

**A REFERENCE GRAMMAR OF SOUTHERN ALTA
(KABULOAN DUMAGAT)**

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ABSTRACT

Southern Alta is a predicate-initial language. The basic clause can be non-verbal or verbal clause. A verbal clause is verb-initial while a non-verbal clauses can be a noun, an adjective, preposition, locative, adverb, or existential. The verbal clause consists of a verb element and a marked-NP, a pronominal, an adverbial particle(s), a temporal or a locative demonstrative. The noun phrase consists of a head noun and a case marker. And a clause may also contain clitic(s) or particle(s).

Southern Alta nominal case-marking exhibits an ergative pattern. The *Actor Focus* (AF) affixes are intransitive while the *Goal Focus* (GF) affixes are transitive. The AF affixes are *<um>*, *mag-* and *mang-*. The *mag-* affix consists of three forms; they are *mag-* as *mag-*, *man-*, and *mam-*. The GF affixes consist of patient focus (PAT), locative focus (LOC), benefactive focus (BEN), comitative focus (COM), instrumental focus (INST), and theme (THE). GF verbs consist of verb stem plus the following affixes: for PAT-*on* or *-an*, LOC-*an*, BEN-*en*, COM *ka-*, INST *i-*, and THE *-on*.

The dissertation contains 18 chapters. Chapter One gives a background of Philippine Negrito languages vis-a-vis Philippine languages including the Southern Alta people and their origin, the culture of Southern Alta, and its language vitality. This chapter also reviews published studies in Philippine linguistics and languages including Philippine Negrito languages, language documentation and description, the synthesis of related studies, the aim of this study and the statement of the problem, theoretical and conceptual framework, scope and limitation, and significance of the study . Chapter Two describes the research approach and setting, methods and techniques in data gathering, the data and corpus, results from texts and language data, and the

featured chapters of the dissertation. Chapters Three and Four provide a description of the phonology and morphology of Southern Alta, respectively. Chapter Five introduces and describes the verbal and non-verbal clause types of the language.

Chapter Six introduces the two nominal markers: *determiners* and *demonstratives*. It describes the *common* and *proper*, the *definiteness* and *indefiniteness*, *constituent order*, *case*, and *number*. It also describes the demonstratives, the *spatial* and *temporal*. Chapter Seven introduces the pronominal system. It consists of the position and functions of pronouns in basic *verbal* and *non-verbal clauses*. It distinguishes the types of pronouns including the five distinct sets of personal pronouns. It also describes the types and functions of various *demonstratives* and other *deictic expressions*. This chapter shows the *long* and *short* forms, *case-markings*, *person*, *number*, and *functions* of each set of *pronouns* and *demonstratives*. Chapter Eight introduces the grammatical category of nouns and noun phrases. It describes the structural and distributional properties of nouns including the *nominal markers*, and *semantic subclasses of nouns*, *derivations*, and *pluralization*. Chapter Nine describes the adjectives and its prototypical characteristic (*size*, *quality*, *trait* and *color*) including the existence of antonymic pairs. It also describes the morphological formation such as *pluralization*, *inflection*, *gradation*, *indefiniteness*, and *pluralization*. Chapter Ten describes the distributional and structural properties of verbs. The description includes the verbal morphology in relation to focus system, the theoretical underpinning of transitivity, and the ergative-absolutive analysis of verbal clauses, the aspect and conjugation of intransitive and transitive verbs, verb classes including causativization and extended locative focus (**ELF**).

Chapter Eleven describes the adverbial particles and adjuncts. Chapter Twelve introduces the number system. Chapter Thirteen describes existential constructions. Chapter Fourteen

describes and categorizes the *connectors* and *preposition-like* morphemes. Chapter Fifteen describes the interrogative constructions. Chapter Sixteen introduces negation clause constructions. Chapter Seventeen introduces other syntactic processes of Southern Alta syntax including the clause formations like *antipassivization* and *detransitivization*, *relativization*, *topicalization* and *causativization*. Chapter Eighteen, the last chapter, provides the summary of each chapter, conclusion, and recommendation or direction for future studies.

SYMBOLS

[]	phonetic representation
//	phonemic transcription
<>	angle brackets
‘ ’	free translation
:	represents vowel length
˘	morphemic glottal stop
.	syllable boundaries
-	affix boundary
=	clitic boundary
*	ungrammatical utterance
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
()	researcher's comment
Ø	zero-argument
?	glottal stop
~	tilde
y	secondary articulation

ABBREVIATIONS

A	core argument (Agent)	Lit.	literal translation
ABS	absolutive case	LF	locative focus
AGR	agent	LOC	locative
ADJ	adjective	NEG	negation, negative
AF	actor focus	NALT	Northern Alta
ARTA	Arta	NOM	nominative
BANAG	Ibanag	NOMI	nominalized
BEN	benefactive	NP	noun phrase
BF	benefactive focus	O	core argument (Object)
C	consonant	OBL	oblique
CAGTA	Casiguran Agta	PART	particle
CAUS	causative	PAT	patient
CENTA	Central Cagayan Agta	PEF	Proto-Extra-Formosan
CIRC	circumfix	PREF	prefix
COM	comitative	PERF	perfective
COMPA	comparative	PF	patient focus
CON	connective	PL	plural marker
CONT	continuative	PMP	Proto-Malayo-Polynesian
DAT	dative	POT	Potentive
DEF	definite	R	reduplication
DEM	demonstrative	REC	recipient
DET	determiner	RECIP	reciprocal
DIST	distal	PROX	proximal
D	dual	Q	question particle/marker
DUPTA	Dupanigan Agta	S	core argument (Intransitive)
ERG	ergative	SALT	Southern Alta
e	exclusive (small letter ‘e’)	SG	singular
E	extended argument	sb	somebody
EXI	existential	so	someone
F	focus	SOC	social
GEN	genitive	SP	spatial
GF	goal focus	sth	something
GOL	goal	SUF	suffix
i	inclusive	UMGET	Umiray Dumaget
INDF	indefinite	VOC	vocative
ILOC	Ilocano	V	vowel
INST	instrumental	TAG	Tagalog
IF	instrumental focus	THE	theme
INTR	intransitive	TL	topic linker
IMPF	imperfective		
IMP	imperative		
INTJ	interjection		
KD	<i>Kabuloan Dumagat</i>		

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

This chapter introduces literature reviews on Philippine languages and Philippine Negrito languages. The major sections are the following: introduction (1.1), background of the study (1.2), the Philippine Negritos (1.3), the Altan languages (1.4), the Southern Alta or *Kabuloan Dumagat* Language (1.5), why document or study Southern Alta (1.6), review of related literature on Philippine languages (1.7), language documentation and description (1.8), synthesis (1.9), statement of the problem (1.10), theoretical framework (1.11), conceptual framework (1.12), scope and limitation (1.13), significance of the study (1.14), and summary (1.15).

1.1 Introduction

About half of the 7,000 known languages in the world will die at the turn of this century. In the Philippines alone, many minority Philippine languages including the remaining 32 Philippine Negrito languages are endangered and are close to becoming extinct. This includes the Southern Alta or *Kabuloan Dumagat*, a highly endangered Philippine Negrito of the Meso-Cordilleran language family. Language deathⁱ accelerates fast because of the various factors that shape the social, economic, political, and cultural conditions of this ethnolinguistic community. Intermarriages, destruction of habitat, illegal trading, change of lifestyle, and other forms of political and cultural repression hasten its death rate. While the vitality of the language decreases, a new breed of marginalized speakers dominates the once known minority language.

The only study on the Altan languages is Reid (1991). He examined the phonological, lexical and morphological innovations that are used to determine the immediate genetic

relationship of Northern and Southern Alta including the surrounding languages. Other studies related to Southern Alta consisted of topics on language switch hypothesis (Reid, 1987), non-Austronesian substratum in Negrito languages (Reid L. , 1994a), language contact between Negrito and non-Negrito people (Reid L. , 1994b), historical linguistics and Philippine Negritos (Reid, 2007), and naming practices of most Negrito people to themselves and to non-Negrito peoples as linguistic emblem to maintain a unique identity distinct from other groups (Reid, 2013). In spite of these studies, Southern Alta language has no comprehensive documentation or description of its language nor its culture or oral literature.

This dissertation is designed to address the issue on language documentation and description of Southern Alta language. Primarily, this aims to make a grammatical analysis of the language to cater the needs of all of its stakeholders: native speakers, language learners, language teachers, linguists, and language planners. Secondly, the output may provide clues on indigenous knowledge and practice and might help to fill in the gaps of Philippine Negrito's history. Thus, a Reference Grammar of *Southern Alta* (*Kabuloan Dumagat*) is much warranted.

1.2 Background of the study

1.2.1 The Philippines, its languages and its people

The Philippines is an archipelagic country in the Southeast Asia in the western Pacific Ocean. It consists of 7,107 islands, but the country is divided into three main geographical divisions: Luzon, Visayas, and Mindanao. It has a population close to 100 million people (104,334,000) and at present, the archipelago becomes the 12th most populated in the world (Hernandez, Borlaza, & Cullinane, 2018).

The Philippines and its neighboring countries are separated with large bodies of water. North across the Luzon Straits lies the Taiwan Islands; west is the south China Sea across Vietnam; southwest is Sulu Sea across Malaysia; south is Celebes Sea across Indonesia; and east is Philippine Sea across the island nation of Palau. According to Reid (2013), Negritos are the early inhabitants of the Philippines followed by waves of migration of Austronesian origin that came from Taiwan (formerly known as *Formosa*). During the early years of migration, the ‘first’ Filipino settlers who were under the rule of *Datus, Rajahs, Sultans, or Lakans* had good trading relations with Chinese, Malay, Indian and Islamic states.

Philippine languages grew from a single branch outside Taiwan, the Malayo-Polynesian branch, one of the ten branches of the biggest language phylum, the Austronesian language (Blust, 2013). Philippine language family, according to the *Ethnologue*, consists of 187 languages, 183 are living while 4 are extinct (*Dicamay Agta, Tayabas Ayta, Villa Viciosa Agta, Katabaga*) (Lewis et al., 2018). Of the living, 41 languages are institutional, 72 are developing, 46 are vigorous, 13 are in trouble, and 10 are dyingⁱⁱ. There are also languages that did not evolve from the Malayo-Polynesian stock and are spoken by a minority of the population of other racial origins and language families (*Arabic, Basque, French, Hindi, Indonesian, Japanese, Korean, Sidhi, Standard German, Vietnamese, Spanish, Philippine Hokkien and other Chinese varieties, Punjabi, Urdu, Marathi, Nepali, Tamil, and Philippine Creoles*). These are known as *immigrant languages* (Lewis et al., 2018). Another minority population is the Filipino Sign Language (FSL), a language group of people with special needs (Dita, 2014a; Lewis et al., 2018).

The linguistic diversity shows that the country has become the *mecca* of various ethnolinguistic groups, races, and nationalities. And these are brought out by many different factors that have shaped the linguistic landscape of the archipelago. Among these factors can be

attributed to social, political, economic, and cultural changes such as intermarriages, constant migration, and trade relations.

Philippine languages are also classified according to the number of L1 speakers and racial origin. Blust (2013) provided the 10 largest and 10 smallest languages of the Philippine on the number of L1 speakers. Among the largest category, *Tagalog* language topped the list while *Maranao* language, the last. Among the 10 smallest L1 speakers, *Ratagnon*, found in Mindoro, was the smallest of all. Nine of the ten smallest languages of the Philippines were spoken by Negritos (*Ata (Negros)*, *Isarog Agta*, *Tasaday*, *Inagta Alabat*, *Batak*, *Northern Alta*, *Faire Atta*, *Bataan Ayta*, and *Pudtol Atta* except for *Tasaday* in southern Mindanao), testifying to the marginalized and endangered, and traditionally small membership of foraging groups (hunter-gatherer) in the Philippines today (p. 58).

Apparently, Reid (2013) made a distinction between the racial origins, or between the original settlers and migrants of pre-colonial Philippines: the Negritos and non-Negritos, respectively. Although both groups spoke Austronesian languages, the former, according to Reid, is non-Austronesian not until the first Austronesian in-migrant came in contact with the Negritos 5,000 years ago.

1.3 The Philippine Negritos

1.3.1 Origin

Negritos are aborigines of the Philippines whose ancestors migrated over 20,000 years ago. They are descendants of early homo sapiens who have been wandering Philippine forests for at least 20,000 years before the first wave of Austronesian migrants 5,000 years ago. They consisted

of 10% of the population during Spanish times while 90% are oriental looking farmers who were descendants of early Austronesian. Today, more than 33,000 Negritos were spread from North to South of the Philippines, and they consisted 0.05% of the population (Headland T. , 2003; 2010). They were found in several parts of Luzon, in some of the Bisayan Islands (as Panay and Negros), and in Palawan and Mindanao (Reid, 1994b, p. 4; Reid, 2013, p. 331). The Philippine Negritos were perhaps speaking more than twenty-seven distinct languages (Headland 2010; Reid, 2013) including the recently discovered Manide Negrito (Lobel, 2010).

Various hypotheses have appeared in the literature about the provenance of Philippine Negritos. Solheim (1981, as cited in Reid 1987, p. 41) considered them to be the descendants of a late Pleistocene population scattered across the Philippines. Bellwood (1985, as cited in Reid 1987, p. 41) likewise considered them to be the descendants of the earliest populations being the result of micro-evolutionary development within the Philippines. Adelaar (2005) explained that in Bellwood (1997) and Pawley (1999), both claimed that the peoples that lived in insular Southeast Asia before the arrival of Austronesians were evidently of an Australo-Melanesian or Negrito appearance (p.28). “Negritos”, according to Bellwood (1985, as cited in Reid 1994b, p. 4), “are small-statured representative of a once wide-Melanesia today, but which was absorbed almost entirely into a much more numerous mongoloid population in Southeast Asia”. Further, he said that “the difference in size between the Australian Aborigine, who is tall and gracile, and the short-statured Philippine Negrito was considered to be the result of adaptation to the unique environments in which these groups lived”.

Keiichi Omoto (1987, as cited in Reid 1994b, p. 4-5) provided evidence on the basis of unique genes in the blood of the different Negrito populations. He hypothesized two separate migrations in the formation of aboriginal hunter-gatherer groups of the Philippines. In this

hypothesis the western group represented by the Aeta (of western Luzon) and the eastern group represented by the Mamanwa (of north-eastern Mindanao) were of separate origins. The genetic differences between these two groups of Negritos would have required twenty to thirty thousand years to develop, and implied that these two groups have therefore been separated for at least that amount of time.

1.3.2 Social and economic conditions

Philippine Negritos is one of the most exploited and oppressed sector of Philippine society. Many politicians, businessmen, and even other ethnolinguistics groups exploit their peace-loving and submissive behavior, and illiteracies. Some negritos who have lived with the non-negrito Filipinos in the plains are hired as manual laborers for farms and plantations, or household helpers. But worst of all, they are victims of human right violations in the countryside (Headland & Headland, 1999; Lobel, 2013). Various forms of human rights violations like slave labor, land grabbing, killings and massacres, among others, which are perpetuated by government forces, mining corporations, and feudal land owners. These pitiful conditions are believed to represent “a lower form of life”, and according to Lobel (2013, p. 57), they are the “most disenfranchised, impoverished, and poorly-understood population in the Philippines”. The Philippine Negrito is one of the Philippines’ most marginalized sector, and this sector receives few government services in education, health, and livelihood. Because of the limited access to basic services, these become contributing factors that threatened and endangered the Negritos’ lives and linguistic existence.

1.3.3 Geographical locations of Philippine Negrito including their population and language status

More than 30 Negrito languagesⁱⁱⁱ are spoken in the Philippines. The groups are divided into three large categories, *Ayta* groups of western Luzon; *Agta* groups of Sierra Madre, eastern Luzon and the ‘other Negrito’ groups scattered in the Philippine Archipelago. The Negrito population was roughly estimated as 32,725 (Headland, 2003; 2010). The most recent, Reid (2013) provided geographical and linguistic survey of 27 ethnolinguistic Negrito languages^{iv} spoken in the Philippines (pp. 331-332). Figure 1.1 shows the Negrito languages and geographical dispersal of each of the Negrito groups all over the archipelago (Reid, 2013, p. 332).



Figure 1.1 Dispersal of Philippine Negritos in the Philippines (Adapted from Reid, 2013, p. 332)

A new listing labelled as Table 1.1 summarizes Headland (2003; 2010), Reid (2013), and the *Ethnologue* (Lewis et al., 2018). It provides the latest location(s) where each ethnolinguistic group can be found. The information includes the *Ethnologue*'s unique three-letter abbreviations codes in parentheses, the latest population, and bibliographical citations as appeared in Headland (2003; 2010). Table 1.1 has been summarized based on the data that are shared by the three sources. In addition, another column is added and is labelled as *Language Status^v*.

Of the 27 ethnolinguistic groups in Reid (2013), twenty-five Negrito groups were still living but one Agta linguistic group was already extinct (*Dicamay Agta*), while *Disabungan Agta* showed no record at all. Table 1.1 shows that 9 Negrito groups are developing (*Casiguran Dumagat Agta*, *Pahanan Agta*, *Central Cagayan Agta*, *Umiray Dumaget Agta*, *Abellen Ayta*, *Mag-antsi Ayta*, *Pamplona Atta*, *Mag-Indi Ayta*, *Mamanwa*); six are vigorous (*Mt. Iriga Agta*, *Ambala Ayta*, *Pudtol Atta*, *Inati*, *Manide*, *Southern Alta*); three are threatened (*Magbukun*, *Dupaninan*, *Faire*); two are shifting (*Northern Alta*, *Batak*); one is moribund (*Remontado Dumagat*); and four are nearly extinct (*Arta*, *Ata*, *Isarog*, *Alabat Island*).

Table 1.1 Negrito Languages Spoken in the Philippines

Ethnolinguistic Groups	Location	Language Status	Population
Casiguran Dumagat Agta (dgc)	Aurora Province, Luzon	Developing	610 (Headland, 1989)
Pahanan Agta (apf)	Isabela Province, Luzon	Developing	1700 (Lobel, 2009) ^{vi}
Central Cagayan Agta (agt)	Cagayan Province, Luzon	Developing	780 (2000)
Umiray Dumaget Agta (due)	Southern Aurora, Northern Quezon Provinces, Luzon	Developing	3000 (SIL, 1994)
Abellen Ayta (abp)	Tarlac Province, Luzon	Developing	3000 (SIL, 2008)
Mag-antsi Ayta (sgb)	Zambales, Tarlac, and Pampanga Provinces, Luzon	Developing	8200 (SIL, 1992)
Pamplona Atta (att)	Western Cagayan Provinces, Luzon	Developing	1000 (SIL, 1998)
Mag-Indi Ayta (blx)	Zambales and Pampanga Provinces, Luzon	Developing	5000 (SIL, 1998)
Mamanwa (mmn)	Northeastern Mindanao	Developing	5150 (<i>Ethnologue</i> , 1990)
Mt. Iriga Agta (agz)	Camarines Sur Province, Luzon	Vigorous	1500 (SIL, 1979)
Ambala Ayta (abc)	Zambales Pampanga and Bataan Provinces, Luzon	Vigorous	1660 (SIL, 1986)
Pudtol Atta (atp)	Apayao Province, Luzon	Vigorous	710 (2000)
Inati (atk)	Panay	Vigorous	1500 (SIL, 1980)
Manide (abd)	Camarines Norte, western Camarines Sur Provinces	Vigorous	3800 (Lobel, 2010)
Southern Alta (agy)	Nueva Ecija, and Quezon Provinces, Luzon	Vigorous	1000 (SIL, 1982)
Magbukun (ayt)	Bataan Province, Luzon	Threatened	1000 (SIL, 2011)
Dupaninan (duo)	Nueva Ecija, and Quezon Provinces, Luzon	Threatened	1200 (SIL, 1986)
Faire (azt)	Western Cagayan Provinces, Luzon	Threatened	300 (Wurm, 2000)
Northern Alta (agn)	Aurora Province, Luzon	Shifting	200 (Wurm, 2000)
Batak (bya)	Palawan	Shifting	200 (Wurm, 2000)
Remontado Dumagat (agv)	General Nakar, Quezon Province/ Tanay, Rizal Province	Moribund	2530 (2000)
Arta (atz)	Quirino Province, Luzon	Nearly Extinct	11 (Kimoto, 2013)
Ata (atm)	Negros	Nearly Extinct	2 (Wurm, 2000), or extinct (Wurm, 2007)
Isarog (agk)	Camarines Sur Province, Luzon	Nearly Extinct	5 (Wurm, 2000)
Alabat Island (dul)	Quezon Province, Luzon	Nearly Extinct	30 (Wurm, 2000)
Dicamay (duy)	Isabela Province near Jones, Luzon	Extinct	Extinct
Disabungan (apf?)	Isabela Province, Luzon	No record	No record

1.3.4 “Emblematic” names of Philippine Negritos (PN) and PN reference to non-Negrito groups

1.3.4.1 Self-referent or autonym and exonym

Reid (2013) claimed that most Philippine Negritos retain a reflex of the PMP **?a(R)ta* as their term for “(Negrito) person” and that identified themselves as distinct from non-Negrito group (p. 333). Reid explained that the reflex of the medial consonant **R* is the main factor accounting for variation on the names of groups such as *Arta*, *Agta*, *Ayta*, *Alta*, and *Atta*. *Sinauna Tagalog* in Luzon did not maintain the medial **R*, rather, it showed *?ata* for “person”. The same form was found without a reflex of the medial *R* such as Ata languages of Negros, Ata Manobo in Mindanao, and most, if not all of the reflexes south of the Philippines (p. 333). However, Blust and Trussel (2010), reconstructed the term PMP **qa(R)ta* (as cited in Reid 2013), and they defined the term as “outsider, alien people”. Reid strongly opposed the definition of the latter. Reid (2013) further explained that “Negrito groups in the Philippines... use the term to uniquely identify themselves, have until fairly recent times fiercely retained their independence from the MP groups and rejected all negative names from themselves” (p. 333).

Two Negrito groups in Luzon, *Dupanigan* and *Dumagat* (or *Dumaget*) both refer to locations. The true etymology of the form comes from the old locative specifier **du* (as in *Dupanigan*) and the main source of Cagayan River, the Magat River. Although according to Reid (1978) and Ross (2005) (as cited in Reid, 2013), “the form **du* is no longer a locative specifier in either *Dupanigan* or *Umiray Dumaget*, but it has been reconstructed to PMP and maintained in *Casiguran Agta* as a specifier (*determiner*) before plural common nouns (including locations)

which according to Headland and Headland (1974) mean “absent, out of sight” and other similar meanings”. The Negrito name *Dupanigan* came from the *Dupanigan* term *dupaneng* meaning “opposite side of the mountain, adjacent river valley”. According to Robinson (2008), the “term has a locative nominalizing suffix *-an* plus the regular change of /e/ to /i/ when the syllable becomes open”. Therefore, the term *Dupanigan* means “place on the opposite side of the mountain or place in an adjacent river valley”. Similarly, the term *Dumagat* came from old locative specifier **du*. Alta Negrito groups could have established a settlement along the tributaries of the Magat River and the term *Dumagat* could have mean “(Negrito) living near the Magat River”. Aside from being one of the major sources of the Cagayan River that flows through the plain between the Cordilleran Central and the Sierra Madre, Magat River could have been the Alta Negrito’s source for food and shelter. Evidence for parsing such as the Tagalog term *Dumagat* referring to “sea people” was a mistaken parse of the Negrito endonym, instead it should be *du Magat* “the (distant) Magat River. Otherwise, the term meant “people living along the Magat River” (Reid, 2013).

Reid (2013) explained that the term *Dumagat* is an exonym for Negrito groups who lived in the coastal areas of eastern Luzon and surrounding areas. According to Robinson (2008), similar term is used as an *endonym* of Negrito groups who are living along the Umiray River and surrounding areas (as cited in Reid 2013, p. 334). Negritos also call themselves *Dumaget* (with stress on the final syllable)^{vii}.

Reid (2013) explained that *Dumagat* could have been a fossilized term which meant “people who came from the sea” or “people who live along the coastline”, and appeared on the published works of Carl Semper, a German zoologist. The term has been understood on the basis of its apparent transparent cognacy with Tagalog *dágat* “sea, ocean, bay, lagoon,” into which the infix

<um> has been inserted following the first consonant and has assumed the meaning since then by subsequent researcher and writings (p. 334-335). Reid added that even some indigenous groups in Mindanao used the term with the meaning “Christians and settlers or those who came from the sea”. Although the term was accepted as a *Tagalog* “folk etymology”, there was no linguistic evidence, either in *Tagalog* or in other Philippine languages, which the infix *<um>* used as an infix into a noun to derive the meaning “person from x” (p. 335).

Linguistic evidence on word parsing came from Southern Alta Negritos. According to Wesley Petro, a missionary, they call themselves *Edimala* (Reid, 2013). Reid explained that the “term clearly corresponds to *Dumagat*, in that the initial vowel *e*- is a reflex of the reconstructed PMP prefix **?i*- “person from,” with widespread reflexes throughout the northern Philippines”. Further, Reid explained that *di*- is a frozen locative marker introducing the place name *Mala*, a cognate of *Maga(t)*, assuming that the name of the river was originally PMP **maRa(t)*”.

Dumagat is an endonym for Negrito groups living along the rivers and tributaries in Bulacan. Southern Alta call themselves *Dumagat* or *Dumaget*, and their language *Kabuloan* to distinguish themselves from other Negrito (*Dumagat*) groups such as *Bulos* (*Umiray Dumaget*) and *Remontado Dumagat*, or from other non-Negrito ethnolinguistic groups.

1.3.4.2 Terms of PN to non-PN

Philippine Negrito languages have terms for non-Negrito persons. The Central Cagayan Agta refer to Ilocano people *ugsin*, the Casiguran Agta calls them and *ugdin* and the Alta refer to non-Negritos as *uldin* (Reid, 2013. p. 336) while the *Dupanigan Agta* calls a non-Agta person and Ilokano, *ogden* (Robinson, 2008; as cited in Reid, 2013). These terms, according to Reid (2013), “appear to be reflexes of a form **?uRtin*, which was also reflected in Atta *ujojjin* ‘red’”. He

believed that early Negritos perceived in-migrating Austronesians (from Taiwan) as having red skins. Moreover, the author labelled it as **PMP** because of its apparent reflex in Ibanag *uzzin* “red”. He claimed that “no other **MP** language has a reflex, and there are other terms reconstructed for “red” in **PMP**” (Reid, 2013). Southern Alta refers to *Tagalog* people *Taw*. Sometimes, *Taw* is also used to refer to non-Negrito peoples^{viii}.

Arta calls a non-Negrito person *agani*, which appears to be cognate with Ilokano *agáni* “to harvest rice or one who harvests rice,” lending credence to the idea that the non-Negrito’s rice agriculture has long been the key factor motivating the Negritos’ symbiotic relationships with their neighbors (Headland & Reid, 1989; Reid 1994; Reid 2013) *Casiguran Agta* also used *pute* for non-Negroid person and *unat* “straight-haired” (Reid, 2013).

1.3.5 **External linguistic influence of Philippine Negrito**

Reid (1994b) considered the implications for language contact of borrowed vocabulary in the Negrito languages. He then theorized a pre-Austronesian linguistic substratum (Reid 1987, 1994a). To prove this, Reid (1994a) examined the vocabulary that was neither clearly inherited nor borrowed from non-Negrito languages, but the terms appeared to be unique to one or more of the Negrito language. These significant unique terms in Negrito languages came from the environment in which Negritos presumably lived and which tend to be culture specific (for example, *rattan*, *abaca*, *betel leaf* etc.) or “secret” language (such as *vagina*, *penis*, and so forth), and many of which were shared exclusively among Negrito languages. These may possibly constitute an early Negrito substratum in these languages, and these forms were potential evidence of an early pidgin or trade language, subsequently creolized, which was developed by the Negritos to facilitate communication with in-migrating Austronesians. Table 1.2 shows the outside

influences and/or languages being switched to. First, the table provides a first-hand information on what language(s) or ethnolinguistic group each Negrito group is in contact with and second, it describes the intelligibility and degree of contact for comparative studies.

Table 1.2 External linguistic influence of Philippine Negritos (Adapted from Lobel, 2013)

Ethnolinguistic Groups	Outside influences and/or languages being switched to
Casiguran Dumagat Agta (dgc)	<i>Kasiguranin, Tagalog, Ilocano</i>
Pahanan Agta (apf)	<i>Paranan, Tagalog, Ilocano</i>
Central Cagayan Agta (agt)	<i>Ilocano, Tagalog</i>
Umiray Dumaget Agta (due)	<i>Tagalog</i>
Abellen Ayta (abp)	<i>Tagalog, Ilocano, some Sambal</i>
Mag-antsi Ayta (sgb)	<i>Kapampangan, Tagalog</i>
Pamplona Atta (att)	<i>Ilocano</i>
Mag-Indi Ayta (blx)	<i>Kapampangan, Tagalog</i>
Mamanwa (mmn)	<i>Cebuano, Northern Bukidnon, Ilongo (less)</i>
Mt. Iriga Agta (agz)	<i>Rinconada Bikol, Buhinon, Bikol Naga, Tagalog</i>
Ambala Ayta (abc)	<i>Tagalog, Ilokano, some Sambal</i>
Pudtol Atta (atp)	<i>Ilocano, Ibanag</i>
Inati (atk)	<i>Kinaray-a, Ilongo, Aklanon (depending on location), Tagalog (much less)</i>
Manide (abd)	<i>Tagalog (East Quezon dialect), Bikol Daet (“Tagcol”), in eastern Manide Area</i>
Southern Alta (agy)	<i>Tagalog</i>
Magbukun (ayt)	<i>Tagalog</i>
Dupaninan (duo)	<i>Ilokano</i>
Faire (azt)	<i>Ibanag, Pamplona Atta</i>
Northern Alta (agn)	<i>Tagalog, possibly some Ilokano</i>
Batak (bya)	<i>Kuyonon, Tagalog, Southern (Aborlan/ PPC) Tagbanwa, Central Tagbanwa, Agutaynen, Kagayanan (depending on location)</i>
Remontado Dumagat (agv)	<i>Tagalog, Umiray Dumaget</i>
Arta (atz)	<i>Ilokano, Tagalog, Casiguran Dumagat Agta</i>
Ata (atm)	<i>Cebuano, formerly Dabawenyo influence, Tagalog, Hiligaynon</i>
Isarog (agk)	<i>Bikol Naga (Partido), Tagalog</i>
Alabat Island (dul)	<i>Tagalog</i>
Dicamay (duy)	<i>Ilokano</i>
Disabungan (apf?)	No data

1.4

The Altan languages

The first reference to Alta appeared in Ferdinand Blumentritt's *Versuch einer Ethnographie der Philippinen* in 1882 as cited in Worcester in 1906 (Reid, 1991, p.3). Other references to Alta were taken from the Report of the Philippine Commission published in 1900, the Jesuit Mission of Manila mentioned the *Balugas* in the eastern Cordillera of Nueva Ecija. *Dumagas* (sic) in the mountains from Baler and Casiguran to Cape Engaño were reported, and a posthumous publication of Garvan's fieldwork in 1963 reported *Baluga* in Bulacan. These reports on Philippine Negritos, according to Reid (1991, p. 3), could have been Alta, yet they require additional information or facts to verify existing records.

Reid (1991) ascertained that Vanoverbergh's published work in 1937 provided the first information on their language. He referred to the group as *Baler Negrito* and included 313 words and phrases. He further explained that the Negrito group was the Northern Alta because the forms Vanoverbergh list were similar with Reid's. In 1956, the anthropologist Robert B. Fox collected a 206-item wordlist at a place called *Ditaylin*, apparently the same area that Vanoverbergh visited.

Now, the *Alta* lives within the vast *Sierra Madre* mountains that extend from the province of *Cagayan* to the north and *Quezon* to the south, and from the eastern coast crossing to the adjacent coastal areas of *Quezon*. Two Altan languages are spoken in the Meso-Cordilleran area: the *Northern Alta* and the *Southern Alta*. According to Reid (1991; 2013), "Northern Alta speakers live in the *Sierra Madre* along the river valleys that flow out to the *Baler* plain in *Aurora Province*." Further, he said "the range of the Northern Alta extends northward toward that of the speakers of *Casiguran Agta*, and perhaps as far as the headwaters of the *Cagayan* and *Diduyon Rivers* in *Quirino* province where a few families of Arta formerly lived" (Reid, 2013). In addition, another Northern Alta community is located in Gabaldon, Nueva Edija (Alex Garcia-Laguia,

personal communication, 2017). According to Wesley Petro, this Altan language is also known as *Edimala*. There was also a community at *Dibut*, on the coast south of *Baler*, and north of *Dicapanisan* (as cited in Reid, 1991). Southern Alta speakers live primarily in the *Sierra Madre of eastern Nueva Ecija* (General Tino and Gabaldon) and the adjacent coastal areas of Aurora Province (Ebana). Many Southern Alta speakers are still living along the river in *Nueva Ecija*, *Aurora*, and *Bulacan* (Angat, Norzagaray, and DRT). There are also communities of Alta who were speaking what appeared to be “a phonologically more conservative dialect of Southern Alta at *Dicapanikian* and *Dicapanisan*, on the coast north of *Dingalan*” (Reid, 1991; 2013).

The Northern Philippine language family (Figure 1.2) shows four lower-level language families: 1) Central Luzon (in color green); 2) Greater Central Philippines (in color pink); 3) other Philippine languages (in color red); and 4) Northern Luzon (in maroon). Figure 1.2 displays all 37 languages that comprise the Northern Philippine language family. Numbers 31 and 19 list the Southern and Northern Alta, respectively. The numbers indicate the exact location of the Negrito groups.

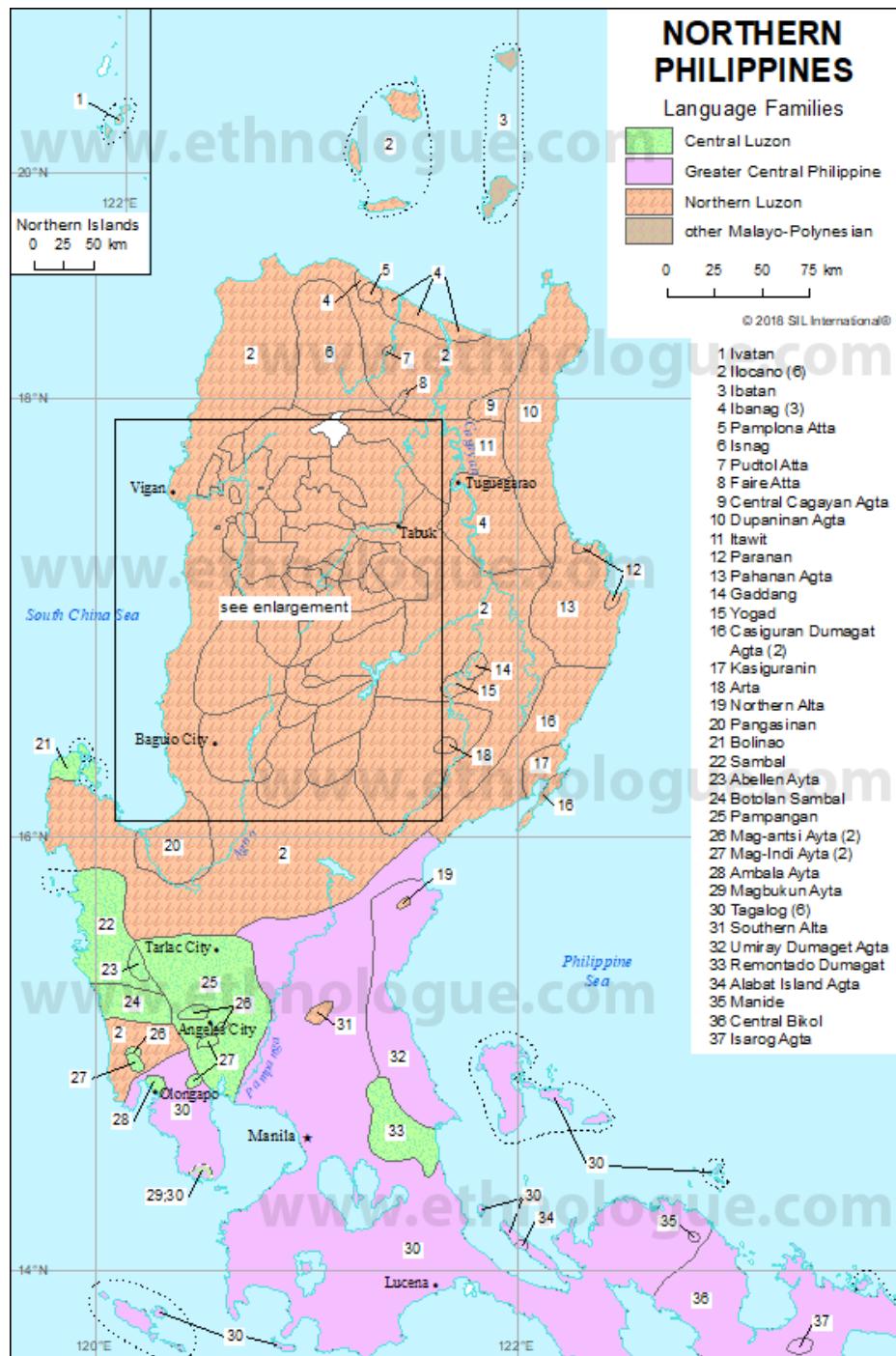
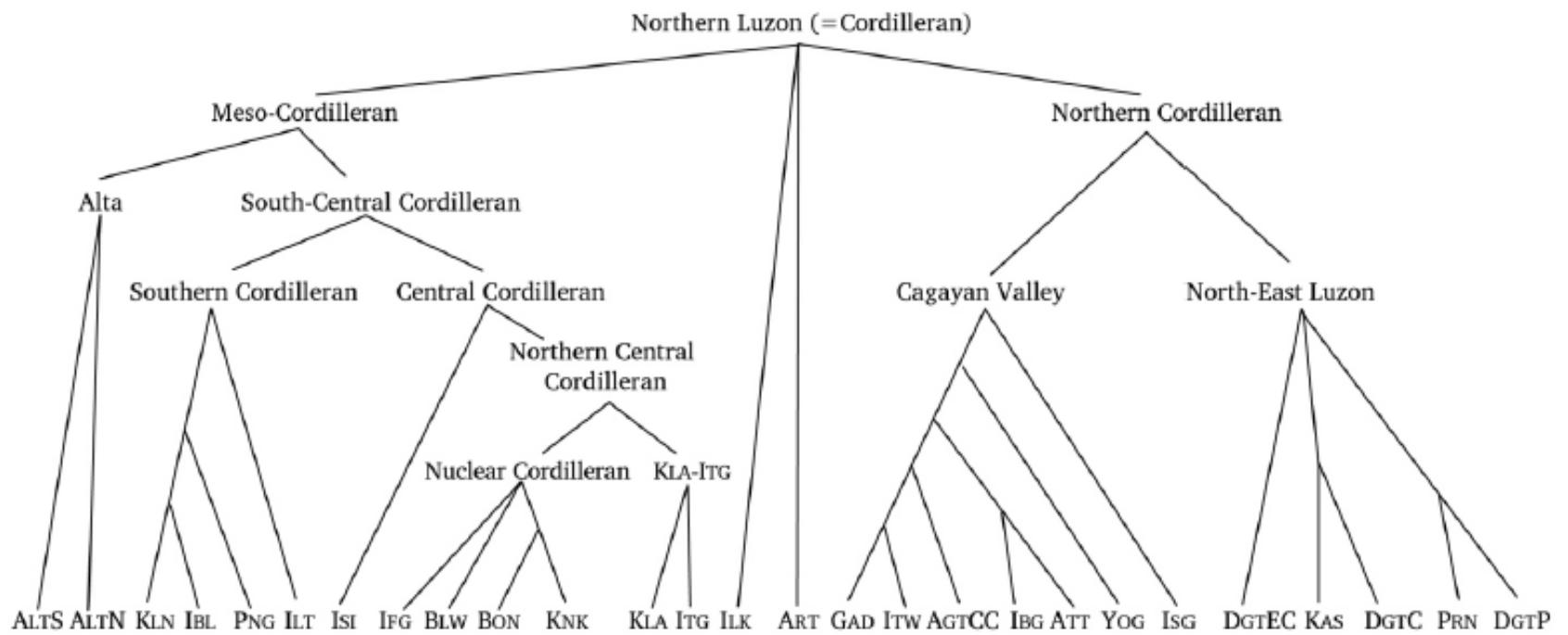


Figure 1.2 Northern Philippine Language Families (adapted from Lewis et al., 2018)

Reid (1989, 1991, 2007b, 2013) and Himes (2005) illustrated the Northern Luzon language family and lower-level subgrouping (Figure 1.3). They are as follows: 1) Meso-Cordilleran languages (alternatively South-Central Cordilleran (Himes, 2005); 2) Northern Cordilleran; 3) Arta; and 4) Ilokano. Except for Ilokano and Arta, each consists of a single coordinate branch to the language family, Meso-Cordilleran and Northern Cordilleran language families comprise language subgroups. Northern Luzon language family and lower-level subgrouping consists of 28 languages.

Following the revised subgroupings of Northern Luzon languages (Figure 1.3), Meso-Cordilleran consists of three subgroupings: 1) *Alta* (*Northern* and *Southern*), and 2) *South-Central Cordilleran* (*Southern Cordilleran*, *Central Cordilleran*). The *Southern Cordilleran* splits to 1) *Southern Cordilleran* (*Kallahan*, *Ibaloi* subgroups, *Pangasinan*, and *Ilongot*); 2) *Central Cordilleran* (*Isinai* and *Northern Central Cordilleran*). The latter consists of *Nuclear Cordilleran* languages group (*Ifugao*, *Balangaw*, and *Kankanaey*) and the *Kalinga-Itneg* languages group. The Altan languages (*Southern* and *Northern*) consist of a single branch.



AGTCC Central Cagayan Agta
 ALTN..... Northern Alta
 ALTS Southern Alta
 ART..... Arta
 ATT Atta
 BLW..... Balangao
 BON..... Bontok

DGTC..... Casiguran Dumagat
 DGTEC..... East Cagayan (=Dupaninan) Dumagat
 DGTP Palanan Dumagat
 GAD..... Gaddang
 IBG..... Ibanag
 IBL..... Ibaloi
 IFG..... Ifugao

ILK Ilokano
 ILT Illongot
 ISG Isnag
 ISI Isinai
 ITG..... Itneg
 ITW Itawis
 KAS Kasiguranin

KLA-ITG Kalinga-Itneg
 KLA Kalinga
 KLN Kallahan
 KNK Kankanaey
 PNG Pangasinan
 PRN Paranan
 YOG Yogad

Figure 1.3 Revised Subgrouping of Northern Luzon (Cordilleran) Languages (Reid L. , 2007, p. 28)

1.5 Southern Alta or *Kabuloan Dumagat*

1.5.1 The people and its background

The Southern Alta language or commonly known as *Kabuloan* with **ISO 639-3** and a three-letter code **agy**. The *Southern Alta* had a translation of the Bible in the form of commentaries^{ix} in the 1970's (Lewis et al., 2018). The Alta groups (Southern and Northern) also appeared in various publications of Dr. Lawrence Reid on Philippine Negrito languages (Reid, 1987; 1989; 1991; 1994a; 1994b; 2004 (co-authored with Dr. Hsiu-chuan Liao); 2006; 2007b; 2013), Dr. Ronald Himes (2002; 2005) on historical linguistics, and Dr. Hsiu-chuan Liao on transitivity and ergativity of Philippine languages (2004) and linguistic typology (Liao, 2008).

Southern Alta commonly known as *Kabuloan Dumagat* live primarily in the Sierra Madre of Eastern Nueva Ecija and the adjacent coastal areas of Quezon Province (north of *Umiray Dumaget*), Bulacan towns of *San Miguel*, *Norzagaray* (Lewis et al., 2016; Reid, 1991; 2013), and also in *Sitio Bato*, *Baranggay Sapang Bulac*, *Dona Remedios Trinidad* (Abreu, 2014). They are present in the areas of *Luzon*, coastal areas of *Quezon Province*, *east Nueva Ecija*, *Sierra Madre* (Reid, 1991; 2013).

Southern Alta Negritos probably associates themselves with the little *Bulu River* which flows west past *Malibay* in northern Bulacan Province, with headwaters in the area of *Mt. Bisal* on the boundary of *Nueva Ecija* and *Bulacan* (Reid, 1991; 2013). Southern Alta prefers to be called *Dumagat* (*Dumaget*), and their language *Kabuloan* (pronounced as /ka.bu.lo.an/). Alternate names of this ethnolinguistic group are *Kabuluen*, *Kabulowan*, *Kabuluwen^x* or *Kabu(n)loan^{xi}*. They call themselves *Dumaget* (with stress on the final syllable), the final vowel change being the result of an areal feature of Eastern Luzon Negrito languages (Reid, 2013)^{xii}. *Tagalog* or non-Negrito groups in Bulacan call them

Dumagat^{xiii}, or the derogatory term, *Baluga*, and *Kabalat*^{xiv}. The latter terms are also found derogatory to some *Southern Alta*. Southern Alta calls *Tagalog* or non-Negrito peoples *Taw*.

Ethnologue indicated that the ethnolinguistic group has a population of approximately 1,000 speakers. Reid's (1991) estimate may number at most 100 families while Headland (2010) concluded approximately 400 people^{xv}. By using the EGIDS level, *Ethnologue* showed that language status and vitality of *Southern Alta (Kabuloan Dumagat)* was measured at 6a (Vigorous)^{xvi}.

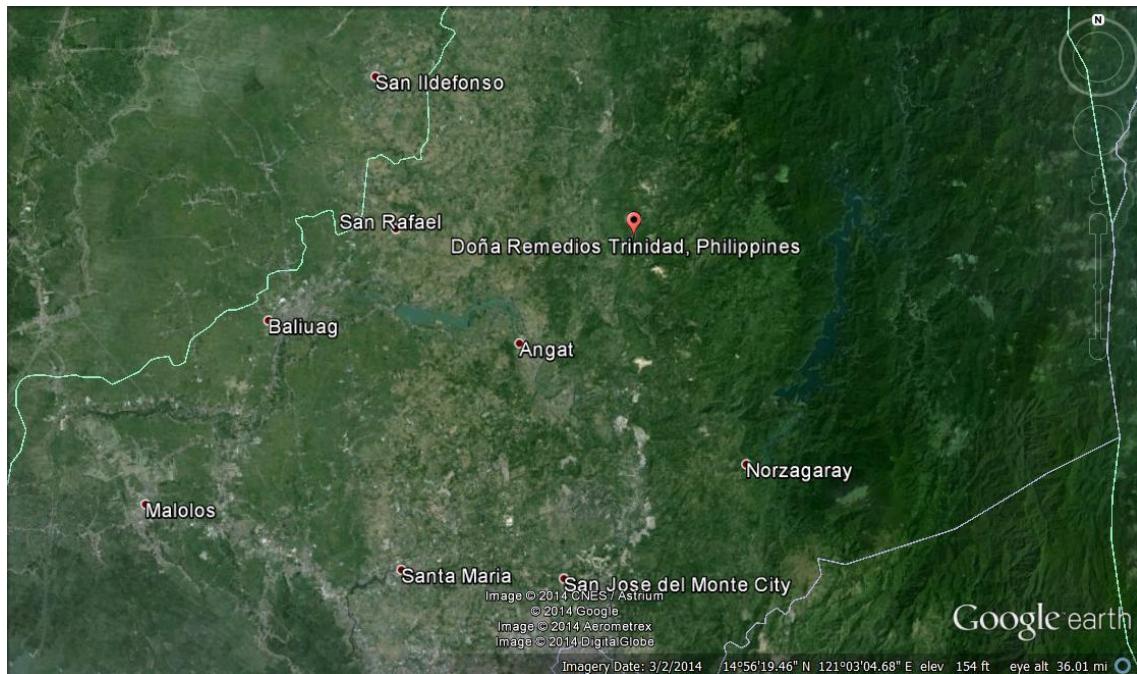


Figure 1.4 A Dumagat Community in Sitio Bato, Barangay Sapang Bulac, DRT

Communities of *Dumagats* are found in the municipality of Doña Remedios Trinidad (DRT) in the province of Bulacan. DRT is by far the least dense municipality in population, and the most forested region of Bulacan. Because of its biodiversity, it has

sheltered the *Dumagat* and other cultural minorities^{xvii} for many years. Figure 1.4 shows the red mark where a *Dumagat* settlement in the highland of DRT adjacent to San Miguel, Bulacan is located. North of DRT is Nueva Ecija; south, Angat; east, Aurora Province; and west, the municipalities of Baliuag, San Rafael, San Ildefonso, and San Miguel. The mountain slopes in Sierra Madre from the North down to the southeastern Luzon are the land routes of these cultural minorities.

They are naturally dexterous in their natural habitat even children in a very young age can hunt and gather food in the mountains. Now, only few *Southern Alta* people have considerable knowledge of their language, customs, beliefs, and traditions such as ethnic games, courtship and marriage, pagan rites, flora and fauna, natural medicine, different methods and techniques in hunting and gathering food, bad spirits, local myths, and many more.

Other references to Southern Alta appeared in *Global Recording Network* (GRN, 2016), Joshua Project (2016), Francisco (2012), Santos-Bulaong (2014). A sample audio recording of its homily and religious songs can be found in Global Recording Network (GRN, 2016). Another demographic survey of the ethnic population and settlements were provided by Joshua Project (JP, 2016). Francisco (2012) delved on the socio-economic, political and cultural lives of the indigenous peoples and communities (*Southern Alta* and *Umiray Dumager*) in Bulacan. Santos-Bulaong (2014) together with the Sentro ng Wika at Kultura-Bulacan State University (SWK-BSU) conducted a demographic profile of indigenous peoples and communities in Bulacan and divided the ethnolinguistic groups into clusters^{xviii}. With all the references mentioned, no comprehensive ethnolinguistic description or information was conducted.

1.5.2 The language

The first linguistic description of the language appeared in 1991. Dr. Lawrence Reid examined the degree of relationship of the Northern Alta and Southern Alta with other surrounding languages. No further studies are done to date except the historical and comparative studies on *Southern Alta* with other Philippine Negritos or non Negrito groups by Dr. Hsiu-chuan Liao, Dr. Lawrence Reid and Dr. Ronald Himes. In fact, the Open Language Archives Community (OLAC, 2016) has no record of the this ‘highly endangered language’. There are no recorded dialects of Southern Alta in the literature (Lewis et al., 2018; Reid, 1991). Reid (1991), on the other hand, mentioned that “a more phonologically conservative dialect of Southern Alta is present in *Dicapanikan* and *Dikapanisan*, on the coastal of *Dingalan, Aurora*”.

Northern and Southern Alta, according to Reid (1991), “shares only 185 of the 539 lexical items or 34%. Both languages also shared 37% (111/ 300) of inherited forms for which reconstructions at some earlier stage are available.” He noted that “each of these languages has a significant proportion of vocabulary that is unique^{xix} to each language”. Therefore, he posited that the “two languages are among the lexically most innovative of Philippine languages” (p. 4). He further explained that there are “reflexes of various reconstructed phonemes in Southern Alta”. According to Reid, “reconstructions containing *R are available for various protolanguages ancestral to the Southern Alta, Proto-Austronesian (PAn), Proto-Philippines (PPh), and Proto-Cordilleran (PCo)”. To prove this, he said that “Southern Alta *R became [l] PAn, PPh, PCo *təbaR *tabbalon* ‘answer’, *kaRaC, *kalaton* ‘bite’ other reflexes of *R, primarily [g], but also [y] such as PAn, PPh, PCo *tagRay, *taglay* ‘rib’ and PAn, PPh, PCo *ZəRamih *deya:mi?* ‘rice straw’. He also explained that “the change of *R became [l] indicates borrowed forms

either from a Northern Cordilleran language (*Agta*, *Gaddang*, *Itawis*, or from *Tagalog*) or from a Sambalic language” (Reid, 1991; 2013). He said that the “reflex of *j* became [d] in the languages of the South-Central Cordilleran family, rather than the expected [g]”. However, “reflex of **k* remained unchanged in Southern Alta, PAn, PPh, PCo **qutək ɺotok* ‘brain’” (Reid, 1991).

Reid explained that “vowel sequence in Southern Alta, (*V?V sequences) with adjacent tongue positions, such as [u?o] < *u?ə, appear to have been reduced to a single vowel such as PAn, PPh, PCo **tahəp taɻop* ‘winnow’”. He further explained that the “reflexes of *ə is generally a mid-back rounded vowel [o], although it is sometimes recorded as high back rounded [u]”. Reid also noted that “Southern Alta geminates an intervocalic root medial consonant following a reflex of *ə, a feature of the phonologies of *Ilokano* and most Northern Cordilleran languages PAn, PPh, PCo **təbaR tobbalon* ‘answer’”. He further explained that “the reflexes of *a are typically raised and fronted to [e] following voiced obstruents in inherited forms. A number of cases are found in both languages where *a is also reflected as [a] in these environments”. He explained that “these may indicate borrowing from *Tagalog*, or from one of the many northern Philippine languages with which Southern Alta has been in contact that continue to reflect *a unchanged such as PAn, PPh, PCo **tabaq tabe?* ‘fat, grease’ and PAn, PPh, PCo **ba:lun balun* ‘provisions’” (Reid, 1991, pp. 8-9).

Reid explained that “there is some evidence that the diphthongs *ay and *aw became respectively [i] (or [e]), and [u]. PAn, PPh, PCo **patay papatin* ‘kill’ and PAn, PPh, PCo **patay mamate?* ‘kill’, PAn, PPh, PCo **sabaw sabu?* ‘soup’”. He further explained that “a considerable number of forms (possibly borrowed) retain unchanged

diphthongs. PAn, PPh, PCo *?anay *?a:nay* ‘termite’ PAn, PPh, PCo *laŋaw *Playaw* ‘housefly’” (Reid, 1991, p. 9).

The morphological change, according to Reid (Reid, 1991; 2013), that “the Alta languages shares with the Central and Southern Cordilleran languages is the irregular reflex (**man-*) of the ubiquitous intransitive verbal prefix, reconstructed as PMP **maR-* with reflexes in *Tagalog mag-*, Ilokano *ag-*, and so forth”. He noted that “Southern Alta uses either *mon-* or *mun-* (the reflex of **mən-*). For examples are *monsadig* ‘to lean’, *munʔe:suntuk* ‘to hit, strike’”. However, he explained that “some roots are clearly *Tagalog* loans. The *Tagalog* prefix *mag-* is used while others a prefix *mog-* is used, it is perhaps developed by analogy with the *man-/mon-* affixes. Some examples are *magtanom* ‘to plant’ and *mogkanta* ‘to sing’, respectively” (Reid, 1991).

Reid (1991) presented a reconstruction of Proto-Alta nominative pronouns because of some differences between the forms of Northern Alta pronouns as recorded by Vanoverbergh in 1937. Proto-Alta forms (Liao, 2008; Reid, 1991) including Proto-Southern Cordilleran, Proto-Central Cordilleran and Proto-Cordilleran are available for comparison. There are at least six different innovations in the reconstructed forms which seem to indicate that the Proto-Alta pronouns did not develop from either the Proto-Central or Proto-Southern Cordilleran forms.

1.5.3 **Customs and traditions**

The people have time-tested customs and traditions. Some are still being practiced today, but due to many factors, many of their customs and practices have lost taste particularly among the youth or commonly dubbed as the ‘screen generation’.

Still, the most popular of all is the customary *omman* /?om.man/. It is a mixture of ‘*betel leaves, lime, areca nut*, and *maskada* (tobacco)’, and it epitomizes the life-long tradition of the indigenous Southern Alta from one’s birth to death. To many, the practice of *omman* embodies the Southern Alta’s customs and traditions. To some, it is a way to rest and to recreate; or a means to build camaraderie between and among people or ethnic communities; or a means to ‘know’ one’s origin or family background; or a way to talk and form unions, bonds or friendship, courtships, marriages, agreements or covenants; or to create a common ground to settle conflicts or breaches, and the likes.

The next is *sokod* /sok.kod/. It is an understanding or agreement between and among *Dumaget*. It can be a formal and binding agreement, or promise for the performance of an act or duty. This old tradition can be fused with other customs like the use of *koddong* /kod.doy/ ‘rope’, the number of *knots* in a rope indicates the number of the days before the formal meeting. The use of leaves and branches, and sometimes stones are means to communicate to other parties to indicate an early arrival, sudden departure, or a change of meeting place, and many more.

Another is the practice of *pangingilid* /pa.yi.yi.lid/. Many Southern Alta families and communities still practise this. *Pangingilid* safeguards one’s share of the ‘hunt’ or a share of the community’s provision. The community divides the ‘hunt’ or the collected food of the *tribe*, but keeps the share to whoever is absent at the time of distribution, and shares the food once he comes back.

Many Southern Alta families and communities have departed from old methods and cultural practices such as *subkal* /sub.kal/ and *pang?iyup* /pang.?i.yup/, the ancient way of healing by connecting the healer’s consciousness to the spirit world, or the performance of traditional games like *bulanbulanan* /bu.lan.bu.la.nan/, *male* /ma:.le/,

balebaletaan /ba.le.ba.le.ta.ʔan/, *pa.gu* /pa.gu/, *buyabuyaan* /bu.ja.bu.ja.ʔan/, and *tandustandusan* /tan.dus.tan.du.san/. Only a few *Dumagat* practise them today. These abrupt shifts from old to new influences are brought by social and political dislocation, and rapid globalization.

1.5.4 Language attrition

In the past, the Southern Alta language was somehow well-safeguarded because the Southern Alta communities have biblical commentaries written in their language, Apparently, even church sermons and songs were sung in their language. Now, there is an abrupt change in the ethnic language. Three major factors have been identified that have caused language attrition: a) changes in their socio-cultural lifestyle, b) economic, and c) attitudinal. Socio-cultural factors are intermarriages, illiteracy, and the use of *Tagalog* language for wider communication; economic includes poverty, limited sources of livelihood, and change of lifestyle; and attitudinal is mobility and resistance of most Southern Alta to permanent settlement. All of these factors have accelerated language degeneration among Southern Alta families. In addition, Southern Alta people are much influenced by other ethnolinguistic groups that they have in contact with. Southern Alta which was theorized as “a relatively-remote-with-cyclic-contact-with-a-different-language” (Reid L. , 1987) is very much threatened even in the farther highlands where they live.

1.6 Why document or study Southern Alta language?

1.6.1 An endangered Philippine Negrito language

Ethnologue's record showed that Southern Alta language has a population of 1,000^{xx}, but Headland (2010) showed only a population of 400 L1 speakers. Dr. Lawrence Reid who has the most extensive researches in Philippine Negrito languages and the first researcher who has studied the Alta languages attested that Southern Alta is a "highly endangered" Philippine Negrito language (personal communication, Lawrence Reid, 2017). Therefore, the 34 year-old information in the Ethnologue on its language vitality needs to be reassessed.

In *Sitio Bato, Baranggay Sapang Bulac, DRT, Bulacan* alone, among the 22 *Southern Alta* families in 2016, only 14 families or 60 % speak *Southern Alta* language at home while 8 families or 40 % speak either *Umiray Dumagat* or *Tagalog*. Most of the time, family members alternate the use of three languages at home. Intermarriages, illegal trading^{xxi}, changes in socio-cultural lifestyle^{xxii}, and the use of *Tagalog* as a means for wider communication accelerate language attrition among *Southern Alta* families.

The researcher, who has conducted an initial sociolinguistic survey, together with Ms. Arlene Lazaro, DepEd's Indigenous Peoples Education Office (IPsEO) supervisor, and many Southern Alta elders has examined that many *Southern Alta* parents and families located in San Miguel and DRT in Bulacan have shifted to *Tagalog* language. Thus, the number of new *Tagalog* speakers from the marginalized *Southern Alta* people is populating fast in many *Dumagat* settlements. Many Southern Alta children hardly know or recognize *Southern Alta* language even they are living with native *Southern Alta* parents or relatives. These families have abandoned *Kabuloan* as their first language in favor of the "prestigious" *Tagalog* language. These families consistently believe that they

will get more benefits if they become “competent” *Tagalog* speakers than being a monolingual *Kabuloan*^{xxiii}.

Southern Alta families who send their children to public formal education live with the *Tagalog* downhill. Other natives send their children to live with their *Taw*^{xxiv} friends in the barrios or town where the school is located. These *Taw* friends are affiliated with ‘protestant’ or religious organizations in which *Southern Alta* families are also member-worshippers. Other acts of philanthropy are also done by many individuals and catholics like the establishment of free secondary school for the *Dumagats* with free board and lodging facility beside the parish church at the town proper of DRT. Scholarship grants for the *Dumagats* are available from primary to tertiary education. *Southern Alta* students obviously use *Tagalog* language in communicating with their sponsors and their families, and similarly, in most social interactions. Different altruistic organizations show their generosity in many forms such as awarding house and building materials, conduct occasional feeding programs, and many more. In all of these, the means of instruction and communication is in *Tagalog*.

Most *Southern Alta* negritos are bilingual or multilingual. Aside from their native language, many are fluent speakers of either *Tagalog* or *Bulos* (Umiray Dumaget) languages or both. Most obviously are the younger generations of *Southern Alta* who have experienced formal education in public elementary schools or community schools (e.g. Alternative Learning System (ALS)). These younger generations do not only know three languages but four^{xxv} although their level of proficiency varies. Although the educated youngsters are not fluent in English, they show good receptive (listening) skills, and understand elementary English lexicon and conversational English. In face-to-face

interactions, most *Southern Alta*^{xxvi} are flexible, they can speak the language of the person they are talking to whether *Tagalog, Bulos, or Kabuloan*^{xxvii}.

The *Southern Alta* of *Sitio Bato, Sapang Bulac, DRT, Bulacan* came from *Hilltop, Norzagaray, Bulacan*. They have lived beside the rivers of Angat Dam for many years, but they were “forcibly displaced”^{xxviii}. The government-controlled National Power Corporation (NPC) posited that the increasing population of the *Dumagat* will ‘contaminate’ Manila’s potable water source and may result to a decrease of electric production. The *Dumagats*, then, were driven to settle in *Sitio Bato* which became their permanent settlement for many years. This forcible resettlement has led to prevalent mixed marriages between *Southern Alta* and *Umiray Dumaget*, as well as other ethnolinguistic groups.

Some *Southern Alta* families, who have lived long with the *Tagalog* in *Sitio Tubigan, Barangay Kalawakan* and have also mixed marriages with other ethnic groups, speak only *Tagalog* language. These families, whose grandparents are first generation of *Southern Alta* in the area, are now *Tagalog* monolinguals. The parents or adults down to their children and grandchildren do not speak the mother-tongue anymore. Some parents who know *Kabuloan* refrain to use *Kabuloan* even with the presence of *Southern Alta* relatives. Their children who are brought up to speak *Tagalog* as their mother-tongue hardly understand common expressions in *Kabuloan*. In this kind of situation, the parents or adults may be called as “ghost speakers”.

Grinevald and Bert (2011) called this new type of (endangered) language speakers as *ghost speakers* because “they conspicuously denied any knowledge of the endangered language in spite of evidence that they do have some level of competence”. These speakers manifested “a strong negative attitude toward the language and a deep rejection

of any identification with it, in particular in the eyes of outsiders”. The authors posited that “this type of (non-) speaker would seem to be characteristic of certain contexts of language endangerment in particular where a much denigrated regional language is overpowered by a highly standardized and valued national language similar with the regional languages of France” (p. 51). Apparently, according to Brenzinger (1998), “in conditions where processes of language contact and language displacement were present, there was an increase among members of the ethnolinguistic minorities who brought up their children in a language other than their own and abandoned their former ethnic tongue might ultimately lead to the irreversible disappearance of the minority’s original language” (p. 185).

Some *Southern Alta* who have lived in Bulacan for many years and who have been awarded land rights by the government, sold their lands to moneyed individuals because of rural poverty while for some are attitudinal in nature^{xxix}. Because *Southern Alta Negritos* are forest dwellers, they live most of the days hunting and foraging in forested regions as well as catching fish in rivers and dams. Able-bodied *Southern Alta* children and adults are culturally and habitually mobile and transient. They seldom settle for a long period in one place. Otherwise, permanency of settlement is something that they put much effort to, not only physically but psychologically. The idea of long-term settlement is dedicated to senile, geriatric, and sickly *Dumagat*.

Other factors that may lead to language death of the language are rural poverty and limited opportunity for decent livelihood (e.g. slash and burn, illegal logging, poaching, hunting endangered animals, and harvesting forest produce such as rattan and lumber); limited access to public service and medicine (health, education, support of old age, subsidies); mental or terminal illnesses, and giving birth (e.g. amebiasis, asthma,

tuberculosis, malaria, dengue, etc.); hygiene (e.g. proper disposal of human waste); living hazards in the jungle or forest (e.g. death caused by snake bites or wild animals, climate change, and criminal syndicates); and lack of proper education and opportunities.

1.6.2 A descriptive grammar of Southern Alta for basic education

Mother Tongue-Based Multilingual Education (MTB-MLE) is a breakthrough in basic elementary education in this generation as a whole, but it has not readily prepared its programs to fit the indigenous peoples in the Philippines before its implementation in 2012. DepEd's Indigenous Peoples Education Office, Division of Bulacan (IPsEO-Bulacan) and its staff have just started aligning the *Southern Alta* and *Umiray Dumagat* languages to DepEd's basic elementary programs of the *Dumagat* students in Bulacan. Previous references on indigenous peoples in Bulacan are focused on sociology, history, and culture of the *Dumagats*. These references include demographic surveys and interviews from individuals and chieftains of different *Dumagats* (*Kabuloan* and *Umiray*) communities in Bulacan (Teachers Arlene Lazaro and Zandro Donceras, personal communication, 2016), census from the Municipal Civil Registry-Dona Remedios Trinidad (MCR, 2014), write-ups of Francisco (2012) and Santos-Bulaong (2014), and the Dumagat Indigenous Peoples education policy framework (DepED, 2015). Just recently, ethnolinguistic information of *Umiray Dumagat* including the people, language, orthography, teaching and reading materials are now being used, while *Southern Alta* orthography and phonology including some educational materials are still in the conceptual stage.

Before 2016, the IPsEO and its staff have limited information on the ethnolinguistic units of the *Dumagats* in Bulacan. First, they are not aware of the

ethnolinguistic origins of the *Dumagats* in Bulacan. Their idea about the languages of the *Dumagats* is based on intuition and first-hand experience. Before this researcher conducted fieldwork and interviews with IPs EO staff, they believed that the *Dumagats* in Bulacan consisted of one (1) ethnolinguistic group only. Apparently, the *Dumagats* in Bulacan consisted of two or three groups, *Southern Alta* and *Umiray Dumaget*, and a few *Remontado Dumagat*. Secondly, the language and reading programs for basic elementary education for *Southern Alta* and *Umiray Dumaget* students were still in the conceptual stage. Some of the references used in classes were random collection of lexicon of both languages. Thirdly, there were redundancy of researches and educational materials which were kept in different institutions because there is no common repository of researches on minor or ‘endangered languages’ in the Philippines. Furthermore, studies on the latter are not yet digitally archived for longer storage and accessibility. Although, downloadable materials on language and education are available in SIL-Philippines websites, many are still undescribed and undocumented, for instance, Southern Alta. Lastly, there are many issues on group classification, terminologies, and language education in the national and local level that are not yet resolved. These include issues on orthography, development of educational materials, instruction and curriculum planning.

1.6.3 Clues on flora and fauna, ethnobiology, history, genealogy, ethnopharmacology, and many more

The Southern Alta language can provide limitless information and knowledge about many things. Recent documentation of Philippine Negrito languages revealed information on flora and fauna, ethnobiology, history, genealogy, ethnic philosophy, ethnopharmacology and indigenous etiological knowledge and methods. The *Casiguran*

Agta (Headland, 2003; 2010) revealed the *Weltanschauungs* or “world view” of the Casiguran Agta through its language. The language also showed information on ethnolinguistic group’s race and history, naming practices and language, ethnobiology, vernacular use of plant names, ethnosemantic domains for mountain animals, forest plants, hunting and weaponry, types and parts of animal traps and of fire-making kits, types of baskets, names of traditional varieties of rice seed, and many more. The vernacular use of local plants names, according to Madulid (2005), are being used in scientific studies (e.g. plant taxonomy, ethnobotany, phytogeography, anthropology, biology, pharmacology, etc.) similar in the fields of linguistics, education, culture and historical studies (as cited in Madulid 1991) (p. 1). An *Agta* and a *Dumagat* community in Aurora documented ethnopharmacology and indigenous etiological knowledge and methods (The Agta community in Sition Dipontian, Barangay Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora, PITAHC-DOH, IHM-NIH-UPM, NCIP, ASCOT, 2011; The Dumagat of Barangay Dibut, San Luis, Aurora, PITAHC-DOH, IHM-NIH-UPM, NCIP, ASCOT, 2011). Ploeg & Weerd (2010) together with *Agta* generated 110 *Agta* names of bird species in the Northern Sierra Madre Natural Park in Northern Luzon, Philippines.

1.6.4 Ethnolinguistic groupings of indigenous peoples (IPs) in the province of Bulacan

Language documentation should link the language, people and setting. Data from the Municipal Civil Registry (MCR, 2014) of DRT provided the number of Indigenous People (IP) or *Dumagats* in DRT. The *Dumagats* were scattered in four (4) barangays or in thirteen (13) *Purok* or *Sitio*. This was almost akin to other “surveys” of the ethnolinguistic groups. Santos-Bulaong (2014) on the basis of personal interviews and

demographic surveys of *Dumagat* chieftains claimed 18 *Dumagat* groups or communities all over the province Bulacan and divided them into five (5) large clusters^{xxx}. Both surveys showed the indigenous peoples were categorized all together as one group, *Dumagat*. The IP's were not grouped according to their ethnolinguistic origin or language group. Other methodology should be used to properly account the exact number of population of L1 speakers for both *Southern Alta* and *Umiray Dumaget*, including the growing number of *Remontado Dumagat*.

Southern Alta resides in *transprovincial* or *transmunicipal*^{xxxi} territories meaning the people cross geo-political boundaries. Each individual and family should be properly documented with the use of time-tested linguistic methodologies so that the local and national government as well as its allied institutions and agencies can identify the degree of language loss (in the linguistic sense), and the extent of assistance for each family including the community where each family lives.

1.6.5 A search for Negrito's ancestral code^{xxxii}

Like any other language documentation project, the case of *Casiguran Agta* showed a record of the linguistic practices and traditions of a speech community (Headland, 2010). A grammatical sketch including five reading primers and three story books for literacy and educative programs, another primer for health and illness published from 1965 to 1979, created “a lasting, multipurpose record of *the* language construed as an ancestral code” and has collected “specimens of observable linguistic behavior, i.e. examples of how the people actually communicate with each other” (Himmelmann 2006, as cited in Woodbury, 2011). Documenting how people talk in their language “gives a privilege glimpse into a segment of the world’s past biodiversity and how local people’s

knowledge of it has been elaborated culturally” (Dobrin & Berson, 2011). Headland (2010) described:

There are 21 names for types of hunting arrows... 45 different verbs that mean ‘to fish’, and 14 verbs ‘to go hunting’, etc. Some of these lexical sets have a generic cover term. For example, *pana* is the generic term for all types of hunting arrows. But other terms, specifically the verbs for ‘to fish’ and ‘to hunt’ have no generic. Thus, one cannot simply say, ‘I’m going hunting’. Rather, you must state one of the fourteen specific verbs for the action, depending on whether you are going alone or with another person, using dogs or not, lying in ambush for game or walking as you hunt, whether you are going at daytime or night, whether you lie in wait for game up in a tree or on the ground, etc. (pp. 113-114)

Today, younger generation of *Casiguran Agta* are far different than before. Beginning with the changes in their lifestyle, their language has also degenerated. Headland (2010) ascertained that “many ancestral ways of speaking such as the art and practice of hunting has been forgotten”.

Another important fact appeared in Reid (2007b; 2013). He provided linguistic evidence of possible non-Austronesian lexical elements in Philippine Negrito languages. The most important was the naming practices of both Negrito and non-Negrito peoples, and the relative position of Negrito in relation with other groups within the subfamily, many of these languages showed to be first order branches, suggesting early separation from the people whose language they first acquired. Basing from these few accounts (Headland 2010; Reid, 2007b; 2013), they may well be subsumed that the documentations of the ancestral code, given the right conditions, may help trace Philippine Negrito’s linguistic history and may provide clues why all Negritos gave up their original languages in favor of the language of the in-migrating Austronesian.

1.7 Review of related literature on Philipine languages

1.7.1 **Universals of Philippine Languages**

All Philippine languages have the three vowel system high front and back vowels and one central open vowel. Glottal stop [?] is present in most Philippine languages whether vowel-initial (e.g. *Tagalog ?a.ko?* ‘me’) or open-final syllable (e.g. *Tagalog ba.ta?* ‘boy’). However, the initial glottal stop does not appear in standard written orthographies. Syllable patterns are (C)V and (C)V(C). According to Himmelmann (2005), “Philippine languages provide the most significant exception to the generalization that stress is non-distinctive”. In most of these languages, “stress placement is not predictable and may occur on either the penultimate or the ultimate syllable” (p. 117). All (or nearly all) Philippine languages are verb-initial or more accurately, predicate-initial (Blust, 2013, p. 62; Dita, 2014b). The four basic morphosyntactic functions in a clause consist of the verb or predicate (V), subject (S), object (O), and non-subject argument or adjunct (A). Dita (2014) explained that the order of arguments in post-predicate position is essentially free. In particular, the subject (S) may intervene between predicate (V) and adjunct (A), resulting in a VSO word order.

1.7.2 **Philippine endangered languages**

Each minor Philippine language could be considered an “endangered language” (Quakenbush, 2005, p. 12). Vanoverbergh’s *Kankanay* dictionary (1933) is the first published dictionary of an endangered Philippine language^{xxxiii}. In some instances, dictionary production are not wide-spread because of the limited number of users. Although efforts on describing Philippine minor languages have started since the 1930’s, there was “a steady increase in publications from 1960s onwards” (Quakenbush, 2005, p.

13). Thomas Headland conducted one of the earliest studies on Philippine Negrito languages particularly the *Casiguran Agta* (Headland & Wolfender, 1967; Headland & Headland, 1974; Headland & Healey, 1974) and other Negrito communities in the archipelago. Headland (2003; 2010) provided a sociolinguistic and anthropological survey to determine the language conditions of Philippine Negritos. He explained why the thirty Negrito languages in the Philippines were endangered, and what the projected future for these numerically tiny post-foraging societies in the 21st century. His study included a review of the population sizes, interethnic human rights problems, and the environmental destruction of the rainforests of these marginalized peoples. The study exemplified a case of the *Casiguran Agta* where the author surmised that one of the causes of language shift and loss among the new generations of *Casiguran Agta* was the changing lifestyle of the ethnolinguistic community.

Cucchiara and Liu (2015) provided another view on language endangerment. They strongly claimed that poverty and globalization are working together to produce a detrimental synergistic effect on the vanishing languages of the Philippines. They explained why some Filipinos like the case of *Casiguran Dumagat* abandon their native language to ‘accommodate’ the growing demands and changes in the working environment. The study described the depth of that ill effect, the various programs and organizations that are working to reverse it, and provided additional recommendations of the things the Philippine government and the people can do to save the remaining languages.

McHenry, Anwar-McHenry, Balilla, and Parkinson (2013) studied the *Aeta Magbukún* of Bataan in Luzon and how they were threatened by the expansion of agriculture and urban development by non-*Aetas*, primarily the majority *Tagalog*

population. The loss of their rights in their ancestral domains was associated with other political, social, economic and cultural repercussion. And these may result in the eventual loss of their language.

1.7.2.1 Assessing language endangerment

Ethnologue (Lewis et al., 2016) listed the status of each language in each country. The *Status* element of a language reported two types of information. The first was the estimate of the overall development versus endangerment of the language using the Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS). The second was a categorization of the *Official Recognition* to a language within the country. *Ethnologue*'s Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS) levels are designed to largely coincide with Fishman's Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale, or GIDS (Lewis et al., 2016).

Ethnologue refers users to Fishman's work for an orientation to this approach in evaluating endangerment, and to the original work of Lewis and Simons' EGIDS (2010) for the rationale behind the development of the expanded framework (Lewis et al., 2016). If a language has an official function within a country or is specifically recognized in legislation, the entry for the language includes a description of the nature of its recognition. When that recognition is by statute, the specific law is also cited. *Ethnologue* lists and defines (with examples) the fourteen language recognition categories that are used. Lewis et al. (2018) adapted the general framework described by Cooper in 1989 and Stewart in 1968 to identify the official function of languages in a country such as statutory, working, and symbolic official languages.

In retrospect, Himmelmann (2005), Blust (2013) and Dita (2014b) provided an overview of the general linguistic features of Philippine languages. Quakenbush (2005) and Thomas Headland with many known authors (Headland & Wolfender, 1967; Headland & Headland, 1974; Headland & Healey, 1974) elaborated current trends on Philippine minor languages and Negrito languages. Headland (2003; 2010) gathered sociolinguistic and demographic survey to determine language endangerment of Philippine Negrito languages. Headland (2003; 2010), Cucchiara and Liu (2015), and McHenry et al. (2013) elaborated the different factors that might cause language loss in Philippine Negrito communities. Finally, Lewis et al. (2018) provided the tools for assessing language the vitality of the language, Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS) levels. It is designed to largely coincide with Fishman's Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale, or GIDS which measures the level of endangerment.

1.7.3 Literature review on Philippine Negritos

Early studies on Philippine Negritos since Spanish times are mere ethnographic descriptions of their demography, physical appearance, and ways of living. Blust (2013) cited G.S. Maceda's Philippine Negritos in Famy published in 1935 and after more than twenty years, it was followed by J.M. Garvan's *Negritos of the Philippines* published in 1963 (Reid, 1991). The latter covered a much wider scope, and it described the cultural symbiosis with the dominant agricultural Filipinos. In 1965, M.N. Maceda wrote about the culture of *Mamanua* (also spelled as *Mamanwa*) as compared with that of the other Negritos of Southeast Asia (Reid, 2013). Apparently, the most comprehensive was R. Fox and E. Flory's *The Filipino People* published in 1974, and one of the sought after

reference about Philippine society and its people including the Philippine Negritos (Reid, 1987; 1989; 1991; 1994a; 1994b). The anthropological study of Vanoverbergh in 1937 of *Kasiguranin*, a *Casiguran Dumagat* dialect of Eastern Luzon, included some word lists and a linguistic analysis. He found out that pronouns, case markers, and verb affixation of this language were almost identical to *Tagalog* (as cited in Reid, 2007b, p. 23). In 1956, the anthropologist Robert B. Fox collected a 206-item wordlist at a place called *Ditayilin*. Apparently, it was the same area that Vanoverbergh has visited, now, referred to as Northern Alta (Reid, 1991).

There are only a few published literature surveying Philippine Negritos, or their languages, as a whole. Most of the works on Philippine Negritos are limited to phonemic inventories or initial grammatical analysis surveyed by SIL fieldworkers. However, two published works on Philippine Negrito languages, one in *Casiguran (Dumagat)* and the other, *Mamanwa*, were mentioned frequently in Philippine minority languages and Philippine Negrito literature. Headland and Headland's work on *Casiguran Dumagat* (1974) is a commendable benchmark on language documentation and the other, Miller and Miller's *Mamanwa* texts with grammatical description. The Negrito languages of *Casiguran (Dumagat)* and *Mamanwa* are the first blueprints of how Philippine Negrito and minority languages are documented and described. On the other hand, most of the studies on Philippine Negritos delved on historical-comparative linguistics and internal reconstruction, they served as the jumping board to continue describing other Negrito languages. Other studies focused on language contact and language change (shift), language endangerment, and linguistic theory.

1.7.3.1 Linguistic features

1.7.3.1.1 Phonological system and orthography

Reid (1971a) conducted initial linguistic description of unpublished works on some Negrito languages with the use of expanded wordlists (Reid, 1971b). These were the *Central Cagayan Agta, Atta Pamplona, Dumagat Casiguran, Mamanwa, and Ata Manobo*. In a follow-up study of Reid (1973), *Batak, Casiguran Dumagat, and Umiray Dumaget* languages were added in the diachronic and synchronic analysis of the phonological system of the 73 surveyed languages of the Philippines. All data came from the published works of SIL-Philippines. Other Negrito languages, *Ayta Abellen* (SIL-International, 2015) and *Ayta Mag-Anchi* (SIL-International, 2015) Negrito phonologies and orthographies, appeared recently in the SIL Website. Other types of publication on Negrito languages were also published, Nitsch (2009) wrote a comprehensive volume on the phonology of *Ayta Abellen*, Robinson (2008) on *Dupanigan Agta*; Headland and Headland (1974) on *Casiguran Dumagat*; and Miller and Miller (1991) on *Mamanwa*.

In summary, Negrito languages inventories range from 17- 25 phonemes. *Ayta Abellen* language is the least with 17 phonemes while *Casiguran Dumagat* has 25 phonemes. The latter has the most number of phonemes among Negrito languages and the only language in the Philippines that has an eight-vowel system.

Almost all Negrito languages have four-vowel system, /i/, /u/, /e/, /a/. *Batak* lacks /e/, while *Ayta Abellen* and *Mamanwa* lacks vowel /u/ in each vowel inventories. On the other hand, other Negrito languages have more vowel inventories: central vowel or mid vowel is present in *Central Cagayan Agta, Casiguran Dumagat, Mamanwa, Batak, Botolan Sambal*, ē is present in *Casiguran Dumagat* and *Ayta Mag-Anchi*; and ð in *Casiguran Dumagat*.

Almost all Negrito languages have voiceless stops /p/, /t/, /k/, /ʔ/ and voiced stops /b/, /d/, /g/; nasals /m/, /n/, /ŋ/; alveolar voiceless fricatives /s/ (except *Ayta Abellen*), lateral /l/; glides /w/ and /y/; and /h/ (except *Atta Pamplona and Batak*); trill /r/ (except *Central Cagayan Agta and Ayta Abellen*).

The Negrito languages such as *Agta* (Central Cagayan), *Atta Pamplona*, *Batak*, *Mamanwa*, (*and Sambal Botolan*), *Ata Manobo*, *Casiguran Dumagat*, *Ayta Abellen*, *Ayta*, *Mag Anchi*, *Ayta*, *Mag-Indi*, *Dupaninan Agta*, *Umiray Dumaget* showed contrast between voiced and voiceless stops at three points of articulation bilabial (p/b), alveolar (t/d), and velar (k/g). Majority of Philippine languages had the same analysis in Reid (1973).

Later on, the phonological descriptions of some Philippine Negrito languages led to the development of their orthographies. These helped foster their culture and language, and became the main source for educational materials of Negrito communities. They are the *Dupaninan Agta* (SIL-International, 2015), *Atta Pamplona* (SIL-International, 2015), *Ayta Abellen* (SIL-International, 2015), *Ayta Mag-Anchi* (SIL-International, 2015), *Ayta Mag-Indi* (Green & Stone, 2013), *Batak* (SIL-International, 2015), and *Umiray Dumaget* (SIL-International, 2015).

1.7.3.1.2 Pronominal systems

Reid (1971) provided comparable data on the demonstrative pronouns of 41 Philippine languages; however, only 5 Negrito languages (*Central Cagayan Agta*, *Atta Pamplona*, *Dumagat Casiguran*, *Mamanwa*, *and Ata Manobo*) were included. *Central Cagayan Agta* and *Atta Pamplona* had a four-way deictic distinction: 1) this, 2) that (by you), 3) that (by third person), 4) far distant/out of sight. *Dumagat Casiguran*, *Mamanwa*

and (*Ata*) *Manobo* had three-way deictic distinction. However, *Pamplona Atta* (Northern Cagayan Negrito) language had phonemic similarity or overlap in the shapes of words.

Reid (1987; 1991; 1994b; 2007) explored the pronominal systems of Negrito languages vis-à-vis other neighboring Philippine languages or subfamilies. Reid (1987) showed a possible reconstruction of nominative pronouns of some Negrito languages and their relationship with other Negrito groups or non-Negrito languages (e.g. *Sinauna* nominative pronouns vis-à-vis *Kapampangan*, *Botolan Sambal*, and *Tagalog*). He studied their pronominal systems to develop hypotheses on language contact between Negrito and non-Negrito and to trace the conditions why Negrito languages have similar linguistic features with their Austronesian speaking neighbors. Reid (2007) consisted of the latter study and showed additional evidence for retention of a non-Austronesian substratum in the languages of the Negrito groups. The study dealt with the patterns of Negrito's relationship with farmers, especially the competing patterns of close association with and avoidance of farmers, as revealed from the types of linguistic relationship that hold between the two groups. Reid (1991) compared Proto-Alta nominative pronouns with reconstructed Cordilleran nominative pronouns (Proto-Cordilleran, Proto-Central Cordilleran, and Proto-Cordilleran) to determine the Alta languages immediate genetic relationship. Reid (1994b) showed patterns of language contact between Negrito communities with non-Negrito neighboring agricultural communities. He also explained the different conditions during the periods of isolation when the Negrito languages diverged from those of their neighbors.

Liao (2005) re-examined the status of the so-called genitive “pronouns” in *Central Cagayan Agta*. She found out that “the forms behave not only like clitic pronouns, but also like agreement features”. She explained that “they were like clitics because they

exhibited a relatively low degree of selection with respect to their host”. However, they were also like agreement features in that “they exhibit both morphophonological idiosyncrasies and semantic idiosyncrasies”.

1.7.3.1.3 Other studies on Philippine Negrito languages

Only a few studies were done on Philippine Negrito languages through the years. Four studies delved on the linguistic or grammatical features of Philippine Negrito languages, first is *Ayta Mag-anchi* (Johnson, 2006), second, *Arta* (Kimoto, 2013; 2017), Sambalic languages (Stone, 2008), and Northern Alta (Garcia-Laguia, 2017). Other studies involved linguistic methods or approaches such as matrix permutation and conflation on *Atta* pronouns (Lusted, Reid, & Whittle, 1964), tagmemic approach on *Mamanwa* verbals (Miller, 1964), and the last, a statistical approach on six distinct Negrito languages in the Zambales mountains (Wimbish, 1986).

Johnson (2006) examined the forms of reduplication found in the *Ayta Mag-anchi*. This reduplication falls into two main categories: 1) that which is currently active in the language, functioning as an inflection or derivation, and 2) that which is fossilized in the present-day language - no longer functioning as an inflection or derivation, but fixed as a permanent part of an *Ayta* root. The currently active reduplication is found to have two main forms, but with a lot of overlap in function. The fossilized reduplication is found to co-occur with some other interesting fossilized morphological patterns. However, some questions of origin were left unanswered.

Kimoto (2013) made a preliminary grammatical description of Arta language, a highly endangered Philippine Negrito language in the province of Quirino. The study provided an analysis of the phonology, including segmental phonology and syllable

structure, morphosyntactic structures, and their functions, typological characterizations, major word classes, and the case marking system, the structure of the pronoun and determiner systems, and finally, the structures of predicates, clause, and complex sentences.

Stone (2008) examined current lexical data from the Sambalic languages and to ascertain lexical similarity with *Kapampangan* and *Ivatan* as well as to LWCs (Languages of Wider Communication) *Ilokano* and *Tagalog*. It gave a clearer picture of the similarity of Sambal languages to neighboring languages as well as to one member of the Bashiic family (*Ivatan*). The study also compared the Sambal languages with one another to examine the subgroupings of the Sambalic language family.

Lusted, Whittle and Reid (1964) used matrix permutation and conflation on *Atta* pronouns while Miller (1964) utilized the tagmemic approach on *Mamanwa* verbals. The former showed that by using the techniques of matrix permutation and conflation, the ranking of pronouns, and a display of their internal structure was entirely possible. It has demonstrated how it was accomplished for the *Atta* pronouns and it has showed how on the basis of these matrices meanings can be attributed to each of the pronoun formatives. Miller (1964) described the grammatical structure of the *Mamanwa* verbal clause using the tagmemic approach developed by Kenneth Pike in the early 60's. The tagmeme is the correlation of a grammatical function or slot with a class of mutually substitutable items occurring in that slot. This slot-class correlation has a distribution within the grammatical hierarchy of a language.

Wimbish (1986) conducted a survey gathering word lists from 40 locations in the Zambales Mountains of the Philippines, for statistical comparison, resulted in the definition of six distinct Negrito languages: *Abelen*, *Mag-anchi*, *Aberlen*, *Mag-indi*,

Ambala, and *Mabeken*. With the use of a computer program, WORDSURV, designed for word list comparison, an *Ayta* language tree was generated based on shared cognate percentages. The language tree identified the locations of each of the six languages and four trade languages (*Sambal*, *Kapangan*, *Tagalog*, and *Ilocano*).

The latest so far is a language documentaton and description of Northern Alta. Garcia-Laguia (2017) is continually documenting the Northern Alta in Baler, Quezon through digital documentation (audio and video) of the language and archiving them in an open access repository. The documentation of the language is geared toward full grammatical description of its grammar and other linguistic features.

1.7.3.2 Language mapping

In 1962, Richard Elkins devised a wordlist to be used by SIL in dialect survey work of Philippine minor languages (Reid, 1971a, p. viii). It is used to determine the boundaries between and among languages and ethnolinguistic communities. The wordlist helped describe the geographical boundaries of various ethnolinguistic communities in the Philippines. Reid (1987; 1989; 1991) focused first on the inherited vocabularies of Philippine Negritos to determine the subgrouping relationships with other Negrito languages of northern Luzon vis-a-vis non-Negrito languages.

1.7.3.3 Language contact and change

Reid (1987) hypothesized conditions of prehistoric interaction as a cause for language change, between farming groups and early inhabitants and presented a number of possible scenarios to account for the different types of relationship between them. Five possible scenarios were discussed 1) relatively-recent hypothesis, 2) relatively-remote-

with-continual-contact-hypothesis, 3) relatively-remote-with-cyclic-contact-with-the-same-language-hypothesis, 4) relatively-remote-with-cyclic-contact-with-a-different-language, 5) relatively-remote-with-little-subsequent-intimate-contact-hypothesis. The cognates of basic vocabulary to extract phonological, morphological and lexical innovations (pronouns, case makers and verb affixation) and intelligibility tests were used to determine which among the five hypotheses each Negrito group can be hypothetically classified. Example of the first and second scenario was Atta, a Negrito in Northern Cagayan Province, shares 91 % of its vocabulary with its closest neighbour, *Ibanag*, and their languages were said to be mutually intelligible, secondly, Atta Negrito had a large number of Spanish loans which were borrowed from *Ibanag*. *Casiguran Dumagat*, *Palanan Dumagat* and *Southeastern Cagayan Negrito* were described as belonging to the third hypothesis. *Sinauna* and *Alta* were of the fourth, while *Arta*, *Umiray Dumaget*, and *Inati* were possibly of the fifth hypothesis. He claimed that “the languages started off as pidgins, and over the thousands of years since then, they have acquired all the grammatical paraphernalia of Philippine languages”.

To support his hypothesis, Reid conducted a separate study on Arta (1989) and Alta (1991). Reid (1989) examined the Arta reflexes of the PMP reconstructions Blust's (1981) modified Hudson list. The result showed eight percent fewer than any other Philippine languages. Reid concluded that the low percentage of shared inherited lexicon, and the fact that it did not share certain phonological innovations found in all other Northern, Central, and Southern Cordilleran languages, clearly indicated a long period of independent development that the language has undergone. Independent development did not mean that the language has existed in isolation from their neighbors. On the contrary, evidence showed that there were large bodies of vocabulary in the language, providing

evidence from continuing close social and economic relationships between these groups.

Although *Ilokano* is the major trade language in all of Northern Luzon, it also affected the language in various ways. The possibility that *Arta* was closely related genetically to *Ilokano* than to any other languages in the north of the Philippine could not be completely ignored. These Negrito did not reflect *R as r (and probably g) in the same way as *Ilokano* does, and as *Arta* does. The limited number of data (213 wordlists) would infer insufficient; however, he admittedly explained the subgrouping of *Arta* was considered tentative.

Reid (1991) examined the degree of lexical relationship that Northern and Southern Alta hold each other and with surrounding languages. He also examined the phonological, lexical and morphological innovations that were used to determine their immediate genetic relationship. Reid have examined the 539 lexical items that were collected and compared with the other word list such as Blust's 1981 modified Hudson word list, McFarland's 1977 wordlist, Reid's expanded wordlists (1971a) and Headland and Headland (1974) (as cited in Reid, 1991, p. 4). In summary, the evidence showed that Northern and Southern Alta were distinct and distantly related languages. The Alta languages formed a single coordinate to their parent language, the Meso-Cordilleran languages. The closest genetic relationships of the Alta languages were with the South-Central Cordilleran languages. However, the degree of relationship with the South-Central Cordilleran languages, although clearly established, was remote. The parents of the two subgroups, Proto-Alta and Proto-South-Central Cordilleran were sister languages, daughters of a Proto-Meso-Cordilleran. There had considerable interaction over long periods of time with other language groups. This was especially clear with regards to Northern Alta and *Casiguran Dumagat*, although the evidence showed previously

unrecognized lexical links between and among all of the Negrito languages of Northern Luzon.

Reid (1994b) explained contact-induced language change in relation to Philippines colonial history (Spanish and American occupation), trading relationship with Chinese and Malays, establishment of trading enclaves and marriage with Chinese, the political and economic hegemony of Muslim Sultanate, the development of the trade language such as Ilokano in the Northern Philippines and Cebuano in the Visayas and Midanao in the south, and the introduction of Filipino as the medium for education in all Philippine schools. All of these resulted in extensive borrowings from the ‘colonial’ languages into the languages of those geographical areas.

He explained that subsequent linguistic history of Negrito groups revealed a checkered pattern of contact with a variety of languages, corresponding not only to the poorly perceived movements of the agricultural communities. They must have lived among, but also to their periods of relative isolation when their own languages diverged from those of their neighbors. Contacts have been apparently maintained also with other Negrito groups, mutually affecting each other’s language, and possibly the result of intermarriages between groups. The study summarized the evidence for genetic relationships of Arta and Alta languages, and extended the discussion to cover borrowed lexical items which revealed something of the contacts that these languages had with other ethnolinguistic groups. In addition to the understanding, the study included language subgrouping in the north of the Philippines, and what distinguished each of these groups. North Luzon or Cordilleran all belong to a single language family. There were two major branches in this language family, one is called Northern Cordilleran and the other, Meso-Cordilleran. All languages of the former descended from an early language in which **R*

became g. The parent language of the latter and all of the daughter languages changed *R to l. *Ilokano* did not belong to this group. It may be closely related to the Meso-Cordilleran family, or it may be a separate branch of Cordilleran.

Reid (1994a) considered the implications for language contact of borrowed vocabulary in the Negrito languages. He then theorized a pre-Austronesian linguistic substratum (Reid, 1987; 1994a). To prove this, Reid (1994a) examined the vocabulary that is neither clearly inherited nor borrowed from non-Negrito languages, but that appeared to be unique to one or more of the Negrito language. These significant unique terms in Negrito languages came from the environment in which Negritos presumably lived and which tend to be culture specific (for example, *rattan*, *abaca*, *betel leaf* etc.) or “secret” language (such as *vagina*, *penis*, and so forth), and many of which was shared exclusively among Negrito languages. These may possibly constitute an early Negrito substratum in these languages. He claimed that these forms were potential evidence of an early pidgin or trade language, subsequently creolized, which was developed by the Negritos to facilitate communication with in-migrating Austronesians. Evidence showed that some lexical items of apparently very early Austronesian terms retained in the Negrito languages that were lost in most of the non-Negrito languages of the Philippines, or retained only in geographically very distant languages.

Reid (2007) was a summary of his previous articles on Philippine Negritos. He provided a discussion of the demographic ranges of the extant Negrito groups including the different views as to the time depth of the prehistoric relationship of Negrito groups with in-migrating Neolithic Austronesian speakers to the Philippines. It also dealt with patterns of their relationship with farmers, specifically the competing patterns of close association with and avoidance of farmers, as revealed from the type of linguistic

relationship that held between the two groups. It also showed evidence of retention of non-Austronesian substratum in the languages of Negrito groups. These included the coastal sea-faring Negritos of northeast Luzon and the linguistic evidence they have had on farmer populations of the area.

1.7.3.4 Language shift and endangerment

Hugo Schuchardt (1884) (as cited in Lucas, 2015) famously opined that “no language is entirely free of influence from other languages”. A language seems to attract other speakers of other languages, and to facilitate understanding both languages accommodate one another until one language dominates the other or one mixes with another dominant or less dominant language. Language changes through a transition process such as borrowing and code-switching. The start of lexical borrowing will eventually leads to even bigger chunks of words or phrases. In some cases, phonological innovations gets in between, but a total lost or shift of a least dominating language is a future candidate for language endangerment or death.

In retrospect, Blust (2013) and Reid (1987; 1989; 1991; 1994a; 1994b; 2007b; 2013) provided a general overview on the linguistic origin of Philippine Negrito languages, genetic relationships, external language influences, and historical linguistics between Negrito and non-Negrito languages. Reid (1971a) provided linguistic information on most of the Philippine minor languages including some Negrito languages with the use of expanded wordlists (Reid, 1971b) to determine dialect boundaries and mutual intelligibility of neighboring Philippine languages. Reid (1971b) helped developed the phonology and orthography of most Philippine minor languages. Reid

(1973) studied the diachronic and synchronic analysis of the phonological system which included three (3) Negrito languages.

Reid (1971b; 1973; 1987; 1991; 1994b; 2007) explored the linguistic typology on vowels and pronouns of Philippine Negrito languages. In addition, Reid (1971b) provided comparable data on the demonstrative pronouns of Philippine minor languages including five (5) Negrito languages. Reid (1987; 1991; 1994b; 2007) explored the pronominal systems of Negrito languages vis-à-vis other neighboring Philippine languages or subfamilies. Liao (2005) re-examined the status of the so-called genitive “pronouns” in Central Cagayan Agta. Johnson (2006) found out forms of reduplication in *Ayta Maganchi* language. Kimoto (2013) conducted a preliminary study on the grammar of Arta while and Garcia-Laguia (2017) has been documenting the Northern Alta. In addition to comparing Sambalic languages with neighboring languages like *Kapampangan*, *Tagalog*, and *Ilokano*, Stone (2008) showed possible subgroupings within the Sambal language family based on lexical similarity. The studies of Lusted, Reid, & Whittle (1964), Miller (1964), Wimbish (1986), and Reid (1971b) helped develop linguistic methods and approaches are

1.8 Language documentation and description (or Documentary Linguistics)

Language documentation is basically a recording of a language. The description is quite simple and direct, although the practice has evolved and it may seem to be quite similar even to this modern day. With the domination and spread of technology and its implication to social diversity, many linguists sought a modern view of language documentation which is fitting in the 21st century and is anchored on solid empirical and theoretical grounds. It should not only conform to simply “documenting a language or

language description which has its roots from the American tradition of creating the “Holy Trinity” of language documentation (text, grammar, and dictionary). Instead, the newly defined language documentation should help stop the accelerated death of world’s languages and utilize all means to revitalize the remaining languages for many scholarly, academic, educational, and cultural purposes.

Language documentation, according to Himmelmann (2006), “is concerned with the methods, tools, and theoretical underpinning for compiling a lasting, multipurpose record of a natural language or one of its varieties”. Notwithstanding, Woodbury (2011) provided a clarification of the terminology and a newer sense to this field of discipline. “Language documentation or *documentary linguistics* is the creation, annotation, preservation and dissemination of transparent records of a language” (p. 159). He posited that “language documentation as applied to endangered languages is accelerated, enlarged, popularized and transformed” (p. 160). He also theorized that “the sets of records, coherent or not, are often called language documentations, but since that was what we were calling as a whole, he called such sets *language documentary corpora* (or just *corpora*)” (p. 161).

Himmelmann (2006) identified five main characteristics of language documentation that he proposed distinguish it from other approaches to human language. First, language documentation focuses *on primary data*. Language documentation concerns the collection and analysis of an array of primary language data to be made available for a wide range of users. Second, it has *explicit concern for accountability*. The access to primary data and representations of it makes evaluation of linguistic analyses possible and expected. Third, language documentation has *concern for long-term storage and preservation of primary data*. It includes a focus on archiving in order to ensure that

documentary materials were made available to potential users now and into the distant future. Fourth, language documentation works *in interdisciplinary teams*. Documentation requires input and expertise from a range of disciplines and is not restricted to linguistics alone. And lastly, language documentation has *close cooperation with and direct involvement of the speech community*. Language documentation requires active and collaborative work with community members both as producers of language materials and as co-researchers.

Austin (2014) proposed five documentation activities which are identifiable in this approach and which contribute to corpus creation, analysis, preservation and dissemination. These are: 1) *recording* (audio and/or video, field notes, among others), of media and text (including metadata) in context; 2) *transfer*, to a data management environment; 3) *adding value*, consisting of the transcription, translation, annotation and notation and linking of metadata to the recordings; 4) *archiving*, creating archival objects and assigning them access and usage rights; and 5) *mobilization*, for the creation, publication and distribution of outputs, in a range of formats for a range of different users.

Woodbury (2011) explained that “a set of records resulting from an endangered language documentation project could be tailored to certain interests of community members, or of scholars of different kinds, or of public variously conceived”. These could be assembled so as “to tell a specific story, like the images in a photographic essay; comprise samples of talk in a specific community regardless of the language, or follow just one lexico-grammatical code across several communities; comprise samples of different speakers, or speakers of different social categories, or sample different genres; comprise samples of purely naturalistic, fly-on-the-wall records, or records of talk that is

staged in different ways, or both; and comprise samples of speech from one moment in time, or (with the right resources) a sample across time” (p. 161).

1.8.1 Language documentation and description of Philippine languages

SIL Language and Culture Documentation webpage showcases the language and culture of different minority languages and provides information on the ethnolinguistic group’s linguistic vitality and cultural identity, and it serves as stewardship of heritage resources. The website serves as an online repository of languages and cultural practices of ethnolinguistic communities particularly those that are classified as endangered. The institution aims to make a greater corpora of data available on lesser-known—and often endangered—languages and cultures in audio or video, or other media formats. Aside from language and cultural preservation, the site aids academic scholars because of the unique contribution on the knowledge and perspectives of these minority languages that they otherwise bring. SIL also promotes collaborative work which consists of local community members and interested outsider(s) in collecting representative corpus of the ethnolinguistic community’s linguistic and cultural practices. These consist of corpora of recordings together with other informative materials and pictures that are eventually digitally archived, thereby contributing to the availability and long term preservation of this legacy for multiple users and purposes.

SIL Language and Culture Documentation is a multi-disciplinary undertaking which involves aspects of the following: Anthropology, Arts and Ethnomusicology, Dictionaries and Lexicography, Indigenous Health Practices and Knowledge, Language Assessment, Linguistics, Sociolinguistics and many more. The series of documentary work in different fields are products of extensive and intensive fieldwork. These are

primary data which are not limited to wordlists, interlinear text collections, and descriptive papers. Its focus is on dictionary production, orthography development, literacy, translation, and language documentation. Appendixes A, B, and C show the list of Philippine languages in different forms of language documentation and description. Anyone can access the site in this link <http://www.sil.org/language-culture-documentation> (SIL-Philippines, 2016a).

Notwithstanding, Quakenbush (2005) explained that SIL linguists in the Philippines have naturally concentrated its efforts on the minor languages to which its personnel have been assigned. He added that the minor languages could be considered endangered languages. While there was a number of SIL linguists who authored several publications on major languages (*Ilocano*, *Tagalog*, *Hiligaynon*, etc), most of SIL linguists concentrated on minority languages in which syntax, discourse, or lexicography were described.

The manifesto of the Foundation of Endangered Languages (2002) (as cited by Quakenbush, 2005, pp. 12-13) listed three courses of actions to lessen the damage that will accompany the loss of many languages: 1) to document the languages as much as possible, 2) to emphasize particular benefits of the diversity still remaining, and 3) to promote literacy and language maintenance program.

Quakenbush (2005) showed a review of SIL publications on Philippine languages. It revealed that the efforts on the language documentation, description and conservation of Philippine (minority) languages (such as dictionaries and wordlists, overall grammatical sketches or analyses, text and text collections, semantics and translation, literacy related topics) were the highest than areas in theoretical and comparative linguistics.

The webpage, SIL – Philippines Downloads, showed available published SIL materials in more than 80 Philippine languages. These were downloadable publications that can be of use by researchers, learners and many other stakeholders. Along with the print and online publications found on this web site, the site offered data-rich resources on indigenous languages of the Philippines, some of which had little or no information elsewhere. Downloadable files consisted of grammatical sketches, dictionaries, educational materials, primers, ethnographical notes and among others. This link <http://www-01.sil.org/asia/Philippines/pubs.asp?Lang=eng> (SIL-Philippines, 2016b) will direct you to the exact site.

1.8.1.1 Ethnic texts and ethnographic notes

The Linguistic Society of the Philippines (LSP) and SIL are working partners in documenting Philippine languages for many decades (see Appendix A - Grammatical Sketch and Reference Grammars, Appendix B – Dictionaries of Philippine languages, and Appendix C - Language Sources). They have published *data sources* (see Appendix C - Language Sources) to produce language and culture documentations. Examples of these were Supplementary series: Philippine texts, no. 1 – 4. The supplemental series included in some of its pages ethnographic, cultural notes and historical notes, determiners, nominal markers, pronoun chart/ sets, deictic clitics, phonology, morphophonemic rules, linguistic terms and morphological constructions, kinship and social organization, ethnic religion and a grammatical sketch.

Supplementary series: Philippine texts, no. 1 - Upper *Tanudan Kalinga* Texts were compiled by Sherri Brainard. It consisted of 16 ethnolinguistic texts with cultural notes with appendixes on pronoun chart, nominal markers, phonology, and

morphophonemic rules (Brainard, 1985). Supplementary series: Philippine texts, no. 2 - *Central Cagayan Agta* Texts were compiled by Roy Mayfield. It consisted of 11 ethnolinguistic texts with cultural notes with appendixes on *Agta* kinship and social organization, *Agta* religion, and a (tentative) grammatical sketch (Mayfield, 1987a). Supplementary series: Philippine texts, no. 3 – *Dibabawon Manobo* Texts were compiled by Jannette Forster and Myra Lou Barnard. It consisted of 11 texts with ethnolinguistic and linguistic notes (Forster & Barnard, 1987). And Supplementary series: Philippine texts, no. 4 - *Guinaang Kalinga* Texts were compiled by Richard Gieser. It consisted of 22 texts with ethnolinguistic and linguistic notes and appendixes ethnographic notes, historical notes, phonology, morphophonemics, pronoun sets, determiners, and deictic clitics, linguistic terms, and morphological constructions (Gieser, 1987).

1.8.1.2 Reference grammars or grammatical sketches

Appendix A presents a list of published grammatical sketches or reference grammars of major and minor Philippine languages published from 1967 to the present. Elkins' Major Grammatical Patterns of *Western Bukidnon Manobo* (1967) is the first Philippine language with a “sketch grammar”, and it is also the first in all minority Philippine languages. The first reference grammar of a major language is Schachter and Otanes' *Tagalog Reference Grammar* published in 1974 followed by *A Reference Grammar of Ilokano* (Rubino, 1997), *Functional Reference Grammar of Cebuano* (Tanangkingsing M. , 2009), *A Reference Grammar of Ibanag* (Dita S. , 2007), *A Contemporary Grammar of Hiligaynon* (Santos, 2012), *Grammar and Discourse Features of Contemporary Pangasinan* (Dizon Jr., 2013).

Headland and Healey (1974) published the Grammatical Sketch of Casiguran Dumagat, the first grammatical sketch of a Philippine Negrito language. It aimed to establish the mutual intelligibility of *Casiguran Dumagat* with other known languages in Luzon, and secondly, it examined Philippine Negrito groups that had close contact with *Casiguran Dumagat*. This work has resulted to the publication of Headland and Headland's *Dumagat (Casiguran)* – English Dictionary (1974) and other related publications for language maintenance. The second is Antworth's Grammatical Sketch of Botolan Sambal published in 1979. Then, after more than 20 years was Miller and Miller's *Mamanwa* (1991), Robinson's *Dupanigan Agta: Grammar, Vocabulary and Text* (2008), Nitsch's *Some Ayta Abenlen Grammar* (2009), and lastly, an online sketch grammar of R. Stone & W. Nitsch's *An introduction to Abellen Morphology and Syntax* (2015). Recent studies on *Umiray Dumaget* and a new-found Negrito language, *Manide*, were done by Lobel (2013; 2010).

1.8.1.3 Dictionaries

Appendix B presents a list of published dictionaries of Philippine languages. William's English-Ilocano manual and dictionary is the first published bilingual of a major Philippine language. The publication started from the late 1920s. Hendrickson and Newell (1991) presented a complete list of dictionaries and wordlist of Philippine languages from Spanish times to the 1990's. It provided a brief history of Philippine lexicography and Philippine bibliographies, and the list was arranged according to compilers and according to languages.

Dictionaries published by SIL came with different purposes which intended to cater a particular user (monolingual) to various language learners (bilingual, multilingual,

or student's dictionary). The contents of every dictionary were varied. Each may include grammatical sketch, phonology, indexes or translation to other language(s), ethnographic notes, and ethnic terms on flora and fauna, hunting and fishing equipment, agricultural implements, weapons and house hold items. Examples of published dictionaries of Philippine minor languages are *Agutaynen* - English dictionary (Caabay & Melvin, 2014), *Batad Ifugao* Dictionary (Newell & Poligon, 2014) , *Binukid* Dictionary (Post & Gradner, 1992), *Manobo* Dictionary (*Manobo* as spoken in the Agusan river valley and the *Diwata* mountain range) (Gelacio, Lee, & Schumacher, 2000), *Mapun* - English Dictionary (Collins & Collins, 2001), *Masbatenyo*-English Dictionary (Wolfenden, 2001), *Romblomanon* Dictionary (Newell & Tarbadilla, 2006), *Tausug* - English Dictionary: *Kabtangan Iban Maana* (Hassan, Ashley, & Ashley, 1994), *Tboli* - English Dictionary (Awed, Underwood, & Van Wijnen, 2004), *Tuwali Ifugao* dictionary and grammatical sketch (Hohulin & Hohulin, 2014) and *Yakan* – English Dictionary (Behrens, 2002). Online versions are also available through its website. A complete list is presented in Appendix B – Dictionaries of Philippine languages.

1.8.1.4 Literary and literacy

An essential part of language documentation is the recording, restoration, production and revival of the culture, oral tradition and language of ethnolinguistic groups. The efforts in documentation should transcend to the new generations of native speakers, relive the cultural heritage, invigorate language use, and help reconstruct what is left. This has also become a big source of information and linguistic analysis for the description of the ethnic language. Among other educational and learning institutions, SIL has published literature (spoken and written) for cultural dissemination and literacy

programs. Some published works were *An Anthology of Ilianen Manobo Folktales* (Wrigglesworth, 1981), *Good Character and Bad Character: The Manobo Storytelling Audience as Society's Jurors* (Wrigglesworth & Mengsenggilid, 1993), *Narrative Episodes from the Tulalang Epic* (Wrigglesworth, Ampalid, Andaguer, & Ampangan, 2008), *The Singing Rooster: A Manobo Chief Emphasizes the Manobo Work Ethic* (Wrigglesworth, Zacharias, Ansulang, Ampalid, & Mengsenggilid, 2009), *The Song from the Mango Tree: A Manobo Raconteur Introduces His Repertoire of Oral Literature with a Favourite Trickster Narrative* (Wrigglesworth & Ampalid, 2004), *A Voice From Many Rivers: Central Subanen Oral and Written Literature* (translated and annotated by Felicia Brichoux) (Aleo, 2002), *A Voice From Mt. Apo: Oral and Written essays on the Culture and World View of the Manobo Written and Recounted by Manuel Arayam and Others* (translated and annotated by Ena E. Vander Molen) (Arayam, 2005), *A Voice From the Hills: Essays on the Culture and World View of the Western Bukidnon Manobo People Francisco Col-om Polenda*, translated and edited by Richard E. Elkins (Polenda, 1989).

SIL also published *primer(s)* or *language primer(s)* for literacy and educative programs and purposes. These can be used as educational materials in public (or private) schools, or community centers among children or adult indigenous learners. Sometimes, it consisted of series of thin pamphlet-like monographs which consisted of basic wordlist, sketches or drawings, pronunciation and orthographies, and other basic cultural orientation or practices. Some examples were the primers describing the language, the customs and traditions of Casiguran Agta, a primer for health and illness, and a series of levelled reading materials. They were published from 1965 to 1979: *Memahal a Lagip* (Good Stories) (n.d.), *Tu Aso Sakay tu Bakokol* (1965), *Purumeru a Libru a Pegbasaan 1* (1965), *Lagip na Agta* (1965), *Ikatello a Libru a Pegbasaan 3* (1965), *Ikalima a Libru*

a Pegbasaan 5 (1965), *Ikaepat a Libru a Pegbasaan* 4 (1965), *Ikadua a Libru a Pegbasaan* 2 (1965), *Pakodyan tam a Mangibut ta Saket a Tibi* (1969), *Lagip Ni Tariri* (Tariri Story) (1971), *Ugali na Agta* (Customs of the Agta) (1974), *Magadal Kitam a Magbasa* (1979), *Libru a Pegbasaan* (1979). Primers and other educational materials of Philippine minority languages can be accessed and downloaded online at http://www-01.sil.org/asia/phillippines/plb_download.html (SIL-Philippines, 2016b). A list is presented as Appendix C –Language Sources (Ethnographic Notes, Texts, Primer, and Literary, Reading and Educational Materials).

1.8.1.5 Other by-products of language documentation produced for other disciplines and purposes

Aside from cultural and language preservation, our society can learn from vernacular use of plants names (Madulid, 2005), ethnobiology (Ploeg & Weerd, 2010; Headland, 2003; 2010); history, genealogy, philosophy or “world view” (Headland, 2003; 2010); ethnopharmacology and indigenous etiological knowledge and methods (The Agta community in Sition Dipontian, Barangay Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora, PITAH-C-DOH, IHM-NIH-UPM, NCIP, ASCOT, 2011; The Dumagat of Barangay Dibut, San Luis, Aurora, PITAH-C-DOH, IHM-NIH-UPM, NCIP, ASCOT, 2011); travel, basic conversation, and phrase book (Languages of the southern gateway, 1979).

Madulid (2005) claimed that the vernacular use of local plants names has many uses and applications. To name a few, these are used for scientific studies (e.g. plant taxonomy, ethnobotany, phytogeography, anthropology, biology, pharmacology, etc.) and in the fields of linguistics, education, culture and historical studies (as cited in Madulid, 1991) (p. 1). He listed many other applications of vernacular names from

various authors and claimed the “many uses of vernacular plant names should be given due recognition as an important information resource” (as cited in Madulid, 1991) (p. 1).

Similarly, Ploeg & Weerd (2010) together with Agta generated 110 Agta names of bird species in the Northern Sierra Madre Natural Park in northern Luzon, Philippines. The authors contended that indigenous knowledge of birds is not limited to economically important species, as is often assumed. Agta hunters were familiar with most discernible species, but many secretive, silent and montane birds were largely unknown. *Languages of the Southern Gateway* (1979) was a multilingual/ bilingual pocket book. It gave information of each ethnic community including its language and culture. It also provided general information phrases, personal and information phrase, activity phrases, travel phrases, measurement phrases, vocabulary and basic word list.

1.8.2 Language documentation and description of Philippine Negrito languages

Early accounts on Philippine Negritos during Spanish times were mere descriptions of their appearance and ways of living. According to Reid (1991), Macea’s *Dumagats* of Famy (1935) is one of the earliest studies on Philippine Negritos. After two years, Vanoverbergh published *The Negritos of Eastern Luzon* in 1937. A time gap of more than twenty years when Garvan’s *Negritos of the Philippines* was published in 1963. At the later time, Headland and Wolfenden published the vowels of the *Casiguran Dumagat* (1967). In 1974, Fox and Flory published the *Filipino people*, which described the Philippine society and its people including the Philippine Negritos.

The grammatical sketch of *Casiguran Agta* by Headland and Healey’s (1974) is the very first description of a Philippine Negrito grammar. The grammatical sketch was

very significant for two things: one, the study established the mutual intelligibility of *Casiguran Dumagat* with other known languages in Luzon, and two, it examined Philippine Negrito groups that had close contact with *Casiguran Dumagat*. This work brought many publication outputs for language maintenance such as Headland and Headland's *Dumagat (Casiguran) – English Dictionary* (1974) and many more. After more than a decade, Mayfield's *A Tentative Grammatical Survey of Central Cagayan Agta* (1987) was published.

Other publications of grammatical sketches or reference grammars of Negrito languages were published such as *Grammatical Sketch of Botolan Sambal* (Antworth, 1979) and *Mamanwa* (or *Mamanua*) (Miller & Miller, 1991). Apparently, the latter consists of *Mamanua* “texts” but the compilation consisted its phonology, pronominals, verbal affixes, noun phrase markers, morphophonemic alternations, locative chart and deictics. Robinson (2008) provided evidence on the *Dupaninan Agta* spoken in northeastern Luzon. She claimed that the language was endangered, as it was beginning to lose child speakers. The study introduced the situation of the language and discussed phonology (synchronic and historical) and morphosyntax (word order, word classes, the verb complex, aspect, case marking, nominalization, question formation, relative clauses and other essential aspects of *Dupaninan* grammar. The study included a substantial list of vocabularies and a collection of texts. Nitsch (2009) made an initial grammatical sketch of *Ayta Abellen*. Lastly, Stone and Nitsch (2015) documented and published an online app *Introduction to Ayta Abellen Morphology and Syntax*.

Lobel (2010) discovered *Manide* language, a language spoken of about 4,000 indigenous Philippine Negrito living in and around the province of Camarines Norte in the Southern part of northern Philippine island of Luzon. Although the language has been

mentioned in the literature, there has been no available data until recently. Lobel presented and analyzed lexical and functor data, as well as some significant sociolinguistic information about this group. He also examined the *Manide* and *Inagta Alabat* (Lobel, 2013), two previously-undocumented languages that formed a primary branch of the Philippine macrogroup, a reconsideration of the evidence for the position of *Umiray Dumaget*, and a discussion of the *Black Filipinos* (Philippine Negrito) of the Philippines and their languages.

Headland and Headland's *Casiguran-English Dictionary* (1974) is a linguistic landmark on language documentation and description of a Philippine Negrito language. It is the very first Philippine Negrito dictionary. After more than three decades, series of publication on Philippine Negrito dictionaries followed. They are Kurt and Margaret Storck's *Ayta Mag-Antsi Dictionary* (2005), Green and Stone's *Ayta Mag-Indi English Dictionary* (2013), and Stone's *Ayta Abellen-English Dictionary* (2013). Some authors explored the use of modern technology in communication and the internet such *Ayta-Mag-Indi-English* (Green & Stone, 2013) and *Ayta Abellen-English* (Stone, 2013) dictionaries. They were Java Apps that were downloadable online and can be used offline in any electronic devices.

One way of keeping the tradition, survival and potential well-being of language is through literature. Five reading primers (Primer 1, 2, 3, 4, 5) and three story books on *Casiguran Agta* culture and values were published in 1965. In 1969, a primer on tuberculosis was published and followed by publications on Agta customs and values such as *Lagip ni Tariri* (1971) and *Ugali ni Agta* (1974). Two more reading primers (1979) were added to the list.

Other publications in the history, genealogy, philosophy or “world view” (Headland, 2003; 2010); ethnopharmacology and indigenous etiological knowledge and methods (The Agta community in Sition Dipontian, Barangay Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora, PITAHC-DOH, IHM-NIH-UPM, NCIP, ASCOT, 2011; The Dumagat of Barangay Dibut, San Luis, Aurora, PITAHC-DOH, IHM-NIH-UPM, NCIP, ASCOT, 2011);

Headland (2003; 2010) described the *Weltanschauungs* or “world view” of the *Casiguran Agta* through its language. The author gathered all information on ethnolinguistic group’s race and history, naming practices and language; kinship system; folk astronomy; folklore, traditional myths, folktales and traditional music; traditional animistic religion, rituals, and practices; ethnobiology, for medicine, food, ritual, art and social activities; ethnosemantic domains for mountain animals, forest plants, hunting and weaponry, the rattan complex, supernatural spirit beings, types and parts of animal traps and of fire-making kits, types of baskets, names of traditional varieties of rice seed, and many more. He claimed that *Casiguran Agta* had a wide range of vocabulary items for varieties of topics or ethnosemantic domains. The rich folklore was embedded in their traditional myth, ethnic music, and folktales, including their culture, tradition and social practice.

Two Negrito communities with the assistance of different government agencies in health and allied services documented ethnopharmacological knowledge and indigenous healing practices of the *Dumagat* people. One in Barangay Dibut, San Luis, Aurora and the second, in Sitio Dipontian, Barangay Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora. The former documented a total of 68 plants and 3 animal products used for more than 45 medical indications. Ten plants were documented for treating wounds, 7 for fever, and 5 for diarrhea with vomiting. Documentation included the local names, therapeutic

indications, plant parts used, method of preparation, directions for use, precautionary measures, source of information, and other significant data. The plants were identified by their scientific names, where applicable. The latter, a total of 121 plants, 6 animal products, and 6 natural products were documented to be used for 82 medical indications recognized by the community. Eleven (11) plants were reportedly used for post-partum illness, 11 for wounds, and 10 plants for abdominal pain, among others. Documentation included the local names, therapeutic indications, plant/animal parts or natural products used, method of preparation, direction for use, precautionary measures, source of information, and other significant data. The plants were identified by their scientific names whenever applicable.

The *Agta* also shared their indigenous etiological knowledge and the methods they knew to avoid and cure illnesses apart from or with complementary use of herbs. A primary example of this was the *Agta* healer's role in communicating with humans and supernatural beings to heal the sick, if it is identified to have caused the illness.

1.9 Synthesis

The studies mentioned above provided the amount of information to conduct the present study. The 1966 extended wordlist (Reid, 1971b) is *a priori* for linguistic fieldwork: to seek the elements of mutual intelligibility and language boundaries, and to conduct basic linguistic features (phonology, morphology and lexicon). The method was used extensively in more than half of the documented languages of the Philippines including the published works of SIL-Philippines, Headland and Healey (1974), Lobel (2010; 2013), Reid (1971a; 1973; 1987; 1989; 1991; 1994a), Mayfield (1987a; 1987b), and Miller and Miller (1991).

Modern methodologies in linguistics were utilized to elevate on higher ground the present condition of linguistic fieldwork in the Philippine. A modified wordlists and sentences were used by Lobel (2010; 2013). Historical phonology, functors analysis and lexicon were explored (Robinson, 2008; Lobel 2010; 2013). Sociolinguistic and anthropological surveys to determine language vitality and endangerment were done by Headland (2003; 2010) while documentation in botany were done by Madulid (2005). And of course, ethnography was used by Headland and Healey (1974), Lobel (2010; 2013), Robinson (2008) and almost all fieldwork researchers.

Much of the studies were anchored on contact-induced language change. Reid (1979; 1982; 1992; 2002; 2006; 2007a) provided explanation on certain linguistic phenomena (degree of bilingualism or multilingualism, pidgin and creole, and lectal patterns) of Philippine Negrito languages. Studies on some linguistic features of Philippine languages was used as future reference Johnson (2006), Kimoto (2013), Garcia-Laguia (2017), Nitsch (2009), and Stone and Nitsch (2015).

On language documentation and description, SIL – Philippines website showed the list of published works on Philippine languages, linguistics and culture, mostly on minor languages all over the archipelago. Other ‘paper’ publications including the Supplementary series: Philippine texts, no. 1 – 4 were used. The supplemental series included in some of its pages ethnographic, cultural notes and historical notes, kinship and social organization, ethnic religion and a (tentative) grammatical sketch and other linguistic features. The series served as benchmarks on primary data, and provided initial language and cultural information. Eventually, they became sources of grammatical sketches, and many more (Headland & Healey, 1974; Mayfield, 1987a; 1987b). While other authors published the grammatical sketches (Miller & Miller 1991; Nitsch (2009);

Stone & Nitsch (2015); Robinson, 2008), and others kept the source texts unpublished or archived for other academic use.

Other by-products of language documentation were dictionaries (Hendrickson & Newell, 1991; Agutaynen-English dictionary, Caabay & Melvin, 2014, among others), *language primers* (Memahal a Lagip (Good Stories) (n.d.), *Tu Aso Sakay tu Bakokol* (1965), *Purumeru a Libru a Pegbasaan 1* (1965), travel book (languages of the southern gateway, 1979), ethnobiology (Ploeg & Weerd, 2010; Headland (2003, 2010), history, genealogy, ethnobiology and philosophy or “world view” (Headland, 2010; 2010) ethnopharmacological knowledge and indigenous healing practices.

1.10 Statement of the problem

Based from the aforementioned literature on Southern Alta, there was an initial linguistic description of the language, but it lacks a comprehensive language and cultural documentation and description.

The dissertation aims to answer the following question:

What are the linguistic features of Southern Alta, in terms of the following^{xxxiv}:

- A. Phonology and Orthography
- B. Morphology
- C. Clause Types
- D. Nominal Marking Systems
- E. Pronominals
- F. Nominals
- G. Adjectives
- H. Verbs

- I. Adverbs
- J. Numbers
- K. Existentials
- L. Connectors
- M. Interrogativity
- N. Negation
- O. Syntactic Processes

1.11 Theoretical framework

The theoretical framework and orientation of this dissertation adapted a morphosyntactic analysis with much consideration on the focus system, and Philippine transitivity and ergativity (Reid & Liao, 2004; Liao, 2004; Reid L. , 2006; Dita S. , 2007).

This dissertation adapted a theoretical framework as described in the syntactic typology of Philippine languages (Reid & Liao, 2004), the morphosyntactic typology of proto Northern Luzon (Reid L. , 2006) and the Philippine transitivity and ergativity (Liao, 2004). Other frameworks on phonology and morphosyntactic principles was utilized to facilitate the analysis and understanding of the morhosyntax of Southern Alta, these included morphosyntax (Payne, 1997); the criteria for lexical and non-lexical words (Givon, 2001); clause types (Reid & Liao, 2004; Reid L. , 2006); morphosyntactic studies on Philippine languages such as nominals and noun markers (Dita S. N., 2011b; 2011c; Dita S. , 2007), pronominals (Dita S. , 2011a), clitics and second-position clitics (Tanangkingsing M. , 2013), on verbal morphology and Philippine Negritos (Lobel, 2013).

This dissertation highlighted on focus system and transitivity (as described by linguists of Philippine languages). The subsection headings were lexical (content) and non-lexical (function) words (1.11.1), focus system (1.11.2), and transitivity (1.11.3).

1.11.1 Lexical and non-lexical words

The linguistics analyses as explained by Payne (1997), Dixon (2010, 2012), and Givon (2001) was used utilized in determining the grammatical categories. Certain measures were used when enough words are collected for lexical categorization, and for syntactic and linguistic analysis. Givon (2001) distinguished the vocabulary of the language between lexical words and non-lexical words. He defined lexical words as “code stable-culturally shared concepts, or types of experience we encounter; they represented our shared physical, cultural and internal universe” (p. 45). Non-lexical words consisted of grammatical morphemes and derivational morphemes. Grammatical morphemes “partake in the coding of both propositional information and discourse coherence while derivational morphemes were used to create new lexical words from existing one”. Table 1.3 lists the differences of lexical words and morphemes. The row class membership below shows that lexical words consisted of open classes while non-lexical morphemes are closed-class. The criteria in the table were useful to categorize and to conduct linguistic analysis on the lexical entries and morphemes used in this dissertation.

The lexical or content words consisted of nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs. Givon presented three membership criteria: (i) semantic criteria, (ii) morphological criteria, and (iii) syntactic criteria (p. 49). These three criteria were presented to determine the presence of the four form classes - nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs of the language under study. The non-lexical words consisted of minor classes such as nominal

case markers, determiners (deictics), clitics, pronouns, particles, connectives, quantifiers, numerals and ordinals, and interjections.

Table 1.3 Differences between Lexical Words and Morphemes

(Adapted from Givon (2001, p. 45)

Criterion	Lexical words	Non-lexical morpheme
a. Morphemic status	free	bound
b. Phonological size	large	small
c. Stress	stressed	unstressed
d. Semantic size	complex	simple
	specific	general
e. Class size	large	small
f. Class membership	open	closed
g. Function	world-view	grammar or word-derivation

1.11.2 Focus system

Focus system, according to Schachter and Reid (2009), refers to “the affixes marked on verbs, and functions as a ‘focusing’ mechanism to an NP complement, and creating a paradigm of structural types”. This ‘affixed’ verb highlighted one of the nominal arguments and identified it as the ‘focus’ NP argument of the clause. The ‘focused’ argument was in a form of a full NP or its semantic equivalent, and was referred to as *topic*, *subject*, *trigger* or *pivot*. The affixations resulted to either of the two structural types: *Actor Focus* (AF) and *Goal Focus* (GF). *Actor Focus* (AF) highlighted on the nominal complement that has a semantic role of either an *actor* or an *experiencer* while *Goal Focus* (GF) highlighted on the nominal complement that has a semantic role of *goal*, *instrument*, *location*, *beneficiary*, or *theme* (Schachter & Reid, 2009, p. 836). A summary of Southern Alta affixes of major focus types is presented in Chapter 10, Table 10.1. Reid

and Liao (2004) and Liao (2004) described the historically derived verbal affixes that showed verbal constructs for ‘focus’ types.

1.11.3 Transitivity

Transitivity is traditionally defined as to the ‘number of complements’ the verb takes. This definition fits well in English language or other languages with the same semantic-syntactic characteristics. Otherwise, Philippine languages, which have semantic-syntactic qualities are much different from English language, may imply less or more troublesome. In other words it may delimit or may not exactly describe the grammatical relationship of both the verb and its complements. Thus, it demands a ‘reorientation’ of the term transitivity in Philippine context.

Transitivity, as defined and emphasized by Ruffulo (2004), Reid & Liao (2004); Liao (2004), and Dita (2007), is not simply “the ‘number of complements’ that determine the transitivity of a verb, but rather the *type of complements* that a verb takes”. They also emphasized, on the other hand, that “*valency* refers to the number of complements or core arguments” (Liao, 2004). To illustrate the point, Liao (2004, p. 9) described the difference of *transitivity* and *valency*, and between *core* and *peripheral* arguments. She explained that “transitivity refers to the arguments (**S, A, O, and E**) while *valency* referred to the number of core arguments of a basic clause”. Table 1.4 describes *valency* in terms of the number of nominal complement(s) or arguments.

Table 1.4 Number of core arguments on Intransitive and Transitive Clauses

Number of complement(s)	Argument(s)	Definition	Types
Intransitive			
<i>zero-complement</i>	no core argument	intransitive verb which has no nominal argument	<i>atransitive</i>
<i>one-NP complement</i>	<i>one-core</i> argument	intransitive verb which expects <i>one</i> nominal argument	<i>monadic or monovalent intransitive</i>
<i>two-NP complement</i>	<i>two-core</i> argument	intransitive verb which expects <i>two</i> nominal arguments	<i>dyadic or bivalent intransitive</i>
transitive			
<i>two-NP complement</i>	<i>two-core</i> argument	transitive verb which expects <i>two</i> nominal arguments	<i>dyadic or bivalent transitive</i>
<i>three-NP complement</i>	<i>three-core</i> argument	transitive verb which expects <i>three</i> nominal arguments	<i>triadic or trivalent transitive</i>

The second column in Table 1.4 explains that *valency* refers to the number of core arguments, and its types (Liao, 2004). The table also describes the verbal clauses and their nominal complement(s), that is, a verbal clause consists of a verbal predicate and its argument(s). A nominal complement(s) is a nominal phrase (**NP**), and it is in a form of full **NP**, a pronoun or its equivalent. A clause that has no nominal complement or *zero* argument is *atransitive*^{xxxv} (Reid L. , 2006, p. 5; Dryer, 2007a, p. 267). A clause that has one nominal complement or one core argument is called *monadic or monovalent*; one that has two nominal complement or two core arguments is called *dyadic or bivalent*; and one that has three complements or three core arguments is called *triadic or trivalent*. However, Liao also explained that “a verb that can take two core arguments can be either transitive or intransitive”.

Liao (2004) explained that Dixon (1979, 1994) and Dixon Aikhenvald (2000) distinguished core arguments from peripheral argument (or adjuncts). She maintained that “the occurrence of core arguments is determined by the head (usually a verb) of the clause while the occurrence of peripheral arguments (or adjuncts) was less dependent on the nature of the head of the clause and was optionally included to indicate place, time, etc.” (p. 9). In basic verbal clause, for instance, **S** is the core argument of an intransitive clause while **A** and **O** are core arguments of a transitive clause. **E** (‘extension to core’) refers to the peripheral argument of either intransitive clause or transitive clause. Then, the arguments **S** and **A** refer to as the ‘syntactic subjects’ of an intransitive and transitive construction, respectively. This leaves the argument **O** as the only ‘syntactic object’ of a transitive construction while argument **E** refers to adjunct(s) or peripheral argument(s). Table 1.5 shows the verbal structures of both intransitive and transitive construction and their core and peripheral arguments.

Table 1.5 Core and Peripheral Argument Structure of Intransitive and Transitive Clause

Argument Structure of Verbal Clause	S	A	O	E
Intransitive				
<i>a</i> transitive	x	x	x	x
<i>monadic</i> or <i>monovalent</i> intransitive	x			
<i>dyadic</i> or <i>bivalent</i> intransitive	x			x
transitive				
<i>dyadic</i> or <i>bivalent</i> transitive		x	x	
<i>triadic</i> or <i>trivalent</i> transitive	x	x		x

To illustrate the point, the core arguments (**S**, **A**, and **O**) and peripheral arguments (**E**) are used as labels. Basic verbal clause for transitive and intransitive construction is shown as Table 1.3. If macroroles are assigned to describe the semantico-syntax interface of the clause, they are the *actor* and *undergoer* macroroles (Foley & Van Valin, 1984). The column complement type refers to the overt ‘participant(s)’ reflected as nominal complement(s) which can be in a form of a full **NP** or its equivalent. The ‘core’ consists of the two *macroroles* of *actor* and *undergoer*^{xxxvi}, respectively. The column oblique refers to ‘optional’ or peripheral argument and is case-marked as *oblique*.

In the above equation, there appears to have dyadic construction in both the transitive and intransitive clauses. The difference, according Liao (2004, p. 10), is that “intransitive clause can only take one (1) core argument while transitive clause can take two (2) core arguments”. Therefore, the intransitive clause with two arguments was called *dyadic* or *bivalent intransitive* because it consisted of a core and a peripheral or oblique while dyadic or bivalent transitive clause consisted of two core arguments.

1.12 Conceptual framework

The conceptual framework in Figure 1.5 below shows a schematic diagram of how the plan for language description and documentation of Southern Alta language. The top rectangular level has a label *Southern Alta* language. It is the both the product – the presentation of the final analysis and the interpretation of the completed study – and at the same time, it illustrates the research process. The second level consists of three boxes; two squares are located at both ends and a rectangle at the center. On the left side is the naturalistic ‘spoken’ data. It comprises the elicitation of basic words, recordings of oral

tradition and other forms of verbal art, natural (planned and unplanned) conversation and interaction among others.

The process began after every collection of spoken data. The data was analyzed on the basis of its grammatical and linguistic features and they were categorized accordingly. The next stage of the plan was language documentation and description. It is a linguistic analysis of the language or a linguistic description of its grammar. The output was *A Reference Grammar of Southern Alta*, and it consisted of eighteen (18) chapters. Each chapter was separated with a definite and clear definition of its category. Chapter headings are shown in the Table of Contents of this paper. The content included some parts of Chapter 1 – Introduction, Chapter 2 – Methodology, Chapter 3 – Phonology and Orthography, Chapter 4 – Morphology, Chapter 5 – Clause Types, Chapter 6 – Nominal Marking System, Chapter 7 – Pronominals, Chapter 8 – Nominals, Chapter 9 – Adjectives, Chapter 10 – Verbs, Chapter 11 – Adverbs, Chapter 12 – Numbers, Chapter 13 – Existentials, Chapter 14 – Connectors, Chapter 15 – Interrogativity, Chapter 16 – Negation, Chapter 17 – Syntactic Processes, and Chapter 18 – Conclusion. Other pertinent information are shown in the last pages, these include the glossary, appendices, and reference sections.

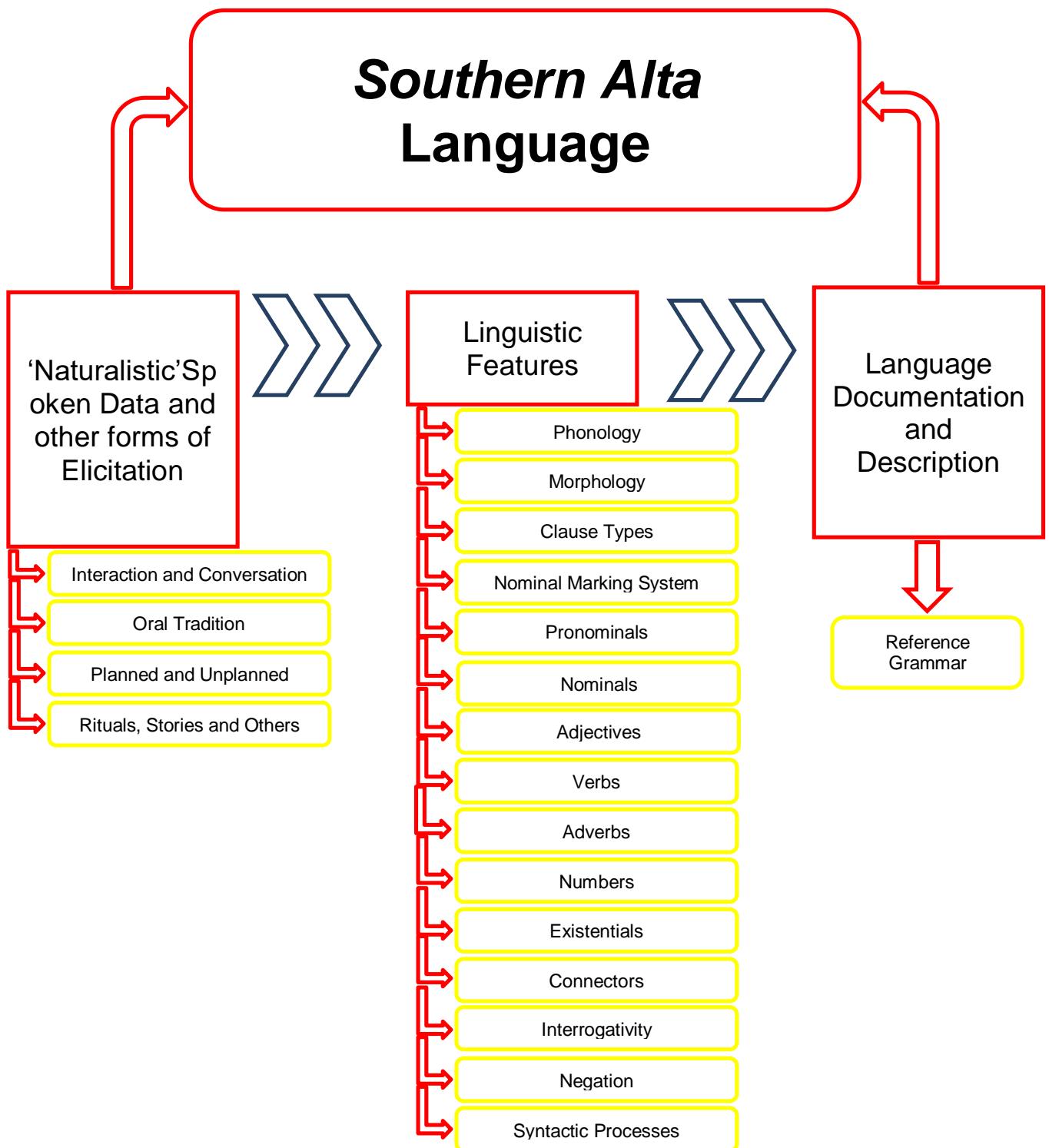


Figure 1.5 Conceptual Framework

1.13 Scope and Limitation

This dissertation was generally anchored on the description and documentation of the linguistic features of the language, that is, a reference grammar of Southern Alta. The bulk of the data and corpus came from the *Southern Alta* speakers in different domains and tributaries in Sitio Bato, Barangay Bulac, DRT, Bulacan. On some certain occasions, other *Southern Alta* communities were visited by the researcher such as the communities in *General Tino* and *Gabaldon, Nueva Ecija*, and *Ebon, Aurora*. This research did not cover or participate in any programs for language revitalization.

Reid (1991) was one of the most important literature which particularly studied the Altan languages. The 28-year-old study was highly relevant, and it was the primal reference of this dissertation.

1.14 Significance of the Study

This dissertation is significant to the following:

- a. Southern Alta people – this reference grammar is a record of their grammar, and it partly embodies their language and culture. The study will help in preserving, teaching, and promoting their language among their people particularly the younger generations.
- b. Philippine language and culture experts – this sketch grammar will enrich language learning among language learners of Philippines languages. This will also interest the experts in Philippine culture to examine the oral literature included in the list of data.
- c. Philippine languages and linguistics – the grammar of Southern Alta language is not only important in many areas in linguistics, but it is also equally

invaluable to other areas such as language policy and planning, language education, language maintenance and revitalization.

- d. Other stakeholders – experts from different fields will be interested in studying the Southern Alta language, people and culture to further the disciplines in the arts and humanities such as social sciences, history, natural sciences, and other related fields.

1.15 Summary

This chapter began by discussing the objectives of this dissertation. It included a discussion on Philippine Languages and Philippine Negrito languages. It described the Altan languages and its language family. It also gave valid reasons why Southern Alta should be documented. Some sections focused the description on the Southern Alta language, its people and their lifestyle.

The other half was a recap of the literature reviews on Philippine languages and Philippine Negrito languages on language documentation and description, and other works pertaining to linguistic features of Philippine languages. It included the statement of the problem, the theoretical framework, conceptual framework, scope and limitations and significance of the study. After presenting the introductory chapter of this dissertation, the research methodology will be explained in detail in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGY

This chapter explains and describes the Research Methodology. The major sections are the following: research approach (2.1), research setting (2.2), methods and techniques in data collection (2.3), participant and /or speakers (2.3.1), data type and corpus (2.3.2), results from texts and language data (2.3.3), other particulars (2.3.4), outline of the dissertation (2.4), and summary (2.5).

2.1 Reseach approach

The research approach in this dissertation was ethnography. Ethnography was used here as “both the product – the presentation of the final analysis and interpretation of the completed study – and also the research process” (Heigham & Sakui, 2009, p. 92). Also, Mackay & Gass (2005) explained that “ethnographic approaches are particularly valuable when not enough is known about a context or situation” (Heigham & Sakui, 2009, p. 92). Ethnography required a deep understanding of the *speech community* of the minority group. Conventionally, doing extended fieldwork was required within the ethnolinguistic community and with an open mind observing the first-hand what happens. Various degrees (from simple wordlist to lengthy oral traditions) and levels (word, collocation and sentence level) of data gathering were used by the researcher to make a detailed analysis of the study, creating meticulous descriptions of the context, participants, and events the researcher witnessed.

2.2 Research Setting

Southern Alta has a few communities that are located in the mountain ranges of Sierra Madre. Since the locations are inaccessible and remote, the researcher chose a *Dumagat* settlement between the boundaries of Bulacan and Nueva Ecija (Fig. 1.4). The *Dumagat* settlement in Sitio Bato, Dona Remedios Trinidad (DRT), Bulacan has two ethnolinguistic groups: *Umiray Dumaget* and *Southern Alta*.

2.3 Methods and techniques in data collection

The researcher used various methods and techniques to gather information on the ethnolinguistic group and their language.

In the initial stage of the fieldwork, the researcher distributed a *Survey and Questionnaire* form. It was used to survey the people, their families, and the language(s) they speak in different domains (see Appendix D - Demographic and Language Survey Questionnaire).

Other methods were also used such as *participant observation* (Cowie, 2009), *interviews* (Richards, 2009), and *elicitation*. These three methods were done simultaneously, or sometimes, they were all done at the same time when the researcher immersed with Southern Alta speakers. The researcher also conducted fieldwork with the *Dumagats* for almost 2 years. But, the longest time he has lived with them was more than two months until he had a motorcycle accident with my *Dumagat* friends in *Ebona, Aurora*. Most of the time, he stayed with his respondents for weeks or months in *Sitio Bato, Barangay Sapang Bulac, DRT, Bulacan*. And sometimes in *General Tinio, Nueva Ecija*.

During his stay with his *Dumagat* friends and respondents, he observed how their language was spoken and how the language has undergone changes. He also observed their way of living and other cultural practices. The researcher recorded everything that he has observed, and everytime he noticed something he did not understand, and he asked the respondents to answer his inquiries in Southern Alta.

The researcher always interviewed his respondents everytime he heard different words in their conversation, or whenever he noticed common and uncommon habits or practices of the family or the community. Some of these observations were recorded in his field notes. He conducted live audio or video recordings most of the time, and once after having a thorough discussion on a particular topic with his respondents.

Elicitation was also done when he have to prove a hypothesis or to examine thoroughly a linguistic feature of the language. Elicitation was also done to construct meaningful units, and he used them as solid data to further the explanation. The elicitations were structured or unstructured, simple to complex, and thematic. He used varied techniques to elicit the natural spoken language.

At the beginning of the fieldwork, he compiled wordlists to investigate the phonological system and created a working orthography. This was his way to validate and revalidate the data which was used in his first fieldwork and to make a comparative wordlist from the past studies of Dr. Laurence Reid. The wordlist consisted of more than 1000 words including the Expanded wordlist (Reid, 1971a), Austronesian Comparative Dictionary (Blust & Trussel, 2016), and some semantic fields such as food, cooking, among others. The data served as the starting point to build short clauses.

2.3.1 Participants and/ or speakers

The sources of the data were the *Language Resource Person(s)* (LRPs) or *Language Assistant(s)* (LAs). They were Southern Alta elders. The researcher sought approval from them before and during the start of this research. The main LRPs are Chieftain Antonio Carpio, Lake Rogelio Del Monte, and Sonny Del Monte. Other LRPs were also interviewed in different topics during my stay in the communities.

2.3.2 Data Collection Procedures

This section consisted of the different procedures in data collection, analysis, and validation. First, the subsections will discuss the general procedure from the beginning to the end of collecting data. Second, the subsections under the 2.3.3 General Procedure will explain in particular how the aspects on phonology, lexicon, morphology, and morphosyntax were analyzed and validated.

2.3.2.1 General Procedure

This section outlines the General Procedure in collecting data for linguistic analysis, annotation, and translation. The general procedure follows a cyclical approach to determine and revalidate the data.

First, the data that was collected during the researcher's first fieldwork in 2014 (Abreu, 2014), and the Expanded wordlist (Reid L. , 1971) were utilized as benchmarks for further analysis.

	Date	File Code	File Name	Speaker(s)	Location	Description
1	August 13, 2016	160813_001.MP3	SA-A-081310(1)	Marvin, Sonny and Simon	Sapang Bulac	telephone conversation
2	August 15, 2016	160815_001.MP3	SA-A-081510(1)	Marvin	Bato	about the term Dumagat
3	August 21, 2016	160821_001.MP3	SA-A-082110(1)	Marvin, Latok, Gupad etc.	Bato	translation giving medicine to Gupad
4	August 21, 2016	160821_001.MP3	SA-A-082110(1)	Marvin and Lake Rogelio	Sapang Bulac	exchanging stories with Lake
5	August 22, 2016	160822_002.MP3	SA-A-082210(2)	Marvin and Lake Rogelio	Sapang Bulac	for transcription 6:55 onwards short only
6	August 22, 2016	160822_003.MP3	SA-A-082210(3)	Marvin and Lake Rogelio	Sapang Bulac	for transcription; 2:00 onwards short transcription; children talking
7	August 22, 2016	160822_004.MP3	SA-A-082210(4)	Marvin and Simon	Sapang Bulac	transcription of Ti Lutong by Simon not very impt; review data
8	August 22, 2016	160822_005.MP3	SA-A-082210(5)	Marvin, Simon, Samuel, etc	Sapang Bulac	transcription of Magkanta kitam
9	August 23, 2016	160823_001.MP3	SA-A-082310(1)	Marvin and Zandro	Sapang Bulac	interview with Sir Zandro August 24?
10	August 24, 2016	160824_001.MP3	SA-A-082410(1)	Marvin, Lake	Sapang Bulac	for transcription Lake and children 8 minutes; short not impt
11	August 24, 2016	160824_002.MP3	SA-A-082410(2)	Marvin, Lake	Sapang Bulac	for transcription Lake and children 1 minute; short not impt
12	August 24, 2016	160824_003.MP3	SA-A-082410(3)	Marvin and Simon	Sapang Bulac	transcribed
13	August 24, 2016	160824_004.MP3	SA-A-082410(4)	Marvin and Simon	Sapang Bulac	transcribed
14	August 25, 2016	160825_001.MP3	SA-A-082510(1)	Marvin, Lake, Samuel	Sapang Bulac	at home; transcription starts at 13:00
15	August 25, 2016	160825_002.MP3	SA-A-082510(2)	Lake and family	Sapang Bulac	at home; wordlist
16	August 25, 2016	160825_003.MP3	SA-A-082510(3)	Marvin, Lake	Sapang Bulac	at home; wordlist
17	August 25, 2016	160825_004.MP3	SA-A-082510(4)	Marvin, Lake, etc.	Sapang Bulac	at home; watching negrito celebration; transcription of Ti Kutikot; wordlist narration
18	August 25, 2016	160826_001.MP3	SA-A-082610(1)	Meeting Sir Zandro and Mam A Poblacion	Sapang Bulac	
19	August 25, 2016	160826_002.MP3	SA-A-082610(2)	Meeting with IPEDO staff	Sapang Bulac	
20	August 26, 2016	20000001.MP3	SA-A-090000(1)	Unknown	Sapang Bulac	unimportant
21	August 26, 2016	20000002.MP3	SA-A-090000(2)	Lake	Sapang Bulac	writing exercise; for transcription
22	August 26, 2016	20000003.MP3	SA-A-090000(3)	Marvin	Sapang Bulac	unimportant
23	August 30, 2016	160830_003.MP3	SA-A-083010(3)	Marvin, Lake and family	Sapang Bulac	at home; for transcription few
24	August 30, 2016	160830_004.MP3	SA-A-083010(4)	Gupad	Sapang Bulac	for transcription; few
25	August 30, 2016	160830_005.MP3	SA-A-083010(5)	Marvin, Lake	Sapang Bulac	for transcription; many and raining; start at 20:00
26	August 30, 2016	160830_006.MP3	SA-A-083010(6)	Marvin, Lerma	Sapang Bulac	for transcription; game; start at 20:00

Figure 2.1 Audio and Video Files

Second, he recorded (audio or video) new data from my resource persons and in different places before writing this dissertation. Figure 2.1 shows the list of audio and video recordings. The recorded data were classified as hortatory, narrative, constructed, elicitation, and conversation. *Third*, after classifying and labelling, the data were transcribed, annotated, and translated to two languages, *Tagalog* (Filipino) and English (Appendix F).

Vocabulary from Kabuloan Texts - Excel

A	C	G	H
Lexicon	Categories	English Translation	Filipino Translation
8 abaka	nouns	abaca	abaca
9 abdong	nouns	canoe, boat	bangka
10 abu	nouns	ash	abo
11 abuyanan	verbs	know (a person)	kilala
12 ad	particles	where	saan
13 adal	verbs	to learn s.t.	aral
14 adene	particles	near	malapit; tabi
15 adeyo	particles	far	malayo
16 adi	nouns		pag-aari; may ari
17 adin	particles	like; as same as	parang; para
20 admans			saan ba
21 adutdeyo			layolayo
22 aduy	interjections	ouch; pain	aray
23 aduyaduy	interjections		aray-aray
24 age	nouns	clothing	damit
25 aged			agad
26 agedon	verbs		hiniram, hiramin, hingin
27 agema	nouns	food and culture	talangka
28 agid	nouns	leaf	dahan
29 agidagid	nouns		dahan-dahan; anu anung dahan
30 agkalan			gaano; anuman
31 agtay	nouns	liver	atay
32 agya	particles	even	kahit, pero
33 akang	verbs	to walk	lakad
34 aklis			umalis; lumipat
35 aklop	nouns	roof	bubong

Figure 2.2 ‘Working’ Dictionary

Fourth, all of the ‘lexical words’ and morphemes were encoded and analyzed in a database. During the encoding, various data files were developed. The first was a ‘working dictionary’ in three languages (Fig 2.2) , and a morphology data file (Fig. 2.3).

	A	B	D	E	F
1				Affix	
2	Word-forms	Root	Prefix	Infix	Suffix
3	oabuyanan	abuyanan	o-		-an
4	naabuyanan	abuyanan	na-		
5	inabuyanan	abuyanan	in-		
6	abuyanan	abuyanan	bare		
7	pinogadalan	adal	pinog-		-an
8	pinagadalan	adal	pinag-		-an
9	pagadalan	adal	pag-		
10	nogadal	adal	nog-		
11	mogadal	adal	mog-		
12	minogadal	adal	minog-		
13	makipagadal	adal	makipag-		
14	magaadal	adal	mag(?v)-		
15	magadal	adal	mag-		
16	adal	adal	bare		
17	papongyadin	adin	papongy-		
18	papanavadin	adin	papanav-		

Figure 2.3 Morphology

Fifth, the ‘lexical words’ and clauses were categorically selected for lexical categories, and morphosyntactic analysis. The selected data were shown in this dissertation as sample words and clauses. They were marked with annotations or interlinear glosses including translations in Filipino and English languages. And most importantly the *sixth*, the data were revalidated continually by going back to second stage. In most cases, the researcher revalidated the language with his resource persons and asking them again the sounds, words, clauses, and pragmatics of their language. This stage was usually done because some of the audio and video files were equivocal or inaudible.

2.3.2.1.1 On Phonological Analysis

At the beginning of the fieldwork, I made a wordlist consisted of more than 1000 words including the Expanded wordlist (Reid, 1971a), Austronesian Comparative

Dictionary (Blust & Trussel, 2016), and some semantic fields such as food, cooking, among others. While compiling the words, the researcher created his own ‘working’ orthography, and wrote them with their corresponding phonemic notations and translations in *Tagalog* (Filipino) and English languages. All the words were constantly validated and re-validated. Figures 2.2 and 2.3 show the data that were collected and the system that was developed.

The researcher always mimiced how his resource speaker(s) pronounced the words, and the researcher also asked them if he correctly pronounced the words or not. If mispronounced, he immediately adjusted the place of articulation of my tongue. Often times, he tried composing short phrases or clauses while communicating with them. After he has collected enough words for comparison and for a phonological analysis, he immediately looked for minimal pairs in their language and assessed them with his resource person(s).

2.3.2.1.2 On Transcription, Translation, and Annotation for Lexical and Morphosyntactic Analyses

The researcher together with some Southern Alta that he has taught in the field helped him in the transcription of their language. They listened and examined all the recordings many times. One by one, the drafts were read and shown again and again to the resource person(s) for validation. If there were words or clauses that appeared dubious, he translated the words or clauses in *Tagalog* (Filipino) language and asked the resource person(s) if the words or clauses were synonymous or not. After all the questions were answered and corrected, the drafts were type-written in MSWord and they were properly annotated. Sample annotation were shown here as Appendix F – Texts. Each

line represented a clause or a proposition, and each clause was developed into a three-tier or a four-tier interlinear gloss or annotation. In a four-tier interlinear gloss, the first line represented the object language; the second tier was the phonemic transcription; the third tier was the metadata; and the fourth line was the target language. In a three-tier interlinear gloss, the first line represented the object language with some phonemic annotation(s); the second tier was the metadata; and the third line was the target language. Whether three-tier or four-tier, the researcher always added another line for the *Tagalog* (Filipino) translation. Although it served many purposes, some were not shown in this dissertation.

2.3.3 Data type and the corpus

This dissertation relied mostly on *naturalistic spoken* data. Most of the data came from the structured and semi-structured stimuli. The structured stimuli consisted of a translation of modified wordlist for the elicitation and description of ethnic terms, children's stories (e.g. frog and pear stories), picture prompts, instructions, descriptions of places, events, and activities, traditional narratives, personal reminiscences, jokes and insults, proverbs and their explanations, translations of other stories in the contact language, speeches, oratory, rituals and oral traditions. Unstructured stimuli consisted of the unplanned conversations and interactions such as conversation while eating, community, and council meeting, coincidences, and many more.

The data for linguistic analysis consisted of two forms: written and oral. This dissertation relied mainly on *actual spoken data*, these consisted of elicited, constructed and oral literature. However, some written commentaries of foreign evangelists in the 1980's were also used as secondary sources.

The narrative texts included *Ti Kutikot ?atta Pagalpal*, *Ti Lutong ?atta Tu Buya*, *Ti Moggot*, and constructed stories, *Pear Story* and *Frog Story*, and many more. Elicited and constructed data are also used to validate data in certain contexts. Native speakers were also consulted on some data that were taken from written commentaries. A summary of written (A) and spoken (B) data are shown below:

A. Written data

*Tain Manalig i Alta kani Jesus
Komentaryo
Tu Itudu tain Manalig i Alta
Tain Kayliwanagen
Roma* (a section of the full *Commentary*)
Hymns

B. Spokendata

*Words of Life (Kabuloan)
Ti Lutong at tu Buya
Ti Kutikot at tu Pagalpal
Kuwento ni Moggot
Kwento na Sangay a Matokoyog
Kuwento na Idduwa Tuggek
Pear Story
Bilay nu Dumaget
Karanasan sa Male
Bulanbulanan
Male
Yieye Kasaysayan na Matkoyog a Tapat na Bawat Isa*

The spoken data and other forms of elicitation were recorded in audio and video formats using electronic devices and equipment. The audio and video were in HD formats, .wav and .mov file types. Each data was digitally recorded and properly numbered (Fig. 2.1).

2.3.4 Results from texts and language data

The results of the this study is *A Reference Grammar of Southern Alta (Kabuloan Dumagat)*. The reference grammar is included in this paper. It consisted of 18 Chapters. These are enumerated below:

Chapters 1 – Introduction and Background of the Study

Chapters 2 – Methodology

Chapter 3 – Phonology

Chapter 4 – Morphology

Chapter 5 – Clause Type

Chapter 6 – Nominal Marking System

Chapter 7 – Pronominals

Chapter 8 – Nominals

Chapter 9 – Adjectives

Chapter 10 – Verbs

Chapter 11 – Adverbs

Chapter 12 – Numbers

Chapter 13 – Existential

Chapter 14 – Connectors

Chapter 15 – Interrogative

Chapter 16 – Negation

Chapter 17 – Syntactic Processes

Chapter 18 – Conclusion

The audio and video recordings were in digital format, and these were recordings of the Southern Alta elders.. They comprised the main source of the reference grammar.

2.3.5 Other particulars

Formal letters were given to local government units (LGU) and LRP s. The correspondence consisted of letters on free and informed consent, letters asking for permission to conduct the study, and letters asking for assistance to Southern Alta communities (see Appendix E – Sample Correspondence). The initial phonological analysis of Southern Alta and Umiray Dumaget were excluded in this chapter. However, the final phonological analysis of Southern Alta phonology is explained in detail in Chapter 3.

2.4 The outline of the final dissertation

The outline of the final dissertation is as follows:

Chapter 1 – Introduction

Chapter 2 – Phonology and Orthography

Chapter 3 – Morphology

Chapter 4 – Clause Types

Chapter 5 – Nominal Marking System

Chapter 6 – Pronominals

Chapter 7 – Nominals

Chapter 8 – Adjectives

Chapter 9 – Verbs

Chapter 10 – Adverbs
Chapter 11 – Numbers
Chapter 12 – Existentials
Chapter 13 – Connectors
Chapter 14 – Interrogativity
Chapter 15 – Negation
Chapter 16 – Syntactic Processes
Chapter 17 – Conclusion
Glossary of Terms
References
Appendices

2.5 Summary

This chapter discussed thoroughly the research approach that was used. The discussion included the methods and techniques that were used in gathering data, the participants or native speakers of the community, the types of data and corpus, the results from texts and language data, other particulars such as correspondence in LGU and LRPs, and the proposed outline of the final dissertation. After presenting the research methodology of this dissertation, the Southern Alta phonology will be explained in detail in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3

PHONOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the sounds and sound system^{xxxvii} of Southern Alta. The description includes phonological features of the language such as: minimal pairs of sounds and vowel length (3.2), vowels (3.3), diphthongs (3.4), consonants (3.5), homophony (3.6), phonological process (3.7), syllabification (3.8), gemination (3.9), the sounds of Southern Alta (3.10), and summary (3.11).

Southern Alta has sixteen (16) consonant sounds and four (4) vowel sounds. Reid (1991; 2006) claimed that “the phonology of the Altan languages have developed from the Proto Meso-Cordilleran phonological system”. The consonants of Southern Alta, according to Reid (1991, p. 7), and as explained by Conant (1911, pp. as cited by Reid (1991, p. 8)) “develop from a system of in which *R became l, g, or sometimes y; *j became d^{xxxviii}; and *k became k.” Reid also observed that “the sequences of vowels appeared to have been reduced to a single vowel”. He also noticed “the presence of diphthongs *ay, *əy, *aw, and *ow”^{xxxix}.

Two types of sound representation are used, one is phonemic, and the other, generic or working transcription. Phonemic transcription is used to represent the sounds of the language. It consisted of 16 phonemic consonant sounds [b, k, d, g, ?, h, l, m, n, ɳ, p, r, s, t, w, j] and four (4) vowels [i, ε^{xl}, a, u/ɔ,]. The consonant clusters /kl/ and /tr/, alveolar affricate voiceless /tʃ/ ts and voiced /dʒ/ gh are loan sounds, and they are not native sounds of Southern Alta. The four vowel sounds are: the high, front /i/; the mid front /ε/; the low, center /a/; the high, back, rounded /u/. The high back vowel /u/ appears to have two allophones, [u] and [ɔ]. A phonemic transcription of a term such as /?a:.ŋɔt/

uses the following symbols: the slant brackets enclose the phonemes / /; the period (.) separates the syllables; and the colon (:) illustrates the length of the vowels.

The generic orthography, on the other hand, has 15 consonant letters [Bb, Kk, Dd, Gg, Hh, Ll, Mm, Nn, NGng, Pp, Rr, Ss, Tt, Ww, Yy] and four (4) vowels [Ii, Ee, Aa, Uu or Oo]. However, the glottal stop [?] has no overt symbol in the working orthography. The consonants are written almost the same as appeared in the phonemic transcription except for the phonemes /ŋ/, and /j/ which are written as *ng* and *y*, respectively.

The glottal stop is phonemic. It is explicitly marked because the sample data are written in phonemic transcription, so the symbol ? for glottal stop is shown in most interlinear glosses whether it is a syllable onset or final coda.

On the other hand, if the sample data are described as a ‘working orthography’, a hyphen (-) or a grave accent symbol (˘) is used. A hyphen (–) is used if a C is preceded by V, for example, *mag-adel* ‘to study’, or a grave accent (˘) if preceded by a C, for example, *tu'yun* ‘pull’. The four (4) vowels are represented as letters ‘i’, ‘e’, ‘a’, ‘u’ or ‘o’.

3.2 Minimal pairs^{xli} and vowel length

The two phonemic columns are shown below to distinguish contrastive pairs. Table 3.1 shows the contrastive sounds of vowels, /a/ vs /u/, /i/ vs /u/, /i/ vs /ɛ/, and /ɛ/ vs /ɔ/; and consonants, /p/ vs /b/, /t/ vs /d/, /k/ vs /g/, /θ/ vs /k/, /m/ vs /n/, /n/ vs /ŋ/, /d/ vs /l/, /s/ vs /h/, and /w/ vs /j/.

Table 3.1 Contrastive Pairs

Contrastive Sounds	Phonemic	Gloss	Phonemic	Gloss
/a/ vs /u/	/kad/	'you now'	/kud/	'mine also'
/a/ vs /o/	/laŋaw/	'house fly'	/loŋaw/	'sky'
/i/ vs /u/	/tu.bi?/	'areca nut'	/tu.bu?/	'sugar cane'
/i/ vs /ɛ/	/ka.ni?/	'for'	/ka.ne?/	'later'
/ɛ/ vs /ɔ/	/taw.dən/	'hold'	/taw.dɔn/	'bring'
	/bu.kəd/	'mountain'	/bu.kɔd/	'alone'
/p/ vs /b/	/pu.kɔl/	'thigh'	/bu.kɔl/	'seed'
/t/ vs /d/	/tu.li?/	'circumcized'	/du.li?/	'thorn'
/k/ vs /g/	/ko.mot/	'blanket'	/go.mot/	'hand'
/ɸ/ vs /k/	/ɸa.sɔ?/	'dog'	/ɸa.sɔk/	'smoke'
	/buɸ.ɔl/	'heel'	/bu.kɔl/	'seed'
	/ɸu.tɔk/	'brain'	/ku.tɔk/	'cackle of chicken'
/m/ vs /n/	/la.mɔt/	'root'	/la.nɔt/	'vine'
/n/ vs /ŋ/	/ɸa.na.yon/	'direction'	/ɸa.ŋa.yon/	'visit'
/d/ vs /l/	/bu:.kɔd/	'alone'	/bu.kɔl/	'seed'
/s/ vs /h/	/sa.ŋa?/	'branch'	/ha.ŋa?/	'big'
/w/ vs /j/	/wa:.di?/	'hope'	/ja:.di?/ ^{xlii}	'good for him'

Another set of minimal pairs are shown below to distinguish vowel length. Stress or vowel length of the words always fall on the penultimate syllable.

/ɸa.ŋɔt/	'smell'	/ɸa:.ŋɔt/	'nose'
/tɔl.lɔk/	'to point'	/tɔ:l.lɔk/	'deaf'
/pa.kɔ/	'fern'	/pa:.kɔ/	'nail'
/pan.la.win/	'find'	/pan.la:.win/	'look'
/tɔ.lap/	'sibling'	/tɔ:.lap/	'bone'
/wa.di/	'cut loose'	/wa:.di/	'hope'
/ka.le/	'language'	/ka:.le/	'dig'

3.3 Vowels

Vowel sounds are contrasted with the position of the tongue (*front*, *central*, or *back*), the movement of the jaw (*high*, *mid*, or *low*), and the formation of the lips (*round*, *unround*, or *spread*). Vowel sounds are all voiced. Southen Alta has four (4) contrastive vowels *a*, *i*, *ɛ*, *uɔ*. Table 3.2 shows a vowel triangle representing the vowels of Southern Alta. The sample lexical items consist of words with initial, medial, and final syllable. They are shown below to represent the presence of the sound in focus.

Table 3.2 Vowels of Southern Alta

	Front	Center	Back
High	i		u/ɔ
Mid		ɛ	
Low		a	

3.3.1 Low central ([+] rounded) /a/

The low central vowel /a/ is represented as ‘a’. The vowel is much lowered if it follows a glottal stop, for instance, /?a:.pun/ and /bu.ta?/. Low central /a/ is fronted if it is between an onset stop and coda velar such as /bud.dak/. Table 3.3 shows low central /a/ in the initial, medial, and final. The sound /a/ is very frequent in lexical items that consist of more than two syllables.

Table 3.3 Low Center /a/ in the Initial, Medial, and Final

Initial	Gloss
/?al.ta/	‘person’ or ‘Dumagat’
/?a:.pun/	‘afternoon’
/?a.bu?/	‘ash’
/?a.de.jɔ/	‘far’
/?a.gε?/	‘clothes’

Medial	Gloss
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/?a.la.ge.?an/	‘to take care’
/?a.wa.nan/	‘right hand’
/ta.li.sa.dut/	‘one each’
/ti.?a.tin/	‘who’
/ba.la.ŋag/	‘rainbow’
<hr/>	
Final	Gloss
/bu.ta?/	‘blind’
/bud.dak/	‘fruit’
/?al.ta/	‘person’ or ‘Dumagat’
/ba.la?/	‘new’
/dɛ.la?/	‘blood’

3.3.2 Mid front ([-] rounded) /ɛ/^{xliii}

The mid front unrounded /ɛ/ is represented as ‘e’. The mid front /ɛ/ is always present between stop sounds. Lexical items with /ɛ/ are /se.de/, /ka.?ɛ:.ŋin/, and /?a.dɛ.nɛ?/. The mid front unrounded /ɛ/ and high front unrounded /i/ are contrastive. Table 3.4 shows the high center unrounded vowel /ɛ/ as an obligatory peak in the initial, medial, and final.

Table 3.4 Mid center /ɛ/ in the Initial, Medial, and Final

Initial	Gloss
/sɛ.de/	‘ruined’
/nɛ.de/	‘to ruin’
/bɛ.kɔs/	kindness

/bɛg.wi/	‘pig’
/bɛ.tag/	‘banana’
<hr/>	
Medial	Gloss
/pa.dɛp.lɛ/	‘crab’
/ka.ʔɛ:.ŋin/	‘clearing’
/tu.bɛ.yan/	‘help’
/na.nɛ.de /	‘destroyer’
/ʔa.la.gɛ.ʔan/	‘to take care’
<hr/>	
Final	Gloss
/ʔin.lal.bɛk/	‘fall’
/ʔa.dɛ.nɛʔ/	‘near’
/ʔa.wi.lɛ/	‘left hand’
/ha.la.gɛ/	‘consideration’
/ti.naw.dɛn/	‘held’

3.3.3 High front ([–] rounded) /i/

The high front unrounded /i/ is represented as ‘i’. The sound is also present between stop sounds such as /ʔi.kan/, /ʔi.kol/, and /ma.di.di.ni/. The high front unrounded /i/ and mid front unrounded /ɛ/ are contrastive. Table 3.5 shows the sound in the initial, medial, and final.

Table 3.5 High Front /i/ in the Initial, Medial, and Final

Initial	Gloss
/ʔi.kan/	‘fish’
/ʔi.kol/	‘cough’

	Medial	Gloss
/?id.di?/	'that'	
/?i.ge.ma/	'shrimp'	
/?i.get/	'eel'	
<hr/>		
	Final	Gloss
/ma.di.di.ni/	'become shy'	
/ka.sin.tan/	'morning'	
/?o.li.taw/	'young man'	
/mo.si.pol/	'happy'	
/du.li.du.li?/	'many thorns'	
<hr/>		

3.3.4 High back ([+] rounded) /u/

The high back rounded /u/ has two allophones, [u] and [ɔ]. The sound is represented as ‘u’. The sound is encoded as /mn.na:.jam/ or /mɔn.na:.jam/ ‘play’ and /mɔ.pa.tud/ or /mu.pa.tud/ ‘many’ without a change in their meanings. The allophone can be well explained by replacing the vowels with either *u* and *o* in *bukod* /bu.kɔd/ ‘alone’ such as *bokod* /bɔ.kɔd/ or *bukud* /bu.kud/. Table 3.6 shows the sound in the initial, medial, and final.

Table 3.6 High Back /u/ in the Initial, Medial, and Final

Initial	Gloss
/?u.ta/	‘vomit’
/?ug.naj/	‘always’
/?u.lɔd/	‘worm’
/?u.ma.bæk/	‘morning’
/?u.ma.kanj/	‘to walk’
Medial	Gloss
/?i.nu.ma.lang/	‘has gone from’
/ge.bu.nay/	‘land’
/di.nu.mit/	‘became bad’
/dun.du.lanj/	‘joining in’
/?i.bu.lo/	‘drive away’
Final	Gloss
/?a.bu?/	‘ash’
/bu.bu/	‘grandchild’
/sam.pu/	‘ten’
/di.be.bu/	‘on top’ or ‘above’
/ma.?a:.du/	‘many’

3.4 Diphthongs

The glides /w/ and /j/ may combine with certain vowels to form the following diphthongs:

3.4.1 Diphthong /aw/

The low central rounded vowel /a/ joins with the voiced velar glide /w/ to form the diphthong /aw/. Table 3.7 shows the sound in the initial, medial, and final.

Table 3.7 Diphthong /aw/ in the Initial, Medial, and Final

Initial	Gloss
/taw.dən/	‘hold’
/taw.don/	‘bring’
Medial	Gloss
/ʔi.taw.taw/	‘misdirect’
/man.si.kaw.bu/	‘evacuate’
/ti.naw.dən/	‘held’
/ʔɔ.taw.dən/	‘holding’
Final	Gloss
/maŋ.hi.saw/	‘to wash’
/taw/	‘Tagalog’ or ‘non-Dumagat’
/ti.kaw/	‘you’
/ʔɔ.li.taw/	‘young man’
/mon.na.kaw/	‘to steal’

3.4.2 Diphthong /ɔw/

The mid back rounded vowel /ɔ/ ‘joins with’ voiced velar glide /w/ to form the diphthong /ɔw/. No data has been found in the initial and medial. The only word present is /mɔtnɔw/ ‘noisy’ with the diphthong in the final position.

3.4.3 Diphthong /aj/

The low central rounded vowel /a/ joins with the voiced palatal glide /j/ to form the diphthong /aj/. Some words with /aj/ in the initial, medial and final are /saj.ʔi/, /mi.naj.de.jɔ/, and /ti.laj/, respectively. Table 3.8 shows the sound in the initial, medial, and final.

Table 3.8 Diphthong /aj/ in the Initial, Medial, and Final

Initial	Gloss
/saj.ʔi/	‘in here’
/naj.pa.dit/	‘became bad’
/maj.dim.tan/	‘remember’
/naj.de.mɔ/	‘first’
Medial	Gloss
/mi.naj.de.jɔ/	‘sent far’PERF
/ki.naj.dim.tan/	‘remembered’
/ti.na.laj.nop/	‘dreamed’
/mi.naj.kɔ.pɔt/	‘trapped’
Final	Gloss
/ti.laj/	‘lizard’
/ku.ma.waj/	‘swim’
/la.waj/	‘to see’
/ni.ʔɛ.ja:j/	‘this’ ERG.PROX.SG
/ji.ʔɛ.ja:j/	‘this’ ABS.PROX.SG

3.4.4 Diphthong /ɔj/

The mid back rounded vowel /ɔ/ ‘joins with’ the voiced palatal glide /j/ to form the diphthong /ɔj/. Table 3.9 shows the sound in the final. No available data are found in the initial and medial.

Table 3.9 Diphthong /ɔj/ in the Final

Final	Gloss
/be.bɔ̄j/	‘pig’
/ʔa.pɔ̄j/	‘fire’
/pu.kɔ̄j/	‘said’
/ki.nu.mɔ̄j/	‘passed’
/kuŋ.kɔ̄j/	‘passing’

3.4.5 Diphthong /ɛj/

The mid front unround vowel /ɛ/ joins with the voiced palatal glide /j/ to form the diphthong /ɛj/. Table 3.10 shows the sound is only present in the initial and final.

Table 3.10 Diphthong /ɛj/ in the Initial and Final

Initial and Final	Gloss
/bɛj.waŋ/	‘waist’
/tu.bɛj/	‘help’
/nɛj.wit/	‘mouth’
/ka.tu.bɛj/	‘companion’ or ‘partner’

3.5 Consonants

Consonant sounds are articulated with complete or partial closure of the vocal tract. They are described by means of (i) voicing (the activity of the vocal cords as whether a sound is voiced or not), (ii) manner of articulation (the interaction of the speech organs responsible in producing the sound), and (iii) place of articulation (the point of contact in producing the sound). The consonant sounds of Southern Alta are shown in Table 3.11.

Table 3.11 Consonant Chart of Southern Alta

		Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	[–] voiced	p	t			k	?
	[+] voiced	b	d			g	
Nasal	[–] voiced	m	n			ŋ	
	[+] voiced						
Fricative	[–] voiced			s			h
	[+] voiced						
Affricate	[–] voiced			ts ^{xliv}			
	[+] voiced			dʒ			
Trill	[–] voiced			r			
	[+] voiced						
Lateral	[–] voiced			l			
	[+] voiced						
Glide	[–] voiced				j	w	
	[+] voiced						

3.5.1 **Stops**

Stops are consonants in which the vocal tract is blocked so that all airflow ceases then releasing it afterwards. They are differentiated by place of articulation (the exact place in the mouth where the closure takes place) and voicing (whether or not the vocal chords vibrate during the articulation). Southern Alta stops are contrastive for voicing and have four places of articulation: *bilabial*, *dental*, *velar*, and *glottal*.

Bilabial stops

The bilabial stops are consonants that are articulated with both lips held tightly enough to block the passage of air. Bilabial stops consist of voiceless /p/ in Table 3.12 and voiced /b/ Table 3.13. They are produced without aspiration in the initial or final sound.

3.5.1.1 Voiceless bilabial stop /p/

The voiceless bilabial stop in all position (initial, medial, and final) are unaspirated. The entries in the medial section such as /mɔk.p̥al/, /mɔs.sam.p̥at/, and /mɔp.nang/ are either in the onset or coda, but they are presented here in between a two-syllable or a three-syllable structure. The voiceless bilabial /p/ reduplicates in between vowels such as /pap.p̥a.tin/, /mup.p̥a.?it/, and /mup.p̥u.dul/. Table 3.12 shows the sound in the initial, medial, and final.

Table 3.12 Bilabial Stop /p/ in the Initial, Medial, and Final

Initial	Gloss
/p̥a.lag.pag/	‘breast’
/pap.p̥a.tin/	‘to kill’

/pa:.lɔ.pɔ/	‘roof’
/pi.tu/	‘seven’
/pun/	‘tree’
<hr/>	
Medial	Gloss
/mup.p̪a.?it/	‘bitter’
/pa.p̪a.tin/	‘to kill’
/tu.p̪a.don/	‘abide’
/mop.p̪u.dul/	‘dull’
/pos.p̪o.son/	‘press’
<hr/>	
Final	Gloss
/?i.jup/	‘to blow’
/mɔ.hɛ.dɛp/	‘difficult’
/ma.nap.tap/	‘to wash clothes’
/ta.laj.nɔp/	‘dream’
/ɔlɔp/	‘clouds’

3.5.1.2 Voiced bilabial stop /b/

The voiced bilabial stop in the initial, medial and final are unaspirated. The /b/ sounds medial section such as /sag.bɔŋ/, /?ig.bɔl/, and /tɔb.bel/ are located either in the onset or coda but they are presented here as within the word structure. The voiced bilabial /b/ reduplicates in between vowels such as /tɔb.bel/ and /man.lɔb.bɔk/. Table 3.13 shows the sound in the initial, medial, and final.

Table 3.13 Bilabial Stop /b/ in the Initial, Medial, and Final

Initial	Gloss
/bu.? <u>ul</u> /	'heel'
/be.tag/	'banana'
/b <u>e</u> .ges/	'rice'
/ba. <u>l</u> /	'new'
Medial	Gloss
/t <u>ɔ</u> b.b <u>əl</u> /	'answer'
/tu.be.yan/	'help'
/so.bo.ŋan/	'shoulder'
/to.ba.lon/	'answer'
/man.l <u>ɔ</u> b.b <u>ɔ</u> k/	'pound rice'
Final	Gloss
/na.li.t <u>ɔ</u> b/	'black'
/lu.m <u>ɔ</u> l.d <u>ɛ</u> b/	'burning place'
/l <u>ɔ</u> .d <u>ɛ</u> b/	'burning' or 'hell'
/ma.ka.su.k <u>ɔ</u> b/	'to enter'
/man.sa.k <u>ɔ</u> b/	'prone'

Dental stops

Dental stops are consonantal sounds that are produced by the tongue in contact with the upper teeth held tightly enough to block the passage of air. The dental stops are voiceless /t/ in Table 3.14 and voiced /d/in Table 3.15. They are unaspirated, and the sounds are not released in the final position.

3.5.1.3 Voiceless dental stop /t/

The voiceless dental stop /t/ in all position (initial, medial, and final) are unaspirated. The /t/ sounds in the medial section /be.tag/ is an onset but it is presented here as within the the word structure. The voiceless dental stop /t/ reduplicates whenever the voiceless dental /t/ is between vowel sounds such as /maŋ.ʔat.tɔd/ and /mut.ta.be/. Table 3.14 shows the sound in the initial, medial, and final.

Table 3.14 Dental voiceless stop /t/ in the Initial, Medial, and Final

Initial	Gloss
/tij.jan/	‘belly’
/tɔb.bɛl/	‘answer’
/tu.biʔ/	‘areca nut’
/ti.ʔad/	‘where’
/tuʔ.jun/	‘pull’
Medial	Gloss
/ʔun.ti.kin/	‘smaller’
/man.ta.bul/	‘hunt’
/maŋ.ʔat.tɔd/	‘give’
/ʔɔp.ta.kan/	‘east’
/mut.ta.be/	‘fat’
Final	Gloss
/mɔd.dit/	‘bad’
/la.bet/	‘wood’
/sɔ.ŋɛt/	‘mad’
/sa.ku.dut/	‘betel leaves’
/ta.li.sa.dut/	‘one each’

3.5.1.4 Voiced dental stop /d/

The voiced dental stop /d/ in the initial, medial, and final are unaspirated. The /d/ sounds in the medial section /mɔd.den/ is the onset of a penultimate syllable and the coda of the ultimate. The voiced dental stop /d/ reduplicates whenever the voiceless dental /d/ is between vowel sounds such as /mɔd.den/ and /mɔd.di.nat/. Table 3.15 shows the sound in the initial, medial, and final.

Table 3.15 Dental Stop /d/ in the Initial, Medial, and Final

Initial	Gloss
/də.man.ta/	‘big’ or ‘huge’
/də.get/	‘sea’
/də.la/	‘blood’
/da.lam/	‘night’
Medial	Gloss
/ma.di.di.ni/	‘shame’
/mɔd.dən/	‘old’ or ‘elder’
/mɔd.di.nat/	‘dirty’
/du.li.du.li/	‘many thorns’
/na.ʔud.ma/	‘tomorrow’
Final	Gloss
/di.sa.lad/	‘under’
/ka.lad.ka.lad/	‘different’
/maj.ʔat.tɔd/	‘give’
/ʔa.gid/	‘leaf’
/bə.jad/	‘payment’

Velar Stops

Velar stops are produced by the back of the tongue in contact with the soft palate held tightly enough to block the passage of air. The velar stops are voiceless /k/ in Table 3.16 and voiced /g/ in Table 3.17. They are never aspirated, and the sounds are usually unreleased in final position.

3.5.1.5 Voiceless velar stop /k/

The voiceless velar stop /k/ in the initial, medial, and final are unaspirated. The /k/ sound in the medial section reduplicates making /k/ as onset of the penultimate and the coda of the ultimate syllable. The voiceless velar /k/ in /be.kɔs/ is presented here as within the word structure. Table 3.16 shows the sound in the initial, medial, and final.

Table 3.16 Velar Stop /k/ in the Initial, Medial, and Final

Initial	Gloss
/kɔ.mɔt/	‘blanket’
/ka.la.tɔn/	‘bite’
/kɔd.dɔp/	‘noo’
/ka.bu.kɛ.den/	‘forest’
/ki.tid.di/	‘there is’

Medial	Gloss
/sa.ku.dut/	?‘leaf’
/ti.ki.ta/	‘you and I’ABS.1d
/di.ka.me/	‘for us’ OBL.1pe
/ta.ka.wɔn/	‘to steal’
/ti.nak.lo.pan/	‘covered’

Final	Gloss
/?ab.bak/	'body'
/ti.jak/	'I'
/bu.dɛk/	'fruit'
/ma.nuk/	'chicken'
/buk/	'hair'

3.5.1.6 Voiced velar stop /g/

The voiced velar stop /g/ in the initial, medial, and final are unaspirated. The sound in the medial section such as /kɔ.gen/, /jɔg.jɔg/, and /sag.wan/ are identified either as an onset or coda of a two-syllable structure. The sound is presented here as within a word structure. Table 3.17 shows the sound in the initial, medial, and final.

Table 3.17 Velar Stop /g/ in the Initial, Medial, and Final Sound

Initial	Gloss
/gɛ:.wi/	'to call'
/gɛ.gɛm.be/	'spider'
/gɔ.mɔt/	'hand'
/gɛ.bun/	'sand'
/gu.pad/	'old lady' or 'grandmother'

Medial	Gloss
/wa.got.wa.got/	'watery'
/?u.mug.sad/	'retreat'
/mɔd.dɔg.nin/	'breakfast'
/?o.ge.ge.don/	'praying'

/ta.gi.bu/	'in the beginning'
Final	Gloss
/pa.lag.pag/	'breast'
/dɛ.jag/	'egg'
/dɔ.dɔg/	'back'
/bɛ.tag/	'banana'
/si.nag/	'sun' or 'day'

Glottal Stop

The glottal stop is produced by obstructing airflow in the vocal tract or, more precisely, the glottis. Southern Alta has two glottal sounds, glottal stop /ʔ/ in Table 3.18 and voiceless glottal fricative /h/ in Table 3.23. The latter will be dealt in section 3.4.13. The glottal stop does not geminate (except for /taʔ.ʔup/^{xlv} winnow) and may appear as an initial consonant.

3.5.1.7 Glottal stop /ʔ/

The glottal stop is produced by obstructing airflow in the vocal tract or, more precisely, the glottis. Southern Alta has two glottal sounds, glottal stop /ʔ/ in Table 3.18 and voiceless glottal fricative /h/ in Table 3.23. The latter will be dealt in section 3.4.3.2. The glottal stop may appear in the initial, medial, and final word structure. The medial section show that the second syllable requires an onset glottal stop following an obligatory peak such as /taʔ.ʔup/, /pa.ʔam.bu.til/, and /ka:ʔe.ŋin/. Table 3.18 shows the sound in the initial, medial, and final.

Table 3.18 Glottal Stop /ʔ/ in the Initial, Medial, and Final

Initial	Gloss
/ʔa.pun/	‘afternoon’
/ʔab.bak/	‘breast’
/ʔa.nak/	‘child’
/ʔa.ŋɔt/	‘nose’
/ʔi.kɔl/	‘cough’
Medial	Gloss
/pa.ka.ʔu.wa.nan/	‘to cure’
/taʔ.ʔup/	‘to winnow’
/pa.ʔam.bu.til/	‘to lie’ or ‘to commit sin’
/ka.ʔɛ.ŋin/	‘clearing’
/pag.ʔin.deyo/	‘to avoid’
Final	Gloss
/tu.biʔ/	‘areca nut’
/mɔk.haʔ/	‘face’
/ʔa.buʔ/	‘ash’
/la.teʔ/	‘rattan’
/du.sɔʔ/	‘rain’

3.5.2 Nasals sounds

Nasal stops are produced with a lowered velum, allowing air to escape freely through the nose. Southern Alta has three nasal sounds. They are differentiated by the

place of articulation in which the airstream is blocked. The bilabial nasal /m/ is formed by closing the airstream at the lips. The dental nasal /n/ is formed by obstructing the airflow in the mouth with the tongue touching the upper teeth, or the alveolar ridge slightly behind the upper teeth. The velar nasal /ŋ/ is formed by obstructing the airflow in the mouth at the velum. The velar nasal /ŋ/ may appear in syllable initial position. Words with bilabial nasal /m/ sounds are shown in Table 3.19; dental nasal /n/ in Table 3.20; and velar nasal /ŋ/ in Table 3.21.

3.5.2.1 Voiced bilabial nasal /m/

The bilabial nasal /m/ appears in the initial, medial, and final word structure. The nasal /m/ reduplicates whenever the sound is between vowel sounds such as /?ɔm.m.an/, /mam.ma.kɔ/, and /mam.ma.ŋjan/. Table 3.19 shows the sound in the initial, medial, and final.

Table 3.19 Nasal Bilabial /m/ in the Initial, Medial, and Final

Initial	Gloss
/ma.la.wak/	‘butterfly’
/ma.mɛ.taʔ/	‘to choose’
/mɔd.dit/	‘bad’
/mɔd.dɔg.nin/	‘cold’
/ma.di.di.ni/	‘become shy’
Medial	Gloss
/?om.m.an/	‘betel chewing’
/ma.ma.kɔʔ/	‘to gather ferns’
/pa.?am.bu.til/	‘to lie’ or ‘to commit sin’

Final	Gloss	
/da.lam/	‘night’	
/man.na.jam/	‘to play’	
/di.ki.tam/	‘for us’ ABS.1pi	
/ki.tam/	‘we’	
/tam/	‘we’	

3.5.2.2 Voiced alveolar nasal /n/

The dental nasal /n/ appears in the initial, medial, and final word structure. The nasal /m/ also reduplicates whenever the sound is between vowel sounds such as /man.na.jam/. Table 3.20 shows the sound in the initial, medial, and final.

Table 3.20 Nasal dental voiceless /n/ Initial, Medial, and Final

Initial	Gloss
/nal.tɔʔ/	‘to cook’
/na.li.tɔb/	‘black’
/num.pas.bu/	‘to boil water’
/ni.lum.bɛg/	‘swollen’
/ni.ʔɛ:dut/	‘now’

Medial	Gloss
/man.na.jam/	‘to play’
/pi.na.ʔuwat/	‘sprang’
/pi.no.diʔ/	‘praised’
/pi.ne.taʔ/	‘chosen’
/pi.nu.me.ya/	‘made beautiful’

Final	Gloss
/sag.wan/	'paddle'
/?u.wan/	'no' or 'not'
/?ɔl.bu.gɛn/	'west'
/?ɔl.ɔl.nan/	'pillow'
/ɔk.ku.tɔ.?=an/	'to get lice out'

3.5.2.3 Voiceless velar nasal /ŋ/

The velar nasal /ŋ/ may appear in the initial, medial, and final word structure. The /ŋ/ sound in the medial section such as /sɔ:.ŋɛt/ is an onset of a two-syllable structure, and it is presented here as within the the word structure. Table 3.21 shows the sound in the initial, medial, and final.

Table 3.21 Nasal velar voiceless /ŋ/ in the Initial, Medial, and Final

Initial	Gloss
/ŋɛj.wit/	'mouth'
/ŋi.pɔn/	'teeth'
/ŋa.ne/	'ghost'
/ŋas.ŋas/	'tobacco'
/ŋa.dɔn/	'name'

Medial	Gloss
/?un.?a.ŋay/	'going'
/gɔ.lɔ.ŋan/	'throat'
/mam.ma.ŋan/	'to eat'
/?un.?a.ŋos/	'breathing'
/pan.dɔ.ŋɔ/	'to listen'

Final	Gloss
/tC.laŋ/	‘siblings’
/mCp.naŋ/	‘hot’
/kC.d.ŋ/	‘rope’
/?ab.Cŋ/	‘canoe’
/mC.te.niŋ/	‘straight’

3.5.3 Fricative sounds

Fricative sounds are produced by forcing air through a narrow channel made by placing two articulators close together. Southern Alta has voiceless alveolar fricative /s/ in Table 3.22 and voiceless glottal fricative /h/ Table 3.23. The alveolar fricative /s/ geminates in certain environments such as /mas.sC.ŋet/ ‘angry’. There are only a few words that have glottal fricative /h/ in the initial or medial, and none has occurred as final sound.

3.5.3.1 Voiceless alveolar fricative /s/

The alveolar fricative /s/ is located in the initial, medial, and final word structure geminates whenever the sound is squeezed between consonant sounds such as /sC.ŋet/ ‘anger’ and /?is.sa.dut/ ‘one’. The /s/ sounds in the medial section /mCs.lad/ and /lam.sit/ are in coda and onset position, respectively, but they are presented here as within the word structure. Table 3.22 shows the sound in the initial, medial, and final.

Table 3.22 Fricative Alveolar /s/ in the Initial, Medial, and Final

Initial	Gloss
/sa.baq/	‘road’ or ‘pathway’
/sC.kCd/	‘important meeting’
/sC.njet/	‘anger’
/sa.ku.dut/	‘betel leaf’
/si.kC/	‘elbow’

Medial	Gloss
/di.sa.lad/	‘under’
/sun.sop.sop/	‘sipping’
/sun.si.njaw/	‘evaporating’
/?in.sCk.tC/	‘insect’
/?is.sa.dut/	‘one’

Final	Gloss
/be.ges/	‘rice’
/ka.pCs/	‘poverty’
/pi.nCs.pCs/	‘squeeze’
/pa.mC.nas/	‘rag’
/?a.li.bus/	‘sweat’

3.5.3.2 Voiceless glottal fricative /h/

The voiceless glottal fricative /h/ may only appear in the initial and medial of a word, and it does not geminate like the obstruent consonants that were previously mentioned. The /h/ sounds in the medial section /la.hat/, /mCk.ha/, and /hC.hC/ are all in

onset position of the ultima, but they are presented here as within the the word structure.

Table 3.23 shows the sound in the initial and medial.

Table 3.23 Fricative /h/ in the Initial and Medial

Initial	Gloss
/ha.ŋaʔ/	‘big’
/ha.lɛ.gi/	‘column’
/ha.tɔ.lan/	‘to judge’
/hɛ.dɛp/	‘poverty’
/hɛ.tɔ/	‘catfish’
Medial	Gloss
/taŋ.hali/	‘noon’
/la.hat/	‘all’
/mɔk.haʔ/	‘face’
/hun.haŋa/	‘big’CONT
/mag.hi.naw/	‘wash hands’

3.5.4 Affricate

An affricate alveolar sound is produced with the tip or the blade of the tongue against the alveolar ridge just behind the teeth. The affricate alveolar voiced sound /tʃ/ while the voiced sound is /dʒ/.

3.5.4.1 Affricate alveolar voiceless /tʃ/

An affricate alveolar voiceless /tʃ/ is produced with the tip or blade of the tongue against the alveolar ridge just behind the teeth. The sound /tʃ/ in Table 3.24 seldom appears in the inventory, and it is borrowed from English language. The affricate alveolar /ts/ may only appear only in the initial or onset of a word, and it does not geminate. Table 3.24 shows the sound in the initial.

Table 3.24 Alveolar Affricate /tʃ/ in the Final Sound

Initial	Gloss
/tʃar.dʒər/	‘cellphone charger’
/tʃip.tɛjn/	‘chieftain’

3.5.4.2 Affricate alveolar voiced /dʒ/

The voiced sound /dʒ/ in Table 3.25 seldom appears in the inventory, and it is also borrowed from English language. The affricate alveolar /dʒ/ may only appear only in the initial or onset of a word and the sound does not geminate. Table 3.25 shows the sound in the final.

Table 3.25 Alveolar Affricate /dʒ/ in the Final

Initial	Gloss
/tʃar.dʒər/	‘cellphone chager’

3.5.5 Tap *r*

3.5.5.1 Voiced alveolar tap /r/

The sound is produced by quickly tapping the tongue to the passive articulators.

The voiced alveolar tap sound /r/ is very seldom in Southern Alta. Some words that may appear as voiced /r/ in Table 3.26 are borrowed from contact languages such as *Umiray Dumaget*, *Tagalog*, and other Northern Codilleran languages. “This can be a sound change”, according to Reid (1991), “from the historical *R > to /l/”.

The voiced alveolar tap *r* may appear in the medial and final of a lexical item, and it may co-occur with other consonants forming a consonant cluster such as /tri.go/. The *r* sounds in the medial section /mo.ra/ and /tri.go/, and /kar.pa/ in the onset and coda position respectively, but they are presented here as within the word structure.

Table 3.26 Tap Alveolar /r/ in the Medial and Final

Medial	Gloss
/tri.gɔ/	‘wheat’
/ba.ra.kɔ/	‘male pig’
/dis.jɛr.tɔ/	‘dessert’
/kar.pa/	‘carp’
/ka.ru.wa.hɛ/	‘carriage’

Final	Gloss
/tsar.ɡɛr/	‘cellphone charger’
/be.tɛ.ri/	‘battery’
/kɔm.pi.ju.ter/	‘computer’

3.5.6 Lateral

Lateral consonant sound is a sound produced by raising the lip against the roof of the mouth so that the airstream proceeds along the sides of the tongue. Southern Alta has a lateral consonant sound, voiced alveolar lateral /l/. The voiced alveolar lateral /l/ is shown in Table 3.27.

3.5.6.1 Voiced alveolar lateral /l/

The voiced alveolar lateral /l/ may appear in the initial, medial, and final segment of a word. The /l/ sounds in the medial section /?al.ta/ and /nal.tɔ/ are in coda position, and they are presented here as within the the word structure. The sound is somehow lengthened in /nal.tɔ/ when pressing the alveolar ridge probably because of the continuos airflow from the airstream. Table 3.27 shows the sound in the initial, medial, and final.

Table 3.27 Lateral Alveolar /l/ in the Initial, Medial, and Final

Initial	Gloss
/lu.nɔŋ/	‘finger nails’
/la.ŋad/	‘sit’
/la.bɛt/	‘wood’
/la.waj/	‘to see’
/li.tɔb/	‘black’

Medial	Gloss
/ka.la.tɔn/	‘to bite’
/ta.la:j.nɔp/	‘dream’
/nal.tɔ/	‘to cook’
/mɔ.pa.le.pa.le/	‘fast’
/?al.taŋ/	‘person’ or ‘Dumagat’

Final	Gloss
/bi.bil/	‘lips’
/tɔb.beɪ/	‘answer’
/?i.kɔɪ/	‘cough’
/bus.sɔɪ/	‘full’
/mɔk.pal/	‘thick’

3.5.7 **Glide**

A semivowel (or glide) is a sound that is phonetically similar to a vowel sound, but it functions as the syllable boundary rather than the nucleus of a syllable. Southern Alta has voiced palatal glide /j/ and voiced velar glide /w/. Both may appear in the onset or coda position. Both /j/ and /w/ glide when they are preceded with a vowel. The voiced palatal glide /j/ is shown in Table 3.28 and voiced velar glide /w/ in Table 3.29.

3.5.7.1 **Voiced palatal glide /j/**

The voiced palatal glide /j/ may appear in the initial, medial, and final of a word, and it may attract with other vowels forming a diphthong like /ta.la;j.nop/. The /j/ sounds in the medial section /ti:.jan/ and /tu?;jun/ are in the onset position, and they are presented here as within the the word structure. Table 3.28 shows the sound in the final.

Table 3.28 Glide Palatal /j/ in the Initial, Medial, and Final

Initial	Gloss
/jut.dun/	‘to pull’
/jɔm.jɔm/	dim sky’
/jɔp.jɔp/	‘midget’
/ji.χεχ/	‘this’
/ji.χin.na/	‘that’

Medial	Gloss
/χa.bu.ja.nan/	‘to recognize’
/ta.la:j.nɔp/	‘dream’
/tuχ.jun/	‘to push’
/man.na.jam/	‘to play’
/ti:.jan/	‘belly’

Final	Gloss
/man.di.mɔj/	‘to swim’
/suk.laj/	‘comb’
/tu.maj/	‘excrement’
/tal.taj/	‘peak’
/lu.waj/	‘again’ ‘

3.5.7.2 Voiced velar glide /w/

The voiced velar glide /w/ may appear in the initial, medial, and final of a word.

The /w/ sound in the medial section /sag.wan/ is in the onset position, and it is presented here as within the word structure. Table 3.29 shows the sound in the initial, medial, and final.

Table 3.29 Glide Velar /w/ in the Initial, Medial, and Final

Initial	Gloss
/wa.gOt/	‘water’ or ‘river’
/wa.di/	‘sibling’
/wa.lo/	‘eight’
/wa.gOt.wa.gOt/	‘watery’
Medial	Gloss
/ka.wa.di/	‘left’
/sag.wan/	‘paddle’
/?u.wan/	‘no’ or ‘not’
/?a.wa.nan/	‘right’
/?a.wi.le/	‘left’
Final	Gloss
/sa.lew/	‘buy’
/be.jaw/	‘brother-in-law’
/di.kaw/	‘for you’
/ti.kaw/	‘you’
/taw/	‘Tagalog’ or ‘non-Dumagat’

3.6 Homophony

Homonymous words are word-forms that are phonologically identical. Table 3.30 shows a list of homonymous words. Most of them are clitics, they consists of markers, ligature, adverbial particles, and enclitic pronouns.

Table 3.30 List of Homophonyous Particles

Base	Gloss	Description	Function
<i>nu</i>	‘if’	adverbial particle	ADV
	‘the’	definite singular noun marker	DET.ERG
		the ‘E’ or extended argument of a dyadic AF clause	DET.OBL
<i>na</i>		encode 3rd person singular pronoun	ERG.3s/GEN.3s pronoun
		the ‘E’ or extended argument of a dyadic AF clause	OBL
		shortened for <i>tikana</i>	ABS.3s
<i>ti</i>		mark location or destination	OBL marker
		mark singular personal name	ABS personal marker
<i>ni</i>		mark singular personal name	ERG personal marker
		demonstrative	ERG.DEM
<i>di</i>		mark distal singular demonstrative	DIST.DEM.SG
		encode recent temporal expression	TEM.REC.
<i>de</i>		encode 3p plural pronoun	ERG.3p/GEN.3p pronoun
		encode remote temporal expression	TEM.REM.
<i>ta</i>		encode 3rd person plural pronoun	ERG.3p/ GEN.3p pronoun
	‘and’ or ‘why’	connective	CON
<i>?ay</i>		interjection	INTJ
		topic linker	TL

3.7 Phonological Process

There are various phonological processes or phonological alternations that are observed. These are assimilation (partial and total), syllabification, and gemination.

3.7.1 Assimilation

Assimilation is “a condition where two sounds that are adjacent to one another become more similar” (Zsiga, 2013, p. 38). In general, two different types of assimilation are described, total and partial assimilation. This section also describes the occurrence of assimilation in both lexical or interclausal levels. The different forms of assimilation are *homorganic nasal assimilation, palatalization, voicing and manner assimilation, complete assimilation and sandhi*. Each alternation is described in turn.

3.7.1.1 Homorganic nasal assimilation

Liao (2004) stated that “Meso-Cordilleran languages including South Alta, in which the reflex of *R is l, show the innovated form *man-*, or a further development such as *mon-*, *mun-*, *men* [*min*, *mθn*], *min-*, *an-*, *in-*, *en-* [*?en*]” (p. 115). She further explained that “the reflex of *maR-* in Southern Alta appears in variant forms - inherited forms show *man-* and *mon-* while Tagalog loans used *mag-* or *mon-*” (p. 118).

* <i>maR-</i> + base	> IMPR	> CONT
<i>mag-</i> + <i>tadibeho</i> (work)	> <i>mag-tadibeho</i> (will work)	> <i>mogtadibeho</i> (is/are working)
<i>man-</i> + <i>dongol</i> (listen)	> <i>man-dongol</i> (will listen)	> <i>mondongol</i> (is/are listening)
<i>mam-</i> + <i>pasbu</i> (boil water)	> <i>mam-pasbu</i> (will boil water)	> <i>mompasbu</i> (is/are boiling water)
* <i>maN-</i> + base	> IMPR	> CONT
<i>mang-</i> + <i>?alap</i> (gather)	> <i>mang-?alap</i> (will get/ gather)	> <i>mong?alap</i> (is/are getting/ gathering)

3.7.1.2 Palatalization

Palatalization refers to “the raising of the front of the tongue (as for [i] or [j]) during the pronunciation of a consonant” (Gussenhoven & Jacobs, 2011, p. 31). “Consonants may become fronted (palatalized) adjacent to a front vowel or glide” (Zsiga, 2013, p. 235). Secondary articulations are indicated with superscripts [b^j] and [d^j] such as the examples below. The bilabial stop /b/ and /d/ are raised in anticipation to the raising of the velum before the voiceless velar /k/.

?ab ^j ak	>	abak	‘body’
bud ^j ak	>	budak	‘fruit’
b ^j ekos	>	bekos	‘adult female’
?umab ^j ak	>	umabak	‘morning’

3.7.2 Voicing and Manner of articulation

Consonants are also often vulnerable to assimilation from a neighboring segment or syllable like the examples shown below. The words *?oka* ‘sibling’, *koyog* ‘friend’, *tidema* ‘father and child’, *tidna* ‘mother and child’, and *?asawa* ‘husband and wife’ to name a few undergo the process of assimilation. The PEF *maR, a morpheme that is reflexive and reciprocal, assimilates and eventually reduplicates the first syllable of the conjoined word. Examining the initial sound of the words like the glottal stop /?/ in *?oka*, the voiceless velar stop /k/ in *koyog*, the voiceless dental stop *tidema* and *tidna*, and the voiceless labiodental /s/ in *?asawa*, the *R may have undergone a regressive assimilation based on the voicing and manner of articulation of the preceding consonant of the conjoined word.

maR + ?oka ‘sibling’ > *mat (mat.ot) + ?o.ka* = *mattoka /mat.toka/ or matotoka /ma.to.to.ka/ ‘siblings’*

maR + koyog ‘friend’ > *mat (mat.ot) + ?ko.yog* = *matkoyog /mat.ko.yog/ or matotkoyog /mat.tot.ko.yog/ ‘friends’ PL*

maR + tidema ‘father’ > *mat + ti.de.ma* = *matdema /mat.de.ma/ ‘father and child’*

maR + tidema ‘father’ > *mat + ti.de.ma* = *matdema /mat.de.ma/ ‘father and child’*

maR + ?asawa ‘spouse’ SG > *mat (matot) + ?a.sa.wa* = *masasawa /ma.sa.sa.wa/ ‘spouse’ PL*

3.7.3 Complete (Total) Assimilation

“Complete assimilation occurs when two adjacent sounds become identical” (Zsiga, 2013, p. 235). Southern Alta is right-branching meaning a nominal complement(s) is preceded by the head of the clause (i.e. a verb follows the nominal complement(s) like a pronominal clitic). In the case of Southern Alta, complete assimilation occurs when the first person singular pronominal clitic **ABS.1s** =?ak ‘I’ reduplicates the last sound or segment of the verb. Examining the sample clauses below, the initial sound of the first person singular pronominal clitic **ABS.1s** =?ak is changed to =yak and =ngak, respectively. When a sound is modified, it becomes more like the sound that follows it. This process is called *progressive assimilation* (Katamba, 1989, p. 84).

?um-angay ‘will go’ IMPR + =?ak ‘I’ > ?umangay=yak ‘I will walk/ go’

?inum-alang ‘come’ PERF + =?ak ‘I’ > ?inumalang=ngak ‘I came from...’

Another form of interclausal assimilation is shown below. The negative *?uwan* ‘no’, ‘not’, or ‘none’ assimilates with the second person singular **ERG.2s** =*mo* ‘you’. The voiced dental nasal /n/ in *?uwan* is deleted and replaced with voiced bilabial nasal /m/, but the meaning remains the same.

?uwan ‘not’ + *mo* ‘you’ + *may-kalat* ‘to spread’ >

<i>?uwam</i>	<i>maykalat tu kale</i>
<i>?uwa(n)=m(o)</i>	<i>maykalat tu kale</i>
NEG=ERG.2s	spread ABS word
‘ You cannot spread the word.’	

3.7.4 *Sandhi*

Sandhi refers to “any of the various phenomena in which a word is modified by the presence of adjoining word or morpheme like in Sanskrit grammar” (Trask, 1996, p. 245). This phenomenon has been also observed in Ibanag. According to Dita (2007), *sandhi* refers to “the assimilation of sounds in juncture which sometimes results in the deletion of some phonemes” (p. 25). This phenomena also occur in some words of Southern Alta. The word *?atod* ‘give’ has a syllabification pattern of CVCVC. But when the term undergoes stem modification, the word changes from *?atod* ‘give’ to *?atden* ‘give’ **BEN.GF**, the syllabication pattern changes to CVCCVC (/o/ is lost) and not **?atoden* with a syllable pattern of CVCVCVC. The term *?atden* ‘give’ could have been much preferred than **?atoden* because the former consists of simple syllable pattern or preferred syllable pattern.

?atod ‘give’ > *?atd-en* ‘give’ **IMPR.BEN**

**?atoden*

A quite similar phenomena is shown below. The pronominal clitic GEN.1s =ko ‘my’ is deleted after combining with the word *?asawa* ‘spouse’. When combined, it is pronounced *?asawak* /?a.sa.wak/ ‘my spouse’. The final vowel /o/ is deleted, and the phenomena in which the word-final is deleted is *apocope*.

?asawa /?a.sa.wa/ ‘spouse’ + =ko ‘my’ GEN.1s > *?asawa=k(o)* >
asawak /?a.sa.wak/ ‘my spouse’

3.8 Syllabification

Syllable in Southern Alta is CV[C]. It is composed of consonantal onset and vowel, with an optional consonant or glottal sound. The voiceless velar nasal /ŋ/ *ng*; consonant clusters /kl/ and /tr/, alveolar affricate voiceless /tʃ/ *ts* and voiced /dʒ/ *gh* are borrowed, and they became part of the inventory of sounds; and the diphthongs /au/ *aw*, /ɔu/ *ow*, /aj/ *ay*, /ɔj/ *oy* and /ej/ *ey* consist of 2 (two) phonemic symbols. The glottal stop /ʔ/ does not appear in conventional writing. Instead, it is represented by grave accent symbol (`) or a hyphen(-) if the sound is final onset and preceeded by a C such as /deʔ.nap/ *de`nap* ‘boulder’, or between C and V (nucleus) such as /mag.?a.del/ *mag-adel*.

Table 3.31 Syllabification Pattern

Syllable Pattern	Orthographic Representation	Gloss
(a) CV	[?]e	‘this’
	<i>tu</i>	‘the’ DEF
(b) CVC	<i>pun</i>	‘tree’
	<i>tud</i>	‘knee’
(c) CVCC	<i>tsipteyn</i>	‘chieftain’
(d) CCVC	<i>tsarger</i>	‘cellphone charger’

3.9 Gemination

Southern Alta consonants geminate in between vowels. Reid (1991) explained that “Southern Alta geminates an intervocallic medial consonant following a reflex of *θ”. He claimed that “it is a feature of the phonologies of Ilocano and most Northern Cordilleran Languages” (p. 9). Table 3.32 shows that the phonemes /b/, /d/, /l/, /m/, /n/, /p/, /ŋ/, /k/, and /s/ geminate between vowels. The syllables with the reduplicated consonants is the onset of the next syllable.

Table 3.32 Gemination of Consonants

Consonants	Phonemic	Gloss
/b/	/tɔ b.bεl/	‘answer’
/d/	/mɔ d.dit/	‘bad’
/l/	/sɔ l.laŋ/	‘chin’
/m/	/?ɔ m.man/	?‘bettel’
/n/	/ma n.na.jam/	‘to play’
/p/	/mu p.pə.ʔit/	‘bitter’
/ŋ/	/pa ŋ.ŋɛ.wa? /	‘for cutting’
/k/	/?ɔ k.ku.tu.an/	‘removing lice’
/t/	/mu .tab.bε? /	‘fat’
/s/	/?is.sa?	‘one’

3.10 The Sounds of Southern Alta

Table 3.33 shows the phonemic symbols in the first column following the proposed working orthography of the language. Each phoneme has one-to-one representation except for diphthongs /ŋ/ and consonant clusters which consist of two letters. The glottal stop (?) which is written as hyphen (–) or grave accent (˘) if the syllable onset is within a word, and null if word-initial and word-final.

Table 3.33 The Sounds of Southern Alta

Phonemic Symbols	Generic Orthography	Words	Gloss
/p/	p	<i>palagpag</i>	'breast'
/b/	b	<i>bu`ul</i>	'heel'
/t/	t	<i>tiyyan</i>	'stomach'
/d/	d	<i>demanta</i>	'big' or 'huge'
/k/	k	<i>komot</i>	'blanket'
/g/	g	<i>gewi</i>	'call'
/ʔ/	- or `	<i>de`nap or mag-adel</i>	'stone', 'to study'
/m/	m	<i>malawak</i>	'butterfly'
/n/	n	<i>namok</i>	'mosquito'
/ŋ/	ng	<i>ngeywit</i>	'mouth'
/s/	s	<i>sabaj</i>	'road' or 'pathway'
/h/	h	<i>hangā</i>	'big' or 'huge'
/tʃ/	ts	<i>tsipteyn</i>	'chieftain'
/dʒ/	g	<i>tsarger</i>	'charger'
/l/	l	<i>luno</i>	'fingernail'
/r/	r	<i>barako</i>	'male pig'
/tr/	tr	<i>trigo</i>	'wheat'
/j/	y	<i>yutdun</i>	'pull'
/w/	w	<i>wagot</i>	'water' or 'river'
/a/	a	<i>alta</i>	'person'
/ɛ/	e	<i>bele</i>	'house'

/i/	i	<i>ikan</i>	‘fish’
/u/	u	<i>uta</i>	‘vomit’
/ɔ/	o	<i>oddog</i>	‘back’
/au/	aw	<i>taw</i>	‘Tagalog’ or ‘non-Dumagat’
/ɔu/	ow	<i>motnow</i>	‘noisy’
/aj/	ay	<i>maysa</i>	‘snake’
/ɔj/	oy	<i>bebøy</i>	‘pig’
/ɛj/	ey	<i>katubey</i>	‘helper’ or ‘companion’

3.11 Summary

This chapter described the phonology or the sounds of Southern Alta. It covered the *vowels*, *diphthongs*, and *consonants* including their phonological features such as *stress* and *vowel length*, *homophony*, *phonological alternations*, *syllabification*, and *gemination*. The last section presented the sound inventory of the language. After presenting the *sounds*, the morphology of Southern Alta such as *roots/stem*, *affixes*, *clitics*, including the morphological processes of the lexical classes will be explained in detail in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4

MORPHOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the co-variation and meaning of words of Southern Alta or its morphology^{xlvii} of Southern Alta. The chapter is divided in the following sections: lexical similarities with contact languages (4.2) roots and stems (4.3), clitics (4.4), monomorphemic syllables (4.5), morphological processes (4.6), orthography (4.7) and summary (4.8).

4.2 Lexical Similarities with other Contact Languages

This section will present a two-point objective. First, to show that some lexical items of Southern Alta are “borrowed words or have developed^{xlviii} from trading relations with surrounding ethnolinguistic groups” (Reid L. , 1991; 1994b); and second, to show that there are prototypical nouns and verbs, as well as a productive derivational and inflectional processes in the language.

A close examination of Reid (1989; 1991; 1994b) on the lexicon and morphology of Southern Alta showed that some lexical items or affixations are inherited forms while others have evolved as lexical innovation. Some tables are presented below to show the lexical similarities between Southern Alta (**SAlt**) and *Tagalog* (**TAG**) and other Philippine Negrito languages such as Casiguran Agta (**CAgta**), Umiray Dumaget (**UmDu**), and Northern Alta (**NAlt**). Reid (1991; 1994b) shows a list of words that are lexically similar and that may have resulted from language borrowing or influence from other contact language(s)^{xlviii}.

Table 4.1 shows the lexical similarities between Altan languages: Southern and Northern. There are almost 34 words that are similar in both languages^{xlix}. However, these do not presume that they are dialects of a single ethnolinguistic group nor closely related languages. Otherwise, Reid (1991, p. 4) claimed that ‘the two Alta languages are only distantly related to each other’. The table also shows the lexical similarities between Southern Alta (SAlt) and Northern (NAlt), Casiguran Agta (CAgta), and Umiray Dumaget (UmDu). Although only a few sample words are shown in the table, Reid (1991, p. 6) claimed that “the lexical similarities between and among the Negrito languages is an evidence of the considerable interaction between these groups, going back prior to the dispersal of the Alta”. The word ‘deep’ or ‘under’ (Table 4.1) is the only word that is shared by the four languages. Lexical similarities between and among Negrito languages may have been developed from constant interaction of these groups.

Table 4.1 Lexical Similarities between SAlt and Other Negrito Languages

Gloss	SAlt	NAlt
accompany	kakaylan	?e:lan
carry on shoulder	bitlay	bitlayən
cheek; face	pasingil	pasingil
chin	sollang	sollang
cold	dognin	dəŋŋin
Gloss	SAlt	CAgta
bury, inter	itapul	tapoh
pity, kindness	kalbi	kagbi
summit	taltay	taltay
forehead	koddop	k?idθp
buttocks	sula/ timoy	timoy
Gloss	SAlt	UmDum
rattan	late	lati
know (s.o.)	abuyanan	pebuyenan
snake	bebek	bebe
leaf	agid	agid
fast	moppalipali	moppalipali
Gloss	SAlt	Other Negrito Languages ^l
deep; under	tanaw, disalad, maddisalad	maddisalad, disalad, madisalad

Table 4.2 shows the lexical similarities between Southern Alta (SAlt) and *Tagalog* (TAG). There are 21 words that are similar in both languages. This is an evidence that the “affect of borrowing from *Tagalog* is highly significant” (Reid L. , 1991, p. 5). A close examination of the words below shows that almost all lexical items or affixations are inherited forms while others have evolved as lexical innovation such as *hedep* or *mahirap* ‘poverty’.

Table 4.2 Lexical Similarities between SAlt and TAG

Gloss	SAlt	TAG
steal	nakaw	nakaw
yellow	dilaw	dilaw
bunch	buwig	buwig
fry rice	saŋaŋ	saŋaŋ
animal	hayup	hayup
chicken flea	hanip	hanip
dew	hamog	hamog
difficult	hedip	mahirap
expensive	mahal	mahal
floor	sahig	sahig
noon	tanghali	tanghali
pungent, spicy	anghang	anghang
ripe	hinog	hinog
seed	binhi	binhi
shrimp	hipon	hipon
thirsty	uhaw	uhaw
unmarried, girl	mahuna ‘fragile’ ‘frail’	mahuna ‘fragile’ ‘frail’
weave	habi	habi
weak, slow	hena	mahina
wash face	hilamos	hilamos
wash hands	hinaw	hinaw

4.3 Roots/ Stems

The second point that should be addressed is the noun/ verb distinction in Philippine-type languages. Himmelmann (2005, p. 127) described that “Philippine languages generally lack a clear-cut lexical distinction between noun and verb”. He also argued that “*Tagalog* lexical bases are morphologically and syntactically subcategorized” which led to the idea of *precategorial*.

This paper follows the process for deriving nouns and verbs and shall take the stance of Croft (2001) as cited by Tanangkingsing (2009, p. 23), and Givon (2001, p. 43). They explained that “prototypical characteristics of nouns and verbs are not categories for particular languages but that noun and verb are language universals - that and they have prototypical prototypes which could be called noun and verb”.

The first column in Table 4.3 shows example of lexical bases that can take affixes to form another word. According to Haspelmath & Sims (2010, p. 20), “a *base* is sometimes called a stem especially if an inflectional (as opposed to derivational) affix attaches to it while a *root* is a base that cannot be analysed any further into constituent morphemes” (p. 21). Table 4.3 provides derived meanings, sample words, and roots/stems.

Examine the words below in Table 4.3. The word *ta.ʔe* ‘here’, a demonstrative/adverb, is affixed with a noun and a verb-forming affix. The case is also similar with the root/stem *nol* when a noun or a verb-forming affix is attached. The root/stem *nol* has no meaning unless it is affixed to form content words. The term *Pilom* ‘ant’, a noun, is ‘verbalized’ for aspect. Other affixes will be discussed below in Section 4.5 morphological processes.

Table 4.3 Root and Affixation

Root	Derivation/ Inflection
<i>taʔe</i> ‘here’	<i>tagetaʔe</i> (N) ‘a person who is from here’
	<i>tinumaʔe</i> (V) PERF ‘arrive’ or ‘come’
	<i>taʔe</i> (ADV, DEM), ‘here’
<i>nol</i>	<i>nolon</i> (N/V) ‘to know’
	<i>mongnol</i> (ADJ) ‘learned’ ‘so who knows sth’
	<i>malangno</i> (verb) ‘to speak’
	<i>palangno</i> (N) ‘speech’
	<i>onolon</i> (V) CONT.THE ‘knowing’
	<i>ninol</i> (V) PERF.THE ‘knew’
	<i>?ipanol</i> (V) INST ‘used to inform’
	<i>?inipanol</i> (V) PERF ‘so informed sth to so’
	<i>paampanol</i> (N) MAN ‘way to inform’
<i>?ilom</i> ‘ant’	<i>?ilom</i> (N) ‘ant’
	<i>?ilomon</i> (V) IMPR ‘will be anted’
	<i>?oʔilom</i> , (V)CONT ‘anting’
	<i>?inilom</i> (V) PERF ‘anted’

4.4 Clitics

“Clitics are phonologically bound to a preceding or following host”. In addition, “clitics which occur obligatorily in the second position in a sentence are commonly known as *second-position clitics* or Wackemagel’s Law” (Trask, 1996, pp. 46-47). The clitics of Southern Alta consist of pronouns (ABS ‘short forms’, ERG and GEN), ligatures,

and adverbial particles. Almost all pronouns are enclitics. They are shown in Table 4.4.

That is, they are bound to a preceding host.

Table 4.4 Clitic Pronouns

	ABS	Gloss	ERG	Gloss	GEN	Gloss
1s	= <i>pak</i>	‘I’	= <i>ko; =k</i>	‘I’	= <i>ko; =k</i>	‘my’
1d	= <i>kita</i>	‘you and I’	= <i>ta</i>	‘you and I’	= <i>ta</i>	‘yours and mine’
1pe	= <i>kame</i>	‘we’ (excl. <i>you</i>)	= <i>me</i>	‘we’ (excl. <i>you</i>)	= <i>me</i>	‘our’ (excl. <i>you</i>)
1pi	= <i>kitam</i>	‘we’ (incl. <i>you</i>)	= <i>tam</i>	‘we’ (incl. <i>you</i>)	= <i>tam</i>	‘our’ (incl. <i>you</i>)
2s	= <i>ka</i>	‘you’	= <i>mo, =m</i>	‘you’	= <i>mo, =m</i>	‘your’ (SG)
2p	= <i>kayo</i>	‘you’ (PL)	= <i>yo</i>	‘you’ (PL)	= <i>yo</i>	‘your’ (PL)
3s	= <i>tikana, siya</i>	‘he, she, it’	= <i>na</i>	‘he, she, it’	= <i>na</i>	‘his, her, its’
3p	= <i>sid</i>	‘they’	= <i>de</i>	‘they’	= <i>de</i>	‘their’

All of the enclitics in Table 4.4 are phonologically bound to the host, but some, aside from combining with a separate lexical items, undergo epenthetic process which includes the process of reduplication and replacement. These enclitics are ABS.1s=*pak* ‘I’, ERG.1s/GEN.1s=*ko; =k*, ERG.2s/GEN.2s=*mo, =m* ‘you’ (SG). Examine the hosts in clause (1) and (2), both terms *anto* and *asawa* are also open syllables. The determiner =*y* (*yi*) and pronouns ERG.2s and GEN.1s reduplicate to bind themselves with *gewa(n)* and noun *asawa*, respectively. In clause (1), the nasal alveolar *n* of the IMPF *gewan* is dropped and replaced or ‘reduplicated’ with ERG.2s =*mo* ‘you’.

- (1) *panto=y gewam=mo*
anto=yi gewan(m)=mo
 what=DET do.RC=ERG.2s
 ‘What are you doing?’
- (2) *pasawak=ko*
asawa(k)=ko
wife.RC=GEN.1s
 ‘my wife.’

Demonstrative clitics are also phonologically bound to the host. Table 4.5 shows the long and short forms, functions, number and case. Most of the monosyllabic demonstratives assimilate with the host. Refer to Chapters 6.6 and 7.5. for a description of the clauses and assimilation process.

Table 4.5 List of Demonstrative Clitics

Demonstrative Clitics	Gloss	Description	Function
=yiʔe; =yaʔay; =ʔe	'this'	DEM.ABS	PROX.SG
=yiʔisideya:y	'these'	DEM.ABS	PROX.PL
=yiʔinna; =ʔinna; =ʔayna; =na	'that'	DEM.ABS	MED.SG
=yiʔisidna	'those'	DEM.ABS	MED.PL
=yiʔiddi; =ʔiddi; =di	'that'	DEM.ABS	DIST.SG
=yiʔisiddi; =yiʔiddi pala	'those'	DEM.ABS	DIST.PL
=niʔe; =niʔeyay; =niʔe; =ni	'this'	DEM.ERG	PROX.SG
=niʔe pala	'these'	DEM.ERG	PROX.PL
=niʔinna	'that'	DEM.ERG	MED.SG
=niʔinna pala	'those'	DEM.ERG	MED.PL
=niʔiddi	'that'	DEM.ERG	DIST.SG
=niʔiddi pala	'those'	DEM.ERG	DIST.PL
=de	'in the beginning'	DEM	TEM.REM
=ʔiddi	'at that very moment'	DEM	TEM.REC

Second-position clitics consist of lexical items that encode aspect, modality, and referentiality such as =ʔamad, =ʔamo, and =din or =d. Each of these second-position clitics are explained in detail in Chapter 11 and 14. Table 4.6 shows a summary of second-position clitics including their functions. The first line shows the ligature =ʔa, but it sometimes appears like the *Tagalog* ligature =ng or =na. Ligature introduces dependent structures. It also occur not only before relative clauses but also before sentential complements with verbal heads. It is an obligatory morpheme that links certain constituents, usually modifiers or specifiers, to the head noun of a nominal phrase.

Ligature is described in 8.8.4, 14.3, and 17.3. The blank spaces below are reserved for further description of the clitics.

Table 4.6 List of Second-Position Clitics

Clitics	Description	Functions	Gloss
=?a		introduce independent structures; obligatory morphemes that link certain constituents	
=?amad	encode probability or possibility	adverbial particle	‘maybe’ ‘may’ or ‘probably’
=?amo	temporal reference and definite referential	adverbial particle	‘already’ ‘just finished’ or ‘the only (one)’
?ay		interjections	
=wa			
=ya			
=didna	uncertainty and vagueness		
=din; =d	immediacy or urgency		‘already’, ‘now’
=duman	expresses new information or a repetition of similar outcomes		‘also’ ‘again’ ‘and also’
=dut	immediacy or urgency		‘coincidentally’ ‘apparently’
=lapo	source or origin		‘from’
=kuwa	repetition of a previous experience		
=man	possibility, assurance, and reaffirmation		
=mad	possibility, assurance, and reaffirmation	question clitic	
=matman			‘also’, ‘again’, ‘and then’, ‘the only one’
=ngan	encodes definite entity or definiteness		‘that is’, ‘this is’, or ‘it is’
=pa			‘what else’, or ‘there was’
=wadi	expresses a desire		‘please’, ‘I wish’

4.5 Monomorphemic syllables

Monomorphemic particles are introduced here to distinguish and describe the multiple functions of each, and show the equivalent morpheme gloss with English translation. These elements are shown in Table 4.7. The elements in the list below are discussed in detail in Chapter 6 Nominal Marking System and Chapter 11 - Adverb and Adverbial Particles.

Table 4.7 List of Monomorphemic Element

Base	Gloss	Description	Function
<i>tu</i>	'the'	definite singular noun marker	DET.ABS
<i>yi/?i</i>	'a/an/the'	noun marker	DET.ABS (Intransitive)
<i>nu</i>	'if'	adverbial particle	ADV
	'the'	definite singular noun marker	DET.ERG
		possessive marker	
<i>na</i>		encode 3p singular pronoun	ERG.3s/GEN.3s
		the 'E' or extended argument of a dyadic AF clause	pronoun DET.OBL (OBL) (definite purpose)
<i>ti</i>		mark location or destination	OBL marker
		mark singular personal name	ABS personal marker
<i>ni</i>		mark singular personal name	ERG personal marker
<i>di</i>		mark distal singular demonstrative	DIST.DEM.SG
		encode recent temporal expression	TEM.REC.
<i>de</i>		encode 3p plural pronoun	ERG.3p/GEN.3p
		pronoun	
<i>ta</i>		encode remote temporal expression	TEM.REM.
		encode 3p plural pronoun	ERG.3p/GEN.3p
		pronoun	
	'and' or 'why'	connective	CON
<i>?at</i>	'and'	connect words and phrases	CON
<i>?o</i>	'or'	connect words and phrases	CON
<i>ki</i>	'there is/are'	existential	EXI
<i>=pa</i>		adverbial particle; confirmation	ADV
<i>=mad</i>		adverbial particle; confirmation	ADV

=man		adverbial particle; confirmation	ADV
=dut	'again'	adverbial particle	ADV
=din;	'already' or	adverbial particle	ADV
=d	'now'		
=ya		interjection	INTJ
=wa		interjection	INTJ
?ay		interjection	INTJ
		topic linker	TL
=?e	'this'	proximate absolute demonstrative	PROX.DEM.ABS
=kan	'someone said'	adverbial particle	ADV

4.6 Morphological Processes

4.6.1 Affixation

This section describes the affixation features of nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs.

4.6.1.1 Noun

The section will describe the affixation features of nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs.

4.6.1.1.1 Prefix *ka-*

Prefix *ka-* forms comitative nouns. Table 4.8 shows the words *usil* 'company' and *tubey* 'help' when affixed with the prefix *ka-* forms comitative nouns such as *ka?usil* 'someone who accompanies' and *katubey* 'a partner or personal companion'. The comitative noun *katubey* 'partner' is used in sample clause (3).

Table 4.8 Comitative nouns *ka-* plus base form

Base	Gloss	Comitative Nouns	Gloss
?usil	'company'	<i>ka?usil</i>	'someone who accompanies'
tubey	'help'	<i>katubey</i>	'a partner or personal companion'

- (3) *tu bekos tu katubey nu patud*
 a woman ABS COM-help DET man
 ‘A **partner** of a man is a woman.’

4.6.1.1.2 Prefix *tage-*

Prefix *tage-* forms which means a person(s) from ‘x’. It may also refer to an individual or to a collective. Table 4.9 shows sample words with the prefix *tage-*. The words *taʔi* ‘here’ and *Gapan* ‘Gapan, Nueva Ecija’ when affixed with the prefix *tage-* forms ‘*tagetaʔi* ‘one who lives here’ and *tage-Gapang* ‘one who is from Gapan’ (4).

Table 4.9 *Origin Nouns*

Base	Gloss	Origin Nouns	Gloss
<i>taʔi</i>	here	<i>tagetaʔi</i>	‘one who lives here’
<i>Gapan</i>	Gapan, Nueva Ecija	<i>tagegapang</i>	‘one who is from Gapan’

- (4) *tu pang-laben=tam nu ka-hadi-yan ni Satanas*
 DET INST-fight=GEN.1pi DET CIRC-hadi-LOC GEN.PN Satan
?ay ?uwan gemit ?at ?esip nu tagetaʔi ti gebunay
 TL NEG thing and knowledge DET **person.here** OBL earth
 ‘Our weapon against Satan’s kingdom is not a thing or knowledge coming **here** on earth.’

Prefix *tage-*, or *tagepa(g)-* which means ‘follower’ or ‘servant’. Table 4.10 shows sample words with the prefix *tage-*, or *tagepa(g)-*. The words *sunod* ‘follow’, *lingkod* ‘serve’, and *ligtas* ‘save’ when affixed with the prefix *tage-* or *tagepa-* forms *tagesunod* ‘a follower’, *tagelingkod* ‘a servant’ and ‘*tagepag-ligtas*’ ‘a savior’.

Table 4.10 Prefix *tage-*, or *tagepa(g)-*

Base	Gloss	Instigator Nouns	Gloss
<i>sunod</i>	‘follow’	<i>tagesunod</i>	‘a follower’
<i>lingkod</i>	‘serve’	<i>tagelingkod</i>	‘a servant’
<i>ligtas</i>	‘save’	<i>tagepagligtas</i>	‘a savior’

4.6.1.1.3 Prefix *mag-RCV*

Prefix *mag-RCV* means ‘occupation’ or ‘profession’. Table 4.11 shows sample words with the prefix *mag-RCV*. The words *labet* ‘tree’ and *bentay* ‘guard’ when affixed with the prefix *mag-RCV* form *maglalabde* ‘lumberjack’ in (5) and *magbebentay* ‘one who guards’.

Table 4.11 Prefix *mag-RCV*

Base	Gloss	Profession Nouns	Gloss
<i>labet</i>	‘tree’	<i>maglalabde</i>	‘lumberjack’
<i>bentay</i>	‘guard’	<i>magbebentay</i>	‘one who guards’

- (5) *pinakoy tu maglalabde, Pumulok=ka na tatal*
 said ABS **lumberjack** hide=ABS.2s OBL sawdust
 ‘The **lumberjack** answered, “(You) Hide in the pile of sawdust.”’

4.6.1.1.4 Prefixes *ma-*, *mag-*, *mat-*, or *matot-*

Prefixes *ma-*, *mag-*, *mat-* or *matot-* means ‘dual’ ‘relational’ or ‘kinship’. Table 4.12 shows that the words are formed by the prefix *ma(C)-* plus **RCV** reduplication, or other distinguished morphological changes. The latter description includes some prefixes that do not show uniformity of form although they all mean relational or kinship such as *masasawa*, *matdema*, *matdena*, *matoka* or *matotoka*, and *matotkoyog*.

Table 4.12 Prefixes *ma-*, *mag-*, *mat-*, or *matot-*

Base	Gloss	Reciprocal	Gloss
<i>pasawa</i>	‘spouse’	<i>masasawa</i>	‘spouse’
<i>tidna</i>	‘mother’	<i>matdena</i>	‘rel. between mother and her children’
<i>tidema</i>	‘father’	<i>matdema</i>	‘rel. between father and her children’
<i>toka</i>	‘sibling’	<i>matoka</i> or <i>matotoka</i>	‘rel. between and among siblings’
<i>koyog</i>	‘friend’	<i>matotkoyogn</i> or <i>matkoyog</i>	“rel. between and among good friends”

4.6.1.1.5 Prefix *paN-*

Nouns can be derived from verbs by adding the affix *paN-* to the base. Derivations from verbs are divided into intransitive and transitive. Intransitive verbs with **AF** affixes (-um-, *maR-* (*mag-*, *man-*, *mam-*), and *maN-*) draw the nominalization of verbals by adding the prefix *paN-* or its variants. On the other hand, transitive verbs with **GF** affixes (-en (-in), -on, -an, and *?i-*) form the nominalization of verbals by adding the prefix *paN-...-an* and *paN-...-en* or their variants (*pan(m)- -en (-in)*, *pan- -on*, *pa(ng)- -an*, and *?ipan-).*

Intransitive verbs: *-um-*

>*paN*

>*pan-*, *pag-* *-an*

s<um>alew ‘buy’

> *panalew* ‘an inst for buying/exchanging’

> *panalewan* ‘a place to buy sth’

?umakang ‘walk’

> *pangakang* (outfit for a special occasion)

?umiyup ‘blow air’

> *pangiyup* (a traditional form of healing)

Intransitive verbs: *maR-*
mag- + adal ‘study’

>*ma(g)* >*pa(C)*, or *pag-...-an*, >*pa(VC)-*

> *pa?adal* ‘a place to study’

> *paag?adal* ‘studying’

> *pang?adal* ‘an inst for buying/exchanging’

mag- + ?atod ‘give’

> *pang?atod* ‘a thing to be given to so’

man- + dongol ‘listen’

> *pagdongol* ‘listening’

mam- + budak ‘produce fruit’

> *pagbudak* ‘producing fruit’

Intransitive verbs: <i>maN</i>	> <i>pang-</i> , <i>pa-</i>	>- <i>an</i>
<i>mang + alap</i> ‘gather/ get sth’	> <i>pangalap</i> ‘an inst to gather sth’	
	> <i>ngalapan</i> ‘a place to gather sth’	
	> <i>pangalap</i> ‘(pangunguha)	
<i>mang + ?akang</i> ‘go/ walk’	> <i>pang?akang</i> ‘athing to use for going sw’	
<i>mang + ?atod</i> ‘give’	> <i>pang?atod</i> ‘a thing to give to so’	
<i>mang + (k)an</i> ‘eat’	> <i>pamangan</i> ‘a table or a place to eat’	
Transitive verbs: <i>-en(-in)</i>	> <i>pag-</i>	> <i>pan-...-en (-in)</i>
<i>beyad+en</i> ‘to pay’	> <i>pambeyad</i> ‘an inst to gather sth’	
	> <i>beyaden</i> ‘pay what you owe from so’	
	> <i>pinagbayaden</i> (so obliged to pay what you owe from so)	
<i>langad + en</i> ‘sit’	> <i>langaden</i> ‘chair’	
	> <i>lumangad</i> ‘to sit’ (manner)	
	> <i>lalangaden</i> ‘an assigned seat for so’	
<i>law(ay)+in</i> ‘to see’	> <i>panlawin</i> ‘to look at closely’	
<i>lingkod+en</i> ‘serve’	> <i>paglingkoden</i> ‘to serve so or sth’	
<i>atden</i> ‘give’	> <i>pangatden</i> ‘to give another chance’	
	> <i>pinangatden</i> ‘has given another chance’	
Transitive verbs: <i>-on</i>	> <i>paN- -on</i>	> <i>pa- -on</i>
<i>do(i)ng(ol)l+on</i> ‘to listen to so’	> <i>pandonglon</i> ‘to listen to so or sth’	
<i>kan+-on</i> ‘to feed to so’	> <i>pakanon</i> ‘to feed so or sth’	
Transitive verbs: <i>-an</i>	> <i>paN- -an</i>	> <i>ka-...-an</i>
<i>butil+an</i> ‘evilness’ or ‘dirtiness’	> <i>pambutilan</i> ‘to make it bad or dirty’	> <i>pinag- -an</i>
	> <i>kabutilan</i> ‘to make it bad or dirty’	
	> <i>pinagbutilan</i> ‘to make it bad or dirty’	
<i>?alibusan</i> ‘sweatness’	> <i>pag?alibusan</i> ‘to make so sweat’	
	> <i>pinag?alibusan</i> ‘made so sweat’	
<i>kalditan</i>	> <i>pangkaldit</i> ‘an INST for running’	
	> <i>kalditan</i> ‘marathon’	
	> <i>pinangkaldit</i> ‘an INST used to for running’	
<i>?akang</i> ‘walk’	> <i>pinangakangan</i> (new trails)	
Transitive verbs: <i>?i-</i>	> <i>paN- -an</i>	> <i>ka-...-an</i>
<i>?i+tubey</i> ‘a INST to help’	> <i>?ipantubey</i> ‘an INST use to help or assist so/sth’	> <i>pinang- -an</i>
	> <i>pantubeyan</i> ‘a task that should be collectively done’	
	> <i>pinantubey</i> ‘an INST used to help or assist so/sth’	
<i>?i + hayag</i> ‘announce’	> <i>ipahayag</i> ‘to announce’	
<i>?i+suksuk</i> ‘a INST to hide’	> <i>pangsusukan</i> ‘a place to hide sth from so’	
	> <i>pinangsusukan</i> ‘a place hidden from so’	
	> <i>pangsusuk</i> ‘a thing use to hide sth’	

4.6.1.1.6 Circumfix *ka*-,-*an* or *ka*-,-*en*

Abstract nouns are derived from verb, adjective, noun or an adverb. It is formed simply by adding the circumfix *ka*-,-*an* or *ka*-,-*en* to the root. Table 4.13 shows sample words with the circumfix *ka*-,-*an* or *ka*-,-*en* such as *mate* ‘die’ to *kamatayan* ‘death’ (6) and *baliktad* ‘upside-down’ to *kabaliktaden* ‘in opposition’.

Table 4.13 Circumfix *ka*-,-*an*; or *ka*-,-*en*

Base	Gloss	Abstract Nouns	Gloss
<i>mate</i>	‘die’	<i>kamatayan</i>	‘death’
<i>budi</i>	‘like’	<i>kabudihan</i>	‘likeness’
<i>ligtas</i>	‘safe’	<i>kaligtasan</i>	‘salvation’
<i>baliktad</i>	‘upside-down’	<i>kabaliktaden</i>	‘in opposition’

- (6) *tu kamateyan na ?abak yi ?issa budak na kasalanan*
 ABS **death** DET body DET one fruit DET sin
 ‘The **death** of the body is a fruit of sin.’

Some nouns that appear to have circumfix *ka*-,-*an* means ‘a place or location’.

Table 4.14 shows the words *hadi* and *ilog* when affixed with *ka*-,-*an* become *kahadiyan* ‘a place controlled by a king’ and *ka?ilogan* ‘a place with many rivers or tributaries’.

Table 4.14 Circumfix *ka*-,-*an*

Base	Gloss	Locative Nouns	Gloss
<i>hadi</i>	‘king’	<i>kahadiyan</i>	‘a place controlled by a king’
<i>?ilog</i>	‘river’	<i>ka?ilogan</i>	‘a place with many rivers or tributaries’

4.6.1.1.7 Noun plus suffix *-an*

Some nouns ending with suffix *-an* means ‘a place or location’. Table 4.15 shows the words *omman* ‘mixture of betel nut and leaves’ and *mangan* ‘to eat’ when affixed with the suffix *-an* become *?ommanan* ‘a place where one can chew betel nut and leaves’ and *pumanganan* ‘a place for eating’.

Table 4.15 Suffix *-an*

Base	Gloss	Locative Nouns	Gloss
?omman	‘betel nut etc.’	?ommanan	‘a place for betel nut and leaves’
mangan	‘to eat’	pumanganan	‘a place for eating’

4.6.1.1.8 Nominal relative clause

Southern Alta has ligatures *=?a* and the loan *=(n)g*. It is the ligature *=?a* that connects head nouns and their modifier, for instance, (7 - 11). The ligature *=?a* is prenominal in (7), (9), and (11) or postnominal in (8) and (10). Southern Alta is sometimes morphosyntactically similar with *Tagalog*, the ligature *na* in *Tagalog* is sometimes used in casual conversation such as (11).

- (7) *tu modognin=?a kabwan*
 ABS cold=LIG wind
 ‘a/the cold wind’
- (8) *tu kabwan=?a modognin*
 ABS wind=LIG cold
 ‘a/the wind which is cold’
- (9) *yi?e ma?abong=?a anak*
 this thin=LIG child
 ‘this thin child’
- (10) *yi?e ?anak=?a maabong*
 this child=LIG thin
 ‘this child who is thin’

- (11) *?inuminik=din=na hangain=na labet*
 PERF.AF.climb.up=PART OBL **big.PL=LIG** tree
 '(Lutong) climbed up immediately to the **big trees**. (Lutong is the name of the monkey.)

There are other forms of nominal relative clause that are observed and they are only noticed when they are translated to English. They are referred here as *headless*. *Headless relative clauses* are “specific instance of noun phrases without nouns” (Dryer, 2007b, p. 221). However, Tanangkingsing (2009) claimed that “when verbs are case-marked or marked with a plural marker in Cebuano, they have to be analyzed as headless” (p. 24). For instance, the relative clause =*?a kungkoy* ‘(who) were passing by’ in (12) is preceded with a plural noun marker *?i maadu*.

In addition, “existential clause constructions in Cebuano may be analyzed as having headless relative clause” (Tanangkingsing M. , p. 146). Examine clause (13), the relatives clauses *a monlangad na gilid nu sabang* ‘(who was) sitting beside’ and *?a mogpalimus* ‘(who was) asking for alms’ are together in an existential clause.

- (12) *de dingol=na ?i maadu ?alta=?a kungkoy*
 PART hear=ERG.3s DET many person=LIG **passing.by**
 When he heard that many people (**who**) **were passing by** (were talking),

?ay ?iningat=na tiatin=man=di
 TL PERF.GF.ask.question=ERG.3s who-PL=PART=DEM,OBL
 ‘He asked, “Who are the people (who are) over there?

- (13) *kitiddi ?issa ?alta buta=?a monlangad na gilid*
 EXI one person blind=LIG **CONT.sit** OBL **beside**
 ‘There was a person who is blind (who was) sitting beside the road,
nu sabang=?a mogpalimus
 ERG beside =LIG **CONT.ask.alms**
 ‘(**who was**) **asking for alms**.’

4.6.1.2 Verbs

4.6.1.2.1 Actor Focus Affixes

Southern Alta is probably conservative in terms of its verb system, and similar with other Philippine Negrito languages, the language preserves longer **AF** affixes in the **PERF** forms (e.g. Umiray Dumaget) (Lobel, 2013, p. 61). The **AF** affixes except <*um*> consist of long and short forms, they are *minog-* (*nog-*), *minon-* (*non-*), *minom-* (*nom-*), *minang-* (*nang-*), *minaka* (*naka*), *minay-* (*nay-*), and *mina-* (*na-*). The verbal affixes and its conjugation including the forms are explained in the following subsections.

The table below is arranged with the following headings: Base, Gloss, **IMPR** (imperfective), **CONT** (continuative), **PERF** (perfective). Some tables consist of long and short forms of the **PERF**, while **IMPR** and **IMP** (imperative) are conflated in one column only.

4.6.1.2.1.1 -*um*- verbs

Table 4.16 shows the conjugation of consonant-initial *gawa* ‘do’ and *gewi* ‘call’ and ‘vowel-initial’ *?aged* ‘ask for’ and *?inum* ‘drink’. Verbs which base forms begin with a consonant are inflected for **IMPR** or **IMP** aspect by adding the prefix *um-* after the first consonant. The **CONT** aspect is formed by reduplicating the first syllable of the base, i.e. RCVC + base, *gunggewi* ‘calling’ while the **PERF** aspect is formed by adding the prefix *?inum-* after the first consonant of the base form. Some verbs which begin with a vowel are inflected for **IMPR** and **IMP** aspect by adding the prefix *um-* and for **CONT** aspect by adding the prefix *un-*. The **PERF** aspect is formed by adding the prefix *?inum-* before the base. Clause (14) and (16) show the verb *?aged* ‘ask for’ in the **IMPR** and **PERF** aspects,

?um?aged ‘will ask for’ and *?inum?aged* ‘asked for’, respectively. And clause (15) shows the verb *un?inom* ‘is (was) drinking’ in the **CONT** aspect.

Table 4.16 Type 1 (*C*)*um*- Verbs

Base	Gloss	IMPF	CONT	PERF
		(<i>C</i>) <i>um</i> - + base	<i>RCVC/ ?un</i> - + base	<i>?inum</i> - + base
<i>gawa</i>	‘do’	<i>gumawa</i>	<i>gunggewa</i>	<i>ginumawa</i>
<i>gewi</i>	‘call’	<i>gumewi</i>	<i>gunggewi</i>	<i>ginumewi</i>
<i>?aged</i>	‘ask for’	<i>?umaged</i>	<i>?unaged</i>	<i>?inumaged</i>
<i>?inom</i>	‘drink’	<i>?uminom</i>	<i>?uninom</i>	<i>?inuminom</i>

- (14) *umaged=dak na wagot ti katupag a bele*
?um-?aged=(d)ak na wagot ti katupag=?a bele
IMPF-ask.for=ABS.1s OBL water OBL in.front=LIG house
‘I will ask for water in the adjacent house.’
- (15) *uninom tu oddungan na wagot*
?un-?inom tu ?oddungan na wagot
CONT-drink ABS water.buffalo OBL water
‘The water buffalo is **drinking** water.’
- (16) *de=iddi, ay hinumadep sid kani Jose, at*
de=?iddi ?ay h<inum>adep=sid=kani Jose at
PART=DEM TL **face<PERF>**=ABS.3p=OBL.PN Jose and
‘At that time, they **appeared** in front of Jose, and’
- inumaged sid na pagkain*
?inum?aged=sid na pagkain
PERF-ask.for= ABS.3p OBL food
‘They **asked for** food.’

4.6.1.2.1.2 *maR*- verbs

Type 1 *mag*- verbs is *mag*-

Verbs which base forms begin with a vowel or a consonant are inflected for **IMPR** or **IMP** aspect by adding the prefix *mag-* and for the **CONT** aspect by adding the prefix *mog-* before the first element of the base form. The **PERF** aspect is formed by adding the

prefix *nog-* (short form) or *minog-* (long form) before the first element of the base form.

Table 4.17 shows a conjugation of intransitive Type 1 *mag-* verbs and a sample clause with the prefix *mag-* plus *suklay* ‘comb’ in (17).

Table 4.17 Type 1 *mag-* Verbs

Base	Gloss	IMPR	CONT	PERF	
				Short forms	Long forms
		<i>mag-</i> plus base	<i>mog-</i> plus base	<i>nog-</i> plus base	<i>minog-</i> plus base
<i>?alage</i> <i>sulot</i>	‘to take care’ ‘story’	<i>mag?alage</i> <i>magsulot</i>	<i>mog?alage</i> <i>mogsulot</i>	<i>nog?alage</i> <i>nogsulot</i>	<i>minog?alage</i> <i>minogsulot</i>

- (17) *magsuklay* *tu madikit*
mag-suklay *tu madikit*
IMPR.AF-comb ABS maiden
‘The maiden **combed** her hair.’

Type 2 *mag-* verbs is *man-*

Verbs whose base forms begin with a consonant (or vowel) are inflected for **IMPR** or **IMP** aspect by adding the prefix *man-* and for the **CONT** aspect by adding the prefix *mon-* before the first element of the base form. The **PERF** aspect is formed by adding the prefix *non-* (short form) or *minon-* (long form) before the first element of the base form.

Table 4.18 shows a conjugation of intransitive Type 2 *mag-* verbs and a sample clause with the prefix *man-* plus *dongol* ‘listen’ in (18).

Table 4.18 Type 2 *mag-* Verb

Base	Gloss	IMPR	CONT	PERF	
				Short forms	Long forms
<i>dongol</i>	‘listen’	<i>man-</i> plus base	<i>mon-</i> plus base	<i>non-</i> plus base	<i>minon-</i> plus base
<i>tawid</i>	‘bring’	<i>mandongol</i>	<i>mondongol</i>	<i>nondongol</i>	<i>minondongol</i>
		<i>mantawid</i>	<i>montawid</i>	<i>nontawid</i>	<i>minontawid</i>

- (18) *mondongol=din=sid*
mon-dongol=din=sid
CONT-listen=PART=ABS.3p
‘They **will now** listen.’

Type 3 *mag-* verbs is *mam-*

Verbs which base forms begin with a consonant (or vowel) are inflected for **IMPR** or **IMP** aspect by adding the prefix *mam-* and for the **CONT** aspect by adding the prefix *mom-* before the first element of the base form. The **PERF** aspect is formed by adding the prefix *nom-* (short form) or *minom-* (long form) before the first element of the base form. Table 4.19 shows a conjugation of intransitive Type 3 *mag-* verbs and a sample clause with the prefix *mam-* plus *pasbu* ‘boil’ in (19).

Table 4.19 Type 3 *mag-* Verbs

Base	Gloss	IMPR	CONT	PERF	
				Short forms	Long forms
<i>pasbu</i>	‘boil water’	<i>mam-</i> plus base	<i>mom-</i> plus base	<i>nom-</i> plus base	<i>minom-</i> plus base
<i>beyo</i>	‘shirt’	<i>mampasbu</i>	<i>mompasbu</i>	<i>nompasbu</i>	<i>minompasbu</i>
		<i>mambeyo</i>	<i>nombeyo</i>	<i>nombeyo</i>	<i>minombeyo</i>

- (19) *minompasbu=sid=kakane=a apun*
minom-pasbu=sid =kakane=?a ?apun
PERF-boil.water=ABS.3p=PART==LIG PART
‘They **will boil water** later in the afternoon.’

4.6.1.2.1.3 *mang-* verbs-

Verbs which base forms begin with a consonant (or vowel) are inflected for **IMPR** or **IMP** aspect by adding the prefix *mang-* and for the **CONT** aspect by adding the prefix *mong-* before the first element of the base form. The **PERF** aspect is formed by adding the short form prefix *nang-* (short form) or *minang-* (long form) before the first element of the base form. Table 4.20 shows a conjugation of intransitive Type 3 *minang-* verbs, and a sample clause with the prefix *mang-* plus *?alap* ‘get’ in (20).

Table 4.20 *mang-* Verbs

Base	Gloss	IMPR	CONT	PERF	
				Short forms	Long forms
		<i>mang-</i> plus base	<i>mong-</i> plus base	<i>nang-</i> plus base	<i>minang-</i> plus base
? <i>alap</i>	'get'	<i>mang?alap</i>	<i>mong?alap</i>	<i>nang?alap</i>	<i>nang?alap</i>
? <i>atod</i>	'give'	<i>mang?atod</i>	<i>mong?atod</i>	<i>nang?atod</i>	<i>nang?atod</i>

- (20) *mongalap=kita* *tiddi*
mong-?alap=kita *tiddi*
CONT.AF-gather=ABS.1d DEM
'We (I and you) **will gather** over there.'

4.6.1.2.1.4 *maka-* verbs

Table 4.21 shows AF *maka-* verbs in their aspectual forms. They are combined with the base *kaldit* 'to run', *?angay* 'to go or leave', and *detong* 'to arrive'. The **PERF** aspect has short and long forms such as *naka-* or *minaka-*, respectively. A sample clause with the prefix *naka-* plus *sabit* 'hang' is shown in (21).

Table 4.21 *maka-*

Base	Gloss	IMPR	CONT	PERF	
				Short forms	Long forms
<i>kaldit</i>	'to run'	<i>maka-</i> + base	<i>moka-</i> + base	<i>naka-</i> + base	<i>minaka-</i> + base
<i>?angay</i>	'to go or leave'	<i>makakaldit</i>	<i>mokakaldit</i>	<i>nakakaldit</i>	<i>minakakaldit</i>
<i>detong</i>	'arrive'	<i>maka?angay</i>	<i>moka?angay</i>	<i>naka?angay</i>	<i>minaka?angay</i>
		<i>makadetong</i>	<i>mokadetong</i>	<i>nakadetong</i>	<i>minakadetong</i>

- (21) *siya yiiddi naka-sabit* *tu agtay ko*
siya=yi?iddi naka-sabit *tu ?agtay=ko*
ABS.3s=DEM POT.PERF-hanging ABS liver=GEN.1s
'It is that thing that **was hanging** over there.'

4.6.1.2.1.5 *may* verbs-

Verbs which base forms begin with a consonant (or vowel) are inflected for **IMPR** or **IMP** aspect by adding the prefix *ma:y-* and for the **CONT** aspect by adding the prefix *mi:-* before the first element of the base form. The **PERF** aspect is formed by adding the prefix *na:y-* (short form) or *mina:y-* (long form) before the base form. Table 4.22 shows a conjugation of intransitive *may-* verbs and a sample clause with the prefix *may-* plus *dulang* ‘add’ in (22).

Table 4.22 *may-* Verbs

Base	Gloss	IMPR	CONT	PERF	
				Short forms	Long forms
<i>kopot</i>	‘trap’	<i>may-</i> + base	<i>mi-</i> + base	<i>nay-</i> + base	<i>minay-</i> + base
<i>buklid</i>	‘roll’	<i>maybuklid</i>	<i>mibuklid</i>	<i>naybuklid</i>	<i>minaybuklid</i>

- (22) *ta maydulang=sid na disalad nu belon*
ta ma:y-dulang=sid na disalad nu belon
CON **IMPR.add=ABS.3p** OBL below DET well
‘They may stuck all together below the well.’

4.6.1.2.1.6 *ma-* verbs-

Verbs which base forms begin with a consonant (or vowel) are inflected for **IMPR** or **IMP** aspect by adding the prefix *ma-* and for the **CONT** aspect by adding the prefix *mo-* before the first element of the base form. The **PERF** aspect is formed by adding the prefix *na-* (short form) or *mina-* (long form) before the first element of the base form. Table 4.23 shows a conjugation of intransitive *ma-* verbs and a sample clause with the prefix *ma-* plus *balo* ‘change’ in (23).

Table 4.23 *ma-* Verbs

Base	Gloss	IMPR	CONT	PERF	
				Short forms	Long forms
<i>limos</i>	'drown'	<i>ma-</i> plus base	<i>mo-</i> plus base	<i>na-</i> plus base	<i>mina-</i> plus base
<i>mate</i>	'die'	<i>malimos</i>	<i>molimos</i>	<i>nalimos</i>	<i>minalimos</i>
		<i>mamate</i>	<i>momate</i>	<i>namate</i>	<i>minamate</i>

- (23) *uwan mobalo tu pala pangako=na at ugeli=na*
uwan mobalo tu pala pangako=na ?at ?ugeli=na
 NEG change ABS PL promise=GEN.3s and attitude=GEN.3s
 'His promises and his attitude **are not going to change.**'

4.6.1.2.2 Goal Focus Affixes

Verbs with GF affixes, according to Reid and Liao (2004, p. 442), expected "two nominal complements, one of which is an *Agent* and the other a *Patient*, is transitive, and the construction of which it is a part is a transitive construction". Further, "the *Agent* carries the *actor* macrorole, while the *Patient* carries the *undergoer* macrorole". The GF affixes with their corresponding semantic roles are 'patientive' *-on* and *-an*, 'locative'—*an*, 'benefactive'—*en*, and 'theme' or 'recipient' *-on* and *-an*,

4.6.1.2.2.1 *-on* verbs

Verbs which base forms begin with a consonant are inflected for IMPR or IMP aspect by adding the suffix *-on* after the base form and for the CONT aspect by adding the prefix *?o-* and suffix *-on*. PERF aspect is formed by adding the affix *-in-* and suffix *-on* after the base. Table 4.24 shows a conjugation of transitive Type 1A *-on* verbs, and a sample clause with the suffix *-on* plus *kan* 'food' in (24).

Table 4.24 Transitive Type 1A Verbs

Base	IMPR	CONT	PERF
	base + -on	?o- + base + -on	-in- + base + -on
<i>salew</i> 'buy'	<i>salewon</i>	?osalewon	?sinalewon
<i>kan</i> 'eat'	<i>kanon</i>	?okanon	?kinanon

The second type of *-on* verbs, which base forms begin with a vowel or a consonant, is inflected for **IMPR** or **IMP** aspect by adding the suffix *-on* after the base form and for the **CONT** aspect by adding the prefix *?o-* and suffix *-on* after base form. The **PERF** aspect is formed by adding the affix *-in-* and the suffix *-en*. Table 4.25 shows a conjugation of transitive Type 1B *-on* verbs.

Table 4.25 Type 1B *-on* Verbs

Base	IMPR	CONT	PERF
	base + -on	<i>o-</i> + base + -on	<i>in-</i> + base + -en
?aged 'ask for'	?agedon	?o?agedon	?in?ageden
tawid 'bring'	tawdon	?o?tawdon	?tinawden

- (24) *kinanon=ko* *tu mange ti bukid*
k<in>an-on=ko *tu mango ti bukid*
 <PERF>eat-GF.PAT=ERG.1s ABS mango OBL mountain
 'I ate the mangoes in the mountain.'

4.6.1.2.2.2 *-an* verbs

Verbs which base forms begin with a consonant or vowel are inflected for **IMPR** or **IMP** aspect by adding the suffix *-an-* after the base form and for the **CONT** aspect by adding the prefix *?o-* and suffix *-an*. **PERF** aspect is formed by adding the prefix *in-* and suffix *-an*. Table 4.26 shows a conjugation of transitive Type 2 *-an* verbs and a sample clause with the suffix *-an* plus *kuto* 'lice' in (25).

Table 4.26 Type 2 *-an* Verbs

Base	IMPR	CONT	PERF
	base + <i>-an</i>	?o-+ base + <i>-an</i>	<i>in-</i> + base + <i>-an</i>
<i>gewyan</i> ‘call’	<i>gewyan</i>	?ogewyan	<i>ginewyan</i>
<i>punasan</i> ‘wipe’	<i>punasan</i>	?opunasan	<i>pinunasan</i>

- (25) *kinutuan* *nu anak tu moden=na*
k<in>uto-an *nu anak tu moden=na*
<PERF>lice-GF.LOC ERG child ABS parents= GEN.3s
‘The child **deloused** his (her) parents.’

4.6.1.2.2.3 *-in (-en)* verbs

Some verbs pass through a morphological process of *stem modification*. It begins by changing the last syllable to *-in* for the **IMPR** aspect. The **CONT** aspect is formed by adding the prefix *?o-* to the ‘modified stem’. The **PERF** aspect is formed by adding *-in* after the first or before the first element of the stem. Table 4.27 shows the conjugation of transitive Type 3 *-in (-en)* verbs, and a sample clause with the suffix *-en* plus *atod* ‘give’ in (26).

Table 4.27 Type 3 *-in (-en)* Verbs

Base	IMPR	CONT	PERF
	base + <i>-in</i>	?o- + base + <i>-in</i>	<i>-in-</i> + base + (<i>-in</i>) or (<i>-en</i>)
<i>sabi</i> ‘say’	<i>sabin</i>	?osabin	<i>sinabin</i>
<i>laway</i> ‘see’	<i>lawin</i>	?olawin	<i>linaway</i> or <i>nilaway</i>
<i>?atod</i> ‘give’	<i>atden</i>	?o?atden	<i>inatden</i>

- (26) *inatden=me* *ti* *Simon nu ngasngas*
?in-at(o)d-en=me *ti* *Simon nu ngasngas*
PERF-give-GF.BEN=ERG.1pe ABS.PN Simon DET tobacco
‘We **gave** Simon some tobacco.’

4.6.1.2.3 Causative Prefix *pa-*

The prefix *pa-* encodes causative verbs, and it is attached to the stem together with the appropriate focus affix. The AF affixes *maR-* and *maN-*, or any of their variants, plus the causative prefix *pa-* is used if the causer and causee is in the ABS. On the other hand, the GF affixes (-*in*, -*on*, -*an*, *i-*) plus the causative prefix *pa-* is used if the causee is in the ERG case. The conjugation represents only the IMPR aspect of the derived verb.

- (i) Type 1 ***mag-***+<*pa*>+base
mag-pa-ha-yag ‘cause so to announce’ < *ha-yag* ‘announce’
mag-pa-li-wa-nag ‘cause so to give light’ < *li-wa-nag* ‘light’
- (ii) Type 2 ***man-*** + <*pa*> + base
man-pa-la-way ‘make so to see sth’ < *la-way* ‘see’
man-pa-ge-wa ‘makeso to do sth’ < *ge-wa* ‘do’ or ‘create’
- (iii) Type 3 ***mam-*** + <*pa*>+ base
mag-pa-tid-di ‘make so to go far’ < *tid-di* ‘over there’
mag-pa-sakop ‘make so to subdue sth/so’ < *sa-kop* ‘subdue’
- (iv) ***mang-i-***+ <*pa*> + base
mang-i-pa-de-yo ‘cause sth to go far’ < *de-yo* ‘far’
mang-i-pa-ligtas ‘cause sth to save’ < *lig-tas* ‘safe’
- (v) ***ma-***+ <*pa*> + base
ma-pa-te ‘be killed’ < *pa-te* ‘kill’
ma-lu-sot ‘can pass through’ < *lu-sot* ‘pass through’
- (vi) ***may-***+ <*pa*> + base
may-pa-hayag ‘can be announced’ < *ha-yag* ‘announce’
may-pa-dit ‘can be bad’ < *dit* ‘bad’ or ‘detrimental’
- (vii) <*pa*> + base+ -*in* (-*en*)
pa-pat(e)-in ‘can be killed’ < *pa-te* ‘kill’
pa-ta-wa-(d)en ‘can be forgiven’ < *ta-wad* ‘forgive’

(viii)	<i><pa> + base + -an</i>			
	<i>pa-?a-la-ge-an</i>	‘be taken care of so to sb’ <	<i>?a-la-ge</i>	‘take care of’
	<i>pa-he-de-(p)an</i>	‘be suffered by so to sb’ <	<i>he-dep</i>	‘difficult’

(ix)	<i><pa> + base + -on</i>			
	<i>pa-le-ni-son</i>	‘be cleaned by so to sb’	< <i>le-nis</i>	‘clean’
	<i>pa-e-si-pon</i>	‘be thought by so to sb’	< <i>e-sip</i>	‘think’

(x)	<i>?i- + <pa> + base</i>			
	<i>?i-pa-ba-le-ta</i>	‘can be an inst to inform sth’	< <i>ba-le-ta</i>	‘news’
	<i>?i-pa-de-yo</i>	‘can be an inst to send so for sth’ <	<i>de-yo</i>	‘far’

- (27) *nompagupit tu patud*
nom-pa-gupit tu patud
PERF.AF-CAUS-cut ABS young.man
‘The young man had himself a hair cut.’

- (28) *impademolag=na=sid na pala sundalo=na*
?im-pa-demolag=na=sid na pala sundalo=na
PERF-CAUS-pursuit=ERG.3s=ABS.3p OBL PL soldier=GEN.3s
‘He compelled his soldiers to pursuit them.

4.6.1.3 Adjectives

Adjectives derived from nouns is formed by adding the prefixes *mo-* or *ma-* before the base. Table 4.28 shows a list of derived adjectives with prefix *mo-*. Table 4.29 shows a list of derived adjectives with prefix *ma-*, and a sample clause with the prefix *mo-* plus *taas* ‘high’ in (29).

(i) Nouns to Adjectives prefix *mo-*

Table 4.28 Derived Adjectives with prefix *mo-*

Nouns	Gloss	Adjectives	Gloss
<i>tabe</i>	'fat (noun)'	<i>motabe</i>	'fat'
<i>taas</i>	'height'	<i>motaas</i>	'high'
<i>bebe</i>	'low'	<i>mobebe</i>	'low'
<i>kepot</i>	'narrowness'	<i>mokepot</i>	'narrow'

- (29) *inangay=na=sid=tae* ***motaas a taltay***
?in-angay=na=sid=ta?e ***motaas=?a taltay***
 GF.go=ERG.3s=ABS.3p=DEM.OBL **high=LIG** mountain
 He brought them here at the **top** of the mountain.

(ii) Nouns to Adjectives prefix *ma-*

Table 4.29 Derived Adjectives with prefix *ma-*

Nouns	Gloss	Adjectives	Gloss
<i>nipis</i>	'state of being thin'	<i>manipis</i>	'nipis'
<i>?abong</i>	'state of being thin'	<i>ma?abong</i>	'thin'
<i>tebeng</i>	'state of being bland'	<i>matebeng</i>	'bland'

(iii) Prefix *napaka-* (very)

- Intensive formation is formed by adding the prefixes *napaka-* such as in clause (24).

- (24) *napakamotalang tu sulo*
napaka-motalang tu sulo
very-bright the light
 'The light is **very bright**.'

(iv) Prefix *kasing-*

Comparative of equality is marked by the prefix *kasing-* (Schachter & Reid, Tagalog, 2009, p. 852). Table 4.30 shows a list of comparative adjectives prefix *kasing-*, and a sample clause with the prefix *kasing-* plus *hangá* 'big' in (25).

Table 4.30 Adjectives with prefix *kasing-*

Noun	Gloss	Prefix kasing-	Gloss
<i>halage</i>	'value'	<i>kasinghalage</i>	'with the same value'
<i>dunong</i>	'wisdom'	<i>kasingdunong</i>	'with the same wisdom'

- (25) *tu oso ay pokna na aso primede kasinghangna na oddungan tu ?oso ?ay pokna na ?oso primede kasinghangna na ?oddungan*
 DET bear TL like OBL dog foremost as.big.as OBL water.buffalo
 'Bear are foremost like dogs, and they are as big as water buffalos.'

(v) Monophonemic particle *mas*

Comparative of inequality is marked by the addition of the morphophonemic particle *mas* (Schachter & Reid, Tagalog, 2009, p. 852). Table 4.31 shows a list of comparative adjectives prefix *kasing-* while prefix *ka-* in clause (2), and a sample clause with the prefix *mas-* plus *mokpal* 'thick' in (25).

Table 4.31 Adjectives with particle *mas*

Root	Gloss	Derived Adjectives	Gloss
<i>mobilis</i>	'fast'	<i>mas mobilis</i>	'faster'
<i>molakas</i>	'strong'	<i>mas molakas</i>	'stronger'

- (25) *mas mokpal tu katat nu labet na katat nu ?alta*
 COM thick ABS skin (bark) ERG wood DET skin ERG person
 'The skin (bark) of wood is thicker than the skin of a person.'

(vi) Prefix *pinaka-*

The superlative is marked by the addition of the prefix *pinaka-*. Table 4.32 shows a list of superlative adjectives.

Table 4.32 Adjectives with prefix *pinaka-*

Root	Gloss	Derivation/ Inflection	Gloss
<i>hangā</i>	'big'	<i>pinaka-hangā</i>	'biggest'
<i>minona</i>	'ancestor'	<i>pinaka-minona</i>	'main ancestor'

(vii) Suffix *-in*

Operations that express unusual smallness are *diminutive* (26) while operations that express unusual largeness are *augmentative* (27) such as the suffix *-in*.

- (26) *mohena=kan tu mata=na, kaya hangā tu letra dehil ?uwan=na*
weak=DET ABS eyes=GEN.3s so big ABS letter because NEG=ERG.3s
?o?abuyanan tu Puntek-in=?a solat
recognize ABS small=LIG writing
('They said that) His eyes were weak. So, the letters were big because he could not recognize the **very small** writings.'
- (27) *linaway=de=dut tu pala hangain=?a ?alta,*
see=ERG.3p=also ABS PL **big**=LIG person
?at tu pala mangolakas=?a belayan
and ABS PL PL-be.strong=LIG town
'They saw **gigantic** people and they were the strongest in town.'

(viii) Infix *-ang-*

Plurality is expressed by adjectives in word stems that begin with *mo-*. Plurality is formed by adding the infix *-ang-* after the bilabial nasal /m/ and the remaining elements of the base. Table 4.33 shows a list of plural adjectives, and a sample clause with the infix <*ang*> plus *tabe* 'fat' in (28).

Table 4.33 Adjectives with infix *-ang-*

Singular	Gloss	Plural	Gloss
<i>mopeya</i>	'good'	<i>mangopeya</i>	'be good (PL)'
<i>modit</i>	'bad'	<i>mangodit</i>	'be evil (PL)'
<i>mobeit</i>	'kind'	<i>mangobbeit</i>	'be kind (PL)'

- (28) *de linaway de tu pito mangotabe baka*
de linaway=de tu pito mangotabe baka
 TEMP see.GF=ERG.3p ABS seven fat.PL cow
ay kinanon de sid
 $\text{?}ay k<\text{in}>an\text{on}=de=sid$
 TL <PERF>eat=ERG.3p=ABS.3p
 ‘After they saw the seven fat cows, they ate all of them.

4.6.1.4 Numbers

Ordinal numbers are formed by adding the prefix *ka-* to the cardinal numbers 2-10 except number 1 (one). The first number or the latter is represented by the word *tagibu*. The first syllable of *Pidduwa* is deleted. Distributives are formed by adding the prefix *tali-* to the base. Except for *talidua*, the first syllable is deleted (Please turn to Chapter 12 for a list of examples).

4.6.2 Reduplication

A very distinct characteristic of Austronesian languages in general, or Philippine-type languages in particular, is reduplication. Crystal (2000) defined reduplication as “a morphological process that repeats some parts or patterns of a morpheme typically as a way of indicating something like repetitive or plural features”. Reduplication, according to Trask (1996, p. 231), “is a morphological phenomenon in which some morphological material is repeated within a single form for lexical or grammatical purposes”. Reduplication is a common phenomenon in the languages of the world, taking a variety of forms and serving a variety of purposes. Like other northern languages in the Philippines, *Ibanag* and *Ilocano*, reduplication in Southern Alta is a common feature. It

occurs in nouns, adjective and adverbs. In addition reduplication suggests various meaning such as *plurality*, *intensity*, *iterativity^{li}*, and many more.

There are many forms of reduplication. One form of reduplication is full reduplication. *Full reduplication* is the replication of the base and indicates a change of function. *Partial reduplication* consists of reduplicating a part of the base and indicates a change of function.

4.6.2.1 Full Reduplication

The most transparent type of reduplication is complete copying of a base morpheme or full reduplication. In *Botolan Sambal* (Antworth, 1979, p. 11), the form was a fully reduplicated base, and it indicated a diminutive or make-believe object such as *anak* ‘child’ : *anak-anak* ‘doll’, *tawo* ‘person’ : *tawo-tawo* ‘scarecrow’, *bali* ‘house’ : *bali-bali* ‘playhouse’. In Southern Alta, full reduplication indicates plurality. Examine the nouns in Table 4.34 and their plural forms.

Table 4.34 Full Reduplication of Nouns

Base	Gloss	Plural Form	Gloss
<i>?agid</i>	‘leaf (leaves)’	<i>?agid?agid</i>	‘many leaves’
<i>duli</i>	‘thorn(s)’	<i>dulidului</i>	‘many thorns’
<i>wagot</i>	‘wet’ or ‘watery’	<i>wago(t) wagot</i>	‘very wet’ or ‘marshland’
<i>kalad</i>	‘different’	<i>kaladkalad</i>	‘many different or variety’
<i>sadi</i>	‘different’	<i>sadisadi</i>	‘many different or variety’
<i>tamak</i>	‘wet’ or ‘watery’	<i>tamaktamak</i>	‘marshes’
<i>sanap</i>	‘wet’ or ‘watery’	<i>sanapsanap</i>	‘swampland or marshland’
<i>sabang</i>	‘way’ or ‘roads’	<i>sabangsabang</i>	‘different pathways’
<i>pade</i>	‘for’	<i>padepade</i>	‘equality’

There are a few nouns that reduplicate the entire base, but the reduplicated base does not indicate a change of the function of the word such as *sangop-sangop* ‘insect’,

teki-teki ‘insect’, *ngas-ngas* ‘tobacco’ and *lubak-lubak*. Another form of full reduplication is the addition of prefix *pa-* or *pala-* plus the reduplicated base such as *palasing-singan*, *patiad-tiad*, *makibeli-belita*, *minayangay-angay*.

One form of full reduplication is the full reduplication of the base plus the addition of *<um>*. Table 4.35 shows full reduplication of verbs. The root words are reduplicated plus an affix to encode aspect. If the word starts with a vowel, *um-* is prefixed, but if the word starts with a consonant –*um-* is affixed after the first consonant. In such case, the prefix *in-* is preferred than *<um>* such as *?in?angot?angot* ‘keep on smelling something’.

Table 4.35 Full reduplication of verbs

Base	Gloss	Reduplication	Gloss
<i>?akang</i>	‘walk’	<i>?umakang?akang</i>	‘keep walking leisurely’
<i>tumikayang</i>	‘loll’	<i>tumikatikayang</i>	‘keep on lolling’ or ‘lazy lying’
<i>?angot</i>	‘smell’	<i>?inangot?angot</i>	‘keep on smelling something’
<i>laway</i>	‘see’	<i>lumawaylaway</i>	‘keep on looking something’
<i>lagwat</i>	‘to eat’	<i>lumagwatlagwat</i>	‘keep on jumping’

4.6.2.2 Partial Reduplication

Rubino (2005, p. 114) explained that “simple consonant germination or vowel lengthening to a nearly complete copy of the base is considered partial reduplication”. He described the Pangasinan language which he claimed have various forms of reduplication to form plural nouns. Similarly, Table 4.39 shows that first syllable reduplication of nouns encodes plural meaning.

Table 4.39 Partial Reduplication of Nouns

Base	Gloss	Plural Form	Gloss
<i>butil</i>	‘lie’	<i>bubutil</i>	‘many lies’
<i>budak</i>	‘fruit’	<i>bubudak</i>	‘many fruits’
<i>tungkulin</i>	‘function’	<i>tutungkulin</i>	‘many functions’
<i>duli</i>	‘thorn’	<i>duduli</i>	‘many thorns’
<i>wagot</i>	‘water’	<i>wawagot</i>	‘plenty of water’
<i>longos</i>	‘thickets’	<i>lolongos</i>	‘very dense thickets’
<i>bukid</i>	‘mountain’	<i>bubukid</i>	‘many mountain’
<i>halaman</i>	‘plants’	<i>hahalaman</i>	‘many plants’
<i>kasalanan</i>	‘sin’	<i>kakasalanan</i>	‘many sins’

One form of partial reduplication is the reduplication of the first and second syllables plus the suffix *-an* such as *bulanbulan* ‘type of indigenous game’, *balebaletaan* ‘type of indigenous game’, *buyabuyanan* ‘type of indigenous game’, *tandustandusan* ‘type of indigenous game’.

Gemination of consonants is “a form of partial reduplication” (Rubino, Reduplication, 2005). Southern Alta consonants geminate in between vowels. Reid (1991) explained that “Southern Alta geminates an intervocalic medial consonant following a reflex of *Θ”. He claimed that “it is a feature of the phonologies of Ilocano and most Northern Cordilleran Languages” (p. 9). Table 4.40 shows that the phonemes /b/, /d/, /l/, /m/, /n/, /p/, /ŋ/, /k/, and /s/ geminate between vowels. The syllables with the reduplicated consonants become the coda of the preceding and onset of the next syllable.

Table 4.40 Gemination of Consonants

Consonants	Phonemic	Orthographic	Gloss
/b/	/t ^{CB} .bel/	tobbel	‘answer’
/d/	/m ^{CD} .dit/	moddit	‘bad’
/l/	/s ^{CL} .lar/	sollang	‘chin’
/m/	/?C ^{Om} .man/	omman	‘areca nut with betel leaf, lime, and maskada (tobacco)’
/n/	/man.na.jam/	mannayam	‘to play’
/p/	/mup.pa.?it/	muppaít	‘bitter’
/ŋ/	/pan.ŋε.wa?/	pangngewa	‘for cutting’
/k/	/?C ^{ok} .ku.tu.an/	okkutuan	‘removing lice’
/t/	/mo.tab.bε?/	motabbe	‘fat’
/s/	/?is.sa?/	issa	‘one’

4.7 Orthography

Southern Alta has no indigenous or orthographic symbols for writing except for the Latin script used in *Tagalog* orthography that is introduced in local public schools in *Bato*, *DRT*, and the Latin script from a portion of the Bible written in the 1970’s by New Tribes Missionaries. Table 4.41 shows the proposed working orthography. Each consonant (C) has a one-to-one representation except for the glottal stop (?) which is only shown as a hyphen (–) or a grave accent symbol (˘) if the syllable onset is within a word, and null for word-final. For instance, if the consonant is preceded by C onset /de?.nap/ de`nap ‘boulder’, or preceded by V nucleus such as /mag.?a.del / mag-adal.

Table 4.41 Phonemic Chart and the Orthographic Equivalent

Phonemic Symbols	Generic Orthography	Words	Gloss
/p/	p	<i>palagpag</i>	‘breast’
/b/	b	<i>bu`ul</i>	‘heel’
/t/	t	<i>tiyyan</i>	‘stomach’
/d/	d	<i>demanta</i>	‘big’ or ‘huge’
/k/	k	<i>komot</i>	‘blanket’

/g/	g	gewi	‘call’
/ŋ/	- or `	<i>de`nap or mag-adel</i>	‘stone’, ‘to study’
/m/	m	malawak	‘butterfly’
/n/	n	namok	‘mosquito’
/ŋ/	ng	ngeywit	‘mouth’
/s/	s	sabay	‘road’ or ‘pathway’
/h/	h	hangā	‘big’ or ‘huge’
/tʃ/	ts	tsipteyn	‘chieftain’
/dʒ/	g	tsarger	‘charger’
/l/	l	luno	‘fingernail’
/r/	r	barako	‘male pig’
/tr/	tr	trigo	‘wheat’
/j/	y	yutdun	‘pull’
/w/	w	wagot	‘water’ or ‘river’
/a/	a	alta	‘person’
/ɛ/	e	bele	‘house’
/i/	i	ikan	‘fish’
/u/	u	uta	‘vomit’
/ɔ/	o	oddog	‘back’
/au/	aw	taw	‘Tagalog’ or ‘non-Dumagat’
/ɔu/	ow	motnow	‘noisy’
/aj/	ay	maysa	‘snake’
/ɔj/	oy	bebøy	‘pig’
/ɛj/	ey	katubey	‘helper’ or ‘companion’

4.8

Summary

This chapter discussed and described the morphology of Southern Alta language. It included the *forms* such as the roots/bases, affixes, stems, clitics, and monomorphemic syllables. This chapter also includes a discussion on the different morphological process in word formation (derivation and inflection) of nouns, verbs and adjectives such as affixation and reduplication, and germination of consonants. The last section described the generic orthography that is used to write the Southern Alta language. The next chapter describes the clause types of Southern Alta.

CHAPTER 5

CLAUSE TYPES

5.1 Introduction

This chapter will discuss the clause types of Southern Alta language. The chapter will be divided into two major sections, and their subsections: non-verbal clauses (5.2) and verbal clauses (5.3). The non-verbal clauses consist of nominal predicate clause (5.2.1), adjective clause (5.2.2), existential clause (5.2.3), prepositional predicate clause (5.2.4), and locative clause (5.2.5). The verbal clauses consist of intransitive construction (5.3.1) and transitive construction (5.3.2). The last section (5.4) is the summary.

The basic proposition of Southern Alta is expressed in a clause. The clause (or sometimes ‘sentence’), according to Payne (1997, p. 71), “is the linguistic expression of a proposition. A proposition is a conceptual notion; whereas, a clause is its formal morphosyntactic instantiation”. A misnomer definition of a clause consists of a ‘subject’ and a ‘predicate’, but this is not the only possible linguistic instantiation of a proposition. In actual conversation, “a proposition may be expressed in shorter linguistic forms” (p. 378) like the interjection, *hale* ‘Yes’, ‘All right’, or ‘any expression of affirmation’, or a phrase like *sayna* ‘(It is) over there’. These ‘incomplete clauses’ are propositions and express complete thoughts. They may not be categorized as an ‘ideal’ clause, but these forms will be dealt in detail in Chapter 7 ‘Pronominals’, Chapter 8 ‘Nominals’, Chapter 9 ‘Adjectives’, Chapter 10 ‘Verbs’, Chapter 11 ‘Adverbs’, Chapter 13 ‘Existentials’, Chapter 14 ‘Connectors’, Chapter 15 ‘Interrogative’, and Chapter 16 ‘Negation’.

To explain thoroughly the basic clause structure of Southern Alta and its elements, this chapter will adapt the description of Reid and Liao (2004) on Philippine clause structure. According to the authors, “Philippine clause structure is typically right

branching in which the heads of constructions appear in initial position of a construction”. They claimed that the “predicate occurs first, with nominal complements, adjuncts, and other modifiers of the predicate typically occurring after the predicate”. They further explained that “clausal predicates may be headed by one of a variety of form classes such as nouns, prepositions, or verbs, each being modifiable by the dependents normally allowed by these classes” (2004, p. 436). These Philippine clause structures that are also present in Southern Alta will be explained in turn.

5.2 Non-verbal clauses

Non-verbal categories may initiate predication, they are known as *verbless predicates*. Secondly, these nonverbal categories may take complement(s) that may form a cohesive or semantically and pragmatically complete clause. They are commonly called *non-verbal clauses*. *Non-verbals* are clause types in which the initial element of the constituents is not a category of verbs. The initial position makes them as head of a clause. There are five types of such clauses; namely, *nominal predicate clause* (5.2.1), *adjective clause* (5.2.2), *existential predicate clause* (5.2.3), *prepositional predicate clause* (5.2.4), and *locative clause* (5.2.5). The types of non-verbal construction showing their constituent orders are enumerated below.

5.2.1 Nominal predicate clauses

When a noun constitutes the head of a nominal clause, it is called a *nominal predicate clause*. They consist of four types: *classificational* (5.2.1.1), *identificational* (5.2.1.2), *quantificational* (5.2.1.3), and *possessive* (5.2.1.4).

5.2.1.1 Classificational

Classificational nominal clauses are those in which “the predicate classifies the entity expressed in the noun phrase of the clause” (Reid & Liao, 2004, p. 436). The noun that occupies the initial position of the clause is either bare or derived, and it does not precede or follow any determiners, and since it is a predicate, the noun constitutes as head of the predication. *Classification nominal clauses* that are either bare or derived may take different forms, and they are followed by full NPs or pronouns. The noun *matdema* ‘relationship between father and son’ may follow two personal noun, *ti Kolmog and ti Yayo*, in (1); *nadit* ‘widower’, a nominal category of a female, follows an ABS *pronoun* in clause (2); or *maglalabde* ‘lumberjack’ follows a personal NP in clause (3); a plural noun *matotkoyog* ‘good friends’ follows a pronoun and personal pronounin clause (5).

- (1) *matdema ti Kolmog ?at ti Yayo*
father.and.son ABS.PN Kolmog and ABS.PN Yayo
‘Kolmog (Lake Rogelio) and Yayo (ti Sonny) are **father and son**.’
- (2) *nadit=siya*
widower=ABS.3s
‘She is a **widower**.’
- (3) *maglalabde ti Aldog*
lumberjack ABS.PN Aldog
‘Aldog is a **lumberjack**.’
- (4) *matotkoyog=sid ?atta tu Makidepat*
good.friend=ABS.3p and ABS God
‘They and God are **good friends**.’

5.2.1.2 Identificational”

Identificational nominal clauses are those which the predicate provides specific identification for the entity expresses in the nominative noun phrase of the clause” (Reid & Liao, 2004, p. 438). Unlike classificational nouns which consist of ‘bare’ nouns, identificational provides specific identification of the entity expressed in the nominative NP (p. 438). The clause-initial has a definite determiner in (5) and (6); a personal noun marker *ti Abraham* in (7); or an **ABS.1sⁱⁱⁱ** free pronoun *tiyak* ‘I’ (8); a **DEM.ABS pronoun** *yie* ‘this’ in (9).

- (5) *yi panganay=me ti Latdok ?at ti Lagyu ti pangaduwa*
DET eldest=GEN.1pe ABS.PN Latdok and ABS.PN Lagyu OBL second
‘Latdok is **our eldest**, and the second is Lagyu.’
- (6) *tu patud tu pangulo nu bele*
DET male ABS president GEN house
‘The head of the house is **the man**.’
- (7) *ti Abraham tu pinaka-minona nu pala Judio*
ABS.PN Abraham ABS very.first-ancestor GEN PL Jews
‘The very first ancestry of the Jews is **Abraham**.’
- (8) *tiyak ti Jose*
ABS.1s DET Jose
‘I am Jose’.
- (9) *yie tu pangako=Na*
LOC.DEM DET promise=GEN.3s
‘His promise is **this**.’

5.2.1.3 Quantificational

Quantificational nominal clauses involve numerals (Dita S. , 2007, p. 42) or number terms. Introductory terms are number terms like *demo* ‘first’ (10), *Pidduwa* ‘two’(11), and *sangay* ‘three’ (12), respectively. It may also apply to quantifier expressions denoting quantity like ‘many’ (13) or ‘few’ (14), respectively, (Dryer, 2007a, p. 246).

- (10) **demo**=yak
demo=?ak
first=ABS.1s
‘I am (the) **first**.’
- (11) **Pidduwa tu paliwanag=ni?e**
two ABS explanation=DEM.ERG
‘This has **two** explanations.’
- (12) **sangay tu Makidepat pedu ?issa=dut**
three ABS God but one=PART
‘God consists of **three**, but (He is) only one.’
- (13) **maadu ?i kailangan=tam=?a pala ?alta**
many DET need=GEN.1pi=LIG PL person
‘We are in need of **many** people.’ (lit. The people we need (are) many.)
- (14) **?untik=dut ?i pakinabangan=tam**
few=PART DET benefit=GEN.1pi
‘We only have **few** benefits.’(lit. Our benefits are few.)

5.2.1.4 Possessive

Possessive^{liii} nominal clauses occur with “another noun phrase denoting a possessor, and where the possession is predicated in the clause level” (Dryer, 2007b, p. 177). The clause consists of a *genitive*, *possessive pronoun*, or a *locatively-marked NP*, any of which is identified in the predicate position. In clause (15), the noun *asawa* ‘wife’ follows the possessor, the genitive singular third person pronoun *ko* ‘my’. The OBL.1d *dikita* ‘yours and mine’ in (16) functions as ‘possessive’ pronoun. The reply from a question in clause (17), *ti bele* ‘at the house’, is a locatively-marked NP.

A demonstrative similar with *Tagalog* is present in Southern Alta. It encodes possession and location, and it may be in a form of existential construction. The *saydi* ‘be there (yonder)’ encode the existence of the ‘possessed’ and its location whether the place is mentioned in (18) or not (19).

- (15) *?asawa=ko=siya*
wife=GEN.1s=ABS.3s
‘She is my **wife**.’
- (16) *dikita=yi?inna*
OBL.1d=MED.DEM
‘That is **ours**.’ (yours and mine)
- (17) Conversation
tiad tu sundang=ko
where ABS **dagger**=GEN.1s
‘Where is **my dagger**.’
- ti bele*
OBL house
‘**at the house**’
- (18) *saydi ti Beto ?i sundang=ko*
DEM.EXI OBL Bato DET dagger=GEN.1s
‘My **dagger** is **there** in *Bato*.’
- (19) *saydi ?i sundang=ko*
DEM.EXI DET dagger=GEN.1s
‘My **dagger** is **in there** (*inBato*).’

5.2.2 Adjectival Clause

Adjectival clauses introduce a category of adjective in the initial position of the clause. The adjective, whether bare, affixed or derived, constitutes the head of an adjective clause. There are two types of such clause: *quantificational adjectival* (5.2.2.1) and *comparative adjectival* (5.2.2.2).

5.2.2.1 Qualificational Adjectival

Quantificational adjectives describe nominal subjects. Dita (2007) explained that “an adjectival predicate exhibits bare or unaffixed adjectives (20), or affixed (21) or derived adjectives (22)”. A bare adjective in clause (20), *?unitik* ‘small’, describes the NP,

yi bulsot ‘a hole’; an affixed adjective in clause (21), *mangolenis* ‘be clean’ PL, describes the absolute enclitic pronoun^{liv}, *=sid* ‘ABS.3p’; and a derived adjective in clause (22), *molenis* ‘clean’, describes a genitive phrase, *tu angos=na* ‘his attitude’.

- (20) *?untik talage yi bulsot na kadeyom*
small indeed DET hole OBL needle
‘Indeed, the hole of a needle is **small**.’
- (21) *mango-lenis=sid*
state.PL-clean=ABS.3p
‘They are **clean**.’
- (22) *mo-lenis tu ?angos=na*
state-clean ABS attitude=GEN.3s
‘His intention (personality) is **good**.’

5.2.2.2 Comparative Adjectival

Comparative adjectival clauses express “comparison between and among entities” (Dita S. , 2007, p. 45) . The adjectives of Southern Alta have degrees of gradation; these are comparative of equality, comparative of inequality, intensive, and superlative. *Comparative of equality* uses the affix *kasing-* plus *hangā* ‘big’ or ‘huge’ to express equal status between or among the entities being compared such as clause (23). *Comparative of inequality* uses the particle *mas* ‘more’ plus *maadu* ‘many’ to express that one is better or worse than the other one being compared like clause (24). The prefix *napaka-* means ‘be very’ plus *motalang* ‘bright’ intensifies the default meaning of the adjective in clause (25). And the superlative prefix *pinaka-* ‘be the most’ plus the *motaas* ‘high’ which express the superlative degree like clause (26).

- (23) *kasing-hangā nu ?oddungan tu ?oso*
as.big.as DET water.buffalo ABS bear
‘Bears are **as big as** water buffalos.’

- (24) *nu makapanledop^{lv}=ka na delam mas ma?adu*
 if fishing=ABS.2s OBL night COMPA many
 ‘If you will go fishing at night, it has **much more** (fish)’
- na delam kaysa na kasingtan*
 OBL night than OBL morning
 ‘at night than day time.’
- (25) *napaka-motalang tu sulo*
 very-bright ABS light (flashlight)
 The light (flashlight) is **very bright**.
- (26) *linumubog tu pinaka-motaas=?a moyud*
 PERF.submerge ABS **most-high=LIG** mountain
 ‘The **highest peak** submerged (in water).’

5.2.3 Existential predicate clause

Existential clauses express the real or imagined existence of an entity, or possession of something. It consists of an existential particle, *ki* or *kitiddi* (27), (28), and (29), and its negative counterpart *?uwan* (30), (31), and (32).

- (27) *kitiddi=yak=?a masolut dikayo*
EXI=ABS.1s=LIG tell.story OBL.2p
 ‘**There** is a story that I will tell you.’(or ‘I have a story to tell you.’)
- (28) *ki=tande tu ?angos=na, ?uwan=?amo tu ?abak=na*
EXI=mark ABS attitude=GEN.3s NEG=PART ABS body=GEN.3s
 ‘**There** is a mark in his attitude, not only in his body.’
- (29) *ki=katahimekang=kitam dikana*
EXI=peacefulness=ABS.1pi OBL.3s
 ‘We **have** peacefulness in Him.’
- (30) *?uwan ki=budi*
NEG EXI=like
 ‘**Nobody has** liked it/ him/ her/ them. (Lit. ‘**Nobody** likes.’)
- (31) *?uwan=nak ki=magewa*
NEG=ABS.1s EXI=do
 ‘**There is nothing** I can do.’
- (32) *ki=nam-pa-tandog=(n)a ?alpa dikade*
EXI=AF.IMPF.CAUS-move=LIG person OBL.3p
 ‘**There** was a person who made to move all of them.’

5.2.4 Prepositional predicate clause

Prepositional predicate clauses encode purpose or beneficiary (33) or directional (34). The initial element of the clause starts with the word *pade* which is equivalent to the English word ‘for’. The first clause gives a benefactive reading while the second implies a ‘purpose’ of something.

- (33) *pade=kan=kani lake tu maskada*
for=PART=OBL.PL adult.male ABS tobacco
‘(He/she said that) The *maskada* is **for** grandfather and to other (elders).’
- (34) *ti gepang ?inumalang tu Dumaget*
OBL Gapan came.from ABS Dumagat
‘Dumagat (Dumaget) came from the Gapan (Gapang) River (in Nueva Ecija).’

5.2.5 Locative clause

Locative noun phrases typically encode location, and it is introduced by the marker locative marker *ti* in (35) and (36), or a deictic pronoun in (37), or existential demonstrative (38) as locatives.

- (35) *ti langit tinumahan tu pala anghel*
OBL heaven PERF.live ABS PL angel
‘The angels lived **in the sky**.’
- (36) *ti labes=din nu halamanan ni Eydin*
OBL outside=PART ERG Garden ERG.PN Eden
tinumahan tide Adan
PERF.live ABS.PN.PL Adam
‘Adam also lived **outside** the Garden of Eden.’
- (37) *tinuma?e=sid*
PERF.come=ABS.3p
‘They were **here**.’
- (38) *say?i=kame ti Camarin^{lvi}*
DEM.EXI=ABS.1pe OBL Camarin
‘We are **here** in Camarin.’

5.3 Verbal Clauses

Transitivity is central to the discussion on verbal clauses. According to Dixon (Dixon R. , 2010, p. 115), “each clause had a transitive value which determines the number of core arguments”. He further explained that “transitivity occurs when the single core argument of an intransitive verb and the object of a two-core argument transitive verb were similarly case-marked”. That is, the subject (S) of an intransitive and object (O) displayed the same case markings. This canonical principle is true among languages, yet, transitivity in Philippine-type languages is analysed differently.

Transitivity, as defined and emphasized by Reid & Liao (2004), Liao (2004), and Dita (2007), “is not simply the ‘number of complements’ that determine the transitivity of a verb, but rather the *type of complements* that a verb takes”. On the other hand, “*valency* refers to the number of complements or core arguments” (Liao, 2004).

To illustrate, Table 5.1 shows the verbal clauses and their nominal complement(s), that is, a verbal clause consists of a verbal predicate and its argument(s). A nominal complement(s) is a nominal phrase (NP), and it is in a form of full NP, a pronoun or its equivalent. A clause that has “no nominal complement or zero argument is *intransitive* ”^{lvii} (Reid L. , 2006, p. 5; Dryer, 2007a, p. 267). A clause that has one nominal complement or one core argument is called *monadic* or *monovalent*; one that has two nominal complements or two core arguments are called *dyadic* or *bivalent*; and one that has three complements or three core arguments are called *triadic* or *trivalent*.

Table 5.1 Number of core arguments on Intransitive and Transitive Clauses

Number of complement(s)	Argument(s)	Definition	Clause Types
Intransitive			
<i>zero-complement</i>	no core argument	intransitive verb which has no nominal argument	<i>atransitive or zero</i>
<i>one-NP complement</i>	<i>one-core</i> argument	intransitive verb which expects <i>one</i> nominal argument	<i>monadic or monovalent intransitive</i>
<i>two-NP complement</i>	<i>two-core</i> argument	intransitive verb which expects <i>two</i> nominal arguments	<i>dyadic or bivalent intransitive</i>
transitive			
<i>two-NP complement</i>	<i>two-core</i> argument	transitive verb which expects <i>two</i> nominal arguments	<i>dyadic or bivalent transitive</i>
<i>three-NP complement</i>	<i>three-core</i> argument	transitive verb which expects <i>three</i> nominal arguments	<i>triadic or trivalent transitive</i>

Liao (2004) explained that “a verb that can take two core arguments can be either transitive or intransitive”. According to Liao (2004), Dixon (1979, 1994), and Dixon and Aikhenvald (2000) distinguished core arguments from peripheral argument (or adjuncts). Table 5.2 illustrates the clause structure of transitive and intransitive, each clause structure distinguishes the core and the peripheral arguments.

Table 5.2 also describes *transitivity* and *valency*, in terms of *core* and *peripheral* arguments. *Transitivity* is shown as having the *core* and *peripheral* arguments (S, A, O, and E) while *valency* refers to the number of core arguments of a basic verbal clause. To illustrate the point, the core arguments S, A, and O and peripheral arguments E are used as labels, and basic verbal clauses for transitive and intransitive construction are also shown in Table 5.2. If *macroroles* are assigned to describe the semantico-syntax interface

of the clause, they are the *actor* and *undergoer* macroroles (Foley & Van Valin, 1984).

The column complement type (S, A, O, and E) refers to the overt ‘participant(s)’ reflected as nominal complement(s) which can be in a form of a full NP or its equivalent. The ‘core’ consists of the two *macroroles* of *actor* and *undergoer*, respectively. The column oblique (O) refers to ‘optional’ or peripheral argument, and is case-marked as *oblique*. Peripheral arguments are those that indicate the *place*, *time*, *frequency*, *reason*, *purpose*, and so on. As their nature, they are optionally included in the clause.

Table 5.2 Core and Peripheral Argument Structure of Intransitive and Transitive Clause

Argument Structure of Verbal Clause	S	A	O	E
Intransitive				
<i>a</i> transitive or zero-intransitive (or ambient)	x	x	x	x
monadic or monovalent intransitive	x			
dyadic or bivalent intransitive	x			x
transitive				
<i>dyadic</i> or bivalent transitive		x	x	
<i>triadic</i> or trivalent transitive	x	x	x	x

In the above equation, Table 5.2 appears to have two dyadic constructions, one in the transitive clause, and the other in the intransitive clause. Again, the difference, according Liao (2004, p. 10), is that “intransitive clause can take only one (1) core argument while transitive clause can take two (2) core arguments”. Therefore, the intransitive clause with two arguments is called *dyadic* or *bivalent intransitive* because it consists of ‘a core and a peripheral or oblique’ while *dyadic* or *bivalent transitive* clause consists of ‘two core arguments’.

In addition, Mithun and Chafe (1999, p. 270) described the basic dichotomy behind case and grammatical relations. The dichotomy, according to them, is first, ideas of referents, and the second, ideas of events and states. “Ideas of referents refer to the people, objects and abstractions, and they are often characterized by their ‘persistence in active consciousness’. They are the ones that cause ‘action’ or ‘movement’ in the streams of discourse. They are the active ‘performers’ or ‘doers’ of what is to be performed or completed”. On the other hand, “ideas on events or states reflect the span of time that occupies the participation of the referents. In other words, these are the description of the acts or states of the referents”. Ideas of referents are described in Chapters 7 and 8 while ideas of events and states are described in Chapters 9 and 10.

Verbal clauses are either *intransitive* or *transitive*. They encode the category of verbs as heads of the clause. They occupy the initial position while the nominal complement(s) or other constituents are post-verbal. Verbal clauses consist of two types of construction: *intransitive* and *transitive* clauses. These are discussed below.

5.3.1 **Intransitive construction**

Intransitive constructions consist of a verb with AF affixes, *maR-* and *maN-* affix including their variants, *<um>*, and *<inum>*. These types of clauses consist of an obligatory **NP** or one core argument; however, ambient clause lacks an overt **NP** argument. An ambient clause is syntactically and semantically intransitive. The core argument has a semantic role of an *actor* or an *experiencer*. Single argument intransitive verbs are called *monovalent (monadic) intransitive*, while two-argument intransitive verbs are called *bivalent (dyadic) intransitive*. The types of intransitive clauses are explained below.

5.3.1.1 Ambient Clause

Ambient clause does not exhibit core argument(s); it is a *zero-argument clause*.

Verb of this type is classified as meteorological verbs such as rain, flood, cold, etc. They are “semantically intransitive, and they do not require any nominal complement” (Reid & Liao, 2004). Examine examples (39), (40), (41), and (42). All of the clauses are *atransitive*, and they are uttered ‘by someone’ or an ‘experiencer’ to describe a weather condition.

- (39) ***modognin***
cold.feel
‘It is **cold**’(or ‘I feel cold.’)

- (40) ***binumulangay***
PERF.flood
‘It was **flooded**.’

- (41) ***bum-belo***
RCV.CONT-storm
‘It is **storming**.’

- (42) ***sun-sinag***
RCV.CONT-sunshine
‘It is **shining**.’ (Lit. ‘The sun is shining.’)

5.3.1.2 Monovalent (monadic) intransitive

A *monovalent (monadic) intransitive* clause accepts one core argument. The core argument takes a semantic *actor* or an *experiencer*. It includes full NPs with nominal markers, in (43) and (44), or pronouns, in (45) and (46), in the ABS case. Other ‘particles’ or adjuncts (Dita S. , 2007, p. 50) may appear after the NP. These may express time, *nu?pedut* ‘today’ (46), place, *ti bukid* ‘in the mountain’ (47), and manner, *?aged* ‘at once’ (48).

- (43) *nogsuklay tu anak*
nog-suklay tu anak
 PERF-comb ABS child
 ‘The child combed his hair.’
- (44) *nonsuksuk ti Kutikot*
non-suksuk ti Kutikot
 PERF-hide ABS.PN **Kutikot**
 ‘**Kutikot** hid.’
- (45) *umakang=side patiddi*
?um-?akang=side patiddi
 IMPR-walk=farther
 ‘They will go farther.’
- (46) *nogpastol=siya nuedut*
nog-pastol=siya nu?edut
 PERF-shepherd=ABS.3s today
 ‘He took care of the animals this morning.’
- (47) *nogtadibeho tu olitaw ti bukid*
nog-tadibeho tu ?olitaw ti bukid
 PERF-work ABS **young.man** OBL forest
 ‘The young man worked in the forest.’
- (48) *umule=sid=aged*
?um-?ule=sid=?aged
 IMPR-go.home=ABS.3p=PART
 ‘They will go home immediately.’

5.3.1.3 Bivalent (dyadic) intransitive

Intransitive verbs may have two nominal complements: a obligatory single core and an extended non-obligatory arguments. The latter is case-marked as **ABS** and the former is case-marked as **OBL**. One core argument encodes a semantic *actor* or an *experiencer*, and the other, a semantic *patient* or *theme*. The clauses below illustrate the different bivalent intransitive clauses.

5.3.1.3.1 Absolutive NP's as pronouns

The first NPs of clause (49) and (50) are case-marked **ABS** pronouns. The second NP of the latter is a semantic *patient* while the second NP of the former is *theme*, and both are case-marked as **OBL**.

- (49) *mogpasalamat=tak dikayo*
mogpasalamat=(t)ak dikayo
IMPR.grateful=ABS.1s OBL.2p
'I am grateful to you.'

- (50) *napulad=siya na bengka*
na-pulad=siya na bengka
PERF-slept=ABS.3s OBL canoe
'He slept in the canoe.'

5.3.1.3.2 Absolutive NPs as full NPs

In clause (51), the core argument *ti Kutikot* 'Kutikot' is a full NP and marked as **ABS**. The full NP *na gilid nu luo* 'beside the stream' has the semantic role of *theme*, and it is a peripheral argument that is marked as **OBL**. The NP remains **OBL** even substituted with a demonstrative in (52) or an **OBL** pronoun (53). In addition, the **OBL**-marked NP in clause (54) with a semantic role of *theme* expresses possession and it is genitively-marked.

- (51) *momako ti Kutikot na gilid nu luo*
mo-mako ti Kutikot na gilid nu lu?
CONT-pick.pako ABS.PN Kutikot OBL beside DET small.river
'Kutikot is picking pako^{lviii} beside the stream.'

- (52) *momako ti Kutikot tinna*
mo-mako ti Kutikot tinna
CONT-pick.pako ABS.PN Kutikot OBL.DEM
'Kutikot is picking pako there.'

- (53) *momako ti Kutikot dikame*
mo-mako ti Kutikot dikame
 CONT-pick.pako ABS.PN **Kutikot OBL.1pe**
 ‘**Kutikot** is picking *pako* in our (place).’
- (54) *umewa=ka=amo=d ti timoy=ko*
?um-?ewa=ka=?amo=d(in) ti timoy=ko
 IMPR-cut=ABS.2s=PART=PART **OBL buttocks=GEN.1s**
 ‘(You) Just cut a piece of **my buttocks**.’

5.3.1.4 Reciprocal Clauses

Reciprocal clauses are also intransitive clauses. Affixes that encode reciprocity are *mag-*, and *mag-, -an*. According to Tanangkingsing (2009, p. 344), “the *subject* and *direct object* of the basic verb are combined into a single compound subject of a reciprocal or sociative verb”. Some examples of the reciprocal verbs are *magsitsit* ‘gossip’ (55) and *mogsolutan* ‘telling stories’ (56). Verbs of these type are monovalent or bivalent intransitive such as (55) and (56), respectively.

- (55)
- (56) *magsitsit=dut tu pala immasat naapun*
mag-sitsit=dut tu pala immasat na?a:pun
RECIP.IMPR-gossip ABS PL mother whole.day
 ‘The mothers will gossip again to one another (each other) the whole day.’
- (57) *mogsolutan tu matotkoyog dikame*
mog-solut-an tu matotkoyog dikame
RECIP.CONT.CIRC-tell.story-SUF ABS best.friends.PL OBL.1pe
 ‘The best friends are telling stories to one another (each other) in our place.’

5.3.2 Transitive constructions

A *transitive construction* consists of a verb affixed with *-in (-en)*, *-an*, *-on*, *i-* and two **NP** complements or **NP**-equivalent linguistic forms, one of which has a semantic role of *agent* and the other *patient* or *theme*. The affix on the verb determines the ‘focused **NP**’ of the verb as Patient Focus (PF), Locative Focus (LF), Benefactive Focus (BF), Theme

Focus (TF) or Instrumental Focus (IF). A particular ‘focus affix’ encodes the type of semantic role of the second **NP** marked as ABS.

The **NP** complements may consist of two core argument and an extended argument. Core arguments follows the order **ERG** and **ABS** case respectively, while the extended argument which is marked **OBL**, is usually clause-final. Peripheral arguments or **OBL**-marked argument may also placed in between core arguments such as Extended Locative Construction (ELC) or applicative construction. The sections below will illustrate bivalent, trivalent, causative, and extended locative constructions.

5.3.2.1 Bivalent or divalent (dyadic) transitive

Bivalent (divalent) transitives accept two core arguments. The two core arguments are full **NPs** or any of their equivalent forms. The arguments may consist of two full personal **NPs** (57) or pronouns (58), or a combination of pronominals and **NPs** in (59) and (60). These may be in a form of a full ergatively-marked **NP** and absolutely-marked pronoun (59) or vice-versa (60).

- (58) *dinamolag ni Pagalpal ti Kutikot*
PERF.GF.chase **ERG.PN** **Pagalpal** **ABS.PN** **Kutikot**
‘**Pagalpal** chased **Kutikot**.’
- (59) *dinamolag=**na**=siya*
PERF.GF.chase=ERG.3s=ABS.3s
‘**He (she)** chased **him (her)**.’
- (60) *tinuduwan nu maʔestade=sid*
PERF.GF.teach ERG female.teacher ABS.3p
‘**The female teacher** taught **them**.’
- (61) *tinuduwan=**na** tu a:nak*
PERF.GF.teach=ERG.3s ABS **children**
‘**The woman** taught **them**.’

In some cases, where the ABS-marked argument is inanimate in (61) such as *labet* ‘wood’ or ‘tree’, it may also be replaced by a spatial locative demonstrative in (62) or even *tu meme* ‘a toy’ in (63).

- (62) *inibno=de* *tu labet tiddi*
?in-?ibno=de *tu labet tiddi*
 PERF.GF-bury=ERG.3p ABS wood OBL.DEM
 ‘They buried **the wood** there.’
- (63) *inibno=nide* *Yopyop=yie* *tiddi*
?in-?ibno=nide *Yopyop=yi?e* *tiddi*
 PERF.GF.bury=ERG.PL Yopyop=ABS.SP.DEM OBL.LOC.DEM
 ‘Yopyop and the others buried **that (thing)** there.’
- (64) *sinalew=nie* *tu meme*
s<in>alew=ni?e *tu meme*
 PERF.GF-buy=ERG.SG ABS toy
 ‘**This (boy)** bought the(a) toy.’

5.3.2.2 Trivalent (triadic) constructions

A trivalent construction consist of two NP complements and an extended argument (E). The last complement is carrying a *benefactive* role case-marked as oblique (**OBL**). There are some dynamic verbs that carries three valence such as *give* and *buy*. The verb *give*, for instance, encodes the *giver*, the *given*, and the *gift*. This trivalent construction is much realized in the PERF aspect, and in some cases, through the E (extended) argument of locative-affixed verb. Locative focus affixed (-an) clauses may consist of “trivalent arguments and they are so-called extended locative constuctions (**ELC**)” (Tanangkingsing M. , 2009, p. 426). He explained that “Extended Locative Focus (**ELF**) ‘involves the ‘advancement’ of an indirect object to become the direct object”, in addition, “this is equivalent to applicative construction in Indonesia”.

5.3.2.2.1 with three NPs

The two consecutive arguments may follow the an ERG-ABS-OBL order. Core arguments follows the order ERG and ABS case respectively, while the extended argument is marked **OBL**, is usually clause-final. The **NP** arguments may consist of full **NPs**, pronominals, or their equivalents in any of the slots. For instance, clauses (64) and (65) encode full **NPs**. The **E** arguments in (64) has a semantic role of *benefactive* while in (65), it has semantic role of *goal*.

- (65) *inatod nu anak tu aklat kani Jessa*
?in-?atod nu anak tu ?aklat kani Jessa
 PERF-give ERG child ABS book OBL.PN Jessa
 ‘The child gave the book to Jessa.’

- (66) *tinawid nu gupad tu ikan ti bukid*
t<in>awid nu gupad tu ?ikan ti bukid
 <PERF>get ERG old.lady ABS fish OBL forest
 ‘The old lady brought the fish to the forest.’

There are also three-argument clauses with a combination of pronominals, full **NPs** and their equivalents. Clause (67) is a reconstruct of (66), the full **NPs** are replaced with two consecutive pronouns and a demonstrative.

- (67) *inligtas nu Makidepat tu atolang ti Ehipto*
?in-ligtas nu Makidepat tu ?atolang ti Ehipto
 PERF.GF-save ERG Makidepat ABS siblings OBL.PN Egypt
 ‘He saved the siblings in Egypt.’

- (68) *inligtas=Na=sid tiddi*
?in-ligtas=Na=sid tiddi
 PERF.GF-save=ERG.3s =ABS.3p OBL.DEM.DIST
 ‘He saved them in Egypt.’

The clauses (68) and (70) consist of full NPs. The phrase *?i tolang* ‘a bone’ in (68) is replaced with a spartial demonstrative *yinna* ‘that’ (69). On the other hand, the phrases *tu ngane* and *ti odungan=na* in clause (70) may be replaced with two pronominals ABS.3s =*siya* ‘him’ and OBL.3s *dikana* ‘on his (back)’, respectively.

- (69) *inatbil nu anak i tolang na asu*
?in-?atbil nu anak ?i tolang na asu
 PERF.GF-throw ERG child ABS.INDF bone OBL dog
 ‘The child threw **a** **bone** to the dog.’
- (70) *inatbil nu anak=yinna na asu*
?in-?atbil nu ?anak=yinna na ?asu
 PERF.GF-throw ERG child=SP.DEM OBL dog
 The child threw **that** (**bone**) to the dog.
- (71) *insakay ni Moggot tu ngane ti oddungan=na*
?in-sakay ni Moggot tu ngane ti ?oddungan=na
 PERF.GF.carry.on.back ERG.PN Moggot ABS ghost OBL back=GEN.3s
 Moggot gave a ride **to** **the ghost** **on his back**. (lit. Moggot rode the ghost **on his back**.)
- (72) *insakay ni Moggot=siya dikana*
?in-sakay ni Moggot=siya dikana
 PERF.GF.carry.on.back ERG.PN Moggot=ABS.3s OBL.3s
 Moggot gave **him** a ride **on his (back)**. (Lit. Moggot rode **him on his back**.)

5.3.2.2.2 Locative Focus

Transitive construction with LF affix (-*an*) may consist of three-argument clause and it similar to the Extended Transitive Construction (ETC) in Cebuano. Tanangkingsing (2009, p. 411) explained that “this type of clause involves the positioning of the indirect object in a core position or the nominative slot”. So, in this kind of construction, the OBL-marked argument follows an ABS *patient* argument with a semantic

role of THE, and it may be ‘transported’ between different locations in an ELF construction such as animate or inanimate which encodes *Recipient* or *Goal*, respectively. Kittilla (2005, as cited by Tanangkingsing) claimed that “these constructions are nominatively-marked arguments which represent a combination of features of recipient and beneficiary because they comprised both *reception* and substitutive *benefaction*”. In addition, Tanangkingsing argued that “abstract entities like stories, ideas, and services can be conveyed or transported from person to person, but percept and location cannot, so perception verbs, cognition verbs and motion verbs usually cannot form ELF” (p. 447).

Southern Alta appears to have an ELF construction as shown in the examples below. The verbs *tinuduan* ‘taught’ in (72), *ginewyan* ‘called’ in (73), and *tinubeyan* ‘helped’ (74) have LF affix–*an*, and all the ABS-marked arguments have the semantic role of *benefactive* or *recipient*.

- (73) *tinuduwan nu kamomdenan nu pagadel tu magaadel t<in>udu(w)-an nu kamomdenan nu pagadel tu magaadel <PERF>GF.teach-LF ERG elders OBL gospel ABS students*
 ‘The elders taught them the gospel.’
- (74) *ginewyan ni Yayo nu silpun=na ti Simon g<in>ewi-(y)an ni Yayo nu silpun=na ti Simon <PERF>GF.call-LF ERG.PN Yayo OBL cellphone=GEN.3s ABS.PN Simon*
 ‘Yayo called Simon on his cellphone.’
- (75) *tinubey-an ni Latdok nu matawid t<in>ube-(y)an ni Latdok nu matawid <PERF>GF.help-LF ERG.PN Latdok OBL bring a labet tu matotkausil=na =?a labet tu matotka?usil=na =LIG wood ABS friend.PL=GEN.3s*
 ‘Kolmog helped his companions to carry wood.’

5.3.3 Causative constructions

Causative operates by increasing the valence to one. In verbal clause for instance, causative encodes two actors: a causer, one argument causing the other to act, and a causee, one expressing an effect. The causative construction in Southern Alta are monoclausal, and they are formed by the **AF** and **AG** affixes with the addition of prefix *pa-*. The valency of the **AF** causative verbs do not increase the number of arguments, rather, the causer and causee is one, and the same. On the other hand, the causer and causee arguments are added in **GF** causativized constructions. Examine the sentences below.

The verb *nompatandog* ‘compelled someone to move’ in the **PERF** aspect encode both the causer and the causee argument. The sole obligatory argument is absolutely-case marked, and it expresses the semantic roles of *actor* and *patient*. This means that the causer and causee of an **AV** causative clause is one and the same.

- (76) *nompatandog tu alta dikade*
nom-pa-tandog tu ?alta dikade
PERF.AF-CAUS-move **ABS person** OBL.3p
‘**The person** compelled someone to move for them.’

GF affixes (*-en*, *an*, *i-*) with the addition of the causative morpheme *pa-*, on the other hand, increases the valence to one. The bivalent verb *pate* ‘pate’ in the **PERF** aspect (76) expresses two-argument condition – ‘the killer’ and ‘the thing killed’. The *causer* is encoded in the **ERG**; the causee is in **ABS**; and the non-obligatory peripheral phrase *na subkal* ‘for the *subkal*’ is in the **OBL** case. The clause (77) may give various readings. First, the verb *bustan* ‘neglect’ or ‘forlorn’ has two valence – the malefactor and malefactee. The causer *nu alta* ‘the Dumagat’ is marked **ERG** while the causee is marked

ABS, and a locative expression *na kalabongan* ‘in the savannah’ is marked **OBL**. On the other hand, the malefactor, *nu alta*, does not cause ‘ill’ or ‘hard’ to the malefactees, *tu pala kambing*, instead the latter benefit much more from the situation. Second, it may be considered an Extended Locative Focus (**ELF**) construction in which the locative expression are placed between the core arguments. An alternative form is clause (78).

- (77) *pina-pate nu moden tu Ɂalay=na na subkal*
 PERF.GF.CAUS-kill ERG elder ABS offering=GEN.3s OBL traditional.healing
 ‘The elder made to kill his offering for the subkal.’
- (78) *pina-bust-an nu alta tu pala kambing na kalabongan*
pina-bust(an)-an nu Ɂalta tu pala kambing na kalabongan
 PERF.GF.CAUS-forlorn-LV ERG Dumagat ABS PL goat OBL savannah
 ‘The Dumagat caused the flock of goat to wander (for food) in the savannah.’
- (79) *pina-bust-an nu alta na kalabongan tu pala kambing*
pina-bust(an)-an nu alta na kalabongan tu pala kambing
 PERF.GF.CAUS-forlorn-LV =ERG Dumagat OBL savannah ABS PL goat
 ‘The Dumagat caused the flock of goat in the savannah to wander (for food).’

5.4 Summary

This chapter described and discussed the two major clause types of Southern Alta: non-verbal and verbal clauses. Non-verbal clauses consisted of *nominal*, *adjectival*, *existential*, *prepositional*, and *locative predicate clauses*. Verbal clauses consisted of *intransitive* and *transitive constructions*. Causative constructions on both intrasitive and transitive were also described. Extended Locative Focus (**ELF**) construction is succinctly explained under the transitive clause.

In the introductory section of non-verbal clause, the term ‘clause’ is used as described and defined by Reid and Liao (2004). The section on verbal clauses recapitulated the theoretical bases on transitivity and focus system (Reid & Liao, 2004; Dita S. , 2007; Tanangkingsing M. , 2009), as applied in Philippine-type languages. After presenting clause types of Southern Alta, the nominal marking system will be explained in detail in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 6

NOMINAL MARKING SYSTEM

6.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the different types of words that introduce NPs. The two nominal markers in Southern Alta are the determiners and demonstratives (deictic pronouns). Before delving on the nominal markers, let us first illustrate the NP of Southern Alta. The sections of this chapter are the determiners of some Northern languages (6.2), constituent order (6.3), the determiners of Southern Alta (6.4), core nominal determiners (6.5), demonstratives (6.6), temporal demonstratives (6.7), and summary (6.8)

6.2 The determiners of Northern languages

The Northern languages, according to Reid and Liao (2004), have “the most diverse determiners, and they are found in the northern part of the Philippines such as Casiguran Dumagat Agta and Ivatan”. Table 6.1 shows the determiners of some Northern languages.

Table 6.1 Common Noun (Singular) *Markers* of some Northern Languages

	TAG	UMGET	CAGTA	CENTA	ARTA	DUPTA	BANAG	ILOC
ABS								
	ang	i	i/ tu	ya	i	ø	i	ti
ERG	ŋ [ng or nang]	ni	na/ no	na	na/ ni	na/ di	i	ti
OBL	sa	di	ta /to	ta	ta/ ti	ha	ta	iti

The table shows three cases: absolute (ABS), ergative (ERG) and oblique (OBL) except for Ibanag and Ilocano in which the determiners for ABS and ERG are the same. A non-negrito language, *Tagalog*, and a Negrito language, *Umiray Dumaget* (UMGET),

have only one determiner for each case. The other languages which are identified as Negrito languages show a complex noun marking system which consists of more than one determiner for each case (except for the zero marking on the nominative case of Dupanigan Agta (**DUPTA**)). Table 6.1 shows that the language which has the most number of determiners is *Casiguran Dumagat* (**CAGTA**). This observation also holds true for the determiners of Southern Alta (refer to Table 6.2 below).

The determiners of Southern Alta are as diverse as **CAGTA** and quite similar with the syntactic functions of the noun markers of **TAG**. Six (6) determiners are shown in the table, and they are distributed in three cases – ABS, ERG and OBL^{lx}. Two of the determiners in the nominative case can be used interchangeably (e.g. *i* and *yi*). There are sets of determiners for common and personal, and both sets have singular and plural forms too. The plural marker *pala* may be used in the **ABS** and **ERG** cases preceding the singular definite markers (e.g. *tu pala* and *nu pala*).

The common singular determiners of Southern Alta are as complex as the determiners of **CAGTA**^{lx}. Table 6.1 shows that CAGTA has eight (8) determiners, and according to Reid and Liao (2004, p. 471-472), these determiners show “distinction between nouns that have been described as definite or indefinite, proximate and remote^{lxi}, specific and non-specific”.

Southern Alta has six (6) determiners. The form, *?i* and *yi*, can be used either ways except for the definite marker *tu*. The determiner *tu* encodes definiteness in (1), proximity in (3), and specific in (5) while the determiner *?i / yi* encodes indefiniteness in (2), remoteness in (6), and non-specific in (4). The conventional English translation of determiners (*a/ an* and *the/ this*) will be used to determine the definiteness and indefiniteness. Examine the samples below.

- (1) *sungkitom=tam tu mange*
 use.stick.to.pick=ERG.1pi **DEF mango**
 ‘We will get **the mango** (with the stick).’ (near and visible)^{lxii}
- (2) *sungkitom=tam 2i mange*
 use.stick.to.pick= ERG.1pi **INDF mango**
 ‘We will get **a mango** (with a stick).’(far)
- (3) *molanes tu mange*
 sweet **DEF mango**
 ‘**The mango** is sweet.’ (The speaker is referring to the one that you been eating or just have eaten.)
- (4) *molanes 2i mange*
 sweet **INDF mango**
 ‘**A mango** is sweet.’ (The speaker is referring to any mango there.)
- (5) *na-mate tu tanom=ko*
 PERF-die **DEF plant=GEN.1s**
 ‘**My (this) plants** died.’ (near and visible)
- (6) *na-mate 2i tanom=ko*
 PERF-die **INDF plant= GEN.1s**
 ‘**My plants** died.’ (far and not visible)

The definite marker *tu* appears in clauses (1), (3) and (5) while indefinite marker *i* (or *yi*) appears in clauses (2), (4), and (6). Clause (1) means that the speaker is referring to the mango that is visible and near to the addresses while clause (2) means the opposite – the clause means that the speaker is asking the addressee to get him or her a mango, and the mango is far from both speaker and addressee. Also, clause (1) means that the event is about to happen while the event in (2) may or may not happen after the speech event.

The definite marker *tu* in (1) and (3) encodes *definiteness*. This means that the phrases *tu mango* ‘the mango’ in (1) and *tu tanom* ‘the plant’ in (3) are within the speaker and addressee’s sphere of consciousness –that is, it is visible and near to both speaker and

addressee. Aside from what is already mentioned about (4) and (6), the clauses denote that the speaker is narrating to the addressee certain events.

The determiner *tu* is definite and it precedes almost all types of noun classes while determiner *?i* (*yi*) may precede man-made artifacts (7) and (8), animals and plants (9), body parts (10) and abstract nouns (11).

- (7) *na-pugyut ?i ginat*^{lxiii}
 PERF-breach INDF **g-string**DET male teenager
A g-string has breached. (Lit. Someone's g-string has breached.)
- (8) *na?uwan ?i beteri nu silpun=ko*
 PERF-lost INDF **battery** DET cellphone=GEN.1s
The battery of my cellphone was lost.
- (9) *motipon ?i pala malawak ti labet*
 gather.around INDF PL **butterfly** OBL tree
'Butterflies are gathering around the tree.' (Lit. The tree and butterflies are far)
- (10) *punas-an=ko ?i ?abak=mo*
 wipe-GF.LOC=you DEF **body**=GEN.1s
 'I will wipe the sweat on your body.' (Lit. I will wipe your body).
- (11) *?uwan mohalage ?i dunong nu ?uwan mopeya ?i ?ugeli*
 not important INDF **intelligence** if not good INDF attitude
'Intelligence is not important if one has an undesirable attitude.'

The determiners *?i* (*yi*) shows indefiniteness in clauses (7), (8), (9), and (11) except clause (10). However, if the referent is a body part, the determiner *i* (*yi*) is much preferred than *tu*.

There are two things we can surmise from the data that were shown above. First, *tu* is a definite marker and it usually encodes the agent of a focused NP of transitive clause. In contrast, the indefinite marker *?i/yi* is the unmarked form of ABS nominal constituents

of intransitive clauses in (7), (8), (9), and (11), nominalized constituents (12), a genitively-marked NP in (13), a nominalized clause (14), and fronting (15).

- (12) *na?**isepan=na=duman=din ?i manduyan*
think=ERG.3s=PART=PART DET swing
'He again thought to do **some swinging.**'
- (13) *yi?**iddi yi kasaysayan=de*
DEM DET history=GEN.3p
'That was **their story.**'
- (14) *yi demo nakauwat tu bekos*
DET first jump.out ABS female
'**The first (frog) one who jumped out** was the female (frog)'
- (15) *?i kobilay=me ?ay pagtanom ?atta paaglate*
DET means.livelihood=GEN.1pe TL planting and.also gathering.rattan
'**Our means of livelihood** are planting and gathering rattan.'

6.3 Constituent Order

Nominal phrases consist of a determiner and a noun or pronoun as its head. Wimbish (1987) explained that "the minimum component of an Ilocano NP is a determiner and a head noun". He further explained that "NPs may also include quantifier, modifier, and either a relative clause or an embedded clause. Ibanag has the same constituent order of NP" (2007, p. 56). The NPs of Southern Alta, apparently, show similar constituents. In addition, since NP's may include more than two constituents, it is therefore appropriate to describe the order of constituents of a full NP.

There are two types of markers that introduce full NPs: determiners (16) and demonstratives (17).

- (16) *tu anak*
DET child
'**the child**'

- (17) *yiʔe anak*
DEM child
'this child'

However, when an **NP** is used as a vocative, no determiner is needed before the head noun as in (18) and (19).

- (18) *koyog, maki-koy=yak*
friend permission-pass=ABS.1s
'(My) **Friend**, please allow me to pass.'
- (19) *naynoy, sumalew=wak nu ɬage*
mother IMPR.buy=ABS.1s DET dress
'**Mother**, I will buy (myself) a dress.'

When an **NP** is used as a response to a question, no nominal marker is needed. Hence, the head noun is the sole constituent in a predicate as in (21) and (23).

- (20) *ɬanto beɬon ni Lagyo*
what baon ERG.PN Lagyo
'What is Lagyo's baon (for school)?'
- (21) *ɬikan*
fish
'fish!'
- (22) *antoy sayna na beg=mo*
ɬanto=y(i) sayna na beg=mo
what=DET DEM DET bag=GEN.2s
'What is inside your bag?'
- (23) *budak*
fruit (betel.nut)
'betel nuts'

An NP may introduce a modifier before the head noun. This is done with the addition of a ligature (LIG) to connect the modifier to its head noun. Southern Alta has the ligatures $=?a$ and $=(n)g$. Since Southern Alta is sometimes morphosyntactically similar with *Tagalog*, the ligature *na* in *Tagalog* is sometimes used in casual conversation. The ligature $=?a$ modifies the head noun *lalaguna* ‘guava’ in (24) and (25). The ligature $=?a$ is prenominal in (24) and postnominal in (25).

- (24) *tu hinog a lalaguna*
tu hinog=?a lalaguna
 ABS ripe=LIG guava
 ‘a/the ripe guava’
- (25) *tu lalaguna a hinog*
tu lalaguna=?a hinog
 ABS guava=LIG ripe
 ‘the guava that is ripe’

Alternatively, modifiers may appear after the head noun. In this construction, a ligature can be used to connect the head noun *labet* ‘wood’ to its modifier *nagsat* ‘was broken’ in (26), and *?alta* ‘person’ to its modifier *kungkoy* ‘passing by’ in (27). This process is called *relativization* and it is done by connecting the modifier to the noun with ligature.

- (26) *tu labet=?a nagsat*
 ABS wood=LIG broken
 ‘the tree which was broken’
- (27) *tu alta=?a kungkoy*
 ABS person=LIG passing by
 ‘the person who is passing by’

Finally, nominal markers take the initial position in a nominalized clause. The verb *nampalit* ‘changed’ undergoes nominalization by preposing the determiner *tu*. On the other hand, by fronting *tu teti* ‘the aunt’ and setting it off with a comma, the NP is highlighted as the ‘topic’ of the clause or referred to as *topicalization*. Succinctly, the verb is a *nominalized constituent* in (28) while the NP *tu teti* ‘the aunt’ is a *topicalized constituent* in (29).

- (28) *tu nampalit* *?ay tu teti*
ABS PERF.AF.change TL ABS aunt
‘The one who changed (something) is the aunt.’
- (29) *tu teti, tu nampalit*
ABS aunt ABS PERF.AF.change
‘The aunt is the one who changed (something).’

6.4 Determiners of Southern Alta

Most Philippine language researchers claimed to have found only one definite marker. *Tagalog* has *ang* (Schachter & Otanes, 1972), *Ibanag* and *Ilocano* (Dita S. , 2007; Rubino, 1997) has the definite marker *i*, and *Palanan* (Quinto & Dita, 2016) has the marker *en*. Southern Alta noun markers are as complex as *Casiguran Dumagat*. However, the definite marker *tu* has the closest morphosyntactic description among other noun markers. Noun markers encode number (singular and plural) (6.4.1), cases (core and oblique) (6.4.2), and distinguish between common and personal (6.4.3) . Table 6.2 shows the summary of Southern Alta noun markers.

Table 6.2 Summary of Southern Alta Noun Markers

	ABS	ERG	OBL
Common			
singular	<i>tu</i> (<i>?i</i> or <i>yi</i>)	<i>nu</i>	<i>ti</i> (<i>na</i>)
plural	<i>tu pala</i>	<i>nu pala</i>	<i>na pala</i>
Personal			
singular	<i>ti</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>kani</i>
plural	<i>tide</i>	<i>nide</i>	<i>kande</i>

The determiners of Southern Alta are as diverse as *Casiguran Dumagat Agta* and quite similar with the syntactic functions of the noun markers of *Tagalog*^{lxiv}. Six (6) determiners are shown in Table 6.2, and they are distributed in three cases – absolute (ABS), ergative (ERG), and oblique (OBL). Two of the determiners in the ABS case can be used interchangeably (e.g. *yi* or *?i*). There are sets of determiner for common and personal, and both sets have singular and plural forms, too. The plural marker *pala* may be used in the ABS, ERG, and OBL cases preceding the singular form *tu*, *nu* and *na* but not *ti* (e.g. *tu pala*, *nu pala*, *na pala*), respectively. The OBL *ti* serves as a location marker.

6.4.1 Number of Determiners of Southern Alta

The determiners of Southern Alta have singular and plural forms except for the common oblique marker *ti* (Table 6.2). The oblique marker *ti* has no overt common plural form. The number of determiners is explained in detail below, and they are divided into two subsections, the common definite determiner *tu* and *nu* (6.4.1.1) and the plural *pala* (6.4.1.2).

6.4.1.1 The determiners *tu* and *nu*

Determiners *tu* and *nu* precede nouns, and both encode singular common entity.

The nouns *anak* ‘child’ (pronounced as /?a.nak/) in (30), *sundang* ‘dagger’ and *olitaw* ‘young man’ in (31) are all common singular nouns. On the other hand, the determiner *nu* is the unmarked form of an **ERG NP** complement, and it encodes a genitive or possessor **NP**, for instance, *nu olitaw* ‘of the young man’ in (31).

- (30) *nandimoy tu anak ti luo*
IMPR.bath **ABS child** OBL stream
‘The child took a bath in the stream.’

- (31) *tu sundang nu politaw*
ABS bolo ERG young man
‘**the bolo** of the **young man**’ or ‘the young man’s bolo’

Reid (2002) claimed that “the determiners of Cordilleran languages can introduce a single word noun (32), a noun phrase (33), a relative clause (34), headless clause (35), or an adjective (36)”. Apparently, the determiner *tu* of Southern Alta also share these characteristics.

- (32) *tu mange*
ABS mango
‘**the mango**’
- (33) *tu pala lalaguna*
ABS PL guava
‘**the guavas**’
- (34) *tu pala lalaguna=ʔa hinogin*
ABS PL guava =LIG ripe
‘**the guavas** that are ripe’
- (35) *tikana tu mina-pulad tiddi*
ABS.3s DET PERF-sleep DEM

‘He/She is the one who slept there.’

- (36) *tu pinakamotaas=ʔa moyud*
the highest =LIG mountain
‘the highest one which is a mountain’

Abstract nouns of Southern Alta have obligatory determiners such as in (37) *kamatayan* ‘death’. This grammatical characteristic is similar with Ibanag (Dita S. , 2007), but does not hold true in English. The determiner *tu* may also refer to a *Supreme Being* in (38).

- (37) *tu kamateyan na ʔabak yi ʔissa budak na kasalanan*
ABS death DET body DET one seed DET sin
‘The death of the body is a fruit of sin.’
- (38) *kanya, mula=de ʔiddi, magkatulod tide Satanas ʔat tu Makidepat*
CON from=then that antagonistic ABS.PN.PL Satan and ABS God
‘From that and then on, Satan and God are at odds.

6.4.1.2 The plural determiners *pala*

The plural determiner *pala* makes the head noun plural in form and meaning. The head noun becomes semantically plural if preceded by the common definite and plural marker *tu pala* or *nu pala*. Both of the phrases *tu pala angel* ‘the angels’ in (40) and *nu pala angel* ‘the angels’ in (41) are examples of plural nouns. Both examples have the same English translation, but they differ in their syntactic distribution, the former is the ‘focused’ NP argument while the latter is the ‘subject’ of a transitive construction.

- (39) *bala=loktat linumiwanag ʔi palebut=de*
sudden=PART shine.PERF DET around=them
‘Suddenly, their surrounding brightly shined,

- (40) *ta linaway=de tu pala ?anghel kaya minangadtakot=side=?asakit*
CON saw=they ABS PL angel so scared=they=very
and they saw **the angels**, so they were very scared.
- (41) *sinabi nu pala ?anghel, (?u)wang=kayo mangodtakot*
said ERG PL angel NEG=they be.scared.PL
The angels said, “Do not be scared.”

The plurality marker is similar with the case in *Tagalog* which is always prenominal, it occurs before a head noun. Examine the plural phrases below (42-44) and compare them with the *Tagalog* examples in (42a), (43a), and (44a). All of the phrases in (42-44) show that the plural determiner *pala* is in the similar position like the *Tagalog* phrases in (42a), (43a), and (44a).

- (42) *tu pala mangobbenge=?a bukan*
ABS PL fragrant.PL=LIG flower.SG
‘some very fragrant ones that are flowers’
- (42a) *ang mga mababago=ng bulaklak*
DET PL fragrant.PL=LIG flower.SG
‘some very fragrant ones that are flowers’
- (43) *tu mangobbenge=?a pala bukan*
DET fragrant.PL=LIG PL flower
‘the very fragrant ones that are flowers’
- (43a) *ang mababango=ng mga bulaklak*
DET fragrant.PL=LIG PL flower
‘the very fragrant ones that are flowers’
- (44) *tu pala bukan=?a mangobbenge*
DET PL flower=LIG fragrant.PL
‘the flowers that are very fragrant’
- (44a) *ang mga bulaklak=na mababango*
DET PL flower=LIG fragrant.PL
‘the flowers that are very fragrant’

6.4.2 The cases of determiners

There are two cases of determiners distinguished here: the core and the oblique. Dita (2011c) explained that “the distinction between core and oblique case lies in its *replaceability*”. She further posited that “the core arguments that are in full NPs can be replaced by an ABS or ERG pronominals except an OBL because it lacks this property”.

6.4.3 Common and personal noun markers

Common noun markers encode generic nouns either singular and plural entities, and they are explained above in 6.4.1.1 and 6.4.4.2. *Person noun markers* encode definite singular or plural entities. Person determiners are available for three cases including singular or plural forms. The forms for ABS singular and plural are shown in (45) and (46), *ti Lutong* and *tide Adan at Eva*, respectively. The form for ergative singular and plural are shown in clauses (47) and (48), *ni Cain* and *nide Pablo*, respectively. And the forms for oblique singular and plural are shown in (45) and in (49), *kani Buya* and *kande Satanas*, respectively.

- (45) *?ay pinakoy ti Lutong kani Buya,*
TL say ABS.PN **monkey OBL crocodile**
‘The **monkey** asked **the crocodile**,’

tiad=din tu hinogin=?a lalaguna
where=PART ABS very.ripe.PL=LIG guava
‘Where are the very ripe guavas?’

- (46) *kanya linikha nu Makidepat tide Adan at Eva*
so create ERG God ABS.PL **Adan and Eve**
‘So God created **Adam and Eve**.’

- (47) *?anto=d ?i ginawa ni Cain*
what=PART DET do ERG.PN **Cain**
‘What did **Cain** do?’

- (48) *tinanggep nide Pablo tu kaloob nu Makidepat*
 accept ERG.PN.PL Paul ABS will ERG God
'Paul and the others accepted God's will'

tain maging apostol=sid
 so.that become apostle=they
 'so that they will become His apostles.'

- (49) *kanya, ki=?iduwa kahadiyan ni?edut, ta tu mopeya,*
 PART EXI=two kingdom now PART ABS good
 'So, there are two kingdoms now, so the good

?ay say?i nu Makidepat, Patta tu modit, ?ay sa?i kande Satanas
 TL DEM ERG God and ABS bad TL DEM OBL.PN.PL Satan
 'is here in God, and the bad is here **for Satan's and his followers.**'

If the noun does not indicate plural entities, the plural determiner preceding the person noun is otherwise sufficient to express plurality such as *tide*, *nide*, and *kande*. For example, *nide Pablo* in (48) and *kande Satanas* in (49) means 'Pablo and others' and 'Satan and his followers' in English translation, respectively. In addition, the person nouns *Lutong* and *Buya* in (45) are characters of a story, and they are definite individual entities.

6.5 Core Nominal Markers

Core nominal markers introduce core arguments in a clause. As earlier mentioned, there are two types of core nominal markers: determiners and demonstratives. Two types are distinguished here: the *definite* and *indefinite*. Intransitive clauses take one core argument. If this is a full noun phrase, it is introduced by a determiner in (50) and (52); otherwise, it utilizes an ABS pronoun in (51) and (52).

- (50) *minay-tun tu buta*
 PERF-lay.down ABS blind
 ‘The **blind** person lay down.’
- (51) *minay-tun=siya*
 PERF-lay.down=ABS.3s
 ‘**He/She** lay down.’
- (52) *minansi-kaldit tu pala anak*
 PERF-run ABS PL child
 ‘The **children** ran.’
- (53) *minansi-kaldit=sid*
 PERF-run=ABS.3p
 ‘**They** ran.’

Transitive construction, on the other hand, take two arguments: one is the *agent* and the other is the *patient*. If these two core arguments co-occur with each other, the personal determiner *ni* introduces the *agent* and the personal *ti* introduces the *patient*. If the pronominal counterpart is used, the *agent* is represented by an ERG and the *patient* by an ABS pronoun. Examine the examples below how the pronouns are replaced by the core arguments bearing the determiners. The ABS.3s pronoun =*siya* ‘he (she/ it)’ in (54) is replaced by the ABS.3s personal marker *ti* and proper noun *Saira* in (55) while ERG.3s pronoun =*na* ‘he (she/ it)’ in (55) is replaced by the ERG.3s personal marker *ni* and proper noun *Uddil* in (56) and (57).

- (54) *linaway=na=siya*
 PERF-see=ERG.3s=ABS.3s
 ‘**He (She)** saw **her (him)**.’
- (55) *linaway =na ti Saira*
 PERF-see=ERG.3s ABS.PN Saira
 ‘**He (She)** saw **Saira**.’
- (56) *linaway ni Uddil=siya*
 PERF-see ERG Uddil=ABS.3s
 ‘**Uddil** saw **her**.’

- (57) *linaway ni Uddil ti Saira*
 PERF-see ERG **Uddil** ABS.PN **Saira**
 ‘**Uddil** saw **Saira**.’

The ABS.3s pronoun =*siya* ‘he (she/ it)’ in (58) and (60) is replaced by the ABS.3s personal marker *ti* and proper noun *Saira* in (59) and (61), respectively, while ERG.3s pronoun *na* ‘he (she/ it)’ in (58) and (59) is replaced by the ERG.3s personal marker *ni* and proper noun *Uddil* in (60) and (61)

- (58) *kinopkop=na=siya*
 PERF.embrace=ERG=**ABS.3s**
 ‘He embraced **her**.’
- (59) *kinopkop=na ti Saira*
 PERF.embrace=ERG.3s ABS.PN **Saira**
 ‘**He** embraced **Saira**.’
- (60) *kinopkop=siya ni Uddil*
 PERF.embrace=ABS.3s ERG.PN **Uddil**
 ‘**Uddil** embraced **her**.’
- (61) *kinopkop ni Uddil ti Saira*
 PERF.embrace ERG.PN **Uddil** ABS.PN **Saira**
 ‘**Uddil** embraced **Saira**.’

If the core arguments are indefinite nouns, the *agent* is introduced by the determiner *nu* and the *patient* by the determiner *tu*.

- (62) *kinopkop nu Politaw tu madikit*
 PERFembrace ERG **young.man** ABS **young.woman**
 ‘**The young man** embraced **the young woman**.’

6.5.1 The oblique *ti* and its functions

This subsection describes monosyllabic morpheme *ti* as a common OBL marker and an ABS personal marker. To distinguish the OBL marker from the ABS personal determiner *ti*, compare (63) and (64). The clause in (63) the particle *ti* is used as a location marker while in (64) the particle *ti* shows two syntactic functions. First, *ti* precedes a proper name (lake) Rogelio, so *ti* is used as personal marker; and second, *ti* precedes a location, Beto ‘*Bato*’, so *ti* is used as a location marker, respectively.

- (63) *maadu Ɂalta ti Beto*
many person(or Dumagat) **OBL Bato**
‘There are many people (Dumagat) in Bato.’

- (64) *Pinumangay ti lake Rogelio ti Beto*
PERF.go ABS.PN grandfather **Rogelio OBL Bato**
‘Lake Rogelio went to Bato.’

6.6 Demonstratives

Demonstratives can both function as nominal markers and pronouns. Demonstratives behave as pronouns if they function as a sole constituent in a predicate clause and as long as they do not precede an NP; otherwise, a demonstrative functions as a nominal marker.

There are two types of demonstratives that can function as nominal marker: the ABS and the ERG in Table 6.3. The ABS and ERG demonstratives will be called spatial demonstratives in this section, and they are distinguished according to three degrees of space: the proximal, the medial, and the distal.

Table 6.3 Spatial Demonstratives

		ABS	ERG
PROX	SG	<i>yiʔe</i> <i>yiʔeyə:y; ya:y; ɻe</i> ‘this’	<i>niʔe</i> <i>niʔeyə:y; niʔe; ni</i> ‘this’
	PL	<i>yiʔisiddeya:y;</i> <i>yiʔe pala</i> ‘these’	<i>niʔisiddeya:y</i> <i>niʔe pala</i> ‘these’
MED	SG	<i>yiʔinna;</i> <i>ɻinna; ɻayna; na</i> ‘that’	<i>niʔinna</i> ‘that’
	PL	<i>yiʔisidna;</i> <i>yiʔinna pala</i> ‘those’	<i>niʔisidna;</i> <i>niʔinna pala</i> ‘those’
DIST	SG	<i>yiʔiddi</i> <i>yiʔiddi; ɻiddi; di</i> ‘that’	<i>niʔiddi</i> ‘that’
	PL	<i>yiʔisiddi; yiʔiddi pala</i> ‘those’	<i>niʔisiddi;</i> <i>niʔiddi pala</i> ‘those’

Table 6.3 shows two sets of spatial demonstratives: the **ABS** and the **ERG**. To differentiate the two, the **ABS** column refers to demonstratives that may function as the *patient* of a transitive construction (67) and the sole argument of an intransitive construction (65) while the **ERG** column refers to demonstratives that may function as the subject of transitive construction (66). Aside from having two forms, spatial demonstratives have short and long plural forms.

- (65) *minay-but yiʔe pala mangge*
 PERF-fall ABS.PROX PL manggo
 ‘These mangoes fell.’

- (66) *?inituyun ni?e anak tu mossampat =?a madikit*
INST.PERF-push ERG.PROX child ABS beautiful=LIG young.lady
‘**This child** pushed the beautiful young lady.’
- (67) *kinopkop nu Politaw yi?e mossampat=?a madikit*
PERF-embrace ERG young.man ABS beautiful=LIG young.lady
‘The young man embraced **this beautiful young lady**.’

6.6.1 Proximal Space

Proximal demonstratives, according to Rubino (1997, p. 41), are those that refer to “entities located within the physical and mental realm of the speaker”. The demonstratives in (68-71) are translated as a singular demonstrative ‘this’ in English while (72) is plural ‘these’. Clause 68, 69 and 71 may also describe temporal meaning, that is, the event has happened just recently. The referent may not be constructed with in the sentence or even before the said utterance but the topic was mentioned previously by the speaker.

- (68) *yi?e aso ?i minamangan nu pagkain ta?e na papag*
SP.PROX dog DET PERF.AF.ate ERG food here OBL plank
‘**This dog** is the one who ate the food here on the plank.’
- (69) *yi?e ?i geyang=ko*
SP.PROX DET spear=GEN.1s
This is my spear.
- (70) *sinalew=ni?e ?anak tu beges*
PERF.GF.buy=ERG child the rice
‘**This child** bought some rice.’
- (71) *yi?e ngan tu moghanap=ko kane*
SP.PROX PART ABS CONT.AF.look.for=ERG.1s a.while.ago
‘**This** is what I was looking for a while ago.’

- (72) *yiʔe pala lubid tu kaʔutosan*
 SP.PROX PL rope ABS commandments
 ‘These ropes are the writ of commandments.’

6.6.2 Medial Space

Medial demonstratives, according to Rubino (1997, p. 42) usually refer to “the proximity of the addressee to the referent”. The demonstratives in (73) and in (74) are translated as ‘that’ in English. These demonstrative often co-occur with the second person pronouns in (73) and (74). The demonstratives in (73) and (74) are the singular forms while (75) is the plural form.

- (73) *yiʔinna ?i bele=mo*
 SP.MED DET house=GEN.2s
That is your house.
- (74) *?ay ?onolon=mo=man ?i ginawa niʔinna ?anak*
 TL CONT.GF.know=ERG.2s=PART DET PERF.do ERG.MED child
 Did you know what **that child** just did?
- (75) *mossikip diyak yiʔinna pala sapatos=?a ?in?atod=na diyak*
 tight OBL.1s SP.MED PL shoes=LIG PERF.GF.gave=ERG.3s OBL.1s
 ‘**Those shoes** which he has given to me are too tight for me.’

6.6.3 Distal Space

Distal demonstratives, according to Rubino (1997, p. 44) refer to “the referent which is neither within the realm of the speaker nor the addressee”. The demonstratives in (76) and in (77) are translated as ‘over there’ in English.

- (76) *yiʔiddi tu bele ni lake*
 SP.DET ABS house ERG.PN grandfather
 ‘The house of grandfather is **over there**.’

- (77) *sinalew=ni?iddi* *Panak tu beges*
PERF.GF.buy=ERG/DIST child the rice
'That child over there bought the rice.'

6.7 Temporal demonstratives

Southern Alta also has *temporal demonstratives*. *Temporal demonstratives*, according to Rubino (1997, p. 45) are used to "indicate referents that are not visible during the speech event". Although they do not refer specifically to tense, these have been called to indicate a time in the past.

He explained that these "temporal demonstratives are used to indicate referents that are not apparent in the speech event. Such referent is most likely to have happened in the past". Two temporal demonstratives are identified; these are recent and remote past. The functions of demonstratives that refer to time such as recent and remote past will be discussed in detail in 7.5.5.

6.8 Summary

This chapter discussed the two nominal markers: *determiners* and *demonstratives*. The description included the *constituent order*, *number*, *definiteness/ indefiniteness*, and *functions of nominal markers*. There are two types of deictic pronouns illustrated here: the *spatial* and *temporal*. As for the spatial, three distinctions were described: *proximal*, *medial*, and *distal* while for the spatial, two distinctions were presented: *recent* and *remote*. After presenting the nominal marking system of Southern Alta, the pronominals of Southern Alta will be explained in detail in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 7

PRONOMINALS

7.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the pronominal system of Southern Alta. It describes the position and different functions of pronominals in ‘simple phrases’, and in basic verbal and non-verbal clauses. Various types of pronouns are distinguished here, among the categories are personal pronouns (7.2), indefinite pronouns (7.3), combination of pronouns (7.4), and demonstrative pronouns (7.5). There are five distinct sets of personal pronouns; they are the absolute (7.2.1), the ergative (7.2.2), genitive (7.2.3), oblique (7.2.4), and oblique pronouns as *possessives* (7.2.5). Free (long) and clitic (short) forms of pronouns and demonstratives will be presented in sections (7.2) and (7.3), respectively. The pronouns will be distinguished according to their case-marking, person, number, and functions. The last section is the chapter summary (7.5).

7.2 Personal Pronouns

A *pronoun* is a word used as a substitute for a noun or noun phrase. “Personal pronouns”, according to (Trask, 1996, p. 206), “is one of a typically small and closed set of lexical items with the principal function of distinguishing among individuals in terms of the deictic category of person but often also expressing certain additional distinctions of number, animacy, gender or other categories”. However, certain pronouns encode two possible meanings. Although they have the same form but have different functions. Consider the ergative and genitive pronouns Ibanag in clauses (1) and (2) (Dita S. , 2007, p. 74).

- (1) *nassingan=na ?i wag-i=na*
 saw=ERG.3s DET sibling=GEN.3s
 ‘S/he saw her/his sibling.’
- (2) *baggawan=mo ?i takki=mo*
 wash=ERG.2s DET feet=GEN.2s
 ‘Wash your feet.’

This instance is also obvious in the pronouns of Southern Alta, examine the clauses (3) and (4) from a commentary. The pronoun *ko* ‘me’ in the first instance is (3) is labelled **ERG.1s** while in the second it is labeled **GEN.1s**. Similar observation can be seen in clause (4) in which **ERG.2s** and **GEN.2s** co-occur.

- (3) *?i-?atod=ko dikayo tu bilay=ko*
 INST-give=ERG.1s OBL 2p ABS life=GEN.1s
 ‘I will give my life to you.’
- (4) *dehil nu ginawam=mo, i alagang=mo i tiyan=mo*
dehil nu ginawan(m)=mo, ?i-?alagang=mo ?i tiyan=mo
 CON DET PERF-do-R=ERG.2s INST-crawl=ERG.2s DET belly=GEN.2s
ti dupit umpisa niedut
ti dupit ?umpisa ni?edut
 OBL soil from now
 ‘Because of what **you** have done, **you** will carry **your** belly on the ground from this day onwards.’

Aside from Ibanag, Ilocano had identical forms in the **ERG** and **GEN** case. However, Reid and Liao (2004) used the term *genitive* which refers to the possessor of an **NP** and to the *agent* of transitive construction. Dita (2007), on the other hand, explained that “the term *ergative* referred to the *agent* in a transitive construction, and *genitive*; the possessor of an **NP**”. In other words, if the pronoun encliticizes to a verb, it is an ergative pronoun; if it encliticizes to a noun, it is a genitive pronoun.

Person pronouns show distinction on person, number, and respect. The first person has three forms of forming “more than one participant”: **ABS.1d** or ‘dual’ (include two participants) in (5), and ABS.1pe ‘exclusive’ (does not include the addressee) in (6), and **ABS.1pi** ‘inclusive’ (includes the addressee) in (7).

- (5) *kumaway=kita*
IMPR.AF.swim=**ABS.1d**
‘**We (you and I)** will swim.’ (or ‘Let’s (you and I) swim.’)
- (6) *kumaway=kame*
IMPR.AF.swim=**ABS.1pe**
‘**We** (excluding you) will swim.’
- (7) *kumaway=kitam*
IMPR.AF.swim=**ABS.1pi**
‘**We** (including you) will swim.’ (or ‘Let’s (including you) swim.’)

The use of second and third person plural in casual conversation expresses respect of the speaker to the addressee. The **ABS.3p** in (8) refers to the three kings who visited Jesus. The plural number is preferred when referring (9), or talking to an elder person(s) or the speaker is asking something in (10) and (11), or to any person the speaker is asking favor or permission to do something (12) and (13), even if the addressee is only one.

- (8) *pinaan-laway=de nu ?anak ?ay nompogtaka=side ?asakit*
when-see=ERG.3p DET child TL surprised=**ABS.3p** very
‘When **they** saw the child, **they** were very surprised.’
- (9) *side tu mangomden=tam*
ABS.3p ABS elder.PL=**GEN.3p**
‘**They** are **our** elders.’

- (10) *lake, antoy ngadon=yo*
lake, ?anto=yi ngadon=yo
 old.man what=DET name=GEN.2p
 ‘Grandfather, what is your name?’ (Lit. ‘Old man, what is your name?’)
- (11) *budi=yo=man=?inna*
 like=ERG.2p=PART=that
 ‘Do you like that?’
- (12) *koyog, ?i-suksuk=yo=yi?e*
 friend INST-hide=ERG.2p=this
 ‘(My) Friend, (you) hide this.’
- (13) *maki-koy=yak dikayo*
 COM-pass=ABS.1s OBL.2p
 ‘I will pass from you (your house).’ (or ‘May I pass from you (or your house)’)

Table 7.1 shows the summary of personal pronouns of Southern Alta. ABS.1s, ERG.2s, and GEN.2s pronouns enclitize to the word before them.

Table 7.1 Summary of Southern Alta Pronouns

P	ABS		ERG	OBL	GEN
	Free	Enclitic			
1s	<i>tiyak</i>	=?ak	=ko	<i>diyak</i>	=ko
1d	<i>tikita</i>	=kita	=ta	<i>dikita</i>	=ta
1pe	<i>tikame</i>	=kame	=me	<i>dikame</i>	=me
1pi	<i>tikitam</i>	=kitam	=tam	<i>dikitam</i>	=tam
2s	<i>tikaw</i>	=ka	=mo, =m	<i>dikaw</i>	=mo, =m
2p	<i>tikayo</i>	=kayo	=yo	<i>dikayo</i>	=yo
3s	<i>tikana</i>	=siya	=na	<i>dikana</i>	=na
3p	<i>side</i>	=sid	=de	<i>dikade</i>	=de

The ABS.1s pronoun =(y)ak ‘I’ encliticizes to the last consonant of the preceding word such as (14), unless the last letter of the host ends with a vowel, in which case, the **ABS.1s** form is =?ak.

- (14) *olitaw=wak*
?politaw=(w)?ak
 young.man=ABS.1s
 'I am a young man.'
- (15) *ta?ey=yak umulok*
ta?e(y)=(y)?ak ?umulok
 here.RC=ABS.1s IMPR.AF.enter
 'I will enter here.'

For the ERG.2s and GEN.2s =*mo* 'you', words that end with alveolar nasal *n*, the alveolar nasal in *gewan* 'will do' is dropped and replaced with bilabial nasal *m* (*gewa(n)* =*m*) in (16). Similarly, the alveolar nasal *n* of the negative particle *uwan* 'no', 'not', or 'none' clitzes with GEN.2s =*mo* 'you' in (17). In most cases, the pronoun attaches and attracts with the head of the clause.

- (16) *uwan=din o-law-in nu Makidepat tu modit=tam*
?uwan=din ?o-law(ay)-in nu Makidepat tu modit=tam
 NEG=PART CONT.GF.see-BEN ERG God ABS bad=GEN.1pi
- =*a ginawa, o-gewan, at gewa-m=pa*
 =*?a ginawa, ?o-gew-an, ?at gewa(n)-(m)=pa*
 =LIG PERF.GF.do CONT-do-GF.LOC and IMPR.do.LOC-ERG.2s=PART
 'God not only sees our sins but also sins that you have done, are presently doing, and **will about to do.**'
- (17) *pinakoy nu padeple, tiad=din ti Kutikot*
 PERF.GF.said ERG crab where=PART ABS.PN Kutikot
- nu uwam=mo sabin papat-in=ta=ka*
nu ?uwa(n)=mo sabin papat(e)-in=ta=ka
 if NEG=ERG.2s say kill-PAT=ERG.1d=ABS.2s
 'The crab said, "Where is Kutikot? I will kill **you** if **you** will not tell me."'

7.2.1 Absolutive

The term **ABS** will be used in conformity to the recent trends in Philippine linguistics which is the ‘ergative-absolutive’. Trask (1996, p. 3) defined *absolutive* as “the case form which marks both the subject of an intransitive and the direct object of a transitive verb, and which contrasts with the ergative”. Southern Alta has two forms of ABS: the free form and the enclitic form (short).

7.2.1.1 Free Forms of Absolutive Pronouns

Free absolutives are those that are used independently. Table 7.2 presents the free absolutives of Southern Alta. The ‘free’ ABS forms appear as long forms. The functions of free absolutives are enumerated as follows:

Table 7.2 Free Forms of ABS Pronouns

Person	ABS Pronouns	Gloss
1s	<i>tiyak</i>	‘I’
1d	<i>tikita</i>	‘you and I’
1pe	<i>tikami</i>	‘we’ (excluding <i>you</i>)
1pi	<i>tikitam</i>	‘we’ (including <i>you</i>)
2s	<i>tikaw</i>	‘you’
2p	<i>tikayo</i>	‘you’ (pl.)
3s	<i>tikana or siya</i>	‘he, she, it’
3p	<i>side</i>	‘they’

- (i) as a response to a question

Free absolutives can stand alone in an utterance. They are usually replies from questions such as (19) and (21).

- (18) *?atin ?i mane-angay nu gemot ti Beto*
 who DET IMPR-bring DET medicine OBL Bato
 ‘Who will bring the medicine to Bato?’
- (19) ***tiyak***
ABS.1s
 ‘I (will).’
- (20) *tiatin ?i ki=?adi nu sundang*
 who.PL DET EXI own ERG dagger
 ‘Who (among you) owns the dagger?’
- (21) ***tikitam***
ABS.1pi
 ‘We.’ (lit. ‘We own it.’)

(ii) as a referential expressions

Free absolutives are very common in “referential expressions” (Tanangkingsing M. , 2009, p. 519). Absolutive pronouns usually appear in self-introduction like the self-referential **ABS.1s** *tiyak* ‘I’ in (22) and (23) or replies from information questions as (19), (21) and (26) in “pro-sentence constructions” (Schachter & Shopen, 2007, p. 31). They may also appear in exclusive and inclusive plural forms such as **ABS.1pe** *tikame* ‘we (excluding you)’ in (24) and **ABS.1pi** *tikitam* ‘we (including you)’ in (25).

- (22) ***tiyak ti Sonny***
ABS.1s ABS.PN Sonny
 ‘I am Sonny.’
- (23) ***tiyak =?a tatlongpu ?at pito***
ABS.1s =LIG thirty and three
 ‘I am thirty-seven years old.’
- (24) ***tikame Pay Kabuloan***
ABS.1pe TL Kabuloan
 ‘We are Kabuloan (Dumagat).’
- (25) ***tikitam ?i pala anak=Na***
ABS.1pi DET PL anak=GEN.3s
 ‘We (including you) are His children.’

- (26) *Q:* *?atetin tuntilaok*^{lxv}
 who.PL RCVC.CONT.crackling
 ‘Who are the ones crackling (like a chicken)?’

- A:* *side ?i ?um-?awit*
ABS.3p DET IMPR-sing
 ‘They are the ones who are sing.’

- (iii) as the predicate of an *identificational* clause

These long forms appear as predicate nouns. Like other Philippine languages, clause structures can be verbal and non-verbal predication, so predication of a pronoun is possible if the pronoun is the head of the non-verbal clause such as *tikitam* ‘we’ (all) in (27), *side* ‘they’ in (28), *tikayo* ‘you’ (PL) in (29), and *tikaw* ‘you’ (PL) in (30).

- (27) *tikitam ?i pala anak=Na*
ABS.1pi DET PL anak=GEN.3s
 ‘We (including you) are His children.’ (Lit. His children (are) we.)
- (28) *side ?i ?um-?awit*
ABS.3p DET IMPR-sing
 ‘They are the ones who are singing.’ (Lit. Singing (are) they.)
- (29) *tikayo tu pala koyog=ko*
ABS.2p ABS PL friend=GEN.1s
 ‘All of you are my friends’ (Lit. My friends (are) you.)
- (30) *tikaw tu pinaka-mossampat=?a ?anak nu kuyang=ko*
ABS.2s ABS most-beautiful=LIG child ERG elder.brother=GEN.1s
 ‘The most beautiful daughter of my elder brother is **you**.’

- (iv) as an **ABS NP** constituent of a *classificational* nominal clause

The free absolutives function as the identified ‘subject’ of a predicate-initial clause. The **ABS NPs** are *tikana* ‘he, she, it’ in (31), *side* ‘they’ in (32), *kita* ‘I and you’ (DUAL) in (33), and *kitam* ‘we’ (INCL) in (34).

- (31) *dumaget tikana*
 dumagat ABS.3s
 ‘He is a Dumagat.
- (32) *mangoddit=side*
 PL.bad=ABS.3p
 ‘They are bad (people).
- (33) *maglalabde=kita*
 lumberjack.PL=ABS.3d
 ‘You and I are lumberjacks.
- (34) *maglalabbet=kitam*
 wood.gatherer=ABS.1pi
 ‘We (including you) are wood gatherer.

(v) as an **ABS NP** constituent in a *topicalized* construction

Topicalized construction contains an **ABS NP** followed by *ay*. It takes the initial of the clause followed by the topic linker *ay*. These *topicalized construction* highlights the pronouns as ‘topic’ of the clause such as *tikana* (or *siya*) ‘he, she, it’ in (35) and (40), *tiyak* ‘I’ in (36) and (37), *tikita* ‘I and you’ (DUAL) in (38), and *tikami* ‘we’ (EXCL) in (39).

- (35) *tikana ?ay pade diyak*
 ABS.3s TL for OBL.1s
 ‘She (He, It) is (only) for me.
- (36) *tiyak ?ay pade dikayo*
 ABS.1s TL for OBL.2p
 ‘I am only for you.
- (37) *tiyak ay mombiwas*
tiyak ?ay mom-biwas
 ABS.1s TL CONT.AF-catch.fish
 ‘I will go fishing.’
- (38) *tikita ?ay manakop na dalag*
 ABS.1d TL IMPR.AF.catch OBL mud.fish
 ‘We will catch (some) the mud fish.’ (Lit. You and I will catch the mud fish.)

- (39) *tikame* *?ay mamangan=din*
ABS.1pe TL IMPR.AF.eat=PART
‘We (excluding you) will eat now.’
- (40) *siya* *?ay ?umangay tiddi ti Beto*
ABS.3s TL IMPR.AF-go there OBL Bato
‘He (She, It) is going there to Bato.’

(vi) as the *object* or *patient* of a dyadic transitive

Free absolute long forms may also appear in *object* or *patient* of transitive construction also in most cases the short forms appear more often such as *tikana* ‘he, she, it’ in (41), and *side* ‘they’ in (42), but they can be replaced with the short forms *siya* ‘he, she, it’ and *sid* ‘they’, respectively.

- (41) *?inaklis=na* *tikana*
?in-?aklis=na *tikana*
PERF.transfer=ERG.3s **ABS.3s**
‘He (She, It) transferred **him (her, it)**.’
- (42) *?inatden=na* *side nu ngasngas*
?in-?at(o)d-en=na *side nu ngasngas*
PERF.GF-give-BEN=ERG.3s **ABS.3p** ERG tobacco
‘He (She, It) gave **them** some tobacco.’

(vii) has a special discourse function

Southern Alta is basically a predicate-initial language. This means that verbs typically occupy the initial position in a sentence. However, there are some constructions where there are non-predicate initial constructions such as ABS pronouns *tiyak* ‘I’ in (43), *tikayo* ‘you’ (PL) in (44), and *side* ‘they’ in (45). These non-predicate initial constructions have special discourse functions, according to Schachter & Reid (2009, p. 841) “when a

constituent is fronted for emphasis, it is typically expressed in a falling intonation and is followed by a pause, and indicated with a comma” like clause (44) and (45).

- (43) *tu 'tiyak=Ngan' tu sinabi nu Makidepat*
ABS ABS.1s=PART ABS PERF.say ERG God
pokna=dut i sinabi ni Hesus
DEM.SIM=PART DET PERF.say ERG.PN Jesus
'God said 'I am (the one)', it was the same thing that Jesus said.'
- (44) *tikayo=?amo yi ?issa=y mongnol, ta ?uwan=nak ki=ma-gewa,*
ABS.2p=only DET one=LIG knowledgeable and NEG=ABS.1s EXI=IMPR-do
labes ta?e nu ka-budi-yan=yo
beyond here DET CIRC-kind-SUF=GEN.2p
'You are the only one who is knowledgeable and I can't do anything that is beyond your will.'
- (45) *side tu monudu, ?at side tu mogdisiyon na*
ABS.3p ABS CON.teach and ABS.3p ABS CON-decide DET
tungkol na kailangan=?a gewan nu kapolongan
regarding DET important=LIG do ERG council
'They are the ones teaching, and they are the ones deciding on matters that are important to the council.'

7.2.1.2 Short Forms of Absolutive Pronouns

The ‘short’ forms are enclitics, and these clitics attach to the head of a verbal or non-verbal clause. Table 7.3 shows a summary of the ABS clitic pronouns. Short forms have some features that are absent in long forms. Some of the functions are explained in detail below.

Table 7.3 Short Forms of ABS Pronouns

Person	ABS Pronouns	Gloss
1s	=?ak	'I'
1d	=kita	'you and I'
1pe	=kami	'we' (excluding <i>you</i>)
1pi	=kitam	'we' (including <i>you</i>)
2s	=ka	'you'
2p	=kayo	'you' (pl.)
3s	<i>tikana</i> ; =siya	'he, she, it'
3p	=sid	'they'

- (i) They function as S in a monadic intransitive clause such as =(d)ak 'I' (46), =(ng)ak 'I' in (47), and =(s)ak (49), and subject of a dyadic intransitive such as *yak* 'I' in (48) and *tikana* (or *siya*) 'he, she, it' in (50).
- (46) *p<um>iyad=dak=din*
 <IMPR.AF>stand=ABS.1s=now
 'I will stand now.' (Lit. you leave now)
- (47) *umakang=ngak*
 $\tilde{p}um\text{-}\tilde{P}akang=(ng)\tilde{P}ak$
 IMPR.AF-walk=ABS.1s
 'I am leaving.'
- (48) *inumangay=yak ti belayan*
 $\tilde{p}inum\text{-}angay=(y)ak ti belayan$
 PERF.AF-go. =ABS.1s OBL barrio
 'I went to the barrio.'
- (49) *mombiwas=sak*
 $mom\text{-}biwas=(s)\tilde{P}ak$
 CONT.AF-catch.fish=ABS.1s
 'I am catching fish.'
- (50) *linumukdes=siya ti gebunay*
 $l<inum>ukdes=siya ti gebunay$
 <PERF.AF>descend=ABS.3s OBL earth
 'He descended down on earth.'

(ii) They function as topic in non-verbal clauses such as a bare noun in (51), a demonstrative in (52), an adjective in (53), an adverb in (54), a negative in (55), and existential construction in (56).

- (51) *olitaw=wak*
 $\varphi_{olitaw}=(w)ak$
 young.man=ABS.1s
 'I am a young man.'
- (52) *taʔey=yak umulok*
 $\varphi_{taʔey(y)}=(y)ak \varphi_{um-}umulok$
 here.RC=ABS.1s IMPR.AF-enter
 'I will get inside here.'
- (53) *motakot=tak na ngane*
 $\varphi_{motakot}=(t)ak na ngane$
 scared=ABS.1s OBL ghost
 'I am scared of ghost.'
- (54) *adeney=yak=din*
 $\varphi_{adeney(y)}=(y)ak=din$
 near=ABS.1s=PART
 'I am near now.'
- (55) *uwan=nak mongnol*
 $\varphi_{uwan}=(n)ak mongnol$
 NEG=ABS.1s know
 'I do not know anything.'
- (56) *kitiddiy=yak=?a masolut*
 $\varphi_{kitiddi(y)}=(y)ak=?a masolut$
 EXI=ABS.1s=LIG tell.story
 'There is a story I will tell you.'

(iii) Absolutives also function as O in a dyadic transitive clause such as *siya* 'he, she, it' in (57), *siya* (or *tikana*) 'he, she, it' in (58), and *sid* 'they' in (59).

- (57) *sinabi=na=dut=?a* *?apostol=siya*
 PERF.GF.say=ERG.3s=PART=LIG apostle=ABS.3s
 ‘He (She, It) also said that **he (she, it)** is an apostle.’
- (58) *inabuyanan de siya*
 ?in-?abuyanan=de=siya
 PERF.GF-acknowledge=ERG.3p=ABS.3s
 ‘They acknowledged **him (her, it)**.’
- (59) *inotos nu tidna tikana*
 ?in-?otos nu tidna tikana
 PERF.GF-order ERG mother ABS.3s
 ‘The mother ordered him (her, it).’

(iv) Absolutives function as O of a triadic transitive clause such as *sid* ‘they’
 in (60) and *kami* ‘we’ (EXCL) in (61).

- (60) *lapditon mo sid* *nu salokod mo*
 lapdit-on=mo=sid *nu salokod=mo*
 IMPR.GF.hit-PAT=ERG.2s=ABS.3p DET cane=GEN.2s
 (You) Strike **them** with your cane.
- (61) *inatden=na=kame* *nu sakudut atta apog*
 ?in-?at(o)den=na=kame *nu sakudut ?atta ?apog*
 PERF-give.BEN=ERG.3s=ABS.1pe DET betel.leaf and lime
 ‘He gave **us** some betel leaf and lime.’

(v) Absolutives function as O of an applicative or ELF construction in (62).
 The NP *nu meme* ‘a toy’ is noun complement of the ABS.3p =*sidi* ‘they’.

- (62) *sinalew-an=na=sidi* *nu meme*
 sinalew-an=na=sidi *nu meme*
 PERF.GF.buy-APP=ERG.3s=ABS.3p ERG toy
 ‘He bought them a toy (some toys).’

7.2.2 Ergative

Ergative pronouns are enclitics and they cliticize at the last element of the host word. Dita (2007) distinguished ERG and GEN pronouns on the basis of the distribution and function of the pronouns with their host. According to Dita, the term “*ergative* (ERG) refers to the *agent* in a transitive construction while *genitive* (GEN) refers to the possessor in an NP”. Further, she explained that “if the pronoun encliticizes to a verb, it functions as ERG; otherwise, if it encliticizes to a noun, it functions as GEN (2007, p. 74).” Table 7.4 shows a list of ERG pronouns. The functions of these pronouns are enumerated below.

Table 7.4 Ergative Pronouns

Person	ERG Pronouns	Gloss
1s	=ko	'I'
1d	=ta	'you and I'
1pe	=mi	'we' (excluding <i>you</i>)
1pi	=tam	'we' (including <i>you</i>)
2s	=mo; =m	'you'
2p	=yo	'you' (pl.)
3s	=na	'he, she, it'
3p	=de	'they'

The ERG.2s =mo ‘you’ (SG) and ERG.2p =yo ‘you’ (PL) cliticize with the head of a clause. A head of a clause that ends with alveolar nasal *n* such as *uwan* ‘no’, ‘not’, or ‘none’ is dropped and replaced with bilabial nasal *m* (*uwa(n)* =m) in (63).

- (63) *nu uwam=mo sabin papatin=ta=ka*
nu ?uwan(m)=mo sabin papat(e)-in=ta=ka
 if NEG=ERG.2s say-BEN IMPR.kill-PAT=ERG.1d=ABS.2s
 ‘If **you** will not tell me, I will kill you.’

- (i) Ergatives function as agents of two types of transitives: dyadic transitive such as (64), (65), (66), and (67), and triadic transitive such as (68), (69) and (70).

The verbal clauses (64 – 67) highlight the ‘focused’ NPs as ‘syntactic objects’ of transitive-type clauses. The noun complement *?i kaduwa* ‘the second’ in (64) is the focused argument of a theme-focus transitive construction; the ABS.2s pronoun *=ka* in (65) is the focused argument of a patient-focused transitive construction; the genitive phrase (*tu*) *pangan=na* ‘his’ or ‘her name’ in (66) is the focused argument of a theme-focus transitive construction, and the noun phrase *i tinapay* ‘the bread’ in (67) is the focused argument of a patient-focused transitive construction.

- (64) *posposon=tam* *i kaduwa posposan*
pospos-on=tam *?i kaduwa pospos-an*
 IMPR.press-GF.THE=ERG.1pi DET second press-GF.LOC
 ‘We should press the second button.’
- (65) *tedyakan=ta=ka*
tedyak-an=ta=ka
 IMPR.kick-PAT=ERG.1d=ABS.2s
 ‘I will kick you.’
- (66) *ayuson=me* *pangan=na*
?ayus-on=me *pangan=na*
 IMPR.fix-GF.THE=ERG.3pe name=GEN.3s
 ‘We (excluding you) will correct the spelling of his (her) name.’
- (67) *kinanon=na* *i tinapay niedut* *di* *umabak*
k<in>an-on=na *?i tinapay ni?edut* *di* *?umabek*
 <PERF>GF.eat-PAT=ERG.3s DET bread a.while.ago TEMP.DEM morning
 ‘He (She) ate the bread a while ago this morning.’

Some transitive verbs are triadic as shown in (68), (69) and (70). These verbs are trivalent which means they encode three core arguments. Some examples are *inipaku* ‘nailed’, *impatawid* ‘brought’ and *tinubeyan* ‘helped’. The ergative pronouns functions *agents* of a triadic construction while absolute pronouns functions as O.

- (68) *inipaku=de=siya* *nu padipa hangen na mamate*
 ?in-?i-paku=de=siya *nu padipa hangen na mamate*
 PERF.GF-INST-nail=ERG.3p=ABS.3s ERG open.arms until OBL die
 ‘They nailed him with open arms until he died.’
- (69) *otawdon=na=side* *ti Beto*
 ?o-tawid-on=na=side *ti Beto*
 CONT-bring-PAT=ERG.3s=ABS.3p OBL Bato
 ‘He is bringing them to Bato.’
- (70) *tinubeyan=de=siya* *?a minangasok tiddi na tiklis*
 t<in>ubey-an=de=siya *?a mina-ngasok tiddi na tiklis*
 <PERF>help-GF.THE=ERG.3p=ABS.3s LIG PERF-put DEM OBL basket
 ‘They helped him put (the fruits) there in the basket.’

Dita (2011a, p. 4) explained that “portmanteau pronouns exist in Philippine languages”. These portmanteau pronouns is a combination of ERG.1s and ABS.2s which means ‘you and I’, the former is the *agent*, and the latter the *patient* of a clause. Data shows that it is also present in clauses (17), (65), (71) and (72). The ABS pronoun in (72) encodes ABS.1d+ERG.2p as a form of respect to a Supreme Being.

- (71) *besan=ta=ka*
 besa-(a)n=ta=ka
 read-GF.THE=ERG.1d=ABS.2s
 ‘I will read something for you.’
- (72) *dinggol=Ta=kayo=?a* *mon-akang kanya non-suksuk=kame*
 d(o)<in>(n)gol=Ta=kayo=?a *monakang kanya nonsuksuk=kame*
 <PERF>hear=ERG.1d=ABS.2p=LIG CONT.walk so PERF.hide=ABS.1pe

ta motakot=tak dehil tiyak ay obe
 ta motakot=(t)ak dehil tiyak ?ay ?obe
 CON fear=ABS.1s because ABS.1s TL nude
 ‘We heard **You** walking towards us, so we hid ourselves, and I was scared (of You) because I am nude.’

7.2.3 Genitive

Genitive pronouns express possession. They are enclitics and they are post-nominal. Payne (1997) explained that “possessive construction is different in Austronesian language”. The *noun* (possessum) follows the *pronoun* (the possessor) which is opposite to the English possessive construction (e.g. *my book*, *possessor* (my) - *possessum* (book)) (104). The phrases 73-80 are examples of possessive phrases.

Table 7.5 Genitive Pronouns

Person	GEN Pronouns	Gloss
1s	=ko; k	‘my’
1d	=ta	‘yours and mine’
1pe	=mi	‘our’ (excluding <i>you</i>)
1pi	=tam	‘our’ (including <i>you</i>)
2s	=mo; =m	‘your’ (SG)
2p	=yo	‘your’ (PL)
3s	=na	‘his, her, its’
3p	=de	‘their’

- (73) *tu bele=mo*
 ABS house=GEN.2s
 ‘**your** house’

- (74) *tu bele=na*
 ABS house=GEN.3s
 ‘**his/ her** house’

- (75) *pala atolang atta kamodenan=ko*
pala ?atolang ?atta ka-moden-an=ko
 PL sibling.PL CON CIRC-elder-SUF=GEN.1s
 ‘To my brothers and my elders’

- (76) Conversation
CR and J: *uwan=din ki=hingal at ikol tu asawa=k*
 ?uwan=din ki=hingal ?at ?ikol tu ?asawa=k(o)
NEG=PART EXI=asthma and cough ABS spouse=GEN.1s
‘**My** husband has been cured from asthma and cough.’
- (77) *tu ?a:nak=tam*
ABS anak=GEN.1pi
‘our children’ (including you)
- (78) *side tu pala minona=me*
ABS.3p ABS PL child=GEN.1pe
‘**They** are my ancestors.’ (excluding you)
- (79) *tu pala tanom=yo*
ABS PL plant=GEN.2p
‘**your** plants’
- (80) *tu katulod=de*
ABS enemy=GEN.3p
‘**their** enemy’

7.2.4 Oblique

The OBL pronouns serve as a peripheral argument of a basic clause. It may encode the semantic roles of *location, source, goal, cause, result, and benefactive*. They are free forms and consist of one-word. According to Dita (2007), “OBL is used to express direction towards a person or persons, or the transmission of an object towards the entity or partly specified by the oblique”. Table 7.5 shows the oblique pronouns of Southern Alta. The functions of oblique pronouns are enumerated below:

Table 7.5 Oblique Pronouns

Person	OBL Pronouns	Gloss
1s	<i>diyak</i>	'for me'
1d	<i>dikita</i>	'for you and I'
1pe	<i>dikami</i>	'for us' (excluding <i>you</i>)
1pi	<i>dikitam</i>	'for us' (including <i>you</i>)
2s	<i>dikaw</i>	'for you' (SG)
2p	<i>dikayo</i>	'for you' (PL)
3s	<i>dikana</i>	'for him/her/it'
3p	<i>dikade</i>	'for them'

(i) as semantic role of 'source' such as the OBL.3s *dikana* 'from HIM' in (82).

- (81) *inumalang dikana tu bilay=tam*
Pinum-?alang dikana tu bilay=tam
 PERF-come OBL.3s ABS life=GEN.1pi
 'Our life came **from Him.**'

(ii) as a semantic role of 'goal' such as *dikade* 'to them' in (82).

- (82) *iatod=ko=yie dikade*
?i-?atod=ko=yi?e dikade
 INST-IMPF.give=ERG.1s=this OBL.3p
 'I will give this **to them.**'

(iii) Obliques also express direct reference to the person in term of location.

- (83) *hang a dikaw tu ?age*
 big OBL.2s ABS shirt
 'The shirt is big **on you.**'

- (84) *mossikip dikayo tu pala sapatus=yo*
mos-skip dikayo tu pala sapatus=yo
 tight OBL.2p ABS PL shoes=GEN.2p
 'The pairs of shoes are too small **for all of you.**'

- (iv) Obliques can also function as *benefactives* (Dita S. , 2011a) such as *pade* plus OBL.1pi *dikitam* ‘for us’.

- (85) *namate ti Hesus pade dikitam*
na-mate ti Hesus pade dikitam
 PERF-die ABS.PN Jesus for OBL.1pi
 ‘Jesus gave his life **for all of us.**’

- (v) Obliques express possession when they co-occur with existentials.

- (86) *ki=ka-tahimek-an=g=kitam dikana*
 EXI=CIRC-peaceful-SUF=LIG=ABS.1pi OBL.3s
 ‘We have peacefulness **in Him.**’

- (vi) It also functions as a deictic pronoun in place of a personal pronoun. In clauses (87) and (88), the proximal spatial demonstrative *yie* (this) can be replaced with ABS.3p *side* (we) such as (89) and (90).

- (87) *yi?e magkalake tu pinakaminona=tam, ?a lahat*
yi?e magkalake tu pinaka-minona=tam, ?a lahat
 DEM.ABS spouse ABS very.first-ancestors=GEN.1pi LIG all
kanya matotkakaylan=g=kitam ?a lahat ti gebunay
kanya matot-kakaylan=g=kitam ?a lahat ti gebun-ay
 so very.close-relative=LIG=ABS.1pi LIG all OBL earth-LOC
 ‘**These** husband and wife were our very first ancestors so we are all relatives on earth.’

- (88) *yi-e lahat a alta ay kausil ni Pablo de iddi*
yi?e lahat ?a ?alta ?ay ka-?usil ?ni Pablo de ?iddi
 DEM all LIG alta TL COM-companion ERG.PN Paul TEM there
 ‘Long ago, **these** people are companions of Paul there.’

- (89) *side a magkalake tu pinaka-minona tam*
side ?a magkalake tu pinaka-minona=tam
 ABS.3p LIG spouse ABS very-first.ancestors=GEN.1pi
 ‘They, the husband and wife, were our very first ancestors.’
- (90) *side a lahat a alta ay kausil ni Pablo de iddi*
side ?a lahat ?a ?alta ?ay ka?usil ni Pablo de ?iddi
 ABS.3p LIG all LIG alta TL COM-companion ERG.PN Paul TEMP there
 Long ago, they, all the people there, are companions of Paul.

7.2.5 Oblique Pronouns as Possessives

Obliques are used to express direction towards a person or persons, or the transmission of an object towards the entity or party specified by the oblique pronoun. They express possession after the ligature *?a* and the noun referent. The OBL pronouns express possession in Table 7.6, and it also shows a different English gloss than in Table 7.5.

Table 7.6 Oblique Pronouns as Possessives

Person	OBL Pronouns	Gloss
1s	<i>diyak</i>	‘mine’
1d	<i>dikita</i>	‘our’ (yours and mine)
1pe	<i>dikami</i>	‘our’ (excluding <i>you</i>)
1pi	<i>dikitam</i>	‘our’ (including <i>you</i>)
2s	<i>dikaw</i>	‘your’
2p	<i>dikayo</i>	‘your’ (pl.)
3s	<i>dikana</i>	‘his, hers, its’
3p	<i>dikade</i>	‘theirs’

The phrases (91), (92), and (93) below encode possession. The phrases can be disproved by replaceability test. Now, compare them with the clause in (91a), (92a) and (93a). The head nouns are replaced with demonstratives, and yet all the phrases encode the same meaning.

- (91) *diyak=ʔa bele*
OBL.1s=LIG house
‘my house’
- (91a) *diyak yiʔe*
OBL.1s DEM
‘This is mine.’
- (92) *dikita=ʔa bele*
OBL.1d=LIG house
‘our (I and you) house.’
- (92a) *dikita yiʔinna*
OBL.1d DEM
‘That is ours.’
- (93) *dikame=ʔa ʔa:so*
OBL.1pe=LIG dog.PL
‘our (EXCL) dog.’
- (93a) *dikame=ʔa yiʔiddi*
OBL.1pe=LIG DEM
‘That is ours.’

Possession in Southern Alta is also expressed with the combination of the presence form (recognitional demonstratives) *say-i* /say.?i/, *say-na* /say.na/, or *say-di* /say.di/ corresponding to the *na-* form in *Tagalog* ‘be at...’ (McFarland, 2008, p. 133) and the OBL pronouns such as (94), (95), (96), (97), (98), (99), (98), and (101).

- (94) *sa(y)-i=diyak tu wallet=ko*
say-i=diyak tu wallet=ko
DEM=OBL.1s ABS wallet=GEN.1s
‘I have in me my wallet.’
- (95) *sayna=dikaw tu susi*
sayna=dikaw tu susi
DEM=OBL.2s ABS keys
‘You have in you the keys.’ or ‘The keys are in yours (your possession).’
- (96) *sayna=dikana tu belangot*
sayna=dikana tu belangot
DEM=OBL.3s ABS buri.cap
‘He has in him the buri cap.’ or ‘The buri cap is in his (possession).’

- (97) *sa(y)-i=dikame idduwa tu walat*
say?i=dikame ?idduwa tu walat
DEM=OBL.1pe two ABS money
‘The two of us have the money.’ or ‘The money is **in ours (our possession)**.’
- (98) *sa(y)-i=dikame tu a:nak*
say?i=dikame tu ?a:nak
DEM=OBL.1pe ABS children
‘We have **in here** the children.’ (lit. ‘**We have here** the children.’)
- (99) *sa(y)-i=dikitam tu sokod*
say?i=dikitam tu sokod
DEM=OBL.1pi ABS agreement
‘We have **in us** the agreement.’ (lit. ‘**We have here in us** the agreement.’)
- (100) *sayna=dikayo tu tubi*
DEM=OBL.2p ABS areca.nut
‘**You have in there** the areca nut.’ (or **The areca nut is in yours** (your possession).’)
- (101) *saydi dikade tu ?agid?agid*
DEM OBL.3p ABS many.leaves
‘**They have in there** the (scattered) leaves.’ (or ‘**The scattered leaves are theirs** (in their possession).’)

7.3 Indefinite Pronouns

Indefinite pronouns refer to “*lexical items* which even in context has no specific identifiable referent such as *something*, *anybody*, *sometimes* also *nothing*” (Trask, 1996, p. 138). Southern Alta has a few ‘lexical items’ that categorize as indefinite pronouns. Indefinite pronouns include the demonstrative and some lexical item that are shown below (Table 7.7). The indefinite pronouns under the categories of demonstratives will be dealt in detail in that section.

Table 7.7 List of Indefinite Pronouns

Indefinite Pronouns	Gloss
<i>bewat</i>	each or every
<i>buo</i>	whole
<i>kalad</i>	different
<i>kaladkalad (PL.)</i>	many different or various
<i>kanekanya</i>	each one or every one
<i>lahat</i>	all
<i>maadu</i>	many or a lot of
<i>mopatud</i>	many or a lot of

The indefinite pronouns are *lahat* ‘all’ (102), *buo* ‘whole’ (103), *mopatud* ‘many’ (104), *kalad* ‘different’ or ‘various’ (105) and *kaladkalad* ‘many different’ (106), *bewat* ‘each’ or ‘every’ (107), *maadu* ‘many’ (108) and *kanekanya* ‘each one’ or ‘every one’ (109). All of the indefinite pronouns except *lahat* ‘all’ and *buo* ‘whole’ are preceded by markers *tu* and *ti*, respectively.

- (102) *?in-?a-?atden=din ni Kutikot na tu lahat=?a*
 PERF-RV-give=PART ERG.PN Kutikot DEM ABS all=LIG

nang-?i-suksuk dikana
 PERF-INST-hide OBL.3s
 ‘Kutikot gave **all** who have helped him hide from Pagalpal.’

- (103) *b<inum>ulangay ti buo ni gebun-ay hanggen na linumbog*
 <PERF>flood DET **whole** DEM soil-LOC until OBL submerged

tu pinakamotaas=?a moyud
 DET highest =LIG mountain
 ‘The **whole** land was flooded until the highest peak was submerged with water.’

- (104) *de pokna, ?ay nog-katiddi nu pito taon=?a mopatud ?i*
 TEM DEM TL PERF.exist ERG seven year=LIG **bountiful** DET

paag-ani ?at nangipa-tipon ti Jose nu motindi kanon
 harvest and PERF-collect ABS.PN Jose ERG much food
 ‘Then it happened, there was 7 years of **bountiful** harvest and Jose was able to produce much food.’

- (105) *de kalima sinag, ?ay sinabi nu Makidepat=?a mag-katidi*
 TEM fifth day TL said DET God =LIG IMPR-exist
ti wagot na ?ikan ?at kalad=?a hayop,
 OBL river DET fish and **different=LIG** animal
halimbewa tu ?agema, ?o hepon
 example DET crab or shrimp
 ‘Then, on the fifth day, God said that there will be fish and different animals in the rivers, for examples, are crabs and shrimps.’
- (106) *wam=pokna na kaladkalad=?a nang-itudu=?a nanga-mate=d=?a*
 NEG=PART DET **others=LIG** PERF-teach=LIG already.dead=PART =LIG
hangen ni?edut ?ay saydi ti pinang-?ilabe=?a dikade
 until now TL DEM OBL grave=LIG OBL.3p
 ‘Unlike other preachers who were already dead, that until now, they were still lying there in their graves.’
- (107) *napa-mangan=na=?a kuwa ?anim=?a pideso bewat sinag*
 after-eat=ERG.3s=LIG PART six =LIG piece **every** day
 ‘After she ate, she should take six tables **every** day.’
- (108) *mina-ngalap=siya na ma?adu pala sele ?a*
 PERF-get=ABS.3s OBL **many** PL sele LIG
tu nanga-darag=din ?a sele
 ABS become-red=PART LIG pepper
 ‘He gathered a lot of **many** pepper, many reddish pepper.’
- (109) *nogkanekanya=d=sid na lugal ?a tinahanan*
nog-kane-kanya=din=sid na lugal ?a tinahan-an
 PERF-RCVCV-his=PART=ABS.3p OBL place LIG to dwell-LOC
 ‘**Each of them** chose a place to live.’

7.3.1 Other Lexical Items That May Express Indefiniteness

- (i) Expressions for ‘somebody’ and ‘something’ resort to “an existential circumlocution” (Schachter & Otanes, 1972, p. 276; Haspelmath, 2005, p. 191)

- (110) *kitiddi d<inum>atong nu?apon*
EXI <PERF>come yesterday
‘**Someone** arrived yesterday.’

- (111) *ki=g<in>awa tu tidema*
EXI=<PERF>**do** ABS father
‘The father **did something**.’

(ii) Expressions for ‘somewhere’ or locative can also be expressed

- (112) *kitiddi=siya ?un-?angay-an*
EXI=ABS.3s IMPR-go-THE
‘He is going **somewhere**.’

(iii) Negative existential *uwan kitiddi* is also used to express the indefinite pronoun ‘no one’ or ‘none’

- (113) *?uwan ki=d<inum>atong nu?apon*
NEG EXI=<PERF>come yesterday
‘No one (none) came yesterday.’

(iv) The adverbial particle *maadu* or *mopatud* may express an indefinite number of persons or things

- (114) *maa:du =?a ?alta tu d<um>atong na?udma*
many =LIG person ABS <IMPR>come tomorrow
‘**Many** people are coming tomorrow.’ (or ‘A lot of people will be coming tomorrow.’)

- (115) *maadu tu minang-yadi tu demo sinag*
many ABS PERF.AF-happen ABS first day
‘**Many** things happened in olden days.’
(or ‘**A lot** of things happened in olden days.’)

- (v) The causative morpheme *paN-* may express ‘indefiniteness’. Causatives construction encodes two actors: one argument causing the other to act or a *causer*, and one expressing an effect or a *causee* such as clauses (116) and (117).

- (116) *nompagupit tu patud*
nom-pa-gupit *tu patud.* CAUSER, CAUSEE
PERF.AF-CAUS-cut ABS young.man
‘The young man asked **someone** to cut his hair.’ or
‘The young man asked **someone** to have a haircut.’
- (117) *pinakanon nu kapolongan tu ma?estade*
pina-kan-on *nu kapolongan tu ma?estade*
PERF.CAUS-eat.PAT ERG council ABS female.teacher
‘The council asked **someone** to feed the female teacher.’

7.4 Combination of Pronouns

A clause may consist of more than one pronoun. In such cases, the ergative precede the absolute, and the combination is shown in Table 7.8. Long and short forms of the absolute can be used, yet most of the long forms are used here to illustrate the combination of ERG-ABS case. Clause 118 – 122 are verbal clauses except the second clause in (118) and the initial clause in (120) which are non-verbal clauses. Most of the clauses follows the ergative-absolute combination while the non-verbal clause do not. Secondly, there are some irregular combinations in Table 7.8 . These irregular combinations are in boldface, and an example is shown in (120) and (122).

Table 7.8 Combination of Pronouns

	ABS.1d =tikita	ABS.1s =tiyak	ABS.1pe =tikame	ABS.1pi =tikitam	ABS.2s =tikaw	ABS.2p =tikayo	ABS.3s =tikana	ABS.3p =side
ERG.1s =ko	-	-	-	-	-	=ko=tikayo	=ko=tikana	=ko=side
ERG.1d =ta	=ta	-	-	-	=ta=ka	=ta=(ti)kayo	=ta=tikana	=ta=side
ERG.1pe =me	-	-	-	-	=me=tikaw	=me=tikayo	=me=tikana	=me=side
ERG.1pi =tam	-	-	-	-	-	-	=tam=tikana	=tam=side
ERG.2s =mo	-	=?ak=mo	=mo=tikame	-	-	-	=mo=tikana	=mo=side
ERG.2p =yo	-	=?ak=yo	=yo=tikame	-	-	-	=yo=tikana	=yo=side
ERG.3s =na	-	=?ak=na	=na=tikame	=na=tikitam	na=tikaw	=na=tikayo	=na=tikana	=na=side
ERG.3p =de	-	=de=tiyak	=de=tikame	=de=tikitam	=de=tikaw	=de=tikayo	=de=tikana	=de=side

- (118) *?ay na?angay=de=siya nu hukom, be=de=siya pinahatolan,*
 TL go=ERG.3p=ABS.3s OBL judge CON=ERG.3p=ABS.3s condemn
 ‘They bought him to trial, before, they condemned him.’
- (119) *pukoy ti Mogot dikana, “nu budi=yo ?ay ?atden=ta=kayo.”*
 said ABS.PN Moggot OBL.3s if like=ERG.2p TL give=ERG.1d=ABS.2p
 ‘Mogot said to him, “If you like, I will give some to you.”’
- (120) *ta be=wan=nak=mo pinasanit ?ay geyangin=ta=ka*
 CON=if=NEG=ABS.1s=ERG.2s turn TL spear=ERG.1d=ABS.2s
 because if you will not give me a turn, I will spear you.
- (121) *?in-?otos=Na=sid ?a mampakapeya*
 PERF-order=ERG.3s ABS.3p LIG to.become.good
 ‘He ordered them to become good persons.’
- (122) *panginoon, kalbiyan=nak=yo*
 lord mercy=ABS.1s=ERG.2p
 ‘Lord, have mercy on me.’ (Lit. Lord, you mercy me.)

7.5 Demonstratives and their Types

Demonstratives imply "pointing to" or "demonstrating" the object they refer to such as the use of *that* for singular entities or *those* for plural entities (Payne, 1997, p. 103). However, the demonstratives of Southern Alta are too complex, and this category requires a more comprehensive definition and description. Demonstratives, according to

Diessel (1999, p. 2), have three major criteria. First, demonstratives are deictic expressions serving specific syntactic functions; second, they serve specific pragmatic functions; and the third, they characterized specific semantic features. On the other hand, Clearly-Kemp (2007) found four basic functions of demonstratives in Austronesian languages and among Philippine languages is Cebuano. These are situational use, discourse deictic use, the ‘tracking’ use, and the ‘recognitional’ use (Tanangkingsing M. , 2009, pp. 142-143). Situational use indicate location of an entity or a referent and it is the most often use. Discourse deictic use refers to demonstratives that may refere either to the preceding discourse (anaphoric) or the following discourse (cataphoric). Traking use has come to be used as a definite article. In Cebuano, the pronoun *ana-ng* ‘that’ is used as a definite article, and it is being used as a marker for extended arguments (E) in extended transitive constructions (Tanangkingsing M. , 2009, p. 125). And the last function is recognitional, it refers to “a referent that is known to both speaker and the hearer through shared knowledge, rather than through context” (Tanangkingsing M. , 2009, p. 126). It functions to introduce into the discourse a referent that is not present and these demonstratives may only be found in an adnominal environment. The term *recognitional* is borrowed by Diessel (1999, p. 7) from Himmelman’s (1996) concept of *recognitional demonstratives* which mean that “the speakers uses the demonstrative in order to indicate that the hearer is able to identify the referent based on specific shared knowledge”. These types of demonstratives also appear in Reid and Liao (2004), Ruffullo (2004), and Dita (2007) .We begin by identifying the different forms of Southern Alta demonstratives in Table 7.8.

Table 7.8 The Demonstratives of Southern Alta

		ABS	ERG	OBL	PRESSENCE FORM	SIMILARITY FORM
PROX	SG	<i>yiʔe</i> <i>yiʔeyə:y;</i> <i>ya:y;ʔe</i> ‘this’	<i>niʔe</i> <i>niʔeyə:y;</i> <i>niʔe; ni</i> ‘here’	<i>taʔe</i> <i>tiʔi</i> ‘here’	<i>sayʔi</i> ‘be here’	<i>pokna tiʔi</i> ‘be like this’
	PL	<i>yiʔisidde-ya:y;</i> <i>yiʔe pala</i> ‘these’	<i>niʔisidde-ya:y</i> <i>niʔe pala</i> ‘these’	-	-	-
	MED	SG	<i>yiʔinna;</i> <i>ʔinna; ɻayna; na</i> ‘that’	<i>niʔinna</i> ‘that’	<i>tinna</i> ‘there’	<i>sayna</i> ‘be there’
	PL		<i>niʔisidna;</i> <i>yiʔinna pala</i> ‘those’	<i>niʔisidna;</i> <i>niʔinna pala</i> ‘those’	-	-
	DIST	SG	<i>yiʔiddi;</i> <i>ɻiddi; di</i> ‘that’	<i>niʔiddi</i> ‘that’	<i>tiddi</i> ‘over there’	<i>saydi</i> ‘be there’
	PL		<i>yiʔisiddi; yiʔiddi</i> <i>pala</i> ‘those’	<i>niʔisiddi;</i> <i>niʔiddi pala</i> ‘those’	-	-

The demonstratives of Southern Alta are divided into six groups. While some of the groups have degrees of space, some do not. Similarly, some have plural forms while many do not have. This section is divided into spatial (7.4.1), locative (7.4.2), presence forms (7.4.3), similarity forms (7.4.4), and temporal expressions (7.4.5).

7.5.1 Spatial Demonstratives and the Degrees of Space

Spatial refers to the location or distance of the speaker or addressee to its referent. McFarland (2008), on the other hand, has provided other means of classification and terminologies such as **ABS** and **ERG** instead of **NOM** and **GEN**, respectively. Both **ABS** and **ERG** have three degrees of space, these are the proximal (7.4.1.1), the medial (7.4.1.2), and the distal (7.4.1.3).

Table 7.9 Spatial Demonstratives

		ABS	ERG
PROX	SG	=yi?e; =yi?eyay; =ya:y; =?e ‘this’	=ni?e; =ni?eyay; =ni ‘this’
	PL	=yi?isideyay; =yi?e pala ‘these’	=ni?e pala ‘these’
MED	SG	=yi?inna; =?inna; =?ayna; =na ‘that’	=ni?inna ‘that’
	PL	=yi?isidna; =yi?inna pala ‘those’	=ni?inna pala ‘those’
DIST	SG	=yi?iddi; =?iddi; =di ‘that’	=ni?iddi ‘that’
	PL	=yi?isiddi; =yi?iddi pala ‘those’	=ni?iddi pala ‘those’

7.5.1.1 Proximal Space

Proximal demonstratives, according to Rubino (1997, p. 41) are those that refer to “entities located within the physical and mental realm of the speaker”. The demonstratives *yi-e* in (123) and *ni-e* in (124) are translated as ‘this’ in English.

- (123) *yi?e ?i geyang=ko*
ABS.SP.PROX DET spear=GEN.1s
‘This is my spear.’

- (124) *sinalew ni?e ?anak tu beges*
buy ERG.SP.PROX child the rice
‘This child bought some rice.’

7.5.1.2 Medial Space

Medial demonstratives, according to Rubino (1997, p. 42) usually refer to “the proximity of the addressee or sometimes speaker to the referent”. The demonstratives *yiina* in (125) and *niinna* in (126) are translated as ‘that’ in English.

- (125) *yi?inna* *?i bele=mo*
ABS.SP.MED DET house=GEN.2s
‘**That** is your house.’

- (126) *?ay ?o-nol-on=mo=man* *?i g<in>awa ni?inna* *?anak*
INTJ CONT.know.GF.THE=ERG.2s=PART DET <PERF>do ERG.SP.MED child
‘Did you know what **that** child did?’

7.5.1.3 Distal Space

Distal demonstratives, according to Rubino (1997, p. 44) refer to “the referent which is neither within the realm of the speaker nor the addressee”. The demonstratives *yi-iddi* in (127) and *ni-iddi* in (128) are translated as ‘over there’ in English.

- (127) *yi?iddi* *tu bele ni lake*
ABS.SP.DIST ABS house ERG.PN grandfather
‘**Over there** is Lake’s house.’

- (128) *s<in>alew ni?iddi* *?anak tu beges*
<PERF>buy ERG.SP.DIST child ABS rice
‘**That** child over there bought the rice.’

7.5.2 Locative Demonstrative and the Degrees of Space

Locative demonstrative refers to a place or location of the speaker or hearer, or both speaker and hearer. Three degrees are identified, these are: the proximal (7.4.2.1), the medial (7.4.2.2), and the distal (7.4.2.3).

Table 7.10 Locative Demonstrative

OBL	
PROX	<i>taʔe</i> [tiʔi] 'here'
MED	<i>tinna</i> 'there'
DIST	<i>tiddi</i> 'over there'

7.5.2.1 Proximal

Proximal refers to the location or place ‘near’ to the speaker or hearer, or near to both speaker and hearer. It is equivalent to the English word ‘here’. The demonstrative *ta-e* in (129) is translated ‘here’ in English.

- (129) *taʔe=kitam ma-mangan*
 OBL.LOC.PROX =ABS.1pi NEUT-eat
 We will eat here.

7.5.2.2 Medial

Proximal refers to the location or place ‘not too far nor near’ to the speaker or hearer, or ‘not too far nor near’ to both speaker and hearer. The demonstrative *tinna* in (130) is translated ‘there’ in English.

- (130) *tinna=kitam ma=mangan*
 OBL.LOC.MED= ABS.1pi NEUT-eat
 ‘We will eat there.’

7.5.2.3 Distal

Distal refers to the location or place ‘farther’ to the speaker or hearer. It indicates a more or less distant place, ‘away from speaker and hearer. The demonstrative *tiddi* in (131) is translated ‘over there’ in English.

- (131) *tiddi=kitam ma-mangan*
OBL.LOC.DIST= ABS.1pi NEUT-eat
‘We will eat over there.

7.5.3 Presence Forms

McFarland (2008, p. 133) used the term *presence* to refer to ‘derived’ deictic pronouns consisting of the prefix plus the oblique pronouns expressing ‘be here’ and ‘be there’ (e.g. Tagalog *na-* plus oblique pronouns, *narito* ‘be here’, *nariyan* ‘be there’, *naroon* ‘be yonder’).

These demonstratives are multifunctional; they express existence of an entity and encode location. These demonstratives have three degrees of space: *proximal*, *medial* and *distal*. Table 7.11 shows the presence forms of Southern Alta. To illustrate its multiple functions, the interlinear gloss EXI.LOC which means existential and locative will be is used.

Table 7.11 Presence Form

PRESENCE	
PROX	<i>say?i</i> ‘be here’
MED	<i>sayna</i> ‘be there’
DIST	<i>saydi</i> ‘be yonder’

Clauses (132) and (133) are telephone conversations between L and PB. The demonstrative *say?i* ‘be here’ refers to a location in Nueva Ecija. The speaker uses *say?i* ‘here’ to indicate that the ‘speaker’ is present in the location familiar to both discourse participants at that moment of speaking while the hearer is in a different location.

- (132) Cellphone Conversation
 L: *ti?ad=ka=d*
 where=ABS.2s=PART
 ‘Where are you now?’
- (133) Conversation
 PB: *say?i=yak ti Camarin ?um-?angay=yak tiddi nu?apon*
 EXI.DEM.PROX=I OBL Camarin IMPR-go=ABS.1s DEM.OBL yesterday
 ‘I am here in Camarin. I arrived here yesterday.’

The demonstrative *sayna* ‘be there’ in (135) refers also to a location, in the adjacent lot. It is assumed that the speaker has seen the referent, *Usil*, before the exchange of talk. Although both speaker and hearer are in the same location, it is only the speaker who has seen the referent within the vicinity.

(134) Conversation

SM: *nakay-laway=mo=d ti Usil*
nakay-laway=mo=din ti Usil
PERF-see=ERG.2s=PART ABS.PN Usil
'Have you seen Usil?'

(135) Conversation

L: *sayna ti Usil ti katupag*
EXI.DEM.MED ABS.PN Usil OBL other.side
'Usil is **there** at the other side.'

The demonstrative *saydi* 'be yonder' in (137) refers also to a location, *Beto* 'Bato'.

Although both speaker and hearer knew the place, neither speaker nor hearer is present in that specific location at the moment of speaking.

(136) Cellphone Conversation

SM: *tiad ti gupad mon?ekol=pa=man=siya*
where ABS.PN gupad CONT.AF-cough=PART=PART=ABS.3s
'Where is gupad? Is she still coughing?'

(137) Conversation

SD: *?uwani=din=siya mon?ekol saydi=siya ti Beto*
not=PART=ABS.3s CONT.AF-cough **EXI.DEM.DIST**=ABS.3s OBL Bato
'She is not coughing anymore. She is **there** in Bato.'

7.5.4 Similarity Forms

McFarland (2008, p. 134) used the term *similarity forms* corresponding to the *ga-* forms in *Tagalog*. It consist of the prefix plus the spatial demonstratives expressing 'be like this' and 'be like that' (e.g. *Tagalog ga-* plus spatial demonstratives, *ganito* 'be like this', *ganyan* 'be like that', *ganoon* 'be like that (farther)').

On the other hand, Diessel (1999, p. 74) described these demonstratives as manner demonstratives because they seemed to involve some sort of comparison such as the function of demonstratives in Benton's Pangasinan Reference Grammar (1972) (p. 65).

On the other hand, Dita (2007, p. 97), used the term *similative demonstratives* to refer to “expression that instructs or demonstrates the similarity of two entities”. These expressions are usually accompanied by actions denoting the points of similarity of its physical appearance, or as “verbal demonstratives” which describes how to ‘do it like this’ (Dixon R. , 2010, p. 224).

The term *pokna* ‘be like it’ is sometimes accompanied by an action or instruction such as in (138), (139), and (140). It is equivalent to ‘like that’ or ‘doing like that’ in English translation. The demonstrative *pokna* may have an aspectual form such as *kapopokna* ‘keep in doing that’ in (139).

- (138) *pinakoy ti Mogot, “Hale, top(o)l-on=yo=?amo ta sadya*
 said ABS.PN Mogot INTJ, tolerate-GF.THE=ERG.2p=PART CONJ ADV
 pokna ?i mon-duyan ta?e
 DEM DET CONT-swing DEM
 ‘Mogot said, “**That** is alright. You should tolerate the pain because the swing here is intentionally (designed) to be like this.”’
- (139) *de kapo-pokna=de tiddi mina-lalbak=sid nu gilid nu balon*
 TEMP R~DEM=ERG.3p DEM PERF-fall=ABS.3p DET beside DET well
 ‘(When) They kept on doing **that** there, they fell from the cliff of the well.’
- (140) *de tu katwaleyay=na kati-tyiage=ni?eya:y bekos mina-ka?apit=siya*
 TEMP ABS long.wait=DET RCV-persistent=DEM female PERF-hold=ABS.3s
 ?at pokna=dut tu patud
 and DEM.PART ABS male
 ‘*Long enough, the female’s persistence paid off, she got hold on the wall, and so as the male frog.’

The demonstrative *pokna ti?i* ‘like this’, *pokna tinna* ‘like that’, and *pokna tiddi* ‘like that (yonder)’ are similar in Tagalog demonstratives *ganito*, *ganiyan*, and *ganoon* (Schachter & Otanes, 1972, p. 251), respectively. Sample clause are shown in (141),

(142), and (143). In addition, the latter clause with the simulative *pokna tiddi* encodes a ‘remote’ temporal expression.

- (141) *?uwan gana=?a momangan pokna=tipi*
NEG appetite=LIG NEUT.eat SIM=OBL.PROX
?i Podemdemon nu ki=sakit
DET CONT.feel ERG EXI=sick
‘You don’t have an appetite to eat. **This is the same** feeling when sick.’
- (142) *sinabi=na dikayo=?a pokna=tinna*
PERF.GF.said=ERG.3s OBL.2p=LIG SIM=OBL.MED
yi mong-yadi pedu ?intuloy=yo=din
DET CONT.AF.happen but PERF.continue=ERG.2p=PART
‘He already said to you that it would happen **like that**, but you insisted (doing it).’
- (143) *?uwan=pokna=tiiddi tu budi=ko gewan*
NEG=SIM=OBL.DIST ABS like=GEN.1s to.do
‘**That** is not the one I intended to do.’

7.5.5 Temporal Expressions

Southern Alta also has temporal expression and they are referred here as temporal demonstratives. These demonstratives, according to Rubino (1997, p. 45) and Dita (2007, p. 71), are used to “indicate referents that are not visible during the speech event”. Although they do not refer specifically to tense, these have been called to indicate a time in the past.

Rubino explained that these temporal demonstratives are used to “indicate referents that are not apparent in the speech event”. Such referent is most likely to have happened before the moment of speaking. Two temporal demonstratives are identified here, these are *recent* and *remote* past.

Recent refers to an event(s) that happened not very long while *remote* refers to event(s) that has a referential time in the past. *Recent temporal expressions* are expressed by medial and distal degrees of demonstratives such as =?inna in (144) and =?iddi in (145), (146) and (147) or =di in (149). *Recent temporal demonstratives* express recent event(s), such as certain familiar events that happened before speaking. Those events are also mentioned in the preceding clause or instances.

- (144) *anto inna ginawam*
 $\text{?}anto=\text{?inna}$ $ginawa=mo$
what=ABS.SP.MED do=ERG.2s
‘What **again** have you **done**?’
- (145) *?iddi =?i sinabi nu mag-be-beleta kaya*
DEM =DET PERF.say DET IMPR.AF.RCV-news CON
‘**That** was what the messenger said, so
- (146) *pinanga-tapos nu=?iddi ?ay bala ?inum-?akang tu pala mag-?a-?alage*
PART DEM=TEMP TL sudden PERF.walk ABS PL RCV.person-care
nu topa ta pinumaangay ti Betlehim
DET sheep CON order.to.go OBL Bethlehem
‘**After that**, the shepherds left, and they were asked to go to Bethlehem.’
- (147) *sayna (saydi)= ?amo=?iddi*
EXI.DEM (EXI.DEM)=PART=DEM
‘(The one that you are looking for) It is just there over there.’

Remote temporal expressions or time-referentials are encoded by *de* ‘during’, ‘just after’, ‘while’, or ‘that moment’ in clause (148) and (149). These demonstratives refer to past event(s) that is common among the discourse participants or a recollection of familiar events that happened long time ago.

- (148) *de sinumakol ti Hesus ?ay*
 TEMP PERFgrow.up ABS.PN Jesus TL
 ‘When Jesus has grown up,’
- ginumawa=siya na ma?adu makapogtaka*
 PERF.do=ABS.3s DET many to.wonder
 ‘he did many miracles.’
- (149) *de toy=di ?ay nag-podi tu pala anghel na s<in>abi=de*
 TEMP PART=TEMP TL PERF-praise ABS PL angel DET <PERF>say=ERG.3p
- mopeya ta dinumatong=?a ?i ka-ligtas-an na pala ?alta*
 good CON PERF.arrive=LIG DET CIRCU-safe-CIRCU DET PL person
- ti dibebu ni gebunay*
 OBL above DEM earth
 ‘**At that very moment**, the angels celebrated the good news because the savior of man has arrived on earth.’

7.6 Summary

This chapter described the pronominal systems of Southern Alta. It described the position and functions of pronominals in simple phrase, and in basic verbal or non-verbal clauses. The different pronouns are distinguished: *absolutive, ergative, oblique, genitive, possessive cases, existential demonstrative, and indefinite pronouns*. It also presented the *free* (long) and *clitic* (short) forms. The different pronouns are distinguished according to their *case-marking, person, number, and functions*. Other types such as the indefinite pronouns and demonstratives are also described. This chapter also described the types of demonstratives: *spatial, locative, presence, similarity* and *temporal*. It also describes the four functions of demonstratives, these are situational use, discourse deictic use, the ‘tracking’ use, and the ‘recognitional’ use. *Temporal demonstratives* have *recent* and *remote temporal expressions*. After describing the pronominals of Southern Alta, the nominals will be explained in detail in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 8

NOMINALS

8.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the grammatical category of nouns. It describes the structural and distributional properties of nouns of Southern Alta. The major sections of this chapter are the following: nouns and their properties (8.2), semantic subclasses of nouns (8.3), morphological formation of nouns (8.4), and summary (8.5)

8.2 Nouns and their Properties

Nouns are traditionally defined as ‘naming words’. The traditional definition of nouns hold true for Southern Alta. Nouns name persons, places, things, or concepts. The words are grouped in categories. The categories are developed from the “semantic characterization on nouns” (Givon, 2001, p. 55). Some words may overlap and is considered in other categories although this is the best category the researcher can do for now. These nouns are separated in between contrasting categories such as common (8.2.1) vs. proper (8.2.3), count (8.2.3) vs. mass nouns (8.2.4), concrete vs. abstract (8.2.5) and borrowed (8.2.6). Nouns that originally appear from other languages are separated in the section on borrowed nouns 8.2.6 and the subgrouping are somewhat arbitrary.

Aside from the ‘semantics’ of the nouns of Southern Alta, this section chapter also explores the morphosyntactic properties: the structural and distributional aspects of Southern Alta nouns. The structural properties describe the ‘structure’ or word-form of a prototypical noun such as word formation through affixation (prefix, infix, suffix, or circumfix), and the formation of plural noun forms. The latter includes the phonological and morphological processes in word formation. Distributional properties, on the other

hand, delve on the presence or absence a determiner, constituency, and the functions of nouns in a phrase or in a clause.

Nouns and their Determiners

Determiners are “monosyllabic morphemes that precede the heads of most noun phrases” (Reid & Liao, 2004, p. 465). They are also known as noun markers. They signal the presence of a noun and help to identify nouns. Noun markers of Southern Alta precede the head of noun phrases. They also function as case markers and constitute as an element of a noun phrase.

The phrases 1 and 2 show the constituent of a noun marker and noun. The phrases *tu anak* and *ti luo* in (1) are translated as the child and in the stream, respectively. The noun markers precede the head nouns, *anak* ‘child’ and *luo* ‘stream’. The phrases *tu sundang* ‘the bolo’ and *nu ultaw* ‘the young man’ in (2) have the same generalization as in (1). Therefore, *tu*, *nu*, and *ti* are ‘common’ noun markers. Other forms of noun marker will be presented in the succeeding section.

- (1) *tu ?anak ?ay ti luo*
the child TL OBL stream
'the child is at the stream.'
- (2) *tu sundang nu ?olitaw*
the bolo ERG young.man
'the bolo of the young man'

8.3 Semantic Subclasses of Nouns

Each word is classified according to the semantic or prototypical features of each group. The nouns are grouped in six major classes: common (8.3.1) vs. proper (8.3.2),

concrete vs. abstract (8.3.5), count (8.3.3) vs. mass (8.3.4) nouns, and borrowed (8.3.6).

Some noun classes may consist of many inventories of nouns (bare or generic nouns) while some are few. Other classes do require a more detail description of its group such as proper nouns, so subclasses are created to stream down the categories, and they are numbered in Roman numerals (i, ii, iii and so on.)

8.3.1 Common Nouns

Common nouns are subdivided to seven (7) groups: bare or generic nouns (8.3.1.1), human terms (8.3.1.2), collective (8.3.1.3), animate non-human (8.3.1.4), inanimate (8.3.1.5), meteorological (8.3.1.6), and terms for location and direction (8.3.1.7).

8.3.1.1 Bare or generic nouns

Bare or generic nouns are prototypes or general terms associated for any tangible or intangible things. These are

bele ‘house’, *pun* ‘tree’ or ‘leader’, *katat* ‘skin of tree’, *labet* ‘tree’, *sabang* ‘pathway’, *hayop* ‘animal’, *halaman* ‘plant’, *sulo* ‘light’, *?apoy* ‘light’, *manok* ‘bird or chicken’, *salot* ‘plague’, *sakit* ‘sickness’, *kan* or *kanon* ‘food’, *?oinumun* ‘drink’, *wagot* ‘drink, water, or river’, *age* ‘traditional outfit’, *beyo* ‘shirt’, *?ikan* ‘fish’, *?apun* ‘afternoon or evening’, *umabak* ‘morning’, *delam* ‘night’, *kasingtan* ‘day’, *talaynop* ‘dream’, *lodeb* ‘burning place’, *ngadon* ‘given name’, *sanga* ‘branch’, *?alibus* ‘sweat’, *longos* ‘thicket’, *duli* ‘thorns’, *sakit* ‘illness’, *agid* ‘leaf’, *sanga* ‘branches’, *tadom* ‘talim’, *taon* ‘year’, *kale* ‘language’, *kasangkapan* ‘equipment’, *salot* ‘pest’, *regalo* ‘gift’, *tagok* ‘sap’, *kinam* ‘clear’, *doktor* ‘doctor’, *?alikabok* ‘dust’, *?odes* ‘hour’, *minuto* ‘minute’, *?esip* ‘mind’, *bilay* ‘life’, *suget* ‘wound’, *kamandeg* ‘venom’, *sumpa* ‘curse’ or ‘oath’, *laman* or *pilas* ‘meat’

- (1) *pagdelam, ?ay tu ?olop ?ay naging ?apoy, ?at yi?iddi yi sulo=de*
at.night TL ABS **cloud** TL become **fire** and DEM DET **light**=GEN.3p
'At night, the **clouds** turn to **fire** and those are their **torches**.'

8.3.1.2 Human terms

These terms refer to people. The subclasses consist of gender (8.3.1.2.1), kinship (8.3.1.2.2), titular terms (8.3.1.2.3). All of the subclasses consist of lesser classes for a clearer description of each group. They are defined and explained under each section below.

8.3.1.2.1 Gender terms

Gender terms refer to the biological classification of gender. This group consists of male (i), female (ii), and neuter (iii). The subclasses, male and female, express the biological description of male and female, respectively except for neuter which means that the person is either male or female.

(i) Male

patud 'male'; *?olitaw* 'male teen', *hoy* 'husband', *lake* 'adult male or grandfather', *mama* 'uncle', *kuya* 'eldest brother', *diko* 'second eldest brother', *sangko* 'third eldest brother', *?oka* 'older brother' *ma?estudu* 'male teacher'

(ii) Female

bekos 'female', *madikit* or *mahuna* 'female teen', *?immasat* 'adult female', *bulagdes*, 'separated' *ginumpas* 'widow', *gupad* 'grandmother', *?ate* 'eldest sister', *ditse* 'second eldest sister', *sanse* 'third eldest sister', *ma?estade* 'female teacher'

(iii) Neuter

?anak ‘child’, *lasaan* ‘baby’, *bubu* ‘grandchildren’, *(a)wadi* or *(a)tolang* ‘sibling(s)’, *?alta* ‘person’ or ‘Dumagat’, *moden* ‘parents’, *tidepo* or *minona* ‘ancestors’, *titser* ‘teacher’, *maglalabde* ‘lumberjack’, *koyog* ‘friend’ or ‘ally’, *koyog* ‘friend’, *kausil* ‘companion’, *kakaylan* ‘relative’, *katube* ‘companion’ or ‘partner’, *katulod* ‘opponent’, *bunso* ‘youngest brother or sister’, *ka?inaya* ‘fellowman’, *manakon* ‘nephew’ or ‘niece’

- (2) *pala ?atolang ?atta kamodenan=ko*
PL sibling PART elder=GEN.1s
‘To my **siblings and elders.**’ (Lit. To all **my siblings and my parents.**)
- (3) *kakaylan=ko=sid*
relative=ERG.1s=ABS.3p
‘They are my **relatives.**’
- (4) *ti Mam Arlene ?ay ma?estade*
ABS.PN HON Arlene TL teacher
‘Ma’am Arlene is a **teacher.**’

8.3.1.2.2 Kinship

Kinship refers to an individual’s relationship to other person(s) of the family or a person’s extended families in the community. The relationship of a person is described based on his or her affinity or consanguinity with other members of the community. Kinship terms are (i) descriptive, (ii) relational, and (iii) vocative.

(i) Descriptive

These are terms relating to the individual’s personal position or relation as a member of a family. It also includes a description of the person’s relation by affinity or by consanguinity with other members of the community. These are

tidema ‘father’, *tidna* ‘mother’, *moden* ‘parents’, *?atolang* ‘siblings’, *minona* or *tidepo* ‘ancestors’ *hepag* ‘sister-in-law’, *beyaw* ‘brother-in-law’ *panganay* ‘eldest’, *pa?usil* ‘youngest’, *mama* ‘uncle’, *ine* ‘young girl’, *belaye* ‘children’s parents in law’, *kuya* ‘eldest brother’, *diko* ‘second eldest brother’, *sangko* ‘third eldest brother’, *Pate* ‘eldest sister’, *ditse* ‘second eldest sister’, *sanse* ‘third eldest sister’, *bunso* ‘youngest brother or sister’, *kakaylan* ‘relative’, *manakon* ‘nephew’ or ‘niece’

(ii) Relational (Dual)

These terms refer to the societal and filial relationship of two persons. These terms relate to two persons or entities in a family or in a community. These are

masasawa or *magkalake* ‘husband and wife’, *matdema* ‘father and his child (or children)’, *matdena* ‘mother and her child (or children)’, *mag?ama?in* ‘uncle and nephew(s) and/ or niece(s)’, *matoka* ‘siblings’, *magkatulod* ‘contenders’, *matotka?usil* ‘best companion’ *matotkoyog* ‘best friends’

(iii) Vocative

These terms usually appear in conversation and oral discourse, and they express respect to the addressee. These are overt terms that express the order of relationship between and among members of the family. The terms are forms of addresses by a younger person(s) to an older a person of the family. For instance, a son or daughter addresses his or her father *tatoy* or ‘father’. Some descriptive and relational terms can be vocative. In some cases, person(s) of the same generation or consanguinity can be vocative such as *pinsan* ‘cousin’^{lxvi} or a person(s) affinity with his or her extended family such as *magbalaye* ‘in-laws’. These terms are honorific, and encode respect to the addressee.

These are

tatoy ‘father’, *Pamang* ‘older man’, *mama* ‘uncle’, *teti* ‘aunt’, *?ine* ‘young girl’, *beyaw* ‘brother-in-law’, *lake* ‘grandfather’, *gupad* ‘grandmother’, *kuyang* ‘eldest brother’, *bunso* ‘youngest brother or sister’, *bubu* ‘grandchildren’

- (5) *ni-nol nu magkalake, ?ay*
 PERF-know ERG spouse TL

?inum-?alang nu Makidepat tu bilay nu pala anak=de
 PERF-came DET God ABS life DET PL **child**=GEN.3p
 ‘**The husband and wife** knew that the lives of their **children** came from God.’

8.3.1.2.3 Titular terms

These are term associated with the person’s political or social function in the community. These terms are also honorific, and they encode respect to the addressee. These terms are sometimes vocative in both formal and informal conversation.

pangulo or *tsipteyn* ‘chieftain of the community’, *konsihal* ‘councilor’, *meyor* ‘mayor’, *gobilnadol* ‘governor’

8.3.1.3 Collective

Collective refers to other ethnolinguistic groups. These are *Taw* ‘Tagalog’, *alta* ‘person or people’, *Dumagat* or *Dumaget* ‘person’, *Bulos* ‘Umiray Dumaget’, *tage-Gepang* ‘Kabuloan’, *mangomden* ‘elders’, *intsik* ‘Chinese’, *medika* ‘American’

8.3.1.4 Animate Non-Human

It denotes non-human entities that live in any of the environments - air, sea and land. The subgroups are mammals (i), birds (ii), fish and other aquatic animals (iii), reptiles and amphibians (iv), insects and pests (v).

(i) Mammals

?oddongan ‘water buffalo’, *lutong* ‘monkey’, *bebboy* ‘pig’, *?usa* ‘deer’, *?aso* ‘dog’, *posa* ‘cat’, *kambing* ‘goat’, *barako* ‘male cow’, *beka* ‘cow’, *?alekon* ‘wild cat’

(ii) Birds

manok ‘bird’ (generic), *manok* ‘chicken’, *labuyo* ‘wild chicken’, *kalaw* ‘bird’ (hornbill), *lawin* ‘eagle’, *luto* ‘bird’ (specie), *?amamawis* ‘bird’ (specie), *benawul* ‘bird’ (specie), *butbut* ‘bird’ (specie), *manimpit* ‘bird’ (specie), *?olad* ‘bird’ (specie), *tagyak* ‘bird’ (specie), *tewak* ‘bird’ (specie)

(iii) Fish and other aquatic animals

ikan ‘fish’ (generic), *bengos* ‘milk fish’, *dalag* ‘bass’, *heto* ‘catfish’, *telapia* ‘tilapia’, *karpa* ‘carp’, *?ayogen* ‘fish’ (specie), *beya* ‘fish’ (specie), *beyangdapa* ‘fish’ (specie), *bubandet* ‘fish’ (specie), *butete* ‘fish’ (specie), *depis* ‘fish’ (specie), *kanduli* ‘fish’ (specie]

(iv) Reptiles and amphibians

maysa ‘snake’ (generic), *ippate* ‘python’ (specie), *simalad* ‘python’ (specie), *kulamay* ‘snake’ (specie), *buya* ‘crocodile’, *tilay* ‘lizard’ (generic), *kalasagin* ‘lizard’ (specie), *kapo* ‘lizard’ (specie), *tugak* ‘frog’

- (v) Insects and pests
- ?elom* ‘ants’, *kalwakol* ‘kuliglig-lupa’, *malawak* ‘butterfly’, *namok* ‘mosquito’, *sangop-sangop* ‘firefly’, *tambilok* ‘white worm’, *?ulod* ‘worm’, *dege* ‘rat’, *balang* ‘tipaklong’
- (6) *tu ?usa, beboy, tilay, ?elepante, ?odungan ?at lutong minogkatiddi*
 ABS deer pig snake elephant water.buffalo and monkey PERF.appear
 ‘The deers, pigs, snakes, elepants, water buffalos and monkeys appeared on earth.’
- (7) *sinabi=Na=matman=?a mog-kotidi nu manok ti gebun-ay*
 said=He=PART=LIG CONT-appear ERG chicken OBL soil-LOC
 ‘Then, God said again that there will be **chickens** on earth.’
- (8) *kaya ki=labuyo, kalaw lawin luto, ?at manimpit*
 so EXI=wild.chicken hornbill eagle *luto* and *manimpit*
?ay dehil linikha nu Makidepat
 TL because PERF.create ERG God
 ‘So, there were **wild chickens, hornbills, eagles, lutos** and **manimpits** because they were created by God.’
- (150) *de kalima sinag, ?ay sinabi nu Makidepat=?a mag-katidi*
 TEM fifth day TL said DET God=LIG IMPR-exist
ti wagot na ?ikan ?at kalad=?a hayop,
 OBL river DET fish and different=LIG **animal**
halimbewa tu ?agema, ?o hepon
 example DET **crab** or **shrimp**
 ‘Then, on the fifth day, God said that there will be **fish** and different **animals** in the rivers, for examples, are **crabs** and **shrimps**.’

8.3.1.5 Inanimate nouns

These consist of tangible and lifeless entities such as body parts (i), natural entities (ii), natural formations (iii), and man-made artifacts (iv).

(i) Body parts
?abak ‘body’, *buk* ‘hair’, *palagpag* ‘chest’, *salap* ‘arm and hand’, *pasingil* ‘cheek’, *ngeywit* ‘mouth’, *gulamoy* ‘fingers’, *leg* ‘neck’, *kodog* ‘forehead’, *?angot* ‘nose’, *?awile or kawadi* ‘left hand’, *?awanan* ‘right hand’, *gomot* ‘hand’, *tikod* ‘foot’, *begwi* ‘horn’, *tollang* ‘bone’, *taglang* ‘ribs’

- (9) *kaya ki=talinga, nge:wit, gomot, tikod ?at pokna*
so EXI=ear mouth hand foot and DEM
‘So, there are ears, mouth, hands, and feet.’
- (10) *mamanekailangan tu buo ?abak*
important ABS whole body
‘They are important parts of our whole body.’

(ii) Natural entities consist of plants and forest products.
lubigan ‘root crop’ (specie), *sigot* ‘bush’ (specie), *kosbong* ‘bush’ (specie),
talayib ‘bush’ (specie), *talustos* ‘bush’ (specie), *lalaguna* ‘guava’, *tokod-
langet* ‘bush’ (specie), *mange* ‘mango’, *niyog* ‘coconut’, *loya* ‘ginger’,
sakudut ‘bush’ (specie), *betag* ‘banana’ (specie), *belebil* ‘banana’ (specie),
?ubud ‘coconut bud’, *lubi* ‘root crop’ (specie), *kamoteng-baging* ‘root crop’
(specie), *kamoteng-kahoy* ‘root crop’ (specie), *tuge* ‘root crop’ (specie), *pako?*
‘fern’, *bunga* ‘betel nut’, *tubu* ‘sugar cane’

(iii) Natural formations
detnap ‘stone’, *kawangan* ‘river’, *wagot* ‘water’ or ‘river’, *loo* ‘stream’, *deget*
‘sea’, *moyud* ‘mountain peak’, *kaingin* ‘fields’, *bukid* or *talon* ‘mountain’, *lutit*
‘mud’, *dupit* ‘soil’, *gebun* ‘soil’ or ‘sand’, *bukal* or *tubud* ‘spring’, *marmul*
‘marble’, *sukab* ‘cave’, *suklib* ‘cave’

- (11) *de binuksan tu pang-anim=?a tatak, yinumogyog ?i gebun,*
 ADV PERF.open ABS sixth=LIG sign PERF.shook DET **land**
- na mas molakas=?a lindol na lahat=?a lindol dinanas-an*
 DET COMPA strong=LIG earthquake DET all=LIG earthquake experience-THE
- na ?alta ?umpisa linikha nu Makidepat ?i gebun-ay*
 OBL person begin PERF.create ERG God DET **soil**-LOC
- ‘When the sixth sign was opened, the **land** shook hard’ which much stronger than the strongest earthquake that mankind have ever experienced when He first created **earth**.’
- (12) *pina-?inum=sid na wagot ?inum-alang na de'nap=de mo?ohaw=sid*
 drink=ABS.3p DET **river** PERF-come DET **stone**=DEM CONT-thirsty=ABS.3p
 ‘They drank the **water** that came from the **stone** when they were thirsty.’

(iv) Man-made artifacts

are terms referring to tangible things which are either inventions or creations for human and community use. Some are general or specific terms or types.

tinupi ‘native house’ (type), *salupang* ‘native house’ (type), *takyab* ‘native house’ (type), *sundang* ‘knife’ or ‘bolo’, *tapis* ‘native clothing’ (type), *ginat* ‘g-string’, *beyakos* ‘native clothing’ (parts), *bidiang* ‘headband’, *biskal* ‘armband’, *solob* ‘body ornaments’ (type), *?amugu* ‘body ornaments’ (type), *kaylong* ‘necklace’, *?age* ‘clothes’, *pana* ‘bow and arrow’, *belawot* ‘tip of an arrow’ (type), *kutib* ‘tip of an arrow’ (type), *sinulpan* ‘arrow’, *boy* ‘bow’, *geyang* ‘metal spear’, *bubongwan* ‘sheath for arrows’, *patde* ‘processed glue from plants’, *balsa* ‘boat’ (type), *bengka* ‘boat’ (type]), *deong* ‘ark’, *sagwan* ‘paddle’, *tikon* ‘long paddle’ *talibong* ‘bolo’, *kodong* or *soge* ‘rope’, *padir* ‘wall’, *palopo* ‘roof’, *sako* ‘sack’, *bitag* ‘trap’, *takbe* ‘basket’

- (16) *pagki=laben-an tu pala alta de tu ?iddi pagki=giyera*,
 if.there.is=fight-GF.THE ABS PL person ADV ABS DEM if.there.is=war
?ay pana ?at sundang ?at geyang ?i ginamit=de
 TL arrow and sword and spear DET PERF.use=GEN.3p
 ‘When people go to war in the past, they use bows and arrows, swords, and spears.’

8.3.1.6 Meteorological terms

Meteorological terms refer to natural calamities and heavenly bodies. These are *kasingtan* ‘sunlight’, *biton* ‘stars’, *Polop* ‘clouds’, *sinag* ‘sun’, *gimata* or *bulan* ‘moon’, *longaw* or *langit* ‘sky’, *kabwan* ‘air’, *belangag* ‘rainbow’, *bulangay* ‘flood’, *duso* ‘rain’, *beylo* or *belo* ‘bagyo’, *yogyog* ‘earthquake’, *?ambon* ‘drizzle’, *kilat* ‘lightning’, *kumdul* ‘thunder’, *hamug* ‘dew’, *?amian* ‘northeast wind’

- (13) *?in-sina=Na tu molitob nu molaway, kaya ki=delam at ki=kasingtan*
 PERF-separate=He ABS dark DET clear so EXI=night and EXI=day
 ‘God separated darkness from light, so, there was **night**, and there was **day**.’
- (14) *pagkatapos, nog-katiddi na ?apun ?atta ?umabek*
 afterwards PERF-appear OBL **afternoon** and **morning**
 ‘Afterward, there was **night** and **day**.’
- (15) *lina tu tagibu sinag ti gebun-ay*
 DEM ABS first day OBL **soil-ay**
 ‘that was the first **daylight** on **earth**.’

8.3.1.7 Terms for location and direction

These terms are references to general notions of locations and directions. They also refer to any given space or movement of entity in a given space. They are case-marked as oblique^{lxvii}. These are

?awile ‘left’, *?awanan* ‘right’, *?optakan* ‘east’, *?olbugen* ‘west’, *belayan* ‘barrio’ or ‘center of trade’, *gebunay* ‘earth’, *bebey* ‘bay’, *ditaw* ‘mid sea’, *?adene* ‘near’, *?adeyo* ‘far’, *tagibu*, *dibebu* ‘above’, *disalad* ‘below’ or ‘under’, *paldwuwa* ‘between’, *demo* ‘front’, *dingato* ‘up’

8.3.2 Proper

Proper nouns refer to individual or specific entities. This group includes *persons'names* (8.3.2.1), *animate non-human names* (8.3.2.2), *divine entities or things* (8.3.2.3), *names of places* (8.3.2.4), *days of the week and months* (8.3.2.5), and *political or social titles* (8.3.2.6). The first letter of the name is capitalized to show its inclusion in this noun group.

8.3.2.1 Persons' names

They are classified in three groups, namely, registered names (i), ethnic names (ii), and nicknames (iii). The explanation of the terminologies is detailed below.

- (i) Registered names are person names of the Dumagats as appeared in the local civil registry.

(Name of Rogelio’s wife), Rogelio Del Monte, Sonny Del Monte, Simon Del Monte, Samuel Del Monte, Chieftain Antonio Carpio, Chieftain Jhony Bote

- (ii) Ethnic names are person names of ethnic origin. It refers to the names given to them by their family members and the duly registered forms were not yet available at the time they were born (17).

Kolmog (Rogelio), *Kulilit* (Gupad), *Yayo* (Sonny), *Latdok* ‘mud’ (Simon), *Lagyu* ‘shark’ (Samuel), *Moggot* ‘a mythical hero of the Dumagat’, (Pastor) *Babaw* ‘Pastor Babaw’ (Jhony), *Naklu*, *Usib*, *Salon*, *Suray*, *Mane*, *Alu*, *Puyu*, *Usil*

(iii) Nicknames are person names of Dumagats whose names were borrowed from the languages they have in contact with (16).

Lake Rogelio, Sonny, Ema (Lerma), Rogelio Del Monte, Kulilit, Usil, Babaw,
Chieftain Antonio, Chieftain Babaw (Jhony Bote)

- (16) *tiyak ti Sonny*
ABS.1s ABS.PN **Sonny**
'I am **Sonny**.'

- (17) *pang?awi diyak na pamilya=ko Yayo*
nickname OBL.1s DET family=GEN.1s **Yayo**
'My family calls me **Yayo**'

- (18) *tikame ?ay Kabuloan*
ABS.1pe TL Kabuloan
'We are Kabuloan (Dumagat)'. (or 'We called our language *Kabuloan*.)

8.3.2.2 Animate non-human names

These refer to the names that impersonate human qualities and characteristics.
These 'non-human names' appear in their oral traditions.

Pagalpal, 'pig', *Buya* 'crocodile', *Lutong* 'monkey', *Beboy* 'pig'

8.3.2.3 Divine entities or things

These are names that refers to divine entities or things such as
Makidepat 'God' or 'Lord', *Manliligtas* or *Tagepagligtas* 'Savior', *Lumang Tipan* 'Old Testament', *Tidema Makidepat* 'God the Father', *Ispeditu Makidepat* 'God the Holy Spirit', *Anak Makidepat* 'God the Son'.

8.3.2.4 Names of places

Name of places refer to the official and traditional names of places and that describe the political and geographical boundaries of the sitios, barangays, and the municipality.

Sitio Bato, Sitio Camarin, Barangay Sapang Bulac, Sitio Bulac ‘Sitio Bulac’, Sitio Biente-kwatro ‘twenty-four’

8.3.2.5 Days of the weeks and months

These are names for days and months, and number terms and are deemed to have been borrowed terms from other languages. This group is divided into *Days (i) and Months (ii)*. Tagalog, Spanish and English terms are used interchangeably. Number terms are located in Chapter (12) numbers.

(i) Days

Lunes ‘Monday’, *Martes* ‘Tuesday’, *Miyerkoles* ‘Wednesday’, *Huwebes* ‘Thursday’, *Biyernes* ‘Friday’, *Sabado* ‘Saturday’, *Linggo* ‘Sunday’;

(ii) Months

Enero ‘January’, *Pebrero* ‘February’, *Mars* ‘March’, *Abril* ‘April’, *Mayo* ‘May’,
Hunyo ‘June’, *Hulyo* ‘July’, *Agosto* ‘August’, *Septiyembre* ‘September’, *Oktubre* ‘October’, *Nobyembre* ‘November’, *Disyembre* ‘December’

8.3.2.6 Political and social title

These terms refer to people who are elected for public office or people who are assigned to perform ‘official’ political or social roles for the community. The person may be an incumbent official or formerly carrying the official function assigned to him or her.

Some titles overlap for example *Presidente* which refers to the *chieftain* not the ‘President of the Philippines’.

Chieftain (Presidente or Pangulo) (Antonio) ‘Chieftain (President) Antonio’,
Councilor (Konsehal) ‘Councilor Sonny’, *Gobernor* ‘Governor’, *Mayor* ‘Mayor’,
Pastor Babaw ‘Pastor Jhonny Bote’

8.3.3 Count

Count nouns are individuated entities. These nouns can be counted, and they are preceded by a plural marker *pala* ‘many’, an ordinal number, or may consist of affixations for plurality. One example is *pala alta* or ‘many people’, *sangay ?a anak* ‘three children’ or *bubudak* ‘many fruits’.

8.3.4 Mass

Mass nouns express indivisible masses. These nouns cannot be individuated nor pluralized. They are considered as one entity such as *segom* ‘salt’, *wagot* ‘water’, *gebun* ‘soil’ or ‘earth’, *latdok* or *lutit* ‘mud’, *dupit* or ‘soil’, *?ati* or *late* ‘rattan’, *tanso* ‘copper’, *ginto* ‘gold’, *bakal* ‘iron’ or ‘dagger’, *tigpa* ‘’, *dela* ‘’, *?asok* ‘smoke’, *?ohay* ‘wheat’

8.3.5 Concrete vs Abstract

Concrete nouns are described in the preceding sections and may refer to entities that are intangible. *Abstract nouns* refer to something with which cannot be physically experienced by human senses (sight, touch, feel, hear and taste). This group consists of intangible things or concepts such as *concepts or ideas* (i), *human qualities and values* (ii), and *traditions* (iii).

- (i) Concepts or ideas
dunong ‘intelligence’, *kolam* ‘witchcraft’, *pangako* ‘promise’, *benal* ‘holy’,
disiplena ‘discipline’, *pamahein* ‘*kapos* ‘hunger’
- (ii) Human qualities and values
butil ‘pride’, *?angos* ‘personality’ or ‘attitude’, *dit* ‘bad’, *peya* ‘good’, *sampat*
‘beauty’, *butang* ‘foolness’, *butil* ‘bad’ or ‘lie’, *tawa* ‘laugh’, *muttola* ‘happy’
- (iii) Traditions
pangingilid ‘sharing the provisions’, *subkal* and *pang?iyup* ‘traditional spells’
or ‘incantations’, *sokod* ‘an agreement’ or ‘pact’ or ‘covenant’, *?omanan*
‘chewing betel’, *bulanbulanan* ‘type of traditional game’, *male* ‘type of
traditional game’, *balebaleaan* ‘type of traditional game’, *pagu* ‘type of
traditional game’, *buyabuyaan* ‘type of traditional game’, *tandustandusan*
‘type of traditional game’

- (17) *?uwan=Na ?impaesip ?ay dehil na ka-pey(a)-an ?at dunong=na*
NEG=ABS.3s think TL because OBL **goodness** and **intelligence**=GEN.3s
kaya=siya ginamit nu Makidepat
so=ABS.3s use DET God
‘God used his **goodness** and **intelligence** and not for anything else.’
- (18) *?in-?atod dikade tu pala sokod=de*
PERF-give OBL.3p ABS PL **agreement**=GEN.3p
‘Their **agreements** were given to them.’
- (19) *yi ?ugali na ?alta, ?ay tu gung-gemit na ki=subkal ?at ?orasyon*
DET custom DET person TL ABS CONT-use OBL EXI=**spell** and **incantation**
‘The custom of man is to use **spells** and **incantations**.’

8.3.6 Borrowed words

Southern Alta has many borrowed words. It was a result of constant contact with other language groups such as *Tagalog* and other Negrito languages (Reid, 1991). Other factors that cause changes are changes in lifestyle and way of living, introduction of technology, trading system, education and among others. Many *Tagalog* words are found in Southern Alta lexicon. Aside from *Tagalog*, there are Spanish, English and Ilocano words.

(i) *Tagalog*

hadi ‘king’, *?ispeditu* ‘spirit’, *Meynila* ‘Manila’, *komot* ‘blanket’, *kaldidu* ‘pot or caserolle’, *litadetu* ‘photo’, *mutor* ‘motorcycle’, *Lumang Tipan* ‘Old Testament’, *sabun* ‘soap’, *palenggena* ‘basin’, *sipilyu* ‘toothbrush’, *trigo* ‘wheat’

(ii) Ilocano

mangan ‘eat’, *mangalap*

(iii) Cebuano

?ugma ‘tomorrow’ (*SAltnaudma*), *pila* ‘how many’

(iv) English

ipbi ‘FB or short for Facebook’, *pisbuk* ‘Facebook’, *?ispat* ‘flashlight’, *klip* ‘cellphone charger’, *kodus* ‘cross’, *Medika* ‘Amerika’, *kompiyuter* ‘computer’, *konsihal* ‘councilor’, *laptop* ‘laptop’, *meyor* ‘mayor’, *tsipteyn* ‘chieftain’, *portabol* ‘portable CD/VCD/DVD/MP3 player’, *klip* ‘cellphone charger’, *silpun* ‘cellular phone’, *solar* ‘solar panel’, *tablet* ‘computer tablet’ *pila* or *beteri* ‘battery’, *motor* ‘motorcycle’, *tsinsaw* ‘chainsaw’, *tebi* ‘TV’, ‘Shareit’, *?ispidbut* ‘speedboat’, *bulpit* ‘board feet’, *beg* ‘bag’, *tik* ‘text’

(v) Spanish

?antimano, komo, number words (Chapter 12), siyempede ‘exactly’, trigo ‘wheat’

- (20) neki-**tsarge**=yak na beteri
ask.permission-charge=ABS.1s DET battery
'I asked permission to charge my cellphone battery.'

(vi) Spanish - kalesa 'calesa', segundo 'seconds', menos 'minus'

8.4 Morphological formation of nouns

Affixation determines the lexical class of new words. The different affixations below shows new noun forms, on the other hand, nouns that show no affixation are considered bare nouns. Examples of bare nouns are vocatives and those 'unaffixed' nouns in the previous sections.

8.4.1 Derived Abstract Nouns

Derived abstract nouns are nouns in which base forms are derived from a verb, adjective, or a noun. It is formed simply by adding the circumfix *ka-,-an* or *ka-,-en* to the root. Table 7.1 shows a list of abstract words of Southern Alta.

Table 8.1 Derived Abstract Nouns

Base	Gloss	Abstract Nouns	Gloss
mate	'die'	kamateyan	'death'
budi	'like'	kabudiyán	'likeness'
ligtas	'safe'	kaligtasan	'salvation'
payapa	'peaceful'	kapayapaan	'peace'
tangi	'only'	katangeyan	'characteristic'
tahimek	'silent'	katahimekan	'silence'
sala	'offense'	kasalanan	'wrongdoings'
butil	'lie' or 'sin'	kabutilan	'immorality'
?ugnay	'relation'	kaugnayan	'relationship'
baliktad	'upside-down'	kabaliktaden	'in opposition'
loob	'inside'	kalooben	'god's will'

- (16) *tu mismo kamateyan na ?abak yi ?issa budak nu kasalanan*
 DET only **death** OBL body DET one seed ERG **sin**
 ‘The **death** of the body is a fruit of **sin**.’

8.4.2 Comitative nouns

“Comitative has a notion of shared participation or possession” (Rubino, 1997; Dita S. , 2007). It may express a categorical meaning of person’s likeness, or sameness with someone, or co-equal status with someone. Comitatives are formed by adding the prefix *ka-* to the root or stem, examples are shown in Table 8.2.

Table 8.2 *Comitative Nouns*

Base	Gloss	Comitative Nouns	Gloss
<i>?usil</i>	‘company’	<i>ka?usil</i>	‘someone who accompanies’
<i>tubey</i>	‘partner’	or <i>katubey</i>	‘a partner or personal companion’
	‘company’		
<i>tulod</i>	‘enemy’	<i>katulod</i>	‘a nemesis’
<i>?inaya</i>	‘come along’	<i>kainaya</i>	‘fellow man’
<i>tolang</i>	‘bone’	<i>katolangan</i>	‘a relative’ or ‘sibling’
<i>bilanggu</i>	‘prisoner’	<i>kabilanggu</i>	‘a prison mate’
<i>moden</i>	‘old’	<i>kamodenan</i>	‘groups of elderly’
<i>sanit</i>	‘substitute’	<i>kasanit</i>	‘a substitute’
<i>panalig</i>	‘faith’	<i>kapanalig</i>	‘one who shares the same beliefs’
<i>polong</i>	‘meeting’	<i>kapolongan</i>	‘assembly’

- (17) *?o-kumust(a)-an=sid nu pala ka-?usil ni Pablo*
 CONT-greet-THE=ABS.3p ERG PL **COM-companion** ERG.PN Pablo
?at nu kalad=?a kapolongan
 CON DET different=LIG council
 ‘Pablo and his **companions** greeted one another, including the other people in the assembly.’

- (18) *tu bekos tu katubey nu patud*
 a woman ABS **COM-help** ERG man
 ‘A woman is a man’s **partner**.’

- (19) *?in?ipon-anak=man=sid=?a koyog ?o katulod nu Makidepat*
 born=PART=ABS.3p=LIG friend or **enemy** DET God
 ‘Are they born as friends or **foes** of God?’

8.4.3 Origin Nouns

Origin is expressed by the prefix *tage-* which means a person(s) from ‘x’. The ‘x’ indicates the place of origin or location. It can be a person’s birthplace, an ancestral place, collective settlement, or a landmark. The prefix *tage-* plus the noun may refer to an individual or to a collective, examples are shown in Table 8.3.

Table 8.3 *Origin Nouns*

Base	Gloss	Origin Nouns	Gloss
<i>tae</i>	here	<i>tageta?</i> e	‘one who lives here’
<i>Gapang</i>	Gapan, Nueva Ecija	<i>tagegegapang</i>	‘one who is from Gapan’
<i>Italiya</i>	Italy	<i>tage?italiya</i>	‘a person from Italy’
<i>kailogen</i>	Sitio ^{lxviii} Kailogen	<i>tagekailogen</i>	‘one who is from Kailogen’
<i>Beto</i>	Sitio Bato?	<i>tagebeto?</i>	‘one who is from Beto’
<i>Kalawakan</i>	Sitio Kalawakan	<i>tagekalawakan</i>	‘one who is from ‘Kalawakan’

- (20) *tu pang-laben=tam na ka-hadi-yan ni Satanas*
 DET INST-fight=GEN.1pi OBL CIRC-hadi-LOC ERG.PN Satan
- ?ay ?awan gemit ?at ?esip nu tageta?*e *ti gebunay*
 TL NEG thing and knowledge DET **come.from.here** OBL earth
 ‘Our weapon against Satan’s kingdom is not a thing or knowledge that **come** from earth.’

8.4.4 Instigator Nouns

Instigator nouns denote a person who performs ‘x’, an action or activity or event for something and/or for someone. It is formed by two ways: (i) prefix *tage-* (Table 8.4), or *tagepa(g)* (Table 8.5) plus a verb root, and (ii) verbal prefix *mag-RCV*. List of words with prefix *tage-* and *tagepa(g)* is presented in Table 8.4 and Table 8.5.

- (i) Prefix prefix *tage-* or *tagepa(g)-* plus verb

The prefix *tage-* or *tagepa(g)-* that is attached to the base or inflected form of a verb. It denotes that a person is compelled to perform the action employed by the root word (Dita, 2007) or stem.

Table 8.4 *Instigator Nouns*

Base	Gloss	Instigator Nouns	Gloss
<i>sunod</i>	'follow'	<i>tagesunod</i>	'a follower'
<i>lingkod</i>	'serve'	<i>tagelingkod</i>	'a servant'
<i>magligtas</i>	'save'	<i>tagepagligtas</i>	'a savior'
<i>maglingkud</i>	'service'	<i>tagepaglingkud</i>	'a servant'
<i>mag?alala</i>	'remind'	<i>tagepagaaalala</i>	'a person who reminds'
<i>mammagitan</i>	'between'	<i>tagepamagitan</i>	'a mediator'
<i>magtudu</i>	'teach'	<i>tagepagtudu</i>	'a teacher'
<i>mag?alage</i>	'take care'	<i>tagepag?alage</i>	'a shepherd' or 'guardian'
<i>mang?asewa</i>	'manage'	<i>tagepangasewa</i>	'a manager'

- (21) *tu pala pineta Po tagesunod, Paytae na kale Ingles Pay naka-solat=?a tu benal dehil na panalig=de*
 DET PL PERF.choose or follower TL DEM OBL language English TL
 written=LIG ABS holy because OBL faith=GEN.3p
 'The chosen people or followers are written **here** in English language; they become holy because of their faith.'
- (22) *tu tagelingkod tu mog-asikaso nu lahat=?a kailangan pangmateryal a servant ABS CONT-take.care DET all=LIG need materials nu kapolongan*
 DET assempley
 'A **servant** is the one who takes care of all the logistics that will be used in the council.'
- (23) *kaya mohalage=y tu tungkolin nu mangomden ?at nu tagepaglingkod so important=PART ABS functions DET elders and DET servants*
 'So, the functions of the elders and the **servants** are very important.'

(ii) Prefix mag-RCV

The verbal prefix *mag-* plus RCV means a service, profession, or an activity that is attached to the base.

Table 8.5 *Profession Nouns*

Base	Gloss	Profession Nouns	Gloss
<i>labet</i>	'tree'	<i>maglalabde</i>	'lumberjack'
<i>bentay</i>	'guard'	<i>magbebentay</i>	'one who guards'
<i>?adal</i>	'to study'	<i>mag?apadal</i>	'a student or disciple'
<i>beleta</i>	'news'	<i>magbebeleta</i>	'one who informs'
<i>binta</i>	'to sell'	<i>magbibinta</i>	'one who sells things or services'
<i>nakaw</i>	'to steal'	<i>magnanakaw</i>	'one who steals for a living'
<i>?alage</i>	'pet'	<i>mag?apalage</i>	'one who takes care of something'

- (24) *nakay-laway ti Kutikot na maglalabde*
 see ABS.PN Kutikot DET **lumberjack**
 'Kutikot saw the **lumberjack**.'
- (25) *?iddi ?i s<in>abi nu magbebeleta kaya*
 DEM DET <PERF>say DET **messenger** CON
 'That was what the **messenger** said, so,
- (26) *de toy=di ?ay nagpodi tu pala anghel na sinabi=de mopeya*
 TEMP PART=DEM TL PERF-praise ABS PL angel DET PERF.say=ERG.3p good
 'At that very moment, the angels celebrated the good news'
- (27) *kaya sinabi ni Hesus nu pala mag?apadal=na*
 CON PERF.say ERG.PN Jesus DET PL **student**=GEN.3s
 'So, he said to his **disciples**,'
- (28) *dumatong ?i sinag=?a pa-pat(e)-in=nak nu mango-modit=?a ?alta*
 IMPR.come DET day=LIG RCV-kill-THE=ABS.1s DET very.PL-bad=LIG person
 'The day will come, and those wicked men will kill me,'

8.4.5 Locative Nouns

Locative nouns are derived with the (i) suffix *-an*, and (ii) circumfix *ka-,-(y)an*. Although both affixes may mean location or place, they differ in their spatial dimension. Suffix *-an* indicates a fixed point or area while circumfix *ka-,-(y)an* indicates a wider or broader area of periphery.

(i) Noun plus suffix *-an*

Table 8.6 *Locative Nouns* (suffix *-an*)

Base	Gloss	Locative Nouns	Gloss
<i>Pomman</i>	'betel nut etc.'	<i>Pommanan</i>	'a place for betel nut and leaves'
<i>mangan</i>	'to eat'	<i>pumanganan</i>	'a place for eat'
<i>tahan</i>	'to live'	<i>potahanan</i>	'a place to rest, live or settle '
<i>Papoy</i>	'fire'	<i>Papoyan</i>	'a place to cook'
<i>lutong</i>	'monkey'	<i>lutungan</i>	'a place where monkeys dwell'
<i>Pokaytun</i>	'pallet'	<i>Pokaytunan</i>	'a place to lie down'
<i>Pulon</i>	'head'	<i>ulonan</i>	'a place to rest the head'

(ii) Circumfix *ka-,-(y)an*

Table 8.7 *Locative Nouns* (circumfix *ka-,-(y)an*)

Base	Gloss	Locative Nouns	Gloss
<i>hadi</i>	'king'	<i>kahadiyan</i>	'a place controlled by a king'
<i>Pilog</i>	'river'	<i>ka?ilogan</i>	'a place with many rivers or tributaries'
<i>labet</i>	'tree'	<i>kalabetañ</i>	'a forested area'
<i>labong</i>	'cogon'	<i>kalabungan</i>	'a place with dense cogon grasses'
<i>longos</i>	'grass'	<i>kalongosan</i>	'a place with dense thickets'
<i>betu</i>	'stone'	<i>kabetuan</i>	'a place that many stone formations'
<i>dupit</i>	'soil'	<i>kadupitan/</i>	'land mass or terrain'
<i>?agid</i>	'leave'	<i>ka?agiden</i>	'a place surrounded by many leaves'
<i>talayib</i>	'large weeds'	<i>katalayben</i>	'a place with sharp and tall grasses'
<i>buked</i>	'mountain'	<i>kabukeden</i>	'mountains and slopes'

- (29) *tu modit ?ay uwan makasdop na kahadiyan nu Makidepat*
 DET bad TL NEG enter OBL **kingdom** ERG God
 ‘Sin cannot enter the **kingdom** of God.’
- (30) *yi?e katalayben ?ay mo?ikot=?a kapanelasan tu bebuy*
 DEM meadows TL surrounded=LIG **grasses.bushes** ABS pig
 ‘This meadow is so dense of tall **grasses and bushes**.
- (31) *say?i=siya na disalad na kalongosan tiddi=siya miton*
 DEM=ABS.3s OBL under OBL **thicket** DEM=ABS.3s lie.down
 ‘The pig stays there and lies down in the **dense thicket**.’

8.4.6 Reciprocal Nouns (Prefix *ma-*, *mag-*, *mat-* or *matot-*)

Reciprocal nouns are nouns that express symbiotic and equal relationship between person(s) or groups. The prefixes *ma-*, *mag-*, and *matot-* express that meaning. The prefix *matot-* expresses a filial and platonic relationship between people. The prefix *matot-* is similar in meaning with *Tagalog* prefix *magka-* plus noun (e.g. Tag. *magkaibigan* ‘brotherly love to a friend’).

Table 8.6 Reciprocal Nouns

Base	Gloss	Reciprocal	Gloss
<i>sasawa</i>	‘spouse’	<i>masasawa</i>	‘spouse’
<i>tidna</i>	‘mother’	<i>matdena</i>	‘rel. between mother and her children’
<i>tidema</i>	‘father’	<i>matdema</i>	‘rel. between father and her children’
<i>toka</i>	‘sibling’	<i>matoka or matotoka</i>	‘rel. between and among siblings’
<i>lake</i>	‘adult male’	<i>magkalake</i>	‘spouse’
<i>mama</i>	‘uncle’	<i>magamain</i>	‘rel. between uncle and his nephew(s) and/ or niece(s)’
<i>teti</i>	‘aunt’	<i>magteti</i>	‘rel. between aunt and her nephew(s) and/ or niece(s)’
<i>?anak</i>	‘child’	<i>mag?anak</i>	‘rel. between parents and children’
<i>kakaylan</i>	‘relative’	<i>magkakaylan</i>	‘rel. between relatives’
<i>katulod</i>	‘enemy’	<i>magkatulod</i>	‘arch enemies’
<i>koyog</i>	‘friend’	<i>matotkoyog or matkoyog</i>	‘brotherly love to a friend’
<i>ka?usil</i>	‘companion’	<i>matotka?usil</i>	‘brotherly love to a companion’
<i>kakaylan</i>	‘relative’	<i>matotkakaylan</i>	‘brotherly love to a relatives’

- (32) *masasawa=sid hanggen na mobilay=sid=ʔa padipo*
couple=ABS.3p PART DET live=ABS.3p=LIG equal
‘**Husbands and wives** will live together as co-equals.’
- (33) *tiyak ɿatta tu pala kakaylang=ko magɿanak*
ABS.1s and ABS PL relative=GEN.1s **family**

ɿay paglingkud-en=me tu Makidepat
TL serve=ERG.1pe ABS Lord
‘But I and my next of kin will serve the Lord.’
- (34) *ni-nol nu magkalake, ɿay ɿinumalang nu Makidepat*
know DET **couple** TL come.from DET God

tu bilay nu pala ɿanak=de
DET life DET PL child=GEN.3p
‘The couple know that the lives of their children came from God.’
- (35) *ɿanto=pa kani sangay=ɿa matot-koyog*
Q=PART OBL three=LIG **COM-friend**
‘What else can these three **friends** wish for, nothing more but themselves.’
- (36) *tiʔe matot-koyog=ɿa sangay ɿissa bebuy, ɿissa lutong*
DEM good-friend=LIG three one pig one monkey

ɿatta ɿissa pagong
CON one turtle
‘They are three good **friends**, a pig, a monkey, and then, a turtle.
- (37) *yiʔe magka-lake tu pinaka-minona=tam=ɿa lahat, kanya*
DEM **couple** ABS very.first-ancestor=GEN.1pi=LIG all CON

matot-kakaylang=kitam=ɿa lahat ti gebunay
close.relative=ABS.1pi=LIG all OBL earth
‘These **couple**, the oldest of all, are our ancestors, so we are all **relatives** on earth.’

8.4.7 Instrumental Nouns

Instrumental nouns refer to objects used for a particular function. They are formed by adding the prefix *pang-* to the base. Table 8.7 wordlist shows that instrumental nouns are derived from nouns such as *ɿiyup* ‘blow air’, *bilay* ‘life’, *ɿangos* ‘personality’, and *ɿalta*; and from verbs *solat* ‘write’, *pulas* ‘wash’, *atod* ‘give’, and *laben* ‘fight’.

Instrumental nouns *pangPangos* ‘a thing to feed the human soul’ and *pang?ispirituwal* ‘for our spirituality’ are described in clause (38).

Table 8.7 Instrumental Nouns (prefix *pang-*)

Base	Gloss	Instrumental Nouns	Gloss
?iyup	‘blow air’	<i>pang?iyup</i>	‘a traditional form of healing’
bilay	‘life’	<i>pangbilay</i>	‘sth used for life’ or ‘a righteous living’
?angos	‘personality’	<i>pang?angos</i>	‘a thing to feed the human soul’
?alta	‘person’	<i>pang?alta</i>	‘a thing that is used by humans’
solat	‘write’	<i>pangsolat</i>	‘a thing used for writing’
pulas	‘wash’	<i>pangpulas</i>	‘a thing used for washing sth’
?atod	‘give’	<i>pang?atod</i>	‘a give-away to so’
laben	‘fight’	<i>panglaben</i>	‘a weapon for sth or so’

- (38) *ta tu lahat=tam =?a kailangan=?a nolon pangangos*
 because ABS all=GEN.3p =LIG need=LIG knowledge **virtuousness**
o pangispirituwal, ?ay nakasolat nu Bibliya
 or **spirituality** TL written OBL Bible
 ‘Because all the information we need for **virtuousness** or **spirituality** is written in the Bible.’

8.4.8 Nominalization

Nouns can be derived from verbs by adding the prefix *paN*-to the root. The derivation processes are explained in detail in 4.6.1.1.4. The clauses (39) and (40) are conversation between Moggot and the ghost. The former *pa-?angay*, the verb *?angay* ‘go’ with prefix *pa-* ‘leaving and going’, is nominalized, and encodes the agent’s action. The latter, the verb *suble* ‘come’ with prefix *pan-*, *pan-(s)uble*, also nominalises the agent’s action. And examine the sentence such as it relatives the sentence by adding the topic linker ‘ay’

- (39) *pokoy ti Moggot, pa-?angay=yak tinna ta mangalap=pak na beges*
 reply ABS.PN Moggot NOM.go=ABS.1s DEM CON AF.get=ABS.1s DET rice
 ‘Moggot answered, “I am on my way there because I will get some rice.”
 (Lit. ‘I (about) **to go** there because I get rice.’)
- (40) *?ay hale pan-(s)uble=mo ?ay ?atden=nak=mo na beges*
 TL alright NOM-return=ERG.2s TL give.GF=ABS.1s=ERG.2s DET rice
 ‘Alright. When you **come back**, you should give me rice. said the ghost.’
 (Lit. ‘You upon **coming back**, you give me rice.’)

Another means of deriving nominal is to add (adposition) *tu* or *i* to a derived *mag-* verb, such as *paag-pasalamat* (41) and *paag-alage* ‘to take care in’ (42).

- (41) *hangatu paag-pasalamat nu kalad=?a kapolongan dikade,*
 big ABS NOM-be.thankful ERG others=LIG council OBL.3p
 ‘The **thankfulness** of some of the council members to them was huge’
- dehil maadu ?i natubeyan=de*
 CON many DET helped=ERG.3p
 ‘because the **ones who they helped** were many (people).’
- (42) *?itadibeho nide Jacob, ?ay tu paag-alage na hayop,*
 DET work OBL.PN.PL Jacob TL ABS NOM-take.care DET animals
 ‘The livelihood of Jacob’s and his family is **to domesticate animals.**’ Or
 ‘**Domesticating animals** are the livelihood of Jacob’s and his family,’
- ?at ma?adu tu hayop=de*
 and many ABS animal=GEN.3p
 ‘and they have many animals.’

An NP which constitutes a head noun and a lexical item is modified by the addition of a ligature (LIG) to connect the modifier to its head noun. This process is called *relativization* (17.3). Southern Alta has the ligature =?a (43), and the loan =(n)g. Since Southern Alta is sometimes morphosyntactically similar with *Tagalog*, the ligature *na* in *Tagalog* is sometimes used in casual conversation. The ligature =?a modifies the head noun *lalaguna* ‘guava’ in (43) and (44). The ligature =?a is prenominal in (44) and postnominal in (45).

- (43) *tu hinog=?a lalaguna*
DET ripe=LIG guava
‘the ripe guavas’

- (44) *tu lalaguna=?a hinog*
DET guava=LIG ripe
‘the guava that is ripe’

In this construction, a ligature can be used to connect the head noun *labet* ‘wood’ to a PERF verb *nagsat* ‘was broken’ in (45), and *alta* ‘person’ to **CONT** *kungkoy* ‘passing by’ in (46).

- (45) *tu labet=?a nagsat*
DET wood=LIG broken
‘the tree which was broken’

- (46) *tu alta=?a kungkoy*
DET person=LIG passing by
‘the person who is passing by’

Finally, nominal markers take the initial position in a nominalized clause. The verb *nampalit* ‘changed’ undergoes nominalization by preposing the determiner *tu*. On the other hand, by fronting *tu teti* ‘the aunt’ and setting it off with a comma, the NP is highlighted as the ‘topic’ of the clause or referred to as *topicalization*. Succinctly, the verb is a *nominalized constituent* in (47) while the NP *tu teti* ‘the aunt’ is a *topicalized constituent* in (48).

- (47) *tu nampalit ?ay tu teti*
ABS PERF.AF.change TL ABS aunt
‘The one who changed (something) is **the aunt**.’

- (48) *tu teti, tu nampalit*
ABS aunt ABS PERF.AF.change
‘**The aunt** is the one who changed (something).’

On the other hand, there are relative clause constructions that are referred to as ‘headless’. *Headless relative clauses* are a specific instance of noun phrases without nouns (Dryer, 2007b, p. 221). Clause 49 lack the head noun *madikit* ‘maiden’ or ‘young woman’ while existential clause in (50) has ‘relativized’ the verbal *monlangad* ‘sitting’ and *mogpalimos* ‘asking for alms’.

- (49) *mossampat(=ʔa madikit) tu ʔinumakang ti luʔo*
pretty (=LIG maiden) ABS PERF.AF.walk OBL stream
‘The one who went to the stream is (a) pretty (maiden).’
- (50) *Kitiddi ʔissa ʔalta buta=ʔa monlangad na gilid*
EXI one person blind=LIG CONT.sit OBL beside
‘There was a blind person (who was) sitting beside the road
nu sabang=ʔa mogpalimus
ERG beside=LIG CONT.ask.alms
(and who was] asking for alms.’

8.5 Pluralization of nouns

There are five ways in forming plural nouns. The morphological processes involved are (i) the addition of the plural marker *pala* before the noun, (ii) the addition of prefix *a-*, (iii) partial reduplication, and (iv) full reduplication.

- (i) The plural *pala* expresses plurality and it precedes a bare noun or borrowed noun.
- (ii) Plurality is also expressed by vowel lengthening such as example words in

Table 8.7

Table 8.7 *Pluralization* of Nouns Type I (vowel lengthening)

Base	Gloss	Plural Form	Gloss
<i>?anak</i>	'child'	/?a:.nak/	'children'
<i>bekos</i>	'woman'	/be:.kos/	'women'
<i>patud</i>	'man'	/pa:.tud/	'men'
<i>?asu</i>	'dog'	/?a:.su?/	'dogs'
<i>wagot</i>	'water' or 'river'	/wa:.got/	'much water' or 'many rivers'

(iii) Plurality is also expressed by adding the prefix a- plus the base.

Table 8.8 *Pluralization* of Nouns Type II (prefix ?a-)

Base	Gloss	Plural Form	Gloss
<i>?anak</i>	'child'	?a?anak	'children'
<i>wadi</i>	'sibling'	?awadi	'brother(s)' or 'sister(s)'
<i>tolang</i>	'sibling'	?atolang	'brother(s)' or 'sister(s)'
<i>bubu</i>	'grandchild'	?abubu	'grandchildren'

(iv) Plurality is also expressed by reduplicating the first syllable of the base CV.

Add the base to form the plural form.

Table 8.9 *Pluralization* of Nouns Type III (CV- Reduplication)

Base	Gloss	Plural Form	Gloss
<i>butil</i>	'lie'	<i>bubutil</i>	'many lies'
<i>budak</i>	'fruit'	<i>bubudak</i>	'many fruits'
<i>tungkulin</i>	'function'	<i>tutungkulin</i>	'many functions'
<i>duli</i>	'thorn'	<i>duduli</i>	'many thorns'
<i>wagot</i>	'water'	<i>wawagot</i>	'plenty of water'
<i>longos</i>	'thickets'	<i>lolongos</i>	'very dense thickets'
<i>bukid</i>	'mountain'	<i>bubukid</i>	'many mountain'
<i>halaman</i>	'plants'	<i>hahalaman</i>	'many plants'
<i>kasalanan</i>	'sin'	<i>kakasalanan</i>	'many sins'

(51) *ti labes=din nu halaman-an ni Eydin tinumahan tide Adan*
 OBL outside=PARTDET plant-LOC DEM Eden PERF.live ABS.PN.PL Adam
 'Adan and Eve lived outside the Garden of Eden.'

(52) *mohedep=din ?i bilay=de*
 difficult=PART DET life=GEN.3p
 'Their life was very difficult.'

- (53) *milolongos tu kaingin=de ?at miduduli ti buo*
thicket.PL ABS field=GEN.3p and horn.PL OBL whole
‘The entire land was fully densed of **thickets** and thicks of **thorns**.’

(v) Plurality is also expressed by full reduplication.

Table 8.10 *Pluralization of Nouns Type IV (Full Reduplication)*

Base	Gloss	Plural Form	Gloss
?agid	‘leaf (leaves)’	?agid?agid	‘many leaves’
duli	‘thorn(s)’	dulidului	‘many thorns’
wagot	‘wet’ or ‘watery’	wago(t)wagot	‘very wet’ or ‘marshland’
kalad	‘different’	kaladkalad	‘many different or variety’
sadi	‘different’	sadisari	‘many different or variety’
tamak	‘wet’ or ‘watery’	tamaktamak	‘marshes’
sanap	‘wet’ or ‘watery’	sanapsanap	‘swampland or marshland’
sabang	‘way’ or ‘roads’	sabangsabang	‘different pathways’
pade	‘for’	padepade	‘equality’

- (54) *de pinamangan=de tu budak ?ay linaway=de*
ADV place.eat=ERG.3 ABS fruit TL PERF.see=ERG.3p
tu sadile=de=?a ?obe=sid
ABS self=GEN.3p=LIG nude=ABS.3p
‘After they ate the fruit, they saw themselves that they are naked.’

kanya, nang?alap=sid na ?agid?agid
so PERF.gather=ABS.3p OBL **RFR~leaves**
‘So they gathered many **leaves**’

tain maytaklop=de ti ?abak=de
CON cover=ERG.3p OBL body=GEN.3p
‘So they gathered many leaves and used them to cover their bodies.’

- (55) *?anto=man ?i yari nu krona ni Hesus*
what=PART DET made DET crown ERG.PN Jesus
de ?ini?pako=siya na kodus
TEMP PERF-nail=ABS.3s OBL cross
‘What is the crown of Jesus made of before he was crucified on the cross?’
- yari na lanot ?a ki=dulidului*
made OBL wild.vine LIG EXI=RFR~thorn.PL
‘It is made of wild vines with many thorns.’

8.6

Summary

This chapter described the structural and distributional properties of nouns. It also described briefly the nominal markers. Aside from investigating the properties of common, proper and borrowed nouns, the language showed five ways of forming plural. In addition, the language showed eight types of derivation. After presenting the nominals of Southern Alta, the adjectives will be explained in detail in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 9

ADJECTIVES

9.1 Introduction

This chapter describes and discusses the grammatical category of adjectives. This chapter begins with a background on adjectives in Philippine languages (9.1). Then, the next section is the prototypical characteristic (size, quality, trait and color) including the existence of antonymic pairs in adjectives (9.2), the morphological formation of adjectives (9.3), inflection such as intensification and gradation in the comparative and superlative degrees (9.4), pluralization (9.5), express indefinite number of persons or things (9.6), and summary (9.7).

Traditional grammar defines adjectives as a modifier of nouns until recently it has extended its definition to more than a modifier. The class of adjectives in Philippine linguistics have two opposing views. One side contends that there are no true adjectives in Philippine languages, words that are thought to be adjectives are within the inherent properties of nouns or verbs. And the other side maintain that there is an inherent adjective class like Ibanag (Dita S., 2007).

Liao (2004) emphasized that “the seemingly adjective items are actually verbs since they share some characteristics with verbs (e.g. affixation)”. Similarly Ruffulo (2004) argued that “Ibaloy does not have adjectives, only stative verbs”. However, Dita (2007) claimed that Ibanag possessed lexical items which can be categorized as ‘adjectives’. Southern Alta has a class of words that are categorized as adjectives. The semantic and syntactic criteria of prototypical and less prototypical characteristics of

adjectives by Givon (2001, p. 81) are described below. Adjectives are divided into three major categories: bare, derived, and inflected.

9.2 Bare Adjectives

9.2.1 Semantic Characterization of Prototypical Adjectives

Givon (2001, p. 81) explains that prototypical adjectives have semantic categories and they are divided into (i) size, (ii) quality, (iii) inherent, traits, and (iv) color.

- (i) Size – *?untik* or *molag* ‘small’, *demanta* ‘huge’, *yopyop* ‘short’, *hoho* or *hang* ‘big’
- (ii) Quality – *tahimik*, ‘silent’, *talang*, ‘clear’, *mokpal*, ‘thick’, *motnow*, ‘noisy’, *mopdos*, ‘spicy’, *patad*, ‘plain’, *lusulsod*, ‘stony’, *tamak*, ‘wet’, *made*, ‘dry’, *kalad* ‘different’, *modetong* ‘beyond’ or ‘infinite’, *mo?adpan* ‘alive’, *motadik* ‘steepy’, *momade* ‘dried up’, *mobalo* ‘to change’, *moyopyop* ‘midget’, *mopatud* ‘plenty’, *mokamin* ‘depleting’, *?ukud* ‘proper, exact’, *lantay* ‘pure’, *benal* ‘holy’, *hang* ‘admire’, *dakila*, ‘great’, *butang*, ‘fool’, *moyomyom* ‘cloudy’, *moskol* ‘selos’, *molangno* ‘intelligent’
- (iii) Trait - *?utbul*, ‘sticking out’, *langos*, ‘bald’, *busabus* ‘serville’, *longpo* ‘crippled’, *buta* or *bolag* ‘blind’
- (iv) Color – *nasingla* or *naderag* ‘red’, *nalinaw*, ‘green’, *napoklaw*, ‘white’, *nalitob*, ‘black’

The lexical items *?untik* ‘small’ in (1), *motnow* ‘noisy’ in (2) and *?utbul* ‘sticking out’ (3) are semantic categories which describe size, quality, and trait.

- (1) *ki=?untik=pa=?a dehelan*

EXI=small=still=LIG reason
 ‘There’s still a **small** reason.’

- (2) *bala pinakoy tu ?alta (?u)wang=ka motnow*
 sudden said ABS person NEG=ABS.2s **noisy**
 ‘The man quickly replied, “Don’t be **noisy!**”’
- (3) *?utbul tu ?asu*
eye.sticking.out ABS dog
 ‘The dog’s **eyes are sticking out!**’

In addition, adjectives may take the initial position of a clause such as *langos* ‘bald’ in (4), *nalitob* ‘become black’ in (5), and *nasingla* ‘become white’ (6). Payne (1997, p. 111) explained that “*predicate adjectives* are clauses in which the main semantic content is expressed by an adjective”. Therefore, he explains that if the language lacks a grammatical category of adjective, there will be no grammatically distinct predicate adjective construction. This type of clause is classified as attribute clauses, and may fall under non-verbal constructions in Chapter 4. The predicate adjectives in (4), (5), and (6) are *grammaticalized* with a definite ABS common noun marker.

- (4) *langos* (or *langos*) *tu Politaw*
bald the young.man
 ‘The young man is **bald**.’
- (5) *kaya nalitob tu kabeyo ta?e, ?ay dehil ki=motindi kapos*
 reason **become.black** the horse here TL because EXI=intense hunger
 ‘The reason the horses **became black** here is because there is pervasive hunger.’
- (6) *nasingla tu kabeyo ta?e, ?at ki=tawid na tabak o primede sundang*
become.red the horse here and EXI=bring DET bolo or first-class dagger
 ‘The horse **became black** and it carried a bolo or a first-class dagger.’

9.2.2 Antonymic Adjective Pairs

The antonymic pairs consist of bare and derived word forms in Table 9.1. Noun-derived words begin with the prefix *mo-* while *unprefixed* are *bare adjective* such as

demanta or *hangga* ‘big’ or ‘huge’, *untik* ‘small’, *yopyop* ‘short’ or ‘low beam’, *butang* ‘fool’, and *buyok* ‘spoiled’ or ‘bad smell’ are under certain semantic class of adjectives.

Table 9.1 List of Antonymic Word Pairs

Adjective	Gloss	Adjectives	Gloss
<i>demanta, hangga</i>	‘big’ or ‘huge’	<i>?untik</i>	‘small’
<i>mota?as</i>	‘tall’	<i>yopyop</i>	‘short’ or ‘low beam’
<i>hangga, hoho</i>	‘big’	<i>?untik</i>	‘small’ or ‘short’
<i>mongnol</i>	‘knowledgeable’	<i>butang</i>	‘fool’
<i>buyok</i>	‘rotten’	<i>mobangi</i>	‘fragrant’
<i>mosampat</i>	‘beautiful’	<i>modit</i>	‘ugly’, ‘deleterious’
<i>mopeya</i>	‘good’	<i>modit</i>	‘bad’
<i>mobeit</i>	‘kind’	<i>mosongit</i>	‘mad’
<i>molakas</i>	‘strong’	<i>mohena, moimas</i>	‘weak’
<i>mhedep</i>	‘poor’	<i>moyaman</i>	‘rich’
<i>molaway</i>	‘clear’ or ‘light’	<i>molitob</i>	‘dark’

The predicate adjectives *moimas* ‘slow’ in (7), *molakas* ‘strong’ in (9), and *mopeya* ‘good’ in (10) are *grammaticalized* with a common noun marker. (inc)

- (7) ***moimas*** *yi* *kaldit=na*
slow the run=GEN.3s
‘His running is **slow**.’

- (8) Conversation
Lerma: *ti Betu wa lunloktat ?i duso*
OBL Bato PART RCVC~sudden DET rain
‘Rain is always sudden in Bato.’

- (9) Sonny: *?aba'y nu?edut de ?umabek molakas ?i dusso tiddi*
PART yesterday TEMP morning **strong** DET rain DEM
‘Oh, in the morning yesterday, the rain was **strong** there.’

- (10) Lake: *mopeya=ngan=ta tu dit na panahon na ?uwan=din*
good=PART=CON ABS bad DET weather DET NEG=PART
‘It’s **good** though, the bad time is not really that bad.’

9.3 Morphological Formation of Adjectives

This section explains the derivation and inflection of adjectives by affixation.

Nouns to Adjectives

Noun-derived adjectives attract two different prefixes *ma-* and *mo-*, each form has a list as shown in Table 9.2 and Table 9.3, respectively. The prefixes *ma-* and *mo-* are quite complex and sometimes both prefixes may have the same meaning. These affixes express ‘a state of being’. On the other hand, the prefix *na-* is an aspectual form of *ma-* and *mo-* and connotes an ‘unfortunate’ transformation.

(i) Prefix *mo-*

The prefix *mo-* expresses ‘a state of being’. Table 9.2 shows a list of most occurring adjectives.

Table 9.2 List of words starting with prefix *mo-*

Nouns	Gloss	Adjectives	Gloss
<i>tabe</i>	‘fat (noun)’	<i>motabe</i>	‘state of being fat’
<i>taas</i>	‘height’	<i>motaas</i>	‘state of being high’
<i>bebe</i>	‘low’	<i>mobebe</i>	‘state of being low’
<i>kepot</i>	‘narrowness’	<i>mokepot</i>	‘state of being narrow’
<i>layat</i>	‘broadness’	<i>molayat</i>	‘state of being wide’
<i>toning</i>	‘straightness’	<i>motuning</i>	‘state of being straight’
<i>galaw</i>	‘windedness’	<i>mogalaw</i>	‘state of being always veering or moving’
<i>palat</i>	‘sour’	<i>mo?alat</i>	‘state of being sour’
<i>pait</i>	‘bitter’	<i>mopait</i>	‘state of being bitter’
<i>tamis</i>	‘sweet’	<i>motamis</i>	‘state of being sweet’
<i>dit</i>	‘bad’	<i>modit</i>	‘state of being deleterious’
<i>sampat</i>	‘beauty’	<i>mosampat</i>	‘state of being beautiful’
<i>peya</i>	‘good’	<i>mopeya</i>	‘state of being good’
<i>tadom</i>	‘blade’	<i>motadom</i>	‘state of being sharp’
<i>pudul</i>	‘dullness’	<i>mopudul</i>	‘state of being dull’

The predicate adjectives *modit* ‘bad’ in (11), *mopudul* ‘dull’ in (12), and *modelmot* ‘heavy’ and *sunsingla* ‘glowing red’ in (10) are *grammaticalized* with the ABS NP’s in (11) and (13) and the genitive-marked NP in (12).

- (11) ***modit*** ?i mang-?ibut na plastic ti wagot
bad DET IMPR-throw DET plastic OBL river
‘Throwing plastics to rivers is **bad**.’
- (12) ***mopudul*** tu sundang=ko
dull the dagger=GEN.1s
‘My dagger is **dull**.’
- (13) ***modelmot*** tu ?abak, ?at sun-singla tu mata
heavy the body and RCVC~glow.red the eye
‘The body is **heavy** and the eyes are glowing red.’

(ii) Prefix *ma-*

The prefix *ma-* expresses ‘a state of being’. Table 9.3 shows a list of most occurring adjectives with prefix *ma-*.

Table 9.3 List of words starting with prefix *ma-*

Nouns	Gloss	Adjectives	Gloss
<i>nipis</i>	‘thin’	<i>manipis</i>	‘get thin’
<i>?abong</i>	‘thin’ or ‘pale’	<i>maabong</i>	‘get pale’
<i>tebeng</i>	‘bland’	<i>matebeng</i>	‘get bland’
<i>?agot</i>	‘hardness’	<i>maagot</i>	‘get hard’
<i>buyok</i>	‘smell’	<i>mabuyok</i>	‘get spoiled’ or ‘get stinky’
<i>moden</i>	‘old’	<i>mamoden</i>	‘get old’
<i>sagana</i>	‘plenty’	<i>masagana</i>	‘get plenty’
<i>?olop</i>	‘cloud’	<i>ma?olop</i>	‘get cloudy’
<i>?asat</i>	‘length’	<i>ma?asat</i>	‘get long’

The adjectives *mabuyok* ‘get spoiled’ and *mommadden* ‘get old’ in (14), *ma?asat* ‘straight’ and *maapiti* ‘curly’ in (15) are *grammaticalized* a consecutive negative declarative clauses in (14) and *if*-conditional clause in (15).

- (14) *kaya balon* tu ?abak=tam, ta tu *balo=tam=?a* ?abak Pay
CON new ABS body=GEN.1pi CON ABS new=GEN.1pi=LIG body TL

?uwan=din mabuyok, ?uwan=din mommodden

NEG=PART **rotten**, NEG=PART **get.old**

‘That the reason why our bodies should be renewed because our new bodies will not **rot** and will **not also age**.’

- (15) *modelas Po-?abuyanan nu patod Po bekos tu Po-lawin,*
most.often CONT-recognize if male or female ABS CONT-see
na pamamagitan nu buk=?amo, nu ma?asat o ma?apiti
OBL by.means.of OBL hair=only if **straight** or **curly**
‘Most often one can recognize if one is a male or female just by looking at the hair, if it is **straight** or **curly**.’

(iii) Prefix *mo-*

The prefix *na-* connote an unfortunate transformation of something. Table 9.4 shows a list of most occurring adjectives with prefix *na-*.

Table 9.4 Adjectives of *becoming*

Nouns	Gloss	Adjectives of becoming	Gloss
<i>litob</i>	‘black’	<i>nalitob</i>	‘has become black’
<i>derag/</i>	‘red’	<i>naderag/</i>	‘has become red’
<i>singla</i>		<i>nasingla</i>	
<i>laway</i>	‘clear’ or ‘white’	<i>nalaway</i>	‘has become clear’ or ‘has become white’

- (16) *kaya nalitob tu kabeyo ta?e, ?ay dehil ki=motindi kapos*
reason **become.black** the horse here TL because EXI=intense hunger
The reason the horses became black here is because there is pervasive hunger.
- (17) *nasingla tu kabeyo ta?e ?at ki=tawid na tabak o primede sundang*
become.red the horse here and EXI=bring OBL bolo or first-class dagger
‘The horse became red and it carries a bolo or a first-class dagger.’

9.3.1 Intensive or Moderative

Similar with *Tagalog* morphological markings, adjectives of Southern Alta may also be morphologically marked as *intensive* or *moderative*^{lxix}. Intensive formations involve the prefix *napaka-* in (9.3.1.1). Moderative formations involve partial

reduplication such as *moppoppeya* ‘be rather good’, *mossosampat* ‘be rather pretty’, *mollolamsit* ‘be rather sour’, *mollollanes* ‘be rather sweet’, *moʔoalat* ‘be rather salty’ and *hu-hanga* ‘be rather big’.

The comparative of equality is marked by *kasing-*, e.g. *kasinghalage* ‘be as considerate as’, *kasingdunong* ‘be as intelligent as’, and the superlative is marked by *pinaka-*, e.g. *pinakahanga* ‘be best’, *pinakaminona* ‘be most expensive’. The comparative of inequality is, however, expressed syntactically by a preceding *mas-*, e.g. *mas mobilis*, *mas molakas*, or the addition of *asakit* ‘more’ and a following *kaysa* or (*kaysa*) *sa* ‘than’).

9.3.1.1 Prefix *napaka-* ‘be very’

The prefix *napaka-* means ‘be very’ intensifies the default meaning of the adjective, e.g. *napaka-butang* ‘be very fool’ in (19), *napaka-dakila* ‘be very noble’ in (20), *napaka-mopeya* ‘be very good’ in (21), and *napakamotalang* ‘be very bright’ in (22).

- (18) *sinapengil ni Lutong ti Buya*
slap ERG Lutong ABS Buya
‘Lutong slapped Buya.’
- (19) *pinakoy kani Lutong napakabutang=mo=duman*
say OBL Lutong **very.stupid**=ERG.2s=PART
‘Lutong said, “You are **very** stupid.’
- (20) *kaya nakasolat, napakadakila tu kaligtasan, ta Pun-Palang nu Makidepat*
so written.down **very.noble** DET salvation also CONT.go DET God
‘So it was written in the Scriptures that salvation is **very noble** and also it comes from God.’
- (21) *depat pakapandonglon tu sinabi dehil napakamopeya*
should listen DET said because **very.good**

tu kaligtasan pinumalang nu Makidepat
ABS salvation come DET God

‘The message should be understood because salvation is **very good**, and it comes from god.’

- (22) *napakamotalang tu sulo*
very.bright the light
 The light is **very bright**.

9.3.1.2 **Moderative**

Moderative involves partial reduplication such as *moppoppeya* ‘be rather good’, *mossosampat* ‘be rather pretty’, *mollolamsit* ‘be rather sour’, *mollollanes* ‘be rather sweet’, *mo-oalat* ‘be rather salty’.

9.4 Comparative

Comparative is formed by adding the prefix *kasing-* and *kasi-* in (9.3.2.1), comparatives of inequality by adding the morphophonemic *mas* (9.3.2.2), and superlative is marked by adding the prefix *pinaka-* plus the base (9.3.2.3).

9.4.1.1 **Prefix *kasing-* and *kasi-***

Table 9.5 shows the prefix *kasing-* or *kasi-* ‘be as same as’ express equal status between or among the entities being compared, e.g. *kasinghangga* ‘be as big as’ in (23), *kasingdunong* ‘be as intelligent as’ in (24), and *kasipatod* ‘be as same as male’ (25).

- (i) Prefix *kasing-*

Table 9.5 List of words starting with prefix *kasing-*

Noun	Gloss	Comparative	Gloss
<i>halage</i>	‘value’	<i>kasinghalage</i>	‘be as valuable as’
<i>dunong</i>	‘wisdom’	<i>kasingdunong</i>	‘be as intelligent as’
<i>bilis</i>	‘velocity’	<i>kasingbilis</i>	‘be as fast as’

<i>delmot</i>	‘weight’	<i>kasingdelmot</i>	‘be as heavy as’
<i>hangga</i>	‘size’	<i>kasinghangga</i>	‘be as big as’

- (23) *tu Poso Pay pokna na Paso primede, kasinghangga na Poddungan*
 DET bear TL like DET dog foremost **as.big.as** DET water.buffalo
 ‘Bear are foremost like dogs, and they are **as big as** water buffalos.’
- (24) *tu Pesip na Panak, Pay Palanganin=?a kasingdunong na moden*
 DET mind DET child TL incomparable=LIG **as.intelligent.as** DET adult
 ‘The mind of a child is not **as intelligent as** an adult.’

(ii) Prefix *kasi-*

- (25) *tu kalad, ki=AIDS, o kalad=?a sakit dehil nu panganayam=de*
 ABS other EXI=AIDS or other=LIG sickness because OBL promiscuity=GEN.3p
na bekos o na kasi-patod=de
 OBL woman or OBL **same-male**=GEN.3p
 ‘Others have AIDS or other type of sickness because of their indiscriminate promiscuity to woman or to the **same sex**.’

9.4.1.2 Comparative of inequality

(i) Comparative particle *mas*

The monomorpheme *mas* is a very common comparative particle in other languages in the Philippines such as *Ibanag* (Dita S. , 2007) and *Tagalog* (Schachter & Reid, 2009, p. 852). The comparative particle *mas* is added to the root to express comparativity such as Table 9.6.

Table 9.6 List of words starting with prefix *mas*

Root	Gloss	Comparatives	Gloss
<i>mobilis</i>	‘fast’	<i>mas mobilis</i>	‘faster’
<i>moimas</i>	‘pale’	<i>mas moimas</i>	‘paler’
<i>modinat</i>	‘dirty’	<i>mas modinat</i>	‘dirtier’
<i>modognin</i>	‘cold’	<i>mas modognin</i>	‘colder’
<i>modisalad</i>	‘deep’	<i>mas modisalad</i>	‘deeper’
<i>molakas</i>	‘strong’	<i>mas molakas</i>	‘stronger’
<i>mohosay</i>	‘skillful’	<i>mas mohosay</i>	‘more skillful’
<i>modit</i>	‘bad’	<i>mas modit</i>	‘worse’

<i>motaleno</i>	‘intelligent’	<i>mas motaleno</i>	‘more intelligent’
<i>modangal</i>	‘noble’	<i>mas modangal</i>	‘more noble’
<i>motaas</i>	‘high’	<i>mas motaas</i>	‘higher’
<i>mobebe</i>	‘low’	<i>mas mobebe</i>	‘lower’
<i>mohena</i>	‘weak’	<i>mas mohena</i>	‘weaker’
<i>mokpal</i>	‘thick’	<i>mas mokpal</i>	‘thicker’
<i>mohedep</i>	‘poor’	<i>mas mohedep</i>	‘poorer’
<i>mohedep</i>	‘difficult’	<i>mas mohedep</i>	‘poorer’

The comparative adjectival clauses in (26) to (28) describes the particle *mas* ‘more’, which expresses that one is better or worse than the other thing being compared, such as *mas ma?adu* ‘much more’ in (24), *mas molakas* ‘stronger’ and *mas mohosay* ‘more skillful’ in (25), *mas mogulo* ‘much chaotic’ at *mas mohedep* ‘more difficult’ in (26). This comparative adjective-initial clause is usually followed by an absolutively-marked NP and an oblique-marked complement.

- (26) *nu makapanledop=ka na delam mas ma?adu na delam kaysa na kasingtan*
 if fishing=ABS.2s DET night COM many DET night than DET morning
 If you go fishing at night, it has much **more** (**fish**) at night than day time.

- (27) *mas molakas ?at mas mohosay tu pinakamohena anghel*
 COM strong and **more skilful** ABS weakest angel
nu pinakamolakas ?at pinakamotaleno ?alta
 DET strongest and brightest person
 ‘The weakest angel is **stronger** and **more skilful** than the strongest and most skilful human being.’

Clause (28) describes the comparative of inequality *mas* with the construction ‘*mas ADJ + ABS NP + nu NP*’.

- (28) *mas mokpal tu katat nu labet na katat nu ?alta*
 COM thick ABS skin (bark) ERG wood OBL skin DET person
 ‘The skin (bark) of wood is thicker than the skin of a person.’

9.4.1.3 Superlative

The superlative prefix *pinaka-* ‘be the most’ express the superlative degree. Table 9.7 shows a list of adjectives that express superlative degree.

- (i) The superlative prefix *pinaka-*

Table 9.7 List of words starting with prefix *pinaka-*

Root	Gloss	Derivation/ Inflection	Gloss
<i>hang</i> a	‘big’	<i>pinakahang</i> a	‘the biggest’
<i>minona</i>	‘ancestor’	<i>pinakaminona</i>	‘the main ancestor’
<i>budak</i>	‘fruit’	<i>pinakabudak</i>	‘the source of all fruits’
<i>?abak</i>	‘body’	<i>pinaka?abak</i>	‘the main body’
<i>pun</i>	‘leader’	<i>pinakapun</i>	‘the main leader’
<i>layonin</i>	‘objective’	<i>pinakalayonin</i>	‘the main objective’
<i>dakela</i>	‘noble’	<i>pinakadakela</i>	‘the most noble’
<i>mobebe</i>	‘low’	<i>pinakamobebe</i>	‘the least lowly’
<i>molakas</i>	‘strong’	<i>pinakamolakas</i>	‘the strongest’
<i>motebey</i>	‘sturdy’	<i>pinakamotebey</i>	‘the sturdiest’
<i>mopeya</i>	‘good’	<i>pinakamopeya</i>	‘the best’
<i>modisalad</i>	‘deep’	<i>pinakamodisalad</i>	‘the deepest’

The prefix *pinaka-* ‘be the most’ express that that one the best or worst of all such as *pinaka?usil* ‘the very last (company)’ in (29), *pinakamodit* ‘the worst (of all)’ (31), and *pinakamata?as* ‘the highest (peak)’ in (32).

- (29) *talisadut=sid ?a ?umakyang ta tu pinaka?usil ?at singkugun^{lxx}=na*
 each one=ABS.3p LIG pass.over PART ABS very.last and trip=ERG.3s
 tu bubu
 ABS crocodile
 ‘Each one will pass over and the **last person** will stumble with the crocodile in line.’
- (30) *?at ?i?ingngat=na ?anto tu naysengkogen^{lxi}=ko*
 and ask=ERG.3s what ABS stumble=GEN.1s
 ‘And he will ask, what (who) stumbled on me?’
- (31) *pinatawad=siya nu Makidepat ?agya=siya*
 forgive=ABS.3s ERG God even.though=ABS.3s

tu pinakamodit na lahat
 ABS **worst** OBL all
 ‘He was forgiven even though he is the **worst** of all.’

- (32) *binumulangay ti buo ni gebunay hanggen na linumbog*
 flood OBL entire DEM land until OBL submerge
- tu pinakamotaas=ʔa moyud*
 the **highest**=LIG mountain
 ‘This entire land was flooded, until the **highest** peak was submerged in water.’

9.4.2 Diminutive and Augmentative

Payne (1997) explained that most languages employ “operators in the noun or noun phrase that indicate unusual sizes”. Operations that express unusual smallness is *diminutive* while operations that express unusual largeness are *augmentative* such as the suffix –*in*. The term *Puntekin* ‘be small’ (PL) in (37) and *hangain* ‘be big’ (PL) in (38) are semantically expressed plural adjective.

- (33) *mohena=kan tu mata=na, kaya hanga tu letra dehil ʔuwan=na*
 weak=PART ABS eyes=GEN.3s so **big** the letter because NEG=ERG.3s
- ʔo-ʔabuyanan tu Puntekin=ʔa solat*
 CONT-recognize ABS small=LIG writing
 ‘(They said that) His eyes were weak. So the letters were **big** because he could recognize the very small writings.’

- (34) *linaway=de=dut tu pala hangain=ʔa ʔalta,*
 see=ERG.3p=also ABS PL **big**=LIG person
- ʔat tu pala mangolakas=ʔa belayan*
 and ABS PL **strong.PL**=LIG town
 ‘They saw people who are **gigantic**, and they were the **strongest** in town.’

9.5 Plural Adjectives

Adjectives are marked as plural by the prefix *mango-*. Table 9.8 shows the most common plural adjectives that appear in the data.

Table 9.8 List of Pluralized Adjectives

Singular	Gloss	Plural	Gloss
<i>mopeya</i>	'good'	<i>mangopeya</i>	'be good (PL.)'
<i>modit</i>	'bad'	<i>mangodit</i>	'be evil (PL.)'
<i>mobeit</i>	'kind'	<i>mangoboit</i>	'be kind (PL.)'
<i>mohalage</i>	'valuable'	<i>mangohalage</i>	'be important (PL.)'
<i>mohedep</i>	'poor'	<i>mangohedep</i>	'be poor' or 'be difficult (PL.)'
<i>molakas</i>	'strong'	<i>mangolakas</i>	'be strong (PL.)'
<i>motaas</i>	'high'	<i>mangotaas</i>	'be affluent (PL.)'
<i>moliko</i>	'curve'	<i>mangolikot</i>	'be twisted (PL.)'
<i>moyaman</i>	'rich'	<i>mangoyaman</i>	'be wealthy (PL.)'
<i>molenis</i>	'clean'	<i>mangolenis</i>	'be clean (PL.)'
<i>motabe</i>	'fat'	<i>mangotabe</i>	'be fat (PL.)'
<i>motakot</i>	'afraid'	<i>mangotakot</i>	'be afraid (PL.)'

The plural adjective is fronted as the non-verbal head of the clause in (35) while the NP in (36) consist of a LIG, a plural modifier, and the head word *?alta* 'person'. The NP *nu mangomodit=?a ?alta* 'the very bad people' (PL) is marked as ERG and encodes as the *agent* of the transitive clause.

- (35) *mangopeya=sid*
be.good.PL=ABS.3p
 'They are all good.'

- (36) *dumatong ?i sinag ?a papatin=nak nu mangomodit=?a ?alta*
 PERF.arrive DET day LIG kill=ABS.1s ERG **very.bad=LIG** person
 'The day will come, and those **wicked** men will kill me.'

- 9.6** Adjectival particles that may express as an indefinite number of person(s) or thing(s). The adverbial particle *maadu* or *mopatud* may express an indefinite number of persons or things.
- (37) ***maadu***=*?a ?alta tu dumatong na?udma*
many=LIG person ABS IMPR.arrive tomorrow
‘Many people are coming tomorrow.’ (Lit. ‘Coming tomorrow are many people.’)
- (38) ***maadu tu minang-yadi tu demo sinag***
many ABS PERF-happen ABS first day
‘Many things happened in olden days.’ (Lit. ‘The things that happened in the first day are many.’)

9.7 Summary

This chapter described the adjectives of Southern Alta. The description consisted of semantic and syntactic characteristic of adjectives. The semantic criterion described the adjectives by categories such as the prototypical characteristic (*size*, *quality*, *trait* and *color*), the existence of *antonymic pairs*, *intensification* and *gradation* in the *comparative* and *superlative degrees*. It also included the derivation process though affixations and other morphological processes. After presenting the adjectives of Southern Alta, the verbs will be explained in detail in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 10

VERBS

10.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the structural and distributional properties of verbs. The chapter also discusses in detail the verbal morphology in relation to the focus system, including the theoretical underpinning of transitivity and the ergative-absolutive analysis of verbal clauses, and the aspect and conjugation of transitive and intransitive verbs. The sections are divided to focus system (10.2), transitivity (10.3), aspect (10.4), verbal classes (10.5), and summary (10.6).

The chapter is the most complex among other lexical categories. And like other Philippine languages, this chapter on verbs has many issues to answer and many linguistic theories to consider. Since there is no writing system to preserve the language, the recent data provide quite limited interpretation of its verbal morphology. Second, most of the words that appear below are derived words from other lexical categories. Yet, some words cannot be derived or inflected, and it might be pre-emptive to consider. However, further studies on these are required.

Philippine languages are analysed as “morphologically ergative” (Reid & Liao, 2004). Southern Alta language shows the similar ergative-absolutive alignment. *Focus* is used instead of *voice* to describe the verbal morphology and its grammatical relationship to its nominal complements. The section on *transitivity* is by far the most detailed of all. Verbal aspect, conjugation, and verb classes are discussed in turn.

10.2 Focus

Focus system, according to Schachter and Reid (2009), refers to “the affixes marked on verbs, and functions as a ‘focusing’ mechanism to an **NP** complement, creating a paradigm of structural types”. The nominal complement that is identified as carrying the semantic role of an *actor*, *patient*, *theme*, *benefactive*, *locative*, or *instrument* is the ‘focused argument’ of the clause. The ‘focused’ argument has been variously labelled as *topic*, *subject*, *trigger* or *pivot*. The verbal affixations may result in either one of two structural types: *Actor Focus (AF)* and *Goal Focus (GF)*. *Actor Focus (AF)* highlights on a nominal complement that has a semantic role of either an *actor* or an *experiencer* while *Goal Focus (GF)* highlights on the nominal complement encoded with any of these semantic roles: *goal*, *instrument*, *location*, *beneficiary*, or *theme* (Schachter & Reid, Tagalog, 2009, p. 836).

Rubino (1997) used the term *focus* “as the most syntactically ‘privileged’ position in terms of the semantic and grammatical relationship the focused nominal with the verb”. Further, Dita (2007) underscored the concept of ‘focus’ rather than ‘voice’ in explaining the grammatical relations of the morphosyntax of Ibanag.

Reid and Liao (2004, pp. 454-460) exemplified the historically derived affixes as verbal constructs of **AF** and **GF** in a syntactic typological study of Philippine languages. They claimed two focus-type affixations on verbs: *Actor Focus* and *Goal Focus*. *Actor Focus (AF)* affixes such as **maR* (*mag-*), **maN* (*mang-*), -*um-*, and -*inum-* have semantic roles of *actor* or *experiencer* while *Goal Focus (GF)* affixes such as *-*θn* (-*en*), *-*an* (-*an*), and **?i-* (*i-*) encode any of the semantic role of *patient* (**PAT**), *instrument* (**INST**), *location* (**LOC**), *beneficiary* (**BEN**), and *theme* (**THE**).

Other studies on Philippine-type languages that had similar analysis include Ilocano (Rubino, 1997), Isnag (Barlaan, 1999), Ibaloy (Ruffulo, 2004), Ibanag (Dita S. , 2007) and a morphosyntactic typology of Philippine languages (Reid & Liao, 2004). Table 10.1 shows a summary of *focus* verbal affixes of Southern Alta, each *focus-type affix* is discussed below.

Table 10.1 Summary of affixes of major focus types

Macro Role	Semantic Roles	Focus Affix
Actor [INTRANS]	Actor	< <i>um</i> >; <i>mag-</i> <i>mang-</i>
Goal [TRANSITIVE]	Patient	- <i>on</i> ; - <i>an</i>
	Locative	- <i>an</i>
	Benefactive	- <i>en</i>
	Comitative	<i>ka-</i>
	Instrumental	<i>i-</i>
	Theme	- <i>on</i>

10.2.1 Actor Focus

Actor Focus (AF) verbs take at most one core argument in *absolutive* (ABS) case, and its relationship to the verb is that of an *actor*. Reid and Liao (2004) explained that there are “three affixes that are formed with the intransitive verbs”, these are the prefixes <*um*>, *mag-*, or *mang-*. These verb affixes verbs carry a semantic feature which implies that the focused argument is interpreted as ‘patient’. The nominal argument after the verb is case-marked as *absolutive* and its relationship to the verb is that of *actor* macrorole.

10.2.1.1 <um> verbs

Reid and Liao (2004) claimed that “most Philippine languages retain the affix <*um*> (PEF *-um-, /*mu/ *m-)”. The form, they explained, signify semantically intransitive physical action such as ‘coming’, ‘going’, or walking, commonly carry *-um-* when the form is a monadic intransitive verb. The verbs carry a semantic feature which implies that the focused argument is interpreted as ‘agent’. The nominal argument of the monadic intransitive verb is assigned with an *actor* macrorole. *Um-* verbs are described as being punctual, or a starting point of actions that can be durative (p. 455).

- (1) *umakang=kame=d*
?um-?akang=kame=din
IMPR.AF-walk=ABS.1pe=already
‘We are already **leaving**.’
- (2) *tiad=ka umangay*
ti?ad=ka ?um-?angay
where=ABS.2s IMPR-come.from
‘Where **are** you **coming from**?’
- (3) *kumaldit=kita=d tiddi*
k<um>aldit=kita=din tiddi
<IMPR>run=ABS.1d=now DEM
‘We (I and you) **will run** there now.’

10.2.1.2 *mag-* verbs

The “*mag-* verbs (PEF *maR-verbs)”, according to Reid and Liao (2004), “typically appear as *-ag*, *mag-*, or *may-*, specifically in languages in which the expected reflex of *R is or y”. The *mag-* verbs for both Ibanag and Ilocano appear as *ag-*. They added that other semantic features associated with *mag-* verbs are reflexive and reciprocal. *Mag- verbs* are typically monadic intransitive and are durative. The reflexes of *mag-* appear as *mag-*, *man-*, *mam-* in Southern Alta.

- (4) *magsuyod=dak=pamo*
mag-suyod=(d)ak=pamo
IMPR.AF-lice.comb=ABS.1s=PART
‘I will comb (for lice) for the meantime.’
- (5) *mandongol=din=sid*
man-dongol=din=sid
IMPR-listen=PART=ABS.3p
‘They will now listen.’
- (6) *mansalang=kitam=pamo*
man-salang=kitam=pamo
IMPR-cook.rice=ABS.1pi=PART
‘We will cook rice for the meantime.’ or (Let us cook rice for the meantime.)
- (7) *mampasbu sid kakane a apun*
mam-pasbu=sid kakane ɻa ɻapun
IMPR-boil.water=ABS.3p PART LIG ADV
‘They will boil water later in the afternoon.’

10.2.1.3 *mang-* verbs

Mang- verbs (PEF *maN verbs), according to Reid and Liao (2004), always imply that “the absolutive (ABS) NP is an *actor*.” *Mang-* verbs are also distributive, implying multiple activities, actions or actors over time or space. *Mang-* verbs are frequently dyadic intransitive. *Dyadic intransitives* consist of two generalized roles of *actor* and *undergoer* macrorole. The *actor* is case-marked as ABS while the *undergoer* is case-marked as OBL. *Oblique* is a nominal complement or adjunct(s) with the semantic role of theme or location.

- (8) *mangalap=kita tiddi*
mang-alap=kita tiddi
IMPR.AF-gather=ABS.1d DEM
‘We (I and you) will gather over there.’
- (9) *mangatod=kitam dikade*
mang-ɻatod=kitam dikade
IMPR.AF-atod=ABS.1pi OBL.3p
‘We (including you) will give them.’

10.2.2 Goal Focus

Goal Focus (GF) verbs take two core arguments. The first nominal complement after the verb is case-marked as ergative (ERG), and next, is absolute (ABS). The affixed verbs highlight the ‘focused’ argument which encodes the semantic role of *patient*, *locative*, *benefactive*, *comitative*, *instrumental*, or *theme*. Other nominal complements following the core arguments are case-marked as oblique (OBL). Oblique or adjunct(s) receives the semantic role of *theme* or *location*.

10.2.2.1 Patient Focus

Patient focus highlights the ‘focused’ argument as carrying a semantic role of *patient*. Reid and Liao referred this as “-en verbs”. Southern Alta *patient* focus suffix is -on and -an such as (10) and (11), respectively.

- (10) *kinanon=ko* *tu mange ti bukid*
k<in>an-on=ko *tu mango ti bukid*
<PERF>**eat-GF.PAT**=ERG.1s ABS mango OBL mountain
‘I ate the mangoes in the mountain.’
- (11) *tinubeyan=de=siya*
t<in>ubeyan=de=siya
<PERF>**help-GF.PAT**=ERG.3p=ABS.3s
‘They **helped** him.’

10.2.2.2 Locative Focus

Reid and Liao (2004) explained that “verbs of this type are labelled as locative, and they are also called as –an verbs”. This suffix implies that the focused argument has a semantic role of an *undergoer*. The Southern Alta also carries the same affix –an such as the example in (12).

- (12) *apoyan=tam tu labet ta mansalang=kitam*
?apoy-an=tam tu labet ta man-salang=kitam
fire--GF.LOC=ERG.1pi ABS wood CON IMPR.GF-cook.rice=ABS.1pi
‘We will make fire because we will cook rice.’

Further, in a functional study of Cebuano grammar, Tanangkingsing (2009) claimed that the *Extended Locative Voice* (ELV) construction in Cebuano or *Extended Transitive Construction* (ETC, in Dixon, 1994) is similar to *applicative construction*. It involves “positioning the indirect object (i.e., the Goal) in a core position or the Nominative slot.” (p. 445). He explained that ELV sprang from LV constructions which are traditionally called *benefactive construction*. In addition, these constructions are nominatively-marked arguments which represent a combination of features of recipient and beneficiary (Kitilla, 2005, as cited by Tanangkingsing, 2009, p. 441), as they comprise both reception and substitutive benefaction. For consistency of terminologies, the V for voice is replaced with F ‘Focus’, and nominative or nominatively-marked for absolute or absolutely-marked, respectively.

Extended Locative Focus (ELF) constructions are formed from *patient* voice (PV) construction. The ABS *patient* argument is treated with a semantic role of *theme*, and it is then ‘transported’ between different locations in an ELV construction such as animate or inanimate encodes as *recipient* or *theme*, respectively. Moreover, abstract entities like stories, ideas, and services can be conveyed or transported from person to person, but perceptor and location cannot, so perception verbs, cognition verbs and motion verbs usually cannot form ELF. (p. 447)

For this paper, the absolutive NP argument which is encoded as *theme* uses the semantic role of either a *recipient* or *goal*. Although both *recipient* and *goal* are conflated as *theme*, it will be separated here in this section to facilitate explanation. If the absolutive NP argument is animate, it encodes a semantic role of *recipient*; if, inanimate, it encodes a semantic role of *goal*. The LF affix in (13) and (14) is an ELF construction in which the ABS slot is case-marked as OBL. Succinctly, the absolutive NP arguments encode as *theme* in (13), the animate *tu anak* ‘offsprings’ encodes a semantic role of *recipient*, and the inanimate *?i wagot* ‘the water’ in (14) encodes a semantic role of *goal*.

- (13) *lultuan* *nu tidna* *nu sabu tu anak=na*
lultu-an *nu tidna* *nu sabu tu a:nak=na*
cook-GF.LOC ERG mother OBL soup ABS offspring.PL=GEN.3s
‘The mother **will cook her children** some soup.’
- (14) *ginewan* *ni Kolmog nu sabang i wagot*
g<in>ew(a)-an *ni Kolmog nu sabang ?i wagot*
<PERF>make-GF.LOC ERG.PN Kolmog OBL passage ABS water
Kolmog made a canal for the water.

10.2.2.3 Benefactive

Dita (2007) explained that “the ‘focused’ NP argument usually takes a human argument and is identified as ABS case”. That argument is understood as the one benefitting the action of the verb and it also means that the action was supposedly performed by someone else. The verb with an affix *-en* encode a semantic role of benefactive in clause (15).

- (15) *inatden=me* *ti Simon nu ngasngas*
?in-?pat(o)d-en=me *ti Simon nu ngasngas*
PERF-give-GF.BEN=ERG.1pe ABS.PN Simon OBL tobacco
‘We **gave** Simon some tobacco.’

10.2.2.4 Comitative

Comitative, according to Rubino (1997), has “a notion of shared participation or possession”. Dita (2007), further explained that “comitative focus is directed at the ‘party’ to whom the action is performed, and so it is identified as **ABS case**”. It is formed by the prefix *ka-* plus the derived word.

- (16) *kausil=dut ni Hesus tu pala benal a anghel*
ka-?usil=dut ni Hesus tu pala benal=?a anghel
COM-company=PART ERG.PN Jesus ABS PL holy=LIG angel
‘Jesus **was accompanied** by holy angels.’
- (17) *katulod=na=kitam na habe panahon*
ka-tulod=na=kitam na habe panahon
COM-enemy=ERG.3s=ABS.1pi OBL PART time
‘We are his **enemy** for eternity.’

10.2.2.5 Instrument Focus

Instrumental focus, according to Dita (2007), “assigns the absolute case to the instrument, tool, or any means used in carrying out the action”. It is formed by the prefix *?i-*.

- (18) *ikodong=na tu oddungan ti labet*
?i-kodong=na tu ?oddungan ti labet
INST-tie=ERG.3s ABS carabao OBL wood
‘He (She, It) **will tie** the carabao around the wood.’
- (19) *pagkatapos, ipiyad=de tu kodus ilsod na bulsot*
pagkatapos, ?i-piyad=de tu kodus ?ilsod na bulsot
after that **INST-erect=ERG.3p ABS cross insert OBL hole**
‘After that, they **will erect** the cross and insert it in the hole.’

10.2.2.6 Theme Focus

Theme focus, according to Trask (1996, p. 278), is “an NP expressing an entity which is in a state or a location or which is undergoing motion”. Dita (2007) explained that “the entity in motion is the ‘focused’ argument, thus, carrying the absolutive (ABS) case”. The theme focus suffix is *-on*.

- (20) *alapon=me tu idduwa a kilo*
?alap-on=me tu ?idduwa=?a kilo
get-GF.THE=ERG.1pe ABS two=LIG kilo
‘We **will get** the two kilos (of rice).’
- (21) *salewon=ko tu matamis ti belayan*
?alew-on=ko tu matamis ti belay-an
buy-GF.THE=ERG.1s ABS sugar OBL town-LOC
‘I **will buy** sugar in town (or the *barrio*).’

10.3 Transitivity

Transitivity, as described in Philippine context, is not simply “the number of complements that determines the transitivity of a verb, but rather the *type of complements* that a verb takes” (Ruffulo, 2004; Reid & Liao, 2004; Dita S. , 2007). Valency, on the other hand, refers to the *number of arguments* a verb take. Transitivity in verbal clauses is described as having core arguments with an ergative (ERG) and an absolutive (ABS) case-markings. Core arguments are determined by the head of the clause while peripheral arguments or adjuncts are less dependent on the kind of head of the clause. Two verbal constructions are identified and described below. They are the intransitive (10.3.1) and the transitive constructions (10.3.2).

10.3.1 Intransitive Construction

A verb which can be followed by only one core argument is intransitive. The single argument after the verb encodes the semantic role of an *actor* or *experiencer* and it is interpreted as carrying an *actor* macro role. Thus, the nominal complement of the verb is identified as the *absolutive* (ABS) argument of an intransitive construction. However, some intransitive may expect two nominal complements. The two nominal complements that follow after the verb consist of the single core argument and an extension or adjunct which is case-marked oblique (OBL). The extension complement may carry a locative or genitive case marking also called as the (E) argument.

Meteorological verbs are intransitive but do not allow any explicit nominal complement. Dita (2007, p. 49) explained that these are called *ambient clauses* and they are considered semantically intransitive. These are the types of intrasitives that are not marked for valency.

10.3.1.1 Ambient Clauses

Dita (2007) explained that “ambient clauses do not exhibit core arguments”. These are “semantically intransitive clause since they refer to temporal state”. Gonzales described (as cited by Dita, 2007) that “a state is specified as ambient and requires no accompanying nouns”.

- (22) *suminag=dut=na*
s<um>inag=dut=na
<IMPR>**sunshine**=PART=DEM
‘The sun will shine there soon.’
- (23) *bumbeyo=d*
bum-beyo=din
RCVC~CONT=storm=PART
‘It is storming now.’

10.3.1.2 Monovalent Intransitive Clause

Dita (2007) explained that “*monovalent (monadic) intransitive* has only one core argument”. The nominal argument encodes as a ‘patient’ *actor* or *experiencer*, and it is case-marked as **ABS**. The focused argument, *tu madikit* ‘the maiden’ in (24), encodes a ‘patientive’ *actor*. In other words, the referent in the **NP** is the active *agent* and is also the *patient* or ‘the (most) affected entity’ in the event. Further, **AF** affixes like *man-* and *-um-* highlight the focused **NPs** in intransitive clauses such as in (25) and (26). They are *=?ak* ‘I’ and *tu anak* ‘the child’ respectively. The former carries the semantic role of an *actor*; the latter, an *experiencer*.

- (24) *nagsuklay tu madikit*
nag-suklay tu madikit
PERF.AF-comb ABS maiden
‘The maiden **combed** her hair.’

- (25) *manlobbok=kak naudman*
man-lobbok=kak naudman
IMPR.AF-pound.rice=ABS.1s tomorrow
‘I will **pound** rice tomorrow’

- (26) *umusil tu anak*
?um-?usil tu anak
IMPR.AF-urinate ABS child
‘The child **will urinate**.’

10.3.1.3 Bivalent Intransitive Clause

Bivalent (dyadic) intransitive may accept two nominal complements. The nominal complement after the verb is described as having the semantic role of an *actor* or *experiencer*, and the other, is described as having the semantic role of a theme or locative. The latter is case-marked as *absolutive* (ABS), and the former is case-marked as oblique (OBL).

On the other hand, Tanangkingsing used the term extended intransitive clauses (EIC), a term first used by Dixon (1994), to refer to “intransitive constructions that are accompanied by an oblique-marked *patient*, termed E, which is any argument marked differently from the core arguments S, A, and P” (2009, p. 353). Further, he explained that “EICs are pervasive in Philippine-type languages, and constitute a separate clause type”. In addition, Huang & Tanangkingsing (2011, p. 94) showed evidence based on the tracking evidence on three Formosan languages which distinguishes extended transitive intrasitive clauses and non-actor voice such as dyadic trasitive clauses.

The AF affixes *mang-*, *-um-*, *ma-*, and *man-* highlight the focused NPs in the intrasitive clauses (27), (28), (29) and (30) below. The absolutely-marked NPs are *sid* ‘they’, *tu kamodenan* ‘the (council of) elders’, *siya* ‘he (she, it), and *ti Kutikot*, respectively following them are the obliquely-marked NPs.

- (27) *mongatod=sid* *dikana*
mong-?atod=sid *dikana*
CONT-give= ABS.3p OBL.3s
‘They are **giving** (something) him/ her.’
- (28) *sumukob* *tu kamodenan dikade*
s<um>ukob *tu kamodenan dikade*
IMPR.AF-surrender ABS elders OBL.3p
‘The (council of) elders **will surrender** (themselves) to them.’
- (29) *mopulad=siya* *tiddi*
mo-pulad=siya *tiddi*
CONT.AF-slept=ABS.3s OBL.DEM
‘He **is sleeping** over there.’
- (30) *nondimoy* *ti* *Kutikot dikame*
non-dimoy *ti* *Kutikot dikame*
PERF.AF-bath ABS.PN Kutikot OBL.1pe
‘Kutikot **bathed** in our (place).’

10.3.2 Transitive Constructions

Transitive constructions consist of two core arguments and, in times, may carry other nominal complements. The core arguments carry the *Actor* and *Undergoer* macroroles. The *actor* encodes the semantic role of an *agent*, and the second encodes the semantic role of *patient*, *goal*, or *theme* while other NPs or arguments aside the ones mentioned are marked as oblique(s) or follows the label E for extended argument. This peripheral argument or OBL-marked argument may be placed in between core arguments such as Extended Locative Construction (ELC) or applicative construction.

Controversy arises between dyadic or bivalent transitive clauses and extended intransitive clauses (EIC). Both EIC and transitive clauses take two arguments, but “the only difference being in an EIC, the second nominal argument is an oblique-marked *patient*, known as E, which is any argument marked differently from the core arguments S, A, and P. In contrary to both arguments of a dyadic transitive clauses, they are marked as core arguments A and P, respectivel (Tanangkingsing M. , 2009, p. 353; Huang & Tanangkingsing, 2011, p. 97).

On the other hand, a trivalent construction consist of two NP complements and an extended argument (E). The last complement is carrying a *benefactive* role case-marked as oblique (OBL). There are some dynamic verbs that carries three valence such as *give* and *buy*. The verb *give*, for instance, encodes the *giver*, the *given*, and the *gift*. This trivalent construction is much realized in the PERF aspect, and in some cases, through the E (extended) argument of locative-affixed verb. Locative focus affixed (-an) clauses may consist of trivalent arguments and they are so-called extended locative constuctions (ELC) (Tanangkingsing M. , 2009, p. 426). He explained that Extended Locative Focus (ELF)

“involves the ‘advancement’ of an indirect object to become the direct object, in addition, this is equivalent to applicative construction in Indonesia”.

Southern Alta shares the same semantic-syntactic characteristics of Philippine-type languages. The consecutive nominal arguments are case-marked as ergative (ERG) and absolute (ABS). Two types of transitive constructions are present in the clausal patterns of Southern Alta, namely, (i) bivalent transitive clause, and (ii) trivalent transitive clauses. The nominal arguments may take full noun phrases including genitive forms, pronouns or demonstrative.

10.3.2.1 Bivalent transitive clause

Bivalent (divalent) transitive clause accepts two core arguments. The two core arguments are full NPs or any of their equivalent forms. The order of arguments begins with an ergatively-marked NP following an absolutely-marked NP. The arguments may consist of two full NPs (31) or pronouns (32), or a combination of a pronominal and a full NP (33).

- (31) *kinutuan* *nu anak tu moden=na*
k<in>uto-an *nu ?anak tu moden=na*
 <PERF>lice-GF.LOC ERG child ABS parents= GEN.3s
 ‘The child **deloused** his (her) parents.’
- (32) *linibak=de=siya*
l-in-ibak=de=siya
PERF-insult=ERG.3p=ABS.3s
 ‘They **insulted** him (her).’
- (33) *tinuduwan* *nu ma?estade sid*
t<in>uduw-an *nu ma?estade=sid*
 <PERF>teach-GF ERG female.teacher=ABS.3p
 ‘The **female teacher** taught **them**.’

10.3.2.2 Trivalent transitive clause

A *trivalent (triadic) transitive clause* consists of two NP complements and an extended argument. The last complement is carrying a benefactive role case-marked as oblique (OBL). This type follows an ERG-ABS-OBL order. There are some dynamic verbs in Southern Alta that carries three valence, these are dynamic verbs such as *give* and *buy*. The verb *give*, for instance, encodes the *giver*, the *given*, and the *gift*. These trivalent constructions are much realized in the PERF aspect in (34).

- (34) *lapditon=tam tu detnap nu salokod=mo*
lapdit-on=tam tu detnap nu salokod=mo
strike-GF =ERG.1pi ABS stone DET cane=GEN.2s
‘We will strike the stone with your cane.’

10.3.2.2.1 with three NPs

Core arguments follows the order ERG and ABS case respectively, while the extended argument is marked OBL, is usually clause-final. The NP arguments may consist of full NPs, pronominals, or their equivalents in any of the slots. For instance, clauses (35) and (36) encode full NPs. The external arguments in (35) has a semantic role of benefactive, while the other has semantic role of theme (36). In addition, the example in (36) is described as an Extended Locative Construction (ELV) and it will be explained in turn in section 10.3.2.2.3 locative focus.

- (35) *in-atden nu anak nu lebro ti Jessa*
?in-?atod(en) nu anak nu lebro ti Jessa
PERF-give ERG child OBL book ABS.PN Jessa
‘The child gave Jessa the book.’
- (36) *nilultuan nu tidema nu sabu tu anak*
ni-lultu-an nu tidema nu sabu tu ?anak
PERF-cook-LOC ERG mother OBL soup ABS child.PL
The mother cooked the children some soup.’

There are also three-argument clauses with a combination of pronominals, full NPs and their equivalents. Clause (38) is a reconstruct of (37), the full NPs are replaced with two consecutive pronouns and a demonstrative.

- (37) *inlitas nu Makidepat tu atolang ti Ehipto*
 $\tilde{P}in\text{-}litas$ ν **Makidepat** tu **atolang** ti **Ehipto**
 PERFSave ERG God ABS siblings OBL Egypt
'God saved the siblings in Egypt.'

- (38) *inlitas Na sid tiddi*
 $\tilde{P}in\text{-}litas$ =**Na=sid** **tiddi**
 PERF-save =ERG.3s=ABS.3p OBL.DEM.DIST
'He (God) saved them in Egypt.'

The clauses (39) and (41) consist of full NPs. The phrase *?i tol Lang* 'a bone' in (39) is replaced with a spartial demonstrative *yinna* 'that' in (40). On the other hand, the phrases *tu ngane* and *ti odungan=na* in clause (41) may be replaced with two pronominals ABS.3s =*siya* 'him' and OBL.3s *dikana* 'on his (back)', respectively in (42).

- (39) *inatbil nu anak i tol Lang pade tu asu*
 $\tilde{P}in\text{-}Patbil$ ν **Anak** i **tol Lang** **pade** tu **asu**
 PERF-throw ERG child ABS.INDF **bone** OBL ABS dog
'The child threw a bone to the dog.'

- (40) *inatbil nu anak yinna pade tu asu*
 $\tilde{P}in\text{-}Patbil$ ν **Anak** **yinna** **pade** tu **asu**
 PERF-throw ERG child SP.DEM OBL ABS dog
'The child threw that (bone) to the dog.'

- (41) *insakay ni Moggot tu ngane ti oddungan=na*
 $\tilde{P}in\text{-}sakay$ ni **Moggot** tu **ngane** ti **oddungan=na**
 PERF-carry.on.back ERG.PN Moggot ABS ghost OBL back=GEN.3s
Moggot gave the ghost (a ride) on his back. (lit. Moggot carried the ghost on his back.)

- (42) *insakay ni Moggot=siya dikana*
?in-sakay ni Moggot=siya dikana
 PERF-carry.on.back ERG.PN Moggot=ABS.3s OBL.3s
 Moggot gave him a ride on his (back). (Lit. Moggot carried him on his back.)

10.3.2.2.2 Instrument Focus

Instrument focus is formed by prefixing *?i-* to the verb. The instrument form of the verb denotes the instrument involved in carrying the action or implement necessary to perform the action. The NP complement which is case-marked ABS is the focused argument of the clause. The focused arguments *tu pate* ‘the dead person’(43), *?i buo ?abak=de* ‘their whole body’ (44) and *tu labet* ‘the wood’ (45) encode the semantic role of instrument in the following clauses.

- (43) *ilabe nu lake tu pate na suklib*
?i-labe nu lake tu pate na suklib
 IMPF.IF-bury ERG old.man=ABS **dead.person** OBL cave
 ‘The old man will bury the **dead** in the cave.’
- (44) *inilbug=na i buo abak=de ti wagot*
?in-?ilbug=na ?i buo ?abak=de ti wagot
 PERF.IF.submerge=ERG.3s ABS **whole body**=GEN.3p OBL cave
 ‘They submerged **their whole body** in the river.’
- (45) *inibno=de tu labet tiddi*
?in-?ibno=de tu labet tiddi
 PERF.IF.bury=ERG.3p ABS **wood** DEM.PROX
 ‘They buried **the wood** there.’

10.3.2.2.3 Locative Focus

Transitive construction with LF affix (*-an*) may consist of three-argument clause and it is similar to the Extended Transitive Construction (ETC) in Cebuano. Tanangkingsing (2009, p. 411) explained that “this type of clause involves the positioning

of the the indirect object in a core position or the nominative slot". So, in this kind of construction, the OBL-marked argument follows an ABS *patient* argument with a semantic role of THE, and it can be ‘transported’ between different locations in an ELV construction such as animate or inanimate which encodes *recipient* or *goal*, respectively.

Southern Alta appears to have an ELV construction as shown in the examples. The verbs *tinuduan* ‘taught’ in (46), *ginewyan* ‘called’ in (47), and *ginewan* ‘did’ (48) have LF affix–*an*. The ABS-marked arguments in (46) and (47) have a semantic role of *benefactive* or *recipient* while ABS-marked argument in (48) encode a semantic role of *goal*.

- (46) *tinuduwan* *nu kamomdenan na pagadel tu magaadel*
t<in>udu(w)-an *nu kamomdenan na pagadel tu magaadel*
 <PERF>GF.teach-LF ERG elders OBL gospel ABS students
 ‘The elders taught them the gospel.’
- (47) *ginewyan* *ni Yayo na silpun=na* *ti Simon*
g<in>ewi(y)-an *ni Yayo na silpun=na* *ti Simon*
 <PERF>GF.call-LF ERG.PN Yayo OBL cellphone=GEN.3s ABS.PN Simon
 ‘Yayo called Simon on his cellphone.’
- (48) *ginewan* *ni Kolmog na sabang i wagot*
g<in>ew(a)-an *ni Kolmog na sabang i wagot*
 <PERF>make-GF.LOC ERG.PN Kolmog OBL passage ABS water
 Kolmog made a canal for the water.

10.4 Aspect

This section will use aspect to describe the internal temporal structure of a situation. Payne (1997) claimed that “aspect is the most common operation associated with a verb”. He explained that Bybee (1985) discovered that” 74 % of the languages in her randomized sample have morphological manifestation of aspect in the verb” (p. 234). Further, Dita (2007) also described the verbal morphology of *Ibanag* language in three verbal aspects: *imperfective*, *continuative*, and *perfective*.

10.4.1 Aspectual forms of Southern Alta verbs

The verbs of Southern Alta are inflected for aspects, and these are imperfective (IMPR), continuative (CONT), and perfective (PERF). According to Dita (2007), “*imperfective* aspect refers to an action that is yet to happen; *continutive* aspect refers to an action happening; and *perfective* aspect refers to an action that has happened” (p. 177).

To illustrate the aspectual forms of the verbs, example clauses are shown below with the verb *mangalap* which means ‘gather’, ‘get’, or ‘procure’. The *mang-* affix and its conjugation are shown in clauses (49), (50), and (51). The verb in (49) *mangalap* encodes an action or event that is about to happen and is translated ‘will gather’ in English. *Mongalap* in (50) encodes an action or event that is presently happening, and is translated ‘is/are gathering’ in English. And *nangalap* or *minangalap* in (51) encodes an action or event that has already happened and is translated ‘gathered or has (have) gathered’ in English. (Note: In the translation that follows, the author can only provide a close to its equivalent translation in English)

- (49) *mangalap=kitam nu budak*
mang-?alap=kitam nu budak
IMPR.AF-gather=ABS.1pi OBL some fruit (betel nut)
‘We **will gather** some betel nuts.’
- (50) *mongalap=kitam nu budak*
mong-?alap=kitam nu budak
CONT.AF-gather=ABS.1pi OBL some fruit (betel nut)
‘We **are gathering** some betel nuts.’
- (51) *minangalap=kitam nu budak*
minang-?alap=kitam nu budak
PERF.AF-gather= ABS.1pi OBL some fruit (betel nut)
‘We **gathered** some betel nuts.’

Some Southern Alta verbs may be conjugated with AF or GF affixes in three aspectual forms. These verbs are *kan* or *mangan* ‘eat’, *salew* ‘buy’, *gewi* ‘call’, *kaldit* ‘run’, *?atod* ‘give’ to name a few. Table 10.2 describes the AF affixes *ma-*, *mang-* and *<um>* while Table 10.3 describes the GF affixes *-en*, *-on*, and *-an*.

The third, fourth and the fifth columns in Table 10.2 describes the affixes that form the different aspect of these verbs. For IMPR aspect, these are the prefix *ma-* and *mang-*, and the infix *<um>*; for CONT aspect, these are the prefix *mo-* and *mong-*, and a reduplication of the first syllable RVC; and for PERF aspect, these are the prefix *na-* and *nang,-* and infix *<inum>*.

Table 10.2 Conjugation of AF verbs

Base	Gloss	IMPR	CONT	PERF
<i>kan</i>	‘food’	<i>ma-mangan</i>	<i>mo-mangan</i>	<i>na-mangan</i>
<i>?atod</i>	‘give’	<i>mang-?atod</i>	<i>mong-?atod</i>	<i>minang-?atod</i>
<i>salew</i>	‘buy’	<i>s<um>alew</i>	<i>sun-salew</i>	<i>s<inum>alew</i>
<i>gewi</i>	‘call’	<i>g<um>ewi</i>	<i>gung-gewi</i>	<i>g<inum>ewi</i>
<i>kaldit</i>	‘run’	<i>k<um>aldit</i>	<i>kung-kaldit</i>	<i>k<inum>aldit</i>

The third, fourth and the fifth columns in Table 10.3 describe the affixes that form the different aspect of these verbs. The IMPR aspect in column three shows the GF suffixes *-on*, *-en*, and *-an* to form the imperfective aspect; the CONT aspect in column four shows the GF circumfixes *o-...-on*, *o-...-en*, and *o-...-an* to form the continuative aspect; and the PERF aspect in column five shows the GF infix *<in>* with the suffixes *-on*, *-en*, and *-an* to form the PERF aspect.

Table 10.3 Conjugation of GF verbs

Base	Gloss	IMPR	CONT	PERF
<i>kan</i>	'food'	<i>kan-on</i>	<i>?o-kan-on</i>	<i>k<in>an-on</i>
<i>?atod</i>	'give'	<i>?atd-en</i>	<i>?o-atd-en</i>	<i>?in-atd-en</i>
<i>salew</i>	'buy'	<i>salew-on</i>	<i>?o-salew-on</i>	<i>s<in>alew-on</i>
<i>gewi</i>	'call'	<i>gew-(y)an</i>	<i>?o-gew-(y)an</i>	<i>g<in>ew-(y)an</i>
<i>kaldit</i>	'run'	<i>kaldit-on</i>	<i>?o-kaldit-on</i>	<i>k<in>aldit-on</i>

The comparison between Table 10.2 and Table 10.3 does not apply to all the verbs that are present in Southern Alta language. The comparison above is only a salient description of some of the verbs that will be mentioned in the following sections. Further description of the verb in their aspectual forms are discussed below.

10.4.2 Conjugation

10.4.2.1 <um> verbs and their conjugation

The IMPF of *um* verbs is formed by adding <*um*> to the base. If the word starts with a vowel *um-* is prefixed to the base; otherwise, if the word starts with a consonant, - *um* is inserted after the first consonant. Verbs with <*um*> affix are shown in Table 10.4.

Table 10.4 Conjugation of Intransitive <*um*> verbs

Base	Gloss	IMPR	CONT	PERF
<i>?aged</i>	'ask for'	<i>?umaged</i>	<i>?unaged</i>	<i>?inumaged</i>
<i>gawa</i>	'do'	<i>gumawa</i>	<i>gunggewa</i>	<i>ginumawa</i>
<i>gewi</i>	'call'	<i>gumewi</i>	<i>gunggewi</i>	<i>ginumewi</i>
<i>?inom</i>	'drink'	<i>?uminom</i>	<i>?un?inom</i>	<i>?inuminom</i>
<i>kaldit</i>	'run'	<i>kumaldit</i>	<i>kungkaldit</i>	<i>kinumaldit</i>
<i>laway</i>	'see'	<i>lumaway</i>	<i>lunlaway</i>	<i>linumaway</i>
<i>piyad</i>	'erect'	<i>pumiyad</i>	<i>pumpiyad</i>	<i>pinumiyad</i>

The IMPF form of the verb *?akang* ‘walk’ is *?umakang* ‘(will) walk’ in (52), and *?ule* ‘go home’ in (53) is *?umule* ‘will go home’. Both <um> verbs encode the event as an ongoing process. While the event in clause (52) express an event that is between an action that is about to happen until the progress of happening, clause (53) recalls a past event in which the verb *?umule* ‘will go home’ or ‘will leave’ express an action that is in the progress of happening.

- (52) *umakang=ngak=din*
?um-?akang=ngak=din
IMPR.AF-walk=ABS.1s=now
‘I will leave now.’ (or I will be leaving now.)

- (53) Conversation
- | | | | |
|----|----------------------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| S: | <i>ki=pala alta</i> | <i>tiddi ti</i> | <i>gobernor</i> |
| | <i>ki(tiddi)=pala alta</i> | <i>tiddi ti</i> | <i>gobernor</i> |
| | EXI=pala person | DEM OBL | governor’s office |
- kailangan umule=kamed,* *nuapun=din*
kailangan ?um-?ule=kame=din, *nu?pa:pun=din*
need IMPR.AF-go.home=ABS.1pe=PART afternoon=PART
‘There were many people in the Governor’s Office. We need to leave (go home) at once because it was already late afternoon.’

The CONT is formed in two ways. For words that start with a vowel, add the prefix *un-* plus the base form (54), and for words beginning with consonant sounds, reduplicate the CV plus /ŋ/ *ng* or /n/ or /m/ plus the base form in (55). The CONT forms of *um* verbs are *?unakang* ‘will walk’ in (54), and *gumawa* ‘will doing’ in (55). The former starts with a vowel, and the latter, a consonant. Other examples are shown in Table 10.4.

- (54) *unakang=sid*
?un-?akang=ABS.3p
CONT-walk=they
‘They are walking.’

- (55) **gunggewa** *ti* *Lagyu nu sabang nu wagot*
gung-gewa *ti* *Lagyu nu sabang nu wagot*
RCVC~CONT-make ABS.PN Lagyu OBL canal OBL water
‘**Lagyu is making** a canal for the rain water.’

CONT aspect encodes an action or event that is in progress in the present time, or an event or action that is in progress in the past. The clauses in (54) and (55) express an action in progress. On the other hand, clause (56) encodes two actions or events that are continually happening in the past time.

- (56) **mopulad=na** *nu ki=kumoy a maysa na tikod=na*
mo-pulad=(tika)na *nu ki=kumoy ?a maysa na tikod=na*
CONT.AF.sleep=ABS.3s ERG EXI=pass LIG snake OBL leg=GEN.3s
‘He (She, It) **was sleeping** when there was a snake crawling on his (her, its) leg.’

The PERF aspect is formed by adding the affix <*inum*> to the base form. For words that start with a vowel, add the prefix *inum-* before the base form (57); and for words beginning with consonant sounds, infix <*inum*> after the first consonant like (58). Other examples are shown in Table 10.4.

Perfective aspect, according to Payne (1997), “is viewed in its entirety, independent of tense”. A biblical narrative in a commentary recounts an event in the past (57). The verb *?inumaged* ‘asked for’ encodes a completed action without a definite time in the past. Similarly, the verb *sinumakol* ‘has grown up’ in clause (58) also encodes a completed stage of a series.

- (57) **inumaged=sid** *nu pagkain*
?inum-Paged=ABS.3p *nu pagkain*
PERF.AF-ask=ABS.3p OBL food
‘They **asked** for food.’

(58)	<i>de</i>	<i>sinumakol</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>Hesus ay</i>
	<i>de</i>	<i>s<inum>akol</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>Jesus ay</i>
	TEMP.DEM	<PERF.AF> grow.up	ABS.PN	Jesus TL

ginumawa=siya na maadu makapogtaka
g<inum>awa=siya na maadu makapogtaka
 <PERF.AF>**do**=ABS.3s DET many strange
 ‘When Jesus **has grown** up, he **did** many miracles.’

10.4.2.2 *Mag-* verbs - its forms, and their conjugation

Liao (2004) explained that the Meso-Cordilleran languages which include the Southern Alta has “the innovated form *man-* (*PEF *maR-*). The /n/ in *man-* did not undergo nasal assimilation in most of the West Southern Cordilleran but has undergone homorganic nasal assimilation in some Central Cordilleran languages”. She explained that “the reflexes of **maR-* and **maN-* are sometimes hard to distinguish, so the only key to distinguish the reflexes of **maR-* and **maN-* is to check whether the stem initial consonant is retained after assimilation”. Further, she explained that “if the stem initial consonant is retained after assimilation, then the prefix to the stem is a reflex of **maR-*”. On the other hand, “if it is deleted after the assimilation, then the prefix to the stem is reflex of **maN-*” (pp. 115-116).

Liao (2004, p. 118) explained that according to Reid (1991, p. 11), “the reflexes of **maR* in Southern Alta appear in several forms”. Further , “on roots that appear to be inherited, *man-* (the reflex of Proto-Meso-Cordillean **man-*), *mon-*, or *mun-* (reflexes of **men-*, showing sporadic raising of the vowel in **man-*) is used. Roots that are obviously Tagalog loans, *mag-* or *mog-* is used. Perhaps the latter forms are developed by analogy with *man-/mon-* affixes”. The *mag-* verbs come in three forms *mag-* (Type 1), *man-* (Type 2) and *mam-* (Type 3). The conjugation of *mag-* verbs as *mag-* is shown in Table 9.3, *mag-* verbs as *man-* in Table 10.4, and *mag-* verbs as *mam-* in Table 10.5.

10.4.2.2.1 Type 1 - Prefix *mag-* and their conjugation

Table 10.5 presents Type 1 *mag-* verbs. The IMPF is formed by adding the prefix *mag-*; the CONT is formed by adding the prefix *mog-*; and the PERF is formed by adding the prefix *nog-* to the base.

Table 10.5 Conjugation of Type 1 *mag-* verb - prefix *mag-*

Base	Gloss	IMPR	CONT	PERF
<i>?alage</i>	'to take care'	<i>magalage</i>	<i>mogalage</i>	<i>nogalage</i>
<i>diklamo</i>	'complaint'	<i>magdiklamo</i>	<i>mogdiklamo</i>	<i>nogdiklamo</i>
<i>pastol</i>	'shepherd'	<i>magpastol</i>	<i>mogpastol</i>	<i>nogpastol</i>
<i>hubad</i>	'naked'	<i>maghubad</i>	<i>moghubad</i>	<i>noghubad</i>
<i>sulot</i>	'story'	<i>magsulot</i>	<i>mogsulot</i>	<i>nogsulot</i>
<i>tadibeho</i>	'work'	<i>magtadibeho</i>	<i>mogtadibeho</i>	<i>nogtadibeho</i>
<i>hola</i>	'predict'	<i>maghola</i>	<i>moghola</i>	<i>Noghola</i>
<i>?inum</i>	'drink'	<i>maginum</i>	<i>moginum</i>	<i>Noginum</i>

The IMPF verbs *magsitsit* 'gossipmonger', *magsusumbung* 'complain', and *magsulot* 'tell story' in (59) are examples of Type 1 intransitive *mag-* verbs. The sample clauses (59), (60), and (61) are monadic intransitive clauses, and they require a single argument structure case-marked as ABS. Examine the ABS pronouns after the verbal predicates. The CONT and PERF forms of *mag-* are *mog-* (60) and *nog-* (61), respectively.

- (59) *magsitsit=siya, mag-sitsit=siya, IMPR.AF-gossip.ABS.3s* *magsusumbung, mag-susumbung, IMPR.AF –complain* *at ?at CON* *magsulot, mag-sulot, IMPR.AF-story* *na na OBL*

begey=uwan=depat suloton

begey=?uwan=depat suloton

things=NEG=PART tell

'She **will gossipmonger, complain** and **tell story** of things that are not necessary to tell.'

- (60) *mogsuklay*=yak
mog-suklay=(y)ak
CONT.AF-comb=ABS.1s
‘I am combing my hair.’
- (61) *nogsuklay*=yak=din
nog-suklay=yak=din
PERF.AF -comb=ABS.1s=PART
‘I already combed my hair.’

10.4.2.2.2 Type 2 - Prefix *man-* and their conjugation

Table 10.6 presents Type 2 *man-* verbs. The IMPF is formed by adding the prefix *man-*; the CONT is formed by adding the prefix *mon-*; and the PERF is formed by adding the prefix *non-* to the base.

Table 10.6 Conjugation of Type 2 *mag-* verb - prefix *man-*

Base	Gloss	IMPR	CONT	PERF
<i>dongol</i>	‘listen’	<i>mandongol</i>	<i>mondongol</i>	<i>nondongol</i>
<i>tawid</i>	‘bring’	<i>mantawid</i>	<i>montawid</i>	<i>nontawid</i>
<i>tawon</i>	‘wait’	<i>mantawon</i>	<i>montawon</i>	<i>nontawon</i>
<i>topol</i>	‘endure’	<i>mantopol</i>	<i>montopol</i>	<i>nontopol</i>
<i>suksuk</i>	‘keep’	<i>mansuksuk</i>	<i>monsuksuk</i>	<i>nonsuksuk</i>
<i>?anak</i>	‘born’	<i>man?anak</i>	<i>mon?anak</i>	<i>non?anak</i>
<i>lamus</i>	‘clean face’	<i>manlamus</i>	<i>monlamus</i>	<i>nonlamus</i>
<i>tabul</i>	‘hunt’	<i>mantabul</i>	<i>montabul</i>	<i>nontabul</i>
<i>sabi</i>	‘sabi’	<i>mansabi</i>	<i>monsabi</i>	<i>nonsabi</i>
<i>tulud</i>	‘fight’	<i>mantulud</i>	<i>montulud</i>	<i>nontulud</i>
<i>dimoy</i>	‘bathe’	<i>mandimoy</i>	<i>mondimoy</i>	<i>nondimoy</i>
<i>laway</i>	‘see’	<i>manlaway</i>	<i>monlaway</i>	<i>nonlaway</i>
<i>?akang</i>	‘walk/ go’	<i>man?akang</i>	<i>mon?akang</i>	<i>non?akang</i>
<i>?idduwa</i>	‘two’	<i>man?idduwa</i>	<i>mon?idduwa</i>	<i>non?idduwa</i>
<i>?adene</i>	‘near’	<i>man?adene</i>	<i>mon?adene</i>	<i>non?adene</i>
<i>lapdit</i>	‘whip’	<i>manlapdit</i>	<i>monlapdit</i>	<i>nonlapdit</i>
<i>sikawon</i>	‘evacuate’	<i>mansikawon</i>	<i>monsikawon</i>	<i>nonsikawon</i>
<i>?aklis</i>	‘relocate	<i>man?aklis</i>	<i>mon?aklis</i>	<i>non?aklis</i>
<i>lobbok</i>	‘pound’	<i>manlobbok</i>	<i>monlobbok</i>	<i>nonlobbok</i>

The IMPF verb *mantawid* ‘bring’ in (64) is an example of Type 2 intransitive *mam-* verbs. The sample clauses (64), (65), and (66) are monadic intransitive clauses, and they require a single argument structure case-marked as ABS. Examine the ABS pronouns after the verbal predicates. The CONT and PERF forms of *man-* are *mon-* (65) and *non-* (66), respectively. Example clauses (62), (63), and (64) are excerpt from a conversation.

(62) *Conversation:*

- SM: *ki=beon=ka=mad*
ki(tiddi)=beon=ka=mad
EXI=provision=ABS.2s=PART
‘Do you have *baon*?’

(63) SD: *?uwan*

NEG

‘No, I don’t have (*baon*).’

(64) SM: *mantawid=kitam*

man-tawid=kitam

IMPR.AF-bring=ABS.1pi

‘We **will bring** some.’

(65) *mondongol=sid*

mon-dongol=sid

CONT.AF-listen=ABS.3p

‘They **are listening**.’

(66) *nondongol=kitam*

non-dongol=kitam

PERF.AF-listen=ABS.1pi

‘They **listened**.’

10.4.2.3 Type 3 - Prefix *mam-* and their conjugation

Table 10.7 presents Type 2 *mam-* verbs. The IMPF is formed by adding the prefix *mam-*; the CONT is formed by adding the prefix *mom-*; and the PERF is formed by adding the prefix *nom-* to the base.

Table 10.7 Conjugation of Type 3 *mag-* verb - prefix *mam-*

Base	Gloss	IMPR	CONT	PERF
<i>pasbu</i>	'heat water'	<i>mampasbu</i>	<i>mompasbu</i>	<i>nompasbu</i>
<i>beyo</i>	'shirt'	<i>mambeyo</i>	<i>mombeyo</i>	<i>nombeyo</i>
<i>bele</i>	'house'	<i>mambele</i>	<i>mombele</i>	<i>nombele</i>
<i>butil</i>	'bad'	<i>mambutil</i>	<i>mombutil</i>	<i>nombutil</i>
<i>biwas</i>	'fishing'	<i>mambiwas</i>	<i>mombiwas</i>	<i>nombiwas</i>
<i>bolong</i>	'trap'	<i>mambolong</i>	<i>mombolong</i>	<i>nombolong</i>

The IMPF verb *mambutil* 'lie' in (67) is an example of Type 3 intransitive *mag-* verbs. The sample clauses (67), (68), and (69) are monadic intransitive clauses and they require a single argument structure case-marked as ABS. Examine the ABS pronouns after the verbal predicates except the indefinite pronoun in (67). The CONT and PERF forms of *mam-* are *mom-* (68) and *nom-* (69), respectively.

- (67) *uwan mambutil=kan=agya=atin*
?uwan mam-butil=kan=?agya=?atin
 NEG IMPR.AF-lie=PART=PART=who
 'Do **not** lie to anyone.'

- (68) *mombutil=sid*
mom-butil=sid
 CONT.AF-lie=ABS.3p
 'They are lying.'

- (69) *nombutil=sid*
nom-butil=sid
 CONT.AF-lie=ABS.3p
 'They lied.'

10.4.2.4 *Mang-* verbs and their conjugation

Liao explained that *mang-* verbs were associated with two phonological processes: (a) homorganic nasal assimilation, and (b) consonant deletion... Therefore, "the prefix became *mam-* before bilabial consonant, *man-* before alveolar, etc." (2004, pp. 125-126).

Reid and Liao (2004) explained that *mang-* verbs always imply that *actor* is patient-like while *mag-* verbs are durative. *Mang-* verbs (especially those that are monadic) are “distributive, implying multiple activities, actions, or actors over time or space”. Whereas “*mag-* verbs are typically monadic intransitives”, “*mang-* verbs are frequently dyadic intransitives with ‘correspondents’ is interpreted as undergoers”. Table 10.8 shows a list of verbs with the prefix *mang-*.

Table 10.8 Conjugation of Intransitive *mang-* Verb

Base	Gloss	IMPR	CONT	PERF
<i>Palap</i>	‘get’	<i>mang?</i> alap	<i>mong?</i> alap	<i>nang?</i> alap
<i>Patod</i>	‘give’	<i>mang?</i> atod	<i>mong?</i> atod	<i>nang?</i> atod
<i>yadi</i>	‘happen’	<i>mangyadi</i>	<i>mongyadi</i>	<i>nangyadi</i>
<i>Palalak</i>	‘invite’	<i>mang?</i> alalak	<i>mong?</i> alalak	<i>nang?</i> alalak
<i>Pilat</i>	‘get honey’	<i>mang?</i> ilat	<i>mong?</i> ilat	<i>nang?</i> ilat
<i>Palat</i>	‘bite’	<i>mang?</i> alat	<i>mong?</i> alat	<i>nang?</i> alat
<i>dem</i>	‘borrow’	<i>mangdem</i>	<i>mongdem</i>	<i>nangdem</i>

The IMPF verb *mangyadi* ‘happen’ in (70) is a *mang-* verb. The sample clauses (70), (71), and (72) are monadic intransitive clauses, and they require a single argument structure case-marked as definite ABS. Examine the NPs after the verbal predicates. The CONT and PERF forms of *mang-* are *mong-* (71) and *nang-* (72), respectively.

- (70) *mangyadi tu layonin nu Makidepat*
mang-yadi tu layonin nu Makidepat
IMPR.AF-finish ABS objective OBL God
 ‘The will of God **will happen.**’
- (71) *mongyadi tu osabin nu Makidepat*
mongyadi tu ?osabin nu Makidepat
CONT.AF-finish ABS warning OBL God
 ‘The warnings of God **are happening.**’
- (72) *nangyadi tu kalooban nu Makidepat*
nang-yadi tu kalooban nu Makidepat
PERF.AF-happen ABS will OBL God
 ‘The will of God **happened.**’

10.4.2.5 *-en (-in), -on, and -an* verbs and their conjugation

Verbs ending with suffixes *-en* (*-in*), *-on*, and *-an* are labelled as transitive verbs. EN verb suffixes, according to Reid and Liao (2004), “encode the semantic roles of *goal*, *object*, *patient*, *theme* and *direct* focus while AN verb suffixes encode the semantic role of *locative* and *referent* focus” (p. 459). In Ibanag, the GF affixes encode the following semantic roles: patient *-an*, locative *-an*, benefactive *i-...-an*, and theme *i-*. The affixes that appear in Table 10.1 in section 10.2.1 above expresses the semantic role of patient – *-on* and *-an*, locative *-an*, benefactive *-en*, and theme *-an*.

The verbs *sabi* ‘say’, *laway* ‘see’ and *atod* ‘give’ in Table 10.9 below pass through a morphological process of stem modification. It begins by changing the last syllable to *-in* (*-en*) for the IMPF aspect. The CONT aspect is formed by adding the prefix *o-* to the ‘modified stem’. The PERF aspect is formed by adding the prefix *-in-* after the first or before the first element of the stem such as *sinabin* ‘said’ and *inatden* ‘gave’. The affix *in* or *ni* in *linaway* or *nilaway* is a variant of the same affix similar in Tagalog GF PERF affix. Table 10.9 shows the conjugation of *-in* (*-en*) verbs.

Table 10.9 Conjugation of *-in* (*-en*) verbs

Base	IMPR	CONT	PERF
	base + <i>-in</i>	<i>o-</i> + base + <i>in</i>	<i>-in-</i> + base + (<i>-in</i>) or (<i>-en</i>)
<i>sabi</i> ‘say’	<i>sabin</i>	<i>?osabin</i>	<i>sinabin</i>
<i>laway</i> ‘see’	<i>lawin</i>	<i>?olawin</i>	<i>linaway or nilaway</i>
<i>?atod</i> ‘give’	<i>atden</i>	<i>?o?atden</i>	<i>?in?atden</i>

For the first type of *-on* verbs, the IMPF aspect is formed by adding the suffix *on-* after the base form; CONT aspect is formed by adding the prefix *o-* before the first element and suffix *-on* after base form; and the PERF aspect is formed by adding the prefix *in-* before the first element and suffix *-on* after the base. Table 10.10 shows the conjugation of *-on* verbs.

Table 10.10 Conjugation of *-on* verbs

Base	IMPR	CONT	PERF
	base + -on	o- + base + on	-in- + base + on
<i>salew</i> 'buy'	<i>salewon</i>	<i>?osalewon</i>	<i>sinalewon</i>
<i>kan</i> 'eat'	<i>kanon</i>	<i>?okanon</i>	<i>kinanon</i>

As for the second type *-on* verbs, inflection begins with either a vowel or a consonant. The IMPF aspect is formed by adding the suffix *on-* after the base form; CONT aspect is formed by adding the prefix *o-* before the first element and suffix *-on* after base form; and the PERF aspect is formed by adding the prefix *in-* before the first element and suffix *-en* after the base. Table 10.11 shows the conjugation of *-on* verbs.

Table 10.11 Conjugation of *-on* verbs

Base	IMPR	CONT	PERF
	base + -on	o- + base + -on	in- + base + -en
<i>?aged</i> 'ask for'	<i>?agedon</i>	<i>?o-agedon</i>	<i>?inageden</i>
<i>tawid</i> 'bring'	<i>tawdon</i>	<i>?o-tawdon</i>	<i>tinawden</i>

As for the *-an* verbs, the IMPF aspect is formed by adding the suffix *an-* after the base form; CONT aspect is formed by adding the prefix *o-* before the first element and suffix *-an* after base form; and the PERF aspect is formed by adding the prefix *in-* before the first element and suffix *-an* after the base. Table 10.12 shows the conjugation of *-an* verbs.

Table 10.12 Conjugation of *-an* verbs

Base	IMPR	CONT	PERF
	base + -an	o-+ base + -an	in- + base + an
<i>gewyan</i> 'call'	<i>gewyan</i>	<i>?ogewyan</i>	<i>ginewyan</i>
<i>punasan</i> 'wipe'	<i>punasan</i>	<i>?opunasan</i>	<i>pinunasan</i>

Verbal clause with GF affixes are described in sample clauses (73) – (80). The sample clauses describe the three aspectual forms of the verbs: imperfective, continuative and perferctive. The verbs *?atden* ‘will give’ in (73), *tawdon* ‘will bring’ in (74), and *besan* ‘will read’ in (75) are in the imperfective aspect.

- (73) *pukoy ti Mogot dikana, “nu budi=yo ?ay*
pukoy ti Mogot dikana, “nu budi=yo ?ay
 said ABS.PN Moggot OBL.3s if like=ERG.2p TL
atden=ta=kayo
?at(o)d-en=ta=kayo
give-GF.BEN=ERG.1d=ABS.2p
 ‘Moggot said to him, “If you like, we **will give** you some (rice).”’

- (74) *tawdon=na tu pala gemot kani lake*
tawid-on=na tu pala gemot kani lake
bring-GF.REC=ERG.3s ABS PL medicine OBL adult.male
 ‘He **will bring** these medicines to Lake.’

- (75) *besan=na=yiinna*
bes(a)-an=na=yiinna
read-GF.LOC= ERG.3s=DEM.MED
 ‘He **will read** that one.’

Sample verbal clause from (76) – (78) describe the contemplative aspect of transitive verbs. The verbs *?oatden* ‘is (are) giving’ in (76), *?okanon* ‘is (are) eating’ and *?okanon* ‘is (are) drinking’ in (77), and *?obesan* ‘is (are) reading’ in (78) are in the contemplative aspect.

- (76) *oatden=na kitam nu katahimakan ti angos=tam*
?o-?at(o)d-en=na kitam nu katahimakan ti ?angos=tam
CONT-read-GF.BEN=ERG.3s ABS.pi ERG peacefulness OBL personality=GEN.3pi
 ‘He **is giving** us the peacefulness of our souls.’

- (77) *de uwān=sid ki=okanon o*
de ?uwān=sid ki= ?o-kan-on ?o
 when NEG=ABS.3p EXI= **CONT-kan-GF.PAT** or

uwang *ki=o inumun*
?uwa(n)=ng *ki= ?o-?inum-(o)un*
 NEG=TL EXI=CONT-drink-GF.PAT
 ‘When they **have nothing** to eat or **nothing** to drink,’ (Lit. When they **are no eating or no drinking**)’

- (78) *obesan=tam* *tu Bibliya habe, unasa=kitam* *dikana*
?o-besa-an=tam *tu Bible habe, ?unasa=kitam* *dikana*
 CONT-read-GF.LOC=ERG.1pi ABS Bible while expecting=ABS.1pi OBL.3s
 ‘We **are reading** the Bible while we are expecting for Him.’

Sample verbal clause in (79), (80). and (81) describe the PERF aspect of transitive verbs. The verbs *?inatden* ‘gave’ or ‘provided’ in the second clause of (79), *kinanon* ‘ate’ in (80) and *pinunasan* ‘wiped’ in (81) are in the PERF aspect.

- (79) *inatden=sid* *nu Makidepat nu kailangan=de*
?in-?at(o)d-en=ABS.3p *nu Makidepat nu kailangan=de*
 PERF-give-GF.BEN=they ERG God DET need=GEN.3p
 ‘God provided them their needs.’
- (80) *kinanon=de* *tu budak nu labet*
k<in>an-on=de *tu budak nu labet*
 PERF-eat-GF.THE=ERG.3p ABS fruit DET tree
 ‘They **ate** the fruit of the tree.’
- (81) *pinunasan=ko* *tu abak=ko*
p<in>punas-an=ko *tu ?abak=ko*
 <PERF>wipe-GF.LOC=ERG.1s ABS body=GEN.1s
 ‘I **wiped** my body.’

10.4.2.6 Causative verbs and their conjugation

Causative verbs encode two actors: one argument causing the other to act or a causer, and one expressing an effect or a causee and they may appear as *monoclausal* in both intransitive and transitive constructions. Causative verbs are formed by the causative stem forming prefix *pa-*. The prefix *pa-*, according to Tanangkingsing (2009, p. 547), is

“the most productive way of expressing causatives in many Philippine and (Formosan) languages”.

Causatives should increase the valency of the base by the addition of the morpheme *pa-*. Inspite of this, AF and GF causative clauses provide a different reading both in the semantic and syntactic. The causative *maR-(pa-)* and *maN-(pa-)* and their conjugation is explained in 10.4.2.6.1 and the causative verbs with GF suffixes (*-en (-in), -an, -on, i-*) plus the prefix *pa* and their conjugation is explained in 10.4.2.6.1. The morphosyntax of causatives is described in 10.5.15.

10.4.2.6.1 Causative *maR-(pa-)* and *maN-(pa-)* and their conjugation

Causative AF verbs are formed by the AF prefixes (maR- and maN-) plus the prefix *pa-*. The table describes the conjugation of AF causative verbs in three aspects: IMPR, CONT, and PERF. Unlike the two latter aspects, only the PERF has short and long forms.

Table 10.13 Conjugation of Causasative *maR-(pa-)* and *maN-(pa-)*

Base	Gloss	IMPR	CONT	PERF		Examples
				Short	Long	
<i>dusa</i>	‘grief’	<i>mag(pa)-</i>	<i>mog(pa)-</i>	<i>nog(pa)-</i>	<i>minog(pa)-</i>	<i>minogpadusa</i> ‘caused so to suffer for sth’
<i>solat</i>	‘write’	<i>mag(pa)-</i>	<i>mog(pa)-</i>	<i>nog(pa)-</i>	<i>minog(pa)-</i>	<i>minogpasolat</i> ‘made so to write for sth’
<i>tadibeho</i>	‘work’	<i>man(pa)-</i>	<i>mon(pa)-</i>	<i>non(pa)-</i>	<i>minon(pa)-</i>	<i>minonpatadibeho</i> ‘made so to work for so’
<i>palap</i>	‘get’	<i>man(pa)-</i>	<i>mon(pa)-</i>	<i>non(pa)-</i>	<i>minon(pa)-</i>	<i>minonalap</i> ‘made so to get sth’
<i>tubey</i>	‘companion’	<i>mam(pa)-</i>	<i>mom(pa)-</i>	<i>non(pa)-</i>	<i>minom(pa)-</i>	<i>minompatubey</i> ‘made so to accompany sb’
<i>tawid</i>	‘bring’	<i>mam(pa)-</i>	<i>mom(pa)-</i>	<i>non(pa)-</i>	<i>minom(pa)-</i>	<i>minompatawid</i>

<i>liwanag</i>	'light'	<i>mangi(pa)-</i>	<i>mongi(pa)-</i>	<i>nongi(pa)-</i>	<i>minongi(pa)-</i>	'made so bring sth to sb'
<i>?uwat</i>	'spring out'	<i>mangi(pa)-</i>	<i>mongi(pa)-</i>	<i>nongi(pa)-</i>	<i>minongi(pa)-</i>	<i>minongipaliwanag</i> 'made so explain sth to sb'
<i>hinto</i>	'hinto'	<i>ma(pa)-</i>	<i>mo(pa)-</i>	<i>na(pa)-</i>	<i>mina(pa)-</i>	<i>minongipa?uwat</i> 'made so bringout sth from sw'
<i>tawad</i>	'forgive'	<i>ma(pa)-</i>	<i>mo(pa)-</i>	<i>na(pa)-</i>	<i>mina(pa)-</i>	<i>minapahinto</i> 'made so stop sth/so'
<i>hayag</i>	'announce'	<i>may(pa)-</i>	<i>mi(pa)-</i>	<i>nay(pa)-</i>	<i>minay(pa)-</i>	<i>minapatawad</i> 'made so forgive sb'
<i>deyo</i>	'far'	<i>may(pa)-</i>	<i>mi(pa)-</i>	<i>nay(pa)-</i>	<i>minay(pa)-</i>	<i>minaypahayag</i> 'made so express sth to sb'
						<i>minaypadeyo</i> 'made so send awaysb for sth'

10.4.2.6.2 Causative GF verbs and their conjugation

Causative GF verbs are formed by the GF suffixes (-en (-in), -an, -on, i-) plus the prefix *pa-*. The table describes the conjugation of AF causative verbs in two aspects: IMPR and PERF.

Table 10.14 Conjugation of Causasative GF verbs

(i) PF causative verbs and its conjugation						
<i>pa-te</i>	'kill'	>	<i>pa-pa-t(e)-in</i>	'be killed'	<i>p(in)a-pa-te</i>	'made so kill so'
<i>ha-nга</i>	'big'	>	<i>pa-ha-nга-in</i>	'be big'	<i>p(in)a-ha-nга</i>	'made sth big'
(ii) LF causative verbs and its conjugation						
<i>?a-la-ge</i>	'take care of'	>	<i>pa-a-la-ge-an</i>	'be taken care'	<i>p(in)a-la-ge</i>	'made so taken care of so'
<i>he-dep</i>	'difficult'	>	<i>pa-he-dep-an</i>	'be difficult'	<i>p(in)a-he-dep</i>	'made sth difficult for so'
(iii) BF causative verbs and its conjugation						
<i>?e-sip</i>	'take care of'	>	<i>pa-e-si-pon</i>	'be thought of'	<i>p(in)a-e-si</i>	'made so thought of so/sth'
<i>?a-lap</i>	'get'	>	<i>pa-a-la-pon</i>	'be gotten'	<i>p(in)a-a-lap</i>	'made so get so'
(iv) IF causative verbs and its conjugation						
<i>ba-le-ta</i>	'news'	>	<i>?i-pa-ba-le-ta</i>	'can be broadcast'	<i>p(in)a-be-le-ta</i>	'made so broadcast sth'
<i>de-yo</i>	'far'	>	<i>?i-pa-de-yo</i>	'can be far away'	<i>p(in)a-de-yo</i>	'made so far away'

10.5 Verbal Classes

This section enumerates the verbal classes of Southern Alta. The verbal classes consist of 16 types of verbs. The underlying concepts are explained in detail in Schachter and Otanes (1972), Payne (1997, p. 55), and Dita (2007, p. 181).

10.5.1 Stative Verbs (*ma-* verbs)

Dita (2007) explained that there are two possible interpretations for *statives*. First, “the entity which is in a particular state or condition is in the absolutive argument, hence, stative verbs is always intransitive”. And second, the entity is “the site where the condition is located”. Table 10.15 shows the stative verbs.

Table 10.15 Conjugation of *Stative Verb*

Base	Gloss	IMPR	CONT	PERF
<i>mate</i>	‘die’	<i>mamate</i>	<i>momate</i>	<i>namate</i>
<i>nalig</i>	‘faith’	<i>manalig</i>	<i>monalig</i>	<i>nanalig</i>
<i>limos</i>	‘drown’	<i>malimos</i>	<i>molimos</i>	<i>nalimos</i>
<i>gewa</i>	‘do’	<i>magewa</i>	<i>mogewa</i>	<i>nagewa</i>
<i>sede</i>	‘ruin’ or ‘spoil’	<i>masede</i>	<i>mosede</i>	<i>nasede</i>
<i>nudu</i>	‘teach’	<i>manudu</i>	<i>monudu</i>	<i>nanudu</i>
<i>made</i>	‘dry up’	<i>mamade</i>	<i>momade</i>	<i>namade</i>
<i>bilay</i>	‘live’	<i>mabilay</i>	<i>mobilay</i>	<i>nabilay</i>
<i>langno</i>	‘understand’	<i>malangno</i>	<i>molangno</i>	<i>nalangno</i>
<i>pulad</i>	‘sit’	<i>mapulad</i>	<i>mopulad</i>	<i>napulad</i>
<i>nede</i>	‘harm’ or ‘ruin’	<i>manede</i>	<i>monede</i>	<i>nanede</i>
<i>deos</i>	‘get by’	<i>madeos</i>	<i>modeos</i>	<i>nadeos</i>
<i>beyad</i>	‘pay’	<i>mabeyaden</i>	<i>mobeyaden</i>	<i>nabeyaden</i>
<i>nakaw</i>	‘steal’	<i>manakaw</i>	<i>monakaw</i>	<i>nanakaw</i>
<i>balo</i>	‘change’ or ‘before’	<i>mabalo</i>	<i>mobalo</i>	<i>nabalo</i>
<i>meta</i>	‘choose’	<i>mameta</i>	<i>mometa</i>	<i>nameta</i>

- (82) *namade=d* *tu gebun tidi* *nu palduwa*
na-made=din *tu gebun tidi* *nu palduwa*
PERF.AF-dry.up=PART ABS land DEM.DIST DET middle
‘The land **dried up** in the middle.’

- (83) *oatden=na=kitam* *na pagkakataon tain manalig=kitam*
?o-?atden-en=na=kitam *na pagkakataon tain ma-nalig=kitam*
 CONT-give-GF.BEN=ERG.3s=ABS.1pi OBL chance CON IMPR-trust=ABS.1pi
- na impangako=na, pedu pagmamate=kitam*
na ?impangako=na pedu pagmamate=kitam
 OBL promise=GEN.3s CON if.die=ABS.1pi
- na uwang=kitam nanalig, ay iangay=kitam* *na lodeb*
na ?uwan=g=kitam nanalig ?ay ?i-angay=kitam *na lodeb*
 DET NEG=LIG=ABS.1pi trust TL INST-bring=ABS.1pi OBL hell
- ‘He **is giving** us the chance so that we will believe in his promises, but if we die and we did not show devotion, we will be sent to hell.’

10.5.2 Inchoative

Inchoation, according to Dita (2007, p. 184), refers to “the start of one’s development”. She explained that “most stative verbs can undergo inchoativity”. The prefix *um-* signals inchoativity and it becomes semantically intransitive. Table 10.16 shows the inchoative verbs.

Table 10.16 Conjugation of *Inchoative Verb*

Base	Gloss	Inchoative	Gloss
<i>hang</i> a	‘big’ or ‘huge’	<i>humang</i> a	‘become big’
<i>tabe</i>	‘fat’	<i>tumab</i> e	‘become fat’
<i>dalmot</i>	‘heavy’	<i>dumalpot</i>	‘become heavy’
<i>Puntik</i>	‘small’	<i>?umuntik</i>	‘become small’
<i>hena</i>	‘weak’	<i>humena</i>	‘become weak’
<i>?sakol</i>	‘grow up’	<i>sinumakol</i>	‘PERF ‘grown up’
<i>agot</i>	‘hard’	<i>?umagot</i>	‘become hard’
<i>abong</i>	‘pale’	<i>umabong</i>	‘become pale’

- (84) *de sinumakol ti Hesus ay*
de s<inum>akol ti Hesus ?ay
 TEMP.DEM <PERF.AF>**grow.up** ABS.PN Jesus TL
- ginumawa=siya nu maadu makapogtaka*
g<inum>awa=siya nu ma?adu makapogtaka
 TL **do<PERF.AF>=ABS.3s OBL many strange**
 ‘When Jesus **has grown up**, he **did** many miracles.’

(85) *ta nu humanga tu anak, inesip ni Herod a*
ta nu humanga tu ?anak, ?in?esip ni Herod =?a
 PART DET <IMPR>grow.up ABS anak think ERG.PN Herod =LIG

mauwanan=siya nu kapangyadihan, ta=ama=d agewon
ma?uwanan=siya nu kapangyadihan ta=?ama=d ?agewon
 lose=ABS.3s ERG power CON=PART=PART take.away
 power CON=PART=PART take.away

nu anak pagmoden=din tu kahadiyan=na
nu ?anak pagmoden=din tu kahadiyan=na
 ERG child grow.old=PART ABS kingdom=GEN.3s

‘Because if the child **has grown up**, Herod thought that he will lose his powers and eventually, the child also, once he **has grown up** will take away his kingdom.’

10.5.3 Affliction Verbs

Liao (2004) noted that De Guzman (1978) and Schachter and Otanes (1972) reported the existence of *affliction verbs*. She explained that “*affliction verbs* can be classified into two classes: (i) change-of-state verbs, and (ii) non-change-of-state verbs”.

Change of state affliction verbs are monadic intransitive *-in* verbs deriving from nouns. On the other hand, non-change-of-state affliction verbs are monadic intransitive *-an* deriving from nouns. Table 10.17 list some verbs that suggest a change-of-state verbs, and non-change-of-state verbs. Clause (86) is an example of Type (i) affliction verbs while Clause (87) is Type (ii). Table 10.17 shows the conjugation patter of some affliction verbs. The various morphological changes in their aspectual form will be dealt in Chapter (3) Section morphological process.

Table 10.17 Conjugation of *Affliction* Verbs

Base	Gloss	IMPR	CONT	PERF
<i>Pilom</i>	‘ant’	<i>Pilomon</i>	<i>Po-Pilom</i>	<i>PinPilom</i>
<i>Pulod</i>	‘worm’	<i>Pulodun</i>	<i>Po-Pulodun</i>	<i>PinPulod</i>
<i>langaw</i>	‘fly’	<i>langawon</i>	<i>Pulangawon</i>	<i>PinPatibengaw</i>
<i>dege</i>	‘rat’	<i>degen</i>	<i>Puddegen</i>	<i>dinege</i>
<i>kutu</i>	‘lice’	<i>kutuan</i>	<i>Pukkutuan</i>	<i>kinutuan</i>
<i>koptan</i>	‘leech’	<i>koptan/malinta</i>	<i>Ullinta</i>	<i>kinoptan</i>
<i>kulagong</i>	‘molds’			<i>kinulagong</i>

- (86) *ilomon* *tu tinapay*
Pilom-on *tu tinapay*
ant-GF.PAT ABS bread
‘The ants eat the bread.’ (Lit. ‘The bread will be anted.’)

- (87) *k<in>utuan* *tu anak*
k<in>utu-an *tu Panak*
<PERF>lice-GF.LOC ABS bread
‘Someone took off the lice from the child.’ (Lit. ‘Someone liced the child.’)

10.5.4 Meteorological verbs

Meteorological verbs, according to Dita (2007), refer to “naturally occurring forces where the roots are basically nouns” (p. 189). When these verbs are verbalized, they can be the sole constituent of in ambient clause. Table 10.18 shows that words of this group are derived under *meteorological nouns* (8.3.1.6). Reid and Liao (2004), on the other hand, described these as *meteorological verbs*. They explained that these verbs are intransitive, and they did not allow explicit nominal complement such as (88) but not (89). Table 10.18 shows weather verbs.

Table 10.18 Conjugation of *Weather Verbs*

Base	Gloss	IMPR	CONT	PERF
<i>kabwan</i>	'air'	<i>kabwanon</i>	<i>kumabwan</i>	<i>kinabwanon</i>
<i>?ambon</i>	'drizzle'	<i>?um?ambon</i>	<i>?un?ambon</i>	<i>?inumambon</i>
<i>duso</i>	'rain'	<i>dumso</i>	<i>dumudso</i>	<i>dinumso</i>
<i>beylo</i>	'storm'	<i>beylo</i>	<i>bumbelo^{lxxii}</i>	<i>binumaylo</i>
<i>kilat</i>	'lightning'	<i>kilat</i>	<i>kunkilat</i>	<i>kinumilat</i>
<i>kumdul</i>	'thunder'	<i>kumdul</i>	<i>kumukdul</i>	<i>kinumdul</i>
<i>bulangay</i>	'flood'	<i>bulangay</i>	<i>bumbulangay</i>	<i>binumulangay</i>
<i>sinag</i>	'sunshine'	<i>sinag</i>	<i>sunsinag</i>	<i>sinuminag</i>

(88) *dumudso=d*

d<um>u(d)so=din

<IMPR>~RC.rain=PART

'It is **raining** already'. (Lit. 'Raining already.')

(89) *kabwanon tu pala age*

kabwan-on tu pala ?age

air-GF.PAT ABS PL dress

'The air is **blowing** air to the dresses.' (Lit. 'The air is **airing** the dresses.')

10.5.5 Posture verbs

Southern Alta has a group of verbs that describe the static position of an object such as stand, kneel, lay etc. Table 10.19 shows position verbs.

Table 10.19 Conjugation of *Position Verbs*

Base	Gloss	IMPR	CONT	PERF
<i>piyad</i>	'stand'	<i>pumiayad</i>	<i>pumpiyad</i>	<i>pinumiyad</i>
<i>sandig</i>	'lean'	<i>sumandig</i>	<i>sunsandig</i>	<i>sinumandig</i>
<i>langad</i>	'sit'	<i>lumangad</i>	<i>lunlangad</i>	<i>linumangad</i>
<i>luhod</i>	'kneel'	<i>lumuhod</i>	<i>lunluhod</i>	<i>linumuhood</i>
<i>tungo</i>	'bow'	<i>tumungo</i>	<i>tuntungo</i>	<i>tinumungo</i>
<i>tikayang</i>	'lie'	<i>tumikayang</i>	<i>tuntikayang</i>	<i>tinumikayang</i>

(90) *pumiayad tu dragon na gilid nu deget*

p<um>iyad tu dragon na gilid nu deget

<IMPR>**stand** ABS dragon OBL beside DET sea

'The dragon **stands** beside the sea.'

- (91) *sinumandig tu patud na labet habey montawon na madikit s<inum>andig tu patud na labet habey montawon na madikit <PERF>lean ABS young.man OBL tree while waiting OBL young.maiden*
 ‘The young man **leaned** at the tree while waiting for the young lady.’

10.5.6 Motion verbs

Motion verbs, according to Dita (2007), refer to “actions that involve the movement of an entity, animate or inanimate not through a particular path”. All motion verbs, thus undergo a change in location. The entity in motion is the theme, and the end goal of the theme is encoded by an oblique phrase. Table 10.20 shows motion verbs.

Table 10.20 Conjugation of *Motion Verbs*

Base	Gloss	IMPR	CONT	PERF
<i>Pangay</i>	‘go to’	<i>?umangay</i>	<i>?unangay</i>	<i>?inumangay</i>
<i>Pakang</i>	‘walk’	<i>?umakang</i>	<i>?unakang</i>	<i>?inumakang</i>
<i>Palang</i>	‘come from’	<i>?umalang</i>	<i>?unalang</i>	<i>?inumalang</i>
<i>Pinik</i>	‘climb’	<i>?uminik</i>	<i>?uninik</i>	<i>?inuminik</i>
<i>Pulok</i>	‘go to’	<i>?umulok</i>	<i>?unulok</i>	<i>?inumulok</i>
<i>Palagang</i>	‘crawl’	<i>?umalagang</i>	<i>?unalagang</i>	<i>?inumalagang</i>
<i>Pigbol</i>	‘fly’	<i>?umigbol</i>	<i>?unigbol</i>	<i>?inumigbol</i>
<i>sukob</i>	‘to shelter’	<i>?umukob</i>	<i>?unsukob</i>	<i>?inumukob</i>
<i>luhod</i>	‘kneel’	<i>?umuhod</i>	<i>?unluhod</i>	<i>?inumuhod</i>
<i>kaway</i>	‘swim’	<i>?umaway</i>	<i>?unkaway</i>	<i>?inumaway</i>
<i>lagwat</i>	‘jump’	<i>?umagwat</i>	<i>?unlagwat</i>	<i>?inumagwat</i>
<i>subli</i>	‘return’	<i>?umubli</i>	<i>?unsubli</i>	<i>?inumubli</i>
<i>takbo</i>	‘run’	<i>?umaldit</i>	<i>?unkaldit</i>	<i>?inumaldit</i>

- (92) *umangay=yak=din lake*
?um-?angay=yak= din lake
PERF-leave=ABS.1s= PART old.man
 ‘I will leave now, grandfather.’
- (93) *niita, pinangadetong=de na dibelew, linumagwat=din*
ni?ita, pinangadetong=de na dibelew, l<inum>agwat=din
 DEM arrive=ERG.3p OBL other.side <PERF>jump.out=PART
- (94) *ti Lutong at inuminik=din na hangain a labet*
ti Lutong ?at ?inum-inik=din na hangain=?a labet
 ABS.PN Lutong and **PERF-climb.up=PART OBL big=LIG tree**
 ‘The moment they reached the other side of the river, Lutong hurriedly **jumped** out and **climbed up** to the big trees.’

10.5.7 Process verbs

Process verbs, according to Dita (2007), represent those “events in which a person or an entity goes through a certain process or a particular change of state”. Process verbs include both bodily and non-bodily processes. This class can occur in transitive and intransitive clauses. Table 10.21 shows the bodily processes verbs.

Table 10.21 Conjugation of *Bodily Process Verbs*

Base	Gloss	IMPR	CONT	PERF
?isbu	‘urinate’	?umisbu	?unisbu	
sengot	‘sneeze’	sumengot		
susu	‘expel mucus’	sumusu		
kukbi	‘cry’	kumukbi		kinumbi
dukduk	‘sting pain’	dumokdok		dinumokdok
suldu	‘hiccup’	sumuldu		
tigpa	‘spit’	tumigpa		
dela	‘menstruate’	delan		
tayi	‘defecate’	tumae		
?ekol	‘cough’		monekol	
?uta	‘vomit’	?i?uta		
?alibus	‘sweat’	?alibusan		
?utut	‘flatulence’	?umtut	?umutut	?inumutot

- (95) *halimbewa, habe=kayo monekol, unabong=kayo at halimbewa, habe=kayo mon-?ekol, ?un-abong=kayo ?at example while=ABS.2p CON-cough CON-becoming.thin=ABS.2p and*
- (96) *sunsakit tu palagpag=yo, bala tunigpa=kayo nu dela sun-sakit tu palagpag=yo, bala tun-tigpa=kayo nu dela CONT.RC~pain ABS chest=GEN.2p then CONT.RC~spit=ABS.2p DET blood ‘For example, while you are coughing, you become paler and your chest is becoming painful, then you are be spitting blood.*

10.5.8 Grooming verbs

Grooming verbs, according to Dita (2007), refer to “actions related to one’s body”.

These verbs are also reflexive in nature. Table 10.22 shows the grooming verbs consisting of AF affixes in the **IMPR**, **CONT**, and **PERF** aspect. The sample clauses in (97) and (98) encode the **NP** complements as absolutively-marked arguments.

Table 10.22 Conjugation of *Grooming Verbs*

Base	Gloss	IMPR	CONT	PERF
beyo	‘change clothes’	mambeyo	mombeyo	nombeyo
suklay	‘comb’	magsuklay	mogsuklay	nogsuklay
suyod	‘harow’	magsuyod	mogsuyod	nogsuyod
kuto	‘kill lice’	magkuto	mogkuto	nogkuto
linis	‘clean’	maglinis	moglinis	noglinis
hisaw	‘wash hands’	maghisaw	moghishaw	nomhisaw
dimoy	‘bathe’	mandimoy	mondimoy	nondimoy
lamos	‘wash face’	manlamos	monlamos	nonlamus

- (97) *magsuyod=dak=pamo*
mag-suyod=(d)ak=PART
IMPR-harrow=ABS.1s=meantime
‘I will harrow for the meantime.’

- (98) *nagisis=sak na kuli nu tubi*
nag-?isis=(s)ak na kuli nu tubi
PERF-brush= ABS.1s OBL husk GEN areca.nut
‘I brushed (my) teeth with the husk of areca nut.’

10.5.9 Activity verbs

Activity verbs, according to Dita (2007), refer “to event where an *agent* performs an activity”. These activities may or may not involve a theme. In addition, activity verbs are typically intransitive as the focus is more on what the *agent* is doing rather than what the *agent* is doing with the object. Table 10.23 shows activity (I) verbs, Table 10.24 shows the activity (II) verbs, and Table 10.25 shows activity (III) verbs.

Table 10.23 Conjugation of *Activity Verbs* (I)

Base	Gloss	IMPR	CONT	PERF
<i>tabul</i>	'hunt'	<i>mantabul</i>	<i>montabul</i>	<i>nontabul</i>
<i>ta?op</i>	'winnow'	<i>manta?op</i>		
<i>tawid</i>	'bring'	<i>mantawid</i>	<i>montawid</i>	<i>nontawid</i>
<i>lobbok</i>	'pound'	<i>manlobbok</i>	<i>monlobbok</i>	<i>nonlobbok</i>
<i>tanom</i>	'plant'	<i>magtanom</i>	<i>mogtanom</i>	<i>noggtanom</i>
<i>pastol</i>	'shepherd'	<i>magpastol</i>	<i>mogpastol</i>	<i>nogpastol</i>
<i>tadibeho</i>	'work'	<i>magtadibeho</i>	<i>mogtadibeho</i>	<i>nogtadibeho</i>
<i>?adal</i>	'study'	<i>mag?adal</i>	<i>mog?adal</i>	<i>nogadal</i>
<i>?alage</i>	'to take care'	<i>mag?alage</i>	<i>mog?alage</i>	<i>nogalage</i>
<i>labde</i>	'gather wood'	<i>maglabde</i>		
<i>sulot</i>	'story'	<i>magsulot</i>	<i>mogsulot</i>	<i>nogsulot</i>
<i>tadibeho</i>	'work'	<i>magtadibeho</i>	<i>mogtadibeho</i>	<i>nogtadibeho</i>

- (99) *mogsulot=sid na begey uwan=de ki=intindihan*
mog-sulot=sid na begey ?uwan=de ki=intindihan
CONT-story=ABS.3p DET thing NEG=ERG.3p EXI=understand
 'They are **telling** stories of things that they did not understand.'
- (100) *kailangan magtadibeho=kitam*
kailangan mag-tadibeho=kitam
 need **IMPR-work**=ABS.pi
 'We need to work.'
- (101) *tu uwan mogtadibeho ay depat=uwan mamangan*
tu ?uwan mog-tadibeho ?ay depat=?uwan ma-mangan
 DET=NEG **CONT-work** TL should=not IMPR-eat
 Those who **are not working** should not be allowed to eat

Table 10.24 Conjugation of *Activity Verbs* (II)

Base	Gloss	IMPR	CONT	PERF
<i>biwas</i>	'fishing'	<i>mambiwas</i>	<i>mombiwas</i>	<i>nombiwas</i>
<i>bolong</i>	'trap'	<i>mambolong</i>	<i>mombolong</i>	<i>nombolong</i>
<i>bele</i>	'house'	<i>Mambele</i>	<i>mombele</i>	<i>nombele</i>

Table 10.25 Conjugation of Activity Verbs (III)

Base	Gloss	IMPR	CONT	PERF
nayam	'play'	manganayam	monganayam	nanganayam
tudu	'teach'	mang?itudu	mong?itudu	nang?itudu
?ikan	'angling fish'	mangingikan		
?ilat	'get honey'	mang?ilat	mong?ilat	nang?ilat
?alap	'get'	mang?alap	mong?alap	nang?alap
?atod	'give'	mang?atod	mong?atod	nang?atod
tudu	'teach'	mangitudu	mongitudu	nangitudu
?asawa	'get married'	mang?asawa	mong?asawa	nang?asawa

- (102) *mangatod tu Makidepat na lugal pade nu pala lahe ni Abram*
mang-?atod tu Makidepat na lugal pade nu pala lahe ni Abram
IMPR-give ABS God OBL place for DET PL race ERG.PN Abraham
 'God will give a place for the families of Abram.'

10.5.10 Factuals

Factive verbs, according to Payne (1997, p. 59), are those that "describe the coming of existence of some entity". Table 10.26 shows factives.

Table 10.26 Conjugation of *Factives*

Base	Gloss	IMPR	CONT	PERF
likha	'to create'	lumikha	lunlikha	linumikha
gewa	'to make'	gumewa	gungewa	ginumawa

- (103) *lunlikha=sid nu sadisadi begey uwan=nakaayon*
lun-likha=sid nu sadisadi begey ?uwan=naka?ayon
CONT.RC~create=ABS.3p ERG various thing NEG=according

na kale nu Makidepat
na kale nu Makidepat
 OBL language DET God
 'They are creating various things that are not according to the words of God.'

- (104) *ginumawa tu tidna=na nu takbe*
g<inum>awa tu tidna=na nu takbe
create<PERF> ABS mother=GEN.3s DET basket
 His mother **made** a basket.

10.5.11 Sensation or Perception

Perception verbs, according to Dita (2007), refer to “events that involve the physical senses”. Table 10.27 shows sensation verbs.

Table 10.27 Conjugation of *Sensation Verbs*

Base	Gloss	IMPR	CONT	PERF
<i>dongol</i>	‘listen’	<i>mandongol</i>	<i>mondongol</i>	<i>nondongol</i>
<i>laway</i>	‘see’	<i>manlaway</i>	<i>monlaway</i>	<i>nonlaway</i>
<i>demdem</i>	‘feeling’		<i>?odemdemon</i>	
<i>angot</i>	‘nose’		<i>?o?angoton</i>	<i>?in?angot</i>

- (105) at *odemdemon=tam* tu *?odemdemon=de*
 at *?o-demdem-on=tam* tu *?odemdem-on=de*
 and CONT-feel-GF=ERG.1pi ABS CONT.feel-GF= ERG.3p

dehil omahalon=tam=sid
dehil ?o-mahal-on=tam=sid
 because CONT-love-GF=ERG.1pi=ABS.3p
 ‘And we feel what they feel because we **love** them.’

10.5.12 Utterance

Utterance verbs, according to Dita (2007), refer to “events that involve the sense of speech”.

- (106) *bala sinabi nu buta*, “Panginoon
bala s<in>abi nu buta, Panginoon
 sudden <PERF>say ERG blind lord
kalbiyan=nak=yo, *kalbiyan=nak=yo*
kalbi-yan=nak=yo, *kalbi-yan=nak=yo*
 mercy-GF=ABS.1s=ERG.2p mercy-GF=ABS.1s=ERG.2p
 ‘Suddenly, the blind said, ‘Lord, have mercy on me, have mercy on me.’
- (107) *bala pinakoy tu alta, wang=ka motnow.* ”
bala pinakoy tu ?alta, (?u)wang=ka motnow
 sudden said ABS person NEG=ABS.2s noisy
 ‘The man quickly **replied**, “Don’t be noisy!”

- (108) *agya=pokna ay dingol ni* *Hesus tu sinabi*
?agya=pokna ?ay dingol ni *Hesus tu s<in>abi*
 CON=DEM TL hear ERG.PN Jesus ABS <PERF>say

nu buta kaya in-ingat=na
nu buta kaya ?in-?ingat=na
 ERG blind CON **CONT-question**=ERG.3s
 ‘However, Jesus heard what the blind said, so He **asked** him.

10.5.13 Social verbs

Social verbs that “expressed actions that are performed together with another person or other people” (Schachter & Otanes, 1972, p. 333). These are formed by adding the prefix *maki-and(mi)naki-* plus the base to form the IMPR and PERF, respectively. Social verbs are AF verbs and the basic verbal clauseis either a monovalent (109) or a bivalent clauses (110). While ABS-marked single core argumentare shown in both examples, the latter may include an optional and obliquely-marked argument. Furthermore, the OBL marking is an adposition that may express possession. Examples of social verbs are *makibegey* ‘to conform with so’, *makikan* ‘to eat with so’, *makitahan* ‘to live with so’, *makisabi* ‘to unite with so’, *makialam* ‘to meddle with sth’, *makibunong* ‘to get a share of sth with so’, *makidulang*‘to add sth with so’, *makilangad*‘to sit beside with so’, *andmakikoy*‘to ask permission to pass through with so’.In (111), the clause encodes two consecutive intransitive social verbs, a compound construction.

- (109) *koyog, makikoy=amo*
koyog maki-koy=?amo
 friend SOC-permission.pass=PART
 ‘My friend, please allow me to pass.’ (lit. Friend, I will pass through your property.]
- (110) *minakidemay siya nu koyog*
minaki-demay=siya nu koyog
 SOC-succor=ABS.3s OBL friend
 ‘He sympathized toa (his) friend.’

- (111) *nakikan ?at nakikapulad tu alta nu taw*
naki-kan ?at naki-kapulad tu ?alta nu taw
 SOC-eat and SOC-sleep ABS person OBL Tagalog
 ‘The person (Dumagat) eat and sleep with the *Tagalog* (somewhere).’

Reciprocal social verbs, in *Tagalog*, are derived from intransitive *mag-* verbs that express *reciprocal actions*. The reciprocal social verbs are formed by replacing *mag-* of the underlying verb with *makipag-* (Schachter & Otanes, 1972, p. 334). On the other hand, “reciprocal clauses”, according to Tanangkingsing (2009, p. 344), “are used to express mutual actions and conditions; the “subject” and “direct object” of the basic verb are combined into a single compound subject of a reciprocal verb (sociative verb)”. The *mag-* verbs in (112) and (113) require plural *agents*; both verbs are reciprocal and reflexive. The clauses are compared to the readings in Cebuano. According to Tanangkingsing, the “former implies an activity that can go on for a long duration between two or more persons, while the latter highlights a mutual activity or a mutual exchange of some concrete or abstract thing between parties” (2009, p. 346).

- (112) *nagsitsit ti Jhessa atta Ladylyn*
nag-sitsit ti Jhessa ?atta Ladylyn
RECIP.PERF-gossip ABS.PN Jhessa and Ladylyn
 ‘Jhessa and Ladylyn gossiped (one another/ each other).’
- (113) *nagsolutan ti Jhessa atta Ladylyn*
nag-solut-an ti Jhessa ?atta Ladylyn
RECIP.PERF.CIRC-tell.story-SUF ABS.PN Jhessa and Ladylyn
 ‘Jhessa and Ladylyn are exchanging stories to one another/ each other.’

The prefix *makipag- ... -en* in (114) or *makipag- ... -an* in clauses (115) and (116) carry the implication that the *agent*, expressed by the ABS argument, is taking part in the activity with another person, which expresses a semantic role of dative, and is expressed

as an OBL argument. On the other hand, the OBL-marked argument in (116) expressed a prior involvement or participation of an activity. Other *reciprocal social verbs* are *makipag-solut-an* ‘exchange stories with’, *makipag-lupa-an* ‘exchange identities or names with’, *makipag-inum-an* ‘enjoy drinking with’, *makipag-sayaw-an* ‘enjoy dancing with’, *makipag-kanta-(h)an* ‘enjoy singing with’, *makipag-sampal-an* ‘exchange slaps with’, *makipag-hunta-(h)an* ‘enjoy exchanging gossips and stories with’.

- (114) *makipoglaben* *ti* *Salon nu kalditan*
 makipog-laben *ti* *Salon nu kalditan*
 RECIP.CONT.CIRC-compete ABS.PN Salon OBL marathon
 ‘Salon is competing for the marathon.’

- (115) *nakipagsitsitan* *ti* *Jhessa kani Ladylyn*
 nakipag-sitsit-an *ti* *Jhessa kani Ladylyn*
 RECIP.PERF.CIRC-gossip-SUF ABS.PN Jhessa OBL Ladylyn
 ‘Jhessa gossiped with Ladylyn.’

- (116) *nakipagkasunduan* *tu* *kapulongan kani mayor*
 nakipag-kasundu-an *tu* *kapulongan kani mayor*
 RECIP.PERF.SOC-agreement ABS council OBL mayor
 ‘The council of elders has made an agreement with the mayor.’

10.5.14 Causative verbs

Causative verbs encode two actors: one argument causing the other to act or a causer, and one expressing an effect or a causee. Syntactically, they may appear as *monoclausal* such as intransitive and transitive constructions. Causatives should increase the valency of the base by the addition of the morpheme *pa-*. Inspite of this, AF and GF causative clauses provide a different reading both in the semantic and syntactic. The valency of the AF causative verbs do not increase the number of arguments, rather, the

causer and causee is one, and the same. On the other hand, a causer and causee arguments are added in GF causativized constructions.

Causative verbs are formed by the causative stem forming prefix *pa-*. The prefix *pa-*, according to Tanangkingsing (2009, p. 547), is “the most productive way of expressing causatives in many Philippine and (Formosan) languages”. The causative morpheme *pa-* appears in *Ibanag* (2007), *Cebuano* (Tanangkingsing M. , 2009), *Ilocano* (Rubino, 1997; Rubino, 2005), *Tagalog* (Schachter & Reid, Tagalog, 2009; Schachter & Otanes, 1972) and among others including other Negrito languages such as *Casiguran Agta* (Headland & Healey, 1974), *Arta* (Kimoto, 2017).

Monovalent intransitive clauses consist of obligatory core argument, case-marked as ABS, and an optional extended argument case-marked as OBL. Consider the AF affix *mag-* including its variants such as in (117) and (118). The verbs *nompagupit* ‘caused someone to cut one’s hair’ and *nompakabwan* ‘caused someone to have fresh air’ encode both the causer and the causee argument. In addition, either core arguments is case-marked ABS, and is reflexive. The NPs express semantic roles of *patient* and *experiencer*, respectively, and the NP has shown to have a benefactive reading. This means that the causer and causee of an AV causative clause is one and the same.

- (117) *nompagupit* *tu patud.*
nom-pa-gupit *tu patud.* CAUSER, CAUSEE
PERF.AF-CAUS-cut ABS young.man
 ‘The young man asked someone to cut his hair.’ or
 ‘The young man asked someone to have a haircut.’

- (118) *nompakabwan=nak=man=o*
nom-pa-kabwan=(n)ak=man=o
PERF.AF-CAUS-air=ABS.1s=PART=INTJ
 ‘I just made myself get some fresh air.’ (Lit. I got myself aired/ winded.)

A single core argument AV causative clause with a peripheral argument is shown in (119). Here, *tu alta* ‘the person’ is case-marked as ABS, and who passes the action to the benefactor of the ‘eating’, the chicken, which is encoded as a peripheral argument and case-marked as OBL.

- (119) *nagpakaon tu alta nu manok*
nag-pa-ka?on tu ?alta nu manok
AF-CAUS-big ABS person DET chicken
‘The person (*Dumaget*) fed the chicken himself.’

GF affixes (-*en*, -*on*, *an*, *i*-) with the addition of the causative morpheme *pa-* increases the valence to one. Certain verbs are bivalents such as *kan* ‘eat’ in (120), *hang* ‘big’ in (121), *demolag* ‘run after’ in (122); they express two-argument conditions. With the addition of the causative morpheme *pa-*, the *causer* is encoded in the ERG; the *causee* is in ABS; and the non-obligatory peripheral argument is in OBL.

- (120) *pakanon nu kapolongan tu ma?estade*
pa-kan-on nu kapolongan tu ma?estade
CAUS-eat.IMPR-GF.PAT ERG council ABS female.teacher
The council will ask someone to feed the female teacher.
- (121) *pinahanga=ko=d=sid*
p(in)a-hanga=ko=d=sid
CAUS(PERF)-big=ERG.1s=ABS.3p
I made to raise them myself.

Manipulative causative constructions, according to Tanangkingsing (2009, p. 474), “express a kind of attitude on the part of the causer such as *impademolag* ‘caused someone to run after someone’ wherein the causation process contains an element of force” such as (122). He also claimed that directional morpheme *pa-* occurring in motion clauses may have originated from the causative *pa-*. The prefix attaches to a locative noun,

a demonstrative, or a a word to mean, toward the direction of.’ In (123), *p(in)a-deyo* ‘caused to be far’ has been lexicalized, its root word *deyo* ‘far’ is a locative noun.

- (122) *impademolag=na=sid* *nu pala sundalo=na*
?im-pa-demolag=na=sid *nu pala sundalo=na*
PERF-CAUS-pursuit=ERG.3s=ABS.3p OBL PL soldier=GEN.3s
‘He compelled his soldiers to pursuit them.’
- (123) *pinadeyo* *nu pala demo taw* *tu Dumaget ti kapatagen*
p-in-a-deyo *nu pala demo taw* *tu Dumaget ti kapatagen*
PERF-CAUS-far ERG PL first Tagalog.PL ABS Dumagat OBL plains
‘The first Tagalogs sent the Dumagats away from the plains.’

10.5.15 Potentive

Potentive verbs, according to Kimoto (2017), “describe static situations causally relevant ot a dymanic event, namely, one’s ability and potential for action and the resultive state of actions”. The morpheme *maka* – is a potentive form correspond to a dynamic intransitive forms whereas, ma- corresponds to dynamic transitive –*en*, *ma-an*, *an*, *me*, *may*, *i-*. when potentive forms are used in a non-past, they imply that there exists a cause or a condition at a given moment which makes it possible for a dynamic event to occur that is one’s ability or potential to bring about when they are used in past tense, they imply that there exist a resultive state of a particular action or change of state at a given moment (Kimoto, 2017, pp. 305-306).

- (124) *uwan makadetong i makasalanan ti langit*
?uwan maka-detong ?i maka-salanan ti langit
NEG POT.IMPR-arrive ABS.INDF POT.sinner OBL heaven
‘A sinner **cannot go** to heaven.’
- (125) *siya yiiddi nakasabit tu agtay=ko*
siya=yi?iddi naka-sabit tu ?agtay=ko
ABS.3s=DEM POT.PERF-hanging ABS liver=GEN.is
‘It is that thing that **is hanging** over there.’

- (126) *idemo nakawat* *tu bekos*
?i-demo naka-?uwat *tu bekos*
INST-first POT.PERF-jump.out ABS female
‘The first one who **jumped** out was the female’
- (127) *tu patud nakawat=dut*
tu patud naka-?uwat=dut
ABS male POT.PERF-jump.out=PART
‘the male **jumped** out too.’

10.5.16 Pluralization

Table 10.27 shows a list of verbs that express plural actions of referents. It is formed by adding the circumfix *mog-*-*-an* or *mon-*-*-an*. The suffix *-an* indicates multiple actions from where the *agents* are located. The ‘plural’ verbs in (128) and (129) are monadic intransitive clauses and require a single argument structure case-marked as ABS usually in the plural form also.

Table 10.27 Pluralization of Verbs

Base	Gloss	Plural	Gloss
<i>kanta</i>	‘sing’	<i>mogkantahan</i>	‘are singing’
<i>sayaw</i>	‘dance’	<i>mogsayawan</i>	‘are dancing’
<i>sitsit</i>	‘gossipmonger’	<i>mogsitsitan</i>	‘are gossiping’
<i>solut</i>	‘tell story’	<i>mogsulutan</i>	‘are talking of sth’
<i>?inum</i>	‘drink’	<i>mog?inuman</i>	‘are drinking (liquor)’
<i>mangan</i>	‘eat’	<i>momammangan</i>	‘are eating’
<i>tawon</i>	‘wait’	<i>montawonan</i>	‘are waiting’
<i>lamus</i>	‘wash face’	<i>monlamusan</i>	‘are washing faces’
<i>suksuk</i>	‘hide’	<i>monsuksukan</i>	‘are hiding’

- (128) *mogkantahan=sid ti buo a sinag*
mog-kantahan=sid ti buo=?a sinag
IMPR.PL.sing.=ABS.3p OBL entire=LIG day
‘We **will sing** one another the whole day.’
- (129) *montawonan=kitam ti dewdu nu sabang*
mon-tawonan=kitam ti dewdu nu sabang
IMPR.PL.wait.=ABS.1pi OBL end DET road
‘We **will wait** one another at the end of the road.

10.6 Summary

This chapter introduced the Southern Alta *verbs* and *verb phrases*. First, it explained the distributional and structural properties of verbs, the derivational properties, the concept of verbal ‘focus’ in Southern Alta vis-à-vis Philippine languages, the grammatical relations of verbs with its nominal complements, the difference between transitive and extended intransitive constructions, the aspectual properties of intransitive and transitive verbs, and the verb classes. After describing the verbs of Southern Alta, the adverbs will be explained in detail in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 11

ADVERBS

11.1 Introduction

This chapter will introduce the adverbial particles of Southern Alta. Payne (1997, p. 69) defined adverbs as “catch-all” category. He explained that “any word with a semantic content that is not clearly a noun, verb, or an adjective is often put into the class of adverbs”. The section is divided into adverbial particles (11.2), and adjuncts (11.3). The last section is the summary (11.4)

11.2 Adverbial particles

Adverbial particles refer to various sets of words that lack a precise lexical definition (Dita S. , 2007, p. 217). These terms are translated similar or near similar to their English translation. These adverbial particles are classified according to the position and function of a particle in a clause. Position is either *pre-verbal* or *post-verbal*. *Pre-verbal* means that the particle is clause-initial while *post-verbal* refers to a particle that is after the head of a clause. *Post-verbal particles* are known as *second-position clitic(s)*, and they often occur in series, or appear in irregular combination.

Clause-initial adverbials appear before the head of the clause, whether the head is a verb , noun, adjective, or another adverb. These are *amad*, *antimano* and *dinumano*, *ay*, *naku*, *aba/aba'y*, *hale*, *besta*, and *adin*. On the other hand, some particles may also appear after the head of the clause, and they are commonly called *second-position clitics*. These are *amo*, *dakasi*, *ya*, *kan*, *=d/din*, *duman*, *dut*, *kuwan*, *man*, *mad*, *matman*, *pa*, and *wadi*. Because these clitics behave differently than the clause-initial particles, certain second-position clitics ‘attracts’ other clitics to form in series, or sometimes, they assimilate with

the host word. These are *=duman=din*, *=kan=ʔamo*, *=dut=din*, *ʔamo=man*, *=pa=man*, *=kadu=ʔamo*, *=pa=dut*, *=man=din*, and *(ti)ad=man*. The adverbial particles in this category will use the abbreviation **PART** ‘particle’.

11.2.1 Clause-initial

11.2.1.1 *=ʔamad*

The adverbial particle *amad* ‘maybe’ ‘may’ or ‘probably’ encode probability or possibility. This particle may have the feature of an epistemic adverb which denotes “the speaker’s attitude toward the truth, certainty, or the probability of the state or event” (Givon, 2001, p. 92). The clitic is pre-verbal, and it modifies the verbs, *pumtok* ‘explode’ in (1), and *montawon* ‘waiting’ and *dumso* ‘will rain’ in (2), which denote the probability of the event.

- (1) *ʔi-deyo=mo=d na panga-charge tu solar, ʔamad pumtok*
INST-far=ERG.2s=PART OBL INST.charger ABS solar PART IMPR.explode
‘(You) put way the charger of the solar, otherwise, it **might** explode.’
- (2) *ʔamad mon-tawon=din tiyak ta=ʔamad dumso=din*
might CONT-wait=already ABS.1s PART=PART IMPR.rain=PART
‘I might continue waiting because it is **about** to rain.’

11.2.1.2 *ʔadin*

The adverbial particle *adin* (3) and (4) denotes the speaker’s attitude towards the truth, certainty or probability of the state or event (Givon, 2001, p. 92). This particle is grouped under epistemic adverbs.

- (3) *saka=ʔadin=na matwale=yak=taʔe*
CON=PART=DEM longer=ABS.1s=DEM
‘Also, like today, I may stay longer here.’

- (4) *?umubde=sid=?a mampalaway=?a ?adin na ka?inaya=yo*
possible=ABS.3p=LIG be.seen=LIG PART DET fellowman=GEN.2p
namate=d=?amad lawin=yo=sid na talaynop
died=PART=PART see=ERG.2p=ABS.3p DET dream
‘They can show themselves in your dreams like people, who have the likeness of your relatives that have died.

11.2.1.3 *antimano and dinumano*

The adverbial particle *dinumano* may be translated ‘while’, ‘when’ or ‘allegedly’, while the adverbial particle *antimano* may be translated ‘actually’, ‘immediately’, or ‘instantly’. These adverbs are grouped as time and aspectuality adverbs. These adverbs may encode a point in time, or various temporal aspects of events (Givon, 2001, p. 91). The adverbial particles *dinumano* and *antimano* modify the verbs in (5) and (6), respectively.

- (5) *dinumano tu ?anak ?ay mom-punnayam=de ki=?untekin=pa*
PART ABS child DET CONT-playing=ERG.3p EXI=very.small=PART
‘Actually, they, the children who were playing, were still very small.’
- (6) *nong-yadi ?antimano ?aged ?a ?in-aknoben na manok*
PERF-happen PART immediately LIG PERF-grab DET bird
tu de ?issa anak ta ini-igbol nu benog
DET DEM one child CON PERF-fly.away DET eagle
‘It happened very sudden. The bird, which grabbed the boy, and flew (him) away.’

11.2.1.4 *?ay, ?ay naku, ?aba or ?aba'y, wa, and hale*

The adverbial particles *ay*, (7) *ay naku* (8), *aba* or *aba'y* (9), and *wa* (10), and *hale* (11) function as interjections, and they are clause-initial. Interjection serves primarily to express emotion (Trask, 1996, p. 144). The interjection *aba* may take and cliticize the

topic linker. The adverbial particle *?aba'y* links or introduces new information or topic in the discourse while *hale* often denotes affirmation or sometimes with epistemic notions.

- (7) *?ay budi ni?eyay=?a Buya=?a kanon ti Lutong*
INTJ like DEM=LIG Buya=LIG eat ABS.PN Lutong
'This one, Buya, would like to eat Lutong.'
- (8) Conversation:
Sonny: *?ay=naku=yi?e ?odesang=ko talage ?uwan naka?ayos*
PART=PART=DEM watch=GEN.1s really NEG properly
'Oh my, this watch of mine cannot really be fixed.'
- (9) Conversation:
Sonny: *?abay nu?edut=de ?umabek molakas ?i dusso tiddi*
INTJ=TL yesterday=ADV morning strong DET rain DEM
'Oh, in the morning yesterday, the rain was very strong.'
- (10) Conversation:
Lerma: *ti Betu, wa lunloktag ?i duso*
OBL Bato INTJ <CONT>~sudden DET rain
'In Bato, the rain always startles suddenly.'

The adverbial particle *=hale* encodes affirmation of the speaker or an announcement of partisanship.

- (11) *hale=ta?e=ka maytun ti ?adene=ko*
INTJ=DEM=ABS.2s lie.down OBL near=GEN.1s
'Okay, come here, lie down near me.'

11.2.1.5 *besta*

The adverbial particle *basta* (12) expresses affirmation or confirmation. These adverbial particles are grouped as epistemic adverbs.

- (12) *besta, magtiyage=kitam=?amo*
 ADV <IMPR>persevere=ABS.1pi=PART
 '(That's it!) We should only be persistent.' (Lit. We just be persistent only.)

11.2.1.6 *dakasi (kasi) and ya*

Dakasi is a loan from *Tagalog* which denotes the speaker's mood on the state or event or the speaker is 'putting the blame on so or sth'. It is shortened to *kasi* (13). The adverbial particle *ya* adds up the intensity or the speaker's mood on the event.

- (13) Conversation
 Lerma: *kasi=ya ?uwan dakasi bunboto ti bubu*
 CON INTJ NEG INTJ <CONT>~vote ABS.PN grandmother
 'It was her fault. Grandmother is not voting anymore.'

11.2.2 Post-verbal (second-position clitics)

11.2.2.1 =?amo

The adverbial particle *amo* 'already' 'just finished' or 'the only (one)' expresses a temporal reference and definite referential. The adverbial particle *amo* is post-positioned after an NP, and may modify the preceding NP in (14) and (15). The particle in (15) may also attract a linker =*y*, co-referencing the following NP *tagepagligtas* 'savior'.

- (14) *busul=lak=?amo*
 full=ABS.1s=just
 'I'm just full.'
- (15) *pala kakaylan ti Jesukidisto=?amo=y*
 PL fellowman ABS.PN Jesus Christ=?amo=DET
tagepagligtas na lahat=?a ?alta
 savior DET all=LIG person
 'My fellowmen, Jesus Christ is the only savior of all mankind.'

11.2.2.2 *=din* or *=d*

The adverbial particle *=din* or *=d* ‘already’ or ‘now’ encodes immediacy or urgency of an action. The speaker also expresses a will to influence the addressee, or the speaker willfully compels the addresses to act in urgency, or the speaker’s assurance of the coming of existence of something in (16), (17), (18) and (19). The ‘short’ adverbial particle *=d* cliticizes if the word that precede is an open syllable, and the ‘long’ adverbial particle *=din* if the word that precedes is a closed syllable.

- (16) *budi=ko=d*
like=ERG.1s=PART
'I like it already.'

- (17) *kaya s<in>abi ni Hesus, mo-nalig=ka diyak*
CON <PER>say ERG.PN Jesus IMPR-faith=ABS.2s OBL.1s
kaya l<um>away=ka=d
CON <IMPR>see=ABS.2s=PART
'So Jesus said, "You have faith in me, so you will see again.'

- (18) *de=pokna ?ay l<inum>away=din tu buta kaya mosipol=siya*
ADV DEM TL <PERF>saw=now the blind so happy=ABS.3s
?ay ?inumusil kani Hesus
TL accompany OBL Jesus
'Then it happened, the blind man was able to see now. So, he happily walked along with Jesus.'

- (19) *Pantu=d gupad*
what=PART old.lady
'Grandmother, what now?'

11.2.2.3 =duman

The adverbial particle *duman* ‘also’ ‘again’ ‘and also’ expresses new or additional information (20) and (21) or a repetition of similar outcomes from previous events such as (22).

- (20) *tiyak Ɂay tatlongpu Ɂat pito Ɂimmasat=duman Ɂay tatlumpu Ɂat sangay*
ABS.1s TL thirty and seven wife=PART TL thirty and three
‘I am thirty-seven years old and my wife is thirty-three.’
- (21) *ti Salon=duman Ɂay pangsangay*
ABS.PN Salon=SEC TL third
‘And Salon is the third.’
- (22) *Ɂay tiddi ya molungkot=duman=din ti Buya*
TL DEM PART sad=again=now ABS.PN Buya
‘There and then, Buya became sad now again.’

11.2.2.4 =dut

The adverbial particle *=dut* ‘also’ encodes affirmation of an action or event at the moment of speaking. It also denotes simultaneity meaning action or events are occurring at the same time or exactly coincident such as clause (23) and (24).

- (23) *Ɂay Ɂi g<in>awa ni Moggot kinut=na=dut=din nu katopag*
INTJ DET <PERF>do ERG.PN Moggot pull=ERG.3s=PART=PART DET other.side
‘Then, Moggot did was... he also pulled from the other side.’
- (24) *ki=dun-detong=duman=dut=Ɂa pala Ɂanak*
EXI=CONT.RCVC-arrive=PART=PART=LIG PL child
Coincidentally, there also were three children coming.

11.2.2.5 =kan

The adverbial particle *kan* (25) ranges its definition from truth, inaccurate, or untrue. Unless someone confirms the validity of the claim, the event or action is always presumably close to the truth.

- (25) *?uwan=g=kan=siya mina-kabuto yi gupad*
 NEG=LIG=PART=ABS.3s PERF-vote DET grandmother
 ‘Grandmother said she was not able to vote.’

11.2.2.6 =kuwa

The adverbial particle *=kuwa* appears in a continued speech such as a recount. This particle is clause-initial when combined with either a temporal expression *de* or determiner *tu*, or both (26), or post-verbal in (27), (28), and (29). It is a means to continue the narrative without making a long pause or ‘break’. It could be a connecting word that ‘fills a gap’ between words or clauses. In some occasion, the term ‘*kuwa*’ follows the supposedly missing term, phrase, or idea in the translation as shown in the clauses below.

- (26) *de tu kuwa, kitiddi=isa saleta na issa lake*
 ADV ABS PART EXI=one story DET one male
 ‘That one, it was shown, there was a story about one man.’
- (27) *si Buya=iddi man(g)=kuwa.*
 DEM Buya=DEM PART=PART
 ‘Buya went there again.’
- (28) *?ay saydi=man=kuwa=siya nu bele ni Lutong*
 INTJ DEM PART=PART=ABS.3s DET house ERG.PN Lutong
 ‘He is waiting there all along at the house of Lutong.’
- (29) *minaylalbak=na man(g)=kuwa tu belangot=na=?a moslad*
 fall=ERG.3s PART=PART ABS hat=GEN.3s=LIG wide
 ‘Another one fell from him, it was his wide hat.’

11.2.2.7 =man

The adverbial particle *=man* denotes “the speaker’s mood to a certain degree of reality or it may also encode a degree of volitive – desirative or optative” (Trask, 1996, p. 299). It often appears in an interrogative clauses (30) or with a demonstrative in (31).

- (30) *?anto=man ?i budi=mo*
 what=PART DET like=GEN.2s
 ‘What is your desire?’
- (31) *pokna=man*
 DEM=PART
 ‘Is that so.’

11.2.2.8 *matman*

The adverbial particle *matman* ‘also’, ‘again’, ‘and then’, ‘the only one’, ensures a continuing occurrence of related event like in clause (32) and (34). It may also encode a definite entity in (33). In other words, the particle may denote emphatic, contrastive capacity like an emphatic adverb.

- (32) *sinabi=Na=matman=?a mog-kotidi na manok ti gebunay*
 said=He=PART=LIG appear DET chicken OBL earth
 ‘Then, God said again that there will be chickens on earth.’
- (33) *siya=matman ?i ?ubde mampatoknang na kabwan*
 ABS.3s=only.one DET capable make.stop DET wind
 ‘He is the only one who can make the wind stop.’
- (34) *tu ?issa=matman ?ay tu labet=?a*
 DET one=PART TL ABS wood=LIG
makinol na modit ?atta mopeya
 know DET bad and.also good
 ‘The other one is the tree which knows the bad and also the good.’

11.2.2.9 =ngan

The adverbial particle *ngan* ‘that is’, ‘this is’, or ‘it is’ encodes a definite entity in (36) or definiteness of an action, event or proposition in (35) and (37). This particle may denote emphatic, contrastive capacity like an emphatic adverb.

- (35) *pinakoy, kaya ngan, Ɂigeyak tu Pesip*
said, CON PART prepare ABS mind
‘That’s why it was said, prepare the mind.’

- (36) *tiyak=de=ngan tu Tiyak*
ABS.1s=ADV=PART ABS ABS.1s
‘I am now, and I am before.’ (Bib. ‘I am what I am.’)

- (37) *Ɂuwan=ngan*
NEG=PART
Not really.

11.2.2.10 =pa

The adverbial particle *pa* ‘what else’ denotes options or alternatives, or it may denote “the speakers attitude toward the truth, certainty, or the probability of the state or event” (Givon, 2001, p. 92). This particle may also denote emphatic, contrastive capacity like an emphatic adverb.

- (38) *Ɂanto=pa=kan ti Buya Ɂatta tu Lutong*
what=PART=PART ABS.PN Buya and ABS Lutong
‘What else can they say (about the story of) Buya and Lutong.’

11.2.2.11 =wadi

The adverbial particle *wadi* ‘please’, ‘I wish’ expresses a desire for something. The particle may denote “the speaker’s mood to a certain degree of reality or it may also encode a degree of volitive – desirative or optative” (Trask, 1996, p. 299).

- (39) *?in-itbal nu buta, Panginoon, kalbiyan=nak=yo*
 PERF-answer ERG blind God mercy=ABS.1s=ERG.2p

paka?uwanan=nak=yo=wadi."
 heal=ABS.1s=ERG.2p=PART
 "The blind answered, "Lord, have mercy on me, may you please heal me."

11.2.2.12 =luway

The particle *luway* is close to the meaning of 'again' or 'soon' denotes time or temporal aspects of events. The sample clause in (40) denotes the occurrence of the same event in different points in time.

- (40) *pina-bustan=na=sid=luway*
 PERF.CAUS-neglect=ERG.3s=ABS.3p=PART
 'He neglected them again.'

11.2.3 Combination

As previously mentioned, these post-verbal particles may attract other particles which may form a series or form irregular forms such as =*mad* or =*man=din*. Although the data has not establish a strong pattern between and among the clitics, this section may only provide a list of combination of particles from the roster of written and spoken data. The first set always appears in declarative clauses while the second set appears in interrogative clauses. The first set consists of =*duman=din* (41), =*kan=?amo* (42), =*dut=din* (43), *amo=man* (44), =*pa=man* (45), =*kadu=?amo* (46), =*pa=dut* (47); and the second, =*man=din* (49), (*ti)ad=man* (48).

- (41) *nondemolag=duman=din=sid*
chased=PART=PART=ABS.3p
‘They chased one another again.’
- (42) *?uwan=dut ?inumalang=na=kan=?amo*
NEG=PART came=DET=PART=PART
‘It did not just come from him.’
- (43) *naka?apit=dut=din=siya=ta?e nu belon*
hold.tight=PART=PART=ABS.3s=DEM OBL well
‘She finally got hold on the wall of the well.’
- (44) *?uwan=de=?amo=man ?isuksuk, ta ?ipogya bang=de*
NEG= ERG.3p=PART=PART hide PART brag=ERG.3p
‘They did not even mind hiding it because they want to brag about it.’
- (45) *gemiton=yo=pa=man tu ta?op*
IMPR.GF.use=ERG.2p=PART ABS bran
‘Will you still use the bran?’ or ‘Are you still going to use the bran?’
- (46) *kaya tu=kadu=?amo makapangi deyo*
PART ABS=PART=PART take.off
nu taklop ti ?esip=de ?ay ti Hesus
ERG cover OBL mind=GEN.3p TL ABS.PN Jesus
‘Therefore, the one and only thing that can take off the cover in their mind is Jesus’
- (47) *saydi=pa=dut tu ?issa labet na bilay*
EXI.LOC=PART=PART ABS one tree DET life
‘There it is that only one tree of life.’
- (48) *?ad=man inumalang tu lahat ti gebunay*
(ti)ad=man ?inum-?alang tu lahat ti gebunay
where=PART IMPF.AF-come ABS all OBL earth
‘Where did all the things on earth come from.’

11.2.3.1 Adverbial particle =*mad* (=*man=din*)

The adverbial particle = *mad* encodes possibility, assurance, and reaffirmation. The particle most often appears in declarative clauses or an existential in (53). Like the

particle the *man*, *mad* may also be a ‘question clitic’ meaning a clitic that often appears in information questions as a mean of reaffirming the inquiry.

- (49) *ki=asawa=ka=mad*
ki=?asawa=ka=man=din
EXI=spouse=ABS.2s=PART=PART
Do you have a spouse?

11.3 Adjuncts

Adjuncts, according to Trask (1996, p. 8), is “a category which is a modifier of a lexical head without being subcategorized for by that lexical head and which could in principle be removed without affecting wellformedness”. Southern Alta has 4 set of adjuncts. These are manner (10.2.1), time (10.2.2), direction/ location (10.2.3), and frequency (10.2.4).

11.3.1 Adjuncts of manner

The adjuncts of manner pre-modify or post-modify the verb. Table 11.1 shows a list of most occurring manner adverbs. The English glosses are not semantically the same but at least the English translation provides near to the lexical, clausal, and discourse meaning.

Table 11.1 List of Manner Adjuncts

Manner	Gloss
<i>luway</i>	‘again’
<i>siguradu</i>	‘probably’
<i>?akodul</i>	‘truly’
<i>?aged</i>	‘immediately’
<i>balaloktat or loktat</i>	‘suddenly’

- (50) *sabin=yo nu ?i-sangop=ko luway tu=di saydi*
 tell=ERG.2p if broil=ERG.1s again the=that over.there
 ‘Tell me if I will broil again the one that is over there.’
- (51) *?o=?akodul laki naudma=din tu national*
 INTJ=ADV big tomorrow=SEC ABS national
 ‘It is truly big tomorrow, the national.’
- (52) *balaloktat linumiwanag ?i palebut=de*
 suddenly PERF.shine DET around=GEN.3p
 ‘Suddenly, their surrounding brightly shined,
- (53) *ti Betu wa lun-loktat ?i duso*
 OBL Bato PART CONT-PART DET rain
 ‘In Bato, the rain is always startling suddenly.’
- (54) *nu=ki=?otang kitam, beyaden=tam Paged nu=kaya=tam*
 CON=EXI=debt ABS.1pi pay=ERG.1pi PART CON=ability=ERG.1pi
 ‘If we have some debt, we should pay whenever we can.’

11.3.2 Adjunct of time

The adjuncts of time encode temporal expression of time. Table 11.2 shows a list of most occurring time adverbs and time expressions are case-marked as oblique in basic clause structure.

Table 11.2 List of Time Adjuncts

Time Expressions	Gloss
<i>?umabek</i>	'morning'
<i>tanghali</i>	'noon'
<i>dalam</i>	'evening'
<i>nu?apun</i>	'yesterday'
<i>na?apun</i>	'afternoon'
<i>ni?edut</i>	'today'
<i>nu?edut</i>	'a while ago'
<i>naudma</i>	'tomorrow'
<i>ni?itta</i>	'at this very moment'
<i>ti?itta</i>	'at this very moment'
<i>binobnat</i>	'everyday'
<i>kinabnatan</i>	'on the following day'
<i>kamaduwa</i>	'two days from now'
<i>kane</i>	'a while ago'
<i>kakane</i>	'later'
<i>natwale</i>	'the wait is too long'
<i>matwale</i>	'the wait will get longer'
<i>katwale</i>	'waiting since the very first day'
<i>katwalean</i>	'in the long run'
<i>sandali</i>	'a minute'
<i>saglit</i>	'just a minute'
<i>sibug</i>	'until the present time'
<i>modelid/ madeled a mabnat</i>	'dawn'
<i>nakoy</i>	'past few days ago'

- (55) *habe mon-?akang tu sangay=?a pala ?anak*
 CON CONT-walk ABS three=LIG PL child
nay-laway=de tu belangot
 PERF-see=ERG.3p ABS hat
 While the three children were walking away, they saw the hat.
- (56) *mossampat=?a ?umabek (tanghali) (dalam) dikayo*
 good=LIG morning (afternoon) (evening) OBL.2p
 'Good morning (afternoon) (evening) to all of you.'
- (57) *gewyan=ta=ka na cellphone kakane be=?a tanghali*
 call=ERG.1d=ABS.2s DET cellphone later before=LIG noon
 I will call (you) on my cell phone later before noontime.'

- (58) *?anto petsa ni?itta*
 what date today
 ‘What is the date today?’
- (59) *binobnat=sid na-mangan nu ?ikan*
 everyday=ABS.3p PERF-ate DET fish
 ‘They ate fish every day.’
- (60) *tiad=ka di nakakoy=?a taon*
 where=ABS.2s DEM previous=LIG year
 Where were you last year?
- (61) *tiad=ka ni?edut*
 where=ABS.2s while.ago
 ‘Where were you a while ago?’

11.3.3 Adjunct of location and direction

The adjuncts of location and direction encode definite or general location, and spatial direction. Table 11.3 shows a list of most occurring location and direction expressions; they are case-marked as oblique in basic clause structure.

Table 11.3 List of Location or Direction Adjunct

Location/ Direction	Gloss
<i>dibebu</i>	‘on top’ or ‘above’
<i>disalad</i>	‘below’ or ‘inside’
<i>palduwa</i>	‘in between’ or ‘between
<i>sukab</i>	‘down(stairs)’
<i>dingato</i>	‘above or ‘on top’
<i>?odongan</i>	‘at the back’ or ‘behind’
<i>demo</i>	‘in front of’
\ <i>katuppag</i>	‘in front of’ or ‘parallel to’
<i>?adeyo</i>	‘far’
<i>?adene</i>	‘near’
<i>?optakan</i>	‘east’
<i>?olbugen</i>	‘west’
<i>?awile or kawadi</i>	‘left’
<i>?awanan</i>	‘right’
<i>dewdu</i>	‘at the end’
<i>?enanga</i>	‘at the end’

- (62) *de toydi ?ay nag-podi tu pala anghel na sinabi=de mopeya*
 PART moment TL PERF-praise ABS PL angel DET <PERF>say=ERG.3p good
ta dinumatong=?a ?i kaligtasan na pala
 CON PERF.arrive=LIG DET salvation DET PL
?alta ti dibebu ni gebunay
 person OBL above DEM earth
 ‘At that very moment, the angels celebrated the good news because the savior of man has arrived on earth.’
- (63) *budi=de=duman=?a tubeyan tu ?idduwa=?a*
 like=ERG.3p=PART=LIG help ABS two=LIG
sai nu disalad nu belon
 DEM DET below DET well
 They want to help the two who there in the deep well
- (64) *?i ?impaingadon=Na nu palduwa ?ay longaw*
 DET named=ERG.3s DET middle TL heaven
 ‘He named the middle, heaven.’
- (65) *ta ?inumakang=din=siya nu ?adeyo=?a molayat=?a kalsade*
 CON <PERF>walk=PART=ABS.3s DET far=LIG wide=LIG road
 ‘He hurried rode away far towards the wide road.’
- (66) *ni?ita, ?inum-angay nu ?adene nu bele*
 then PERF-go DET near DET house
=?a ?adupit=?amo tu ?inikan=na
 =LIG low=PART ABS climb=ERG.3s
 ‘He went next to his house, but he climbed not so high.’
- (67) *?o?awile=ka*
 turn-left=ABS.2s
 ‘(You) Turn left.’ (lit. Turning right you)
- (68) *?o?awanan=ka*
 turn-right=ABS.2s
 ‘(You) Turn right.’ (lit. Turning right you)

11.3.4 Adjunct of frequency

The adjuncts of frequency encode the regularity of an activity or action. Table 11.4 shows a list of most occurring adjunct of frequency. They are preverbal or post verbal, in some cases, a ligature connects the verb and the adjunct in (70).

Table 11.4 List Adjunct of Frequency

Frequency	Gloss
<i>madalas or modelas</i>	'always' or 'most often'
<i>luway</i>	'again'
<i>ugnay</i>	'always'
<i>minsan or mesan</i>	'sometimes'

- (69) *modelas ?i ?alta mompabudi nu Makidepat dehil nu hanapbilay*
 most.often DET person praising DET GOD because of work
 'People are praising God most often because of work.'
- (70) *de ?ikasangay=?a sinag ?ay nabilay=?a luway*
 PART third=LIG day TL back.to.life=LIG again
ti Hesus nu pinangamate=na
 ABS.PN Jesus DET death=ERG.3s
 'Then on the third day, Jesus has risen back from the dead.'
- (71) *besta magtiyage=kitam=?amo ?ugnay=?a*
 ADV <IMPR>persevere=ABS.1pi=PART ADV=LIG
(?u)wang=kitam mag-?isip na moddit
 NEG=ABS.1pi IMPR-think DET bad
 'We should always be persistent, and we should not think negatively.'
- (72) *nu mesan, pagmopnang ti disalad nu bele, ?ay ?un?angay tu ki=bele*
 if sometimes if.hot OBL under the house TL going ABS owner
nu dibebu nu ?aklop=de ta?ing kabwanan=sid
 DET above DET roof=GEN.3p so.that get.air=ABS.3p
 'Sometimes, if it is too hot inside the house, the owners proceed to their roof so that they can get some air.'

11.4 Summary

This chapter discussed, identified, and described the adverbial particles and adjuncts of Southern Alta. The adverbial particles were divided into three: clause-initial, post-verbal, and combination of adverbials. The adjuncts were divided into manner, time, location and directions, and frequency. In addition the distributional properties were also described. After describing the adverbs and adverbial particles of Southern Alta, the number system will be explained in detail in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 12

NUMBERS

12.1 Introduction

Southern Alta borrowed the number terms heavily from *Tagalog, Spanish, and English*. Only the cardinal number 3 (three) and ordinal 1st (first) are Southern Alta. Southern Alta uses *Spanish* most of the time in referring to measurements, time, and prices. *Tagalog* and *English* are also used for fractions, dates, and age. The chapter is divided in the following sections: cardinals (12.2), ordinals (12.3), distributives (12.4), kinship order (12.5), spanish loans (12.6), multiplicatives (12.7), and summary (12.8).

12.2 Cardinals^{lxxiii}

The cardinal numbers in Southern Alta and *Tagalog* are mostly similar except the numbers *sangay* ‘three’ and *mapolo* ‘ten’ while numbers *idduwa* ‘two’ and *isssa/ issadut* ‘one’ are similar to *Tagalog*-sounding words. Southern Alta elders are more familiar in Spanish number terms. Spanish number terms are alternative for *Tagalog* number terms. Table 12.1 shows the number terms in *Tagalog*, Spanish and English.

Table 12.1 Cardinal Numbers

Number	SAlt	Tagalog	Spanish	English
1	<i>Pissa or Pissadut</i>	<i>isa</i>	<i>uno</i>	'one'
2	<i>Pidduwa</i>	<i>dalawa</i>	<i>dos</i>	'two'
3	<i>sangay</i>	<i>tatlo</i>	<i>teres</i>	'three'
4	<i>Papat</i>	<i>apat</i>	<i>kuwatro</i>	'four'
5	<i>lima</i>	<i>lima</i>	<i>singko</i>	'five'
6	<i>Panim</i>	<i>anim</i>	<i>sais</i>	'six'
7	<i>pito</i>	<i>pito</i>	<i>siyete</i>	'seven'
8	<i>walo</i>	<i>walo</i>	<i>otso</i>	'eight'
9	<i>siyam</i>	<i>siyam</i>	<i>nu-ebe</i>	'nine'
10	<i>sampu/ mapolo</i>	<i>sampu</i>	<i>diyes</i>	'ten'
11	<i>labin na Pissa or labi na Pissadut</i>	<i>Labing-isa</i>	<i>onse</i>	'eleven'
12	<i>labin na Pidduwa (dalawa)</i>	<i>labing-dalawa</i>	<i>dose</i>	'twelve'
13	<i>labin na sangay (tatlo)</i>	<i>labing-tatlo</i>	<i>terese</i>	'thirteen'
14	<i>labin na Papat</i>	<i>labing-apat</i>	<i>katorse</i>	'fourteen'
15	<i>labin na lima</i>	<i>labing-lima</i>	<i>kinse</i>	'fifteen'
16	<i>labin na Panim</i>	<i>labing-anim</i>	<i>disesais or deyse-sais</i>	'sixteen'
17	<i>labin na pito</i>	<i>labing-pito</i>	<i>diseiyete or deyse-siyete</i>	'seventeen'
18	<i>labin na walo</i>	<i>labing-walo</i>	<i>diseotso or deyse-otso</i>	'eighteen'
19	<i>labin na siyam</i>	<i>labing-siyam</i>	<i>disenu`ebe or deyse-nu`ebe</i>	'nineteen'
20	<i>dalawampu</i>	<i>dalawampu</i>	<i>bente</i>	'twenty'
21	<i>dalawampu Patta Pissa</i>	<i>dalawampu at isa</i>	<i>bente-uno</i>	'twenty-one'
22	<i>dalawampu Patta Pidduwa (dalawa)</i>	<i>dalawampu at dalawa</i>	<i>bente-dos</i>	'twenty-two'
23	<i>dalawampu Patta sangay (sangay)</i>	<i>dalawampu at tatlo</i>	<i>bente-teres</i>	'twenty-third'
24	<i>dalawampu Patta Papat</i>	<i>dalawampu at apat</i>	<i>bente-kuwatro</i>	'twenty-four'
25	<i>dalawampu Patta lima</i>	<i>dalawampu at lima</i>	<i>bente-singko</i>	'twenty-five'
26	<i>dalawampu Patta Panim</i>	<i>dalawampu at anim</i>	<i>bente-sais</i>	'twenty-six'
27	<i>dalawampu Patta pito</i>	<i>dalawampu at pito</i>	<i>bente-siyete</i>	'twenty-seven'
28	<i>dalawampu Patta walo</i>	<i>dalawampu at walo</i>	<i>bente-otso</i>	'twenty-eight'
29	<i>dalawampu Patta siyam</i>	<i>dalawampu at siyam</i>	<i>bente-nuebe</i>	'twenty-nine'
30	<i>tatlumpu</i>	<i>tatlumpu</i>	<i>terenta</i>	'thirty'
40	<i>Papatnapu</i>	<i>apatnapu</i>	<i>kuwarenta</i>	'fourty'
50	<i>limampu</i>	<i>limampu</i>	<i>singkuwenta</i>	'fifty'
60	<i>Panimnapu</i>	<i>animnapu</i>	<i>sesenta</i>	'sixty'
70	<i>pitumpu</i>	<i>pitumpu</i>	<i>setenta</i>	'seventy'
80	<i>walumpu</i>	<i>walumpu</i>	<i>otsenta</i>	'eighty'
90	<i>siyamnapu</i>	<i>siyamnapu</i>	<i>nubenta</i>	'ninety'
100	<i>Pissa sabang</i>	<i>isang daan</i>	<i>siyento</i>	'one hundred'
500	<i>lima sabang</i>	<i>limang daan</i>	<i>mil siyentos</i>	'five hundred'
1000	<i>Pissa lebu</i>	<i>isang libo</i>	<i>siyentos</i>	'one thousand'
10,000	<i>sampu lebu</i>	<i>sampung libo</i>	<i>diyes siyentos</i>	'ten thousand'

Some of the primary number *?issa* (*issadut*) in (3), *?idduwa* in (1) and (2), *sangay* in (3), and *?apat* in (2) appeared in the clauses below. In casual conversation, most especially the elder speakers, use *?issa* or *issadut* for ‘one’, *?idduwa* for ‘two’ and *sangay* for ‘three’ for counting individual items while most of the younger generation use the *Tagalog* equivalent.

- (1) *kitiddi=?idduwa tugak*
 EXI=two frog
 ‘There were two frogs.’
- (2) *?ipombeyad=?amo=sid nu ?apat=?a pala tugek=?a mangomden*
 look.at=PART=ABS.3p DET four=LIG PL frog=LIG elder.PL
 ‘The four adult frogs were just looking at them.’
- (3) *pansabiyan=siya na ?issa, bala pansabiyan na ?idduwa Po sangay, ?at*
 reprimand=ABS.3s DET one PART reprimand DET second or three and
nu ?awan magsesi, ?ay ?ideyo=siya nu kapolongan
 if NEG repent TL send far=ABS.3s ERG assembly
 ‘He (she) will be reprimanded once, then, the **second** or the **third** and if he (she)
 will not repent, he will be cast out from the assembly.’

12.3 Ordinals

Ordinal numbers are formed by adding the prefix *ka-* to the cardinal numbers 2-10 except *tagibu* ‘first’. First is represented by the word *tagibu* or sometimes *demo*. The first syllable of the cardinal number *?idduwa* is deleted and added the prefix *ka-* to form *kaduwa* ‘second’. Numbers from *sangay* ‘three’ to *sampu* ‘ten’ added the prefix *ka-* to form the ordinal numbers.

Table 12.2 Ordinal Numbers

Ordinals	SALT	Tagalog	English
1 st	<i>tagibu</i>	<i>una</i>	'first'
2 nd	<i>kaduwa</i>	<i>pangalawa</i>	'second'
3 rd	<i>kasangay</i>	<i>pangatlo</i>	'third'
4 th	<i>kaapat</i>	<i>pang-apat</i>	'fourth'
5 th	<i>kalima</i>	<i>pang-lima</i>	'fifth'
6 th	<i>kaanim</i>	<i>pang-anim</i>	'sixth'
7 th	<i>kapito</i>	<i>pang-pito</i>	'seventh'
8 th	<i>kawalo</i>	<i>pang-walo</i>	'eighth'
9 th	<i>kasiyam</i>	<i>pang-siyam</i>	'ninth'
10 th	<i>kasampu</i>	<i>pang-sampu</i>	'tenth'

- (4) *tagibu sinag, linikha tu molitob Pat molaway*
first day PERF.create ABS darkness and light
 'On the **first** day, darkness and light were created.
 (or On the first day, night and day were created.]'
- (5) *kaduwa sinag, linikha nu Makidepat yi wagot Pat ?insina=Na*
second day PERF.create DET God DET water and separate=ERG.3s
tu wagot ti dingato
 DET water OBL above
 'On the **second** day, God created water and He separated the water above.'
- (6) *kasangay=?a sinag, pinatipon nu Makidepat tu wagot*
 third=LIG day collect DET God ABS water
 'On the third day, God collected the water.'
- (7) *kaya tu tagibu sokod, tu sampu=?a Potos*
 PART DET **first** important.agreement ABS **sampu**=LIG commandment
?ay benal, mopeya, ?at ?uwang ki=kapintasan
 TL holy good and NEG EXI=flaw
 'Which is why the **first** important agreement, the **Ten** Commandments are holy and good, and they are perfect.'

12.4 Distributives

Table 12.3 encode distributives by adding the prefix *tali-* to the base.

Table 12.3 Distributives

Ordinals	SALT	Tagalog	English
1 st	<i>tali?issa</i>	<i>una</i>	'one each'
2 nd	<i>taliduwa</i>	<i>pangalawa</i>	'two each'
3 rd	<i>talisangay</i>	<i>pangatlo</i>	'three each'
4 th	<i>taliapat</i>	<i>pang-apat</i>	'four each'
5 th	<i>talilima</i>	<i>pang-lima</i>	'five each'
6 th	<i>talianim</i>	<i>pang-anim</i>	'six each'
7 th	<i>talipito</i>	<i>pang-pito</i>	'seven each'
8 th	<i>taliwalo</i>	<i>pang-walo</i>	'eight each'
9 th	<i>talisiyam</i>	<i>pang-siyam</i>	'nine each'
10 th	<i>talisampu</i>	<i>pang-sampu</i>	'ten each'

- (8) *ta?e ?in-atden=na=duman=dut na talisa=dut*
here PERF-give=ERG.3s=PART=PART DET **each.one**=PART
tu sangay=?a pala anak nu budak
DET three =LIG PL child ERG fruit
'Here, he (she) gave one fruit to **each one** of them, each of the three children with a fruit.'
- (9) *sinabi=dut nu Makidepat dikana=?a kailangan=siya mang-alap*
PERF.say=PART DET God OBL.3s=LIG need=ABS.3s IMPR-get
na lahat=?a hayop=?a ?uwan molenis na taliduwa,
DET all=LIG animals=LIG NEG clean DET **two.each**
?issa bekos Pat ?issa patod
one female and one male
'God also said to them that he needs to gather all uncleaned animals **two for each, one female and one male.**'

- (10) *at taʔi nu mangolenis=ʔa hayop, pati tu lahat=ʔa manok*
and DEM DET very.clean.PL=LIG animal even ABS all=LIG chicken

?ay kailangan mang-alap nu talipito
TL necessary IMPR-gather ERG **seven.each**
'Inside here, even the very clean animals including all types of fowls, gathering at least **seven each** was necessary.'

12.5 Kinship Order

Kinship order refers to the hierarchy order between and among siblings. Table 12.4 shows only 5 levels or hierarchy and there is no known overt form for siblings that are born over five or more. Southern Alta also use the *Tagalog* terms.

Table 12.4 Kinship Order

Order	SALT		Tagalog		English
		Common	Male (Vocative)	Female (Vocative)	
1 st	<i>panganay</i>	<i>panganay</i>	<i>kuya</i>	<i>ate</i>	'eldest'
2 nd	<i>pangaduwa</i>	<i>pangalawa</i>	<i>diko</i>	<i>ditse</i>	'second from the eldest'
3 rd	<i>pangsangay</i>	<i>pangatlo</i>	<i>sangko</i>	<i>sanse</i>	'third from the eldest'
4 th	<i>pangapat</i>	<i>pang-apat</i>			'fourth from the eldest'
5 th	<i>panglima</i>	<i>pang-lima</i>			'fifth from the eldest'
last	<i>bunso</i>	<i>bunso</i>	<i>bunso</i>	<i>bunso</i>	'youngest'

- (11) *yi panganay=me, ti Latdok, at*
DET **eldest**=GEN.1pe ABS.PN Latdok TL
'My **eldest** son ('s name) is Latdok, and'
- (12) *ti Lagyu ti pangaduwa*
ABS.PN Lagyu ABS.PN **second**
'The **second** is Lagyu.'
- (13) *ti Salon=duman ?ay pangsangay*
ABS.PN Salon=PART TL **third**
Salon is the **third**.

12.6 Length

Southern Alta often use *Spanish* number terms in appraising and giving measurement for length. The *Spanish* terms are very common in casual conversation such as in clause (15) and (16). While others use *Tagalog* terms in (17). Other terms used are *dali* ‘fingerwidth’, *dangkal* ‘handspan’, and *dipa* ‘arms span’. Refer to Table 12.1 for the list of number words in three languages, *Southern Alta*, *Tagalog* and *Spanish*, or sometimes four, including *English*. Southern Alta speakers use these number terms in ordinary conversation.

- (14) *nakapila bulpit^{lxiv} ka=d ti maghapun=nay=e*
how.many board.foot ABS.2s=PART OBL wholeday=PART=DEM
‘How many board feet did you get the whole day?’
- (15) *siento bente*
one hundred twenty
‘One hundred twenty (board feet).’
- (16) *bulsután=ko tu labet nu dos lapad*
put a hole=ERG.1s ABS wood DET **two width**
‘I will make a **two-inch** hole in the wood.’
- (17) *ki=siyam apu dipa ?i ka?asat=na, labi?alima dipa*
EXI=ninety arms.length DET length=GEN.3s fifteen arms.length
?i kaslad=na ?at siyam=?a dipa ?i kataas=na
DET **width**=GEN.3s and **nine=LIG** arms.length DET **height**=GEN.3s
?at sangay=?a palapag ?i gewan=de ti disalad
and **three=LIG** floor DET PERF.make=ERG.3p OBL below
‘It has a length of **ninety arm’s length**, its **width** is **fifteen arm’s length**, and its height is **nine arm’s length**. And they made **three floors** below.’

12.7 Volume

Tagalog terms are used to give an approximate measurement on non-count nouns such as rice and salt. Old Tagalog term such as *bote* ‘8 ounce, or 500 ml or 1 liter, used for liquids depending on the size of the bottle’ *lonnek* ‘1 liter, used for liquids’, *bilog* ‘a small bottle of gin about 350 ml, used for liquids’, *kuwattro-kantos* ‘a big bottle of gin, used for liquids’, *tasa* ‘cupful’, *litro* ‘liter’, *galon* ‘gallon’, *kontener* ‘a container made of plastic, used for liquids depending on the size of the container’, *dram* ‘a drum made of plastic or metal, used for liquids depending on the size of the drum’, *bulto* ‘bulk’ ‘used for non-liquids’ in (18), *sako* ‘sack’, *salop* or *ganta* ‘three liters, used for non-liquids’, *gatang* ‘approximately one cup, used for non-liquids’, *L3* ‘a pickup vehicle, used for non-liquids’, *loder* or *track* ‘a vehicle that loads soil or sand, used for non-liquids’, *kutsara* ‘tablespoonful’, *kutsarita* ‘tablespoonful’, *dakot* ‘handful’ are still being used. There are other terms that are used to refer to long and solid objects such as rattan, stringbeans, and broomstick. These are *sukong* ‘consist of 50-100 pieces of thin rattan’, *bigkis*, *bindil* ‘bundle’ and *ginayak* ‘consist of 50-100 *sukong* of thin rattan’.

- (18) *tu delmot nu kudus, ?ay hanggen na ?issadut=?a*
DET weight PART cross TL from DET **one=LIG**

bulto ?o hanggen na ?issadut=?a bulto ?atta kalahati
bulk or up.to OBL **one=LIG** **bulk and half**
‘The weight of the cross has a mass of **one bulk or up to one and half bulk.**’

12.8 Dates

Number terms for dates indicate an abrupt shift from *Tagalog* or *Spanish* to *English*. Not so old adult and the younger generations are more familiar to English dates than *Tagalog* and *Spanish*. It is more pervasive to those who have experienced formal education in the barrios.

- (19) *maghadi=siya ti buo ni gebunay na loob*
 IMPR.rule=ABS.3s OBL entire DEM land OBL inside
nu tatlo=?a taon ?at kalahati, ?o apatnapu bulan
 DET three=LIG years **and half or forty.two moon**
 ‘He (she) will rule the whole land in a span **of three years and a half or forty-two months.**’
- (20) *magumpisa=?e na kalahati nu pito=?a taon,*
 IMPR.begin =DEM OBL **half** DET **seven=LIG year**
ta kalahati nu pito taon ?ay tatlo taon ?atta kalahati.
 CONJ **half** DET **seven year** TL **three year and half**
 ‘This will start at the **mid of the seventh year**, because **half of seven years** is
three and a half years.’
- (21) *tiyak ?ay ?iniponanak de Hulyo ?ika-tatlumpo*
 ABS.1s TL born DEM **July thirty**
?atta ?issa ?atta ?issa lebu siyam=?a daan siyamnapu ?atta walo
 and one and one thousand nine=LIG hundred ninety and eight
 ‘I was born on **July 31, 1998.**’

12.9 Clock time

Number terms for time also indicate an abrupt shift from *Tagalog* or *Spanish* to English. Younger generations use *English* dates than *Tagalog*.

- (22) *sumukob=bak na ?ika-walo ?atta tatlumpo na ?umabek*
 IMPR.enter=ABS.1s OBL **eight and thirty OBL morning**
 ‘I will enter (go to school) **at 8:30 in the morning.**’
- (23) *?anto ?odes=din*
 what time PART
 ‘What time is it?’
- (24) *?alassingko medya na?apun*
 five thirty afternoon
 ‘It is **5:30 in the afternoon.**’

- (25) *Pissadut na?**apun*
 one afternoon
 '(It is) 1:00 in the afternoon.'

12.10 Denominations

Denominations refer to currency terms. Southern Alta elders still remember the use of old currency terms. Archaic and new terminologies for currency terms are shown in Table 12.6. Apparently, the terms are mixes of *Spanish*, *Tagalog*, and *Altan*. Sometimes, English terms are also used. Examine the terms used to indicate price in (26) and (27).

Table 12.5 Currency Terms

Denomination	Southern Alta	English
1	<i>Pissa=?</i> <i>a walat</i>	'1 centavo'
2	<i>Pidduwa=?</i> <i>a walat</i>	'2 centavos'
3	<i>sangay=?</i> <i>a walat</i>	'3 centavos'
4	<i>Papat=?</i> <i>a walat</i>	'4 centavos'
5	<i>Singko</i>	'5 centavos'
6	<i>Panim=?</i> <i>a walat</i>	'6 centavos'
7	<i>pito=?</i> <i>a walat</i>	'7 centavos'
8	<i>walo?</i> <i>a walat</i>	'8 centavos'
9	<i>siyam=?</i> <i>a walat</i>	'9 centavos'
10	<i>diyes</i>	'10 centavos'
20	<i>bente=?</i> <i>a walat</i>	'20 centavos'
25	<i>bente-singko</i>	'25 centavos'
30	<i>trenta=?</i> <i>a walat</i>	'30 centavos'
40	<i>kuwarenta=?</i> <i>a walat</i>	'40 centavos'
50	<i>singkuwenta=?</i> <i>a walat</i>	'50 centavos'
60	<i>sesenta=?</i> <i>a walat</i>	'60 centavos'
70	<i>setenta=?</i> <i>a walat</i>	'70 centavos'
80	<i>Potsenta=?</i> <i>a walat</i>	'80 centavos'
90	<i>nobenta=?</i> <i>a walat</i>	'90 centavos'
1	<i>piso</i>	'1 peso'
2	<i>Pidduwa=?</i> <i>piso</i>	'2 pesos'
3	<i>sangay=?</i> <i>piso</i>	'3 pesos'

4	<i>?apat=?a piso</i>	‘4 pesos’
5	<i>lima=?a piso</i>	‘5 pesos’
6	<i>?anim=?a piso</i>	‘6 pesos’
7	<i>pito=?a piso</i>	‘7 pesos’
8	<i>walo=?a piso</i>	‘8 pesos’
9	<i>siyam=?a piso</i>	‘9 pesos’
10	<i>mapolo or sampu=?a piso</i>	‘10 pesos’
20	<i>dalawampu=?a piso</i>	‘20 pesos’
30	<i>tallumpu=?a piso</i>	‘30 pesos’
40	<i>?apattapu=?a piso</i>	‘40 pesos’
50	<i>lima=?a piso</i>	‘50 pesos’
60	<i>?anim=?a piso</i>	‘60 pesos’
70	<i>pito=?a piso</i>	‘70 pesos’
80	<i>walo=?a piso</i>	‘80 pesos’
90	<i>siyam=?a piso</i>	‘90 pesos’
100	<i>?issadut=?a daan or ?issa=?a daan</i>	‘100 pesos’
200	<i>?idduwa=?a daan</i>	‘200 pesos’
300	<i>sangay=?a daan</i>	‘300 pesos’
400	<i>?apat=?a daan</i>	‘400 pesos’
500	<i>lima=?a daan</i>	‘500 pesos’
600	<i>?anim=?a daan</i>	‘600 pesos’
700	<i>sito=?a daan</i>	‘700 pesos’
800	<i>walo=?a daan</i>	‘800 pesos’
900	<i>siyam=?a daan</i>	‘900 pesos’
1000	<i>?issadut=?a libu or ?issa=?a libo</i>	‘1000 pesos’

12.11 Prices

Southern Alta may use price terminologies in *Southern Alta*, *Tagalog Spanish*, and *English* (please refer to Table 12.1). The example clause in (28) encode *Tagalog*, *Spanish*, or sometimes *English*.

- (26) *magkanu=man ?i=?issa=dut=?a bulpit na labet*
 how.much=PART DET=one=PART=LIG board feet PART wood
 ‘How much is one board foot of wood?’

- (27) *dalawampu ?atta lima (piso)*
 twenty and five (peso-SG)
 ‘Twenty five pesos.’ (or bi?ente singko)

12.12 Age

Age is sometimes expressed in Tagalog or Altan but younger and educated children use English most often. Refer to Table 12.1 for the list of number words in four languages, *Southern Alta*, *Tagalog*, *Spanish*, or *English*. Southern Alta speakers use these number terms in ordinary conversation.

- (28) *tiyak pay tatlongpu pat pito*
ABS.1s TL thirty and seven
'I am **thirty-seven years old**.
- (29) *pimmasat duman pay tatlumpu pat sangay*
wife PART TL thirty CONJ three
And my wife is thirty-three.'

12.13 Distance and Land Area

Distance and land area is sometimes expressed in *Tagalog*. Refer to Table 12.1 for the list of number words in three languages, *Southern Alta*, *Tagalog*, *Spanish*, or *English*. Southern Alta speakers may use these number terms in ordinary conversation.

- (30) *primede belyan ?i Jerusalem ta ki=?idduwa libu*
prime town DET Jerusalem because EXI=**two thousand**
?at ?apat=?adaan kilometro katas ?at kakudradu budi sabin
and four=LIG.**hundred kilometer area and square like say**
mas hanga ?i nu buo=ni Pilipinas, ta ?labi=?asiyam
DEG big DET ERG whole=DEM Philippines because **nineteen=LIG**
=?a Pilipinas ?i mayukud ti Jerusalem
=LIG Philippines DET more.than OBL Jerusalem
'Jerusalem is a leading city because it has a land area of **2400 square kilometres**. This means that Philippines is **19 times** bigger than the entire the entire land area of Jerusalem.'

- (31) *ganu kadeyo ?i Sapang Bulak ti Betu*
 How far DET Sapang Bulac OBL Sitio Bato
 How far is (Barangay) Sapang Bulac to (Sitio) Bato?
- (32) *?ikadedyo=ni Betu ?atta Bulak ?ay ?anim=?a kilometudu*
 distance=DEM Bato and Bulac TL six=LIG kilometer
 ‘The distance from Sitio Bato to Barangay Sapang Bulac is six kilometres.’

12.14 Multiplicative

Multiplicatives refer the number of entities every group. It is formed by the prefix *pagtali-* plus the root.

- (33) *pagtali-sangay=kayo na tatlo gropo ?ay siyam=kayo=d*
every-three=ABS.2p DET three group TL **nine**=ABS.2p=PART
 ‘Make a group of **three** persons each and you will get **nine**.’

12.15 Summary

This chapter discussed and described the number system of Southern Alta. The number system consisted of the *cardinal*, *ordinals*, *distributives*, *kinship order*, *length*, *fractions*, *volume*, *dates*, *clock time*, *prices*, *age*, *distance* and *land area*, and *multiplicatives*. Southern Alta uses three or sometimes four languages in describing their number system; these are *Spanish*, *Tagalog*, *English*, and *Southern Alta*. After presenting the number system of Southern Alta, the existential constructions will be explained in detail in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 13

EXISTENTIAL

13.1 Introduction

Existential constructions, according to Payne (1997, p. 112), predicate “the existence of some entity and they typically require a locational or temporal adjunct” (p. 123). Southern Alta has two types of existential constructions: the positive and negative existential. The positive and negative existential constructions have short and long forms too. This chapter is divided in the following sections: existentials of Southern Alta (13.2), existential use (13.3), possessive (13.4), locative (13.5), other forms (13.6), summary (13.7)

13.2 Existentials

As shown in the clauses below, the positive existential clauses are *kitiddi* or *ki* ‘*there is (are)*’ in clause (1) and (3), and the negative existential are *uwan kitiddi* or *uwan ki* ‘*there is (are) no*’ in clauses (4) and (2), respectively. In ordinary conversation, the short negative form *?uwan ki* ‘*there is (are) no*’ is always used. The positive existential forms (1) and (3) follow their referents while the negative existential phrases (2) and (4) start with the negative *uwan kitiddi* or *uwan ki* then their referents.

- (1) *kitiddi=wagot tiddi*
 EXI=water there
 ‘**There is water** there.’

- (2) *?uwan=ki=wagot tiddi*
 NEG.EXI=water there
 ‘**There is no water** there.’

- (3) *ki=kapangyaduhan na pokna*
EXI=power DET DEM
‘There is (such) power like that.’
- (4) *?uwan=kitiddi ki=kapangyaduhan na pokna*
NEG=EXI **EXI=power** DET DEM
‘No one has power like that.’

Unlike *Tagalog* and Ibanag, the positive existentials *may(roon)* or *egga* ‘there is’ are replaced by the negative existentials *wala* or *awan* ‘none’, respectively. Southern Alta, on the other hand, forms its negative existential by preposing the negative *uwan* followed by the existential *ki* or *kittidi* and its referent.

There is another set of existential in Southern Alta, and it is derived from demonstratives (for complete information, refer to Chapter 6.6, Table 6.3). McFarland (2008, p. 133) referred to these existential demonstratives as ‘presence forms’. He explained that the presence forms or *na-* forms ‘be at...’ consist of *Tagalog na* meaning *may* or *mayroon* ‘there is (are)’ or its equivalent in other Philippine languages plus an oblique demonstrative. The examples of *Tagalog* presence forms are *narito* ‘be here...’, *nariyan* ‘be there...’, *naroon* ‘be there (yonder)...’. The latter forms also have three degrees of deixis: near the speaker, near the addressee (or near the speaker and addressee), and remoteness from either speaker or addressee.

The presence forms or *na-* forms of Southern Alta start with *sai* (or *say*) and it also has three degrees of space. These disyllabic forms are *say-i* ‘be here...’, *sayna* ‘be there...’, *saydi* ‘be there (yonder)...’. Table 12.1 shows the existential demonstratives of Southern Alta. The abbreviated symbol EXI.DEM as symbol for morpheme gloss will be used.

Table 13.1 Existential Demonstrative

Degrees of Deixis	Presence Forms	Gloss
Near the speaker	<i>sayi</i>	'be here'
Near the addressee (or the speaker, or both)	<i>sayna</i>	'be there'
Far (from the speaker and addressee)	<i>saydi</i>	'be yonder'

The ‘near speaker’ *say-i* is translated ‘be (in) here’ in (6) and (9) while the two remaining degrees of deixis are translated as ‘be (in/over) there’ in (8) and (10).

(5) Cellphone Conversation

L: *ti?ad=ka*
where=ABS.2s
'Where are you?'

(6) PB: *sayi=yak ti Camarin ?um-?angay=yak tiddi na?udma*
EXI.DEM=ABS.1s OBL Camarin IMPR-go=ABS.1s DEM yesterday
'I am **here** in Camarin. I went here yesterday.'

(7) Conversation

SM: *nakay-laway=mo=d ti Usil*
PERF-see=ERG.2s=PART ABS.PN Usil
Have you seen Usil?

(8) Conversation

L: *sayna ti Usil ti katupag*
EXI.DEM ABS.PN Usil OBL other.side
Usil is **there** on the other side.

(9) *sayi=diyak tu wallet=ko*
EXI.DEM=OBL.1s ABS wallet=GEN.1s
'I have **here in me** my wallet.' (lit. 'I have in (me) here my wallet.')

(10) *saydi tu kogen=mo*
EXI.DEM ABS cooking.pot=GEN.2s
'Your cooking pot is **over there**.'

Positive existential clauses may contain ‘determiners’,^{lxxv}. It is in the pre-position before the definite singular marker *tu* (11) or post-position (12) including a plural determiner (13) and a definite person marker (14). Some positive existential clauses also include a numeral in (15), a genitive phrase which is translated in English ‘have’ instead of ‘there is (are)’ in (16), a ligature (*n*)*a* in (17), and an adverbial particle *pa* ‘still’ and modifier *mopnang* ‘hot’ in (18).

- (11) *siya tu ki=kapangyaduhan ?at ki=gewa na lahat*
ABS.3s ABS EXI=power and EXI=create DET all
‘It is he who **has the powers** and **has created** everything.’
- (12) *ki=silpun*^{lxxvi} *tu patud*
EXI=cellphone ABS young.man
‘The young man **has a cellphone**.’
- (13) *de tu kuwa ay kitiddi=pala=magaalage na topa tiddi nu kalabongan*
TEMP ABS PART TL **EXI=PL=caretaker** DET sheep DEM DET grassland
‘In the past, **there were caretakers** tending sheep in the grassland.’
- (14) *ki=kapangyaduhan ti Moggot*
EXI=power ABS.PN Moggot
Moggot **has superpowers**.
- (15) *kitiddi ?issa ?alta buta=?a mon-langad na gilid*
EXI one person blind=LIG CONT-sit DET beside
?nu sabang=?a mog-palimus
DET road=LIG CONT-ask.alms
‘**There was a** blind person (who was] sitting beside the road (and who was] asking for alms.’
- (16) *ki=?immasat=tak*
EXI=spouse=ABS.1s
‘**I have a wife**.’
- (17) *kitiddi=?a=pala diyo=?amad ma-lalbiyak=sid*
EXI==LIG=PL bee=maybe IMPR-fall=ABS.3p
‘**There are many bees** and they might fall down.’

- (18) *kitiddi=pa=?a mopnang=?a wagot nu tilmus*
EXI=PART=LIG hot=LIG water DET thermos
‘There is still hot water in the thermos.’

Dita (2007, p. 252) explained that there are three (3) main uses of existentials. First existential expresses the existence of something; second, it shows possession; and, third, existential encode location. The three main uses will be explained in succession from section 12.1 to 12.3.

13.3 Existential Use

Existential expresses the existence or non-existence of something or someone. Either the short or long forms of positive existential can be used followed by the existential phrase such as (19). In some cases, due to the principle of economy, the shorter negative existential is being used such as in (20).

- (19) Conversation
Sonny : *ki(tiddi)=beon ti Lagyo*
EXI=baon ABS.PN Lagyo
Is **there baon^{lxxvii}** for Lagyo (and the others)?
- (20) Gupad: *uwan=sid ki=beon*
NEG=ABS.3p EXI=baon
‘They **have no baon**. ’

The declarative clause in (19) is negated with the clause-initial negative existential *uwan* ‘none’ followed by the pronoun ABS.3s (20) and the remaining negative phrase. The pattern departs from clauses (2) and (4) wherein the NP is in between the negative existential phrase, and yet it does not make it ungrammatical. However, if the NP is post positioned after the negative existential clause in (20a) below, it became ungrammatical.

*(20a) Conversation

Gupad: *uwan=ki=beon=sid*
 NEG=EXI=baon=ABS.3p
 ‘They have no **baon**.’

The negative existential phrase *wang ki=?alta* ‘no person’ in (22) is introduced by monomorphemic *nu* or the equivalent to the English *if*-conditional construction. The clause expresses a non-existence of something. Contrary to clause (22), the existential demonstrative expresses the existence of something that is kept in a place familiar and near to both speaker and addressee.

- (21) *?ay pinakoy nu bele*,
 TL said DET house

?ay nu wang ki=?alta ?ay kung-kulawit
TL if NEG EXI=?alta TL CONT-shout
He said to his house, “If **there is no person** inside, it is shouting.”

- (22) *sayna tu mongeta=mo*
EXI.DEM DET looking.for=GEN.2s
‘The one that you are looking for is **in there**.’

13.4 Possessive Use

In clause 23, the positive existential phase is preceded by a topical construction connected by the topic linker *ay*. A definite marker *tu* introduces the positive existential phrase *ki=bisikleta* and is translated as ‘the one who has a bike’. The group of words combined functions as a dependent noun clause.

- (23) *de minay-asok=de=d ?ay ?inum-akang tu ki=bisikleta*
DEM PERF-enter=ERG.3p=PART TL PERF-walk ABS EXI=bicycle
‘After they have returned (the fruits], the one who **has a bike** left.’

Existential construction introduces participants in the discourse stage such as ABS.1s =*yak* ‘I’ in (24) and ABS.3s *tikana* ‘it’ in (30). The discourse participants therefore express definiteness. Clauses 24 and 25 show identifiability and referentiality of their objects. In clause 24, the ‘focused topic’ is *solut* ‘a story’. The prefix <*ma*>‘to tell’ is cataphora to the head noun *solut* in the noun phrase *akodul a solut* ‘a true story’.

- (24) *kitiddi=yak=?a ma-solut dikayo=?a ?akodul=?a solut*
EXI=ABS.1s=LIG IMPR-story OBL.2p=LIG true =LIG story
‘I have a story to tell you, a story that is really true.’

On the other hand, the ‘focused topic’ in clause (25) *ki=bile* ‘has a house’ is anaphoric to the locative demonstrative *tiddi* ‘there’ and the existential ‘be (in/over]’. The demonstrative *tiddi* and phrase *nu bele ni Lutong* combined is equivalent to the English phrase ‘be there in the house of Lutong’.

- (25) *ki=bile ti Lutong ?atta tiddi=siya minon-suksuk*
EXI=house ABS.PN Lutong and DEM=ABS.3s PERF-hide
nu bele ni Lutong
 DET house ERG.PN Lutong
‘Lutong has a house, and he will hide there in the house of Lutong.’

Adverbial particles may appear in existential constructions and these adverbial particles facilitate clear understanding and provide meaningful expressions. Two existential constructions are shown below. One is an existential question in clause (26) and a positive ‘declarative’ clause in (27). Both existential clauses are followed by adverbial particles. The first clause below (26) has two consecutive adverbial particle *man* ‘is this/that’ and *din* ‘already’ or ‘now’ while the second, clause (27), has *pa* ‘still’ and *mad* ‘is this/that’. The adverbial particle *man* ‘is this/that’ could have changed from nasal alveolar /n/ to alveolar stop /d/ in clause (27) because of the following glottal stop.

(26) Conversation

SM: *ki=gemot=man=din ti gupad*
EXI=medicine=PART=PART ABS.PN grandmother
‘Is there medicine already for grandmother?’

(27) Gupad :

ki=gamut=tak=pa ?anto=mad=?e ta say?i
EXI=medicine=ABS.1s what=PART=DEM CON EXI.DEM
‘She still has medicine. What is this and it is here?’

13.5 Locative Use

Existential constructions, according to Payne (1997, p. 123), typically require “a locational or temporal adjunct” such as *ti disalad nu bele* ‘under the house’. Unlike in clause (24) which introduces a definite participant, clauses 28 introduces a place *belayan* ‘town’ modified by a numeral *idduwa* ‘two’ and followed by a distal oblique demonstrative *tiddi* ‘there’ which functions as an anaphora. Similarly, in clause 29, it introduces and a ‘descriptive noun’ followed by a distal oblique demonstrative *ta-e* ‘here’.

(28) *kitiddi=?idduwa belayan tiddi na kapatagen*

EXI=two town DEM DET plain
‘There are two cities there in the plains.’

(29) *ki=dudule=ta?e matotkatupag*

EXI=thorns=DEM both.sides
‘There are many thorns in both sides.’

The preceding sentence or clause mentioned about a sound made by an animal such as a deer. Apparently, since the narrator’s knowledge that it was not an animal but something else (or a *ngane* ‘ghost’), the participant ABS.3s *tikana* ‘it’ in clause 23 was omitted.

- (30) *pinanatong=ko=ngan na ki=tabi ?ay say?i=(tikana)*
 when.arrive=ERG.1s=PART DET EXI=fall TL EXI.DEM=(ABS.3s)
 ‘When I arrived there, it (the animal) was already here (at the top of the falls).’

13.6 Other Forms of Existential

There are other forms of existential in Southern Alta that are not necessary translated as ‘there is/are’, ‘be in/over there’ or ‘here’. Two forms are noteworthy to examine, the numerical plus adverbial particle *issadut amo* or *issa amo* and the derived verb *magkatiddi* ‘to have’ or ‘to appear’ or Biblically translated as ‘should there be’.

13.6.1 The phrase *Pissadut Pamo*

The phrase *Pissadut Pamo* is presented into ways. First, *Pissadut* and *Pamo* is interpreted as consisting of two separate morphemes, the glosses are ‘one’ and ‘only’ respectively (31). And the second, *Pissa*, *dut*, and *Pamo* are interpreted as consisting of three separate morphemes, the latter two are ‘enclitics’ or ‘adverbial particles’ in (32). Thus, the glosses are ‘one’, ‘again’ and ‘only’ respectively. The particle *dut* expresses emphasis or confirmation like ‘it is’.

- (31) *Pissadut=Pamo kale yi ?inalang=na*
one=only language DET PERF.go=DEM
 ‘That language **has only one source.**’ or ‘**There is only one** source of that language.’

- (32) *Pissadut=Pamo yi tagepagligtas*
one=only DET savior
 ‘**There is only one** savior.’

13.6.2 The derived *tiddi* ‘over there’ and its aspect and focus

The *oblique demonstrative tiddi* ‘over there’ can be inflected for aspect. The AF prefix *magka-* is Biblically translated as ‘should there be’ and is presented below in three aspects IMPF in (36), CONT in (34) and PERF in (36). IMPF consist of an imperfect sense (Schachter & Otanes, 1972, p. 399) and an imperative sense; the latter clause is always paired with the **ABS.2p** pronoun.

- (33) *tu ?usa, beboy, tilay, elepante, odungan ?at lutong minogkatiddi*
 DET deer pig snake elephant water.buffalo and monkey **appeared**
 ‘The deers, pigs, snakes, elepants, water buffalos and monkeys **appeared** on earth.’
- (34) *sinabi=Na=matman=?a mogkotidi nu manok ti gebunay*
 said=He=PART=LIG **appear** DET chicken OBL earth
 ‘Then, God said again that there **will be appearing** chickens on earth.’
- (35) *kaya ki=labuyo, kalaw lawin luto, ?at manimpit*
 so **there=wild.chicken** hornbill eagle *luto* and *manimpit*

?ay dehil linikha nu Makidepat
 TL because created DET God
 ‘So, **there were wild chickens**, hornbills, eagles, *lutos* and *manimpits* because they were created by God.’
- (151) *de kalima sinag, ?ay sinabi nu Makidepat=?a mag-katidi*
 TEM fifth day TL said DET God=LIG IMPR-exist

ti wagot na Pikan ?at kalad=?a hayop,
 OBL river DET fish and different=LIG animal

halimbewa tu ?agema, ?o hepon
 example DET crab or shrimp
 ‘Then, on the fifth day, God said that there will be fish and different animals in the rivers, for examples, are crabs and shrimps.’

(i) Expressions for ‘somebody’ and ‘something’ resort to an existential circumlocution^{lxxviii} (Schachter & Otanes, 1972, p. 276; Haspelmath, Indefinite Pronouns, 2005, p. 191)

- (36) *kitiddi=dinumatong nu?apon*
EXI=PERF.arrive yesterday
‘**Someone arrived** yesterday.’

- (37) *ki=ginawa tu tidema*
EXI=PERF.do DET father
‘The father **did something**.’

(ii) Expressions for ‘somewhere’ or locative can also be expressed

- (38) *kitiddi=siya ?un?angayan*
EXI=ABS.3s CONT.go.LOC
‘He is **going somewhere**.’

(iii) Negative existential ‘*uwan kitiddi*’ is also used to express the indefinite pronoun ‘no one’ or ‘none’

- (39) *?uwan=ki=dinumatong nu?apon*
NEG=EXI=PERF.arrive yesterday
‘**No one (none) came** yesterday.’

13.7 Summary

This chapter discussed and described the existential constructions of Southern Alta including a form of existential that emerges from demonstratives. It included a discussion between the *positive* and *negative existential clauses* including *pre-position* and *post-positioned* elements such as *determiners*, *modifiers* and *ligature*. Three main uses of existential clauses were discussed; these are existential, possessive and locative use. Other forms of existentials that are considered as having existential constructions were introduced. After presenting the existential constructions of Southern Alta, the connectors will be explained in detail in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 14

CONNECTORS

14.1 Introduction

There are a few words in Southern Alta which do not fit the criteria of the four lexical categories. These are free morphemes that are semantically and syntactically relevant in basic and complex clause construction. They appear in clauses or in between clauses to coordinate, subordinate, correlate and contrast words, phrases, or clauses. They are generally categorized here as *connectors*. The subsections are as follows: topic linker *ay* (14.2), ligatures (14.3), connectives (14.4), preposition (14.5), and summary (14.6)

14.2 Topic Linker *?ay*

Southern Alta is a predicate-initial language, ergative language. The morphosyntactic characteristic is similar with other Northern Luzon languages. The “Proto Northern Luzon languages”, according to Reid (2006, p. 5), “typically allow topicalized NPs and some adverbs to appear before the clause predicate. At times, there appears to be a topic linker *ay*”. The topic linker *ay* has “a special discourse function such as contrast or emphasis” (Tanangkingsing M. , 2009) such as clause (1). Further, when a constituent is fronted for emphasis, there is no special intonation or pause like the presence of a comma in clause (2). Compare clauses (1) and (2) below.

- (1) *pinangatapos nu=?iddi ?ay bala ?inumakang*
 after DET=DEM TL sudden PERF.walk

tu pala mag?atalage nu topa
ABS PL caretaker ERG sheep
‘The shepherds who were tending the sheep suddenly left after that.’

- (2) *pinangatapos nu=ʔiddi, bala ʔinumakang tu pala magʔaʔalage nu topa*
 after DET=DEM sudden PERF-walk ABS PL caretaker ERG sheep
 ‘After that, the shepherds who were tending the sheep suddenly left.’

Schachter & Reid (2009) explained that in narratives the referent of the constituent preceding *?ay* is often one that has been preferred to at some earlier point and that *?ay* is typically used to reintroduce such a referent (p. 841). The *topic* is case-marked as ABS following the topic linker *?ay*. The *topic* may appear as a definite noun phrase (3), (4) and (5), a pronoun (6) and a demonstrative (7).

- (3) *ti Kutikot ?ay momako*
 PN.ABS **Kutikot** TL picking.ferns
 ‘The one who is picking up ferns is **Kutikot**.’
- (4) *tu beboy, tu lutong ɿatta tu pagong ?ay matot-koyog*
 ABS pig ABS monkey and ABS turtle TL COM-best.friend
 ‘The ones who are best friends are **pig, monkey, and turtle**.’
- (5) *tu Makidepat ?ay benal*
 ABS God TL holy
 ‘**The one who is holy** is God.’
- (6) *tikame ?ay kabuloan... ɿasawa=ko ?ay ti Ema...*
 ABS.1pe TL kabuloan wife=GEN.1s TL PN.ABS Ema
 ‘The ones who are *Kabuloan* is **we**. The one who is my wife is Emma.’
- ti salon=duman ?ay pang sangay*
 Salon=PART TL third
 ‘The third of my siblings is **Salon**.’
- (7) *yiʔe patod ?ay ti Adan*
 DEM young.man TL PN.ABS Adan
 ‘This one who is Adam is **a young man**.’

Again, example clauses (3-7) are *topicalized* ABS complements following the topic linker *ay*. Compare them with the absence of topic linker below and you will observe that the arrangement and meaning of the clauses also change. If clauses (3-7) are emphasizing the topicalized NPs, the clauses in (8-12) have neutral tones.

- (8) *momako ti Kutikot*
 CONT.AF. picking.ferns ABS.PN **Kutikot**
 ‘**Kutikot** is picking up some ferns.’
- (9) *matot-koyog tide beboy, lutong, Ɂatta pagong*
 COM-best.friend ABS.PL **pig monkey and turtle**
 ‘**Pig, monkey, and turtle** are best of friends.’
- (10) *benal tu Makidepat*
 holy ABS **God**
 ‘**God** is holy.’
- (11) *kabuloan=kame ti Ema tu asawa=ko pangsangay ti Salon*
 Southern.Alta=ABS.1pe ABS.PN Ema ABS **wife=GEN.1s third ABS.PN Salon**
 ‘We are *Kabuloan* . My **wife** is Emma. *Salon* is my third child.’
- (12) *ti Adan yiʔe patod*
 ABS.PN Adam DEM **young.man**
 ‘**This young man** is Adam’

The particle *?ay* appears in many casual conversations, narrative, and oral tradition, and it shows that *?ay* is not only limited as a topic linker. Its presence in speech events may have semantic and pragmatic status in the discourse. The topic linker *?ay* is a homophony of adverbial particle *?ay*. The topic linker *?ay* follows a fronted constituent while the interjections *?ay* is clause-initial in (13).

- (13) *?ay tu Panginoon ?ay Jesus ?i kungkoy*
 INTJ ABS Lord TL **Jesus** DET passing.by
 ‘(Ay) The one who is passing by is Jesus, the Lord.’

14.3 Ligatures

The presence of ligature in NPs^{lxxix}, according to Dita (2007, p. 278), is “a distinct feature of Austronesian languages”. The general function of ligature is “to introduce dependent structures, and it occurs not only before relative clauses but also before sentential complements with verbal heads” (Reid & Liao, 2004, p. 484). A ligature is “an obligatory morpheme that link certain constituents, usually modifiers or specifiers, to the head noun of a nominal phrase” (Trask, 1996, p. 160). Southern Alta has ligatures *?a* and *=ng*. In addition, Southern Alta is sometimes morphosyntactically similar with *Tagalog*, the ligature *na* in *Tagalog* is sometimes used in casual conversation (14).

- (14) *?inuminik=din=na hangain=na labet*
PERF.AF.climb.up=PART OBL **big.PL=LIG** tree
‘(Lutong) climbed up immediately to the **big trees**. (Lutong is the name of the monkey.)

14.3.1 The ligature *?a*

Ligature *?a* modifies the head noun. It is located before the head noun in phrases (15) and (17) or after the head noun in phrases (16) and (18).

- (15) *tu hinog=?a lalaguna*
DET ripe=LIG guava
‘the ripe guavas’
- (16) *tu lalaguna=?a hinog*
DET guava=LIG ripe
‘the guava that is ripe’
- (17) *nu hangain=?a labet*
DET big.PL=LIG tree
‘at the big trees’
- (18) *?i maadu ?alta=?a kungkoy*
DET many person=LIG passing by
‘many people that are passing by’

14.3.2 The ligature $=n)g$

The ligature $=n)g$ assimilates with the host in the negative particle uwan in (19) and an existential clause in (20).

- (19) *(?u)wang=kayo mangodtakot*
NEG=ABS.2p scared
'(The angels said) Do **not** be scared.'
- (20) *ki=ka-tahimek-an=g=kitam dikana*
EXI=CIRC-peaceful-SUF=LIG=ABS.1pi OBL.3s
'We have peacefulness in Him.'

14.4 Interclausal Connectors

Interclausal connectors are used here to refer to a few free morphemes that connect or subordinate phrases or clauses, and form compound and complex sentential constructions. The groupings are but initial. However, attempts have been done to divide them in reference to its *Tagalog* or English translations, they are called here as connectives (14.4.1), contrastives (14.4.2), resultives (14.4.3) and conditional (14.4.4).

14.4.1 Connectives

14.4.1.1 Connectives (*?o*, *?at* and *?atta*)

The connective *?o*, *?at*, and *?atta* have the same function. They coordinate and connect series of words, phrases, and even clauses. The coordinative *o* and *at* is equivalent to the English coordination conjunction 'or' and 'and'. The connective *?atta* is equivalent to the English coordination conjunction 'and' plus the adverbial 'also'. *?atta* literally means 'the one and same as (also)' is usually used to indicate that the entity or concept previously mentioned is similar (has similar ways) with the next entity or concept.

14.4.1.2 Connective *po*

(i) Connective *po* joins two singular nouns or adjective

- (21) *modelas po-pabuyanan nu patod po bekos tu po-lawin na pamamagitan*
often CON-recognize if male **or** female ABS CONT-see OBL by.means.of
nu buk=po amo, nu ma?asat po ma?apiti
ERG hair=PART if straight **or** curly
'You can always recognize if what you see is a male **or** a female by means of the
hair if it is straight **or** curly.'

(ii) Connective *po* joins two plural nouns

- (22) *?uwan=de kailangan buksan tu pala pintoan po bintana na bele*
NEG=ERG.3p need to open DET PL door **or** window DET house
bala=sid makosdop na bele
before=ABS.3p enter DET house
'They do not need to open the door **or** windows of the house if they want to enter
the house.'

14.4.1.3 Connective *pat* or *patta*

The connective *pat* or *patta* is somehow similar with the English conjunction *and* and *and also*. The connective *pat* and *patta* may connect series of words and NPs. Since Southern Alta has many borrowed words from *Tagalog*, the use of *pat* over *patta* is preferred by younger generations.

(i) Connective *pat* connects series of nouns

The connective *pat* and *patta* may connect series of words such as clause (23) and full NPs in clauses (24), (25), (26), and (27). They may also connect plural NPs and genitive phrases such as clause (26) and (27).

- (23) *kaya ?in-solat tu Bibliya de tagibu na kale*
 CON PERF.write DET bible ADV first OBL language

**Gregu, Aramaik, at Hebrew
 Greek Armaic and Hebrew**

'That is why the Bible was written first in **Greek, Armaic and Hebrew languages.**'

- (24) *saydi tu Makidepat bala ki=?anto=pa=man*
 DEM ABS God before EXI=what=PART=PART

ti gebunay ?at ti langit
OBL land and OBL heaven

'God is already here even before there is nothing **on earth and in heaven.**'

- (25) *siya tu Tidema Makidepat, tu ?lspeditu Makidepat,*
 ABS.3s ABS father God ABS spirit God

?at tu Anak Makidepat

and DET child God

'He is **God the Father, God the Holy Spirit and God the Son.**'

- (26) *pala ?atolang ?atta kamodenan=ko*
PL siblings and co-parents=GEN.1s
 'To my siblings and same to my elders'

- (27) *?ay de dingol ni Buya tu sinabi ni Lutong ?initatandog=na*
 TL DEM heard ERG.PN Buya ABS PERF.say ERG.PN Lutong move=ERG.3s

yi lambung=na ?atta yi ?ulo=na
DET tail=GEN.3s CON DET head= GEN.s
 'When Buya heard what Lutong said, he moved **his tail and also his head.**'

14.4.1.4 Connective *kaya*

The particle *kaya* 'so' (pronounced /ka.ya?/) is a connective and an evaluative. It connects the previous idea with the present and suggest a proposition like clause (29).

The particle *kaya* is also suggestive such as clause (28).

- (28) *kaya sinabi ni Hesus na pala mag?a?adal=na,*
 CON <PERF>say ERG.PN Jesus OBL PL student=GEN.3s
 'So, he said to his disciples...'

- (29) *?iddi ?i s<in>abi nu mag-be-beleta kaya*
DEM DET <PERF>say ERG IMPR.AF.RCV-news CON
‘That was what the messenger said, so’
- pinangatapos nu=?iddi Pay bala ?inum-akang tu pala mag?apalage*
PART DEM=TEMP TL sudden PERF.walk ABS PL RCV.person.care
- nu topa ta pinuma-angay ti Betlehim*
ERG sheep CON order-to go OBL Bethlehem
‘after that happened, the shepherds left, and they were asked to go to Bethlehem.’

14.4.1.5 The particle *saka*

The particle *saka* ‘and also’ ‘including’ ‘in addition’ (pronounced /sa.kaʔ/) connects additional information. The particles connect the previous idea with the present and provides additional suggestion(s) such as clause (30).

- (30) Conversation
SM: *oo, ?asu ?atta manuk bewal=di besta ?uwan mollanghap*
yes dog and chicken avoid=DEM TEMP NEG CONT.inhale
‘Yes, dogs and chicken. Avoid that, just do not inhale’
- ?at saka bewal ?i magkabood bewal ?i ?ekol-on*
and also avoid DET catch.colds avoid DET cough
‘and also avoid catching colds, avoid getting coughs.’

14.4.2 Contrastives

14.4.2.1 Contrastive *pedu* and *agya*

Pedu and *?agya* are used to connect contrastive clauses. The term *pero* can be traced back to *Tagalog*, and which also means ‘but’ in English. Both *?agya* and *pero* semantically mean *but*, although in some instances, *agya* is more versatile and may also mean the conjunctions *yet* or *although (even though)*. Examine clauses (31-35). The clauses (33) and (34) sets off a positive proposition. In addition, clauses (31) and (32) expresses a resultive-effect while clauses (33) and (34) expresse a resultive-consequence.

- (31) *de toy=di ay mompondongol ?i lahat=?a pala ?alta kani Jesus*
 TEMP PART=DEM TL CON-listen DET all=LIG PL person OBL Jesus
 ‘At that very moment, all of the people listened to Jesus,
- (32) *pedu tu pala pun=de ?ay mangosongit dikana*
 CON ABS PL leaders=GEN.3p TL very.hostile.PL OBL.3s
but their leaders were very hostile to him.’
- (33) *dumatong ?i sinag=?a papatin=nak nu mangomodit=?a ?alta*
 IMPR.come DET day=LIG IMPR.kill=ABS.1s ERG very.bad.PL=LIG person
 ‘The day will come, and those wicked men will kill me,’
- (34) *?ay ?agya na ikasangay =?a sinag ?ay ma-bilay=yak=?a luway*
 PART CON OBL third =LIG day TL IMPR-live=ABS.1s=LIG again
and yet, on the third day, I will rise again from the dead.’

14.4.3 Resultsives

The particle *dehil* ‘because’, *kanya* ‘so that’, and *tain* ‘so that’ ‘because’ are semantically and syntactically the same, and they are categorized in this paper as *resultive*. The resultives *dehil* and *kanya* are traced back from *Tagalog*. Resultives include the particle *be*. It connotes ‘a result from a previous event or action’ All the particles mentioned highlight a cause-effect relationship between two ideas or give a reason why something happens.

14.4.3.1 Resultive *dehil* ‘because’

The particle *dahil* ‘because’ in clause (35) describes the condition in the early years of civilization.

- (35) *dehil de tu numpung=demo=sinag ?ay mingangane*
 because TEMP ABS ADV=first=day TL PL.RCV.ghost
ti bukid=?ey=?a mo-mangan na ?alta
 OBL mountain=DEM =LIG CONT-eat OBL person
 ‘Because in the early days, there were people-eating ghosts in these mountains.’

14.4.3.2 Resultive *kanya* and *tain* ‘so that’

The particles *kanya* and *tain* are semantically and syntactically the same. The particle *kanya* is borrowed from *Tagalog* while *tain* is unpopular among the younger generations of Southern Alta. The particle *kanya* ‘so that’ expresses the result of an action or an event such as the production of the Holy Bible in different languages (36-38). The particle *tain* in (37) gives a reason why something happens.

- (36) *pagkatapos, ?inisalin tu Bibliya ta?e na sadisadi kale*
CON <PERF>translate ABS bible DEM OBL different language
‘Then, the Bible was translated here in different languages.’
- (37) ***kanya, ki=Bibliya kale na Tagalog, llocano, Intsik, at pamokna***
CON EXI=bible language OBL Tagalog Ilocano Chinese and DEM
‘That is why, there is a Bible in *Tagalog*, *Ilocano*, Chinese and same as others.’
- (38) *nontopol=siya dehil nu kasalanan=tam tain wang=kitam=din mantopol*
suffer=ABS.3s CON DET sin=GEN.3p CON NEG=ABS.1pi=PART suffer
‘He suffered severely because of our sins **in order that** we will not suffer the same’

14.4.3.3 Resultive *be*

The particle *be* maybe translated as ‘before’. The clause below enumerates the sequence of events. The particle *be* introduces the second and the third clauses describing each clause as a series of past events in succession.

- (39) *linibak=de=siya, be=de ni-lapdit, be=de ?ini-paku*
PERF.insult=ERG.3p=ABS.3s CON=ERG.3p PERF-whip CON=ERG.3p PERF-nail
‘They insulted him, **before** they whipped (and) **before** they nailed (him)’
- nu padipa hanggen na mamate*
ERG open.arms until OBL die
‘in open arms until death.’

14.4.4 Conditional *nu*

Conditional clause, according to Trask (1996, p. 55) is “a type of adverbial clause which expresses a condition upon whose fulfilment the proposition expressed in the main clause depends”. Conditionals consist of two related clause. The clauses describe factors or hypothetical situations and their consequences. The sequence begins with the fronting of the conditional particle *nu* and its constituents (40), and follows an independent clause (41).

- (40) *nu makapagsese=kayo nu kasalanan=yo dikana at*
if repent=ABS.2p DET sin=GEN.2p OBL.3s CON
‘If you will repent your sins to Him and’
- (41) *manalig=kayo=?a=siya tu ?anak nu Makidepat=?a napannialta*
have.faith=ABS.2p=LIG=ABS.3s ABS son DET God=LIG become human
‘believe that He is the son of God who is in human form.’

14.5 Preposition-like particles

Preposition, according to Trask (1996, p. 214), is “lexical category which typically combines with a noun phrase to make a larger constituent”. However, the category of prepositions is somehow vague in Philippine-type languages including Southern Alta. In addition to this, much data is necessary to gather all the ‘prepositions’ of Southern Alta, if it really has. It would be safer though to use the term *preposition-like particles* in this paper. The preposition-like particles are *pati* ‘including’ and ‘in addition to’, and the benefactive and preposition-like *pade* ‘for’.

14.5.1.1 Pati

The preposition-like particle *pati* ‘including’ and ‘in addition to’ encode an additional referent, for instance, *tu pamilya=yo* ‘your family’ in clause (42), and *tu lahat a bege ti gebunay* ‘all the things on earth’ in (43). The latter consists of a full NP with a ligature.

- (42) *pagpalan=kayo nu Makidepat pati tu pamilya=yo*
bless=ABS.2p DET God including DET family=GEN.2p
‘May God bless you **including your family**.’
- (43) *kanya l<in>ikha nu Makidepat tide Adan,*
CON PERF-create DET God OBL.PN.PL Adam
pati tu lahat=?a bege ti gebunay, ?ay tain=siya yi podin
CON DET all=LIG thing OBL land TL CON=ABS.3s DET praise
‘The reason God created Adam, **including all the things on earth** so that He should be praised.’

14.5.1.2 Prepositional-like particle *pade*

The particle *pade* ‘so that’ expresses the purpose of an action or event and gives a reason why something should happen (44). The preposition-like particle *pade* and the oblique pronoun encodes as *benefactive* in clause (45).

- (44) *ta=siya ?ay mang-atod dikayo na kapangyadihan*
CON=ABS.3s TL IMPR-give OBL.2p DET power
pade wang=kayo madeig ni Satanas
so that NEG=ABS.2p overcome ERG.PN Satan
Then, he will give the power **so that** we cannot be defeated by Satan.
- (45) *pade dikitam=?a lahat pade dikayo, diyak*
for OBL.1pi=LIG all for OBL.3p OBL.1s
pade na Taw ?intsik ?o medika
for DET Tagalog Chinese or American
‘Everything is **for all of us**. (Everything) It is **for you** and **(for) me**. It is **for the Tagalog, (for the) Chinese, or (for the) Americans**.’

14.6 Summary

This chapter discussed and describes the connectors of Southern Alta. It consisted the *topic linker ay*, *ligatures*, *connectives*, and *preposition-like particles*. The description included of the functions and position of *connectors*, ligatures, *connective*, and *preposition-like particles*. After describing the connectors of Southern Alta, the interrogative clauses will be explained in detail in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 15

INTERROGATIVE

15.1 Introduction

Clause types grammaticalized by means of specifying that a particular utterance is to be understood as a request for information rather than an assertion are called interrogative clauses (Payne, 1997, p. 295). The interrogative clauses of Southern Alta consist of four types: the yes-no questions (15.2), the alternative questions (15.3), the confirmation questions (15.4), and information questions (15.5) and summary (15.6).

15.2 Yes-No Questions

Yes-No questions type refers to interrogative clauses for which the expected answer is either *oo* ‘yes’ or *?uwan* or *wan* ‘no, not, none’. Yes- No question is formed from verbal, non-verbal, and existential clauses.

The clauses (1), (3), (4), (6) and (8) are drawn from declarative sentences, and they follow the basic clause structure of a verbal, negative, non-verbal (adjectival and nominal predicate clauses), and existential, respectively. In addition, declarative clauses in Southern Alta do not involve a rising intonation unless a question marker is added in its syntax. For instance, clauses (1) and (3) have the question marker *man*, and clause (4) and (6) have particle *ba*. For nominal predicate clause, the addition of the particle *ba* translates the clause as an interrogative clause, but a rising intonation on the last syllable even without the particle *ba* may suffice as a interrogative clause. For instance, the rising intonation on the last syllable of the genitive marker *=mo* GEN.2s.

The yes-no question in (1) is a verb-initial clause and the last syllable of the clause is said with a rising intonation. The speaker in clause (1) asked if the addressee has eaten breakfast (or lunch / dinner), and the answer from the questions is either positive (2a-b) or negative in (2c-e).

(1) *namangan=ka=man?*

PERF-eat=ABS.2s=PART

'Have you eaten breakfast (or lunch / dinner)?'

(2) Expected answers

(2a) *oo*

or

(2b) *(oo), namangan=din*

yes PERF.AF.eat=PART

'Yes.'

'Yes. (I) ate already.'

(2c) *?uwan=pa* (or *wan*) or

NEG=PART

'Not yet. (or No.)'

(2d) *?uwan=pa namangan*

NEG=PART PERF.AF.eat

'I was **not able to eat.'**

(2e) *?uwan=nak mamangan=pa*

NEG=ABS.1s IMPR.AF.eat=PART

'I have **not eaten yet.'**

Examine an interrogative verbal negative questions in (3). Aside from being a negative question, the last word is pronounced with a rising intonation. The expected answers are positive in (3a) or various negative responses in (3b-3c).

(3) *?uwan=ka=man namangan tiddi*

NEG=ABS.2s=PART IMPR.AF.eat OBL.DEM

Did you not eat there?

Expected Answers

(3a) *(oo), namangan=din*

yes, PERF.AF.eat=PART

'(Yes), I (absolutely) ate (there).'

- (3b) *Puwani=nak mamangan* or (3c) *Puwani=nak namangan*
 NEG=ABS.1s IMPR.AF.eat NEG=ABS.1s PERF.AF.eat
 'I did **not** eat' (Lit. I do not eat.) 'I was **not able** to eat.'

The yes-no questions in (4) and (6) are non-verbal clause (adjectival and nominal predicate clauses). The head of the clause *mollasa* ‘tasty’ is an adjective. The speaker in clause (4) is inquiring if the viand is good. The answers from the questions are either positive (5a) or negative (5b). The clauses in (6) are drawn from nominal predicate clauses. The addition of the particle *ba* translates the declarative to interrogative form. However, another way to change a declarative nominal clause to interrogative is by a raising intonation at the last syllable of the clause.

- (4) *molassa=ba tu dulang*
 delicious=PART the viand
 ‘Is the viand delicious?’

(5) Expected answers
 (5a) *oo*
 ‘Yes.’

(5b) *?uwān=pa (or ?uwān).*
 ‘Not yet. (or ‘No.’)’

(6) *ti Ema ba? (tu) ?immasat=mo?*
 PN.ABS Ema PART (PN.ABS) wife=GEN.2s
 ‘Is it Emma? (Is (she)) your wife? (or ‘Is Emma your wife?’)

(7) Expected answers
 (7a) *oo*
 ‘Yes.’

(7b) *?uwān (tikana)*
 ‘No’ (No, she’s not.)

The yes-no question in (8) is an existential clause. The head of the clause *ki=?**asawa* ‘there is a spouse (partner)’ has an existential particle and a noun. The speaker in clause (8) is asking if the addressee has a spouse or none. The answers from the question are either positive (9a) or negative in (9b).

- (8) *ki=?**asawa=ka=man*
EXI=spouse=ABS.2s=PART
‘Do you have a wife (husband)?’
- (9) Expected Answers
 - (9a) *oo ki=?**asawa=ko* (or *oo ki=immasat=ko* or *oo. ki=lake=ko*)
yes exi=spouse=GEN.1s
‘Yes. I have a partner (wife or husband).’
 - (9b) *?uwan ki=?**asawa* (or *uwan ki=immasat* or *ki=lake*)
NEG exi=spouse
‘None. I don’t have a spouse (wife or husband).’

15.3 Alternative Questions

Alternative question refers to interrogative clauses to which the expected answers are either one or two, or more alternatives given in the question itself. Dita (2007, p. 282) explained that “possible answers are provided in the question and the speaker can provide as many choices as possible”. When there are many choices, there is a possibility that conjunctions or connectors may appear in the list of choices. Simple choices are simply *oo* ‘yes’ and *uwan* ‘no, none, not’, or the adverbial particle *oo* ‘yes’ and *uwan* ‘no, none, not’ plus the speaker’s subjective reasons such as (11a-b).

- (10) *?o-nolon=mo yi?e ?o ?uwan*
CONT-know DEM or not
‘Do you know this or not?’

(11) Expected Answers

(11a) *oo, ?onolon=ko*
yes know=ERG.2s
'Yes, I know.'

(11b) *?uwan (?uwan=pa)*
'No (No, I don't).'

Another way of soliciting individualized responses is by providing many choices or possible outcomes. In this case, conjunction or connectors may appear, and two or more possible individualized answers may be chosen by the speaker. Examine the question in (12) and the many possible answers in (13-16).

- (12) *may-ligtas=kaya nu ?issa tu ?issa, ?o padipo=sid ma-limos*
IMPF-save=can DET one ABS one or both=ABS.3p IMPR-drown
'Can the other save the other one from drowning or both of them will be drowned?'
- (13) Expected Answers
padipo=sid ma-limos
same=ABS.3p IMPR-drown
'Both of them will drown.'
- (14) *may-ligtas=na tu sadile pedu ?itilak tu ka?usil nu wagot*
IMPR-save=ERG.3s ABS self but leave ABS company OBL water
'He will save himself but he will leave his companion in the water.'
- (15) *may-litas=na bewat ?issa*
IMPR-save=ERG.3s each one
'They will save one another.'
- (16) *may-litas=na kanekanya sadile*
IMPR-save=ERG.3s each.once self
'They will save their own life.'

15.4 Confirmation Questions

Confirmation question refers to interrogative clauses to which the expected answer is an assent to a proposition made by the questioner. Confirmation questions may resemble a “*tag question* in that they bear the confirmation of the proposition” such as in Ibanag (Dita S. , 2007, p. 283). On the other hand, confirmation question in Southern Alta can be best described by the inclusion of second-position clitics such as ‘question clitic’ *man* and *mad*, and other ‘adverbial’ particles such as *duman*, *din*, and *ngan* in clauses (17-19).

- (17) *bum-beylo=din bumbeylo=man*
CONT.RCVC-storm=already, CONT.storm=it is
‘It is storming already, **is it (storming)?**’
- (18) *nan-suksuk=ngan, nansuksuk=man*
PERF-hide=PART PERF.hide= PART
‘(He) really hid, **did (he) really hide?**’
- (19) *nansuksuk=duman, nansuksuk=mad*
PERF-hide=PART PERF.hide= PART
‘(He) actually hid, **did (he) actually hide?**’

15.5 Tag Questions

A *tag question*, according to Payne (1997), is “a yes/ no question consisting of a declarative clause plus a *tag* that requests confirmation or disconfirmation of the declarative clause” (p. 297). He pointed out that tag questions are usually a secondary yes/ no question device, and that a *tag* is often the historical source for question particles. The interrogative constructions of Southern Alta show the features of tag questions. They are formed from a declarative followed by the *tag*. The *tag* includes the particle *man* to confirm or disconfirm the response (20-23). The possible answers in each of the sample clauses below are either *oo* ‘yes’ or *uwani* ‘no’.

- (20) *yiʔe tu bala sokod yiʔeyay=man*
 ABS.DEM ABS new agreement ABS.DEM=PART
 ‘The new agreement is this, is **this the one?**’
- (21) *?uwan=yiʔe tu bala sokod, ?uwan=yiʔeyay=man*
 NEG=ABS.DEM ABS new agreement NEG.ABS.DEM=PART
 ‘The new agreement is not this, **is this not the one?**’
- (22) *nontawon ti Poloy montawon=man tikana*
 PERF.AF.wait ABS.PN Poloy PERF.AF.wait=PART ABS.3s
 ‘Poloy waited, **did he wait?**’
- (23) *?uwan=nontawon ti Poloy ?uwan=montawon=man tikana*
 NEG=PERF.AF.wait ABS.PN Poloy NEG=PERF.AF.wait=PART ABS.3s
 ‘Poloy did not wait, **did he not wait?**’

15.6 Information Questions

An information question refers to interrogative clauses to which the expected answer is information that falls within a semantic (and, to some extent, structural) category indicated by the questioner. The information questions consist of *?atin* ‘who’ and the different forms, *?anto* ‘what’, *kapila* ‘when’, *tiʔad* ‘where’, *bekit* ‘why’, *pila* ‘how many’, *mompapa* ‘how’ and *?agkalan* ‘how much’.

15.6.1 Who Questions

Who questions are formed by the word *?atin* ‘who’. It refers to animate entities, and the form *atin* inflects for number and case. *?atin* ‘who’ encodes a singular entity while *?atetin* ‘whose’ encodes plural entities. It also has three cases: ABS, ERG and BEN^{lxxx}. These are *?atin*, *ni?atin*, and *kanatin*.

15.6.1.1 *?atin* and *?atetin*

The question particle *?atin* ‘who’ is used to solicit information about animate singular entity such as clauses (24) and (25). *?atin* with a question adverbial marker =*man* encodes inquiry or interrogation (26). *?atin* encode ABS case. Examine the question and answer in clauses (27) and (28).

- (24) *?atin ?i mon-?akang tiddi*
who DET CONT-walk there
‘Who is the one walking there.’
- (25) *?atin yi tidemo=mo*
who DET ancestors=GEN.2s
‘Who are your ancestors?’
- (26) *?atin=man tu ?umakang*
who=PART ABS walk
‘Who should leave (soon)?’
- (27) *?atin ?i monakang tiddi*
who DET CONT.walk there
‘Who is walking there.’
- (28) *tiyak*
ABS.1s
‘I am.’

The question particle *?atetin* ‘whose’ is used to solicit information about animate plural entities such as *ti?atin* ‘whose’ **ABS** (29). The response is an ABS full **NP** *tu Panginoon* ‘the Lord’.

- (29) *ti?atin=man=di*
who.PL=PART=DEM
‘Who are the people over there?’
- (30) Response
?ay tu Panginoon=?ay=Jesus ?i kung-koy
CON DET Lord TL Jesus the CONT-pass.by
‘(Ay) The one who is passing by is Jesus, the Lord.’

15.6.1.2 *Niʔatin*

The question particle *niatin* ‘who’ is case-marked as ERG. The verb in clause (29) has a goals affix –*an*, the subject *nie sangay anak* ‘the three children’ express the semantic role of *agent* while focused NP *ti gupad* ‘grandmother’ express the semantic role of goal. The speaker in clause (31) informs while reply in (32) is a recast of the previous clause.

- (31) *tinubeyan=niʔe sangay ɿanak ti gupad*
PERF.help=ERG.DEM three child ABS.PN old.woman
‘The three children helped gupad.’

- (32) ***niʔatin***
who
‘By whom?’

15.6.1.3 *kanatin or kani atin*

The question particle *kanatin* or *kani atin* ‘who’ is case-marked as BEN/DAT. The information question in clause (33) is inquiring for the *recipient* or *benefactee* of an event or act (Payne, 1997, p. 172). The response in clause (34) is the *recipient* or *benefactee*, *kani lake Kantog* ‘for Kantog’.

- (33) ***kanatin=ɿe***
who.BEN=this
‘Whom is this for?’

- (34) Response
kani Lake Kantog
OBL.PN.PL adult.male Kantog
‘This is for lake Kantog’

The bare noun *kasanit* ‘replacement’ is the head of the nominal predicate in (35). It is followed by the *agent* encode as ABS pronoun *siya* ‘he, she or it’ and an NP phrase which consists of an OBLPN.PL and encodes the semantic role of BEN/DAT. The clause allows a ‘question clitic’ particle ‘man’ question which not only intensifies the inquiry, but it also insists the true identity of the referent. Also, clause (36) is a question-imperative construction wherein it fronted the question particle *kanatin* plus the ABS.2s =*ka* ‘you’; the plural ABS.2p =*kayo* ‘you’ may also be used to express command or request.

- (35) *kasanit=man=siya pade kani?**atin*
replacement=ABS.3s for who.BEN
‘Is he the replacement for us?’
- (36) *kanatin=ka depat mangngingingat*
who.BEN =ABS.2s should question
‘To whom should you ask a question?’
- (37) Response
kande ?uyang ?atta ?ateng
ABS.PN.PL older.brother and older.sister
‘From the elder brother and elder sister’

15.6.2 What Question

What questions are formed by the question particle *anto* ‘what’ or *anto=y* ‘what is’, the latter allows a DET *yi*. As you can observe in the following examples below, *anto* and *antoy* are still followed by a noun marker *yi* or *i*, respectively. All of the clauses in (38), (39), and (41) require a singular referent while the plural marker *pala* is between the question marker *antoy* and head noun *kale* in (40).

- (38) *?antoy=?i ngadon=mo*
what =DET name=GEN.2s
‘What is your name?’

- (39) *?anto=yi tadebeho=mo*
What DET work=GEN.2s
‘**What** is your work?’
- (40) *?antoy pala kale=?i ?onnolun=mo*
what PL language=DET know=GEN.2s
‘**What** languages do you know?’
- (41) *?anto=yi gewan=mo*
what=DET did=GEN.2s
‘**What** did you do?’

15.6.3 When Question

When question is formed by the question particle *kapila* ‘when’ such as clauses (42) and (43).

- (42) *kapila=ka ?in?panak*
when=ABS.2s PERF.born
‘**When** were you born?’
- (43) *kapila=ka sumubli*
when=ABS.2s IMPR.come
‘**When** are you coming back?’

15.6.4 Where Question

Where question is formed by the question particle *tiad* or *ad* ‘where’ such as (44) (45), and (46). The question particle *tiad* can be shortened to *ad* and may allow a ‘question clitic’ particle *man* question which not only intensifies the inquiry, and it also insists the true source or origin of the referent in (47).

- (44) *tiad=ka ?in?panak*
where=ABS.2s PERF.born
‘**Where** were you born?’

- (45) *tiad=ka* *nakata?an*
where=ABS.2s live
‘Where do you live?’
- (46) *tiad=ka* *?inumalang*
where=ABS.2s PERFgo
‘Where have you been?’
- (47) *?ad=man* *?inumalang ti* *Jesus*
where=PART PERF.go ABS.PN Jesus
‘Where did Jesus come from?’

15.6.5 Why Question

Why question is formed by the question particle *bekit* ‘where’ such as (48) and (49). The term is traced back in *Tagalog* language *bakit* also translates to ‘why’.

- (48) *bekit=ni?itta=ka=?amo binumangon*
why=now=ABS.2s=PART IMPR.woke.up
‘Why did you wake up late?’
- (49) *bekit=man ?uwan=kayo nakatuldok nu?apon*
why=PART NEG=ABS.2p climb.up yesterday
‘Why didn’t you come yesterday?’

15.6.6 How Many Question

15.6.7 How (countable)

How (countable) question is formed by the question particle *pila* ‘how’. *Pila* encodes countable entities such as age in (50), any tangible inanimate (51), and animate things (52).

- (50) *pila=?a taon=ka=na*
how=LIG years=ABS.2s=PART
‘How old are you?’

- (51) *pila=man ?i pintoan nu kudal*
how.many=PART DET doors DET pen
‘How many doors are in a pen?’
- (52) *pila ?i ?anak=mo*
How.many DET child=GEN.2s
‘How many children do you have?’

15.6.8 How Much Questions (non-countable)

How much question is formed by the question particle *Pagkalan* and *kapila* ‘how much’ or ‘how big’. *Pila* encodes abstract and non-countable entities such as mercy in (53), price or cost (54) and the built, mass or size (55).

- (53) *?agkalan kahangan ?i kalbi nu Makidepat dikitam*
how.much big DET mercy DET God OBL.1pi
‘How much is the mercy of God for us?’
- (54) *kapila tu kilo na bigas*
how.much the kilo DET rice
‘How much is a kilo of rice?’
- (55) *?agkalan kahangan ?i-gewan na bangka*
how.much big INST-make DET boat
‘How big is the boat that they are making?’

15.6.9 How ‘Modal’ Question

How modal^{lxxxii} question is formed by the question particle *mompapa* ‘how can (will)’. The “*how* (modality)”, according to Tanangkingsing (2017), “is concerned with the speaker’s estimate of the relationship between the *actor* and the accomplishment of some event” such as ability in clause (56), probability or assurance (57), and condition (58).

(56) *pinakoy ti Lutong mompapa=ko malap tu hinog=?a lalaguna*”,
said ABS.PN Lutong **how**=ERG.1s get ABS ripe=LIG guava
‘Lutong said, “**How** can I get the ripe guavas?’

(57) Conversation
Gupad: *mumpapa=kan nu ?umakang=ka=d*
 how=PART if IMPR.walk=ABS.2s.PART
‘**How** can that be if you will leave soon?’

(58) *mompapa=kame=kan ?a makalap na gemot*
how=ABS.1pe=PART LIG get DET medicine
‘**How** can we get some medicine?’

15.7 Summary

This chapter discussed and described the *interrogative constructions* of Southern Alta. Interrogativity in Southern Alta consisted of three types: *yes-no*, *alternative*, and *confirmation questions*. The discussion also included the inclusion of second-position clitics to form *confirmation questions*, and the forms of *how* questions in terms of *person*, *case*, and *modality*. After presenting and describing the interrogative constructions of Southern Alta, negation and negation constructions will be explained in detail in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 16

NEGATION

16.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the negation clause constructions of Southern Alta. Southern Alta expresses negation by *?uwan* or *wan* meaning ‘none’, ‘no’ or ‘not’. The preceding chapters, most importantly chapter 4 on clause types, have described positive declarative constructions. Here, in this chapter, the negative particle *uwan* or *wan* shall be illustrated as one of the elements in various negative clause construction such as *predicate negation* (16.2), *existential negation* (16.3), *negative responses or expressions* (16.4), and other social formulas for ‘positive’ propositions (16.5), and summary (16.6)

16.2 Predicate Negation

Predicate negation is formed by the word *?uwan* ‘none’, ‘no’ or ‘not’. It “may stand alone as an existential pro-sentences” (Schachter & Shopen, 2007, p. 32) or word-initial of a phrase or a clause in negative constructions. The shortened form is *wan*, and maintains to be clause-initial. The interlinear gloss NEG is used, and the English translation can be any of these, ‘none’, ‘no’, or ‘not’. This section is specifically divided into non-verbal (16.2.1) and verbal clauses (16.2.2). The subclasses are in turn explained under the main headings.

16.2.1 Non-Verbal Clauses

Non-verbal clauses include nominal predicate clause, adjectival clause, prepositional clause, locative clause and existential clause. The addition or insertion of *uwan* in the initial position of the clause makes the clause negative declarative clauses.

Let us first describe the nominal clause from (1) to (19). The different types of *nominal clauses* are classification (1), (2), (3), (4), and (5); *identificational clauses* are (6), (7), (8), (9), (10), and (11), *quantificational clauses* are (12) and (13) and *possessive clauses* (14), (15), (16), (17), (18) and (19).

Each clause has a counterpart negative construction except of course, compound sentence construction such as clause (3) and (5). The proper bare nouns *Dumaget* ‘Dumagat’ in clause (1) and kinship term *matdema* ‘father and son’ in (3) are negated in clause (2) *uwan Dumaget* ‘not Dumagat’ and *uwan matdema* ‘not father and son’(4). The negative particle in clauses (2) and (5) follow their referent nouns except in clause (3) in which the referent is post-positioned after the ABS 3pe pronoun.

- (1) *dumaget ti Takkoy*
Dumagat ABS.PN Takkoy
‘Takkoy is a *Dumaget*^{lxxxi}.’
- (2) *?uwan Dumaget ti Takkoy, Taw=siya*
NEG **Dumagat** ABS.PN Takkoy, Tagalog=ABS.3s
‘Udil is **not a Dumagat**, he is a *Tagalog*.’
- (3) *Kabuloan=kame, ?uwan=kame Bulos*
Southern.Alta=ABS.1pe NEG=ABS.1pe **Bulos**^{lxxxiii}
‘We are **Southern Alta**, we are **not Umiray Dumagat**.’
- (4) *mat-dema ti Kolmog ?atta Yayo*
RECIP-father.son ABS.PN Kolmog and Yayo
‘Kolmog (Lake Rogelio) and Yayo (Sonny) are father and son.’
- (5) *?uwan mat-dema ti Yayo ?atta ti Untik*
NEG RECIP-father.son ABS.PN Yayo and ABS.PN Uncle
‘Uncle Untik (Lake Ben) and Yayo (Sonny) are not father and son.’
mat-mama=sid
RECIP-uncle.nephew=ABS.3p
‘They are uncle and nephew.

Identificational clauses are (6), (7), (8), (9), (10), and (11). Most of the head nouns are preceded by a determiner such as (6) and (7), and (8) and (9), and as well, demonstrative NP with genitive phrases in (10) and (11). The *equational* sentence in (6) has a definite NP *tu maʔestudu* ‘the teacher’, but after negation in (7), the noun marker is omitted, and the head noun becomes indefinite and general.

- (6) *ti Sir Zandro ɿay tu maʔestudu na Dumaget*
ABS.PN HON Zandro TL the teacher OBL Dumagat
‘It is Sir Zandro who is the teacher of the Dumagat.’
- (7) *ɿuwan ti Sir Zandro tu maʔestudu na Dumaget*
NEG ABS.PN HON Zandro ABS teacher OBL Dumagat
‘Sir Zandro is not the teacher of the Dumagat.’
- (8) *tu kambing ɿi na-mangan nu pako*
DET goat DET PERF-eat ERG fern
‘It is the goat that ate the ferns’.
- (9) *ɿuwan tu kambing ɿi na-mangan nu pako*
NEG DET goat DET PERF-eat DET fern
‘It is not the goat that ate the ferns’.

The negative particle ‘*uwan* none’, ‘no’ or ‘not’ is clause initial in the negated demonstrative NP in clause (11).

- (10) *yiʔe tu pangako=Na*
DEM ABS promise=GEN.3s
‘This is His promise.’
- (11) *ɿuwan=yiʔe tu pangako=Na*
NEG=DEM ABS promise=GEN.3s
‘This is not His promise.’

The quantificational clauses are (12) and (13). Negated clause allows adverbial particles in the negative NP *uwan amo idduwa* ‘not only two’ in (13).

- (12) *?idduwa tu paliwanagni?e*
 two ABS explanation=DEM.ERG
 ‘This has two explanations.’
- (13) *?uwan=?amo ?idduwa tu paliwanag=ni?e*
 NEG=CON two DET explanation=DEM.ERG
 ‘This is not only limited to two explanations.’

The possessive clauses are shown in (14), (15), (16), (17), (18) and (19). The negative *uwan* ‘none’, ‘no’ or ‘not’ in (15) (17) and (19) are all in the initial position, negating the preceding positive clauses (14) (16) and (18).

- (14) *?asawa=ko=siya*
 wife=GEN.1s=ABS.3s
 ‘She is my wife.’
- (15) *?uwan=ko=siya ?asawa*
 NEG=GEN.1s=ABS.3s wife
 ‘She is not my wife.’
- (16) *diyak=yi?inna*
 OBL.2d DEM
 ‘That is mine.’
- (17) *?uwan diyak=yi?inna*
 NEG OBL.1s=DEM
 ‘That is not mine.’
- (18) *sayna ?i sundang=ko*
 EXI.DEM DET sword=GEN.1s
 ‘My dagger is *in* there.’
- (19) *?uwan=sayna ?i sundang=ko*
 NEG=DEM DET sword=GEN.1s
 ‘My dagger is *not* there.’

Adjectival clauses without negative lexical particles consist of *quantificational adjectival* in (12), and comparative adjectival (22) and (24). The negated forms of these clauses are shown in (21) and (23), respectively. The negative particle *?uwan* ‘none’, ‘no’ or ‘not’ takes the initial position of the clause.

- (20) *mopdos tu dulang*
 spicy DET viand
 ‘The viand is spicy.’
- (21) *?uwan mopdos tu dulang*
 NEG.spicy DET viand
 ‘The viand is not spicy.’

The intensity marker *asakit* ‘very’ is always post-posed such as modifying the adjective *mippaantibu* ‘sensitive’ in (22). Keeping the intensity marker *?asakit* ‘very’ in the same position in the negated form is very unusual, and it is better off to use other forms of intensity marker such as *?uwan pinakamippaantibuti Ilin* ‘Ilin is not the most sensitive’. Or, alternatively, omitting the intensity marker *asakit* ‘very’ is even more grammatical.

- (22) *mippaantibu ?asakit ti Ilin*
 sensitive very ABS.PN Illin
 ‘Ilin is very sensitive.’
- (23) *?uwan mippaantibu ti Ilin*
 NEG sensitive ABS.PN Ilin
 ‘Ilin is not sensitive.’

Like the nominal clauses above, the discourse participant in the form of person pronouns in (25) is transposed and should be preceded by the negative *uwan* ‘none’, ‘no’ or ‘not’ in the negated form.

- (24) *mangolenis=sid*
PL.clean=ABS.3p
 ‘They are **very clean**.’
- (25) *?uwan=sid mangolenis*
NEG=ABS.3p PL.clean
 ‘They are **not very clean**.’

The existentials of Southern Alta shows positive and negative polarity such as *kitiddi* or *ki* ‘there is (are)’ and *uwan kitiddi* or *uwan ki* ‘there is (are) no’. The latter shows the long and short forms respectively in succession, similar to the sample clauses below in (26) and (27). (Turn to chapter 13 on existentials for a complete information on positive and negative existentials).

- (26) *kitiddi=wagot tiddi*
EXI=water there
‘**There is water** there.’
- (27) *?uwan=ki=wagot tiddi*
NEG.EXI=water there
‘**There is no water** there.’

Existential expresses the existence or non-existence of something or someone. Either the short or long form positive existential can be used followed by the existential phrase such as (28). In some cases, due to the principle of economy, the shorter negative existential is being used such as in (29).

- (28) Conversation
Sonny : *ki=beon ti Lagyo*
kitiddi=beon ti Lagyo
EXI=baon ABS.PN Lagyo
Is there baon for Lagyo (and the others)?
- (29) Gupad: *uwan=sid ki=beon*
?uwan=sid kitiddi=beon
NEG=ABS.3p EXI=baon
‘They **have no baon.**’

The declarative clause in (29) is negated with the clause-initial negative *?uwan* ‘none’, ‘no’ or ‘not’ and followed by the pronoun ABS.3s. It is similar with negative nominal and adjectival clauses with discourse participant in the form of person pronouns such as ABS.3p in (29). The pronoun is transposed and should be preceded by the negative *uwan*. As for the negative existential, the pronoun is also transposed and should be preceded by the negative *uwan* followed by the existential phrase *kitiddi* or *ki* ‘there is (are)’ together with its referent. Otherwise, if the NP is post positioned after the negative existential clause in (20a) below, it becomes ungrammatical.

*(29a) Conversation

Gupad: *uwan=ki=beon=sid*
?uwan=kitiddi=beon=sid
NEG=EXI=baon=ABS.3p
‘They have no *baon*. ’

Existential demonstratives are also present in Southern Alta start with *say-i* ‘be here’ and it also has three degrees of space such as clause (18) and (30). Examine also the *in there* in (30) *not there* in (31).

- (30) *sayna tu mongeta=mo*
EXI.DEM ABS looking.for=GEN.2s
‘The one that you are looking for is *in* there.’

- (31) *?uwan sayna tu mongeta=mo*
NEG DEM ABS looking.for=GEN.2s
‘The one that you are looking for is *not* there.’

The clauses (32) and (33) are examples of prepositional predicate clauses wherein the latter clause negated the former. The initial element of the clause starts with the word *pade* which is equivalent to the English word ‘for’. The negative particle *uwan* ‘none’, ‘no’ or ‘not’ takes the initial position in the negated clause in (33).

- (32) *pade kande Sonny=yiʔe pala ʔage ʔatta sapatos*
 for OBL.PN.PL Sonny=DEM PL dress and shoes
 ‘These shirts and shoes are **for Sonny’s**.’
- (33) *?uwan pade kande Sonny yiʔe pala ʔage ʔatta sapatos*
 NEG for OBL.PN.PL Sonny DEM PL dress and shoes
pedu pade kani tsipteyn
 but for OBL.PN chieftain
 ‘These shirts and shoes are **not for Sonny’s** but for chieftain.’

16.2.2 Verbal Clauses

Similar with nonverbal clauses, the negative particle *?uwan* or *wan* meaning ‘none’, ‘no’ or ‘not’ takes the initial-clause position, forming a negative verbal predicate. The verbal predicate in (34) *nampasbu* ‘boiled water’ is expressed in the opposite in (35) *nampasbu* ‘did not boil water’.

- (34) *nam-pasbu na wagot ti Salon pade makapagkape=kitam*
 PERF-boil DET water ABS.PN Salon for take.coffee=ABS.1pi
 ‘Salon boiled some water so that we can drink some coffee.’
- (35) *?uwan nam-pasbu nu wagot ti Salon kaya*
 NEGPERF-boil DET water ABS.PN Salon for
?uwan=kitam makapagkape
 NEG=ABS.1pi take.coffee
 ‘Salon did not boil some water that is why we cannot drink some coffee.’

The imperative form or ‘command’ *mampasbu ka* ‘(you) boil water’ in (36) when negated, the negative particle does not change the clause-initial position, and may allow an adverbial particle *pamo* ‘for the moment’ following the verbal predicate in (37).

- (36) *mampasbu=ka na wagot pade makapagkapē=kitam*
IMPR-boil=ABS.2s OBL water for take.coffee=ABS.1pi
‘(You) Boil water so that we can drink some coffee.’

- (37) *?uwan=ka=pamo mam-pasbu*
NEG=ABS.2s=at.the.moment IMPR-boil.water
- kitiddi=pa=?a mopnang=?a wagot nu tilmus*
EXI=PART=LIG hot=LIG water DET thermos
‘(You) Do not boil water for the moment, there is still hot water in the thermos.’

The PERF forms *minagisis* ‘brush teeth’ in (38) and *minagsitsit* ‘gossipmongered’ in (40), and even when negated, the negative particle *uwan* does not change the clause-initial position in (39) and (41), respectively.

- (38) *minag-isis ti Inni*
PERF-brush.teeth ABS.PN Inni
‘Inni brushed her teeth.’
- (39) *?uwan=duman minag-isis ti Inni*
NEG=PART PERF-brush.teeth ABS.PN Inni
‘Inni did not surely brush her teeth.’
- (40) *minag-sitsit ?ti Lorena*
PERF-gossipmonger ABS.PN Lorena
‘Lorena gossip mongered.’
- (41) *?uwan minag-sitsit ti Lorena*
NEG PERF-gossipmonger ABS.PN Lorena
‘Lorena did not gossip monger.’

In the case of contrasted topics, the first clause in (42) shows the referent in the ERG.3s and negated by the following clause. The negative particle takes the initial element followed by other elements that functions as adverbials. Notice that the ‘focused’ NP is missing in negated constituent, and yet the syntax is complete. The first clause in (43) does not also indicate the focused NP and yet it appears in the second clause after the

negative particle *?uwan*. In this kind of construction, as explained in Dita (2007, p. 298), the negated constituent always appears after the matrix clause and may take adverbial particles.

- (42) *paagsilpun ?i ginawa=na ti buo=?a sinag kaya*
 playing.cellphone DET do=ERG.3s OBL whole=LIG day PART

?uwan=duman=din pumasok na pa?adelan
 NEG=again=now enter OBL school
 ‘He kepts on playing the cellphone the whole day which resulted to not attending school again.’

- (43) *?ugnay yi panu?ud nu ngane?an kaya ?uwan=nak=duman*
 PART DET watching DET ghost.movies CON NEG=ABS.1s=PART

mopansin tu ?utos=ko dikana
 notice ABS order=GEN.1s OBL.3s
 ‘Because of the frequent watching of horror movies, he did not again notice my orders for him.’

Aside from the adverbial particles that appear in the sample clauses above, there are other adverbial elements that may possibly occur in negative constructions most especially in casual conversation. The following are the particles and their ‘near’ English translation: *pa* ‘yet’, *mad* ‘already’, *wadi* ‘again’, *man(=g)* *kuwa* ‘again already’, *amo* ‘only’. At times, some of them can be translated literally, but any of them may give wrong connotation if a particle is translated as a separate lexical item from the clause.

The negative *?uwan* following the adverbial particle *=pa* may literally mean ‘not yet’ in (45). The adverbial *mad* ‘already’ may mean a confirmation of perfectivity or completed action and it always occur with an interrogative construction in (44) and (46).

- (44) *naka-salew=ka=mad na beges*
 IMPR-buy=ABS.2s DET rice
 ‘Did you already buy rice?’

- (45) *?uwan=pa*
 NEG=PART
 ‘Not yet.’

- (46) *nag-beyad=mad ti Patrik*
 PERF-pay=PART ABS.PN Patrick
 ‘Did Patrick pay you already?’

- (47) *?uwan=pa minag-beyad*
 NEG=PART PERF-pay
 ‘He has not paid yet.’

The particle *wadi* meaning ‘I wish’ following an intransitive verb in the CONT aspect.

- (48) *?uwan=wadi ?ol-lawin laway ti Patrick*
 NEG=PART CONT-see PART ABS.PN Patrick
 ‘I wish (I) will not meet Patrick again.’

The particle *duman* means ‘again’ or ‘and also’ while *?uwan amo* may mean ‘just do not’. Both 49 and 50 shows that the group of words before the negative *uwan* confirms while the second clause negates the previous clause. Since (49) and (50) are recorded conversation, and they could have missed some lexical items while in the process of speaking. Number (49) could have missed =yi?e =pedu ‘this but’ and *mamangan ti gupad* ‘grandmother eats’ before each negative clause.

- (49) Conversation
 Sonny: *?impa-gewa=ko ?uwan=duman mog-tama*
 PERF.do=ERG.1s NEG=PART CONT-right
 ‘I had (this) repaired, but cannot make the time right.’

(50) Conversation

SM: *?agya moddelas, ?uwan=?amo ma?adu tu kanon=na*
CON always NEG=PART many ABS rice=ERG.3s

ta ?ikkolon=siya
CON coughing=ABS.3s

‘Even frequently, she should not eat too much rice because she will be coughing.’

In some cases, the conditional particle *nu* ‘if’ follows the negative *?uwan* and the adverbial particle *=man* ‘already’ which is ‘similar in meaning’ of particle *=mad* but appears in a non-interrogative clause (51). The adverbial *ngan* ‘really’ or ‘truly’ reaffirms a proposition.

(51) *nu ?uwang=ka=man nabutang*
if NEG=ABS.2s=PART fool
‘How stupid you really are!'

(52) *?uwan=ngan=siya*
NEG=PART=ABS.3s
‘He is not really the one.'

16.3 Existential Negation

There are two existential negation markers in Southern Alta: existential possessive and existential locative. In all cases, negative construction is formed by adding *uwan* or *wan* meaning ‘none’, ‘no’ or ‘not’ before the verbal or non-verbal clause unless a conditional *nu* ‘if’ clause. Negative construction of existential clauses is likely the same followed with the short existential form *ki* ‘there is (are)’ and the case-marked NP. The NP in (54) is case-marked as ABS. However, if a pronominal in the ABS case appears in the clause, the pronominal follows the existential phrase and its referent like in (55). If there are obligatory constituents in negative predicate or existential clauses like in Ibanag,

the existential particle *ki* or *kitiddi* have two functions: first, as an obligatory element in an existential clause and second, as noun marker. Examine the *ki* or *kitiddi* in positive (53) and (56), and negative existential (54), (55), and (57) whether common or proper nouns.

16.3.1 Existential Possessive

Existential possessives is encoded with the existential *ki* and the noun *nikot* ‘honey’ followed by the NP *tu anak* ‘the child’ (53), while the negative existential possessive is formed by adding *?uwan* ‘no’ to the positive existential possessive clause (54), (55) and (57). A longer form of existential possessive *kitiddi* ‘there is’ is shown in (56).

- (53) *ki=nikot tu ?panak*
ki(tiddi)=nikot tu ?panak
 EXI=honey ABS child
 ‘The child has honey.’
- (54) *?uwan=ki=nikot tu ?panak*
 NEG=EXI=honey DET child
 ‘The child has no honey.’
- (55) *?uwan=siya ki=nikot*
 NEG=ABS.3s EXI=honey
 ‘He has no honey.’
- (56) *kitiddi=Makidepat*
 EXI=God
 ‘There is God.’
- (57) *?uwan ki=Makidepat*
 NEG EXI=God
 ‘There is no God.’

16.3.2 Existential Locative

Existential locatives functions both as an existential and as a demonstrative. It affirms the presence or absence of an entity in a temporal space familiar to either speaker or addressee. It is formed by the initial syllable *say* while the second syllable indicates the degrees of space. The positive existential demonstrative follows the OBL particle *ti* and the specified location or place in (58), while the negative existential locative starts with the particle *?uwan*.

- (58) *saydi ti Bato tu bele=me*
EXI.OBL OBL Bato ABS house=GEN.1pe
'Our house is in Bato.'
- (59) *?uwan tiddi ti Bato tu bele=me*
NEG DEM.OBL OBL Bato ABS house=GEN.pe
'Our house is not in Bato.'

The EXI.DEM *sai* 'be here' combined with the OBL pronoun such as *diyak* 'for me' express the presence or absence of an entity in a temporal space familiar to either speaker or addressee such as in the existence of something in (60) or absence of something in (61).

- (60) *sa?i diyak tu sundeng=mo*
OBL OBL.1s ABS dagger=GEN.2s
'Your dagger is in me.' or 'I have here your dagger.'
- (61) *?uwan diyak tu sundeng=mo*
NEG OBL.1s ABS dagger=GEN.2s
'Your dagger is not in me.' Or 'I do not have here your dagger.'

On the other hand, locative demonstrative indicates a place or location and is accompanied by a pointing gesture or not. The negated clause in (61) shows the particle *?uwan* in clause-initial.

- (62) *tiddi ti bente-kuwatro tikame nakataan*
there OBL twenty-four ABS.1pe live
'We live there in twenty-four.'
- (63) *?uwan tiddi ti bente-kuwatro tikame nakataan*
NEG DEM.OBL OBL twenty-four ABS.1pe live
'We do not live there in twenty-four.'

16.4 Negative Responses/ Expressions

The negative particle is still *?uwan* 'no' or 'none' and which confirms that the opposite is 'yes' or 'there is (existence/ presence of something)'. The negative uwan can stand alone as an *existential pro-sentence* in (65) or contrasting clauses in (67).

- (64) *molamsit=mad*
being sour=PART
'Is it sour?'
- (65) *?uwan*
NEG
'no'
- (66) *molasas=man tu ?impa-kaltu=ko*
tasty=PART ABS PERF-cook=GEN.1s
'Is my dish tasty?'
- (67) *?uwan molasas, mollamsit=siya*
NEG tasty being.sour=ABS.3s
'It is not tasty, it is sour.'

There are also some negative lexical items that express negative expressions or suggestions such as *odton* or *uwan budi* ‘do(es) not like’. These negative expressions are followed by an ergative pronoun and may also take adverbial particles such as *ngan* in (69) and *pa* in (70), (71) and (73). Examine the use of adverbial *nga* in (69) and *pa* in (70), (71) and (73), the particle modifies the verbal clause and they also intensify their semantic meaning.

- (68) *mo?age=ka ?um-ule*
early=ABS.2s IMPR-go.home
'(You have to) Come home early.'
- (69) *?odton=ko=ngan*
do.not.like=ERG.1s=PART
'I do not like (I do not think so).'
- (70) *sabin=mo nu pala ?opolitaw ?ay ?um-ugsad=sid nu pun*
tell=ERG.2s GEN PL young-man TL IMPR-get.down=ABS.3p ERG pun
ta kitiddi=?a pala diyo=?amad malalbiyak=sid
CON EXI=LIG PL bee=maybe IMPR.fall=ABS.3p
'Tell the young men to get down the trees because there are many hives because they might fall down.'
- (71) *?odton=de=pa=?a lumukdes*
NEG=ERG.3p=PART=LIG IMPR.climb.down
'They do not want to climb down yet.'
- (72) *?uwan=de=budi=pa*
NEG=ERG.3p=like
'They do not like yet.'
- (73) *kakane=yak=din mamangan=?a ?uwan=nak=pa kopos-an*
later=ABS.1s=PART IMPR.eat=LIG NEG=ABS.1s=PART hungry-THE
'I will eat later; I am not yet hungry.'

The second-position clitics such as pronouns, adverbial particles, or ligatures can be combined in both positive or negative construction provided that the pronoun ends with a vowel and followed by a consonant-initial adverbial particle such as *ka=d* in (74)

and *ku=d* in (75). Or a case such as (76), the ligature =g, a velar stop, has assimilated with the negative particle *?uwan*, in which the coda is a dental nasal /n/ to form a velarized nasal sound η and makes it similar with the *Tagalog* ligature *ng*. And somehow opposite to (77), the coda (*?uwan*) with a dental nasal /n/ is omitted in place of the onset of ERG.2s =*mo* ‘you’, a bilabial nasal /m/.

- (74) *ma-demo=ka=d ma-mangan*
 IMPR-first=ABS.2s=PART IMPR-eat
 ‘Go on you can eat first.’
- (75) *?uwan=ku=d budi ma-mangan*
 NEG=ERG.1s=PART like IMPR-eat
 ‘I do not like to eat now.’
- (76) *tiyak ni?edut (?u)wan=g=ku=d buddi=?a kaydenasan na anak=ko*
 ABS.1s now NEG=LIG=ERG.1s=PART like=LIG experience DET child=GEN.1s
 Now, I do not want my children to experience the same.
- (77) *ta ?inipon?anak=siya na ?issa bekos=?a*
 CON born=ABS.3s OBL one woman =LIG
?uwam(n)=pa ki=dineyan na patud
 NEG=PART EXI=near OBL man
 ‘Because he was born from a woman who has never been touched by any man.’

16.5 Other Social Formulas for ‘Positive’ Propositions

The negative particles *?uwan* ‘none’, ‘no’, or ‘not’ and its various forms in actual conversation *wan*, *wang*, and other negative constructs as well *odton*, *uwan budi* ‘do(es) not like’ are all explained above. It is deemed fair to give some positive constructs such as the use of *like*, *okay*, *gusto*, and *aprobado* and are now being used by younger Southern Alta people. The latter lexical items are casual terms are originally *Tagalog* and has assimilated with the younger generation of Southern Alta except for (77) and (78) which means ‘approve’ and ‘does not approve’, respectively.

- (78) *singayon=nak=taʔe*
 approve=ABS.1s=DEM
 I approve this.
- (79) *?uwan=nak sun-singayon dikana*
 NEG=ABS.1s CONT.RCVC-approve OBL.3s
 I do not approve him. (I do not favour him.)

16.5.1 The morpheme base *?uwan*, its inflection and derivation

The *na?uwan* means ‘something was lost’, the inflection is a PERF *ma-* stative verbs. Other aspectual forms are possible such as the IMPF *mauwan* and CONT *mouwanaŋ* in (81)

- (80) Conversation
 Sonny: *?ay=di na?uwan tu kani gupad*
 TL=DEM PERF-lost ABS OBL.PN grandmother
 ‘Long ago, the one (Voter’s ID) of Gupad was lost.’
- (81) *mo?uwan-an=sid na kapangyadihan*
 CONT.none-THE=ABS.3p OBL power
 ‘They are losing powers.’

16.6 Summary

This chapter described the different *negation constructions*. The negation clauses consisted of *verbal* and *non-verbal construction*. *Existential negation* described the two features: negation that expresses *possessive* and *locative*. The last section described other negative responses and expressions, and other social formulas for ‘positive’ propositions. It also included the derivation and inflection of the negative particle *?uwan*. After presenting and describing the negative and negative constructions of Southern Alta, syntactic processes will be explained in detail in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 17

SYNTACTIC PROCESS

17.1 Introduction

This chapter explains the possible syntactic processes of Southern Alta syntax. The chapter is divided in the following sections: *antipassivization/ detransitivization* (17.2), *relativization* (17.3), *clefting* (17.4), *pseudo-clefting* (17.5) and *topicalization* (17.6) and summary (17.7).

Southern Alta is a predicate-initial language. The basic clause consists of a predicate and its argument(s). There are two types of predication: *non-verbal and verbal clause*. *Non-verbal clauses* consist of a predicate non-verb and followed by noun phrase(s). These *non-verbal clauses* take the initial position and make them the head of the clause, and they are in a form of a *nominal, adjective, prepositional, locative, and existential*.

Verbal clauses consist of a predicate verb followed by one or more arguments. The verb predicate contains an affix that indicates the semantic role of the focused argument. *Verbal clauses* are distinguished between transitive and intransitive. Transitive verbs consist of GF affixes (*i-*, *-in-*, *-an*, *-on*) followed by the grammatical subject and the ‘focused argument’. Intransitive verb carries AF affixes (*-um-*, *mag-*, and *mang-*) and the single ‘focused argument’.

Since the center of this chapter is on the syntactic processes of clauses, it is imperative to revisit the grammatical relations of a prototypical clause. This will distinguish the prototypical verbal clause of Southern Alta based in three basic semantico-syntactic roles S^{lxxxiv}, A^{lxxxv}, and P^{lxxxvi}. The grammatical relation of subject can be defined

as S together with A, while direct object, or simply "object," can be defined as P alone (Payne, 1997, p. 133).

The verbal clause of Southern Alta consists of a *transitive* and *intransitive*. An intransitive clause consists of AF affixed verb and a single argument macrorole that is labelled as S while a transitive clause consists of GF affixed verb with two argument macroroles that is labelled as A and P, respectively.

The first clause (1), which has an AF affix *mag-*, is an intransitive verb, and has a single core argument identifies as S. The second verbal clause which has a GF affix *-an* is a transitive verb, and the clause consist of two core arguments, identifies as A and P, respectively. The S of clause (1) and P of clause (2) are identified as having the same definite noun marker *tu* and followed by a noun with the same semantic role of a prototypical 'patient'. These show that clause 1 and 2, the transitivity matrix of Southern Alta verbal clauses, have an ergative-absolutive alignment.

- (1) *mag-hinaw tu ɻanak^S*
IMPR-wash ABS child
'The child will wash (hands).'
- (2) *ɻo-ɻulas-an nu ɻanak^A tu gomot^P*
CONT-washing-GF.THE DET child ABS hand
'The child is washing hands.'

On the other hand, there are transitive and intransitive constructions that have the same number of NP structures but differ in valence. An intransitive verb which expects two nominal complements, one an S and an E^{lxxxvii}, is called a *dyadic* or *bivalent intransitive*. And the other one, a transitive verb which expects two nominal complements, one A and a P, is called *dyadic or bivalent transitive*. To illustrate, clause 3

is a *dyadic or bivalent intransitive* because it consists of a single core argument and an NP labelled as E. Compare and contrast clause 2, it is a dyadic or bivalent transitive because it consists of **two** core arguments, an A and a P.

- (3) *mag-hinaw tu ?anak^S ti luo^E*
 IMPR-wash ABS child OBL stream
 ‘The child will wash (his hands) in the stream.’

Moving on to position of the nominal complement E for transitive clauses, examine clause 4. The phrase *ti luo* ‘in the stream’ is labelled E, it functions as the third core argument of a transitive clause. This is called *triadic or trivalent transitive clause*.

- (4) *?o-?ulas-an nu ?anak^A tu gomot=na^P ti luo^E*
 CONT-wash-GF.THE ERG child ABS hand=GEN.3s OBL stream
 ‘The child is washing hands in the stream.’
- (5) *s<in>alew nu patud^A tu beges^P ti belayan^E*
 <PERF>buy ERG male ABS rice OBL barrio
 The man bought some rice in the barrio.

17.2 Antipassivization / Detransitivization

Payne (1997, p. 219) defined *antipassive* as “a valence decreasing operation. Further, he explains that it downplays the centrality of one participant in a scene by downgrading the syntactic status of the verbal argument that refers to that participant”. Further, “passives are different from anti-passives because *antipassives* downplay the centrality of a patient or P argument rather than an *agent* or A argument”. On the other hand, “*passivization* takes place in transitive clauses only”. Dita (2007, p. 304) further explained that “*passivization* process involves the demotion of the subject to either an oblique NP or the object of a by-phrase”. She also claimed that “this process is not applicable to Ibanag as well as other Philippine-type languages”.

Compare the clauses 6 and 7. The clauses below are bivalent intransitive clause and the verbs are *detransitivized* meaning they are converted from transitive clauses 4 and 5. The usual grammatical structure of a bivalent intransitive clause is VINT + S + E. Transposing S and E will make E OBL after the affixed verb and the ABS core argument (VINT + E + A). This process then is called *antipassivization*.

- (6) *nag-hinaw nu gomot=na tu ?Panak*
 PERF-wash OBL hand=GEN.3s ABS child
 ‘The child washed his hand.’
- (7) *s<um>alew nu beges tu patud*
 <IMPR>buy OBL rice ABS man
 The man will buy some rice.

17.3 Relativization

A relative clause is “a subordinate clause which delimits the reference of an NP by specifying the role of the referent of that NP in the situation described by the relative clause” (Andrews, 2007a, p. 206). Previous description on “relative clauses”, according to Kennan 1985, as cited by Payne (1997, p. 325), is “one that functions as a nominal modifier and it consist of the four pertinent parts”. These are the *head*, which is the noun phrase that is modified by the clause, the *restricting clause*, which is the relative clause itself, the *relativized noun phrase*, which is the element within the restricting clause that is coreferential with the head noun, and the *relativizer*, which is the morpheme or particle that sets off the restricting clause as a relative clause.

In relation to the morphosyntax of Philippine languages, Reid and Liao (2004) explained that “relative clauses are those in which the language requires a ligature between the noun in the matrix clause and the relative clause and in which the head of the

relative clause is a verbal form" (p. 477). The matrix clause *tikana tu olitaw* 'he is the young man' follows the relative clause '*?a inumangay tiddi*' 'who has come from there'. The matrix and relative clause is conjoined by the ligature =*?a*.

- (8) *tikana tu ?politaw=?a ?inumalang tiddi*
 ABS.3s ABS young.man=LIG PERF.AF.come.from DEM
 'He is the young man who has come from there.'

The clause below describes the matrix clause and the relative clause in (9). The matrix *yie madikit ay mosampat* 'this maiden is pretty' and the relative *a minontawid nu age* 'brought the dress' is the verbal relative clause.

- (9) *yi?e madikit=?a minontawid nu ?age ?ay mosampat*
 ABS.DEM young.maiden=LIG PERF.AF.bring ERG shirt TL pretty
 'This maiden who brought the dress (here) is pretty.'

Southern Alta has the ligatures *?a* and the loan =(n)g. It is the ligature =*?a* that connects head nouns and their modifier, for instance, (10) and (11), and the relative clauses above. In addition, the ligature =*?a* is prenominal in (10) and postnominal in (11). Southern Alta is sometimes morphosyntactically similar with *Tagalog*, the ligature *na* in *Tagalog* is sometimes used in casual conversation.

- (10) *tu modognin=?a kabwan*
 ABS cold=LIG wind
 'a/the cold wind'
- (11) *tu kabwan=?a modognin*
 ABS wind=LIG cold
 'a/the wind which is cold'

Nonverbal may be relativized. The ‘nominal’ relativized clause in (13) is based from an intransitive clause (12). The ‘adjectival’ relativized clause in (16) is based from clauses (14) and (15).

- (12) *nakabungun tu anak*
PERF.AF.wrap ABS child
‘The child is wrapped (with something).’
- (13) *yiʔe tu ?panak=?a nakabungun na lampin*
ABS.DEM ABS child=LIG wrap around DET cloth
‘This is the child who is covered with swaddling clothes.’
- (14) *tu late=?a miduliduli*
ABS rattan=LIG thorns.PL
‘a rattan which has many thorns’ (other types may not be as many as this one)
- (15) *miduliduli=?a late*
thorns.PL=LIG rattan
‘a very thorny rattan’
- (16) *miduliduli=?a halaman tu late*
thorn.PL=LIG plant ABS rattan
‘Rattan is a plant which has many thorns.’

On the other hand, there are relative clause constructions that are referred to as ‘headless’. *Headless relative clauses* “are a specific instance of noun phrases without nouns” (Dryer, 2007b, p. 221). Clause 17 lack the head noun *madikit* ‘maiden’ or ‘young woman’ while existential clause in (18) has ‘relativized’ the verbal *monlangad* ‘sitting’ and *mogpalimos* ‘asking for alms’.

- (17) *mossampat (=?a madikit) tu ?inumakang ti luʔo*
pretty (=LIG maiden) DET PERF.AF.walk OBL stream
‘The one who went to the stream is (a) pretty (maiden).’

- (18) *kitiddi Pissa ?alta buta=?a monlangad na gilid*
EXI one person blind=LIG CONT.sit OBL beside
‘There was a blind person (who was) sitting beside the road
nu sabang=?a mogpalimus
ERG beside=LIG CONT.ask.alms
(and who was) asking for alms.’

Another way of relativization is shown below (19). The locative phrase *ti belayan* ‘in town’ is fronted, and follows a verb with a locative focused suffix *-an sinalewan* ‘bought’. The relativized clause consists of a locative NP *ti belayan* ‘in town’ and a locative *-an* affixed transitive verb.

- (19) *ti belayan sinalewan nu tidema tu anak*
ABS town PERF.GF.buy ERG father ABS child
‘It is in town where the father bought the child (a toy).’

17.4 Clefting

Payne (1997, p. 278) defined a cleft construction as “a type of predicate nominal consisting of a noun phrase (NP) and a relative clause whose relativized NP is coreferential with an NP”. NP is commonly referred to as the “clefted constituent,” and is normally found to the left of the rest of the clause, though it may appear in other positions. However, Dita (2007, p. 305) explained that *clefting* as “a process by which a focused constituent is extracted from its position and often set off with some ‘additional material’, including an extra verb”. She added that derivations resemble the *it*-clefting in English.

Clefting can be best illustrated “by fronting the NP constituent, that is, or the ‘clefted constituent’” (Payne, 1997, p. 279). NP fronting may be an *agent* (19), *theme* (21), and *locative* (22). The agent may be replaced with a pronoun in (20). However, the form that the relative clauses in (19) – (22) “depends on what relativization strategies the language employs” (p. 279).

In the case of clause (19), the relativization strategy of *?i sinumalew* ‘one who bought’ is nominalization or headless clause. The agent *tu tidema* ‘the father’ (20) is replaced with pronoun ABS. 3s *tikana* ‘He (She or It)’.

- (20) *tu tidema ?i sinumalew na meme ti belayan*
ABS father DET PERF.AF.buy OBL toy OBL town
‘The father is the one who bought the toy in town.’

- (21) *tikana ?i sinumalew na meme ti belayan*
ABS.3s DET PERF.AF.buy OBL toy OBL town
‘He (She, It) is the one who bought the toy in town.’

The theme *tu meme* ‘the toy’ follows a relativized constituent ‘the toy which was bought’ in (21). The locative phrase *ti belayan* ‘in town’ is fronted, and follows a verb with a locative focused suffix *-an sinalewan* ‘bought’. The relativized clause consists of a locative NP *ti belayan* ‘in town’ and a locative *-an* affixed transitive verb. In addition, the focused NP *tu anak* ‘the child’, which is a ABS-marked constituent in the oblique slot, has a benefactive reading. In other words, this clause classifies as an applicative construction.

- (22) *yiinna tu meme=?a sinumalew ti belayan nu tidema*
DEM.ABS ABS **toy=LIG** PERF.AF.buy OBL town OBL father
‘That is **the toy which was bought** in town by the father.’

- (23) *ti belayan sinalewan nu tidema(=na meme) tu ?panak*
ABS town PERF.GF.buy ERG father(=OBL toy) OBL child
‘**It is in town where** the father bought the child (a toy).’

Another clefted constituent show that the fronted **ABS.3s =siya** ‘he (she or it)’ is relativized with an existential construction *ki* or *kittiddi* ‘there is/are’ (23).

- (24) *siya tu ki=kapangyadihan ?at ki=gewa na lahat*
ABS.3s ABS EXI=power and EXI=create DET all
‘**It is he who has** the powers and has created everything.’

17.5 Pseudo-Cleaving

Transitive clause can also undergo *pseudo-cleaving*. *Pseudo-cleaving* is a process in which “the non-focused constituents are extracted from their positions and preceded by a WH-item” (Dita S., 2007, p. 307). The cleft constituent is connected to the focused constituent by the topic linker *ay*. *Pseudo-cleaving* can be best illustrated in clause (25), (26), and (27).

- (25) *tu kanta ?ay tu ?itudu nu ma?estade ti pa?adelan*
ABS song TL ABS INST.teach ERG female.teacher OBL school
‘The song is the one that the female teacher will teach in school.’
- (26) *tu ma?estade ?ay tu mangtudu nu kanta ti pa?adelan*
ABS female.teacher TL ABS AF.teach ERG song OBL school
‘The female teacher is the one who will teach the song in school.’
- (27) *tu pa?adelan ?ay tu pangitudu?an nu kanta nu ma?estade*
ABS school TL ABS NOM.place.to.teach ERG song ERG female.teacher
‘The school is the place where the teacher will teach the song.’

17.6 Topicalization

Topicalization is a phenomenon in which “some element of a sentence is singled out as a topic” (Trask, 1993). With regards to the characteristics of Philippine languages, Reid and Liao (2004, p. 447) described topicalization constructions as “consisting an initial nominal constituent acting as theme of the construction, and it is coreferential with one of the nominal complements of the main clause”. Further, the authors explained that “a topic is typically separated from a following verb by an intonation break, which may also be accompanied by a bridging constituent with a topic linker *ay*”. Barlaan (1999) called this process “NP fronting”. *Topicalization* is done by “preposing the topicalized element,

usually the *theme* or *patient*" (Dita S. , 2007, p. 308) in the clause (28) and (29), respectively, or the topic is then separated from the rest of the sentence by a comma in (29). Aside from the theme fronted, the *topicalized* clause contains an ABS in (28) or an GEN pronoun in (29) that cross-references with the topicalized theme.

- (28) *tikame Paloy ?atta Emon ?um-angay=(ka)me ti tabi*
 ABS.PN.PL Paloy and Emon go=ABS.1pe OBL falls
 ‘We, Paloy and Emon, will go to the falls.’
- (29) *ti Buya, sinumakay=(tika)na ti ?oddog=ko*
 ABS.PN Buya DEM ride=ABS.3s OBL back=GEN.1s
 ‘The crocodile, it rode on my back.’

Reid explained that “Proto-Northern Luzon languages allow topicalized NPs, and at times, it requires a topic linker *ay* which links the constituents of the clause” (2006, p. 5). In addition, *ay* has a special discourse function such as contrast or emphasis (Tanangkingsing, 2009).

- (30) *tikaw ?ay mongnol=?a malangno*
 ABS.2s TL intelligent=LIG speaking
 ‘You, who is good in speaking,’
?i pa?akudol ti bilay=yo
 DET attest OBL life=GEN=2p
 ‘can attest about your lives.’
- (31) *tikame=ni?edut,*
 ABS.1pe=now
 ‘As for us now,’
?i kobilay=me ?ay pagtanom ?atta paaglate
 DET means.livelihood=GEN.1pe TL planting and.also gathering.rattan
 ‘our means of livelihood are planting and gathering rattan.’

17.7 Causativization

Causativization is an operation that increases the valence to one. Jong (2005) described this process as “a complex situation consisting of two component events: (i) the causing event, in which the causer does or initiates something; and (ii) the caused event, in which the causee carries out an action, or undergoes a change of condition or state as a result of the causer’s action” (p. 450).

Causation is formed by “the causative stem forming prefix *paN-*, this morpheme is the most productive way of expressing causatives in many Philippine languages” (Tanangkingsing M. , 2009, p. 547). The causatives of Southern Alta are monoclausal, and they are formed by the AF and AG affixes with the addition of prefix *paN-*. The valency of the AF causative verbs do not increase the number of arguments, rather, the causer and causee is one, and the same. On the other hand, a causer and causee arguments are added in GF causativized constructions. Examine the clause in (32-34) below. The AF intrasitive verb in (32) is translated *nogsolat* ‘(someone) wrote’, and when conjoined with the clause in (33) will result to clause (34). There is no overt indefinite pronoun morpheme in clause (33), but it only illustrates the process causative construction undergoes by adding the causative morpheme *paN-* to a basic verbal clause.

- (32) ***nogsolat***
PERF.AF.write
‘(Someone) wrote.’

- (33) ***pasolat tu mapestade*** CAUSER
CAUS.write ABS female.teacher
‘The female teacher will ask someone to write.’

- (34) ***nog-pa-solat tu mapestade*** CAUSER, CAUSEE
PERF.CAUS.write ABS female.teacher
‘The female teacher asked someone to write for her.’

Another example is the meteorological verb *kumabwan* ‘winding’ or ‘airing’. The AF meteorological verb in (35) *nomkabwan* ‘(it) aired’, and then fused with *pa-kabwan* ‘ask someone to air/wind’ in (36) will result to a causative intransitive clause (37).

- (35) ***nomkabwan***

PERF.AF.air

‘(It) aired.’ or ‘(It) winded.’

- (36) ***pa-kabwan=nak=man=o*** CAUSER

CAUS-air=ABS.1s=PART=INTJ

‘I will ask someone to air/wind (me).’ (Lit. I will air/ wind myself.)

- (37) ***nom-pa-kabwan=nak=man=o*** CAUSER, CAUSEE

PERF.AF-CAUS-air=ABS.1s=PART=INTJ

‘I just made myself get some fresh air.’ (Lit. I got myself aired/ winded.)

If the valency of the AF causative verbs do not increase the number of arguments, GF affixes (-en, an, i-) with the addition of the causative morpheme *pa-* increases the valence to one. Certain verbs are bivalents such as *kan* ‘eat’ in (38-40) and *hangā* ‘big’ in (41-43), With the addition of the causative morpheme *pa-*, the *causer* is encoded in the ERG; the causee is in ABS; and the non-obligatory peripheral argument is in OBL.

- (38) ***kan tu maʔestade*** CAUSEE

eat ABS female teacher

‘The female teacher will eat.’

- (39) ***pa-kan-on nu kapolongan*** CAUSER

CAUS-eat. PAT ERG council

The council will feed (someone).

- (40) ***pina-kan-on nu kapolongan tu maʔestade***

PERF.CAUS-eat.PAT ERG council ABS female.teacher

‘The council asked someone to feed the female teacher.’

- (41) ***hinumangā=sid*** CAUSEE

PERF.big=ABS.3p

‘They grew.’

- (42) *pa-hanga=ko*^{CAUSER}
CAUS-big=ERG.1s
'I raised.'
- (43) *pina-hanga=ko=d=sid*
CAUS.PERF.big=ERG.1s=ABS.3p
'I made to raise them myself.'

17.8 Summary

This chapter described the syntactic process of basic sentence or clause formation such as the *antipassivization* and *detransitivization*, *relativization*, *topicalization* and *causativization*. After presenting and describing the various syntactic processes of Southern Alta, the last chapter will enumerate the summaries of each chapter.

CHAPTER 18

CONCLUSION

18.1 Introduction

This chapter provides summaries of each chapter, a conclusion, and a recommendation. This chapter is divided in the following sections: summaries (18.2), a conclusion (18.3), a recommendation (18.4), and directions for future study (18.5).

18.2 Summaries

Chapter 1 discussed the objectives of this dissertation. It included a discussion on Philippine Languages and Philippine Negrito languages. It described the Altan languages and its language family. It also gave valid reasons why Southern Alta should be documented. Some sections focused the description of Southern Alta language, the people and their lifestyle. Half of the chapter gave a recap of the literature reviews on Philippine languages and Philippine Negrito languages on language documentation and description, and other works pertaining to linguistic features of Philippine languages. It included the statement of the problem, the theoretical framework, conceptual framework, scope and limitations and significance of the study.

Chapter 2 laid down the research approach that has been used. The discussion included the methods and techniques being used in gathering data, the participants or native speakers of the community, the types of data and corpus, the results from texts and language data, other particulars such as correspondence in LGU and LRP, and the proposed outline of the final dissertation.

Chapter 3 described the phonology or the sounds of Southern Alta. It covered the *vowels*, *diphthongs*, and *consonants* including their phonological features such as *stress* and *vowel length*, *homophony*, *phonological alternations*, *syllabification*, and *gemination*, and a complete inventory of the sounds of Southern Alta.

This chapter discussed and described the morphology of Southern Alta language. It included the *forms* such as the roots/bases, affixes, stems, clitics, and monomorphemic syllables. This chapter also includes a discussion on the different morphological process in word formation (derivation and inflection) of nouns, verbs and adjectives such as affixation and reduplication, and germination of consonants.

Chapter 4 examined the co-variation and meaning of words, or the morphology of Southern Alta. The discussion consisted of lexical similarities between Southern Alta and other contact languages. It also included the different *forms* such as the *roots/bases*, *affixes*, *stems*, *clitics*, and *monomorphemic syllables*, various morphological processes and a working orthography.

Chapter 5 described and discussed the clause types of Southern Alta: *non-verbal* and *verbal clauses*. *Non-verbal* clauses consisted of *nominal*, *adjectival*, *existential*, *prepositional*, and *locative predicate clauses*. *Verbal clauses* consisted of *intransitive* and *transitive constructions*. *Causative constructions* on both intrasitive and transitive were also described. *Extended Locative Focus* (ELF) construction is succinctly explained under the transitive clause. In the introductory section of non-verbal clause, the term ‘clause’ is used as described and defined by Reid and Liao (2004). The section on verbal clauses recapitulated the theoretical bases on transitivity and focus system (Reid & Liao, 2004; Dita S. , 2007; Tanangkingsing M. , 2009), as applied in Philippine-type languages.

Chapter 6 described and discussed two nominal markers: *determiners* and *demonstratives*. The description included the *constituent order, number, definiteness/indefiniteness*, and *functions of nominal markers*. There are two types of deictic pronouns illustrated here: the *spatial* and *temporal*. As for the spatial, three distinctions were described: *proximal, medial*, and *distal* while for the spatial, two distinctions were presented: *recent* and *remote*.

Chapter 7 described the pronominal system. It described the position and functions of pronouns in simple phrase, and in basic verbal or non-verbal clauses. The different pronouns are distinguished: *absolutive, ergative, oblique, genitive, possessive cases, existential demonstrative, and indefinite pronouns*. It also presented the *free* (long) and *clitic* (short) forms. The different pronouns are distinguished according to their *case-marking, person, number, and functions*. Other types such as the indefinite pronouns and combination of pronouns are also described. This chapter also described the types of demonstratives: *spatial, locative, recognitional, similitive* and *temporal*. *Temporal demonstratives* have *recent* and *remote temporal expressions*.

Chapter 8 described the structural and distributional properties of nouns. It also described briefly the nominal markers. Aside from investigating the properties of common, proper and borrowed nouns, the language showed five ways of forming plural. In addition, the language showed eight types of derivation.

Chapter 9 described the adjectives of Southern Alta. The description consisted of semantic and syntactic characteristic of adjectives. The semantic criterion described the adjectives by categories such as the prototypical characteristic (*size, quality, trait* and *color*), the existence of *antonymic pairs, intensification* and *gradation* in the *comparative*

and *superlative degrees*, *indefiniteness*, and *pluralization*. It also included the derivation process through affixations and other morphological processes.

Chapter 10 introduced the Southern Alta *verbs* and *verb phrases*. First, it explained the distributional and structural properties of verbs, the derivational properties, the concept of verbal ‘focus’ in Southern Alta vis-à-vis Philippine languages, the grammatical relations of verbs with its nominal complements, the aspectual properties of intransitive and transitive verbs, and the verb classes.

Chapter 11 discussed, identified, and described the adverbial particles and adjuncts of Southern Alta. The adverbial particles were divided into three: clause-initial, post-verbal, and combination of adverbials. The adjuncts were divided into manner, time, location and directions, and frequency. In addition the distributional properties were also described.

Chapter 12 discussed and described the number system of Southern Alta. The number system consisted of the *cardinal*, *ordinals*, *distributives*, *kinship order*, *length*, *fractions*, *volume*, *dates*, *clock time*, *prices*, *age*, *distance* and *land area*, and *multiplicatives*. Southern Alta uses three languages in describing their number system; these are *Spanish*, *Tagalog*, and *Kabuloan*.

Chapter 13 discussed and described the *existential constructions* of Southern Alta including a form of existential that emerges from demonstratives. It included a discussion between the *positive* and *negative existential clauses* including *pre-position* and *post-positioned* elements such as *determiners*, *modifiers* and *ligature*. Three main uses of existential clauses were discussed; these are existential, possessive and locative use. Other forms of existentials that are considered as having existential constructions were introduced.

Chapter 14 discussed and describes the connectors of Southern Alta. It consisted the *topic linker ay*, *ligatures*, *connectives*, and *preposition-like particles*. The description included of the functions and position of *connectors*, ligatures, *connective*, and *preposition-like particles*.

Chapter 15 discussed and described the *interrogative constructions* of Southern Alta. Interrogativity in Southern Alta consisted of three types: *yes-no*, *alternative*, and *confirmation questions*. The discussion also included the inclusion of second-position clitics to form *confirmation questions*, and the forms of *how* questions in terms of *person*, *case*, and *modality*.

Chapter 16 described the different *negation constructions*. The negation clauses consisted of *verbal* and *non-verbal construction*. *Existential negation* described the two features: negation that expresses *possessive* and *locative*. The last section described other negative responses and expressions, and other social formulas for ‘positive’ propositions. It also included the derivation and inflection of the negative particle *uwan*.

Chapter 17 described the syntactic process of basic sentence or clause formation such as the *antipassivization* and *detransitivization*, *relativization*, *topicalization* and *causativization*.

A glossary of linguistic terms is provided at the end of the last chapter. The Appendix section consist of hortatory texts, narrative and constructed texts, and an excerpt from Biblical commentaries (written).

18.3 Conclusion

Based from the findings from Chapter 3-16, I conclude that the Southern Alta language is a Philippine-type language. That is, Southern Alta follows a predicate-initial

clause; basic predication consists of a verb and/or a noun phrase; **AF** and **GF** affixes are focus-type affixes; transitive constructions show an ergative-absolutive argument. However, other grammatical categories and/ or features are still subject for further analysis.

18.4 Recommendation

This is only an introductory description of Southern Alta. Future research should focus on language vitality, sociolinguistic profile, historical linguistics, typology, areal features, dialectology, indigenous education, educational material development, language and cultural documentation, among others.

18.5 Directions for future study

The present study is not even its epidermal. I believe that there are more to explore. There are still many linguistic features to be investigated and learned in different levels in the areas of applied linguistics and its related disciplines.

In phonology, it quite interesting to delve in the areal, dialectal, and lexical features of Southern Alta communities in the Sierra Madre mountains. Although they are located in the highlands of the Sierra Madre, these communities interact with different ethnolinguistic groups or dialects in three provinces in Luzon: *Bulacan, Nueva Ecija, and Aurora*.

In morphology, Southern Alta could have possess a very conservative form from of verbal and non-verbal morphology. First, the language has short and long forms of AF PERF aspect affix. Secondy, there are many possible affixation to a stem/root which are meant the same. The affixation patterns for nouns and other grammatical categories have

not yet been fully discovered. The interface of phonology and morphology which give rise to such features like gemination and reduplication has not yet been fully utilized.

In syntax and discourse, Southern Alta has a way to inform the listener of a direct quotation and indirect quotation of a discourse participant. In addition, there are a few clauses that appear only in narrative texts, and these warrant further theoretical analysis.

In sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, anthropological linguistics and other allied subjects in applied linguistics, as well as in literature, history, and other related disciplines, it is far more interesting and insightful to study now while there are still a few active septuagenarian and octogenarian speakers.

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

absolutive	the case form which marks both the subject of an intransitive and the direct object of a transitive verb, and which contrasts with the ergative (Trask, 1996, p. 3).
adjunct	is a category which is a modifier of a lexical head without being subcategorized for by that lexical head and which could in principle be removed without affecting well-formedness (Trask, 1996, p. 8).
affixation	is the process of attaching an affix to a base (Trask, 1996, p. 11).
agent	refers to a participant which the meaning of the verb describes as doing something, or causing something to happen, possibly intentionally (Andrews, 2007b, p. 137).
ambient clauses	refers to clauses describe as having zero arguments. They involve environmental conditions, typically weather conditions (Dryer, 2007a, p. 267).
applicative construction	refers to the number of object arguments selected by the predicate is increased by one with respect to the basic construction (Polinsky, 2005, p. 442).
base	in morphology, variously consisting of a root, a stem or a word, which serves upon the addition of a single further morpheme, as the immediate source of information (Trask, 1996, p. 28).
causer	refers to a participant who causes something to happen, but does not act intentionally (Andrews, The major functions of the noun phrases, 2007b, p. 141).
causative construction	refers to a linguistic expression which denotes a complex

situation consisting of two component events: (i) the causing event, in which the causer does or initiates something; and (ii) the caused event, in which the causee carries out an action, or undergoes a change of condition or state as a result of the causer's action (Jong, 2005, p. 450).

classificational nominal clauses those that classify the entity expressed in the nominative phrase of the clause (Reid & Liao, 2004, p. 436).

clause (or sometimes 'sentence') is the linguistic expression of a proposition; a proposition is a conceptual notion, whereas a clause is its formal morphosyntactic instantiation (Payne, 1997, p. 71).

clitic is phonologically bound to a preceding host. Clitics are divided into proclitics, which are bound to a following host, and enclitics, which are bound to a preceding host (Trask, 1996, pp. 46-47).

comitative a case form typically indicating an individual in whose company something is done (Trask, 1996, p. 49).

consonant germination assimilation of the final consonant of an affix with the initial consonant of the root word.

desiderative a mood category expressing the sense of 'wanting' or 'desiring' (Trask, 1996, p. 80).

distal space refers to the area outside the realm of the speaker or addressee (Rubino, 1997, p. 44)

divalent verb a verb that takes two core arguments.

dyadic see divalent

enclitic a clitic which is phonologically bound to a preceding host (Trask, 1996, p. 91).

- ergative** the distinctive case form marking the subject of a transitive verb in morphologically ergative languages and contrasting there with the absolutive (Trask, 1996, p. 92).
- existential clauses** either express the existence of something or express possession of something.
- existential pro-sentence** is a set of distinctive answers like English *yes* and *no*, which are used in answering question, and which are equivalent to affirmative and negative sentences, respectively (Schachter & Shopen, 2007, pp. 31-32).
- experiencer** refers to a participant who is characterized as aware of something (Andrews, The major functions of the noun phrases, 2007b, p. 141).
- genitive** a distinctive case form typically marking a noun phrase which serves a possessive role within a larger noun phrase (Trask, 1996, p. 118).
- goal** refers to the end point of a motion in an abstract or concrete sense (Trask, 1996, p. 119).
- identificational nominal clauses** are those in which the predicate provides specific identification or the entity expressed in the absolutive noun phrase of the clause (Reid & Liao, 2004, p. 438).
- instrument** refers to an entity that instigates an action indirectly (Payne, 1997, p. 49).
- medial space** refers to entities located within the physical and mental realm of the addressee (Rubino, 1997, p. 42).
- metathesis** means ‘changing places’: two segments switch in order (Zsiga, 2013, p. 244).

- monadic** see monovalent.
- monoclausal** refers to the expression of the causer's action and the expression of effect must be both contained in one and the same predicate (Jong, 2005, p. 450).
- monomorphemic** means containing one morpheme (Haspelmath & Sims, 2010, p. 334)
- monovalent verb** a verb that takes only one core argument.
- morphophonemics** phonological alternations, especially nonallophonic changes (Odden, 2013, p. 325)
- oblique** a case marking that denotes an NP which is neither a subject nor a direct object (Trask, 1996, p. 194).
- patient** refers to a participant which the verbs describes as having something happen to it, and as being affected by what happens to it (Andrews, 2007b, p. 137).
- portmanteau pronouns** refer to agentive participant and a nominative participant simultaneously. It is considered a portmanteau pronoun because it carries both the grammatical functions of 'first person singular genitive' and 'second person singular nominative' (Liao, 2008, p. 2).
- pretense nouns** those that refer to diminutive imitations of the real thing (Ruffolo, 2003) or those with deprecatory quality (Rubino, 1997).
- proximal space** refers to entities located within the physical and mental realm of the speaker (Rubino, 1997, p. 41).

recent past	refers to something that has been mentioned earlier in the discourse. Most likely, the referent is living and is known by both the speaker and the addressee (Rubino, 1997).
recipient	refers to a participant who ‘gets’ something (Andrews, 2007b, p. 141).
recognitional use	refers to demonstratives that indicate that the speaker and hearer are familiar with the referent due to specific shared knowledge or experience (Diessel, p. 93).
referential expressions	are the preferred type of expressions. These are pronouns that are employed mainly to refer to the participant(s) in the discourse environment (Tanangkingsing M. , 2009, p. 519).
remote past	refers to someone who has not been seen for a long time or to the deceased. The referent could also be things that do not exist anymore (Rubino, 1997, p. 46).
sandhi	any of various phenomena in which the form of a word or morpheme is modified by the presence of an adjoining word or morpheme (Trask, 1996).
similative demonstrative	refer to expressions that instruct or demonstrate the similarity of two entities
theme	refers to a participant which is characterized as being in a state or position, or changing its state or position, sometimes treated as a kind of patient (Andrews, The major functions of the noun phrases, 2007b, p. 141).
triadic	see trivalent.
trivalent verb	a verb that takes three core arguments.

valency the number of core arguments that a verb takes
(Dixon & Aikhenvald, 2000, p. 3).

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APPENDIX A - GRAMMATICAL SKETCHES AND REFERENCE GRAMMARS

Year	Author(s)	Title
1967	Richard Ewell Elkins	Major Grammatical Patterns of Western Bukidnon Manobo
1974	Paul Schachter and Fe T. Otanes	Tagalog Reference Grammar
1974	Thomas Headland and Alan Healey	A Grammatical Sketch of Casiguran Dumagat
1977	Casilda E.Luzares	Cebuano Verb Morphology: An application of Case Grammar Part 1
1977	L. Hohulin and A. Hale	Notes on Keley-i Relational Grammar 1
1978	Casilda E.Luzares	Cebuano Verb Morphology: An application of Case Grammar Part 2
1979	Evan L. Antworth	A Grammatical Sketch of Botolan Sambal
1987	R. Mayfield	A Tentative Grammatical Survey of Central Cagayan Agta
1988	Kerr Harland	Cotabato Manobo Grammar
1981	H. Miller and J. Miller	Mamanwa Texts with grammatical description
1992	Ursula Post and Mary Jane Gardner	Binukid Grammatical Sketch
1992	Vivian M. Forsberg	A Pedagogical Grammar of T'boli
1997	Takashi Fukuda	A Discourse-Oriented Grammar of Eastern Bontoc
1997	Carl Ralph Galvez Rubino	A Reference Grammar of Ilocano
1999	Carol Jean Pebbley	A Sketch of Kagayanan Clause Structures
2000	Carl Ralph Galvez Rubino	Ilocano Dictionary and Grammar
2004	Roberta Ruffolo	Topics in the Morpho-Syntax of Ibaloy, Northern Philippines
2008	Laura C. Robinson	Dupanigan Agta: Grammar, Vocabulary and Text
2009	Michael Tanangkingsing	Functional Reference Grammar of Cebuano
2009	Wilhelm Nitsch	Some Ayta Abellen Grammar
2010	Shirley Dita	A Reference Grammar of Ibanag
2010	S. J. Quakenbush, G. Hendrickson, & J. Edep	A Brief Overview of Agutaynen Grammar
2011	J. Allen	A Role and Reference Grammar Analysis of Kankanaey
2012	Marilou Santos	A Contemporary Grammar of Hiligaynon
2013	Perfecto V. Dizon Jr.	Grammar and Discourse Features of Contemporary Pangasinan
2013	Roger Stone and Wilhelm Nitsch	An Introduction to Ayata Abellen Morphology and Syntax (online)

APPENDIX B- DICTIONARIES OF PHILIPPINE LANGUAGES

Year	Author	Title
1929	H.P. Williams	English-Ilocano Manual and Dictionary
1933	M. Vanoverbergh	Kankanay Dictionary
1953	H. C. Conklin	Hanunoo-English Vocabulary
1955	V. Forsberg and A. Lindquist	Tagabili Vocabulary • Tagabili Vocabulary
1955	M. Vanoverbergh	Iloko-English Dictionary
1957	Scott	Sagada Igorot or Northern Kankanay Vocabularies
1958	SIL- Philippines	Ifugao Vocabulary
1959	E. Zorc	Aklanon Vocabulary
1959	Warren	Batak
1967	McKaughan and Macaraya	Marano Dictionary
1968	SIL- Philippines	Dictionary of Botolan Sambal A-bal
1968	R. Elkins	Manobo Dictionary
1968	L.E. Newell	Batad Ifugao Vocabulary
1968	SIL- Philippines	Dictionary of Botolan Sambal
1969	Ibarbia	Gaddang Dictionary
1969	V. Salas-Reyes, N. Prado, and E. Zorc	A Study of Aklanon Dialect, Volume Two: Dictionary
1972	J.U. Wolff	A Dictionary of Cebuano Visayan, 2 volumes
1973	SIL- Philippines	Dictionary Yakan-Pilipino-English
1974	T.N. Headland and J.D. Headland	A Dumagat (Casiguran)-English Dictionary.
1975	L. Reid	Bontok-English Dictionary
1975	SIL- Philippines	Dictionary Yakan-Pilipino-English
1976	Y. Yamada	A Preliminary Dictionary of Itbayanen
1977	L.J. English	English-Tagalog Dictionary
1978	SIL- Philippines	Dictionary Te Menobo
1978	SIL- Philippines	Dictionary – Yakan-Pilipino-English
1979	SIL- Philippines	English-Filipino-Kagayanen Vocabulary
1979	SIL- Philippines	Bukabularyo Pangutaran Inglis Maka Pilipino • A Classified Vocabulary Pangutaran English and Pilipino
1979	SIL- Philippines	English Pilipino Sama Sibutu Basic Vocabulary • English Pilipino Sama-Sibutu Basic Vocabulary
1980	SIL- Philippines	Diksyunadi Be Udel English T'boli Pilipino ne Hiligaynon
1980	SIL- Philippines	A Topical Vocabulary in English, Pilipino, Ilocano and Southern Kalinga
1981	SIL- Philippines	A Classified Vocabulary of English, Pilipino and Limos Kalinga
1981	SIL- Philippines	Vocabulary Maguindanao-English-Filipino
1981	M. Cook and B. Kyle	Nangadan un iblatu Named Pictures
1982	N. Purvis (compiler)	Ngadan di Latlatoh • A Picture dictionary in Ayangan Ifugao
1983	V.C. Santos	Pilipino-English dictionary

1985	SIL- Philippines	Balangao Language Dictionary
1986	SIL- Philippines	Father English's
1986	L.J. English	Tagalog-English dictionary
1987	SIL- Philippines	Dictionary Yakan-Pilipino-English
1989	M. Riego de Dios and F. Otanes	Chabacano Dictionary
1990	G. Svelmoe and T. Svelmoe	Mansaka Dictionary
1992	P. Ursula and M.J. Gardner (compilers)	Binukid Dictionary
1992	J. Walton and C. Walton	English-Pangutaran Samal Dictionary
1993	L.E. Newell	Batad Ifugao Dictionary with Ethnographic Notes
1993	G. Gelade	Ilokano-English Dictionary
1993	G. Laconsay	Iluko-English-Tagalog Dictionary
1998	C.R.G. Rubino	Ilocano Dictionary and Phrasebook
1998	C.R.G. Rubino	Tagalog Standard Dictionary
1999	E. Constantino	The Contemporary English-Filipino Dictionary
2000	C.R.G. Rubino	Ilocano Dictionary and Grammar
2001	E. Wolfensen	A Masbatenyo-English Dictionary
2001	SIL- Philippines	Diksiyonari Yakan – Inglis – Para Si Istudyante
2002	Y. Yamada	Itbayat-English Dictionary
2006	L.E. Newell	Romblomanon Dictionary
2012	SIL- Philippines	Subanen Central – English
2013	SIL- Philippines	Yakan – English Dictionary
2013	SIL- Philippines	Maranao – English Dictionary
2013	SIL- Philippines	Ayta Abellen-English Dictionary (online)
2013	SIL- Philippines	Ayta Mag-Indi-English Dictionary (online)
2013	SIL- Philippines	Bolinao-English Dictionary (online)
2013	SIL- Philippines	Ibatan-English Dictionary
2014	SIL- Philippines	Agutaynen_English Dictionary

**APPENDIX C- LANGUAGE SOURCES (ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTES,
TEXTS, PRIMER, AND LITERARY, READING AND EDUCATIONAL
MATERIALS)**

Year	Title
Agta, Casiguran Dumagat	
1979	Libru a Pegbasaan
1979	Magadal Kitam a Magbasa
1974	Ugali na Agta, (Customs of the Agta)
1971	Lagip Ni Tariri • Tariri Story
1969	Pakodyan tam a Mangibut ta Saket a Tibi
1965	Ikadua a Libru a Pegbasaan 2 • Primer
1965	Ikaepat a Libru a Pegbasaan 4 • Primer
1965	Ikalima a Libru a Pegbasaan 5 • Primer
1965	Ikatello a Libru a Pegbasaan 3 • Primer
1965	Lagip na Agta • Storybook
1965	Purumeru a Libru a Pegbasaan 1 • Primer
1965	Tu Aso Sakay tu Bakokol • Storybook
n.d.	Memahal a Lagip (Good Stories) • Storybook
Agta, Central Cagayan	
1987	Studies in Philippine Linguistics Supplementary Series: Philippine Texts No. 2 1987 Central Cagayan
1987	The Day of the Wedding
1987	Advice to one Who Seeks Marriage
1987	My Dream Today
1987	Who Is Guilty?
1987	A Story about Hunting
1987	The Agtas' Fire
1987	Father's Advice to His Family
1987	When We Rode an Airplane
1987	Harvesting Honey from Bees
1987	Agta Kinship and Social Organization
1987	Agta Religion
1983	Magbasa Kitam (2nd Ed.) • Preprimer
1981	Adalan Tam Ya Takwan na Agsitang • Phrase Book
1981	Ya Bida ni Dyani Hukal na Apel • Johnny Story
1980	Bida na Agta, Ikid na Kadwan Tolay ta Paglelehut en • Traditional Narratives
1980	Ya Lebru Malogon Ya Lebru Mabasa (2) • Easy Reader
1980	Ya Paglelehut Tam • Our World (Atlas)
1980	Magsurat Kitam • Primer
1979	Ya Bakbakat Ikid na Buhay na • Easy Reader
1979	Ya Tinurak na Agta, Kiden Nagbasa • Writings
1978	Magbasa Kitam • Preprimer
1978	Ya Mayor na Agbasan na Agta • The Primary Reader in Agta (Primer)
1965	Agbasan na Agta, Lebhu 1 • Pri1
1965	Agbasan na Agta, Lebhu 2 • Primer 2

1960	Uhohug na Agta, 2 • Primer
1959	Uhohug na Agta, 1 • Primer
1955	Vocabulary Central Cagayan Negrito
Agta, Dupaninan	
1983	Balasang Aran
1981	Panya tam maadya i saket a tibi • How to get rid of the sickness called tuberculosis
1981	Magadal kitam a magkuenta • Let us learn math
1980	Boyboy na Agta • Agta Stories
1980	Alpabeto 123 • Alphabet and numbers writing book
1980	I mapalungo a mabasa • I mapalungo a mabasa
Agta, Umiray Dumaget	
1986	I Moggot Pati Kakmukan a Pigsurotin a Kadumagetan • Traditional Stories
1985	Bumasa Kitam Di • Primer
1985	Magsolat • Writings
1982	I Mundu I A Kataanan Tam • Atlas
1982	Magbilang Kitam 2 • Math Primer
1982	Magbilang Kitam 3 • Math Primer
1982	Pagyedi • Primer
1981	Magbilang Kitam • Math Workbook
1981	Manga Ngalan.pdf • Names
1981	Pagpamatud ni Tariri.pdf • Tariri Story
1981	Ti Papalano a Naedup I Hudyo Ide.pdf • Storybook
1981	Tipapalano a Bobulong I Orom a Tibi • Tuberculosis
1981	Uloisin a Surut Pati Leterato • Picture Dictionary
1979	Pagyedi a Ayun ni Abaka • Primer
1976	I Pagsurotin a Kadumagetan • Traditional Stories
1976	I Tipide a Sinumapit Deko • Literacy Book
1976	Pagkululung mi de Mindanao • Storybook
1973	I Kaugelian ni Dumaget • Customs
1973	I Pagpamaget a Kadumagetan • Storybook
1973	I Pigsurotan ni Laki a Isopo • Storybook
1964	Pebesa Pati Pesolat I • Primer
1964	Pebesa Pati Pesolat II • Primer
1964	Pebesa Pati Pesolat III • Primer
1964	Pigbesa-in a Tagibu • Storybook
Agutaynen	
2006	Mga bitalang pangaldaw-lakdaw • Everyday words and expressions
2000	Ginotaygotay • A collection of poems in Agutaynen
2000	Mga bitalang pangaldaw-kaldaw • Everyday words and expressions
1999	The wild chicken man
1999	The Fish That Got Away
1999	Trapping Birds
1999	About Boarding Students
1999	Do Come Home
1999	Ones Who Quarrelled
1999	How To Dry Fish
1999	Planting Rice

1999	About Harvesting
1999	Beliefs About Rice
1999	Birthing
1999	Why I Believe That Souls Return
1999	Child Giving and Child Receiving in a Lowland Philippine Society
1999	Onopay boaten ta mga may taw ang napaso • What do we do if when a person is burned
1998	Bolong ang Herbal • Herbal medicine
1998	Onopay Boaten ta mga May Taw ang Agtrangkason • What do we do if when a person has the flu
1998	Onopay Boaten ta mga may Taw ang Galotan ta wi Tang Sinangoni na • What do we do if when a person
1997	Magistoria ita • A collection of stories
1996	Magistoria ita • A collection of stories
1992	Ang istoria ang natetenged ong trangkas • Ang istoria ang natetenged ong trangkas
1992	Natetenged and taw and galotan ta wi ta sinangoni na
1989	Mga bitalang pangaldaw-kaldaw • Everyday words and expressions
Atta, Pamplona	
1973	Dan ira nga istoria • Traditional Narratives
1973	Kegga mi ta Bagabag • Storybook
1971	Kegga mi ta Bagabag • Our stay in Bagabag
1970	Bibbiram mu • Read it
1970	Bunnake • Riddle
1969	Nu Mataki Gakom Anni Akkuam Mu? • Tuberculosis Ayta, Abellen abp
Ayta, Abellen	
2004	Pangihabet ha apat a habi • Speaking in Four Languages
Ayta, MagAnchi	
1995	Magumpisa kitaminan mamaha • Let's Begin Reading
1994	Ya istoryan Aytan Pinatubo • Pinatubo Ayta stories
1993	Ya luta tamo • Our world
1993	Mamaha kitamina • Let's read
1992	Mag-umpisa kitaminan mamaha • Let's Begin Reading
1991	Mamasa kitamoy na • Let's read
1991	Magumpisa kitamoy nan mamasa • Let's begin reading
1988	Panhabiin kanan kapagkatupa mo • A phrase book for Ayta Mag-anti
Ayta, MagIndi	
2002	Paggamit sa Apat a Pagsabi • The use of four languages
1994	Ang aking mga kaibigang Aeta
1992	Si pagung buy si bakulaw •
1991	Ang aking mga kaibigang Aeta
1991	Paggamit sa Apat a Pagsabi • The Use of Four Languages
1991	Paggamit sa Apat a Pagsabi • The use of four languages
Balangao	
1989	Hen Laprapon hen Maniyapan • Primer
1981	Maniyaptaaw 3 • Primer
1981	Tariri • Tariri Story
1980	Etoroy way Maniyap • Primer

1980	Hen Ekaman Way Manesoro • Teacher's Guide
1970	Hen Natenaten way ale • Phrase Book
1979	ABK123 revised • Alphabet Writing Book
1978	Ad Losoob • At Losob
1978	ABK123 • Alphabet Writing Book
1976	Hen Ekaman Hen Polestas • Agriculture
1976	Hen Masapol Way Unudun • Community Living
1976	Ta Ammay hen Himbabalyan • Health Book
1975	Aklat sa Pilipino Ukol sa mga Hindi Tagalog • Teacher's Manual
1975	Andalentaaw Mepanggep Antoy Lota • Primer
1974	Etoloy Way Mambilang • Math Book, with Teacher's Guide
1974	Etoloy way Maniyap • Primer with Teacher's Guide
1974	Hen Laplapon hen Maniyapan • EasyReader
1974	Ilugi Way Maniyap • Primer with Teacher's Guide
1974	Ilugi Way Maniyap 1 • Primer
1974	Mambilangtaaw • Math Book, with Teacher's Guide
1973	Hen Masapol Maammuwan • Primer
1973	Maid Adi Halemen way Tatagu • Storybook
1973	Mepanggep hen Dala • About Blood
1973	No Manluganta hen P • Aviation
1973	Paumisen hen Lubban • Storybook
1973	Ta Manhidatah Labit • Storybook
1973	Ta Manhudhudtaaw • Storybook
1967	Hen Ekaman Way Managah • Sickness
nd	Learn To Speak English • Primer with Teacher's Guide
Bantoanon	
1985	Mga Istoryahan sa Pangadlawadlaw • Phrase Book
Batak	
1962	Batak Ikaduang Libru 2 • Batak Book 2
1962	Batak Ikatlung Libru 3 • Batak Book 3
Binukid	
1991	Magtuen Kuy Hu Kagbasa • Primer, with Teacher's Guide
1983	Mga Panulu para hu Maayad ha Kaglawa • Health Book
1983	Mga Tultulanen Hu Mga Magulang • Traditional Stories
1982	Agtuen Kuy Agbasa • Picture Dictionary
1981	Sa Mababa Ha Diksyunari Hu Haepat Ha Inikagiyan • Dictionary
1978	Ambaw daw haini sa Bakbak • Rat and Frog
1978	Pusung daw si Palandekà • Pusung and Palandekà
1975	Maayad Ha Wahig Ha Inumen • Health Book
1975	Mga Kalasi Hu Mga Dalu • Sickness
1975	Sa Maayad Ha Pagtima • Health Book
1974	Si Tariri • Tariri Story
1966	Agbasa Kuy II • Primer
1966	Agbasa Kuy III • Primer
1965	Agbasa Kuy I • Primer
1965	Agtuen Kuy • Primer
1965	Binukid Stories • Storybook
1965	Mga Tultulanen I • Storybook

1965	Mga Tultulanen II • Storybook
1954	Filipino Publiku Iskwilahan ha Balasahen • Primer
nd	Binukid Picture • Picture Book
Blaan, Koronadal	
1981	Dad Adat I Dad To Dyu • Jewish Customs
1981	Kibo Kbulung dad Fdas • Sickness
1981	Dad Anuk Mayeng • Reading Materials
1979	Liblu Ftuk • Riddles Book
1979	Kibo Kbulung dad Fdas • Sickness
1969	Tnanin Liblu • Primer, with Dad Blaan Tulen in the end
1969	Dad Blaan Tulen • Short Stories
1965	Philippine Reader • Reader
1965	Tnanin Liblu • Primer
1965	Gisak • Primer
nd	Agfat Liblu Abnasa • Primer 4
nd	Aglima Liblu Abnasa • Primer 5
nd	Atmadol Liblu Abnasa • Primer 2
nd	Atnganin Liblu Abnasa • Primer 1
nd	Bilaan Literacy Chart Numbers 1 to 10 • Primer
nd	Bilaan Literacy Chart Numbers 1 to 8 • Primer
nd	Gatlu Liblu Abnasa • Primer 3
Blaan, Sarangani	
2012	Kaglabat i bnasa •
2006	Kaglabat i bnasaKatlo i to tamdo
2006	Kagu i to faglut •
2004	Gambet ito masa •
2004	Masa ito •
2004	Smulat ito •
2004	Smulat ito kagu i to faglut-Katdò i to tamdò •
2002	Smulat ito kagu i to faglut-Katdò i to tamdò •
2001	Gambet ito masa-Katdò i to tamdò •
2001	Kaglabat i bnasa •
1997	Masa ito •
1995	Gambet ito masa •
1995	Masa ito •
1993	Gambet ito masa •
1993	Masa ito •
1990	Gambet ito masa •
1990	Masa ito •
1990	Smulat ito kagu i to faglutKatdò i to tamdò •
1988	Gambet ito masaKatdò i to tamdò •
1987	Gambet ito masa
1987	Masa ito
1987	Smulat ito
1986	Smulat ito
1984	Smulat ito kagu i to faglutKatdò i to tamdò
1983	Dad santulen i munah to •
1983	Gambet ito masa

1983	Gambet ito masaKatdò i to tamdò
1983	Masa ito •
1983	Tariri
1982	Gambet ito masa-Katdò to tamdò •
1982	Kaglabat i bnasa •
1982	Smulat ito •
1981	Fye knè di ta tanà •
1981	Fye ninum yéél •
1981	Gambet ito masa •
1981	Masa ito •
1980	Gambet ito masa •
1980	Masa ito •
1978	Gambet ito masa-Katdò i to tamdò •
1978	Masa ito •
1978	Tariri •
1977	Gambet ito masa
1973	Dee bung tduk
1973	Fye knè di ta tanà •
1973	Fye ninum yéél •
1973	Kwalta •
1973	Tariri •
1966	Dad santulen i munah to •
1965	Masa ito 3
1965	Masa ito 4
1963	Drill book •
1963	Masa ito 1 •
1963	Masa ito 2 •
Nd	ABK • Primer
nd	Dad Tes •

Bolinao

1998	Miirgoirgo atamo • Let's dialogue
1979	Cohesive and coordinating conjunctions in Bolinao narrative discourse
1978	Si Juan a masiba • John the Ravenous Eater
1978	Siray kasabyan nin balinkas • The expressions that are common

Bontoc, Central

1986	Nan Alitos na Lafaan ya Nan Amama ay Nangasawa Isnana Talaw • Children Storybook
1986	Nan Khotok Nan Enngengengelan Nan Kamaw Iska Koweng • Children Storybook
1985	Nan Liblok ay Macoloran • Coloring Book
1981	Natkenatken ay Kali • Phrase Book
1978	Inpap-alisowen Tako nan Kali 1 • EasyReader
1978	Inpap-alisowen Tako nan Kali 2 • EasyReader
1978	Nan Timpon si Hapon • Storybook
1978	Og-Okhod 1 • Storybook 1
1978	Og-Okhod 2 • Storybook 2
1978	Og-Okhod 3 • Storybook 3
1978	Pepe • Storybook

1975	Og-ocod Ad Sangadom Ya Adwani • Storybook
1968	Maikadwa ay Liblo • Primer 2
1968	Maikas-a ay Liblo • Primer 1
1968	Maikatlo ay Liblo • Primer 3
1955	Pepe • Storybook
Caluyanun	
1981	Atun Kalibotan • Atlas
1981	Pagbolig Para sa Karayadan Atun Lawas • Health Book
1979	Participant identifications in Caluyanen
1978	Mga Pangadlawadlaw nga Arambalen • Phrase Book
Eastern Bontock	
1987	Ponduan Ya Nan Choros Nan Aton Asnan Mag-od Ya Nafiya Ay Nag-od 2 • Health Book 2
1986	Ponduan Ya Nan Choros Nan Aton Asnan Mag-od Ya Nafiya Ay Nag-od • Health Book
1978	Munfiasa Tako • Primer
1978	Nan Ononchun ay Mangisoro Asnan Munlapo Tako Munfiasa ya Munfiasa Tako • Teaching Directions
1978	Onpachongun Tako Nan Kali Asnan Manapiyan Tako As Letra 1 • Easy Reader
1978	Onpachongun Tako Nan Kali Asnan Manokatan Tako Asnan Letra 2 • Easy Reader
1978	Pa-a-ammayun Tako Nan Oy Tako Achor • Health Book
1977	A F CH • Alphabet Book
1977	Munlapo Tako Munfiasa • Primer
1977	Obofok Ad Fiallig • Storybook
1977	Tokotokun Ay Kali • Phrase Book
nd	Lesson 1 Nan Ninasawan Linmipaw • Papers
Ga'dang	
1989	Nadaruma a Damit '89 • Phrase Book
1986	Mabbasetam • Primer
1986	Maddadanetem a Mabbasa • Primer
1981	Neletratu a ABK • Picture Book
1980	Ino Nad Akwannu Nu Wara Malowan • Health Book
1979	Nonpast tense in Ga'dang narrative discourse
1978	Leburu a Naladda Basan • EasyReader
1978	Nadaruma a Damit '78 • Phrase Book
1974	Ayayam Anna Gagangay na Ga'dang • Traditional Stories
1974	Mappalawad • Article Book
Ibaloy	
1976	Kasapolan ni Bakdang • Health Booklet
1976	Ngantoy Pengikowan Ko Shi • Phrase Book
1975	Epangdon Ashalen Asan Kita Manbasa • Primer
1974	Manbasa Tan Manboja Kita ni Ditarato • Phrase Book
1974	Osal ni Korinti • Phrase Book
1974	Pangkep ni Titit • Storybook
1972	Istorya ni Igodot • Storybook
1966	Man-ashal Kita 1 • Primer
1965	Man-ashal Kita 2 • Primer

1961	Dibshu 2 • Primer
1961	Dibshu 3 • Primer
1659	Dibshu 1 • Primer
1957	Kapangduan a Dibshu • Primer
nd	Manbasa Kita • EasyReader
Ibatan	
2005	Similes in Itbayat, Philippines
1985	Matatarek a Kapanotong 2 • Cookbook
1984	Matatarek a Kapanotong 1 • Cookbook
1983	ABK • Alphabet Book
1983	Abakadahen Ta • Dictionary
1983	Matatarek a Kapaychirin 83 • Phrase Book
1981	No Istorya Ta a Maynamot Dodya Babuyan Claro • Traditional Stories
1980	Aywanan taw Inawan Taya Mayyit • Health Book
1979	ABK 123 • Alphabet and Numbers Book
1979	Matatarek a Kapaychirin 79 • Phrase Book
Ifugao, Amganad	
1988	Hay Panginnilaan an Mumbidbid • Primer
1988	Tigo ta'uy LA'LATUS • Picture Book
1982	Nan Mahhun an Mabaha • Primer
1974	Nan A"A"APOH • Short Stories
1973	A"A"APOH • Storybook
1973	Da Tuwe Boy Maphod hi Adalon ta'u • Article Book
1973	Mumbaha ta'uh Na'na'at • Phrase Book
1973	Nan Tinannigo ya nan Na'na'at I Ha"on • Article Book
1971	Nan Mahlun Tagu • Primer
1959	Hinaama Miyatlu an Liblu • Primer
1957	Hinaama Miyaduwa an Liblu • Primer
1957	Hinaama Umuna an Liblu • Primer
Ifugao, Batad	
1986	Hudhud Hidin Penghana 1 • Storybook
1986	Hudhud Hidin Penghana 2 • Storybook
1985	Ulgud an Nalpuh Nan Adagwin Babluy • Storybook
1984	Hay Mahhun an Bahaon • Primer
1983	Hay Umatan di Olang • Health Booklet
1983	Libnun Nan Ap'apun di Mangunud ay Kristu • Leader's Manual
1983	Ulgudda Lilit ay Umangob ya hi Ba"ul'ul Hudhud an Hay Aat Duppog • Traditional Stories
1982	Hay Pangipaphodan Itun Bobloy Ta'u • Primer
1982	Nan Opat hi Nubino'ob'on an Hapit • Phrase Book
1982	Ngadan di Latlatoh • Picture Dictionary
1981	Talili • Tariri Story
1971	Hay Aat Tun Babluy Tu'u • Primer
1958	Ifugao Vocabulary • Vocabulary
1955	Pepe • Primer
Ifugao, Mayoyao	
1996	Hudhud 1 & 2 • Storybook
1990	Hudhud 2 • Storybook

1990	Mumpfaha Ta'o • Primer
1988	Hudhud • Storybook
nd	Mayoyao Preschool Worksheets • Worksheet Ifugao, Tuwali ifk
Ifugao, Tuwali	
1992	Bidan di Aamayyu: Ang Buhay ng mga Hayop • Life of Animals
1992	Hi Tito • Storybook
1986	Bidan Adi Makaliwan • Unforgettable Stories
1986	Bidan di Aamayu • Life of Animals
1986	Bidan di Hinama • Storybook
1976	Hinnahinnatkon an Kali • Phrase Book
1976	Mumbidbid Taku • Reading
Inabaknon	
1980	Manga Mapundok Parahallingon mga Parirala Phrases •
Inakeanon	
1989	Mabasa Kita it Inakaenon • Language Reading
Isnag	
1976	Daya Nasapar nga Makagi • Phrase Book
1976	Ya Angngagas ta Kadaya Sinsinakit • Health Book
1976	Ad-adodit se Is-isturiya • Traditional Stories
1974	Daya Gagangay Tada • Custom Book
1974	Pangappiya ki Biybiyag
1974	Tada • How to Improve our Life
1957	Ama se Atta • Primer
1957	Biyag da ya Isneg • Primer
1957	Ya Kuwaan da ya I Apayao • Primer
Itneg, Binongan	
1968	Magbasa tayo 1 • We read 1
1968	Magbasa tayo 2 • We read 2
1968	Magbasa tayo 3 • We read 3
Ivatan	
1980	Maylir Ta so Ivatan • Primer
1978	Teacher's Guide Ivatan Primer • Teacher's Manual
1978	No Kabata do Kametdehan • Storybook
1978	Paypapian so Kaviay • Article Reading
Kagayanen	
2000	Mga andemanan na mga isturya • Memorable stories
1989	Mga pangadlaw-adlaw na ambalen • Everyday conversation
1988	Katingalaan na mga isturya • Stories that are hard to believe
1982	Paagi ya ta may pamilya na biskeg na panlawaen • The way to have a healthy family
1982	Paagi ya ta pagsulat ta Kagayanen • How to write Kagayanen
1979	Bukabularyo ta tallo na ambal • A classified vocabulary English Pilipino Kagayanen
Kalagan	
1990	Magabaawbaaw kita sang yagakatunetuna na piyaglaongan • Let's talk in different languages
Kalagan, Kagan	
1979	Ya Kabatasanan na mga Kalagan Kaasidi • Storybook

1978	Kasampetanan na mga Kalagan • Traditional Stories
1978	Tariri • Tariri Story
1978	Ya Kasampetanan na Ube aw Kalibangbang • Traditional Stories
1978	Ya Pagtanam na Duwa Mannanap Magtagauk asta Umpu • Storybook
Kalinga, Limos	
1989	A B K • Primer
1988	Iblu un Nalasun Mabasa (2) • EasyReader
1985	Mambasa Taku • Primer
1985	Manlugi Takun Mambasa • Primer
1977	Allalim un Mambalikas • Traditional Stories
1977	Basaon Taku nat Pilipino • Primer
1977	Iblu un Nalasun Mabasa (1) • EasyReader
1977	Man-aaligon Taku Datun Ugud un Madogaan si Osat Kanglit 1• EasyReader
1977	Man-aaligon Taku Datun Ugud un Nasukatan si Osan Kanglit 2• EasyReader
1977	Mansungangan Ugud • EasyReader
1977	Pabilogon ta Datun Long-ag • Health Book
1977	San maibagan dan Mansusulu • Teaching Directions
1977	Sat Kingkingwan dat Ummuna Utdit Osan Algaw • Folk History and Customs
1977	Sat Ul-ulnug dat Ummunan Tagu • Storybook
1976	Ga-nganason Takun Mambasa • Storybook
1976	Mantalkon Taku si Labit • Pamphlet
1976	Pispan • Pamphlet
1976	San Mampatubut Uung • Pamphlet
1976	Tigammuwon Takun Uduma Bagbaga • Phrase Book
Kalinga, Lubuagan	
1987	Studies in Philippine Linguistics Supplementary Series: Philippine Texts No. 4 1987 Guinaang Kalinga Texts Front Matter
1987	When we went hunting in the forest
1987	The mountain where Kabunyan hunted deer
1987	The idaw bird, it tells the good and the bad
1987	How we get omens from the idaw bird
1987	The lipon ceremony
1987	The way we prepare rice terraces for seedlings
1987	The flood story that is often retold
1987	The old days when the people made forays against each other
1987	How the ancestors got their meat
1987	Addang, who was brave
1987	The way Atumpa lived.
1987	Dulliyaw, a leader in Naneng, Kalinga
1987	The carabao and cow
1987	About Yomyomog
1987	Echo
1987	The two who were good friends
1987	The person who was afraid of animals
1987	The wild pig that attacked Bagtayan in olden times
1987	The two who were married

1987	Funeral customs
1987	One who makes a tomb
1987	House of native construction
Kalinga, Southern	
1979	Ifakan na Mansuru • Teacher's Guide
1979	Ilantaun Mangkarasiyan na Ukud 1 • EasyReader
1979	Ilantaun Mangkarasiyan na Ukud 2 • EasyReader
1979	Mamfasatau • Primer
1979	Mipangkop ta Sakit • About Sickness
1978	Litap • Flood
1978	Urullitna langtay wi achi pun nakangput ad Chilaan, Faratù wi munisipyun Lubuagan wiprovinsyan na Kalinga Apayao • The story of the unfinished bridge at Dilaan, Balatoc in the Municipality of Lubuagan in the Province of Kalinga Apayao
1978	Mallasun Mamasaan ta Nibru • EasyReader
1978	Mansakanatau wi Mamfasa • Primer
1978	Talili • Tariri Story
1978	Ug-is • Alphabet Book
1978	Ukud wi Miyobfot na Anana • EasyReader
1977	Acharontaun Uchumi Ugugkud • Phrase Book
1976	Ay-ayam ad Afrika • Phrase Book
1975	Nan Filipinas • Reader
	nd. Mipangkop ta Maan • About Food
Kalinga, Tanudan	
2002	Da kingkingwa'e uguggud • Fables
2002	Da tuttuwa'e uguggud • True stories
2002	Sa kumagwa'e iblu atta inawe ye uguggud • The second book of stories from the old days
2002	Sa ummuna'e iblu atta inawe ye uguggud • The first book of stories from the old days
1999	ABK si Minangali • Alphabet book in Minangali
1979	Adalon taku udume ugud • Let's learn other languages
Kalinga, Upper Tanudan	
1985	Studies in Philippine Linguistics Supplementary Series: Philippine Texts No. 1 Upper Tanudan Kalinga texts Front Matter
1985	Why the birds at Binaratian are silent
1985	What I did yesterday
1985	The way to chew betel nut
1985	The way to prepare coffee
1985	The way rice is pounded and stored
1985	The blessing of the rice <i>Lungayat Manao</i>
1985	The making of the peace pact in the old days.
1985	How a person lives a righteous life
1985	The way people became leaders in the old days.
1985	What is a child?
1985	Supernatural illnesses <i>Dalen Do-ayan</i>
1985	Marriage
1985	The first thunder and the first flooding of the river

1985	My thoughts about the way things are today
1985	My thoughts about the current happenings
1985	My thoughts about the current happenings
1985	Here are my instructions
1985	Ade Sissiye Pumurpulliis de Darana • Health Book
1985	Angtan ya da udume ur-ullit • Traditional Stories
1985	Da Ang-angmon kan Borborngag ya da udume urullit • Traditional Stories
1985	Da Ur-ullit da Iyawi • Traditional Stories
1985	Gilar ya da udume ur-ullit • Traditional Stories
1985	Kattute Awid ya da udume ur-ullit • Reading Book
1985	Sa Agas ni Masinitane Long-ag • Health Book
1985	Sa Ikatoynu we Adimpun Igammu ya da udume urullit • Reading Book
1984	Ak Noah ya sa Papur • Bible Storybook
1984	Sa Tagu we Bi-nun Apudyus ot Adipun Dumngor • Bible Storybook
1984	Sa anake naniwat atte Anduandu ya Dakodakorane Mingore Iphilistia • Bible Storybook

Kallahan, Keleyi

1981	Talili • Tariri Story
1966	Maneddal Kami 1 • Primer
1965	Ifugao Picture Book • Picture Book

Kankanaey

1988	Pasigeden di Pamilya • Health Book
1987	Manbasa Tako 87 • Primer
1977	Manbasa Tako 77 • Primer
1976	Bonbontiya • Riddles
1976	Kanayon ay Ngalat • Phrase Book
1976	Man-esekya Manpakan • Agriculture Book
1976	Pasigeden di Biyag • Health Book
1975	Dad-at di Nankakay ed Nabbaon • Traditional Stories

Kankanay, Northern

1994	Nan maipanggep nan batawa • About the world
1990	Sapsapit sodsodok ya ogogali id sangadom• Tales stories and customs of long ago
1989	Menbasa tako Enfasa tako • Let's read
1989	Menbasa tako Enfasa tako Teacher'smanual • Let's read Teacher'smanua
1982	Menbasa Tako • Primer
1982	Menbasa Tako (Teachers Manual) • Teacher's Guide
1981	Nan Mengawisandi Biyag ya nan Maipanggep Isnana Saksakit • Health Book
1980	Menbasa Tako 80 • Primer
1980	Menlogi Tako ay Menbasa • Primer
1978	Nan dowa ay Sin-ag/ Dinigas Apapid• Text
1978	Si Donsadat • Text II: Si Donsadat / Donsadat
1978	Kalkali Isnana Inagew • Phrase Book
1977	A look at a Northern Kankanay text
1976	Ilogi Tako • EasyReader
1976	Kanayon ay Kankanan • Phrase Book
1976	Men-oto, Mentalaken, Menmola Tako • Phrase Book
1974	Kinal-oy ay Isistolya • Storybook

1974	Menkanta Tako • Songbook
1974	Sapsappit Isnana Nabilbilgana • Traditional Stories
1973	Ado Nao Masolo Isnana Liblo • Articles
1973	Bomikas Tako • EasyReader
1973	Is-istolya • Storyboo
1973	Kagagasing nan Makabasa • Storybook
1973	Pagawisen di Biyag Menagas Agrikoltora ya Menoto • Agriculture and Cooking Book
1973	Sapsappit • Traditional Stories
1973	Sodsodok • Storybook
1972	Kodkodati ya Bolboltya • Rhymes and Riddles Book
1971	Nan Nangipaay Isnana Ili • Stories Booklet
1971	Nan Pilipinas • Reader
1968	Boltya • Riddle
1968	Menbasakami 1 • We Read 1
1968	Menbasakami 2 • We Read 2
1968	Menbasakami 3 • We Read 3
1968	Mensolatkami • We Write

Karao

2003	Studies in Philippines Languages and Cultures Vol 13 Karao texts
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Maguindanao

2006	Su Kapabpaganad Keman sa Manga Wata a Manaut Pan
2006	Su Kapasu
2005	Panun I Kapenggamut sa Taw a Pedtagudu
2005	Su Manga Wagib a Enggulan nu Magingay
1981	Ipembibityala sa basa a Magindanawn, Pilipinu endu Ingglis sa uman gay • Phrase booklet in Magindanaon, Pilipino and English

Mamanwa

1991	Appendix I Notes on the Mamanwa concept of the human soul, the spirit world, and the layers of heaven and earth
1991	Appendix J Mamanwa kinship terms
1991	Kawanidinipen nga kalibotan • The world a long time ago
1991	Kawanidinipen nga mga tao • People who lived long ago
1991	Magaantipara • Fishing with goggles
1991	Nanganop ka boog • Hunting wild pig
1991	Pagsaka daw pagkombiti • The marriage contract and the marriage feast.
1991	Si Salekep nga maiseg • Salekep the brave
1991	Studies in Philippine Linguistics Supplementary Series: Philippine Texts No. 5 1991 Mamanwa texts
1991	Salekep the brave
1991	The world a long time ago
1991	Yomagas
1991	Caesarean section
1991	The marriage contract and the marriage feast.
1991	The fire.
1991	The enticed girl
1991	Hunting wild pig
1991	Fishing with goggles

1991	My airplane ride
1991	Making a swidden
1991	Processing the pulp of fishtail palm trunk
1991	The use of coconut when preparing vegetables
1991	Processing poisonous roots for food
1991	The value of chewing betel nut
1991	Building a house.
1991	Sorcery: Death curse
1991	Sorcery: Revenge curse
1991	Disembodied spirits
1991	Sorcery: Illness or misfortune curse
1991	Pig sacrifice ceremony
1991	People who lived long ago
1991	Seasonal behavior of snakes
1991	The python
1991	Thebehavior of snakes
1991	War
1991	Pig sacrifice
1991	Rebuke for noisiness
1991	Appendix H Natural units of time in Mamanwa culture
1991	Appendix I Notes on the Mamanwa
1991	concept of the human soul, the spirit world, and the layers of heaven and earth
1991	Appendix J Mamanwa kinship terms
1991	Bibliography
1991	Ya Badiding • Disembodied spirits
1991	Ya babazi nga inlimeng • The enticed girl
1991	Ya bales • Sorcery: Revenge curse
1991	Ya bangkò • Pig sacrifice
1991	Ya barang • Sorcery: Death curse
1991	Ya batasan ka mga halas • The behavior of snakes
1991	Ya bolan daw mga halas • Seasonal behavior of snakes.
1991	Ya gira • War
1991	Ya kahimonan • Pig sacrifice ceremony
1991	Ya magabaay • Processing poisonous roots for food.
1991	Ya pagbaheg ka kabezeng • Rebuke for noisiness
1991	Ya paggamit ka nizog kon magolay • The use of coconut when preparing vegetables
1991	Ya paghinang ka lagkaw • Building a house
1991	Ya paghoban • Caesarean section
1991	Ya pagoma • Making a swidden
1991	Ya pagsakay nao ka idro • My airplane ride
1991	Ya pagsakol • Processing the pulp of fishtail palm trunk.
1991	Ya pinakamahal ani ya pagmamà • The value of chewing betel nut.
1991	Ya sagobabà • Sorcery: Illness or misfortune curse
1991	Ya sawa • The python
1991	Ya sonog • The fire
1991	Magandam kita ka pagbasa • Let us prepare to read Adult Prereading Lessons
1991	Magandam kita ka pagbasa • Let us prepare to read Preschool Lessons

1991	Magbasa Kita • Let's Read
1989	YA BITOK •
1989	YA KALIBANGA
1989	YA KATEL
1989	YA MGA MAKAREN 3 x 3 •
1989	YA PAGPAKAEN KA MGA BATA •
1989	YA SIPON
1983	Si Tariri • Tariri Story
1982	Magtoon Kita Ka Pilipino Daw Ininglis
1981	Ining Tibolos Kalibutan ta •
1981	Magkwinta Kita •
1981	Mga Tedemnga Garing ka Kasoyatan na Ginoo • Songs from the writing of God
1978	Text I: When the sky was low
1978	Wani ya mga pitong maglomon nga manlangitnen nga nagabadoq ka kanang abokay nga badoq. Mga babazi sirang tibeq. • This is the (story of) seven kinfolk who were sky residents who wore clothing made from the feathers of a white bird. They were all girls
1977	BASAHEN NAOINI • This is my book
1977	BASAHEN NAOINI 2 • This is my book
1977	Basahen Ini na Maistro 1 •
1977	Basahen Ini na Maistro 2 •
1976	YA BATASAN NA MGA YODAYYO • The customs of the Jews
1974	MANGA KAAZI NAMI DORO KA BUKIDNON • Our Experiencies in Bukidnon
1974	Ya Manga Pananogon• Stories
1971	Basahing Pilipino Vol.II No.1 April •
1971	Basahing Pilipino Vol.II No.1 April
1969	Basahing Pilipino Vol 1 No. 3 March •
1969	MAGHAOD KITA KAN YEYE' DAW SI MANAY • Let's Imitate Uncle and Auntie
1966	Philippine Reader Vol.1 No.2 January
1965	Maghamarag kamo ka tagnek
1965	Philippine Reader Vol.1 No.1 September
1964	Basahen Nao 1 • Primer 1
1964	Basahen Nao 2 • Primer 2
1960	May Ido Daw Pagong
1959	PANANOGKA BOOG •

Manobo, Agusan

2011	A Voice from the Forest
2000	Mgo isturiya no Minanubu Numeru 111 • Manobo stories 111
2000	Mgo isturiya no Minanubu Numeru 1222 • Manobo stories 1222
2000	Mgo isturiya no Minanubu Numeru 2333 • Manobo stories 2333
19936	Oganad Ki to mgo Inikagihan • Four language phrase book
1984	Ogbasi Ki • Let's Read pp168b
1984	Ogbasi Ki • Let's Read pp69a188

Manobo, Ata

1978	Dalaga no datù • Rich Maiden
1978	Sugilonon bahin ki Lungpigan • Story about Lungpigan

Manobo, Cotabato	
1995	Sa Libelu Kesetawit Diya sa Telu Balangan Kagi • A Phrase Book in Three Languages
1988	Cotabato Manobo ethnography
1988	The magic of the Cotabato Manobos
1979	Ini sa Medoo Kagi Diya sa Epat Balangan Kagi • This is Words in 4 Languages
Manobo, Dibabawon	
1987	Studies in Philippine Linguistics Supplementary Series: Philippine Texts No. 3 1987 Dibabawon Manobo texts Front Matter
1987	Making a corn mill
1987	My narrative about land
1987	The hunter who had a hunting dog.
1987	When I attended school in Makgum before the war
1987	Those we seek help from
1987	The sickness of Siaman Guminang
1987	My narrative of the method of courting women among the Dibabawons.
1987	Mandabon and Dagooy, warrior friends
1987	The chief who had a golden beard
1987	Siay's instructions
1987	Rosa had a familiar spirit <i>Laureano Kegod</i>
Manobo, Ilianen	
1968	Tudtul mekeatag te ebpuunan te mge raru tew • The beginnings of sicknesses
Manobo, Matigsalug	
2000	Egbebasbas ki te mat • Let's practice Mathematics
2000	Egbebasbas ki te mat • Let's practice Mathematics Back to English Translation
1998	Me malepet ne guhuren te darawa ne linalahan • Short stories in two languages
Manobo, Obo	
2003	Kumiks to Monuvu • Obo Manobo Comics
2003	Mgo itulon mokaatag to pomoukit amoy'd poussuu to kouyahan • Stories about ways to improve livelihood
2001	Mgo Itulon Mokaatag to Moppiyon Kodlolaawa 1 • Stories about Good Health Series 1
2001	Mgo Itulon Mokaatag to Moppiyon Kodlolaawa 2 • Stories about Good Health Series 2
2001	Mgo Itulon Mokaatag to Moppiyon Kodlolaawa 3 • Stories about Good Health Series 3
2001	Mgo Itulon Mokaatag to Moppiyon Kodlolaawa 4 • Stories about Good Health Series 4
2001	Mgo Itulon Mokaatag to Moppiyon Kodlolaawa 5 • Stories about Good Health Series 5
2000	Pohinonaw Ki Od Basa Libru 2 • Let's Learn to Read Book 2
2000	Pohinonaw Ki Od Basa Libru 2 • Let's Learn to Read Book 2
1998	Od Pohinonaw Ki Nod Bolansi • We Will Learn to Calculate
1996	Pohinonaw Ki Od Basa Libru 1 • Let's Learn to Read Book 1
Manobo, Western Bukidnon	
1980	Si Makut: The footprints of plot and other discourse systems upon the surface grammar of a Western Bukidnon Manobo folktale
1978	Si Makut • Makut
Mapun	

1987	Pandoy na ku matsa • I know how to read now
1981	Buk Kabtangan: Aklat ng mga Pangungusap •
Maranao	
1975	Kakewiyagan • Livelihood
1975	Manga totol • Stories
1968	Puganadan • Puganadan
1959	Maranao Alipalipan • Alphabet
Masbatenyo	
2008	Magbasa Kita San Masbatenyo (Ikadoha) • Let's Read Masbatenyo 2
1979	Magbasa Kita San Masbatenyo (Ikatolo) • Let's Read Masbatenyo 3
1979	Magbasa Kita San Masbatenyo (Primiro) • Let's Read Masbatenyo 1
Palawano, Brooke's Point	
1996	<i>Menge Beres Pengeldewpeldew</i> • A Phrase Book for Palawano, Brooke's Point
Paranan	
1996	En Bulisik Ten Pamilya ni Serapio • The Misfortune of Serapio's Family
Sama, Central	
1988	Kuyyà maka tohongan maka kasehèan salsila •
1978	Si Nneng Pagipagi • Nneng Pagipagi
1969	Panganaran magbassa • Learning to read with teacher's guide
1969	Panganaran magbassa • Learning to read
1966	Buk t'llu • Book three
1966	<i>Pasal Kitam Mbal Tinandog</i> • Health BookMalaria
1965	Buk dakayu • Book one
1965	Buk dua • Book two
1965	Héllingta bi •
1965	Kuyyà maka tohongan maka kasehèan salsila •
1965	Ondèondè bangbang •
Sama, Pangutaran	
1982	Kabassa na aku • I can read now
1979	Pangutaran-Pilipino-English phrase book • PangutaranPilipinoEnglish phrase book
1979	Niya' kono' anak datu t'llu • The Three Princes
1978	Katakata manga aa • Stories about people
1977	Katakata manga hayop • Stories about animals
1997	Tokodtokoran• Riddles
Sama, Southern	
1993	Ya pasal duwa magbagey Sama ma TawiTawi • The two Sama friends in TawiTawi
1990	Ya pasal duwa magbagey Sama ma TawiTawi • The two Sama friends in TawiTawi
1984	Sinama-Pilipino-English-Bissara pondok-pondok-Mga parirala • Phrases
1984	A view from the islandsThe Samal of Tawi-Tawi
1979	The phonology of Sibutu Sama: A language of the southern Philippines
1979	English Pilipino Sama Sibutu-Basic vocabulary • English Pilipino Sama Sibutu-Basic vocabulary
1979	Sama Sibutu'-Pilipino-English-Magbissala-Mga pagu-usap • Small Talk
1979	Sama Sibutu'-Pilipino-American English-Bissala pondok-pondok-Mga parirala • Phrases
Sambal, Botolan	

1968	Bahawen tamo 1 •
1968	Bahawen tamo 2 •
1968	Bahawen tamo 3 •
1968	Dictionary of Botolan Sambal a bal
1968	Bal kal
1968	Kal dam
1968	Dam ham
1968	Ham lal
1968	Lal nig
1968	Nig pil
1968	Pil tak
1968	Tak tol
2012	Kabayo • Primer

Sambal, Tinà

1978	Hi Pedro, hi Juan tan yay mamagpalakar • Pedro, Juan And The Salesman
2008	No ayti ya naibat a poon batag • Where The Banana Tree Came From

Sangil

1978	Katoang sagullang • The Cobra
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Subanen, Western

1978	Polongati • Text: Polongati / Polongati
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Tagakaulu

1978	Ya bauw aw ubal • The Turtle and Monkey
1978	Ya maya aw kalaw • The Maya and Hornbill
1978	Magbasa kita sa Kalagan 1 • Let's read Kalagan 1
1968	Magbasa kita sa Kalagan 2 • Let's read Kalagan 2
1968	Magbasa kita sa Kalagan 3 • Let's read Kalagan 3
1968	Magbasa kita sa Kalagan 4 • Let's read Kalagan 4
1968	Magbasa kita sa Kalagan 4 • Let's read Kalagan 4

Tagbanwa, Calamian

1981	Tulu nga bitalaan sasay linegdangan •
1981	Yang pagsalbiru ra •
1978	Yang idya ni Pusung • Pusung's Trickery
1978	Yang manlulukung bakes • The Trickster Monkey
1976	Mga Ugtulun •
1976	Nagkaraita yamen ang baklu •
1976	Sarisaring ayep tung kaliwutan •
1976	Yang Pagsuut Tung Balinsasayaw •
1976	Yang matitinlung mga paetad •
1976	Yang matitinlung mga paetad •
1976	Yang nagkarapanawan yamen ang pangalangalangan •
1976	Yang pagsuut tung balinsasayaw •
1976	Yang urnuan ang pagapuy •
1974	Isturia yang mga ian •
1974	Mga pasigem •
1974	Yang dumang mga ugtulun •
1974	Yang mga ugali ta •
1973	Mga Ugtulun •
1973	Nagkaraita yamen ang baklu •

1973	Sarisaring ayep tung kaliwutan •
1973	Yang Pagsuut Tung Balinsasayaw •
1973	Yang matitinlung mga paetad •
1973	Yang nagkarapanawan yamen ang pangalangalangan
1960	Yang nagkarapanawan yamen ang pangalangalangan
1960	Basaen ta yang Tinagbanwa Yadwang libru •
nd	Yang urnuan ang pagapuy •

Tausug

1991	Bata'bata' bangbang • The gingerbread man
1988	Abunnawas •
1981	Pasal kakaun • About food
1979	Languages of the Southern Gateway •
1979	Sumayang galura' • The monster half bird and half man
1978	Awn hambuuk sultan • There was a King
1978	In kahalan sin hi Kuting iban hi Ambaw • The Cat and the Rat
1977	Abunnawas •
1977	Tukudtukud iban katakata • Riddles and fairytales
1974	Atulan magbacha • The method of reading
1974	Magsakap Kita Magbacha • Let's Get Ready to Read
1973	Daakan sin Sultan kan Itik • The King's Command to Duck
1973	Katakata iban tarasul • Legends and ballads
1969	Hinda itik • Duck and his friends
1969	Hinda itik •
1966	Batàbatà bangbang • The cookie child
1963	Paganaran bahasa Tausug Undang undang 1 •

Tboli

2005	Bok mò hol gunun temnu kehulungem semfala ne smulat • A book to increase your learning how to read and write
2005	Sulat hennagi • Learning our letters
1989	Tehe Kosok Huhed Nga Bes ne Kmo Kehgulam Huhed Nga • The Falling of Bes Cord and How to Care for a Newborn's Cord
1989	Yem Kmoen Be Tehe Klowlil Kem Tau Dyu Ekni • How It Was Formerly The Life of the Jews
1988	Yem Tehe Kluf Suna ne Kmo Kbulung Yem Mluf • The Former Burn of Sune and How To Medicine a Burn
1987	Kdalang Te Yo Kem Dume Nu Be Lowo Te • Let Us Learn About Our Bodies
1987	Mo Lolo Yem Mestelu Be Ktoloken Kdalang Te Yo Kem Dumu Nu Be Lowo Te • Teacher's Guide for teaching Lets learn About Our Bodies
1986	Dnalang Tekey Yem Sulat Sensagot • Let's Learn Cursive Writing
1986	Sulat hennagi • Learning our letters
1986	Tboli PreSchool Lessons
1986	Tboli PreSchool Lessons
1985	Kem Tulon Lemnek • Short Stories To Learn From
1985	Tulon Bong Busaw • Big Spirit Stories
1985	Tehe Gfa Ye Salim Ekni ne Kbulung Yem Des Klet Mke • The Former Troubles of Salim's Mother and Treatment of Diarrhea
1984	Dabid ne Gulayat
1984	Tehe Gfa Ye Salim Ekni ne Yem Mon Kem Duktul be •

1984	Tutul Gidyun • The Story of Gideon
1984	Tutul Yuna • Tutul Yuna 1984
1984	Yem Tehe Kilo Me ebe Bulul Makiling • OUR Journey to Mt. Makiling
1983	Si Tadidi
1983	Tulon Heglalag Vol.1 No.1 • Tulon Heglalag Vol.1 No.1 1983
1982	Ni Mo Loloem Ke Tmoloki Semfala • This is for you to follow if you teach reading
1980	Yem Klamangen Benwu Tekuy • Our Wide World
1979	Gel Tutul Kem Tau Gnan 1 • Stories of People Long Ago
1979	Hemnagi Lemilu • The study of numbers
1979	Tutul Kem Tau Gnan II 1979 • Tutul Kem Tau Gnan II 1979
1978	Hol Kbut Knagi • The Very Beginning of Studying
1978	Kmo Kehtilob Lowo • Tboli Healthbook
1978	Mlon Hulo ne Bnek Halay • The Little Red Hen and the Grain of Wheat
1978	Sulat Hennagi • Learning our Letters
1975	Tutul Be Onuk Bnes • Stories About Birds
1975	Tutul Tboli • Tboli Stories
1974	Bok Mo Hol Gunun Temnu Kehulungem Semfala ne Smulat • A Book to Increase Your Learning how to Read and Write
1974	Bok Yo Kem Tutul • A Book of Stories
1974	Kul Gel Nmo Yo Kem Tboli • The Work of the Tboli
1974	Yo Kem Adat be Tboli • Some Customs of Tboli
1974	Yo Kem Dumu Adat be Tboli • Yo Kem Dumu Adat be Tboli 1974
1973	Datu Fak •
1973	Gel Tutul Yo Kem Tau Gnahan • Stories of the People Before
1973	Kem Nga Tutul Ukol • Little Short Stories
1973	Ni Yo Kem Tutul Ukol • Here are Some Short Stories
1973	Tehe Gfa Me Hana Kegen Me Udi • Our Former Trouble While We Were Still Small
1973	Yem Tehe Kilo Me Ebe Bukidnun • Our Former Journey to Bukidnon
1969	Babasahing Pilipino Vol.1 No. 4 •
1969	Babasahing Pilipino Vol.1 No.3 •
1966	Kbut Yo Kem Des • The Beginnings of Sickesses
1963	Melon Hulo ne Benek Halay •
1963	Sulat Hennagi 2 •
1963	Sulat Hennagi 3 •
1963	Tutul Kemo Hulu ne Kemo Hengalaf • Tutul Kemo Hulu ne Kemo Hengalaf 1963
1962	Sulat Hennagi 1 •
1960	Melon Huloa ne Beneak Halay •
1960	Sulat Hennagi 4 •
1957	Sulat Hennagi 1 •
1957	Sulat Hennagi 2 •
1955	Onuk Hulo na Benek Halay •
1955	Pepe Luwuh Lah Pilar Part I •
1955	Pepe Luwuh Lah Pilar Part II •
1955	Pepe Luwu La Pilar Nauy La Banwu Bong part I •
1955	Pepe Luwu La Pilar Nauy La Banwu Bong part II •
1955	Tagabili Vocabulary • Tagabili Vocabulary

1955	Tagabili Vocabulary • Tagabili Vocabulary
1955	Tuha Libun na Kun Sado • Tuha Libun na Kun Sado 1955
1954	Libluh Tanay Gunu Damalang •
1954	Pepe •
Tiruray	
1996	Basane' tom I de uret • We will read a story
1991	Séureturet tom dob fot gébarangán késébéréh... • Let's converse in four languages...
1984	Mitigation in a Tiruray sermon
1981	Késébéréh-béréh sénga fuweh • Everyday conversation
1980	ABK-123 • ABK Booklet
1980	Fantag be Duniyae • Atlas
1980	Fiyo Kegelowohon • Health Book
1980	Gébasa tom • Let's read
1980	I Urete Fantag be Pilipinase • History
1980	Késébéréh-béréh sénga fuweh • Everyday conversation
Yakan	
1993	Undangundang Yakan • Yakan primer. Teacher's guide interleaved
1993	Undangundang Yakan • Yakan primer
1990	Kinatel si MinoySuwisuwi inin sabab katel duk ine tambalnen • Minoy has sores This story is about sores and what the medicine for them is
1990	Me' delilan si Aesop sinduwehin • Some of Aesop's fables
1990	Problema Ta'umaninSuwisuwi sabab saki magsungi' duk tambalnen • Diarrhoea and rehydration
1989	Languages of the southern gateway A phrase book of Chavacano Sinama Tausug Yakan and including English and Pilipino
1988	Yakan preschool program • Yakan preschool program
1987	Abunawas • Folk Hero
1987	Datu Kalun • Storybook
1987	Datu' Kalun • Storybook
1987	Dictionary YakanPilipinoEnglish
1987	Dunya duk langit • Earth and sky
1987	Kissa Yakan • A collection of Yakan folk tales
1987	Languages of the southern gateway A phrase book of Chavacano Sinama Tausug Yakan and including English and Pilipino
1987	Lumengngan si lahat tala • Traveling to far places
1987	Si Muktal duk bessihin • Health BookWounds
1986	Demonstratives and the plot in Yakan
1979	Datu' Kalun • Storybook
1979	Languages of the southern gatewayA phrase book of Chavacano Sinama Tausug Yakan and including English and Pilipino
1978	Sultan Seytan duk Keymangohin • Sultan Seytan and Keymango the Crab
1978	Sultan Seytan duk Keymangohin • The Butterflies and the Monkeys
1978	Undang-undang Yakan-Libru suku si mastalin • Yakan primerTeacher's manual
1977	Coconut cultivation among the Yakan
1977	Libru paghapal para undangundang Yakan • Workbook for Yakan primer
1977	Lumengngan si lahat tala • Traveling to far places
1977	Mag kissakissa kite bi • Let's tell stories

1977	Me' takiteku masa palumengngankun • Story Book
1977	Undangundang Yakan • Yakan primer
1975	Untukun • A collection of Yakan riddles
1973	Libru paghapal para undangundang Yakan • Workbook for Yakan primer
1973	Dunya duk langit • Earth and sky
1973	Kissa Yakan • A collection of Yakan folk tales
1973	Undang-undang Yakan • Yakan primer
nd	Undang-undang Yakan-Libru suku si mastalin • Yakan primer Teacher's manual
Yogad	
1956	First Primer

APPENDIX D - DEMOGRAPHIC AND LANGUAGE COMPETENCE SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

SOUTHERN ALTA LANGUAGE SURVEY		
PART I. PERSONAL BACKGROUND		
Name:		
Address Street:		
Address Barangay, Town, Province, Zipcode:		
Date of birth:	Age:	
Cellphone No(s).		
Place of Birth:	Marital Status:	Gender:
Highest grade completed:	Are you employed:	
If born elsewhere when did you move to DRT, Bulcan:		
PART II. COMPETENCE		
<p>Please indicate the level of proficiency in each of the following languages. Use the following scale: 1= Not at all, 2= A little, 3= Well, 4= Very Well, 5= Native-like</p>		
1. <i>Kabunlowan Dumagat</i> / Speak	9. Tagalog / Speak	
2. <i>Kabunlowan Dumagat</i> / Understand	10. Tagalog / Understand	
3. <i>Kabunlowan Dumagat</i> / Read	11. Tagalog / Read	
4. <i>Kabunlowan Dumagat</i> / Write	12. Tagalog / Write	
5. Ilokano / Speak	13. Other (_____) Speak	
6. Ilokano / Understand	14. Other (_____) Understand	
7. Ilokano / Read	15. Other (_____) Read	
8. Ilokano / Write	16. Other (_____) Write	
17. Which language are you most comfortable using?		
18. What is your first language?		
19. What is your second language?		
20. What's your third language?		
21. What's your fourth language?		

APPENDIX E – SAMPLE CORRESPONDENCE

Date

Recipient

Subject: Assistance for cultural and language documentation

Dear Sir or Madam:

I would like to ask your good office to allow me to conduct a research on the *Kabunlowan Dumagat* people and language located in Sitio Bato, Barangay Bulak, Dona Remedios Trinidad
...

Sincerely yours,

Marvin M. Abreu

Candidate, Ph. D. Applied Linguistics

Contact Details

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APPENDIX F-TEXTS

Hortatory

Words of Life (Kabuloan Dumagat)^{lxxxviii}

pala ?atolang ?atta kamodenan=ko
PL PL.siblings and co-parents=GEN.1s
'My siblings and also my parents'

kitiddi=yak =?a ma-solut dikayo =?a akodul =?a solut
EXI=ABS.1s =LIG IMPR-story OBL.2p =LIG true =LIG story
'I have something which (I) want to tell you, (it is) a story that is true.'

de tu kuwa^{lxxix} ?ay kitiddi pala mag?alage na topa tiddi nu kalabongan
DEM TEMP ABS past TL EXI PL shepherds DET sheep DEM DET grassland
'In the past, there were shepherd over there in the grassland.'

balaloktat linumiwanag ?i palebut=de
sudden.PART PERF.shine DET around=GEN.3p
'Suddenly, their surrounding brightly shined,

ta linaway=de tu pala anghel kaya minangadtakot=side=?asakit
CON PERF.see=ERG.3p ABS PL angel CON scared.PERF=ABS.3p=DEG
'also, they saw the angels, so they were very scared.'

sinabi nu pala anghel, (u)wang=kayo mangodtakot
PERF.say DET PL angel NEG=ABS.2p scared
'The angels said, "Do not be scared,

ta ni?edut ta?i ?inipon?anak tu tagepagligtas
CON today here born ABS saviour
'because the savior will be born today here on earth.'

yi?e tandean=yo lawin=yo=y anak
DEM remember=ERG.2p see.GF=ERG.2p=DET child
'(You) Remember this, look for the child'

?anak=?a nakabungun na lampin
child =LIG wrap around DET cloth
'the one that is covered with swaddling clothes.'

na pomanganan nu beka
OBL cowshed GEN cow
'in the shed of the cows.'

?iddi sinabi nu magbebeleta kaya
TEMP.DEM PERF.say ERG messenger CON
'That was what the messenger said, so,'

de toy=di ?ay nagpodi tu pala anghel na sinabi=de mopeya
TEMP.DEM moment TL praise ABS PL angel OBL PERF.say=ERG.3p good
'At that very moment, the angels praised on that which they said was wonderful'

ta dinumatong =?a ?i kaligtasan na pala alta ti dibebu ni gebunay
CON PERF.arrive =LIG DET salvation OBL PL person OBL above DEM earth
'because of the arrival the savior of mankind above the land.'

'pinangatapos nu ?iddi ay bala ?inumakang tu pala mag?a?alage nu topa
PART ERG DEM TL sudden PERF.walk ABS PL caretaker GEN sheep
'After that, the shepherds left,'

ta pinuma?angay ti Betlehim
CON order.go OBL Bethlehem
'and they were asked to go to Bethlehem.'

tiddi=de linaway ti Hesukidisto=?a ?anak nu Makidepat
DEM=ERG.3p PERF.see ABS.PN Jesus Christ=LIG child GEN God
'There, they saw Jesus Christ who is the son of God.'

pina?anlaway=de nu ?anak ?ay nompogtaka=side ?asakit
see=ERG.3p ERG child TL surprised=ABS.3p DEG
'When they saw the child, they were very surprised.'

ta ?inipon?anak=siya na ?issa bekos=?a ?uwam=pa ki=dineyan na patud
CON born=ABS.3s OBL one woman=LIG NEG=PART EXI=near OBL man
'Because, he was born of a woman who has never been touched by any man.'

kaya nangibeleta=sid =?a dinumatong=din tu Tagepagligtas
CON spread.news=ABS.3p =LIG arrive=PART ABS savior
'So, they spread the news that the savior of man has arrived.'

de sinumakol ti Hesus ?ay ginumawa=siya na ma?adu makapogtaka
PART grow up ABS.PN Jesus TL PERF.do=ABS.3s OBL many strange
'When Jesus has grown up, he did many miracles.'

yi?e ?issa na ginawa(=na) makapogtaka
DEM one OBL PERF.do=ERG.3s strange
'There was this one miracle that he did.'

kitiddi ?issa ?alta buta=?a monlangad nu gilid nu sabang=?a mogpalimus
EXI one person blind=LIG CONT.sit ERG beside OBL road=LIG CONT.ask.alms
'There was a blind person (who was] sitting beside the road (and who was] asking for alms.'

de dingol=na ?i maadu ?alta=?a kungkoy ?ay ?in?ingat=na
PART hear=ERG.3s DET many person=LIG passing.by TL PERF.ask.question=ERG.3s
'When he heard that many people were passing by, he asked,

ti?atin=man=di
who.PL=PART=DEM

“Whose here now?

?ay tu Panginoon ay Jesus ?i kungkoy
PART ABS Lord TL Jesus DET passing.by
It is Jesus, the Lord, who is passing by.’

bala sinabi nu buta, Panginoon, kalbiyan=nak=yo, kalbiyan=nak=yo
sudden PERF.say GEN blind lord mercy=ABS.1s=ERG.2p mercy=ABS.1s=ERG.2p
‘Suddenly, the blind said, “Lord, have mercy on me, have mercy on me.”’

bala pinakoy tu ?alta, (u)wang=ka motnow
sudden said ABS person NEG=ABS.2s noisy
‘The man quickly replied, “Don’t be noisy!”’

?agya pokna ?ay dingol ni Hesus tu sinabi nu buta
however DEM TL hear ERG.PN Jesus ABS PERF=say ERG blind
‘However, Jesus heard what the blind man said,

kaya ?in?ingat=na ?anto=man ?i budi=mo
CON ask.question=ERG.3s what=PART DET like=GEN.2s
‘so He asked him, “What do you wish for?”’

?in?itbal nu buta, panginoon, kalbiyan=nak=yo paka?uwanan=nak=yo=wadi
PERF.answer GEN blind Lord mercy=ABS.1s=ERG.2p heal=ABS.1s=ERG.2p=PART
‘The blind answered, “Lord, have mercy on me. Could you please heal me?”’

kaya sinabi ni Hesus monalig=ka diyak kaya lumaway=ka=d
CON PERF.say ERG.PN Jesus faith=ABS.2s OBL.1s CON see=ABS.2s=PART
‘So, Jesus said, “You have faith in me, so you will see again.”’

de pokna ?ay linumaway=din tu buta kaya mosipol=siya ?ay ?inumusil kani Hesus
TEMP DEM TL PERF.see=PART ABS blind CON happy=ABS.3s TL company OBL Jesus
Instantly, the blind man was able to see, so he happily accompanied Jesus.

de toy=di ?ay mompondongol ?i lahat =?a pala ?alta kani Hesus
TEMP moment.DEM TL listen DET all =LIG PL person OBL Jesus
‘At that very moment, all those people listened to Jesus,

pedu tu pala pun=de ?ay mangosongit dikana
CON ABS PL leader=GEN.3p TL very.hostile OBL.3s
but their leaders were very hostile to him.’

kaya sinabi ni Hesus nu pala mag?a?adal=na
CON PERF.say ERG.PN Jesus ERG PL student=GEN.3s
‘So, he said to his disciples,

dumatong ?i sinag =?a papatin=nak nu mangomodit =?a ?alta
PERF.come DET day =LIG kill=ABS.1s ERG very.bad.PL =LIG person
“The day will come, and those wicked men will kill me,

?ay ?agya na ?ikasangay=?a sinag ?ay mabilay=yak=?a (ka)luway
PART CON OBL third =LIG day TL live=ABS.1s =LIG again
and yet, on the third day, I will rise again from the dead.'

?ay ?agya (?u)wan=sid minondongol dikana
PART CON NEG=ABS.3p listen OBL.3s
'But they did not listen to him.'

kaya=de ?issa dalam=de dinakop=na mangomodit=?a ?alta ti Hesus
CON=DEM one night=DEM arrest=OBL very.bad.PL =LIG person ABS.PN Jesus
'So, that one night, Jesus was arrested by wicked men.'

?ay na?angay=de=siya nu hukom, be=de=siya pinahatolan
TL go=ERG.3p=ABS.3s ERG judge CON=ERG.3p=ABS.3s condemn
'They bought him to trial, then, they condemned him.'

?ay ?agya (u)wan=siya ki=kasalanan
TL CON NEG=ABS.3s EXI=sin
'But, He has no sins.'

linibak=de=siya be=de nilapdit,
PERF.insult=ERG.3p=ABS.3s CON=ERG.3p PERF.whip
'They insulted him before they whipped'

be=de ?inipaku nu padipa hangen na mamate
CON=ERG.3p PERF.nail ERG open.arms until OBL die
'They nailed him with open arms until he died.'

mohedep ?i timpol=na nu padipa ta ?impatawid nu Makidepat
difficult DET suffering=GEN.3s ERG open.arms CON carry ERG God
'He suffered very hard while on the cross because God asked him to redeem

?i lahat=?a kasalanan=tam ti dibebu ni gebunay
DET all=LIG sin=GEN.1pi OBL above DEM earth
all our sins on earth.'

?ay ?agya (u)wan=siya ki=kasalanan na sadile
TL CON NEG=ABS.3s EXI=sin OBL self
'?But He has not sinned'

ta nu ki=kasalanan=siya sadile ?ay (u)wan=na matawid ?i kasalanan=tam
CON if EXI=sin=ABS.3s self TL NEG=ERG.3s carry DET sin=GEN.1pi
because if He has sins, He cannot redeem us from our sins.'

kaya tu padusa dikitam ?ay ?inipatawid nu Makidepat kani Hesus
CON ABS punishment OBL.1pi TL carry ERG God OBL Jesus
'So God asked Jesus to carry His punishment for us.'

nontopol=siya dehil nu kasalanan=tam tain (?u)wang=kitam=din mantopol
suffer=ABS.3s CON ERG sin=GEN.1pi CON NEG=ABS.1pi=PART suffer

‘He suffered severely because of our sins so that we would not suffer the same.’

ta namate=siya tain (ʔu)wang=kitam=din mayʔangay nu padusahan
CON died=ABS.3s CON NEG=ABS.1pi=PART carry ERG punishment
‘He also died for us, so that we will not bear the punishment.’

de ʔikasangay =ʔa sinag ʔay nabilay =ʔa luway
PART third =LIG day TL back.to.life =LIG again
‘Then on the third day,’

ti Hesus nu pinangamate=na
ABS.PN Jesus ERG death=ERG.3s
‘Jesus has risen back from the dead.’

linaway=siya na maʔadu ʔalta ʔat nakisalo=siya dikade na pamangan
see=ABS.3s OBL many people CON join.with=ABS.3s OBL.3p OBL table
‘Many people saw him, and he joined with them on the table.’

de nakakoy ʔi ʔapatnapo sinag ʔay sinumubli=siya tiddi
PART after DET forty day TL return=ABS.3s DEM
‘After 40 days, he went back there’

nu kotahanan=na ti langit
DET home=GEN.3s OBL heaven
‘his home in heaven.’

pala kakaylan ti Jesukidisto=ʔamo=y
PL fellowman ABS.PN Jesus Christ=PART=DET
‘My fellowmen, Jesus Christ is the only’

tagepagligtas na lahat =ʔa ʔalta
savior OBL all =LIG person
‘savior of all mankind.’

ʔonolon=tam=ʔe ta ʔiniponanak=siya na ʔissa mahuna
know=ERG.1pi=DEM CON born=ABS.3s OBL one young.maiden
‘We all know that he was conceived a young lady’

ʔa (u)wam=pa=ki=denayan na ʔagya tiʔatin na patud
LIG NEG=PART=EXI=near OBL CON whose OBL man
‘who has never been touched by any other man.’

At yi ʔissa=pa ʔay tu pinangabilay=na lapo nu pinangamate=na
and DET one=PART TL ABs return.to.life=ERG.3s from ERG grave=GEN.3s
‘And one more thing was his resurrection from his grave.’

(u)wam=pokna na kaladkalad =ʔa nangitudu =ʔa nangamate=d
NEG=DEM OBL others =LIG teach =LIG dead=PART
‘Unlike other preachers who were already dead, that until now,

=?a hangen ni?edut ?ay saydi ti (nu) pinangilabe=?a dikade
=LIG until now TL DEM OBL ERG grave=LIG OBL.3p
'they were still lying there in their graves.'

ta ti Hesus ay (u)wang=kaya ?i kamateyan dikana ta=siya
CON ABS.PN Jesus TL NEG=EXI=CON DET death OBL.3s CON=ABS.3s
'Not even death can stop Jesus because he is God.'

tu Makidepat sa?i tu ?espeditu ni Hesus ti gebunag kaya ni?edut
DET God DEM ABS spirit ERG.PN Jesus OBL earth CON now
'The spirit of Jesus is present here on earth'

makapangiligtas ti Hesus dikayo
save ABS.PN Jesus OBL.2p
'to save us from our sins.'

nu makapagsese=kayo nu kasalanan=yo dikana ?at
if repent=ABS.2p ERG sin=GEN.2p OBL.3s CON
'If you will repent your sins to Him and'

manalig=kayo=?a=siya tu ?anak nu Makidepat=?a napanni?alta
have.faith=ABS.2p=LIG=ABS.3s ABS son ERG God=LIG become.human
believe that He is the son of God who is in human form.'

lenison=Na=kayo na lahat na kasalanan=yo
PERF.clean=ERG.3s=ABS.2p OBL all OBL sin=GEN.2p
'He will clean you from all of your sins

ta sumukob dikayo tu ?espidito nu Makidepat
CON enter.the.soul OBL.2p ABS spirit ERG God
'because the spirit of God has entered your soul.'

ta=siya ?ay mang?atod dikayo na kapangyaduhan
CON=ABS.3s TL give OBL.2p OBL power
'Also, he will give us the power'

pade (u)wang=kayo madeig ni Satanas
PART NEG=ABS.2p defeat ERG.PN Satan
'so we cannot be defeated by Satan.'

ta nu mamate=kayo ?ay ?i?usil=kayo ni Hesus
CON if die=ABS.2p TL companion=ABS.2p ERG.PN Jesus
'And, if we die, Jesus will bring us'

nu kota?anan=na ti langit
ERG house=GEN.3s OBL heaven
'where he is living in heaven.'

Narrative

Ti Lutong at tu Buya

?anto=pa=kan ti Buya ?atta tu Lutong
what=PART=PART ABS.PN Buya and ABS Lutong
'They say that there was this story about Buya and Lutong.'

?ay budi ni?eyay=?a Buya=?a kanon ti Lutong
REF like DEM=LIG Buya=LIG eat ABS.PN Lutong
'Ay, this Buya wanted to eat Lutong.'

ni?itta ?ay pinakoy ti?iddi tu Buya panlawin=mo Lutong
TEMP TL said DEM ABS Buya look=ERG.2s Lutong
'After that, Buya said to him that time. Look at them (the guavas), Lutong.'

pinakoy ti Lutong mompapa=ko malap tu hinog =?a lalaguna
said ABS.PN Lutong how=ERG.1s get ABS ripe =LIG guava
'Lutong said, "How can I get the ripe guavas?"'

pinakoy ti Buya ?ay sumakay=ka ti ?oddog=ko
said ABS.PN Buya INTJ ride=ABS.2s OBL back=GEN.1s
'Buya said, 'Ay, (You) Ride on my back.'

ni?itta, pinumayag ti Lutong na sinumakay
DEM accept ABS.PN Lutong OBL ride
'After that, Lutong agreed to ride (on Buya's back).'

?ay yi?e=duman=?a Buya ?ay moglihe tu ?asawa=na
INTJ DEM=PART =LIG Buya TL conceiving ABS wife=GEN.3s
'Ay, this one Buya, once again, his wife was conceiving a baby.'

pinangatiddi=de na dibelew nu wagot
DEM=ERG.3p OBL other.side ERG river
'When they arrived on the other side of the river,'

?ay pinakoy ti Lutong kani Buya tiad=din tu hinogin=?a lalaguna
INTJ said ABS.PN Lutong OBL Buya where=PART ABS ripe =LIG guava
'ay, Lutong said to Buya, 'Where are the ripe guavas?'

pokoy ti Buya ?ay kaya=ta=ka mampat=?a
answered ABS.PN Buya TL CON=ERG.1d=ABS.2s PART=LIG
'Buya answered, "Ay, I made up the ones I'

pinalawayan na ?adin=?a hinogin=?a lalaguna
see OBL like =LIG ripe =LIG guava
'showed you which look like ripe guavas'

?ay=?amon ti?iddi may?usil=ta=ka, ta moglihi tu ?asawa=ko
TL=PART DEM companion=ERG.1d=ABS.2s CON conceiving ABS wife=GEN.1s

‘Ay, so that I can bring you with me because my wife is conceiving a baby

?ay poglihiyan=na ?ay ?agtay=mo
TL desire=ERG.3s TL liver=GEN.2s
‘Ay, the one that she desired (to eat) is your liver.’

sinapengil ni Lutong ti Buya
slap ERG.PN Lutong ABS.PN Buya
‘Lutong slapped Buya.’

pinakoy kan=?i Lutong napakanabutang=mo=duman
said OBL=DEM Lutong very.stupid=ERG.2s=PART
(They said that) Lutong said (to Buya), ‘You are very stupid’

nu sinabi=mo ?ay (?u)wang=ko wadi ?intilak tu ?agtay=ko
if say=ERG.2s TL NEG=ERG.1s wadi left ABS liver=GEN.1s
‘if you said it earlier, I would not have left my liver.’

?umiling=ka ta=siya=yi?iddi nakasabit tu ?agtay=ko
turn.head=ABS.2s PART=ABS.3s =DEM hanging ABS liver=GEN.1s
‘Turn your head because it is over there, the one which is hanging is my liver.’

?intilak=ko=?amo ta bewal di ?ibesat na wagot
left=ERG.1s=PART because not.allowed DEM wet OBL water
‘I just left it because that is prohibited from getting wet in the river,’

ta mamatey=yak
PART die=ABS.1s
‘otherwise, I will die.’

?ay de ?in?isuble=na ti Lutong na dibelew nu bele ni Lutong
TL TEMP return=ERG.3s ABS.PN Lutong OBL other.side ERG house ERG.PN Lutong
‘Ay, At that moment, he returned Lutong on the other side (of the river) at the house of Lutong.’

ni?ita pinangadetong=de na dibelew, linumagwat=din ti Lutong ?at
DEM arrive=ERG.3p OBL other.side jump.out=PART ABS.PN Lutong and
‘That moment when they reached the other side of the river, Lutong hurriedly jumped out and

?inuminik=din na hangain=?a labet
climb.up=PART OBL big.PL =LIG tree
‘and climbed up to the big trees’

ni?ita ?ay ti Buya minabigo tu dikana budi mangyadi kani Lutong
DEM INTJ ABS.PN Buya fail ABS OBL.3s want happen OBL Lutong
‘(That moment) Buya realized that he failed on what he would like to do to Lutong.’

tapos ni?ita ?ay de tu=pokna ?ay ti Buya ?ay namatemateyan=din
CON DEM TL TEMP ABS=DEM TL PN.ABS Buya TL pretend.dead=PART
‘Then, now, after what has happened, Buya pretended that he was dead.’

?ay (?u)wan=din ?at sangay=din =?a sinag ?ay saydi=?amo=siya monsakob
TL NEG=PART and three=PART =LIG day TL DEM=PART=ABS.3s lying.face.down
'And for three days, he stayed there lying face down.'

?ay de tu=(?u)wan=din makapontopol ti Lutong
TL TEMP=ABS=NEG=PART wait ABS.PN Lutong
'Lutong cannot wait any longer.'

?ay pinakoy ti Lutong nu talage namate ti Buya
TL said ABS.PN Lutong if real dead ABS.PN Buya
'Lutong said, "If Buya is really dead,

?ay tuntandog ?i ?ulo=na ?atta ?e lambung=na
TL move DET head= GEN.3s and.also DEM tail=GEN.3s
his head and also his tail should me moving."

?ay de dingol ni Buya tu sinabi ni Lutong ?in?itatandog=na
TL TEMP heard ERG.PN Buya ABS said ERG.PN Lutong make.it.move=ERG.3s
'When Buya heard what Lutong said,

yi lambung=na ?atta yi ?ulo=na
DET tail=GEN.3s CON DET head= GEN.3s
he moved his tail and also his head.'

tapos sinabi ni Lutong talage nabutang=ka
CON said ERG.PN Lutong real fool=ABS.2s
'Then, Lutong said, "You are really so stupid!"

talage ?onolon=mo=man =?a ki=namate =?a tuntandog=pa
real know=ERG.2s=PART LIG EXI=dead =LIG move=PART
'Do you know of something that died and yet it can move again?"

nu ?uwang=ka=man nabutang
if NEG=ABS.2s=PART fool
'How stupid you really are!"'

?ay tiddi ya molungkot=duman=din ti Buya
TL DEM PART sad=PART=PART ABS.PN Buya
'There and then, Buya became sad again.'

?ay tiddi ya ?in?esip=na ta ki=bele ti Lutong =?a
TL DEM PART think=ERG.3s CON EXI=house ABS.PN Lutong =LIG
'Then he thought that he should hide in Lutong's house.'

tiddi=siya minonsuksuk na bele ni Lutong
DEM=ABS.3s hide OBL house ERG.PN Lutong
He hid over there in the house of Lutong.

?ay (?u)wan=din ?olawin ni?e ti Lutong
TL NEG=PART see ERG ABS.PN Lutong

‘But Lutong do not also see it.’

si Buya=?iddi mangkuwa ?ay saydi=man kuwa=siya na bele ni Lutong
DEM Buya=DEM PART TL DEM=PART PART=ABS.3s OBL house PN Lutong
‘Buya went there to wait and over there, he waits at the the house of Lutong.

?ay de tu kuwa ?ay koposan=din ti Lutong ta
TL TEMP ABS PART TL hungry=PART ABS.PN Lutong also
As time passed by, Lutong also felt hungry, also

saydi=dut tu kanon=na na bele=na =?a tu lalaguna=?a hinog
DEM=PART ABS food=GEN.3s OBL house=GEN.3s =LIG ABS guava =LIG ripe
His food is over there at his house –those ripe guavas.

ni?ita ?inumangay na ?adene nu bele=?a ?adupit=?amo tu ?inikan=na
then go.to OBL near ERG house =LIG low=PART ABS climb=GEN.3s
‘He went next to his house, but his location is not so high.’

?ay pinakoy nu bele ?ay nu (?u)wang ki=?alta ?ay kungkulawit
TL said DET house TL if NEG EXI=?alta TL shouting
He said to his house, “If there is no person inside, it is shouting.”

kinumulawit ti Buya ta komo sinabi ni Lutong =?a tu bele=na
shout ABS.PN Buya CON PART said ERG.PN Lutong =LIG ABS house=GEN.3s
‘Buya shouted just because Lutong said that his house

?ay pagwang=ki=?alta ?ay kungkulawit
TL if.there.no.person TL shout
is shouting if there is no person inside.’

kinumulawit ti Buya
shouted ABS.PN Buya
‘Buya shouted.’

?ay pinakoy ?a talage mangkuwa napakabutang=mo
INTJ said INTJ real PART very.stupid=ERG.2s
‘He said, “You are really so stupid for so very long time.”

buhat ni?edut ?ay (u)wan=nak=mo=d lawin
start today TL NEG=ABS.1s=PART=PART see
‘Starting today, you will not see me anymore

ta lumayas=sak=din ta budiy=yak=mo makan
CON leave=ABS.1s=PART CON want=ABS.1s=ERG.2s to.eat
so I will leave at once because you want to eat me.’

?at hangen ?amod tiddi yi saleta kaya=?i
and until PART DEM DET story CON=DEM
‘And that is the end of my story.’

Narrative

Ti Kutikot at tu Pagalpal

ti Kutikot ?ay momako
ABS.PN Kutikot TL picking.ferns
'The one who is picking up ferns is Kutikot.'

momako=siya na gilid nu lu?o
picking.ferns=ABS.3s OBL beside DET stream
'He is picking ferns beside the stream.'

linaway=na ti Pagalpal
see=ERG.3s ABS.PN Pagalpal
'He saw Pagalpal.'

pokoy=kan ti Pagalpal "(?u)wang=ka=d momako Kutikot"
answer=OBL ABS.PN Pagalpal NEG=ABS.2s=PART picking.fern Kutikot
'(They said) Pagalpal said to him, "Do not pick ferns, Kutikot."

"?umewa=ka=?amo=d ti timoy=ko, (?u)wam=mo=?amo pakipilasan"
cut=ABS.2s=PART=PART OBL buttocks=GEN.1s NEG=ERG.2s=PART slice.out.meat
'(You) Cut only a piece of my buttocks, but do not just slice out the meat.'

pokoy ti Pagalpal, "?at saka (?u)wam=mo Pohangaan"
answer ABS.PN Pagalpal, and also NEG=ERG.2s make.big.DEG
'Pagalpal said, "And also, (you) avoid making it (the cut) big."

nayhangaan ni Kutikot
unintentional.big.cut ERG.PN Kutikot
'Kutikot unintentionally sliced out a big piece.'

minasongit ni?ita ti Pagalpal
PERF.mad DEM ABS.PN Pagalpal
'At that very moment, Pagalpal got mad.'

dinamolag ni Pagalpal ti Kutikot
chased ERG.PN Pagalpal ABS.PN Kutikot
'Pagalpal chased Kutikot.'

nakaylaway ti Kutikot nu maglalabde,
PERF.see ABS.PN Kutikot ERG lumberjack
'Kutikot was able to see a lumberjack'

pinakoy=siya, "?i-suksuk=kak=mo"
said=ABS.3s INST-hide=ABS.1s=ERG.2s
'He said, "(You) Hide me.'

pinakoy tu maglalabde, “?umulok=ka na tatal”
said ABS lumberjack hide=ABS.2s OBL sawdust
‘The lumberjack said, “(You) Hide in the pile of sawdust.”’

?inumulok ti Kutikot na tatal
PERF.hide ABS.PN Kutikot OBL sawdust
‘Kutikot hid in the pile of sawdust.’

dundetong=duman=din ti Pagalpal
RCVC~CONT.arrive=PART=PART ABS.PN Pagalpal
‘Pagalpal was coming, too.’

pokoy=kan na maglalabde
answer=PART OBL lumberjack
‘(They said) (Pagalpal) said to the lumberjack,

“tiad=din ti Kutikot? nu (Pu)wam=mo sabin papatin=ta=ka”
where=PART ABS.PN Kutikot if NEG=ERG.2s tell kill.ERG.1d=ABS.2s
“Where is Kutikot right now? If you won’t say where he is (hiding), I will kill you!”’

“?umulok=ka na tatal”
get.in=ABS.2s OBL sawdust
“Get in the pile of sawdust.”

binumukayas na tatal ti Kutikot
leap.out OBL sawdust ABS.PN Kutikot
‘Kutikot suddenly leaped out from the sawdust.’

nondemolag=duman=din=sid
chased=PART=PART=ABS.3p
‘They chased one another again.’

nakaylaway=duman=din ti Kutikot na mombiwas = ?a gupad
PERF.see=PART=PART ABS.PN Kutikot DET angling.fish =LIG old.lady
‘Then again, Kutikot was able to see a person angling fish who was an old lady.’

pinakoy ti Kutikot, ?i-suksuk=kak=mo
said ABS.PN Kutikot INST-hide=ABS.1s=ERG.2s
Kutikot said to her, “(You) Hide me.”

pinakoy tu mombiwas “?umulok=ka ti saya=k=?ayna”
said ABS angling.fish get.in=ABS.2s OBL blouse=GEN.1s=DEM
‘The angler said, “(You) Get in here my blouse.”’

dundetong=duman=din ti Pagalpal “tiad=din ti Kutikot
RCVC~CONT.arrive=PART=PART ABS.PN Pagalpal where=PART ABS.PN Kutikot
‘Pagalpal was coming, too. “Where is Kutikot?”’

nu (ʔu)wam=mo sabin ʔay papatin=ta=ka"
if NEG=ERG.2s tell TL kill=ERG.1d=ABS.2s
'If you will not tell me where he is (hiding), I will kill you.'"

bala linumuwat tu saya at
sudden sprang.out ABS blouse and
'Suddenly, the blouse ballooned and'

kinumaldit=duman=din ti Kutikot
ran.away=PART=PART ABS.PN Kutikot
'Kutikot ran away again.'

linaway=na=duman=din ʔi paraple
see=ERG.3s=PART=PART DET crab
'This time, he saw a crab.'

pinakoy ti Kutikot, Pi-suksuk=kak=mo
said ABS.PN Kutikot INST-hide=ABS.1s=ERG.2s
'Kutikot said, "(You) Hide me!"'

pinakoy tu paraple, ʔumulok=ka ti botak=k=ʔayna
answered ABS crab get.in=ABS.2s OBL crack=GEN.1s=DEM
'The crab answered, "Get in my crack here."

dinumatong=duman=din ti Pagalpal
arrived=PART=PART ABS.PN Pagalpal
'Pagalpal also arrived.'

pinakoy na padeple, "tiad=din ti Kutikot"
said OBLT crab where=PART ABS.PN Kutikot
'The crab said, "Where is Kutikot now?"

"*nu ʔuwam=mo sabin papatin=ta=ka*"
if NEG.R=ERG.2s tell kill=ERG.1d=ABS.2s
'If you will not tell me where he is (hiding), I will kill you.'"

ʔumulok=ka ti botak=k=ʔayna
get.in=ABS.2s OBL crack=GEN.1s=DEM
'The crab said, "Get in my crack here."

pinanatong=na tiddi ay pina-agegewan=din=siya nu pala padeple
arrive=ABS.3s DEM TL everyone.grab=PART=ABS.3s ERG PL crab
'When he arrived there, the crabs rushed and grabbed him.'

pinonsemit=din=siya nu pala padeple
chela=PART=ABS.3s ERG PL crab
'He was "pincered" by the crabs.'

hanggen napapate=de=d ti Pagalpal
until kill=ERG.3p=d ABS.PN Pagalpal

‘Until, they totally killed Pagalpal.’

de namate=din ti Pagalpal
TEMP die=PART ABS.PN Pagalpal
After the death of Pagalpal,

?in?a?atden=din ni Kutikot na tu lahat=?a nang-?i-suksuk dikana
give=PART ERG.PN Kutikot DEM DET all =LIG INST.help.hide OBL.3s
‘Kutikot gave all of them who have helped hide him.’

Narrative

Kwento ni Moggot

ti Moggot ay nangamin na ngane ?a ?osabin na mangomden
ABS.PN Moggot TL eat DET ghosr LIG saying DET elders
'Moggot ate ghost, the one who the elders were telling about.'

dehil de tu numpung=demo=sinag ay mi=ngangane
because DEM DET ADV first=day TL EXI=RCV.ngane
'Because in the early days, there were people-eating ghosts'

ti bukid=ey =?a momangan na alta
OBL mountain=DEM =LIG eating DET person
in the mountains.'

besta linaway=kita na ngane, papatin=na=kita ta kanon dikita
PART see=ABS.1d DET ghost R.kill=ERG.3s.ABS.2d and eat OBL.1d
'Sure, once he sees you, he will kill you and eat you.'

ni?ita, ti Moggot ?ay issa ?a ?alta =?a ki=kapangyaduhan=dut
ADV ABS.PN Moggot TL one LIG person =LIG EXI=power=PART
'Moggot was a human with super powers.'

?i ?ogewan ni Moggot ?ay pom papatin=na ?i pala ngane
DET do ERG.PN Moggot TL kill=ERG.3s DET PL ghost
'Moggot was always killing ghost.'

?i ?ogewan ni Moggot nu tiad ki=ngane ?ay tiddi=siya ?unangay
DET do ERG.PN Moggot if where EXI=ghost TL DEM=ABS.3s go
'Moggot was always going to where there were ghosts.'

de=pokna ?ay ?ogewan ni Moggot=?a monsese ti Moggot nu wagot
DEM=DEM TL doing ERG.PN Moggot=LIG go.to ABS.PN Moggot DET river
Moggot always went to main source of the river.

panlawin=na=duman=din=?a padetong tu ngane
choose=ERG.3s=PART=PART=LIG coming ABS ghost
'Pagtingin niya naman kung padating na ang multo.'

pinakoy tu ngane ?anto=man ?i ?ogewan=mo tinna Moggot
said ABS ghost what=PART DET doing=ERG.2s DEM Moggot
The ghost said "What are you doing there Moggot?"

pukoy ti Moggot, pa?angay=yak tinna ta mangalap=pak na beges
reply ABS.PN Moggot go=ABS.1s DEM CON get=ABS.1s DET rice
'Moggot answered I will go there then I will get some rice.'

?ay hale panoblemo ?ay ?atden=nak=mo na beges
TL alright return TL give.ABS.1s=ERG.2s DET rice

‘Alright. I will give you rice once I returned.’

tinumalib=din ti Moggot nonsense=din nu wagot
return=PART ABS.PN Moggot go.to=PART DET river
‘Moggot returned to the main source of the river.’

?i ginawa ni?eya:y=?a Moggot de pinanatong nu de be minangalap
DET do ERG LIG Moggot ADV arrive DET TEM PART get
‘What this Moggot did when he returned from getting rice’

minangalap=siya na ma?adu pala sele=?a tu nangadarag=din=?a sele
get=ABS.3s DET many PL sele=LIG ABS red=PART=LIG pepper
‘He gathered a lot of many pepper, many reddish pepper.’

?ay=bala=duman=din nonodik
TL before=PART=PART go.to
‘Before he went to the end of the stream.’

pinakoy=kan ti Moggot, “yananay mama tu beges=ko
said PART ABS.PN Moggot have uncle DET rice=GEN.2s
‘By the way, mama, I give you my rice.’

pinakoy=kan tu ngane, “?ay ?atden=nak=mo nu beges=mo
said=PART DET ghost TL give.ABS.1s=ERG.2s DET rice=GEN.2s
‘The ghost answered, ‘(You) Give me your rice.’

pokoy ti Moggot dikana, “nu budi=yo ?ay ?atden=ta=kayo
said ABS.PN Moggot OBL.3s if like=ERG.2p TL give=ERG.1d=ABS.2p
‘Moggot said to him, “If you like, I will give some to you.””

kitiddi=din=na issa getang tu sele=?a ?ini?atod ni Moggot nu ngane
EXI=PART=DET one chupa^{xc}ABS pepper=LIG give ERG.PN Moggot DET ghost
‘There was about a chupa of pepper was given by Moggot to the ghost.’

ginawa ni Moggot de pinangayatod=na ?ay ?inumakang=din nonodik
do PN Moggot DEM after.giving=ERG.3s TL go=PART go.source.of.water
‘After Moggot gave the rice, he left and walk towards the northern part of the stream.’

?umangay=yak=din lake
leave=ABS.1s=PART man
“I will leave now lake.””

de naydeyo=d ti Moggot bala=din=?intamul ?intamul nu ngane tu sele
DEM go.far=PART ABS.PN Moggot before=PART=devour devour DET ghost ABS pepper
‘Just after Moggot left, the ghost devour and devour all the peppers.’

?apu de naysele yi?eya;y=?a ngane
INTJ DEM burn.pepper this=LIG ghost
‘The ghost felt the hot pepper in his body.’

?ay dinamolag=na=duman=din ti Moggot=?a pa?odik=?a
REF chase=ERG.3s=PART=PART ABS.PN Moggot=LIG go.source.water=LIG
'He chased Moggot towards the northern part of the stream from where Moggot was heading'

(?u)wan=na=duman=din nilaway ti Moggot ?a kuwa komo^{xcii}
NEG=ERG.3s=PART=PART see ABS.PN Moggot LIG PART even
'The ghost did not see Moggot'

ki=kapangyadihan ti Moggot
EXI=power ABS.PN Moggot
because Moggot has superpowers.

?onolun=na=duman=din=?a ki=manodik=duman=din=?a ngane
know=ERG.3s=PART=PART=LIG EXI=go.source.water=PART=PART=LIG ghost
'He knew that there was another ghost heading towards the water source.'

?i ginawa=na ?ay nangalap na late ta ?olokayon=na tu ?issa de?nap
DET do=ERG.3s TL gather DET rattan then tying=ERG.3s ABS one stone
'He did gather some late then he tie it to a boulder.'

?ay Polawin=na=duman=din ?i ?issa ngane
REF see=ERG.3s=PART=PART DET one ghost
'He sees again another ghost.'

pukoy=siya kani Moggot", "?anto=man ?i ?ogewan=mo tinna Moggot
say=ABS.3s OBL Moggot what=PART DET doing=ERG.2s DEM Moggot
'The ghost said to Moggot, "What are you doing there, Moggot?"

pukoy dikana, "say?i yi ?iget=tam "?ay", pukoy
say OBL.3s DEM DET eel=GEN.1pi TL said
'He said to the ghost, "Our eel is over here." "My goodness!", the ghost said'

"ya:y ?innangan^{xcii} ta?e ng=kitam mamangan
DEM good DEM DET=ABS.1pi eat
'This is so good, we can now eat.'

pokoy kani Moggot, nu budi=yo=malap=tam
said OBL Moggot if like=ERG.2p=get=ERG.1pi
'Moggot said to the ghost, "We can have it if you like"

kotun=yo ti katupag=?ayna tain=tam=malap
pull=ERG.2p OBL other.side=there CON=ERG.1pi=get
pull it from that other side so we can get it.'

?i ginawa ni?i ngane, kinut=na nu katupag
DET did ERG ghost pull=ERG.3s DET other.side
'This ghost did do it. He pulled it from the other side.'

?ay ?i ginawa ni Moggot kinut=na=dut=din nu katopag
TL DET did ERG.PN Moggot pull=ERG.3s=PART=PART DET other.side
'Then, Moggot did. He also pulled from the other side.'

de naytawden=na yi gomot nu ngane
ADV hold=ERG.3s DET hand DET ghost
'When, he gripped the hand of the ghost.'

de yinutud=na ta ?inisolpit=na=duman=din
ADV pull=ERG.3s also press=ERG.3s=PART=PART
'He pulled and he pressed again and again'

tu ngane ?ay namate=din tu ngane
ABS ghost TL die=PART ABS ghost
until the ghost died.'

?ay ?intilak=duman=din ni Moggot
TL left=PART=PART ERG.PN Moggot
'Moggot left the ghost.'

de ?issa=duman=din=?a sinag ?ay monsese=duman=din ti Moggot
ADV one=PART=PART=LIG sinag TL go.source=PART=PART ABS.PN Moggot
'One day, Moggot went again to the source of the water.'

ginawa=na=kan saydi=na ?osakyan yi ?issa de?nap
did=ERG.3s=PART DEM=ERG.3s riding DET one stone
They said that he was over there riding one boulder.

pokoy=kan=?i ngane=ya:y, "?anto=man ?i ?ogewam=mo tinna Moggot
said=PART=DET ghost=TL what=PART DET doing=ERG.2s there Moggot
'This ghost said to this, "Moggot, what are you doing over there?"'

pukoy=kan ti Moggot, "?a, tu ?oddongan=ko=man=?e
said=PART ABS.PN Moggot INTJ ABS carabao=GEN.1s=PART=DEM
'Moggot said, "Oh, this is my carabao."'

pokoy dikana, ?opapanu=m(o)=man ?ipa:mpa?akang ti?eyay
said OBL.3S how=ERG.2s=PART walk this
He said to him, "How can you make this walk?"

pokoy ti Moggot, sumakay=kayo ta bala=kayo pakoy=kayo hi
said ABS.PN Moggot ride=ABS.2p CON before=ABS.2p said=ABS.2p "Hi!"
Moggot said, "Come, take a ride, and say Hi to move."

?ay, hale! ?umakang=ngak=din ?ay di lake
all right walk=ABS.1s=PART TL DEM man
'All right!' Moggot left at once.'

pinangakang ni Moggot sinumakay=din tu ngane
walk ERG.PN Moggot ride=PART ABS ghost
'Just after Moggot left, the ghost rode

(?u)wam=mad=?ey tuntandog tu ?oddongan=na
NEG=PART=DEM move ABS carabao=GEN.3s
but his carabao was not moving.'

?anto=man ?i tumandog ti de?nap=?ay
What=PART DET move OBL stone=DEM
'What can make this stone move?'

?ay de tu pokna=d=(?u)wan=din talage mopalapate ti Moggot
TL ADV ABS DEM=PART=NEG=PART true kill ABS.PN Moggot
'It was his ways for many years but none could kill Moggot.'

pag=?awan=de ?olawin ti Moggot mosongit=sid kani Moggot
NEG=ERG.3s see ABS.PN Moggot angry=ABS.3p OBL Moggot
'They were mad if Moggot was not around'

pidu pagolawin=de=siya nu ngane
but if.see=ERG.3p=ABS.3s DEM ghost
but if the ghost always saw him.'

(?u)wan=sid mosongit ta kamag?anak=na=d=sid
NEG=ABS.3s mad also relative=GEN.3s=PART=ABS.3p
'They did not get mad because the ghosts treated him as their relative.'

de pokna=?amo=d ?i ?ogewan ni Moggot
ADV DEM=PART=PART DET doing ERG.PN Moggot
'Moggot has been doing that for very long.'

de ?issa ?ay na?isepan=na=duman=din ?i manduyan kaya
ADV one TL think=ERG.3s=PART=PART DET swing CON
'One time, he thought of swinging, so'

minanduyan=siya na sawbu na tabe
EXI=swing=ABS.3s DET top DET falls
he swung at the top of the falls.'

?ay nilaway=na=duman=din ?i ngane=?eyay=?a padetong
TL see=ERG.3s=PART=PART DET ghost=DEM=LIG arrive
'Then, he saw this ghost coming.'

?anto=man ?i ?ogewan=mo tinna pinakoy tu ngane
What=PART DET doing=ERG.2s DEM said ABS ghost
'The ghost said, "What again are you doing there?"'

hay^{xciii}, mongpakabuwan=nak=man=?o
INTJ air=ABS.1s=PART=INTJ
'I am getting fresh air.'

?ay tiyak=dut=din ?i tinna Moggot, "pinakoy tu ngane
TL ABS.1s=PART=PART DET DEM Moggot said ABS ghost
'The ghost said, "Moggot, I will take my turn there,

ta bewan=nak=mo pinasanit ?ay geyangin=ta=ka
CON before=NEG=ABS.1s=ERG.2s turn TL spear=ERG.1d=ABS.2s
because if you will not give me a turn, I will spear you.

kanya ?i ginawa ni Moggot ?ay pinasanit=na tu ngane
CON DET do ERG.PN Moggot TL turn=ERG.3s ABS ghost
'Moggot did give the turn to the ghost.'

pokoy nu ngane, nu budi=yo=?a=ya:y
said DEM ghost DET like=ERG.2p=LIG=DEM
'He said to the ghost, "You like this then it is yours now."

?i punduyanan=duman ni Moggot
DET swing=PART ERG.PN Moggot
'The swing used by Moggot

?ay pala dewag na limuden ?atta palasan^{xciv}.
TL PL thorn DET limuden CON palasan
is made of thorns from limuden and palasan.'

?i ?ogewan=na=duman ?ay ?isabit=na=duman=?amo
DET do=ERG.3s=PART TL hang=ERG.3s=PART=PART
'Then he did was He hang

nu luwing nu ginat^{xcv}tu dewag
DET loose.string DET ginat ABs thorns
'the thorns at the loose string of the ginat.'

?ay de pokna pinasanit=na=d tu ngane
TL DEM DEM give.turn=ERG.3s=PART ABS ghost
Then, he gave the turn to the ghost.

pinakoy=kan ti Moggot, "hale, toplon=yo=?amo
said=PART ABS.PN Moggot okay suffer=ERG.2p=PART
Moggot said, "It's okay. You should tolerate the pain'

ta sadya pokna ?i mondulan ta?e
CON CON DEM DET swing DEM
because that is how you will enjoy swinging here.'

?ay ginawa ni?i Moggot tu dewag nu palanok=?a ?inisubsub na ?inisubsub
TL did ERG Moggot ABS thorn DET rattan=LIG insert DET insert

‘Then, Moggot did that. He keep on inserting and inserting the thorns of rattan’

nu sula nu ngane
DET anus DET ghost
‘in the anus of the ghost.’

pokoy=kan tu ngane, ?aduy?aduy
said=PART ABS ghost INTJ
The ghost said, “Ouch! Ouch!”

pokoy=kan, (?u)wang=kayo=mogelaw mama ta (?u)wang=(?u)wan=kayo makapanduyan
said=PART NEG=ABS.2p=move uncle CON NEG=NEG=ABS.2p swing
‘He said, “Avoid moving uncle or else you can never swing.”

pokoy=kan tu ngane, hale=?amo ?agya kosakitan tu ngane
said=PART DET ghost all.right=PART CON hurting ABS ghost
‘The ghost said, “It is all right.” And yet, the ghost was in intense pain.’

?ay ?otoplon=na=?amo pokoy dikana
INTJ suffer=ERG.3s=PART said OBL.3s
‘It is alright. You can tolerate the pain.’

siya=d=na mama=de=?inna
ABS.3s=PART=DET uncle=ERG.3p=DEM
‘We are almost done here uncle.’

?ay ?inituyun=pa ni Moggot=?a minangawelong nu tabe
TL push=PART ERG.PN Moggot LIG fall DET falls
‘Moggot pushed and fell from the top of the falls.’

minamate mi=nabalutbut tu batuka=na
EXI=died EXI=strangled ABS intestine=GEN.3s
He died and was strangled by his intestine.

Constructed Texts

Kwentu na Idduwa Tugak

kitiddi ?idduwa tugak.

EXI two frog

‘There were two frogs.’

?isulot=ko yi dikade na panebilay=ni?e ?idduwa tugak
tell.story=ERG.1s DET OBL.3p DET bilay=DEM two frog
‘I will tell you a story about these two frogs.’

say?i=sid nu gilid nu balon

DEM=ABS.3p DET beside DET well

‘They were here at the cliff of a well.’

dekapopokna=de tiddi minalalbak=sid nu gilid nu balon

DEM.PART=ERG.3p DEM fall=ABS.3p DET beside DET well

‘(When) They kept on doing that there, they fell from the cliff of the well.’

tiddi=sid wan makoapit tiddi agya

DEM=ABS.3p NEG hold.tight DEM CON

‘They were there (inside the well). They cannot hold firmly there, so they tried other means,

pumapa=sid ?ay ?uwan=din=sid mako?uwat

what=ABS.3p TL NEG=PART=ABS.3p climb.up

but they still cannot climb up.’

pedu pokoy tu issa kailangan lumagwat=kita

CON say ABS one need leap.ABS.2d

‘But the other one said, we (dual) need to jump and

lumagwat taing=kitam maydingato

jump CON=ABS.1pi go.up

jump, so we can go up.’

I minongyadi nuidi tu bekos I motiyage talage

DET happen DEM DET female DET persistent PART

‘What happened was, this female frog was very persistent on

lunlagwat lunlagwat a padingato

CONT.jump CONT.jump LIG going.up

jumping and jumping upwards.’

Detukatwaleyen na katitiyage=niiyay bekos

PART.long.wait DET persistent=DEM female

‘*Long enough, the female’s persistence paid off’

minakaapit=siya ?at poknadut tu patud

hold=ABS.3s and DEM.PART DET male

‘she got hold on the wall, and so as the male frog.’

nakaapit=dut=din=siya tai nu belon
hold.tight=PART=PART=ABS.3s DEM OBL well
‘She finally got hold of the wall of the well.’

pokoy=duman tu kalad ?a tugak
said=PART DET different LIG frog
‘The other frogs said that

Budi=de=duman ?a tubeyan tu iduwa ?a sai nu disalad nu belon.
like=ERG.3p=PART LIG help DET two LIG DEM DET below DET well
they want to help the two who there in the deep well.’

Pedu ?uwan=de motubeyan tu ?idduwa tu ?untekin=?a tugak dehil
CON NEG=ERG.3p help DET two ABS small=LIG frog CON
‘But they cannot help the two small frogs because

dehil na disalad=ngan tu belon
CON DET ADV=PART ABS well
because the well is really too deep.’

?ipombeyad=?amo=sid nu ?apat=?a pala tugek=?a mangomden
look.at=PART=ABS.3p DET four=LIG PL frog=LIG elder-PL
‘The four adult frogs were just looking at them.’

pedu=wan=de=sid modulus^{xcvi} nu belon ta
CON=NEG=ERG.3p=ABS.3p slippery DET well CON
‘But they cannot, they might slip down the well, and’

maydulang=sid nu disalad nu belon
together=ABS.3p DET below DET well
‘they might get stuck together below the well.’

Yiiddi I kasaysayan=de
DEM DET history=ERG.3p
That was their story.

I demo nakauwat tu bekos tu patud nakauwat=dut.
DET first jump.out DET female DET male jump.out=PART
‘The first who jumped out was the female, the male jumped out too.’

?i budi leksiyon=niidi=?a na?alap=ko ?ay
DET like lesson =DEM=LIG get=ERG.1s TL
‘The good lesson that I got from this is’

?ay ?uwan=kitam mogisip na wan tama na ka?inaya=tam
TL NEG=ABS.1pi CONT.isip DET NEG right DET fellow=GEN.1pi
‘we should not think negatively with our fellowmen.’

Besta magtiyage=kitam=?amo ?ugnay=?a
ADV IMPR.persevere=ABS.1pi=PART ADV=LIG
‘We should always be persistent, and’

wang=kitam mag?isip na moddit
NEG=ABS.1pi IMPR.think DET bad
‘we should not think negatively.’

ta=?amo=n tiddi ?ayos=?amo tu pang?esip=tam
CON=PART=PART DEM right=PART ABS mind=GEN.1pi
‘Also, that is the only way to keep our mind in order.’

yi?idi=?amo tu nalap=ko leksiyon nu kwento nu ?idduwa tugak
DEM=PART ABS get=GEN.1s lesson DET story DET two frog
‘That is the lesson I got from the story of the two frogs.’

Pear Story

Detukuwa, kitiddi isa saleta na isa lake.
PART.past EXI one story DET one male
'In the past, there was a story about one man.'

Tu lake ay mong-alap na budak nu pun.
DET man TL CONT-get DET fruit DET tree.
'The man was picking up fruits from a tree.'

Anu-anto=y nu budak - mange, mansanas a
R-what=DET DET fruit mango apple LIG
'What kind of fruit? – It is neither mango nor apple

uwan nu=?anto=man=di budak.
NEG;if=what=CLI=that fruit
'(And I) Do not know what fruit that was.'

Idduwa tu tiklis I puno=din ay momitas=pa momitas tu lake.
two DET basket DET full=CLI TL CON=PART CONT.pick=DET male
'The two baskets were full, and yet the man was still picking and picking fruits.'

Kitiddi isa anak a dinumatong a nakasakay na bisekleta.
EXI one child LIG PERF.arrive LIG ride DET bicycle
'There was a child who was riding a bike arrived.'

pinangaytulog=na nu?iddi naylaway=na
go.parallel=ERG.3s DEM see=ERG.3s
'He went there below (in front of the man on the tree)'

tu idduwa tiklis a puno=din nu pala budak.
DET two basket LIG full=CLI DET PL fruit
'when he saw the two baskets full of fruits.'

ginawa nii anak ay ponlawin=na tu budak
PERF.do DEM child TL look.at=ERG.3s ABS fruit
'What this child did, he looked at the fruits.'

pinangaytulog=na tiddi nu pun nu labet
go.parallel=ERG.3s DEMDET tree DET wood
'He was just there in front of the fruit-bearing tree.'

naylaway=na tu ?idduwa tiklis ?ay pinodut
see=ERG.3s the two basket CON pick up
He looked closely at the two baskets of fruits, and picked a fruit.

pinanlaway=na tu lake nu ponlawin=siya
see=ERG.3s ABS man if look at=ABS.3s
'He observed if the man was looking at him.'

de tu uwani=siya mopansin nu lake bala=na ?inalap tu ?issa tiklis
PART-NEG=ABS.3s CONT.notice DET man sudden=ERG.3s get ABS one basket
'When he was not seen by the man, he suddenly carried one basket

ta ?insakay=na nu bisekleta=na
CON load=ERG.3s DET bicycle=GEN.3s
'then, he load it on his bicycle.'

ta ?inumakang=din=siya nu ?adeyo=?a molayat=?a kalsade
CON PERF.walk=PART=ABS.3s DET far=LIG wide=LIG road
'He hurried rode away far towards the wide road.'

ta kitiddi=siya=?a maytagon=?a nakasakay=dut na bisikleta
CON EXI=ABS.3s=LIG loa=LIG ride=PART DET bicycle
'Because he was hiding the load on the bicycle,

?uwan=na minaylaway tu ?issa detnap=?a saydi nu koyan=na
NEG=ERG.3s PERF.see DET one stone=LIG DEM DET pass=ERG.3s
'He did not see a stone that is standing there along his path.'

kaya minayboal ta minaybut tu pala budak=na
CON fall CON spill DET PL fruit=GEN.3s
'So his fruits fell and spill on the ground.'

ki=dundetong=duman=dut=?a pala anak
EXI arrive=PART=PART=LIG PL child
Coincidentally, there were three children coming.

ginawan=ni?e sangay=?a anak tinubeyan=de=siya
PERF.do=ERG three=LIG child PERF.help=ERG.3p=ABS.3s
(What these three children did was], they helped him

?a minangasok tiddi nu tiklis
LIG put DEM DET basket
return (the fruits) there in the basket

de minayasok=de=d ay inumakang tu ki bisikleta
DEM enter=ERG.3p=PART TLPERF.walk DET EXI bicycle
After they have returned (the fruits), the one who has a bike left

minaylalbak=na=mangkuwa tu belangot na moslad
fall=ERG.3s PART ABS hat DET wide
He fell another thing, it was his wide hat.

habe monakang tu sangay a pala anak naylaway=de tu belangot
CON CONT.walk DET three LIGPL child see=ERG.3p ABS hat
While the three children were walking away, they saw the hat.

kaya pinaswitan=siya nu sangay a pala anak
CON whistle=ABS.3s DET three LIG PLchild-SG

So, the three children whistled him.

hinuminto=siya ta piniatod dikana tu belangot=na
stop=ABS.3s CON give OBL.3s ABS hat=GEN.3s
He stopped and (one of the boys) gave him his hat.

ta?e ?inatden=na=duman=dut na talisadut tu sangay=?a pala ?anak na budak
DEM give=ERG.3s=PART=PART DET each.one ABS three=LIG PL child DET fruit
Here, he then gave a fruit to each of the three children.

Conversation

People present: S and L

Location: Bente Kwatro

S: *tiyak ti Sonny pangawi diyak na pamilya=ko yayo
asawa=ko ay ti Ema yi panganay=me ti Latdok at
ti Lagyu ti pangaduwa ti Salon duman ay pangsangay*

S: *tikame ay Kabuloan tidema=ko ay ti Kolmog ta yi ngadon ni tidna=k ay ti
Kulilit*

L: *tiyak=duman ti Ema yi tidema=ko ay ti Nanding at tidema=ko
ay Asunzion*

S: *tiyak=?a tatlongpu at anim immasat=duman=?a tatlumpu at sangay*

L: *tikami ay ti Beto nakataan minagsama=kame masasawa ay 1997
inumalang=kami ti tubigen Sitio Kamatis, Barangay Kalawakan.*

S: *tiyak=de tu kuwa i kobilay=me pagtanom ?atta paaglate=iddi ipunalew=me
saka mongaso=kame habe=?a mongaso montanga dikame ta nu
makaylaway=kame=d na diyo ay ilatom=me.*

S: *tiyak niedut wangku=d buddi=?a kaydenasan na anak ko tunay
denasan=ko=?a kahedepan kaya pag-adelon=ko=sid ta=?amon wan=sid
maytulad diyak*

APPENDIX G- SAMPLE WRITTEN TEXT

Roma

Ki mensahi ti Pablo a unalang nu Benal a Kasulatan.

Tu mensahi ay unalang kani Hesus, a tu nabllay luway.

Tu mensahi a pade nu momponalig, tain mabilay sid na pamamagitan na panalig

1:1

Sinabi ni Pablo a siyay isa alepin nu Makidepat, at modelas na di inuni (Galatia 1:10, Tito 1:1). Uwan siya pinelit a naging alepin, pedu binudi na maging alepin siya nu Makidepat dehil omahalon na tu Makidepat. Tulad nu alepin de panahon nide Moises, a iniskod de tu sadile de tai nu ki adi dikade hanggen no momate sid, inialay ni Pablo tu sadile na naging alepin nu Makidepat hanggen na ki bilay siya (Exodo 21:2-6).

Sinabi na dut a apostol siya. Budi sabin na apostol a tu pinaangay nu Makidepat. Pineta siya nu Makidepat maging apostol, uwan na pineta maging apostol siya. Kalad i nagewa na apostol, a uwan nagewa nu uwan pala apostol (2 Corinto 12:12). Yiidi tungkolin at kakayahan yi inatod nu Makidepat dikade tain ikalat de tu Mopeya Beleta, taing ki paakodul a pinaangay sid nu Makidepat. Kayo yi layonin nu bilay ni Pablo, ay tu pangikalat nu Mopeya Beleta. Niedut uwan din i apostol, ta insolat din tu Bibliya.

1:7

I ginawa nu nangisalin nu Bibliya na kale Tagalog, ay insunod de tu bersikulo 7 na bersikulo 1. Pagkatapos, insunod de tu bersikulo 2 nu bersikulo 7. Ginewyan na kitam, o budi sabin inalalak na kitam maging anak na, at binalo na tu kalageyan tam, ta omohalon na kitam. Benal kitam nu hadep na (1 Tesalonika 4:7), ta imbukod kitam nu Makidepat pade dikana. Yi isa habey igegeg ni Pablo pade na monalig, ay tu pagpapala nu Makidepat, at ki katahimikan tu angos at bilay tam. Pog oasahan tam tu Makidepat ta linaway tom oasikason na kitam, yiina tu pagpapala na, at oatden na kitam na katahimikan ti angos tam.

1:2

Tu Mopeya Beleta, ay uwan bala beleta, ta impanol nu Makidepat nu pamamagitan nu pala propeta (Gawa 26:6). Uwang kinumoy na pala kwento amo na alta tu impanol nu Makidepat, ta ubde besan tai nu Lumang Tipan. Tu Benal a Kasulatan tai nakasolat, ay tu Lumang Tipan, ta yiidi amo yi natapos nu Bibliya de idi panahon.

1:3.4

Tu Mopeya Beleta, ay tungkol kani Hesus, tu Anak nu Makidepat. Uwan i tungkol na alta, o na depat a gewon na alta, ta tu Mopeya Beleta ay tungkol kani Hesus, tain ipilmi tam tu paanlaway tam dikana. Siyay Panginoon, kaya yi budi na sabin a siya tu Makidepat. Ta tu Makidepat tu Panginoon tam. Tunay dut siya alta, ta lahi ni Hadi David ti Hesus (Huan 1:14). Dehil pinakabilay luway ti Hesus nu pamamagitan nu Ispeditu nu Makidepat, ki isa paakodul a siya tu Makidepat a uwang ki kapintasan. Uwan siya naging Makidepat dehil pinakabilay luway, ta paakodul tu pinamakabilay dikana a siya tu Makidepat.

1:5

Tinanggep nide Pablo tu kaloob nu Makidepat tain maging apostol sid. Pedu tu layonin nu Makidepat lidi, ay tain podin ti Hesus, kayo apostol nu Makidepat tide Pablo. Opodin ti Hesus nu ki manalig at nu ki budak tu panalig de.

1:6

Tu pala monalig, ay ginewyan nu Makidepat. bala inalalak a manalig dikana. At nu tiatin i manalig dikana, ay naging alepin na (2 Timoteo 1:9; 1 Pedro 2:9).

ⁱAccording to Craig (1998), “the process of language death itself has received numerous labels, such as language obsolescence, loss, decay, decline, attrition, contraction, or deac-quisation. These levels reflect a general search for the similarities and differences that relate it to other types of linguistic dynamism and historical change”.

ⁱⁱ The categories are being used by Ethnologue for assessing the vitality of the languages, the Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS) levels. It is designed to largely coincide with Fishman’s Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale, or GIDS which measures the level of endangerment.

ⁱⁱⁱ Headland (2003; 2010) listed 32 endangered Negrito languages.

^{iv} The recent survey of Reid shows a steady decline of Philippine Negrito languages in the whole archipelago.

^v“Language status”, according to Lewis et al. (2016), “is an estimate of the overall development versus endangerment of the language and the categorization of the official recognition given to a language within the country”. It basically appraises the condition of any ethnolinguistic community.

^{vi} Cited from Ethnologue, 2018

^{vii} Reid explains that vowel change in the ultima, from /a/ to /e/, is the result of an areal feature of Eastern Luzon Negrito languages.

^{viii} Apparently, some *Southern Alta* thinks that non-Negrito peoples who they communicate with are generally referred to as *Tagalog* or *Taw*.

^{ix} The commentaries have been scanned and digitized as pdf files at SIL-Philippines.

^x The “alternate names” come from the Ethnologue’s different sources. *Southern Alta* negritos are unlikely to be called *Ita* or *Aeta* because the term is a reference for Philippine Negrito groups in the areas of Pampanga. The variants such as *Kabuluuen*, *Kabulowan*, or *Kabuluwen* are results of the pronunciation or dialectal features of other ethnolinguistic groups.

^{xi} The pronunciation of /n/ in *Kabunloan* could have been a result of the more frequent contact with *Taw* (*Tagalog* and non-Negritos) in the area of Bulacan. Other pronunciation difference are also found in other locations.

^{xii} *Umiray Dumaget* pronounced *Dumaget* as *Dumaget* and *Kabuloan* as *Kabunlowen*.

^{xiii} The term *Dumaget* has been used as a carry-all term in government offices and agencies in Bulacan and other studies such as Francisco (2012) and Santos-Bulaong (2014) referring to the indigenous peoples in Bulacan.

^{xiv} Bulacan residents coined the term referring to the indigenous peoples in Bulacan. Although the term has been accepted by some *Southern Alta*, others feel offensive when people call them *Kabalat*.

^{xv} The basis is on the demographic analysis of family size

^{xvi}This means that the language is used for face-to-face communication by all generations and the situation is sustainable (Lewis et al., 2016).

^{xvii}The researcher also found out that other cultural minorities relocated in the area such as Bisaya, Waray, Ilocano and other cultural minorities in the area.

^{xviii} The clusters follow the names of different “earth forms”

^{xix}The definition of unique are those forms for which no cognate has been found in any other language, allowed the inclusion of words with possible Austronesian etymologies except that they had undergone some innovation, such as either a semantic shift or a sporadic phonological change that is not shared with any other language (Reid, 1991; 1994a).

^{xx} The population survey is dated 1982 in the *Ethnologue* (Lewis et al., 2016)

^{xxi} Illegal trading involves cutting tress for charcoal, illegal logging, and selling endangered animals.

^{xxii}The changes involve the avoidance of using the traditional Negrito outfit, the mimicking of everything they see or hear in the social media, and the abandonment of some cultural practices because of their present religious orientation.

^{xxiii}“Language death”, according to Craig (1998), “may appear to be sudden but may in fact occur as the result of a long period of gestation. It is a situation under the label “language tip” (Dorian 1981, as cited in Craig, 1998). It typically involves a case of sudden shift from a minority language to a dominant language after centuries of apparent strong survival. Dorian argues that the loss of the ethnic language is the result of a long-standing assault on the language which has eroded its support from the inside. It can be traced through the evolution of the patterns of language use in specific families, ones in which parents and older siblings speak an ethnic language while younger siblings suddenly do not acquire it” (Craig, 1998, p. 177).

^{xxiv} The term is a *Southern Alta*’s reference to Tagalog people.

^{xxv} Some *Southern Alta* students know four languages. They are *Kabuloan*, *Umiray*, *Tagalog*, and English.

^{xxvi} *Kabuloan* speaker’s way to accommodate to non-*Kabuloan* speakers.

^{xxvii} Brenzinger (1998) explains that the “recessive use of the old language with intra-ethnic communication leads to the process of language displacement”. The consistent and pervasive “changes of behavior of the members of an ethnolinguistic minority disturb the fragility of a status quo”, and “this unstable bilingualism may finally develop into monolingualism in the new language” (p. 191). He claims that the “language replacement usually takes at least three generations although not a unidirectional development, but in the course of time successive phases with different characteristics modify the process before a language becomes extinct” (p. 191). Austin and Sallabank (2011) explains that language shift often takes place through a period of unstable bilingualism or multilingualism, that is, speakers use two or more languages but one (or more) of them is more dominant and used increasingly widely until finally it (or they) take over the roles previously carried by the endangered language(s).

^{xxviii} Austin and Sallabank (2011) refer this condition as displacement, a similar condition that happened among the Kurdish, Welsh and Native American languages (p. 5).

^{xxix} Most hunter-forager Negritos are known to be transient settlers. And it is like a force of habit.

^{xxx} The clusters are names after earth forms.

^{xxxi}This means that Dumagat’s concept of territorial boundaries is based on their ancestral knowledge of land domain or land area.

^{xxxii}“An ancestral code”, according to the Woodbury (2011), “is speech that gives evidence of a feature of the past which may not persist long into the future” (p. 192).

^{xxxiii} This is based from the list in Appendix B.

^{xxxiv} The outline of the linguistic features is followed after Dita (2007).

^{xxxv} *Atransitive* predicates were impersonal, having no nominal complement.

^{xxxvi} The two primary arguments of a transitive predication (Table 1.5); the single argument of an intransitive predicate (Table) depending upon the semantic properties of the predicate

^{xxxvii}Phonology refers to the sounds and sound system of a particular language.

^{xxxviii}Reid (1991)claims that this needs further research.

^{xxxix}Reid (1991) uses the symbols *ay, *əy, *aw, and *ow for /aj/, /ɛj/, /au/, and /ɔu/.

^{xl} The mid front vowel /ɛ/ in this dissertation represents the symbol barred ‘i’ in Reid (2006, p. 65).

^{xli}Minimal pair consists of two forms with distinct meanings that differ by only one segment found in the same position in each form (O’Grady, Dobrovolsky, & Aronoff, 1997, p. 680)

^{xlii}/ja.di.ti ka.na/ *yadi tikana* ‘good for him/her’

^{xliii}Reid (2006, p. 65) uses the barred ‘i’

^{xliv}The sounds /ts/ for tsipteyn ‘chieftain’, /kl/ for klip ‘cellphone changer’, /tr/ for ‘trigo’ and /ts/ and /dʒ/ for ‘charger’ are not included in the list of ‘native’ sounds of Southern Alta.

^{xlv}Sometimes, it is pronounced as *ta.ʔop*

^{xvi}“Morphology”, according to Haspelmath and Sims (2010, p. 2), “is the study of systematic covariation in the form and meaning of words”.

^{xvii} Lexical innovations or replacement of forms borrowed from other languages

^{xviii} The source came from Table 6 (Reid, 1991, p. 27), Table 10 (Reid L. , 1994)

^{xlix} To see the complete list refer to Reid (1991; 1994a; 1994b)

^l NAlt ‘maddisalad’, CAgta ‘disalad’, UmDum ‘madisalad’

^{li} Iterative - an aspectual form expressing repetition of an action and constituting a subtype of imperfective aspect.

^{lii}Reid & Liao (2004) label this as nominative

^{liii}Dryer (2007b) uses the term genitive or possessive constructions

^{liv}Pronoun takes the place of a noun or noun phrase.

^{lv} It is a fishing technique by diving in the water with the use of improvised gun with arrow or spear.

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- ^{lvi} This is a cellular phone conversation.
- ^{lvii} *Atransitive* predicates were impersonal, having no nominal complement.
- ^{lviii} *Pako* is a type of edible fern.
- ^{lix} Previous literature including Reid and Liao (2004) use terms nominative, genitive and oblique cases.
- ^{lx} Acronym for Casiguran Agta
- ^{xi} CAGTA determiners are compared between *present* or *absent*
- ^{lxii} The words that are enclosed with brackets [] are connotations, they refer to the meaning expressed by the preceding clauses.
- ^{lxiii} A string that is attached to the undergarment to cover the male genitals.
- ^{lxiv} For more information on Tagalog noun markers and including some issues and problems, please read Reid (2002), and *Tagalog* by Himmelmann (2005) and Schachter & Reid (2009).
- ^{lxv} *Tuntilaok* ‘crackling (like a chicken)’ is used here as a metaphor or pun.
- ^{lxvi} *cousin*
- ^{lxvii} Payne (1997, p. 49) explains that location, direction, setting, purpose, time, manner, etc. are more likely to be expressed in oblique phrases or adverbials. Oblique refers to nominal that lacks grammatical relations to some predicates (p. 129).
- ^{lxviii} The term ‘barangay’ is the smallest political unit; a *sitio* is small political division of a Barangay.
- ^{lxix} The terminologies are of Schachter & Reid (2009, p. 852)
- ^{lx} Trip or stumble
- ^{lxii} *tripped*
- ^{lxiii} Some data are spelled as *bumbeylo*
- ^{lxiv} **paka-* numeral prefix, multiplicative
- ^{lxv} board feet
- ^{lxvi} Articles (a/an/the), demonstratives (this and that), determiners (a/an/the), quantifiers (some, many), numerals, and possessors.
- ^{lxvii} Cellphone or cellular phone or mobile phone
- ^{lxviii} *Baon* means money, food or other provisions taken to school, work, or on a journey. The word *baon* is a Philippine English word (Oxford Dictionaries, 2018)
- ^{lxvix} Existential that expresses indefinite number of persons or things (please see Chapter 6, indefinite pronouns
- ^{lxix} A ligature is a form which historically had its origin in a Proto-Austronesian demonstrative *(n)a.
- ^{lxxx} Benefactive is used here in place of OBL because it refers to animate entities.
- ^{lxxi} Modality - A specific range of mood distinctions concerned with the speaker's estimate of the relationship between the actor and the accomplishment of some event. Modality in this sense is the category involved in distinguishing, for example, can ('knows how to'), can ('is physically able to') and can ('is permitted to'); it is also the category expressed by such verbs as try, manage, fail and succeed, and by aspectual verbs like start, stop and continue when these serve to express the speaker's view (Trask, 1996, p. 173).
- ^{lxviii} *Dumagat* or Philippine Negrito, sometime pronounced as *Dumaget* /du.ma.get/.
- ^{lxix} *Umiray Dumagat* or *Bulos*
- ^{lxxiv} The S is defined as the only nominal argument of a single-argument clause (Payne, 1997, p. 133).
- ^{lxv} The A is defined as the most AGENT-like argument of a multi-argument clause. Sometimes this type of clause is referred to as a transitive clause (*ibid*).
- ^{lxvi} P is the "most PATIENT-like" argument of a multi-argument clause (*ibid*).
- ^{lxvii} E ('extension to core') refers to the peripheral argument of either intransitive clause or transitive clause.
- ^{lxviii} Leipzig Glossing Rules or the Conventions for interlinear morpheme-by-morpheme glosses is used.
- ^{lxix} Participle, temporal or interjection
- ^{xc} Gatang is Philippine traditional measurement system. It is equivalent to 0.37 liter, 1/16 of a salop or estimated to be about 0.3 pounds. Salop is estimated to be about 2.25 kilograms or about 5 pounds. Chupa (gatang) is a unit of measurement for rice and other grains, dry measure.
- ^{xci} Spanish como ‘as’ or ‘like’
- ^{xci} That’s good; ‘mainam’
- ^{xci} What else am I doing
- ^{xciv} Types of rattan
- ^{xcv} G-string
- ^{xcvi} Slippery