

**DEFINITENESS AS IT AFFECTS PARTICIPANT INTRODUCTION**

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**1. INTRODUCTION**

The present study is based on an analysis of participant introduction in thirty-eight narrative texts in Kankanaey.<sup>1</sup> A variety of genres are represented, and the authors come from every segment of society. The examples are taken from a wide variety of texts, but when an example is from the text 'Nabulay' in Appendix C it will be marked by 'N' followed by the sentence number for easy reference. The participant being introduced and other parts of the sentence pertinent to the discussion are underlined.

Unlike several other Philippine languages, Kankanaey nominal markers are obligatorily marked for either definiteness or indefiniteness. Therefore there is no ambiguity regarding the definiteness of participants introduced in Kankanaey narratives. Figure 1 is basic for understanding the examples which follow. The terminology used in this discussion reflects the theory that the focused noun phrase is the surface subject of a given sentence, while a non-subject actor is a subject chomeur. David Thomas's suggested terminology (1977) was also consulted. Appendices A and B explain the abbreviations used in this study.

Relation to Predicate	Subject		Non-subject			
	Semantic Roles	Act., Pat., Ins., Range, Ben.		Act., Poss.		Pat., Ins., Range, Loc., Ben.
Surface Forms	nom.	pers.	nom.	pers.	nom.	pers.
Definite plural	din/-n/ø	si da	(-n)din	en (en)da	sin	en da
Indefinite	di/-y		(-n)di		si/-s	
Form label	Subject	Marker	Subj. Cho. Marker, Possess. Marker		Oblique Marker	
Abbreviation (Def., Indef., Pers.)	DSM, ISM,	PSM	DSCM, ISCM, : PSCM, DPoM, IPoM, : PPoM		DOM, IOM, POM	

Note: (-n) indicates that if the preceding word ends in an open syllable, it must be closed with -n.

**Figure 1. Kankanaey Phrase Markers**

<sup>1</sup> Kankanaey is spoken by 110,000 mountain farmers in Benguet and La Union, Luzon. The data on which this analysis is based was gathered during intermittent periods of residence in Kibungan, Benguet, from October 1974 to March 1980.

In a narrative, one talks about people, animals, and things. These participants in the drama are brought onto the 'stage' of the drama by grammatical means specific to the language of the story-teller. What governs the story-teller's choice of grammatical means as he introduces his various characters and 'props'? Does the fact that something is being introduced automatically restrict it to indefinite reference? Linguists working in several Philippine languages have studied participant introduction. Their findings will be compared to observations on a corpus of Kankanaey narrative texts, <sup>2</sup> with special emphasis on the definite or indefinite reference used in introductions.

## 2. PROPOSED CRITERIA

### 2.1. NARRATIVE TYPE

Some linguists have concluded that the type of narrative dictates the grammatical means used to introduce at least the major characters. Antworth (1979:117) says that major participants in mythical or etiological folktales are introduced by an existential or, if animals, by definite noun phrases. Contemporary (non-mythical) folktales introduce their major characters by name with a descriptive identification. Shetler and Walrod (1983), by contrast, found that existentials are never employed in folktales in Balangao, but are the method most often used in historical narratives.

Kankanaey texts could be selected to support both these views, but examination of the entire corpus of texts indicates that while a majority of the main characters in folktales were introduced in an existential construction, many were introduced as the clause subject or 'focus', and another considerable number were in non-subject positions. See Figure 2.

	Subject of Existential	Verbal Subject	Non-Subject
Folktales	42%	37%	21%
Historical	13%	30%	47%

Figure 2. Method of major participant introduction in 39 Kankanaey narrative texts

There is obviously a greater tendency for major characters to be introduced with existentials in folktales than in historical narratives, the reasons for which will become clear in the discussion to follow, but a theory proposing that the type of narrative determines the method of participant introduction is not supported by the Kankanaey data.

### 2.2. PARTICIPANT IMPORTANCE

The degree of importance of the participant has been related to its method of introduction. Persons (1979:34) found that 'the existential is the normal way of introducing the major participant' in Bolinao. Wallace (1980) observes that this use of the existential is 'typical' in Northern Kankanaey.

Again, analysis of only a few texts might support this type of hypothesis for Kankanaey also. In texts no. 23, 24, 27 and 34, main characters are introduced by existentials, other major characters in non-subject positions and minor participants as verbal clause subjects. However, texts no. 1, 8, and 13 provide equally convincing evidence that major participants are brought on stage as verbal clause subjects, while minor participants are introduced in non-subject slots!

<sup>2</sup> Thirty-eight narrative texts were examined. Some were written, while some were oral and subsequently transcribed and edited by a native speaker. The narrators represent both sexes as well as a wide range in education and age. Sixteen of the stories are folklore. The remaining twenty-two were presented as factual, sixteen in first person and six in third person. Of the factual narratives, half of them narrated a very recent event, the other half an event from several years previous.

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Figure 3 shows that the greatest tendency in Kankanaey narratives is for characters to be introduced as subjects, whether the predicate is a verb or an existential. Major characters tend to be introduced with existentials slightly more often than minor characters. Characters are also introduced in non-subject positions, as actors of a verb. Major props are also often introduced as subjects, more often with verbs than with existentials. Oblique reference is used for introducing 20% of major props and 33% of incidentals. Oblique reference also marked locations but these were not considered in this study. A small percentage of props and incidentals are introduced in a possessive phrase.

Participant:	Major	Minor	Major Prop	Incidental
Subject of Exist.	18	15	10	18
Subject of Verb	18	17	22	37
Subject Chomeur or Possessor	4	15	4	15
Oblique Refer.	0	1	10	37

(\*A further 10 props and incidentals, 2.5%, are introduced as verbs.)

**Figure 3. Participant introduction by Grammatical Relations**

These broad generalizations can be drawn from the Kankanaey data, but a proposal that major participants are introduced consistently by a certain construction can not be supported for Kankanaey.

### 2.3. CONSTRAINTS OF FOCUS<sup>3</sup> ELIGIBILITY

There seems to be a consensus among linguists around the world regarding the definiteness of focused noun phrases in Philippine languages. Schachter (1976:496) says categorically that the 'topic is always definite' referring to the focused noun phrase. Schwartz (1976) argues for the subjecthood of focused noun phrases on the basis of their being 'definite and referential'.

This same proposition is expressed in the analyses of several Philippinists working in lesser-known Philippine languages. Relevant to this study are their observations regarding the correlation of focused noun phrases and participant introductions in narratives. Porter (1977:174) states that 'a participant-prop grouping is not introduced in focus' in Tboli. Maryott (1977) observes some focused introductions in Sangihé, but terms them 'uncharacteristic' and states that the participant is not eligible for focus (subject) status until he has first been mentioned in a preceding transition in an out-of-focus rôle. Elkins (1980:13) says that for Western Bukidnon Manobo, 'the norm for the introduction of props and participants is that they . . . are not marked for focus'.

In the thirty-eight Kankanaey texts examined, 403 participants were involved, from main characters to incidental props. 32% of the major characters were found to be introduced as clause subjects. 37% of the minor characters, 30% of the major props, and 50% of the incidental characters and props were also introduced as subjects. There are doubtless many constraints on focus eligibility, but participant introduction is not demonstrably among them for Kankanaey.

<sup>3</sup> 'Focus' refers to the marked relationship between the verb and one other constituent, the subject, of a clause, e.g., actor, patient, location, etc. The affix on the verb signals the semantic role of the subject of the clause.

## 2.4. IMPLICIT PRESENCE

In examining the criteria for focus eligibility, Rafael (1978:37) states that the most cited reason is referential transparency . . . presupposed or immediately perceptible.

MacFarland (1978:151-3) speaks of a 'filing' system in an audience's mind, containing files of prior knowledge. He states that a narrator will choose a linguistic expression that enables his listeners to locate a file and add new information.<sup>4</sup> Some linguistic forms indicate that the audience is not expected to have a file on the item or person in question.

Many entities become implicitly present in the mind of the audience in a story-telling situation. Some are probably universal – weather phenomena, human life realities such as kin, clothing, body parts, residence. Some are culturally determined by a person's past experiences.

Bartlett (1932:197) theorized long ago that experiences from the past are organized in the mind as a basis for interpretations and expectations in future experiences. Tannen (1979) terms these expectations 'frames'. For example, mentioning a death to a Kankanaey brings into relevance, or 'foregrounds' (Jones: 1983) a frame that includes gathered crowds, butchered animals, ceremonial singing, the spirit of the departed one, burial blankets, and a host of other things.

Assumptions and knowledge shared by the hearer and the speaker become implicitly present when they are relevant to the story-telling context. Barlaan (1977:113) observes that there is a 'link between the cast of the narrative and the participants in the speaker-hearer relationship'. Elkins (1980:13) mentions the relevance of 'shared assumptions and knowledge, cultural scripts and expectations'.

Although many have noted the relevance of the context in considering participant introductions, it is the author's hypothesis that contextuality or predictability plays the major role in determining the method of introduction of any participant. Based on his perception of what is present in his audience's mind, a narrator chooses his method of introducing each participant from the variety of grammatical constructions available to him. When something or someone is assumed to be implicitly present in the mind of the hearer, it may be given definite reference in whatever grammatical construction it occurs. Chafe (1976) includes 'frames' as a viable basis for establishing the definiteness of an entity. The Kankanaey data seems most simply and credibly explained by considering that the construction chosen for participant introduction depends on whether or not the narrator feels that that participant is assumed by the hearer to be implicitly present at that point in the story.

## 3. THE EFFECT OF DEFINITENESS ON PARTICIPANT INTRODUCTION

Figure 4 shows the grammatical relationships with which all participants in the texts studied were marked when they were first introduced into the narrative, and the occurrence of definiteness and indefiniteness within each marking. If a participant was first mentioned as a pronoun, this was counted as definite reference. If first mentioned as a verb, e.g., 'I got married (lit. spoused)', it was counted as an indefinite reference to the new participant, e.g., the 'spouse'.

	Subject	Subj. Chomeur or Possessor	Oblique	Total
Definite	123	55	95	273
Indefinite	37	15	78	130

Figure 4. Grammatical Relationships and Definiteness of Kankanaey Participant Introductions

<sup>4</sup> McFarland (1978) notes the occasional use of definite reference in which the speaker disregards the hearer's lack of a file on a participant, expecting some flexibility, i.e. that the hearer will just open a new file. This device often implies that the participant plays a minor role.

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As Figure 4 shows, 68% of the 403 participants are introduced as identifiable by the audience, as already being implicitly present.

From the 403 participant introductions examined, it is evident that a very wide variety of grammatical constructions may be used to introduce any participant, from major characters to minor props. Let us examine four broad categories – existentials, verbal constructions, 'surprise' particles, and modifying constructions – to see how they combine with the definite or indefinite marker to enable the storyteller to introduce his cast and set his stage in a way that neither insults nor mystifies his audience.

### 3.1. EXISTENTIALS

McFarland (1978) notes that use of an existential indicates that the audience is not expected to have a 'file' of any prior knowledge of the subject.

Kankanaey existentials are followed by subject phrase markers. When the marker is indefinite, the action is suspended to introduce an unknown participant.

Possession is indicated in Kankanaey by an existential followed by an indefinite-marked possessed item. Both important props and mere descriptives can be first mentioned in this construction.

- |    |   |                          |   |
|----|---|--------------------------|---|
| a. | Ed nabbaon kano,  | <b>waday</b><br>EXT, ISM | <b>esa ay babai ay . . .</b><br>one LK woman        |
|    | 'Long ago, they say, <b>there was a woman</b> who . . .' (main character)   |                          |   |
| b. | N2  | <b>Waday</b><br>EXT, ISM | <b>si Nabulay kano . . .</b><br>PSM Nabulay         |
|    | 'There was (a woman named) <i>Nabulay</i> they say . . .' (major character) |                          |   |
| c. | <b>Wada da di alisto ay Americano ya gait na . . .</b>                      | EXT PL ISM               | and friend his                                      |
|    | 'There was an energetic American and his friend . . .' (minor characters)   |                          |   |
| d. | <b>Wada di dowa ay baliling na sin dallem di toktok na.</b>                 | EXT ISM                  | two LK wheels its                                   |
|    | 'It had two wheels under its head (airplane)'                               |                          |   |
| e. | Mo din anak,  | <b>waday</b><br>EXT, ISM | <b>kitkitoy ay lagba na.</b><br>small LK basket her |
|    | 'As for the child, she had a small basket'                                  |                          |   |

The fact that existentials introduce new information explains the disparity between the number of existentials used in folktales and in historical narratives observed in section 2.1. A true story is most often told about people that are already somewhat familiar to the audience, while a folktale often introduces its characters as unknown to the audience, even though they may have heard the tale already.

Existentials followed by a definite marker indicate the physical presence of a participant. When this construction is used to introduce a character, it shows that the speaker assumes that this character would not be unexpected by his hearers.

- |    |   |         |  |
|----|---|---------|--|
| f. | <b>Wada si Mrs. Mayamnes.</b>   | EXT PSM |  |
|    | 'There was Mrs. Mayamnes (getting off the bus)' (The arrival of Mrs. Mayamnes or someone else with similar authority is only logical in the situation.) |         |  |

A negative existential with an indefinite marker explains the absence of something general that is expected or predicted by the context. (A definite marker is used when a specific character or object is absent. In all the cases observed, this was a participant who had already been mentioned.)

- |    |  |   |                                  |
|----|--|---|----------------------------------|
| g. | Asi naiayew ay   | <b>iwed</b><br>NEG, EXT                           | <b>di lantong.</b><br>ISM greens |
|    | 'And besides that, <b>there weren't any greens</b> ' (The context is that of trying to get a meal together; these greens are a common vegetable grown by all.) |   |                                  |
| h. | Dengngem di palato . . . ngem iwed   | <b>di ipogaw ay maila.</b><br>NEG, EXT ISM person |                                  |
|    | 'You hear plates (rattle) . . . but <b>no person</b> is visible'   |   |                                  |

## 3.2. VERBAL CLAUSES

Indefinite reference in verbal clauses may indicate that the person or item is not predictable from the context.

- i. Nan-aet din nakay si ando ay kaiw . . .  
IOM long LK stick  
'The old man just got a long stick . . .'
- j. Nakiasawaak si kailian mi.  
IOM town.mate our  
'I got married to a (girl) from our town'

When a participant is introduced first as a generic class and perhaps later referred to as a specific entity, this too is given indefinite reference.

- k. Manbalinaket si kaag.  
IOM monkey  
'I'll just turn into a monkey'
- l. Waday man-ahenti si man-obra si minas.  
IOM mines  
'There were (people) hiring (people) to work in mines'
- m. Sin-gagayyem di ipogaw ya bowaya.  
ISM people and crocodiles  
'People and crocodiles were friends'

Definite reference is used in verbal clauses whenever the narrator assumes that the audience will not be confused as to the participant's identity or presence. Wendel and Hale (1979:184) observe that participants introduced in focus 'can be accounted for in terms of linkage . . . to eligible constituents or to facts the speaker assumes to be known. . . in advance by his audience'. In their data, these focused participants would all be interpreted as having definite reference. When the first mention of a character or prop uses definite reference, this presupposes a contextual link, as in the following examples.

- n. N11 . . . ilan da din galey ay mankeykey.  
DSM blanket  
' . . . they saw the blanket moving' (The context is that of dealing with a corpse, so a blanket is culturally presupposed.)
- o. Dinalas din iskawilak ay nansagad.  
DSCM students-my  
'My students hurried to sweep' (The narrator is a teacher and her story begins at the school.)
- p. N7 . . . kaipayag sin sokod na . . .  
DOM walking stick his  
' . . . he quickly set down his walking-stick . . .' (The context is that of a traveler with a load, so a walking-stick is expected.)
- q. Nalilikob da din gait ko . . . sin dap-o.  
DOM fireplace  
'My companions were all gathered at the fireplace' (The speaker has just entered the house where a fireplace is standard.)
- r. Nasakisakitak . . . dowan da en emisamisaan sak-en.  
they  
'I was very sick, and they kept holding masses for me' (In the context of the narrator's childhood, kin who would care for her are expected by the audience.)

## 3.3. SURPRISE PARTICLES

Kankanaey is replete with semantic particles that give color, nuance, humor and vividness to narratives. Several of these indicate unexpectedness or surprise in varying degrees. In three of the texts studied, such particles are used at the introduction of a very unexpected object. In example s., the particles occur with the indefinite marker, as would be expected. In example t., there is no noun phrase marker at all. The absence of any marker in most cases implies definiteness, but in this example, several grammatical devices are coinciding in what Longacre (1983:25) terms a 'zone of turbulence' at the story peak. These various processes, which are normally used with definite entities, are exonerated by the surprise particles which establish the unexpectedness of the new participant sufficiently to override the normal implications of the other devices.

- s. **Kambaw etay inepetengan**                                  **di dalit.**  
SURP SURP    ISCM eel  
'(Surprise, surprise) an eel was restraining (him)'
- t. N8...    **aket etay (ø)**                                  **alam-am ikamkamolot na.**  
surp surp (no marker) fern  
'(. . . surprise, surprise) it was a fern he was clutching'

## 3.4. MODIFYING CONSTRUCTIONS

Some modifying constructions merely add descriptive information to the hearer's knowledge of the participant being discussed. Others, however, may be a vital part of a participant introduction by identifying the link between the participant and some element in the context. Chafe (1976) explains that such modifiers establish *ad hoc* categories within which identifiability may be assumed. McFarland (1978) goes so far as to claim that a description following a definite noun serves to identify it, but with an indefinite noun phrase it is merely informational. The following examples do not support such a clear dichotomy but show how modifying constructions combine with both definite and indefinite reference to keep the hearer sufficiently satisfied as to the new participant's place in the context. In each case the underlined noun phrase is being mentioned for the first time in the narrative.

- u. **Wada baw**    **di ena ab-abten ay gayyem na.**  
ISM go-she meet LK friend her  
'It turned out that she had a friend that she was meeting'  
(In the context of her failure to go to the field, merely introducing the friend would not explain her action.)
- v. . . . **sin kad-an di laktang ay panlablaabak.**  
DOM place IPM platform LK place-washing-I  
' . . . . at the platform where I was washing' (The hearer, unfamiliar with the narrator's house, would not know what platform was being referred to.)
- w. **Insaplag en ina na**    **din sako ay lampin di anak na.**  
DSM sack LK diaper IPoM child her  
'The mother spread out the sack which was her child's diaper'  
(A sack's function in the context of a mother taking her child along to the field might not readily be assumed, but a diaper is of course expected.)
- x. In-ey nas **Elena ay nay Celino . . .**  
PSM Elena LK this Celino  
'She took Elena – this (i.e., you know) Celino . . .'  
(Elena, Celino's wife, is well known to both speaker and hearer but her relationship to the characters in the story is assumed to be unknown to the hearer.)

## 4. CONCLUSION

This study supports the theory that when a story-teller introduces a participant into his narrative, his guiding concern is his sensitivity to his audience, to their shared knowledge and thus their expectations and presuppositions. To express this he uses definite reference for those entities he feels safe in presuming his audience would not find unexpected, with the link to the context made explicit when necessary. He uses indefinite reference, sometimes supported by existentials, surprise particles, and modifying phrases to signal that the participant is new to the context.

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## APPENDIX A

## ABBREVIATIONS

Act.	actor
AF	actor focus
Ben.	beneficiary
CAUS	causative
Cho.	chomeur
CV	initial CV reduplication
CVC	initial CVC reduplication
CVCCV	initial CVCCV reduplication
D	dual
DEM1	demonstrative, near speaker (see Chart II, Appendix B)
DEM2	demonstrative, near hearer
DEM3	demonstrative, far from speaker and hearer
DIM	diminutive
DLM	definite location marker
DOM	definite oblique marker (see Chart I, Appendix B)
DPom	definite possessor marker
DSM	definite subject marker
DSCM	definite subject chomeur marker
EX	exclusive
EXT	existential
IF	instrument focus
ISM	indefinite subject marker
ISCM	indefinite subject chomeur marker
IOM	indefinite oblique marker
IMM	immediate
Ins.	instrument
INT	interrogative
INTENS	intensive
IPoM	indefinite possessor marker
L1	locative, near speaker (see Chart III, Appendix B)
L2	locative, near hearer
L3	locative, far from speaker and hearer
LIG	ligature
LK	linker
LOC	locative
NEG	negative
NOM	nominalizer
OM	oblique marker
OrNOM	orientation nominalizer
P	past tense
PART	particle
Pat.	Patient
pl.	plural
PL	plural
PF	patient focus
pers.	personal
POM	personal oblique marker
Poss.	possessor
PPoM	personal possessor marker
PSM	personal subject marker
PSCM	personal subject chomeur marker
QT	quotative
RF	range focus

**ALLEN**

S	singular
sg.	singular
ST	stative
SURP	surprise particle
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
I	enclitic subject pronoun
II	enclitic subject chomeur pronoun
III	free-standing pronoun, functions like personal noun

**Symbols**

blank	
space	work boundary
=	morpheme boundary
'	grammatical components (in gloss lines)
.	compound gloss (in gloss lines)
??	undetermined meaning
/	allomorph
'	part of following morpheme
-	no meaning (in gloss lines)

**APPENDIX B**

Subject	Subject Chomeur and Possessor	Oblique
non-pers. nan san din/-n/o	(-n) din	sinan/i sisan/issan sidin/isdin sin
pers. sg. si pl. da	(-n en (optional) (-n) en (optional) da	en en da

**Chart I. Kankanaey Definite Nominal Markers**

Note: Chart I includes all variants of the definite markers. Most of these variants are not discussed in this study; however, they do occur in the text found in Appendix C. Most of the non-personal markers seem to be a combination of nominal marker and demonstrative, but they are not free-standing demonstratives such as those shown in Chart II.

Subject	Subject Chomeur and Possessor	Oblique
DEM1 na	nina	naey/nay
DEM2 sa	nisa	sana
DEM3 di	nidi	dooy/doy

**Chart II. Kankanaey Demonstratives**

L1	sina/isna
L2	sisa/issa
L3	sidi/isdi

**Chart III. Kankanaey Locatives**

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## APPENDIX C

Nabulay

DAD-AT DI NATEY ASI BOMANGON

Store of one who died and then resurrected

### PARAGRAPH 1:

1. Waday day-atek ay natey asi bomangon.  
 waday=-y dad-at=-en=ko ay tey=na- asi bangon=-om-  
 EXT =ISM story =PF =II, 1, S LK die=ST, P and. then get. up=AF

'I have a story to tell about someone who died and then came back to life'

2. Waday si Nabulay ed nabbaon ed Abas.  
 wada=-y si Nabulay ed baon =na- ed Abas  
 EXT =ISM PSM Nabulay LOC long ago =ST, P LOC Abas

'Long ago there was a (woman named) Nabulay at Abas'

3. Matey pay si Nabulay kano.  
 tey=ma- pay si Nabulay kano  
 die=ST PART PSM Nabulay reportedly

'Nabulay was, they say, about to die'

4. Kambaw mo si Pesawen pay agi na,  
 kambaw mo si Pesawen pay agi na  
 PART if/when PSM Pesawen PART relative II, 3, S

inmey ed Kaptangan tan ed nabbaon ed  
 ey=-inm- ed Kaptangan tan ed baon =na- ed  
 go=AF, P LOC Kaptangan because LOC long ago =ST, P LOC

Loko di en da pangasinan.  
 Loko di en da asin=pang--an  
 Loko ISM go II, 3, PL salt=OrNOM

'Now as for Pesawen her relative, he went to Kaptangan, because long ago it was to Loko (lowlands) that they went to get salt'

### PARAGRAPH 2:

5. Ayya somaacet kano san si Pesawen et  
 ayya saa =-om=-et kano san si Pesawen et  
 and.then go.home=AF =PART reportedly DSM PSM Pesawen and

man-il-illeng sin danan yan aket  
 illeng=man=-CVC sin danan yan aket  
 rest =AF =in.process DLM trail and why

wadaet si agi na ay inila na et si  
 wada=-et si agi na ay ila=-in- na et si  
 EXT=PART PSM relative II, 3, S LK see=PF, P II, 3, S and PSM

Nabulay ay sana.  
 Nabulay ay sana  
 Nabulay LK DEM2

'When Pesawen was going home, they say, he was resting on the trail and he (unexpectedly) saw that his relative was there, and it was that Nabulay'

6. Anggay yan kanan en, 'Kaa'si nay natey  
 anggay yan kana=-en=na en kaasi na =-y tey=na-  
 already and say =PF =II, 3, S QT pity DEM1 =LK die=ST, P

baw si Nabulay tan doy din banig na."  
 baw si Nabulay tan doy din banig na  
 PART PSM Nabulay because DEM3 DSM ghost II, 3, S

'When that happened, he said, "What a pity, I see Nabulay has died, because there is her ghost"'

PARAGRAPH 3:

7. Siyact kano di yan kaipayag sin sokod  
 siya=-ct kano di yan payag =kai- sin sokod  
 thus=PART reportedly DEM3 and set.down =IMM,AF DOM walking.stick

na yan kadama sin sana ay banig Nabulay.  
 na yan dama =ka- sin sana ay banig Nabulay  
 II, 3, S and fight =IMM,AF DOM DEM2 LK ghost Nabulay

'That being the case, he quickly set down his walking stick and attacked that ghost of Nabulay'

8. Amisana pay kano yan aket ctay  
 amis =-an=na pay kano yan aket ctay  
 overcome =RF=II, 3, S PART reportedly and why PART

alam-am ikamkamolot na.  
 alam-am kamolot =i- =CVC na  
 fern clutch =IF=in.process II, 3, S

'He overcame her and why, it was a fern that he was clutching!'

9. Enggay ctay doy ipayag na din sana ay  
 anggay etay doy payag =i- na din sana ay  
 already PART DEM3 set.down IF II, 3, S DSM DEM2 LK

asin yan, ipayag na ed Batangnan sin  
 asin yan payag =in- na ed Batangnan sin  
 salt and set.down IF II, 3, S LOC Batangnan DLM

kaam-ammoana et doy etay bakoyena  
 ammo=-an=kaCVC =na et doy etay bakoy =-en=na  
 know=RF =RECENT=II, 3, S and DEM3 PART carry. in.shirt PF =II, 3, S

din alam-am.  
 din alam-am  
 DSM fern

'Then he left that salt, he left it at Batangnan with someone he had just met and there he carried that fern in his shirt'

10. Bakoyena pay et doy idateng na yan  
 bakoy =-en=na pay et doy dateng=i- na yan  
 carry.in.shirt =PF=II, 3, S PART and DEM3 arrive =IF II, 3, S and

wada tet-ewa ay damdamanen da si agii  
 wada tet-ewa ay daman=-en=CVC da si agii  
 EXT truc LK wrap =PF =in. process I, 3, PL PSM relative

na, et doy ena ilokib din sana ay  
 na et doy en=na lolib =i- dir sana ay  
 II, 3, S and DEM3 go=II, 3, S insert =IF DSM DEM2 LK

alam-am sin natey.  
 alam-am sin tey=na-  
 fern DLM die=ST, P

'He carried it in his shirt and there he arrived with it and sure enough they were wrapping up his relative; and there he went and inserted that fern in with the corpse'

PARAGRAPH 4:

11. Ayya wada pay kano ay maaw-awni et  
 ayya wada pay kano ay awni =ma=-CVC et  
 and.then EXT PART reportedly LK later =ST=DIM and

wada ay ilan da din galey ay mankeykey.  
 wada ay ila=-en da din galey ay keykey=man-  
 EXT LK see=PF II, 3, PL DSM blanket LK more =AF

'Then in just a little while, they saw the blanket moving'

## DEFINITENESS AS IT AFFECTS PARTICIPANT INTRODUCTION

12. Tan inyamiyayamyam da kano en,  
tan yamyam=in- =CVCCV da kano en  
because scold =IF, P INTENS II, 3, PL reportedly QT
- “Mantaoli kas san bangkey mo, magay  
taoli =man- ka => issan bangkey mo maga =-y  
return =AF 1, 2, S-- OM corpse II, 2, S N:GEXT =ISM
- dogidogis mo.  
dogis=CVCCV mo  
filth=INTENS II, 2, S
- ‘Because they had been scolding her, saying, “Return to your body, it is not decayed at all”’
13. “Matey et way yomayap san kadmawam,”  
tey=ma- et waday=-y yayap=-on- issan dowa=ka=-CVC=mo  
die=ST and EXT =ISM ?? =AF OM two =NOM= ?? =II, 2, S
- kanan da kano ay nangiayamyam.  
kana=-en da kano ay yamyam=nangi-  
say =PF II, 3, PL reportedly LK scold =AF, P
- “(If) you die, something will? ? your spirit,” they said, scolding’
- PARAGRAPH 5:
14. Enggay pay tet-ewa yan doy pataolien da  
anggay pay tet-ewa yan doy taoli =pa- =-en da  
already PART true and DEM3 return =CAUS=PF II, 3, PL
- din galey et komonan da din natey.  
din galey et komon =-an da din tey=na-  
DSM blanket and wrap.in.blanket =RF II, 3, PL DSM die=ST, P
- ‘That’s how it really was, and they put the blanket back on and wrapped the dead one in it’
15. Ayya wadaet ay maaw-awni et wada ay  
ayya wada=-et ay awni =ma- =CVC et wada ay  
and.then EXT=PARK LK later =ST =DIM and EXT LK
- man-gido din galey et doy loksian da  
gido=man- din galey et doy loksi =-an da  
move=AF DSM blanket and DEM3 uncover =RF II, 3, PL
- ‘A little later and the blanket moved and there they uncovered her’
16. Loksian da pay kano yan din tepek na  
loksi =-an da pay kano yan din tepek na  
uncover =RF II, 3, PL PART reportedly and TOPIC mouth II, 3, S
- gagan-o di kinmeykey.  
gagan-o di keykey=-inm-  
first ISM move =AF, P
- ‘They uncovered her and her (preposed topic) mouth was the first to move’
17. Ninina pay yan wada ay nadiyat mata na.  
ninina pay yan wada ay diyat=na- mata na  
little.while PART and EXT LK open=ST, P eye II, 3, S
- ‘In a little while her eyes opened’
18. Nadiyat pay issa yan doy dowan dan kaanen  
diyat=na- pay issa yan doy dowan da =-n kaan =-en  
open=ST, P PART L2 and DEM3 while II, 3, PL=LIG remove=PF
- inbalod da et doy ninina yan tomokdo.  
balod =in- da et doy ninina yan tokdo=-om-  
restrain=IF, P II, 3, PL and DEM3 little.while and sit =AF
- ‘They opened and there meanwhile they removed what they had tied her with and there in a little while she sat up’

19. Doy pay bomangon si Nabulay yan, "Ay  
 doy pay bangon=-om- si Nabulay yan ay  
 DEM3 PART get.up =AF PSM Nabulay and JNT
- sino pay na? " kanana kano.  
 sino pay na kana=-en=na kano  
 what PART DEM1 say =PF =II, 3, S reportedly

'There Nabulay sat up and "What in the world is going on?" she said'

20. Yan, "Aw adi, tan naagom kami ay  
 yan aw adi tan agom =na- kami ay  
 and yes PART because gather=ST, P I, 1, PL, EX LK
- iyat mi en kami iponpon sik-a  
 iyat mi en kami ponpon=-i- sik-a  
 plan II, 1, PL, EX go I, 1, PL, EX bury =IF III, 2, S
- tan natey ka," kanan da kano.  
 tan tey=na- ka kana=-en da kano  
 because die=ST, P I, 2, S say =PF II, 3, PL reportedly

'And "Yes indeed, because we have gathered planning to buy you because you died," they said'

21. "Ay aw baw adi? " kanana kano.  
 ay aw baw adi kana=-en=na kano  
 INT yes PART PART say =PF =II, 3, S reportedly

' "Is that really so? " she said'

PARAGRAPH 6:

22. "Yan ay into kod di iitaw mo?" kanan da kano  
 yan ay into kod di iitaw mo kana=-en da kano  
 and INT how please ISM dream II, 2, S say =PF II, 3, PL reportedly

' "Please tell us what you dreamed," they say'

23. Yan kanana en, "Aw man kayman, aket  
 yan kana=-en=na en aw man kayman aket  
 and say =PF =II, 3, S QT yes PART PART why
- inilak ay ta omonodak  
 ila=-in=-ko ay ta onod =-om=-ak  
 see=PF, P=II, 1, S LK so.that follow=AF =I, 1, S
- en agik ed Sanaan, kanak kano sa.  
 en agi =ko ed Sanaan kana=-en=ko kano sa  
 POM relative =II, 1, S LOC Sanaan say =PF =II, 1, 2 reportedly DEM2

'And she said, "Yes, right, why, I saw that I was following my relative to Sanaan, it was like that"'

24. "Omonodak pay kano yan aket wadaet si  
 onod =-om=-ak pay kano yan aket wada=-et si  
 follow=AF =I, 1, S PART reportedly and why EXT =PART PSM
- agik ed Inen-eng ay man-il-illeng yan  
 agi =ko ed Inen-eng ay illeng=man=-man=-CVC yan  
 relative =II, 1, S LOC Inen-eng LK rest =AF =AF =in. process and
- siyaet kano di yan kadama en sak-en,  
 siya=-et kano di yan dama =ka- en sak-en  
 thus=PART reportedly DEM3 and fight =IMM, AF POM III, 1, S
- sinay man kayman di inilak," kanana kano.  
 si =naey man kayman di ila=-in=-ka kana=-en=na kano  
 PSM=DEM1 PART PART ISM see=PF, P=II, 1, S say =PF =II, 3, S reportedly

## DEFINITENESS AS IT AFFECTS PARTICIPANT INTRODUCTION

' "I was following after him and then there he was at Inen-eng resting and then he attacked me, that's what I saw," she said'

25. Et doy pag dan lawitan.  
 et doy pag da = -n lawit =-an.  
 and DEM3 then II, 3, PL=LIG ritual=RF

'And so then they did a (certain) ritual for her'

26. Et enggay a, mo din pansawid na koma  
 et anggay a mo din sawid = pan- na koma  
 and already PART if/when TOPIC happen=NOM II, 3, S PART
- yan iniwwak daet.  
 yan iwak=-in- da = -et  
 and drop=PF, P II, 3, PL=PART

'And that's all; as for what might have happened to her otherwise, they avoided it'

27. Sinay di dad-at di ipogaw ay natey asi  
 si =naey di dad-at di ipogaw ay tey=na- asi  
 PSM=DEM2 ISM story IPoM person LK die=ST, P and. then
- bomangon ed nabbaon.  
 bangon=-om- ed baon =na-  
 get. up=AF LOC long.ago =ST, P

'This is the story of a person who died and came back to life long ago'