# INFORMATION STRUCTURE AND VOICE ALTERNATION IN KALANGUYA[*]

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**Abstract**
Kalanguya is a Southern Cordilleran language spoken in northern Philippines. Like other Philippine languages, it has a voice system in which the semantic role of an argument is specified by the affix attached to the verb. The paper examines the choice of the voice type in connection with the information status of the participants involved, and looks closely into the correlation between information structure and voice alternation. It will be argued that the topicality and givenness of participants are indicated not just by NP markers but also by voice affixes. Two types of antipassive, which have been given little attention by previous works on the voice system of Philippine languages, will be proposed and explored. Through showing that different grammatical and pragmatic strategies, one of which is alternating between the antipassive and transitive, are used to signal the information status of referents, this paper highlights the importance of discourse-based analysis in studying the properties of the voice system of Philippine-type languages.
**Keywords:** information structure, Austronesian, voice alternation, antipassive
**ISO 639-3 codes:** kak, tne

## 1. Introduction

In Philippine-type languages[1] (PLs), the affix attached to the verb stem co-indexes one nominal argument in the clause and specifies its semantic role. Such a system is called "focus system" or "voice system" and is a chief characteristic of PLs. The co-indexed argument, which is obligatorily encoded as a nominative, can either be the actor or undergoer participant. There are two major types of voice in PLs based on the macrorole borne by the nominative: actor voice (AV) and undergoer voice (UV)[2]. The undergoer voice can be further divided into patient voice, theme voice, location

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[1] The term "Philippine-type" was first used by Reid (1975).
[2] These cover terms and the majority of the notions used throughout the paper are terms used in the Role and Reference Grammar framework (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997).

voice, recipient voice[3] and so forth depending on the semantic role of the undergoer argument. Although the choice between the actor voice affixes and the undergoer voice affixes is in part dependent upon the semantic class of the verb, little attention has been given to the connection between the voice system and information structure in PLs. The present study addresses this gap by examining how voice alternation correlates with the information status of referents in Kalanguya, a Southern Cordilleran language. The study aims for a discourse-based analysis and deals primarily with the pragmatic motivations of voice alternation, ultimately suggesting that the information status of referents is not solely expressed by case markers but is rather indicated by both case marker and voice of the verb. It will be shown that the givenness and topicality of a participant do not correlate with case-marking alone; there are instances where a participant is marked by a non-core case marker despite its high degree of referentiality and topicality. Another claim to be made is the existence of the two types of antipassive, which has not yet been proposed for a Philippine language. The first type refers to an intransitive construction with an indefinite patient-like argument known in the literature as Extended Intransitive (Dixon 1994; also Liao 2004; Tanangkingsing 2009). The other type is Demoting Antipassive, which is basically a detransitivized construction with a patient-like argument demoted to an oblique status and a verb marked by a detransitivizing affix *maN-*.

The overall structure of the paper takes the form of five sections including this introductory section. Section two provides an overview of Kalanguya voice system and constituent order. Section three is primarily concerned with pragmatically marked structures and looks at how they work with different voice types of the language to signal the information status of the referents in the mind of the addressee. It will be argued that demoting antipassives have a high degree of transitivity and undergoer topicality, just like their transitive counterpart. This claim will be justified by the result of topic continuity measurements. In the last subsection, the correlation between different voice types and sentence forms is demonstrated. Focusing on the distribution of demoting antipassives in discourse, the fourth section examines some observed patterns in our data, such as the preference for certain constituent orders of demoting antipassive constructions which appears to have something to do with the genre of the text and the number of participants involved. The final section gives a summary and conclusion.

## 2. An overview of Kalanguya voice system and constituent order

Kalanguya is a Philippine-type language spoken by approximately 100,000 native speakers living in the provinces of Nueva Vizcaya, Ifugao, Benguet, Nueva Ecija and Pangasinan.[4] It belongs to a small group of languages called Nuclear Southern Cordilleran (Himes 1998). It is a right-branching, head-initial language; the clause-initial position is occupied by the verb in canonical verbal clauses. In Kalanguya, the actor voice is marked by one of the three actor voice affixes: *ʔon-*, *man-* or *maN-*. A syntactically intransitive construction involves a verb bearing one of these affixes and a single core argument (hereinafter 'S'). Aside from the canonical monovalent intransitive actor voice verbs, there are intransitive actor voice constructions that can take undergoer arguments casted as oblique (hereinafter 'E'). An intransitive construction involving an oblique undergoer argument is known in the literature as ANTIPASSIVE (Cooreman 1994; Dixon 1994; Polinsky 2013). The canonical

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[3] "Benefactive voice" is the label used in some literature ("beneficiary affect" in Reid and Liao, 2004) primarily due to the fact that it typically refers to actions that are performed "for the benefit of a participant" and does not necessarily have to involve an entity that is transferred from one location to another. In Kalanguya, the recipient may not benefit from the action (for instance, bases such as *kityaw* 'cheat', *atot* 'fart,' and *ba-ngah* 'tell lies' in the recipient voice) and in most cases a theme entity is involved, hence the more appropriate term 'recipient voice'.

[4] This refers to the ethnic population (data from National Statistics Office's 2010 Census of Population and Housing).

intransitive type with only one core argument involved is exemplified in (1), while the antipassive type with an undergoer encoded as oblique is demonstrated in (2).[5]

(1) *Immakad law hotta laki.*                                                    NOM = ACTOR
  ʔ<im>akad=law          hotta        laki
  <AV:PFV>go.home=already    NOM[6].DEF     man
  'The man went home already.'

(2) *Ondawat hi Bong ni pilak.*                                              NOM = ACTOR
  ʔon-dawat          hi    Bong    ni     pilak
  AV:PRSP-give        PERS   Bong    OBL     money
  'Bong will give money.'

Undergoer voice constructions are syntactically transitive with two core arguments: an actor argument in the genitive case and an undergoer argument in the nominative case. As for the undergoer voice affixes, patient voice is marked by the suffix *-en*, theme voice by the prefix *ʔi-,* and location voice by the suffix *-an*. Both *ʔi-* and *-an* are attached simultaneously (i.e. circumfix) to the verb stem to mark recipient voice[7]. The recipient is co-indexed by *-an*, and is always in the nominative case while the theme entity is co-indexed by the *ʔi-* prefix. To illustrate, consider the following examples:

(3) *Iddawwat nonta laki hotta pilak.*                    NOM = UNDERGOER (theme)
  ʔi-~[C₁]~dawat        nonta      laki     hotta      pilak
  TV-~[PRSP]~give      GEN.DEF     man      NOM.DEF     money
  'The man will give the money.'

(4) *Tonggalen kottan ni libdo.*                          NOM = UNDERGOER (PATIENT)
  tonggal-en=ko=ʔitan[8]                    ni    libdo
  buy-PV:PRSP=1SG.GEN=NOM.MED            LK    book
  'I will buy that book.'

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[5]   The following abbreviations and symbols are used in this paper: AV-actor voice, PV-patient voice, TV-theme voice, LV-location voice, ANTIP-antipassive, PFV-perfective, IPFV-imperfective, PRSP-prospective, NOM-nominative, GEN-genitive, OBL-oblique, 1-first person, 2-second person, 3-third person, 1+2-dual, INCL-inclusive, EXCL-exclusive, SG-non-plural, PL-plural, LK-linker, DEF-definite/familiar, PERS-personal, ITER-iterative, DEP-dependent form, PROX-proximal, MED-medial, DIS-distal, PAST.TEMP-past temporal, AUX-auxiliary, STV-stative, SF-stem-forming affix, FULL-full/long form, FOC-focal(ized), TOP-topic(alized), LOC-locative, DIM-diminutive, AND-andative, EXIST-existential, EPIS-epistemic, PTCL-particle, "-"-affix, "< >"-infix, "="-clitic, "~"-reduplication, Lit.-literal translation. The first line stands for the orthographic representation, which is faithful to the actual pronunciation (with the exception of the glottal stop [ʔ], uvular stop [q], palatal approximant [j] and labialized bilabial [bʷ]). Word-initial, word-final and intervocalic glottal stops are not orthographically represented, while pre-consonantal glottal stop and geminated glottal stop are represented by a hyphen. The phonemic representation (i.e. underlying form before any phonological rules such as deletion, epenthesis and gemination have applied to it) is provided in the second line, which is then glossed in the third line. English translations are written in the fourth line.

[6]   I used the terms "nominative" and "genitive" even though I consider Kalanguya to be an ergative language. I also used the term "voice" instead of "focus" in this particular paper and glossed affixes with the abbreviation 'V' to avoid confusion since "focus" is usually associated with information structure.

[7]   There are five types of languages in the Philippines depending on how they mark verbs in the recipient voice (or benefactive voice). Kalanguya belongs to the type that uses both *ʔi-* and *-an* as a circumfix, like most languages of the northern Philippines do (Reid and Liao 2004).

[8]   The change from *ʔitan* to *=ttan* in post-vocalic position is a phonotactically-motivated phenomenon. Kalanguya prefers heavy syllable, which is either a closed syllable (CVC) or a stressed open syllable (CV:). This preference triggers processes such as gemination ($C_1V_1C_2V_2C_3 \rightarrow C_1V_1C_2C_2V_2C_3$), consonant reduplication ($C_1V_1C_2V_2C_3 \rightarrow C_1V_1C_IC_2V_2C_3$), vowel deletion ($C_1V_1C_2V_2C_3V_3C_4 \rightarrow C_1V_1C_2C_3V_3C_4$) and epenthesis. Clitics with a ʔVCV(C) structure undergo initial CV deletion followed by C2 gemination in post-vocalic environment (e.g. *ʔida → =dda*; *ʔali → =lli*; *ʔiya → =yya*; *ʔiman → =mman*).

(5)    *Talloan ni hi Gerry hotta ballinggaw[9] ni bowa.*       NOM = UNDERGOER (location)

| ~[C$_2$]~talo-an | ni | hi | Gerry | hotta | ballinggaw | ni | bowa |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ~[PRSP]~put-LV | GEN | PERS | Gerry | NOM.DEF | betel.nut.bag.made.of.rattan | OBL | betel.nut |

    'Gerry will put betel nut(s) in the *ballinggaw*.'

(6)    *Illotoan ni hi Sarah ni inapoy hi kadwa to.*         NOM = UNDERGOER (recipient)

| ʔi-~[C$_1$]~loto-an | ni | hi | Sarah | ni | ʔinapoy | hi | kadwa=to |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| TV-~[PRSP]~cook-LV[10] | GEN | PERS | Sarah | OBL | rice | PERS | spouse=3SG.GEN |

    'Sarah will cook rice for her husband.'

As stated in Section 1, the verb is marked by one of the voice affixes to specify the semantic role of the nominative argument.[11] In (3), the nominative argument is a theme entity that is transferred from one location (actor) to another (implied recipient). In (4), the patient argument expressed by the nominative medial demonstrative *ʔitan* is co-referenced by the patient voice affix *-en*. The nominative argument *hotta ballinggaw* 'betel nut bag' in (5) is the location where the betel nut(s) will be put, hence the verb marked by the location affix *-an*. And finally, we can see from the sentence in (6) that the argument *kadwa to* 'her husband' is encoded as nominative and is specified as 'recipient' by the recipient voice verb *ʔillotoan*. Recall that a theme entity, which in (6) refers to the oblique argument *ni ʔinapoy* 'rice,' usually appears (or is implied) in a recipient voice construction.

Any additional argument that is not a 'core' argument must be encoded as oblique, such as the noun phrase *ni pilak* in (2), *ni bowa* in (5) and *ni ʔinapoy* in (6). An optional recipient argument may also be added in (2), as demonstrated in (7).

(7)    *Ondawat hi Bong ni pilak di oongnga.*

| ʔon-dawat | hi | Bong | ni | pilak | di | ʔoʔongnga |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| AV:PRSP-give | PERS | Bong | OBL | money | LOC | child |

    'Bong will give money to a/the child.'

We may notice that both oblique and genitive nominal markers take the form *ni (nonta* for definite), with the exception of oblique indefinite recipient arguments which are marked by the locative marker *di*. The ambiguity that arises when two arguments marked by *ni* occur in the same clause is resolved by constituent order constraints. Specifically, regardless of whether the arguments are realized as full NPs or pronominals, the actor argument is always the NP that immediately follows the verb; thus we can say that the basic constituent order is VS in intransitive actor voice clauses (Verb-Actor) and VAO in transitive undergoer voice clauses (Verb-Actor-Undergoer).

In cases where the actor is realized as a full NP and the undergoer as a clitic pronoun, the actor argument must have a pronominal co-referent cliticized to the verb to satisfy the VAO rule. For instance in (8), the full NP *ni hi Margie* is co-referential with the 3SG.GEN pronominal clitic *=to*. Failure to insert a co-referential pronoun *=to* results in an ungrammatical construction, as illustrated by the example in (9).

(8)    <sup>ok</sup>*Inaygan towak ni hi Margie.* [VAO]

| ʔ<in>ayag-an=to=ak | ni | hi | Margie |
|---|---|---|---|
| <PFV>call-LV=3SG.GEN=1SG.NOM | GEN | PERS | Margie |

    'Margie called me.'

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[9]  "ng" is phonetically realized as [ŋ]. For instance, *ballinggaw* is pronounced as [bʷalliŋgaw]

[10]  Since recipient voice is marked by using both the theme-voice affix *ʔi-* and location-voice affix *-an*, each affix is glossed separately.

[11]  Exceptions: Verbs bearing the actor voice affix *ʔon-* or the patient voice affix *-en* in the prospective aspect are unmarked in the imperative (-Ø), resulting in an affixless form of the verb. The patient voice is also unmarked in the perfective aspect, therefore resulting in a verb bearing only the perfective aspect infix <in> (i.e. <in>…-Ø).

(9)  *Inaygannak ni hi Margie.* [*VOA]
      ʔ<in>ayag-an=ak          ni     hi      Margie
      <PFV>call-LV=1SG.NOM     GEN    PERS    Margie
      'Margie called me.'

Nominal markers and pronouns are listed in the tables below.[12] With the exception of *nak,* the alternative forms following the slash (/) are phonologically-conditioned, phonotactically-motivated variants. They are encliticized forms used when the preceding word ends in a vowel. Plurality of nominals is marked using the 3PL.NOM *ʔida* with one of the nominative or genitive/oblique nominal markers. As a plural marker, it usually precedes the nominal case-marker (e.g. *ʔiday, ʔidan, ʔida hotta, ʔida nonta*) although sometimes, it is phonologically attached to the definite NP marker (e.g. *hottadda, nontadda*).

**Table 1:** Nominal markers

|  |  | **Nominative** | **Genitive/Oblique** | **Locative** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Common** | Indefinite | ʔi / =y | ni / =n | di / =d |
|  | Definite | hotta | nonta |  |
| **Personal** | Singular | Ø hi / Ø =h | ni hi / =n hi | - |
|  | Plural | di | di |  |

**Table 2:** Demonstrative pronouns

|  | **Nominative** | **Genitive/Oblique** | **Locative** |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Proximal** | ʔiya / =yya | niya / =nya | diya / =dya |
| **Medial** | ʔitan / =ttan | nitan / =ntan | ditan / =dtan |
| **Distal** | ʔiman / =mman | niman / =nman | diman / =dman |

**Table 3:** Personal pronouns

|  | **Nominative** | | **Genitive** | | **Oblique** | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | Singular | Plural | Singular | Plural | Singular | Plural |
| **1** | =ak / nak | kami | =ko / =k | mi | ni hiʔgak | ni hiʔgami |
| **2** | ka | kayo | mo / =m | yo | ni hiʔgam | ni hiʔgayo |
| **1+2 (dual)** | kita | kihho | ta | tayo | ni hiʔgata | ni hiʔgatayo |
| **3** | Ø | ʔida / =dda | to | da | ni hiʔgato | ni hiʔgada |

It should be noted that there are two types of construction where clitic pronouns (and other second-position clitics) precede the verbal predicate and yet regarded as pragmatically unmarked. One is the 'go' clause, exemplified in (10), and the other is the imperfective aspect, such as in (11). It has been argued in Santiago (2014b) that these types of construction were originally headed by auxiliaries

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[12] Remarks: (1) Genitive and oblique marking on full noun phrases and demonstratives is not morphologically distinct (genitive-oblique syncretism). For the purpose of this paper, nominal markers and demonstratives marking actor participants in undergoer voice constructions and possessors are glossed as GEN 'genitive' while nominal markers and demonstratives marking undergoer participants in extended intransitives and antipassives, as well as additional non-core theme and recipient participants are glossed as OBL 'oblique'; (2) *nak* is the first person singular nominative variant used when occurring in the clause-initial position of an "auxiliary-axed construction" (see (10) and (11) for examples of auxiliary-axed constructions); (3) The nominative is unmarked and represented by the null (Ø) symbol for singular personal NP; (4) Morphologically, demonstrative pronouns are made up of a nominal marker (*ʔi, ni, di*) plus a deictic component (*-ya* 'proximal,' *-tan* 'medial,' *-man* 'distal').

that occupied the clause-initial position and that these auxiliaries had undergone cliticization, leaving the clitics attached to them stranded in the initial position.[13] Nevertheless, the clitic pronouns occupying the initial position are neither focalized nor topicalized (cf. section 3.1), as one would otherwise expect when an argument precedes the clause predicate in PLs. Notice in (11) that even though the pronouns are dangling (i.e. headless) at the initial position, the actor still precedes the undergoer.

(10)  *Mo ala hotta wahay.*

| mo | ʔala-Ø | hotta | wahay |
|---|---|---|---|
| 2SG.GEN | take-PV | NOM.DEF | ax |

'You (sg.) go and take the ax.'

(11)  *Todda kapanda-dai.*

| to=ʔida | ka=pan-daʔda-ʔi |
|---|---|
| 3SG.GEN=3PL.NOM | IPFV=SF-help-LV:DEP |

'S/he is helping them.'

The nominative argument is most likely to be the only argument allowed to be relativized or clefted in most, if not all, Philippine-type languages. This restriction also holds true for Kalanguya. Gapping strategy is used to form relative clauses, as illustrated in (13) and (15). Relativizing non-nominative arguments results in ungrammaticality, as (14) demonstrates. According to Reid and Liao (2004), some PLs also allow the relativization of the possessor of a possessed noun using the aforementioned strategy or by having a resumptive genitive singular pronoun in the embedded clause, which is exemplified in Kalanguya in (16).

(12)  *Nambodah hotta lakin mayabbah.*

| nan-bodah | hotta | laki | ni | mayabbah |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| AV:PFV-pluck | NOM.DEF | man | OBL | guava |

'The man plucked guavas.'

(13)  *Intibew ko hotta laki[n nambodah ____ ni mayabbah].*

| ʔin-tibew=ko | hotta | laki[=ni | nan-bodah | ____ | ni | mayabbah ] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| TV:PFV-see=1SG.GEN | NOM.DEF | man[=LK | AV:PFV-pluck | | OBL | guava ] |

'I saw the man [who ____ plucked guavas].'

(14)  *\*Intibew ko hotta mayabbah [ni nambodah hotta laki ____].*

| ʔin-tibew=ko | hotta | mayabbah |
|---|---|---|
| TV:PFV-see=1SG.GEN | NOM.DEF | guava |

| [ni | nan-bodah | hotta | laki | ____ ] |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| LK | AV:PFV-pluck | NOM.DEF | man | |

Intended meaning: 'I saw the guava(s) [that the man plucked ____].'

(15)  *Intibew ko hotta mayabbah [ni binodah nonta laki ____].*

| ʔin-tibew=ko | hotta | mayabbah |
|---|---|---|
| TV:PFV-see=1SG.GEN | NOM.DEF | guava |

| [ni | b<in>odah-Ø | nonta | laki | ____ ] |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| LK | <PFV>pluck-PV | GEN.DEF | man | |

'I saw the guava(s) [that the man plucked ____].'

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[13]  This phenomenon was first proposed by Starosta, Pawley, and Reid (1982) and is called 'auxiliary-axing.' It was proposed in Santiago (2014b) that the auxiliaries were not completely lost but rather had undergone cliticization (see Heine, 1993) and are now serving as proclitics attached to the main verb (e.g. imperfective clitic *ka=* in example 11).

(16)  *Intibew kodday laki*[*n na-gah i kallogong (to)*].

| ?in-tibew=ko=?ida=?i | laki[=ni | na-?agah | ?i | kallogong(=to)] |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| TV:PFV-see=1SG.GEN=PL=NOM | man[=LK | STV:PFV-fall/drop | NOM | hat(=3SG.GEN)] |

'I saw those men [whose hats dropped].'

So far, we have described the voice system and the constituent order of pragmatically unmarked constructions in Kalanguya. We now turn to the discussion of pragmatically marked constructions and voice alternation as indicators of information status of referents.

## 3. Information structure and voice alternation

### 3.1 Pragmatically marked constructions

Pragmatically marked constructions are those that can only serve one discourse function in contrast to unmarked constructions that can serve two (Lambrecht 1994). For instance, the unmarked construction with a VAO constituent order in (17) can serve as a response to the question "what happened?" or the focus question "what did Abel eat?". On the other hand, the pragmatically marked construction with an OVA structure in (18) can only have a narrow-focus (or argument-focus) reading and thus can only be used as an answer to the latter question.

(17)  *Kinan ni hi Abel hotta cake ko.*

| k<in>an-Ø | ni | hi | Abel | hotta | cake=ko |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| <PFV>eat-PV | GEN | PERS | Abel | NOM.DEF | cake=1SG.GEN |

'Abel ate my cake.'

(18)  *Hotta cake koy kinan ni hi Abel.*

| hotta | cake=ko=?i | k<in>an-Ø | ni | hi | Abel |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| NOM.DEF | cake=1SG.GEN=NOM | <PFV>eat-PV | GEN | PERS | Abel |

Lit.: 'It was my cake that Abel ate.'

There are two types of pragmatically marked constructions in Kalanguya. One is the focus construction in which an argument or adjunct is preposed within the clause. The other is the topicalized construction in which an argument or adjunct is placed outside the clause.

### 3.1.1 Focus construction

In focus constructions (also known as cleft sentences), one of the core arguments or an adjunct occupies the clause-initial position resulting in a construction with a narrow-focus reading. The voice of the verb should agree with the preposed element. This preposed element is always followed by nominative markers *?i* or *hotta*.

(19)  *Nambalin hi Juan ni tadaw.*

| nan-balin | hi | Juan | ni | tadaw |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| AV:PFV-become | PERS | Juan | OBL | monkey |

'Juan turned into a monkey.'

(20)  *Hi Juan i nambalin ni tadaw.*

| hi | Juan | ?i | nan-balin | ni | tadaw |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| PERS | Juan | NOM | AV:PFV-become | OBL | monkey |

Lit.: 'Juan is the one who turned into a monkey.'

The example presented in (20) demonstrates how the nominative argument of the canonical counterpart we see in (19) is focalized, occupying the clause-initial position and followed by a nominative marker and zero-nominalized verb.

Kalanguya has long forms of pronouns used in focus constructions. Interestingly, demonstrative pronouns also have long forms but unlike personal pronouns, they are not used as obliques (cf. Table 3). The long form of personal pronouns is made up of *hiʔga* plus a genitive pronominal component (e.g. *hiʔga + =mi → hiʔgami*). The long form of demonstrative pronouns contains the deictic base *-ya*, *-tan* or *-man*. A list of the long forms of pronouns is provided in Table 4 and their use is demonstrated by the examples that follow.

**Table 4:** List of long forms of pronouns

|  | **Personal Pronouns** | |  |  | **Demonstrative Pronouns** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | **Singular** | **Plural** |  |  |  |
| **1** | hiʔgak | hiʔgami |  |  |  |
| **2** | hiʔgam | hiʔgayo | **Proximal** | | hiyayya |
| **1+2 (dual)** | hiʔgata | hiʔgatayo | **Medial** | | hiyattan |
| **3** | hiʔgato | hiʔgada | **Distal** | | hiyamman |

(21) *Hi-gatoy on-akad.*
  hiʔgato=ʔi    ʔon-ʔakad
  3SG.FULL=NOM    AV:PRSP-go.home
  'S/he is the one who will go home.'

(22) *Hiyamman i imba-liw to.*
  hiyamman    ʔi    ʔin-baʔliw=to
  FOC/TOP.DIS    NOM    TV:PFV-chant=3SG.GEN
  'That's what s/he chanted.'

A typical example of a focus construction is *wh*-interrogative. What is interesting about Kalanguya *wh*-interrogative is that both 'who' and 'what' are expressed by the morpheme *hipa*. Its intended meaning can be determined by looking at the semantics and affix of the verb.

(23) *Hipay nantalodma abongmo?*
  hipa=ʔi       nan-talo=dima       ʔabong=mo
  who/what=NOM    AV:PFV-stay=LOC.DIS    house=2SG.GEN
  'Who stayed at your house?'

(24) *Hipay intalom dima tiklih?*
  hipa=ʔi       ʔin-talo=m       dima    tiklih
  who/what=NOM    TV:PFV-put=2SG.GEN    LOC.DIS    basket
  'What did you put in the basket?'

Notice that the lexical base *talo* is glossed as 'put' in (24). It gets the middle reading 'stay' when the actor voice affix *man-*, which is frequently used as a reciprocal, reflexive or middle marker, is attached to it. That is, (23) would literally mean 'Who put himself/herself at your house?'. The question one might ask at this point of our discussion is whether it is possible to prepose the actor of a transitive verb such as in (24). We can do so on condition that the detransitivizing affix *maN-*[14] is

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[14] The light syllable or the first consonantal sound of a heavy syllable of the underlying transitive verb stem (stem+-Ø for PV and ʔi-+stem for TV) is deleted, followed by homorganic assimilation (e.g. *dăpap-Ø → mampap* 'catch'; *ʔídawat→mangidawat* 'give').

attached to the transitive verb stem and the theme entity is casted as an oblique (see example (25) below). This valence-decreasing operation (A→S, O→OBL) and the morphological change involved are the criteria by which a derivation is recognized as antipassive (Dixon 1994:146). Antipassive constructions, particularly Demoting Antipassives, in Kalanguya are generally employed when the actor argument of an underlying transitive construction is focalized.

(25)  *Hipay nangitalo nonta mayabbah dima tiklih?*

| hipa=ʔi | nang-ʔi-talo | nonta | mayabbah | dima | tiklih |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| who/what=NOM | ANTIP:PFV-TV-put | OBL.DEF | guava | LOC.DIS | basket |

‘Who put the guava(s) in that basket over there?’

The difference between the affixes *man-, ʔon-* and *maN-* can be clearly observed from the interpretation of the examples below. The canonical transitive counterpart of (28) is also provided in (29).

(26)  *Hi Jose tan hotta iTinek i man-ahhawa.*

| hi | Jose | tan | hotta | ʔi-Tinek | ʔi | man-~[C₂]~ʔahawa |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| PERS | Jose | and | NOM.DEF | person.from-Tinek | NOM | AV-~[PRSP]~marry |

‘Jose and the person from Tinek are the ones who will get married (= marry each other).’

(27)  *Hi Jose i on-ahawan iTinek.*

| hi | Jose | ʔi | ʔon-ʔahawa=ni | ʔi-Tinek |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| PERS | Jose | NOM | AV:PRSP-marry=OBL | person.from-Tinek |

‘Jose is the one who will marry a person from Tinek.’

(28)  *Hi Jose i mangahhawan iTinek.*

| hi | Jose | ʔi | mang-~[C₂]~ʔahawa-Ø=ni | ʔi-Tinek |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| PERS | Jose | NOM | ANTIP~[PRSP]~marry-PV=OBL | person.from-Tinek |

‘Jose is the one who will marry the person from Tinek.’

*cf.* (29)  *Ahhawaen ni hi Jose hotta iTinek.*

| ~[C₂]~ʔahawa-en | ni | hi | Jose | hotta | ʔi-Tinek |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ~[PRSP]~marry-PV | GEN | PERS | Jose | NOM.DEF | person.from-Tinek |

‘Jose will marry the person from Tinek.’

Sentence (27) is a focalized example of an extended intransitive structure and we may notice that the oblique undergoer participant here is indefinite (**a** person from Tinek). We have treated this type of structure as antipassive based on pure syntactic grounds but what we want to address in this paper is the general lack of research focusing on the distinction between extended intransitives and demoting antipassives like the one presented in (28), which also takes an oblique undergoer argument. As can be seen from the translation of the example in (28), the undergoer *ʔiTinek* ‘person from Tinek’ refers to a specific, identifiable person (**the** person from Tinek) despite being marked by *ni*. In section 3.2 and 3.3, we will argue that unlike undergoers in extended intransitives, undergoer arguments in demoting antipassives have a high degree of topicality, in opposition to what has been proposed in some literature (cf. Cooreman 1994). But before turning to that particular discussion, let us first examine the second type of pragmatically-marked structure found in the language.

### 3.1.2 Topicalized construction

Another pragmatically marked construction is topicalized construction, which differs from focus construction in that the former is used to establish a new topic whose referent is “usually cognitively accessible” (Lambrecht 1994). Topicalized NPs occupy the left-detached position (LDP) which is outside the boundaries of the main clause. Narrowly focused NPs, on the other hand, are always

located inside the clause. Like in Tagalog (cf. Nagaya 2007), the left-detached element can be distinguished from a focalized element in terms of enclitic placement, semantic relatedness, pause and so forth. As we can see in (30), the left-detached element *hiyayyan pa-lok* 'this river' is followed by a pause (represented by a comma), signalling that it is established as a new topic.

(30)  *Hiyayyan pa-lok, inonod da.*
      hiyayya=ni          paʔlok     ʔ\<in\>onod-Ø=da=Ø
      FOC/TOP.PROX=LK     river      \<PFV\>follow-PV=3PL.GEN=3SG.NOM
      'This river here, they followed it.'

Kalanguya also has a dedicated marker (*hay*) to indicate that a brand-new element or proposition will be the topic of the subsequent clauses.

(31)  *Hay impahding da, tinolongan da hotta laklaki.*
      hay    ʔin-pahding=da       t\<in\>olong-an=da        hotta        [C₁V₁C₂]~laki
      TOP    TV:PFV-do=3PL.GEN    \<PFV\>-help-LV=3PL.GEN    NOM.DEF      DIM~man
      'What they did was, they helped the little boy.'

*Hay* cannot refer to elements that were previously activated or events that are already familiar to the hearer of the utterance. In (31), the speaker intends to store a new piece of information under the file card[15] of =*da* 'they'. This information is inferable by looking at the elements occupying the LDP, in this case 'what they did' which is then specified in the following clause. Let us look at two examples of antipassive construction, one of which uses the topic marker *hay*.

(32)  *Hotta mangahhawa ni hi Maria, hi Jose.*
      hotta          mang-~[C₂]~ʔahawa-Ø      ni     hi       Maria      hi      Jose
      NOM.DEF        ANTIP-~[PRSP]~marry-PV    OBL    PERS     Maria      PERS    Jose
      'The one who will marry Maria is Jose.'

(33)  *Hay mangahhawa ni hi Maria, hi Jose*
      hay      mang-~[C₂]~ʔahawa-Ø      ni     hi     Maria      hi     Jose
      TOP      ANTIP-~[PRSP]~marry-PV    OBL    PERS   Maria      PERS   Jose
      'The one who will marry Maria, Jose'

That Maria is getting married is already a well-known fact in (32). *Jose* is also contextually accessible and is more likely to have been activated at least once in the discourse. In (33), the only readily accessible element is the undergoer *Maria*. It is also possible that *Jose* (or a piece of information about him) has been previously mentioned but has been inactive for quite a while, thus making it almost irrecoverable[16]. We can further observe from the examples below that only sentences such as that in (32) allow the focalization of the noun phrase *Jose* without replacing any marker.

(34)  *Hi Jose hotta mangahhawa ni hi Maria.*
      hi       Jose    hotta          mang-~[C₂]~ʔahawa-Ø      ni      hi      Maria
      PERS     Jose    NOM.DEF        ANTIP-~[PRSP]~marry-PV    OBL     PERS    Maria
      'Jose is the one who will marry Maria.'

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[15]  As in Reinhart's (1981:79) "file card" metaphor
[16]  In other words, *Jose* is already stored in the addressee's mind but is currently inactive or unused in the current discourse (see Lambrecht, 1994), hence the need for it to be activated first.

(35)  *\*Hi Jose hay mangahhawa ni hi Maria.*

| hi | Jose | hay | mang-~[C₂]~ Ɂahawa-Ø | ni | hi | Maria |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| PERS | Jose | TOP | ANTIP-~[PRSP]~marry-PV | OBL | PERS | Maria |

'Jose is the one who will marry Maria.'

Unlike in focus constructions, any of the core arguments in the main clause may be topicalized without requiring the verb to agree with it in terms of voice. We can see from the examples in (36) and (37) that the actor argument may occupy the LDP regardless of whether the verb in the main clause is actor voice or undergoer voice. In (38), the undergoer argument is topicalized.

(36)  *Hotta ngo oongnga, illa to la hotta timba.*

| hotta=ngo | ɁoɁongnga | Ɂ<in>ala-Ø=to=la | hotta | timba |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| NOM.DEF=PTCL[17] | child | <PFV>take-PV=3SG.GEN=AND | NOM.DEF | bucket |

'As for the child, s/he took away the bucket.'

(37)  *Hotta ngo oongnga, hi-gato lay nangla nonta timba.*

| hotta=ngo | ɁoɁongnga | hiɁgato=la=Ɂi | nang-Ɂala-Ø |
|---|---|---|---|
| NOM.DEF=PTCL | child | 3SG.FULL=AND=NOM | ANTIP:PFV-take-PV |

| nonta | timba |
|---|---|
| OBL.DEF | bucket |

'As for the child, s/he was the one who took away the bucket.'

(38)  *Hotta ngo    timba, illa la nonta oongnga.*

| hotta=ngo | timba | Ɂ<in>ala-Ø=la | nonta | ɁoɁongnga |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| NOM.DEF=PTCL | bucket | <PFV>take-PV=AND | GEN.DEF | child |

'As for the bucket, the child took it away.'

### 3.2 The "antipassive"

As stated in section 3.1.1, focalization of actor arguments of UV constructions is usually accompanied by a valence-decreasing derivation and demotion of the undergoer argument to an oblique status. The verb takes the detransitivizing affix *maN-*, and we have classified it as demoting antipassive. We also treated extended intransitives as another type of antipassive. Some studies that deal with closely-related languages such as Ibaloi (cf. Ruffolo 2004) and Karao (Brainard 1997) have already acknowledged the existence of antipassive and examined its distribution in discourse, which is usually in focus constructions in which the actor occupies the clause-initial position. However, previous works on Philippine languages, including the two mentioned, fail to make a distinction between verbs used in extended intransitives *(Ɂon-* and *man-* verbs) and verbs that are used in demoting antipassives (*maN-* verbs). It is true that both types of construction come under the category "antipassive" with respect to their structural properties (S-Obl). However, the demotion of the undergoer participant in demoting antipassives does not necessarily correlate with reduced transitivity in terms of affectedness of the undergoer, telicity, particularity, effort, intentionality and punctuality[18] (Santiago 2014a). It is therefore reasonable to argue against the general claim that the function of the antipassive is to cancel the entailment that the undergoer participant is not affected (cf. Polinsky 2013). This might hold true for extended intransitive constructions but the fact that they only appear in discourse when the undergoer is indefinite or newly-introduced gives us a valid reason to say that unlike demoting antipassives, they are not derived from a canonical transitive construction. In a naturally-occurring discourse, we cannot use extended intransitives in place of canonical transitives, but using demoting antipassives is acceptable if one would have to highlight the actor instead of the undergoer. We cannot,

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[17]  The clitic particle *=ngo* has several functions. In our examples, it serves as a transitional contrastive particle meaning 'on the other hand'.

[18]  Transitivity parameters proposed by Hopper and Thompson (1980) and Nolasco (2003)

however, rule out yet the possibility that demoting antipassives in Kalanguya may be used to indicate low transitivity (especially in terms of particularity) but our current analysis suggests that the prototypical function of the demoting antipassive in Kalanguya is to focus or highlight the actor of an underlying transitive construction. To further support this claim and prove that demoting antipassives indeed have highly topical undergoer arguments, quantitative analysis related to topic continuity was performed.

### 3.3 Topic continuity measurements

Givón (1983) developed quantitative measures to assess the referential continuity and importance of participants as they occur in discourse. We will focus on the measurements of the referential distance (look-back) and persistence (decay) of undergoer participants in extended intransitives (*man-* and *Ɂon-*), demoting antipassives (*maN-*), patient voice (*-en*) and theme voice (*Ɂi-*) clauses (including those with zero-nominalized verbs), and attempt to find any correlation between the degree of their topicality and the use of morphological coding devices on the verb. Referential distance is measured by counting how many clauses separated the participant from its most recent preceding reference. If the immediately preceding clause contains any reference to the participant, then the referential distance value assigned is 1. The maximum referential value is 20, which is also automatically assigned if no reference is made within 20 clauses to the left. Persistence is measured by counting how many clauses to the right include an uninterrupted reference to the participant. The counting is discontinued when the clause does not contain any reference to the participant. A total of approximately 6 hours of audio recordings from different genres (Pear story, A boy, a dog and a frog[19], conversation, traditional narrative, exposition and procedure) and a 4.5-chapter Kalanguya Bible text were used. The results are presented below.

**Table 5:** Average referential distance and topic persistence of undergoer participants

| | Syntactically Intransitive (AV) | | Syntactically Transitive (UV) | |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| | Extended Intransitive | Demoting Antipassive | Patient Voice | Theme Voice |
| total number of instances | 106 | 156 | 543 | 469 |
| **referential distance** | 15.86 | 5.73 | 5.15 | 4.92 |
| **topic persistence** | 0.30 | 1.07 | 1.01 | 0.94 |

As expected, undergoers in syntactically transitive constructions have a lower average value of referential distance and higher average value of persistence than those of extended intransitive constructions. That is to say, undergoer participants in UV clauses are highly referential and highly topical (the lower the referential distance value, the higher the degree of referentiality; the higher the persistence value, the higher the degree of importance). The most striking observation to emerge from the data is that there were no significant differences between syntactically transitive constructions and demoting antipassives in terms of average referential distance and persistence value of their undergoer arguments. This suggests that demoting antipassives are, as previously stated, derived from transitive constructions and that even though undergoer participants are demoted to an oblique status, this demotion does not entail reduced transitivity and topicality. The result of the topic continuity measurement differs from Cooreman's (1987) measurements for Chamorro (another Austronesian language), implying that the discourse functions of antipassives indeed vary across languages (Cooreman 1994; Polinsky 2013).

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[19]  A short film based on the book of the same title written by Mercer Mayer and published in 1967 (Original video produced by Evergeen/Firehouse Production and distributed by Goodtimes Home Video, 1985)

Now that we have already discussed both marked and unmarked constructions and clarified the issue regarding the semantic and discourse functions of antipassive constructions in Kalanguya, we can now examine their roles in coding the information status of referents, as well as the connection between voice alternation and information structure.

### 3.4 Voice and the status of referents

*3.4.1 Introducing 'new' referents*

*A. Waday + full NP*
In Kalanguya, new participants are usually introduced using the existential morpheme *wada* followed by the indefinite nominal marker *ʔi*.

(39)  *Waday hekey ni kiyew.*
     wada=ʔi        hekey    ni      kiyew
     EXIST=NOM   one    LK    tree
     'There's a tree.'

*B. Waday +( full NP +) verbal clause*
New actor participants can also be introduced while being modified by a relative clause, as exemplified in (40), or being co-referential with an actor voice verb in an event existential construction[20], as demonstrated in (41).

(40)  *Et diman ni kiyew, waday toon kamamboddah ni lemeh to.*
     ʔet      diman     ni     kiyew    wada=ʔi      toʔo=ni
     and     LOC.DIS   LK    tree     EXIST=NOM     person=LK
     ka=man-bodah     ni     lemeh=to
     IPFV=AV-pluck     OBL   fruit=3SG.GEN
     'And on that tree (over there), there's a person (who is) plucking its fruit.'

(41)  *Et diman ni kiyew, waday kamamboddah ni lemeh to.*
     ʔet    diman   ni     kiyew    wada=ʔi       ka=man-bodah     ni     lemeh=to
     and   LOC.DIS   LK    tree     EXIST=NOM    IPFV=AV-pluck     OBL    fruit=3SG.GEN
     Lit:. 'And on that tree (over there), there's [someone who is] plucking its fruit.'

Interestingly, sentences such as those in (40) and (41) are the preferred way to introduce new referents probably because they not only assert the existence of an entity but also at the same time describe the events that the entity participates in.

Actor participants seem more likely to be introduced first before undergoers. The existence of undergoers can also be asserted by existential constructions or as a co-referent of the UV verb in an event existential construction, as illustrated by the examples below:

(42)  *Waday inaphol ton biin nambisikleta.*
     wada=ʔi       ʔ<in>aphol-Ø=to=ni       biʔi=ni        nan-bisikleta
     EXIST=NOM    <PFV>meet-PV=3SG.GEN=LK   woman=LK    AV:PFV-bicycle
     'There's a woman, riding a bicycle, whom he met.'
     Lit.: 'There's [someone whom] he met who is a woman riding a bicycle.'

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[20]  See Latrouite and Van Valin (2013) for a discussion on event existentials in Tagalog.

(43)  *Waday inang-ang dan kallogong.*

| wada=ʔi | ʔ\<in\>angʔang-Ø=da=ni | kallogong |
|---|---|---|
| EXIST=NOM | \<PFV\>see-PV=3PL.GEN=LK | hat |

'There's a hat that they saw.'
Lit.: 'There's [something that] they saw which is a hat.'

This is the only case where the status of the undergoer is 'new' despite the presence of an undergoer voice verb in the sentence. As for the actor participant, the [*waday*+UV]-structure never occurred in our data when the actor has not yet been introduced or activated. The sentence below is unacceptable.

(44)  *\*Waday inang-ang ni hekey ni laki ni kallogong.*

| wada=ʔi | ʔ\<in\>angʔang-Ø | ni | hekey | ni | laki | ni | kallogong |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| EXIST=NOM | \<PFV\>see-PV | GEN | one | LK | man | LK | hat |

Intended meaning: 'There's a hat that one man saw.'

## C. Undergoer participants in extended intransitive constructions

Another way to introduce new undergoer referents is by adding them as indefinite undergoer arguments in an extended intransitive construction. In (45), the underlined verb is an extended intransitive and since its oblique undergoer is understood to be indefinite, replacing it with a demoting antipassive verb would make the sentence unacceptable.

(45)  *Nampitsupitsur kami et magaya kami.* (We took pictures and we were happy)

*Et nalabah i hallabi,*

| ʔet | na-labah | ʔi | han-labi, |
|---|---|---|---|
| and | STV:PFV-pass | NOM | one-night |

*kami <u>namboyan</u> night concert.*                  cf. *\*namoyan*

| kami | nan-boya=ni | night concert |  | nang-boya=ni |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1PL.EXCL.NOM | AV:PFV-watch=OBL | night concert |  | ANTIP:PFV-watch=OBL |

'And one night has passed; we went and watched a night concert.'

As already stated, undergoer participants already mentioned in the discourse occur as undergoer arguments in transitive UV constructions and demoting antipassive constructions.

### 3.4.2 Storing new information

After introducing and establishing the roles of the participants in the discourse, constructions with a canonical structure are then employed to add information about one of these participants or about the discourse topic. The examples below are the continuations of (42) and (43), respectively. In (46), the newly-introduced participant *biʔi* 'woman' is now the topic and thus casted as nominative. The undergoer participant introduced in (43) became the topic of the subsequent clauses and is left implicit in (47) due to its high topicality.

(46)  *Et nonta intibew to hotta bii…*

| ʔet | nonta | ʔin-tibew=to | hotta | biʔi… |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| and | TEMP:PAST | TV:PFV-see=3SG.GEN | NOM.DEF | woman |

'And when he saw the woman…'

(47)  *Han al-a nonta hekey et to intaoli nonta makakonhi-ga.*

| han | ʔala-ʔa | nonta | hekey | ʔet | to | ʔin-taʔoli |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| AUX:then | take-PV:DEP | GEN.DEF | one | and | 3SG.GEN | TV:PFV-return |

| nonta | maka-konhiʔga |
|---|---|
| OBL.DEF | POSSESSOR-own |

'Then one of them took it and he (went and) returned it to the owner.'

### 3.4.3 Shift: Focus and Topicalization

Speakers will eventually have to focalize an entity to assert something different from the presupposed information and to "create a new state of information in the mind of the addressee" (Lambrecht 1994:218). As stated in section 3.1.1, focus constructions are formed by placing an argument in the clause-initial position. Narrow focus construction may have one of the following structures (with examples and corresponding translations)[21]:

**Table 6:** Focus constructions in Kalanguya

| Focal | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Actor (semantically intransitive) | $S_{(FOC)}$ | NOM | NOMZ-$V^{22}_{AV}$ | |
| | *Hi Abel* | *i* | *immakad* | |
| | 'Abel was the one who went home.' | | | |
| Actor (with 'new' undergoer) | $S_{(FOC)}$ | NOM | NOMZ-$V_{AV}$ | $E_{OBL}$ |
| | *Hi Abel* | *i* | *on-ala* | *ni bobbolla* |
| | 'Abel is the one who will get a ball.' | | | |
| Actor (with 'old' undergoer) | $S_{(FOC)}$ | NOM | NOMZ-$V_{ANTIP}$ | $E_{OBL}$ |
| | *Hi Abel* | *i* | *nangala* | *nonta bobbolla* |
| | 'Abel was the one who took the ball.' | | | |
| Undergoer | $O_{(FOC)}$ | NOM | NOMZ-$V_{UV}$ | $A_{GEN}$ |
| | *Hotta bobbolla* | *i* | *illa* | *ni hi Abel* |
| | 'The ball was the one that Abel took.' | | | |

The indefinite marker *ʔi* never marks a focalized element because only familiar[23] elements are allowed to occupy the focal position. This also explains why the order of extended intransitives in which the actor participant is 'new' seems to be restricted to VSE. The sentence in (48) would be inappropriate if the actor participant or the event itself has not been mentioned yet in one of the preceding clauses.

(48)  ??*Hekey ni laki i nambodah ni peras*

| hekey | ni | laki | ʔi | nan-bodah | ni | peras |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| one | LK | man | NOM | AV:PFV-pluck | OBL | pear |

Intended meaning: 'It was a man who plucked some pears.'

(49)  *ᵒᵏNambodah i hekey ni laki ni peras*

| nan-bodah | ʔi | hekey | ni | laki | ni | peras |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| AV:PFV-pluck | NOM | one | LK | man | OBL | pear |

'A man plucked some pears.'

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[21] Stative constructions are not included in the discussion.

[22] NOMZ-V stands for "zero-nominalized verbs" (verbs used as nouns without any morphological change).

[23] I follow the unidirectional 'Givenness Hierarchy' proposed by Gundel, et. al (1993). All in-focus and activated entities are also familiar.

**in focus** > **activated** > **familiar** > **uniquely identifiable** > **referential** > **type identifiable**

As also mentioned earlier, demoting antipassives frequently occur when the actor of an underlying transitive construction is highlighted and focalized. This means that only transitive verbs can replace demoting antipassives in discourse. Replacing demoting antipassives, such as the verb *nangitodo* 'ANTIP.taught' in (50), with an extended intransitive verb makes the construction infelicitous.

(50) While A and B are having a conversation, a young boy passed by the front yard of the house. A greeted the boy and B noticed that A called him "Pito"

Speaker B: *Pitoy ngadan to? Seven?* (His name is "Pito"? Seven?)

Speaker A: *On. Hi Seven. Kangko pay eyye... hi Siyete.* (Yes. Seven. I also call him Siyete.)

Speaker B: *Hiyamma bilang ni kanda ay uno, dos, tres,*

| hiyamma | bilang | ni | kan=da | ʔay | ʔuno | dos | tres |
|---------|--------|-----|--------|------|------|-----|------|
| FOC/TOP.DIS | number | LK | say=3PL.GEN | LK | one | two | three |

*Espanyol konoy **nangitodonman**.*  (cf. \**ontodonman*)

| ʔespanyol | kono=ʔi | nang-ʔi-todo=niman | | ʔon-todo=niman |
|-----------|---------|--------------------|---|----------------|
| Spanish | HEARSAY=NOM | ANTIP:PFV-TV-teach=OBL.DIS | | AV:PFV-teach=OBL.DIS |

'Those numbers called uno, dos, tres, the Spanish were the ones who taught (us) those.'

In most cases the topic of the discourse is still the same even after the time of the utterance of a focus construction. A topic shift and/or activation of an inactive participant must be expressed by a topicalized construction. Kalanguya has the following structures at its disposal to indicate a change of topic.

**Table 7:** Topicalized constructions in Kalanguya

| **New Topic** | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Actor (semantically intransitive) | TOP | $V_{AV}$ | S/Ø | |
| | *Hi Abel,* | *immakad* | *Ø* | |
| | 'As for Abel, he went home.' | | | |
| Actor (with 'old' undergoer) | TOP | $V_{UV}$ | $A_{GEN}$ | $O_{NOM}$ |
| | *Hi Abel,* | *illa* | *to* | *hotta bobbolla* |
| | 'As for Abel, he took the ball.' | | | |
| Actor (with 'old' undergoer; focalized) | TOP | $S_{FULL}$ | NOM $NOMZ-V_{ANTIP}$ | $E_{OBL}$ |
| | *Hi Abel,* | *hi-gato* | *i nangala* | *nonta bobbolla* |
| | 'As for Abel, he was the one who took the ball.' | | | |
| Actor (with brand-new undergoer) | TOP | $V_{AV}$ | $S_{NOM/Ø}$ | $E_{OBL}$ |
| | *Hi Abel,* | *immala* | *Ø* | *ni bobbolla* |
| | 'As for Abel, he took a ball.' | | | |
| Undergoer | TOP | | $V_{UV}$ $A_{GEN}$ | **Ø/possessed NP** |
| | *Hotta bobbolla,* | | *illa ni hi Abel* | *Ø* |
| | 'As for the ball, Abel took (it)' | | | |
| Undergoer (Focalized actor) | TOP | | $S_{FULL}$ NOM $NOMZ-V_{ANTIP}$ | **Ø/possessed NP** |
| | *Hotta bobbolla,* | | *hi Abel i nangala* | *Ø* |
| | 'As for the ball, Abel was the one who took (it)' | | | |

We might observe that a left-detached element and a focalized element may co-occur in a single sentence, as also demonstrated by the example in (50). Recall that in (50), the previous topic of the conversation was about a boy named *Pito*. The second speaker changed the topic by uttering a statement with a topicalized structure, simultaneously focalizing an argument (actor) to assert a new

piece of information that he assumed to be unknown to the hearer. Here, the new information refers to the fact that the numbers *uno, dos, tres* were Spanish numbers (the hearer did not really know that they are Spanish words).

To sum up, Kalanguya has the following strategies to indicate the information status of referents and store additional information about them.

**Table 8:** Strategies for indicating the information status of referents, storing additional information and changing the topic

| Introduce new participants | • Existential (actor and undergoer) <br> • Event existential (EXIST + AV = actor; EXIST + UV= undergoer) <br> • Extended intransitive (undergoer) |
|---|---|
| Store new information (Old participants) | • Canonical AV and UV constructions |
| Create a new state of information | • Focalized AV (old actor) <br> • Focalized Extended Intransitive (old actor-new undergoer) <br> • Focalized Demoting Antipassive (old/new actor-old undergoer) <br> • Focalized UV (old undergoer) |
| Change the topic | • Topicalized structure |

*3.4.4 Actor voice-undergoer voice alternation*

Kalanguya is a patient-(or undergoer-) prominent language like other PLs (See Ceña, 1977 for a discussion on the Patient Primacy in Tagalog). We saw that the givenness of undergoers is not only manifested by means of NP marking but also by means of verbal affixation. For example, we cannot tell whether the NP *ni iTinek* 'person from Tinek' refers to 'someone who is from Tinek' or to 'a particular person from Tinek with whom the interlocutors are already familiar' unless we look at the affix attached to the verbal predicate of the clause (see examples 27 and 28). The prominence of the undergoer in this language is more likely to be one of the reasons why it has developed a system where it can highlight or focalize an actor participant without reducing the semantic transitivity of the construction and the degree of topicality of undergoers (Santiago 2014a). Figure 1 schematically summarizes how the information status of undergoer participants is reflected in the voice system of Kalanguya.

**Figure 1:** Voice alternation and information status of undergoer referents in Kalanguya
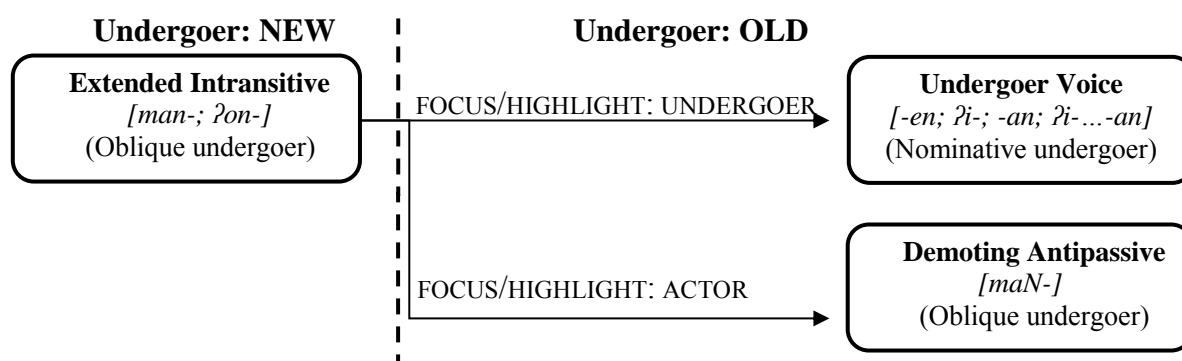


Alternating between the actor and undergoer voice is a complex operation. The genre of the text, number of participants involved and the global discourse topic should also be taken into consideration when using certain structures to ensure a much smoother flow of communication.

We have claimed that antipassives should be further divided into two types: extended intransitive and demoting antipassive. The latter is used to highlight the actor without "semantically" demoting the undergoer, usually with an SVE structure. In the next section, we shall examine the distribution of demoting antipassives in discourse and provide a preliminary analysis that may serve as basis for future studies.

## 4. Demoting Antipassives in different text genres

Out of 156 instances of demoting antipassives in our data, only 52 instances (33 percent) have the canonical VSE structure. The remaining 103 instances either have the SVE order (argument focus) or involved a verb that serves as a co-referent of an actor participant. The frequency of demoting antipassive constructions in different text genres are listed below.

**Table 9:** Frequency of Demoting Antipassives in different text genres

| | Number of recordings (*Bible - chapter) | Approximate length (word count) | Number of Demoting Antipassives |
|---|---|---|---|
| Pear story | 13 | 3185 | 39 |
| A boy, a dog and a frog | 10 | 3289 | 3 |
| Conversation | 8 | 7315 | 29 |
| Exposition | 5 | 1034 | 2 |
| Traditional Narrative | 15 | 5353 | 29 |
| Procedure (Descriptive) | 8 | 1735 | 20 |
| Procedure (Prescriptive) | 2 | 569 | 3 |
| Bible | 4.5 (chapters) | 3470 | 31 |
| TOTAL | | 25950 | 156 |

As we can see in Table 9, demoting antipassive constructions in A Boy, A Dog and A Frog recordings have a relatively low frequency despite the fact that these recordings have more words in total than the Pear Story recordings. Both were elicited in the same manner. The participants were asked to retell the story of both silent (but with sound effects) films. One possible explanation for the low occurrence of the demoting antipassive in A Boy, A Dog and A Frog texts is that only one human actor can be seen in the video. The story is about a boy and his dog walking in the swamp and trying to catch a frog using a net. Although both the boy and the dog can be chosen as an actor argument (because the dog performed some actions too), there are only a few scenes where the focus can be shifted from the boy to the dog and vice versa. In the Pear film, there are seven human actors and there are several scenes in which the attention might shift from one actor to another, hence the frequent use of argument-focus antipassive.

Another striking observation is that there appears to be a preferred constituent order of antipassive constructions in certain text genres. For instance, all three antipassives in one of the prescriptive procedural texts have the narrowly-focused actor argument structure (SVE). The text is about how to butcher a native chicken and is told by a farmer as if he were to instruct a person how to catch a healthy chicken, humanely butcher it and remove the unnecessary parts. An excerpt from the text is given below.

(51) *At pohhotan[24] ko, hi-gam i manggo.*
　　?at　　~[C₂]~pohot-en=ko　　　　hi?gam　　?i　　　mang-?ago
　　and　~[PRSP]~hold-PV=1SG.GEN　　2SG.FULL　NOM　　ANTIP-slit.the.throat
　　Lit.: 'And I will hold it, you are the one who will slit (its) throat.'

Example (51) clearly shows how the speaker shifted the focus to the addressee using a demoting antipassive construction with a preposed actor argument. Although one might assume that antipassives with an SVE order would have the tendency to be preferred in a procedural text with more than one actor participant, most antipassive constructions in our descriptive type of procedural text turned out to be structured canonically (VSE). What these texts have in common is that (i) all actor participants perform the actions collectively (or at least that is how the speaker views them) and (ii) most of them have only one undergoer topic, which is also the discourse global topic or discourse theme. As can be seen in Table 10, VSE antipassives frequently occur in descriptive procedural texts with plural (*we, they*) actor participants.

**Table 10:** Discourse topics and frequency of demoting antipassives in procedural texts

| Genre | Text | Discourse topic/theme | Actor Participant | Occurrence of demoting antipassive |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Prescriptive Procedural | How to butcher a native chicken | Chicken | 1st and 2nd person | **3** (SVE=3; VSE=0) |
| | How to make a rice wine | Rice | 2nd person (singular) | **0** |
| Descriptive Procedural | Padit feast | Sweet potato; Pig and chicken butchered in this feast | 3rd person (plural) | **10** (SVE=0; VSE=10) |
| | How to make a machete | Steel used to make a machete | 1st person (plural) | **3** (SVE=0; VSE=3) |
| | Areca nut chewing 1 | Materials needed in areca nut chewing | 3rd person (plural) | **1** (SVE=0; VSE=1) |
| | Tomato planting | Tomato (also seeds) | 3rd person (plural) | **0** |
| | How to butcher a native chicken | Chicken | 1st person (plural) | **4** (SVE=0; VSE=4) |
| | Areca nut chewing 2 | Materials needed in areca nut chewing | 1st person (singular) | **2** (SVE=0; VSE=2) |
| | Sweet potato planting | Sweet potato | unspecified | **0** |
| | Rice planting | Rice | unspecified | **0** |

The sentences in (52) are extracted from a descriptive procedural text about how to make a machete.

(52) a. *Man-appoy kami nin. Ontebel.*
　　　　man-~[C₂]~?apoy=kami=nin　　　　　　　　?on-tebel.
　　　　AV-~[PRSP]~fire=1PL.EXCL.NOM=beforehand　AV:PRSP-ignite/blaze
　　　　Lit.: 'First, we will start a fire. It will blaze.'

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[24]　The vowel /e/ of the PV affix *-en* undergoes vowel lowering (i.e. /e/→[a]) in this case (see also (52c-d)). This usually happens to the affix *-en* in the prospective aspect except in cases where right-to-left vowel harmony is involved (*kan* 'eat' → *kennen*; *?ala* 'take' → *?ellen*). It should be noted that this phenomenon does not occur in the dialectal variety spoken in Tinoc, Ifugao and Ambaguio, Nueva Vizcaya.

b. *Hammi itongoy landok.*
han=mi                    ʔi-tongo=ʔi             landok.
AUX:then=1PL.EXCL.GEN    TV-throw.into.fire=NOM    steel
'Then, we throw the steel into the fire.'

c. *No naldang, iggilan mi.*
no      na-ladang                 ~[C₂]~ʔigil-en=mi
when    STV:PFV-heat.a.metal    ~[PRSP]~cut.into.small.long.pieces-PV=1PL.EXCL.GEN
'When it's heated (up), we will cut it into small, long pieces.'

d. *No nekdeng i igil to, pitpitan mi.*
no      na-kedeng      ʔi         ʔigil=to
when    STV:PFV-finish    NOM    cut.into.small.long.pieces=3SG.GEN
pitpit-en=mi
press.flat-PV=1PL.EXCL.GEN
'When we are done cutting it into small, long pieces, we will press (them) flat.'

e. *No kimmatit ey nekdeng, **mangippilong** kami.*
no       k<im>atit         ʔey      na-kedeng
when    <AV:PFV>cool.down   REPAIR   STV:PFV-finish
mang-~[C₁]~ʔi-pilong=kami
ANTIP~[PRSP]~TV-curve.something.wide.and.thin=1PL.EXCL.NOM
'After (when) it cooled down, oh, (when) it's finished, we will curve it.'

f. *No nekdeng i pilong to, **mangahhokah** kami.*
no      na-kedeng      ʔi       pilong=to
when    STV:PFV-finish    NOM    curve.something.wide.and.thin=3SG.GEN
mang-~[C₂]~kahokah-Ø=kami
ANTIP-~[PRSP]~scrape-PV=1PL.EXCL.NOM
'When the curving is done, we will scrape it.'

g. *No nekdeng i kahokah to, **menneb** kami.*
no      na-kedeng      ʔi      kahokah=to      mang-teneb-Ø=kami
when    STV:PFV-finish    NOM    scrape=3SG.GEN    ANTIP-temper-PV=1PL.EXCL.NOM
'When the scraping is done, we will temper it.'

h. *Hammi i-magi law ni atip.*
han=mi                   ʔi-ʔamag-i=law            ni      ʔatip
AUX:then=1PL.EXCL.GEN    TV-make-LV:DEP=already    OBL    sheath
'Then we make a sheath for it.'

i. *Pihhiwan mi. Hiyamman law i last to met.*
~[C₂]~pihiw-an=mi                      hiyamman=law      ʔi    last=to=met
~[PRSP]~weave.rattan-LV=1PL.EXCL.GEN   TOP/FOC.DIS=already   NOM   last=3SG.GEN=EPIS
'We will weave rattan (and roll it around its handle). That's already the last.'

We can see how the speaker alternated between the undergoer voice (52b-d, 52h-i) and antipassive (52e-g). It is not unreasonable to assume that the speaker used the VSE antipassive because all constructions pertain to one global discourse topic (how to make machetes) and that he chose not to distinguish the roles that each one of them plays in making machetes, thus no shift in focus was required. However, it is still unclear why he opted for the antipassive in (52e-g) instead of the undergoer voice type, which by the way would have been equally acceptable, as shown in (53).

(53) *No kimmatit ey nekdeng, **ippilong** mi.*
    no         k<im>atit           ?ey      na-kedeng
    when    <AV:PFV>cool.down   REPAIR   STV:PFV-finish
    ~[$C_1$]~?i-pilong=mi
    ~[PRSP]~-TV-curve.something.wide.and.thin=1PL.EXCL.GEN
    'After (when) it cooled down, oh, (when) it's finished, we will curve it.'

    *No nekdeng i pilong to, **kahhokahen** mi.*
    no        na-kedeng         ?i       pilong=to
    when    STV:PFV-finish   NOM    curve.something.wide.and.thin=3SG.GEN
    ~[$C_2$]~kahokah-en=mi
    ~[PRSP]~scrape-PV=1PL.EXCL.GEN
    'When the curving is done, we will scrape it.'

    *No nekdeng i kahokah to, **tetneben** mi.*
    no        na-kedeng         ?i       kahokah=to        ~[$C_1$]~teneb-en=mi
    when    STV:PFV-finish   NOM    scrape=3SG.GEN   ~[PRSP]~temper-PV=1PL.EXCL.GEN
    'When the scraping is done, we will temper it.'

Based on the observations made so far, it is possible to state that on the one hand, antipassive constructions with a VSE structure highlight actor participants, as well as the actions they perform while on the other hand, VAO undergoer voice constructions highlight undergoer participants and the action or state of affairs they are involved in. Having one individual or group as actor and one undergoer topic licenses the use of the VSE-antipassive in (52) probably because the focus of attention in the preceding clauses is directed to one undergoer and when the speaker wants to shift the attention to the actors and their actions simultaneously, he or she can do so by using a VSE antipassive. A focalized (SVE) counterpart would yield a narrow focus reading which would have been inappropriate in that particular context (because there is no other actor participant to whom the attention can be shifted). VSE antipassives have other peripheral functions such as when the undergoer is plural or collective (cf. Cooreman 1994), or when the undergoer argument is an inherent argument[25], but we will not deal with them in this paper since they do not apply to all verbs.

    We will **cut it** into small, long pieces [UV]
    We will **press them** flat [UV]
    Then **we will curve** (it) [VSE-ANTIP].
    **We will scrape** (it) [VSE-ANTIP].
    **We will temper** (it) [VSE-ANTIP].

In summary, we can say that in genres such as two-(or more) participant prescriptive procedural texts, conversation and narratives with more than one actor participant, there is a tendency to use SVE antipassives in order to shift the focus from one individual to another. On the other hand, texts that usually have only one (or one group of) actor participant(s) such as descriptive procedural texts and expository (static) texts will rarely have SVE antipassives and prefer the VSE-type instead.

## 5. Summary and Future Research

In this paper, I have demonstrated how the voice system of Kalanguya works together with other linguistic means to indicate the information status of referents. Alternating between actor voice

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[25] Inherent argument is an argument that expresses the intrinsic facet of the meaning of the verb and does not refer to any specific participant in an event denoted by the verb (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997). They are often incorporated into the verb or in Kalanguya's case, used as the base of the verbal predicate, such as *mangonggong* 'to gather snails' (*gonggong* 'snail') and *mangiyew* 'to gather firewood' (*kiyew* 'tree/wood').

constructions (canonical intransitive, extended intransitive and demoting antipassive) and undergoer voice constructions appears to be more than just a matter of choosing the appropriate verb affix based on the semantic class of the verb and semantic role of the participants. I hope to have shown that the givenness of undergoer participants is also a significant factor and that it is expressed not only by phrases markers but also by voice affixes attached to the verb. Several studies have already pointed out the centrality and topicality of referents in the nominative (or absolutive) and genitive (or ergative) cases (see Mithun, 1994 for a relevant discussion on Kapampangan) but we found that non-core (oblique) undergoer arguments can be as highly topical as well. Kalanguya has even developed a system wherein the actor can be highlighted while maintaining a high degree of referentiality and topicality of the undergoer, particularly by means of antipassivization. A full discussion of noun phrase markers and pronominals, as well as stative constructions, was beyond the scope of this paper. Further research should therefore concentrate on the investigation of these areas to fully understand how Kalanguya and other Philippine languages make full use of the voice system to signal the cognitive (informational) status that referents are assumed to have in the mind of the addressee at the time of utterance.

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