

# DISCOURSE ANALYSIS AS AN AID TO LANGUAGE EVALUATION<sup>1</sup>

KEITH BENN

*Summer Institute of Linguistics*

## 1. Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to study the question: 'Is it possible for me, as a non-native speaker of a language, to evaluate with any degree of accuracy the discourse quality of a text in that language?' Put more simply: 'If I am not a native speaker of Tagalog, or English, is there any way that I can confidently evaluate student essays, knowing that my assessment is objective, and that my remarks will help my students to improve their essay writing abilities?'

To us in our work in Bontoc this question has direct relevance 'Can discourse studies of Central Bontoc text help me to evaluate what is well written Bontoc language in the context of Bible Translation? Will a Bontoc reader evaluate the vernacular Scriptures as well-written or poorly written language?'

## 2. AN ANALOGY

A well written text resembles a beautiful mansion. The lower grammatical levels, the words, phrases, clauses and sentences, are the bricks and mortar, the floorboards, rafters, and walls.

The upper grammatical levels, the discourse grammar, are the architect's plans. They give us the overall view, the layout of the rooms, passages, stairways, windows and doors, etc.

So when we look at an essay in a language not our own, how do we evaluate its structure? If we look only at the lower grammatical levels and limit our examination to words, phrases, clauses and sentences, we tunnel our vision and limit our insights, for it is quite possible to have well-constructed sentences in a poorly fabricated text. This is where discourse analysis opens windows to facilitate our understanding.

## 3. METHODOLOGY

In this paper we will look very briefly at a single Central Bontoc expository text entitled 'The Innana Rituals' from three theoretical perspectives. Each theory will give us a different, but complementary, prospect on the complex grammatical configuration of the text.

### 3.1. HALLIDAY AND HASSAN - INTERSENTENTIAL COHESION

In their book *Cohesion in English*, Halliday and Hasan encourage us to study inter-sentential text cohesion in terms of five aspects: reference, substitution, ellipsis, conjunction, and lexical cohesion.

*Reference* Included within this category are personal reference, demonstrative reference and comparative reference (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 31-87).

*Substitution* Substitution occurs when one lexical item is replaced by another.

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Halliday and Hasan discuss nominal substitution, verbal substitution, and clausal substitution (1976:88-141).

*Ellipsis* Ellipsis occurs when an item is omitted — substitution by zero. Ellipsis may also be nominal, verbal or clausal (1976: 142-225).

*Conjunction* Halliday and Hasan define conjunction as '... a specification of the way in which what is to follow is systematically connected to what has gone before' (1976:227). Conjunctions '... express one or other of a small number of very general relations' (1976:232) for example, *and, yet, so, and then.*

*Lexical Cohesion* Lexical cohesion is achieved by the repetition of lexical items in adjacent sentences of a text via same word repetition, equivalent repetition, superordinate repetition, general word repetition or collocation (Halliday and Hasan 1976:274-292).

### 3.2. LONGACRE – SPECTRUM AND PROFILE OF A TEXT

Longacre has suggested (1981:337-359) that in each discourse genre, be it narrative, expository, procedural, or hortatory, there is a spectrum, or range of verb forms such that, for example, in narrative, some verb forms are more active, while others are less active. So for narrative discourses Longacre would draw a gradation or cline of verb forms, with the most active higher on the cline and the less active forms lower down.

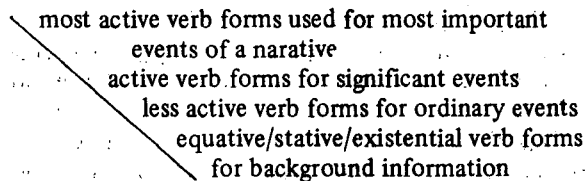


Figure 1 Spectrum of Narrative Verb Forms

This ties in with what Jones and Jones wrote (1979:3-28). In Central America they discovered that in a range of languages it was possible to formally distinguish between six different levels of information in narrative.

**PEAK** the single most significant event or event sequence

**PIVOTAL EVENTS:** very significant events

**BACKBONE EVENTS:** significant events

**ORDINARY EVENTS:**

**SIGNIFICANT BACKGROUND:** especially significant background information

**ORDINARY BACKGROUND:** normal background information

Figure 2 Multiple Levels in Narrative

These different levels were distinguished on the basis of verb aspect, particles, clause types, and mode.

These findings of Longacre and Jones and Jones are reinforced by Hopper and Thompson (1980:251-299), who studied transitivity in text, by the use of ten different criteria. Since their findings reinforce the perspectives elaborated by Longacre and Jones and Jones, I envisage them as showing essentially the same viewpoint on text as though we were looking through a triple window.

Then Longacre, using his verb cline, goes on to draw a profile of the text, according to the value a particular verb tense/aspect has on his scale. So the text profile gives us a sketch of a text, showing us the way an author has changed the tense/aspect of his predicates from sentence to sentence in a text. This profile should confirm what we intuitively feel is happening in a discourse.

Longacre (1981) has found that texts may have a variety of shapes. They may have a single peak, or a double peak, or even a narrative peak followed by a hortative or explanatory peak.

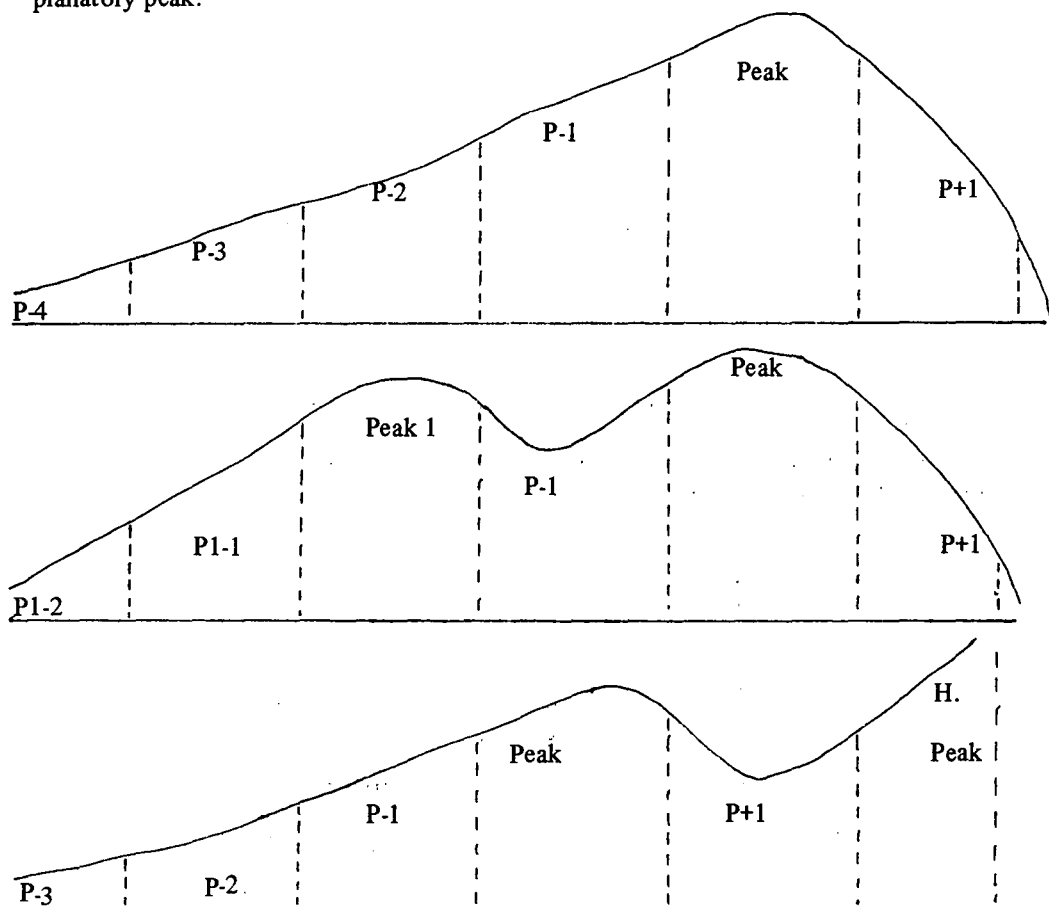


Figure 3 Text Profiles

The peak is where a speaker has his audience sitting on the edge of their chairs. It is where the speaker reaches his climax, where tension is at its highest level, and the audience waits anxiously for the solution to the complication.

The value of studying a text from this Longacre/Jones and Jones/Hopper and Thompson perspective is that we gain a new insight into how a good author varies his verb tense/aspect to control the tension within a text. We also discover how an author uses particles, mode, and clause types to show the difference between peak events; significant events, ordinary events, and background information in narrative.

### 3.3. HALE – EFFECTIVENESS IN DISCOURSE

The third way we will look at this text is from the perspective of Austin Hale, whose preoccupation is to question what ingredients are required to make a text effective. He asks, 'What are the essential factors which must be present in a discourse to

ensure that it will be effective and achieve its purpose? What does an author build into a text to guarantee that the hearer will respond as the author intends him to do?

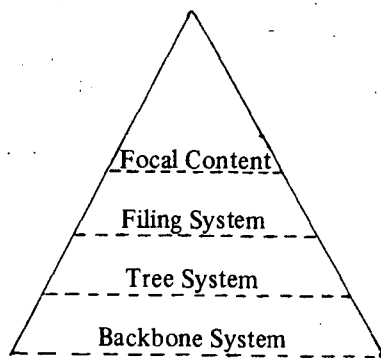


Figure 4 Hale's Four Systems

His answer is to postulate that there are four systems which work concurrently in language. The lowest system, which he calls backbone, is the series of propositions which carries forward the central line of development of the text. In narrative discourse this is events, in expository discourse, explanations, in procedural text, steps in the procedure, and in hortatory discourse, hortatory points.

Backbone System

Narrative events	Procedural steps in the procedure
Expository explanations	Hortatory hortatory points

Figure 5 Backbone Propositions

This backbone system is manipulated by the next system above it, the tree system. The function of the tree system is to form paragraphs out of a string of propositions, so that the main events are highlighted by being placed at the top of the hierarchical structure. In other words, the tree system extracts the cardinal sentences, and makes them into the texts of paragraphs.

Hale tells us that the backbone and tree systems exist; they are Longacre guides in their analysis. To discover the hierarchical structure of a text we need to do a paragraph analysis. This involves studying the semantic relationships between adjacent sentences throughout the text, to discover which sentences are subordinate to others, which are coordinate, which are texts of paragraphs, which sentences set themes for larger sections of text, etc. For Longacre, a paragraph is any group of two or more items which form a semantic unit. The items which make up paragraphs may be sentences or other paragraphs. Paragraphs may be weighted spondaically, that is, equally, as in coordinate type paragraphs, iambically, that is, weighted in the second item, or trochaically, that is, weighted in the first item (Longacre 1979: 115-134).

In our paragraph analysis of the Innana text we follow Longacre's (1976) analysis of semantic relations as summarized in Figure 6.

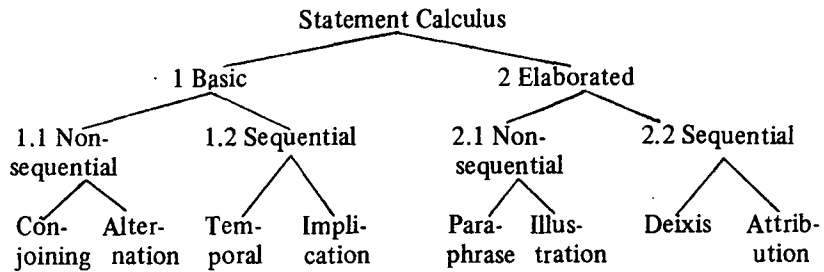


Figure 6 A Statement Calculus of Propositional Relations (adapted from *An Anatomy of Speech Notions*, Longacre 1976:159)

Hale's third system he calls files. The filing system handles information which runs right through a text. In a narrative, for example, a speaker would set up a separate file for each major participant. Hale's thesis is that for each separate participant or strand of information, there is a distinct file which has its own unique filing apparatus.

The fourth system, which has the ability to manipulate each of the lower systems, Hale calls focal content. This is the system which guarantees the significance of the text for the hearer. Focal content is concerned with gaining a hearer's attention, and then keeping that attention until the end of the discourse.

So now in reviewing Hale's thesis, we see that he does not just give us one window through which to evaluate text, but rather he gives us four.

In the backbone system of propositions he asks us to crawl underneath the house with a flashlight to see how the foundations are constructed.

In the tree system he asks us to draw a floor plan with walls, doors, and windows marked in.

In the filing system he wants an electrical and plumbing diagram so we can see how the electrical wires and the water pipes run from room to room. And in the focal content he asks us to draw an architect's perspective, showing the house in its grounds with North/South marked in, plus trees, and adjacent streets and shops. Hale's focal content, then, is the overriding system in language. It gives a total perspective on a text. It gives the text in context.

#### 4. THE TEXT FOR ANALYSIS

Last year we held an essay writing competition in Bontoc. One of the essays submitted for the competition was entitled 'The Innana Rituals'. The Innana rituals are a group of six rituals which are performed by Bontoc people immediately after the main rice planting is finished in April each year.

When our landlord, Felix Khensay, saw this essay, and noted that the author had done an inadequate job of explaining what to him are the most important rituals of the whole Bontoc year, he said to himself, 'Oh, no. I will write an accurate account of the Innana Rituals'. And so the text we look at now is what our landlord wrote.

Figure 7 is a summary of the ninety-sentence Innana text. Except for the SETTING, the summary was arrived at by taking those sentences which, through the action of Hale's tree system, were made texts of paragraphs, and summarizing their contents down to a single phrase or clause.

#### The Innana Rituals

SETTING The Innana rituals are among the best of all Bontoc customs, and include the following rituals: the Lifon, the Soyok, the Mangmang, the Apey, the Patay and the Tengaw.

## EXPLANATION

- |                 |   |
|-----------------|---|
| Lifon Ritual    | 8 Discussion by elders                                |
| 7-26            | 10 Pig is butchered                                   |
|                 | 14 Meat put inside house                              |
|                 | 17 Feast in evening for rich people                   |
|                 | 20 Meat distributed                                   |
|                 | 26 The Soyok ritual follows the Lifon                 |
| Soyok Ritual    | 28 Soyok and Lifon are similar                        |
| 27-44           | 31 Discussion by clan                                 |
|                 | 34 Pigs are butchered                                 |
|                 | 35 Meat put inside house                              |
|                 | 36 Feast in evening for clan                          |
|                 | 44 The Mangmang ritual follows the Soyok              |
| Mangmang Ritual | 46 Each householder kills a chicken                   |
| 45-49           | 47 Add the pig's head from Lifon/Soyok to the pot     |
|                 | 48 Or add Soyok distributed meat                      |
|                 | 49 Apey next day                                      |
| Apey Ritual     | 51 Gather uncooked Lifon/Soyok meat                   |
| 50-71           | 52 Also gather rice wine or sugarcane wine            |
|                 | 53 At ricefield light a fire                          |
|                 | 54 Get a paloki plant, spit wine on it and pray       |
|                 | 55 Embed paloki plant at ricefield                    |
|                 | 56 Heat the meat                                      |
|                 | 57 Transfer to other fields and repeat                |
|                 | 60 Kill a chicken if rice field has a spring          |
|                 | 63 Take the Apey meat home                            |
|                 | 68 Next day go fishing                                |
|                 | 69 Take food to nearby in-laws                        |
|                 | 70 Next day take food to distant in-laws              |
|                 | 71 Patay and Tengaw rituals next day                  |
| Tengaw Ritaul   | 73 Old men perform Patay ritual                       |
| 72-82           | 75 People contribute for pig                          |
|                 | 77 Children announce Tengaw                           |
|                 | 79 Observe Tengaw rest day                            |
|                 | 81 Next day return to work                            |
| CONCLUSION:     | 84 Children get to know their relatives at the Inanna |
| 83-89           | 85 They are also inspired to raise pigs and chickens  |
| CLOSURE         | 90 Those are the true details of the Innana rituals   |
| 90              |   |

Figure 7 The Innana

## 5. DISCOURSE ANALYSIS AND TEXT EVALUATION

Some windows of a house are more accessible than others. Some are more enlightening of overall structure when you look inside. In this analysis of the Innana text we will first look at Hale's backbone and tree system, by analysing the paragraph structure of the text. Then we will look through Longacre's windows of spectrum and profile, Halliday and Hasan's intersentential cohesion window, and finally Hale's filing and focal content systems.



Identification  
 Surrogate Pre-Step 2: Contingency Step  
 Pre-Step 3  
 Step 1  
 Step 2 Paraphrase Paragraph  
 Text  
 Amplification: Temporal Paragraph  
     Build Up 1: Temporal Paragraph  
         Co-terminus 1  
         Co-terminus 2  
     Build Up 2  
     Build Up 3: Conjoining Paragraph  
         Item 1  
         Item 2  
         Item 3: Paragraph  
             Paraphrase  
             Text  
             Amplification  
 Closure

Figure 9 Paragraph Structure of the Soyok Ritual

This analysis of the Soyok ritual makes clear which sentences are the most important. In this ritual they are sentences 28, 31, 33, 34, 35, 36, and 44. These are the sentences which either stand on their own, or are the texts of paragraphs. In a book entitled *The organization of prose and its effect on memory*, Bonnie Meyer (1975) found that it is exactly these sentences, the sentences at the highest levels of the hierarchical structure, that are best remembered and recalled. This observation confirms the importance of what Hale calls the tree system, which groups propositions together by subordinating some, and coordinating others, to make paragraphs.

(b) Evaluation

Is the Innana text well structured? Obviously so. Are the intersentential semantic relationships clear? That is a question difficult for a non-native speaker to answer. These are, however, two questions we need to be able to answer if we are to evaluate text in our target language. To prepare ourselves to answer them we will need to analyze both well-written, and poorly written text, so that we ourselves can gain a feel for how an essay should be written, on the paragraph level.



5.2. THE SPECTRUM AND PROFILE OF THE INNANA TEXT

(a) Analysis

The paragraph analysis of the Innana text indicated for us which sentences were the backbone, or in van Dijk's terminology, the macrostructure of the text. Having done that, Jones and Jones' thesis suggests, by analogy with their work on narrative discourse, that some of the procedural steps in the Innana text will be more important, and others less so. Furthermore, that some sentences will not be steps in the procedure at all, but rather background material.

When we examine the sentences at the highest hierarchical level, those sentences which are texts of paragraphs, we indeed find that the author has used a variety of verb tense/aspects in the independent clauses of these sentences. Besides that, his progression from one tense/aspect to another within successive rituals is systematic and consistent. So also is his use of verbs reduplication, predicate coordination, modality, the use of time phrases and clauses, and the use of sequence particles. Using these grammatical features then, we are able to draw up, firstly, a spectrum of predicate use in embedded procedural discourse (Figure 10). And secondly, a list of syntactic features which apparently influence the level of dynamicity of a sentence in procedural discourse (Figure 11).

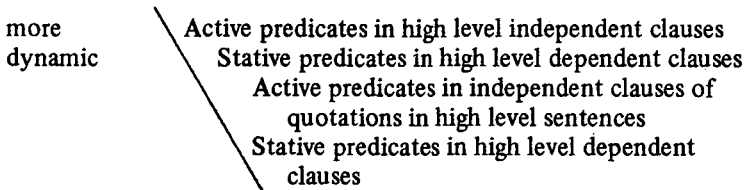


Figure 10 A Tentative Spectrum for Active and Stative Predicates in Embedded Procedural Discourse

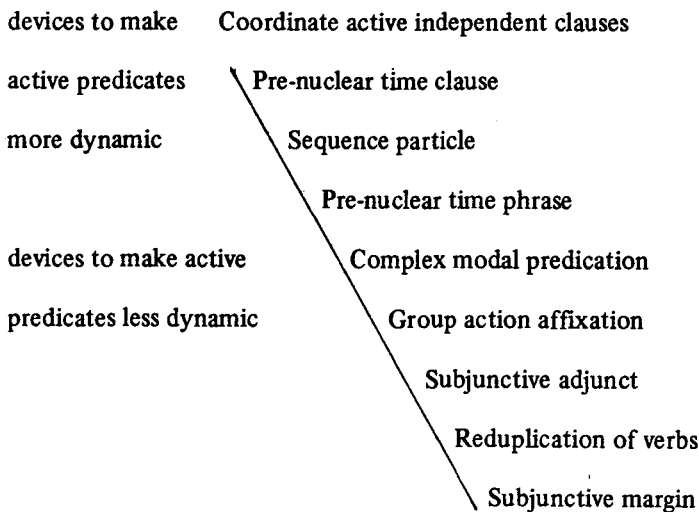


Figure 11 A Tentative Spectrum of Devices to Heighten or Lower Dynamism of Active Predicates in Embedded Procedural Discourse

By assigning numerical values to the items in these spectra, we are then able to draw profiles for the four procedural rituals of the Innana text (Figure 12).

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Lifon

Soyok

Apey

Tengaw

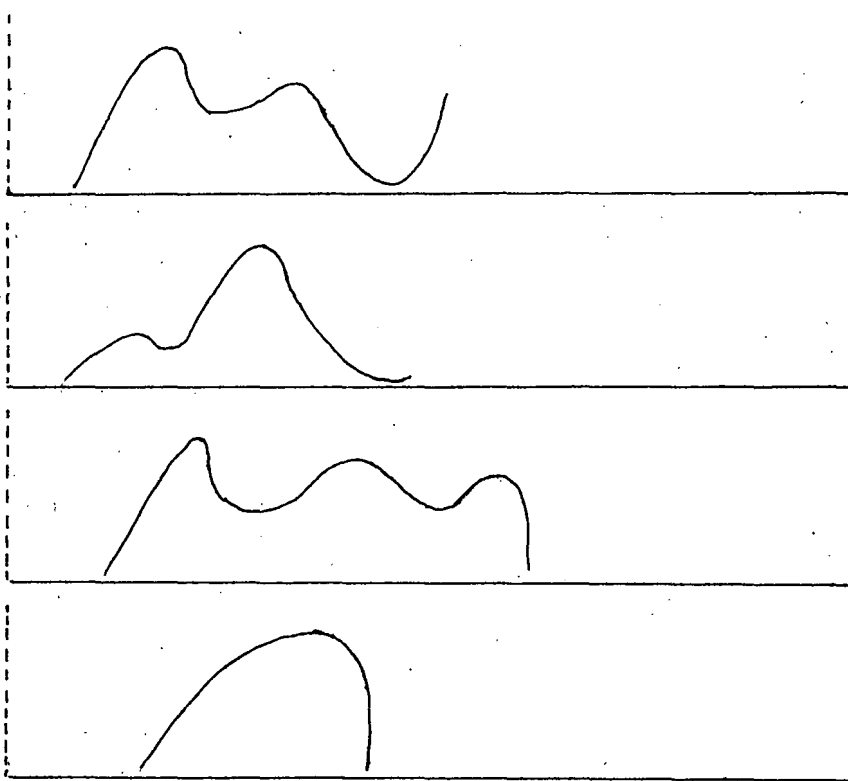


Figure 12 Profiles of Lifon, Soyok, Apey, and Tengaw Rituals

(b) Evaluation

The insights Longacre provides through his spectrum and profile theory are many. Among them are a new understanding of change in tense/aspect throughout a text, a new insight on verb reduplication, coordination, and modality, a contextual explanation for clause type variation, and a discourse sensitive rationalization for the use of particles. The insight of moment, however, at this point, is that the ritual profiles in Figure 12 give us a clear comparison of the relative dynamicity in the four procedural rituals. The Apey stands out as the most dynamic, followed by the Lifon, then the Soyok and lastly the Tengaw. We will return to this topic in Section 5.5.

5.2. INTERSENTENTIAL COHESION OF THE INNANA TEXT

(a) Analysis

An analysis of intersentential cohesion is not difficult. It is a relatively simple affair to discover and chart personal reference, demonstrative reference, comparative reference, substitution, ellipsis, etc. Nor is it a strenuous task to analyze the various types of lexical cohesion and to draw up lexical chains. The challenge is to show the significance of one's findings, for as Gutwinski (1976) has clearly shown, even well-written texts of the same discourse genre by different authors in the same language, can exhibit quite different intersentential cohesive strategies. In a similar study by Martin and Rochester (1975) on the differences between schizophrenic and normal speech, the authors were forced to conclude that on the basis of intersentential cohesion they could not tell the difference! They state (1975:310): 'At one stage in our analysis we tried to see if the most disruptive segment for a given (schizophrenic) speaker was less cohesive or entailed more addition, more ambiguous reference, and less endophoric retrieval than the least disruptive passage. No evidence was found to confirm any of our hypotheses'.

## DISCOURSE ANALYSIS TO LANGUAGE EVALUATION

The outlook, however, is not all gloom, since within one text, and quite possibly within texts of the same discourse genre written by a single author, or across discourse genres written by a single author, useful comparative studies can be done. Within the Innana text we have three explanatory sections – the SETTING; the Mangmang ritual; and the CONCLUSION; and four procedural sections: the Lifon; the Soyok; the Apey; and the Tengaw rituals. Comparative studies between the explanatory sections and comparative studies between the procedural sections are both enlightening. For this paper, however, we will limit ourselves to the embedded procedural texts (Figure 13).

	Personal Reference Items/ Sentence	Substitution Items/ Ritual	Ellipsis Items/ Ritual	Same Word Repetition Items/ Sentences	Lexical Chains Items/ Sentences
Lifon	0.22	8	0	0.5	3.7
Soyok	0.74	1	1	1.0	4.4
Apey	2.10	2	6	1.1	10.9
Tengaw	1.33	0	0	1.0	7.0

Figure 13 Numerical Values for Some Types of Intersentential Cohesion  
in the Procedural Rituals of the Innana

A comparison of the values in Figure 13 clearly indicates at least three things: (a) that the Apey ritual has many more intersentential referential ties than the Lifon ritual; (b) that in the incidence of substitution and ellipsis in the Apey ritual and Lifon rituals, the author seems to have used antithetical strategies; and (c) that in the incidence of personal reference, same word repetition, and lexical chains, there is an apparent gradation from the Lifon, to the Soyok, to the Tengaw, and then to the Apey rituals.

Halliday and Hasan speak of a scale of lexical cohesion (Figure 14), with same word lexical repetition being the least general, or most specific, type of lexical link, and collocation being the most general.

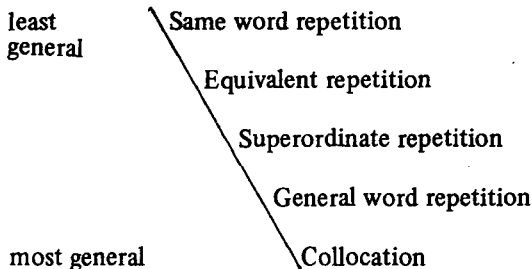


Figure 14 A Scale of Lexical Cohesion (adapted from Halliday and Hasan 1976)

When we compare this scale with the predominant types of lexical cohesion used in the four procedural rituals (Figure 15), we find that (a) all rituals tend to use lexical ties from the more specific end of the scale; (b) with the exception of collocation, the Lifon and Apey are not really distinguished in the types of lexical tie employed; (c) the Soyok ritual consistently uses more lexical ties than any other procedural ritual; and in the incidence of equivalent repetition (synonyms and near-synonyms), the Soyok uses several times as many ties as any other ritual.

	Lifon	Soyok	Apey	Tengaw
	ritual	ritual	ritual	ritual
Total Lexical Repetition/ sentence	2.68	3.1 (highest)	2.5	1.33
Equivalent Repetition/ sentence	0.1	0.5 (highest)	0.15	0.125
Collocation/sentence	0.21	0.53 (highest)	0.4	0.1

Figure 15 Total Lexical and Equivalent Repetition,  
and Collocation in the Embedded Procedural Rituals

These observations, when taken in conjunction with the paragraph structure of the Soyok, which has extensive embedding at the peak (Figures 9 and 19), indicate to us that whereas the Lifon and Apey are the more dynamic rituals, the Soyok is more explanatory. So here the Halliday/Hasan theory has helped us to distinguish between more dynamic procedural text, and more explanatory procedural text.

### 5.3. THE FILING SYSTEM

#### (a) Analysis

The filing system traces information and participants through a text. In a narrative, participant tracking is very important. In the Innana text, however, the track-ability of participants (old men, rich men, people, women, children, etc.), is not important, and the author frequently simply refers to any group of participants as 'they'.

Nevertheless we did trace three Innana files to establish what syntactic structures were used to refer to each file. Two of these files we called the 'people file' and the 'pig file'. The people file is comprised of agents, while the pig file consists of patients. Both, however, had the option of being encoded grammatically as nominal groups, within possessive constructions, or by substitutes. The people file also had pronominal encoding, while the pig file members were frequently implicit (zero anaphoric reference), rather than explicit. A summary of the syntactic devices used to mention members of either of these files in the Lifon ritual is given in Figure 15.

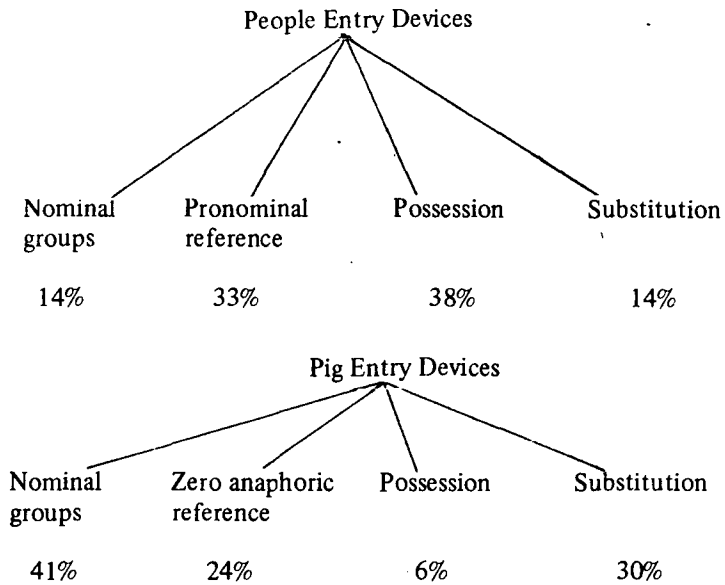


Figure 16 Pig and People File Entry Devices in the Lifon Ritual

(b) Evaluation

A closer look at these entry devices (Figure 17) allows us to see that at least for the Lifon ritual, the syntactic features used for the people and pig files are almost mutually exclusive. This fact is partly, no doubt, due to the difference between the normal syntactical differences between human agents and non-human patients, but that in itself is consistent with, and in no way negates, Hale's view.

The People and Pig Files Entry Devices

	People File	Pig File
(i) Nominal Group Entries	14%	14%
(i) fronted	0%	71%
(ii) Zero Anaphora	0%	24%
(iii) Pronominal Reference	33%	0%
(iv) Possessive Entries	38%	6%
(a) pronominal, full members of the file	100%	0%
(v) Substitution	14%	30%
(a) within possessives in focus in	100%	0%
(b) active clauses	0%	100%

Figure 17 The People and Pig files of the Lifon Ritual Compared

When we look at nominal group entries, we find that 71% of pig file nominal entries are fronted in the sentence in which they occur. This contrasts with the people file entries where none are fronted. Secondly, as we have already mentioned, zero anaphora is uniquely a pig file entry device, and pronominal reference unique to the people file.

Fourthly, though both files use possessive entries, within this category we have a contrast. Each people file possessive entry is pronominal, but no pig file entry is pronominal.

And finally, each people file substitution entry is within a possessive, but each pig file substitution is in focus in an active clause.

This quick review of two Lifon ritual files substantially verifies Hale's filing system. Excepting for the slight overlap in nominal group entries, it shows that whenever the author of this text mentions pigs in the Lifon ritual, he uses a different part of the grammar of the language to refer to it than he does when he mentions people. In other words, the files are almost syntactically mutually exclusive.

#### 5.4. THE FOCAL CONTENT SYSTEM

##### (a) Analysis

The focal content system of language asks us to probe the context of situation of a text. It asks us to discover why an author produced a text, to discover what problem, or complication, motivated him to speak, or to put pen to paper in the first instance. Having done that, we search to discover what the author/speaker has done to attempt at resolution. I mentioned earlier that our landlord, Felix Khensay, wrote this text to give a more accurate account of the Innana rituals. His problem was that he was afraid that I, the foreigner in Bontoc, would gain too superficial an understanding of what, to Bontoc people, is the most important series of rituals in the Bontoc year.

So by putting pen to paper he made five implicit claims:

Claim 1: I can explain why the Innana rituals are so important to our way of life.

Claim 2: I can say why these are the best rituals.

Claim 3: I can give the accurate step by step outline of the rituals.

Claim 4: I can show the relative significance of each step in each ritual.

Claim 5: I can grade the six rituals for relative importance.

#### Figure 18 Implicit Focal Content Claims of Innana Text

To track down focal content we need to ask, 'Does the author fulfill his claims, and how does he go about it?'

For Claim 1 and 2, he gives the evidence to support his claim right through the text, and then sums them up in the CONCLUSION. These are the only two claims which are explicitly summarized in the CONCLUSION.

For the resolution to Claim 3 we need to look through the window of Hale's tree system. We need to look at the paragraph structure of the text. And when we do, we find that each step of each ritual is at the top of the hierarchical structure, as we have already seen in the Soyok ritual.

For the resolution to Claim 4 we need to look through Longacre's spectrum/profile window. When we do that we find that the author of the Innana uses a combination of active and stative predicates to indicate the relative importance of steps in the procedures. For less important steps in each ritual he uses stative verb forms, for more important

steps active verb forms, and for the most important steps coordinated active verb forms. In this way he has syntactically indicated to us which rituals he considers to be most important – his fourth claim.

Furthermore, using these insights on verb tense/aspect variation, plus the dynamism heightening, and lowering devices (Figures 10 and 11), we drew ritual profiles, which gave us a ritual-by-ritual comparison showing the relative importance of the four procedural rituals. Taking these insights together with the data in Figure 19, the author gives us very clearly the resolution to Claim 5 – the relative importance of each ritual.

		Relative Importance of Innana Rituals					
		Patay	Mangmang	Tengaw	Soyok	Lifon	Apey
(i)	Title	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
(ii)	Procedural	no	no	yes	yes	yes	yes
(iii)	Total sentences in ritual	4	4	5	17	19	21
(iv)	High level independent sentences	2	3	3	7	6	13
(v)	Procedural steps	0	0	2	2	2	10
(vi)	Transitivity of steps at the peak	—	—	12, 10	17, 12	18, 17	17.18.1 18.18
(vii)	Spectrum values at peak	—	—	9.9	9.9	12	11.12.
(viii)	Number of sentences at peak	—	—	4	9	4	3

Figure 19 A Comparison of the Innana Rituals

Of the six Innana rituals, five have their own title, while the Patay ritual does not. It is embedded within the Tengaw ritual, showing its relative unimportance.

Four are encoded as procedural discourses. The Patay is embedded, and the Mangmang is compressed and stripped of its procedural time<sub>c</sub> references to become a short explanatory discourse. These latter two rituals are only accorded four sentences each, while the others have 5, 17, 19 and 21 sentences respectively.

The relative importance of each ritual is also seen in the number of high level sentences. The Apey ritual, which is the most important of all, has 13 backbone sentences, as many as the Lifon and Soyok put together. It has more procedural steps than all the others put together.

Then when we look at the transitivity levels of the predicates at the peak of each ritual (this is Hopper and Thompson's window) and the spectrum values (Longacre's window), we again find the Apey out in front, with the Lifon behind, followed by the Soyok and Tengaw.

This would allow us to draw a profile of the text which would look like this:

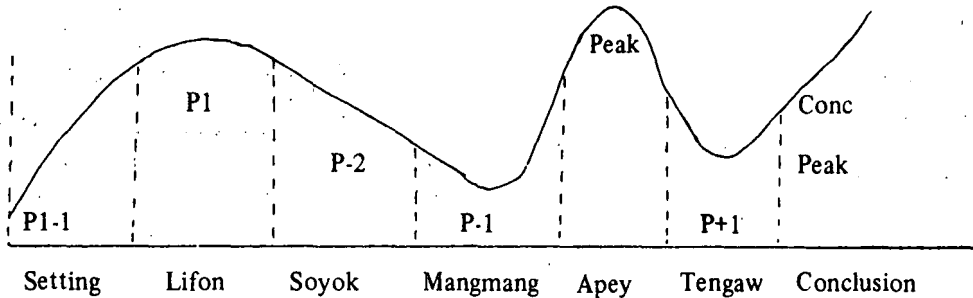


Figure 20 Profile of Innana Rituals

But now note that the last line of the table in Figure 19 does a switch. The Soyok ritual has many more sentences at its peak than either the Apey or the Lifon rituals. As we have already seen (section 5.2.), this is because the Soyok is more explanatory than any other ritual. The Lifon and Apey concentrate on activity, while the Soyok concentrates on explanation. This is confirmed many times over when we look through Halliday and Hasan's window on intersentential cohesion.

And so we see the fulfillment of each of the five focal content claims made by the author of the Innana text. But to do so, we needed to look through windows opened to us by Longacre, Hopper and Thompson, Halliday and Hasan, and Hale.

## 6. CONCLUSION

In this paper I have tried to answer the question, 'Is it possible for a non-native speaker of a language to evaluate with any degree of accuracy the linguistic and stylistic quality of an essay in that language?' Or in other words, 'Can I, as a non-native speaker of the Bontoc language, hope to be able to evaluate quality in Bontoc discourse?'

The answer is, 'Yes, it is possible'. But before we can grade the excellence of a particular discourse, there are three steps we must take.

1. Firstly, we must collect and analyse a wide variety of discourse from the language we are studying. This will help us to establish how many discourse genres there are in the language, which genres have sub-types and how many, and what types of discourse are regularly embedded within other discourses.

For example, in the Bontoc language we regularly have narratives embedded within hortatory discourse. Bontoc speakers use embedded narratives to illustrate hortatory points. Again, in the Innana text which we have looked at very briefly in this paper, we have procedural text embedded within expository text.

2. The second thing we need to do before we can evaluate text quality is to decide which windows we want to look through to evaluate text.

There are many linguistic theories around, some of which throw much more light on discourse structure than others. So what we need to do is to apply a variety of theories to a number of good quality texts, and then evaluate the payoff. Once we have done that, we will come up with a small number of linguistic tools, perhaps four or five which, taken together, will very quickly give us a test of the quality of a text.

In looking at the Innana text we did a paragraph analysis, a spectrum/profile analysis, an analysis of inter-sentential cohesion and an analysis of files and focal content. In many texts a thematic analysis may be very necessary and also productive, but in the Innana text the thematic structure of the discourse was patently clear.

Now then, having collected a set of good quality texts from a variety of discourse genre, and having found by experience which linguistic tools are giving us the best payoff in understanding discourse structure, we can draw up a set of linguistic parameters for each genre and subgenre. When we have done that, we shall be in a position to evaluate stylistic variation within a single discourse genre. And even that can be considerable.



3. This then is the third step we need to take. We need to use our linguistic tools to evaluate stylistic variation and range.

When we have taken these three steps, we will be in good shape to evaluate with a good degree of accuracy the quality of any text in the language we are studying.

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## APPENDIX I

## NAN ON-ON NAN INNANA

## THE DETAILS OF THE INNANA

*Author: FELIX KHENSAY*

- 1 Chengngenyō nan kaon-onan nan Innana.  
hear/you fm details poss innana  
Listen to the details of the Innana rituals.
- 2 Nan Innana, esa ay kakhawisan ay ekhad id sangad-om  
fm Innana one link very good link customs at long ago  
This Innana ritual is one of the best customs of long ago  
ay mawanwaned idwanin isnan ili link Fontok, Samoki ya  
link inherited now nfm village ay Bontoc Samoki and  
which has been handed down to the people of Bontoc, Samoki  
nan tap-in nan kafakhaang  
fm rest poss villages  
and the other barrios.
- 3 Maangnen nan nay Innana isnan tinawen ay kalpasan nan  
is done fm this Innana nfm yearly link finished fm  
This Innan is done every year just after the end of the  
kifos si sama ya toned isnan chinakhon.  
end poss field work and planting nfm each dry season.  
working of the fields and the planting in the dry season.
- 4 Isnan timpon nan Innana, maangnen omona nan Lifon:  
nfm time of poss Innana is done first fm Lifon  
At the time of the Innana, the Lifon ritual is done first:
- 4a mikadwa, maangnen nan Soyok;  
secondly is done fm Soyok  
secondly, the Soyok ritual is done;
- 4b maikatlo, maangnen nan Mangmang;  
thirdly, is done fm Mangmang  
third, the Mangmang ritual is done;
- 4c mikap-at maangnen nan Apey;  
fourthly is done fm Apey  
fourth, the Apey ritual;
- 4d mikalima, maangnen nan Patay ya nan Tengaw.  
fifthly is done fm Patay and fm Tengaw  
and fifthly, the Patay and Tengaw rituals.

DISCOURSE ANALYSIS TO LANGUAGE EVALUATION

- 5 Nan kadchakhopan nan lima ay inon-onko siya nan  
 fm all together poss five link detailed/I this fm:  
 These five rituals together that I have outlined, they  
 makwanin Innana.  
 called/qf Innana  
 are called the Innana.
6. Idwanin, ibfakhak nan kasasaad nan nay chay  
 now tell/I fm status poss this those/link  
 Now I will tell the meaning of those that I have  
 nginadnak milokhi isnan Lifon.  
 named/I beginning nfm Lifon  
 mentioned, beginning with the Lifon ritual.
- 7 LIFON 3 Matotyacha nan papangolo mo sino ken chaicha nan  
 talk/they fm leaders if who nfm them fm
- 7 LIFON 8 The elders discuss whose pigs will be taken  
 maala nan fotogcha.  
 take fm pig/their  
 to be butchered.
- 9 Fafoy nan ilifon nan kakachangyan.  
 big pig fm kill for lifon poss rich.  
 The rich provide a big pig for the Lifon ritual.
- 10 Mo nakhaeb nan totyacha, enchat alaen nan  
 if made fm discussion/their go/they/part get fm  
 When they have reached a decision, they will go to get  
 ilifoncha et khekhechencha isnan afob-ong nan  
 for Lifon/their conj divide/they nfm houses poss  
 what they will butcher for the Lifon ritual and they will  
 chey ninkwa isnan fotog ay milifon.  
 those owners poss pig link for Lifon  
 cut it up at the houses of the owners of the pigs to be butchered for the Lifon ritual.
- 11 Mafingit nan maala.  
 shared fm taken  
 The sections of the meat to be distributed are shared out.
- 12 Nan ad-i mafingit maiskhep is afong.  
 fm not distributed put inside nfm house  
 What is not to be distributed is taken inside the house.
- 13 Miskhep is afong nan choway lapa, choway  
 put inside nfm house fm two/link foreleg two/link  
 The two forelegs, the two hind legs, the liver,

opo, atey, fowang, olo, chala, ya nan kopkop.  
hindleg liver stomach head blood and fm skin

the stomach, the head, the blood, and the skin are all taken inside the house.

- 14 Nan nay chay eg-ay nafingit eyeycha isnan  
fm this those/link not distributed take/they nfm

These parts not to be distributed are taken to the

afong ay maamongancha.  
house link gathering/their

house where they will gather.

- 15 Nan nay Lifon siya nan manganan nan kakachangyan.  
fm this Lifon it fm eating time poss rich

This Lifon is the time when the rich celebrate.

- 16 Nay met achi, mafalin ay makifingit nan  
this part part possible link distributed with fm

But the poor companions can also be given a

ib-a ay poposi.  
friend link poor

share.

- 17 Isnan maschem nan chey ay Lifon, mangan chay  
nfm night poss that link Lifon eat they/link

In the evening of that Lifon ritual, the

kakachangyan.  
rich

rich eat.

- 18 Maam-among nan sinpangapo paymo nan sinpangafong yankhay.  
gather fm clan or fm household only

The whole clan or just the household gather.

- 19 Mo akit nan maamong, siya chi nan kananchan,  
if few fm gather this that fm say/they/qf

If there are only a few who gather, it is called

'Sinalikhebkheb'.

exclusive

'an exclusive group'.

- 20 Nan maala, fingiten nan takho.  
fm taken share fm people

The people receive shares of meat.

- 21 Nan fala, siya nan enkwan nan ongong-a ay lalaki.  
fm lungs it fm belongs poss children link males

The lungs, that belongs to the boys.

DISCOURSE ANALYSIS TO LANGUAGE EVALUATION

- 22 Nan sofod, enkwan nan amam-a.  
 fm belly belongs poss old men  
 The stomach skin is for the old men.
- 23 Nan falong-a paymo ipos, enkwan nan pangolo paymo  
 fm tail plus or tail belongs poss leaders or  
 The tail plus its root or the tail, it belongs to the  
 nan inkhekhed.  
 poss dividers  
 leaders or to the ones who do the butchering.
- 24 Nan tete ya nan palagpag enkwan nan inasaw-an  
 fm withers and fm ribs belong poss just-married  
 The backbone above the shoulder and the ribs are for  
 paymo nan fabfallo.  
 or poss youths  
 recently married men or for the young men.
- 25 Maid infingit isnan fabfafai.  
 none distributed nfm women  
 There is nothing shared among the women.
- 26 Mo nackhokpos nan Lifon, sachat akhes illokhi nan  
 when finished fm Lifon then/they also begin fm  
 When the Lifon ritual is finished, then they also begin  
 Soyok.  
 Soyok  
 the Soyok ritual.
- 27 SOYOK 28 Nan Soyok kaagna nan Lifon.  
 fm Soyok like/it fm Lifon
- 27 SOYOK 28 The Soyok ritual is similar to the Lifon ritual.
- 29 In-ala chas fotog magtek nan Soyok kwan si  
 get they/nfm pig but fm Soyok belongs poss  
 They butcher pigs, but the Soyok ritual is for all  
 katakhotakho.  
 many people  
 the people.
- 30 Ad-i kag nan Lifon ay kwan yangkhay si  
 not like fm Lifon link belongs only poss  
 It is not life the lifon which is only for the  
 kakachangyan.  
 rich  
 rich.

Matotyacha      nan      sinpangpo      paymo      nan      sinpangafong  
 discuss/they      fm      clan      or      fm      household

The clan or household discuss who among them

mo    sino    ken    chaicha    nan    eg-ay    kaala    nan    walakcha,    id  
 if    who    nfm    then    fm    not    bring    fm    share/their    last

did not make their contribution last

tawen.

year

year.

32 Siya    chana    nan    madpap    nan    fotogcha    idwanin.  
 this    these    fm    catch    fm    pig/their    now

They are the ones to contribute (lit. catch) their pigs this time.

33 Mo    nan    walak    nan    esa    ay    maala    ya    inmawas    et  
 if    fm    share    poss    one    link    taken    and    excessive    part

if the pig contributed by one person is bigger than

motokachan    is    fan-ig    ay    fotog    paymo    siping.  
 compensate    nfm    small    link    pig    or    money

his share, the excess of his contribution is replaced by a small pig or money.

34 Makhekhed    nan    nay    chay    fotog    isnan    afob-ong    nan  
 divided    fm    this    they/link    pigs    nfm    houses    poss

These pigs are butchered at the houses of their

cheychay    madpap    nan    fotogcha.  
 those/link    catch    fm    pig/their

owners.

35 Sachat    eyey    isnan    afong    ay    maamongancha    isnan  
 then/they    take    nfm    house    link    gathering/their    nfm

Then they take it to the house at which they will gather

maschem.

night

at night.

36 Isnan    chey    ay    maschem    si    Soyok,    mangan    nan    maam-among  
 nfm    that    link    night    poss    Soyok    eat    fm    gather

That night of the Soyok ritual, the clan or family who

ay    sinpangapo    paymo    sinpangafong.  
 link    clan    or    household

are gathered eat together.

- 37 Maoto nan poto, chala, atey ya nan tap-in nan  
 cook fm intestines blood liver and fm other poss  
 What is cooked is the intestines, the blood, the liver,  
 kopkop ya nan fekhas.  
 skin and poss flesh  
 and some parts of the skin and the flesh.
- 38 Isnan timpo ay cha maoto nan watwat, mangay-ayyeng  
 nfm time link cont cook fm meat sing ayyeng  
 While it is cooking, the old men sing the  
 nan amam-a.  
 fm old men  
 ayyeng.
- 39 Mo mangancha tomke nan ayyeng.  
 When eat/they stop fm ayyeng.  
 When they eat, they stop singing ayyeng.
- 40 Miwatwat nan sibfancha yangkhay.  
 shared fm viand/their only  
 Only meat to be eaten is distributed.
- 41 Magtek wad-ay nan kasin maiwalas ay naoto ay  
 but there is fm again shared link cooked link  
 But there is also a distribution of cooked pieces,  
 pasing isnan malpasanchay manganan.  
 share nfm finished/they/link eating time  
 after they have finished eating.
- 42 Teken akhes nan kasin maiwalas ay inlangta ay  
 different also fm again shared link raw link  
 There is also a different distribution of raw  
 pasing.  
 share  
 pieces.
- 43 Nan kafifilang nan afob-ong ay maamong, siya akhes  
 fm tally poss houses link gathered that also  
 The number of raw pieces to be distributed is according  
 nan filang nan pasing ay inlangta.  
 fm count poss shares link raw.  
 to the number of households gathered.
- 44 Mo machokpos nan takho nan Soyok et kawaksana et  
 when finish fm people fm Soyok conj morrow part  
 When the people are finished the Soyok, the Mangmang is

Mangmang.  
Mangmang  
held the next day.

45 MANGMANG 46 Waschin infaig nan takho isnan manok.  
each beats fm people nfm chicken

45 MANGMANG 46 Each household kills a chicken.

47 San cheychay naala paymo nakhekhed nan fotogcha  
fm those/link took or divided fm pig/their

Those who butchered their pigs for the Lifon or Soyok,

issan Lifon paymo issan Soyok et itkemcha kannay  
nfm Lifon or nfm Soyok part add/they immediately

cook the head of their Lifon-pig or Soyok-pig together

san olon san nailifon paymo naisoyok ay fotogcha.  
fm head poss for Lifon or for Soyok link pig/their

with the chicken.

48 Nan tapina itkemcha san pasingcha paymo san  
fm others add/they fm share/their or fm

The others add their uncooked share or their

finingitcha issan Soyok.  
distribution/their nfm Soyok ritual  
distributed share from the Soyok ritual.

49 Isnan kawakasana Apey.  
nfm morrow Apey

The next day it is the Apey ritual.

50 APEY 51 Omala cha issan inasinancha ay pasingcha  
get they nfm salted/their link share/their

50 APEY 51 They get their uncooked share which they have

paymo finingitcha issan Lifon paymo issan Soyok is  
or distributed/their nfm Lifon or nfm Soyok nfm

salted or their distributed share from the Lifon or Soyok

iyapeycha.  
do Apey/they  
to do the Apey ritual.

52 Omala cha akhes is tapey paymo fayyas si  
get they also nfm rice wine or sugarcane wine fm

They also get rice wine or sugarcane wine to spit out

seng-ewcha ay mangapey.  
spit/they link do Apey

as part of the Apey ritual.



- 53 Mo omeý cha iska payewcha ay mangapey  
when go they loc rice field/their link do Apey  
When they go to the ricefields to do the Apey ritual.

chentancha nan iyapeycha.  
kindle/they fm for-Apey/their

they kindle fire to cook the meat for the Apey ritual.

- 54 Sachat alan nan paloki ya togpopancha isnan tapey  
then/they got fm paloki and spit/they nfm rice wine  
They they get a paloki plant and spit rice wine

ay mangwanin.  
link saying

onto it saying.

- 54a 'Togpopak sik-a ay paloki ta mapigpikhipig  
spit/I you link paloki so that tall and straight  
'I spit on you paloki so that the rice plants will grow

nan pakhey, ta maikaskasiw isnan otot, faniyas,  
fm rice so that free nfm rats lizards

tall, so that they will be free from rats, lizards,

tilin ya isnan am-in ay mamakawas isnan payew  
rice birds and nfm all link destroy nfm rice field

ricebirds, and all that destroys the fields and the rice

ya isnan pakhey.  
and nfm rice

plants.'

- 55 Sachat isokfit nan paloki iska toping paymo  
then/they stick fm paloki loc rock wall or  
Then they stick the paloki between the stones of

sipitencha isnan lolo, sachat ipadsek isnan kapayew.  
wedge/they nfm stick then/they embed nfm loc/rice field

the wall or wedge it into a split stick and embed it into the ricefield.

- 56 Kelnatencha yangkhay nan inasin ay iyapeycha.  
warm/they only fm salted meat link do Apey/they  
They just heat the salted meat which they use for the Apey ritual.

- 57 Iyat-atonchana isnan kapayepayewcha.  
transfer/they/it nfm loc/rice fields/their

They transfer it to each of their fields, doing the same thing.

- 58 Isnan esay payew esay paloki nan isokfitcha  
nfm one/link rice filed one/link paloki fm stick/they

In each ricefield they stick one stem of paloki in

iska topingna paymo sipitencha isnan lolo  
 loc rock wall/its or wedge/they nfm stick  
 between the stones of the rock wall, or wedge it into a split

sachat ipadsek.  
 then/they/part embed  
 stick and embed it into the rice field.

59 Mo sinpoo nan payewna et sinpoo akhes ay  
 if ten fm rice field/his part ten also link  
 If he has ten rice fields, he also uses ten

paloki nan maosal.  
 paloki fm used  
 paloki.

60 Mo eb-eb nan payew ay apeyancha et  
 if spring fm ricefield link do Apey/they part  
 If the ricefield for which they are doing the

iyapeycha nan manok.  
 do Apey/they fm chicken

Apey ritual has its own water supply from underground, they use a chicken for the ritual.

61 Faikhenchacha sachat lakhiman ya sepwaken nan  
 beat/they then/they/part burn and section fm  
 They kill the chicken then burn the feathers and

manok.  
 chicken  
 butcher it.

62 Otowenchacha, magtek kecheng nan fitli ya nan  
 cook/they but only fm gizzard and fm  
 They cook it, but it is only the gizzard and its

potona nan sibfancha id ilit.  
 intestines/its fm viand/thier at outside  
 intestines that they eat outside the village.

63 Mo kinonfoscha ay nangapey isnan kapayepayewcha,  
 if finish/they link did/Apey nfm loc/rice fields/their  
 When they have finished the Apey ritual in the ricefields,

isaacha nan inyapeycha isnan afong ay manganancha.  
 go home/they fm Apey ed/they nfm house link eat/they  
 they bring home the meat used in the ritual to the house where they will eat.

64 Isnan maschem milokhi nan am-among isnan Apey.  
 nfm night begins fm gathering nfm Apey

At night the gathering for the Apey ritual begins.

- 65 Tolo et nan am-among isnan Innana.  
three part fm gatherings nfm Innana

There are three gatherings for the Innana.

- 66 Am-among isnan Lifon ay kwan si kakachangyan.  
gathering nfm Lifon link belong poss rich

The gathering for the Lifon ritual which is for the rich.

- 67 Am-among isnan Soyok ya am-among isnan Apey.  
gathering nfm Soyok and gathering nfm Apey

The gathering for the Soyok ritual and for the Apey ritual (are the other two).

68. Isnan kawakasan encha mangachiw.  
nfm morrow go/they fishing

On the morrow they go to catch fish.

- 69 Isnan chey ay akhew igkhiyakhancha nan  
nfm that link day carry plate/they fm

On that day they take a plate of food to the parents of

aliwidcha ya nan katokhangancha isnan  
relative-in-law/their and fm parents-in-law/their nfm  
their children-in-law and to their parents-in-law who live in'

Fontok ya id Samoki.  
Bontoc and at Samoki

Bontoc and Samoki.

- 70 Isnan pidwan si kachiw igkhiyakhancha nan  
nfm second nfm fish carry plate/they fm

On the second day of catching-fish, they take a

alilwidcha paymo katokhangancha isnan kafakhaang.  
relative/their or parents-in-law/their nfm villages

plate of food to their relatives or parents-in-law in the barrios.

- 71 Mawakas kasin Patay ya Tengaw.  
morrow again Patay and Tengaw

On the next day again it is the Patay and the Tengaw rituals.

- 72 TENGAW 73 Mamatay ona nan amam-a.  
Patay first fm old men

- 72 TENGAW 73 The old men first perform the Patay ritual.

- 74 Ipataycha nan fotog nan pomapatay iska  
Patay/they fm pig poss sacred tree guardian loc

They kill for the Patay ritual the pig of the one who

Papatayan.

BENN

sacred tree

has responsibility for the sacred tree at the sacred tree.

- 75 Nan    nay    fotog    et,        maiyo-b-    isnan    omili.  
 fm     this    pig        part      contributed   nfm    village

This pig will be paid for by contributions from the village people.

- 76 Pakhey   nan    miyo-b-    paymo    siping.  
 rice       fm     contributed   or        money

They contribute money or rice.

- 77 Isnan    maschem   insalang   nan    ongong-a.  
 nfm     night       announce   fm    children

At night the children announce the Tengaw.

- 78 Ifokhawchay  
 call/ they/link

They shout,

- 78a 'Is    wakas    et        Tengaw.'  
 at    morrow   part    rest day

'Tomorrow is a Tengaw ritual rest day.'

- 79 Kawakasana,   intengaw        nan    katahotakho.  
 morrow         hold Tengaw    fm    many people

The next day, the people observe the Tengaw ritual rest day.

- 80 Mid       mamokfoknag.  
 none       go to fields

Nobody goes to the fields.

- 81 Kasin    mawakas    mo    khwis    nan    fatawa,   mamoknagchat  
 again    morrow    if    good    fm    world    go to field/they/part

On the next day, if there have been no untoward happenings.

nan    takho.  
 fm    people

the people go to the fields.

- 82 Siyana   nan    Tengaw    ay    anongos    nan    Innana.  
 this     fm     Tengaw   link   end        poss   Innana

That is the Tengaw which is the end of Innana ritual.

- 83 Nan    mangwaniyak   ay    khwis    nan    Innana   ay    ekhad   ay  
 fm     say/I         link   good    fm    Innana   link   custom   link

The reason that I say that the innana rituals are good

mawanwaned,   tay        isnan    Innana   maam-among   nan    kaapona  
 inherited       because   nfm    Innana   gather        fm    generations

customs to be handed down is because at the Innana rituals

- paymo nan sinpangafong.  
or fm household  
the clan or household gathers.
- 84 Siya nan mangammowan nan ongang-a isnan kakyongcha,  
this fm known fm children nfm cousins/their  
That is when the children get to know their cousins,  
in-acha am-acha, ikik-itcha ya isnan  
aunts/their uncles/their grandparents/their and nfm  
their aunts, their uncles, grandparents, and other friends  
tap-ina ay inchan ken chaicha ay ib-acha ay  
rest/its link meet nfm them link friends/their link  
who have gathered with them.  
naam-among.  
gathered
- 85 Siya akhes nan mangipafikas isnan anan-ak ay inchog-an  
this also fm strengthening nfm offspring link husband  
That also is what causes children to be encouraged to rear  
ta way iwalakcha isnan Innana.  
so that there is contribute/they nfm Innana  
pigs and chickens so that they will have a contribution for the Innana rituals.
- 86 Tay mo ad-i cha inchog-an et mid iwalakcha  
because if not they husband part none contribute/they  
Because if they don't raise anything, they will have no  
isnan Innana.  
nfm Innana  
contribution for the Innana rituals.
- 87 Nan esay takho ay ad-i inwalwalak et siyachi  
fm one/link person link not contribute part it/that  
If a person does not contribute, that's okay for  
isnan esay tawen.  
nfm one/link year  
one year.
- 88 Nan pay katawetawan?  
fm again years  
How about for others year?
- 89 Nan sikhab nan inwalakana et tellachencha  
fm difficulty poss contributing/his part cut off/they  
His difficulty at the time of contributing is this, they

BENN

tay kananchan,  
because say/they/qf

cut him from participating because they say,

89a 'Ay ke lagwey to aped kas makikikan  
part part vegetables so that just you/nfm eat/with

'Is it just vegetables that we are eating that you

olay mid walakmo?  
even none contribution/your

just join in eating even if you have made no contribution?'

90 Siyana nan tet-ewa ay on-on nan Innana.  
this fm truth link details poss Innana

Those are the true details of the Innana rituals.