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Functions of Marked Perfectivity in Expository Discourse in Upper Tanudan Kalinga (Philippines)*

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While attention has been given to the function of marked tense, in particular the 'historical present', little discussion has been given to the function of marked aspect, and what attention has been given to either of these has been confined mainly to narrative discourse. In this paper, I will discuss the functions of marked perfectivity in expository discourse¹ in Upper Tanudan Kalinga². I will argue that perfectivity has two marked functions: the first signals that events occur sequentially, and the second draws the hearer's attention to a result, a key element in expository discourse in Upper Tanudan Kalinga.³

Verbal morphology in Upper Tanudan Kalinga expresses an aspectual opposition between perfectivity and imperfectivity.⁴ Following Comrie's (1976) definitions, perfectivity indicates that a situation is viewed as a whole; no explicit reference is made to its internal temporal structure. Imperfectivity, on the other hand, indicates that a situation is viewed from within; here, explicit reference is made to the internal temporal structure of the situation. Perfectivity is often associated with past time; imperfectivity is usually associated with nonpast time which includes present and future time and also time as it is expressed in conditions and hypothetical situations. In a text, one member of this aspectual opposition is unmarked in that it occurs more frequently; the other member is marked, and occurs less frequently. The selection of unmarked and marked aspects is determined by discourse genre.

Imperfectivity, the unmarked aspect

In expository discourse in Upper Tanudan Kalinga, most finite verbs occur in imperfective aspect; specifically, 86% (125 out of 145) of the finite verbs that are the predicate of an independent clause occur in imperfective aspect. The remaining 14% (20 out of 145) occur in perfective aspect. The same relative distribution pattern is repeated for verbs that are predicates of dependent clauses. The pattern is repeated again for nominalized verbs that indicate aspect, in both independent and dependent clauses. As the more commonly occurring contrast, the imperfective is labeled the unmarked aspect. An example of a theme from an expository text is given in (1). Notice that all finite verbs and the nominalized verb, *mangor'anos*, occur in the imperfective.⁵

(1)

Sa 'ose mangor'anos 'atte
 maN -'ala -an -na -'os
 T/SG one:LK IMPFT-get -NR-GEN/3SG-also OBL/SG

kinapangatna, 'ammangili kad 'atta
 man -mangili
 leadership:GEN/3SG IMPFT-have.visitor whenever OBL/PL

mangilin 'ela da 'udum, 'awag gad
 visitor:LK HORT GEN/3PL other EXT whenever

mabalinnak 'iyas 'onnu manukna
 ma -balin -na -'ak
 IMPFT-possible-ERG/3SG-SM piglet or chicken:GEN/3SG

'ayagana da mangili te
 'ayag-an -na
 call -IMPFT-ERG/3SG ABS/3PL visitor because

'ibi'inna de 'ili.
 'i -bi'in -na
 IMPFT-show.respect-ERG/3SG ABS/SG place

'As for another way of gaining his leadership, whenever he receives the visitors of others, whenever he has the means, such as a piglet or a chicken, he calls the visitor (to eat) because he wants to show respect on behalf of the community.'

Perfectivity, the marked aspect

In both independent and dependent clauses, a smaller number of finite verbs occurs in perfective aspect. Since the perfective occurs less often than the imperfective, it is labeled the marked aspect. A close examination of the perfective finite verbs shows that some encode completed events that have taken place in past time. Here, perfectivity is performing its typical function: since past events are usually completed events, past completed events can be viewed as whole situations and thus encoded in the perfective. Examples are given in (2)-(4).

(2) Nanur'uk 'ag gorbijan.
 naN-tur'uk
 PFT-first.thunder TI yesterday.

'It thundered for the first time yesterday.'

In (2), the perfective verb *nanur'uk* 'to thunder for the first time' reports an actual event, and begins an explanation of the customs surrounding *tur'uk*, the first thunder of the year.

Perfectivity and sequences of events

The remaining occurrences of perfectivity appear to perform two marked functions. The first function is local in scope and is associated with sequences of events.⁶ In the available texts, sequences of events are encoded in two conjoined verbal clauses. If the events are viewed by the speaker as being chronologically ordered, the verb of the first clause will occur in imperfective aspect and the verb of the second clause in perfective aspect, as shown in (5) and (6).

(5)

Sana kad da madagdaggup, nu dumakore
dakor-um- -'e
 now when ABS/PL gather when adult-IMPFT-LK

sadi ya na'apuwan, siyos ko'one
'apu -na--an
 that and grandparent-PFT ABS/3SG:also do/make:LK

'upan 'antuttudu 'atte 'in'inon pagay da matagu.
 keep.on advise OBL/SG way EMPH GEN/3PL live

'When all this is taken together, if a man grows up that way
 and has grandchildren, he will keep on giving advice about
 how to live properly.'

In (5), the sequence of events is encoded in two conjoined dependent clauses. The events are stated in their natural chronological order: a man must become an adult before he can have grandchildren. The verb in the first conjoined clause, *dumakor* 'to grow up', occurs in imperfective aspect; the verb in the second, *na'apuwan* 'to be a grandparent', occurs in perfective aspect.

(6)

Sadi 'umpay de tenan 'ay ni laraki
ten -an
 that EMPH ABS/SG leave-IMPFT EMPH ERG/SG man

de 'inana kan 'amana ya
 ABS/SG mother:GEN/3SG and father:GEN/3SG and

ni'itipun 'atte 'asawane boba'i.
ni'i -tipun
 PFT -join OBL/SG spouse:GEN/3SG woman

'That is when the man leaves his mother and his father
 and joins together with his wife.'

In (6), the sequence of events is encoded in two conjoined independent clauses. Again, the events are given in their natural chronological order: a man leaves his parents and then joins with his wife. Once more, the verb in the first conjoined clause, *tenan* 'to leave', occurs in imperfective aspect; the verb in the second, *ni'itipun* 'to join', occurs in perfective aspect.

The claim that perfectivity signals a chronologically ordered sequence of events is supported by comparing the sequences in (5) and (6) with those in (7) and (8) in which both verbs occur in imperfective aspect.

- (7) *Da matalligan, manduradurasda*
man -duraduras -da
 T/PL have.talligan.spirit IMPFT-writhe.in.pain-ABS/3PL

ya mang'it'ittada.
man -CVC -'ita -da
 and IMPFT-CONT-gasp.for.breath-ABS/3PL

'Those who have been afflicted by a *talligan* spirit, they writhe in pain and gasp for breath.'

In (7), the two conjoined events, *manduraduras* 'to writhe in pain' and *mang'it'itta* 'to gasp for breath', occur in the imperfective. The events have no natural chronological order in that it is not necessary for a person to writhe in pain before he or she gasps for breath. The speaker appears to be simply listing behaviors that are symptoms of the illness caused by the *talligan* spirit.

- (8) *Nu maka'ug'uggudkatte tagu ya*
maka -CVC -'ugud-ka -'atte
 if IMPFT-CONT-talk -ABS/2SG-OBL/SG person and

pi'on dika gelatte 'aggasang
 like/want ABS/2SG EMPH:OBL/SG spirit.type

tipakon, ma'aggasanganka.
tipak -on
 inflict-IMPFT be.afflicted.by.spirit:ABS/2SG

'If you talk with a person (who has an *'aggasang* spirit) and the *'aggasang* spirit wants to afflict you, you will have a spirit illness.'

In (8), the two events in the conjoined clause, *maka'ug'uggud* 'to talk' and *pi'on tipakon* 'to want to inflict', also occur in the imperfective.⁷ Again, there is no natural chronological order between the events. The context, in fact, suggests that the events overlap in time: the *'aggasang* spirit may decide to afflict a person with an illness while that person is talking with the one who is the host for the *'aggasang* spirit.

In these examples, it seems clear that perfectivity marks a series of events that are viewed by the speaker as chronologically ordered.

Perfectivity and results

The second marked function of perfectivity is to draw the hearer's attention to a result.⁸ If we accept that perfectivity can signal that one event chronologically follows another, then it is a short step to the claim that perfectivity can also signal

that one event is the result of another. Consider first a sequence of chronologically ordered events in which the last event is a result.

(9)

Nu 'umali 'woge lu'um 'atte boroy ya
 if come snake:LK snake.type OBL/SG house and

'ilande sa kuwade 'aggasang,
 see:IMPFT:ERG/3PL:LK T/SG own:GEN/3PL:LK spirit.type

lana'onda de long'agna ya
lana-on -da
 oil -IMPFT-ERG/3PL ABS/SG body:GEN/3SG and

'ummayaw de sadi ye 'uog.
'umm-'ayaw
 PFT -leave ABS/SG that LK snake

'If a *lu'um* snake comes into the house and they see that it is their own *'aggasang* spirit (in the snake), they will put oil on its body and that snake will leave.'

The main clause in (9) consists of two conjoined clauses encoding the events *lana'on* 'to place oil on something' and *'ummayaw* 'to leave'. The verb in the first conjoined clause occurs in the imperfective and the verb in the second in the perfective. While one could argue that here the perfective simply indicates that the events are chronologically ordered, it is clear from the context that the oil is placed on the snake in order to get it to leave the house.

A clause with only one verb offers more conclusive evidence that perfectivity is actually drawing attention to a result, rather than merely indicating that several events occur in chronological order. Consider (10).

(10)

'Oni.kade sadi 'adim pun pay da tagu
 later:LK then not:LK MOD EMPH ERG/PL person

dingngor te ngon ta dongrom 'os de
dongor-in-
 listen -PFT because why LK listen:ERG/2SG also ABS/SG

katti ye pangat?
 like.this LK leader

'Later on people will not listen to him because why should you listen to this kind of leader?'

Here, the perfective verb, *dingngor* 'to listen', is the only verb in its clause, and so it is clear that perfectivity cannot be marking a sequence of chronologically ordered events. The theme of the paragraph in which (10) is found is: a man who would be a leader must be concerned for the welfare of the community. (10) tells what will happen if the man is concerned only for the welfare of his family. As the first stated result for the paragraph theme, (10) forms the peak of the paragraph.

Notice that the sentence also contains a rhetorical question, a marked syntactic construction, which presents a reason for the result.⁹

Perfective aspect can also combine with nominalization to draw the hearer's attention to a result. Specifically, the nominalizer *-an* can be added to any finite verb and is another grammatical means of drawing attention to a result.¹⁰ The following example contains a perfective verb nominalized by *-an*. The sentence is taken from a text advising young people to marry someone from their own village. The theme of the paragraph is that if a person marries someone from another place and goes to live in that place, he might return to his own village unexpectedly and humiliate his parents if they should have no animal to butcher for a meal to honor him, as custom dictates.

(11)

Lummawingan 'os ni 'angosta te
lawing-umm--an
 bad -PFT -NR also GEN/SG feeling:GEN/1DL because

'ibagada kad 'in 'ingis'il kane "Awad kad 'in
 tell:ERG/3PL when CERT joke say:LK EXT then CERT

wot pinggikda kan dikayu?"
 then crush.in.hand:ERG/3PL OBL 2PL

nangdasanta 'ot 'atte lawinge somsomok.
naN-'odas-an-ta
 PFT-find -NR-GEN/1DL then OBL/SG bad:LK thought

'Our feelings will be hurt because when they make a joke, saying "Did they really have something to butcher for you?", we will end up having hurt feelings.'

[Literally: 'There will be the hurt of our feelings because when they make a joke, saying "Did they really have something to butcher for you?", there will be our act of finding ourselves with hurt feelings.']

The two results in (11) are presented in clauses having perfective nominalized verbs: *lummawingan* 'the act of being bad or hurt' and *nangdasan* 'the act of finding'. Both results state that a person who causes his parents to be humiliated will end up with hurt feelings.

It is important to point out that while perfectivity can draw attention to results, results are not obligatorily encoded in perfective forms. To the contrary, results can be, and often are, presented in imperfective forms, as shown in (12).

(12)

Nu 'adi ditos lugaman 'atta singkuwatte
if not ABS/1DL:LK place.weed OBL/PL owner:OBL/SG

sane talligan, matoyta.
ma -toy-ta
this:LK spirit.type IMPFT-die-ABS/1DL

'If the owner of this *talligan* spirit does not place an herb on us, we will die.'

In the texts considered for this study, 17 results are encoded in finite verbs. Of these finite verbs, 82% (14 out of 17) occur in the imperfective, and 18% (3 out of 17) in the perfective. In addition, 7 more results are encoded in verbs nominalized by *-an*. Of these, 57% (4 out of 7) occur in the imperfective and 43% (3 out of 7) in the perfective. Taken together, 75% (18 out of 24) of the results occur in the imperfective and 25% (6 out of 24) in the perfective.

It should also be noted that perfectivity does not appear to distinguish between those results that are paragraph peaks and those that are not.¹¹ Of the 24 results listed above, 17 are paragraph peaks. Of these, 76% (13 out of 17) occur in the imperfective, and 24% (4 out of 17) occur in the perfective. From these facts, we conclude that perfectivity is a means of drawing attention to results, but an optional one.

On the other hand, it is of interest that of the four paragraph peaks that present reasons, rather than results, all four occur in the imperfective; none occur in the perfective. Once perfective forms marking past completed events, and those marking sequences of events are removed, all remaining perfective forms are associated with results and no other kind of information. If this distribution pattern is determined by kinds of information and is not just the incidental consequence of a limited number of texts, then we conclude that although perfectivity is an optional means of drawing attention to results, it is a means of drawing attention to results, and only results.

Conclusion

In expository discourse in Upper Tanudan Kalinga, the majority of finite verbs and nominalized verbs that can indicate aspect occur in the imperfective. A smaller number of these forms occur in the perfective. Of these perfective forms, some encode completed events occurring in past time. For these forms, the perfective is performing its typical function. For the remaining forms, however, perfectivity performs two marked functions. One function is local in scope, and signals that a string of events are chronologically ordered. The other function is global in scope, and draws the hearer's attention to results, which are key elements in expository discourse in Upper Tanudan Kalinga. Taken together, these functions account for all the perfective forms in the data.

Abbreviations

ABS	absolutive	LK	linker
CERT	certainty	MOD	modal
CONT	continuous	NR	nominalizer
DL	dual	OBL	oblique
EMPH	emphatic	PFT	perfective
ERG	ergative	PL	plural
EX	exclusive	SG	singular
EXT	existential	SM	substitutemarker
GEN	genitive	T	topicmarker
HORT	hortatory	TI	time
IMPFT	imperfective		

Notes

* Portions of this paper have been published previously in Brainard (1991). Thanks is given to the Australian National University for permission to use that material in this paper.

1. Examples of expository, or explanatory, discourse are explanations of customs, such as those surrounding the planting and harvesting of rice, or marriage customs. The speaker's purpose in expository discourse is to explain and to prove. The surface structure of expository discourse is also used by speakers of Upper Tanudan Kalinga to mitigate hortatory discourse. (In this genre, the speaker's purpose is to persuade.) Mitigation is accomplished by using third person pronouns in examples of good and bad behavior and by addressing the hearers indirectly by means of first person dual pronouns (rather than second person pronouns). By employing the surface structure of expository discourse, a speaker can issue strong reproofs in a culturally acceptable way.

2. Upper Tanudan Kalinga is a member of the Central Cordilleran subgroup of Northern Philippine languages. It is spoken by about 3,000 people who live at the southern end of Tanudan Valley, Tanudan, Kalinga-Apayao, Luzon, Philippines. Upper Tanudan Kalinga is most closely related to Balangao, Bontoc, Kankanay, and Ifugao. This paper is based on seven expository texts that were gathered between 1982 and 1985 in the village of Lubo in Tanudan Valley while the author was living there, under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. The texts and their authors are listed below. The text *What is Marriage?* by Alfredo Tombali is included in Brainard (1991); all other texts are found in Brainard (1985).

<i>Marriage</i>	Victor Dalanao
<i>Supernatural Illnesses</i>	Dalen Do-ayan
<i>The First Thunder and the First Flooding of the River</i>	Lungayat Manao
<i>How a Person Lives a Righteous Life</i>	Alfredo Tombali
<i>The Way People Became Leaders in the Old Days</i>	Alfredo Tombali
<i>What is Marriage?</i>	Alfredo Tombali
<i>What is a Child?</i>	Alfredo Tombali

3. In a more detailed analysis (Brainard 1991), I suggest that expository discourse in Upper Tanudan Kalinga is composed of three key elements: theme, result, and contrast. Themes present the concepts that the speaker wants to explain or prove; results support those themes; and contrast (in the form of pairs of positive-negative sentences or adversative information) proves statements made by the speaker.

4. Verbal morphology also distinguishes between punctuality and durativity; however, an analysis of these aspects is beyond the scope of this paper.

5. Examples are given in orthographic representation. The symbol ' represents a glottal stop, which is always pronounced as a glottal stop. The symbol *k* represents what speakers of Upper Tanudan Kalinga call the 'silent *k*'. This phoneme is undergoing change: older speakers of the language pronounce the phoneme as [k]; younger speakers pronounce it as a glottal stop.

6. The association between perfectivity and sequences of events, mainly for events occurring in past time, has been noted by Hopper (1982:7,9) and Timberlake (1982:313) among others.

7. The verb *pi'on* 'to like/want' is a bare stem, and as such indicates imperfective aspect.

8. The association of perfectivity and results, primarily for events occurring in past time, has been noted by Comrie (1976:20-21) and Timberlake (1982:313).

9. Rhetorical questions in expository discourse in Upper Tanudan Kalinga function as strong negative assertions. (Rhetorical questions assume a negative response to the question.)

10. The nominalizer *-an* can be added to an imperfective verb as well as a perfective verb.

11. A paragraph peak is the first stated result or reason that supports the theme of the paragraph.

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