DISCOURSE ANALYSIS AS AN AID TO LANGUAGE EVALUATION

Keith Benn

1. INTRODUCTION

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

To us in our work in Bontoc in the Philippines this question has direct relevance: Can discourse studies of Central Bontoc text help me to evaluate what is well-written Bontoc language in the context of my work as a linguist? Will a Bontoc reader evaluate materials I prepare for publication, whether native-authored or translated, as well-written or poorly-written language?

2. AN ANALOGY

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

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

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

3. METHODOLOGY

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

3.1 Halliday and Hasan - Intersentential Cohesion

In their book Cohesion in English, Halliday and Hasan (1976) encourage us to study intersentential text cohesion in terms of five aspects: reference, substitution, ellipsis, conjunction, and lexical cohesion.

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

Substitution: Substitution is when one lexical item is replaced by another. Halliday and Hasan discuss nominal substitution, verbal substitution, and clausal substitution (1976: 88-141).

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

Conjunction: Conjunction, Halliday and Hasan define as '...a specification of the way in which what is to follow is systematically connected to what has gone before' (1976: 277). Conjunctions '...express one or other of a small number of very general relations' (1976: 232), for example, and, yet, so, and then.

Lexical Cohesion: Lexical cohesion is achieved by the repetition of lexical items in adjacent sentences of a text via a variety of devices: same word repetition, equivalent repetition, superordinate repetition, general word repetition and collocation (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 274-292).
3.2 Longacre - Spectrum and Profile of a Text

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

more active

most active verb forms used for most important events of a narrative
active verb forms for significant events
less active verb forms for ordinary events
equative/stative/existential verbs
forms for background information

more descriptive

Figure 1 Spectrum of Narrative Verb Forms

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

PEAK: the single most significant event or event sequence
PIVOTAL EVENTS: very significant events
BACKBONE EVENTS: significant events
ORDINARY EVENTS:
SIGNIFICANT BACKGROUND: especially significant background information
ORDINARY BACKGROUND: normal background information

Figure 2 Multiple Levels in Narrative

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

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

Longacre (1981) has found that texts may have a variety of shapes. They may have a single peak, or a double peak, or even a narrative peak followed by a hortative or explanatory peak.
The peak is where a speaker has his audience sitting on the edge of their chairs. It is where the speaker reaches the climax, where tension is at its highest level, and the audience waits anxiously for the solution to the complication.

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

The third way we will look at this text is from the perspective of Austin Hale (forthcoming), whose preoccupation is to question what ingredients are required to make a text effective. He asks, 'What are the essential factors which must be present in a discourse to ensure that it will be effective and achieve its purpose? What does an author build into a text to guarantee that the hearer will respond as the author intends him to do?'

![Figure 4 Hale's Four Systems]

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

![Figure 5 Backbone Propositions]
This backbone system is manipulated by the next system above it, the tree system. The function of the tree system is to form paragraphs out of a string of propositions, so that the main events are highlighted by being placed at the top of the hierarchical structure. In other words, the tree system extracts the cardinal sentences, and makes them into the texts of paragraphs.

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement Calculus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Basic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1 Non-sequential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Con- Alter-joining</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2 Sequential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tem- Imploration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Elaborated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1 Non-sequential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paraphrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2 Sequential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deixis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attribution</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4. THE TEXT FOR ANALYSIS

Several years ago we held an essay writing competition in Bontoc. One of the essays submitted for the competition was entitled ‘The Innana Rituals’. The Innana rituals are a group of six rituals which are performed by Bontoc people immediately after the main rice planting is finished in April each year.
When our landlord, Felix Khensay, saw this essay, and noted that the author had done an inadequate job of explaining what to him were the most important rituals of the whole Bontoc year, he said to himself, 'Oh, no. I will write an accurate account of the Innana Rituals.' The text we look at in this paper is what our landlord wrote.

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

The Innana Rituals

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

**EXPLANATION:**

1 - 6

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lifon Ritual</th>
<th>7 - 26</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8 Discussion by elders</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Pig is butchered</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 Meat put inside house</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 Feast in evening for rich people</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 Meat distributed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 The Soyok ritual follows the Lifon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soyok Ritual</th>
<th>27 - 44</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>28 Soyok and Lifon are similar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 Discussion by clan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34 Pigs are butchered</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35 Meat put inside house</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36 Feast in evening for clan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44 The Mangmang ritual follows the Soyok</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mangmang Ritual</th>
<th>45 - 49</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>46 Each householders kills a chicken</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47 Add the pig's head from Lifon/Soyok to the pot</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48 Or add Soyok distributed meat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49 The Apey ritual is held next day</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Apey Ritual</th>
<th>50 - 71</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>51 Gather uncooked Lifon/Soyok meat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52 Also gather rice wine or sugarcane wine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53 At ricefield light a fire</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54 Get a paloki plant, spit wine on it and pray</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55 Embed paloki plant at ricefield</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56 Heat the meat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57 Transfer to other fields and repeat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60 Kill a chicken if rice field has a spring</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63 Take the Apey meat home</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68 Next day go fishing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69 Take food to nearby in-laws</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70 Next day take food to distant in-laws</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71 Patay and Tengaw rituals next day</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tengaw Ritual</th>
<th>72 - 82</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>73 Old men perform Patay ritual</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75 People contribute for pig</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77 Children announce the Tengaw rest day</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79 Observe Tengaw rest day</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81 Next day return to work</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5. DISCOURSE ANALYSIS AND TEXT EVALUATION

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

5.1 The Paragraph Structure of the Innana Text

(a) Analysis

We have already seen in Figure 7 that the Innana text is well structured. It starts with an explanatory SETTING, followed by an EXPLANATION encoded as an embedded procedural discourse, then by an explanatory CONCLUSION, and a single sentence CLOSURE. This overall structure is the first pattern to emerge from our paragraph analysis.

![Figure 7: The Innana Text](image)

![Figure 8: Structure of the Innana Text](image)

Secondly, a paragraph analysis shows us very clearly which are the cardinal sentences of the text, that is, which sentences, taken on their own, would give us a good summary of the discourse as a whole. For example, a paragraph analysis of the Soyok ritual of the Innana text gives us this structure:
This analysis of the Soyok ritual makes clear which sentences are the most important. In this ritual they are sentences 28, 31, 33, 34, 35, 36, and 44. These are the sentences which either stand on their own, or are the texts of paragraphs. In a book entitled The Organization of Prose and its Effect on Memory, Bonnie Meyer (1975) found that it is exactly these sentences, the sentences at the highest levels of the hierarchical structure, that are best remembered and recalled. This observation confirms the importance of what Hale calls the tree system, which groups propositions together by subordinating some and coordinating others to make paragraphs.

(b) Evaluation

Is the Innana text well structured? - obviously so.

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

5.2 The Spectrum and Profile of the Innana Text

(a) Analysis

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

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

more dynamic

Active predicates in high level independent clauses
Stative predicates in high level dependent clauses
Active predicates in independent clauses of quotations in high level sentences
Stative predicates in high level dependent clauses

less dynamic

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

devices to make active predicates
more dynamic

Coordinate active independent clauses
Pre-nuclear time clause
Sequence particle
Pre-nuclear time phrase

devices to make active predicates less dynamic

Complex modal predication
Group action affixation
Subjunctive adjunct
Reduplication of verbs
Subjunctive margin

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

(b) Evaluation

The insights Longacre provides through his spectrum and profile theory are many. Among them are a new understanding of change in tense/aspect throughout a text, a new insight into verb reduplication, coordination, and modality, a contextual explanation for clause type variation, and a discourse sensitive rationalization for the use of particles. The insight of moment, however, at this point, is that the ritual profiles derived from the spectra in Figures 10 and 11 give us a clear comparison of the relative dynamism in the four procedural rituals. The Apay stands out as the most dynamic, followed by the Lifon, then the Soyok and lastly the Tengaw. We will return to this topic in Section 5.5.1

5.3 Intersentential Cohesion of the Innana Text

(a) Analysis

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

The outlook, however, is not all gloom, since within one text, and quite possibly within texts of the same discourse genre written by a single author, or across discourse genre written by a single author, useful comparative studies can be done. Within the Innana text we have three explanatory sections - the SETTING; the Mangmang ritual; and the CONCLUSION; and four procedural sections: the Lifon; the So yok; the Apey; and the Tengaw rituals. Comparative studies between the explanatory sections and comparative studies between the procedural sections are both enlightening. For this paper, however, we will limit ourselves to the embedded procedural texts (Figure 12).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Personal Reference Items/Sentence</th>
<th>Substitution Items/Ritual</th>
<th>Ellipsis Items/Ritual</th>
<th>Same Word Repetition Items/Sentences</th>
<th>Lexical Chains Items/Sentences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lifon</td>
<td>0.22</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soyok</td>
<td>0.74</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apey</td>
<td>2.10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tengaw</td>
<td>1.33</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 12 Numerical Values for Some Types of Intersentential Cohesion in the Procedural Rituals of the Innana

A comparison of the values in Figure 12 clearly indicates at least three things:

(a) That the Apey ritual has many more intersentential referential ties than the Lifon ritual;
(b) That in the incidence of substitution and ellipsis in the Apey ritual and Lifon rituals, the author seems to have used antithetical strategies; and
(c) That in the incidence of personal reference, same word repetition, and lexical chains, there is an apparent gradation from the Lifon, to the Soyok, to the Tengaw, and then to the Apey rituals.

Halliday and Hasan (1976) speak of a scale of lexical cohesion (Figure 13), with same word lexical repetition being the least general, or most specific, type of lexical link, and collocation being the most general.

least general

|                   | Same word repetition |
|                   | Equivalent repetition |
|                   | Superordinate repetition |
|                   | General word repetition |
|                   | Collocation |

most general

Figure 13 A Scale of Lexical Cohesion (adapted from Halliday and Hasan 1976)
When we compare this scale with the predominant types of lexical cohesion used in the four procedural rituals (Figure 14), we find that:

(a) all rituals tend to use lexical ties from the more specific end of the scale;

(b) with the exception of collocation, the Lifon and Apey are not really distinguished in the types of lexical tie employed;

(c) the Soyok ritual consistently uses more lexical ties than any other procedural ritual; and

(d) in the incidence of equivalent repetition (synonyms and near-synonyms), the Soyok uses several times as many ties as any other ritual.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ritual</th>
<th>Total Lexical Repetition/sentence</th>
<th>Equivalent Repetition/sentence</th>
<th>Collocation/sentence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lifon ritual</td>
<td>2.68</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soyok ritual</td>
<td>3.1 (highest)</td>
<td>0.5 (highest)</td>
<td>0.53 (highest)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apey ritual</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>0.15</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tengaw ritual</td>
<td>1.33</td>
<td>0.125</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 14 Total Lexical and Equivalent Repetition, and Collocation in the Embedded Procedural Rituals

These observations, when taken in conjunction with the paragraph structure of the Soyok, which has extensive embedding at the peak (Figures 9 and 18), indicate to us that whereas the Lifon and Apey are the more dynamic rituals, the Soyok is more explanatory. So here the Halliday/Hasan theory has helped us to distinguish between more dynamic procedural text and more explanatory procedural text.

5.4 The Filing System

(a) Analysis

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

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

![People Entry Devices](image)

- Nominal groups 14%
- Pronominal reference 33%
- Possession 38%
- Substitution 14%

![Pig Entry Devices](image)

- Nominal groups 41%
- Zero anaphoric reference 24%
- Possession 6%
- Substitution 30%

Figure 15 Pig and People File Entry Devices in the Lifon Ritual.
(b) Evaluation

A closer look at these entry devices (Figure 16) allows us to see that, at least for the Lifon ritual, the syntactic features used for the people and pig files are almost mutually exclusive. This fact is partly, no doubt, due to the difference between the normal syntactical differences between human agents and non-human patients, but that in itself is consistent with, and in no way negates, Hale's view.

The People and Pig Files Entry Devices

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>People File</th>
<th>Pig File</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(i) Nominal Group</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entries</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i) fronted</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>71%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) Zero Anaphora</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iii) Pronominal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reference</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iv) Possessive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entries</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) pronominal, full members of the file</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(v) Substitution</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) within possessives</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) in focus in active clauses</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 16 The People and Pig files of the Lifon Ritual Compared

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

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

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

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

5.5 The Focal Content System

(a) Analysis

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

So by putting pen to paper he made five implicit claims:
Claim 1: I can explain why the Innana rituals are so important to our Bontoc way of life.
Claim 2: I can say why these are the best of our rituals.
Claim 3: I can accurately give the step-by-step outline of the rituals.
Claim 4: I can show the relative significance of each step in each ritual.
Claim 5: I can grade the six rituals for relative importance.

**Figure 17 Implicit Focal Content Claims of the Innana Text**

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

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

For the resolution to Claim 3, that he can accurately give the step-by-step outline of the rituals, we need to look through the window of Hale's tree system at the paragraph structure of the text. And when we do, we find that each step of each ritual is at the top of the hierarchical structure, as we've already seen in the Soyok ritual.

For the resolution to Claim 4, that he can show the relative significance of each step in each ritual, we need to look through Longacre's spectrum/profile window. When we do that we find that the author of the Innana uses a combination of active and stative predicates to indicate the relative importance of steps in the procedures. For less important steps in each ritual he uses stative verb forms, for more important steps active verb forms, and for the most important steps coordinated active verb forms. In this way he syntactically indicates to us which rituals he considers to be most important - his fourth claim.

Furthermore, using these insights on verb tense/aspect variation, plus the dynamism-heightening and lowering devices (Figures 10 and 11), we drew ritual profiles, which gave us a ritual-by-ritual comparison showing the relative importance of the four procedural rituals. Taking these insights together with the data in Figure 18, the author gives us very clearly the resolution to Claim 5 - the relative importance of each ritual.

**Relative Importance of Innana Rituals**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(i) Title</th>
<th>Patay</th>
<th>Mangmang</th>
<th>Tengaw</th>
<th>Soyok</th>
<th>Lifon</th>
<th>Apey</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(ii) Procedural</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iii) Total sentences in ritual</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iv) High level independent sentences</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(v) Procedural steps</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(vi) Transitivity of steps at the peak</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(vii) Spectrum values at peak</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(viii) Number of sentences at peak</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9, 9</td>
<td>9, 9</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11.12.12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 18 A Comparison of the Innana Rituals**

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

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

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

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

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

![Figure 19 Profile of Innana Rituals](image)

But now note that the last line of the table in Figure 18 does a switch. The Soyok ritual has many more sentences at its peak than either the Apey or the Lifon rituals. As we have already seen (section 5.2), this is because the Soyok is more explanatory than any other ritual. The Lifon and Apey concentrate on activity, while the Soyok concentrates on explanation. This is confirmed many times over when we look through Halliday and Hasan’s window on intersentential cohesion.

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

6. CONCLUSION

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

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

1. Firstly, we must collect and analyse a wide variety of discourse from the language we are studying. This will help us to establish how many discourse genres are in the language, which genres have sub-types and how many, and what types of discourse are regularly embedded within other discourses. For example, in the Bontoc language we regularly have narratives embedded within hortatory discourse. Bontoc speakers use embedded narratives to illustrate hortatory points. And in the Innana text which we have looked at very briefly in this paper, we have procedural text embedded within expository text.

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

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

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

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

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

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Note

1 Editorial footnote: The original Figure 12 ("Profiles of Lifon, Soyok, Apev, and Tengaw Rituals") was not available and so has been omitted. Subsequent figures have been renumbered, and the text slightly modified.
Appendix 1

APPENDIX I NANN ON-ON NANN INNANA.

Author: Felix Khensay

Appendix 1 sentence 1

chengnengyo nani kaon-onan nani
chenge =-en =-yo nan on-on =ka =-an nan
hear = OF = N/P, 2p ART NOUN = DER = GER ART
you hear the details the

INNANA rituals

Listen to the complete details of the INNANA rituals.

Appendix 1 sentence 2

Nan INNANA, esa ay kakhawan san ay
nan INNANA esa ay khawis = ka =-an ay
ART NOUN NUM LINK ADJ = SUPER LINK
the INNANA one which best of

ekhad id sangad-om ay mawanwaned
ekhad id sangad-om ay wan ed = ma = CVC = -en
NOUN TIME TIME LINK follow = ST = ST = PROG = OF
custom 0 long ago which is being followed
id wan i = -n is = nan ili ay Fontok, Samoki
id = wan i = -n is = nan ili ay Fontok Samoki
TIME = TIME = LIG NFART = ART NOUN LINK NAME NAME
now a/the village of Bontoc Samoki

ya nani tap-in nani kafakhaung.
y a nani tapis = -n nani fakahang = ka-
CONJ ART NOUN = LIG ART NOUN = LOC
and the others the villages

The INNANA is one of the best customs of long ago which has been handed down to be followed by the people of Bontoc, Samoki and the other villages.

Appendix 1 sentence 3

Maangn Den nani nay INNANA is nan
angnen = ma = -en nan nay INNANA is = nan
do = ST = OF ART DEM 1, I NOUN NFART = ART
is done the this INNANA a/the

tinawen ay kalpas an nani kifos si sama
																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																														

The INNANA is one of the best customs of long ago which has been handed down to be followed by the people of Bontoc, Samoki and the other villages.
This **Innana** ritual is done every year just after the end of the working of the fields and the planting in the dry season.

Appendix 1 sentence 4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Isan</th>
<th>timpon</th>
<th>nan Innana,</th>
<th>maangneng</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nfart</td>
<td>SPANISH=LIG</td>
<td>ART NOUN</td>
<td>do = ST = OF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a/the</td>
<td>time of</td>
<td>the Innana rituals done</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ona</td>
<td>nan Lifon;</td>
<td>mikadwa,</td>
<td>maangneng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ona</td>
<td>nan Lifon</td>
<td>chowa = ma- = i-</td>
<td>ka- angnen = ma- = en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>first</td>
<td>AF</td>
<td>ART NOUN</td>
<td>NUM = ST = IF/OF = DER do = ST = OF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>first</td>
<td>the Lifon ritual</td>
<td>second done</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| nan Soyok; | malkatlo, | maangneng | nan |
| nan Soyok | tolo = ma- = i- = ka- | angnen = ma- = en | nan |
| ART NOUN | NUM = ST = IF/OF = DER do = ST = OF | ART |
| the Soyok ritual | third done | the |

| Mangmang; | mikap-at | maangneng | nan Apey; |
| Mangmang | epat = ma- = i- = ka- | angnen = ma- = en | nan Apey |
| NOUN | NUM = ST = IF/OF = DER do = ST = OF | ART NOUN |
| Mangmang ritual | fourth done | the Apey ritual |

| mikalima, | maangneng | nan Patay ya |
| lima = ma- = i- = ka- | angnen = ma- = en | nan Patay ya |
| NUM = ST = IF/OF = DER do = ST = OF | ART NOUN CONJ | ART |
| fifth | done | the Patay and |

| Tengaw. |
| Tengaw |
| NOUN |
| Tengaw |

At the time of the **Innana** the **Lifon** ritual is done first; secondly, the **Soyok** ritual is done; third, the **Mangmang** ritual is done; fourth, the **Apey** ritual; and fifthly, the **Patay** and **Tengaw** rituals.

Appendix 1 sentence 5

| Nan | kadchakhopan | nan lima ay |
| nan chakhop = ka- = an | nan lima ay |
| ART | gather = DER = GER | ART NUM LINK |
| the together | the five which |

| inon-onko | siya | nan makwanin | Innana. |
| on-on | = in- = en = ko | siya | nan kowani = ma- = en | Innana |
| details | CA = OF = N/P, 1s | O/E, 3s | ART say = ST = OF | NOUN |
| I stated in detail | it | the called | Innana rituals |

These five rituals that I have outlined, together are called the **Innana**.

Appendix 1 sentence 6

| Idwanin; | ibfakhak | nan kasasaad |
| id = wani = -n | fakha = i- = -ko | nan saad = ka- = ČV |
| TIME = TIME = LIG | tell = IF/OF = N/P, 1s | ART NOUN = DER = INTS | ART |
| now | I will tell | the status | the |
Now I will tell the meaning of those that I have mentioned, beginning with the Lifon ritual.

Appendix 1 sentence 7
LIFON
Lifon
NOUN
Lifon ritual

The Lifon ritual.

Appendix 1 sentence 8
Matotya
cha nan papangolo mo
cha nan olo =pang- =CV mo
cha nan papangolo
cha nan olo =pang- =CV mo

Discuss
sino ken chaicha nan maala nan
sino ken chaicha nan ala =ma- =en nan
sino ken chaicha nan

ART O/E, 3p ART get =ST =OF ART

who among them the taken the

fotogcha.
fotog = cha
NOUN = N/P, 30
their pigs

The elders discuss whose pigs will be taken to be butchered.

Appendix 1 sentence 9
Fafoy nan ilifon

nan kakachangyan.

fafoy nan ilifon =i-

nan kakachangyan = CV

ILOC ART NOUN = IF/OF

ART NOUN = PL

big pig the kill for Lifon

The rich provide a big pig for the Lifon ritual.

Appendix 1 sentence 10
Mo nakhaeb
mo khaeb =na- =en
PART make =ST, CA = OF
if/when made

alae =en
alae =en

ART NOUN = IF/OF = N/P, 3p
get = OF get
get the for their Lifon

nan totyacha,
en cha't
nan toya = CVC = cha ey
ART NOUN = PROG = N/P, 3p motion
the their conversation go

khekechencha
et =en = cha
khekehencha
et =en = cha

CONJ cut = OF = N/P, 3p
and they will butcher
When they have reached a decision, they will go to get what they will butcher for the Lifon ritual and they will cut it up at the houses of the owners of the pigs to be butchered for the Lifon ritual.

Appendix I sentence 11

martingit = nan = maala.
fingit = ma- = en = nan = ala = ma- = en
share = ST = OF ART get = ST = OF
shared the taken

The sections of the meat to be distributed are shared out.

Appendix I sentence 12

Nan ad-i mafingit malskhep is afong.
nan ad-i fingit = ma- = en sekhep = ma- = i- is afong.
ART AUX share = ST = OF enter = ST = IF/OF LIC NOUN
the not shared put inside in house

What is not to be distributed is taken inside the house.

Appendix I sentence 13

Malskhep is afong nan chowa’y lapa,
sekhep = ma- = i- is afong nan chowa’ay lapa
enter = ST = IF/OF LOC NOUN ART NUM = LINK NOUN
put inside in house the two forelegs
chowa’y opo, atey, fowang, olo,
chowa = ay opo atey fowang olo
NUM = LINK NOUN NOUN NOUN NOUN
two hind legs liver stomach head
chala, ya nan kopkop.
chala ya nan kopkop
NOUN CONJ ART NOUN
blood and the skin

The two forelegs, the two hind legs, the liver, the skin are all taken inside the house.

Appendix I sentence 14

Nan naycha’y eg-ay nafingit iyeycha
nan nay = cha = ay eg-ay fingit = na- = en ey = i- = cha
ART DEM 1, I-PL = LINK AUX share = ST, CA = OF go = IF/OF = N/R, 3p
the these not distributed they will bring
isnan afong ay maamongancha.
is -nan afong ay among = ma- -en -an -cha
NFART = ART NOUN LINK gather = ST = OF = LIC = N/P, 3p
a/the house 0 where they will gather

These parts not to be distributed are taken to the house where they will gather.

Appendix I sentence 15
Nan nay Lifon, siya nan manganan nan
nan nay Lifon siya nan kan = mang- = an nan
ART DEM 1, 1 NOUN O/E, 3s ART eat = AF = TIME ART
the this Lifon it the eating time the

kakachangyan.
kachangyan = CV
NOUN = PL
rich people

This Lifon is the time when the rich celebrate.

Appendix I sentence 16
Nay met achi, mafalin ay makifingit
nay met achi falin = ma- ay fingit = maki-
DEM 1, I PART PART turn = APT LINK share = AF
this ( doubt ) but it is possible to join in sharing
nan ib-a ay poposip.
nan iba = CV ay posi = CV
ART KIN = PL LINK NOUN = PL
the companions who poor

But the poor companions can also be given a share.

Appendix I sentence 17
Isnano maschem nan chey ay Lifon,
is = nan maschem nan cheey ay Lifon
NFART = ART TIME ART DEM 1, III LINK NOUN
a/the the that 0 Lifon ritual
mangan cha'y kakachangyan.
kan = many- cha = ay kakachangyan = CV
eat = AF F.3p = LINK NOUN = PL
eat they rich people

In the evening of that Lifon ritual, the rich eat.

Appendix I sentence 18
Maam-among nan sinpangapo paymo nan
among = ma- = CVC = -en nan apo = pang- = sin-
gather = ST = PROG = OF ART KIN = DER = UM CONJ ART
gather the clan or the
The whole clan or just the household gather.

Appendix I sentence 19
Mo akit nan maamong, siya chi nan
mo akit nan among =ma- = en siya chi nan
PART ADJ ART gather =ST =OF O/E, 3s DEM 3, III ART
if/when few the gather it that the
kanancha'i sinalikhebkheb.
kan = -an = -cha = en alikhebkheb = sin-
say = OF/SF = N/P, 3p = OF NOUN = UM
what they call exclusive group
If there are only a few who gather, it is called 'an exclusive group'.

Appendix I sentence 20
Nan mallal, fingiten nan takho.
nan ala = ma- = en fingit = en nan takho
ART det = ST = OF share = OF ART NOUN
the taken shared the people
The people receive shares/meat.

Appendix I sentence 21
Nan fala, siya nan enkwan nan
nan fala siya nan kowa = nangan- nan
ART NOUN O/E, 3s ART possess = POSS ART
the lungs it the belongs the
ongong - a ay lalalaki.
onga = CVC = CV ay lalaki = CV
NOUN = INTS = PL LINK NOUN = PL
children 0 boys
The lungs, they belong to the boys.

Appendix I sentence 22
Nan sofod, enkwan nan amam - a.
nan sofod kowa = nangan- nan ama = CVC = CV
ART NOUN posses = POSS ART KIN = INTS = PL
the stomach skin belongs the old men
The stomach skin is for the old men.

Appendix I sentence 23
Nan falong - a paymo ipos, enkwan nan
nan falong - a paymo ipos kowa = nangan- nan
ART NOUN CONJ NOUN possess = POSS ART
the tail plus its root or tail belongs the
The tail plus its root, or the tail alone, belongs to the leaders or to the ones who do the butchering.

Appendix I sentence 24
Nan tete ya nan palagpag enkwan nan
Nan tete ya nan palagpag kowa = nangan = nan
ART NOUN CONJ ART NOUN possess = POSS ART
the withers and the ribs belongs the
inasaw = an paymo nan fabafalo.
asawa = in = = an paymo nan faballo = CV
KIN = CA = GER CONJ ART NOUN = PL
just married or the young men

The backbone above the shoulder and the ribs are for recently married men or for the young men.

Appendix I sentence 25
Maid infingit isnan fabafai.
maid fingt=in = is = nan fai = CV
EXIS share = AF NFART = ART NOUN = PL
none shared a/the women

There is nothing shared among the women.

Appendix I sentence 26
Mo nachokpos nan Lifon, sacha’t
Mo chokpos = na = = en nan Lifon esa = cha = et
PART finish = ST, CA = OF ART NOUN CONJ = F, 3p = CONJ
If/when finished the Lifon then they
akhes ilokhi nan Soyok.
akhes lokhi = i nan Soyok
ADV begin = IF/OF ART NOUN
also begin the Soyok

When the Lifon ritual is finished, they begin the Soyok ritual.

Appendix I sentence 27
SOYOK
Soyok NOUN
Soyok ritual

The Soyok ritual.
Appendix I sentence 28

The Soyok ritual is similar to the Lifon ritual.

Appendix I sentence 29

They butcher pigs, but the Soyok ritual is for all the people.

Appendix I sentence 30

It is not like the Lifon which is only for the rich.

Appendix I sentence 31

The clan or household discuss who among them did not make their contribution last year.
These are the ones to contribute their pigs this time.

If the pig contributed by one person is bigger than his share, the excess of his contribution is replaced by a small pig or money.

These pigs are butchered at the houses of their owners.
Then they take it to the house at which they will gather at night.

Appendix I sentence 36
Isnan chey ay maschem si Soyok,
is = nan cheeey ay sechem=ma- si Soyok
NFART=ART DEM 1, III LINK TIME = ST ART NOUN
a/the that 0 night the/0 Soyok
mangan nan maam-among ay sinpangngapo
kan= mang= nan among =ma- =CVC =- en = ay apo=pang= =sin-
eat = AF ART gather = ST = PROG=OF LINK KIN=DER= UM
eat the gather who clan
paymo singpangafong.
paymo afong=pang= =sin-
CONJ NOUN =DER =UM
or household

That night of the Soyok ritual, the clan or family who are gathered eat together.

Appendix I sentence 37
Maoto nan poto, chala, atey ya nan
loto = ma - = en nan poto chala atey ya nan
cook = ST = OF ART NOUN NOUN NOUN CONJ ART
cooked the intestines blood liver and the

tap - in nan kopkop ya nan fekhas

tapi = n nan kopkop ya nan fekhas

NOUN = LIG ART NOUN CONJ ART NOUN
others the skin and the flesh

What is cooked is the intestines, the blood, the liver, and some parts of the skin and the flesh.

Appendix I sentence 38
Isnan timpo ay cha maoto nan watwat,
is = nan timpo ay cha loto= ma - = en nan watwat
NFART=ART SPANISH LINK PROG cook = ST = OF ART NOUN
a/the time 0 0 cooked the meat
mangay = ayyeng nan amam - a.
ayyeng = mang= = CVC nan ama=CVC = CV
NOUN = AF = PROG ART KIN=INTS = PL
sing ayyeng the old men

While it is cooking, the old men sing the ayyeng chant.
Appendix I sentence 39
Mo mangan cha tomke nan ayyeng.
mo kan = mang - cha tekel = - om - nan ayyeng
PART eat = AF F, 3p - stop = AF ART NOUN
if/when eat they stop the song

When they eat, they stop singing the ayyeng chant.

Appendix I sentence 40
Miwawat nan sibfancha yangkhay.
watwat = ma - = i - nan sibfan = - cha yangkhay
NOUN = ST = IF/OF ART NOUN = N/P, 3p ADV
distribute the their viand only

Only meat to be eaten is distributed.

Appendix I sentence 41
Magtek wad-ay nan kasin maiwalas ay
magtek wad-ay nan kasi = - n walas = ma - = i - ay
CONJ EXIST ART AUX = LIG distribute = ST = IF/OF LINK
but there is the again to be distributed which
naoto ay pasing isnan malpasancha'y
loto = na - = - en ay pasing = nan lepas = ma - = - en = = - an = = cha = ay
cook = ST, CA = OF LINK NOUN NFART = ART finish = ST = OF = TIME = N/P, 3p = LINK
cooked 0- share a/the after they finish

manganan.
kan = mang - = - an
eat = AF = TIME
eating time

But there is also a distribution of cooked pieces after they have finished eating.

Appendix I sentence 42
Teken akhes nan kasin maiwalas ay
teken akhes nan kasi = - n walas = ma - = i - ay
different ADV ART AUX = LIG distribute = ST = IF/OF LINK
another also the again to be distributed which
inlangta ay pasing.
langt = in - ay pasing
raw = AF LINK NOUN
raw 0 share

There is also a different distribution of raw pieces.

Appendix I sentence 43
Nan kalfilang nan afof-ong ay
nan filang = ka - = CV nan afong = CVC ay
ART count = DER = PROG ART NOUN = PL LINK
the number the houses 0
The number of raw pieces to be distributed is according to the number of households gathered.

Appendix I sentence 44
Mo machokpos nan takho nan Soyok et
mo chokpos = ma - = en nan takho nan Soyok et
PART finish = ST = OF ART NOUN ART NOUN CONJ
if/when finish = ST = OF ART NOUN ART NOUN CONJ
kawaksana et Mangmang
wakas = ka - = an = - na et Mangmang
TIME = DER = TIME = N/P, 3s CONJ NOUN
on the next day is Mangmang ritual

When the people are finished the Soyok the Mangmang is held the next day.

Appendix I sentence 45
MANGMANG
Mangmang
NOUN
Mangmang ritual

The Mangmang ritual.

Appendix I sentence 46
Waschin infaig nan takbo
waschin faig = in - nan takbo
ADJ beat = AF ART NOUN
each beat the people
isnan manok.
is = nan manok
NFART = ART NOUN
a/the chicken

Each household kills a chicken by beating it with a stick.

Appendix I sentence 47
San cheycha'ya
san chey = cha = ay ala = na - = = en paymo khekhek = na - = = en
ART DEM 1, 111 = PL = LINK get = ST, CA = OF CONJ cut = ST, CA = OF
the those got or butchered
Those who butchered their pigs for the Lifon or Soyok rituals cook the head of their Lifon-pig or Soyok-pig together with the chicken.

Appendix I sentence 48

Nan tapina
nan tapi = - na
the others
ART NOUN = N/P, 3s
paymo san
paymo san
CONJ ART
or those
issan
issan
NFART = ART
A/the
Apey ritual.

The next day it is the Apey ritual.
pasingcha paymo finingitcha issan
pasing = - cha paymo fingit = - in - = - en = - cha is = san
NOUN = N/P, 3p CONJ share = CA = OF = N/P, 3p NFART = ART
their uncooked share or their distributed share during
Lifon paymo issan Soyok is iyapeycha.
Lifon paymo is = san Soyok is Apey = i - = - cha
NOUN CONJ NFART = ART NOUN NFART NOUN = IF/OF = N/P, 3p
Lifon or during Soyok to use for Apey ritual

They get their uncooked share which they have salted or their distributed share from the Lifon or Soyok to do the Apey ritual.

Appendix I sentence 52

Omala cha akhes is tapey paymo
ala = - om - cha akhes is tapey paymo
get = AF F, 3p ADV NFART NOUN CONJ
get they also 0 rice wine or
fayyas si seng-ewcha ay mangapey.
fayyas si seng-ew = - cha ay Apey = mang = - = an
NOUN ART smell = N/P, 3p LINK NOUN = EMB = OF/SF
sugarcane wine the/0 their pleasant smell to perform Apey ritual

They also get rice wine or sugarcane wine to make a pleasant smell as part of the Apey ritual.

Appendix I sentence 53

Mo ome y cha is kapayewcha ay
mo ey = - om - cha is payew = ka - = - cha ay
PART go = AF F, 3p LOC NOUN = LOC = N/P, 3p LINK
if/when go they in their rice field to
mangapey chentancha nan iyapeycha.
Apey = mang = - = an chenet = - an = - cha nan Apey = i - = - cha
NOUN = EMB = OF/SF kindle = OF/SF = N/P, 3p ART NOUN = IF/OF = N/P, 3p
perform Apey ritual they kindle the meat for the Apey

When they go to the ricefields to do the Apey ritual, they kindle fire to cook the meat for the Apey.

Appendix I sentence 54

Sacha't alan nan paloki ya
esa = cha = et ala = - en nan paloki ya
CONJ = F, 3p = CONJ get = OF ART NOUN CONJ
then they get the paloki plant and
togpopancha isnan tapey ay
togpop = - an = - cha is = nan tapey ay
spit = OF/SF = N/P, 3p NFART = ART NOUN LINK
they spit a/the rice wine 0
Then they get the paloki and spit rice wine onto it saying, ‘I spit on you, paloki, so that the rice plants will grow tall, so that they will be free from rats, lizards, ricebirds, and all that destroys the fields and rice plants.'

Appendix I sentence 55

Then they insert the paloki stem between the stones of the wall or wedge it into a split stick and embed it into the ricefield.

Appendix I sentence 56

Then they heat the salted meat only the salted meat, which
iyapeycha.
Apey = i- = cha
NOUN = IF/OF = N/P, 3p
for the Apey
They just heat the salted meat which they use for the Apey ritual.

Appendix 1 sentence 57
lyat-atoncha
aton = i - = CVC = - cha
transfer = IF/OF = PROG = N/P, 3p
they transfer
na is nan
DEM 3, 1
this
kapayepayewcha.
payew = kaCVCV = - cha
NOUN = MULT = N/P, 3p
their many rice fields
They transfer it to each of their fields, doing the same thing.

Appendix 1 sentence 58
Isnan esa'y payew esa'y paloki nan
is = nan esa = ay payew esa = ay paloki nan
NFART = ART NUM = LINK NOUN NUM = LINK NOUN ART
a/the one rice field one paloki plant the
isokitcha is katopingna paymo
sokfit = i - = - cha is toping = ka = = na paymo
insert = IF/OF = N/P, 3p NFART NOUN = LOC = N/P, 3s CONJ
they insert in its rock wall or
sipitencha isssan lolo sacha’t ipadsek.
sipit = = en = - cha is = nan lolo esa = cha = et padsek = i -
edge = OF = N/P, 3p NFART = ART NOUN CONJ = F, 3p = PART plant = IF/OF
they wedge a/the stick then they embed
In each rice field they insert one stem of paloki in between the stones of the rock wall, or wedge it into a split stick and embed it into the rice field.

Appendix 1 sentence 59
Mo sinpoo nan payewna et sinpoo
mo poo = sin - nan payew = - na et poo = sin -
PART NUM = UM ART NOUN = N/P, 3s CONJ NUM = UM
if/when ten the his/her rice fields then ten
akhes ay paloki nan maosal.
akhes ay paloki nan osal = ma - = en
ADV LINK NOUN ART use = ST = OF
also 0 paloki plant the to use
If he has ten rice fields, he also uses ten paloki stems.

Appendix 1 sentence 60
Mo eb-eb nan payew ay apeyancha et
mo eb-eb nan payew ay Apey = - an = - cha et
PART NOUN ART NOUN LINK NOUN = OF/SF = N/P, 3p CONJ
if/when spring the rice field which they do Apey ritual then
they use for Apey the chicken

If the ricefield for which they are doing the Apey ritual has its own water supply from underground, they use a chicken for the ritual.

Appendix I sentence 61

Faikhemcha, sacha't lakhiman ya
faig = - en = - cha esa = cha = et lakhim = - an ya
beat = OF = N/P, 3p CONJ = F, 3p = PART burn = OF/SF CONJ
they kill then they burn and

sepwaken nan manok.
sepwak = - en nan manok
divide = OF ART NOUN
divide the chicken

They beat the chicken to death then burn the feathers and butcher it.

Appendix I sentence 62

Otowncha, magtek kecheng nan fitli
loto = - en = - cha magtek kecheng nan fitli
cook = OF = N/P, 3p CONJ NOUN ART NOUN
they cook but end the gizzard
ya nan potona nan sibfanca id ilit.
ya nan poto = - na nan sibfan = - cha id ilit
CONJ ART NOUN = N/P, 3s ART NOUN = N/P, 3p LOC LOC
and the his/her/its belly the their viand at edge

They cook it, but it is only the gizzard and its intestines that they eat outside the village.

Appendix I sentence 63

Mo kinonfoscha
mo konfos = - in = = - en = - cha PART finish = CA = OF = N/P, 3p ay nangapey isnan
if/when they finish LINK NOUN = AF, CA NFART = ART
to did Apay a/the
kaypeyayewcha isaacha nan
payew = kaCVCV = - cha saa = i = - cha nan
NOUN = MULT = N/P, 3p bring = IF/OF = N/P, 3p ART
their many rice fields they bring home the
inypatcga isnan afong ay
Apey = - in = - i = - cha is = nan afong ay
NOUN = CA = IF/OF = N/P, 3p NFART = ART NOUN LINK
meat used in the Apay ritual a/the house 0
manganancha.
kan = mang = - an = - cha
eat = AF = LOC = N/P, 3p
they eat

When they have finished the Apey ritual in the ricefields, they bring home the meat used in the ritual to the house where they will eat.

Appendix I sentence 64

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Isnan</th>
<th>maschem</th>
<th>milokhi</th>
<th>nan</th>
<th>am-among</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>is = nan</td>
<td>sechem = ma - lokhi = ma - = i - nan among = CVC</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NFART = ART</td>
<td>TIME = ST begin = ST = IF ART gather = PROG</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

isnan Apey
is = nan Apey
NFART = ART NOUN
a/the Apey ritual

At night the gathering for the Apey ritual begins.

Appendix I sentence 65

tolo et nan am-among isnan Innana.
tolo et nan among = CVC is = nan Innana
NUM CONJ ART gather = PL NFART = ART NOUN
three and the gatherings a/the Innana rituals

There are three gatherings for the Innana.

Appendix I sentence 66

Am-among isnan Lifon ay kwan si
a = CVC is = nan Lifon ay kowa = - n si
gather = PROG NFART = ART NOUN LINK POSS = LIG ART
gathering a/the Lifon which belongs the/0

kachayangon.
kachayangon = CV
NOUN = PL
rich people

The gathering for the Lifon ritual is for the rich.
The gathering for the Soyok and for the Apey rituals (are the other two.)

Appendix I sentence 68

Isnàn kawakasana encha mangachiw.
is =nan wakas =ka - = an = - na ey = cha khachiw = mang-
NFART = ART TIME = DER = TIME = N/P, 3s go = F, 3p fish = AF
a/the next day they go fishing

On the morrow they go to catch fish.

Appendix I sentence 69

Isnàn chey ay akhew igkhiyakhanca
is =nan cheey ay akhew khiyag = i - - an = - cha
NFART = ART DEM 1, III LINK TIME NOUN = DF = N/P, 3p
a/the that 0 days they take plates of food
nan aliwidcha ya nan katokhangancha
nan aliwid = - cha ya ya nan katokhangan = - cha
ART NOUN = N/P, 3p CONJ ART NOUN = N/P, 3p
the their relative-in-law and the their parents-in-law
isnan Fontok ya id Samoki.
is =nan Fontok ya id Samoki
NFART = ART NAME CONJ LOC NAME
a/the Botoc and in Samoki

On that day people take plates of food to the parents of their children-in-law and to their parents-in-law who live in Bontoc and Samoki.

Appendix I sentence 70

Isnàn pidwan si kachiw
is =nan chowa =pa - = i - si kachiw
NFART = ART NUM = CAUS = IF/OF ART NOUN
a/the second day the/0 fish
igkhiyakhancha nan aliwidcha paymo
khiyag = i - - an = - cha nan aliwid = CV paymo
NOUN DF = N/P, 3p ART NOUN = PL CONJ
they take plates of food the their relative-in-law or
katokhangancha isnàn kafakhaang.
katokhangan = - cha is =nan fakhaang = ka -
NOUN = N/P, 3p LOC = ART NOUN = LOC
their parents-in-law a/the villages

On the second day of catching fish, they take plates of food to the parents of their children-in-law or to parents-in-law in the outlying villages.
Appendix I sentence 71
Mawakas kasin Patay ya Tengaw.
wakas = ma = - en kasi = - n Patay ya Tengaw
TIME = ST = OF AUX = LIG NOUN CONJ NOUN
the following day again Patay and Tengaw

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

Appendix I sentence 72
TENGAW
Tengaw
NOUN
Tengaw ritual

The Tengaw ritual.

Appendix I sentence 73
Mamatay ona nan amam-a.
Patay = pa- = - om ona nan ama = CVC = CV
NOUN = CAUS = AF first ART KIN = INTS = PL
perform Patay first the old men

The old men first perform the Patay ritual.

Appendix I sentence 74
lpataych nan fotog nan pomapatay is
Patay = i - = - cha nan fotog nan Patay = - om - = pa - is
NOUN = IF/OF = N/P,3p ART NOUN ART NOUN = AF = CAUS LOC
they kill for Patay the pig the sacred tree guardian in
kaPapatayan.
Patay = pa- = - an = ka -
NOUN = CAUS = OF/SF = LOC
sacred tree

They kill for the Patay ritual the pig of the one who has responsibility for the sacred tree at the sacred tree.

Appendix I sentence 75
Nan nay fotog et, Maiyob-ofan is nan
nan nay fotog et ob-ob = ma = - i - - an is = nan
ART DEM 1,1 NOUN CONJ collect = ST = OF NFART = ART
the this pig then paid for by contributions a/the
omili.
ili = - om -
NOUN = AF
village people

This pig will be paid for by contributions from the village people.
They contribute money or rice.

At night the children announce the Tengaw ritual.

They shout, ‘Tomorrow is Tengaw ritual rest day.’

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

Nobody goes to the fields.

Appendix I sentence 81

Again the following day

if/when good the world
On the next day, if the omens are good, the people go to the fields.

Appendix I sentence 82
Siya  na  nan  Tengaw  ay  anongos  nan
siya  na  nan  Tengaw  ay  anongos  nan
O/E, 3s DEM 3, I ART NOUN LINK NOUN ART
it  this  the  Tengaw  which  end  the

Inanna.
Innana
NOUN
Innana

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

Appendix I sentence 83
Nan  mangwaniyak  ay  khawis  nan  Innana
nan  kowani = mang - = an = - an = - ko  ay  khawis  nan  Innana
ART say = EMB = OF/SF = GER = N/P, 1s  LINK ADJ  ART NOUN
the  reason  that  I  say  0  good  the  Innana rituals
ay  ekhad  ay  mawanwaned,  tay  isnan
ay  ekhad  ay  waned = ma - = en = CVC  tay  is  = nan
LINK  NOUN  LINK  follow = ST = OF = PROG  CONJ  NFART = ART
which  custom  0  to  be  followed  because  a/the
Innana  maam-among  nan  kaapona  paymo
Innana  among = ma - = en = CVC  nan  apo = ko - = na  paymo
NOUN  gather = ST = OF = PROG  ART  KIN = DER = N/P, 3s  CONJ
Innana rituals  gather  the  generation  or

nan  inspangafoni

nan  afong  = pang - = sin -
ART  NOUN  = DER  = UM
the  household

The reason that I say that the Innana rituals are good customs to be handed down is because at the Innana rituals the clan or household gathers.

Appendix I sentence 84
Siya  nan  mangammowan  nan  ongang-a
siya  nan  among = mang - = - en = - an  nan  onga = CVC  = CV
O/E, 3s  ART  gather = EMB = OF = TIME  ART NOUN = INTS = PL
it  the  get to know  the  children
isnan  kakyangcha,  in-acha  am-acha,
is  = nan  kayong = CV = - cha  ina = CV = - cha  ama = CV = - cha
NFART = ART  KIN = PL = N/P, 3p  KIN = PL = N/P, 3p  KIN = PL = N/P, 3p
a/the  their cousins  their aunts  their uncles
That is when the children get to know their cousins, their aunts, their uncles, grandparents, and other relatives who have gathered with them.

Appendix I sentence 85
Siya akhes nan mangipafikas isnan
siya akhes nan fikas = mang - = i - = oa - is = nan
O/E, 3s ADV ART Strong EMB = IF/OF = CAUS NFART = ART
it also the strengthen a/the
anan-ak ay inchog-an ta way iwalakcha
anak = CVC = CV ay chog - an = in - tatno wad = ay walak = i - = cha TRA
NIN = INTS = PL LINK raise = AF CONJ EXIST NOUN = IF/OF = N/P, 3p
children to raise so that there is they contribute
isnan Innana.
is = nan. Innana
NFART = ART NOUN
a/the Innana.

That also is what causes children to be encouraged to rear pigs and chickens so that they will have a contribution for the Innana rituals.

Appendix I sentence 86
Tay mo ad-i cha inchog-an et mid
tay mo ad-i cha chog-an = in - et maid
CONJ PART AUX F, 3p raise = AF CONJ EXIS
because if/when no they raise then none
iwalakcha isnan Innana.
is = nan. Innana
NOUN = IF/OF = N/P, 3p NFART = ART NOUN
they contribute a/the Innana rituals

Because if they don't raise anything, they will have no contribution for the Innana rituals.

Appendix I sentence 87
Nan esa'y takho ay ad-i inwalwalak
nan esa = ay takho ay ad-i walak = in = CVC
ART NUM = LINK NOUN LINK AUX NOUN = AF = PROG
the one person who no contribute
et siya chi isnan esa'y tawen.
et siya chi is =nan esa =ay tawen
CONJ O/E, 3s DEM 3, III NFART = ART NUM = LINK TIME
then it that a/the one
year

If a person does not contribute, that's okay for one year.

Appendix I sentence 88
Nan Pay katawetawen?
nan pay tawen = kaCVCV
ART PART TIME = MULT
the moreover other years

But you can't have that going on year by year!

Appendix I sentence 89
Nan sikhab nan
n - a nan sikhab nan
ART ADJ ART
the difficulty the

inwalakana et telachencha
walak = in = - an = - na et telad = - en = - cha
time = contributing = N/P, 3s CONJ cut off = OF = N/P, 3p
and they excommunicate
because
kananch'a 'Ay ke lagwey ta
kan = - an = - cha = en ay ke lagwey tatno
say = OF/SF = N/P, sp = QF QUES PART NOUN CONJ
what they call 0 0 vegetables so that
just
ka's makikan olay mid walakmo! '
ka = is kan = maki - olay maid walak = - mo
F, 2s = NFART eat = AF CONJ EXIS NOUN = N/P, 2s
you join in eating even none contribution

His problem is that when the time of sharing comes, they exclude him saying, 'Do you think it is just vegetables that we are sharing out that you can just join in the feast without contributing your share?'

Appendix I sentence 90
Siya na nan tet - ewa ay on - on nan
siya na nan tet - ewa ay on - on nan
O/E, 3s DEM 3, I ART ADJ LINK NOUN ART
it this the true O details the

Innana.
Innana
NOUN
Innana

Those are the true details of the Innana rituals.
REFERENCES


