Newly Introduced NPs, Continuous topics and Contrastive topics in Bantik discourse Atsuko UTSUMI utsumi@lc.meisei-u.ac.jp Meisei University

Abstract

This paper aims to shed a light on information structure of the Bantik language, which is one of the Philippine-type languages spoken in North Sulawesi, Indonesia. Basic facts about information structure in the Bantik language will be presented. First, NP forms in relation to referential givenness/newness are discussed. Second, syntactic features and their information structural functions are presented.

0. Bantik language

The Bantik Language¹ is an Austronesian language spoken in North Sulawesi, Indonesia. It is said to belong to the Sangiric subgroup within the Philippine group which in turn belongs to the Western Malayo-Polynesian family (cf. Noorduyn (1991), Sneddon (1984) among others). It is said to be spoken by around 10,000 people in nine villages in the vicinity of Manado, a provincial city of the North Sulawesi, and two more villages around 100 kilometers away from Manado (cf. Noorduyn (1991)). Utsumi (2007), however, assumes fluent speakers to be less than 3000, since people born in 1960s and later select Manado dialect of Indonesian as their first language. Even Bantik speakers in their sentries and eighties speak Manado dialect of Indonesian. As people born after 1980 basically do not use Bantik, it is clearly in danger of extinction.

Basic word order of Bantik is SVO (or Actor - Verb - Patient) in both Actor Voice and Undergoer Voice sentences, but VOS (or Patient - Verb - Agent) word order is also frequently found in Undergoer Voice sentences. In natural conversation, VS (verb - Subject) and VSO (Verb - Agent - Patient) word orders are also found in Actor Voice sentences. Those word orders often have newly introduced NPs. On the other hand, already given NPs, which behave as continuous topics or contrastive topics, are likely to appear in SVO word order if the sentence is in Actor Voice. This tendency seems to follow cross-linguistically common observation that newly introduced entities occupy non-initial position while given information come earlier in the structure.

First, we will look at how NP forms relates to the givenness hierarchy. Second,

¹ The Bantik language has five vowels /i, e, a, o, u/ and fourteen consonants /p, b, t, d, k, g, s, h, 7, j, r, m, n, 1/. The glottal stop occurs only base-finally with a few exceptions. A word consists of a base, or a base with one or more affixes. The basic word order is SVO while VOS word order frequently occurs when the verb is in an Undergoer Voice. Like many other Philippine type languages, Bantik has more than one Undergoer Voices (at least two) in addition to an Active Voice. For detailed description of Bantik, see Bawole (1993) and Utsumi (2005).

the relation between syntactic features and the givenness hierarchy is discussed.

Example sentences were taken from elicitation sessions, monologues, telling folk tales, and free conversation. Free conversation is labeled 'Memperbaiki Rumah (Reforming a house)'; four speakers talked about a house being reformed at the time of the conversation. Folk tales are titled 'I-timpunu bo i-boheng (The turtle and the monkey)', 'Kokokuk', and 'Batu Karant (Karang stone)'. Monologues were labeled 'Waktu Kecil (Childhood)' and 'Luka (The scar)'.

1. The Givenness Hierarchy and NP forms

Bantik NPs do not take definite or indefinite articles, but pronominal forms and some other forms of NP are used to specify 'referential givenness/newness²' that reflect 'cognitive statuses' in the mind of the addressee (Gundel et al 1993, Gundel 2003). The below is the Givenness Hierarchy with preliminary supposed Bantik forms, following the Coding Protocol which was developed by the organizers of the Givenness Hierarchy Framework (Gundel et al. 2006). In the following discussion, I will use the Coding Protocol as it appears in Hedberg 2013.

(1) The Givenness Hierarchy with assumed Bantik forms

in			uniquely		type
focus >	activated >	familiar >	identifiable>	${\bf referential}>$	identifiable
Ø	ie 'proximal'		tou NP	tou NP	ØNP
pronouns	ene 'medial'	ene 'medial'	ite 'mirative proximal'		
(connective forms)	e7e 'distal'			ete 'mirative distal	,
	full pronouns	full pronouns	3		

1.1 In Focus

In Bantik, an 'in-focus³' zero pronoun is used to refer back to a continuous topic which appear in preceding context. The below examples (2) - (4) are a sequence of conversation between Terok, who utters the first two sentendces, and Heis who utters the third. The continuous topic *kite*? 'we' is referred to by zero pronoun in (3) and (4). Even the other speaker takes his turn, the continuous topic in the discourse of the previous speaker can be referred to by zero pronoun as can be seen in (4).

² 'Referential givenness/newness' and 'relational givenness/newness' are strictly distinguished in (Gundel 1998, Gundel 2003, *inter alia*).

³ An 'In focus' NP can be thought of procedurally as processing an instruction to 'associate representation that your attention is currently focused on' (Gundel 2003). Typically, an 'in focus' NP refer to the referent expressed in the main clause subject or syntactic topic of the imeediately preceding sentence or clause (Hedberg 2013).

- (2) Terok: ma-ka-tahundun kite 7 kokonio ? = ken, pona Terok: AV.NPST-POT-remember I.1pl.EXC before small=CONT ada babor ou=te kite 7 ma-sa-soha-n m-ako m-paniki if evening=COMP I.1pl.EXC AV-RED-/a/-run-AN AV-go LK-Paniki.river ')I (remember when we were small ,in evening ,we run together to go to Paniki river. (Waktu Kecil)'
- man-ombar a? (3) Ø ma-ka-diŋihi? sinage? n-kite? 'ako iki' V.NPST-POT-listen LK-I.1pl.EXC AV.NPST-shout go let's friend ma-nahioko?=te kite 7 bef enan =ne vo ene maya I.1pl.EXC V.NPST-quick=COMP then that all job=NI.3sg ka Ø m-ako m-paniki paniki e V.NPST-go NU-Paniki.river LOC Ē because Paniki.river
- ' gnituohs dneirf ruo gniraeH'teL'og s', deirruh ew neht(hsinif ot) esuaceb krow eht(era ew) revir ikinaP eht ot gniog. (Waktu Kecil)'
- Øma-idao? r aku? (4) *Heis:* paniki Ø ma-mika tansao suHeis: V.NPST-reach DIR.down LOC Paniki.river V.NPST-open clothes ma-idao? bo ma-t-a-tumpe r e-an su m-ir ipi? V.NPST-reach LOC V.NPST- dive V.NPST-RED-/a/frog-AN

'(When we) reached Paniki river down there, we took off clothes and we jump into (the river) together, even (we) dived. (Waktu Kecil)'

An 'in focus' NP also appears as a connective form of pronoun as shown in (5) and (6). In (5), we find a connective form =ne '3sg' which means possessive, and in (6) the same form denotes the actor in Goal Voice sentence. The referent of the former is 'in focus' because the previous clause contains the word kayu 'wood' which is denoted by =ne. The latter, which is a part of relative clause (without a relative pronoun), is also 'in focus' since it indicates bullowledge in the main clause.

(5) *doŋka* kayu ni-f uan-en ene пи *yo* 0 then wood **REL** PST-buy-GV then that oh sin-kubik siŋ-apa f uan=ne single-cubic single-what cost=NI.3sg

'Then the wood is what you bought, wasn't it? (*Lit*. Then that wood was the one which was bought). How much was one cubic (of wood)? (Memperbaiki Rumah)'

(6) timpunu ie kute? n-ako=te nan-dea? buf o
turtle this DP AV.PST-go=COMP V.PST-find k.o.bamboo
[ni-kaf imu?=ne suda]
NI-make=NI.3sg sharpend.pole

'rof gnikool yawa og ot dias si eltrut ehTbamboo which he made a sharpened pole from.(I-Timpunu bo i-boheng).'

1.2 Activated

An activated⁴ NP in Bantik is often expressed by a full pronoun. Example (7) is the sentence which immediately follow example (6). *Isie* '3sg' in (7) indicates *timpunu* in (6), and is 'activated'.

(7) isie na-ŋar imu?=te suda su ar uŋ nu-busa?

I.3sg V.PST-make=COMP sharpend.pole LOC under LK-banana

'He made a sharped bamboo, (put) under the banana (tree) (I-timpunu bo i-boheng).'

Demonstrative pronouns also indicate 'activated' referents. Example (8) is a free conversation among four people, Lei, Ela Heis, and Terok (three of them utter in the below example). Bold faced *ene* 'that' in the last line indicates *<besi>* 'iron' in the utterance of the first speaker.

(8) Lei:

besi> <ukuran> uafu pida ni-fuan-en=ne
Lei: iron size eight how.much PST-buy-GV=NI.3sg

'As for size 8 iron, how much did he buy?'

Ela: gar e7 nun.

Ela: only six

'xis ylnO.'

Terok: ene ni-kar imu? <behel> yo o

Terok: that PST-make stirrup then oh

'tahT (=iron) was made into stirrups, then. (Memperbaiki Rumah)'

⁴ An NP which denotes 'activated' referent instructs the addressee to 'associate a representation from working memory' with it. The Coding Protocol gives three conditions which a referent can be coded as 'activated': (i) 'It is part of the interpretation of one of the immediately preceding two sentences.' (ii) 'It is something in the immediate spatio-temporal context that is activated by means of a simultaneous gesture or eye gaze.' (iii) 'It is a proposition, fact, or speech act associated with the eventuality (event or state) denoted by the immediately preceding sentence(s)' (Hedberg 2013).

1.3 Familiar

A 'familiar⁵' referent can be denoted by pronouns, but also with NP + ene 'medial', as shown in the last two lines in example (9).

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(9) Lei: ka
                  f ikudu? = ne
                                    poso 7 - an = te
                                                       r agi
                                                                 uasei
   Lei: because
                  back=NI.3sg
                                     put-GV=COMP
                                                                 iron
   'Because iron is also used for the kitchen.'
   Ela: ode
   Ela: yes
        'Yes.'
   Terok: pa-nar imu?-an=ken
                                     <rimbalat>=ne
   Terok: APP-make-GV=CONT
                                    ceiling.board=NI.3sg
          'The ceiling was reformed before (it).'
   Ela: \emptyset pa-idao ? = te
                           n-side
                                     f ikudu? = ne
                                                       to
                                                                 <besi>
                                                                          ene
   Ela: APP-reach=COMP LK-I.3pl back=NI.3sg
                                                       DP
                                                                          that
                                                                iron
                  kapasa-n=te
                                        n-side
                                                 ma-idao?
                                                                       f ikudu?=ne
         ene
                                                                                         ene
         <kan>
                  stretch-GV=COMP LK=I.3pl V.NPST-reach back=NI.3sg that DP
         that
         suka
                  nu
                           ma-pur o dua.
                  REL
                           one-ten two
         size
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'(The ceiling) was made to reach the kitchen, **that** iron, **that** was stretched by them to reach the kitchen, that, of the size twelve. (Memperbaiki Rumah)'

1.4 Uniquely Identifiable

A referent which is 'uniquely identifiable⁶' can be marked by *tou*, which originally means 'human'. In the following discourse (example 10), *tou gagudaŋ* 'adult ones⁷' is 'uniquely identifiable' from the expression *kakanio?* bo bagai 'small ones and big ones'.

TI C 1' D . 1

⁵ The Coding Protocol gives two conditions under which a referent can be said to be familiar: (i) 'it was mentioned at any time previously in the discourse'; and (ii) 'it can be assumed to be known to the hearer through cultural/encyclopedic knowledge of shared personal experience with the speaker.' (Hedberg 2013).

⁶ The Coding Protocol gives two conditions for coding a referent as 'uniquely identifaible': (i) 'the referent form contains adequate descriptive/conceptual content to create a unique referent', and (ii) 'a unique referent can be created in a 'bridging inference' by associating with an already activated referent.' (Hedberg 2013).

⁷ Here, adult ones, small ones, and big ones denotes 'monkeys' which show up in the folk tale 'I-timpunu bo i-boheng (The turtle and the monkey)'.

(10) yo side kasi 7 *na-h-a-himuŋ=te* kakanio? bobagai e V.PST-RED-/a/-gather=COMP small then I.3pl big E poor and nan-dea? n-ako=tesi-timpunu

V.PST-go=COMP V.PST-find SI-turtle

'Then they (=all the monkeys), small and big, gathered and went for looking for the turtle.'

n-ako=te nan-dea? su kakayuan yo kute?

V.PST-go=COMP V.PST-find LOC forest then DP i-timpunu na-ka-ka-muni su ar un nu-tibe?

I-turtle V.PST-RED-POT-hide LOC under LK-coconut.shell

')They (went for looking in the forest so the turtle hid under the coconut shell .'

s-im-u? mai su ar uŋ nu-tibe?

-AV.PST-enter DP LOC under NU-coconut.shell

yo ni-ka-sepa-sepa=te mai ni**-tou** gagudaŋ

then PST-RED.ITR-kick=COMP DP LK-TOU adult

'(The turtle) entered (and stayed) under the coconut shell, then kicked repeatedly by adult monkeys (I-timpunu bo i-boheng)'

(11) 'o ite kute? isie'
oh here DP

(They found and said) 'Oh, here he is! (I-timpunu bo i-boheng)'

I.3sg

1.5 Referential

There form *tou* is used to express that the NP following it denotes 'uniquely identifiable' referent, but it can also precede NPs which is 'referential'. It is assumed that the original function of *tou* is to indicate that the preceding NP is 'referential'. Examples (12) to (14) are examples gained from elicitation. *Tou* can be used for inanimate (as in example 12), animante, and human (as in example 13) entities. It the entity is plural, *side* '3pl' is used instead of *itou*, but it is restricted to refer to human as shown in example (14). An NP that follows *itou* is supposed by the speaker to be referred in the succeeding context, thus 'referential'.

(12) *i-tou* pun m-baŋo ma-r aŋkasa? apade?=ku

I-TOU tree LK-coconut ADJVZ-tall belong=NI-1sg

`The tall coconut tree belongs to me'

(13) *i-tou* ma-tuf au su baf ei=ne i-tuadi=ku

I-TOU AV.NPST-live LOC house=NI-3sg I-younger.sibling=NI.1sg

`That one who lives in his/her house is my younger sister/brother'

(14) side mahuanei mam-bere su saŋkoi I.3sg male MAN-work LOC field

'Men works at the field'

In example (15), a proper name *Bas* follows *tou*, which expresses that *Bas* is mentioned for the first time and it will continued to be one of the major participants of the event of which the conversation is about.

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(15) Ela: <semen> ni-f uan-en buhu ma-puf o tou man-duhaŋ=ken

Ela: cement PST-buy-GV rotten one-ten but AV.NPST-increase=CONT

та-ри Го

one-ten

'Cement was bought ten saks first, but then (we) added ten.'

Terok: ur i7 ni-tou Bas yo o

Terok: say LK-TOU Bas then oh

'The man called os dias saB, ndid'eh t?'

... after 13 lines and eight conversational turns took place:

Terok: $gaf e ? \emptyset ma-ki?an$ yo o

Terok: only V.NPST-lift then oh

'(He) only lift (the roof), didn't you?'

In Bantik has two 'mirative' pronouns; *ite* 'proximal' and *ete* 'distal'. They are used to indicate a newly introduced entity to the discourse, and the referent is supposed to be referred to in the discourse which follows it by the speaker. *Ite* in the first line of example refers to a new entity in the discourse, and the speaker intends to attract the attention of the addressee by using the form. The referent, which is in 'activated' cognitive status, is subsequently referred to by *ene* 'medial pronoun'. Once the referent is introduced to the context, it cannot be referred to by *ite* or *ete*. Example (11) is the sentence immediately follow example (10), and *ite* is used to attract the addressee's (in this case, other monkeys') attention. *Ite* appears in example (16) and *ete* appears in (17). Both examples are from elicitation sessions.

(16) ite polpoin bar as-en=nu.

that ballpoint.pen lend-AN=NI.2sg

"That is the ballpoint pen that you will lend (me)"

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ene adiei pa-ka-tahaŋ-en bo pa-ŋuf e.
that do.not APP-POT-long-GV and PA-return
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"That (one), do not (borrow) for long and return (it immediately)." (Elicitation session)

(17) *i-ama?=ku* pai ete.

I-father=NI.1sg exist there

"My father is there."

ka-bua=ku isie h-um-ompon su sene.

POT-see=NI.1sg I.3sg UM-sit LOC there.medial

1.6 Type Indentifiable

A 'type identifiable' referent in Bantik appears as a bare NP as in example (18). *Saŋkoi* 'field' and *sapi* 'cow' appear as bare NPs which denote 'type identifiable' referents.

(18) ia? kokonio? = ken

I.1sg small=CONT

'I was a small (child).'

 \emptyset t-im-uhu? sitete?=ku n-ako η -saykoi,

-AV.PST-follow I-grandfather=NI.1sg AV.PST-go LK-field

 \emptyset *n-ako na-meho sapi*. AV.PST-go AV.PST-depart cow

2. Syntactic features and referential statuses of NPs

It is a cross-linguistic tendency that a given information comes earlier while a new information tends to be placed later in a sentence (Clark &Clark 1977, Clark & Harviland 1977 *inter alia*). This tendency is also observed in Bantik; a newly introduced NP tends to come later. Nominal sentences and existential sentences show that tendency, which will be shown in section 2.1 and 2.2.

2.1 Nominal Sentence

An NP that is higher in givenness hierarchy tends to come first in a nominal sentence as in (19a), in which an 'activated' NP precedes a 'uniquely identifiable' NP. If it is placed after 'focused' 8 element, a discourse particle e is needed as in (19b).

[&]quot;I can see he sits there."

^{&#}x27;I followed my grandfather to the field, (I went there) to pasture cows. (Luka)'

⁸ 'Focus' here indicates relational givenness/newness (Gundel 2003).

(19)a[ia7] [sinage? ni-linda] [I.1sg] [friend NI-Linda] 'I am a friend of Linda's' [sinage? [ia7] b ni-linda] [friend LK-Linda] DP [I.1sg] 'Linda's friend, that's me'

2.2 Existential sentence

An existential sentence employs *pai* to indicate existence of an entity. To indicate nonexistence, *aya si* is used. Whereas the following four word orders are possible, the first one is used mostly in natural discourse, as shown in (20) and (21). This shows that a newly introduced NP, or 'type identifiable', tends to be placed later in a sentence. If an 'activated' referent is denoted by an NP, it comes before *pai* as in example (22).

- A) pai + Entity + (Location), $aya \, si + \text{Entity} + (\text{Location})$
- B) Entity + pai + (Location), Entity + aya si + (Location)
- C) Location + pai +Entity, Location + aya si +Entity
- D) *pai* + Location + Entity, *aya si* + Location + Entity
- (20) in the bo pai bar and su tir o? = ku like this and exist scar in leg=NI.1sg 'This is how I got the scar on my leg. (Luka)'
- (21) Terok: doiti? su r ima taya=te tou pai=ken
 Terok: money LOC hand not=COMP but exist=CONT
 kondoŋan paŋ-ar a?-en
 continuation APP-take-GV

'ni yenoM(ruoy) enog si dnah, ti eunitnoc nac uoy tub(=esuoh eht gnimrofer). (*Lit.* there is continuation that is obtained) (Memperbaiki Rumah)'

(22) ie tera tebei=te pai .

this brick of.course =COMP exist

'skcirb esehT, esruoc fo(ew) evah.'

2.3 Cleft Sentence

A cleft sentence in Bantik introduces a new entity ('referential') which may be a continuous topic in the succeeding discourse. The linker nu follows the NP which denotes a new entity. Example (23) is a sentence that immediately follows (22) above. The participants of the

conversation were talking about materials of the house, and example (22) is a sentence about the bricks. A new referent, *kayu* 'wood' is introduced in a cleft sentence in example (23).

Example (24) immediately precedes (25). In (24), a cleft sentence with an interrogative, and (25). A dislocated NP in (25) is already introduced by =ne in the previous clause, and becomes a topic⁹ of a subsequent clause. It can be said to have a function of CG management (Krifka 2006).

')We (hid a leaf under the stone from others, (then compete) who would find it. (Waktu Kecil)'

'And if it (the leaf) was found by him, he is the one who would hide what they will look for once more. (Waktu Kecil)'

2.4 Sentences with a Topicalized NP

In Bantik, a left-dislocated NP indicates the topic of the proposition which follows it. Typically the proposition contains a subject NP and VP. A left-dislocated NP sometimes denotes a possessor while the proposition contains a subject NP with a possessive enclitic that denotes a possessed entity as shown in examples (26) and (27).

In the following examples, a left-dislocated NP is placed between brackets.

9 'Topic' here is used to follow the definition by Lambrec'

⁹ 'Topic' here is used to follow the definition by Lambrecht 1994:131, which is relevant to relational givenness/newness. 'Topic: A referent is interpreted as the topic of a proposition if in a given situation the proposition is construed as being about this referent, i.e. as expressing information which is relevant to and which increases the addressee's knowledge of this referent.'

(27) [pai batu kar aŋ] ka-gio=ne ma-pia ser e-an [exist stone Karang] NMLZ-figure=NI-3sg AV.Npst-good see-GV 'There was Karang stone, figure of which was beatiful when seen. (Batu Karang)'

Example (28) shows that a left-dislocated NP comes in a bare NP which is 'type identifiable', and referred to again by a pronoun ('activated') in the proposition which follows it. Example (29) is a similar example where a left-dislocated NP is referred to by a medial demonstrative *ene* in the following proposition.

- (28) [babaehe? su-beo] isie ma-ka-dea? apa nu ni-kan n-toumata [merit LOC-wild.pig] I.3pl AV.NPST-POT-find what REL NI-eat LK-people 'As the merit to the wild pig, he (=wild pig) can find that was eaten by people.'
- (29) [suaya nu-r ou], ene=te nu paŋ-ur i? ma-iha?
 [light LK-sun] that=TE REL PAN-say ADJ-hot

2.5 Topic introduced by ada

Similar to Indonesian and many other WMP languages, Bantik takes *ada* 'if' to indicate a topic. Example (30) is a sentence where *ada* is used as a conjunction. In examples (31), the bracketed clause is introduced by *ada* 'if' which is the topic of the following predicate.

(30) < meman> ada ma-ŋar imu? ingie bo indeed if AV.NPST-make like.this and aya si doiti? ma-bundu not money V.NPST- difficult

'It's true if we are reforming like this, then (we) don't have difficulty of money. (Memperbaiki Rumah)'

(30) iŋene ada [ma-nayaŋ su paniki ma-ta-tumpe r e-an]
like.this if V.NPST-play LOC Paniki.river AV.NPST-RED-/a/-frog-GV
<memaŋ> ma-pia
indeed ADJVZ-good

'Like this, playing in the river jumping like a frog is indeed good. (Waktu Kecil)'

3. Continuous Topic and Contrastive Topic

As can be seen in section 1, a continuous topic in Bantik has the cognitive status of 'in focus' or 'activated'. They typically appear as a pronoun, a demonstrative, or an NP modified by a

^{&#}x27;The sunlight, it was to be said hot. (Batu Karang)'

demonstrative.

A contrastive topic ¹⁰ in Bantik sometimes appears in a cleft sentence. It is also used to indicate a referent which will be a new continuous topic in the succeeding discourse.

A left-dislocated NP can also be used to clarify the topic of the proposition which follows it. An NP or a clause introduced by *ada* 'if' is also used to indicate the topic.

4. Future Study

In this paper, NP forms which indicates the referential givenness/newness is discussed in section 1, while syntactic feature was discussed in relation with the referential givenness/newness. It is not, however, fully explained how relational givenness/newness and referential givenness/newness interact with each other in Bantik. It should be made clear in the future study.

Abbreviations

1sg first person singular 2sg second person singular 3sg third person singular

3pl third person plural

-AN Suffix -an which has a function of nominalization CONT Enclitic =te that indicates continuative aspect COMP Enclitic =ken that indicates completive aspect

I- a nominative case marker attached to subject nominals -GV suffix attached to verb bases, which indicates goal voice

POT- Potentive prefix *ka*- which attaches to verb bases

AV.NPST Prefix attached to verb base, indicating non-past tense and Actor Voice

AV.PST- prefix attached to verb base, indicating past tense and Actor Voice

REL Relativiser *nu*

LK- Linker that denotes genitive or actor in undergoer voice sentences.

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¹⁰ In Krifka & Musen 2012, the following difinition is found: 'A contrastive topic indicates alternative aboutness topics.' Also they say 'With a contrastive topics, the current common ground management contains the expectation that information about a more comprehensive, or distinct, entity is given; contrastive topics indicate that the topic of the sentence diverges from this expectation.

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