COHESION IN IVATAN

BETTY HOOKER

INTRODUCTION

Cohesion that runs through Ivatan¹ discourse has several components: thematization, deixis, linkage, and participant identification. The scope of this paper includes participants only in their relation to the other kinds of cohesion. The elements which make possible following the theme throughout a discourse and which give the reader signals of continuity are the cohesive elements.

1 THEMATIZATION

Ivatan narrative discourse structure is similar to Becker's formula for English paragraphs:² Topic, Restriction, and Illustration. In addition to these a discourse also includes Closure.

Dominican priests prepared materials on Ivatan, and some of their catechisms are still in use. One published work of theirs is Diccionario Español-Ibatan por Varios PP. Domínicos de las Islas Batanes (Manila, 1914).

This description is based on texts gathered by Morris and Shirley Cottle between 1955-1956 and 1959-1961 and on texts gathered by the author during residence in the municipality of Basco in the Central Ivatan dialect from April, 1970 to April, 1971.

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Phonemes of Ivatan are consonants $p, t, k, b, d, g, v, s, ch, j, l, r, m, n, ny, ng, w, y, h, and glottal stop (represented by grave accent <math>\dot{}$ over the vowel it follows), and vowels i, a, o, and e (a high central unrounded vocoid). Through borrowing from Spanish f is used in some borrowed words. ² Alton L. Becker, "A Tagmemic Approach to Paragraph Analysis," College Conference on Composition, Vol. XVI, No. 5 (1965), pp. 237-242.

¹ Ivatan is spoken by approximately 13,000 people most of whom live in the province of Batanes, Philippines, on the islands of Sabtang, Batan, and Itbayat. The language has been divided into three dialects: Northern Ivatan (Itbayaten), spoken by the people of Itbayat, Central Ivatan, the language of the provincial capital, Basco, and Southern Ivatan, spoken by the people of the southern towns on Batan and those of Sabtang. Ivatan is also spoken by many people in Manila and in Mindanao, relocated by the government to the communities of Malinao in Western Bukidnon and Wao in Lanao del Sur. Ivatan belongs to the same subgroup of the Malayo-Polynesian languages as other languages of the Philippines. Dyen (1965) places Ivatan as an independent member in the Philippine Hesion.

In the initial paragraph of an Ivatan narrative, the topic of the discourse is stated in general terms in the first one or two sentences. In the following parts of the introductory paragraph, the topic is restated in more specific terms. This is the restriction. For example, in the first sentence of one discourse the topic is a chief who stays at Chedkerey. In the next sentence, which begins the restriction, the name of the chief is given, and in the next sentence we are told that he is well known for his strength. The illustration of a discourse is its body, or main part, which consists of episodes that tell about the topic.

The topic and its restriction constitute the theme, or what is being talked about, in Halliday's terms.³ The illustration is the theme, or what is said about the theme, at this high level. Paragraphs, sentences, and clauses each have their own themes as well. In this description, theme refers to a semantic component of the discourse which represents the speaker's choice of a point of departure for a stretch of speech. Topic, on the other hand, refers to the specific surface structures used in Ivatan and other Philippine languages to express thematic choices.⁴

As already mentioned, the subject or theme of a narrative discourse is usually announced in the first sentence of the first paragraph. In a folk tale this is usually done in a single sentence which contains a 'once upon a time' formula followed by the introduction of the main characters (1.1). The discourse theme may also be introduced by dialogue, by implicitly involving the hearer in the story in asking questions, or by introducing the character, either in connection with the first event or in connection with setting.

Theme statement by means of dialogue is illustrated by this sentence: Mangay ta do piknik andelak, kwana ni Juan di Angel do asa ka araw no Sabado. "Let's go on a picnic tomorrow," says Juan to Angel one Saturday.' The theme of the discourse is the picnic and what happens there. Juan and Angel are the main characters.

Theme statement that involves the hearer in the story can be made in one of two ways, an 'if' statement with the hearer as subject, or a rhetorical question. The hypothetical question goes: An akmay mangay ka do kavahayan do Hoaridi am mavoya mo a asa kàoyod a magolang a tao. 'Suppose you go to the town of Hoaridi, you will see a very thin man.' The thin man is the theme of the discourse.

³ M.A.K. Halliday, "Notes on Transitivity and Theme in English, Part 2," Journal of Linguistics, Vol. III, No. 2 (1967), pp. 199-236. ⁴ Mckaughan (1958) was the first one to name the relationship between a

⁴ Mckaughan (1958) was the first one to name the relationship between a predicate and the rest of the clause, the topic. Later Alan Healey in the preface of Studies in Philippine Linguistics (1958) used the term focus to refer to this relationship. Austin (1966) discusses focus quite fully. 'The feature of focus permits the topic to stand in differing relations to the verb. The topic is formally marked by a series of pronouns and particles, and is frequently embedded within the comment. Its function in a verbal clause is indicated by the focus affix on the verb.'

The rhetorical question introducing the theme is illustrated in the following paragraph: Sino a maytataw o di a makapanmo sia o kàoyod na dilikado no viay do mahaod? Ara o màyet anmana solib do taw? Ara ava o makapanmo sia atavo o manam a mapaparin. Moyvoh o Dios a makapanmo sia. 'Who is a fisherman who does not know that the life of a rower is really dangerous? Is there one who is strong or knowledgeable about the sea? There is no one who can know all before it happens. Only God knows it.' The theme is stated in the first sentence, a fisherman and danger. The second paragraph introduces the characters and the way they are related to each other: Nangay KAMI do taw do kabispera no fiesta no San Antonio, patron no taotao do Diptan. Ara ava o akmay katangtanggal namen sia o kayan no manam a rahet no tiempo aran do kakavavayat naranaw. Oyod a masehdang as kahteng na pa. Sivog NAMEN a trato kan nira O RARAYAY KO SAWRI o kangay namen do taw. SI PIO kan NI LAZARO o nararay ko sawri. YAKEN o BOGADOR as na SI LAZARO am na MANIPED. SI PIO o MANIDO so dibang a bedberen. 'WE went to sea on the evening of the fiesta of San Antonio, patron saint of the people of Diptan. There was nothing to warn us beforehand of bad weather even till it was met. It was really calm and light yet. For a long time already MY COMPANIONS and I had contracted to go to sea. PIO and LAZARO are my companions. As for me, I was the ROWER and LAZARO was the STEERER. PIO is the one who nets the flying fish.' Here again the topic and restriction go from a general statement to a lower level of generality. The capitalized words indicate the progression.

Each of these discourse introductions provides the setting in space and in time. A second purpose is to introduce the characters and the theme, providing a definite cohesive function for the discourse as a whole. In the following section I describe the most characteristic way of introducing folk tales in Ivatan.

1.1 FOLK TALE INTRODUCTION

In the first sentence of a folk tale narrative the theme is usually introduced by what Taber calls the Formal Introduction.⁵ This formal introduction is composed of two major parts: a 'once upon a time' formula and the character introduction.

The formula includes the following lexemes. The existential verb *mian* 'is, was' is often the first word of the narrative. Of the twentynine narratives examined, twenty-two used *mian* in the first sentence. There are some folk tales which did not use *mian*, but merely named the character and described him: Si Juan am mayfirmi a magolo.

⁵ Charles Taber, *The Structure of Sango Narrative*, Hartford Studies in Linguistics No. 17, Part I, 1966, pp. 80-81.

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'John is always in trouble.' Still other tales began with 'This is a story about three sisters.' Some of the folk tales using *mian* merely introduce the characters and do not include any other of the lexemes which may be found in a 'once upon a time' formula; these I have not included as having the formula. Therefore, of the twenty-two above which use *mian*, only eighteen are included as using the formula.

Kono 'it is said' immediately following mian lends an air of fictionality, or at least warns that the narrator does not take responsibility for the truthfulness of the account. Of the eighteen texts which use the 'once upon a time' motif, eight use kono.

Often the next item which follows is a time element *kaychoa* 'long ago.' Occasionally this lexeme can be the first word of the discourse. Of the eighteen 'once upon a time' texts, fourteen use *kaychoa* and of these *kaychoa* was found once initially.

The final item in the formula may be some kind of vague locative. This can be dia 'here' or daw 'there'. In this context dia and daw do not have any situational meaning but are part of the 'once upon a time' formula. Another way of expressing a vague location is do asa ka marai a kavahayan 'in a far town' or something similar. The vague locative was used in five of the eighteen 'once upon a time' introductions.

Characters are introduced in the thematic position of this formal introduction by means of a descriptive noun phrase. The character is topic of the first clause and also of the discourse. The introductory noun phrase often includes indefinite *asa* 'one'. Some examples are as follows: *o asa ka mahakay* (topic-marker one count-relational man) 'one man'; *o asa ka mapteng a tigri* (topic-marker one count-relational hungry relational tiger) 'a hungry tiger'.

When a character is introduced in the formal introduction by himself, he is the theme and main character of the narrative. For example, *o asa ka mapteng a tigri* 'a hungry tiger' is the main character of a story.

If there are several characters introduced in the first sentence, they can be introduced in one of two ways. First, they may be introduced as a group such as 'two friends' or 'three sisters'. This fills the topic slot (Becker) of the discourse. *Mian kono kaychoa sa daw o dadwa ka maykayvan* (Exist it-is-said long-ago plural there topic-marker two count-relational friends.) 'Once upon a time there were two friends.' Then the statement or statements following fill the restriction slot and specify the individuals who compose the group: *Am no asa aya am CHONGGO as no asa aya am IRANG*. (Relation-marker functionmarker one this relation-marker MONKEY and function-marker one this relation-marker TURTLE.) 'One was a MONKEY and one was a TURTLE.'

Second, the characters may be introduced separately in a topic sentence, joined by the phrase conjunction kan 'and'. Mian kono sa dia o asa ka mavota KAN no asa ka mavokot. (Exist it-is-said plural here topic-marker count-relational blind AND function-marker one countrelational cripple.) 'Once upon a time there were a blind man AND a cripple.' Usually the first mentioned will be the least active in the total plot, and the one last mentioned is usually the hero. When there are more than two, quite often they will be a group versus an individual or a group versus a group. This is seen in a story about three sisters in which the older sister, mentioned first, is by herself and the two younger sisters, mentioned last, act as a group and live together. In the story of the blind man and the cripple, the cripple is the one who acts and who also states the summary at the end. In the first example, the turtle in the restriction is the one who outwits the monkey, and following the same pattern is mentioned last. Thus the introductions introduce the theme and give clues as to who is the hero.

1.2 PARAGRAPH THEME

The theme of the discourse is also the theme of the first paragraph. It may be the theme of subsequent paragraphs as well, or the theme may differ from paragraph to paragraph. The paragraph theme is introduced in the first sentence. As examples of different themes in adjoining paragraphs, here are the first two paragraphs of one discourse in which the theme of the discourse, a chief, is in the initial sentence and expanded in the rest of the first paragraph: Mian kono kaychoa o asa ka dato a matda do di Chedkerey. No ngaran no dato aya am si Dato Jade do di Chedkerey. Niaya a dato am navahey a màyet do logar ori di Chadpidan. 'Once upon a time there was a chief who lived at Chedkerey. This chief's name was Dato Jade from Chedkerey. This chief was known for strength in that place of Chadpidan.' Then, in the second paragraph a new character, Chief Tayong, is introduced and is theme of that paragraph: Asa ka araw am nangay si Dato Tayong do di Chedkerey as kakey na a omproyba dia o ayet awri no madngedngey nawri a si Dato Jade. Kawara na daw ni Dato Tayong am vatahen na di Dato Jade o kakey na a omproyba dia o ayet awri no Dato awri do di Chadpidan. 'One day Dato Tayong went to Chedkerey and wanted to prove that strength which he heard of Dato Jade. When Dato Tayong arrived there, he said to Dato Jade that he wanted to prove that strength of that chief at Chadpidan.'

Paragraphs are unified in temporal sequence, in linkage, and in their relation to a central theme. Many paragraphs in Ivatan are distinguished because of temporal borders in the first sentence such as 'one day', 'later', 'noon', 'sunrise', and 'again'. The major cohesive element of a paragraph is the theme. When the theme changes, there is a

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new paragraph. The two paragraphs just given illustrate a change of theme. Chief Jade in paragraph one is the theme; in paragraph two Chief Tayong is the theme. There seems to be a correlation between what is grammatical subject of the first independent clause of a paragraph and the theme.

1.3 CLAUSE THEME

According to Halliday each clause has a theme, or what is being talked about.⁶ In Ivatan as in many other Philippine languages the theme of the clause is marked by a topic marker in cross reference with a corresponding focus inflection on the verb. The topic markers in Ivatan are si for personal nouns and o for common nouns and embedded clause that function as topic. If a pronoun is the theme, one of the topic pronoun sets⁷ is used. The focus inflections of Ivatan indicate subject focus, object focus, associative focus, and referent focus.

The following are some examples of unmarked theme of a clause exemplified by the topic marker and the focus inflection that tells what grammatical function is in focus with the topic following the verb in normal order: MAngay SI Dato Tayong do di Chedkerey (SUB-JECT-FOCUS-go PERSONAL-TOPIC Chief Tayong function-marker place-marker Chedkerey) 'Chief Tayong is going to Chedkerey', tapian no ahapEN da O aro sawri a kaddin (so-that function-marker get-OBJECT-FOCUS they TOPIC-MARKER many plural-that relationalmarker goat) 'so that they may get those many goats'.

Thematic identification puts the theme and the rest of the clause in the two parts of an equative construction.8 It is used for definite-

⁸ Austin describes attention as a feature of a paragraph. 'Two diverse elements marked as 'topic' may occur within one clause only in an equational relationship. When attention is on topic the favorite clause order of comment-topic is reversed.' 'Any clause having an expressed topic may form the basis of an identificational clause. The topic is permuted to pre-predicate position, the topic relation markers

⁶ Halliday, op. cit.

⁶ Halliday, op. cit. ⁷ The personal pronouns are divided into five subclasses by Lawrence Reid, An Ivatan Syntax, Oceanic Linguistics, Special Publication No. 2, 1966, p. 88ff. based on the focus-topic system. The nontopic pronouns are ko 'I', mo 'you', na 'he', ta 'we incl.', namen 'we excl.', nio 'you pl.', and da 'they'. The topic subject pronouns are ako 'I', ka 'you', sia $\sim O$ (no pronoun word), ta 'we incl.', kami 'we excl.', kamo 'you pl.', and sira \sim sa 'they'. The topic object set, which also serve as emphatics, are yaken 'I', imo 'you', sia \sim iya 'he', yaten 'we incl.', yamen 'we excl.', inio 'you pl.', sira \sim sa 'they'. The focus markers are topic common o, topic personal si, singular, sira, plural; nontopic common no associative, subject; so object; do referent and locative, and nontopic personal singular ni associative, subject and plural nira; and locative, and nontopic personal singular ni associative, subject and plural nira; di referent and locative singular and plural dira.

changing to the no series where topic is in portmanteau function with either subject, object, associative or beneficiary. (Before a personal noun phrase however, *ni* remains *si.*) When topic is in portmanteau function with referent, the relation markers change to the *do* series. Topic pronouns change to emphatic. Topic demonstratives, dem_1 change to the dem_2 set. Predicate is nominalized by an immediately preceding o.'

ness and exclusiveness. In Ivatan there are two kinds of thematic identification: Halliday's 'identifying clause' and his 'predication'. In Ivatan a special identifying construction is formed by placing that which is thematic, a nominalization, first in the clause. Following the nominalization is a link am and then the rest of the clause: no pinarin na am mayyayo (nominalizer past-do he link subject-focus-run) 'what he did was run'. In this clause 'run' is the exclusive goal of his doing; 'what he did' is theme. Another form of thematic identification found in Ivatan is predication. Reid calls it an identificational clause.⁹ Predication is a cleft sentence which in English places the theme as the complement of the verb 'be': It is JOHN who broke the window. This predication implies that 'John and only John is the theme of this sentence'.¹⁰ In Ivatan any clause having an expressed topic may form the basis of an identificational clause: NO PAGAD o palangen no tao no pinospos (function-marker CARABAO nominalizer lead-object-focus function-marker man function-marker rope) 'it is the CARABAO that the man leads with a rope'.

2. DEIXIS

Any speech act takes place in a particular place and at a particular time. It is made by a particular person, the speaker or first person, and addressed to another person, the hearer or second person. It also may include a reference to objects or persons distinct from the speaker or hearer. Thus personal pronouns, especially first and second person, are part of the deictic system of any language.¹¹ Second person is especially related to imperative and interrogative, in Ivatan. One rarely makes a flat statement to another person such as 'You are going to Mahatao tomorrow'. He might say Mangay ka do Mahatao andelak? (Subject-focus-go you function-marker Mahatao tomorrow) 'Are you going to Mahatao tomorrow?', but he would not say Mangay ka do Mahatao andelak 'You are going to Mahatao tomorrow' except as affirmation of the other person's answer to the question. One can also say Mangay ka do Mahatao andelak in the imperative sense: 'Go to Mahatao tomorrow'.

Besides person, other deictic categories are place, time, and visibility. Place deixis includes the relative distance from the first or second person. In Ivatan there seems to be a four way division of distance. This

The demonstratives are divided into four types by Reid, p. 68: dem, ya 'this', ori 'that'; dem, niaya 'this', naori 'that'; dem, diaya 'here' and daori 'there'; dem₄ tia 'here it is' and tori 'there it is'. ⁹ Reid, op. cit.

¹⁰ Halliday, op. cit. ¹¹ John Lyons, "Deictic Categories," in Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics (Cambridge: University Press, 1969), pp. 275-281.

will be presented in 2.1. Also related to place deixis is visibility. Ango parinyen mo AYA? (What do-object focus you THIS) 'What is THIS you are doing?' implies that the speaker can see what is going on; but when the activity is not visible the question is Ango parinyen mo AW? 'What is THAT you are doing?'

Time deixis can be expressed by deictic adverbs and demonstrative adjectives. Some of the deictic time adverbs are *andelak* 'tomorrow', *sicharaw* 'today', *kakoyab* 'yesterday', *antiaw* 'later today', *kaytiaw* 'earlier today', *kàhep* 'last night'. For a further discussion of time adverbs see Hidalgo and Hidalgo.¹² In addition to the deictic time adverbs, the deictic demonstratives in themselves have a time element. For the most part, *aya* 'this' implies what is nearer in time and *aw* 'that' and *ori* 'that' imply what is farther away in time. An example of this difference is in the question *Do mavokhas AYA anmana do mahep na PAW*? (In morning THIS or on night its yet-THAT) 'In THE morning or on THAT night yet?' Here morning is closer in time than the night before.

2.1 DEIXIS AND INFORMATION STRUCTURE

The information structure¹³ is based upon two types of information in a clause, given and new. Given information relates to what the speaker was talking about before, and new information is the rest. "Language permits the transfer of information from the mind of the speaker to the mind of the hearer. The speaker assumes that some of the information he is conveying is new; it is information he is introducing into the hearer's mind for the first time."¹⁴ The information which is not new is what the speaker and hearer share, either from their common environment (extralinguistic) or from sentences already uttered (linguistic).

Chafe also notes that there must be definiteness on a noun that is not new. Definiteness indicates familiarity with the concept. In Ivatan the frequent use of *aya* 'this' and *awri* 'that' within an oral text and the less frequent use within a written text leads me to think that *aya* and *awri* are being used to mark definiteness, thus letting one know that the information is not new. This marking of the old information also has the function of information focus with contrastive identification. One speaks of 'this girl (the one I talked about before)' in contrast to any other girl there might be.

Within the information unit there is a focal point where the speaker chooses to place the main burden of the message. This focal point

¹² Cesar Hidalgo and Araceli Hidalgo, The Structure of Ivatan: Phonological, Lexical and Grammatical Components (University of the Philippines, 1970).

¹³ Halliday, op. cit. ¹⁴ Wallace L. Chafe, "New and Old Information," in *Meaning and the Structure* of Language (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1970), p. 210.

lets one know that this constituent of the information unit is 'new'. Halliday points out that for English intonation marks information focus. In Ivatan information focus seems to be marked less by intonation than by the use of specific words, the deictic demonstrative adjectives.

Hidalgo and Hidalgo divide the demonstrative pronouns into locative and nonlocative.¹⁵ They further indicate that these involve four categories of spatial relationships. The following diagram gives these categories and their exponents:

	Nonlocative	Locative
Near Speaker	$ya \sim na$ aya 'this'	$diaya{\sim}dia$ 'here'
Near Hearer	$nawri \sim naw \sim ori$ 'that'	dawri~daw 'there'
Remote	nongoya 'that over there'	dongoya 'over there'
Very Remot e	nongoriaw 'that over there far'	dongoriaw 'over there far'

In the chart nawri and naw and ori 'that' are all listed as alternates, as are dawri and daw 'there', and diaya and dia 'here'. According to Reid ori and aw 'that' are morphophonemic alternants.¹⁶ I suggest, however, that there is a semantic difference in forms of each set. Initial informant reaction is that there is no difference of meaning in the alternatives. But changing from single words to full sentences, I asked my informant what the difference in meaning was between (1) do mahep ori am naholi da o krimino (on night that relation-marker catch-past they topic-marker criminal) 'on that night they caught the criminal' and (2) do mahep aw am naholi da o krimino (on night that relationmarker catch-past they topic-marker criminal) 'on that night they caught the criminal', I was told that in (1) ori would mean 'that very night and no other' and in (2) aw would be 'that night'.

Because of this reaction and similar ones I suggest that there is a semantic difference between aw and ori, and that this difference also exists between daw and dawri 'there', naw and nawri 'that one', and kwansaw and kwanasawri 'later'. The same difference also seems to exist between dia and diaya 'here' and nia and niaya 'this one'. This semantic difference seems to have to do with information focus with contrastive identification. So daw 'there' and dia 'here' are new information either in situational reference or perhaps also in textual reference with unmarked information focus, but dawri 'there' and diaya 'here' are given information being given contrastive identification and therefore carry marked information focus.

¹⁵ Hidalgo and Hidalgo, op. cit., p. 47.
¹⁶ Reid, op. cit., p. 93.

3. LINKAGE

According to Longacre, linking is 'repeating, paraphrasing, or referring in some manner at the onset of a succeeding sentence to the whole or part of the preceding sentence."¹⁷ Linkage is a cohesive device which provides continuity of participants, continuity of action, and continuity of the sequence.18

Conceivably, linkage could occur on the discourse level as one moves from one structured discourse to another in a conversation or in a situation where more than one tale is related. In the narrative texts that I examined, the linkage between topics of conversation was obtained by asking a question about someone or something just mentioned or asking a question about something that was brought to mind by the conversation but perhaps not explicitly mentioned. Here is an example: Francesca says in a conversation, 'And also Fabian met her in Luisa's place. That was when they went to bid on her departure to Batanes. She had no letter to come here.' Antonio answers, 'Now how about Luisa? Are they still in Manila or are they yet in Batanes?' and the topic of conversation shifts from Fabian to Luisa and her doings.

Linkage between paragraphs is mainly through the continuity of participants.¹⁹ Another link is a temporal border such as shown in the following: Oyod a nasaray a tigri aya ta iktokto na o kakan na so motdeh awri an kapakahavas no tao awri do rarahan. New paragraph: KWANASAW am madngey na o vatahen no mavakes. (Very attributivemarker happy topic-marker tiger this because think he topic-marker eat he function-marker child that when pass function-marker that functionmarker road. LATER relation-marker hear he topic-marker say-objectfocus function-marker woman) 'This tiger was really happy because he thinks that he will eat that child when that man on the road passes by. LATER he hears the woman say.' As mentioned before, the major cohesive unit of a paragraph is its contribution to a theme.

 ¹⁷ Robert E. Longacre, Discourse, Paragraph and Sentence Structure in Selected Philippine Languages, Vol. I (Santa Ana: Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1968).
 ¹⁸ Robert C. Thurman, Chuave Medial Verbs. (Manuscript)
 ¹⁹ Virginia Larson, Pronominal Reference in Ivatan Narrative. (Manuscript)

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