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Carol J. Pebley
Thomas E. Payne

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Foreword

Kami na mga Kagayanen, gabaked kay na naan ta ame na isip na Kagayanen na ambaḷ dili masuḷat daw dili mabasa. Uḷa kaugalingen na alphabet daw uḷa kaugalingen na grammar. Piro, ta mga ittaw na paryo ki danen Mam Carol J. Pebley na may tagipsuson daw may kaaḷam ta pagstudyo ta mga ambaḷ, danen gagastos ta iran na uras daw kaaḷam na iran na pastudyuan lagan ta ambaḷ nay na Kagayanen. Yi na libro isya na baked na tabang ki kami na mga Kagayanen aged ame man na makita na ambaḷ na Kagayanen dili nang buat-buat nang ta mga ittaw daw dili, isya man na linggwai na alin ta Dyos na Makakagaem na ta ame na lai na Kagayanen paatagan kay man ta ame na kaugalingen na ambaḷ, kultura daw duma pa na ame na pwidi ipabugal man naan ta duma na mga ittaw naan ta kalibutan i. Yi man na libro baked na tabang ta mga Kagayanen o dili Kagayanen na liag magstudyo ta ambaḷ na Kagayanen. Yi man na libro baked na tabang aged dason na mga hinirasyon ta mga Kagayanen magpadayon pa gid ta mag-ambaḷ ta Kagayanen, dili magsalyo alin ta ambaḷ na Kagayanen munta naan ta mga language of wider communication. Yi man na libro makatabang man ta pagbawi ta ambaḷ na Kagayanen na dili marwad para ta mga intrisado na mga Kagayanen na liag malik o magstudyo ta ambaḷ ta iran na lai. Saksi a na libro na i bunga ta lugay na pag-istar, dayad na pagpangabui duma ta mga Kagayanen daw pagstudyo naan mismo ta ame na banwa na Cagayancillo na lugar na alinan ta ame lai na mga Kagayanen. Liag ko ipaabot ake na baked na pasalamat naan ki Mam Carol J. Pebley daw Thomas E. Payne daw ta tanan na gatabang na mabuat yi na libro na parti ta *A grammar of Kagayanen.*

Engr. Sergio S. Tapalla
Municipal Mayor
Municipality of Cagayancillo, Republic of the Philippines

English translation

We the Kagayanens, we grew up having in our thinking that the Kagayanen language cannot be written and cannot be read. We didn't have our own alphabet and didn't have our own grammar. But people like Ms. Carol J. Pebley and companions who had a heart and had knowledge to study languages, they have spent their time and knowledge in studying the pattern of our Kagayanen language. This book is a big help to us the Kagayanens so that we will see that the language of Kagayanen is not just made up by people, but rather it is a language that is from Almighty God for our Kagayanen heritage, that we are given our own language, culture and other things that we should be proud of to other people in the world. Also, this book is a big help to Kagayanens and non-Kagayanens who want to study the Kagayanen language. Also, this book is a big help so that the next generations of Kagayanens will really continue to speak Kagayanen, not shift from the Kagayanen language to the languages of wider communication. Also, this book is able to help to save the Kagayanen language that it will not be lost for interested Kagayanens in returning or to studying the language of their heritage. I witness that this book is the fruit of residing a long time, maintaining good relationships with Kagayanens and studying in our very own town of Cagayancillo, the place of our Kagayanen heritage. I want to express my great thanks to Carol J. Pebley and Thomas E. Payne and all who helped in making this book about *A grammar of Kagayanen*.

Information on Honorable Sergio Sembrano Tapalla Mayor of Cagayancillo, Palawan, Philippines

Mayor Sergio S. Tapalla has been very supportive of the Kagayanen language project in many ways over a long time because of his love for his people, the Kagayanens, the culture, the language and the home island of Cagayancillo. Here are some of the things he has been involved in using his time and talents. He led a group of five who reviewed the Kagayanen translation of Genesis and the New Testament as a final step and gave very helpful feedback to improve it. He also wrote in Kagayanen about the serialized Spanish newspaper articles about Cagayancillo written in 1893 by a Spanish priest, Father Salvador Pons, who was parish priest in Cagayancillo for 3 years. What Mayor Tapalla wrote will be included with the English translation and other supplementary materials which have been edited by Louise MacGregor to be published by GPS International as an e-book, *The micro-archipelago of Cagayancillo in 1893: A scholarly friar's observations*. Mayor Tapalla is also a talented musician who authored the music and

lyrics of several original Kagayanen and Tagalog songs and he is the founding member of *Tatos Ta Mga Kagayanen* ("Coconut Crab of the Kagayanens") which is an all Kagayanen ethnic singing group that has performed on public stages. The songs he composed were played for a number of years on the Kagayanen radio program anchored by three Kagayanens on the local radio station GMA and currently is broadcast live via Facebook as "Kagayanen Community" which airs every Sunday evening at 8:00 pm to 9:00 pm. Many of these songs had the theme of loving the Kagayanen language and continuing to use it.

Currently (2024) Sergio S. Tapalla is the Municipal Mayor of Cagayancillo, Palawan, Philippines. He is the son of deceased former mayor of Cagayancillo Atanasio A. Tapalla who served undefeated in that position for 30 years. Atanasio A. Tapalla was also very supportive of the Kagayanen language project. Mayor Sergio S. Tapalla was born and grew up in Cagayancillo where he finished his elementary and high school. He is a licensed civil engineer, graduating from Central Philippines University with a Bachelor of Science in Civil Engineering in 1984. He recently retired as the City Engineer of Puerto Princesa City, Palawan.

Dedication

This book is dedicated to the Kagayanen people who received me into their communities, into their homes and into their lives. They so patiently taught me their language and their cultural ways. I am very grateful for all my years learning from them and especially their friendships. Most of all I dedicate this book to *Maal ta na Dios* 'our Beloved God.' — Carol Jean Pebley

Acknowledgments

We are very grateful to many Kagayanen speakers who have befriended Carol, taught her to speak Kagayanen, encouraged her, and helped her in many ways including contributing stories and many long conversations. It is impossible to list everyone here and so we will just mention those who worked with Carol for a significant time period. These include Henry Bungalso, Mermor Ballena, Levi Bonales, Darlie Bundal, Jocelyn Bundal, Ruby Bundal, Lorebeth Obra, and Edith Tapalla. Without their patient and invaluable help this grammar would not exist.

During the time Carol lived in Kagayanen communities, several SIL linguistic consultants worked with her in analyzing and writing on different aspects of the Kagayanen language. These include Sherri Brainard, Mary Ruth Wise, Lou Hohulin, Doris Payne and Thomas Payne. The things learned through these consultations have been incorporated throughout this grammar. In the early stages of writing this grammar Mike Cahill, another SIL linguistic consultant, worked with Carol on the Phonology during a 6-week academic writing workshop in Bagabag, Philippines. Others have commented on various chapters and have given us good advice and ideas for improving the grammar. These include Janet Allen, Michael Boutin, Pastor Jehu Pedigan Cayaon, Sharon Joy Estioca, Melanie Bundal Fresnillo, Jacqueline Huggins, Paul Kroeger, Louise MacGregor, Ken Manson, Ricardo Nolasco, Steve Quakenbush, and Doug Trick. Our sincere apologies for any omissions.

Carol is wholeheartedly thankful for the many who have supported her in the Kagayanen project for many years, including churches, family and friends. A special mention is due Professor Walter Zorn who sparked Carol's love of languages and inspired her in continuing to study languages during her first years at Great Lakes Bible College in Lansing Michigan. Previous to this she had no interest or experience in languages or linguistics. Carol is also grateful to her teachers at Fort Wayne Bible college, SIL Dallas, and the University of Texas at Arlington. Though all her teachers were important in her training, the ones who were the most encouraging during her linguistic M.A. course at SIL and UTA were Ilah Fleming, Robert Longacre, Terry Malone, Kenneth Pike, and Eunice Pike. Also, many friends during her training days and since have given her the confidence and hope to persevere in working in the Philippines, learning Kagayanen,

describing it, and writing a complete grammar. These include friends and roommates during the Dallas training, friends and supporters in the USA, as well as SIL and TAP (Translation Association of the Philippines) friends and colleagues in the Philippines. Carol is especially indebted to her teammates on the Kagayanen project: Scott MacGregor and Louise MacGregor, Jacqueline Huggins, Josephine Wan and Michael Wan, and Carla Morgan. Without their support, advice, discussions and insightful knowledge of the Kagayanen culture and language this grammar would not be what it is now.

Thomas Payne is a latecomer to this project, having consulted during a grammar workshop in 1990, and having served as a regular grammar consultant since 2010. We would like to thank the Canada Institute of Linguistics, SIL International, SIL Philippines, the Fulbright Foundation, and the Pike Center for Integrative Scholarship for encouraging and supporting Thomas' participation.

Abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
A	ambitransitive (in morpheme glosses)
A	most "agent-like" argument of a transitive clause (primitive grammatical relation).
ABS	absolutive case
ACT	action (nominalizer – NR.ACT)
ADJ	adjective
ADJR	adjectivizer
ADV	adverb
APL	applicative
ATT	speaker's attitude
ATN	attention getter
BEN	beneficiary
CAUS	causative
CL	clause
CM	completive particle – "already"
CONT	continuous
CTR	contrast
D1	deictic near speaker
D2	deictic near addressee
D3	deictic near both speaker and addressee
D4	deictic far away, out of sight
DEF	definite demonstrative
DEON	deontic
DET	determiner
DIST	dist ributive
EMPH	emphatic (prefix for demonstrative pronoun)
ERG	ergative case
EXCL	exclusive
EXT	existential
F	far distance in demonstrative determiners
FEM	feminine
G	given (existential – EXT.G)
GEN	genitive case
HAP	happenstantial
HSY	hearsay
I	intransitive (verbal inflection)
IN	indefinite (existential – EXT.IN)
INC	incompletive aspect
INCL	inclusive
INJ	interjection
INST	instrument
INT	intensifier
IR	irrealis modality
IRN	irony
LK	linker
LOC	locative
M	medial distance for the demonstrative determiners
MASC	masculine
MP	modifier phrase
N	near distance for the demonstrative determiners

NABS	non-absolutive case	PURP	purpose
NEG	negative	R	realis
NR	nominalizer	RE	referring expression
NUM	numeral	REC	recipient
O	other argument of a transitive clause (primitive grammatical relation)	RED	reduplication
		REL	people in a human relationsip
		RES	resultative
OBL	oblique	RC	relative clause
OCC	ocupation	RP	referring phrase
ORD	ordinal number	RQ	rhetorical question
ORIG	origin	S	singular (in pronoun glosses)
OPT	optative		
P	personal name/pronoun, annotation for prenominal case markers	S	single argument (primitive grammatical relation)
P	plural in pronoun glosses (e.g., 3P.ABS) = Third person plural absolutive.	SP	specific
		SPAT	spatial marker
		SUPL	superlative
PL	plural marker, pluraction verbal affix	SURP	surprise
		T	transitive
POSS	possessive	V	volitional
PP	prepositional phrase	VR	verbalizer
PR	precise		

. two word gloss for one Kagayanen word in gloss line of examples
– separates morphemes in morphological analyses gloss line of examples
- glottal stop in the Kagayanen orthography line of examples. Also it is placed between two parts of a root that has reduplication as in *sipit-sipit* 'scorpion'.
... In analysis line represents conversationally dropped material, usually an inflectional affix.

1 The cultural, sociolinguistic and typological context

1.1 Introduction

Kagayanen (ISO 639-3 CGC) is a Western Austronesian language spoken by approximately 30,000 individuals in the Central Philippines. This work is a descriptive grammar, following a general typologically-oriented framework similar to "Basic Linguistic Theory" as described by Dixon (2010a,b). We believe that a typological framework based on prose description rather than complex formalisms is most appropriate for describing the unique and remarkable features of Kagayanen, without imposing presuppositions of universality inherent in many form-oriented approaches. The fundamental presupposition of our approach is simply that any language is a symbolic system used by human beings for communication. From this it follows that the forms of any language can best be described and understood in terms of the common human need to communicate. Therefore, considerations of semantics (meaning) and pragmatics (usage) underlie all discussion and explanation of structural patterns.

This work is primarily synchronic in that it describes the state of Kagayanen grammar at a particular "slice" in time between about 1987 and 2023. While there is significant variation in the speech of individual communities even within this relatively brief historical period, we attempt to describe common patterns in the major communities, as described below. Dialect variation and historical considerations will be mentioned at various points, but the synchronic description of the common spoken language will remain at the forefront.

1.2 The Kagayanen people and language

1.2.1 Language name and classification

There are at least four names and spellings used for the language described in this grammar. Dyen (1965) called it Cagayanon, Llamzon (1974) called it Cagayancillo, and Elkins (1974) called it Cagayano. Zorc (1977) was the first to call it Kagayanen.

Harmon (1977) also called it Kagayanen, both because of the precedent set by Zorc, and because this is the standard spelling of the term speakers commonly use to refer to their own language (IPA [kagaˈjanɣn]). However, some Kagayanen speakers refer to themselves as Cagayano and to their language as Kagayanen. Other names some people use are Kagay-anen and Kinagayanen.

The Kagayanen language is classified in the Ethnologue (Eberhard et al. 2023) as Austronesian, Malayo-Polynesian, Philippine, Greater Central Philippine, Manobo, North. However, there has been considerable controversy about its classification over the years. The following is a summary of Harmon's (1977) discussion of the classification of the Kagayanen language.

Dyen (1965) classified Kagayanen as a member of the "Tagalic Hesion" within the Bisayan Cluster, parallel to Tagalog, and Mamanwa, using lexicostatistics alone. According to Elkins (1974: 639), Dyen later came to a different understanding and decided that Kagayanen was a Manobo language rather than a Tagalic language. Elkins (1974) went on to classify Kagayanen as a member of the Manobo group based on a more inclusive comparative study. In particular, Elkins found that Kagayanen possesses seven of fifteen Manobo lexical innovations, and all of the pronoun innovations exclusive to the Manobo languages. Llamzon (1974) suggested that Kagayanen was closest to languages spoken in Palawan, particularly Tagbanwa Kalamian, based on only one innovation – the use of the prenominal particle *ta* as a common noun possessive marker.

We agree with Elkins (1974) and Harmon (1977) that the evidence is stronger for a Manobo rather than a Palawanic or Bisayan heritage. Furthermore, the high proportion of lexical similarity with Bisayan languages is undoubtedly due to borrowing facilitated by geographic proximity as well as economic and sociolinguistic pressure from Bisayan languages such as Hiligaynon and Kinaray-a (see §1.3 below). The deeper comparative evidence provided by Elkins (1974) clearly indicates a Manobo connection. Figure 1.1 illustrates the relevant portions of the Greater Central Philippine language group (Blust 1991) according to contemporary understandings, with both Llamzon's and Elkins' hypothesized positions of Kagayanen indicated.

Most of the languages in the Manobo group are located on Mindanao and Camiguin Island in the southern Philippines, while Kagayanen is located in the central part of the country. If Kagayanen really is in the Manobo group, then it is by far the furthest north of the group. The geographically closest neighboring languages are Agutaynen and Cuyonon to the North and Kinaray-a and Hiligaynon to the east on Panay island. These languages, according to Zorc (1977) and Harmon (1977), are Bisayan. This observation is uncontroversial at the present state

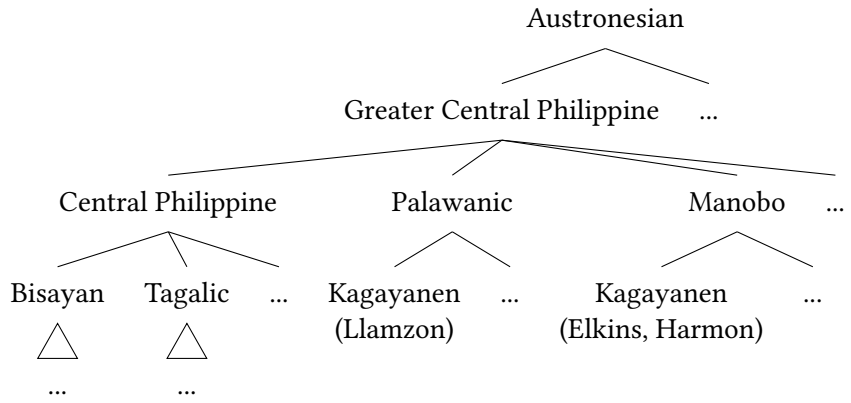

Figure 1.1: Two possible positions of Kagayanen in the Greater Central Philippine group of languages

of scholarship. In any case, Kagayanen has a higher percentage of typically Bisayan words than other languages in the Manobo group. Harmon (1977: 21–22) states that this fact could mean one of three things: 1) Kagayanen, Bisayan languages and Manobo languages are three branches of a proto-Bisayan-Manobo group, 2) Kagayanen is a Bisayan language, 3) Kagayanen is a Manobo language whose speakers migrated from an original Mindanao homeland to the Cagayan islands and subsequently borrowed many words from the languages of the people with whom they traded. Our opinion, as outlined above, coincides with Harmon's third possibility, that Kagayanen is a Manobo language having many grammatical characteristics of Manobo languages with heavy lexical influence from Bisayan.

1.2.2 Demography and history

The 2007 Philippine census indicates that 42,000 people identify themselves as Kagayanen, including approximately 30,000 speakers who use the language in daily life. At that time, there were 6,000 Kagayanens in the Cagayan Islands, 6,000 in Puerto Princesa City, which is the capital of Palawan Province, 18,000 in Roxas in northern Palawan and 12,000 in Narra in southern Palawan. There are Kagayanens also living in other parts of the Philippines and abroad.

The origin of the people living in the Cagayan Islands (Municipality of Cagayancillo) is uncertain. In 1975 Carol Harmon interviewed second and third generation Kagayanens in Puerto Princesa (Palawan) and in Cagayancillo concerning their ethnic origins (Harmon 1977: 4–5). Some said their parents or grand-

parents had come from Panay Island where Kinaray-a is spoken, and learned to speak Kagayanen, the language of the people who already inhabited Cagayancillo. Others said that they and their families had always lived in the Cagayan Islands as far as they knew, and that they had no knowledge of an earlier home. If Kinaray-a was spoken as a first language by people who migrated to the Cagayan Islands, this could explain why Kagayanen vocabulary contains so many Bisayan words.

One theory of the origin of the original Kagayanen language is that a group of Manobo speakers migrated up through the Visayas, borrowing Bisayan words as they went, and finally settled in the Cagayan Islands. As Bisayan people later migrated to the Cagayan Islands and intermarried with the people there, the language spoken in the Cagayan Islands incorporated additional Bisayan words. In addition, the people in the Cagayan Islands traded with Bisayan people in nearby seaports on Panay and Negros islands, thus resulting in more borrowing of Bisayan words.

Another theory, suggested by a Kagayanen shaman in personal communication, is that the original inhabitants of the Cagayan Islands migrated from Cagayan de Sulu, in the extreme south of the country. Then Bisayan people from Panay and Negros migrated to the Cagayan Islands and intermarried. This theory would explain why some words in languages in the area of western Mindanao and Tawi-Tawi in the Southwest are cognate with words in Kagayanen.

A third theory, derived from personal conversations with Kagayanen speakers and from oral texts, is that the people living on the Cagayan Islands originated from Busuanga, Coron area, where speakers call themselves Calamianes Kagayanen. The language of that area indeed shares many similarities with Kagayanen as described in this grammar.

In the early 1950s, many people on Cagayancillo began migrating to mainland Palawan and to other places in the Philippines forming small communities wherever they settled. Today Kagayanens continue to migrate to larger cities such as Manila, Iloilo, Puerto Princesa City, Cebu, and Davao in search of education and employment opportunities.

1.2.3 Geography

The ethnocenter of the Kagayanen language group is the Cagayan Islands, a group of 31 islands and islets located in the Sulu Sea about 178 nautical miles east of the provincial capital city, Puerto Princesa, on the island of Palawan and 72 nautical miles west of Silay City, Negros Oriental. It is located at 9° 34′ 60″ N. latitude and 121° 12′ E. longitude (see Figure 1.2).

Figure 1.2: Locations of key Kagayanen communities

Although the Cagayan Islands are the ethnocenter, communities of Kagayanen speakers are scattered throughout Palawan Province. The largest concentrations are on the island of Palawan in Roxas (not to be confused with Roxas City on the island of Panay), Narra and Puerto Princesa cities. Smaller clusters live in the mun icipality of Coron, the north Palawan region of Busuanga, the southern island of Balabac, and in the Western Visayas including the provinces of Iloilo, Antique, and Negros Occidental, as well as the national capital, Manila.

1.2.4 Economic activity

Kagayanens are a lowland culture. They are mostly agri- and aquaculturists. They grow crops of cassava, corn, sorghum and various kinds of vegetables and fruit for their personal consumption. They fish and harvest sea crops for their own families and occasionally for sale on a small scale. Today, many Kagayanens are college graduates and have become businesspersons and professionals.

1.3 Sociolinguistic situation

As in many parts of the Philippines, Palawan is a “melting pot” of languages due to heavy migrations from other parts of the country. The Ethnologue (Eber-

hard et al. 2023) indicates that there are few monolingual speakers of Kagayanen, since inhabitants of the Cagayan Islands also need to speak languages such as Hiligaynon, Kinaray-a, Cebuano, Tagalog and Cuyonon. In fact, most Kagayanens are multilingual to varying degrees in at least three of these languages, as well as in English.

Since Palawan is so linguistically diverse, Filipino (the Tagalog-based National Language) is the lingua franca on mainland Palawan and the second language of Kagayanens living there. Kagayanen spoken on mainland Palawan is heavily influenced by Filipino. Some Kagayanen parents on mainland Palawan and other places in the Philippines tend to teach their children to speak Filipino even within the home. This indicates the beginning of the process of a shift to Filipino.

However, Cagayancillo (the official municipality corresponding to the Cagayan Islands) is linguistically far more homogeneous. Hiligaynon influences the language in Cagayancillo more than on mainland Palawan, since Kagayanen speakers relate more to the Visayas for trade and educational opportunities. Furthermore, beginning in the 1600s under Spanish rule, until 1935 the Cagayan Islands were under the jurisdiction of Antique Province (on Panay in the Visayas). Hiligaynon (Ilongo) is the second language of older Kagayanens living in Cagayancillo, and therefore words tend to be borrowed from Hiligaynon rather than Filipino. Another respect in which the language situation in Cagayancillo is distinct is that children speak Kagayanen in their homes. This tends not to be the case in Kagayanen communities in other parts of the Philippines.

In Cagayancillo, Kagayanen is used in all domains, in local administrative affairs, in commerce and religion. In the 2013 school year, the department of Education launched a multilingual education program on Cagayancillo which began to use Kagayanen as the medium of instruction in grades 1–3. While in the past letters were written either in Hiligaynon or Tagalog, today the tendency is to write letters in Kagayanen. On mainland Palawan, Filipino is considered appropriate for school, market, church and reading. Among Kagayanen first-language speakers in all locations, we estimate that the adult literacy rate is about 95%.

It should be noted that, because of the high degree of multilingualism and intercultural interaction in Kagayanen communities, code mixing is a common feature of everyday conversation. We have footnoted some particularly clear and significant instances of code mixing in the conversational and corpus examples appearing in this grammar. However, we have refrained from noting every instance of code mixing for two reasons: 1) Sometimes it is not clear whether a particular usage is code mixing or not, and 2) noting every single instance would unnecessarily clutter the text with footnotes.

1.4 Data sources

The corpus on which the current study is based consists of two broad data types: 1) verified elicited or conversational data, and 2) texts. Insofar as possible, examples in this work come from texts. Elicited or conversational data fill in gaps that are not attested in the text corpus, and are used to illustrate the range of possibilities for syntactic constructions that are rare in the texts. When text examples are complex and difficult to follow, a concise elicited example will often adequately serve the purpose. In many cases, elicited examples are based on examples from the texts. All elicited examples have been verified by two or more speakers.

The texts on which this description is based were gathered over a period of 21 years, during which Carol Pebley lived for four years in Cagayancillo, Palawan, the homeland of the Kagayanen people, and about 18 years in Kagayanen communities in Manila and in Puerto Princesa City, the provincial capital of Palawan province (see map, Figure 1.2).

The text material consists of 365 texts totaling 149,350 words. Of these, there are 116 oral texts of 59,036 words in total and 249 written texts with 90,314 words. The texts were gathered in various ways by Carol Pebley, Jacqueline Huggins, and Louise MacGregor. Some were elicited orally, recorded and transcribed. Others were elicited as written texts. Some were recorded public speeches at special occasions such as graduations, Foundation Day celebrations and sermons. Some came from a writing contest and a writer's workshop held on Cagayancillo, coordinated by Louise MacGregor and Lillian Underwood in 1988. Some written texts came from personal correspondence. The written texts and the transcriptions of the oral texts were incorporated into a digital database.

Each text in the database has a unique reference code with this format (L refers to letters, and N refers to numbers):

$L_1\ L_2\ L_3\ L_4$ – L_5 – NN

$L_1\ L_2$ = Two-letter code identifying the author of the text.

L_3 = O (oral) or W (written)

L_4 = Genre (N for narrative, E for expository, P for procedural, O for poetry, L for letter, R for riddle, I for interview, B for behavioral, C for dialogue or conversation, and V for proverb)

L_5 = Linguist (C for Carol Pebley, J for Jacqueline Huggins, L for Louise MacGregor, and T for the team.)

NN = the text number.

For example, the identifier "DBON-C-02" would mean that the text was an oral narrative composed by Darlie Bundal, recorded and transcribed by Carol Pebley, and is the second text contributed by this author. Appendix A summarizes the content of the text corpus by genre, 4-letter code and number of texts and words.

Elicited data come from the extensive field notes of Carol Pebley, Jacqueline Huggins, and Louise MacGregor. Whenever a conversational or elicited example is used in this grammar, no reference is provided following the free translation. In every case, such examples have been verified by at least two mother-tongue speakers.

A dictionary has been in process since the beginning of the project in 1974 when Scott and Louise MacGregor lived and worked in Caguisan, Narra, Palawan, a Kagayanen community on mainland Palawan. Since Jacqueline and Carol joined the project in 1986 and lived on the home island in Cagayancillo, they collected additional words absent in the MacGregor dictionary, which were subsequently merged with the MacGregor dictionary, resulting in a team dictionary with approximately 7,000 entries and thousands of example sentences illustrating different combinations of verbal affixation in context. Work on Kagayanen lexicography is ongoing. A dictionary for linguists is being prepared by Louise MacGregor, and another for Kagayanen speakers is being prepared by Jacqueline Huggins.

1.5 Previous research

In this section we will report on previous linguistic research on Kagayanen and the most closely related language, Binukid. Several have written about the classification of the language, as discussed in §1.2.1 above. Louise MacGregor (MacGregor 1995) contributed an introduction to Kagayanen and a wordlist to the Comparative Austronesian Dictionary edited by Darrell T. Tryon (Tryon 1995). MacGregor & Pebley (1999) consists of two interlinearized texts. Pebley (1998) describes the prefix *m-* in Kagayanen and how its use is connected with intransitivity and causation or volition. Pebley & Brainard (1999) describe the functions of fronted noun phrases. Pebley (1999a) provides a sketch of Kagayanen clause structure. Pebley (1999c) describes the participant reference system, and Pebley (1999b) describes the discourse function of the three demonstrative determiners *i*, *an* and *ya*. Olson et al. (2010) describe the articulation of the interdental approximate, and the acoustic properties of the vowel space. Olson & Mielke (2007) and Olson & Mielke (2008) describe the acoustic and articulatory properties of the interdental approximate in Kagayanen. These materials and more can be accessed via Glottolog at https://glottolog.org/resource/languoid/id/kaga1256.

Much has been written on Binukid, the language most closely related to Kagayanen. William Atherton (1953) describes the phonemes, and in addition has several unpublished works, including grammar notes, a description of the personal pronouns and verb morphology. Kathleen Meiklejohn et al. (1953) also describe the phonemes. Theodoro Llamzon (1974) includes a section on Binukid describing the genetic classification, culture, phonemes, pronouns and verb morphology. Adam Peng and Loren Billings (Peng & Billings 2006) describe the pronominal system. Ursula Post (1965a) describes morphophonemic alternations. Post (1968b) describes sentence structure, Post (1968a) phrase and clause structure, Post (1978) Binukid texts, and Post (1965b) describes personal pronouns. Reid (1971) consists of a wordlist and phonology. Mary Jane Gardner and Ursula Post compiled a dictionary of Binukid including a brief sketch of the phonology and grammar. This work was edited and published by Fe Otanes and Hazel Wrigglesworth (Otanes & Wrigglesworth 1992). Donald Stark (1961) reconstructed a proto-language with reflexes in Binukid and Dibabaon-Mandayan. The website of SIL Philippines includes several downloadable files and papers concerning Binukid, including the Gardner and Post dictionary. The World Atlas of Linguistic Structures (WALS) includes a page listing all resources relevant to Binukid (see https://wals.info/languoid/lect/wals_code_bkd). As of 2024, no comprehensive grammatical description of Kagayanen or Binukid exists.

1.6 Typological sketch

1.6.1 Morphological typology

Kagayanen is a somewhat synthetic, mostly agglutinative language. Indigenous Kagayanen lexical roots are disyllabic. Almost any root may function in a Referring Expression Referring Expressions (“noun phrase”), predicate, or Modifying Expression, though semantically-based root classes and subclasses do exist. In other words, the lexicon is not completely “precategorial” (Foley 2008, Himmelmann 2008).

Verbs exhibit three prefix positions, one suffix position, and three reduplication processes (complete reduplication, and two types of partial reduplication). There is only one productive infix, <*in*>, which serves as a resultant state nominalizer. There is no person, number or other participant reference marking in the verb word itself. Some verb roots are clearly morphologically complex from a historical perspective, but we do not consider this to be “live” derivational morphology. See Chapter 6, §6.3, for a diagram of the Kagayanen inflected verb, and a discussion of the various categories expressed.

Nominal categories (plurality, possession, case, deixis and definiteness) are expressed by pre- and post-nominal particles and enclitics rather than affixes. The only morphological variation in nouns consists of various types of nominalization (see Chapter 3, §3.3). It is safe to say there are no inflectional categories expressed morphologically on nouns.

The verb, on the other hand, can be quite complex morphologically. In this grammar we recognize a clear distinction between *inflectional* and *stem-forming* verbal categories. Inflectional affixes reflect two major categories: transitivity and modality (see Chapter 6, §6.5). These affixes are strictly paradigmatic – one must occur and only one may occur on a verbal stem in order for it to function as a fully inflected verbal predicate. Stem-forming categories, on the other hand, reflect a number of unrelated semantic dimensions including valence (causative, applicative, reciprocal), actional type (distributive, pluraction), and others. Furthermore, stem-forming categories are "optional", i.e., a stem may simply consist of an unanalyzable root. Finally, stem-forming processes may be "stacked". That is, more than one may contribute to the formation of a single stem (see Chapter 7).

1.6.2 Word classes

As in other Philippine languages, the extent to which word classes (noun, verb, adverb, and so on.) can be identified in the lexicon is debatable (see arguments in Himmelmann 1991, 2008, Foley 2008). Clearly syntactic functions such as reference and predication exist in sentence structure, but most roots and stems can serve multiple functions depending on the construction in which they appear. Furthermore, some fully inflected stems can function as predicates or as various types of deverbal nouns and modifiers (see Chapter 3, §3.3), though there are some nominalization strategies (e.g. the nominalizers *pag-* and <*in*>) that do not have counterparts in inflectional verbal morphology.

We recognize the following word classes and major subclasses in Kagayanen. It must be kept in mind that the open classes are constructional rather than lexical classes. In other words, most roots in open classes are not inherently (or lexically) categorized as nouns, verbs, adverbs, or adjectives. Rather, these are categories in syntactic constructions that may be filled by any substantive root, depending on the communication needs of speakers. This perspective is discussed at various points in the grammar:

Open classes:

Nouns (Chapter 3, §3.2)

- Common nouns
- Personal names
- Mass nouns

Verbs (Chapter 6, Chapter 7, Chapter 8, Chapter 9)

- P-labile (Patient-preserving labile verbs)
- A-labile (Agent-preserving labile verbs)
- Intransitive volitional
- Intransitive non-volitional

Adjectives (Chapter 4, §4.2)

Adverbs (Chapter 4, §4.7)

Closed classes:

Prenominal case marked determiners (*ta*, *ki*) (Chapter 3, §3.5.5)

Prepositions (Chapter 4, §4.8)

Numerals (Chapter 4, §4.4)

Discourse particles (*a*, *gani*, *ta*) (Chapter 11, §11.4.2)

Demonstrative determiners (*i*, *ya*, *an*) (Chapter 3, §3.5.7)

Pronouns (Chapter 3, §3.4)

Personal pronouns (Chapter 3, §3.4.1)

Deictic pronouns (Chapter 3, §3.4.4)

Interrogative pronouns (Chapter 3, §3.4.2)

Indefinite pronouns (Chapter 3, §3.4.3)

Linker (*na*)

Plural marker (*mga*) (Chapter 3 §3.5.6)

Conjunctions

1.6.3 Syntactic typology

Syntactically, the most rigid order pattern in clauses is VA/VS.[1] Full Noun Phrase O and Obl arguments normally occur after the VA unit. Hence, there is a case

[1]Throughout this work we use the terms A, S and O to refer to semantico-syntactic roles, following Dixon (1979, 1994). Briefly, "A" refers to the "most-agent like" argument of a multi-argument clause, "S" refers to the Single argument of a one-argument clause and "O" refers to the "Other" core argument in a multi-argument clause. "Obl" refers to Oblique elements.

to be made that VAO is the grammatically "basic" constituent order. Elements may be fronted before the predicate in clearly pragmatically marked situations (see Chapter 11, §11.4.1.). Kagayanen is prepositional. Possessors and other noun phrase modifiers may follow or precede their heads, though relative clauses and other "heavy" modifiers strongly tend to follow their heads (see Chapter 3). One interesting and unusual feature of Kagayanen syntax that sets it apart from other languages of the region is that demonstrative determiners follow the Head of a Referring Expression.

Grammatical relations are expressed via pronominal forms, prenominal case particles on non-absolutive Referring Phrases (RPs), and transitivity marking on verbs. Core grammatical relations in clauses are ergative and absolutive. Every complete clause has an absolutive argument referring to the most affected participant in the clause. Absolutives are indicated by the absence of a prenominal case marker and, if pronominalized, an absolutive case pronoun with no prenominal particle (see Chapter 3, §3.5.5). Absolutive arguments may be expressed by a "gap" (zero pronominalization) in certain well-defined contexts, such as relative clauses and complement clauses. Prototypical grammatically transitive clauses have an ergative argument referring to an external starting point, usually the Actor, in addition to an absolutive argument referring to the most affected participant. Personal names (proper names referring to humans) in the ergative role take no prenominal marker (hence they are indistinguishable morphologically from absolutives), though pronouns clearly distinguish the ergative role. Common nouns in the ergative role take the non-absolutive pre-nominal particle *ta*.

1.7 Conclusion

Our purposes for this grammar are twofold. First, we hope to provide a clear and reasonably complete description of how the Kagayanen language works, so that Kagayanen speakers will have a record of the richness, beauty and expressive power of their language. It is our sincere hope that this work will lead to enhanced pride and appreciation for the Kagayanen language and culture. Second, we hope to describe Kagayanen for the international community of linguists in a way which is consistent with what is known about the typological characteristics of languages in general.

2 Phonology

2.1 Introduction

In Kagayanen there are twenty phonemes including sixteen consonants and four vowels. In this chapter, we justify the phonemic status of each phoneme with minimal or near minimal pairs (§2.2 and §2.3). Then we describe the syllable structures (§2.4) and stress patterns (§2.5). In §2.6 we describe and exemplify five major phonological and morphophonemic rules. Finally, in §2.7 we discuss several characteristics of relaxed speech, and in §2.8 we describe orthographic conventions we have adopted in this grammar.

2.2 Consonants

The consonant phonemes of Kagayanen are classified as seven plosives, three nasals, one fricative, a flap and four approximants, as illustrated in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1: Consonants of Kagayanen

	Bilabial	**Dental/Alveolar**	**Palatal**	**Velar**	**Glottal**
Plosives (vl)	p	t		k	ʔ
Plosives (vd)	b	d		g	
Nasals	m	n		ŋ	
Flap		ɾ			
Fricative		s			
Lateral approximant		l			
Other approximants	w	ð̞	j		

There is no phonemic contrast between dental and alveolar consonants. However, consonants in the dental/alveolar column vary between these two places of

articulation in the following way: /t/, /d/, /n/, /s/, and /l/ tend to be alveolar, /ɾ/ is always alveolar, and /ð̪/ is clearly (inter)dental.

Example (1) illustrates the contrasts between phonetically similar plosives, and between the glottal stop and zero. All plosives, both voiceless and voiced, are unaspirated and in final position are unreleased.

(1) /p/ - /b/ [paʔán] 'bait', [baʔán] 'sneeze'
[lápaw] 'to rise above/go over', [labáw] 'surpass/superior'
[sipít] 'to clip/clamp', [sibít] 'safety pin'
[kɣ̬pkɣ̬p] 'to cling on', [kɣ̬bkɣ̬b] 'immature coconut'
/t/ - /d/ [taʔán] 'maybe', [daʔán] 'old'
[putíʔ] 'white', [pudíɾ] 'right/authority'
[gatʊ́s] 'one hundred', [badʊ́j] 'unattractive appearance'
[pátjʊ] 'cemetery', [mádjʊʔ] 'far'
[ð̪ɣ̬ttɣ̬m] 'to be hungry', [lɣ̬ddaŋ] 'to sink'
[ʔɣ̬gɣ̬t] 'to be angry/annoyed', [ʔɣ̬gɣ̬d] 'to work hard'
/k/ - /g/ [kaʔán] 'to eat', [gaʔán] 'light weight'
[líkɪd] 'to roll up', [lígɪd] 'to roll around'
[tʊ́ktʊk] 'to knock', [tʊ́gtʊg] 'music'
/k/ - /ʔ/ [kágaw] 'germ', [ʔágaw] 'grab/snatch'
[sakáj] 'to ride', [saʔág] 'floor'
[bátak] 'to pull upwards', [bátaʔ] 'child'
/g/ - /ʔ/ [gɣ̬ð̪ɣ̬t] 'to cut', [ʔɣ̬ð̪ɣ̬t] 'divider between rooms'
[sagád] 'skillful', [saʔád] 'vow/promise'
[báʊg] 'to feed animals', [báʊʔ] 'odor/bad smell'
/ʔ/-/∅/ [tɣ̬ʔɣ̬b] 'steam therapy for sinus or colds', [tɣ̬ɣ̬d] 'conscientious'
[kánʔɣ̬n] 'cooked rice', [kánɣ̬n] 'she/he/it'
[bágaʔ] 'lungs', [bága] 'embers'

There is only one phonemic fricative, /s/. Harmon (1977: 21–22) lists two fricatives /s/ and /h/. However, there are good reasons for not including /h/ as a phoneme. We do agree with Harmon that there is an [h] sound in exaggerated slow speech between contiguous vowels in words such as [báʊʔ]/[báhʊʔ] 'odor-/bad smell' or [dáɪk]/[dáhɪk] 'to crawl on stomach'. However, it is not heard in relaxed speech. In slow exaggerated speech the [h] is mostly heard in words borrowed from other languages, such as Hiligaynon and Kinaray-a, in which an [h] sound appears in intervocalic position. If speakers are asked to repeat one of these words, they will say it slowly breaking it up into syllables with the [h] in intervocalic position and beginning a new syllable. Harmon (1977: 23) proposes

that [h] was present in Proto-Manobo and Proto-Kagayanen but is being lost in Kagayanen.

The plosives and fricative occur syllable initially, syllable finally, and as geminates. In syllable onsets, clusters consisting of an obstruent and a flap or an approximant occur. The phoneme /d/ has limited distribution, usually not occurring in intervocalic position in native words. (See exceptions above in (1).) In loan words, such as [káda] 'each', [ʔidád] 'age' and [kúdak] 'picture', /d/ may occur intervocalically. The /ʔ/ is exceptional in that it does not occur as a geminate and also does not occur in syllable-onset consonant clusters (Table 2.2).

Table 2.2: Obstruent distribution

	Syllable initial	Syllable final	Consonant cluster	Geminate
p	pá.naw 'to walk/go' sá.pɣ̩k 'thick, gooey consistency'	sɣ̩p.sɣ̩p 'to sip/ suck' sa.ɖ̩áp 'to catch with hands' sá.ɖ̩ap 'drag net' sá.ɖ̩ɣ̩p 'sunset or moonset'	pɖ̩á.paʔ 'palm frond' prú.tas 'fruit'	táp.paw 'superficial' dʊ̈p.pa 'arm span'
t	tɣ̩l.lɣ̩k 'thorn' ʔí.taʔ 'soft'	kʊ́t.kʊt 'to dig a hole' ʔí.bɪt 'to hold'	tɖ̩ú.nʊn 'wild pig' tjá.ɾʊk 'sailboat mast'	ʔít.taw 'person' lát.tɪk 'to crack'
k	ku.jʊ̈g 'to accompany' la.kás 'to return home from far'	lák.baj 'to skip over' ɖ̩ɣ̩g.sɣ̩k 'mashed'	kɖ̩á.maj 'sugar' sʊ́k.klɪp 'to partially insert' kwa.ɾís.ma 'dry season'	bák.kɣ̩n 'diaper' ták.kɪʔ 'tokay gecko'

Table 2.2: Obstruent distribution (cont.)

	Syllable Initial	Syllable Final	Consonant cluster	Geminate
ʔ	ʔa.kɣ̟ʔ ‘my/mine’ la.ʔʊ̋g ‘to wander’	bá.baʔ ‘mouth/short (things)’ bá.gaʔ ‘lungs’		
b	ba.ð̟ɣ̟d ‘wave of water’ tú.bʊʔ ‘to grow’	táb.ʔaŋ ‘tasteless/no salt’ ʔɣ̟.sɣ̟b ‘to dive/submerge’	bð̟á.ŋaj ‘two-masted boat’ bwin ‘to reduce s.t.’	ʔʊ̋b.bag ‘swollen’ lɣ̟b.bag ‘to swell/expand’
d	da.jád ‘good’ dʊ̋ð̟.dʊð̟ ‘kapok tree’	sʊ̋d.laj ‘comb’ ʔɣ̟.ŋɣ̟d ‘intentionally’	dð̟á.ga ‘single girl’ djá.nʊʔ ‘straight’	lɣ̟d.daŋ ‘to sink’ síd.daʔ ‘fish’
g	gɣ̟d.dan ‘stairs’ ð̟á.gʊk ‘to snore’	sʊ̋g.ba ‘to grill’ ʔi.sɣ̟g ‘brave’	gjá.nap ‘to crawl’ gwa ‘outside’	nɣ̟g.gaʔ ‘to lie down’ lág.gʊŋ ‘low pitch sound’
s	sɪd.ʔá.nan ‘fish, meat, or vegetable dish’ lí.sɣn ‘round’	más.ki ‘even though’ lɣ̟m.mɣ̟s ‘to drown’	swá.ð̟ɣm ‘chickenpox’ sð̟áʔɪt ‘spearpoint’	pɣ̟s.saʔ ‘to crush’ lás.sʊŋ ‘mortar used with pestle’

There is a tendency for consonants excluding /ɾ/, /ʔ/ and the non-lateral approximants, /w/, /ð̪/, and /j/, to geminate when preceded by /ɣ̟/ and followed by /ɣ̟/ or sometimes /a/. Harmon (1977: 30) asserts that there is a diachronic development that caused a "non-glide" consonant preceded by [ɣ̟] and followed by any vowel or a liquid consonant to become geminate. However, according to Harmon, this development is inconsistent, and has failed to become a regular synchronic rule in all environments. We find that there are no words in the data with geminate consonants preceded by [ɣ̟] and followed by a liquid consonant or the high vowels. There are a few words with geminate plosive consonants that have vowels other than [ɣ̟] preceding and a liquid following. Even words with non-geminate consonant preceded by [ɣ̟] and followed by a liquid consonant or high vowel were not found except for one exception – [ʔɣ̟́nlɣ̟k] 'to withdraw out of view', though for some speakers this word is pronounced as [ʔínlɣ̟k]. These patterns are illustrated in Table 2.3.

This pattern does not work across morpheme boundaries as in [gɣ̟́ð̪ɣ̟t] 'to cut'+ [-ɣ̟n] →[gɣ̟ð̪ɣ̟tɣ̟n] 'will cut', not *[gɣ̟ð̪ɣ̟ttɣ̟n].

The three nasals are also contrastive, as illustrated below:

(2) /m/ - /n/ [máma] 'male', [nánaʔ] 'pus'
[ʔámaj] 'father', [ʔánaj] 'termite'
[ʔítɣ̟m] 'rain clouds', [kítɣ̟n] 1P.INC.ABS
/m/ - /ŋ/ [mɣ̟́tmɣ̟t] 'grudge', [ŋɣ̟tŋɣ̟́t] 'throbbing pain'
[samáj] 'striped pattern', [saŋáj] 'having same name'
[kɣ̟́mkɣ̟m] 'to form a fist', [kɣ̟́ŋkɣ̟ŋ] 'to hold in the arms'
/n/ - /ŋ/ [nálɪʔ] 'abruptly', [ŋáli] 'to dig up root crops'
[ʔánaj] 'termite', [ʔáŋaj] 'fitting/becoming'
[tában] 'to run away with', [tábaŋ] 'to help'

Similar to obstruents, the nasals occur syllable initially, syllable finally, as geminates, and as the first consonant in syllable-onset clusters where the second consonant is the interdental approximant /ð̪/ (Table 2.4). The nasal /ŋ/ is an exception in that it does not occur in a consonant cluster except as a geminate consonant or across syllable boundaries.

There are two liquids: /l/, a voiced alveolar lateral, and /ɾ/, an alveolar flap that varies with a trill. Harmon (1977: 16–17) states that Kagayanen has an l-colored lateral that is an allophone of /l/, but we consider this sound to be an interdental approximant phoneme /ð̪/, following Olson et al. (2010). The articulation, distribution and other information on this sound is discussed below.

Table 2.3: Consonant gemination after /ɤ/

Geminate	Not Geminate
kɣ̟ppɣ̟s ‘to shrink’ sɣ̟ppaʔɣ̟n ‘a cold/mucus’	dɣ̟pɣ̟t ‘diligent’
gɣ̟ttɣ̟k ‘abdomen’ lɣ̟ttab ‘wild plants’	gɣ̟tɣ̟k ‘tight’
bɣ̟kkɣ̟g ‘bone’ tɣ̟kkad ‘for feet to touch something’	tɣ̟kɣ̟b ‘for a predator to bite or attack’
lɣ̟bbɣ̟ŋ ‘to bury’ lɣ̟bbag ‘to swell/expand’	bð̟ɣ̟bɣ̟d ‘to wrap around’
pɣ̟ddɣ̟s ‘stinging feeling’ gɣ̟ddan ‘stairs/ladder’	kɣ̟dɣ̟t ‘to be shriveled up’
tɣ̟ggɣ̟b‘to be overloaded’ bɣ̟ggas ‘milled rice’	ʔɣ̟gɣ̟d ‘to work hard’ pɣ̟gaʔ ‘to squeeze/wring out’
lɣ̟mmɣ̟s‘to drown’	kɣ̟mɣ̟s ‘to squeeze in the hand’ ʔɣ̟man ‘again as before’
ʔɣ̟nnɣ̟b‘to be soaked, saturated, spread throughout ’ ʔɣ̟nnas‘low tide’	tɣ̟nɣ̟ŋ ‘to stop/cease’ tɣ̟naʔan ‘reason’ ʔɣ̟nlɣ̟k ’to withdraw out of view’
tɣ̟ŋŋɣ̟d ‘beside/next to’ tɣ̟ŋŋa ‘middle’	tɣ̟ŋɣ̟d ‘because/about’ tɣ̟ŋáʔ ‘half/to divide’
dɣ̟ssɣ̟n ‘hard’ lɣ̟ŋŋɤssà ‘blood’	dɣ̟sɣ̟k ‘to compress the contents’
sɣ̟llɣ̟g ‘current/fast flow’ tɣ̟llan ‘to be constipated’	sɣ̟lɣ̟d ‘within a time span’
pɣ̟ð̟ð̟ɣ̟g[a] ‘to threaten’	pɣ̟ð̟ɣ̟g ‘to be constantly moving’ [bɣ̟ðag] ‘to separate’

[a] There are only one or two words with a [ɣ̟ð̟] sequence, so this may be treated as an exception rather than a regular pattern. Other than [pɣ̟ð̟ð̟ɣ̟g] ‘to threaten’, the only other word we have encountered that includes this sequence is [ʔɣ̟ð̟ð̟aŋ] ‘barrier’, but this word is also pronounced [ʔɣ̟llaŋ] by some speakers.

Table 2.4: Nasal distribution

	Syllable initial	Syllable final	Consonant cluster	Geminate
m	má.kɤ̟t 'to start a fire' má.ma 'male'	sám.pɤ̟t 'to arrive briefly' ʔá.jam 'dog'	mə̟́ŋ.kaw 'long' mə̟́ú.tʊʔ 'provisions for a trip'	da.gám.mʊ 'dream' lʊ́m.maj 'love potion'
n	ní.ʲɾʔ 'to gather shellfish' lá.na 'coconut oil'	sán.dad 'to stub toe' ʔá.pɪn 'protective cloth'	nə̟́á.ʔʊ thirst' njá.ʔan 'definite spatial marker ' (archaic and regional)	bán.naw 'to resurrect' bín.ni 'seed grain'
ŋ	ŋí.taʔ 'to look for something' ʔa.ŋád 'to look up at'	sáŋ.gɾʔ 'a leaf, branch or fruit breaks off' sí.lʊ̀ŋ 'area under and around a house'	ka.máŋ.jan 'incense' bʊ́ŋ.jʊd 'hill'	máŋ.ŋʊd 'younger sibling' tɤ̟́ŋ.ŋaʔ 'middle'

The examples in (3) illustrate the contrast among /l/, /ə̟/ and /ɾ/. The interdental approximant has been included in the contrasts and distribution tables since historically it probably was an allophone of /l/ (Olson & Mielke 2008:9).

(3) /l/ - /ə̟/ [lággaj] 'to tie together w/ rattan', [ə̟́agaj] 'to groan'
[lálaʔ] 'bad spirit/ghost', [ə̟́áə̟a] 'to weave'
[kámbal] 'twins', [ʔámbaə̟] 'to say'
/l/ - /ɾ/ [lʊ́mbʊj] 'java plum', [ɾʊ́mbʊ] 'to move in a certain direction'
[talíŋa] 'ear', [taɾíŋ] 'to lose the way',
[málaʔ] to change clothes', [máɾa] 'dry'
[kʊ́ndal] 'silk banana', [ʔándaɾ]'to start an engine'

/ð̪/ - /ɾ/ [ð̪ábʊ] ‘to capsize’, [ɾábas] ‘to cut down weeds with a machete’
[ʔáð̪ɣŋ] ‘mole’, [ʔáɾɣm] ‘bruise’
[ʔuð̪ás] ‘sweat’, [ʔóɾas] ‘hour/time’
[sáð̪aʔ] ‘to strain s.t.’, [saɾá] ‘door/shutter’
[kasáð̪] ‘wedding’, [ʔúsaɾ] ‘to use’
/ð̪/ - /l/ - /ɾ/[páð̪a] ‘to erase’, [pála] ‘shovel’, [páɾa] ‘for/purpose’
[ʔisjáð̪] ‘blanket’, [ʔupisjál] ‘official’, [pasjáɾ] ‘to go visiting’

The liquids occur syllable initially, syllable finally, as the second consonant in consonant clusters and as geminate consonants, as illustrated in Table 2.5. However, in native words /ɾ/ only occurs in intervocalic position and syllable finally. Harmon (1977: 21) says that /ɾ/ is the reflex of intervocalic Proto-Austronesian *d or *j. With loan words /ɾ/ occurs syllable initially, syllable finally, and as the second consonant in a consonant cluster within a syllable. Only one word was found that has a geminate /r/; [bárriʲʊ] which is another name commonly used

Table 2.5: Liquids and interdental approximant distribution

	Syllable initial	Syllable final	Consonant cluster	Geminate
l	lɣ̪.gɣ̪d ‘to rub’ gi.lɣ̪k ‘angry’	pɣ̪l.pɣ̪l ‘slow to learn’ ka.wíl ‘fish hook’	bli.ŋíʔ ‘crooked’ tam.blí.lʊ ‘cowrie shellfish’	pɣ̪l.lɣ̪s ‘strong wind’ tál.lʊg ‘egg’
ð̪	ð̪ɣ̪g.ð̪ɣ̪g ‘flame’ ʔá.ð̪ʊʔ ‘shadow’	bɣ̪ð̪.bɣ̪ð̪ ‘body hair/fur/feathers’ dak.mɣ̪ð̪ ‘thick’	bð̪á.ŋaj ‘two-masted boat’ sap.ð̪á ‘rough feel’	ʔáð̪.ð̪ʊ ‘pestle’ báð̪.ð̪ɣ̪ŋ ‘to have impaired body and brain functions as if drunk’
ɾ	ɾá.bas ‘to cut down weeds with a machete’ má.ɾa ‘dry’	dáɾ.kʊ ‘large PL’ tú.kaɾ ‘to play music’ tí.nɪɾ ‘to stay somewhere’	gɾá.pʊn ‘bottle/jar’	[bárriʊ] ‘Barrio’ (a name for Barangay Santa Cruz in Cagayancillo)

to refer to Santa Cruz, a neighborhood north of the main part of Cagayancillo. "Barrio", with a trilled [ɾ] sound, is the Spanish word for "neighborhood", and was until 1975 the general word in the Philippines. However in 1975 the Philippine government passed a law that changed *barrio* to *barangay* as the basic unit of government for the whole country, though some people continued to use *barrio*. On the main island of Cagayancillo "Barrio" uniquely refers to the community of Barangay Santa Cruz.

There are three voiced non-lateral approximants in Kagayanen: /w/ bilabial, /ð̞/ interdental and /j/ palatal (see Table 2.1). Harmon (1977: 27) suggests that the interdental approximant is a glide, citing the fact that it varies freely with /j/ in two words; [ʔi.sð̞á]/ [ʔi.sja´] 'one' and [dð̞á.nʊʔ]/[djá.nʊʔ] 'smooth.' Another word has been found with this free variation: [dð̞ú.nan]/ [djú.nan] 'boundary'. However, the data in (4) below show phonemic contrasts among /w/, /ð̞/ and /j/.

(4) /w/ – /ð̞/ [wágaj] 'to spill/flow out', [ð̞ágaj] 'to groan'
[búwan] 'stove', [búð̞an] 'moon'
[ʔámbaw] 'mouse' , [ʔámbað̞] 'to say'
/w/ – /j/ [wágak] 'ragged clothes', [jágak] 'to cry'
[láwa] 'body', [lája] 'cast net'
[ʔágaw] 'to grab/snatch', [ʔágaj] 'to hang up to dry'
/j/ – /ð̞/ [jɣ̞gjɣ̞g] 'to shake', [ð̞ɣ̞gð̞ɣ̞g] 'to flame'
[dájaʔ] 'to deceive', [dáð̞a] 'to carry'
[ʔágaj] 'to hang up to dry', [ʔágað̞] 'to cry'

Even though the interdental approximant /ð̞/ contrasts with the lateral as well as the other approximants in Kagayanen, /ð̞/ has limited distribution in that it does not occur next to /i/ except for one word [káð̞ð̞iŋ] 'hardened stuff after cooking coconut milk', and this is only for some speakers.

Olson et al. (2010) describe the articulation of the interdental approximant as a voiced oral consonant pronounced with unrounded lips and egressive pulmonic air. They also say that there is non-turbulent air flow and that, unlike a lateral, the tongue blade remains relaxed throughout the articulation. For this reason, they do not describe the sound as a *lateral* approximant, even though perceptually it has a "lateral" sound. Olson & Mielke (2008) also say that when the interdental approximant occurs next to /u/ there is little tongue tip protrusion between the teeth, and when it is next to /ɣ̞/ there is some protrusion. Finally, the greatest protrusion is when it is next to /a/. Jacqueline Huggins in personal communication comes to a similar conclusion, saying that there is slight tongue raising when

the interdental approximant occurs near a high-central vowel /ɪ/ and mid-central vowel /ɤ̟/ (cf [ʔɤ̟́.ð̟ɤ̟s] 'borrow/lend'). Huggins further explains that the interdental approximant has two articulators: the tongue tip and the tongue sides. The sides of the tongue brush across the sides of the upper molars, and the tongue tip protrudes slightly. However, when it is contiguous to the low-central vowel [a] the articulation of the interdental approximant is a little different because the sides of the tongue brush across the sides of the lower molars not touching the upper teeth, and the tongue tip either pokes slightly against the back of the lower lip or slightly protrudes from the mouth. When the interdental approximant occurs next to /u/ the tongue is level and brushes across the upper front teeth, not the molars, and the tongue tip protrudes slightly. For the purposes of this chapter, we will not represent these nuances of pronunciation in our transcriptions. Rather we will represent the interdental approximant consistently with the symbol [ð̟]. The orthography currently in use does not distinguish this sound from the lateral [l]. In subsequent chapters of this grammar we will make the distinction by using the grapheme *ļ* to represent the interdental approximant, so as to preserve this important distinction, while minimally deviating from the standard orthography.

There is contrast between /j/ and /i/ and also between /w/ and /u/. The difference between the /j/ and /i/ and between /w/ and /u/ is that the /j/ and /w/ do not occur in syllable nuclei nor can they stand alone in their own syllables while /i/ and /u/ occur in syllable nuclei and can stand alone as a syllable [V].

(5) /j/ - /i/ [taj] 'father', [tá.ɪʔ] 'to sew'; [naj] 'we (excl)', [ná.i] 'this'
/w/ - /u/ [bat.wáʔ] 'to appear', [bà.tu.án] 'rocky ground'
[kaw] 'you plural', [ká.ʊn] 'box/drawer'
[ka.o̟n] 'you singular ABS'

The non-lateral approximants occur syllable initially, syllable finally, as the second consonant of a consonant cluster and as a geminate. However, as discussed earlier, the non-lateral approximants do not occur as geminates when preceded by /ɤ̟/ (see Table 2.3). The only exceptions are the words [pɤ̟jjɤ̟t] 'to stutter', [pɤ̟́jjɤ̟ŋ] 'to squint', and [pɤ̟́ð̟ð̟ɤ̟g] 'to threaten', and some speakers' pronunciation of 'barrier' as [ʔɤ̟́ð̟ð̟aŋ], though this word is also pronounced [ʔɤ̟́llaŋ] by other speakers.

Table 2.6: Non-lateral approximant distribution

	Syllable initial	Syllable final	Consonant cluster	Geminate
w	wa.ð̪ɣ̪ŋ ’face’ ʔá.wak ‘waist’	láw.ʔaj ‘disgusting’ bð̪á.ŋaw ‘rainbow’	gwá.pa ‘attractive’ sáb.wag ‘to sow seed by scattering’	sʊ̋w.wað̪ ‘slacks’ táw.waj ‘inner peace’
ð̪	ð̪á.gʊ ‘earthworm’ ʔa.ð̪áb ‘to graze’	báð̪.ʔɣ̪s ‘spoiled food’ ʔá.bɣ̪ð̪ ‘tube-like wrap around skirt’	bð̪á.gɣ̪n ‘vine’ sab.ð̪áj ‘to drape over’	ʔáð̪.ð̪ʊ ‘pestle’ wáð̪.ð̪ʊ ‘eight’
j	já.pʊn ‘supper’ da.jád ‘good’	sáj.lʊ ‘to move somewhere or to transfer something’ pú.ʷaj ‘to rest’	gjá.nap ‘to creep along’ tad.jáw ‘earthenware water jar’	gáj.jaʔ ‘ashamed/embarrassed’ pɣ̪j.jɣ̪ŋ ‘to squint’

2.3 Vowels

There are four phonemic vowels in Kagayanen: /i/, /u/, /a/ and /ɣ̪/, as displayed in Table 2.7. The phoneme /i/ has four allophones; [i] close front, [ɪ] near close near-front, [e] close-mid front, and [ę] mid front. In open syllables in native words [i]

Table 2.7: Phonemic vowels of Kagayanen

	Front unrounded	Central unrounded	Back rounded
Close	i		u
Mid		ɣ̪	
Open		a	

occurs and in open syllables in loan words, [i] varies with [e] especially in the first or last syllables of the word. [ri.gá.lʊ] or [re.gá.lʊ] 'gift' and [lí.bri] or [lí.bre] 'free'.

In closed syllables in native words [ɪ] occurs and in closed syllables in loan words [ɪ] varies with [ɐ̟].

(6) Native words
[sí.li] 'to change/exchange'
[bín.ni] 'seed grain'
[ká.bɪg] 'to hold-back/keep/retain'

(7) Loan words
[síl.jʊ] or [sɐ̟́l.jʊ] 'seal'
[bɪn.dí.sjʊn] or [bɐ̟n.dí.syʊn] 'to bless'
[sɪŋ.kwín.ta] or [sɪŋ.kwɐ̟́n.ta] 'fifty'
[dìs.pi.dí.da] or [dɐ̟̀s.pi.dí.da] 'going-away party'
[ʔìs.pi.ɾí.tʊ] or [ʔɐ̟̀s.pi.ɾí.tʊ] 'spirit'
[ɾɪk.lá.mʊ] or [ɾɐ̟k.lámʊ] 'to complain'
[ʔɪs.má.gɣ̟l] or [ʔɐ̟s.má.gɣ̟l] 'flip-flop'
[níg.ɾos] or [nɐ̟́g.ɾos] 'Negros' (the name of an island in east central Philippines)
[pɪb.ɾí.ɾʊ] or [pɐ̟b.ɾí.ɾʊ] 'February'

Harmon (1977: 24) suggests that /i/ is realized as [ɪ] or [ɛ] before consonant clusters in unstressed syllables, without giving specific examples. Possibly what she was hearing is what we mention above that in loan words in closed syllables, [ɪ] varies with [ɐ̟], since [ɐ̟] and [ɛ] are very similar in pronunciation.

The phoneme /u/ has two allophones [u] and [ʊ]. The complementary distribution of these allophones is somewhat analogous to that of [i] and [ɪ]. The allophone [u] occurs in open non-final syllables and in stressed open final syllables, while [ʊ] occurs in closed syllables and in unstressed open final syllables.

The phonemes /ɣ̟/ and /a/ do not have allophones. The /ɣ̟/ is realized as [ɣ̟] and /a/ as [a].

The data in example (8) illustrate contrasts among the four vowel phonemes.

(8) /i/ - /u/ [bílaŋ] 'to count/consider', [búlaŋ] 'to fight cocks'
[báti] 'to beat in mixing together', [bátʊ] 'to stone'
/i/ - /ɣ̟/ [ʔígɣ̟d] 'jealous', [ʔɣ̟́gɣ̟d] 'to work hard'
[taɾíŋ] 'to lose the way', [taɾɣ̟́ŋ] 'righteous/good character'
/i/ - /a/ [gíba] 'to sit on lap', [gábaʔ] 'consequences for disrespect'
[dilíʔ] NEG.IRR, [diláʔ] 'tongue'

/u/ - /ɤ̣/	[ʔumán] ‘to finish’, [ʔɤ̣mán] ‘again as before’
	[láʊg] ‘connected/penetrated’, [láɤ̣g] ‘to joke’
/u/- /a/	[ʔúbay] ‘to guide’, [ʔábay] ‘side-by-side/bridesmaid/groomsman’
	[libʊ́t] ‘go around/surround’, [libát] ‘cross-eyed’
	[buʔʊ́ŋ]‘for glass to break’, [buʔáŋ] ‘crazy’
/ɤ̣/ - /a/	[bɤ̣taŋ] ‘thing’, [bátaŋ] ‘driftwood’
	[pílɤ̣k] ‘eyelash’, [pílak] ‘silver’

There is a transitional glide when two vowels occur contiguously in a word only in the penultimate and ultimate syllables and the first vowel is stressed. The transitional glide [ʲ] occurs between the stressed vowel /i/ and the second vowel /i/, /a/, or /u/, for example, [níʲɪʔ] ‘to gather shellfish’, [míʲag] ‘to agree/want’, and [gíʲʊ] ‘to move/motion.’ When the stress is on the second of two contiguous vowels, there is no transitional glide: contrast [lúʷa] ‘tears’ with [luáʔ] ‘spit out’.

The transitional glide [ʷ] occurs between the stressed vowel /u/ and the second vowel /i/ or /a/, but no words were found with [úʷu], for example, [búʷi] ‘to get free’, [lúʷag] ‘ladle.’ When two vowels occur contiguously in a word and the second vowel is stressed, there is no transitional glide. Some words have the full glides /w/ and /j/ between vowels but these are not transitional because the words are always pronounced with a full glide [líju] *[líu] ‘other side’ and [lúwas] *[lúas] ‘to save’. The transitional glides also occur in words with more than two syllables. When a three-syllable word has stress on the antepenultimate there are no /íʲV/ or /úʷV/ sequences because the stress must be on the penultimate /i/ or /u/. Examples for three syllable words with transitional glides are [tag.ʔí.ʲa] ‘owner’, [pa.ɾí.ʲʊ] ‘same’, and [pa.ɾí.ʲas] ‘to be like’. However, three-syllable words with stress on the antepenultimate cannot take the transitional glide [bíb.li.a] *[bíb.li.ʲa] ‘Bible’ and [sá.ɾi.ʊ] *[sá.ɾi.ʲʊ] ‘prayer group’.

With four or more syllables the primary stress occurs on the penultimate and the secondary stress on the second syllable to the left of that. Examples include [kà.pɪt.tú.ʷan] ‘seventy’ and [dù.a.dú.ʷa] ‘to waver/doubt’.

Transitional glides occur across morpheme boundaries when suffixes are added, as in [síli] ‘to change clothes’ plus [an] APL becomes [silíʲan] and [bátʊ] ‘stone’ plus [ɤ̣n] T.IR becomes [batúʷʊn]. When the enclitic definite markers that begin with vowels [i] ‘near speaker’ and [an] ‘nearby in the same area’ occur after a word that ends in a vowel, a transitional glide also occurs, as in [maní] ‘peanut’ plus [i] or [an] becomes [maníʲi] or [maníʲan] and [ʔáḍḍʊ] ‘pestle’ plus [i] or [an] becomes [ʔaḍḍúʷi] or [ʔáḍḍúʷan].

Kagayanen has words that have cognates in Bisayan languages, such as Hiligaynon and Cebuano. Where a Bisayan word includes the sequence VhV, the cognate word in Kagayanen has no /h/, but it may emerge in exaggerated speech, for

example, [biág] ‘to take captive’, [buát] ‘make’, [búʊk] ‘hair’ and [lúʊd] ‘kneel’ may be pronounced [bihág], [buhát], [búhʊk] and [lúhʊd]. Kagayanen also has the contrasting sequence VʔV, glottal stop between vowels, with stress on either syllable: [láʔɪn] ‘bad’ and [laʔín] ‘different.’

When a two-syllable word has two contiguous vowels with stress on the second vowel, optionally the first vowel /i/ may become the glide /j/ and the first vowel /u/ may become the glide /w/, thus shortening the word to only one syllable.

(9) i+a [miád] or [mjad] ‘good/kind’
i+u [niʊ́g] or [njʊg] ‘coconut’, [giʊ́] or [gjʊ] ‘to move/motion’
u+a [buát] or [bwat] ‘to make’, [guáʔ] or [gwaʔ] ‘to go out’
u+i [buín] or [bwɪn] ‘to decrease something’

Vowels occur in the nuclei of syllables in any position in the word. They occur inter-consonantally, in vowel clusters, and word finally. The co-occurrence possibilities of vowels with intervening consonants are illustrated in Table 2.8. All possible vowel-vowel sequences are illustrated in Table 2.9.

Table 2.8: Vowel coocurrences with intervening consonants

Before consonant	After consonant			
	a	ɤ̟	i	u
a	ʔábaj ‘side-by-side’	katɤ̟́ð̟ ‘itchy’	galís ‘scrape /scratch’	kabaʔʊ́ŋ ‘coffin’
ɤ̟	dɤ̟́gaʔ ‘juice’	tɤ̟gɤ̟́tɤ̟ʔ ‘small house lizard’		
i	píʔaŋ ‘lame’	mítɤ̟m ‘black’	bíbɪg ‘lips’	libʊ́t ‘go around/surround’
u	dúð̟ak ‘animal fight’		pulíŋ ‘speck in eye’	kʊ́tkʊt ‘to dig’

Table 2.9: Vowel sequences with no intervening consonant

First vowel	Second vowel			
	a	ɣ̟	ɪ	ʊ
a	láas ‘untamed chicken’	náɣ̟t ‘noun classifier for long narrow shape’	dáɪk ‘to crawl on stomach’	láʊd ‘deep sea’
ɣ̟		bɣ̟ɣ̟ð̟ ‘to be satisfied’		
i	miád ‘good/kind’		ʔíʲɪʔ ‘urine’	sáɾiʊ ‘group prayer and singing’
u	púʷaj ‘to rest’		buíʔ ‘alive/living/to live’	dúʊð̟ ‘to lift something for another to carry’

2.4 Syllable structure

A syllable consists of an obligatory vocalic nucleus, an optional onset and an optional coda. A word-initial syllable has an obligatory onset, but elsewhere it is optional. The onset can be either a single consonant or a consonant cluster consisting of either a stop, fricative or nasal as the first consonant and an approximant as the second consonant. If the first consonant of the cluster is a stop it most frequently is either labial or alveolar. Though velar stops may occur in consonant clusters in native words, they more frequently occur in loan words such as [klási] ‘class/kind’, [kláɾʊ] ‘clear’, and [gɾípʊ] ‘faucet.’ As detailed above, the velar nasal and glottal stop do not occur in consonant clusters. The second consonant is most commonly /l/, /ð̟/, /w/, or /j/. The phoneme /ɾ/ occurs in consonant clusters only in loan words.

The optional coda of a syllable is a single consonant. Thus the syllable types in Kagayanen are V, VC, CV, CVC, CCV and CCVC. However, V and VC cannot occur word initially. The most frequently occurring syllable structure is CV and the least frequently occurring ones are CCV and CCVC, which mostly occur in word initial position. Example (10) lists a few words with each possible syllable type:

(10)

V	[bá.i] ‘woman’, [ná.i] ‘this’, [ta.tá.ʊ] ‘doll’, [ta.ú] ‘to be born’
VC	[tá.ap] ‘to winnow’, [pá.ɪd] ‘to wipe’, [ná.ɣ̟t] ‘strand’, [ba.ʊ̋g] ‘to bend’, [lʊ.ás] ‘except for’
CV	[ka.ḓát] ‘rope’, [bí.lɪn] ‘to leave behind’, [sɣ̟.jɣ̟p] ‘to suck in’, [ʔɪn.jú] 2P.GEN
CVC	[lám.baj] ‘to pass by’, [síd.sɪd] ‘hem’, [pɣ̟d.dɣ̟ŋ] ‘to close eyes’, [ʔi.gʊ́t] ‘to tie’
CCV	pḓá.paʔ ‘palm frond’, [gwá.pa] ‘attractive’, [tam.bḓá.li] ‘wax gourd’, [pwí.kan] ‘sea turtle’, [bḓɣ̟.bɣ̟d] ‘to wrap around’, [dḓú.nan] ‘boundary’, [pɾú.tas] ‘fruit’
CCVC	[tḓág.sa] ‘seldom’, [bḓát.ʔaŋ] ‘hip’, [pjʊ́ŋ.kʊt] ‘fetal position’, [blɪs.kád] ‘opposite/upside-down’, [nák.kḓɣ̟ʔ] ‘hiccup’ [bḓʊ̋n.bʊn] ‘sandbar’

Harmon (1977: 11) suggests that many of the consonant clusters within syllables have come into Kagayanen through vowel deletion or in borrowed words. As an example of vowel deletion, she gives the Kagayanen word *bḓáŋaw* ‘rainbow’ which reconstructs as the Proto-Philippine word **balaŋaw*. As an example of borrowing she gives the Kagayanen word *lámbɪ* ‘wire’ which comes from the Spanish word *alambre*.

2.5 Stress

Stress in Kagayanen is contrastive, and consists of lengthening of a syllable nucleus. Rise in voice pitch and intensity does not always fall on the stressed syllable, as these are high level phenomena involving intonation at the phrase or clause level. Isolated words can be pronounced with very different pitch and intensity from the same words used in communicative contexts. Because of these factors, it has been very difficult to mark words consistently for stress outside of elicitation of individual words. Stress occurs on any of the syllables of two and three syllable words. With four and five syllable words, usually there is primary stress on the penultimate and secondary stress on the second syllable to the left of the penultimate. Table 2.10 and Table 2.11 illustrate contrasting stress patterns in two and three syllable words. Examples (11) and (12) just illustrate how stress occurs in each type.

Table 2.10: Stress on two syllable words

Stress on first syllable	Stress on second syllable
[ʔá.naj] ‘termite’	[ʔa.náj] ‘first/a while/please’
[sá.ᵽap] ’drag net’	[sa.ᵽáp] ‘to catch in hands’
[bú.ᵽaʔ] ‘bubbles’	[bu.láʔ] ‘to tell a lie’
[pɣ́l.pɣl] ‘slow to learn’	[pʏl.pɣ́l] ‘to patch a hole or tear’
[ʔí.law] ‘light’	[ʔi.láw] ‘uncooked/unripe’
[gá.lɪŋ] ‘to grind/mill’	[ga.líŋ] ‘however’
[bú.ᵽak] ‘flower’	[bu.ᵽák] ‘cotton’
[bá.kak] ’to tell lies’	[ba.kák] ‘to be delighted’
[lú.ag] ‘ladle’	[lu.ág] ‘to look/watch’
[ká.ʊn] ‘box/drawer’	[ka.ʊ́n] ‘you singular ABS’
[ʔá.bɣ́ᵽ] ‘tube-like wrap around skirt’	[ʔa.bɣ́ᵽ] ‘dull blade/tool’

Table 2.11: Stress on three syllable words

Primary stress on first Syllable	Primary Stress on second syllable	Primary stress on third syllable
[pá.ʔa.gì] ‘means’	[ki.náŋ.lan] ‘to need’	[kʊ̀l.ti.báɾ] ‘to cultivate’
[bá.ka.làn] ‘wooden structure’	[bʊm.bᵽ́á.nan] ‘breastbone or wishbone of fowl’	[bù.ku.ʔán] ‘woven box’
[kí.si.mì] ‘ceiling’	[ku.lín.tas] ‘necklace’	[pà.ɾa.ní] ‘to come close’
[bí.bi.ɾʊ̀n] ‘baby bottle’	[si.líŋ.sɪŋ] ‘shoot of a plant’	[gì.bi.ʔí] ‘yesterday’
[bɣ́k.kɣs.sàn] ‘snake’	[sa.ᵽɣ́.pan] ‘west’	[bà.na.gɣ́ŋ] ‘organ pipe coral’
[lɣ́ŋ.ŋɣs.sà] ‘blood’	[ban.dɣ́.ɾan] ‘numb’	[bà.ta.nɣ́g] ‘half cooked rice’
[gʊ́ɾ.mi.tì] ‘boat’s crew’	[kʊs.tʊ́m.bɾi] ‘custom’	[bù.bu.ʔú] ‘tortoise’
[lú.ŋaj.ŋàj] ‘to have no strength’	[bu.bʊ́ŋ.aj] ‘fringe’	[bà.ᵽa.ɾʊ́l] ‘kite’

(11) Stress on four syllable words:
[kà.li.bú.tan] ‘earth’
[kà.li.mú.taw] ‘pupil of the eye’
[kà.li.báŋ.baŋ] ‘butterfly’
[kà.tɤ̣ŋ.dá.nan] ‘position/role/duty of authority and responsibility’
[pà.si.lá.bɤ̣t] ‘to get involved in something one should not’
[bà.ɸ̣aj-bá.ɸ̣aj] ‘playhouse’
[kà.la.mʊ́n.dɪŋ] ‘calamansi’ (a small citrus fruit)
[sà.lam.pá.ti] ‘dove’
[kà.ɪm.tá.ŋan] ‘situation/condition’
[kà.maŋ.ŋú.ɾan] ‘youngest sibling’
[kà.ma.tá.jan] ‘death’
[kà.lɪl.já.wan] ‘Philippine black-naped Oriole’

(12) Stress on five syllable words:
[ka.ʔù.ga.lí.ŋɤ̣n] ‘self’
[ka.ʔù.ga.lí.an] ‘tradition’
[sa.làm.ba.bá.ga] ‘centipede’
[ta.gì.pu.sú.ʊn] ‘heart’
[ka.mà.tu.ú.ɾan] ‘truth’
[ka.mà.gu.lá.ŋan] ‘oldest sibling’

When a suffix or enclitic is added to a penultimately stressed root, the stress moves to the right one syllable.

(13) [gʊ́n.tɪŋ] ‘scissors’ + [-ɤ̣n] →[gʊn.tí.ŋɤ̣n] ‘will cut with scissors’
[gʊ́n.tɪŋ] + [i] definite marker →[gʊn.tíŋ.ᵑi] ‘the scissors’
[gʊ́n.tɪŋ] + [ku] →[gʊn.tíŋ ku] ‘my scissors’ (two words)
[gʊ́n.tɪŋ] + [ku] + [i] →[gʊntíŋ ku ʷi] ‘my scissors’ (three words)

However, with prefixation the stress is not affected.

(14) [ga-] + [gʊ́n.tɪŋ] →[ga.gʊ́n.tɪŋ] ‘is cutting with scissors’
[mag-] + [pa-] + [gʊ́n.tɪŋ] →[màg.pa.gʊ́n.tɪŋ] ‘will have one’s (hair) cut’

2.6 Major phonological and morphophonemic processes

2.6.1 Rhoticization

The voiced alveolar stop /d/ becomes a flap [ɾ] in intervocalic position when a vowel-initial suffix is added to a /d/-final root. This is consistent with the ob-

servation in §2.2 above that in native words [d] does not occur intervocalically within a root, while [ɾ] usually occurs intervocalically.

(15) /d/-final roots plus vowel-initial suffix:
[dajád] 'good' + [-an] →[dajáɾan] 'will feel something is good'
[sínʔad] 'to cook grain' + [-ɣn] →[sɪnʔáɾɣn] 'will cook grain'
[kugʊ́d] 'to grate coconut' + [-ɣn] →[kugúɾʊn] 'will grate'
[ʔípɪd] 'to fold' + [-ɣn] →[ʔipíɾɣn]/[píɾɣn] 'will fold'
[súgɪd] 'to tell' + [-an] →[sugíɾan] 'will tell'

This process does not occur with prefixation, as shown in (16):

(16) [dajád] 'good' + [pa-] →[pàdajád] 'to make something better'
[dúma] 'companion' + [ga-] →[gadúma] 'to accompany'

Possibly this process occurs with suffixes because the suffix has no stress and the /d/ occurs after a stress. With prefixes, on the other hand, the stress occurs after the /d/.

2.6.2 Vowel rounding harmony

When the suffix [-ɣn] is added to a root that has /u/ in the final syllable, whether there is a final consonant or not, then the [ɣ] of the suffix becomes [ʊ]. This is consistent with the earlier observation that the sequence /u/C/ɣ/ does not occur in Kagayanen.

(17) [ʔanʊ́d] 'to drift' + [-ɣn] →[ʔanúɾʊn] 'will drift'
[pánnʊʔ] 'to fill up'+ [-ɣn] →[pannúʔʊn] 'will fill up'
[ʔútʊd] 'to cut' + [-ɣn] →[ʔutúɾʊn] 'will cut'

2.6.3 Consonant omission

When the intransitive, irrealis affix [m-] is prefixed to a root with an initial stop, fricative, or lateral, then the initial consonant of the root is omitted. No words with nasals or /r/ in initial position are found that permit prefixation of [m-]. Rather the intransitive, irrealis forms of such words are formed with the prefix [mag-] (see Chapter 6, §6.5.6). Harmon (1977: 29) hypothesizes that the irrealis [m-] is actually an infix, and since the sequence of a consonant plus a nasal is not permitted in Kagayanen, when [-m-] occurs, the initial consonant is omitted.

(18) [m-] + [pálɪt] ‘to buy’ →[málɪt] ‘will buy’
[m-] + [tʊ́dlʊʔ] ‘to teach’ →[mʊ́dlʊʔ] ‘will teach’
[m-] + [tɣ̬gbɣ̬ŋ] ‘to go downhill’ →[mɣ̬gbɣ̬ŋ] ‘will go down hill’
[m-] + [kámaŋ] ‘to get/take’ →[mámaŋ] ‘will get/take’
[m-] + [ʔútʊd] ‘to cut’ →[mútʊd] ‘will cut’
[m-] + [bálɪk] ‘to return’ →[málɪk] ‘will return’
[m-] + [dn̥ágan] ‘to run’ →[mn̥ágan] ‘will run’
[m-] + [gwáʔ] ‘to go out’ →[mwaʔ] ‘will go out’
[m-] + [pjʊ́ŋkʊt] ‘to assume a fetal position’ →[mjʊ́ŋkʊt] ‘will assume a fetal position’
[m-] + [lábɣ̬t] ‘to participate’ →[mábɣ̬t] ‘will participate’
[m-] + [sʊ́dlaj] ‘to comb’ →[mʊ́dlaj] ‘will comb’
[m-] + [sínʔad] ‘to cook grain’ →[mínʔad] ‘will cook grain’

Root-intial approximants /n̥/, /w/ and /j/ are not omitted when [m-] is prefixed. This may be considered counterevidence to Harmon’s hypothesis that [m-] is an infix. The older generation uses this more than the younger generation, who tend to use [mag-] or [ma-] instead of [m-] as the intransitive, irrealis forms of approximant-initial roots.

(19) [m-] + [n̥ábʊ] ‘to capsize’ →[mn̥ábʊ] ‘will capsize’
[m-] + [wasák] ‘to scatter’ →[mwasák] ‘will scatter’
[m-] + [jápʊn] ‘supper’ →[mjápʊn] ‘will eat supper’

2.6.4 Consonant gemination before enclitic demonstrative determiners

There are three enclitic demonstrative determiners [i], [an] and [jaʔ] that indicate definiteness, location in space and time, and staging of participants (see Chapter 3, §3.5.7). When any of the enclitic demonstrative determiners follows a nominal that ends in a non-glottal consonant, the final consonant of the nominal is geminated and the second component of the geminate occurs as a transitional consonant. With a glottal-final or [ɾ]-final nominal, the enclitics are added without gemination. This rule must “precede” (or take precedence over) rhoticization, since when a root ends in a syllable closed by /d/, the /d/ is not rhoticized before the vowel-initial enclitics, [i] or [an], though this is an environment for rhoticization for vowel-initial suffixes (see §2.6.1).

When the enclitic [jaʔ], DEF.F, occurs after a liquid- or approximant-final nominal there is no geminate transitional consonant.

When the enclitics [i] and [an] occur after an [i]-final nominal, then a transitional [ʲ] is inserted before [i] and [an]. When the enclitic [i] occurs after an [a]-final nominal, then a transitional [ʲ] is inserted before [i], but not with the enclitic [an]. With [u]-final nominals, [ʷ] is inserted as a transition before [i] and [an]. No nominal was found with [ɤ̯] finally. With vowel-final nominals, there is no transition before the enclitic [jaʔ].

Table 2.12 presents a representative list of examples of gemination before the enclitic demonstrative determiners.

Enclitic pronouns also undergo this process. With second person pronouns, singular [kaɔ́n] and plural [kjʊ́], the enclitic /i/ does not occur and the enclitic [jaʔ] is rare. Only [an] occurs and it varies as follows: [kaɔ́nⁿan/kaɔ́nⁿjan] and [kjúʷan/kjúʲan]. Table 2.13 illustrates these patterns.

2.6.5 Nasal assimilation and consonant deletion

When a nasal-final prefix occurs, such as N- ‘pluraction’ and [paŋ-] ‘action nominalizer’, the nasal usually assimilates to the point of articulation of the initial consonant of the root, and the initial consonant is omitted. If the initial consonant is bilabial, then the nasal becomes [m]. If the initial consonant is dental, then the nasal becomes [n]. The root-initial [d] is not omitted in some roots when prefixed. When [d] is not omitted, sometimes the nasal assimilates and sometimes not. For some speakers, the initial [l] in roots is optionally omitted after the prefix, but other speakers do not accept this variation. When [l] remains, then the nasal optionally assimilates. If the initial consonant of the root is [k], [ʔ], [g] or a nasal, then the final nasal of the prefix remains [ŋ], and the root-initial consonant is omitted. Root-initial [g], [m] and [n] are not omitted. When the initial consonant of the root is a non-lateral approximant, it remains and the nasal of the prefix is [ŋ].

Table 2.12: Gemination and transition consonants before enclitic demonstrative determiners

Final C/V	Root	Enclitic [i]	Enclitic [an]	Enclitic [jaʔ]
p	[ʔátɣp] ‘roof’	[ʔatɣpᵖi]	[ʔatɣpᵖan]	[ʔatɣpᵖjaʔ]
t	[kaḓát] ‘rope’	[kaḓátᵗi]	[kaḓátᵗan]	[kaḓátᵗjaʔ]
k	[píjak] ‘chick’	[pijákᵏi]	[pijákᵏan]	[pijákᵏjaʔ]
ʔ	[bájʊʔ] ‘clothes/shirt’	[bajúʔi]	[bajúʔan]	[bajúʔjaʔ]
b	[kajáb] ‘hand fan’	[kajábᵇi]	[kajábᵇan]	[kajábᵇjaʔ]
d	[sɣ́llɣ́d] ‘room’	[sɣllɣ́dᵈi]	[sɣllɣ́dᵈan]	[sɣllɣ́dᵈjaʔ]
g	[tállʊ́g] ‘egg’	[tallʊ́gᵍi]	[tallʊ́gᵍan]	[tallʊ́gᵍjaʔ]
s	[bákḓɣ́s] ‘belt’	[bakḓɣ́sˢi]	[bakḓɣ́sˢan]	[bakḓɣ́sˢjaʔ]
m	[ʔájam] ‘dog’	[ʔajámᵐi]	[ʔajámᵐan]	[ʔajámᵐjaʔ]
n	[dánɣ́n] ‘they’	[danɣ́nⁿi]	[danɣ́nⁿan]	[danɣ́nⁿjaʔ]
ŋ	[díŋdɪŋ] ‘wall’	[dɪŋdíŋᵑi]	[dɪŋdíŋᵑan]	[dɪŋdíŋᵑjaʔ]
l	[kawíl] ‘fish hook’	[kawílˡi]	[kawílˡan]	[kawíljaʔ]
ɾ	[túkaɾ] ‘play music’	[tukáɾi]	[tʊkáɾan]	[tukáɾjaʔ]
ḓ	[bagʊḓ] ‘coconut shell’	[bagʊḓᶞi]	[bagʊḓᶞan]	[bagʊḓjaʔ]
w	[ʔámbaw] ‘rat’	[ʔambáwʷi]	[ʔambáwʷan]	[ʔambáwjaʔ]
j	[báḓaj] ‘house’	[baḓájʲi]	[baḓájʲan]	[baḓájjaʔ]
a	[máta] ‘eye’	[matáʲi]	[matáan]	[matájaʔ]
i	[bái] ‘woman’	[baíʲi]	[baíʲan]	[baíjaʔ]
u	[básʊ] ‘glass’	[basúʷi]	[basúʷan]	[basújaʔ]

Table 2.13: Pronouns with enclitics

Pronoun	Enclitic [ɪ]	Enclitic [an]	Enclitic [jaʔ]
[ku] 1S, ERG/GEN	[ku^{w}i]	[ku^{w}an]	[kujaʔ]
[nu] 2S, ERG/GEN	[nu^{w}i]	[nu^{w}an]	[nujaʔ]
[dɪn] 3S, ERG/GEN	[dɪn^{n}i]	[dɪn^{n}an]	[dɪn^{n}jaʔ]
[ta] 1P.INCL, ERG/GEN	[tai]	[taan]	[tajaʔ]
[naj] 1P.EXCL, ERG/GEN	[naj^{j}i]	[naj^{j}an]	[najjaʔ]
[nju] 2P.ERG/GEN	[nju^{w}i]	[nju^{w}an]	[njujaʔ]
[dánɤ̨n]/[dáɤ̨n] 3P.ERG/GEN	none	none	none
[jákɤ̨n] 1S.ABS	[jakɤ̨n^{n}i]	none	none
[kaʊn] 2S.ABS	none	[kaʊn^{n}an]/ [kaʊn^{n}jan]	none
[kánɤ̨n] 3S.ABS	[kanɤ̨n^{n}i]	[kanɤ̨n^{n}an]	[kanɤ̨n^{n}jaʔ]
[kítɤ̨n] 1P.INCL.ABS	[kɪtɤ̨n^{n}i]	none	none
[kámi] 1P.EXCL.ABS	[kamí^{j}i]	none	none
[kju] 2P.ABS	none	[kjú^{w}an]/ [kjú^{j}an]	none
[dánɤn] 3P.ABS	[danɤ̨n^{n}i]	[danɤ̨n^{n}an]	[danɤ̨n^{n}jaʔ]
[ʔákɤ̨ʔ] 1S.GEN (preposed)	[ʔakɤ̨ʔi]	[ʔakɤ̨ʔan]	[ʔakɤ̨ʔjaʔ]
[ʔímʊ] 2S.GEN (preposed)	[ʔimú^{w}i]	[ʔimú^{w}an]	[ʔimújaʔ]
[ʔíja] 3S.GEN (preposed)	[ʔijá^{j}i]	[ʔijáan]	[ʔijájaʔ]
[ʔátɤ̨ʔ] 1P.GEN.INCL (preposed)	[ʔatɤ̨ʔi]	[ʔatɤ̨ʔan]	[ʔatɤ̨ʔjaʔ]
[ʔámɤ̨ʔ] 1P.GEN.EXCL (preposed)	[ʔamɤ̨ʔi]	[ʔamɤ̨ʔan]	[ʔamɤ̨ʔjaʔ]
[ʔɪnjú] 2P.GEN (preposed)	[ʔɪnjú^{w}i]	[ʔɪnjú^{w}an]	[ʔɪnjújaʔ]
[ʔirán] 3P.GEN (preposed)	[ʔirán^{n}i]	[ʔɪrán^{n}an]	[ʔirán^{n}jaʔ]

Table 2.14: Nasal-final prefixes and consonant omission

Root	ma-N-	na-N-	ga-N-	paŋ-
[pánaʔ] ‘arrow’	[mamánaʔ]	[namánaʔ]	[gamánaʔ]	none
[táɾʔ] ‘to sew’	[manáɾʔ]	[nanáɾʔ]	[ganáɾʔ]	none
[káʊj] ‘tree’	[maŋáʊj]	[naŋáʊj]	[gaŋáʊj]	[paŋáʊj]
[ʔúma] ‘field’	[maŋúma]	[naŋúma]	[gaŋúma]	none
[bátʔaw] ‘torch/light’	[mamátʔaw]	[namátʔaw]	[gamátʔaw]	none
[dágat] ‘sea/ ocean’	[manágat]	[nanágat]	[ganágat]	none
[dájaʔ] ‘to deceive’	[mandájaʔ]/ [maŋdájaʔ]	[nandájaʔ]/ [naŋdájaʔ]	none	[pandájaʔ]/ [paŋdájaʔ]
[gʊ́ntɪŋ] ‘scissors’	[maŋgʊ́ntɪŋ]	[naŋgʊ́ntɪŋ]	none	[paŋgʊ́ntɪŋ]
[lisʊk] ‘to bud’	[manlisʊk]/ [maŋlisʊ́k]	[nanlisʊk/ [naŋlisʊk]	[ganlisʊk/ gaŋlisʊk]	none
[sáɪd] ‘drag net’	[manáɪd]	[nanáɪd]	[ganáɪd]	none
[málaʔ] ‘to change clothes’	[maŋmálaʔ]	[naŋmálaʔ]	[gaŋmálaʔ]	none
[nákᷠaʔ] ‘to click tongue’	[maŋnákᷠaʔ]	[naŋnákᷠaʔ]	[gaŋnákᷠaʔ]	none
[ŋáddʊᷠʊᷠ] ‘puberty’	[maŋáddʊᷠʊᷠ]	[naŋáddʊᷠʊᷠ]	[gaŋáddʊᷠʊᷠ]	none
[ᷠʊ́áᷠa] ‘to get to know someone’	[maŋᷠʊ́áᷠa]	[naŋᷠʊ́áᷠa]	[gaŋᷠʊ́áᷠa]	none
[wáslɪg] ‘to throw away’	[maŋwáslɪg]	[naŋwáslɪg]	none	none
[jágak] ‘to cry’	[maŋjágak]	[naŋjágak]	[gaŋjágak]	none

2.7 Relaxed speech

In relaxed speech, intervocalic /d/ may become [ɾ]. For example, there is a commonly used phrase [mánaw káɾi] 'come here' which comes from [mánaw ká di]; *di* is a locational demonstrative. Also in relaxed speech, when a suffix is added to a verb that begins with a glottal stop, then the glottal stop and following vowel can optionally be omitted.

(20) [ʔátag] 'to give'+ [-an] →[ʔatágan/tágan] 'will give'
[ʔípɪd] 'to fold' + [-ɻn] →[ʔipíɾɻn/píɾɻn] 'will fold'
[ʔɻ̬ð̬ɻs] 'to borrow' + [-ɻn] →[ʔɻ̬ð̬ɻsɻn/ð̬ɻsɻn] 'will borrow'
[ʔútad] 'to step on'+ [-an] →[ʔutáran/táran] 'will step on'

Note that when [ʔɻ̬ð̬ɻs] 'to borrow' takes a suffix and the initial syllable is omitted then the interdental optionally becomes the lateral /l/.

(21) [ʔɻ̬ð̬ɻs] + [-an] →[lɻ̬sɻn] or [ð̬ɻ̬sɻn]

2.8 Orthography and transcription conventions

Throughout the remainder of this grammar, Kagayanen examples are written following orthography conventions commonly used by Kagayanen writers, with a few exceptions as explained in this section. In 2003, SIL-Philippines approved an orthography for literature published in Kagayanen under the auspices of SIL. Most Kagayanen publications to date employ that system. The examples of Kagayanen in the rest of the chapters follow the conventions of this standard orthography with the exception of the interdental approximant [ð̬], which we indicate with *l̤*, as mentioned above and further discussed in this section.

As is common for working orthographies in the Philippines, word-initial, word-final and intervocalic glottal stop is not written. Thus, [ʔági] 'to pass' is written *agi*, [lútʊʔ] 'dark/bright color' is written *luto*, and [labáʔab] 'lukewarm' is written *labaab*. Only the glottal stop that is word medial after a consonant and before a vowel is symbolized with a hyphen. For example [lʊ́jʔa] 'ginger' is written as *luy-a*.

The nasal [ŋ] is written *ng*, for example, [bíŋbɪŋ] 'to carry in a bucket like container' is written orthographically as *bingbing*.

Primary school teachers agree that it is important, at least for beginning readers, to indicate the difference between the phonemically distinct lateral and interdental approximants (see §2.2), even though they are not distinguished in the SIL

orthography. Various alternatives have been suggested for indicating the interdental approximant, including underscoring and capitalization. However, initial orthography testing suggests that writing the interdental approximant with a lowered comma or cedilla is optimal for making the contrast clear, while maintaining maximal similarity with the common orthography. In this grammar we will indicate the interdental approximant /ð̩/ as *l̦* (upper case *L̦*) following recommendations of several Department of Education (DepEd) teachers. Thus, for example, [kð̩áʊt] 'kind of small bean' is written *kl̦aot*.

The approximant /j/ is written as *y*, so [jábʔʊk] 'dust' is written *yab-ok*.

All allophones of /i/ are written with *i* and all the allophones of /u/ with *u* except when /u/ occurs in the final syllable of a word, In which case it is written as *o*. The vowel /ɤ̩/ is written as *e*.

A geminate transitional consonant before an enclitic will not be written. A space is written before the enclitic. Thus, [ʔikámᵐan] 'the mat' is written as *ikam an* and [ʔikámkuʷan] 'my mat' is written as *ikam ko an*.

In the second line of data in numbered examples, a morphologically analyzed version of the standard orthography is employed. In this line, an en-dash (–) indicates concatenative morpheme boundaries, and a simple dash (-) indicates a glottal stop, as per the preceding discussion. Thus when a glottal-stop initial root, such as *anod* [ʔanʊ́d] 'drift' takes a consonant-final prefix, such as *pag-* 'action nominalizer', both an en-dash (for the morpheme boundary), and a simple dash (for the glottal stop) appear: *pag–-anod*. Other conventions regarding morpheme boundaries include angle brackets surrounding infixes (e.g. *<in>* 'resultative nominalizer'), and the tilde character (~) indicating boundaries between reduplicate and reduplicand (e.g., *anod~-anod* 'keep on drifting', *luto~-luto* 'keep on cooking').

Other features of the second line of data in examples include the use of a zero symbol (∅) to represent morphemes with no phonetic realization, and the ellipsis character (...) to indicate conversational omission of affixes (see Chapter 6, §6.6). These two phenomena are seldom confusable in context, though both involve the absense of phonological material.

3 Referring expressions

3.1 Introduction

Referring to participants and props in discourse "scenes" is one major task that people accomplish using language. Other major tasks include describing the situations that participants and props are involved in (predication), and specifying the properties of the participants and props (modification). In this chapter we will discuss linguistic structures in Kagayanen that fulfill a referring function. These will sometimes be described collectively as Referring Expressions (REs). In Chapter 4 we discuss modification, in Chapter 5 we describe non-verbal predication, and in Chapter 6 we describe verbal predication.

In Kagayanen, as in most Western Austronesian languages, labels such as "noun" and "verb" are not lexical tags that mechanistically attach to individual entries apart from any communicative context. Rather, substantive roots[1] are simply form + meaning composites that may be used in any way that speakers find helpful in communication. In other words, substantive roots in Kagayanen are for the most part precategorial (Himmelmann 2008).

While we acknowledge that roots are generally precategorial out of context, because of their meanings some roots are *more likely* than others to function referentially, and others are *more likely* to function predicatively. Our use of the term "noun" in this grammar can be thought of as a shortcut for "a root that, because of its semantics, is very likely to be used in a referential way in communication." Other forms and constructions that more rigidly serve this function include pronouns and referential phrases. The latter are what are traditionally referred to as "noun phrases".

Prototypical nouns evoke concepts that are relatively "time-stable" (Givón 2001a: 55), and which potentially have continuing presence on the discourse stage (Hopper & Thompson 1984, Du Bois 1985). Nouns in Kagayanen exhibit no inflectional morphology; case, number and definiteness are expressed analytically by separate words, as discussed in §3.2 below. However, there are several

[1] As opposed to purely grammatical particles such as adverbial enclitics and prenominal case markers.

interesting and complex stem-forming processes that create nouns from any root. These processes are collectively referred to as *nominalization* (or "noun-forming processes"). In §3.3 we catalog the systematic nominalization processes that we have observed in the corpus. In §3.4, we describe four types of pronouns: personal pronouns, interrogative pronouns, indefinite pronouns, and demonstrative pronouns. Finally, in §3.5 we describe the general structure of Referring Phrases, meaning groups of words that collectively refer to participants or props in discourse.

3.2 Nouns

We recognize three grammatically distinct classes of lexical nouns in Kagayanen: 1) *common count nouns* ("common nouns" for short), 2) *personal names* (proper nouns referring to specific people), and 3) *common mass nouns* (also known simply as "mass nouns" or "non-count nouns"). The structures of Referring Phrases headed by all common nouns versus personal names are distinct, as described in §3.5.1 and §3.5.2. The structures of Referring Phrases headed by nominalized clauses are also distinct. However, since nominalized clauses are not lexical items, we do not treat them as a sub-class of nouns. Their distinct morphosyntactic properties are described in §3.5.3.

In this section we will give some preliminary examples of common nouns, personal names, and mass nouns.

Prototypical common nouns are words that refer to things, people, animals, and other concrete items. They include such words as *baḷay* 'house', *bata* 'child', *umang* 'hermit crab', and *suba* 'river.'

Personal names, on the other hand, refer to particular individuals, for example, *Juan*, *Neneng*, *Bibing*, *Gulang*, *Angngod*, *Dongdong*, and *Bebot*. These nouns are grammatically distinct from common nouns in that they take a different set of prenominal case markers, and can only be modified in certain limited ways. Table 3.1 illustrates the different prenominal markers used for common nouns and personal names. In §3.5.2 special morphosyntactic properties of personal names are described in more detail. Personal names are always distinguished in writing by the use of an initial capital letter.

It should be noted that personal names are not the same as "proper nouns" as defined in other language traditions. For example, names of specific places, languages, or people groups, such as *Kagayanen* (the language or the people), *Filipino* and *Maynila* 'Manila', are treated grammatically as common nouns in Kagayanen, for example, they take the prenominal case markers associated with

Table 3.1: Prenominal case markers

	Absolutive	Ergative/Genitive	Oblique
Common nouns	∅	ta	ta
Personal names	∅	∅	ki
Pronouns	∅	∅	ki

common nouns and not personal names. Nevertheless, because of tradition, these nouns are also written with initial capital letters.

Some kinship terms may be used either as common nouns or as personal names, for example *ta nanay* 'to (someone's) mother' or *ki Nanay* 'to Mother', *ta manang* 'to (someone's) older sister' or *ki Manang* 'to Older Sister'. The same is true of most other kinship terms for immediate family members, such as *manong* 'older brother', *tatay* 'father', *lola* 'grandmother,' *lolo* 'grandfather,' though not *katagsa* 'cousin.'

(1) *Nanay* 'mother' and *tatay* 'father' used as common nouns:
Mabot a ta baḷay nay gangita a **ta nanay ko** daw **tatay ko**.
M–abot a ta baḷay nay ga–ngita a ***ta nanay ko*** *daw* ***tatay ko****.*
I.V.IR–arrive 1S.ABS NABS house 1P.EXCL.GEN I.R–look.for 1S.ABS NABS mother 1S.GEN and father 1S.GEN
'Arriving at our house, I was looking for my mother and my father.' [BMON-C-04 1.4]

(2) *Nanay* 'mother' used as a personal name:
Lugar isya i na pirates a gainsa **ki Nanay** ko daw indi tatay ko.
Lugar[2] *isya i na pirates a ga–insa* ***ki Nanay*** *ko daw indi tatay ko.*
then one DEF.N LK pirates CTR I.R–ask OBL.P mother 1S.GEN if/when where father 1S.GEN
'Then one of the pirates asked Mother where is my father.' [BCWN-C-04 8.1]

[2]This word is from Spanish meaning 'place,' but in Kagayanen, it can also function as a discourse particle with the sense of 'then,' as in this example. There is an indigenous Kagayanen word *lugay* meaning 'long-time' that is also used in this way. Some Kagayanen speakers prefer *lugar* to *lugay* as a discourse particle.

Mass nouns, also known as *non-count nouns* include most liquids, such as *agas* 'kerosine', *bino* 'wine', *waig* 'water', *gatas* 'milk', *uḷas* 'sweat', *luwa* 'tears', *dagat* 'sea/ocean', *uran* 'rain', *lengngessa* 'blood', etc. They also include gases, such as *angin* 'air/wind', *aso* 'smoke', *tun-og* 'dew/mist/fog', most particle nouns, such as *asin* 'salt', *kḷamay* 'sugar', *beggas* 'milled rice', *ummay* 'unmilled rice', *kanen* 'cooked rice', etc. Also included are many abstract nouns, including *swirti* 'luck', *kanḷaman* 'knowledge/wisdom', *laem* 'hope', *andem* 'ambition', and collective nouns such as *daḷa* 'stuff/things', *kwarta* 'money', *pagkaan*, 'food', *basura* 'garbage', *sagbet*'weeds/trash', *bḷawan* 'gold', and *pilak* 'silver'.

Grammatically, mass nouns take the same prenominal case markers as the ordinary common nouns. They also can occur in a noun phrase with the demonstrative adjectives, demonstrative determiners, genitive pronouns, adjectives, and some non-numeral quantifiers, such as *tanan* 'all', *tama* 'many/much', and *sise nang* 'just a little bit.' However, mass nouns cannot be modified directly with numerals, noun classifiers, plural adjectives such as *darko* 'plural big' and *derse/derset* 'plural small'. They cannot be referred to with the interrogative/relative pronoun *pila* 'how many' or the quantifier *pila nang* 'just a few.' To specify a quantity of a mass noun concept, one must mention a container, for example, *tallo na sako ta beggas* 'three sacks of rice', or a measurement *tallo na kilo ta beggas* 'three kilograms of rice' (see §3.4.2). Mass nouns do not normally occur with the plural marker *mga*, but may in certain contexts, as in examples (3) and (4):

(3) kasklasi na mga pagkaan
kas~klasi na mga pag–kaan
RED~type LK PL NR.ACT–eat
'different kinds of food.'

(4) a. Tama na mga beggas tinda di.
Tama na mga beggas tinda di.
many LK PL milled.rice sell D1LOC
'Much rice is sold here.'

b. Tama na mga waig di.
Tama na mga waig di.
many LK PL water D1LOC
'Much water is here.'

Example (4a) would be used in a situation where many different people are selling rice in the market. Example (4b) asserts there are many instances of water, such as rivers, wells, waterfalls, and so on.

3.3 Noun-forming processes

In Kagayanen, as in many other Philippine languages, most inflected verb forms can function as Heads or Modifiers within Referential Phrases (see Chapter 6, §6.5 on inflected verb forms). In this sense, almost any verb form is potentially a nominalization. However, the reverse is not the case; there are certain affix patterns that create stems which may only be used as nouns. Some other affix patterns create stems which are commonly used as nouns, and their use as verbs is uncommon. Finally there are noun-forming processes that are identical to verbal inflectional processes in form, but which create noun stems whose meanings are unrelated to the analogous forms used as verbs. In this section, we describe noun-forming processes that do not have exact counterparts in verbal inflection, making note of any similarities with verb morphology as may exist. In the following subsections we emphasize the *productive* uses of these nominalization processes. There are other nominal forms built with these processes for which the meanings cannot be predicted according to any consistent pattern. Several such forms are noted in the subsections below, though a thorough catalog of these *lexicalizations* is more appropriate for a dictionary than a grammatical description. There also exists much variation among Kagayanen speakers in how these nominalization processes are used. We have tried to account for this variation where possible, but there are undoubtedly variations in form and meaning that we have overlooked.

3.3.1 "Zero" deverbalization

Inherently verbal roots may function as action nominalizations with no overt morphology. We refer to this phenomenon as *zero deverbalization*. In the following examples, the deverbal nouns are presented in bold:

(5) Nakita danen na galaway ta **tunuga**.
*Na–kita danen na ga–laway ta **tunuga**.*
A.HAP.R–see 3P.ABS LK I.R–salivate NABS sleep
'They saw that (surgeon fish) was salivating in (his) **sleep**.' [JCWN-T-27 6.2]

(6) Gaketkeret waleng ta **tawa**.
*Ga–ket–keret waleng ta **tawa**.*
I.R–RED–wrinkle face NABS laugh
'The face is wrinkled up with **laughing**.' [CBOE-C-01 4.2]

(7) Tuduan din gid en **dḷagan din an**.
...–tudo–an din gid en ***dḷagan din an.***
T.R–put.all.effort–APL 3S.ERG INT CM run 3S.GEN DEF.M
'He really put all effort into **his running**.' [DBWN-T-26 9.1]

3.3.2 Root reduplication – diminutive, similitive, collective

Some nominal roots can undergo partial and/or complete reduplication. For roots meaning X, reduplicated forms refer to things that are 'a small X', 'not a real X', 'pretend X', 'pattern of X', 'something that looks like or is used in the same way as X', 'some sort of X', or 'a collection of X'. These processes are formally identical, and semantically comparable to root reduplication in the verb, as discussed in Chapter 7, §7.3. Complete reduplication applies to roots of any syllable structure, and any historical origin. Partial reduplication mostly applies to Austronesian roots which begin with a stop consonant, /l/ or /ḷ/. Additionally, there are two types of partial reduplication:

Partial reduplication pattern 1: The first C(C)V sequence plus the root-final consonant is reduplicated. This is the most common pattern (see below for examples).

Partial reduplication pattern 2: The first C(C)VC sequence is reduplicated.

It seems that roots in which the consonant following the first vowel is a velar (*ng* or *g*) are more likely to follow pattern 2, but this is not consistent. Many such roots do not permit partial reduplication at all.

The following is a representative list of nouns with their full and partial reduplicative forms, along with their common meanings. This list is divided between roots that follow partial reduplication pattern 1 (example 8), those that follow partial reduplication pattern 2 (example 9), those that do not allow partial reduplication (example 10), and a few nouns that do not seem to undergo reduplication at all (example 11). For roots that allow both full and partial reduplication, the meaning of the reduplicative forms is usually the same (though there is some variation from speaker to speaker as to how these forms are used):

(8)

Root	**Complete redup.**	**Partial redup. (pattern 1)**
buḷak 'flower'	buḷak-buḷak	bukbuḷak 'floral pattern'
kaon 'chest/box/drawer'	kaon-kaon	kankaon 'dresser/desk'
puon 'trunk/stem'	puon-puon	punpuon 'different kinds of trunks/stems', 'some kind of trunk/stem'
ḷaod 'deep ocean'	ḷaod-ḷaod	ḷadḷaod 'somewhat deep ocean'

payag ‘nipa house’	payag-payag	pagpayag ‘small rest house’
saag ‘floor’	saag-saag	sagsaag ‘sort of a floor’
kaoy ‘wood’/’tree’	kaoy-kaoy	kaykaoy ‘many trees’
bagoḷ ‘coconut shell’	bagoḷ-bagoḷ	baḷbagoḷ ‘many coconut shells’ / ‘skull’
laas ‘undomesticated’	laas-laas	laslaas ‘sort of undomesticated animal’
uran ‘rain’	uran-uran ‘lots of rain’	un-uran ‘rainy season’ / ‘keep on raining’

(9)

Root	**Complete redup.**	**Partial redup. (pattern 2)**
bḷangay ‘2-masted boat’	bḷangay-bḷangay	bḷangbḷangay / banbḷangay ‘many two-masted boats’ / ‘toy boat’
baḷay ‘house’	baḷay-baḷay	baḷbaḷay ‘bamboo resthouse’ / ‘playhouse’ / ‘dollhouse’
klasi ‘kind, type’	klasi-klasi	klasklasi / kasklasi ‘various kinds/types’
bḷagaw ‘blond color’	bḷagaw-bḷagaw	bḷagbḷagaw ‘little blonde’
buḷan ‘month/moon’	buḷan-buḷan	bunbuḷan ‘every month
minuto ‘minute’	minuto-minuto	minu-minuto ‘every minute’
taon ‘year’	taon-taon	tantaon ‘every year’
segundo ‘second’	*segundo-segundo	
duminggo ‘week’	*duminggo-duminggo	

(10)

Root	**Complete redup. (No partial redup.)**
mangkok ‘bowl’	mangkok-mangkok ‘toy bowl’ or ‘a kind of shell’
pandan ‘screw pine plant’	pandan-pandan ‘many screw pine plants’
pinggan ‘plate, dish’	pinggan-pinggan ‘toy plate/dish’
sungay ‘horn’	sungay-sungay ‘many horns’
amo ‘monkey’	amo-amo ‘toy monkey’
abeḷ ‘tube skirt’	abeḷ-abeḷ ‘many tube skirts’
adlaw ‘day, sun’	adlaw-adlaw ‘every day’
oras ‘hour/time’	oras-oras ‘every hour’
alad ‘offering’	alad-alad ‘many offerings or small offering’
ikam ‘mat’	ikam-ikam ‘small toy mat’
ikog ‘tail’	ikog-ikog ‘small tail’
ilaw ‘light’	ilaw-ilaw ‘many lights’

imbis ‘fish scales’	imbis-imbis ‘many fish scales’
ubra ‘work’	ubra-ubra ‘much work’
ubos ‘all included’	ubos-ubos ‘completely all included’
uling ‘charcooal’	uling-uling ‘lots of charcoal’
kabaw ‘carabao’	kabaw-kabaw ‘small carabao’
dl̦aga ‘single woman’	dl̦aga-dl̦aga ‘younger single girl’
dl̦unan ‘boundary’	dl̦unan-dl̦unan ‘many boundaries’
bl̦akaw ‘a kind of spirit’	bl̦akaw-bl̦akaw ‘many spirits’
bl̦anak ‘mullet fish’	bl̦anak-bl̦anak ‘many mullet fish’
bl̦ubog ‘gruel, porridge’	bl̦ubog-bl̦ubog ‘a little gruel’
bl̦umbon ‘sandbar’	bl̦umbon-bl̦umbon ‘many sandbars’, ‘sm. sandbar’
bl̦utot ‘boil, abscess’	bl̦utot-bl̦utot ‘many boils/abcesses’, ‘small boil’
kl̦amay ‘sugar’	kl̦amay-kl̦amay ‘much sugar’
plano ‘plan’	plano-plano ‘many plans’
pl̦aas ‘monitor lizard’	pl̦aas-pl̦aas ‘many monitor lizards’
tl̦aba ‘barnacle, kind of shell’	tl̦aba-tl̦aba ‘many such shells’

(11)

Root	**Neither complete nor partial reduplication**
bl̦abag ‘barrier’	*bl̦abag-bl̦abag *bl̦agbl̦abag
bl̦agen ‘vine or creeping plant’	*bl̦agen-bl̦agen *bl̦agbl̦agen *bl̦anbl̦agen
bl̦aran ‘drying place’	*bl̦aran-bl̦aran *bl̦anbl̦aran
bl̦atong ‘string bean’	*bl̦atong-bl̦atong *bl̦angbl̦atong
bl̦awan ‘gold’	*bl̦awan-bl̦awan *bl̦anbl̦awan *bl̦awbl̦awan
bl̦aen ‘a kind of basket’	*bl̦aen-bl̦aen *bl̦anbl̦aen
pl̦apa ‘coconut frond’	*pl̦apa-pl̦apa *pl̦appl̦apa
bl̦ukan ‘arm’	*bl̦ukan-bl̦ukan *bl̦unbl̦ukan
klamutaw ‘pupil, iris’	*klamutaw-klamutaw *klawklamutaw
kl̦im-an ‘fifty’	*kl̦im-an-kl̦im-an *kl̦ankl̦im-an
kl̦ubay ‘bottle gourd’	*kl̦ubay-kl̦ubay *kl̦uykl̦ubay *kl̦ukl̦ubay
ml̦uto ‘provision for a trip’	*ml̦uto-ml̦uto *ml̦uʔml̦uto
plantsa ‘clothes iron’	*plantsa-plantsa *planplantsa
sl̦ait ‘point or barb of a spear’	*sl̦aɪt-sl̦aɪt *sl̦atsl̦aɪt
ismagel ‘flipflop’	*ismagel-ismagel *ismalismagel
tl̦unon ‘wild pig’	*tl̦unon-tl̦unon *tl̦untl̦unon *tl̦utl̦unon
tl̦unay ‘splinter, thorn or anything stuck in the skin’	*tl̦unay-tl̦unay *tl̦uytl̦unay *tl̦untl̦unay *tl̦utl̦unay

On verbs and adjectives this morphological process may also have comparable semantic effects (e.g., ‘VERB iteratively/continuously’, ‘pretend to VERB’, ‘VERB

randomly,' 'sort of ADJ'). These are described for verbs in Chapter 7, §7.3, and for adjectives in Chapter 4, §4.3.9.

3.3.3 *ka-*: abstract quality

With some adjectives and stative verbs the prefix *ka-* alone derives a noun that refers to the abstract quality expressed by the root. For example:

(12)

Root	**Derived form**
dayad 'good/pretty' (adj.)	kadayad 'goodness/prettiness'
bellay 'difficult' (adj.)	kabellay 'difficulty'
baskeg/biskeg 'strong' (adj.)	kabaskeg/kabiskeg 'strength'
sakit 'painful' (adj.)	kasakit 'pain'
kapoy 'tired' (adj.)	kakapoy 'tiredness'
pawa 'bright' (adj.)	kapawa 'brightness'
lineng 'quiet/peaceful' (adj.)	kalineng 'quiet/peace'
tawway 'inwardly peaceful'	katawway 'inner peacefulness'
linaw 'calm weather or sea'	kalinaw 'calmness'
bui 'live' (v.)	kabui 'life'
lipay 'feel joyful' (v.)	kalipay 'joy'
sadya 'enjoy/have fun' (v.)	kasadya 'enjoyment/fun'
sebe 'feel sad' (v.)	kasebe 'sadness'
lised 'feel distress' (v.)	kalised 'distress'
ḷettem 'hungry' (v.)	kaḷettem 'hunger'
dalok 'gluttonous' (adj.)	kadalok 'gluttony'
adlek 'feel afraid' (v.)	kaadlek/kadlek 'fear'
gilek 'angry' (v.)	kagilek 'anger'
lain 'bad' (adj.)	kalain 'badness'

Examples (13) and (14) illustrate *ka-* nominalizations used as nouns in context:

(13) Daw ino na **kadayad** mga dikurasyon an na mga paniin.

*Daw ino na **ka–dayad** mga dikurasyon an na mga paniin.*
if/when what LK NR–good PL decoration DEF.M LK PL shells
'What **beauty** of the shell decorations!' [DBWN-T-23 4.5]

(14) Tagan kay ta **kabaskeg** ta ame na mga lawa para mag-ubra kay...
*Ø–atag–an kay ta **ka–baskeg** ta ame na mga*
T.IR–give–APL 1P.EXCL.ABS NABS NR–strong NABS 1P.EXCL.GEN LK PL
lawa para mag–-ubra kay...
body for I.IR–work 1P.EXCL.ABS
'Give us **strength** for our bodies in order for us to work ...' [ETOB-C-02 1.7]

3.3.4 *ka-...-én/-ón*: abstract quality/dimension

The affix combination *ka-...-én/-ón* nominalizes dimensional adjectives and a few nouns and verbs. It is the normal way of forming abstract nouns of dimension in space and time:

(15)

Root	**Derived form**
wayang 'wide space'	kawàyangén 'inside width'
ḷapad 'wide'	kaḷàparén 'outside width'
datas 'high'	kadàtasén 'height'
ḷangkaw 'long'	kaḷàngkawén 'length'
daḷem 'deep'	kadàḷemén 'depth'.
madyo/adyo 'far'	kamàdyuón/kaàdyuón 'distance'
bakod/baked 'big'	kabàkurón/kabàkerén 'size'
darko 'big (plural)'	kadàrkuón 'size (plural)'
derse/derset 'small (pl.)'	'smallness' (plural)'
layog 'tall'	kalàyugón 'height' (usually people)
baaḷ 'thick'	kabàaḷén 'thickness' (diameter)
dakmeḷ 'thick'	kadàkmeḷén 'thickness' (of flat objects and rain)
lugay 'long time'	kalùgayén 'length of time'
lawɪg 'long time'	kalàwigén 'length of a long time'
lipo 'short'	kalìpuón 'shortness'
baba 'short'	kabàbaén 'shortness'
gamay 'narrow'	kagàmayén 'narrowness'

Ka-...-én can also occur with other kinds of adjectives. The result is an abstract noun referring to the quality expressed by the adjective (similar to that of *ka-* above), but perhaps with more intensity. The words listed in (16) with *ka- ... -én* usually describe the consistent character or habits of a person. This is in contrast to the use of *ka-* alone and *pagka-* described below. For example, *tamad* 'lazy' becomes *katámad* 'normal laziness', *katàmarén* 'characteristic or habitual

laziness' and *pagkatámad* 'laziness in the moment' (see §3.3.3 above and §3.3.12 below).

(16)

Root	**Derived form**
manakem 'old'	kamànakemén 'old age'
dasig 'fast'	kadàsigén 'speed'
daḷas 'fast'	kadàḷasén 'speed'
beg-at 'heavy'	kabèg-atén 'weight'
tama 'many'	katàmaén 'amount'
tambek 'fat'	katàmbekén 'fatness/obesity'
niwang 'skinny'	kanìwangén 'skinniness'
dayaw 'beautiful'	kadàyawén 'beauty'
minog 'red'	kamìnugón 'redness'
inog 'ripe'	kaìnugón 'ripeness'
dayad 'good/pretty'	kadàyarén 'goodness/prettiness'
bellay 'difficult'	kabèllayén 'difficulty'
biskeg 'strong'	kabìskegén 'strength'
sakit 'painful'	kasàkitén 'painfulness'
lineng 'quiet/peaceful'	kalìnengén 'quietness/peacefulness'
tawway 'inwardly peaceful'	katàwwayén 'inner peacefulness'
lipay 'feel joyful'	kalìpayén 'joyfulness'
sadya 'enjoy/have fun'	kasàdyaén 'enjoyment'
sebe 'feel sad'	kasèbeén 'sadness'
lised 'feel distress'	kalìserén 'distress'
ḷettem 'hungry'	kaḷèttemén 'hunger'
dalok 'gluttonous'	kadàlukón 'gluttony'
gilek 'angry'	kagìlekén 'anger'
tamad 'lazy'	katàmarén 'laziness'
uḷa 'nothing'	kaùḷaén 'having nothing/destitution'
pubri 'poor'	kapùbrién 'poverty'
beet 'kind/good/considerate'	kebèetén 'kindness/consideration'

Examples (17)–(19) illustrate some *ka-…-én* nominalizations in context:

(17) Piro ta **kasàkeén** ta iran na ubra uḷa danen namasmasi na iran na bata may kalain ta beet ki danen.

Piro ta ***ka–sàke–én*** *ta* *iran* *na ubra* *uḷa* *danen*
but NABS NR–busy–NR NABS 3P.GEN LK work NEG.R 3P.ERG
na–masmas–i *na iran* *na bata* *may* *ka–lain ta*
A.HAP.R–notice–XC.APL LK 3P.GEN LK child EXT.IN NR–bad NABS

beet ki danen.
inner.being OBL.P 3p
'But in the **business** of their work they did not notice that their child had bad feelings towards them.' [YBWN-T-07 2.5)

(18) Ame na lugar sikad lineng kag uyi may **kaḷangkawén** na katursi kilumitros.
Ame na lugar sikad lineng kag[3] *u–yi may*
1P.EXCL.GEN LK place very peaceful and EMPH–D1ABS EXT.IN
ka–ḷangkaw–én *na katursi kilumitros.*
NR–long–NR LK fourteen kilometers
'Our place is very peaceful and has the **length** of fourteen kilometers.' [EFWL-T-07 11.1]

(19) **Katamarén** din paryo ta iya na amay.
ka–tamad–én *din paryo ta iya na amay.*
NR–lazy–NR 3S.GEN same NABS 3S.GEN LK father
'His/her **laziness** is like his/her father.'

3.3.5 *-an*, and *ka-...-an*: location

The suffix *-an* may occur on some roots to form a noun that refers to the place where something exists or where some action occurs. The combination *ka-...-an* refers to groups of many things, multiple locations, or extreme/absolute locations. Unlike the nominalizing suffixes *-én/-ón* in Kagayanen and *-án* in other Philippine languages, *-an* used in a nominalization in Kagayanen is never stressed or lengthened:

(20)

Root	**Derived form**
nióg or nyog 'coconut'	nyúgan 'coconut grove'
	kanyúgan 'coconut groves'
káoy 'wood, tree, stick'	kaúyan 'place where trees grow'
	kàkaúyan 'place of many trees / forest'
gúso 'agar-seaweed'	gusúan 'place to grow agar-seaweed'
	*kagusuan

[3]The word *kag* is code mixing from Ilonggo (Hiligaynon). The normal Kagayanen conjunction is *daw*.

báḷay ‘house’	baḷáyan ‘place of a house’
	kàbaḷáyan ‘place of houses/residential area’
tapós ‘finish’	tapúsan ‘the end’
	kàtapúsan ‘the absolute end’
tumán ‘fulfill/obey’	tumánan ‘end point or boundary’
	kàtumánan ‘absolute end point or boundary’
umpísa ‘start’	umpisáan beginning place’
	kaùmpisáan ‘absolute beginning place’
taném ‘plant’	tanéman ‘garden/place for planting’
	*kataneman
báto ‘rock/stone’	batúan ‘place with many rocks, little soil’
	*kabatuan
dúngka ‘to dock a boat’	dungkáan ‘place to dock a boat’
	*kadungkaan
pundó ‘anchor’	pundúan ‘place of anchor’
	*kapunduan
paráda ‘to park a vehicle’	pàradáan ‘place for parking / parking lot’
	*kaparadaan
sagbét ‘weeds/trash’	sagbétan ‘place with lots of weeds/trash’
	*kasagbetan
úna ‘first’	unáan ‘place on ahead’
	kàunáan ‘absolutely first place’
kumbíra ‘feast’	kùmbiráan ‘place of a feast’
	*kakumbiraan
tindá ‘sell’	tindáan ‘store/place for selling’
	*katindaan
dawís ‘point of an island’	dawísan ‘place where an island has a point’
	*kadawisan
lébbeng ‘bury’	lebbéngan ‘grave/burial site’
	*kalebbengan
príso ‘prisoner’	prisúan ‘prison’
	*kaprisuan
iskwíla ‘go to school’	ìskwiláan ‘school building’
	*kaiskwilaan
símba ‘to worship’	simbáan ‘church building’
	*kasimbaan
sakáy ‘ride’	sakáyan ‘vehicle’
	*kasakayan

lánding ‘to land’	landíngan ‘airstrip’
	*kalandıngan
tapá ‘smoke cure on a fire’	tapáan ‘place for smoke curing on a fire’
	*katapaan
énnas ‘low tide’	ennásan ‘tidal flats’
	*kaennasan
búkid ‘mountain’	bukíran ‘mountain range’
	kàbukíran ‘mountain ranges’
úgsak ‘to put inside’	ugsákan ‘container’
	*kaugsakan
sangát ‘to put away/ hook onto’	sangátan ‘thing/rack for putting s.t. away’
	*kasangatan
púngko ‘to sit’	pungkuan ‘chair’
	*kapungkuan
saḷá ‘to strain wet things’	saḷáan ‘strainer for wet things’
	*kasaḷaan
ayág ‘to sift dry things’	ayágan / yágan ‘sifter for dry things’
	*kaayagan
ámpang ‘to play’	ampángan ‘thing to play with’
	kàampángan ‘group of playmates’
basák ‘soil/ground’	basákan ‘fields/lands owned by s.o.’
	*kabasakan
bákkaw ‘mangrove tree’	bákkawan ‘place of many mangrove trees’
	*kabakkawan
tengég ‘bark of mangrove’	ténggan ‘place of mangroves’
	katénggan ‘mangrove swamp’
lamísa ‘one specific table’	làmisáan ‘tables in general or many tables’
	*kalamisaan
gastós ‘expenses’	gastúsan ‘many expenses to pay’
	*kagastusan
utód ‘sibling’	*uturan
	kàutúran ‘many relatives’
báta ‘child’	batáan ‘many children usually having same parents’
	kàbatáan ‘many children usually having different parents’

The following examples illustrate some of these constructions in context. Example (21) illustrates the form *tumanan* used as a noun:

(21) Piro pag-abot din ta **tumanan** ta lumba danen nakita din na naan en dya kauna umang an na gatagad kanen.

Piro pag–abot din ta ***tuman–an*** *ta lumba danen*
but NR.ACT–arrive 3S.GEN NABS extent–NR NABS race 3P.GEN
na–kita din na naan en dya ka–una umang an
A.HAP.R–see 3S.ERG LK SPAT.DEF CM D4LOC I.EXM–first hermit.crab DEF.M
na ga–tagad kanen.[4]
LK I.R–wait 3S

'But, when he arrived at the **finish line** of their race, he saw that the hermit crab was there first waiting for him.' [DBWN-T-26 9.2]

Example (22) illustrates the form *kaguḷangan* 'mature (land)', based on a property-concept root, and *kakauyan* 'forest' based on a nominal root both functioning as nouns:

(22) Amo i isya na ayep naan gaistar ta **kaguḷangan** o **kakauyan**.

Amo i isya na ayep naan ga–istar ta ***ka–guḷang–an*** *o*
monkey DEF.N one LK animal SPAT.DEF I.R–live NABS NR–mature–NR or
ka–kauy–an.
NR–tree–NR

'Monkeys are one (kind of) animal living in **oldest (virgin forests)** or **places with many trees**.' [NEWE-T-012.1]

Example (23) illustrates the form *batuan* 'rocky place', functioning as a location:

(23) Niog nai derse nang pḷapa din tak naan gatubo ta **batuan**.

Niog nai derse nang pḷapa din tak naan ga–tubo
coconut D1ABS small.PL only frond 3S.GEN because SPAT.DEF I.R–grow
ta ***bato–an***.
NABS rock–NR

'This coconut tree, its fronds are small only because it grows in a **rocky place**.' [JCWN-L-31 13.6]

Example (24) illustrates the verbal root *ugsak* 'put inside' nominalized with *-an*, to refer to a location.

[4] In this example the oblique marker *ki* has dropped out before *kanen*. This is common in spoken Kagayanen and it can happen, though less commonly, in written discourse, as in this example.

(24) Gakamang a ta kaḷaw daw **ugsakan** ta ummay na ega.

Ga–kamang a ta kaḷaw daw ***ugsak–an*** *ta*
I.R–get 1S.ABS NABS winnowing.basket and put.inside–NR NABS
ummay na ega.
unmilled.rice LK dry
'I got a winnowing basket and a **container** of unmilled rice that was dry.' [JCWE-T-13 2.3]

Finally, example (25) illustrates the noun *bata* 'child' with *-an* meaning 'group of children usually having the same parents', while (26) illustrates the same root with *ka-…-an* meaning 'group of many children', or 'youth', usually having different parents:

(25) May bata daen appat buok, darwa bai, darwa man mama. Ta, tak ubos en may sawa **bataan** daen, darwa nang en bilin an baḷay en.

May bata daen appat buok, darwa bai, darwa man mama. Ta,
EXT.IN child 3P.ABS four piece two female two too male so
tak ubos en may sawa ***bata-an*** *daen, darwa nang en bilin*
because all CM EXT.IN spouse child–NR 3P.GEN two only CM left
an baḷay en.
SPAT.DEF house CM
'They have four children, two female, two male too. So, because all their **children** have spouses, just (they) two only are left at the house.' [CBON-C-02 1.4]

(26) Anduni mga bag-o tubo na mga **kabataan** uḷa gataod ta iran na isigkaittaw.

Anduni mga bag-o tubo na mga ***ka–bata–an*** *uḷa ga–taod ta*
now/today PL new grow LK PL NR–child–NR NEG.R I.R–respect NABS
iran na isigka–ittaw.[5]
3P.GEN LK fellow-people
'Now/today, the new generation of **children** do not respect their fellow people.' [BCWL-T-12 2.3]

There are other nouns that seem to have the *ka-* nominalizer and either *-en* or *-an* suffix but are not easily divided into morphemes. These may have been borrowed from other languages (notably Hiligaynon) or are simply lexicalized.

[5]The prefix *isiga-* is a borrowing from Hiligaynon.

A selection of such words is given in (27). An example of an irregular formation is given in 28:

(27) kanḷáman ‘knowledge’
kàimtángan ‘situation/condition’
kàsugtánan ‘agreement’
kàtebtéban ‘forever/eternity’
kàtengdánan ‘authority/high position/power’
kaùgalíngen ‘oneself’
kàmatáyen ‘death’
kanáyen ‘aunts and uncles’
kàsanágen ‘dawn/daybreak’
kabèbet-én ‘the kindness/will/behavior of a person’[6]

(28) Yon baked na utang na **kabèbetén** ta taga-Magsaysay.
*Yon baked na utang na **ka–beet–én** ta taga–Magsaysay.*
D3ABS big LK debt LK NR–kind–NR NABS ORIG–-Magsaysay
‘That (is the reason for having) a big debt for the **kindness** of the ones from Magsaysay.’ (After the speaker’s boat capsized some children from Barangay Magsaysay helped him carry his boat back to where he lives.) [EFWN-T-10 6.2]

The affix combination *ka-...-an* when occurring on property concept roots derives an abstract noun with superlative meaning. For example, *datas* ‘high/tall’ → *kadatasan* ‘the absolute highest one’; *delem* ‘dark’ → *kadeleman* ‘the absolute greatest darkness’.

The suffix *-an* component of this nominalizing process functions as an applicative suffix and *ka-* functions as a happenstantial external motivation prefix in verbal morphology (see Chapter 6 §6.5.2 and §6.5.14). Though these forms are obviously related to the nominalizers described above, we choose to gloss them distinctly when they function as nominalizers, as opposed to inflectional verb affixes. Situations are rare in which there is uncertainty or ambiguity as to how these affixes are functioning.

[6]This word seems to be based on the root *beet* ‘good/kind/considerate’. However, it involves morphophonological changes that are not regular in Kagayanen (irregular reduplication and vowel dropping). Furthermore, the meaning is not compositional given the meaning of the Kagayanen root. These facts are evidence that it is a borrowing from some other language.

3.3.6 *-én/-ón*: future patient noun

Some verb and noun roots can be nominalized with the suffix *-én*, which then attracts the primary stress of the word. This form is normally pronounced *-ón* when the final vowel of the root is /u/. The result is a noun that is understood to refer to something that is "destined" to undergo a future change of state. For example, the verb *búnak*, 'to launder', is normally stressed on the first syllable. When it occurs with the future patient nominalizer, the primary stress shifts to the final syllable *bùnakén* 'thing(s) to be laundered.' Though the segments of this suffix are identical to the main allomorph of the transitive, irrealis inflection (see Chapter 6, §6.5.7), this is clearly a different suffix for two reasons. First, as just mentioned, the future patient nominalizer attracts word stress to itself. In contrast, the transitive irrealis *-en* remains unstressed, drawing primary word stress to the penultimate syllable, as do all other verbal suffixes. Second, some verbs, including *bunak*, never take *-en* as the transitive irrealis form, though they may take the future patient nominalizer.

In the examples in (29), secondary and primary stresses are indicated, although neither is represented in the standard orthography:

(29)

Root	**Nominalized form**
bayád 'to pay'	bàyarén 'thing(s) to be paid for'
búnak 'to launder'	bùnakén 'clothes to be laundered'
láswa 'to cook fish stew'	làswaén 'vegetable(s) to be cooked for fish stew'
lamón 'to weed'	làmunón 'weeds and grass to be weeded'
lúto 'to cook'	lùtuón 'thing(s) to be cooked'
pálit 'to buy'	pàlitén 'thing(s) to be bought'
ínay 'mother'	ìnayén 'female animal to be bred'

Future patient nouns may also be derived from nominal roots (examples in 30).

(30)

gúlay 'vegetables'	gùlayén 'vegetable(s) to be cooked'
lub-óng 'cooked cassava'	lùb-ungón 'cassava for cooking'
kasáḷ 'wedding'	kàsaḷén 'bride' / 'bridegroom' / 'bride and groom' (someone to be married)

The suffix *-én*/*-ón* can also derive adjectives as described in Chapter 4, §4.3.2. Examples (31) and (32) illustrate some future patient nominalizations from the corpus:

(31) Gatanem kay ta mga saging daw mga **laswaén**.
*Ga–tanem kay ta mga saging daw mga **laswa–én**.*
I.R–plant 1P.EXCL.ABS NABS PL banana and PL cook.fish.stew–NR
'We planted bananas and **fish-stew-vegetables**.' [JCWN-T-24 2.6)

(32) **Gulayén** ta Cagayancillo klasi-klasi na mga prutas tampayas puso ta saging, sitaw, bḷatong, taḷong, kḷubay, klabasa, nangka daw duma pa na **gulayén**.
***Gulay–én** ta Cagayancillo klasi~-klasi na mga prutas tampayas*
vegetables–NR NABS Cagayancillo RED~-kind LK PL fruit papaya
puso ta saging, sitaw, bḷatong, taḷong, kḷubay,
heart NABS banana yardlong.bean string.bean eggplant bottle.gourd
klabasa[7]*, nangka daw duma pa na **gulay–én**.*
summer.squash jackfruit and other INC LK vegetable–NR
'**Cooking vegetables** on Cagayancillo, (are) kinds of fruits, papaya, flower (lit. heart) of banana, yardlong beans, string beans, eggplant, bottle gourd, summer squash, jackfruit, and other **cooking vegetables**.' [CNWE-L-01 2.3]

3.3.7 *manug-/manig-*: occupations

When the prefix *manug-* or *manig-* occurs on a verbal, nominal or property concept root, the meaning becomes the person whose occupation is the activity expressed by the verbal root, who uses the thing referred to with the nominal root in his/her occupation, or who causes the property referred to with the property concept root to come about. For example:

(33)

Root	**Derived form**
luto 'to cook' (v.)	manugluto/manigluto 'one who cooks as an occupation'
buḷong 'medicine' (n.)	manugbuḷong/manigbuḷong 'healer'
limpyo 'clean' (adj.)	manuglimpyo/maniglimpyo 'cleaner / one whose occupation is to clean'.

The variation between *manug-* and *manig-* depends on the individual. It seems *manig-* is more Kagayanen and *manug-* is a borrowing from Hiligaynon. No dis-

[7]The full form of this word is *kalabasa* (from Spanish). However, sometimes unstressed vowels are dropped, especially in longer words. In this case, the writer intentionally wrote *klabasa*, so we have left it in this form.

tinction in meaning has been found. Neither *manug-* nor *manig-* are comparable to inflectional verbal affixes or affix combinations (see Chapter 6).

3.3.8 *ma- + ng-* + first syllable reduplication: occupations

The prefix combination *mang-* plus *first syllable reduplication* is similar to the meaning of *manug-/manig*, though *manug-/manig-* is more productive, occurring more often and with a wider range of roots. The prefixal component of this nominalizing process, *mang-*, is identical in form and morphophonological behavior to the happenstantial irrealis *ma-* plus the pluraction prefix *ng-* on verbs (see Chapter 6, §6.5.2). Semantically this parallelism makes sense because the happenstantial irrealis ('able to do'/ 'might do') combined with pluraction ('do many times') is a reasonable way to refer to an activity someone habitually engages in as a occupation. There is no corresponding realis version (**nang-*) of this process.

What we are calling 'first syllable reduplication' here is distinct from root reduplication described earlier, in that it never involves complete reduplication of the root and it never includes the last consonant of the root. Furthermore, in a derivational model it must occur *after* prefixation of *ng-*, since the assimilated nasal reduplicates, as though it were the first consonant of the root. Finally, the meaning of this process does not include the 'sort of', 'pretend' or 'randomly' meanings associated with root reduplication. There are no other meanings that we are aware of for this type of reduplication.

Note that the *ng-* in *ma+ng-* is different from the *ng* in *pang-* (below) for two reasons: 1. a root-initial glottal stop always elides with *ma+ng-* but not with *pang-*. 2. *ng-* in *ma+ng-* is "replacive" – it replaces, and assimilates to, the first consonant of the root. The *ng* in *pang-* assimilates (sometimes) but does not replace the root-initial consonant.

(34)	Root	ma- + ng- form	Reduplication
	p-initial:		
	pukot	*mamukot*	*mamumukot*
	'drift net'	'to fish w/ drift net'	'drift net fisherman'
	pana	*mamana*	*mamamana*
	'spear'	'to spearfish'	'spear fisherman'
	s/d/t-initial:		
	said	*manaid*	*mananaid*
	'drag net'	'to fish w/ *said*'	'*said* fisherman'
	saḷap[8]	*manaḷap*	*mananaḷap*

'drag net'	'to fish w/ *saḷap*'	'*saḷap* fisherman'
sangget	*manangget*	*mananangget*
'sickle for collecting coconut sap'	'to collect coconut sap'	'collector of coconut sap'
dagat	*managat*	*mananagat*
'sea'	'to fish (generic)'	'fisherman' (gen.)
tai	*manai*	*mananai*
'to sew'	'to sew a lot'	'taylor/seamstress'
tudlo	*manudlo*	*manunudlo*
'to teach'	'to teach'	'teacher'
takaw	*manakaw*	*mananakaw*
'to steal'	'to steal'	'one who steals'
k-initial:		
kaoy	*mangaoy*	*mangangaoy*
'tree/wood'	'to gather wood'	'one who gathers wood'
kawil	*mangawil*	*mangangawil*
'fish hook'	'to fish w/ hook and line'	'hook and line fisherman'
l-initial:		
laya	*manlaya*	*manlalaya*
'cast net'	'to fish w/ cast net'	'cast net fisherman'
Glottal-stop initial (in these cases, the initial glottal stop drops out):		
ʔayam	*mangayam*	*mangangayam*
'dog'	'to hunt'	'hunter'
ʔuma	*mangúma*	*mangungúma*
'field'	'to farm'	'farmer'

3.3.9 *<in>*: resultative

The nominalizing infix *<in>* occurs after the first consonant of the root.[9] The resulting noun usually refers to something that is affected by the action or process described by the root (examples 35 and 36). In this sense, *<in>* is analogous to a past-participle marker. Unlike Tagalog and many other Philippine languages, *<in>* alone has no function as a Transitivity/Modality marker on inflected verbs.

[8] *Said* and *saḷap* are types of drag nets that differ in size and shape. In this grammar, both are glossed as 'drag net'.

[9] As discussed in Chapter 2, in Kagayanen all words begin with consonants. Words that begin with vowel letters in the orthography actually start with an unwritten glottal stop, which is a full consonant in Kagayanen. So, for example, the verb *ambaḷ* has an initial unwritten glottal stop. The infix *<in>* occurs after the initial glottal stop to form the word spelled *inambaḷ*.

Rather, in Kagayanen the corresponding inflectional form is the transitive realis *pa-* (see Chapter 6, §6.5.4):

(35) May baḷon a na **linub-ong**.
*May baḷon a na **l<in>ub-ong**.*
EXT.IN provisions 1S.ABS LK <NR.RES>cooked.cassava
'I have some **steamed cassava** provisions.' [EFWN-T-10 3.6]

(36) Daw luto en iran na **sinin-ad** magtumpok danen daw magkaan.
*Daw luto en iran na **s<in>in-ad** mag–tumpok danen daw* if/when cook CM 3P.GEN LK <NR.RES>cook.grain I.IR–gather 3S.ABS and
mag–kaan.
I.IR–eat
'When **what was cooked** is already cooked (completely) they gather together and eat.' [VAOE-J-07 3.2]

Like all Kagayanen nouns, nominalizations formed with the infix *<in>* can function as modifiers (as in 35). For example, *baḷad* 'to sun dry' with *<in>* becomes *binaḷad* 'sun dried thing'. This form may occur in the position of a modifier in Referring Phrases, e.g., *binaḷad na mais* 'sun dried corn'. Examples (37) and (38) are corpus examples illustrating this usage with the roots *sugba* 'to roast' and *begkes* 'to bundle' respectively:

(37) Pag-abot nay dya, listo kay eman kaan tak may mga **sinugba** na sidda.
Pag-–abot nay dya, listo kay eman
NR.ACT–arrive 1P.EXCL.GEN D4LOC quickly 1P.EXCL.ABS again.as.before
*kaan tak may mga **s<in>ugba** na sidda.*
eat because EXT.IN PL <NR.RES>roast LK fish
'When we arrived there, quickly we ate again because there were some **roasted** fish.' [CBWN-C-11 3.2]

(38) Masimba anay danen an daw magprusisyon na daḷa a santos na Santo Ninyo palibot ta banwa na gadaḷa ta **binegkes** na tanitang.
Ma–simba anay danen an daw mag–prusisyon na daḷa a
A.HAP.IR–worship first 3P.ABS DEF.M and I.IR–procession LK carry INJ
santos na Santo Ninyo pa–libot ta banwa na ga–daḷa ta
statue LK Holy Child T.R–around NABS town/country LK I.R–carry NABS
***b<in>egkes** na tanitang.*
<NR.RES>bundle LK dried.coconut.frond
'They will first go to church and go in a procession carrying the statue,

the Holy Child, taking (it) around the town carrying **bundled** dried coconut fronds.' [VAOE-J-09 2.2]

With verb roots involving the creation of something, *<in>* forms a *factitive* nominalization (referring to a thing that comes into existence as a result of the action):

(39) **Tinukod** din na baḷay nagubba ta bagyo.
T<in>ukod *din* *na baḷay* *na–gubba* *ta* *bagyo.*
<NR.RES>build 3S.GEN LK house A.HAP.R–ruin NABS typhoon
'The house he **built** (his built house) was ruined by the typhoon.'

(40) Daw timpo kurisma iran na **kinutkot** na waig dili en magamit tak mangngod nang ta dagat na sikad masin.
Daw *timpo* *kurisma* *iran* *na* ***k<in>utkot*** *na* *waig* *dili* *en*
if/when season dry.season 3P.GEN LK <NR.RES>dig LK water NEG.IR CM
ma–gamit *tak* *mangngod* *nang ta* *dagat na sikad masin.*
A.HAP.R–use because younger.sibling only NABS sea LK very salty
'When (it is) dry season, their **dug** well water cannot be used because (it is) a younger sibling of the sea which is very salty.' (The word *waig* literally means 'water,' but it is also used to mean a 'well of water.' The idiom *mangngod ta dagat* means salty water.) [VPWE-T-01 2:4]

Noun roots referring to some kind of container, weight or measure with the infix *<in>* can function as nouns or as noun modifiers. For example, *sako* 'sack' with *<in>* becomes *sinako* 'by the sack'. This form can occur as the head of a Referring Phrase or a modifier within a Referring Phrase, e.g., *sinako na beggas* meaning 'rice by the sack', or literally 'sacked rice'.

(41)

Root	**Noun**	**Referring Phrase**
lata 'can'	linata 'by cans'	linata na sardinas 'canned sardines'
sako 'sack'	sinako 'by sacks'	sinako na kamúti 'cassava by sack'
kilo 'kilogram'	kinilo 'by kilogram'	kinilo na sidda 'fish by kilogram'
gantang 'ganta'	ginantang 'by ganta'[10]	ginantang na mais 'corn by ganta'
tabid 'basket'	tinabid 'by basket'	tinabid na kaḷaot 'beans by basket'

geḷet ‘cut’	gineḷet ‘by slice’	gineḷet na karni ‘meat by slice’
galon ‘gallon’	ginalon ‘by gallon’	ginalon na tuba ‘coconut wine by gallon’
begkes ‘bundle’	binegkes ‘by bundle’	binegkes na kaoy ‘wood by bundle’
pungpong ‘cluster’	pinongpong ‘by cluster’	pinungpong na bunga ‘fruits in clusters’
rulyo ‘roll’	rinulyo ‘by roll’	rinulyo na kaḷat ‘rope by roll’
mitro ‘meter’	minitro ‘by meter’	minitro na tila ‘cloth by meter’
putos ‘wrapping’	pinutos ‘by packet’	pinutos na suman ‘sweet sticky rice by packet’

(42) Kita din ittaw na gapas-an kon ta mga **sinako** na tama.

Kita din ittaw na ga–pas-an kon ta mga ***s<in>ako***
see 3S.ERG person LK I.R–carry.on.shoulder HSY NABS PL <NR.RES>sack
na tama.
LK many
‘Reportedly he saw people who were carrying much of something in **sacks** on their shoulders.’ [MBON-T-04 2.14]

When *<in>* occurs on nominal roots referring to units of time, the meaning is plural, with (43 and 44) or without (45) the plural marker *mga*:

(43) Ta **mga binuḷan** na gubra mga mama ta simbaan daw iskwilaan malised na uḷa angay pangabui ta mga ittaw.

Ta ***mga b<in>uḷan*** *na ga–ubra mga mama ta simba–an*
NABS PL <NR.RES>month LK I.R–work PL man NABS worship–NR
daw iskwila–an ma–lised na uḷa angay pangabui ta mga
and go.to.school–NR ADJ–distress LK NEG.R fitting living NABS PL
ittaw.
person
‘During the **months** when the men were working on the church and school (it was) distressing (and) not fitting for the lives of people.’ [JCWN-T-20 13.1]

[10]A *ganta* is an indigenous Philippine volume measurement equaling about 3 liters.

(44) Ta una sa na **mga inadlaw** panliton i pasunod ta maid-id ta mga ittaw ta banwa ta i.

*Ta una sa na **mga** **<in>adlaw** panliton i pa–sunod*
NABS first D4NABS LK PL <NR.RES>day baby.ritual DEF.N T.R–follow
ta maid-id ta mga ittaw ta banwa ta i.
NABS well NABS PL person NABS town/country 1P.INCL.GEN DEF.N
'In the first (i.e. early) **days** the ritual of presenting babies to ancestor spirits the people in our town followed (it) well.' [JCWE-T-15 2.1]

(45) Piro duma ya na galambay ya na **tinaon** dili pa gid segeng na pag-ataki ta apo.

*Piro duma ya na ga-lambay ya na **t<in>aon** dili pa gid*
but some DEF.F LK I.R–pass.by DEF.F LK <NR.RES>year NEG.IR INC INT
segeng na pag–-ataki ta apo.
extreme LK NR.ACT–attack NABS asthma
'But other past **years** it was not yet really an extreme attack of asthma.' [JCWN-T-22 2.2]

The infix *<in>* may combine with the applicative *-an*. Only verb roots which require or allow the applicative *-an* may be nominalized in this way (see Chapter 7, §7.6). The interpretation of the resulting nominalization depends largely on the nature of the verb root, and is generally consistent with the use of the applicative suffix on Inflected Verbs. For example, as discussed in Chapter 7, §7.6, some transitive verbs require *-an* in their normal active-transitive use as main verbs. For this same set of roots, *<in>...-an* forms a nominalization that refers to the Patient of the verb (46–48). The stress on such nominalizations is regular—the main stress falls on the penultimate syllable and the secondary stress two syllables to the left.

(46) **Tinanuran** ko ya na bata nuḷog ta geddan.

***T<in>anur–an** ko ya na bata na–uḷog ta geddan.*
<NR.RES>care.for–APL 1S.GEN DEF.F LK child A.HAP.R–fall NABS stairs
'**The** child I **cared for** fell down the stairs.' (lit. 'my cared for child')

(47) Kaan ta ayam **inugasan** ko na sidda.

*Ø–Kaan ta ayam **<in>ugas–an** ko na sidda.*
T.R–eat NABS dog <NR.RES>wash–APL 1S.GEN LK fish
'A/The dog ate the fish I **washed**.' (lit. 'my washed fish')

(48) … sigi kay pa isturya tenged ta **inagian**.
… sigi kay pa isturya tenged ta ***<in>agi–an***.
continue 1P.EXCL.ABS INC talk about NABS <NR.RES>pass–APL
'...we continued to talk about our **experiences**.' [CBWN-C-11 4.41]

Some roots can take either *<in>* alone or *<in>...-an* to form a Patient nominalization (49 and 50). With *<in>* alone the patient is presented as more precise and individuated and in some situations is more directly acted upon than the corresponding form with *<in>...-an*. This meaning difference is comparable to the difference between *pa-* and *pa-…-an* for this same class of roots used as inflected verbs (see Chapter 6, §6.5.7).

(49) **Pinetpet** din na kaoy kamang ta duma na ittaw.
P<in>etpet *din na kaoy kamang ta duma na ittaw.*
<NR.RES>chop 3S.GEN LK tree/wood get NABS other LK person
'His/her **chopped** wood another person took (it).'

(50) **Pinetpetan** din na kaoy nabilin din naan uma nay.
P<in>etpetan *din na kaoy nabilin din naan*[11]
<NR.RES>chop–APL 3S.GEN LK tree/wood A.HAP.R–left 3S.ERG SPAT.DEF
uma nay.
field 1P.EXCL.GEN
'Some of his/her **chopped** wood s/he happened to leave behind in our field.'

On other verbs, *<in>* plus *-an* forms a Location or Recipient nominalization. Again, this usage is consistent with the function of *-an* as an applicative marker (see Chapter 7, §7.6). Examples (51) and (52) illustrate Location nominalizations (the place where something occurs):

(51) Kada kilem may pagwa kanen an daw indi na mga **binaylian**.
Kada kilem may pa–gwa[12] *kanen an daw indi na mga*
each night EXT.IN CAUS–out 3S.ABS DEF.M if/when where LK PL

[11] In conversation the non-absolutive case particle *ta* often drops out after *naan,* the spatial demonstrative determiner. In this example, the field is clearly an oblique element, since *kaoy* 'wood' is the absolutive undergoer of the action. We will not note this dropping of *ta* from now on, unless it bears on the discussion at hand.

b<in>ayli–an.
<NR.RES>slow.dance–APL
'Each night he had a presentation wherever there were **places for dances**.' [MBON-T-07 7.6]

(52) **Inalinan** din na lugar Cagay-an.
<In>alin–an[13] *din na lugar Cagay-an.*[14]
<NR.RES>from–APL 3S.ERG LK place Cagay-an
'The place s/he **came from** is Cagay-an.' [VPWE-T-01.1]

In example (53), *<in>* with the verb *tudlo* 'teach' becomes *tinudlo* referring to what is being taught, which in this example is a dance. In example (54), *<in>...-an* with *tudlo* 'teach' becomes *tinudluan* referring to the recipient of the action, that is, the one taught, which in this example are children.

(53) **Tinudlo** din an na sayaw dili dayad.
T<in>udlo *din an na sayaw dili*[15] *dayad.*
<NR.RES>teach 3S.GEN DEF.M LK dance NEG.IR good
'The dance he taught was not good.' (lit. 'His/her taught dance ...)

(54) Yi na **tinudluan** ko na mga bata kan-o, gatudlo man anduni.
Yi na ***t<in>udlu–an*** *ko na mga bata kan-o, ga–tudlo man anduni.*
D1ABS LK <NR.RES>teach–APL 1S.GEN LK PL child previously I.R–teach also now/today
'These children I taught previously, are teaching also now.' (lit. 'My taught children ...")

[12] *Pagwa* is a verb stem formed from the root *gwa* meaning 'out' plus the causative prefix. This stem means 'to cause to come out' or 'to show something to someone'. Like all verb stems, *pagwa* can function as a noun (see §3.3.1). In this instance, it means 'a show' or 'presentation'.

[13] The root *alin* functions as an oblique preposition with the meaning 'from.' It also functions as a verb, as in example (52), meaning 'come from', or 'be from.'

[14] *Cagay-an* is the official name and spelling (as in this written text) of the main island in the Municipality of Cagayancillo.

[15] We are calling *dili* the irrealis negative because it is used to negate main verbal clauses that are irrealis in modality. However, it is also used as a constituent negator, as in this example. So it occurs with descriptive modifiers such as not hot, not cold, not tall, not fat, not short, not skinny, not kind, and so on. It is also used for negating one argument of a clause, as in 'it was not he who saw you.' The usages of the two negators *dili* 'irrealis negative' and *uḷa* 'realis negative' are discussed in Chapter 11, §11.2.

3.3.10 *pang-*: instrumental

The prefix *pang-* with some roots forms a noun describing an instrument used to accomplish the act described by a verbal root, or used for the referent of a more nominal root. This prefix should not be confused with the prefix *pang-* that occurs on cardinal numbers to express the ordinal version, or the transitive realis *pa-* plus pluraction *ng-* for the following reason: the *ng-* of the pluraction and ordinal prefixes assimilates with and replaces the root-initial consonant, while the *ng* of instrumental *pang-* sometimes assimilates to the following consonant, but does not replace it (see Chapter 7, §7.4 on the stem-forming pluraction prefix *ng-* and Chapter 4, §4.4.2 on the ordinal prefix *pang-*). The following are examples of nouns formed with instrumental *pang-*:

(55)

Root	**Noun stem**
suḷat 'write'	pangsuḷat/pansuḷat 's.t. used in writing (e.g., pen)'
kasaḷ 'wedding'	pangkasaḷ 's.t. used at a wedding (e.g. wedding clothes)'
ugas 'wash'	pang-ugas[16] 'something used in washing'
tanuga 'sleep'	pangtanuga/pantanuga 's.t. used in sleep (e.g. pajamas)'
gastos 'expenses'	panggastos 'something used in paying expenses'
bisita 'visitor'	pangbisita/pambisita 'something used for visitors'
trapo 'wipe off'	pangtrapo/pantrapo 'something used in wiping off'
panaw 'walk/go'	pangpanaw/pampanaw 's.t. worn for going out'
baḷay 'house'	pangbaḷay/pambaḷay 's.t. worn around the house'
simba 'worship'	pangsimba/*pansimba 's.t. used for going to church'
inrol 'enroll'	pang-inrol 'something used for enrollment'
palit 'to buy'	pangpalit/pampalit 'something used in buying things'
gulay 'vegetables'	panggulay 's.t. used for cooking vegetables'
iskwila 'school'	pang-iskwila/pangskwila 'something used for school'
adlaw-adlaw 'daily'	pang-adlaw-adlaw 'something used daily'

The following are some examples of this prefix from the corpus:

(56) Isya pa, dili a kaiskwila daw uḷa a **pangpliti**.

*Isya pa, dili a ka–iskwila daw uḷa a **pang–pliti**.*
one INC NEG.IR 1S.ABS I.EXM–school if/when NEG.R 1S.ABS INST–fare
'One more (thing), I can't go to school if I have nothing **for fare**.'
[PBWL-T-06 5.3]

[16]When *pang-* occurs on roots beginning with glottal stop (orthographically vowel-initial), the glottal stop is pronounced only in careful speech. In relaxed speech, it is always elided. We retain the dash in the orthography to reflect the careful speech form.

(57) Sikad sebe paggira tak uyi gid gamiten na **pangbaḷay**.
Sikad sebe pag–gira tak u–yi gid gamit–en na
very sad NR.ACT–war because EMPH–D1ABS INT use–T.IR LK
pang–baḷay.
INST–house
'War was very sad, because these (things being discussed) were **for house** use.' [JCWN-T-24 3:13]

(58) Ubra Nanay daw mapon eman gasin-ad ta **pangyapon**…
Ubra Nanay daw mapon eman ga–sin-ad ta
work mother if/when afternoon again.as.before I.R–cook.rice NABS
pang–yapon…
INST–supper
'The work of Mother when it's afternoon again is cooking rice which is used **for supper**.' [ICOE-C-01 4.3]

Example (59) is a riddle, with two possible answers:

(59) Daw bata pa **panggulay**. Daw manakem en **pangbaḷay**. Patong. / Tambo.
*Daw bata pa **pang–gulay**. Daw manakem en **pang–baḷay**.*
if/when young INC INST–vegetable if/when older CM INST–house
Patong. / Tambo.
rattan / bamboo.shoot
'When still young (it is) **used for vegetable**. When older (it is) **used for the house**. Rattan. / Bamboo shoot.' [MRWR-T-01 21.1 and 21.2]

3.3.11 *pag-*: action nominalization

The prefix *pag-* forms an action nominalization, or "verbal noun", from a verbal root. The nominalized verb can then function as a Referring Expression in a clause or the head of various kinds of dependent clauses. Below are examples of nominalized verbs with *pag-* in Referring Expressions. The functions of action nominalizations in clause combining are discussed in Chapter 12, §12.2.

(60) Nasadyaan kay man ta ame na **pag-iskursyon**.
Na-sadya-an kay man ta ame na
A.HAP.R–enjoy–APL 1P.EXCL.ABS too NABS 1P.EXCL.GEN LK
pag–-iskursyon.
NR.ACT–outting
'We enjoyed too our **outing**…' [VAWN-T-15 6.17]

(61) Paistudyuan danen **pag-ambaḷ**. Paistudyuan danen **pagsuḷat**, **pagbasa** kag tanan-tanan en danen.

*Pa-istudyu-an danen **pag--ambaḷ**. Pa–istudyu–an danen*
T.R–study–APL 3P.ERG NR.ACT–say T.R–study–APL 3P.ERG
***pag–suḷat**, **pag–basa** kag*[17] *tanan~-tanan en danen.*
NR.ACT–write NR.ACT–read and RED~all CM 3P.ERG
'They studied **speaking**. They studied **writing**, **reading** and absolutely everything they (studied).' [JCOE-T-06 7.4-5]

(62) Basi daw ta **pag-intindi** danen, iran na litiral na **pag**-intindi.

*Basi daw ta **pag--intindi** danen, iran na litiral na*
maybe if/when NABS NR.ACT–understand 3P.GEN 3P.GEN LK literal LK
***pag--intindi**.*
NR.ACT–understand
'Maybe in their **understanding**, theirs is a literal **understanding**.' [TTOB-L-03 6.28]

(63) **Pagsuḷat** i ta Kagayanen paryo nang man ta **pagsuḷat** ta Pilipino.

***Pag–suḷat** i ta Kagayanen paryo nang man ta*
NR.ACT–write DEF.N NABS Kagayanen same only EMPH NABS
***pag–suḷat** ta Pilipino.*
NR.ACT–write NABS Filipino
'**Writing** Kagayanen is just the same as **writing** Filipino.' [COE-T-06 6.1]

(64) Nakita ko **pag-igo** ya. Ambaḷ ko, "Karni en!"

*Na–kita ko **pag--igo** ya. Ambaḷ ko, "Karni en!"*
A.HAP.R–see 1S.ERG NR.ACT–hit DEF.F say 1S.ERG meat CM
'I saw the **hitting** (the spear hitting a wild pig). I said, "(We have) meat now!"' [RCON-L-01 4.1]

(65) Dayad **pagtan-aw** ko tak adlaw en.

*Dayad **pag–tan-aw** ko tak adlaw en.*
good NR.ACT–look 1S.GEN because sun/day CM
'My **view** is good because (it is) daylight now.' [RCON-L-01 3.7]

(66) Ta uyo na natabo, uḷa a naduwari ta disisyon daw **pag–andem** ta Dios.

[17]The conjunction *kag* is from Hiligaynon. It is a common substitute for the Kagayanen *daw*.

Ta u–yo na na–tabo, uḷa a
NABS EMPH–D4ABS LK A.HAP.R–happen NEG.R 1S.ABS
na–duwad–i ta disisyon daw ***pag–andem***
A.HAP.R–lose/disappear–XC.APL NABS decision and NR.ACT–be.ambitious
ta Dios.
NABS God
'During that happening, I did not lose my decision and **ambition** (to serve) God.' (*Andem* 'ambition' includes passion, dedication, faithfulness, and strong desire to serve.) [EFWN-T-11 13.7]

Some action nominalizations also employ the *-én* nominalizer or the *-an* appicative suffixes as in the following examples.

(67) Daw kanen man gaplano ta mga **pag-ampangén** daw may mga **paggwaén** ta ame na munisipyo.
Daw kanen man ga-plano ta mga ***pag--ampang–én*** *daw may mga*
and 3S.ABS also I.R–plan NABS PL NR.ACT–play–NR and EXT.IN PL
pag–gwa–én *ta ame na munisipyo.*
NR.ACT–out–NR NABS 1P.INCL.GEN LK municipality
'And as for him also (he) planned the **games** and he had **shows** in our municipality.' [ICWE-T-02 2.9]

(68) Lugay en na **pag-isturyaan** daw alin ta tallog o piyak nauna.
Lugay en na ***pag--isturya–an*** *daw alin ta tallog o piyak*
long.time CM LK NR.ACT–story–APL if/when from NABS egg or chick
na–una.
A.HAP.R–first
'It is a long conversation about whether an egg or a chick was first.' [ESWO-L-02 33.1]

Finally, there are some examples of *pag-* that form nouns, but not strictly action nominals. We consider these to be lexicalizations:

(69) Lexicalizations formed with *pag-*:

kaan 'eat'	pagkaan 'food'
pati 'to believe/obey'	pagpati 'belief'
pangabui 'life/living'	pagpangabui 'livelihood'
pari 'godfather or pal/buddy'	pagpari 'godfathership' or 'male friendship'
arey 'friend'	pag-arey 'friendship'

utod ‘sibling’	pag-utod ‘siblingship’
beet ‘kind/well-behaved’	pagbeet ‘will, desire, wish inner self’
daḷa ‘carry’	pagdḷeen/pagdaḷaen ‘administration/ government’

3.3.12 *pagka-*: abstract qualities

The form *pagka-* can be thought of as a complex consisting of the action nominalizer *pag-* plus the verbalizer *ka-*. However, its effect is not exactly the expected “act of VERBing” based on a nominal root. It forms nouns that refer to the quality, character, or behavior of a person or thing. When added to a property concept root, it normally means the characteristic associated with that property temporarily exhibited by the modified noun.

(70) *pagka-* on property concept roots:

beet ‘kind/well behaved	pagkabeet ‘being kind/well behaved’
tamad ‘lazy’	pagkatamad ‘being lazy/laziness’
sutıl ‘onery/stubborn’	pagkasutil ‘being stubborn/stubborness’
bellay ‘difficult’	pagkabellay ‘being difficult/difficulty’
mingaw ‘lonely’	pagkamingaw ‘being lonely/loneliness’
bugal ‘proud’	pagkabugal ‘being prideful/pride’
dayaw ‘beautiful’	pagkadayaw ‘being beautiful/beauty’
minog ‘red’	pagkaminog ‘tint of red’ / ‘reddish’
dayad ‘good’	pagkadayad ‘being good/goodness’ (inanimate things)
miad ‘good/kind’	pagkamiad ‘being kind/goodness/kindness’ (animate beings)

The following are some examples of this basic usage of *pagka-* from the text corpus:

(71) Daw a **pagkabugal** i, yi en gaparani en ki kaon, yon a gaparani ki kaon kagayyaan.

*Daw a **pag–ka–bugal** i, yi en ga–parani en ki kaon,*
if/when INJ NR.ACT–NR–pride DEF.N D1ABS CM I.R–near CM OBL.P 2S
yon a ga–parani ki kaon ka–gayya–an.
D3ABS INJ I.R–near OBL.P 2S NR–shame–APL

‘If **being prideful** comes close to you, then that which comes to you is absolute shamefulness. (lit. If **being prideful**, this is what comes near to you, that coming near to you is very shameful.)’ [JCOB-L-02 6.5]

(72) … daw sikad gid en **pagkamaal** ta mga palitén di.

… daw sikad gid en ***pag–ka–maal*** *ta mga palit–én di.*
and very INT CM NR.ACT–NR–expensive NABS PL buy–NR D1LOC

'and things to buy here are really very **expensive**' (lit. And **being expensive** of the things here to buy is really very much.)' [PBWL-T-10 7.3]

(73) Lengngessa ta baka may **pagkasapek** daw malangsa.

Lengngessa ta baka may ***pag–ka–sapek*** *daw ma–langsa.*
blood NABS cow EXT.IN NR.ACT–NR–thick and ABS–fishy.smell

'Blood of cows has a **thick** consistency and is fishy smelling (lit. Blood of cows has some **being thickness** and fishy smell.).' [JCWE-T-14 17.4]

On nominal roots that refer to people by their title or occupation, forms with *pagka-* describe abstract qualities associated with the root. Most of the roots in (74) are borrowings from Spanish or English. The forms listed here are the normal Kagayanen spellings, which in most cases reflect the pronunciation. The word *midwife* 'midwife' is an exception in that it is spelled and pronounced in the English way, suggesting that it is probably a more recent borrowing.:

(74) *pagka-* on occupation nouns:

nars 'nurse'	pagkanars 'having the position of nurse'
duktor 'doctor'	pagkaduktor '… position of doctor'
kapitan 'captain'	pagkakapitan '… position of captain'.
maistro 'male teacher'	pagkamaistro '… position of male teacher'
maistra 'female teacher'	pagkamaistra '… position of female teacher'
mayor 'mayor'	pagkamayor '… position of mayor'
pari 'priest'	pagkapari '… position of priest'
pastor 'pastor'	pagkapastor '… position of pastor'
dḷaga 'single woman'	pagkadḷaga '… position of single woman'
miron 'single man'	pagkamiron '… position of single man'
midwife 'midwife'	pagkamidwife '… position of midwife'
ugwangan 'parents-in-law'	pagkaugwangan '… pos. of parents-in-law
ittaw 'person'	pagkaittaw '… position of being a person or personhood'

On roots describing times or activities, *pagka-* creates an action nominalization that refers to the time after something else happens. In this usage, *pagka-* contrasts with *pag-*, which indicates simultaneous or sequential events that are closely related to the previous action (see Chapter 12, §12.2). Examples (75) and

(76) illustrate some *pagka-* nominalizations in contrast with *pag-* nominalizations:

(75) *pagka-* vs. *pag-* on nouns describing times:

sellem 'morning'	pagkasellem 'after it becomes morning'
	pagsellem 'when it is morning'
kilem 'night'	pagkakilem 'after it becomes night'
	pagkilem 'when it is night'
Lunis 'Monday'	pagkalunis 'after it became Monday'
	paglunis 'when it is Monday'
kisyem 'tomorrow'	pagkakisyem 'after it became tomorrow'
	pagkisyem 'when it is/was tomorrow'
pawa buḷan 'bright moon'	pagkapawa ta buḷan 'after the moon becomes bright'
	pagpawa ta buḷan 'when the moon is bright'
sibo buḷan 'full moon'	pagkasibo ta buḷan 'after the moon is full'
	pagsibo ta buḷan 'when the moon is full

(76) *pagka-* vs. *pag-* on nouns describing activities:

panaog 'to go.down.stairs'	pagkapanaong 'after going down stairs'
	pagpanaong 'when going down stairs.'
kita 'to see'	pagkakita 'after seeing'
	pagkita 'when seeing'
patay 'to die, dead, corpse'	pagkapatay 'after dying'
	pagpatay 'when dying'
mati 'to hear'	pagkamati 'after hearing'
	pagmati 'when hearing'

The following examples illustrate these usages of *pagka-* in the corpus:

(77) **Pagkasellem** eman, gapanaw kay isab na miling ta isya na ristaurant.
Pag–ka–sellem *eman,* *ga–panaw* *kay* *isab*[18]
NR.ACT–NR–morning again.as.before I.R–walk/leave 1P.INCL.ABS again
na m–iling *ta* *isya na ristaurant.*
LK I.V.IR–go NABS one LK restaurant
'**After it became morning** again as before, we left again going to a restaurant.' [AGWN-L-01 3.9]

[18]There are two words glossed as 'again' in this example. *Eman* is the marked member of the pair, and refers to the continuation of an action that was interrupted. *Isab* expresses no particular sense of continuation. In the context of example (77), *eman* would have been semantically appropriate in both positions, however we speculate that having two *eman*s in a row would have sounded odd, so the speaker chose to use *isab* in the second instance, which is also semantically appropriate.

(78) **Pagkapanaog** ta sakay nay na duma, kami galarga eman na miling en ta Nusa.

Pag–ka–panaog *ta sakay nay na duma,*
NR.ACT–NR–go.down.stairs NABS ride 1P.EXCL.GEN LK companion
kami ga–larga eman na m–iling en ta Nusa.
1P.EXCL,ABS I.R–depart again.as.before LK I.V.R–go CM NABS Nusa
'**After our fellow passengers went down (disembarked)**, as for us, we departed again as before now going to Nusa.' [SOWN-L-01 1.3]

There is an idiomatic use of *pagka-* on adjective roots with the existential *may*, in which the meaning is 'kind of X' or 'sort of X'. Compare (79a) and (79b):

(79) a. Karni ta baka sapḷa.
Karni ta baka sapḷa.
meat NABS cow rough
'Cow meat is rough.'

b. Karni ta baka **may pagka sapḷa**.
Karni ta baka ***may*** ***pag–ka–sapḷa***
meat NABS cow EXT.IN NR.ACT–NR–rough
'Cow meat is kind of rough.' (lit. Cow meat has some roughness.)

Finally, there are some nominalizations with *pagka-* that do not follow any of the above patterns. These we consider to be lexicalizations rather than productive constructions.

(80) Some idiomatic uses of *pagka-*:

betang/batang 'to put' betang 'thing'	pagkabetang 'possessions'
patay 'to die, to kill, corpse'	pagkapatay 'death/killing'
tao 'to be born'	pagkatao 'birth'

3.3.13 *mag-*: human relationships

The affix *mag-* with nouns that indicate a human relationship, such as kinship terms and words such as *arey* 'friend', result in a noun that refers to particular persons who are in that relationship. Some of these nouns express reciprocal and others non-reciprocal relationships. For example, *mag-* with *utod* 'sibling' becomes *mag-utod* 'siblings (to each other)' (81); *mag-* with *arey* 'friend' becomes *mag-arey* meaning 'friends (to each other)', (82). These are reciprocal relationships, since each member of the relationship is equal—sibling-to-sibling,

or friend-to-friend. An example of a non-reciprocal relationship is *mag-* + *inay* 'mother' yielding *mag-inay* 'mother and child(ren)':

(81) Darwa i na **mag-utod** gasakay ta lunday …
*Darwa i na **mag–-utod** ga–sakay ta lunday …*
two DEF.N LK REL–sibling I.R–ride NABS outrigger.canoe
'The two **siblings** rode the outrigger canoe.' [EMWN-T-06 4.2]

(82) Isya na adlaw, darwa i na **mag-arey**, Umang i daw Pwikan, namasyar naan ta baybay.
*Isya na adlaw, darwa i na **mag–-arey**, Umang i daw*
one LK day two DEF.N LK REL–friend hermit.crab DEF.N and
Pwikan, na–ng–pasyar naan ta baybay.
sea.turtle A.HAP.R–PL–visit SPAT.DEF NABS beach
'One day, the two **friends**, Hermit Crab and Sea Turtle, went strolling on the beach.' [JCON-L-08 3.1]

The following is a list of all the roots we are aware of that occur in this construction, with their meanings with *mag-*. We have divided these roots into those which describe reciprocal relationships and those which describe non-reciprocal relationships:

(83)

Reciprocal roots	**Forms derived with *mag-***
pamılya 'family'	magpamılya 'members of a family'
utod 'sibling'	mag-utod 'siblings/relatives'
sawa 'spouse'	magsawa 'a married couple'
katagsa 'cousin'	magkatagsa 'cousins'
parinti 'relatives'	magparinti 'relatives'
bayaw 'sibling-in-law'	magbayaw 'siblings-in-law'
bḷai 'fellow parent-in-law'	magbḷai 'both sets of parents-in-law'
mari 'godmother/friend'	magmari 'co-godmothers' or 'female pals'
pari 'godfather/friend'	magpari 'co-godfathers' or 'male pals'
barkada 'pal'	magbarkada 'pals'
klasmit 'classmate'	magklasmit 'fellow classmates'
kasimanwa 'town-mate'	magkasimanwa 'fellow town-mates'
upismat 'officemate'	mag-upismat 'fellow office mates'
arey 'friend'	mag-arey 'friends'

(84)

Non-reciprocal roots	Forms derived with *mag-*
bata ‘child’	magbata ‘parent(s) and child(ren)’
inay ‘mother’	mag-inay ‘mother and child(ren)’
nanay ‘mom/mother’	magnanay ‘mother and child(ren)’
amay ‘father’	mag-amay ‘father and child(ren)’
tatay ‘dad/father’	magtatay ‘father and child(ren)’
anti ‘aunt’	mag-anti ‘aunt and niece(s)/nephew(s)’
tiya ‘aunt’	magtiya ‘aunt and niece(s)/nephew(s)’
ankil ‘uncle’	mag-ankil ‘uncle and niece(s)/nephew(s)’
tiyo ‘uncle’	magtiyo ‘uncle and niece(s)/nephew(s)’
apo ‘ancestor, grandparent’	mag-apo ‘grandparent(s) and grandchild(ren)’
lulo ‘grandfather’	maglulo ‘grandfather and grandchild(ren)’
lula ‘grandmother’	maglula ‘grandmother and grandchild(ren)’
ugwangan ‘parent-in-law’	mag-ugwangan ‘parent-in-law & child-in-law’
magad ‘child-in-law’	magmagad ‘parent-in-law & child-in-law’
ninang ‘godmother’	magninang ‘godmother and godchild’
ninong ‘godfather’	magninong ‘godfather and godchild’

Roots that would seem to meet the semantic profile of nouns available for this usage of *mag-*, but which do not allow it include the following. All of these, it seems, describe non-reciprocal relationships:

(85)

ginikanan ‘parent(s)’	*magginikanan
gamangken ‘niece/nephew’	*maggamangken
apo ta buoḷ ‘great grandchild’	*mag-apo ta buoḷ
manak ‘step child’	*magmanak
anak ‘godchild’	*mag-anak

The form *mag-* also functions as an intransitive, irrealis marker on inflected verbs (see Chapter 6, §6.5.6). However, we can discern no semantic relationship between the nominalizing and verbal inflectional uses.

3.3.14 *king-*: style of X

The prefix *king-* is added to a nominal root to form a new noun that refers to the ‘style’ or ‘manner’ of the root noun. This is not a common prefix. Example (88) below is the only instance of this prefix in the corpus. The others are all from conversation, or are elicited. Words formed with *king-* are not adjectives by the definition given in Chapter 4, §4.2, because they do not occur with degree adverbs such as *sikad* ‘very’:

(86)

manakem ‘older person’	kingmanakem ‘the older people’s style/ways’
Kagayanen ‘Kagayanen’	kingkagayanen ‘the Kagayanen style/ways’
umang ‘hermit crab’	king-umang ‘the hermit crab’s style/ways’
manggaranen ‘rich people’	kingmanggaranen ‘the rich people’s style/way’

(87) **Kingmanakem** na sayaw nan.

King–manakem *na sayaw nan.*
style/way–older LK dance D3ABS
‘That is an older people’s style of dance.’
*Sikad kingmanakem na sayaw nan. (‘That is really an older person dance style.’)

(88) Patugtug an ta banda mga tukar an **kingmanakem** en pugya a.

Pa–tugtug an ta banda mga tukar an ***king–manakem*** *en*
T.R–play.music DEF.M NABS band PL music DEF.M style/way–older CM
pugya a.
long.ago INJ
‘The music the band played was the older people’s style of music of long ago.’ [PBON-T-01 6.17]

3.3.15 *tag-*: season for X

The prefix *tag-* occurs on some roots to refer to a certain season of the year or a season of some activity.

(89)

Root	**Derived form**
adlaw ‘day/sun’	tag-adlaw ‘hot dry season’
uran ‘rain’	tag-uran ‘rainy season’
ani ‘harvest’	tag-ani ‘harvest season’
tanem ‘plant’	tagtanem ‘planting season’
nubig ‘haul water’	tagnubɪg ‘season to haul water’
daon ‘leaf’	tagdaon ‘season of (growing) leaves’
lagas ‘fall apart/out/down’	taglagas ‘season of falling leaves’
ḷettem ‘hungry’	tagḷettem ‘hunger season’
linaw ‘calm sea’	taglinaw ‘calm sea season’
pelles ‘strong wind’	tagpelles ‘strong wind season’
ngaoy ‘to gather wood’	tagngaoy ‘season to gather wood’
tignaw ‘cold’	tagtignaw ‘cold season’

Only one word *adlaw* 'sun/day' can occur with either *tag-* or *pang-* to mean 'summer.'

(90) tag-adlaw 'summer'
pang-adlaw 'summer'

3.3.16 *taga-*: place of origin

The prefix *taga-* forms a noun or modifier that refers to a person who is originally from a location specified in the root. Example (91) is a predicate nominal consisting of a predicate meaning "someone originally from Cagayancillo", followed by the single Argument:

(91) **Taga-Cagayancillo** yaken i.
Taga-Cagayancillo *yaken i.*
ORIG-Cagayancillo 1S.ABS DEF.N
'I am **originally from Cagayancillo**.' [BMON-C-05 1.2]

Some writers use a hyphen following *taga-*, especially when it occurs before a capitalized place name, such as Cagayancillo (91) or Negros (92). However, this is not consistent (93).

(92) Naan ta baryo Sta. Cruz may isya na ittaw na **taga-Negros** na nangasawa don.
Naan ta baryo Sta. Cruz may isya na ittaw na ***taga-Negros*** *na*
SPAT.DEF NABS barrio Sta. Cruz EXT.IN one LK person LK ORIG–Negros LK
na–ngasawa don.
A.HAP.R–get.married D3LOC
'In the community of Sta. Cruz there was a person who **originated from Negros** who was married there.' [JCWN-T-20 16.4]

(93) Gailing di mga **taga-duma** an na banwa lawas ta Pilipinas.
Ga–iling di mga ***taga--duma*** *an na banwa lawas ta*
I.R–go D1LOC PL ORIG–other DEF.M LK town/country outside NABS
Pilipinas.
Philippines
'**Ones from other places** outside the Philipines came here.' [ICWN-T-04 3.2]

The use of the hyphen following *taga-* in written material reflects speakers' intuitions that this form functions as a pro-clitic as well as a nominal stem-forming prefix. For example, it attaches to the first word in an RP:

(94) a. ... taga-duma na lugar ...
... taga–duma na lugar ...
ORIG–other LK place
'... (people) from other places ...' [JCWN-T-21 13.5]

b. Taga-Mampyo daw Nusa ...
Taga–-Mampyo daw Nusa...
ORIG–Mampyo(place) and Nusa(place)
'(People) from Mampyo and Nusa ...' [JCWN-T-21 10.1]

In example (94a), *taga-* nominalizes the entire RP *duma na lugar* 'other place(s)', and not just the word *duma* 'other'. In (94b) *taga-* appears only once before the first conjunct of two conjoined nouns, but its meaning applies equally to both nouns.

3.3.17 *isig(ka)-*, *masig(ka)-* and *kasig(ka)-*: fellow person

There are three roots we know of that take the prefixes *isig(ka)- masig(ka)-* and *kasig(ka)* to form a noun that means 'fellow N', where N refers to a group of people. These may be a result of influence from Hiligaynon. There do not seem to be any differences in meaning among these forms. Their use is idiolectal.

(95) a. *isigka–ittaw / masigka–ittaw / kasigka–ittaw*
fellow–person
'fellow person/human'

b. *isigka–paryo / masigka–paryo / kasigka–paryo*
fellow–same
'fellow one like (you/us)'

c. *isig–Kagayanen / masig–Kagayanen / kasig–Kagayanen*
fellow–Kagayanen
'fellow Kagayanen'

As mentioned above (§3.3.3), *ka-* itself can be a nominalizer. The fact that the only root that seems to take these prefixes without *ka-* happens to have *ka* as its initial syllable (95c) suggests that the *ka-* component of the prefixes is the nominalizer, and the word *Kagayanen* is already a nominalization. Alternatively,

the repetition of *ka* may be suppressed because of haplology (suppression of repetitive syllables): **isigkakagayanen / *masigkakagayanen.*

In addition, the word *kasimanwa* 'townmate' or 'countrymate' may be a weakly suppletive formation from *kasig-* plus *banwa* 'town/country.'

Though the usual use of *isigka-*, *masigka-*, and *kasigka-* is with a word referring to a person, there is one example in the corpus that describes a fellow cat. This is evidence that at least *masigka-* is productive, and not just a component of certain lexicalized expressions:

(96) Daw kanen paryo ta gaumaw ta **masigkakuti** rin mataning daw malagday iya na kagi paryo ta ittaw na mangayo ta tabang.
Daw kanen paryo ta ga–umaw ta ***masigka–kuti*** *rin*[19]
if/when 3S.ABS same NABS I.R–call NABS fellow–cat 3S.GEN
ma–taning daw ma–lagday iya na kagi paryo ta ittaw na
ADJ–high.pitch and ADJ–slow 3S.GEN LK voice SAME NABS person LK
ma–ngayo ta tabang.
A.HAP.IR–request NABS help
'When s/he (a cat) is like calling to **his/her fellow cat** his/her voice is shrill and slow like a person requesting help.' [JCWE-T-14 13.3]

3.3.18 *-anen*: having the characteristic of X

The suffix *-anen* is an uncommon and non-productive suffix that designates a person or characteristic associated with the root to which it attaches. It is possibly a reflex of the common Bisayan suffix *-anon.* It occurs in only six words in Kagayanen, all of which were probably borrowed from Hiligaynon. These are illustrated in (97):

(97)

Root	**Derived form**
manggad 'wealth'	manggranen 'wealthy'
dengeg 'dignity'	dengganen 'honorable'
aḷang 'not sure'	aḷanganen 'hesitant behavior'
uli 'return home'	uḷianen 'childlike behavior of older people'[20]
ambaḷ 'say'	ambaḷanen 'saying/expression/words'
sugid 'tell'	sugranen 'conversation'

[19]This writer habitually replaces the pronoun *din* 3S.ERG/GEN with *rin* when following a word ending in a vowel, though most Kagayanen speakers do not do this. It may be a result of influence from Tagalog.

[20]This is an idiom referring to the tendency for some adults to return to childlike behavior in their later years.

3.4 Pronouns

In this section we describe four types of pronouns in Kagayanen: personal pronouns and enclitics (§3.4.1), interrogative pronouns (§3.4.2), indefinite pronouns (§3.4.3), and demonstrative pronouns together with related forms (§3.4.4).

3.4.1 Personal pronouns and enclitics

The personal pronouns in Kagayanen can be divided into *free personal pronouns*, which have the same distribution as Referring Phrases, and *anaphoric enclitics*, which are bound to a preceding host. For convenience, we will often refer to these sets collectively as "personal pronouns". When necessary to make the distinction, we will use the terms "free pronouns" and "enclitic pronouns". All of these forms vary for case, number, and person. The 3rd person pronouns may refer to people and animate beings. Rarely do personal pronouns refer to inanimate things, though sometimes the 3rd person genitive pronouns are used for things in relation to their parts, such as *iya na puon* (3S.GEN LK trunk) 'its trunk', referring to a tree. First person plural has two forms: *inclusive*, which includes speaker, addressee and possibly some other person(s), and *exclusive*, which includes the speaker and some other person(s), but excludes the addressee.

Consistent with the syntactic typology of the language as a whole, the genitive and ergative case pronouns are identical. However, we gloss them distinctly depending on their usages. The actor in a transitive, independent clause is glossed as ergative. All other uses of this pronoun set, including the "possessor" in a Referring Phrase, arguments of nominalized clauses, and a contrastive usage described below, are glossed as "genitive". We justify these terms in §10.3 and show that these are structurally distinct grammatical relations, although the pronoun forms are the same. Table 3.2 illustrates the personal pronouns of Kagayanen. The first two columns display the enclitics, while the other columns display the free (or "emphatic/prominent") pronouns. As can be seen in Table 3.2, the third person singular absolutive enclitic and free/emphatic absolutive pronoun set are the same. All the third person plural forms are the same except for the free ergative/genitive case. Because of this, third person pronouns are not as useful as first and second person pronouns to exemplify the various usages of the set of personal pronouns. In addition, the distinct "long genitive" free pronouns are sociolinguistically marked, and may be archaic. There are no 2nd or 3rd person long genitive forms that are recognized by any speakers we have consulted. The 1st person long genitive forms listed in Table 3.2 do occur in the corpus and are

heard in conversation. Our impression is that they are used mostly by older individuals, though understood by everyone. Their use seems to imply an extra degree of contrastiveness.

Table 3.2: Personal pronouns of Kagayanen

	Enclitics		Free/contrastive pronouns			
	Abs	Erg/Gen	Gen	Long Gen (archaic)	Abs	Obl
1SG	a/aren[21]	ko	ake	kende	yaken	ki yaken
2SG	ka	no	imo	–	kaon	ki kaon
3SG	kanen	din	iya	–	kanen	ki kanen
1EXC	kay	nay	ame	mende	kami	ki kami
1INC	ki	ta	ate	tende	kiten	ki kiten
2PL	kaw	nyo	inyo	–	kyo	ki kyo
3PL	danen[22]	danen	iran	–	danen	ki danen

In addition to these enclitic and free pronouns, there are two composite personal pronouns used when first person acts on second person—*ta kaw* is used when both arguments are singular (108) and *ta kyo* is used when the 1st person is singular and the 2nd person is plural (109). There are no other situations in which composite pronouns are used.

The following examples illustrate a few of the free personal pronouns and enclitics in context:

(98) Absolutive anaphoric enclitic
Tagan **a** din ta sid-anan.
∅–atag–an[23] ***a*** *din ta sid-anan.*
T.IR–give–APL 1S.ABS 3S.ERG NABS viand
'S/he will give **me** some of the viand.'

[21] *Aren* as an alternate 1S.ABS enclitic may be a blend of *a* plus the completive aspectual enclitic *en*. *Aren* alone does seem to imply a completive sense. Ease of pronunciation could have led to the insertion of the *r*, and paradigm pressure from several other pronominal forms ending in *-en* could have facilitated this co-lexicalization. However, the completive enclitic *en* may follow *aren*, so *aren*, if it is a blend, has clearly become lexicalized—26 of the 128 examples of *aren* in the corpus are followed by *en*. Therefore, in this grammar we simply treat *aren* as an alternate 1S.ABS enclitic. A discourse study is needed to determine the usages of *a* versus *aren*.

[22] Sometimes *danen* is pronounced *daen*. We have observed no consistent pattern to its usage.

[23] The root for this verb is *atag*. In conversation, the initial vowel normally drops out when a suffix occurs, though this is optional. In example (107), below, the initial vowel may not drop out because the verb carries no suffix.

(99) Absolutive free pronoun
Tagan din **yaken** i ta sid-anan.
*∅–atag–an din **yaken** i ta sid-anan.*
T.IR–give–APL 3S.ERG 1S.ABS DEF.N NABS viand
'S/he will give **ME** some viand.' (Emphasis on ME.)

Examples (98) and (99) are identical except that the absolutive case Recipient is expressed with the emphatic pronoun plus demonstrative determiner in (99). Emphatic pronouns have the same distributional possibilities as full Referring Phrases, while enclitics follow the first major constituent of the immediate phrase. The demonstrative determiner *i* may be "optional" in this and the following examples, especially in relaxed speech. However, speakers agree that it "sounds better" with the demonstrative determiner:

(100) Fronted absolutive free pronoun
Yaken i tagan din ta sid-anan.
***Yaken i** ∅–atag–an din ta sid-anan.*
1S.ABS DEF.N T.IR–give–APL 3S.ERG NABS viand
'**I am the one** to whom s/he will give some viand.'

(101) Ergative anaphoric enclitic
Tagan **ko** kanen an ta sid-anan.
*∅–atag–an **ko** kanen an ta sid-anan.*
T.IR–give–APL 1S.ERG 3S.ABS DEF.M NABS viand
'**I** will give him/her some of the viand.'

(102) Genitive anaphoric enclitic
Tagan ko kanen an ta sid-anan **ko**.
*∅–atag–an ko kanen an ta sid-anan **ko**.*
T.IR–give–APL 1S.ERG 3S.ABS DEF.M NABS viand 1S.GEN
'I should/must give him/her some of **my** viand.'

(103) Genitive free pronoun
Tagan ko kanen an ta **ake** i na sid-anan.
*∅–atag–an ko kanen an ta **ake** i na sid-anan.*
T.IR–give–APL 1SERG 3S.ABS DEF.M NABS 1S.GEN DEF.N LK viand
'I will give him/her some of **my own** (sometimes contrastive – "my very own" rather than someone else's) viand.'

(104) Long genitive pronoun
Tagan ko kanen an ta **kende** i na sid-anan.
*∅–Tagan ko kanen an ta **kende** i na sid-anan.*
T.IR–give–APL 1S.ERG 3S.ABS DEF.M NABS 1S.GEN.CTR DEF.N LK viand
'I will give him/her some of **my own** (sometimes contrastive – "my very own" rather than someone else's) viand.'

A free genitive pronoun may recapitulate the absolutive argument. This usage is clearly contrastive:

(105) Gaatag kay **ame** ta sid-anan ki kanen.
*Ga–atag kay **ame** ta sid-anan ki kanen.*
I.R–give 1P.EXCL.ABS 1P.EXCL.GEN NABS viand OBL.P 3S
'**We ourselves** (rather than someone else) gave some viand to him'.

In example (105), the verb appears in the intransitive form, so the actor *kay* is the absolutive argument. Therefore *ame* is not ergative; rather it occurs after the absolutive pronoun of the same person and number to express strong contrast. Example (106) is similar, but with a first person singular actor. In relaxed speech, the *a* 1S.ABS pronoun may elide before *ake*.

(106) Gaatag a **ake** ta sid-anan ki kanen.
*Ga–atag a **ake** ta sid-anan ki kanen.*
I.R–give 1S.ABS 1S.GEN NABS viand OBL.P 3S
'I myself (rather than someone else) gave some viand to him/her.'

(107) Free pronoun in Oblique role (see also examples 105 and 106 above)
Paatag din sid-anan din an **ki yaken**.
*Pa–atag din sid-anan din an **ki yaken**.*
T.R–give 3S.ERG viand 3S.GEN DEF.M OBL.P 1S
'S/he gave his/her viand to **me**.'

(108) Composite personal pronouns
Pangamuyuan **ta kaw** nang na kabay makakita ka man ta ubra na dayad.
*Pangamuyu–an **ta** **kaw** nang na kabay maka–kita ka*
pray–APL 1S.ERG 2S.ABS just LK may.it.be I.HAP.IR–see 2S.ABS
man ta ubra na dayad.
too NABS work LK good
'**I** will just pray for **you** that may it be you are able to find good work.'
[DBWL-T-20 8.8]

(109) Atagan **ta kyo** en ta tanan na pagsuḷaten ta Kinagayanen

Ø–Atag–an ***ta*** ***kyo*** *en ta tanan na pag–suḷat–en*[24] *ta*
T.IR–give–APL 1S.ERG 2P.ABS CM NABS all LK NR.ACT–write–T.IR NABS
K<in>agayanen[25]
<NR.RES>Kagayanen
'**I** will give **you** (pl) all the ways to write in the Kagayanen language.'
[JCOE-T-06 18.3]

3.4.2 Interrogative pronouns

There are three kinds of interrogative words that differently affect the syntax of a clause in questions. These are interrogative pronouns, interrogative adverbs, and interrogative adjectives (see Chapter 11, §11.3.2 on the formation of question-word questions for a full description of the uses of these words). In this section we will limit the discussion to the interrogative pronouns.

There are three interrogative pronouns *kino* 'who', *ino* 'what', and *pila* 'how many'. We consider these to be distinct from the interrogative adverbs *kan-o* 'when', *indi* 'where', *indya* 'which', and *man-o* 'why'. The pronouns are verbal arguments and are always in the absolutive role, whereas the adverbs refer to oblique or adverbial elements, and are not linked to the verb via the system of transitivity and voice. The interrogative pronouns usually occur sentence initially. The semantic macro-role of the questioned element is expressed via verbal affixation (transitivity plus applicative marking). The following examples illustrate the interrogative pronoun *kino* 'who' in context:

(110) Non-verbal clause
Kino tag-iya ta niog na pasanggetan no?

Kino *tag-iya ta niog na pa–sangget–an no?*
who owner NABS coconut LK T.R–get.sap–APL 2S.ERG
'**Who** is the owner of the coconut tree that you are getting coconut sap from?' [RDOI-T-01 21.1]

[24]The form *pagsuḷaten* is a variation of *pagsuḷat* 'writing.' Some speakers prefer one over the other. There is no difference in meaning or syntactic function between the two as far as we can tell.

[25]The use of the infix <*in*> is common in the Philippines to describe the speech, mannerisms or customs of a group of people named in the root, for example *tinagalog*, 'in the Tagalog way', *inamerikano* 'in the American way' and so on. The use of *kinagayanen* is rare in the corpus for this study, occurring only in two texts, both by well-educated individuals. Most speakers use the term *Kagayanen* for both the language and the people.

(111) Intransitive verbal clause
O, **kino** magmandar na mag-umpisa dḷagan?
O, ***kino*** *mag–mandar na mag–-umpisa dḷagan?*
oh who I.IR–command LK I.IR–begin run
'**Who** will command to begin the running?' [JCON-L-08 31.7]

(112) Transitive verbal clause
Kino paanggat no ta iskursyon?
Kino *pa–anggat no ta iskursyon?*
who T.R–ask.to.go.along 2S.ERG NABS outing
'**Whom** did you ask to go along on the outing?'

(113) Transitive applicative clause
Kino pasugiran no parti ta natabo ya?
Kino *pa–sugid–an no parti ta na–tabo ya?*
who T.R–tell–APL 2S.ERG about NABS A.HAP.R–happen DEF.F
'**Whom** did you tell about what happened?'

The following examples illustrate the interrogative pronoun *ino* in context:

(114) Non-verbal clause
Ino ubra ta mananggiti?
Ino *ubra ta mananggiti?*
what work NABS gatherer.of.coconut.sap
'**What** is the work of the one who gathers coconut sap?' [RDOI-T-01 2.1]

(115) Transitive clause
Ino pakaan no?
Ino *pa–kaan no?*
what T.R–eat 2S.ERG
'**What** did you eat?'

(116) Transitive (instrumental) applicative clause
Ino igeḷet no ta sidda?
Ino *i–geḷet no ta sidda?*
what APL2–cut 2S.ERG NABS fish
'**What** will you use to cut up fish?'

In questioning someone's name, the interrogative pronouns *kino* 'who' and *ino* 'what' are interchangeable for some Kagayanen speakers, though *ino* is probably more common, especially in communities outside of Cagayancillo:

(117) **Ino** ngaran no? / **Kino** ngaran no?
Ino/Kino *ngaran no?*
what/Who name 2S.GEN
'**What/who** is your name?'

The interrogative pronoun *pila* 'how many' or *pila buok* 'how many pieces' is used only for count nouns. In order to ask about how much rice (a mass noun), one must mention a container, 'how many sacks of rice', or a measurement such as 'how many kilograms of rice'. For how much something costs, *pila bayad* is used meaning 'how many (pesos) is the payment?'

(118) Non-verbal clause
Pila kaw adlaw dya?
Pila *kaw adlaw dya?*
how.many 2P.ABS day/sun D4LOC
'**How many** days are you there?' [EMWN-T-09 3.3]

(119) **Pila** (**buok**) bata no an?
Pila ***(buok)*** *bata no an?*
how.many piece child 2S.GEN DEF.F
'**How many** are your children?'

(120) **Pila** kilo beggas paliten no?
Pila *kilo beggas palit–en no?*
how.many kilogram milled.rice buy–T.IR 2S.ERG
'**How many** kilograms of rice will you buy?'
*Pila beggas paliten no?

(121) **Pila** bayad ta tinapay an?
Pila *bayad ta tinapay an?*
how.many pay NABS bread DEF.M
'**How much** is the payment of the bread?'

(122) Transitive clause
Pila nakamang no?

Pila *na–kamang no?*
how.many A.HAP.R–get 2S.ERG
'**How many** did you get?

3.4.3 Indefinite pronouns

The indefinite pronouns are formed with either *bisan* 'any' or *daw* 'if/when' plus one of the interrogative pronouns: *kino* 'who', *ino* 'what', *pila* 'how much/many' or interrogative adverbs *kan-o* 'when', and *indi* 'where', but not with *man-o* 'why'. To say 'any time' *kan-o* is not usually used with *bisan*—there is only one example in the corpus. Instead *bisan* 'any' is followed by *ino* 'what' and then a time word like *oras* 'hour/time', *adlaw* 'sun/day', *duminggo* 'week', *buḷan* 'moon/month' or *taon* 'year'. An optional modifier and linker can follow *bisan* plus the interrogative pronoun or adverb but the modifier is obligatory with *daw* plus interrogative pronoun or adverb.

The indefinite pronouns with *bisan* or *daw* plus an interrogative pronoun, but not interrogative adverbs, occur as arguments of the verb with the regular case forms – zero for absolutive case, *ta* for non-absolutive case, or *naan (ta)* or *ta* alone for any locational or spatial oblique role. The indefinite pronouns with *daw* 'if/when' only occur in the absolutive case while indefinite pronouns with *bisan* 'any' can occur either in the absolutive or non-absolutive case. The indefinite pronouns do not occur with the demonstrative determiners *i*, *an*, and *ya*, since these determiners conflict with the indefiniteness or non-specificity of these pronouns.

Table 3.3: Indefinite pronouns and adverbs

Indefinite pronouns	
bisan kino 'anyone'	daw kino 'whoever'
bisan ino 'anything'	daw ino 'whatever'
bisan pila 'any number'	daw pila 'whatever number'
Indefinite adverbs	
bisan ino na oras 'any time'	daw ino na oras 'whatever time'
bisan kan-o 'any time'	daw kan-o 'whenever'
bisan indi 'anywhere'	daw indi 'wherever'
bisan ino na paagi 'any means/way'	daw ino na paagi 'whatever way'

The following are some examples of indefinite pronouns in context:

(123) Indefinite pronouns in absolutive case
Bisan kino nang, daw dili magpati, paumaw din ta iya na upisina daw silutan din na uḷa gid kaluoy.

Bisan kino *nang, daw dili mag–pati, pa–umaw din*
any who just if/when NEG.IR I.IR–believe/obey T.R–call 3S.ERG
ta iya na upisina daw ∅–silot–an din na uḷa gid
NABS 3S.GEN LK office and T.IR–punish–APL 3S.ERG LK NEG INT
ka–luoy.
NR–mercy
'Just **anyone**, if (s/he) will not obey (him), he called to his office and punished without mercy.' [BEWN-T-01 2.15]

(124) Paatagan ko ta pagkaan **daw kino** na naḷettem.

Pa–atag–an ko ta pagkaan ***daw kino*** *na na–ḷettem.*
T.R–give–APL 1S.ERG NABS food if/when who LK A.HAP.R–hungry
'I gave food to **whomever** was hungry.'

(125) Pedro, **daw kino** gani na gapasilong ta imo na bubong o ta imo na atep, batunon no ta bug-os ta imo na tagipusuon.

Pedro, ***daw kino*** *gani na ga–pa–silong ta imo na*
Pedro if/when who ATN LK I.R–CAUS–yard/shelter NABS 2S.GEN LK
bubong o ta imo na atep, baton–en no ta bug-os
roof[26] or NABS 2S.GEN LK roof receive–T.IR 2S.ERG NABS completely
ta imo na tagipusuon.
NABS 2S.GEN LK heart
'Pedro, **whoever** takes shelter under your roof, receive (him/her) completely with your heart.' [JCOB-L-02 9.1]

(126) Papalit din **bisan ino** (na gusto din).

Pa–palit din ***bisan ino*** *(na gusto din).*
T.R–buy 3S.ERG any what LK want 3S.ERG
'S/he bought **anything** he/she wanted.'

[26]The words *atep* and *bubong* are used interchangeably as 'roof' with no difference in meaning. Sometimes *atep* is the general word, and *bubong* refers to the 'the very highest peak of the roof.' In Tagalog, *atip* is a grass or palm roof and *bubong* is any kind of roof, but we have noted no such distinction in everyday Kagayanen speech (though perhaps professional house builders would).

(127) Ambaḷ din en **bisan ino** pa kon ayuon din atag din ...

*Ambaḷ din en **bisan ino** pa kon ayo–en din atag din ...*
say 3S.ERG CM any what INC HSY request–T.IR 3S.ERG give 3S.ERG

'He (the king) had already said that **anything** he (another person) asks for he (the king) will give ...' [PBON-T-01 4.2]

(128) **Daw ino** (na) atag ki kaon, salamatan no.

***Daw ino** (na) ∅–atag ki kaon, ∅–salamat–an no.*
if/when what LK T.IR–give OBL.P 2S T.IR–thank–APL 2S.ERG

'**Whatever** is given to you, give thanks (for it).'

(129) Papalit din **bisan pila** (na gusto din).

*Pa–palit din **bisan pila** (na gusto din).*
T.R–buy 3S.ERG any how.many LK want 3S.ERG

'S/he bought **any amount/at any price** (he/she wanted).' (This sentence can be understood in either of the two ways indicated in the free translation.)

(130) Iatag ko **daw pila** (na) ayuon no.

*I–atag ko **daw pila** (na) ayo–en no.*
T.DEON–give 1S.ERG if/when how.many LK request–T.IR 2S.ERG

'I will give (you) **whatever amount** you request.'

(131) Indefinite pronouns in non-absolutive case
Gaatag a ta pagkaan ta **bisan kino** (na ittaw).

*Ga–atag a ta pagkaan ta **bisan kino** (na ittaw).*
I.R–give 1S.ABS NABS food NABS any who LK people

'I gave food to **any person**.'

*Gaatag a ta pagkaan ta daw kino (na ittaw).
*Gaatag a ta pagkaan daw kino (na ittaw).
*Gaatag a ta pagkaan ta kino (na ittaw).

(132) Gapalit kanen ta **bisan ino** (na gusto din).

*Ga–palit kanen ta **bisan ino** (na gusto din).*
I.R–buy 3S.ABS NABS any what LK want 3S.ERG

'S/he bought **anything** (s/he wants).'

*Gapalit kanen ta **daw ino** (na gusto din).
*Gapalit kanen **daw ino** (na gusto din).
*Gapalit kanen ta **ino** (na gusto din).

(133) Gapalit kanen ta **bisan pila** (na gusto din).

Ga–palit kanen ta ***bisan pila*** *(na gusto din).*
I.R–buy 3S.ABS NABS any how.many LK want 3S.ERG
'S/he bought **any amount** (s/he wants).'

*Gapalit kanen ta **daw pila** (na gusto din).
*Gapalit kanen **daw pila** (na gusto din).
*Gapalit kanen ta **pila** (na gusto din).

(134) Indefinite adverbs
Umawen a no nang **bisan ino na oras**.

Umaw–en a no nang ***bisan ino na oras****.*
call–T.IR 1S.ABS 2S.ERG just any what LK time/hour
'Just call me **anytime**.'

(135) Dili ko mabayad-bayaran **bisan kan-o**.

Dili ko ma–bayad~-bayad–an ***bisan kan-o****.*
NEG.IR 1S.ERG A.HAP.IR–RED~-pay–APL any when
'I am not able to pay (my debt of gratitude) at any time.' [EFWN-T-11 17.8]

(136) Buaten ko **bisan ino na paagi** aged miling a dya.

Buat–en ko ***bisan ino na paagi*** *aged m–iling a dya.*
do–T.IR 1S.ERG any what LK means so.that I.V.IR–go 1S.ABS D4LOC
'I will do it **by any means** so that I will go there.'

(137) Patudluan kay din **daw ino na paagi** ta pagtanem ta guso.

Pa–tudlo–an kay din ***daw ino na paagi*** *ta*
T.R–teach–APL 1P.EXCL.ABS 3S.ERG if/when what LK way/means NABS
pag–tanem ta guso.
NR.ACT–plant NABS agar.seaweed
'S/he taught us **whatever way** to plant agar-agar seaweed.'

(138) Uḷa a naḷam **daw ino oras** muli tatay ko.

Uḷa a na–aḷam ***daw ino oras*** *m–uli*
NEG.R 1S.ABS A.HAP.R–know if/when what time/hour I.V.R–go.home
tatay ko.
father 1S.GEN
'I do not know **whatever time/hour** my father will come home.'

(139) **Daw kan-o** kani uli sawa no ya liso ta kalabasa na darwa nai tanem ta kuron na busḷot.

Daw ***kan-o*** *kani uli* *sawa* *no* *ya* *liso* *ta*
if/when when later go.home spouse 2S.GEN DEF.F seed NABS
kalabasa *na darwa nai* *tanem ta* *kuron* *na busḷot.*
summer.squash LK two D1ABS plant NABS clay.pot LK hole
'**Whenever** your spouse comes home later, plant these two squash seeds in a clay pot with a hole.' [AION-C-01 9.4]

(140) Dayon en garay na paumaw mga maligno ta **bisan indi** nang na lugar na marani...

Dayon *en* *garay na pa–umaw mga maligno ta* ***bisan indi*** *nang*
right.away CM chant LK T.R–call PL evil NABS any where just
na lugar na ma–rani...
LK place LK I.IR–approach
'Then right away (they) chant calling the evil (ones) **from anywhere** to come close ...' [JCWE-T-17 3.5]

3.4.4 Demonstrative pronouns and related forms

Kagayanen employs a rich and complex system of spatial deixis involving four spatial distinctions, a general/precise distinction, and different pronominal, adjectival, enclitic and adverbial forms. In this section, we describe the differences among these various forms, and provide examples of their usages. Although not all of these are, strictly speaking, pronouns, they all function in the domain of participant reference, and many are clearly related to pronouns etymologically and functionally. For this reason it is reasonable to treat them all in the current section.

We begin with the distinction between two types of free demonstrative forms, which we have termed *demonstrative pronouns* and *demonstrative adjectives*, respectively. These terms characterize in a general way the main usages of these forms, though both types have a distribution that transcends these general terms. Demonstrative adjectives are further divided between pre-Head demonstrative adjectives, and post-Head demonstrative adjectives. This difference is discussed in the following subsection.

Though the functions of demonstrative pronouns and pre-Head demonstrative adjectives seem to overlap, they are in fact mutually exclusive. These categories may be distinguished, as outlined in Table 3.4.

Table 3.4: Demonstrative pronouns and adjectives

	Demonstrative pronouns	Pre-head demonstrative adjectives
Replace a Referring Phrase in post-verbal position	YES	NO
Replace a Referring Phrase in pre-verbal position	NO	YES (absolutive only)
Occur inside a Referring Phrase in pre-head Modifier position	NO	YES
Occur in Absolutive/non-absolutive pairs	YES	NO

Notice that both demonstrative pronouns and pre-Head demonstrative adjectives may replace a Referring Phrase, however the circumstances under which this may occur are very different for the two sets. The examples below illustrate these usages.

The forms of the demonstrative pronouns are displayed in Table 3.5, in which the rows D1, D2, and so on, represent values in the spatial deixis system. D1 demonstratives refer to something near the speaker, D2 near the addressee, D3 somewhere in the area around speaker and addressee, and D4 far away and out of sight. The "general" demonstratives are the default, unmarked forms, that may express varying degrees of deictic precision. The "precise" demonstratives express a very restricted deictic range. This distinction may be approximated in English demonstratives by the distinction between "this X" and "this very X"; "that Y" and "that very Y."

As shown in Table 3.5, absolutive demonstrative pronouns do not exhibit a general/precise distinction. None of the demonstrative pronouns reflect a singular/plural distinction, so they are translated as singular in the English free translations unless the original context implies plurality. The following are a few examples of absolutive demonstrative pronouns (bolded) in context:

Table 3.5: Demonstrative pronouns

	Abs	Non-abs	
		General	Precise
D1 near speaker	ni	ti	ti ni
D2 near hearer	nyan	san	san nyan
D3 near both	nan	tan	tan nan
D4 far away	nya	sa	sa nya

(141) Nḷettem gid man taan **ni** tak uḷa kay kan-en.

*Na–ḷettem gid man taan **ni** tak uḷa kay*
A.HAP.R–hungry INT EMPH maybe D1PR because NEG.R 1P.EXCL.ABS
kan-en.
cooked.rice
'This (one) is perhaps really hungry because we have no cooked rice.'
[AION-C-01 4.5]

(142) Piro, Mam, papalit nay **ni** tak naluoy kay ki danen ...

*Piro, Mam, pa–palit nay **ni** tak na–luoy*
but Ma'am T.R–buy 1P.EXCL.ERG D1PR because A.HAP.R–pity
kay ki danen ...
1P.EXCL.ABS OBL.P 3p
'But, Ma'am, we bought **these** because we pitied them.' (things other people asked them to buy when they went to the town/city)
[AFWL-L-01 8.12]

(143) Sayang nang Manang tak nagustuan no **nya**.

*Sayang nang Manang tak na–gustu–an no **nya**.*
too.bad only older.sister because A.HAP.R–want–APL 2S.ERG D4ABS
'Too bad, Manang, because you wanted **that**.' (A huge coral that had been broken up, so no longer exists) [MAWL-C-03 4.6]

The non-absolutive demonstrative pronouns function in ergative (144 and 145), or oblique (146 and 147) roles. Similarly, they function within Referring Phrases (RPs) in the genitive role (148 and 149):

(144) Non-absolutive demonstrative pronoun in the ergative role:
Ambaḷ **ti**, “Marga kon en.”

*Ambaḷ **ti**, “M–larga kon en.”*
say D1NABS I.V.IR–depart HSY CM
‘**This one** said, “(The boat) will depart now”.’

(145) Inday daw ino paliten **sa**.

*Inday daw ino palit–en **sa**.*
don’t.know if/when what buy–T.IR D4NABS
‘(I) don’t know what **that one** will buy.’

(146) Non-absolutive demonstrative pronoun in oblique roles
Uyi na ubra Kagayanen nang gabuat **ti**.

*Uyi na ubra Kagayanen nang ga–buat **ti**.*
EMPH.D1ABS LK DO/work Kagayanen only I.R–do/make D1NABS
‘This work (special weave of mats) only Kagayanens do/make **this**.’
[BCWE-T-09 2.15]

(147) Tagan ki **sa**.

*∅–atag–an ki **sa**.*
T.IR–give–APL 1P.INCL.ABS D4NABS
‘Give us some of **that**.’ [TTOB-L-03 7.11]

(148) Non-absolutive demonstrative pronouns in a genitive role
Lasa **tan** sikad na tam-is…

*Lasa **tan** sikad na tam-is…*
taste D3NABS very LK sweet
‘The taste **of that** is very sweet…’ (This text is describing a pineapple.)
[MEWE-T-01 2.2]

(149) Lain man nyan, bao **san** na agas a.

*Lain man nyan, bao **san** na agas a.*
bad EMPH D2PR odor D2NABS LK kerosene INJ
‘That is really bad, the odor **of that** kerosene.’ [RZWN-T-02 4.10]

(150) Non-absolutive demonstrative pronoun in adjunct roles
Ta, di lasga nang **sa** magpulos.

*Ta, di lasga nang **sa** mag–pulos.*
so RQ ant only D4NABS I,IR–value

'So, only ants will get value **from that**?' (This is about an unnecessary killing of a bird.) [MEWN-T-02 5.9]

(151) Daw bui pa inta Tatay ya pwidi kanen makaisturya **san**…

Daw bui pa inta Tatay ya pwidi kanen maka–isturya
if/when alive INC OPT father DEF.F can 3S.ABS I.HAP.IR–talk/tell.story
***san**…*
D2NABS

'If Father were still alive he could tell the story **about that**…' [BBOE-C 02 1.7]

(152) Non-absolutive demonstrative pronoun, precise form
Magsekeb ki **tan nan**.

*Mag–sekeb ki **tan** **nan**.*
I.IR–measure 1P.INCL.ABS D3NABS PR

'Let's measure **that very one**.'

(153) Dayon din gabot ta iya na sundang naan ta iya na awak daw insaan darwa na manakem daw ino engeran **ti ni**.

Dayon din gabot ta iya na sundang naan ta
right.away 3S.ERG draw.out NABS 3S.GEN LK machete SPAT.DEF NABS
iya na awak daw ∅–insa–an[27] *darwa na manakem daw ino*
3S.GEN LK waist and T.IR–ask–APL two LK older if/when what
*enged–an **ti** **ni**.*
purpose–NR D1NABS D1.PR

'Then he immediately drew out his machete on his waist and asked the older couple what was the reason for **this very one**.' (The one asking this question heard a jackfruit say, 'Dad.') [YBWN-T-01 5.8]

[27] Irrealis modality is often used at points of high tension in a story such as this and/or in the final conjunct of a closely linked series of realis events (see Chapter 12, §12.6.5 . This is a place of high tension in the story. where irrealis is also used because he is prepared to attack with his machete. Irrealis is also used with events of high tension and peaks or climax of narratives.

(154) Daw dili ka makadaḷa tanan **ti ni** bunaḷen ka man ta isya pasong.

*Daw dili ka maka–daḷa tanan **ti** **ni** bunaḷ–en*
if/when NEG.IR 2S.ABS I.HAP.IR–take all D1NABS d1pr whip–T.IR
ka man ta isya pasong.
2SABS too NABS one 50.kilo.sack
'If you cannot bring all of **these very things**, you will be whipped with fifty lashes.' (The literal Kagayanen says 50-kilo-sack. So *sack* is used as a euphemism here meaning fifty lashes.) [JCWN-T-20 12.3]

Demonstrative adjectives are similar to demonstrative pronouns, except that they usually occur as constituents of Referring Phrases rather than replacements for them. Table 3.6 illustrates the forms of demonstrative adjectives.

Table 3.6: Demonstrative adjectives

	Pre-Head				Post-Head
	General	Emphatic	Precise	Precise Emphatic	
D1	yi/wi	uyi/uwi	yi ni	uyi ni/uwi ni	nai
D2	yan	yan	yan nyan	yan nyan	nayan
D3	yon	uyon	yon nan	uyon nan	naya
D4	yo	uyo	yo nya	uyo nya	nayo

A pre-Head demonstrative adjective may occur alone as an absolutive Referring Expression only when it occurs in pre-predicate position (see examples 155 and 156 below). The usual function of demonstrative adjectives, however, is as pre-Head modifiers of RPs in any case role, in any allowable position.

(155) **Uyi** gid una na suwa ta Cagayan i.

U–yi *gid una na suwa ta Cagayan i.*
EMPH–D1ABS INT first LK citrus.fruit NABS Cagayan DEF.N
'**This** really is the first citrus fruit on Cagayancillo.' [MBON-T-06 6.2]

(156) **Yon** masugid ko ki kyo.

Yon *ma–sugid ko ki kyo.*
D3ABS A.HAP.R–tell 1S.ERG OBL.P 2P.ABS
'**That** is what I can tell you.' [MEWE-T-0 2.6]

(157) **Yon** na mga kaoy dapat ta itanem.
Yon *na mga kaoy dapat ta* *i–tanem.*
D3ABS LK PL tree must 1P.INCL.ERG T.DEON–plant
'**Those** trees we must plant.' [ROOB-T-01 8.10]

(158) Gatunuga kay ta isya na kilem ta balay **nai**.
Ga–tunuga kay *ta* *isya na kilem ta* *balay* ***nai.***
I.R–sleep 1P.EXCL.ABS NABS one LK night NABS house D1ABS
'We slept one night in **this** house.' [AGWN-L-01 6.2]

(159) **Yi ni** na pulo nalibutan ta puti na pantad.
Yi ***ni*** *na pulo* *na–libut–an* *ta* *puti* *na pantad.*
D1ABS D1PR LK island A.HAP.R–surround–APL NABS 'white LK sand
'**This very** island is surrounded by white sand.' [VAWL-T-14 5.9]

(160) **Yi** na ittaw **ni** naḷam mag-ubra ta lamisaan daw pungkuan na folding.
Yi *na ittaw* ***ni*** *na–aḷam* *mag–-ubra* *ta* *lamisa–an daw*
D1ABS LK person D1PR A.HAP.R–know I.IR–do/work NABS table–NR and
pungko–an na folding.
sit–NR LK folding
'**This very** person knows how to make tables and chairs that are folding.' [DBWN-T-23 9.9]

3.5 Referring Phrases

In this section we describe syntactic constructions that allow speakers to refer to participants in discourse. Traditionally, these would be termed "Noun Phrases". However, we consciously adopt the more functional label "Referring Phrases" (RP) for two reasons:

- The Head of this construction type may be a noun, adjective, numeral, verb, precategorial root, or a clause, and the Head may itself be syntactically complex (see §3.5.3 and §3.5.4 below). Therefore the structure is not always headed by something that can independently be identified as a "noun".
- Similarly, the major dependent elements within RPs are not limited to particular lexical or syntactic categories. Rather, they are best thought of first as functional positions (Determination, Modification, Quantification and Deixis) that may be filled by various lexical or phrasal elements as suits the communicative needs of speakers.

Since most of the elements of these constructions are functionally characterized, it makes sense to refer to the structure itself in terms of its prototypical function – namely to refer to participants in discourse. The term "Referring Phrase" or "Reference Phrase" (Van Valin 2006) is also standard in some emerging linguistic theories. Our use of the term is generally consistent with such theories, but does not imply that our analysis as a whole follows any particular theoretical framework.

We recognize three types of Referring Phrases in Kagayanen: basic RPs, RPs headed by personal names, and RPs headed by nominalized clauses. The structural "templates" for these types of phrases will be discussed and exemplified in §3.5.1, §3.5.2, and §3.5.3 respectively. In §3.5.4 the special characteristics of RPs containing relative clauses are discussed. Finally, in §3.5.5, §3.5.6, and §3.5.7, the different kinds of "inflectional" information expressed syntactically in the Referring Phrase will be discussed from a functional perspective.

3.5.1 Basic Referring Phrases

The following is a rough template of the Kagayanen basic Referring Phrase. There is potential complexity within some of the elements displayed in (161), as well as some co-occurrence restrictions and possible variations in order. These will be discussed in the following paragraphs and subsections.

(161) RP = CM (PL) ({MOD_1 (∈), DEM} LK) (PL) HEAD (∈ (LK MOD_2)) (RP_{GEN})

In this template, CM refers to a set of case marking particles – zero for absolutive Referring Phrases and *ta* for non-absolutive Referring Phrases headed by common nouns (RPs headed by personal names are discussed in §3.5.2). The PL element before MOD_1 indicates indefinite plural (164) while PL before the head is unspecified for definiteness (165 and 166). PL refers to the plural/collective particle pronounced [manˀá] but spelled *mga* following common practice in the Philippines for languages with similar particles (e.g., Tagalog [máŋa]). Both plural markers are optional even when the head is semantically plural (see example 167).

MOD_1 and MOD_2 are two positions where potentially complex modifying elements may occur. The symbol ∈ indicates an enclitic complex consisting of a pronominal genitive enclitic and/or a demonstrative determiner (see below for a discussion of these categories).

When ∈ occurs, it is in the second position in MOD_1. Thus, if MOD_1 consists of a single word, the ∈ complex immediately follows that word (see examples 174–177). When MOD_1 is itself complex (e.g., a Modifier Phrase (see Chapter 4) or a

relative clause (§3.5.4), Є usually occurs after the first element. It is only when the modifier phrase includes an intensity adverb such as *sikad* 'very' initially that Є does not occur in second position. Rather, the intensity adverb and the adjective occur together and the genitive enclitic follows them. But when no MOD_1 is present, both elements of the optional enclitic (Є) complex follow the head.

As mentioned above, Є consists of a genitive enclitic pronoun and/or a demonstrative determiner. Interestingly, the genitive enclitic precedes the demonstrative determiner for all categories except 3rd person plural, *danen*. This may be because *danen* is the only multisyllabic genitive enclitic:

(162) MOD Є LK HEAD
bakod ***ko i*** *na baḷay.* 'my big house (near me)'
bakod ***no an*** *na baḷay* 'your big house (near you)'
bakod ***din ya*** *na baḷay* 'her/his big house (far away)'
etc.

(163) But:
MOD Є LK HEAD
bakod ***i danen*** *na baḷay.* 'their big house (near me)'
bakod ***an danen*** *na baḷay.* 'their big house (near you)'
bakod ***ya danen*** *na baḷay* 'their big house (far away)'

As indicated by the curly brackets ({ }) in (161), MOD_1 plus the optional enclitic complex is in complementary distribution with a demonstrative adjective; both are "optional" and both are followed by the "linker" (LK) *na*. RP_{gen} refers to another Referring Phrase functioning as a "possessor" of the Head.

Table 3.7 presents some examples of basic Referring Phrases (RPs headed by common nouns) with varying configurations of elements.

The MOD_1 position may contain Modifier Phrases (Chapter 4, §4.6), Numeral Phrases (Chapter 4, §4.6.3), quantifiers and free genitive pronouns (§3.4.1), and nominalized verbs or "short" relative clauses (those having no more than one overt argument, which must be pronominal). The MOD_2 position may also contain Modifier Phrases and relative clauses, but less commonly numerals or quantifiers. "Long" relative clauses (those having one overt full RP argument, or more than one overt argument, either pronominal or full RP), may only occur in MOD_2. When two modifiers simultaneously modify the same head, usually one is in MOD_1 and the other in MOD_2 or there are two MOD_2 positions (see examples 167–171). RPs with more than two modifiers modifying a single head are not common but do occur. Usually there can be only one MOD_1, but there can be up to three MOD_2 elements. When a RP has three modifiers then the linker in one of

Table 3.7: Basic Referring Phrases in Kagayanen

CM	PL	$\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{MOD}_1\ \text{Є LK}\\ \text{DEM}\end{matrix}\right\}$	PL	HEAD	Є	LK MOD_2	RP_{GEN}	
0			mga	baḷay house	i			‘the houses’ (absolutive, close to speaker)
ta NABS			mga	baḷay	i			‘the houses’ (non-absolutive, close to speaker)
0		bakod an na big Є LK		baḷay				‘the big house’ (absolutive, not far away)
0				baḷay	an	na bakod LK big		‘the big house’ (absolutive, not far away)
0				baḷay	an danen | Є |	na bakod		‘their big house’ (absolutive, not far away)
0		bakod an danen na big | Є | LK		baḷay				‘their big house’ (absolutive, not far away)
0				baḷay			ta mama NABS man	‘the man’s house’ (absolutive)
ta NABS		bakod na	mga	baḷay		na daan LK old		‘the big old houses’ (non-absolutive)
0		datas gid ya na high INT Є LK		bungyod hill				‘the truly high hill’ (absolutive)
0		uyi na		baḷay				‘this house’ (absolutive)
0	mga	bakod na		baḷay				‘some big houses’ (absolutive)

the linker positions is likely to drop out. Occasionally two MOD_1 elements occur, in which case the first must be a numeral and the second an adjective (173), but this also is not common.

Functionally, modifiers in MOD_1 tend to be non-restrictive, meaning they add important detail about a referent that is sufficiently identified even without the modifier. Modifiers in MOD_2, on the other hand, tend to be restrictive, meaning they delimit the scope of the RP to a particular referent. A full discourse study of the functions of modifiers in these two positions would be necessary to confirm or refute this observation.

The following are a few additional examples of basic RPs from the corpus, with labels indicating the functions of the individual parts, as referenced in the template in (161):

(164) ta mga bakod na baḷay
CM PL MOD_1 Head
ta mga bakod na baḷay[28]
NABS PL big LK house
'some big houses' [BMON-C-05 13.9]

(165) ta biskeg na angin daw darko na mga baḷed
CM MOD_1 Head MOD_1 PL Head
ta biskeg na angin daw darko na mga baḷed
NABS strong LK wind/air and big.PL LK PL wave
'strong wind and big waves' [VPWE-T-01]

(166) ta mga darko na mga kaoy
CM PL MOD_1 PL Head
ta mga darko na mga kaoy
NABS PL big.PL LK PL tree
'some big trees' [JCWE-T-15 4.4]

(167) ∅ darko na daon na ḷangkaw na nipis
CM MOD_1 Head MOD_2 MOD_2
∅ darko na daon na ḷangkaw na nipis
ABS big.PL LK leaf LK long LK thin
'big long thin leaves' [JCWE-T-14 5.2]

[28]The property concept words *bakod* 'big' and *sise/tiset* 'small' may refer to singular or plural items. There are also specialized plural forms of these words—*darko* 'big.PL' (see the following three examples) and *derset/derse* 'small.PL'. This is discussed in more detail in §3.5.6 on number in the Referring Phrase.

(168) bakod na baḷay na sikad dayad

CM MOD_1 Head MOD_2
∅ *bakod na baḷay na sikad dayad*
ABS big LK house LK very good
'a/the big, very nice house' [PBWN-C-12 14.6]

(169) ∅ daon na ḷangkaw na grin

CM Head MOD_2 MOD_2
∅ *daon na ḷangkaw na grin*
ABS leaf LK long LK green
'a/the long green leaf' [DBOE-C-04 1.1]

(170) ta isya na kaoy na bakod na may lungag naan ta puon

CM MOD_1 Head MOD_2 Relative clause
ta isya na kaoy na bakod na may lungag naan ta puon
NABS one LK tree LK big LK EXT.IN hole SPAT.DEF NABS trunk
'one big tree having a hole in its trunk' [CBWN-C-22 4.3]

(171) ∅ sise na lugar na nalibutan ta dagat

CM MOD_1 Head Relative Clause
∅ *sise na lugar na na–libut–an ta dagat*
ABS small LK place LK A.HAP.R–around–APL NABS sea
'a/the small place surrounded by the sea' [VAWL-T-14 8.15]

(172) ∅ yi na bai na sikad gwapa

CM DEM Head MOD_2
∅ *yi na bai na sikad gwapa*
ABS D1ABS LK woman LK very attractive
'this very attractive woman' [PBWN-C-12 19.2]

(173) ta pitto na mga maiseg na mga mama na magpanguḷo ta grupo

CM MOD_1 PL MOD_1 PL Head MOD_2 (Relative cl.)
ta pitto na mga ma–iseg na mga mama na mag–panguḷo ta
NABS seven LK PL ABS–brave LK PL male LK I.IR–leader NABS
grupo
group
'seven brave men who are leaders of groups' [JCWN-T-20 16.7]

(174) ta isya na bai na ame man na katagsa

CM MOD_1 Head MOD_2 (Relative Clause)
ta isya na bai na ame man na katagsa
NABS one LK woman LK 1P.EXCL.GEN too LK cousin
'one woman who is also our cousin' [RZWN-T-02 2.3]

(175) tallo ko nang na mga mangngod na mga derset

CM MOD_1 Є PL Head MOD_2 (Relative cl.)
∅ tallo ko nang na mga mangngod na mga derset
ABS three 1S.GEN only LK PL younger.sibling LK PL small.PL
'just my three younger siblings who are small (ones)' [ETON-C-07 1.3]

(176) ta mga mama nay ya na duma

CM PL MOD_1 Є Head
ta mga mama nay ya na duma
NABS PL male 1P.EXCL.GEN DEF.F LK companion
'our male companions' [EMWN-T-09 6.1]

(177) Darwa ko ya na mga utod

CM MOD_1 Є PL Head
∅ darwa ko ya na mga utod
ABS two 1S.GEN DEF.F LK PL sibling
'my two siblings' [PBWN-C-13 8.3]

The RP_{gen} position may be filled by any genitive case RP, bolded in examples (178)–(180). Only one expression of a possessor/genitive element modifying the head may occur in any RP. In other words, if a full RP_{gen} occurs, enclitic genitives are precluded.

(178) lieg ya **ta bata din**

lieg ya ***ta bata din***
neck DEF.F NABS child 3S.GEN
'the neck **of his child**' [PBWN-C-12 6.8]

(179) ta isya na bakod na bunga **ta isya na buḷak**

ta isya na bakod na bunga ***ta isya na buḷak***
NABS one LK big LK fruit NABS one LK flower
'one big fruit **of one flower (plant)**' [VPWE-T-02 4.1]

(180) ta mga ginikanan man **ta mga bag-o tao na bata**

*ta mga ginikanan man **ta mga bag-o tao na bata***
NABS PL parent too NABS PL new born LK child
'also parents **of newborn children**' [JCWE-T-15 2.2]

MOD_2 does not co-occur with RP_{gen} in the corpus for this study. This is an argument that RP_{gen} may be considered one possible instantiation of MOD_2. However, because MOD_2 + RP_{gen} constructions are (marginally) acceptable to some native speakers, and because the kinds of information in the MOD_2 and RP_{gen} positions are semantically so distinct, we have chosen to treat the two positions as distinct.

Finally, free genitive pronouns can occur in MOD_1 position (181–183).

(181) **ake ya** na duma

ake ya *na duma*
1S.GEN DEF.F LK companion
'**my** companion' [MFWN-T-04 3.5]

(182) **iran nang** na kaugalingen

iran nang *na kaugalingen*
3P.GEN only LK self
'only themselves' [MOOE-C-01 187.1]

Pronominal genitives in MOD_1 often express a contrastive or emphatic sense, as in the second conjunct (RP2) of example (183):

(183) bayo ta iya na mga bataan daw iya man na bayo

[Head [MOD_2]]$_{RP1}$ [[MOD_1] Head]$_{RP2}$
bayo ta iya na mga bata–an daw iya man na bayo
clothes NABS 3S.GEN LK PL child–NR and 3S.GEN too LK clothes
'clothes of her children and HER clothes too' [ECOE-C-01]

Demonstrative adjectives can occur in MOD_1 (184)–(188), or in MOD_2 position (192)–(194). In the following examples, the RP containing a demonstrative is bolded in the text and in its free translation:

(184) **Yi na manakem** lipo na tise, piro tama nadlek ki kanen.

Yi ***na manakem*** *lipo* *na tise,* *piro tama* *na–adlek* *ki*
D1ABS LK older short LK small but many A.HAP.R–afraid OBL.P
kanen.
3S
'**This older person** is short and small, but many are afraid of her.'
[MBON-C-02 2.8]

(185) Piro **yi na mga kabaw** sikad niwang….

Piro ***yi*** ***na mga kabaw*** *sikad niwang….*
but D1ABS LK PL water.buffalo very skinny
'But **these water buffalo** were very skinny…' [PBWN-C-13 10.3]

(186) Tapos, dayon uli mama i daw itanem **yon na buḷak** naan ta may tumbuan din.

Tapos, dayon *uli* *mama i* *daw i–tanem* ***yon*** ***na***
then right.away go.home man DEF.N and T.DEON–plant D3ABS LK
buḷak *naan* *ta* *may* *tumbuan din.*
flower SPAT.DEF NABS EXT.IN window 3S.GEN
'Then the man went home immediately and planted **that flower** where his window was.' [CBWN-C-13 5.7]

(187) Tak uḷa a gapati ta **yon na mga ambaḷ**, gagwa a gid.

Tak *uḷa* *a* *ga–pati* *ta* ***yon*** ***na mga ambaḷ,***
because NEG.R 1S.ABS I.R–believe/obey NABS D3ABS LK PL say
ga–gwa a *gid.*
I.R–out 1S.ABS INT
'Because I did not believe/obey **those words**, I really went out.'
[VAWN-T-16 2.8]

(188) … dḷaga ya gaangep en nakem din ta **yo na mama** daw galiagay danen.

… dḷaga *ya* *ga–angep en nakem* *din* *ta* ***yo*** ***na***
single.woman DEF.F I.R–favor CM innerself 3S.GEN NABS D4ABS LK
mama *daw ga–liag–ay* *danen.*
man and I.R–like–REC 3P.ABS
'... the single woman her inner self began to favor **that man** and they began to like each other.' [CBWN-C-13 5.4]

When a demonstrative occurs in MOD_1, an intensity, clausal or aspectual adverb such as *man* 'also' may occur after the demonstrative (189).[29] Other words, including the enclitic demonstrative determiner, numerals, adjectives, free genitive pronouns or enclitic genitive pronouns do not co-occur with demonstratives in the same Referring Phrase (compare 190 and the ungrammatical or extremely awkward examples in 191):

(189) Ta **yo man na adlaw** sikad kay sadya.
Ta ***yo*** ***man na adlaw*** *sikad kay* *sadya.*
NABS D4ABS too LK day very 1P.EXCL.ABS fun/enjoy
'On **that same day** we were very happy.' [EMWN-T-09 9.2]

(190) Yi man na bayo
Yi *man na bayo*
D41ABS too LK clothes/shirt
'this shirt too'

(191) a. **yi na bayo i* ('this shirt')
b. **yi na darwa na bayo* ('these two shirts')
c. **yi na bayo na darwa* ('these two shirts')
d. **yi ko na bayo* ('this my shirt')
e. **yi na ake na bayo* ('this MY shirt')
f. **yi na bayo ko* ('this my shirt')
g. **yi na sise na bayo* ('this small shirt')
h. **yi na bayo na sise* ('this small shirt')
i. **yi na sise na bayo ko i* ('this my small shirt')
j. **yi na sise ko i na bayo* ('this my small shirt')

A demonstrative may occur in MOD_2 (192–194), rather than MOD_1. An enclitic genitive pronoun, mostly first person singular *ko*, and a postposed adjective may co-occur in the same Referring Phrase (193 and 194), but not a numeral, preposed adjective, free genitive pronoun or an enclitic demonstrative determiner (195). The linker *na* does not occur between the postposed demonstrative and the head since the postposed demonstratives are contractions of the linker *na* plus the basic demonstrative.

[29] We gloss the adverb *man* as 'also', which adequately captures its main function. However, depending on the context it may express the sense of 'again' or 'same' (as in example 189). In other contexts, it may evoke excitement or strong feelings. The same form functions as a conjunction joining two RPs, two clauses or even higher level units. In that usage, it expresses none of the emotional overtones that accompany its adverbial usages.

(192) Manakem **naya** kateḷen.
*Manakem **naya** kateḷ–en.*
older D3ABS itchy–ABS
'**That** older one was very itchy with sores.' [AION-C-01 5.4]

(193) Gumangken ko **nai** gapadugang gid ta abilidad din…
*Gumangken ko **nai** ga–pa–dugang gid ta abilidad din…*
niece/nephew 1S.GEN D1ABS I.R–CAUS–add INT NABS ability 3S.GEN
'**This** nephew of mine really added to his ability…' [JCWB-T-12 5.4]

(194) mangngod ko **nai** na sise
*mangngod ko **nai** na sise*
younger.sibling 1S.GEN D1ABS LK small
'**this** small younger sibling of mine'

(195) a. *darwa ko na mangngod nai ('these my two younger siblings')
b. *sise ko na mangngod nai ('this small my younger sibling')
c. *ake na mangngod nai ('this MY younger sibling')
d. *mangngod ko i nai ('this my younger sibling')

3.5.2 Referring Phrases headed by personal names

Personal names (proper names referring to human beings) require a different RP template than basic RPs, as follows:

(196) RP_{name} = CM_{pn} (PRO_{abs}) Head (Є)

The oblique Case Marker for personal names (CM_{pn}) is *ki*. The absolutive, ergative and genitive cases are unmarked. *ki* contrasts with *ta*, which marks all non-absolutive functions of common nouns (see §3.5.1). The most obvious syntactic difference between basic RPs and RPs headed by personal names is that the latter do not allow modification or full RP possession. As in basic RPs, Є may contain either or both possessive and demonstrative determiners. However, personal names may only be followed by an enclitic possessor in the Є complex if they are being treated as common nouns. For example, one may say *Maria ko* 'my Maria' to distinguish one's own child named Maria from all the other Marias in the community. A plural absolutive pronoun optionally precedes the head is to refer to to the person named in addition to someone else. Table 3.8 illustrates some personal RPs.

The following are some examples from the corpus. In these examples we include a "zero" marker for the absolutive case marker in the RPs being illustrated, though this is not our practice throughout the grammar.

Table 3.8: Referring Phrases headed by personal names

CM_{PN}	PRO_{ABS}	Head	Є	
ki		Maria		'Maria' (oblique)
ki	danen	Maria		'Maria and him/her/them' (oblique)
∅	kyo	Maria		'Maria and you/y'all' (ABS/ERG/GEN))
∅		Maria	ya	'that Maria' (far from speaker and hearer, ABS/ERG/GEN)

(197) Bantayan no **Pedro an** tak manaw a na mamugon ta pagkaan ta.

*∅–Bantay–an no ∅ **Pedro an** tak m–anaw a*
T.IR–watch–APL 2S.ERG ABS Pedro DEF.M because I.IR–walk/go 1S.ABS
na ma–mugon ta pagkaan ta.
LK A.HAP.IR–day.worker NABS food 1P.INCL.GEN
'Watch **Pedro** (while I'm away) because I am leaving to work for our food.' [MBON-C-01 2.3]

(198) Nabaton nay imo na suḷat na padaḷa no **ki Maria** ta pitsa 23 ta Oct.

Na–baton nay ∅ imo na suḷat na ∅–pa–daḷa
A.HAP.R–receive 1P.EXCL.ERG ABS 2S.GEN LK letter LK T.R–CAUS–carry
*no **ki** **Maria** ta pitsa 23 ta Oct.*
2S.ERG OBL.P Maria NABS date 23 NABS October
'We received your letter that you sent **with Maria** on the date of the 23rd in October.' [PBWL-C-04 3.1]

(199) Kamusta nang en **ki danen Maria**.

*Kamusta nang en **ki** **danen Maria**.*
greeting only CM OBL.P 3P Maria
'Greetings **to Maria and companions**.' (The word *nang* 'only' in this example indicates politeness.) [PBWL-C-05 6.1]

(200) Na abot kay en naan ta baḷay, gatingaḷa en **danen Papa** tak ubos kay ta basa.

Na[30] ∅–abot kay en naan ta baḷay, ga–tingaḷa en
LK I.R–arrive 1P.EXCL.ABS CM SPAT.DEF NABS house I.R–wonder CM

danen Papa *tak* *ubos kay* *ta* *basa.*
3P.ABS Papa because all 1P.EXCL.ABS NABS wet
'When we arrived at the house, **Papa and companions** were wondering because all of us were wet.' CBWN-C-10 4.42

3.5.3 Referring Phrases headed by nominalized clauses

Referring Phrases may be headed by nominalized verbs or clauses. The template for such Referring Phrases is the same as that of Basic Referring Phrases (see §3.5.1), with two exceptions: the Head position may itself be syntactically complex, and the final RP_{gen} may be described as $RP_{gen/obl}$. These differences will be discussed below.

We divide this section into two parts: Nominalized clauses functioning as participant nominalizations ("headless relative clauses"), and those functioning as action nominalizations, meaning those that refer to the action itself, rather than any participants in the action. Selected examples are given in Table 3.9. Additional examples from the corpus are given below.

3.5.3.1 Participant nominalizations

The head of a Referring Phrase can be a verb root inflected with certain Transitivity/Modality (TM) affixes (see Chapter 6, §6.5 on verb inflection), to form *participant nominalizations* (Payne 1997: 225). In all such nominalizations, the resulting noun refers to the participant of the activity that would be the absolutive of the verb, given the TM affixes present. Example (201) lists participant nominalizations based on the root *luto* "cook". In-context examples from the corpus are given further below.

(201)

· **TM Value**	**Nominalization**	**Meaning**
ga- I.R	galuto	'someone who cooks'
mag- I.IR	magluto	'someone who will cook'
na- A.HAP.R	naluto	'something already cooked'
		'something accidentally cooked'
		'something that got cooked'
∅-...-an	lutuan	'thing in which something is cooked'/
T.R-...-APL		'place of cooking'

[30]This use of the linker to introduce dependent clauses is discussed in Chapter 12.

[30]The phrase *brato nang* may be considered a lexicalized modifier meaning "inexpensive", though the word *brato* (from Spanish *barato*) alone may also express this meaning in certain contexts.

Table 3.9: Referring Phrases headed by nominalized clauses

CM	$\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{MOD}_1 \in \text{LK} \\ \text{DEM}\end{matrix}\right\}$	PL	Head	$\in$	LK MOD_2	RP_{GEN}	
0		mga	lutu–ón cook–NR	an danen			‘the things they will cook’ (absolutive, not far away)
0		mga	pa–palit T.R–buy	nay an	na brato LK cheap		‘the inexpensive things we bought’ (absolutive, not far away)
0		mga	ka–kita I.EXM–see	an		ki kami OBL.P 1P.EXC	‘the ones who saw us’ (absolutive, not far away)
0		mga	ga–patay I.R–die			ta amay din	‘the ones who killed his father’
0	tanan na all LK		ga–ani I.R–harvest				‘all the ones harvesting/who harvested’ (absolutive)
ta NABS	iran na 3P.GEN LK		na–ani A.HAP.R–harvest				‘their harvested things’ (non-absolutive)
0		mga	dapat imes–én should prepare–NR				‘the things that should be prepared’ (absolutive)
0	tama din na many 3S.GEN LK		imes–én prepare–NR				‘his/her many things to prepare’ (absolutive)

Table 3.10: Referring Phrases headed by nominalized clauses (cont.)

CM	$\left\{\begin{array}{c}\text{MOD}_1 \text{ Є LK} \\ \text{DEM}\end{array}\right\}$	PL	Head	Є	LK MOD_2	RP_{GEN}	
0			imes–én prepare–NR	din 3S.GEN	na tama LK many		‘his/her many things to prepare’ (absolutive)
0	una an na first Є LK		pag–pati NR.ACT–believe			ta mga ittaw	‘the first belief of the people’ (absolutive)
ta NABS	dayad na good LK		pag–-ambaḷ NR.ACT–say			ta English NABS	‘good speaking of English’ (non-absolutive)
0	iran na 3P.GEN LK		pag–pangamuyo NR.ACT–pray			ki yaken OBL.P 1S	‘their praying for me’ (absolutive)
0	iya na 3S.GEN LK		pag–tratar NR.ACT–treat			ki yaken OBL.P 1S	‘his/her way of treating me’ (absolutive)
0			pag–dako NR.ACT–big	din an			‘his/her growing up’ (absolutive)
0	primiro ko na first 1S.GEN LK		pag–sakay NR.ACT–ride			ta iruplano NABS plane	‘my first riding of an airplane’ (absolutive)
0			pag–kanta NR.ACT–sing	din	na dayad LK good		‘his/her good singing’ (absolutive)
0		mga	pag–basa NR.ACT–read			ta mga baluta	‘readings of the ballots’ (absolutive)
0			pag–isab NR.ACT–again	ko 1S.GEN	na dili igo ta ambaḷ ta na Kagayanen		‘my changing what is not correct in our Kagayanen language’ (absolutive)

Transitive realis and irrealis participant nominalizations are formed with the dedicated nominalizers (*<in>* and *-én* respectively) rather than with Inflected Verb forms (see §3.3.9 and §3.3.6).

Since participant nominalizations may have arguments, some linguists may describe them as (headless) relative clauses (see Chapter 12, §12.5). The ambitransitive affixes (*na-* and *ma-*) create a noun that refers to the S or O argument of the verb (*na-* twice in example 202 and once in example 204). Intransitive affixes create a noun that refers to the S (*ga-* in examples 202, 203, 205, and *mag-* in 204). Finally, the applicative plus transitive affixation forms a noun that refers to an applied O argument (207).

(202) Daw oras ta lungi ta ummay o mais, **tanan na naani** dḷeen ta baḷay tag-iya daw magtipon **tanan na mga gaani** daw magsin-ad ta iran na **naani**.

Daw oras ta lungi[31] *ta ummay o mais,* ***tanan na*** if/when time/hour NABS harvest NABS unmilled.rice or corn all LK
na–ani *daḷa–en ta baḷay tag–-iya daw mag–tipon* ***tanan*** A.HAP.R–harvest take–T.IR NABS house owner and I.IR–gather all
na mga ga–ani *daw mag–sin-ad ta iran na*
LK PL I.R–harvest and I.IR–cook.grain NABS 3P.GEN LK
na–ani.
A.HAP.R–harvest

'When it's time to harvest rice or corn, **all that was harvested** is taken to the house of the owner and **all the ones who were harvesting** will gather and will cook some of **their harvested (grain/crop)**.' [VAOE-J-07 3.1]

(203) Pag-abot nay **ta gaubra ta karsada** dayon din angad operator ya daw ambaḷen ta Visaya na ambaḷ...

Pag–-abot nay ***ta ga–ubra ta karsada*** *dayon*
NR.ACT–arrive 1P.EXCL.GEN NABS I.R–work NABS road right.away
din angad operator ya daw ambaḷ–en ta Visaya na ambaḷ...
3S.ERG look.up operator DEF.F and say–T.IR NABS Visayan LK say

'When we arrived at **the one working on the road**, then he looked up at

[31]The verb *lungi* refers to collecting ears of corn, which doesn't really collocate with *ummay* 'unmilled rice'. It seems the author made a mistake here, and first said *lungi ta ummay* 'rice' and then repaired by adding *o mais* 'or corn.' Rice does not grow in Cagayancillo, so corn is the staple crop.

the operator (of the construction machinery) and said in the Visayan language…' [EFWN-T-09 3.1]

(204) Uḷa en **magdamag ta mga napatay**.
Uḷa en ***mag–damag ta mga na–patay***
NEG.R CM I.IR–wake NABS PL A.HAP.R–die
'There was **no one who will attend the wake** of **the ones who had died**.' [JCWN-T-21 12.15]

(205) Daw mga pamilya **ta napatay an** gasake ta imes **ta mga ubraén** paryas ta kaoy na buaten na kabaong.
Daw mga pamilya ***ta na–patay an*** *ga–sake ta imes* ***ta***
and PL family NABS A.HAP.R–die DEF.M I.R–busy NABS prepare NABS
mga ubra–én *paryas ta kaoy na buat–en na kabaong.*
PL work–NR like NABS wood LK make–T.IR LK coffin
'And the family **of the one who died** are busy preparing **for the work that will be done**, such as the wood to make a coffin.' [CBWE-C-05 3.1]

(206) Mga bai an a gaimes ta kan-enén ta **mga ittaw na gatabang ta ubra** daw kan-enén **ta mga gaambag**.
Mga bai an a ga–imes ta kan-en–én ta ***mga***
PL woman DEF.M CTR I.R–prepare NABS cooked.rice–NR NABS PL
ittaw na ga–tabang ta ubra *daw kan-en–én* ***ta mga***
person LK I.R–help NABS work and cooked.rice–NR NABS PL
ga–ambag.
I.R–donate
'The women prepare the food to be eaten by **the people who help in the work** and the food to be eaten by **the ones who donate**.' [CBWE-C-05 4.1]

(207) **Uḷa-uḷaan an** pirmi tampek ta pantad.
Uḷa~-uḷa–an ***an*** *pirmi tampek ta pantad.*
RED~spill/drain/pour–APL DEF.M always pack.on NABS sand
'Sand was always packed on **where liquid drains out**.' [JCWN-T-21 12.20]

3.5.3.2 Action nominalizations

As discussed in §3.3.11, the prefix *pag-* forms action nominalizations. The resulting form does not refer to a participant in the action, but to the action itself. As

with participant nominalizations described in the previous section, action nominalizations may have arguments, and thus may be considered non-finite nominalized or headless relative clauses:

(208) Yon **una an na pagpati ta mga ittaw**.
Yon ***una an*** ***na pag–pati*** ***ta*** ***mga ittaw.***
D3ABS first DEF.M LK NR.ACT–believe NABS PL person
'That was **the first belief of people**.' [JCOE-C- 4.1]

(209) Daw tudluan ta **dayad na pag-ambaḷ ta Inglis**.
Daw Ø–tudlo–an *ta* ***dayad na pag–-ambaḷ ta*** ***Inglis.***
and T.IR–teach–APL NABS good LK NR.ACT–say NABS English
'And teach (them) **good speaking in English**.' [LBOP-C-03 3.2]

(210) … daw namatian man ta Dios **iran na pagpangamuyo**.
… daw na–mati–an *man* *ta* *Dios* ***iran*** ***na pag–pangamuyo.***
and A.HAP.R–hear–APL EMPH NABS God 3P.GEN LK NR.ACT–pray
'… and God heard **their praying**.' [CBWN-C-13 2.4]

(211) … **iya na pagtrato ki yaken** paryo ta bata din.
… ***iya*** ***na pag–trato*** ***ki*** ***yaken*** *paryo ta* *bata din.*
3S.GEN LK NR.ACT–treat OBL.P 1S same NABS child 3S.GEN
'… **her way of treating me** was like the same as her child.' [DDWN-C-01 7.3]

(212) Pamikawan bata an aged magdayad **pagdako din an**.
Pa–mikaw–an *bata* *an* *aged* *mag–dayad* ***pag–dako***
T.R–food.offering–APL child DEF.M so.that I.IR–good NR.ACT–big
din ***an.***
3S.GEN DEF.M
'A child has a food offering done (for him/her) so that **his/her growing up** will be good…' [JCWE-T-16 2.4]

(213) Nḷaman nyo yi gid **primiro ko na pagsakay ta iruplano**.
Na–aḷam–an *nyo* *yi* *gid* ***primiro ko*** ***na pag–sakay***
A.HAP.R–know–APL 2P.ERG D1ABS INT first 1S.GEN LK NR.ACT–ride
ta ***iruplano.***
NABS airplane
'You know that this is **my first riding in an airplane**.' [VAWN-T-15 2.3]

3.5.4 Referring Phrases containing relative clauses

MOD_1 may contain a relative clause consisting only of a verb and up to one pronominal argument. Such "short" relative clauses may also appear in MOD_2 (217). In the following examples, the short relative clauses are given in brackets. Additional discussion and examples of relative clauses is provided in Chapter 12, §12.5:

(214) **pausog din** na ittaw
*[**pa–usog** **din**] na ittaw*
CAUS–stomach.ache 3S.GEN LK person
'the person **whom s/he caused to have a stomach ache**' [VAOE-J-04]

(215) ta **istaran nay** na baḷay
*ta [**istar–an nay**] na baḷay*
NABS live–NR 1P.EXCL.GEN LK house
'the house **that we live in**' [DBWN-T-22 4.5]

(216) ta **nadakep danen** na mga Kagayanen
*ta [**na–dakep** **danen**] na mga Kagayanen*
NABS A.HAP.R–catch 3P.GEN LK PL Kagayanen
'the Kagayanens **whom they were able to capture**' [JCWN-T-13 5.1]

(217) **iatag ki kyo** na mga bagay na **kinangḷanen nyo**
*[**i–atag** **ki** **kyo**] na mga bagay na [**kinangḷan–en nyo**]*
T.DEON–give OBL.P 2P.ABS LK PL thing LK need–T.IR 2P.GEN
'things **to give you that you need**' [ETOB-C-01 1.3]

As in basic RPs, a plural marker *mga* may occur before the relative clause in MOD_1 indicating indefinite plural (218 and 219).

(218) Tenged pila nang pa na mga ittaw gaistar an dya yon na asta nang pangappat na grado **mga gaiskwila an** na mga kabataan.
Tenged pila nang pa na mga ittaw ga–istar an dya yon na
because few only INC LK PL person I.R–live SPAT.DEF D4LOC D3ABS LK
*asta nang pang–appat na grado **mga** [**ga–iskwila an**] na mga*
until only ORD–four LK grade PL I.R–school DEF.M LK PL
ka–bata–an.
NR–child–NR
'Because still only a few people live there, that is the reason that the

children **who are going to school** are only up to fourth grade.' [DDWN-C-01 3.5]

(219) Tapos papabasa a din ta **mga natapos an danen** na ubra
*Tapos pa–pa–basa a din ta **mga [na–tapos an***
then T.R–CAUS–read 1S.ABS 3S.ERG NABS PL A.HAP.R–finish DEF.M
***danen]** na ubra*
3S.ERG LK work
'Then she had me read the tasks **they already finished**.' [DDWN-C-01 8.4]

Longer relative clauses—those containing at least one full RP—must occur in MOD_2. In example (220), the relative clause (bracketed) contains the RP *ta ummay na inog* 'ripe rice' and so it must follow the Head, *baboy an* 'the pig':

(220) Na yaken gapanaog nakilipan ko baboy an **na gadḷagan munta ta ummay na inog**.
*Na yaken ga–panaog na–kilip–an ko baboy an **na [***
LK 1S.ABS I.R–go.down A.HAP.R–glimpse–APL 1S.ERG pig DEF.M LK
ga–dḷagan munta ta ummay na inog].
I.R–run going NABS unmilled.rice LK ripe
'When I went down I saw out of the corner of my eye the pig **that was going to the ripe rice**.' [RCON-L-01 1.1.]

(221) Tudluan ta pagpasalamat ta Ginuo ta mga betang **na paatag din ki kiten**.
∅–Tudlo–an ta pag–pa–salamat ta Ginuo ta mga
T.IR–teach–APL NABS NR.ACT–CAUS–thanks NABS Lord NABS PL
*betang **na [pa–atag din ki kiten].***
things LK T.R–give 3S.ERG OBL.P 1P.INCL
'Teach them (small children) to give thanks to the Lord for the things **that he gives us**.' [ETOP-C-10 1.2]

(222) … paumaw kanen ta pirates daw painsaan daw indi gabatang makina ya na **patago ta nanay din**.
… pa–umaw kanen ta pirates daw pa–insa–an daw indi
T.R–call 3S.ABS NABS pirates and T.R–ask–APL if/when where
*ga–batang makina ya na [**pa–tago ta nanay din].***
I.R–put motor DEF.F LK T.R–hide NABS mother 3S.GEN
'… the pirates called him and asked where the motor **that his mother hid was placed**.' [BCWN-C-04 7.1]

3.5.5 Case in Referring Expressions

There are three grammatical values that comprise the category of "case" in Kagayanen Referring Phrases. These are *absolutive*, *ergative/genitive* and *oblique*. These cases are expressed by prenominal case markers (CM), or zero. The reason we consider these forms to express case is that, in their usual usages, they reflect a grammatical relationship between the RP and the main predicator in their clause. A traditional grammar would say that the predicator (usually a verb) *governs* the appearance of these prenominal markers. For our purposes, we do not take a stand on whether the inflected Verb governs the prenominal case marker (including zero), or whether the choice of nominal category as expressed by prenominal case markers governs the form of the verb—the directionality of the relationship is not crucial. What is crucial is that particular arrangements of categories expressed by prenominal case markers correlate with particular verb forms. Thus we say that there is a structural link or "grammatical relation" between the two. In Chapter 10 we discuss the system of organizing grammatical relations in more detail. In this section we describe the case forms, and illustrate their usages from the text corpus.

For basic Referring Phrases (those not headed by personal names), ergative/-genitive and oblique cases are isomorphic (identical in form), expressed by the prenominal case marker *ta*, while absolutive case is zero-marked. For RPs headed by personal names (names referring to people), absolutive and ergative/genitive are isomorphic (zero-marked), and oblique case is marked by the prenominal case marker *ki*. Justification for these terms is provided in more detail in Chapter 10, §10.3. Personal and demonstrative pronouns also appear in absolutive, and non-absolutive forms (see §3.4, Table 3.2). Personal pronouns functioning in Oblique roles are the same as the absolutive pronouns, but are preceded by the oblique marker *ki* (see Table 3.2 in §3.4.1 for the complete paradigm of personal pronouns). Table 3.1 above displays the prenominal case markers, repeated in Table 3.11 for convenience.

Table 3.11: Prenominal case markers

	Absolutive	Ergative/Genitive	Oblique
Common nouns	∅	ta	ta
Personal names	∅	∅	ki
Pronouns	∅	∅	ki

The following examples illustrate the uses of the three cases in various contexts:

(223) *ta* marking non-absolutive common nouns
Daw dili pa gusto **ta mga ginikanan**, mama i masirbi anay **ta baḷay ta bai**.

Daw dili pa gusto ***ta mga ginikanan****, mama i*
if/when NEG.IR INC want NABS PL parent male DEF.N
ma–sirbi anay ***ta baḷay ta bai****.*
A.HAP.IR–serve first NABS house NABS woman

'If **the parents** (RP ergative) still do not want (their children to marry each other), the man will serve in **the house** (RP oblique) **of the woman** (RP genitive).' [DBOE-C-01 1.6]

(224) … gaimes **ta sidda** sawa din an na bai.

… ga–imes ***ta sidda*** *sawa din an na bai.*
I.R–prepare NABS fish spouse 3S.GEN DEF.M LK woman

'(When he came home having fished already,) his wife prepared **the/some fish** (RP oblique).' [CBON-C-02 2.3]

(225) Pasaway a **ta bai** na duma nay…

Pa–saway a ***ta bai*** *na duma nay…*
T.R–correct 1S.ABS NABS woman LK companion 1P.EXCL.GEN

'**The woman** (RP ergative) who was our companion corrected me…' [CBWN-C-10 4.14]

(226) *ki* marking oblique personal names
Nabaton nay imo na suḷat na padaḷa no **ki Maria** ta pitsa 23 ta Oct.

Na–baton nay imo na suḷat na ∅–pa–daḷa no
A.HAP.R–receive 1P.EXCL.ERG 2GEN LK letter LK T.R–CAUS–carry 2SERG
ki Maria *ta pitsa 23 ta Oct.*[32]
OBL.P Maria NABS date 23 NABS October

'We received your letter that you sent **with Maria** (RP oblique) on the date of the 23rd in October.' [PBWL-C-04 3.1]

[32]This example is from a letter, and reflects what the writer actually wrote, for example, "23 ta Oct.".

(227) *ki* marking third person oblique pronoun
… danen i Papa daw Mama gatagad **ki kanen** na uḷa pa kuḷi.
… danen i Papa daw Mama ga–tagad ***ki kanen*** *na uḷa pa*
3P.ABS DEF.N Papa and Mama I.R–wait OBL.P 3S LK NEG.R INC
ka–uḷi.
I.EXM–go.home
'Papa and Mama were waiting **for him** (RP oblique) when he had not yet come home.' [CBWN-C-18 4.1]

The absolutive case is unmarked for common nouns and personal names. Since both the actor (ergative) personal name and the absolutive undergoer are unmarked, when both occur in one clause, their roles are distinguished only by order (238)—the Actor is always first and the Undergoer second.

(228) Zero marking on absolutive actor common noun
Lugay gaambaḷ **mga ittaw an**, "Sunog! Sunog!"
Lugay ga–ambaḷ ∅ ***mga ittaw an****, "Sunog! Sunog!"*
long.time I.R–say ABS PL person DEF.M burn burn
'Then **the people** said, "Fire! Fire!"' [RZWN-T-02 2.5]

(229) Zero marking on absolutive undergoer common noun
Pagkita ko ta ittaw ya, paanggat ko **bata i** ta tag-iya ta lansa na manaog.
Pag–kita ko ta ittaw ya, pa–anggat ko
NR.ACT–see 1S.GEN NABS person DEF.M T.R–ask.to.accompany 1S.ERG
∅ ***bata i*** *ta tag-iya ta lansa na m–panaog.*
ABS child DEF.N NABS owner NABS launch LK I.V.IR–go.down
'When/after I saw the person, I asked **the child** of the owner of the motorized launch to accompany me to go down (off the boat).' [DBWN-T-23 9.2]

(230) Zero marking on absolutive location/recipient common noun (applicative construction)
Tapos paatagan din **mama ya** ta buḷak …
Tapos pa–atag–an din ∅ ***mama ya*** *ta buḷak …*
then T.R–give–APL 3S.ERG ABS man DEF.F NABS flower
'Then she gave **the man** a flower.'

(231) Zero marking on absolutive location common noun (applicative construction)
… daw pailingan danen **yo na lungag** ….
*… daw pa–iling–an danen ∅ **yo** **na lungag** ….*
and T.R–go–APL 3P.ERG ABS D4ABS LK hole
'…and they went to **that hole**…' [ETON-C-07 5.1]

(232) Zero marking on absolutive actor personal name
Mugtaw kaw tak guli **Maria i**.
*M–bugtaw kaw tak ga–uli ∅ **Maria i**.*
I.V.IR–wake.up 2S.ABS because I.R–go.home ABS.P Maria DEF.N
'Wake up because **Maria** came home.' [CBWN-C-19 5.2]

(233) Zero marking on absolutive undergoer personal name
Nuḷog **Pedro ya.**
*Na–uḷog ∅ **Pedro ya.***
A.HAP.R–fall ABS.P Pedro DEF.F
'**Pedro** fell (off a carabao).' [RCON-L-02 2.15]

(234) … pakapkap din **Maria an**.
*… pa–kapkap din ∅ **Maria an**.*
T.R–feel 3S.ERG ABS.P Maria DEF.M
'… he felt **Maria**.' [LGON-L-01 7.12]

(235) Zero marking on absolutive location personal name (applicative construction)
… na nakamang din bayo ta Pedro, pasuot din daw ilingan dya **Maria i** ta selled din ya.
… na na–kamang din bayo ta Pedro, pa–suot din daw
when A.HAP.R–get 3S.ERG clothes NABS Pedro T.R–wear 3S.ERG and
…–iling–an[33] *dya ∅ **Maria i** ta selled din ya.*
T.R–go–APL D4LOC ABS.P Maria DEF.N NABS inside 3S.GEN DEF.F
'… when he had gotten the clothes of Pedro, he put them on and went there to **Maria** in her room.' [LGON-L-01 7.3]

[33] Sometimes after the conjunction *daw* the prefix of the following verb drops off. In this example the verb *pa–iling–an*, which is realis, becomes *iling–an* which looks like the irrealis form of the same verb. The initial vowel also may drop off, as in this example, leaving *lingan* as the surface form. This tendency to drop affixes is described in Chapter 6, §6.6.

(236) Zero marking on ergative personal name
… daw papayapunan man **Manang** kanen an.
*… daw pa–pa–yapun–an man ∅ **Manang** kanen an.*
and T.R–CAUS–supper–APL too ERG.P older.sister 3S.ABS DEF.M
'… and **Manang** fed him supper.' [CBWN-C-18 3.1]

(237) Zero marking on genitive personal name
Pagsabat ko namatian ko kagi **Manang** … na gainsa ki yaken daw kamusta a kon.
*Pag–sabat ko na–mati–an ko kagi ∅ **Manang***
NR.ACT–answer 1S.ERG A.HAP.R–hear–APL 1S.ERG voice GEN.P older.sister
… na ga–insa ki yaken daw kamusta a kon.
LK I.R–ask OBL.P 1S if/when greet 1S.ABS HSY
'When I answered (the telephone) I heard the voice **of Manang** … asking me how I am.' [CBWN-C-22 2.8]

(238) Zero marking on ergative and absolutive personal names
Pasugo **Manang Pedro** an na mandok.
*Pa–sugo ∅ **Manang** ∅ **Pedro** an na m–sandok.*
T.R–order ERG.P older.sister ABS.P Pedro DEF.M LK I.V.IR–carry.water
'**Older-sister** ordered **Pedro** to carry water.'

Though there are no case markers preceding either of the core arguments in (238), the interpretation is unambiguous as to who is ordering whom to carry water. First, there is a strong preference for ergative arguments to precede other arguments, especially when proper names are involved. Second, the demonstrative determiner *an*, though not required, reinforces the idea that Pedro is the absolutive argument, therefore the Patient/Causee. Third, pragmatically a younger person (Pedro) could not conceivably order his older sister to do something.

Personal pronouns and enclitics also distinguish all three cases. The demonstratives only distinguish absolutive and non-absolutive cases. See §3.4 for a description and exemplification of the cases of the various types of pronouns.

3.5.6 Number

Referring Phrases are optionally marked for plural depending on what type of noun functions as the Head. Common nouns are optionally marked for plural with the particle *mga*. Example (239) describes a marriage arranged by the parents. Note that the fathers and mothers are marked as plural with *mga* in the

first clause, but the fathers and mothers are not marked as plural in the second clause. In this context, it is understood that each child has a mother and a father and these are the ones referred to in the second clause. Including *mga* in the second instance of "fathers and mothers" would seem redundant.

(239) Plural marker with common noun
… **mga tatay daw nanay** may kasugtanan na darwa na bata magsawaay danen daw may idad en na usto. Piro, **tatay daw nanay** ta **mga bata** na darwa may kundisyunis.

*… **mga tatay daw nanay** may kasugtanan na darwa na bata*
PL father and mother EXT.IN agreeement LK two LK child
mag–sawa–ay danen daw may idad en na usto.
I.IR–spouse–REC 3P.ABS if/when EXT.IN age cm LK proper/sufficient
*Piro, **tatay daw nanay** ta **mga bata** na darwa may kundisyunis.*
but father and mother NABS PL child LK two EXT.IN qualifications
'**Fathers and mother**s have an agreement that two children will marry each other when the age is sufficient. But **the fathers and mothers** of **the two children** had qualifications.' [HCOE-J-02 3.2-3]

In conversation the plural marker is often left out, especially when plurality is obvious. For example, in (240) the RP *ittaw i na malain* 'people who are bad' has no plural marker but it is obvious that this is plural from the 3rd person plural pronoun *danen* after the verb referring to the same people.

(240) Tapos na gakilem en **ittaw i na malain** gapanaik **danen** ta isya na baḷay …

*Tapos na ga–kilem en **ittaw i na ma–lain** ga–panaik **danen***
then LK I.R–night CM person DEF.N LK ABS–bad[34] I.R–go.up 3P.ABS
ta isya na baḷay …
NABS one LK house
'Then when it became night **the people who are bad** they went up to one house…' [BCWN-C-02 3.5]

Personal names can be marked for plural with plural pronouns, in which case the RP refers to the person named and some group of associates, for example, *danen Maria* 'Maria and them/family/companions/associates', *danen Papa* 'Dad and

[34]The *ma–* prefix here is identical to the irrealis happenstantial prefix. However, this is not the happenstantial prefix. See the discussion in Chapter 4, §4.3.1 on the use of the prefix *ma-* to mark property concept words that refer to permanent or inherent properties.

them/family/companions/associates' (see §3.5.2, examples 199 and 200). Referring Phrases can also be pluralized with numerals, quantifiers, collective nouns, and with two adjectives that have specialized plural forms – *sise/siset* 'small', *derse/derset* 'small.PL' (241), and *bakod* 'big', *darko* 'big.PL' (examples 242 and 243). Collections or groups can also be specified morphologically, for example, *bata* 'child', *bataan* 'group of children usually with the same parents' *kabataan* 'groups or many children usually having different parents' (see §3.3.5 above). The plural marker *mga* is optional when there is a plural form of a numeral, quantifier or adjective:

(241) Plural form of an adjective
Tapos lungagan ta **derset na lungag** para makasingngaw daw magsikaḷ waig an.
Tapos ∅–lungag–an ta ***derset na lungag*** *para maka–singngaw*
then T.IR–hole–APL NABS small.PL LK hole PURP I.HAP.IR–evaporate
daw mag–sikaḷ waig an.
if/when I.IR–boil water DEF.M
'Then make **small holes** (in the can) for the purpose of the water evaporating out when boiling.' [ETOP-C-11 1.7]

(242) … dili pa kuḷi tenged ta biskeg na angin daw **darko na mga** baḷed.
… dili pa ka–uḷi tenged ta biskeg na angin daw ***darko***
NEG.IR INC I.EXM–go.home because NABS strong LK wind and big.PL
na mga *baḷed.*
LK PL wave
'… (they) cannot go home because of strong wind and **big waves**.' [VPWE-T-01 2.8]

(243) Unsi bilog na **darko na sidda** igo nang layungan ta appat na bataan.
Unsi bilog na ***darko na sidda*** *igo nang ∅–layung–an*
eleven round LK big.PL LK fish right just T.IR–carry.on.pole–APL
ta appat na bata–an.
NABS four LK child–NR
'Eleven **big fish** is just right for four children to carry between them (on a pole over the shoulders).' [EFWN-T-11 16.3]

(244) Numeral
Sampuḷo daw annem na bḷangay naan man dya.
Sampuḷo daw annem na bḷangay *naan* *man dya.*
ten and six LK 2.mast.boat SPAT.DEF too D4LOC
'**Ten and six (sixteen) two-masted boats** were there too.' [VAWN-T-18 3.2]

(245) Quantifier
May bandilyo na **tanan na ittaw** magpaindyiksyon naan ta Health Center.
May *bandilyo* *na* ***tanan na ittaw*** *mag–pa–indyiksyon*
EXT.IN public.announcement LK all LK person I.IR–CAUS–injection
naan *ta* *Health Center.*
SPAT.DEF NABS Health Center
'There was a public announcement that **all people** will have themselves injected at the Health Center.' [JCWN-T-21 7.2]

(246) Collective noun
Daw may saḷa ka na dili matuman **iran na kasuguan** may bunaḷ …
Daw *may* *saḷa* *ka* *na dili* *ma–tuman*
if/when EXT.IN mistake/wrong 2S.ABS LK NEG.IR A.HAP.IR–fulfill/obey
iran ***na ka–sugu–an*** *may* *bunaḷ …*
3P.GEN LK NR–command–NR EXT.IN whip
'If you have mistake/wrong that does not fulfill **their commands** there will be a whipping…' [BBON-C-03 1.6]

(247) **Kaluluan** nay ya gapinsar daw ino iran na pagbuaten
Ka–lulo–an *nay* *ya* *ga–pinsar daw* *ino* *iran* *na*
NR–lulo–NR 1P.EXCL.GEN DEF.F I.R–think if/when what 3P.GEN LK
pag–buat–en
NR.ACT–do/make–T.IR
'Our ancestors thought about what they will do…' [EMWN-T-07 3.3]

3.5.7 Definiteness: The demonstrative determiners

Kagayanen has three demonstrative determiners *i*, *an*, and *ya* that occur in the RP as part of the enclitic complex we designate as "Ɛ" (see the template in example (161), and Table 3.7). If the Head is a common noun, the determiners indicate that

it is definite, in a specific Kagayanen sense,[35] and specify its location in space and/or time. The determiner *i* 'DEF.N' indicates that the referent is close to the speaker or current in time, *an* 'DEF.M' indicates it is nearby in the area and/or further away in time, and *ya* 'DEF.F' indicates that it is far away, out of sight or more distant in time. Absolutive nouns frequently occur with a determiner, but not obligatorily. RPs in all other roles can also occur with these forms. In other words, these are not case markers (contra Harmon 1977). The demonstrative determiners can also occur on genitive and oblique common nouns (255–260). Any common noun that occurs clause finally preferentially takes a determiner (see example 249 and many others below). The ergative element is usually already introduced into the story and so does not need to be marked with a definite marker. However, sometimes a definite marker does occur in an ergative RP (251–253). There are also discourse functions for *i*, *an*, and *ya* that involve staging of participants (Pebley 1999b). They cannot occur with other demonstrative elements in the same RP.

In addition to their usages in RPs headed by common nouns, the demonstrative determiners also occur when the Head is an absolutive proper name or absolutive free personal pronoun. When the RP head is a proper name or personal pronoun, the three determiners do not indicate definiteness since these are already definite. Rather they indicate only the location in space and time (see examples 249, and 253–256).

Phonologically, the demonstrative determiners are enclitics, and thus exhibit initially geminate transition consonants in certain environments (see Chapter 2, §2.6.4). Pebley (1999b) provides extensive discussion of the discourse functions of the demonstrative determiners in Kagayanen. The following are a few contrasting examples of demonstrative determiners from the corpus:

(248) Demonstrative determiner on absolutive common noun
Gapanaw kon en **bai ya** na magmugon.
Ga–panaw kon en ***bai ya*** *na mag–mugon.*
I.R–walk/go HSY INC woman DEF.F LK I.IR–day.worker
'**The woman** left to work at a daily wage job, I'm told.' [MBON-C-01 2.5]

[35] Terms such as "definite" and "identifiable" as they are commonly used for Indo-European languages do not correspond directly to the pragmatic function of these determiners in Kagayanen. Pebley (1999b) describes their functions in detail from a discourse perspective. For the purposes of this grammar, however, we consider "definite" to reasonably evoke the pragmatic sense that these determiners impart.

(249) Daw iling sa di umawen **bai ya** daw **mama ya**?
*Daw iling sa di umaw–en **bai** **ya** daw **mama ya**?*
if/when like D4NABS RQ call–T.IR womanDEF.F and man DEF.F
'If it is like that, shouldn't you call both **the woman** and **the man**?' [BGON-L-01 8.1]

(250) Patakked daen **tampara an** ta iran na mata daw magtugpa ta lunday.
*Pa–takked daen **tampara an** ta iran na mata daw*
T.R–attach 3P.ERG goggles DEF.M NABS 3P.GEN LK eye and
mag–tugpa ta lunday.
I.IR–jump.down NABS outrigger.canoe
'They put **the goggles** on their eyes and jumped out of the outrigger canoe.' [JPWN-L-01 4.3]

(251) Demonstrative determiner on ergative common noun
Piro uḷa ki kaisturyaay tak ambaḷ **ta bai ya** dili kon kaḷa kaon daw Manang.
*Piro uḷa ki ka–isturya–ay tak ambaḷ **ta** **bai***
but NEG.R 1P.INCL.ABS I.EXM–talk–REC because say NABS woman
***ya** dili kon kaḷa kaon daw Manang.*
DEF.F NEG.IR HSY know 2S.ABS and older.sister
'But we did not talk with each other because **the woman** said (she) did not know you and Older sister.' [CBWl-C-07 3.2]

(252) Ambaḷ **ta mga umang an** na duma, "Ino ka man i imo?"
*Ambaḷ **ta** **mga umang** **an** na duma, "Ino ka man i*
say NABS PL hermit.crab DEF.M LK other what 2S.ABS EMPH ATT
imo?"
EMPH
'**The other hermit crabs** said, "What are you really?"' (This emphatic question is similar to English "Who do you think you are?")[JCON-L-08 19.5]

(253) … tak uḷa kon nalam-ed ta miad **ta bekkessan ya**.
*… tak uḷa kon na–lam-ed ta miad **ta** **bekkessan***
because NEG.R HSY A.HAP.R–swallow NABS good NABS snake
***ya**.*
DEF.F
'… because, they say, **the snake** did not swallow (it) well/completely.'

(This text is about the belief that a lunar eclipse is cause by a big snake swallowing the moon.) [JCOE-C-03 4.6b]

(254) On non-absolutive Undergoer, common nouns
Daw uḷa don daen tatay daw nanay din, kanen gasikaso **ta mga mangngod din an**…

Daw uḷa don daen tatay daw nanay din, kanen
if/when NEG.R D3LOC 3P.ABS father and mother 3S.GEN 3S.ABS
ga–asikaso ***ta mga mangngod din an…***
I.R–take.care NABS PL younger.sibling 3S.GEN DEF.M
'When her father and mother are not there, she takes care of **her younger siblings**.' [RZWE-J-01 9.9]

(255) On genitive common noun
Gani, papriso amay **ta bata ya**.

Gani, pa–priso amay ***ta bata ya.***
so T.R–prisoner father NABS child DEF.F
'So, the father **of the child** was put in prison.' [PBWN-C-12 12.6]

(256) On oblique common noun
Gasinggit a **ta duma ko ya**.

Ga–singgit a ***ta duma ko ya.***
I.R–shout 1SABS NABS companion 1SGEN DEF.F
'I shouted **to my companion**.' [DBON-C-08 2.8]

(257) … isya a nang naan **ta baḷay i**.

… isya a nang naan ***ta baḷay i.***
one 1S.ABS only SPAT.DEF NABS house DEF.N
'… I am/was the only one **in the house**.' [CBWN-C-22 2.10]

(258) Ensan ka nang en Mari ii naan **ta kusina an**.

Ensan ka nang en Mari ii naan ***ta kusina an.***
D2LOC.PR 2S.ABS only/just CM friend urine SPAT.DEF NABS kitchen DEF.M
'… there you just urinate in the kitchen.' (Since the floors are made of bamboo with spaces between, then one can urinate in the kitchen. This was when the restrooms were outhouses and so some would urinate in the kitchen at night, or when it was not convenient to go to the outhouse.) [CBWN-C-13 6.10]

(259) Kalibangbang ya dayon man a suklip naan **ta pagang ya**. Adlek man kanen an. Indangan ya a dayon man seddep naan **ta bato ya**.

Kalibangbang ya dayon man a suklip naan ***ta pagang*** butterfly DEF.F right.away also CTR insert SPAT.DEF NABS coral ***ya****. Adlek man kanen an. Indangan ya a dayon man* DEF.F afraid also 3S.ABS DEF.M Surgeonfish DEF.F CTR right.away also *seddep naan* ***ta bato ya.***
go.under SPAT.DEF NABS rock DEF.F

'Butterfly fish immediately went between the coral. S/he was also afraid. Surgeonfish immediately went **under the rock**.' [JCON-L-07 4.10-12]

(260) Ibalik no kallot an **ta banggay an** daw betangan eman ta dagat ta appat na kilem.

I–balik no kallot an ***ta banggay an*** *daw* T.DEON–return 2S.ERG wild.cassava DEF.M NABS trough DEF.M and *betang–an eman ta dagat ta appat na kilem.*
put–APL again.as.before NABS sea NABS four LK night

'You should return the wild cassava **to the trough** and put it again as before in seawater for four nights.' [JCWE-L-32 5.14]

(261) On non-absolutive instruments
Dakepen ta kaw daw pakpaken ko tudtod no an **ta bato i**.

Dakep–en ta kaw daw pakpak–en ko tudtod no an catch–T.IR 1S.ERG 2S.ABS and pound.on–T.IR 1S.ERG back 2S.GEN DEF.M ***ta bato i****.*
NABS rock DEF.N

'I will catch you and pound on your back **with the rock**.' [CBWN-C-16 9.14]

(262) On proper names
Bantayan no **Pedro an** tak manaw a na mamugon ta pagkaan.

Bantay–an no ***Pedro an*** *tak m–panaw a na* watch–APL 2S.ERG Pedro DEF.M because I.V.IR–go/walk 1S.ABS LK *ma–mugon ta pag–kaan.*
A.HAP.IR–day.worker NABS NR.ACT–eat

'Watch **Pedro** because I am leaving to do day labor for food.' [MBON-C-01 2.3]

(263) **Manong ya** patay en.

Manong ***ya*** *patay en.*
older.brother DEF.F dead CM
'**Older brother** is dead now.' [CBWN-C-22 13.2]

(264) On free absolutive personal pronouns
Tangkisan **kanen ya** ta ame na duma.

...–Tangkis–an ***kanen ya*** *ta ame na duma.*
T.R–grin–APL 3SABS DEF.F NABS 1PEXCL.GEN LK companion
'Our companion grinned **at him**.' [NFWN-T-01 2.14]

(265) Pasugo **yaken i** ta ake na nanay mangaoy para sunggan.

Pa–sugo ***yaken i*** *ta ake na nanay ma–ng–kaoy para*
T.R–order 1S.ABS DEF.N NABS 1S.GEN LK mother A.HAP.IR–PL–wood for
sunggan.
firewood
'My mother ordered **me** to gather wood for firewood.' [NFWN-T-01 2.2]

The demonstrative determiners are homophonous with the intensity and attitude adverbs (see Chapter 4, §4.7.4 on second-position adverbs). However, the adverbs are intoned differently. Also, the adverbs distribute on the clause level, rather than the RP level. The determiner *an* happens to be homophonous with the shortened form of *naan* the definite location marker:

(266) **An** kay dya gigma.

An *kay dya ga–igma.*
SPAT.DEF 1P.EXCL.ABS D4LOC I.R–lunch
'**There** we had lunch.' [BMON-C-05 8.6]

(267) Tabangan a no tak yaken i pila adlaw en **an** gettek ta sidda i.

∅–Tabang–an a no tak yaken i pila adlaw en
T.IR–help–APL 1S.ABS 2S.ERG because 1S.ABS DEF.N few sun/day CM
an *gettek ta sidda i.*
SPAT.DEF stomach NABS fish DEF.N
'Help me because as for me for few days I was **there in** the stomach of the fish.' [CBON-T-04 6.9]

4 Modification

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter we discuss the very general communicative function of *modification*. Modification is a function that can be performed within any construction type, and contrasts with other functions such as *syntactic headship*, *predication*, *participant reference*, and *complementation*.

We define modification as the function of any "optional" substantive element[1] that clarifies or adds detail to the discourse scene evoked by a particular grammatical construction, without changing the construction's basic propositional meaning. This definition is based on the metaphor of communication as a "stage" on which communicators depict and interpret scenes being communicated. The scenes evoked by individual lexical items and basic constructions tend to be sparse and *schematic*. Sometimes the communication situation invites speakers to enrich the discourse scene in order to develop a more explicit picture of the idea being expressed. For example, consider the following imaginary English utterances:

(1) a. We had dinner.
    b. Honestly, we had the best dinner at a new Italian restaurant last night.

Example (1a) is a complete, grammatical sentence that is likely to evoke a certain scene in the minds of English speakers. However, the scene depicted is very vague and, frankly, uninteresting. In a Western context there may be a table and chairs, at least two diners and some unspecified food, but little else "on stage". On the other hand, a construction like (1b) evokes a much more enriched version of possibly the same scene. Now we have a better idea of what kind and quality of

[1] By "substantive element" we mean words or phrases that express semantically rich meanings. Such elements contrast with grammatical functors, such as pronouns, articles, deictic elements, and affixes, which tend to express limited and relatively precise grammatical meanings. This distinction was probably first proposed by Fries (1952), and has been largely assumed in subsequent linguistic research. See, for example, Payne (2011: 66–67).

food may be present, something about the surroundings, the presence of servers, money, the approximate time that this event is alleged to have occurred, and also the speaker's attitude toward this scene ("honestly"). The scene is still vague, to be sure. We don't know, for example, how many other diners were present, exactly what menu items were ordered, and so on. Nevertheless, (1b) is much more explicit and communicative than (1a).

The difference between (1a) and (1b) is mostly modification. First there is modification of the noun "dinner". This very general notion has been restricted to a certain class of dinners, those portrayed by the speaker as "the best", "new" and"Italian" similarly enrich the scene by modifying the noun "restaurant". Then there are modifying elements that restrict the scene to a place ("at a new Italian restaurant") and a time ("last night"). Finally, there is one modifying element that specifies the speaker's attitude toward the speech act itself ("honestly"). None of this information is technically required by the grammar, but all of it enriches and clarifies the scene in ways that make it more consistent with the communicative intentions of the speaker.

In Kagayanen, modifying elements occur in many construction types. In this chapter we describe elements and constructions that serve as modifiers within the Referring Phrase (§4.2–4.5), the Modifier Phrase (§4.6), the Predicate (§4.7), and the Clause (§4.7.1 and §4.8).

4.2 Adjectives

Adjectives are a grammatically distinct class of words that express "property concepts", i.e., semantic notions that describe the properties of items (Thompson 2004). Dixon (2004: 3–4) categorizes the semantic properties that tend to underlie the word class of adjectives in any language into core types and peripheral types as follows:

(2) Core semantic property types often expressed by adjectives:
DIMENSION: big, small, long, tall, short, wide, deep, etc.
AGE: new, young, old, etc.
VALUE: good, bad, lovely, atrocious, perfect, proper/real, odd, strange, curious, necessary, crucial, important, lucky, etc.
COLOR: black, white, red, etc.

(3) Peripheral semantic property types often expressed by adjectives:
HUMAN PROPENSITY - jealous, happy, kind, clever, generous, cruel, proud, ashamed, eager, etc.
PHYSICAL PROPERTY: hard, soft, heavy, wet, strong, clean, hot, sour, etc.
And a subclass referring to corporeal properties: well, sick, dead, absent.
SPEED: fast, quick, slow, etc.

Because the notion of "property concept" is semantic (it has to do with the ideas being expressed in language), its boundaries are "fuzzy" and not necessarily comparable from one language to the next. For this reason, we must look at language-internal evidence in order to identify adjectives, rather than simply assume that words that translate as adjectives in one language (say, English) will necessarily be expressed with a distinct category that can be called "adjectives" in another language.

Dixon (2004) contends that every language does have a grammatically distinct class of forms whose prototypical function is to refer to property concepts, though the morphosyntactic criteria for distinguishing this class may be subtle, and are different from one language to the next. Thompson (2004) shows that in some languages property concept words are grammatically similar to referring words ("nouns"), while in other languages they are similar to predicating words ("verbs"). Still other languages express property concepts in a more noun-like way when they are used *attributively* (i.e., within a Referring Phrase to modify the head noun—"the *red* barn"), but in a more verb-like way when used *predicatively* (i.e., to assert a property of some item—"the barn is *red*").

The grammar of Kagayanen treats adjectives and nouns similarly, in both the attributive and predicative usages. For example, the bare forms of prototypical nouns, like *baḷay* 'house', and prototypical property concept words, like *bakod* 'big', can both function as the Head of a Referring Phrase (examples in 4, and as the main predicator in a non-verbal predication (examples in 5; see also Chapter 5):

(4) a. *bakod na baḷay / baḷay na bakod*
big LK house
'a big house'

b. *bakod nai*
big D1ADJ
'this big (one)'

(5) a. *Baḷay ni.*
house D1ABS
'This is a house.'
b. *Bakod na baḷay ni. / Baḷay na bakod ni.*
'This is a big house.'
c. *Bakod ni.*
'This is big/a big one.'

Despite these important grammatical similarities, there are subtle ways in which property concept words are treated differently than nouns. First, while property concept words can always function as Heads or Modifiers in Referring Phrases, not all nouns can freely function as attributive Modifiers:

(6) a. ** kaoy na baḷay / *baḷay na kaoy*
wood LK house
('wood(en) house')
b. *Kaoy baḷay nai. / ?Balay nai kaoy.*
wood house D1ADJ
'This house is wood(en).'
c. *baḷay na buat ta kaoy*
house LK make NABS wood
'house that is/was made of wood'

(7) a. ** kawayan na saag / *saag na kawayan*
bamboo LK floor
('bamboo floor')
b. *Kawayan saag nai. / Saag nai kawayan.*
bamboo floor D1ADJ
'This floor is (made of) bamboo.'
c. *Kaoy saag nai. / Saag nai kaoy.*
'This floor is wood(en).'

Examples (6a) and (7a) show that the nouns *kaoy* 'wood' and *kawayan* 'bamboo' may not function as modifiers of the head *baḷay*. (6b), (5b) and (5c) show that *kaoy* and *kawayan* may function predicatively to express a material composition. However, a relative clause structure more commonly expresses the idea of 'house made of wood' (6c). Some other "material composition" words may directly modify the head of an RP, as shown in (8):

(8) a. *siminto na baḷay / baḷay na siminto*
cement LK house
'cement house' (house made of cement)

b. *plastik na baso / baso na plastik*
plastic LK glass
'plastic drinking glass'

c. *bagoḷ na luag / luag na bagoḷ*
coconut.shell LK serving.spoon
'coconut shell serving spoon'

d. *bato na padir / padir na bato*
stone LK wall
'stone wall'

Example (9) shows that even *kawayan* can be used as a modifier with head nouns other than *saag*:

(9) *kawayan na kuraḷ / kuraḷ na kawayan*
bamboo LK fence
'bamboo fence'

The exact patterns of which nouns can modify which other nouns seem to be lexically determined. Perhaps some noun-noun pairs in which one noun modifies the other are compound words (9). However, we have no independent reason for calling these compounds. They exhibit the same intonational characteristics and variability as Referring Phrases, and their meanings are as compositional and transparent as those of ordinary RPs. Furthermore, the fact that the order of elements may be reversed, as in most modifier+noun constructions, is an argument against the analysis of these noun-noun pairs as lexicalized compounds. The point of these illustrations, however, is to show that property concept words can always be Modifiers or Heads of RPs, while referring words (nouns) can always be Heads, but only sometimes Modifiers of RPs. This is one subtle grammatical property that distinguishes adjectives and nouns.

A second grammatical property that distinguishes adjectives as a class is their ability to be modified by the degree adverbs *sikad* 'very', *segeng* 'extremely', *gid* 'really', *tise (nang)* 'a little bit' and *midyo* 'somewhat'. The following are a few examples. Additional examples from the text corpus are found in §4.6 below.

(10) *tise nang gisi na bayo*
little just torn LK clothes/shirt
'slightly torn clothes/shirt' / *tise nang bayo na gisi[2]

(11) *tise nang baḷ-es na kan-en*
little just spoiled LK cooked.rice
'slightly spoiled cooked rice'

(12) *sikad bakod na baḷay*
very big LK house
'a very big house'

(13) *baḷay na sikad bakod*
house LK very big
'a very big house'
**sikad baḷay na bakod*
**sikad siminto na baḷay*
**sikad bato na padir*
etc.

(14) *sikad gid gwapa na dḷaga*
very really attractive LK young.woman
'a really very attractive young woman'

(15) *dḷaga na sikad gid gwapa*
young.woman LK very INT attractive
'a really very attractive young woman' / *sikad dḷaga gid na gwapa

(16) *segeng/sikad minog na bayo* 'extremely/very red clothes'
segeng/sikad ammot na buro 'extremely/very good-smelling salted-fish'
segeng/sikad bao na buro 'extremely/very bad-smelling salted-fish'

[2]The word *tise* as a noun modifier means small in number or size. As a modifier of a gradable quality, such as spoiled, red or smelly, it means slightly. As a modifier of an activity it means almost (see §4.7.3). The word *sise* means small in size. But sometimes Kagayanen speakers use these two words interchangeably. When the word *tise* means small in number ('a few'), or a little bit of a quality, as in example (11), then it is always followed by *nang*. In its other usages, *nang* is optional. The form *tise (nang)*, like most adverbial elements, may also function as a noun modifier. However, in that case the linker *na* is required: *tise nang na bayo* 'a few clothes', 'small clothes'. This usage, however, is far less common than the usage as a degree adverb.

segeng/sikad sakit na nina 'extremely/very continual wound'
segeng/sikad bugnaw na waig 'extremely/very cold water'
segeng/sikad darko na baḷed 'extremely/very big waves'
segeng/sikad pelles na angin 'extremely/very strong wind'
segeng/sikad sakit na adlaw 'extremely/very continual (hot) sun'
segeng/sikad dangga na adlaw 'extremely/very hot day'
segeng/sikad langaet na adlaw 'extremely/very humid day'
etc.

This property of course only applies to gradable property concepts, like *bakod* 'big', *gwapa* 'attractive' and the others illustrated in these examples. In fact, we may say that all true adjectives in Kagayanen express gradable property concepts. Non-gradable concepts such as *mama* 'male' and *bai* 'female' exhibit no properties that distinguish them from nouns:

(17) a. *mama na bata / bata na mama*
male LK child
'male child'

b. *bai na bata / bata na bai*
female LK child
'female child'

(18) a. *mama na manok / manok na mama* 'male chicken/rooster.'
b. *bai na manok / manok na bai* 'female chicken/hen'

(19) a. *mama na ingkantado*[3]*/ ingkantado na mama* 'male fairy'
b. *bai na ingkantada / ingkantada na bai* 'female fairy'

Finally, the last morphosyntactic property that may be said to distinguish a word class of adjectives is that this class can be the *target* of certain word-forming patterns. The resulting forms may function as Heads of RPs, Modifiers of RPs, or as non-verbal Predicators. Furthermore, most of them may occur with intensity and degree adverbs (examples in 23), and so may be considered true adjectives. In the following subsections we describe ten adjective-forming processes that occur in the corpus for this study.

[3]There are a few words in Kagayanen, all borrowings from Spanish, which reflect a masculine/feminine distinction. In each such pair, *-o* expresses the masculine and *-a* the feminine gender, as in Spanish.

4.3 Adjective forming morphological patterns

In this section we describe several regular morphological patterns that derive gradable property concept words (or"adjectives"). Some of these patterns also have roles in nominal and verbal derivations. In this section we concentrate on morphology that derives adjectives, making note of similarities to other derivational categories where applicable.

4.3.1 *ma-* derivation

An adjective can be formed with a prefix *ma-* and/or suffix *-én* (described in §4.3.2). The resulting form refers to a salient quality associated with the root concept:

(20)

Root	Derivation
asin 'salt'	*masin* 'salty'
lised 'hard/difficult'	*malised* 'distressful/sorrowful'
ligna[4] 'filthy/dirty/evil thing'	*maligna* 'filthy/defiled/disgusting'
lain 'not good/bad'	*malain* 'evil'
iseg 'aggressive/brave/fearless'	*maiseg* 'mean/cruel/deadly'
law-ay 'unsightly/ugly'	*malaw-ay* 'obscene/indecent'
gastos 'expense'	*magastos* 'expensive/costly'
ḷangkaw 'long'	*mḷangkaw* 'longer than usual/elongated'
las-ay 'tasteless'	*malas-ay* 'tasteless/unappetizing'
lineng 'quiet/peaceful'	*malineng* 'quiet/orderly/calm'
lipo 'short'	*malipo* 'shorter than usual/expected'
adyo 'far distance'	*madyo* 'distant'
abeḷ 'dull for a blade or tool'	*mabeḷ* 'dull, not sharp'
ingaw 'drunk'	*mingaw* 'lonely/bored'
sadya 'to have fun/to enjoy'	*masadya* 'enjoyable/cheerful/fun'
tam-is 'sweet'	*matam-is* 'sweeter than usual'
tawway 'peaceful/no strife'	*matawway* 'peaceful in mind and soul'

4.3.2 *-én/-ón* derivation

Certain roots employ the suffix *-én* (with the allomorph *-ón*) to express property concepts based on the root concept. Since this suffix is stressed, we write the

[4]This is probably a backformation from *maligna* (column 2), which is the feminine form of the Spanish adjective meaning 'evil'. This pair provides one piece of evidence that adjectivization with *ma-* is a productive morphological process.

stress in the following examples, even though it is not written in the official orthography. Stress distinguishes this derivation from the transitive irrealis verbal suffix *-en* (see Chapter 6, §6.5.7). It is similar to the nominalizing suffix *-én/-ón* that creates future patient nouns (see Chapter 3, §3.3.6), though there is no futurity associated with the adjective-forming usage. The allomorph *-ón* occurs when the last vowel in the root is /u/.

(21)

Root	**Derived form**
béḷbeḷ 'body hair/fur/feathers'	*bèḷbeḷén* 'hairy/feathery/furry'
katéḷ 'itchy'	*kàteḷén* 'itchy with sores'
mutá 'rheum'	*mùtaén* 'rheumy-eyed'
lasáy 'moving around'	*làsayén* 'always moving around'
báto 'rock/stone'	*bàtuón* 'rocky'
masákit 'sick/sickness'	*masàkitén* 'sickly/unhealthy'

4.3.3 *ma-* ... *-én* derivation

Certain other roots employ both *ma-* and *-én* to form adjectives that express permanent characteristics.

(22)

Root	**Derived form**
lipáy 'joy'	*malìpayén* 'joyful'
sadyá 'enjoy/fun'	*masàdyaén* 'always enjoying'
luóy 'mercy/compassion/pity'	*malùuyón* 'always compassionate/pitying'
	malùluy-ón 'always helping/giving because of compassion/pity'
égtas 'irritated/annoyed'	*maègtasén* 'always irritable'
isá 'selfish'	*maìsaén* 'always selfish'
paébes 'humble'	*mapaèbesén/mapainèbesén* 'always humble'
pasínsya 'patient'	*mapasìnsyaén* 'always patient'
patáwad 'forgive'	*mapatàwarén* 'always forgiving'
palángga 'affection'	*mapalànggaén* 'affectionate'
adlék 'fear'	*maàdlekén* 'always afraid'
bugál 'proud'	*mabùgalén* 'always proud'
gáyya 'embarrass/shame'	*magàyyaén* 'always shy'
ínggit 'envious'	*maìnggitén* 'always envious'
ímon 'jealous'	*maìmunón* 'always jealous'
lális 'to defy'	*malàlisén* 'always defying'

táod 'to respect/honor'	*matàurón/matinàurón* 'always respectful/polite'
nḷáman(áḷam) 'to know'	*màḷamen/mànḷamén* 'wise/knowledgeable'
dépet 'diligent'	*madèpetén* 'always diligent'
dayá 'to deceive/cheat'	*madàyaén* 'always deceiving/cheating'
iyá 'his/hers'	*maìyaén* 'always concerned with self'
tábang/tábyang 'to help'	*matàbangén/matàbyangén* 'always helpful'

All these derived property concept words may occur with intensity and degree adverbs, indicating that they fall into the category of adjectives:

(23)	*Sikad (gid) masin na mga sidda*	'some (really) very salty fish'
	Sikad (gid) beḷbeḷén na mama	'a (really) very hairy man'
	Sikad (gid) mutaén na bata	'a (really) very rheumy-eyed child'
	Sikad (gid) masakitén na mama	'a (really) very sickly man'
	Sikad (gid) matabangén na bai	'a (really) very helpful woman'
	Sikad (gid) maisaén na bata	'an always (really) very selfish child'
	Sikad (gid) malipayén na bata	'an always (really) very joyful child'
	etc.	

4.3.4 *ka- ... -én/-ón* derivation

Ka- ... -én/-ón occurs on a few verbal roots, notably *tanuga* 'sleep', *kaan* 'eat', *agaḷ* 'cry' and other body activity verbs. The meaning of the resultant adjective is the property of feeling like one is about to VERB or has the urge to VERB: This is very similar to the nominalizing affix having the same form *ka- ... -én/-ón*. It attracts the main stress of the word, and it is pronounced as *ka- ... -ón* when the vowel of the final syllable of the root is /u/ (see Chapter 3 §3.3.4).

(24)	**Root**	**Derived form**
	ágaḷ 'to cry'	*kàgaḷén* 'having the urge to cry'
	íi 'to urinate'	*kìién* 'having the urge to urinate'
	iném 'to drink'	*kaìnemén* 'having the urge to drink'
	táwa 'to laugh'	*katàwaén* 'having the urge to laugh'
	pánaw 'go/walk'	*kapànawén* 'having the urge to go'
	tanúga 'to sleep'	*katanùgaén/tanùgaén* '... to sleep'
	kaán 'to eat'	*kakàn-enén/kàn-enén* '... to eat'
	índis 'to defecate'	*kaìndisén/kindisén* '... to defecate'
	kéngkeng 'to hold in the arms'	*kakèngkengén* '... to hold in the arms'

As with most adjective-forming derivational affixes, the forms *ka-* and *-én* are also related to inflectional verb affixes (Chapter 6). *ka-* is a happenstantial mood prefix, while *-en* (without stress) is a dynamic mood, transitive, irrealis suffix. As verb affixes, these forms are distinct members of the same paradigm, and can never simultaneously inflect the same root. Therefore, the functions of these forms as adjectivizers are clearly distinct from their uses as verbal inflectional affixes. The following are some additional examples of *ka- … -én* formations used as adjectives:

(25) **Katanugaén** kanen ya na ittaw.

Ka–tanuga–én *kanen ya na ittaw.*[5]
ADJ–sleep–ADJ 3S.ABS DEF.F LK person
'S/he is a sleepy person.' ('S/he is a person who often has the urge to sleep')

(26) Kanen ya sikad **katanugaén** na ittaw.

Kanen ya sikad ***ka–tanuga–én*** *na ittaw.*
3S.ABS DEF.F very ADJ–sleep–ADJ LK person
'S/he is a very sleepy person.'

(27) Pirmi a nang gabatyag ta **kiién** daw paryo a man ta **kindisén**.

Pirmi a nang ga–batyag ta ***kiién*** *daw paryo a*
always 1S.ABS just I.R–feel NABS ADJ–urinate–ADJ and same 1S.ABS
man ta ***ka–indis–én.***
also NABS ADJ–defecate–ADJ
'I kept feeling the urge to urinate and it was like I had the urge to defecate.' (This is a story of a man who had a severe asthma attack and almost died) [JCWN-T-22 3.10].

(28) Na yaken i naan ta annem na taon, yaken may inagian asta anduni daw mademdeman ko paryo a pa **kagaḷén**.

Na yaken i naan ta annem na taon, yaken may
when 1S.ABS DEF.N SPAT.DEF NABS six LK year 1S.ABS EXT.IN
<in>agi–an asta anduni daw ma–demdem–an
<NR.RES>pass–NR until now/today if/when A.HAP.IR–remember–APL

[5]The Predicate in this construction is *katanugaén na ittaw* 'a sleepy person'. The absolutive argument, *kanen ya* 's/he (far away)' is in the position after the first element in the predicate. We describe this phenomenon as "pronoun intrusion" in Chapter 5 and beyond.

ko paryo a pa ***ka–agaḷ–én****.*
1S.ERG same 1S.ABS INC ADJ–cry–ADJ
'When I was six years old, I had an experience that until now when I remember it, it is like I still feel like crying.' [HBWN-T-01 1.1]

(29) **Katawaén** waḷeng din an.
Ka–tawa–én *waḷeng din an.*
ADJ–laugh/smile–ADJ face 3S.GEN DEF.M
'His face (looks like he) has the urge to laugh.'[6]

4.3.5 *pinaka-* derivation – superlative

The complex prefix *pinaka-* may derive the superlative form of some adjectives:

(30) Yi **pinakamaadlek** na masakit na gabot ta Cagayancillo.
Yi ***pinaka–ma–adlek*** *na masakit na ga–abot ta Cagayancillo.*
D1ABS SUPERL–ADJ–fear LK sickness LK I.R–arrive NABS Cagayancillo
'This is the most fearsome sickness that arrived on Cagayancillo.' [JCWN-T-21 20.1]

(31) Kanen gid **pinakagwapa** ta iran na lugar.
Kanen gid ***pinaka–gwapa*** *ta iran na lugar.*
3S.ABS INT SUPERL–attractive NABS 3P.GEN LK place
'She is really the most attractive in their place.' [VAWN-T-20 2.5]

(32) **Pinakamadali** ta pagkamang ta sidda bungbong.
Pinaka–ma–dali *ta pag–kamang ta sidda bungbong.*
SUPERL–ADJ–quick/easy NABS NR.ACT–get NABS fish dynamite
'Dynamite is the quickest/easiest (way) of getting fish.' [EFOB-C-01 6.3]

(33) Danen gid **pinakauryan** uli na naan ta patyo.
Danen gid ***pinaka–uryan*** *uli na naan ta patyo.*
3P.ABS INT SUPERL–last go.home LK SPAT.DEF NABS graveyard
'They are the very last to go home when (they are) in the graveyard.' [CBWE-C-06 10.3]

[6]This sentence was used in a conversation to refer to a picture depicting several people. It is marginally acceptable out of context. Usually a person would be the Head of the RP modified by a *ka-…-én* adjective, but in this case it is the person's face.

4.3.6 *ka- ... -an* derivation – absolute extent

For other adjectives, the prefix-suffix combination *ka- ... -an* forms an adjective or noun (see Chapter 3, §3.3.5) that refers to the greatest possible extent of a quality. Sometimes words so derived may be interpreted as superlative adjectives, as in (34):

(34) Ake na **kamaguḷangan** na bata na bai nagatapos unduni ta sais grado.
*Ake na **ka–maguḷang–an** na bata na bai naga–tapos*[7]
1S.GEN LK NR–older.sibling–NR LK child LK female I.R–finish
unduni ta sais grado.
now/today NABS six grade
'My oldest daughter is now finishing grade six.' [VPWL-T-04 76.5]

Other times, the *ka- ... -an* derivation forms a comparative nominalization, as described in Chapter 3 §3.3.5. For example *katumanan* 'the absolute end point or boundary', *katapusan* 'absolute end', *kaumpisaan* 'absolute beginning place' and *kaunaan* 'very first place', and example (35) from the corpus:

(35) Uyi na isturya ni **kamatuuran** gid.
*U–yi na isturya ni **ka–matuod–an** gid.*
EMPH–D1ABS LK story D1PR NR–true–NR INT
'This very story is the **absolute truth**.' [MBON-T-07 61.2]

4.3.7 *pala-* derivation

The prefix *pala-* on verbal roots derives an adjective that refers to the property of always liking to do the action described by the verb. This is not a common derivation, and no examples of it occur in the text corpus. All the following examples come from conversation or elicitation. Words derived with *pala-* are clearly adjectives as evidenced by the fact that they may occur with degree adverbs (37):

(36)

inem 'to drink'	palainem 'likes to always drink'
ingaw 'drunk'	palaingaw 'likes to always get drunk'
kaan 'to eat'	palakaan 'likes to always eat'
butaḷ 'to fight/argue'	palabutaḷ 'likes to always fight/argue'
sayaw 'to dance'	palasayaw 'likes to always dance'

[7]The prefix *naga-* on this word is code switching from Ilonggo. The Kagayanen form would be *gatapos*.

(37) Sikad **palabutaḷ** na bai nan.
*Sikad **pala–butaḷ** na bai nan.*
very likes.always–fight/argue LK woman D3ABS
'That one is a woman who really likes to fight/argue.'

4.3.8 *maka-* derivation

The prefix *maka-* on verbal roots describes the quality of allowing, enabling or causing the activity described by the verb. This is also a relatively uncommon derivation occurring only eight times in the text corpus (38):

(38)

adlek 'to fear/be afraid'	*makaadlek* 'scary/frightening'
patay 'to die/be dead'	*makapatay* 'deadly, able to kill'
luoy 'pity/compassion'	*makaluluoy* 'pitiful'
ilo 'poison'	*makailo* 'poisonous'
sablag 'to disturb'	*makasablag* 'able to disturb'
tabang 'to help'	*makatabang* 'helpful'
biskeg 'strong'	*makabiskeg* 'strengthening'

The meaning of *maka-* as an adjectivizer is clearly related to its meaning as a verbal inflectional prefix as described in Chapter 6, §6.5.10 as happenstantial, often abilitative modality. Unlike the inflectional verbal prefix, however, this usage of *maka-* does not express irrealis modality. Examples (39) through (41) illustrate additional examples of *maka-* from the corpus:

(39) Makaadlek na Masakit. Masakit na kulira makaadlek.
Maka–adlek na Masakit. Masakit na kulira maka–adlek.
ADJ–afraid LK sickness sickness LK cholera ADJ–afraid
'Frightening Sickness (the title of the text). The sickness cholera is frightening.' (first sentence of the same text) [JCWN-T-21 1.1-2]

(40) ... agian din na bilang sikad **makaadlek**
*... agi–an din na bilang sikad **maka–adlek***
pass–NR 3S.ERG LK as very ADJ–afraid
'...his/her experience that was as (something) very scary' [JCOE-T-06 2.5]

(41) Yi **makailo** ig gapanipis ta langgit ta lima no na gapalot ka.

Yi ***maka–ilo*** *ig*[8] *ga–pa–nipis ta langgit ta lima no na* D1ABS ADJ–poison and I.R–CAUS–thin NABS skin NABS hand 2S.GEN LK *ga–palot ka.*
I.R–peel 2S.ABS

'This is **poisonous** and causes the skin of your hand to become thin when you are peeling (it).' (This is about a kind of root crop called *kallot* that is poisonous before it is processed the right way). [JCWE-L-32 5.8]

4.3.9 Root reduplication

Complete or partial root reduplication may derive downtoning adjectives from other adjectives, similar to the adjective suffix *-ish* in English (*greenish, smallish*, etc.). It may also express a slight comparative degree (see example 45). For partial reduplication, the first consonant and vowel are reduplicated, and if the root ends in a consonant, the final consonant is also reduplicated. All roots that reduplicate allow complete reduplication, but not all allow partial reduplication. In particular, roots with closed initial syllables do not allow partial reduplication, for example, *darko*, *derse*, *tambek* and *sagbak* (see 43 below).

(42) Complete Reduplication: Root → Root-Root
bakod → bakod-bakod[9]
darko → darko-darko
Partial Reduplication, V-final root: $C_1V_1XV_2\# \rightarrow C_1V_1C_1V_1XV_2\#$
sise → sisise
Partial Reduplication, C-final root: $C_1V_1XC_2\# \rightarrow C_1V_1C_2XC_2\#$
dalem → damdalem

When property-concept roots are reduplicated, either completely or partially, they downtone the meaning of the root, expressing the idea of 'kind of X' or 'sort of X' (examples in 43).

[8]The use of *ig* as a conjunction is code-switching from Cuyonon. The Kagayanen form here would be *daw*. We will not mention this in subsequent examples, as it is very frequent in conversation and in writing.

(43)	**Root**	**Complete reduplication**	**Partial reduplication**	**Meaning**
	sise 'small'	*sise-sise*	*sisise*	'kind of small (sg.)'
	daḷem 'deep'	*daḷem-daḷem*	*damdaḷem*	'kind of deep'
	deḷem 'dark'	*deḷem-deḷem*	*demdeḷem*	'kind of dark'
	daan 'old (things)'	*daan-daan*	*dandaan*	'kind of old'
	layog 'tall'	*layog-layog*	*laglayog*	'kind of tall'
	bakod 'big'	*bakod-bakod*	*bakbakod*[10]	'kind of big'
	darko 'big (pl)'	*darko-darko*		'kind of big (pl.)'
	derse 'small (pl)'	*derse-derse*		'kind of small (pl.)'
	tambek 'fat'	*tambek-tambek*		'kind of fat'
	sagbak 'noisy'	*sagbak-sagbak*		'kind of noisy'

The quantifier *tanan* 'all' and the adjective *matuod* 'true' when reduplicated have a superlative meaning 'completely/absolutely X':

(44)				
	tanan 'all'	*tanan-tanan*	*tantanan*	'absolutely all'
	matuod 'true'	*matuod-tuod*	*matudtuod*	'absolutely true'

Reduplicated adjectives may also be used in comparative constructions in which the standard and the item compared are not very distinct:

(45) Iya na labbot bakod-bakod pa ta iya na lawa ….

Iya na labbot bakod~bakod pa ta iya na lawa ….
3S.GEN LK bottom RED~big INC NABS 3S.GEN LK body
'His bottom is kind of bigger yet than his body…' (This is about a coconut crab.) [DBWE-T-27 2.3]

4.3.10 *di-* derivation

The prefix *di-* is probably borrowed from Spanish *de* 'of'. The meaning of the resulting form is 'of a certain kind'. Occasionally, the resulting form can function as a Modifier, as in examples (46)–(48):

(46) Ta una na timpo naan ta banwa Cagayancillo uḷa anay mga sakayan na **dimakina**.

[10]This is an exception to the partial reduplication rule described above. The predicted form would be **badbakod*, but this does not exist.

Ta una na timpo naan ta banwa Cagayancillo
NABS first/for.awhile LK time SPAT.DEF NABS town/country Cagayancillo
uḷa anay mga sakay–an na ***di–makina****.*
NEG.R for.a.while PL ride–NR LK ADJ–motor/machine
'In the earliest times in the town of Cagayancillo there were at first no **motorized** vehicles.' [VPWN-T-06 1.3]

(47) Napalit din ki kami tenga sako na beggas daw mga **dilata** na sid-anan.
Na–palit din ki kami tenga sako na beggas daw mga
A.HAP.R–buy 3S.ERG OBL.P 1P.EXC half sack LK milled.rice and PL
di–lata *na sid-anan.*
ADJ–can LK viand[11]
'He bought for us half a sack of rice and some **canned** viand.'
[DBWN-T-22 7.13]

(48) Labi na gid ta **dipamilya** rispunsibilidad…
Labi na gid ta ***di–pamilya*** *rispunsibilidad*
especially LK INT NABS ADJ–family responsibility…
'Especially the **family kind** of responsibility…' [TTOB-L-03 9.12]

In example (49) a form derived with *di-* is used in a predicative context. *Serbidor* is a noun meaning 'servant'; *diserbidor* is a modifier meaning 'serving one':

(49) Nyaan sa en nḷaman danen na Pedro **disirbidor** gid ta Dios.
Nyaan sa en na–aḷam–an danen na Pedro ***di–sirbidor***
SPAT.DEF D4NABS CM A.HAP.R–know–APL 3P.ERG LK Pedro ADJ–servant
gid ta Dios.
INT NABS God
'There they knew that Pedro was truly the kind of person who is a **servant** of God.' [TTOB-L-03 7.25]

The *di-* prefix occurs mostly with roots borrowed from Spanish (as in 46–49), but may occur on original Kagayanen roots, as in (50):

(50) Gasakay danen an ta **dilayag** na lunday.
Ga–sakay danen an ta ***di–layag*** *na lunday.*
I.R–ride 3P.ABS DEF.M NABS ADJ–sail LK outrigger.canoe
'They rode a **sail kind** of outrigger canoe.'

[11] 'Viand' is a word in Philippine English that refers to any meat, fish or vegetable dish served over rice. It comes from French, through 19th–20th century English, and came to be used in the Philippines during the American colonial period (1898–1946).

4.4 Numbers

The second type of modification in the Referring Phrase that we will discuss is the numbers—one, two, three; first, second, third, and so on. As with most Philippine languages, numbers in Kagayanen are complicated by the fact that there are two number systems—the original Austronesian-based Kagayanen numbers and the Spanish-based numbers, spelled according to the Kagayanen pronunciations. Furthermore, since math is taught mostly in English, English numbers are also quite common. However, in this grammar, we will discuss only the Austronesian and Spanish-based number systems. While both systems are decimal (base ten), they differ in their structure and use.

The Kagayanen numbers are either cardinal with no affixes (§4.4.1), ordinal (4.4.2), or distributive (4.4.3). Ordinal and distributive numbers above one are derived by affixation from the cardinals, as described in §4.4.2 and §4.4.3. Numbers normally occur in the pre-Head (MOD_1) position in the Referring Phrase, though they may appear following the Head (in MOD_2). See §4.6.3 below for a detailed description of Number Phrases (NumPs):

(51) darwa na adlaw
darwa na adlaw
two LK day
'two days'

(52) pangarwa na adlaw
pang–darwa na adlaw
ORD–two LK day
'second day'

Like other modifying elements, numbers and Number Phrases may also function as predicates of non-verbal clauses (53). See also Chapter 5 on non-verbal clauses):

(53) Darwa nang ame na bata.
Darwa nang ame na bata.
two only 1P.EXCL.GEN LK child
'We have only two children.' (lit. 'Our children are only two.')

4.4.1 Cardinal numbers

The original Kagayanen cardinal numbers are used for counting, especially up to ten. After ten the Spanish-based number set is more common, probably because

the names of Spanish numbers are shorter. For counting money and for clock time, the Spanish-based numbers are usually used.

(54) **Cardinal numbers:**

Kagayanen numbers	**Spanish-based numbers**	**Gloss**
isya/isḷa	*uno/una*	'one'
darwa	*dos*	'two'
tallo	*tris*	'three'
appat	*kwattro*	'four'
limma	*singko*	'five'
annem	*sais*	'six'
pitto	*syiti*	'seven'
waḷḷo	*utso*	'eight'
isyam/syam	*nwibi*	'nine'
sampuḷo	*dyis*	'ten'
sampuḷo (daw) isya	*unsi*	'eleven'
sampuḷo (daw) darwa	*dusi*	'twelve'
sampuḷo (daw) tallo	*trisi*	'thirteen'
sampuḷo (daw) appat	*katursi*	'fourteen'
sampuḷo (daw) limma	*kinsi*	'fifteen'
sampuḷo (daw) annem	*dyisisais*	'sixteen'
sampuḷo (daw) pitto	*dyisisyiti*	'seventeen'
sampuḷo (daw) waḷḷo	*dyisiutso*	'eighteen'
sampuḷo (daw) (i)syam	*dyisinwibi*	'nineteen'
kaḷuan/kuḷuan	*binti/byinti*	'twenty'
katluan	*trinta*	'thirty'
kappatan	*kwarinta*	'forty'
kalim-an	*singkwinta*	'fifty'
kanneman	*saisinta*	'sixty'
kappituan	*syitinta*	'seventy'
kawaḷḷuan	*utsinta*	'eighty'
kasyaman	*nubinta*	'ninety'
isya gatos	*syintos*	'one hundred'
darwa gatos	*dos syintos*	'two hundred'
libo	*mil*	'one thousand'
sampuḷo libo	*dyis mil*	'ten thousand'
	milyon	'one million'

Clock time is expressed in the Spanish way with the word *ala* for 'o'clock' (from Spanish *a la* 'at the.FEM.SG') and *alas* 'plural' (Spanish *a las* 'at the.FEM.PL') for the other numbers, as in (55):

(55)

ala una	'one o'clock'
alas dos	'two o'clock'
alas tris	'three o'clock'
alas kwattro	'four o'clock'
alas singko	'five o'clock'
alas sais	'six o'clock'
alas syiti/siti	'seven o'clock'
alas utso	'eight o'clock'
alas nwibi	'nine o'clock'
alas dyis	'ten o'clock'
alas unsi	'eleven o'clock'
alas dusi	'twelve o'clock'

With periods of time the Kagayanen numbers occur before the head noun that describes the period, for example, *minuto*/*minutos* 'minute/minutes', *oras* 'hour', *adlaw* 'day', *kilem* 'night', *duminggo* 'week', *buḷan* 'month', and *taon* 'year'. The linker is often dropped in such constructions. The time period expressions *mapit madlaw* 'right before first light', *sellem* 'morning', *mapon* 'afternoon', and *kadlaw* 'all night' cannot be used in this way with numbers as modifiers.

(56)

isya (na) buḷan	'one month/moon'
darwa (na) taon	'two years'
tallo (na) duminggo	'three weeks'
**kwattro (na) sellem*	('four mornings')
**singko (na) mapon*	('five afternoons')

etc.

When *mga* 'plural' occurs before the number word or before a time phrase like *mga alas dos* 'two o'clock', then it means 'approximately':

(57) mga darwa (na) duminggo
mga darwa (na) duminggo
PL two LK week
'approximately two weeks'

(58) mga alas dyis
mga alas dyis
PL o'clock ten
'approximately ten o'clock'

4.4.2 Ordinal numbers

There are two sets of *ordinal numbers* in Kagayanen, both based on Austronesian cardinal number roots above the first ordinal. One type is formed with the prefix *pang-* and the other is formed with the prefix *ka-*. The first ordinal for both types is borrowed from Spanish (exx. 60 and 64).

4.4.2.1 *pang-* general ordinal

The *pang-* ordinals are unspecified for the kind of order such as order in space, in time or in importance. The ordinal referring to 'first' in this system is the Spanish cardinal number *una* (exx. 59 and 60). For the numbers *darwa* 'two', *tallo* 'three', and those beginning with a glottal stop (orthographic vowel-initial roots), the root-initial consonant is omitted following *pang-* (see the examples in 59). The initial consonant is not omitted with *limma* 'five', *pitto* 'seven', *waḷḷo* 'eight', and *sampuḷo* 'ten'.

Since the instrumental nominalizer *pang-* (Chapter 3, §3.3.10) may also occur with number roots, we include examples of these constructs in (59) to illustrate the contrast between these two stem-forming prefixes. As mentioned in Chapter 3, the instrumental *pang-* prefix never causes root-initial consonant omission:

(59)

Unmarked ordinal	**Instrumental**
una 'first'	*pang-isya* 'used/good for one'
pangarwa 'second'	*pangdarwa* 'used/good for two'
pangallo 'third'	*pangtallo* 'used/good for three'
pangappat 'fourth'	*pang-appat* 'used/good for four'
panglimma 'fifth'	*panglimma* 'used/good for five'
pangannem 'sixth'	*pang-annem* 'used/good for six'
pangpitto 'seventh'	*pangpitto* 'used/good for seven'
pangwaḷḷo 'eighth'	*pangwaḷḷo* 'used/good for eight'
pangsyam 'ninth'	*pang-isyam* 'used/good for nine'
pangsampuḷo 'tenth'	*pangsampuḷo* 'used/good for ten'

The following are some examples of unmarked ordinal numbers from the corpus.

(60) Yon **una** an na pagpati ta mga ittaw.

Yon ***una*** *an* *na pag–pati* *ta* *mga ittaw.*
D3ABS first DEF.M LK NR.ACT–believe NABS PL person
'That was the first belief of the people.' [JCOE-C-03 4.1]

(61) Ta **pangarwa** na kilem ta ame na pagtinir ta yo na baḷay Maria i gasakit iya na uḷo kag tudo suka din an.

Ta ***pang–darwa*** *na kilem ta ame na pag–tinir ta*
NABS ORD–two LK night NABS 1P.EXCL.GEN LK NR.ACT–stay NABS
yo na baḷay Maria i ga–sakit iya na uḷo kag tudo suka
D4ADJ LK house Maria DEF.N I.R–pain 3S.GEN LK head and intense vomit
din an.
3S.GEN DEF.N

'On the second night of our staying in that house, as for Maria, her head became painful and her vomiting was intense.' [EMWN-T-09 7.1]

(62) Apang ta **pangallo** ko na pag-eseb magtunga a dagat naan tuman ta ake na ilek.

Apang ta ***pang-tallo*** *ko na pag–-eseb*
but NABS ORD–three 1S.GEN LK NR.ACT–immerse
mag–tunga a dagat naan tuman ta ake na
I.IR–surface.from.water 1S.ABS sea SPAT.DEF come.up.to NABS 1S.GEN LK
ilek.
armpit

'But on my third dive, I surfaced in the sea that came up to my armpits.' [EFWN-T-11 14.7]

4.4.2.2 *ka-* temporal ordinal

Ordinals derived with *ka-* have a more specific function, referring only to order in time. For example, *kadarwa na gira* 'the second war.' Also *katallo na bukid* 'the third mountain (that someone came upon)'. It can also mean the first, second, and so on in a series of actions (66). The first ordinal for the *ka-* derivation set is borrowed from Spanish 'primero' (exx. 63 and 64). For the second to tenth ordinals, the Kagayanen numbers are used, but after the tenth, the Spanish-based numbers are used as in example (67). The second ordinal in this set sometimes reduces to *karwa* (exx. 63 and 65).

(63)

Temporal ordinal	**Gloss**
primiro	'first'
kadarwa/karwa	'second'
katallo	'third'
kaappat	'fourth'
kalimma	'fifth'

kaannem	'sixth'
kapitto	'seventh'
kawaḷḷo	'eighth'
kaisyam	'ninth'
kasampuḷo	'tenth'

The following are some examples of temporal ordinal numbers from the corpus:

(64) Tak **primiro** ko nang pa sakay ta kalisa…

Tak ***primiro*** *ko nang pa sakay ta kalisa…*
because first.time 1S.GEN only/just INC ride NABS horse.cart
'Because (it was) still my **first** (time) to ride a horse cart…' [DBWN-L-23 5.10]

(65) Piro sigi man gyapon dḷagan danen asta na kalambot en danen ta **karwa** ya na bungyod.

Piro sigi man gyapon dḷagan danen asta na ka–lambot en
but continual also just.the.same run 3P.ABS until LK I.EXM–reach CM
danen ta ***ka–darwa*** *ya na bungyod.*
3P.ABS NABS ORD–two DEF.F LK hill
'But they kept running just the same until they reached the **second** (in time) hill.' [JCON-T-08 42.1]

(66) Ig **una** yaken patagan a nyo ta tallo na ubra ta kilem nai na nakauna ti piling i na minsai, ig **dason** kunpirmasyon, ig **katallo** distribution ta inyo na certificate.

Ig ***una*** *yaken pa–atag–an a nyo ta tallo na ubra ta*
and first 1S.ABS T.R–give–APL 1S.ABS 2P.ERG NABS three LK work NABS
kilem nai na naka–una ti pa–iling i na minsai, ig
night D1ADJ LK I.HAP.R–first D1NABS T.R–say DEF.N LK message and
dason *kunpirmasyon, ig* ***ka–tallo*** *distribution ta inyo na*
next confirmation and ORD–three distribution NABS 2P.GEN LK
certificate.
certificate
'And **first**, as for me, you gave me three things to do this night which are the one that is first of these is called the message, and **next** confirmation and **third** (in time) distribution of your certificates.' [SFOB-L-02 3.1]

(67) Nakamang ko piro lugay betengay nay tak sikad baked na bawlo. Bali **kaunsi** ko en na subbad. Ta pagpadayon ko daw ino na katingaḷaan, subbad aren man isab bilang **kadusi** na kaan ki yaken.

Na–kamang ko piro lugay beteng–ay nay tak sikad
A.HAP.R–get 1S.ERG but long.time pull–REC 1P.EXCL.ERG because very
*baked na bawlo. Bali **ka–unsi** ko en na subbad. Ta*
big CM jack.fish equal ORD–eleven 1S.GEN CM LK catch NABS
pag–pa–dayon ko daw ino na ka–tingaḷa–an, subbad
NR.ACT–CAUS–continue 1S.GEN if/when what LK NR–wonder–NR catch
*aren man isab bilang **ka–dusi** na kaan ki yaken.*
1S.ABS+CM too again as ORD–twelve LK eat OBL 1S

'I got (the fish) but for a long time we pulled against each other because (it was) a very big jack fish. (It) equalled the **eleventh** of my catch. During my continuing on, what a wonder, I caught another again as the **twelfth** one that bit for me.' [EFWN-T-11 9.8, 9]

4.4.3 Distributive numbers

The distributive numbers describe the distribution of numbers of items in groups. They usually function as clause-level adverbial modifiers. There are two types of distributive numbers in Kagayanen—those involving reduplication alone, and those involving the prefix *tag–*/*tig–*. Each type has its own function, as described in the following paragraphs.

4.4.3.1 Reduplication distributive numbers

The original Kagayanen numbers may be completely reduplicated, indicating groups of N participants in an action. For example, *isya-isya* 'one by one' or 'one at a time' and *darwa-darwa* 'two by two' or 'two at a time'.

(68) **Isya-isya** ki nang manaw.

***Isya~-isya** ki nang m–panaw.*
RED~one 1P.INCL.ABS just/only I.V.IR–go/walk
'We will leave **one by one**.'

(69) Insa iya ta **isya-isya** ki kami, "Kan-o ki isab balik di?"

*Insa iya ta **isya~-isya** ki kami, "Kan-o ki isab*
ask 3S.ERG NABS RED~one OBL.P 1P.EXCL when 1P.INCL.ABS again
balik di?"
return D1LOC
'She asked us **one by one**,"When will we return here again?"'
[EMWN-T-09 10.3]

(70) **Darwa-darwa** gid na ḷunan gamit danen.

***Darwa~-darwa** gid na ḷunan gamit danen.*
RED~two INT LK pillow use 3P.ERG
'They really used two pillows each.'

The form *isya-isya* can also function to modify an RP, in which case it expresses the idea of 'each and every one'.

(71) ... **isya-isya** kiten mag-atag kayaran ta masigkaittaw ta.

*... **isya~-isya** kiten mag–-atag ka–ayad–an ta masigka–ittaw*
RED~one 1P.INCL.ABS I.IR–give NR–good–NR NABS fellow-person
ta.
1P.INCL.GEN
'... **each and every** one of us ought 'to give goodness to our fellow humans.' [JCOB-L-02 10.4]

4.4.3.2 *tag-*/*tig-* distributive numbers

The prefix *tag-* or *tig-* occurs with the original Kagayanen cardinal numbers to indicate how many items go into each group. For example, *tag-* plus *darwa* becomes *tagdarwa* meaning 'two each'; *tag-* plus *pitto* 'seven' becomes *tagpitto* 'seven each', and so on. There are two different ways to say 'one each': *tag-isya* or *tagsaḷa*:

(72) Mga gamiten ta pagmikaw pitto pungpong na puso na ummay na derse na paryo nang ta bunga ta biid na **tagpitto** buok. Piro kawaḷḷo na pungpong sampuḷo buok na puso na derse man.

Mga gamit–en ta pag–mikaw pitto pungpong na
PL use–T.IR NABS NR.ACT–food.offering seven cluster LK
puso na ummay na derse na paryo nang ta bunga
rice.in.leaves LK unmilled.rice LK small.PL LK like just/only NABS fruit
*ta biid na **tag–pitto** buok. Piro ka–waḷḷo na pungpong*
NABS hog.plum LK each–seven piece but ORD–eight LK cluster
sampuḷo buok na puso na derse man.
ten piece unmilled.rice rice.in.leaves LK small.PL EMPH

'The things used in food offering are seven clusters of small coconut leaf pouches with rice inside like the (size) of the hog plum fruit, which are **seven pieces each**. But the eighth cluster has ten small coconut leaf pouches with rice inside.' [JCWE-T-16 4.1]

(73) Daw mapukan en, utud-uturon en lawa din an na **tagsaḷa** duppa.

Daw ma–pukan en, utod~-utod–en en lawa din an na
if/when A.HAP.IR–cut.down CM RED~cut–T.IR CM body 3S.GEN DEF.M LK
***tagsaḷa** duppa.*
one.each arm's.span

'When it will be cut-down, cut its trunk up, one arm's span **each (piece)**.' [JCWE-L-32 6.3]

The word *tagsaḷa* in this example can be replaced with *tag-isya* with no difference in meaning.

The prefix *tag-* may also occur with the Spanish-based numbers to refer to the price of each item, for example, *tagdyis pisos* 'ten pesos each'. The word *pisos* may drop out, such that *tagdyis* alone is understood to mean 'ten pesos each':

(74) Duma unti daw magbaligya ta karni ta tḷunon na baboy **tagdyis** pisos, piro iling ko, "Atag nang ta **tagnwibi** pisos."

Duma unti daw mag–baligya ta karni ta tḷunon na baboy
some D1LOC.PR if/when I.IR–sell NABS meat NABS wild LK pig
***tag–dyis** pisos, piro iling ko, "Atag nang ta **tag–nwibi** pisos."*
each–ten pesos but say 1s give just/only NABS each–nine pesos

'Some here when selling the meat of wild pig (say it is) **ten pesos each** (kilogram), but I said, "(I) will just give (it to you) for **nine pesos each**."' [RCON-L-01 10.5]

The prefix *tag-* has another usage with some roots to indicate a season of the year or a season of some activity (see Chapter 3, §3.3.15).

4.5 Non-numeral quantifiers

Non-numeral quantifiers in Kagayanen can only occur in the pre-head position (MOD_1) in the Referring Phrase. They may occur as predicates of clauses, but they do not take affixes. Only *tanan* 'all' and *tama* 'many' can take complete reduplication; *tanan-tanan*, meaning 'absolutely all' and *tama-tama* 'quite a few'. All the non-numeral quantifiers are listed in (75):

(75)		
	tanan	'all'
	tanan-tanan	'absolutely all'
	kada	'each', 'every'
	kada isya	'each one'
	duma	'some', 'other', 'others', 'another'
	bilog	'whole', 'all inclusive'
	tama	'many', 'much'
	tama-tama	'quite a few'
	tise/sise (nang) [12]	'few'
	pila (nang)	'few'

The non-numeral quantifiers *tama* 'many', *tise* 'few' and *pila* 'few' can occur with degree/intensity adverbs, and so qualify as adjectives (76)–(80).

(76) **sikad tama** na kwarta
sikad tama *na kwarta*
very much LK money
'very much money'

(77) **tanan gid** na tanem
tanan gid *na tanem*
all INT LK plant
'really all the plants'

[12]The forms *tise* and *sise* are idiolectal variants in this context. We suspect interference from the adjective *sise* meaning 'small (sg.) in size'. The variant forms *tiset* and *siset* also occur, parallel to the variants *derse* and *derset* for the adjective meaning 'small (pl.)'. Both of these forms are also predicate adverbs indicating 'almost do X' (see §4.7).

(78) **tanan-tanan gid** na guso

tanan~-tanan gid *na guso*
RED~all INT LK agar.seaweed
'completely really all the agar seaweed'

(79) **kada gid** na adlaw

kada gid *na adlaw*
each INT LK day/sun
'really each day'/'each and every day'

(80) **kada** isya **gid** na bata

kada *isya* ***gid*** *na bata*
each one INT LK child
'really each single child'/'each and every child'

RPs containing *tanan* and *kada* often occur clause-initially (81)–(82), (84)–(85), but also occur in other positions (83), (86):

(81) **Tanan** na mga ittaw galineng.

Tanan *na mga ittaw ga–lineng.*
all LK PL people I.R–quiet/peaceful
'All the people became quiet.' [JCWN-T-20 19.2]

(82) **Tanan-tanan** ki kabatyag ta kakulian ta Cagayancillo …

Tanan~-tanan *ki ka–batyag ta ka–kuli–an ta*
RED~all 1P.INCL.ABS I.EXM–feel NABS NR–difficult/hard–NR NABS
Cagayancillo …
Cagayancillo
'**Absolutely all** of us feel extreme difficulties of Cagayancillo…'
[FDOE-T-01 3.3]

(83) Barangay kapitan gaumaw ta **tanan** na mga ittaw.

Barangay kapitan ga–umaw ta ***tanan*** *na mga ittaw.*
community captain I.R–call NABS all LK PL people
'The community captain called **all the people**.' [JCWN-T-21 9.4]

Kada 'each' occurs before the head noun without a linker as in *kada mama* 'each man' (84), *kada baḷay* 'each house' (86) and *kada isya* 'each one' (85).

(84) **Kada** mama ta bilog na banwa papaubra na uḷa gid swildo.
__Kada__ mama ta bilog na banwa pa–pa–ubra na uḷa gid
each man NABS whole LK town/country T.R–CAUS–work LK NEG.R INT
swildo.
wage
'**Every man** in the whole town was made to work without any wage.'
[JCWN-T-20 11.1]

(85) … daw **kada** isya ki danen may bitbit na pusil daw sundang na sikad ḷangkaw.
… daw __kada__ isya ki danen may bitbit na pusil daw sundang na
and each one OBL.P 3p EXT.IN hold LK gun and machete LK
sikad ḷangkaw.
very long
'…and **each one** of them held a gun and machete that was very long.'
[BCWN-C-04 9.13]

(86) Tapos gatagtag kay ta kindi ta **kada baḷay**.
Tapos ga–tagtag kay ta kindi ta __kada baḷay__.
then I.R–distribute 1P.EXCL.ABS NABS candy NABS each house
'Then we distributed candy to **each** house.' [VAOE-J-02 3.7]

The root *duma* is particularly multi-functional. As a noun it means 'companion'. As a verb, it means 'to be with (someone)'. As a quantifier in a non-contrastive context, it means 'some' (i.e., an indefinite number of). In a contrastive context it tends to mean 'other' or 'others' (87).

(87) **duma** na mga bataan
__duma__ na mga bata–an
some LK PL child–NR
'**some** children' or 'other children'

duma may also occur with singular nouns to express ideas similar to 'another' or some non-specific item:

(88) **duma** na bata
__duma__ na bata
some NABS child
'another child', 'some child'

In contexts when it is known who or what is being talked about, the non-numeral quantifiers, except for *kada* 'each', can occur as the head noun in a Referring Phrase (89).

(89) Kamang din **tanan**.
Kamang din ***tanan***.
get 3S.ERG all
'S/he took **all** (of them/it).'

4.6 Modifier Phrases

We refer to syntactic constructions headed by Modifiers as *Modifier Phrases* (MPs). There are three situations in which MPs may function in Kagayanen clauses:

1. *Attributively* in Referring Phrases" (*the* ***very thick*** *rain*)
2. *Predicatively* as non-verbal Predicates (*The rain is* ***very thick***.)
3. *Adverbially* as clause-level Modifiers (*It is raining* **very thickly**.)

In this section, we will describe the internal structure of MPs serving each of these three major functions. The distribution of MPs in their larger contexts will be described in other sections: attributive functions of MPs are discussed in Chapter 3; predicative functions are discussed in Chapter 5; and adverbial functions are discussed in §4.7 below.

Modifier Phrases (MP) consist minimally of a Head, which may be a lexical adjective, a derived adjective, a noun, a precategorial root, a numeral, one of a small set of quantifiers, a genitive case RP, or a relative clause. We argue that when MPs function predicatively or adverbially they are nominalized (see §4.6.2).

The basic template for Modifier Phrases is given in (90):

(90) MP = ($ADV1_{degree}$) ($ADV2_{intensity/aspect}$) Head

As shown in (90), there are generally two groups of adverbial elements (ADV) that may occur within a Modifier Phrase. Group one, *degree adverbs*, always precede the head. Group two, *intensity* and *aspect adverbs*, are second-position enclitics. They occur following the first major constituent in the phrase. Thus, if no degree adverb occurs, any intensity/aspect adverbs follow the Head (exx. 92, and 93):

(91) sikad gid tama na ittaw
ADV1 ADV2 HEAD
[sikad gid tama] na ittaw
very INT many LK people
'very many people'

(92) dani nang man na baryo
Head ADV2
[dani nang] man na baryo
close only too LK barrio
'a very close barrio too' [DDWN-C-01 3.6]

(93) dayad gid na ittaw
Head ADV2
[dayad gid] na ittaw
good INT LK person
'a really good person' [JCOE-T-06 1.1]

The intensity adverb *gid* and the aspectual adverbs may occur after the Head even if a degree adverb appears before the head. This suggests a "tighter" link between the ADV1 and the HEAD, as indicated by the bracketing in examples (94) and (95). Such special constructions indicate higher intensity, as indicated by upper case in the free translations:

(94) sikad tama gid na ittaw
ADV1 Head ADV2
[[sikad tama] gid] na ittaw
very many INT LK people
'really VERY MANY people'

(95) sikad lawig pa na iksplikar
ADV1 Head ADV2
[[sikad lawig] pa] na iksplikar
very long.time INC LK explanation
'very LONG explanation' [SBWL-C-03 6.4]

The central degree adverbs are *sikad* 'very', *segeng* 'extremely' and *tise (nang)* 'slightly/a little bit/almost'. A fourth degree adverb, *midyo* 'kind of/sort of' may

also be included in this set, though it has slightly different syntactic properties, as discussed below.

Intensity adverbs include the intensifier *gid* 'truly', and the downtoner *nang* 'just/only' (see examples 99–104 below). What we are calling "aspectual" adverbs are *pa* 'incompletely' or 'still' (exx. 104, 105) and *en* 'completely' (100). Tagalog also employs a particle *pa* with senses comparable to the same particle in Kagayanen. The *en* adverb is comparable to Tagalog *na*, and is sometimes represented in the free translations as "already" or "now".

In the following sections we will describe MPs functioning attributively (§4.6.1), predicatively (§4.6.2), and adverbially (§4.6.3). Following this, we will describe two subtypes of MPs—MPs headed by numbers (NumP) and non-numeral quantifiers (§4.6.4).

4.6.1 MPs functioning attributively

As mentioned above, MPs consist minimally of a single modifying element. Several examples of minimal MPs in MOD_1 and MOD_2 positions are presented in §4.2 above. Examples (96)–(99) illustrate slightly more complex MPs functioning attributively in the MOD_1 position in an RP. In these examples the MP is indicated in brackets:

(96) sikad dakmeḷ na mga lamunon
ADV1 Head
[sikad dakmeḷ] na mga lamon–én
very thick LK PL to.weed–NR
'very thick weeds' [PBWN-C-13 10.2]

(97) segeng bao na tangkaḷ ta baboy
ADV1 Head
[segeng bao] na tangkaḷ ta baboy
extremely odor LK pen NABS pig
'extremely smelly pen of the pig'

(98) midyo inog na nangka
ADV1 Head
[midyo inog] na nangka
kind.of ripe LK jackfruit
'kind of ripe jackfruit'

(99) tise nang bao na tangkaḷ ta baboy
ADV1 ADV2 Head
[tise nang bao] na tangkaḷ ta baboy
slightly just/only odor LK pen NABS pig
'just slightly smelly pen of the pig'

Examples (100)–(104) illustrate MPs with intensity/aspect adverbs in the ADV2 position.

(100) subḷa en na dikstros.
Head ADV2
[subḷa en] na dikstros.
too.much CM LK dextrose
'too much dextrose now' [JCWN-T-21 17.3]

(101) bugtong nang na bata
Head ADV2
[bugtong nang] na bata
sole only LK child
'one and only child' [CBWN-C-17 2.2]

(102) sikad gid tama na mga pilak na dayad
ADV1 ADV2 Head
[sikad gid tama] na mga pilak na dayad
very INT many LK PL silver LK good
'really very much silver that is good' [AGWN-L-01 5.8]

(103) sikad tama gid na mga pilak na dayad
ADV1 Head ADV2
[[sikad tama][13] gid] na mga pilak na dayad
very many INT LK PL silver LK good
'really very MUCH silver that is good'

(104) sikad pa lawig na iksplikar
ADV1 ADV2 Head
[sikad pa lawig] na iksplikar
very INC long.time LK explanation
'a VERY long explanation'

[13]We have used multiple brackets in this example to illustrate the tight syntactic relationship between *sikad* and the following Head. This is mentioned above, and in the following discussion.

The following examples illustrate an aspectual plus an intensity adverb following the HEAD (105) and preceding the HEAD (106). The combinations *pa gid* 'truly very' and *pa man* 'very (emphatic)' may be lexicalized compounds. They are quite common, while other combinations of aspectual and intensity adverbs do not occur:

(105) matama **pa gid** na ambaḷanen
Head ADV2 ADV2
*[ma–tama **pa gid**] na ambaḷ–anen*
ADJ–many INC INT LK say–NR
'really MANY more sayings' [SFOB-L-02 4.5]

(106) sikad **pa man** gwapa na bata
ADV1 ADV2 ADV2 Head
*[sikad **pa man** gwapa] na bata*
very INC EMPH attractive LK child
'a VERY attractive child' [CBOE-C-01 1.9]

As mentioned above, and illustrated in (102)–(104), in general when a degree adverb occurs in an MP, the intensity and aspectual adverbs occur after the degree adverb or after the Head of the MP. However, the downtoner *nang* is an exception. It only occurs after the degree adverb *tise*. If there is no degree adverb, *nang* may appear after the Head, but it does not occur with any degree adverb other than *tise*. For this reason we sometimes consider *tise nang*, 'just a little bit', to be a fixed compound adverbial expression (see 99).

As is the case at all levels of Kagayanen syntax, various "intrusive" elements may occur after the first syntactic element in the MP. These may be clause-level enclitic pronouns or clausal adverbial particles. Examples (107) through (111) illustrate MPs with an intrusive clausal attitude marker, pronoun and/or clause-level enclitic (bolded).

(107) sikad **ya** tama na sagbetan
*[sikad **ya** tama] na sagbet–an*
very ATT many LK weeds/trash–NR
'the very many weeds (far away, out of sight)'

(108) mataḷem **kaw man** na maistro daw maistra
*[ma–taḷem **kaw man**] na maistro daw maistra*
ADJ–sharp 2P.ABS EMPH LK teacher.M and teacher.F
'**also you** (will be) skillful teachers (male) and teachers (female)'
[SFOB-L-01 8.7]…

(109) sikad **kon** gwapa na dḷaga
*[sikad **kon** gwapa] na dḷaga*
very HSY attractive LK single.woman
'a very, **they say**, attractive young woman' [PBWN-C-12 15.3]

(110) ... sikad **ka kon** miad na dḷaga.
*[... sikad **ka** **kon** miad] na dḷaga.*
very 2S.ABS HSY kind LK single.woman
'... **they say** you are a very kind single woman.' [PBWN-C-12 15.3]

(111) sikad **man kon** tama na kwarta ...
*[sikad **man** **kon** tama] na kwarta ...*
very EMPH HSY many LK money
'**it is said** (there was) very much money ...' [PBWN-C-13 14.2]

As mentioned in Chapter 3, §3.5.1 there is an element we've termed "Є" that consists of a genitive enclitic and/or a deictic determiner. The genitive enclitic occurs in the second position in the Referring Phrase. Of course, if the MP is in MOD_1, and consists of a single word, the genitive enclitic follows that word. However, if the MP is complex, the genitive enclitic intrudes after the first element of the MP. Examples (112) and (113) illustrate MPs with such intrusive genitive enclitic pronouns.

(112) tallo **ko** nang na mga mangngod na mga dirset
*[tallo **ko** nang] na mga mangngod na mga dirset*
three 1S.GEN only LK PL younger.sib LK PL small.PL
'just my three small younger siblings' [ETOP-C-08 4.1]

(113) ta tanan-tanan **no** gid na pamilya
*ta [tanan~-tanan **no** gid] na pamilya*
NABS RED~all 2S.GEN INT LK family
'truly all your family' [ETOP-C-08]

As mentioned above, the degree adverbs seem to be more tightly bound syntactically to the following Head than other modifiers, since genitive enclitics may not intrude between them and the Head of the MP. Instead the only possible order in this case is for the genitive enclitic to follow the Head of the MP, thus indicating that *sikad bakod* in example (114) is treated as a unitary substantive element for purposes of Є placement:

(114) *sikad bakod no na baḷay* ‘your very big house’
**sikad no bakod na baḷay*

Interestingly, this restriction only applies to genitive enclitics. Clausal pronouns, attitude markers and adverbs may intrude between *sikad* and the Head of the MP (exx. 107, 108, and 111). Also, intensity/aspectual clausal adverbs may occur after *sikad* (exx. 102 and 104).

4.6.2 MPs functioning as predicates

Every language has ways of predicating concepts referring to properties. For example, in English one can say “she is very tall” or “he is taller than his father”. The predicates in these sentences are sometimes called “adjectival predicates” or “predicate adjective phrases”. Such adjectival predicates have much in common with Modifier Phrases within Referring Phrases, but they are not exactly the same. For example, in English one can use “very tall” attributively, “A very tall woman”, or predicatively “the woman is very tall”. However “taller than his father” can only be used predicatively. The attributive use is not allowed - “*A taller than his father boy”. Even some individual modifiers may be used attributively but not predicatively, and vice versa:

(115)

Attributive use	**Predicative use**
The dolphin is a *marine* mammal.	*Some mammals are *marine*.
They caught the *serial* killer.	*That killer is *serial*.
*An *ablaze* house	The house was *ablaze*.
*An *ashamed* teacher	I am *ashamed*.

For this reason, the notion of “Adjective Phrase” in English needs to be qualified as to whether it is the type of phrase that may be used attributively, predicatively or both.

Something similar is true in Kagayanen as well. We propose that MPs functioning as Predicates are actually nominalizations, and that therefore there is no essential difference between nominal predicates and adjectival predicates. Furthermore, there is a reasonable functional explanation for this fact.

To illustrate, compare examples (116) and (117) with (96) and (97) (repeated here as 118 and 119):

(116) Predicative use of modifier phrases:
Sikad na dakmeḷ mga lamunon.
[Sikad na dakmeḷ] mga lamon–én.
very LK thick PL to.weed–––NR
'The weeds are very thick.' Or 'Very thick ones are the weeds.'

(117) Segeng na bao tangkaḷ ta baboy.
[Segeng na bao] tangkaḷ ta baboy.
extremely LK odor pen NABS pig
'The pig pen is extremely smelly.'

(118) Attributive use of modifier phrases:
sikad dakmeḷ na mga lamunon
[sikad dakmeḷ] na mga lamunon
very thick LK PL weeds
'very thick weeds' [PBWN-C-13 10.2]

(119) segeng bao na tangkaḷ ta baboy
[segeng bao] na tangkaḷ ta baboy
extremely odor LK pen NABS pig
'extremely smelly pig pen'

Note that the only overt indication of the distinction between the predicative versus attributive functions is the position of the linker, *na*.[14] In the predicative use (exx. 116 and 117), the linker occurs inside the Modifier Phrase, whereas in the attributive use (exx. 118 and 119), the linker occurs between the Modifier Phrase and the Head of the nominal predicate RP. This is entirely parallel to simple predicate nominal constructions in which a modified RP functions as a predicate:

(120) Layen gid na bata Pedro ya.
Predicate Absolutive
Layen gid na bata Pedro ya.
mischievious INT LK child Pedro DEF.F
'Pedro is really a mischievous child.'

[14]This generalization is true in careful speech. In relaxed speech, all linkers are subject to omission, thus potentially obscuring the grammatical distinction between Clause and RP. However, in context speakers are easily able to replace the dropped linkers, thus disambiguating the structures in exactly the manner described in this section.

(121) Beet na ittaw kanen an.
Predicate Absolutive
Beet na ittaw kanen an.
behaved LK person 3S.ABS DEF.M
'S/he is a well-behaved person.'

Thus if we consider modifier phrases functioning as predicates as being nominalizations (e.g. "very thick ones" in 116, and "extremely smelly one" in 117, there is no need to posit an "optional" linker that only shows up when the phrase functions as a predicate. These modifying predicates are just RPs with a property concept word as the Head and the degree adverbs in the MOD_1 position. The RP structure explains the presence of the linker.

A reasonable functional explanation for this fact is simply that, if the predicating modifiers were not nominalized, there would be no structural distinction between attribution and predication, for example *sikad dakmeḷ mga lamunon* would mean both "the very thick weeds" and "the weeds are very thick".

Just as illustrated in English above, in Kagayanen certain modifying expressions may occur attributively, but not predicatively. This is the difference between *midyo* 'kind of/sort of' and the other degree adverbs, *sikad* 'very' *segeng* 'extremely' and *tise (nang)* 'a little bit'. As illustrated in example (98), repeated here as (122), *midyo* may function to modify a property concept word such as *inog* 'ripe'.

(122) midyo inog na nangka
[midyo inog] na nangka
kind.of ripe LK jackfruit
'kind of ripe jackfruit'

However, *midyo* by itself may not appear in a predicate modifier:

(123) *[* Midyo na inog] nangka an.*
('The jackfruit is kind of ripe.')

The other degree adverbs may freely function in either context (see exx. 116 through 119). For this reason, we say that *midyo* is a non-central member of the class of degree adverbs. Of course this may be because it is a recently borrowed word, coming originally from Spanish *medio* 'half/partly'.

Similar to attributive MPs when MPs occur as predicates, an enclitic pronoun referring to the absolutive argument of the clause may intrude in second position. In example (124), the second clause, "we were very tired" consists of a predicate

modifier *sikad gid bellay* 'very tired', with the linker *na* dropped out before the word *bellay*. The absolutive argument of this predicate is *kay* 'we' which appears in second position in the clause:

(124) Mam, ta ame na pag-uli di [sikad **kay** gid bellay …
*Mam, ta ame na pag–-uli di [sikad **kay***
ma'am NABS 1P.EXCL.GEN LK NR.ACT–go.home D1LOC very 1P.EXCL.ABS
gid bellay] …
INT tired
'Ma'am, when we went home here, we were really very tired…'
[AFWL-L-01]

The second clause of example (124), with pronoun intrusion, is the most normal way of expressing this type of clause. The "non-intrusive" version is used in unusual situations, such as excited speech (125) (see Chapter 5):

(125) Sikad gid (na) bellay kami i.
Sikad gid (na) bellay kami i.
very INT LK tired 1P.EXCL.ABS DEF.N
'We were very tired (excitedly).'

As mentioned above, the linker *na* often drops out in relaxed speech. However, there is no apparent communicative function for this omission of *na*.

Similarly, in example (126), the predicate is *sikad (na) sadya* 'very happy.' In this case both the absolutive enclitic pronoun and a clause-level adverbial particle appear after the degree adverbial:

(126) Sikad **kaw taan** sadya.
*[Sikad **kaw taan** sadya.]*
very 2P.ABS perhaps happy
'Y'all are perhaps very happy.' [SBWL-C-01 4.2]

Finally, (127) illustrates two coordinate predicate modifier clauses. In the second clause, the absolutive enclitic *kay* 'we exclusive' intrudes in the MP functioning as the predicate.

(127) Sikad tama ame na kaoy daw sikad **kay** na teggeb.
*Sikad tama ame na kaoy daw [sikad **kay** na teggeb.]*
very many 1P.EXCL.GEN LK wood and very 1P.EXCL.ABS LK overloaded
'Our wood was very much and we were very overloaded…' (This is a story about riding in an outrigger canoe.) [CBWN-C-11 2.6]

4.6.3 MPs functioning as clause-level modifiers

MPs functioning as clause-level modifiers mostly occur with a non-absolutive marker *ta* preceding them, and there is usually no linker between any degree adverb and the Head. Examples (128) and (129) illustrate basic MPs in this function, with both degree and intensity/aspectual adverbs:

(128) Guran **ta sikad gid dakmeḷ**.
Ga–uran ***ta sikad gid dakmeḷ***.
I.R–rain NABS very INT thick
'It is/was really raining **very thickly**.'

(129) Bukasan din **ta tise nang**.
∅–Bukas–an din ***ta tise nang***.
T.R–open–APL 3S.ERG NABS little.bit only/just
'S/he opened it **just a little bit**.'

Examples (130) through (135) from the corpus illustrate MPs of various compositions functioning as clause-level modifiers:

(130) Sikad gatingaḷa gid **ta bakod** mga ittaw an man-o tak ittaw i gatallog.
Sikad ga–tingaḷa gid ***ta bakod*** *mga ittaw an man-o tak*
very I.R–wonder INT NABS big PL person DEF.M why because
ittaw i ga–tallog.
person DEF.N I.R–egg
'People really were wondering **greatly** (lit. big) why a person was laying eggs.' [MBON-T-07 10:7]

(131) Dayon kon papakang buḷag tamboḷ ya **ta sikad tudo**.
Dayon kon pa–pakang buḷag tamboḷ ya ***ta sikad tudo***.
right.away HSY T.R–hit blind drum DEF.F NABS very intense
'Right away the blind one hit the drum **very hard**.' [CBWN-C-10 7.12]

(132) Ta buḷan ta Abril gulpi nang uran **ta sikad dakmeḷ**.
Ta buḷan ta Abril gulpi nang uran ***ta sikad***
NABS month/moon NABS April suddenly only/just rain NABS very
dakmeḷ.
thick
'In the month of April (it) suddenly rains **very heavily**.' [JCWE-T-14 3.5]

(133) Kada adlaw mag-istudyo ta iran na liksyon **ta miad**.

Kada adlaw mag–-istudyo ta iran na liksyon ***ta miad****.*
each day I.IR–study NABS 3P.GEN LK lessson NABS well/good
'Each day (they) studied their lessson **well**.' [CFWE–T–01 2.7]

(134) Mga kan-en na sinama dapat na takḷeban **ta usto**.

Mga kan-en na s<in>ama dapat na ∅–takḷeb–an ***ta usto****.*
PL cooked.rice LK <NR.RES>leftover must LK T.IR–cover–APL NABS well
'Leftover rice must be covered **well**.' [JCWN-T-21 12.6]

Sometimes in relaxed speech the non-absolutive marker drops out (as in 135).

(135) Tenged ta adlek din, gadḷagan **tudo** kabaw ya.

Tenged ta adlek din, ga–dḷagan ***tudo*** *kabaw ya.*
because NABS afraid 3S.GEN I.R–run intense carabao DEF.F
'Because of his (the rider of the carabao) fear, the carabao ran **intensely**.' [RCON-L-02 2.13]

4.6.4 MPs headed by numbers and quantifiers

Number Phrases (NumP) are a subtype of Modifier Phrases. They may function as RP modifiers in MOD_1 or MOD_2 position, or as non-verbal predicates. However, they have a slightly different structural template than other Modifier Phrases, and so we are treating them distinctly. A Numeral Phrase may consist of just a numeral, a numeral accompanied by adverbs, and/or an optional classifier or measure word. Unlike other MPs, only one adverbial particle can precede the numeral, namely the indefinite plural adverbial *mga*. The basic structure of the NumP is given in (136):

(136) NumP = (PL) NUM (ADV2) ({CLASS/MEASURE})

The Numeral Phrase consists of an optional adverb *mga* (glossed PL, as it is identical to the plural marker at the RP level) indicating "approximately", followed by the cardinal or ordinal numeral. Following the numeral are optional intensity and aspectual adverbs as in the MP. Following the adverb(s), an optional *noun classifier*, such as *buok* 'piece', *bilog* 'round', *panid* 'flat sheet', *puon* 'stem', *naet* 'strand', or an optional measurement, such as *akep* 'handful', *kilo* 'kilogram,

litsi '8oz.can', *gantang* 'ganta'[15], *pungpong* 'cluster', *begkes* 'bundle', *baso* 'glass' and many others.

Mga 'approximately' and the measurement/classifier words do not occur with ordinal numbers in the text corpus, but do occur in conversation (141 and 142). When the numeral phrase includes *mga* 'approximately' before the numeral, there is usually no *mga* plural marker immediately before the Head of the larger RP, though it sometimes does occur. Examples (137) through (145) illustrate a few Number Phrases occurring in the text corpus:

(137) NumP in attributive function:
tallo i na mag-arey
tallo *i* *na mag--arey*
three DEF.N LK REL–friend
'the three friends' [CBWN-C-10 2.2]

(138) **kapitto** ya na bukid
ka–pitto *ya* *na bukid*
ORD–seven DEF.F LK mountain
'the seventh mountain' [PBWN-C-12 11.7]

(139) **isya nang panid** na daon
isya nang panid *na daon*
one only sheet LK leaf
'only one leaf' [MBON-T-07 13.4]

(140) **isya nang litsi** na ummay na may passi pa
isya nang litsi *na ummay* *na may* *passi pa*
one only 8oz.can LK unmilled.rice LK EXT.IN husk still
'just one can of rice still with the husks' [PBWN-C-12 8.2]

(141) **mga pangappat** na adlaw
mga pang–appat *na adlaw*
PL ORD–fourth LK day
'approximately the fourth day'

(142) **panglimma bilog** na baboy
pang–limma bilog *na baboy*
ORD–five piece LK pig
'the fifth pig'

[15] A *ganta* is a dry measure in the Philippines mostly for rice that equals about 3 quarts.

(143) NumP in predicate function:
Mga tallo nang en duminggo ame na klasi bag-o eman magbakasyon.
Mga tallo nang en *duminggo*[16] *ame* *na klasi bag-o*
PL three only CM week 1P.EXCL.GEN LK class before
eman *mag–bakasyon.*
again.as.before I.IR–vacation
'**Only about three** weeks was before our vacation again.' [JBWL-J-03 3.4]

(144) ... riliyon kon i danen dili kon **una gid** na riliyon ta kalibutan.
... riliyon *kon i* *danen* *dili* *kon* ***una gid*** *na riliyon* *ta*
religion HSY DEF.N 3P.GEN NEG.IR HSY first INT LK religion NABS
kalibutan.
world
'...their religion is not, they say, the **very first** religion in the world.' [JCOE-C-04 8.7]

(145) **Isya nang en** na layag ame na palayag.
Isya nang en *na layag ame* *na pa–layag.*
one only CM LK sail 1P.EXCL.GEN LK T.R–sail
'**Only one** sail **now** was what we were sailing with.' [VAWN-T-18 5.2]

As shown in the RP template given in Chapter 3, §3.5.1, an Є element (enclitic genitive pronoun and/or enclitic demonstrative determiner) may follow any MOD_1 element, though it is less common after NumPs (146)–(147) than after other types of modifiers. Like other modifier phrases in MOD_1 position, no examples were found in texts of a Numeral Phrase with a numeral and an adverb in MOD_1 as well as an Є element. In the following examples the NumP is in brackets and the Є element is bolded.

(146) darwa **ko ya** na mga utod
[darwa] ***ko*** ***ya*** *na mga utod*
two 1S.GEN DEF.F LK PL sibling
'my two siblings' [PBWN-C-13 8.3]

[16] Notice the absence of linker *na* before the Head of the RP, *duminggo*. Speakers report that such time-setting phrases are more natural without the linker. This example is a nominal predicate that sets the time frame for a main assertion.

(147) katallo **din ya** na uyok

[ka–tallo] ***din*** ***ya*** *na uyok*
ORD–three 3S.GEN DEF.F LK whistle
'his/her third whistle' [CBWN-C-20 6.5]

As with Modifier Phrases, the genitive enclitic of the referring phrase follows the first substantive word in a Numeral Phrase. This means that when a Numeral Phrase consists of more than one word, the genitive enclitic intrudes inside the phrase:

(148) tallo **ko** nang na mga mangngod na mga dirset

[tallo ***ko*** *nang] na mga mangngod na mga dirset*
three 1S.GEN only LK PL younger.sibling LK PL small.PL
'only my three younger siblings who are small' [ETON-C-07 1.3]

The demonstrative determiner for the RP, however, occurs after the whole numeral phrase (see also examples 137 and 138 above):

(149) tallo **ko** nang **ya** na mga mangngod na mga dirset

[tallo ***ko*** *nang]* ***ya*** *na mga mangngod na mga dirset*
three 1S.GEN only DEF.F LK PL younger.sibling LK PL small.PL
'only my three small younger siblings' (variation of 148)

The fraction *tenga* 'half' occurs before the RP Head when there is no other numeral (150) and following the RP Head (in MOD_2 position) when there is another numeral (151).

(150) **tenga sako** na beggas

tenga sako *na beggas*
half sack LK milled.rice
'half a sack of rice' [DBWN-L-22 6.13]

(151) **isya nang pa** buḷan **tenga**

isya nang pa *buḷan* ***tenga***
one only INC month/moon half
'still only one and a half months' [ETOP-C-08 3.2]

Quantifiers may also occur as heads of Modifier Phrases that may function as RP modifiers in MOD_1, but not in MOD_2 position. They may also function as non-verbal predicators. See §4.5 above for description of the quantifier words and examples in such *quantifier phrases*. They have the same structural template as other Modifier Phrases (90), except that the Head is a quantifier.

(152) Sikad tama man iya na mga payong.
[Sikad tama man] iya na mga payong.
very many EMPH 3S.GEN LK PL umbrella
'Her umbrellas were **very many too**.' [BMON-C-05 4.6]

(153) Tama pa man mga darko na mga buli.
[Tama pa man] mga darko na mga buli.
many INC EMPH PL large.PL LK PL buri
'Large buri plants are **MANY yet**.' [JCWE-L-32 3.7]

(154) Sikad gid tama na mga pilak na dayad.
[Sikad gid tama] na mga pilak na dayad.
very INC many LK PL silver LK good
'Really **very much** good silver!' (This is an exclamation and so has the structure of an RP.) [AGWN-L-01 5.8]

(155) Sikad na tama na iitaw naan ta pantalan ya na gabot kay.
[Sikad na tama] na iitaw naan ta pantalan ya na ga–abot
very LK many LK person SPAT.DEF NABS pier DEF.F LK I.R–arrive
kay.
1P.EXCL.ABS
'**Very many** people were on the pier when we arrived.' [BCWN-C-04 9.5]

(156) Patubbas nay tiset nang, kulang pa kan-enen.
Pa–tubbas nay [tiset nang], kulang pa
T.R–corn.harvest 1P.EXCL.ERG few just/only lack INC
kan-en–en.
cooked.rice–NR
'What we harvested was only **a few** (ears of corn), not enough to eat.' [JAWE-T-01 3.8]

(157) Bisan pa na tise kay nang di tuytuyi kay Amay.

Bisan pa na [tise kay nang] di tuytoy–i
even.though INC LK few 1P.EXCL.ABS just/only D1LOC guide–XC.APL
kay Amay.
1P.EXCL.ABS father

'Even though we are **only a few** here, guide us Father.' (This is part of a prayer at the end of a sermon.) [TTOB-L03 12.3]

(158) Pila nang naet na nit nabilin.

[Pila nang naet] na nit na-bilin.
few just/only strand LK net A.HAP.R–leave.behind

'**Only a few** nets were left.' (This is about a big typhoon that hit and damaged their livelihood including fishing nets.) [JCWL-T-18 5.6]

The following expressions are frequently heard at the end of public speeches, but the first is more frequent in the corpus.

(159) Matama nang na salamat.

[Ma–tama nang] na salamat.
ADJ–many just/only LK thanks

'**Just many** thanks.' [BFOB-T-01 8.1]

(160) Matama gid na salamat.

[Ma–tama gid] na salamat.
ADJ–many INT LK thanks

'**Really many** thanks.' [MCOB-C-01 13.1]

Sometimes only the degree adverb and the intensifier adverb can occur as the non-verbal predicate.

(161) Uyo nya sikad gid ake na kulba.

U–yo nya [sikad gid] ake na kulba.
EMPH–D4ABS D4PR very INT 1S.GEN LK nervous

'That (is) the very thing/event/reason that my being-nervous was **really very (much)**.' [DBON-C-08 2.15]

4.7 Adverbs

Adverbs are general-purpose modifiers. They are words or lexicalized multiword expressions that qualify properties, actions or states within a clause, or express epistemic, modal or evidential value for an entire speech act.

We recognize six main groups of adverbs in Kagayanen. It must be kept in mind, however, that, except for locative adverbs (§4.7.6), these groups are not lexical subclasses of the lexical category "adverb". The first four types are adverbial "positions" in a clause, that may be filled by any number of lexical adverbs. Which adverb goes into which position or positions is a matter of lexical semantics in combination with a specific communicative situation and the creativity of the speaker. Often the semantic or discourse-pragmatic contribution of a particular lexical adverb varies depending on which position it occurs in, as will be seen in the following discussion. The fifth type, prepositional adverbs, is defined by the presence of the non-absolutive case marker *ta* appearing before any lexical adverb. Finally, locational adverbs are a distinct lexical class that have much in common with demonstrative pronouns and adjectives (Chapter 3, §3.4.4). In this section, we will describe the six groups, and will illustrate adverbs commonly occurring in each group.

Disjunct adverbs (§4.7.1) are those that occur preverbally outside the clause and normally express the speaker's attitude or evaluation of the proposition expressed in the clause. *Canonical adjunct adverbs* occur inside the clause. They may be in clause-initial position preceding the predicating word, second position following all other second-position clitics, or they may occur at any major constituent boundary, including clause-finally (§4.7.2). *Non-canonical adjunct adverbs* also occur inside a clause, but they normally occur in clause-initial position, though a few may occur immediately post-verbally. When occurring in clause-initial position, these adverbs impose formal restrictions on the form of the main verb (§4.7.3). The fourth group, *second-position adverbs*, always occur after the first major constituent of the clause, be it a verb, an adjunct adverb, or some other fronted clause constituent (§4.7.4). The fifth group, *prepositional adverbs*, always follow the non-absolutive case marker, *ta* (§4.7.5), and distribute like canonical adjunct adverbs except they do not occur clause-initially. The disjunct adverb, second-position adverb, and prepositional adverb positions are filled by small and relatively well-defined sets of lexical items. Both types of adjunct adverbs constitute large, and semantically heterogeneous classes. However, as mentioned above, just about any lexical adverb *may* function in just about any position, depending on the communicative needs and creativity of the speaker. Finally, *locative adverbs* are deictic forms referring to places, such as *here* and *there* in English (§4.7.6). This is the most restricted and lexically well-defined set of adverbs.

4.7.1 Disjunct adverbs

Disjunct adverbs are syntactically outside of, or "disjoined", from the clause (see, e.g., Greenbaum 1996 on this term as applied to English). Evidence for this in Kagayanen is that disjunct adverbs occur before the predicating word, are potentially followed by a pause, and do not attract the second-position enclitic pronouns and adverbs. Furthermore, verbal predicates that follow a disjunct adverb are fully finite—they may appear in any inflectional form. Disjunct adverbs mostly express the speaker's attitude or confidence in the truth of the whole utterance. The canonical lexical adverbs that often function in this position are *sigurado* 'surely', *siguro* 'perhaps', *basi* 'maybe', *ti/ta* 'so', *inta* '(I) wish/wishfully' (glossed OPT for'optative mood'), *lugay/lugar/tapos* 'then' and *dason* 'next'. *Sigurado* 'surely', *siguro* 'perhaps', and *tapos* can also function as inflected complement-taking predicates (see Chapter 12, §12.2.1, and §12.3.1). But *basi*, *ti/ta*, *inta*, and *lugay/lugar* do not function in this way. *Inta* can also occur as a second-position adverb (see §4.7.4 below). Other adverbs may also appear in the disjunct position, but we consider the eight mentioned above as *canonical disjunct adverbs*, because they are far more common and frequent than any of the others.

The following are some examples of disjunct adverbs in context:

(162) *Sigurado* 'surely'
Sigurado, muli danen anduni tak linaw en.
***Sigurado**, m–uli danen anduni tak linaw en.*
surely I.V.IR–go.home 3P.ABS now/today because calm CM
'**Surely**, they will come home now because (winds and/or waves are) calm.'

In example (162), if the adverb *sigurado* were a clause constituent, the absolutive enclitic *danen* would occur immediately following it. Furthermore, there is a noticeable pause after *sigurado*, as signaled by the comma. The following are a few more examples of disjunct adverbs from the corpus:

(163) *Siguro* 'perhaps' (The speaker is fairly certain of the truth of the utterance.)
Maria, **siguro**, namatian no mga inpurmasyon na tenged ta natabo ki kami di ta ate i na banwa.
*Maria, **siguro**, na–mati–an no mga inpurmasyon na tenged*
Maria perhaps A.HAP.R–hear–APL 2S.ERG PL information LK about
ta na–tabo ki kami di ta ate i na
NABS A.HAP.R–happen OBL.P 1P.EXCL D1LOC NABS 1P.EXCL.GEN DEF.N LK

banwa.
town/country
'Maria, **perhaps**, you have heard information about what happened to us here in our town.' [JCWL-T-18 5.1]

(164) *Basi* 'maybe' (Speaker is less certain about the truth of the utterance)
Basi, daw katapos a tanem guso, muli a.
Basi, *daw ka–tapos a tanem guso, m–uli*
maybe if/when I.EXM–finish 1S.ABS plant agar.seaweed I.V.IR–go.home *a.*
1S.ABS
'**Maybe**, when I finish planting agar seaweed, I will come home.' [ATWL-J01 4.7]

(165) **Basi**, magdugang imo na sakit
Basi, *mag-dugang imo na sakit*
maybe I.IR–add 2S.GEN LK pain.
'**Maybe**, your pain will increase.' [BCWL-C-03 4.7]

(166) *Ta/Ti* 'so/resuming' (Speaker signals a major development in the story or resumption of the mainline of the story after a digression or background information.)
Ti, daw mamatian nyo gani en singgit an ta Pwikan …
Ti*, daw ma–mati–an nyo gani en singgit an ta*
so if/when A.HAP.IR–hear–APL 2P.ERG truly CM shout DEF.M NABS
Pwikan …
sea.turtle
'**So**, if you hear truly the shout of Sea Turtle, …' [JCON-T-08 24.2]

(167) *Inta* 'wishfully' (Speaker wishes that the utterance were true, but it is not, or speaker wants it to be true in the future. *Inta* also may have a deontic sense)
Inta, miling a ta uma mangaoy.
Inta*, m–iling a ta uma ma–ng–kaoy.*
OPT I.V.IR–go 1S.ABS NABS field A.HAP.IR–PL–wood
'(I) **ought/wish**, to go to the field to gather firewood.'

(168) **Inta**, giling a ta uma mangaoy.

***Inta**, ga–iling a ta uma ma–ng–kaoy.*
OPT I.R–go 1S.ABS ABS field A.HAP.IR–PL–wood
'(I) **wish**, I had gone to the field to gather firewood.'

(169) **Inta**, magsuḷat ka man ki nanay no tak sikad gid kasebe din na sikad ka madyo en ki kanen.

***Inta**, mag–suḷat ka man ki nanay no tak sikad gid*
OPT I.IR–write 2S.ABS EMPH OBL.P mother 2S.GEN because very INT
ka–sebe din na sikad ka madyo en ki kanen.
NR–sad 3S.GEN LK very 2S.ABS far CM OBL.P 3S
'**Hopefully/It-ought-to-be**, you will write to your mother because her sadness is really much that you are very far from her.' [PMWL-T-06 2.3]

(170) *Lugay* 'then'/ 'long time'[17]
Lugay, ambaḷ din, "Pari, miad ka nang daw may pagkaan."

***Lugay**, ambaḷ din, "Pari, miad ka nang daw may pagkaan."*
then said 3S.GEN friend kind 2S.ABS only if/when EXT.IN food
'**Then**, he said, "Friend, you are kind only if/when there is food."'
[RBWN-T-02 5.3]

(171) *Lugar* 'then'/'place' (This may be a variant of *lugay*
Lugar, dili ko mapegengan ake na luwa.

***Lugar**, dili ko ma–pegeng–an ake na luwa.*
then NEG.IR 1S.ERG A.HAP.IR–control–APL 1S.GEN LK tear
'**Then**, I couldn't control my tears.' (This is a story about a student whose teacher accused him wrongly of cheating on a test.) [BCWN-T-06 2.8]

(172) *Tapos* 'after'/'finish' (Speaker signals a new development in a narrative)
Tapos, guḷi kay naan ta baḷay …

***Tapos**, ga–uḷi kay naan ta baḷay …*
then I.R–go.home 1P.EXCL.ABS SPAT.DEF NABS house
'Then, we went home to the house … ' [AGWN-L-01 3.13]

[17] *Lugay* signals a new development in a narrative. As a disjunct adverb, it just indicates that an unspecified time has lapsed. However, in other positions, it expresses the idea that a significant length of time has passed between clauses. *Lugar* as a clause-initial adverb has essentially the same syntactic and semantic profile, and so may be considered to be a variant of *lugay*. In other environments it is a noun that means 'place' (as in Spanish).

(173) Dason 'next' (Speaker signals the next event in a story, next step in a procedure or next point in an expository or behavioral text)
Dason, painsaan man Umang i, "Umang, anda ka en ta inyo na palumbaanay?"

***Dason**, pa–insa–an man Umang i, "Umang, anda ka en ta inyo na pa–lumba–anay?"*
next T.R–ask–APL also hermit.crab DEF.N hermit.crab ready 2S.ABS CM NABS 2P.GEN LK T.R–race–REC
"Next, the Hermit Crab was asked, "Hermit Crab, are you ready for your racing each other?" [DBWN-T-26 4.8]

4.7.2 Canonical adjunct adverbs

Canonical adjunct adverbs usually precede the predicating word. They may occur in second position following all other second-position clitics, or they may occur at any major syntactic boundary later in the clause, including clause-final position. When they appear before the predicating word, they are not followed by a pause, and they do attract the enclitic pronouns and adverbs. For these reasons, it is clear that adjunct adverbs are syntactically adjoined to the clause (Greenbaum 1996). Canonical adjunct adverbs tend to express temporal notions, and all have Austronesian etymologies. A selection of adverbs that tend to function as canonical adjunct adverbs is given in (174):

(174) Adverbs appearing in canonical adjunct positions

kis-a/kaysan	'sometimes'
tagsa	'seldom/once in a while'
kisyem	'tomorrow'
anduni	'now/today'
gibii/gabii/kibii	'yesterday'
sanadlaw/sinadlaw	'two days ago or in future'
gina	'earlier'
kani	'later'
kan-o	'previously'
pugya	'very long ago'
gina ugtu-adlaw	'earlier midday'
kani ugtu-adlaw	'later midday'
sellem pa	'early morning'
gina sellem	'earlier in the morning'
kisyem sellem	'tomorrow morning'

gina mapon	'earlier afternoon'
kani mapon	'later afternoon'
gibii kilem	'yesterday evening/night'
kani kilem	'later evening/night'
gina kadlunon	'earlier in the small hours of morning 2–3 am'
kani kadlunon	'later in the small hours of morning 2–3 am'
gina mapit madlaw	'earlier in the early morning 3–4 am'
kani mapit madlaw	'later in the early morning 3–4 am'
gina kaagaen	'earlier right before dawn'
kani kaagaen	'later right before dawn'
inta	'wish/intent/optative'
pirmi	'always'
dayon	'right away' / 'immediately'

There are clearly different nuances associated with these adverbs depending on whether they appear preverbally, in second position, or in clause-final position. A thorough study of the use of adverbs in discourse will be necessary to tease apart all such nuances and variable usages.

The following are examples from the corpus of adjunct adverbs in context. Example (175) illustrates *kani* appearing clause-initially:

(175) Nasugid na gakumpanyar an ta paglebbeng, **kani** kanen en man ilebbeng.

Na–sugid na ga–kumpanyar an ta pag–lebbeng, ***kani*** *kanen en man i–lebbeng.*
A.HAP.R–tell LK I.R–funeral.procession DEF.M NABS NR.ACT–bury later 3S.ABS CM too T.DEON–bury

'(It was) told that the one going with the funeral procession to the burial, **later** he too must be buried.' (This is a story about a very bad epidemic.) [JCWN-T-21 2.4]

Note that in (175) the enclitics *kanen*, *en* and *man* follow *kani*. This shows that *kani* is adjoined to the clause (i.e. it is the first element inside the clause boundary). This is the property that distinguishes adjunct adverbs from disjunct adverbs, which do not attract any second-position elements.

In (176) *kani* appears following the main predicating word, which is in second position in this clause (*daw* and the other conjunctions are outside the clause boundary, and therefore do not attract second position elements):

(176) Daw miyag **kani** en ginikanan i ta mga bai en, yo en mangagon en mama i.

Daw miyag ***kani*** *en ginikanan i ta mga bai en,*
if/when agree/want later CM parents DEF.N NABS PL woman CM
yo en ma–ng–kagon en mama i.
D4ABS CM A.HAP.IR–PL–engage CM man DEF.N
'If **later** the parents of the women agree (to the men marrying their daughters), that (is when) the men will be engaged (to the women).' [DBOE-C-01 1.3]

In (177), *kani* follows a fronted RP:

(177) Bata an **kani** magsabat na pabunaḷ tak may saḷa.

Bata an ***kani*** *mag–sabat na pa–bunaḷ tak may*
child DEF.M later I.IR–answer LK T.R–spank because EXT.IN
saḷa.
mistake/wrong
'The child **later** will answer that (s/he) was spanked because (s/he had done something) wrong.' [EMWE-T-01 2.8]

Example (178) illustrates *kani* at the end of a clause.

(178) Manaog ka, Pedro. Masunog ka **kani**.

M–panaog ka, Pedro. Masunog ka ***kani****.*
I.V.IR–go.down 2S.ABS Pedro A.HAP.IR–burn 2S.ABS later
'Come down Pedro. You will get burned **later**.' (A man was on the roof of a burning house trying to put out the fire.) [RZWN-T-02 3.7-8]

The following are a few examples of other canonical adjunct adverbs from the corpus.

(179) **Kisyem** ki nang en mag-isturya ta adlaw.

Kisyem *ki nang en mag-–isturya ta adlaw.*
tomorrow 1P.INCL.ABS just CM I.IR–talk NABS sun/day
'**Tomorrow** let's just talk in the day (time).' [ETON-C-07 3.11]

(180) Nanay man **kis-a** ganii man para sid-anan ta mga bata din daw sawa din man.
*Nanay man **kis-a** ga–nii man para sid-anan ta*
mother EMPH sometimes I.R–gather.shellfish also for viand NABS
mga bata din daw sawa din man.
PL child 3S.GEN and spouse 3S.GEN also
'Mother even **sometimes** gathers shellfish also for the viand of her children and her spouse also.' [ICOE-C-01 9]

(181) Ganii **kis-a** nanay para sid-anan danen.
*Ga–nii **kis-a** nanay para sid-anan danen.*
I.R–gather.shellfish sometimes mother PURP viand 3P.NABS
'Mother sometimes gathers shellfish for their viand.'

(182) Bilog na banwa gatib-ong ki kaon **anduni**.
Bilog na banwa ga–tib-ong[18] *ki kaon **anduni**.*
whole LK town I.R–lift.up OBL.P 2S now/today
'The whole town is lifting you up **now/today**.' [JCWO-T-30 24.1)

Example (183) illustrates a threat that commonly employs the word *kani* at the end with rising intonation and an extra long vowel on the last syllable.

(183) Daw gamiten no sundang Tatay, magilek kanen ki kaon **kani**.
Daw gamit–en no sundang Tatay, ma–gilek kanen ki
if/when use–T.IR 2S.ERG machete Dad A.HAP.IR–angry 3S.ABS OBL.P
*kaon **kani**.*
2S later
'If you use Father's machete, he will be angry with you **later**.'

Any canonical adjunct adverb must occur in the clause it is modifying and not after dependent clauses or RPs containing relative clauses (184).

(184) Apiten din nang en **kani** bata an na gatagad naan ta inyo.
*Apit–en din nang en **kani** bata an na ga–tagad naan*
stop.off–T.IR 3S.ERG just CM later child DEF.M LK I.R–wait SPAT.DEF
ta inyo.
NABS 2P.GEN
'S/he will stop off **later** for the child who is waiting at your (place).'

[18]This verb is Hiligaynon meaning to lift someone up, to raise to higher social position, elevate, promote, advance.

In examples (185) and (186), the adverb *anduni* 'now/today' occurs clause-initially. However, the function of this adverb in each of the two examples is very different because they illustrate two distinct constructions. In (185) the adverb is in a clause with a verb that has an exclamatory suffix (see Chapter 7 §7.8). The adverb is very closely tied to the clause itself and it modifies the whole clause. In contrast the adverb in (186) is set off from the clause by a slight pause. Also, it is functioning at a higher, discourse level, as a disjunct adverb (see §4.7.1 above). In this case, the speaker is providing a setting for this clause and those that follow.

(185) **Anduni** din nang nḷami na kapasar kanen ta board exam!
Anduni *din* *nang* *na–aḷam–i* *na ka–pasar*
now/today 3S.ERG just/only A.HAP.R–know–XC.APL LK I.EXM–pass
kanen ta *board exam!*
3S.ABS NABS board exam
'Only **now/today** s/he knows that s/he passed the board exam!'

(186) **Anduni**, nḷaman din en na kapasar kanen ta board exam.
Anduni, *na–aḷam–an* *din* *en* *na ka–pasar* *kanen ta*
now/today A.HAP.R–know–APL 3S.ERG CM LK I.EXM–pass 3S.ABS NABS
board exam.
board exam
'**Now/toda**y, s/he knows already that s/he passed the board exam.'

In fact all canonical adjunct adverbs may function in the disjunct adverb position with varying semantic scope effects. Such constructions are rather unusual, however, and a thorough study of their usages will have to await future research.

4.7.3 Non-canonical adjunct adverbs

There exists a group of words in Kagayanen that exhibit many properties of adjunct adverbs, but differ in three important ways:

1. They only appear in pre-predicate position.
2. When a non-canonical adjunct adverb is present, the form of the following verb is restricted in some way. Some require nominalized verbs, others bare-form or irrealis verbs. Others permit bare forms, but also allow other forms.

3. More than one-third of non-canonical adjunct adverbs are from Spanish (perhaps via other Philippine languages). This is in clear contrast with the class of canonical adjunct adverbs, none of which are from Spanish (see 174). This suggests that the non-canonical adverb position itself may be a recent innovation.

Non-canonical adverbs tend to express manner, modal, aspectual or epistemic notions. One may argue that non-canonical adjunct adverbs are somewhere on a continuum between adverb and auxiliary for the following reasons:

1. It is common in the world's languages for auxiliaries to "govern", or impose grammatical restrictions on the semantically main verb in the construction.

2. Aspectual, modal, and epistemic notions are the sort likely to be expressed by auxiliaries universally.

3. Preverbal position is the most likely location for auxiliaries in a VO language (Greenberg 1963; Dryer 2007: 90).

Though non-canonical adjunct adverbs exhibit these properties known to hold of auxiliaries in other languages, there are also arguments against this analysis. First, there is little to no evidence that these elements are basically verbs (though some may be used as verbs in other constructions, as can most lexical roots in Kagayanen). As adverbs, they do not take verbal inflection. Second, there is no well-established and uncontroversial auxiliary position in Kagayanen that may serve as the target for grammaticalization of these adverbs. Further research may reveal additional arguments for and against the auxiliary hypothesis for non-canonical adjunct adverbs.

Words that commonly occur in this category are listed in (187), sub-classified according to the restrictions they impose on the following verb. For the most part, these formal sub-classes seem to have semantic motivations. Our general impressions of the semantics of each class are given in parentheses, though these characterizations are not meant to be absolute.

(187) Non-canonical adjunct adverbs

   a. Those requiring irrealis verbs in the following predicate (*modal adverbs*):

Adverb	Gloss	Spanish Source (if any)	
dapat	'must do X'		
kinangḷan	'need to do X'		
bawal	'forbidden to do X'	bagual?	'untamed/wild'
pwidi	'permitted to do X'	puede	'able to do X'

b. Those that allow either bare verbs, realis or occasionally irrealis modality
verbs (*punctuality adverbs*, often with a following *nang*:

Adverb	Gloss	Spanish Source (if any)	
gulpi	'suddenly do X'	(de) golpe	'suddenly'
nali	'abruptly do X'	dale?	'hurry up'
listo	'promptly/without delay do X'	listo	'ready'
bag-o	'recently/newly do X'[19]		
una	'first do X'	una[20]	'one'

c. Those that require bare-form verbs (*durational manner adverbs*):

Adverb	Gloss	Spanish Source (if any)	
diritso	'straightaway do X'	derecho	'straight'
sigi	'continuously do X'	sigue	'continue' (3sg)
inay-inay	'slowly do X'		
sali (*ta*	'persistently do X'		

d. Those that prefer either irrealis verbs or nominalized clauses, often

Adverb	Gloss	Spanish Source (if any)	
with the prefix *pag-* (*velocity adverbs*):			
dali	'did/will do X hurriedly'	dale	'hurry up',
	Or 'X will soon/easily happen'		'do X quickly'
daḷas	'do X swiftly/quickly'		
dasig	'do X fast quickly'		
sikad	'do X a lot'		

e. Those that allow bare verb stems, or inflected verbs (*general adverbs*)

Adverb	**Gloss**	**Spanish Source (if any)**
lugay	'do X for a long time'	
uḷa (nang) lugay	'do X for a brief time'	
dengngan	'do X at the same time (as a previously mentioned event)'	
sise/tise	'almost do X/do X a little bit'	
laka	'rarely do X'	

Examples of each subtype of non-canonical adjunct adverb in context are given below. In these examples, the adverb and the following main verb (when present) are in bold. The ungrammatical examples illustrate syntactic positions that these adverbs may not appear in, thus demonstrating their grammatical distinctness from canonical adjunct adverbs.

(188) Class a: Modal adverbs

a. **dapat** na isya-isya kiten **mag-atag** (ta) kayaran ta masigkaittaw ta.
dapat *na isya~-isya kiten* ***mag-~-atag*** *(ta)*[21]
must LK RED~one 1P.INCL.ABS I.IR–give NABS
ka–ayad–an ta masigka–ittaw ta.
NR–good/well–NR NABS NR.FELLOW–person 1P.INCL.GEN
'… each and every one of us **must give** goodness to our fellow humans.' (The meaning of give goodness is to do good things.) [JCOB-L-02 10.4]
*__Mag-atag dapat__ isya-isya kiten.
*__Mag-atag__ isya-isya kiten __dapat__.

b. Duma an uḷa en nanangget tak **bawal mag-inem** ta duma.
Duma an uḷa en na–ng–sangget tak
some DEF.M NEG.R CM A.HAP.R–PL–sickle.for.coconut.sap because
bawal ***mag-~-inem*** *ta duma.*
forbidden I.IR–drink NABS some
'Some did not gather coconut sap because (it is) **forbidden** for some

[19]The word *bag-o* is a multi-purpose word that can function as an adjective meaning 'new', and as a subordinate clause introducer that means 'before doing X', as in *galangoy kay ta isya na oras* ***bag-o*** *megbeng naan ta ebes* 'We bathed for one hour before going down below.' With this meaning it always precedes an irrealis verb. We consider this to be a different function than *bag-o* as an adverb meaning 'recently'.

[20]This is the only ordinal number that can function as a non-canonical adjunct adverb.

[21]The speaker left this *ta* out, which is common in conversation. However, it is clear that *kayaran* is non-absolutive because the verb is marked as intransitive, and the actor, *kiten*, is in the absolutive case.

to drink (coconut wine).' [JCWN-T-21 13.3]

*... **mag-inem bawal** ta duma.
*... **mag-inem** ta duma **bawal**.

c. Kanen **pwidi** din man ittaw i **maimo** na pawikan.

*Kanen **pwidi** din man ittaw i **ma–imo** na*
3S.ABS can 3S.ERG too person DEF.N A.HAP.IR–make/do LK
pawikan.
sea.turtle
"As for him, he **can** too **make** the person into a sea turtle.'
[MBON-T-07a 6.2]
*Kanen **maimo** din man **pwidi** ittaw i na pawikan.
*Kanen **maimo** din man ittaw i na pawikan **pwidi**.

(189) Class b: Punctuality adverbs

a. Ta iya na paglaya kanen **gulpi** nang **naruwad**.

*Ta iya na pag–laya kanen **gulpi** nang*
NABS 3S.GEN LK NR.ACT–cast.net 3S.ABS suddenly just/only
***na–duwad**.*
A.HAP.R–disappear
'While he was cast net fishing he **suddenly disappeared**.'
[VAWN-T-17 2.3]

*Ta iya na paglaya **narwad/duwad gulpi** nang kanen an.
*Ta iya na paglaya **narwad/duwad** kanen **gulpi** nang.

b. **Nali nang nawigit** ake na manilya.

***Nali nang na–wigit** ake na manilya.*
abruptly just A.HAP.R–fall.without.notice 1S.GEN LK bracelett
'**Abruptly** my bracelet **fell** without noticing it.' [BMON-C-05 7.5]
***Nawigit/wigit nali** nang ake na manilya.
***Nawigit/wigit** ake na manilya **nali** nang.

c. ... **listo kamang** Pedro an ta pana.

*... **listo** **kamang** Pedro an ta pana.*
promptly get Pedro DEF.M NABS spear
'Pedro **promptly got** the spear.' [CBON-C-02 3.1]

***Gakamang/kamang listo** Pedro an ta pana.
***Gakamang/kamang** Pedro an ta pana **listo**.

(190) Class c: Durational manner adverbs

a. **Diritso** ko **pas-an** baboy ya dḷaen ta baḷay.

Diritso *ko* ***pas-an*** *baboy ya daḷa–en ta baḷay.*
straight.away 1S.ERG carry.on.shoulder pig DEF.F take–T.IR NABS house

'I **straight away carried** the pig on my shoulder taking (it) to (my) house.' [RCON-L-01 9.5]

*__Papas-an/pas-an__ ko **diritso** baboy ya dḷaen ta baḷay.
*__Papas-an/pas-an__ ko baboy ya **diritso** dḷaen ta baḷay.

b. Na naan kami i ta lansa ya **sigi** kami **agaḷ** tak adlek kami na patayen daw **sigi** pa na **uran**.

Na naan kami i ta lansa ya ***sigi*** *kami* ***agaḷ*** *tak adlek kami na patay–en daw* ***sigi*** *pa na* ***uran****.*
LK SPAT.DEF 1P.EXCL.ABS DEF.N NABS launch DEF.F continual 1P.EXCL.ABS cry because afraid 1P.EXCL.ABS LK dead–T.IR and continual INC LK rain

'When we were on the launch we **continually were crying** because we were afraid that we will be killed and (it was) **continually** raining still.' (The people in this story are hiding on a launch from pirates that are attacking them.) [BCWN-C-04 4.4]

*__gagaḷ/agaḷ__ **sigi** kami
*gagaḷ/agaḷ kami **sigi**
*__guran/uran__ pa (na) **sigi**
*__guran/uran__ (na) **sigi** pa

We consider *sali ta* 'persistently' to be a compound adverb. The word *sali* is usually followed by the non-absolutive marker *ta* and then the unaffixed verb stem.

(191) Tak primiro ko nang pa sakay ta kalisa sigi a tawa-tawa na nakita ko kabayo an na **sali ta anges** daw gabuḷa iya na baba.

Tak primiro ko nang pa sakay ta kalisa sigi a tawa~-tawa na na–kita ko kabayo an na ***sali*** *ta anges*
because first.time 1S.GEN only/just INC ride NABS horse.cart continual 1S.ABS RED~laugh LK A.HAP.R–see 1S.ERG horse DEF.M LK persistently

ta anges *daw ga–buḷa iya na baba.*
NABS breathe.hard and I.R–bubbles 3S.GEN LK mouth
'Because (it was) my first time still to ride a horse cart, I continually was laughing when I saw the horse that was **persistently breathing hard** and his/her mouth was foaming.' [DBWN-L-23 5.10]

***ganges/anges ta sali**

(192) Dili ka **sali ta panaw** daw kilem. Dili ka **sali ta ingaw-ingaw**.
Dili ka ***sali ta panaw*** *daw kilem. Dili ka*
NEG.IR 2S.ABS persistently NABS go/walk if/when night NEG.IR 2S.ABS
sali ta ingaw~-ingaw.
persistently NABS RED~drunk
'Do not **keep going** (places) at night. Do not **keep being drunk**.' [JCOE-T-06 15.8]

Class d: Velocity adverbs

(193) Lugar na gasakay kay traysikil, **sikad dasig panaw din**.
Lugar na gasakay kay traysikil, ***sikad dasig panaw din.***
then LK I.R–ride 1P.EXCL.ABS tricycle very fast go/walk 3S.GEN
'Then when we were riding the tricycle, his **going was very fast**.' (The driver was driving very fast in a motorcycle pedicab, called a tricycle in the Philippines.) [BMON-C-05 7.5]

*__gapanaw/panaw__ kanen **sikad dasig**.
*__panaw__ din **sikad dasig**.

(194) **Sikad daḷas** dḷagan **ta bḷangay an** tak pelles angin an.
Sikad daḷas *dḷagan* ***ta bḷangay an*** *tak pelles angin*
very swift run NABS 2.masted.boat DEF.M because strong.wind
an.
wind DEF.M
'The **running** of the two-masted boat was very **swift** because the wind was strong.' [JCON-L-07 3.3]

(195) **Sikad iya na singgit** na, …
Sikad iya na singgit *na, …*
very 3S.GEN LK shout LK
'His **shouting** was **loud**, … [DBWN-T-32 2.10]

(196) Ta pag-iling nay ta Duḷḷo **dali nang** en **magsaḷep** adlaw an.

*Ta pag-–iling nay ta Duḷḷo **dali nang** en **mag–saḷep** adlaw an.*
NABS NR.ACT–go 1P.EXCL.ERG NABS Duḷḷo soon just CM I.IR–set un/day DEF.M

'When we were going to Dullo, the sun was **soon to set**.' [DBWN-T-24 4.1]

*__magsaḷep dali__ nang en adlaw an.
*__magsaḷep__ adlaw an __dali__ nang en.
?dali nang en pagsaḷep ta adlaw
?dali nang en saḷep adlaw an

Class e: "General" adverbs

(197) **Tise** a nang **lemmes** ta dagat naan ta Iba …

***Tise** a nang **lemmes** ta dagat naan ta Iba …*
almost 1S.ABS just drown NABS sea SPAT.DEF NABS Iba

'I **almost drowned** in the sea at Iba …' [VAWN-T-15 6.14]

(198) **Tise** a nang **nalemmes**.

***Tise** a nang **na–lemmes**.*
almost 1S.ABS just A.HAP.R–drown

'I **almost happened to drown**.'

(199) **Tise** a nang **malemmes**

Tise** a nang **ma–lemmes
almost 1S.ABS just A.HAP.IR–drown

'I am **about to drown**.'

*Yaken **nalemmes/lemmes** ta dagat **tise nang** naan ta Iba.
*Yaken **nalemmes/lemmes** ta dagat naan ta Iba **tise nang**.
*Yaken **nalemmes/lemmes tise nang** ta dagat.
*__Nalemmes/lemmes__ a __tise nang__ ta dagat.

(200) Yi na magsawa **lugay maatagan** ta bata.

*Yi na mag–sawa **lugay** **ma–atag–an** ta bata.*
D1ADJ LK REL–spouse long.time A.HAP.IR–give–APL NABS child

'This married couple, (it took) **a long time** for a child **to be given** to them.' [YBWN-T-01 2.2]

***maatagan** danen **lugay** ta bata.
***maatagan lugay** danen an ta bata.
***maatagan** danen ta bata **lugay**.

(201) **Lugay** man mende **tagtagad** nay sakayan gina ta Maranan ya …

Lugay *man mende* ***tag–tagad*** *nay* *sakayan gina* *ta*
long.time too 1P.EXCL.GEN RED~wait 1P.EXCL.ERG vehicle earlier NABS
Maranan ya …
Maranan DEF.F

'We ourselves waited **a long time** for the vehicle to Maranan ….'
[BGON-L-01 3.21]

***tagtagad** nay sakayan an **lugay** ta Maranan
***tagtagad** nay **lugay** sakayan an ta Maranan

(202) **Uḷa lugay napanno** en libon nay an.

Uḷa ***lugay*** ***na–panno*** *en libon* *nay* *an.*
NEG.R long.time A.HAP.R–full CM basket 1P.EXCL.GEN DEF.M

'Our basket was **full in not a long time**.' [JCWN-L-38 15.5]

***napanno** en libon nay an **uḷa lugay**.
***napanno** en **uḷa lugay** libon nay an.

Most non-canonical adjunct adverbs in classes b through e occur in two constructions. One construction is illustrated in examples (189b)–(192) the adverb occurs clause-initially and is followed by the main verb that is often unaffixed. Any second-position elements, such as enclitic pronouns and adverbs, are attracted to the position after the adverb. Referring Phrases remain in their post-verbal positions in their normal Absolutive/Ergative case roles, depending on the transitivity of the verb. In this construction, the main verb describes an event that is on the main storyline of a narrative.

In the second construction, the pre-verbal adverb is followed by a nominalized clause. The nominalized verb is usually unaffixed, but may take the *pag-* action nominalization prefix (see Chapter 3, §3.3.11 and §3.5.3.2). It is clear that the verb is nominalized because a genitive pronoun, enclitic or full RP refers to the Actor, whether the verb is transitive or not. Also, in examples such as (203) a genitive pronoun precedes the verb with the linker *na* intervening, which is a common structure for RPs with possessors. This construction is illustrated in exx. (193)–(195) and (203) through (211):

(203) Genitive pronoun + transitive verb
Sigi nang iya na kaan.
Sigi *nang iya* *na kaan.*
continual just 3S.GEN LK eat
'His/her eating is/was just **continual**.'

(204) Transitive verb + genitive enclitic
Sigi kaan din an.
Sigi *kaan din* *an.*
continual eat 3S.GEN DEF.M
'His/her eating is/was **continual**.'

(205) Transitive verb + genitive RP
Sigi kaan ta bata.
Sigi *kaan ta* *bata.*
continual eat NABS child
'The child's eating was **continual**.'

(206) Intransitive verb + genitive enclitic
Sigi agaḷ ko an.
Sigi *agaḷ ko* *an.*
continual cry 1S.GEN DEM.M
'My crying was continual.' [VAWN-T-16 2.16]

(207) Intransitive verb + genitive enclitic
Sigi en indis din an.
Sigi *en indis* *din* *an.*
continual CM defecate 3S.GEN DEF.M
'His defecating was continual.' [JCWN-T-21 4.4]

This construction occurs more often in background, descriptive material. Following is a selection of examples from the text corpus.

(208) Sanglit Pedro ya **sigi istadi din** an daw kilem daw kaisa mga alas unsi en kanen manuga.
Sanglit *Pedro* *ya* ***sigi*** ***istadi din*** *an* *daw* *kilem daw*
because Pedro DEF.F continual study 3S.GEN DEF.M if/when night and

kaisa mga alas unsi en kanen m–tanuga.
sometimes PL o'clock eleven CM 3S.ABS I.V.IR–sleep
'Because as for Pedro his **studying was continual** at night and sometimes around eleven o'clock he went to sleep.' [LGON-L-01 7.2]

(209) Ta iran na paglayag pagayungan man danen aged **dali iran na pag-abot** ta iran na lugar.
Ta iran na pag–layag pa–gayung–an man danen aged ***dali***
NABS 3P.GEN LK NR.ACT–sail T.R–paddle–APL too 3P.ERG so.that soon
iran na pag--abot *ta iran na lugar.*
3P.GEN LK NR.ACT–arrive NABS 3P.GEN LK place
'While they were sailing they paddled too so that **their arriving** to their place would be **soon**.' [DBWN-T-33 2.9]

(210) Na gasin-ad a ta lub-ong **tudo ake na dabok**…
Na ga–sin-ad a ta lub-ong ***tudo ake na***
LK I.R–cooking.grain 1S.ABS NABS cooked.cassava intense 1S.GEN LK
dabok*…*
stoke
'When I was cooking cassava **my stoking (the fire) was very intense**…' [ANWN-T-01 3.1]

The adjective *bakod* 'big' can be used in this construction as an adverb meaning 'greatly'.

(211) Siguro, **bakod gid imo na pagtingaḷa** na man-o tak nḷaman ko imo na ngaran.
Siguro, ***bakod gid imo na pag–tingaḷa*** *na man-o tak*
perhaps big INT 2S.GEN LK NR.ACT–wonder LK why because
na–aḷam–an ko imo na ngaran.
A.HAP.R–know–APL 1S.ERG 2S.GEN LK name
'Perhaps **your wondering is great** why I know your name.' [EMWL-T-04 5.2]

In what may be considered a third construction, a linker occurs between the preverbal adverb and the unaffixed verb (exx. 212–213). It seems that when the linker occurs the speaker is slowing down her or his speech and drawing out each word thus highlighting the verb and adverb. This can occur with the adverbs *dapat, kinanglan* and *sigi*.

(212) Piro **sigi** kay **na agaḷ** tak gakilem en.

Piro ***sigi*** *kay* ***na agaḷ*** *tak* *ga–kilem en.*
but continual 1P.EXCL.ABS LK cry because I.R–night CM
'But we **continually were crying** because (it was) already becoming night.' [CBWN-C-11 4.9]

(213) Piro duma an **sigi** pa gid **na tanem**.

Piro duma an ***sigi*** *pa gid* ***na tanem****.*
but other DEF.M continual INC INT LK plant
'But others really **continually kept planting**.' [ETOP-C-08 3.9]

The following elicited examples illustrate that *lugay* may be followed by a verb in any form, including a bare form. The English free translations are meant to give a sense of the differences in meaning expressed by the different constructions. Similar variation occurs with the other adverbs listed in (187), though a full study of the syntactic behavior of all adverbs awaits future research:

(214) **Lugay** kay gaisturyaay.

Lugay *kay* *ga–isturya–ay.*
long.time 1P.EXCL.ABS I.R–talk–REC
'We were/are conversing with each other for a long time.'

(215) **Lugay** kay isturyaay.

Lugay *kay* *isturya–ay.*
long.time 1P.EXCL.ABS talk–REC
'We (sometimes) converse with each other for a long time.'

(216) **Lugay** kay mag-isturyaay.

Lugay *kay* *mag–-isturya–ay.*
long.time 1P.EXCL.ABS I.IR–talk–REC
'We will converse with each other for a long time.'

(217) **Uḷa** kay **lugay** gaisturyaay.

Uḷa *kay* ***lugay*** *ga–isturya–ay.*
NEG.R 1P.EXCL.ABS long.time I.R–talk–REC
'We conversed with each other **briefly**.'

(218) Uḷa kay **lugay** isturyaay.
Uḷa kay ***lugay*** *isturya–ay.*
NEG.R 1P.EXCL.ABS long.time talk–REC
'We (sometimes) converse with each other **briefly**.'

(219) Dili kay **lugay** mag-isturyaay.
Dili kay ***lugay*** *mag–-isturya–ay.*
NEG.IR 1P.EXCL.ABS long.time I.IR–talk–REC
'We will not converse with each other for long.'

4.7.4 Second-position adverbs

The third group of adverbs consists of those that appear after the first major constituent in the clause. They are mostly monosyllabic, and all have Austronesian etymologies. Up to three of these adverbs may "stack" in second position, in which case there is a fairly strict order in which they may occur (see Table 4.1 below). All second-position adverbs follow any second-position pronominal enclitics. Semantically, second-position adverbs tend to express aspectual and modal notions. Some of the English "translations" are impressionistic. Different speakers use them in different ways, and contextual factors often interact with their lexical meanings to produce nuances that are difficult to describe in a concise English gloss.

(220) second-position adverbs

gid	'intensifier'
pa	'still/yet/incompletive/emphasis'
en	'now/completive'
daan	'ahead of time, immediately'
anay	'first/for a while' (polite word)
dagli	'momentarily'
nang	'only/just' (downtoner)
kon	'hearsay'
man	'also, emphasis/importance/prominence'
imo	'attention getter, emphasis/importance'
inta	'wishfully/unrealized intension'
isab	'again' (repetition of same activity)
eman	'again, just as before' (resumption of earlier activity)
man gyapon	'just the same'
tuo	'intention/please'

taan	'perhaps' (inferential)
gani	'therefore, truly, attention getter'
abi/paryo abi	'for instance' (softens requests/commands and states what another may be thinking)
ba[22]	'teasing, trying to get a reaction, irony/sarcasm'
i, an, ya	'various emotions, exclamations'[23]
paran	'perhaps/isn't that so?' (in rhetorical questions)
pḷa/pḷang	'unexpected/surprise'

The following are some examples from the text corpus containing these second-position adverbs:

(221) *gid* 'intensifier' (twice), *man* 'emphasis', and *en* 'completive'
Nabatyagan ko **gid** dya na uḷa **gid man en** gasakit.
*Na–batyag–an ko **gid** dya na uḷa **gid man en** ga–sakit.*
A.HAP.R–feel–APL 1S.ERG INT D4LOC LK NEG.R INT EMPH CM I.R–pain
'I **really** felt that there was **really no more** pain.' [JCWN-T-22 8.13]

(222) *nang* 'just'/'only' downtoner
Piro Maria i patandasan **nang** ta mga maḷbaḷ.
*Piro Maria i pa–tandas–an **nang** ta mga maḷbaḷ.*
but Maria DEF.N T.R–kick–APL only NABS PL witch
'But the witches **just** kicked Maria.' (So that she would not be eaten by the witches, the mother of Maria made her into a dog and she was lying under a chair where the witches were sitting with their feet kicking her.) [MBON-T-06 4.7]

(223) Daw ino liag no na kan-enen, magsinyas ka **nang** ki danen.
*Daw ino liag no na kan-en–en, mag–sinyas ka **nang** ki danen.*
if/when what like 2S.ERG LK cooked.rice–T.IR I.IR–signs 2S.ABS only OBL.P 3p
'Whatever you want to eat **just** do hand signals to them.' [VAWN-T-15 9.3]

[23]This looks like the yes/no question particle in Tagalog and many other Philippine languages. Kagayanen marks yes/no questions with intonation (see Chapter 11, §11.3.1), and does not use a question particle. However, this form is used as a marker of rhetorical irony, as discussed further below and in Chapter 11, §11.2.4.

[23]These second-position adverbs are homophonous with the demonstrative determiners that occur in Referring Phrases (see Chapter 3, §3.5.7). As second-position adverbs, they express various strong emotions, such as 'wow!', 'oh man!', 'what the heck?' etc. See below for more explanation.

(224) *nang* 'just'/'only' downtoner, and *en* 'completive'
Gusto **nang en** ta mga manakem mungko **nang** daw meḷeb-eḷeb, tanod ta apo an daen.

*Gusto **nang en** ta mga manakem m–pungko **nang** daw*
want only CM NABS PL older I.V.IR–sit only and
m–eḷeb–-eḷeb, tanod ta apo an daen.
I.V.IR–RED~slice.thin watch NABS grandchild DEF.M 3P.GEN
'The older people **only** want to **just** sit and keep on cutting up (cassava), watching their grandchildren.' [RZWE-J-01 18.8]

(225) *daan* 'ahead of time'
Nasugat danen bata i ta iran na maistro na ngaran Pedro na galin Iloilo na naḷam **daan** tak may gapaḷam kanen.

Na–sugat danen bata i ta iran na maistro na ngaran
A.HAP.R–meet 3P.ERG child DEF.N NABS 3P.GEN LK teacher LK name
*Pedro na ga–alin Iloilo na na–aḷam **daan** tak*
Pedro LK I.R–from Iloillo LK A.HAP.R–know ahead.of.time because
may ga–pa–aḷam ...[24] kanen.
EXT.IN I.R–CAUS–know OBL.P 3S
'They happened to meet the son of their teacher whose name was Pedro coming from Iloilo who knew **already before this** because someone told him.' [JCWN-T-20 21.2]

(226) *anay* 'first'
Mangugas ka **anay** ta lima no bag-o magkaan. Mapunas ka **anay** ta mga lawa bag-o manuga daw kilem. Daw manaw malimpyo **anay** ta mga lawa.

*Ma–ng–ugas ka **anay** ta lima no bag-o mag–kaan.*
A.HAP.IR–PL–wash 2S.ABS first NABS hand 2S.GEN before I.IR–eat
*Ma–punas ka **anay** ta mga lawa bag-o m–tanuga daw*
A.HAP.IR–wipe 2S.ABS first NABS PL body before I.V.IR–sleep if/when
*kilem. Daw m–panaw ma–limpyo **anay** ta mga lawa.*
night if/when I.V.IR–go/walk A.HAP.IR–clean first NABS PL body
'Wash your hands **first** before eating. Wipe your body **first** before sleeping when night. When going somewhere clean your body **first**.' [ETOP-C-10 2.6–8]

[24]The oblique, personal preposition *ki* has dropped out before *kanen* in this example. Such dropping of prepositions is not uncommon in conversation.

(227) *nang* 'just/only' downtoner, *anay* 'for a while'
Matinir ka **nang anay** dyan.
*Ma–tinir ka **nang anay** dyan.*
A.HAP.IR–stay 2S.ABS just a.while D2LOC
'**Just** stay there for **a while**.' [JBWL-J-04 6.3]

(228) *dagli* 'momentarily'
Miling a **dagli** naan baḷay Manang.
*M–iling a **dagli** naan baḷay Manang.*
I.V.IR–go 1S.ABS monentarily SPAT.DEF house Older.sister
'I will go **momentarily** to Older Sister's house.'

(229) *kon* 'hearsay'
Pambaḷan a ta mga manakem na dili a **kon** maggwa tak dilikado **kon** ta kasaḷen na sigi panaw.
*Pa–ambaḷ–an a ta mga manakem na dili a **kon***
T.R–say–APL 1S.ABS NABS PL older.person LK NEG.IR 1S.ABS HSY
*mag–gwa tak dilikado **kon** ta kasaḷ–en na sigi*
I.IR–out because dangerous HSY NABS wedding–NR LK continuous
panaw.
go/walk
'The older people warned me that I will not go out **they said** because it is dangerous **they said** for one(s) to be married to keep going somewhere.' [AWN-T-16 2.7]

(230) *man* 'emphasis', *inta* 'wish/intention unrealized', *en* 'completive', and *eman* 'again as before'
Pagtugpa nay ta landingan ta Iloilo gagwa aren **man inta en** daw gulpi **eman** bellay ake na ginawa.
Pag–tugpa nay ta landingan ta Iloilo ga–gwa
NR.ACT–land.on 1P.EXCL.GEN NABS airstrip NABS Iloilo I.IR–go.out
*aren **man inta en** daw gulpi **eman** bellay ake*
1S.ABS+CM EMPH OPT CM and suddenly again.as.before difficult 1S.GEN
na ginawa.
LK breathing
'When we landed on the airstrip in Iloilo I was **going** to go out (of the plane) and my breathing was suddenly difficult **again like previously**.' [JCWN-T-22 8.18]

(231) *man* 'emphasis', *isab* 'again'
Pagselled ko ta iruplano ya dayon aren **man isab** injection.
Pag–selled ko ta iruplano ya dayon aren
NR.ACT–go.inside 1S.GEN NABS airplane DEF.F right.away 1S.ABS+CM
***man isab** injection.*
EMPH again injection
'When I went inside the airplane, then right away I was injected **again**.' [JCWN-T-22 8.22]

(232) *man gyapon* 'just the same'
Piro pangka i gabalik **man gyapon** naan ta katri din.
*Piro pangka i ga–balik **man gyapon** naan ta katri din.*
but frog DEF.N I.R–return just.the.same SPAT.DEF NABS bed 3S.GEN
'But the frog returned **just the same** to her bed.' (The girl found the frog in her bed and so she threw the frog out of the room but the frog returned anyway.) [CBWN-C-17 5.3]

The adverb *imo* usually emphasizes excitement on the part of the speaker. It occurs as the final element in the second-position complex (233)–(235), or final position (233). It is homophonous with the free genitive/ergative second person singular pronoun, but makes no reference to a second singular referent, even if there is one elsewhere in the sentence.

(233) Sugat din baked na kapri **imo**.
*Sugat din baked na kapri **imo**.*
meet 3S.ERG big LK giant EMPH
'Wow!, s/he met a big giant.' [CBON-T-03 3.2]

(234) Ambaḷ din, "Indi no **imo** kamanga mga bḷawan an Pedro?"
*Ambaḷ din, "Indi no **imo** kamang–a mga bḷawan an Pedro?"*
say 3S.ERG where 2S.ERG EMPH get–XC.T PL gold DEF.M Pedro
'He said, "**Wow!** Where did you get the gold, Pedro?"' [CBWN-C-22 8.3]

(235) Dili ka man **imo** magilek.
*Dili ka man **imo** ma–gilek.*
NEG.IR 2S.ABS EMPH EMPH A.HAP.IR–angry
'**Hey**, don't get angry, man!' [DBON-C-08 2.24]

Imo may also express intensity within an MP:

(236) Tama kay **imo** na bḷangay dya na gapundo dya ta dawisan an na gabantay ta timpo kumo sali ta deḷem-deḷem.

Tama kay ***imo*** *na bḷangay dya na ga–pundo dya*
many 1P.EXCL.ABS EMPH LK 2.masted.boat D4LOC LK I.R–anchor D4LOC
ta dawis–an an na ga–bantay ta timpo
NABS point.of.island–NR DEF.M LK I.R–watch NABS weather/season
kumo sali ta deḷem~-deḷem.
because persistently NABS RED~dark
'We were **MANY** ships that were anchored there at the point of the island watching the weather because it kept being kind of dark.' [PCON-C-01 2.3]

Imo can be used as an attention getter to point out something of importance that a speaker wants others to notice. For example:

(237) Pawa **imo** buḷan an.

Pawa ***imo*** *buḷan an.*
bright EMPH moon DEF.M
'**Look**, the moon is bright!'

The adverbs *anay* and *tuo* indicate politeness. As mentioned earlier, *anay* means 'first' or 'for a while'. This meaning is extended to politeness in requests and commands because it expresses the idea that the request is'only for a while'. However, in context *anay* expresses many of the nuances of 'please' in English. *Tuo* also indicates politeness, but is used more in statements. *Tuo* may be somewhat archaic.

(238) Mamati kaw **anay** ki kanen na mambaḷ ta Kagayanen.

Ma–mati kaw ***anay*** *ki kanen na m–ambaḷ ta*
A.HAP.IR–hear 2P.ABS please OBL.P 3S LK I.V.IR–say NABS
Kagayanen.
Kagayanen
'Listen **please** to her speaking Kagayanen.' [JCOE-T-06 17.2]

(239) Unso ki **tuo** mag-isturya.

Unso ki ***tuo*** *mag–-isturya.*
D4LOC.PR 1P.INCL.ABS please I.IR–talk
'Over there can we talk **please**.' (This is grammatically a statement—not a question or imperative. The politeness adverb *tuo* makes it a request

rather than the literal "Over there we will talk," which would be considered rude.)

(240) Umawen no **tuo** bata ko ya na gaampang.
Umaw–en no ***tuo*** *bata ko ya na ga–ampang.*
call–T.IR 2S.ERG please child 2S.GEN DEF.F LK I.R–play
'**Please** call my child who is playing.'

(241) *taan* 'perhaps' (inference based on some evidence)
Manaw **taan** kani danen an na magnakaw.
M–panaw ***taan*** *kani danen an na mag–nakaw.*
I.V.IR–go/walk perhaps later 3P.ABS DEF.M LK I.IR–steal
'They will go later **perhaps** to steal.' [CBWN-C-18 7.19]

(242) *gani* 'truly' /'in fact' (emphasis especially to correct another's mistaken thinking or understanding)
Galayas **gani** danen Cagayan Sulu tak adlek na tulien.
Ga–layas ***gani*** *danen Cagayan Sulu tak adlek na*
I.R–flee truly 3P.ABS Cagayan Sulu because fear LK
tuli–en.
circumcision–T.IR
'They **in fact** fled from Cagayan Sulu because of being afraid of being circumcised.' [MOOE-C-01 17.1]

Example (242) is from a conversation in which the previous speaker asked where the people from Cagayan Sulu were headed, assuming they had a definite destination in mind. But the truth was they fled without really having any specific place they were trying to get to. So the speaker of this sentence is correcting a mistaken assumption.

(243) Ti, daw mamatian nyo **gani** en singgit an ta Pwikan, mabat kaw en na 'Anen a duti.'
Ti, daw ma–mati–an nyo ***gani*** *en singgit an ta*
so if/when A.HAP.IR–hear–APL 2P.ERG truly CM shout DEF.M NABS
Pwikan, m–sabat kaw en na "Anen a duti".
sea.turtle I.V.IR–reply 2P.ABS CM LK EXT.G 1S.ABS D1LOC.PR
'So, if you **really** hear the shout of the Turtle, you reply, "I am here".' [JCON-T-08 24.2]

Example (243) is from a story about a race between a sea turtle and a hermit crab. The hermit crab is giving instructions to his fellow hermit crabs to distribute themselves along the race course. His instructions are interrupted by a digression about how proud the sea turtle is about being so fast. After the digression when he returns to his instructions about what his fellow crabs will do, he uses the word '*gani*' in order to get their attention focused back to the main point of what he is saying which is what they will do during the race to help him win.

In example (244), *abi* functions as 'for instance', but in examples (245)–(246) it functions to soften a request for another person to do something. It can also indicate what other people might be thinking as in (247).

(244) Daw dirse pa **abi** bataan din an, tama na prublima na gabot nanay daw tatay

Daw dirse pa ***abi*** *bata–an din an, tama na*
if/when small.PL EMPH for.instance child–NR 3S.GEN DEF.M many LK
prublima na ga–abot nanay daw tatay.
problem LK I.R–arrive mother and father
'If/when his children are still small **for instance** the mother and father have many problems that arrive.' [RZWE-J-01 16.11]

(245) Matian ta **abi** daw matuod na dayad kagi no an daw manta ka.

∅–Mati–an ta ***abi*** *daw matuod na dayad kagi*
T.IR–hear–APL 1P.INCL.ERG for.instance if/when true LK good voice
no an daw m–kanta ka.
2S.GEN DEF.M if/when I.V.IR–sing 2S.ABS
'Let's listen **for instance** if it is true that your voice is good when you sing.' (This is an indirect way to ask the person to sing.)

(246) Sugid no **abi**.

∅–Sugid no ***abi****.*
T.IR–tell 2S.ERG for.instance
'**Please** tell for instance.' [JCON-T-08/ 21.2]

(247) Pirmi ngasebe tak uḷa **abi** ittaw.

Pirmi ngasebe tak uḷa ***abi*** *ittaw.*
always sad because NEG.R for.instance person
'(The previously mentioned two people) were always sad because they **thought** there are no people.' (This is a story about the first people to arrive on Cagayancillo and were lonely because there was no-one else around.) [MOOE-C-01 22.4]

The second-position adverb *ba* is used as a marker of rhetorical irony (see Chapter 11, §11.2.4rhetoricalconfirmation. In Kagayanen, *ba* implies the speaker is trying to get the addressee to react somehow by gently teasing or joking. It can express irony and sarcasm—saying one thing but meaning the opposite. *Sikad dayaw ba.* 'Wow how beautiful!' (teasing). It can also imply real or false admiration.

(248) Bellay **ba** bag-o utod buok din an.

Bellay ***ba*** *bag-o utod buok din an.*
difficult IRN newly cut hair 3S.GEN DEF.M
'Oh so difficult, his/her hair is newly cut.' (The speaker is referring to the hearer's hair. Many times in irony the third person is used in place of second person.)

The second-position adverbs *i*, *an*, and *ya* express intensity of attitude and emotion of the speaker, and give emphasis as exclamations (249)–(255). They are homophonous with the demonstrative determiners, but distribute as second-position adverbs (see Chapter 3, §3.5.7 on the demonstrative determiners). They seem to retain the deictic properties of the determiners, however, insofar as *i* 'near' is used to describe situations close to the speaker (249)–(250), whereas *an* (251)–(252) and *ya* describe situations more distant from the speaker (253)–(255):

(249) Sakit man **i** gettek ko i a!

Sakit man ***i*** *gettek ko i a!*
continual EMPH ATT stomach 1S.GEN DEF.N INJ
'Oh, my stomach is continual!' [PBON-T-01 3.8]

(250) Miling a **i** ta pari ko ya!

M–iling a ***i*** *ta pari ko ya!*
I.V.IR–go 1S.ABS ATT NABS friend 1S.GEN DEF.F
'Man, I am going to my friend!' [RBWN-T-02 5.1]

Example (250) expresses strong emotion because the speaker's friend did not help him when he really needed help. So he is going to his friend to break the friendship. Just as the English interjections 'man' or 'oh!' are used to express strong emotion, *i*, *an*, and *ya* as second-position adverbs in Kagayanen express similar, but generic, strong emotions.

(251) Daw sikad man **an** inog nangka i, lugay makamang iya an na bao.

Daw sikad man ***an*** *inog nangka i, lugay*
if/when very EMPH ATT ripe jackfruit DEF.N long.time
ma–kamang iya an na bao.
A.HAP.IR–remove 3S.GEN DEF.M LK odor
'**Man/oh boy** when the jackfruit is very ripe, it takes a long time for the odor to be removed.' [VPWE-T-02 2.2]

(252) Paryo abi ta "kaḷaw" an kan-o yan dili gid **an** masuḷat.
Paryo abi ta "kaḷaw" an kan-o yan
like for.instance NABS winnowing.basket DEF.M previously D2ABS
dili gid ***an*** *ma–suḷat.*
NEG.IR INT ATT A.HAP.IR–write
'Like for instance "winnowing basket", previously that one, **oh man**, really could not be written!' (The word *kaḷaw* was hard to write since it has the Kagayanen interdental approximant /ð̣/ which has no symbol in the major Philippine languages or in English.) [MOOE-C-01 33.1]

(253) Piro, daw kino man **ya** na gatunuga en ta oras ta ani, yon na bata mga gimo ta kagayyaan.
Piro, daw kino man ***ya*** *na ga–tunuga en ta oras ta*
but if/when who EMPH ATT LK I.R–sleep CM NABS time/hour NABS
ani, yon na bata mga ga–imo ta ka–gayya–an.
harvest D3ADJ LK child PL I.R–do/make NABS NR–shame–NR
'Whoever the **heck** sleeps at the time of harvest, those children[25] are the ones doing the most shameful thing.' [JCOB-L-02 7.5]

(254) Uḷa a naḷam lain pa **ya** agian ko ya en.
Uḷa a na–aḷam lain pa ***ya*** *agi–an ko ya*
NEG.R 1S.ABS A.HAP.R–know different EMPH ATT pass–NR 1S.GEN DEF.F
en.
CM
'I did not know that my path now/then was **STILL** different (from the path taken earlier to get there).' [DBON-C-08 2.6]

[25]The expression *yon na bata* 'those children' is a figure of speech used in didactic illustrations and proverbs. It does not refer literally to children.

(255) Man-o tak nabui saging no ya ta uḷa **ya** daon?
*Man-o tak na–bui saging no ya ta uḷa **ya** daon?*
why because A.HAP.R–live banana 2S.GEN DEF.F NABS NEG.R ATT leaf
'Why the **heck** is your banana plant living when there are no leaves!?' (The speaker is angry because his banana plant has withered. The speaker planted the top of a plant having leaves but the addressee planted the trunk without leaves and his is growing well. The mistaken expectation is that the top with leaves should grow rather than the trunk alone.) [CBWN-C-16 6.10]

The second-position adverb *paran* 'perhaps' occurs in questions to indicate that the speaker is not sure about what he is asking about and wants the addressee to give her opinion (256). It is also used in rhetorical questions when trying to get the addressee to think about something (257). When it occurs with the irrealis negator *dili* in the phrase *dili paran*, it is asking 'won't this perhaps be right?' (258). This adverb is not used widely and may be borrowed from Tagalog or Hiligaynon.

(256) Ino **paran** ti miad?
*Ino **paran** ti miad?*
what perhaps D1NABS good
'Which **perhaps** of these is good?' [BGON-L-01 12.4]

(257) Ugaling, man-o **paran** tak mga kaoy i impurtanti?
*Ugaling, man-o **paran** tak mga kaoy i impurtanti?*
however why perhaps because PL tree DEF.N important
'However, why **perhaps** are the trees important?' (This is in a hortatory speech trying to influence people to plant trees.) [ROOB-T-01 6.1]

(258) Dili **paran** danen ya mag-ambaḷ sanglit na magaiskwila man ya, "Oy, mga kaapuan ta ya pugya uḷa gid gapinsar?"
*Dili **paran** danen ya mag-–ambaḷ sanglit na*
NEG.IR perhaps 3P.ABS DEF.F I.IR–say because LK
maga–iskwila man ya, "Oy, mga kaapuan ta ya
I.IR–attending.school EMPH DEF.F oh.no PL ancestor 1P.INCL.GEN DEF.F
pugya uḷa gid ga–pinsar?"
long.ago NEG.R INT I.R–think
'Won't **perhaps** they (descendants) say because of going to school, "Oh man, our ancestors long ago really did not think"?' (This comes from

the same speech as in the previous example trying to motivate people to plant trees by saying that if they don't, this is what their descendants will think.) [ROOB-T-01 9.8]

The second-position adverb *pḷa* indicates something that is unexpected or surprising to the participants in the story or to the speaker herself (259).

(259) Gatingaḷa mangngod din tak ambaḷ manong din, "Ittaw nyan **pḷa** baboy na tḷunon!"

Ga–tingaḷa mangngod din tak ambaḷ manong din,
I.R–wonder younger.sibling 3S.GEN because say older.brother 3S.GEN
*"Ittaw nyan **pḷa** baboy na tḷunon!"*
person D2ADJ unexpected pig LK wild

'His younger sibling was wondering because his older sibling said, "That person **surprisingly** is a wild pig."' (This is a story about a brother who leads his younger brother to believe that he killed a person on the mountain just to see how he reacts. When they go to the mountain the younger brother sees that the older brother killed a wild pig, not a person.) [RBWN-T-02 4.2]

More than one post-verbal adverb may co-occur. In general, the order is first the intensity adverbs *nang* 'only/just', *gid* 'really/truly', *pa* 'even/still'; second the clausal adverbs, such as *kon* or *man*; and third the aspect adverbs *pa* 'incompletive' or *en* 'completive' (260)–(261). Table 4.1 displays the order of second-position adverbs. Their glosses are given in (220) above, but are repeated in Table 4.1 for convenience. Text examples of multiple second-position adverbs follow.

(260) Ta ame na pag-ambaḷ ki kanen gapati **nang man en** Pedro i.

*Ta ame na pag-–ambaḷ ki kanen ga–pati **nang man***
NABS 1P.EXCL.GEN LK NR.ACT–speak OBL.P 3S I.R–believe just EMPH
***en** Pedro i.*
CM Pedro DEF.N

'During our talking to him, Pedro **just** began to believe/obey.' [DBWN-L-22 56.6]

[26] *Inta* is a clause-level optative adverb, and as such may appear in the disjunct (clause-initial) position. It has roughly the same meaning in its clause-internal usage as a second-position adverb. We normally gloss it as OPT for 'optative mood'.

Table 4.1: Order of second-position adverbs

First	Second	Third
Intensity adverbs	Modal/epistemic adverbs	Aspectual adverbs
(pa) nang 'even/still just'	*imo* 'emphasis/importance /attention getter'	*pa* 'incomplete'
(pa) gid 'even/still, really'	*kon* 'hearsay'	*en* 'complete'
(pa) man 'even/still, emphasis'	*inta* 'wish/intent'[26]	*anay* 'first/for a while'
pa 'even/still'	*tuo* 'intention, please' (polite word)	
anay 'please' (polite word)	*daan* 'ahead of time, immediately'	
nang gid 'just really' *eman* 'again, resumption'	*isab* 'again, repetition' *dagli* 'momentarily' *taan* 'perhaps' (inference) *man gyapon* 'just the same' *gani* 'truly' *abi/paryo abi* 'for instance' (softens requests/commands and states what another may be thinking) *ba* teasing/joking irony/sarcasm *i, an, ya* various attitudes and strong emotions *paran* 'perhaps, isn't that so?' (in rhetorical questions) *pḷa/pḷang* 'unexpected, surprise'	

(261) Uḷa a **nang gid en** gasagbak.
*Uḷa a **nang gid en** ga–sagbak.*
NEG.R 1S.NABS just INT CM I.R–noisy
'I really just did not make noise.' [VAWN-T-15 5.7]

(262) Nakatinir **pa gid** di a medical team ta darwa pa duminggo daw gapauli **gid man en**.
*Naka–tinir **pa gid** di a medical team ta darwa pa duminggo*
I.HAP.R–stay INC INT D1LOC INJ medical team NABS two INC week
*daw ga–pa–uli **gid man en**.*
and I.R–CAUS–go.home INT too CM
'The medical team **even really** stayed here two more weeks and they **really also** were allowed to go home.' [JCWN-T-21 19.1]

(263) Sabat **pa gid isab** kano i, ambaḷ din, "I said how much."
*Sabat **pa gid isab** kano i, ambaḷ din, "I said how much."*
reply INC INT again American DEF.N say 3S.ERG
'the American **really** replied **again**, he said, "I said how much?"' [EFWN-T-09 3.5]

(264) … gakereg ka **gid pa man**.
*… ga–kereg ka **gid pa man**.*
I.R–trembling 2S.ABS INT INC EMPH
'You are **really still** trembling also.' [EMWN-T-05 4.13]

(265) … pugya mga baḷay ta Iloilo i mga nipa **pa nang**.
*… pugya mga baḷay ta Iloilo i mga nipa **pa nang**.*
long.ago PL house NABS Iloilo DEF.N PL nipa INC just/only
'…long ago the houses in Iloilo were only **really just** nipa.' [LGON-L-01 10.1]

(266) Gaidad **nang pa** kanen ta sampuḷo daw annem na taon.
*Ga–idad **nang pa** kanen ta sampuḷo daw annem na taon.*
I.R–age just/only INC 3S.ABS NABS ten and six LK year
'She **just still** was the age of sixteen years.' [EMWN-T-06 4.5]

The two adverbs *pirmi* 'always' and *dayon* 'immediately' may occur either preverbally as the first constituent in the clause, or in second position. Their unmarked position is second, but they occur in first position at heightened, intense, or climactic sections of a narrative.

When *dayon* 'immediately' occurs clause-initially, it has the discourse function of marking new developments in the story, especially those that are exciting, lead to the climax, or are the climax itself (examples 267–270). In these cases, it is glossed as 'right away'. When in second position, *dayon* expresses manner of action (271)–(275), in which case it is glossed as 'immediately'.

(267) Pre-verbal *dayon*
Nakita din ake na mangngod na nalemmes. **Dayon** din kamangen daw duaḷ din ta baybay daw ilingan nanay ko daw tatay na bata nyo nalemmes.

Na–kita din ake na mangngod na na–lemmes.
A.HAP.R–see 3S.ERG 1S.GEN LK younger.sibling LK A.HAP.R–drown[27]
Dayon *din kamang–en daw duaḷ din ta baybay daw*
right.away 3S.ERG get–T.IR and take 3S.ERG NABS beach and
∅–iling–an nanay ko daw tatay na bata nyo na–lemmes.
T.IR–go–APL mother 1S.GEN and father LK child 2P.GEN A.HAP.R–drown
'He saw my younger sibling who (almost) drowned. **Right away** he got her/him, and took him/her to the beach, and he went to my mother and father (to say) that your child has (almost) drowned.' [LCWN-T-01 2.8–9]

(268) Pagsil-ing din, **dayon** gabot Pedro ta sundang din daw tigbasen lima din na gibit ta prasko.

Pag–sil-ing din, ***dayon*** *gabot Pedro ta sundang din*
NR.ACT–peek 3S.GEN right.away pull.out Pedro NABS machete 3S.GEN
daw tigbas–en lima din na ga–ibit ta prasko.
and chop–T.IR hand 3S.GEN LK I.R–hold NABS bottle
'When he was looking (in the bottle), **right away** Pedro pulled out his machete and chopped his hand that was holding the bottle.' [JCWN-T-20 17.9]

(269) Pagkakita Pedro na nuḷog Maria i, **dayon** din balik daw labyugan ta kaḷat.

[27]The verb *lemmes* does not assert that the person died, though they could have. In this case the sibling did not "drown to death" in the English sense, though 'drown' is the best short gloss we can come up with for this verb.

Pagka–kita Pedro na na–uḷog Maria i, ***dayon*** *din*
NR.ACT–see Pedro LK A.HAP.R–fall Maria DEF.N right.away 3S.GEN
balik daw ∅–labyug–an ta kaḷat.
return and T.IR–throw–APL NABS rope
'When Pedro saw that Maria fell, **right away** he returned and threw a rope (to her).' [EMWN-T-06 5.4]

(270) Pagkita danen ki yaken, **dayon** gaus-os daw mandḷagan.
Pag–kita danen ki yaken, ***dayon*** *ga–us-os daw*
NR.ACT–see 3P.GEN OBL.P 1S right.away I.R–slide.down and
ma–ng–dḷagan.
A.HAP.IR–PL–run
'Seeing me, **right away** they slid down (the tree) and ran off.' (The children were climbing trees on a beach believed to have evil spirits. So when they saw a man coming up from the sea they assumed he was an evil spirit and were afraid of him. But his boat had turned over when he was fishing.) [EFWN-T-11 15.5]

(271) second-position *dayon*:
Pagtapos nay luag ta kaoy ya, gadiritso kay **dayon** ta pambot ya na makay miling Duḷḷo.
Pag–tapos nay luag ta kaoy ya, ga–diritso
NR.ACT–finish 1P.EXCL.GEN watch NABS tree DEF.F I.R–straight
kay ***dayon*** *ta pambot ya na m–sakay m–iling*
1P.EXCL.ABS immediately NABS motorboat DEF.F LK I.V.IR–ride I.V.IR–go
Duḷḷo.
Duḷḷo
'When we finished looking at the tree, we **immediately** went straight to the boat to ride to go to Dullo.' [DBWN-T-24 3.8]

(272) A, ginikanan an a na uḷa nakaintindi, uḷa nakasat-em, mambaḷ en **dayon**, "Indya kwarta no ya?"
A, ginikanan an a na uḷa naka–intindi, uḷa
Ah, parents DEF.M INJ LK NEG.R I.HAP.R–understand NEG.R
naka–sat-em, m–ambaḷ en ***dayon****, "Indya kwarta no*
I.HAP.R–comprehend I.V.IR–say CM immediately where money 2S.GEN
ya?"
DEF.F
'Parents who do not understand, do not comprehend, will **immediately**

say, "Where is your money?"' (Parents say this to a child who wants to go to college when the parents can't afford it.) [JCOB-L-02 13.3]

(273) Tungtungan din sanga ya. Nuḷog **dayon** kanen ya.
...–Tungtong–an din sanga ya. Na–uḷog ***dayon***
T.R–get.on.top–APL 3S.ERG branch DEF.F A.HAP.R–fall immediately
kanen ya.
3S.ABS DEF.F
'He got on the branch. He fell **immediately**.' [LSWN-T-01 4.2]

(274) Tapos ame na recording, gakaan kay **dayon** ta ice cream.
Tapos ame na recording, ga–kaan kay ***dayon*** *ta*
after 1P.EXCL.GEN LK recording I.R–eat 1P.EXCL.ABS immediately NABS
ice cream.
ice cream
'After our recording, we **immediately** ate ice cream...' [EMWN-T-09 9.4]

(275) Daw nabao isya na gabagnes, kanen masakitan ta gettek. Umawen **dayon** manligan ya daw surano para teyepan bai na nabao.
Daw na–bao isya na ga–bagnes, kanen
if/when A.HAP.R–continual.pregnancy one LK I.R–pregnant 3S.ABS
ma–sakit–an ta gettek. Umaw–en ***dayon*** *manligan*
A.HAP.IR–pain–APL NABS stomach call–T.IR immediately midwife
ya daw surano para ∅–teyep–an[28] *bai na*
DEF.F and shaman for T.IR–blow.with.ginger–APL woman LK
na–bao.
A.HAP.R–continual.pregnancy
'When a pregnant woman has a continual pregnancy, her stomach hurts her. Call **immediately** the midwife and shaman in order to blow ginger on the woman with a continual pregnancy.' [VAOE-J-05 1.4]

Similarly, when *pirmi* 'always' occurs initially in the clause it usually is at places that have heightened tension in the story (276). The unmarked position is second in the clause (277).

[28]The word *teyep* is a special word for 'blow' meaning what a shaman does with the ginger as part of diagnosing an illness. The usual word for 'blow' is *eyep*.

(276) Pre-verbal *pirmi*
A, gakwa ki yaken, **pirmi** a nang en na pangamuyo ta Dios.
A, ga–kwa ki yaken, ***pirmi*** *a nang en na*
Ah, I.R–whatchamacallit OBL 1s always 1S.ABS only/just CM LK
pangamuyo ta Dios.
pray NABS God
'Ah, when (the fish) watchamacallit on me (took the bait), I **continually** prayed to God.' (This is a story about a fisherman who caught a big fish and did not want to let it go even though his boat had overturned.) [EFWN-T-10 4.7]

(277) second-position *pirmi*
Mam, taan sadya kaw **pirmi** tak gakitaay kaw ta inyo na mga utod daw arey.
Mam, taan sadya kaw ***pirmi*** *tak ga–kita–ay kaw ta*
ma'am perhaps enjoy 2P.ABS always because I.R–see–REC 2P.ABS NABS
inyo na mga utod daw arey.
2P.GEN LK PL sibling and friend
'Ma'am, perhaps you are **always** enjoying (it) because you, your relatives and friends are seeing each other.' [AFWL-L-01 4.2]

When an adverb such as *pirmi* occurs in clause-final position, the speaker draws special attention to the adverb (278).

(278) Final *pirmi*
Gapangamuyo a ki kaon **pirmi**.
Ga–pangamuyo a ki kaon ***pirmi****.*
I.R–pray 1S.ABS OBL.P 2s always
'I am **ALWAYS** praying for you.' (This is the last sentence in a personal letter.) [VAWL-C-12 2.8]

The adverb *inta* 'OPTATIVE/wish/intention' can occur pre-verbally outside the clause (as a disjunct adverb, as described in §4.7.1), or in second position in the clause, in which case it describes an unfulfilled intention sometimes idiomatically translated as 'should have'. Examples (279) and (280) illustrate *inta* in second position:

(279) Mḷagan man kon **inta** mga ittaw tak nakita danen en na manigir danen napatay.

M–dḷagan man kon ***inta*** *mga ittaw tak na–kita danen en*
I.V.IR–run EMPH HSY OPT PL person because A.HAP.R–see 3P.ERG CM
na manigir danen na–patay.
LK manager 3P.GEN A.HAP.R–dead
'The people **should have/intended to run** (intention not fulfilled) because they saw that their manager died.' [MBON-T-04 12.10]

(280) Yi na manakem uḷa **inta** kanen napatay tak kanen gatago naan ta kasilyas ya.
Yi na manakem uḷa ***inta*** *kanen na–patay tak kanen*
D1ADJ LK older NEG.R OPT 3S.ABS A.HAP.R–dead because 3S.ABS
ga–tago naan ta kasilyas ya.
I.R–hide SPAT.DEF NABS restroom DEF.F
'This older person **should** not have died (but he was shot when running back to the house to get some money) because he hid in the restroom.' [BCWN-C-04 6.7]

Some adverbs such as *sigurado* 'surely', *siguro* 'perhaps', *basi* 'maybe', *dapat* 'must/ought' and *kinangḷan* 'necessary' besides their modification of the verb or clause, can also function as uninflected complement-taking predicates. See the discussion of complement clause constructions in Chapter 12, §12.4.1.1.

4.7.5 Prepositional adverbs

Clause-level modifiers following the non-absolutive prepositional marker *ta* are described in §4.6.3. In this section we briefly describe and exemplify adverbs that appear in this construction. Adverbs following *ta* never occur before the main verb of the sentence, as allowed for locative oblique elements. Also, unlike other oblique elements these structures never occur with a complex preposition—the marker is always and only *ta*. These *prepositional adverbs* tend to express the extent, degree or value of the action, as listed in (281).

(281) Prepositional adverbs

ta miad	'well'
ta usto	'completely/well/properly'
ta tudo	'with all effort'
ta matuod	'truly'
ta dakmeḷ	'thickly'
ta bakod	'muchly'
ta inay-inay	'slowly'
ta tise/sise	'a little bit'

Examples (282)–(284) illustrate prepositional adverbs from the corpus. These post-verbal adverbs occur after any other post-verbal adverbs discussed above and any Referring Phrases.

(282) Ta pitto ya na mga priso gaamat patay duma ya tak danen pasilutan gid **ta miad**.

Ta pitto ya na mga priso ga–amat patay duma ya
NABS seven DEF.F LK PL prisoner I.R–gradually dead some DEF.F
tak danen pa–silut–an gid ***ta miad****.*
because 3S.ABS T.R–**punish–APL** INT **NABS well/good**
'Of the seven prisoners, some gradually died because they were punished **well**.' [JCWN-T-20 26.2]

* ... **ta miad** na danen pasilutan.

(283) Gani kabataan i advice ko ake na mag-iskwila **ta usto**.

Gani ka–bata–an i advice ko ake na mag–-iskwila ***ta***
so NR–child–NR DEF.N advice 1S.GEN 1S.GEN LK I.IR–school NABS
usto*.*
well
'So children, my advice (is) to go to school (i.e., to study) **well**.' [LTOE-C-01 2.2]

(284) Dayon kon papakang buḷag tamboḷ ya **ta sikad tudo**.

Dayon kon pa–pakang buḷag tamboḷ ya ***ta sikad tudo****.*
right.away HSY T.R–hit blind drum DEF.F NABS very intense
'Right away the blind one hit the drum **very hard**.' (7.12]

4.7.6 Locative adverbs

Locative adverbs are words that refer specifically to locations, such as *here* and *there* in English. Some other grammars of Philippine languages call these kinds of words "deictics" or "deictic pronouns". We prefer the term locative adverb because these words distribute in sentences like adverbs, and are not distinguished by case. However, there are certain similarities between locative adverbs and demonstrative pronouns. First, locative adverbs exhibit the same four spatial distinctions as demonstrative pronouns, and, except for D4, the forms are clearly parallel to the non-absolutive demonstrative pronouns (see Chapter 3, Table 3.4). Second, locative adverbs have general and precise forms. Finally, the precise

Table 4.2: Locative adverbs

	General	Precise
D1 near speaker	di	unti/ti/duti/enti
D2 near addressee	dyan	unsan/san/ensan
D3 somewhere in the area of speaker and addressee	don	untan/tan/entan
D4 far away, out of sight	dya	unso/so/enso

forms occur in long and short variants. We have yet to discern any meaningful difference between the long and the short forms of precise locative adverbs.

The following are some examples of locative adverbs in context:

(285) Lugay munta baybay, Manang, tak **untan** pugya baḷay daen.

Lugay m–punta baybay, Manang, tak ***untan*** *pugya baḷay daen.*
long.time I.V.IR–go beach older.sister because D3LOC.PR long.ago house 3P.GEN

'Some time past (she) was going to the beach, Older Sister, because **right there** long ago was their house.' [CBON-T-03]

(286) Yaan ta Iloilo tama **don** buḷag na gapangayo.

Yaan ta Iloilo tama ***don*** *buḷag na ga–pangayo.*
SPAT.DEF NABS Iloilo many D3LOC blind LK I.R–request

'In Iloilo there are many blind **there** who ask for things.' [TTOB-L-03 10.10]

The unmarked position for locative adverbs is post-verbal, either before or after the first noun phrase (287–289). Personal pronouns and shorter adverbs occur before the locative adverb. An oblique location phrase with the definite spatial marker *naan* and a noun can occur clause-finally further specifying the location (290).

(287) Tukad danen **dya**. Padaḷa din utod din **dya**.

Tukad danen ***dya****. Pa–daḷa din utod din* ***dya****.*
go.uphill 3P.ABS D4LOC T.R–carry 3S.ERG sibling 3S.GEN D4LOC

'They went up there. He took his sibling **there**.' [RBON-T-01 6.8]

(288) Padaḷa nay **dya** a kabaong ta ake na bayaw naan ta simbaan ta mga sundaḷo.

Pa–daḷa nay ***dya*** *a kabaong ta ake na bayaw*
T.R–carry 1P.EXCL.ERG D4LOC INJ coffin NABS 1S.GEN LK sibling-in-law
naan ta simba–an ta mga sundaḷo.
SPAT.DEF NABS worship–NR NABS PL soldier
'We took the coffin of my brother-in-law **there** to the church of the soldiers.' [VAWN-T-15 3.2]

(289) Nabatyagan ko gid **dya** na uḷa gid man en gasakit.

Na–batyag–an ko gid ***dya*** *na uḷa gid man en ga–sakit.*
A.HAP.R–feel–APL 1S.ERG INT D4LOC LK NEG.R INT also CM I.R–pain
'I really felt **there** that there was no more pain.' [JCWN-T-22 8.13]

Locative adverbs and the definite spatial oblique marker *naan* sometimes occur together, for example, *naan dya*. However, when a general locative adverb is in the pragmatically marked pre-verbal position, then *naan* must occur before it (exx. 290–291). When the spatial marker and the locative adverb are pre-verbal, any clitic pronouns and clitic adverbs must also occur in pre-verbal position (290).

(290) Naan kay **dya** gakitaay kay, kami Maria daw Neneng naan Gaisano.

Naan kay ***dya*** *ga–kita–ay kay, kami Maria*
SPAT.DEF 1P.LEXCL.ABS D4LOC I.R–see–REC 1P.EXCL.ABS 1P.EXCL.ABS Maria
daw Neneng naan Gaisano.
and Neneng SPAT.DEF Gaisano
'(It was) there we met each other, I and Maria and Neneng, in Gaisano.' [BMON-C-05 10.2]

The following orders are also possible:

(291) a. *Naan dya kami gakitaay.*
b. *Naan kay/kami dya gakitaay.*

But the following are impossible:

(292) a. * *Naan dya kay gakitaay.*
b. * *Naan dya gakitaay kay.*
c. * *Naan dya gakitaay kami.*

Example (293) illustrates a precise locative pronoun.

(293) Nḷaman no na kaselled aren ta ubra **unti** nang man ta ame i na munisipyo, naan ta upisina i ta trisurer.

Na–aḷam–an no na ka–selled aren ta ubra
A.HAP.R–know–APL 2SERG LK I.EXM–go.inside 1S.ABS+CM NABS work
unti *nang man ta ame i na munisipyo, naan*
D1LOC.PR only also NABS 1P.INCL.GEN DEF.N LK town.hall SPAT.DEF
ta upisina i ta trisurer.
NABS office DEF.N NABS treasurer

'You know that I got to go to work just **right here** in our town hall, in the office of the treasurer.' [DBWL-T-20 8.5]

One difference between the distribution of general and precise locative adverbs is that with the precise forms the definite spatial oblique marker *naan* is optional when in preverbal position and usually does not occur. Compare the following to examples (290) and (291):

(294) **Unti** ko man nakita isya na waig na pasaḷok nang ta kabo daw mandok ka.

Unti *ko man na–kita isya na waig na pa–saḷok nang ta*
D1LOC.PR 1S.ERG also A.HAP.R–see one LK water LK T.R–dip only NABS
kabo daw m–sandok ka.
dipper if/when I.V.IR–fetch.water 2S.ABS

'(It was) **right here** I even saw one (source of) water that is just dipped out with a dipper when you fetch water.' [DBWN-L-21 2.10]

(295) **Naan unti** gabetang en simbaan ta ebes i. Piro **naan unso** datas na simbaan.

Naan unti *ga–betang en simba–an ta ebes i. Piro*
SPAT.DEF D1LOC.PR I.R–placed CM worship–NR NABS down DEF.N but
naan unso *datas na simba–an.*
SPAT.DEF D4LOC.PR high LK worship–NR

'(It is) **right here** the church was placed below (the hill). But (it is) **right there** (on the hill) is the high church.'

4.8 Prepositional Phrases

In this section we will treat prepositional phrases (non-absolutive constituents expressing oblique elements) as optional clause-level modifiers, similar to adjunct adverbs. Prepositional phrases consist minimally of an oblique case-marked

RP, that is, an RP with one of the oblique case particles, *ki* for personal names or *ta* for all other head nouns (see Chapter 3, §3.5.5). Spatial prepositional phrases may also contain the spatial definite particle *naan* (variants *yaan*, *nyaan*, or *an*), and an optional spatial preposition (PREP) before the RP. The template for prepositional phrases is given in (296), and some examples are presented in (297):

(296) *naan* (PREP) RP_{obl}

(297) a. *naan dani ta apoy* 'near to the fire' [AGWN-L-01 3.18]
b. *naan dani (ki) Pedro* 'near Pedro' (elicited)
c. *naan tengnged ta bai na gamasakit* 'next to the woman who was sick' [EDWN-T-03 2.17]
d. *naan apaw ta iya na mata* 'above his/her eye' [EDWN-T-03 2.21]
e. *madyo ta duma na banwa* 'far from other towns/countries' [JCWL-T-19 4.2]
f. *tengnged ta baḷay danen* 'next to their house' [BMON-C-05 3.22]
g. *naan ta Manila* 'in/at Manila' [BMON-C-05 3.3]
h *naan ta Cagayancillo* 'on Cagayancillo' [VAWN-T-15 5.5]
I *naan Cagayancillo* 'on Cagayancillo' [LTOE-C-01 1.3]
j *ta Cagayancillo* 'on Cagayancillo' [JCWN-L-33 2.1]

Nearly all the spatial prepositions (listed in 298) transparently derive from relational nouns, that is, nouns that specify a relational term, such as top, bottom, side, inside, outside, and so on. These spatial prepositions indicate the location or direction of the following RP in relation to the proposition expressed in the clause. They also may indicate certain logical relations.

(298) Spatial prepositions

Form	Meaning as Preposition	Meaning as relational noun
apaw	'on top/above/up/upward'	'top'
daḷem	'on the bottom/deep/below'	'bottom/deep/underneath'
ebes	'below/down/downward'	'downstairs/underneath??'
tengnged	'next to/beside'	'place next to'
(a)tubang	'in front of'	'front'
kilid	'at/on the side of'	'side'
tudtod	'behind'	'back'
selled	'inside of'	'inside'
gwa	'outside of'	'outside'
dapit	'in direction of'	'direction'
madyo/adyo	'far'	'far place'
dani	'near'	'close place'

As prepositions, these forms usually follow the definite spatial marker *naan.*

(299) Tapos, gapungko kay **naan dani ta apoy** agod may pagdangga.

Tapos, ga–pungko kay ***naan dani ta apoy*** *agod*
then I.R–sit.down 1P.EXCL.ABS SPAT.DEF near NABS fire so.that
may pag–dangga.
EXT.IN NR.ACT–hot
'Then we sat **close to the fire** so that there was (something) to warm (us) up.' [AGWN-L-01 3.19]

(300) Ta iya na pagpanaw nakaagi kanen ta mga tindaan **naan kilid ta daḷan**.

Ta iya na pag–panaw naka–agi kanen ta mga
NABS 3S.GEN LK NR.ACT–go/walk I.HAP.R–pass 3S.ABS NABS PL
tinda–an ***naan kilid ta daḷan****.*
sell–NR SPAT.DEF side NABS road
'During his walking, he happened to pass some stores **on the side of the road**.' [VPWN-T-05 2.4]

(301) Eviok isya man na lugar **naan dapit ta Mamaan**.

Eviok isya man na lugar ***naan dapit ta Mamaan****.*
Eviok one too LK place SPAT.DEF towards NABS Mamaan
'Eviok (is) a place too that (is) **towards Mamaan**.' [EFWN-T-11 9.6]

The definite demonstrative *naan* can also occur without a spatial preposition, in which case the meaning is general location—'in', 'at', or 'on'. In such cases, the non-absolutive marker *ta* or *ki* often drops out, suggesting that *naan* is almost grammaticalized as a third oblique case marker (exx. 304–305). If a place is very familiar, then it seems more often the non-absolutive case marker drops out.

(302) Gamasyar a **naan ta baḷay** danen.

Ga–ng–pasyar a ***naan ta baḷay*** *danen.*
I.R–PL–visit 1S.ABS SPAT.DEF NABS house 3P.GEN
'I went visiting **at their house**.' [BMON-C-04 1.10]

(303) Gapundo en bḷangay **naan ta Anini-y**.

Ga–pundo en bḷangay ***naan ta Anini-y****.*
I.R–anchor CM 2.masted.boat SPAT.DEF NABS Anini-y
'The boat anchored **at Anini-y**.' [VAWN-T-18 6.1]

(304) Gapit kay pa **naan Duḷḷo**.

*Ga–apit kay pa **naan** **Duḷḷo**.*
I.R–stop.off 1P.EXCL.ABS INC SPAT.DEF Duḷḷo
'We still stopped off **at Dullo**.' [DBON-C-06 4.8]
(*ta* has dropped out of *naan ta Duḷḷo*).

(305) Piro uḷa ka gambaḷ **naan yaken** na nadayaran ka sa asta nang en gapudpod.

*Piro uḷa ka ga–ambaḷ **naan** **yaken** na na–dayad–an*
but NEG.R 2S.ABS I.R–say SPAT.DEF 1S LK A.HAP.R–good–APL
ka sa asta nang en ga–pudpod.
2S.ABS D4NABS until just CM I.R–crumble.apart
'But you did not say **to me** that you are pleased with that until it just crumbled apart.' [MAWL-C-03 4.8]
(*ki* dropped out of *naan ki yaken*).

The following examples illustrate these prepositions in their usages as relational nouns.

(306) **Naan ta apaw** tallo na kanyon gabatang ta atubangan ta Lipot.

***Naan** **ta** **apaw** tallo na kanyon ga–batang ta atubangan ta*
SPAT.DEF NABS above three LK canon I.R–put NABS front NABS
Lipot.
Lipot
'**On the top** (of a hill) three canons were positioned in front of Lipot (community).' [JCWN-T-24 5.3]

(307) Lugay ambaḷ gid mangngod ko mag-angad kay kon **naan ta apaw** tak naan dya galin kanta ya.

Lugay ambaḷ gid mangngod ko mag–-angad kay
long.time say INT younger.sibling 1S.GEN I.IR–look.up 1P.EXCL.ABS
*kon **naan** **ta** **apaw** tak naan dya galin kanta ya.*
HSY SPAT.DEF NABS above because SPAT.DEF D4LOC I.R–from sing DEF.F
'Then my younger brother said look up **at the top** (of the mast of the boat) because there (was where) the singing was coming from.' [VAWN-T-19 4.6]

(308) Piro **naan ta dani ko** may namungko en.

Piro ***naan ta dani ko*** *may na–ng–pungko en.*
but SPAT.DEF NABS near 1S.GEN EXT.IN A.HAP.R–PL–sit CM
'But **at the place close to me** there was one (wild pig) sitting.' [RCON-L-01 3.1]

(309) Naan unti gabetang en simbaan **ta ebes i**.

Naan unti ga–betang en simba–an ***ta ebes i****.*
SPAT.DEF D1LOC.PR I.R–put CM worship–NR NABS below DEF.N
'Here the church was positioned **at the place below**.' (This is talking about a church built on the top of a hill that was a fort and a church built at the base of the hill.) [BBOE-C-01 1.6]

As with all nouns, relational nouns may themselves be modified by genitive case RPs:

(310) Pagtapos sa en gapanaog kay en naan ta sikad bungyod na bukid daw gaagi **naan ta kilid ta mga karsada** na sikad daḷem panan-awen…

Pag–tapos sa en ga–panaog kay en naan ta
NR.ACT–after D4NABS CM I.R–go.down 1P.EXCL.ABS CM SPAT.DEF NABS
sikad bungyod na bukid daw ga–agi ***naan ta kilid ta***
very slope LK mountain and I.R–pass SPAT.DEF NABS side NABS
mga karsada *na sikad daḷem panan-aw–en…*
PL street LK very deep vision–T.IR
'After that, we came down a very steep mountain and passed along **the side of the street** which had a view very far down....' [RMWN-L-01 5.1]

(311) Pabay-an nang napatay **naan ta tengnga ta daḷan** tak adlek na kani danen madapil.

Pa–bay-an nang na–patay ***naan ta tengnga ta***
T.R–leave.alone just/only A.HAP.R–dead SPAT.DEF NABS middle NABS
daḷan *tak adlek na kani danen ma–dapil.*
road because afraid LK later 3P.ABS A.HAP.IR–mixed.up.with/in
'The dead one was just left **in the middle of the road** because (the people) were afraid that later they will get mixed up (in the murder).' [JCWN-T-20 22.2]

(312) Gaubra kay ame ta salad na tampayas **naan ta gwa ta ame na baḷay**.
Ga–ubra kay ame ta salad na tampayas ***naan***
I.R–make 1P.EXCL.ABS 1P.EXCL.GEN NABS salad LK papaya SPAT.DEF
ta gwa ta ame na baḷay.
NABS out NABS 1P.EXCL.GEN LK house
'We were making papaya salad **in the outside part of our house**.'
(Porches and sometimes livingrooms are called *gwa* on Cagayancillo.)
[VAWN-T-16 2.6]

(313) Pag-abot danen naan ta suba, palubbas danen iran na bayo daw pabatang danen **naan ta kilid ta suba** daw maglangoy.
Pag–-abot danen naan ta suba, pa–lubbas danen iran
NR.ACT–arrive 3P.GEN SPAT.DEF NABS river T.R–undress 3S.ERG 3P.GEN
na bayo daw pa–batang danen ***naan ta kilid ta suba*** *daw*
LK clothes and T.R–put 3S.ERG SPAT.DEF NABS side NABS river and
mag–langoy.
I.IR–bathe
'When they arrived at the river, they took off their clothes and put (them) **on the bank of the river** and then bathed.' [CBWN-C-25 5.4]

The following is an example of a relational RP, *apaw an ta apador* 'the top of the cabinet', expressed as absolutive via the applicative derivation in the main verb:

(314) Pasangatan din ta bayo **apaw an ta aparador**.
Pa–sangat–an din ta bayo ***apaw an ta aparador.***
T.R–put.away–APL 3S.ERG NABS clothes top DEF.M NABS cabinet
'S/he put some clothes away in **the top part of the cabinet**.'

As shown above, the spatial prepositions occur with the definite spatial marker *naan* (including variants *nyaan* and *yaan*). The directional prepositions usually do not. These are given in (315).

(315) Directional prepositions

alin	'from'
punta/munta	'(going) towards/to'[29]
asta	'until/including' (From Spanish *hasta* 'until'/'up to')
keteb	'until'
tuman	'to the point of'

[29]These are lexicalized forms of the verb 'go'. As prepositions, there seems to be no difference in meaning between *punta* (bare form of the root) and *munta* (irrealis form).

The directional prepositions *munta*, *asta*, and *keteb* never occur with the spatial marker, though sometimes *alin* does. As with positional prepositions, a non-absolutive case marker and a Referring Phrase follow directional prepositions, and the non-absolutive marker may drop out, especially before proper names (317).

(316) Pag-abot nay ta liyo, gapanaw kay eman **munta ta Teresa**.
Pag-–abot nay ta liyo, ga–panaw kay
NR.ACT–arrive 1P.EXCL.GEN NABS otherside I.R–go/walk 1P.EXCL.ABS
eman ***munta ta Teresa.***
again.as.before going NABS Teresa
'When we arrived at the other side (of the river), we started walking again as before **going to Teresa** (a community).' [BGON-L-01 1.10]

(317) Tapos, gaplano isab daen Mam daw Sir na makay kay nang en ta bus na **punta Manila**.
Tapos, gaplano isab daen Mam daw Sir na makay kay
then I.R–plan again 3P.ABS Ma'am and Sir LK I.V.IR–ride 1P.EXCL.ABS
nang en ta bus na ***punta Manila.***
just/only CM NABS bus LK going Manila
'Then Ma'am and Sir were planning again that we ride a bus **going to Manila**.' [AGWN-L-01 6.5]

(318) May nakita a man na mga waig na gailig **alin ta bukid**.
May na–kita a man na mga waig na ga–ilig ***alin ta***
EXT.IN A.HAP.R–see 1S.ABS too LK PL water LK I.R–flow from NABS
bukid.
mountain
'I saw some water too flowing **from the mountain**.' [AGWN-L-01 2.3]

Two directional prepositional phrases may occur in one sentence as long as they are different directions.

(319) **Alin ta baga din** daw **munta ta batiis** pagapos kanen i.
Prepositional Phrase 1 Prepositional Phrase 2
Alin ta baga din *daw* ***munta ta batiis*** *pa–gapos kanen*
from NABS shoulders 3S.GEN and going NABS feet T.R–tie.up 3S.ABS
i.
DEF.N
'**From his shoulders** and **going to his feet** he was tied up.' [MBON-T-07a 9.7]

(320) Sigi legged danen ta uling **alin ta uḷo ya asta ta ikog din ya**.

Prepositional Phrase 1

Sigi legged danen ta uling ***alin ta uḷo ya***
continue rub 3P.ERG NABS charcoal from NABS head DEF.F

Prepositional Phrase 2

asta ta ikog din ya.
until NABS tail 3S.GEN DEF.F

'They kept rubbing the charcoal (on the fish) **from the head to his tail**.' [JCON-L-07 16.2]

The directional prepositions can also express temporal relations:

(321) Kalabanan ta mga taon **alin ta buḷan ta Nubimbri asta ta buḷan ta Abril** sigi en adlaw.

Prepositional Phrase 1

Kalabanan ta mga taon ***alin ta buḷan ta Nubimbri***
most NABS PL year from NABS month/moon NABS November

Prepositional Phrase 2

asta ta buḷan ta Abril *sigi en adlaw.*
until NABS month/moon NABS April continue CM sun

'Most years **from the month of November till the month of April** it is continually sunny.' [JCWE-T-14 3.1]

(322) Yi ake na inagian na **asta anduni** dili ko gid malipatan.

Yi ake na <in>agi–an na ***asta anduni*** *dili ko*
D1ABS 1S.GEN LK <NR.RES>pass–APL LK until now/today NEG.IR 1S.ERG
gid ma–lipat–an.
INT A.HAP.IR–forget–APL

'This is my experience **that until now/today** I can't forget.' [VAWN-T-18 7.1]

The logical prepositions never occur with the spatial location marker *naan*. They can precede either a Referring Phrase or a clause. When they precede a clause, they function as subordinating conjunctions (see Chapter 12, §12.4.2 on finite adverbial clauses).

(323) Logical prepositions

para	'for/beneficiary/for the sake of' (From Spanish *para* 'for')
tenged	'about/because of'
parti	'about'
paagi	'by means of'
duma	'with (accompaniment)'

The preposition *para* can mean 'for the purpose of something' or 'for the benefit of someone'. It can precede a referring phrase or a clause nominalized with *pag-* (see Chapter 12, §12.2.3).

(324) Daw ugtu gani en nanay an gaeḷeb-eḷeb **para ta yapon** eman kani lub-ong.

Daw ugtu gani en nanay an ga–eḷeb-eḷeb ***para ta***
if/when noon truly CM mother DEF.M I.R–RED~slice.thin for NABS
yapon *eman kani lub-ong.*
supper again.as.before later cooked.cassava
'When (it is) noon truly the mother cuts thinly (cassava) **for our supper** again as before later, cooked cassava.' [ICOE-C-01 3.2]

(325) Paimbargo din mga manok, baboy daw ano pa man makita din **para ta pamilya din** ...

Pa–imbargo din mga manok, baboy daw ano pa man
T.R–confiscate 3S.ERG PL chicken pig if/when what INC also
ma–kita din ***para ta pamilya din****...*
A.HAP.IR–see 3S.ERG for NABS family 3S.GEN
'He confiscated chickens, pigs and whatever else he saw **for his family**...' [JCWN-T-20 10.5]

(326) ... yon gamit **para ta pag-ubra ta** ikam.

... yon gamit ***para ta pag–-ubra ta*** *ikam.*
D3ABS use for NABS NR.ACT–make/work NABS mat
'... those (previously mentioned pandan and buri) are used **for making mats**.'

The logical preposition *parti* 'about' is nearly synonymous with the preposition *tenged* 'about', as in examples (327)–(331), except that *tenged* can also precede a reason—'because of something', as in examples (332)–(334). Both can precede a referring phrase or a *pag-* clause (330)–(331).

(327) Daw gusto no maḷaman a **parti ta ame na lugar**, ame na lugar sikad lineng…

*Daw gusto no ma–aḷam–an a **parti ta ame***
if/when want 2S.ERG A.HAP.IR–know–APL INJ about NABS 1P.EXCL.GEN
***na lugar**, ame na lugar sikad lineng…*
LK place 1P.EXCL.GEN LK place very peaceful
'If you want to know **about our place**, our place is very peaceful…' [EFWL-T-07 11.1]

(328) Yi na isturya ni **parti ta kapri**.

*Yi na isturya ni **parti ta kapri**.*
D1ABS LK story D1PR about NABS giant
'This very story is **about a giant**.' [CBON-T-03 1.1]

(329) Yaken i may isturya a man **tenged ta darwa i na mag-utod daw pari**.

*Yaken i may isturya a man **tenged ta darwa i na***
1S.ABS DEF.N EXT.IN story 1S.ABS too about NABS two DEF.N LK
***mag–-utod daw pari**.*
REL–sibling and friend
'As for me, I have a story too **about two brothers and a friend**.' [RBWN-T-02 1.1]

(330) Tudluan ko kanen **tenged ta ame na ambaḷ**.

*∅–Tudlu–an ko kanen **tenged ta ame na ambaḷ**.*
T.IR–teach–APL 1S.ERG 3S.ABS about NABS 1P.EXCL.GEN LK say
'I will teach her **about our language**.' [VAWL-T-13 7.5]'

(331) Saysay **parti ta paglebbeng**.

*Saysay **parti ta pag–lebbeng**.*
describe about NABS NR.ACT–bury
'A description **about burying**.' [CBWE-C-06 1.1]

(332) Yi na isturya **tenged ta ame na pagleddang**.

*Yi na isturya **tenged ta ame na pag–leddang**.*
D1ADJ LK story about NABS 1P.EXCL.GEN LK NR.ACT–sink
'This story is **about our sinking**.' [CBWN-C-11 1.1]

(333) Gani ta iran na pagnubig kaysan daen magapon dili pa kuli **tenged ta biskeg na angin daw darko na mga baḷed**.

Gani ta iran na pag–nubig kaysan daen magapon
so NABS 3P.GEN LK NR.ACT–haul.water sometimes 3P.ABS
dili pa ka–uli ***tenged ta biskeg na angin daw darko na mga baḷed****.*

all.day.long NEG.IR INC I.EXM–go.home because NABS strong LK wind and big.PL LK PL wave

'So during their hauling water, sometimes they stayed until late afternoon, not able to go home **because of strong winds and big waves**.' [VPWE-T-01 2.8]

(334) Ta barangay Sta. Cruz isya nang gid a napatay ya. Dili man en **tenged ta masakit** daw dili ta subḷa en na dikstros …

Ta barangay Sta. Cruz isya nang gid a na–patay ya.
NABS community Sta. Cruz one just/only INT INJ A.HAP.R–dead DEF.F
Dili man en ***tenged ta masakit*** *daw dili ta subḷa*
NEG.IR EMPH CM because NABS sickness if/when NEG.IR NABS too.much
en na dikstros…
CM LK dextrose

'In the community of Sta. Cruz only one really died. (It was) not **because of the sicknesss**, but rather (because) of too much dextrose…' [JCWN-T-21 17.3]

The preposition *paagi* 'by means of' can occur with a referring phrase or a subordinate *pag-* nominalized action clause.

(335) Uyi kitaay danen ta iya na sawa **paagi man ta kaḷat nang** …

U–yi kita–ay danen ta iya na sawa ***paagi man***
EMPH–D1ABS see–REC 3P.ABS NABS 3S.GEN LK spouse by.means.of too
ta kaḷat nang*…*
NABS rope only

'THESE, he and his wife saw/met each other **by means of only a rope**…' [MBON-T-07a 13.1]

(336) Kanen i giling ta yi na puḷo **paagi ta pagsakay ta lunday** para manglaya.

Kanen i ga–iling ta yi na puḷo ***paagi ta***
3S.ABS DEF.N I.R–go NABS D1ADJ LK island by.means.of NABS
pag–sakay ta lunday *para ma–ng–laya.*
NR.ACT–ride NABS outrigger.canoe PURP A.HAP.IR–PL–cast.net

'HE came to this island **by means of riding an outrigger canoe** in order to go fishing with a cast net.' [VAWN-T-17 2.2]

The last examples in this section illustrate the preposition *duma* ‘with (accompaniment)’. Recall that this word is also used as a noun to mean “companion”, and as a verb to mean “to accompany”:

(337) May darwa buok na tallog na linaga na kupad-kuparen man **duma ta duma na kinupadkupad**.

May darwa buok na tallog na l<in>aga na kupad-kupar–en man
EXT.IN two piece LK egg LK <NR.RES>boil LK RED~slice–T.IR also
duma ta duma na k<in>upad~-kupad.
with NABS other LK <NR.RES>RED~slice
‘There are two boiled eggs to be sliced also **with the other sliced things**.’ [JCWE-T-16 4.6]

(338) Yo waig din ya en na palaga ya **duma ta tangḷad ya**, yo inemen.

Yo waig din ya en na pa–laga ya ***duma ta***
D4ABS water 3S.GEN DEF.F CM LK T.R–boil DEF.F with NABS
tangḷad ya, *yo inem–en.*
lemon.grass DEF.F D4ABS drink–T.IR
‘That one, its water that was boiled **with the lemon grass**, that one drink (it).’ (medicine for high blood pressure) [DBOE-C-04 9.3]

5 Non-verbal clauses

5.1 Introduction

Every language has constructions that express *classification*, *equation*, *attribution*, *location*, *existence* and *possession* (defined below). In Kagayanen these functions are typically expressed in clauses that do not involve an Inflected verb. Instead, the predicate in such constructions is a Basic Referring Phrase, a Modifier Phrase, a Genitive Referring Phrase, a Locative adverbial element (either a location word or a prepositional phrase), an Existential element, or a Manner adverbial. Consistent with the general typology of the language, non-verbal predicates normally precede their single argument, and optional adverbial or oblique elements. Example 1 illustrates the basic template for most non-verbal clauses. Existential and possessive constructions are also non-verbal, however many of them are represented by a slightly different template described in §5.5 and §5.6:

(1) Predicate + Argument (Oblique)

In Kagayanen there is no copula or "coupling element" that intervenes between the predicate and the argument. Time adverbs, such as *gibii* 'yesterday', *kisyem* 'yesterday,' *gina* 'earlier', *kani* 'later', or *basi* 'maybe', are used to express the time and/or modal status of the situation if necessary (see examples below). As is generally true for all clause types, the basic Predicate+Argument order may be inverted for a variety of discourse functions, including emphasis, new topic, or focal prominence (see Chapter 11, §11.4.1 for a discussion of these concepts).

Constructions that belong to the family of non-verbal predicates are described below as predicate Nominals (§5.2), predicate Modifiers (§5.3), Locational Clauses (§5.4), Existential Constructions (§5.5), Possessive Clauses (§5.6), Manner Clauses (§5.7), and Comparative and superlative constructions (§5.8).

5.2 Predicate nominals

The basic functions of predicate nominals are to express classification and equation. Classification is the idea that a particular argument is properly included

within a set of things, for example, "Pedro is a teacher," or "the earth is a planet." These propositions express the ideas that Pedro is a member of the class of teachers, and the earth is a member of the class of planets, respectively. Classification may be expressed with a "proper subset sign": X⊂Y (X is included within Y) in mathematical notation. Equation is the idea that the argument is equated, or identified with some specific item, for example, "Pedro is the teacher" or "the earth is the planet I live on". In these cases, the predicate and argument can be related with an "equals sign": X=Y (X and Y are identical). The following are some basic examples in Kagayanen. In these examples, the argument is bracketed:

(2) Classification (Our vehicle ⊂ two masted ship)
Bḷangay ame na sakayan.

Predicate	Argument	
Bḷangay	*[ame*	*na sakay-an].*
2.masted.boat	1P.EXCL.GEN LK	ride-NR

'Our vehicle is a two masted boat.'

(3) Equation (Pedro = my cousin)
Katagsa ko Pedro an.

Predicate	Argument	
Katagsa ko	*[Pedro*	*an].*
cousin	1S.GEN	Pedro DEF.M

'Pedro is my cousin.'

In the case of equative clauses, it is often difficult or impossible to determine which element is the argument and which is the predicate, since of course the equality relationship is symmetric. In general we can say that the argument is likely to be the discourse topic (see, e.g., Givón 2001b), and the predicate is a comment on that topic. For example, if the topic of conversation is "Pedro," then a sentence like (3) would be a Predicate+Argument structure. On the other hand, if the topic of conversation were "my cousin", the same sentence would have the pragmatically marked Argument+Predicate structure 'As for my cousin (he) is Pedro.' This would likely be used if the speaker wished to contrast the equality of Pedro and the cousin with a different idea held by the hearer, for example, 'Pedro is my brother,' or 'Juan is my cousin.'

The following are some additional examples of predicate nominal clauses from the text corpus:

(4) Ame na sakayan isya na bḷangay na ngaran din Linda.

Argument Predicate
[Ame na sakay-an] isya na bḷangay na ngaran din
1P.EXCL.GEN LK ride-NR one LK 2.masted.boat LK name 3S.GEN
Linda.
Linda
'Our vehicle was a 2 mast ship which was named Linda.' [VAWN-T-19 2.4]

(5) Taga-Cagayancillo yaken i.

Predicate Argument
Taga-Cagayancillo[1] *[yaken i].*
from-–Cagayancillo 1S.ABS DEF.N
'I am from Cagayancillo.' [BMON-C-05 1.2]

(6) Cagayancillo puḷo na madyo ta duma na puḷo.

Argument Predicate
[Cagayancillo] puḷo na madyo ta duma na puḷo.
Cagayancillo island LK far NABS other LK island
'Cagayancillo is an island that is far from other islands.' [JCWN-L-33 38.1]

Note that when the argument is an enclitic pronoun, it occurs after the first element in the predicate. This means that if the predicate includes more than one word, the pronominal argument "intrudes" within the predicate phrase, as in examples (7) and (8):

(7) ... sawa a no.

Predicate Arg. Predicate
... sawa [a] no.
spouse 1S.ABS 2S.GEN
'... I am your spouse.' [PBON-T-01 2.23]

Example (8) contains a phrase, *ta highschool*, "of high school" modifying the RP that functions as the predicate. Thus "high school teachers" is the set, and the clause asserts that "s/he" is a member of that set:

[1]The stem-forming prefix (*taga-* derives a noun that means someone whose origin is the place named in the root. See Chapter 3, §3.3.16.)

(8) Maistro ta highschool kanen an.

Predicate Argument
Maistro ta highschool [kanen an].
teacher NABS highschool 3S.ABS DEF.M
'S/he is a high school teacher.'

While example (8) is grammatical, the more common order when the argument is instantiated as a pronoun is for the pronoun to occur after the first major constituent of the predicate, as in example (9). As mentioned in Chapter 4, §4.6.1, such "intrusive pronouns" are formally second-position enclitics, and as such do not usually take demonstrative determiners:

(9) Maistro kanen ta highschool.

Predicate Arg. Predicate
Maistro [kanen] ta highschool.
teacher 3S.ABS NABS high.school
'S/he is a highschool teacher.'

Any difference in meaning between (8) and (9) is subtle, and is not usually pertinent in conversation—the two may be considered paraphrases of one another, though (9) is clearly preferred.

A predicate nominal construction may contain a location phrase, as in the following.

(10) Maistro kanen ta highschool naan ta Puerto.

Predicate Arg. Predicate Location
Maistro [kanen] ta highschool naan ta Puerto.
teacher 3S.ABS NABS high.school SPAT.DEF NABS Puerto
'S/he is a high school teacher in Puerto.' or 'S/he is a teacher in the high school in Puerto.'

As mentioned above, the order of predicate and argument may be inverted for various pragmatic purposes. This is consistent with the function of argument fronting throughout the language (see Chapter 11, §11.4.1). Small capitalization is used in free English translations of the following examples to approximate the contrastive sense of these marked constructions:

(11) Kanen an maistro ta highschool.

Argument Predicate
[Kanen an] maistro ta highschool.
3S.ABS DEF.M teacher NABS high.school
'S/HE is a highschool teacher.'

(12) Yi en inyo na apo.

Arg. Predicate
[Yi] en inyo na apo.
D1ABS CM 2P.GEN LK descendant
'THIS now is your descendant.' [JCWE-T-15 5.1]

The predicate and argument may also be inverted when the predicate is particularly "heavy". In example (13) the predicate contains a rather long modifying clause. In such cases, inversion is normal, and does not necessarily indicate contrastive focus.

(13) Lalong klasi ta sidda na tama tellek iya na lawa.

Argument Predicate
[Lalong] klasi ta sidda na tama tellek iya na lawa.
lion.fish type NABS fish LK many prickles 3S.GEN LK body
'Lion fish is the type of fish that has many prickles on his/her body.'
[VAWE-T-10 9.1]

5.3 Predicate modifiers

The basic function of predicate modifiers is to assert an attribute or property of some argument. The predicate of a predicate modifier clause is a Modifier Phrase (see Chapter 4, §4.6), examples (14), (15), and (16), or a Referring Phrase (RP) with a modifier, as in (17). The argument can be any definite RP, as in (14) and (16), or a nominalized clause as in (15). In the examples in this section, the argument will be surrounded by square brackets:

(14) Piro mga salingan nay sikad gid dessen iran na tagipusuon.

Piro mga salingan nay sikad gid dessen [iran na tagipusuon].
but PL neighbor 1P.EXCL.GEN very INT hard 3P.GEN LK heart
'But as for our neighbors their hearts are very hard.' [ETON-C-07 2.9]

(15) Sikad gid tudo iran na pag-dḷagan.
Sikad gid tudo [iran na pag-dḷagan].
very INT intense 3P.GEN LK NR.ACT–run
'Their running was really very intense.'

(16) Miad mga Kagayanen an.
Miad [mga Kagayanen an].
kind PL Kagayanen DEF.M
'The Kagayanen (people) are kind.'

(17) Kagayanen miad na mga ittaw.
[Kagayanen] miad na mga ittaw.
Kagayanen kind LK PL person
'Kagayanens are kind people.' [JCWN-T-24 4.2]

As with predicate nominals, if the argument is a pronoun, it usually intrudes after the first element of the predicate, creating a discontinuous predicate. Example (18) would be more likely in daily conversation than (19):

(18) Sikad kanen kon miad na dḷaga.
Sikad [kanen] kon miad na dḷaga.
very 3S.ABS HSY kind LK single.woman
'She is a very kind single woman, they say.' [EMWL-T-04 5.1]

(19) Sikad kon miad na dḷaga kanen an.
Sikad kon miad na dḷaga [kanen an].
very HSY kind LK single.woman 3S.ABS DEF.M
'She is a very kind single woman, they say.'

As with predicate nominals, the order of predicate and argument may be inverted to express contrastive focus (small capital letters in the free translations of the following examples indicate the sense of contrast):

(20) Kanen an sikad kon miad na dḷaga.
[Kanen an] sikad kon miad na dḷaga.
3S.ABS DEF.M very HSY kind LK single.woman
'SHE is a very kind single woman they say.'

Example (21) is a particularly clear example of Argument+Predicate constructions used for contrastive focus. In this example the speaker uses two predicate modifier constructions in a row to contrast the characters of two brothers.

(21) Mangngod ya a dili maisa. Maguḷang ya a maisaen.

[Mangngod ya] a dili ma-isa. [Maguḷang ya] a ma-isa-en.[2]
younger.sibling DEF.F CTR NEG.IR ADJ–selfish older.sibing DEF.F CTR ADJ–selfish–ADJ

'THE YOUNGER BROTHER was not selfish. THE OLDER BROTHER was selfish.' [MBON-T-04 13.4-5]

5.4 Locational clauses

A locational clause functions to express the location of some argument. In Kagayanen, any prepositional phrase may appear in the predicate position, while the located argument normally follows. The preposition is *naan* (with the idiolectal variants *yaan* and *nyaan*) when the predicate is a definite location, as in (22) through (25):

(22) Naan ki kanen bata ko ya.

Naan ki kanen [bata ko ya].
SPAT.DEF OBL.P 3S child 1S.GEN DEF.F

'My child is there with her/him.'

(23) Naan ta dagat tama mga sidda.

Naan ta dagat [tama mga sidda].
SPAT.DEF NABS sea many PL fish

'Many fish are in the sea.' (Even though the quantifier *tama* appears here, it also has a plural marker possibly because there are many different kinds of fish.) [JCON-L-07 2.4]

[2]The use of *-én* in the second part of this contrastive pair of clauses indicates that the older brother had an inherent tendency toward selfishness. In the first part, the same root is used without *-én*. This is because one can't have an inherent tendency toward not being selfish—unselfishness is the norm. See Chapter 4, §4.3 for a discussion of *ma-*, versus *ma- . . . -én* as adjective-forming processes.

(24) Naan ta Guimaras kabatuan man pario ta ate na banwa.
Naan ta Guimaras [ka–bato–an man pario ta ate na
SPAT.DEF NABS Guimaras NR–rock–NR also like NABS 1plINCL.GEN LK
banwa].
town
'Places with many rocks like in our town are in Guimaras.' [SFOB-L-01 7.22]

(25) Naan ta Manila sawa ko ya.
Naan ta Manila [sawa ko ya].
SPAT.DEF NABS Manila spouse 1S.GEN DEF.F
'My spouse is in Manila.'

When the argument is a pronoun, the enclitic form normally intrudes within the predicate, and the *ta* prenominal case marker is optional, as in (26) through (28).

(26) Naan kanen (ta) Manila.
Naan [kanen] (ta) Manila.
SPAT.DEF 3S.ABS NABS Manila
'S/he is in Manila.'

Examples (27) and (28) are from the corpus. In both of these examples, the optional *ta* is retained.

(27) ... yaan kay ta Puerto.
... yaan [kay] ta Puerto.
SPAT.DEF 1P.EXCL.ABS NABS Puerto
'... we were in Puerto.' [ETON-C-07 1.2]

(28) Salig danen kani Papa a daw naan ki pa ta inyo ya.
Salig danen kani Papa a daw naan [ki] pa
think.wrongly 3P.ERG later papa INJ if/when SPAT.DEF 1P.INCL.ABS INC
ta inyo ya.
NABS 2P.GEN DEF.F
'Our papa and companions will think wrongly later that we are still at your (place).' [CBWN-C-11 5.20]

As with other non-verbal predicates, the order of predicate and argument may be inverted for contrastive focus:

(29) Kanen ya naan ta Manila.
[Kanen ya] naan ta Manila.
3S.ABS DEF.F SPAT.DEF NABS Manila.
'S/HE is in Manila.'

Examples (30) through (34) illustrate locational clauses with locational demonstratives in the predicate:

(30) Naan dya Pedro ya.
Naan dya [Pedro ya].
SPAT.DEF D4LOC Pedro DEF.F
'Pedro is over there.'

(31) Uḷa pa tagaok manok ya gina nyaan kay di en.
Uḷa pa tagaok manok ya gina nyaan [kay] di en.
NEG.R INC crow chicken DEF.F earlier SPAT.DEF 1P.EXCL.ABS D1LOC CM
'The chicken had not yet crowed earlier and we were here.' [BGON-L-01 3.17]

(32) ... nyaan dya iran ya na lugar.
... nyaan dya [iran ya na lugar].
SPAT.DEF D4LOC 3P.ABS DEF.F LK place
'...their place was there.' [TTOB-J-01 4.3]

(33) Sir, melled ka. Nyaan ka ti selled i.
Sir, m–selled ka. Nyaan [ka] ti[3] *selled i.*
Sir I.V.IR–inside 2S.ABS SPAT.DEF 2S.ABS D1LOC.PR inside DEF.N
'Sir, come inside. You will be right here inside.' [BGON-L-01 4.11–12]

In example (34), the argument ("I") appears as an enclitic in second position, and then is recapitulated in its full form following the locational demonstrative:

(34) Naan a ti yaken i.
Naan [a] ti [yaken i].
SPAT.DEF 1S.ABS D1LOC.PR 1S.ABS DEF.N
'I am right here.' [PBON-T-01 2.26]

[3]The form *unti* often reduces to *ti*, as in this example and the next.

This doubling of the argument pronoun is quite common in conversation. It adds an emotional nuance, such as excitement, wonder, happiness, and so on. It may also be a way of attracting the hearer's attention.

Other prepositions may also occur in the predicate of a locational clause. However, we use the term "locational" in a general way to describe all clauses in which the predicate is a prepositional phrase or locational demonstrative, even if the semantic relation is not, strictly speaking, locational. For example, prepositional phrases with *parti* or *tenged* 'about' may occur in a non-verbal clause (35 and 36). In this case, the marked order Argument+Predicate occurs quite frequently since this construction type functions to introduce important participants into the discourse, as in (36) and (37):

(35) Parti ta sidda yi na libro.
Parti ta sidda [yi na libro].
about NABS fish D1ADJ LK book
'This book is about fish.'

(36) Isturya na i tenged a ta mga sidda.
[Isturya na i] tenged a ta mga sidda.
story LK D1ABS about INJ NABS PL fish
'This story is about fish.' [JCON-L-07 2.3]

(37) Yi na isturya parti ta darwa na magsawa.
[Yi na isturya] parti ta darwa na mag–sawa.
D1ADJ LK story about NABS two LK REL–spouse
'This story is about a married couple.' [PBON-T-01 2.1]

5.5 Existential constructions

Existential constructions predicate the existence of something, usually in some specific location. In Kagayanen, existential constructions normally have three constituents: an existential particle or particles functioning as the predicate, a Referring Phrase functioning as the argument (the item that exists), and an optional location, as shown in (38).

(38) $\text{Predicate}_{\text{exist}}$ Argument (Location)

5.5.1 Basic existential constructions

There are two existential particles in Kagayanen which collaborate to define three existential constructions. The two forms are *may* 'indefinite existential particle', and *anen*, the 'given existential particle'. *May* without *anen* defines the *indefinite new* existential construction (39). This construction introduces a participant for the first time into the discourse, "out of the blue" so to speak. *Anen* without *may* defines the *definite given* existential construction (40)–(42), which asserts the presence of a particular referent that the speaker assumes the hearer can identify, and is probably aware of at the moment of speaking. In addition, *may* and *anen* may co-occur to form what we identify as the *indefinite given* existential construction (43). This construction is used when the speaker presupposes that the hearer is thinking about, or is aware of some defined group of referents (e.g. 'men'), but cannot identify the particular referent or subgroup of referents being singled out. In the following examples, the English free translations 'some N' or 'some Ns' are used to refer to the argument in an indefinite, given construction, though this is not a fully adequate translation. For instance, (43) below may be the answer to a question such as "Are there any men here?" The question refers to a set of possible referents, namely 'men', and the response implies that one or more of those are present, but the speaker does not think the hearer can identify which specific one or ones might be intended. Note that *may* and *anen* are dedicated existential particles. They are not locational demonstratives meaning 'here' or 'there'.

(39) **Indefinite**, **new**: May mama di.

Predicate	Argument	(Location)
May	*mama*	*di.*
EXT.IN	man	D1LOC

'There is a man here.'

(40) **Definite**, **given**: Anen a di.

Anen	*a*	*di.*
EXT.G	1S.ABS	D1LOC

'I'm here.'

(41) **Definite**, **given**: Anen di yaken i.

Anen	*di*	*yaken*	*i.*
EXT.G	D1LOC	1S.ABS	DEF.N

'**I'M** here.' (Contrasitive)

(42) **Definite, given**: Anen di mama an.
Anen di mama an.
EXT.G D1LOC man DEF.M
'The man is here.' (we've been expecting a particular man.)

(43) **Indefinite, given**: May anen mama di.
May anen mama di.
EXT.IN EXT.G man D1LOC
'There's some man/men here.' ('Men' have been mentioned or otherwise presupposed, but the particular man or men have not been identified).

In the indefinite constructions (i.e., those with *may*), the argument is a "stripped" Referring Phrase in that it takes no demonstrative determiners, genitive pronouns, or demonstratives (44)–(49). Also, it may not be replaced by a pronoun (see Miner 1986 on the notion of "noun stripping" and its similarity to noun incorporation). However, it may take quantifiers, relative clauses, and other modifiers. This stripped argument is clearly not absolutive because it does not take determiners, and does not participate in syntactic processes, such as fronting and relativizability, that are allowed for absolutives. While the stripped argument is not absolutive, neither is it Oblique in that it does not take any of the Oblique prepositions (including the non-absolutive case marker *ta*) and it may not be fronted, as can Obliques. Thus the indefinite existential constructions are among the very few constructions in Kagayanen that do not require an absolutive constituent. Another salient characteristic of the two indefinite existential constructions is that they serve as the bases for a type of predicative possession in which the possessed item is the stripped argument, and a possessor occurs as a distinct absolutive referring expression (see §5.6 below).

The following are examples of the indefinite, new existential construction:

(44) Argument with adjective:
May manakem na mama. (Or: May mama na manakem.)
May manakem na mama.
EXT.IN older LK man
'There's an older man.'

(45) Argument with number:
May tallo na mama. (*May mama na tallo.)
May tallo na mama.
EXT.IN three LK man
'There are three men.'

(46) May tallo buok na mama. Or: May mama na tallo buok.

May tallo buok na mama.
EXT.IN three CL LK man
'There are three individual men.'

(47) Argument with location phrase:[4]
May manakem na mama naan ta gwa.

May manakem na mama naan ta gwa.
EXT.IN older LK man SPAT.DEF NABS outside
'There is an older man outside.'

(48) **Argument with nominalized (relative) clause**:
May manakem na gatindeg naan ta gangaan.

May manakem na ga–tindeg naan ta gangaan.
EXT.IN older LK I.R–stand SPAT.DEF NABS doorway
'There's an older (one) standing in the doorway.' [YBWN-T-01 2.15]

The next set of examples are of indefinite, given existential constructs:

(49) Argument with adjective:
May anen manakem na mama. (Or: May anen mama na manakem.)

May anen manakem na mama.
EXT.IN EXT.G older LK man
'There's some older man.' (The conversation has evoked the notion of "men", but the speaker assumes the hearer cannot identify which particular man is meant).

(50) Argument with number:
May anen tallo na mama. (*May anen mama na tallo.)

May anen tallo na mama.
EXT.IN EXT.G three LK man
'There are some three men.'

[4]We find no definitive evidence for analyzing this location phrase as being a constituent of the argument ('a man outside'), or of the larger construct ('outside is a man.'). However, "bare" indefinite existentials ('there are men') are extremely rare, since a location is normally added to such utterances. For this reason, the general template for the existential construction includes the possibility of a construction-level location element, though sometimes evidence for this occurring at the construction or RP level is unclear.

(51) May anen tallo buok na mama. (?May anen mama na tallo buok.)

May anen tallo buok na mama.
EXT.IN EXT.G three CL LK man
'There are some three individual men.'

(52) Argument with location phrase:
May anen manakem naan ta gwa. (*May anen naan ta gwa manakem.)

May anen manakem naan ta gwa.
EXT.IN EXT.G older SPAT.DEF NABS outside
'There's some older man outside.'

(53) Argument with relative clause:
May anen gatindeg na manakem naan ta gangaan.

May anen ga–tindeg na manakem naan ta gangaan.
EXT.IN EXT.G I.R–stand LK older SPAT.DEF NABS doorway
'There's some older one who is standing in the doorway.'

In the definite given existential construction, the argument may be an absolutive pronoun or Referring Phrase that includes the full range of possible determiners and modifiers (54)–(57). The following are examples of definite, given existential constructs:

(54) Argument with adjective:
Anen manakem an na mama. (?Anen mama an na manakem.)

Anen manakem an na mama.
EXT.G older DEF.M LK man
'The older man is present.' (Or: 'There's the older man.')

(55) Argument with number:
Anen tallo an na mama. (*Anen mama an na tallo.)

Anen tallo an na mama.
EXT.G three DEF.M LK man
'The three men are present.' (Or: 'There are the three men.')

Also possible:
Anen tallo buok na mama.
Anen mama an na tallo buok.

(56) Argument with location phrase:
Anen manakem an naan ta gwa. (*Anen naan ta gwa manakem an.)
Anen manakem an naan ta gwa.
EXT.G older DEF.M SPAT.DEF NABS outside
'The older one is present outside.'

(57) Argument with relative clause:
Anen gatindeg ya na manakem naan ta gangaan. (Or: Anen manakem ya na gatindeg naan ta gangaan.)
Anen ga–tindeg ya na manakem naan ta gangaan.
EXT.G I.R–stand DEF.F LK older SPAT.DEF NABS outside
'The older one is present who was standing in the doorway.'

Example (57) employs the distal deictic determiner *ya* instead of the intermediate deictic determiner *an* in the argument RP. This can mean the older man is the one who previously was standing, or the one who previously was far away.

5.5.2 Head omission in the argument

When the argument includes a relative clause, the head of the clause can drop out, leaving just a clause or verb. This is a property of relative clauses in general (see Chapter 12, §12.5), and not specifically of the existential construction. However, since such omission of the head occurs often in existential contexts, we are including a selection of such examples here.

Example (58) illustrates an indefinite new existential construct, while (59) illustrates the same construct with omission of the head in the argument Referring Phrase:

(58) May manakem na gatindeg naan ta gangaan. (Or: May gatindeg na manakem naan ta gangaan.)
Pred Argument Location
May manakem na ga–tindeg naan ta gangaan.
EXT.IN older LK I.R–stand SPAT.DEF NABS doorway
'There's an older one standing in the doorway.'

(59) May gatindeg naan ta gangaan.
Pred Argument Location
May ga–tindeg naan ta gangaan.
EXT.IN I.R–stand SPAT.DEF NABS doorway
'There's someone standing in the doorway.'

Example (60) illustrates an indefinite existential clause with a full RP argument:

(60) May nakita na yupan maguḷang ko an.

Pred Argument
May na–kita na yupan maguḷang ko an.
EXT.IN A.HAP.R–see LK bird older.sibling 1S.GEN DEF.M
'My older sibling saw a bird.' (lit. 'There was a bird that my older sibling saw')

The head noun may drop out of the RP leaving just the verb:

(61) May nakita maguḷang ko an.

Pred Argument
May na–kita maguḷang ko an.
EXT.IN A.HAP.R–see older.sibling 1S.GEN DEF.M
'My older sibling saw something.' (lit. 'There was something my older sibling saw.')

The following are a few additional examples of head omission in existential clauses:

(62) May anen nabilin.

May anen na–bilin.
EXT.IN EXT.G A.HAP.R–leave
'There is/was some left.'

(63) May anen daḷa maguḷang ko an.

May anen daḷa maguḷang ko an.
EXT.IN EXT.G take/carry older.brother 1S.GEN DEF.M
'My older sibling has something brought (with him).'

(64) Anen gatindeg ya gina naan ta gangaan.

Anen ga–tindeg ya gina naan ta gangaan.
EXT.G I.R–stand DEF.F earlier SPAT.DEF NABS doorway
'Here's the one standing earlier in the doorway.'

(65) Anen ki kanen pangita no ya.

Anen ki kanen pa–ng–kita no ya.
EXT.G OBL.P 3S T.R–PL–search[5] 2S.ERG DEF.F
'Something that you are/were searching for is with him/her.'

The following are examples of head omission in existential constructions from the corpus:

(66) Yaan kanen ta iya na istaran. Gatingaḷa kanen i tak may gatagbaḷay.

Yaan kanen ta iya na istar–an. Ga–tingaḷa kanen i
SPAT.DEF 3S.ABS NABS 3S.GEN LK live–NR I.R–wonder 3S.ABS DEF.N
tak may ga–tag–baḷay.
because EXT.IN I.R–NR–house
'He was at his house (his living place). He was wondering because (there was) someone calling the owner of the house.' [MBON-T-03 3.2]

(67) May anen gapungko. May anen man gatindeg bilang gasakripisyo danen.

May anen ga–pungko. May anen man ga–tindeg bilang
EXT.IN EXT.G I.R–sit EXT.IN EXT.G also I.R–stand as
ga–sakripisyo danen.
I.R–sacrifice 3P.ABS
'There are some sitting. There are also some standing as they are sacrificing/suffering.' [ABOE-L-01 6.7]

(68) Unso ki. Bistaan ta dya daw may anen dya.

Unso ki. ∅–bista–an ta dya daw
D4LOC.PR 1P.INCL.ABS T.IR–go.find.out–APL 1P.INCL.ERG D4LOC if/when
may anen dya.
EXT.IN EXT.G D4LOC
'Let's (go) right there (far away). Let's go find out if there is some (food) there.' [CBWN-C-16 3.11]

[5]The root *kita*, is glossed 'to see' when occuring in happenstantial mode. When occuring in dynamic mode, as in this example, it implies an active process rather than a non-volitional experience of perception. Combined with the pluractional stem-forming prefix, the image evoked is of someone actively "seeing", that is, looking multiple times in multiple places. As such the English gloss "search" is more accurate.

(69) Daw may anen ki, mangatag ki ta duma ta.

Daw may anen ki ma–ng–atag ki ta
if/when EXT.IN EXT.G 1P.INCL.ABS A.HAP.IR–PL–give 1P.INCL.ABS NABS
duma ta.
companion 1P.INCL.GEN

'If we have (something) let us habitually be giving to others.' (This is the lesson of a story about not being selfish or greedy. So in the context it is understood that the omitted part is 'something' or 'anything.')
[PMWN-T-01 4.2]

(70) Anduni anen nang en gatinir ta baḷay danen bantay ta mangngod din tak bai dili dapat sigi nang na panaw.

Anduni anen nang en ga–tinir ta baḷay danen bantay
now/today EXT.G only/just CM I.R–stay NABS house 3P.GEN watch/guard
ta mangngod din tak bai dili dapat sigi
NABS younger.sibling 3S.GEN because woman NEG.IR must continual
nang na panaw.
only/just LK go/walk

'Now (the woman) is just there staying in their house watching her younger sibling(s) because women should just not keep gooing (places).'
[RZWE-J-01 9.5]

(71) Ambaḷ kon ta amo ya, "Anen ki di en. May nakita ka?" Sabat man ta bubuo ya, "Uḷa. Imo, may nakita ka?" Sabat man ta amo ya, "Uḷa man." Dayon kon ambaḷ bubuo i na, "Unso ki. Bistaan ta dya daw may anen dya."

Ambaḷ kon ta amo ya, "Anen ki di en. May
say HSY NABS monkey IDEF.F EXT.G 1P.INCL.ABS D1LOC CM EXT.IN
na–kita ka?" Sabat man ta bubuo ya, "Uḷa. Imo, may
A.HAP.R–see 2S.ABS reply also NABS tortoise DEF.F NEG.R 2S.GEN EXT.IN
na–kita ka?" Sabat man ta amo ya, "Uḷa man."
A.HAP.R–see 2S.ABS reply also NABS monkey DEF.F NEG.R also
Dayon kon ambaḷ bubuo i na, "Unso ki.
right.away HSY say tortoise DEF.N LK D4LOC.PR 1P.INCL.ABS
∅–bista–an ta dya daw may anen dya."
T.IR–go.find.out–APL 1P.INCL.ERG D4LOC if/when EXT.IN EXT.G D4LOC

'The monkey said "We are here now. Do you see something (food)?" The tortoise also replied, "No/Nothing. As for you (contrast), do you see

something (food)?" The monkey also replied, "No/Nothing also." Right away the tortoise said, "Let's (go) right there (far away). Let's go find out if there is some (food) there."' [CBWN-C-16 3.5–11]

5.5.3 Definite non-specific individuals of a group

When talking about definite but non-specific individuals of a group, as in 'some of us', 'some of you', or 'some of them', then *may anen* is followed by a plural pronoun in the oblique case.

(72) **May anen ki kyo** na gasunod pa ta mikaw.
May anen ki kyo *na ga–sunod pa ta mikaw.*
EXT.IN EXT.G OBL.P 2p LK I.R–follow INC NABS food.sacrifice
'There are some of you who still follow food sacrifice.'

(73) Siguro **may anen ki kyo** dyan na gapati na a bayo nyo an iling tan unduni alin ta kaoy.
Siguro may anen ki kyo dyan na ga–pati na a bayo
perhaps EXT.IN EXT.G OBL.P 2p D2LOC LK I.R–believe LK INJ clothes
nyo an iling tan unduni alin ta kaoy.
2P.GEN DEF.M like D3NABS now/today from NABS tree/wood
'Perhaps, there are some of you there (near addressees) who believe that your clothes like that now are from trees.' [ROOB-T-01 7.7]

5.6 Possessive clauses (predicative possession)

Stassen (2009) described clauses that assert the notion that "X possesses Y" as "predicative posssion" (e.g., *I have a book*), as distinct from adnominal possession (e.g., *my book*). In Kagayanen, there are three construction types that express predicative possession, all of which lack an Inflected Verb (see Chapter 6), and therefore belong to the family of non-verbal predicates. The first predicative possession construction is based on the predicate nominal template (§5.6.1), the second is based on the predicate locative template (§5.6.2), and the third is based on the existential template (§5.6.3).

5.6.1 Possessive clauses formed on a predicate nominal template

Perhaps the most common means of expressing predicative possession in Kagayanen is the use of a free genitive pronoun (74–75) or genitive Referring Phrase (76)

as the predicate (see Chapter 3, §3.4 and §3.5.5). This construction normally expresses permanent possession, and is structurally identical to predicate nominals:

(74) Ame yan na baḷay.
Predicate Argument
Ame yan na baḷay.
1P.EXCL.GEN D2ABS LK house
'That house is ours.'

(75) Yan na baḷay ame.
Argument Predicate
Yan na baḷay ame.
D2ABS LK house 1P.EXCL.GEN
'THAT HOUSE is ours.'

(76) Iya (ta) maguḷang ko yon na baḷay.
Predicate Argument
Iya (ta) maguḷang ko yon na baḷay.
3S.GEN NABS older.sibling 1S.GEN D3ABS LK house
'That house is my older sibling's.' (lit. 'His/hers (of) my older sibling is that house.')

(77) Yi na lugar ni a, iya ta mga patay.
Argument Predicate
Yi na lugar ni a, iya ta mga patay.
D1ABS LK place D1PR INJ 3S.GEN NABS PL dead
'THIS VERY PLACE is the dead one's (place).' [PBON-T-01 2.15]

This type of construction is not considered to be predicative possession by Stassen (2009), because it is simply one usage of the predicate nominal template. In other words, there is no evidence that it is a dedicated possessive construction. However, it is very common in Kagayanen as a means of expressing permanent possession, and so warrents mention in this section of the grammar.

5.6.2 Possessive clauses formed on a predicate locative template

The locational non-verbal construction serves as the basis for the second type of predicative possession. This is an instance of the "locational possessive" type (Stassen 2009: 47), which is the most common type exhibited in the languages in

Stassen's sample. In Kagayanen, the locational possessive construction normally expresses temporary possession. The predicate of this construction consists of a locative phrase initiated by the spatial demonstrative *naan*, with idiolectical variants *yaan* and *nyaan* (78–81). *Naan* is the most common variant of the spatial demonstrative, followed by *yaan*, and then *nyaan*. There are no examples of *nyaan* in locational possessive constructions in the corpus. All variants are equivalent in meaning and can be substituted for one another in the following examples. A thorough study is needed to determine any sociolinguistic or topolectical patterns to their usages.

(78) **Naan ki kanen** kalaw no an.
Predicate Argument
Naan ki kanen *kalaw no an.*
SPAT.DEF OBL.P 3S winnow.basket 2S.GEN DEF.M
'S/he has your winnowing basket.' (lit. 'Your winnowing basket is with/on/at him/her.')

(79) Kaḷaw no an **naan ki kanen**.
Argument Predicate
Kaḷaw no an ***naan ki kanen.***
winnow.basket 2S.GEN DEF.M SPAT.DEF OBL.P 3S
'S/he has YOUR WINNOWING BASKET.'

(80) Daw tenged ta libro na ambaḷ **naan ki danen Maria** uḷa pa danen gapadaḷa…
Daw tenged ta libro na ambaḷ ***naan ki danen Maria*** *uḷa pa danen ga–pa–daḷa…*
and about NABS book LK say SPAT.DEF OBL.P 3P Maria NEG.R INC 3P.ABS I.R–CAUS–carry
'And about the book that is said to be with Maria and companions, they have not yet sent (it)….' [BCWL-C-02 5.1]

(81) Tanan-tanan na mga tudlo **yaan ki danen**.
tanan~-tanan na mga tudlo ***yaan ki danen.***
RED~all LK PL teaching SPAT.DEF OBL.P 3P
'Absolutely all the teaching they have.' (This is from a speech at an elementary school graduation.) [SFOB-L-01 8.3]

Occasionally, *naan/yaan/nyaan* may be replaced by the given existential particle *anen* (82, 83).

(82) **Anen ki kanen** kaḷaw no an.

Predicate		Argument		
Anen ki	***kanen***	*kaḷaw*	*no*	*an.*
EXT.G OBL.P 3S		winnowing.basket	2S.GEN	DEF.M

'S/he has your winnowing basket.' (lit. 'Your winnowing basket exists with/on/at him/her.')

(83) Daw gusto nyo, **anen man ki yaken** risibo i ta isya libo.

Daw gusto nyo, anen man ki yaken risibo i ta isya libo.
if/when want 2P.ERG EXT.G also OBL.P 1S receipt DEF.N NABS one thousand

'If you want (to get it), there is with me a receipt (I have a receipt) for one thousand (pesos).' [PBWL-T-06 7.3].

This variant of the locational possessive construction is a "bridge" to the existential possessive constructions described in §5.6.3. However the two constructions differ in their treatment of the possessor and argument. In all locational possessive constructions, including those with *anen*, the possessor is treated grammatically as a Location, and the possessed item (the argument) is in the absolutive role. Whereas in the existential possessive construction described below, the possessor is presented in the absolutive role and the possessed item is a "stripped" Referring Phrase (see §5.6.3 below).

5.6.3 Possessive uses of existential constructions

A third way of predicating possession in Kagayanen is to use an Existential construction (see §5.5 above). In this usage, the possessor is expressed in the absolutive case and the possessed item is a "stripped" Referring Phrase, that is, a Referring Phrase lacking determiners, case marking and some modifiers as discussed in §5.5. All three subtypes of existential construction mentioned in §5.5 may be employed in such possessive constructions, though the definite given existential construction overlaps with the locative template, as discussed in section §5.6.2 above.

Examples (84) and (85) illustrate the indefinite new existential construction expressing possession.

(84) May baḷay mama an.
May baḷay mama an.
EXT.IN house man DEF.M
'The man has a house.'

(85) May baḷay mama an naan ta baybay.
May baḷay mama an naan ta baybay.
EXT.IN house man DEF.M SPAT.DEF NABS beach
'The man has a house on the beach.'

Examples (86) and (87) illustrate the indefinite given existential construction.

(86) May anen baḷay mama an.
May anen baḷay mama an.
EXT.IN EXT.G house man DEF.M
'The man has some house.'

(87) May anen baḷay mama an naan ta baybay.
May anen baḷay mama an naan ta baybay.
EXT.IN EXT.G house man DEF.M SPAT.DEF NABS beach
'The man has some house on the beach.'

Definite, given Existential predicates express temporary possession. These constructs are related to the "locational possessive" type identified by Stassen (2009: 49), and discussed in §5.6.2 above:

(88) Anen pala no ya ki manong ko.
Anen pala no ya ki manong ko.
EXT.G shovel 2S.GEN DEF.F OBL.P older.brother 1S.GEN
'Your shovel is with my older brother.'

In this construction the possessor appears as an oblique argument, rather than as an absolutive RP. This kind of possessive clause is identical to the given existential *anen* with a location phrase in (56). It also shares properties with the Locational construction with the spatial demonstrative *naan/yaan/nyaan*, except that the "location" is animate, usually human.

5.6.3.1 Constituent orders in existential possessive clauses

For possessive existential clauses, the possessor may be fronted before the predicate, but the argument (the possessed item) may not be fronted. This construction resembles the "topic possessive type" identified by Stassen (2009: 58):

(89) **Kami i** may (anen) baḷay naan ta Cawili.
Kami ***i*** *may (anen) baḷay naan ta Cawili.*
1P.EXCL.ABS DEF.N EXT.IN EXT.G house SPAT.DEF NABS Cawili
'AS FOR US, (we) have a/some house on Cawili (island).'

The location may also be fronted:

(90) a. **Naan ta Cawili** may (anen) baḷay kami i.
Naan ta Cawili *may (anen) baḷay kami i.*
SPAT.DEF NABS Cawili EXT.IN EXT.G house 1P.EXCL.ABS DEF.N
'ON CAWILI (ISLAND) we have a/some house.'

b. **Naan ta Cawili** may (anen) kay baḷay.
Naan ta Cawili *may (anen) kay baḷay.*
SPAT.DEF NABS Cawili EXT.IN EXT.G 1P.EXCL.ABS house
'ON CAWILI (ISLAND) we have a/some house.'

The ungrammatical examples in (91) show that the possessed item may not be fronted. This is consistent with the analysis of the possessed item as a stripped nominal that has been incorporated into the predicate:

(91) a. * **Baḷay** naan ta Cawili may (anen) kay/kami i.
b. * **Baḷay** may (anen) naan ta Cawili kami i.
c. * **Baḷay** may (anen) kay naan ta Cawili.

When the possessor RP of an indefinite new existential clause is a pronoun, it can be either the enclitic (92a) or the free absolutive (92b).

(92) a. May manok **kay**.
May manok ***kay****.*
EXT.IN chicken 1P.EXCL.ABS
'We have chicken(s).'

b. May manok **kami i**.
*May manok **kami** **i**.*
EXT.IN chicken 1P.EXCL.ABS DEF.N
'WE have chicken(s).' (Contrastive)

If the RP in the predicate is longer than one word, then the enclitic pronoun intrudes inside the predicate (93a). The free pronoun does not intrude (93b):

(93) a. May manok **kay** na tambek. (Or: May tambek **kay** na manok.)
*May manok **kay** na tambek.*
EXT.IN chicken 1P.EXCL.ABS LK fat
'We have fat chicken(s).'
* May manok na tambek **kay**.

b. May manok na tambek **kami i**. (Or: May tambek na manok **kami i**.)
*May manok na tambek **kami** **i**.*
EXT.IN chicken LK fat 1P.EXCL.ABS DEF.N
'WE have fat chicken(s).'
* May manok **kami** na tambek.

With indefinite given existential possessive clauses, the enclitic or free pronoun that refers to the possessor can occur after the two existential words *may anen* (94). Speakers may make the possessor more prominent by placing the free pronoun, but not the enclitic, clause finally (94).

(94) May anen **kay** manok na tambek. (Or: May anen **kay** tambek na manok.)
*May anen **kay** manok na tambek.*
EXT.IN EXT.G chicken LK fat
'We have a/some fat chicken(s).'

(95) May anen manok na tambek **kami i**. (Or: May anen tambek na manok **kami i**.)
*May anen manok na tambek **kami** **i**.*
EXT.IN EXT.G chicken LK fat 1P.EXCL.ABS DEF.N
'WE have a/some fat chicken(s).'
* May anen manok na tambek **kay**.

With the definite given possessive existential clause, the possessor, whether pronoun or RP, can occur after the existential word (96)–(97), but not clause initially.

(96) Anen **ki manong ko** pala no ya.
Anen ***ki*** ***manong*** ***ko*** *pala* *no* *ya.*
EXT.G OBL.P older.brother 1S.GEN shovel 2S.GEN DEF.F
'Your shovel is with my older brother.'
* Ki manong ko anen pala no an.

(97) Anen **ki kami** pala no ya.
Anen ***ki*** ***kami*** *pala* *no* *ya.*
EXT.G OBL.P 1P.EXC shovel 2S.GEN DEF.F
'Your shovel is with us.'
* Ki kami anen pala no an.

However, the argument may be fronted as in (98).

(98) **Pala no ya** anen ki manong ko.
Pala ***no*** ***ya*** *anen* *ki* *manong* *ko.*
shovel 2S.GEN DEF.F EXT.G OBL.P older.brother 1S.GEN
'YOUR SHOVEL is with my older brother.'

5.6.3.2 Semantic relations expressed by possessive existential clauses

An existential clause with an absolutive possessor can indicate possession (example 99 and those presented previously), part-whole relationships (100)–(103), human relationships (104), experiences (105)–(110), characteristics or descriptions of temporary things or unexpected things (111)–(116), actions (117)–(118), contents (119)–(119), and perhaps others. The following examples illustrate these usages:

(99) Possession
Dey, may tirador a di.
Dey, *may* *tirador* *a* *di.*
friend EXT.IN slingshot 1S.ABS D1LOC
'Friend, I have a slingshot here.' [MEWN-T-02 3.1]

(100) Part-whole (usually temporary like leaves or fruit, unexpected, or metaphorical)
May bunga ame i na saging.
May *bunga ame* *i* *na saging.*
EXT.IN fruit 1P.EXCL.GEN DEF.N LK banana
'Our banana plant has fruit.'

(101) …may benget ubakan.

…may benget ubakan.
EXT.IN beard goatfish
'The goatfish has a beard.' [JCWO-L-28 9.1]

(102) …may utok kay man

… may utok kay man
EXT.IN brain 1P.EXCL.ABS too
'... we are smart too...' (lit. we have a brain also. This is an idiomatic expression.) [CBWE-C-05 3.4]

(103) Sikad baked na kaoy may sanga na sampuḷo daw darwa. Kada baked na sanga may appat pa gid na gamay na sanga. Kada gamay na sanga may pitto na buḷak. (Sabat: taon, buḷan, adlaw, duminggo).

Sikad baked na kaoy may sanga na sampuḷo daw darwa. Kada baked
very big LK tree EXT.IN branch LK ten and two each big
na sanga may appat pa gid na gamay na sanga. Kada gamay na
LK branch EXT.IN four INC INT LK small LK branch each small LK
sanga may pitto na buḷak. (Sabat: taon, buḷan, adlaw, duminggo).
branch EXT.IN seven LK flower answer year month day week
'A very big tree has ten and two branches. Each big branch has four small branches. Each small branch has seven flowers. Answer: year, month, week, day.' (This is a riddle.) [SFWR-L-05 49.3]

(104) Human relationships
May sawa aren.

May sawa aren.
EXT.IN spouse 1S.ABS
'I already have a spouse.' [ACWN-T-01 2.2]

(105) Experience, usually negative such as sickness or other problem
May swaḷem yaken i.

May swaḷem yaken i.
EXT.IN chicken.pox 1S.ABS DEF.N
'I have chicken pox.'

(106) Yaken may inagian na dili ko gid malipatan.
Yaken may <in>agi–an na dili ko gid
1S.ABS EXT.IN <NR.RES>pass–APL LK NEG.IR 1S.ERG INT
ma–lipat–an.
A.HAP.IR–forget–APL
'As for me, I have an experience that I really can't forget.' [EMWN-T-05 2.1]

(107) Yaken may prublima a daw oras ta kwarisma a waig.
Yaken may prublima a daw oras ta kwarisma a
1S.ABS EXT.IN problem 1S.ABS if/when time/hour NABS dry.season INJ
waig.
water.
'As for me, I have a problem during dry season: water.' [CNWE-L-01 2.4]

(108) … may silot ka na paabuton.
… may silot ka na pa–abot–en.
EXT.IN punish 2S.ABS LK CAUS–arrive–T.IR
'.. you will have a punishment coming.' [MEWN-T-03 2.5]

(109) May brown out kay gina.
May brown out kay gina.
EXT.IN brown out 1P.EXCL.ABS earlier
'We had a brown out earlier.'

(110) Kiten may kabui na uḷa katapusan.
Kiten may ka–bui na uḷa ka–tapos–an.
1P.INCL.ABS EXT.IN NR–live LK NEG.R NR–finish–NR
'WE have life without end.' [EMWO-L-10 12.1]

(111) Characteristic or description
… Pedro may gayya.
… Pedro may gayya.
Pedro EXT.IN shame
'PEDRO has shame.' [LGON-L-01]

(112) … may paglaem kay pa
… may pag–laem kay pa
EXT.IN nr.act–hope 1P.EXCL.ABS INC
'… we have hope still.' [CBWN-C-11 5.28]

(113) … may lii kanen i naan apaw ta iya na mata.

… may lii kanen i naan apaw ta iya na mata.
EXT.IN birthmark 3S.ABS DEF.N SPAT.DEF above NABS 3S.GEN LK eye

'He has a birthmark over his eye.' [DBWN-T-33 2.20]

(114) … may kanḷaman kay man…

… may kanḷaman kay man…
EXT.IN knowledge/wisdom 1P.EXCL.ABS too

'…we have knowledge too…' [PBWL-C-05 5.2]

(115) Iya na takong may buksoḷ daw may tellek man.

Iya na takong may buksoḷ daw may tellek man.
3S.GEN LK forehead EXT.IN bump and EXT.IN sticker too

'Its forehead has a bump and stickers too.' (This is about the fish *bantoḷ* 'stone fish.') [AWE-T-10 9.3]

(116) … may timpo ka…

… may timpo ka…
EXT.IN time 2S.ABS

'…you have time.' [PMWL-T-07 2.2]

(117) Action/Activity
…tak adlaw na Sabado may ubra kanen an.

… tak adlaw na Sabado may ubra kanen an.
because day/sun LK Saturday EXT.IN work 3S.ABS DEF,M

'…because Saturday he has work.' [RMWN-L-01 2.2]

(118) … kada adlaw-adlaw may exercise kay.

… kada adlaw~-adlaw may exercise kay.
every RED~sun/day EXT.IN exercise 1P.EXCL.ABS

'…every day we have an exercise.' [PBWL-T-09 7.11]

(119) Contents
May sidda kaldiro an.

May sidda kaldiro an.
EXT.IN fish cooking.pot DEF.M

'The cooking pot has fish (inside).'

(120) … yo na lugar may ittaw maat o malain na ispirito.
… yo na lugar may ittaw maat o ma–lain na ispirito.
D4ADJ LK place EXT.IN person taboo or ADJ–evil LK spirit
'… that place has taboo people or evil spirits.' [VAOE-J-04 1.2]

5.7 Manner clauses

Manner clauses have the same Predicate+Argument structure common to other non-verbal predications, except that the argument is a clause nominalized with the action nominalizer *pag-*, or a bare form (121–128). The predicate is an adverb that modifies the nominalized clause. For some adverbs, such as *dasig* 'quickly' and *tudo* 'intense/all out effort', it is possible to invert the order of predicate and argument (127–128).

(121) Dasig pagdḷagan din an.
Pred. Argument
Dasig (pag)–dḷagan din an.
fast NR.ACT–run 3S.GEN DEF.M
'S/he is running fast.' (lit. 'His/Her running is fast.') [EFWN-T-10 2.6]

(122) Dasig iya na pagdḷagan.
Pred. Argument
Dasig iya na (pag)–dḷagan.
fast 3SGEN LK NR.ACT–run
'S/he is running fast.' (lit. 'His/her running is fast.')

(123) Dasig (pag)panaw din ya.
Pred Argument
Dasig (pag)–panaw din ya.
fast NR.ACT–go/walk 3SGEN DEF.F
'S/he is walking fast.' (lit. 'His/Her walking is fast.')

(124) Dasig iya na (pag)panaw.
Pred Argument
Dasig iya na (pag)–panaw.
fast 3SGEN LK NR.ACT–go/walk
'S/he is walking fast.' (lit. 'His/Her walking is fast.')

When the adverb *sikad* 'very' is in the normal predicate position, it may occur by itself without an adjective, in which case it expresses intensity of action (125–126). However, when postposed it must occur with an adjective such as *dasig* 'fast' as in (127) or *tudo* 'intense/all out effort' as in (128).

(125) Sikad iya na pag-agaḷ.
Sikad (tudo) iya na (pag)–-agaḷ.
very intense 3S.GEN LK NR.ACT–cry
'S/he is crying very intensely.' ('His/Her crying is very intense.')

(126) Sikad pag-agaḷ din an.
Sikad (tudo) (pag)–-agaḷ din an.
very intense NR.ACT–cry 3S.GEN DEF.M
'S/he is crying very intensely.' ('His/her crying is very intense.').

(127) Iya na pagdḷagan sikad dasig.
Iya na (pag)–dḷagan sikad dasig.
3SGEN LK NR.ACT–run very fast
'Her/his RUNNING is fast.' (Contrastive)

(128) Pag-agaḷ din an sikad tudo.
(Pag)–-agaḷ din (an) sikad tudo.
NR.ACT–cry 3S.GEN DEF.M very intense
'S/he is CRYING very intensely.' ('Her/his crying is very intense.')
* Iya na (pag)dḷagan sikad.
* Iya na (pag)–agal sikad.

Sikad also functions as a canonical clause level adverb, in which case it expresses the idea of 'habitually', and is followed by a clause with an Inflected Verb in irrealis modality, rather than a nominalization:

(129) Sikad kanen manaw.
Sikad kanen m–panaw.
very 3S.ABS I.V.IR–go/walk
'S/he habitually goes/walks.'

Some adverbs, including *sigi* 'continually', *diritso* 'straight away', *inay-inay* 'slowly' and *sali(ta)* 'persistently', can only occur before the argument. Following these "durational manner adverbs" (see Chapter 4, §4.7.3), the verb root in the argument must be in the bare form (130–132):

(130) Sigi panaw din an.
Sigi panaw din an.
continually go/walk 3S.GEN DEF.M
'S/he keeps going.' ('His/her going is continuous.')

(131) Sigi iya na panaw. (... *manaw, ...*pagpanaw, etc.)
Sigi iya na panaw.
continually 3S.GEN LK go/walk
'S/he keeps going.' ('His/her going is continuous.')

(132) Diritso kanen panaw. (... *manaw, ...*pagpanaw, etc.)
Diritso kanen panaw.
straightaway 3S.ABS go/walk
'S/he straightaway goes.' ('Her/his going is straightaway.')

5.8 Comparative and superlative constructions

Comparative and superlative constructions are built on the non-verbal predicate template. They consist of a non-verbal predicate plus its argument followed by a standard usually expressed in an oblique case. A marker of comparison, *kaysa* or *kis-a*, 'than', may precede the standard, or the Marker may be a stem-forming morphological process that derives a comparative or superlative adjective. The basic comparative/superlative construction can be diagrammed as follows:

(133) Predicate Argument (Marker) Standard

The predicate in this construction is a predicate modifier (as described in §5.3), either a plain, comparative or superlative adjective. It may also be a nominalized clause. In this section we describe comparative and superlative constructions based on predicate modifiers first. Further below we discuss comparative and superlative constructions based on nominalized clauses. Example (134) is a simple comparative construct based on the predicate modifier *layog* 'be tall':

(134) Layog kanen kaysa ki yaken.
Layog kanen kis-a ki yaken.
Layog kanen ki yaken.
Pred. Arg. Mkr. Standard
Layog kanen (kaysa/kis-a) ki yaken.
tall 3S.ABS than OBL.P 1S
'S/he is taller than me.'

Consistent with the pattern for non-verbal constructions in general, the predicate modifier may appear in any of the orders described above in §5.1, including Argument+Predicate and pronoun intrusion. The following are examples of various orders of elements in comparative constructions from the corpus:

(135) Iya na labbot bakod-bakod pa ta iya na lawa…

Argument predicate Standard
Iya na labbot bakod~-bakod pa ta iya na lawa…
3S.GEN LK bottom RED~big EMPH NABS 3S.GEN LK body

'Its bottom is somewhat bigger than its body….' (This is a description of a coconut crab. Lit: 'Its bottom is a little bit big to its body.') [DBWE-T-27 2.3]

(136) Ittaw na gaistar ta baḷay ko i mas pa bakod ki yaken.

Argument predicate
Ittaw na ga–istar ta baḷay ko i mas pa bakod
person LK I.R–live NABS house 1S.GEN DEF.N more EMPH big
Standard
ki yaken.
OBL.P 1S

'The person who lives in my house is bigger than me.' [CBWN-C-107.14]

In (137) the oblique case Standard intrudes between the predicate and the argument:

(137) Datas pa ki kanen ittaw ya na bakod.

Predicate Standard Argument
Datas pa ki kanen ittaw ya na bakod.
high EMPH OBL.P 3S person DEF.F LK big

'The person who was big was taller than him.' (lit. 'The big person was tall to him').

Consistent with the pattern for modifiers in general, when the modifier is completely or partially reduplicated, the extent of the quality expressed is attenuated, for example, 'somewhat/a little bit tall'.

(138) Layog-layog kanen ki yaken.

Layog~-layog kanen (kaysa/kis-a) ki yaken.
RED~tall 3S.ABS than OBL.P 1S

'S/he is somewhat taller than me.'

Again, consistent with the pattern for modifiers in general, downtoning or intensifying adverbial elements may also modify the extent of the comparison (139–141):

(139) **Layog** kanen **sise** ki yaken.
Layog *kanen* ***sise*** *(kaysa/kis-a) ki yaken.*
tall 3S.ABS small than OBL.P 1S
'S/he is a little taller than me.'

(140) Layog-layog kanen **sise** ki yaken.
Layog~-layog kanen ***sise*** *(kaysa/kis-a) ki yaken.*
RED~tall 3S.ABS small than OBL.P 1S
'S/he is a very little bit taller than me.'

(141) **Sikad pa gid** layog kanen ki yaken
Sikad (pa) (gid) *layog kanen (kaysa/kis-a) ki yaken*
very EMPH INT tall 3S.ABS than OBL.P 1S
'S/he is (really) much taller than me.'

(142) Pandan i a lipo kaysa ta buli.
Argument Pred. Mkr. Standard
Pandan i a lipo kaysa ta buli.
pandan DEF.N CTR short than NABS buri
'Pandan is shorter than buri.'[6] [EFWE-T-04 19.1]

The second comparative construction includes the word *mas* 'more' (from Spanish) before the predicate. The optional intensifier *gid* and emphasis particle *pa* can also occur after *mas*. The comparee is absolutive and the standard is normally in the oblique case. The markers of comparison *kaysa* or *kis-a* 'than' may occur before the oblique.

(143) Mas pa gid layog kanen ki yaken.
Predicate Arg. Mkr. Standard
Mas (pa) (gid) layog kanen (kaysa/kis-a) ki yaken.
more EMPH INT tall 3S.ABS than OBL.P 1S
'S/he is (really) (much) taller than me'

[6] *Pandan* and *buri* are types of palms.

Because of semantic incompatibility, the intensifying adverbials *mas* and *sikad* cannot occur with a reduplicated adjective.

(144) * Mas laglayog kanen (kaysa/kis-a) ki yaken.
* Sikad laglayog kanen (kaysa/kis-a) ki yaken.

The word *mas* 'more' can also be used with an adjective to function as a complement taking predicate.

(145) Piro **mas dayad** daw legeman buli para dayad lagen.
*Piro **mas dayad** daw ∅–legem–an buli para dayad luag–en.*
but more good if/when T.IR–dye–APL buri PURP good look–T.IR
'But (it is) better if the buri leaves are dyed in order that it looks good.' [BCWE-T-09 2.11]

The following illustrate additional comparative constructions from the corpus. In these complex examples, the comparative constructions are bolded:

(146) Paibitan nay ta timbang mama na duma nay daw muoy piro mama an galeddang daw nadaḷa din man kami tak **mama i bakod kis-a ki kami**.
Pa–ibit–an nay ta timbang mama na duma
T.R–hold.on–APL 1P.EXCL.ERG NABS balance man LK companion
nay daw m–luoy piro mama an ga–leddang daw
1P.EXCL.GEN and I.V.IR–swim but man DEF.M I.R–sink and
*na–daḷa din man kami tak **mama i***
A.HAP.R–take/carry 3S.ERG too 1P.EXCL.ABS because man DEF.N
***bakod kis-a ki kami**.*
big than OBL.P 1p
'We held on to both sides of the man that was our companion and swam, but the man was sinking and took us also (down with him) because **the man was bigger than us**.' [CBWN-C-11 4.8]

(147) Pawikan i a **mas bakod kis-a ta bubuo**.
*Pawikan i a **mas bakod kis-a ta bubuo**.*
sea.turtle DEF.N CTR more big than NABS tortoise
'As for the sea turtle, (it is) **bigger than the tortoise**.' [YBWE-T-05 2.1]

(148) Dayad gid man daw kabistida ki tak suwaḷ i a pang-adlaw-adlaw ta nang nasuot suwaḷ an a. **Mas dayad gid bistida** tak yon baḷay ta Ginuo.

Dayad gid man daw ka–bistida ki tak suwaḷ i
good INT too if/when I.HAP–dress 1P.INCL.ABS because pants DEF.N
a pang-–adlaw~-adlaw ta nang na–suot suwaḷ
CTR INST–RED~sun/day 1P.INCL.ERG only/just A.HAP.R–wear pants
*an a. **Mas dayad gid bistida** tak yon baḷay ta Ginuo.*
DEF.N CTR more good INT dress because D3ABS house NABS Lord
'(It is) good if we wear a dress because as for the pants, daily we just wear pants. **Dresses are really better** because that is the Lord's house.' [ETOE-C-04 3.8]

(149) Na kaluoy ta Dios na grasya ta Dios ki kami na **mas subḷa pa iran na mga pangabuian ki kami**.

*Na ka–luoy ta Dios na grasya ta Dios ki kami na **mas***
LK NR–mercy NABS God LK grace NABS God OBL.P 1P.EXC LK more
***subḷa pa iran na mga pangabui–an ki kami**.*
too.much EMPH 3P.GEN LK PL livelihood–NR OBL.P 1P.EXC
'When (it is) the mercy of God that God's grace is with us, **then much more overwhelming will be their (the children's) livelihood than ours**.' [LTOE-C-01 2.3]

When comparing the modification of two events, the word *mas* occurs at the beginning before the modifier of the clause that is being compared. Also *kis-a/kaysa* 'than' occurs before the standard, which is expressed as an oblique RP. There are two constructions for this that are similar to the constructions for modifying a clause with an adverb.

The first construction must have an irrealis verb in the clause that is being compared (150). The ungrammatical example below shows that a verb inflected in realis mode (*gadḷagan*) may not occur in this construction.

(150) Mas dasig kanen **mḷagan** kaysa ki yaken.

Pred. Arg. Pred. Mkr. Standard
*Mas dasig kanen **m–dḷagan** kaysa ki yaken.*
more fast 3S.ABS I.V.IR–run than OBL.P 1S
'S/he **runs** faster than me.'

* Mas dasig kanen gadḷagan kis-a/kaysa ki yaken.

The second comparative construction comparing events involves a nominalized clause. This construction is completely parallel to comparative and superlative constructions involving non-verbal predicates.

(151) Mas dasig pagdḷagan din an kaysa ki yaken.
Predicate Arg. Mkr. Standard
Mas dasig pag–dḷagan din an kaysa ki yaken.
more fast NR.ACT–run 3S.ERG DEF.M than OBL.P 1S
'S/he runs faster than me.' (lit. 'Her running is faster than mine.')

The following is an example of a comparative construction involving events from the text corpus.

(152) Piro, gineḷet nang gid na uḷo ta sidda papili nang daen na uḷas tak sikad gid en iran na kakulba daw **mas dali tuugon uḷo an** a kaysa ta ikog.
Piro, g<in>eḷet nang gid na uḷo ta sidda pa–pili
but <NR.RES>cut only/just INT LK head NABS fish T.R–choose
nang daen na uḷas tak sikad gid en iran na ka–kulba daw
only/just 3P.ERG LK share because very INT CM 3P.GEN LK NR–fear and
mas dali tuog–en uḷo an *a kaysa ta ikog.*
more easy put.through–T.IR head DEF.M CTR than NABS tail
'But the slices of the head of the fish they chose as (their) share because their fear was really great and **(it is) easier to put (a string) through the head** than the tail.' [JPWN-L-01 5.4]

The superlative is formed in two ways. The first way is with the complex prefix *pinaka-* on an adjective root. The thing being compared is in the absolutive case and usually fronted in the clause. The standard of comparison is again in the oblique case. In this construction, no syntactic marker of comparison (such as *kis-a/kaysa*) occurs. Rather, the prefix constitutes the marker of the superlative construction.

(153) Kanen gid pinakalayog ki kami.
Argument Mkr-Predicate Standard
Kanen gid pinaka–layog ki kami.
3S.ABS INT SUPERL–tall OBL.P 1P.EXCL
'S/HE is really the tallest of us.'

The second superlative construction includes an adjective with the nominalizing affixes *ka-…-an* (See Chapter 4 §3.3.5). With adjective roots this can have a superlative meaning.

(154) Kanen gid kalayugan ta mag-utod.

Argument Mkr-Predicate-Mkr Standard
Kanen gid ka–luyog–an ta mag–-utod.
3S.ABS INT NR–tall–NR NABS REL–sibling
'S/HE is really the tallest of (his/her) siblings.'

(155) Dondonay **kabakeran** na **puḷo**.

Dondonay ***ka–baked–an*** *na* ***puḷo****.*
Dondonay NR–big–NR LK island
'DONDONAY is the biggest island.' [LMWO-L-01 31.1]

(156) Pitto na mag-utod, **kamangngguran** ya lain man iya na apilido. Duminggo Gloria.

Pitto na mag–-utod, ***ka–mangngud–an*** *ya lain man*
seven LK REL–sibling NR–younger.sibling–NR DER.F different too
iya na apilido. Duminggo Gloria.
3S.GEN LK last.name week/Sunday Gloria
'Seven siblings, the youngest has a different last name. Sunday Glory (or Easter day).' (This is a riddle with the answer.) [MRWR-T-01 18.1]

6 Verb structure and inflection

6.1 Introduction

While Referring Phrases mention people and things that are involved in a situation being communicated (Chapter 3), the predicating word, or *predicate,* is the part of the clause that describes the situation itself. In Kagayanen discourse, the most frequent clause types begin with a predicating word, usually an *inflected verb*. In addition to functioning as predicates in basic clauses, verb-like elements also function in nominalizations (Chapter 3), and various types of dependent clause constructions (Chapter 12). In Chapter 5 we discussed predicates that are not based on verbs. In this chapter we will discuss the general structure of verbal predicates. We argue for a major distinction between *inflectional morphology* and *stem-forming morphology*, and describe the paradigm of inflectional affixes. In Chapter 7 we describe and exemplify eight stem-forming morphological processes. In Chapter 8 we identify several morphosyntactically distinct *verb classes*, and attempt to describe their usages in terms of the parameters of *situation type*, *volitionality* and *semantic transitivity*. In Chapter 9, we take a semantics prior approach to several other verb classes, all of which exhibit specialized morphosyntactic behavior.

6.2 Inflection

There are two classes of morphological processes in Kagayanen verbs which we describe as *inflectional* and *stem-forming* processes.[1] The difference between these two classes is that inflectional processes are strictly paradigmatic, whereas stem-forming processes are not. To clarify this important distinction, we need to introduce the difference between a *paradigm* and a *word family* (following a

[1]We use the term "(morphological) process" as a cover term for prefixation, suffixation, infixation, and reduplication. Reduplication does not play a role in inflection in Kagayanen, therefore we can refer to the set of inflections as "inflectional affixes" (see Table 6.2). However, the stem-forming group includes two types of reduplication, so the group as a whole can only accurately be described as "processes".

long tradition in linguistics, summarized nicely in Haspelmath 2002: 14). We will do this using the verb forms of English.

The inflectional paradigm of English verbs consists of exactly five forms:

(1) Paradigm for the English verb "do".
Past tense: *did*
Present participle: *doing*
Past participle: *done*
"S-form" (3rd person singular, present): *does*
Bare form: *do*

Whenever the verb "do" is used in discourse, it must occur in one of these five forms. Notice that the bare form, sometimes called the "zero form", is a member of this paradigm. This is because English speakers subconsciously know that any verb must embody one of these values, therefore when no overt marker (*-d*, *-ing*, *-n*, or *-s*) occurs, it leaves a "conspicuous absense". This conspicuous absense is then available as the marker (or *exponent*) of a particular value in the list. A zero is as strong a "marker" of a member of a paradigm as any overt affix.

Contrast the paradigm in (1) with a family of words also based on the root *do*:

(2) Word family based on the root "do":
Reiterative: *redo*
Reversative: *undo*
Abilitative: *doable*
Reiterative abilitative: *redoable*
Reversative abilitative: *undoable*
. . .

The forms in (2) can be thought of as a partial word family because they are all based on the same root. However, they are not a paradigm. There are several reasons this list of forms is not a paradigm. First, they do not vary according to any coherent semantic dimension—their meanings are logically independent of one another: reversative, reiterative, ability, and so on. Second, the meaning elements they express may combine with one another, for example *undoable* combines the notions of reversative and ability; *redoable* combines reiteration with ability. Forms such as *un-redo*, *re-undo*, and *re-undoable*, though perhaps odd-sounding out of context, are also conceivable members of this family. Third, none of the affixes that define a word family are required for the root to be used in discourse. Fourth, these forms do not have analogies for every English verb. For example

forms like **resee*, **unremember*, **bleedable* and many others are extremely difficult to find appropriate communicative contexts for. Finally, the forms *undo* and *redo* are verbs, just like the root *do*. As such, they also occur in the five possible inflectional forms for English verbs: *undid*, *redoing*, *undone*, *redoes, undo*, and so on. In other words, the affixes that define the word family may occur with each other, and with the inflectional forms in the paradigm.

In contrast, the inflections, as given in (1), are mutually exclusive—a form cannot logically express present tense and past tense at the same time; 3rd person singular and non-3rd person singular at the same time, and so on. Thus forms with multiple inflections are impossible: **diding*, **doinged*, **done-ing*, **dids*, **dones*, and so on. Note that these forms are strictly uninterpretable; they do not just "sound odd out of context" the way *un-redo* and *re-undo* might.

Dictionary makers usually consider members of a word family to be different words: *do*, *redo*, and *undo* probably have their own entries in a reasonably complete dictionary of English (with possible cross-references to one-another). The forms in a paradigm, on the other hand, are not considered different dictionary entries. They are versions of the same lexical item. You might say the members of a paradigm are like one person wearing different sets of clothing, whereas the members of a word family are like different people with a family resemblance to one another.

Paradigms and word families occur in many languages of the world; language communities everywhere seem to find groups similar to these useful for expressing meanings. Philippine languages, and Kagayanen in particular, have much richer and more powerful paradigms and word families than English does. Because English has relatively simple morphology, it is easier to show the difference between paradigmatic and non-paradigmatic morphological values in English than it is in Kagayanen, though the distinction is still very relevant to Kagayanen. The principles we have just outlined apply equally to paradigms and word families in Kagayanen.

inflectional affixes in Kagayanen define a paradigm. There are exactly twelve possible inflectional forms for every verb (recall that English has only five). One and only one of these forms is required in order for a word to function as a verbal predicate in a main, independent clause. Furthermore, the inflectional affixes express points on two well-defined and intersecting dimensions: grammatical transitivity and modality (see §6.5). The meaning of each affix in the inflectional paradigm logically excludes the others: A verb cannot be both realis and irrealis in modality; grammatically transitive and simultaneously grammatically intransitive, and so on. Furthermore, a zero form is not simply the lack of inflection,

but rather it expresses very specific inflectional values, namely transitive and irrealis. The thirteen possible inflectional forms of any verb may be compared to the different clothes that one person might wear (see Table 6.2).

Stem-forming processes, on the other hand, are non-paradigmatic—they may combine with one another to form complex meaningful stems that are then available for inflection. They also express meaning elements that are logically independent of one another, such as causative, applicative, pluraction, reciprocity and aspect. Roots with stem-forming affixes can be compared to members of a family, all of whom resemble one another, but who are clearly different people. For example, consider a family of words based on the root *atag* 'to give.'

(3) "Family" of stems based on the root *-atag*:

bare root:	*-atag*	'give'
causative:	*-paatag*	'cause/let give'
applicative:	*-atagan/-tagan*	'give to s.o.'
pluraction:	*-ngatag*	'give together/several times'
continuative:	*-atag-atag*	'keep on giving'
distributive:	*-tagtag*	'give to several/distribute'
reciprocal:	*-atagay*	'give to each other'
causative+applicative:	*-paatagan*	'cause/let give to s.o.'
causative+continuative:	*-paatag-atag*	'cause/let keep on giving'
continuative+reciprocal:	*-atag-atagay*	'to keep giving to each other'
. . .		

The Kagayanen words in (3) are all verb stems, ready to be inflected with one of the possible inflectional affixes (indicated by the dash in front of each form). They all have different, though related, meanings. Note that the morphological processes that give rise to these forms (*pa-*, *ng-*, *-an*, *-ay* and reduplication) may combine with one another to produce even more complex forms, as illustrated in the last three examples in (3). These stem-forming morphological processes, and others, are a rich resource available to Kagayanen speakers to create complex and nuanced meanings.

We hope this discussion has clarified the important distinction between inflectional and stem-forming morphological processes. In the rest of this chapter, we will describe how inflectional and stem-forming processes contribute to the structure of verbal predicates, including preliminary examples in Table 6.1. In §6.3 we discuss overall verb structure. In §6.4 we briefly describe roots in Kagayanen. In §6.5 we discuss and exemplify inflectional affixes, and in §6.6 we describe certain discourse conditions under which inflectional prefixes may be omitted.

6.3 Overall verb structure

A verbal predicate in Kagayanen consists minimally of a *stem* (the main part of the verb), plus one and only one inflectional affix (see Table 6.2).

(4) Verbal predicate = Infl-Stem

Optional adverbial elements, including notably second-position adverbial particles, may occur before or after this basic structure. See Chapter 4, §4.7 on adverbial modifiers.

A stem consists minimally of a *root*, and may contain one or more stem-forming processes (see Chapter 7):

(5) Stem = (SF)-Root-(SF)

Table 6.1 provides some preliminary examples of verbal predicates with the obligatory inflectional (transitivity/modality) and root elements, along with various combinations of optional stem-forming (SF) affixes. Beginning with §6.4, each part of this template is described and illustrated in more detail.

6.4 The root

A *root* is the main element that expresses the general situation described in a verbal clause. It is the "foundation" on which speakers build complex and nuanced discourse scenes. Substantive roots are two or more syllables in length. Roots with more than two syllables are sometimes borrowings, or involve archaic stem-forming processes that are not used productively to accomplish communicative work by modern speakers. In Chapter 7 we describe stem-forming processes that are still "live", and productive.

Most lexical roots in Kagayanen are "precategorial" in that they are not absolutely categorized as verbs, nouns, adjectives, and so on. Rather they *function as* predicators (verbs), Referring Expressions (nouns), or modifiers (adjectives/adverbs) as they are integrated into grammatical constructions. Because of their meanings, some roots are more likely to function as Referring Expressions, others as Modifiers, others as predicators, and so on, but in few cases is such categorization absolute.

For convenience, we will use the term "verb" to refer to roots that typically function as predicators, though this must be understood as a descriptive convenience-substantive lexical items are not inherently categorized as verbs, nouns or modifiers (see Oyzon 2021 for discourse-based argumentation for a similar claim in Waray, another Philippine language).

Table 6.1: Some examples of verbal predicates

INFL	SF3	SF2	SF1 (redup.)	ROOT	SF	Free translation
pa- T.R				luto 'cook'		'cooks/cooked X'
ga- I.R				luto		'X cooks/cooked' (intr.)
pa-				lutu	-an APL	'cook(ed) with/in/for X'
pa-	pa- CAUS			luto		'cause(d) to cook X.'
na- A.HAP.R				luto		'was-able-to/could cook X, have cooked X.'
ga-				palangga 'have affection'	-ay REC	'have affection for each other'
-en[a] T.IR				palangga		'will have affection for X'
ga-		ng- PL.ACT		agaḷ cry		'each of several actors cry' (intr.)
ga-			luto	luto		'sort of/pretend to cook, keep on cooking'
i- T.DEON				luto		'must/should cook X, have to cook X'
na- A.HAP.R		ng- PL.ACT		uli 'go home'		'each of several had gone home'
m- I.V.IR				uli		'will go home.'
pa-				lutu	-a XC	'cooks/cooked X!' (exclamatory)
pa-				atag 'give'	-i XC.APL	'gave to X!' (exclamatory)

[a]Though most inflectional affixes are prefixes, the transitive, irrealis member of the paradigm, *-en/-on*, is a suffix, hence the full form of this Inflected Verb is *palanggaen* 'will have affection for X'. This analysis is exemplified and justified in §6.5.7.

6.5 Inflectional affixation

Inflectional affixes consist of a set of prefixes, and one suffix, *-en* (sometimes realized as *-on* or zero). These affixes simultaneously express two major dimensions, which we term grammatical transitivity (transitive, intransitive, and ambitransitive) and modality (realis and irrealis, dynamic, happenstantial modality, external motivation, and deontic modality) as displayed in Table 6.2. All other morphological processes in verbs, including two kinds of reduplication, other prefixes and suffixes, and one infix belong to the stem-forming group. These are described in Chapter 7.

As discussed in the introduction to this chapter, the inflectional affixes constitute a paradigm—a finite set of affixes, one and only one of which is required for a form to function as the main predicator in an independent verbal clause. A discusssion of the terms in Table 6.2 immediately follows. In §6.5.3 through §6.5.14, examples of each of these affixes in context are provided.

Table 6.2: Inflectional affixes

Modality	Transitivity	Realis		Irrealis	
		General	Narrow	General	Narrow
Dynamic	intransitive	ga-	ag-[a]	mag-	m-[b]
	transitive	pa-	ag-	-en/-on/-0	i-[c]
Happenstantial	intransitive[d]	naka-	ka-[e]	maka-	ka-[f], ma-[g]
	ambitransitive[h]	na-		ma-	

[a](repetitive/habitual)
[b](volitional)
[c](deontic)
[d](agent-preserving verbs)
[e](external motivation)
[f](external enablement/inference)
[g](hypothetical/polite)
[h](transitive, and patient-preserving verbs)

6.5.1 Grammatical transitivity

There is a difference between semantic transitivity and grammatical transitivity. Semantic transitivity has to do with situations being communicated, whereas grammatical transitivity has to do with grammatical structures used to depict

those situations. The two types of transitivity do not necessarily coincide. For example, English constructions such as *she already ate*, or *he drank of the water of bitterness* present semantically transitive situations (someone eating or drinking something) in grammatically intransitive constructions (there is no direct object). Something similar occurs in Kagayanen. Situations that seem to require an Undergoer and a distinct Controller may be expressed in an intransitive construction, with the Undergoer simply omitted or presented in the non-absolutive case, preceded by *ta* or *ki*. We describe such constructions as *detransitive*. Such constructions are used when there is an Undergoer, but it is less salient in the communicative situation than the Actor in some way. The Actor is presented as the most affected participant, and the Undergoer, if present at all, is presented as less central in some way, either by being indefinite, non-specific, incompletely affected, and so on. Of course, the big difference between English and Kagayanen is that English does not mark grammatical transitivity on the verb, whereas Kagayanen does. The verb *eat* is the same whether it occurs in a transitive (SUBJ *eats* OBJ) or intransitive (SUBJ *eats*) frame. In Kagayanen, however, the verb in a detransitive construction is explicitly marked as intransitive. Examples (6) and (7) illustrate detransitive constructions from the corpus. Additional examples are found throughout this grammar.

(6) Pagtapos nay igma, **gatan-aw kay ta sini**.
Pag-tapos nay igma, ***ga-tan-aw kay ta sini***.
NR.ACT–finish 1pexcl.gen lunch T.R–look 1pexcl.abs NABS movie
'After finishing our lunch, **we watched a movie**.' [AGWN-L-01 5.5]

(7) Piro tama man na **mga inay na galuag man ta kaanlao**...
Piro tama man na ***mga inay na ga-luag man ta kaanlao***...
but many also LK PL mother LK I.R–watch EMPH NABS lunar.eclipse
'But there were many **mothers who watched a lunar eclipse** ...'
[JCOE-C-03 5.4]

Example (6) is part of a story about what the Actors did. It is not about any particular movie. In terms of Halliday & Matthiessen 2004, *sini*, 'movie', simply describes the "range" over which the watching took place; the Actors engaged in "movie watching". Therefore the Actor is presented as absolutive (*kay* 'absolutive, first person plural exclusive'), and the verb is inflected as intransitive (*ga-* 'intransitive, realis'). Similarly, example (7) is about the mothers, and not any particular lunar eclipse. In this case, the mothers are the Head of a modifying (relative) clause. As will be discussed in Chapter 12, the Head of a relative clause

must be the absolutive of that clause. Therefore, the verb inside the relative clause must be in an intransitive form with the Actor understood as the absolutive.

As discussed in Chapter 10, Grammatical transitivity in Kagayanen is crucially involved in the expression of *voice*. That is to say, the transitivity values of the inflectional affixes reflect the Grammatical transitivity of the clause depending on the voice being expressed. Since voice is a global property of constructions rather than individual verbs (i.e., in addition to verb marking, voice also involves case marking of Referential Expressions, and is dependent on discourse considerations), we defer a discussion of how Grammatical transitivity is deployed in the voice system until Chapter 10.

A *macrorole* is a cover term for a group of semantic roles that tends to be treated grammatically in a similar way in a particular language (Van Valin 2000). The macroroles that are most relevant to Kagayanen syntax are the *Actor* (or *Starting point*) and the *Undergoer* (or *Endpoint*) of the situation described in the predicate. Specific semantic roles included within these macroroles are listed in Table 6.3. However, the precise semantic role of the absolutive and other nominals depends to a large extent on the context and the situation type expressed by the stem. In Chapter 8 and Chapter 9, we discuss a range of situation types and the semantic roles that they represent.

Table 6.3: Macroroles and semantic roles

Macroroles:	Actor (Starting point, controller, initiator)	Undergoer (Endpoint)
Specific Semantic roles:	Agent Cognizer Force etc.	Patient Instrument Theme Location Goal Beneficiary Recipient etc.

6.5.2 Modality

The terms *dynamic*, *happenstantial modality*, *realis*, *irrealis*, *external motivation* and *deontic* refer to particular grammatical values in the inflectional paradigm of

Kagayanen (see Table 6.2). These terms are based on what we see as the most general functions of these values, most of which seem to belong to a category best described as *modality*, that is, the speaker's perspective on the truth, likelihood, or necessity of a situation, as well as the speaker's assessment of responsibility and control exercised by various referents or external forces. This is a very broad characterization of the functions of these values. As will become clear, some specific usages may seem to fall outside these notions, or even outside the domain of "modality" altogether as traditionally defined (see, e.g., Kiefer 1987, Nuyts 2016). Modality, as with all other components of the verbal system, is used creatively by speakers to create complex and nuanced meanings that sometimes defy categorical analysis by linguists.

As mentioned above, the inflectional values illustrated in Table 6.2 sometimes have different effects depending on the situation type being expressed. For example, dynamic modality is the common form for situations involving volitional motion, development, and/or change of state. In these situations, dynamic modality may be understood as *perfective* in aspect, and in narrative discourse as main storyline (or *foreground* Hopper & Thompson 1980) events. Happenstantial modality may be used to express these same situation types, while presenting them as accidental, abilitative, opportunitive or perfect aspect, depending on the context.

On the other hand, happenstantial modality is the common form for situations involving sensory, emotional[2] or cognitive experience, and intransitive, non-volitional situations (*melt, die, drift off*, etc.). In these situations, happenstantial modality may be understood as perfective in aspect, and in narrative discourse as depicting foreground events. Dynamic modality may be used for these same situation types, but presents them as ongoing processes or inchoatives (with intransitive inflections), or causatives (with transitive inflection). Table 6.4 summarizes the relationship between general situation types and dynamic versus happenstantial modality. Specific examples are provided below.

The values described as "irrealis" have several usages, including future time, imperative, optative modality, and others. What the main uses of the irrealis forms have in common is that they describe unrealized situations, therefore irrealis is a reasonable descriptive cover term.

For some of the categories in Table 6.2 we have made a distinction between "general" and "narrow" values. The general values are those that are the default in everyday discourse, and which express the widest range of meanings. The

[2]One apparent emotion verb stands out as an exception to this generalization. The root *gilek* 'to get angry' is usually expressed in dynamic modality, *gagilek* rather than happenstantial *ʔnagilek*. It is possible that *gilek* is perceived as a volitional reaction to something, rather than an emotion, in which case the English gloss 'get angry' may be misleading.

Table 6.4: Relationship between situation types and dynamic versus happenstantial modality

Situation type	Effect of dynamic affixes	Effect of happenstantial affixes
Volitional motion, development and/or change, and some non–volitional change of state processes.	Perfective, main event line in narrative.	Accidental, abilitative, perfect aspect, opportunitive ('get to do')
Experience, emotion, cognition, and other non-volitional states and situations.	Inchoative or ongoing situation (with intransitive inflection). Causative (with transitive inflection).	Perfective, main event line in narrative.

narrow values, while preserving the transitivity and modality values of their general counterparts, zero in on and enforce more precise meanings. Repetitive, volitional, deontic modality, hypothetical, habitual, and external motivation meanings may be inferred from verbs with the general affixes, but they are directly expressed by verbs with the narrow affixes.

Volitional situations are those in which a semantic Agent instigates and controls the situation consciously and with intent, for example, the basic senses of *go, come, jump, kneel, grumble, wink, cook, read*, and so on. Non-volitional situations are those for which there is no controller or initiator, for example, *die, melt, come untied, drift off, sink*, and so on. The prototypical absolutive argument of a non-volitional intransitive verb is a semantic Patient, or a theme (in the sense of Gruber 1965).

Deontic modality is a kind of irrealis that asserts that the normally human Agent is compelled by some external force to perform the activity described by the verb. We will use the English modal *have to* to approximate the meaning of deontic forms cited out of context. Deontic modality receives explicit expression in the dynamic transitive prefix *i-*. For grammatically intransitive constructions, and happenstantial modality constructions, deontic is not formally distinguished from other irrealis modalities in verbal morphology. When necessary, a deontic sense can be specified for irrealis constructions using adverbials such as *kinangḷan*, 'necessary/need', and *dapat*, 'must' (see Chapter 4, §4.7).

It is clear that the dynamic affixes constitute the most straightforward and easily understood verbal inflections. For this reason, when describing the inflections, we omit mention of modality for the dynamic mode affixes. For example, "transitive irrealis" is a shorthand way of referring to the dynamic, transitive, irrealis inflections *-en/-on/-0*.

Examples of constructions that employ each of the inflectional affixes are given in the following subsections, with the relevant verb forms bolded. Short explanations are sometimes provided as justification for the terminology chosen. A description of the classes of roots that are distinguished in terms of the way they interact with inflectional morphology is provided in Chapter 8.

6.5.3 Intransitive realis *ga-*

The inflectional prefix *ga-* is the most common form for dynamic intransitive events on the storyline in narratives. In this usage, the aspectual interpretation is perfective, as in the first clause of example (8):

(8) **Gapit** kay anay ta dawisan tak **ganampara** pa mga gurmiti ta sid-anan.
Ga–apit *kay* *anay* *ta* *dawis–an tak*
I.R–stop.off 1P.EXCL.ABS first/for.a.while NABS point–NR because
ga–ng–tampara *pa* *mga gurmiti ta* *sid-anan.*
I.R–PL–goggles INC PL crew NABS viand
'We stopped off first at the point (of the island) because the crew were still spear fishing for viand.' [VAWN-T-18 2.8]

However, predicates inflected with *ga-* may be understood as imperfective. For example, the second occurrence of *ga-* (*ganampara*) in (8) is within an adverbial clause expressing a backgrounded, non-storyline event. The imperfective aspect interpretation is reenforced by the use of the incompletive adverbial *pa*.

Example (9) illustrates one use of *ga-* in which the interpretation may be either inceptive or imperfective. The event of walking is ongoing in the story. After the sentence illustrated in (9), the story describes crossing a river on stepping stones and other events that happened on the way to the community of Teresa. Therefore, example (9) may be understood as a (perfective) inceptive "we began to walk again" or it could mean "we were walking again." In either case it does not describe the entire event of walking to Teresa, and therefore is not perfective:

(9) Pag-abot nay ta liyo, **gapanaw** kay eman munta ta Teresa.
Pag–-abot *nay* *ta* *liyo,* ***gapanaw*** *kay*
NR.ACT–arrive 1P.EXCL.GEN NABS other.side I.R–go/walk 1P.EXCL.ABS

eman m–punta ta Teresa.
as.before I.V.IR–go NABS Teresa
'When we arrived on the other side (of a river), we were/began walking again as before going to Teresa.' [BGON-L-01 1.10]

With roots that describe properties or states, *ga-* expresses the process of entering the state (*inchoative*). Examples (10) and (11) are common greetings, both of which may be considered compliments, or fixed expressions of greeting after long separation:

(10) **Gatambek** ka.
Ga–tambek *ka.*
I.R–fat/healthy 2S.ABS
'You are becoming/became fat/healthy.'

(11) **Ganiwang** ka.
Ga–niwang *ka.*
I.R–skinny 2S.ABS
'You are becoming/became skinny.'

The following are additional examples of inchoative *ga-* from the corpus:

(12) Daw isya na bai **gabagnes** dili kanen magpanaw daw kilem.
Daw isya na bai ***ga–bagnes*** *dili kanen mag–panaw daw*
if/when one LK woman I.R–pregnant NEG.IR 3S.ABS I.IR–go/walk if/when
kilem.
night
'When a woman becomes pregnant, she will not go (anywhere) at night.' [VAOE-J-05 1.1]

(13) **Gabakod** yaken i tenged ta iran na pagsupurta, labi na gid ta iran na pagpalangga.
Ga–bakod *yaken i tenged ta iran na pag–supurta,*
I.R–big 1S.ABS DEF.N because NABS 3P.GEN LK NR.ACT–support
labi na gid ta iran na pag–palangga.
especially LK INT NABS 3P.GEN LK NR.ACT–love/affection
'I grew up (became big over time) because of their support, especially their love/affection.' [JBON-J-01 1.11]

These examples illustrate why we consider that *ga-* primarily expresses realis modality, and dynamicity, rather than aspect or tense. It is used when the situation expressed involves a change in state, completed or in process, currently relevant or in the past.

6.5.4 Transitive realis *pa-*

The inflectional prefix *pa-* is the basic form for dynamic, grammatically transitive clauses on the storyline of narratives.[3] As such its interpretation is normally perfective in aspect, with no reference to any internal temporal structure:

(14) Pag-abot danen naan ta suba, **palubbas** danen iran na bayo daw **pabatang** danen naan ta kilid ta suba daw maglangoy.[4]

Pag-–abot danen naan ta suba, ***pa–lubbas*** *danen iran*
NR.ACT–arrived 3P.GEN SPAT.DEF NABS river T.R–undress 3P.ERG 3P.GEN
na bayo daw ***pa–batang*** *danen naan ta kilid ta suba daw*
LK clothes and T.R–put 3P.ERG SPAT.DEF NABS side NABS river and
mag–langoy.[5]
I.IR–bathe

'Arriving at the river, they took off their clothes and put (them) at the side of the river and began to bathe.' (This is a story about a cow and a water-buffalo who accidentally switch skins that they call clothes.) [CBWN-C-25 5.4]

(15) **Paibitan** nay ta timbang mama na duma nay.

Pa–ibit–an *nay ta timbang mama na duma*[6]
T.R–hold–APL 1P.EXCL.ERG NABS balance man LK companion
nay.
1P.EXCL.GEN

'We held on both sides to the man who was our companion.' (CBWN-C-11 4.8]

In rare cases, a verb inflected with *pa-* may be understood as imperfective:

[3]There is also a stem-forming prefix *pa-* that is a morphological causative. We provide arguments that there are indeed two distinct *pa-* prefixes in Chapter 7, §7.5.

[5]This is the "culminative" use of irrealis inflection discussed below.

[6]The word *duma* has several functions, including as a comitative preposition 'with'. Since it is followed by an enclitic genitive pronoun, *nay* 'our', it has to mean 'companion' in this context.

(16) **Pabunakan** din pa mga bayo din.
Pa–bunak–an *din pa mga bayo din.*
T.R–wash–APL 3S.ERG INC PL clothes 3S.GEN
'S/he is still washing his/her clothes.'

In this case the adverbial particle *pa*, 'still' (glossed INC for 'incompletive' in this context), forces an imperfective interpretation of this clause. Again, we conclude that aspect is secondary to the main function of the inflectional prefix *pa-*. It always expresses dynamicity (movement or change), grammatical transitivity, and realis modality. This results in a perfective aspect interpretation in most cases, but this strong tendency may at times be overridden by other factors. Like *ga-*, the main function of *pa-* is to assert that a dynamic situation described by the verb is actually true in the discourse world. In contrast to *ga-*, *pa-* always indicates that the predicate has two core arguments either overtly expressed or strongly understood: an Undergoer, or endpoint, in the absolutive case, and a separate Actor, or starting point, in the ergative case.

6.5.5 Realis repetitive *ag-*

The prefix *ag-* occurs only once in the corpus (example 19 below) and is not used often in everyday speech. It may be used in a transitive or intransitive case frame, and therefore may be considered *ambitransitive*. It expresses the idea that the situation has happened more than one time, a few times, once in a while or occasionally. It neither asserts the occurrence of one particular event, nor a habitual (often/on a regular basis) sense. Here we gloss it as REP.R for "repetitive, realis". However, further research is needed to determine the precise aspectual or modal range of this relatively uncommon prefix.

(17) Prefix *ag-* in an intransitive frame:
Ag–iling kay ta Cawili.
Ag–iling *kay ta Cawili.*
REP.R–go 1P.EXCL.ABS NABS Cawili
'We have gone at times to Cawili.'

(18) **Agsud-o** kay ki danen daw uḷa ubra.
Ag–sud-o *kay ki danen daw uḷa ubra.*
REP.R–visit 1P.EXCL.ABS OBL.P 3P if/when NEG.R work
'We visited them if/when there was no work.'

(19) Prefix *ag-* in a transitive frame (inside a relative clause):
Apo Arey isya na manakem na **ag-insaan** ta mga ittaw.
Apo Arey isya na manakem na ***ag--insa–an*** *ta mga ittaw.*
ancestor Arey one LK older LK REP.R–ask–APL NABS PL person
'Ancestor Arey is an older person that people asked/requested things of.'
[EFWE-T-06 2.1]

This prefix may be considered "narrow", since it occurs far less often than the general, or default, forms *ga-* and *pa-*, and it expresses a more precise meaning, since a repetitive inference is possible with *ga-* and *pa-*, but is enforced with *ag-*. This distinction between general and narrow dynamic realis prefixes mirrors a similar distinction in the dynamic irrealis prefixes, and happenstantial modalities (see §6.5.7 and §6.5.13).

6.5.6 Intransitive irrealis *mag-* and *m-*

The inflectional prefix *mag-* is the general inflection for most dynamic intransitive irrealis predicates. It neither requires nor excludes volitionality. The prefix *m-* is the more narrow form, which always indicates volitional events. Most verbs only take *mag-*, while some allow either *mag-* or *m-*. As far as we know, there are no verb roots that take only *m-*. Both *mag-* and *m-* are irrealis counterparts of *ga-*. Long lists of verb roots that take only *mag-* versus those that take *mag-* or *m-* are provided in Chapter 8, §8.10. Here we provide a few examples from the corpus.

Example (20) illustrates a majority class root, *ayad* 'be careful', in the irrealis form in a construction with a verb in happenstantial modality (*matellek* 'might get stuck'):

(20) Pambaḷan ko ake na mga duma na **mag-ayad** tak basi matellek danen an.
Pa–ambaḷ–an ko ake na mga duma na ***mag--ayad***
T.R–say–APL 1S.ERG 1S.GEN LK PL companion LK I.IR–be.careful
tak basi ma–tellek danen an.
because perhaps A.HAP.IR–stick 3P.ABS DEF.M
'I warned my companions to be careful because maybe they might (happen to) get stuck (by a nail in a piece of wood on the ground).'
[VAWN-T-16 2.10]

For minority class verbs, *m-* is the unmarked form expressing a relatively likely irrealis, or immediate future situation, while *mag-* expresses the idea of hypothet-

ical or distant future situations. For example, the form *manaw*, based on the root *panaw* 'to go', is used in simple future contexts, as when taking leave of someone:

(21) ... **manaw** kay en.
*... **m–panaw** kay en.*
I.V.IR–walk/go 1P.EXCL.ABS CM
'...we will leave now.' [RMWN-L-01 3.2]

(22) **Manaw** ki nang isab kani ta baybay i.
***M–panaw** ki nang isab kani ta baybay i.*
textsci.v.ir–walk/go 1P.INCL.ABS only/just again later NABS beach DEF.N
'We will just walk again later on the beach.' [BGON-L-01 12.6]

In contrast, *magpanaw* expresses a more distant future (23), or more hypothetical irrealis action (24):

(23) **Magpanaw** danen magsimba ta Leganes.
***Mag–panaw** danen mag–simba ta Leganes.*
I.IR–go/walk 3P.ABS I.IR–worship NABS Leganes
'They will go to worship in Leganes.'

(24) Para dili mabao bai i daw gusto din **magpanaw** daw deḷem magdaḷa kanen ta uling, asin daw luy-a ugsak ta bulsa ta bai na gabagnes.
Para dili ma–bao[7] *bai i daw gusto*
for NEG.IR A.HAP.IR–painful.pregnancy woman DEF.N if/when want
*din **mag–panaw** daw deḷem mag–daḷa kanen ta uling, asin*
3S.ERG I.IR–go/walk if/when dark I.IR–carry 3S.ABS NABS charcoal salt
daw luy-a ugsak ta bulsa ta bai na ga–bagnes.
and ginger inside NABS pocket NABS woman LK I.R–pregnant
'In order for the woman not to have a painful pregnancy, if she wants to go somewhere when dark, she will carry charcoal, salt, and ginger inside the pocket of the woman who is pregnant.' [VAOE-J-05 1.7]

[7]There are two words spelled *bao* in Kagayanen. They are homographs, but not homophones. *Bao* meaning "painful pregnancy" is stressed on the second syllable and there is a final glottal stop: [ba?ó?]. *Bao* meaning 'odor' is stressed on the first syllable, and lacks the final glottal stop: [bá?o]. Neither glottal stop nor stress is represented consistently in the writing system, though both are contrastive.

In example (25) the prefix *mag-* is used twice on minority class verbs in grammatically intransitive constructions, and the prefix *m-* is used once on a minority class verb. In this example, the verbs with *mag-* describe situations that that may or may not happen (deontic modality in this case, signaled by the adverbial *kinangḷan*), whereas the verb with *m-* describes the much more inevitable event that the baby will come out.

(25) Daw bagnes en isya na nanay kinangḷan kanen **magkaan** ta gulay daw **mag-inem** kanen ta bitamina agod daw **mwa** bata an biskeg iya na lawa daw madyo ta masakit.

Daw bagnes en isya na nanay kinangḷan kanen ***mag–kaan*** *ta*
if/when pregnant CM one LK mother need 3S.ABS I.IR–eat NABS
gulay daw ***mag–-inem*** *kanen ta bitamina agod daw*
vegetables and I.IR–drink 3S.ABS NABS vitamins so.that if/when
m–gwa *bata an biskeg iya na lawa daw madyo ta*
I.V.IR–go.out child DEF.M strong 3S.GEN LK body and far NABS
masakit.
sick

'When a mother is pregnant she should eat vegetables and take (lit. drink) vitamins so that when the baby comes out, his/her body is strong and (s/he) is far from sickness.' [LBOP-C-03 11.3]

Example (26) illustrates what we call the *culminative* usage of the irrealis mood. Even though the events of walking and returning home are semantically realis in the story, they are presented as the culminating events in a string of main line events that are closely linked. The events previous to this were about chopping wood and preparing it to carry away. The development in example (26) is about how the Actor carried the wood home, at which point the story ends. This usage is very common following the conjunction *daw*, and any of the irrealis affixes may function in this way.

(26) Tapos na pag-ipid din ta iya na apin, papas-an din daw **manaw muli**.

Tapos na pag–-ipid din ta iya[8] *na apin,*
then LK NR.ACT–arrange 3S.GEN NABS 3S.GEN LK protective.cloth
pa–pas-an din daw ***m–panaw*** ***muli****.*
T.R–carry.on.shoulder 3S.ERG and I.V.IR–go/walk I.V.IR–go.home

'Then when s/he arranged his/her protective cloth, s/he carried (wood)

[8]Recall from Chapter 3 that there are both enclitic pronouns that follow their heads, and free pronouns that normally precede their heads. The form *din* in the first line of this example

on his/her shoulders and walked going home.' (The protective cloth goes on the shoulders under the wood.) [NFWN-T-01 2.21]

Example (14) above also includes a verb with *mag-* in this culminative function: *daw maglangoy* 'and began bathing.' Verbs in the culminative usage definitely express realis events, though they appear in irrealis form. The functional or historical scenario under which this usage could have developed is a topic for future investigation.

6.5.7 Transitive irrealis *-en/-on/-*☒

The inflectional affix *-en* and allomorphs *-on* and ∅- are the basic forms for dynamic irrealis transitive clauses. The occurrence of *-en/on* versus ∅- depends on the lexical class of the verbal root, and the presense versus absense of an applicative suffix. Table 8.3 in Chapter 8 lists a large subset of roots that are distinguished on the basis of the transitive irrealis inflections that they occur with. Here we will describe in prose how these root classes are related.

First, most verbal roots take the *-en/-on* forms, for example, the second bolded verb in (27), and the bolded verb in (28). In Chapter 8 these are designated as "Class VI" roots. There is also a minority class of roots that always take ∅- as the transitive, irrealis inflection. These are designated as "Class VII" roots.

Second, whenever a stem-forming suffix (applicative *-an* or the exclamatory *-a*, or *-i*) appears, the form *-en/-on* is excluded for all roots, leaving ∅- as the exponent of the transitive, irrealis inflection. Thus one could say that the stem-forming suffixes form a Class VII stem from a Class VI root.

Third, the minority class consists of two subclasses, Class VIa and Class VIIb. Class VIIa roots may or may not take an applicative suffix in a grammatically transitive frame, while Class VIIb roots always take an applicative suffix in a grammatically transitive frame. Semantically, Class VIIa consists mostly of verbs of transfer, for example the first bolded verb in (27), while Class VIIb consists of verbs that always take an applicative suffix in their basic, transitive form (29 and 30). They may occur without the applicative, but only in a grammatically intransitive frame (i.e., detransitive constructions, see example 31 further below, and Chapter 10, §10.3). Semantically, Class VIIb verbs tend strongly to describe activities that involve superficial, incomplete, or invisible effect on the Patient.

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is the 3SG.GEN enclitic pronoun that follows the nominalized verb *pag-ipid* 'folded/folding', while iya is the 3SG.GEN free pronoun that precedes *apin* 'protective cloth,' with the linker *na* intervening. The genitive forms are the same as the ergative forms that occur with verbs inflected as transitive, as is the case with the use of *din* in the second line of example (26).

Finally, for Class VI roots, the form *-on* occurs whenever the last vowel in the stem is /u/. Otherwise the default allomorph *-en* occurs:

(27) … daw pangallo **batang** no kamuti an na agi asod naan ta kaldiro daw tapos **lutuon**.

*… daw pang–tallo ∅–**batang** no kamuti an na agi asod*
and ORD–three T.IR–put 2S.ERG cassava DEF.M LK pass pound
*naan ta kaldiro daw tapos **luto–en**.*
SPAT.DEF NABS pot and then cook–T.IR
'…and third, put the cassava that has been pounded in the pot and then cook (it).' [BCWE-T-07 2.9]

(28) Uḷa ki nang lugay dya daw **lubbasen** ta nang bayo ta i aged dili mabasa ...

*Uḷa ki nang lugay dya daw **lubbas–en***
NEG.R 1P.INCL.ABS only/just long.time D4LOC and undress–T.IR
ta nang bayo ta i aged dili
1P.INCL.ERG only/just clothes 1P.INCL.GEN DEF.N so.that NEG.IR
ma–basa...
A.HAP.IR–wet
'We won't be long there and we will just take off our clothes so that (they) will not be wet.' [CBWN-C-25 4.8]

(29) Dili ka maglibeg tak **ambligan** ko gid imo na gamit di…

*Dili ka mag–libeg tak ∅–**amblig–an** ko gid imo*
NEG.IR 2S.ABS I.IR–worry because T.IR–take.care–APL 1S.ERG INT 2S.GEN
na gamit di…
LK use/thing D1LOC
'Do not worry because I will really take care of your things here….' [BCWL-C-03 6.2]

* … **amblig/ambligen** ko gid imo na gamit di …

(30) Magpakabeet kaw pirmi daw mangamuyo ta Dyos na **tabangan** kaw din ta inyo na pag–iskwela.

Mag–pa–ka–beet kaw pirmi daw ma–ngamuyo ta
I.IR–CAUS–NR–behaved/kind 2P.ABS always and A.HAP.IR–pray NABS
*Dyos na ∅–**tabang–an** kaw din ta inyo na pag–-iskwila.*
God LK T.IR–help–APL 2P.ABS 3S.ERG NABS 2P.GEN LK NR.ACT–school
'Always make yourself behaved/kind and pray to God that he will help you in your schooling.' [ICWL-T-05 6.1]

* … **tabang/tabangen** kaw din ta inyo na pag-iskwela.

As mentioned above, for Class VI roots, the applicative *-an* overrides *-en/-on*, thus leaving "zero" (a conspicuous absence of affixation) as the indicator of the transitive, irrealis inflection (see Chapter 7, §7.6 for further discussion). Thus the applicative suffix forms a stem that belongs to Class VII. This makes some semantic sense since the applicative indicates a superficially, invisibly or partially affected Undergoer (see Chapter 10, §10.5.3), and most verbs in Class VII also involve less than fully affected Patients as Undergoers (see Table 8.3 in Chapter 8). Example (31) illustrates the Class VII root *akid*, 'to serve food', in the basic transitive form (realis modality), and in the irrealis detransitive form:

(31) Ti **paakiran** din en bataan ya tak ambaḷ ta manakem ya, "**Kiran** no bataan no.

Ti ***pa–akid–an*** *din en bata–an ya tak ambaḷ ta*
so T.R–serve.food–APL 3S.ERG CM child–NR DEF.F because say NABS
*manakem ya, "Ø–****akid–an*** *no bata–an no.*
older DEF.F T.IR–serve.food–APL 2S.ERG child–NR 2S.GEN
'So she served food to the children because the older woman said, "Serve food to your children."' [AION-C-01 7.7]

Example (32) illustrates the root *legem* 'to dye' that normally takes *-en* as its transitive, irrealis form, but in this example it occurs with the applicative suffix, which overrides *-en*, thus leaving ∅- as the exponent of the transitive, irrealis inflection:

(32) Daw gusto no na ikam i na paḷaḷa no **betangan** legem, pwidi no **legeman** ta minog, grin daw violet.

Daw gusto no na ikam i na pa–ḷaḷa no ***∅–betang–an***
if/when want 2S.ERG LK mat DEF.N LK T.R–weave 2S.ERG T.IR–put–APL
legem,[9] *pwidi no* ***∅–legem–an*** *ta minog, grin daw violet.*
dye can 2S.ERG T.IR–dye–APL NABS red green and violet
'If you want to put dye on the mat you wove, you can dye (it) with red, green and violet.' [DBOP-C-12 1.11]

[9] In this example, the non-absolutive *ta* has dropped out between *betangan* and *legem*. This sometimes happens when a nominal has lost its status as absolutive as a result of the applicative derivation. In Relational Grammar terms (Perlmutter 1986), this may be a characteristic of "chômeurs." Speakers agree that *ta* could be added here, but that it sounds more natural to leave it out.

Note that *-an* itself cannot be the marker of the transitive, irrealis inflection because it also occurs in realis contexts (see 50 and many other examples throughout this grammar). On the other hand, "zero" as a marker of transitive, irrealis inflection is independently attested for a large lexical class of roots (Class VII, see Chapter 8, Table 8.3).

The following is an example from the corpus of the culminative use of transitive irrealis inflections:

(33) Lugar na gatago kanen i nakita din iya na maguḷang na galebbeng naan ta bḷawan daw padakep ta mga ittaw maguḷang ya daw **gapuson** daw **patayen**.

Lugar na ga–tago kanen i na–kita din iya na
then COMP I.R–hide 3S.ABS DEF.N A.HAP.R–see 3S.ERG 3S.GEN LK
maguḷang na ga–lebbeng naan ta bḷawan daw pa–dakep ta
elder.sibling LK I.R–bury SPAT.DEF NABS gold and T.R–capture NABS
*mga ittaw maguḷang ya daw **gapos–en** daw **patay–en**.*
PL person elder.brother DEF.F and tie–T.IR and kill–T.IR
'Then when he hid, he saw his older-brother who was-being-buried in gold and the people captured the older brother and tied (him) up and killed him.' [CBWN-C-22 12.4]

In addition to the culmination of a series of events, this example also exhibits high tension in this part of the story. When there is higher tension or climax, the culminative usage of irrealis mood tends to be used, as well as fewer nouns and pronouns. A full discourse study is needed to corroborate this observation.

6.5.8 Transitive deontic *i-*

The prefix *i-* usually expresses or reports an admonition, telling someone what they should, must or ought to do. We see this *deontic* meaning as related to the "conveyance", "instrumental" or "benefactive" voice meanings that have been ascribed to cognate *i-* prefixes in other Philippine languages (see, e.g., Wolff 1973: 79 on Cebuano). Briefly, a beneficiary, an instrument and a requirement all participate in the *instigation* of an action in some way. A beneficiary is a motivation for the action, an instrument assists or enables the actor to accomplish the action, and a requirement or necessity acts as an unseen force spurring the actor to action. Our hypothesis is that *i-* evokes an image in which there is such an external motivating or enabling force in the discourse scene depicted in the clause. (Payne & Oyzon 2022: 344), in a description of Waray, refer to this motivating force as

a "co-actant". Sometimes the co-actant can be mentioned as the absolutive of the clause, in which case *i-* expresses a benefactive or instrumental applicative. In Waray, as in Kagayanen, the co-actant need not be overt at all, but remains "behind the scenes", motivating the activity. In Kagayanen, *i-* always expresses irrealis modality, and is usually understood as expressing deontic modality. We see its use as an instrumental applicative marker as a reasonable extension of this "external enablement" meaning (see Chapter 10, §10.5.3 for further discussion and corpus examples of *-i* functioning as an instrumental applicative).

Prefixation with *i-* is possible for some Class VI verbs as displayed in Table 8.3 in Chapter 8 and all Class VII verbs. None of the Class VIII verbs (those that take *-an* in their basic transitive form) can occur with the *i-* prefix. For a few Class VI verbs, *i-* functions as an instrumental or benefactive/recipient applicative, in which case deontic modality is a possible, but not necessary, implication (see Chapter 10, §10.5.3 for a definition of applicative). The prefix *i-* is not used very often, and when it does occur, the Actor is usually 2nd person.

Examples (34) and (35) illustrate the verb *beḷad* 'to dry X in the sun'. In (34) it occurs with the normal transitive irrealis suffix *-en* and in example (35) the same verb occurs with *i-* and the meaning is that it is necessary to dry the cassava after soaking it so that it does not go bad.

(34) Dayon kamangen sinaksak an na derse daw **beḷaren**.
Dayon kamang–en s<in>aksak an na derse daw
right.away get–T.IR <NR.RES>chop DEF.M LK small.PL and
beḷad–en.
dry.in.sun–T.IR
'Right away get the chopped parts that are small and dry (them in the sun).' [JCWE-L-32 6.6]

(35) Ta katallo na adlaw kinangḷan aw-asen naan ta silian daw **ibeḷad** naan ta bansada ta adlaw.
Ta ka–tallo na adlaw kinangḷan aw-as–en naan ta
NABS ORD–three LK sun/day need remove.from–T.IR SPAT.DEF NABS
sili–an daw ***i–beḷad*** *naan ta bansada*
change–NR and T.DEON–dry.in.sun SPAT.DEF nabs exposed/open.place
ta adlaw.
NABS sun/day
'On the third day (the cassava) needs to be removed from there (the container where the water for soaking was changed) and has to be dried in an open place in the sun.' [DBWE-T-28 2.14]

All Class VII roots (mostly verbs of transfer) may occur with the *i-* with the same deontic meaning illustrated above. The following are some examples from the corpus. Examples (36) and (37) illustrate the verb *batang* 'to put X somewhere'. In example (36) the same root occurs in the unmarked transitive irrealis form meaning 'will place the liver (absolutive) of the chick on the diaphragm of the person who is sick' and in (37) it occurs with the *i-* prefix meaning 'I must put the thorns (absolutive) on the banana plant.'

(36) Ta, daw may sabid ittaw an o naswang, atay yan ta piyak kamangen ta surano daw **batang** ta ginawaan…

Ta, daw may sabid ittaw an o na–aswang,[10]
so if/when EXT.IN sickness.from.spirit person DEF.M or A.HAP.R–bewitch
*atay yan ta piyak kamang–en ta surano daw ∅–**batang** ta*
liver DEF.M NABS chick get–T.IR NABS healer and T.IR–put NABS
ginawaan…
diaphragm

'So, if a person has a sickness from the spirit or is bewitched, the liver of a chick, the healer will get and put (it) on the diaphragm (of the sick person)…' [CBWE-T-07 5.1]

(37) Mamang a ta mga tellek daw **ibatang** ko naan ta lawa ta saging aged dili ka kapanaog.

*M–kamang a ta mga tellek daw **ibatang** ko naan*
I.V.IR–get 1S.ABS NABS PL thorn and T.DEON–put 1S.ERG SPAT.DEF
ta lawa ta saging aged dili ka ka–panaog.
NABS body NABS banana so.that NEG.IR 2S.ABS I.HAP–come.down

'I need to get some thorns and put (them) on the trunk of the banana plant so that you can't come down.' [CBWN-C-16 8.9]

The implication in (37) is that the speaker is compelled by the need to prevent the addressee from climbing down the banana plant.

Examples (38) through (40) illustrate verbs that can occur with *i-* functioning in an applicative frame, in which case a deontic sense is possible, but not necessary. This function is not very productive, and only occurs with certain verbs that take *-en* as their basic, transitive irrealis form—mostly verbs that involve some special instrument. For example, the verb *asod* 'to pound grain' implies a

[10]The root *aswang* is the Tagalog noun meaning 'ghost', or 'evil spirit', but it is used as an inflected verb in Kagayanen meaning 'to bewitch/curse'. There is a Kagayanen word, *maḷbaḷ*, that is similar in meaning to *aswang*, but this root cannot be used as an inflected verb.

specific instrument, *aḷḷo* 'pestle'. For this and similar verbs, *i-* selects the instrument as the absolutive argument (instrumental voice—see Chapter 10, §10.5.4), though with *–en* and the other transitive affixes, this verb selects the theme as the absolutive:

(38) Instrumental voice (applicative)
Iasod ko aḷḷo i na buat din.
I–asod *ko* *aḷḷo* *i* *na buat* *din.*
T.DEON–pound 1S.ERG pestle DEF.N LK make 3S.ERG
'I will pound (something) with the pestle that s/he made.'

Similarly, the verb *akid* 'to serve food' strongly implies a specific serving implement, normally a spoon:

(39) **Iakid** no luag an na bag-o ta kan-en.
I–akid *no* *luag* *an* *na bag-o ta*
T.DEON.APL–serve.food 2S.ERG serving.spoon DEF.M LK new NABS
kan-en.
cooked.rice
'Use the new serving spoon to serve rice.'

The verb *akid* also describes transfer ('serve X to Y'). Therefore, for this verb, *i-* may also select a beneficiary/recipient as the absolutive argument, as illustrated in (40):

(40) Beneficiary/recipient voice applicative
Iakid a no ta kan-en.
I–akid *a* *no* *ta* *kan-en.*
T.DEON.APL–serve.food 1S.ABS 2S.ERG NABS rice
'Serve some rice for/to me.'

For verbs that allow both types of applicative (such as *akid*), the instrumental versus benefactive meanings can always be distinguished-instruments are inanimate tools, while beneficiaries or recipients are always animate and usually human. There are additional verbs that can occur with the *i-* instrumental and beneficiary applicative meanings, other than Class VI and VII listed in Chapter 8, Table 8.3. Furthermore, some speakers use *i-* with more verbs than other speakers do, so there is variation in this system. However, the functions of *i-* are constant: It only occurs in grammatically transitive constructions, and always

expresses deontic modality. It can at times occur in an applicative frame, if the constructional context allows it.

The following are a few examples of the *i-* transitive deontic applicative construction in context:

(41) Instrumental voice applicative:
Igeḷet no bari i naan ta karni.
I–geḷet *no bari i naan ta karni.*
T.DEON.APL–cut 2S.ERG knife DEF.M SPAT.DEF NABS meat
'Use the knife to cut meat.' (*'Cut some meat for the knife.')

(42) **Ikidlas** no anay kayan an na ubra ko.
I–kidlas *no anay kayan an na ubra ko.*
T.DEON.APL–cut.in.strips 2S.ERG first/for.a.while cutting.guide DEF.M LK make 1S.ERG
'Use the guide that I made to cut long narrow strips of leaves (usually pandan or buli leaves).'

(43) Benefactive voice applicative:
Igeḷet a no ta karni.
I–geḷet *a no ta karni.*
T.DEON.APL–cut 1S.ABS 2S.ERG NABS meat
'Cut some meat for me.' (*'Use me to cut some meat.')

(44) **Ikidlas** a no anay ta pandan.
I–kidlas *a no anay ta pandan.*
T.DEON.APL–cut.in.strips 1S.ABS 2S.ERG first/for.a.while NABS pandan.leaves
'Cut for me some pandan leaves in long narrow strips.'

There are only two examples in the text corpus of *i-* functioning as an applicative, and both of these select instruments as the absolutive:

(45) Daw may kwarta, **ipalit** ta sabon, puspuro, agas, daw tanan na mga gamit ta baḷay.

Daw may kwarta, ***i–palit*** *ta sabon, puspuro, agas,*
if/when EXT.IN money T.DEON.APL–buy NABS soap matches kerosene
daw tanan na mga gamit ta baḷay.
and all LK PL use NABS house
'If there is money, (it) should be used to buy soap, matches, kerosene, and all that is used in the house.' [NWE-L-01 2.9]

(46) Gapasalamat a ta ate na Dios tak uḷa a natabo ta laod parti ta ake na pagpangita ta **isagod** ko ta ake na pamilya.

Ga–pa–salamat a ta ate na Dios tak uḷa a
I.R–CAUS–thank 1S.ABS NABS 1P.INCL.GEN LK God because NEG.R INJ
na–tabo ta laod parti ta ake na
A.HAP.R–happen NABS deep.sea concerning NABS 1S.GEN LK
pag–pangita ta ***i–sagod*** *ko ta ake na*
NR.ACT–search NABS T.DEON.APL–take.care 1S.ERG NABS 1S.GEN LK
pamilya.
family
'I give thanks to our God because nothing happened in the deep sea concerning my searching for something I need to take care of my family.' (The speaker was fishing so that his family would have food.) [MCWN-L-01 2.21]

Furthermore, in example (46) *i-* is functioning in a nominalized dependent clause, rather than the predicate in a main clause (as indicated by the prenominal case marker *ta* occurring immediately before the verb). These are the only examples in the corpus of *i-* occuring in an applicative frame.

6.5.9 Ambitransitive happenstantial realis *na-*

The term "happenstantial" is sometimes used in descriptions of Philippine languages for a verbal category that describes non-deliberate, abilitative or coincidental situations. This is generally accurate for Kagayanen. However, it must be kept in mind that for some non-volitional intransitive verbs, and transitive experiential verbs (verbs of non-volitional perception, emotion and cognition) the happenstantial prefixes are the basic narrative forms, and as such can be understood as perfective in aspect. For other verb classes, happenstantial modality

implies happenstance, for example, *they happened to meet*, *he happened to pass by*; ability, *we were able/managed to hold on*; opportunitive, *he got to listen to a story*; or perfect aspect, *I have been to Manila*, *he has used up all the rice*. The extension of happenstantial modality to perfect aspect may be motivated by the fact that perfect aspect is always non-volitional, since it asserts the state that results from some (volitional or non-volitional) event, and not the event itself. An Actor may carry out an event on purpose, but the resultant state is just a fact of the new condition of the world. This is why English expressions like "She wanted to have seen that movie", or "I intend to have been to Manila" are pragmaticaly odd at best. Having seen a particular movie is just the expression of a new state of the world that is the result of an event of seeing the movie. It is not something that one can volitionally intend or want to occur.

The happenstantial prefixes *na-* and *ma-* may occur in grammatically transitive or intransitive frames, but in all cases, except the special hypothetical/polite usage of *ma-* described in §6.5.11, the situation is understood as not under the control of the absolutive argument. For this reason, we say these prefixes are "Undergoer oriented"—the absolutive is always an Undergoer. In order to detransitivize a transitive construction in happenstantial modality, the forms *naka-* or *maka-* must be employed (see §6.5.12 and §6.5.13). The following examples illustrate this pattern with the realis, happenstantial *na-*:

(47) a. Transitive frame (*ta bata an* = ergative)
Nasugat a ta bata an.
Na–sugat a ta bata an.
A.HAP.R–meet 1S.ABS NABS child DEF.M
'The child happened to meet me.'
(Neither '*I happened to have met the child', nor '*I hypothetically met the child.')

b. Detransitive frame (*ta bata an* = downplayed/demoted Undergoer)
Nakasugat a ta bata an.
Naka–sugat a ta bata an.
I.HAP.R–meet 1S.ABS NABS child DEF.M
'I happened to meet the child.'

c. Intransitive frame (*ta kabaw an* = Oblique)
Nuḷog a ta kabaw an.
Na–uḷog a ta kabaw an.
A.HAP.R–fall 1S.ABS NABS carabao DEF.M
'I fell off the carabao (accidentally).'

Example (48) illustrates the happenstantial realis prefix *na-* in its basic usage on a non-volitional intransitive verb describing an event on the story line of a narrative:

(48) **Nuḷog** a ta kabaw tak gadḷagan tudo kabaw an.
Na–uḷog *a ta kabaw tak ga–dḷagan tudo kabaw*
A.HAP.R–fall 1S.ABS NABS carabao because I.R–run intense carabao
an.
DEF.M.
'I fell off the carabao because the carabao was running hard.' [RCON-L-02 3.6]

Examples (49) and (50) illustrate *na-* in its usage on transitive experiential verbs of perception and cognition on the story line of a narrative:

(49) **Nakita** din ake na mangngod na nalemmes.
Na–kita *din ake na mangngod na na–lemmes.*
A.HAP.R–see 3S.ERG 1S.GEN LK younger.sibling LK A.HAP.R–drown
'He saw my younger sibling who drowned.' [LCWN-T-01 2.8]

(50) **Nademdeman** din arey din Lisga.
Na–demdem–an *din arey din Lisga.*[11]
A.HAP.R–remember–APL 3S.ERG friend 3S.GEN fire.ant
'S/he remembered his friend Fire Ant.' [VBWN-T-01 3.5]

Example (51) illustrates an emotion verb in its default usage:

(51) Kanen i **nadlek** gid tak uḷa gid duma.
Kanen i ***na–adlek*** *gid tak uḷa gid duma.*
3S.ABS DEF.N A.HAP.R–aftaid INT because NEG.R INT companion
'He was really afraid because there was no companion.' [MBON-T-05 3.6]

In example (52) the happenstantial *na-* expresses a realized dynamic event that just happened without anyone intentionally trying to make it happen. This sentence could also express a realized capability, 'they were able to (intentionally) meet', but the discourse context makes it clear that the intended meaning is happenstance. It is also not perfect aspect because it asserts the event rather than a state resulting from an earlier event:

[11] Usually this word is pronounced and spelled *lasga*, but this author has written *Lisga*. This may be an error, code mixing, or idiolectal variation.

(52) **Nasugat** danen bata i ta iran na maistro na ngaran din Pedro na galin Puerto…

Na–sugat *danen bata i ta iran na maistro na ngaran*
A.HAP.R–meet 3P.ERG child DEF.N NABS 3P.GEN LK teacher LK name
din Pedro na ga–alin Puerto…
3S.GEN Pedro LK I.R–from Puerto
'They happened to meet the son of their teacher whose name is Pedro who came from Puerto.' [JCWN-T-20 21.2]

In examples (53) and (54) *na-* expresses a realized capability: 'was able to.' In this case, happenstance is not likely since "catching the ball" and "carrying the child" are not situations that occur without intention. And again, they are not perfect in aspect since they assert events rather than resultant states:

(53) Paglabyog ta pangka ta bula ya, **nasaḷap** dayon ta princesa.

Pag–labyog ta pangka ta bula ya, ***na–saḷap*** *dayon*
NR.ACT–throw NABS frog NABS ball DEF.F A.HAP.R–catch immediately
ta princesa.
NABS princess
'When the frog threw the ball (lit. the frog's throwing of the ball), the princess immediately was able to catch it.' [CBWN-C-17 4.1]

(54) Tapos bata ya **nadaḷa** gid ta tallo ya na ayam…

Tapos bata ya ***na–daḷa*** *gid ta tallo ya na ayam…*
then child DEF.F A.HAP.R–take/carry INT NABS three DEF.F LK dog
'Then as for the child the three dogs were able to carry (him) away.' [CBWN-C-20 7.1]

The extension of happenstantial to abilitative modality makes sense in that the ability to do something is non-volitional, even though the act of doing it may be volitional.

Example (55) illustrates *na-* in a dynamic transitive construction expressing perfect aspect. Note that the Actor, the parrot fish, is marked as non-absolutive. This indicates that the absolutive argument is the Patient, the butterfly fish's mouth. Happenstantial is used in this case to indicate a state that resulted from an event that happened earlier in the order of events on the storyline, and therefore may be understood as perfect in aspect:

(55) Kalibangbang an a daw makita ta man en anduni ḷangkaw en baba din an tak **nakemes** ta tuḷ-ungan.

Kalibangbang an a daw ma–kita ta man en
butterfly DEF.M CTR if/when A.HAP.IR–see 1P.INCL.ERG too CM
anduni ḷangkaw en baba din an tak ***na–kemes***
now/today long CM mouth 3S.GEN DEF.M because A.HAP.R–squeeze
ta tuḷ-ungan.
NABS parrot.fish

'The butterfly fish if we could see (it/them) indeed now/today, its mouth is long because the parrot fish has squeezed (it).' [JCON-L-07 21.2]

6.5.10 Ambitransitive happenstantial irrealis *ma-*

As with the happenstantial realis prefix *na-*, the prefix *ma-* occurs in intransitive non-volitional constructions and in certain transitive constructions. In its primary usage it expresses potential non-volitional situations. Like the realis counterpart, *na-*, *ma-* normally occurs with Patient-preserving intransitive verbs. In other words, the absolutive argument is a Patient/Undergoer rather than an Actor. If the absolutive is an Actor, either the form *maka-* occurs, or the construction is understood as the hypothetical/polite usage described in §6.5.11. The following examples illustrate the usages of *ma-* versus *maka-*:

(56) a. Transitive frame (*ta bata an* = ergative)
Masugat a ta bata an.

Ma–sugat a ta bata an.
A.HAP.IR–meet 1S.ABS NABS child DEF.M

'The child will possibly meet me.' Or 'The child will be able to meet me.' (Not '*I will possibly/be able to meet the child')

b. Detransitive frame (*ta bata an* = downplayed/demoted Undergoer)
Makasugat a ta bata an.

Maka–sugat a ta bata an.
I.HAP.IR–meet 1S.ABS NABS child DEF.M

'I will possibly/be able to meet the child.'

c. Intransitive frame (*ta kabaw an* = Oblique)
Muḷog kanen kani ta kabaw an.

Ma–uḷog kanen kani ta kabaw an.
A.HAP.IR–fall 3S.ABS later NABS carabao DEF.M

'S/he will possibly fall off the carabao (accidentally).'

d. Mawigit kani kwarta no an ta bulsa no.
Ma–wigit kani kwarta no an ta bulsa no.
A.HAP.IR–fall.unnoticed later money 2S.GEN DEF.M NABS pocket 2S.GEN
'Your money will later fall unnoticed from your pocket.'

e. Detransitive frame, polite usage (see §6.5.11)
Masugat ka ta bata an.
Ma–sugat ka ta bata an.
A.HAP.IR–meet 2S.ABS NABS child DEF.M
'You should meet the child (polite).'

Examples (57) and (58) illustrate intransitive clauses with *ma-* in its primary usage from the corpus:

(57) **Marwad** ate na ambaḷ na Kagayanen ta pila na adlaw.
Ma–duwad *ate na ambaḷ na Kagayanen ta pila na adlaw.*
A.HAP.IR–lose 1P.INCL.GEN LK say LK Kagayanen NABS few LK sun/day
'Our Kagayanen language **will be lost** in a short time (lit. in a few days).' [TTOB-J-01 8.3]

(58) Daw sikad man an inog nangka i, lugay **makamang** iya an na bao.
Daw sikad man an inog nangka i, lugay ***ma–kamang*** *iya an na bao.*
if/when very EMPH ATT ripe jackfruit DEF.N long.time A.HAP.IR–remove 3S.GEN DEF.M LK odor
'When the jackfruit is really ripe, (it takes) a long time for its odor **to dissipate**.' [VPWE-T-02 2.2]

Examples (59) and (60) illustrate semantically transitive experiential verbs with *ma-* in its primary usage:

(59) Tama man **makita** no na mga klasi mga ayep naan ta patag. **Makita** no baka, kabayo daw kanding.
Tama man ***ma–kita*** *no na mga klasi mga ayep naan ta patag.* ***Ma–kita*** *no baka, kabayo daw kanding.*
many too A.HAP.IR–see 2S.ERG LK PL kinds PL animal SPAT.DEF NABS plain A.HAP.IR–see 2S.ERG cow horse and goat
'The kinds of animals that you **will/might/can also see** on the plain are many. You **will/might/can see** cows, horses and goats.' [VAWN-T-15 4.6–7]

(60) Yi na suḷat para nang kaon agod **mademdeman** no man yaken i.
Yi na suḷat para nang kaon agod ***ma–demdem–an***
D1ABS LK letter for only/just 2S.ABS so.that A.HAP.IR–remember–APL
no man yaken i.
2S.ERG too 1S.ABS DEF.N
'This letter is just for you so that you **will remember** me too.' [ATWL-J01 5.1]

Examples (61) and (62) illustrate the happenstantial irrealis prefix *ma-* expressing a potential capability: 'will be able to' or 'can':

(61) Daw **madakep** ta kaw, tekteken ta kaw.
Daw ***ma–dakep*** *ta kaw, tektek–en ta kaw.*
if/when A.HAP.IR–catch 1S.ERG 2S.ABS chop.fine–T.IR 1S.ERG 2S.ABS
'If **I am able to catch you**, I will chop you up fine.' [CBWN-C-16 9.17]

(62) Manang, daw pwidi nang, inta atagan a no ta address Maria para **masuḷatan** ko kanen ya.
Manang, daw pwidi nang, inta ∅–atag–an a no ta
older.sister if/when can only OPT T.IR–give–APL 1S.ABS 2S.ERG NABS
address Maria para ***ma–suḷat–an*** *ko kanen ya.*
address Maria for A.HAP.IR–write–APL 1S.ERG 3S.ABS DEF.F
'Older sister, if/when just possible, give me the address of Maria so that **I can write** to her.' [BCWL-C-01 3.20]

6.5.11 Intransitive happenstantial hypothetical/polite *ma-*

Examples (63) through (65) illustrate what we are calling the hypothetical usage of the prefix *ma-*. In this usage, predicates inflected with *ma-* describe situations that may occur from time to time, but no specific actual event. This usage occurs frequently in expository texts.

(63) **Masimba** anay danen an daw magprusisyon na daḷa a santos na Santo Ninyo palibot ta banwa…
Ma–simba *anay danen an daw mag–prusisyon na*
A.HAP.IR–church first/for.a.while 3P.ABS DEF.M and I.IR–procession LK
daḷa a santos na Santo Ninyo pa–libot ta banwa…
take/carry INJ statue LK Holy Child T.R–around NABS town/country
'They **go to church** and go in a procession carrying the Santo Ninyo statue taking it around the town…' [VAOE-J-09 2]

(64) Daw miling kani ta altar en, **mauna** abay i punta ta tengnga ya ta unaan. **Masunod** mga flowergirl daw ringbearer.

Daw m–iling kani ta altar en, ***ma–una*** *abay*
if/when I.V.IR–go later NABS alter CM A.HAP.IR–first wedding.attendant
i punta ta tengnga ya ta una–an. ***Ma–sunod*** *mga*
DEF.N go NABS middle DEF.F NABS first–NR A.HAP.IR–follow PL
flowergirl daw ringbearer.
flowergirl and ringbearer

'When (the wedding party) is going to the altar, the wedding attendant (bridesmaids and groomsmen) **go first** going to the middle of the front (of the church). The flowergirl and ringbearer **follow**.' [DBOE-C-01 6.1]

(65) Kan-o na timpo daw **malarga** mga bḷangay o lansa man galiid gid ti na puḷo…

Kan-o na timpo daw ***ma–larga*** *mga bḷangay o*
previous LK time/season if/when A.HAP.IR–depart PL 2.masted.boat or
lansa man ga–liid gid ti na puḷo…
launch also T.R–pass.close.by INT D1NABS LK island

'In previous times, if/when two-masted boats or launches **would depart**, (they) passed close by this island…' [VAWN-T-17 3.2]

If the first verb in the construct illustrated in (65) were *marga*, which consists of *m-* 'dynamic, intransitive, irrealis' plus the root *larga*, then the sentence would imply a more immediate event '(the launch) will purposely depart'. The verb form *maglarga* is the general irrealis form, open to multiple interpretations, or some more distant future event. The form *malarga* describes events that happened many times in the past. Irrealis modality is appropriate because no particular event is asserted.

6.5.12 Intransitive happenstantial realis *naka-*

The happenstantial realis prefix *naka-* only occurs in grammatically intransitive constructions in which the controller of the situation is expressed in the absolutive case. Normally *naka-* and its irrealis counterpart *maka-* describe animate activity or activity that is "animate-like." Example (66) illustrates *naka-* expressing perfect aspect (a state resulting from an earlier event). If these two verbs, *agi* 'to pass' and *tinir* 'to stay', were on the storyline they would have the dynamic intransitive prefix *ga-* instead of *naka-*. This is a fairly prototypical usage of *naka-*:

(66) … may gakuyog na Japonis na **nakaagi** ta dagsa daw **nakatinir** di ta pila na buḷan.

*… may ga–kuyog na Japonis na **naka–agi** ta dagsa daw*
EXT.IN I.R–come.with LK Japanese LK I.HAP.R–pass NABS shore and
***naka–tinir** di ta pila na buḷan.*
I.HAP.R–stay D1LOC NABS few LK month
'…there was a Japanese (person) who came with (someone) who had passed by way of the shore and had stayed here a few months.'
[HEWE-L-02 4.1]

Example (66) contrasts with the usage of *na-* in, for example, (48) above in that the events of passing through and staying in (66) are volitional—they are something the absolutive participant does, rather than something that "happens to" the absolutive. For this reason, we say that *naka-* (and *maka-*) are "Actor-oriented". Falling off the carabao in (48), on the other hand, is "Undergoer-oriented"—it is something that "happens to" the absolutive marked participant. However, in (66), neither situation is on the storyline of the narrative. They are both "flashbacks" to earlier events that have relevance to the current narrative, but which do not themselves advance the storyline. For this reason a perfect aspect interpretation is appropriate. Furthermore, (66) contrasts with (49) through (55) in that these earlier examples are in transitive frames, whereas *naka-* always appears in an intransitive or detransitive frame in which the absolutive refers to the Controller.

Concerning example (67), the event expressed by *sangga*, 'bump into', occurred previously in the story expressed with the form *nasanggaan* 'happened to bump into'. In that case, the implication is that the fish accidentally bumped into a limestone formation after having swum off quickly without regard to the direction he was going. Then example (67) occurs at the end of the story with *naka-* indicating that the parrot fish had some responsibility for running into the rock because he had so mindlessly swum off. The moral of the story is overtly stated as "think before reacting". We have attempted to capture this assertion of impulsiveness on the part of the parrot fish in the free translation with the English expression "had gone and banged . . .":

(67) A, yon en na anduni tuḷ-ungan i daw makita ta naan dagat, takong din an buksoḷ, unti, tenged na **nakasangga** kanen ta manunggoḷ.

A, yon en na anduni tuḷ-ungan i daw ma–kita
INJ D3ABS CM LK now/today parrot.fish DEF.N if/when A.HAP.IR–see

ta naan dagat, takong din an buksoḷ, unti,
1P.INCL.ERG SPAT.DEF sea forehead 3S.GEN DEF.M lump DlLOC.PR
*tenged na **naka–sangga** kanen ta manunggoḷ.*
because LK I.HAP.R–bump.into 3S.ABS NABS limestone
'Well, that (is the reason) now/today that the parrot fish when we see (it/them) in the sea, his forehead is lumped, here, because he (has gone and) banged into a limestone formation.' [JCON-L-07 21.1]

In example (68) *nakabantaw* expresses a realized ability: 'we were able to see':

(68) Ta seled ta limma na adlaw **nakabantaw kay** ta isya na bukid ta Panay.
*Ta seled ta limma na adlaw **naka–bantaw** **kay***
NABS within NABS five LK day/sun I.HAP.R–look.far.away 1P.EXCL.ABS
ta isya na bukid ta Panay.
NABS one LK mountain NABS Panay
'Within five days we were able/managed to spot far away one mountain on Panay.' [VPWN-T-06 2.4]

The forms *naka-* and *maka-* may be used in some situations in which the central participant is not animate or volitional. For example, the verb *abot* 'arrive' usually takes an animate, volitional Agent as its only required argument. However, it can also be used for typhoons, telegrams, boats, sicknesses, suffering and so on. In such usages, it may take the *naka-* and *maka-* prefixes:

(69) Ake na masakit, **nakaabot** gid isyam na buḷan pinitinsya ko.
*Ake na masakit, **naka–abot** gid isyam na buḷan pinitinsya ko.*
1S.GEN LK sick I.HAP.R–arrive INT nine LK month suffering 1S.GEN
'My sickness, my suffering arrived (i.e. lasted) for nine months.' [PEWN-T-01 2.15]

The verb *idad* '(person/animal) to age' (from the Spanish noun *edad* 'age') may also take *naka-* or *maka-*, though it is hard to construe "aging" as a volitional process:[12]

[12]Perhaps this figure of speech is appropriate in Kagayanen because it takes a lot of effort to age successfully on an isolated island without much in the way of medical help, stores, or other amenities of life. To live to an old age is a highly respected accomplishment on Cagayancillo. In any case, even if 'to age' is not intentional, the only argument of this verb is always an animate participant.

(70) **Nakaidad** a ta 27 na anyos.
Naka–idad *a ta 27 na anyos.*
I.HAP.R–age 1S.ABS NABS 27 LK years
'I was 27 years old.' (lit. 'I had managed to age for 27 years.')

Finally, some sensory verbs, *kita* 'see', *mati* 'hear', *batyag* 'feel', *plamao* 'smell', and *lasa* 'taste', normally occur with the *naka-* and *maka-* prefixes in happenstantial intransitive constructions, though they are clearly experiential rather than volitional.

(71) Busa, ta pagpatay Mambeng, pangaranan na Lungag Mambeng ta iya kadengegan na kanen **nakakita** ta nyan na lungag.
Busa, ta pag–patay Mambeng, pa–ngaran–an na Lungag
SO NABS NR.ACT–dead Mambeng T.R–name–APL LK hole/cave
Mambeng ta iya ka–dengeg–an na kanen ***naka–kita*** *ta nyan*
Mamben NABS 3S.GEN NR–honor–NR LK 3S.ABS I.HAP.R–see NABS d3ABS
na lungag.
LK hole/cave
'So, when Mambeng died, (the cave) was named Cave of Mambeng in his honor for **he had found (saw)** that cave.' [SAWE-L-02 4.3]

(72) **Nakabatyag** a ta ḷettem tak uḷa a kamaaw.
Naka–batyag *a ta ḷettem tak uḷa a ka–maaw.*
I.HAP.R–feel 1S.ABS NABS hunger because NEG.R 1S.ABS I.HAP–breakfast
'**I felt hungry** because I did not eat breakfast.'

Example (73) is particularly interesting in that it illustrates the same verb, *mati* 'to hear/listen' both in the dynamic form, and the intransitive happenstantial:

(73) Kami darwa kay Maria **gamati** ta drama iran Mama. Kami i **nakamati** kay ta isya na singgit ta isya na bai na ame man na katagsa.
Kami darwa kay Maria ***ga–mati*** *ta drama iran*
1P.EXCL.ABS two 1P.EXCL.ABS Maria I.R–hear NABS drama 3P.GEN
Mama. Kami i ***naka–mati*** *kay ta isya na*
Mother/Aunt 1P.EXCL.ABS DEF.N I.HAP.R–hear 1P.EXCL.ABS NABS one LK
singgit ta isya na bai na ame man na katagsa.
shout NABS one LK woman LK 1P.EXCL.GEN too LK cousin
'We both Maria and I **were listening** to a drama (program on the radio) at the place of Mama (aunt). **We heard** a shout of a woman who was indeed our cousin.' [RZWN-T-02 2.2–3]

In the first instance of the verb *mati* in (73), *gamati*, the dynamic form implies the Actors were intentionally *listening* to the drama. In the second instance, *nakamati*, they happened to hear something, not intentionally, but only experientially. English expresses this intentional/non-intentional distinction in the two lexical verbs, *listen* and *hear*, whereas Kagayanen accomplishes the same semantic distinction by exploiting the morphological contrast between dynamic and happenstantial modalities. The form *namatian* would require the Actor to be in the ergative case, and the Undergoer in the absolutive, and since this excerpt is a series of events describing what the main protagonists were doing, the Actor-oriented intransitive form *nakamati* is more appropriate.

Example (74) illustrates the cognition verbs *intindi* 'understand', and *sat-em* 'comprehend' in their normal usages with *naka*. Other cognition verbs in this group include *isip* 'think', *demdem* 'remember', and *lipat* 'forget':

(74) A ginikanan an a na uḷa **nakaintindi**, uḷa **nakasat-em**, mambaḷ en dayon, "Indya kwarta no ya?"

A ginikanan an a na uḷa ***naka–intindi,*** *uḷa*
INJ parent DEF.M CTR LK NEG.R I.HAP.R–understand NEG.R
naka–sat-em, *m–ambaḷ en dayon, "Indya kwarta no*
I.HAP.R–comprehend I.V.IR–say CM immediately where money 2S.GEN
ya?"
DEF.F

'Well, parents who **do not understand**, **do not comprehend** will say immediately, "Where is your money?"' (In the context of this sentence high school graduates tell their parents that they want to go to college, and this is the parents' response.) [JCOB-L-02 13.3]

Finally, the happenstantial affixes may be used to downplay one's personal achievements. In the following example, the speaker worked very hard to graduate, but uses the happenstantial, as though it were something that "just happened":

(75) Kaluoy man ta Dyos **nakatapos** a man ta elementarya.

Kaluoy man ta Dyos ***naka–tapos*** *a man ta*
NR–mercy EMPH NABS God I.HAP.R–finish 1S.ABS EMPH NABS
elementarya.
elementary.

'By the mercy of God I was able to finish elementary school.' [DDWN-C-01 3.13]

6.5.13 Intransitive happenstantial irrealis *maka-*

The prefix *maka-* is the irrealis counterpart of *naka-*. It also occurs only in intransitive frames in which the single argument is animate, or an inanimate entity that acts in an animate way. Example (76) is a near prototypical example of the use of *maka-*:

(76) Kanen **makabali** ta sundang daw iya na makagat.
*Kanen **maka–bali** ta sundang daw iya na ma–kagat.*
3S.ABS I.HAP.IR–break NABS machete if/when 3S.GEN LK A.HAP.IR–bite
'HE (coconut crab) can break a machete if (it is the thing) he bites.'
[DBWE-T-27 2.5]

If the prefix *ma-* were used here, it would be extremely awkward, and could only mean "HIM the machete broke," since with *ma-* the absolutive has to be the Undergoer. To preserve the basic semantics using *ma-* the argument structure would need to change in order to make it clear that the machete is the Patient. Thus, the first part of (76) can be considered a detransitive counterpart of (77) (see Chapter 10 for a discussion of detransitive constructions):

(77) **Mabali** din sundang an.
***Ma–bali** din sundang an.*
A.HAP.IR–break 3S.ERG machete DEF.M
'S/he can break the machete.'

Example (78) illustrates another fairly prototypical use of *maka-*:

(78) Piro daw may ubra ka en daw may usto na swildo **makatabang** ka ta imo na mga ginikanan ta pagpaiskwila ta imo na mga mangngod.
Piro daw may ubra ka en daw may usto na swildo
but if/when EXT.IN work 2S.ABS CM and EXT.IN sufficient LK wage
***maka–tabang** ka ta imo na mga ginikanan ta*
I.HAP.IR–help 2S.ABS NABS 2S.GEN LK PL parent NABS
pag–pa–iskwila ta imo na mga mangngod.
NR.ACT–CAUS–go.to.school NABS 2S.GEN LK PL younger.sibling
'But if you have work and have sufficient wages, you can help your parents to support your younger siblings in school.' [DBWL-T-30 5.3]

The verb *tabang*, 'to help', is one that requires the applicative suffix in its basic transitive usage (see Chapter 8, §8.9). Since there is no applicative on *tabang* in

(78), it must be detransitive, and therefore is the counterpart of the transitive construction illustrated in (79). Example (80) illustrates the same verb form in the text corpus:

(79) **Matabangan** no imo na mga ginikanan.

Ma–tabang–an *no imo na mga ginikanan.*
HAP.IR–help–APL 2S.ERG 2S.GEN LK PL parent
'You can help your parents."

(80) ... Pwidi ta kaw **matabangan** daw ino gusto no.

... Pwidi ta kaw ***ma–tabang–an*** *daw ino gusto no.*
can 1S.ERG 2S.ABS A.HAP.IR–help–APL if/when what want 2S.ERG
'... I can help you with whatever you want.' [LGON-L-01 12.3]

Examples (81) and (82) illustrate *maka-* with the experiential verbs *kita* 'to see/find' and *singngot* 'to smell s.t.' With perception and cognition verbs, *naka-* and *maka-* are the normal detransitive (or "Actor voice") forms that correspond to *na-*/*ma-* in a transitive frame:[13].

(81) Pangamuyuan ta kaw nang na kabay **makakita** ka man ta ubra na dayad.

∅–Pangamuyo–an ta kaw nang na kabay ***maka–kita***
T.IR–pray–APL 1S.ERG 2S.ABS ony/just LK may.it.be I.HAP.IR–see
ka man ta ubra na dayad.
2S.ABS TOO NABS work LK good
'I will just pray for you that you may be able to find work that is good.' [DBWL-T-20 8.8]

(82) Tak, daw naan a agi ta dapit abagat i, **makasingngot** kanen ta bao ko.

Tak, daw naan a agi ta dapit abagat i,
because if/when SPAT.DEF 1S.ABS pass NABS direction south(west) DEF.N
maka–singngot *kanen ta bao ko.*
I.HAP.IR–smell 3S.ABS NABS odor 1S.GEN
'For, if I pass in the direction of south(west), he (a wild pig) will be able to smell my odor.' [RCON-L-01 2.7]

[13]For this reason, the *ka* component of *naka-* and *maka-* may be considered an explicit marker of an antipassive construction. However, we find scant independent evidence that this *ka* is a separate morpheme, for example, it is not used in any other modalities to express an antipassive (our detransitive) construction.

Examples (83) through (85) illustrate *maka-* with semantically intransitive volitional verb stems. These cannot be considered detransitives, because there is no Undergoer, and no transitive counterpart in which the Actor is ergative. They are semantically intransitive concepts in which the only participant is an Actor, rather than an Undergoer. The dynamic irrealis affixes for these verbs are *m-* or *mag-* as in *megbeng/magtegeng*, *miling/mag-iling*, and *magbakasyon*. In these examples the happenstantial *maka-* expresses potential ability:

(83) Uḷa aren timpo na **makategbeng** naan ki kaon.

Uḷa aren timpo na ***maka–tegbeng*** *naan ki kaon.*
NEG.R 1S.ABS time LK I.HAP.IR–go.down SPAT.DEF obl.p 2s
'I have no time that I can go down to you.' [MAWL-C-03 4.5]

(84) May anen kay man en landingan na pwidi kaw en **makailing** di ta ame i na lugar.

May anen kay man en landingan na pwidi kaw en
EXT.IN EXT.G 1P.EXCL.ABS too CM airstrip LK can 2P.ABS CM
maka–iling *di ta ame i na lugar.*
I.HAP.IR–go D1LOC NABS 1P.EXCL.GEN DEF.N LK place
'We now have an airstrip so that you will be able to come here to our place.' [DBWL-T-19 9.7]

(85) Kabay pa na **makabakasyon** ka unti ...

Kabay pa na ***maka–bakasyon*** *ka unti ...*
may.it.be INC LK I.HAP.IR–vacation 2S.ABS D1LOC.PR
'May it be that you will be able to vacation here ...' [DBWL-T-19 9.7]

The following are some additional examples from the corpus of *maka-* occuring with inherently transitive verb stems in detransitive constructions:

(86) Piro anduni pabawalan en na magdakep ta pawikan tak kanen i **makatabang** man ta mga ittaw.

Piro anduni pa–bawal–an en na mag–dakep ta pawikan
but now/today T.R–forbid–APL CM LK I.IR–catch NABS sea.turtle
tak kanen i ***maka–tabang*** *man ta mga ittaw.*
because 3S.ABS DEF.N I.HAP.IR–help too NABS PL person
'But now it is forbidden to catch sea turtles because s/he can help people.' [YBWE-T-05 2.6]

(87) Sarang-sarang en anduni tak duma an na may kwarta **makapalit** ta bitamaks daw mga tibi.

Sarang~-sarang en anduni tak duma an na may kwarta
RED~better CM now/today because some DEF.M LK EXT.IN money
makapalit *ta bitamaks daw mga tibi.*
I.HAP.IR–buy NABS betamax and PL TV
'It is getting better because some who have money can buy betamaxes and TVs.' [DBWL-T-19 9.9]

(88) Dili man danen **makatanem** daw sigi pelles. Ta panguma a lugay pa man danen **makatubbas** ta iran na kamuti tak derse pa mga bunga din an.

Dili man danen ***maka–tanem*** *daw sigi pelles. Ta*
NEG.IR too 3P.ABS I.HAP.IR–plant if/when continually strong.wind NABS
pang–uma a lugay pa man danen ***maka–tubbas*** *ta iran*
farming CTR long.time INC too 3P.ABS I.HAP.IR–harvest NABS 3P.GEN
na kamuti tak derse pa mga bunga din an.
LK cassava because small.PL INC PL fruit 3S.GEN DEF.M
'They will not be able to plant (agar seaweed) if (there are) continually strong winds. In the season of farming, it will be a long time too before they will be able to harvest their cassava because its fruit is still small.' [DBWL-T-19 9.12–13]

6.5.14 External motivation *ka-*

The syllable *ka* has a number of functions in Kagayanen inflectional and stem-forming morphology. In this section, we describe the inflectional prefix *ka-*, which we gloss as EXM for *external motivation*. This is a specialized intransitive happenstantial inflection that expresses the idea that there is some external factor that motivates or enables either the situation expressed by the stem, or the speaker's knowledge of that situation. This *ka-* may be considered the specialized counterpart of *na-*, *ma-*, *naka-* and *maka-* since a) it occurs in realis or irrealis contexts, and b) it occurs in all situation types (recall that *naka-* and *maka-* describe situations in which the absolutive argument is in control, whereas *na-* and *ma-* describe situations in which the absolutive argument is not in control).

In the external motivation usage, *ka-* expresses that there is some external factor that motivates, or enables (prevents in the case of negative situations) the controller to carry out the activity. For example, in (89) a wooden cane enables the actor to walk, and in (90) fear prevents the actor from speaking:

(89) Dayon a kamang ta kaoy na sungkod para **kapanaw** a.

Dayon a ...–kamang[14] *ta kaoy na sungkod para*
right.away 1S.ABS I.R–get NABS wood LK cane for
ka–panaw *a.*
I.ABL–go/walk 1S.ABS
'Then I got a wooden cane so that I could walk.' [EFWN-T-11 15.2]

(90) Pag-abot nay ta baḷay, uḷa **kambaḷ** katagsa ko ya tak nakulbaan ...

Pag-–abot nay ta baḷay, uḷa ***ka–ambaḷ*** *katagsa ko*
NR.ACT–arrive 1P.EXL.GEN NABS house NEG.R I.HAP–speak cousin 1S.GEN
ya tak na–kulba–an ...
DEF.F because A.HAP.R–frightened–APL
'When we arrived at the house, my cousin could not speak because of being frightened (of something) ...' [CBWN-C-19 8.1]

In example (91), catching fish is enabled by good luck:

(91) Ta dayad na panwirtién asta a magpailis ta Barangay Nusa, **kasubbad** pa ta darwa buok...

Ta dayad na pang–swirti–én asta a mag–pa–ilis ta
NABS good LK NR–luck–NR until 1S.ABS I.IR–CAUS–shallow.sea NABS
Barangay Nusa, ***ka–subbad*** *pa ta darwa buok...*
community Nusa I.HAP–catch.fish INC NABS two piece
'With much good luck, even when I was beginning to go to the shallow sea (along the shore) of the community of Nusa, I was able to catch two more pieces (fish)...' [EFWN-T-11 8.1]

In example (92), *ka-*, expresses the idea that his feeling lonely is motivated by the fact that the addressee is absent.

(92) Gusto ko gid man en na magbakasyon dyan ta lugar ta yan, tak kis-a **kabatyag** a man ta kapung-aw ki kyo.

Gusto ko gid man en na mag–bakasyon dyan ta lugar
want 1S.ERG INT too CM LK I.IR–vacation D2LOC NABS place
ta yan, tak kis-a ***ka–batyag*** *a man ta*
1P.INCL.GEN DEF.M because sometimes I.HAP–feel 1S.ABS too NABS

[14] In this sentence, the intransitive, realis prefix *ga-* has been omitted. This is a common feature of daily conversation, and is discussed in §6.6.

ka–pung-aw ki kyo.
NR–lonely OBL.P 2p
'I really want to go on vacation there in our place because sometimes I feel loneliness too for you.' [MBON-T-07a 3.3]

Example (93) illustrates external motivation *ka-* in a negative context. The ability to go home is prevented by strong winds and large waves.

(93) Gani ta iran na pagnubig kaysan danen magapon. **Dili** pa **kuli** tenged ta biskeg na angin daw darko na mga baḷed.
Gani ta iran na pag–nubig kaysan danen magapon.
SO NABS 3P.GEN LK NR.ACT–haul.water sometimes 3P.ABS all.day.long
Dili pa ka–uli *tenged ta biskeg na angin daw darko na mga baḷed.*
NEG.IR INC I.HAP–go.home because NABS strong LK wind and large.PL LK PL wave
'So in their hauling water sometimes they stayed all day long. (They) will not be able to come home (all day until late in the afternoon) because of strong winds and large waves.' [VPWE-T-01 2.8]

The prefix *ka-* also has an *inferential* usage. In the context of example (94), a fish sees a ship coming and tells all the other fish to hide. After the fish have hidden, example (94) occurs, expressing the inference that the boat most likely has passed by. In the sentence after that, the fish all look up and see that the boat in fact is moving away fast. An enablement interpretation of (94) is excluded by native speakers. In this context, the speaker (the fish) infers that the situation expressed by the root is true because of the external fact that much time has passed.

(94) Anduni **kalambay** en bḷangay ya en.
Anduni ***ka–lambay*** *en bḷangay ya en.*
now/today I.HAP–pass.by CM 2.masted.boat DEF.F CM
'Now the boat (must have) passed by.' (Or 'Now the boat most-likely/feasibly/predictably has passed by.') [JCON-L-07 5.1]

With the prefix *maka-* this construction would express a different meaning, namely that the ship 'will/can/may possibly pass by', and *naka-* would mean it 'has already passed by.'

In the narrative from which (95) is extracted, Pedro's father was killed, and since Pedro is the son, of course he had heard about it. This is clearly inferential modality rather than abilitative.

(95) Bata din na Pedro naan ta Puerto **kabati** ta sakit na kamatayen ta iya na palangga na tatay.
Bata din na Pedro naan ta Puerto ***ka–bati*** *ta*
child 3S.GEN LK Pedro SPAT.DEF NABS Puerto I.HAP–hear.news NABS
sakit na kamatayen ta iya na palangga na tatay.
painful LK death NABS 3S.GEN LK love LK father
'His son Pedro in Puerto must have heard the news about the painful death of his beloved father.' (Or most-likely/feasibly/predictably he has heard the news…) [BEWN-T-01 5.1]

6.6 Conversational omission of inflectional affixes

There is a common tendency in Kagayanen conversation for inflectional prefixes (*pa-, ga-, na-, mag-, ma-*, and *ka-*) to be omitted in certain "candidate environments". These are the environments in which prefixes may be omitted:

1. Following adverbs such as *tapos* 'after', *ubos* 'all used up', *dayon* 'right away', *diritso* 'straight away,' *listo* 'hastily', *sigi* 'continuously', *tudo* 'with all-out effort', *primi* 'always', *uḷa* 'negative, realis', and perhaps others.
2. In fast or excited speech.
3. At peaks of narratives, or other contexts that involve tension.
4. In relative clauses especially when they occur before the head nominal.
5. In habitual actions.

It is clear that this omission of prefixes is "optional" for two reasons. First, such omission never results in ambiguity—speakers are always able to supply the missing form based on contextual factors. Second, sometimes inflectional prefixes do appear in these contexts, with no apparent variation in meaning. A full discourse study may be needed to determine whether there is a consistent pattern as to when prefixes are omitted versus when they are retained. Since most of the examples in this grammar are from natural texts, many have omitted prefixes. We have not edited or flagged these in any way, unless the omission is important to the point being illustrated in the example. Examples (96) and (98) illustrate affix omission, with the ellipsis character (…) in place of the omitted affix:

(96) Indi no imo **kamanga** mga blawan an Pedro?

*Indi no imo …–**kamang–a** mga blawan an Pedro?*
where 2S.ERG EMPH T.R–get–XC PL gold DEF.M Pedro
'Where did you get the gold, Pedro!?' [CBWN-C-22 8.3]

The following examples illustrate the root, *dala*, 'take/carry', both with (97) and without (98) the overt transitive realis prefix. The argument structure frame (Actor-ergative and Undergoer-absolutive) makes it clear that both examples are transitive, and the contexts make it clear that both are realis:

(97) **Padaḷa** din iya na bata naan ta iran na baḷay.

***Pa–daḷa** din iya na bata naan ta iran na baḷay.*
T.R–bring/take 3S.ERG 3S.GEN LK child SPAT.DEF NABS 3P.GEN LK house
'She took her child to their house.' (Her child had died, so she carried her back to their house.) [VAWN-T-20 4.5]

(98) **Daḷa** nay sawa din daw sawa Lola Maria na patay …

*…–**Daḷa** nay sawa din daw sawa Lola*
T.R–take/carry 1P.EXCL.ERG spouse 3S.GEN and spouse grandmother
Maria na patay …
Maria LK dead
'We took her husband and the husband of Grandmother Maria who were dead …' [BCWN-C-04 9.1]

It appears that in everyday speech *pa-* may be freely omitted, though *pa-* is much more likely to occur in foregrounded clauses (in the sense of Hopper & Thompson 1980) in narrative. Of course, *ga-* is the corresponding foreground form for grammatically intransitive predicates. The following are examples of affix omission in various candidate environments.

(99) Prefix *m-* omitted following locational *naan*:
Atag ko ki kaon daw miyag ka sawaen ta kaw. Naan a **tunuga** ta katri no daw naan a **kaan** ta pinggan no.

Atag ko ki kaon daw miyag ka sawa–en
give 1S.ERG OBL.P 2S if/when agree/want 2S.ABS spouse–T.IR
*ta kaw. Naan a …–**tunuga** ta katri no*
1S.ERG+2S.ABS SPAT.DEF 1S.ABS I.V.IR–sleep NABS bed 2S.GEN and

*daw naan a ...–**kaan** ta pinggan no.*
SPAT.DEF 1S.ABS I.V.IR–eat NABS dish 2S.GEN
'I will give (it) to you if you agree that I marry you. I will sleep in your bed and I will eat from your dish.' [CBWN-C-17 3.14]

Example (99) is from a story about a man who became a frog. The frog wants to mary a young princess. She is playing a ball and the ball gets away from her. The frog gets the ball and says he will give it back if she marries him. The word *tunuga* 'to sleep' can be replaced with *munuga* or *magtunuga*, and the word *kaan* 'to eat' can be replaced with *maan* or *magkaan*, though in the context of this story *munuga* and *maan* are more likely.

(100) Prefix *naka-* or *ka-* omitted following negative *uḷa*:
Sawa din ya uḷa **kita** ki kanen.
*Sawa din ya uḷa ...–**kita** ki kanen.*
spouse 3S.GEN DEF.F NEG.R I.HAP.R–see OBL.P 3S
'His spouse did not see him.' [AMWN-T-01 2.14]

In example (100) the word *kita* 'to see' can be *nakakita* or *kakita* depending on whether there was some external motivation that enabled the event. In example (101), *kita* can only be replaced by *kakita*, since 'not going with them' is presented as the external motivation for not seeing the cities.

(101) Daw uḷa yaken na gakuyog danen, uḷa yaken i **kita** iling ti na mga syudad.
Daw uḷa yaken na ga–kuyog danen, uḷa yaken i
if/when NEG.R 1S.ABS LK I.R–go.with 3S NEG.R 1S.ABS DEF.N
*...–**kita** iling ti na mga syudad.*
I.EXM–see like D1NABS LK PL city
'If I did not go with them I would not see like these cities.' [BMON-C-05 10.7]

(102) Omitted *na-* and *pa-* at points of heightened tension:
Nalambayan din umang ya. **Kita** din matuod umang an **lambayan** din.
*Na–lambay–an din umang ya. ...–**Kita** din*
A.HAP.R–pass.by–APL 3S.ERG hermit.crab DEF.F A.HAP.R–see 3S.ERG
*matuod umang an ...–**lambay–an** din.*
true hermit.crab DEF.M T.R–pass.by–APL 3S.ERG
'He (Sea Turtle) passed the hermit crab. He saw that truly he passed the hermit crab.' [JCON-L-08 43.10]

Example (102) describes a race between Sea Turtle and Hermit Crab. Hermit Crab tricks Sea Turtle by having many hermit crabs distributed along the race course, so there is always a hermit crab ahead of Sea Turtle and the one that he was racing is waiting for him at the finish line. But Sea Turtle does not know there are many hermit crabs and he can not understand why Hermit Crab is always ahead of him. The verb *kita* 'to see' can be replaced with *nakita*, and the verb *lambayan* 'to pass by' can be replaced with *palambayan* or *nalambayan*, though *palambayan* is more appropriate in this story.

(103) Omitted *maka-* or *ka-* following irrealis negative *dili*:
Pirate ya di mata din dili **kita** en.
*Pirate ya di mata din dili ...–**kita** en.*
pirate DEF.F INJ eye 3S.GEN NEG.IR EXM/A.HAP.IR–see CM
'The pirate, his eyes can't see anymore.' [BBOE-C-02 1.23]

Example (103) is from a story describing an attack by pirates on the island of Cagayancillo long ago. Just before this example, the Kagayanens had thrown sand into the eyes of the pirates so they couldn't see. The word *kita* 'to see' may be replaced with *makakita* or *kakita*, though *kakita* is more appropriate because the sand in their eyes was the external motivation for the pirates not being able to see.

(104) Omitted *ma-* following the verb *miyag*, 'agree/want':
Dili kanen miyag na **matian** din pulong ta Ginuo.
*Dili kanen miyag na ...–**mati–an** din pulong ta Ginuo.*
NEG.IR 3S.ABS agree/want LK A.HAP.IR–hear–APL 3S.ERG message NABS Lord
'He did not want to hear the message of the Lord.' (The verb *matian* 'to hear' may be replaced with *mamatian*.) [ETON-C-07 3.9]

(105) Omitted *ga-* in an emphatic utterance:
Uyi na ingkantada pirmi nang **bisita** ta ake na katagsa.
*Uyi na ingkantada pirmi nang ...–**bisita** ta ake na katagsa.*
EMPH–D1ABS LK fairy always only/just I.R–visit NABS 1S.GEN LK cousin
'As for this fairy, (she) always visited my cousin.' [MBON-T-03 3.9]

The following are a few additional examples of omission of inflectional prefixes from the corpus.

(106) … pirmi a nang en na **pangamuyo** ta Dios…

*… pirmi a nang en na …–**pangamuyo** ta Dios…*
always 1S.ABS only/just CM LK I.R–pray NABS God

'…I kept on praying to God…' (The verb *pangamuyo* can be *gapangamuyo*.) [EFWN-T-10 4.7]

(107) Piro pirmi aren en **simba**, a, **kuyog** ta ake na anti

*Piro pirmi aren en …–**simba**, a, …–**kuyog** ta ake na anti.*
but always 1S.ABS CM I.R–worship INJ I.R–go.with NABS 1S.GEN LK aunt.

'But I kept on going to church, well going with my aunt.' [JCOE-C-04 7.3]

(108) Ayaw kay **daḷa** ta libon na ugsakan.

*Ayaw kay …–**daḷa** ta libon na ugsak–an.*
each.one's.own 1P.ABS I.R–take/carry NABS basket LK put.inside–NR

'Each one had our own basket we were carryng where to put (the fruit they will pick).' [JCWN-L-38 7.1]

(109) Dayon **kaḷ-ay** ta iya na laya.

*Dayon …–**kaḷ-ay** ta iya na laya.*
right.away I.R–carry.dangling.down NABS 3S.GEN LK cast.net

'Right away he carried his cast net dangling down.' (The verb *kaḷ-ay* 'to carry dangling down' can be *gakaḷ-ay*.) [EDWN-T-03 2.6]

(110) Gabalik iruplano ta Puerto na **daḷa** ta duktor a sampel ta iksamin danen.

*Ga–balik iruplano ta Puerto na …–**daḷa** ta duktor a*
I.R–return airplane NABS Puerto LK T.R–take/carry NABS doctor INJ
sampel ta iksamin danen.
sample NABS examine 3S.ERG

'The airplane returned to Puerto taking to the doctor the sample for them to examine.' (The verb *daḷa* 'to take/carry' can be *padaḷa* or *nadaḷa*.) [JCWN-T-21 6.5]

(111) *Mag-* omitted:
Muli ka en. **daḷa** ka man suman.
*M–uli ka en. …–**daḷa** ka man suman.*
I.V.IR–go.home 2S.ABS CM I.IR–take/carry 2S.ABS also sticky.rice.cake
'You will go home. You will take some sticky rice cake.' [EDOP-T-02 5.6]

(112) Daw oras en **tanem** ta kamuti a tag-iya ta uma pagtidlak ta iran na uma.
*Daw oras en …–**tanem** ta kamuti a tag-iya ta uma*
if/when hour/time CM I.IR–plant NABS cassava INJ owner NABS field
pag–tidlak ta iran na uma.
NR.ACT–first.planting.tradition NABS 3P.GEN LK field
'When it is the time to plant cassava, the owner of the field is performing *tidlak*.' [VAOE-J-07 1.3]

Example (112) describes *tidlak*, traditional practices for beginning to plant a field. The verb *tanem* 'to plant' can be *magtanem*.

7 Stem-forming morphological processes

7.1 Introduction

As mentioned in Chapter 1 and the introduction to Chapter 6, there are two broad groups of morphological processes that apply to verbs in Kagayanen. These are inflectional processes and stem-forming processes. Inflectional processes are described in Chapter 6. They are different from stem-forming processes in that they define a paradigm (see Chapter 6, Table 6.2). A paradigm is a set of word forms that fully represents coherent grammatical categories, with each form expressing a value for each category. We identified the two main categories relevant to inflection in Kagayanen as transitivity and modality. Every verb functioning as a independent predicate must involve one and only one inflection.[1] They are like the different clothing outfits that one person may wear in different situations—one outfit for school, another for the beach, another around home, and so on. Verbs with different inflections are not different words—they are the same word with different "clothes".

Stem-forming processes (prefixes, suffixes, and reduplications), on the other hand, do not constitute a paradigm for three reasons. First, they are all "optional"; a root alone may be inflected directly. Second, stem-forming processes do not represent a coherent semantic dimension, but rather are a mixed bag in terms of their functions. For the most part, their meanings do not inherently exclude one another. Third, there may be more than one stem-forming process involved in the formation of a given stem. Finally, stems formed from a root plus stem-forming morphology still need inflection in order to be integrated coherently into discourse as verbal predicates. Words with different stem-forming affixes are

[1]Sometimes inflectional affixes may be omitted in face-to-face conversation, when the speaker's intention is obvious. This omission of affixes is addressed directly in Chapter 6, §6.6 and mentioned at various points throughout this grammar. In all cases, the omitted forms may freely be supplied upon reflection. This omission of inflectional affixes is very different from zero as a member of the inflectional system, and the two phenomena can seldom be confused in actual communication.

like different people who are members of the same "family". They resemble one another because they all come from the same ancestor, or "root", but they each have their own personality and particular jobs they are good at. Stem-forming morphological processes provide a rich resource for multiplying the expressive potential of Kagayanen predicates.

This chapter is about stem-forming morphological processes. Bare verb roots depict very general "scenes" in the minds of users. A root may take inflection directly, or it may combine with one or more stem-forming processes to allow speakers to craft nuanced and varied conceptual scenes. Stem-forming morphology adds elements such as causative, applicative, pluraction, associative, reciprocal, and iterative to adjust the meaning of the verb to more precisely depict the specific scene the speaker intends. Some stem-forming processes seem to have little to no meaning effects, but are simply required to allow the stem to take further affixation, or their effects may be different depending on the root they attach to or other contextual factors. In this chapter we will first discuss our decision to treat *-en/-on* as an inflectional suffix, and *-an* 'applicative' as a stem forming suffix (§7.2). Following this, we discuss seven stem-forming processes that commonly occur in Kagayanen verbs. There are undoubtedly others that are not as productive or common. These we leave for future research.

7.2 The "one-suffix" constraint

Four of the stem-forming processes in Kagayanen are expressed by suffixes on the verb root: *-an* 'applicative', *-ay/-anay* 'reciprocal', *-a* 'exclamatory' and *-i* 'exclamatory applicative'. As discussed in Chapter 6, one inflectional verbal affix is also a suffix. Interestingly, however, the stem-forming suffixes may not occur with one another, nor with the transitive irrealis suffix *-en/-on*. In other words, there seems to be a constraint that at most one suffix may occur on an inflected verb form, regardless of whether it is *-en/-on* or one of the stem-forming group. Nevertheless, we do not consider the five suffixes to constitute a paradigm because they do not exhaustively represent a coherent grammatical category or set of categories. They are not all, for example, different values in one category, like aspect, tense, or modality. There are, however, logical semantically-based reasons why certain suffixes do not co-occur. For example, the exclamatory suffixes *-a* and *-i* exclude one another because of their meanings; *-a* is non-applicative and *-i* is applicative. Also reciprocal constructions are inherently intransitive, so they are not compatible with transitive morphological marking, including applicatives. That leaves applicative plus transitive irrealis as the only possible combination of meanings expressed by verb suffixes.

When the semantically conceivable and common combination of applicative and transitive irrealis occurs, the applicative *-an* "overrides" *-en*, leaving "zero" as the only marker of irrealis modality. As we will see in Chapter 8, for one subclass of verbs, the regular transitive irrealis inflection is also zero (Class VII), so there is independent evidence for a meaningful zero functioning as the transitive irrealis inflection. One could say that *-an* changes the subclass of a stem from one that takes *-en/-on* (Class VI) into one that takes ∅- as the transitive irrealis inflection (Class VII).

The alternative to this approach is to consider zero to always be the marker of grammatical transitivity and irrealis modality, and *-en/-on* and *-an* to code different "voices" (patient voice, and locative/benefactive voice respectively). The major problem with this analysis is that *-en/-on* never appears in realis modality, whereas *-an* does. Therefore, under this second approach, one must assert that the transitive realis forms (*pa-* and *na-*) override, or replace *-en/-on*. So under either approach, *-en* must be replaced by something else, either *-an* in applicative contexts, or *pa-*/*na-* in realis contexts. In this grammar we prefer the first of these approaches as we find it results in a more consistent and simpler overall view of the entire system of verb morphology.

In the following sections we will discuss several stem-forming morphological processes, and provide examples from the corpus whenever possible.

7.3 Root reduplication

Root reduplication was described in Chapter 3, §3.3.2 for referential roots (or "nouns"), and in Chapter 4, §4.3.9 for property concept roots (or "adjectives"). The same two processes, complete or partial root reduplication, occur with predicating roots (or "verbs"). The meaning of a partially or completely reduplicated verbal root may be repetitive, continuous, not really doing X, sort of doing X, or pretending to do X. The context usually distinguishes among these possibilities. The 'not really doing,' 'kind of doing', or 'pretending to do' meanings are similar to the meanings associated with reduplicated nouns and adjectives. There is only one example in the texts of the 'not really doing' sense (2 below), but this usage does occur frequently in everyday conversation. For example, the root *buat* 'do'/'make' when reduplicated *buat-buat* can mean 'keep doing/making something' or it can mean 'make something up' or 'make believe' (as in example 2). The root *suḷat* 'to write', when reduplicated *suḷat-suḷat* or *sutsuḷat* may mean 'continuously write', in other contexts 'write repeatedly', and in still other contexts 'scribble' or 'pretend to write'. Verbs denoting punctual changes

in state, such as *buong* 'to break' or punctual changes in location, such as *balik* 'return', cannot express the 'continuously' meaning when reduplicated because this would be pragmatically odd—something can't continuously break or return. Root reduplication for these verbs can only mean to 'break repeatedly', 'return repeatedly' or conceivably 'sort of break', 'pretend to return' (though these uses are not attested in the corpus, and are difficult for speakers to use or imagine outside of a specific communicative context). Occasionally there is a slight difference in meaning between complete and partial reduplication for the same root, but there is no consistent pattern. For example, the root *sunod* means 'to follow'. *Sunod-sunod* means 'to mimic', whereas *sudsunod* means 'to follow', as in someone's footsteps. Also, *kaan-kaan* is the general reduplicated form 'to keep on eating' (from *kaan* 'eat') while *kankaan* means 'to graze', that is, animals eating with their heads down.

Example (1) lists some reduplicated roots that occur as verbal Predicates in the text corpus. Note that for some roots, there is no partial reduplication form:

(1)

Root	**Complete**	**Partial**
sunod 'to follow'	sunod-sunod 'mimic'	sudsunod 'keep following'
balik 'to return	balik-balik	bakbalik
sabat 'to answer'	sabat-sabat	satsabat
kaan 'to eat'	kaan-kaan 'keep eating'	kankaan 'graze (animals)'
layog 'to fly'	layog-layog	laglayog
tagad 'to wait'	tagad-tagad	tadtagad
geḷet 'to cut/slice'	geḷet-geḷet	getgeḷet
suḷat 'to write	suḷat-suḷat	sutsuḷat
singngot 'to smell'	singngot-singngot	sitsingngot
tawa 'to laugh'	tawa-tawa	tatawa
basa 'to read'	basa-basa	
panaw 'to go/walk'	panaw-panaw	
insa 'to ask'	insa-insa	
atag 'to give'	atag-atag	
sayaw 'to dance'	sayaw-sayaw	
tabang 'to help'	tabang-tabang	

The following are a few examples from the corpus of constructions that involve verb-root reduplication. Because of the varying semantics expressed by root reduplication, we consistently gloss it as RED, rather than glossing it differently for each usage.

(2) Uyi na isturya matuod, dili ko nang **buat-buat** na isturya.

U–yi *na isturya matuod, dili* *ko* *nang* ***buat~-buat*** *na*
EMPH–D1ADJ LK story true NEG.IR 1S.ERG only RED~make LK
isturya.
story
'This story is true, (it is) not just my made up story.' [BCWN-C-04 9.14]

(3) Ta iran na **pagsabat-sabatay** gaambaḷ Pawikan …

Ta *iran* *na* ***pag–sabat~sabat–ay*** *ga–ambaḷ Pawikan …*
NABS 3P.GEN LK NR.ACT–RED~reply–REC I.R–say Sea.turtle
'While they repeatedly were discussing with each other, Sea Turtle said …' [DBWN-T-26 2.6]

(4) Subḷa man isya duminggo na **panaw-panaw** din ta lungag na laog ta baybay ta Mantubang.

Subḷa *man* *isya duminggo na* ***panaw~-panaw*** *din* *ta*
more.than EMPH one week LK RED~go/walk 3S.GEN NABS
lungag *na laog* *ta* *baybay ta* *Mantubang.*
hole/cave LK connect NABS beach NABS Mantubang
'(It was) for more than one week that she was continuously walking in the cave that connects to the beach at Mantubang.' [JCWN-T-25 2.14]

(5) **Gamungko-mungko** kay pa dya.

ga–mungko~-ng–pungko[2] *kay* *pa* *dya.*
I.R–RED~PL–sit 1P.EXCL.ABS INC D4LOC
'We kept sitting still there.' [DBON-C-06 3.2]

(6) **Gatatawa** kalibangbang tak buksol takong an.

Ga–ta~tawa *kalibangbang tak* *buksol takong* *an.*
I.R–RED~laugh butterfly because lump forehead DEF.M
'Butterfly fish kept laughing because the forehead (of the parrot fish) had a lump.' [JCWO-L-28 27.1]

[2]This example incidentally illustrates the layered nature of stem-forming processes. The root is *pungko* 'to sit', to which the stem-forming pluraction prefix *ng-* is added, yielding the intermediate stem *mungko*. This stem then becomes the basis for full reduplication.

(7) Gaampang danen daw **galagas-lagasay** danen naan ta suba …

Ga–ampang danen daw ***ga–lagas~lagas–ay*** *danen naan ta suba*
I.R–play 3P.ABS and I.R–RED~chase–REC 3P.ABS SPAT.DEF NABS river
…

'They were playing and they kept (playfully) chasing each other in the river ….' [CBWN 6.2]

7.4 Pluractional *ng–* /ŋ/

A certain kind of plural action may be expressed by a stem-forming prefix with a basic form /ŋ/ (spelled *ng-*) that assimilates in place of articulation to the initial consonant of the root, unless that consonant is the glottal stop. Any root-initial consonant, including glottal stop, is subsequently dropped. Pluraction only occurs in grammatically intransitive constructions, and only when the construction involves multiple actors, expresses a coherent group of iterations, or is distributed over items that normally occur in groups, such as hair falling out, leaves blowing away, plants growing or being planted, one person doing something habitually, as a profession, and so on:

(8) Ubra ta ake na amay **manampara** nang daw makwa ta guso **mananem**, **manguma**.

Ubra ta ake na amay ***ma–ng–tampara*** *nang daw*
work NABS 1S.GEN LK father A.HAP.IR–PL–goggles only/just and
ma–kwa ta guso ***ma–ng–tanem,***
A.HAP.IR–whachamacallit NABS seaweed A.HAP.IR–PL–plant
ma–ng–uma.
A.HAP.IR–PL–field
'The work of my father is to spear fish, to whatchamacallit, to plant agar-agar seaweed, to farm.' [BMON-C-03 1.5]

The verb *tanem* 'to plant', as in examples (8) and (9), often takes the pluraction prefix. This is because planting necessarily involves multiple, repetitive actions. Thus, even if one person is planting, the pluraction prefix may be used (example 8). A verb may optionally take the pluraction prefix when several actors perform the same intransitive action individually (examples 9 and 10):

(9) Tapos duma an **gananem** ta guso tak uḷa iskwila.

Tapos duma an ***ga–ng–tanem*** *ta guso tak uḷa iskwila.*
then other DEF.M I.R–PL–plant NABS seaweed because NEG.R school
'Then the other (students) were planting agar-agar seaweed because there is no school (in session).' [VAOE-J-02 5.5]

(10) Mga nangisda na mga paraw na tagaduma na lugar **nanguli** ta napatayan man en iran.

Mga na–ng–isda[3] *na mga paraw na taga–duma na lugar*
PL A.HAP.R–PL–fish LK PL boat LK ORIG–other LK place
na–ng–uli *ta na–patay–an man en iran.*
A.HAP.R–PL–go.home NABS A.HAP.R–dead–APL too CM 3P.GEN
'Fishing boats from other places had gone home since one of them had died too on them on their (boats).' [JCWN-T-21 13.5]

Since pluractionality is only expressed in grammatically intransitive constructions, it does not occur with the transitive, realis *pa-*. When it occurs with the ambitransitive happenstantial prefixes, *na-* and *ma-*, the construction must be understood as grammatically intransitive (see examples 8 and 9 above).

In example (11) the pluraction prefix is used on the verb *utang* 'to borrow money' because this fish was in the habit of making debts, and in the discourse context he enabled himself to make many debts again by changing his appearance:

(11) Sunod i eman na mga adlaw sidda na utang-utang **nangutang** isab.

Sunod i eman na mga adlaw sidda na
next DEF.N again.as.before LK PL day/sun fish LK
utang~-utang ***na–ng–utang*** *isab.*
RED~borrow.money A.HAP.R–PL–borrow.money again
'The next days again, as before, the fish (called) always-debting was able again to make debts.' [EMWN-T-08 3.1]

Example (12) illustrates pluraction in a semantically transitive situation. However, it is clear that this is a grammatically intransitive clause because the Undergoer, "trees", is marked as non-absolutive. The actor is not mentioned, but is understood to be an absolutive argument mentioned in the previous clause. This

[3]The word *isda* 'fish' is both Hiligaynon and Tagalog. The word meaning 'fish' in Kagayanen is *sidda*.

is a detransitive (or "actor voice" construction) as described in Chapter 10, §10.5.1. Note also that the plural marker *mga* does not occur preceding *kaoy* 'tree/trees'. This is because no particular trees are being mentioned, but just the idea that trees (any trees) can now be planted. This is called a *generic* plural:

(12) … basi en na **mananem** nang ta kaoy en.
*… basi en na **ma–ng–tanem** nang ta kaoy en.*
perhaps CM LK A.HAP.IR–PL–plant only/just NABS tree CM
'… perhaps now (we) will be able to/might just plant trees.' [ROOB-T-01 12.1]

Pluraction is not synonymous with plural actor. For example, the verb *sayaw*, 'to dance', does not occur with the pluraction prefix, even if several actors are intended. The reason is that dancing is considered one action that several people may do together, whereas the pluraction prefix is only appropriate when there are multiple distinct actions. For example, in (10) the boats are all individually going home. They are scattered over a wide area, and may be going home at different times, and to different places. This is not just one act of "going home", but rather several individual acts. The apparent optionality of the pluraction prefix may be due to speakers' varying construals of scenes as being one act by many actors, or multiple individual acts.

7.5 Causative *pa-*

The stem-forming prefix *pa-* adds a causative sense to any verb root. The result is an inherently transitive stem that can then be inflected with any of the inflectional affixes discussed in Chapter 6. Such morphological causatives are discussed from a function-first perspective, along with other types of causatives, in Chapter 10, §10.6.1. Examples (13) and (14a) illustrate dynamic non-causative and corresponding causative constructions:

(13) a. Inherently intransitive root
Gii kanen an.
Ga–ii kanen an.
I.R–urine 3S.ABS DEF.M
'S/he urinated/was/is urinating.'

b. Causative, inherently transitive stem
Paiien kanen ta duktor.

Pa–ii–en kanen ta duktor.
CAUS–urine–T.IR 3S.ABS NABS doctor
'The doctor will have him/her urinate.'

(14) a. Inherently transitive root
Lutuon ta nanay din suman an kani.
Luto–en *ta nanay din suman an kani.*
cook–T.IR NABS mother 3SGEN sticky.rice.cake DEF.M later
'His/her mother will cook the sticky rice cake later.'

b. Causative, inherently ditransitive stem
Palutuon kanen ta nanay din ta suman kani.
Pa–luto–en *kanen ta nanay din ta suman kani.*
CAUS–cook–T.IR 3S.ABS NABS mother 3S.GEN NABS sticky.rice.cake later
'His/her mother will have him/her cook the sticky rice cake later.

(15) a. Inherently intransitive root
Tapos, **guli** kay naan ta baḷay na istaran nay.
Tapos, ***ga–uli*** *kay naan ta baḷay na istar–an nay.*
then I.R–go.home 1P.EXCL.ABS SPAT.DEF NABS house LK live–NR 1P.EXCL.GEN
'Then, we went home to the house we were living in.' [AGWN-L-01 3.14]

b. Causative, inherently transitive stem
Puli kay din naan ta baḷay na istaran nay.
*...–****pa–uli*** *kay din naan ta baḷay na istar–an nay.*
T.R–CAUS–go.home 1P.EXCL.ABS 3S.ERG SPAT.DEF NABS house LK live–NR 1P.EXCL.GEN
'S/he sent us home to the house we were living in', or 's/he let us go home to the house we were living in.'

Example (16) illustrates the causative (inherently transitive) stem *pauli* 'send home' in a detransitive (or "actor voice") construction:

(16) Kanen ya **gapauli** ki kami naan ta baḷay na istaran nay.

Kanen ya ***ga–pa–uli***[4] *ki kami naan ta baḷay na*
3S.ABS DEF.F I.R–CAUS–go.home OBL.P 1P.EXCL SPAT.DEF NABS house LK
istar–an nay.
live–NR 1P.EXCL.GEN
'S/he is the one who sent us home to the house we were living in.' / 'S/he is the one who let us go home to the house we were living in.'

The following are a few corpus examples of non-causative and causative forms of the same verb:

(17) Intransitive root
Daw **melled** ka ta Malacañang an bayad ka dyis pisos.

Daw ***m–selled*** *ka ta Malacañang an bayad ka*
if/when I.V.IR–go.inside 2S.ABS NABS Malacañang DEF.M pay 2S.ABS
dyis pisos.
ten pesos
'When you go inside Malacañang (the presidential palace), you pay ten pesos.' [BMON-C-05 3.18]

(18) Causative, inherently transitive stem
… dayon kon **paselleren** Maria an ta sawa din.

… dayon kon ***pa–selled–en*** *Maria an ta sawa din.*
right.away HSY CAUS–go.inside–T.IR Maria DEF.M NABS spouse 3S.GEN
'… right away they said her husband causes Maria to go inside (an inner room in their store).' [EMWN-T-06 6.6]

(19) Transitive root
Bali P800 nang atag din ki yaken tak **pautang** din pa.

Bali P800 nang …–atag din ki yaken tak
amount 800.pesos only/just T.R–give 3S.ERG OBL.P 1s because
pa–utang *din pa.*
T.R–borrow.money 3S.ERG INC
'S/he only gave me the amount of 800 pesos because s/he still borrowed (some of my money).' (Someone had borrowed 1,400 pesos from the

[4]The detransitive (actor voice) construction is often used when an ergative element needs to occur in the absolutive form for purposes of relativization, or, as in this elicited example based on example (14b), when the causer is fronted for contrastive/focal prominence (see Chapter 10, §10.6.1).

author of this letter and paid back only 800. So the balance of 600 was considered still a debt.) [PBWL-T-07 3.11]

(20) Causative, inherently ditransitive stem
Yan kabangdanan na duma ya **papautang** ko ta mga ittaw na gaorder ki kami.

Yan kabangdanan na duma ya ***pa–pa–utang*** *ko*
D2ABS reason LK some DEF.F T.R–CAUS–borrow.money 1S.ERG
ta mga ittaw na ga–order ki kami.
NABS PL person LK I.R–order OBL.P 1P.EXCL
'That is why I let the people who ordered from us borrow some (of the money).' (People asked the author of this sentence to buy some things for them. But after he bought their 'order' they did not want to pay and wanted to consider it a debt.) [AFWL-L-01 8.18]

(21) Transitive root
Patumar ko antibiotic ya.

Pa–tumar *ko antibiotic ya.*
T.R–take.meds 1S.ERG antibiotics DEF.F
'I took the antibiotics.'

(22) Causative, inherently transitive stem
Patumar a ta midwife ta antibiotic...

*...–****pa–tumar*** *a ta midwife ta antibiotic...*
T.R–CAUS–take.meds 1S.ABS NABS midwife NABS antibiotic
'The midwife had me take some antibiotics ...' [VAWN-T-16 4.7]

Although the verb forms are identical in examples (21) and (22), (22) is clearly the causative because of the construction in which it appears. The midwife is the ergative case agent of cause, and the speaker is the absolutive case causee. As a non-causative this would have to mean 'The midwife took me (as medicine)', which is pragmatically nonsensical. Furthermore, the verb form *papatumar*, with both *pa-* prefixes present, may replace the verb in (22) but not in (21). When both prefixes occur, the effect is to make the causative notion more forceful or more direct. The causer is the one initiating and forcing the causee to perform the action either with words, threats of punishment or physical force. The causee does not have a choice to perform the action or not.

With a causative of a transitive situation, either the causee (22) or the patient (23) can occur in the absolutive case. When the patient (the antibiotic) is absolutive, the interpretation is much more likely to be permissive.

(23) **Patumar** ta midwife ki yaken antibiotic ya.

*...–**pa–tumar*** *ta midwife ki yaken antibiotic ya.*
T.R–CAUS–take.meds NABS midwife OBL.P 1S antibiotic DEF.F
'The midwife let me take the antibiotics.'

Examples (24) and (25) illustrate causatives of non-volitional intransitive roots, *anod* 'drift' and *tubo* 'grow' respectively. They both take intransitive prefixes because the constructions are detransitive:[5]

(24) Gani kumo en uḷa layag **gapaanod-anod** nang en.

*Gani kumo en uḷa layag **ga–pa–anod~–anod** nang en.*
so because CM NEG.R sail I.R–CAUS–RED~drift only/just CM
'So because of no more sail (they) just allowed (the boat) to keep drifting.' [VPWN-T-06 3.2]

(25) ... bellay magripir daw **magpatubo** en eman ta mga buḷak...

*... bellay mag–ripir daw **mag–pa–tubo** en eman ta mga*
difficult I.IR–repair and I.IR–CAUS–grow CM again.as.before NABS PL
buḷak ...
flower
'... (it is) difficult to repair (the fence) and to get the flowers to grow again ...' [JCOB-L-01 1.2]

Some non-volitional intransitive roots, including "adjectives" (roots expressing property concepts) and nouns, may be used in transitive causative frames with no causative prefix. These roots, then, can be considered "P-labile", as defined by Haspelmath (1993). Example (26) illustrates the transitive construction with the property concept roots *talawis* 'pointed' and *mḷangkaw/ḷangkaw* 'long'. These examples are clearly causative because they are grammatically transitive, as evidenced by the presence of the transitive irrealis suffix *-en*, and an ergative argument, which in both cases expresses a causal agent.

(26) Mag-agos ka ta tallo na kawayan na **talawisen** no gid na **mḷangkawen** no ...

*Mag–-agos ka ta tallo na kawayan na **talawis–en** no gid na*
I.IR–strip 2S.ABS NABS three LK bamboo LK pointed–T.IR 2S.ERG INT LK
***mḷangkaw–en** no ...*
long–T.IR 2S.ERG
'Strip three bamboo sticks making (them) really pointed while making (them) long ...' [PBON-T-01 2.31]

[5]In example (25), the forms *magripir* and *magpatubo* may also be considered nominalizations 'repairing' and 'causing to grow' respectively.

These roots can also occur with the overt causative prefix. Example (27) illustrates the root *mḷangkaw/ḷangkaw* with the causative prefix and transitive irrealis suffix:

(27) Bag-o ko **paḷangkawen** ake na suḷat, liag ko anay paabot ko a miad na adlaw ki kaon.

Bag-o ko ***pa–ḷangkaw–en*** *ake na suḷat, liag ko*
before 1S.ERG CAUS–long–T.IR 1S.GEN LK letter want 1S.ERG
anay …–pa–abot ko a miad na adlaw ki kaon.
first/for.awhile T.IR–CAUS–arrive 1S.ERG INJ good LK day/sun OBL.P 2S
'Before I make my letter long, I want to first wish you a good day.' (This is a common way to begin a letter in Kagayanen, literally: ... I cause a good day to reach you.') [EMWL-T-04 5.1]

Example (28) illustrates the non-volitional intransitive verb *tunaw* 'melt/dissolve' in its basic usage.

(28) **Natunaw** tubuyong an.

Na–tunaw *tubuyong an.*
A.HAP.R–dissolve manioc.flour DEF.M
'This manioc flour has dissolved.'

In (29) and (30), this same root is used transitively with transitive irrealis and transitive realis affixation respectively. The effect is a causative interpretation ('cause to dissolve'), even though the causative prefix does not appear.

(29) **Tunawen** no anay tubuyong an para pangmiroḷ.

Tunaw–en *no anay tubuyong an para*
dissolve–T.IR 2S.ERG first/for.awhile manioc.flour DEF.M for
pang–miroḷ.
INST–starch
'Dissolve please the manioc flour for use as starch.'

(30) **Patunaw** din tubuyong an para pangmiroḷ.

Pa–tunaw *din tubuyong an para pang–miroḷ.*
T.R–dissolve 3S.ERG manioc.flour DEF.M for INST–starch
'S/he dissolved the manioc flour for use as starch.'

There are at least two pieces of evidence that show that the *pa-* prefix in example (30) is the transitive, realis *pa-* and not the causative. First, the transitive irrealis form is used in example (29) with the same set of argument roles (Causer-ergative, patient-absolutive). Second, this verb may also take the causative prefix, in which case the effect is an indirect causative of a causative:

(31) **Patunawen** no anay ki kanen tubuyong an.
Pa–tunaw–en *no anay ki kanen tubuyong*
CAUS–dissolve–T.IR 2S.ERG first/for.awhile OBL.P 3S manioc.flour
an.
DEF.M
'Please have him/her dissolve the manioc flour.' (e.g., 'Cause him/her to cause the manioc flour to dissolve.')

(32) **Papatunaw** din ki yaken tubuyong an.
Pa–pa–tunaw *din ki yaken tubuyong an.*
T.R–CAUS–dissolve 3S.ERG OBL.P 1S manioc.flour DEF.M
'S/he had me dissolve the manioc flour.' (e.g. 'S/he caused me to cause the manioc flour to dissolve.)

In these examples the roles are Causer=ergative, patient=absolutive, causee=oblique. In other words, examples (31) and (32) are morphological causatives of the lexical (patient-preserving) causative roots illustrated in (29) and (30) respectively.

Some causative verb stems can occur in detransitive constructions to express a kind of reflexivity. The meaning is 'to cause or let oneself be VERBED'. For example:

(33) Gagi a pa ta Narra tak **gapabuḷong** a pa.
Ga–agi a pa ta Narra tak ***ga–pa–buḷong*** *a pa.*
I.R–pass 1S.ABS INC NABS Narra because I.R–CAUS–medicine 1S.ABS INC
'I just went to Narra because I got (myself) checked up.' [RCON-L-03 10.2]

(34) Uḷa gid kanen **gapaawid** ki danen.
Uḷa gid kanen ***ga–pa–awid*** *ki danen.*
NEG.R INT 3S.ABS I.R–CAUS–hold.back OBL.P 3P
'He did not let himself be held back by them.' [PBWN-C-1 21.11]

Essentially all verbs that describe events that one can have done to oneself can be used in this way. These include the following:

(35)

gunting ‘scissors’	Gapagunting kanen an. ‘S/he got her/himself a haircut.’
lipay ‘joy’	Gapalipay kanen an. ‘S/he let/made her/himself to rejoice.’
gwapa ‘attractive(f)’	Gapagwapa kanen an. ‘She made herself attractive.’
gwapo ‘attractive(m)’	Gapagwapo kanen an. ‘He made himself attractive.’
duktor ‘doctor’	Gapaduktor kanen an. ‘S/he got her/himself checked up.’
gulpi ‘sudden’	Gapagulpi kanen an. ‘S/he let her/himself act suddenly.’
luko ‘to trick’	Gapaluko kanen an. ‘S/he let her/himself be tricked.’
libeg ‘worry’	Gapalibeg kanen an. ‘S/he let/made her/himself be worried.’
bellay ‘tire/difficult’	Gapabellay kanen an. ‘S/he let/made her/himself be tired.’
salamat ‘thanks’	Gapasalamat kanen an. ‘S/he let/made her/himself give thanks.’
datas ‘high’	Gapadatas kanen an. ‘S/he let/made her/himself high.’ (i.e. boasted)
inrol ‘to enroll’	Gapainroll kanen an. ‘S/he enrolled her/himself.’
kasaḷ ‘wedding’	Gapakasaḷ kanen an. ‘S/he let/had her/himself be wed.’
indyiksyon ‘injection’	Gapaindyiksyon kanen an ‘S/he let/had her/himself be injected.’
sagod ‘take care of’	Gapasagod kanen an. ‘S/he let/had her/himself be taken care of.’

7.6 Applicative *-an*

The applicative suffix *-an* creates transitive stems from inherently intransitive, transitive and ditransitive verb roots. Usually, when the applicative occurs, a participant that is not a prototypical patient of the scene described by the verb root occurs as an Absolutive, and the other arguments become non-absolutive. The applicative *-an* may co-occur with any prefix consistent with grammatical transitivity (see Chapter 6, Table 6.2). They never occur with the transitive, irrealis

suffix *-en/-on*. Applicatives may only be used in intransitive frames in certain experiential predicates (see Chapter 9). Example (36) illustrates a volitional intransitive verb, while (37) illustrates the same verb in an applicative construction:

(36) Ta buḷan na Abril tallo kay na magbarkada **giling** kay naan ta Puḷo.
Ta buḷan na Abril tallo kay na mag–barkada ***ga–iling***
NABS month LK April three 1P.EXCL.ABS LK REL–friends I.R–go
kay naan ta Puḷo.
1P.EXCL.ABS SPAT.DEF NABS Puḷo
'In the month of April we three friends went to Pulo (island).'[6]
[CBWN-C-11 2.1]

(37) Tapos, bai i gariport naan ta pulis daw **pailingan** danen yo na lungag …
Tapos, bai i ga–riport naan ta pulis daw ***pa–iling–an***
then woman DEF.N I.R–report SPAT.DEF NABS police and T.R–go–APL
danen yo na lungag …
3P.ERG D4ABS LK hole/cave
'Then the woman reported to the police and they went to that cave …'
[MBON-C-01 6.1]

In example (37), the applicative suffix creates a grammatically transitive verb from the inherently intransitive root *iling* 'go'. The new stem, *-ilingan*, may be paraphrased 'go to X'. Note that the ergative pronoun *danen* refers to the police and the woman, while the destination, *yo na lungag*, 'that cave', is in the absolutive case (marked by the lack of a prenominal particle). The applicative is used here because of the high salience of the cave where they had been told they can find the body of the woman's child who had been murdered.[7]

Example (38) is a non-volitional intransitive construction, while (39) is the applicative equivalent:

(38) Sakon ya **nadagsa** naan ta Pasig River.
Sakon ya ***na–dagsa*** *naan ta Pasig River.*
whale DEF.F A.HAP.R–wash.ashore SPAT.DEF NABS Pasig River
'The whale happened to wash ashore in the Pasig River.' [CBWN-T-27 3.1]

[6]The word *puḷo* in Kagayanen means island. It is also a proper name for a small island that is part of the Cagayan island group. In this example, the name of the small island is intended.

[7]In Chapter 10, this construction is described from a semantic perspective as "locative voice." Other voices are also expressed via the applicative construction, as will be seen in this section, and in Chapter 10.

(39) **Nadagsaan** ta sakon Pasig River ya.
Na–dagsa–an *ta sakon Pasig River ya.*
A.HAP.R–wash.ashore–APL NABS whale Pasig River DEF.F
'The whale happened to wash ashore in the Pasig River.'

In example (39), the Pasig River lacks the non-absolutive prenominal case marker *ta*. This indicates that it is in the absolutive case. Meanwhile the whale is no longer absolutive, but is now marked with *ta*. We may say that in this case, the non-absolutive role is ergative. Unfortunately, there is no natural way to reflect the difference in meaning expressed by this "advancement" to absolutive status of a locative participant in the English free translation, literally: 'The whale washed-ashore-on the Pasig river,' or 'the whale affected the Pasig river by washing ashore,' or 'The Pasig river was washed upon by the whale.'

In example (40), the inherently transitive verb *lebbeng* 'bury' is used in a grammatically transitive, non-applicative clause with an Actor in the ergative role, Undergoer (patient) in the absolutive role and a location, *ta patyo*, 'in the cemetery', in an oblique role:

(40) Ta dason na adlaw ake na lola **palebbeng** nay ta patyo.
Ta dason na adlaw ake na lola ***pa–lebbeng*** *nay*
NABS next LK day/sun 1S.GEN LK grandmother T.R–bury 1P.EXCL.ERG
ta patyo.
NABS cemetery
'The next day we buried my grandmother in the cemetery.' [MLWN-T-01 2.4]

In example (41), the same verb is used with the applicative suffix. In this case the cemetery is the absolutive, while the patient argument, *ta mga patay* 'the dead ones' is in a non-absolutive role. The actor is ergative in both examples:

(41) **Palebbengan** nay patyo an ta mga patay.
Pa–lebbeng–an *nay patyo an ta mga patay.*
T.R–bury–APL 1P.EXCL.ERG cemetery DEF.M NABS PL dead
'We buried the dead in the cemetery.'

Ditransitive verbs can also appear in applicative constructions. The effect is to express a recipient or location (depending on the verb) in the absolutive role (see Chapter 10 on voice). Example (42) illustrates the verb *atag* 'give' in a non-applicative construction, with the recipient, *iran na bata* 'their child', in an oblique role, marked by the prenominal case marker *ta*:

(42) Bisan ino na mga ampangan an **paatag** danen ta iran na bata.
Bisan ino na mga ampang–an an ***pa–atag*** *danen ta iran na bata.*
any what LK PL play–NR DEF.M T.R–give 3P.ERG NABS 3P.GEN LK child
'Whatever playthings, they gave (them) to their child.' [CBWN-C-14 2.6]

Example (43) illustrates the same verb in an applicative construction. Note that the recipient, *mama* 'man', is absolutive, while the theme, the flower, appears in a non-absolutive, oblique role:

(43) Tapos, **paatagan** din mama ya ta buḷak …
Tapos, ***pa–atag–an*** *din mama ya ta buḷak …*
then T.R–give–APL 3S.ERG man DEF.F NABS flower
'Then she gave the man a flower …' [CBWN-C-14 4.6]

The applicative suffix also has a partitive use with some inherently transitive verbs. Example (44) illustrates the verb *panno* 'fill' in a non-applicative construction. In this example, the shirt is the absolutive, while the agent, 'he' is ergative:

(44) **Papanno** din bayo din ya ta bḷawan …
Pa–panno *din bayo din ya ta bḷawan …*
T.R–fill 3S.ERG shirt 3S.GEN DEF.F NABS gold
'He filled up his shirt with gold …' [CBWN-C-22 4.23]

Example (45) illustrates the same verb in an applicative construction. Note, however, that the argument structure is the same. The shirt is still absolutive, and the agent is still ergative:

(45) **Papannuan** din bayo din ya ta bḷawan.
Pa–panno–an *din bayo din ya ta bḷawan.*
T.R–fill–APL 3S.ERG shirt 3S.GEN DEF.F NABS gold
'He partially filled his shirt with gold.'

Example (46) illustrates the same construction in the happenstantial mode:

(46) **Napannuan** din bayo din ya ta bḷawan.
Na–panno–an *din bayo din ya ta bḷawan.*
A.HAP.R–fill–APL 3S.ERG shirt 3S.GEN DEF.F NABS gold
'He was able to partially fill his shirt with gold.'

Examples (45) and (46) illustrate the partitive sense of the applicative with the verb *panno* 'fill', which arguably takes a location (the shirt in this case) as its absolutive argument in the unmarked form. However, the applicative has this effect for many other verbs that are inherently transitive. Consider the following:

(47) a. Absolutive = patient (roasted fish)
Pakaan din sinugba ya na sidda naan ta pinggan ko.
Pa–kaan *din* *s<in>ugba* *ya* *na sidda naan* *ta*
T.R–eat 3S.ERG <NR.RES>–roast DEF.F LK fish SPAT.DEF NABS
pinggan ko.
dish 1S.GEN
'S/he ate the roasted fish in my dish.'

b. Absolutive = location (dish)
Pakan-anan din pinggan ko an ta sinugba ya na sidda.
Pa–kan-en–an[8] *din* *pinggan ko* *an* *ta*
T.R–cooked.rice–APL 3S.ERG dish 1S.GEN DEF.M NABS
s<in>ugba *ya* *na sidda.*
<NR.RES>–roast DEF.F LK fish
'S/he ate roasted fish in my dish.'

c. Absolutive = Partitive patient (some of the roasted fish)
Pakan-anan din sinugba ya na sidda naan ta pinggan ko.
Pa–kan-en–an *din* *s<in>ugba* *ya* *na sidda naan*
T.R–cooked.rice–APL 3S.ERG <NR.RES>roast DEF.F LK fish SPAT.DEF
ta *pinggan ko.*
NABS dish 1S.GEN
'S/he ate some of the roasted fish in my dish.'

Example (47a) illustrates the verb *kaan* 'eat' in its basic transitive argument structure with the agent expressed with an ergative pronoun and the patient, the roasted fish, with no prenominal marker, indicating it is absolutive. Example (47b) is a standard applicative in which the verb carries the applicative suffix, the roasted fish has been marked as non-absolutive, and the dish is now in the absolutive role. Finally, example (47c) illustrates the partitive use of the applicative construction. The case frame in (47c) is the same as in (47a). The only difference

[8] As mentioned elsewhere in this grammar, the root meaning 'eat' is suppletive. When no suffix occurs, the root is *kaan*, but when any suffix occurs, the root is *kan-en*, which is the noun referring to 'cooked rice'. This root becomes *kan-an* when the suffix contains the vowel *a*, namely the suffixes *-an* or *-a*.

in structure is the presence of the applicative suffix. The semantic effect is to assert that only some of the roasted fish was consumed.

One way of understanding this usage is that, since the applicative has the default function of indicating that the absolutive is a location, recipient or some other non-patient semantic role, the use of the applicative when the absolutive is a patient expresses that it is somehow a less than prototypical patient. One reasonable interpretation of this is that the patient is not completely affected by the action of the verb. Another way of understanding this usage is that (47a)b is the applicative of (47a)a, while (47a)c is the applicative of the detransitive of (47a)b, given in (48):

(48) **Gakaan** kanen ta sinugba ya na sidda naan ta pinggan ko.

Ga–kaan *kanen ta s<in>ugba ya na sidda naan ta pinggan ko.*
I.R–eat 3S.ABS NABS <NR.RES>–roast DEF.F LK fish SPAT.DEF NABS dish 1S.GEN
'S/he ate roasted fish in my dish.'

Finally, there are some verbs for which the applicative suffix is obligatory in the basic transitive construction. For the most part, these are verbs for which the absolutive is only superficially or invisibly affected by the activity, and therefore is not a prototypical patient. These include *tabang* 'to help', *bantay* 'to watch/guard', and *amblig* 'to care for.' A long, but not inclusive, list of such verbs appears in Table 8.3, in Chapter 8, §8.9, where they are designated as "Class VIII" roots. The functions of the applicative construction are discussed in more detail in Chapter 10, §10.5.3, in the context of a general discussion of voice.

7.7 Reciprocal *-ay* and *-anay*

The suffixes *-ay* and *-anay* are morphological reciprocals. These suffixes usually indicate that two agents are acting on each other, though they also have an associative or mutual action use, as well as an idiomatic emphatic usage described in Chapter 10, §10.6.2. Examples (49) and (50) illustrate the two reciprocal suffixes:

(49) **Galumbaay** danen an ta dḷagan naan ta plasa.

Ga–lumba–ay *danen an ta dḷagan naan ta plasa.*
I.R–race–REC 3P.ABS DEF.M NABS run SPAT.DEF NABS plaza
'They raced each other running on the plaza.'

(50) **Galumbaanay** danen an ta dḷagan naan ta plasa.

Ga–lumba–anay *danen an ta dḷagan naan ta plasa.*
I.R–race–REC 3P.ABS DEF.M NABS run SPAT.DEF NABS plaza
'They raced each other running on the plaza.'

The reciprocals reduce the transitivity of the clause, therefore verbs in either reciprocal form are always grammatically intransitive. They do not appear with the causative in the corpus for this study, and it is hard to conceive of a situation in which some participants might 'cause (each other) to do something (to each other)' as opposed to just doing it to each other. All semantically compatible roots may appear with *-ay*, and most may also appear with *-anay*.

The following are a few examples of reciprocal constructions from the corpus. Example (51) illustrates the suffix *-ay* on the root *isturya*, 'to talk':

(51) **Gaisturyaay** danen na maggata-gata.

Ga–isturya–ay *danen na mag–gatagata.*[9]
I.R–talk–REC 3P.ABS LK I.IR–fish.with.nets
'They talked together about going net fishing.' [JPWN-L-01 3.2]

Example (52) illustrates the same root with the suffix *-anay*. Native speaker assessments is that there is no difference in meaning between the two suffixes in this case.

(52) Na **gaisturyaanay** mama ya daw darwa na magsawa namatian ta nangka kagi ta iya na tatay …

Na ***ga–isturya–anay*** *mama ya daw darwa na mag–sawa*
LK I.R–talk–REC man DEF.F and two LK REL–spouse
na–mati–an ta nangka kagi ta iya na tatay …
A.HAP.R–hear–APL NABS jackfruit voice NABS 3S.GEN LK father
'When the man and the couple were talking together, the jackfruit heard the voice of his father …' (This is a story about a child that was turned into a jackfruit.) [YBWN-T-01 2.13]

The following two examples describe two similar situations from a single telling of the same story.

[9]The root *gata-gata* meaning 'to fish with nets' is spelled with the hyphen as though it involves reduplication, but there is no root **gata* that we are aware of. We have removed the hyphen in the analysis line because the hyphen in the text line is purely conventional, and does not indicate a morpheme boundary.

(53) Ti, paglinya an ta Pwikan an, danen an gaabay en ta linya ya na anda en na maglumbaanay.

Ti, pag–linya an ta Pwikan an, danen an ga–abay
SO NR.ACT–line DEF.M NABS sea.turtle DEF.M 3P.ABS DEF.M I.R–side.by.side
en ta linya ya na anda en na mag–lumba–anay.
CM NABS line DEF.F DEF.M ready CM LK I.IR–race–REC
'So, when Sea Turtle made a line (on the ground), they were side-by-side at the line ready to race each other.' [JCON-L-08 30.6]

(54) Pagkitaay danen na tama en na mga umang, pasugiran en na kanen an daw Pwikan kisyem sellem maglumbaay dlagan.
Pag–kita–ay danen na tama en na mga umang, pa–sugid–an
NR.ACT–see–REC 3P.ABS LK many CM LK PL hermit.crab T.R–tell–APL
en na kanen an daw Pwikan kisyem sellem mag–lumba–ay
CM LK 3S.ABS DEF.M and sea.turtle tomorrow morning I.IR–race–REC
dlagan.
run
'When he (Hermit crab) and many hermit crabs met together, (he) told (the many hermit crabs) that he and Sea Turtle tomorrow morning will race each other.' [JCON-L-08 19.4].

For some verbs, the only reciprocal suffix allowed is *-ay*:

(55) **Magtabangay** ki ta pag-ubra.
Mag–tabang–ay *ki ta pag-–ubra.*
I.IR–help–REC 1P.INCL.ABS NABS NR.ACT–work
'Let's help each other in working.'
*Magtabanganay ki ta pag-ubra.

(56) Nangusmuran a din na **gasugatay** kay gina.
Na–ngusmod–an a din na ***ga–sugat–ay*** *kay gina.*
A.HAP.R–frown–APL 1S.ABS 3S.ERG LK I.R–meet–REC 1P.EXCL.ABS earlier
'S/he frowned at me when we met each other earlier.'
*gasugatanay

With some other verbs, such as *ambaḷ* 'say' and *palangga* 'love', *-anay* asserts a more binding, intense, united, or closer feeling or relationship than *-ay* does. For example, *mag-ambaḷanay* means 'to make an agreement' such as families

meeting together to talk about the wedding of the children (example 57). *Mag-ambaḷay*, on the other hand, means to speak to each other again after some time of not speaking (example 57).

(57) **Mag-ambaḷanay** danen an parti ta kasaḷ.
Mag--ambaḷ-anay *danen an parti ta kasaḷ.*
I.IR–say–REC 3P.ABS DEF.M about NABS wedding
'They will make an agreement with each other about the wedding.'

(58) **Gaambaḷay** en danen an tak uḷa en danen gilek.
Ga–ambaḷ–ay *en danen an tak uḷa en danen gilek.*
I.R–say–REC CM 3P.ABS DEF.M because NEG.R CM 3P.ABS angry
'They are now talking to each other because they are no longer angry.'

The inflected verb *gapalanggaay* means to 'love each other' (example 59), while *gapalanggaanay* means to 'seriously love each other from one's heart' (example 59).

(59) **Gapalanggaay** ki ta kada isya.
Ga–palangga–ay *ki ta kada isya.*
I.R–love–REC 1P.INCL.ABS NABS each one
'We love each other.'

(60) Malipayen a daw makita ko ake na mga kabataan na **gapalanggaanay** daw gataod, uḷa **gaisaay**, gatabangay, uḷa gabatok ta iran na mga maguḷang daw iran na mga ginikanan.
Ma–lipay–en a daw ma–kita ko ake na mga
ADJ–joy–ADJ 1S.ABS if/when A.HAP.IR–see 1S.ERG 1S.GEN LK PL
ka–bata–an na ***ga–palangga–anay*** *daw ga–taod, uḷa*
NR–children–NR LK I.R–love–REC and I.R–respect NEG.R
ga–isa–ay*, ga–tabang–ay, uḷa ga–batok ta iran na mga*
I.R–selfish–REC I.R–help–REC NEG.R I.R–rebel NABS 3P.GEN LK PL
maguḷang daw iran na mga ginikanan.
older.sibling and 3P.GEN LK PL parent
'I am joyful when I see my children love each other (from the heart) and give respect, not being selfish toward each other, helping each other, not rebelling against their older siblings and their parents.' [CBWE-C-05 5.7]

Since there is no consistent pattern of meaning variation between the two forms *-ay* and *-anay* when both are possible, we consider them to be partially autonomous allomorphs, and gloss them both as REC. It should also be noted that there is no reasonable sense in which *-anay* may be considered a combination of the applicative suffix *-an* plus *-ay*. First, there are no other situations in which two suffixes simultaneously appear on one verb. Second, examples with *-anay* have the same, intransitive, argument structure as those with *-ay*. Since the applicative construction normally changes the argument structure of the clause by making it transitive (see 7.6), an applicative analysis of *-anay* is excluded. Additional associative and a special emphatic usage of reciprocal morphology are discussed in Chapter 10, §10.6.2.

7.8 Exclamatory *-a* and *-i*

What we are calling the exclamatory suffixes are always "optional", but may only be used when certain substantive words or phrases precede a grammatically transitive verb in realis modality. In this circumstance, any enclitic pronouns or adverbs in the clause must also appear before the verb. We will refer to the contexts in which exclamatory suffixes appear as "candidate contexts". In other words, they are situations in which these suffixes may occur, but are not required. They are simply precluded in all other contexts. The following are candidate contexts:

1. When the interrogative adverbs *indi* 'where' or *kan-o* 'when' appear before a grammatically transitive, realis verb. Recall that these interrogative words do not reference core verbal arguments. Rather they reference oblique adverbial adjuncts (see Chapter 4, §4.7).

2. When any locational or temporal adverb, such as *anduni* 'now,' or *naan* 'spatial definite marker', appears before a grammatically transitive realis verb.

3. When the realis negative *uḷa* appears before a grammatically transitive realis verb.

The function of both exclamatory suffixes is to express a more "excited", "animated" or "surprised" modality. They are used most frequently in episodic peaks of narrative discourse. For this reason, in this grammar free English translations of examples that contain exclamatory suffixes are followed by the exclamation point (!).

In general (see further below for some unusual usages), *-i* is the exclamatory form of the applicative *-an* suffix, while *-a* is the exclamatory form for other grammatically transitive verbs. It co-occurs with the realis transitive inflections *pa-* and *na-*. It is clear that both *-i* and *-a* occur only on grammatically transitive verbs because, they never co-occur with the inflectional prefixes that mark grammatical intransitivity, *ga-* and (*naka-* (see Chapter 6, Table 6.2). Furthermore, when they co-occur with the "ambitransitive" happenstantial inflectional prefix *na-* the argument structure is always transitive. They also never occur in irrealis modality.

The following are some examples of the basic usages of these suffixes. The a examples below illustrate non-exclamatory applicatives, while the b examples illustrate exclamatory applicative constructions. The c examples illustrate the ungrammaticality of the *-i* suffix outside of the candidate contexts:

(61) Preposed adverb

a. Anduni kay nang naabutan ta pelles.
Anduni kay nang na–abot–an ta
now/today 1P.EXCL.ABS only/just A.HAP.R–arrive–APL NABS
pelles.
strong.wind
'Just now a strong wind came upon us.'

b. Anduni kay nang **naabuti** ta pelles.
Anduni kay nang ***na–abot–i*** *ta*
now/today 1P.EXCL.ABS only/just A.HAP.R–arrive–XC.APL NABS
pelles.
strong.wind
'Just now a strong wind came upon us!'

c. *Naabuti kay ta pelles!

(62) Realis negative *uḷa*

a. Uḷa danen napatayan ta baboy.
Uḷa danen na–patay–an ta baboy.
NEG.R 3P.ABS A.HAP.R–die–APL NABS pig
'The pig did not die on them.'

b. Uḷa danen **napatayi** ta baboy.
Uḷa danen ***na–patay–i*** *ta baboy.*
NEG.R 3P.ABS A.HAP.R–die–XC.APL NABS pig
'The pig did not die on them!'

c. *Napatayi danen ta baboy!

(63) Q-word

a. Kan-o danen an napatayan ta baboy?

Kan-o danen an na–patay–an ta baboy?
when 3P.ABS DEF.M A.HAP.R–die–APL NABS pig
'When did the pig die on them?'

b. Kan-o danen an **napatayi** ta baboy?

Kan-o danen an ***na–patay–i*** *ta baboy?*
when 3P.ABS DEF.M A.HAP.R–die–XC.APL NABS pig
'When did the pig die on them?!'

c. *Napatayi danen an ta baboy?!

In the next set of examples, the a. examples illustrate plain non-applicatives, the b. examples illustrate corresponding exclamatory constructions, and the c. examples illustrate the ungrammaticality of the *-a* suffix outside of the candidate contexts:

(64) Preposed adverb

a. Anduni ko nang narwad rilo ya.

Anduni ko nang na–duwad rilo ya.
now/today 1S.ERG only/just A.HAP.R–lose watch DEF.F
'I just now happened to lose the watch.'

b. Anduni ko nang **narwara** rilo ya.

Anduni ko nang ***na–duwad–a*** *rilo ya.*
now/today 1S.ERG only/just A.HAP.R–lose–XC watch DEF.F
'I just now happened to lose the watch!'

c. *Narwara ko rilo ya!

(65) Realis negative

a. Uḷa ko parwad rilo na atag din.

Uḷa ko pa–duwad rilo na atag din.
NEG.R 1S.ERG T.R–lose watch LK give 3S.ERG
'I did not lose the watch s/he gave (me).'

b. Uḷa ko **parwara** rilo na atag din.

*Uḷa ko **pa–duwad–a** rilo na atag din.*
NEG.R 1S.ERG T.R–lose–XC watch LK give 3S.ERG
'I did not let the watch s/he gave (me) get lost!'

c. *Parwara ko rilo na atag din!

(66) Q-word

a. Kan-o no narwad rilo ya?

Kan-o no na–duwad rilo ya?
when 2S.ERG 2S.A.HAP.R–lose watch DEF.F
'When did you happen to lose the watch?'

b. Kan-o no **narwara** rilo ya?

*Kan-o no **na–duwad–a** rilo ya?*
when 2S.ERG A.HAP.R–lose–XC watch DEF.F
'When did you happen to lose the watch?!'

c. *Narwara no rilo ya!

The following are some additional examples of exclamatory suffixes from the corpus.

(67) Indi no imo **kamanga** mga bḷawan an Pedro?

*Indi no imo …–**kamang–a** mga bḷawan an Pedro?*
where 2S.ERG EMPH T.R–get–XC PL gold DEF.M Pedro
'Where did you get the gold, Pedro?!' (The older brother was so surprised that the younger brother had gold, since they were very poor, and he wanted some too!) [CBWN-C-22 8.3]

Example (68) is from a folk story in which the seeds of a certain squash were coins. So when the owners sold the squash, they kept all the money (seeds) for themselves. The narrator of this story was feeling the excitement of finding money in squash.

(68) … uḷa **patagi** danen ta liso.

*… uḷa **pa–atag–i** danen ta liso.*
NEG.R T.R–give–XC.APL 3P.ABS NABS seed
'(They) did not give them the seeds!' [AION-C-01 11.3]

In example (68) the absolutive argument *danen* refers to the recipients, the ones to whom the squash was sold. As illustrated in example (43), when the recipient is the absolutive of this verb, it always occurs with an applicative suffix. Otherwise the theme is the absolutive, and in this example the theme, *liso* 'seed', is marked as non-absolutive. Therefore, this is clearly an applicative construction.

Example (69) is from a story about a house fire. The speaker gets her younger siblings and hands them to a man in the yard to take care of while she is trying to help save some of the house. The use of the exclamatory suffix on the verb underscores the desperation of the situation.

(69) Bag-o, anen ko dya **padawata** ake na mga mangngod.

Bag-o, anen ko dya ***pa–dawat–a*** *ake na mga*
before EXT.G 1S.ERG D4LOC T.R–hand.to–XC 1S.GEN LK PL
mangngod.
younger.sibling
'Then, there I handed my younger siblings off (to the man in the yard)!'
[RZWN-T-02 4.14]

Finally, in example (70) the protagonist of the story and his brother climbed a tree and his brother fell. Surprisingly, when their mother was told of the event, she did not get angry.

(70) Uḷa man kanen **pagileki** ta nanay din.

Uḷa man kanen ***pa–gilek–i*** *ta nanay din.*
NEG.R too 3S.ABS T.R–angry–XC.APL NABS mother 3S.GEN
'His mother did not get angry at him!' [JCWN-L-38 16.8]

8 Morphosyntactically defined verb classes

8.1 Introduction

In Chapter 6 we argued for a distinction between inflectional and stem-forming morphological processes, and described each of the inflectional affixes. We showed that inflection in Kagayanen consists of a paradigmatic grid with two major dimensions: transitivity and modality. In Chapter 7 we described eight stem-forming morphological processes. In this chapter and Chapter 9 we discuss *verb classes*, that is, groups of stems functioning as verbal predicates based on how they characteristically pattern in constructions, including inflectional and certain stem-forming morphological processes. In all cases, the classes are distinguished in terms of their morphosyntactic behavior, though the members of individual classes tend to exhibit semantic coherence. For example, verbs describing situations that normally occur without control or intention pattern one way (non-volitional situations), while those descibing controlled, intentional situations pattern differently (volitional situations).

On the other hand, semantics does not mechanistically determine verb classes. Sometimes a verb class is characterized purely in terms of its form. For example, verbs beginning with the syllable *li-* have their own distinctive inflectional possibilities, regardless of their semantics. Finally, the class membership of some verbs appears to be random—their meanings would seem to be consistent with one class, but their morphosyntactic behavior puts them in another.

Verb classes identified in this chapter are, for the most part, motivated in terms of four semantic dimensions. These are *Aktionsarten* (or *situation type*, Vendler 1957) (§8.3), *volitionality* (§8.3), semantic transitivity (§8.3), and *change of state* (§8.4).

In Chapter 9 we discuss certain semantically motivated verb classes that also exhibit characteristic morphosyntactic behavior, but are less directly sensitive to the semantic dimensions discussed in the present chapter. These chapters are necessarily incomplete, since we can't possibly describe every possible morphosyntactic property that may unite two or more roots. Nor can we discuss every se-

mantically characterized situation that Kagayanen speakers care to talk about. Furthermore, there is variation from speaker to speaker and situation to situation. Speakers use the grammatical resources of their language in any way they can to express the ideas they need to express in a way they believe their audience will understand. We cannot possibly describe or predict how those resources will be used in every situation. We hope, however, to describe certain recurring patterns that, taken as a whole, provide a general picture of how the grammatical resources of Kagayanen are deployed to craft and communicate complex meanings.

8.2 Situation types (*Aktionsarten*)

There are several methods for categorizing situations in terms of their semantics. In this chapter, it will be helpful to employ the well-known categorization scheme suggested by Vendler (1957). This is a useful framework within which to categorize and understand the semantics of predicates in any language. Vendler described situations in terms of what he called *Aktionsarten*, or inherent aspectual properties. Although he couched his discussion in terms of individual verbs, his categorization is more insightfully understood in terms of situations as presented by speakers in communicative contexts. Verbs and grammatical constructions are simply tools that speakers use to communicate situations. As described by Vendler himself, any given verb may be used to express multiple situation types depending on the communicative needs of speakers. The communication of ideas is logically prior to and influences to a large extent the grammatical behavior of particular verb roots and stems in discourse. This is particularly true in Philippine languages, in which robust verb morphology may adjust the situation type expressed by a particular root, thus allowing speakers to create and represent a wide range of complex and nuanced discourse scenes.

Vendler (1957) described situation types as *states*, *achievements*, *accomplishments* and *activities*. States are situations in which there is no change, for example, *Melvin is a doctor*, *she is tall for her age*, *she loves you*, or *the vase is broken*. A state may result from an earlier event, but an assertion of a resultant state does not assert the event that led to the state. For example, a sentence like *the vase is broken* simply describes the static condition of the vase. The state of being broken is necessarily the result of an event of breaking, but the sentence does not specifically assert the event—only the resultant state.

Achievements, accomplishments and activities are all dynamic in that they involve motion and/or change. Achievements and accomplishments additionally

involve an inherent end point (*the vase shattered*, *the ice melted*, *we reached the summit*), whereas activities do not (*we danced*, *they approached the summit*, *we ate pizza*). In the accomplishment of reaching the summit, there is an inherent point at which the summit is reached. Until that point, it is not true that "we reached the summit". Whereas at any point in the activity of eating pizza it is true that "we ate pizza". Another way of saying this is that achievements and accomplishments are *telic*—they have an inherent endpoint, or "end in view." Activities, on the other hand, are not telic—they have no inherent endpoint.

The difference between achievements and accomplishments is that achievements occur in an instant in time, that is, they are *punctual* (*the vase shattered, the balloon burst*). Unless we are physicists looking at the shattering of a vase from a nanosecond by nanosecond view, a vase cannot "begin to shatter" or "be shattering". Accomplishments, on the other hand occur over time (*the ice melted*). Melting is a *durative* process which leads to a new resultant state – melted ice. In ordinary conversation, it is perfectly normal to assert that ice "begins to melt" or "is melting".

In addition to the Vendler classification of situations into states, achievements, accomplishments and activities, there are three other semantic dimensions that we find useful for understanding Kagayanen grammar. These are volitionality, semantic transitivity and change of state.

8.3 Volitionality and semantic transitivity

Our use of the term *basic* in the following discussion refers to the simplest situations depicted by verb-like roots with no stem-forming morphology or external modifiers such as adverbials or oblique elements. For example, the root *leddang* 'to sink' is "basically intransitive" because in a situation of sinking, only one participant is required: the item that sinks. This root, along with many others, may appear in a grammatically transitive frame with no stem-forming morphology, in which case the meaning is causative: 'to make/let sink'. However, a situation describable as *leddang* does not need to involve a causer—something can just sink with no necessary causal Actor. Therefore the causative meaning is not basic. On the other hand, a situation describable as *kaan* 'to eat' is "basically transitive" because in order to count as a situation of *kaan*, two participants must be involved: an eater and an eaten thing. This root, along with many others, may appear in a grammatically intransitive frame with no stem-forming morphology, but it is always understood that two participants are involved, even though one is downplayed or not present on the scene at all.

Volitionality and semantic transitivity are semantic dimensions that Vendler's classification of situation types does not directly address. Nevertheless, we find them useful in the description of various Kagayanen verb classes discussed in this chapter.

As mentioned in Chapter 6, some basically intransitive situations are *non-volitional* in the sense that the only participant does not consciously control the situation. The basic senses of English verbs such as *die, collapse, melt, tumble, shiver, sink* and *trip* fall into this category. These verbs describe situations that *happen to* the only participant. In terms of macroroles, we say that the single participant of such situations is an Undergoer. Other basically intransitive situations are *volitional* in that they are normally accomplished on purpose by a conscious Actor. The basic senses of English verbs such as *go, come, jump, linger, grunt, roar, lie down, stand, sit, walk, swim* and many others normally describe situations that the only participant *does*, therefore they fall into the volitional category.

Volitionality also plays a role in basically transitive situations. For example, simple perception verbs such as *see*, *hear* and *sense* usually describe non-volitional situations in which one participant is a Stimulus and the other is an Experiencer. Some cognition, emotion and other experiential situations are also treated grammatically as non-volitional (see Chapter 9). Most other transitive situations are volitional in that they involve someone or something that acts, and something else that is acted upon. The basic meanings of English verbs such as *eat, hug, build, read, raise, push, pull, examine* and many others fall into the volitional, transitive category. Volitionality is another semantic dimension that helps us understand the morphosyntactic properties of certain classes of roots in Kagayanen.

8.4 Change of state

As mentioned in §8.2, a state is an unchanging condition. From this it follows that a *change of state* involves a change in such a condition. For example, situations describable by English verbs such as *break*, *collapse*, *crumble*, *eat*, *burn* and *grow* all involve something that changes its physical state. For the most part, these verbs have attributive forms (known as "past participles" in traditional English grammar) that refer to a referent that has undergone such a change in state: *a broken glass, a collapsed house, crumbled cheese*, and so on. Other situations do not involve a change in state. For example, situations describable by English verbs such as *sing*, *see*, *run*, *enjoy* and *view* do not involve a change in state. Therefore, for the most part, the past participles of these verbs are not used attributively: **a*

sung aria, **a seen airplane*, **a run child*, and so on. Change of place is also often treated grammatically in the same way as a change in state. For example, the past participles of certain change of place verbs in English may be used attributively: *an escaped prisoner*, *a fallen log*, *a returned veteran*, *a given assumption* and so on.

Change of state is another semantic dimension that Vendler's classification of situation types does not incorporate. Some achievements and accomplishments assert events that produce a new resultant state (*the earthquake shattered the window, the ice melted*, *Felnor burst my balloon*), whereas others do not (*they spotted the airplane*, *we walked to the park*, *they found the entrance*). In Kagayanen, change of state is a major dimension in the use of the happenstantial modality inflections. As we will show in §8.6, among non-volitional intransitive situations, those that involve a change in state take the happenstantial inflections, while those that don't involve a change in state for the most part disallow the happenstantial inflections. Whether or not a situation involves a change of state also influences other parts of the inflectional system, as will be seen in the rest of this chapter.

8.5 Overview of eight classes of verbal roots

In this section we describe eight root classes which are largely motivated by the semantic parameters of *Aktionsart*, volitionality, semantic transitivity and change of state (Table 8.1). Recall that just about any root may optionally take a causative prefix and/or an applicative suffix. In many cases, these affixes form a stem that belongs to a different class than the bare root. For example, the bare root *sayaw*, 'to dance', normally describes a volitional intransitive activity (Class IV). The addition of the causative *pa-* creates the stem *pasayaw*, 'make/let dance' which is a volitional transitive accomplishment (Class VI). Table 8.1 describes the properties of bare roots in their basic argument structure frames, with no modifying elements such as causative prefixes or locational phrases.

Following Table 8.1 we give inflectional paradigms for each of the sample roots. In §8.6–§8.10 we provide lists of roots that fall into each of these classes. We then present and discuss corpus examples of verbs from each class.

As mentioned often in this grammar, transitivity of argument structure frames (sometimes referred to as *grammatical transitivity*) is independent of basic (semantic) transitivity of roots or stems. Recall that an intransitive argument structure frame is one in which the only argument is an absolutive (ABS). That absolutive argument may be an Undergoer or an Actor. A transitive argument structure frame is one that contains an absolutive Undergoer and a distinct ergative

Table 8.1: Root classes based on volitionality, Aktionsart, semantic transitivity and change of state

Root Class	Semantic transitivity	Volitionality and Aktionsart	Change of state	Sample root
I	Intransitive	Non-volitional Achievement	yes	*buong* 'shatter'
II	Intransitive	Non-volitional Accomplishment	yes	*leddang* 'sink'
III	Intransitive	Non-volitional activity	no	*bagting* 'ring'
IV	Intransitive	Volitional activity	no	*sayaw* 'dance'
V	Transitive	Non-volitional accomplishment	no	*kita* 'see'
VI	Transitive	Volitional accomplishment	yes	*inem* 'drink'
VII	Transitive	Volitional accomplishment	yes (change of place)	*atag* 'give'
VIII	Transitive	Volitional activity	no	*arek* 'kiss'

Actor (ERG). Finally, a detransitive argument structure frame contains an absolutive Actor and a non-absolutive Undergoer (NABS) either understood (omitted), or preceded by a prenominal case marker, *ta* or *ki*. The following paradigms illustrate each of the roots mentioned in Table 8.1 in their characteristic argument structure frames. The translations given are only approximate. They are meant to provide a general sense of the meanings of each construction, not an inclusive semantic analysis. More detailed descriptions of the usages of each construction are provided in the remainder of this chapter.

Examples (1)–(3) illustrate *buong*, 'shatter', a Class I root in intransitive, transitive and detransitive frames. Because Class I roots are punctual achievements, they do not take dynamic affixes in the basic intransitive frame. This is because dynamicity involves change over time—in Kagayanen, an object cannot "begin to shatter" or "be shattering". In a transitive frame, these roots express direct causation, without a causative prefix. They may also take a causative prefix, in which case they express indirect causation (see Chapter 10, §10.6.1).[1] In a detransitive frame, these verbs also express direct causation, but with the causee downplayed.

(1) Intransitive frames:

a. *buong* ABS	'ABS is shattered' (Non-verbal predicate expressing resultant state)
b. *nabuong* ABS	'ABS shattered'
	'ABS has already shattered' (perfect aspect)
c. *mabuong* ABS	'ABS will shatter'
d. **gabuong* ABS	('ABS began to shatter/was/is shattering')
e. **magbuong* ABS	('ABS will begin to shatter, will be shattering')

(2) Transitive frames:

a. *nabuong* ERG ABS	'ERG accidentally/carelessly shattered ABS'
	'ERG was able to shatter ABS'
	'ERG has already shattered ABS'
b. *mabuong* ERG ABS	'ERG will accidentally/carelessly shatter ABS'
	'ERG will be able to shatter ABS'
	'ERG will have shattered ABS'
c. *pabuong* ERG ABS	'ERG shattered ABS'
d. *buungon* ERG ABS	'ERG will shatter ABS'

(3) Detransitive frames:

a. *gabuong* ABS (NABS)	'ABS shattered NABS'
	'ABS was/is shattering NABS'
	'ABS began/was/is beginning to shatter NABS'
b. *magbuong* ABS (NABS)	'ABS will shatter NABS'
	'ABS will begin to shatter NABS'
c. *nakabuong* ABS (NABS)	'ABS accidentally/carelessly shattered NABS'

[1]Direct causation refers to situations in which a causer exerts direct control over the caused situation, for example, *Melvin broke the window* (*caused the window to break*), *Shelly sank the boat* (*caused the boat to sink*). Indirect causation refers to situations in which the agent of the caused situation (sometimes referred to as the *causee*), retains some control over the situation, for example, *Melvin let Peter run wild*, *Shelly had Peter get a haircut.*

	'ABS was able to shatter NABS'
	'ABS has already shattered NABS'
d. *makabuong* ABS (NABS)	'ABS will accidentally/carelessly shatter NABS'
	'ABS will be able to shattered NABS'
	'ABS will have already shattered NABS'

Examples (4)–(6) illustrate the root *leddang* 'to sink', a Class II root. These roots occur in the same set of argument structure frames as Class I roots. However, since they express durative accomplishments, they may take dynamic modality in the basic intransitive frame:

(4) Intransitive frames:

a. *leddang* ABS	'ABS is sunken.' (non-verbal predicate)
b. *naleddang* ABS	'ABS sank'
	'ABS has already sunk'
c. *maleddang* ABS	'ABS will sink'
d. *galeddang* ABS	'ABS was/is sinking'
	'ABS began/was/is beginning to sink'
e. *magleddang* ABS	'ABS will begin to sink'
	'ABS will sink/be sinking'
	'ABS sinks (habitual/generic/infinitive)'

(5) Transitive frames:

a. *naleddang* ERG ABS	'ERG accidentally/carelessly sank ABS'
	'ERG was able to sink ABS'
	'ERG has already sunk ABS'
b. *maleddang* ERG ABS	'ERG will accidentally/carelessly sink ABS'
	'ERG will be able to sink ABS'
	'ERG will have sunk ABS'
c. *paleddang* ERG ABS	'ERG sank ABS'
d. *leddangen* ERG ABS	'ERG will sink ABS'

(6) Detransitive frames:

a. *galeddang* ABS (NABS)	'ABS sank NABS'
	'ABS was/is sinking NABS'
	'ABS began/was/is beginning to sink NABS'
b. *magleddang* ABS (NABS)	'ABS will sink NABS'
	'ABS will begin to sink NABS'
	'ABS sinks NABS'

c. *nakaleddang* ABS (NABS)	'ABS acccidentally/carelessly sank NABS'
	'ABS was able to to sink NABS'
	'ABS has already sank NABS'
d. *makaleddang* ABS (NABS)	'ABS will acccidentally/carelessly sink NABS'
	'ABS will be able to sink NABS'
	'ABS will have sunk NABS'

Examples (7)–(9) illustrate the root *bagting* 'to ring', a Class III root. Since these roots do not involve a change in state (ringing a bell does not change the bell in any way), they do not allow a resultant state usage. For the same reason, the bare roots do not easily occur in the happenstantial forms. For inherently intransitive non-volitional roots, happenstantial forms imply a change of state.

(7) Intransitive frames:

a. **bagting* ABS	('ABS is rung')
b. **nabagting* ABS	('ABS rang, ABS has already rung')
c. **mabagting* ABS	('ABS will ring, ABS will have rung')
d. *gabagting* ABS	'ABS rang/rings'
	'ABS began/begins to ring'
	'ABS was/is ringing'
e. *magbagting* ABS	'ABS will ring'
	'ABS will begin to ring'
	'ABS will be ringing'
	'ABS rings'

(8) Transitive frames:

a. **nabagting* ERG ABS	('ERG accidentally/carelessly rang ABS')
b. **mabagting* ERG ABS	('ERG will accidentally/carelessly ring ABS')
c. *pabagting* ERG ABS	'ERG rang ABS on purpose'
d. *bagtingen* ERG ABS	'ERG will ring ABS on purpose'

(9) Detransitive frames:

a. *gabagting* ABS (NABS)	'ABS rang NABS'
	'ABS is/was ringing NABS'
	'ABS began/was/is beginning to ring NABS'
b. *magbagting* ABS (NABS)	'ABS will ring NABS'
	'ABS will begin to ring NABS'
	'ABS rings NABS'
c. *nakabagting* ABS (NABS)	'ABS accidentally/carelessly rang NABS'
	'ABS was able to ring NABS'
	'ABS has already rung NABS'

d. *makabagting* ABS (NABS)	'ABS will accidentally/carelessly ring NABS'
	'ABS will be able to ring NABS'
	'ABS will have rung NABS'

The examples in (10) illustrate the root *sayaw* 'to dance', a Class IV root. Semantically, Class IV roots describe volitional, basically intransitive situations. They do not entail a change in state, therefore there is no resultant state form. Grammatically, Class IV roots do not occur in transitive frames without causative or applicative morphology, therefore the inflected root does not appear in detransitive frames either:

(10) Intransitive frames:

a. **sayaw* ABS	('ABS is danced')
b. *gasayaw* ABS	'ABS danced'
	'ABS was/is dancing'
	'ABS began/was/is beginning to dance'
c. *magsayaw* ABS	'ABS will dance'
	'ABS will begin to dance'
	'ABS dances'
d. *mayaw* ABS	'ABS will soon dance'[2]
e. *nakasayaw* ABS	'ABS carelessly danced'
	'ABS is/was able to dance'
	'ABS has already danced'
f. *makasayaw* ABS	'ABS will carelessly dance'
	'ABS will be able to dance'
	'ABS will have danced'

Examples (11) and (12) illustrate the transitive, non-volitional root *kita* 'to see' (Class V). Note that this verb, along with other members of its class, does not easily occur in the dynamic forms. This makes semantic sense, since dynamicity involves movement and/or change, and seeing something does not involve either of these semantic features.

(11) Transitive frames:

a. *nakita* ERG ABS	'ERG saw ABS'
b. *makita* ERG ABS	'ERG will see ABS'
c. **pakita*[3] ERG ABS	('ERG saw ABS')
d. **kitaen* ERG ABS	('ERG will see ABS')

[2]See §8.10 below for the subtle difference in meaning between *mag-* and replacive *m-* as the intransitive irrealis inflection for those roots, such as *sayaw*, that allow both.

[3]This is a grammatical causative stem meaning 'to show.' There are no dynamic modality forms of the root *kita*.

(12) Detransitive frames:

a. **gakita* ABS (NABS)	('ABS is/was seeing NABS')
	('ABS began/was/is beginning to see NABS')
b. **magkita* ABS (NABS)	('ABS will see NABS')
	('ABS will begin to see NABS')
c. *nakakita* ABS (NABS)	'ABS saw NABS'
d. *makakita* ABS (NABS)	'ABS will see NABS'

Class VI can be considered the majority class for roots describing semantically transitive situations in which there is a change in state. Like classes V, VII and VIII, Class VI roots expressing transitive situations do not occur in basic intransitive frames.[4] All intransitive inflections for the transitive meanings are detransitive. Examples (13) and (14) illustrate the Class VI root *inem* 'to drink':

(13) Transitive frame:

a. *painem* ERG ABS	'ERG drank ABS'
b. *inemen* ERG ABS	'ERG will drink ABS'
c. *nainem* ERG ABS	'ERG accidentally/carelessly drank ABS'
	'ERG was able to drink ABS'
	'ERG has already drunk ABS'
d. *mainem* ERG ABS	'ERG will accidentally/carelessly drink ABS'
	'ERG will be able to drink ABS'
	'ERG will have drunk ABS'

(14) Detransitive frame:

a. *gainem* ABS (NABS)	'ABS drank/drinks (NABS)'
b. *mag-inem* ABS (NABS)	'ABS will drink (NABS)'
	'ABS drinks (NABS)'
c. *minem* ABS (NABS)	'ABS will soon drink (NABS)'
d. *nakainem* ABS (NABS)	'ABS accidentally/carelessly drank (NABS)'
	'ABS was able to drink (NABS)'
	'ABS has already drunk (NABS)'
c. *makainem* ABS (NABS)	'ABS will accidentally/carelessly drink (NABS)'
	'ABS will be able to drink (NABS)'
	'ABS will have drunk (NABS)'

[4]Some roots fall into more than one class. The situation types described by root Classes V–VIII are basically (semantically) transitive, so for these meanings basic intransitive forms are not available. Some of these roots also fall into other classes with different meanings. For example, *agi* as a volitional intransitive activity means 'to pass through' (Class IV). This is the only meaning available for this root in a basic intransitive frame. As a non-volitional transitive activity it means 'to experience X' (Class V). For this meaning, the root does not appear in a basic intransitive frame.

Examples (15) and (16) illustrate the root *atag* 'to give', a Class VII root. Most Class VII roots describe situations of transfer (sometimes called "ditransitive verbs") in which the item transferred appears in the Absolutive, and the Recipient in the Non-absolutive case. There are no basic intransitive forms of Class VII roots – all intransitive forms are detransitives, with the item transferred downplayed or omitted. Classes VII and VIII roots are also characterized by the fact that the transitive, irrealis inflection is expressed by the bare verb form (or a "zero" affix; see 15b):

(15) Transitive frame:

a. *paatag* ERG ABS (NABS)	'ERG gave ABS (to NABS)'
b. *atag* ERG ABS (NABS)	'ERG will give ABS (to NABS)'
c. *naatag* ERG ABS (NABS)	'ERG accidentally/carelessly gave ABS (to NABS)'
	'ERG was able to give ABS (to NABS)'
	'ERG has already given ABS (to NABS)'
d. *maatag* ERG ABS (NABS)	'ERG will accid./carelessly give ABS (to NABS)'
	'ERG will be able to give ABS (to NABS)'
	'ERG will have given ABS (to NABS)'

(16) Detransitive frame:

a. *gaatag* ABS (NABS) (NABS)	
	'ABS gave/gives (NABS) (to NABS)'
b. *mag-atag* ABS (NABS) (NABS)	
	'ABS will give (NABS) (to NABS)'
	'ABS gives (NABS) (to NABS)'
c. *matag* ABS (NABS) (NABS)	'ABS will soon give (NABS) (to NABS)'
d. *nakaatag* ABS (NABS) (NABS)	
	'ABS accid./carel. gave (NABS) (to NABS)'
	'ABS was able to give (NABS) (to NABS)'
	'ABS has already given (NABS) (to NABS)'
e. *makaatag* ABS (NABS) (NABS)	
	'ABS will accid./carel. give (NABS) (to NABS)'
	'ABS will be able to give (NABS) (to NABS)'
	'ABS will have given (NABS) (to NABS)'

Finally, examples (17) and (18) illustrate the Class VIII root *arek* 'to kiss'. Roots of this class obligatorily take the applicative suffix *-an* in basic transitive constructions in both realis and irrealis modalities. The *-an* drops in detransitive constructions. Like Class VII roots, the transitive, irrealis inflection is expressed

by the bare verb stem, which we represent in glossed examples as a "zero" prefix. These roots describe situations in which the Undergoer is a less than prototypical Patient in that it does not undergo a visible change of state. Rather, the Undergoer is invisibly, partially or superficially affected by the activity described by the root. The examples in (17) illustrate forms of the stem *arekan*, since the applicative *-an* is required for basic transitive constructions for this class of verbs.

(17) Transitive frame:

a. *paarekan* ERG ABS	'ERG kissed ABS'
b. *arekan* ERG ABS	'ERG will kiss ABS'
c. *naarekan* ERG ABS	'ERG accidentally/carelessly kissed ABS'
	'ERG was able to kiss ABS'
	'ERG has already kissed ABS'
d. *maarekan* ERG ABS	'ERG will accidentally/carelessly kiss ABS'
	'ERG will be able to kiss ABS'
	'ERG will have kissed ABS'

(18) Detransitive frame:

a. *gaarek* ABS (NABS)	'ABS kissed/kisses (NABS)'
b. *mag-arek* ABS (NABS)	'ABS will kiss (NABS)'
	'ABS kisses (NABS)'
c. *marek* ABS (NABS)	'ABS will soon kiss (NABS)'
d. *nakaarek* ABS (NABS)	'ABS accidentally/carelessly kissed (NABS)'
	'ABS was able to kiss (NABS)'
	'ABS has already kissed (NABS)'
e. *makaarek* ABS (NABS)	'ABS will accidentally/carelessly kiss (NABS)'
	'ABS will be able to kiss (NABS)'
	'ABS will have kissed (NABS)'

8.6 Roots describing non-volitional intransitive situations (Classes I – III)

Root Classes I through III described above consist of verbal roots that express non-volitional semantically intransitive situations. Roots in Classes I and II additionally involve a change of state in the absolutive arguments. The difference between Class I and Class II is that Class I roots express punctual situations

(achievements), whereas Class II roots express durative situations (accomplishments). Both Class I and II roots allow a "zero" form (no inflectional affixation) that describes a state that is the result of the situation expressed in the root, for example, *the glass is shattered*, *the sail is torn*. Since Class III roots don't involve a change in state, there is no resultant state form for these roots.

For Class I and II roots, the happenstantial forms express a semantic perfective aspect, for example, *the glass shattered/will shatter, the sail tore/will tear*. The dynamic forms (*ga-* realis and *mag-* irrealis) occur in Class II and Class III roots. For Class II roots, the dynamic forms describe an inceptive, *the sail began to tear*, or an imperfective, *the sail is tearing*, sense. Because Class I roots describe achievements (i.e., they are punctual), they do not allow the inceptive or imperfective senses.

The dominant pattern for Class III roots is that they only occur in the dynamic forms. These verbs for the most part describe activities, for example, *the bells are ringing*, *the fire is flaring up*, *the weather is getting better*. These do not occur in the zero form nor in the happenstantial forms because they do not describe resultant states, or situations that result in a change in state. Occasionally some of these roots may occur in the irrealis happenstantial form, but we have not investigated the conditions under which this may occur.

As will be seen below, volitional activities (Class IV) take both happenstantial and dynamic affixes, but the dynamic affixes seem to be the default forms in basic intransitive frames, and commonly express a semantic perfective aspect. For these verbs, the happenstantial forms express more subtle aspectual or modal senses such as accidentally/carelessly, ability, happenstance, or opportunitive (see Chapter 6, §6.5).

Because of the patterns described above and illustrated in (1) through (18), we conclude that non-volitionality and change of state are the core semantic features that underlie the use of the happenstantial modality. At times these core features may be extended into other domains (e.g. change of state may include change of place, as in *to fall off accidentally*). The inherent semantics of Class I roots so strongly favor these features that happenstantial modality is (almost) obligatory. Class II roots, on the other hand, may be interpreted as involving either a change of state, or an activity, depending on the context. Such situations may be expressed in either happenstantial or dynamic modalities, with corresponding differences in meaning. Finally, Class III roots so strongly favor the activity feature that dynamic modality is (almost) required.

Table 8.2 lists some of the non-volitional, intransitive verbs that fall into these three classes. While there is individual variation throughout the Kagayanen community, and particular roots may "shift" from one Class to another, depending on the communicative needs and creativity of speakers, the classification given

here is our best determination of the default, normal usages of these roots.[5] Full examples of a few of these from the corpus follow.

In the following examples, the verbs being illustrated are bolded, in Kagayanen and the English translations.

8.6.1 Non-volitional achievements (Class I)

Examples (19) and (20) illustrate the root *buong* 'shatter', which is a non-volitional root of Class I. With no inflectional affixes this root describes a simple state (19). This may be considered a non-verbal, modification predicate (see Chapter 5, §5.3). In (20), with happenstantial marking it describes the perfective achievement of shattering. As with all Class I verbs, this root does not occur in dynamic modality (**gabuong/*magbuong*). This makes sense since shattering is a punctual event, therefore the root that expresses this concept cannot describe an activity, since activities are inherently non-punctual:

(19) **Buong** baso ya.
Buong *baso ya.*
shatter glass DEF.F
'That glass **is shattered**.' STATE

(20) **Nabuong** baso ya. **shattered**.'
Na–buong *baso ya.*
A.HAP.R–shatter glass DEF.F
'That glass **shattered**.' ACHIEVEMENT
*gabuong baso ya.
('That glass was/is shattering/began to shatter.') *ACTIVITY

Examples (21)–(29) illustrate additional Class I verbs from the corpus:

(21) Tiset a nang **naipit** ta jip.
Tiset a nang ***na–ipit*** *ta jip.*
small 1S.ABS only/just A.HAP.R–pin NABS jeep
'A jeep almost **pinned** me.' [HBWN-T-01 3.26]

[5]For an English analogy, one may consider such common assertions as "stative verbs do not occur in the progressive aspect." However, speakers may certainly use normally stative verbs in non-stative senses by putting them in the progressive, for example, "I'm not understanding what you are saying," or "she's believing more and more that ..." Such creative usages on the part of speakers do not negate the general fact that stative verbs in English have distinct grammatical properties from non-stative verbs. Analogous class "shifting" probably occurs in every language.

Table 8.2: Roots expressing non-volitional intransitive situations

Class I	Class II	Class III
buong ‘to break/shatter’	anod ‘to drift off’	dabadaba ‘fire to flare’
dugan ‘to be pressed under something heavy’	bali ‘to break off’	ḷegḷeg ‘for fire to flame’
igo ‘to be hit’	basa ‘to get wet’	sangsarang ‘to improve (weather, or sick person)’
ipit ‘to get pinned’	gisi ‘to tear/rip’	kereg ‘to shiver’
gubba ‘to be ruined/to break/malfunction’	kamang ‘to dissipate’	narem ‘to have sleep paralysis’
samad ‘to be ruined, destroyed’	badbad ‘to come untied’	dagbeng ‘to rumble/thud’
biak ‘to split in half’	ayad ‘to get well’	bagting ‘bells to ring’
patay ‘living things to die’	dagdag ‘to fall off (as leaves)’	bengngel ‘to be deaf‘
bugto ‘rope/string to break’	daeb ‘to turn face down’	bukḷad ‘to open’
uḷog ‘to fall’	dagsa ‘to wash ashore’	baog ‘to bend’
anad ‘to be used to’	ukab ‘to be loose/pull away (as floor boards or toenails)	agdaw ‘flame to reduce’
ḷabo ‘to capsize’	lattik ‘to crack’	sikaḷ ‘water to boil’
ḷao ‘to be thirsty’	lunot ‘to disintegrate/decay’	luslos ‘color to fade’
ḷettem ‘to be hungry’	lapta ‘to spread out covering surface of something’	ubḷo ‘to buldge out’
lukat ‘to be uprooted’	kay-ag ‘to scatter, be messy’	enneb ‘to absorb, infuse’
duwad ‘to disappear, be lost’	lasik ‘to splatter, splash’	ilig ‘to flow’
pessa ‘to break into many pieces’	lekkep ‘to cover entirely’	lassot ‘things to loosely fit together’
tao ‘to be born’	leddang ‘to sink’	luttaw ‘to float’
taring ‘to lose one’s way’	patay ‘fire to extinguish’	pilit ‘to stick to/on’
tuog ‘to be pierced’	pudpod ‘to crumble to powder’	sablig ‘to splash’
	sangit ‘to get snagged’	sampaw ‘to be on top of something’
	tangtang ‘to fall apart/off’	takḷap ‘to get covered’
	tumba ‘to fall over’	tubo ‘to grow’
	tunaw ‘to melt, dissolve’	umpok ‘to bounce’
	upod ‘to wear away’	
	uyak ‘to spill out’	
	wigit ‘to fall unnoticed’	
	wili ‘to be engrossed’	

(22) Daw uḷa galin suguon din, ta dili **mapatay** bata din.

*Daw uḷa ga–alin suguon din, ta dili **ma–patay** bata din.*
if/when NEG.R I.R–from servant 3S.GEN so NEG.IR A.HAP.IR–die child 3S.GEN
'If her servant had not quit work, then her child would not **have died**.' [MOOE-C-01 225.1]

(23) **Napatay** kanen ta kadalok.

***Na–patay** kanen ta ka–dalok.*
A.HAP.R–die 3S.ABS NABS NR–greedy
'he **died** from greed.' [MBON-T-04 13.7]

(24) Tanan na **napatay** ta masakit na ya 20 gid na ittaw.

*Tanan na **na–patay** ta masakit na ya 20 gid na ittaw.*
all LK A.HAP.R–die NASB sickness LK D3ADJ 20 INT LK people
'All who **died** from that sickness were really 20 people.' [JCWN-T-21 18.1]

(25) Yi na manakem uḷa inta kanen **napatay** tak kanen gatago naan ta kasilyas ya.

*Yi na manakem uḷa inta kanen **na–patay** tak kanen*
D1ADJ LK older NEG.R OPT 3S.ABS A.HAP.R–die because 3S.ABS
ga–tago naan ta kasilyas ya.
I.R–hide SPAT.DEF NABS bathroom DEF.F
'This older person should not **have died** because he hid in the bathroom.' [BCWN-C-04 6.7]

(26) Manong ya **patay** en.

*Manong ya **patay** en.*
Older.brother DEF.F die CM
'Older Brother **is dead** now.' [CBWN-C-22 13.2]

(27) **Nabugto** en ate na pagpari.

***Na–bugto** en ate na pag–pari.*
A.HAP.R–break CM 1P.INCL.GEN LK REL–friend
'Our friendship **has** broken now.' [RBWN-T-02 5.5]

(28) Basi **gubba** en mga papers ya.
Basi ***gubba*** *en mga papers ya.*
perhaps ruin CM PL papers DEF.F
'Perhaps the papers **are ruined** now.' [PTOE-T-01 207.1]

(29) **Naigo** kanen ta granada tak palimpyuan din.
Na–igo *kanen ta granada tak pa–limpyo–an din.*
A.HAP.R–hit 3S.ABS NABS grenade because T.R–clean–APL 3S.ERG
'He **happened to be hit** by a grenade (explosion), because he cleaned it' or 'The grenade (explosion) happened to hit him because he cleaned it.' [MBON-T-07a 14.3]

8.6.2 Non-volitional accomplishments (Class II)

Examples (30)–(32) illustrate the root *gisi* 'torn/tear', which is a non-volitional root of Class II. In (30) with no inflectional affixes it describes a state. In (31) with happenstantial marking it describes the perfective accomplishment of tearing. In (32) with dynamic marking the same root describes an imperfective activity, with no resultant change in state implied:

(30) **Gisi** layag i.
Gisi *layag i.*
tear sail DEF.N
'The sail is **torn**.' State

(31) **Nagisi** layag i.
Na–gisi *layag i.*
A.HAP.R–tear sail DEF.N
'The sail **tore**.' Accomplishment

(32) Galayag kay nang en na uḷa nay nḷami daw indi kay punta asta nang en na **gagisi** layag i.
Ga–layag kay nang en na uḷa nay
I.R–sail 1P.EXCL.ABS only/just CM LK NEG.R 1P.EXCL.ERG
na–aḷam–i daw indi kay punta asta nang
A.HAP.R–know–XC.APL if/when where 1P.EXCL.ABS go until only/just
en na ***ga–gisi*** *layag i.*
CM LK I.R–tear sail DEF.N
'We sailed without knowing where we were going until the sail **was tearing/began to tear**.' [VAWN-T-18 5.1] Activity

We hypothesize that the reason this verb (and others in Class II) may occur in the dynamic form is that it describes an event that is not necessarily punctual. It may take time. Something can "begin to tear", it can "be tearing," or it can "be torn." This is in contrast to Class I verbs such as *buong* 'shatter' which may only describe a state, "it is shattered" or a punctual achievement "it shattered." A glass cannot "be shattering" or "begin to shatter," therefore the root *buong* may not describe an activity.

The following are some additional examples of Class II verbs from the corpus. Example (33) illustrates *leddang*, 'to sink', in its basic sense:

(33) Na magsaḷep en adlaw an, naan kay en ta tetenga ta saḷangan daw **naleddang** kay tak sikad na selleg.
Na[6] *mag–saḷep en adlaw an, naan kay en ta*
LK I.IR–sunset CM sun/day DEF.M SPAT.DEF 1P.EXCL.ABS CM NABS
te~tenga ta saḷangan daw ***na–leddang*** *kay tak*
RED~middle NABS passageway and A.HAP.R–sink 1P.EXCL.ABS because
sikad na selleg.
very LK current
'When the sun was about to set, we were kind of in the middle of the passageway (through rocks/corals) and **we sank** because (it was) a strong current.' [CBWN-C-11 4.1]

Example (34) illustrates the same verb in dynamic modality, expressing an imperfective, inceptive sense:

(34) Paibitan nay ta timbang mama na duma nay daw muoy piro mama an **galeddang** daw nadaḷa din man kami tak mama i bakod kis-a ki kami.
Pa–ibit–an nay ta timbang mama na duma
T.R–hold.on–APL 1P.EXCL.ERG NABS balance man LK companion
nay daw m–luoy piro mama an ***ga–leddang*** *daw*
1P.EXCL.GEN and I.V.IR–swim but man DEF.M I.R–sink and
na–daḷa din man kami tak mama i bakod kis-a
A.HAP.R–take 3S.ERG also 1P.EXCL.ABS because man DEF.N big than
ki kami.
OBL.P 1P.EXCL
'We held on to both sides of the man that was our companion and swam, but the man **was sinking** (or '**began to sink**') and took us also (down with him) because the man was bigger than us.' [CBWN-C-11 4.8]

[6]The *na* at the beginning of this sentence is the linker that introduces adverbial clauses.

The following illustrate the root *ayad* 'well/be well' in the stative (35), dynamic irrealis (36), and happenstantial irrealis (37) forms:

(35) Gapangamuyo kay man na kabay na **ayad** en Manang ya aged makabalik man kanen ya ta Pilipinas i.

*Ga–pangamuyo kay man na kabay na **ayad** en Manang*
I.R–pray 1P.EXCL.ABS too LK may.it.be LK well CM Older.sister
ya aged maka–balik man kanen ya ta Pilipinas i.
DEF.F so.that I.HAP.IR–return too 3S.ABS DEF.F NABS Philippines DEF.N
'We prayed too that Manang may **be well** so that she can return to the Philippines.' [PBWL-C-04 4.4]

(36) Mag-ubra danen ta duḷot agod **mag-ayad** ka.

*Mag--ubra danen ta duḷot agod **mag--ayad** ka.*
I.IR–work/make 3P.ABS NABS food.offering so.that I.IR–well 2S.ABS
'They will do a food offering so that you **will get well**.' [SAWE-T-01 3.12]

(37) Ambaḷ din en bisan ino pa kon ayuon din atag din kon basta **mayad** nang kon kanen an.

Ambaḷ din en bisan ino pa kon ayo–en din ∅–atag
say 3S.ERG CM any what INC HSY request–T.IR 3S.ERG T.IR–give
*din kon basta **ma–ayad** nang kon kanen an.*
3S.ERG HSY just.so.that A.HAP.IR–well only/just HRS 3S.ABS DEF.M
'He said whatever else he asks for, he will give just so that he **will get well**.' [PBON-T-01 4.2]

The following are additional Class II verbs in various forms:

(38) Piro ta, parti ta mga Kagayanen nḷaman en danen daw ino iran na buaten tak kaḷat na usaren danen **gabok** en ...

Piro ta, parti ta mga Kagayanen na–aḷam–an en danen
but NABS about NABS PL Kagayanen A.HAP.R–know–APL CM 3P.ERG
daw ino iran na buat–en tak kaḷat na usar–en danen
if/when what 3P.GEN LK do/make–T.IR because rope LK use–T.IR 3P.ERG
***gabok** en ...*
rotten CM
'But about/concerning the Kagayanens, they knew what they will do, because the rope they will use **was rotten**...' [EMWN-T-07 3.7]

The story goes on to explain that when the Kagayanens did tug-of-war with the rotten rope, it would break and the unsuspecting enemies would fall over and be vulnerable to attack.

(39) **Nabali** gid sanga i na ake i na patungtungan.
Na–bali *gid sanga i na ake i na pa–tungtong–an.*
A.HAP.R–break INT branch DEF.N LK 1S.GEN DEF.N LK T.R–on.top–APL
'The branch on which I was (sitting) really **broke**.' [DBWN-T-2 3.7]

(40) Ta oras ta tag-uran di kan-o gabaa suba an daw sikad tama na mga batang na nadaḷa ta baa na naan galin ta bukid daw **nadagsa** naan ta baybay.
Ta oras ta tag–-uran di kan-o ga–baa suba an
NABS hour/time NABS NR–rain D1LOC previously I.R–flood river DEF.M
daw sikad tama na mga batang na na–daḷa ta baa na
and very many LK PL driftwood LK A.HAP.R–carry NABS flood LK
naan ga–alin ta bukid daw ***na–dagsa*** *naan*
SPAT.DEF I.R–from NABS mountain and A.HAP.R–wash.ashore SPAT.DEF
ta baybay.
NABS beach
'In the times of rainy season here previously the river flooded and there were very many (pieces of) driftwood which were brought by the flood from the mountain and **washed ashore** on the beach.' [DDWN-C-01 2.4]

(41) Antipara din an yaan a **nadagsa** ta mga tallo mitros ta lawa din.
Antipara din an yaan a ***na–dagsa*** *ta mga*
goggles 3S.GEN DEF.M SPAT.DEF INJ A.HAP.R–wash.ashore NABS PL
tallo mitros ta lawa din.
three meters NABS body 3S.GEN
'His goggles were, well, **washed ashore** about three meters from his body.' (A fisherman was missing and they found his body and goggles washed ashore.) [JCWN-T-26 15.8]

(42) Tapos na **gupod** bagoḷ an en mangen baga din an, ugsak ta plantsa. Tapos ugsak ta plantsa may nasama na uling tampekan ta pantad para dili **mupod**.
Tapos na ***ga–upod*** *bagoḷ an en kamang–en baga din*
after LK I.R–consumed coconut.shell DEF.M CM get–T.IR coal 3S.GEN
an, ∅–ugsak ta plantsa. Tapos …–ugsak ta plantsa
DEF.M T.IR–put.inside NABS iron after T.R–put.inside NABS iron

may na–sama na uling ∅–tampek–an ta pantad para
EXT.IN A.HAP.R–leftover LK coals T.IR–pack.on–APL NABS sand in.order
dili ***ma–upod****.*
NEG.IR A.HAP.IR–consumed
'Then after the coconut shell is **being consumed** (getting smaller and smaller by the fire), get some of its coals and put (them) inside the iron. Then after putting it inside the iron, where there are some leftover coals, pack some sand on top so that (it) **will not be consumed** (by burning to nothing).' (This is a text about how to iron clothes with an iron that uses coals.) [BMOP-C-07 2.4–5]

(43) Sikad dessen en mga basak na **naukab** ta **nalattik**.
Sikad dessen en mga basak na ***na–ukab*** *ta* ***na–lattik****.*
very hard CM PL soil/ground LK A.HAP.R–loose NABS A.HAP.R–crack
'The ground that **came loose** from **having cracked** was very hard now.' [JCWE-T-14 3.4]

(44) Ta pagtikang din en na magtakkad ta basak, gulpi nang **galattik** basak ya daw kanen galunod dya daw uḷa en danen nakita.
Ta pag–tikang din en na mag–takkad ta basak, gulpi
NABS NR.ACT–step 3S.GEN CM LK I.IR–step.on NABS soil/ground suddenly
nang ***ga–lattik*** *basak ya daw kanen ga–lunod dya daw*
only/just I.R–crack soil/ground DEF.F and 3S.ABS I.R–drop.in D4LOC and
uḷa en danen na–kita.
NEG.R CM 3P.ERG A.HAP.R–see
'When he took a step stepping on the ground, suddenly the ground **began to crack** and he dropped in there and they never found (him).' [PBWN-C-12 22.1]

Several roots, such as *daeb* 'to turn face down' may present non-volitional situations with an inanimate Undergoer, or volitional situations with an animate Actor. As such these roots fall logically into Class II and Class IV. When the absolutive is an inanimate Undergoer they exhibit the affixation pattern of Class II roots, and when the absolutive is an animate Actor, they exhibit the pattern of Class IV roots. Here we give some examples of the Class II usage. The following examples are from the same text, and describe the same discourse event. However, in (45) happenstantial modality is used, while in (46) dynamic modality occurs. In (45) the act of turning over is non-volitional and is on the event line

of the narrative. In this context, happenstantial modality is expected, and can be understood as expressing a semantic perfective aspect.

(45) Pag-abot ta trisi na pagkaan ki yaken na sikad gid biskeg, sakayan ko ya **nadaeb**.

Pag-–abot ta trisi na pag–kaan ki yaken na sikad gid
nr.act–arrive NABS thirteen LK NR.ACT–eat OBL.P 1S LK very INT
biskeg, sakay–an ko ya ***na–daeb.***
strong ride–NR 1S.GEN DEF.F A.HAP.R–turn.over
'When it reached the thirteenth (time of a fish) eating (the bait) from me which was very strong, my boat **turned over**.' [EFWN-T-10 4.4]

In (46) the same verb occurs, but this time it is not on the main event line of the narrative. It simply describes the condition of the boat that resulted from the event of turning over narrated earlier in the story. In this case, dynamic modality is appropriate. If happenstantial were used again in this context, the intention would be that the boat turned over a second time, constituting another event on the main event line of the story. This would have been possible, but highly unusual inside a relative clause.

(46) Piro naan aren ta tudtod ta pambot na **gadaeb** na sigi en anod.

Piro naan aren ta tudtod ta pambot na ***ga–daeb*** *na*
but SPAT.DEF 1S.ABS NABS back NABS boat LK I.R–turn.over LK
sigi en anod.
continuously CM drift
'But I was on the back of the boat which had turned over that was continuously now adrift.' [EFWN-T-11 13.3]

In §8.7 we discuss examples of *daeb* as a volitional, Class IV, root.

8.6.3 Non-volitional activities (Class III)

Class III intransitive verbs describe atelic activities that result in no change of state. Therefore, these verbs do not normally occur in the resultant state or happenstantial forms:

(47) *Ḷegḷeg apoy an. ('The fire is flamed.') (STATE)
*Naḷegḷeg apoy an. ('The fire flamed.') (ACHIEVEMENT)

Examples (48) through (53) illustrate Class III verbs from the corpus:

(48) Mga mata ko na galuag paryo ta apoy na **gaḷegḷeg**.

Mga mata ko na ga–luag paryo ta apoy na ***ga–ḷegḷeg****.*
PL eye 1S.GEN LK I.R–watch like NABS fire LK I.R–flame
'My eyes that were watching were like a fire which **is flaming**.'
[JCOO-T-11 10.1]

(49) Pagkita nay na apoy an **gaubḷo** na sikad gid bakod dabadaba, dayon kay panaog daw mḷagan naan punta ta Sintro.

Pag–kita nay na apoy an ***ga–ubḷo*** *na sikad gid bakod*
NR.ACT–see 1P.EXCL.GEN LK fire DEF.M I.R–flare.up LK very INT big
dabadaba, dayon kay …–panaog daw m–dḷagan naan
big.flames right.away 1P.EXCL.ABS I.R–go.down and I.V.IR–run SPAT.DEF
punta ta Sintro.
going NABS Central
'When we saw the fire **flaring up** with very big flames, we immediately went down and ran going to Central.' [RZWN-T-02 2.9]

(50) Daw gagilek sikad bakod kagi na taning daw **gakereg** paryo gid ta naakad blengngan din an.

Daw ga–gilek sikad bakod kagi na taning daw ***ga–kereg*** *paryo*
if/when I.R–angry very big voice LK high.pitch and I.R–shake like
gid ta na–akad blengngan din an.
INT NABS A.HAP.R–come.apart throat 3S.GEN DEF.M
'When getting angry, it is a very loud high sound and **it shakes** really like its throat has come apart.' (This is a description of the sound of a cat.)
[JCWE-T-14 13.2]

(51) Bilang pabugtawen no gid kon anay ittaw an na **ganarem** bag-o no tuturan lampraan.

Bilang pa–bugtaw–en no gid kon anay ittaw
for.example CAUS–wake–T.IR 2S.ERG INT HSY first/for.a.while person
an na ***ga–narem*** *bag-o no ∅–tutod–an lampraan.*
DEF.M LK I.R–have.ISP before 2S.ERG T.IR–light–APL lamp
'For example, first wake up the person who **has Isolated Sleep Paralysis** (ISP) before you light a lamp.' [ETON-C-07 4.5]

(52) Daw **gabagting** langganay ta simbaan ta miad, tanda na anen en mga gubat.

Daw ***ga–bagting*** *langganay ta simba–an ta miad, tanda na*
if/when I.R–ring bell NABS worship–NR NABS well sign LK
anen en mga gubat.
EXT.G CM PL raider
'Whenever the bell of the church **was ringing** hard, it was the sign that the raiders are here.' [JCWN-T-20]

(53) Daw may **gadagbeng** na nuḷog, isipen no tak yon nan niog na naipo ko.
Daw may ***ga–dagbeng*** *na na–uḷog, isip–en no*
if/when EXT.IN I.R–thud LK A.HAP.R–fall think/count–T.IR 2S.ERG
tak yon nan niog na na–ipo ko.
because D3ABS D3ABS.PR coconut LK A.HAP.R–pick 1S.ERG
'If something falls **making a thud sound**, count it because that very one is the coconut I have picked.' (The speaker climbs a tree to get coconuts and he tells the blind guy on the ground to count how many thuds he hears because that will be the coconuts that he picks and lets fall to the ground. But the one who climbs the tree keeps falling out and so the blind guy counts each time the other guy falls out of the tree thinking it is a coconut.) [CBWN-C-15 4.4]

8.6.4 Class I–III roots in transitive and detransitive frames

Most Class I–III verbs can be used in a transitive frame with no transitivizing stem-forming morphology (applicative or causative). In this case they express direct causation. Example (54) illustrates the Class II root *tunaw* 'to dissolve/melt' in its basic intransitive frame, while example (55) illustrates the same root in a transitive, causative, frame:

(54) **Natunaw** tubuyong an.
Na–tunaw *tubuyong an.*
A.HAP.R–dissolve manioc.flour DEF.M
'This manioc flour **has dissolved**.'

(55) **Tunawen** no anay tubuyong an para pangmiroḷ.
Tunaw–en *no anay tubuyong an para*
dissolve–T.IR 2S.ERG first/for.a.while manioc.flour DEF.M for
pang–miroḷ.
INST–clothes.starch
'**Dissolve** please the manioc flour for use as starch.'

Similarly, example (56) illustrates the verb *tumba* 'to fall over' in its basic, intransitive frame, while (57) illustrates the same verb in a transitive, causative frame:

(56) **Natumba** kaoy ya naan ta tinanem nay na mga gulay.
Na–tumba *kaoy ya naan ta t<in>anem nay*
A.HAP.R–fall.over tree DEF.F SPAT.DEF NABS <NR.RES>plant 1P.EXCL.GEN
na mga gulay.
LK PL vegetables
'The tree fell over on our planted vegetables.'

(57) **Patumba** din kaoy ya naan ta tinanem nay na mga gulay.
Pa–tumba *din kaoy ya naan ta t<in>anem*
T.R–fall.over 3S.ERG tree DEF.F SPAT.DEF NABS <NR.RES>plant
nay na mga gulay.
1P.EXCL.GEN LK PL vegetables
'S/he felled the tree (on our planted vegetables).'

Example (58) illustrates *leddang* 'to sink' in a transitive form, meaning 'cause to sink':

(58) **Paleddang** ta pirata pambot nay ya.
Pa–leddang *ta pirata pambot nay ya.*
T.R–sink ERG pirate motor.boat 1P.EXCL.GEN DEF.F
'The pirates **sank** our motor boat.'

We know that the prefix *pa–* in (57) and (58) is the transitive, realis *pa–* rather than the causative for several reasons. First, if *pa–* in these examples were the causative, the predicates would imply indirect causation, as though the boat retained some responsibility for its own sinking. Second, this *pa–* is not retained in the irrealis (55, 59) or detransitive (Actor voice) form (60):

(59) **Leddangen** nyo lunday an tak sikad bao.
Leddang–en *nyo lunday an tak sikad bao.*
sink–T.IR 2P.ERG outrigger.canoe DEF.M because very odor
'Sink the outrigger canoe because it smells bad.' (The outrigger canoe probably has the odor of rotten fish and sinking it will wash it out.)

(60) **Galeddang** mga pirata ta pambot nay ya.

Ga–leddang *mga pirata ta pambot nay ya.*
I.R–sink PL pirate NABS motor.boat 1P.EXCL.GEN DEF.F
'The pirates sank our motor boat.'

* gapaleddang ...

Finally, there is a causative form of this root, expressed with the causative prefix *pa-* in addition to the transitive inflections (realis in 61 and irrealis in 62):

(61) **Papaleddang** din ki yaken pambot ya.

Pa–pa–leddang *din ki yaken pambot ya.*
T.R–CAUS–sink 3S.ERG OBL.P 1S motor.boat DEF.F
'S/he caused/let/allowed me to sink the motor boat.'

(62) **Paleddangen** din ki yaken pambot ya.

Pa–leddang–en *din ki yaken pambot ya.*
CAUS–sink–T.IR 3S.ERG OBL.P 1S motor.boat DEF.F
'S/he will cause/let/allow me to sink the motor boat.'

Most or all verbs that describe transitive situations may occur in an intransitive frame in which the absolutive is the controller of the situation and the Undergoer is either omitted or placed in an oblique role, marked by a pre-nominal particle *ta* or *ki*. These are similar in function to English expressions such as *Frodo already ate*, *she drank of the water*, *he kicked at the ball* and so on. These are all grammatically intransitive expressions of semantically transitive situations. In each example the meaning involves an Undergoer, but because of the communicative context, the speaker chooses to "downplay" or omit reference to the Undergoer. Analogous constructions exist in Kagayanen, with the difference being that the verbs are explicitly marked morphologically as intransitive. We have described such constructions as *detransitive constructions* because they present semantically transitive situations in grammatically intransitive forms (see Chapter 6, §6.5.1, and Chapter 10, §10.5.1).

Since Class I, II and III roots may occur in transitive frames, expressing direct causation, they may also occur in detransitive frames, with the causer as the absolutive and the Undergoer either omitted or expressed in the non-absolutive case:

(63) Class I: *uḷog* 'to fall':
Ta pagpadayon, **gauḷog** a pa gid ta ake na paan daw naylon.

Ta pag–pa–dayon, ***ga–uḷog*** *a pa gid ta ake na*
NABS NR.ACT–CAUS–continue I.R–fall 1S.ABS INC INT NABS 1S.GEN LK
paan daw naylon.
bait and fish.line
'In continuing, I dropped yet again my bait and fish line.' [EFWN-T-11 6.1]

(64) Class II basa 'to get wet' and Class III *sablig* 'to splash' and *takḷap* 'to get covered':
Duma an **gasablig** ta waig daw **gabasa** ta sako daw labyog ki Pedro na **takḷap** ta atep aged mapatay apoy an.
Duma an ***ga–sablig*** *ta waig daw* ***ga–basa*** *ta sako daw*
others DEF.M I.R–splash NABS water and I.R–wet NABS sack and
*…–labyog ki Pedro na …–****takḷap*** *ta atep aged*
T.R–throw OBL.P Pedro LK I.R–cover.over NABS roof so.that
ma–patay apoy an.
A.HAP.IR–extinguish fire DEF.M
'Others splashed water and wetted some sacks and threw (them) to Pedro to cover over the roof so that the fire will exinguish.' [RZWN-T-02 3.14]

8.7 Roots describing volitional intransitive situations (Class IV)

The next major Class of semantically intransitive verbs involve volition on the part of the only obligatory argument. In other words, the absolutive argument refers to the participant that controls the situation. These include the following:

(65)
amag 'to want to go with s.o.'
ampang 'to play'
anges 'to pant'
arti 'to act'
batok 'to rebel'
bayli 'to slow dance'
bugtaw 'to wake up'
bukot 'to stay inside'
bunak 'to do laundry'
daag 'to win'
daik 'to crawl on stomach'
dayon 'to stay somewhere'
demel 'to lower the head, look downwards'
dḷagan 'to run'
duḷak 'for animals to fight'
dungka 'to dock'
eseb 'to go underwater'
giba 'to sit on a lap'
gumod 'to mumble/grumble'
iling 'to go'
isoḷ 'to go backward'

istar ‘to reside’
iyod ‘to stretch oneself’
kangkang ‘to extend’
kawas ‘to disembark’
kilip ‘to look out the corner of the eye’
kingking ‘to hop’
kipat ‘to wink’
laeg ‘to joke’
lagaw ‘to go out visiting/strolling’
lagmi ‘to speak loudly, angrily’
lakas ‘to return home from distant place’
lambay ‘to go past’
langoy ‘to bathe, swim’
laog ‘to go out without permission’
larga ‘to depart, travel’
layas ‘to run away, flee’
leeb ‘to bow’
ḷekkep ‘to spread out on the surface’
lenge ‘to move head right and left’
liad ‘to arch back’
libot ‘to go around’
limos ‘to beg’
luko ‘for an animal to lie down’
lumba ‘to race’
luod ‘to kneel’
luoy ‘to swim’
lusko/lukso ‘to jump’
negga ‘to lie down’
ngusmod ‘to frown’
panaw ‘to leave, go, walk’
pasyar ‘to go out visiting/strolling’
pattik ‘to flick with finger’
pikpik ‘to tap, pat’
plastar ‘to take one’s position’
puay ‘to rest’
puḷaw ‘to stay up late’
pungko ‘to sit down’
pyangka ‘to sit cross-legged’
pyungkot ‘to lie in fetal position’
sakay ‘to ride’
sampet ‘to arrive briefly’
sandig ‘to lean’
sayaw ‘to dance’
segseg ‘to move over’
seḷ-et ‘to squeeze into a small space’
suko ‘to surrender’
tagad ‘to wait’
takas ‘to go up a hill’
tambong ‘to attend’
tangkis ‘to grin’
tawa ‘to smile, laugh’
tegbeng ‘to go down a hill’
tindeg ‘to stand (up)’
tinir ‘to stay temporarily’
tipon ‘to gather together’
tanuga/tinuga/tunuga/nuga ‘to go to sleep’
tuwad ‘to bend over’
uli ‘to go home’
untat ‘to stop’
utad ‘to step on’
uyok ‘to whistle’

Note that all of the roots in (65) describe activities; that is volitional situations that do not result in a change of state. Therefore, it is not surprising that the basic affixes for these verbs are the dynamic *ga-* realis and *m-* or *mag-* for irrealis modality. In contrast to the non-volitional intransitive verbs, many of these verbs, but not all, can occur with the *m-* prefix, in which case the root-initial consonant

drops out. Another characteristic of these volitional intransitive verbs is that in happenstantial modality, they occur with *naka-*/*maka-*, *ka-* (and *ma-* in the hypothetical/polite usage), but do not occur with the ambitransitive forms *na-* or *ma-*. Thus we can make the generalization that in happenstantial modality, constructions in which the absolutive is an Actor take *naka-/maka-* and those in which the absolutive is an Undergoer take *na-/ma-*.

(66) Dynamic:
Gapuay kay uḷa nang lugay daw mag-igma.
Ga–puay *kay uḷa nang lugay daw mag-–igma.*
I.R–rest 1P.EXCL.ABS NEG.R only/just long.time and I.IR–lunch
'We were resting/rested for a short time and ate lunch.' [DBWN-T-24 3.2]

(67) Happenstantial:
Nakapuay kay uḷa nang lugay.
Naka–puay *kay uḷa nang lugay.*
I.HAP.R–rest 1P.EXCL.ABS NEG.R only/just long.time
'We happened to rest for a short time.'
'We were able to rest for a short time.'
'We got to rest for a short time.'
'We have rested for a short time.'
*Napuay kay uḷa nang lugay.

(68) Dynamic:
Gatinir a annem buḷan ta maistra i.
Ga–tinir *a annem buḷan ta maistra i.*
I.R–stay 1S.ABS six month NABS teacher DEF.N
'I stayed for six months with the teacher.' [DBWN-T-21 2.6]

(69) Happenstantial:
Nakatinir a annem buḷan.
Naka–tinir *a annem buḷan.*
I.HAP.R–stay 1S.ABS six month
'I happened to stay for six months.'
'I was able to stay for six months.'
'I got to stay for six months.'
'I have stayed for six months.'
*Natinir a annem buḷan ta maistra i.

Another grammatical difference between non-volitional and volitional intransitive roots is that non-volitional roots may easily occur in a transitive frame to express direct causation (see §8.6 above). Class IV roots, on the other hand, almost always require explicit transitivizing stem-forming morphology, either causative (*pa-*) or applicative (*-an*, *-i*) in order to occur in a transitive frame. This is because the causee is often animate, and therefore retains some control over the situation. However, if the causee is inanimate or otherwise incapable of controlling the situation, some of these roots may express direct causation in a transitive frame without the stem-forming causative prefix. For example, roots such as *balik* 'return', *tago* 'hide' and others that describe motion to a destination (return to a place, hide in a place) when used intransitively describe volitional situations (70). When the same roots describe caused situations in which the causee is capable of exercising some control over the situation, the causative prefix is used, as in (71). However, the same verbs may occur in a transitive (72) or detransitive (73) construction with no causative prefix, in which case they imply that the causee is probably inanimate, and therefore has no control or volition. In other words, as with root Classes I–III, this construction expresses direct causation:

(70) Intransitive (volitional):
Lugay na tapos kay ipo atis en **gabalik** kami naan baybay.
Lugay na tapos kay ipo atis en ***ga–balik*** *kami naan baybay.*
long.time LK finish 1P.EXCL.ABS pick sugar.apple CM I.R–return 1P.EXCL.ABS SPAT.DEF beach
'After some time when we finished picking sugar apples, we returned to the beach.' [DBON-C-06 6.1]

(71) Indirect causative (volitional causee):
Papabalik ko kanen an naan ta baḷay danen.
Pa–pa–balik ko kanen an naan ta baḷay danen.
T.R–CAUS–return 1S.ERG 3S.ABS DEF.M SPAT.DEF NABS house 3P.GEN
'I made/let him/her return to their house.'

(72) Direct causation (non-volitional causee):
Pabalik ko en kuguran din ya naan ta baḷay danen.
Pa–balik *ko en kugod–an din ya naan ta baḷay danen.*
T.R–return 1S.ERG CM grate.coconut–NR 3S.GEN DEF.F SPAT.DEF NABS house 3P.GEN
'I returned his/her coconut grater to their house.'

(73) Detransitive of causative:
Gabalik aren ta kuguran din ya naan ta baḷay danen.
Ga–balik aren ta kugod–an din ya naan ta
I.R–return 1S.ABS NABS grate.coconut–NR 3S.GEN DEF.F SPAT.DEF NABS
baḷay danen.
house 3P.GEN
'I **returned** his/her coconut grater to their house.'

Other volitional motion verbs of Class IV, such as *larga* 'depart', never take a location as an oblique or Undergoer argument (74). For such verbs, a destination is expressed in a complement clause (75), preceded by the linker/complementizer *na*:

(74) Ambaḷ ta rais ya **marga** gid kon tak **galarga** kon en duma ya na bḷangay.
Ambaḷ ta rais ya ***m–larga*** *gid kon tak* ***ga–larga*** *kon*
say NABS captain DEF.F I.V.IR–depart INT HSY because I.R–depart HSY
en duma ya na bḷangay.
CM other DEF.F LK 2.mast.boat
'The captain said to really **depart** because the other two-mast boats are **already departing**.' [VAWN-T-18 3.5]

(75) **Galarga** kay kan-o na miling Iloilo.
Ga–larga *kay kan-o na m–iling Iloilo.*
I.R–depart 1P.EXCL.ABS previously LK I.V.IR–go Iloilo
'**We departed** previously to go to Iloilo.'

The volitional intransitive verb, *tago* 'to hide', may express a location optionally as an oblique (76), but this is not a detransitive of direct causation because it cannot mean "the younger sibling hid a well":

(76) Piro mangngod i **gatago** naan ta bubon para dili makita.
Piro mangngod i ***ga–tago*** *naan ta bubon para dili*
but younger.sibling DEF.N I.R–hide SPAT.DEF NABS well for NEG.IR
ma–kita.
A.HAP.IR–see
'But the younger sibling **hid** in the well in order not to be seen.'
[BCWN-C-04 6.8]

The location of hiding may be absolutive, but only with the addition of the applicative *-an*:

(77) **Pataguan** din bubon ya.
Pa–tago–an *din bubon ya.*
T.R–hide–APL 3S.ERG well DEF.F
'S/he **hid** in the well.'

Example (78) illustrates the volitional intransitive motion root, *iling* 'to go', with an obligatory destination expressed as an oblique (78) or as absolutive with applicative, (79) and (80):

(78) Kanen i **giling** ta yi na puḷo paagi ta pagsakay ta lunday para manglaya.
Kanen i ***ga–iling*** *ta yi na puḷo paagi ta pag–sakay*
3S.ABS DEF.N I.R–go NABS D1ADJ LK island by.means NABS NR.ACT–ride
ta lunday para ma–ng–laya.
NABS outrigger.canoe for A.HAP.IR–PL–cast.net
'He **went** to this island by means of riding an outrigger canoe in order to cast-net fish.' [VAWN-T-17 2.2]

(79) Pamiro, first time, ko na **pailingan** Puerto.
Pamiro, first time, ko na ***pa–iling–an*** *Puerto.*
first first time 1S.ERG LK T.R–go–APL Puerto.
'First, first time, I **went** to Puerto.' [BMON-C-05 1.5]

(80) Kaysan bisan puon ta mga darko na mga kaoy paryo ta baliti, kumpang o bugo **pailingan** daw ambaḷen dya na, "Anen en bata an."
Kaysan bisan puon ta mga darko na mga kaoy paryo ta
sometimes even trunk NABS PL large.PL LK PL trees same/like NABS
baliti, kumpang o bugo ***pa–iling–an*** *daw ambaḷ–en*
ficus wild.almond or garuga.floribunda T.R–go–APL and say–T.IR
dya na, "Anen en bata an."
D4LOC LK EXT.G CM child DEF.M
'Sometimes even the trunks of large trees like ficus, wild almond or garuga floribunda (they) **go** to and say there, "Here is the child."' [JCWE-T-15 4.4]

Other volitional intransitive, mostly motion+manner roots, may also occur in a transitive frame without valence increasing morphology, but with different semantic effect. For these verbs, the meaning in a grammatically transitive frame is that the Undergoer is the destination of the Actor's motion, or something retrieved by the Actor. For example *luoy* 'to swim' with transitive inflection, *paluoy*

or *luuyon*, means 'to swim to a specific place' or 'to swim to get a specific object'. Other verbs that function similarly are *daik* 'to crawl', *eseb* 'to go underwater', *panaw* 'to go/walk', and *dḷagan* 'to run'.

(81) Di mugpa ka daw **luuyon** no dya ta Nusa.
*Di m–tugpa ka daw **luoy–en** no dya ta Nusa.*
INJ I.V.IR–jump.down 2S.ABS and swim–T.IR 2S.ERG D4LOC NABS Nusa
'So, what else, won't you jump down (in the sea) and **swim** to get them, (shells that were left behind, known from context) there in Nusa?' [DBWN-T-24 5.2]

(82) **Paeseb** din sundang an na nuḷog na gatebteb ta tilik.
***Pa–eseb** din sundang an na na–uḷog na ga–tebteb ta tilik.*
T.R–go.underwater 3S.ERG machete DEF.M LK A.HAP.R–fall LK I.R–chop NABS sea.urchin
'He went underwater to get the machete that fell when (he was) chopping sea urchin.'

Most Class IV roots can take both happenstantial and dynamic inflections, depending on whether the scene being described involves volition or not. A short list of such roots is given in (83):

(83)
seddep 'to go into a small space or opening'
teneng 'to cease'
tumpok 'to heap/bunch up together'
ligid 'to roll'
tungtong 'to be on top'
tunton 'to hang down
liped 'to block a view or hide behind'
abot 'to arrive and stay'
alin 'come from'
atras 'to recede/go/move back'
balik 'to return somewhere'
daeb 'to lie face down'
gwa 'to go out of/outside'
selled 'to go inside of/inside'
lapta 'to disperse'
ligid 'to roll over'
takilid 'to lie on side'
tengeb 'to be together'
unat 'to stretch out'
mukḷat 'to open eyes'
peddeng 'to close eyes'

The following are a few examples of such roots in context. In example (84), the root *seddep* 'go into a small space' is used in a transitive frame with happenstantial modality. In this case the ants are presented as a "substance" that happened

to enter, was able to enter, or had entered the speaker's ear. In example (85) the same verb occurs in dynamic (volitional) modality. In this case, the ants are presented as "actors", purposely entering the speaker's ear:

(84) **Naseddepan** ta geyem talinga ko i.
Na–seddep–an *ta geyem talinga ko i.*
A.HAP.R–go.in.small.space–APL NABS ant ear 1S.GEN DEF.N
'The ant(s) **happened to go inside** my ear.'

(85) **Paseddepan** ta geyem talinga ko i.
Pa–seddep–an *ta geyem talinga ko i.*
T.R–go.in.small.space–APL NABS ant ear 1S.GEN DEF.N
'The ant(s) **went inside** my ear.'

Examples (86) and (87) illustrate this same root, without the applicative suffix, in dynamic modality:

(86) Ta, ake na duma **gaseddep** ta baḷas an…
Ta, ake na duma ***ga–seddep*** *ta baḷas an…*
so 1S.GEN LK companion I.R–go.in.small.space NABS forest DEF.M
'So my companion **went into** the forest…' [NFWN-T-01 2.10]

Example (87) is from a story about a raid on the island of Cagayancillo. A group of Kagayanens were hiding in a cave (referred to as a "hole"), and the attackers set a fire at the entrance to the cave such that everyone inside died except one woman. This was a volitional act on the part of the raiders, though the absolutive argument, the smoke, is not itself volitional:

(87) Aso ta apoy **gaseddep** en ta lungag…
Aso ta apoy ***ga–seddep*** *en ta lungag…*
smoke NABS fire I.R–go.in.small.space CM NABS hole
'The smoke of the fire **went inside** the hole….' [JCWN-T-25 2.11]

The following are some examples of *daeb* 'to turn face down' expressing volitional intransitive situations:

(88) **Gadaeb** en bata an.
Ga–daeb *en bata an.*
I.R–turn.over CM child DEF.M
'The child **turned over** face down.'

(89) **Padaeban** a din na gatanuga.
Pa–daeb–an *a din na ga–tanuga.*
T.R–turn.over–APL 1S.ABS 3S.ERG LK I.R–sleep
'S/He **turned over** on me when sleeping.'

(90) **Nadaeban** a din na gatanuga.
Na–daeb–an *a din na ga–tanuga.*
A.HAP.R–turn.over–APL 1S.ABS 3S.ERG LK I.R–sleep
'S/He **happened to turn over** on me when sleeping.'

As evidence that *daeb* falls into both root Class II and root Class IV, we note that when the absolutive is inanimate, it is possible to use the bare root as a resultative form (91a) (characteristic of Class II), but when the absolutive is animate, the same form is simply ungrammatical (91b) (characteristic of Class IV):

(91) a. Daeb pambot an.
daeb pambot an
turn.over motor.boat DEF.M
'The motor boat is turned over.'
b. * *daeb bata an*
turn.over child DEF.M
('The child is turned over.')

8.8 Roots describing non-volitional transitive situations (Class V)

The last four classes of verbal roots we will discuss in this chapter can all be characterized as semantically transitive. None of them occur in basic intransitive frames, their only intransitive forms being detransitives. Class V roots describe non-volitional transitive situations. For the most part, these roots do not easily occur in dynamic modality. Many of these describe perception, cognition and emotion. As such they are discussed in more detail in Chapter 9. There are two subclasses of Class V roots. Subclass Va do not require the applicative *-an* in the basic transitive form (though some allow it), while Subclass Vb roots all require the applicative suffix. Example (92) lists a subset of these roots. Examples in context follow.

(92)

Subclass Va (*-an* sometimes allowed, but never required)	**Subclass Vb** (*-an* required in basic, transitive frame)
kita ‘to see X’	masmas ‘to notice X’
kaḷa ‘to recognize/know X.’	tingaḷa ‘to be amazed/wonder about X’
anad ‘to be used to X’	lasa ‘to taste X’
bunggo ‘to bump into X’	abot ‘to happen to come upon X’
igo ‘to strike/hit X’	agi ‘to experience X’
kaya ‘to be able to do X’	largá ‘to ignore X’
	aḷam ‘to know X’

(93) Subclass Va:
Iling din **makaḷa** din daw **makita** din.

…–Iling din ***ma–kaḷa*** *din daw* ***ma–kita***
T.R–say 3S.ERG A.HAP.IR–know/recognize 3S.ERG if/when A.HAP.IR–see
din.
3S.ERG
‘He said that he will recognize (him) if he sees (him).’ [JCWN-T-26 4.13]
*gakaḷa *pakaḷa, *gakita *pakita

(94) Subclass Vb
Tay, Nay, **mḷaman** nyo nidlaw a gid en ki kyo tak lugay man na uḷa ki kitaay.

Tay, Nay, ***ma–aḷam–an*** *nyo na–idlaw a gid en ki*
dad mom A.HAP.IR–know–APL 2P.ERG A.HAP.R–miss 1S.ABS INT CM OBL.P
kyo tak lugay man na uḷa ki …–kita–ay.
2p because long.time EMPH LK NEG.R 1P.INCL.ABS I.R–see–REC
‘Dad, Mom, you should know that I really miss you because it is a long time that we have not seen each other.’ [BCWL-T-10 2.7]

(95) **Namasmasan** ta mama ya na gambaḷ nangka ya.

Na–masmas–an *ta mama ya na ga–ambaḷ nangka*
A.HAP.R–notice/realize–APL NABS man DEF.F LK I.R–say jackfruit
ya.
DEF.F
‘The man noticed/realized that the jackfruit was speaking.’ [YBWN-T-01 5.6]
*pamasmasan *gamasmas

The root *agi* may take dynamic affixes, in which case it expresses the meaning of 'to pass somewhere', and falls into Class IV. However, when occurring with happenstantial affixes, it has the somewhat idiomatic meaning of 'to experience', as a sickness (example 96). In this case the experiencer is expressed as ergative, and the source of the experience as absolutive. Therefore in this usage it falls into Subclass Vb:

(96) Ta buḷan na galigad **naagian** ko a masakit na swalem.
Ta buḷan na ga–ligad ***na–agi–an*** *ko a*
NABS month/moon LK I.R–pass.by A.HAP.R–experience–APL 1S.ERG INJ
masakit na swalem.
sick LK chickenpox
'In the month that passed by I experienced the sickness of chickenpox.'
[EMWN-T-05 3.1]
**paagian* **gaagi* intended: 'to experience X'.

The verb *igo* 'hit/strike' describes the non-volitional act of hitting an object, as a tree branch falling on a parked car, or a rock hitting a window. It may or may not be the result of a volitional act of throwing, shooting, etc. (as in 97), but the event of hitting is presented as happenstantial.

(97) **Naigo** ko kalilawan i.
Na–igo *ko kalilawan i.*
A.HAP.R–hit 1S.ERG Philippine.oriole DEF.N
'I hit the Philippine oriole.' (He was shooting at it with a slingshot.)
[MEWN-T-02 4.1]
*paigo *gaigo

8.9 Roots describing volitional transitive situations (Classes VI–VIII)

Class VI is the majority class of semantically transitive roots. It is distinguished by the use of the suffix *-en*/*-on* for the transitive, irrealis inflection. Classes VII and VIII employ the "zero" allomorph of the transitive, irrealis inflection. Semantically, Class VI contains, for the most part, roots that describe transitive volitional accomplishments in which the Undergoer is completely affected by the situation. Classes VII and VIII describe situations in which the Undergoer does not undergo a complete change of state. Class VII for the most part contains

roots that involve transfer of a theme (expressed as absolutive in a transitive non-applicative construction) to a recipient or destination. Class VIII is distinguished grammatically by requiring the applicative suffix *-an* in its basic transitive construction. Roots in this class describe situations in which the Undergoer is only partially, superficially or invisibly affected by the situation.

Table 8.3 lists several transitive, volitional verbs according to which of these three classes they fall into.

Another distinguishing factor among semantically transitive roots has to do with the use of the transitive deontic prefix *i-*. The roots listed in (98) are all Class VI verbs that can occur with *i-* rather than *-en*/*-on*. Notice that the only difference between root+*-en* and *i-*+root is that with *i-*+root there is a deontic meaning. The argument structures are the same—the Actor is ergative and Undergoer (X) is absolutive. Therefore for these, verbs *i-* may be thought of as the deontic modality replacement for *-en*/*-on*:

(98) Class VI verbs (Table 8.3) that occur with *i-*:

Root	Root+*-en*	*i-*+Root
baḷad/beḷad	baḷaren/beḷaren	*ibaḷad/ibeḷad*
	'will dry X in sun'	'have to dry X in sun'
basa	*basaen* 'will read X'	*ibasa* 'have to read X'
beḷag	*beḷagen* 'will separate X'	ibeḷag 'have to separate X'
galing	*galingen*	igaling
	'will grind/mill X'	'have to grind/mill X'
geḷet	*geḷeten* 'will cut/slice X'	*igeḷet* 'have to cut/slice X'
laga	*lagaen* 'will boil X'	*ilaga* 'have to boil X'
lunod	*lunuron*	*ilunod*
	'will add X into cooking'	'have to add X into cooking'
luto	*lutuon* 'will cook X'	*iluto* 'have to cook X'
padpad	*padparen*	*ipadpad*
	'will brush X off'	'have to brush X off'
prito	*prituon* 'will fry X'	*iprito* 'have to fry X'
suot	*suuton* 'will wear X'	*isuot* 'have to wear X'
unat	*unaten* 'will stretch X'	*iunat* 'have to stretch X'

For Class VI verbs that describe situations that typically involve an instrument, the prefix *i-* may have an instrumental applicative meaning (see Chapter 10, §10.5.4), in addition to deontic modality. That is to say, the roots in (99)

Table 8.3: Verbal roots that take two distinct transitive, irrealis inflections

Class VI (majority)	Class VII	Class VIII
Roots that take *-en/-on*	Roots that never take *-en/-on*	
		Roots that always take *-an* in transitive frames
Mostly non-transfer verbs, absolutive = Patient	Mostly verbs of transfer, absolutive = Theme	Mostly non-transfer verbs, absolutive = partially, invisibly or superficially affected Undergoer.
asod ‘to pound X with mortar and pestle’	alad ‘to offer X to s.o.’	amblig/amlig ‘to take care of X or be careful with X’
agaw ‘to grab X away’	atag ‘to give X to s.o.’	arek ‘to kiss X’
akid ‘to serve food’	basya ‘to splash X on s.o. or s.t.’	awid ‘to hold X back from going s.w.’
anggat ‘to invite X’	baligya ‘to sell X to s.o.’	bagnes ‘to impregnate X’
ayos ‘to fix X’	baog ‘to feed X to animals’	batok ‘to rebel against X’
badbad ‘to untie/unwind X’	bayad ‘to pay X to s.o.’	bantay ‘to watch/guard X’
baḷad/beḷad ‘to dry X in sun’	betang/batang ‘to put X s.w.’	banggod ‘to straighten out X’
basa ‘to read X’	bindisyon ‘to bless s.o. with X’	demet ‘to hold a grudge against s.o.’
basoḷ ‘to blame/scold X’	bubo ‘to pour out liquid into/onto X’	ibit ‘to hold X in hand or hold on to X’
begkes ‘to bundle X’	bubod ‘to pour out dry material into/onto X’	kagon ‘to arrange for X to be married’
beḷag ‘to separate X’	bunyag ‘to water plants, to baptize s.o. with X’	lalis ‘to disagree with X’
betteng ‘to pull X’	bwin/buin ‘to reduce the number/amount of s.t.’	neḷseḷ ‘to regret X’
bilang ‘to count X’	desek ‘to tamp X’	saliga ‘to insult X’
bingbing ‘to carry X by a handle, as a bucket’	dugang ‘to add X to s.t.’	saplid ‘to brush lightly against X’
buat ‘to make/do X’	duḷ-ong/duaḷ ‘to take/accompany X somewhere’	sirbi ‘to serve X’
dakep ‘to catch/arrest X’	duoḷ ‘to lift X to the head’	taap ‘to winnow X’
daḷa ‘to carry/take X’	ellang ‘to put X s.w., to block the way’	tabang ‘to help X’
dumog ‘to wrestle/hand fight X’	igot ‘to tie X with s.t.’	tagad ‘to wait for X’
gabot ‘to pull X out’	intriga ‘to entrust X to s.o.’	takmi ‘to sip X’
galing ‘to grind/mill X’		tanod ‘to watch/care for a child’
gamit ‘to use X’		tilaw ‘to taste X’
usar ‘to use X’		tawad ‘to ask for discount’
geḷet ‘to cut/slice X’		
gisi ‘to tear/rip X’		
gunting ‘to cut X with scissors’		
guyod ‘to lead/guide/drag X’		

Verbal roots that take two distinct transitive, irrealis inflections (cont.)

Class VI	Class VII	Class VIII
id-id ‘to grate X’	isoḷ ‘to move X backwards’	trangka ‘to lock X’
imes ‘to prepare X’	lagnas ‘to clean with X (lots of water)’	tutod ‘to light a lamp/candle’
inem ‘to drink X’	lampes ‘to strike X on s.t. else’	tugaḷ ‘to make holes in X for planting’
ipid ‘to arrange/fold X up’	langoy ‘to bathe s.o. with X’	ugas ‘to wash X’
ipit ‘to pin/clip X’	layong ‘two or more to carry something with X’	uyak ‘to waste/spill out X’
ipo ‘to pick fruits/flowers/coconuts’	lumba ‘to race against s.o.’	kisi ‘to rinse rice before cooking’
isa ‘to raise X up’	maket ‘to kindle a fire with X’	banlaw ‘to rinse’
iyaw ‘to slaughter X’	laswa ‘to pour X (hot liquid) on s.t. or s.o.’	bunak ‘to launder’
kaan ‘to eat X’	laygay ‘to advise/preach about X to s.o.’	lakbay ‘to skip over something’
kabig ‘to treat/claim/consider X as ones own’	lebbeng ‘to bury X’	lakted ‘to cross over something’
kaddot ‘to pinch X’	limas ‘to bail out X from s.t.’	
kagat ‘to bite X’	lua ‘to spit X out of mouth’	
kaig ‘to brush/swipe X off’	paid ‘to wipe X off or on s.t.’	
kamang ‘to get/take X’	panaik ‘to bring/take X upstairs’	
kayos ‘to scratch X’	panaog ‘to bring/take X downstairs’	
kemes ‘to squeeze X’	pilak ‘to throw X away’	
kitkit ‘to bite/nibble at X’	tampak/tupak ‘to patch X on s.t.’	
kugod ‘to grate coconut’	tampek ‘to pack X on or in s.t.’	
ḷaḷa ‘to weave X’	tanem ‘to plant X’	
lagas ‘to chase X’	tudlo ‘to teach X to s.o.’	
lagpat ‘to guess X’	tuḷod ‘to push X’	
laga ‘to boil X in water’	tungtong ‘to place X on top of s.t.’	
lam-ed ‘to swallow X’		
legsek ‘to smash X’		
luag ‘to look at/watch X’		
lubag ‘to twist X’		
lubbas ‘to undress’		
lukot ‘to roll up X’		
lunod ‘to add X to food’		
luto ‘to cook X’		
luko ‘to trick X’		
mukḷat ‘to open eyes’		
mara ‘to dry X’		
mitlang ‘to pronounce word(s)’		
mugmog ‘to gargle X’		
munit ‘to skin X’		

Verbal roots that take two distinct transitive, irrealis inflections (cont.)

Class VI	Class VII	Class VIII
nakaw/takaw ‘to steal X’	tuto ‘to contribute X’	
kiskis ‘to scrub’	ugsak ‘to put X in s.t.’	
nisnis ‘to scour X’	uḷog ‘to drop X’	
nubli ‘to inherit X’	ladlad ‘to lay something flat’	
ngamuyo ‘to pray for X’	suoḷ ‘to pay wages to s.o.’	
ngaddi ‘to pray a ceremonial prayer for X’	laket ‘to add X to s.t.’	
ngali ‘to dig up root crops’		
nganga ‘to open/gap X’		
ngaoy ‘to gather wood’		
ngita ‘to look for X’		
padpad ‘to wipe/brush X off s.t. else.’		
pakang ‘to hit X with s.t. held in hand’		
pega ‘to wring X out’		
pessa ‘to smash/crush/break X into pieces’		
petpet ‘to chop down a plant/bamboo/small tree’		
pilo ‘to fold X over’		
pili ‘to choose X’		
plantsa ‘to iron clothes’		
priso ‘to imprison X’		
prito ‘to fry X’		
pudpod ‘to crush X into powder’		
pukan ‘to chop down a big tree’		
pukaw ‘to wake X up’		
pukpok ‘to pound X’		
samad ‘to destroy/break X’		
sambit ‘to mention/refer to X’		
sabat ‘to reply, answer X’		

partially overlap with those in (98). For these verbs, *i-* may be considered the deontic modality "instrumental voice" replacement for *-en/-on*:

(99) Verbs for which *i-* selects an Instrument as the absolutive argument:
iasod 'have to pound grain with X
iakid 'have to serve food with X'
ibegkes 'have to bundle things with X'
iid-id 'have to grate something with X
igeḷet 'have to cut something with X'
ikidlas 'have to cut leaves in long strips with X'
iluto 'have to cook with X'
ipakang 'have to hit downward on something with X' (X is a hard long object)
ipukpok 'have to pound/beat on something with X'

Finally, for another subset of Class VI roots, *i-* may also function as a deontic modality benefactive applicative marker. We can discern no relevant semantic commonality to this group of roots that is not also shared by many other roots.

(100) Verbs for which *i-* selects a Beneficiary or Recipient as the absolutive argument:
iakid 'have to serve food to X'
igeḷet 'have to cut something for X'
ikidlas 'have to cut leaves in long strips for X'
iluto 'have to cook something for X

Independently of the potential applicative uses of *i-*, it always expresses deontic modality. Therefore we conclude that deontic modality is its major function.

The following are a few examples from the corpus of Class VI, VII and VIII roots.

(101) Class VI realis
Tapos gauli danen i daw **padakep** ta mga pulis mama ya daw papriso danen.
Tapos ga–uli danen i daw ***pa–dakep*** *ta mga pulis*
then I.R–go–home 3P.ABS DEF.N and T.R–catch/arrest NABS PL police
mama ya daw pa–priso danen.
man DEF.F and T.R–prisoner 3P.ERG
'Then they (the police) went home and the police **arrested** the man and they imprisoned (him).' [MBON-C-01 5.2]

(102) Class VI, irrealis
Daw mambaḷ gani na uno, dos, tris, **dumugon** ta nang en danen an na patayen ta nang en.

Daw m–ambaḷ gani na uno, dos, tris, ***dumog–en*** *ta*
if/when I.V.IR–say truly LK one two three hand.fight–T.IR 1P.INCL.ERG
nang en danen an na patay–en ta nang en.
only/just CM 3P.ABS DEF.M LK die–T.IR 1P.INCL.ERG only/just CM
'When (someone) says truly one, two, three, let's **hand fight** them so that we will kill (them).' [PTOE-T-01 15.12]

(103) Class VII, realis
Paugsak din kon ta duyan darwa ya na bata.

Pa–ugsak *din kon ta duyan darwa ya na bata.*
T.R–put.inside 3S.ERG HSY NABS hamock two DEF.F LK child
'She **put inside** the hamock the two children.' [MBON-T-05 3.8]

(104) Class VII irrealis
Daw kan-o kani uli sawa no ya liso ta kalabasa na darwa na i **tanem** ta kuron na busḷot.

Daw kan-o kani uli sawa no ya liso ta kalabasa
if/when when later go.home spouse 2S.GEN DEF.F seed NABS squash
*na darwa na i ∅–****tanem*** *ta kuron na busḷot.*
LK two LK D1ADJ T.IR–plant NABS clay.pot LK hole
'Whenever later your spouse comes home, these two seeds of the squash plant (them) in a clay pot with a hole.' [AION-C-01 9.4]

(105) Class VIII realis
Paugasan ta nanligan kabaḷ ya daw baḷad para gamiten ta bata ta iya na pagdako.

Pa–ugas–an *ta nanligan kabaḷ ya daw …–baḷad para*
T.R–wash–APL NABS midwife vernix DEF.F and T.R–dry.in.sun for
gamit–en ta bata ta iya na pag–dako.
use–T.IR NABS child NABS 3S.GEN LK NR.ACT–big (Hiligaynon)
'The midwife washed the vernix caseosa and dry it in the sun for the child to use when growing up (lit. becoming big).' [VAOE-J-06 3.3]

(106) Class VIII irrealis
Bantayan kay no ta ame na ubra na dili kay madaag ta panulay.
*∅–**Bantay**–**an** kay no ta ame na*
T.IR–watch/guard–APL 1P.EXCL.ABS 2S.ERG NABS 1P.EXCL.GEN LK
ubra na dili kay ma–daag ta panulay.
work/make LK NEG.IR 1P.EXCL.ABS A.HAP.IR–win NABS evil
'Guard/watch us in our work so that evil can not win over us.' (This is part of a prayer.) [ETOB-C-02 1.2]

(107) Class VIII irrealis
Daw duma ko ya ambaḷ din, "**Tagaran** a no man anay tak pakaḷa a no ta Amirikano ya na arey no."
*Daw duma ko ya ambaḷ din, "∅–**Tagad**–**an** a no*
and companion 1S.GEN DEF.F say 3S.ERG T.IR–wait–APL 1S.ABS 2S.ERG
man anay tak pa–kaḷa a no ta
also first/for.a.while because CAUS–know/recognize 1S.ABS 2S.ERG NABS
Amirikano ya na arey no."
American(m) DEF.F LK friend 2S.GEN
'My companions said, "Wait for me for a while because (I want you to) introduce me to the American who is your friend."' [RCON-L-03 20.6]

8.10 Roots distinguished by the dynamic, intransitive, irrealis inflections

As mentioned and exemplified in Chapter 6, §6.5, the dynamic, intransitive, irrealis inflections distinguish two groups of verb roots. Verbs in the majority group only allow the prefix *mag-* while minority group verbs allow either *mag-* or *m-*. There are no roots that we are aware of that take only *m-*. These two groups correlate with the eight root classes discussed in §8.6 through §8.9 in the following way: Classes II, III, and V only allow *mag-*, while some verbs in classes IV, VI, VII, and, VIII allow *m-* in addition to *mag-*. Recall that Class I roots do not take the dynamic affixes, therefore do not fall into either of these groups.

The distinction between verbs that allow *m-* and those that do not (Table 8.4) is partly structural, partly semantic, and partly just lexical. On the structural side, verb roots that begin with the syllable *li*, or nasal consonants (*n* or *ng*) do not allow *m-*, regardless of their semantics. On the semantic side, the minority group includes semantically intransitive motion verbs, and other volitional activity verbs (see Pebley 1998). These verbs take *m-* as their basic form, and *mag-* only

to express intended/planned or more distant future situations (see below). Many semantically transitive verbs in the minority group are usually expressed in a detransitive frame, and imply a particular Patient or a highly predictable set of possible Patients. For example, *bunak* 'to launder' implies clothing as the Patient, *kaan* 'eat' implies food as the Patient, *inem* 'drink', implies liquid, *asod* 'pound (grain)', and *sillig* 'sweep (floor or yard)'. The majority group also includes inherently transitive verbs that impose fewer semantic restrictions on the Patient, and which usually occur with an overt, often human, Patient. These include *silot* 'punish', *basoḷ* 'scold', *bat-eg* 'choke', *biag* 'capture', *bḷebed* 'wrap around', *biak* 'split s.t.', *bilin* 'leave behind', *bitay* 'hang s.t. up', *bugbog* 'hit', and *bugno* 'greet'. Other semantic types that make up the minority group are listed in Table 8.4. These include verbs of position (*tindeg* 'to stand', *tuwad* 'to bend over', *taliad* 'to bend backwards' etc.), verbs of intentional visual perception (*sil-ing* 'to peek inside', *tan-aw* 'to look at', *luag* 'to watch' etc.), verbs of utterance (*singgit* 'to shout', *isturya* 'to talk', *sugid* 'to tell' etc.), and others. These semantic characterizations are very general and variable. Apparent "exceptions" exist in both groups. For this reason, we say that the groups are partially "just lexical" — there appear to be no synchronic motivations for some of their members. Table 8.4 lists a few verbs in each of these groups. It must be kept in mind that any verb root can appear with intransitive affixation (see Chapter 10, and Chapter 6, §6.5.1).

The following are a few examples of each of these major groups from the corpus. Examples (108) through (114) illustrate Group 1 roots. The ungrammatical forms illustrate their non-occurrence with the *m-* prefix:

(108) Class II *ayad* 'to become well'
Mag-ubra danen ta duḷot agod **mag-ayad** ka.
*Mag--ubra danen ta duḷot agod **mag--ayad** ka.*
I.IR–work/make 3P.ABS NABS food.offering so.that I.IR–well 2S.ABS
'They will do a food offering so that you **will get well**.' [SAWE-T-01 3.12]
*mayad

(109) Class III *tubo* 'to grow'
Daw **magtubo** en batad i, oras-oras man na lamunan.
*Daw **mag–tubo** en batad i, oras~-oras man na*
if/when I.IR–grow CM sorghum DEF.N RED–hour/time EMPH LK
∅–lamon–an.
T.IR–weed–APL
"When the sorghum grows, weed it all the time.' [YBWE-T-04 2.2]
*mubo

Table 8.4: Groups of verbal roots depending on the dynamic intransitive irrealis inflection

Group 1 Roots that allow only *mag-* (majority group)	Group 2 Roots that allow *mag-* or *m-* (minority group)
Roots beginning with *li*, or nasal consonants:[a]	**Volitional, intransitive motion events:**
liad 'to arch ones back'	panaw 'to go/walk/leave'
liag 'to court someone romantically'	gwa 'to go/come out'
libak 'to gossip/backbite'	selled 'to go inside'
libot 'to go about/around s.t.'	iling 'to go somewhere'
ligid 'to roll over'	layog 'to fly'
ligis 'to crush to powder'	panaik 'to go up (usually stairs)'
likaw 'to avoid'	panaog 'to go down (usually stairs)'
likid 'to roll up s.t. flat'	kawas 'to disembark'
like 'to turn'	tunga 'come up from under water'
limas 'to bail out'	tugpa 'to jump down'
limbeng 'to take cover from wind'	sugat 'to go meet s.o.'
lipay 'to rejoice/be joyful/be happy'	pasyar 'to go for a walk/visit'
lipeng 'to be dizzy/faint'	kuyog 'to go with someone'
limpyo 'to clean'	duksoḷ 'to approach some people who are already eating and eat with them'
liped 'to block the view'	duaw 'to stop by'
narem 'to have sleep paralysis'	sud-o 'to visit'
neḷseḷ 'to regret'	antos 'to dive underwater'
nisnis 'to scour s.t.'	abot 'to arrive'
ngaoy 'to gather wood'	sayaw 'to dance'
ngita 'to look for s.t.'	tegbeng 'to go downhill to a place'
ngamuyo 'to pray'	takas 'to go up hill to a place'
ngusmod 'to frown'	

[a]We do not include roots beginning with *m-* in either of these lists because they are indeterminate as to their group membership. They all take *mag-*, as do all roots, but because *m-* is replacive, there is no difference between the bare form and what the form would be with *m-*. For example, *maket* 'to kindle a fire', *maḷa* 'to change chothes', *maal* 'to love/to be expensive', *mama* 'to chew betel nut leaf, lime and tobacco', *mando* 'to command', *mikaw* 'to sacrifice for a new house' *miyag* 'to agree/want' *mingaw* 'to be sad, lonely or drunk'.

Groups of verbal roots depending on the dynamic intransitive irrealis inflection (cont.)

Group 1 (majority group)	Group 2 (minority group)
Other roots:	**Semantically transitive, volitional situations with highly restricted objects:**
ayad ‘to heal/be careful’	
baog ‘to feed an animal’	
basa ‘to read’	kaan ‘to eat’
bayad ‘to pay’	tumar ‘to take medicine’
biag ‘to capture’	inem ‘to drink’
bḷebed ‘to wind/wrap around’	sakay ‘to ride’
bindisyon ‘to bless’	asod ‘to pound grain with mortar and pestle’
bubo ‘to pour out liquid’	
bubod ‘to pour out dry’	sin-ad ‘to cook rice’
bugno ‘to greet’	panggas ‘to plant grain’
bui ‘to live’	sillig ‘to sweep’
kagat ‘to bite’	suḷat ‘to write’
keme ‘to close your hand’	arek ‘to kiss’
kingin ‘to slash & burn in farming’	akes ‘to hug’
kingking ‘to hop’	bunak ‘to launder’
kitkit ‘to nibble at’	banyos ‘to rub medicine on body’
kumpas ‘to wave arms’	utang ‘to borrow money’
kaddot ‘to pinch’	tukod ‘to build a house/building’
kusnit ‘to pinch’	seyep ‘to slurp up, suck in’
daik ‘to crawl like a turtle’	padpad ‘to brush off’
dapa ‘to lie face down’	tilaw ‘to taste/try/experience s.t.’
gyanap ‘to crawl (insects)’	peddeng ‘to close eyes’
gisa ‘to sauté s.t.’	plantsa ‘to iron clothes’
giyo ‘to move’	pudyot ‘to pick up (s.t. small) with fingers’
gumod ‘to grumble’	
lagaw ‘to go out visiting/strolling’	petpet ‘chop down plant/bamboo/ small tree’
laóg ‘to go somewhere without permission or letting others know’	pukan ‘to chop down a big tree’
láog ‘to pass through/to connect’	sagod ‘to take care of a person or animal’
laga ‘to boil s.t. in water’	sekeb ‘to measure volume’
lamon ‘to pull or cut weeds’	
lawas ‘to go out of s.t.’	

Groups of verbal roots depending on the dynamic intransitive irrealis inflection (cont.)

Group 1 (majority group)	Group 2 (minority group)
laygay ‘to preach or advise’	saḷod ‘to catch s.t. falling or poured
lubbas ‘to undress’	out into a container’
lumba ‘to race s.o.’	sungit ‘to feed another by convey-
ani ‘to harvest’ (generic word)	ing food to their mouth’
lungi ‘to harvest corn’	sukoḷ ‘to measure size’
tubbas ‘to harvest grain’	suot ‘to wear clothes/shoes’
tapas ‘to cut the stem of grain’	sandok ‘to fetch water’
luod ‘to kneel’	saḷok ‘to dip out liquid like water’
lua ‘to spit out’	**Volitional intransitive situations**
puḷaw ‘to stay up late at night’	**of position**
puyat ‘to lack sleep’	tindeg ‘to stand’
sablig ‘to splash liquid on s.t.’	pungko ‘to sit’
sili ‘to change something’	tuwad ‘to bend over’
silot ‘to punish’	taliad ‘to bend backwards’
tuman ‘to obey/fulfill’	tungtong ‘to get on top of/perch
sikway ‘to reject’	on’
kabig ‘to claim/possess/consider’	tubang ‘to turn to face’
tekeb ‘to maul’	tinir ‘to remain/stay/live temporar-
sigyet ‘to incite/encourage’	ily s.w.’
angken ‘to acquire’	sandig ‘to lean against’
nangken ‘to conceive/become preg-	leeb ‘to bow the head’
nant’	**Utterance**
taod ‘to respect’	singgit ‘to shout’
desdes ‘to press down on’	isturya ‘to talk/converse’
singngot ‘to smell/sniff something’	sugid ‘to tell’
peḻḻeg ‘to threaten’	ambaḷ ‘to say’
pati ‘to believe/obey’	insa ‘to ask’
kega ‘to choke’	sabat ‘to answer/reply/respond to’
bunaḷ ‘to spank’	tugon ‘to instruct, give a message’
lagas ‘to chase’	pangabay ‘to plead’
dugan ‘to be pinned under s.t.’	**Intentional visual perception**:
dagammo ‘to dream’	sil-ing ‘to peek inside’
lekkep ‘to cover over’	tan-aw ‘to look at’

Groups of verbal roots depending on the dynamic intransitive irrealis inflection (cont.)

Group 1 (majority group)	Group 2 (minority group)
balikid ‘to look back over shoulders’	luag ‘to watch’
gugma ‘to love’	sil-ip ‘to peek/watch’
palangga ‘to give/show affection’	angad ‘to look upwards’
inggit ‘to envy’	panilag ‘to observe’
kayab ‘to fan’	kilip ‘to glance out of corner of eye’
kaḷ-ay ‘to carry dangling down’	luaw ‘to look out an opening like a window’
laway ‘to salivate’	**Other volitional situations:**
pega ‘to squeeze’	ubra ‘to work/make’
betteng ‘to pull’	ugas ‘to wash’
taap ‘to winnow’	kanta ‘to sing’
bitbit ‘to hold in the hand’	ampang ‘to play’
tuwang ‘to carry two things on a pole’	baḷes ‘respond to/take revenge’
kanyo ‘to enjoy (usually food)’	atag ‘to give’
dampig ‘to side with’	eḷes ‘to borrow’
ketteng ‘to cut through’	batok ‘to rebel/resist/oppose/fight back’
kereg ‘to shiver/tremble’	baton ‘to receive/accept’
sangit ‘to snag on something’	bugtaw ‘to wake up’
palid ‘to blow away/off”’	pukaw ‘to wake up s.o. else’
takḷap ‘to cover over’	labet ‘to participate in’
bis-ak ‘to split wood/coconut etc.’	palingki ‘to shop at a wet market’
tampaling ‘to slap in the face hard’	palit ‘to buy’
lagpi ‘to slap lightly’	pista ‘to attend a festival’
demeḷ ‘to lower the head, look downwards’	seey ‘to pout’
kiyat ‘to wink’	suka ‘to vomit’
tande ‘to nod head for yes’	tanuga/tunuga ‘to go to sleep’
kulba ‘to be nervous/frightened’	anggat ‘to invite to accompany going somewhere’
tangtang ‘to come apart’	tubay ‘to greet/pay attention to s.o.’
kuslip ‘to insert into’	tudlo ‘to teach/point to/point out’
daag ‘to win’	agaw ‘to grab something away’
pirdi ‘to lose’	sudlay ‘to comb hair’
kiskis ‘to scrub s.t.’	

Groups of verbal roots depending on the dynamic intransitive irrealis inflection (cont.)

Group 1 (majority group)	Group 2 (minority group)
leged ‘to rub s.t. on’	pili ‘to choose something’
dagdag ‘to fall off’	amag ‘to want to go with s.o.’
dagbeng ‘to rumble/thud’	lakted ‘to cross over something’
kusi ‘to pinch off’	kablit ‘to touch/tap lightly’
tutod ‘to light a lamp/candle’	lambay ‘to pass by’
sepsep ‘to sip’	ani ‘to harvest’ (generic word)
tuslok ‘to poke/stick s.t. inside’	kutkot ‘to dig’
batang/betang ‘to put’	layong ‘more than one carries s.t.’
paspas ‘to swipe away’	tanem ‘to plant’
gaba ‘to be cursed for disrespecting	tampa ‘to slap the face hard’
an older person’	tigbas ‘to chop with machete/axe’
kagon ‘to be betrothed to someone’	lakkang ‘to step over something’
kuno-kuno ‘to pretend’	paḷot ‘to peel’
pelles ‘strong winds/windy’	tambong ‘to attend/gather’
kinangḷan ‘to need’	ikap ‘to touch, stroke or pet’
lagtik ‘to make a small popping/	kaḷot ‘to scratch at something
snapping sound’	itchy’
lagtok ‘to make a big popping/	ug-og ‘to mourn loudly’
snapping sound’	**Verbs that take *m-* but the initial**
timon ‘to steer a boat’	**dental approximate does not drop**
salamat ‘to thank’	**out**
daya ‘to deceive’	ḷaḷa ‘to weave’
bula ‘to lie’	ḷabo ‘to capsize’
abri ‘to open/begin something’	
bukas ‘to open something’	
tuḷo ‘to drip’	
busḷo ‘to make a hole’	
tupak ‘to patch’	
ngali ‘to dig up root crop’	
dagyaw ‘to work cooperatively’	
takilid ‘to be/turn on its side’	
tuog ‘to penetrate through’	
ḷagok ‘to snore’	

Groups of verbal roots depending on the dynamic intransitive irrealis inflection (cont.)

Group 1 (majority group)	Group 2 (minority group)
lam-ed ‘to swallow’	
luib ‘to betray’	
prusigir ‘to persevere’	
pilak ‘to throw away’	
tanod ‘to watch children’	
sirbi ‘to serve’	
bangdan ‘to blame wrongly’	
agdaw ‘to reduce fire’	
saliga ‘to insult s.o.’	
salig ‘to trust’	
tuo ‘to believe in’	
takmi ‘to sip a little’	
bantay ‘to guard/watch over’	
kuskos ‘to strum/scrub with hand’	
kullaw ‘to wonder/puzzle about’	
tingaḷa ‘to be amazed’	
kudigo ‘to cheat in classroom’	
kupya ‘to make a copy’	
pirma ‘to sign one’s name’	
demet ‘to hold a grudge’	
disisyon ‘to decide’	
luwas ‘to save from danger’	
karagpa ‘to stumble’	
tampek ‘to pack something on’	
bantaw ‘to look at something from a distance’	
balikid ‘to look back over shoulders’	
siliring ‘to move head sideways’	
tangkaeg ‘to crane one’s neck’	
lakbay ‘to skip over something’	
…	
(Most roots in the language).	

(110) Class IV *lambay* 'to pass by'
Maglambay kay ta isya na syudad.
Mag–lambay *kay ta isya na syudad.*
I.IR–pass.by 1P.EXCL.ABS NABS one LK city
'We will pass by one city.' [EMWN-T-09 5.7]
*mambay

(111) Class VI *buat* 'to do/make something':
Daw yon gusto no **magbuat** ki ta imbitasyon na tanan na ittaw ta ate i na lugar magtindir ta kasaḷ no.
Daw yon gusto no ***mag–buat*** *ki ta imbitasyon na*
if/when D3ABS want 2S.ABS I.IR–make 1P.INCL.ABS NABS invitation LK
tanan na ittaw ta ate i na lugar mag–tindir ta
all LK person NABS 1P.INCL.GEN DEF.N LK place I.IR–attend NABS
kasaḷ no.
wedding 2S.GEN
'If that is what you want, we will make invitations so that all the people in our place will attend your wedding.' [CBWN-C-17 7.4]
*muat

(112) Class VI *taod* 'to respect someone'
Kyo na mga kabataan, dapat gid na **magtaod** kaw ta inyo na mga ginikanan daw inyo na mga utod.
Kyo na mga ka–bata–an, dapat gid na ***mag–taod*** *kaw ta*
2P.ABS LK PL NR–child–NR must INT LK I.IR–respect 2P.ABS NABS
inyo na mga ginikanan daw inyo na mga utod.
2P.GEN LK PL parent and 2P.GEN LK PL sibling
'You children, you must really respect your parents and your siblings.' [BCWL-T-12 2.1]
*maod

(113) Class VII *bayad* 'to pay something to someone'
Primiro gid na pag-imuon ta ubra ta bḷangay, **magbayad** kay ta lisinsya ta pagkurti ta kaoy naan ta Bureau of Forestry daw pila na mitro kubiko a isya na bḷangay.
Primiro gid na pag–-imo–en ta ubra ta bḷangay,
first INT LK NR.ACT–do–NR NABS make/work NABS 2.mast.boat
mag–bayad *kay ta lisinsya ta pag–kurti ta kaoy*
I.IR–pay 1P.EXCL.ABS NABS license NABS NR.ACT–shape NABS woood

naan ta Bureau of Forestry daw pila na mitro kubiko
SPAT.DEF NABS Bureau of Forestry if/when how.many LK meter cubic
a isya na bḷangay.
INJ one LK 2.mast.boat
'Really first when making a 2 mast boat, we pay for the license for cutting trees at the Bureau of Forestry for how many cubic meters is one 2 mast boat.' [HCWE-J-01 1.1]
*mayad

(114) Class VIII *tutod* 'to light a candle or lamp'
Gabangon a daw **magtutod** ta pitrumaks.
Ga–bangon a daw ***mag–tutod*** *ta pitrumaks.*
I.IR–get.up 1S.ABS and I.IR–light NABS petromax
'I got up and lit a petromax.' [JCWN-L-31 3.3]
*mutod

Examples (115) through (124) illustrate Group 2 verbs from Classes IV, VI, VII, and VIII that may take *m-* as well as *mag-* as the intransitive, irrealis inflection. Sometimes there is no discernible difference in meaning between the two forms, while other times the *m-* forms describe more immediate, inevitable situations. The *mag-* forms tend to describe more non-specific, habitual situations, often in combination with another clause in the same construction. Example (115) illustrates the culminative usage of irrealis modality (see Chapter 6, §6.5.6):

(115) Class IV *tunga* 'to come up from under water'
Apang ta pangallo ko na pag-eseb **magtunga** a dagat naan tuman ta ake na ilek.
Apang ta pang–tallo ko na pag-–eseb
but NABS ORD–three 1S.GEN LK NR.ACT–go.underwater
mag–tunga *a dagat naan tuman ta ake na*
I.IR–come.up.from.underwater 1S.ABS sea NABS until NABS 1S.GEN LK
ilek.
armpit
'But on my third going under water I came up from under the sea to my armpits.' [EFWN-T-11 14.7]

In a different telling of the same story, the same speaker uses the *m-* form, again in the culminative usage (116). Here there does not seem to be any discernable difference in meaning:

(116) Class IV *tunga* 'to come up from underwater'
Pangallo ko na eseb **munga** a dagat naan tuman ta ilek i.
Pang–tallo ko na eseb ***m–tunga***
ORD–three 1S.GEN LK go.underwater I.V.IR–come.up.from.underwater
a dagat naan tuman ta ilek i.
1S.ABS sea SPAT.DEF until NABS armpit DEF.N
'My third going under water I came up from under the sea until the armpits.' [EFWN-T-10 4.17]

(117) Class VI *kaan* 'to eat':
Daw **magkaan** kon prinsisa i gatungtong kon pangka i naan ta pinggan din na gasalo.
Daw ***mag–kaan*** *kon prinsisa i ga–tungtong kon pangka*
If/whan I.IR–eat HSY princess DEF.N I.R–got.on.top HSY frog
i naan ta pinggan din na ga–salo.
DEF.N SPAT.DEF NABS dish 3S.GEN LK I.R–eat.from.same.dish
'When the princess was eating, the frog got on top of her dish eating from the same dish.' [CBWN-C-17 5.4]

(118) Bisan daw imol ki nang o **maan** ki nang ta mga gamut ta kaoy basta gatingeb ki nang magbata.
Bisan daw imol ki nang o ***m–kaan*** *ki nang*
even if/when poor 1P.INCL.ABS only or I.V.IR–eat 1P.INCL.ABS only
ta mga gamut ta kaoy basta ga–tingeb ki nang
NABS PL root NABS tree as.long.as I.R–together 1P.INCL.ABS only
mag–bata.
REL–child
'Even if we are only poor or we only eat roots of trees, (it is okay/it does not matter) just as long as we parents and children are together.' [CBWE-C-05 4.2]

(119) Class VII *atag* 'to give':
Gasuḷat a ki kaon tak gusto ko man na **mag-atag** ta lipo nang na laygay ki kaon …
Ga–suḷat a ki kaon tak gusto ko man na ***mag–-atag***
I.R–write 1S.SABS OBL.P 2S because want 1S.ERG also LK I.IR–give
ta lipo nang na laygay ki kaon …
NABS short only LK advice OBL.P 2S
'I am writing to you because I want to give just some short advice to you …' [YBWL-T-02 2.1]

(120) Daw may nanagat na kakamang ta sidda **matag** gid ki kanen.

Daw may na–ng–dagat na ka–kamang ta sidda ***m–atag***
if/when EXT.IN A.HAP.R–PL–sea LK I.EXM–get NABS fish I.V.IR–give
gid ki kanen.
INT OBL.P 3S
'If there is someone fishing who got a/some fish, s/he really will give (some) to him.' [JCWN-T-20 10.1]

(121) Class VIII *tabang* 'to help'
Naan ko dya nḷaman na gangita kanen ta duma na **magtabang** ki kanen naan ta translation.

Naan ko dya na–aḷam–an na ga–ngita kanen ta
SPAT.DEF 1S.ERG D4LOC A.HAP.R–know–APL LK I.R–search 3S.ABS NABS
duma na ***mag–tabang*** *ki kanen naan ta translation.*
other LK I.IR–help OBL.P 3S SPAT.DEF NABS translation
'It was there I knew that she was searching for another to help her in translation.' [SLWN-C-01 8.3]

(122) **Mabang** a gid ki kaon a tak utod ki.

M–tabang *a gid ki kaon a tak utod ki.*
I.V.IR–help 1S.ABS INT OBL.P 2S INJ because sibling 1P.INCL.ABS
'I will help you well because we are siblings.' [RBON-T-01 3.8]

(123) Class VIII *tudlo* 'to teach/point to'
Tay, Nay miling a ta Manila tak **magtudlo** a kon ki Pedro ta ambaḷ ta na Kagay-anen.

Tay, Nay m–iling a ta Manila tak ***mag–tudlo*** *a kon*
dad mom I.V.IR–go 1S.ABS NABS Manila because I.IR–teach 1S.ABS HSY
ki Pedro ta ambaḷ ta na Kagay-anen.
OBL.P Pedro NABS say 1P.INCL.GEN LK Kagayanen
'Dad, Mom, I will go to Manila because I will teach Pedro our language Kagay-anen.' [RCON-L-03 4.1]

(124) Uḷa baba, uḷa irong, uḷa mata, piro sikad **mudlo** daw ano dili an makita ta duma. Sabat: tudlo

Uḷa baba, uḷa irong, uḷa mata, piro sikad ***m–tudlo*** *daw*
NEG.R mouth NEG.R noise NEG.R eye but always I.V.IR–teach if/when
ano[7] *dili an ma–kita ta duma. Sabat: tudlo.*
what NEG.IR DEF.M A.HAP.IR–see NABS others answer finger
'It has no mouth, it has no nose, it has no eyes, but it's always teaching/pointing to what others will not see. Answer: finger.' (The Kagayanen word *tudlo* can be either a verb meaning to teach or point to something or a noun meaning finger.) [SFWR-L-05 1.1–2]

[7]This use of *ano* is code-switching from Tagalog.

9 Semantically motivated verb classes

9.1 Introduction

In this chapter we describe a few semantically motivated verb classes not mentioned in Chapter 8. In many cases, these classes have characteristics of the major classes mentioned in Chapter 8, but all exhibit some distinctive morphosyntactic properties that warrant their separate treatment. Since this chapter takes a "semantics prior" approach, the section headings describe particularly salient situation types, and the content of each section describes the constructions that characteristically express such situations.

9.2 Meteorological situations

Meteorological situations are those which describe weather and other natural conditions. They typically have no actor or undergoer participants, and so technically are not semantically transitive or intransitive. In Kagayanen, predicates describing many meterological and other natural phenomena do not require a distinct absolutive argument. Bare roots in such situations are usually inflected with affixes from the intransitive, dynamic set:

(1) Isya na mapon **guran** ta dakmeḷ.
Isya na mapon ***ga–uran*** *ta* *dakmeḷ.*
one LK afternoon I.R–rain NABS thick
'One afternoon it **was raining** heavily (lit. thickly).' [JCWN-L-33 27.1]

(2) Kabay pa na **mag-uran**.
Kabay *pa* *na* ***mag–-uran****.*
may.it.be INC CM I.IR–rain
'May it (be that it will) **rain**.' (I hope it will rain.)

(3) Mag-alas dos kagaen, gulpi nang **galinaw**.
*Mag-–alas dos kagaen, gulpi nang **ga–linaw**.*
I.IR–o'clock two before.daybreak suddenly just I.R–calm
'It was almost two o'clock before dawn just suddenly the (sea) **became calm**.' [VAWN-T-18 5.3]

(4) Naambaḷ ta manakem daw **magtaliktik** gani mian angin an, mian ta mait, **magbagyo** gid.
*Na–ambaḷ ta manakem daw **mag–taliktik** gani mian*
A.HAP.R–say NABS older if/when I.IR–light.rain truly northeast.wind
*angin an, mian ta mait, **mag–bagyo** gid.*
wind DEF.M northeast.wind NABS season I.IR–typhoon INT
'The older ones have said when **it rains lightly** the wind is the northeast wind, the northeast wind season, it **will really typhoon**.' [PCON-C-01 2.6]

Happenstantial inflections are normally disallowed with bare roots expressing meteorological phenomena:

(5) a. * Nadlaw en anduni.
Na–adlaw en anduni.
A.HAP.R–day/sun CM now/today
('It is sunny now/today.')

b. * Madlaw en kani.
Ma–adlaw en kani.
A.HAP.IR–day/sun CM later
('It will be sunny later.')

Roots describing meteorological phenomena may take applicative morphology, in which case a typically animate affected participant occurs in the absolutive. The applicative stem is then inflected in happenstantial modality. This is a kind of *experiential* construction in which the experiencer of the situation is the undergoer (exs. 6–9):

(6) **Nalinawan** kami i ta ame na pagbyai.
***Na–linaw–an** kami i ta ame na pag–byai.*
A.HAP.R–calm–APL 1P.EXCL.ABS DEF.N NABS 1P.EXCL.GEN LK NR.ACT–travel
'(It) **happened to become calm** on us during our traveling.'

(7) **Naadlawan** kay en na munta uma.

Na–adlaw–an *kay* *en* *na munta* *uma.*
A.HAP.R–adlaw–APL 1P.EXCL.ABS CM LK toward field
'(It) **became sunny** on us when going to the field.'

(8) **Naadlawan** a, tapos **nauranan** man. Busa, yaken nalagnat aren.

Na–adlaw–an *a,* *tapos* ***na–uran–an*** *man. Busa,*
A.HAP.R–adlaw–APL 1S.ABS afterwards A.HAP.R–rain–APL also so
yaken *na–lagnat* *aren.*
1S.ABS A.HAP.R–fever 1S.ABS
'It was sunny on me, afterwards it rained (on me) also. So, I had become feverish.' [MBON-T-07 2.12]

While the absolutive in an applicative meteorological construction is typically human, example (9) illustrates that it need not be. In this example *guso* 'agar seaweed' is the absolutive:

(9) Guso i daw **maadlawan** ta darwa nang na oras ta takas gayem-ek.

Guso *i* *daw* ***ma–adlaw–an*** *ta* *darwa*
agar.seaweed DEF.N if/when A.HAP.IR–day/sun–APL NABS two
nang *na oras* *ta* *takas* *ga–yem-ek.*
only/just LK hours NABS up.hill I.R–soft
'The agar seaweed when in the sunshine for just two hours on the shore it becomes soft.' [MEWE-T-01 8.2]

Example (10) illustrates the root *uran* 'rain' in a dynamic transitive construction, with causative and applicative affixes. Note that the absolutive is the sun-dried corn:

(10) Papauranan ko nang binaḷad ya na mais.

Pa–pa–uran–an *ko* *nang* *b<in>aḷad* *ya* *na mais.*
T.R-CAUS–rain–APL 1S.ERG only/just <NR.RES>dry.in.sun DEF.F LK corn
'I just let it rain on the sun-dried corn.'

Example (11) illustrates a kind of reflexive construction. This is not an experiential construction (i.e., there is no applicative marker indicating the absolutive is the experiencer of the situation), but the implication is that the speaker "let it rain" on himself while hunting (see Chapter 10, §10.6.1 for this reflexive use of the detransitive causative *ga-pa-* or *mag-pa-*):

(11) **Gapauran** a nang gibii.
*Ga–**pa–uran** a nang gibii.*
I.R–CAUS–rain 1S.ABS only/just yesterday
'I just **let it rain** (on me) yesterday.' (Instead of going inside he kept trying to spear a wild pig.) [RCON-L-01 3.9]

9.3 Utterance

Situations involving speech (or other types of utterance, such as shouting, whispering, asking or replying) are similar to situations of transfer (Class VII as identified in Chapter 8) in that the content of the utterance (what is said) is presented as a theme that is "transferred" from the Speaker to the Addressee. In Kagayanen predicates that depict utterance situations, the actor is always the speaker, but either the theme or the recipient may be expressed in the absolutive case, as will be described below.

With the root *ambaḷ* 'to say' the addressee(s) does not have to be explicitly mentioned if it is obvious in the context. The quote can be either indirect (12) or direct (13). Notice also that in the first part of the sentence in example (13) there is no quote. The quote is in the previous sentence in the text.

(12) Detransitive (Actor = absolutive), indirect quote:
Miyirkules sellem **gambaḷ** a ta sawa ko na maglangoy aren inta unduni.
*Miyirkules sellem **ga–ambaḷ** a ta sawa ko na*
Wednesday morning I.R–say 1S.ABS NABS spouse 2S.GEN LK
mag–langoy aren inta unduni.
I.IR–bathe 1S.ABS OPT now/today
'Wednesday morning I said to my husband that I should bathe now.' [EMWN-T-05 4.6]

(13) Detransitive (Actor = absolutive), direct quote:
Na **gambaḷ** ake na papa gatuḷo iya na luwa daw **ambaḷ** din, "Malipayen aren daw makita ko ake na mga kabataan daw dayad iran na lawa."
*Na **ga–ambaḷ** ake na papa ga–tuḷo iya na luwa daw …**ambaḷ***
LK I.R–say 1S.GEN LK papa I.R–drip 3S.GEN LK tears and T.R–say
din, "Ma–lipay–en aren daw ma–kita ko ake na mga
3S.ERG AR–joy–AR 1S.ABS if/when A.HAP.IR–see 1S.ERG 1S.GEN LK PL
ka–bata–an daw dayad iran na lawa."
NR–child–NR and good 3P.GEN LK body
'When my papa was saying (this), his tears were dripping and he said, "I

am joyful when I see my children and their bodies are well."'
[CBWE-C-05 5.5]

(14) Transitive (Theme = absolutive):
Dason **pambaḷ** nanay ko, "Man-o kon uḷa luag sinayaw Bantayan?"
*Dason **pa–ambaḷ** nanay ko, "Man-o kon uḷa luag*
next T.R–say mother 1S.GEN why HSY NEG.R watch
s<in>ayaw Bantayan?"
<NR.RES>dance Bantayan
'Next my mother said, "Why are (you) not watching the dance in Bantayan?"' [BMON-C-06 2.29]

(15) Transitive (Theme = absolutive), Deontic modality:
Iambaḷ no ki kanen daw ino ubraen din.
***I–ambaḷ** no ki kanen daw ino ubra–en din.*
T.DEON–say 2S.ERG OBL.P 3S if/when what work–T.IR 3S.GEN
'You should say to him/her whatever s/he will work on.'

(16) Applicative (Recipient = absolutive):
Pambaḷan kay mama na mangamuyo kay nang kon.
***Pa–ambaḷ–an** kay mama na m–pangamuyo kay*
T.R–say–APL 1P.EXCL.ABS mother LK I.IR–pray 1P.EXCL.ABS
nang kon.
only/just HSY
'Mother said to us that we will just pray.' [VAWN-T-18 4.6]

Occasionally, the recipient may be expressed as the absolutive with no applicative marking. In that case, the implication is the speech is more direct or frank. For example, (17) is about a fairy telling a person to go with him to the world of the dead. This is an unusual and momentous direct request, and so the applicative is not used. This emphasizes the usually direct nature of this statement. Example (18) is about a woman telling her mother to regret or repent of her sins, which also is an unusually frank thing for anyone to say to their parents.

(17) **Pambaḷ** din yaken i na muyog a mamasyar.
***Pa–ambaḷ** din yaken i na m–kuyog a*
T.R–say 3S.ERG 1S.ABS DEF.N LK I.V.IR–go.with 1S.ABS
ma–ng–pasyar.
A.HAP.IR–PL–visit
'S/he told me that I will go with (him) to go visiting.' [EDON-J-01 1.7]

(18) **Pambaḷ** ko kanen an, “Maneḷseḷ ka ta imo na saḷa.

*Pa–**ambaḷ** ko kanen an, “Ma–neḷseḷ ka ta*
T.R–say 1S.ERG 3S.ABS DEF.M A.HAP.IR–regret/repent 2S.ABS NABS
imo na saḷa.”
2S.GEN LK sin/mistake
‘I told her (directly), “You may regret/repent of your sins.”’ [BMON-C-06 4.11]

The transitive, deontic mood prefix *i-* may occur with a Beneficiary as absolutive. This may be considered an applicative usage of the *i-* prefix:

(19) **Iambaḷ** a no naan ta mistro na absint a.

***I–ambaḷ** a no naan ta mistro na absint a.*
T.DEON–say 1S.ABS 2S.ERG SPAT.DEF NABS teacher LK absent 1S.ABS
‘(You must) **say** for me to the teacher that I am absent.’

Additional examples of utterance predicates from the texts follow:

(20) Isya na sellem nanampara Pedro i ta Mamaan. Nasugat din manakem na i. **Painsaan** Pedro daw indi punta? **Ambaḷ** din nangita ta layaen darwa danen magsawa. **Gasugid** nang man a Pedro i na kanen manampara. **Insaan** din daw kino duma din. **Sabat** Pedro, subuok nang kanen. **Insa** ta manakem isab, “Uḷa ka adlek?” **Sabat** Pedro, “Ino adlekan ko a? Daw may magpadlek, dili katilaw yan ta pana i.”

Isya na sellem na–ng–tampara Pedro i ta Mamaan.
one LK morning A.HAP.R–PL–goggles Pedro DEF.N NABS Mamaan
*Na–sugat din manakem na i. **Pa–insa–an** Pedro daw*
A.HAP.R–meet 3S.ERG older LK D1ADJ T.R–ask–APL Pedro if/when
*indi punta? …–**Ambaḷ** din na–ngita ta laya–en*
where going T.R–say 3S.ERG A.HAP.R–search NABS cast.net–T.IR
*darwa danen mag–sawa. **Ga–sugid** nang man a Pedro i na*
two 3P.ERG REL–spouse I.R–tell only/just also INJ Pedro DEF.N LK
*kanen ma–ng–tampara. …–**Insa–an** din daw kino*
3S.ABS A.HAP.IR–PL–goggles T.R–ask–APL 3S.ERG if/when who
*duma din. …–**Sabat** Pedro, subuok nang kanen. …–**Insa***
companion 3S.GEN T.R–answer Pedro one.piece only/just 3S.ABS T.R–ask
*ta manakem isab, “Uḷa ka adlek?” …–**Sabat** Pedro, “Ino*
NABS older again NEG.R 2S.ABS afraid T.R–answer Pedro what

adlek–an ko a? Daw may mag–pa–adlek, dili
afraid–APL 1S.ERG INJ if/when EXT.IN I.IR–CAUS–afraid NEG.IR
ka–tilaw yan ta pana i."
I.EXM–try/taste D2ABS NABS spear DEF.N
'One day Pedro went spear fishing at Mamaan. He happened to meet this older one. Pedro **asked** (him) where he is going. He **said** that both his wife and he have been searching for something to cast net fish. Pedro just **told** him that he is going spear fishing. He **asked** him who is his companion. Pedro **answered** that he is only one. The older one **asked** again, "Aren't you afraid?" Pedro **answered**, "What will I be afraid of? If there is something to cause me fear won't that one experience the spear."' [JCWN-T-26 5:1–10]

(21) Ti, **naisturyaan** din arey din na danen an Pedro daw Maria dali nang magkasaḷ.
*Ti, **na–isturya–an** din arey din na danen an*
SO A.HAP.R–converse/talk–APL 3S.ERG friend 3S.GEN LK 3P.ABS DEF.M
Pedro daw Maria dali nang mag–kasaḷ.
Pedro and Maria soon only/just I.IR–wedding
'So, he had (previously) **conversed** with his friend that they, Pedro and Maria, soon will be wed.' (This is a flashback in the story.) [LGON-L-01 11.2]

9.4 Perception

Situations involving perception (as well as emotion and cognition described below) are semantically "somewhat transitive" in that there are two necessary participants involved: an experiencer and a source of the experience, sometimes refered to as a stimulus. For example, in an event of visual perception, the experiencer is the person or animal that sees something, and the stimulus is the thing seen. These situations are different from prototypical transitive situations in that there is little or no activity that is "transferred" from one participant to the other. In the words of Croft (2001: 164) the experiencer "attends to" the stimulus, but does not act on it in any way. The stimulus does not undergo a change as a result of being perceived. In some cases the experiencer does act intentionally, as in *He listened to the radio*, or *I looked at the horizon*. English expresses the difference between intentional and unintentional perception largely via distinct verb roots, though sometimes the same root can be used either way, for example,

He smelled the roses can mean he intentionally sniffed them, or he happened to smell them as he walked by. In Kagayanen this difference is largely expressed via Happenstantial versus Dynamic verbal inflections.

Non-volitional perception, such as seeing, hearing, and smelling something unintentionally, is usually inflected in experiencer modality. This seems to be the norm for roots that express peception. Recall that for non-volitional situations, experiencer modality is neutral with respect to grammatical transitivity – non-volitional verbs inflected in experiencer modality may occur in transitive or intransitive argument structure frames. This is understandable insofar as perception situations are semantically "somewhat transitive", as mentioned above.

Intentional perception, such as watching, listening and actively tasting, is typically expressed in dynamic modality. Intentional or unintentional Experiential situations may be expressed grammatically in the various "voices" relevant to transitive situations in general, including detransitive (actor voice), and applicative (locative voice) constructions. These are just some of the patterns in which speakers use and adjust roots to express the precise meanings needed, according to specific communicative situations. The following examples from the corpus are of perception predicates that illustrate their various inflectional possibilities and their semantic effects.

We will begin with examples of the common root that expresses visual perception *kita* 'to see'. Predicates headed by this root take happenstantial affixes, unless they are the basis of causative or reciprocal stems.

(22) **Nakita** ko danen dya na sigi kaan.
Na–kita *ko* *danen* *dya* *na* *sigi* *kaan.*
A.HAP.R–see 1S.ERG 3S.ABS D4LOC LK continually eat
'I saw them there continually eating.' [EFOB-J-03 2.9]

(23) **Nakita** ko na may anen dya na baked na bangkilan, …
Na–kita *ko* *na* *may* *anen* *dya* *na* *baked* *na* *bangkilan* *…*
A.HAP.R–see 1S.ERG LK EXT.IN EXT.G D4LOC LK big LK tusked.one
'I saw that there was some big-tusked wild pig …' [RCON-L-01 3.11]

(24) **Nakita** din na gaitem inog an na lumboy.
Na–kita *din* *na* *ga–item* *inog* *an* *na* *lumboy.*
A.HAP.R–see 3S.ERG LK I.R–black ripe DEF.M LK Java.plum
'He saw that the ripe Java plums were becoming black.' [JCWN-L-38 7.3]

(25) Maski **makita** din ambaw, kanen nang **magtan-aw**.

Maski ***ma–kita*** *din ambaw, kanen nang* ***mag–tan-aw***.
even.if A.HAP.IR–see 3S.ERG mouse/rat 3S.ABS only/just I.IR–look.at
'Even if s/he (the cat) sees a mouse or rat, s/he will just look at it.' [JCOO-C-10 8.1]

(26) Iling din makaḷa din daw **makita** din.

Iling din ma–kaḷa din daw ***ma–kita*** *din.*
say 3S.ERG A.HAP.IR–know/recognize 3S.ERG if/when A.HAP.IR–see 3S.ERG
'He said that he will recognize him if he sees him.' [JCWN-T-26 4.13]

(27) May isya na manakem na ngaran din Tatay Pedro na gasakay ta isya na lunday na manampara. **Nakita** din ake na mangngod na nalemmes.

May isya na manakem na ngaran din Tatay Pedro na ga–sakay
EXT.IN one LK older LK name 3S.GEN Father Pedro LK I.R–ride
ta isya na lunday na ma–ng–tampara. ***Na–kita*** *din ake na mangngod na na–lemmes.*
NABS one LK outrigger.canoe LK A.HAP.IR–PL–goggles A.HAP.R–see 3S.ERG 1S.GEN LK younger.sibling LK A.HAP.R–drown
'There was an older person whose name was Father Pedro who was riding an outrigger canoe going fishing. He saw my younger sibling who had drowned.' [LCWN-T-01 2.8–9]

(28) *kita* 'to see' in detransitive frames:
Miron na mama **kakita** ti na bai.

Miron na mama ***ka–kita*** *ti na bai.*
single.man LK man I.EXM–see D1NABS LK woman
'The single man found (was enabled to see) this woman.' [JCWN-T-25 2.18]

(29) **Kakita** a unso ittaw na bakod.

Ka–kita *a unso ittaw na bakod.*
I.EXM–see 1S.ABS D4LOC.PR person LK big
'I encountered (was enabled to see) right there a big person.' [RCON-L-02 3.5]

(30) Piro yi na manakem **nakakita** ki danen daw diristso din umaw danen an…
*Piro yi na manakem **naka–kita** ki danen daw diristso din*
but D1ADJ LK older I.HAP.R–see OBL.P 3P.ABS and straightway 3S.ERG
…–umaw danen an …
T.R–call 3P.ABS DEF.M
'But this older man saw them and straightway called them …'
[PBWN-C-13 4.3]

(31) Paryo ta ayep na kanding, pugya uḷa gid kanding banwa i, piro namatian no daw **makakita** ka ta tai din.
Paryo ta ayep na kanding, pugya uḷa gid kanding
same NABS animal LK goat long.ago NEG.R INT goat
*banwa i, piro na–mati–an no daw **maka–kita***
town/country DEF.N but A.HAP.R–hear–APL 2S.ERG and I.HAP.IR–see
ka ta tai din.
2S.ABS NABS scat 3S.GEN
'Like the animal goat, long ago the town really had no goats, but you heard them and you can see their scat.' (This is a story about a place on Cagayancillo where amazing things happen.) [EFWE-T-05 3.8]

Makakita can also just mean to have the internal ability to see, as when a blind person is healed. *Nakakita*, *nakita*, and *makita* are not used in this way.

(32) Sikad en kon na kalipay danen tak buḷag ya **makakita** en daw buktot ya tanos en.
*Sikad en kon na ka–lipay danen tak buḷag ya **maka–kita** en*
very CM HSY LK NR–joy 3S.GEN because blind DEF.F I.HAP.R–see CM
daw buktot ya tanos en.
and hunchback DEF.F straight CM
'Their joy was great because the blind one can see and the hunchback is straight.' [CBWN-C-15 5.18]

The root *kita* with the meaning of 'see' only occurs in happenstantial modality. The causative stem, *pakita*, may occur in dynamic modality with the meaning of 'to show'. The reciprocal stem, *kitaay* 'to meet together', may also appear in dynamic modality. There are thirty-eight examples of stems based on *kita* functioning as predicates in dynamic modality in the corpus, twelve of which are causatives and twenty-six of which are reciprocals. Examples (33) and (34) illustrate the reciprocal usage:

(33) **Gakitaay** kay isab ta mga mama nay ya na duma. Lain man iran baḷay daen.

Ga–kita–ay *kay isab ta mga mama nay ya na*
I.R–see–REC 1P.EXCL.ABS again NABS PL man 1P.EXCL.GEN DEF.F LK
duma. Lain man iran baḷay daen.
companion different also 3P.GEN house 3P.GEN

'We (the women) met together again with our male companions. As for them, their house was different (from ours).' [EMWN-T-09 6.1]

(34) Ta isya na adlaw **gakitaay** Pwikan i daw Umang ta isya na baybay.

Ta isya na adlaw ***ga–kita–ay*** *Pwikan i daw Umang ta*
NABS one LK day I.R–see–REC tortoise DEF.N and hermit.crab NABS
isya na baybay.
one LK beach

'One day Tortoise and Hermit Crab met each other on a beach.' [DBWN-T-26 2.1]

Examples (35) and (36) illustrate the causative stem *pakita* 'to show/demonstrate' in dynamic modality:

(35) Kyo na mga ginikanan, **pakita** nyo man ta batasan nyo na sigkat kaw …

*Kyo na mga ginikanan, ∅–****pa–kita*** *nyo man ta batasan*
2P.ABS LK PL parent T.IR–CAUS–see 2P.ERG also NABS behavior
nyo na sigkat kaw …
2P.GEN LK hard.working 2P.ABS

'You parents, also show (to your children) your behavior that you are being hard-working …' [RZWE-J-01 16.7]

(36) Isya pa may atag kanen ki kyo piro uḷa din **pakita** ki kami daw ino atag din ki kyo.

*Isya pa may atag kanen ki kyo, piro uḷa din …–****pa–kita***
one INC EXT.IN give 3S.ABS OBL.P 2p but NEG.R 3S.ERG T.R–CAUS–see
ki kami daw ino atag din ki kyo.
OBL.P 1P.EXCL if/when what give 3S.ERG OBL.P 2p

'One more (thing), he has something to give to you, but he did not show (it) to us what he will give you.' [BCWL-T-10 2.5]

Predicates describing intentional visual perception tend to take dynamic affixes with no stem-forming morphology required, for example, *luag* 'to watch' and *tan–*aw 'to look at'. These verbs are sometimes interchangeable.

(37) **Galuag** kay ta kaoy an na gakuwa don.

Ga–luag *kay ta kaoy an na ga–kuwa don.*
I.R–watch 1P.EXCL.ABS NABS tree DEF.M LK I.R–whatchmacallit D3LOC
'We **were watching** the tree that was whatsamacallit there.' [DBON-C-06 2.20]

(38) **Muag** gid yan kani ta damag di daw **manilag** di kani nya na mga ittaw.

M–luag *gid yan kani ta damag di daw* ***m–panilag***
I.V.IR–watch INT D2ABS later NABS wake D1LOC and I.V.IR–observe
di kani nya na mga ittaw.
D1LOC later D4ADJ LK PL person
'That one **will really watch/attend** later the wake here and those people **will be observing** here.' [CBWN-C-22 13.9]

(39) **Paluag** ko daw ano na sistema tan na uḷa natapat.

Pa–luag *ko daw ano na sistema tan na uḷa*
T.R–watch 1S.ABS if/when what LK system D3NABS LK NEG.R
na–tapat.
A.HAP.R–mortally.wounded
'I **inspected** it (the spear) (to see) what is its position that it (the wild pig) was not mortally wounded.' (The speaker was spear hunting a wild pig and he hit the pig but the spear fell out of the pig and so he wanted to know why the pig was not mortally wounded.) [RCON-L-01 8.5]

(40) Ayep na sipit-sipit tiset daw **luagen** apang may abilidad.

Ayep na sipit-sipit tiset daw ***luag–en*** *apang may abilidad.*
animal LK scorpion small if/when watch–T.IR but EXT.IN ability
'As for the animal scorpion it is small when looking at it but it has ability.' [EFWE-T-04 26.1]

(41) Pag-uḷog ko ta pundo ya, **tan-awen** ko, may bwaya plang.

Pag-–uḷog ko ta pundo ya, ***tan-aw–en*** *ko, may*
NR.ACT–fall 1S.GEN NABS anchor DEF.F look.at–T.IR 1S.ERG EXT.IN
bwaya plang.
crocodile SURP
'When I dropped the anchor, when I looked at it, there was unexpectedly/surprisingly a crocodile!' [SFWN-T-03 2.9].

(42) Masilaw **tan-awen** daw kilat nagakidlap.

Ma–silaw ***tan-aw–en*** *daw kilat naga–kidlap.*[1]
A.HAP.IR–blinding.bright look.at–T.IR if/when lightning I.R–flash
'Looking at lightning flashing is blinding bright.' [JCWO-T-30 75.1]

(43) **Patan-aw** ko tiyo ko pario nadlek.

Pa–tan-aw *ko tiyo ko pario na–adlek.*
T.R–look.at 1S.ERG uncle 1S.GEN same A.HAP.R–afraid
'I looked at my uncle who seemed afraid.' [PMWN-T-02 2.9]

(44) **Patan-aw** din; **pasil-ing** din kon. "Bḷawan man ni a!"

Pa–tan-aw *din;* ***pa–sil-ing*** *din kon. Bḷawan man ni a!*
T.R–look.at 3S.ERG T.R–peek.inside 3S.ERG HSY gold EMPH D1ABS INJ
'He looked at it (the hole in the tree), (it is said). He peeked inside (and said) "This really is gold!"' [MBON-T-04 3.15]

When the happenstantial affixes occur on these roots they express abilitative, optative, or opportunitive modality, or perfect aspect.

(45) Opportunitive:
Maluag ko kani sinayaw an daw uḷa en ubra.

Ma–luag *ko kani s<in>ayaw an daw uḷa en ubra.*
A.HAP.IR–watch 1S.ERG later <NR.RES>dance DEF.M if/when NEG.R CM work
'I will **get to watch** the dance later if there is no more work.'

(46) **Nakaluag** aren ta yon na sini.

Naka–luag *aren ta yon na sini.*
I.HAP.R–watch 1S.ABS NABS D3ADJ LK movie
'I already **had the opportunity to watch** that movie.'

[1]The prefix *naga-* in this example is code switching from Hiligaynon (a Bisayan language). The Kagayanen form would be *ga-*.

(47) Basi **makaluag** a ta sinayaw kani daw uḷa ubra.
Basi ***maka–luag*** *a ta s<in>ayaw kani daw uḷa*
perhaps I.HAP.IR–watch 1S.ABS NABS <NR.RES>dance later if/when NEG.R
ubra.
work
'Perhaps I **will have the opportunity to watch** the dance later if there is no work.'

(48) **Matan-aw** ko kanen an na marga.
Ma–tan-aw *ko kanen an na m–larga.*
A.HAP.IR–look.at 1S.ERG 3S.ABS DEF.M LK I.V.IR–depart
'I **will have the opportunity to look at** him/her departing on a trip.'

(49) **Nakatan-aw** aren ta yon na sini.
Naka–tan-aw *aren ta yon na sini.*
I.HAP.R–look.at 1S.ABS NABS D3ADJ LK movie
'I **had the opportunity to watch** that movie.'

(50) Abilitative:
Gapayong kay nang aged na **makatan-aw** kay nang.
Ga–payong kay nang aged na ***maka–tan-aw*** *kay*
I.R–umbrela 1P.EXCL.ABS only/just so.that LK I.HAP.IR–look.at 1P.EXCL.ABS
nang.
only/just
'We just used an umbrella so that we **would be able to watch** the (show).'
[YBWL-T-03 5.9]

(51) Perfect aspect:
Naluag nay en yon na sini.
Na–luag *nay en yon na sini.*
A.HAP.R–watch 1P.EXCL.ERG CM D3ADJ LK movie
'We **have already watched** that movie.'

(52) Pagsekeb danen uḷa danen **natan-aw** gantangan ya daw may gapilit na bḷawan.
Pag–sekeb danen uḷa danen ***na–tan-aw***
NR.ACT–volume.measure 3P.GEN NEG.R 3P.ERG A.HAP.R–look.at
gantang–an ya daw may ga–pilit na bḷawan.
3.quart–NR DEF.F if/when EXT.IN I.R–stick.on LK gold
'When they measured (how much was the gold), they **had not looked at**

the measurer if some gold was sticking (inside the measuring device).' [CBWN-C-22 7.1]

The root *mati* 'to hear/listen' is of Class V, subclass Vb of non-volitional semantically transitive roots, and Class VIII, volitional transitive roots, depending on the context. Both of these classes are those that take the applicative *-an* in their basic transitive form (see Chapter 8, §8.5). In happenstantial modality with the applicative, the meaning tends to be unintentional: 'to hear' (53 and 54), and in dynamic modalities the meaning is more intentional: 'to listen' (55 and 56):

(53) Transitive, happenstantial (with obligatory applicative):
Pag-uḷa nang lugay **namatian** nay en daguno ta iruplano.
Pag-–uḷa nang lugay ***na–mati–an*** *nay en*
NR.ACT–NEG.R only/just long.time A.HAP.R–hear–APL 1P.EXCL.ERG CM
daguno ta iruplano.
drone.sound NABS airplane
'Not long afterwards, we **heard** the drone of the airplane.' [JCWN-T-22 7.2]

(54) Na nuga kay en mga alas unsi ta kilem, **matian** ko umaw ta isya na mama na ingkantado.
Na nuga[2] *kay en mga alas unsi ta kilem, …–****mati–an***[3] *ko*
LK sleep 1P.EXCL.ABS CM PL o'clock eleven NABS night
umaw ta isya na mama na ingkantado.
A.HAP.R–hear–APL 1S.ERG call NABS one LK male LK fairy
'When we were asleep around eleven o'clock at night, I heard a call of a male fairy.' [EDON-J-01 1.6]

(55) Transitive, dynamic (with obligatory applicative):
Pamatian no ta gaḷaḷa an ta ikam paryo ta isya na ittaw na gatype.
Pa–mati–an *no ta ga–ḷaḷa an ta ikam paryo ta isya*
T.R–hear–APL 2S.ERG NABS I.R–weave DEF.M NABS mat same NABS one
na ittaw na ga–type.
LK person LK I.R–type
'When you **listen** to someone weaving a mat, it is the same as one person typing.' [DBWE-T-18 6.1]

[2] *Nuga* in this example is the shortened form of *tanuga*, which may also be pronounced *tinuga* and *tunuga*.
[3] See Chapter 6, §6.6 for description of conversational omission of inflectional prefixes.

(56) Lain man iran na ambaḷ na daw **matian** no matawa ka gid.

*Lain man iran na ambaḷ na daw ∅–**mati–an** no*
dfferent too 3P.GEN LK say LK if/when T.IR–hear–APL 2S.ERG
ma–tawa ka gid.
A.HAP.IR–laugh 2S.ABS INT
'Their language is so different that if you **listen** to it, you might really laugh.' [VAWN-T-15 6.5]

The root *mati* may also appear in detransitive constructions, with a similar distinction between happenstantial and dynamic inflections:

(57) Detransitive, happenstantial:
Kami i **nakamati** kay ta isya na singgit ta isya na bai na ame man na katagsa.

*Kami i **naka–mati** kay ta isya na singgit ta*
1P.EXCL.ABS DEF.N I.HAP.R–hear 1P.EXCL.ABS NABS one LK shout NABS
isya na bai na ame man na katagsa.
one LK woman LK 1P.EXCL.GEN too LK cousin
'As for us, we **happened to hear** one shout of a woman who was our cousin too.' [MBON-T-02 2.3]

(58) Ta pagpangaoy, **nakamati** kay ta kagi ta isya na yupan na yupan i na gaambaḷ na "Kikikiyaw kikikiyaw."

*Ta pag–pangaoy, **naka–mati** kay ta kagi ta*
NABS NR.ACT–gather.firewood I.HAP.R–hear 1P.EXCL.ABS NABS voice NABS
isya na yupan na yupan i na ga–ambaḷ na "Kikikiyaw kikikiyaw."
one LK bird LK bird DEF.N LK I.R–say LK kikikiyaw kikikiyaw
'While gathering firewood, we **happened to hear** the voice of a bird which is the bird that says, "Kikikiyaw kikikiyaw."' (This is the Philippine Oriole.) [MEWN-T-02 2.2]

(59) Basi **makamati** kanen kani daw sugid ko ki kaon.

*Basi **maka–mati** kanen kani daw sugid ko ki kaon.*
perhaps I.HAP.IR–hear 3S.ABS later if/whe tell 1S.ERG OBL.P 2S
'Perhaps s/he **will be able to hear** later if I tell you.'

(60) Detransitive, dynamic:
Kami darwa kay Pedro **gamati** ta drama iran Maria.

Kami darwa kay Pedro ***ga–mati*** *ta drama iran*
1P.EXCL.ABS two 1P.EXCL.ABS Pedro I.R–hear NABS drama 3P.GEN
Maria.
Maria
'Us two, Pedro and I, **listened to** a drama at Maria's place.' [RZWN-T-02 2.2]

(61) **Magmati** kay ta laygay Mayor naan plasa.
Mag–mati *kay ta laygay Mayor naan plasa.*
I.IR–hear 1P.EXCL.ABS NABS speech Mayor SPAT.DEF plaza
'We **will listen to** the Mayor's speech on the plaza.'

As with other perception verbs, happenstantial modality can express abilitative, optative, or opportunitive meanings: 'may hear/listen', 'might hear/listen', 'possibly hear/listen', 'get to hear/listen':

(62) Happenstantial, opportunitive meaning, 'get to hear':
Daw iling man tan mga ittaw na **nakamati** ta isturya na mananem ki ta kaoy, mananem matuod piro dili terek ta iran na nakem na pagtanem.
Daw iling man tan mga ittaw na ***naka–mati*** *ta isturya na*
if/when like too D3NABS PL person LK I.HAP.R–hear NABS story LK
ma–ng–tanem ki ta kaoy, ma–ng–tanem matuod
A.HAP.IR–PL–plant 1P.INCL.ABS NABS tree A.HAP.IR–PL–plant true
piro dili terek ta iran na nakem na pag–tanem.
but NEG.IR straight NABS 3P.GEN LK inner.self LK NR.ACT–plant
'If the people who **got to hear** the story "let's plant trees" are like that too, (they) will truly plant but (it will) not be straight from their inner selves planting.' (Straight from the inner self is an idiom for sincerity.) [SFOB-L-01 3.7]

(63) Yi en isturya ta tallo i buok na sidda na inyo na **namatian** anduni.
Yi en isturya ta tallo i buok na sidda na inyo na
D1ABS CM story NABS three DEF.N piece LK fish LK 2P.GEN LK
na–mati–an *anduni.*
A.HAP.R–hear–APL now/today.
'This is the story of the three fish which you **got to hear/had the opportunity to hear** now.' [JCON-L-07 21.5]

(64) Transitive, Abilitative meaning, 'able to hear':
Ta, **namatian** din kon dya sali ta gudgumod mga ittaw an ta daḷem ya ta lungag.

Ta, ***na–mati–an*** *din kon dya sali ta gud~gumod*
so A.HAP.R–hear–APL 3S.ERG HSY D4LOC continually NABS RED~mumble
mga ittaw an ta daḷem ya ta lungag.
PL person DEF.M NABS deep DEF.F NABS hole
'So, he could hear there they say people in the deep hole continually mumbling.' [MBON-T-04 2.7]

(65) Keseg ta pagtangkeb **mamatian** ta bilog na banwa.

Keseg ta pag–tangkeb ***ma–mati–an*** *ta bilog na banwa.*
strength NABS NR.ACT–close A.HAP.IR–hear–APL NABS whole LK town
'The strength of the closing can be heard in the whole town.' (This is a story about two big rocks that close together when an official or government employee in the town dies.) [EFWE-T-05 4.4]

The root *mati* is unusual in that it allows a detransitive construction in the *na-* and *ma-* happenstantial forms (recall that for volitional roots, detransitive happenstantials require *naka-* or *maka-*). In such situations, the intentional meaning of the basic root is understood 'to listen', though the usual abilitative/opportunitive meanings are also part of the semantics of these constructions.

(66) Detransitive *na-* and *ma-* intentional:
Namati a ta balita ya kabii kilem.

Na–mati *a ta balita ya kabii kilem.*
A.HAP.R–hear 1S.ABS NABS news DEF.F yesterday night.
'I **had the opportunity to hear/listen** to the news last night.'

(67) Manong megbeng ka tak **mamati** ka anay ta miting ta PTA.

Manong m–tegbeng ka tak ***ma–mati*** *ka*
older.brother I.V.IR–go.downhill 2S.ABS because A.HAP.IR–hear 2S.ABS
anay ta miting ta PTA.
first/for.a.while NABS meeting NABS PTA
'Older brother, you will go downhill because you will **have the opppotunity to attend** the meeting of the PTA.' [EDWN-T-04 2.2]

(68) **Mamati** kay ta laygay Mayor naan plasa.

Ma–mati *kay ta laygay Mayor naan plasa.*
A.HAP.IR–hear 1P.EXCL.ABS NABS speech Mayor SPAT.DEF plaza
'We **will get to listen to** the Mayor's speech on the plaza.' (c.f. (61) above)

The excerpt in (69) illustrates four uses of the root *mati*. First, *namatian* is the plain happenstantial (unintentional) usage. Second, *kamati* represents the external motivation usage. Third, *gamati* is a dynamic (intentional) usage, and fourth, *namatii* is the exclamatory form of the happenstantial usage (see Chapter 7, §7.8 on the exclamatory suffixes).

(69) Ta ame na pag-isturya may **namatian ake na** mangngod. Ambaḷ din, "Ma, **kamati** kaw ta kanta naan ta tyarok galin? **Gamati** kay. Galineng kay gid anay. Naan nay dya **namatii** a kanta na, "Aliluya, aliluya."

Ta ame na pag-–isturya may ***na–mati–an ake na***
NABS 1P.EXCL.GEN LK NR.ACT–story EXT.IN A.HAP.R–hear–APL 1S.GEN LK
mangngod. …–Ambaḷ din, "Ma, ***ka–mati*** *kaw ta*
younger.sibling T.R–say 3S.ERG Mother I.EXM–hear 2P.ABS NABS
kanta naan ta tyarok ga–alin? ***Ga–mati*** *kay.*
song/sing SPAT.DEF NABS mast.pole I.R–from I.R–hear 1P.EXCL.ABS
Ga–lineng kay gid anay. Naan nay dya
I.R–peace 1P.EXCL.ABS INT first/for.a.while SPAT.DEF 1P.EXCL.ERG D4LOC
na–mati–i *a kanta na, "Aliluya, aliluya."*
A.HAP.R–hear–XC.APL INJ song/sing LK halleluja halleluja
'While we were talking, my younger sibling **heard** something. He said, "Mother, **can you hear** the singing coming from the mast pole?" **We listened**. We really became silent for a while. There we (surprisingly) **really heard** singing, "Halleluja halleluja."' [VAWN-T-18 5.5–9]

There are two roots that depict situations involving the sense of smell. These are *singngot* and *plamao*. These roots are synonymous, but *plamao* is a borrowing from Hiligaynon. The root *singngot* is more common, occuring four times in the corpus as an inflected verb, while *plamao* occurs twice. Though these numbers are small, they accurately represent our impression of the relative frequency of these roots in conversation. With the dynamic affixes the meaning of both roots is intentional 'to smell/sniff something'. With the happenstantial affixes the meaning is 'to smell something unintentionally'. As with other sensory roots, the experiencer is the actor and the stimulus, if present, is the undergoer. The

root *plamao* always takes the applicative in its transitive uses (Class Vb for unintentional uses, and Class VIII for intentional uses). For *singngot*, the applicative is optional (see further below).

(70) Transitive, dynamic with applicative:
Paplamauan din buḷak an.
Pa–plamao–an *din buḷak an.*
T.R–smell–APL 3S.ERG flower DEF.M
'S/he **sniffed** the flower.'

(71) **Pasingngutan** din anay mga pagkaan an bag-o din kan-enen.
Pa–singngot–an *din anay mga pagkaan an bag-o din kan-en–en.*
T.R–smell–APL 3S.ERG first/for.a.while PL food DEF.M before 3S.ERG cooked.rice–T.R
'S/he **sniffed** first the food before eating it.'

(72) Transitive, dynamic without applicative:
Pasingngot ta mga bata ragbi an.
Pa–singngot *ta mga bata ragbi an.*
T.R–smell ERG PL child rugbi DEF.M
'The children sniffed the rugby.'
*Paplamao ta bata ragbi an.

The difference between *pasingngutan* and *pasingngot* is that without the applicative, *pasingngot* implies sniffing up close, for example, holding something up to the nose and deeply sniffing or inhaling. With the applicative, *pasingngutan* just implies normal sniffing the air and smelling something.

(73) Detransitive, dynamic:
Gaplamao en mga ittaw i daw ambaḷ danen, "May bui man i na ittaw di en a!"
Ga–plamao *en mga ittaw i daw …–ambaḷ danen, "May bui man i na ittaw di en a!"*
I.R–smell CM PL person DEF.N and T.R–say 3P.ERG EXT.IN live EMPH ATT LK person D1LOC CM INJ
'The people **sniffed** and they said, "There's really a live person here now!"' [CBWN-C-22 10.3]

(74) **Gasingngot** bata an ta ragbi.
Ga–singngot *bata an ta ragbi.*
I.R–smell child DEF.M NABS rugby
'The child **was sniffing** some rugby.'

(75) Detransitive, happenstantial:
Tak daw naan a agi ta dapit abagat i **makasingngot** kanen ta bao ko.
Tak daw naan a agi ta dapit abagat i
because if/when SPAT.DEF 1S.ABS pass NABS direction southwest DEF.N
maka–singngot *kanen ta bao ko.*
I.HAP.IR–smell 3S.ABS NABS odor 1S.GEN
'Because if I pass in the direction of south he **can smell** my odor.' (This is a story about the speaker hunting a wild pig.) [RCON-L-01 2.6]

(76) Detransitive, happenstantial, external motivation:
Kaplamao en mga ittaw i ta ammot ta luto ya.
Ka–plamao *en mga ittaw i ta ammot ta luto ya.*
I.EXM–smell CM PL person DEF.N NABS fragance NABS cook DEF.F
'The people **were able to smell** the fragance of the cooking.'

As mentioned above, *plamao* always takes the applicative suffix in a transitive frame, while *singngot* may or may not occur with an applicative. In happenstantial modality, When the applicative does appear, the meaning is simple non-volitional 'to sense something by smelling', whereas without the applicative, the sense is more direct sniffing (as above in dynamic modality), in perfect aspect or abilitative/opportunitive:

(77) Transitive, happenstantial, applicative = non-volitional 'to sense by smelling':
Naplamauan din inog an na nangka.
Na–plamau–an *din inog an na nangka.*
A.HAP.R–smell–APL 3S.ERG ripe DEF.M LK jackfruit
'S/he **smelled** the ripe jackfruit.'
*Naplamo din inog an na nangka. *Maplamao din inog an na Nangka.

(78) **Maplamauan** ka tatay no kani na bao ka ta inemen.
Ma–plamau–an *ka tatay no kani na bao ka ta*
A.HAP.R–smell–APL 2S.ABS father 2S.GEN later LK odor 2S.ABS NABS
inem–en.
drink–NR
'Your father **will smell** you later that you are smelly of alcohol.'

(79) **Nasingngutan** din bao ya ta durian na pakaan a iya na arey.

Na–singngut–an *din bao ya ta durian na pa–kaan*
A.HAP.R–smell–APL 3S.ERG odor DEF.F NABS durian.fruit LK T.R–eat
a iya na arey.
NABS 3S.GEN LK friend
'S/he **smelled** the odor of the durian fruit that his/her friend was eating.'

(80) Transitive, happenstantial, no applicative = direct sniffing some specific thing, abilitative/opportunitive:
Nasingngot ko bao ta durian.

Na–singngot *ko bao ta durian.*
A.HAP.R–smell 1S.ERG odor NABS durian.fruit
'I **could sniff and smell** the odor of the durian fruit.'

(81) **Masingngot** ko bao ta durian.

Ma–singngot *ko bao ta durian.*
A.HAP.IR–smell 1S.ERG odor NABS durian.fruit
'I **will sniff and smell** the odor of the durian fruit.'

(82) Daw mag-inog en gani sikad ammot na maski adyo ka pa **nasingngot** no an.

Daw mag–-inog en gani sikad ammot na maski adyo ka pa
if/when I.IR–ripe CM truly very fragant LK even.if far 2S.ABS INC
na–singngot *no an.*
A.HAP.R–smell 2S.ERG DEF.M
'When it (jackfruit) is becoming ripe, truly it is very fragrant that even if you are still far away it is what you **can sniff and smell**.' [EFWE-T-04 3.5]

(83) Detransitive, happenstantial, hypothetical/polite meaning:
Maplamao ka ta White Flower aged mamang lipeng uḷo no.

Ma–plamao *ka ta White Flower aged ma–kamang*
I.HAP.IR–smell 2S.ABS NABS White Flower so.that A.HAP.IR–get/remove
lipeng uḷo no.
dizzy head 2S.GEN
'You **should sniff** the White Flower so that the dizziness of your head will be removed.'

(84) **Masingngot** ka ta White Flower aged mamang lipeng uḷo no.

Ma–singngot *ka ta White Flower aged ma–kamang*
I.HAP.IR–smell 2S.ABS NABS White Flower so.that A.HAP.IR–get/remove
lipeng uḷo no.
dizzy head 2S.GEN
'You **should sniff** the White Flower so that the dizziness of your head will be removed.'

*Nasingngot ka ta White Flower. *Naplamao ka ta White Flower.

There is one root, *lasa*, that depicts situations of tasting. It usually occurs with happenstantial affixes with a unintentional meaning to sense the taste of something. Like *mati* 'to hear/listen', it belongs to Class V, subclass Vb, which is the class of non-volitional transitive roots that take the applicative *-an* in their basic, transitive form. The actor is the experiencer, expressed in the ergative case, and the undergoer is the stimulus, expressed in the absolutive. There are no examples of this inflected form in the corpus, though it does occur in conversation.

(85) **Nalasaan** ko luto din na masin.

Na–lasa–an *ko luto din na masin.*
A.HAP.R–taste–APL 1S.ERG cook 3S.GEN LK salty
'I tasted his/her cooking that (it is) salty.'

(86) **Kalasa** a ta tab-ang tak may trangkaso a.

Ka–lasa *a ta tab-ang tak may trangkaso a.*
I.EXM–taste 1S.ABS NABS lacking.salt because EXT.IN flu 1S.ABS
'Everything tastes bland to me because I have the flu.' (lit. 'I can taste lacking-salt because I have the flu.')

The common root that expresses the sense of touch is *batyag* 'to feel'. There are sixty (60) examples of *batyag* used as an inflected verb in the corpus. The meanings of this root in its various possible forms are listed in (87), along with their frequencies in the corpus. Corpus and conversational examples follow:

(87) 1. Transitive frame, happenstantial, with applicative (*nabatyagan/mabatyagan*): non-volitional 'to physically, emotionally or internally sense or feel something in a permanent, deep, inward way'. This is the most frequent usage of *batyag* in the corpus (30 examples of *nabatyagan* and 8 examples of *mabatyagan*).

2. Transitive frame, happenstantial, no applicative (*nabatyag/mabatyag*): Simple non-volitional 'to physically, emotionally or internally sense or feel something in a momentary, passing way' (1 example of *nabatyag* and 1 example of *mabatyag* used in this way in the corpus).
3. Detransitive frame, happenstantial (*nakabatyag/makabatyag*): Abilitative/opportunitive 'to be able to physically, emotionally or internally sense or feel something' (no examples of *nakabatyag* and 3 examples of *makabatyag* in the corpus).
4. Detransitive frame, external motivation (*kabatyag*): Enablement 'to be enabled to notice something' (5 examples).
5. Detransitive frame, happenstantial (*nabatyag/mabatyag*): Abilitative/opportunitive 'to be able to take notice of something', 'happen to take notice of something', stimulus often a complement clause (2 examples of *nabatyag*, 1 example of *mabatyag* used this way in the corpus).
6. Transitive frame, dynamic, no applicative (*batyagen* only; Realis, *pabatyag*, is ungrammatical for all speakers consulted): To take notice of something previously talked about (no examples in the corpus).
7. Transitive frame, dynamic, applicative (*pabatyagan/batyagan*): Volitional 'to take notice/make note of something' (no examples of *pabatyagan*, 3 examples of *batyagan*).
8. Detransitive frame, dynamic, no applicative (gabatyag/magbatyag): Volitional 'to take notice/make note of something', stimulus often a complement clause' (6 examples of *gabatyag*, no examples of *magbatyag*).

When the verb *batyag* is used in a transitive frame, the experiencer is in the ergative case and the stimulus, the item or sensation felt, is absolutive as in (88) through (92), and (101). In an intransitive frame, the experiencer is absolutive and the stimulus, if present, is oblique (several examples from 93 through 104). Of the sixty examples of *batyag* used as a inflected predicate in the corpus, thirty-eight are in happenstantial modality plus the applicative *-an* or its exclamatory equivalent *-i* (two examples). Twenty are expressed in dynamic modality (usages 6 and 7). There are no examples of *batyag* with the non-applicative exclamatory suffix *-a*.

Examples (88) and (89) illustrate the difference in meaning between the first two usages of *batyag*. Both are from the same first person personal experience recounted by a fisherman whose boat overturned in rough seas. While fishing he noticed that he felt hungry, and uses *nabatyag* (88) (usage 2). Then, after surviving the accident and coming ashore, he was feeling intense hunger and tiredness and used *nabatyagan*, shown in example (89) (usage 1):

(88) Happenstantial, transitive, realis non-applicative (usage 2):
Piro **nabatyag** ko en ļettem daw kaadlek tak baļed gadarko na gadarko.

Piro ***na–batyag*** *ko en ļettem daw ka–adlek tak baļed*
but A.HAP.R–feel 1S.ERG CM hunger and NR–fear because wave
ga–darko na ga–darko.
I.R–big.PL LK I.R–big.PL
'But I felt hungry and afraid because the waves were becoming very big.' [EFWN-T-11 9.2]

(89) Happenstantial, transitive, realis applicative (usage 1):
Naan aren ta baybay Peek **nabatyagan** ko en ļettem daw kakapoy ta ake na lawa.

Naan aren ta baybay Peek ***na–batyag–an*** *ko en ļettem*
SPAT.DEF 1S.ABS NABS beach Peek A.HAP.R–feel–APL 1S.ERG CM hunger
daw ka–kapoy ta ake na lawa.
and NR–tired NABS 1S.GEN LK body
'When I was on the beach of Peek I **felt** hunger and exhaustion of my body.' [EFWN-T-11 15.1]

Example (90) illustrates the applicative stem *batyagan* in happenstantial irrealis modality (usage 1):

(90) Sakit ta kalingking **mabatyagan** ta bilog na lawa.

Sakit ta kalingking ***ma–batyag–an*** *ta bilog na lawa.*
pain NABS little.finger A.HAP.IR–feel–APL NABS whole LK body
'Pain in the little finger **is felt** in the whole body.' [VAWV-J-21 11.1]

Examples (91) and (92) illustrate the applicative stem *batyagan* inflected in happenstantial, realis modality, with a complement clause as the stimulus (usage 1):

(91) Uḷa nang lugay **nabatyagan** ko na gabaliskad en dyip na sakayan nay.
Uḷa nang lugay ***na–batyag–an*** *ko na ga–baliskad*
NEG.R only/just long.time A.HAP.R–feel–APL 1S.ERG LK I.R–upside.down
en dyip na sakay–an nay.
CM jeep LK ride–NR 1P.EXCL.GEN
'Not a long time I **felt** that the jeep that we were riding was turning upside down.' [PMWN-T-02 2.10]

(92) Piro **nabatyagan** din man na nagayya kanen i ta nubya din …
Piro ***na–batyag–an*** *din man na na–gayya kanen i*
but A.HAP.R–feel–APL 3S.ERG too LK A.HAP.R–embarrass 3S.ABS DEF.N
ta nubya din …
NABS girlfriend 3S.GEN
'But he **felt** too that he was embarrassed to his girlfriend …' [CBWN-C-12 3.9]

The third usage of *batyag* is in a detransitive frame in happenstantial modality. In the context of example (93), the meaning is 'to be able to sense':

(93) Isip ko daw bangkilan ya yo bunuon ko na marani a pa **makabatyag** en dumlaga i. Daw **makabatyag** nan mḷagan en danen an.
Isip ko daw bangkil–an ya yo buno–en ko na
think 1S.ERG if/when tusk–NR DEF.F D4ABS stab–T.IR 1S.ERG LK
m–parani a pa ***maka–batyag*** *en dumlaga i. Daw*
I.V.IR–go.close 1S.ABS INC I.HAP.IR–feel CM gilt DEF.N if/when
maka–batyag *nan m–dḷagan en danen an.*
I.HAP.IR–feel D3ABS I.V.IR–run CM 3P.ABS DEF.M
'I thought that if I stab the tusked wild pig when I get closer, the gilt wild pig **will sense** (I am there). If that one **senses** (me) they (the wild pigs there nearby) will run.' [RCON-L-01 3.12–13]

(94) **Nakabatyag** a ta ḷettem daw kapoy ta asod.
Naka–batyag *a ta ḷettem daw kapoy ta asod.*
I.HAP.IR–feel 1S.ABS NASBS hungry and tired NABS pound.grain
'I felt hunger and tiredness from pounding grain.'

The root *batyag* is also used in the detransitive, external motivation form (usage 4):

(95) Pagnegga ko, ambaḷ ko ta sawa ko na daw kino **kabatyag** ta uras pukawen a nang.

Pag–negga ko, …–ambaḷ ko ta sawa ko na daw
NR.ACT–lie.down 1S.GEN T.R–say 1S.ERG NABS spouse 1S.GEN LK if/when
*kino **ka–batyag** ta uras pukaw–en a nang.*
who I.EXM–notice/feel NABS time/hour wake.up–T.IR 1S.ABS only/just
'When I lay down, I said to my spouse, "Whoever notices the time, just wake me up."' (The author was planning on going night fishing early in the morning before dawn and so he wanted to be woken up.)
[JCWN-L-31 2.5]

(96) …kis-a **kabatyag** a man ta kapung-aw ki kyo.

*… kis-a **ka–batyag** a man ta ka–pung-aw ki kyo.*
sometimes I.EXM–feel 1S.ABS EMPH NABS NR–lonely OBL.P 2p
'Sometmes I **feel** loneliness for you.' [VBWL-T-07 3.3]

The meaning of 'to take notice' can be inferred when *batyag* is inflected with the intransitive happenstantial external motivation *ka-*. In this context, the stimulus may be Referring Expression or a complement clause. In (97) the stimulus is the nominalization *kakulian* 'difficulty':

(97) Tanan-tanan ki **kabatyag** ta kakulian ta Cagayancillo …

*Tanan~tanan ki **ka–batyag** ta ka–kuli–an ta*
RED~all 1P.INCL.ABS I.EXM–feel/notice NABS NR–difficult–NR NABS
Cagayancillo …
Cagayancillo
'Completely all of us **can take notice** of the great difficulty on Cagayancillo …' [FDOE-T-01 3.3]

When the root *batyag* occurs in detransitive happenstantial modality with *na-* or *ma-*, the meaning is 'to happen to take notice' (usage 5). Three such examples occur in the corpus, including the following:

(98) Isya na sakay danen **nabatyag** ta yon na masakit.

*Isya na sakay danen **na–batyag** ta yon na masakit.*
one LK ride 3P.GEN A.HAP.R–notice NABS D3ADJ LK sick
'A rider of theirs (on their boat) **took notice** of being sick.' [JCWN-T-21 3.3]

The last three usages of *batyag* imply taking notice of something intentionally. As such, it is inflected with dynamic modality. As mentioned above, transitive realis inflection with no applicative is ungrammatical (**pabatyag*). The irrealis counterpart is acceptable, though rare (99) and (100) (usage 6). There are no clear examples of this usage in the corpus:

(99) Daw manakem ka en, **batyagen** no mga sakit an.
*Daw manakem ka en, **batyag=en** no mga sakit an.*
If/when older 2S.ABS CM feel/notice–T.IR 2S.ERG PL pain DEF.M
'When you are older, you will notice the pains.'

(100) Batyagen no kani **bata an**. Basi mabugtaw kanen an.
*Batyag–en no kani **bata an**. Basi ma–bugtaw kanen an.*
feel–T.IR 2S.ERG later child DEF.M maybe A.HAP.IR–wake.up 3S.ABS DEF.M
'Notice the child. Maybe (s/he) will wake up later.'

There are also no examples of the applicative used in dynamic, realis modality with this root in the corpus. Example (101) is from conversation (usage 7):

(101) **Pabatyagan** a din daw manaw a.
***Pa–batyag–an** a din daw m–panaw a.*
T.R–noticel–APL 1S.ABS 3S.ERG if/when I.V.IR–go/walk 1S.ABS
'S/he **took notice** of me whenever I leave.'

(102) Dynamic, detransitive (usage 8):
Mga ittaw na uḷa pa **gabatyag** ta masakit yon nang paindyiksyunan.
*Mga ittaw na uḷa pa **ga–batyag** ta masakit yon nang pa–indyiksyon–an.*
PL person LK NEG.R INC I.R–notice NABS sickness D3ABS only/just T.R–inject–APL
'The people who are not yet **taking notice** of the sickness, those only are injected.' (This is about a cholera epidemic on Cagayancillo in 1987.) [JCWN-T-21 8.7]

In (103), the actor was pierced in the stomach by three bamboo sticks, but he was so fat he could not see them. He thought he had a stomach ache:

(103) Piro na suntok tallo ya na kwayan uḷa gid **gabatyag**.
Piro na suntok tallo ya na kwayan uḷa gid ***ga–batyag***.
but LK pierce three DEF.F LK bamboo NEG.R INT I.R–notice
'But when the three bamboos pierced (him), (he) did not **notice them**.' [PBON-T-01 3.7]

(104) Pirmi a nang **gabatyag** ta kiien daw paryo a man ta kindisen.
Pirmi a nang ***ga–batyag*** *ta ka–ii–en daw paryo*
always 1S.ABS only/just I.R–notice NABS NR–urine–NR and same
a man ta ka–indis–en.
1S.ABS too NABS NR–defecate–NR
'I always was **noticing** the urge to urinate and it was like I had the urge to defecate too.' (This is the story of a man having a serious asthma attack.) [JCWN-T-22 3.10]

9.5 Emotion

Many situations of emotion require only one participant, an experiencer, someone who experiences the emotion, for example, *I'm happy, they are angry*. Often, however, there is also a stimulus of the emotion that plays a central role in the situation, as in (105):

(105) *She is angry at me.* Stimulus = *me*
We enjoy swimming. Stimulus = *we swim*
I'm happy to be here. Stimulus = *I am here*

In Kagayanen emotion predicates are different from predicates of perception and cognition in that the experiencer is not always presented as an actor. Often the experiencer is the absolutive case undergoer of an intransitive construction. If there is a stimulus, it is presented in the oblique case. In this respect emotion situations are treated similarly to non-volitional, undergoer-oriented, intransitive situations.

As with other non-volitional situations, predicates that express emotion most commonly occur in happenstantial modality (examples 106 through 108):

(106) Intransitive, happenstantial, realis:
Daw **nalipay** kay gid.
Daw ***na–lipay*** *kay gid.*
and A.HAP.R–joy 1P.EXCL.ABS INT
'And we **were really joyful**.' [SBWL-C-01 5.4]

(107) Intransitive, happenstantial, realis with oblique stimulus:
Nadlek a ta bḷangay ya na masanggaan a.

Na–adlek *a ta bḷangay ya na ma–sangga–an a.* A.HAP.R–fear 1S.ABS na–adlek
NABS 2.mast.boat DEF.F LK A.HAP.IR–bump.into–APL 1S.ABS
'I was afraid of the two-masted boat that I would be bumped into.' [JCON-L-07 8.3]

(108) Intransitive, happenstantial, irrealis with oblique stimulus:
Piro bisan ino ka pa kabakod na ittaw ka dili a **madlek** ki kaon tak ake na baḷay ni," ambaḷ ta ganti ya.

Piro bisan ino ka pa ka–bakod na ittaw ka dili a
but any what 2S.ABS INC NR–big LK person 2S.ABS NEG.IR 1S.ABS
ma–adlek *ki kaon tak ake na baḷay ni," …ambaḷ ta*
A.HAP.IR–fear OBL.P 2S because 1S.GEN LK house D1ABS T.R–say NABS
ganti ya.
giant DEF.F
'"But no matter how much bigger a person you are, I **will not be afraid** of you because this is my house," said the giant.' [CBWN-C-10 7.11]

Dynamic modality in an intransitive frame usually expresses an INCHOATIVE sense – entering into the emotional state described by the root (examples 109 through 111).

(109) Intransitive, dynamic, realis (inchoative):
… uḷa a pa gapanaik ta lunday tak **gakulba** pa ake na ginawa.

… uḷa a pa ga–panaik ta lunday tak
NEG.R 1S.ABS INC I.IR–go.up NABS outrigger.canoe because
ga–kulba *pa ake na ginawa.*[4]
I.R–frightened INC 1S.GEN NABS breath
' … I did not yet get up in the outrigger canoe because I was feeling frightened (lit. My breath was becoming frightened).' [EDWN-T-05 1.21]

[4]The breath is a euphemistic expression referring to a person affected by an adverse condition. For example, the following statement may be used to describe a death: *Nabugto iya na ginawa*, literally 'his/her breath broke'. When someone is not feeling well, one might say: *Lain iya na ginawa*, literally 'his/her breath is bad'.

(110) Intransitive, dynamic, irrealis (inchoative):
Magkulba ka daw lain timpo.
Mag–kulba *ka daw lain timpo.*
I.IR–frighten 2S.ABS if/when bad/different weather/seaon
'You will **become frightened** when the weather is bad.'

(111) Dili ka en **mag-adlek** ta miad.
Dili ka en ***mag–-adlek*** *ta miad.*
NEG.IR 2S.ABS CM I.IR–fear NABS well
'Do not **become afraid** too much.' (In the context the author says that whatever you hear do not let yourself be startled. But first watch and investigate it. Do not become afraid.) [JCON-L-07 22.3]

In a transitive or detransitive frame, emotion predicates in dynamic modality express the sense of treating the absolutive participant with the named emotion (examples 112 through 115). Finally, when appearing in a transitive frame (either in happenstantial or dynamic modalities), emotion predicates strongly tend to take the applicative *-an* suffix (examples 112 and 113). This is reasonable since the target of an emotion is not a prototypical Patient—it is only invisibly affected by the emotional reaction directed toward it:

(112) Transitive, dynamic, realis, with obligatory applicative:
Pagilekan a din.
Pa–gilek–an a din.
T.R–angry–APL
'S/he scolded me.'

(113) Paadlekan kanen ta mga ittaw.
Pa–adlek–an kanen ta mga ittaw.
T.R–fear–APL 3S.ABS NABS PL person
'People treat him/her with fear.'

(114) Detransitive dynamic realis:
Ta gagilek a i ta amo ko ya.
Ta ga–gilek a i ta amo ko ya.
INJ I.R–angry 1S.ABS DEF.N NABS boss 1S.GEN DEF.F
'So I became angry with my boss.' [CBWN-C-18 3.3]

(115) **Gagilek** a man ta ake na tatay tak dili igo iya na pagdumala ta mga ittawan din.

Ga–gilek *a man ta ake na tatay tak dili igo*
I.R–angry 1S.ABS also NABS 1S.GEN LK father because NEG.IR correct
iya na pag–dumala ta mga ittaw–an din.
3S.GEN LK NR.ACT–rule NABS PL person–NR 3S.GEN
'I **became angry** also at my father because his ruling of his people was not correct.' [BEWN-T-01 5.7]

The only emotion verb that takes dynamic, transitive inflection with no applicative morphology is *palangga* 'to have affection for a family member'. Therefore this verb is not grammatically in the class of emotion verbs, though semantically it does seem to express an emotion. It acts like common inherently transitive roots in that the experiencer is presented as the actor, and the stimulus as the undergoer.

(116) Transitive, dynamic realis:
Papalangga gid ta mag-asawa iran i na bata. Bisan ino na mga ampangan an paatag danen ta iran na bata.

Pa–palangga *gid ta mag-–asawa iran i na bata. Bisan*
T.R–have.affection INT NABS REL–spouse 3P.GEN DEF.N LK child even
ino na mga ampang–an an pa–atag danen ta iran na bata.
what LK PL play–NR DEF.M T.R–give 3P.ERG NABS 3P.GEN LK child
'The couple really **had affection for** their child. Whatever toys, they gave (them) to their child.' [CBWN-C-14 2.6–7]

(117) Transitive, dynamic irrealis:
Gani una ta tanan ki kyo mga atong daw mga akay **palanggaen** ta Ginuo …

Gani una ta tanan ki kyo mga atong daw mga akay
so first NABS all OBL.P 2P PL boy and PL girl
palangga–en *ta Ginuo …*
have.affection–T.IR 1P.INCL.ABS Lord
'First of all for you boys and girls, let us **have affection for** the Lord …' [EFOB-C-01 2.4]

When *adlek* 'to be afraid', and several other emotion roots, occur in an applicative construction, the experiencer is in the ergative case (when present) and the stimulus in the absolutive. There are no examples of the root *adlek* in this usage in the corpus, but they do occur in conversation:

(118) Transitive, happenstantial, applicative:
Nadlekan kanen ta mga ittaw.
Na–adlek–an *kanen ta mga ittaw.*
A.HAP.R–fear–APL 3S.ABS NABS PL ittaw
'People **are afraid** of him/her.'

(119) **Nadlekan** gid kanen tak sikad magilek.
Na–adlek–an *gid kanen tak sikad ma–gilek.*
A.HAP.R–fear–APL INT 3S.ABS because very A.HAP.IR–angry
'S/he is **really feared** because s/he always gets angry.'

Roots of the *adlek* class can also occur in dynamic modality with an applicative affix. Again, the experiencer of the emotion is ergative and the stimulus is absolutive. The meaning of *adlek* in this construction is 'to act with fear toward X' or 'to treat X in a fearful way'. The following are examples of such roots from conversations:

(120) Contrast between dynamic, and happenstantial transitive:
Yi na manakem **paadlekan** gid ta mga ittaw …
Yi na manakem ***pa–adlek–an*** *gid ta mga ittaw …*
D1ADJ LK older T.R–fear–APL INT NABS PL person
'This older person people **treat with fear** …' [JCWN-T-26 3.6]

(121) a. **Naangepan** ta nakem ta bata amay din an.
Na–angep–an *ta nakem ta bata amay din an.*
A.HAP.R–fond.of–APL NABS inner.self NABS child father 3S.GEN DEF.M
'The inner self of the child **is fond of** (or favors) his/her father.'

b. **Paangepan** ta nakem ta bata amay din an.
Pa–angep–an *ta nakem ta bata amay din an.*
T.R–fond.of–APL NABS inner.self NABS child father 3S.GEN DEF.M
'The inner self of the child intentionally makes himself/herself fond of (or favor) his/her father.'

(122) a. **Nainggitan** kanen ta duma na mga maistro tak kanen nang kapasar ta board exam.

Na–inggit–an *kanen ta duma na mga maistro*
A.HAP.R–jealous–APL 3S.ABS NABS companion LK PL teacher
tak kanen nang ka–pasar ta board exam.
because 3S.ABS just I.EXM–pass NABS board exam
'The other teachers **are jealous of** him/her because only s/he was able to pass the board exam.'

b. **Painggitan** din bai an tak mas gwapa ki kanen.

Pa–inggit–an *din bai an tak mas gwapa*
T.R–jealous–APL 3S.ERG woman DEF.M because more attractive
ki kanen.
OBL.P 3S
'She **acts in a jealous way** to the woman because (she is) more attractive than her.'

(123) a. **Naimunan** din arey din an tak sigi duma ta nubyo din.

Na–imon–an *din arey din an tak*
A.HAP.R–envious–APL 3S.ERG friend 3S.GEN DEF.M because
sigi duma ta nubyo din.
continually with NABS boyfriend 3S.GEN
'She **is envious of** her friend because (she) keeps accompanying her boyfriend.'

b. **Paimunan** din bai ya tak sigi isturya daw nubyo din.

Pa–imon–an *din bai ya tak sigi isturya*
T.R–envious–APL 3S.ERG woman DEF.F because continually talk
daw nubyo din.
and boyfriend 3S.GEN
'She **acts enviously toward** the woman because (she) and her boyfriend keep on talking.'

(124) a. **Naneḷseḷan** ko en tanan na saḷa ko.

Na–neḷseḷ–an *ko en tanan na saḷa ko.*
A.HAP.R–regret–APL 1S.ERG CM all LK sin 1S.GEN
'I **feel regret** for all my sins.' (This is more about how one feels rather than what they actually do.)

b. **Paneḷseḷan** ko en tanan na saḷa ko.

Pa–neḷseḷ–an *ko en tanan na saḷa ko.*
T.R–regret–APL 1S.ERG CM all LK sin 1S.GEN
'I **repented of** all my sins.' (This implies that they will not do it again.)

(125) a. **Nagilekan** kay ta ame na maistra.

Na–gilek–an *kay ta ame na maistra.*
A.HAP.R–angry–APL 1P.EXCL.ABS NABS 1P.EXCL.GEN LK teacher
'Our teacher **was angry with** us.'

b. **Pagilekan** kay ta ame na maistra.

Pa–gilek–an *kay ta ame na maistra.*
T.R–angry–APL 1P.EXCL.ABS NABS 1P.EXCL.GEN LK teacher
'Our teacher **scolded** us.'

(126) a. **Naluuyan** kanen ta mga ittaw.

Na–luoy–an *kanen ta mga ittaw.*
A.HAP.R–pity–APL 3P.ABS NABS PL person
'People **have pity on** him/her.'

b. **Paluuyan** kanen ta mga ittaw.

Pa–luoy–an *kanen ta mga ittaw.*
T.R–pity–APL 3P.ABS NABS PL person
'People **act with pity** on him/her.'

The root *demet* expresses the transitive notions of 'to begrudge X', 'to hate X', or 'to be angry with X'. There are no examples of this root in the corpus.

(127) Transitive, happenstantial plus obligatory applicative (stimulus = absolutive):
Nademetan a gid ta mga ayam daw maglambay a naan ta silong danen.

Na–demet–an *a gid ta mga ayam daw*
A.HAP.R–brgrudge/hate–APL 1S.ABS INT NABS PL dog if/when
mag–lambay a naan ta silong danen.
I.IR–pass.by 1S.ABS SPAT.DEF NABS yard 3P.GEN
'The dogs really **get angry at** me when I go past their yard.'

(128) Transitive, dynamic plus obligatory applicative (stimulus = absolutive):
Pademetan kanen ta mga ittaw naan ta ame na lugar.

Pa–demet–an *kanen ta mga ittaw naan ta*
T.R–grudge/hate–APL 3S.ABS NABS PL person SPAT.DEF NABS
ame na lugar.
1P.EXCL.GEN LK place
'People **begrudge/hate** him/her in our place.'

Other emotion roots, including *kulba* 'to feel frightened/nervous', *sebe* 'to feel sad', *sadya* 'to enjoy/have fun', *lipay* 'to be joyful', and *imon* 'to be envious because another gets more attention' also take the applicative as their basic form (Class VIII). With these verbs, the experiencer is absolutive and the stimulus is in an adverbial or reason clause.

(129) Intransitive, happenstantial, stimulus is an adverbial clause:
Nakulbaan a gid tak sigi eyeg-eyeg iruplano an daw maagi ta sikad dakmeḷ na panganod.

Na–kulba–an *a gid tak sigi eyeg~-eyeg*
A.HAP.R–frighten–APL 1S.ABS INT because continually RED~shake
iruplano an daw ma–agi ta sikad dakmeḷ na panganod.
airplane DEF.M if/when A.HAP.IR–pass NABS very thick LK cloud
'I **was really frightened** because the airplane kept shaking when passing through very thick clouds.' [VAWN-T-15 2.4]

(130) Intransitive, dynamic (inchoative):
Magkulba ka daw lain timpo.

Mag–kulba *ka daw lain timpo.*
I.IR–frighten 2S.ABS if/when bad/different weather/seaon
'You will **become frightened** when the weather is bad.'
*Nakulba a gid. ('I am really frightened.')

The emotions of sadness, happiness and joy are expressed by roots which frequently occur with the stem-forming prefixes *ng-* 'pluraction' and *ka-* 'verbalizer', resulting in the prefix complex *nga-*. These roots are also of the class that takes the adjectivizing prefix *ma-* when functioning as a modifier in a Referring Phrase, or in a non-verbal predicate. Table 9.1 gives the frequencies of these three roots in the corpus, according to the stem-forming affixes they take.

Table 9.1: Occurences of roots of sadness and joy in the corpus

	Inflected verbs without *ng-* [a]	Inflected verbs with *ng-* 'PL+VR'	*ma-* 'adjectivizer'
sebe 'to be sad'	8 (no dynamic inflections. 7 with applicatives.)	13 (3 dynamic)	6
lipay 'to be happy/joyful'	25 (no dynamic inflections. None with applicatives.)	8 (2 dynamic)	36
sadya 'to enjoy/rejoice'	17 (no dynamic inflections. All with applicatives.)	0	3

[a]Forms inflected with prefixes borrowed from other languages (e.g. *naga-* or *gina-*) are not included in the totals for any of the cells in this table.

With the bare root *sebe*, 'to feel sad', the only possible inflections are happenstantial modality. It usually occurs in intransitive frames in an applicative construction (131):

(131) *Sebe* in intransitive, happenstantial, realis form (4 examples in the corpus):
Ansaan a din daw **nasebean** a kon.
…–Ansa–an a din daw ***na–sebe–an*** *a kon.*
T.R–ask–APL 1S.ABS 3S.ERG if/when A.HAP.R–sad–APL 1S.ABS HSY
'She asked me if **I felt sad**, it is said.' [CBWN-C-24 3.2]

The pluractional stem, *ngasebe*, may appear with dynamic or happenstantial inflections. It appears in intransitive frames with no applicative when the experiencer is plural. It may also have a more active meaning 'to be sorrowing'.

(132) *Ngasebe* in Intransitive, happenstantial, realis (2 examples in the corpus):
Labi na gid ki kami na mga ginikanan sikad gid kapung-aw daw **nangasebe** ta imo na pag-alin.

Labi *na gid ki* *kami* *na mga ginikanan sikad gid*
especially LK INT OBL.P 1P.EXCL LK PL parent very INT
ka–pung-aw daw ***na–ng–ka–sebe*** *ta* *imo* *na pag-–alin.*
NR–lonely and A.HAP.R–PL–VR–sad NABS 2S.GEN LK NR.ACT–from
'Especially for us parents (we) were really very lonely and **were sorrowing** when you left.' [NEWL-T-04 5.5]

(133) Ngasebe in Intransitive, happenstantial, irrealis (1 example in the corpus):
Dayon ambaḷ Bubuo i na, "Dey, dili ka mangasebe."
Dayon *…–ambaḷ Bubuo* *i* *na, "Dey,* *dili* *ka*
right.away I.R–say tortoise DEF.N LK friend NEG.IR 2S.ABS
ma–ng–ka–sebe."
A.HAP.IR–PL–VBLZ–sad
'Right away Tortoise said, "Friend, do not sorrow."' [CBWN-C-16 6.12]

(134) *Ngasebe-* in intransitive, dynamic, realis (4 examples in the corpus):
Man-o tak **gangasebe** ka?
Man-o tak ***ga–ng–ka–sebe*** *ka?*
why because I.R–PL–VBLZ–sad 2S.ABS
'Why are you **sorrowing**?' [CBWN-C-16 6.6]

Example (134) illustrates that the pluraction prefix *ng-* is not strictly "agreement" with a plural experiencer, since the experiencer in this example is singular. Although pluraction for stems expressing sadness and joy overwhelmingly occur with plural experiencers, this is not a grammatical restriction. The sense in example (134) is that the actor is sorrowing over and over again, over a long period of time.

The root *lipay* 'to feel joy' also often occurs with the intransitive pluraction prefix, though it may take happenstantial or dynamic inflections (*na-*, *ma-* or *ga-*, examples 135 through 140). It also occurs in happenstantial modality applicative and non-applicative constructions (see Table 9.1 above, and several more examples in this section). It occurs in dynamic modality only in combination with the intransitive pluraction prefix (141). In happenstantial modality without the applicative, *lipay* expresses temporary joy because of some specific external stimulus (examples 135 through 139). For example, if a child is given candy, her emotion may be described with *nalipay*. But the joy does not last long. The applicative stem, *lipayan*, describes a deeper, more fulfilling joy. An example of this is when

a person finishes college and gets a certificate. The emotion experienced by that person and their family can be described as *nalipayan* (140).

(135) Happenstantial, realis (20 examples in the corpus):
Nalipay a gid tenged ki Maria daw paagi ta iya na laygay na nḷaman ko daw ino na pagbaton ta Ginuo.

Na–lipay *a gid tenged ki Maria daw paagi ta*
A.HAP.R–joy 1S.ABS INT because OBL.P Maria and by.means.of NABS
iya na laygay na na–aḷam–an ko daw ino na
3S.GEN LK advice LK A.HAP.R–know–APL 1S.ERG if/when what LK
pag–baton ta Ginuo.
NR.ACT–receive NABS Lord
'I **am really joyful** because of Maria and by means of her advice I know how to receive the Lord.' [CBWN-C-23 5.6]

(136) … daw **nalipay** kay gid tak gapadaḷa ka ta suḷat ki kami daw nḷaman nay imo na kaimtangan.

… daw ***na–lipay*** *kay gid tak ga–pa–daḷa ka*
and A.HAP.R–joy 1P.EXCL.ABS INT because I.R–CAUS–take/carry 2S.ABS
ta suḷat ki kami daw na–aḷam–an nay imo
NABS write OBL.P 2P.EXCL and A.HAP.R–know–APL 1P.EXCL.ERG 2S.GEN
na kaimtangan.
LK situation
'… and we **are really joyful** because you sent a letter to us and we know your situation or circumstances.' [SBWL-C-02 4.1]

(137) **Nalipay** mga gauturay na gakitaay.

Na–lipay *mga ga–utod–ay na ga–kita–ay.*
A.HAP.R–joy PL I.R–sibling–REC LK I.R–see–REC
'The relatives are joyful when meeting together with each other.' [JCWN-L-33 6.1]

(138) Happenstantial, irrealis (5 examples in the corpus):
… para dili danen masebean ta pagtan-aw, kundi **malipay** ta pagtan-aw ki yaken …

… para dili danen ma–sebe–an ta pag–-tan-aw,
PURP NEG.IR 3S.ABS A.HAP.IR–sad–APL NABS NR.ACT–look.at

kundi[5] ***ma–lipay*** *ta pag–-tan-aw ki yaken …*
but.rather HA.HAP.IR–joy NABS NR.ACT–look.at OBL.P 1S
‘ … in order that they will not be sad in looking at (me), rather they will be joyful in looking at me …’ (The speaker wanted to finish his college for this reason.) [JBON-J-01 4.9]

(139) Daw kyo nadayaran, kami **malipay** man.
Daw kyo na–dayad–an, kami ***ma–lipay*** *man.*
if/when 2P.ABS A.HAP.R–good–APL 1P.EXCL.ABS A.HAP.IR–joy also
‘If you consider (the program) good, we **will be very joyful**.’ [EMWO-L-10 33.1]

The happenstantial applicative form expresses a deeper, more enduring joy:

(140) Isya pa ta uryan na adlaw daw makatapos ka en dili nang kaon **malipayan** daw di, asta man imo na mga ginikanan daw makita ka danen na nakatapos ta imo na kurso.
Isya pa ta uryan na adlaw daw maka–tapos ka en
one INC NABS late LK sun/day if/when I.HAP.R–finish 2S.ABS CM
dili nang kaon ***ma–lipay–an*** *daw di, asta*
NEG.IR only/just 2S.ABS A.HAP.IR–joy–APL if/when NEG.IR including
man imo na mga ginikanan daw ma–kita ka danen na
also 2S.GEN LK PL parent if/when A.HAP.IR–see 2S.ABS 3P.ERG LK
naka–tapos ta imo na kurso.
I.HAP.R–finish NABS 2S.GEN LK course
‘One more (thing), on a later day if you can finish (your college course), not only will you be innerwardly joyful but rather, your parents when they see you having finished already your course.’ [YBWL-T-02 5.5]

(141) *ngalipay* in dynamic, realis (no examples in the corpus):
Gangalipay kay tak gabot bata nay.
Ga–ng–ka–lipay *kay tak ga–abot bata nay.*
I.R–PL–VR–rejoice 1P.INCL.ABS because I.R–arrive child 1P.EXCL.GEN
‘We **are rejoicing** because our child arrived.’

(142) *ngalipay* in happenstantial, realis (2 examples in the corpus):
Nangalipay ki sanglit kiten i bilang gaprudukto ki en ta kabellayan ta ate na mga apo una sa na mga adlaw.

[5]This is code switching. In CGC this word would be *daw dili*.

Na–ng–ka–lipay *ki* *sanglit* *kiten* *i* *bilang*
A.HAP.R–PL–VR–rejoice 1P.INCL.ABS because 1P.INCL.ABS DEF.N consider
ga–prudukto ki *en* *ta* *ka–bellay–an* *ta* *ate*
I.R–product 1P.INCL.ABS CM NABS NR–difficulty–NR NABS 1P.INCL.GEN
na mga apo *una* *sa* *na mga adlaw.*
LK PL ancestor first D4NABS LK PL sun/day
'We have **rejoiced** because as for us we are considered we are producing from the difficulties of our ancestors in those first days.' [ROOB-T-01 9.20]

(143) *ngalipay* in happenstantial, irrealis (4 examples in corpus):
… tak gusto pa gid daen na **mangalipay**.
… tak *gusto pa* *gid* *daen* *na* ***ma–ng–ka–lipay.***
because want INC INT 3P.ABS LK A.HAP.IR–PL–VR–rejoice
' … because they really still wanted to **make merry**.' (The older people wanted to keep going to programs and dances because they still wanted to make merry.) [RZWE-J-01 20.4]

(144) **Mangalipay** ki na para nang ki kiten.
ma–ng–ka–lipay *ki* *na para* *nang* *ki* *kiten.*
A.HAP.IR–PL–VR–rejoice 1P.INCL.ABS LK PURP only/just OBL.P 1P.INCL
'Let's **rejoice** just for us.' [ROOB-T-01 9.15]

As with the other verbs in this section, the root *sadya*, 'to enjoy/have fun/make merry', often takes the pluractional prefix. The pluractional form, *ngasadya*, occurs overwhelmingly with plural experiencers, but this is probably due to the cultural value of being with others when rejoicing or having fun.

(145) **Gangasadya** danen an tak daag danen ampang.
Ga–ng–ka–sadya *danen* *an* *tak* *daag* *danen* *ampang.*
I.R–PL–VR–make.merry 3P.ABS DEF.M because win 3P.ABS play
'They **are celebrating** because they won a/the game.'

(146) Transitive, happenstantial with obligatory applicative:
Nasadyaan kay man tak gatingeb kay pa di, …
Na–sadya–an *kay* *man* *tak* *ga–tingeb*
A.HAP.R–enjoy/fun–APL 1P.EXCL.ABS EMPH because I.R–gather.together
kay *pa* *di,* *…*
1PS.EXCL.ABS INC D2LOC
'We are so **enjoying/having fun** because we are gathered together here …' [MBWL-C-08 3.2]

9.6 Cognition

The semantic roles in a situation of cogition (internal mental activity) are a Cognizer and a stimulus. The Cognizer is the person or animal that thinks, knows, understands, believes, remembers, forgets, etc., and the stimulus is the entity or idea that is known, understood, believed, etc. Predicates that express cognition in Kagayanen pattern like transitive predicates with the Cognizer as the actor and the stimulus as the undergoer. As with many other situation types discussed in this section, when a cognition predicate takes dynamic inflections, it expresses an intentional meaning, and when it takes happenstantial inflection it may have two meanings depending on the context; 1. simple unintentionally, and 2. abilitative, optative, or opportunitive meanings: 'may/might/can/possibly'. Exceptions to this generalization are the Class V roots *masmas* 'to notice' and *aḷam* 'to know'. These only express unintentional meanings, and consequently only take happenstantial inflection. These two special roots are discussed in some detail later in this section. The following examples illustrate the root *isip* 'to think' in its various forms.

(147) Transitive dynamic:
Nya na bisan gabellay a uḷa ko gid **paisip** nan tak bakod pagpalangga ko an ki kyo.

Nya na bisan ga–bellay a uḷa ko gid ***pa–isip***
D4ABS LK even.though I.R–tired 1S.ABS NEG.R 1S.ERG INT T.R–think
nan tak bakod pag–palangga ko an ki kyo.
D2ABS because big NR.ACT–have.affection 1S.GEN DEF.M OBL.P 2P
'That is the reason that even though I am working till being tired, I really do not think about that because my affection for you is big.' [ICWL-T-05 5.5]

(148) Transitive dynamic with applicative:
Daw **isipan** man kani danen na mananem ta guso di salamat.

Daw ***∅–isip–an*** *man kani danen na ma–ng–tanem ta*
if/when T.IR–think–APL EMPH later 3P.ERG LK A.HAP.IR–PL–plant NABS
guso di salamat.
seaweed RQ thanks
'If later they **will think about** planting agar seaweed, won't that be (reason for giving) thanks.' (The *di* here is the rhetorical question marker.) [RZWE-J-01 18.13]

(149) Detransitive dynamic:
Uḷa **gaisip** ta kayaran ta ittaw daw dili kwarta nang iran na isip.
Uḷa ***ga–isip*** *ta kayaran ta ittaw daw dili kwarta*
NEG.R I.R–think NABS well-being NABS person if/when NEG.IR money
nang iran na isip.
only 3P.GEN LK think
'(They) are not thinking of the well-being of people, but rather money only is what they think about.' [MOOE-C-01 186.1]

(150) Transitive happenstantial:
Piro yon man **naisip** Pedro. Yon man **naisip** danen.
Piro yon man ***na–isip*** *Pedro. Yon man* ***na–isip*** *danen.*
but D3ABS also A.HAP.R–think Pedro D3ABS also A.HAP.R–think 3P.ERG
'But that really was what Pedro thought on. That really was what they thought on.' [TTOB-L-03 7.6]

(151) Detranstive happenstantial:
Nakaisip a na magbaksyon naan ta Manila.
Naka–isip *a na mag–baksyon naan ta Manila.*
I.HAP.R–think 1S.ABS LK I.IR–vacation SPAT.DEF NABS Manila
'I had thought that I will vacation in Manila.'

(152) Mga ittaw **nakaisip** na sulbaren prublima ta pagkaan.
Mga ittaw ***naka–isip*** *na sulbar–en prublima ta pagkaan.*
PL person I.HAP.R–think LK solve–T.IR problem NABS food
'People were able to think to solve the problem of food.' (This story is about periods of crisis when boats with needed supplies could not reach Cagayancillo.) [JCWE-L-32 3.5]

(153) Detransitive external motivation:
Kaisip a kani daw ino buaten ko daw dili sakit uḷo ko i.
Ka–isip *a kani daw ino buat–en ko daw*
I.EXM–think 1S.ABS later if/when what do/make–T.IR 1S.ERG if/when
dili sakit uḷo ko i.
NEG.IR pain head 1S.GEN DEF.N
'I can think later of what I will do if my head does not hurt.'

(154) Transitive happenstantial with applicative, with complement clause as stimulus:
Naisipan ta magkumpari na batangan ta kwarta tengnged i ta galon.
Na–isip–an *ta mag–kumpari na ∅–batang–an ta*
I.HAP.R–think–APL NABS REL–fellow.godfather LK T.IR–put–APL NABS
kwarta tengnged i ta galon.
money next.to DEF.N NABS gallon
'The fellow godfathers **thought** to put money next to the gallon.' [DBWN-T-33 2.14]

(155) Transitive, dynamic with complement clause as stimulus:
… **isipen** ta na itanem ta.
*… **isip–en** ta na i–tanem ta.*
think–T.IR 1P.INCL.ERG LK T.DEON–plant 1P.INCL.ERG
' … let's think that we should plant (something).' [ROOB-T-01 8.4]

(156) **Paisip** ko na dayad gid baḷay danen na bag-o tukod.
Pa–isip *ko na dayad gid baḷay danen na bag-o tukod.*
T.R–think 1S.ERG LK good INT house 3P.GEN LK new build
'**I think** that their house that they newly built is really nice.'

(157) Detransitive, dynamic with complement clause as stimulus:
Ta, ta uryan na mga adlaw danen i **gaisip** en a na magpangabui man iran ta Cagayancillo i.
*Ta, ta uryan na mga adlaw danen i **ga–isip** en a na*
SO NABS late LK PL sun/day 3P.ABS DEF.N I.R–think CM INJ LK
mag–pangabui man iran ta Cagayancillo i.
I.IR–live EMPH 3P.GEN NABS Cagayancillo DEF.N
'So, at a latter time they **were thinking** that they would live on Cagayancillo.' [PTOE-T-01 8.1]

(158) Kaysan man dili a makatunuga daw kilem tak **gaisip** a tenged ta ame na pangabui.
Kaysan man dili a maka–tunuga daw kilem tak
sometimes EMPH NEG.IR 1S.ABS I.HAP.IR–sleep if/when night because
ga–isip *a tenged ta ame na pangabui.*
I.R–think 1S.ABS about NABS 1P.EXCL.GEN LK living
'Sometimes I can't even sleep when it is night because I **am thinking** about our living.' [AFWL-L-01 7.1]

(159) Pag-adyo-adyo tise en **gaisip** en danen na meḷes ta duyan.
Pag-–adyo~-adyo tise en ***ga-isip*** *en danen na m-eḷes ta*
NR.ACT–RED~far small CM I.R–think CM 3P.ABS LK I.V.IR–borrow NABS
duyan.
hammock
'When a little further, they **were thinking** that (they) will borrow a hamock.' [JCWN-T-22 5.11]

(160) Transitive, dynamic, applicative, with complement clause:
Paisipan ko pa daw paalinen ko kanen an daw dili.
Pa–isip–an *ko pa daw pa–alin–en ko kanen an*
T.R–think–APL 1S.ERG INC if/when CAUS–from–T.IR 1S.GEN 3S.ABS DEF.M
daw dili.
if/when NEG.IR
'I **was still considering** if I will make him/her leave or not.'

(161) … dili nyo gilekan inyo na bata tak **isipan** danen, bata pa danen i.
… dili nyo gilek–an inyo na bata tak ***∅–isip–an***
NEG.IR 2P.ERG angry–APL 2P.GEN LK child because T.IR–think–APL
danen, bata pa danen i.
3P.ABS child INC 3P.ABS DEF.N
' … do not get angry with your children because, **think about** them, they are still young.' [RZWE-J-01 8.4]

(162) Transitive, happenstantial, applicative, with complement clause:
Naisipan din en na buatan din na para makabaḷes kanen ki Pedro ya.
Na–isip–an *din en na ∅–buat–an din na para*
A.HAP.R–think–APL 3S.ERG CM LK T.IR–do/make–APL 3S.ERG LK for
maka–baḷes kanen ki Pedro ya.
I.HAP.IR–revenge 3S.ABS OBL.P Pedro DEF.F
'She **thought** that she will do (something) to him to avenge Pedro.' [LGON-L-01 14.2]

The root *aḷam* 'to know' is unusual in a number of ways. It is a Class Vb root, which means it is a non-volitional, basically transitive root that requires an applicative affix to appear in a transitive frame. The non-applicative forms (*naḷam* and *maḷam*) are always detransitive, because the experiencer must be absolutive, and the stimulus non-absolutive. Like other Class Vb verbs, it only occurs with happenstantial inflection (unless the causative prefix is employed).

The only inflections allowed for the applicative stem *aḷaman* are *na-* and *ma-*, in which case the root-initial *a* drops out, leaving the transitive inflected forms *nḷaman* and *mḷaman*. Without the applicative suffix, the detransitive forms are *naḷam* and *maḷam*. This is similar to *mati* 'hear', *batyag* 'feel' above, and *lipat* 'forget', *tingala* 'be amazed/wonder', and *kullaw* 'ponder' below in that the detransitive takes either *na–/ma-* or *naka–/maka-*.

This root is also unique in that sometimes speaker or writers add an *n-* to the root. That is to say, *nakanaḷam* and *makanaḷam* are interchangeable with *nakaaḷam* and *makaaḷam* respectively, with no distinction in meaning:

(163) Nakaaḷam kanen ta daḷan munta ta uma nay.
Nakanaḷam kanen ta daḷan munta ta uma nay.
Naka–(n)aḷam kanen ta daḷan munta ta uma nay.
I.HAP.R–know 3S.ABS NABS road going NABS field 1P.EXCL.GEN
'S/he knows the road to our field.'

(164) Uḷa may makaaḷam ta isturya ko.
Uḷa may makanaḷam ta isturya ko.
Uḷa may maka–(n)aḷam ta isturya ko.
NEG.R EXT.IN I.HAP.IR–know NABS story 1S.GEN
'There is no one who can know my story.'

In terms of semantics, when *aḷam* occurs in a detransitive construction, it usually means 'to know how to do something' and in a transitive construction with the applicative it means 'to know something' (facts or head knowledge). This is a strong tendency, but not always true. The morphological causative, *paḷam*, means 'to ask permission, or to inform/tell/let someone know something'. There is considerable variation in how this root is used.

The following are a few examples of *aḷam* from the corpus.

(165) Detransitive, happenstantial with complement clause 'to know how to do something':
Naḷam en danen i magbasa, **naḷam** en magsuma, **naḷam** en magsulbar ta prublima, **naḷam** en mananem, **naḷam** en ta tanan na ubra …
Na–aḷam *en danen i mag–basa,* ***na–aḷam*** *en*
A.HAP.R–know CM 3P.ABS DEF.N I.IR–read A.HAP.R–know CM
mag–suma, ***na–aḷam*** *en mag–sulbar ta prublima,*
I.IR–add A.HAP.R–know CM I.IR–solve NABS problem

na–aḷam *en ma–ng–tanem,* ***na–aḷam*** *en ta tanan na*
A.HAP.R–know CM A.HAP.IR–PL–plant A.HAP.R–know CM NABS all LK
ubra …
work
'They already know how to read, already know how to add, already know how to solve problems, already know how to plant, know how to do all the work …' [SPOB-L-01 8.3]

(166) Detransitive, happenstantial with stimulus RP and complement clause 'to know a fact':
Tama na ittaw **naḷam** gid ta ake na inagian …
Tama na ittaw ***na–aḷam*** *gid ta ake na <in>agi–an …*
many LK person A.HAP.R–know INT NABS 1S.GEN LK <NR.RES>pass–APL
'Many people really knew about my experience …' [VAWN-T-16 6.2]

(167) Uḷa gid **naḷam** Pwikan i na paluko nang kanen i ta Umang …
Uḷa gid ***na–aḷam*** *Pwikan i na pa–luko nang kanen*
NEG.R INT A.HAP.R–know sea.turtle DEF.N LK T.R–trick only/just 3S.ABS
i ta Umang …
DEF.N NABS hermit.crab
'The Sea Turtle did not know that Hermit Crab tricked him/her …' [DBWN-T-26 10.1]

Example (168) is from a story about planting agar seaweed, which is a major income crop on Cagayancillo. The paragraph describes how all members of the family are involved in the process.

(168) Basta na darko en mga bataan an a pwidi iran maḷam man mag–igot, maḷam man magluoy.
Basta na darko en mga bata–an an a pwidi iran
just.so.that LK big.PL CM PL child–NR DEF.M INJ can 3P.GEN
ma–aḷam man mag–igot, ma–aḷam man mag–luoy.
A.HAP.IR–know also I.IR–tie A.HAP.IR–know also I.IR–swim
'Just so that the children who are big (in contrast with smaller children) can know how to tie (agar seaweed on long ropes to grow in the sea), know how to swim (in the sea to stake the long ropes with seaweed tied on them in the sea).' [ETOP-C-08 5.2]

Example (169) is from a story about a long ago tyrant leader. Because the people were not taught or were lacking in knowing of how to deal with this in a legal way, they did not know their rights and privileges, so he was able to do whatever he wanted to them:

(169) Mga ittaw an dili maḷam ta iran na kayaran daw pribliyo …

Mga ittaw an dili ma–aḷam ta iran na ka–ayad–an
PL person DEF.M NEG.IR A.HAP.IR–know NABS 3P.GEN LK NR–well–NR
daw pribliyo …
and privilege
'The people cannot know what is good for them (lit. their goodness) and privileges.' [BEWN-T-01 2.16]

(170) Transitive, happenstantial, with obligatory applicative = 'to know a fact':
Uḷa kay nang en galeges tak **nḷaman** nay na dili gid miyag ame na mga ginikanan.

Uḷa kay nang en ga–leges tak ***na–aḷam–an***
NEG.R 1P.EXCL.ABS only/just CM I.R–force because A.HAP.R–know–APL
nay na dili gid miyag ame na mga ginikanan.
1P.EXCL.ERG LK NEG.IR INT agree 1P.EXCL.GEN LK PL parents
'We just did not force (our parents to let us go to college) because we knew that our parents really do not agree.' [CBWE-C-05 4.3]

(171) Unso a nang tunuga aged mḷaman ko daw matuod gid sugid nyo an na maḷbaḷ danen mari.

Unso a nang tunuga aged ma–aḷam–an ko
D4LOC.PR 1S.ABS only/just sleep so.that A.HAP.IR–know–APL 1S.ERG
daw ma–tuod gid sugid nyo an na maḷbaḷ danen mari.
if/when ADJ–true INT tell 2P.GEN DEF.M LK witch 3P.ABS godmother
'Right there I will just sleep so that I can know if what you said is true, that (my) godmother and her companions are witches.' [CBWN-C-13 4.4]

Examples (172) and (173) illustrate the causative stem *paḷam* with the dynamic inflections.

(172) Causative, dynamic, transitive inflection:
Kaappat na papaḷam ta bandilyo daw oras ta selled iskwila mga istudyanti daw nagaiskwila ta ilimintiriya.

Ka–appat na pa–pa–aḷam ta bandilyo daw oras
NR–four LK T.R–CAUS–know NABS public.announce if/when hour.time
ta selled iskwila mga istudyanti daw naga–iskwila[6] *ta ilimintiriya.*
NABS enter school PL student and I.R–school NABS elementary
'The fourth (thing) the public announcement lets (people) know is when students will enter school and going to elementary school.' [VAOE-J-01 7.1]

(173) Causative, dynamic, intransitive inflection (detransitive construction):
Ta pitsa traynta uno ta Uktubri sellem, gapaḷam a ki danen tatay daw nanay na, "Tay, Nay, miling a ta Manila tak magtudlo a kon ki Pedro ta ambaḷ ta na Kagay-anen.

Ta pitsa traynta uno ta Uktubri sellem, ga–pa–aḷam a
NABS date thirty one NABS October morning I.R–CAUS–know 1S.ABS
ki danen tatay daw nanay na, "Tay, Nay, m–iling a ta
OBL.P 3P father and mother LK Dad Mom I.V.IR–go 1S.ABS NABS
Manila tak mag–tudlo a kon ki Pedro ta ambaḷ
Manila because I.IR–teach 1S.ABS HSY OBL.P Pedro NABS say
ta na Kagay-anen.
1P.INCL.GEN LK Kagay-anen
'On the date of thirty one of October morning I let them know father and mother, "Dad, Mom, I will go to Manila because (I) will teach Pedro our language Kagayanen."' [RCON-L-03 4.1]

Finally, example (174) illustrates the adjectival stem *maḷam* based on the root *aḷam*. This stem, then, may be inflected with dynamic inflections with an inchoative sense. A literal translation of this example might be 'before you become proficient/knowledgeable writing in other languages …'.

(174) Kinangḷan bag-o kaw **magmaḷam** magsuḷat ta duma bilang makasuḷat kaw anay ta Kagayanen.

Kinangḷan bag-o kaw ***mag–ma–aḷam*** *mag–suḷat ta duma*
necessary before 2P.ABS I.IR–ADJ–know I.IR–write NABS other
bilang maka–suḷat kaw anay ta Kagayanen.
example I.HAP.IR–write 2P.ABS first/while NABS Kagayanen
'(It is) necessary that before you learn how to write in other (languages), for example, you are able to write first in Kagayanen …' [JCOE-T-06 1.4]

[6]The form *naga-* in this example is code switching from Hiligaynon. The Kagayanen form would be *ga-*.

The roots *demdem* 'to remember' and *intindi* 'to understand' function much like *isip* 'to think' above. In the dynamic forms, the meaning is intentional and sometimes expresses ideas such as 'to be concerned about' or 'to care for another'. These roots require the applicative in the transitive, happenstantial forms.

(175) Transitive dynamic:
Pirmi ka din na **pademdem** daw ino en kaimtangan no an unsan Manila an.

Pirmi ka din na ***pa–demdem*** *daw ino en kaimtangan*
always 2S.ABS 3S.ERG LK T.R–remember if/when what CM situation
no an unsan Manila an.
2S.GEN DEF.M D2LOC.PR Manila DEF.M
'He always **remembers** you/has you in mind, what your situation is right there in Manila.' [PMWL-T-06 2.3]

(176) Dapat no **demdemen** ni ake na paglaygay ki kaon.

Dapat no ***demdem–en*** *ni ake na pag–laygay*
must 2S.ERG remember–T.IR D1ABS 1S.GEN LK NR.ACT–speech/advice
ki kaon.
OBL.P 2S
'You must **remember**/keep in mind this my advice to you.' [NEWL-T-03 5.6]

(177) Detransitive dynamic:
Asta mga kabataan ta napatay ya sigi na agaḷ tak **gademdem** danen ta tatay danen.

Asta mga ka–bata–an ta na–patay ya sigi na agaḷ
until PL NR–child–NR NABS A.HAP.R–die DEF.F continually LK cry
tak ***ga–demdem*** *danen ta tatay danen.*
because I.R–remember 3P.ABS NABS father 3P.GEN
'Including the children of the one who died kept on crying because they **remember/keep in their minds** their father.' [AMWN-T-01 2.15]

(178) Transitive dynamic with applicative:
A bilang **pademdeman** ko nang a pitsa trisi ta buḷan ta Eniro 1976 a kaadlawan ta ame na bata na maguḷang ta ame na pamilya na ngaran din Pedro.

A bilang ***pa–demdem–an*** *ko nang a pitsa trisi ta*
INJ as T.R–remember–APL 1S.ERG only/just INJ date thirteen NABS
buḷan ta Eniro 1976 a ka–adlaw–an ta ame
month/moon NABS January 1976 INJ NR–sun/day–NR NABS 1P.EXCL.GEN
na bata na ma–guḷang ta ame na pamilya na ngaran din
LK child LK ADJ–old NABS 1P.EXCL.GEN LK family LK name 3S.GEN
Pedro.
Pedro
'Well, as I **brought to mind** the date of thirteen in the month of January, 1976, the birthday (lit. special day) of our child who is the older one in our family whose name is Pedro.' [EFWN-T-10 1.1]

(179) Transitive happenstantial with obligatory applicative:
Nademdeman ko na lain man daw manaw na may gamasakit.
Na–demdem–an *ko na lain man daw m–panaw na*
A.HAP.R–remember–APL 1S.ERG LK bad EMPH if/when I.V.IR–walk/go LK
may ga–masakit.
EXT.IN I.R–sick
'I remember that it is bad when leaving somewhere when there is someone who became sick.' [RCON-L-03 8.4]
**nademdem*

The following are examples of *intindi* 'to understand' (from Spanish *entender* 'to understand') from the corpus. The only example in the corpus of the detransitive dynamic form of *intindi* is a reciprocal (180). However, other examples do occur in conversation (181). The reciprocal can mean either to understand each other or to get along together well:

(180) Detransitive dynamic:
Uḷa kaw nang **gaintindiay**.
Uḷa kaw nang ***ga–intindi–ay****.*
NEG.R 2P.ABS just I.R–understand–REC
'You just didn't **understand/get along with each other**.' [EFWN-T-09 54.2]

(181) **Gaintindi** man kanen ki kami na naan kay dya gatunuga.
Ga–intindi *man kanen ki kami na naan kay*
I.R–understand EMPH 3S.ABS OBL.P 1P.EXCL LK SPAT.DEF 1P.EXCL.ABS
dya ga–tunuga.
D4LOC I.R–sleep
'S/he **was concerned for/took care of** us when we slept there.'

(182) Transitive dynamic:
Paintindi ko gid ta usto ambaḷ no an.
Pa–intindi *ko gid ta usto ambaḷ no an.*
T.R–understand 1S.ERG INT NABS well.properly say 2S.GEN DEF.M
'I **intentionally understood** well what you said.'

(183) Transitive dynamic with applicative:
Paintindian ko gid ta usto ambaḷ no an.
Pa–intindi–an *ko gid ta usto ambaḷ no an.*
T.R–understand–APL 1S.ERG INT NABS well.properly say 2S.GEN DEF.M
'I **intentionally understood** well what you said.'

(184) Detransitive happenstantial:
Kanen nang **nakaintindi** daw ino ambaḷ din.
Kanen nang ***naka–intindi*** *daw ino ambaḷ din.*
3S.ABS only/just I.HAP.R–understand if/when what say 3S.GEN
'S/he only was **able to understand** what s/he said.'

(185) Detransitive, external motivation: **Kaintindi** a ta Cebuano.
Ka–intindi *a ta Cebuano.*
I.EXM–understand 1S.ABS NABS Cebuano
'I can **understand** Cebuano.'

(186) Transitive happenstantial with obligatory applicative (both *masmas* 'notice' and *intindi* 'understand'):
Naan dya danen namasmasan na iran na bata gakinangḷan ta iran na pagtamed daw pagpalangga daw naan dya danen **naintindian** na iran na bata uḷa gakinangḷan ta tama na kwarta …
Naan dya danen na–masmas–an na iran na bata
SPAT.DEF D4LOC 3P.ERG A.HAP.R–notice–APL LK 3P.GEN LK child
ga–kinangḷan ta iran na pag–tamed daw pag–palangga
I.R–need NABS 3P.GEN LK NR.ACT–attention and NR.ACT–affection

daw naan dya danen ***na–intindi–an*** *na iran na*
and SPAT.DEF D4LOC 3P.ERG A.HAP.R–understand–APL LK 3P.GEN LK
bata uḷa ga–kinangḷan ta tama na kwarta …
child NEG.R I.R–need NABS many LK money
'There they noticed that their child needs their attention and affection and there they **understood** that their child does not need lots of money …' [YBWN-T-07 2.8]
**naintindi*

The root *lipat* 'to forget' patterns like emotion predicates in that it takes the applicative in its basic transitive form. In intransitive constructions, the experiencer is absolutive and the stimulus is non-absolutive. In detransitive constructions the meaning is 'to become forgetful of something' and in transitive constructions the meaning is 'to forget something' or 'forget to do something'. In detranstiive happenstantial constructions, *lipat* can take either *na-/ma-* or *naka-/maka-* which is similar to *mati* 'hear', *batyag* 'feel', *aḷam* 'know', *tingala* 'be amazed/ wonder', and *kullaw* 'ponder'. In transitive constructions, the experiencer is ergative and the stimulus is absolutive.

(187) Detransitive dynamic:
Galipat en kanen ta mga ambaḷen din.
Ga–lipat *en kanen ta mga ambaḷ–en din.*
I.R–forget CM 3S.ABS NABS PL say–T.IR 3S.GEN
'S/he **is forgetful** now of what s/he will say.' (This is not a one-time event, but is an ongoing condition.)

(188) … bilang yon kon sumpaan danen na dili danen **maglipat** ta kada isya ki danen.
… bilang yon kon sumpa–an danen na dili danen ***mag–lipat***
as D3ABS HSY VOW–APL 3P.ERG LK NEG.IR 3P.ABS I.IR–forget
ta kada isya ki danen.
NABS each one OBL.P 3p
' … as what they vowed that they **will not forget/put out of mind** each other.' [CBWN-C-14 5.6]

(189) Transitive dynamic with obligatory applicative:
Palipatan din ambaḷ ya ki kanen na may miting kisyem.
Pa–lipat–an *din* *ambaḷ ya* *ki* *kanen na may* *miting*
T.R–forget–APL 3S.ERG say DEF.F OBL.P 3S LK EXT.IN meeting
kisyem
tomorrow
'S/he **forgot/put out of mind** what was said to him/her that there is a meeting tomorrow.'

(190) **Lipatan** no a mga bisyo, …
*∅–**Lipat–an*** *no* *a* *mga bisyo, …*
T.IR–forget–APL 2S.ERG INJ PL vice
'**Forget/put out of mind** the vices …' [JCOB-L-02 13.14]

(191) Detransitive happenstantial:
Nakalipat aren daw kino ka.
Naka–lipat *aren* *daw* *kino ka.*
I.HAP.R–forget 1S.ABS if/when who 2S.ABS
'I **happened to forget** who you are.'

(192) Na danen bisan nyaan ta duma na lugar uḷa danen **nalipat** ta ate na ambaḷ.
Na danen *bisan* *nyaan* *ta* *duma na lugar uḷa* *danen*
LK 3P.ABS even.though SPAT.DEF NABS other LK place NEG.R 3P.ABS
na–lipat *ta* *ate* *na ambaḷ.*
A.HAP.R–forget NABS 1P.INCL.GEN LK say
'When they are even in different places they did not **happen to forget** our language.' [SFOB-L-02 4.3]

(193) Transitive happenstantial:
Nalipat ko na deen bayo no ya na nabilin no naan baḷay nay.
Na–lipat *ko* *na dala–en* *bayo* *no* *ya* *na*
A.HAP.R–forget 1S.ERG LK take/carry–T.IR clothes 2S.GEN DEF.F LK
na–bilin *no* *naan* *baḷay nay.*
A.HAP.R–leave.behind 2S.ERG SPAT.DEF house 1P.EXCL.GEN
'I forgot to bring your clothes that you left at our house.'

(194) Transitive happenstantial with applicative:
Nalipatan nay naan ta sakayan isya na bag daw malita.

Na–lipat–an *nay naan ta sakay–an isya na bag*
A.HAP.R–forget–APL 1P.EXCL.ERG SPAT.DEF NABS ride–NR one LK bag
daw malita.
and suitcase.
'We **forgot** one bag and a suitcase on the bus.' [AFWL-L-01 9.7]

The root *tingaḷa* 'to wonder/be amazed' belongs to both Class Vb and Class VIII. It is much like roots depicting transitive situations. The detransitive form can take *na-/ma-* or *naka-/maka-*, like *mati* 'hear', *batyag* 'feel', *aḷam* 'know', *lipat* 'forget' and *kullaw* 'ponder.'

(195) Detransitive dynamic:
Gatingaḷa kon iya na bḷai tak iran na ayam sigi aḷok.

Ga–tingaḷa *kon iya na bḷai tak iran*
I.R–amaze/wonder HSY 3S.GEN LK child.in.law's.parent bcause 3P.GEN
na ayam sigi aḷok.
LK dog continually bark
'Her child's spouse's parent **was wondering** because their dog keeps on barking.' [MBON-T-05 3.3]

(196) Transitive dynamic with obligatory applicative:
Patingaḷaan danen tatos na daḷa ko tak bag-o nang danen nakita.

Pa–tingaḷa–an *danen tatos na daḷa ko*
T.R–amaze/wonder–APL 3P.ERG coconut.crab LK take/carry 1S.ERG
tak bag-o nang danen na–kita.
because new/first ony/just 3P.ERG A.HAP.R–see
'They **were amazed/wondered** about the coconut crab that I carried because they just newly saw it.'

(197) External motivation:
Katingaḷa a tak ubos sidda ya.

Ka–tingaḷa *a tak ubos sidda ya.*
I.EXM–amaze/wonder 1S.ABS because used.up fish DEF.F
'I **was amazed/wondered** because the fish was gone or used up.'

(198) Detransitive happenstantial:
Pag-abot ko dya nakatingaḷa a gid tak sikad dayad na lugar.
Pag--abot ko dya naka–tingaḷa a gid tak
NR.ACT–arrive 1S.ABS D4LOC I.HAP.R–amaze/wonder 1S.ABS INT because
sikad dayad na lugar.
very good LK place
'When I arrived there, I was very amazed because it was a very good place.'

(199) **Natingaḷa** a na uḷa di tsinalas ko ya.
Na–tingaḷa *a na uḷa di tsinalas ko ya.*
A.HAP.R–amaze/wonder 1S.ABS LK NEG.R D1LOC sandals 1S.GEN DEF.F
'I **had been amazed** that my sandals were not here.'

(200) Transitive happenstantial with obligatory applicative:
Yon **natingaḷaan** ta mga ittaw na uḷa i ennasan. Naan dya kanen i nanglaya.
Yon ***na–tingaḷa–an*** *ta mga ittaw na uḷa i*
D3ABS A.HAP.R–amazed/wonder–APL NABS PL person LK NEG.R ATT
ennas–an. Naan dya kanen i na–ng–laya.
low.tide–NR SPAT.DEF D4LOC 3S.ABS DEF.N A.HAP.R–PL–cast.net
'That is what people **were wondering about** that there is no tidal flats. There he was cast net fishing.' [VAWN-T-17 2.10]

The verb *kaḷa* 'to recognize/know someone or something' usually occurs with happenstantial affixes in the corpus.

(201) Detransitive dynamic (this is an unusual construction for this root, and is not accepted by all speakers):
Daw ittaw na **gakaḷa** ta iya na mga saḷa daw ganeḷseḷ ta iya na mga saḷa daw gabaton ta Ginuo, yon kon masalbar.
Daw ittaw na ***ga–kaḷa*** *ta iya na mga saḷa daw*
if/when person LK I.R–know/recognize NABS 3S.GEN LK PL sin and
ga–neḷseḷ ta iya na mga saḷa daw ga–baton ta Ginuo, yon
I.R–regret NABS 3S.GEN LK PL sin and I.R–reeive NABS Lord D3ABS
kon ma–salbar.
HSY A.HAP.IR–save
'If a person **knows/recognizes** his/her sins and regrets/repents of his/her sins and receives the Lord, that one, they say, will be saved.' [CBWN-C-23 4.3]
*Gakaḷa a ki kanen

(202) Transitive dynamic (no examples in the corpus, though they do occur, rarely, in conversation):
Pakaḷa ko gid daw kino gapanaw ya.
Pa–kaḷa *ko gid daw kino ga–panaw ya.*
T.R–know/recognize 1S.ERG INT if/when who I.R–walk/go DEF.F
'I **intentionally recognized** who was the one walking.'

(203) **Kaḷaen** no daw kino gapanaw ya.
Kaḷa–en *no daw kino ga–panaw ya.*
know/recognize–T.IR 2S.ERG if/when who I.R–walk DEF.F
'You will intentionally recognize who is going.'

(204) Detransitive happenstantial:
Nakakaḷa a din bisan lugay uḷa gakitaay.
Naka–kaḷa *a din bisan lugay uḷa*
I.HAP.R–know/recognize 1S.ABS 3S.ERG even.though long.time NEG.R
ga–kita–ay.
I.R–see–REC
'S/he recognized me even though we did not see each other for a long time.'

(205) Transitive happenstantial:
Nakaḷa din nang bayo na pasuot ko na iya arey ko.
Na–kaḷa *din nang bayo na pa–suot ko*
A.HAP.R–know/recognize 3S.ERG only/just clothes LK T.R–wear 1S.ERG
na iya arey ko.
LK 3S.GEN friend 1S.GEN
'S/he just **recognized** the clothes I was wearing as belonging to my friend.'

(206) **Nakaḷa** a din.
Na–kaḷa *a din.*
A.HAP.R–know/recognize 1S.ABS 3S.ERG
'S/he **recognized** me.'

(207) Unso **nakaḷa** nay isya na manugpalit ta guso na anduni may basak en ta Cavili na isla.

Unso ***na–kaḷa*** *nay isya na manug–palit*
D4LOC.PR A.HAP.R–know/recognize 1P.EXCL.ERG one LK NR.OCC–buy
ta guso na anduni may basak en ta Cavili na isla.
NABS seaweed LK now/today EXT.IN soil/land CM NABS Cavili LK island
'There we knew one buyer of agar seaweed who now has land on Cavili island.' [DBWN-T-23 6.3]

(208) Transitive dynamic and happenstantial forms of *kaḷa* with the applicative are ungrammatical:
**Pakaḷaan. *kaḷaan. *nakaḷaan. *makaḷaan.*

The verb *pati* 'to believe/obey' may occur with transitive dynamic and happenstantial affixation with experiencer as ergative and stimulus as absolutive (exs. 209–219). It also may occur in detransitive dynamic frames with the experiencer as absolutive (220). It does not occur in detransitive happenstantial constructions (221).

(209) Transitive dynamic:
Uḷa man don nakita daw kino na mga ittaw, basta **papati** na yon na mga lugar may mga ittaw don na dapat ipakita gid dya bata an.
Uḷa man don na–kita daw kino na mga ittaw, basta
NEG.R EMPH D3LOC A.HAP.R–see if/when who LK PL person just.so.that
pa–pati *na yon na mga lugar may mga ittaw don na*
T.R–believe/obey LK D3ADJ LK PL place EXT.IN PL person D3LOC LK
dapat i–pa–kita gid dya bata an.
must T.DEON–CAUS–see INT D4LOC child DEF.M
'Whoever the people are not seen there, just so that it **is believed** that in those places there are people there for whom the child must be shown.' [JCWE-T-15 5.6]

(210) Miad pa daw **papati** ta gina danen ya papa ko daw mama na dili ki manaw tak Birnis daw istasyon.
Miad pa daw ***pa–pati*** *ta gina danen ya*
good INC if/when T.R–believe/obey 1P.EXCL.ERG earlier 3P.ABS DEF.F
papa ko daw mama na dili ki m–panaw tak
papa 1S.GEN and mama LK NEG.IR 1P.INCL.ABS I.V.IR–go/walk because
Birnis daw istasyon.
Friday and holy.week
'It was better if we **obeyed** earlier my papa and mama that we will not leave because it is Friday and holy week.' [CBWN-C-11 4.22]

(211) Transitive dynamic with applicative (no examples in the corpus):
Papatian din ambaḷ ko ya ki kanen.
Pa–pati–an *din ambaḷ ko ya ki kanen.*
T.R–believe/obey–APL 3S.ERG say 1S.ERG DEF.F OBL.P 3S
'S/he **believed/obeyed** what I said to him/her.'

(212) **Papatian** a din daw ino ambaḷ ko.
Pa–pati–an *a din daw ino ambaḷ ko.*
T.R–believe/obey–APL 1S.ABS 3S.ERG sif/when what say 1S.ERG
'S/he **believed/obeyed** me whatever I say.'

(213) **Papatian** din na yaken i mindeg mayor sunod na taon.
Pa–pati–an *din na yaken i m–tindeg mayor sunod*
T.R–believe/obey–APL 3S.ERG LK 1S.ABS DEF.N I.V.IR–stand mayor next
na taon.
LK year
'S/he **believed** that I will stand (candidate for) mayor in the next year.'

(214) Transitive happenstantial:
Napati din ambaḷ ko ki kanen.
Na–pati *din ambaḷ ko ki kanen.*
A.HAP.R–believe/obey 3S.ERG say 1S.ERG OBL.P 3S
'S/he **had believed/obeyed** what I said to him/her.'

(215) **Napati** din na yaken i mindeg mayor sunod na taon.
Na–pati *din na yaken i m–tindeg mayor sunod*
A.HAP.R–believe/obey 3S.ERG LK 1S.ABS DEF.N I.V.IR–stand mayor next
na taon.
LK year
'S/he **had believed** that I will stand (candidate for) mayor in the next year.'

(216) **Napati** a din na kanen katagsa ko.
Na–pati *a din na kanen katagsa ko.*
A.HAP.R–believe/obey 1S.ABS 3S.ERG LK 3S.ABS cousin 1S.GEN
'S/he had believed/obeyed me that s/he was my cousin.'

(217) Transitive happenstantial with applicative (no examples in the corpus):
Napatian din ambaḷ ko ya ki kanen.
Na–pati–an *din ambaḷ ko ya ki kanen.*
A.HAP.R–believe/obey–APL 3S.ERG say 1S.ERG DEF.F OBL.P 3S
'S/he **had believed/obeyed** what I said to him/her.'

(218) **Napatian** a din daw ino ambaḷ ko.
Na–pati–an *a din daw ino ambaḷ ko.*
A.HAP.R–believe/obey–APL 1S.ABS 3S.ERG if/when what say 1S.ERG
'S/he **had believed/obeyed** me whatever I say.'

(219) **Napatian** din na yaken i mindeg mayor sunod na taon.
Na–pati–an *din na yaken i m–tindeg mayor*
A.HAP.R–believe/obey–APL 3S.ERG LK 1S.ABS DEF.N I.V.IR–stand mayor
sunod na taon.
next LK year
'S/he **had believed** that I will stand (candidate for) mayor in the next year.'

(220) Detransitive dynamic:
Daw isya na baḷay maimuan en ta mikaw, **gapati** kay na mga ittaw ta uyi na baḷay dili en magmasakit.
Daw isya na baḷay ma–imu–an en ta mikaw,
if/when one LK house A.HAP.IR–do/make–APL CM NABS food.offering
ga–pati *kay na mga ittaw ta u–yi na*
I.R–believe/obey 1P.LEXCL.ABS LK PL person NABS EMPH–D1ADJ LK
baḷay dili en mag–masakit.
house NEG.IR CM I.IR–sick
'If one house a food offering is done for it, we believe that the people of THIS house will not become sick.' [CCWE-T-01 4.1]

(221) Detransitive happenstantial is ungrammatical:
**nakapati*

The verb *masmas* 'to notice something' only occurs with happenstantial affixes and has only an unintentional meaning. It can occur with the intransitive happenstantial affixes *naka-* and *maka-*, in which case the Cognizer is absolutive and the stimulus as non-absolutive. In an applicative construction, the Cognizer is ergative and the stimulus absolutive.

(222) All dynamic forms of *masmas* are ungrammatical:
**gamasmas *pamasmas *pamasmasan *masmasen*

(223) Detransitive happenstantial:
Nakamasmas aren en daw indi baḷay danen.
Naka–masmas aren en daw indi baḷay danen.
I.HAP.R–notice 1S.ABS CM if/when where house 3P.GEN
'I noticed where their house was.'

(224) External motivation:
Kamasmas aren daw indi dapit baḷay danen.
***Ka–masmas** aren daw indi dapit baḷay danen.*
I.EXM–notice 1S.ABS if/when where direction house 3P.GEN
'I was **able to notice** where (lit. whatever direction) their house is.'

(225) Transitive happenstantial with obligatory applicative:
Naan din ya en **namasmasan** na pḷaas i sikad gwapo na mama.
*Naan din ya en **na–masmas–an** na pḷaas i sikad*
SPAT.DEF 3S.ERG ATT CM A.HAP.R–notice–APL LK iguana DEF.N very
gwapo na mama.
handsome LK man
'It was there that she **noticed** that the lizard was a very handsome man.'
[NEWN-T-07 2.13]

The word *salig* 'to think wrongly' usually occurs as a bare root, and so may be thought of either as a "defective" verb, or something falling in between the verb and adverb categories. This is in contrast to the verbal root *sálig* 'to trust' (prominence on first syllable). In example (226) it is clear that *salig* 'to think wrongly' is functioning as a transitive predicate with an ergative Cognizer and a complement clause as the absolutive stimulus, though it carries no inflection.

(226) **Salíg** din daw galaeg-laeg a nang.
***Salíg** din daw ga–laeg~-laeg a nang.*
think.wrongly 3S.ERG if/when I.R–RED~joke 1S.ABS only/just
'She **thought wrongly** that I was just joking.' [SLWN-C-01 8.7]

The distinct root *sálig* 'to trust' is a more prototypical verbal root. It occurs in many of the Inflectional forms common to Cognition predicates.

(227) Detransitive dynamic:
Apang na **gasálig** kay gid na paagi ta imo na pagtabang adlaw-adlaw, mga prublima nay dili mabeg-at bagaen.

Apang na ***ga–sálig*** *kay gid na paagi ta imo na*
but LK I.R–trust 1P.EXCL.ABS INT LK by.means NABS 2S.GEN LK
pag–tabang adlaw~-adlaw, mga prublima nay dili
NR.ACT–help RED~sun/day PL problem 1P.EXCL.GEN NEG.IR
ma–beg–at baga–en.
ADJ–heavy shoulder–T.IR
'But we are really trusting that by the means of your help everyday, our problems will not be burdensome to shoulder.' (This is part of a prayer.) [RNWB-L-01 1.6]

(228) Transitive dynamic:
Pasalig ko ki kanen tanan na ubra.

Pa–salig *ko ki kanen tanan na ubra.*
T.R–trust 1S.ERG OBL.P 3S all LK work
'I **trusted** to him/her all the work.'

(229) Transitive dynamic with applicative:
Pasaligan ko kanen an ta tanan na ubra.

Pa–salig–an *ko kanen an ta tanan na ubra.*
T.R–trust–APL 1S.ERG 3S.ABS DEF.M NABS all LK work
'I **trusted** him/her with all the work.'

The root *tuo* 'to believe in someone' only occurs in detransitive frames, with dynamic affixes. In the texts the apparently dynamic transitive applicative form *patuuan* is used as a noun referring to 'something believed in', but not as a verbal predicate. It is also ungrammatical with happenstantial Inflections:

(230) Piro kalabanan ta Kagayanen naan ta Manila **gatuo** ta Dios o gasirbi ta Dios …

Piro ka–laban–an ta Kagayanen naan ta Manila ***ga–tuo***
but NR–most–NR NABS Kagayanen SPAT.DEF NABS Manila I.R–believe.in
ta Dios o ga–sirbi ta Dios …
NABS God or I.R–serve NABS God
'But almost all of the Kagayanens in Manila **believe in** God or serve God …' [BCWL-T-11 2.4]

The following are examples of the verb *kullaw* 'to ponder over, wonder about, try to figure out' (Class Vb).

(231) Detransitive dynamic:
Nanay din i **gakullaw** man-o tak uḷa pa guli iya na bata.
Nanay din i ***ga–kullaw*** *man-o tak uḷa pa*
mother 3S.GEN DEF.N I.R–ponder why because INEG.R INC
ga–uli iya na bata.
I.R–go.home 3S.GEN LK child
'Her mother was ponderng why her child did not yet come home.'
[VAWN-T-20 4.1]

(232) Detransitive happenstantial *na-* with experiencer as absolutive:
Nakullaw a gid na gatambek ka. Bagnes ka pla.
Na–kullaw *a gid na ga–tambek ka. Bagnes ka pla.*
A.HAP.R–ponder 1S.ABS INT LK I.R–fat 2S.ABS pregnant 2S.ABS SURP
'I had **pondered** that you became fat. You are pregnant!'

(233) Transitive happenstantial with applicative:
... **nakullawan** man en ta ittaw na lain en man iya na pang-uḷag.
... ***na–kullaw–an*** *man en ta ittaw na lain en man*
A.HAP.R–ponder–APL EMPH CM NABS person LK different CM EMPH
iya na pang–-uḷag.
3S.GEN LK movement
' ... the people **pondered** that her movements were different.'
[JCWN-T-26 21.1]

(234) Transitive dynamic with and without applicative and transitive happenstantial are all ungrammatical:
**pakullawan ko *pakullaw ko *nakullaw ko *makullaw ko*

The root *tuḷtoḷ* 'to know the way' takes both happenstantial and dynamic affixes. In happenstantial it takes transitive, transitive plus applicative and detransitive. But in dynamic modality, it can only take the realis transitive.

(235) Transitive dynamic:
Patuḷtoḷ din gid daḷan ya.
Pa–tuḷtoḷ din gid daḷan ya.
T.R–know.the.way 3S.ERG INT road DEF.F
'S/he knows the way to the road.'

(236) Transitive dynamic with applicative:
a. **Patuḷtuḷan din gid daw indya daḷan ya.*
Detransitive dynamic:
b. **Gatuḷtoḷ a daw indya daḷan na munta iran.*

(237) Transitive happenstantial:
Natuḷtoḷ din en daḷan ya na munta baḷay danen.
Na–tuḷtoḷ *din en daḷan ya na munta baḷay danen.*
A.HAP.R–know.the.way 3S.ERG CM road DEF.F LK going house 3P.GEN
'S/he knows the way to the road that goies to their house.'

(238) Transitive happenstantial with applicative:
Natuḷtuḷan din baḷay nay an.
na–tuḷtoḷ–an *din baḷay nay an.*
A.HAP.R–know.the.way–APL 3S.ERG house 1P.EXCL.GEN DEF.M
'S/he knows the way to our house.'

(239) Detransitive happenstantial:
Kino nakatuḷtoḷ dya ta baḷay danen?
Kino naka–tuḷtoḷ dya ta baḷay danen?
who I.HAP.R–know.the.way D4LOC NABS house 3P.GEN
'Who knows the way to their house?'

(240) Kanen nang nakatuḷtoḷ ta baḷay ya.
Kanen nang naka–tuḷtoḷ ta baḷay ya.
3S.ABS only/just I.HAP.R–know.the.way NABS house DEF.F
'S/he only knows the way to the house.'

(241) External motivation:
Katuḷtoḷ a ta baḷay danen tak sigi a iling dya.
Ka–tuḷtoḷ *a ta baḷay danen tak sigi*
I.EXM–know.the.way 1S.ABS NABS house 3P.GEN because continually
a iling dya.
1S.ABS go D4LOC
'I am able to know the way to their house because I keep on going there.'

(242) Piro uḷa kay kami ame gakwa diskuan tak dili kay katuḷtoḷ ta diskuan naan Iloilo.

Piro uḷa kay kami ame ga–kwa
but NEG.R 1P.EXCL.ABS 1P.EXCL.ABS 1P.EXCL.GEN I.R–whatchmacallit
disko–an tak dili kay ka–tuḷtoḷ ta
disco–NR because NEG.IR 1P.EXCL.ABS I.EXM–know.the.way NABS
disko–an naan Iloilo.
disco–NR SPAT.DEF Iloilo
'We did not whatchmacallit (go) to the disco because we did not know the way to the disco in Iloilo.' [DBON-C-07 2.9]

9.7 Situations of needing and wanting

There are at least four roots that often occur as predicates without inflectional affixes. All of these express situations that can be characterized as wanting, needing or liking. These are the following:

(243)
liag	'to like/want'
gusto	'to like/want'
ilig	'to be fond of/prone to'
kinangḷan	'to need'

For the most part when these roots serve as the main predicating word, the argument structure frame is transitive, with an ergative experiencer, and an absolutive stimulus (the thing wanted, liked or needed). For all these concepts, the stimulus is either a referential expression or a complement clause.

(244) Tigbasen no inay tak **liag** no bataan din an.

Tigbas–en no inay tak ***liag*** *no bata–an din an.*
chop–T.IR 2S.ERG mother because want 2S.ERG child–NR 3S.GEN DEF.M
'Chop the mother because you **want** her children.' (This is a riddle and the answer is a banana plant.) [TROR-T-01 9.1l]

(245) **Liag** ko na makita ko a mga Kagayanen na ta pila adlaw makadilanto ta pagpangabui tenged ta idukasyon.

Liag *ko na ma–kita ko a mga Kagayanen na ta pila*
want 1S.ERG LK A.HAP.IR–see 1S.ERG INJ PL Kagayanen LK NABS few
adlaw maka–dilanto ta pag–pangabui tenged ta
sun/day I.HAP.IR–successful NABS NR.ACT–living because NABS

idukasyon.
education
'I **want** to see soon that Kagayanens can become successful in living because of education.' [JCWB-T-12 12.1]

As with other complement taking predicates, pronouns in the complement clause may be omitted when coreferential with the actor/experiencer (249).

The roots *gusto* and *liag* seem to be synonymous. Further research may reveal some slight semantic differences. *Gusto* is a common word in the Philippines that derives from the Spanish verb *gustar* 'to please'.

(246) Ee, **gusto** ko ino na kundisyon.
Ee, ***gusto*** *ko ino na kundisyon.*
yes want 1S.ERG what LK condition.
'Yes, I want whatever the condition.' (This means something one has to do to get what they want, no matter what.) [CBWN-C-17 3.13]

(247) … tak nḷaman nyo daw may pangita isya na ittaw **gusto** din mamang kanen ta iya na pirsinto.
… tak na–aḷam–an nyo daw may pa–ng–ngita
because A.HAP.R–know–APL 2P.ERG if/when EXT.IN T.IR–PL–look.for
isya na ittaw ***gusto*** *din m–kamang kanen ta iya na pirsinto.*
one LK person want 3S.ERG I.V.IR–get 3S.ABS NABS 3S.GEN LK percent
' …because you know that if a person is making a living (lit. looking for something), he wants that he will get his percentage.' [ETON-C-06 2.1]

Example (248) illustrates the root *gusto* with a complement clause as the absolutive:

(248) Daw mugo ta iya na duma gusto din na pagsugo din patien dayon.
Daw m–sugo ta iya na duma gusto din na
if/when I.V.IR–order NABS 3S.GEN LK companions want 3S.ERG LK
pag–sugo din pati–en dayon.
NR.ACT–order 3S.GEN obey/believe–T.IR immediately
'If/When (he) orders his companions (to do something), he wants his order to be obeyed immediately.' [CBWN-C-12]

The root *liag* has approximately the same range of usages as *gusto*, though *gusto* is more frequent in the corpus:

(249) **Liag** din na magkaan ta sidda na dilis.

Liag *din* *na mag–kaan ta* *sidda na dilis.*
want 3S.ERG LK I.IR–eat NABS fish LK anchovies.
'She **wanted** to eat anchovies.' [VAOE-J-05 2.4]

The root *kinangḷan* is the most common means of expressing the idea of 'to need'.

(250) Na daw **kinangḷan** ko mga upisyalis, tallo bagting yon umaw ko ki danen.

Na daw ***kinangḷan*** *ko* *mga upisyalis, tallo* *bagting* *yon*
LK if/when need 1S.ERG PL officials three bell.ring D3ABS
umaw ko *ki* *danen.*
call 1S.ERG OBL.P 3p
'Then when I need officials, three bell rings, that is my calling them.' [JCWN-T-21 14.8]

(251) Ambaḷ din **kinangḷan** kon danen na miling a ta Manila tak magtudlo a ta ambaḷ ta na Kagay-anen.

Ambaḷ din ***kinangḷan*** *kon danen* *na m–iling* *a* *ta* *Manila*
say 3S.ERG need HSY 3P.ERG LK I.V.IR–go 1S.ABS NABS Manila
tak *mag–tudlo a* *ta* *ambaḷ ta* *na Kagay-anen."*
because I.IR–teach 1S.ABS NABS say 1P.INCL.GEN LK Kagayanen
'She said that they need that I go to Manila because I will teach our language Kagayanen.' [RCON-L-03 5.4]

9.8 Situations of naming and forming: Secondary predicates

There are a few verbs that may take a "stripped" noun complement preceded by the linker *na*. A stripped noun is one that is devoid of any indications of case marking or definiteness (see Miner 1986). In general these constructions express situations of naming and forming, and can be represented in the schematic given in (252), where SN is the stripped noun:

(252) VERB-TR (ERG) ABS na SN

The Verb in this construction only occurs in transitive (TR) forms. Often, however, there is no overt ergative, especially with the inflected verbs *piling*, *pangaranan*, *paumaw*, and *pambaḷ* all of which have meanings related to naming.

We consider the *na*+stripped noun component of this construction to be a secondary predicate because the semantic structure involves two predicates: X did something to Y (primary predicate), and Y is/becomes something (secondary predicate). The secondary predicate may be a result of the primary predicate, or a depiction presented in the primary predicate. These are sometimes called *resultative secondary predicates* and *depictive secondary predicates* respectively (Rothstein 2012).

The following are the verbs that are most commonly found in this construction:

(253)

buat	'to make/do'	Resultative
imo	'to make/do'	Resultative
ngaran	'to name'	Resultative or depictive
pili	'to choose'	Resultative
umaw	'to call'	Depictive
ambaḷ	'to say'	Depictive
iling	'to say'	Depictive

The following examples illustrate this construction from conversations and the corpus. The ungrammatical examples illustrate the impossibility of this construction in a detransitive frame:

(254) *buat* 'to make/do', resultative:
Pabuat din pantad an na bula.
Pa–buat din pantad an na bula.
T.R–make/do 3S.ERG sand DEF.M LK ball
'S/he made the sand into a ball.'
**Gabuat kanen ta pantad na bula.*

(255) Gamasakit an pasugo na muli ta Sintro tak iskwilaan ta High School pabuat na Imirginsi Hospital.
Ga–masakit an pa–sugo na m–uli ta Sintro tak
I.R–sick DEF.M T.R–order LK I.V.IR–go.home NABS Central because
iskwila–an ta High School pa–buat na Imirginsi Hospital.
school–NR NABS High School T.R–make/do LK emergency hospital
'The ones who are sick were ordered to go to Central because the school

building of the high school was made into an emergency hospital.'
[JCWN-T-21 8.8]

Example (256) illustrates that the secondary predicate, *na puto*, may precede the absolutive argument, *beggas an* in this example:

(256) *imo* 'to make/do', resultative:
Paimo din na puto beggas an.
Pa–imo din na puto beggas an.
T.R–make/do 3S.ERG LK rice.cake uncooked.rice DEF.M
'S/he made the rice into rice cake.'
**Gaimo kanen ta beggas na puto.*

(257) Kanen paimo na manugdrawing ta mga tanem daw mga ayep daw yupan.
Kanen pa–imo na manug–drawing ta mga tanem daw mga
3S.ABS T.R–make/do LK NR–drawing NABS PL plant and PL
ayep daw yupan.
animal and bird
'As for him, (he) was made a drawer (i.e., one who draws) of plants and animals and birds.' [JCWB-T-12 5.13]
**Gaimo danen ki kanen na manugdrawing ta mga tanem daw mga ayep daw yupan.*

(258) *piling* 'to call X something', depictive:
Uwi na simbaan i piling na simbaan datas.
U–wi na simba–an i pa–iling na simba–an datas.
EMPH–D1ADJ LK worship–NR DEF.N T.R–say LK worship–NR high
'This very church is called church on high.' [MEWN-T-03 2.12]

(259) Uwi na simbaan i piling nay na simbaan datas.
U–wi na simba–an i pa–iling nay na
EMPH–D1ADJ LK worship–NR DEF.N T.R–say 1P.EXCL.ERG LK
simba–an datas.
worship–NR high
'This very church we called church on high.'
**Giling kami ta yi na simbaan na simbaan datas.*

(260) *pangaranan* 'to name X something', resultative:
Pangaranan din bata din na Pedro.
Pa–ngaran–an din bata din na Pedro.
T.R–name–APL 3S.ERG child 3S.GEN LK Pedro
'S/he named his/her child Pedro.'
**Gangaran kanen ta bata din na Pedro.*

(261) Ambaḷ ta nanay para dili din kon malipatan iya na bata na Pinang, miad pa kon na pangaranan din na pinya yi na tanem na gaanggid ta ngaran ta iya na bata na napatay.
Ambaḷ ta nanay para dili din kon ma–lipat–an
say NABS mother purpose NEG.IR 3S.ERG HSY A.HAP.IR–forget–APL
iya na bata na Pinang, miad pa kon na pa–ngaran–an din na
3S.GEN LK child LK Pinang good EMPH HSY LK T.R–name–APL 3S.ERG LK
pinya yi na tanem na ga–anggid ta ngaran ta iya na
pineapple D1ADJ LK plant LK I.R–similar NABS name NABS 3S.GEN LK
bata na na–patay.
child LK A.HAP.R–dead
'The mother said that in order not to forget her child Pinang, it is better that she names this plant pinya that is similar to the name of her child who died.' (This is a story about where the name *pinya* 'pineapple' came from.) [VAWN-T-20 5.5]

(262) *umaw* 'to call X something', depictive:
Paumaw nay iran i na sakayan na paraw.
Pa–umaw nay iran i na sakay–an na paraw.
T.R–call 1P.EXCL.ERG 3P.GEN DEF.N LK ride–NR LK outrigger.canoe
'We call what they rode an outrigger canoe.'
*Gaumaw kanen ta iran na sakayan na paraw.

(263) Iran i na sakayan paumaw nay na paraw.
Iran i na sakayan pa–umaw nay na paraw.
3P.GEN DEF.N LK ride–NR T.R–call 1P.EXCL.ERG LK outrigger.canoe
'What they rode we call outrigger canoe.' [CBWN-C-12 2.7]

(264) Naan ta baybay ta yi na lugar may bakod na kaoy na gagabong iya na mga daon daw yi na kaoy paumaw nay na Buton.

Naan ta baybay ta yi na lugar may bakod na kaoy na
SPAT.DEF NABS beach NABS D1ADJ LK place EXT.IN big LK tree LK
ga–gabong iya na mga daon daw yi na kaoy pa–umaw
I.R–thick.foliage 3S.GEN LK PL leaf and D1ADJ LK tree T.R–call
nay na Buton.
1P.EXCL.ERG LK Botong

'On the beach of this place there is a big tree that has thick leaves, and this tree we call (it) Buton (English Botong or Barringtonia Asiatica).' [CBWN-C-20 2.5]

(265) *pambaḷ* 'to call X something', depictive:
Apang, daw isya na ittaw nakaangken ta paambaḷ na moral values, makaambaḷ ki na yi na ittaw nakapanubli ta pambaḷ ta na panublien ta kultura na Kagayanen.

Apang, daw isya na ittaw naka–angken ta pa–ambaḷ na
but if/when one LK person I.HAP.R–acquire NABS T.R–say LK
moral values, maka–ambaḷ ki na yi na ittaw
moral values I.HAP.IR–say 1P.INCL.ABS LK D1ADJ LK person
naka–panubli ta pa–ambaḷ ta na panubli–en ta kultura
I.HAP.R–inherit NABS T.R–say 1P.INCL.ERG LK inherit–NR NABS culture
na Kagayanen.
LK Kagayanen

'But, when one person is able to acquire what is called moral values, we can say that this person has been able to inherit what we call the inheritance of the Kagayanen culture.' [JCOB-L-02 4.4]

(266) *buto* 'to vote/elect X something', resultative:
Pabuto danen Maria an na mayor.

Pa–buto danen Maria an na mayor.
T.R–vote 3P.ERG Maria DEF.M LK mayor
'They voted Maria mayor.'
**Gabuto danen an ki Maria na mayor.*

Example (267) illustrates that the stripped noun complement may accept certain kinds of modification, in this case a genitive phrase meaning 'of their group'. However, case markers or determiners do not appear.

(267) Papili a danen na pangulo ta iran na grupo.
Pa–pili a danen na pangulo ta iran na grupo.
T.R–choose 1S.ABS 3P.ERG LK leader NABS 3P.GEN LK group
'They chose me as leader of their group.'

It is worth noting here that with some roots a full complement clause may occur in the same role in a sentence as a secondary predicate (268). In this case, a detransitive construction is possible (269):

(268) Pabuto danen Maria an na mangin mayor.
Pa–buto danen Maria an na mangin mayor.
T.R–vote 3P.ERG Maria DEF.M LK IR+become[7] mayor
'They voted Maria to become mayor.'

(269) Gabuto danen an ki Maria na mangin mayor.
Ga–buto danen an ki Maria na mangin mayor.
I.R–vote 3P.ABS DEF.M OBL.P Maria LK IR+become mayor
'They voted Maria to become mayor.'

Such constructions are discussed in more detail in Chapter 12 on clause combining. It is also worth noting that the element following *na* in a secondary predicate is always understood to be a nominal, rather than a property concept word. Ideas expressed in attributive secondary predicates in other languages, such as *she painted the fence white*, or *that made him happy* are expressed in other ways in Kagayanen.

9.9 Ideophonic verbs

In this section we discuss a few special verb roots that we designate as "ideophonic verbs." These are roots for which the sound imitates the meaning in some way. These are regular roots that can and usually do take verbal affixes. They are not simply interjections or onomatopoeic expressions. Here is a non-exhaustive list of ideophonic verbs in Kagayanen, followed by a few examples from the corpus.

[7]The verb *mangin/nangin* 'become' is irregular. It only occurs in these two forms *mangin* 'IR+become' and *nangin* 'R+became'.

(270)

dagbeng	The loud thud of a person or a tree that falls, the sound of thunder.
dagkoḷ	The sound of things hitting the floor especially if one is downstairs and hears something fall upstairs.
daguok	The loud crunching sound of something hitting something else like the sound of waves hitting cliffs. Also the crunching sound of someone eating crunchy food like potato chips.
kaḷas	A rustling sound when dry leaves are blown by the wind or when dried buri and pandan leaves rub together when woven. Also waves of the sea, or rain on grass.
kaḷkaroḷ	The clanging sound of pots and pans.
lagamak	The sound of tearing cloth, the sound of trees falling or wood creeking.
laggong	A low pitch sound.
lagpak	The slapping sound of shoes on the ground, or when jumping into water or other things.
lagpi	To slap lightly.
lagpok	To explode, the sound of an explosion.
lagtok/lagatok	The snap, crackle, pop sound as fingernails weaving a mat with *pandan* and *buri* leaves.
lagtik/lagatik	A popping or snapping sound—a softer and higher pitch sound than *lagtok*.
ḷaḷḷa	For the tongue to stick out or the sound of delirious moaning, crying or screaming.
legemek	The crunchy sound of chewing when eating hard or crispy foods.
legsek	To smash or crush something.
pakpak	To slap or thump on something with open hand or to crush with a heavy object like a stone.
pakpak	Wings of bird or airplane. The sound of wings.
pukpok	To pound on something with an object like a hammer.
sagaid	To rub against something.
sagilit	A buzzing or humming sound.
tagabḷong	A high small ping sound.
taktak	To shake out something, or to spread it out.
taliktik	Light rain, drizzle, sprinkling rain.
tampa	To slap the face but not hard.
tampaling	To slap in the face hard with a smacking sound.

tuktok	To tap, knock or peck.
wawwaw	To whisper. This is how it sounds to others when people are whispering.

The following are a few examples of ideophonic verbs in context:

(271) **Patuktok** ta manok ame na binaḷad na ummay.

Pa–tuktok *ta manok ame na b<in>aḷad na*
T.R–knock/peck NABS chicken 1P.EXCL.GEN LK <NR.RES>sun.dry LK
ummay.
unmilled.rice
'The chicken pecked our sun-dried unmilled rice.'

(272) Uḷa lugay may **gatuktok** ta kawil ko.

Uḷa lugay may ***ga–tuktok*** *ta kawil ko.*
NEG.R long.time EXT.IN I.R–knock/peck NABS fishhook 1S.GEN
'Not a long time some (fish) knocked on my fishhook.' [JCWN-L-33 23.1]

(273) Yaken matay. Daw may **gadagbeng** na nuḷog, isipen no tak yon nan niog na naipo ko.

Yaken m–katay. Daw may ***ga–dagbeng*** *na na–uḷog,*
1S.ABS I.V.R–climb if/when EXT.IN I.R–thud LK A.HAP.R–fall
isip–en no tak yon nan niog na na–ipo ko.
think–T.IR 2S.ERG because D3ABS D3PR coconut LK A.HAP.R–pick 1S.ERG
'As for me I will climb (the tree). If some things fall with a thud, count (them) because those very ones are the coconuts I have picked.' (In this story a kyphotic person climbs a tree to pick some coconuts and a blind person waits below and counts the thuds. But instead of coconuts falling it is the kyphotic who keeps on falling out of the tree.) [CBWN-C-15]

(274) Pagleged ta patik ta labbot ta salod ga**kaḷas** na ga**sagaid** ta labbot ta salod. Paggabot ta patik ga**tagabḷong**. Dayon en patik ta paḷapa na may lagtik daw may laggong na ga**sagilit** tak duma an na patik may lagtik-lagtik.

Pag–leged ta patik ta labbot ta salod
NR.ACT–rub.on NABS stick NABS bottom NABS collecting.container
*ga–****kaḷas*** *na ga–****sagaid*** *ta labbot ta salod.*
I.R–rustling LK I.R–rub.against NABS bottom NABS collecting.container

*Pag–gabot ta patik ga–**tagabḷong**. Dayon en patik ta*
NR.ACT–pull.out NABS stick I.R–ping.sound right.away CM strick NABS
*paḷapa na may lagtik daw may laggong na ga**sagilit***
frond LK EXT.IN snap/pop and EXT.IN low.sound LK I.R–buzz/hum
tak duma an na patik may lagtik~-lagtik.
because some DEF.M LK stick EXT.IN RED~snap/pop

'When rubbing the stick on the bottom of the collecting container (for coconut sap) it makes a rustling sound when rubbing against the bottom of the collecting container. When pulling out the stick (from the container) it makes a ping sound (the sap dripping off the stick back into the container is what pings). Right away the stick strikes the coconut frond with a popping or snapping sound and with a low buzzing/humming sound because some strikes have continuing popping or snapping.' (This is a description of how it sounds when someone is up in a coconut tree getting the sap that has collected into containers for making coconut wine.) [JCWE-T-14 7.2–6]

(275) Daw baḷed maka**tampa** ta pambot ga**lagpak** matian no. Daw naan ta pangpang may anen na ga**daguok** daw ga**kaḷas**. Daw katupa ta lungag o gasikleb na bato paryo gid ta **lagpok**. Daw magbasya baḷed ta baybay ga**kaḷas** na inay-inay nang ta tise.

*Daw baḷed maka–**tampa** ta pambot ga–**lagpak***
if/when wave I.HAP.IR–slap NABS motor.boat I.R–clap
…–mati–an no. Daw naan ta pangpang may
A.HAP.IR–hear–APL 2S.ERG if/when SPAT.DEF NABS cliff EXT.IN
*anen na ga–**daguok** daw ga–**kaḷas**. Daw ka–tupa ta*
EXT.G LK I.R–crunch and I.R–rustling if/when I.EXM–land.on NABS
*lungag o ga–sikleb na bato paryo gid ta **lagpok**. Daw*
hole or I.R–hollowed.out LK rock like INT NABS explode if/when
*mag–basya baḷed ta baybay ga–**kaḷas** na inay~-inay nang*
I.IR–splash wave NABS beach I.R–rustling LK RED~slow only/just
ta tise.
NABS little

'If waves lightly slap the motor boat, what you hear is a clapping sound. If (waves hit) the cliffs there are crunching and rustling sounds. If (they) land in a hole and hollowed out rock it is like exploding sounds. If the waves splash on the beach (they) make rustling sounds that slowly become softer.' [JCWE-T-14 11.2–6]

(276) Lugar na abrian din ga**lagpok**.

*Lugar na …–abri–an din ga–**lagpok**.*
then LK T.R–open–APL 3ERG I.R–explode
'Then when he opened it (the grenade) it exploded.' [MBON-T-07 14.4]

(277) Ta, mga ittaw an, tak nakita danen na buḷan ya, naduwad en tak palam-ed ta bekkessan na bakod, mag**pukpok** danen an ta mga lata, mga drum o daw ano man na makaatag ta sikad sagbak …

Ta, mga ittaw an, tak na–kita danen na buḷan
so PL person DEF.M because A.HAP.R–see 3P.ERG LK. moon/month
ya, na–duwad en tak pa–lam-ed ta bekkessan na bakod,
DEF.F A.HAP.R–lose CM because T.R–swallow NABS snake LK big
*mag–**pukpok** danen an ta mga lata, mga drum o daw ano*[8] *man*
I.IR–beat.on 3P.ABS DEF.M NABS PL can PL drum or and what also
na maka–atag ta sikad sagbak …
LK I.HAP.IR–give NABS very noise
'So, the people, because they saw that as for the moon (it) happened to disappear because the big snake swallowed it, they will **beat** on cans, drums and whatever else that can give out very noisy (sound) …' [JCOE-C-03 2.3]

(278) Pagpawa isab ta buḷan an miyag ambaḷen tan na bekkessan ya gadḷagan en tak naadlek ta sagbak ya na pabuat ta mga ittaw na pa**pukpok** danen mga lata an daw mga drum.

Pag–pawa isab ta buḷan an miyag ambaḷ–en tan na
NR.ACT–bright again NABS moon DEF.M want say–T.IR D3NABS LK
bekkessan ya ga–dḷagan en tak na–adlek ta sagbak
snake DEF.F I.R–run CM because A.HAP.R–afraid NABS noise
*ya na pa–buat ta mga ittaw na pa–**pukpok** danen mga lata*
DEF.F LK T.R–make NABS PL person LK T.R–beat 3P.ERG PL can
an daw mga drum.
DEF.M and PL drum
'When the moon becomes bright again, that means to say that the snake already ran away because (s/he) is afraid of the noise that the people made when they beat on cans and drums. [JCOE-C-03 2.5]

[8]The word *ano* is a Tagalog word meaning 'what'.

(279) Sabat man ta bubuo ya, “Miad gani daw **pakpaken** no tudtod ko i aged magḷapad.”

Sabat man ta bubuo ya, “Miad gani daw ***pakpak–en***
reply also NABS tortoise DEF.F good truly if/when pound.on–T.IR
no tudtod ko i aged mag–ḷapad.”
2SERG back 1S.GEN DEF.N so.that I.IR–wide

‘The tortoise answered, “It is truly good if you pound on my back such that (result) (it) will become wide.”’ [CBWN-C-16 9.15]

10 Voice

10.1 Introduction

Kagayanen, like most Philippine languages, has an elaborate system for expressing the relationship between core grammatical relations and semantic roles in clauses. This system can be understood as a "voice" system, though it is more complex than the relatively simple "active/passive" systems found in many other languages of the world. Voice systems of all types provide speakers with ways of highlighting, or "perspectivizing" (Fillmore 1977) different parts of their ideas. In this chapter, we give a brief overview of ongoing debates over voice in Philippine languages and describe the voice system of Kagayanen from a typological perspective.

The notions of *semantic roles* and *grammatical relations* are crucial to understanding the Kagayanen voice system. This is because, as stated above, voice is a system for expressing and adjusting the relationship between semantic roles and grammatical relations in clauses. In §10.2 and §10.3 we provide background to these notions and argumentation for why we consider ergative and absolutive to be the *core grammatical relations* in Kagayanen clauses. In §10.4 we provide some background as to how the notion of voice developed in linguistic studies of Philippine languages. In §10.5 we illustrate various constructions that may be considered the voices of Kagayanen. Finally, in §10.6 we describe certain other constructions that have recently been treated in the typological literature under the heading of "voice", namely causative constructions, reflexives and reciprocals.

10.2 Semantic roles

Semantic roles are roles that participants play in the *message world.* The message world can be thought of as the shared imagined[1] scenes being elaborated in any situation in which people are communicating. This world may correspond

[1]By "imagined" we simply mean ideas and pictures formulated in the minds of people communicating with one another.

more or less closely to objective reality, but may be entirely fictitious, abstract or hypothetical. In any case, the message world is populated by participants and props whose properties, actions and relationships form the *content* of linguistic communication.

Though semantic roles influence morphosyntax profoundly, they are not primarily morphosyntactic (grammatical) categories. Technically, semantic roles exist quite apart from linguistic expression. For example, if in some imagined situation (which may or may not correspond to external reality), someone named Hiro purposely hits someone named Toshi, then Hiro is the agent and Toshi is the patient of the hitting event, regardless of whether anyone ever utters a clause like *Hiro hit Toshi* to describe the event. If someone does want to describe this event, they will definitely need to communicate who is acting and who is undergoing the action. Therefore, every language provides grammatical tools for making that clear. Nevertheless, the roles themselves exist in the message world, while the means of representing them in language belong to grammar.

The term *semantic macro-role* (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997) is a cover term for a range of semantic roles that tend to be treated similarly by individual languages.[2] The macro-roles that have been most useful in this grammar are Actor and Undergoer. The Actor can be thought of as the participant that "does something". More specifically, the Actor controls, initiates, or is the starting point of a situation. Specific semantic roles that tend to be subsumed under the macro-role of Actor include agent (a conscious initiator), force (an unconscious/inanimate initiator), cognizer, experiencer and causer. The Undergoer can be thought of as the participant that is most "affected by" or is the end point of a situation. Specific semantic roles that tend to be subsumed under the macro-role of Undergoer include patient (something that undergoes a change of state), beneficiary, maleficiary, theme (an item transferred or described), location and instrument. The significance of these concepts will become clear in the following discussion.

It must be kept in mind that, as with all semantic notions, semantic roles are infinitely variable. There are no strict boundaries dividing agents, from patients, from experiencers, or from other semantic roles in the message world. There are very good examples of each of these roles, but there is an infinite range of possibilities between them. For example, the agent of an event described as "killing" is

[2]The notion that semantic roles, as represented in the grammars of languages, are not discrete mind-external categories, but rather general "areas" of semantic space probably originated with Dowty (1991). Dowty used the term "semantic proto-roles" to capture the fact that language structures reflect prototype notions of semantic roles. A similar idea is embodied in Van Valin & LaPolla (1997) under the term "semantic macro-roles". All of this terminology has its roots in "case grammar" (Fillmore 1977) who already was conceiving of "deep cases" as *perceived* semantic roles, rather than objective, mind-external categories.

a very good (sometimes called *prototypical*) agent, while the agent of "watching" is less prototypical. Someone who watches something does so on purpose, but the effect on the thing watched is less dire than it is on the thing killed. Because the human mind cannot deal adequately with infinite variability and in most cases there is little communicative value in assigning very precise "degrees of agentivity" to participants in a message world scene, there is a strong tendency for human beings to create bounded categories when they communicate with one another. In essence, that's what grammar is—the subconscious tendency to form categories out of infinitely variable semantic space. Therefore, the names that linguists give to particular semantic roles refer to "areas" in semantic space that grammars of individual languages categorize in different ways.

Furthermore, any given participant in an imagined scene may play more than one semantic role, to varying degrees. For example, the agent, Noel, in a situation described as *Noel just ate three bananas* is presented as the controller of the situation, but he is also affected by the situation to a certain degree—not as much as the three bananas, but eating something certainly has some degree of effect on the eater.

10.3 Grammatical relations

The notion of *grammatical relations* is crucial to understanding the Kagayanen voice system. In this section, we provide background to grammatical relations and argumentation for why we consider *ergative* and *absolutive* to be the *core grammatical relations* in Kagayanen clauses.

Grammatical relations (GRs) are structurally-defined relations between elements in phrases and clauses. For example, "subject of" is an important grammatical relation that holds between certain Referring Expressions and predicates in English clauses. The subject of a predicate is the Referring Expression (noun phrase or pronoun) that occurs in the nominative case (for pronouns) and normally occurs before the main verb or auxiliary in a predicate. Other referring expressions may have other grammatical relations, such as object of a verb or genitive of a noun phrase. These grammatical relations are tools that languages provide to help speakers express such important notions as who or what is affected in a situation being communicated, who or what is in control, and what is central versus peripheral (Comrie 1989).

Despite these clear and universal functions for grammatical relations, it is important to recognize that they are defined in terms of language-specific structural properties. One cannot simply "translate" the grammatical relations of one lan-

guage into those of another language based on meaning alone. For example, the following two sentences are two expressions of a certain situation:

(1) a. *The police caught the thieves.*
b. Padakep ta pulis mga matakaw.
Pa–dakep ta pulis mga matakaw.
T.R–catch NABS police PL thief

If we know something about traditional English grammar, we might say that *the police* in (1a) has the grammatical relation of "subject of" the predicate in this sentence. If we assume that the subject relation translates directly from one language to the next, we might then identify *pulis* 'the police' as the subject of (1b). Indeed, *the police* in (1a) and *pulis* in (1b) both refer to the Actor (the controller, initiator or starting point) in the imagined scene described by the clause, and Actor is a semantic macro-role that is often expressed by the grammatical relation of subject in English. However, as we will see below, there are solid structural reasons for saying that *mga matakaw* 'the thieves' is a better choice as the "subject of" (1b).

Grammatical relations must always be defined in terms of grammatical (structural) properties, rather than in terms of semantic roles like Actor. Even within one language, a grammatical relation like "subject" can represent message world participants with many different semantic roles. Consider the following English sentences:

(2) a. Michelle was arrested by the police.
b. Michelle is tall.
c. Coby looks stunning tonight.
d. These keys belong to Igor.
e. In this hospital, sixteen orthopedic surgeries are performed every day.

In (2a) *the police* is the Actor. In (2b) through (2e) there is no Referring Phrase that mentions an Actor at all. None of the participants mentioned in these last four examples are *doing* anything. Yet, in these sentences "Michelle", "Coby", "these keys" and "sixteen orthopedic surgeries" can be identified as the subject on structural grounds: they each appear before the verb, each is the element the verb agrees with, and if pronominalized each would appear in the nominative (subject) case—*she* in (2a) and (2b), *he* in (2c), and *they* in (2d) and (2e). These structural facts are independent of the semantic function of Actor. Of course, it is very common for the subject to refer to an Actor, but this general tendency

does not *define* subjects in English or in any other language. Similarly, Referring Expressions with other grammatical relations may refer to the Actor in the right context. For example, in (2a), the Actor is expressed in an oblique phrase "by the police". An analogy from everyday life may be helpful here. Hammers are tools that are often used for pounding nails. However, hammers may be used for other purposes, and other tools may be used to pound nails in the right context. In other words, there is not necessarily a one-to-one "mapping" between tools and their uses. Something similar is true for grammatical relations. Grammatical relations are structural tools that allow speakers to accomplish a range of communicative jobs.

Sometimes the term *argument* is used to refer to any Referring Expression (RE) that has a grammatical relation to a verb or to some other syntactic element. This sense of "argument" is borrowed from mathematics, where an argument is an independent variable in a function; in other words, a thing that has a property or has a relation to some other thing. A nominal that doesn't have a grammatical relation to some other word is either called a "non-argument," or an *oblique*. As with most terminology in linguistics, there is considerable literature and controversy surrounding the term "argument" (see, e.g., Grimshaw 1990, Malchukov & Comrie 2015, Coon et al. 2017 and references cited therein). Nevertheless, for our purposes it is sufficient to consider REs that have grammatical relations within a clause to be "arguments" of that clause.

In order to discuss and compare systems of grammatical relations, it is convenient to identify three basic "semantico-syntactic roles" termed S, A and O (Dixon 1972, 1979, 1994). Similar terms are used by Silverstein (1976), and Comrie (1989). These terms assume a basic and universal distinction between intransitive (single argument) and transitive (multi-argument) clause types:

(3) a. Intransitive (Single argument) clause:
Gapanaw pulis an.
S
Ga–panaw [pulis an].
I.R–go/walk police DEF.M
'The police left.'

b. Transitive (multi-argument) clause:
Padakep ta pulis mga matakaw.
A O
Pa–dakep [ta pulis] [mga matakaw].
T.R–catch NABS police PL thief
'The police caught the thieves.'

The S is defined as the only nominal argument of a single argument clause. While the term S may remind us of the grammatical relation "subject", S as used in this framework refers only to the "Single core argument" of an intransitive clause.

The A is defined as the most "Actor-like argument" of a transitive clause. If there is no argument that is very Actor-like, the A is the argument that is treated grammatically in the same manner as prototypical Actors are treated. Usually there will be one argument in every verbal clause that exhibits this property, though there may not be. The O is the "Other argument" of a multi-argument clause.[3] While the term O may remind us of Object, O refers only to the less Actor-like argument of a transitive (two-argument) clause.

Different languages may treat these three basic relations differently in terms of case marking, constituent order, pronominal form, and other grammatical features. If a language treats S and A as "the same" and O differently, we can say the language has a "Subject-Object", or "Nominative-Accusative", system. This is the system that is familiar from many Indo-European and other languages of the world. For example, English personal pronouns are organized on a Nominative-Accusative basis. The feminine singular pronoun *she* functions in both A and S roles, while the distinct pronoun *her* is required in the O role.

(4) a. She left.
b. She caught her.

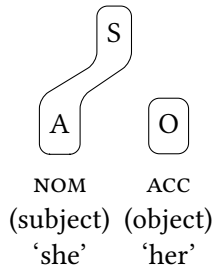

Figure 10.1: A nominative-accusative system for organizing grammatical relations

In English, constituent order (sometimes referred to as "word order") also reveals that S and A together constitute a basic grammatical relation as opposed to O: in pragmatically neutral, declarative clauses, S and A occur before the verb

[3]Some clauses may have three obligatory "arguments". English clauses containing verbs such as *give* and *put* are of this type. For the purposes of the current discussion, it will be sufficient to consider only one- and two-argument clauses.

or auxiliary, while O occurs after the verb. Other more subtle grammatical properties also confirm that S together with A constitute a consistent grammatical relation in English.

Such a nominative/accusative, or subject/object system seems very intuitive and "natural" to speakers of languages that employ such a system. However, there are several other possible ways a language might categorize S, A and O, some of which are attested in the world's languages, while others are not (see e.g., Payne 1997: 139–167).

The most commonly attested alternative to the nominative/accusative system is called an ergative/absolutive system. In this way of organizing grammatical relations, the S and O are treated as "the same" grammatical relation, whereas the A is treated distinctly for purposes of case marking, pronominal form and other grammatical features. If any grammatical relation includes A alone it can be called the *ergative* relation, and any grammatical relation that encompasses S and O can be termed the *absolutive* relation. This is the system exhibited in basic clauses of many languages of the world, including Kagayanen. The examples in (5) illustrate an ergative/absolutive system in personal pronouns:

(5) a. S
Ga–panaw ***kanen*** *an.*
I.R–walk/leave 3S.ABS DEF.M
'S/he left.'

b. A O
Pa–dakep ***din*** *mga matakaw.*
T.R–catch 3S.ERG PL thief
'S/he caught the thieves.'

c. A O
Pa–dakep ta pulis an ***kanen*** *ya.*
T.R–catch ERG police DEF.M 3S.ABS DEF.F
'The police caught him/her.'

In these very basic examples, we see that the pronoun referring to the S of (5a), is *kanen*. In (5b), however, we see that the A argument is *din*, even though both A and S are third person singular. The pronoun referring to the O argument in (5c) is *kanen*, just like the S in (5a). Since the A is the unique member of this system, being expressed by *din*, we can say that *din* expresses a third person singular referent in the *ergative* relation. The S and the O, on the other hand, are both expressed by *kanen*. Therefore, we can call this relation the *absolutive*.

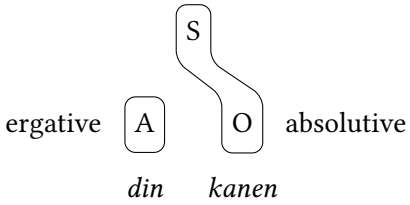

Figure 10.2: An ergative–absolutive system for organizing grammatical relations

Unlike English, constituent order in Kagayanen, and in fact all dominantly verb-initial languages, does not directly illustrate the system for organizing grammatical relations. Although the dominant orders in intransitive and transitive clauses in Kagayanen are VS and VAO respectively, these orders do not lend themselves to grouping A, S and O in the same way as in a verb-medial language like English. One could say that S and A are treated alike because they both immediately follow the verb. But one could also say that S and O are treated alike because they both occur at the end of the basic clause. So constituent order is not a grammatical feature that can be used to identify the *system* for organizing grammatical relations in Kagayanen.

However, there is another overt feature that does illustrate the ergative/absolutive character of basic grammatical relations in Kagayanen, namely the prenominal case marker *ta*, as in the following examples:

(6) a. S
Ga–panaw [pulis an].
I.R–walk/leave police DEF.M
'The police left.'

b. A O
Pa–dakep [ta pulis an] [mga matakaw].
T.R–catch ERG police DEF.M PL thief
'The police caught the thieves.'

In these examples, we see that the S of (6a), *pulis an*, is not preceded by any overt prenominal case marker. In (6b), however, we see that the A argument, *ta pulis an*, appears with the prenominal marker *ta*. The O argument in (6b) has no prenominal marker, just like the S in (6a). Since the A is the unique member of this system, being preceded by *ta*, we can say that *ta* marks the *ergative* relation (or sometimes *ergative case*). The S and the O, on the other hand, are both unmarked.

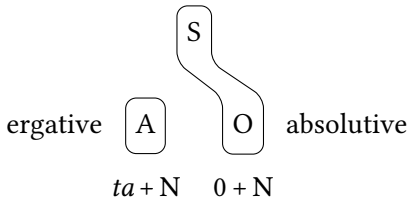

Figure 10.3: The ergative-absolutive system of Kagayanen: Case marking

Therefore, we can call this relation the *absolutive* (Silverstein 1976, Comrie 1989, Dixon 1994).

In summary, any grammatical system that treats S and A alike as opposed to O is a nominative-accusative system for organizing grammatical relations. Any system that treats S and O alike as opposed to A is an ergative-absolutive system. In Kagayanen, personal pronouns and prenominal case markers clearly reveal an ergative-absolutive system in basic clauses.

One apparent complication to this story in Kagayanen is that, in addition to the transitive construction illustrated in (5b), (5c) and (6b), there is another very common construction for expressing semantically transitive situations (also known as "two-place predicates", as in Polinsky 2013a, *inter alia*). This is what we are calling the *detransitive*, or *actor voice* construction, as illustrated in (7) and (8a):

(7) Gadakep pulis an ta matakaw.
Ga–dakep pulis an ta matakaw.
I.R–catch police DEF.M NABS thief
'The police caught/are catching a/the thief/thieves.'

In this construction, the grammatical relations seem to be reversed from what we have seen in transitive examples such as (6b). Now the most Actor-like argument occurs with no prenominal *ta*, and instead the other argument is preceded by *ta*. There are important reasons, however, for saying the grammatical relations are not simply reversed in these examples. To be sure, the Actors (*pulis an* in both examples) are in the absolutive case–they have all the structural properties of the S and O arguments in examples (5a), (6a) and (6b). However, the phrases preceded by *ta* do not have the same structural properties of A arguments in examples (6b) and (6b). The *ta*–marked argument in (7) is in a different grammatical relation. We know this for several reasons. First, when non-agent arguments are pronominalized, they do not occur in the case we have identified as "ergative" above.

(8) a. Gadakep pulis an ki kanen.
Ga–dakep pulis an ki kanen.
I.R–catch police DEF.M OBL.P 3S
'The police caught him/her.'

b. **Gadakep pulis an (ki) din.*
3S.ERG

In (8a), the Actor, *pulis*, appears in the absolutive case, but the pronominalized human patient follows the locative preposition *ki*. Again, the ergative pronoun *din* is impossible in this context. So this is clear structural evidence that the RP preceded by *ta* in a detransitive construction is in a different grammatical relation than the ergative RP in a transitive construction.

Furthermore, in example (8a) the verb takes the prefix *ga-*, whereas in the ergative constructions presented earlier, the verb takes the prefix *pa-*. Recall that *ga-* is the basic dynamic mode realis prefix that occurs on verbs that are unquestionably intransitive (e.g., one-place predicates), such as *panaw* 'to walk/leave' in (3a) and (5a). Whenever *ga-* appears on the verb, the Actor is the only required argument and it always appears in the absolutive role, either as a Referring Phrase with no pre-nominal case marker or in the form of an absolutive case pronoun. For this reason, we have analyzed *ga-* and its irrealis counterparts *mag-* and *m-* as markers of grammatical intransitivity. In other words, all the examples in (7) and (8a) are *grammatically intransitive*, even though they express ideas that have two major participants. Similar constructions have also been called "actor-voice" (Himmelmann 1991, Foley 2008, Kaufman 2017) "actor-focus" (Schachter & Otanes 1972) or "antipassive" (Bell 1979, Aldridge 2012) in studies of other Philippine languages.

Because these constructions describe situations that involve transfer of energy from an Actor to an Undergoer, they can be considered semantically transitive. However, structurally they are intransitive. Therefore we refer to such structures as *detransitive constructions*. Many examples of detransitive constructions are found throughout this grammar. The following are some additional examples from the corpus:

(9) absolutive = Actor:
Piro tama man na mga inay na galuag man ta kaanlao ...
Piro tama man na mga inay na ga–luag man ta kaanlao ...
but many also LK PL mother LK I.R–watch EMPH NABS lunar.eclipse
'But there were many mothers who watched a lunar eclipse ...'
[JCOE-C-03 5.4]

(10) Pagtapos nay igma, gatan-aw kay ta sini.
Pag–tapos nay igma, ga–tan-aw kay ta sini.
NR.ACT–finish 1P.EXCL.ERG lunch I.R–look 1P.EXCL.ABS NABS movie
'After we finished lunch, we were watching a movie.' [AGWN-L-01 5.5]

In example (10) the root *tan-aw* 'to look' describes an activity that necessarily involves an Actor (the looker) and an Undergoer (the thing looked at). However, in this example, the verb is marked as intransitive, and the Actor, "we", is in the absolutive case. Like all intransitive clauses, this is a statement about the referent of the absolutive element; it is not about the particular movie. The Undergoer is mentioned, but in a non-absolutive role marked by the prenominal case marker *ta*. The story goes on to talk about the Actors going home and then going other places.

Similarly, example (11) is about the unstated absolutive participant, "us", and not about any particular trees. Again, as in all intransitive constructions, the absolutive is presented as the most salient or highly affected participant in the situation being described. The Undergoer is presented in a less "privileged" syntactic role. In fact, in such constructions, the Undergoer is often omitted altogether, as in example (13) further below.

(11) ... basi en na mananem nang ta kaoy en.
... basi en na ma–ng–tanem nang ta kaoy en.
perhaps CM LK A.HAP.IR–PL–plant only NABS tree CM
'... perhaps now (we) will be able to/might just plant trees.' [ROOB-T-01 12.1]

In (12) there is no particular orchid flower on stage in the situation being described. Rather the speaker is saying something about "you". Seeing an orchid flower in the wild is more likely to affect the person than the flower.

(12) ... makakita ka ta buḷak na dapo.
... maka–kita ka ta buḷak na dapo.
I.HAP.IR–see 2SABS NABS flower LK orchid
'... you may happen to see an orchid flower.' [EFWE-T-05 3.4]

Finally, in example (13), there are two verbs that have the same absolutive argument, the enclitic *ka* 'you'. Both verbs *butaḷ* 'fight' and *kaan* 'eat' describe semantically transitive situations – fighting involves at least two people, and eating necessarily involves an eater and something that gets eaten. Yet each of

these verbs is presented as grammatically intransitive with no mention of any Undergoer. This is because this is an admonition from a parent to a child about how the child should behave. It is all about the Actor, and not about any particular Undergoer.

(13) Dili ka mabutaḷ daw naan ta lamisaan na gakaan.
Dili ka ma–butaḷ daw naan ta lamisa–an na
NEG.IR 2S.ABS A.HAP.IR–fight if/when SPAT.DEF NABS table–NR LK
ga–kaan.
I.R–eat
'You should not fight/argue when at the table when eating.' [ETOP-C-10 2.2]

Detransitive constructions such as these serve a communicative function that is similar to what have been called "Oblique Object" or "Object Omission" constructions in English, illustrated in (14):

(14)

Oblique Object:	Object Omission:
Fido chewed on the bone.	Thompson already ate.
The hunter shot at the deer.	We just sat back and watched.
Lucretia ate of the poison apple.	Pele kicks, he scores!

All of these English sentences describe situations that can be considered semantically transitive–they all involve action carrying over from an Actor to an Undergoer. However, they are presented as grammatically intransitive—they have a subject but no direct object. The Undergoers in Oblique Object constructions are expressed in an oblique phrase, and the Undergoers in Object Omission constructions are not present at all; they are understood because of the nature of the predicate, but their identity is either completely obvious or not relevant to the speaker's message. All of these English constructions present a situation as something that primarily affects the Actor, while downplaying the Undergoer in some way, either by suggesting it is incompletely affected, obvious, or not relevant at all. Because these constructions present semantically transitive situations in a grammatically intransitive way, we may think of them as "detransitive" constructions.

In a similar vein, situations described as *Phillip eats pizza*, or *We ate pizza for lunch* also present the activity of eating as the primary assertion, rather than the effect of the activity on a distinct patient. In fact, Halliday & Matthiessen (2014: 293) describe such clauses in English as intransitive, with *pizza* filling the

participant function (similar to semantic role) of "Range" rather than patient. In other words, *eating pizza* is a kind of eating, in which *pizza* simply restricts the range of application of the verb, similar to the function of adverbial modifiers, as in *eating in the kitchen*, or *eating quickly*.

Similar observations can be made regarding the functions of detransitive constructions in Kagayanen. As in all intransitive constructions, the primary assertion of a detransitive construction is the activity, and its effect on the Actor, rather than what happens to a distinct Undergoer.

While the functions of detransitive constructions in English and Kagayanen are similar, there are major structural differences that may obscure their common communicative functions. Unlike English, in which both transitive and intransitive expressions of the concepts of *chewing, watching,* or *eating* are expressed with the same set of verb forms, Philippine languages overtly inflect verbs as either grammatically transitive or intransitive. The same verbs in a transitive frame take a different set of inflections (see Chapter 6, Table 6.2). This is consistent with the general morphosyntactic typology of most Philippine languages – much more communicative "work" is accomplished with verbal morphology than in English. Transitivity is not a category that is very important to the verbal morphology in English, whereas it is in Philippine languages.

A second major difference between detransitive constructions in English and Kagayanen is that in English, the Actor is in the same form (called nominative case) in transitive or intransitive constructions. This is because in a nominative-accusative system, the S (single argument) of an intransitive clause and the A (most Actor-like argument) of a transitive clause are both nominative. However, since the system of grammatical relations in Kagayanen is basically ergative-absolutive, the Actor in a transitive construction is in the ergative case, while the Actor in all intransitive constructions, including detransitives, is in the absolutive case.

Another complication that makes the detransitive construction difficult to understand for speakers of non-Philippine type languages is the role of the prenominal marker *ta*. The fact that *ta* precedes Actors in basic transitive constructions and precedes Undergoers in detransitive constructions leads some linguists to conclude that these two different semantic roles are expressed in the same case. The name given to that case is sometimes "genitive" (see, e.g., Kroeger 1993, referring to Tagalog). However, as we have argued above, *ta* is multifunctional—it expresses ergative case, genitive (possessor) case, oblique case, and the case of the demoted Undergoer in detransitive constructions. These are different cases that represent different grammatical relations, as revealed by their usages (see Table 10.1).

Table 10.1: The cases of Kagayanen

Prenominal case markers	***Personal pronouns (3SG human)[a]***	***Usages***	***Case***
∅	kanen	S and O arguments	ABS
∅	din	Personal name A arguments	ERG
ta	din	Other A arguments	ERG
ta	din	Adnominal possessors	GEN
ki	ki kanen	Personal name demoted Undergoers	NABS
ta	ki kanen	Other demoted Undergoers	NABS
(LOC) ta / ki	ki kanen	Oblique elements	OBL

[a]For clarity, we are using the 3rd person singular human personal pronouns as representative of the entire set of pronouns that function in this column, as described in Chapter 3, §3.4.

Although *ta* has a role in four of the seven rows of Table 10.1, the different pronoun sets and usages confirm that each row represents a different "case". This kind of multifunctionality is not at all unusual in the world's languages. There are situations even in English, a language with a very impoverished case marking system, in which identical forms are used to express different cases. For example, the pronoun *her* is used for genitive (*her house*), accusative (*we saw her*), and oblique roles (*they bought it from her*). Also, the pronouns *you* and *it* occur both in nominative (*you rang*, *it collapsed*), accusative (*I saw you*, *I saw it*), and oblique roles (*I sent it to you*, *I fell on it*). No one argues that these cases are the same just because some of the forms that express them happen to be the same. Multifunctionality is normal in language, and *ta* is a very useful, multifunctional morpheme.

Finally, some linguists have argued that the Undergoer in examples such as (7) and (8a) is not an oblique argument at all, but is a core argument, similar to a direct object (see, e.g., Kroeger 1993, Foley 2008 for other Philippine languages).

In Kagayanen, there is no doubt that the demoted Undergoer in a detransitive construction is structurally distinct from other oblique elements. For example, demoted Undergoers cannot naturally be expressed before the verb:

(15) **Ta bata gasagod bai an.*
'A child the woman cared for.'

This example is highly awkward or ungrammatical because the demoted Undergoer, *ta bata*, is presented before the verb. Some other oblique elements may easily occur in this position:

(16) Naan ta uma nay patanem nay kamuti an.
Naan ta uma nay pa–tanem nay kamuti an.
SPAT.DEF NABS field 1P.EXCL.ERG T.R–plant 1P.EXCL.ERG camote DEF.M
'In our field we planted camote.'

(17) Naan ki kanen paatag ko bayo no ya.
Naan ki kanen pa–atag ko bayo no ya.
SPAT.DEF OBL.P 3S T.R–give 1S.ERG clothes 2S.GEN DEF.F
'To him/her I gave your shirt/clothes.'

However, in (16) and (17), the spatial element *naan* must occur before the fronted oblique phrase. These examples are as ungrammatical as (15) if *naan* is omitted. In fact, it is very odd for any non-absolutive RP to be fronted without including *naan*, though they may occur post-verbally without it:

(18) Patanem nay kamuti ta uma nay.
Pa–tanem nay kamuti ta uma nay.
T.R–plant 1P.EXCL.ERG camote NABS field 1P.EXCL.GEN
'We planted camote in our field.'
**Ta uma nay patanem nay kamuti an.*

(19) Paatag ko bayo no ya ki kanen.
Pa–atag ko bayo no ya ki kanen.
T.R–give 1S.ERG clothes 2S.GEN DEF.F OBL.P 3S
'I gave your shirt/clothes to him/her.'
**Ki kanen paatag ko bayo no ya.*

These Waray facts are not particularly surprising, given that several previous studies have argued that the core/oblique distinction is neither absolute nor universal. For example, (Arka 2019) argues that in several languages of Indonesia clause constituents exhibit a range of syntactic properties such that "core" and "oblique", in Arka's view, are ends of a cline rather than absolute categories. Role and Reference Grammar (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997, Van Valin 2000) proposes a distinction between "core obliques" versus "peripheral obliques." Relational grammar (Perlmutter 1986) famously introduced the concept of "chômeur" as a nominal relation that has syntactic properties of neither "terms" (core arguments) nor obliques. While we do not take a stand on any of these theoretical frameworks, we believe they do offer some insight into the clause structure of detransitive constructions in Waray. Genitive-marked Undergoers are in a pragmatically "deperspectivized" grammatical role, and as such lack some syntactic properties of core arguments (ergatives and absolutives) while simultaneously lacking some syntactic properties of prototypical obliques.

In Kagayanen, and Philippine languages generally, there are relatively few pre-nominal case marking particles, therefore each one must serve several functions. This is another reason why *ta* is used for genitive, ergative, oblique, and demoted Undergoer functions. Part of the genius of Philippine languages is that their rich systems of verbal morphology help to clarify the function of each Referring Phrase, making it unnecessary to mark the semantic role of each individual RP directly.

10.4 Voice in Philippine languages: An introduction

We've seen that the system of organizing grammatical relations in Kagayanen is very different from what is found in European languages; the central grammatical relations in clauses are absolutive and ergative, rather than subject and object. This is a very common system in other Austronesian languages, and in languages of many other parts of the world, though it is often perplexing to speakers and linguists who are used to subject/object systems. In this section we will discuss the notion of "voice" as a grammatical system for adjusting the relationship between grammatical relations and semantic roles in clauses. We will begin with a brief outline of the history of scholarship surrounding voice in Philippine languages, most of which deals with Tagalog.

Blake (1906) set the stage for the view of Tagalog verbs as expressing four distinct "voices." Blake used the term "expression of case by the verb" to describe the ways in which verb morphology varies to express different semantic roles of

the "subject" (our absolutive) argument. The Tagalog system, according to Blake, represents a more fully developed version of the expression of case by the verb than the two-way active/passive voice systems common in Indo-European and Semitic languages. In other words, for Blake "voice" is a limited variety of case expression in the verb. More recent approaches (e.g., Wolff & Wolff 1967, Payne 1994, Foley 2008, and Himmelmann 2008) have reversed Blake's characterization, instead extending the definition of voice to include Philippine-type systems, rather than extending the definition of case in the verb to include voice in the Indo-European and Semitic traditions. In this grammar, we will use the term voice in the more recent sense to refer to any system of verb (phrase) morphosyntax that specifies the alignment between grammatical relations and semantic roles in a clause.

Ever since Blake (1906), linguists have used various terms to describe the basic clause structure of Philippine languages. Bloomfield (1917) treated Tagalog as though it were an Indo-European language with an active/passive voice system. The "active voice" for Bloomfield was what we are calling the detransitive (see above), and the "passive voice" was what we are calling the basic transitive (ergative) construction. By the mid-1960s, however, linguists were beginning to realize that the active/passive perspective didn't work very well for Tagalog. For example, Schachter & Otanes (1972) treated the basic clause structure of Tagalog as a "predicate+topic" system, rather than a voice system. The various verbal categories relating to argument relations represented options for bringing different arguments into the topic position.[4] Schachter & Otanes (1972) were actually inconsistent in their terminology, in that they used the term "topic" when referring to nominal categories, signaled by the pre-nominal particles and certain pronouns, and "focus" when referring to verb forms. Thus, for example, the "Actor-focus" verb forms were ways of indicating that the Actor was the "topic" of the clause.[5] Some subsequent work changed the terminology to be more internally consistent, using "Actor-topic", "Patient-topic" and so on for the verb forms, while others kept the focus terminology for both verbal and nominal categories. The result was a great deal of confusion and sense of mystery among linguists

[4] Of course, this is exactly what a voice system does, but because the Tagalog system seemed so different from familiar active/passive systems, Schachter & Otanes (1972) were reluctant to use the term "voice".

[5] "Focus is the feature of a verbal predicate that determines the semantic relationship between a predicate verb and its topic." (Schachter & Otanes 1972: 69, emphasis in the original). This apparent treatment of "topic" and "focus" as the same caused a great deal of confusion, since most linguists consider these categories to be in opposition to each other (see, e.g., Chafe 1976, Lyons 1968 *inter alia*).

concerning the basic clause structure of Tagalog, and Philippine languages in general.

In 1977 Resty Cena presented arguments for what he called "patient primacy" in Tagalog (Cena 1977). Arguing from multiple perspectives, including frequency, syntactic simplicity, psycholinguistic salience (Tucker 1971), and age of acquisition (Segalowitz & Galang 1978), Cena showed that Bloomfield's "passive" voice (Schachter & Otanes' "goal focus") construction was the more "basic" or "natural" way of expressing a transitive situation. De Guzman (1992) followed up with morphological evidence for the same claim. Both Cena and De Guzman used the subject/object terminology similar to Bloomfield, but argued that the subject of a transitive clause in Tagalog was a primary patient, rather than an Actor. In other words, the subject for Cena and De Guzman was what we are calling the absolutive in Kagayanen. They independently argued that universally there are two possible primary orientations to a transitive situation, one in which the role of Actor is primary, as in English and many other languages, and the other in which the role of patient is primary, as in Tagalog. Though neither Cena nor De Guzman argued explicitly for an ergative/absolutive analysis of Tagalog, they both recognized and acknowledged the conceptual similarity between patient primacy in Tagalog and indisputably ergative systems (De Guzman 1992: 87).

Several linguists in recent years have followed the precedent set by Cena in referring to the absolutive relation in Tagalog as the "subject", acknowledging that this relation is defined very differently than the subject in a language like English (see, e.g., Himmelmann 1991, Kroeger 1993, Kaufman 2009). At some level, this may be considered mere terminological variation—whether one chooses to call the case that expresses intransitive S arguments and basic transitive O arguments "absolutive" or "subject" may not seem like a substantive analytic decision. However, in our opinion, using terminology that is common in analyses of nominative/accusative systems for languages like Tagalog and Kagayanen, for which grammatical relations have very different properties, is confusing for speakers and linguists alike in that it may perpetuate the impression that these languages are "mysterious" and fundamentally dissimilar to all other languages of the world. In our opinion, viewing the system for organizing grammatical relations as basically ergative/absolutive, and the voice system as involving various ways of adjusting the relationships between semantic roles and grammatical relations in a clause provides a coherent way of understanding the basic clause structure of most Philippine languages that is consistent with what is known about language in general. The voice system is clearly more elaborate than in most languages commonly studied by linguists, but its fundamental character is well-understood from the extensive body of literature now available on voice and grammatical

relations in general, and on ergative/absolutive systems in particular (see, e.g., Comrie 1989, Dixon 1994, Payne 1997, Dixon & Aikhenvald 2000, Bahrt 2021).

10.5 "The Kagayanen choir"

In order to understand the role of voice in any language, it may be helpful to start with the fairly simple voice system of a well-known language like English. Consider the sentences in Figure 10.4. Examples (d) and (e) are marginal or ungrammatical to most English speakers, but they are, we believe, understandable enough to serve as a bridge to understanding voice in Kagayanen:

	PSA (Privileged syntactic argument, Van Valin 2000)	
a. Actor:	I	served fish (to the child, on a plate, with a spoon).
b. Patient:	Fish	was served (to the child, by me, on a plate, with a spoon).
c. Beneficiary:	The child	was served (fish by me, on a plate, with a spoon).
d. Location:	??The plate	was served fish on (by me, with a spoon).
e. Instrument:	??The spoon	was served fish with (by me, on a plate).

Figure 10.4: The Kagayanen choir

Using terminology from Van Valin & LaPolla (1997), we can understand these different syntactic constructions as ways of bringing various parts of a sentence into a "privileged" grammatical status (indicated in the box in Figure 10.4, and called the "subject" in traditional English grammar). This privileged status is "special" in several ways. In terms of syntax, the Privileged Syntactic Argument (PSA) is the argument that controls various syntactic patterns, like verb agreement, reflexivization, coreference in coordinate structures and others. In terms of pragmatics, the PSA tends to refer to the most "topical" participant. That is, the sentences in Figure 10.4 can be understood as making a comment "about" the Actor (*I* in 10.4a), the patient (*fish* in 10.4b), the beneficiary (*child* in 10.4c), the location (*plate* in 10.4d), and the instrument (*spoon* in 10.4e) respectively. When these noun phrases are the PSA, they no longer carry any direct marking of their semantic role. In other words, they no longer follow any benefactive, locative or instrumental prepositions. The only overt clues as to the semantic role of the PSA are found in the verb phrase, namely the auxiliary (a form of *be*), the past participle form of the main verb, and possible post-verbal particles, such as *on*, *in*, or *with*.

The important feature to notice about the English system is that there are only two grammatical voices, which are traditionally referred to as "Active" and "Passive". In these examples, the verb form in the Active voice is *served* and all

the others are in the Passive voice, employing the auxiliary *was* plus the past participle: *was served*. However, one could say that the little words *on* and *with* following the passive verb forms in Figure 10.4d and e indicate the semantic role of the PSA: *on* indicates that the PSA is a location, and *with* indicates that the PSA is an instrument. In other words, the verb forms in 10.4d and e are really *was served on* and *was served with* respectively. These little words no longer function as prepositions preceding a noun phrase, but rather as particles in the verb phrase that indicate the semantic role of the PSA.

Constructions analogous to those in Figure 10.4 all occur in Kagayanen, with several important differences. First, the PSA in Kagayanen is the *absolutive* argument, as described in §10.3. Second, Kagayanen speakers use all the corresponding constructions in Kagayanen fluently, with a wide range of verbs and arguments. While certain verb+argument combinations are limited in the number and type of voices that may be expressed (as discussed at length in Chapter 8 and Chapter 9), in general the possibilities are much more productive and regular than analogous constructions in English. Third, elements that indicate the semantic role of the absolutive argument are verb forms, differentiated by verbal affixation, rather than by auxiliaries (*was* in the English examples), or particles (*on* and *with*). While all these structural features make voice in English and Kagayanen very different, the voice systems of both languages share one major functional similarity: they are both ways of bringing particular clausal arguments into the Privileged Syntactic Argument position, while "demoting" or "deperspectivizing" other elements. Once an argument is in the PSA position, it is then available for many syntactic functions that are not possible for obliques, or other clausal arguments.

In Kagayanen, verb semantics, grammatical transitivity, and the applicative constructions (see Chapter 6 through Chapter 9) work together to express the various "voices". In the following discussion, we will describe the voices semantically according to the semantic role of the absolutive argument. Applicative constructions are used to express Benefactive, Locative, Instrumental, and Adversative voice, depending on the semantics of the predicate.

We hope to show that the voice system of Kagayanen is the result of the interaction between the dimension of transitivity in the inflectional paradigm (Chapter 6) and applicative processes in the stem-forming group (Chapter 7). These relationships are summarized in (20), and exemplified in the rest of this section:

(20)

Intransitive inflection:	"Actor voice"
Transitive inflection, no applicative:	"Patient/Undergoer voice"
Transitive inflection + applicative *-an*:	"Benefactive/Locative voice"
Transitive inflection + applicative *i–*:	"Conveyance/Instrumental voice"

10.5.1 Intransitive constructions (Actor voice)

The simplest clause type in Kagayanen is an *intransitive* clause. It consists minimally of a predicating element and a Referring Expression (Referring Phrase or Pronoun) in the absolutive role. It may also contain optional oblique elements, including non-absolutive phrases, locative phrases, and adverbial elements. Examples of intransitive clauses are found throughout this grammar. Here are a few others from the corpus. In these examples we have bracketed and labeled the Predicate and the absolutive argument.

(21) Isya adlaw tallo i na mag-arey gapanaw ...

absolutive Predicate
Isya adlaw [tallo i na mag-–arey] [ga–panaw]...
one day three DEF.N LK REL–friend I.R–walk/leave
'One day the three friends left . . .' [CBWN-C-10 2.2]

(22) Ganti taan gaistar ti na baḷay ...

absolutive Predicate
[Ganti] taan [ga–istar] ti na baḷay ...
giant perhaps I.R–live D1NABS LK house
'Perhaps a giant lives in this house . . .' [CBWN-C-10 6.2]'

(23) ... gailing kay ta Iloilo.

Predicate absolutive
... [ga–iling] [kay] ta Iloilo.
I.R–go 1P.EXCL.ABS NABS Iloilo
'...we went to Iloilo.' [VAWN-T-18 2.3]

(24) Miling ka tengnged ya patyo bag-o mamangdan.

Predicate absolutive
[M–iling] [ka] tengnged ya patyo bag-o
I.V.IR–go 2S.ABS next DEF.F graveyard before
ma–ng–pangdan.
A.HAP.IR–PL–pandan
'Go to (the place) next to the graveyard then get pandan.'[NCOP-C-02 1.2]

(25) Nya dayad ya en.

absolutive Predicate
[Nya] [dayad ya] en.
D4ADJ good DEF.F CM
'That is good now.' [NCOP-C-02 3.5]

In an intransitive clause, there is only one Referring Expression that has a grammatical relation to the Predicate. Any additional elements are optional. Referring Expressions that have a grammatical relation to the Predicate are called *arguments*, or sometimes *core arguments*. In each of these examples, the absolutive is the only argument of the clause. It is marked as absolutive by either the lack of a prenominal case marker (21 and 22), or the absolutive form of a pronoun (23, 24 and 25). In all the verbal predicates (21–24), the verb is marked as intransitive, either realis (21, 22 and 23), or irrealis (twice in 24). Example 25 is a non-verbal predicate. Non-verbal predicates are always intransitive, and are not marked for transitivity or modality (see Chapter 5).

In all of these constructions (21–25), the speaker is making a statement about the absolutive case argument. The absolutive argument is presented as the person or thing that is most relevant or most highly affected by the situation described in the Predicate. It is very common for the absolutive argument of an intransitive clause to be a semantic Actor (21–24), but this is not always true. Example (25) illustrates a clause in which the absolutive does not do anything. It is not an Actor because it does not initiate or control the event. Intransitive verbal predicates in happenstantial modalities also express situations in which the absolutive argument is not an Actor:

(26) ... kami naḷabo en.
... kami na-ḷabo en.
1P.EXCL.ABS A.HAP.R–capsize CM
'... we had capsized.'[VAWN-T-18 6.9]

The absolutive argument of this clause, *kami*, did not capsize on purpose. The situation is one that happened to the speaker and associates. There is no controlling Actor expressed at all. For this reason, the realis happenstantial mood prefix is called for (see Chapter 6, §6.5.2).

There is a difference between semantic transitivity and grammatical transitivity. As mentioned in §10.3, a situation that seems to require an Undergoer and a distinct Controller may be expressed in an intransitive construction, with the Undergoer simply omitted or expressed in a non-absolutive case, preceded by *ta* or *ki*. We describe such constructions as *detransitive*. They express semantically transitive situations in grammatically intransitive frames. Such constructions are used when there is an Undergoer, but it is less salient in the communicative situation than the Actor in some way. The Actor is presented as the most affected participant in the situation, and the Undergoer, if present at all, is presented as less central in some way, either by being indefinite, non-specific, generic or

incompletely affected. Examples of detransitive constructions in the corpus are presented in 9–13 above.

10.5.2 Transitive constructions (Patient/Undergoer voice)

In English and other Indo-European languages, almost every complete clause has a subject. Some clauses also have a direct object. Clauses which include a subject (a nominative argument) and no object are considered intransitive, while those that include a subject and a direct object (an accusative argument) are considered transitive (see, e.g., Merriam Webster online 2022, definitions of "transitive" and "intransitive"). These definitions don't fit Philippine languages very well, since grammatical notions of "subject" and "direct object" do not apply (see, e.g., Cena 1977, Nolasco 2018, and the discussion above in §10.3). Rather, in Kagayanen and most other Philippine languages, it is more accurate to say that almost all clauses include an absolutive argument, either overtly present or strongly implied. Some also include an ergative argument. Intransitive clauses are those that include an absolutive and no ergative argument, as illustrated in the previous section. Transitive clauses are those that include an absolutive and an ergative argument. Halliday & Matthiessen (2004), elaborated in LaPolla et al. (2011: 478–484), describes the Indo-european definition of transitivity as the "transitive model of transitivity", and the Kagayanen definition as the "ergative model of transitivity". Examples of basic transitive constructions occur throughout this grammar. Here are a few additional examples from the corpus. Notice that all of these examples contain an ergative pronoun that refers to the Actor—the person or persons who control or originate the situation—, in addition to an absolutive argument, either overtly expressed or strongly implied:

(27) Patimod eman danen.
Pa–timod eman danen.
T.R–pick.up again.as.before 3P.ERG
'They picked (it) up again as before.' [CBWN-C-10 3.4]

(28) Tapos likid pangdan ya a. Tapos tapa. Diristso no banggod daw likiren isab daw bḷaren.
Tapos likid–... pangdan ya a. Tapos tapa–... Diristso
then roll.up–T.IR pandan DEF.F CTR then dry.on.fire–T.IR straight
no banggod–...[6] *daw likid–... isab daw baḷad–en.*
2S.ERG straighten.out–T.IR and roll.up–T.IR again and

dry.in.sun–T.IR
'Then roll up the pandan. Then dry (it) on a fire. Right away straighten (it) out and roll (it) up again and dry (it) in the sun.' [NCOP-C-02 2.2–4]

(29) ... nakita kon danen sikad tama na kwarta daw bḷawan.
... na–kita kon danen sikad tama na kwarta daw bḷawan.
A.HAP.R–see HSY 3P.ERG very many/much LK money and gold
'... they saw, it is said, much money and gold.' [CBWN-C-10 6.3]

Constructions such as these are sometimes called "Patient voice" or "Undergoer voice" constructions because they present the Undergoer in the absolutive case. That is, the Undergoer (often patient), is presented as the participant that is the most affected by the situation being expressed, and is the Privileged Syntactic Argument. Like intransitives, these transitive constructions can be understood as statements "about" the absolutive. Cena (1977) clearly showed that in Tagalog, transitive constructions such as these are the most common, simplest, and most psychologically salient construction type for expressing situations involving an Undergoer and a separate Actor. This is also the case in Kagayanen. In addition, children acquiring Tagalog as their first language learn to use Patient voice transitive constructions fluently earlier than the corresponding Actor voice constructions (Tucker 1971, Segalowitz & Galang 1978). Semantically, the absolutive refers to the referent that is most affected by the event, usually a patient. Pragmatically, the absolutive patient tends to be highly referential, individuated, and specific.

The following examples illustrate transitive patient voice clauses similar to the English clauses illustrated in Figure 10.4. In these examples, we indicate the absolutive argument by a zero (∅) in the pre-nominal position, though we do not use this convention in other parts of the grammar:

(30) Absolutive = Patient:
Paakid ko ∅ **sidda an** naan ta pinggan no.
*Pa–akid ko ∅ **sidda an** naan ta pinggan no.*
T.R–serve 1S.ERG ABS fish DEF.M SPAT.DEF NABS dish 2S.GEN
'I served **the fish** on your plate.'

[6]Recall from Chapter 6, §6.6 that inflectional affixes are often omitted. One common context for such omission is sequences of closely linked events such as this.

(31) Lutuon ko ∅ **sidda an** para ta mga bisita.
*Luto–en ko ∅ **sidda an** para ta mga bisita.*
cook–T.IR 1S.ERG ABS fish DEF.M for NABS PL visitor
'I will cook **the fish** for the visitors.'

(32) Iluto no ∅ **sidda an**.
*I–luto no ∅ **sidda an**.*
T.DEON–cook 2S.ERG ABS fish DEF.M
'You must cook **the fish**.'

10.5.3 Applicative constructions (Benefactive, Adversative, and Locative voice)

Applicatives are often thought of as "transitivizing" constructions (see Polinsky 2013b, Payne 1997 *inter alia*). This is because applicative morphology on a verb expressing an intransitive situation creates a new verb stem that expresses a transitive situation in which activity is directed to an endpoint, usually a location or a beneficiary. The endpoint introduced by the applicative construction becomes a core argument of the verb—a direct object in a nominative/accusative system or an absolutive in an ergative/absolutive system. However, if the root that accepts applicative morphology already involves activity transferred to an endpoint (i.e., it is "semantically transitive"), the applicative construction *redirects* the activity to a different endpoint, again usually a location or beneficiary. In such situations, the applicative does not increase transitivity at all—it simply redirects the activity described by the verb to a different endpoint.

This characterization contrasts applicative constructions with causative constructions in that the applicative introduces an endpoint (an "object" in terms used by Polinsky 2013b), whereas a causative adds a starting point—an initiator, or Actor to a scene (see §10.6.1 on causatives). In Kagayanen, the verbal suffix *-an* (and sometimes the prefix *i-*) normally introduces an endpoint to a scene. That endpoint may be a semantic beneficiary/recipient, maleficiary, locative or instrumental participant, depending on the semantics of the verb, its arguments, and the context. If the base clause is intransitive, the applicative is grammatically transitive. If the base clause is transitive, the clause remains transitive and the applicative in effect "replaces" the endpoint of the base clause.

Applicative morphology is central to the voice systems of Philippine languages. As mentioned in the introduction to §10.5, transitivity marking in the inflectional paradigm, plus stem-forming applicative morphology is what gives rise to benefactive, adversative, locative, and instrumental voice in Kagayanen. In each of

these construction types, the Actor, if present, appears in the ergative case, the Undergoer/patient, if present, appears in the non-absolutive (demoted Undergoer) case, and a "new" beneficiary, maleficiary, location or instrument appears in the absolutive case.

Benefactive voice often functions to express situations in which something is transferred to a beneficiary, with the beneficiary presented in the absolutive case (examples 33 and 34). However, transfer is not a necessary component of the meaning of this construction (examples 35 through 37).

(33) Absolutive = Beneficiary/recipient
Paakiran ko ∅ **kanen an** ta sidda.
Pa–akid–an ko ∅ ***kanen an*** *ta sidda.*
T.R–serve–APL 1S.ERG ABS 3S.ABS DEF.M NABS fish
'I served **her/him** some fish.'

(34) Lutuan ko ∅ **kanen an** ta sidda.
∅–Luto–an ko ∅ ***kanen an*** *ta sidda.*
T.IR–cook–APL 1S.ERG ABS 3S.ABS DEF.M NABS fish
'I will cook **him/her** some fish.'

Without the applicative marker on the verb, example (34) could only be understood as patient voice, which would be anomalous with these arguments: "I will cook him/her (with/on/by) fish."

The absolutive of a Benefactive applicative need not be the recipient of a transferred item. In example (35), the absolutive is the pronominal enclitic *a*, '1S.ABS'. This is understood as the beneficiary of the cleaning event, but not necessarily the recipient of the cleaned item (the cabinet). Similar observations can be made for examples (36) and (37):

(35) Palimpyuan a din ta aparador.
Pa–limpyo–an a din ta aparador.
T.R–clean–APL 1S.ABS 3S.ERG NABS cabinet
'S/he cleaned the cabinet for me.' (Meaning I will not have to clean it.)

(36) Pakantaan kay din ta Bayang Magiliw.
Pa–kanta–an kay din ta Bayang Magiliw.
T.R–sing–APL 1P.EXCL.ABS 3S.ERG NABS country beloved
'S/he sang for us Beloved Country (the National Anthem).'

(37) Pasayawan a danen ta tinikling.
Pa–sayaw–an a danen ta tiinkling.
T.R–dance–APL 1S.ABS 3P.ERG NABS
'They danced for me the tinikling (dance).'

As discussed in Chapter 6, §6.5.2 the Deontic prefix *i-* may function as an applicative marker, as in (38). As such, *i-* may function as a deontic Benefactive marker:

(38) Absolutive = Beneficiary:
Iluto **a** no ta sidda.
I–luto ***a*** *no ta sidda.*
T.DEON–cook 1S.ABS 2S.ERG NABS fish
'You must cook **me** some fish.'

Technically, 38 is ambiguous between Benefactive and Patient voice. However, pragmatically it can only be understood as Benefactive voice, since people don't cook other people. We are reminded of English sentences like "I will make you a sandwich" which are similarly "ambiguous". The usage illustrated in (38) has also been described as "conveyance voice" in Cebuano based on the fact that it presents the Undergoer (*sidda* 'fish') as moving away from the Actor (Wolff 1973: 69).

Examples (39) through (42) illustrate Locative voice. Again, these are only understood as locative because of the context. In (39), for example, the plate cannot logically be a beneficiary, but rather is a logical location for serving something:

(39) Absolutive = Location:
Paakiran ko **pinggan no an** ta sidda.
Pa–akid–an ko ∅ ***pinggan no an*** *ta sidda.*
T.R–serve–APL 1S.ERG ABS plate 2S.GEN DEF.M NABS fish
'I served on **your plate** some fish.'

(40) Pakan-anan din **pinggan ko an** ta sinugba ya na sidda.
Pa–kan-en–an[7] *din ∅* ***pinggan ko an*** *ta*
T.R–cooked.rice–APL 3S.ERG ABS dish 1S.GEN DEF.M NABS
s<in>ugba ya na sidda.
<NR.RES>roast DEF.F LK fish
'S/he ate roasted fish in **my dish**.'

[7]As mentioned earlier, the verb meaning 'to eat' consists of suppletive stems; *kaan* is the bare form, but when any suffixes are involved, the root changes to *kan-en*, the nominal root meaning 'cooked rice.' When the stem-forming suffix contains an *a* vowel, such as the applicative *-an*, vowel harmony applies, resulting in the stem form *kan-anan.*

We are calling example (41) Locative voice because the younger sibling is presented as the target of laughing. This sentence cannot be understood as Benefactive voice ("He laughed for my younger sibling"), even though the absolutive argument is animate and human.

(41) Patawaan din **mangngod ko** an.
*Pa–tawa–an din ∅ **mangngod** **ko** an.*
T.R–laugh–APL 3S.ERG ABS younger.sibling 1S.GEN DEF.M
'S/he laughed at my younger sibling.'

The following example illustrates a Locative voice construction in Irrealis modality:

(42) Lutuan ko **bakod an na kandwagan** ta sidda para ta bisita.
*∅–Luto–an ko ∅ **bakod an** **na kandwagan** ta sidda para ta bisita.*
T.IR–cook–APL 1S.ERG ABS big DEF.M LK skillet NABS fish for NABS visitor
'I will cook in **the big skillet** some fish for the visitor.'

The following are some additional applicative (Locative or Benefactive/Recipient voice) constructions from the corpus:

(43) Absolutive = Location:
Papilitan din kon gantangan ya ta saḷeng…
Pa–pilit–an *din kon gantangan ya ta saḷeng…*
T.R–stick.on–APL 3S.ERG HSY 3.quart.measurer DEF.F NABS sap
'He **stuck** the sap on the 3 quart measurer.' [CBWN-C-22 6.5]

(44) Absolutive = Location:
yon nang **pakamangan** nay ta ame na pangabuian pang-adlaw-adlaw
*yon nang **pa–kamang–an** nay ta ame na pangabui–an pang–-adlaw~-adlaw*
D3ABS only/just T.R–get–APL 1P.EXCL.ERG NABS 1P.EXCL.GEN LK living–NR INST–RED–sun/day
'… that only is from where we get our livelihood for daily use.' (This refers to the salary of the author of this text.) [VPWL-T-03 3.2]

(45) Absolutive = Location (Goal):
Pabalikan din pa kwarta ya na bilin ta baḷay ya danen.
*… **pa–balik–an** din pa kwarta ya na bilin ta baḷay*
T.R–return–APL 3S.ERG EMPH money DEF.F LK leave.behind NABS house
ya danen.
DEF.F 3P.GEN
'…he even **returned for** the money that he left in their house.'
[BCWN-C-04 6.5]

(46) Absolutive = Beneficiary/recipient:
Manang **padaḷaan** a nyo man ta nyo na kudak…
*Manang ∅–**pa–daḷa–an** a nyo man ta nyo*
Older.sister T.IR–CAUS–carry/take–APL 1S.ABS 2P.ERG also NABS 2P.GEN
na kudak…
LK picture
'Older sister, **send** me your picture…' [PBWL-T-10 10.2]

(47) Absolutive = Beneficiary/recipient:
Taga-Mampyo daw Nusa **pasuḷatan** na mubos uli ta Sintro tak **indyiksyunan**.
*Taga-–Mampyo daw Nusa **pa–suḷat–an** na m–ubos uli ta*
ORIG–Mampyo and Nusa T.R–write–APL LK I.V.IR–all go.home NABS
*Sintro tak ∅–**indyiksyun–an**.*
Central because T.IR–inject–APL
'The ones from Mampyo and Nusa **were written to** all to come to Central because (they) **will be injected**.' (This is about an outbreak of cholera.)
[JCWN-T-21 10.1]

Example (48) illustrates an applicative construction inside a relative clause. The head is *basak* 'land', which is the location of planting.

(48) Absolutive = Location:
Kami may basak **nataneman** nay ta niog.
*Kami may basak **na–tanem–an** nay ta niog.*
1P.EXCL.ABS EXT.IN land A.HAP.R–plant–APL 1P.EXCL.ERG NABS coconut
'As for us (we) have land on which we have planted coconut trees.'
[JCOE-T-06 5.5]

In example (49) the composite pronoun *ta kaw* expresses a first person singular ergative plus second person singular absolutive argument (see Chapter 3, §3.4 on the composite pronouns):

(49) Erg.+Abs. = Agent+Addressee:
Nay, kisyem nang en **sugiran** ta kaw.
*Nay, kisyem nang en ∅–**sugid–an** ta kaw.*[8]
mom tomorrow only/just CM T.IR–tell–APL 1S.ERG 2S.ABS
'Mom, just tomorrow I will tell you.' (The content of what she will tell is implied.) [BMON-C-06 3.19]

Example (50) illustrates three applicative constructions. The first applicative involves the root *ibit* 'hold', which is a member of the class of roots that always appear in an applicative form when transitive (Class VIII). All such roots involve a patient that does not undergo a change in state, but is only slightly, superficially or invisibly affected by the action of the verb. In this case, the act of holding a child does not change or affect the child in any substantive way, and thus the child shares the semantic feature of "superficial affectedness" with locations. Chapter 8, §8.9 contains a long list of such roots. In the second applicative in (50), the location of the placing of water is the head of the child, which appears in the absolutive. Finally, in the third applicative, the absolutive argument of the stem *garayan* 'to chant for' is ellipted because the child is the main topic in this stretch of text, and in the context it is clear that the midwife chants for the child.

(50) Nanligan i **pabitan** din bata daw **batangan** ta waig a ulo ta bata. Tapos **pagarayan** din.
*Nanligan i **pa–ibit–an** din bata daw …–**batang–an** ta*
midwife DEF.N T.R–hold–APL 3S.ERG child and T.R–put–APL NABS
*waig a ulo ta bata. Tapos **pa–garay–an** din.*
water INJ head NABS child then T.R–chant–APL 3S.ERG
'As for the midwife, she holds the child and puts some water on the head of the child. Then she chants (for the child).' (This is a naming ceremony for newborn babies similar to baptism.) [VAOE-J-06 1.4]

absolutives in applicative constructions may be "Malefactees", as well as Benefactees. In happenstantial modality without a conscious controller, applicatives almost always imply a "malefactive" or "adversative" sense. Such constructions

[8]The composite pronouns are usually spelled as two words in the Kagayanen orthography, even though they are pronounced as one word.

present an adversely affected participant as the absolutive. For example, (51a) illustrates a basic intransitive clause, while (51b) adds an adversely affected participant to the scene:

(51) a. Absolutive = Patient:
Napatay ∅ baboy an.
Na–patay ∅ baboy an.
A.HAP.R–die ABS pig DEF.M
'The pig died.'

b. Absolutive = Maleficiary:
Napatayan kami i ta baboy.
Na–patay–an kami i ta baboy.
A.HAP.R–die–APL 1P.EXCL.ABS DEF.N NABS pig
'The pig died on us (adversely affecting us).'

The English free translation expresses the approximate sense of (51b). Recall that *na-* is an "ambitransitive" prefix, meaning that it may occur in a transitive or intransitive construction. Example (51a) is obviously intransitive because there is only one participant, and that participant, the pig, is in the absolutive case. Example (51b), on the other hand, is somewhat transitive in that *kami* 'us' is presented as the most saliently affected participant, and the pig, though clearly not an Actor, is the source of the effect. A more literal but non-idiomatic English translation might be "The pig died us" (it died, adversely affecting us).

The following is an example of Adversative voice in irrealis, happenstantial modality:

(52) Absolutive = Maleficiary:
Mabadbaran kami ta igot ta katig.
Ma–badbad–an kami ta igot ta katig.
A.HAP.IR–untie–APL 1P.EXCL.ABS NABS tie NABS outrigger
'The tie of an outrigger will become untied on us (adversely affecting us).'

Example (53) illustrates a happenstantial irrealis modality Adversative applicative construction from the corpus. We know the prefix on the bolded verb has been dropped because *adlaw* 'sun/day' used as a verb meaning 'become daylight' must take happenstantial modality. The prefix *ma-* may be added, with no change in meaning, but the dynamic intransitive irrealis prefixes *mag-* or *m-* are impossible:

(53) Maria, pilak no duma an na suwa tak kani **adlawan ki en**.
Maria, pilak no duma an na suwa tak kani
Maria throw.away 2S.ERG some DEF.M LK citrus.fruit because later
…–adlaw–an ki en.
A.HAP.IR–sun/day–APL 1P.INCL.ABS CM
'Maria, throw away some of the citrus fruit because later it will become daytime on us.' (This is a story about a mother, who is a witch, and her daughter. They were invisible flying home carrying citrus fruit. So the mother tells the daughter to throw away some of the fruit so they will not be seen.) [MBON-T-06 5.8]

In constructions with an Actor in dynamic modality the semantic role of the absolutive argument is sometimes technically ambiguous between beneficiary or maleficiary, though context usually disambiguates:

(54) Pabadbaran kay din ta igot ta katig.
Pa–badbad–an kay din ta igot ta katig.
I.R–untie–APL 1P.EXCL.ABS 3S.ERG NABS tie NABS.GEN outrigger
'S/he untied the tie of an outrigger on us.' Adversative
Or 'S/he untied the tie of an outrigger for us.' Benefactive

(55) Pagubbaan kay din ta pungkuan.
Pa–gubba–an kay din ta pungko–an.
T.R–ruin–APL 1P.EXCL.ABS 3S.ERG NABS sit–APL
'S/he ruined the chair on us.' Adversative
Or: 'S/he ruined the chair for us.' (They wanted it ruined to use the wood for something else like firewood.) Benefactive

(56) Pataguan kay din ta pagkaan.
Pa–tago–an kay din ta pagkaan.
T.R–hide–APL 1P.EXCL.ABS 3S.ERG NABS food
'S/he hid the food from us.' (So we couldn't eat it.) Adversative Or: 'S/he hid the food for us.' (So we could eat it and nobody else could eat it first.) Benefactive

(57) Padalukan kay din ta pagkaan.
Pa–dalok–an kay din ta pagkaan.
T.R–greedy–APL 1P.EXCL.ABS 3S.ERG NABS food
'S/he was greedy towards us with food.'

The following are some Benefactive and Adversative applicatives from the corpus:

(58) … daw **pamisaan** ta pari patay an daw **pabinditaan** din man patay an.
*… daw **pa–misa–an** ta pari patay an daw **pa–bindita–an***
and T.R–mass–APL NABS priest die DEF.M and T.R–bless–APL
din man patay an.
3S.ERG also die DEF.M
'…and the priest **conducts a mass for** the dead one and he also **blesses** the dead one.' [CBWE-C-06 6.2]

(59) … daw maimo kon palitan nay daen iran na mga order.
… daw ma–imo kon ∅–palit–an nay daen
if/when A.HAP.IR–do/make HSY T.IR–buy–APL 1P.EXCL.ERG 3P.ABS
iran na mga order.
3P.GEN LK PL order
'... if it is possible they said we will **buy for** them what they ordered.' [AFWL-L-01 8.3]

(60) Daw gaduḷot kaw ta ittaw na dili makita yaken pa na dili nyo **duḷutan** na bui a i?
Daw ga–duḷot kaw ta ittaw na dili ma–kita
if/when I.R–food.offering 2P.ABS NABS person LK NEG.IR A.HAP.IR–see
*yaken pa na dili nyo ∅–**duḷot–an** na bui a i?*
1S.ABS EMPH LK NEG.IR 2P.ERG T.IR–food.offering–APL LK live 1S.ABS ATT
'If you offer food for unseen people (spirits), even more for me **won't you offer food** when I am living?' [JCWN-T-20 10.5]

(61) … kami **napatayan** ta makina…
*… kami **na–patay–an** ta makina…*
1P.EXCL.ABS A.HAP.R–die–APL NABS engine
'…the engine (of the boat we were riding) **died** on us…' [MMWN-L-01 5.8]

There is also a "partitive" usage of the applicative construction, which may be considered a variation on patient voice. Compare the following two examples:

(62) a. Absolutive = Patient:
Pautod din kaoy an.
Pa–utod din ∅ kaoy an.
T.R–cut 3S.ERG ABS tree/wood DEF.M
'S/he cut the wood.'

b. Absolutive = Partitive patient:
Pauturan din ∅ kaoy an.
Pa–utod–an *din ∅ kaoy an.*
T.R–cut–APL 3S.ERG ABS tree/wood DEF.M
'S/he cut part of the wood.'

Examples (62a) and (62b) have the same argument structure—an Actor in the ergative case and a patient in the absolutive, therefore they are both patient voice. The difference is that (62a) is a simple transitive construction, while (62b) is an applicative. The meaning of (62b) is that the Actor did not cut the wood completely in two parts, but only cut off a small portion. The following examples, repeated here from Chapter 6, also illustrate the partitive use of the applicative. Example (63) illustrates the verb *panno* 'fill' in a non-applicative construction. In this example, the shirt is the absolutive, while the Actor, 'he' is ergative:

(63) **Papanno** din bayo din ya ta bḷawan…
Pa–panno *din bayo din ya ta bḷawan…*
T.R–fill 3S.ERG shirt 3S.GEN DEF.F NABS gold
'He filled up his shirt with gold...' [CBWN-C-22 4.23]

Example (64) illustrates the same verb in an applicative construction. Note, however, that the argument structure is the same. The shirt is still absolutive, and the Actor is still ergative:

(64) **Papannuan** din bayo din ya ta bḷawan.
Pa–panno–an *din bayo din ya ta bḷawan.*
T.R–fill–APL 3S.ERG shirt 3S.GEN DEF.F NABS gold
'He filled part way his shirt with gold.'

The applicative has this effect for many Class VI verbs that are inherently transitive. Consider the following:

(65) a. Patient voice (absolutive = patient: roasted fish):
Pakaan din sinugba ya na sidda naan ta pinggan ko.
Pa–kaan *din s<in>ugba ya na sidda naan ta*
T.R–eat 3S.ERG <NR.RES>roast DEF.F LK fish SPAT.DEF NABS
pinggan ko.
dish 1S.GEN
'S/he ate the roasted fish in my dish.'

b. Partitive (absolutive = partitive patient: some of the roasted fish):
Pakan-anan din sinugba ya na sidda naan ta pinggan ko.
Pa–kan-en–an *din* *s<in>ugba* *ya* *na sidda naan*
T.R–cooked.rice–APL 3S.ERG <NR.RES>roast DEF.F LK fish SPAT.DEF
ta *pinggan ko.*
NABS dish 1S.GEN
'S/he ate some of the roasted fish in my dish.'

As mentioned in Chapter 6, one may understand this usage as indicating that the Undergoer is not a prototypical patient. In this case, it is understood that the patient is only partially affected. In other constructions, the applicative indicates that the absolutive is a locative, or beneficiary/maleficiary participant. These are also non-prototypical Patients, in that they are less than completely affected by the activity expressed by the verb.

This observation is corroborated by verbs that always take an applicative suffix in their basic transitive form (Class VIII). In each case, they describe situations in which the patient argument is not prototypical in that it does not undergo a change in state as a result of the event described by the verb. These verbs include *amblig* 'to care for', *arek* 'to kiss', *tabang* 'to help', and many others listed in Chapter 8, §8.9.

10.5.4 Instrumental voice

Instrumental voice constructions are characterized by a grammatically transitive verb form, with the Actor in the ergative case, and an instrumental element in the absolutive. In realis modality, Instrumental and Patient voice constructions are structurally identical; the only way to distinguish the two is by semantics—if the absolutive argument is a semantic instrument, it is Instrumental voice, whereas if the absolutive argument is a patient, it is Patient voice:

(66) Absolutive = Instrument:
Paakid ko luag i na bag-o ta sidda.
Pa–akid *ko* *∅* *luag* *i* *na bag-o ta* *sidda.*
T.R–serve 1S.ERG ABS big.spoon DEF.N LK new NABS fish
'I used the new serving spoon to serve some fish.'

In irrealis modality, however, instrumental voice is distinguished by the presence of the transitive deontic prefix *i–*. In such situations, the *-i* prefix has an instrumental applicative function, as in (67) and (69):

(67) Iakid ko luag i na bag-o ta sidda.

I–akid ko ∅ luag i na bag-o ta sidda.
T.DEON–serve 1S.ERG ABS big.spoon DEF.N LK new NABS fish
'I must use the new serving spoon to serve some fish.'

Without the *i-* prefix in example (67), the sentence becomes anomalous:

(68) *Akiren ko luag i na bag-o ta sidda.

**Akid–en ko ∅ luag i na bag-o ta sidda.*
serve–T.IR 1S.ERG ABS big.spoon DEF.N LK new NABS fish
('I will serve the new serving spoon to/for fish.')

(69) Iprito ko bag-o i na mantika ta sidda.

I–prito ko ∅ bag-o i na mantika ta sidda.
T.DEON–fry 1S.ERG ABS new DEF.N LK oil NABS fish
'I must use the new oil to fry some fish.'

Again, in transitive irrealis modality without the *i-* prefix, example (69) becomes anomalous (??'I will fry the new oil for/to/with fish.'). Because the absolutive nominal can be construed as an instrument in each instance, the only possibility is Instrumental voice.

In several other Philippine languages, such as Waray (Payne & Oyzon 2022), reflexes of the same verbal prefix *i-* are more strongly associated with Instrumental voice. However, in Kagayanen *i-* is essentially a transitive deontic modality marker that occasionally has an irrealis instrumental applicative usage.

The following are some additional examples of instrumental voice in realis and irrealis modality from the corpus:

(70) Daw may kwarta, ipalit ta sabon, puspuro, agas, daw tanan na mga gamit ta baḷay.

Daw may kwarta, i–palit ta sabon, puspuro, agas, daw
if/when EXT.IN money T.DEON–buy NABS soap matches kerosene and
tanan na mga gamit ta baḷay.
all LK PL use NABS house
'If there is money, (it) should be used to buy soap, matches, kerosene, and all that is used in the house.' [NWE-L-01 2.9]

(71) Gapasalamat a ta ate na Dios tak uḷa a natabo ta laod parti ta ake na pagpangita ta isagod ko ta ake na pamilya.

Ga–pa–salamat a ta ate na Dios tak uḷa a
I.R–CAUS–thank 1S.ABS NABS 1P.INCL.GEN LK God because NEG.R INJ
na–tabo ta laod parti ta ake na
A.HAP.R–happen NABS deep.sea concerning NABS 1S.GEN LK
pag–pangita ta i–sagod ko ta ake na pamilya.
NR.ACT–search NABS T.DEON–take.care 1S.ERG NABS 1S.GEN LK family
'I give thanks to our God because nothing happened in the deep sea concerning my searching for something I have to use to take care of my family.' (The speaker was fishing so that his family would have food.) [MCWN-L-01 2.21]

(72) Uwi pabligya danen daw ipalit ta kinangḷanen ta pamaḷay-baḷay.
U–wi pa–bligya danen daw i–palit ta kinangḷan–en
EMPH–D1ABS T.R–sell 3P.ERG and T.DEON–buy NABS need–NR
ta pang–-baḷay~-baḷay.
NABS INST–RED~house
'These (mats, different kinds of baskets they have woven) they sell and (use the money) to buy what is needed for use in houses.' [NBWE-T-01 3.2]

(73) Patikang ko waḷa ko na batiis piro daw gakereg ake na mga lawa.
Pa–tikang ko waḷa ko na batiis piro daw ga–kereg ake na
T.R–step 1S.ERG left 1S.GEN LK foot but if/when I.R–shake 1S.GEN LK
mga lawa.
PL body
'I used my left foot to step but it was like the (parts of) my body were shaking.' [JCWN-L-34 2.9]

(74) Uḷa aren iniler na pabumba ta ake na baba.
Uḷa aren iniler na pa=bumba ta ake na baba.
NEG.R 1S.ABS inhaler LK T.R–pump NABS 1S.GEN LK mouth
'I had no inhaler to use to pump (medicine) into my mouth.' [JCWN-T-22 2.7]

(75) May daon ta kaoy na patampeḷ.
May daon ta kaoy na pa–tampeḷ.
EXT.IN leaf NABS tree LK T.R–put.on.herbal.medicine
'There are some leaves of trees used to put on as herbal medicine (like a bandage).' [CBWE-T-07 5.3]

Because the absolutive nominal in each of the examples (70) through (75) can be construed as an instrument, the only possibility is Instrumental voice.

10.6 Other transitivity-related phenomena

To this point, we have characterized voice in Kagayanen as a grammatical system for adjusting the relationship between semantic roles and grammatical relations. In particular, the various voices in the Kagayanen choir highlight different semantic roles by bringing them into the absolutive case. In this section we will describe three additional grammatical phenomena that linguists often view as transitivity increasing or decreasing constructions. These are *morphological causatives*, *reflexives*. and *reciprocals*.

10.6.1 Causatives

A causative construction is one in which an external causal agent is added to the message-world situation described by a clause. Semantically, a causative situation consists of two main parts: the *cause* and the *effect*. The effect is the base situation, and the cause is what the external causal agent does in order to bring about the effect. We will call the added agent the causer, and we will call the central participant of the effect the causee. Consider the following English causative construction:

(76) The devil made me do it.

In this example, *I did it* describes the effect, and *the devil made (something happen)* describes the cause; *the devil* is the causer (also known as the $\text{agent}_{\text{cause}}$), and *me* is the causee. Typically, the notion of cause may involve permission (*allow*), and/or facilitation (*make possible*), as well as strict causation. For example, in the following English sentences, the semantic roles of the participants are given above the referring expressions:

(77) a. Causer Causee
[Corelli] fed [the horses]. ‘Corelli made/let the horses eat.’
b. Causer Causee
[You] made [me] laugh.

c. Causer Causee Patient
[Meribel] urged [Calixto] to order [Hawaiian Pizza].

d. Causer Causee Recipient Theme
[Simeon] let [Meribel] send [Michael] [flowers].

Grammatically, causation may be accomplished in the lexicon, the syntax, or the morphology of any language. A *lexical causative* is a single verb that embodies both the notions of cause and effect. For example, the English verb *die* evokes an inherently intransitive concept. The verb *kill*, on the other hand, evokes the same intransitive concept as *die* does, but with the addition of a causer—*kill* means *cause to die*. There are many such non-causative/causative pairs of verbs in English, including *learn/teach*, *see/show*, *go/send*, *eat/feed*, and so on. Example 77a is a lexical causative construction (*feed* means 'cause/allow to eat'). Corelli is the participant who does something to cause, allow or make it possible for the horses to eat.

A *syntactic causative construction* (also called an "analytic causative" is one in which the notions of cause and effect are embodied in different verbs. For example, *cause to die* is a syntactic causative because there are two verbs, one expressing the cause and the other expressing the effect (*die*). Examples (77b) through (77d) are all syntactic causative constructions because they involve the addition of a main verb, *make*, *urge*, or *let*, which expresses the cause, while the dependent verbs (*laugh*, *order*, and *send*) express the effect. The subject of the causative verb is the causer, while the grammatical object of that verb is the causee.

Finally, a *morphological causative* (also sometimes called a "synthetic causative") is one in which non-causative and causative forms are related morphologically, usually via some kind of affixation. English does not have very productive morphological causatives, though pairs such as *dark/darken* (*darken* 'cause to be dark'), and *mad/madden* (*madden* 'cause to be mad') come close. In other languages, including Kagayanen, morphological causatives are a much more robust and regular part of the grammar.

Kagayanen exhibits many pairs of lexical roots that may be considered non-causative/causative pairs. A few we have encountered to date are given in Table 10.2.

In addition to these lexical causative verbs, Kagayanen has several verbs that function as syntactic causatives. These verbs evoke the notion of cause, while the effect is expressed in a separate verb in irrealis modality.[9] A few of these verbs

[9]We term this use of the irrealis modality "subjunctive" (see Chapter 12, §12.3).

Table 10.2: Non-causative and lexically causative verbs in Kagayanen

Non-causative verbs	Lexically causative counterparts
kaan ‘eat’	baog ‘feed an animal’
bugtaw ‘to wake up’	pukaw ‘to wake s.o. up’
apoy ‘fire to burn’	maket ‘start a fire’
kuyog ‘to go with s.o.’	anggat ‘ask/have s.o. go with you’
mara ‘to dry’	baḷad ‘to dry something in the sun’
duḷak ‘animals to fight’	sampok ‘to cause animals to fight’
alin ‘to go away from’	tabog ‘shoo away an animal’
basa ‘to be wet’	bunyag ‘to water plants’

are listed in (78), and some examples from the texts are given below, beginning with (79):

(78) *pwirsa* ‘to force someone to do something’
pilit ‘to pressure/urge someone to do something’
leges ‘to strongly force/coerce someone to do something’
sugo ‘to order or command someone to do something’
mandar/mando ‘to order subordinates to do something’ (more formal for military or government officials)
sigyet/segyet ‘to entice someone to do something’
aḷam-aḷam/am-aḷam ‘to convince someone to do something’
bawal ‘to forbid someone to do something’
ambaḷan ‘to warn, advise, speak directly to, order’[10]

(79) Kaysan **pwirsa** kay na mutang ta duma bag-o pautang en man ki danen.
Kaysan ***pwirsa*** *kay* *na* *m–utang* *ta* *duma*
sometimes force 1P.EXCL.ABS LK I.V.IR–borrow.money NABS other
bag-o *pa–utang*[11] *en* *man* *ki* *danen.*
before CAUS–borrow.money CM too OBL.P 3p
‘Sometimes we were forced to borrow money from others before lending to them too.’ [TTOB-L-03 6.1]

[10]The verb *ambaḷ* ‘say’ only means ‘to warn/advise/order’ in the applicative form. In other forms it means simply ‘to say.’

[11]The *pa-* in this verb is the morphological causative, described below. The idea of ‘to lend’ something is expressed literally as ‘cause to borrow’.

(80) … **paleges** din gid na daw maimo batunon gid Kristo iya na Salvador…
*… **pa–leges** din gid na daw ma–imo baton–en gid*
T.R–force 3S.ERG INT LK if/when A.HAP.IR–do/make receive–T.IR INT
Kristo iya na Salvador …
Christ 3S.GEN LK Savior
'… he really coerced (him) to receive Christ to be his savior …'
[ETON-C-07 3.14]

(81) Isya na adlaw kanen **pasugo** ta iya na nanay na mandok ta waig.
*Isya na adlaw kanen **pa–sugo** ta iya na nanay na*
one LK day/sun 3S.ABS T.R–order NABS 3S.GEN LK mother LK
m–sandok ta waig.
I.V.IR–carry.water NABS water
'One day, as for her, her mother ordered her to carry water.' [VAWN-T-20 3.1]

The most productive means of forming a causative construction in Kagayanen is morphologically, expressed with the verbal prefix *pa-*. This is a very common stem-forming prefix, as discussed in Chapter 7, §7.5. A few common non-causative/morphological causative verb pairs are given in (82). However, the causative prefix may be added to practically any root to form a transitive, causative verb stem. Meanings expressed by the morphological causative include 'to cause someone to do something', 'to ask someone to do something', 'to let someone or something do something', 'to make it possible for someone to do something', or 'just wait for someone to do something or something to happen.'
[2]

(82)

eḷes 'to borrow'	*paeḷes/peḷes* 'to lend'
utang 'to borrow money'	*pautang* 'to lend money'
daḷa 'to bring/take/carry X'	*padaḷa* 'to send X'
patay 'to die'	*papatay* 'to kill'

As discussed in Chapter 6, §6.5.4, the causative prefix *pa-* is homophonous with the transitive realis Inflectional prefix. Therefore, one transitive verb with *pa-* can have two meanings: one simple transitive (83) and the other causative (84).

(83) Pasuot din bayo din ya.
Pa–suot din bayo din ya.
T.R–wear 3S.ERG clothes/shirt 3S.GEN DEF.F
'S/he wore his/her shirt.'

(84) ...-Pasuot din ki yaken bayo din ya.
pa–pa–suot din ki yaken bayo din ya.
T.R–CAUS–wear 3S.ERG OBL.P 1S clothes/shirt 3S.GEN DEF.F
'S/he let me wear his/her shirt.'

It is clear, however, that there are two distinct *pa-* morphemes for at least two reasons. First, example (84) is ditransitive—it has three arguments: a causer *din* '3serg', a causee *ki yaken* 'OBL.P 1S', and a patient *bayo din ya* 'shirt 3S.ERG DEF.F'. This can only be understood as causative. The only non-causative interpretation would be "s/he wore his/her shirt to/on me", which makes no sense. Example (83), on the other hand, has only two arguments, and may not be understood as causative (*'S/he made the shirt wear something' ...). Second, it is possible for both *pa-* morphemes to occur on the same verb:

(85) Papasuot din ki yaken bayo din ya.
Pa–pa–suot din ki yaken bayo din ya.
T.R–CAUS–wear 3S.ERG OBL.P 1S clothes/shirt 3S.GEN DEF.F
'S/he made me wear his/her shirt.'

As discussed in Chapter 6 §6.6, sequences of double *pa-* often simplify. However, when a double *pa-* does occur, it expresses a stronger causative, as roughly reflected in the English free translations of (84) and (85).

With ditransitive verb roots, when there is only one *pa-* it is the transitive, realis prefix (86). For the causative, the shortened form is not normally used, probably for clarity (87), but it can be used in fast speech.

(86) Non-causative:
Pabligya din ki yaken baboy din an.
Pa–bligya din ki yaken baboy din an.
T.R–sell 3S.ERG OBL.P 1S pig 3S.GEN DEF.M
'S/he sold his/her pig to me.'

(87) Causative:
Papabligya din ki yaken baboy din an.
Pa–pa–bligya din ki yaken baboy din an.
T.R–CAUS–sell 3S.ERG OBL.P 1S pig 3S.GEN DEF.M
'S/he made/let me sell his/her pig.'

Some non-volitional intransitive verbs are understood as causative when used in a grammatically transitive frame, even without the causative prefix *pa-*. These are described as *patient-preserving labile* verbs in Chapter 8 (Classes I–II), or "P-labile" verbs (Haspelmath 1993, Kulikov & Lavidas 2014):

(88) Non-volitional intransitive (Class II) root: *pudpod* 'to crumble to powder':
Gapudpod siminto an tak lugay en.

Ga–pudpod *siminto an tak lugay en.*
I.R–crumble.into.powder cement DEF.M because long.time CM
'The cement is/was crumbling up into powder because it has been a long time.'

(89) Causative:
Pudpuron no buḷong an aged batang din naan ta nina din.

Pudpod–en *no buḷong an aged ∅-batang din naan*
crumble–T.IR 2S.ERG medicine DEF.M SO.that T.IR–put 3S.ERG SPAT.DEF
ta nina din.
NABS wound 3S.GEN
'Crush the medicine into powder so that she can put (it) on her wound.'
(lit. 'Cause the medicine to crumble to powder ...')

As with all semantically transitive verbs, causative verb stems can appear in a Detransitive (Actor voice) construction. In this case, the *pa-* causative does appear with some verbs (such as *lunot* 'decay' in example 90) but not with others (such as *pudpod*, 'crumble into powder' in example 93):

(90) Detransitive of causative:
Gapalunot kanen ta tampayas.

Ga–pa–lunot *kanen ta tampayas.*
I.R–CAUS–decay 3S.ABS NABS papaya
'S/he let/caused the papaya to decay.'

(91) Non-volitional intransitive verb, *pudpod* 'to crumble into powder':
Napudpod tanan na siminto na paubra na allublak.

Na–pudpod *tanan na siminto na pa–ubra na*
A.HAP.R–crumble.into.powder all LK cement LK T.R–work LK
allublak.
hollow.block
'All the cement made into hollow block has crumbled up into powder.'

(92) Causative:
Papudpod din buḷong an aged batang din naan ta nina din.
Pa–pudpod *din buḷong an aged ∅-batang din*
T.R–crumble.into.powder 3S.ERG medicine DEF.M so.that T.IR–put 3S.ERG
naan ta nina din.
SPAT.DEF NABS wound 3S.GEN
'S/he crumbled the medicine into powder so that s/he could put it on his/her wound.'

We know that the *pa-* in example (92) is the transitive realis prefix and not a causative because a) in irrealis modality, *pa-* does not need to appear even though the frame is transitive, and the meaning is causative (89), and b) a double *pa-* is not possible for this subclass of verbs: **papapudpod*.

(93) Detransitive (Actor voice) of causative:
Gapudpod kanen an ta buḷong.
Ga–pudpod *kanen an ta buḷong.*
I.R–crumble.into.powder 3S.ABS DEF.M NABS medicine
'S/he is/was crumbling medicine into powder.'

We know that (93) is a detransitive of a causative construction and not a simple intransitive construction because a) the absolutive pronoun refers to a person, and persons don't (normally) crumble into powder, and b) the understanding is that the medicine is what crumbles, with the absolutive argument referring to a causal agent.

The reason verbs like *lunot* 'to decay/disintegrate' require an overt causative morpheme in the detransitive may be that they describe processes that are not accomplished by an external agent—there is nothing one can do to "decay something". Rather, one can only wait or allow it to happen on its own. On the other hand, verbs like *pudpod* 'to crumble into powder' can be construed as the result of someone's act.

Causative constructions may also take the applicative suffix to express Locative, Benefactive, or Adversative voice. With P-labile roots, such causatives may be expressed without an overt causative prefix.

(94) Causative and applicative (Locative voice). P-Labile verb:
Padagsaan din baybay an ta buti.
Pa–dagsa–an *din baybay an ta buti.*
T.R–wash.ashore–APL 3S.ERG beach DEF.M NABS small.boat.
'S/he caused/let the small boat wash ashore.'

(95) Causative and applicative (Benefactive voice). P-Labile verb:
Pabuian a din ta saging na tanem ko naan ta silong nay.
Pa–bui–an *a din ta saging na tanem ko naan ta silong nay.*
T.R–live–APL 1S.ABS 3S.ERG NABS banana LK plant 1S.ERG SPAT.DEF NABS yard 1P.EXCL.GEN
'S/he kept alive for me the banana that I planted in our yard.'

Some non-volitional intransitive verbs are understood as "double causatives" when the causative prefix occurs:

(96) Causee as absolutive:
Papalunot ko **kanen** an ta tampayas na inog.
Pa–pa–lunot *ko* ***kanen*** *an ta tampayas na inog.*
T.R–CAUS–decay 1S.ERG 3S.ABS DEF.M NABS papaya LK ripe
'I caused him/her to let the ripe papaya decay.'

(97) Patient as absolutive:
Papalunot ko ki kanen **tampayas** an na inog.
Pa–pa–lunot *ko ki kanen* ***tampayas*** *an na inog.*
T.R–CAUS–decay 1S.ERG OBL 3S papaya DEF.M LK ripe
'I caused him/her to let the ripe papaya decay.'

(98) Causee as absolutive (irrealis modality):
Palunuton ko **kanen** an ta tampayas na inog.
Pa–lunot–en *ko* ***kanen*** *an ta tampayas na inog.*
CAUS–decay–T.IR 1S.ERG 3S.ABS DEF.M NABS papaya LK ripe
'I will cause him/her to cause/let the ripe papaya decay.'

(99) Patient as absolutive (irrealis modality):
Palunuton ko ki kanen **tampayas** an na inog
Pa–lunot–en *ko ki kanen* ***tampayas*** *an na inog*
CAUS–decay–T.IR 1S.ERG OBL.P 3S papaya DEF.M LK ripe
'I will cause him/her to let the ripe papaya decay.'

(100) Detransitive with causer as absolutive:
Gapalunot kanen ki yaken ta tampayas.
Ga–pa–lunot *kanen ki yaken ta tampayas.*
I.R–CAUS–decay 3S.ABS OBL.P 1S NABS papaya
'S/he is/was causing me to let the papaya decay.'

(101) **Magpalunot** ka ta tampayas ki kanen.
Mag–pa–lunot *ka ta tampayas ki kanen.*
I.IR–CAUS–decay 2S.ABS NABS papaya OBL.P 3S
'You will cause him/her to let the papaya decay.'

(102) Double causative and applicative (Locative voice). P-Labile verb:
Papadagsaan din ki yaken **baybay an** ta mga batang.
Pa–pa–dagsa–an *din ki yaken* ***baybay an*** *ta*
T.R–CAUS–wash.ashore–APL 3S.ERG OBL.P 1S beach DEF.M NABS
mga batang.
PL driftwood
'S/he made me let some driftwood wash ashore on the beach.'

(103) **Padagsaan** din ki yaken **baybay an** ta mga batang.
∅-Pa–dagsa–an *din ki yaken* ***baybay an*** *ta*
T.IR–CAUS–wash.ashore–APL 3S.ERG OBL.P 1S beach DEF.M NABS
mga batang.
PL driftwood
'S/he will make me let some driftwood wash ashore on the beach.'

We know that the *pa-* prefix is a causative, and the modality is irrealis in (103) because of the argument structure. The presence of an oblique argument, *ki yaken*, makes it clear that this is a double causative. The absence of an overt transitivity marker on the verb indicates that this must be irrealis modality (recall that the presence of the applicative *-an* precludes the use of the transitive irrealis suffix *-en*, thus leaving "zero" as the only indicator of transitivity). If the *pa-* in this example were the transitive realis *pa-*, the only possible reading would be "You brought the driftwood to the beach at me," and such a meaning is impossible.

The following are examples of causatives of semantically volitional intransitive verbs. In contrast to non-volitional P-labile verbs, these verbs must occur with the causative prefix in order to be understood as causative:

(104) **Papalarga** din bata din ya aged mangita ta ubra.
Pa–pa–larga *din bata din ya aged ma–ng–ita*
T.R–CAUS–depart 3S.ERG child 3S.GEN DEF.F so.that A.HAP.IR–PL–search
ta ubra.
NABS work
'S/he caused his/her child to depart in order to search for work.'

(105) **Palargaen** a ta mga ginikanan ko tak adlek na mangasawa.
Pa–larga–en *a ta mga ginikanan ko tak adlek na*
CAUS–depart–T.IR 1S.ABS NABS PL parent 1S.GEN because afraid LK
ma–ngasawa.
A.HAP.R–get.married
'My parents will send me away (cause me to depart) because (they) are afraid I will get married soon.'

(106) Detransitive (Actor voice) of causative, absolutive = $\text{agent}_{\text{cause}}$:
Gapalarga kanen an ta mga lansa tak uḷa en bagyo.
Ga–pa–larga *kanen an ta mga lansa tak uḷa en*
I.R–CAUS–depart 3S.ABS DEF.M NABS PL launch because NEG.R CM
bagyo.
typhoon
'S/he is/was causing/letting the launches (to) depart because there was no more typhoon.'

(107) **Magpalarga** kanen an ta mga lansa daw linaw en.
Mag–pa–larga *kanen an ta mga lansa daw linaw en.*
I.IR–CAUS–depart 3S.ABS DEF.M NABS PL launch if/when calm CM
'S/he will cause/let the launches (to) depart when it is calm.'

(108) Applicative (Locative voice) + Causative:
Papailingan din ki yaken baḷay din an na pagpayag.
Pa–pa–iling–an *din ki yaken baḷay din an na*
T.R–CAUS–GO–APL 3S.ERG OBL.P 1S house 3S.GEN DEF.M LK
pag–payag.
RED–nipa.house
'S/he caused/let me go to his/her house that is a rest house.'

The following examples illustrate causatives of inherently transitive and ditransitive verbs. Again, with these verbs the causative prefix is required in order to express the causative sense:

(109) Patient = Absolutive:
Papatangtang ko ki kanen **igot an** ta lunday.
Pa–pa–tangtang *ko ki kanen* ***igot an*** *ta lunday.*
T.R–CAUS–remove 1S.ERG OBL.P 3S tie DEF.M NABS outrigger.canoe
'I had him/her remove the tie from the outrigger canoe.'

(110) Causee = Absolutive:
Papatangtang ko **kanen** an ta igot ta lunday.
Pa–pa–tangtang *ko* ***kanen*** *an ta igot ta lunday.*
T.R–CAUS–remove 1S.ERG 3S.ABS DEF.N NABS tie NABS outrigger.canoe
'I made him/her remove the tie from the outrigger canoe.'

(111) Causer = Absolutive (detransitive):
Gapatangtang a ki kanen ta igot ta guso.
Ga–pa–tangtang a *ki kanen ta igot ta guso.*
I.R–CAUS–remove 1S.ABS OBL.P 3S NABS tie NABS seaweed
'I am/was causing/allowing him/her to remove the tie of the agar-agar seaweed.'

(112) **Magpatangtang ka** nang ki kanen ta igot ta lunday.
Mag–pa–tangtang ka *nang ki kanen ta igot ta*
I.IR–CAUS–remove 2S.ABS just OBL.P 3S NABS tie NABS
lunday.
outrigger.canoe
'You just cause/let him/her remove the tie of the outrigger canoe.'

(113) Instrument = Absolutive (Instrumental voice):
Iparabas no ki kanen **ḷangkaw an na sundang**.
I–pa–rabas *no ki kanen* ***ḷangkaw an na***
T.DEON–CAUS–clear.land 2S.ERG OBL.P 3S long DEF.M LK
sundang.
machete
'You must cause/let him/her clear the land with the long machete.'

(114) **Paparabas** ko ki kanen **ḷangkaw an na sundang**.
Pa–pa–rabas *ko ki kanen* ***ḷangkaw an na sundang***.
T.R–CAUS–clear.land 1S.ERG OBL.P 3S long DEF.M LK machete
'I caused/let him/her clear the land with the long machete.'

(115) Theme = Absolutive (causative of ditransitive):
Paatag no kani ki kanen kwarta i naan ta tatay din.
∅-pa–atag *no kani ki kanen kwarta i naan ta*
T.IR–CAUS–give 2S.ERG later OBL.P 3S money DEF.N SPAT.DEF NABS
tatay din.
father 3S.GEN
'Let him/her later give the money to his/her father.'

(116) **Ipaatag** no kani ki kanen kwarta i naan ta tatay din.

I–pa–atag *no kani ki kanen kwarta i naan*
T.DEON–CAUS–give 2S.ERG later OBL.P 3S money DEF.N SPAT.DEF
ta tatay din.
NABS father 3S.GEN
'You must later let him/her give the money to his/her father.'

(117) Patient as absolutive (Patient voice):
Papasabligan din ki yaken mga ittaw an ta waig.
Pasablig no ki kanen waig an naan ta mga ittaw.

*∅-**Pa–sablig*** *no ki kanen waig an naan ta mga*
T.IR–CAUS–splash 2S.ERG OBL.P 3S water DEF.M SPAT.DEF NABS PL
ittaw.
people
'Cause/let him/her splash the water on people.'

(118) **Ipasablig** no ki kanen waig an naan ta mga ittaw.

I–pa–sablig *no ki kanen waig an naan ta*
T.DEON–CAUS–splash 2S.ERG OBL.P 3S water DEF.M spat.def NABS
mga ittaw.
PL people
'You must cause/let him/her splash the water on people.'

No example has been found of Benefactive or Adversative voice in a deontic causative construction (*i-+pa-*) in the corpus.

(119) Applicative of a causative (Locative voice):

Pa–pa–sablig–an *din ki yaken mga ittaw an ta waig.*
T.R–CAUS–splash–APL 3S.ERG OBL.P 1S PL people DEF.M NABS water
'S/he caused/let me splash at the people with water.'

(120) Applicative of a causative (Benefactive voice):
Papabunakan ka din ki yaken ta mga bayo no.

Pa–pa–bunak–an *ka din ki yaken ta mga bayo*
T.R–CAUS–laundry–APL 2S.ABS 3S.ERG OBL.P 1S NABS PL clothes
no.
2S.GEN
'S/he caused/let me wash your clothes for you.'

(121) Applicative of a Causative (Adversative voice):
Papalagpukan din ki yaken mga ittaw an ta baril.
Pa–pa–lagpuk–an *din ki yaken mga ittaw an ta*
T.R–CAUS–explode–APL 3S.ERG OBL.P 1S PL people DEF.M NABS
baril.
gun
'S/he caused/let me fire off a gun on the people.' (This does not mean the people were being shot at, but just being scared or intimidated by the firing of the gun.)

The detransitive causative of some verbs has a reflexive sense, since the causer and the patient may be coreferential (122). The meaning is 'to let oneself have something done to oneself.' A distinct causee can occur optionally in an oblique phrase, as in (123) and (124).

(122) **Magpasagod** ka nang en daw manakem ka.
Mag–pa–sagod *ka nang en daw manakem ka.*
I.IR–CAUS–take.care 2S.ABS just CM if/when older 2S.ABS
'Just have yourself taken care of when you are elderly.'

(123) **Gapabuḷong** a naan ta duktor.
Ga–pa–buḷong *a naan ta duktor.*
I.R–CAUS–medicine 1S.ABS SPAT.DEF NABS doctor
'I am/was having myself medicated by the doctor.'

(124) **Gapaluko** ka nang imo ta yo na ittaw.
Ga–pa–luko *ka nang imo ta yo na ittaw.*
I.R–CAUS–trick 2S.ABS just EMPH NABS D4ADJ LK person
'You just let yourself be tricked by that person.'

Example (125) illustrates two instances of this "reflexive/causative" usage for two other verbs, *kita* 'to see' and *kasaḷ* 'to marry':

(125) Sabat ta pangka ya, "**Magpakita** a ta imo na mga ginikanan daw ambaḷen ko danen na **magpakasaḷ ki**."
*Sabat ta pangka ya, "****Mag–pa–kita*** *a ta imo na mga*
answer NASB frog DEF.F I.IR–CAUS–see 1S.ABS NABS 2S.GEN LK PL
ginikanan daw ambaḷ–en ko danen na ***mag–pa–kasaḷ***
parent and say–T.IR 1S.ERG 3P.ABS LK I.IR–CAUS–wedding

ki."
1P.INCL.ABS
'The frog answered, "I will **show** myself to your parents and I will tell them that we are **going to get (ourselves) wedded/married**."'
[CBWN-C-17 6.16]

10.6.2 Reflexives and reciprocals

Reflexive and Reciprocal constructions express the idea that two main participants in a scene are "the same" in some way. A *reflexive* construction is one in which the Actor (A) and an Undergoer (O) are the same entity, as in *She saw herself*. All true reflexive constructions reduce the semantic transitivity of a transitive clause by specifying that there are not two separate entities involved. Rather, one entity fulfills two semantic roles and/or grammatical relations. A prototypical *reciprocal* clause is one in which two participants equally act upon each other, for example *they saw each other*.

Certain verbs can be described as "lexical reflexives" in that, when they occur in an intransitive construction, they are automatically understood as reflexive. These are mostly "grooming" verbs, such as *langoy* 'bathe' and *arbas* 'shave':

(126) Galangoy kanen an.
Ga–langoy kanen an.
I.IR–bathe 3S.ABS DEF.M
'S/he bathed (him/herself).'

(127) Gabarbas kanen an.
Ga–barbas kanen an.
I.IR–shave 3S.ABS DEF.M
'He shaved (himself).'

Except for these lexical reflexives, and the extended use of causative morphology to express a kind of reflexive described in the previous section, most reflexive constructions in Kagayanen are syntactic. They consist of a transitive or detransitive construction with a possessed Referring Phrase headed either by *kaugalingen* 'self' or *lawa* 'body' occurring in the Undergoer role. These may either be transitive (128), or detransitive (129):

(128) Panina din **lawa din an**.
*Pa–nina din **lawa din** **an**.*
T.R–wound 3S.ERG body 3S.GEN DEF.M
'S/he wounded him/herself.' (lit. 'S/he wounded her/his own body.')

(129) Gaugas kanen ta **kaugalingen din**.

Ga–ugas kanen ta ***kaugalingen din***.
I.R–wash 3S.ABS NABS self 3S.GEN
'S/he washed her/himself.'

These examples must be understood as reflexive; the possessor of the Undergoer may not refer to a distinct person. In other words, (128) cannot mean 'S/he wounded someone else's body'. *Kaugalingen* is the dedicated reflexive nominal. *Lawa* 'physical body' is sometimes used in place of *kaugalingen*, possibly because it is shorter.

Examples (128) and (131)–(133) show that ergative case Actors may antecede absolutive case reflexive RPs. Examples (129) and (130) illustrate that an absolutive Actor (*ka* 'you') may be the antecedent for a reflexive Referring Phrase in a detransitive construction:

(130) Dili ka gid dyan magpabaya ta **imo na kaugalingen**.

Dili ka gid dyan mag–pa–baya ta ***imo na***
NEG,IR 2S.ABS INT D4LOC I.IR–CAUS–ignore NABS 2S.GEN LK
kaugalingen.
self
'Do not just ignore yourself there.' [VBWL-T-06 2.4]

The following are some additional examples of syntactic reflexives from the corpus:

(131) Reflexive RP = Absolutive (theme):
Iran nang na kaugalingen isip ya danen.

Iran nang na kaugalingen *isip ya danen.*
3P.GEN only LK self think DEF.F 3P.ERG
'Themselves only is what they think about.' [MOOE-C-01 189]

(132) Reflexive RP = Non-absolutive (addressee):
Yon ambaḷ ko ta **ake na kaugalingen** ...

Yon ambaḷ ko ta ***ake na kaugalingen*** *...*
D3ABS say 1S.ERG NABS 1S.GEN LK self
'That is what I said to myself ...' [EMWN-T-05 7.4]

(133) Reflexive RP = Absolutive (theme):
Piro gusto ko gid anay ipakilala ko **ake na kaugalingen**.

Piro gusto ko gid anay i–pa–kilala ko ***ake*** *na* ***kaugalingen****.*
but want 1S.ERG INT first/for.awhile T.DEON–CAUS–know 1S.ERG 1S.GEN LK self
'But I really want to first have to introduce myself.' (*kilala* is code switching from Tagalog.) [EMWL-T-04 4.5]

(134) Reflexive RP = Absolutive (patient):
... pirmi a nang en na pangamuyo ta Dios, "Daw anen ka pa man gapamati, tagan no ta dayad na disisyon para malibri ko pambot, malibri ko **lawa ko**."

... pirmi a nang en na ...–pangamuyo ta Dios, "Daw anen ka pa man ga–pa–mati, ∅-atag–an no ta dayad na disisyon para ma–libri ko pambot, ma–libri ko ***lawa ko****."*
always 1S.ABS only/just CM LK I.R–pray NABS God if/when EXT.G 2S.ABS INC also I.R–CAUS–hear T.IR–give–APL 2S.ERG NABS good LK decision for A.HAP.IR–free 2S.ERG motorboat A.HAP.IR–free 2S.ERG body 1S.GEN
'... I kept on praying to God, "If you are still here listening, give (me) a good decision that I may free the motorboat, I may free **myself**."' (This is a story about a fisherman whose boat was turned upside down and he was riding on the bottom of the boat still holding on to his hook and line with a big fish on it.) [EFWN-T-10 4.7]

(135) Reflexive RP = Non-absolutive (patient)
Nang Maria, mag-amblig ka ta imo na **lawa** para dili ka magmasakit daw dili man malik imo na sakit.

Nang Maria, mag-–amblig ka ta imo na ***lawa*** *para dili ka mag–ma–sakit daw dili man m–balik imo na sakit.*
older.sister Maria I.IR–be.careful/take.care 2S.ABS NABS 2S.GEN LK body for NEG.IR 2S.ABS I.IR–ADJ–sick and NEG.IR also I.V.IR–return 2S.GEN LK pain
'Older sister Maria, take care of (your) **self** so that you will not become sick and your pain will not return.' [BCWL-C-02 6.1]

Though *kaugalingen* is the dedicated reflexive nominal, there is evidence that the meaning of *lawa* is also becoming a dedicated reflexive itself. Example (136) shows that *lawa* does not always refer literally to someone's physical body.

(136) Reflexive RP = Non-absolutive (figure of speech)
Yi ni isya na liksyon ta isya na ittaw na sali ta bansag ta iya na **lawa** na dili man kasarang.
Yi ni isya na liksyon ta isya na ittaw na sali ta
D1ABS D1PR one LK lesson NABS one LK person LK always NABS
*bansag ta iya na **lawa** na dili man ka–sarang.*
nickname 3S.GEN 3S.GEN LK body LK NEG.IR also I.EXM–able
'This very thing is a lesson for a person who always is boasting of **him/herself** (lit. nicknaming him/herself) when (s/he) is not capable (of doing what s/he boasts about).' [DBWN-T-26 12.1]

Example (137) illustrates the Tagalog borrowing *sarili* 'self' used in place of *kaugalingen* or *lawa*:

(137) … dili ki magbugal ta **ate na sarili** na kiten mabiskeg…
*… dili ki mag–bugal ta **ate** **na sarili** na*
NEG.IR 1P.INCL.ABS I.IR–proud NABS 1P.INCL.GEN LK self LK
kiten ma–biskeg…
1P.INCL.ABS AR–strong
'….let's not be proud of ourselves that we are strong…' [BCWN-T-05 12.19]

Kagayanen employs morphological reciprocal constructions. The morphological reciprocal reduces semantic and grammatical transitivity by expressing a multi-argument situation in a grammatically intransitive clause. As described in Chapter 7, §7.7, there are two verb suffixes that express reciprocal constructions, *-anay* and *-ay*.

Examples (138) through (143) illustrate several prototypical examples of the reciprocal suffixes from the text corpus. Following this, some extended usages are described. A prototypical reciprocal construction involves an inherently transitive verb in a grammatically intransitive construction, with a reciprocal suffix on the verb and an Actor understood or explicited expressed as plural. The plural Actor may appear as a plural pronoun (138) or full RP (139):

(138) Dimalas na **gasugatay** danen i naan ta Puerto.
*Dimalas na **ga–sugat–ay** danen i naan ta Puerto.*
bad.luck LK I.R–meet–REC 3P.ABS DEF.N SPAT.DEF NABS Puerto
'(It was) bad luck that they met each other in Puerto.' [BEWN-T-01 5.3]

The plural Actor can also be expressed in coordinated noun phrases:

(139) **Pagkitaay** danen na tama en na mga umang, pasugiran en na kanen an daw Pwikan kisyem sellem **maglumbaay** dḷagan.

Pag–kita–ay *danen na tama en na mga umang, pa–sugid–an*
NR.ACT–see–REC 3P.ABS LK many CM LK PL hermit.crab T.R–tell–APL
en na kanen an daw Pwikan kisyem sellem ***mag–lumba–ay***
CM LK 3S.ABS DEF.M and sea.turtle tomorrow morning I.IR–race–REC
dḷagan.
run
'When he and many hermit crabs met, (he) told (them) that he and Sea-turtle tomorrow morning would race each other running.' [JCON-L-08 19.4]

Notice the first word in example (139) carries the reciprocal suffix *-ay* and also the action nominalization prefix *pag-* (see Chapter 3, §3.3.11). The sense of this action nominalization is "seeing each other", or "meeting together". Examples (140) and (141) illustrate the same verb with the reciprocal suffix as the main predicator of the clause:

(140) Uyi **kitaay** danen ta iya na sawa paagi man ta kaḷat nang.

*U–yi …–****kita–ay*** *danen ta iya na sawa paagi man*
EMPH–D1ABS I.R–see–REC 3P.ABS NABS 3S.GEN LK spouse by.means too
ta kaḷat nang.
NABS rope only
'These ones, he and his spouse met/saw each other by means of just a rope…' (His wife lowered a rope out her window and they eloped.) [MBON-T-07a 13.1]

(141) Mam, taan sadya kaw pirmi tak **gakitaay** kaw ta inyo na mga utod daw arey.

Mam, taan sadya kaw pirmi tak ***ga–kita–ay*** *kaw ta*
Ma'am maybe happy 2P.ABS always because I.IR–see–REC 2P.ABS NABS
inyo na mga utod daw arey.
2P.GEN LK PL sibling and friend
'Ma'am, maybe you are always happy because you and your siblings and friends are seeing each other.' [AFWL-L-014.2]

Reciprocal constructions are very productive and common. The following are some additional examples from the corpus:

(142) Dili **mag–agaway** ta mga pagkaan.

Dili ***mag–agaw–ay*** *ta* *mga pagkaan.*
NEG.IR I.IR–grab–REC NABS PL food
'Don't grab food from each other.' [ETOP-C-10 2.4]

(143) Paambaḷ na tangkeban, sura din, may darwa na bato na **gatubangay** na may kulor na gainog-inog.

Pa–ambaḷ na tangkeb–an, sura din, *may* *darwa na bato na*
T.R–say LK close–NR looks 3S.GEN EXT.IN two LK rock LK
ga–tubang–ay *na may* *kulor na ga–inog~-inog.*[12]
I.R–facing–REC LK EXT.IN color LK I.R–RED~red
'What is called *tangkeban*, it looks like two rocks that have a reddish color **facing each other**.' [EFWE-T-05 3.1]

Reduplication may co-occur with a reciprocal suffix:

(144) Daw danen gampang dili **magtangayaw-tangayaway** … Dili **makagat-kagatay**.

Daw *danen* *ga–ampang* *dili* ***mag–tangayaw~-tangayaw–ay*** *…*
if/when 3P.ABS I.R–play NEG.IR I.IR–RED–say.bad.things–REC
Dili ***ma–kagat~-kagat–ay.***
NEG.IR A.HAP.IR–RED–bite–REC
'When they are playing together, (they) **will not keep saying bad things to each other**… (They) **will not keep biting each other**.' [LBOP-C-04 1.2–3]

(145) Gaampang danen daw **galagas-lagasay** danen naan ta suba …

Ga–ampang *danen* *daw* ***ga–lagas~-lagas–ay*** *danen* *naan* *ta*
I.R–play 3P.ABS and I.R–RED~chase–REC 3P.ABS SPAT.DEF NABS
suba …
river
'They were playing and they kept chasing each other in the river …' [CBWN 6.2]

The following are two non-prototypical usages of the reciprocal suffix. These uses do not occur in the corpus, but are often heard in conversation. First, the

[12]The usual root meaning 'red' is *minog*. Sometimes the form is *inog*, especially when reduplicated, as in this example, in which case it means 'reddish' or 'getting red' as a red fruit when ripening.

suffix *-ay* can express "mutual action", that is, a group of people doing an action together over a period of time, though not necessarily acting on each other:

(146) **Gasayaway** mga bai naan ta balkon.
Ga–sayaw–ay *mga bai naan ta balkon.*
I.R–dance–REC PL woman SPAT.DEF NABS porch
'The women danced together (as a group but not as dance partners) on the porch.'

(147) **Gainemay** mga mama naan ta balkon.
Ga–inem–ay *mga mama naan ta balkon.*
I.R–drink–REC PL man SPAT.DEF NABS porch
'The men drank together for some time on the porch.'

(148) Ta buḷan ta Nobyembre 1988 ta mga bagyo na **gasunod-sunuray** alos galibeg uḷo ta mga ittaw di tak naubusan kay ta beggas.
Ta buḷan ta Nobyembre 1988 ta mga bagyo na
NABS month/moon NABS November 1988 NABS PL typhoon LK
ga–sunod~-sunod–ay *alos ga–libeg uḷo ta mga ittaw di*
I.R–RED~follow–REC almost I.R–worry head NABS PL person D1LOC
tak na–ubus–an kay ta beggas.
because A.HAP.R–use.up–APL 1P.EXCL.ABS NABS milled.rice
'In the month of November, 1988, because of typhoons that kept **following one after another**, mostly people here were worried because we ran out of rice.' [EMWL-T-03 7.2]

(149) **Gaeḷes-eḷesay** kami ta kanta.
Ga–eḷes~-eḷes–ay *kami ta kanta.*
I.R–RED~take.turns–REC 1P.EXCL.ABS NABS sing
'We keep taking turns singing.'

(150) **Gaeḷes-eḷesay** kami ta bayo.
Ga–eḷes~-eḷes–ay *kami ta bayo.*
I.R–RED~borrow–REC 1P.EXCL.ABS NABS clothes
'We keep borrowing each other's clothes.' (lit. 'We keep on taking turns with clothes.')

Finally, the reciprocal may be used in a special sense when only one participant is acting (151–156). The free translations of these examples somewhat capture

the sense of what this construction expresses, though they are not very literal. A literal translation of (151) would be something like "That is dancing of the woman with each other." The idea is that the woman is dancing so well or vigorously that it seems as though there are several women dancing together. This is a very productive construction that can involve all kinds of actions and participants.

(151) Nyan na **sayaway** ta bai an!
*Nyan na **sayaw–ay** ta bai an.*
D2ABS LK dance–REC NABS woman DEF.M
'Wow! Look at the woman dance!'

(152) Nyan na **ampangay** ta bata an!
*Nyan na **ampang–ay** ta bata an.*
D2ABS LK play–REC NABS child DEF.M
'Wow! Look at the child play!'

(153) Nyan na **layugay** ta yupan an!
*Nyan na **layog–ay** ta yupan an.*
D2ABS LK fly–REC NABS bird DEF.M
'Wow! Look at the bird fly!'

(154) Nyan na **kantaay** ta mama an na ingaw!
*Nyan na **kanta–ay** ta mama an na ingaw.*
D2ABS LK sing–REC NABS man DEF.M LK drunk
'Wow! Look at the drunk man sing!'

(155) Nyan na **kantaay** ta bata an!
*Nyan na **kanta–ay** ta bata an.*
D2ABS LK sing–REC NABS chld DEF.M
'Wow! Look at the child sing!'

(156) Nyan na **basaay** ta libro bata an!
*Nyan na **basa–ay** ta libro bata an.*
D2ABS LK read–REC NABS book chld DEF.M
'Wow! Look at the child reading books!'

11 Pragmatically marked structures

11.1 Introduction

Up to this point we have been concerned primarily with Kagayanen constructions whose prototypical function is to express affirmative assertions in compact information packages (see, e.g., Chafe 1976 on information packaging in discourse). In this chapter we will describe several constructions that deviate from this prototype in one way or another, and so may be characterized as "pragmatically marked" (Payne 1997: 261–305). First we will describe various types of negation (§11.2). Then we will discuss non-declarative speech acts (§11.3), that is, constructions whose functions are to elicit information (interrogative constructions, §11.3.1 and §11.3.2), and those whose primary function is to encourage or direct other people to act (imperative constructionss, §11.3.3). Next, we will discuss several pragmatically marked construction types that are used to ascribe different types of special prominence to parts of a clause (§11.4). These include argument fronting (§11.4.1), special discourse particles (§11.4.2), and cleft constructions (§11.4.3). Finally, we discuss certain interjections (§11.5) and the general pro-form *kwa* 'thingamajig' (§11.6).

11.2 Negative constructions

There are two particles in Kagayanen that express clausal negation. *Uḷa* negates existential clauses and clauses in realis modalities (§11.2.1). *Dili* negates non-verbal clauses other than existentials, individual words, and clauses in irrealis modalities (§11.2.2). These particles may be considered adjunct adverbs, as discussed in Chapter 4, §4.7.2. Like all adjunct adverbs, both negative particles attract second-position enclitics and clitic pronouns.

11.2.1 Realis negative: *uḷa*

The adjunct adverb *uḷa* negates verbal clauses in realis moods (examples 1–8). Like other preverbal adjunct adverbs, *uḷa* attracts second position adverbs and

enclitics. In examples (1) and (2), the ergative enclitic pronouns *din* and *ko* follow *uḷa*. In example (3) both *din* and the referential expression *kami i* follow *uḷa*:

(1) Mangngod din ya a **uḷa** din gid tagi.
*Mangngod din ya a **uḷa** din gid ...–atag–i.*
younger.sibling 3S.ERG DEF.F CTR NEG.R 3S.ERG INT T.R–give–XC.APL
'His younger sibling he did not give (him anything)!' [RBWN-T-02 2. 8]

(2) ... nademdeman ko inay daw amay ko na **uḷa** ko pamatian iran na ambaḷ.
*... na–demdem–an ko inay daw amay ko na **uḷa** ko pa–mati–an iran na ambaḷ.*
A.HAP.R–remember–APL 1S.ERG mother and father 1S.GEN LK NEG.R 1S.ERG T.R–hear–APL 3P.GEN LK say
'... I remembered my mother and father, that I did not obey what they said.' [PMWN-T-02 2.13]

(3) Salamat nang man ta Dios tak **uḷa** din kami i patandega.
*Salamat nang man ta Dios tak **uḷa** din kami i pa–tandeg–a.*
thank only EMPH NABS God because NEG.R 3S.ERG 1P.EXCL.ABS DEF.N T.R–touch–XC
'Thanks to God also because he did not touch us!' (This is a text about an attack by pirates.) [BCWN-C-04 5.4]

Examples (4) through (8) illustrate various second-position adverbs following *uḷa*:

(4) Duma an **uḷa** man gatanem ta guso.
*Duma an **uḷa** man ga–tanem ta guso.*
some DEF.M NEG.R EMPH T.R–plant NABS seaweed
'Some do not really plant agar-agar seaweed.' [ETOP-C-08 3.12]

(5) ... daw **uḷa** din en nakita yo na mga kabaw daw mga lengngessa.
*... daw **uḷa** din en na–kita yo na mga kabaw daw mga lengngessa*
and NEG.R 3S.ERG CM A.HAP.R–see D4ABS LK PL water.buffalo and PL blood
'...and he did not see those water buffalo and blood.' [PBWN-C-13 11.5]

(6) Tapos asta anduni **uḷa** pa man danen pakamang iran na mga order tak **uḷa** kon danen kwarta…

Tapos asta anduni ***uḷa*** *pa man danen pa–kamang iran na*
then until now/today NEG.R INC EMPH 3P.ERG T.R–get 3P.ERG LK
mga order tak ***uḷa*** *kon danen kwarta …*
PL order because NEG.R HSY 3P.ABS money
'Then even until now/today they did not yet get what they ordered because they say they have no money …' [AFWL-L-01 5.13]

(7) Tama a man nailingan na mga lugar na **uḷa** ko pa nailingan.

Tama a man na–iling–an na mga lugar na ***uḷa*** *ko pa*
many 1S.ABS EMPH A.HAP.R–GO–APL LK PL place LK NEG.R 1S.ERG INC
na–iling–an.
A.HAP.R–GO–APL
'There are many places I have gone (lit. I have many gone-to places) that I had not yet gone to.' [SLWN-C-01 10.3]

When a noun or pronoun is replaced with the existential *may* (see Chapter 5, §5.5), the clause contains both *uḷa* and *may*:

(8) Pila kon bisis tilipunuan danen piro **uḷa may gasabat**.

Pila kon bisis tilipuno-an danen piro ***uḷa*** ***may*** ***ga-sabat****.*
few HSY times telephone–APL 3P.ERG but NEG.R EXT.IN I.R–answer
'A few times they telephoned (him/her) but no one answered.' [PBWL-T-07 3.3]

Uḷa replaces the existential particles *may* and *anen* (see Chapter 5, §5.5) in negative existential clauses:

(9) **Uḷa** kan-en gid tak **uḷa** ittaw dya i.

Uḷa *kan-en gid tak* ***uḷa*** *ittaw dya i.*
NEG.R cooked.rice INT because NEG.R person D4LOC ATT
'There is really no cooked rice because there are no people there.' [MOOE-C-01 5]

11.2.2 Irrealis negative: *dili*

The form *dili* negates all types of irrealis clauses (examples 10–15):

(10) Daw balikiren ko kanen ya, **dili** ko man nya makita.

daw balikid–en ko kanen ya, ***dili*** *ko man nya*
if/when look.back–T.IR 1S.ERG 3S.ABS DEF.F NEG.IR 1S.ERG also D4ABS
ma–kita
A.HAP.IR–see
'If I look back at him/her, I will not be able to see that one.' [JCON-T-08 42.4]

(11) **Dili** kay gid magsagbak, Sir.

dili *kay gid mag–sagbak, sir*
NEG.IR 1P.EXCL.ABS INT I.IR–noisy sir
'We really will not be noisy, Sir.' [SFOB-L-01 3.4]

(12) Piro daw kapatay ka man **dili** a makatabang ki kaon.

Piro daw ka–patay ka man ***dili*** *a maka–tabang ki*
but if/when I.EXM–kill 2S.ABS also NEG.IR 1S.ABS I.HAP.IR–help OBL.P
kaon.'
2S
'But if you happened to kill someone, I cannot help you.' [RBON-T-01 2.7]

(13) Nyan en ambaḷ ko lecture ko ta mga bataan ko na **dili** nyo gid labien duma na ittaw daw labien nyo gid utod nyo.

Nyan en ambaḷ ko lecture ko ta mga bata–an ko na
D2ABS CM say 1S.ERG lecture 1S.ERG NABS PL child–NR 1S.GE LK
dili *nyo gid labi–en duma na ittaw daw labi–en nyo*
NEG.IR 2P.ERG INT favor–T.IR other LK person if/when favor–T.IR 2P.ERG
gid utod nyo.
INT sibling 2P.GEN
'That is what I say, I lecture to my children that you do not ever favor other people and you really favor your own sibling(s).' [RBON-T-01 7.1]

(14) Tama na mga ittaw na gambaḷ na **dili** gid kon madayon ame na kasaḷ tak basi **dili** a kon kapanaw.

Tama na mga ittaw na ga–ambaḷ na ***dili*** *gid kon ma–dayon*
many LK PL person LK I.R–say LK NEG.IR INT HSY A.HAP.IR–continue
ame na kasaḷ tak basi ***dili*** *a kon*
1P.EXCL.GEN LK wedding because maybe NEG.IR 1S.ABS HSY

ka–panaw.
I.EXM–go/walk
'Many people said that our wedding should not really continue because maybe I could not walk.' [VAWN-T-163.4]

(15) Ambaḷ ko, "Daw may tirador ka dyan **dili** no tiraduron tak yan, yupan i, yan gatabyang ta ate na uma daw tanto na danen i makakaan ta luod."
Ambaḷ ko, "Daw may tirador ka dyan ***dili*** *no*
say 1S.ERG if/when EXT.IN slingshot 2S.ABS D2LOC NEG.IR 2S.ERG
tirador–en tak yan, yupan i, yan ga–tabyang ta
slingshot–T.IR because D2ABS bird DEF.N D2ABS I.R–help NABS
ate na uma daw tanto na danen i maka–kaan ta
1P.INCL.GEN LK field and reason.why LK 3P.ABS DEF.N I.HAP.IR–eat NABS
luod."
worm
'I said, "If you have a slingshot there, do not shoot (it) with the slingshot because that one, the bird, that one helps our fields and for the reason they can eat worms."' [MEWN-T-02 3.2]

The form *dili* also negates predicate nominal and other non-verbal predicates, except existentials (see the functions of *uḷa* above). With non-verbal clauses the negative marker occurs before the Predicate, in both Predicate+Argument (exs. 16 through 18) and Argument+Predicate structures (exs. 19 and 20).

(16) ... **dili** man kon pelles angin an.
... ***dili*** *man kon pelles angin an.*
NEG.IR also HSY strong wind DEF.M
' ... the wind was not even strong, they say.' [EMWN-T-06 5.3]

(17) **Dili** maklaro agi din ya daw indi gagi.
Dili *ma–klaro agi din ya daw indi ga–agi.*
NEG.IR ADJ–clear path 3S.GEN DEF.F if/when where I.R–path
'His path is not clear where he went.' [RCON-L-01 5.5]

(18) **Dili** keḷeng buok din an.
Dili *keḷeng buok din an.*
NEG.IR curly shair 3S.GEN DEF.M
'Her hair is not curly.' [CBOE-C-01 1.13]

(19) Isya din na mari a maḷbaḷ daw isya ya a **dili** maḷbaḷ.
Isya din na mari a maḷbaḷ daw isya ya a ***dili*** *maḷbaḷ.*
one 3SGEN LK godmother INJ witch and one DEF.F INJ NEG.IR witch
'One of her godmothers is a witch and the (other) one is not a witch.' [CBWN-C-13 3.2]

(20) Paryo ta makay ta lunday, "manaog" **dili** man igo.
Paryo ta m–sakay ta lunday, "m–panaog"
like NABS I.V.IR–ride NABS outrigger.canoe I.V.IR–go.down.stairs
dili *man igo.*
NEG.IR also right
'Like riding an outrigger canoe, "*manaog*" (going down stairs) is not right.' (This is about the words *makay ta lunday*, which do not collocate with *manaog* 'go down stairs' because the verb should be *mawas* 'disembark'.) [RCON-L-03 21.12]

Like other adjunct adverbs, *dili* attracts enclitic pronouns (21) and second-position adverbs(22).

(21) Dayon a ambaḷ, "Pedro, **dili a** lain na ittaw."
Dayon a ambaḷ, "Pedro, ***dili a*** *lain na ittaw."*
right.away 1S.ABS say Pedro NEG.IR 1S.ABS different LK person
'Right away I said, "Pedro, I am not a different/another person."' [EFWN-T-11 15.5]

(22) … **dili pa** yaken sagad.
… ***dili pa*** *yaken sagad.*
NEG.IR INC 1S.ABS skillful
'… I am not yet skillful.' [MAWL-C-03 8.1]

11.2.3 Constituent negation

Constituent negation is a clause type in which a constituent of a clause is negated, rather than the clause itself. Examples in English include:

(23) No-one arrived.
Not many people attended the party.
She planted no trees.
None of our students received an award.

Examples of constituent negation in Kagayanen can always be interpreted as cleft constructions (see §11.4.3). This is because Kagayanen employs no copula in predicate nominal constructions. Thus a sentence like "She planted no trees" can always be understood literally as "No trees are what she planted". Not surprisingly, then, *dili* is used in such contexts, since clefts are a kind of predicate nominal construction:

(24) Yi **dili** nyog tanem din. Iya a mangga.

Yi ***dili*** *nyog tanem din. Iya a mangga.*
D1ABS NEG.IR coconut plant 3S.ERG 3S.GEN CTR mango

'These ones (the parents), what they planted was not coconut. As for them, (what they planted was) mango.'[1] [SFOB-L-01 5.2]

(25) Anduni uḷa gapati mga ittaw tak **dili** Apo Kagiyaw gibit ta angin i daw dili, ate na Maal na Dios.

Anduni uḷa ga–pati mga ittaw tak ***dili*** *Apo Kagiyaw*
now/today NEG.R I.R–believe PL person because NEG.IR Apo Kagiyaw
ga–ibit ta angin i daw dili,[2] *ate na Maal na*
I.R–hold NABS wind/air DEF.N if/when NEG.IR 1P.INCL.ERG LK beloved LK
Dios.
God

'Now/today people do not believe (it) because it is not Ancestor Kagiyaw holding the wind but rather, our Beloved God (holds the wind).' [VAWN-T-17 5.2]

(26) Dili magtakaw ta **dili** imo na ampangan.

Dili mag–takaw ta ***dili*** *imo na ampang–an.*
NEG.IR I.IR–steal NABS NEG.IR 2S.GEN LK play–NR

'Do not steal what is not your play thing.' [LBOP-C-04 1.4]

[1] In this narrative, the speaker uses singular pronouns (*din*, *iya*) to refer to two people, parents, who acted together. This is a common discourse usage.

[2] *Daw dili* is an idiomatic expression translated freely in English as "but rather." The following elliptical clause is affirmative in every respect.

(27) Pakaan danen iran **dili** iling na beggas daw **dili** bunga ta kaoy na mga kan-enen na dili makilo.

Pa–kaan danen iran ***dili*** *iling na beggas daw* ***dili*** *bunga*
T.R–eat 3P.ERG 3P.GEN NEG.IR like LK milled.rice if/when NEG.IR fruit
ta kaoy na mga kan-en–en na dili ma–kilo.
NABS tree LK PL cooked.rice–T.IR LK NEG.IR A.HAP.IR–kilogram
'What they ate was not like rice but rather, fruit of trees which was food that cannot be weighed.' [PTOE-T-01 3.5]

The following is a riddle containing two negative predicate nominal constructions:

(28) **Dili** ittaw. **Dili** ayep. Naḷam mambaḷ ta maskin ino. Radyo.

Dili *ittaw.* ***Dili*** *ayep. Na–aḷam m–ambaḷ ta maskin*
NEG.IR person NEG.IR animal A.HAP.R–know I.V.IR–say NABS even
ino. Radyo.
what radio
'(It is) not a person. (It is) not an animal. (It) knows how to say anything. Radio.' [MRWR-T-01 22.1]

Adverbs may be negated, even if the main predicate is not negated. This is also a context for the use of *dili*:

(29) Tapos uḷa din tuturi lampraan tak ambaḷ ta mga manakem **dili** kon anay tuturan lampraan daw narem.

Tapos uḷa din ...–tutod–i lampraan tak ambaḷ ta mga
then NEG.R 3S.ERG T.R–light–XC.APL lamp because say NABS PL
manakem ***dili*** *kon anay Ø–tutod–an lampraan daw*
older NEG.IR HSY first/for.a.while T.IR–light–APL lamp if/when
narem.
sleep.paralysis
'Then he did not light the lamp because the older people say do not first light the lamp if/when (someone) has sleep paralysis.' [ETON-C-07 4.4]

In this example, *dili* in the second clause negates the adverb *anay* 'first/for awhile'. The older people do say to light the lamp when someone has sleep paralysis, but you are not supposed to light the lamp first. You must wake the person up first, then light the lamp.

(30) **Dili** nay gid pirmi buat na iling tan.

Dili *nay gid pirmi buat na iling tan.*
NEG.IR 1P.EXCL.ERG INT always make/do LK like D3NABS
'We really do not always do like that.' (elicited – a variation of example 33)

(31) **Dili** ko enged naisturbuan ka ta imo na pagtunuga…

Dili *ko enged na–isturbo–an ka ta imo na*
NEG.IR 1S.ERG intentionally A.HAP.R–disturb–APL 2S.ABS NABS 2S.GEN LK
pag–tunuga…
NR.ACT–sleep
'I did not intentionally disturb you in your sleeping….' (The mouse passed by the lion waking him up, though the mouse didn't intend to disturb him.) [BCWN-T-05 1:4]

(32) … ingkantado i **dili** gulpi mag-atag ta masakit.

… ingkantado i ***dili*** *gulpi mag–-atag ta masakit.*
fairy DEF.N NEG.IR suddenly I.IR–give NABS sick
'… fairies do not suddenly give sickness.' (It is believed that fairies can give sickness but it is gradual not sudden) [CBWE-T-07 4.1]

(33) Yon buat nay kaysan piro **dili** gid man pirmi.

Yon buat nay kaysan piro ***dili*** *gid man pirmi.*
D3ABS do/make 1P.EXCL.ERG sometimes but NEG.IR INT EMPH always
'That is what we do sometimes but not really always.' [EMWE-T-01 3.6]

A time phrase may also be negated with *dili*. This is similar to constituent negation in that such clauses may always be considered a kind of predicate nominal. In the following examples, the negated time phrase is bolded in the English free translation:

(34) Gambaḷ danen na pagtakaw tak beet ambaḷen dili pa pwidi lungien tak ilaw pa o **dili** pa oras ta lungi.

Ga–ambaḷ danen na pag–takaw tak beet ambaḷ–en dili pa
I.R–say 3P.ABS LK NR.ACT–steal because means say–T.IR NEG.IR INC
pwidi lungi–en tak ilaw pa o ***dili*** *pa oras ta*
can harvest–T.IR because unripe INC or NEG.IR INC time/hour NABS

lungi.
harvest
'They said 'stealing' because it means to say that (the corn) can't yet be harvested because (it is) not yet ripe or **(it is) not yet time for harvesting corn**.' [VAOE-J-07 4.5]

(35) Magbata kanen ta **dili** iya na oras.
Mag–bata kanen ta ***dili*** *iya na oras.*
I.IR–child 3S.ABS NABS NEG.IR 3S.GEN LK time/hour
'She gave birth when **(it was) not yet her time**.' [VAOE-J-05 1.3]

(36) Piro **dili** man tanan-tanan na oras makailing ka na danen an miad iran na isip daw dili kaysan masinawayen gid man.
Piro ***dili*** *man tanan~-tanan na oras maka–iling ka na*
but NEG.IR also RED~all LK time/hour I.HAP.IR–say 2S.ABS LK
danen an miad iran na isip daw dili kaysan
3P.ABS DEF.M good/kind 3P.GEN LK think if/when NEG.IR sometimes
ma–s<in>away–en gid man.
ADJ–<nr.res>correct–ADJ INT also
'But **not all the time** can you say that as for them their thinking is good/kind but rather sometimes (their character) really is to be corrected.' [EMWE-T-01 3.2]

Prepositional phrases (bolded in the free translations) may also be negated with *dili*:

(37) A yan, **dili** nang para ki kiten anduni.
A yan, ***dili*** *nang para ki kiten anduni.*
INJ D2ABS NEG.IR only for OBL.P 1P.INCL now/today
'(Expression of dismay) as for that, **(it is) not just for us now/today**.' [EFOB-C-01 6.8]

(38) Magtanem ki ta kaoy na **dili** para nang ki kiten anduni.
Mag–tanem ki ta kaoy na ***dili*** *para nang ki kiten*
I.IR–plant 1P.INCL.ABS NABS tree LK NEG.IR for only OBL.P 1P.INCL
anduni.
now/today
'Let's plant trees **not just for us now/today**.' (elicited, variation of 37)

It is also possible to negate one constituent within a noun phrase. For example, in (39), only the modifier *segeng* 'extreme' is negated. The assertion is that the Actor indeed had asthma attacks in former years but they weren't as extreme as the current one.

(39) Piro duma ya na galambay ya na tinaon **dili** pa gid segeng na pag-ataki ta apo.
Piro duma ya na ga–lambay ya na t<in>aon ***dili*** *pa gid*
but other DEF.F LK I.R–pass.by DEF.F LK <<NR.RES>year NEG.IR INC INT
segeng na pag-–ataki ta apo.
extreme LK NR.ACT–attack NABS asthma
'But in other past years (they were) not yet very severe attacks of asthma.' [JCWN-T-22 2.2]

(40) Sakit mata minog na daon i na giting-giting na **dili** gid ḷapad.
Sakit mata minog na daon i na giting-giting na ***dili*** *gid ḷapad.*
pain eye red LK leaf DEF.N LK scalloped LK NEG.IR INT wide
'For painful eyes, (use) the red leaf that is scalloped, that is not very wide.' [DBOE-C-04 11.1]

One constituent in an attributive clause can also be negated with *dili*. In example (41) the meaning is that the governing is very bad:

(41) Iya na panggubirno ta mga ittaw sikad gid na **dili** usto.
Iya na pang–gubirno ta mga ittaw sikad gid na ***dili*** *usto.*
3S.GEN LK NR–governor NABS PL person very INT LK NEG.IR well/right
'His governing of people was very much not right.' [BEWN-T-01 2.8]

Example (42) is a variation of (41), in which *dili* is placed at the beginning of the predicate modifier. In this case, the meaning is 'not very good', that is, not as bad as in example (41).

(42) Iya na panggubirno ta mga ittaw **dili** sikad gid na usto.
Iya na pang–gubirno ta mga ittaw ***dili*** *sikad gid na usto.*
3S.GEN LK NR–governor NABS PL person NEG.IR very INT LK well/right
'His governing of people was not really very right.'

Negated hypothetical assertions and assertions that are negative for all times are also often expressed with the predicating verb in an action nominal form with *pag-* (see Chapter 3, §3.3.11) and sometimes with the nominalizing suffix *-én* or the applicative suffix *-an*.

(43) Daw gaumaw isya na manakem **dili pagsabatén** na ee tak magilek.
*Daw ga–umaw isya na manakem **dili** **pag–sabat–én** na ee*
if/when I.R–call one LK older NEG.IR NR.ACT–answer–NR LK yes
tak ma–gilek.
because A.HAP.IR–angry
'When an older person calls (you) do not answer 'yes', because (s/he) will become angry.' (lit. (Your) answering is not "yes") [LBOP-C-04 1.6]

(44) … Gapangako ki na dili ta **pagtakkarén** ta basak ate na bata.
*… Ga–pangako ki na dili ta **pag–takkad–én***
I.R–promise 1P.INCL.ABS LK NEG.IR 1P.LINCL.GEN NR.ACT–step.on–NR
ta basak ate na bata.
NABS ground 1P.INCL.GEN LK child
''…We promised that we will **not let our child step** on the ground.' [CBWN-C-14 2.8]

(45) Pamikawan bata an aged magdayad pagdako din an, dili maagian ta lain na lawa, **dili pag-ikawan** ta iya na pangabui daw dili mapintasan ta duma.
Pa–mikaw–an bata an aged mag–dayad pag–dako
T.R–food.sacrifice–APL child DEF.M so.that I.IR–good NR.ACT–large
*din an, dili ma–agi–an ta lain na lawa, **dili***
3S.GEN DEF.M NEG.IR A.HAP.IR–pass–APL NABS bad LK body NEG.IR
***pag–-ikaw–an** ta iya na pangabui daw dili*
NR.ACT–curse–APL NABS 3S.GEN LK living if/when NEG.IR
ma–pintas–an ta duma.
A.HAP.IR–hurt–APL NABS other
'Food sacrifice is done for the child (first born son) so that his/her becoming big will be good, (he) cannot experience a bad body (sickness), (his) life **will not ever be cursed** and others cannot hurt (him).' [JCWE-T-16 2.4]

(46) … daw gasumpa kanen na **dili din kon paglipatan** yo na dḷaga.
*… daw ga–sumpa kanen na **dili** **din** **kon pag–lipat–an** yo*
and I.R–vow 3S.ABS LK NEG.IR 3S.GEN HSY NR.ACT–forget–APL D4ABS
na dḷaga.
LK single.woman
'… and he vowed that **he will not ever forget** that single woman.' [CBWN-C-14 5.9]

Example (47) expresses approximately the same meaning, but with a negated verb inflected in irrealis mood rather than an action nominalization. The same usage appears twice in (44) above (unhighlighted), in irrealis happenstantial modalities:

(47) … daw gasumpa kanen na **dili din kon lipatan** yo na dḷaga.
*… daw ga–sumpa kanen na **dili** **din** **kon** **∅–lipat–an** yo na*
and I.R–vow 3S.ABS LK NEG.IR 3S.GEN HSY T.IR–forget–APL D4ABS LK
dḷaga.
single.woman
'… and he vowed that **he will not forget** that single woman.'

(48) Manang **dili no lipatan** ake na penpal.
*Manang **dili** **no** **∅–lipat–an** ake na penpal.*
older.sister NEG.IR 2S.GEN T.IR–forget–APL 1S.GEN LK pen.pal
'Older sister **do not forget** my pen pal.' (This does not mean to always not forget her pen pal but it means to not forget to get a pen pal for her now.) [BCWL-C-01 3.25]

Some stative predicates only occur with *dili*; they cannot occur with *uḷa* even in realis moods. Such predicates include *gusto* 'to want/like' followed by a complement clause, *kinangḷan* 'necessary' with a complement clause, *dapat* 'must' with complement clauses, and others:

(49) Piro **dili ko gusto** na magsawa ki kaon…
*Piro **dili** **ko** **gusto** na mag–sawa ki kaon…*
but NEG.IR 1S.ERG want/like LK I.IR–spouse OBL.P 2S
'But **I do not want** to marry you …' [CBWN-C-17 3.21]
*Piro uḷa ko gusto na magsawa ki kaon.

(50) **Dili kinangḷan** na kiten magtanem unduni daan…
***Dili** **kinangḷan** na kiten mag–tanem unduni daan…*
NEG.IR necessary LK 1P.INCL.ABS I.IR–plant now/today ahead.of.time
'**It is not necessary** that we plant now/today ahead of time…' [ROOB-T-01 10.17]
*Uḷa kinangḷan na kiten magtanem unduni daan...

(51) **Dili ki dapat** na magbeḷag…

Dili ki dapat *na mag–beḷag…*
NEG.IR 1P.INCL.ABS must LK I.IR–separate
'**We must not** separate…' [EMWN-T-09 5.16]
*Uḷa ki dapat na magbelag tak.

11.2.4 Rhetorical confirmation, *di ba*

The expression *di ba* (a short form of *dili* 'NEG.IR' plus the common Philippine question particle *ba*) can occur clause-initially to indicate rhetorical confirmation (exs. 52–54). As mentioned in §11.5, in Kagayanen *ba* alone is a marker of rhetorical questions, irony, or sarcasm. By using *di ba* the speaker asserts something that s/he thinks is true or maybe not completely sure about and wants the addressee to consider it carefully or to confirm it as true. The assumed response to such expressions is "yes." *Di ba* may also occur in second position, or clause finally with approximately the same effect – a full discourse study would be needed to fully understand any nuances associated with the different possible positions for *di ba*. Examples of tag questions with *di ba* are given below in §11.3.1.

(52) **Di ba**, gambaḷ ka na dumaan a no?

Di ba, *ga–ambaḷ ka* *na ∅–duma–an* *a* *no?*
isn't.it.right I.R–say 2S.ABS LK T.IR–accompany–APL 1S.ABS 2S.ERG
'Isn't it right, you said you will accompany me?'

(53) Piro **di ba**, ta pagtabas daw ta paglimpyo kinangḷan gid na listo ka…

Piro ***di ba,*** *ta* *pag–tabas* *daw ta* *pag–limpyo* *kinangḷan*
but isn't.it.right NABS NR.ACT–cut and NABS NR.ACT–clean necessary
gid na listo ka…
INT LK alert 2S.ABS
'But isn't it right, when cutting (weeds) and in cleaning it is necessary that you are alert/aware…'[VBWE-T-04 2.4]

(54) **Di ba**, pugya yaken i, sawa a no?

Di ba, *pugya* *yaken i,* *sawa* *a* *no?*
isn't.it.right long.ago 1S.ABS DEF.N spouse 1S.ABS 2S.GEN
'Isn't it right, long ago as for me, I am your spouse.' (edited for clarity) [PBON-T-01 2.23]

Also: ***Di ba**, pugya yaken i sawa a no?*
*Pugya, **di ba**, yaken i, sawa a no?*
*Pugya yaken i, sawa a no, **di ba**?*

(55) Duma na ambaḷ na Kagayanen, **di ba,** dili masuḷat?

*Duma na ambaḷ na Kagayanen, **di ba,** dili ma–suḷat?*
some LK word LK Kagayanen isn't.it.right NEG.IR A.HAP.IR–write
'Some Kagayanen words, isn't it right, cannot be written?' [MOOE-C-01 28.2]'

Duma na ambaḷ na Kagayanen dili masuḷat **di ba?*

11.3 Non-declarative speech acts

The term "declarative" in traditional grammar refers to clause types that speakers use to express information. Often the term "declarative mood" will be found in the literature. In this grammar, and in linguistics in general, this sense of the word "declarative" does not describe a mood at all (see Chapter 6, §6.5.2 on the expression of modality in Kagayanen). Rather, in the tradition of speech act theory, the term *assertion* most closely approximates the traditional notion of declarative mood. An assertion is a kind of speech act speakers perform when they want to express information to other people (see e.g. Searle 1969). This is a very common task that people perform using language, therefore assertions are usually the most common construction types in any language. Up to now, most of the examples and discussion in this grammar have dealt with declarative assertions. In this section we will describe some grammatical construction types that are used primarily to accomplish other, non-declarative, speech acts. These speech acts include requesting information (*interrogative constructions*), and requesting or commanding action (*imperative constructions*).

11.3.1 Polar (yes/no) questions

Polar, or "yes/no", questions are interrogative clauses for which the expected answer is either 'yes' or 'no'. In Kagayanen, polar questions have the same syntax as assertions. The only difference between an assertion and a yes/no question is that assertions typically have falling intonation at the end of the sentence and yes/no questions have rising intonation at the end. This rising intonation is indicated in the orthography, and in this grammar, with a question mark:

(56) Pagtapos, guli kanen i daw painsaan ta manakem i na, "**Guli ka man dayon**?"

Pag–tapos, ga–uli kanen i daw pa–insa–an ta
NR.ACT–finish I.R–go.home 3S.ABS DEF.N and T.R–ask–APL NABS
*manakem i na, "**Ga–uli ka man dayon**?"*
older DEF.N LK I.R–go.home 2S.ABS EMPH immediately
'Afterwards, he went home and the older person asked (him), "Did you come home immmediately?"' (The older man was surprised that he came back home so soon.) [NEWN-T-07 6.3]

Yes/no questions can be identified also by the context. The following are some additional examples from the corpus.

(57) Isya man na gatindir ta yi na palumba, paambaḷan din, "Pwikan, **anda ka en?**" Sabat ta Pwikan, "Ee." Dason painsaan man Umang i, "Umang, **anda ka en ta inyo na palumbaanay?**" Sabat man ta Umang, "Ee, anda aren en."

Isya man na ga–tindir ta yi na pa–lumba, pa–ambaḷ–an din,
one also LK I.R–attend NABS D1ADJ LK CAUS–race T.R–say–APL 3S.ERG
*"Pwikan, **anda ka en?**" Sabat ta Pwikan, "Ee." Dason*
sea.turtle ready 2S.ABS CM answer NABS sea.turtle yes next
*pa–insa–an man Umang i, "Umang, **anda ka en ta***
T.R–ask–APL also hermit.crab DEF.N hermit.crab ready 2S.ABS CM NABS
***inyo na pa–lumba–anay?**" Sabat man ta Umang, "Ee, anda*
2GEN LK CAUS–race–REC answer also NABS hermit.crab yes ready
aren en."
1S.ABS CM
'One who attended this race, he said, "Sea Turtle, are you ready?" The Sea Turtle answered, "Yes." Next the Hermit Crab was also asked, "Hermit Crab, are you ready for your racing each other?" Hermit Crab answered, "Yes, I am now ready."' [DBWN-T-26 4.6]

(58) **Kakita ka ta umang? Kakita ka ta pwikan**?

***Ka–kita ka ta umang? Ka–kita ka ta pwikan**?*
I.EXM–see 2S.ABS NABS hermit.crab I.EXM–see 2S.ABS NABS sea.turtle
'Did you happen to see a hermit crab? Did you happen to see a sea turtle?' [JCON-L-08 2.4–5]

Sometimes polar questions include the tag *di ba* mentioned above in §11.2.4. As a tag, it expresses a genuine question, whereas in other positions (clause initially

or second position) the question is more likely to be sarcastic or ironic. *Tag questions* function to remind people of something they already know, to help them to consider something carefully, and to ask for confirmation when the speaker is not quite sure.

(59) May ummay ki, **di ba?**
May ummay ki, ***di ba?***
EXT.IN unmilled.rice 1P.INCL.ABS isn't.it.right
'We have rice, isn't it right?' [JCOE-T-06 8.21]

(60) Uḷa a gid kasaḷa ta ambaḷ ko ya, **di ba**?
Uḷa a gid ka–saḷa ta ambaḷ ko ya, ***di ba****?*
NEG.R 1S.ABS INT IEXM–sin/wrong NABS say 1S.GEN DEF.F isn't.it.right
'I really was not wrong in what I said, isn't that right"' [EMWN-T-09 7.3]

Sometimes yes/no questions can be accompanied by *ino* 'what' at the beginning of the question, even though it does not refer to anything in the clause.

(61) Ambaḷ ta iya na kumpari, "**Ino** dey, sigi ki nang en ta ate i na lugar?"
*Ambaḷ ta iya na kumpari, "****Ino*** *dey, sigi ki nang en ta ate i na lugar?"*
say NABS 3S.GEN LK his.child's.godfather what friend continue 1P.INCL.ABS only CM NABS 1P.INCL.GEN DEF.N LK place
'The godfather of his child said, "What friend, will we continue only to be in our place?"' (He wanted to go to another place to hunt for shellfish.) [DBWN-T-33 2.2]

11.3.2 Question-word questions

Questions that expect a more elaborate response than simply an affirmation or disaffirmation are called *question-word questions*, *content questions*, *information questions* or *WH- questions*. In this grammar we will use the term "question-word questions".

The question words in Kagayanen consist of three interrogative pronouns, and four interrogative adverbs. The three interrogative pronouns are *kino* 'who', *ino* 'what', and *pila* 'how many.' These only occur in the absolutive case, and are described in the context of a general discussion of pronouns in Chapter 3, §3.4.2. The four interrogative adverbs are *kan-o* 'when', *indi* 'where', *indya* 'which', and *man-o tak* 'why'. The interrogative pronouns and adverbs can also be used as

modifiers within RPs (see 83 and 84). In this section we will discuss all of these forms and their functions in the formation of question-word questions .

(62) *kino* 'who?'
Ambaḷ gid ta Pwikan an, "O **kino** magmandar na mag-umpisa dḷagan.
*Ambaḷ gid ta Pwikan an, "O **kino** mag–mandar na*
say INT NABS sea.turtle DEF.M oh who I.IR–command LK
mag–-umpisa dḷagan.
I.IR–begin run
'The Sea turtle said, "Oh, who will command to start running?"'
[JCON-T-08 31.7]

(63) **Kino** pasud-o no ya gibii?
***Kino** pa–sud-o no ya gibii?*
who T.R–visit 2S.ERG DEF.F yesterday
'Whom did you visit yesterday?'

(64) **Kino** patagan no ta kwarta?
***Kino** pa–atag–an no ta kwarta?*
who T.R–give–APL 2S.ERG NABS money
'Whom did you give money to?'

(65) **Ano**, **kino** gid gauḷa ta imo binaḷad na dawa?
***Ano, kino** gid ga–uḷa ta imo b<in>aḷad na dawa?*
what who INT I.R–spill NABS 2P.GEN <NR.RES>dry.in.sun LK lentil
'What, who really spilled your sun-dried lentils?' [TPWN-J-01 9.11]

(66) Pedro, **kino** nḷaman no na mga istudyanti unti?
*Pedro, **kino** na–aḷam–an no na mga istudyanti unti?*
Pedro who A.HAP.R–know–APL 2S.ERG LK PL student D1LOC.PR
'Pedro, who do you know who are students here?' [EFWN-T-11 15.12]

(67) *Ino* 'what?'
Ta pag-abot danen unti, **ino** natabo pugya daw asta anduni a?
*Ta pag–-abot danen unti, **ino** na–tabo pugya*
NABS NR.ACT–arrive 3S.GEN D1LOC.PR what A.HAP.R–happen long.ago
daw asta anduni a?
and until now/today INJ
'When they arrived here, what happened long ago and until now?'
[PTOE-T-01 14.1]

(68) **Ino** kani tsinilasen no daw mawas?

Ino *kani tsinilas–en no daw m–kawas?*
what later sandals–T.IR 2S.ERG if/when I.V.IR–disembark
'What later will you wear as sandals when disembarking?' [EFOB-C-01 4.37]

(69) **Ino** maambaḷ ta ake na mga ginikanan daw mga nakakaḷa ki yaken?

Ino *ma–ambaḷ ta ake na mga ginikanan daw mga*
what A.HAP.IR–say NABS 1S.GEN LK PL parent and PL
naka–kaḷa ki yaken?
I.HAP.R–know OBL.P 1S
'What possibly will my parents and the ones who know me say?' (In the context in the previous sentence a frog asked a princess to marry him and this is her response) [CBWN-C-17 5.12]

(70) *Pila* 'how many?'
Pila baton no isya duminggo daw manangget ka?

Pila *baton no isya duminggo daw ma–ng–sangget*
how.many receive 2S.ERG one week if/when A.HAP.IR–PL–sickle
ka?
2S.ABS
'How many (pesos) do you receive in one week when you gather coconut sap?' [RDOI-T-01 13.1]

(71) **Pila** buok paliten no na sidda?

Pila *buok palit–en no na sidda?*
how.many piece buy–T.IR 2S.ERG LK fish
'How many fish will you buy?'
Also: *Pila buok na sidda paliten no?*

(72) *kan-o* 'when?'
Insa iya ta isya-isya ki kami, "**Kan-o** ki isab balik di?"

*Insa iya ta isya~isya ki kami, "**Kan-o** ki isab*
ask 3S.GEN NABS RED~one OBL.P 1P.EXCL when 1P.INCL.ABS again
balik di?"
return D1LOC
'She asked each one of us, "When will we return here again?"' [EMWN-T-09 11.3]

(73) **Kan-o** no padaḷa suḷat ya ki kami?

Kan-o *no ...–pa–daḷa suḷat ya ki kami?*
when 2S.ERG T.R–CAUS–carry/bring letter DEF.F OBL.P 1P.EXCL
'When did you send the letter to us?

(74) *indi* 'where'
Indi ka gatago?

Indi *ka ga–tago?*
where 2S.ABS I.R–hide
'Where did you hide?' [JCON-L-07 5.7]

(75) **Indi** no imo kamanga mga bḷawan an, Pedro?

Indi *no imo ...–kamang–a mga bḷawan an, Pedro?*
where 2S.ERG EMPH T.R–get–XC PL gold DEF.M Pedro
'Where did you really get the gold, Pedro?' [CBWN-C-22 8.3]

Normally *indi* means 'where?' ("which location") and *indya* means 'which?' But *indya* alone may express the idea of 'where' also, since it may be a contraction of *indi* and *dya* 'where there?' In example (76), *indya* is appropriately translated as 'where', though the semantic similarity between 'where' and 'which' is apparent in this case:

(76) Manong, **indya** en ittaw ya na papatay no?

Manong, ***indya*** *en ittaw ya na pa–patay no?*
older.brother where CM person DEF.F LK T.R–die 2P.ERG
'Older brother, where now is the person you killed?' [RBWN-T-02 4.1]

(77) *indya* 'which'
Indya di paliten no na bayo?

Indya *di palit–en no na bayo?*
which D1LOC buy–T.IR 2S.ERG LK clothes
'Which here are the clothes that you will buy?'

(78) **Indya** ti darwa i na bayo paliten no?

Indya *ti darwa i na bayo palit–en no?*
which D1NABS two DEF.N LK clothes buy–T.IR 2S.ERG
'Which of these two clothes will you buy?'
**Indi ti darwa i na bayo paliten no*?

(79) *man-o tak* and *man-o* 'why'
Man-o tak gambaḷ nangka i?
Man-o tak *ga–ambaḷ nangka i?*
why because I.R–say jackfruit DEF.N
'Why is the jackfruit speaking?' [YBWN-T-01 5.9]

(80) **Man-o?** Daw danen i maan naan nang galabbod ta iran na mimi, uḷa gadiritso ta iran na gettek?
Man-o? *Daw danen i m–kaan naan nang ga–labbod*
why if/when 3P.ABS DEF.N I.V.IR–eat SPAT.DEF only I.R–expand/fill.up
ta iran na mimi, uḷa ga–diritso ta iran na gettek?
NABS 3P.GEN LK cheek NEG.R I.R–straight NABS 3P.GEN LK stomach
'Why? When they eat (food) it just expands/fills up their cheeks, not going straight to their stomachs.' (This is about monkeys) [NEWE-T-01 2.6]

Some adverbs may occur between *man-o* and *tak* as in the following example.

(81) **Man-o kon tak** gina gaselled a gagaḷ a kon?
Man-o kon tak *gina ga–selled a ga–agaḷ a kon?*
why HSY because earlier I.R–inside 1S.ABS I.R–cry 1S.ABS HSY
'Why did I go inside earlier crying?' [BMON-C-06 3.15]

Often *man-o tak* or simply *man-o* are used in scolding, as a kind of rhetorical question:

(82) Pagilekan Pedro i ta nanay din na ambaḷ ta nanay din, "**Man-o tak** patudlo no imo makina ya na patago ko."
Pa–gilek–an Pedro i ta nanay din na ambaḷ ta nanay
T.R–angry–APL Pedro DEF.N NABS mother 3S.GEN LK say NABS mother
*din, "**Man-o tak** pa–tudlo no imo makina ya na*
3S.GEN why because T.R–teach/point 2S.ERG EMPH machine DEF.F LK
pa–tago ko."
T.R–hide 1S.ERG
'His mother scolded Pedro when his mother said, "Why did you point out (where) the machine is that I hid?"' [BCWN-C-04 7.5]

The interrogative pronouns can be used as modifiers in questions with the *na* linker and a head noun, as in examples (83) and (84): *kino na manakem* 'who

older person' and *ino na lugar* 'what place.' In conversation the linker may drop as in example (85) *ino oras* 'what time':

(83) **Kino na manakem** naan dya gatindeg an ta tumbuan an?
Kino na manakem *naan dya ga–tindeg an ta tumbuan*
who LK older SPAT.DEF D4LOC I.R–stand SPAT.DEF NABS window
an?
DEF.M
'Who is the older person standing there at the window?' [BGON-L-01 2.4]

(84) **Ino na lugar** ginabetangan ta tanan nang pakaan ta? Kasilyas.
Ino na lugar *gina–betang–an*[3] *ta tanan nang pa–kaan ta?*
what LK place T.R–put–APL NABS all only T.R–eat 1P.INCL.ERG
Kasilyas.
restroom
'What is the place where all we eat is put? Restroom.' (This is a riddle with the answer). [SFWR-L-05 11.1]

(85) Ambaḷ gid daen, "**Ino oras** mabot kaw di?"
*Ambaḷ gid daen, "**Ino oras** m–abot kaw di?"*
say INT 3P.ERG what time/hour I.V.IR–arrive 2P.ABS D1LOC
'They enthusiastically said, "What time will you arrive here?"' [BGON-L-01 3.15]
Also: Ino na oras mabot kaw di?

The adverbs *kan-o*, *indi*, *man-o* and *man-o tak* may not be used as modifiers:

(86) **Kan-o na oras* 'When'
**Indi na lugar* 'Where'
**Man-o tak na* ... 'Why'
**Man-o na* ... 'Why'

(87) **Pila na karton** pakot nyo?
Pila na karton *pa–akot nyo?*
how.many LK box T.R–carry.many 2P.ERG
'How many boxes did you carry?'

[3]The prefix *gina-* in this example is code switching from Hiligaynon.

(88) **Indya na bayo** gusto no?

Indya na bayo *gusto no?*
which LK clothes want 2S.ERG
'Which clothes do you want?'

The interrogative pronoun *ino* 'what' can occur with verbal inflection (no other interrogative pronoun or adverb can be used in this way): *gino/gaino* 'what did X do or what is X doing', *mag–ino* 'what will X do,' *paino/pino* 'what did someone do to X,' *inuon/nuon*[4] 'what will someone do to X', *nino/naino* 'what happened to X or what was someone able to do to X,' *maino* 'what will happen to X or what will someone be able to do to X':

(89) Dayon prani isya na bata na ginsa, "Sir, **nino** ka?"

Dayon prani isya na bata na ga–insa, "Sir, ***na–ino***
right.away come.close one LK child LK I.R–ask Sir A.HAP.R–what
ka?"
2S.ABS
'Right away one child came close asking, "Sir, what happened to you?"'
[EFWN-T-11 15.8]

(90) **Gino** a pwikan an daw manaw? Gadaik. **Gino** a umang an daw manaw? Gagyanap.

Ga–ino *a pwikan an daw m–panaw?*
I.R–what INJ sea.turtle DEF.M if/when I.V.IR–go/walk
Ga–daik. ***Ga–ino*** *a umang an daw*
I.R–crawl.on.stomach I.R–what INJ hermit.crab DEF.M if/when
m–panaw? Ga–gyanap.
I.V.IR–go/walk I.R–crawl
'What does the sea turtle do when moving? Crawls on stomach. What does the hermit crab do when moving? Crawls.' [JCON-L-08 2.6–7]

(91) **Pino** no mga bata an na gagaḷ?

Pa–ino *no mga bata an na ga–agaḷ?*
T.R–what 2S.ERG PL child DEF.M LK I.R–cry
'What did you do to the children who are crying?'

[4]The form *inuon* is sometimes shortened to *nuon*. See example (191) below.

(92) **Pino** na pagluto din ta lub-ong?

Pa–ino *na pag–luto din ta lub-ong?*
T.R–what LK NR.ACT–cook 3S.ERG NABS steamed.cassava
'How did s/he cook the steamed cassava?'

Ino with optional *na* linker and *pag-* action nominalized verb can be used to ask how something is done.

(93) **Ino pagkamang** ko ta tḷunon?

Ino pag–kamang *ko ta tḷunon?*
what NR.ACT–get 1S.ERG NABS wild.pig
'How did I get a wild pig?' [RCON-L-01 1.1]
Also: Ino na pagkamang ko ta tḷunon?

(94) Bag-o pagkatapos, **ino na pag-ubra** ta kaḷaw, ta lunday, buti, bḷangay, lansa…?

Bag-o pagka–tapos, ***ino na pag––ubra*** *ta*
next NR.ACT–NR–finish what LK NR.ACT–make/work NABS
kaḷaw, ta lunday, buti, bḷangay, lansa…?
winnowing.basket NABS outrigger.canoe rowboat 2.masted.boat launch
'Next, afterwards, how to make a winnowing basket, outrigger canoe, rowboat, 2 masted boat, launch…?' [JCOE-T-06 8.5]

There is one content question construction that does not involve a question word. There is only one example of this construction in the corpus:

(95) Ngaran tan masakit no an?

Ngaran tan masakit no an?
name D3NABS sickness 2S.GEN DEF.M
'What is (the name of) your sickness?' (lit. 'name of that your sickness') [ETWC-C-03 3.1]

Grammatically, this is a simple RP (Referring Phrase) meaning "name of your sickness." However, because of intonation and context, it is obviously intended to be a question. This may be an example of omission of a question word, as in interview questions in English: "Name? Address? Place of birth?"

11.3.3 Imperatives

Imperative construction is the term linguists use to refer to a type of sentence that is uniquely adapted to the speech act of directing someone to do something. While most languages have special forms for this type of construction, Kagayanen does not. Rather than having a special imperative construction, Kagayanen speakers use the plain declarative irrealis construction with a second person Actor. The examples in (96) illustrate some simple imperatives. Note that some of these are grammatically transitive and some are grammatically intransitive. Thus, the second person Actor may be absolutive or ergative. Following (96) are some examples from the corpus:

(96)

Mandok ka ta waig.	'Fetch water.'
Min-ad ka.	'Cook rice.'
Millig ka ta silong.	'Sweep the yard.'
Silligan no silong ya.	'Sweep the yard.'
Maglamon ka ta silong.	'Weed the yard.'
Muli ka dya en.	'Go home there now.'
Manaw ka en.	'Go now.'
Mampang ka dya en.	'Play there now.'
Nisnisan no kaldiro an.	'Scour the pot.'
Magnisnis ka ta kaldiro.	'Scour the pot(s).'
Baugan no baboy ya.	'Feed the pig.'
Magbaog ka en ta baboy.	'Feed the pig now.'
Maan ka en.	'Eat now.'
Kan-enen no en sidda i.	'Eat the fish.'

(97) **Ilingan** no tatay ya na tabangan a iyaw ta baboy i.

*∅–**Iling**–**an** no tatay ya na ∅–tabang–an a iyaw ta*
T.IR–go–APL 2S.ERG father DEF.F LK T.IR–help–APL 1S.ABS slaughter NABS
baboy i.
pig DEF.N
'"Go to (my) father (and ask him) to help me slaughter the pig."'
[RCON-L-01 10.1]

(98) Liksyon an na nakamang ta don na daw ano gani namatian no an na mga balita, dili kaw magpagulpi-gulpi. **Lagen** no gid anay. Dili ka **mag-adlek** ta miad. **Usisaen** no gid anay aged na uḷa may matabo ki kaon.

Liksyon an na na–kamang ta don na daw ano[5] *gani*
lesson DEF.M LK A.HAP.R–get 1P.INCL.ERG D3LOC LK if/when what truly
na–mati–an no an na mga balita, dili kaw
A.HAP.R–hear–APL 2S.ERG DEF.M LK PL news NEG.IR 2P.ABS
mag–pa–gulpi~-gulpi. ***luag–en***[6] *no gid anay. Dili ka*
I.IR–CAUS–RED~sudden watch–T.IR 2S.ERG INT first/a.while NEG.IR 2S.ABS
mag–-adlek *ta miad.* ***Usisa–en*** *no gid anay*
I.IR–afraid NABS well/good investigate–T.IR 2S.ERG INT first/a.while
aged na uḷa may ma–tabo ki kaon.
so.that LK NEG.R EXT.IN A.HAP.R–happen OBL.P 2S
'The lesson that we can get from that, is that whatever news you hear, do not be startled. Look (at it) first. Do not be overly afraid. Investigate (it) first so that there will not be something that will happen to you.' [JCON-L-07 22.3–6]

(99) **Manaw** kaw di tak **mangamuyo** ki.
m–panaw *kaw di tak* ***m–pangamuyo*** *ki.*
I.V.IR–walk/go 2P.ABS D1LOC because I.V.IR–pray 1P.INCL.ABS
'Come here because let's pray.' (lit. You will come here because we will pray) [JCWN-T-22 3.1]

An irrealis construction with first person inclusive Actor may also be interpreted as *cohortative mood* ("lets VERB" in English), which is a kind of imperative. See the second verb in (99) and the following:

(100) **Muli ki** en.
M–uli ki *en.*
I.V.IR–go.home 1P.INCL.ABS CM
'Let's go home.' [PEWN-T-01 2.8]

As with all verbal irrealis assertions, the negator *dili* is used for negative imperatives:

[3]This use of *ano* in place of the Kagayanen *ino* is code switching from Hiligaynon or Tagalog.
[6]This is a very common word. The root is clearly *luag* 'to watch', but the irrealis transitive form is *lagen* rather than the expected **luagen*.

(101) … daw **dili** kaw mag-ubra ta usto tak manakem kaw en.
*… daw **dili** kaw mag–-ubra ta usto tak*
and NEG.IR 2P.ABS I.IR–make/work NABS well/right because
manakem kaw en.
older 2P.ABS CM
'…and do not work too much because you are older now.' [BCWL-T-10 3.6]

As in most speech communities, Kagayanen speakers employ various strategies for making requests for action more polite or indirect than direct commands. For polite commands *pwidi* 'may/can/possible,' *maimo* 'possible to do/make' and *anay* 'first/for a while' are used:

(102) Daw **pwidi nang** na dili kaw en mag-iling-iling ki yaken di tak uḷa aren en iatag ki kyo na mga bagay na kinangḷanen nyo.
*Daw **pwidi nang** na dili kaw en mag–-iling~-iling ki yaken*
if/when can only LK NEG.IR 2P.ABS CM I.IR–RED~go OBL.P 1S
di tak uḷa aren en i–atag ki kyo na mga bagay
D1LOC because NEG.IR 1S.ABS CM T.DEON–give OBL.P 2P LK PL thing
na kinangḷan–en nyo.
LK need–T.IR 2P.GEN
'If it is possible, do not keep coming to me here because I do not have things that you need that I should give to you.' [ETOB-C-01 1.3]

(103) Daw **maimo** nang inta, magtinir ka **anay** mga darwa adlaw….
*Daw **ma–imo** nang inta, mag–tinir ka*
if/when A.HAP.IR–make/do only/just OPT I.IR–stay 2S.ABS
***anay** mga darwa adlaw….*
first/for.a.while PL two day/sun
'If it is possible, stay (here) for a while about two days…' [PMWL-T-07 2.3]

(104) Dayon ko ambaḷ arey ko i na Pedro na, "Dili ka **anay** magpetpet ta kaoy.
Dayon ko ambaḷ arey ko i na Pedro na, "Dili ka
right.away 1S.ERG say friend 1S.GEN DEF.N LK Pedro LK NEG.IR 2S.ABS
***anay** mag–petpet ta kaoy.*
first/a.while I.IR–chop NABS tree
'Right away I said to my friend Pedro, "Do not chop down trees for now." ' [MEWN-T-02 2.4]

Sometimes first person plural inclusive pronouns are used to soften a command:

(105) Magtanem **ki** ta kassoy.
*Mag–tanem **ki** ta kassoy.*
I.IR–plant 1P.INCL.ABS NABS cashew
'Let's plant cashew.' [MCOB-C-01 12.9]

(106) Gani, mga utod impurtanti matuod na mag-ambaḷ **ki** ta Kagayanen bisan indi ki nang.
*Gani, mga utod impurtanti matuod na mag–-ambaḷ **ki** ta*
so PL sibling important true LK I.IR–say 1P.INCL.ABS NABS
Kagayanen bisan indi ki nang.
Kagayanen any where 1P.INCL.ABS only/just
'So, my siblings, it is truly important that we speak Kagayanen wherever we are.' [TTOB-J-01 10.1]

(107) Pagtapos daen i inem, iling ko, "Ta dayon **ki** en. A miling **ki** unso en baḷay ya ta inay ta bai ya.
*Pag–tapos daen i inem, iling ko, "Ta dayon **ki***
NR.ACT–finish 3P.GEN DEF.N drink say 1S.ERG so continue 1P.INCL.ABS
*en. A m–iling **ki** unso en baḷay ya ta inay*
CM ah I.V.IR–go 1P.INCL.ABS D4LOC.PR CM housse DEF.F NABS mother
ta bai ya.
NABS woman DEF.F
'After they drank, I said, "So, let's go ahead now. Let's go there to the house of the mother of the woman."' [BGON-L-01 2.25]

The adverbs *dapat* 'must', *kinangḷan* 'necessary', and *inta* 'wish/ought/should' add more force to a command. See example 103 above. In addition, the deontic transitive prefix *i-* on the verb can add more force, as in (108). The following are additional examples of the use of these adverbs in imperatives. from the corpus:

(108) Yon na mga kaoy **dapat** ta itanem.
*Yon na mga kaoy **dapat** ta i–tanem.*
D3ADJ LK PL tree should 1P.INCL.ERG T.DEON–plant
'Those trees we must plant.' [ROOB-T-01 8.10]

(109) **Kinangḷan** na kiten magtanem anduni daan...
Kinangḷan *na kiten* *mag–tanem anduni* *daan...*
need LK 1P.INCL.ABS I.IR–plant now/today ahead/immediately
'(It is) necessary that we plant (trees) now/today ahead of time….'
[ROOB-T-01 9.17]

(110) Dili nyo **inta** pintasan.
Dili *nyo* ***inta*** *pintas–an.*
NEG.IR 2S.ERG OPT harm–APL
'You should not harm (it).' [MEWN-T-02 5.6]

11.4 Special focus constructions

All languages provide special grammatical constructions, particles, or affixes that draw attention to particular parts of communicative acts. For example, English places elements at the beginning of a clause when they merit various kinds of focus according to the communicative intentions of the speaker. For example, "Coffee I like", "It's coffee I like", "Coffee is what I like", "As for coffee, I like it" are all pragmatically marked variations on the basic assertion "I like coffee." In this section we describe three ways of ascribing special pragmatic statuses to elements in a clause. These are constituent order variation (§11.4.1), grammatical particles (§11.4.2), and cleft constructions (§11.4.3). We have done our best to characterize the discourse functions of these constructions as they appear in the corpus, but a full discourse study is still needed to precisely evaluate the pragmatic effects of each of them.

11.4.1 Constituent order variation

The basic unmarked constituent order in Kagayanen intransitive clauses is V ABS, that is, a predicating word (usually a verb) followed by an absolutive RP referring to the single argument (S) of the intransitive clause. There are two basic orders of core arguments in transitive clauses, depending on the relative position of the arguments on the following saliency hierarchy:

(111) Pronoun Full RP
1 > 2 > 3 > | human > animate > inanimate

Of the two core arguments, A and O (see Chapter 10, §10.3), whichever one is higher (further to the left) on this hierarchy usually occurs first. This may be

considered a *word order direct/inverse construction* (see Payne 1994 on Cebuano). The direct form occurs when A and O are equal on this hierarchy (example 112), or when A outranks O (example 114). The inverse form occurs when O outranks A (example 113):

(112) V A O
… daw patigbas man **ta amay ta bata manakem ya na bai**.
*… daw pa–tigbas man **ta amay ta bata manakem ya na bai**.*
and T.R–chop also ERG father NABS child older.person DEF.F LK woman
'… and the father of the child chopped the older woman.' [YBWN-T-01 5.11]

When O outranks A on the hierarchy, the O appears first. In example (113) the 1S.ABS pronoun precedes the full RP referring to the ergative constituent:

(113) V O A
Na gapanaw kay ta daḷan, kagat **a ta sitsipit**.
*Na ga–panaw kay ta daḷan, kagat **a ta sitsipit**.*
LK I.R–walk/go 1P.EXCL.ABS NABS road bite 1S.ABS ERG scorpion
'When we were walking on the road, a/the scorpion bit (stung) me.' [LSWN-T-01 2.8]

There are no examples in the corpus in which both A and O are third person pronouns, and such examples are difficult for speakers to contextualize. However, A and O can both be pronouns if one is a different person category than the other. In such cases, the pronoun that is higher on the hierarchy occurs first, whether it is A or O. In examples (114) and (115) the first person pronoun occurs first, though it is A in (114), and O in (115):

(114) V A O
… nakita **ko danen** dya na sigi kaan.
*… na–kita **ko danen** dya na sigi kaan.*
A.HAP.R–see 1S.ERG 3P.ABS D4LOC LK continue eat.
'…I saw them there continuing to eat.' [RCON-L-01 2.9]

(115) V O A
… pakamang **a danen** na magduma ta iran na bata na gaiskwila man ta Iloilo.

... pa–kamang ***a*** ***danen*** *na mag–duma ta iran na bata*
T.R–get 1S.ABS 3P.ERG LK I.IR–companion NABS 3P.GEN LK child
na ga–iskwila man ta Iloilo.
LK I.R–school also NABS Iloilo
'... they got me to companion their child who was attending school in Iloilo.' [DBWN-T-21 4.6]

There are no examples in the corpus of VOA order occurring when both core arguments are full RPs. However, such examples do occur in conversation, and speakers agree they are grammatically correct. A full discourse study of the function of VOA order in this circumstance would require a much larger corpus, since it is so rare. The following are perfectly grammatical elicited examples. Note that "my child" (116) and "our house" (117), though both in the grammatical function of O (undergoer), are likely to be more highly salient than the corresponding A arguments by virtue of being definite and possessed by the speaker. This may explain why these examples are easy to imagine, but again, a full discourse study would be needed to confirm or disconfirm this hypothesis.

(116) V O A
Napattikan **bata ko an ta sitsipit**.
Na–pattik–an ***bata ko an ta sitsipit.***
A.HAP.R–sting–APL child 1S.GEN DEF.M NABS scorpion
'A/The scorpion stung my child.'

(117) V O A
Nasunog **baḷay nay ya ta apoy**.
Na–sunog ***baḷay nay ya ta apoy.***
A.HAP.R–burn house 1P.EXCL.GEN DEF.F NABS fire
'A/the fire burned our house.' or 'Our house was burned with fire.'

Though the above generalizations hold in the majority of situations, it is not uncommon for these patterns to vary for special emphasis or when the speaker is in some heightened emotional state. For example, when someone is frightened or excited by the content of the utterance, a marked word order may occur. With the marked word order, free emphatic absolutive pronouns occur instead of enclitic pronouns (see Chapter 3, §3.4.1). In example (118) the speaker was describing a very fearful time when in a dream a fairy was forcing her to go away with him. It is believed that such dreams can result in one's death.

(118) V A O
Pambaḷ **din yaken i** na muyog a.
Pa–ambaḷ ***din*** ***yaken i*** *na m–kuyog* *a.*
T.R–say 3S.ERG 1S.ABS DEF.N LK I.V.IR–go.with 1S.ABS
'He told me that I will go with (him).' [EDON-J-01 1.7]

Since this is a clause in which the O argument (the speaker) is higher in the salience hierarchy than the Actor (the fairy) the unmarked word order would be VOA, with the enclitic absolutive enclitic pronoun *a*, instead of the free pronoun *yaken* referring to the speaker:

(119) V O A (Expected, common order)
Pambaḷ **a din** na muyog a.
Pa–ambaḷ ***a*** ***din*** *na m–kuyog* *a.*
T.R–say 1S.ABS 3S.ERG LK I.V.IR–go.with 1S.ABS
'He said to me that I will go with (him).'

The use of the emphatic pronoun, and the unusual word order in (118) signals that the speaker was strongly affected emotionally by this frightening event.

Because the basic constituent order is predicate-initial, the pre-predicate position is a very powerful signal of special pragmatic importance. Pebley & Brainard (1999: 89) describe the functions of the pre-predicate element in expository discourse as follows:

> Fronted RPs mark sentences that: 1) introduce new themes, 2) signal changes in theme, 3) summarize themes, 4) present results or reasons that are peaks, 5) signal selective focus, and 6) signal contrastive focus.

In this section we summarize the findings of Pebley & Brainard (1999) using new examples from the corpus for the present study. The same or similar observations can be made regarding the functions of pre-predicate position in genres other than expository as well.

The primary function of fronted RPs in Kagayanen expository discourse is to mark the kinds of information that are most important for developing an expository text, namely global and lower level themes,[7] result, and contrast (Pebley & Brainard 1999). A "global theme", or the main idea being explained in an expository text, is usually introduced in a fronted RP in the first paragraph. In a text explaining the traditional belief about lunar eclipses (120), the global theme is introduced in the first fronted RP in the first sentence of the paragraph. It is stated again in the second part of the same sentence:

[7]Not to be confused with "Theme" as a semantic role as discussed in other parts of this grammar.

(120) **Kaanlao**, pagpati ta mga ittaw di ta Cagayancillo na daw **buḷan an**, kaan ta lao, kaanlao, **bakod kon an bekkessan** palam-ed din buḷan an.

Fronted RP1
Kaanlao, *pagpati ta mga ittaw di ta*
lunar.eclipse NR.ACT–believe NABS PL person D1LOC NABS
Cagayancillo
Cagayancillo

Fronted RP2
na daw ***buḷan an,*** *kaan ta lao, kaanlao,*
LK if/when moon/month DEF.M eat NABS sky.snake lunar.eclipse

Fronted RP3
bakod kon an bekkessan *pa–lam-ed din buḷan an.*
big HSY DEF.M snake T.R–swallow 3S.ERG moon/month DEF.M
'**Lunar eclipse**, a belief of people here on Cagayancillo is that when **as for the moon**, the sky snake eats (it), lunar eclipse, **as for the big snake** s/he swallowed the moon.' [JCOE-C-03 2.1]

Notice that the sentence-initial fronted RP and its repeated form later in the sentence are not arguments of any clause in the sentence. There are, however, two fronted RPs that are arguments of a clause. The verb *pati* 'believe' takes a long complement clause which is made up of a conditional clause and a main clause. Both the conditional clause and the main clause have fronted RPs. In the conditional clause, the O argument, *buḷan* 'moon', is fronted to the initial position of its clause. In the main clause the A argument, *bakod an na bekkessan* 'the big snake', is fronted to a position following the fronted RP that states the global theme. In this text, the moon and the snake are participants that have important roles in the global theme.

In the same text two sentences later (121), a lower-level theme is introduced—people trying to frighten the snake (which is eating the moon). The theme, partially represented by the phrase *mga ittaw* 'people', is expressed in the fronted RP. Notice that the fronted RP is an argument of the immediately following dependent clause and of the main clause.

(121) Ta, **mga ittaw an**, tak nakita danen na **buḷan ya** naduwad en tak palam-ed ta bekkessan na bakod, magpukpok danen an ta mga lata, mga drum o daw ano man na makaatag ta sikad sagbak aged na **bekkessan an**, maadlek ilua din buḷan ya, ig **bekkessan an**, mḷagan ya en.

Fronted RP1 Fronted RP2
Ta, ***mga ittaw an****, tak na–kita danen na* ***buḷan***
so PL person DEF.M because A.HAP.R–see 3P.ERG LK moon/month
ya *na–duwad en tak pa–lam-ed ta bekkessan na bakod,*
DEF.F A.HAP.R–lose CM because T.R–swallow NABS snake LK big
mag–pukpok danen an ta mga lata, mga drum o daw ano.[8]
I.IR–beat 3P.ABS DEF.M NABS PL can PL drum or if/when what

Fronted RP3
man na maka–atag ta sikad sagbak aged na ***bekkessan an****,*
also LK I.HAP.IR–give NABS very noise so.that LK snake DEF.M
ma–adlek i–lua din buḷan ya, ig[9]
A.HAP.IR–afraid T.DEON–spit.out 3S.ERG moon/month DEF.F and

Fronted RP4
bekkessan an*, m–dḷagan ya en.*
snake DEF.M I.V.IR–run ATT CM

'So, **the people**, because they saw that **as for the moon** (it) happened to disappear because the big snake swallowed it, they will beat on cans, drums and whatever else that can give out very noisy (sound) so that when **the snake** will be afraid, s/he will have to spit out the moon and **the snake** will run away.' [JCOE-C-03 2.3]

Fronted RPs also mark sentences that signal a change of theme. An expository text of any significant length usually has more than one lower-level theme. When the speaker changes from one lower-level theme to another, the first mention of theme 2 occurs in a fronted RP, and this usually marks the beginning of a new paragraph. Theme 2 is not necessarily a brand new theme, but may be a previously mentioned theme that is being reintroduced. For example, the following three examples are from a text in which the global theme is the speaker's family, introduced with a series of fronted RPs in the first paragraph. The second paragraph introduces the speaker and her husband as a secondary theme (122), with the fronted pronoun *kami*. In the third paragraph, the first-born daughter is introduced as another secondary theme, with the fronted RP *panganay na bata* 'firstborn child' (123). Finally, in the fourth paragraph the speaker returns to the secondary theme of herself and her husband (124), using another fronted RP *kami na magsawa* 'my husband and I':

[9]The word *ig* is a Cuyunon word meaning 'and' and is used sometimes in more formal types of oral speeches.
[9]The word *ano* is a Tagalog word meaning 'what'.

(122) Second paragraph, second sentence:
Kami, may kabataan na limma buok.

Fronted RP
Kami, *may ka–bata–an na limma buok.*
1P.EXCL.ABS EXT.IN NR–child–NR LK five piece
'**As for us**, we have five children.' [CDWE-T-01 2.2]

(123) Third paragraph, first sentence:
A panganay na bata, bai, yaan nagaiskwila ta Talaga Elementary School.

Fronted RP
A ***panganay na bata****, bai, yaan naga–iskwila*[10] *ta Talaga*
INJ first.born LK child female SPAT.DEF I.R–school NABS Talaga
Elementary School.
Elementary School
'**The first born**, a girl, she went to school at Talaga Elementary School.'[CDWE-T-01 3.1]

(124) Fourth paragraph, first sentence:
Umpisa ta pag-iskwila ta ame na kabataan, **kami na magsawa** nagasagod kay ta baboy.

Umpisa ta pag–-iskwila ta ame na ka–bata–an,
begin NABS NR.ACT–school NABS 1P.EXCL.GEN LK NR–child–NR
Fronted RP
kami ***na mag–sawa*** *naga–sagod kay ta baboy.*
1P.EXCL.ABS LK REL–spouse I.R–raise 1P.EXCL.ABS NABS pig
'Beginning when our children went to school, **my husband and I**, we raised pigs.' [CDWE-T-01 4.1]

Fronted RPs also mark sentences that summarize themes. These summaries occur at the ends of paragraphs, sections, and texts. Example (125) is from the eclipse text. It is the last sentence in a paragraph explaining the belief that a pregnant woman should not look at an eclipse. Here the deictic *yon* 'that' is the fronted RP.

[10]The prefix *naga-* is a borrowing from Ilongo.

(125) **Yon**, isya man na pagpati ta mga inay na gabagnes.

Fronted RP

***Yon**, isya man na pag–pati ta mga inay na ga–bagnes.*

D3ABS one also LK NR.ACT–believe NABS PL mother LK I.R–pregnant

'**That**, it is another belief of mothers who are pregnant.' [JCOE-C-03 5.2]

One might argue that (125) is a cleft construction; however, fronted RP constructions and cleft constructions differ in two ways. First, fronted RPs are always followed by a phonological pause (as indicated by the comma in 125), while head RPs of cleft constructions are never followed by a pause. Second, in cleft constructions, the head RP is the absolutive of a following nominalized clause (see §11.4.3 below), whereas the clause that follows a fronted RP is not necessarily nominalized. The following are some additional examples of fronted RPs from the corpus.

(126) Ta daw may sabid ittaw an na nagamasakit na gainay-inay ta luya, yon na masakit nan o sabid naan galin ta mga ingkantado, tak **ingkantado i**, dili gulpi mag-atag ta masakit.

Ta daw may sabid ittaw an na naga–masakit[11]

so if/when EXT.IN sickness.from.spirits person DEF.M LK I.R–sick

na ga–inay~inay ta luya, yon na masakit nan o

LK I.R–RED~slow NABS weak D3ABS LK sick D3ABS.PR or

sabid naan ga–alin ta mga ingkantado,

sickness.from.spirits SPAT.DEF I.R–from NABS PL fairy

Fronted RP

*tak **ingkantado i**, dili gulpi mag–atag ta masakit.*

because fairy DEF.N NEG.IR suddenly I.IR–give NABS sick

'So if the sick person has a sickness from a spirit in which he gradually becomes weak, that very sickness or sickness from a spirit, it came from fairies because **the fairy**, it does not give sickness suddenly.' [CBWE-T-07 4.1]

Finally, fronted RPs mark sentences that signal contrastive focus, another type of pragmatic focus. For this type of focus, one item is selected from a presupposed set in which the correct values are restricted (Dik 1981). In the eclipse text, the speaker talks about the beliefs of the older generation concerning the eclipse.

[11]The prefix *naga-* in this example is another borrowing from Ilongo. The form in Kagayanen would be simply *ga-*.

Then in (127), he contrasts the old generation with the new generation of young people who do not hold those beliefs. The new generation is the selected item and occurs in a fronted RP which is followed by a second fronted RP *mga ittaw* 'the people' which also refers to the same people, the new generation.

(127) Piro anduni ta **mga bag-ongtubo**, **mga ittaw i** uḷa en gapati ta iling tan.

Fronted RP1 Fronted RP2

*Piro anduni ta **mga bagongtubo, mga ittaw i** uḷa en*
but now/today NABS PL new.generation PL person DEF.N NEG.R CM
ga–pati ta iling tan.
I.IR–believe NABS like D3NABS

'But now regarding **the new generation**, **the people**, they do not believe (in things) like that.' [JCOE-C-03 4.2]

In example (128) the "other boats" are contrasted with *kami* the first person plural pronoun, both of which are fronted.

(128) **Duma ya na bḷangay** ubos balik ta Cagayancillo. **Kami i** nang gadiritso ta Anini-y.

Fronted RP1
***Duma ya na bḷangay** ubos balik ta Cagayancillo.*
other DEF.F LK 2.masted.boat all return NABS Cagayancillo

Fronted RP2
***Kami i** nang ga–diritso ta Anini-y.*
1P.EXCL.ABS DEF.N only I.R–straight NABS Anini-y

'**The other two-masted boats** all returned to Cagayancillo. **We** only went straight to Anini-y.' [VAWN-T-18 6.4]

Question words in information questions occur preverbally (see §11.3.2). In answers to such questions, the focused element occurs in either the normal word order or preverbally. In the following example the answer has two clauses; the first is a nonverbal clause and the second is a verbal clause. In the nonverbal clause the topic *gadaag ya* 'the one who won' is fronted before the comment *umang* 'hermit crab' which is also the focus item. The verbal clause has normal word order.

(129) Q: **Kino** gadaag ya ta lumba ya?
A: O, gadaag ya **umang**. Gadaag **umang** ya.

Q: ***Kino*** *ga–daag ya ta lumba ya?*
who I.R–win DEF.F NABS race DEF.F
A: O, ga–daag ya ***umang****. Ga–daag umang ya.*
oh I.R–win DEF.F hermit.crab I.R–win hermit.crab DEF.F
Q: '**Who** was the one who won the race?'
A: 'Oh, the one who won was **hermit crab**. **Hermit crab** won.'
[JCON-T-08 55.3–4]

(130) Q: **Man-e tak** gadaag umang ya?
A: Gadaag umang ya **tak pausar din utok din an**.
Q: ***Man-e tak*** *ga–daag umang ya?*
why because I.R–win hermit.crab DEF.F
A: Ga–daag umang ya ***tak pa–usar din utok din an****.*
I.R–win hermit.crab DEF.F because T.R–use 3S.ERG brain 3S.GEN DEF.M
Q: '**Why** did hermit crab win?'
A: 'Hermit crab won **because he used his brain**.' [JCON-T-08 55.5–6]

(131) Painsaan din isab gasukot ya ki kanen, "**Ino** baba ta sidda ya na gautang ki kaon?" Ambaḷ ta gasukot, "**Mḷangkaw** iya na baba."
*Pa–insa–an din isab ga–sukot ya ki kanen, "****Ino***
T.R–ask–APL 3S.ERG again I.R–collect.payment DEF.F OBL.P 3S what
baba ta sidda ya na ga–utang ki kaon?" ambaḷ ta
mouth NABS fish DEF.F LK I.R–debt OBL.P 2S say NABS
*ga–sukot, "****Mḷangkaw*** *iya na baba."*
I.R–collect.payment long 3S.GEN LK mouth
'He asked again the one who was collecting money from him, "**What** was the mouth of the fish who was borrowing money from you?" The one collecting the payment said, "His mouth was **long**."' [EMWN-T-08 3.4–5]

11.4.2 Discourse particles

Discourse particles are small words that are used by speakers to guide the addressee through the structure of the discourse. For example, they may signal points of transition (e.g., paragraph and episode boundaries), points of heightened tension, climax, and contrast. They also may suggest how ideas are related

to one another. In English, words such as *therefore*, *so* and *OK* may be considered discourse particles. Here we discuss only three common discourse particles in Kagayanen, *a*, *gani*, and *ta*. There are undoubtedly others, but a full discourse study is needed to elucidate all of their usages. Some of the words we have described as adjunct adverbs in Chapter 4, §4.7.2 may also qualify as discourse particles. As with most distinctions proposed by linguists, the differences among discourse particles, adjunct adverbs, and interjections may not be absolute.

When the particle *a* occurs after a noun or noun phrase, it indicates contrast (132). For this reason, we call it a contrast particle. However, when it occurs at the end of a sentence, it indicates truth value focus (133). It also appears utterance initially to mark special discourse functions, as discussed in §11.5.

(132) Buli i daw imo na bitan paryo ta tama pantad na gasapḷa daw gabiskeg bitan no tak may bekkeg na gaduma. **Pandan i a** paryo ta isya na lima na uḷa ubra na daw bitan no sikad na yem-ek daw mapino.

Buli i daw imo na ∅–ibit–an paryo ta tama pantad
buri DEF.N if/when 2S.GEN LK T.IR–hold–APL same NABS many sand
na ga–sapḷa daw ga–biskeg ∅–ibit–an no tak may
LK I.R–rough and I.R–strong T.IR–hold–APL 2S.ERG because EXT.IN
bekkeg na ga–duma. ***Pandan i a*** *paryo ta isya na lima na*
bone LK I.R–with pandan DEF.N CTR same NABS one LK hand LK
uḷa ubra na daw ∅–ibit–an no sikad na yem-ek daw
NEG.R work LK if/when T.IR–hold–APL 2S.ERG very LK soft and
ma–pino.
ADJ–fine
'Buri (leaf), if you feel it (it is) like much sand that is rough, and hard is what you feel because there is a rib with it. Pandan (leaf), (it is) like a hand that has no work, that if you feel it (it is) very soft and fine.' [DBWE-T-18 8.1]

(133) Lain man nyan, bao san na agas **a**.

Lain man nyan, bao san na agas ***a.***
bad EMPH D2ABS odor D2NABS LK kerosine truly
'That is truly very bad, the odor of that kerosene.' [RZWN-T-02 4.10]

Examples (134) and (135) compare two rituals. The contrast particle *a* is homophonous with the first person singular pronoun and two interjections (see §11.5 on interjections). The difference is that the contrast particle occurs after

the noun phrase it is contrasting, and has a level intonation that is held longer than for ordinary words.

(134) *a* Contrast
Duḷot i **a** isya na buaten ta isya na surano daw may mag-umaw ki kanen na gamasakit.
*Duḷot i **a** isya na buat–en ta isya na surano*
food.offering DEF.M CTR one LK make/do–T.IR NABS one LK healer
daw may mag-–umaw ki kanen na ga–masakit.
if/when EXT.IN I.IR–call OBL.P 3S LK I.R–sick
'*Duḷot* food offering is one thing a healer does when someone who is sick calls him/her.' [VAOE-J-04 1.1]'

(135) Mikaw i **a** iya man ta surano na ubra ni sise nang dipirinsya ta duḷot.
*Mikaw i **a** iya man ta surano na ubra ni sise*
food.offering DEF.N CTR 3S.GEN also NABS healer LK work D1ABS little
nang dipirinsya ta duḷot.
only difference NABS food.offering
'*Mikaw* food offering, this is also the work of the healer, with only a little difference from *duḷot* food offering.' [VAOE-J-04 2.1]'

The word *gani* when it occurs in second position indicates truth value focus of the whole sentence . It is usually used to counter what another person assumes. Example (136) is part of a conversation about where the ancestors of the Kagayanen people originated. The one telling the story says that some people came to Cagayancillo on a boat from another island in the south called Cagayan de Sulu. The one who asks the question below assumes they were going to a certain destination. The one telling the story corrects that wrong assumption by saying they were just fleeing from Cagayan de Sulu island.

(136) Piro indi danen inta punta? Galayas **gani** danen Cagayan Sulu tak adlek na tulien.
*Piro indi danen inta punta? Ga–layas **gani** danen Cagayan Sulu*
but where 3P.ABS OPT going I.R–flee truly 3P.ABS Cagayan Sulu
tak adlek na tuli–en.
because afraid LK circumcision–T.IR
'But, where were they going? They were truly fleeing from Cagayan Sulu because (they) were afraid to be circumcised.' [MOOE-C-01 16–17]

The form *ta* in sentence-initial position, followed by a pause often expresses a conclusion to what has been said earlier. It sometimes follows a flashback, background information, digression or quotation, and brings the text back to the main point of the story or conversation.

(137) *ta* 'so' (return to main topic of discussion after a quote)
Ta, gapanaw en darwa i na mag-utod.
Ta, *ga–panaw en darwa i na mag-–utod.*
so I.R–walk/go CM two DEF.N LK REL–sibling
'So, the two siblings left.' (This follows a conversation between the two siblings.) [CBWN-C-22 9.1]

(138) **Ta**, gadiritso kay ame so Barrio.
Ta, *ga–diritso kay ame so Barrio*
so I.R–straight 1P.EXCL.ABS 1P.EXCL.GEN D4ABS.PR Barrio
So, we ourselves went straight there to Baryo.' (Previous to this sentence was a digression about some people fishing with dynamite.)
[DBON-C-09 2.9]

(139) **Ta**, utod din ya pasikway din.
Ta*, utod din ya pa–sikway din.*
so sibling 3S.GEN DEF.F T.R–reject 3S.ERG
'So, his brother rejected (him).' [RBON-T-01 1.12]

11.4.3 Cleft constructions

A cleft construction in Kagayanen consists of a clause with a noun phrase fronted before the verb and no resumptive pronoun left *in situ*. This same construction can function either as topicalization or as focal prominence construction (140–142).

(140) Pedro ya gaatag ki yaken ta kwarta.
Pedro ya ga–atag ki yaken ta kwarta.
Pedro DEF.F I.R–give OBL.P 1S NABS money
'Pedro is the one who gave me money.' Or 'It was Pedro who gave me money.'

(141) Kwarta i paatag din ki yaken.
Kwarta i pa–atag din ki yaken.
money DEF.N T.R–give 3S.ERG OBL.P 1S
'The money is what s/he gave me.' Or 'It was the money that s/he gave me.'

(142) Yaken i paatagan din ta kwarta.
Yaken i pa–atag–an din ta kwarta.
1S.ABS DEF.N T.R–give–APL 3S.ERG NABS money
'I was the one s/he gave money to.' Or 'It was me whom s/he gave money to.'

A different kind of cleft construction consists of a nominalized clause followed by a RP as in (143). The nominalized clause has the regular verbal affixes and a demonstrative determiner *i*, *an*, or *ya* after the verb. The RP has no determiner. When the verb in the nominalized clause is inflected as intransitive, the meaning is 'the one who did the action'. The examples in (144) show that the determiner cannot occur in other positions than after the verb, including at the end of the nominalized clause (144a, b, c), and the RP must occur in clause-final position (144d, e).

(143) Gaatag an ki yaken ta kwarta Pedro.
Nominalized clause RP
Ga–atag an ki yaken ta kwarta Pedro.
I.R–give DEF.M OBL 1S NABS money Pedro
'The one who gave me money was Pedro.'

(144) a. * Gaatag ki yaken an ta kwarta Pedro.
b. * Gaatag ki yaken ta kwarta an Pedro.
c. * Gaatag an ki yaken ta kwarta Pedro i.
d. * Pedro gaatag an ki yaken ta kwarta.
e. * Pedro an gaatag an ki yaken ta kwarta.

When the verbal inflection is transitive, the verb is followed by a clitic ergative pronoun indicating the Actor and the demonstrative determiner occurs after the clitic pronoun. Any oblique phrases occur after the determiner (exs. 145 and 147). The determiner cannot occur at the end of the nominalized clause as in (146a, b) and (148a, b). After the nominalized clause is the RP that cannot take a determiner. It also cannot occur before the nominalized clause (exs. 146c and 148c).

(145) Patag din an ki yaken kwarta.

Nominalized clause RP
Pa–atag din an ki yaken kwarta.
T.R–give 3S.ERG DEF.M OBL.P 1S money
'What s/he gave to me was money.'

(146) a. * Paatag din ki yaken an kwarta.
b. * Paatag din an ki yaken kwarta i.
c. * Kwarta paatag din an ki yaken.

(147) Paatagan din an ta kwarta yaken.

Nominalized clause RP
Pa–atag–an din an ta kwarta yaken.
T.R–give–APL 3S.ERG DEF.M NABS money 1S.ABS
'The one s/he gave money to was me.'

(148) a. * Paatagan din ta kwarta an yaken.
b. * Paatagan din an ta kwarta yaken i.
c. * Yaken paatagan din an ta kwarta.

Cleft constructions with a demonstrative initially usually occur as a summary sentence for a paragraph, section or text.

(149) **Yon** na isturya na inagian ko na sise a pa.

Yon *na isturya na <in>agi–an ko na sise a pa.*
D3ABS LK story LK <NR.RES>pass–NR 1S.GEN LK small 1S.ABS INC
'**That** was the story which was my experience when I was small.' [BMON-C-02 1.17]

(150) Galebbeng an ta mga patay mga seed nang na mga utod.

Ga–lebbeng an ta mga patay mga seed nang na mga utod.
I.R–bury DEF.M NABS PL dead PL close only LK PL sibling
'The ones burying the dead are only the close relatives.' [JCWN-T-21 13.7]

Another way clefts are structured is with a definite referring phrase followed by another referring phrase, which is the normal way of constructing predicate nominal constructions (see Chapter 5, §5.2).

(151) Sakayan an di batil, bḷangay daw lansa.

[RP1] [RP2]
Sakay–an an di batil, bḷangay daw lansa.
ride–NR DEF.N D1LOC 1.masted.boat 2.masted.boat and launch
'The transportation here is one-masted boats, two-masted boats and launches.' [SAWE-T-01 2.4]

(152) Patugtog an ta banda mga tukar an kingmanakem en pugya a.

[RP1] [RP2]
Pa–tugtog an ta banda mga tukar an king–manakem en
T.R–play.music DEF.M NABS band PL music DEF.N style–older CM
pugya a.
long.ago truly
'What the band played was music of the style of older people long ago truly.' [PBON-T-01 6.17 edited for naturalness]

(153) Sakit en an namatian ko ya.

Sakit en an na–mati–an ko ya.
pain CM DEF.N A.HAP.R–hear–APL 1S.ERG DEF.F
'What is hurtful now is what I hear.' (In the context others were laughing and so the speaker felt emotional pain that they were laughing at him.) [JCON-L-07 10.3]

(154) Tape nang gaambaḷ an piro sikad dayad man.

Tape nang ga–ambaḷ an piro sikad dayad man.
tape only/just I.R–say DEF.M but very good also
'Just a tape was what was speaking, but it was very good also.' [BMON-C-05 16.4]

(155) Di mag-ubra ya bali mga Kagayanen. Mag-ubra ya ta resorts mga Kagayanen, piro gamanage ya a Club Noah.

Di mag–-ubra ya bali mga Kagayanen. Mag–-ubra
INJ.RQ I.IR–work/do DEF.F amounts.to PL Kagayanen I.IR–work/do
ya ta resorts mga Kagayanen, piro ga–manage ya a Club
DEF.F NABS resorts PL Kagayanen but I.R–manage DEF.F CTR Club
Noah.
Noah
'What else would it be, the ones who will work turn out to be (lit. amount to) Kagayanens. The ones who will work at the resorts are

Kagayanens, but the ones who manage are Club Noah.' [MOOE-C-01 234.1–2]

(156) Kano nang bui ya...
Kano nang bui ya...
American only live DEF.F
'Only the American man is the one who is alive.' (This is about a plane crash off the shores of the island and there was only one survivor.) [MOOE-C-01 145.1]

(157) Bula kon an lisen. Ugsak ta bula ya buḷak. Ugsak ya ta buḷak ya ilo. Ugsak ya ta ilo ya waig. Suwa.
Bula kon an lisen. Ugsak ta bula ya buḷak. Ugsak ya ta
ball HSY DEF.N round inside NABS ball DEF.F cotton. inside DEF.F NABS
buḷak ya ilo. Ugasak ya ta ilo ya waig. Suwa.
cotton DEF.F thread inside DEF.F NABS thred DEF.F water orange
'The ball is round. What is inside the ball is cotton. What is inside the cotton is thread. What is inside the thread is water. Citrus fruit.' [MRWR-T-01 9.3]

(158) Pari din ya yon palabi din.
Pari din ya yon pa–labi din.
friend 3S.GEN DEF.F D3ABS T.R–favor 3S.ERG
'It was his friend, that one he favored.' [RBON-T-01 1.13]

(159) Ittaw ya na galabyog gasinggit, "Apo Kagiyaw, anen pagkaan no i en."
Ittaw ya na ga–labyog ga–singgit, "Apo Kagiyaw, anen
person DEF.F LK I.R–throw I.R–shouts Ancestor Kagiyaw EXT.G
pagkaan no i en."
food 2S.GEN DEF.N CN
'The person who throws, shouts, "Ancestor Kagiyaw, here is your food."' [VAWN-T-17 3.3]

(160) Yo waig din ya en na palaga ya duma ta tangḷad ya, yo inemén.
Yo waig din ya en na pa–laga ya duma ta tangḷad
D4ABS water 3S.GEN DEF.F CM LK T.R–boil DEF.F with NABS lemon.grass
ya, yo inem–én.
DEF.F D4ABS drink–NR
'That, its water which is the one boiled with the lemon grass, that is what is to be drunk.' [DBOE-C-04 9.3]

(161) Uḷa a naḷam lain pa ya gian ko ya en.
Uḷa a na–aḷam lain pa ya agi–an ko ya
NEG.R 1S.ABS A.HAP.R–know diffferent INC DEF.F pass–NR 1S.GEN DEF.F
en.
CM
'I did not know that what was different was my path.' [DBON-C-08 2.6]

(162) Iya ya na kamatayen granada.
Iya ya na kamatayen granada.
3S.GEN DEF.F LK death grenade
'His death was a grenade.' [MBON-T-07 14.2]

(163) Tanem din ya 40 nang puon na sandia.
Tanem din ya 40 nang puon na sandia.
plant 3S.GEN DEF.F 40 only/just stem LK watermelon
'What he planted was just 40 plants of watermelon.' [SFOB-L-01 7.5]

11.5 Interjections

Interjections are expressive words that aren't really part of the structure of any particular sentence, yet express something about the speaker's emotional response or commitment to the ideas presented in nearby sentences. In English, words such as *wow!*, *man!*, *oh boy!* and some taboo words count as interjections. Kagayanen speakers use interjections frequently to enliven and add "spice" to conversations, stories and other types of discourse. There are so many interjections, including ideophones and taboo words, that they could constitute the subject matter for an entire book. In this section, we will limit the discussion to a few common interjections found in the corpus for this study and often heard in conversation.

Most interjections in Kagayanen occur between sentences, though they can constitute a sentence (predication) in themselves and they can occur within a sentence. The following is a list of interjections that occur in the corpus and some that only occur in conversation, not in the corpus. Examples (165) through (188) illustrate these interjections in context.

(164) *a* utterance-initial, falling intonation, and a pause to draw attention to a new topic or to something the speaker wants the addressee to pay special attention to (165–167).

a	utterance-final, rising intonation = veridical: 'truly', 'really', emphasizing the truth of the statement (167) second instance of *a*, and (168).
aaw	utterance-initial = interest and excitement 'oh really', or some new thought comes to mind or the speaker is reminded of something (169).
aba	Utterance-initial, with rising and falling intonation, followed by a pause = 'wow', wonderment, amazement, or excitement. Often accompanied by an alveolar/palatal click (170).
ara	Expression of disagreement or dislike of something (171).
aro	Surprise (172).
ay	Surprise (173–175).
aroy/arey	Sympathy, 'oh no' (176–177).
ba	Irony, sarcasm (178).
di	Utterance-initial, a rhetorical question = 'what else?' It usually occurs after digressions or quotations to indicate return to the main topic. It can express sarcasm, disapproval, disgust, disagreement or objection (179).
dukwa	Politeness, tentativity (180–182).
i	Utterance-final, veridical (high likelihood of truth), sympathy (183–187).
inday	Utterance-intial = doubt 'I don't know' (188).
oy	Attention getter = 'Hey!' (189).
ta	Mild rebuke = 'well of course', 'that's right, 'it's true', (190–191).
tongue click	Excitement, joy, enjoyment. This is not transcribed in the corpus but occurs often in conversation. The Kagayanen word is *nakḷa* 'to click the tongue.'

(165) *a* Drawing attention to new topic:
A, prublima nang unti ame i uḷa mga sakayan na para ta basak…

A, *prublima nang unti ame i uḷa mga*
Well, problem only/just D1LOC.PR 1P.EXCL.GEN DEF.N NEG.R PL
sakay–an na para ta basak…
ride–NR LK for NABS ground

'Well, our only problem here is there is no transportation for the ground (instead of just boats for the sea).' (This is a new topic because previous to this sentence the text was about how nice the island is and how many people come to see it.) [DBWL-T-19 9.5]

(166) *a* Drawing attention to something special:
A, mainay na pagsabat nagapaadyo ta kagilek, piro, **a**, mabiskeg an na mga ambaḷanen nagasegyet ta kagilek.

A, *ma–inay na pag–sabat naga–pa–adyo ta ka–gilek,*
take.note ADJ–slow LK NR.ACT–answer I.R–CAUS–far NABS NR–angry
piro, ***a,*** *ma–biskeg an na mga ambaḷ–anen naga–segyet ta*
but take.note ADJ–strong DEF.M LK PL say–NR I.R–intice NABS
ka–gilek.
NR–angry
'Take note, slow answers drive anger far away, but take note, strong words entice anger.' [JCOB-L-02 85]

(167) *a* Dismay, counter expectation:
A, yaken pa nuḷog a.

A, *yaken pa na–uḷog a.*
well 1S.ABS INC A.HAP.R–fall truly
'Well, I even fell truly.' (In the context, he was trying to stab a fish when fishing but instead of stabbing it he fell.) [EFWN-T-10 2.15]

(168) *a* Emphasis on truth, 'truly':
Malit ki nang kiten i tenga kilo tak maal sidda an Manila **a**.

Malit ki nang kiten i tenga kilo
I.V.R–buy 1P.INCL.ABS only/just 1P.INCL.ABS DEF.N half kilogram
tak maal sidda naan Manila ***a.***
because expensive fish SPAT.DEF Manila truly
'Let's just buy half a kilogram, because fish is expensive in Manila truly.' [BMON-C-05 10.14]

The interjections *aaw* 'oh really', *aba* 'wow', and *ara* 'that's wrong' do not occur in the corpus. The following examples are from conversations:

(169) *aaw* Excitement:
Aaw muag ki kani ta prugrama!

Aaw *m–luag ki kani ta prugrama!*
oh.really I.V.IR–watch 1P.INCL.ABS later NABS program
'Oh really, let's watch the program later!'

(170) *aba* Wonderment/amazement:
Aba, gabot gwapa i na bai!
***Aba**, ga–abot gwapa i na bai!*
wow I.R–arrive attractive DEF.N LK woman
'Wow, this attractive woman is/was arriving!'

(171) *ara* Disagreement:
Ara, man-o yaken i pabangdanan no na ganakaw ta kwarta no?
***Ara**, man-o yaken i pa–bangdan–an no na ga–nakaw*
that's.wrong why 1S.ABS DEF.N T.R–blame–APL 2S.ERG LK I.R–steal
ta kwarta no?
NABS money 2S.GEN
'That's wrong, why am I the one you blame that (I) stole your money?'

(172) *aro* Surprise:
Aro, sugat din baked na kapri.
***Aro**, sugat din baked na kapri.*
SURP meet 3S.ERG big LK spirit.giant
'Oh, she met a big spirit giant.' [CBON-T-03 3.2]

(173) *ay* Surprise:
Ay, bugnaw man san lima no yan a.
***Ay**, bugnaw man san lima no yan a.*
SURP cold EMPH D2NABS hand 2S.GEN DEF.M truly
'Oh, your hand is so cold truly.'

(174) **Ay** sus uḷa swirti na mga gubat. Danen ya ubos ta tumba.
***Ay** sus uḷa swirti na mga gubat. Danen ya ubos ta tumba.*
SURP INJ NEG.R luck LK PL raider 3P.NABS DEF.F all NABS fall.over
'Oh, there were no lucky raiders. They all fell over.' (This is a story about raiders who attacked the people on Cagayancillo long ago. It is surprising that the raiders fell over and were killed by the Kagayanens because the expected thing is that the raiders would kill the Kagayanens since they had many weapons.) [EMWN-T-07 4.3]

(175) Na iran an na masigKagayanen dya naabutan ta malised o malain na mga betang, **ay**, uḷa en danen an en pagbalikid.

Na iran an na masig–Kagayanen dya na–abot–an ta
LK 3P.GEN DEF.M LK fellow-Kagayanen D4LOC A.HAP.R–arrive–APL NABS
*ma–lised o ma–lain na mga betang, **ay**, uḷa en danen an*
ADJ–distress or ADJ–bad LK PL thing SURP NEG.R CM 3P.GEN DEF.M
en pag–balikid.
CM NR.ACT–look.back

'When their fellow Kagayanens there come upon distressful or bad things, **oh**, they don't ever look back.' (Look back here implies to pay attention and to help. It is a surprise because it is cultural for people to always want to help each other.) [JCOB-L-02 12.4]

(176) *aroy* Sympathy:
Aroy, pirdien a gid kani ta umang!

***Aroy**, pirdi–en a gid kani ta umang!*
too.bad defeat–T.IR 1S.ABS INT later NABS hermit.crab

'Too bad, hermit crab will really defeat me later!' [JCON-L-08 43.6]

(177) Pagsangga ta baked ya na manunggoḷ, **aroy**, sikad batyag din na sakit naan ta takong din an.

*Pag–sangga ta baked ya na manunggoḷ, **aroy**, sikad*
NR.ACT–bump.into NABS big DEF.F LK limestone too.bad very
batyag din na sakit naan ta takong din an.
feel 3S.ERG LK pain SPAT.DEF NABS forehead 3S.GEN DEF.M

'After bumping into a big limestone, *oh no!* the pain he felt on his forehead was much!' [JCON-L-07 4.6]

(178) *ba* Irony and sarcasm:
Bellay **ba** bag-o utod buok din an.

*Bellay **ba** bag-o utod buok din an.*
difficult IRN newly cut hair 3S.GEN DEF.M

'Oh so difficult, his/her hair is newly cut.'

In (178) the speaker is referring to the hearer's hair. This is clearly irony, since it is not difficult to get a haircut, but rather is a good thing. Many times in irony the third person is used in place of second person.

(179) *di* Disapproval/objection:
Di pinsaran ta duma ya na pigado en na uḷa en pagkaan…
Di *∅–pinsar–an ta duma ya na pigado en na uḷa en pagkaan…*
INJ/RQ T.IR–think–APL NABS some DEF.F LK difficult CM LK NEG.R CM food
'What else, tsk, some think that (it is) difficult now not having food…'
(This occurs after an explanation about how the land is rocky and the portions small and so making a living from it is difficult.) [MOOE-C-01 43.7]

The form *dukwa* 'tentatively sometime', is used as a polite way to request something or suggest something should happen at some time. Example (180) is a typical expression used when taking leave of others. One does not want to sound too anxious to leave, and *dukwa* adds an appropriate degree of tentativeness to the proposition.

(180) **Dukwa** a nang en muli.
Dukwa *a nang en m–uli.*
possibly.some.time 1S.ABS only/just CM I.V.IR–go.home
'Possibly some time I will just go home.'

(181) Sigi kaw taan **dukwa** tangkis daw magkitaay kaw.
Sigi kaw taan ***dukwa*** *tangkis daw*
continually 2P.ABS maybe possibly.some.time grin if/when
mag–kita–ay kaw.
I.IR–see–REC 2P.ABS
'You will maybe continually possibly be grinning **some time** when you see each other. (This is a letter to a person far away. The letter writer is imagining the addressee seeing people she had not seen for a while.) [PBWL-C-05 4.2]

(182) Isya **dukwa** dakmeḷ na libro basaen ta duma na ittaw
Isya ***dukwa*** *dakmeḷ na libro basa–en ta duma na*
one possibly.some.time thick LK book read–T.IR NABS some LK
ittaw …
person
'**Possibly some time** one thick book is what some people will read ….'
(This is part of a speech introducing a Kagayanen writing contest

describing all the different things one can write about and trying to encourage the people to write stories in Kagayanen.) [SFOE-T-06 2.6]

There is an interjection *i* that occurs at the end of a unit. It seems to add a sense of veridicality (high likelihood of truth) or sympathy. This utterance-final *i* is different in function from the definite demonstrative marker inside an RP. It is also quite different in function from the second position *i* that indicates speaker's attitude. A full analysis of the use of this *i* in discourse is needed to fully understand its communicative function. Here we provide a few examples from the corpus.

(183) *i* Strong assertion of truth:
Uyi Pedro **i**, iran na baḷay nasunog **i**.

*U–yi Pedro **i**, iran na baḷay na–sunog **i**.*
EMPH–D1ABS Pedro DEF.N 3P.GEN LK house A.HAP.R–burn INJ
'This Pedro, their house was the one burned.' (The house burned and the name Pedro was already mentioned.) [RZWN-T-02 3.2]

(184) *i* Sympathy:
Nabatyagan ko man daw ino kasebe ki kaon **i**.

*Na–batyag–an ko man daw ino ka–sebe ki kaon **i**.*
A.HAP.R–feel–APL 1S.ERG EMPH and what NR–sadness OBL.P 2S.ABS INJ
'I really feel how much sadness (it is) for you.' (The addressee did not pass the classes to be a doctor.) [VBWL-T-08 2.2]

(185) Yaken i isab nuḷog **i**.

*Yaken i isab na–uḷog **i**.*
1sabs DEF.N again A.HAP.R–fall INJ
'I fell again.' [CBWN-C-15 5.7]

(186) Mos, Birnis pa man **i**.

*Mos, Birnis pa man **i**.*
let's.go Friday even EMPH INJ
'Let's go, after all it is Friday.' (Because Friday is believed to be a taboo day they expected something bad to happen to their relative who had gone out and so they went out to find him and make sure he was okay.) [CBWN-C-19 5.14]

(187) Padumaan a din **i**.

*Pa–duma–an a din **i**.*
T.R–other–APL 1S.ABS 3S.ERG INJ

'He was accompanying me.' (This is about an unseen person who was already mentioned by another person, the speaker's wife who had seen him. His wife was worried about the speaker's safety when he had gone night fishing and just arrived home. So the speaker tells her that the unseen person was with him and helped him get fish when he was fishing.) [JCWN-L-31 26.2]

(188) *inday* Uncertainty, 'I don't know':
Inday! Uḷa a naḷam daw indya Pedro ya.

Inday! *Uḷa a na–aḷam daw indya Pedro ya.*
I.don't.know NEG.R 1S.ABS A.HAP.R–know if/when where Pedro DEF.F
'I don't know! I do not know where Pedro is.'

(189) *oy* Attention getter:
Oy, indi ka galin imo?

***Oy**, indi ka ga–alin imo?*
hey where 2S.ABS I.R–from EMPH
'Hey, where did you come from?'

The word *ta* in clause-initial position functions both as an interjection expressing a mild rebuke, and as a discourse particle expressing a return to the main thread of the text or conversation. The second usage is described and illustrated in §11.4.2. Examples (190) and (191) illustrate three instances of *ta* as an interjection expressing a mild rebuke:

(190) *ta* Mild rebuke:
Ta, daw gapati ka gina, di, uḷa ka inta nabunaḷ. **Ta**, isaben no pa?

***Ta**, daw ga–pati ka gina, di, uḷa ka inta*
so if/when I.R–listen/obey 2S.ABS earlier INJ/RQ NEG.R 2S.ABS OPT
*na–bunaḷ. **Ta**, isab–en no pa?*
A.HAP.R–spank so again–T.IR 2SIERG INC
'**So**, if you had obeyed earlier, what else, you would not have been spanked. **So**, will you do it again?' [EMWE-T-01 1.11–12]

(191) **Ta**, nuon no ya, patay ya en.
__Ta__, ino–en no ya, patay ya en.
so what–T.IR 2S.ERG ATT dead DEF.F CM
'So, what will you do (with that), it is dead now?' [MEWN-T-02 5.7]

11.6 The general pro-form *kwa*

The word *kwa* 'what-do-you-call-it' can take the place of noun roots (192) or verb roots (193), when the speaker cannot immediately think of the correct word. Also, it is often used in contexts when what is said is sensitive or embarrassing to the addressee. Thus *kwa* may be considered a marker of a kind of indirection.

(192) Pagubba danen en **kwa** ya, kaoy na mga darko.
Pa–gubba danen en __kwa__ ya, kaoy na mga darko.
T.R–ruin 3P.ERG CM what.do.you.call.it DEF.F tree LK PL big.PL
'They destroyed the what-do-you-call-it the trees that were large.' [PTOE-T-01 4.13]

(193) Uḷa a **gakwa** ta swildo na bakod.
Uḷa a __ga–kwa__ ta swildo na bakod.
NEG.R 1S.ABS I.R–what.do.you.call.it NABS wage LK big
'I am/was not what-do-you-call-it (wanting) a big salary.' (This probably means that s/he is not trying to get a big salary, is not focusing on that.) [RCON-L-03 6.8]

12 Clause combining

12.1 Introduction

To this point we have dealt almost exclusively with the grammar of individual words, phrases, and clauses. The typical communicative function of a clause is to express a rather simple discourse scene that involves a referent or referents and some property, activity, or situation involving those referents. However, many ideas that speakers wish to communicate are more complex than what may be expressed in a simple scene. Therefore, in addition to individual clauses, every language includes structured habit patterns that are useful for combining simple scenes into more elaborate conceptual representations (i.e. ideas). Such structured combinations of conceptual scenes is often referred to as *clause combining*.

In this chapter we will discuss several construction types in Kagayanen that involve clause combining. Most of these construction types involve one *independent* clause and one or more *dependent* clauses. We define an independent clause as one that is fully inflected and capable of being integrated into discourse on its own. A dependent clause is one that depends on some other clause for at least part of its referential, temporal, or modal "grounding". Such grounding information is also known as *inflectional information* (see Chapter 6, §6.5 for further discussion) For example, in the following English clause combination, clause (1b) is dependent on clause (1a) because the subject, tense, and modality of clause (1b) are only understood via the subject, tense, and modality of clause (1a):

(1) a. She came in,
    b. locking the door behind her.

Clause (1a) is grounded in time and modality by the past tense declarative form of the verb, and in participants by the subject pronoun *she*. Therefore, it may be used in discourse on its own and can be considered an *independent* clause. On the other hand, the verb *locking* has no subject or tense information, so clause (1b) may not naturally be used in discourse on its own; it *depends* on clause (1a) for this important information. Therefore clause (1b) is a *dependent* clause.

In Kagayanen, dependent clauses in clause combining constructions are of three structural types:

1. Nominalizations (§12.2)
2. Subjunctive clauses (§12.3)
3. Fully inflected clauses (§12.4)

Each of these structural types may be used to fulfill a number of syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic functions in discourse. The functions that dependent clauses tend to fulfill are discussed within each of the following three subsections. This chapter concludes with a section describing dependent clauses used as modifiers within Referring Phrases (i.e, relative clauses, §12.5) and a section describing clause coordination (§12.6).

12.2 Nominalizations as dependent clauses

A nominalization is a construction that describes an action, situation, or state, but has some structural characteristics of a noun. For example, (1b) *locking the door behind her*, can be called a nominalized clause because it is not inflected for some important verbal categories such as tense, modality, and subject reference. It also has some properties of nouns. For example, it can take a genitive (possessor) argument: *her locking the door*, and it can function as the subject of a sentence: *Locking the door is a good idea.*

In Kagayanen, there are two types of nominalized clauses that may function as dependent clauses in clause combining constructions. These we will refer to as *pag-* clauses and bare form clauses. There are three main reasons why we call these nominalizations.

1. They do not express grammatical transitivity (as do fully inflected verbs, see Chapter 6, §6.5.1). Any overt argument is expressed in the genitive case (as though it is the possessor of a noun), regardless of the semantic transitivity of the scene.
2. They do not express modality (as do fully inflected verbs, see Chapter 6, §6.5.2). The semantic modality of the nominalized clause is only understood in relation to the modality of the related independent clause.
3. They can function as heads of referential phrases (or "Noun Phrases") within other construction types.

As described in Chapter 3, §3.3.11, the prefix *pag-* can be used productively to form an *action nominalization*, that is, a noun that refers to an action associated with the normally verbal root (Payne 1997: 224). In some traditions these are called "verbal nouns" or "gerunds." It is often difficult to distinguish a purely nominal usage of these forms from their usage in dependent clauses. For example, if someone says *I like listening to Bach*, the speaker is not referring to any particular instance of listening to Bach, but rather just a general activity. In this case, *listening* would be an action nominalization—a "gerund" in traditional English grammar. On the other hand, if someone says *I finished listening to Bach*, then the person is describing the ending phase of a particular event. In this case we would say that *(I was) listening to Bach* is a clause that is dependent on the main verb *finish*. The verb *listening*, then, would be a "present participle" according to traditional English grammar. Note that the construction *listening to Bach* is the same in both instances; the distinction between them is purely functional. Gerunds and present participles are not different things; they are just different functions for one verbal form in English.

Something similar occurs in Kagayanen with respect to verb roots that carry the nominalizing prefix *pag-*; roots prefixed with *pag-* serve a number of syntactic and discourse functions. Consistent with the communication-first perspective taken throughout this grammar, we discuss nominalizations with *pag-* according to their various functions.

Some nominalizations formed with *pag-* are clearly lexicalized as nouns because their meanings are not consistent with the productive action nominalization pattern evoked by *pag-*. Examples of these include *pag-ampangen* 'game' (from *pag*+'play'+T.IR), *paggwa* 'show' (from *pag*+'out'), or *pagḍḷeen* 'government'/'administration' from (*pag*+'carry'+T.IR). These do not exactly mean the expected 'act of playing', 'act of going out', or 'act of carrying' respectively. The form *pagkaan* (*pag+kaan* 'eat') is a good example of a form that is both a productive action nominalization referring to the act of eating and as a lexicalized noun meaning 'food'. In this section, we will be liberal in our identification of dependent clauses headed by action nominalizations, eliminating those that are clearly lexicalized as nouns. All others, will be considered dependent clauses.

We will informally describe nominalizations with *pag-* in terms of their structure as "*pag-* verbs" and clause-like structures headed by *pag-* verbs as "*pag-* clauses". Similarly, we will describe nominalized clauses based on bare-form verbs (i.e. verbs with no inflectional affixes) as "bare-form clauses". For purposes of exposition, we identify three syntactic functions for nominalizations in clause combining: *direct complement clauses*, *oblique complement clauses*, and *adverbial clauses*, as described in the following subsections.

Pag-clauses appear to be more common in planned discourse than bare-form clauses. This observation leads to the hypothesis that bare-form clauses may simply be conversational reductions of *pag-* clauses (dropping of *pag-*). While this may be the case in some instances, there are many situations in which only a *pag-* clause is acceptable. For this reason, we are treating the two types of nominalized clauses separately and provide examples of both wherever they can be found in the corpus. Interestingly, *pag-* clauses never function as modifiers (relative clauses) within RPs, though bare-form clauses may (see §12.5.1).

12.2.1 Nominalizations as direct complement clauses

The term "complement" evokes "completion". It is based on the insight that sometimes the head of a construction alone does not constitute a complete expression of the idea that the speaker intends. Something else is needed to complete the idea. "Complement" in this sense contrasts with "modifier" in that modifiers add additional, possibly important, information about the head, but are not necessary for the structure to be fully integrated into discourse and understood by the intended audience (see, e.g., Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 219ff for a discussion of this usage of the term "complement"). For example, a preposition is the syntactic head of a Prepositional Phrase, but a preposition needs a following RE (Referring Expression) in order to be a complete phrase. Therefore we say that the RE in a prepositional phrase is the complement of the preposition.

We define a *direct complement clause* in Kagayanen as a dependent clauses that is an argument (absolutive or ergative) of another verb:

(2) Paumpisaan din en **pagtanem ta kamuti**.
*Pa–umpisa–an din en **pag–tanem ta kamuti**.*
T.R–start–APL 3S.ERG CM NR.ACT–plant NABS cassava
'S/he started **planting cassava**.'

In example (2), the nominalized clause meaning 'planting cassava' is the absolutive argument of the main clause 's/he started . . .' This is because the main verb is grammatically transitive (indicated by the prefix *pa-* and applicative suffix *-an*), the Actor is ergative, and there is no other argument that could possibly be the absolutive. Direct complement clauses are often absolutive arguments of transitive matrix clauses, as in (2). Examples (3) through (12) are from the corpus. In these examples, the complement is bolded in Kagayanen and in the English free translations:

(3) Daw asuron en man isab aged na maimo en man na beggas asta nang na matapos **pag-asod ta batad**.

Daw asod–en en man isab aged na ma–imo en man na
and pound–T.IR CM also again so.that LK A.HAP.IR–make CM also LK
beggas asta nang na ma–tapos ***pag–-asod ta***
uncooked.rice until only LK A.HAP.IR–finish NR.ACT–pound NABS
batad.
sorghum
'And pound (it) again so that it will become grain (ready for cooking) until (you) just finish **pounding sorghum**.' [YBWE-T-04 2.12]

(4) Dasigen ta pa gid **pagpanaw** aged makalambot ki dayon ta bukid ya.

Dasig–en ta pa gid ***pag–panaw*** *aged maka–lambot*
fast–T.IR 1P.INCL.ERG INC INT NR.ACT–go/walk so.that I.HAP.IR–reach
ki dayon ta bukid ya.
1P.INCL.ABS immediately NABS mountain DEF.F
'Let's speed up still more **walking** so that we will be able to reach immediately the mountain.' [CBWN-C-16 3.3]

(5) Kinangḷan bantayan ta **iran na pag-uli**.

Kinangḷan ∅–bantay–an ta ***iran na***
need T.IR–watch/guard–APL 1P.INCL.ERG 3P.GEN LK
pag–-uli.
NR.ACT–return.home
'It is necessary we watch for **their coming home**.' [CBWN-C-18 9.1]

(6) Mḷaman no na kita ko **paglarga no** …

Ma–aḷam–an no na …–kita ko ***pag–larga no*** *…*
A.HAP.IR–know–APL 2S.ERG LK A.HAP.R–see 1S.ERG NR.ACT–depart 2S.GEN
'You know that I saw **your departing** …' [BCWL-C-01 2.4]

(7) … dili ko malipatan a **pagbasa ta ake na Biblia**.

… dili ko ma–lipat–an a ***pag–basa ta ake na***
NEG.IR 1S.ERG A.HAP.IR–forget–APL INJ NR.ACT–read NABS 1S.GEN LK
Biblia.
Bible
'… I will not forget **reading my Bible**.' [JCOE-C-04 15.1]

(8) Man-o paran tak dili ta isalyo **ate na pagtanem ta kaoy**
Man-o paran tak dili ta i–salyo ***ate***
why perhaps because NEG.IR 1P.INCL.ERG T.DEON–change 1P.INCL.GEN
na pag–tanem ta kaoy
LK NR.ACT–plant NABS tree/wood
'Why perhaps should we not change **our planting to trees**.' [ROOB-T-01 11.9]

(9) Natapos ko gid man ake na pag-iskwila ta high school naan St. Andrew's High School, Anini-y, Antique.
Na–tapos ko gid man ake na pag–-iskwila ta high
A.HAP.R–finish 1S.ERG INT also 1S.GEN LK NR.ACT–school NABS high
school naan St. Andrew's High School, Anini-y, Antique.
school SPAT.DEF St. Andrew's High School, Anini-y, Antique
'I had really finished my schooling of high school at St. Andrew's High School Anini-y Antique.' (JBON-J-01 2.9)
Gani patapos ko sulat lesson plan ko … so T.R–finish 1S.ERG write
Gani pa–tapos ko sulat lesson plan ko …
lesson plan 1S.GEN
'So I finished writing my lesson plan …' (JCWN-L-31 2.4)

The English free translations of (10) and (11) may make it seem that the bolded portions are simple verbal nouns—they have no expressed arguments or other overt trappings of clauses. Nevertheless, they are are complement clauses by our definition because they refer to specific events in the scene being depicted by the speaker, rather than general activities of hitting (10) and pounding (11).

(10) Nakita ko **pag-igo ya**.
Na–kita ko ***pag–-igo ya.***
A.HAP.R–see 1S.ERG NR.ACT–hit DEF.F
'I saw **the hitting**.' (This text is about spearing a wild pig. The speaker asserts in this sentence that he saw the spear hit the pig.) [RCON-L-01 4.1]

(11) Pagiran ko **pag-asod** asta na nakita ko na naleg-as en.
Pa–gid–an ko ***pag–-asod*** *asta na na–kita ko na*
T.R–INT–AP 1S.ERG NR.ACT–pound until LK A.HAP.R–see 1S.ERG LK
na–leg-as en.
A.HAP.R–smash CM
'I intensified **pounding** until I saw that (it) had been smashed fine.' (This is about pounding rice.) [JCWE-T-13 2.7]

Example (12) includes three nominalizations, two with *pag-* (*pag-ambaḷ* 'speaking' and *pag-suḷat* 'writing') and one bare form (*basa* 'reading'). In such cases, *pag-* is much more likely to be omitted, as it is in the third member of the sequence:

(12) Paistudyuan danen **pag-ambaḷ**. Paistudyuan danen **pagsuḷat**, **basa** kag tanan-tanan en danen.
*Pa–istudyo–an danen **pag--ambaḷ**. Pa–istudyo–an danen*
T.R–astudy–APL 3P.ERG NR.ACT–say T.R–study–APL 3P.ERG
***pag--suḷat**, **basa** kag*[1] *tanan~-tanan en danen.*
NR.ACT–write read and RED~all CM 3P.GEN
'They studied **speaking**. They studied **writing**, **reading**, and absolutely everything is (what) they (studied).' [JCOE-T-06 7.4–5]

Pag- clauses may also function as absolutive arguments of intransitive matrix clauses, as in examples (13) through (18) from the corpus:

(13) Siguro, baked gid **imo na pagtingaḷa** na man-o tak nḷaman ko imo na ngaran.
*Siguro, baked gid **imo** **na pag–tingaḷa** na man-o tak*
perhaps big INT 2S.GEN LK NR.ACT–wonder LK why because
na–aḷaman ko imo na ngaran.
A.HAP.R–know–APL 1S.ERG 2S.GEN LK name
'Perhaps, **your wondering** is really great why I know your name.' [EMWL-T-04 5.2]

(14) Nabugtu en **ate na pagpari**.
*Na–bugtu en **ate** **na pag–pari**.*
A.HAP.R–break CM 1P.INCL.GEN LK NR.ACT–friend
'**Our being friends** has been broken now.' [RBWN-T-02 5.6]

(15) Na natapos en **ake na pag-indyiksyon** daw education campaign, …
*Na na–tapos en **ake** **na pag--indyiksyon** daw education*
LK A.HAP.R–finish CM 1S.GEN LK NR.ACT–injection and education
campaign, …
campaign
'When **my giving injections** and education campaign was finished, …' [JCWN-T-21 14.1]

[1]This word is code switching from Hiligaynon.

(16) … na magbiskeg pa gid **inyo na pagsalig ta Dyos**.
… na mag–biskeg pa gid ***inyo na pag–salig ta Dyos.***
LK I.IR–strong INC INT 2P.GEN LK NR.ACT–trust NABS God
'… that **your trusting God** will become really stronger. [BCWL-C-03 8.7]

(17) Pamikawan bata an aged magdayad **pagdako din an**, …
Pa–mikaw–an bata an aged mag–dayad ***pag–dako***
T.R–food.sacrifice–APL child DEF.M so.that I.IR–good NR.ACT–large
din an, *…*
3S.GEN DEF.M
'A child has a food offering done (for him/her) so that **his/her growing up** will be good, …' [JCWE-T-16 2.4]

(18) Madayon gid **iran na pagsawaay**.
Ma–dayon gid ***iran na pag–sawa–ay.***
A.HAP.IR–continue INT 3P.GEN LK NR.ACT–spouse–REC
'**Their being married** will continue on.' (In the context the parents of the boy and girl make an agreement that their children will be married and the children can't do anything about it even though they have not courted each other.) [HCWE-J-02 4.3]

Examples of *pag-* clauses functioning in the ergative role are rare, however they do occur occasionally in the corpus, as in examples (19) and (20):

(19) Bellayan ka taan **ta pagbasa ta ake na suḷat**.
Bellay–an ka taan ***ta pag–basa ta ake na suḷat.***
tire–APL 2S.ABS maybe NABS NR.ACT–read NABS 1S.GEN LK write/letter
'**Reading my letter** maybe will tire you.' [BCWL-C-01 3.34]

(20) Gani a mga ittaw naan ta Bario nakulian **ta pagnubig** kumo waig naan pa kamangen ta Barangay Wahig.
Gani a mga ittaw naan ta Bario
so/therefore INJ PL people SPAT.DEF NABS Bario
na–kuli–an ***ta pag–nubig*** *kumo waig*
A.HAP.R–difficult/slow–APL NABS NR.ACT–haul.water because water
naan pa kamang–en ta Barangay Wahig.
SPAT.DEF INC get–T.IR NABS community Wahig
'So **hauling water** difficults/slows the people in Bario because the water is even gotten from the community of Wahig.' [VPWE-T-01 2.7]

Bare-form verbs may also function as nominalized *direct complement clauses* (see example 12 above in which the bare-form *basa* 'read' is coordinated with a *pag-* clause). Note that the verb *tanem* in example (21) has no inflection. Native speakers report no semantic differences between these and corresponding constructions with *pag*-verbs in the complements (c.f. example 2 above):

(21) Paumpisaan din en **tanem ta kamuti**.
*Pa–umpisa–an din en **tanem ta** **kamuti**.*
T.R–start–APL 3S.ERG CM plant NABS cassava
'S/he started **planting cassava**.'

The following are examples of bare-form direct complement clauses from the corpus:

(22) Naan nay dya namatii a **kanta** na, "Aliluya, aliluya."
*Naan nay dya na–mati–i a **kanta** na,*
SPAT.DEF 1P.EXCL.ERG D4LOC A.HAP.R–hear–XC.APL INJ sing LK
'Aliluya, aliluya."
hallelujah hallelujah
'There we hear singing, "Hallelujah, hallelujah." (They heard **singing** coming from the top of the mast of their boat they were riding.) [VAWN-T-18 5.9]

(23) Gani patapos ko **suḷat** lesson plan ko daw manuga …
*Gani pa–tapos ko **suḷat** lesson plan ko daw m–tanuga …*
so T.R–finish 1S.ERG write lesson plan 1S.GEN and I.V.IR–sleep
'So, I finished **writing** my lesson plan and went to sleep …. [JCWN-L-31 2.4]

12.2.2 Nominalizations as oblique complement clauses

In many cases, nominalized clauses are not absolutive or ergative arguments of their matrix as defined in the previous section, yet appear to be required to complete the idea expressed by the verb. Neither are they adverbial clauses because they are not optional sentence adjuncts (see §12.2.3). For these reasons, it makes sense to call them complement clauses – they "complete" the meaning of the main clause. However, they are not direct complements because there is no evidence that they are core arguments of the matrix verb. Therefore, we call such complements "oblique complements" or "OCs". Example (24) illustrates the same

idea as example (2), but in a detransitive, or "Actor voice", construction. Here the verb is grammatically intransitive, the Actor is absolutive, and a clause headed by a nominalized verb is preceded by the non-absolutive particle *ta*:

(24) Gaumpisa en kanen an ta **(pag)tanem ta kamuti**.
Ga–umpisa en kanen an ta ***(pag)–tanem ta kamuti.***
I.R–start CM 3S.ABS DEF.M NABS (NR.ACT-)plant NABS cassava
'S/he started **to plant cassava**.'

Again, in example (24) there is little if any reported difference in meaning whether the verb in the OC is in the bare form *tanem* or the *pag-* form *pagtanem*. The transitive, or "patient voice" construction (given earlier in 2 and recapitulated in 25 for convenience) is nearly synonymous:

(25) Paumpisaan din en **pagtanem ta kamuti**.
Pa–umpisa–an din en ***pag–tanem ta kamuti.***
T.R–start–APL 3S.ERG CM NR.ACT–plant NABS cassava
'S/he started **planting cassava**.'

The difference in meaning between (24) and (25) is difficult to capture-they are approximately as synonymous as the English translations. In (24) the fact that s/he has started doing something is in perspective, as though we were wondering when the Actor was going to get up and do something, with little expectation of what s/he would do. In (25), on the other hand, the act of planting cassava is in perspective, as though we were expecting the Actor to plant cassava.

Examples (26)–(31) illustrate *pag*-clauses as oblique complement clauses from the corpus. In each of these examples, the matrix verb by itself is semantically transitive. For example, *tagad* 'waiting' (26) always implies waiting for something. The same is true for all of the examples in (26) through (31); the main (or "matrix") clause evokes a scene that involves an Undergoer which may be expressed in an oblique nominalized clause (bolded). Therefore the oblique clauses in these examples can be considered complements:

(26) Manang, magtagad kay **ta imo na pagbalik**.
Manang, mag–tagad kay ***ta imo na pag–balik.***
older.sister I.IR–wait 1P.EXCL.ABS NABS 2S.GEN LK NR.ACT–return
'Older sister, we will wait **for your return**.' [SBWL-C-02 6.1]

(27) Mga sampuḷo daw annem na bḷangay daw batil na gadengngan **ta pag-alin ta Cagayancillo**.

Mga sampuḷo daw annem na bḷangay daw batil na
PL ten and six LK 2.masted.boat and 1.masted.boat LK
ga–dengngan ***ta pag–-alin ta Cagayancillo****.*
I.R–do.at.same.time NABS NR.ACT–from NABS Cagayancillo
'About sixteen two-masted boats and one-masted boats were going at the same time together **leaving Cagayancillo**.' [VAWN-T-18 2.7]

(28) Gadiritso kay gid **ta paglarga**.

Ga–diritso kay gid ***ta pag–larga****.*
I.R–straight 1P.EXCL.ABS INT NABS NR.ACT–depart
'We right away were **departing**.' [VAWN-T-18 3.6]

(29) Tudluan **ta pagpasalamat ta Ginuo ta mga betang na paatag din ki kiten**.

∅–Tudlo–an ***ta pag–pa–salamat ta Ginuo ta mga***
T.IR–teach–APL NABS NR.ACT–CAUS–thanks NABS Lord NABS PL
betang na pa–atag din ki kiten*.*
things LK T.R–give 3S.ERG OBL.P 1P.INCL
'Teach (them) **to give thanks to the Lord for the things he gave to us**.' [ETOP-C-10 1.2]

(30) … nabatyagan din kon na naluyaan yi na sidda daw gauntat **ta iya na pagluoy**.

… na–batyag–an din kon na na–luya–an yi na sidda
A.HAP.R–feel–APL 3S.ERG HSY LK A.HAP.R–weak–APL D1ADJ LK fish
daw ga–untat ***ta iya na pag–luoy****.*
and I.R–stop NABS 3S.GEN LK NR.ACT–swim
'… he felt that this fish had become weak and stopped **his swimming**.' (This is a text about a man who was swallowed by a whale or big fish, and was still alive inside the stomach when he felt the whale stop swimming because it had been beached in a river.) [CBWN-C-21 4.6]

(31) Pagtapos ko ta iskwila ta haiskol gapadayon a man **ta pag-iskwila naan unti Puerto Princesa City ta College** …

Pag–tapos ko ta iskwila ta haiskol ga–pa–dayon
NR.ACT–finish 1S.ERG NABS school NABS high.school I.R–CAUS–continue
a man ***ta pag–-iskwila naan unti Puerto Princesa***
1S.ABS also NABS NR.ACT–school SPAT.DEF D1LOC.PR Puerto Princesa

City ta College ...
City NABS College
'When I finished high school education I continued **education also here in Puerto Princesa City College**.' [DDWN-C-01 7.5]

Example (32) illustrates a construct which contains a *pag-* complement clause embedded within another *pag-* complement clause. The matrix verb *atagan* 'to give to' takes an oblique complement *ta pagtamed* ... 'focus attention on ...'. This oblique complement in turn takes a direct complement *imo na pag-iskwila* 'your schooling'/'education':

(32) Ake nang na malaygay ki kaon na atagan no gid **ta pagtamed imo na pag-iskwila**.
Ake nang na ma–laygay ki kaon na ∅–atag–an no gid
1S.GEN only LK A.HAP.IR–advise OBL.P 2S LK T.IR–give–APL 2S.ERG INT
ta pag–tamed imo na pag–-iskwila.
NABS NR.ACT–focus.attention 2S.GEN LK NR.ACT–school
'What I can advise you only is that **you really focus (your) attention on your schooling**.' [YBWL-T-02 2.3]

Example (33) illustrates the Class VIII verb *pursigir* 'persevere'. Class VIII is the class of verbs that requires the applicative suffix *-an* when it appears in a grammatically transitive form (see Chapter 7, §7.6 and Chapter 8, §8.9). This verb may occur with an oblique complement when grammatically intransitive (33a). Several complement-taking verbs fall into this grammatical class, as exemplified in (34) and (35):

(33) a. Yaken gapursigir gid **ta pagsuḷat ki kyo** aged mḷaman ko man inyo na kaimtangan dyan.
Yaken ga–pursigir gid ***ta pag–suḷat ki kyo*** *aged*
1S.ABS I.R–persevere INT NABS NR.ACT–write OBL.P 2P so.that
ma–aḷam–an ko man inyo na kaimtangan
A.HAP.IR–know–APL 1S.ERG also 2P.GEN LK situation/condition
dyan.
D2LOC
'As for me (I) really persevered in **writing to you** so that I also will know your situation there.' [PBWL-T-09 2.1]

b. * Papursigir ko pagsuḷat ki kaon.

c. Papursigiran ko pagsuḷat ki kaon.

(34) a. Kinangḷan bantayan ta **iran na pag-uli**.
*Kinangḷan ∅–bantay–an ta **iran na***
need T.IRwatch/guard–APL 1P.INCL.ERG 3P.GEN LK
***pag–-uli**.*
NR.ACT–go.home
'It is necessary we watch for **their coming home**.' [CBWN-C-18 9.1]

b. Magbantay ki ta iran na pag-uli.

c. * Bantayen ta iran na pag-uli.

(35) a. Manang, magtagad kay **ta imo na pagbalik**.
*Manang, mag–tagad kay **ta imo na pag–balik**.*
older.sister I.IR–wait 1P.EXCL.ABS NABS 2S.GEN LK NR.ACT–return
'Older sister, we will wait for your return.' [SBWL-C-02 6.1]

b. * Tagaren nay imo na pagbalik.

c. Tagaran nay imo na pagbalik.

The following are some additional examples of oblique complements from the corpus. Matrix verbs that take oblique complements include verbs that describe the manner, intensity, or Actor's involvement with the action described in the complement (36–39):

(36) Dili ka gid malipat **ta pagsalig ki kanen**.
*Dili ka gid ma–lipat **ta pag–salig ki kanen**[2].*
NEG.IR 2S.ABS INT A.HAP.IR–forget NABS NR.ACT–trust OBL.P 3S
'Do not forget really to **trust him**.' [VBWL-T-08 2.7]

(37) Daw may isya pa duti na gaduwa-duwa pa **ta pagbaton** ki Jesu Kristo na iya na manunubos pirsunal …
*Daw may isya pa duti na ga–duwa-duwa pa **ta***
if/when EXT.IN one INC D1LOC.PR LK I.R–waver/doubt INC NABS
***pag–baton** ki Jesu Kristo na iya na ma–ng–tubos*
NR.ACT–receive OBL.P Jesus Christ LK 3S.GEN LK A.HAP.IR–PL–redeem
pirsunal …
personal
'If there is one here who is still wavering/doubting **of receiving** Jesus Christ his personal redeeemer …' [TTOB-L-03 7.14]

[2]There are two verb roots spelled *salig* in Kagayanen. In this example, stress falls on the first syllable ([sálig]), and the meaning is 'to trust.' In the other, stress falls on the second syllable ([salíg]), and means 'to think wrongly'.

(38) a. *dugang* 'to add or to increase VERBing':
Gadugang kay **ta pagpursigir** ta ame na pag-ubra.
*Ga–dugang kay **ta** **pag–pursigir** ta*
I.R–add/increase 1P.EXCL.ABS NABS NR.ACT–persevere NABS
ame na pag–-ubra.
1P.EXCL.GEN LK NR.ACT–work/do
'We increased **persevering** in our work.'

b. * Padugang nay pagprusigir ta ame na ubra.

c. Padugangan nay pagprusigir ta ame na ubra.

The verb *lipat* 'to forget' takes an obligatory complement clause that is either an irrealis clause preceded by the linker/complementizer *na* (39a), a bare-form clause, or a *pag-* clause. All of the examples in (39) have the same basic meaning, but with different nuances that are difficult to capture in the English translations.

(39) a. Grammatically transitive frame, irrealis complement:
Nalipatan ko na patayen apoy an.
Na–lipat–an ko na patay–en apoy an.
A.HAP.R–forge–APL 1S.ERG LK die–T.IR fire DEF.M
'I forgot to extinguish the fire.'

b. Grammatically transitive frame, *pag-* complement:
Nalipatan ko pagpatay ta apoy an.

c. Grammatically intransitive frame, irrealis complement:
Nalipat a na patayen apoy an.

d. Grammatically intransitive frame, *pag-* complement:
Nalipat a ta pagpatay ta apoy.

Since most lexical roots are not strictly categorized as nominal or verbal, at times it is not clear as to whether a particular uninflected form is a "bare verb" or just a root being used nominally. For example, in (40) the root *tabang* 'help' is used twice, first as a nominal, and second as an inflected verb. Is the first instance a bare-form nominalized clause meaning "God helping us", or just a noun? In this section we have made the general decision that if a bare form has one or more overt arguments, we can call it a nominalized clause. Otherwise, it is just a root being used as a noun. In (40) the first instance of *tabang* has no arguments (*naan ta Dios* 'from God' is clearly oblique because of the spatial demonstrative *naan*), therefore this is not a complement clause. There may be situations where this determination remains unclear, or where we have deviated from this general guideline.

(40) Gagaḷ a na gangayo ta **tabang** naan ta Dios na ambaḷ ko, "Dios ko tabangan no kami i."

*Ga–gaḷ a na ga–ng–ngayo ta **tabang** naan ta Dios na*
I.R–cry 1S.ABS LK I.R–PL–request NABS help SPAT.DEF NABS God LK
ambaḷ ko, "Dios ko Ø–tabang–an no kami i."
say 1S.ERG God 1S.GEN T.IR–help–APL 2S.ERG 2P.ABS DEF.N
'I was crying requesting **help** from God when I said, "My God help us." [CBWN-C-11 4.14]

12.2.3 Nominalizations as adverbial clauses

Adjuncts are clause constituents that are not part of the argument structure of the clause. They contrast with complements in that they do not fill out or "complete" the idea expressed; they merely add additional information. Adjuncts do not affect nor are they affected by the grammatical transitivity of the main verb. Some linguists (e.g., Huddleston & Pullum 2002, Payne 2011) argue that the difference between complement and adjunct is more a continuum than an absolute distinction. This does seem to be the case in Kagayanen, though a full study of the properties of complements and adjuncts must await future research. Other theoretical linguists would say that verbs don't "govern", "select", or "license" their adjuncts, as they do their complements; any verb can in principle take any adjunct, though typically certain semantic classes of verbs are compatible with only certain semantic types of complements. This also seems to be the case in Kagayanen.

When a clause fills an adjunct role within another clause, the adjunct is sometimes called an *adverbial clause* This is because adjunct clauses tend to express the same kinds of information that adverbs do, such as time (sequence, simultaneity), manner, reason, purpose, and condition. In Kagayanen, adjunct clauses may be subjunctive (§12.3.2), fully finite (§12.4.2), or nominalizations formed with *pag-*. In this section we will illustrate and describe some *pag-* clauses functioning as adjuncts to other clauses. While some of the constructions described in this section may seem like complement clauses from the perspective of the English translations, they are all non-obligatory, and so must be classified as adjuncts according to the grammar of Kagayanen.

The following examples illustrate a selection of *pag-* clauses serving adjunct functions that occur in the corpus. These are not complements because the main clause (e.g., *yaken en balik* 'I returned' in example 41) is a complete assertion without it:

(41) ... yaken en balik **ta pag-iskwila** nyaan ta Puerto.
... yaken en ...–balik ***ta*** ***pag–-iskwila*** *nyaan ta Puerto.*
1S.ABS CM I.R–return NABS NR.ACT–school SPAT.DEF NABS Puerto
'... I returned **to studying** in Puerto.' [JCOEC-04 13.2]

(42) Gakuyog a ki danen **ta paglagaw**.
Ga–kuyog a ki danen ***ta*** ***pag–lagaw.***
I.R–go.with 1S.ABS OBL.P 3p NABS NR.ACT–walk.around
'I went with them **walking around**.'

Example (43) illustrates two *pag-* clauses. The first is an adverbial clause modifying the main clause *gapasalamat a* ... 'I give thanks', while the second seems to be an adverbial clause modifying *pagtapna* 'instructing':

(43) Una ta tanan bilang gapasalamat a ta mga maistra ta high school **ta pagtapna ta pag-ubraen ta stage** na wi anduni naiwasan ta ate na prugrama.
Una ta tanan bilang ga–pa–salamat a ta mga
first NABS all as/in.the.role.of I.R–CAUS–thanks 1S.ABS NABS PL
maistra ta high school ***ta*** ***pag–tapna*** ***ta*** ***pag–-ubra–en***
teacher NABS high school NABS NR.ACT–instruct NABS NR.ACT–work–T.IR
ta ***stage*** *na wi anduni na–iwas–an ta*
NABS stage LK EMPH.D1ABS now/today A.HAP.R–hold/present–APL NABS
ate na prugrama.
1P.INCL.GEN LK program
'First of all it is like I give thanks to the high school teachers **for instructing** (us) **in making the stage** which this now is where we held our program.' [FBOE-C-01 2.1]

(44) Yaken anduni nagatabang ki Maam **ta pag-ubra** ta ate na ambaḷ Kagayanen.
Yaken anduni naga–tabang[3] *ki Maam* ***ta*** ***pag–-ubra***
1S.ABS now/today I.R–help OBL.P Ma'am NABS NR.ACT–work/do
ta ate na ambaḷ Kagayanen.
NABS 1P.INCL.GEN LK say Kagayanen
'As for me now, (I) am helping Ma'am **work** on our language Kagayanen.' [JCWB-T-12 11.2]

[3]The use of the prefix *naga-* is code switching from Hiligaynon.

(45) Siguro sake ka taan **ta pag-ubra**.
Siguro sake ka taan ***ta pag-–ubra****.*
perhaps busy 2S.ABS maybe NABS NR.ACT–work
'Perhaps you maybe are busy **working**.' [PBWL-C-03 2.3]

(46) Sadya kaw taan **ta pagtranslate ta libro na Genesis**.
Sadya kaw taan ***ta pag–translate ta libro na Genesis****.*
happy 2P.ABS maybe NABS NR.ACT–translate NABS book LK Genesis
'You are maybe happy **translating the book of Genesis**.' [PBWL-C-03 2.4]

(47) Dili kaw magtamad tak daw tamad ki **ta pag-ubra**, uḷa ki kan-enen.
Dili kaw mag–tamad tak daw tamad ki ***ta***
NEG.IR 2P.ABS I.IR–lazy because if/when lazy 1P.INCL.ABS NABS
pag-–ubra*, uḷa ki kan-en–en.*
NR.ACT–work/do NEG.R 1P.INCL.ABS cooked.rice–T.IR
'Do not be lazy because if we are lazy **in working**, we will have nothing to eat' [RZWE-J-01 15.3]

(48) Ta pitsa 1974, yaken nakakuyog **ta pagpangawil** ta pailing na matambakoḷ.
Ta pitsa 1974, yaken naka–kuyog ***ta pag–pang–kawil*** *ta*
NABS date 1974 1S.ABS I.HAP.R–go.with NABS NR.ACT–PL–fishhook NABS
pa–iling na matambakoḷ.
T.R–say LK skipjack.tuna
'On the date of 1974, as for me (I) went with (others) **hook and line fishing** for what is called skipjack tuna.' [MCWN-L-01 2.2]

(49) … kanen i nagapakuntis **ta pagsuḷat ta Kagayanen**.
… kanen i naga–pa–kuntis ***ta pag–suḷat ta Kagayanen****.*
3S.ABS DEF.N I.R–CAUS–contest NABS NR.ACT–write NABS Kagayanen
'… as for her (she) held a contest **for writing Kagayanen**.' [SOWN-L-01 1.29]

(50) Maḷaman ta surano daw may sabid isya na ittaw paagi ta luy-a na pagamit din **ta pagteyep** tak iya na pasuppa.
Ma–aḷam–an ta surano daw may sabid
A.HAP.IR–know–APL NABS shaman if/when EXT.IN sickness.from.spirit
isya na ittaw paagi ta luy-a na pa–gamit din ***ta***
one LK person by.means NABS ginger LK T.R–use 3S.ERG NABS

pag–teyep *tak iya na pa–suppa.*
NR.ACT–blow.on because 3S.GEN LK T.R–chew
'The shaman knows if a person has a sickness from a spirit by means of ginger that he uses **in blowing on** (the person) because (it is what) he chews on.' [CBWE-T-07 3.9]

(51) Anen dyan na adlaw na magaluto ka ta lana daw apog para gamiten **ta pag-ubra na imuon na siminto** …
Anen dyan na adlaw na maga–luto ka ta lana daw apog
EXT.G D2LOC LK day/sun LK I.IR–cook 2S.ABS NABS coconut.oil and lime
para gamiten ***ta pag–-ubra na imuon na siminto*** *…*
for use–T.IR NABS NR.ACT–work/do LK make/do–T.IR LK cement
'There were days that you would cook coconut oil and lime in order to use **for the work of** making cement. ' [MEWN-T-03 2.4]

(52) … bata pa yan na uḷo na anda pa **ta pagbaton ta mga tudlo**.
… bata pa yan na uḷo na anda pa ***ta pag–baton ta***
young INC D2ADJ LK head LK ready INC NABS NR.ACT–receive NABS
mga tudlo*.*
PL teach
'.. that head is still young ready still **to receive** things that are taught.' [JCWB-T-12 4.4]

(53) Dili ka magmatamad **ta pag-asikaso ta sarili**, mga gamit no, **pag-imes** ta mga dapat imesen …
Dili ka mag–ma–tamad ***ta pag-=-asikaso ta sarili***[4]*,*
NEG.IR 2S.ABS I.IR–ADJ–lazy NABS NR.ACT–take.care.of NABS self
mga gamit no, ***pag–-imes*** *ta mga dapat imes–en …*
PL use 2S.GEN NR.ACT–prepare NABS PL must prepare–T.IR
'Do not become lazy in **taking care** of yourself, your things, **preparing** what you must prepare …' [JCWB-T-12 4.5]

(54) Lugar en na naan ta batangan ta Mambeng Cave, Maria i nali nang na pag-uḷog **ta iya na pagpanimbang** na dili man kon pelles angin an.

[4]This word is code switching from Tagalog. The Kagayanen word here would be *kaugalingon*, which itself is a Bisayan loan word.

Lugar en na naan ta batang–an ta Mambeng Cave, Maria
then CM LK SPAT.DEF NABS put–APL NABS Mambeng Cave Maria
i nali nang na pag--uḷog ***ta iya na***
DEF.N abruptly only LK NR.ACT–fall NABS 3S.GEN LK
pag–pang–timbang *na dili man kon pelles angin an.*
NR.ACT–PL–balance LK NEG.IR also HSY strong.wind wind DEF.M
'Then when we were in the location of Mambeng Cave, as for Maria (she) abruptly fell **while balancing** (the boat) when the winds were not strong.' [EMWN-T-06 5.3]

(55) Naagian ko, naninaan a ta sundang naan ta dagat tak gakuyog **ta pag-uḷog ta pukot**.
Na–agi–an ko, na–nina–an a ta sundang
A.HAP.R–pass–APL 1S.ERG A.HAP.R–wound–APL 1S.ABS NABS machete
naan ta dagat tak ga–kuyog ***ta pag--uḷog ta pukot****.*
SPAT.DEF NABS sea because I.R–go.with NABS NR.ACT–fall NABS fishnet
'(What) I experienced, I was wounded with a machete in the sea because I went with (others) **while lowering fishnets**.' [ANWN-T-01 1.1]

In example (56) the main verb *buy-an* 'let go of' is in a transitive frame with a first person singular ergative argument and *bata an* 'the child' as absolutive. The nominalized clause is an optional adjunct that is preceded by the marker *ta*:

(56) Nabuy-an ko taan bata an **ta ame na pag-uḷog**.
Na–buy-an ko taan bata an ***ta ame na***
A.HAP.R–let.go.of 1S.ERG maybe child DEF.M NABS 1P.EXCL.GEN LK
pag--uḷog*.*
NR.ACT–fall
'Maybe I let go of the child **as we fell**.' [EDWN-T-05 2.13]

The pre-nominal case marker *ta* preceding the adjunct clause in (56) may be omitted, in which case the meaning is more general, allowing for a sequential as well as simultaneous interpretation:

(57) Nabuy-an ko taan bata an **pag-uḷog nay**.
Na–buy-an ko taan bata an ***pag--uḷog nay****.*
A.HAP.R–let.go.of 1S.ERG maybe child DEF.M NR.ACT–fall 1P.EXCL.GEN
'I let go maybe of the child **when/after we fell**.'

Sometimes the *ta* marker cannot easily occur with nominalized adjunct clauses, depending on the context of the conversation. In example, in (58a) the adverbial *pag-* clause expresses a simultaneous event. In this context the *ta* preposition sounds very awkward (58b):

(58) a. Ta sunod na adlaw gakuyog kay man **pagbalik** tak galinaw pa.
Ta sunod na adlaw ga–kuyog kay man
NABS follow LK sun/day I.R–go.with 1P.EXCL.ABS too
pag–balik *tak ga–linaw pa.*
NR.ACT–return because I.R–calm INC
'The next day we went with (them) **when returning** because (the weather was) becoming calm.' [EDWN-T-05 2.5]

b. * ?Ta sunod na adlaw gakuyog kay man **ta** pagbalik tak galinaw pa.

The reason this clause cannot easily be preceded by *ta* (example 58b) is because *ta* would imply that going and returning were two distinct simultaneous events. This is about as awkward in Kagayanen as "We went while returning" is in English.

However, the verb *kuyog* 'go together' can take a clause with *ta pag*-VERB in other contexts. In (59), the two events, 'going with the jeep' and 'turning upside down', are presented as distinct events that occurred at the same time, rather than two facets of one complex event.

(59) Kami na naan ta selled ta dyip gakuyog man **ta pagbaliskad**.
Kami na naan ta selled ta dyip ga–kuyog man ***ta***
1P.EXCL.ABS LK SPAT.DEF NABS inside NABS jeep I.R–go.with also NABS
pag–baliskad.
NR.ACT–upside.down/opposite
'We who were inside the jeep went with (the jeep) **in turning upside down**.' (In the context the jeep they were riding turned over.) [PMWN-T-02 2.11]

The *pag-* clause often occurs before the main clause specifying distinct but simultaneous events in a narrative, as in (60) and (61):

(60) **Pagbalik nay** gadaḷa yaken i isab.
Pag–balik ***nay*** *ga–daḷa yaken i isab.*
NR.ACT–return 1P.EXCL.GEN I.R–take/carry 1S.ABS DEF.N again
'**When we returned**, I again was carrying (some harvested corn).' [DBON-C-08 2.3]

(61) **Ta pagpanaw ko** may nakita a na tallo na kabataan na gakatay ta niog.
Ta pag–panaw ko *may na–kita a na tallo*
NABS NR.ACT–walk/go 1P.EXCL.GEN EXT.IN A.HAP.R–see 1S.ABS LK three
na ka–bata–an na ga–katay ta niog.
LK NR–child–NR LK I.R–climb NABS coconut
'While I was walking, I saw some three children climbing a coconut tree.' [EFWN-T-11 15.4]

When the adjunct *pag*-clause expresses one part of the same event expressed in the main clause, the *pag*-clause always follows the main clause. In example (62), *pagbanyos* 'rubbing/massaging' is understood as the manner of using the coconut oil, rather than a separate event that occured at the same time or subsequent to the event of using coconut oil.

(62) Pagamit din lana an **ta pagbanyos**.
Pa–gamit din lana an ***ta pag–banyos.***
T.R–use 3S.ERG coconut.oil DEF.M NABS NR.ACT–rub/massage.on
'S/he used the coconut oil **in rubbing (on the body)**.'

As illustrated in the earlier examples in this section, When the two events are different, the *pag*-clause may occur sentence initially or sentence finally, but it is more often found sentence initially. In example (63) the meaning is 'during his running', or 'while he was running.' Such sentence-initial *pag-* or *ta pag-* clauses tend to describe repeated information already known to the readers or obviously implied. They are used to resume the main line in a narrative after a speech event, digression or some background information. They are also used to slow down the narrative before exciting or climactic events.

(63) **Ta iya na pagdḷagan** gabalikid Pwikan i daw gasinggit, "Umang indi ka en?"
Ta iya na pag–dḷagan *ga–balikid Pwikan i daw*
NABS 3S.GEN LK NR.ACT–run I.R–look.back sea.turtle DEF.N and
ga–singgit, "Umang indi ka en?"
I.R–shout Hermit.crab where 2S.ABS CM
'During his running Sea Turtle looked back and shouted, "Hermit Crab where are you?"' [DBWN-T-26 8.3]

When a *pag-* clause precedes the main clause, often the non-absolutive marker *ta* is omitted. When *ta* is present, the meaning tends to be simultaneous, translated as 'during' or 'while' (63). When *ta* is omitted the meaning tends to be more sequential, appropriately translated as 'when' or 'after' (64–66):

(64) **Pag-abot** nay ta suba, gatan-aw kay daw indi miad na agian nay.

Pag--abot *nay ta suba, ga–tan-aw kay daw*
NR.ACT–arrive 1P.EXCL.GEN NABS river I.R–look 1P.EXCL.ABS if/when
indi miad na agi–an nay.
where good LK pass–APL 1P.EXCL.ERG.
'When we arrived at the river, we looked for where would be a good way for us (to go).' [BGON-L-01 1.7]

(65) **Pag-abot ta iran na baḷay** gabasuḷay en danen ya.

Pag--abot ta iran na baḷay *ga–basoḷ–ay en danen ya.*
NR.ACT–arrive NABS 3P.GEN LK house I.R–scold–REC CM 3P.ABS DEF.F
'After arriving at their house, they scolded each other.' [YBWN-T-01 2.20]

(66) **Pagsangga ta baked ya na manunggoḷ**, aroy, sikad batyag din na sakit naan ta takong din an.

Pag–sangga ta baked ya na manunggoḷ*, aroy, sikad batyag*
NR.ACT–bump NABS big DEF.F LK limestone ouch very feel
din na sakit naan ta takong din an.
3S.ERG LK pain SPAT.DEF NABS forehead 3S.GEN DEF.M
'After banging into the big limestone formation, ouch, he really felt pain on his forehead.' [JCON-L-07 4.5]

An adverbial *pag*-clause following the main clause may express a reason for the situation expressed in the main clause, with or without the introducer *tenged* 'because':

(67) May mga duma na mga Kagayanen unduni na nagamanggad daw may mga darko na mga pambot **tenged nang ta pagtanem ta guso**.

May mga duma na mga Kagayanen unduni na naga–manggad daw
EXT.IN PL some LK PL Kagayanen now/today LK I.R–wealth and
may mga darko na mga pambot ***tenged nang ta pag–tanem***
EXT.IN PL big.PL LK PL motorboat because only NABS NR.ACT–plant
ta guso*.*
NABS seaweed
'There are some Kagayanens now/today who are becoming rich and there are also large motorboats only **because of planting agar seaweed**.' [VPWL-T-03 5.2]

(68) Gamanggaranen danen an **ta pagtanem ta guso**.
Ga–manggaranen danen an ***ta pag–tanem ta guso.***
I.R–rich 3P.ABS DEF.M NABS NR.ACT–plant NABS seaweed.
'They are becoming rich **(because) of planting agar seaweed**.'

With the complex preposition *para ta* a *pag*-verb, may express purpose:

(69) Isya pa, uḷa naan ta lugar danen parias pandan o buli tak yon gamit **para ta pag-ubra ta ikam**.
Isya pa, uḷa naan ta lugar danen parias pandan o buli
one INC NEG.R SPAT.DEF NABS place 3P.GEN similar pandan or buri
tak yon gamit ***para ta pag–-ubra ta ikam.***
because D3ABS use for NABS NR.ACT–work/do NABS mat
'Another thing, there is nothing in their place like *pandan* or *buli* because that is used **for making mats** [BCWE-T-09 2.3]

With the complex preposition *paagi ta*, a *pag*-verb may express means:

(70) Kanen i giling ta yi na puḷo **paagi ta pagsakay ta lunday** para manglaya.
Kanen i ga–iling ta yi na puḷo ***paagi ta pag–sakay***
3S.ABS DEF.N I.R–go NABS D1ADJ LK island by.means NABS NR.ACT–ride
ta lunday *para ma–ng–laya.*
NABS outrigger.canoe for A.HAP.IR–PL–cast.net
'As for him (he) came to this island **by means of riding an outrigger canoe** in order to fish with cast nets.' [VAWN-T-17 2.2]

With the complex preposition *parti ta*, a *pag*-verb may express the notion of 'about':

(71) Wi nang ake na isturya na dili ko malipatan **parti ta pagpangita ta ake na pangabui**.
Wi nang ake na isturya na dili ko ma–lipat–an
EMPH.D1ABS only 1S.GEN LK story LK NEG.IR 1S.ERG A.HAP.IR–forget–APL
parti ta pag–pangita ta ake na pangabui.
about NABS NR.ACT–search NABS 1S.GEN LK livelihood
'This is my story which I can't forget **about looking for my livelihood**.' [MCWN-L-01 2.22]

The complex preposition *tenged ta* may also express this 'aboutness' relation, as well as reason.

(72) Isturya ko i **tenged ta pagbirthday naan kan-o Bario**.
Isturya ko *i* ***tenged ta*** ***pag–birthday*** ***naan*** ***kan-o***
story 1S.GEN DEF.N about NABS NR.ACT–birthday SPAT.DEF previously
Bario.
Bario
'My story is **about having a birthday in Bario previously**.' [DBON-C-09 1.1]

12.3 Subjunctive clauses

Certain clause combinations involve a dependent clause that must be in irrealis modality. We will term the irrealis clause or clauses in such constructions *subjunctive clauses*, since the irrealis marking is conditioned by the *construction* and not necessarily by any inherent irreality of the event expressed (see Givón 1994 for the commonality between irrealis modality and what have been called "subjunctive" forms in many language traditions). In other words, subjunctive clauses may express real events, but they must be marked as irrealis. We consider subjunctive clauses to be semi-finite, since they do retain the transitive/intransitive distinction, and the dynamic/happenstantial distinction. The realis/irrealis distinction, however, is neutralized in favor of irrealis marking (see Chapter 6, §6.5 for a discussion of transitivity and modality as inflectional categories in Kagayanen verbs). In this section we describe subjunctive clauses functioning as complements (§12.3.1) and those functioning as adverbial clauses (§12.3.2).

The linker *na* is the most common form that introduces subjunctive adverbial clauses. Two other introducers are fairly common. These are *daw* 'if/ when/ whether', and *aged* 'purpose/result'. Less common introducers include *para (na)* 'purpose', *imbis (na)* 'instead of', and *bag-o (na)* 'before'. *Daw* is an extremely common and useful clause introducer that precedes all kinds of dependent clauses, including nominalizations (§12.2.3), subjunctive adverbial clauses (this section) and fully finite adverbial clauses (§12.4.2). *Daw* also serves as a common conjunction, joining RPs, predicates or clauses (§12.6.1). We gloss *daw* as 'and' when it functions as a conjunction, and 'if/when' when it functions as an adverbial clause introducer.

12.3.1 Subjunctive complement clauses

Certain matrix verbs require subjunctive (irrealis) complements. These include the following:

(73)

adlek	‘be afraid to do X’
anda	‘be ready to do X’
bawal	‘forbid someone to do X’
dapat	‘must do X’
disidido	‘be keen/eager to do X’
disisyon	‘decide to do X’
gusto	‘like/want to do X’
istudyo	‘study X’
kinangḷan	‘be necessary to do X’
leges	‘coerce someone to do X’
liag	‘like/want to do X’
miyag	‘agree/want to do X’
padayon	‘continue to do X’
paliyog	‘request to do X’
pangabay	‘beg someone to do X’
pasinayen	‘make someone used to doing X’
plano	‘plan to do X’
prusigir	‘persevere in doing X’
pwirsa	‘force someone to do X’
sagad	‘be skillful in doing X’
sigurado	‘make sure that X’
sugo	‘order someone to do X’
tabang	‘help someone to do X’
tingwa	‘try hard to do X’
tudlo	‘teach X’
tugot	‘permitted/allowed to do X’

Subjunctive complement clauses normally follow the linker *na* functioning as a complementizer (see examples and discussion below). However, they absolutely may not be preceded by the non-absolutive prenominal case marker *ta*. In other words, they are not ergative or oblique complements. In the examples in (74), a subjunctive clause follows the stative root *adlek* ‘be afraid’, and describes the source of the speaker’s fear. Example (74a) is in the basic intransitive, irrealis form, while (74b) is in the marked necessarily volitional form. The difference in meaning expressed by these two prefixes is reflected in the free translations. Finally, (74c) illustrates that the verb following *na* may not occur in the realis form, and thus is not fully finite:

(74) a. Adlek a **na magluoy ta dagat**.

Adlek a ***na mag–luoy ta dagat.***
fear 1S.ABS LK I.IR–swim NABS sea
'I am afraid whenever swimming in the sea.' (Any time.)

b. Adlek a **na muoy ta dagat**.

Adlek a ***na m–luoy ta dagat.***
fear 1S.ABS LK I.V.IR–swim NABS sea
'I am afraid to swim in the sea.' (Right now.)

c. *Adlek a **na galuoy ta dagat**.

Adlek a* ***na ga–luoy ta dagat.*
fear 1S.ABS LK I.R–swim NABS sea
('I'm afraid that I swim in the sea.')

It is significant that these verbs do not take *pag-* clause complements (see §12.2 above). A few examples from the corpus follow:

(75) Gani, kiten na mga Kagayanen kinangḷan **na magtabangay ki daw ino ubra para dili mabeg-atan isya an**.

Gani, kiten na mga Kagayanen kinangḷan ***na mag–tabang–ay***
so 1P.INCL.ABS LK PL Kagayanen necessary LK I.IR–help–REC
ki daw ino ubra *para dili ma–beg-at–an isya*
1P.INCL.ABS if/when what work/do for NEG.IR A.HAP.R–heavy–APL one
an.
DEF.M
'So, we Kagayanens, it is necessary **that we help each other in whatever work** in order that one (of us) will not be burdened.' [BCWL-T-12 4.1]

(76) … dapat **na isya-isya kiten mag-atag kayaran ta masigkaittaw ta**.

… dapat ***na isya~-isya kiten mag–-atag ka–ayad–an ta***
must LK RED~one 1P.INCL.ABS I.IR–give NR–good/well–NR NABS
masigka–ittaw ta.
fellow-person 1P.INCL.GEN
'… it must be **that each one of us gives goodness to our fellow person**.' [JCOB-L-02 10.4]

(77) Dapat no **demdemen ni ake na paglaygay ki kaon**.
Dapat no ***demdem–en ni ake na paglaygay ki***
must 2S.ERG remember–T.IR D1ABS 1S.GEN LK NR.ACT–advice OBL.P
kaon.
2S
'You must **remember this my advice to you**.' [NEWL-T-03 3.6]

(78) Disidido **kanen na melled ta ubra**.
Disidido ***kanen na m–selled ta ubra***.
keen 3S.ABS LK I.IR–go.inside NABS work/do
'S/he is keen **to get hired to work**.'

(79) … daw anda a gid en **na magpakasaḷ ki kanen ta madali**.
… daw anda a gid en ***na mag–pa–kasaḷ ki kanen ta***
and ready 1S.ABS INT CM LK I.IR–CAUS–wedding OBL.P 3S NABS
ma–dali.
ADJ–soon
'… and I am ready **to get married to her soon**.' [PBWN-C-12 17.1]

(80) Dili matugot ta maaḷ na Ginuo **na patayen a**.
Dili ma–tugot ta maaḷ na Ginuo ***na patay–en a***.
NEG.IR A.HAP.IR–allow NABS love LK Lord LK kill–T.IR 1S.ABS
'The Beloved Lord will not permit **me to be killed**.' [BBON-C-06 4.4]

(81) Gatugot kanen **na muyog a ki kyo**.
Ga–tugot kanen ***na m–kuyog a ki kyo***.
I.R–allow 3S.ABS LK I.V.IR–come.with 1S.ABS OBL.P 2P
'S/he allowed me **to go with you**.'

(82) Nanay i daw tatay miyag man **na muyog a ta maistra i**.
Nanay i daw tatay miyag man ***na m–kuyog a ta***
mother DEF.N and father agree/want also LK I.V.IR–go.with 1S.ABS NABS
maistra i.
teacher DEF.N
'Mother and father also agreed that I go with the teacher.' [DBWN-T-21 2.3]

The ungrammatical example (83c) illustrates that the matrix roots *sagad* 'be skillful' and *aḷam* 'to understand/know' do not allow realis complements. This is true for all of the roots listed in (73):

(83) a. Sagad gid kanen **na mangawil**.
Sagad gid kanen ***na ma–ng–kawil.***
skillful INT 3S.ABS LK A.HAP.IR–PL–fishhook
'S/he is really skillful **at hook and line fishing**.'

b. Naḷam gid kanen **na mangawil**.
Na–aḷam gid kanen ***na ma–ng–kawil.***
A.HAP.R–know INT 3S.ABS LK A.HAP.IR–PL–fishhook
'S/he really knows how **to hook-and-line fish**.'

c. * Sagad/Naḷam gid kanen **na gangawil**

There is sometimes evidence that subjunctive complements are absolutive arguments of a matrix verb. In example (84) the root *sigurado* 'to be certain' is grammatically transitive, occurring in a transitive form and expressing the Actor in the ergative case (see Chapter 6, §6.5.1). Therefore the following subjunctive clause, *na pambot i dili maanod*, is the absolutive:

(84) Pasigurado ko gid **na pamboat i dili maanod**.
pa–sigurado ko gid ***na pambot i dili ma–anod.***
T.R–certain 1S.ERG INT LK motor.boat DEF.N NEG.IR A.HAP.IR–drift
'I made it certain that the motor boat will not drift off.'

Example (85) is a similar example from the corpus:

(85) Pasiguro ko gid na migo ta pagbira ko.
Pa–siguro ko gid na ma–igo ta pag–bira ko.
T.R–sure 1S.ERG INT LK A.HAP.IR–hit NABS NR.ACT–aim 1S.GEN
'I really made it sure that it will hit when I was aiming.' (The speaker was shooting at wild pig with a spear.) [RCON-L-01 3.15]

Similarly, in example (86), the verb *tilawan* 'to try' is grammatically transitive, occurring in a transitive form and expressing the Actor in the ergative case. Therefore the following subjunctive clause, *magpaḷam . . .*, is the absolutive (the clause introduced by *daw* 'if/when' is an adverbial clause as discussed in the following section):

(86) Tilawan **no magpaḷam** daw miyag kanen an na muyog ka.
∅–Tilaw–an ***no mag–pa–aḷam*** *daw m–iyag kanen an na m–kuyog ka.*
T.IR–try–APL 2S.ERG I.IR–CAUS–know if/when I.IR–want/agree 3S.ABS DEF.M LK I.V.IR–go.with 2S.ABS
'Try **to ask permission** whether s/he will agree/allow you to go with (them).'

Example (87) illustrates another subjunctive clause filling the absolutive role in the main clause. The verb *gusto* is in a transitive case frame with the Actor, *mga sinakepan*, 'the subjects', marked as ergative with the non-absolutive prenominal marker *ta*. This leaves the following subjunctive clause, introduced with *na*, as the only reasonable candidate for absolutive status:

(87) **Gusto** ta mga sinakepan **na malibri** en danen ta pagdumaḷa na mapintas.
__Gusto__ ta mga s<in>akep–an __na ma–libri__ en danen
want NABS PL <NR.RES>subjects–APL LK A.HAP.IR–free CM 3P.ABS
ta pag–dumaḷa na ma–pintas.
NABS NR.ACT–rule LK ADJ–cruel
'The subjects wanted to be free from the cruel ruling.' [JCWN-T-20 16.2]

Manipulation verbs such as *pwirsa* 'force', *leges* 'coerce', *sugo* 'order', and *bawal* 'forbid' are followed by subjunctive clauses, though there is no evidence that the dependent clauses are syntactic arguments. Rather the participant manipulated (the "causee") appears in the absolutive role, and the complement follows, preceded by *na*:

(88) Kaysan **pwirsa** kay na mutang ta duma bag-o pautang en man ki danen.
Kaysan __pwirsa__ kay na m–utang ta duma
sometimes force 1P.EXCL.ABS LK I.V.IR–borrow.money NABS other
bag-o pa–utang en man ki danen.
before CAUS–borrow.money CM too OBL.P 3p
'Sometimes we were **forced** to borrow money from others before lending to them too.' [TTOB-L-03 6.1]

(89) Isya na adlaw kanen **pasugo** ta iya na nanay **na mandok ta waig**.
Isya na adlaw kanen __pa–sugo__ ta iya na nanay __na__
one LK day/sun 3S.ABS T.R–order NABS 3S.GEN LK mother LK
__m–sandok ta waig__.
I.V.R–carry.water NABS water
'One day as for her, her mother **ordered** her to carry water.' [VAWN-T-20 3.1]

(90) Piro anduni **pabawalan** en na magdakep ta pawikan tak kanen i makatabang man ta mga ittaw.

Piro anduni ***pa–bawal–an*** *en na mag–dakep ta pawikan*
but now/today T.R–forbid–APL CM LK I.IR–catch NABS sea.turtle
tak kanen i maka–tabang man ta mga ittaw.
because 3S.ABS DEF.N I.HAP.IR–help too NABS PL person
'But now (the government) **forbids** (us) to catch a sea turtle because s/he can help people too.' [YBWE-T-05 2.6]

The verb *ambaḷ* 'to say' can be used in this construction as a manipulation verb:

(91) **Pambaḷan** a ta mga manakem na dili a kon maggwa tak dilikado kon ta kasaḷen na sigi panaw.
Pa–ambaḷ–an *a ta mga manakem na dili a kon*
T.R–say–APL 1S.ABS NABS PL older LK NEG.IR 1S.ABS HSY
mag–gwa tak dilikado kon ta kasaḷ–en na sigi
I.IR–go.out because dangerous HSY NABS wedding–NR LK continuously
panaw.
go/walk
'The older ones **told/warned** me that I (should) not go out they said because (it is) dangerous they said for one to be married to keep going somewhere.' [VAWN-T-16 2.7]

Example (92) illustrates a transitive subjunctive complement clause in which none of the arguments of the dependent clause are coreferential with anything in the matrix clause. Though it is very common for the two clauses in a main+subjunctive clause construction to share a referent, this example illustrates that such coreference is not a matter of syntactic "control":

(92) Miyag a man yaken i **na duon** no bai i.
Miyag a man yaken i ***na daḷa–en*** *no bai*
agree/want 1S.ABS also 1S.ABS DEF.N LK carry/take–T.IR 2S.ERG woman
i.
DEF.N
'I myself want/agree also that you **take** the woman.' [PBON-T-01 4.17]

Sometimes a subjunctive clause introduced by *daw* fills an absolutive function within a matrix clause, thus qualifying as a complement clause. Example (93) illustrates the stative root *sigurado* 'be certain' followed by a subjunctive complement clause:

(93) Dili ko sigurado **daw muyog** a kisyem.

Dili ko sigurado ***daw m–kuyog*** *a kisyem.*
NEG.IR 1S.ERG sure if/when I.V.IR–go.with 1S.ABS tomorrow
'I am not sure **whether I will come with** (others) tomorrow.'

In examples (94) and (95) the actors are expressed in the ergative role, and the main clause verbs are marked as transitive, thus leaving the clause introduced by *daw* as the absolutive argument. The *daw* clauses in these examples are also required to complete the meaning of the matrix predicate.

(94) ... daw painsaan nay **daw magdayon** kay pa.

... daw pa–insa–an nay ***daw mag–dayon*** *kay pa.*
and T.R–ask–APL 1P.EXCL.ERG if/when I.IR–continue 1P.EXCL.ABS INC
'... and we asked (him) **whether we will still continue** on (the planned trip).' [RMWN-L-01 2.1]

Examples (95) and (96) illustrate similar constuctions with *daw* clauses as complements:

(95) Unso a nang tunuga aged mḷaman ko **daw matuod** gid sugid nyo an na maḷbaḷ danen mari.

Unso a nang tunuga aged ma–aḷam–an ko ***daw***
D4LOC.PR 1S.ABS only sleep so.that A.HAP.IR–know–APL 1S.ERG if/when
matuod *gid sugid nyo an na maḷbaḷ danen mari.*
true INT tell 2S.ERG DEF.M LK witch 3P.ABS godmother
'I will sleep there so that I will know **whether it is really true** what you told me that my godmother and her companions are witches.'
[CBWN-C-13 4.4]

(96) Tapos sin-ad, tagaran **daw masikaḷ en sinin-ad an** daw ukayen

Tapos sin-ad, ∅–tagad–an ***daw ma–sikaḷ en***
then cook.grain T.IR–wait–APL if/when A.HAP.IR–boil CM
s<in>in-ad an *daw ukay–en*
<NR.RES>cook.grain DEF.M and stir–T.IR
'Then cooking rice, wait until **whenever the cooked rice boils** and stir it.'
[DBOP-J-17 1.6]

12.3.2 Subjunctive adverbial clauses

Subjunctive clauses may also function as optional adverbial clauses. For example, in (97) the irrealis clause is not needed to complete the idea expressed in the main clause, and there is no evidence that it may be an argument of the intransitive main verb. It also expresses the same kinds of notions that adverbs express. In (97), the subjunctive clause may be interpreted as simultaneous with the event expressed in the main clause, as a separate event occurring in sequence, or as an expression of purpose:

(97) Gapanaw kanen an na muli ta iran na baḷay.

[CL_{INFL}] [na][CL_{IRR}]
Ga–panaw kanen an na m–uli ta iran na baḷay.
I.R–go/walk 3S.ABS DEF.M LK I.V.IR–go.home NABS 3P.GEN LK house

a. 'S/he left *going home to their house.*' Simultanaity
b. 'S/he left *and then went home to their house.*' Sequence
c. 'S/he left *to go home to their house.*' Purpose

Example (98) illustrates a similar construction with two subjunctive clauses following the main clause. Technically, there are nine possible semantic interpretations of this construction, though some may be highly unlikely. In context, however, the range of possible interpretations is more constrained, as will be seen in the corpus examples that follow. In the following examples, the subjunctive Clauses are bolded in Kagayanen and the English free translations:

(98) Gadali kanen an **na manaw na muli**.

Ga–dali kanen an ***na m–panaw na m–uli****.*
I.R–hurry 3S.ABS DEF.M LK I.V.IR–go.walk LK I.V.IR–go.home

a. 'S/he hurries *leaving/walking going home.*' All simultaneous
b. 'S/he hurried, *then left/walked and then went home.*' All sequential
c. 'S/he hurries *leaving/walking and then went home.*' Simultaneous + sequential
d. 'S/he hurries *leaving/walking to go home.*' Simultaneous + purpose
e. 'S/he is hurrying *to leave/walk and then go home.*' Purpose + sequential
etc.

Although some such examples may seem to be complement clauses from the perspective of the English translations, in fact these follow the same structural template as the simultaneous, sequential and purpose subjunctive clauses (given in 97), and they are not required to complete the meaning of the main verb.

The linker *na* preceding a subjunctive adverbial clause is always "optional" from a purely syntactic point of view. However, there is a tendency for *na* to occur when the dependent clause expresses sequence or purpose, and be absent when the two clauses describe simultaneous events, or two facets of the same event. The following example from the corpus contains *na* and is therefore more likely to express sequence or purpose than simultaneous events:

(99) … muyog a kon ki kanen **na muli** ta iran na lugar.
… m–kuyog a kon ki kanen ***na m–uli*** *ta iran*
I.V.IR–go.with 1S.ABS HSY OBL.P 3S LK I.V.IR–go.home NABS 3P.GEN
na lugar.
LK place
'… I will go with her and **go home to their place**.' or '… I will go with her **in order to go home to their place**.' [DBWN-T-21 2.1]

Examples (100)–(106) illustrate constructions in which the subjunctive clause expresses a purpose. The sequential or even simultaneous interpretations may be technically possible, but in the context of the whole discourse, it is clear in each case that the speaker intended purpose:

(100) Dayon en garay na paumaw mga maligno ta bisan indi nang na lugar **na marani** tak maan en ta pagkaan an **na ayaren** en masakit ta ittaw na pangaranan.
Dayon en ga–aray na pa–umaw mga ma–ligno ta bisan indi
right.away CM I.R–chant LK T.R–call PL ADJ–evil NABS even where
nang na lugar ***na m–pa–dani*** *tak m–kaan en ta pagkaan*
only LK place LK I.V.IR–CAUS–close because I.V.IR–eat CM NABS food
an ***na ayad–en*** *en masakit ta ittaw na pa–ngaran–an.*
DEF.M LK heal–T.IR CM sickness NABS person LK T.R–name–APL
'Right away (he) chants to call evil spirits in whatever place **to come close** because (they) will eat food **to heal** the sickness of the person who was named.' [JCWE-T-17 3.5]

(101) Panggat kay ta ame na auntie **na miling** kay kon ta Manila Zoo.
Pa–nggat kay ta ame na auntie ***na***
T.R–invite.to.accompany 1P.EXCL.ABS NABS 1P.EXCL.GEN LK aunt LK
m–iling *kay kon ta Manila Zoo.*
I.V.IR–go 1P.EXCL.GEN HSY NABS Manila Zoo
'Our aunt invited us to go, it was said, to the Manila Zoo.' [VAWN-T-15 7.4]

(102) Patuboḷ nay bḷangay ya en **na melled** ta suba ya.
Pa–tuboḷ nay bḷangay ya en ***na m–selled*** *ta*
T.R–position 1P.EXCL.ERG 2.masted.boat DEF.F CM LK I.V.IR–inside NABS
suba ya.
river DEF.F
'We positioned the 2 mast boat **to go into** the river (from the ocean).'
[PCON-C-01 3.2]

(103) Listo kon danen tanan parani **na magyapon**.
Listo kon danen tanan ...–pa–dani ***na mag–yapon.***
promptly HSY 3P.ABS all T.R–CAUS–close LK I.IR–supper
'Promptly all of them came near **to eat** supper.' [CBWN-C-13 6.4]

(104) Gapanaw kon en bai ya **na magmugon**.
Ga–panaw kon en bai ya ***na mag–mugon.***
I.R–go/walk HSY CM woman DEF.F LK I.IR–day.work
'The woman left **to do day work**.' [MBON-C-01 2.6]

(105) ... manaw a **na mamugon** ta pagkaan ta."
... m–panaw a ***na ma–ng–mugon*** *ta pagkaan*
I.V.IR–go/walk 1S.ABS LK A.HAP.IR–PL–day.work NABS food
ta."
1P.INCL.GEN
'... I will go **to do day work** for our food.' [MBON-C-01 2.4]

(106) Miling ki naan ta bukid **na mangita** ta lungag.
M–iling ki naan ta bukid ***na ma–ng–ngita***
I.V.IR–go 1P.INCL.ABS SPAT.DEF NABS mountain LK A.HAP.IR–PL–search
ta lungag.
NABS hole
'Let's go to the mountain **to search** for the hole.' [PBWN-C-12 4.4]

Example (107) is an extended excerpt from a text titled "Monkey and Turtle" that clearly shows a subjunctive construction expressing a purpose function. In this excerpt, there are four subjunctive adverbial clauses, including three repetitions of the event of searching (*mangita*). The first two events of searching are adverbial clauses introduced by the explicit marker of purpose *aged*. The last instance is introduced with *na* alone. This shows that the *na* construction is a kind of "shortcut" for expressing the same semantic relation as a purpose adverbial clause:

(107) Ta isya na adlaw, amo i panggat bubuo **na magpanaw** kon danen **aged mangita** ta iran na pagkaan. Ambaḷ ta bubuo, "Dey, manaw ki naan ta bukid **aged mangita** ki ta ate na kan-enen." Sabat man ta amo, "Mos, manaw ki **na mangita** ta ate na pagkaan." Gapanaw en darwa i na mag-arey.

Ta isya na adlaw, amo i pa–anggat bubuo ***na***
NABS one LK day/sun monkey DEF.N T.R–invite.to.go.with tortoise LK
mag–panaw *kon danen* ***aged ma–ng–ngita*** *ta iran na*
I.V.IR–go/walk HSY 3P.ABS for A.HAP.IR–PL–search NABS 3P.GEN LK
pagkaan. Ambaḷ ta bubuo, "Dey, m–panaw ki
food say NABS tortoise friend I.V.IR–go/walk 1P.INCL.ABS
naan ta bukid ***aged ma–ng–ngita*** *ki ta*
SPAT.DEF NABS mountain for A.HAP.IR–PL–search 1P.INCL.ABS NABS
ate na kan-en–en." Sabat man ta amo, "Mos,
1P.INCL.GEN LK cooked.rice–T.IR reply also NABS monkey let's.go
m–panaw ki ***na ma–ng–ngita*** *ta ate na*
I.V.IR–go/walk 1P.INCL.ABS LK A.HAP.IR–PL–search NABS 1P.INCL.GEN LK
pagkaan." Ga–panaw en darwa i na mag–-arey.
food I.R–go/walk CM two DEF.N LK REL–friend

'On one day, as for the monkey the tortoise invited (him) to go **walking in order to search** for their food. The tortoise said, "Friend, let's go to the mountain **in order to search** for something we will eat." The monkey replied, "Let's go, let's go **to search** for our food." The two friends left.' [CBWN-C-16 2.1–5]

The subjunctive clauses in examples (108)–(122) could be understood either as purpose or simply as sequential events. The contexts in these cases do not require one interpretation over the other. This is probably the most common usage of subjunctive dependent clauses:

(108) Gadḷagan kanen **na mil-ing** naan ta waig …

Ga–dḷagan kanen ***na m–sil-ing*** *naan ta waig …*
I.R–run 3S.ABS LK I.V.IR–peer SPAT.DEF NABS water

'She ran **to peer/and peered** into the water (probably a pool or mud puddle) …' [CBWN-C-17 3.3]

(109) Pagbati ta amay ta bai na yaan Roxas en gistar na uḷa en sawa bata din an, dayon din kamangen **na daḷaen** ta Roxas.

Pag–bati ta amay ta bai na yaan Roxas en ga–istar
NR.ACT–hear NABS father NABS woman LK SPAT.DEF Roxas CM I.R–live
na uḷa en sawa bata din an, dayon din kamang–en
LK NEG.R CM spouse child 3S.GEN DEF.M right.away 3S.ERG get–T.IR
na daḷa–en *ta Roxas.*
LK carry/bring–T.IR NABS Roxas

'When the father of the woman who was living in Roxas heard that his child no longer had a spouse, right away he got (her) **to take/taking/and took** (her) to Roxas.' [JCWN-T-26 18.1]

(110) Manaw taan kani danen an **na magnakaw**.

M–panaw taan kani danen an ***na mag–nakaw****.*
I.V.IR–go/walk maybe later 3P.ABS DEF.M LK I.IR–steal

'They maybe will go later **to steal/and steal**.' [CBWN-C-18 7.19]

(111) Mangngod din i ubra din kada adlaw giling naan ta bukid **na magdakep** kanen ta mga tḷunon na baboy.

Mangngod din i ubra din kada adlaw ga–iling
younger.sibling 3S.GEN DEF.N work/do 3S.GEN every day/sun I.R–go
naan ta bukid ***na mag–dakep*** *kanen ta mga tḷunon na*
SPAT.DEF NABS mountain LK I.IR–catch 3S.ABS NABS PL wild.pig LK
baboy.
pig

'As for his younger sibling, his work every day was going to the mountain **to catch/and catch** wild pigs.' [CBWN-C-22 3.2]

(112) Mama ko ya giling ta Iloilo **na malit** ta buḷong ko.

Mama ko ya ga–iling ta Iloilo ***na m–palit*** *ta buḷong*
mother 1S.GEN DEF.F I.R–go NABS Iloilo LK I.V.IR–buy NABS medicine
ko.
1S.GEN

'My mother (she) went to Iloilo **to buy/and bought** my medicine.' [JCOE-C-05 43.1]

(113) Ta anyo na 1974 ta buḷan ta Hunio, yaken gakuyog ta ake na sawa **na magbligya** ta bakaw ta Iloilo.

Ta anyo na 1974 ta buḷan ta Hunio, yaken ga–kuyog ta
NABS year LK 1974 NABS month NABS June 1S.ABS I.R–go.with NABS
ake na sawa ***na mag–bligya*** *ta bakaw ta Iloilo.*
1S.GEN LK spouse LK I.IR–sell NABS mangrove NABS Iloilo
'In the year 1974 in the month of June, as for me (I) went with my spouse **to sell/selling/and sold** mangrove wood in Iloilo.' [CTWN-L-01 2.2]

(114) Bisan sikad pa dangga adlaw an o maabutan ta uran sigi gid panaw **na malambot** mga lugar na dapat gid litunan.

Bisan sikad pa dangga adlaw an o ma–abot–an ta
even very INC hot day/sun DEF.M or A.HAP.IR–arrive–APL NABS
uran sigi gid panaw ***na ma–lambot*** *mga lugar na dapat gid*
rain continue INT walk/go LK A.HAP.IR–reach PL place LK must INT
litunan.
present.to.ancestors
'Even when the sun is very hot or rain comes upon (them) (they) keep walking **to reach/reaching/and reach** the places where they must present the child to the ancestors.' [JCWE-T-15 5.7]

(115) Pagbwi ta suso, dayon bangon sawa ko **na mwa**.

Pag–bwi ta suso, dayon bangon sawa ko ***na***
nr.act–let.go NABS breast right.away get.up spouse 1S.GEN LK
m–gwa.
I.V.IR–out
'When (the baby) finished nursing (lit. let go of the breast), right away my wife got up **to come out/and came out**.' [JCWN-L-31 18.10]

(116) Tama na mga ittaw gailing di **na magtan-aw** nang ta ame na lugar.

Tama na mga ittaw ga–iling di ***na mag–tan-aw*** *nang ta*
many LK PL people I.R–go D1LOC LK I.IR–look only NABS
ame na lugar.
1P.EXCL.GEN LK place
'Many people come here **just to look/and just look** at our place.' [DBWL-T-19 9.4]

(117) Apos a bubod, yaken gasakay ta lunday **na mangawil** aren.

Apos[5] *a bubod, yaken ga–sakay ta lunday* ***na***
after INJ pour.out 1S.ABS I.R–rude NABS outrigger.canoe LK
ma–ng–kawil *aren.*
A.HAP.IR–PL–fishhook 1S.ABS
'After pouring out (cassava powder to make the worms come out to use as bait), as for me, (I) rode the outrigger canoe **so that I will hook and line fish/and I fished with hook and line**.' [RPWN-T-01 1.3]

(118) Isya na adlaw, tallo na gaarey giling ta suba **na maglangoy**.

Isya na adlaw, tallo na ga–arey ga–iling ta suba ***na***
one LK day/sun three LK I.R–friend I.R–go NABS river LK
mag–langoy*.*
I.IR–bathe
'One day, three friends went to the river **to bathe/and bathed**.' [PMWN-T-01 2.1]

(119) ... amo i sagad mukay ta buok **na makamang** ta kuto ...

... amo i sagad m–sukay ta buok ***na ma–kamang***
... monkey DEF.N skillful I.V.IR–delouse NABS hair LK A.HAP.IR–get
ta kuto ...
NABS lice/ticks
'... the monkey is skillful at checking the hair/scalp for lice/ticks **to remove/removing** lice/ticks ...' [NEWE-T-01 2.7]

(120) Gaubay-ubay kay ta mga baybay daw pangpang **na miling** ta Cebu.

Ga–ubay~-ubay kay ta mga baybay daw pangpang ***na***
I.R–RED–beside 1P.EXCL.ABS NABS PL beach and clift LK
m–iling *ta Cebu.*
I.V.IR–go NABS Cebu
'We went along the beaches and cliffs **to go/going** to Cebu.' [DBWN-T-23 2.5]

(121) Kaon nang pagustuon daw miling ka ta Manila **na magtudlo** ki kanen ta ambaḷ ta.

[5] *Apos* is an alternate form of *tapos*, 'finish'/'after'.

Kaon nang pa–gusto–en daw m–iling ka ta Manila
2S.ABS only CAUS–want/like–T.IR if/when I.V.IR–go 2S.ABS NABS Manila
***na mag–tudlo** ki kanen ta ambaḷ ta.*
LK I.IR–teach OBL.P 3S NABS say 1P.INCL.GEN
'You are the one to do what you want if you will go to Manila **to teach/teaching/and teach** her our language.' [RCON-L-03 4.4]

(122) Ta di gapanaw kay eman **na magbantay** en ta sakayan?
*Ta di ga–panaw kay eman **na mag–bantay** en*
so INJ I.R–go/walk 1P.EXCL.ABS again.as.before LK I.IR–watch/guard CM
ta sakay–an?
NABS ride–NR
'So what else, did we leave again **to watch/and watched** for a vehicle?' [BGON-L-01 1.13]

In example (123), the sequential interpretation is most likely, since the child does not meet her mother *in order to* grab whatever she carries. The grabbing is simply an event that occurs after (or possibly simultaneous with) the event of meeting:

(123) ... tak kada uli din bata an pirmi gasugat **na mag-agaw** daw ino nadaḷa din.
*... tak kada uli din bata an pirmi ga–sugat **na***
because every go.home 3S.GEN child DEF.M always I.R–meet LK
***mag–-agaw** daw ino na–daḷa din.*
I.IR–grab if/when what A.HAP.R–carry 3S.ERG
'... because every (time) she went home her child always met (her) **and grabbed** whatever she carried.' [PBWN-C-12 8.1]

On the other hand, example (124) illustrates a construct in which a subjunctive adverbial clause clearly expresses the purpose for the activity in the main clause:

(124) Gangita kay man ta babaw **na makalakkat** kay ta bato.
*Ga–ngita kay man ta babaw **na maka–lakkat***
I.R–search 1P.EXCL.ABS also NABS shallow LK I.HAP.IR–step.on
kay ta bato.
1P.EXCL.ABS NABS stones
'We were looking for a shallow [part of the river/stream) **so that we can step on** stones (to cross over).' [BGON-L-01 1.13]

Examples (125)–(129) illustrate subjunctive constructions without the *na* linker between the two clauses. Again, *na* is more likely to be omitted when the speaker intends to express simultaneous events, though the purpose and sequential interpretations are not excluded:

(125) Malin kay mga ala una **miling** ta Puerto.
*M–alin kay mga ala una **m–iling** ta Puerto.*
I.V.IR–from 1P.EXCL.ABS PL o'clock one I.V.IR–go NABS Puerto
'We will leave at one o'clock **going** to Puerto.' [RCON-L-03 10.4]

(126) Lugar na manaw kay inta **megbeng** en, gasinggit man bai i, bata din.
*Lugar na m–panaw kay inta **m–tegbeng** en,*
place LK I.V.IR–go/walk 1P.EXCL.ABS OPT I.V.IR–go.downhill CM
ga–singgit man bai i, bata din.
I.R–shout also woman DEF.N child 3S.GEN
'After some time when we were about to leave **going down hill**, the woman, his child, shouted.' [BGON-L-01 15.1]

(127) Naan ta baḷay may isya na ittaw na gatagad kami na muyog kay kon **miling** ta Pasil.
Naan ta baḷay may isya na ittaw na ga–tagad kami na
SPAT.DEF NABS house EXT.IN one LK person LK I.R–wait 1P.EXC LK
*m–kuyog kay kon **m–iling** ta Pasil.*
I.V.IR–go.with 1P.EXCL.ABS HSY I.V.IR–go NABS Pasil
'At the house there was one person who was waiting for us to go/going with (him/her), it was said, **going** to Pasil.' [DBWN-T-23 5.1]

(128) Dayon kanen i tindeg na malik ta iran na sakayan daw kamangen iya na sawa naan ta luwang. Dayon din usong daw dḷaen **makas** naan ta iran na baḷay.
Dayon kanen i tindeg na m–balik ta iran na
right.away 3S.ABS DEF.N stand LK I.V.IR–return NABS 3S.GEN LK
sakay–an daw kamang–en iya na sawa naan ta luwang.
ride–NR and get–T.IR 3S.GEN LK spouse SPAT.DEF NABS wide
Dayon din usong daw daḷa–en
right.away 3S.ERG carry.on.shoulder and carry/take–T.IR
***m–takas** naan ta iran na baḷay.*
I.V.IR–go.uphill SPAT.DEF NABS 3S.GEN LK house
'Right away he stood up to go/going back to their boat and to get/getting his spouse in the wide part (of the vehicle). Right away he

carried (her) on his shoulders and took (her) **going** uphill to their house.' [DBWN-T-33 2.35–36]

(129) Diritso ko pas–an baboy ya **dḷaen** ta baḷay.
Diritso ko ...–pas-an baboy ya ***dḷa–en*** *ta*
straight 1S.ERG T.R–carry.on.shoulder pig DEF.F carry/take–T.IR NABS
baḷay. 'Straight away I carried the pig on my shoulder **taking** (it) to the house
house.' [RCON-L-01 9.5]

Examples (130)–(141) illustrate *daw* used as an introducer of subjunctive clauses. Many of these may be considered to be *embedded questions*:

(130) Galangkag a **daw muli** kaw di.
Ga–langkag a ***daw*** ***m–uli*** *kaw di.*
I.R–expect 1S.ABS if/when I.V.IR–go.home 2P.ABS D1LOC
'I am expectantly waiting **whether/if/when you will come home**.'

(131) Gaduwa-duwa a **daw mabang** kanen an ki yaken.
Ga–duwa-duwa a ***daw*** ***m–tabang*** *kanen an ki yaken.*
I.R–waver/doubt 1S.ABS if/when I.V.IR–help 3S.ABS DEF.M OBL.P 1S
'I am wavering **whether/if/when s/he will help** me.'

(132) Ambaḷ din, "Inday, kaon, **daw miyag ka**?"
Ambaḷ din, "Inday, kaon, ***daw*** ***miyag*** ***ka?"***
say 3S.ERG don't.know 2S.ABS if/when want/agree 2S.ABS
'He said, "I don't know, (about) you, **whether/if you agree**"'
[RCON-L-03 2.15]

(133) Malipayen a **daw makita ko** ake na mga kabataan na gapalanggaanay daw gataod ...
Ma–lipay–en a ***daw*** ***ma–kita*** ***ko*** *ake na mga*
ADJ–joy–ADJ 1S.ABS if/when A.HAP.IR–see 1S.ABS 1S.GEN LK PL
ka–bata–an na ga–palangga–anay daw ga–taod ...
NR–child–NR LK I.R–love–REC and I.R–respect
'I am joyful **whenever I see** my children loving each other and giving respect ...' [CBWE-C-05 5.7]

It is common for *daw* to introduce adverbial clauses that express a condition under which the main clause holds true:

(134) Baked gid ake na pagpasalamat **daw mabaton** no ake na suḷat na uḷa man dipirinsya.

Baked gid ake na pag–pa–salamat ***daw*** ***ma–baton***
big INT 1S.GEN LK NR.ACT–CAUS–thannks if/when A.HAP.IR–receive
no ake na suḷat na uḷa man dipirinsya.
2S.ERG 1S.GEN LK letter LK NEG.R also damage
'My giving thanks will be really big **when/if you will receive** my letter without any damage.' [NEWL-T-04 5.2]

(135) **Daw** bagnes en isya na nanay kinangḷan kanen **magkaan** ta gulay daw **mag–inem** kanen ta bitamina **agod daw mwa** bata an biskeg iya na lawa daw madyo ta masakit.

Daw *bagnes en isya na nanay kinangḷan kanen* ***mag–kaan*** *ta*
if/when pregnant CM one LK mother need 3S.ABS I.IR–eat NABS
gulay daw ***mag–inem*** *kanen ta bitamina* ***agod daw***
vegetables and I.IR–drink 3S.ABS NABS vitamins so.that if/when
m–gwa *bata an biskeg iya na lawa daw madyo ta*
I.V.IR–go.out child DEF.M strong 3S.GEN LK body and far NABS
masakit.
sickness
'When a mother is pregnant she should eat vegetables and take (lit. drink) vitamins so that when the baby comes out, his/her body is strong and (s/he) is far from sickness.' [LBOP-C-03 11.3]

Daw clauses expressing conditions may follow the main clause:

(136) Magamit ka ta tinidor daw kutsara **daw maan**.

Ma–gamit ka ta tinidor daw kutsara ***daw*** ***m–kaan****.*
A.HAP.IR–use 1S.ABS NABS fork and spoon if/when I.V.IR–eat
'You can use a fork and spoon **when eating**.' [ETOP-C-10 2.11]

Daw may also follow *basi* 'perhaps':

(137) Daw kilem, dili katunuga tak **basi daw matuuron** ta iran na silingan na patayen kanen an.

Daw kilem, dili ka–tunuga tak ***basi*** ***daw***
if/when night NEG.IR I.EXM–sleep because perhaps if/when
matuod–en *ta iran na silingan na patay–en kanen an.*
true–T.IR NABS 3P.GEN LK neighbor LK kill–T.IR 3S.ABS DEF.M
'When it is night, (he) is not able to sleep because **perhaps** their

neighbor will make it true (what he said previously) that he will kill him.' [CBWN-C-12 4.4]

Since the existential particles *may* and *anen*, do not inflect, they have no specifically irrealis forms (see Chapter 5, §5.5). Therefore, the bare forms appear in subjunctive clauses (138 through 140):

(138) Unso ki, bistaan ta dya **daw may anen dya**.
Unso ki, ∅–bista–an ta dya ***daw***
D4LOC.PR 1P.INCL.ABS T.IRfind.out–APL 1P.INCL.ERG D4LOC if/when
may anen dya.
EXT.IN EXT.G D4LOC
'Let's (go/be) there, let's find out there **whether there is any there**.' (The monkey and tortoise are looking for some food.) [CBWN-C-16 3.8]

(139) ... mabantaw ta baḷay an **daw may ittaw**.
... ma–bantaw ta baḷay an ***daw may ittaw.***
A.HAP.IR–look.far.off NABS house DEF.M if/when EXT.IN person
'... let's look far off at the house **whether there are people**.' [CBWN-C-18 7.5]

(140) Pagsekeb danen uḷa danen natan-aw gantangan ya **daw may gapilit na bḷawan**.
Pag–sekeb danen uḷa danen na–tan-aw gantangan
NR.ACT–measure 3P.GEN NEG.R 3P.ERG A.HAP.R–look.at 3.quart.measurer
ya ***daw may ga–pilit na bḷawan.***
DEF.F if/when EXT.IN I.R–stick LK gold
'When they were measuring, they had not looked at the 3 quart measurer **whether there was gold stuck (in it)**.' [CBWN-C-22 7.1]

There are also no specifically irrealis forms for other types of non-verbal predicates (141):

(141) Dayon insa **daw mga kaḷa ko kon danen i**.
Dayon insa ***daw mga kaḷa ko kon danen i.***
right.away ask if/when PL know 1S.GEN HSY 3P.ABS DEF.N
'Right away (she) asked (me) **whether they were ones I knew**.' [6]
[CBWN-C-23 3.11]

[6]The root *kaḷa* 'know' often occurs with verbal inflection, but in this example it is functioning as a nominal (see Chapter 3, §3.3.1 on "zero deverbalization"), as evidenced by the presence of the plural marker *mga* A literal translation of this phrase would be 'my known ones'.

See also example (137) above that contains the clause *daw kilem* 'when (it was) night'.

The introducer *aged* (also pronounced and spelled *agod* by some speakers) can optionally be followed by the linker *na*. It seems *aged na* is used when the subjunctive clause expresses purpose and *aged* alone is used for result, but a full discourse study is needed to confirm or disconfirm this hypothesis (142 through 144):

(142) Mamang ki anduni ta uling aged na legeran ta lawa i ta Indangan **aged kanen i magmitem**.

M–kamang ki anduni ta uling PURPOSE
I.V.IR–get 1P.INCL.ABS now/today NABS charcoal
aged na ∅–leged–an *ta lawa i ta Indangan*
so.that LK T.IR–rub–APL 1P.INCL.ERG body DEF.N NABS surgeonfish
RESULT
aged kanen i mag–mitem.
so.that 3S.ABS DEF.N I.IR–black

'Let's get now some charcoal **in order that we rub (it)** on the body of Surgeon fish **such that as for him (he) will become black**.' [JCON-L-07 15.8]

(143) Dayon kanen pupo ta kasoy tak atag din ta mga kana **aged na makaparani kanen**.

Dayon kanen pupo ta kasoy tak ∅–atag din ta
right.away 3S.ABS pick NABS cashew because T.IR–give 3S.ERG NABS
mga kana
PL foreigner
PURPOSE
aged na maka–pa–dani kanen.
so.that LK I.HAP.IR–CAUS–close 3S.ABS

'Right away she picked some cashews because she would give (them) to the foreigners **in order that she can approach (them)**.' [DBON-T-10 1.7]

Example (144) is an extended excerpt that contains three clauses (bolded) introduced with *aged*:

(144) Sabat man ta bubuo ya, "Miad gani daw pakpaken no tudtod ko i **aged magḷapad**." Tapos, ambaḷ ta amo ya a, "A, dili ta kaw nang en pagpakpaken. Daw madakep ta kaw, tekteken ta kaw." Sabat man ta

bubuo ya, "Miad gani daw tekteken a no **aged magtama a**." Dayon ambaḷ amo i na, "A, dili ta kaw pagtekteken. Daw madakep ta kaw kani, pilak ta kaw naan ta suba na sikad daḷem **aged malemmes ka**."

a. *Sabat man ta bubuo ya, "Miad gani daw pakpak–en*
reply also NABS tortoise DEF.F good truly if/when pound.on–T.IR
no tudtod ko i
2S.ERG back 1S.GEN DEF.N
'The tortoise answered, "It is truly good if you pound on my back ...

b. ***aged mag–ḷapad**." Tapos, ambaḷ ta amo ya a,*
so.that I.IR–wide then say NABS monkey DEF.F INJ
so that it becomes wide." Then, the monkey said, ...

c. *"A, dili ta kaw nang en pag–pakpak–en. Daw*
ah NEG.IR 1S.ERG 2S.ABS only CM NR.ACT–pound.on–T.IR if/when
ma–dakep ta kaw, tektek–en ta kaw." Sabat man
A.HAP.IR–catch 1S.ERG 2S.ABS chop.up–T.IR 1S.ERG 2S.ABS reply also
ta bubuo ya, "Miad gani daw tektek–en a no
NABS tortoise DEF.F good truly if/when chop.up–T.IR 1S.ABS 2S.ERG
"Ah, I will not pound on you. If I catch you, I will chop you up." The tortoise replied, "It is truly good if you chop me up ...

d. ***aged mag–tama a**." Dayon ambaḷ amo i na, "A,*
so.that I.IR–many 1S.ABS then say monkey DEF.N LK ah
dili ta kaw pag–tektek–en. Daw
NEG.IR 1S.ERG 2S.ABS NR.ACT–pound.on–T.IR if/when
ma–dakep ta kaw kani, pilak ta kaw
A.HAP.IR–catch 1S.ERG 2S.ABS later throw.away 1S.ERG 2S.ABS
naan ta suba na sikad daḷem
SPAT.DEF NABS river LK very deep
so I will become many." Then the monkey said, "Ah, I will not chop you up. If I catch you later I will throw you in the river that is very deep ...

e. ***aged ma–lemmes ka**."*
so.that A.HAP.IR–drown 2S.ABS
so that you drown."' [CBWN-C-16 9.15]

Example (145) seems to be an exception to the tendency for *aged* alone to express result. In this example, the subjunctive clause in (145b) clearly expresses the intended purpose of the activity described in the main clause, yet no linker

follows *aged*. In any case, purpose and result are similar concepts, and it is not surprising that their modes of expression overlap:

(145) Listo ambaḷ kuti i na, "Matay ki naan ta kaoy **aged mabantaw** ta baḷay an daw may ittaw.

a. *Listo ambaḷ kuti i na, "M–katay*
promptly say cat DEF.N LK I.V.IR–climb 1P.INCL.ABS SPAT.DEF
ki naan ta kaoy
NABS tree/wood
'In a little time the cat said, "Let's climb a tree

b. PURPOSE
aged ma–bantaw ta baḷay an daw
so.that A.HAP.IR–look.far.off 1P.INCL.ERG house DEF.M if/when
may ittaw.
EXT.IN person
so that we can look (from afar) at the house (to see) if there are people (there). [7.5]

Purpose can also be expressed by *para na* or simply *para* before a subjunctive adverbial clause (146 and 147):

(146) Pag-abot ta Maynila gadisisyon a pa gid na mangita a ta ubra **para na malipatan ko** tanan-tanan yon na mga prublima.
Pag–-abot ta Maynila ga–disisyon a pa gid na
NR.ACT–arrive NASB Manila I.R–decision 1S.ABS INC INT LK
ma–ng–ngita a ta ubra ***para na ma–lipat–an***
A.HAP.IR–PL–search 1S.ABS NABS work/do for LK A.HAP.IR–forget–APL
ko *tanan~tanan yon na mga prublima.*
1S.ABS RED~all D3ABS LK PL problem
'When arriving in Manila, I really decided that I will look for work **in order that I forget** completely all those problems.' [JBON-J-01 4.1]

(147) Duma an kalabanan gabugtaw mga alas kwarto imidya asta alas singko **para magsin-ad ta kan-en danen**.
Duma an ka–laban–an ga–bugtaw mga alas kwarto imidya asta
some DEF.M NR–most–NR I.R–wake.up PL o'clock four thirty until
alas singko ***para mag–sin-ad ta kan-en danen.***
o'clock five for I.IR–cook.grain NABS cooked.rice 3P.GEN
'Almost all wake up about four thirty o'clock until five o'clock **in order to cook their rice**.' [DBOE-C-03 1.2]

Bag-o 'before/new/newly' may also introduce subjunctive adverbial clauses:

(148) Pag-abot nay ta baḷay na dayunan nay, gapuay kay ta pila na oras **bag-o manaw na mamasyar**.

Pag-–abot nay ta baḷay na dayon–an nay,
NR.ACT–arrive 1P.EXCL.GEN NABS house LK continue–NR 1P.EXCL.GEN
ga–puay kay ta pila na oras ***bag-o m–panaw na***
I.R–rest 1P.EXCL.ABS NABS few LK hour/time before I.V.IR–go/walk LK
ma–ng–pasyar.
A.HAP.IR–PL–go.visiting

'When we arrived at the house where we will stay, we rested **before leaving to go visiting**.' [AGWN-L-01 3.2]

Imbis (na) 'instead of' (pronounced *imbís,* with stress on the final syllable) may also introduce subjunctive adverbial clauses, as in (149) and (150):

(149) **Imbis na ambaḷen din** iya na suguon na atagan Pedro an, kanen i gapanaog ta geddan daw kanen gid gaatag ta aḷak.

Imbis na ambaḷ–en din *iya na sugo–en na ∅–atag–an*
instead.of LK say–T.IR 3S.ERG 3S.GEN LK order–T.IR LK T.IR–give–APL
Pedro an, kanen i ga–panaog ta geddan daw kanen
Pedro DEF.M 3S.ABS DEF.N I.R–go.downstairs NABS stairs and 3S.ABS
gid ga–atag ta aḷak.
INT I.R–give NABS wine

'**Instead of him** saying to his servant to give Pedro (some wine), as for him, (he) went down the stairs and he really gave the wine (to Pedro).' [BEWN-T-01 3.4]

(150) **Imbis na** tallo na mag-arey maglangoy, naubos danen ega ta adlaw.

Imbis na *tallo na mag-–arey mag–langoy, na–ubos danen ega*
instead LK three LK REL–friend I.IR–bathe A.HAP.R–all 3P.ERG dry
ta adlaw.
NABS sun/day

'**Instead of** the three friends bathing, they were all dried up by the sun.' (This is a story abut a hermit crab, dragonfly and wasp who went to the river to bathe. But they fought over who would use the soap first and so they did not get to bathe but dried up in the sun.) [CDWN-T-01 3.9]

Example (151) illustrates a construction with two subjunctive clauses, one embedded within the other. The clause introduced by *daw* is a subjunctive adverbial clause. This clause is modified by another subjunctive adverbial clause introduced by *na*:

(151) Kaon nang pagustuon **daw miling ka ta Manila na magtudlo** ki kanen ta ambaḷ ta.

Kaon nang pa–gusto–en ***daw m–iling ka ta***
2S.ABS only CAUS–want/like–T.IR if/when I.V.IR–go 2S.ABS NABS
Manila na mag–tudlo *ki kanen ta ambaḷ ta.*
Manila LK I.IR–teach OBL.P 3S NABS say 1P.INCL.GEN
'You are the one to do what you want **if you will go to Manila to teach/teaching/and teach** her our language.' [RCON-L-03 4.4]

The following are additional subjunctive adverbial clauses from the corpus:

(152) Galangkag a **daw muli** kaw di.

Ga–langkag a ***daw m–uli*** *kaw di.*
I.R–expect 1S.ABS if/when I.V.IR–go.home 2P.ABS D1LOC
'I am expectantly waiting whether/if/when you would/will come home here.'

(153) Gaduwa-duwa a **daw mabang** kanen an ki yaken.

Ga–duwa-duwa a ***daw m–tabang*** *kanen an ki yaken.*
I.R–waver/doubt 1S.ABS if/when I.V.IR–help 3S.ABS DEF.M OBL.P 1S
'I am wavering/doubting **whether/if/when s/he would/will help** me.'

Some examples of verbs that do not allow subjunctive adjuncts introduced by *daw* include:

(154) *Gaplano kanen daw magbakasyon.
('S/he planned whether to go on vacation.')

*Gadisisyon kanen daw miling to Manila.
('S/he decided whether to go to Manila.')

*Gaandem a daw mag-iskwila a.
('I am desiring whether to go to school.')

*Lagpat din nang daw muli ka.
('S/he guessed whether you will go home.')

Finally, in (155) there are two recursively embedded complement clauses. The first (CC1) is the subjunctive complement of *gusto ko* 'I want', while the second (CC2) is the action nominalization complement of *tapuson ko* 'I will finish':

(155) Piro gaprusigir kay gid para na makaiskwila a nang tak gusto ko **na tapuson ko ake na pag-iskwila**.
Piro ga–prusigir kay gid para na maka–-iskwila a nang
but I.R–persevere 1P.EXC.ABS INT PURP LK I.HAP.IR–school 1S.ABS only
[CC1 [CC2]]
tak gusto ko ***na tapuson ko ake na pag–-iskwila.***
because want 1S.ERG LK finish–T.IR 1S.ERG 1S.GEN LK NR.ACT–school
'But we just really persevere in order that I can just go to school because I want **to finish my education**.' [PBWL-T-06 4.2]

12.4 Finite dependent clauses

There are several dependent clause constructions in Kagayanen that are grammatically fully finite in that they directly express all the transitivity and modality information that fully independent clauses do. However, we still want to say they are "dependent" because they do not normally stand on their own as independent assertions. They are always introduced with a complementizer, conjunction or introducer that links them to a fully independent clause in the near vicinity. In this section we will describe the various functions of finite dependent clauses.

12.4.1 Finite complement clauses

There are two words that function as *complementizers* in Kagayanen. These are *na* and *daw* both of which have other functions as well. The particle *na* is, of course, the "linker" that joins modifiers to their heads in noun phrases, while *daw* is a conjunction that introduces conditional clauses, as well as simply coordinating two structures of the same construction type (e.g. RP+RP, CL+CL, etc.). In this section we illustrate the use of these forms to introduce fully finite clausal arguments, also known as complement clauses.

12.4.1.1 Finite *na* complement clauses

Clausal arguments may be headed by fully finite verbs introduced with the linker *na* functioning as a complementizer. Matrix verbs that take finite complement clauses introduced by *na* include the following:

(156) Verbs of utterance
Verbs of perception
Phasal verbs (to begin to finish)
Many cognition verbs
dengngan 'to do something at the same time as X'
kuyog 'to go with someone to do X'
pakita 'to show someone that you are doing X'
pasalamat 'to give thanks that X happened'
sadya 'to be happy that X happened'
una 'to do X first'
untat 'to stop doing X'

Without the complementizer, the two clauses are understood as just two independent clauses. The following conversational examples illustrate that these clausal arguments are truly finite in that they may be headed by realis or irrealis verbs. They are also argumental, in that they fill the absolutive role in a grammatically transitive matrix construction:

(157) Paumpisaan din en **na gatanem** ta kamuti.
Pa–umpisa–an din en ***na ga–tanem/ga–ng–tanem*** *ta kamuti.*
T.R–start–APL 3S.ERG CM LK I.R–plant/I.R–PL–plant NABS cassava
'S/he started planting cassava.'

(158) Paumpisaan din en **na magtanem** ta kamuti.
Pa–umpisa–an din en ***na mag–tanem/ma–ng–tanem*** *ta*
T.R–start–APL 3S.ERG CM LK I.IR–plant/A.HAP.IR–PL–plant NABS
kamuti.
cassava
'S/he is just starting to plant cassava (but might not have planted anything yet).'

(159) Gaumpisa en kanen an **na gatanem** ta kamuti.
Ga–umpisa en kanen an ***na ga–tanem/ga–ng–tanem*** *ta*
I.R–start CM 3S.ABS DEF.M LK I.R–plant/I.R–PL–plant NABS
kamuti.
cassava
'S/he started planting cassava.' (This means she is now already planting it.)

(160) Gaumpisa en kanen an **na magtanem** ta kamuti.

Ga–umpisa en kanen an ***na mag–tanem/ma–ng–tanem*** *ta*
I.R–start CM 3S.ABS DEF.M LK I.IR–plant/A.HAP.IR–PL–plant NABS
kamuti.
cassava
'S/he is just starting to plant cassava.' (This means s/he is just now beginning, but possibly hasn't planted anything yet.)

In addition to aspect/modality CTPs such as *umpisa* 'start', and *gauntat* 'stop', many cognition, emotion, perception and utterance constructions may also contain finite clausal arguments introduced by *na*:

(161) Cognition:
Nḷaman ko **na gaiskwila** ka en.

Na–aḷam–an ko ***na ga–iskwila*** *ka en.*
A.HAP.R–know–APL 1S.ERG LK I.R–school 2S.ABS CM
'I know that you already went to school.'

(162) Nḷaman no **na kaselled** aren ta ubra unti …

Na–aḷam–an no ***na ka–selled*** *aren ta ubra unti*
A.HAP.R–know–APL 2S.ERG LK I.EXM–inside 1S.ABS NABS work D1LOC.PR
…

'You know that I got to enter into work here ...' [DBWL-T-20 8.5]

(163) … uḷa kay naḷam na galarga danen an.

… uḷa kay na–aḷam na ga–larga danen an.
NEG.R 1P.EXC.ABS A.HAP.R–know LK I.R–depart 3P.ABS DEF.M
'… we did not know that they are departing.' [PBWL-T-05 3.4]

(164) Direct speech:
Dayon kamati kanen i ta gatagbaḷay na gaambaḷ **na** "**Dili ka madlek** bḷai tak yaken magduaw a nang ta sapping yan."

Dayon ka–mati kanen i ta ga–tagbaḷay na
right.away I.EXM–hear 3S.ABS DEF.N NABS I.R–owner.of.house LK
ga–ambaḷ ***na "Dili ka ma–adlek*** *bḷai*
I.R–say LK NEG.IR 2S.ABS A.HAP.IR–afraid fellow.parents.in.law

tak yaken mag–duaw a nang ta sapping yan."
because 1S.ABS I.IR–visit 1S.ABS only NABS twins DEF.M
'Right away she heard one calling the owner of the house saying, "Don't be afraid fellow mother in law because AS FOR ME I am only visiting the twins."' [MBON-T-05 3.9]

(165) Indirect speech:
… sabaten no **na gabalyo** ki ta bayo tak natignawan ka.
… sabat–en no ***na ga–balyo*** *ki ta bayo tak*
reply–T.IR 2S.ERG LK I.R–change 1P.INCL.ABS NABS clothes because
na–tignaw–an ka.
A.HAP.R–cold–APL 2S.ERG
'… answer that we exchanged clothes because you were cold.'
[CBWN-C-25 10.5]

(166) Perception:
Nakita din **na gaitem** inog an na lumboy.
Na–kita din ***na ga–item*** *inog an na lumboy.*
A.HAP.R–see 3S.ERG LK I.R–black ripe DEF.M LK java.plum
'He saw that the ripe java plums were becoming black.' [JCWN-L-38 7.2]

12.4.1.2 Finite *daw* complement clauses

Finite clauses that function as arguments of certain stative roots expressing cognition and emotion may be introduced by *daw* 'if/when' functioning as a complementizer. In many cases, these may be understood as *indirect questions* For example, in (167), the complement (bolded) expresses the content of what the Actor knows, namely the answer to the question "Did you go to school?":

(167) Nḷaman ko **daw gaiskwila** ka en.
Na–aḷam–an ko ***daw ga–iskwila*** *ka en.*
A.HAP.R–know–APL 1S.ERG COMP I.R–go.to.school 2S.ABS CM
'I know whether/if/when you went to school.'

(168) Nḷaman ko **daw miskwila** ka.
Na–aḷam–an ko ***daw m–iskwila*** *ka.*
A.HAP.R–know–APL 1S.ERG COMP I.V.IR–go.to.school 2S.ABS
'I know whether/if/when you will go to school.'

The stative root *salig* 'think wrongly' often occurs with a complement clause introduced with *daw* 'if/when':

(169) Salig ko **daw galarga** kaw en.
*Salig ko **daw** **ga–larga** kaw en.*
think.wrongly 1S.ERG if/when I.R–depart/travel 2S.ABS CM
'I thought wrongly that you already departed.'

(170) Salig ko **daw marga** kaw kani.
*Salig ko **daw** **m–larga** kaw kani.*
think.wrongly 1S.ERG if/when I.V.IR–depart/travel 2S.ABS later
'I thought wrongly that you will depart later.'

The verb *insa/ansa/ensa* 'to ask a question' may express a direct or indirect question in its complement clause. When the complement clause is an indirect question, the complementizer is *daw* (exx. 171 and 172). If it is a direct question, then *na* may occur, or the complementizer may be dropped (173).

(171) Dayon ka din insaan **daw naḷam** ka en maggalang.
*Dayon ka din ∅–insa–an **daw** **na–aḷam** ka en*
right.away 2S.ABS 3S.ERG T.IR–ask–APL COMP A.HAP.R–know 2S.ABS CM
mag–galang.
I.IR–respect
'Right away he asks you whether you know how to give respect.'[7] [JCWN-T-20 5.2]

(172) Dayon ka din insaan **daw misab** ka pa.
*Dayon ka din insa–an **daw** **m–isab** ka pa.*
right.away 2S.ABS 3S.ERG ask–APL COMP I.V.IR–do.again 2S.ABS INC
'Right away he asks you whether you will still do it again.' [JCWN-T-20 6.3]

[7]When *dayon* occurs after the verb it means 'immediately', but when it occurs sentence initially, it is working more on the discourse level to mark the following clause as heightened tension leading up to the climax. In such examples we translate *dayon* as 'right away.' It occurs too often in narratives for all such examples to be accurately translated with 'immediately,' though we consistently gloss *dayon* in that way.

(173) Dayon ka din insaan **(na)**, "**Naḷam** ka en maggalang?"
*Dayon ka din insa–an **(na), "Na–aḷam** ka en*
right.away 2S.ABS 3S.ERG ask–APL COMP A.HAP.R–know 2S.ABS CM
mag–galang?"
I.IR–respect
'Right away he asks you "Do you know how to give respect?"'

12.4.2 Finite adverbial clauses

In addition to finite complement clauses, there are adjunct clauses introduced by a complementizer or other introducer. Such clauses are "adverbial" in that they are normally optional from a syntactic point of view, and they do not fill any argument roles. They also tend strongly to express *presuppositions* rather than *assertions*. In other words, the information they express is usually background and already established, rather than the main new information in the construction. Finite adverbial clauses may be introduced by one of the introducers listed in (174). Many of these also introduce other types of dependent clauses, as discussed in previous sections. The last four of these are borrowings from Spanish, and all retain roughly their Spanish meanings:

(174)

Introducer	Gloss	Interpropositional Relation
na	LINKER/COMPLEMENTIZER	(various)
daw	'if/when'	Condition (and others)
tak	'because'	Reason (+realis)/Purpose (+irr)
tenged	'because'	Reason
kumo	'because'	Reason
gani na	'and so'	Result
samtang	'while'	Simultanaity
bisan/baskin maskin	'even though'/'even if'	Concession
asta	'until'/'and so'	Result, bounded time
tapos (na)	'after'	Posteriority
antes	'before'/'while'	Anteriority, Simultanaity
mintras	'while'	Simultanaity
para	'for'/'purpose'	Purpose

The following are examples of various finite adverbial clauses from the corpus, organized according to the interpropositional relations expressed:

(175) Finite time adverbial clause with *na* introducer and realis verb:
Na gapanaw en iya na manong gabalikid kanen ta iya na utod tak naadlek kanen basi may matabo.

Na ga–panaw *en iya na manong ga–balikid kanen ta*
LK I.R–go/walk CM 3S.GEN LK older.brother I.R–look.back 3S.ABS NABS
iya na utod tak na–adlek kanen basi may
3S.GEN LK sibling because A.HAP.R–afraid 3S.ABS perhaps EXT.IN
ma–tabo.
A.HAP.IR–happen
'When his other brother left, he looked back to his sibling because he was afraid that perhaps something will happen.' [EDWN-T-04 2.3]

(176) **Na nalebbeng** en ake na bayaw gaimes kay en na muli ta Manila.

Na na–lebbeng *en ake na bayaw ga–imes kay*
LK A.HAP.R–bury CM 1S.GEN LK sibling.in.law I.R–prepare 1P.EXCL.ABS
en na m–uli ta Manila.
CM LK I.V.IR–go.home NABS Manila
'**When my brother-in-law had been buried** we were preparing to go home to Manila.' [VAWN-T-15 6.8]

(177) Finite adverbial clause with *na* introducer and irrealis verb:
Na mag-adlaw-adlaw en nabantawan ta mga ittaw naan ta iran na lugar sakayan i.

Na mag–-adlaw~-adlaw *en na–bantaw–an ta mga*
LK I.IR–RED~sun/day CM A.HAP.R–look.far.off–APL NABS PL
ittaw naan ta iran na lugar sakayan i.
person SPAT.DEF NABS 3P.GEN LK place veheicle DEF.N
'**When it was about to become day** the people in their place could look far off (and see) the vehicle.' [DBWN-T-33 2.28]

(178) Finite time adverbial clause with *na* introducer sentence finally:
Paambargo din pawikan, daing ta nanagat alin ta Cavili daw Maḷayang **na gauli en ta** Cagayancillo.

Pa–ambargo din pawikan, daing ta na–ng–dagat alin
T.R–take.by.force 3S.ERG sea.turtle dried.fish NABS A.HAP.R–PL–sea from
ta Cavili daw Maḷayang ***na ga–uli en ta*** *Cagayancillo.*
NABS Cavili and Malayang LK I.R–go.home CM NABS Cagayancillo
'He took by force sea turtle, dried fish of the ones who fish from Cavili and Malayang **when going home to Cagayancillo**.' [BEWN-T-01 2.8]

(179) Ame na Lolo galarga **na naabutan ta bagyo**.

Ame na Lolo ga–larga ***na na–abot–an ta bagyo***.
1P.EXCL.GEN LK grandfather I.R–depart LK A.HAP.R–arrive–APL NABS typhoon
'Our grandfather departed **when a typhoon came upon him**.'
[CBWN-T-27 2.1]

(180) Finite time adverbial clause with *daw* introducer and irrealis verb:
Daw mag-iling kay ta Cebu ame na sakayan pambot daw lansa man.

Daw mag–-iling *kay ta Cebu ame na sakay–an pambot daw lansa man.*
if/when I.IR–go 1P.EXCL.ABS NABS Cebu 1P.EXCL.GEN LK ride–NR motorboat and launch too
'When we go to Cebu our vehicle is a motorboat and launch too.'
[DBWN-T-23 2.1]

(181) Finite time adverbial clause with *daw* introducer and realis verb:
Daw gakaang luy-a kamangen din luy-a an daw paid din ta gettek …

Daw ga–kaang *luy-a kamang–en din luy-a an daw paid din ta gettek …*
if/when I.R–hot.taste ginger get–T.IR 3S.ERG ginger DEF.M and wipe 3S.ERG NABS stomach
'When the ginger becomes hot, he gets the ginger and he wipes (it) on the stomach …' [VAOE-J-04 VAOE-J-04 3.7]'

(182) Finite time adverbial clause with *asta* 'until' and irrealis verb:
Ta pag-abot en ta alas dos na mapon gabantay kay en ta sakayan na pauli en ta ame na ulian, **asta na makasakay kay en**.

Ta pag–-abot en ta alas dos na mapon ga–bantay kay en ta sakay–an na pa–uli en ta ame na uli–an, ***asta na maka–sakay kay en***.
so NR.ACT–arrive CM NABS o'clock two LK afternoon I.R–watch 1P.EXCL.ABS CM NABS ride–NR LK CAUS–go.home CM NABS 1P.EXCL.GEN LK go.home–NR until LK I.HAP.IR–ride 1P.EXCL.ABS CM
'So when two o'clock afternoon arrived we were watching for a vehicle to go homewards to the place where we go home to **until we will be able to ride**.' [RMWN-L-01 9.1]

(183) Finite time adverbial clause with *asta* 'until' and realis verb:
Pag-arya nang pa ta layag danen pabumbaan ta mga Pilipino mga sakayan ya danen **asta na napatay** danen ya tanan.

Pag-–arya nang pa ta layag danen pa–bumba–an ta mga
NR.ACT–raise just INC NABS sail 3P.ABS T.R–bomb–APL NABS PL
Pilipino mga sakay–an ya danen ***asta na na–patay*** *danen ya*
Filipino PL ride–NR DEF.F 3P.GEN until LK A.HAP.R–kill 3P.ABS DEF.F
tanan.
all
'When just still raising their sail, Filipinos bombed their vehicles (boats) **until they all died**.' [ICWN-T-04 3.13]

The introducer *asta*, normally glossed as 'until', can also express ideas similar to 'and also'/ 'and even' or it may introduce a result of the activity in the main clause.

(184) Ta, bayad ta ambaḷ no ya na nadlek a **asta** man en na buksoḷ man takong ko i.

Ta, bayad ta ambaḷ no ya na na–adlek a ***asta*** *man*
so pay NABS say 2S.ERG DEF.F LK A.HAP.R–afraid 1S.ABS until EMPH
en na buksoḷ man takong ko i.
CM LK lump also forehead 1S.GEN DEF.N
'So, you paid for what you said so that I was afraid and the **result (was)** a lump on my forehead.' [CON-L-07 13.1]

(185) Pagkatapos tan, dayon ka nang dḷagan en **asta** ka nang tumbalik ta dḷagan.

Pag–ka–tapos tan, dayon ka nang dḷagan en ***asta***
NR.ACT–VR–finish D1NABS right.away 2S.ABS only run CM until
ka nang tumbalik ta dḷagan.
2S.ABS only fall.backward NABS run
'After that, then you ran **until the result** (was) you fell backward from running.' [JCOE-T-06 8.14]

(186) Finite adverbial Clause with *gani na* 'and so' and realis verb:
Kanen gatabang man yaken ta pagtabog ta sidda pilis **gani na tama kamang ko**.

Kanen ga–tabang man yaken[8] *ta pag–tabog ta sidda*
3S.ABS I.R–help EMPH 1S NABS NR.ACT–drive.away NABS fish
pa–ilis ***gani na tama kamang ko***.
CAUS–close.to.shore so LK many get 1S.ERG
'As for him, (he) even helped me driving the fish going close to shore **and so I got many**.' [JCWN-L-31 25.3]

(187) Finite adverbial clause with *antes* 'while' and irrealis verb sentence initially:
Antes malin kay ta dagsayan mwa ta ḷangan dasig ḷagan ta lunday tak may angin na gaeyep.

Antes m–alin kay *ta dagsayan m–gwa ta*
while I.V.IR–from 1P.EXCL.ABS NABS shore I.V.IR–go.out NABS
ḷangan dasig dḷagan ta lunday tak may angin na
coral.reef fast run NABS outriggor.canoe because EXT.IN wind LK
gaeyep.
I.R–blow
'**While we were about to leave** the shore going out to the coral reef, our outriggor canoe was running fast because there was a wind blowing.' [EDWN-T-05 2.5]

(188) Finite adverbial clause with *antes* 'while' and realis verb sentence initially:
Antes galin kay ta dagsayan mwa ta ḷangan dasig ḷagan ta lunday tak may angin na gaeyep.

Antes ga–alin kay *ta dagsayan m–gwa ta*
while I.R–from 1P.EXCL.ABS NABS shore I.V.IR–go.out NABS
ḷangan dasig dḷagan ta lunday tak may angin na
coral.reef fast run NABS outrigger.canoe because EXT.IN wind LK
ga–eyep.
I.R–blow
'**When we left** the shore going out to the coral reef, our outriggor canoe was running fast because there was a wind blowing.' (Elicited example contrasting with 187.)

[8]Here *ki* 'OBLIQUE, PERSONAL NAME.' has been dropped before *yaken* in conversation. Speakers agree that *ki* would precede *yaken* in more careful speech.

(189) Finite adverbial clause with *mintras* 'while' and realis clause:
… daw pirmi kay balik-balik iran na baḷay **mintras na gatagad kay** ta sakayan na muli ta Cagayancillo.
… daw pirmi kay balik~-balik iran na baḷay ***mintras na***
and always 1P.EXCL.ABS RED~return 3P.GEN LK house while LK
ga–tagad kay *ta sakay–an na m–uli ta*
I.R–wait 1P.EXCL.ABS NABS ride–NR LK I.V.IR–go.home NABS
Cagayancillo.
Cagayancillo.
'… and we always kept returning to their place **while we were waiting** for a vehicle going home to Cagayancillo.' [NEWN-T-05 2.16]

(190) Finite adverbial clause with *samtang* 'while' and realis clause in initial position:
Piro, **samtang gatamba daen i**, bakod gid iran i na katingaḷa tak paryo ta sikad en tama daen i na galabet ta pagtamba.
Piro, ***samtang ga–tamba daen i****, bakod gid iran i na*
but while I.R–slap.water 3P.ABS DEF.N big INT 3P.GEN DEF.N LK
ka–tingaḷa tak paryo ta sikad en tama daen i na
NR–amaze because like NABS very CM many 3P.ABS DEF.N LK
ga–labet ta pag–tamba.
I.R–participate NABS NR.ACT–slap.water
'But, **while they were slapping the seawater**, their amazement was really big because it was like there were many of them who were participating in slapping the sea water.' (People slap the sea water to drive fish into their nets. In this text, there were only four who went fishing but while they were slapping the water, suddenly many more appeared. The others were evil spirits.) [JPWN-L-01 4.4]

(191) Finite adverbial clauses with *tak* 'because' indicating purpose or reason:
Manong megbeng ka **tak mamati** ka anay ta miting ta PTA **tak yaken i magbantay** ta baḷay **tak yaken gasakit** ake na uḷo.
Manong m–tegbeng ka ***tak ma–mati*** *ka*
older.brother I.V.IR–go.downhill 2S.ABS because A.HAP.IR–hear 2S.ABS
anay ta miting ta PTA ***tak yaken i***
first/for.a.while NABS meeting NABS PTA because 1S.ABS DEF.N
mag–bantay *ta baḷay* ***tak yaken ga–sakit*** *ake na uḷo.*
I.IR–watch/guard NABS house because 1S.ABS I.R–pain 1S.GEN LK head
'Older brother you go downhill, **because you will listen** for a while to

the meeting of PTA, **because as for me I will watch the house**, **because as for me my head hurts**.' (The speaker is giving the reason why the older brother should go down hill and also the reason why he will not go to the meeting.) [EDWN-T-04 2.2]

(192) … **tak pabor en angin an**, kalitan ta ta paglayag.
*… **tak** **pabor** **en angin an**, Ø–kalit–an ta ta*
because favorable CM wind DEF.M T.IR–swift–APL 1P.INCL.ERG NABS
pag–layag.
NR.ACT–sail
'… **because the wind is favorable**, let's make swift sailing.' [CTWN-L-01 2.9]

(193) Gabakak kay na gatuḷo ame na luwa **tak nḷaman nay** na Dios an gaduma ki kami.
*Ga–bakak kay na ga–tuḷo ame na luwa **tak***
I.R–glad 1P.EXC.ABS LK I.R–drip 1P.EXC.GEN LK tear because
***na–aḷam–an** **nay** na Dios an ga–duma ki*
A.HAP.R–know–APL 1P.EXCL.ERG LK God DEF.M I.R–companion OBL.P
kami.
1P.EXC
'We were glad with our tears dripping **because we knew** that GOD was accompanying us.' [VAWN-T-18 5.12]

(194) Uyo nya sikad gid ake na kulba **tak salig ko** gid daw mataring aren ta ake na gian.
*U–yo nya sikad gid ake na kulba **tak** **salig***
EMPH–D4ABS D4PR D4ABS very INT 1S.GEN LK nervous because
***ko** gid daw ma–taring aren ta*
think.wrongly 1S.ERG INT if/when A.HAP.IR–go.wrong.way 1S.ABS
ake na agi–an.
NABS 1S.GEN LK pass–NR
'That (was the reason) my nervousness was really very much **because I thought wrongly** that I will/would go the wrong way from my path.' [DBON-C-08 2.15]

(195) Finite adverbial clauses with *kumo* 'because':
Dili aren magpangaran-ngaran ta mga kaoy **kumo nḷaman ko man** na nḷaman nyo gid.

Dili aren mag–pa–ngaran~-ngaran ta mga kaoy ***kumo***
NEG.IR 1S.ABS I.IR–CAUS–RED~name NABS PL tree because
na–aḷam–an ko man *na na–aḷam–an nyo gid.*
A.HAP.R–know–APL 1S.ERG too LK A.HAP.R–know–APL 2S.ERG INT
'I will not name the trees **because I also know** that you really know (the names of the trees).' [ROOB-T-01 8.25]

(196) Gani a mga ittaw naan ta Bario nakulian ta pagnubig **kumo waig naan pa kamangen ta Barangay Wahig**.

Gani a mga ittaw naan ta Bario na–kuli–an ta
SO INJ PL person SPAT.DEF NABS Bario A.HAP.R–difficult–APL NABS
pag–nubig ***kumo waig naan pa kamang–en ta***
NR.ACT–haul.water because water SPAT.DEF INC get–T.IR NABS
Barangay Wahig.
Community Wahig
'So hauling water difficults/slows the people in Bario **because the water was even gotten in Community Wahig**.' [VPWE-T-01 2.7]

(197) Finite adverbial clauses with tenged (na) 'because':
Tapos pagilekan kanen i ta nanay din **tenged na patudlo din** makina ya.

Tapos pa–gilek–an kanen i ta nanay din ***tenged na***
then T.R–angry–APL 3S.ABS DEF.N NABS mother 3S.GEN because LK
pa–tudlo din *makina ya.*
T.R–point.out/teach 3S.ERG motor DEF.F
'Then his mother got angry with him **because he pointed out** the engine (to the raiders).' [BCWN-C-04 7.7]

(198) Sikad na kalised ta mga ittaw **tenged ta isya na adlaw dili magminos ta 10 na mapatay**.

Sikad na ka–lised ta mga ittaw ***tenged ta isya na adlaw***
very LK NR–distress NABS PL person because NABS one LK day/sun
dili mag–minos ta 10 na ma–patay.
NEG.IR I.IR–minus NABS 10 LK A.HAP.IR–kill
'The distress of the people was very much **because in one day it never was less than 10 who died**.' [HEWN-L-03 4.2]

Of the three reason clause introducers, *tak*, *kumo*, and *tenged*, only *tenged* 'can introduce a non-finite, nominalized, clause (199; see §12.2.3) or a RE (200):

(199) May sise man en na improvar ame na lugar **tenged ta pagtanem ta guso**.
May sise man en na improvar ame na lugar ***tenged ta***
EXT.IN small too CM LK improve 1P.EXCL.GEN LK place because NABS
pag–tanem ta guso.
NR.ACT–plant NABS seaweed.
'Our place has a little improvement **because of planting agar seaweed**.' [HEWN-L-03 8.21]

(200) **Tenged ta selleg** na gabuḷong nakita din nang en na gaeḷeng-eḷeng Maria ya ta dagat daw uḷa din en nakita.
Tenged ta selleg *na ga–buḷong na–kita din nang*
because NABS current LK I.R–crash.together A.HAP.R–see 3S.ERG nang
en na ga–eḷeng~-eḷeng Maria ya ta dagat daw uḷa din en
CM LK I.R–RED–revolve Maria DEF.F NABS sea and NEG.R 3S.ERG CM
na–kita.
A.HAP.R–see
'**Because of the current** that was crashing together, she just saw that Maria kept revolving around in the sea and she did not see (her) any more.' [EMWN-T-06 5.6]
*__Tak/kumo ta selleg__ na gabulong nakita din nang en …

Adverbial clauses with *tak* usually do not occur before the main clause, but adverbial clauses with *kumo* or *tenged* do more frequently. *Kumo* is the least common adverbial clause introducer, and is considered archaic by many speakers.

(201) Finite adverbial clause with *tapos na* introducer with realis verb:
Tapos na gasandok a ta waig, panggat a ta duma ko na mangali ta kamas.
Tapos na ga–sandok *a ta waig, pa–anggat*
then LK I.R–carry.water 1S.ABS NABS water T.R–invite.to.go.with
a ta duma ko na ma–ng–kali ta kamas.
1S.ABS NABS companion 1S.GEN LK A.HAP.IR–PL–dig.up NABS hingkamas
'**Then when I was carrying** water, my companions invited me to go with them to dig up hingkamas.' [BMON-C-02 1.7]

(202) Finite adverbial clause with *tapos na* introducer with irrealis verb:
Tapos na tampekan ta pantad, plantsa an trapuan ta gaming na limpyo …

Tapos na tampek–an *ta pantad, plantsa an trapo–an ta*
then LK pack.on–APL NABS sand iron DEF.M wipe.off–APL NABS
gaming na limpyo …
cloth LK clean
'**Then when (the leftover coals) will be packed** with sand, as for the iron, wipe it with a clean cloth …' (This is a procedural text about how to prepare a coal iron before ironing clothes.) [BMOP-C-07 2.5]

(203) Finite adverbial clause with *asta na* introducer and realis verb:
Pagiran ko pag-asod **asta na nakita ko** na naleg-as en.
Pa–gid–an ko pag-–asod ***asta na na–kita ko*** *na*
T.R–INT–APL 1S.ERG NR.ACT–pound until LK A.HAP.R–see 1S.ERG LK
na–leg-as en.
A.HAP.R–smash CM
'I intensified pounding **until I saw** that (it) had been smashed fine.' (This is about pounding rice.) [JCWE-T-13 2.7]

(204) Finite adverbial clause with *asta na* introducer and irrealis verb:
Paryo a nagayya tak drayber an sigi tan-aw ki kami naan ta may ispiyo na sigi kay suka **asta na mabot** ta Puerto.
Paryo a na–gayya tak drayber an sigi
like 1S.ABS A.HAP.R–embarrass because driver DEF.M continue
tan-aw ki kami naan ta may ispiyo na sigi
look.at OBL.P 1P.EXCL SPAT.DEF NABS EXT.IN mirror LK continue
kay suka ***asta na m–abot*** *ta Puerto.*
1P.EXCL.ABS vomit until LK I.V.IR–arrive NABS Puerto
'(It was) like I was embarrassed because, as for the driver, (he) kept looking at us (in the backseat) in the mirror as we kept on vomiting **until we were about to arrive** in Puerto.' [YBWN-T-06 2.4]

(205) Finite adverbial clause with *bisan, maskin, baskin (na/daw)* 'even though / even if' introducer and realis and irrealis verbs:
Bisan pa na uḷa kanen gabangon tak natignawan man gaambaḷ.
Bisan pa na *uḷa kanen ga–bangon tak*
even.though EMPH LK NEG.R 3S.ABS I.R–get.up because
na–tignaw–an man ga–ambaḷ.
A.HAP.R–cold–APL also I.R–say
'**Even though** she did not even get up because (she) also was cold (she) said …' [JCWN-L-31 3.5]

(206) Dili ko gusto na ake na mga kabataan magpaadyo ki kami **bisan daw** imol ki nang o maan ki nang ta mga gamot ta kaoy …

Dili ko gusto na ake na mga ka–bata–an mag–pa–adyo ki
NEG.IR 1S.ERG want LK 1S.GEN LK PL NR–child–NR I.IR–CAUS–far OBL.P
*kami **bisan** **daw** imol ki nang o m–kaan*
1P.EXCL even.though if/when poor 1P.INCL.ABS only or I.V.IR–eat
ki nang ta mga gamot ta kaoy …
1P.INCL.ABS only NABS PL root NABS tree

'I do not want my children to go far from us **even if** we are only hallelujah poor or we will eat only roots of trees …' [CBWE-C-05 4.2]

Adverbial clauses may be non-verbal. The following is a locational adverbial clause introduced by *na*. Recall that locational constructions do not include a verb (see Chapter 5, §5.4). A literal English translation of the adverbial clause in (207) would be "being there again as before in the place ahead ...":

(207) **Na naan eman kon ta unaan ya** may nakita eman kon danen an na wasay.

***Na naan eman kon ta una–an ya** may*
LK SPAT.DEF again.as.before HSY NABS first–NR DEF.F EXT.IN
na–kita eman kon danen an na wasay.
A.HAP.R–see again.as.before HSY 3P.ABS DEF.M LK axe

'**When (being) as before in the place on ahead** they saw something again that was an axe.' [CBWN-C-10 3.3]

(208) **Na nyaan en dani ta karwa ya na bungyod**, gasinggit eman isab Pwikan i, "Umang, indi ka yan en?

***Na nyaan en dani ta karwa ya na bungyod**, ga–singgit*
LK SPAT.DEF CM near NABS second DEF.F LK hill I.R–shout
eman isab Pwikan i, "Umang, indi ka yan
again.as.before again sea.turtle DEF.N hermit.crab where 2S.ABS DEF.M
en?
CM

'**When (being) near to the second hill** the Sea Turtle shouted again as before, "Hermit Crab, where are you now?"' [JCON-L-08 42.1]

To conclude this section we present one example with two finite adverbial clauses, and one subjunctive clause. Example (209) begins with a finite time adverbial locational clause introduced with *na*, followed by the main clause "we

continually cried". This in turn is followed by a finite adverbial clause introduced by *tak*, which itself contains an embedded subjunctive clause, *na patayen* '(we) would be killed.' The three dependent clauses are indicated with brackets to illustrate the embedding relationships:

(209) Na naan kami i ta lansa ya sigi kami agaḷ tak adlek kami na patayen.
Time/Location adverbial clause
[Na naan kami i ta lansa ya] sigi
LK SPAT.DEF 1P.EXCL.ABS DEF.N NABS launch DEF.F continually
Main clause Reason adv. cl. Subjunctive clause
Kami agaḷ [tak adlek kami [na patay–en]].
1P.EXCL.ABS cry because afraid 1P.EXCL.ABS LK kill–T.IR
'[When we were on the launch], we continually cried [because we were afraid [(we) would be killed]].' [BCWN-C-04 4.4]

12.5 Relative clauses

Relative clauses (RCs) are clauses that serve a modifying function within Referring Phrases (Comrie 1989, Payne 1997). They are clauses because they consist of a predicator plus one or more of its arguments. Semantically, relative clauses represent a complete discourse "scene". Here are some examples of Referring Phrases containing relative clauses in English:

(210) a. a **helper** who [will watch their child] ...
b. the **lentils** that [I dried] ...
c. the **stage** where [we held our program] ...

Each of these examples is a Referring Phrase in which the bolded noun is the head. The bracketed portion describes a scene that specifies the head in some way. In (210a), the bracketed portion describes a scene involving someone watching a child. This portion can be thought of as a reduction of the clause "a helper will watch their child". The subject of this clause refers to the same referent, *a helper*, as the head of the Referring Expression. Similarly, the bracketed portion of (210b) can be thought of as a reduction of "I dried the lentils", and the bolded portion of (210c) can be thought of as a reduction of "we held our program on the stage". In each example, an element of the modifying clause is omitted because it is coreferential with (it refers to the same referent as) the head of the larger Referring Phrase.

Close Kagayanen equivalents to the examples in (210) are given in (211):

(211) a. isya na saluguon na magbantay ta iran na bata
isya na saluguon *na [mag–bantay ta iran na bata]*
one LK servant LK I.IR–watch/guard NABS 3P.GEN LK child
'a helper who will watch their child'

b. ta pabaḷad ko na dawa
[ta pa–baḷad ko] na ***dawa***
NABS T.R–dry 1S.GEN LK lentils
'lentils that I dried'

c. ta stage na naiwasan ta ate na prugrama
ta ***stage*** *na [na–iwas–an ta ate na*
NABS stage LK A.HAP.R–hold/present–APL NABS 1P.INCL.GEN LK
prugrama]
program
'the stage on which we held our program'

Like the English examples, the examples in (211) are all Referring Phrases with a clause-like element serving as a modifier of the head noun. Also, as in the English examples, the modifying clause (bolded) can be thought of as a shortened clause in which the omitted element is an RP which is coreferential with the head of the phrase. Unlike the English examples, in each of the Kagayanen examples the omitted element is the *absolutive* of the truncated clause. In Kagayanen grammar only the absolutive within a relative clause may be coreferential with the head noun of the phrase. Another difference between these examples and corresponding English examples is that in English, all the relative clauses follow the head noun of the phrase. In Kagayanen, relative clauses usually follow the head, but they also may precede the head, as in (211b). This pattern is consistent with the syntax of Modification in general in Kagayanen. Recall from Chapter 3, there are two modifier positions in Kagayanen Referring Phrases; the first, MOD1, occurs before the head, and the second, MOD2, follows the head. In general shorter relative clauses tend to occur in MOD1 position, while longer relative clauses tend to occur in MOD2 position. As with most modifiers within Referring Phrases, relative clauses are separated from their Heads with the linker *na*, as represented in (212):

(212) RC *na* HEAD / HEAD *na* RC

We will divide our description of Kagayanen relative clauses between those that are based on dedicated participant nominalizations (§12.5.1) and those that

are based on fully finite Inflected verbs (§12.5.2). Additional examples of relative clauses in Referring Phrases are presented in Chapter 3, §3.5.4.

12.5.1 Dedicated participant nominalizations filling a relative clause function

Most relative clauses in Kagayanen are headed by inflected verb forms. However, some participant nominalizations described in Chapter 3 may also serve as modifiers within Referring Phrases. Since these forms have no function as verbal inflections, we refer to them as *dedicated* participant nominalizing processes. In this section, we describe relative clauses based on such dedicated noun-stem forming processes. These include the resultative nominalizer *<in>*, and the future patient nominalizer *-én/-ón* (see Chapter 3, §3.3.9 and §3.3.6).

Verbs nominalized with the resultative nominalizing infix *<in>* may function as modifiers within the RP (see Chapter 3, §3.3.9). As such, they may be understood as filling a relative clause function. The following are examples of post-head (213) and pre-head (214) relative clauses formed with *<in>* nominalizations:

(213) Head *na* Relative clause
Naliagan din dilis an na **linuto ko**.
Na–liag–an *din* *dilis* *an* *na* ***l<in>uto***
A.HAP.R–like/want–APL 3S.ERG anchovies DEF.M LK <NR.RES>cook
ko.
1S.ERG
'S/he liked the anchovies **I have cooked**.'

(214) Relative clause *na* Head
Naliagan din **linuto ko an** na dilis.
Na–liag–an *din* ***l<in>uto*** ***ko*** ***an*** *na*
A.HAP.R–like/want–APL 3S.ERG <NR.RES>cook 1S.ERG DEF.M LK
dilis.
anchovies
'S/he liked the anchovies **I have cooked**.'

Examples (213) and (214) may both be translated literally as "S/he liked my cooked anchovies." However, the meaning of the Kagayanen examples must be that the speaker is the Actor of the action of cooking, and not simply the possessor of the anchovies. In the English RP "my cooked anchovies" the speaker asserts that the anchovies are in a cooked state, but the identity of the person

who cooked them is not part of the assertion. In Kagayanen, however, the genitive/ergative element inside the RP is strongly asserted to be the Actor of the nominalized verb. Thus these resultative nominalizations are slightly more "relative clause like" than the literal English translations.

Examples (215)–(221) illustrate participant nominalizations functioning in this way in the text corpus.

(215) ... daw timpo kurisma **iran na kinutkot** na waig dili en magamit tak mangngod nang ta dagat na sikad masin.

... daw timpo kurisma ***iran na k<in>utkot*** *na waig dili*
if/when time/season drought 3P.GEN LK <NR.RES>dig LK water NEG.IR
en ma–gamit tak mangngod nang ta dagat na sikad
CM A.HAP.IR–use because younger.sibling only NABS sea LK very
masin.
salty

'... when it is the time of drought the well **they dug** (lit. "their dug water") cannot be used because (it is) the younger sibling of the sea being very salty.' [VPWE-T-01 2.4]

(216) Ake, kinangḷan na gapang-insa a daw kino gauḷa ta **binaḷad ko** na dawa.

Ake, kinangḷan na ga–pang–-insa a daw kino ga–uḷa ta
1S.GEN need LK I.R–PL–ask 1S.ABS if/when who I.R–spill NABS
b<in>aḷad ko *na dawa.*
<NR.RES>dry 1S.GEN LK lentils

'As for me, (it was) necessary that I ask (some people) who spilled **my dried** lentils (i.e., the lentils that I dried).' [TPWN-J-01 5.6]

(217) Maria, ginakasebe ko ta buḷan ta Disyimbri pitsa 15 ta taon 1987 **pinalangga ko** na nanay na imo na lola napatay.

Maria, ginaka–sebe[9] *ko ta buḷan ta Disyimbri pitsa 15 ta*
Maria T.R–sad 1S.ERG NABS month NABS December date 15 NABS
taon 1987 ***p<in>alangga ko*** *na nanay na imo na lola*
year 1987 <NR.RES>love 1S.GEN LK mother LK 2S.GEN LK grandmother
na–patay.
A.HAP.R–kill

'Maria, I was sad in the month of December date 15 of the year 1987 **my beloved** mother who is your grandmother died.' [EFWL-T-08 8.1]

[9]This complex prefix, *ginaka-*, is code switching from Hiligaynon.

(218) … dugang ko ta minsahi ta ate na **pinalangga** ta na ex-mayor …

… dugang ko ta minsahi ta ate na ***p<in>alangga***
add 1S.ERG NABS message NABS 1P.INCL.GEN LK <NR.RES>love
ta na ex-mayor …
1P.INCL.GEN LK ex-mayor
'… I will add to the message of our **beloved** ex-mayor …' [ROOB-T-01 3.1]

The following is a common salutation formula at the beginning of letters:

(219) **Pinalangga ko** na mga mangngod

P<in>alangga ko *na mga mangngod*
<NR.RES>love 1S.GEN LK PL younger.sibling
'**My beloved** younger siblings' [ICWL-T-05 3.1]

Example (220) illustrates that the head of the RP within which the participant Nominalization functions must be coreferential with the absolutive of the nominalized verb. The verb *alin* 'to come' must appear in the applicative form *alinan* 'to come from' in which the origin is the absolutive. This is because the unmentioned head of the modifier is the "old ways":

(220) Baliken ta ate **na** inalinan.

Balik–en ta ate ***na*** ***<in>alin–an****.*
return–T.IR 1P.INCL.ERG 1P.INCL.GEN LK <NR.RES>from–APL
'We will go back (to the old ways) from where we **came**.' [JCWO-L-29 43.1]

*Baliken ta ate na inalin.

The future patient nominalizer *-én/-ón* described in Chapter 3, §3.3.6 may also mark the verb in a nominalization functioning as a relative clause:

(221) … may idugang nang ta ake na **deén na** kwarta.

… may i–dugang nang ta ake na ***dala–én na*** *kwarta.*
EXT.IN T.DEON–add only NABS 1S.GEN LK take–NR LK money
'… there is something to add to my money **I am taking**.' [PBWL-T-06 4.3]

(222) Daw tagan ka ta kan-en o mga bagay **na kinangḷanén no**, kinangḷan magpasalamat ka.

Daw Ø–atag–an ka ta kan-en o mga bagay ***na***
if/when T.IR–give–APL 2S.ABS NABS cooked.rice or PL thing LK
kinangḷan–én no*, kinangḷan mag–pa–salamat ka.*
need–NR 2S.GEN necessary I.IR–CAUS–thanks 2S.ABS
'If you are given cooked rice or things **that you need**, it is necessary to give thanks.' [ETOP-C-09 3.2]

(223) Prengngan: Yi ni mga pagkaan **na kan-enén ta mga gabagnes** daw mabata danen an.

Prengngan: Yi ni mga pagkaan ***na kan-en–én ta***
postpartum.food[10] D1ABS D1PR PL food LK cooked.rice–NR NABS
mga ga–bagnes *daw ma–bata danen an.*
PL I.R–pregnant if/when A.HAP.IR–child 3P.ABS DEF.M
'Prengngan: This very one is food **that a pregnant (woman) eats** when she gives birth.' [VAOE-J-05 4.1]

12.5.2 Finite clauses filling a relative clause function

As mentioned earlier, almost any inflected verb form can function as a noun referring to the absolutive argument of the inflected verb. As such, they may also serve as predicates in relative clauses. When the head describes a non-referential entity, the relative clause (RC) is often irrealis, as in (224), and the second RC in (225):

(224) Danen i daw may bata abi dady daw mamy, mamang gid ta isya na saluguon na **magbantay ta iran na bata** …

Danen i daw may bata abi dady daw mamy,
3P.ABS DEF.N if/when EXT.IN child for.example daddy and mammy
m–kamang gid ta isya na saluguon na ***mag–bantay ta***
I.V.IR–get INT NABS one LK servant LK I.IR–watch/guard NABS
iran na bata *…*
3P.GEN LK child
'As for them, if the dad and mom have a child for example, (they) will really get a helper **who will watch** their child…' [RZWE-J-01 14.4]

Example (225) illustrates two relative clauses modifying one head:

[10] *Prengngan* refers to foods that a woman needs to eat after giving birth to prevent *beggat–* 'relapse' to weaknesses and sicknesses associated with pregnancy. *Prengngan* includes pork, fish, food with thorns (e.g. sea urchins), sour food, or foods that change color when cooked.

(225) Uḷa man waig na **gailig** na **magbunyag** ta mga tanem tak uḷa man suba.
*Uḷa man waig na **ga–ilig** na **mag–bunyag** ta mga tanem*
NEG.R also water LK I.R–flow LK I.IR–irrigate NABS PL plant
tak uḷa man suba.
because NEG.R also river
'There is also no water that is flowing **that will irrigate** the plants because there also is no river.' [JCWE-L-32 1.6]

We do not consider this use of irrealis modality in an RC to be subjunctive in the sense described in §12.3, since the irreality of the action expressed is consistent with the semantics of the construction, and realis modality is also grammatical in the same context.

Finite relative clauses are marked as realis when referential entities are involved, as in examples (226)–(229):

(226) Naliagan din dilis na **paluto ko an**.
*Na–liag–an din dilis na **pa–luto ko an**.*
A.HAP.R–like/want–APL 3S.ERG anchovies LK T.R–cook 1S.ERG DEF.M
'S/he liked the anchovies **I cooked**.'

(227) Nakita din isya na bai na **ganegga ta duyan**.
*Na–kita din isya na bai na **ga–negga ta duyan**.*
A.HAP.R–see 3S.ERG one LK woman LK I.R–lie NABS hammock
'He saw a woman **lying in a hammock**.' [EDWN-T-03 2.9]

(228) Nakita din ake na mangngod na **nalemmes**.
*Na–kita din ake na mangngod na **na–lemmes**.*
A.HAP.R–see 3S.ERG 1S.GEN LK younger.sibling LK A.HAP.R–drown
'He saw my younger sibling **who drowned**.' [LCWN-T-01]

(229) Nakita din ake na mangngod na **sise nang nalemmes**.
*Na–kita din ake na mangngod na **sise** nang*
A.HAP.R–see 3S.ERG 1S.GEN LK younger.sibling LK little only
***na–lemmes**.*
A.HAP.R–drown
'He saw my younger sibling **who almost drowned**.'

For all relative clauses, the absolutive argument in the RC must be coreferential with the head. This is evidenced by the ungrammaticality of the following examples, based on (226) and (227) above:

(230) *Naliagan din dilis na **galuto a**.

Na–liag–an din dilis na **ga–luto a.*
A.HAP.R–like/want–APL 3S.ERG anchovies LK I.R–cook 1S.ABS
('S/he liked anchovies I cook.')

(231) *Nakita din isya na bai na **paluto dilis**.

Na–kita din isya na bai na **pa–luto dilis.*
A.HAP.R–see 3S.ERG one LK woman LK I.R–cook anchovies
('S/he saw the woman who cooked the anchovies.')

The following are some additional examples of pre-nominal finite relative clauses from the corpus:

(232) Na gakawas kay ta barka, **nakita ko ya** na ittaw gatindeg ta isya na tyanggi na gatalikod.

*Na ga–kawas kay ta barka, **na–kita ko ya***
LK I.R–disembark 1P.EXCL.ABS NABS rowboat A.HAP.R–see 1S.ERG DEF.F
na ittaw ga–tindeg ta isya na tyanggi na ga–talikod.
LK person I.R–stand NABS one LK store LK I.R–backside
'When we disembarked from the rowboat, the person **I saw** was standing at the store with back turned.' [DBWN-T-23 9.3]

(233) Dayon kon pilak ta piang **ibitan din ya** na kaḷat.

*Dayon kon pilak ta piang …–**ibit–an din ya** na*
right.away HSY throw.away NABS lame T.R–hold–APL 3S.ERG DEF.F LK
kaḷat.
rope
'Right away it was said the lame one threw the rope **he held**.'
[CBWN-C-10 75]

As mentioned earlier, longer relative clauses, that is, those containing two full RP core arguments, or at least one oblique argument, may not precede their Heads:

(234) *Nakita din **ganegga ta duyan** na bai.

Na–kita din **ga–negga ta duyan na bai.*
A.HAP.R–see 3S.ERG I.R–lie NABS hammock LK woman
('S/he saw a lying in a hammock woman.')

Sometimes the head of a relative clause may be internal to the clause itself, as in example (235):

(235) Nakita din **ganegga** na bai naan **ta duyan**.
*Na–kita din **ga–negga** na bai naan **ta** **duyan**.*
A.HAP.R–see 3S.ERG I.R–lie LK woman SPAT.DEF NABS hammock
'S/he saw the woman **lying in a hammock**.'

In this example, the woman is the absolutive argument of *nakita* 'saw', and *ganegga,* 'lying'. The linker *na* intervenes between the RC verb, *ganegga*, and the head of the RC. Possible literal translations of this example may include "S/he saw the lying woman in a hammock," or "S/he saw the lying one, that is the woman, in a hammock."

12.6 Coordinate Clauses

Clauses may be conjoined with the *daw, asta, daw dili,* or *o*. In §12.6.1 through §12.6.4 we describe and illustrate each of these conjunctions with multi-clause examples from the corpus. In §12.6.5 we illustrate the *culminative* usage of irrealis modality in clause coordination.

Omission of arguments in discourse is common when the referents of the omitted elements can easily be recovered from the context. In particular, in coordinate clauses, there do not seem to be any strictly syntactic constraints on omission of arguments, or on which arguments must be coreferential. There is a tendency for coordinate clauses to share absolutive arguments, but this is not a rigid requirement, as can be seen in the following examples. In the examples in the following four sections, we present the conjunction and any overt coreferential arguments in bold.

12.6.1 *Daw*, 'and'

As discussed in §12.4.2, *daw* may introduce adverbial time clauses. As such we have glossed it as 'when'. It also functions as a general conjunction that stands between units of equal syntactic rank, e.g., two nouns, two referring phrases, two adverbs, two dependent clauses, or two fully inflected clauses. In this usage, it may be glossed as 'and'. If two clauses coordinated with *daw* share an argument, the second reference may or may not be omitted. In example (236), the absolutive, *kanen an*, is not omitted in the second clause, though it would be fully grammatical if the second reference to the absolutive were omitted:

(236) Dayon kon **kanen i** salamat ta Ginuo **daw** natumba **kanen an** …

Dayon kon ***kanen i*** *salamat ta Ginuo* ***daw***
right.away HSY 3S.ABS DEF.N thank NABS Lord and
na–tumba ***kanen an*** *…*
A.HAP.R–fall.over 3S.ABS DEF.M
'Right away he thanked the Lord and he fell over …' [CBWN-C-21 4.8]

Example (237) omits mention of the coreferential absolutive in the second clause:

(237) Daw bagnes en isya na nanay kinangḷan **kanen** magkaan ta gulay **daw** mag-inem ta bitamina …

Daw bagnes en isya na nanay kinangḷan ***kanen*** *mag–kaan ta*
when pregnant CM one LK mother should 3S.ABS I.IR–eat NABS
gulay ***daw*** *mag–-inem ta bitamina …*
vegetables and I.IR–drink NABS vitamins
'When a mother is pregnant she should eat vegetables and take (lit. drink) vitamins …' [LBOP-C-03 11.3]

If there are two or more distinct participants in two coordinate clauses, all are normally retained. The Actor is usually not omitted unless the clause is in the peak of a narrative. Coreferential undergoers are more likely to be omitted in the second clause when they are absolutives. In example (238), the absolutive (*sidda* 'fish') is omitted in two clauses because it is set up as the undergoer in the previous clause:

(238) Yan pḷa **sidda na sikad bakod**. Padaḷa danen ta baybay **daw** baligya singko isya kilo.

Yan pḷa ***sidda na sikad bakod****. Pa–daḷa danen ta baybay*
D2ABS surprise fish LK very big T.R–carry 3perg NABS beach
daw *…–baligya singko isya kilo.*
and T.R–sell five one kilogram
'That surprise was a fish that was very big. They took (it) to the beach and sold (it) for five (pesos for) one kilo.' [DBOE-C-05 1.5–6]

Undergoers are less often omitted when they are non-absolutive. This is because non-absolutive undergoers tend to be non-topical in the discourse, and therefore not as easily recovered as participants expressed in the absolutive. Example (239) illustrates a retained non-absolutive undergoer, *ti* 'D1NABS', referring back to *baḷon* 'packed lunch':

(239) Gadaḷa **a** nang **baḷon ko daw** naan **a** nang gakaan **ti** iskwilahan i.
Ga–daḷa ***a*** *nang* ***baḷon*** ***ko*** ***daw*** *naan* ***a***
I.R–carry 1S.ABS only/just packed.lunch 1S.GEN and SPAT.DEF 1S.ABS
nang *ga–kaan* ***ti*** *iskwila–an i.*
only/just I.R–eat D1NABS school–NR DEF.N
'I carried my packed lunch and I just ate (it) at the school.' [DBON-C-07 2.1]

Example (240) illustrates two omitted absolutive undergoers, and one omitted non-absolutive undergoer. The Actor, *nay* '1P.INCL.ERG', is also omitted in the second and third clauses:

(240) Gani dayon **nay** anien **daw** lutuon **daw** magkaan.
Gani dayon ***nay*** *ani–en* ***daw*** *luto–en* ***daw***
So right.away 1P.INCL.ERG harvest–T.IR and cook–T.IR and
mag–kaan
I.IR–eat
'So, right away we harvest (previously mentioned coconut, corn, sorghum) and cook (it) and eat (it).' [SFOE-T-06 5.10]

In example (241) the absolutive undergoer, *niog* 'coconut (palm), is omitted in the second clause:

(241) Gani, papalangga **din** man **yi na niog daw** adlaw-adlaw **din** pabunyagan.
Gani, pa–palangga ***din*** *man* ***yi*** ***na niog*** ***daw***
so T.R–have.affection 3S.ERG also D1ABS LK coconut.palm and
adlaw~-adlaw ***din*** *pa–bunyag–an.*
RED~day 3S.ERG T.R–irrigate–APL
'So, she had affection for this coconut tree and every day she watered (it).' [PBWN-C-12 13.4]

Example (242) illustrates two intransitive clauses coordinated with *daw*:

(242) Gakatay en **kuti i daw** galayog man **manok i** naan punta ta ugbos ta kaoy.
Ga–katay en ***kuti i*** ***daw*** *ga–layog man* ***manok i*** *naan*
I.R–climb CM cat DEF.N and I.R–fly also chicken DEF.I SPAT.DEF
punta *ta* *ugbos ta* *kaoy.*
going.to NABS top GEN tree
'The cat climbed and also the chicken flew going to the very top of the tree.' [CBWN-C-18 7.11]

Examples (243) and (244) each illustrate a grammatically transitive and an intransitive clause in a coordinate construction with different actors and different absolutives.

(243) Dayon **ko** pilak mga kaoy an **daw** gatabang man **danen an**.
Dayon ***ko*** *...–pilak* *mga kaoy* *an* ***daw*** *ga–tabang*
right.away 1S.ERG T.R–throw.away PL wood DEF.M and I.R–help
man ***danen an***.
also 3P.ABS DEF.M
'Right away I threw away the wood and also they helped.' [CBWN-C-11 4.27]

(244) Pag-uḷog din ya, tag-iya ya ta bḷangay, dayon **kanen** ya tugpa **daw** peseb **din** bata ya na Pedro na nuḷog na gaamirikana kanen an.
Pag–-uḷog *din* *ya,* *tag-iya* *ya* *ta* *bḷangay,* *dayon*
NR.ACT–fall 3S.ERG DEF.F owner DEF.F GEN two.masted.boat right.away
kanen *ya* *...–tugpa* ***daw*** *pa–eseb* ***din*** *bata* *ya* *na Pedro*
3S.ABS DEF.F I.R–jump and T.R–dive.to.get 3S.ERG child DEF.F LK Pedro
na na–uḷog *na ga–amirikana kanen an.*
LK A.HAP.R–fall LK I.R–suit 3S.ABS DEF.M
'When he fell, as for the owner of the two-masted boat, right away he jumped (into the sea) and dove underwater (to get) the child Pedro who had fallen (and) was wearing a suit.' [PCON-C-01 3.11]

Example (245) illustrates three clauses conjoined with *daw*:

(245) Tapos kay kaan, listo **kay** eman lisinsya na manaw **daw** nanay ta barkada ko gakamang ta tinapaan na sidda na deen **nay** muli naan ta Sintro **daw** bai na duma nay, gakamang man ta kan-en ...
Tapos kay *...–kaan, listo* ***kay*** *eman*
after 1P.EXC.ABS I.R–eat promptly 1P.EXC.ABS again.as.before
...–lisinsya *na m–panaw* ***daw*** *nanay* *ta* *barkada*
I.R–ask.permission LK I.V.IR–leave/walk and mother GEN friend
ko *ga–kamang ta* *t<in>apa–an* *na sidda na daḷa–en*
1S.GEN I.R–get NABS <NR.RES>smoke–APL LK fish LK carry–T.IR
nay *m–uli* *naan* *ta* *Sintro* ***daw*** *bai* *na*
2P.EXCL.ERG I.V.R–go.home SPAT.DEF NABS Central and woman LK
duma *nay,* *ga–kamang man ta* *kan-en* *...*
companion 2P.EXCL.GEN I.R–get also NABS cooked.rice
'After we ate, promptly we again as before requested permission to leave

and the mother of my friend got some smoked fish which we would take to Central and as for the woman our companion, she got some cooked rice …' [CBWN-C-11 3.3]

12.6.2 *asta*, 'until'

Asta (a Spanish word that means 'until') usually means 'until a certain time, place or event.' As a conjunction between clauses, it can have a resultative sense—the situation expressed in clause B is a result of the situation expressed in clause A:

(246) Pelles en angin an. Darko baḷed **asta** en mga layag ni ubos en ta gisi.

Pelles en angin an. Darko baḷed ***asta*** *en mga layag ni*
strong.wind CM wind/air DEF.M big.PL wave until CM PL sail D1ABS
ubos en ta gisi.
all CM NABS tear
'The wind was strong. The waves were big and (as a result) as for the sails, these were all torn.' [PCON-C-01 2.16]

(247) Pabatangan no ta tellek saging i a **asta** nang en na tama tellek lawa ko i.

Pa–batang–an no ta tellek saging i a ***asta*** *nang en*
T.R–put–APL 2S.ERG NABS thorn banana DEF.N INJ until only/just CM
na tama tellek lawa ko i.
LK many thorn body 1S.GEN DEF.N
'You put thorns on (the trunk of) the banana plant and (the result is) my body has lots of thorns.' [CBWN-C-16 9.4]

12.6.3 *daw dili*, 'if not/and not'

Daw dili as a fixed expression usually means 'if not', 'and not', or 'but rather' depending on the context. However, sometimes it simply coordinates independent clauses, with a conjunction or disjunction sense. We consider example (248) to illustrate clause coordination even though the verb (*mabyai* 'travel') is omitted in the second clause due to coreferentiality:

(248) Pagamit nang pa **ta mga ittaw** unti, daw mabyai naan Iloilo **daw dili** gani naan ta minland Palawan, pagamit **danen** bḷangay.

Pa–gamit nang pa ***ta mga ittaw*** *unti, daw mabyai naan*
T.R–use only/just still NABS PL person here and travel SPAT.DEF

Iloilo ***daw dili*** *gani naan ta minland Palawan, pa–gamit*
Iloilo and NEG truly SPAT.DEF NABS mainland Palawan T.R–use
danen *bḷangay.*
3P.ERG two.masted.boat
'People here still use, when traveling to Iloilo if not (or) to mainland Palawan, they use two-masted boats.'

(249) … kalabanan ta mga mamy daw dady ubos may ubra ta upisina ta darko na mga kumpanya paryo abi manigir ka **daw dili** gaubra ka ta Municipyo.
… kalabanan ta mga mamy daw dady ubos may ubra ta upisina
most NABS PL mom and dad all EXT.IN work NABS office
ta darko na mga kumpanya paryo abi manigir ka ***daw***
GEN big LK PL company like for.example manager 2S.ABS and
dili *ga–ubra ka ta Municipyo.*
NEG I.R–work 2S.ABS NABS town.hall
'… most of the moms and dads all have work in offices of big companies like for example you are a manager if not (or) you work in the town hall.' (RZWE-J-01 15.3)

12.6.4 *o* disjunction 'or'

The Kagayanen word *o* is from Spanish 'or'. It usually expresses alternatives between two conjuncts of equal syntactic status. As a conjunction between clauses, it sometimes presents a reiteration or paraphrase of an idea, as in (250):

(250) Ta pugya na timpo **kabaw i daw baka** isya nang ta istaran **o** isya nang ta tag-iya na gasagod **ki danen**.
Ta pugya na timpo ***kabaw*** ***i*** ***daw baka*** *isya nang ta*
NABS long LK time water.buffalo DEF.N an cow one only/just NABS
istar–an ***o*** *isya nang ta tag-iya na ga–sagod* ***ki*** ***danen****.*
live–NR or one only/just NABS owner LK I.R–care.for OBL.P 3p
'A long time ago the water buffalo and the cow had only one place to live or had only one owner who took care of them.' [CBWN-C-25 2.1]

12.6.5 Culminative use of irrealis modality in clause coordination

In Chapter 6, §6.5.6 we briefly discussed what we describe as the *culminative* use of irrealis modality in narrative chains of events. In this section we will provide additional examples and discussion. Recall that irrealis modality is one of

the inflectional values in Kagayanen. Verbs in irrealis modality can be considered fully inflected, and therefore fully finite. However, when a clause terminates a narrative chain of events, it may appear in irrealis modality, even though semantically—according to the content of the narrative—the event is presented as an accomplished fact. In this section we will present the irrealis marked verbs in bold.

Example (251) is from a long narrative in which the narrator and company climb a very high mountain. Example (251) describes what they did when they finally arrived at a house on the mountain. The use of irrealis modality in the last two verbs highlights the fact that this is the culmination of an arduous journey.

(251) Naan kay dya anay gadayon, **magpuay** kay daw naan kay man **magtunuga**.

Naan kay dya anay ga–dayon, ***mag–puay***
SPAT.DEF 1P.EXCL.ABS D4LOC for.awhile I.R–stay I.IR–rest
kay daw naan kay man ***mag–tunuga****.*
1P.EXCL.ABS and SPAT.DEF 1P.EXCL.ABS also I.IR–sleep
'There we stayed for a while, we rested and we slept there also.'
[PCON-C-01 6.3]

Examples (252) and (253) are both from a long sad narrative. Example (252) is the final sentence of a long episode in which a father tricked his child into going with him to the mountains where the father killed the child and buried her. The paragraph following this one introduces a new episode describing what the mother of the child did when she found their child missing.

(252) Pagtapos din tampek ta lungag ya, dayon kanen uli daw **magdapa-dapa** isab.

Pag–tapos din tampek ta lungag ya, dayon kanen
NR.ACT–finish 3S.GEN pack.soil NABS hole DEF.F right.away 3S.ABS
…–uli daw ***mag–dapa-dapa*** *isab.*
I.R–return.home and I.IR–lie.flat again
'After he packed (soil) in the hole, right away he went home and kept on lying flat again. [PBWN-C-12 7.1]

Example (253) describes what happened when the police arrested the man for murder. Again, this excerpt terminates an episode, though it is not the end of the story:

(253) Pag-abot danen naan ta kapitto na bukid, dayon din man tudlo daw indi din dapit palebbenga. Pagkita danen ta lebbengan ya, gamandar dayon mga pulis an ki kanen na kutkuton din iya na bata. Pagkita danen, dayon danen pati na kanen matuod nakapatay ta bugtong danen na bata. Uḷa en maimo iya na sawa daw dili sigi nang en agaḷ daw sigi nang man en na pababawi. Gani, patampekan isab danen daw **muli naan ta banwa**.

Pag-–abot danen naan ta ka–pitto na bukid,
NR.ACT–arrive 3P.ABS SPAT.DEF NABS ORD–seven LK mountain
dayon din man tudlo daw indi din dapit
right.away 3S.ERG also point and direction 3S.ERG direction
pa–lebbeng–a. Pag–kita danen ta lebbeng–an ya, ga–mandar
dig–T.IR 3S.ERG 3S.GEN LK child NR.ACT–see 3P.GEN
dayon mga pulis an ki kanen na kutkot–en
right.away 3P.ERG believe LK 3P.ABS truly I.HAP.R–die T.R–bury–XC
din iya na bata. Pag–kita danen, dayon
NR.ACT–see 3P.GEN NABS bury–NR DEF.F I.R–command immediately
danen pati na kanen matuod naka–patay ta bugtong danen na
PL police DEF.M OBL.P 3S LK NABS only 3P.GEN LK
bata. Uḷa en ma–imo iya na sawa daw dili sigi nang en
child NEG CM I.R–do 3S.GEN LK spouse and NEG continue only/just CM
agaḷ daw sigi nang man en na pa–ba~bawi. Gani,
I.IR–cry and continue only/just also CM LK T.R–RED revive then
*pa–tampek–an isab danen daw **m–uli naan ta***
T.R–pack.soil–APL again 3P.ERG and I.V.IR–return.home SPAT.DEF NABS
***banwa**.*
town

'When they (the police with the father who killed his child) arrived on the seventh mountain, he (the father) pointed out in what direction he buried (the child). When they saw the grave, the police immediately commanded him to dig up his child. When they saw (the child), right away they believed that he truly had killed their one and only child. There was nothing his spouse could do, except to keep on crying and keep on being revived. So, they packed (soil on it) again and **went home to the town**.' [PBWN-C-12 12.2]

Example (254) is from a different narrative in which a water buffalo and a cow have a discussion of how they will go to the river and swim without their owner knowing it. Example (254) describes what they do when they arrive at the

river. The next paragraph gives more details of what they did when they were swimming.

(254) Pag-abot danen naan ta suba, palubbas danen iran na bayo daw pabatang danen naan ta kilid ta suba daw **maglangoy**.

Pag-–abot danen naan ta suba, pa–lubbas danen iran
NR.ACT–arrive 3P.ABS SPAT.DEF NABS river T.R–remove 3P.ERG 3P.GEN
na bayo daw pa–batang danen naan ta kilid ta suba daw
LK clothes and T.R–put 3P.ERG SPAT.DEF NABS bank LK river and
mag–langoy.
I.IR–swim
'When they arrived at the river, they took off their clothes and put (them) on the bank of the river and then bathed.' [CBWN-C-25 5.4]

There is also a tendency for irrealis modality to be used at points of high tension or episodic climax of a narrative. Since such points tend to be characterized by multiple closely linked events, this usage often overlaps with the culminative usage. A future discourse study is needed to elucidate the factors that contribute to the use of irrealis modality to express realis events at certain points in narrative discourse. Example (255) illustrates irrealis modality in the second conjunct of two conjoined clauses at a point of high tension in a story:

(255) Lugar na gatago kanen i nakita din iya na magulang na galebbeng naan ta bḷawan daw padakep ta mga ittaw magulang ya daw **gapuson** daw **patayen**.

lugar na ga–tago kanen i na–kita din iya na
then LK I.R–hide 3S.ABS DEF.N A.HAP.R–see 3S.ERG 3S.GEN LK
magulang an ga–lebbeng naan ta bḷawan daw pa–dakep
older.sibling DEF.M I.R–bury SPAT.DEF NABS gold and T.R–capture
ta mga ittaw magulang ya daw ***gapos–en*** *daw* ***patay–en***.
NABS PL person older.sibling DEF.F and tie.up–T.IR and die–T.IR
'Then when he was hiding, he saw his older sibling (brother) being buried in gold and the people captured the older sibling and **tied (him) up** and **killed (him)**.' [CBWN-C-22 12.4]

Appendix A: Text corpus by genre and 4 letter codes

Genre	4 letter code	Size	
		Texts	Words
Oral Narrative			
	AION	1	616
	BBON	5	1,099
	BGON	1	1,614
	BMON	5	2,251
	CBON	3	1,231
	DBON	5	1,381
	EDON	1	357
	ETON	3	868
	JBON	1	640
	JCON	2	2,317
	LBON	1	148
	LGON	1	1,295
	MBON	8	4,508
	PBON	1	1,151
	PCON	1	832
	RBON	1	627
	RCON	3	2,764
	Total	43	23,699
Oral Procedural			
	BMOP	2	133
	DBOP	7	598
	EDOP	1	365
	ETOP	4	1,008

Genre	4 letter code	Size	
		Texts	Words
	LBOP	2	234
	NCOP	2	194
	Total	18	2,532
Oral Expository			
	ABOE	1	669
	BBOE	2	373
	BMOE	1	29
	CBOE	1	307
	DBOE	5	759
	ETOE	1	212
	FBOE	1	366
	FDOE	1	415
	ICOE	1	306
	JCOE	4	3,927
	JTOE	1	293
	LBOE	1	43
	LTOE	1	368
	MIOE	1	68
	MOOE	1	3,240
	PTOE	1	1,302
	SFOE	1	564
	VAOE	9	2,944
	Total	34	16,185
Oral Behavioral			
	BFOB	1	325
	EFOB	3	2,794
	ETOB	2	212
	JCOB	2	1,866
	MCOB	1	1,067
	ROOB	1	1,927
	SFOB	2	2,309
	TTOB	3	4,722
	Total	15	15,222

Genre	4 letter code	Size	
		Texts	Words
Oral Poetry			
	JCOO	3	675
	PIOO	1	130
	Total	4	805
Oral Interview			
	RDOI	1	495
	Total	1	495
Oral Riddle			
	TROR-T-01	1	98
	Total	1	98
	Totals oral	116	59,036
Written Narrative			
	ACWN	1	142
	AGWN	1	622
	AMWN	1	241
	ANWN	1	86
	BCWN	3	1,556
	BEWN	1	813
	CBWN	18	11,694
	CDWN	1	174
	CTWN	1	409
	DBWN	9	3,511
	DDWN	1	937
	EDWN	3	958
	EFWN	3	2,099
	ELWN	1	88
	EMWN	5	2,301
	GCWN	1	87
	HBWN	1	237
	HEWN	1	265
	ICWN	1	228
	JCWN	13	10,259
	JPWN	1	590

Genre	4 letter code	Size	
		Texts	Words
	LCWN	1	135
	LSWN	1	102
	MCWN	2	537
	MEWN	2	738
	MFWN	1	94
	MLWN	1	146
	MMWN	1	698
	NEWN	3	979
	NFWN	1	193
	PBWN	2	3,268
	PEWN	1	180
	PMWN	2	337
	PRWN	1	98
	RBWN	1	401
	REWN	1	109
	RMWN	1	451
	RPWN	1	93
	RZWN	1	594
	SFWN	1	146
	SLWN	1	1,085
	SOWN	1	363
	TPWN	1	847
	VAWN	6	3,055
	VBWN	2	306
	VPWN	2	498
	WCWN	1	117
	YBWN	3	749
	Total	110	53,616
Written Procedural			
	AVWP	1	74
	LUWP	1	96
	Total	2	170
Written Expository			
	BCWE	3	631

Genre	4 letter code	Size	
		Texts	Words
	CBWE	3	1550
	CCWE	1	129
	CDWE	1	263
	CFWE	1	265
	CNWE	1	130
	DBWE	3	532
	EDWE	2	247
	EFWE	3	955
	EMWE	2	419
	FCWE	1	66
	HCWE	2	2,263
	HEWE	2	557
	ICWE	1	169
	JAWE	1	153
	JCWE	6	3,257
	MEWE	1	204
	NBWE	1	288
	NEWE	2	283
	PMWE	3	421
	RSWE	1	66
	RZWE	1	1,854
	SAWE	3	518
	VAWE	1	263
	VBWE	3	308
	VPWE	2	379
	YBWE	2	335
	Total	53	16,405
Written Behavioral			
	JCWB	3	1,271
	RNWB	1	147
	Total	4	1,418
Written Dialogue			
	ETWC	1	185

Genre	4 letter code	Size	
		Texts	Words
	Total	1	185
Written Letter			
	AFWL	1	706
	ATWL	1	214
	AVWL	1	190
	BCWL	6	1,934
	BIWL	1	126
	CBWL	2	416
	DBWL	4	1,004
	EDWL	2	169
	EFWL	2	505
	EMWL	2	357
	ICWL	2	438
	JBWL	3	768
	JCWL	2	578
	MAWL	4	665
	MBWL	1	220
	NEWL	2	378
	PBWL	10	3,569
	PMWN	3	368
	SBWL	3	651
	VAWL	4	682
	VBWL	3	294
	VPWL	2	325
	YBWN	2	436
	Total	63	14,993
Written Poetry			
	EMWO	1	183
	ESWO	3	554
	JCWO	3	976
	JPWO	1	163
	LMWO	1	162
	SFWO	1	242
	VCWO	2	129

Genre	4 letter code	Size	
		Texts	Words
	Total	12	2,409
Written Riddle			
	MRWR	1	274
	PIWR	1	125
	SFWR	1	358
	Total	3	757
Written Proverbs			
	VAWV	1	361
	Total	1	361
Totals written		249	90,314
Grand totals oral and written		365	149,350

Appendix B: Three Kagayanen Texts

The following are three texts, two oral and one written, that exemplify the texts in the large corpus that constitutes the main empirical basis for this grammar. The database as a whole is described in Chapter 1 and in Appendix A. Each text is preceded by a brief introduction describing the speaker, the circumstances, and significance of the text. The text itself is presented first in the current standard Kagayanen orthography, and then in the grammatically analyzed and translated format consistent with the presentation of examples throughout this grammar.

B.1 Oral expository – *Isturya ta kaan ta lao, kaanlao*: Lunar eclipse

On January 21, 1988 Carol Pebley asked Mr. Javier Carceler, a retired elementary school teacher and principal, for a story to be recorded on tape. This is the story he told on the spot without any preparation. Later it was transcribed and checked many times by Mr. Carceler and other Kagayanen consultants. Mr. Carceler was a tremendous help in many aspects of the Kagayanen language project being a very skilled and prolific speaker and writer. We are greatly indebted to him for his friendship and help in learning the Kagayanen language.

Kaanlao pagpati ta mga ittaw di ta Cagayancillo na daw buḷan an kaan ta lao, kaanlao, bakod kon an na bekkessan palam-ed din buḷan an. Palam-ed din buḷan an, ti buḷan an dili en magpawa. Ta mga ittaw an tak nakita danen na buḷan ya naduwad en tak palam-ed ta bekkessan na bakod, magpukpok danen an ta mga lata, mga drum o daw ano man na makaatag ta sikad sagbak aged na bekkessan an maadlek ilua din buḷan ya ig bekkessan an mḷagan en ya. Paglua din ta buḷan ya miyag ambaḷen tan na buḷan i gapawa isab. Pagpawa isab ta buḷan an miyag ambaḷen tan na bekkessan ya gadḷagan en tak naadlek ta sagbak ya na pabuat ta mga ittaw na papukpok danen mga lata an daw mga drum.

Piro yi daw intindien ta kagi an ta mga drum an daw lata na papukpok dili gani mamatian ta sikad madyo na nyaan duti basak i. Yan pa ayhan na mamatian ta bekkessan an na nyaan dya ta apaw ya na galam-ed ta buḷan?

Yon una an na pagpati ta mga ittaw. Piro anduni ta mga bag-ong tubo mga ittaw i uḷa en gapati ta iling tan. Danen i nakaiskwila en kag naistudyuan en ta iskwilaan ta mga ittaw na kaan i lao bilang buḷan an naliperan ta aḷo ta kalibutan. Tak naliperan ta aḷo ta kalibutan an, buḷan an dili en magpawa ta miad. May kaanlao na ubos gid buḷan an naduwad, uḷa gapawa. May kaanlao man na tiset nang gagwa an tak uḷa kon nalam-ed ta miad ta bekkessan ya.

Dason eman ni papati ta mga ittaw di. Daw may kaan gani lao mga bai ya na may mga sawa na gabagnes dili kon mag-angad dya, dili kon magluag o mag-angad ta buḷan ya na kaanlao tak daw mag-angad danen dya ta buḷan ya na kaanlao o magluag danen an, bata kon an danen daw maggwa libat. Yon isya man na pagpati ta mga inay na gabagnes. Piro tama man na mga inay na galuag man ta kaanlao na daw matao gani bata an danen uḷa man galibat.

(1) *Isturya ta kaan ta lao, kaanlao*
story NABS eat NABS sky.snake lunar.eclipse
'A story of the sky-snake's eating, lunar eclipse'

(2) *Kaanlao pag–pati ta mga ittaw di ta Cagayancillo*
lunar.eclipse NR.ACT–believe NABS PL person D1LOC NABS Cagayancillo
na daw buḷan an kaan ta lao, kaanlao, bakod kon
LK if/when moon DEF.M eat NABS sky.snake lunar.eclipse big HSY
an na bekkessan pa–lam-ed din buḷan an.
DEF.M LK snake T.R–swallow 3S.ERG moon DEF.M
'Lunar eclipse is a belief of people on Cagayancillo that when the sky snake eats the moon, lunar eclipse, it is said, a big snake, s/he swallowed the moon.'

(3) *Pa–lam-ed din buḷan an, ti*[1] *buḷan an dili en mag–pawa.*
T.R–swallow 3S.ERG moon DEF.M SO moon DEF.M NEG.IR CM I.IR–bright
'S/he swallowed the moon so the moon will not become bright.'

(4) *Ta mga ittaw an tak na–kita danen na buḷan ya*
SO PL person DEF.M because A.HAP.R–see 3S.ERG LK. moon DEF.F
na–duwad en tak pa–lam-ed ta bekkessan na bakod,
A.HAP.R–lose CM because T.R–swallow NABS snake LK big
mag–pukpok danen an ta mga lata, mga drum o daw ano[2]
I.IR–beat 3P.ABS DEF.M NABS PL can PL drum or if/when what

[1]The word *ti* is a variant of the more common discourse particle *ta* 'so.' (see Chapter 11, §11.4.2)

man na maka–atag ta sikad sagbak aged na bekkessan an
also LK I.HAP.IR–give NABS very noise so.that LK snake DEF.M
ma–adlek, i–lua din buḷan ya ig[3] *bekkessan an*
A.HAP.IR–afraid T.DEON–spit.out 3S.ERG moon DEF.F and snake DEF.M
m–dḷagan en ya.[4]
I.IR–run CM ATT
'So, as for the people, because they saw the moon happened to have disappeared because the big snake swallowed it, they will beat on cans, drums and whatever else that can give out very noisy (sound) so that when the snake is afraid, s/he will have to spit out the moon and the snake will run away.'

(5) *Pag–lua din ta buḷan ya, miyag ambaḷ–en tan na*
NR.ACT–spit.out 3S.ERG NABS moon DEF.F want say–T.IR D3NABS LK
buḷan i ga–pawa isab.
moon DEF.N I.R–bright again
'When s/he spits out the moon that means to say that the moon is becoming bright again.'

(6) *Pag–pawa isab ta buḷan an miyag ambaḷ–en tan na*
NR.ACT–bright again NABS moon DEF.M want say–T.IR D3NABS LK
bekkessan ya[5] *ga–dḷagan en tak na–adlek ta sagbak ya*
snake DEF.F I.R–run CM because A.HAP.R–afraid NABS noise DEF.F
na pa–buat ta mga ittaw na pa–pukpok danen mga lata an daw
LK T.R–make NABS PL person LK T.R–beat 3S.ERG PL can DEF.M and
mga drum.
PL drum
'When the moon becomes bright again, that means to say that the snake

[4]The word *naduwad* 'happened to be lost' usually is pronounced as *narwad* in realis modality and *marwad* in irrealis modality.

[4]The word *ano* is a Tagalog word meaning 'what.' Code switching to Tagalog or Hiligaynon is frequent in more formal speeches.

[4]*Ig* is a Visayan word, probably borrowed from Cuyunon, meaning 'and'. Like *ano* and other borrowings, it is sometimes used in more formal types of oral speeches.

[4]The attitude marker *ya* is here to indicate an important exciting part of the story that the snake is gone. Since the snake is far away out of sight the marker *ya* 'far away' is used instead of the *i* 'near to speaker' or *an* 'somewhere in the area of addressees.'

[5]The form *ya* here, in contrast to the *ya* in the previous sentence, is the distal definite demonstrative. It is used here since the snake is far away, off stage and no longer a participant in the story.

already ran away because (s/he) is afraid of the noise that the people made when they beat on cans and drums.'

(7) *Piro yi daw intindi–en ta kagi an ta mga*
but D1ABS if/when understand–T.IR 1P.INCL.ERG sound DEF.M NABS PL
drum an daw lata na pa–pukpok dili gani ma–mati–an
drum DEF.M and can LK T.R–beat NEG.IR truly A.HAP.IR–hear–APL
ta sikad madyo na nyaan duti[6] *basak i.*
NABS very far LK SPAT.DEF D1LOC land DEF.N
'But if we understand this, the sound of the drums and cans that are beaten are truly not heard very far here on the land.'

(8) *Yan pa ayhan na ma–mati–an ta bekkessan an na*
D2ABS INC perhaps LK A.HAP.IR–hear–APL NABS snake DEF.M LK
nyaan dya ta apaw ya na ga–lam-ed ta buḷan?
SPAT.DEF D4LOC NABS above DEF.F LK I.R–swallow NABS moon
'Will that perhaps be heard by the snake that is above that swallowed the moon?'

(9) *Yon una an na pag–pati ta mga ittaw.*
D3ABS first DEF.M LK NR.ACT–believe NABS PL person
'That is the long ago belief of people.'

(10) *Piro anduni ta mga bag-ong-tubo,*[7] *mga ittaw i uḷa en*
but now/today NABS PL new.generation PL person DEF.N NEG.R CM
ga–pati ta iling tan.
I.R–believe NABS like D3NABS
'But today, the new generation, people no longer believe like that.'

(11) *Danen i naka–iskwila en kag*[8] *na–istudyo–an en ta*
3P.ABS DEF.N I.HAP.IR–school CM and A.HAP.R–study–APL CM NABS
iskwila–an ta mga ittaw na kaan i lao bilang buḷan an
school–NR NABS PL people LK eat DEF.N sky.snake as moon DEF.M

[6]The word *duti* 'near, precise' locatonal adverb is a variant of the more comon *unti* or *ti*. It may be archaic.

[7]The words *bag-ong tubo* form an idiom that is more usually pronounced *bag-o tubo* 'new generation' literally 'new growth.' The word *bag-ong* is a combination of the Kagayanen word *bag-o* 'new' and the Tagalog linker *ng*.

na–liped–an ta aḷo ta kalibutan.
A.HAP.R–block–APL NABS shadow NABS earth
'They have gone to school and have studied in the school that a lunar eclipse is when the moon happens to be blocked by the shadow of the earth.'

(12) *Tak na–liped–an ta aḷo ta kalibutan an, buḷan*
because A.HAP.R–block–APL NABS shadow NABS earth DEF.M moon
an dili en mag–pawa ta miad.
DEF.M NEG.IR CM I.IR–bright NABS well
'Because it happens to be blocked with the shadow of the earth, the moon does not become very bright.'

(13) *May kaanlao na ubos gid buḷan an na–duwad, uḷa*
EXT.IN lunar.eclipse LK completely INT moon DEF.M A.HAP.R–lose NEG.R
ga–pawa.
I.R–bright
'There are some lunar eclipses that the moon really completely disappears, it does not become bright.'

(14) *May kaanlao man na tiset nang ga–gwa an tak uḷa*
EXT.IN lunar.eclipse also LK little only/just I.R–out DEF.M because NEG.R
kon na–lam-ed ta miad ta bekkessan ya.
HSY A.HAP.R–swallow NABS well NABS snake DEF.F
'There are other lunar eclipses that just a little bit comes out because the snake did not happen to completely swallow it.'

(15) *Dason eman ni na pa–pati ta mga ittaw di.*
next again.as.before D1ABS LK T.R–believe NABS PL person D1LOC
'This is another thing the people here believe.'

(16) *Daw may kaan gani lao, mga bai ya na may mga*
if/when EXT.IN eat truly sky.snake PL woman DEF.F LK EXT.IN PL
sawa na ga–bagnes, dili kon mag–angad dya, dili kon
spouse LK I.R–pregnant NEG.IR HSY I.IR–look.up D4LOC NEG.IR HSY
mag–luag o mag-angad ta buḷan ya na kaanlao tak
I.IR–watch or I.IR–look.up NABS moon DEF.F LK lunar.eclipse because

[8]The word *kag* is a Hiligaynon word meaning 'and'. It is used more often in formal oral speeches.

daw mag–angad danen dya ta buḷan ya na kaanlao o
if/when I.IR–look.up 3P.ABS D4LOC NABS moon DEF.F LK lunar.eclipse or
mag–luag danen an, bata kon an danen daw mag–gwa
I.IR–watch 3P.ABS DEF.M child HSY DEF.M 3P.GEN if/when I.IR–out
libat.
cross-eyed
'If there is really a lunar eclipsse, married women who are pregnant do not look up there, do not watch or look up at the moon that is a lunar eclipse because if they look up there at the moon that is a lunar eclipse or they watch, it is said their child when it comes out will be cross-eyed.'

(17) *Yon isya man na pag–pati ta mga inay na ga–bagnes.*
D3ADJ one also LK NR.ACT–believe NABS PL mother LK I.R–pregnant
'That is also another belief of mothers who are pregnant.'

(18) *Piro tama man na mga inay na ga–luag man ta kaanlao na*
but many also LK PL mother LK I.R–watch EMPH NABS lunar.eclipse LK
daw ma–tao gani bata an danen uḷa man
if/when A.HAP.IR–born truly child DEF.M 3P.GEN NEG.R EMPH
ga–libat.
I.R–cross.eyed
'But, there are many mothers who watched the lunar eclipse who when truly their child is born (it) did not become cross-eyed.'

B.2 Written narrative – *Isturya parti ta ganti*: Giant

This is a narrative text written by Miss. Jocelyn C. Bundal on September 14, 1989, in response to a request from Carol Pebley to write some stories about anything she wanted to write about. She worked on the Kagayanen language project for many years, was involved in many aspects of the work, and contributed many oral and written stories. We are deeply grateful for all she has done.

May isya na lugar na may tallo na mag-arey, buḷag, piang daw buktot. Isya adlaw tallo i na mag-arey gapanaw na munta ta bukid aged mangita ta iran na pangabuian.

Ta iran na pagpanaw na naan ta daḷan may nakita danen i na sikad baaḷ na kaḷat. Patimod kon danen. Na naan eman kon ta unaan ya may nakita eman kon danen an na wasay. Patimod eman danen.

Lulugay na sigi kon danen an na panaw may nakita eman danen an na tamboḷ. Patimod eman danen.

Ta iran na pagpanaw na naan en danen ta sikad madyo na bukid may nakita buktot i na sikad kon bakod na baḷay. Dayon kon ambaḷ piang i na, "Mos ilingan ta dya na baḷay nan. Basi daw naan don ate na swirti." Dayon kon danen ilingan baḷay ya.

Pag-abot danen ta baḷay ya dayon kon ambaḷ piang an na, "Bakod man ti na baḷay a!" Ambaḷ man kon ya ta buktot a, "Ganti taan gaistar ti na baḷay tak sikad kon datas lamisaan an daw mga bangko." Na pasil-ing kon danen selled na isya nakita kon danen sikad tama na kwarta daw bḷawan.

Uḷa nang kon lugay may namatian kon danen an na mga tikang. Uḷa kon danen i gasagbak. Namatian kon danen ambaḷ ya ta ganti na may nasingngutan kon kanen an na bao. Listo kon ambaḷ ganti na, "Daw kino ka man na ittaw magwa ka ta ake na baḷay." Dayon kon pilak ta piang ibitan din ya na kaḷat. Nakulbaan ganti ya tak nakita din sikad baaḷ na kaḷat. Salig ta ganti daw kaḷat na nakita din daw buok ta ittaw na naan ta selled ta baḷay din. Listo eman ambaḷ ganti ya na, "Daw mas ka pa bakod ki yaken magwa ka naan ta baḷay ko an." Dayon kon pilak ta buktot wasay na pabitan din. Nakulbaan kon en ganti ya tak sikad kon bakod na ngipen ta ittaw an na naan ta selled baḷay din. "Piro bisan ino ka pa kabakod na ittaw ka dili a madlek ki kaon tak ake na baḷay ni," ambaḷ ta ganti ya. Dayon kon papakang buḷag tamboḷ ya ta sikad tudo. Ambaḷ kon ya ta ganti ya, "Malin a di. Ittaw na gaistar ta baḷay ko i mas pa bakod pa ki yaken." Dayon kon ganti ya ḷagan munta naan ta sikad madyo na bukid. Ta subla na adlek ta ganti ya, padilian din baḷay din ya na bakod. Dayon kon tatawa tallo ya na mag-arey tak may baḷay danen an en na istaran daw dili en danen mabellayan.

(1) *Isturya parti ta ganti*
story about NABS giant
'A story about a giant'

(2) *May isya na lugar na may tallo na mag-–arey, buḷag, piang daw* EXT.IN one LK place LK EXT.IN three LK REL–friend blind lame and *buktot.*
hunchback
'There was a place where there were three friends, blind, lame and hunchback.'

(3) *Isya adlaw tallo i na mag-–arey ga–panaw na munta ta*
one day three DEF.N LK REL–friend I.R–walk/go LK toward NABS

bukid aged ma–ngita ta iran na pangabui–an.
mountain in.order.to A.HAP.IR–SEARCH NABS 3P.GEN LK living–NR
'One day the three friends left going to the mountain to search for their means of making a living.'

(4) *Ta iran na pag–panaw na naan ta daḷan may*
NABS 3P.GEN LK NR.ACT–walk/go LK SPAT.DEF NABS road EXT.IN
na–kita danen i na sikad baaḷ na kaḷat.
A.HAP.R–see 3P.ABS DEF.N LK very thick LK rope
'During their walking on the road there was something they saw that was a very thick rope.'

(5) *Pa–timod kon danen.*
T.R–pick.up HSY 3P.ERG
'They picked it up, it is said.'

(6) *Na naan eman kon ta una–an ya may na–kita*
LK SPAT.DEF again.as.before HSY NABS first–NR DEF.F EXT.IN A.HAP.R–see
eman kon danen an na wasay.
again.as.before HSY 3P.ABS DEF.M LK axe
'When (being) as before in the place ahead, they saw something again as before that was an axe.'

(7) *Pa–timod eman danen.*
T.R–pick.up again.as.before 3P.ERG
'They picked it up again as before.'

(8) *Lu~lugay na sigi kon danen an na panaw may*
RED~long.time LK continuously HSY 3P.ABS DEF.M LK walk/go EXT.IN
na–kita eman danen an na tamboḷ.
A.HAP.R–see again.as..before 3P.ABS DEF.M LK drum
'After some time past when they continuously were walking there again as before was something they saw which was a drum.'

(9) *Pa–timod eman danen.*
T.R–pick.up again.as.before 3P.ERG
'They picked it up again as before.'

(10) *Ta iran na pag–panaw na naan en danen ta sikad*
NABS 3P.GEN LK NR.ACT–walk/go LK SPAT.DEF CM 3P.ABS NABS very
madyo na bukid may na–kita buktot i na sikad kon
far LK mountain EXT.IN A.HAP.R–see hunchback DEF.N LK very HSY
bakod na baḷay.
big LK house
'During their walking when they were on a very far away mountain the hunchback one saw something that was a very big house.'

(11) *Dayon*[9] *kon ambaḷ piang i na, "Mos*[10] *0–iling–an ta*
then HSY say lame DEF.N LK let's.go T.IR–go–APL 1P.INCL.ERG
dya na baḷay[11] *nan.*
D4LOC LK house D3ABS
'Then the lame one said, "Let's go there to that house.'

(12) *Basi daw naan don ate na swirti.*
perhaps if/when SPAT.DEF D3LOC 1P.INCL.GEN LK luck
'Perhaps our luck will be there.'

(13) *Dayon kon danen 0–iling–an baḷay ya.*
right.away HSY 3P.ERG T.IR–go–APL house DEF.F
'Right away they went to the house.'

(14) *Pag–-abot danen ta baḷay ya dayon kon ambaḷ piang*
NR.ACT–arrive 3P.GEN NABS house DEF.F right.away HSY say lame
an na, "Bakod man ti na baḷay a."
DEF.M LK big EMPH D1NABS LK house INJ
'When they arrived at the house right away the lame one said, "What a big house truly!"'

(15) *Ambaḷ man kon ya ta buktot a, "Ganti taan ga–istar*
say EMPH HSY ATT NABS hunchback EMPH giant maybe I.R–live

[11]When the adverb *dayon* occurs sentence initially, as in this example, rather than its normal position following the verb, it indicates heighteed tension and exicitement in the story building up to the climax. This pattern is evident in the following sentence and others in this text.

[11]The word *mos* is a common expression in Kagayanen meaning 'let's go'. It clearly comes from Spanish *vámonos* or *vamos* 'let's go'.

[11]The words *dya na baḷay* sound like a calque from Hiligaynon. In that language, the demonstrative *dya* meaning 'this' may function as an adnominal adjective. In Kagayanen *dya* is only a locative demonstrative pronoun and not a demonstrative adjective (see Chapter 3, §3.4).

ti na baḷay tak sikad kon datas lamisa–an an daw mga
D1NABS LK house because very HSY high table–NR DEF.M and PL
bangko."
chair
'The hunchback also said, "A giant maybe lives in this house because the table and chairs are very high."'

(16) *Na pa–sil-ing kon danen selled na isya na–kita kon danen sikad*
LK T.R–peek.in HSY 3P.ERG room LK one A.HAP.R–see HSY 3P.ERG very
tama na kwarta daw bḷawan.
many/much LK money and gold
'When they peaked inside one room they saw much money and gold.'

(17) *Uḷa nang kon lugay may na–mati–an kon danen an na*
NEG.R only HSY long.time EXT.IN A.HAP.R–hear–APL HSY 3P.ERG DEF.M LK
mga tikang.
PL footstep
'Not a long time they heard something that was footsteps.'

(18) *Uḷa kon danen i ga–sagbak.*
NEG.R HSY 3P.ABS DEF.N I.R–noisy
'They were not noisy.'

(19) *Na–mati–an kon danen ambaḷ ya ta ganti na may*
A.HAP.R–hear–APL HSY 3P.ERG say DEF.F NABS giant LK EXT.IN
na–singngot–an kon kanen an na bao.
A.HAP.R–smell–APL HSY 3S.ABS DEF.M LK odor
'They heard what the giant said that he smells something that is an odor.'

(20) *Listo kon ambaḷ ganti na, "Daw kino ka man na ittaw*
quickly HSY say giant LK if/when who 2S.ABS EMPH LK person
ma–gwa ka ta ake na baḷay."
A.HAP.IR–out 2S.ABS NABS 1S.GEN LK house
'The giant quickly said, "Whoever person you are get out of my house."'

(21) *Dayon kon pilak ta piang ...–ibit–an din ya na*
right.away HSY throw.out NABS lame T.R–hold–APL 3S.ERG DEF.F LK
kaḷat.
rope
'Right away the lame one threw out the rope that he was holding.'

(22) *Na–kulba–an ganti ya tak na–kita din sikad*
A.HAP.R–nervous.–APL giant DEF.F because A.HAP.R–see 3S.ERG very
baaḷ na kaḷat.
thick LK rope
'The giant was nervous because he saw a thick rope.'

(23) *Salig ta ganti daw kaḷat na na–kita din*
thought.wrongly NABS giant if/when rope LK A.HAP.R–see 3S.ERG
daw buok ta ittaw na naan ta selled ta baḷay din.
if/when hair NABS person LK SPAT.DEF NABS inside NABS house 3S.GEN
'The giant thought wrongly that the rope that he saw was the hair of the person who was in his house.'

(24) *Listo eman ambaḷ ganti ya na, "Daw mas ka pa*
quickly again.as.before say giant DEF.F LK if/when more 2S.ABS INC
bakod ki yaken ma–gwa ka naan ta baḷay ko
big OBL.P 1S A.HAP.IR–out 2S.ABS SPAT.DEF NABS house 1S.GEN
an."
DEF.M
'Quickly the giant spoke again, "If you are bigger than me, you can get out of my house."'

(25) *Dayon kon pilak ta buktot wasay na pa–ibit–an*
right.away HSY throw.out NABS hunchback axe LK T.R–hold–APL
din.
3S.ERG
'Right way the hunchback threw out the axe he was holding.'

(26) *Na–kulba–an kon en ganti ya tak sikad kon bakod na*
A.HAP.R–nervous.–APL HSY CM giant DEF.F because very HSY big LK
ngipen ta ittaw an na naan ta selled baḷay din.
teeth NABS person DEF.M LK SPAT.DEF NABS inside house 3S.GEN
'The giant was nervous because the tooth of the person who was inside his house were very big.'

(27) *"Piro bisan ino ka pa ka–bakod na ittaw ka dili*
but even.though what 2S.ABS INC NR–big LK person 2S.ABS NEG.IR
a ma–adlek ki kaon tak ake na baḷay ni," ambaḷ
1S.ABS A.HAP.IR–afraid OBL.P 2S because 1S.GEN LK house D1ABS say

ta ganti ya.
NABS giant DEF.F
'"But no matter how big a person you are, I will not be afraid of you because this is my house," the giant said.'

(28) *Dayon kon pa–pakang buḷag tamboḷ ya ta sikad tudo.*
right.away HSY T.R–beat blind drum DEF.F NABS very intense.
'Right away the blind one beat the drum very hard.'

(29) *Ambaḷ kon ya ta ganti ya, "M–alin a di...*
say HSY ATT NABS giant DEF.F I.V.IR–from 1S.ABS D1LOC
'The giant said, "I will leave here...'

(30) *... ittaw na ga–istar ta baḷay ko i mas pa bakod pa*
person LK I.R–live NABS house 1S.GEN DEF.N more INC big EMPH
ki yaken."
OBL.P 1S
'...The person who lives in my house is even bigger than me."'

(31) *Dayon kon ganti ya dḷagan munta naan ta sikad madyo*
right.away HSY giant DEF.F run toward SPAT.DEF NABS very far
na bukid.
LK mountain
'Right away the giant ran away going to a very far away mountain.'

(32) *Ta subḷa na adlek ta ganti ya, pa–dili–an din*
NABS too.much LK fear NABS giant DEF.F T.R–abandon–APL 3S.ERG
baḷay din ya na bakod.
house 3S.GEN DEF.F LK big
'From too much fear of the giant, he abandoned his big house.'

(33) *Dayon kon ta~tawa tallo ya na mag-arey tak may*
right.away HSY RED~laugh three DEF.F LK REL–friend because EXT.IN
baḷay danen an en na istar–an daw dili en danen
house 3P.ABS DEF.M CM LK live–NR and NEG.IR CM 3P.ABS
ma–bellay–an.
A.HAP.IR–tired–APL
'Then the three friends were laughing because they have a house now to live in and they will not be harshipped anymore.'

B.3 Oral Expository – *Isturya parti ta mangasawa*: Wedding

Text #3 is an oral expository text about wedding customs. During Carol Pebley's time of language learning on Cagayancillo, Darlie Bundal was one of her main language teachers. In September, 1987 Carol asked Darlie to explain about wedding customs and Carol recorded what Darlie said on tape. Carol and several native speakers then transcribed and translated this story. The text was produced on the spot without any practice or preparation time. Carol is sincerely thankful for Darlie's help, and for the help of several other Kagayanen consultants, *terek ta tagipusuon* 'straight from the heart.'

Bai daw mama na nubyuanay, daw gusto en na mangasawa, mapirsunal anay mama i ta ginikanan ta bai. Ansaan daw miyag. Daw miyag kani en ginikanan i ta mga bai en, yo en mangagon en mama i.

Tapos kagon mama i, maḷes en mga ginikanan i ta bai ta kagon ya ta mama ta baḷay ta mama.

Tapos, madisisyon en mga ginikanan i daw kan-o kasaḷ en mga kasaḷen i. Daw dili pa gusto ta mga ginikanan, mama i masirbi anay ta baḷay ta bai daw uḷa pa daw kan-o kasaḷ danen an.

Paagi daw makasaḷ, bai i, daw makasaḷ appat abay din i. Appat na mama daw appat man na bai, daw flowergirl daw ringbearer. Isya na paris na abay a magdaḷa bilo. Isya an a kandila, singsing, daw kwarta.

Daw miling kani ta altar en, mauna abay i punta ta tengnga ya ta unaan. Magsunod mga flowergirl daw ring bearers.

Tapos en, nya kasaḷen ya na mama naan tagad ta tengnga ya ta simbaan. Tapos, bai i paduḷ-ong amay din naan tengnga daw paintriga din ta mama ya na sawaen din.

Daw tapos kani kasaḷ en, mga kasaḷen i gabisa ta mga ginikanan danen daw gamusta ta mga arey danen.

(1) *Bai daw mama na nubyo–anay, daw gusto en na*
woman and man LK boyfriend–REC and want CM LK
ma–ngasawa, ma–pirsunal anay mama i
A.HAP.IR–get.married A.HAP.IR–personal first/for.awhile man DEF.N
ta ginikanan ta bai.
NABS parents NABS woman
'A woman and a man who are boyfriend and girlfriend, if they want to get married, the man will first personally meet with the parents of the girl.'

(2) *∅–Ansa–an daw miyag.*
T.IR–ask–APL if/when agree
'(He) will ask (them) if they agree.'

(3) *Daw miyag kani en ginikanan i ta mga bai en yo en*
if/when agree later CM parents DEF.N NABS PL woman CM D4ABS CM
ma–ng–kagon en mama i.
A.HAP.IR–PL–engage CM man DEF.N
'Later if the parents of the women agree (to the men marrying their daughters), that (is when) the men will be engaged (to the women).'

(4) *Tapos kagon mama i, m–baḷes en mga ginikanan i ta*
then engage man DEF.N I.V.IR–respond CM PL parents DEF.N NABS
bai ta kagon ya ta mama ta baḷay ta mama.
woman NABS engage DEF.F NABS man NABS house NABS man
'After the engaging of the man, the parents of the woman will respond to the engaging of the man at the house of the man.'

(5) *Tapos ma–disisyon en mga ginikanan i daw kan-o kasaḷ en*
then A.HAP.IR–decision CM PL parents DEF.N and when wedding CM
mga kasaḷ–en i.
PL wedding–NR DEF.N
'Then the parents will decide when will be the wedding of the ones to be wedded.'

(6) *Daw dili pa gusto ta mga ginikanan, mama i*
if/when NEG.IR INC want NABS PL parents man DEF.N
ma–sirbi anay ta baḷay ta bai, daw uḷa
A.HAP.IR–serve first/for.awhile NABS house NABS woman if/when NEG.R
pa daw kan-o kasaḷ danen an.
INC if/when when wedding 3P.GEN DEF.N
'If the parents do not yet want (the wedding to take place), the man will serve for awhile in the house of the woman, if (it is not yet known) when will be their wedding.'

(7) *Paagi daw ma–kasaḷ, bai i, daw*
way/means if/when A.HAP.IR–wedding woman DEF.N if/when
ma–kasaḷ appat abay din i.
A.HAP.IR–wedding four wedding.attendant 3S.GEN DEF.N
'The way when having a wedding is the woman, when having a wedding, her wedding attendants are four.'

(8) Appat na mama, daw appat man na bai, daw flowergirl daw ringbearer.
four LK man and four also LK woman and flowergirl and ringbearer.
'(There are) four men and four women and a flowergirl and a ring bearer.'

(9) *Isya na paris na abay a mag–daḷa ta*
one LK pair LK wedding.attendant CTR I.IR–take/carry NABS
bilo.[12]
white.string
'One pair of attendants will carry a white string.'

(10) *Isya an a kandila, singsing, daw kwarta.*
one DEF.M CTR candle ring and money
'One (another pair will carry) a candle, (another pair will carry) a ring and (another pair will carry) money.' '

(11) *Daw m–iling kani ta altar en, ma–una abay*
if/when I.V.IR–go later NABS altar CM A.HAP.IR–first wedding.attendant
i punta ta tengnga ya ta una–an.
DEF.N go NABS middle DEF.F NABS first–NR
'When going later to the altar, the wedding attendants will go first to the middle of the front (of the church).'

(12) *Mag–sunod mga flowergirl daw ringbearer.*
I.IR–follow PL flowergirl and ringbearer.
'The flowergirl and ringbearer will follow.'

(13) *Tapos en nya kasaḷ–en ya na mama, naan tagad ta*
then CM D4ABS wedding–NR DEF.F LK man SPAT.DEF wait NABS
tengnga ya ta simba–an.
middle DEF.F NABS worship–NR
'Then that one, the man to be wedded, waits in the middle of the church.'

(14) *Tapos bai i pa–duḷ-ong amay din naan*
then woman DEF.N T.R–accompany.somewhere father 3S.GEN SPAT.DEF
tengnga daw intriga ta mama ya na sawa–en din.
middle and turn.over NABS man DEF.F LK spouse–NR 3S.ERG
'Then the woman, her father accompanies (her) to the middle and hands (her) over to the man whom she will marry.'

[12]The white string is put around the bride and bridegroom symbolizing unity.

(15) *Daw tapos kani kasaḷ en, mga kasaḷ–en i*
if/when finished later wedding CM PL wedding–NR DEF.N
ga–bisa ta mga ginikanan danen daw
I.R–bless.older.person NABS PL parents 3P.GEN and
ma–ng–kamusta ta mga arey danen.
A.HAP.IR–PL–greet NABS PL friend 3P.GEN
'When later the wedding is finished, the ones being wedded bless their parents and greet their friends.'

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A grammar of Kagayanen

Kagayanen is a resilient Austronesian>Greater Central Philippine>Manobo language spoken by about 30,000 individuals, mostly in Palawan province in the Philippines. This grammar is the result of nearly 40 years of research by Carol Pebley and a team of Kagayanen and non-Kagayanen co-workers. The primary data source is a corpus of texts collected over a 20 year period. These texts, three of which appear in an appendix to this book, provide vivid insights into Kagayanen ways of being. The grammar is written with a general linguistics audience in mind, from a "communication first" perspective. It should prove useful to specialists in Austronesian languages, linguistic typologists, and others interested in doing research in the central Philippines. It is also hoped that this grammar will be an encouragement to Kagayanen speakers, proving that their language is wonderfully complex and deserves an equal place alongside other regional and international languages.