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on the Information Structure of the Austronesian Languages'

Information structure in Kadorih

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1. Overview

1. Brief overview
2. Prosodic properties which signal information structure
3. Topic-comment, entity-introducing, event-reporting and identification
4. Formal coding and information status of discourse referent

- Kadorih has no formal coding which would directly indicate identifiability or activation state of discourse referents
- Entity-introducing constructions (§3.2) indirectly indicate that the introduced referents have the status of unidentifiable at the time of utterance
- Topic and focus relations can be expressed prosodically or syntactically (§2, §3.1)
- Focus relations can be expressed by constructions of:
    - topic-comment type   (predicate-focus structure)
    - entity-introducing or event-reporting type (sentence-focus structure)
    - identification type   (argument-focus structure)
- Identificational constructions in Kadorih can be called cleft constructions

2. The role of prosody

2.1 Prosodic properties directly signaling information structure

- the extract (1) is part of a clause uttered after introducing the main character *Uhko*
- (1) does not contain any prosodic notation

(1) *jadi   Uhko   nakung buwu=oh*   …
    then   (name)   carry   fish.trap=his
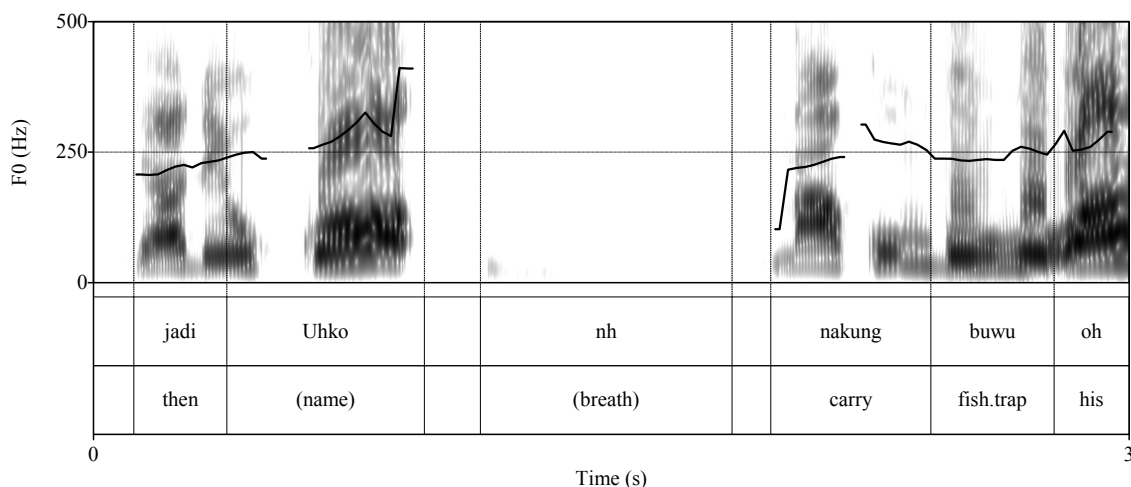   'Then, Uhko carries his fish trap, …'

Figure 1. Acoustic analysis of topic-indicating pitch and pause

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- "Juncture pause" (Laver 1994: 537–38) with long breath (1,000 ms) vs. the length of *jadi Uhko* (840 ms) and *nakung buwu=oh* (930 ms)
- The intentional use of such a juncture pause (not "hesitation pause") is not observed after a non-topic argument
- Average F0 value of this whole extract (254Hz) vs. the topic argument (257–427Hz)
- A sentence-initial argument serves as the topic argument of the sentence whenever it bears a rising pitch and is followed by a relatively long juncture pause

2.2 Prosodic properties indirectly signaling information structure

- Appended/comment-topic construction: the topic argument *buwu Uhko* is moved rightward from the pre-predicate position without any resumptive pronominal form
- The canonical counterpart: [*buwu Uhko*] [*tuwi mahpak*] [*kanuan ohcin naang*]
- Pitch and pause play a supplementary role to signal that the appended argument is the topic expression of the sentence

(2) *tuwi mahpak*   *konuan*   *ohcin naang,*   *buwu*   *Uhko.*
filled.too.full   by   bird   fish.trap   (name)
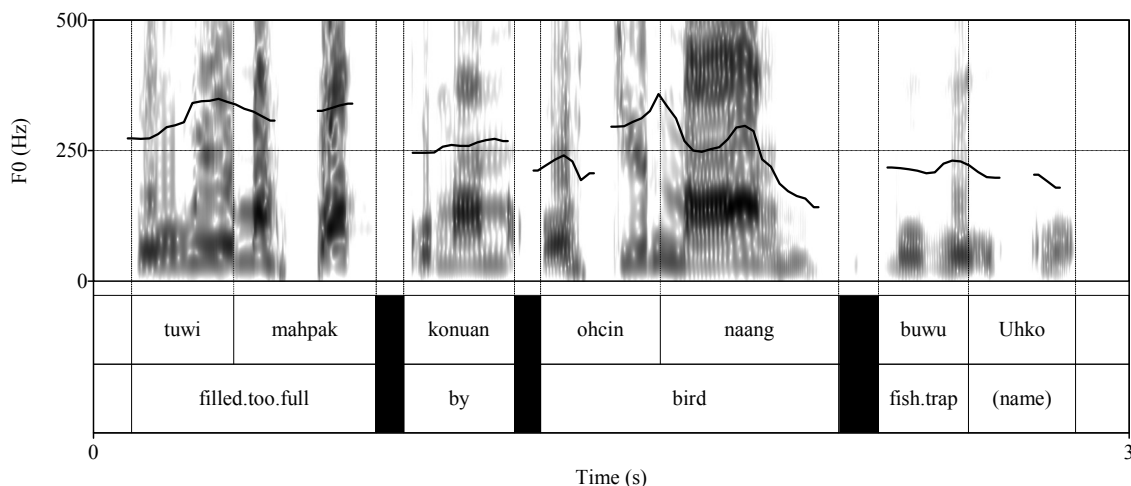'[It is] full of birds, Uhko's fish trap.'

Figure 2. Acoustic analysis of an appended construction

- *naang* [nàáŋ̀] with rising-**falling** pitch contour (250–**300–105** Hz)
- Sentence-final falling pitch is used in the middle of this sentence
- *buwu Uhko* with flat pitch
- Perceptible intervening pause (115ms) vs. the second gap (77ms)
- (1) contains 3 syllables per second vs. (2) has 5 syllables per second
- Prosodic properties can be the indirect or secondary formal indicator of information structure

3. Information-signaling constructions

3.1 Topic-comment and comment-topic constructions

- A constituent is regarded as a topic expression "if the proposition expressed by the clause […] is pragmatically construed as conveying information about the referent of the constituent"[1] (Lambrecht 1994: 131)

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[1] "Topic" or "theme" has sometimes been characterized metaphorically as "it were the peg on which the message is

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- The pragmatic presuppositions: 'Uhko' in (1) and 'Uhko's fish trap' in (2) are available as the topic for each narrative
- The pragmatic assertions: the establishment of aboutness relations between entities denoted by topic expressions and events denoted by the comment parts.

(3) a. Sentence: *(jadi) Uhko, nakung buwu=oh,*
     Pragmatic presupposition: Uhko is a topic for comment x
     Pragmatic assertion: x = carry *Uhko*'s fish trap
    b. Sentence: *tuwi mahpak kanuan ohcin naang, buwu Uhko.*
     Pragmatic presupposition: Uhko's fish trap is a topic for comment x
     Pragmatic assertion: x = be full with birds

(4) a. (From 2001 until 2002, here was a man from Tumbang Tuwe, Rungan River. The one who came to Tumbang Bolihkoi for treatment.)
     [TOP *aran   ulun   orih*],   [CMT *Liun*].
         name human that   (name)
     'That man's name was Liun'.
    b. (Then, amai Busun departed for Tumbang Tuwe (from Tumbang Bolihkoi).)
     [CMT *ko-duo   ondou ko-duo   ngolomi*] [TOP *k-ahcu-i*].
         total-two day   total-two night   (abstract.noun)-(far)-3sg.POSS
     'The distance, (it took) two whole days'.

- (4b): 'The distance was two whole days'
- The referent of *kahcui* is only loosely associated with the proposition "it takes two whole days"
- "Unlinked topic construction" (Lambrecht 1994: 193)

(5) a. [CMT *Liun*]   [TOP *aran ulun orih*].[2]
     'The man's name was Liun'.
    b. [TOP *kahcui*],   [CMT *koduo ondou koduo ngolomi*].
     'The distance, (it took) two whole days'.

(6) a. Sentence: *aran ulun orih, Liun.* or
                                  Liun aran ulun orih.
     Pragmatic presupposition: the man's name is a topic for comment x
     Pragmatic assertion: x = Liun
    b. Sentence: *koduo ondou koduo ngolomi kahcui.* or
                                  kahcui, koduo ondou koduo ngolomi.
     Pragmatic presupposition: the distance is a topic for comment x
     Pragmatic assertion: x = two whole days

(7) a. (The nun saw that he would not be fully-healed. And the nun talked to the village people, "You village people, please help him, I can't heal him anymore")
     ihco mahi   nyaro   ulun   lowu **ijo   kani dohop,**
     one even/either not.exist humah village **(relativizer) want help**
     'As for someone who wanted to help, (among) village people, there was no such one'.
    b. **ijo   kani dohop** *ihco mahi   nyaro   ulun   lowu.*
     (relativizer) want help   one   even/either not.exist human village

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hung" (Halliday 1970: 161, as well as the "point of departure for the message" (p. 162)) or "the hitching post for the new knowledge" (Chafe 1976: 44).
[2] More naturally, it will be said as *Liun ara-i* [(name) name-3sg.POSS] 'His name was Liun'.

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- Subject = *ihco* 'one',   Predicate = *nyaro* 'not exist'
- Comment part: *nyaro* or possibly *ihco mahi nyaro*
- Unlinked topics: 1. *ulun lowu* '(among) village people', 2. *ijo kani dohop* 'someone who wants to help'
- Main topic throughout the whole passage: *ijo kani dohop* 'someone who wants to help'

  (8)   Sentence: *ihco mahi nyaro ulun lowu ijo kani dohop* or
                                            ijo kani dohop ihco mahi nyaro ulun lowu
        Pragmatic presupposition: someone who helps him is a topic for comment x
        Pragmatic sub-presupposition: 'among the village people' is a topic for comment x
        Pragmatic assertion: x = there is no such one

- "Subjects are UNMARKED TOPICS and that the topic-comment articulation is the UNMARKED PRAGMATIC SENTENCE ARTICULATION" (Lambrecht 1994: 132)
- "The children went to school" ("What did the children do next?")
- In Kadorih, topic-comment (or comment-topic) articulation is the unmarked pragmatic sentence articulation

3.2 Entity-introducing constructions

- Presentational constructions involving an existential *tohko*, a locational demonstrative *anai* 'there (far afield)', an intransitive verb *lombut* 'come', or the combination of these words
- Usually used at the beginning of a story or when introducing a new entity
- The entity is assumed to be unpredictable or non-recoverable for the addressee at the time of utterance
- The constituent order must be [predicate-argument] (not [argument- predicate])

  (9) a. (At the beginning of a story)
        tohko ulun   tahkan sungoi Rungan
        exist human from   river   (name)
        'There was a man from Rungan River'.
    b. *anai ulun tahkan sungoi Rungan.*   'There was a man from Rungan River'.
    c. *anai lombut ulun tahkan sungoi Rungan.* 'There came a man from Rungan River'.
    d. **ulun tahkan sungoi Rungan tohko/anai.*

(10)   Sentence: *tohko/anai/anai lombut ulun tahkan sungoi Rungan.*
        Pragmatic presupposition: (no presupposition)
        Pragmatic assertion: there was/came a man from Rungan River

- (11b) is only a topic-comment construction (as if he had made an appointment with *anak palanduk*)

(11) a. (I went fishing. Then I saw that a rambutan tree bore a lot of fruits. So, I looked for some fallen fruits.)
        beteng=ku jo=ngurah=ah,   **lombut anak palanduk**.
        when=I   (relativizer)=look.for=them **come   child chevrotain**
        'When I was looking for them, the kid chevrotain appeared'.
    b. #*beteng=ku jo=ngurah=ah,* **anak palanduk lombut**.

- The existential *tohko*: an indicator of resultative perfect aspect which entails relevance to the resultant existence of an entity (Inagaki forthcoming: 108–109)
- Often utilized for making up a predicate which introduces an entity

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(12)   (On that day **I** didn't meet anyone, **I** was lost. So, it got dark again, and **I** slept in the
         jungle (again) anyway. **I** haven't met anyone for three days. **My** stomach was empty
         but there was nothing to eat.)
         [TOP ***ahku***] [CMT *tohko nyombang=ih,* ***duo kungan   kolop***].
                I   exist find=just   **two (classifier) tortoise**
         'I just found two tortoises'
         (because I had been traveling down a river. This river I don't know. A small river. So,
         it seemed to me that **those tortoises** were mating in the river. Right away I smashed
         them, the two tortoises. I got both of **the tortoises**.)

- (12): the previous context; 'my wandering in a jungle' and 'I'
- 'Two tortoises' has not yet been introduced
- Entity-introducing constructions are used for unpredictable or non-recoverable entities
- *Tree*, *river*, *sun* (nature world) or *clothes*, *meal*, *house* (daily-life and cultural world) are
  rarely introduced by a special construction
- Unless the speaker assesses that the addressee is not able to effectively process the referential
  expression at the time of utterance

3.3 Event-reporting constructions

- Event-reporting constructions: introduce a new event and new entity
- No formal characteristics such as prosody, syntax, or limited sets of predicates
- It is the existence of an event that the speaker wants to focus on by an event-reporting
  construction
- It is the existence of an entity that he or she wants to focus on by an entity-introducing
  construction.[3]
- The event (*baas*) *ngulam ngulam dinding dahpur=kai* necessarily involves specific species
  of wild animals as an agentive entity or entities

(13)   (When I was young, around 17 years old, I lived in Bolihkoi village here. There were
         few people in Bolihkoi village. Approximately there were 30 people. Houses were just
         humble. There were no people taking a walk along the road in the night.)
         uhcang baas   ngulam ngulam dinding dahpur=kai   ndoi   ngolomi.
         deer   strong chew chew   wall   kitchen=our(exclusive) if   night
         'Deers/a deer always gnawed the wall of our kitchen in the night'.
(14)   Sentence: *uhcang baas ngulam ngulam dinding dahpur=kai* […]
         Pragmatic presupposition: (no presupposition)
         Pragmatic assertion: deers always gnawed the wall of our kitchen […]

(15)   (Speaker Q notices something happened to speaker R)
         Q: *ombai   ma?*   — R: *poros   butui=ku.*
            why   (form.of.address)   ill   belly=my
            'Why, my uncle?'   —   'I have a stomachache'.

- Speaker R, the referent of *ku* 'my, I' is topical
- 'My belly' may become somewhat topical via the frame evoked by the possessor 'I'
- Speaker R's sentence is not a comment-topic construction

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[3] Sasse (1987: 526–527) makes the distinction between "*entity-central* and *event-central* thetic expressions".
Lambrecht (1994), following Sasse's (1987) distinction, uses the term "thetic sentences" "to designate a superordinate
information-structure category which includes the categories "event-reporting sentence" and "presentational
sentence" " (Lambrecht 1994: 144).

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- Any topic of this conversation (except for the cases where the speaker herself is the topic) is not yet established
- Possible topics for speaker R's sentence: 'my head', 'my nephew', 'my dog', …

3.4 Identificational constructions

(16) a. *#butui=ku poros.*
    belly=my ill
   b. *butui=ku jo=poros.*
    belly=my (relativizer)=ill
    'It is my belly that aches'.

- (16b): a usual reply to *narai jo=poros?* [what (relativizer)=ill] 'Where does it ache?'
- Identificational construction: identifies an entity and fills the blank part of a presupposed open proposition with the identified entity.[4]

(17)   Sentence: *butui=ku jo=poros.*
     Pragmatic presupposition: speaker's x aches or x aches
     Pragmatic assertion: x = belly   or x = speaker's belly

- Identificational constructions in Kadorih (cleft constructions): a kind of equational constructions in which a non-topical noun phrase equates a non-referring headless relative clause

(18)   (I'm going to start talking about the descendants of these 8 people. Pulang is a person whose descendants live in Batu Nyiwuh, and (he is) a person who have **Muang** and Lupat as his children.)
    [topic NP]   [referring headless relative clause]
    [*Muang=tuh*]*, wayah=tuh,* [*ijo   anai=ka   keturuna-i*].
    (name)=this, period=this, (relativizer) there.far.a.field=also descendant-his
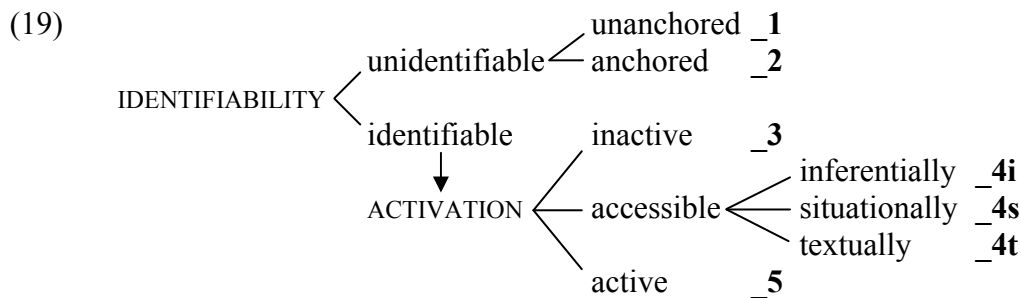   'Muang is a person whose descendants are also living today'.

- The headless relative clause *ijo anai=ka keturunai*:
  - functions as the comment for the topic NP *Muang=tuh*
  - refers to an identifiable set of individuals

4. Information status and realization of discourse referents

- The analysis will be conducted on arguments and adjuncts, which can designate discourse referents
- Verbal or adjectival predicates do not designate discourse referents

- Chafe (1976: 39) "*identifiable* would be a better term than definite"
- Lambrecht (1994: 77–78)
  - An identifiable referent: "one for which a shared representation already exists in the speaker's and the hearer's mind at the time of utterance"
  - An unidentifiable referent: "one for which a representation exists only in the speaker's mind"

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[4] This construction must be composed of **a 'new' referring expression** and a ('given') presuppositional expression. If it is composed of **a 'new' non-referring predicate nominal** and a 'given' referring expression (e.g. Eng. The ones who did that are **my friends (**Lambrecht 1994: 123)), then it is a simple comment-topic construction.

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- The cognitive category of identifiability is presumably universal and that it partly matches the grammatical category of definiteness (Lambrecht 1994: 87)
- "Not only do people's minds contain a large store of knowledge, they are also at any one moment in certain temporary states with relation to that knowledge" (Chafe 1976: 27–28) (careful attention to the importance of the addressee's consciousness)

(19)

```
                                          unanchored  _1
                        unidentifiable ⟨  anchored     _2
    IDENTIFIABILITY ⟨
                        identifiable      inactive      _3
                              ↓                                    inferentially  _4i
                        ACTIVATION ⟵  accessible ⟨  situationally  _4s
                                                                   textually       _4t
                                          active         _5
```

- The storyteller (primary speaker) vs. the audience of the story (primary addressee)

(20)   'The story of Uhko' (the preceding part from the beginning)
   a. this_4s   title=its_4s   [story Uhko walk check fish.trap]_1
   b. so Uhko_4   [day that]_1   depart walk set   fish.trap=his_4
   c. then Uhko_5   carry   fish.trap=his_5   [to 1(one) river]_1   and-he_5   set-it_5
      [at there]_5   [(relativizer) inside=his]_4i
   d. but   vision-his_4i   birds_1   many
   e. "finished self-its_4i" said Uhko_5 "I=this_4s set-it_5 [at upper tree= just]_1"
   f. then   Uhko_5   set   fish.trap_5   [at upper tree]_5
   g. so   [1(one) day that]_4i   Uhko_5   wait=it_4i
   h. filled.too.full   by   birds_5   [fish.trap Uhko]_5   "Oh!"
   i. so Uhko_5   directly=just_4i   he_5   climb walk check   [fish.trap that]_4i
   j. very=he_5   hit hit   [birds many that]_4i
   k. Ø_5   indeed   [(relativizer)=sprawled.out]_4i   [that's the story]

- **Unidentifiable and unanchored (_1)**
  - The referent of the title phrase in (20a) (can be **inactive** or "unused" (Prince 1986) if the addressee knows the story)
  - 'One day' in (20b), 'to a river' in (20c), and 'birds' in (20d) cannot be inactive (diegetic referents in a fictional setting)

- **Active (_5)**
  - 'Uhko', 'fish trap', '(on) tree' and '(in) river'

- 'Uhko' is coded by
  - Lexical item *Uhko* in (20abcefghi) (most frequent)
  - Pronoun *ahku* 'I' or *io* 'he' in (20ei)
  - Pronominal suffix *-i* (20cd) and enclitic *=oh* (20bcj)
- Kadorih storytellers often avoid referring to a character by means of pronominals or a phonologically null form
- 'Birds' is not coded in (20k) because of its active status

- **Accessible (semi-active) (_4)**
  - 'Uhko' in (20b) (first coding as an individual)
  - 'Fish trap' in (20b) (first coding as an instrument)

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- **Situationally accessible (_4s)**
  - The referent coded by a pronoun *ahku* 'I' within a directly quoted sentence in (20e) (deictically anchored with reference to the text-internal deictic center)
  - The referent coded by a demonstrative *tuh* [this] in (20a) 'now' (deictically anchored with reference to the time of the storyteller's utterance)
  - The referent coded by *jodol=oh* 'its title' in (20a) (inferred from the situation in the text-external world)

- 'Fish trap' is coded by
  - Lexical item *buwu* in (20abcfhi)
  - Pronominal suffix *-i* in (20ce)

- **Inferentially accessible (via the inference from the change of state) (_4i)**
  - The referent of *buwu atuh* [fish.trap that] in (20i) (the state of the fish trap is changed into 'full of birds' from the former state 'empty')
  - The referent of *ohcin aro atuh* 'that many birds'

- **Inferentially accessible (via the inference from the semantic frame) (_4i)**
  - 'His inside (=in his heart)' in (20c)
  - 'His vision (=to the eye of him)' in (20d)

(21)   'The story of Uhko' (the following part)
  a. then Uhko_**5** go.home bring birds_**5**   many [for Mulau]_**1**
  b. and-he_**5**   set-it_**5**   again   [at upper tree]_**4t**

  A dialogue between Uhko and Mulau
  c. so "why=(particle) yours_**4i**   (relativizer)=walk check fish.trap_**5** get birds_**5** many=(particle)   Uhko_**5**"   said Mulau
  d. "no Ø_**5** be.set=I_**5** [at upper tree]_**1**"   said   Uhko
  e. "most-excessive=(particle) yours_**4i**   [stupidity your=this]_**4i**"
  f. "not (experiential.perfect) human_**3** set fish.trap_**5** [at upper tree]_**5**" said Mulau
  g. "[at water]_**4i** [at river]_**4i**" said Mulau   for   Uhko
  h. "vision-my_**4i** birds_**5**   many=(particle)" said Uhko   "a.moment.ago_**4s**"
  i. "that_**4t**   I_**5** (relativizer)=set-it_**5** [at upper tree]_**5**"
  j. (so he busy cook clean [birds (relativizer) result fish.trap that there])
  k. "excessive [stupidity your=this]_**4i**" said   Mulau

  l. be.beaten Mulau_**5** by Uhko=this_**5** [at there]_**4i**
  m. lost thrown.out [stone stupidity Uhko there]_**5**   intelligent=entirely Uhko_**5** there=that_**5**
  n. this_**4s**   not=entirely he_**5** stupid   not=entirely he_**5**   be.stupid
  o. thrown.out lost=entirely [stone stupidity that]_**5**=entirely
  p. [that's story of] clever intelligent=entirely Uhko_**5**
  q. that_**4t**   finished   [word story story Uhko=that]_**4t**   [(relativizer)=stupid that]_**4i**
  r. that's.all=just

- **Textually accessible (_4t)**
  - The place coded by *aang taruk kacu* 'on a tree' (the time and place in the text- internal world: the Uhko's hunting scene → returning one, 'on a tree' is sufficiently deactivated by the scene change)

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- Text-internal dialogue is embedded in the discourse of the storytelling
- The storyteller (primary speaker) vs. the audience of the story (primary addressee)
- Uhko (embedded speaker/addressee) vs. Mulau (embedded speaker/addressee)
- (21c–k): information status is given on the basis of the embedded speaker and addressee

- (21c): the proposition denoted by the relative clause is presupposed
- Mulau has known that Uhko carried his 'fish trap' and brought 'birds' home
- 'On a tree' in (21d) has been **unidentifiable** at the moment ((21c) implies that the hunting process and place has not yet been identified by Mulau)

- The subject *ulun* 'human, people' in (21f) is used as a generic noun phrase, not an indefinite one.[5]
- The referent of *ulun* will always be at least identifiable, usually just **inactive** (the referent of such a generic noun phrase is stored in the addressee's long-term memory)

- **Unidentifiable and anchored (_2) items in Kadorih**
    - often occur in an entity-introducing construction
    - do not usually occur at the beginning of folklore tales
    - typically occur at the beginning of temporary stories based on personal experience
- Phrases in square brackets: unidentifiable and anchored referents
- Words or phrases in bold: the anchoring discourse referents

(22) a. *tohko* [*ulun **tahkan sungoi Rungan**_3*]_2.   (=9)
     'There was [a man **from Rungan River**]'.
   b. *anai* [*ihco ulun mondam **tahkan Kalimantan Barat**_3*]_2, *ijo arai Ranjung*
     'There was [an ill person **from West Kalimantan**, whose name was Ranjung]'.
   c. *ahku huang bakesah* [*gawi-**k**_5   **hondou=tuh**_4s*]_2 *ahan Kasuya, ...*
     'I'm going to tell Kazuya a story about jobs **today that I did**, …'
   d. *ahku huang mander* [*panyala-**k**_5   **ondou hawun**_4s*]_2 *ahan Kazuya.*
     'I'm going to report to Kazuya on a (small) trip **tomorrow that I will make**.

- 'A man' becomes more specific and the degree of its identifiability is increased through pragmatic anchoring
- 'Jobs' in (22c) and 'trip' in (22d) are anchored
    - by the currently active referent 'me'
    - by situationally accessible referents 'today' and 'tomorrow' respectively
- some events such as 'job' or 'trip' can be anchored with reference to their agents
- some semantically alienable entities such as 'fish trap' or 'kitchen' can only be loosely linked to their possessors

- Unidentifiable and anchored referents (_**2**)
- Object arguments: accessible (_**4**) and active (_**5**) referents
- Subject arguments: accessible (_**4**) and active (_**5**) referents
- Subject arguments: unidentifiable (_**1**) and inactive (_**3**) referents
- Unidentifiable referents (_**1**)

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[5] "[M]any languages have grammatical constraints against indefinite NPs in initial subject (i.e. unmarked topic) position" (Lambrecht 1994: 166), and generic noun phrases can occur in topic positions whereas indefinites cannot (cf. Gundel 1988: 213–215).
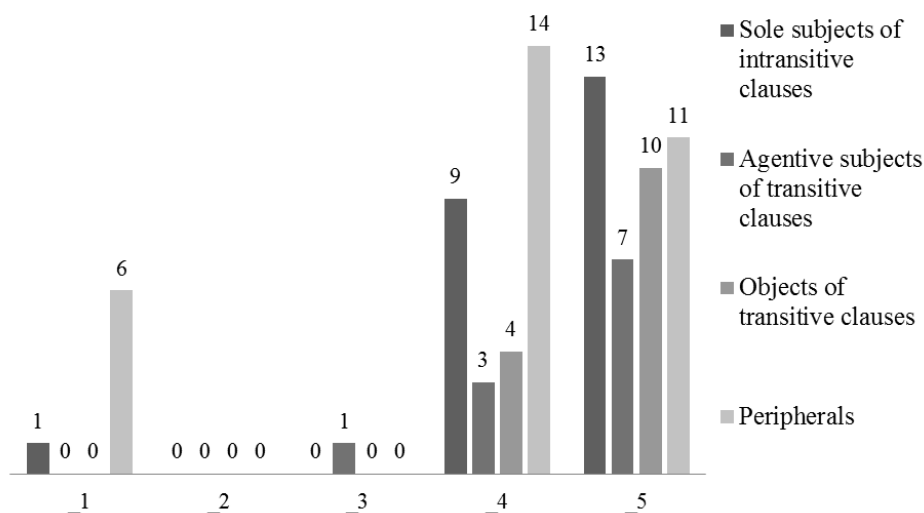
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Figure 3. Information statuses and grammatical relations

5. Conclusion

- Rising pitch and juncture pause can be the formal indicator of information structure
- Different kinds of constructions which signal information structure
  - were classified from the discourse-pragmatic point of view
  - were described through the analysis of categories of presupposition and assertion
- Two kinds of 'accessibility via inference'
  - Accessibility via inference from the change of referent's state
  - Accessibility via inference from the semantic frame evoked by an activated referent
- Coding tendencies of subjects, objects and peripherals in a folklore text

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