragraph of this section. It may be noted also that verbs occurring in such sequences are usually inflected for nonsubject focus. *l-in-osá* is one example, and *s-in-álsal* (compl-tamp) 'tamped (it)' in the third paragraph of this section is another.

Exceptions to the above, when *qad* is followed by a verb incomplete in aspect, occur when a verb phrase consists of a main verb preceded by certain adverbials expressing simultaneity. In such phrases the clitic pronoun, which would attach to the main verb, is affixed to the preceding auxiliary word: *qi-waqīlat-mi nan gūlun qónno qolbás qad qawád-mi qipit-on si duwá-q s-in-ipat qad* . . . (incompl-spread-we top cogon-grass alter rono-leaves seq at-same-time-we clamp-incompl ref two ref daf-rono-stalks seq . . .) 'We spread the cogon grass or rono leaves, then at the same time we clamp it with two rono stalks and . . .' Another example is: . . . *qad dagús-mi qossoy-ón qad* . . . (. . . seq at-same-time-we comb-with-fingers-incompl seq . . .) '. . . and at the same time we comb with the fingers and . . .'

3.4 LEXICAL INDICATORS OF PROCEDURAL SEQUENCE

Sequence is indicated in Kalinga procedural discourse lexically also. Two lexical means that indicate such chronological progression are certain sequential expressions, and repetition of lexical elements.

3.4.1 SEQUENTIAL EXPRESSIONS

Sequential expressions are various forms in a text that have the effect of showing progress in the procedure being described. Examples from a text which tells the way tombs are made are the following. Sentence 3, *sin q-um-uná-n qowa-ón-mi sin pantiyóng maN-qowá-qamí* . . . (top incompl-precede-pa do-incompl-we ref tomb incompl-make-we . . .) 'The first thing we do concerning a tomb is that we make . . .' Sentence 4, . . . *no s-in-imínto paláng-on-da-n dabbí si tábas di pantiyóng qon qigad sin pisípís* . . . (. . . subor daf-cement put-together-incompl-they-top panel ref shape possm tomb pa limit ref top-of-wall . . .) '. . . if it is of cement they put together panels in the shape of a tomb as high as the top of the wall . . .' Sentence 5, . . . *qad q-in-atún-mi sin tabbungán din pantiyóng* . . .

(. . . seq compl-transfer-we ref roof-structure possm tomb . . .) ' . . . and we **transfer it to the roof structure** of the tomb . . . ' Sentence 10, *sin qonób nan qanóngos qon ma-qowá si gampót din pantiyóng*. (ref doorway top last pa incompl-make ref completion possm tomb) 'The doorway is the **last thing** to be made in the completion of a tomb.'

3.4.2 REPETITION

Progression in procedural discourse is also shown by repetition of lexical elements and the accompanying operations that show successive stages in the procedure. From the text on tomb construction there are these examples. *dabbi* 'panel' first occurs in Sentence 3, then it is repeated in Sentences 4 and 5. In Sentence 3 . . . *maN-qowá-qamí si dabbi* . . . (. . . incompl-make-we ref panel . . .) ' . . . we make **panels** . . . ' Sentence 4 . . . *paláng-on-da-n dabbi si tábas* . . . (. . . put-together-incompl-they-top panel ref shape . . .) ' . . . they put together **panels** in the sahpé . . . ' Sentence 5 . . . *qasí-mi-ot qabós baqás-on nan dabbi qad q-in-atún-mi sin tabbungán* . . . (. . . fut-we-seq again dismantle-incompl top panel seq compl-transfer-we ref roof-structure . . .) ' . . . then we again dismantle **panels** and we transfer them to the roof structure . . . '

3.5 OVERSIGHT PARTICLE

One final point regarding Kalinga discourse, particularly noticeable in procedural discourse, concerns the particle *qúwa*, which is the mechanism by which an oversight in the preceding discourse is remedied. This particle never occurs sentence initially; rather, it occurs within the sentence after the initial substantive phrase or predication: *sin s-in-imínto-n pantiyóng qúwa ma-qawqán si balítang nan dalóm-na* (top daf-cement-pa tomb by-the-way incompl-have-put-into ref iron top inside-its) 'A tomb made of cement, **by the way**, has iron put inside it (that is, inside the cement work).' *no qi-paqót-da qúwa nan dingding buna-án-da* . . . (subor incompl-attach-they by-the-way top walling leave open-incompl-they . . .) 'When they attach the walling, **by the way**, they leave open . . . '

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