

# Documentation of Northern Alta: grammar, texts and glossary

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L E R U





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Para ti, mamá ...

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## Resumen

Northern Alta (cógico ISO: aqn) es una lengua Negrito hablada por menos de 300 personas en la zona oeste de la isla de Luzón, en las Filipinas. Sus hablantes son negritos, un grupo étnico perteneciente a las poblaciones austroloides-melanesias consideradas como los primeras en habitar las islas, habiendo llegado al terrotorio hace al menos 50.000 años. Como muchas otras lenguas del archipiélago Filipino, la lengua no se está transmitiendo a la generación de niños y por tanto necesita ser documentada y descrita con urgencia. El presente estudio trata de responder a esta necesitad.

Esta tesis doctoral es uno de los resultados del proyecto de documentación de la lengua Northern Alta, en el cual hemos producido un total de 19 horas de grabaciones de video y audio, de la cuales hemos transcrito y traducido 13. El corpus de grabaciones transcritas ha proporcionado los datos que aparecen en ese trabajo, que consiste en una descripción de la gramática de la lengua, un texto de 25 minutos glosado (grabación 103) y un glosario de 2400 entradas (alta – inglés, inglés, alta). El corpus se encuentra en el archivo ELAR y pueden ser consultado en: https://elar.soas.ac.uk/Collection/MPI1032028

## Abstract

Northern Alta (ISO code: aqn) is a Negrito language spoken by fewer than 300 people in the Eastern side of Luzon Island in the Philippines. Northern Alta is spoken by Negritos, who are part of the Australoid-Melanesian populations considered as the first inhabitants of the Philippines, arriving to the territory at least 50,000 years ago. Like many other languages in the Philippines, Northern Alta is currently not being trasmitted to the next generation and thus requires urgent documentation and description. We attempt to adress these needs in the present work.

This PhD dissertation is one of the descriptive outputs of a language documentation project in which we have recorded a total of 19 hours of video and audio, and we have transcribed and translated 13 hours. The corpus of annotated recordings provides the data for this dissertation, which consists of a description of the grammar of the language, a 25-minute text with interlinear morpheme glossing (recording 103), and a glossary of 2,400 items (Alta – English, English-Alta). All materials are uploaded onto the ELAR archive and are accessible at: https://elar.soas.ac.uk/Collection/MPI1032028

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# 1. Introduction

# 1.1 Aims of this study

The archipelago of the Philippines is home to over a hundred and sixty languages, thirty of which are spoken by Negritos. Yet, relatively few documentation projects have been conducted on the Negrito languages of the Philippines. Liao (2009) records four dictionaries of Negrito languages out of a total of ninety two dictionaries of local languages. She also identifies ninety grammars, among which eight describe languages spoken by Negrito groups. Finally, she reports the existence of two out of twenty four collected texts dedicated to Negrito languages.

The present study addresses this issue of lack of documentation by documenting and describing one of the thirty Negrito languages of the Philippines, the Northern Alta language. Two reasons motivated this choice. First, the current generation of adult speakers of Northern Alta does not generally transmit the language to their children. Furthermore, prior to this project, only a limited number of wordlists and elicited sentences of the language had been produced (see §1.3), putting the language at risk of disappearing. This dissertation has the following two main goals: document the language and produce a description of it.

- The documentation goal consists in the video and audio recording of speakers of Northern Alta, with translation into Tagalog and English, in order to compile a documentary collection.
- The description goal consists in making a corpus-based grammatical analysis of the language, and writing a description of its grammar and lexicon.

The following chapters contain the results of the analysis, based on the data collected in the field during several field trips to the Northern Alta communities in the last five years

# **1.2 Background of the Alta language**

Northern Alta (aqn) is an Austronesian language spoken by several communities of Negrito people in the eastern part of Luzon, in the northern Philippines. The language is estimated to have 200 speakers, out of an ethnic population of 400 (Wurm, 2002). Other sources, such as

the National Commission of Indigenous Peoples (NCIP) stated (personal communication, January 2014) that the number of speakers is actually 106 out of an ethnic population of 1,038. Alternative names for the language are Edimala, Baler Negrito, Ditaylin Alta, Ditaylin Dumagat and Baler.

Most of the Northern Alta communities are located in the municipalities of Aurora Province. These include Diteki and Ditaylin (Municipality of San Luis), Decoliat, Dianawan and Villa Aurora (Municipality of Maria Aurora) and Dianed (Municipality of Dipaculao). Figure 1.1 contains a map of the Philippines and a map of Aurora Province.



Figure 1.1 Philippines and Aurora Province

Northern Alta is spoken in an area where Tagalog is the dominant language. Neighboring linguistic communities include Umiray Dumaget, spoken in the south of Baler (Dibut and southwards), Casiguran Dumagat (Casiguran area), and Ilongot (Maria Aurora, Barangay Bayanihan). Another Alta language, Southern Alta, is spoken in the adjacent provinces of Quezon and Nueva Ecija.

## **1.3 Previous research on Northern Alta**

Early references to the language include Blumentritt (1884) and Worcester (1906). The first data about the language is Vanoverberg's *Some Undescribed Languages of Luzon* (1937) which includes a 313-item word list collected from two men in Ditailin. A reference to a 206-item wordlist collected by Robert B. Fox (1956) appears in Reid (1991), which is the first article providing data for both Alta languages: Southern and Northern Alta. This article establishes the degree of lexical relationship of these two languages, as well as lexical relationships with other languages of Luzon.

Reid (1987a) includes about 539 lexical elements using the (Mc Farland) wordlist, and about 400 sentences (elicited on the basis of the structures provided in Yamada and Tsuchida, 1983). The data was also used in research related to the "Language Switch Hypotheses" (Reid 1987b, 2007), where different scenarios of when Negrito people learned Austronesian languages in relation to other events in the language family are explored. Certain patterns observed in the Alta languages point to a scenario whereby the Altas learned their first Austronesian language at some remote date, and then lost contact with their neighbors and finally re-established contact with another group (a hypothesis that was coined "the relatively-remote-with-cyclic-contact-with-a-different-language hypothesis").

Reid (1994) also includes some of the data in a presentation of a body of unique terms that constitutes possible evidence of a non-Austronesian substratum. For instance, of the 539 lexical elements, 17% appear to be unique (forms for which no cognate has been found in any other language) and some of them could be pre-Austronesian, constituting a Negrito language substratum.

Liao (2004, p.119) also quotes the data collected by Reid (1987a), and provides a couple of sentences in the section dedicated to the reflexes of PMP \*maR- in Philippine languages.

Finally, Laura Robinson and Jason Lobel have also done fieldwork on Northern Alta (Robinson, Lobel, Bembelida, Lasan, 2006), and have referred to the language in some of their work. In addition, Robinson (2008, p.57) provides three lexical items that are exclusively shared by Northern Alta and the languages belonging to the Northern Luzon Group. Lobel (2013) also refers to the language on several occasions.

At an early stage of the current documentation project, I added the lexical data provided in Vanoverberg (1937) and Reid (1987a) to a Flex lexical database, which is one of the documentary outputs of the project (§1.7.4.6). Each of these entries received the tags v (Vanoverberg) or *lar* (Lawrence Reid) in order to easily locate them in the future. The adequacy and quality of the data has not been checked systematically. However, whenever we introduced a lexical item that had already been provided by one of the two authors, we removed the tag, because we had confirmation that the data was correct. The entries that still have the tag need further verification. As for the data collected by other authors such as Fox (1956) and Robinson et al. (2006), I have not yet checked their adequacy or quality.

## **1.4 Genetic classification**

On the basis of an /l/ reflex of \*R, both Alta languages are currently subgrouped with South-Central Cordilleran languages (Reid, 1991), which alone among languages in Luzon also have the same reflex of \*R. South Cordilleran languages include Kallahan, Inibaloy, Pangasinan and Ilongot, while Central Cordilleran languages include Isinay, Kalinga, Bontok, Kankanay, Balangao and Ifugao. The two Alta languages and the South-Central Cordilleran group also share an innovation in the voice system, their irregular \*man- reflex of the Proto-Austronesian prefix \*maR-. Alta, however, does not reflect a set of innovations in the Personal Pronouns and in the voice morphology that have occurred in Southern or Central Cordilleran languages. These innovations are considered evidence that the Alta languages are coordinate with the South-Central Cordilleran subgroup, as reflected in the classification of Northern Luzon languages (Reid, 2006, p.4) in Figure 1.2 below.

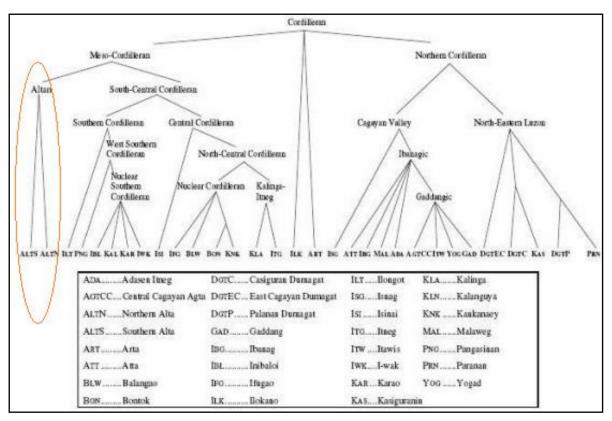


Figure 1.1.2 Alta languages and subgrouping of Northern Luzon languages (Reid, 2006)

### 1.4.1 Relationship with Southern Alta

Northern Alta and Southern Alta live in geographically proximate areas. On the basis of their reflexes and a set of 10 uniquely shared innovations, the two languages are grouped together. However, Reid (1991, p.4) explains that the two languages only share 34% of a 530-item word list, which suggests that the languages are only distantly related

## 1.5 History of the Alta tribe

Very little is known about the history of the Alta. Linguistic data shows that Southern and Northern Alta have not always lived in nearby areas. Reid (1991) includes lexical evidence suggesting that both languages must have had little contact with each other for extended periods of time.

Reid (1991, p.16) refers to Blumentritt, "Perhaps Blumentritt was right after all and that northwestern Nueva Vizcaya, along the Agno River valley and close to what today is the homeland of the Isinay and the Ifugao, was really where the Northern Alta used to live".

A footnote in the same article includes a reference to the Alta in an Amganad Ifugao narrative text (Madrid 1980, p.117): "there was a person whose name was Puddunan (...) the person went, it is said, walking to find something in the forest (...) later he was going there to the Village of the Negritoes. Those negrito lived there on the mountain top, between Hingyon and Ubwag. There is where they lived, which was stone caves".

In one of the recordings I made in Diteki, Elena Maximino (the oldest speaker of Alta to my knowledge, who is 96 years old) and Violeta Fernandez claim that their relatives originally lived in Palanan (Isabela province). Violeta mentions the story of a conflict between the Ilongot and Alta tribes, a conflict that was resolved thanks to the fact that their ancestor, *Ma'eg'eg*, married an Ilongot woman. Later, the recording says that *Ma'eg'eg* took his siblings with him and left the area. Violeta adds "that's why we have a relative in Casiguran, the engineer Mark (...) and Ric and your father (...) they are from Maddela". Violeta also explains how her mother was "left at Ditailin with the Ilocanos at the age of seven". See Figure 1.3 for a map of past locations of the Alta.

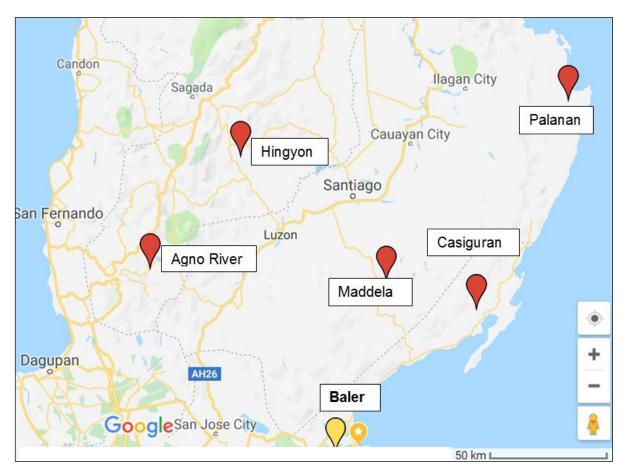


Figure 1.3 Map of past locations of the Alta.

# **1.6 Vitality of the language**

The data provided in this section was collected in January 2013, using the UNESCO Linguistic Vitality and Diversity Survey, see Table 1.1. The survey was undertaken in the following *barangays*<sup>1</sup>: Diteki, Dianed and Decoliat. The data will be presented following the Major Evaluative Factors of Language Vitality (UNESCO, 2003). Each factor is assessed using a scale from 1 to 5, where 5 is the most positive state in relation to language vitality and 0 the most endangered:

Factor	Score
1. Intergenerational language transmission	3 (definitely endangered)
2. Absolute numbers of speakers	(100-200)
3. Proportion of speakers within the total population	2 (severely endangered)
4. Domains of language use	3 (dwindling domains)
5. Response to new domains and media	1 (minimal)
6. Availability of materials for language education and literacy	2
7. Governmental and institutional language attitudes and policies	3 (passive assimilation)
8. Community members' attitudes towards their own language	4
9. Type and quality of documentation.	3 (fair)

#### Table 1.1 UNESCO Linguistic Vitality Survey for Northern Alta

## 1.6.1 Intergenerational language transmission

The youngest speakers of Northern Alta are typically over 40 years old. Thus, the language is no longer being learned as the mother tongue by children at home<sup>2</sup>. When we visited some of the schools attended by Alta children, we collected figures on the number of Alta children in relation to the total number students, see Table 1.2. None of these children are able to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The Tagalog term *barangay* is used for the smallest administrative division in the Philippines <sup>2</sup> On the basis of these facts, Northern Alta would have a value of 7 (shifting) on the Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS) https://www.ethnologue.com/about/language-status

speak the language, although some of them can understand it. For instance, the data collected at Dianed *barangay* reveals that some parents speak to their children in Alta while the children respond in Tagalog. These features correspond to grade 3 in the scale of endangerment.

Location of the school	Number of Alta children (total children)	
Diteki	25 (311)	
Dianed	42 (136)	
Decoliat	12 (76)	

Table 1.2 Number of Alta children per school (January 2014)

# 1.6.2 Absolute number of speakers and proportion within the total population

The absolute number of speakers of the language was estimated at 106 by the National Comission on Indigenous Peoples (NCIP), out of an ethnic population of 1,038 members. This estimation represents a minority of the total population, which corresponds to grade 2 in the correspondent scale. We have not conducted a survey in order to determine the exact number of speakers.

### 1.6.3 Domains of language use

The main domain is home, however Tagalog (in this case, the dominant language) has already penetrated the home domain. In the communities we have visited, Alta is usually spoken at home if the father is a speaker of the language. In this case, the mother learns the language, and they both speak it to their children. However, the most frequent scenario is one where the Alta speaker is the mother, since most of the Alta male members move to other provinces in search of better job opportunities. In a case such as this, the language spoken at home tends to be the father's (Tagalog, Ilocano or another local language) and the children only understand a few phrases of Alta.

I have only learned about one household where the parents are both speakers of Alta. The fact that the Alta consider themselves as all related has led the community to an obligatory intermarriage pattern for at least one generation. The cases where a speaker of the language

is referred to as "pure" are rare. The obligatory nature of intermarriage has a direct impact on the domains of language use, since instances where the father is the speaker of the language are rare and those where both parents are Alta are almost nonexistent.

### 1.6.4 Response to new domains and media

The language is not used in any new domain with the exception of text messaging. Given that in the Philippines text messaging is often much cheaper than phone calls, texts are the most important means of communication in rural communities (as opposed to phone calls or emails), see Figure 1.4:



Figure 1.4 Example of a text message in Northern Alta

### 1.6.5 Availability of materials for language education and literacy

In the case of availability of materials, the language has been given grade 2. Written material exists, including the present dissertation and the ELAR Northern Alta collection) see link https://elar.soas.ac.uk/Collection/MPI1032028), and a first printed version of the glossary, which was given to the community in July 2018. A practical orthography has been prepared and appears in this grammatical sketch although it is not yet known to the community. Literacy education in the language is not a part of the school curriculum.

# 1.6.6 Governmental and institutional language attitudes and policies

The Department of Education (DepED) has recently started implementing the framework of Mother Tongue-Based Multilingual Education (MTB-MLE) representing a timely opportunity for the project. The principles of the framework are reflected in the Republic Act 10533 (2012), which states: "for kindergarten and the first three (3) years of elementary education, instruction, teaching materials and assessment shall be in the regional or native language of the learner". Gallego & Zubiri (2011) point out that MTB-MLE is at an initial stage in the Philippines, where Filipino and English are the main languages at school as a consequence of the former Bilingual Education Program.

It is not sure yet whether literacy materials will be created for the Northern Alta language in the future. It is also uncertain that a proper orthography will be developed in collaboration with the Alta community for this purpose, given that the to Komsiyon sa Wikang Pilipino (KWF) views the MTB-MLE program as an opportunity to impose the national Tagalog-based orthography (*Ortograpiyang pambansa*) to all the indigenous languages of the archipelago. This is exaplained in the following terms by the KWF: "On one hand, for example, the creation of the orthographies of native languages must hew to the form of a national orthography. The MTB-MLE program of DepEd is an opportunity in this direction. KWF must be able to exert its authority according to the mandate of the law that created it, for it to be recognized and respected by those who will create the alphabet and teaching materials in teaching the mother tongues that will be used in the early grades" (Almario, 2015, p.111). In the last months there have been strong reactions to these policies from speakers and stakeholders of a number of local languages such as Ilokano, Kapampangan, Cebuano or Tausug.

### 1.6.7 Community members' attitudes towards their own language

Northern Alta is given a 4 in terms of attitudes, given that since beginning of this documentation project we have not encountered any speaker of the language who supports language loss. When we conducted the questionnaires at the different communities, several speakers were unaware or indifferent with respect to the situation of the language, but admitted that there has been a significant decrease in the number of speakers. After this five years of documentation work, in which most of the speakers have been involved in this project, the Alta are more aware about the importance of maintaining their language and

culture and have participated in a parade in the town of San Luis (August, 2018), in which some Alta children exhibited the *salago* (the Alta traditional clothing).

Most of the Alta live in communities together with speakers of other local languages, such as Tagalog or Ilokano. Some Alta declared to be mocked by non-Alta community members, who joke about the appearance of the Alta (their curly hair and dark skin), and also about their language. For example, it is said that some non-Alta community members make fun of the Alta by imitating the way Northern Alta sounds. This mockery has led to negative perceptions of the language by the Alta themselves. For example some native speakers where ashamed to show up at the local school, in order to do transcription and translation work on the recordings we made.

As a consequence of the contact with speakers of Tagalog, code switching occurs frequently within the Alta communities. For example, the Alta switch to Tagalog whenever a non-Alta member of the community joins a conversation. The Alta also mentioned that in some occasions, it is very convenient to use the Alta languages to communicate with other Alta without being understood.

Finally, when the speakers of the language do not remember how to say a word in Alta, they sometimes insert the Tagalog equivalent in a sentence, and sometimes adapt its pronounciation to the Alta phonology. On certain occasions, there are even bits of Tagalog grammar that are inserted in Alta speech, which are most likely instances of Tagalog borrowing. The transcritpion of these phenomena in project's recordings, in which a native speaker slowly repeats each utterance of a recording, has resulted in episodes of linguistic purism, in which some native speakers felt the need of revising and correcting these Tagalog words and structures in order to improve the transcriptions.

### 1.6.8 Type and quality of documentation

At this point the documentation of the language corresponds to the value 3 on the scale. The value of this category is increasing now, as we are uploading a number of documentary materials in the ELAR archive.

Below is a summarized list of the language materials:

- Vanoverberg's Ditailin 313-item wordlist (1937)
- Fox 206-item wordlist (1956)

- Lawrence Reid's collected data (1987a) and publications (1991,1994 and posterior)
- Alta Elicitations archived at Paradisec (Robinson et al., 2006)
- Northern Alta Collection in the ELAR archive (Garcia-Laguia, 2017)

Although the present work and the Northern Alta Collection of the ELAR archive (2017) include a grammar of the language, together with a lexicon and a practical orthography (used for transcription and ELAN searches), we think that the level of endangerment remains as it was before the beginning of this project given that this documentation does not ensure the transmission of the language. Therefore, Northern Alta will continue to be endangered, unless there are local initatives encouraging the transmission of the language, or engaging in the creation of teaching materials for local schools.

## 1.7 Research, field methods and outputs

### **1.7.1 Field trips to the Alta communities**

Since our first contact with the Alta in September 2013, I have been 6 times in the field, with an approximate total of 6 months of fieldwork. Table 1.3 below summarizes each field trip, providing the dates, the main activities that were carried out and the documentation outcomes:

Date and duration	Main Activities	Fieldtrip outcomes
2013, September 1 <sup>st</sup> - 15 <sup>th</sup> (15 days)	<b>First contact with the Alta</b> First contact with the Alta communities at Diteki, Malabida and Diculiat	<ul> <li>Obtained informed consent from the community elders (Diteki, Malabida and Dicoliat)</li> <li>First word list and basic sentences</li> </ul>
2014, January 4 <sup>th</sup> - 14 <sup>th</sup> (10 days)	Collecting texts in the Alta language - First contact with the Dianed community - First batch of language recordings in Diteki and Dianed - First transcription sessions - Unesco Vitality questionnaire (Diteki, Decoliat and Dianed)	- Recorded sessions 14, 18, 19, 21, 38, 41, 42, 43, 45, 46, 47, 48, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 61, 63, 60 - Written transcription of recorded session 14

	- Visit to the elementary schools of Diteki and Dianed	
2014, June 15 <sup>th</sup> - July 11 <sup>th</sup> (27 days)	<ul> <li>Expansion of grammatical data</li> <li>Monolingual elicitation sessions with Ate Reni</li> <li>More transcription sessions</li> <li>120-item recorded wordlist with 4 different speakers</li> <li>First decisions about transcription orthography</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>Recorded Elicitation sessions 1-13</li> <li>Recorded wordlists (sessions 2637)</li> <li>Written transcription of sessions (x)</li> <li>3 notebooks with field notes taken during elicitation</li> </ul>
2015 February 13 <sup>th</sup> - March 5 <sup>th</sup> (21 days)	<ul> <li>Annotation of recordings with ELAN</li> <li>Development of annotation workflow (recorded transcription and translation sessions)</li> <li>Development of transcription orthography</li> </ul>	- Elan transcription of sessions 19, 20, 39, 44, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 55, 58, 60, 62
2016, March 20 <sup>th</sup> - July 29 <sup>th</sup> (3 months and 10 days)	Video recordings, annotation and training of young community members - Filmed and recorded monologues, interviews and dialogues at Diteki community - Collected speakers' personal information (metadata) - Transcribed and translated 6 hours of recordings at Diteki Elementary School - Recorded all annotation sessions - First training period of young community member Maebell Fernandez	<ul> <li>New video recordings, sessions 70-110 (16 hours in total)</li> <li>Photo collection</li> <li>6 hours of transcription, and translation to Tagalog (ELAN)</li> <li>Collection and organization of metadata (Arbil)</li> </ul>
2017, April 29 <sup>th</sup> – June 27 <sup>th</sup> (2 months)	First contact with Villa community, videos in Dianed and documentation training at Diteki - Made first contact with the Altas from Villa with the assistance of Tikkay, an Alta from Diteki - Made recordings with speakers from Villa - Made recordings with speakers from Dianed - Documented the marine fishing technique at Dianed - Trained two young community members: Maebell Fernandez and Jennifer Marques	<ul> <li>New video recordings, sessions 119-132 (3 hours)</li> <li>Photo collection</li> <li>6 hours of transcription (ELAN)</li> <li>8 hours of translation</li> <li>Trainees collection of recordings (documentation of Alta crops)</li> <li>Creation of a language documentation manual for trainees</li> </ul>

### 1.7.2 Documentation team

### 1.7.2.1 Collectors

#### 1.7.2.1.1 Alex García

I have participated in the documentation project as a linguist/researcher, collector (filming and audio-recording), annotator, photographer and depositor. I created the ELAN corpus of annotations, the lexical database (with FLEx), the metadata structure (with Arbil), and the Northern Alta collection in the ELAR archive. I trained two community members on language documentation, and created a language documentation manual for them (see below). I am also the author of this dissertation, which includes a grammatical sketch of Northern Alta, a glossed text and a glossary.

### 1.7.2.1.2 Marilyn Gallego

Collector and annotator, translator and interviewer, Marilyn Gallego is a teacher of Tagalog in Manila who provided invaluable help throughout the project, both from human and linguistic perspectives. She has participated in the setting of most of the recording sessions, and achieved a number of transcriptions and translations in ELAN. Among many other things, Marilyn helped a woman from Diteki to find a relative that she had not seen in 30 years.

### 1.7.2.2 Trainees

#### 1.7.2.2.1 Maebell Fernandez

Maebell Fernandez is the young community member with the most extensive experience in language documentation. Maebell completed more than 40 actor participations. Since her first collaboration in 2014, she participated as a filmer, annotator, photographer, interviewer and trainee, and more recently as a collector. Her work documenting *salago*, the plant that provides material for the traditional Alta clothing or *baal*, is promising.

### 1.7.2.2.2 Jennifer Marques

Jennifer Marques is the daughter of Perlita Marques, the Diteki community chieftain. Jennifer was trained in May 2017, and has learned to segment and annotate (transcription, translation)

recordings with ELAN. She was also trained in recording techniques, with a Zoom H4n recorder, and knows how to search and add words to the FLEx lexical database.

#### 1.7.2.3 Language consultants

We consider as language consultants the participants who, in addition to speaking in recordings, have collaborated in tasks such as assistance in transcription or elicitation sessions. For reasons of space we cannot provide a description of all the consultants, and hence we decide to present here some of the consultants who have provided a significant number of contributions.

#### 1.7.2.3.1 Violeta Fernandez

Violeta Fernandez is the first Alta person we met in the NCIP regional office in Baler and the person with whom we identified the language. She is the person who brought us to Diteki for our first contact with the community. Violeta also introduced us to the community chieftains of Dianed, Malabida and Decoliat, and to the school teachers of Diteki and Dianed. Violeta participated as speaker and interviewer in the first recording sessions of the language and also as an consultant in transcription sessions. As an consultant, Violeta pointed out many of the Tagalog words that are used currently in Alta and provided the Alta equivalent term whenever she could.

#### 1.7.2.3.2 Renita Santos

We met Renita Santos during the third field trip (July 2015) and worked with her on a daily basis over two to three weeks, during which we carried out monolingual elicitation sessions, recorded basic wordlists and transcribed some previously recorded sessions. Renita Santos is the person to whom I uttered my first sentences in Alta.

#### 1.7.2.3.3 Genalyn Garcia

Genalyn Garcia (not a relative of the author of this work) participated as speaker in a number of recording sessions, and also as a consultant in several transcription sessions. She is the person who collaborated as an consultant during the language documentation training with Maebell and Jennifer. Genalyn Garcia is the speaker who appears in recording 103, which is presented as a glossed text below (§8), a 25-minute monologue describing the land where the Alta lived before settling in the lowlands.

### 1.7.2.3.4 Nelita Cristobal

Nelita Cristobal, also known as "Ate Tikkay", participated in a number of sessions as a speaker, interviewer and consultant. She is the person who travelled with us to the remote community of Villa, and who introduced us to the Alta families that live there. During our stay in Barangay Villa, Ate Tikkay participated actively as an interviewer and speaker, and also agreed to build a replica of a traditional Alta house, in order to document this housing technique.

## 1.7.2.4 Recorded speakers

We have recorded a total of 43 speakers in 6 different villages. Table 1.4 below provides the names of the speakers and the villages or *barangay* where they currently live.

Barangay Diteki	Barangay Dianed	
Violeta de Leon Fernandez	Mila Lasam	
Renita Santos	Pelicito Marques Lazam	
Nelita Cristobal	Juanito Villaflor	
Coralyn Manzano	Carmelita Muhar	
Genalyn Garcia	Diet Lasam	
Elena Maximino Tolentino	Analita Caniesa	
Alvin Mariano	Antonio Priginal Padua	
Conchita Genes	Emily Villaflor Padua	
Elisabeth Querijero	Concepcion Amarillo	
Renato Genes	Rubena Villaflor Blasco	
Inelda Andon		
Antonio Andon	Barangay Villa	
Arturo Priginal	Pepito Dandan Sarmiento	
Perlita Marques	Dominga Priginal Sarmiento	
Ate Ligaya	Jovito Campos Puno	
Regino Sindak	Lusviminda Campos Sarmiento	
Carmelita Balansio	Lorenzo Delacruz Sarmiento	
Anita Priginal	Lorenzo Delacitiz Sarmiento	
Belen Priginal		
Rebeca Huego		
Emelda Puheda		
Grabiel Lasam		

Table 1.4 Native Alta speakers recorded during the current documentation project

Barangay Dicoliat	Barangay Malabida
Prodencio Galvan	Violeta Andon Mariano
Erlinda Ganarial	
Emelita Wangid	
Rogelio Ganarial	
Rose Domingo	

# **1.7.3 Fieldwork locations**

Most of the Alta communities we are aware of are located in Aurora province, at distances of 10 to 50 km from the capital of the province, Baler. Of the seven locations where Alta families are said to live, we have conducted fieldwork in five. It is possible that other Alta communities exist, for example, we were told that some Alta live in the mountains nearby Barangay Dicoliat, but they refused to come down to the *barangay* to meet with us.

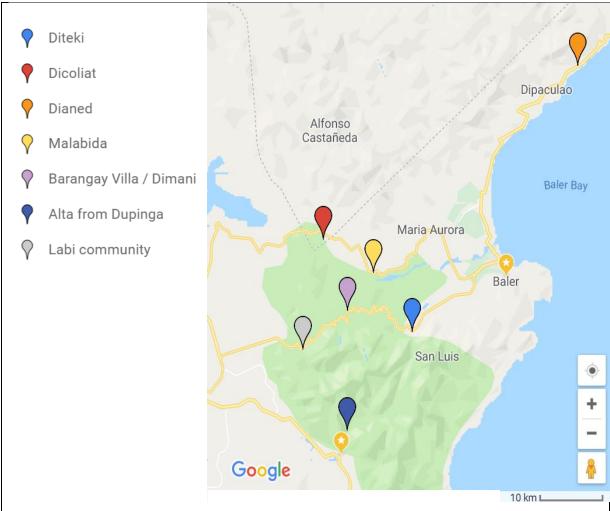


Figure 1.5 Map of the Northern Alta communities

# 1.7.3.1 Barangay Diteki

Diteki is a village located 10 kilometers west of Baler, on the old Bongabon route to Cabanatuan. Since Diteki is the place with the highest number of Alta, we have conducted fieldwork there since our first field trip. We have recorded and filmed at the houses of the Alta in two different neighborhoods, as well as in the surrounding areas of the village, including the riversheds Diyabobo and Dimanangla, and also in Minero, which is considered to be the center of the Alta ancestral domain. We have also worked on annotation tasks at the Diteki Elementary School for two periods of fieldwork (2016 and 2017).

## 1.7.3.2 Barangay Dicoliat

Dicoliat is located at the boundary between Aurora and Nueva Vizcaya provinces, 50 km west of Baler, on the Pantabangan route that goes to Manila. We visited the Alta from Dicoliat four times, and made a number of audio recordings and transcriptions there.

#### 1.7.3.3 Barangay Dianed

Dianed is the only village where the Alta live next to the sea and use marine resources. It is located about 40 kilometers north of Baler, on the route that goes to the town of Casiguran. We visited Dianed three times and have made a number of video and audio recordings there, including the ones that attempt to document their marine spearfishing technique. The Alta from Villa mentioned that they originate from Ditailen but had to leave their land after it was taken from them by non-Alta lowlanders

#### 1.7.3.4 Barangay Villa

Barangay Villa is a remote *barangay* located in the heart of the Aurora National Memorial Park, on the old Baler-Bongabon road. It is 50 kilometers from Baler and 40 from Diteki. We visited Villa one time in May 2018 and met a number of Alta families living here, some of which still live in the old single-pillar huts.

## 1.7.4 Fieldwork methods

As shown in Table 1.3, our first contact with the Alta communities was made in September 2013 and January 2014. During these initial fieldtrips, we focused on explaining the project to the elders and chieftain of each community as well as to the teachers of each of the local schools. Together with Marylin Gallego and Violeta Fernandez, we visited the community elders from Diteki, Decoliat, Malabida and Dianed, and presented the documentation project at the local office of the National Comission on Indigenous Peoples or NCIP. During these meetings, the community elders welcomed this documentation project agreed to sign informed consent forms. In addition, the teachers at the local schools of Diteki and Malabida accepted to collaborate in the project and prepared permission letters signed by the principal and by some of the teachers.

After collecting some more initial data and recordings on the language (fieldtrips 1 - 3 see table 1.3), I was fortunate enough to attend a training in Language Documentation at SOAS (University of London), in September 2014. The training covered techniques of audio and video recording, introductions to the software Flex, ELAN and Arbil, as well as introductions to data management, lexicography and orthography development. I learned, at the training, most of what is described in the subsections below. Finally, In 2015, I received funding for this project from the Endangered Languages Documentation Programme (ELDP), and started purchasing the material presented in the next section.

## 1.7.4.1 Equipment

The recording equipment I have used to this point includes a video camera and two solid state recorders, which I use in combination with one of the microphones (shotgun or cardioid), a digital camera and two laptops, see Table 1.5.

Device	Model
Solid state recorder	Zoom H4n
Shotgun microphone	Rode NTG-2
Cardioid microphone	Rode NT4
Video camera	Canon Legria HF G25
SLR camera	Canon Powershot SX400
Laptop	Toshiba Z30 Toshiba Satellite C55

Table 1.5 Basic list of recording material

## 1.7.4.2 Elicitation: starting to speak the language

At the initial stage of the project (field trips 1 to 3) I used Target Language Interrogation techniques (Chelliah & de Reuse, 2011, p.368) to obtain lexical data by pointing at objects and asking questions. This gave me the opportunity to start interacting with Renita Santos in the Alta language, and to develop some basic communicative skills. As I became familiar with basic sentence structures, I started using Target Language Manipulation techniques in order to learn new phrase or sentence patterns and become more familiar with some of the grammatical systems (Pronouns, aspect inflection, Articles and Demonstratives).

Since Target Language techniques proved to be exhausting both for me and Renita, we combined them with other tasks such as wordlist collection, and transcriptions of some of the recordings I had made in an earlier field trip. These sessions helped me become more familiar with the sounds of the language and detect some of the recurrent morphophonological alternations occurring in Alta (§3.2). This process helped me with decisions on how to write the language in order to develop a practical orthography for transcription. All the elicitation and transcription sessions we conducted with Ate Reni were recorded and archived, together with scans of my field notes (sessions 1-13 and 26-37) respectively.

During these sessions a number of local Alta (both adults and children) visited the house we were working at, and became interested in our work. Consequently, the Alta started to see me as an outsider who could communicate in their language, and would come and talk to me in the house or wave at me wherever we met in the village. After these elicitation sessions I had developed sufficient command of Alta language to agree on a time or topic for a recording, and to give some simple instructions or ask basic questions during a recording session.

### 1.7.4.3 Recording sessions

When planning a recording session, we first talked to a speaker and proposed that they participate in an audio or video recording. If the person accepted, we then scheduled the session and tried to agree on the optimal location of the recording.

Once we had scheduled an appointment, we discussed possible topics for the recording, considering the expertise or interest of the native speaker to talk about a particular subject. For example, some speakers felt comfortable describing the plants in their garden and nearby areas and had a wide knowledge of their possible uses, while other speakers would prefer topics related to hunting, fishing, crafts or stories of the past.

On certain occasions, we only worked with one speaker, while on others there were two speakers. Some speakers were very talkative and enjoyed telling a story or speaking freely about a particular topic in front of the camera. These kinds of situations resulted in the recordings of monologues such as the one presented in §8, where Genalyn Garcia speaks for over 25 minutes with only one interruption. Other speakers are more at ease when talking to another Alta person. In cases such as these, we asked another person to participate in the recording. In these types of recordings, one speaker acts as the interviewer and the other one as the interviewee (sessions 76, 86, 87 or 97 are examples of interviews). Alternatively, both speakers interacted freely while discussing one or more topics (sessions 88, 91, 92. 99,100). Recordings with two speakers resulted in either interviews or dialogues. The corpus does currently not include conversations between more than two speakers. In future fieldtrips we will attempt to expand the corpus of monologues and dialogues with recordings of conversations between more than two persons.

When recording with one person we used Stimulus-driven elicitation techniques as a reference (Chelliah & de Reuse, 2011, p.368), providing the speaker with a particular

stimulus to perform the recording. The stimuli consisted of instructions on what to talk about, for example when describing plants the speaker was asked to provide the name, planting techniques and possible uses of each plant, as in sessions 93, 94 and 95. Other stimulus elicitation techniques included providing photographs. For example, cooking recipes were first photographed, then a selection of photos was shown to a native speaker who was asked to describe each of the photos, as in sessions 106, 107 and 108. On other occasions, a speaker would show us a particular device or object, such as a fishing rod, fishing spear, rattan strands or broom, and describe how to build or use them, as in sessions 104, 110, 119, 120, 124 and 128. Finally, sometimes a speaker was asked to imagine a situation and to perform a role play. This method made some speakers feel comfortable and also provided positive results, as in sessions 21, 38 and 96.

The topics we have documented so far include plants, planting techniques, fishing and hunting tools and techniques, lifestyle in the past, food and cooking, working with rattan, charcoal production, songs, religious beliefs, personal stories, love stories and some role plays. A more extensive list of topics can be browsed on the ELAR page of the Northern Alta collection (see link: https://elar.soas.ac.uk/Collection/MPI1032028)

Given that video recordings provide much more information than audio, I tried to record videos whenever possible. The Canon Legria has two SD card slots and allows one to record simultaneously on both cards. I used this feature to assign one of the cards as a backup. At the end of a recording day, I extracted one of the SD cards, stored the recorded files in my laptop and renamed them with the corresponding session number. Once this was done, I created a backup of the renamed file and stored it on my external hard drive. After cropping the new file, converting it to mp4 and extracting the audio from it, we were ready to open the recording with ELAN and begin with the annotation workflow.

#### 1.7.4.4 Annotation: transcribing and translating with ELAN

Prior to scheduling an annotation session we chose which files we wanted to work on and segmented them with ELAN. The segmentation process allows one to divide a recording in segments of a few seconds of duration, and to label them with a reference number. For example the reference number 103.76 means that the example is located in recording 103, line 76. Each of the examples provided in this dissertation carries a reference number and can be located and listened to. The reader can also open the transcription file and listen to the native speaker's repetition of the segment, as will be explained below. Once all segments of a recording were created and labeled, additional transcription tiers can be added and

divided following the original segmentation. This allows one to add transcriptions and annotations that are time-aligned with the recording. At this point, we were ready to start with the annotation session.

Most of the annotation sessions were carried out at Diteki Elementary school. The school provides a quiet environment with electricity and water supply. This was done in the company with one or more native speakers. For this task, we used a laptop (or two if one of the trainees was present), a loudspeaker or headphones and one of the recording devices.

During a session, we played all the segments of a recording twice in front of a native speaker. In the course of the first round, the native speaker repeated slowly each segment while I transcribed his repetition into the ELAN tier. During the second round, the native speaker translated each Alta segment into Tagalog. I always tried to record the speaker's repetitions and translations, so that at the end of a session we had produced two new .wav files – the transcription and the translation file – which we included in the corresponding session folder. In this way, the data obtained in an annotation session can be retrieved if necessary.

## 1.7.4.5 Metadata with Arbil and ELAR Archive collection

All new files produced during a recording or an annotation session are attached to the folder that carries the corresponding session number and are subsequently linked to their corresponding bundle in the metadata database.

I used Arbil software to store the project's metadata and organize the recording sessions and related files into bundles (sessions 1, 2, 3, etc). Each session bundle includes information about the date and location of the recording, the topic (with a basic description of the content), the actors involved (roles, basic personal information, language skills), the content (genre, degree of interactivity, degree of planning, event structure), and also the recording video and sound files, and all the annotation audio and written files. Table 1.6 summarizes the data per bundle and shows an example of a bundle in the Northern Alta collection:

#### Table 1.6 Elements of a session bundle in the Northern Alta corpus

Elements of a session bundle in the Northern Alta corpus	Screenshot of session bundle 103 (The history of Minero) in the Arbil metadata structure
--	--

Once the bundles had been created and filed with the metadata and related files, we uploaded them to the ELAR archive through the Lamus system (Language Archive Management and Upload System). ELAR will display part of the metadata in the session page, in which all files that have been set with U access are available upon registration, https://elar.soas.ac.uk/Record/MPI1056850. See figure 1.6 for a screenshot of one of the

sessions in the ELAR collection:

The History of Minero, a place in the Alta ancestral domain						
Title: ID:	Session 103	of Minero, a place in the Alta a	ancestrai domain			
Level:	Bundle					
Genre:	Discourse					
Description:		explains the history and past hed in the area due to the mad	stories about Minero, including the time when the Alta were living there or when a Japanes	se		
Date created:	2016-04-22		inclaim of the focks.			
Location:		oines, Aurora, Diteki, Minero				
Participants:			Sinalyn Garcia (speaker/signer, consultant (translation,transcription)), Marilyn Gallego (film 5 in english), Northern Alta , Tagalog (working language, tagalog code-switches may appea			
Languages:	this session		s in english), Northern Alta , ragalog (working language, tagalog code-switches may appear			
View deposit (Documentation	View deposit (Documentation of Northern Alta, a Philippine Negrito language) Show 5 v entries					
Access	Name 🔶	Туре 🗘	Resource 🗍			
O U S	natla103.eaf	elan	Download			
OUS	natla103.pfsx	settings	Download			
OUS	nalta103_transcription- 01.wav	audio	► 00:00 Download			
OUS	nalta103.wav	audio	► 00:00   Download			

Figure 1.6 Screenshot of session 103 in the ELAR Northern Alta collection

# **1.7.4.6 Language documentation outputs**

The documentation of Northern Alta contains a number of outputs that are presented and summarized in Table 1.7 below:

Documentary Output	Short description			
Multimedia collection of Northern Alta	Collection of 19 hours of video, 2 hours of audio, and 1,900 photographs and scans of fieldnotes. The collection is located in the ELAR archive: <u>https://elar.soas.ac.uk/Collection/MPI1032028</u> . A complete list of recorded sessions is provided in Appendix 1 of this dissertation.			
Corpus of ELAN annotations	<ul> <li>Corpus of ELAN transcribed and translated video and audio files. The corpus allows for searches using regular expressions. The transcribed .eaf files are located in the ELAR archive and include <ul> <li>13h 45min of transcription</li> <li>12h 40min of translation to Tagalog</li> <li>9h 5min of translation to English</li> </ul> </li> <li>Except for the trainees' transcription sessions, most ELAN annotated sessions inlcude, in addition to the written annotation, a recorded sound file of the annotated session (see transcription and translation</li> </ul>			
	files in Table 1.6 above).			
Metadata database	All of the project's data, including the multimedia collection and the corpus of annotations are linked together with Arbil software, forming a flat structure of bundles. The metadata structure is located in the ELAR archive.			
Grammatical Sketch	Description of grammatical patterns, with labeled examples extracted from the ELAN corpus of annotations. The grammatical sketch constitutes a part of this dissertation (see Chapters 2 to 7).			
Lexical Database	A lexical database with 2,500 lexical items, created with FLEx software, which allows for the extraction of the data in the form of a printed glossary provided in §9 below,			
Collection of glossed Texts	A total of 90 minutes of annotated recordings (transcription, translation) are enriched with annotation at a deeper level (interlinear morpheme glossing) with FLEx, which allows for the exportation of the glossing to a printed glossed text. The glossing for recording 103 is provided in §8 below.			
Language documentation manual	A 30-page language documentation manual describing the workflows that are followed in this documentation project was created in order to train young community members. The .pdf of the manual can be retrieved by clicking this <u>dropbox link</u> .			

# **1.8 Presentation of the data in the current dissertation**

Most of the linguistic data in this dissertation is presented in the form of glossed examples that are extracted from the corpus of ELAN annotated recordings. Glossed examples carry an example number between parentheses on the top left of the example. Example numbering restarts at the beginning of each chapter. We may sometimes refer to a glossed example by its number such as (4.21), which means that the example is the 21st example of Chapter 4. Given, that glossed examples contain a considerable number of elements, our glossing conventions are further explained in §1.8.1 below.

Another method of arranging data in this dissertation consists of tables. Tables are used to represent paradigms of grammatical elements (e.g., the paradigm of Personal Pronouns<sup>3</sup> in Table 5.3), or, in order to represent different types and subtypes of a certain category (e.g., basic clause types, Table 4.13). If the reference to a table is made by its reference number, such as 4.13, it means that the table is located in Chapter §4, Table 13. The table may be followed by a series of glossed examples where the elements described in the table are shown in context.

Finally, some of the data obtained during field work are represented in figures, such as Figure 1.5, which is the fifth figure of Chapter §1 and which shows a map of the different settlements of speakers of Northern Alta.

# 1.8.1 Glossed examples

Consider the glossed example appearing in Chapter §3, and shown in Table 1.8:

Glossed example	Content per tier
<ul> <li>(1) menbelon e' namud</li> <li>[məmbə'lonə? namud]</li> <li>mən-belun=ə?=namud</li> <li>AV-provision=1s.ABS=just</li> <li>'I just pack food (for the field)</li> </ul>	$ \rightarrow \text{ practical orthography}  \rightarrow \text{ phonetic transcription}  \rightarrow \text{ morpho-phonological transcription}  \rightarrow \text{ morpheme glossing}  \rightarrow \text{ free translation (+ reference number)} $

#### Table 1.8 Parts of a glossed example in this dissertation

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> In this dissertation, parts of speech, phrase types and grammar cases are spelled with capital letters to indicate that these categories are specific to the Northern Alta language.

The first line of the glossed example above, *menbelon e' namud*, represents the practical orthography discussed in §2. The second line, which appears between square brackets [məmbə'lonə? namud], shows the phonetic transcription of the utterance, where primary stress, secondary stress and vowel length may also be represented. This type of phonetic transcription only appears in §3, and has the purpose of representing morphological and morpho-phonological properties.

The third line of the example, *mən-belun=ə?=namud*, corresponds to the morphophonological transcription of the utterance. In addition, this tier provides morpheme boundaries such as affixes and clitics, following other authors in Philippine linguistics such as Ruffolo (2004). As for the fourth line, *AV-provision=1s.ABS=just*, it is aligned with the morpho-phonological transcription, anmmd provides morpheme-by-morpheme glossing.

Finally, the fifth line, '*I just pack food (for the field)' (19.07),* includes a free translation, which appears between single quotation marks. The part of the line that is between parentheses provides the corpus reference number. For example, (19.07) indicates that the example is located in recording 19, segment 07. Examples obtained through elicitation are not provided in this dissertation unless necessary. In these cases the examples carry a capital E (for elicited) in the reference number. In cases in which the free translation differs too much from the structure of the original example in Alta, we have also added a literal translation below. The literal translation appears between parentheses and is preceded by the abbreviation (lit.).

We have attempted to follow the conventions provided in the Leipzig Glossing Rules (Bickel, Comrie, Haspelmath, 2008), with a few exceptions, which are listed below:

- The example in practical orthography (line 1) is written without additional spaces and is thus not aligned with the other tiers. (Rule 1)
- As stated in Rule 3, grammatical morphemes are represented by abbreviated category labels, which are represented, typically by small capitals. However, our abbreviated labels are not represented with small capitals but by capital letters.
- Not all of the abbreviations provided in the Leipzig Glossing Rules are followed, a complete list of abbreviations is attached in Section §10.1 to this dissertation (Rule 3)
- Reduplication (Rule 10) is represented by a hyphen instead of a tilde.

A more detailed description of the glossing method for parts of speech in this dissertation is provided in §10.2.

In addition, the following methods are used to highlight parts of a glossed example.

#### 1.8.1.1 Square brackets

Square brackets appear sometimes in the morpho-phonological transcription tier in order to represent clausal constituent boundaries:

(1.2) lumelbut nen in kaldero
I<um>I-but=nən [?in kaldiru]
<AV> RDP-boil=already ABS pot
'the (content of the) pot is now boiling' (106.089)

Square brackets may also represent phrasal constituent boundaries. In the example below, the outer pair of brackets shows the Genitive argument, while the inner pair represents the Genitive modifier:

(1.3)	para mensoli in linaw ni mata mi					
	para	mən-suli	?in	linaw	[ni	mata[=mi]]
	for	AV-return	ABS	clarity	GEN	eye=1pe.GEN
	'so we	can see clearl	y again	' (94.13	8) (lit. s	so the clarity of our eyes returns)

#### 1.8.1.2 Elements in bold

Bold font is used to highlight parts of a glossed example that are related to the topic of a specific section. For example, in Chapter 4 (which describes the types of phrases), the different phrase types appear between square brackets. In addition, the specific phrase that we want to distinguish is represented in bold. Since we also refer to the case of the phrase in the grammatical explanation, the abbreviation of the case is also highlighted:

(1.4) aydi, ginuyod nen ni Lettaw

?ajdi	g <in>ujud=nən</in>	[ni	littaw]
INTJ	<prf.pv>pull=already</prf.pv>	GEN	Lettaw
ʻaidi, L	ettaw pulled it' (100.723)		

Bold font is also used in sections where a paradigm followed by glossed examples is provided. For example, §5.2.1 provides a table with the paradigm of Personal Pronouns organized by person and case, which is followed by a subsection for each of the cases, containing one glossed example per person. In these examples, the Pronoun (in the morphophonological tier) and the gloss are both highlighted:

(1.5) tebagen miyu ti polung tam-i
təbag-ən=miju ti puluŋ=tam=i
reply-PV=2p.GEN OBL word=1pi.GEN=SPEC
'reply (you all) to our questions' (91.240)

#### 1.8.1.3 Underlined segments

In some parts of this dissertation, we consider that it is helpful to show the position and boundaries of the predicate. In these cases, we have chosen to underline it. In Example 1.6, which appears in §4, each of the clausal constituents (predicate, arguments), appear between square brackets. In addition, the predicate is underlined.

(1.6) menla'ad ami ti papa'as-i
[mən-la?ad][=?ami] [ti papa?as=i]
AV-walk=1pe.ABS OBL morning=SPEC
'we walk in the morning' (nalta60.10)

# 2. Phonology

# **2.1 Introduction**

In the following sections, vowel (§2.2.1) and consonant (§2.2.2) inventories are provided. The inventories are followed by sections on minimal pairs and allophones. Section 2.3 discusses syllable structure. This chapter ends with a short description of the practical orthography and a table showing the correspondence between the practical orthography and the phoneme inventory.

The data in this chapter is from the corpus of recordings of the language. Minimal pairs have been detected using regular expressions in ELAN. Examples in this chapter are provided by using the practical orthography, a phonemic transcription, or a phonetic representation. In addition, periods are used in the phonemic transcription to indicate syllable boundaries, and colons appear in the phonetic representation to indicate vowel length. Finally, stress is indicated in the practical orthography by an acute accent on the syllable nucleus, and by an apostrophe preceding the stressed syllable in the phonemic and phonetic transcriptions.

# 2.2 Phonemic inventory

# 2.2.1 Vowels

There are four contrastive vowels in Northern Alta /i/ /ə/ /u/ and /a/. In addition, there are two borrowed vowels,  $\epsilon$ / and /ɔ/, which are represented between parentheses in Table 2.1 below:

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	(3)	ə	(c)
Low		а	

Table 2.1 Vowels	Table	2.1	Vowels
------------------	-------	-----	--------

/a/ is a central unrounded vowel, e.g., /ta'liŋa/ 'ear'

/i/ is a high front unrounded vowel, e.g., /'kilai/ 'eyebrow'

/ə/ is a mid-central unrounded phoneme, e.g., /mə'lanis/ 'sweet'

/u/ is a high-back rounded vowel, e.g., /?a lub/ 'kiss'

/ $\epsilon$ / is a mid-front unrounded lax vowel, e.g., /mi'nɛru/ 'Minero area'

/ɔ/ is a mid-back rounded lax vowel, e.g., /kɔ'dradu/ 'square'

# 2.2.1.1 Minimal pairs

(2.1)	/a/				
/a/ vs /u/		/'pira/	'money'	/'piru/	'buť'
/a/ vs /u/		/ta'liŋa/	'ear'	/ta'liŋu/	'wound'
/a/ vs /i/		/?a'ma/	'father'	/?a'mi/	'us'
/a/ vs /i/		/?i'?an/	'fruit'	/ʔi'ʔin/	'that'
/a/ vs /ə/		/ba'li/	'so'	/bə'li/	'house'
/a/ vs /ə/		/da/	'since'	/də/	'3p.GEN Pronoun'
(2.2)	/:/				
(2.2)	/i/	/4:/	ODI Article	1401	LOC Article
/i/ vs /a/		/ti/	OBL Article	/ta/	LOC Article
/i/ vs /a/		/mə'linis/	'clean'	/mə'lanis/	'sweet'
/i/ vs /a/		/ni/	Genitive Article	/na/	3s.GEN Pronoun
/i/ vs /ə/		/di/	'then'	/də/	3p.GEN Pronoun
/i/ vs /u/		/bu'til/	ʻlie'	/bu'tul/	'seed'
/i/ vs /u/		/ʔig'dət/	'eel'	/?ug'dət/	'root'
/i/ vs /u/		/'kilai/	'eyebrow'	/'kulai/	'colour'
(2.3)	/ə/				
/ə/ vs /u/		/ʔa'nən/	'cooked rice'	/ʔa'nun/	'why?'
/ə/ vs /i/		/?ə'but/	'hole'	/ʔi'but/	'throw away'
/ə/ vs /u/		/ma'puləd/	'sleep'	/ma'pulud/	'place in Diteki'
/ə/ vs /a/		/mətəp'də/	'low'	/mətab'də/	'fat'
/ə/ vs /a/		/də'mət/	'fight'	/da'mət/	'hand'
(2.4)	/u/				
/u/ vs /a/		/bu'li/	'rectum'	/ba'li/	'SO'
/u /vs /ə/		/bu'li/	'rectum'	/bə'li/	'house'
/u/ vs /a/		/sa'pul/	'beginning'	/sa'pal/	'residue'
/u/ vs /a/		/la'mun/	'grass'	/la'man/	'wild pig'
/u/ vs /i/		/'silu/	'snare'	/'sili/	'chili'

#### 2.2.1.2 The vowel /i/

The phoneme /i/ is generally realized as [i], except for the following environments, in which it is realized as [I], or as a long vowel [I:]

1. In the following words belonging to closed classes:

(2.5)	aheno	[ʔa'hɪ:no]	'what
	papeno	[pa'pɪ:no]	'how'
	ti aheno	[tija'hɪ:no]	'who'
	ina	['?ɪ:na]	'MED.DEM.ABS
	in	[ʔɪ:n]	'PROX.DEM.ABS'
	ti'sen	[tiʔ'sɪn]	'in here'
	sen	[sɪn]	'here'
	sip	[sɪp]	'still'

2. In certain words, reflecting PAN \*i as [I:] or [I]<sup>4</sup>:

(2.6)	tiddena	[tid'dɪ:na]	'mother' (3p.ABS)	<pan *ina<="" th=""></pan>
	niddena	[nid'dɪ:na]	'mother' (3p.GEN)	<pan *ina<="" td=""></pan>
	talenga	[ta'lɪːŋa]	'ear'	<pmp *taliŋa<="" td=""></pmp>
	ulila	[?u'lɪ:la]	ʻorphan'	<pwmp *ulila<="" td=""></pwmp>
	ulitan	[?u'lɪ:tan]	'peel'	<pwmp *kulit-an<="" td=""></pwmp>
	ulitaw	[?u'lɪ:taw]	'young man	<pph *ulitaw<="" td=""></pph>
	manipis	[ma'nɪ:pis]	'thin'	<pmp *nipis<="" td=""></pmp>
	talinep	[ta'lɪnəp]	'dream'	<pph *tara-qinep<="" td=""></pph>
	debbelew	[dəbbə'lɪw]	'opposite side'	<pmp *baliw<="" td=""></pmp>

3. In cases of vowel lowering related to affixation or liaison (see §3.2.7.3)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The reconstructions are extracted from the Austronesian Comparative Dictionary (Blust & Trussel, 2010) and copied here, unchanged.

#### 2.2.1.3 The vowel /u/

The phoneme /u/ is a high back rounded vowel which ranges from [u] to [o]. It is not clear at this point which factors explain this alternation, but one of them appears to be a consequence of affixation, as described in §3.2.7.3.1.

### 2.2.1.4 The vowel /ə/

The mid central unrounded phoneme /ə/ ranges from [ə] to [ɨ]. It is optionally pronounced as /a/ in certain prefixes such as the Actor voice prefixes /mən-/, /məŋ-/ or the Stative /mə-/. This might be a consequence of the influence of neighboring languages such as Tagalog or Ilokano, which show /a/ in their equivalent prefixes. The reconstructed forms of these prefixes also show a vowel /a/: \*maR-,\*maŋ-, \*ma- (Blust, 2013, p.376).

## 2.2.1.5 Borrowed vowels

### 2.2.1.5.1 The vowel /ɛ/

 $\epsilon$ / is a mid front unrounded lax vowel e.g., /mi'nɛru/ 'Minero area'. It appears mostly in loanwords from Spanish (2.7) or English (2.8) (probably via Tagalog or Ilokano) and in some Alta words (2.9) and may be a borrowed phoneme. Since we currently do not have examples of minimal pairs in which this vowel is distinctive, its phonological status is unclear.

(2.7)	palengke	[pa'lɛŋkɪ]	'market, city'
	sentro	['sɛntro]	'center'
	semento	[sɛ'mɛnto]	'cement'
	puwede	['pwɛdɪ]	'can, be able'
	kareta	[ka'rɛta]	'small cart'
	bentilador	[bɛntila'dor]	'fan'
	Minero	[mi'nɛro]	'Minero' (place near Diteki)
	kape	[ka'pɛ]	'coffee'
(2.8)	elikopter	[?ɛli'koptɛr]	'helicopter'
	bolpen	['bolpɛn]	'ball pen'
	selpon	['sɛlpon]	'cell phone'
(2.9)	sela	['sɛla]	'also'

yelgit	[jɛl'git]	'eye'
J = . g	0-3-1	- ) -

The vowel [ $\epsilon$ ] is phonemically transcribed as /i/ in this dissertation.

#### 2.2.1.5.2 The vowel /ɔ/

/ɔ/ is a mid back rounded lax vowel e.g., /kɔ'dradu/ 'square'. It appears mostly in Spanish borrowings (via Tagalog or Ilokano) (2.10), and in a small number of Alta words (2.11) and may also be a borrowed phoneme. As with the vowel  $/\epsilon$ /, there are no minimal pairs distinguished with this vowel.

#### (2.10) Spanish borrowings

dios	[djɔs]	'god'
dose	['dose]	'twelve'
puesto	['pwɛstɔ]	'place
kodrado	[kɔ'dradɔ]	'square'
tenedor	[tini'dɔr]	'fork'
kompleto	[kom'pleto]	'complete'
ospital	[?ɔspi'tal]	'hospital'
bentilador	[bɛntila'dɔr]	'fan'
eroplano	[cnslq'cr3?]	'airplane'
apelido	[?ape'lidɔ]/	'family name'
repolyo	[ojlcq'31]	'cabbage'

#### (2.11) Alta words containing /ɔ/

ngo'	[ŋɔʔ]	'name'
ngo'an	['ŋɔʔan]	'to name something'
tobil	['tɔbil]	'mouth'
meputi	[mə'pɔ:ti]	'white'

The vowel [ɔ] is phonemically transcribed as /u/ in the rest of this dissertation.

#### 2.2.1.6 A note about [vowel + glide] clusters

As shown in the examples below, the phonetic sequences [ai], [au] [əi] and [ui] may occur in morpheme final position:

(2.12)	[ai]	bilay	/bi'laj/	ʻlife'
		agtay	/?agtaj/	ʻliver
(2.13)	[au]	linaw	/li'naw/	'clarity'
		bayaw	/'bajaw/	'brother-in-law'
(2.14)	[əi]	piningey	/pini'ŋəj/	'bundle'
(2.15)	[ui]	malimbui	/malim'buj/	'money'
		apoy	/ʔa'puj/	'apoy'

Phonologically, the second element of the sequence is treated as a consonant. Parallel evidence for this kind of treatment can be found with the first and second person enclitic Genitive pronouns<sup>5</sup>, which show the post-vocalic allomorphs /=?/ and /=m/ for the first and second persons respectively (§5.2.1.3). When Genitive pronouns follow one of the abovemententioned sequences, the post-consonantic allomorphs /=?u/ and /=mu/ are used instead. Examples with the post-vocalic allomporphs are presented in (2.16):

(2.16)	/tina=m/	'your mother'
	/budi=m/	'you want'
	/?i-bidə=m/	ʻyou say it'
	/?i-adobu=m/	'you cook it as adobo'
	/?aka=?/	'my brother'
	/wadi=?/	'my younger brother'
	/?i-biddə=?/	ʻl say it"
	/papinu=?/	'how do I'

Examples with post-consonantic allomorphs are provided below in example (2.17). As it can be observed, roots ending with these sequences are followed by these allomorphs too, treating the second part of the sequence as a consonant:

(2.17)	/?annulən=mu/	'you know it'
	/?i-kabit=mu/	'you tie it'
	/bilaj=mu/	'your life'
	/malimbuj=mu/	'your money'
	/damət=?u/	'my hand'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Similar evidence is provided for the Arta langauge in Kimoto (2017, p 43)

/?urkid=?u/	'my orchid'
/buhaj=?u/	'my life'
/paŋinaw= ?u/	'my clothing'
/malimbuj= ?u/	'my money'

For this reason these sequences are analyzed as [vowel + glide] clusters and are transcribed phonemically as /aj/, /aw/, /əj/ and /uj/ in the rest of this dissertation.

# 2.2.2 Accent and vowel length

Lexical accent is phonemic, as it may contribute to a change of meaning in the following terms, (though some of the contrasts can be explained through lexical borrowing):

(2.18)	/'mata/	'ripe'	/ma'ta/	'eye' <sup>6</sup>
	/'kaja/	'able' <sup>7</sup>	/ka'ja/	'thus'
	/'wadi/	'younger sibling'	/wa'di/	'younger sibling (voc)'
	/'bagaʔ/	'ember'	/ba'gaʔ/	'lungs'

Stress can occur in the following contexts within a word, as shown in Table 2.2.

Syllable	Example
Last, open	/ʔa'pu/ 'grandparent / grandchild'
Last, closed	/pəl'tag/ 'spear'
Penult, open	/'ʔinit/ 'heat'
Penult, closed	
Prepenultimate, open	/'banuwan/ 'market, town'
Prepenultimate, closed	

Accented penultimate syllables tend to be lengthened (as with other Cordilleran languages such as Casiguran and Dupaningan Agta). The vowels /i/, /a/ and /u/ can be long, but not /ə/ as in (2.19):

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> The form /ma'ta/ 'eye' is probably a Tagalog borrowing. The Alta equivalent is the form /jil'git/.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> /'kaja/ is possibly a borrowing from Tagalog or Ilokano.

(2.19)	/'mata/	['ma:ta]	'ripe'
	/'kaja/	['ka:ja]	'able'
	/'wadi/	['wa:di]	'younger sibling'
	/ti'jama/	[ti'ja:ma]	'father'
	/mə'diʔit/	[mə'di:ʔit]	'unmarried girl'
	/?u'litaw/	[?u'lɪ:taw]	'unmarried male'
	/'tubil/	['tɔ:bil]	'mouth'
	/'gulaj/	['gu:lai]	'vegetables'

The data collected to this point seems to indicate that, in terms of Zorc (1978, p.243), Alta does not reflect Proto-Philippine (PPh) accent, since most of the Alta forms corresponding to the provided PPh reconstructions<sup>8</sup>, do not agree in reflecting penultimate length (similar to the case of Pangasinan language):

(2.20)	/bə'lu/	'widow'	<pph *ba:lu<="" th=""></pph>
	/də'lan/	'path'	<pph *da:lan<="" td=""></pph>
	/di'la/	'tongue'	<pph *di:laq<="" td=""></pph>
	/ʔu'tuh/	'louse'	<pph *ku:tuh<="" td=""></pph>
	/ŋi'pən/	'tooth'	<pph *ŋi:pən<="" td=""></pph>
	/pu'səd/	'navel'	<pph *pu:səd<="" td=""></pph>
	/si'?uh/	'elbow'	<pph *si:ku<="" td=""></pph>
	/tu'bu/	'plant'	<pph *tu:buq<="" td=""></pph>
	/ʔa'ŋəs/	'breathe'	<pph *ha:ŋəs<="" td=""></pph>

However, forms that have a short penult do agree as well:

(2.21)	/ʔa'naʔ/	'child'	<pph* anak<="" th=""></pph*>
	/ʔa'po/	'grandchild'	<pph* apu[h]<="" td=""></pph*>
	/ʔa'sin/	'salt'	<pph* qasin<="" td=""></pph*>
	/ba'gaʔ/	ʻlungs'	<pph* baraq9<="" td=""></pph*>
	/bə'gas/	'husked rice'	<pph* bəras<="" td=""></pph*>
	/la'ŋuj/	'to swim'	<pph* laŋuy<="" td=""></pph*>
	/ma'ta/	'eye'	<pph* mata<="" td=""></pph*>

 $<sup>^{8}</sup>$  The reconstructed forms provided in this section are extracted from Zorc (1978, p.41), where they are labeled as PPH.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> For this form, Zorc (1978: 42) provides the doublet \*ba:gaq 'lungs'

This implies that Northern Alta has also lost its inherited contrastive lexical accent and redeveloped it subsequently via borrowing. However, more data is needed in order to assert this claim.

# 2.2.3 Consonants

Table 2.3 lists the consonants of Northern Alta.

	Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stop	рb	t d		k g		?
Fricative			S			h
Affricate			(d͡ʒ)			
Nasal	m	n			ŋ	
Lateral Approximant			I			
Tap or Flap			٢			
Glide	w			j		

## Table 2.3 Consonants

# 2.2.3.1 Minimal pairs

(2.22)	/p/				
/p/ vs /t/		/sip/	'still'	/sit/	'thorn'
/p/ vs /l/		/pa'ti/	'including'	/la'ti/	'rattan'
/p/ vs /m/		/pa'ti/	'including'	/ma'ti/	'die'
/p/ vs /s/		/ka'pi/	'coffee'	/ka'si/	'thus'
/p/ vs /s/		/'palad/	ʻpalm'	/'salad/	'salad'
(2.23)	/b/				
/b/ vs /p/		/ʔa'bu/	'ashes'	/ʔa'pu/	'grandfather'
/b/ vs /ʔ/		/'balak/	ʻplan, idea'	/'?alak/	'wine'
/b/ vs /m/		/ba'li/	'maybe, so'	/ma'li/	'incorrect'
/b/ vs /l/		/'balu/	'new'	/'lalu/	'specially'
(2.24)	/t /				
/t/ vs /k/		/'titi/	'penis'	/'kiki/	'vagina'

/t/ vs /d/ /t/ vs /ʔ/		/tam/ /tu'lag/	1pi.GEN Pronoun 'spear'	/dam/ /ʔu'lag/ /ʔu'luh/	ʻdam' ʻsnake' ʻhead'
/t/ vs /l/		/?u'tuh/	'lice'	/ 20 1011/	neau
(2.25)	/d/				
/d/ vs /ŋ/		/ta'lud/	'true'	/ta'luŋ/	'eggplant'
/d/ vs /t/		/did'də/	3p.LOC Pronoun	/tid'də/	'with'
/d/ vs /s/		/di'?ən/	1s.LOC Pronoun	/si'?ən/	1s.ABS Pronoun
/d/ vs /s/		/ban'da/	'side'	/ban'sa/	'country'
(2.26)	/k/				
/k/ vs /ʔ/		/ʔa'suk/	'smoke'	/ʔa'suʔ/	'my dog'
/k/ vs /t/		/'kama/	'bed'	/'tama/	'correct'
/k/ vs /n/		/?a'ka?/	'my older sibling'	/?a'na?/	'child'
(0.07)	11				
(2.27)	/g/	/'aulai/	'wagatabla'	//www.	'aolar
/g/ vs /k/		/'gulaj/ /'gulai/	'vegetable'	/'kulaj/ /'tuloi/	'color 'bridgo'
/g/ vs /t/ /g/ vs /ʔ/		/'gulaj/ /tag'pu/	'vegetable' 'waterfall'	/'tulaj/ /ta?'pu/	'bridge' 'summit'
/g/ vs / //		/'bagu/	'before'	/'basu/	ʻglass'
/y/ v3/3/		/ bagu/		1 0030/	giass
(2.28)	/?/				
/ʔ/ vs /d/		/si'?ən/	1s.ABS Pronoun	/si'dən/	3p Pronoun
/ʔ/ vs /g/		/taʔ'pu/	'summit'	/tag'pu/	'waterfalls'
/ʔ/ vs /j/		/?i'?an/	'fish'	/ʔi'jan/	'fruit'
/ʔ/ vs /l/		/buʔ/	'hair'	/bul/	'knee'
/ʔ/ vs /l/		/di'?aw/	2s.LOC Pronoun	/di'law/	'yellow'
(2.29)	/m/				
/m vs /s/		/maj/	'there is'	/saj/	'to be'
/m/ vs /k/		/ʔa'ma/	'father'	/ʔa'ka/	'older sibling'
/m/ vs /t/		/da'lam/	'evening'	/da'lat/	'sea'
/m/ vs /l/		/'mata/	'ripe'	/'lata/	'can'
(2.30)	/n/				
/n/ vs /t/		/bu'lan/	'moon'	/bu'lat/	'blind'

/n/ vs /l/ /n/ vs /ŋ/ /n/ vs /m/	la l	/'tunaj/ /ta'lun/ /ʔi'tan/	'pure' 'forest' 'look'	/'tulaj/ /ta'luŋ/ /ʔi'tam/	ʻbridge' ʻeggplant' 1pi.ABS Pronoun
<b>(2.31)</b> /η/ vs /n/	/ŋ/	/ŋi/	'indeed'	/ni/	GEN Article
/ŋ/ vs /g/		/uji/ /diŋ'diŋ/	'wall'	/dig'dig/	'next to'
/ŋ/ vs /g/		/ʔiʾnalaŋ/	'came from'	/?i'nalap/	'caught'
/ŋ/ vs /aj/		/'kulaŋ/	'insufficient'	/'kulaj/	'color
, ij, vo , aj,		, Raiarj	mounioient	/ Kalaj/	
(2.32)	/r/				
/r/ vs /l/		/peŋ'?arap/	'ambition'	/peŋ'?alap/	'taking'
/r/ vs /s/		/rip/	'fridge'	/sip/	'still'
(2.33)	/s/				
/s/ vs /h/		/la'sat/	'breast'	/la'hat/	'all'
/s/ vs /l/		/'basu/	ʻglass'	/'balu/	'new'
/s/ vs /d/		/'basu/	ʻglass'	/'badu/	't-shirt'
/s/ vs /n/		/ta'?us/	'sincere'	/ta'?un/	'year'
(2.34)	/h/				
( <b>2.34)</b> /h/ vs /d/	/11/	/'hati/	'split'	/'dati/	'originally'
/h/ vs /t/		/hid/	3p Pronoum	/tid/	'with'
/h/ vs /g/		/hin'tu/	'stop'	/gin'tu/	ʻgold'
/h/ vs /s/		/hipag/	'sister-in-law'	/'sipag/	'industriousness'
		1 1 3		5	
(2.35)	/j/				
/j/ vs /s/		/jaj/	DIST.DEM.ABS	/saj/	'to be at'
/j/ vs /n/		/si'ja/	3s Pronoun	/si'na/	MED.DEM.LOC
/j/ vs /?/		/si'jam/	'nine'	/si'?am/	2p Pronoun
(2.36)	/\/				
/l/ vs /d/		/'balu/	'new'	/'badu/	't-shirt'
/l/ vs /b/		/laŋ'ka/	'jackfruit'	/baŋ'ka/	'boat'
/l/ vs /n/		/ta'lud/	'true'	/ta'nud/	'wait'
/l/ vs /n/		/ta'luŋ/	'eggplant'	/ta'nuŋ/	'question'

/l/ vs /ʔ/	/ta'lun/	'forest'	/ta'?un/	'year'
/l/ vs /m/	/gəl'gəl/	'chop'	/gəm'gəm/	'grab'
(2.37) /w/				
/w/ vs /s/	/?u'wah/	ʻwhat you may call it	'/ʔu'sah/	'deer
/w/ vs /m/	/si'?aw/	1s Pronoun	/si'?am/	2p Pronoun
/w/ vs /k/	/'bawal/	'forbidden'	/'bakal/	'iron'
/w/ vs /n/	/?u'litaw/	'bachelor'	/?u'litan/	'peel'
/w/ vs /y/	/la'?aw/	'length'	/la'?aj/	'old'

#### 2.2.3.2 The phoneme /?/

As it was illustrated in Example (2.28) above, glottal stops are phonemic in medial and final positions. Since we do not have any phonemic contrast in initial position, the phonemic status of initial glottal stops is not observable directly, but some indirect evidence suggests that glottal stops **also have phonemic status in syllable onset position**.

In a similar way as Kimoto observes in the Arta language (2017, p.107), some morphophonological alternations in Northern Alta suggest that all words apparently starting with a vowel, have actually a glottal stop preceding the initial vowel. For example, when attaching prefixes *mən-* or *pən-* certain roots, the resulting forms show geminated glottal stops, as a consequence of regressive assimilation. Thus, forms like /mən-?udiŋ/ are realized as [mə?-?udiŋ], (see Example 3.4, §3.2.1.1). This evidence suggest that the orignal rootword is /?udiŋ/ 'coal'.

In addition, the prefixes *məŋ-* or *pəŋ-* may trigger nasal substitution (see §3.2.4) in roots starting with certain stops, including glottal stops. However, in some cases of prefixation, initial glottal stops are not deleted (see examples in §3.31)

Finally, there are instances of liaison providing the same type of evidence, for example with a number of enclitic Personal Pronouns, all of which may trigger assimilation of the last consonant of a host, if this consonant is /n/. (see Examples 3.5 - 3.7, §3.2.1.2).

Thus, words starting with a vowel are phonemically transcribed with an initial glottal stop in this dissertation.

# 2.2.3.3 The phoneme /r/

The phoneme /r/ is an alveolar flap [r] appearing mostly in borrowings. But it has phonemic status in Alta, as shown by the minimal pairs in Example (2.32). The Examples (2.38) to (2.40) below contain this allophonic variant:

(2.38)	Tagalog borrowings	5
daliri	[da'liri]	'finger'
pera	['pira]	'money'
hirap	['hirap]	'hardship'
sariwa	[sa'riwa]	'fresh'
barkada	[bar'kada]	'friend'
sira	['sira]	'damage'
sikmura	['sikmura]	'stomach'
kariton	[karitun]	'kart'
turo	['turu]	'teach'

# (2.39) Spanish borrowings

para	['para]	'for'
turista	[tu'rista]	'tourist'
obra	['?ubra]	'can, is able'
lugar	[lu'gar]	'place'
kaldero	[kal'diru]	'cooking pot'
amarilyo	[ama'rilju]	'yellow'
prutas	['prutas]	'fruit'
korona	[ku'runa]	'crown'
puro	['puru]	'pure'
		pare
tigre	['tigri]	'tiger'
tigre proseso	['tigri] [pro'siso]	•
·		'tiger'
proseso	[pro'siso]	'tiger' 'process'

#### (2.40) English borrowings

garden	['gardin]	'garden'
inirecord	[ʔi'nirikurd]	'was recorded by'
ininterview	[ʔi'nintirvju]	'was interviewed by'

harbest ['harbist] 'to harvest'

However, there are a number of Tagalog, Spanish and English borrowed words that contain the alveolar trill [r], Examples (2.41) to (2.43). As we currently do not have contrasts that include an alveolar trill, we consider this to be an allophone of /r/ on the basis of phonetic similarity.

(2.41)	Tagalog borrowings	
yari	['ja:ri]	'happen'
aral	['ʔa:ral]	'to study'
mahirap	[ma'hirap]	'hard'
kurimaon	g [kurima'ʔung]	'mountain rat'
marahil	[mə'ra:hil]	'maybe'
karamdar	nan [karam'da:man]	'disease'
maranasa	an [mara'nasan]	'to experience'

(2.42)	Spanish borrowings
barrio	['barjo]

		-
guerra	['gɪ:ra]	'war'
gitarra	[gi'ta:ra]	'guitar'
koriente	[ko'rijente]	'electricity'
kumare	[ku'mari]	'godmother'

## (2.43) English borrowings

surrender	[su'rındır]	'to surrender'
okra	[?o'kra]	ʻokra'

Thus, both the alveolar flap [r] and the alveolar trill [r] are represented as /r/ in phonemic representation in the current dissertation.

'neighborhood'

# 2.2.3.4 The phoneme /d3/

The phoneme  $d\overline{3}$  appears mostly in loan words such as the following:

(2.44)	/d͡ʒun/	'June'
	/'prad͡ʒik/	'project'

In addition, the sequence /dij/ + vowel is sometimes palatalized, and realized as d3 in fast speech:

(2.45)	/tidijapu/	[ti'd͡ʒapu]	'grandparents'
	/addiju/	[ad'd͡ʒu]	'far'
	/dija'jaj/	[d͡ʒa'jai]	'now'

Similar examples of palatalization have been described for Ilokano in Rubino (1997, p.11)

## 2.2.3.5 Geminates

All the consonants except /r/ can be geminated, mostly as a result of derivational and inflectional processes:

(2.46)	/p/	/?əp-pəltag-ən/10	[?əp'pəltagən]	'will fish with spear'
	/b/	/?əb-bətuh-an/	[?əbbə'tu?an]	'stony ground'
	/t/	/?ət-tanuŋ-en/	[?ətta'noŋen]	'will ask someone'
	/d/	/majwaddə/	[maiwad'də]	'there is'
	/k/	/tikkaj/	[tik'kai]	'name of person'
	/g/	/?əg-gujud-ən/	[?əggu'jodən]	'will pull from'
	/ʔ/	/mən-?uma/	[məʔ'ʔoma]	'to farm'
	/m/	/limma/	[lim'ma]	'five'
	/n/	/mənna?əm/	[mənna'?əm]	'parents, elders'
	/s/	/?itassi/	[ʔitas'se]	'one'
	/h/	/?əh-haplus-an/	[?əh'haplusan]	'will stroke (the dog)'
	/I/	/ləllaʔi/	[ləlla'ʔi]	'male'
	/w/	/?i-wala/	[ʔiwwa'la]	'lose, separate'
	/j/	/ʔi-jasə/	[ʔij'jasə]	'to place'

# 2.2.3.6 Alternations between [s] and [h]

As shown above, the phonemes /h/ and /s/ are phonemic, with minimal pairs:

(2.47)	/s/ vs /h/	/hipag/	ʻsister-in-law'	/'sipag/	'industriousness'
	/s/ vs /h/	/la'sat/	'breast'	/la'hat/	'all'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Hyphen marks a morpheme boundary

However, [s] seems to be in free variation with [h] in certain grammatical particles, in which they are usually followed by one of the allophones of /i/, or the diphthong /aj/:

(2.48)	/ʔa'sino/	[ʔa'sɛnɔ]	[ʔa'hɛnɔ]	'what'
	/saj/	[sai]	[hai]	'here'
	/'sila/	['sɪla]	['hɪla]	'also'
	/sid/	[sid]	[hid]	'they'
	/si'den/	[si'dən]	[hi'dən]	'these'
	/siddi'na/	[siddi'na]	[hiddi'na]	'those'
	/sin/	[se:n]	[he:n]	'here'
	/si'na/	[si'na]	[hi'na]	'there'
	/sip/	[sɪp]	[hɪp]	'still, yet'
	/?umansi'na/	[?umansi'na]	[?umanhi'na]	'like that'
	/?uman'saj/	[?uman'sai]	[?uman'hai]	'tike that'

Relevant to this point can be the reconstructions of the third-person plural Pronoun as for example the one provided in Blust (2013, p.314), PAN **\*si-ida**, from which the Alta form **/sid/** is reflected. This suggests that, in addition to the Alta third-person plural Pronoun, other forms might also show a reflex of the proto-phoneme \*/s/.

Speakers have stated several times that there is no difference in meaning between the two pronunciations. In the case of the free Personal Pronouns, all of which start with the sequence /si/, only the third-person plural was found to show this variation. This issue needs more in-depth research.

#### 2.2.3.7 Phonotactics

Table 2.4 shows the distribution of Alta consonants within a word.

Phoneme	Initial	Medial	<u>Final</u>
р	/pa'gud/ 'wind'	/a'puj/ 'fire'	/'?alap/ 'catch'
b	/ba'ʔik/ 'small'	/ʔi'bid/ 'say'	/təmpu'lab/ 'yesterday'
t	/ta?'pu/ 'summit'	/bi'til/ 'hunger'	/wa'gət/ 'water'
d	/dəb'di/ 'girl'	/ʔəʾduŋ/ˈnose'	/'puləd/ 'sleep'

#### Table 2.4 Phonotactics

k	/'kilaj/ 'eyebrow'	/?a'ka/ 'older sibling'	/sun'tuk/ 'fight'	
g	g /'gulaj/ 'vegetable' /?ə'gəm/ 'ant'		/ʔa'nig/ 'be like'	
2	/ʔa'wajan/ 'bamboo' /si'ʔaw/ 'you'		/ʔa'suʔ/ 'my dog'	
m	/mu'duŋ/ 'mountain'	in' /ga'mut/ 'medicine' /'ʔulam/ 'viand'		
n	/na'mu?/ 'mosquito' /?a'nən/ 'cooked rice' /m		/mə'bi?ən/ 'near'	
ŋ	/ŋi'pən/ 'teeth' /bu'ŋaw/ 'testicle'		/mu'duŋ/ 'mountain'	
r	/ri'poljo/ 'cabbage'	o/ 'cabbage' /pə'nara/ 'door' /das'tir/ 'dress'		
S	/'sila/ 'also'	/ʔa'su/ 'dog'	/bə'gas/ 'husked rice'	
h	/'hakud/ 'chop' /?u'haw/ 'thirst /bə'tuh/ 'stone		/bə'tuh/ 'stone'	
I	/la'ŋit/ 'sky' /pi'las/ 'meat' /		/?ə'tul/ 'chop'	
w	/wak'wak/ 'crow'	/ʔa'wun/ 'no'	/si'ʔaw/ 'you'	
j	/jil'git/ 'eye'	/?a'juh/ 'wood' /'bilai/ life		

# 2.3 Syllable structure

Before looking at the canonical syllable structure, let us look at possible consonant sequences. The examples in (2.49) show that consonant sequences only appear across syllable boundaries:

(2.49)	/?əp.'nu/ <sup>11</sup>	'fill'
	/mə.?ap.sut/	'sour'
	/ŋad.'dən/	'name'
	/pa.jəg.'pəg/	'small hut'
	/lin.'dul/	'earthquake'
	/təm.pu.'lab/	'yesterday'
	/mə.dəl.'mət/	'heavy'
	/buʔ.'san/	'open'
	/mas.'lid/	'red'
	/?it.'nu.dan/	'chair'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> In this section, a dot indicates a syllable boundary

Considering that in Northern Alta glottal stops are phonemic in onset position (see the explanation in §2.2.3.2), the canonical Northern Alta syllable is CV(C), where C stands for consonant and V for vowel:

(2.50)	CV	/'?u.ma/	'swidden'
		/ʔi.nit/	'heat'
		/mə.'pi.ja/	'good'
(2.51)	CVC	/mə.'pu.ləd/	'sleep'

However, if borrowings are taken into consideration, consonant sequences are allowed within the same syllable, and the structure should consequently be extended to C(C)V(C)C. Not all segments are allowed in the second position of a syllable onset, as the examples below indicate only /r/ /l/, /w/ and /j/ are allowed.

(2.52)	CCV	/ku.'dra.du/ /grin/ /'?u.bra/ /'sin.tru/	'square' 'green' 'can, be possible' 'center'
		/kum.'pli.tu/ /?im.pu.'si.bli/	'complete' 'impossible'
		/'kwin.tas/ /'pwi.di/	'necklace' 'can, be possible'
		/sa.kri.'pi.sju/ /ʔa.'ka.sja/ /re.'pu.lju/	'sacrifice' 'acacia' 'cabbage'

As for syllable codas with two consonants, only /n/ is allowed in the first position:

(2.53)	CVCC	/'?u.rins/	'orange'
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# 2.4 Practical orthography

## 2.4.1 Development of pratical orthography

Prior to the development of the practical ortography used in this project, other authors have also developped conventions for the spelling of the Northern Alta language. One of the earliest written representations of Northern Alta appears in Vanoverberg's work *Some undescribed languages of Luzon* (1937). The book contains a section titled *Fifteen Luzon Languages in Juxtaposition*, in which the author provides a comparative 313-item wordlist of 15 languages, including Northern Alta (under the name of Baler Negrito). Although all languages are spelled with the same system, Vanoverberg acknowledges that some of the compared languages have a literature of their own (and hence an orthographic tradition), but argues that "in a comparative study like this, the same symbols must be used for all of them...to preserve unity and avoid confusion" (1937, p.92).

Other materials containing written representations of the language include Robert Fox's unpublished word list (1956), and Lawrence Reid's publications (1991, 1994 and posterior). Reid (1991, p.9) states "a careful phonemic analysis has not been completed, and so the phonemic status of [o] and [u], also of [i] and [e] is at present uncertain. All transcriptions are phonetic, and the quality of some vowels is somewhat uncertain. There is uncertainty also about the occurrence of final glottal stop in the two languages" (Southern Alta and Northern Alta).

In the same way as these earlier representations, the main purpose of our practical orthography is the description (and documentation) of the language. Given the fact that we did not intend to use our orthography for teaching the language to the children, or for providing the community with a tool they could use to write or read the language, we did not develop the pratical orthography in collaboration with native speakers of the Alta community.

However, over the past few years, one of our consultants, Violeta Fernandez, as well as the two young community members Maebell and Jennifer, transcribed some recorded sessions in Alta. On these occasions we asked them to transcribe the recordings without providing them with any rule. Consequently, their way of transcribing was different to the one used in the present work. Their transcriptions are uploaded in the archive and can be used for future research. However, for the moment we do not know whe these transcriptions vary. For these reasons, some words show variation in the way they are spelt. Fortunately, as we will see

below, the software ELAN allows for searches of words with different spellings in the corpus by using the query language Regular Expressions.

The practical orthography presented here originates from the phonetic transcription system I used when I started transcribing Northern Alta recordings, in July 2014 (see Figure 2.1). At that time, I was transcribing by hand and was using a phonetic transcription in which most sounds were represented using IPA symbols (except for glottal stops, which were represented with an apostrophe). Vowel length was also represented. See the first tier in Figure 2.1 below:

zi ma'una' mata: pag a kase ai kaja' avon ta'a pansinan matapana ka kaya hindi kitapinapanaring 2

Figure 2.1 Example of a hand-written transcription of Northern Alta (June 2014)

Later on, I decided to use the software ELAN for the transcription of recordings (February 2015). I started using Roman letters, although continued using certain IPA symbols, such as *ə* for the coding of schwa, but I stopped representing vowel length (see Figure 2.2).

	id	transcription	tag	eng
1	n_alta039.01		simula ng ako ay naging bata	since i became a child
2		si'ami apət aman	buhay namin, kaming	you know what our life became, us father and children

Figure 2.2 Example of an ELAN transcription of Northern Alta (February 2015)

Subsequently, I came to the conclusion that it was less time-consuming to annotate using alphabetic letters, rather than IPA symbols. This made things easier not only when transcribing, but also when using regular expressions in order to make searches in the

corpus. For example, I decided to simply code schwa with the letter e, even though the letter was already used for [I:] and [ $\epsilon$ ].

At this point the practical orthography does not use IPA symbols anymore, as all sounds are represented by Roman characters. The practical orthography is far from being unproblematic and is sometimes inconsistent, but it provides a representation of the language in the transcriptions and also in the lexical database. Table 2.5 below shows the letters currently used in the practical orthography, in relation to the corresponding phoneme and allophones. In addition, the right column provides earlier ways of transcribing certain sounds. Note that a phonemically disctinctive accent (see §2.2.2) is not represented, and that the apostrophe that codes glottal stops only appears in medial and final positions.

Phoneme	Allophones	Current Practical Orthography	Older spelling
/a/		а	
/ə/		e	è, ə, a
/i/	[i]	i	
	[I:]	е	
/u/	[u]	u	0
	[0]	0	
(c)		0	
(3)		е	
/p/		р	
/b/		b	
/m/		m	
/j/		У	j
/w/		w	
/t/		t	
/d/		d	

Table 2.5 Practical orthography

/d͡ʒ/	j	
/n/	n	
/r/	r	rr
/s/	s	
/\/	1	
/k/	k	
/g/	g	
/ŋ/	ng	ŋ
/ʔ/	٤	2
/h/	h	x
/aj/	ay	ai, ae
/aw/	aw	
/əj/	еу	
/uj/	uy	

# 2.4.2 The orthography and the phonetic and phonemic representations

Example (2.54) below shows the contrast between the orthographic, phonetic and phonemic representations of an utterance (tiers 1, 2 and 3 respectively):

(2.54)	inebidded man yay ni Lulia di'en			
	[?inɪ:biddədmanjai	ni	lulja	di?ən]
	? <in>i-biddə=d=man=jaj</in>	[ni	lulja]	[di?ən]
	CV <prf>-say=d=CNTR=DIST.DEM.ABS</prf>	GEN	Lulia	1s.LOC
	'Lulia told me that again' (nalta83.007)			

During the first stages of this project, we were not aware of some of the morpho-phonological processes described in §3.2 and were unsure of the phonemic status of certain sounds. In consequence, in certain aspects, the practical orthography is closer to a phonetic representation (tier 2), than to a phonemic one (tier 3). For example, the Conveyance voice prefix is represented as /?i-/ in the phonemic tier, but since it undergoes vowel lowering and

lengthening as a result of the perfective infix  $\langle in \rangle$  (as described in §3.2.7.3.1), it is represented as [I:] in the phonetic tier. On the basis of our knowledge of the language at that time, we represented this prefix as *e* in the practical orthography, which matches the phonetic realization [I:] rather than the underlying phoneme /?i/ (see Table 2.5 above). A revised version of this pratical orthography should use the letter *i* to represent the allophone [I:] rather then the current letter *e*.

Another example of this difference is the fact that, although we knew that there is an Actor voice prefix *men*- in Northern Alta (as in *men-'aral* 'to study'), we had originally not understood the rules of assimilation it undergoes when it is attached to a root (see §3.2.1.1). Consequently, this form is sometimes represented as *me"aral* in the practical orthography (matching its phonetic realization), but it is always represented as /mən-?aral/ in the phonemic representation. In addition, at that point in time we were unable to discriminate geminated glottal stops in the language and sometimes transcribed forms like these as having a single glottal stop (as in *me'aral*).

A second important difference between the practical orthography and the phonemic representation is related to enclitics (§3.1.3). The practical orthography treats most of these particles as separate words (except for some clitics listed below), and thus writes them separated by a space. However, in the phonemic tier, they are linked with an equal sign. As we can see in the practical orthography tier of Example (2.54), the particle =*d* is written next to the host (*inebided*, 'he said it'), while the Adverb =*man* and the Demonstrative =*yay* are separated by spaces in the practical orthography. The three enclitics are however represented as part of a single phonological word in the phonemic representation, in which they are preceded by equal sign. The list below shows the rules followed in the representation of these enclitics:

- 1) Enclitics that are represented using more than one character in the practical orthography are written as separate words
- 2) the first person singular Absolutive Pronoun e'/=e?/ is written as a separate word
- the /=m/ allomorph of the second person singular Genitive Pronoun is written next to the host or preceding enclitic without any space
- 4) the Adverb /=d/ is written next to the host or preceding enclitic without any space
- 5) the Specificity Marker /=i/ is represented as *-i* (preceded by a hyphen) and is written next to the host or preceding enclitic without any space

6) the Adverb /=Ce/ 'already', in which the first consonnant fully assimilates to the last consonant of the host (§3.2.1.2.2), is written next to the host or preceding enclitic without any space.

#### 2.4.3 Some inconsistencies in the orthography

The practical orthography shows a number of inconsistencies which are listed below, and which should be taken into consideration by future users of the corpus of annotated recordings, when running searches in ELAN.

- a) the Specificity Marker =*i*. is most frequently represented as -*i* (linked to its host or to the preceding enclitic with a hyphen), but in some occasions we also represented it as '*i* (thus preceded by an apostrophe), or wrote it directly after its host or preceding enclitic, without any space. For example, it is possible to find three different representations of the phonological word *pulab=i* 'the afternoon', these are *pulabi, pulab'i* and *pulab-i*
- b) the first person singular Absolutive Pronoun e'/=ə?/ is generally written as a separate word, but in some examples it is written next to the host or preceding enclitic without any spaces
- c) the Adverb dla /=dla/ 'just' is sometimes treated as two separate enclitics and in these cases, it is represented as *d la*
- d) the geminating consonant in the Adverb /=Cə/ is sometimes not represented
- e) although the practical orthography is generally closer to a phonetic representation, some transcriptions are closer to a phonemic representation. Thus, the form *inebbided* appearing in (2.54) above is sometimes represented as *inibidded* reflecting the underlying phoneme /i/, instead of the surface realization
- f) the /ə/ in prefixes /mən-/, /məŋ-/, /məŋi-/, /mə-/, /pən-/, /pəŋ-/ and /pəŋi-/ is sometimes freely realized as /a/ (see §2.2.1.4). Thus, these prefixes are sometimes represented as *man-, mang-, mangi-, ma-, pan-, pang- and pangi-* in the ELAN corpus of annotations
- g) some recordings were transcribed by the young trainee Maebell Fernandez in ELAN. As mentioned in §2.4, we did not provide the trainee with any orthographic rules. Due to this fact, recordings (500 - 515) show her own transcription method with its respective inconsistencies.

# 2.4.4 Dealing with spelling variants when running searches in ELAN (use of regular expressions)

Although certain words have spelling variants, as shown in the preceding section, variation can be dealt with when running searches in ELAN, by using regular expressions (regex), as described in Mosel (2015). In this section, we present some of the searches we have made when dealing with this kind of variation. It must be kept in mind that, given that regular expressions can be built or adapted to each particular situation, there is more than one way to run a search in each case.

A regular expression is a sequence of caracters that define a search pattern. Each of the inconsistencies presented in the preceding section can be solved by runnning a search with regular expressions. The following table presents the regular expressions that may deal with these variants:

Spelling variants	regular expression	matches
the Specificity Marker has three	(- ')i \b	matches all words ending with i and preceded by either hyphen or apostrophe
different representations: =i, 'i, or i	i \b	matches all words ending with i
1s.ABS Pronoun <i>e'</i> is either written next to the host, or separated by a blank space	e' \b	matches all words ending with the sequence <e'> and followed by a white space</e'>
The Adverb <i>dla</i> is sometimes represented as two words: <i>d la</i>	d ?la	matches all occurences of the sequences <dla> and <d la=""></d></dla>
The geminating consonant in the Adverb /=Cə/ is sometimes not spelled	e \b	matches all words ending with <e> and followed by a white space</e>
Words undergoing vowel lowering inibidde /inebidde	\b in(e i)bidde	matches all the occurrences of words starting with <in>, directly followed by either (e or i) and followed by <bidde></bidde></in>
Variation in the spelling of prefixes like <i>men /man</i>	\bm(e a)n	matches all words starting with either the letters men or man

Table 2.6 Examples searches with regex when dealing with spelling variants

Therefore, although the practical orthography is not standardized, as this endeavour is beyond the scope of this documentary and descriptive project, the corpus of transcribed recordings can be used to describe the grammar of the language, as it will be seen in the following chapters.

## 3. Morphology

Section 3.1 introduces the morphological units, roots, affixes and clitics and their relation to word classes.

Section 3.2 deals with the most frequent morpho-phonological processes that appear when attaching affixes and clitics to roots or stems. Some of these changes are the result of derivational processes, as in the case of voice-aspect affixes, others occur across word boundaries (Specificity Marker =i, Enclitic Adverbs =bat) and some across constituent boundaries (enclitic Personal Pronouns). Finally Section 3.2.8 provides a table of the different reduplication patterns that can be observed in the language.

## 3.1 Introduction: morphological units

Northern Alta is an agglutinative language in the sense that words are formed by concatenation of morphemes (roots, affixes and clitics) which remain mostly unchanged after concatenation.

In the following example, the utterance *menbelon e' namud* comprises the following morphemes: the lexical root *belon* 'provision', the active voice prefix *men-* and two enclitics, the first person singular Absolutive Pronoun =e', and the Adverb =*namud* 'just':

(3.1) menbelon e' namud
[məmbə'lonə?,namud]
/mən-bəlun=ə?=namud/
AV-provision=1s.ABS=just
'l just pack food (for the field)' (19.07)

The morphemes *belon, e'* and *namud* remain unchanged, allowing us to segment the word by using hyphens to mark affix boundaries and equal signs for clitics. Only one morpheme, the prefix *men*-, undergoes a change in its shape, being realized as [mem-], a change triggered by the first consonant of the root *belon*. Finally, the meaning of the form *menbelone' namud* can be deduced by adding the meaning of its components, which keep a relationship of one to one between meaning and form.

#### 3.1.1 Roots and stems

Free roots include words such as *ganda* 'beauty', *hirap* 'hardship' and *polung* 'word, language'. Free roots can also receive voice affixes to derive forms such as *megandá* 'be beautiful', *mahirap* 'be hard' or *menpolung* 'to speak'.

Bound roots like *eg'ang* /?əg?aŋ/ 'go' or *sdep* /sdəp/ 'enter' only appear in combination with affixes resulting in forms like:

(3.2)	mə- /'	′?əg?aŋ∕	→ /mə?əg?aŋ/'to be	able to leave'
	<b><um></um></b> /:	'sdəp/	→ /sumdəp/	'to enter, to start working'

A stem can also act as a base and combine with other affixes to form new words. In the examples below, the stems /me?eg?aŋ/ and /sumdəp/ combine with the perfective <in> infix:

<in></in>	/məʔəgʔaŋ/	ightarrow /minə?əg?aŋ/ 'to have been able to leave'
<in></in>	/sumdəp/	$\rightarrow$ /sinumdəp/ 'entered, started working'

Thus, both roots and stems can be used as bases for word formation.

#### 3.1.2 Affixes

As shown in Table 3.1, Northern Alta has the following four types of affixes:

Type of affix	Example	Base	Affixed form
Prefix	/mə-/	<b>ganda</b> /ganda/ 'beauty'	<b>maganda</b> /məganda/ beautiful'
Suffix	-/ən/	alap /ʔalap/ 'act of taking'	alapen /ʔalapən/ 'to be caught'
Infix	/ <um>/</um>	<b>eg'ang</b> /ʔəgʔaŋ/ 'act of going'	umeg'ang /ʔuməgʔaŋ/ 'to go'
Circumfix	/məan/	tanod /tanud/ 'act of waiting'	metanodan /mətanudan 'be able to wait for something'

Table 3.1 Types of affixes
----------------------------

## 3.1.3 Clitics

Clitics are a common phenomenon in Philippine languages (see Schachter & Otanes, 1972 p.183, Himmelmann, 2005, p355 or Rubino, 2005, p.330). Due to time constraints it has been impossible to present a comprehensive and systematic description of Northern Alta clitics that would consider all typologically relevant features, as outlined in Spencer & Luis (2012).

Northern Alta clitics belong to closed classes and include elements that precede their host (proclitics) and those which follow their host (enclitics). Table 3.2 presents these classes:

Proclitics	Enclitics
<ul> <li>Articles (§5.3.1)</li> <li>Linker (§5.3.5)</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>Personal Pronouns (only Absolutive and Genitive sets) (§5.2.1)</li> <li>Demonstratives (only Absolutive and Locative sets) (§5.2.2)</li> <li>Enclitic Adverbs (§5.4.5.3)</li> <li>Specificity Marker =i (§5.3.3)</li> <li>Plural Marker =sid (§5.3.2)</li> </ul>

When attached to their hosts, the enclitics may trigger some of the morpho-phonological alternations described in the subsections below. For example, a number of Personal Pronouns or enclitic Adverbs may trigger regressive and progressive assimilation, as described in (§3.2.1.2). The Personal Pronouns 1s.ABS and 3s.GEN, the Enclitic Adverbs *=bat* or *=gul* or the Specificity Marker *=i* may trigger the gemination of the last consonant of the host (§3.2.1.3.1). The Enclitic Adverb *=d* causes the deletion of the final nasal consonant or diphthong in some Personal Pronouns and Demonstratives (§3.2.2). Finally, the Specificity Marker and certain Personal Pronouns sometimes trigger stress change (§3.2.6) and subsequent vowel lengthening and lowering (§3.2.7.3.2).

Several enclitics may occur attached to a single host, the following example shows a sequence of clitics attached to the preceding voice-marked word. These include the Enclitic Adverbs =d and =man, and also the Absolutive distal Demonstrative =yay:

(3.3)	inibidded man yay ni Lulia di'en			
	[inibiddədmanjai	ni	lulja	di?ən]

?<in>i-biddə=d=man=jaj[nilulja][di?ən]CV<PRF>-say=d=CNTR=DIST.DEM.ABSGENLulia1s.LOC'Lulia told me that again' (nalta83.007)

This example illustrates that contrary to Absolutive and Genitive Pronouns, Locative Pronouns are not clitics (see Table 5.3, §5.2.1), since they appear after Determiner Phrases. Note that the Absolutive Demonstratives do not always behave as clitics, see Examples (4.32) and (5.203).

## 3.2 Morpho-phonological processes

## 3.2.1 Assimilation and gemination

Assimilation may as a result of the affixation of certain prefixes and also as a consequence of liaison. Personal enclitic Pronouns may trigger regressive assimilation on the last consonant of their host. Conversely, some Enclitic Adverbs may undergo progressive assimilation when attached to certain hosts. Geminated consonants may appear at boundaries in which the assimilation is total.

#### 3.2.1.1 Assimilation as a result of prefixation

The first consonnant of prefixes such as Active voice /mən-/ and Gerundive /pən-/ undergo regressive assimilation with the first consonant of the root they are prefixed to. The following examples with the prefixes /mən-/ and /pən-/ illustrate this phenomenon. As example (3.4) shows, these prefixes undergo place assimilation with a following voiceless stop:

(3.4)	/mən-pəltag/	[məm-pəltag] 'to fish underwater'
	/pən-pəltag/	[pəm-pəltag] 'fishing underwater'
	/mən-tanəm/	[mən-tanəm] 'to plant'
	/pən-tanəm/	[pən-tanəm] 'planting'

As shown in example (3.5) the prefixes /mən-/ and /pən-/ undergo full assimilation with a following voiced stop, glottal stop or liquid.

(3.5)	/mən-lati/	[məl-lati] 'to search for and cut rattan'
	/pən-lati/	[pəl-lati] 'searching for and cutting rattan'
	/mən-gəttəl/	[məg-gəttəl] 'to itch'
	/mən-?udiŋ/ /pən-?udiŋ/	[məʔ-ʔudiŋ] 'to burn coal' [pəʔ-ʔudiŋ] 'burning coal'

#### 3.2.1.2 Assimilation as a consequence of liaison

#### 3.2.1.2.1 Regressive assimilation

Hosts ending with /n/ may undergo total regressive assimilation when enclitic Personal Pronouns starting with glottal stop are attached to them. Words that often show this type of assimilation include the negative Existential *awon*, as well as Patient voice affixed /-ən/ words and Locative voice affixed /-an/ words. The enclitics that trigger this type of change include:

•	1s.GEN	=?u
•	2s.ABS	=?a
•	1pe.ABS	=?ami
•	1pi.ABS	=?itam
•	2p.ABS	=?am

The following examples illustrate this change:

- (3.6) awon 'o budi
  [?awu???u budi]
  ?awun=?u budi
  not.exist=1s.GEN want
  'I don't want' (E5.02.52)
- (3.7) awon 'ad te malimbuy
  [?awu?'?a=d tə malimbui]
  ?awun=?a=d tə malimbuj
  not.exist=1s.ABS=already NSP money
  'you don't have any money left' (38.29)

(3.8) annolen 'o siddina
[?annulə?'?u siddina]
?annul-ən=?u siddina
know-PV=1s.GEN MED.DEM.PL
'I know them' (52.81)

#### 3.2.1.2.2 Progressive assimilation

This change concerns two different enclitics, the Enclitic Adverbs  $/=C\partial/$  and /=bat/. The enclitic  $/=C\partial/$ , which implies a change of state, fully assimilates in articulation to the last consonant of the root to which it is attached:

(3.9)	awon ne 'en te malimbuy		
	[ʔawunnəʔiːn	tə	malimbui]
	?awun=Cə=?in	tə	malimbuj
	not.exist=already=PROX.DEM.ABS	NSP	money
	'there is no money anymore' (06.02.268)		

- (3.10) menpulutan am ne
  [mənpuluta??ammə]
  mən-pulutan=?am=Cə
  AV-snack=2p.ABS=already
  'let you guys eat' (46.26)
- (3.11) pag umoli amid mannen, pulabbe
  [pag ?<um>uli=?ami=d mannən pulabbə]
  pag ?<AV>uli=?ami=d mannen pulab=Cə
  when return=1pe.ABS=d again evening=already
  when we came back again, it was dark already' (60.11)

The interrogative Enclitic Adverb *bat* may undergo total assimilation when attached to hosts that end with /m/:

(3.12) budim bat wadi?
 [budimmat wadi]
 budi=m=bat wadi
 want=1s.GEN=Q younger.sibling

'do you agree (to quit smoking), brother?' (21.08)

In addition, the Existential *awon* and the enclitic *bat* may mutually assimilate in fast spontaneous speech:

(3.13) ay awon bat?
[?ai ?awummat]
?aj ?awun=bat
INTJ not.exist=Q
'oh, is it not?' (63.79)

#### 3.2.1.3 Gemination

Gemination of the last consonant of a root may occur as a result of affixation or liaison, at morpheme boundaries in which the last syllable of a root or host is a closed syllable containing schwa as its nucleus.

On the other hand, liaison processes involving enclitic Personal Pronouns and Enclitic Adverbs may result in the gemination of the first consonant of the enclitic, as shown in §3.2.1.3 below.

#### 3.2.1.3.1 Final consonant gemination

Geminated consonants may appear when adding the affixes /-an/ and /-ən/ to monosyllabic roots that have swha as their nucleus, or disyllabic roots in which the last syllable contains schwa as its nucleus:

(3.14)	/p/	/sdəp/	/-an/	[sədəp'pan] 'to enter some	ewhere'
	/d/	/ti'?əd/	/-an/	[pənti?əd'dan] 'to be placed	at the bottom of
	/s/	/gaməs/	/-ən/	[gaməs'sən] 'to pick some	thing'
	/ʔ/	/gi'təʔ/	/-ən/	[gitə?'?ən] 'to tickle some	eone'

Consonant gemination after schwa has been reported for other languages of the family such as Inibaloy (Ruffolo, 2004, p.54), and is said to occur in many languages of insular Southeast Asia (Blust, 2013, p.228). However, it does not always occur in Northern Alta. As the table below shows, the root *sdep* 'action of entering' does not geminate when adding the suffix *-an* 

when it carries the perfective infix *<in>*. This is true for all bases in the corpus of the form CVC.CVC, none of which geminate:

base	meaning	derived form	meaning
/sin'dəp/	entered	/sində'pan/	entered somewhere
/təg'təg/	act of crushing	/təgtə'gən/	to crush something
/gəm'gəm/	act of grabbing	/gəmgə'man/	to grab something

Table 3.3 Examples showing no gemination after affixation

Note that in all cases, stress is attracted to the ultima as a result of the affixation.

Geminates also occur when adding the enclitic Specificity Marker /=i/ to hosts containing a schwa as the nucleus of the last syllable:

(3.15)	/p/	/pənsa'gəp/	/=i/	→ [pənsagəp'pi]	'the fishing at the river'
	/t/	/wa'gət/	/=i/	→ [wagət'ti]	'the water'
	/d/	/ti'?əd/	/=i/	→ [tiʔəd'di]	'the foot'
	/?/	/ba'tə?/	/=i/	→ [batə?'?i]	'the writing'
	/s/	/bə'?əs/	/=i/	→ [bə?əs'si]	'the old woman'
	/m/	/ʔə'gəm/	/=i/	→ [?əgəm'mi]	'the ant'
	/n/	/?a'nən/	/=i/	→ [?anən'ni]	'the rice'
	/ŋ/	/bə'nəŋ/	/=i/	→ [bənəŋ'ŋi]	'the river'
	/I/	/ti'?əl/	/=i/	→ [tiʔəl'li]	'the wild sugarcane'
	/ʔ/	/ba'təʔ/	/=i/	→ [batəʔ'ʔi]	'the writing'

As we can see, in all of the examples above stress is also attracted to the last syllable.

Gemination may be also triggered before schwa, if it occurs with the Personal Pronoun 1s.ABS /==?/, which may trigger a gemination of the final consonnant root, when the root ends with a consonant.

(3.16)	ten ar		
	[tən	?araw ?a	ba?ikkə?]
	tən	?araw ?a	ba?ik=ə?
	OBL	day LK	small=1s.ABS

'when I was a child' (44.04)

(3.17) menna'em e' nen
[mənna?əmmə? nən]
mənna?əm=ə?=nən
old=1s.ABS=already
'I am old now' (38.44)

#### 3.2.1.3.2 Enclitic-initial-consonant gemination

This type of change concerns certain Personal Pronouns as well as Enclitic Adverbs, and consists of the gemination of the first consonant of the enclitic when being attached to a host ending with vowel. The following two examples show how the 3p.GEN Pronoun geminates its initial /d/:

(3.18)	siya sepla budi de'i a mengyari, i'yay						
	[sija=sipla bu,diddə'?i ?a məŋ-jari ?i?jai]						
	sija=sipla	budi=də=i	?a	məŋ-jari	?i?jaj		
	3s=still	want=3p.GEN=SPEC	LK	AV-happen	DIST.DEM		
	'it is still what they want to happen, that (thing)' (103.313)						

(3.19)	<ol> <li>kayadla, inikarga de ti elikopteri</li> </ol>					
	[kajadla	?inikargad'də	ti	?ilikuptiri]		
	kajadla	? <in>i-karga=də</in>	?ilikuptir=i			
	however	CV <prf>-load=3p.GEN</prf>	OBL	helicopter=SPEC		
	'but, they loaded (it) on the helicopter' (103.239)					

The same thing happens with the interrogative Enclitic Adverb *bat*, when it is attached to another element containing a vowel, the initial /b/ may optionally be geminated:

(3.20)	meiwadde 'a bat a tanong di'en?					
	[maiwad,də?ab'bat	?a	tanuŋ	di?ən]		
	majwaddə=?a=bat	?a	tanuŋ	di?ən		
	have=2s.ABS=Q	LK	question	1s.LOC		
	'do you have a question for me?' (E.06.02.05)					

(3.21) annolen miyu bat?

[?an,nolənmijub'bat] ?annulən=miju=bat know=2p.GEN=Q 'do you (pl) know?' (052.111)

Finally, the Enclitic Adverb *gul*, shows the same type of gemination:

(3.22)	ay siya gul nen ay, ehhakoten						
	[?ai	[?ai sijaggul nən ?ai ?əhhakutən]					
	?aj	sija=gul=nən	?aj	?əC-hakut-ən			
	INTJ	3s=emphasis=already	PM	PRG-carry-PV			
	'and he will be the one carrying (it)' (100.582)						

#### 3.2.2 Final consonant deletion

When followed by the Enclitic Adverb =*d*, the proximal forms of some Demonstratives, which end with the nasal /n/, undergo final consonant deletion. In addition, the first person plural inclusive forms of the Absolutive and Locative Personal Pronouns, both of which end with /m/, also undergo consonant deletion when followed by =*d*. Finally, the distal forms of Locative and Similative Demonstratives, both of which end with the diphthong /aj/, have it realized as [a=d]. This is most likely due to syllable structure constrains, given that except for loanwords (see example 2.48), there are no consonnant clusters in word final syllable codas.

(3.23)	/=sin/	/=d/	$\rightarrow$	[=si=d]	'PROX.DEM.LOC'
	/=?in/	/=d/	$\rightarrow$	[=?i=d]	'PROX.DEM.ABS'
	/?umansin/	/=d/	$\rightarrow$	[?umansi=d]	'PROX.DEM.SML'
	/=?itam/	/=d/	$\rightarrow$	[=ʔita=d]	'1pi.ABS'
	/di?itam/	/=d/	$\rightarrow$	[diʔita=d]	'1pi.LOC'
	/=saj/	/=d/	$\rightarrow$	[=sa=d]	'DIST.DEM.LOC'
	/?umansaj/	/=d/	$\rightarrow$	[?umansa=d]	'DIST.DEM.SML'

## 3.2.3 Epenthesis

#### 3.2.3.1 Consonant epenthesis

Consonant epenthesis occurs at morpheme boundaries, as for instance, between a root and a suffix such as the Patient, Locative and Conveyance voice suffixes /-an/, /-ən/ and /?i-/ respectively, or also between an independent word and an enclitic such as the Specificity Marker /=i/, or the enclitic first person Absolutive Pronoun /=ə?/. The different combinations of vowels may trigger the insertion of a glottal stop following /a/ and /ə/, or a glide: /j/ following /i/, and /w/ following /u/, as shown in Table 3.4. Epenthesis occurs in order to respect the Northern Alta syllable template CVC, which would otherwise be violated by syllables having more than one vowel in their nuclei.

Inserted consonant	Morpheme Boundary
Glottal stop	/a/ + /-an/ /a/ + /=i/ /a/ + /=ə?/ /ə/ + /=i/
/j/ glide	/i/ + /-an/ /i/ + /-ən/ /i/ + /=i/ /ʔi-/ +/əʔ/
/w/ glide	/u/ + /-an/ /u/ + /-ən/ /u/ + /=ə?/ /u/ + /=i/

Table 3.4 Types of epenthesis by morpheme boundary

#### 3.2.3.1.1 Glottal stop

As Table 3.5 shows, a glottal stop is inserted between a root that ends with /a/ and the suffix /-an/:

Table 3.5 Examples of an epenthetic glottal stop as a result of derivation	ion
--	-----

base	meaning	derived form	meaning
/mətan'da/		/mə-tanda-an/ [ <b>mətanda'?an]</b>	be able to remember

		something
/ʔa'laga/	/ʔalaga-an/ <b>[ʔalaga'ʔan]</b>	to raise someone

As a result of liaison, a glottal stop is inserted between a word ending with the vowels /a/ or /ə/ and the enclitic Specificity Marker /=i/. Table 3.6 shows some examples:

host	Meaning	host and clitic	meaning
/na/	3s.GEN	/na=i/ [ <b>na'?i]</b>	his
/ʔal'ta/	Alta	/ʔalta=i/ <b>[ʔalta'ʔi]</b>	the Alta
/pət'?ama/	father and son	/pət?ama=i/ [pət?ama'?i]	the father and son
/planu='də/	a plan of them	/planu=də=i/ [planoddə'?i]	their plan

Table 3.6 Examples of an epenthetic glottal stop at boundaries between /a/ and /=i/

As Table 3.7 shows, a glottal stop is also inserted between stems ending with the vowel /i/ and the Specificity Marker  $/=i/^{12}$ :

Table 3.7 Examples of an epenthetic glottal stop at boundaries between /i/ and /=i/

host	meaning	host and clitic	meaning
/wa'di/	younger sibling	/wa'di=i/ <b>[wadi'?i]</b>	my younger sibling
/bu'di/	want	/bu'di=i/ [ <b>bud'?i]</b>	what I want

Finally, one instance of a glottal stop inserted between a stem ending with /uh/ and the clitic /=i/ was found and is presented in Table 3.8:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> The expected epenthesis in this context is /j/ glide

host	meaning	host and clitic	meaning
/ʔuluh/	head	/?uluh=i/ <b>[?u'lu?i]</b>	the head

Table 3.8 Examples of an epenthetic glottal stop at boundaries between /uh/ and /=i/

#### 3.2.3.1.2 /j/ glide

As shown in Table 3.9, a /j/ glide is inserted between roots ending with /i/ and the suffix /-an/:

Table 3.9 Examples of an epenthetic /j/ glide at boundaries between /i/ and /-an/

base	meaning	derived form	meaning
/'gagawi/	do	/gagawi-an/ [ˌ <b>gaga'wijan]</b>	to do somewhere
/'suli/	return	/suli-an/ <b>['sulijan]</b>	to return somewhere

The i/j/ glide is also inserted between hosts ending with the vowel i/ and the Specificity Marker =*i*, examples are provided in Table 3.10:

Table 3.10 Examples of an epenthetic /j/ glide at boundaries between /i/ and /=i/

host	meaning	host and clitic	meaning
/a'na?=mi/	our child	/ana?=mi=i/ [ana?mi'ji]	that child of ours
/'kindi/	candy	/kindi=i/ [ <b>kɛndi'ji]</b>	the candy
/ka'pi/	coffee	/ka'pi=i/ <b>[kapɛ'ji]</b>	the coffee

#### 3.2.3.1.3 /w/ glide

In general, /w/ glides occur when a back vowel is followed by a central or a front vowel. For example, as Table 3.11 shows, a /w/ glide appears when adding the Patient voice suffix /-ən/ or the Locative voice suffix /-an/ to a base that ends with the vowel /u/:

Table 3.11 Examples of an epenthetic /w	glide at boundaries between /u/ and /a/ or /ə/
---	--

base	meaning	derived form	Meaning
/'halu/	mix	/ʔəC-halu-ən/ <b>[əh'haluˌwən]</b>	to be mixing something
/sil'batu/	whistle	/silbatu-an/ [sil'batuˌwan]	to whistle somewhere

A /w/ glide is also inserted between hosts that end with the vowel /u/ and the enclitic Specificity Marker /=i/. Table 3.12 provides some examples:

Table 3.12 Examples of an epenthetic /w/ glide at boundaries between /u/ and /i/

host	meaning	host and clitic	Meaning
/?ana?='mu/	your child	/?ana?=mu'=i/ <b>[?ana?mu'wi]</b>	that child of yours
/taʔ'pu/	summit	/ta?pu'=i/ <b>[ta?pu'wi]</b>	the summit
/ʔabu'kadu/	lawyer	[/ʔabu'kadu,=i/ <b>[ʔabu'kadu,wi]</b>	the lawyer
/babuira'mu/	wild pig	/ba,bujra'mu=i/ <b>[ba,bujra'muwi]</b>	the wild pig

Finally, Table 3.13 shows that /w/ glides are also inserted between a word that ends in /u/ and the enclitic first person singular Absolutive Pronoun /===?/:

Table 3.13 Examples of an epenthetic /w/ glide at boundaries between /u/ and /ə/

host meaning	host and clitic	Meaning
--------------	-----------------	---------

/may tatlu/	there are four	/may tatlu=əʔ/ [may tatluwəʔ]	I have four
/mentudu/	to teach	/mentudu=ə?/ [məntuduwə?]	l teach

#### 3.2.3.2 Vowel epenthesis

Actor voice <um> words that are derived from certain monosyllabic roots having two consonants in onset position (as for example the root *sdep* 'act of entering'), show an epenthetic /ə/ when inserting the reduplicated consonant of initial C reduplication (indicating progressive aspect, see §7.2.7) in the <*um*> word.

(3.24)	Root:	/sdəp/	'act of entering'
	Affixation:	/ <um>/</um>	Actor Voice infix
	Phonemic form:	/sumdəp/	'to enter'
	C reduplication:	/sumsdəp/	'to be entering'
	Phonetic realization:	[suməsdəp]	

The epenthetic schwa appears in order to satisfy the syllabic template (see §2.3), which otherwise would be violated by having a sequence of three consonants: the bilabial nasal of the <um> infix and the initial consonants of the root. Other roots undergoing the same kind of alternation include *lbut* 'act of boiling' (as in Example 6.5) and *lteg* 'act of swelling' (as in Example 5.197).

A similar process occurs when attaching the prefix *men*- to the root *lbut* 'act of boil'. In the example below, the nasal of prefix men- is assimilated to the first consonant of the root (as explained in §3.2.1.1), and in this case, an epenthetic schwa is placed between the initial consonant of the root and the second consonant:

(3.25)	Root:	/lbut/	'act of boiling'
	Affixation:	/ <men>/</men>	Actor Voice infix
	Phonemic form:	/mənlbut/	'to boil'
	Phonetic realization:	[məlləbut]	

#### 3.2.4 Nasal substitution

Some examples of nasal substitution can be observed in the corpus. When adding the prefixes /məŋ-/ or /pəŋ-/ to certain roots starting with a stop, the stop is deleted. As shown in the examples below, nasal substitution happens with b, p, k, g and ?. Thus, Northern Alta would belong to a group of languages in which both voiceless and voiced obstruents may undergo this change (Blust, 2013, p.243). In the case of b, p, g and k, the prefixal coda assimilates to the place of articulation of the following sound and replaces it:

(3.26)	Root:	/buddə/	'blossom'
	Affixation:	/məŋ/	Active Voice prefix
	Phonemic form:	/məŋbuddə/	'to blossom'
	Phonetic realization with substitution:	[məmud'də]	
(3.27)	Root:	/peltag/	'spear'
	Affixation:	/məŋ/	Active Voice prefix
	Phonemic form:	/məŋpeltag/	'to spear'
	Phonetic realization with substitution:	[məməl'tag]:	
(3.28)	Root:	/gastus/	'expenses'
	Affixation:	/pəŋ/	Instrumental prefix
	Phonemic form:	/pəŋgastos/	'used for expenses'
	Phonetic realization with substitution:	[pəŋastos]	
(3.29)	Root:	/kurinti/	'electricity'
	Affixation:	/pəŋ-/	Instrumental prefix
	Phonemic form:	/pəŋkurinti/	'electric tool'
	Phonetic realization with substitution:	[pəŋu'rinti]	

Roots starting with a glottal stop undergo deletion of the initial consonant as shown below with subsequent assimilation:

(3.30)	Root:	/?atəd/	'action of giving'
	Affixation:	/məŋ-/	AV prefix
	Phonemic form:	/məŋ?atəd/	to give someone
	Phonetic realization with substitution:	[mə'ŋatəd]	

(3.31)	Root:	/?ulas/	'action of washing'
	Affixation:	/pəŋ-/	Instrmental prefix
	Phonemic form:	/pəŋ?ulas/	used for washing
	Phonetic realization with substitution:	[pə'ŋulas]	

However not all roots starting with glottal stop undergo this process. In the following examples, the glottal stop is not deleted:

(3.32)	/?inum/ 'act of drinking'	$\rightarrow$	[pəŋ?inum] 'tool for drinking'
	/?ut?ut/ 'act of digging	$\rightarrow$	[pəŋ?ut?ut] 'tool for digging'

## 3.2.5 Aphaeresis

A sequence containing voice and aspect prefixes can undergo aphaeresis, which is the loss of one or more sounds at the beginning of a word. For example, the active voice affix *<um>* and the root *alap* 'to get':

(3.33)	Root:	/?alap/	'action of getting'
	Affixation:	/ <um>/</um>	Active voice infix
	Phonemic form:	/?u'malap/	'to get'
	Phonetic realization with aphaeresis:	['malap]	

Other examples include:

[man'sin]	$\rightarrow$	/?umansin/ 'like this'	(3.34)
[man'sai]	$\rightarrow$	/?umansaj/ 'like that'	

The Conveyance Voice (CV) prefix *i*- and the perfective aspect infix *<in>* undergo aphaeresis:

(3.35)	Root:	/?apus/	'action of embracing'
	Affixation:	/ʔi-/	CV
	Affixation:	/ <in>/</in>	Perfective infix
	Phonemic form:	/? <in>-i-apus/</in>	'embraced someone'
	Phonetic realization with aphaeresis: [ni'japus]		

Other examples of this include:

(3.36)	lawan 'leave behind	$\rightarrow$	/? <in>-i-lawan/ [ni'lawan] 'left someone behind'</in>
	laga 'boil'	$\rightarrow$	/? <in>-i-laga/ <b>[ni'laga]</b> 'boiled something'</in>

#### 3.2.6 Stress change

As discussed in Section §2.2.2, stress may fall on both open and closed ultima syllables, and on open penult and antepenult syllables. If stress falls on an open penult, the syllable nucleus is lengthened.

The position of stress can change as a consequence of affixation or liaison processes. Table 3.14 shows the affixes and clitics that may trigger stress shift:

	Type of unit	Example number
Affixes	Patient voice - <b>ən</b>	3.13
	Conveyance voice <b>?i-</b>	3.39 <i>(tanem)</i>
	Perfective <b><in></in></b>	3.39 <i>(bilay)</i>
	Stative <b>mə-</b>	3.38
Clitics	Specificity Marker =i	3.14
	Enclitic Personal Pronouns	3.41

Table 3.14 Examples of affixes and clitics than can trigger stress shift

The resulting derived words (affixation) and phonological words (liaison) may undergo certain morpho-phonological changes, which include vowel syncope, and vowel lengthening. Both changes are explored in the section below.

#### 3.2.7 Vowel changes

#### 3.2.7.1 Schwa syncope

Syncope occurs when adding the suffix /-an/ to a disyllabic root in which the second syllable is closed and has /ə/ as its nucleus. As a result of the affixation, the derived word undergoes resyllabification (where the original final syllable coda, /t/ in the example below, becomes the onset of the last syllable) and stress shifts to the ultimate syllable. Consequently, the second root-vowel /ə/ is lost:

(3.37)	Root:	/ gə'pət/	'knot'
	Affixation:	/-an/	PV suffix
	Phonemic form:	/gəpət-an/	'to tie somewhere'
	Phonetic realization with substitution:	[gəp'tan]	

As Table 3.15 shows, roots undergoing syncope after affixation of /-an/ include the following:

root	meaning	derived form	meaning
/?atəd/ <sup>13</sup>	act of giving	/ʔatədan/ <b>[ʔat'dan]</b>	to give someone
/'bi?ən/	proximity	/bi?ən-an/ [ <b>bi?'nan]</b>	to approach
/ŋad'dən/	name	/ŋaddən-an/ <b>[ŋad'nan]</b>	to call someone
/pu'ləd/	action of sleeping	/puləd-an/ [ <b>pul'dan]</b>	to sleep somewhere

Table 3.15 Examples of syncope

Schachter and Otanes (1972, p.286) claim that this phenomenon happens in Tagalog bases that lack penultimate vowel length (Tagalog does not reflect PMP \*e as schwa). Blust (2013, p.304) states that unstressed Tagalog vowels can drop between consonants "flanked by vowels (VC\_CV)". Syncope is also attested in Arta, where bases having a long penultimate vowel may not undergo this change, because syncope would result in "superheavy syllables that would violate the eligible syllable structure" (Kimoto 2017, p.128).

In addition to final root-vowels, the first root-vowel (if a schwa) may also undergo syncope in certain words, when affixed with the active voice infix *<um>*:

(3.38)	Root:	/də'?əl/
	Affixation:	/-um-/
	Phonemic form:	/dumə?əl/
	Phonetic realization with substitution:	[dum'?əl]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> There are no examples of the unafixed root /?atəd/ in the corpus. Thus, although it is a valid example of swcha syncope, it is not clear if it undergoes stress shift.

Ruffolo (2004, p.69) identifies syncope in Inibaloy, in both the first and the final vowels of certain roots and provides a number of different factors triggering this change, including frequency of use, syllable structure and stress shift among other things

#### 3.2.7.2 Vowel lengthening

Words carrying stress on the ultima may undergo vowel lengthening after affixation or liaison. If the suffix or enclitic involved does not cause stress shift, the resulting derived word (affixation) or phonological word (liaison) carries stress on the penult (originally the ultima). As Table 3.16 shows, if the resulting penult is open, the syllable undergoes vowel lengthening:

Process	root/host	meaning	derived form/ host and clitic	meaning
Affixation (-an suffix)	/tan'ŋap/	accept	/tan'ŋapan/ <b>[tan'ŋa:pan]</b>	agreement
Liaison	/si'nag/	day, sun	/si'nagi/ <b>[si'na:gi]</b>	the sun
(Specificity Marker =i)	/məs'lub/	flagrant	/məs'lubi/ <b>[məs'lo:bi]</b>	the good perfume
	/la'ŋit/	sky	/la'ŋit=i/ <b>[la'ŋɪ:t=i]</b>	the sky

Table 3.16 Examples of vowel lengthening

#### 3.2.7.3 Vowel lowering

As a result of affixation or liaison processes, the resulting lengthened /i:/ and /u:/ vowels (see above) are lowered to [I:] and [o:] respectively, if occurring in a position other than ultima.

#### 3.2.7.3.1 Vowel lowering related to affixation

In the example below, the Stative voice prefix /me-/, causes stress shift, moving it one syllable to the left. The resulting form shows an open syllable with /i/ as its nucleus, which is lengthened to [i:] and lowered to [I:]:

```
(3.39) /si'pəl/ [si'pəl] 'gratitude'
```

/mə'sipəl/[mə'sɪ:pəl]'be grateful'<sup>14</sup>/mi'nasipəl/[mi'nə:sipəl]'was grateful'<sup>15</sup>The instances of infixation of perfective <*in>* below result in stress shift, causing thelengthening and subsequent lowering of the /i/ and /u/ vowels respectively:

(3.40)	/?ibilaj/	[ʔibi'lai]	'to be raised'
	/? <in>ibilaj/</in>	[?i'nɪ:bilai]	'was raised
	/tanəm/	[ta'nəm]	'plant'
	/?itanəm/	[ʔi'taːnəm]	'to be planted'
	/? <in>itanəm/</in>	[?inɪ:tanəm]	was planted
	/?i-wala?/	[ʔi-'wa:laʔ]	'to be left behind'
	/? <in>i-wala?/</in>	[?i'nɪ:wala?]	'was left behind'
(3.41)	/bu'di/	[bu'di]	'want'
	/b <in>udi/</in>	[bi'no:di]	'wanted'
	/?aj/	[?ai]	'act of going'
	/? <um>aj/</um>	[ʔu'mai]	'to go'
	/? <in><um>aj/</um></in>	[ʔi'no:mai]	'to have gone'
	/tira/	[tira]	'act of living'
	/t <um>ira/</um>	[tumi'ra]	'to live'
	/t <in><um>ira/</um></in>	[ti'no:mira]	'to have been living'

#### 3.2.7.3.2 Vowel lowering related to liaison

In the following example the 1s exclusive Absolutive pronoun *ami* /=?ami/, attracts stress to the ultima but secondary stress remains on the original ultima syllable, which is now antepenult, triggering lengthening and lowering of /i/:

(3.42) mənla'ti/ [mənla'ti] 'to work with rattan'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Another analysis is that the verb 'be grateful' has the basic stress, and nominalization moves it one syllable to the right... like in Tagalog. (Lawrence Reid, personal communication, September 2018)
<sup>15</sup> The perfective is given here in order to illustrate how the vowel lowering phenomenon does not apply in this context

/mənlati=?a'mi/ [mənla,tɪ:=?a'mi] 'we work with rattan'

#### 3.2.7.3.3 Other instances of vowel lowering

The form *ina* /?i'na/ 'mother' shows the same vowel change when preceded by an Article such as the Genitive /ni/ or the Absolutive /ti/:

(3.43)	/ʔi'na/	[ʔi'na]	'mother' (VOC)
	/ni='?ina/	[ni'jɪ:na]	'mother' (GEN)
	/'tina/	['tɪ:na]	'mother' (REF)

The homophonous medial Absolutive Demonstrative *ina* /=?i'na/ shows the same change, although the alternation has not been investigated in context.

(3.44)	/=ʔi'na/	[=ʔi'na]	'that'
	/='?ina/	[='?ɪ:na]	'that'

Although this is not an example of liaison, the first person plural inclusive Pronouns (Absolutive and free forms) show a similar change, where the vowel is lowered although not lengthened.

(3.45)	/=?i'tam/	[=?i'tam]	ʻus' (1pi.ABS)'
	/si'?itam/	[si'ʔɪtam]	'us' (1pi, unmarked)

### 3.2.8 Reduplication

Table 3.17 Lexicalized reduplication

Reduplication pattern	Meaning	Example reduplicated form	Number of different roots per pattern
Lexicalized Reduplication	naming (plants)	<b>suk-suk</b> /suksuk/ 'sweet potato'	4
	naming (animals)	<b>wak-wak</b> /wakwak/ 'crow'	4

	repeated use of instrument	<b>gel-gel</b> /gəlgəl/ 'act of chopping'	6
	repeated use of body part	<b>ngal-ngal</b> /ŋalŋal/ 'to masticate'	9
	body part	<b>kile-kileh</b> /kilikilih/ 'armpit	3
	sound	<b>buy-buy</b> /bujbuj/ 'broom'	2
	space	<b>dig-dig</b> /digdig/ 'next to'	2
	other	<b>mon-mon</b> /munmun/ 'complete'	13

## Table 3.18 Reduplication patterns

Reduplication pattern	Meaning	Example base	Example reduplicated form	Number of different roots per pattern
Full reduplication	plurality	<b>damet</b> /damət/ 'hand'	<b>damet-damet</b> /damət-damət/ 'hands'	4
	plurality (grouping quantifiers)	<b>salob</b> /salub/ 'three liters'	<b>salob-salob</b> /salub-salub/ 'three by three liters'	3
	plurality (frequency)	<b>sinag</b> /sinag/ 'day'	<b>sinag-sinag</b> /sinag-sinag/ 'every day'	5
	repeated use of instrument	<b>sikwat</b> /sikwat/ 'raise with a lever'	<b>sikwat-sikwaten</b> /sikwat-sikwatən/ 'to repeatedly raise'	2

	attenuation	<b>tanem</b> /tanəm/ 'act of planting'	men-tanem-tanem /mən-tanəm-tanəm/ 'to do a little planting'	8
	intensification	<b>budi</b> /budi/ 'want'	<b>budi-budi</b> /budi-budi/ 'really want	3
	other	<b>sidde</b> /siddə/ 'them'	<b>sidde-sidde=d</b> /siddə-siddə=d/ 'among them'	7
CVCV-	plurality	<b>mudung</b> /muduŋ/ 'mountain'	<b>mudu-mudung</b> /mudu-muduŋ/ 'mountains'	7
	repeated use of instrument	<b>palang</b> /palaŋ/ 'type of knife'	<b>pala-palang-en</b> /pala-palaŋ-ən/ 'to chop something'	2
	limitation	<b>si'ami</b> /siʔami/ 'us'	<b>si'a-si'ami</b> /siʔa-siʔami/ 'us only'	4
CV- reduplication	intensification	<b>de'el</b> /də?əl <b>/</b> 'big'	<b>de-de'el</b> /də-də?əl <b>/</b> 'very big'	4
	plurality	<b>'ana'</b> /ʔanaʔ/ 'child'	<b>'a-'ana'</b> /ʔa-ʔanaʔ/ 'children'	2
	plurality (distributive)	<b>piso</b> /pisu/ 'Philppine peso'	<b>pi-piso</b> /pi-pisu/ 'peso by peso'	2
	limitation	<b>duwa</b> /duwa/ 'two'	<b>du-duwa</b> /du-duwa/ 'only two'	1
	attenuation	<b>nanih</b> /nanih/ 'later'	<b>me-na-nanih</b> /mə-na-nanih/ 'very soon'	1

progressive <sup>16</sup>	ledep	men-le-ledep	52 <sup>17</sup>
	/lidəp/	/mən-li-lidəp/	
	'swim	'be swimming	
	underwater'	underwater'	

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> The grammatical status of this pattern is not clear. This type of reduplication might be an instance of structural borrowing.
 <sup>17</sup> This figure does not represent the total number of different examples but the total number of occurrences of the pattern in the corpus

## 4. Basic clauses

The content of this chapter is related to the analysis of word classes and case relations appearing in Chapters §5 and §6 respectively. In order to provide the reader with an overview of the basic structures that can be identified in the language, we present this chapter before the study of word classes and case relations.

Section 4.2 presents the types of phrases that form clauses, and describes their constituent structures and syntactic functions.

Section 4.3 provides a classification of clause types according to the type of phrase that forms the predicate. Clause types are divided into three main types, depending on whether it is a U-word, a V word or an Existential that forms the predicate.

## **4.1 Introduction**

Northern Alta content words can be subclassified depending on whether or not they carry voice marking, a division resulting in two main classes of content words: classes V and U respectively. Although the two classes have different morphosyntactic properties (§5.4.2), both V and U-words may form phrases appearing in predicate function, forming accordingly voice-marked and voice-unmarked predicates.

Since the presence or absence of voice marking determines the semantic role of each casemarked constituent (§6), a first distinction of clause type should be taken into consideration:

- 1. Clauses with voice-marked predicates
- 2. Clauses with predicates that are not voice marked

A clause minimally contains a predicate, and one or more arguments. The predicate appears in initial position, and is followed by the arguments. If an element of the clause is topicalized, the predicate does not appear in clause-initial position and will be marked, either by the Predicate Marker (PM) *ay* or by an intonation break:

1. Predicate initial:	[predicate + arguments]
2. With topic predicate:	[topic + [PM/pause + predicate]]+ arguments]

In addition to predicate and argument/s, a clause may contain other elements, such as clausal adjuncts, modifiers, complements and topics. The next section deals with the types of constituents that may be found in Northern Alta.

## 4.2 Types of Phrases

A phrase is a group of words that function as a unit, filling one of the clausal slots (predicate, argument, adjunct, modifier, complement, topic). Phrases minimally contain a content word as a lexical head, a Pronoun or a Demonstrative. They may also contain one or more function words. Table 4.1 below summarizes the main types of phrases in Northern Alta:

Name		Definition	Section
DP	Determiner Phrase	Phrase introduced by a determiner (Article or Demonstrative) that is marked for case. DPs may be headed by U-words, V-words, Existentials or Locative Pronouns	
VP	Voice-marked Phrase	Phrase headed by a V-word and not introduced by any Determiner	§4.2.2
UP	Unmarked Phrase	Phrase headed by a content U-word and not marked by an Article, nor a Preposition, Predicate Marker or Linker.	§4.2.3
AdvP	Adverbial Phrase	Phrase headed by a Temporal Adverb	§4.2.4
DemP	Demonstrative Phrase	Phrase formed by a Demonstrative and a modifier	§4.2.5
Prp	Pronoun Phrase	Phrase formed by a Personal Pronoun and a modifier	§4.2.6
PP	Prepositional Phrase	Phrase formed by a Preposition governing a DP	§4.2.7
АуР	Ay Phrase	Phrase that always appears in predicate function, and which is formed by the Predicate Marker <i>ay</i> and another constituent	§4.2.8
LP	Linker Phrase	Phrase formed by a Linker particle and another constituent	§4.2.9

#### 4.2.1 Determiner Phrases (DPs)

Determiner Phrases are phrases that carry a determiner in the leftmost position of the phrase. The determiner, which may either be an Article (§5.3.1) or a Demonstrative (§5.2.2), marks the DP for case. The determiner is followed by either a U-word (§5.4.3), a V-word (§5.4.4), an Existential (§5.4.6) or a Locative Pronoun (§5.2.1.4). The most basic DP is formed by a determiner and a content word.

In addition, DPs may carry other modifiers at the right boundary of the phrase, such as Specificity Markers (§5.3.3) or Plural Markers (§5.3.4), as well as Personal Pronouns (§5.2.1) and Demonstratives (§5.2.2). These modifiers are dependent on the head the DP, as can be observed in the examples given in Table 4.5, which shows the constituent structure of Unmarked Phrases (phrases that do not carry an Article), and where the content words that head these UPs carry the same type of modifiers.

Table 4.2 summarizes the possible constituent structures of DPs and provides example numbers for each type:

Constituent structure of DP	Examples
ART + U-word	4.1, 4.2
ART + U-word + SPEC	3.18
ART + U-word + PL	5.67
ART + U-word + SPEC + PL	4.3
ART + U-word + DEM	7.27
ART + U-word + GEN.Pronoun	5.140
ART + U-word + GEN.Pronoun + PL	5.103
ART + U-word + GEN.Pronoun + SPEC + PL	5.102
ART + U-word + LP	6.1
ART + U-word + DP	4.79
ART + LOC.Pronoun	5.69
ART + V-word	4.4
ART + V-word + DP	4.5
ART + V-word + DP + DP	5.160
ART + Existential + LP complement	6.120
DEM + U-word + SPEC	5.46
DEM + U-word + DP	5.58
DEM + U-word + SPEC + DEM	5.60, 5.199
DEM + U-word + GEN.Pronoun + SPEC + LP	5.15

Table 4.2 Determiner Phrases

The following examples (1 - 2) show two DPs headed by U-words, each of them showing different case marking (Absolutive and Genitive cases respectively):

- (4.1) lumelbut nen in kaldero
   I<um>I-but=nən [?in kaldiru]
   <AV>RDP-boil=already ABS pot
   'the (content of the) pot is now boiling' (106.089)
- (4.2) aydi, ginuyod nen ni Lettaw
   ?aidi g<in>ujud=nən [ni littaw]
   INTJ <PRF.PV>pull=already GEN Lettaw
   'aidi, Lettaw pulled it' (100.723)

The next example shows a DP marked in the Oblique case by the Article *ti*. The DP is headed by the U-word *depug* 'carabao', and is followed by additional function words, such as the Specificity Marker =*i* or the Plural Marker =*sid*:

(4.3) isakay e' nad ti depog-i sid
?i-sakaj=ə?=na=d [ti dəpug=i=sid]
CV-load=1s.ABS=3sGEN=d OBL carabao=SPEC=PL
'he gave me a ride on the carabaos' (83.238)

DPs may be also headed by V-words, as in Examples (4.4) and (4.5) below. In addition, Example (4.5) shows that V-words functioning as the head of a DP may govern other arguments:

(4.4)siyad yay in mensoli [?in [mən-suli]] sija=d=jaj 3s=d=DIST.DEM.ABS ABS AV-return 'that is the part that grows again' (95.140) (lit. that is the one that returns) (4.5) sasa'ano namud a talaga in mennol ti polung mi-i sa-sa?anu=namud ?a talaga RDP-few=just LK surely [?in [mən-nul [ti pulun=mi=i]]] ABS AV-know OBL language=1p.GEN=SPEC 'clearly, there are just a few who know how to speak our language' (91.1149) (lit. clearly just very few are the ones how know our language)

The preceding examples can be analyzed as DPs headed by a V-word, from the perspective of the *syntactic uniformity hypothesis for content words* (Himmelmann, 2008, p.267), which considers that the type of phrase is independent of the word class of the content word (V or U). The author refers to an alternative analysis in which ACTION-words are nominalized when appearing in this position and states that "there is no principled reason to exclude the same analysis for OBJECT-words", (Himmelmann, 2008, p.268). In this view, the (object-word-headed) DP in (1) could be equally analyzed as [?in [kaldiru]] and translated as 'the one/thing that is a pot', but this analysis would be "less economical...(as it posits)... an additional (and invisible) layer of structure". In addition to these two possible analyses, other interpretations of this problem can be found in Kroeger (1998, p.12) or in Reid (2002, p.304).

As several examples show, certain Demonstratives can occupy the same slot as the Article, in the leftmost of the phrase, in which case they function as determiners (see §5.2.2).

As for the possible syntactic functions, Determiner Phrases may appear in argument function as well as in adjunct, predicate, modifier of DP, and, as the next example shows, in topic function:

(4.6) pagka in matam ay may diplet
 pagka [?in mata=m] ?aj maj diplət
 if ABS eye=2s.GEN PM have dirt
 'If your eyes have dirt' (95.263)

Table 4.3 below summarizes the possible functions of DP's and provides example numbers for each syntactic function:

Syntactic function	Examples	
argument	4.1, 4.2, 4.5	
topic	4.6	
adjunct	4.3, 4.8	
predicate	4.72, 6.21	
modifier of DP	6.42	
complement	6.124	

#### **Table 4.3 Functions of Determiner Phrases**

### 4.2.2 Voice-marked Phrases (VPs)

Voice-marked Phrases are phrases which are headed by a single V-word or a V-word and an Adverb, which function as predicates and which are not marked by a determiner (Article or Demonstrative). Table 4.4 shows the possible forms of VPs:

Table 4.4	Voice-marked	Phrases
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Constituent structure	Examples	
single V-word	4.50, 4.51	
V-word + Adv	4.7, 4.8	

As the examples below show, V-words always contain a voice affix, such as the Actor voice infix < um > in (4.7) or the AV voice prefix *men*- in (4.8). In addition, V-words may also inflect for aspect, as it can be seen in (4.7), were the V-word carries the < in > perfective infix. VPs may also contain Adverbs (§5.4.5.2 and §5.4.5.3), such as the Enclitic Adverb *gul* in (4.7) or the Adverb *mannen* 'again' in (4.8):

- (4.7) dinumateng gul sen ti a'a
   [d<in><um>atəŋ=gul]=sin
   ti
   ?a?a
   d<PRF><AV>arrive=emphasis=PROX.DEM.LOC ABS
   older.sibling
   '(my) sister did come here' (100.188)
- (4.8) mensolid mannen ti pulab-i
  [mən-suli=d=mannən] ti pulab=i
  AV-return=d=again OBL evening=SPEC
  'I return again in the evening' (42.19)

### 4.2.3 Unmarked Phrases (UPs)

UP are phrases that are headed by a content U-word and not marked by an Article, nor a Preposition, Predicate Marker or Linker. UPs may contain certain function words, such as the Specificity Marker or the Plural Marker, but are not characterized by any distinctive function word. UPs may also carry other modifiers such as Genitive Pronouns, or LPs and DPs in

modifying function. Table 4.5 provides an overview of the constituent structure of Unmarked Phrases, Table 4.6 below lists the possible syntactic functions of UPs.

Constituent structure of UP	Examples
single U-word	4.9, 4.13
U-word + SPEC	5.132, 5.134, 5.147
U-word + GEN.pron + DEM	5.217
U-word + GEN.pron + SPEC	4.9, 5.81
U-word + GEN.pron + SPEC + PL	4.11
U-word + PL	5.105
U-word + PL + LP	5.104
U-word + SPEC + PL	4.10
U-word + LP	4.66
U-word + SPEC + LP	5.32
U-word + DP	4.12
U-word + SPEC + DP	5.175
V-word <sup>18</sup> + SPEC	5.108, 5.117, 5.149

### **Table 4.5 Unmarked Phrases**

#### **Table 4.6 Functions of Unmarked Phrases**

Syntactic function	Examples
predicate	4.9
topic	4.9
argument	4.10, 4.11
complement	4.12, 4.13
apposition	4.14

The example below shows a UP in topic function, followed by another UP, *alobasa* 'pumpkin', which is in predicate function

(4.9) ngadden na'i alobasa

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> V-words in argument function are analyzed Unmarked Phrases. This type of UPs usually carry a Specific Marker.

[ŋaddən=na=i][ʔalubasa]name=3s.GEN=SPECpumpkin'Its name is alobasa (pumpkin)' (94.329)

The two following examples show UPs in argument function, followed by modifiers such as the Specificity Marker, the Plural Marker or a Genitive Pronoun.

- (4.10) hangan Baler matid uldin-i sid
  hangan balir me-?atih=d [uldin=i=sid]
  until Baler ST-die=d non.alta=SPEC=PL
  'up until Baler, the Tagalogs would die as well' (due to the explosions)'
  (103.465)
- (4.11) ten araw kasi me'hilig magulang miyi sid a men'aliyotən ?araw kasi mə-hilig
  - OBL day because ST-interest

[magulaŋ=mi=i=sid]	?a	mən-aliju
parents=1pe.GEN=SPEC=PL	LK	AV-search

ti gi-ginto=i
OBL RDP-gold=SPEC
'because back in these days our parents were interested in searching for gold (pieces)' (103.090)

The following example shows the Unmarked Phrase *batug ni asoh-i* 'dog barking' that functions as a complement and is governed by the V-word *ittibeng*:

(4.12)	awo'od ittibeng batog	g ni asoh-i			
	?awun=?u=d	?i-tibəŋ	[batug	[ni	?asuh=i]]
	not.exist=1s.GEN=d	CV-hear	barking	GEN	dog=SPEC
	'I did not hear the ba	rking of a dog'	(63.119)		

Unmarked Phrases may also function as the complement of an Existential predicate. In the next example the Unmarked Phrase *apoy* 'fire', functions as the complement of *may*:

(4.13) pag may apoy, aydi ta'bowan mi namud
pag [maj [?apuj]] ?ajdi ta?bu-an=mi=namud
If have fire INTJ pour-LV=1pe.GEN=just
'If there is a fire, we just pour water on it' (100.640)

UPs can be analyzed as functioning as apposititions of other phrases. In the example below, the UP *barangay miyi* 'our barangay' is modifying the Demonstrative Phrase *i'en*.

(4.14) essa'paten nad i'en, barangay mi-i
?əC-sa?pat-ən=na=d [[?i?in] [baraŋai=mi=i]]
PRG-climb-PV=3s.GEN=d PROX.DEM barangay=1pe.GEN=SPEC
'it (the water) will reach our village' (85.02)
(lit. it would reach this, our barangay)

Alternatively, the constituent formed by the Demonstrative and the UP in the preceding example could also be analyzed as a DP where the Demonstrative occupies the Article slot (see Table 4.2). As explained in §5.2.2, the main reason for analyzing the UP as appositive is the fact that an intonational break appears between the Demonstrative and the UP.

### 4.2.4 Adverbial Phrases (AdvPs)

Adverbial Phrases are phrases headed by a Temporal Adverb (§5.4.5.1). As shown in Table 4.7, AdvPs may function as adjuncts or as predicates:

Form of phrase	Syntactic function	Examples
single Adv	adjunct	4.15, 4.16
	predicate	4.76
Adv + LP	adjunct	4.17, 4.55

Table 4.7	Adverbial	Phrases
-----------	-----------	---------

(4.15) inomuli hela tempulab

? <in><um>uli=hila</um></in>	[təmpulab]
<prf><av>return=too</av></prf>	yesterday
'She went home yesterday'	(97.147)

nanih ipa'inta	' di'aw in salago			
[nanih]	?i-pa-?inta=?	di?aw	?in	salagu
later	CV-CAU-see=1s.GEN	2s.LOC	ABS	Salago.plant
'later, I'll shov	v you the Salago plant' (86.36	68)		
	[nanih] later	later CV-CAU-see=1s.GEN	[nanih] ?i-pa-?inta=? di?aw	[nanih]?i-pa-?inta=?di?aw?inlaterCV-CAU-see=1s.GEN2s.LOCABS

(4.17) ududma o kaya nanih a pulab umay itam
[?ududma] ?u kaja [nanih [?a pulab]] ?<um>aj=?itam
tomorrow or thus later LK evening <AV>go=1pi.ABS
'so we will go tomorrow or later this evening' (69.089)

### 4.2.5 Demonstratives and Demonstrative Phrases (DemPs)

Demonstratives inflect for case (§5.2.2) and share certain syntactic functions with casemarked DPs (see Table 5.6). They are free words (as in 4.18 - 4.21) or enclitics (4.22). When they are modified by a Linked Phrase (as in 4.26 - 4.27) we consider them Demonstrative Phrases (DemPs). Table 4.8 below summarizes the possible forms and functions of Dems and DemPs:

Form	Syntactic function	Example
single Dem	argument	4.22
	predicate	4.18, 4.19, 4.23
	modifier of DP	4.24
	adjunct	4.21
	topic	4.25
Dem + LP	argument of prepositional predicate	4.35
	adjunct	4.27, 5.227
	topic	4.26

#### **Table 4.8 Demonstratives and Demonstrative Phrases**

(4.18) ti'say itam, aka

[ti?saj]=?itam ?aka=? DIST.DEM.LOC =1pi.ABS older.sibling=1s.GEN 'let's go there, my brother' (94.487)

(4.19)	umansina in tanem	mo-i		
	[?umansina]	?in tanəm=mu=i		
	MED.DEM.SML	ABS plant=2s.GEI	N=SPEC	
	'your plant is this big	g' (93.436) (lit.your plai	nt is like this)	
(4.20)	pag inikabit 'o 'en ti's	sen		
	pag ? <in>i-kabit=</in>	⊧γu=γin	[ti?sin]	
	if CV <prf>-tie</prf>	e=1s.GEN=PROX.DEN	M.ABS PROX.DEM.LOC	
	'when I tied it here' (	(104.045)		
(4.21)	tilaan manalad ti Ala	~~		
(4.21)	ti'sen mapoled ti Ale [ti?sin]		?aliks	
	PROX.DEM.LOC	•		
	'Alex sleeps here' (7	•	Alex	
	Alex sleeps here (7	2.03)		
(4.22)	ten ginagawi ina, me	en'aral e' sepla		
	tən g <in>agawi[</in>	<b>=?ina]</b> mən-î	?aral=ə?=sipla	
	when <prf>do=M</prf>	IED.DEM.ABS AV-st	tudy=1s.ABS=still	
	'when (they) built that	at, I was still studying'	(100.1039)	
(4.23)	i'yay in annolen 'o			
	<b>[ʔiʔjaj]</b> ?in	?annul-ən=?u		
	MED.DEM ABS	know-PV=1s.GEN		
	'what I know is this'	(52.169)		
(4.24)	in sanga ni'nay ay p			
	[ʔin saŋa	[ni?naj]]	?aj puru=sila ?a ?alta	
	ABS spouse	MED.DEM.GEN	PM pure=also LK alta	
	as for his wife, (she	) is also pure Alta' (49	.82)	
(4.25)	i'ina ay ti Lut			
	[ <b>?i?ina]</b> ?aj	ti lut		
	DIST.DEM PM	ABS lut		
	'as for that one, he i	s Lut' (85.628)		

(4.26) i'ina a lugar, isay sid menhuli ti usah-i

	[ʔiʔina	[?a	lugar]]	?isaj=	sid=sina		
	DIST.DEM	LK	place	be.at=	3p.ABS=MED.DEM.L	_OC	
	mən-huli	ti	?usah=i				
	AV-hunt	OBL	deer=SPEC				
	'about that pl	ace, the	ey hunt the dee	er there'	(85.036)		
(4.27)	awon mi mina	alap ti's	en a parte				
	?awun=mi		m <in>ə-?alap</in>	C	[ti?sin	[?a	parti]]
	not.exist=1pe	e.GEN	POT.PV <pr< th=""><th>F&gt;get</th><th>PROX.DEM.LOC</th><th>LK</th><th>side</th></pr<>	F>get	PROX.DEM.LOC	LK	side
	'we were not able to find it, here on this side' (103.034)						

### 4.2.6 Pronouns and Pronoun Phrases (PrPs)

Pronouns inflect for case (§5.2.1) and share certain syntactic functions with case-marked DPs (see Table 5.2). They are free words (4.29, 4.31, 4.32, 4.33, 4.34) or enclitics (4.28, 4.30). When they are modified we analyze them as Pronoun Phrases. Table 4.9 below summarizes the forms and functions of Pronouns and PrPs:

Table 4.9 Pronouns and	Pronoun Phrases
------------------------	-----------------

Form	Syntactic function	Example
free Pronoun	predicate	4.29, 4.78
	argument	6.109
	adjunct	4.31
	complement of isay Existential	4.32
	topic	4.33, 4.69
free Pronoun + LP	topic	4.34
enclitic Pronoun	argument	4.28
	modifier of DP	4.30

(4.28) ikkabit mo sela sen

?i-kabit**[=mu]**=sila=sin CV-tie=2s.GEN=also=PROX.DEM.LOC 'you also tie it here' (104.490) (4.29) siya in penhulian de ti usah'i [sija] ?in pənhulijan=də ti ?usah=i 3s ABS hunting.ground=3p.GEN OBL deer=SPEC 'this is their hunting ground for deer' (85.034) (4.30)magandad in pengarap mo ti ana'-i mə-ganda<sup>19</sup>=d [?in peŋarap[=mu] ti ?ana?=i ST-beauty=d ABS aspiration=2s.GEN OBL child=SPEC 'your aspirations for the children are great' (76.223) (4.31)mensosoli dla sen di'en mən-su-suli=dla=sin [di?ən] AV-RDP-return=just=PROX.DEM.LOC 1s.LOC 'he keeps coming back here, to me' (77.222) (4.32)kaya isay di'en ina kaja [?isaj [di?ən]]=?ina be.at 1s.LOC=MED.DEM.ABS SO 'so he (Alex) stays at my place (when he comes to Baler)' (77.067) (4.33)siya ay Alta [sija] ?aj ?alta 3s ΡM alta 'as for him, he is an Alta' (100.012) (4.34)si'etam a Alta isay itam namud ti wagewaget-i [si?itam [?a ?alta]] ?isaj=?itam=namud ti wage-wagət=i LK 1pe alta be.at=1pi.ABS=just OBL **RDP-water=SPEC** 'us, the Alta, we just stay by the rivers' (91.479)

### 4.2.7 Prepositional Phrases (PPs)

Prepositional Phrases are formed by a Preposition that governs a DP (4.37), or a Pronoun in the Locative case (4.35, 4.36), or a complement clause (4.38). Table 4.10 below summarizes the syntactic functions of Prepositional Phrases.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> ganda is a Tagalog root, the Alta equivalent is piya / pija/

**Table 4.10 Functions of Prepositional Phrases** 

Form of phrase	Syntactic function	Example
PREP + DP/Pronoun	predicate	4.35
	modifier of DP	4.36
	topic	4.37
	complement of LK	4.38

- (4.35) para di'etam i'ina a mudung
   [para [di?itam]] ?i?ina a muduŋ
   for 1pi.LOC DIST.DEM LK mountain
   'that mountain is for us' (88.371)
- (4.36) in plano de para di'ami
  ?in planu=də [para [di?ami]]
  ABS plan=3p.GEN for 1pe.LOC
  'their plan for us' (103.230)
- (4.37) hangan aseno, anig ti anen=i
   hangan ?asinu [?anig [ti ?anən=i]]
   until what like OBL rice=SPEC
   'anything, like (for example) rice' (85.546)
- (4.38) bisad a anig ten mabilay sepla tidyapo tam
   bisa=d [?a [?anig [tən mə-bilaj=sipla NEG=d LK like when ST-life=still

### tidijapu=tam]]]

parents[ABS]=1pi.GEN

'It (the fact that most animals are gone due to the logging operations) is not like when our parents were still alive' (99.564)

### 4.2.8 Ay Phrases (AyPs)

Ay Phrases (AyPs) are distinguished by the Predicate Marker (PM) *ay*, a particle that always occurs in the leftmost position of the phrase, which marks the predicate when another element is fronted. The PM is not obligatory in Alta, as an intonational break may appear instead (see Example 4.43).

AyPs always appear in predicate function. The particule ay may be followed by any type of phrase that can appear in predicate function (this includes all phrases types except LPs). The examples below show Ay Phrases headed by a VP (4.39) a UP (4.40), a DP (4.41, 4.42) and a Pronoun (4.43). Table 4.11 shows the different forms of AyPs.

Form of phrase	Example
ay + VP	4.39
ay + U-word	4.40
ay + ABS.DP	4.41
ay + GEN.DP	4.42
ay + LOC.Pronoun	4.43

As the following examples show, AyPs are always preceded by a constituent in topic position:

(4.39) pag si'en ay menla'ad
pag si'en [?aj [men-la?ad]]
when 1s PM AV-walk
'when I am the one walking' (100.908)

(4.40) ien ay Gumamela
 ?i?in [?aj [gumamela]]
 PROX.DEM PM gumamela
 'this is the gumamela plant' (94.010)

(4.41)	si'en man ay ti Ino				
	si?ən=man	[ʔaj	[ti	?inu]]	
	1s=CNTR	PM	ABS	Ino	
	'as for me, my name is Ino' (98.				

(4.42) i'en ay ni Nene
?i?in [?aj [ni nini]]
PROX.DEM PM GEN Nene
'this belongs to Nene' (88.615) (lit. this is of Nene)

The following example, extracted from the last verse of a love song (session 45), shows two juxtaposed clauses, 'you are mine, I am yours', with similar constituent structures. A notable difference between the two clauses is that in the first clause there is no *ay* particle marking the predicate *di'en*, suggesting that the use of *ay* is optional

(4.43)	si'aw di'ən, si'en ay di'aw					
	si?aw	[diʔən]	si?ən	[?aj	[di?aw]]	
	2s	1s.LOC	1s	РМ	2s.LOC	
	'You are mine, I am yours' (45.01.11)					

### 4.2.9 Linker Phrases (LPs)

Linker Phrases are characterized by the presence of the Linker particle *a*, which occurs at the left boundary of the phrase. LPs may appear in modifying and complement functions. Table 4.12 below summarizes the different forms and functions of LPs. The table is followed by some examples of LPs.

Form of phrase	Syntactic function	Example
LK + U-word	complement of quantifier	4.44
modifier of U-word 4		4.45, 5.198
	complement of Existential meiwadde	4.46
	modifier of Pronoun	4.47, 5.16
	modifier of Demonstrative	4.27
	modifier of Adverb	4.17
LK + proper name	modifier of kinship term	5.84, 5.196
LK + PP	modifier of DP	4.48
	complement of bisa Negator	4.38
LK + complement clause with	complement of stative predicate	4.49

Table	4.12	Linker	Phrases
-------	------	--------	---------

V-marked predicate	modifier of U-word heading a UP	5.15
LK + DEM	modifier of U-word heading a DP	5.32, 5.65
LK + Adv	modifier of predicate	4.5, 6.65
LK + VP	modifier of U-word	5.155
	complement of V-word	5.4
	complement of irregular content word	5.229
	complement of Existential meiwadde	5.18
	complement of stative predicate	5.28
	modifier of predicate	5.146
LK + Existential	modifier of DP	5.100
	complement of irregular content word	5.228

(4.44)	in e'lan a set na ʔin ʔəʔlan <b>[ʔa sit=n</b> ABS all LK thorn: ʻall the thorns' (100.544)	<b>a]</b> =3s.GEN			
(4.45)	in wadi tam a bunso' ?in wadi=tam ABS younger.sibling=1pi.GEN 'our youngest sibling' (100.060) (lit	L	<b>?a</b> ₋K her the	bunsuf younge younge	st.son
(4.46)	maiwadde a antipara sid majwaddə <b>[?a antipara]</b> [=s have LK goggles=3p./ 'They have goggles' (69.163)	-			
(4.47)	ellebe'en mi a ti Rose ?əC-ləbə?-ən=[mi <b>?a</b> PRG-pound-PV=1pe.GEN LK 'We were pounding (rice) with Ros	ABS R	<b>us]]</b> ] Rose )		
(4.48)	menhuli ti i'an-i a anig nidden mən-huli [ti ʔiʔan=i	[?a [î	?anig		[niddən]]]

AV-catch OBL fish=SPEC LK like MED.DEM.GEN.PL 'They catch fish like these ones' (69.181)

(4.49)saka mebi'et sid a mengagawi ti delan ni lati-i ti'sina waget-i<br/>saka mə-bi?ət=sid[?a [mən-gagawitialsoST-laziness=-3p.ABSLKAV-doOBL

delan nilati=iti?sina[wagət]=i]]pathGENrattan=SPMED.DEM.LOCwater=SPECand they werelazy to clear the way to the rattan (camp) there, by the river'(86.105) (lit. and they were lazy to make a path to the rattan, there by the river)

# 4.3 Types of clauses

As described in §4.2, each of the different phrase types may be used in a different range of syntactic functions, but not all constituent types may form predicates. Table 4.13 below lists the constituents that may appear in predicate function. These constituents can be organized in two main groups, depending on whether they carry voice marking or not.

An additional group of words can be distinguished, a group including words like: *meiwadde* 'to have, to exist', *may* 'to have, to exist', *awon* 'to not exist' and *isay* 'to be at'. All these U-words belong to a word class of Existentials, which is classified as a subclass of content words. As shown in §4.3.3, clauses with predicates headed by these elements are characterized by the presence of a complement of the Existential appearing inside the predicate, and for this reason they are grouped together.

This classification results in three main clause types: clauses with voice-marked predicates, clauses with predicates that are not marked for voice, and clauses with predicates headed by an Existential:

Clause type	Constituent functioning as predicate	Section
Clauses with voice-marked predicates	VP	§4.3.1

#### Table 4.13 Basic clause types

Clauses with voice- unmarked predicates	UP, DP, PP, AdvP, Pron, Dem	§4.3.2
Clauses with a predicate headed by an Existential	Existential + complement	§4.3.3

The sections below explore each clause type and their subtypes, providing examples for each subtype.

### 4.3.1 Clauses with voice-marked predicates

All voice-marked clauses minimally have one argument. Although this argument may be realized by both an Absolutive Phrase or an Unmarked Phrase, we refer to this argument as the Absolutive argument.

Voice-marked predicates assign a particular semantic role to the arguments. Depending on the role assigned to the Absolutive argument, clauses with voice-marked predicates may be divided into two major groups. In general terms, Actor voice clauses assign the actor role to the Absolutive, while Undergoer voice clauses map the Absolutive onto an undergoer macrorole<sup>20</sup>, this division is summarized in Table 4.14:

Voice	Subtypes	Form of the Predicate	Gloss	Argument/s
Actor voice		MEN- Predicate	AV-	Absolutive
clauses		MENG- Predicate	AV-	Absolutive + Oblique
		<um> Predicate</um>	<av></av>	Absolutive
Undergoer voice clauses	Patient Voice	-EN Predicate	-PV	Genitive +
	Locative voice	-AN Predicate	-LV	Absolutive
	Conveyance voice	I- Predicate	CV-	

### Table 4.14 Voice-marked clauses

### 4.3.1.1 Actor voice clauses

Actor voice (AV) clauses have a predicate headed by an Actor voice V-word (affixed with either *men-, meng-* or *<um>*). Except for clauses headed by an *<um>* word, AV clauses

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> The usage of terms *actor* and *undergoer* in this dissertation are defined in §6.1.1

minimally have one argument. We follow the tradition of referring to this type of clause as an AV clause, since this argument expresses an actor role.

#### 4.3.1.1.1 Clauses with men-predicates

Clauses of this type have a predicate headed by a MEN- V-word, and one Absolutive argument:

(4.50) mengalaw in duwa a aso
[mən-galaw] [?in duwa ?a ?asu]
AV-play ABS two LK dog
'the two dogs are playing' (E05.01.110)

These clauses may also have adjuncts, as in the next example, which shows a clause with a temporal adjunct marked in the Oblique case.

(4.51) menla'ad ami ti papa'as-i
[mən-la?ad][=?ami] [ti papa?as=i]
AV-walk=1pe.ABS OBL morning=SPEC
'we walk in the morning' (nalta60.10)

#### 4.3.1.1.2 Clauses with meng- predicates

This type of clause has a MENG- headed predicate and two arguments: one argument marked in Absolutive and the other in Oblique case.

(4.52)	ten araw, mengalap in lella'ay, bebbe'es ti maskada de-i						
	tən	?araw	[məŋ-?alap]	[ʔin	la-la?aj	bə-bə?əs]	
	OBL	day	AV-get	ABS	RDP-old.man	RDP-old.lady	
	[ti	maska	ada=də=i]				
	OBL	chew=	3p.GEN=SPE	С			
	'back	in these	adays, our old	men ar	nd women would	get their chew' (95.304)	
(4.53)	mengalap 'a ti apoy						
	[ <u>məŋ-</u>	<u>?alap][</u> =	:?a] [ti	?apuj]			
	AV-ge	et=1s. <b>A</b>	BS OBL	firewo	od		

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#### 'get some firewood' (38.22)

However, as the following example shows, there are examples of clauses with MENGpredicates in which there is no Oblique case-marked argument. The corpus includes examples of clauses with the MENG- words *mengaludu* 'hunt', *mengasawa* 'to get married' and *mengotan* 'to borrow'.

(4.54) menlidep 'am na, tapos mengaludu
mən-lidep=?am=na tapus məŋ-?aludu
AV-swim=2p.ABS=already then AV-hunt
'you dive (and fish) now and then hunt' (wild animals, pig, deer, etc.) (97.80)

#### 4.3.1.1.3 Clauses with <um> predicates

Clauses with <UM> headed predicates may be without any argument, in which case they are used to describe weather events. The following example shows a clause with the predicate headed by the V-word *umudden* 'to rain', preceded by a temporal adjunct:

(4.55)	nanih a dala	nanih a dalam um'udden					
	[nanih ?a	dalam]	[? <um>?-uddən]</um>				
	later LK	evening	<av>RDP-rain</av>				
	ʻit (will) rain	ning' (E06.01.11)					

<UM> headed clauses may have one argument. The argument may either represent an actor that is controlling (as in Example 4.56), or not-controlling (as in Example 4.57):

(4.56)	baka d	dumateng nen in uldin hid		
	baka	[ <u>d<um>atəŋ=nən]</um></u>	[ʔin	?uldin=hid]
	lf	<av>arrive=already</av>	ABS	non.alta=PL
	'If the	Tagalog show up' (100.530)		

(4.57) lumelteg pati in mukha'
[l<um>l-təg=pati]
(?in mukha=?]
(AV>RDP-swell=even
ABS face=1s.ABS
'my face was even getting swollen' (100.365)

### 4.3.1.2 Undergoer voice clauses

Undergoer-voice clauses have a minimum of two arguments: a Genitive case-marked actor and an Absolutive undergoer. Each of the subtypes below represents one different kind of voice in that the range of semantic roles expressed by each voice alternation is different. The possible semantic roles of Absolutive arguments in Undergoer voice clauses are explored in more detail in §6.2.2.

### 4.3.1.2.1 Patient voice clauses

Patient voice (PV) clauses have a predicate headed by an -EN V-word (a V-word marked by the PV suffix *-en*):

(4.58)	edpen-en'en ni waget-i ni delat				
	[?ədpən-ən][=?in]	[ni	wagət=i	ni	dəlat]
	reach= <b>PV</b> =PROX.DEM. <b>ABS</b>	GEN	water=SPEC	GEN	sea
	'the water of the sea reaches it' (the	e mount	ain)' (109.230)		

(4.59) eg'angen mi in set na
[?əg?aŋ-ən][=mi] [?in sit=na]
remove-**PV**=1pe.**GEN** ABS thorn=3s.GEN
'we remove its thorns (of the rattan) (100.530)

The possible semantic roles of the Absolutive argument include stimulus, theme and patient. These are explored in Section §6.2.2.1.

### 4.3.1.2.2 Locative voice clauses

Locative voice (LV) clauses have a predicate headed by a V-word marked with the LV suffix *-an*:

(4.60)	Belen! ma'unad say, tolongan e' mo wadi!					
	bilin	ma?una=d=saj	[ <u>tuluŋ-an][</u> =ə?][=mu]			
	Belen	say=d=DIST.DEM.LOC	help-LV=1s.ABS=2s.GEN			
	wadi					
	younger.sibling					
	'Belen	Belen, I said to her, help me sister' (100.826)				

(4.61) atdan de itam ti oma tami
[?atəd-an][=də][=?itam] ti ?uma=tam=i
give-LV=3p.GEN=1pi.ABS OBL farm=1pi.GEN=SPEC
'they gave us our farm' (91.823)

LV clauses may assign a number of different semantic roles to the Absolutive argument, in addition to the recipient role (as in the two examples above). Section §6.2.2.2, describes the possible semantic roles expressed by the Absolutive argument.

### 4.3.1.2.3 Conveyance voice clauses

Conveyance voice (CV) clauses have a predicate headed by an I- V-word:

(4.62)	kayadla, inikarga de ti elikopteri					
	kajadla	?ilikuptir=i]				
	however	CV <prf>-load=3p.GEN</prf>	OBL	helicopter=SPEC		
	'but, they load					

(4.63)	obra hela a igulay in talbos ni'nina							
	?ubra=hila	nila ?a <u>[?i-gulaj]</u> [?in talbus ni?nina]						
	can=too	LK	CV-vegetable	ABS	leaf	MED.DEM.GEN		
	'(we) can also	o use its	s leaves as veg	etables	(for ou	r meals)' (94.914)		

In this type of clause the Absolutive argument may express the theme role or the instrument role. Examples of the possible semantic roles of Absolutive argument in Conveyance voice clauses are provided in §6.2.2.3.

### 4.3.2 Clauses with voice-unmarked predicates

This type of clause has a voice-unmarked predicate, which may be formed by one of the constituents shown in Table 4.15 below. All clauses have one argument, which can either be an Absolutive Phrase, or an Unmarked Phrase:

Form of the predicate	Example
UP (Unmarked Phrase)	4.64 - 4.71

DP (Determiner Phrase)	4.72, 4.73
PP (Prepositional Phrase)	4.74, 4.75
AdvP (Adverbial Phrase)	4.76
PrP (Pronoun)	4.77, 4.78
Dem (Demonstrative)	4.79 - 4.82

### 4.3.2.1 Clauses with an Unmarked Phrase as predicate

Predicates formed by a UP typically predicate a property (4.64 - 4.68) or a quantity (4.69 - 4.71). The examples below have one argument, realized by an Absolutive Phrase (4.64 - 4.70), or by an Unmarked Phrase (4.71):

- (4.64) alta' man [<u>?alta][=</u>?]=man Alta=1s.**ABS**=CNTR 'I am Alta, too' (98.367)
- (4.65) aydi, madi'it e' mannen
  ?aidi [madi?it][=ə?]=mannən
  INTJ unmarried.girl=1s.ABS=again
  'look at that, I am single again' (96.029)
- (4.66) Decoliat yay a aper [dikuliat=[jaj] <u>?a ?apər]</u> Decoliat=DIST.DEM.**ABS** LK upper 'that (place) is upper Decoliat' (75.16)
- (4.67) de'el in tama na
  [də?əl] [?in tama=na]
  big ABS wound=3s.GEN
  'his wound is big' (85.080)
- (4.68) o'o, talod ina
  - u?u [<u>talud][</u>=?ina] yes true=MED.DEM.**ABS** 'yes, that (the fact that fishing was so nice back in the days) is true' (76.309)

(4.69)	si'ami a limma sela, limma sela in laman						
	si?ami ?a	limma	a=sila	[limma=sila]	[ʔin	laman]	
	1pe LK	five=a	also	five=also	ABS	wild.boar	
	'and also the	d also the five of us, and the wild boars were also five' (92					
(4.70)	hangan sina a'ado 'en a prutas						
	haŋgan=sina	ì		[ <u>?a -?adu</u> =[?	in]		<u>?a</u>
	until=MED.DEM.LOC RDP-			RDP-many=	DP-many=PROX.DEM.ABS		
	prutas]						
	fruits						
	'over here too, there are so many fruits' (93.859)						
	(lit. these are the many of the fruit)						
(4.71)	lima a pulo a	it walo t	a'on 'o-	i			
	[lima?apulu	?at	walu]	[taʔu	n=?u=i]		
	fifty	and	eight	year=	=1s.GEN	I=SPEC	

'I am 58 years old' (lit. my years are 58)

### 4.3.2.2 Clauses with a Determiner Phrase as predicate

The following two examples show Determiner Phrases functioning as predicates, in which the DP is marked in the Absolutive case by the *in* Article.

(4.72)	i'en ag	y in uwah, Ka	takataka				
	[ʔiʔin]		[ʔaj	[ʔin	?uwah	1	katakataka]]
	PRO>	K.DEM	PM	ABS	thing		katakataka
	'this o	one is the wha	itchamad	allit, the	e Kataka	ataka p	lant' (nalta94.0097)
(4.73)	in e"a	gdeden ten n	anih ay i	n eggag	gawin m	iyo ten	araw
	[ʔin	?əC-?agdəo	d-ən	tən	nanih]		
	ABS	PRG-reque	st-PV	OBL	later		
	[?aj	[ <u>?in ?əg</u> -	gagawi-e	ən=miju		tən	?araw]]
	PM	ABS eC-o	do-PV=2	p.GEN		OBL	days

'what (you) were requested then is what you would do back in these days' (63.040)

In addition, as Example (4.42) above shows, Genitive case-marked DPs may also appear in predicate function.

### 4.3.2.3 Clauses with a Prepositional Phrase as predicate

As shown in §4.2.7, Prepositional Phrases may also appear in predicate function. The following two examples show the Preposition para followed by a Pronoun in Locative case. In (4.74) the Preposition is simply followed by the Locative Pronoun, while in (4.75) it is a Pronoun Phrase that follows the Preposition *para*. In (4.75) the Prepositional Phrase is preceded by the Predicate Marker *ay*. Prepositions are presented in Section 5.3.7.

(4.74)	) para di'etam i'ina a mudung					
	[para	di?itam]	[ʔiʔina	?a	muduŋ]	
	for	1pi.LOC	MED.DEM	LK	mountain	
	'that mountain is for us' (88.371)					

(4.75) in tulong a eggagawin na ay para di etam a Alta?in tuluŋ ?a ?əC-gagawi=ən=na

help LK

ABS

?aj	[para	di?itam	?a	<u>?alta]</u>		
PM	for	1pi.LOC	LK	alta		
'he is helping us, the Alta'						
(lit. the help he is doing is for us the Alta) (502.22)						

### 4.3.2.4 Clauses with an Adverbial Phrase as predicate

(4.76) tempulab ina sigudo
[təmpulab][=?ina] sigudu
yesterday=MED.DEM.ABS maybe
'that (the fact that many fish were caught) was probably yesterday' (108.52)

PRG-do=PV=3s.GEN

### 4.3.2.5 Clauses with a Personal Pronoun as predicate

(4.77)	ay di'e	en 'en, ma'una siya	
	?aj	[ <u>diʔən][</u> =ʔin]	ma?una=sija
	INTJ	1s.LOC=PROX.DEM.ABS	say=3s.ABS
	"this	is mine", she said' (88.616)	

(4.78) siyad ina in Mapolud [sij<u>a=d=?ina]</u> [?in mapulud]

	[ <u>Sija–u–rina</u> ]	Lini	mapuluuj			
	3s=d=MED.DEM.ABS	ABS	Mapolud			
'Mapolud is that (place) there' (103.555)						

### 4.3.2.6 Clauses with a Demonstrative as predicate

[?i?in][?in]gamuttimalaria=i]PROX.DEMABSmedicineOBLmalaria=SPEC'the medicine for Malaria is this' (94.347)'malaria=SPEC(4.80)i'ina in tarabaho mi a pətsasawa [?i?ina][?in]tarabahu=mi tarabahu=mi?a]MED.DEMABSwork=1pe.GEN 'me and my wife's job is this' (49.36)?a]pətsasawa] LKLK(4.81)ay pag ti'say, ay awon 'o budi, addiyo ?aj?aj?aj?awun=?ubudi not.exist=1s.GEN(4.81)ifDIST.DEM.LOCPMnot.exist=1s.GENwant
<ul> <li>'the medicine for Malaria is this' (94.347)</li> <li>(4.80) i'ina in tarabaho mi a pətsasawa [?i?ina] [?in tarabahu=mi ?a pətsasawa] MED.DEM ABS work=1pe.GEN LK husband.and.wife</li> <li>'me and my wife's job is this' (49.36)</li> <li>(4.81) ay pag ti'say, ay awon 'o budi, addiyo ?aj pag [ti?saj] ?aj ?awun=?u budi</li> </ul>
<ul> <li>(4.80) i'ina in tarabaho mi a pətsasawa</li> <li>[?in tarabahu=mi ?a pətsasawa]</li> <li>MED.<b>DEM ABS</b> work=1pe.GEN LK husband.and.wife</li> <li>'me and my wife's job is this' (49.36)</li> <li>(4.81) ay pag ti'say, ay awon 'o budi, addiyo</li> <li>?aj pag [ti?saj] ?aj ?awun=?u budi</li> </ul>
[?i?ina][?intarabahu=mi rabahu=mi ?a?apətsasawa] LKMED. <b>DEM</b> ABSwork=1pe.GEN rme and my wife's job is this' (49.36)LKhusband.and.wife(4.81)ay pag ti'say, ay awon 'o budi, addiyo ?ajpag[ti?saj]?aj?awun=?ubudi
[?i?ina][?intarabahu=mi rabahu=mi ?a?apətsasawa] LKMED. <b>DEM</b> ABSwork=1pe.GEN rme and my wife's job is this' (49.36)LKhusband.and.wife(4.81)ay pag ti'say, ay awon 'o budi, addiyo ?ajpag[ti?saj]?aj?awun=?ubudi
MED. <b>DEM ABS</b> work=1pe.GEN LK husband.and.wife 'me and my wife's job is this' (49.36) (4.81) ay pag ti'say, ay awon 'o budi, addiyo ?aj pag [ <u>ti?saj</u> ] ?aj ?awun=?u budi
'me and my wife's job is this' (49.36) (4.81) ay pag ti'say, ay awon 'o budi, addiyo ?aj pag [ <u>ti?saj]</u> ?aj ?awun=?u budi
(4.81) ay pag ti'say, ay awon 'o budi, addiyo ?aj pag [ <u>ti?saj]</u> ?aj ?awun=?u budi
?aj pag [ <u>ti?saj]</u> ?aj ?awun=?u budi
?aj pag [ <u>ti?saj]</u> ?aj ?awun=?u budi
INTJ if DIST. DEM.LOC PM not.exist=1s.GEN want
?addiju
far
ʻif it is there, I don't want (to go), it's (too) far' (86.525)
(4.82) umansen in pengagawi mid sen
[?umansin] [?in pəngagawi=mi=d=sin]
PROX. <b>DEM</b> .SML ABS task=1pe.GEN=d=PROX.DEM.LOC]
'our work here (with rattan) is like this' (119.60) (lit. our task here is like this)

### 4.3.3 Clauses with an Existential-headed predicate

Clauses with a predicate headed by an Existential are grouped together on the basis of a common characteristic: the fact that these clauses may show a complement of the Existential within the predicate, which is realized by a specific type of the constituent for each Existential. The constituents forming the complements are shown in Table 4.16:

Head of the	Gloss	Predicative complement	Example
Meiwadde	have	Linker Phrase (LP)	4.83, 4.84
May	have	Unmarked Phrase (UP)	4.85, 4.86
Awon	not.exist	Determiner Phrase (DP)	4.87, 4.88, 4.90
		U-word	5.10
		Complement clause	4.91, 5.3, 5.4
		-	4.89
lsay	be.at	Locative DP	4.92, 4.93
		Locative PrP	4.95, 4.96
		Oblique locative phrase	4.94

#### Table 4.16 Existential clauses

### 4.3.3.1 Clauses with meiwadde as predicate

Clauses with predicates headed by *meiwadde* have a Linked Phrase functioning as a complement of the Existential. The complement may be omitted if it can be understood from the context. In clauses having zero arguments, the complement expresses an existing entity as in Example (4.83). In clauses having one argument, this argument expresses a possessor and the complement expresses the possessee (4.84).

(4.83)	meiwadde sep a matapang a sundalo						
	[ <b>majwaddə</b> =sip	[?a	matapaŋ	?a	sundalu]]		
	have=still	LK	brave	LK	soldier		
	'there still is a brave soldier' (46.73)						

(4.84) meiwadde a antipara sid
 [majwaddə [?a ?antipara]]=sid
 have LK goggle=3p.ABS
 'they have goggles' (69.163)

#### 4.3.3.2 Clauses with may as predicate

Clauses with predicates headed by *may* have the complement of the Existential realized by an Unmarked Phrase (UP). As opposed to *meiwadde*, the complement is obligatory. Similar to *meiwadde*, the complement of *may* expresses an existing entity in clauses having zero arguments, (Example 4.85). In clauses with one argument, the complement expresses a possessee and the argument expresses the possessor as in (4.86):

- (4.85) ma'in may apoy nen ta beli?
  ma?in [maj ?apuj=nən] ta bəli
  why have fire=already LOC home
  'why is there a fire again at home?' (97.392)
- (4.86) at may sundang 'ad man
  ?at [maj sundaŋ][=?a]=d=man
  and have bolo=2s.ABS=d=contrast
  'and you have also a knife' (52.23)

#### 4.3.3.3 Clauses with awon as predicate

Clauses with predicates headed by *awon* may have a complement realized by a non-specific DP (i.e., a DP marked by the non-specific *t* Article). If the clause does not contain any (Absolutive) argument, the complement represents a non-existing entity (4.87). If the clause contains an Absolutive argument, the argument expresses a possessor, and the complement expresses a non-existing possessee (4.88):

(4.87)	ten ar	ten araw sen kasi, awon te koriente					
	tən	Paraw=sin kasi [ <b>?awun</b>					
	OBL	day=PROX.DEM.LC	C	because	not.ex	kist	
	<b>[</b> 4 -						
	[tə	kurjinti]]					
	NSP	electricity					
	'because back in these days there was no electricity here' (99.1221)						
(4.88)	saka awon sid te interes ti tape'i						
	saka	[ <b>?awun</b> [=sid]	[tə	?intiris	ti	tapə?=i]]	
	and	not.exist=3p.ABS	NSP	profit	OBL	land=SPEC	

'and they do not have any profit on the land' (86.200) (lit. they do not exist (having) any profit on the land)

Clauses with a predicate headed by *awon* may not contain any complement. In Example (4.89) below, the clause shows one argument that represents a non-existing entity:

- (4.89) kase awon nen in ninuno mi
  kasi [?awun=nən] [?in ninunu=mi]
  thus not.exist=already ABS ancestor=1pe.GEN
  'thus, our ancestors are not with us anymore' (56.64)
  (lit. thus, our ancestors do not exist anymore)
- (4.90) pag awon te antipara, awon me'e'inta
  pag [?awun [tə ?antipara]] ?awun mə?ə-?inta
  if not.exist NSP goggle not.exist POT.AV-see
  'if you don't have goggles you can't see anything' (85.205)

Finally, as Example (4.91) below shows, the complement of *awon* may be formed by a complement clause. In this example, in which pronominal enclitic arguments of the predicate of the complement clause are hosted by *awon*, the complement of the Existential is the complement clause *ettuduwan ti pulung ni alta-i sid* 'teaching the language of the Alta':

 (4.91)
 awon 'o sep sid ettoduwan ti polung ni alta-i sid

 [?awun[=?u=sip=sid
 ?əC-tudu-an
 ti puluŋ

 not.exist=1s.GEN=still=3p.ABS
 PRG-teach-LV
 OBL language

ni ?alta=i=sid]

GEN alta=SPEC=PL

'I am not teaching them the language of the Altas yet' (60.46)

### 4.3.3.4 Clauses with isay as predicate

Clauses with predicates headed by *isay* show a complement realized by a constituent with locative meaning. This constituent can be a Locative DP, as in Examples (4.92, 4.93), an Oblique case-marked DP with locational meaning (4.94), or a Locative case-marked Pronoun (Examples 4.95, 4.96). As all the examples below show, clauses with a predicate headed by

*isay*, are different from the rest of the Existential clauses, in that they have one obligatory argument (encoded in the Absolutive case):

- (4.92) isay ami ta Dibbuluwan
   [?isaj=[?ami] [ta dibbuluwan]]
   be.at=1pe.ABS LOC Dibbuluwan
   'we are/were in Dibbuluwan' (100.387)
- (4.93) in alapowan na dla, isay ta Cagayan
  [?in ?alapuwan=na=dla] [?isaj [ta kagajan]]
  ABS grandparent=3s.GEN=only be.at LOC Cagayan
  'as for his only grandparent, he is in Cagayan' (54.36)
- (4.94) in de'el kasi, isay ti disaladi ni'nen
  [?in də?əl] kasi [?isaj [ti disalad=i ni?nin]]
  ABS big thus be.at OBL inside=SPEC PROX.DEM.GEN
  'as for the big one, it is located in the inside of this' (104.129)
- (4.95) halimbawa, isay say in ebut
  halimbawa [**?isaj**=[saj]] [?in ?əbut]
  for.example be.at=REM.DEM.LOC ABS hole
  'for example, the hole is there' (100. 0573)
- (4.96) isay sina ti Loro
  [**?isaj**=[sina]] [ti luru]
  be.at=MED.LOC ABS Loro
  'Loro is/was there' (83.247)

# 5. Word classes

This chapter addresses the issue of the classification and definition of the different types of words. After an introductory table of the current classification (Table 5.1), the different classes of proforms are described in §5.2. Function words are explored in §5.3 and finally, §5.4 deals with the classification of content words and related problems.

# **5.1 Introduction**

In the current classification of words in Northern Alta, we distinguish macro-classes and word classes. Table 5.1 reflects this distinction and presents the different word classes:

Macro-class	Word class	Section
Proforms	Personal Pronouns	§5.2.1
	Demonstratives	§5.2.2
	Interrogative Pronouns	§5.2.3
Function words	Articles	§5.3.1
	Plural Marker	§5.3.2
	Specificity Marker	§5.3.3
	Predicate Marker	§5.3.4
	Linker	§5.3.5
	Negator	§5.3.6
	Prepositions	§5.3.7
	Coordinate Conjunctions	§5.3.8
	Subordinate Conjunctions	§5.3.9
Content words	V-words	§5.4.3
	U-words	§5.4.4
	Adverbs	§5.4.5
	Existentials	§5.4.6
	Content words derived by affixes	§5.4.7
	Irregular content words	§5.4.8
Interjections		§5.5

Table 5.1 Northern Alta word classes

# 5.2 Proforms

Proforms are words that may fill a constituent slot in a clause without being marked by any Article. Proforms include the following three closed classes: Personal Pronouns, Demonstrative Pronouns and Interrogative Pronouns. Personal Pronouns and Demonstratives share a second property, which is that they inflect for case.

### 5.2.1 Personal Pronouns

Personal Pronouns are a closed class of words that inflect for case, person and number. They distinguish four cases: Unmarked, Absolutive, Genitive and Locative. While the Unmarked Pronouns function as the topic and the predicate, the three case-marked Pronouns function as arguments in a clause. The Pronouns are not marked by an Article.

As there is no set of Oblique Pronouns, the distribution of Personal Pronouns is not fully aligned with the distribution of case-marked DPs. Table 5.2 below summarizes the possible functions of Personal Pronouns, and shows the case-marked DPs they may share the same syntactic environment with:

Case of Pronouns	Syntactic function of the Pronoun	Examples	Related Phrase- type
Unmarked	topic	topic 5.1 – 5.7	
	predicate	5.45, 6.23	Absolutive DP
Absolutive	argument	5.8 – 5.14	Absolutive DP
Genitive	argument	5.15 – 5.21	Genitive DP
	modifier	5.22	
Locative	argument	5.23 – 5.29	Locative DP
	adjunct	4.31	Oblique DP
	predicate	4.43	Genitive DP
	complement	4.32	Locative DP

Personal Pronouns show a three-way distinction for both singular and plural numbers. The first person plural further distinguishes between an exclusive and an inclusive Pronoun (see Table 5.3 below). Finally, there are certain fused Pronouns in the language that are exemplified in §5.2.1.5.

	Unmarked	Absolutive	Genitive	Locative
	(free)	(clitic)	(clitic)	(free)
1s	<b>si'en</b>	e'	<b>'o / '</b>	<b>di'en</b>
	/si'ʔən/	/=ə?/	/=?u/, /=?/	/di'?ən/
2s	<b>si'aw</b>	<b>'a</b>	<b>mo, m</b>	<b>di'aw</b>
	/si'?aw/	/=?a/	/=mu/, /=m/	/di'?aw/
3s	<b>siya</b>	<b>siya</b>	<b>na</b>	<b>diya</b>
	/si'ja/	/=si'ja/	/=na/	/di'ja/
1pe	<b>si'ami</b>	<b>ami</b>	<b>mi</b>	<b>di'ami</b>
	/si'?ami/	/=ʔa'mi/	/=mi/	/di'ʔami/
1pi	<b>si'etam</b>	<b>itam</b>	<b>tam</b>	<b>di'etam</b>
	/si'?itam/	/=ʔi'tam/	/=tam/	/di'?itam/
2р	<b>si'am</b>	<b>am, amyu</b>	<b>miyu</b>	<b>di'am, di'amiyu</b>
	/si'?am/	/=ʔam/ /=ʔam'ju/	/'=miju/	/di'?am/ /di'?amiju/
3р	<b>sidde</b>	<b>sid, hid</b>	<b>de</b>	<b>didde</b>
	/sid'də/	/=sid/, /=hid/	/=də/	/did'də/

#### Table 5.3 Personal Pronouns

### 5.2.1.1 Unmarked Personal Pronouns

The unmarked Personal Pronouns appear in topic function, and as the examples below show, they are followed by an *ay* Phrase (or alternatively by an intonational break followed by an Unmarked Phrase, as in Example (4.43)). Unmarked Personal Pronouns may also appear in predicate function (Example 6.23).

- (5.1) si'en ay papa'as minensanga
  si?ən ?aj papa?as m<in>ən-saŋa
  1s PM early AV<PRF>-spouse
  'as for me, I got married early' (39.17)
- (5.2) bisa bat si'aw ay Maximinobisa=bat si?aw ?aj maksiminu

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	NEG=	=Q	2s	PM	Maxin	nino		
	'you are a (member of the family) Maximino, aren't you?' (52.70)						(52.70)	
(5.3)	siya ay awon sen dinum'el							
	sija	?aj	?awu	n=sin			d <in></in>	∙ <um>-ə?əl</um>
	3s	PM	not.e	exist=PF	ROX.DE	M.LOC	<prf< th=""><th>-&gt;<av>-big</av></th></prf<>	-> <av>-big</av>
	'as fo	r her, sl	he did r	not grov	v up her	e' (98.61)		
(5.4)	(5.4) dahil si'am ay awon ami mennol a menbasa							
	dahil		si?ar	ni	?aj	?awun=?am	i	mən-nul
	becau	use	1pe		PM	not.exist=1p	i.ABS	AV-know
	_							
	?a	mən-l						
	LK	AV-re						
	'beca	use as	for use	, we do	n't know	how to write'	(58.11)	
(5.5)	kung	si'etam	ay me	sipag				
	kuŋ	si?ita	m	?aj	mə-si	pag		
	if	1pi		PM	ST-in	dustriousness		
	ʻif we	are the	ones t	hat wor	k hard' (	(103.498)		
(5.6) ten si'am ay ba'ik sepla								
	tən	si?an	n	?aj	ba?ik:	•		
	when	2р		PM	small	=still		
	'when	n you(pl	) were :	still sma	all' (63.4	1)		
(5.7)	pag sidde ay minengaso sid							
	pag	siddə	)	?aj	m <in></in>	∍əŋ-?asu=sid		
	if	3р		PM	AV <p< th=""><th>RF&gt;-dog=3p.</th><th>ABS</th><th></th></p<>	RF>-dog=3p.	ABS	
	'if the	y hunte	d with d					
	, <b>, , ,</b>							

### 5.2.1.2 Absolutive Personal Pronouns

Absolutive Personal Pronouns function as arguments in all clause types. Phonologically, they behave as enclitics (as explained in §3.1.3):

(5.8) menbelon e' namud menla'ad nen ta tarabaho

mən-bəlon <b>=ə?</b> =namud	mən-la?ad=nən	ta	tarabahu	
AV-provision=1s.ABS=just	AV-walk=already	LOC	work	
'I just pack the food and go back to work' (19.17)				

- (5.9) umoli 'a agad
  ?<um>uli=?a ?agad
  AV-go.back.home=2s.ABS immediately
  'come back home right away' (52.16)
- (5.10) awon, ma'una siya, awon titi, kung awon kiki
   ?awun ma?una=sija ?awun titi
   not.exist say=3s.ABS not.exist penis

kuŋ ?awun kiki if not.exist vagina 'no, he said, it is neither penis nor vagina' (14.13)

(5.11) ten baba'ik ami, polung mi-i ay talaga a Alta
 tən ba-ba?ik=?ami puluŋ=mi=i
 when RDP-small=1pe.ABS language=1pe.GEN=i

?aj talaga ?a ?alta
PM surely LK Alta
'when we were very young, our language was indeed Alta' (44.32)

- (5.12) dahil dinum'el itam ti kahirapan-i dahil d<in><um>-?əl=?itam ti kahirapan=i because <PRF><AV>big=1pi.ABS LOC hardship=i 'because we grew up with hardship' (103.488)
- (5.13) aheno kuwenta-i a maging'ana ta'am amyu
  ?ahino kuwinta=i ?a magin-?ana?=ta?am=?amju
  what account=SPEC LK become-chilld=1s+2p=2p.ABS
  'what is the worth of raising you (pl)?' (38.45)

(5.14) awon sid mensawa a ume'ay ti'sen di'ami

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?awun=sidmən-sawa?a?<um>ə??ajti?sinnot.exist=3p.ABSAV-get.tiredLKAV-goPROX.DEM.LOCdi?ami1pe.LOC'they will not get tired of coming here, with us' (58.07)

#### **5.2.1.3 Genitive Personal Pronouns**

Genitive Personal Pronouns may appear as the actor argument in Undergoer voice clauses (Examples 5.15 - 5.21) and may also function as the modifier of a DP in any clause type (Example 22). Phonologically, Genitive Pronouns behave as enclitics (§3.1.3). As in Ilokano (Rubino, 1997, p.56) or Inibaloy (Ruffolo, 2004, p.175), the first and second singular Genitive Pronouns /=?u/ and /=mu/ have the allomorphs /=?/ and /=m/, which are used when the preceding syllable ends with a vowel. The first and second person allomorphs appearing after a consonant are shown in Examples (5.15) and (5.16) below, while the post-vocalic allomorphs can be seen in Examples (4.16) and (4.18), and Examples (3.12) and (4.6) respectively.

(5.15) kasi siya dla yay plano de-i a annolen'o
 kasi sija=dla=jaj
 because 3s=only=DIST.DEM.ABS

planu=də=i?a?annul-ən=?uplan=3p.GEN=SPEC LKknow-PV=1s.GEN'because this is the only of their plans I know about' (103.419)

- (5.16) annolen mo bilay mi-i, si'ami a pet'aman
   ?annul-ən=mu bilaj=mi=i si?ami ?a pət?aman
   know-PV=2s.GEN life=1pe.GEN=SPEC 1pe LK parents.and.sons
   'you know, our life, of my parents and brothers...' (39.02)
- (5.17) alapen na siden gogo
  ?alap-ən=na sidən gugu
  get-PV=3s.GEN PL.ABS native.shampoo
  'he takes the native shampoos' (63.200)

(5.18)	meiwadded man sid a me'alap a laman, siya yay ibenta mi sela						
	majwaddə=d=man=sid	?a	mə-?alap	?a	laman		
	have=d=CNTR=3p.ABS	LK	ST-get	LK	wild pig		

sija=jaj ?i-binta=mi=sila
3s=DIST.DEM.ABS CV-sell=1pe.GEN=also
'if they have managed to catch a wild pig, that is what we also would sell'
(61.63)

- (5.19) iyated tam man ti aduwani
  ?i-atəd=tam=man ti ?aduwan=i
  CV-give=1pi.GEN=CNTR OBL other=i
  'and we share with the others' (99.1261)
- (5.20) tebagen miyu ti polung tam-i
  təbag-ən=miju ti puluŋ=tam=i
  reply-PV=2p.GEN OBL word=1pi.GEN=SPEC
  'reply (you all) to our questions' (91.240)
- (5.21) inibenta de dya'yay ni dila'i a Puling
  ?<in>i-binta=də dija?jaj ni dila?i ?a puliŋ
  CV<PRF>- sell=3p.GEN now LOC uncle LK Puling
  'they just sold (it) to uncle Puling' (103.503)
- (5.22) ten baba'ik ami, polung mi-i talaga a Alta ba-ba?ik=?ami puluŋ**=mi**=i tən when RDP-small=1pe.ABS language=1pe.GEN=i ?ai ?a ?alta talaga ΡM surely LΚ Alta 'when we were very young, our language was indeed Alta' (44.32)

#### **5.2.1.4 Locative Personal Pronouns**

The Locative set of Personal Pronouns may function as arguments in clauses with bivalent or trivalent predicates (Examples 5.23 - 5.29). In addition they may function as adjuncts that indicate spatial locations (see Example 4.31) and also as predicates in equational clauses, in

which they indicate the possessor (Example 4.43). Finally, they may also function as complements of the Existential *isay* (Example 5.115). Phonologically, and in contrast to the Absolutive and Genitive sets, Locative Pronouns do not behave as clitics:

(5.23) ma'unad yay di'en: "awon 'ad mannen menpa'adalam"
 ma?una=d=jaj di?ən
 say=d=DIST.DEM.ABS 1s.LOC

?awun=?a=d=mannənmən-pa-?a-dalamnot.exist=1s.ABS=d=againAV-CAU-?-evening'(he) said to me, do not make (us) wait until the evening again' (52.14)

- (5.24) de'el ina a pa-salamat 'o di'aw Alex
  də?əl=?ina ?a pa-salamat=?u di?aw ?aliks
  big=MED.DEM.ABS LK CAU-thank=1s.GEN 2s.LOC Alex
  'I am very thankful to you, Alex' (20.12)
  (lit. big is that of making me thank you Alex)
- (5.25) ma'una diya: "umoli itam nen!"
  ma?una dija ?um-uli=?itam=nən
  say 3s.LOC AV-go.home=1pi.ABS=already
  'I told him "let's go back home now" (53.80)
- (5.26) sigudo may isip sid a medu'es di'ami
   sigudu maj ?isip=sid ?a mə-du?əs di?ami
   maybe have thought=3p.ABS LK ST-meanness 1pe.LOC
   'maybe they have bad plans for us' (103.25)
- (5.27) umansay minengyari di'etam
   ?umansaj m<in>əŋ-jari di?itam
   DIST.DEM.SML AV<PRF>-happen 1pi.LOC
   'that is how it happened to us' (88.1148)
- (5.28) si'ami ay masaya a tinumangap di'am
   si'ami ?aj mə-saja ?a t<in>-um-aŋap di?am
   1pe PM ST-happiness LK <PRF-AV-agree 2p.LOC</li>

'as for us, we are happy of having accepted you' (58.06)

(5.29) aheno in pengarap mo didde?
?ahinu ?in peŋarap=mu diddə
what ABS ambition=2s.GEN 3p.LOC
'what is your ambition for them' (76.56)

### 5.2.1.5 Fused Pronouns

Fused Pronouns combine a Genitive Pronoun, and the second person singular (5.30), or plural Absolutive (5.31), and also behave as enclitics (§3.1.3). The two Pronouns are shown in Table 5.4 below, and appear in clauses with Patient voice predicates, in which the Genitive Pronoun expresses the actor and the Absolutive Pronoun expresses the undergoer. Alternative forms of Fused Pronouns have not been yet investigated.

#### Table 5.4 Composite Pronouns

Person and case	Form
1pi.GEN + 2s.ABS	<b>=ta'a</b> /ta?a/
1pi.GEN + 2p.ABS	<b>=ta'am</b> /ta?am/

- (5.30) ma'una siya di'en: "ebbuden ta'a"
  ma?una sija di?ən ?əb-bud-ən=ta?a
  say 3s.ABS 1s.LOC eC-want-PV=1pi.GEN+2s.ABS
  'he told me "I love you" (88.64)
- (5.31) ettangapen ta'am a monmon
  ?eC-tangap-ən=ta?am
  ?a monmon
  PRF-agree-PV=1p.GEN+2p.ABS
  LK entire
  'we definitely accept you (your documentation project)' (54.07)
  (lit. we accept you entirely)

## **5.2.2 Demonstratives**

Demonstratives are a closed class of proforms that inflect for case and distinguish distance. The semantic differences of this distance distinction require further investigation. Demonstratives are glossed in the following way: for all members, the first part of the gloss consists of the degree of distance (PROX, LPROX...), the second part is the word class (DEM), and the third part shows the case (ABS, GEN...). When one of the sets distinguishes number, the gloss PL is added to the plural subset. Table 5.5 presents the Demonstratives:

	Unmarked		Absolutive (ABS)	Genitive (GEN)		Locative (LOC)		Similative (SML)
	Singular	Plural (PL)		Singular	Plural (PL)	Free	Clitic	
Proximal (PROX)	<b>i'en</b> /ʔi'ʔin/ 'this'	<b>siddin</b> /sid'din/ 'these'	<b>='en</b> /=?in/ 'this'	<b>ni'nen</b> /ni?'nin/ 'this'	<b>niddin</b> /nid'din /these'	<b>ti'sen</b> /ti?'sin/ 'here'	<b>=sen</b> /=sin/ 'here'	umansen /?uman'sin/ 'like this'
Less Proximal (LPROX)	<b>i'i'e</b> /ʔiʔi'ʔi/ 'this'	<b>siddi'e</b> /siddi'?i/ 'these'	<b>='i'e</b> /=ʔi'ʔi/ 'this'	<b>ni'ni'e</b> /ni?n'i?i/ 'this'	<b>niddi'e</b> /niddi'?i/ 'these'	<b>ti'si'e</b> /tiʔsi'ʔi/ 'here'	<b>=si'e</b> /=si'?i/ 'here'	<b>umansi'e</b> /?umansi'?i/ 'like this'
Medial (MED)	<b>i'ina</b> /ʔiʔi'na/ 'that'	<b>siddina</b> /sid'dina/ 'those'	<b>=ʻina</b> /=?i'na/ ʻthat'	<b>ni'nina</b> /ni?ni'na/ 'that'/	<b>niddina</b> /nid'dina/ 'those'	<b>ti'sina</b> /ti?si'na/ 'there'	<b>=sina</b> /=si'na/ 'there'	umansina /?umansi'na/ 'like that'
Distal (DIST)	<b>i'yay</b> /ʔiʔ'jaj/ 'that'	<b>sidyay</b> /sid'jaj 'those'	<b>=yay</b> /=jaj/ 'that'	<b>ni'nay</b> /ni?'naj/ 'that'	<b>nidyay</b> /nid'jaj 'those'	<b>ti'say</b> /ti?'saj/ 'there'	<b>=say</b> /=saj/ 'there'	umansay /ʔuman'saj/ 'like that'
Far Distal (FDIST)	<b>i'ya'i</b> /ʔiʔja'ʔi/ 'that'		<b>=ya'i</b> /=ja'ʔi/ 'that'	<b>ni'na'i</b> /niʔna'ʔi/ 'that'		<b>ti'sa'i</b> /tiʔsa'ʔi/ 'there'	<b>=sa'i</b> /=sa'ʔi/ 'there'	umansa'i /?umansa'?i/ 'like that'

All Demonstratives may function as Pronouns, and most sets except the Absolutive and Similative may also function as determiners, appearing in the same position as Articles within a DP (§4.2.1).

There are a number of cases in which it is not clear whether the Demonstrative is functioning as a Pronoun or as a determiner. Example 5.34, which shows a short intonation break between the Demonstrative *i'ina* and the next element (*mudung*) may have two possible interpretations: in the first one, the Demonstrative *i'ina* functions as a Pronoun and is followed by the Unmarked Phrase *mudung=i=ina* which functions as an appositive modifier of the Demonstrative Pronoun (see Table 4.6). A second possible analysis considers the unit [*'ina muding=i=ina*], as a Determiner Phrase in which the Demonstrative functions as

determiner, and occupies the same slot as an Article. From a historical perspective, it is possible that the appositional structure [[DEM] + [UP]] is being reanalyzed into a Determiner Phrase [DEM + U-word], causing the grammaticalization of Demonstratives to determiners. From a synchronic perspective, we choose to analyze most of these structures as Determiner Phrases, though we also keep in mind the alternative analysis, as shown in Example (4.14).

In the same way as happens with Personal Pronouns, the distribution of case-marked Demonstratives is not fully aligned with case-marked DPs. Table 5.6 summarizes the syntactic functions of the different case-marked Demonstratives, and shows the Determiner Phrases that may appear in the same syntactic environments:

Case of Demonstratives	Syntactic Function	Example	Related Phrase- type
Unmarked	topic	5.33, 5.34, 5.37	-
	predicate	5.35, 5.36, 5.40	Absolutive DP
	argument	5.38, 5.39	Absolutive DP
	modifier of DP	5.32	
Absolutive	argument	5.41 – 5.45	Absolutive DP
	modifier of DP	5.34	
Genitive	Genitive argument		Genitive DP
	modifier of DP	5.46, 5.48, 5.49	
	topic	5.51	
	(complement of the Preposition <i>uman</i> 'like, as')	5.52	Oblique DP
Locative	adjunct	5.55, 5.56, 5.58	
(free)	predicate	5.57	Locative DP
Locative	adjunct	5.61, 5.63	Locative DP
(enclitics)	complement (of isay)	5.59, 5.60	
	argument (distal locative)	5.62	Oblique DP
Similative	modifier (manner)	5.64, 5.65, 5.68	Oblique DP
	predicate	5.66, 5.67, 4.19	

Table 5.6 Syntactic functions of Demonstratives and related phrase types

### 5.2.2.1 Unmarked Demonstratives

Unmarked Demonstratives distinguish between singular and plural. Unmarked Demonstratives function as topics (Examples 5.33, 5.34, 5.37 below), as predicates (5.35, 5.36, 5.40), as arguments (5.38, 5.39) and as complements of Linkers (5.32).

#### 5.2.2.1.1 Singular Unmarked Demonstratives

In the example below (5.32) the Demonstrative *i'en* is modifying the DP headed by *mudung* but it is linked to in a Linked Phrase. This example with a Demonstrative is in contrast with (5.34), in which an enclitic Absolutive Demonstrative is modifying another DP headed by *mudung* without any Linker.

(5.32)	ti'sen dipaning-i ni'nen mudung-i a i'en							
	ti?sin	dipar	niŋ=i	ni?nin				
	PROX.DEM.LOC	other	.side=SPEC	PROX.DEM.GEN				
	muduŋ=i	?a	?i?in					
	mountain=SPEC	LK	PROX.DEM					
	'here, at the other side of that mountain' (85.48)							

In the next example (5.33), the Unmarked Demonstrative appears in topic function, preceding the predicate headed by the V-word *inalap*. In this case, no Predicate Marker appears between the Demonstrative and the predicate.

(5.33)	i'i'e inalap 'o siden kong adidino				
	?i?i?i	? <in>alap=?u=sidən</in>	kuŋ	adidinu	
	LPROX.DEM	<prf.pv>get=1s.GEN=ABS.PL</prf.pv>	if	wherever	
	'as for these, I col	lect them wherever (nearby the water)'	(94.47	0)	

(5.34) i'ina mudungi ina, isay sina minate'nag in eroplano
 ?i?ina muduŋ=i=?ina
 MED.DEM mountain=SPEC=MED.DEM.ABS

isai=sinam<in>ə-tə?nagin?iruplanube.at=MED.DEM.ABSST<PRF>fallABSplane'that mountain there, there is where the plane crashed' (103.102)'

In the next two examples (5.35, 5.36), the Unmarked Demonstratives function as predicates, and are followed by DPs.

(5.35)	i'yay in engo'an mi a Banur								
	?i?jaj	<b>?i?jaj</b> ?in?əC-ŋu?-an=mi?a banur							
	DIST.DEM	ABS PRG-name-LV=1pe.GEN LK Ban							
	'the one we	'the one we are calling Banur is that one' (94.500)							
(5.36)	i'ya'i in gamo	ot man s	a-i, aka						

**7i?ja?i** ?in gamut=man=sa?i **FDIST.DEM** ABS medicine=CNTR=DIST.LOC

?aka=?
older.sibling=1s.GEN
'the one that is a medicine is that one, my brother' (93.614)

#### 5.2.2.1.2 Plural Unmarked Demonstratives

Example (5.37) shows an anaphoric Unmarked Demonstrative in topic function.

(5.37)	adino sidden inomalang?					
	?adinu	siddin ? <in><um>alaŋ</um></in>				
	Where	PROX.DEM.PL	<prf><av>come-from</av></prf>			
	'where are	these (children) from?	' (109.259)			

As Examples (5.38, 5.39) show, the Unmarked Demonstratives can be modified by a Linker phrase and function as an argument in this form.

(5.38)	mengalaw siddi'e a uwah=i lella'ay						
	mən-galaw	siddi?i	?a	?uwah=i	la-la?aj		
	AV-play	LPROX.DEM.PL	LK	thing=SPEC	RDP-old.man		
	'these old me	n are playing' (109.19	92)				
(5.39)	sa'ano dla sic	ldina a beli					
	sa?anu=dla	siddina	?a	bəli			
	few=only	MED.DEM.PL	LK	house			

'there are just a few of these houses' (100.1107) (lit.these houses are just a few)

(5.40)inomalang'an ta ibang bansa, sidyay in itanem mi say ?iba=n<sup>21</sup> ?<in><um>alaŋ=an bansa ta <PRF><AV>come.from=QUOT other=LK LOC country ?in sidjaj ?i-tanəm=mi=sai DIST.DEM.PL ABS CV-plant=1pe.GEN=DIST.DEM.LOC 'they are said to come from another country, these (bamboos) are the ones we plant here' (75.68)

## 5.2.2.2 Absolutive Demonstratives

As Examples (5.41 - 5.45) below show, Absolutive Demonstratives always appear in argument function. Absolutive Demonstratives share the argument function with Unmarked Demonstratives. Absolutive Demonstratives behave as enclitics (§3.1.3).

(5.41)	i'en ay alapen mi 'en					
	?i?in	?aj	?alap-ən=mi <b>=?in</b>			
	PROX.DEM	PM	get-PV=1pe.GEN <b>=PROX.DEM.ABS</b>			
	'this is what v	ve get' (	(103.347)			
(5.42)	gumamelad r	nan i'e				
	gumamela=d	=man <b>=</b> '	2i7i			
	Gumamela=c	=CNTF	R=LPROX.DEM.ABS			
	'and that there is the Gumamela (plant)' (94.101)					
(5.43)	pag minalap	ded ina				
	pag m <in></in>	-ə-?alap	∋=də=d <b>=?ina</b>			
	If POT.F	PV <pri< td=""><td><sup>=</sup>&gt;get=3p.GEN=d<b>=MED.DEM.ABS</b></td></pri<>	<sup>=</sup> >get=3p.GEN=d <b>=MED.DEM.ABS</b>			

As shown in some examples in this dissertation, the analysis of the medial Demonstrative = ina as an enclitic is not always clear. In Example (4.32), it would be expected to be

'If they catch it' (103.441)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> The word *iba* and the = $\eta$  linker here are Tagalog borrowings

attached to the Existential *isay* but instead it follows the Locative Pronoun *di'en*. In Example (5.118) we have represented it as an enclitic but this analysis is problematic since it is appears attached to the Linker particle *a*. Finally, in Example (5.203) it would be expected to be attached to the Existential *awon*, but it is placed again behind the Locative Pronoun *di'en*.

- (5.44) akkaw ay melasad yay a baye'
  ?akkaw ?aj mə-lasa=d=jaj ?a bajə?
  INTJ INTJ ST-taste=d=DIST.DEM.ABS LK fish
  'wow, what a tasty baye fish' (100.132)
- (5.45) siyad ya'i in pengas'an mi bagay ume'ay ami ta omah sija=d=ja?i ?in peŋas?an=mi 3s=d=FDIST.DEM.ABS ABS vehicle?=1pe.GEN
  bagaj ?<um>ə?aj=?ami ta ?uma when <AV>go=1pe.ABS LOC farm 'that is our vehicle when we go to our farm' (72.22)

#### 5.2.2.3 Genitive Demonstratives

Genitive Demonstratives distinguish between singular and plural. They may function as determiners (Examples 5.47, 5.48, 5.50, 5.51), modifiers (5.46, 5.49, 5.53, 5.54), or as the complement of the Preposition *uman* 'like 'as' (5.52).

#### 5.2.2.3.1 Singular Genitive Demonstratives

(5.46)	i'en iyan-i ni'nen obra hela 'en a pen'apsut				
	?i?in	?ijan=i	ni?nir	ı	
	PROX.DEM	fruit=SPEC	PROX	.DEM.GEN	
	?ubra=hila=?	in	?a	peŋ-ʔapsut	
	can=also=PR	OX.DEM.ABS	LK	INST-sour	
	'this fruit of it can also be used to make the food sour' (				
(5.47)	inalap e' ni'ni	'e, kuyog o'i			
	? <in>alap=ə?</in>	) ni?niî	Pi	kujug=?u=i	

<PRF>get=1s.ABS LPROX.DEM.GEN friend=1s.GEN=SPEC 'that friend of mine took me' (98.346)

(5.48) pero ten dingato ni'nina waget ni Dyabubu-i piru tən diŋatu ni?nina wagət but OBL upstream MED.DEM.GEN water ni dijabubu=i maj salampat=sip LOC Dyabubu=SPEC have salampat=still 'but upstream from that water of Dyabubu, there is still Salampat' (85.267)

(5.49) e''alapen na in karga ni'nay
?əC-?alap-ən=na
?in karga ni?naj
PRF-get-PV=3s.GEN
ABS charge
DIST.DEM.GEN
'he is getting the power from there' (104.159) (lit. he is getting the power of that)

(5.50) aheno in kulay ni'na'i trey-i
 ?ahinu ?in kulaj ni?na?i trεj=i
 what ABS color FDIST.DEM.GEN tray=SPEC
 'what is the color of that tray there'? (E06.02.44)

#### 5.2.2.3.2 Plural Genitive Demonstratives

(5.51)	kung baga nidden tagalogi, budi de'i 'a'api ami namud							
	kuŋbaga	niddin		tagalog=i				
	if.say	PROX.DEM	M.GEN.PL	tagalog=SPEC				
	budi=də=i		?a	?api=ami=namud				
	want=3p.GE	EN=SPEC	LK	oppress=1pe.ABS=just				
	'actually the	'actually these who are Tagalogs, what they just want is to oppress u						
	(103.327)							
(5.52)	maiwadde a	i duwa a mina	huli, umar	n niddi'e				

majwaddə	?a	duwa	?a	m <in>ə-huli</in>
have	LK	two	LK	POT.PV <prf>hunt</prf>

	?umar like 'I have		<b>niddi?i</b> LPROX.DEM papan animals)	-		se' (99.7	715)
(5.53)	dahil thus	?in ABS	o niddina ay M ninunu ancestor estor of those is	niddir MED.	na DEM.GEN.PL	?aj PM	maksiminu Maximino
(5.54)	agosto ?agust Augus	tu	n-i nidyay pən?ijan=i flowering=SP	EC	nidjaj DIST.DEM.G	EN.PL	

'the flowering of those ones is in August' (86.343)

#### 5.2.2.4 Locative Demonstratives

Locative Demonstratives form two subsets, each having different phonological status: a free set and a set of enclitcs. The functions of each set are different except for the adjunct function, for which both sets can be used. The semantic distinctions of using the free or the clitic forms in adjunct function require further investigation.

#### 5.2.2.4.1 Free Locative Demonstratives

This subset of Locative Demonstratives may appear in adjunct function (Example 5.55, 5.56, 5.58), or in predicate function (5.57):

(5.55)	pag mine'ana' 'en ti'sen o ti'sina						
	pag	m <in>ən-?an</in>	na?=?in			ti?sin	2u
	if	AV <prf>-ch</prf>	nild=PR	OX.DEM.ABS		PROX.DEM.LOC	or
	ti?sin	а					
	MED.	DEM.LOC					
	ʻif it is	able to breed	here or	there' (94.26)			
(5.56)	ti'si'e,	saka ti'si'e, li'o	od mo-i				
	ti?si?	i	saka	ti?si?i		li?ud=mu=i	
	LPRO	X.DEM.LOC	and	LPROX.DEM.	LOC	back=2s.GEN=SF	PEC
				101			

'there, and there, behind you' (94.355)

- (5.57) ti'say itam, aka
  [ti?saj]=?itam ?aka=?
  DIST.DEM.LOC=1pi.ABS older.sibling=1s.GEN 'let's go there, my brother' (94.487)
- (5.58) addiyo'ena, ti'sa'i, ta'po ni mudung-i
   ?addiju=?ina ti?sa?i ta?pu
   far=MED.DEM.ABS FDIST.DEM.LOC summit

ni muduŋ=i GEN mountain=SPEC 'It (the rattan) is very far, there, on that mountain top' (119.32)

#### 5.2.2.4.2 Enclitic Locative Demonstratives

Locative Demonstratives may appear in adjunct function (Examples 5.61, 5.63), and in complement function, as a complement governed by the Existential *isay* 'be at' (5.59, 5.60). Finally, the distal Locative form *=say* may also appear in argument function (sharing this function with an Oblique DP), in clauses with a predicate headed by the bivalent word *me'una* 'to say', as in Example (5.62). Phonologically, Locative Demonstratives behave as enclitics.

- (5.59) isay sen siya mapoled, ti'sa'i
  ?isaj=sin=sija mə-puləd ti?sa?i
  be.at=PROX.DEM.LOC=3s.ABS ST-sleep DIST.LOC
  'here is where he sleeps, and also there (far)' (72.14)
- (5.60) pag isay sina mudung-i ina
  pag ?isaj=sina mudunj=i=?ina
  if be.at=MED.DEM.LOC mountain=SPEC=MED.DEM.ABS
  'if he is there, on that mountain' (103.541)
- (5.61) may delan si'e, may delan sina
   maj delan=si?i maj delan=sina
   have path=LPROX.DEM.LOC have path=MED.DEM.LOC
  - 132

	'there is a way there, (and also) a way there' (100.268)					
(5.62)	Belen! ma'unad say, tolongan e' mo wadi!					
	bilin ma?una=d <b>=saj</b>	tuluŋ-an=əʔ=mu				
	Belen say=d <b>=DIST.DEM.L</b>	DC help-LV=1s.ABS=2.GEN				
	wadi					
	'Belen, (I) said to her, help r	ne sister' (100.826)				
(5.63)	sa'ut yay ininta sa'i dibut-i					
	sa?ut=jaj	? <in>inta=?<b>=sa?i</b></in>				
	first=DIST.DEM.ABS	<prf.pv>see=1s.GEN=FDIST.DEM.LOC</prf.pv>				
	dibut=i					
	dibut=SPEC					
	'I first saw him there, in Dibu	ıt' (99.610)				

### 5.2.2.5 Similative Demonstratives

The set of Similative Demonstratives may appear as complements in Linked Phrases functioning as modifier of predicates (Examples 5.65, 5.68), or in predicate function (5.64, 5.66, 5.67).

The set of Similative Demonstratives might be also analyzed as Prepositional Phrases (PPs) where 'the Preposition *uman* 'like, as'<sup>22</sup> is governing a Locative Phrase realized by the set of enclitic Locative Demonstratives (ex: *uman=say* 'like this'). There is some morphophonological evidence suggesting that these PPs are currently undergoing lexicalization, namely the aphaeresis process described in §3.2.5 where forms like /?umansin/ 'like this' and /?umansaj/ 'like that' are realized as [man'sin] and [man'sai], most likely as a consequence of a rightward stress shift (originally located on the last syllable of *uman* /?u'man/). However, the fact that a number of other clitics may be placed between the two (Specificity Marker =*i*, enclitic Adverbs =*gul*, =*sela*, =*man*, =*na*, =*namud*, =*nen*) suggests that the lexicalization process is not complete.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> The form *uman* /?uman/ is probably related to Alta hearsay particle /?an/, to which an <um> infix was added. The form /?an/ has cognates in a number of Luzon languages including Bontok (Lawrence Reid, personal communication, August 21, 2017), Casiguran Agta, Dupaningan Agta or Ilokano.

(5.64)	(5.64) pag umansen a minakayasan nen				
	pag <b>?umansin</b>	?a	m <in></in>	∙ə-kajas-an=ne	ən
	if <b>PROX.DEM.</b>	SML LK	POT.I	PV <prf>-sha</prf>	ve=already
	ʻif (you) can shave (t	the rattan) like	this' (11	9.007)	
(5.65)	5.65) pag may tinomubo a umansi'e				
	pag maj t <in>&lt;</in>	<um>-ubu</um>	?a	?umansi?i	
	If have <prf< td=""><td></td><td>LK</td><td>LPROX.DEN</td><td>I.SML</td></prf<>		LK	LPROX.DEN	I.SML
	'If it has grown this b	oig' (93.490) (li	t. if it ha	s grown like th	is)
(5.66)	umansina in tanem r	mo-i			
	?umansina	?in tanər	n=mu=i		
	MED.DEM.SML	ABS plant	=2s.GEI	N=SPEC	
	'your plant is this big	g' (93.436) (lit.	your pla	nt is like this)	
(5.67)	umansay polung ni A	Alta-i dya'yay			
	?umansaj	puluŋ	ni	?alta=i	dija?jaj
	DIST.DEM.SML	language	GEN	alta=SPEC	now
	this is how the langu	uage of the Alt	a is now	ı' (49.20)	
(5.68)	mendasal nen a uma	ansa'i			
(5.68)	mendasal nen a uma mən-dasal=nən		ansa?i		

(he) prayed like that (99.616)

### 5.2.2.6 Tad- Demonstratives

From a pragmatic perspective *tad*- Demonstratives are used when the speaker is looking for something and eventually finds it. This set of Demonstratives might have developed from a lexicalization of the Locative Article, the Enclitic Adverb =d, and the set of Absolutive Demonstratives (=i'e, =ina, =yay). Semantically, the set also shows the distance distinction in the same way as the other Demonstratives.

The syntactic functions of *tad*- Demonstratives have not been investigated in depth. The examples below suggest that they mostly appear in predicate function, and thus seem to

correspond with what Diessel (1999, p.9) describes as identificational demonstratives. Table 5.7 presents the *tad*- Demonstratives:

-	Table 5.7 Tad-    Demonstratives		
ſ	Distance	Form	

Distance	Form	Example
Proximal	taden /ta'din/	5.69
Less Proximal	<b>tadi'e</b> /tadi'?i/	5.70
Medial	<b>tadina</b> /ta'dina/	5.71
Distal	<b>tadyay</b> /tad'jaj/	5.72
Far Distal	<b>tadya'i</b> /tadja'ʔi/	5.73

- (5.69) tadin in di'amiyu
   tadin ?in di?amiju
   PROX.DEM ABS 2p.LOC
   'here is what is yours' (92.57)
- (5.70) tadi'e butol na-i bebba'ik tadi?i butul=na=i ba-ba?ik LPROX.DEM seed=3s.GEN=SPEC RDP-small-'there, the little seed of it' (93.425)
- (5.71) adip man inalap? tadina-i adinu=d=man ?<in>alap where=d=CNTR <PRF>get

## **tadina=**i

## MED.DEM=SPEC

'where did you get (it)? it was there' (95.092)

(5.72) tad yay inesabit nad in kardero na
tadjaj ?<in>i-sabit=na=d ?in kardiru=na
DIST.DEM CV<PRF>-hang=3s.GEN=d ABS pot=3s.GEN
'there, she hung her pot' (106.7)

(5.73) tadya'i tadja?i FDIST.DEM 'there it is!' (119.61)

## **5.2.3 Interrogative Pronouns**

Interrogative Pronouns are a closed class of words occurring in clause-initial position in content questions, unless they are preceded by vocatives (5.81) or topicalized elements (5.82). Some Interrogative Pronouns function as hosts of enclitics (5.74, 5.79, 5.80). Finally, as Examples (5.76, 5.80) show, some Interrogatives combine with a Linker Phrase. Table 5.8 presents the Interrogative Pronouns:

#### **Table 5.8 Interrogative Pronouns**

Interrogative	Meaning	Example
adino /ʔa'dinu/	'where'	5.74
<b>aheno</b> /ʔa'hinu/	'what'	5.75
anon /ʔanun/	'why'	5.162
anompan /ʔa'numpan/	'why'	5.76
<b>kumusta</b> /kumus'ta/	'how is'	5.77
<b>ma'in</b> /'maʔin/	'why'	5.78
<b>nu'ano</b> /nu'?anu/	'when'	5.79
<b>papeno</b> /pa'pinu/	'how'	5.80
<b>sa'ano</b> /sa'?anu/	'how many/ much'	5.81
<b>tiyaheno</b> /tija'hinu/	'who'	5.82

- (5.74) adino 'ad minenginad? **?adinu**=?a=d m<in>ən-gina=d
  where=2s.ABS=d <PRF>AV-run=d
  'where did you run?' (99.1006)
- (5.75) aheno eggagawin miyo bagay si'am ay may ritual? **?ahinu** ?əC-gagawi-ən=miju bagaj si?am ?aj maj rituwal what PRG-do-PV=2p.GEN when 2p PM have ritual

'what do you do when you have a ritual?' (63.48)

- (5.76) anompan a tinongaw nen **?anumpan** ?a t<in>uŋaw=nən
  why LK <PRF.PV>mite=already
  'why did it get (infested with) mites?' (92.470)
- (5.77) **kumusta** 'ad? kumusta=?a=d how.are=2s.ABS=d 'how are you?' (507.06)
- (5.78) ma'in minelined hid?
   ma?in m<in>ə-linəd=hid
   why ST<PRF>-surprise=3s.ABS
   'why were they surprised' (70.1.14)
- (5.79) nu'ano 'a dinumateng
   nu?anu=?a d<in><um>atəŋ
   when=2s.ABS <PRF><AV>arrive
   'when did you arrive? (08.37)
- (5.80)papeno' sina a ume'ay Di'apinesan saka Gabaldon?papinu=?=sina?ahow=1s.GEN=MED.DEM.LOCLKLK<AV>goDikapinisan

saka gabaldun and Gabaldon 'how can I go there, to Dikapinisan and Gabaldon?' (82.037)

(5.81) si'aw man kumari, sa'ano ana' mo-i?
si?aw=man kumari sa?anu ?ana?=mu=i
2s=CNTR godmother<sup>23</sup> how.many child=2s.GEN=SPEC
'and you my dear, how many children do you have?' (88.201)
(lit. and you my dear, how many children of yours?)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> The term *kumari* 'godmother' is also to adress a female friend.

(5.82) ana' ni Akin, in bunsu, ti aheno gul yad? Ti Lut
?ana? ni ?akin ?in bunsu ti?ahinu=gul=jaj=d
child GEN Akin ABS youngest.son who=emphasis=DIST.DEM.ABS=d
ti lut
ABS Lut
'the youngest son of Akin, who was it again, (ah) Lut!' (85.640)

# **5.3 Function words**

The sections below explore the different classes of function words. A number of these clases consist of only a single member, including the Plural Marker, the Specificity Marker, the Predicate Marker, the Linker and the Negator.

## 5.3.1 Articles

Articles occur in the leftmost position of a DP. They mark case, specify number and distinguish between person and common words (§5.4.4). The distribution of Articles on the basis of the case they mark is explored in Chapter §6. Table 5.9 presents the Alta Articles:

Case /specificity	Persoi	n words	Common words		Deictic
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	
Absolutive	ti	tid	in	siden	-
Genitive	ni	nid	ni	niden	nen
Locative	ni	-	ta	niden	-
Oblique	-	-	ti	-	ten
Non- specific			te /tə/		

#### Table 5.9 Articles

### 5.3.1.1 Person word Articles

#### 5.3.1.1.1 Singular

(5.83)	ti'sen mapoled ti Alex			
	ti?sin	mə-puləd	[ti	?aliks]
	PROX.DEM.LOC	ROX.DEM.LOC ST-sleep		
	'here is where Alex sleeps' (72.03)			

- (5.84) ama ni dila-i a Ramon
  ?ama [ni dila?i [?a ramun]]
  father GEN uncle LK Ramon
  '(the) father of uncle Ramon' (103.504)
- (5.85) awon 'ami mengotan ni Maricel
   ?awun=?ami məŋ-?utan [ni marisil]
   not.exist=1pe.ABS AV-borrow LOC Maricel
   'we do not borrow (money) from Maricel' (86.425)

#### 5.3.1.1.2 Plural

(5.86)	imangən mo tid wadim					
	?imaŋ-ən=mu [	tid	wadi=m]			
	protect-PV=1s.GEN	PL.ABS	younger.sibling=2s.GEN			
	'take care of your siblir					

(5.87)	7) siyad in limoy nid Lulia ten kinasal sid						
	sija=d	a=d ?in limuj [ <b>nid</b> lulja]					
	3s=d	ABS	piece.of.cloth	PL.GEN	Lulia		
	tən	k <in>a</in>	sal=sid				

when <PRF>marry=3s.ABS 'this (salago) is the piece of cloth of Lulia (and her fiancée) when they were married' (99.393)

## 5.3.1.2 Common word Articles

## 5.3.1.2.1 Singular

(5.88)	isay sina minate'nag in eroplano				
	?isaj=sina	m <in>ə-tə?na</in>	g	[?in	?iruplanu]
	be.at=MED.DEM.LOC	ST <prf>-fal</prf>		ABS	airplane
	'there is where the airp	lane crashed' (103. <sup>-</sup>	103)		
(5.89)	pag may aso, eddamol	agen ni aso-i			
	pag maj ?asu ?	əC-damulag-ən	[ni	?asu=	i]
	if have dog P	PRG-chase-PV	GEN	dog=SPEC	
	'if there is a dog, the do	og hunts' (61.71)			
(5.90)	Lin, mengolas 'a ti ping	jan-i			
	lin məŋ-ʔulas=ʔa	[ <b>ti</b> piŋan=	=i]		
	Lin AV-wash=2s.AE	BS <b>OBL dish</b> =	SPEC		
	'Lin, wash the dishes' (	38.05)			
(5.91)	panga awon nen meng	an ta beli			
	paŋa ?awun=nən	meŋ-ʔan	[ta	bəli]	
	when not.exist=alread	ly AV-eat	LOC	house	
	once there is nothing le	eft to eat at home' (	19.06)		
(5.92)	awo' sepla te asawa				
		asawa]			
	not.exist=still NSP s	pouse			
	'I was not married yet' (	(76.015)			
5.3.1.2.2 Plur	ral				
(5.93)	annolen 'o siden tatlo a	a pemet'akad			
	?annul-ən=?u [s	<b>sidən</b> tatlu	[?a	pəmət	?aka=d]]
	know-PV=1s.GEN	PL.ABS three	LK	sibling	<b>g</b> =d
	'I know them, the three	brothers' (52.154)			

(5.94) kaya annolen niden ana' 'o a apat

kaja?annul-ən[nidən?ana?=?u[?a?apat]]thusknow-PVPL.GENchild=1s.GENLKfour'so my four children know (the Alta language)' (49.67)

(5.95) sidded man in mengated hela ti malimbuy niden altan-i sid
 siddə=d=man ?in məŋ-?atəd=hila ti malimbuj
 3p=d=CNTR ABS AV-give=also OBL money

[nidən?a?altan=i=sid]PL.LOCalta.tribe=SPEC=PL

'they are also the ones who give some money to the Alta tribe' (75.71)

#### 5.3.1.3 The Articles nen and ten

The Articles *nen* and *ten* mark DPs for the Genitive and Oblique case respectively (see §6 for a description of case relations) and in addition, they add a deictic meaning to the DP they mark. However, as opposed to Demonstratives (which may also function as determiners §5.2.2) *nen* and *ten* do not distinguish distance, and may not stand as Pronouns. The examples below show that their syntactic distribution is similar to case-marking Articles and for this reason we consider them to belong to the word class of Articles. On the basis of their semantics they could be subcategorized as deictic Articles.

#### 5.3.1.3.1 The Article nen

*Nen* marks a DP for the Genitive case, thus, constituents marked by *nen* may appear in modifier function in which they carry the possessor role (Example 5.96, 5.97). They can also function as arguments, in which they express the actor role (5.97):

(5.96)	palitan nad man nen in beli nen aparato				
	palit-an=na=d=mannən	?in	bəli	[nən	?aparatu]
	change-LV=3s.GEN=d=again	ABS	house	D.GEN	device
'he is changing again the frame of this device' (104.567				4.567)	

(5.97)	aliyo'en nen halapowan na in huli nen aso na				
	?aliju-ən	[nən	halapuwan=na]	?in	huli
	search-PV	D.GEN	ancestor=3s.GEN	ABS	hunt

[nən	?asu=na]				
D.GEN	dog=3s.GEN				
'these ancestors of him would look for the game of his dog' (54.17)					

#### 5.3.1.3.2 The Article ten

The Article *ten* marks a DP for the Oblique case. Therefore, as the examples below show, DPs marked by *ten* appear in argument function, carrying an undergoer role in clauses with bivalent and trivalent predicates (5.98 and 5.99 respectively).

(5.98)	kaya me'una=' gul ten apo ay me''aral 'am a mapiya				
	kaja	mə?una=?=gı	ul	[tən	?apu]
	thus	say=1s.ABS=	EMPH	OBL	grandson
	?aj	mən-?aral=?a	m	?a	mə-pija
	PM	AV-study=2s.	ABS	LK	ST-beauty
	'so I sa	ay to these gra	ndsons	of mine	e: "study hard" (97.763)
(5.99)	ibbide'	ten ana' 'o			
	?i-bidd	ə=?	[tən	?ana?=	=?u]
	CV-say=1s.GEN <b>OBL</b> child=1s.GEN				Is.GEN

'I told (it) to that child of mine' (82.053)

The Article *ten* may also form Oblique temporal DPs (as in Examples 4.11 and 4.52) and Oblique locative DPs (see Examples 6.92 and 6.93) in adjunct function.

Finally, *ten* is also classified as a Subordinate Conjunction, which introduces Subordinate clauses with temporal meaning (see Table 5.12 in §5.3.9). It is likely that the Conjunction t*en* may have developed from the Article *ten*, through a grammaticalization process, and is on its way to being stripped of its case marking properties and deictic meaning.

#### 5.3.1.4 The non-specific Article te

The non-specific Article *te* appears in clauses with predicates headed by the negative Existential *awon* (§4.3.3.3), and precedes referents that cannot be identified.

(5.100) duwa namud in ana' mi a awon te sanga

duwa=namud ?in?ana?=mi?a?awun[tə saŋa]two=justABSchildren=1pe.GENLKnot.existNSPwife'only two of our children are single' (69.12) (lit. two only are the children ofours who have no wife)

(5.101) kaya awon nen te waget
 kaja ?awun=nən [tə wagət]
 because not.exist=already NSP water
 'because there is no water anymore' (103.573)

## 5.3.2 Plural Marker = sid

The Plural Marker *sid* /=sid/ is a function word that occurs in the rightmost position of DPs and UPs, and marks a phrase for plurality. The Plural Marker *sid* is probably a development of the homophonous Absolutive third person plural Pronoun. However, the Plural Marker is not marked for case and is thus compatible with DPs marked with any case. The examples below include instances of *sid* marking an Oblique DP (5.102), and a Genitive DP (5.103). The Plural Marker may also mark the lexical head of a UP (Examples 5.104 and 5.105).

The Plural Marker *sid* is an enclitic, and usually appears at the very end of a clitic sequence, behind other enclitics such as Personal Pronouns or the Specificity Marker. From a phonetic perspective the marker sid has two possible realizations: [sid] and [hid].

(5.102)	kaya meiwadde a elan a mengated ti ana"o-i-sid						
	kaja	majwaddə	?a	?ilan		?a	məŋ-?atəd
	SO	have	LK	compa	anion	LK	AV-give
	ti	?ana?=?u=i <b>=</b>	sid				
	OBL	OBL child=1s.GEN=SPEC <b>=PL</b>					
	'so I h	ave a compar	ion who	provide	es for m	ny child	ren' (61.44)
(5.103)	kasi, i	storia ni ninun	o mi sid				
	kasi	?istur	ia	ni	ninun	u=mi <b>=s</b>	id
	becau	se story		GEN	ances	tors=1p	e.GEN <b>=PL</b>
	'becau	use the story c	of our ar	cestors	s' (103.8	889)	
(5.104)	kung l	baga, proyecto	o sid a iy	/e"alo'			

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kuŋbagaprujiktu=sid?a?i-?əC-?alu?if.sayproject=PLLKCV-PRG-offer'actually the projects that were being offered' (91.582)

(5.105) aliyo'e 'od balobu sid
?aliju?-ən=?u=d balubu=sid
search-PV=1s.GEN=d balobo.tree=PL
'I search for the Balobo trees (because the orchids grow next to them)'
(97.723)

## 5.3.3 Specificity Marker =i

The Specificity Marker =i marks the head of a phrase as specific. Possible heads of phrases include U-words (5.106), V-words (5.108) and certain Demonstratives (5.71). It can also be attached to place nouns (see Examples 5.48, 5.63, 5.107), which is interesting considering the fact that place nouns are inherently specific. As the examples below show, the Specificity Marker appears in DPs and UPs with different functions, such as argument (5.108), modifier (5.106), adjunct (5.107) or topic (5.109).

The Specificity Marker is an enclitic particle, and thus it is phonologically attached to its host, which is the head of the phrase. As for its position in relation to other enclitics, Examples (5.106, 5.107) show that the Specificity Marker is placed right after the host, unless there are enclitic Personal Pronouns, which would be then placed before it (5.109). The only enclitic particle that appears after the Specificity Marker is the Plural Marker *=sid* (5.102).

(5.106)	tapos, siden g	gamit ni hapon	-i		
	tapus	[sidən	gamit	ni	[hapun <b>=i]]</b>
	then	ABS.PL	tool	GEN	Japanese <b>=SPEC</b>
	'and (they bu	ried) also the to	ools that belong	ged to t	he Japanese' (103.54)

- (5.107) panga aliyo 'o ti Somili
  paŋa ?aliju=?u [ti [sumil=i]]
  when hunt=1s.GEN OBL Somil=SPEC
  'when I hunt in Somil' (53.59)
- (5.108) kaya ado sen sumesdep-i kaja ?adu=sin [s<um>s-dəp=i]

thus many=PROX.DEM.LOC <AV>RDP-enter**=SPEC** 'because many are the ones that are coming in here' (103.153)

(5.109) ngadden na'i Alobasa
[[ŋaddən=na]=i] ?alubasa
name=3s.GEN=SPEC pumpkin
'its name is Alobasa (pumpkin)' (94.329)

In the following example, the Specificity Marker appears in the rightmost of a DP in which a Demonstrative occupies the Article slot. The phrase is headed by the U-word *kujug* 'friend' and is modified by a Genitive Pronoun. Although the Specificity Marker is placed behind the Genitive Pronoun, it is not marking the Pronoun alone, but the whole DP [*ni?ni?i kuyug=?u*] 'that friend of mine'. The bracketing of the following example attempts to illustrate the structure.

(5.110) inalap e' ni'ni'e, kuyog o'i
?<in>alap=ə? [[ni?ni?i [kujug=?u]]=i]
<PRF>get=1s.ABS LPROX.DEM.GEN friend=1s.GEN=SPEC
'that friend of mine took me' (98.346)

From a morpho-phonological perspective, the Specificity Marker triggers a number of morpho-phonological alternations depending on the form of the preceding element, including gemination, epenthesis or stress change (§3.2).

Specificity Markers are also identified in neighboring Philippine languages such as Arta or Dupaningan Agta. Kimoto (2017, p.193) considers that the Arta specific marker =i "signals that the referent is specific, known to the speaker, and a concrete entity". For Dupaningan Agta, Robinson (2008, p.93) distinguishes specificity from definiteness: "specificity, in contrast, implies only that the entity being referred to is specific, not necessarily that it is known to the listener". As for Northern Alta, the semantic properties of the Specificity Marker have not yet been investigated in depth.

## 5.3.4 Predicate Marker ay

The Predicate Marker introduces the predicate phrase in clauses with a fronted topic (see §4.2.8). The use of the PM is optional, and an intonational break may appear alternatively (see Example 4.43).

(5.111) i'en ay tanodan mo ti tatlo-i a bulan
?i?in [?aj [tanud-an]]=mu ti tatlu=i ?a bulan
PROX.DEM PM wait-LV=2s.GEN OBL three=SPEC LK month
'as for this, you wait three months' (95.215)

Other terms for this type of function word in Philippine literature include "topic linker" (Liao, 2004, p.221, Ruffolo, 2004, p.468), "inversion ligature" (Rubino, 1997, p.492) and "topical particle" (Kimoto, 2017, p.173).

## 5.3.5 The a Linker

The Linker particle a /?a/ (LK) is a function word that is used to form Linker Phrases (§4.2.9), which are phrases that function as modifiers (of arguments, predicates and adjuncts) or as complements of Existentials. The LK is placed in the leftmost position of the Linker Phrase (LP), and follows directly the constituent that it modifies.

In the example below, the LK forms the Linker Phrase [*a Bulldozer*], which functions as a modifier of the argument *tena* 'mother':

(5.112)	adino 'am nen?, ma'unad tena a Bulldozer						
	?adinu=?am=nən	ma?una=d	[tina	[?a	buldusir]]		
	where=2p.ABS=already	say=d	ABS.mother	LK	bulldozer		
	'where are you now? mother "bulldozer" said' (100.342)						

### 5.3.6 The Negator bisa

*Bisa* forms negative predicates together with Linker Phrases or Determiner Phrases. The structure [bisa + LP] forms the predicate in (5.113, 5.115, 5.116, 5.117, 5.118, 5.120). The complement of the Linker may be a U-word (5.113), a DP (5.115), a PP (5.116), a Demonstrative (5.117 - 5.118) or a V-word (5.120). Example (5.114) shows the Negator *bisa* forming a predicate together with a DP. *Bisa* is also used in confirmation-questions (5.119).

(5.113) bisa'e a Alta <u>bisa</u>=ə? <u>?a ?alta</u> NEG=1s.ABS LK alta 'I am not an Alta' (069.15) (5.114) bisa'en in tunay a ginto

<u>bisa</u> =ʔin	<u>?in</u>	tunaj	?a	gintu
NEG=PROX.DEM.ABS	ABS	pure	LK	gold
'this is not pure gold' (103.351)				

(5.115) isay di'ami iye'ated ni mahali a panginoon bisa a ti aduwani
 ?isai di?ami ?i-?əC-?atəd ni mahal=i ?a paŋinu?un
 be.at 1pi.LOC CV-PRG-give GEN dear=SPEC LK lord

<u>bisa</u> ?a ti ?aduwan=i NEG LK OBL other=SPEC 'it was given to us by the dear Lord, not to the others' (103.263)

(5.116) bisa a anig ten demo

bisa?a?anigtəndəmuNEGLKlikeOBLfirst'it is not like in the beginning'(65.04)

- (5.117) ay bisa a umansina menlaba-i
  ?aj <u>bisa</u> ?a ?umansina mən-laba=i
  PM NEG LK MED.DEM.SML AV-wash=SPEC
  'this is not the (right) way to wash clothes' (88.543)
- (5.118) di'etam ina a waget, bisad a ina a didde
   di?itam=?ina ?a wagət
   1pi.LOC=MED.DEM.ABS LK water

<b>bisa</b> =d	?a=?ina	?a	diddə		
NEG=d	LK=MED.DEM.ABS	LK	3s.LOC		
'this river is ours, it is not theirs' (88.389)					

(5.119) Bisa bat tena tam sela minenganop
 <u>bisa=bat</u> tina=tam=sila m<in>əŋ-?anup
 NEG=Q ABS.mother=1pi.GEN=also AV<PRF>-hunt
 'our mum was also a hunter, wasn't she?' (100.952)

(5.120) ten arraw ay bisad a binaldi, piningey
 ten ?araw ?aj <u>bisa=d ?a b<in>aldi</u>
 when day PM NEG=d LK <PRF>bucket
 p<in>inaj
 <PRF>bundle
 'back in these days rice was not measured by bucket but by bundle' (76.298)

## **5.3.7 Prepositions**

Prepositions are words that may precede a phrasal constituent, for example a DP, UP, Personal Pronoun or Demonstrative, forming a single constituent called a Prepositional Phrase (§4.2.7). Table 5.10 presents the elements that may function as Prepositions, as well as the kinds of complements they may govern, and some examples.

Preposition	Meaning	Kind of complement	Number
anig /ʔanig/	like	GEN DP	5.121
		OBL DP	5.122
<b>hangan</b> /haŋ'gan/	until	LOC DP	5.123
		UP (location)	5.123
		LOC DEM	5.124
<b>para</b> /'pa <b>r</b> a/	for, in order to	OBL DP	5.125
		LOC Pronoun	5.125
uman /ʔu'man/	like	OBL DP	5.126
		GEN DEM	5.52

#### **Table 5.10 Prepositions**

(5.121) anig ni barangay Diteki, inalokan hid ti hidro-i

[?anig	[ni	baraŋ	gaj	ditiki]]
like	GEN	baran	gay	Diteki
? <in>aluku-a</in>	n=hid		ti	hajdru=i
<prf>fool-L</prf>	V=3s.Al	BS	OBL	hydro=SPEC
			148	

'like the barangay Diteki, they were fooled with the hydro (project)' (91.738)

(5.122)	anig ti mano	o' ni talor	n-i				
	[?anig	[ti	manu?	ni	talun=	i]]	
	like	OBL	chicken	GEN	forest	=SPEC	
	'(I use the g	un to hu	nt animals) like	e chicke	n of the	foresť (92.457)	
(5.123)	duwa a buw	an a um	'ikot, hangan t	a Diane	d, hang	an ta Dicoliat, hanga	n Dibut
	duwa ?a	buwa	n ?a ? <um< th=""><th>ı&gt;?ikut</th><th></th><th></th><th></th></um<>	ı>?ikut			
	two LK	month	n LK <av></av>	-travel			
	[haŋgan	[ta	dijanid]]				
	until	LOC	Dianed				
	[haŋgan	[ta	dikulijat]]	[haŋg	an	[dibut]]	
	until	LOC	Dicoliat	until		Dibut	
	'we travelle	d for two	months, until	Dianed,	until Di	coliat, until Dibut' (77	.10)
(5.124)	hangan ti'se	en egguy	oden mi				
	[haŋgan	[ti'sen	n]]	?eC-g	ujud-er	i=mi	
	until	PROX	K.DEM.LOC	PRG-	pull-PV	=1pe.GEN	
	'we pull (the	rattan) (	until here' (119	9.082)			
(5.125)	i'yay ay awo	on para c	li'ami, para ti g	obierno	-i		
	?i?jaj	?aj	?awun	[para	[di?an	ni]]	
	MED.DEM	PM	not.exist	for	1pi.LC	C	
	<b>[para</b> [ti	gubjir	nu=i] <b>]</b>				
	for OBL	gover	mment=SPEC				
	'his is not fo	r us, it is	for the govern	nment' (′	103.166	5)	
(5.126)	pero ittibeno	gʻod um	nan ti uni ni kal	aw-i			
	piru ?i-tib	əŋ=?u=o	d <b>[?um</b>	an	[ti	?uni	
	but CV-ł	near=1s.	GEN=d like		OBL	sound	
	ni kala	w=i]]					

GEN kalaw=SPEC 'but I heard (something) like the sound of a *kalaw* bird' (100.786)

# 5.3.8 Coordinate Conjunctions

Coordinate Conjunctions are function words that link two constituents of equal rank. Table 5.11 below shows the Coordinate Conjunction with the types of coordinated unit and one example number. The table is followed by some glossed examples.

Coordinate Conjunction	Meaning	Kind of coordinated linguistic units	Example
at /?at/	and	Ups	5.127
		DPs	5.128
		Dems	5.129
		Clauses	5.191
at saka /?atsa'ka/	and	DPs, Pronouns	5.130
		Clauses	5.131
<b>kesa</b> /'kisa/	than	AdvPs	5.132
<b>kesara</b> /kisa'ra/	than	DPs, Pronouns	5.133
		AdvPs	5.134
<b>o</b> /ʔu/	or	DPs	5.135
		Dems	5.136
		AdvPs	4.17
		Clauses	5.137
pero /'piru/	but	Clauses	5.138
saka /saka/	and	Ups	5.80
		Dems	5.56
		AdvPs	5.139
		Clauses	5.140

Table 5.11	Coordinate	Conjunctions
	ooorannato	Conjanotiono

(5.127)	isay sina tidyama at tiddena
---------	------------------------------

?isaj=sina	[tidijama]	?at	[tiddina]
be.at=MED.DEM.LOC	fathers	and	mothers
	150		

'(our) fathers and mothers stayed there (by that river)' (88.022)

(5.128)	isay sen sinoma'lan ni sir at ?isaj=sin be.at=PROX.DEM.LOC			s <in><um>a?lang</um></in>				
	[ni GEN 'he is h	sir] sir here, fro	<b>?at</b> and ont of S	[ni GEN Sir (Alex	madai madai ) and N	m	(Marilyn)' (58.5	0)
(5.129)	?aj INTJ	?addiji far	u		.DEM		<b>[ʔ</b> iʔjaj DIST.DEM ʲar awayʻ (76.40	dijanawan=i <b>]</b> Dianawan=SPEC 67)
(5.130)	tapus then	ABS	?aliks Alex		<b>?atsa</b> and (70.42		[siʔən] 1s	
(5.131)	[? <um: <av>g <b>?atsak</b> and</av></um: 	>aj=?al go=2p. <i>ł</i> <b>ka</b>	m ABS [mən- AV-wo	t <um> <av>f ?ayuh]</av></um>	aʔjuŋ ētch [mən- AV-sw	ti OBL walis] /eep	ayuh, men walis wagət=i] water=SPEC	
(5.132)			lo'ag ta mə-luʻ	rabaho'	i ten ar taraba	aw kes ahu=i	d, and sweep' ( a dya'yay	61.11)
	[tən OBL ʻbut wo	?araw day orking (	_	<b>kisa</b> than ring) wa	[dijaʔj now s easie	-	in these days t	han now' (91.338)

(5.133)	mə-ga ST-be	nda in s anda auty p-flops a	<b>[</b> ʔin ABS	sinilas flip.flo	s=?u] ps=1s./		<b>kisara</b> than 65)	[dija] 3s.LO	С
(5.134)	mesm məs more	mə-ga	i hep bu inda=si∣ auty=st	p	en araw buhaj= life=S	=i	ı dya'yay		
	[tən OBL ʻlife ba	?arawj day ack in th	-	<b>kisara</b> than ys was		[dijaʔja now han nov	aj <b>]</b> w' (91.678)		
(5.135)	pag isa pag if	ay sina isaj=si be.at=				<b>[</b> ʔin ABS	laman <b>]</b> wild.pig		
	<b>?u</b> or 'if the '	[ʔin ABS wild big	?usah deer or the	-	ets there	e (what	would you do)'	' (92.53	1)
(5.136)	pag m pag if		ən-?an	a=?in		Л.ABS	[tiʔsin] PROX.DEM.L	_OC	<b>?u</b> or
		a] DEM.LC : reprod		ere or th	nere' (94	4.026)			
(5.137)	bahala	ad sid k a=d=sid iding=d:			e 'ami o kuŋ if	awon			
	PRG-ę	Patəd-ar give-LV ends or	=3pGE	N=1pe.		<b>?u</b> or give us	[?awun] not.exist (some gold) or	not' (10	03.173)

(5.138)	me'itnud ami say a duwa pero aloben 'o in sarili					
	[mə-?itnud=?ami=sa	ıj		?a	duwa]	piru
	ST-sit=1pe.ABS=DI	ST.DEN	1.LOC	LK	two	but
	[?alub-ən=?u smell-PV=1s.ABS 'the two of us were s		sarili] self ere, but	t I smel	led mys	elf' (100.844)
(5.139)	kumparam in buhay kumpara=m	tam ten ?in	ana' 'it buhaj=		a dya'ya	ау
	compare=2s.GEN	ABS	life=1p	oi.GEN		
	[ten ana?=?itam]		saka	[dija?j	aj]	
	when child=1pe.AE	S	and	now		
	'compare our life wh	en we v	vere chi	ldren a	nd nowa	adays' (98.004)
(5.140)	igisa na in upu saka	na saho	ogan tei	n udang	9	
	[?i-gisa=na	?in	?upu]	saka[	=na	
	CV-cook=3s.GEN	ABS	gourd	and=3	s.GEN	
	sahug-an tən	?udaŋ	]			
	mix-LV OBL	shrimp	С			
	'she cooks the gourd and then mixes it with the shrimps' (107.69)					

# 5.3.9 Subordinate Conjunctions

Subordinating Conjunctions are function words that link a dependent clause to a main clause. Table 5.12 below shows the Subordinate Conjunctions, with the meaning denoted and an example number. The table is followed by glossed examples.

Form	Meaning	Example
<b>bagay</b> /'bagai/	when, then	5.141
<b>balo</b> /'balu/	before	5.142, 5.143
<b>da</b> /da/	since, because	5.144

### Table 5.12 Subordinate Conjunctions

dahil /'dahil/	because	5.145
habang /'habaŋ/	while	5.146
hangan /ha'ŋgan/	even if	5.147
<b>kasi</b> /ka'si/	because	5.148
<b>kaya</b> /ka'ja/	thus	5.149
<b>kayadla</b> /kaja'dla/	but, however	5.150
<b>kung</b> /kuŋ/	if	5.151
pag /pag/	if, when	5.152
pagka /pag'ka/	if, when	5.153
<b>pero</b> /'piru/	but	5.154
ten /tən/	when	5.155

(5.141) ay aheno eggagawin miyo bagay si'am ay may ritual

?aj	?ahinu	?əC-gagawi=ən=miju

[bagaj	si'am	?aj	maj	rituwal]
when	2р	PM	have	ritual
'what would you do when performing a ritual?' (63.48)				

(5.142)	dapat limma sep a ta'on balo mengiyan					
	dapat limma=sip	?a	ta?un	[balu	məŋ-ʔijan <b>]</b>	
	should five=still	LK	year	before	AV-fruit	
	'there should still be five years before (it) bears fruit' (94.709)					

(5.143) tanodan tam sa'ano a sinag, sa'ano a bulan, balo mənhuli tanud-an=tam sa?anu ?a sinag LK wait-LV=1pi.GEN few day sa?anu ?a bulan [balu mən-huli] LΚ month before AV-hunt few

'we wait (for the snare) for a few days or months before we catch anything' (92.326)

(5.144) awon 'o man te magagawi da awon 'o man te sasakyan
 ?awun=?u=man
 tə mə-gagawi
 not.exist=1s.GEN=CNTR
 NSP
 POT.PV-do

[da?awun=?u=mantəsasakijan]becausenot.exist=1s.GEN=CONTRNSPvehicle'there is nothing I can do because I don't have a vehicle' (58.35)

(5.145) ngo'an mi 'en ay Coronang Tinik dahil ado te set
 ŋu?-an=mi=?in
 ?aj
 kurunaŋ
 kurunaŋ
 tinik
 name-LV=1pe.GEN=PROX.DEM.ABS
 PM
 Kurunang
 Kurunang

[dahil?adutəsit]becausemanyLOCthorns'we call this plant 'Kurunang Tinik<sup>24,</sup> because it has many thorns' (94.018)

(5.146) habang dumed'el siya, me'iyan na a me'iyan
 [haban] d<um>d-?əl=sija]
 while <um>RDP-big=3s.ABS

mən-?ijan=na a mən-?ijan AV-fruit=already LK AV-fruit 'while it is growing, it continuously bears fruit' (93.488)

(5.147) at si'etam, hangan awon itam minen'aral

?at	si?itam	[haŋgan	?awun=?itam	m <in>ən-?aral]</in>
and	1pi	until	not.exist=1pi.ABS	AV <prf>-study</prf>

ay magandad man bilay tami ten arraw

?ajmə-ganda=d=manbilaj=tam=itən?arawPMST-beauty=d=CNTRlife=1pi.GEN=SPECOBLday'as for us, even if we did not attend school, our life was quite nice back inthese days' (97.766)

(5.148) obra siya a haligi ni bali-i pag tinistis mo in pon ni blongay-i kasi ma'tug

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Kuruna=ng Tinik is a Tagalog word meaning 'crown of thorns'

?ubra=sija haligi ni bəli=i ?a can=3s.ABS LK pilar GEN house=SPEC t<in>istis=mu ?in blunaj=i pag pun ni if <PRF>chop=2s.GEN ABS GEN blongay=SPEC tree [kasi mə-?tug] because ST-hardness 'it can be used as a pillar of a house, if you chop the blongay tree, because it's hard' (515.39)

(5.149) epat sep minedagdag-i kaya limma a ana' owi
 ?əpat=sip m<in>ə-dagdag=i
 four=still POT.PV<PRF>add=SPEC

[kajalimma?a?ana?=?u=i]thusfiveLKchild=1s.GEN=SPEC'we still had four more so I have five children' (69.38)(lit. four were the ones I could still add, thus five are my children)

(5.150) maiwadded man sepla kayadla awon nen mesyado
 majwaddə=man=sipla [kajadla ?awun=nən məsijadu]
 have=CNTR=still but not.exist=already much
 'there is still (some of our culture) but not much anymore' (99.382)

 (5.151) tumbag 'a kung budim a eg'angen in taba'om t<um>bag=?a [kuŋ budi=m <AV>reply=2s.ABS if want=2s.GEN

?a ?əg?aŋ-ən ?in taba?u=m]
LK remove-PV ABS tobacco=2s.GEN
'tell me, do you agree to quit smoking?' (21.10)
(lit. you reply, if you want to quit the tobacco of yours)

(5.152) melanislanis pag inelutom ti asin at bitsin-imə-lanis-lanis [pag ?<in>i-lutu=m

ST-RDP-sweetness if CV<PRF> -cook=2s.GEN

ti ?asin ?at bitsin=i] OBL salt and MSG=SPEC 'it is very sweet, if you cook it with salt and MSG<sup>25</sup>' (94.300)

(5.153) mensiya mensiya pagka awon na'a ininta mən-sija mən-sija [pagka AV-cry AV-cry when

?awun=na=?a?<in>inta]not.exist=3s.GEN=2s.ABS<PRF>see'he cries and cries when he does not see you' (94.300)

 (5.154) puwede siya a ulam pero in doon na awon te pa'enabang pwidi=sija ?a ?ulam [piru ?in dun=na can=3s.ABS LK viand but ABS leave=3s.GEN

?awuntəpa?inabaŋ]not.existNSPprofit'it can be a viand but its leaves are not nutritious' (95.200)(lit. It can be a viand but its leaves, it does not exist any profit)

(5.155) sidde in elan mi a mineng'ut'ut, ten essimolan mid a ut'utan yay
 siddə ?in ?ilan=mi ?a m<in>əŋ-?ut?ut
 3s ABS companion=1pe.GEN LK AV<PRF> -dig

[tən ?əC-simul-an=mi=d?a?ut?ut-an=jaj]whenPRG-start-LV=1pe.GEN=dLKdig-LV=DIST.DEM.ABS'they were the ones that were digging with us, when we started digging that'(103.09)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> MSG is an acronym of Monosodium Glutamate

# 5.4 Content words

## 5.4.1 Introduction: syntactic distribution of content words

In order to address the problem of the classification of content words, let us consider the following V-words: *mengan* 'to eat', *mensuli* 'to return' and *men'aral* 'to study', all of which denote actions. Consider as well the U-word *alta* 'person', the U-word referring to the animal *baye'* '*baye* fish', and the U-word *de'el* 'largeness', which denotes a property. Consider now the following examples:

#### (5.156) Predicate function

- a mengan e' sela <u>məŋ-ʔan</u>=əʔ=sila AV-eat=1s.ABS=also 'I also eat (ate)' (92.487)
- b alta e' sela
   <u>Palta</u>=ə?=sila
   person=1s.ABS=also
   'I am also a (Alta) person' (98.368)
- kayadla baye' namud mahuli-i sina
   kajadla <u>baje?</u>=namud mə-huli=i=sina
   however baye.fish=just POT.PV-hunt=SPEC=MED.DEM.LOC
   'however, the one (fish) that is possible to catch there is just the baye' (85.161)
- d de'el in tama na

<u>də?əl</u>	?in	tama=na		
big	ABS	wound=3s.GEN		
'his wound is big' (85.80)				

#### (5.157) Argument function

a siyad yay in mensoli sija=d=jaj [?in mən-suli] 3s=d=DIST.DEM.ABS ABS AV-return 'that (the nail) is the one that grows again' (95.140)

- b minasipel nen in Alta
   m<in>ə-sipəl=nən [?in ?alta]
   ST<PRF>-happiness=already ABS alta
   '(when peace was made with the llongot tribe) the Alta got happy' (506.31)
- c siyad yay in baye sija=d=jaj [?in bajə?] 3s=d=DIST.DEM.ABS ABS baye.fish 'that one is the *baye*' fish' (85.477)

c in de'el, kasi, isay ti disalad-i ni'nen
 [?in də?əl] kasi ?isaj ti disalad=i ni?nən
 ABS big thus be.at OBL under=SPEC PROX.DEM.GEN
 'because the big one (component) is located under that (part)' (104.129)

#### (5.158) Modification function

- a eddedden de sep ana'-i a me''aral ?əC-əddən=də=sip [?ana?=i [?a mən?aral]] PRG-load=3p.GEN=stil child=SPEC LK AV-study 'they even carry the children who study' (109.253)
- b si'ami a Alta [si?ami [?a **?alta]**] 1pe LK alta 'us, the Alta' (68.23)
- c ado 'en a baye ?adu=[?in [?a bajə?]] many=PROX.DEM.ABS LK baye.fish 'there are many of these (fishes), that are baye' (85.160)
- d tapos may pon ni uwah=i Santol a de'el

tapus	maj	[pun	ni	?uwah=i	santul	<b>[</b> ?a	də <b>?ə</b> l]]
then	have	tree	GEN	thing=SPEC	santol	LK	largeness
'then t	here wa	as also	the tree	of, the big <i>sai</i>	<i>ntol</i> tree' (103.4	43)	

The preceding examples show that words with different kinds of denotations and forms can perform the same syntactic functions. The examples provided in (5.156) show that the predicative function can not only be realized by the V-word *mengan*, but also by the U-word *alta* 'alta person', the U-word *baye'*, and by the U-word *de'el*. In the same way, the sentences in Examples (5.157) and (5.158) show that these forms can also function as the argument and the complement in modifying Linker Phrases respectively. Moreover, none of the words require additional coding when performing different syntactic functions.

The fact that content words with different kinds of denotations and forms may perform the same syntactic function without additional coding suggests that these content words may not form distinct syntactic categories. This situation is reminiscent of the one described for Tagalog by Himmelmann (2008), who states that "almost all Tagalog content words may occur in exactly the same number and kinds of terminal positions in a phrase structure tree" and, in consequence, "content words are categorially indistinct with regard to syntactic categories" This analysis is referred to as the *syntactic uniformity hypothesis for content words*, and describes a situation where "all content words may occur, without further derivation or conversion, in the same kind of phrase-structural positions" (2008, p.14). If this hypothesis is also valid for Northern Alta there would be no syntactic categories such as noun, verb or adjective.

#### 5.4.1.1 V-words and Existentials as lexical heads of Determiner Phrases

As exemplified in (§4.2.1), V-words may stand alone as the head of a DP, or may also govern complements. In addition, Existentials and their complements may also appear in this position. This section provides some additional examples of DPs headed by V-words and some examples of DPs headed by Existentials.

Example (5.159) shows a DP headed by the action-word *mendiskarga*, which governs an Oblique complement, which is itself modified by a Genitive DP:

(5.159)	siya i	in mendiskarga ti karga-i ni bateria-i (104.458)			
	sija	[?in	[mən-diskarga	ti	karga=i
	3s	ABS	AV-discharge	OBL	load=SPEC

ni batirija=i]]GEN battery=SPEC'that is the part that discharges the energy of the battery' (104.458)

Enclitic Adverbs may be hosted by V-words in this position. The following example shows the V-word *mengated,* followed by the Enclitic Adverb *=man*, and by two DPs, (one Oblique and one Locative).

(5.160)sidded man in mengated hela ti malimbuy niden altan-i sid (75-71)siddə=d=man[?in3s=d=CNTRABSABSAV-give=alsoOBLmoney

nidən ?a?altan=i=sid]] LOC.PL alta.tribe=SPEC=PL 'they are the ones who give money to the Alta' (75.71)

The following example shows the conveyance V-word *ini'ated* 'gave to' functioning as the lexical head of a DP. As we can see, words appearing in this position may also carry aspect affixes, such as the perfective infix <in>:

(5.161)	siya 'en in in'iated 'o di'aw				
	sija=?in	[?in	[? <in>i-?atəd=?u</in>	di?aw]]	
	3s=PROX.DEM.ABS	ABS	CV <prf>-give=1s.GEN</prf>	2s.LOC	
	'that one is the one I gave y	ou'			

As mentioned above, DPs may also be headed by Existentials, which can also be followed by their complement. The next example shows a DP containing the Existential *awon* and its complement *te tarabaho*.

(5.162) anon'a a binomudi ti awon te tarrabaho? ma'unad ti Don Pepe ?anun=?a ?a b<in><um>udi <PRF><AV>-want why=2s.ABS LK [ti [?awun te tarabahu]] ma?una=d ti dunpipi **ABS** not.exist NSP ABS Don.Pepe work say=d

'why did you love the one that does not have a job?, Don Pepe said' (53.55)

Finally, also Oblique DPs may have elements other than U-word as their head. In the next example the Oblique DP contains the Existential *isay* with its complement, which is another Oblique DP:

(5.163) kung si'aw ay minpa'an ti isay ti mudung-i
kuŋ si'aw ?aj mən-pa-?an [ti [?isaj ti muduŋ=i]]
if 2s PM AV-CAU-eat OBL be.at OBL mountain=SPEC
'if you feed the ones (rebels) that stay in the mountains' (82.046)

# 5.4.2 Lexical classification of content words

When proposing a lexical classification of Tagalog content words, Himmelmann (2008, p.26) mentions that "all voice-marked words in Tagalog, regardless of their base, are members of a single morpho-lexical class, and that this class is different from other morpho-lexical classes". In his view, only words that carry voice affixes belong to this class, which he calls V-class. We think that it is useful to adopt a similar way of classifying Northern Alta content words and also use the term V-words for words that carry voice affixes, and which are thus voice-marked. In contrast, we use the term U-words for those content words that do not carry voice affixation. V-words and U-words can be further distinguished on the basis of their subclasses and distribution. Table 5.13 below summarizes these properties:

	V-words	U-words
Subclasses	<ul> <li>Actor voice vs Undergoer voice</li> <li>Dynamic vs Stative</li> </ul>	Members of this class can be divided into person words and common words as each of the two classes uses a different set of Articles
Inflection	Aspect inflection	No inflection
Co-occurrence with Genitive Personal Pronouns	Only undergoer-voice marked members can be followed by Genitive Personal Pronouns, which function as argument, and play the actor role (clause level)	Members of this class can be modified by Genitive Personal Pronouns, which function as modifiers, expressing the possessor role (phrase level)

Table 5.13 Properties of lexical classes V and U

Co-occurrence	When <i>=sid</i> follows a member of	When <i>=sid</i> follows a member of
with the	this class, it is a third person plural	this class it functions as a Plural
homophonous	Absolutive Personal Pronoun	Marker §5.3.2 (phrase level)
enclitic <i>=sid</i>	§5.2.1.2 (clause level)	

## 5.4.2.1 Co-occurrence with Genitive Personal Pronouns

As we can see in the next two examples, the V-word *eg'ang-ən* and the U-word *la'ay* are both followed by the second person singular Personal Pronoun =*mu*. Although this Pronoun, which is enclitic, is attached to both content words, it bears a different function and a different interpretation in each case. When attached to the (Undergoer voice) V-word, it functions as a clausal argument and expresses the actor role, but when attached to a U-word, it functions as phrasal modifier (of the DP *in la'ay*), and carries the possessor role:

- (5.164) eg'angen mo in taba'o
  ?əg?aŋ-ən**[=mu]** ?in taba?u
  remove-PV=2s.GEN ABS tobacco
  'you (should) quit smoking' (21.05)
- (5.165) adinod in la'ay mo?
  ?adinu=d [?in la?aj**[=mu]**]
  where=d ABS old.man=2s.GEN
  'where is your husband'? (100.199)

## 5.4.2.2 Co-occurrence with the Pronoun =sid and the Plural Marker =sid

A similar situation occurs with the enclitic *=sid*: when it attaches to any kind of V-word it functions as a clausal argument, but when attached to a U-word, it functions as a phrasal modifier, marking the DP as plural:

- (5.166) minenla'ad sid ti mudung-i
   m<in>ən-la?ad[=sid] ti mudun=i
   AV<PRF>-walk=3p.ABS OBL mountain=SPEC
   'they walked on the mountain' (100.286)
- (5.167) eg'angen de in karajum sid ?əg?aŋ-ən=də [?in karajum**[=sid]**]

leave-PV=3s.GEN ABS needle=PL 'they remove the needles' (100.382)

## 5.4.3 V-words

V-words form a subclass of content words that is morphologically distinguished by carrying a voice-affix and by the capacity of inflecting for aspect. They can be subcategorized formally on the basis of the affix they carry. Table 5.14 presents the main classes of V-words and provides some examples. V-words are further explored in §7.

Class	Examples of Subclasses	Example of V-word	Meaning
Non derived	UM words	<b><um>e'ay</um></b> /? <um>əʔ'ʔaj/</um>	to go
	MEN words	menla'ad /mən'la?ad/	to walk
	MENG words	<b>meng-alap</b> /mə'ŋalap/	to catch (something)
	EN words	<b>alap-en</b> /ʔa'lapən/	to get something
	AN words	<b>ngo-'an</b> /'ŋuʔan/	to name someone
	I words	i-dton /ʔid'tun/	to place something
Potentive	ME words <sup>26</sup>	<b>me-'alap</b> /mə'?alap/	to be able to catch
Stative	ME words	<b>me-piya</b> /mə'pija/	to be good, beautiful
Causative	PA words	<b>men-pa-'an</b> /mənpa'?an/	to feed
		<b>ipa'inta</b> /ʔipaʔin'ta/	to show something to someone

Table 5.14	Subclasses	of V-words
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### 5.4.4 U-words

U-words are subdivided in two main categories, which are marked by different forms of Articles, these are person words (proper names of persons, including kinship terms of address) and common words. However, the two classes can form the same types of phrases. Examples of the two subclasses with their corresponding Article sets are provided in the Articles section (§5.3.1). Table 5.15 below presents the semantic types belonging to each

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Note that Potentive and Stative words have more than one subclass. See §7.3 and §7.4 for a more detailed presentation of the subclasses of Potentive and Stative words respectively.

subcategory. As the table shows, the kinship terms of address are marked with person word Articles, belonging thus to the subclass of person words, while kinship terms of reference take common word Articles and thus belong to the subclass of common words.

Subclass	Example	Meaning	Semantic type
Person words	Akin /'?akin/	name of a person	name
	Buldoser /bul'dusir/	nickname of Elena M.T.	nickname
	<b>a'a</b> /ʔa'ʔa/	older sibling	kinship (address)
Common	<b>alta</b> /'?alta/	alta person	human
words	<b>sanga</b> /sa'ŋa/	spouse, companion	kinship (reference)
	<b>baye'</b> /ba'jəʔ/	type of fish	animal
	<b>salago</b> /sa'lagu/	type of plant	plant
	peltag /pəl'tag/	fishing spear	artifact
	<b>ngadden</b> /ŋad'dən/	name	abstract
	lasat /la'sat/	breast	body-part
	<b>de'el</b> /də'?əl/	largeness	property
	dalam /da'lam/	evening	time
	digdig /dig'dig/	edge	spatial relation

Table 5.15	Subclasses	of U-words
10010 0110	0480140000	0.0.00.00

## 5.4.5 Adverbs

Adverbs are subclassified on the basis of their scope, syntactic function and position into Temporal Adverbs, Modal Adverbs and Enclitic Adverbs. While temporal Adverbs have a scope over the whole clause and function as adjuncts (although they may also form predicates), Modal and Enclitic Adverbs have scope over the predicate and function as modifiers of the predicate. In addition Modal Adverbs are distinct from Enclitic Adverbs on their placement, since the former precede the head of the predicate while the latter appear behind the head predicate and are phonologically attached to it. The following subsections explore the three subclasses of Adverbs, providing tables and examples.

### 5.4.5.1 Temporal Adverbs

Temporal Adverbs are content words that form Adverbial Phrases (AdvPs, §4.2), a type of phrase which may function as adjunct, having scope over the whole clause. Temporal Adverbs may appear at the beginning of a clause or at the end. Table 5.15 presents the Temporal Adverbs

#### Table 5.16 Temporal Adverbs

Form	Meaning	Example
<b>dya'yay</b> /'djaʔjaj/	'now'	5.168
<b>dati</b> /'dati/	originally	5.169
<b>menananih</b> /mə'nananih/	'soon'	5.170
<b>nanih</b> /'nanih/	'later'	5.171
tempulab /təmpu'lab/	ʻyesterday'	5.172
ududma /ʔudud'ma/	'tomorrow'	5.173

(5.168)	dya'yay ekkalasen 'o 'en		
	dija?jaj	?əC-kalas-ən=?u=?in	
	now	PRG-separate-PV=1s. GEN=PROX.DEM.ABS	
	'now I am separating it' (104'210)		

- (5.169) dati metapde e' na
   dati metapde e' na
   dati mə-tapdə=ə?=na
   originally ST-fat=1s.ABS=already
   'originally I was fat' (76.092)
- (5.170)bagay inomuli amid ta San Luis, menananih menovertime 'amibagaj?<in><um>uli=?ami=dtasanluwiswhen<PRF><AV>-return=1pe.ABSLOCSan.Luis

mənananih	mən-?ubertajm=?ami		
soon	AV-extra.hours=1pi.ABS		
'when we go home to San Luis, we immediately get back to work' (77.70)			

(5.171) ududma ami wadi namud mentrabaho at mendilus ami nanih

	?ududma=?ami	wadi=nar	nud	mən-tarabahu
	tomorrow=1pe.ABS	younger.	sibling=just	AV-work
	?at mən-dilus=an	ni <b>na</b>	anih	
	and AV-bathe=1p	e.ABS la	ter	
	'my brother, tomorro	w we just v	work and later we have	ave a bath' (76.490)
(5.172)	inomuli hila tempulat	)		
	? <in><um>uli=hila</um></in>	tə	mpulab	
	<prf><av>-return=</av></prf>	also ye	esterday	
	'he went back home	yesterday'	(97.147)	

(5.173) kong baga awon amid te pagka'in ududma
 kuŋbaga ?awun=?ami=d tə pagka?in ?ududma
 if.say not.exist=1pe.ABS=d NSP food tomorrow
 'for example if we have no food tomorrow' (76.025)

#### 5.4.5.2 Modal Adverbs

Modal Adverbs function as modifiers of the predicate and precede the head of the predicate. Table 5.17 presents the Modal Adverbs:

Form	Meaning	Example
<b>baka</b> /baka/	maybe	5.174
basta /basta/	just, as long as	5.175
<b>bihira</b> /bihira/	rarely	5.176
halos /halus/	almost	5.177
mas /mas/	more	5.178
medio /midju/	rather	5.179
talaga /talaga/	surely	5.180

#### Table 5.17 Modal Adverbs

(5.174) baka te'nag e' itad sen ni betuh-i

baka tə?nag=ə?=?itam=d=sin

maybe fall=1s.ABS=1pi.ABS=d=PROX.DEM.LOC

ni bətuh=i GEN stone=SPEC 'maybe a rock will fall on me or us' (nalta100. 0817)

(5.175) ay menginging sepla abde'-i ni'a, bastad tumeldep 'am
 ?aj mə-ŋiŋiŋ=sipla ?abdə?=i ni ?a?a
 PM ST-shivering=still body=SPEC GEN older.sibling

basta=dt<um>əldəp=?amjust=d<AV>lift=2p.ABS'my sister's body is still shivering, just lift (her) up' (76.463)

- (5.176) dya'yay bihira='ad menginta dija?jaj bihira=?a=d məŋ-?inta now rarely=2s.ABS=d AV-see 'and now you rarely see (any animal)' (92.314)
- (5.177) halos awon'a sep te mehuli
   halos ?awun=?a=sip te mə-huli
   almost not.exist=2s.ABS=still NSP POT.PV-hunt
   'there is almost nothing for you to hunt yet' (99.552)
- (5.178) mas bunsu hep in ama nena
   mas bunsu=sip ?in ?ama nina
   more young=still ABS father GEN.mother
   'my mother's father is even younger' (52.83)
- (5.179) medio mapet 'en
   midju mapit=?in
   rather bitter=PROX.DEM.ABS
   'that is somewhat bitter' (93.659)

(5.180)	ay ta	laga me'idde	ldemolag ami ta palengke				
	?aj	talaga	mə?i-dəmulag=?ami	ta	paliŋki		
	PM	surelv	REC-chase=1pe.ABS	LOC	market		

'we would of course chase each other at the market' (76.163)

#### 5.4.5.3 Enclitic Adverbs

Enclitic Adverbs function as modifiers of the predicate and are attached to the head of the predicate. If the head of the predicate is preceded by a Negator or Existential, enclitic Adverbs attach to the form preceding the predicate. These particles convey meanings related to the speaker's attitude towards the state or action described in the predicate. At this stage of research the meanings of the enclitic Adverbs have not been thoroughly investigated yet. Table 5.18 presents the Alta Enclitic Adverbs:

Adverb	Gloss	Meaning	Example
<b>='an</b> /=?an/	QUOT	hearsay	5.181
<b>=bali</b> /=ba'li/	surprise	surprise of a discovery	5.182
=bat /=bat/	Q	polar question	5.183
<b>=Ce</b> /=Cə/	already	already	5.184
<b>=d</b> /=d/	=d	?	5.185
=dla /=la/	only	only	5.186
=gul /=gul/	emphasis	emphasis	5.187
=man /=man/	CNTR	contrast	5.188
<b>=mannen</b> /=man'nən/	again	again	5.189
<b>=na /</b> /=na/	already	already	5.190
=nen /=nən/	already	already	5.191, 5.192
=namud /='namud/	just	just	5.193
=ngarod <sup>27</sup> /=ŋa'rud/	then	consequence	5.194
<b>=ngay</b> /=ŋaj/	emphasis	emphasis	5.195
<b>=pa</b> /=pa/	still	still	5.196
<b>=pati</b> /=pa'ti/	even	even, including	5.197
<b>=sela</b> /='sila/	also	also	5.198
=sep /=sip/	still	still	5.199
<b>=sepla</b> /=sipla/	still	still	5.200

#### Table 5.18 Enclitic Adverbs

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> There is only one occurrence of *ngarod* in the corpus, and is most likely a borrowing from Ilokano

<b>=wada</b> /=wa'da/	perhaps	possibility	5.201
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(5.181)	meiwadde 'an sad a ininta siya				
	majwaddə <b>=?an</b> =saj=d	?a	? <in>inta=sija</in>		
	have=QUOT=DIST.DEM.LOC =d	LK	<prf>-see=3s.ABS</prf>		
	'I have heard that there is someone	e who s	aw him' (52.105)		

- (5.182) 'a'a'adod mamatlem bali 'ina
  ?a?a-?adu=d ma-matləm=bali=?ina
  RDP-much=d RDP-blood=surprise=MED.DEM.ABS
  'that is so much blood!' (100.706)
- (5.183) budim bat, wadi?
  budi=m=bat wadi
  want=2s.GEN=Q younger.sibling
  'will you, brother?' (21.08) (lit. do you want brother)
- (5.184) menbutag itamme
  mən-butag=?itam=Cə
  AV-areca.nut=1pi.ABS=already
  'let us chew betel nut' (86.508)
- (5.185) adinod in la'ay mo? ma'una say
   ?adinu=d ?in la?aj=mu ma?una=saj
   where=d ABS old.man=2s.GEN say=DIST.DEM.LOC
   'where is your husband?' he said to her (100.0199)
- (5.186) mapiya kong ettase dla esyan mi-i
  mə-pija kuŋ ?əttasi=dla ?əsijan=mi=i
  ST-beauty if one=only place=1pe.GEN=SPEC
  'It would be great if we all lived in the same place' (56.22)
  (lit. it is great if our place is only one)
- (5.187) dinumateng gul sen ti a' d<in><um>atəng**=gul**=sin ti a?a

<PRF><AV>arrive=emphasis=PROX.DEM.LOC ABS older.sibling 'my brother has arrived here indeed' (100.188)

- (5.188) in elikopter de yay ibbide na a mensoli, awon man mensoli
  - ?in ?ilikupter=də=jaj
  - ABS helicopter=3p.GEN=DIST.DEM.ABS

?i-biddə=na?amən-suli?awun=manmən-suliCV-say=3s.GENLKAV-returnnot.exist.CNTRAV-return'their helicopter there, he said he (would) return, but he has not returned'(103.241)

 (5.189) bagay minengane', mapolede', malamya'e ti papa'as-i, mensana'e mannen bagaj m<in>eŋ-?an=e? when AV<PRF>-eat=1s.ABS
 ST-sleep=1s.ABS

mə-ləmja=ə?tipapa?as=imən-sana=ə?=mannənST-wake=1s.ABSOBLmorning=SPECAV-cook=1s.ABS=again'when I have eaten I sleep, I wake up in the morning, I cook again' (19.05)

(5.190) habang dumed'el siya, me'iyan na a me'iyan
 [haban] d<um>d-?əl=sija]
 while <AV>RDP-big=3s.ABS

mən-?ijan**=na** a mən-?ijan AV-fruit=already LK AV-fruit 'while it is growing, it continuously bears fruit' (93.488)

(5.191) apodan mo at dumed'el nen in apoy
?apudan=mo ?at d<um>d-?əl=nən ?in ?apuj
hurry=2s.GEN and <AV>RDP-big=already ABS fire
'hurry up, the fire got bigger again' (100.625)

(5.192) ay awon nen in delan 'o

?aj	?awun <b>=nən</b>	?in	dəlan=?u
INTJ	not.exist=already	ABS	way=1s.GEN

'I am lost' (100.921) (lit. my path is not there anymore)

- (5.193) pagka may apoy, ta'bowan mi namud yay
  pagka maj ?apuj ta?bu-an=mi=namud=jaj
  if have fire pour-LV=1pi.GEN=just=DIST.DEM.ABS
  'If there is a fire, we just pour (water) on it' (100.640)
- (5.194) baka umeg'ang e' nen ngarod
  baka ?<um>əg?aŋ=ə?=nən**=ŋarud**maybe <AV>leave=1s.ABS=already=then
  'maybe I just leave then' (83.58)
- (5.195) ten ana' itam, hangan ana' itam, membal itam na ngay
   tən ?ana?=?itam haŋgan ?ana?=?itam
   when child=1pi.ABS even child=1pi.ABS

mən-bal=?itam=na=ŋaj
AV-g-string=1pi.ABS=already=emphasis
'when we were children, even as children, we would already wear a g-string'
(99.386)

(5.196) mabilay pa be'es a Ilay at ti la'ay a Nador
 mə-bilaj=pa bə?əs ?a ilaj
 ST-life=still old.woman LK Ilay

?at	ti	la?aj	?a	nadur
and	ABS	old.man	LK	Nadur

'the old woman Ilay and the old man Nador are still alive' (76.153)

- (5.197) lumelteg pati in mukha'
  I<um>I-təg=pati ?in mukha=?
  <AV>RDP -swell=even ABS face=1s.ABS
  'my face was even getting swollen' (100.365)
- (5.198) budi sela a ettolongan adanayan 'o sid a ka'altahan budi**=sila** ?a ?əC-tuluŋ-an ?adanajan=?u=sid

	want=also L	K PRG	-help-L	√ r	elative=1s.G	EN=PL
	?a ka?altah LK alta 'I also want to h		relative	s' (60.19)		
(5.199)	ti'sen ta'po-i ina	ı maiwadde	sep			
	ti?sin	ta?pu	⊫i=?ina			majwaddə <b>=sip</b>
	PROX.DEM.LC	OC summit=SPEC=MED.DEM.ABS have=still				
	'there on that s	ummit, there	e is still (	some gol	d)' (103.095)	
(5.200)	ten araw mabila	ay sepla ma	gulang o	o'i		
	tən ?araw	mə-b	ilaj <b>=sipl</b>	<b>a</b> r	magulaŋ=ʔu=	i
	OBL day	ST-lif	e=still	p	parent=1s.GE	EN=SPEC
	'back in these c	lays, my pai	ents we	ere still aliv	ve' (103.005)	
					. ,	
(5.201)	tapos mengaya	t sep ti uwal	h-i, luya	wada yay	y	
	tapus mən-ga	ijat=sip	ti	?uwah=	i	
	then AV-slice	=still	ABS	thing=S	PEC	
				č		
	luja <b>=wada</b> =jaj					
	ginger=perhaps=DIST.DEM.ABS					
	'then she also slices the thing it seems to be ginger perhaps' (106.114)					

#### 5.4.5.3.1 The Enclitic Adverb =d

The Enclitic Adverb =*d* is a particle that occurs frequently in Northern Alta. At this stage of research its meaning is not yet clear. For this reason, it is simply glossed as =d. As shown in (§3.2.2), =*d* may cause the deletion of the final nasal or glide of the host or enclitic that precedes it. Table 5.19 presents the hosts to which it may be attached, the function of these hosts, and some examples. As shown in Table 5.19, =*d* occurs most often attached to hosts that function has the head of the predicate, though it may also be attached to words functioning as heads of Absolutive DPs in argument function. It is not clear at this point whether =*d* may appear in DPs other than Absolutive. In addition =*d* may also be attached to words that function as adjuncts, or as modifiers of the predicate. Finally, as Table 5.19 shows, =*d* may also be attached to Interrogative Pronouns.

Word class of the host	Example	Function of the host	
Non-derived V-word	3.3, 7.4, 7.11		
Stative word	5.43		
Potentive word	5.43	-	
U-word (UP)	5.42		
Personal Pronoun	4.4, 6.24		
Demonstrative	6.51	predicate	
Existential awon	4.12		
Existential meiwadde	5.18		
Existential <i>isay</i>	6.36		
Negator bisa	4.38		
Existential (but separated by complement)	4.86		
U-word (but separated by Demonstrative)	6.126		
U-word (ABS DP)	6.20	head of DP in	
Content word derived by affix (ABS DP)	4.82	argument function	
Modal Adverb	5.175, 5.176	modifier of predicate	
U-word	5.93	complement of Linker	
Temporal Adverb	7.5	Adjunct	
Interrogative Pronoun	5.74, 5.77, 5.82		

# 5.4.6 Existentials

Existentials are words that may function as heads of predicates in Existential clauses (see §4.3.4 and §6.2.3.2.). Table 5.20 shows the different Existentials, and their possible event schemas and glosses:

Existential	Gloss	Event schema	Example
<b>awon</b> /ʔa'wun/	not.exist	not X	5.202
		X has no Y	5.206
		there is no X (at Y)	5.207

Table 5.20 Existentials

maiwadde /majwad'də/	have	there is X (at Y)	4.83
		X has Y	4.84
<b>may</b> /maj/	have	there is X (at Y)	4.85
		X has Y	4.86
<b>isay</b> /ʔi'sai/	be.at	X is at Y	4.92 - 4.96

## 5.4.6.1 The Existential awon

The word *awon* /?awun/ is an Existential that denotes non-existence and functions as a predicate that governs a complement clause (5.202 - 5.205), a non-specific phrase (5.206), an Absolutive DP (5.207) or a Prepositional Phrase (5.208). In isolation, *awon* can be used as a negative answer to a polar question (5.209). *Awon* is also used in negative commands (5.205).

(5.202)	are, ay awon inad talod			
	?ari	?aj <b>?awun</b> =?ina=d talu		
	INTJ	PM	not.exist=MED.DEM.ABS=d	true
	ʻoh, this is not true' (98.184)			
	(lit. oh it does not exist this (is) true)			

(5.203) pero awon di'etam ina piru **?awun** di?itam=?ina but not.exist 1pi.LOC=MED.DEM.ABS
'but that is not ours' (88.1067) (lit. but it does not exist that (is) ours)

 (5.204) hangan ti doctor-i ay awon yay annolen ni doctor-i hangan ti duktur=i until OBL doctor=SPEC

?aj?awun=jaj?annul-ənniduktur=iPMnot.exist=DIST.DEM.ABSknow-PVGENdoctor=SPEC'even the doctor, he does not know it' (100.1096)

(5.205) awon miyu ali'sapan

**?awun=**miju?ali?sap-annot.exist=2p.GENforget-LV'do not forget it' (100.1223)

- (5.206) awon te kutsilio **?awun** tə kutsiliu not.exist NSP knife ' ((she) does not have a knife' (106.19)
- (5.207) umalang ten awon in ina mi
   ?umalaŋ tən ?awun ?in ?ina=mi
   since when not.exist ABS mother=1pe.GEN
   'ever since our mother is not there anymore' (39.15)
- (5.208) dahil annolen mi a i'yay ay awon para di'ami
   dahil ?annul-ən=mi ?a ?i?jaj
   thus know-PV=1pe.GEN LK DIST.DEM

?aj	?awun	para	di?ami			
PM	not.exist	for	1pe.LOC			
'so we knew that, that (it) wasn't for us' (nalta103.166)						

(5.209) awon, ma'una siya, awon titi, kung awon kiki
?awun ma?una=sija ?awun titi not.exist say=3s.ABS not.exist penis
kuŋ ?awun kiki if not.exist vagina 'No, he said, it is neither penis nor vagina' (14.13)

# 5.4.7 Content words derived by affixes

Affixed content words are content words carrying affixes that do not mark the word for voice. Although these content words are classified for other Philippine languages as nominalizations or nominals (Rubino, 2005, p.346, Robinson, 2008, p.106, Dita, 2010, p.132), we have labeled these words as 'content words derived by affixes' given that our current analysis of content words does not include the syntactic categories 'noun' and 'verb'.

Some of these content words show perfective aspect inflection ( $\S5.6.3 - \S5.6.7$ ). Thus, their classification as U-words is problematic due to the fact that aspect inflection is one of the defining properties of V-words ( $\S5.4.3$ ). For this reason, those content words which may inflect for perfect aspect can be regarded as being at the intersection of the classes V and U. A similar situation occurs with comitative and instrumental forms in the Ilokano language, for which Rubino (2005, p.337) considers that they "should be classified midway between bonafide verbs for taking aspectual morphology, and nominals for appearing in speech quite frequently in nonpredicative position".

Table 5.21 shows the affixes forming the content words described in this section, as well as their meanings and their subsection number.

Section	Affix	Meaning	Gloss
§5.4.8.1	<b>aan</b> /?aan/	Various	CWA1LC
	<b>а-</b> /?а-/	?	CWA1
§5.4.8.2	<b>-an</b> /-an/	Locative, Instrumental Resultative	LC
§5.4.8.3	<b>pen-</b> /pən-/	Gerundive	GER
§5.4.8.4	<b>penan</b> /pənan/	Locative	GERLC
§5.4.8.5	<b>peng-</b> /pəŋ-/	Instrumental	INST
§5.4.8.6	<b>pengan</b> /pəŋan/	Locative	INSTLC
§5.4.8.7	<b>pengi,</b> /pəŋi-/	Instrumental	CWA2
	<b>pengian</b> /pəŋian/	Locative	CWA2LC
§5.4.8.8	<b>pet-</b> /pət-/	Kinship reciprocal	DYAD

#### Table 5.21 Content word affixes

The formation of the words is not clear at this point. For Tagalog, Schachter and Otanes (1972, p.159) state that gerunds are formed "by replacing certain affixes found in the basic forms of actor-focus verbs with other affixes". In a more recent article, Schachter (2008, p.847) explains that "in intransitive verbs, the initial /p/ of pag- and paN- is assimilated to the intransitive prefix m-, historically a reflex of Proto- Austronesian \*-um-" providing the "resultant forms mag- and maN-". Himmelmann (2005, p.372) explains that gerunds are "regularly derived from actor voice forms" by replacing the voice affix with *pag-* or *paN-*.

The formation of these words in Alta requires further investigation. For the time being, the subsections below provide the derived words and the corresponding roots that they carry, rather than providing the corresponding Actor voice forms from which they may be derived.

### 5.4.7.1 The affixes a- -an and a-

As the first three examples of Table 5.22 show, the circumfix *a*- *-an* is used to form words with locative meanings, where the referent exists in large quantities. As for the prefix  $a^{-28}$ , it is used to form words with abstract meaning, but its meaning requires further investigation. Both prefixes have low productivity in Alta. Table 5.22 provides some examples of words carrying these affixes.

Derived form	Meaning	Root	Gloss
<b>abetuwan</b> /ʔa-bətuh-an/	place full of stones	<b>betuh</b> /bətuh/	stone
<b>abuwedan</b> /ʔa-buwəd-an/	place with sand	<b>buwed</b> /buwəd/	sand
<b>aniyolan</b> /ʔa-nijul-an/	place with many coconuts	<b>niyol</b> /nijul/	coconut
<b>aduwan</b> /ʔa-duwa-n/	the others	<b>duwa</b> /duwa/	two
<b>apalit</b> /ʔa-palit/	Trade	<b>palit</b> /palit/	trade
<b>atulong</b> /ʔa-tuluŋ/	helper	<b>tulong</b> /tuluŋ/	help

#### Table 5.22 Examples of a- -an and -a content words

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> The prefix a- /?a-/ is a reflex of the PAN prefix \*ka-

- (5.210)mapoled itam sina ti ebbetuwan-i<br/>mə-puləd=?itam=sinati**?a-bətuh-an**=iST-sleep=1pe.ABS=MED.DEM.LOCOBLCWA1-stone-LC=SPEC'we sleep there in the stony place' (100.246)
- (5.211) pero in apalit na ay tarabaho
  piru ?in **?a-palit**=na ?aj tarabahu
  but ABS CWA1-trade=3s.GEN PM work
  'but his trade is work' (91.0877)

# 5.4.7.2 The suffix -an

As shown in the following example, words carrying the suffix *-an* can be used to denote locational meaning. Table 5.23 below provides additional examples of *-an* content words:

(5.212)	i'ina ay pintuan ina, in sa'langan ni museo de Bal			gan ni museo de Baler	
	?i?ina ?aj		?aj	pintu?	an=?ina
	MED.DEM		PM	door=MED.DEM.ABS	
	?in	sa?lar	j-an	ni	musijudibalir
	ABS	facade	e-LC	GEN	Baler.museum
	'that is	a door	, the fac	cade of	the Museo de Baler' (70.46)

Table 5.23 Examples of -an content words

Derived form	Meaning	Root	Gloss
<b>sa'langan</b> /saʔlaŋ-an/	front side	<b>sa'lang</b> /saʔlaŋ/	face
<b>ubulan</b> /?ubul-an/	place of sharpening	<b>ubul</b> /ʔubul/	act of sharpening
<b>etlenan</b> /ʔətlən-an/	place of swallowing	<b>etlen</b> /ʔətlən/	swallow
<b>edsangan</b> /ʔedsaŋ-an/	place of lying down	<b>edsang</b> /ʔədsaŋ/	lie down
<b>banuwan</b> /banu-an/	village, market	-	-

The suffix *-an* also appears in place nouns that are located in the surroundings of the Alta ancestral domain, which is located in Aurora province, near barangay Diteki:

(5.213) Nedi'di'an /nidi?di?an/
 Singnan /siŋnan/
 Umingan /?umiŋan/
 Dibbuluwan /dibbuluwan/

### 5.4.7.3 Gerundive prefix pen-

Words carrying the prefix *pen*- have a gerundive meaning and may govern case-marked arguments.

(5.214) me'intindi e' sela ti pengagawi-i ti beli-i
 mə-?intindi=ə?=sila
 ST-understand=1s.ABS=also

tipən-gagawi=itibəli=iOBLGER-do=SPECOBLhouse=SPEC'I also understand the making of a house' (69.63)

As the following example shows, *pen*- words may inflect for aspect and may govern a Genitive and Absolutive argument, like a V-word marked for Undergoer voice:

(5.215) pinenmumuda na ami
 p<in>ən-mumuda=na=?ami
 GER<PRF>-scold=3s.GEN=1pe.ABS
 'having (he) scolded us' (76.518)

Table 5.24 provides additional examples of *pen*-words.

Table 5.24 Examples of pen- content words

Derived form	Meaning	Root	Gloss
<b>pen'uding</b> /pən-?udiŋ/	burning coal	<b>uding</b> /ʔudiŋ/	coal
penlati	working on rattan	lati	rattan

/pən-lati/		/lati/	
<b>pentanem</b> /pən-tanəm/	planting	<b>tanem</b> / tanəm/	plant
<b>penpeltag</b> /pən-pəltag/	spear fishing	<b>peltag</b> /pəltag/	spear
<b>pensilu</b> /pən-silu/	catching with a snare	<b>silu</b> /silu/	snare
<b>pensigarilyo</b> /pən-sigarilju/	smoking	<b>sigarilyo</b> /sigarilju/	cigarette
<b>pen'aral</b> /pən-?aral/	studying, study	<b>aral</b> /?aral/	act of studying

#### 5.4.7.4 The circumfix pen- -an

The circumfix pen- -an forms words with locative meaning.

(5.216)	siya in penhuliyan de ti usah-i				
	sija	?in <b>pən-huli-an</b> =də ti ?usah=i			?usah=i
	3s	ABS GER-hunt-LC=3p.GEN OBL deer=SPE			
	'that is their hunting ground for deer' (85.034)				

(5.217) pengamasan de yay 'en
pən-gamas-an=də=jaj=?in
GER-weed-LC=3s.GEN=DIST.DEM.ABS=PROX.DEM.ABS
'this is where they weed that' (109.144)
(lit. this is their place to weed that)

As the next example shows, words formed with pen- -an may inflect for perfective aspect:

(5.218) in silo ay pinengalawan yay
?in silu ?aj p<in>ən-galaw-an=jaj
ABS snare PM GER<PRF>-play-LC=DIST.DEM.ABS
'the snare, that is what they played with' (86.433)

Table 5.25 presents examples of words affixed with pen--an.

Table 5.25 Examples of *pen--an* content words

Derived Form	Meaning	Root	Gloss
<b>pentiedan</b> /pən-ti?əd-an/	bottom, foot of a structure	<b>ti'ed</b> /ti?əd/	foot
<b>pen'huliyan</b> /pən-huli-an/	hunting ground	<b>huli</b> /huli/	catch, hunt
<b>pen'ulu'an</b> /pən-?uluh-an/	place to lie down	<b>uluh</b> /ʔuluh/	head
<b>pensiluwan</b> /pən-silu-an/	place for hunting traps	silo /silu/	trap
<b>pendu'utan</b> /pən-du?ut-an/	place to make a fire	<b>du'ut</b> /du?ut/	fire
<b>pengamasan</b> /pən-gamas-an/	weeding place	<b>gamas</b> /gamas/	weed a land

## 5.4.7.5 The prefix peng-

As the following examples show, the prefix *peng-* is used to form words with instrumental meaning. Table 5.26 provides additional examples of *peng-* words.

(5.219)	siya y	ay pengaludo r	na-i ti mudung-i
	sija=ja	aj	pəŋ-ʔaludu=na=i
	3s=DI	ST.DEM.ABS	INST-hunt=3s.GEN=SPEC
	ti	muduŋ=i	
	OBL	mountain=SP	PEC

'that (bow and arrow) is what he uses for hunting in the mountains' (76.334)

(5.220) puwedem sela 'en a pengtanem (94.1010)
 puwidi=m=sila=?in ?a pəŋ-tanəm
 can=2s.GEN=also=PROX.DEM.ABS LK INST-plant
 'you can also use it (this tool) to plant' (94.1010)

Table 5.26 Examples of peng- content words

Derived form	Meaning	Root	Gloss	
penghawi	tool for slashing	hawi	slash underbrush	

/pəŋ-hawi/	underbrush	/hawi/	
<b>penghuli</b> /pəŋ -huli/	means for catching game	<b>huli</b> /huli/	catch, hunt
<b>peng'inum</b> /pəŋ -?inum/	used for drinking	<b>inom</b> /ʔinum/	drink
<b>pengkusina</b> /pəŋ-kusina/	kitchen accessories	<b>kusina</b> /kusina/	kitchen
<b>penglusaw</b> /pəŋ-lusaw/	melting tool/ dissolvent	<b>lusaw</b> /lusaw/	melt
<b>pengtanem</b> /pəŋ-tanəm/	tool for planting	<b>tanem</b> /tanəm/	plant
<b>peng'ut'ut</b> /pəŋ-?ut?ut/	digging tool	<b>ut'ut</b> /?ut?ut/	dig

#### 5.4.7.6 The circumfix peng- -an

Words carrying the circumfix *peng- -an* denote a locative meaning, which we translate as "a place used for...".

(5.221) kong adino pengalapan de ti 'a'anen de-i kuŋ ?adinu pəŋ-?alap-an=də if where INST-get-LC=3s.GEN
ti ?a-?anən=də=i OBL RDP-food=3s.GEN=SPEC 'wherever their place to get food is' (70.38)

As the next example shows, words carrying the circumfix *peng- -an* may show perfective aspect inflection:

(5.222) pinenganopan 'o yay
 p<in>əŋ-?anup-an=?u=jaj
 INST<PRF>-hunt-LC=1s.GEN=DIST.DEM.LOC
 'that was my hunting place' (82.124)

Table 5.27 provides additional examples of peng- -an words:

Table 5.27 Examples of *peng- -an* content words

Derived form	Meaning	Root	Gloss
<b>pengalapan</b> /pəŋ-ʔalap-an/	place for getting money or food	<b>alap</b> /ʔalap/	get
<b>pengaludu'an</b> /pəŋ-ʔaludu-an/	place for hunting	<b>aludu</b> /ʔaludu/	hunt
<b>penganupan</b> /pəŋ-ʔanup-an/	place for hunting	<b>anup</b> /ʔanup/	hunt
<b>pengiyanan</b> /pəŋ-ʔijan-an/	location for producing fruit	<b>iyan</b> /?ijan/	fruit
<b>pengintan</b> /pəŋ-ʔinta-an/	place for observing	<b>inta</b> /?inta/	seei
<b>pengalaga'an</b> /pəŋ-ʔalaga-an/	protected place	<b>alaga</b> /ʔalaga/	protect

# 5.4.7.7 The affixes pengi- and pengi -an

Words carrying the prefix *pengi*- take a Genitive actor and an undergoer marked with the Oblique or Locative case.

(5.223)	dahil iı	in pengitudu na di'etam ay kabutihan tam sela a alta					
	dahil		?in	<b>pəŋi-tudu</b> =na	a		di?itam
	becau	se	ABS	CWA2-teach=	=3s.GEI	Ν	1pi.LOC
	?aj	kabutil	han=tar	n=sila	?a	?alta	
	PM	goodn	ess=1p	i.GEN=also	LK	alta	
	ʻbecau	ise wha	t he tau	ight us is also	a goodr	ness to	us Alta' (502.19)
	(lit. be	cause h	nis teacl	hing us (is) als	o a goo	dness t	o us Alta)

As the next example shows, words carrying *pengi-* may also show perfective aspect inflection:

(5.224)	sakami iye''init mi			
	saka=mi	?i-?əC-?init	ti	?apuj=i
	and=1pe.GEN	CV-PRG-heat	OBL	fire=SPEC

Pinp<in>əŋi-malantilaman=iABSCWA2<PRF>-burnOBLpig=SPEC'and we heat it with fire, the roasting of the pig' (92.565)

Words carrying the circumfix *pengi- -an* may express locations, and may also refer to an addressee or a recipient (see Table 5.28).

(5.225) siya ina pengesalangan miyi ti kardero-i
 sija=?ina pəŋi-salaŋ-an=mi=i
 3s=MED.DEM.ABS CWA2-cookin-LOC=1pe.GEN=SPEC

ti kardiru=iOBL pot=SPEC'that there is the place we use to cook with a pot' (106.138)

Table 5.28 provides additional examples of this kind of content words:

Derived form	Meaning	Root	Gloss
<b>pengiluto</b>	thing used for cooking	<b>luto</b>	cook
/pəŋi-lutu/	something	/lutu/	
<b>pengipapayong</b>	thing used to fund	<b>payong</b>	establish
/pəŋi-pa-pajuŋ/	something	/pajuŋ/	
<b>pengisalangan</b>	place used for	<b>salang</b>	cook
/pəŋi-salaŋan/	cooking	/salaŋ/	
<b>pengikabitan</b>	place used to tie	<b>kabit</b>	tie
/pəŋi-kabit-an/	something to	/kabit/	
<b>pengibiddan</b>	person to say	<b>bidd</b>	say
/pəŋi-bidd-an/	something to	/biddə/	
<b>pengisurrenderan</b>	person to surrender	<b>surrender</b>	surrender
/pəŋi-surindər-an/	something to	/surindər/	

Table 5.28 Examples of	pengi- and peng	<i>iian</i> content words
Tuble one Examples of	poligi ana polig	

### 5.4.7.8 Dyadic kinship prefix pet-

This prefix is used with kinship terms and expresses a dyadic relation. Table 5.29 provides examples of words carrying the prefix *pet-.* 

Derived form	Meaning	Root	Meaning
<b>pet'adanayan</b> /pət-?adanajan/	relatives	<b>adanayan</b> /ʔadanajan/	relative
<b>pet'ama</b> /pət-ʔama/	father and son, father and daughter	<b>ama</b> /ʔama/	father
<b>pet'aka</b> /pət-ʔaka/	siblings	<b>aka</b> /ʔaka/	older sibling
<b>pet'apesa</b> /pət-ʔapisa/	cousins	apesa /ʔapisa/	cousin
<b>pet'apo</b> /pət-'?apu/	grandfather and grandchild	<b>аро</b> /'ʔapu/	grandfather, grandmother
<b>petbarkada</b> /pət-barkada/	friends	<b>barkada</b> /barkada/	friend
<b>pethipag</b> /pət-hipag/	brother and sister in law	<b>hipag</b> /hipag/	sister-in-law
<b>pet'elan</b> /pət-ʔilan/	couple, pair of companions	<b>elan</b> /ʔilan/	companion
<b>pet'ina</b> /pət-?ina/			mother
<b>petka'ibigan</b> /pət-ka?ibigan/	friends	<b>ka'ibigan</b> /ka?ibigan/	friend
<b>petsasawa</b> /pət-s-asawa/ <sup>29</sup>	husband and wife / several couples	<b>asawa</b> /?asawa/	spouse

Table 5.29 Examples of pet-kinship content words

# 5.4.8 Irregular content words

A number of words show irregularities from the morphological or syntactic perspective, but it is not yet clear whether these forms constitute a word class, nor if they should be subcategorized as function words. For example, the words *budi* 'want' and *ka?ilaŋan* 'need' below, are formally U-words (as they do not carry voice-affixes), but behave as Undergoer voice V-words given that when they function as predicates, they require their actors to be marked with Genitive case. This could be considered an instance of quirky case with psychological predicates.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> I have no explanation for the reduplicated /s/ here.

Another irregularity involves elements such as *kaʔilangan* 'need', *ubra* 'can', *dapat* 'should' and *pwidi* 'can', none of which inflect for aspect. In addition, only *budi* 'want' and *ubra* 'can' show derivations with the AV infix <um>, while *kaʔilangan* 'need', *dapat* 'should' and *pwidi* 'can' do not show any voice derivation.

From a syntactic point of view, these forms may function as heads of predicates, and require a complement realized by a Linker Phrase (§4.2.9). As for their meanings, most of these forms carry modal meanings (volition, ability, necessity, obligation). A number of forms in this Table 5.30 below coincide with what Schachter and Otanes (1972, p.61) call 'pseudo-verbs' (including *pwidi* 'can', *dapat* 'should' and *kaʔilangan* 'need', (of which the latter was identified by an Alta person as a Tagalog borrowing). Finally, Rubino (1997, p.299) identifies verbs with idiosyncrasies in their morphological formation in Ilokano and calls them 'irregular verbs'. It is in this sense that we refer to these forms as irregular content words. Table 5.30 presents these forms.

Form	Meaning	Voice marking	Aspect marking	Marking of the actor	Example
<b>budi</b> /bu'di/	want	<um></um>	yes	GEN	5.226
<b>ka'ilangan</b> /kaʔi'laŋan/	need	-	-		5.227
dapat /'dapat/	must, should	-	-	ABS	5.228
<b>obra</b> /ʔu'bra/	can, be able	<um></um>	-		5.229
<b>pwede</b> /pwidi/	can, be able	-	-		5.230

#### Table 5.30 Irregular content words

The examples below show each of these irregular forms in bold, followed by the complement (between square brackets):

(5.226)	kaya l	kaya budi nad a lumledep				
	kaja	<b>budi</b> =na=d	<b>[</b> ʔa	l <um>l-idəp]</um>		
	SO	want=3s.GEN=d	LK	<av>RDP-dive</av>		
	'so he wants to dive' (85.169)					

(5.227) ka'ilangan miyu sela a me''inta kung aseno kalalagayan miyi ti'sen a lugar

		a <b>ŋan</b> =miju=sila =2p.GEN=also	l	<b>[</b> ʔa LK	mə-?iı POT.F	nta <b>]</b> PV-see		
	kuŋ	?asinu		gajan=ı				
	if	what	situati	on=1pe	.GEN=	SPEC		
	ti?sin		?a	lugar				
	PROX	(.DEM.LOC	LK	place				
	ʻyou a	llso need to be	able to	see wh	nat our s	situatior	n is, hei	re in this place' (57.18)
(5.228)	kaya dapat a meiwadde sela a tribal hall							
	kaja	dapat	<b>[</b> ?a	majwa	addə=si	la	?a	trajbal hul]
	SO	should	LK	have=	also		LK	tribal hall
	'so the	ere should also	be a tr	ibal hal	ľ (91.1 <i>1</i>	102)		
(5.229)	awon	sid obra a me'	isahog					
	?awur	n=sid	?ubra	I	<b>[</b> ʔa	məʔi-s	sahug]	
	not.ex	kist=3s.ABS	can		LK	POT.0	CV-grill	
	'they (the fishes) can not be grilled' (108.24)							
(5.230)	okra 'en ay puwede a iggamot							
	?ukra	=?in		?aj	pwidi		<b>[</b> ʔa	?i-gamut]
	okra=	PROX.DEM.AI	BS	PM	can		LK	CV-medicine
	'as foi	r this okra, it ca	an be us	sed as r	nedicin	e' (94.1	16)	

# 5.5 Interjections

Interjections are words occurring at the beginning or at the end of clauses, and indicating the speaker's emotional response to an event. Table 5.31 presents the Alta Interjections:

Form	Meaning	Example
aba! /ʔa'ba/	surprise	5.231
ade! /ʔa'di/	admiration, surprise, disbelief	5.232
aded nen di! /?a'didnendi/	admiration, surprise, disbelief	5.233

Table	5.31	Interjections
1 4 5 1 0		

<b>adoy!</b> /ʔa'duj/	pain	5.234
adoya! /ʔa'duja/	pain	5.235
addiyos! /ʔaddi'jus/	vexation, disappointment, fear	5.236
<b>ai!</b> /ʔaj/	dismay	5.242
<b>aidi!</b> /ʔaj'di/	dismay	5.237
atse! /?aťsi/	overwhelm, anger	5.238
atse di! /ʔat'sidi/	astonishment	5.239
are! /ʔa'ri/	command, imperative, opposition	5.240
awon /ʔawun/	no	5.10
<b>ay'o</b> /ʔaj'u/	yes	5.241
hala /hala/	ok	5.242

(5.231) aba! ay ten inomay ta Dicoliat ina **?aba** ?aj tən ?<in><um>aj=?itam when <PRF><AV>go=1pi.ABS INTJ PM ta dikulijat=ina LOC Dicoliat=MED.DEM.ABS 'aba! that (picture) is when we went to Dicoliat' (75.02) (5.232) adi meganda 'an say **?adi** mə-ganda=?an=saj INTJ ST-beauty=QUOT=DIST.DEM.LOC 'adi!, they say it's nice there' (96.150) (5.233) aded nen di! nu'ano'a dinumateng? **?adidnəndi** nu?anu=?a d<in><um>atəŋ? INTJ when=2s.ABS <PRF><AV>arrive 'aded nen di! When did you arrive?' (08.37) (5.234)adoy, ma'una' say! ?adui ma?una=saj INTJ say=1s.DIST.LOC

'adoy! I said there' (100.683)

- (5.235) adoya, masa'it nen ulo i **?aduja** mə-sa?it=nən ?uluh= i
  INTJ ST-pain=already head=SPEC
  'adoya! (my) head hurts' (08.27)
- (5.236) addios! papa'as nen **?addijus** papa?as=nən
  INTJ morning=already
  'addios, it is morning' (63.108)
- (5.237) ay di salamat me'una siya **?ajdi** salamat mə?una=sija
  INTJ thank you say=3s.ABS
  'aidi, thank you, he said' (507.09)
- (5.238)atse! me'una nen um'anig 'ad ti uldin-i**?atsi**mə?una=nən?<um>?anig=?a=dINTJsay=already<AV>like=2s.ABS=d ABS
  - ti ?uldin=i ABS non.alta=SPEC 'Atse! I said, "you are like the Tagalog" (88.486)
- (5.239) -madi'it e' sepla.
   mə-di?it=ə?=sipla
   ST-single=1s.ABS=still
   'I am still single!

-atsedi! **?atsidi** INTJ 'Wow!' (96.19)

(5.240) ari! umali 'ad, me'una e' **?ari** ?<um>ali=?a=d mə?una=ə? INTJ <AV>come=2s.ABS=d say=1s.ABS 'ari! come here! I said' (97.542)

(5.241) bisa bat bimbi? ay'o uwah bisa=bat bimbi NEG=Q aunt 'isn't it auntie?'

# **?aj?u** ?uwah INTJ thing 'yes, it is' (97.329)

(5.242) ay me'una di'en ay "temo'e 'o 'en a beli".aj mə?una di?ən ?aj

INTJ	say	1s.LOC	PM

təmu-ən=?u=?in	?a	bəli
burn-PV=1s.GEN=PROX.DEM.ABS	LK	house
-'and he said to me "I will burn that house" (88.1050)		

-hala gagawin mo gul! **hala** gagawi-ən=mu=gul INTJ do-PV=2s.GEN=emphasis -'ok, you do that' (88.1051)

# 6. Case

While Chapter §4 describes the form of distinct phrase types (§4.2) and the form of clauses with voice-marked and voice-unmarked predicates (§4.3), this chapter provides an overview of the different syntactic functions and semantic roles of case-marked constituents functioning as arguments, adjuncts and modifiers of DPs.

As was shown in §4.2, clauses can be classified according to the form of their predicate. A first division appears depending on whether the predicate carries voice-marking or not. Voice-marked predicates may have four main subtypes of clauses (Actor, Patient, Locative and Conveyance voice clauses). As for clauses where the predicate does not carry voice marking, they can be divided according to whether the predicate is headed by an Existential or not. This classification results in 6 main subtypes of clauses.

Section 6.2 explores the syntactic functions and semantic roles of Absolutive constituents for each subtype of clause. Section 6.3 deals with the syntactic functions and semantic roles of Genitive constituents. Finally, Sections 6.4 and 6.5 provide an overview of the functions and roles of Oblique and Locative constituents.

# **6.1 Introduction**

On the basis of the possible syntactic functions of the different case-marked constituents, we currently distinguish four cases in Northern Alta: Absolutive, Genitive, Oblique and Locative.

The following grammatical categories in the Alta grammar are case-marked: Articles (§5.3.1), Personal Pronouns (§5.2.1) and Demonstratives (§5.2.2). However, the case relations are not completely aligned throughout these different categories; as shown in Tables §5.2 and §5.6, a case-marked Demonstrative (or DemP), or Pronoun (or PrP), does not always share the same syntactic functions with the corresponding Determiner Phrase (DP). This chapter focuses on functions of case-marked DPs, which are phrases that are characterized by carrying an Article in the leftmost position of the phrase (§4.2.1). Examples of Dem / DemPs or Pron / PrPs are provided when these share the same function as the case-marked DP.

Absolutive case-marked constituents can function as arguments in all types of clauses and we consider them to function as the syntactic subject of a clause. Genitive case-marked constituents may function as modifiers in any type of clause, and also, as an argument in Undergoer voice-marked clauses, in which they carry the actor role.

Oblique case-marked constituents may function as arguments in clauses with bivalent and trivalent predicates, in which they express the undergoer role. In addition, they may function as adjuncts in any type of clause, conveying adverbial meanings, and also as modifiers and complements.

Locative case-marked constituents may function as adjuncts with locational meaning, as arguments encoding definite undergoers in clauses with bivalent and trivalent predicates, and finally, they may also function as complements. It is not clear at this point if Locative should be distinguished as a different case from Oblique, given that Locative-marked phrases share similar syntactic functions as Obliques (oblique argument, adjunct, complement). A difference between the two is the fact that Locative constituents refer to definite locations and undergoers (Locative Demonstratives, Personal Pronouns), and are incompatible with the Specificity Marker =i.

# 6.1.1 A note about the use of semantic roles

Following Van Valin (2004, p.1), we assume at least two levels of generality when discussing semantic roles: the first level represents the so-called thematic relations, such as agent, experiencer, theme, patient, which are considered "generalizations across the verb-specific roles". In a second level there is "a more general type of semantic role, of which there are only two, termed actor and undergoer", which are referred to as 'semantic macroroles' by the author. In this dissertation we use the term 'semantic role' to refer to both levels of generalization. Our use of the terms actor and undergoer in this dissertation is described in Table 6.1 below.

Semantic Roles	Definition and characteristics of macrorole in this dissertation	Related specific semantic roles
Actor	Actor is the role of the argument in clauses with a single argument. In clauses with two arguments, the actor is the more agent-like argument.	agent, inanimate
Actor	Actors are the main participants in the state of affairs irrespective of their role in terms of activity and affectedness. Actors may be persons or animals doing something voluntarily or involuntarily, experiencers, or any causer,	performer,

Table 6.1 Definitions of the terms	actor and undergoer in this dissertation

	kind of animate or inanimate participant being in a particular situation or undergoing a change.	experiencer,
	The actor role as a generalization across semantic roles (see column on the right) which can be ordered by degree of agency (control /intentionality). The agent is the role with the highest degree of agency (control/intentionality).	
Undergoer	Undergoer is the role of the more patient-like argument of a clause with two arguments.	goal / source stimulus,
	The undergoer role is a generalization across semantic roles (see column on the right) which can be ordered by degree of affectedness. The patient is the semantic role with the highest degree of affectedness	instrument, theme, patient,

## 6.2 Absolutive Case

Absolutive constituents can be formed by Determiner Phrases carrying Absolutive case marking on the Article that appears in the leftmost position of the phrase. Depending on the lexical head, Absolutive DPs show a different Article ( $\S5.3.1$ ). If the head of the phrase is a common noun, the DP is marked with the Article *in* /?in/. Plural Absolutive DPs carry the plural Absolutive Article *sidde* /siddə/. If the lexical head is a proper name, the phrase is marked with the Article *ti* /ti/. In addition, Absolutive Pronouns ( $\S5.2.1.2$ ) and Absolutive Demonstratives ( $\S5.2.2.2$ ) are case-marked, and can also serve as Absolutive arguments.

Absolutive arguments may function as the single argument of clauses with Actor voice or non-voice-marked predicates, or, as one of the two arguments in clauses with Undergoer voice-marked predicates. Table 6.2 summarizes the syntactic functions and roles of Absolutive arguments:

Clause type	Function	Role
Actor voice	argument	actor
Undergoer voice clauses	argument (one of the two arguments)	undergoer
Non-Existential voice- unmarked	argument	attributant
Existential	argument (argument + Existential complement)	possessor, existing entity

Table 6.2 Syntactic functions and roles of Absolutive arguments

The following sections explore the functions and roles of Absolutive arguments, in relation to the marking of the predicates.

## 6.2.1 Clauses with Actor voice-marked predicates

In clauses with predicates headed by a MEN-, MENG- or an <UM> V-word, the Absolutive argument carries the semantic role actor. The examples (6.1 - 6.5) below show clauses with Actor voice-marked predicates. Tables 7.3 to 7.5 (see §7.2) provide additional examples of the different subtypes of Actor voice-marked words

#### 6.2.1.1 Clauses with a *men*-predicate

(6.1) mengalaw in duwa a aso'
mən-galaw [?in duwa ?a ?asu]
AV-play ABS two LK dog
'the two dogs are playing' (05.01.110)

#### 6.2.1.2 Clauses with a meng-predicate

(6.2)	mengaliyo sep in wadi na				
	<b>məŋ</b> -ʔaliju=sip	[?in	wadi=na]		
	AV-search=still	ABS	younger.sibling=3s.GEN		
	'his younger sibling i	s still se	earching' (85.372)		

(6.3) papeno mengaludo tiyamam?
 papinu məŋ-?aludu [tijama=m]
 how AV-hunt ABS.father=2s.GEN
 'how does your father hunt?' (54.01)

#### 6.2.1.3 Clauses with an <um> predicate

(6.4)	ududma 'an hep la dumda			
	?ududma=?an=sipla	d <um>d-ateŋ</um>	[?in	?ana?=?u]
	tomorrow=QUOT=still	<av>RDP-arrive</av>	ABS	child=1s.GEN

(6.5) lumelbut nen in kaldero
 I<um>I-but=nən [?in kaldiru]
 <AV>RDP-boil=already ABS pot
 'the (content of the) pot is now boiling' (106.089)

In Examples (6.1 - 6.4) above, the Absolutive arguments represent actors that are willful, controlling and instigating participants in states of affairs. Example (6.5) however, shows an actor that lacks volition and control.

## 6.2.2 Clauses with Undergoer voice-marked predicates

In Undergoer voice marked clauses, Absolutive constituents (Absolutive case-marked DPs, Pronouns and Demonstratives) appear as affected entities and thus express an undergoer. As Table 6.3 shows, for each of the voices (Patient, Locative, Conveyance), the Absolutive argument may express a different range of semantic roles:

Macrorole of Absolutive constituent	Syntactic Function	Voice	Role of Absolutive	Example
undergoer	argument	Patient voice	stimulus	6.6
			theme	6.7
			patient	6.8
		Locative voice	goal	6.9
			recipient	6.10
			stimulus	6.11
			addressee	6.12
			theme	6.13
			patient	6.14
		Conveyance	theme	6.15-6.16
		voice	instrument	6.17

Table 6.3 Semantic roles of Absolutive arguments in Undergoer voice clauses

The subsections below illustrate the possible semantic roles of the arguments in clauses with Undergoer voice-marked predicates. In addition, Tables 7.6 to 7.8 (see §7.2) provide examples of the different subtypes of Undergoer voice-marked words.

#### 6.2.2.1 Patient voice

In Patient voice clauses, Absolutive arguments may express a stimulus (6.6), a theme (6.7) or a patient (6.8):

(6.6) pero aloben 'o in sarili

piru ?alub-ən=?u [?in sarili] but smell-PV=1s.GEN ABS self 'but I smelled myself' (100.845)

- (6.7) eg'angen mi in set na
  ?əg?aŋ-ən=mi [?in sit=na]
  remove-PV=1pe.GEN ABS thorn=3s.GEN
  'we remove his thorn' (100.530)
- (6.8) eppeltagen na sinad in baye
  ?əC-pəltag-ən=na=sina=d [?in bajə?]
  PRG -spear-PV=3s.GEN=MED.DEM.LOC=d ABS fish
  'he will spear the baye fish there (where he saw it)' (85.474)

#### 6.2.2.2 Locative voice

In Locative voice clauses, the Absolutive argument may indicate the goal of some action, (6.9). It can also indicate a recipient (6.10), a stimulus (6.11), an addressee (6.12), a theme (6.13) or a patient (6.14).

- (6.9) aydi, bini'nan e' ded
  ?ajdi b<in>i?ən-an[=ə?]=də=d
  INTJ <PRF>proximity-LV=1s.ABS=3p.GEN=d
  'aydi, they approached me' (100.709)
- (6.10) atdan e' nena ti sinko sintimos
  ?atəd-an[=ə?] nina ti sinku sintimus
  give-LV=1s.ABS GEN.mother OBL five cents
  'mother gave me five cents' (88.769)
- (6.11) para itan mo in i'an
  para ?inta-an=mu [?in ?i?an]
  for see-LV=2s.GEN ABS fish
  'so you can see the fish' (104.430)
- (6.12) ngo'an mo in la'ay mo ŋu?-**an**=mu **[?in la?aj=mu]**

name-LV=2s.GEN **ABS** husband=2s.GEN 'call your husband' (100.199)

- (6.13) awon mod ut'utan in pon na
  ?awun=mu=d ?ut?ut-an [?in pun=na]
  not.exist=2s.GEN=d dig-LV ABS root=3s.GEN
  'do not dig out its root' (93.268) (lit. do not root it out from the roots)
- (6.14) e''ulasan na in sitaw
  ?əC-?ulas-an=na [?in sitaw]
  PRG-wash-LV=3s.GEN ABS bean
  'she is washing the beans' (106.167)

Other authors may consider Examples (6.10 - 6.14) locations or goals of the action in a broader sense than understood here. For Dupaningan Agta, Robinson (2008, p.157), considers the Absolutive argument of the verb 'to call' (as in 6.12) as a semantic goal of the action. For Arta, Kimoto (2017, p.285) considers the cognate Arta form of Example (6.10) *atdinan* 'give' as an example of a category defined as 'causing an object to move to a location'. As for (6.14), washing verbs belong to a category Kimoto defines as 'Action oriented to something'. For Tagalog, Himmelmann (2005, p.366) states "in locative voice the subject expresses a locative argument understood in a very broad sense".

#### 6.2.2.3 Conveyance voice

In Conveyance voice clauses, the Absolutive argument may be a theme (6.15, 6.16) or an instrument (6.17):

(6.15)	saka mi illebsang in waget						
	saka=mi	<b>?i</b> -ləbsaŋ	[?in	wagət]			
	and=1pe.GEN	CV-escape	ABS	water			
	'and we let the wate	r go' (85.179)					
(6.16)	iye'ated mo di'en in	waget					

**?i**-?əC-?atəd=mudi?ən[?inwagət]CV-PRG-give=2s.GEN1s.LOCABSwater'you are passing me the water'(05.01.183)

(6.17) tapos mengalap 'a ten uwah sid, in lamun tapus məŋ-?alap=?a ?uwah=sid [?in lamun] tən then AV-get=2s.ABS thing=PL ABS OBL grass ita'bon mo ti'say **?i**-ta?bun=mu ti?saj CV-cover=2s.GEN DIST.DEM.LOC 'then you get the things, the grass and use it to cover (the hole)' (55.08)

### 6.2.3 Clauses with predicates that are not voice-marked

As shown in §4, there are several types of clauses that do not have a voice-marked predicate. These can be divided into two groups, depending on the semantic role of the Absolutive:

- Clauses with a voice-unmarked, non-Existential predicate
- Clauses with an Existential as head of predicate

#### 6.2.3.1 Clauses with voice-unmarked non-Existential predicates

This group includes a number of different types of clauses, all of which contain one of the following elements as head of the predicate (a UP, a DP, a Prepositional Phrase an Adverb or a Pronoun), and an Absolutive argument. For all types, the Absolutive argument plays the role attributant.

#### 6.2.3.1.1 Clauses with an Unmarked Phrase as predicate

(6.18)	upper in ngo'	de	
	<u> ?apər</u>	[?in	ŋuʔ=də]
	upper	ABS	name=3p.GEN
	they call it U	oper' (tł	nis place) (75.18) (lit. 'upper' is their name for it)

(6.19) ba'ik sepla in beli mi
 <u>ba?ik=sipla</u> [?in bəli=mi]
 small=still ABS house=1pe.GEN]
 'our house is still small' (72.38)

(6.20) portipor in edad o'd
<u>purtipur</u> [?in ?idad=?u=d]
forty-four ABS age=1s.GEN=d
'I am forty-four years old' (69.09) (lit. my age is forty four)

#### 6.2.3.1.2 Clauses with a Determiner Phrase as predicate

- (6.21) asawa na ay ti Piro
  ?asawa=na [aj [ti piru]]
  spouse=3s.GEN PM ABS Piro
  'her husband is Piro' (90.106)
- (6.22) i'en ay in uwah, Katakataka
  [?i?in] [?aj [?in ?uwah katakataka]]
  PROX.DEM PM ABS thing katakataka
  'this one is the whatchamacallit, the Katakataka plant' (94.097)

#### 6.2.3.1.3 Clauses with a Personal Pronoun as predicate

(6.23)	siya in cultura ni alta-i					
	<u>sija</u>	[?in	kultura	ni	?alta-i]	
	3s	ABS	culture	GEN	Alta=i	
	'that is	s the cu	Iture of the Alta	a' (100.	1233) (lit. the culture of the Alta is it)	

(6.24) aydi, didded yay!
aydi didde=d=jaj
INTJ 3p.LOC=d=DIST.DEM.ABS
'aydi, this is theirs now' (100.661)

#### 6.2.3.1.4 Clauses with a Prepositional Phrase as predicate

(6.25)	<li>para deretso in ginan nen peltag</li>					
	para	diritsu	[?in	ginan	nən	pəltag]
	for	straight	ABS	run	D.GEN	spear
	'so the	e arrow goes st	raight' (	(65.425)	) (lit. so straigh	t is the run of the spear)
(6.26)		on molton in ul	oh kaca	noro d	i'aw cola ina	

(6.26) ay awon me'tog in uloh kase para di'aw sela ina?aj ?awun mə-?tug ?in ?uluh

INTJ not.exist ST-hardness ABS head

kasepara di?aw=sila=[?ina]becausefor2s.LOC=also=MED.DEM.ABS'do not be hardheaded, this (quitting smoking) is also for you (for your well-<br/>being)' (21.36)

#### 6.2.3.1.5 Clauses with an Adverb as predicate

(6.27) tempulab ina sigudo
 tempulab[=?ina] sigudu
 yesterday=MED.DEM.ABS maybe
 'that (the fact that many fish were caught) was probably yesterday' (108.52)

### 6.2.3.2 Clauses with a predicate headed by an Existential

Predicates headed by an Existential may also include a complement. Table 6.4 below provides the role of the Absolutive arguments as well as the role of the complement of the Existential for each clause type:

 Table 6.4 Semantic roles of Absolutive arguments in clauses with Existential predicates

Type of Existential-headed predicate clause	Role of Absolutive	Role of Absolutive Semantic role of the complement	
maiwadde headed predicate	Possessor	Possessee	argument
		Existing entity	
may headed predicate	Possessor	Possessee	
awon headed predicate	Possessor	Possessee	
		Existing entity	
isay headed predicate	Theme	Location	

#### 6.2.3.2.1 Clauses with meiwadde and its complement as predicate

(6.28) pagka maiwadde a bisita in alapowan tam

pagka [<u>majwaddə ?a bisita]</u><sup>30</sup>

[?in ?alapuwan=tam]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> In this section, non-bold brackets contain the Existential and its complement.

when have LK visitor **ABS** grandparent=1pi.GEN 'when our grandparent had a visitor' (99.654)

(6.29) maiwaddde e' a para'an, wadi
 [majwaddə[=ə?] <u>?a para?an]</u> wadi
 have=1s.ABS LK idea younger.sibling
 'I have an idea, my brother' (74.416)

As Example (6.29) shows, in this type of clause, if the Absolutive argument is an Absolutive enclitic Pronoun, it is placed right after the head of the predicate and before the complement.

#### 6.2.3.2.2 Clauses with may and its complement as predicate

(6.30)	may h	ikaw in igdet		
	[maj	hikaw]	[ʔin	?igdət]
	have	earring	ABS	eel
	'the e	el has earrings	s' (88.31	2)

(6.31)	kungbaga may tarabaho in issa						
	kuŋbaga	[maj	tarabahu]	[ʔin	?issa]		
	if.say	have	work	ABS	one		
	if one of us f	nas a jol	b' (91.443) (lit.	if the o	ne has a job)		

(6.32) may asawa e'
[maj ?asawa][=ə?]
have spouse=1s.ABS
'I am married' (100.156) (lit. I have a spouse)

As opposed to the Existential *meiwadde* (Example 6.29), Example (6.32) shows that, if the predicate contains the Existential *may* and a complement, the Absolutive enclitic Pronouns are attached after the complement.

#### 6.2.3.2.3 Clauses with awon as predicate

(6.33) kase awon nen in ninuno mikasi <u>?awun=nən</u> [?in ninunu=mi]

thus not.exist=already **ABS** ancestor=1pe.GEN 'thus, our ancestors are not with us anymore' (56.64)

- (6.34) umalang tən awon nen in ina mi
  ?umalaŋ tən <u>?awun=nən</u> [?in ?ina=mi]
  since when not.exist=again ABS mother=1pe.GEN
  'since the moment our mother passed away' (39.15)
- (6.35) saka awon sid te interes ti tape'i
  saka [?awun[=sid] tə ?intiris ti tapə?=i]
  and not.exist=3s.ABS NSP profit OBL land=SPEC
  'and they do not have any profit on the land' (86.200)

Example (6.35) shows that Absolutive pronominal enclitics are attached to the head of the predicate and thus precede the Existential complement, in the same way as it happens with the Existential *maiwadde*.

#### 6.2.3.2.4 Clauses with isay and its complement as predicate

(6.36)	bagay isay sinad in udden				
	bagai <u>[ʔisaj</u> =	<u>=sina=d]</u>		[?in	?uddən]
	when be.at=	=MED.DEM.L	DC=d	ABS	rain
	when the rai	when the rain gets there' (63.02)			
(6.37)	adino isay in	tulay?			
	?adinu	<u>?isaj</u> <b>[?in</b>	tulai]		
	where	be.at ABS	bridge	)	
	'where is the	bridge?' (06.0	)2.159)		
(6.38)	ten isay itam	sep ta pradje	k		
	tən <u>?isaj[</u> =	<b>=itam]</b> =sip	<u>ta</u>	pradjik	<u>&lt;</u>

when be.at=1pi.**ABS** LOC project 'when we were still (working) at the project (site) (81.214)

## 6.3 Genitive case

Genitive constituents are formed by DPs marked by the Genitive Articles *ni* or *nen* (§5.3.1) which appear in the leftmost position of the phrase. If the head of the DP is a plural noun, it is the plural Genitive Article *niden* that is used. Genitive constituents in modifier and argument functions can be also formed by Genitive enclitic Personal Pronouns (§5.2.1.3) and Genitive Demonstratives (§5.2.2.3).

Genitive constituents can function as modifiers of a DP in any type of clause, or as arguments, in clauses having an Undergoer voice-marked predicate. As Table 6.5 shows, when Genitive constituents function as modifiers they take the possessor role, and when functioning as an argument, they express the actor role.

Clause Type	Syntactic Function	Semantic Role
All types	modifier	possessor
Undergoer voice clauses	argument	actor
Clauses with voice- unmarked predicate	predicate	possessor

#### Table 6.5 Syntactic functions and roles of Genitive constituents

## **6.3.1 Modifier function**

### 6.3.1.1 Modifier of DPs

#### 6.3.1.1.1 Modifier of Absolutive DPs

(6.39)	pagka maiwadde a b	oisita in	alapow	an tam	
	pagka majwaddə	?a	bisita	[ʔin	?alapuwan <b>[=tam]</b> ]
	when have	LK	visitor	ABS	grandparent=1pi. <b>GEN</b>
	when our grandpare	ent had	a visitor	<sup>-</sup> ' (99.65	54)
(6.40)	e"alapen na in karga	a ni'nay			
	?əC-?alap-ən=na		[ʔin	karga	[niʔnaj]]
	PRG-get-PV=3s.GE	N	ABS	charge	DIST.DEM. <b>GEN</b>

'he is getting the power from there' (104.159) (lit. he is getting the power of that)

- (6.41) siya in tangapan ni uldini
  sija [?in taŋapan [ni [?uldin]=i]]
  3s ABS agreement GEN non.alta=SPEC
  'this is the agreement of the Tagalog' (72.16) (lit. the agreement of the Tagalog is it)
- (6.42) tapos inebu'ut nad in bito'an nen tilapia
   tapus ?<in>i-bu?ut=na=d [?in bitu?an
   then CV<PRF>-throw=3s.GEN=d ABS intestine

[nən	tilapja]]
D.GEN	tilapia
'then she get	s rid of the intestines of this <i>tilapia</i> ' (106.037)

#### 6.3.1.1.2 Modifier of Genitive DPs

(6.43)	para n	nensoli in linaw	ni mat	a mi		
	para	mən-suli	?in	linaw	[ni	mata <b>[=mi]</b> ]
	for	AV-return	ABS	clarity	GEN	eye=1pe. <b>GEN</b>
	'so we	can see clearl	ly again	' (94,13	8) (lit. s	so the clarity of our eyes returns)

(6.44) edpen-en'en ni waget-i ni delat
?ədpən-ən=?in [ni waget=i [ni dəlat]]
reach=PV=PROX.DEM.ABS GEN water=SPEC GEN sea
'the water of the sea reaches it (the mountain)' (109.230)

#### 6.3.1.1.3 Modifier of Oblique DPs

(6.45) awon te mengyari ti buhay o'i
?awun tə məŋ-jari [ti [buhaj[=?u]]=i]
not.exist NSP AV-happen OBL life=1s.GEN=SPEC
'I had nothing to do (then)' (69.91) (lit. nothing was happening to my life)

(6.46)	mentipid sed ti karga ni Bateria-i					
	mən-tipid=sin=d	[ti	karga	[ni	bateri	a=i]]
	AV-save=PROX.DEM.LOC=d	OBL	load	GEN	batter	y=SPEC
	'you save some (charge of the) b	attery he	ere' (104	.367)		
(6.47)	budi 'o wadi a mengyari ti buhay	ni Alta-i				
	budi=?u wadi	?a	məŋ-ja	ari		
	want=1s.GEN younger.sibling	LK	AV-ha	ppen		
	[ti buhaj <b>[ni ʔalta=i]</b> ]					
	OBL life GEN Alta=SPEC					
	'I want, brother, (to be reunited) t	o happer	n to the I	ife of th	e Alta'	(18.15)
(6.48)	isay ina ti digdig ni wageti					
	[?isaj]=?ina [ti	digdię	-	[ni	wagə	
	be.at=PROX.DEM.ABS <b>OB</b>		0	GEN	water	=SPEC
	'that (person) is by the river' (85.	03)				
(6.49)	maiwadde a tumtawag ti selpon r	i ana' 'o-	·i			
	majwaddə ?a t <um>t-awa</um>	ig	[ti	silpun		
	there.is LK <av>RDP-</av>	call	OBL	phone		
	[ni ʔanaʔ=ʔu=i]]					
	GEN child=1s.GEN=SPEC					
	'there is someone calling to my s	on's cellp	phone' (9	91.0569	)	
6.3.1.2 Mod	lifier of Unmarked Phrases					
6.3.1.2.1 Mod	difier of UPs in argument functio	n				
(6.50)	awo'od ittibeng batog ni asoh-i					
、	?awun[=?u]=d ?i-til	bəŋ	[batug	l	[ni	?asuh=i]]
		near	barkin		GEN	dog=SPEC
	'I did not hear the barking of the	log' (63.	119)			-

'I did not hear the barking of the dog' (63.119)

(6.51) umansinad bilay ni alta-i
?umansina=d [bilaj [ni ?alta=i]]
like.that=d life GEN alta=SPEC
'the life of the Alta is like that now' (109.129)

The example below shows a clause with predicates that are not marked for voice, and where the Unmarked Phrase is the only argument of the clause, taking the role of attributant. The UP is modified by a Genitive constituent:

(6.52) ngadden na'i Alobasa
 [ŋaddən[=na]=i] <u>?alubasa</u>
 name=3s.GEN=SPEC Alobasa<sup>31</sup>
 'its name is *Alobasa*' (94.329)

#### 6.3.1.2.2 Modifier of UPs in topic function

(6.53)	delan mi'i ay in uwah tulay	h tulay a bakal na		
	[dəlan <b>[=mi]</b> =i]	?aj	?in	?uwah
	way=1pe.GEN=SPEC	PM	ABS	thing

tulaj ?a bakal=na bridge LK iron=just 'our way is the iron bridge' (76.357)

#### 6.3.1.2.3 Modifier of UPs in predicate function

(6.54) tangkay na 'en ni payong'i
 [taŋkaj[=na]=?in [ni pajuŋ=i]]
 stem=just=PROX.DEM.ABS GEN umbrella=SPEC
 'this is the pole of an umbrella' (104.227)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Most likely borrowed from Spanish *calabaza* 'pumpkin' via Tagalog or Ilokano

#### 6.3.1.2.4 Modifier of UPs in complement function

The following example shows a Genitive constituent that is modifying the complement of the Existential *may*. In addition, the only clausal argument, the Locative Demonstrative *=sen*, appears attached to the head of the Existential complement, splitting the complement from the Existential:

(6.55)	may p	on sen ni kamaragi		
	[maj	pun=sin	[ni	kamarag=i]]
	have	tree=PROX.DEM.LOC	GEN	narra=SPEC
	'there	was a narra tree here' (103.0	06) (lit.	there is a narra tree here)

## 6.3.2 Argument function

Genitive constituents can also function as arguments in Undergoer voice clauses, expressing an actor role. Genitive actors can be both animate (Examples 6.56, 6.57, 6.59, 6.61, 6.62) or inanimate (Examples 6.58, 6.60). As some examples show (6.56, 6.57), Absolutive arguments may be omitted.

#### 6.3.2.1 Patient voice clauses

(6.56)	aydi, ginuyod nen ni Lettaw				
	?ajdi g< <b>in</b> >ujud=nən	[ni	littaw]		
	INTJ <prf.<b>PV&gt;pull=already</prf.<b>	GEN	Lettaw		
	'ay di, Lettaw pulled it' (100.723)				
(6.57)	sinalubong ami nen amo mi				
	s <in>alubuŋ=?ami [na</in>	n	?amu=mi]		
	<prf.pv>greet=1pe.ABS D.C</prf.pv>	GEN	boss=1pe.GE	N	
	'our boss received us' (76.370)				
(6.58)	edpen-en'en ni waget-i ni delat				
	?ədpən- <b>ən</b> =?in	[ni	wagət=i	[ni	dəlat]]
	reach= <b>PV</b> =PROX.DEM.ABS	GEN	water=SPEC	GEN	sea
	'the water of the sea reaches it (	the mount	ain)' (109.230)		

#### 6.3.2.2 Locative voice clauses

(6.59) i'en man ay Atettut, kong ngo'an ni Alta-i ?i?in=man ?atəttut ?aj PROX.DEM=CNTR PM Atettut kuŋ դս?-**an** [ni ?alta=i] if GEN Alta=SPEC name-LV 'and as for this one, it is the Attetut plant, that is how the Alta call it' (95.113) (6.60)dahil pagka dimmanan ni bagiyo-i a minsan dahil pagka d<in>man-an [ni bagiju=i 2a minsan] thus when <PRF>pass-LV GEN storm=SPEC LK once 'thus, when one of these occasional typhoons passed through (the area)' (103.467)ngo'an ded in Anito ni uwah-i, Anito ni Dite'i-i (6.61) ηu?-an=[də]=d ?in ?anitu ni ?uwah=i call=LV=3s.GEN=d ABS GEN thing=SPEC god

?anitu ni diti?i=i
deity GEN Diteki=SPEC
'they call the Anito of the whatchamacallit, the Anito of Diteki' (99.284)

#### 6.3.2.3 Conveyance voice clauses

- (6.62) inibidded man yay ni Lulia di'en
   ?<in>i-biddə=d=man=jaj [ni lulia] di?ən
   CV<PRF>-say=d=CNTR=DIST.DEM.ABS GEN Lulia 1s.LOC
   'Lulia told me that' (83.007)
- (6.63) ikkabit na in ginelat na
  ?i-kabit[=na] in ginilat=na
  CV-attach=3s.GEN ABS arrow=3s.GEN
  'he attaches his arrow' (85.360)

## 6.3.3 Other uses of Genitive arguments

#### 6.3.3.1 Argument in clauses with predicates containing certain content words

Genitive arguments may function as arguments in clauses where the predicate contains or is headed by an irregular content word (§5.4.8). In this type of clause, the Genitive argument also expresses an actor role:

(6.64)	budim bat wadi?				
	budi <b>[=m]</b> =bat	wadi			
	want=2s. <b>GEN</b> =Q	younger.siblir	ng		
	'do you want (to quit s	smoking), my	brother?' (21.0	)8)	
(6.65)	pero in katribu sid, bu	ıdi de-i a talag	а		
	piru ?in katribu	l[=?]=sid	budi <b>=də</b> =i		
	but ABS tribe=1	s.GEN=PL	want=3p.GE	N=SPE	C
	?a talaga				
	LK surely				
	'but the other membe	ers of my tribe,	they surely wa	ant' (10	3.479)
(6.66)	awon'od ka'ilangan m	nengalap ti gat	as-i		
	awon <b>[=?u]</b> =d	ka?ilaŋan	məŋ-?alap	ti	gatas=i
	not.exist=1s. <b>GEN</b> =d	need	AV-get	OBL	milk=SPEC
	'I don't need to get m	ilk anymore' (7	76.102)		
(6.67)	ka'ilangan e' mo sela	bali			
	ka?ilangan=ə? <b>=mu</b> =s	sila=bali			
	need=1s.ABS=2s. <b>GE</b>	N=also=surpr	ise		
	'it turns out you also r	need me' (46.8	33)		

#### 6.3.3.2 Adjunct in phrases headed by the V-word abuten 'to reach something'

Genitive arguments can also be found in the adjunct function, in phrases headed by the Patient voice V-word *abuten* 'to last, to reach something'.

(6.68) e"abuten [ni lima-i a ta'on]

?əC-?abut-ən	[ni	limma	?a	ta?un]
PRG-reach-PV	GEN	five	LK	years
(it) will last for five ye	ears' (1	04.219)		

(6.69) e"abuten ni twelve pesos-i
 ?əC-?abut-ən [ni twilf pisus=i]
 PRG-reach-PV GEN twelve pesos=SPEC
 '(it) will reach twelve pesos (per piece)' (95.293)

## 6.4 Oblique Case

Oblique constituents are formed by DPs marked by the Oblique Articles *ti* or *ten* (§5.3.1) and may function as arguments, adjuncts and modifiers.

Oblique DPs share the argument function with Locative Personal Pronouns (§5.2.1.4) and with the clitic set of Locative Demonstratives (§5.2.2.4.2).

Oblique DPs share the adjunct function with certain Demonstratives. For example the set of Similative Demonstratives (§5.5.2.5) may function as adjuncts with manner meaning. In the same way, the free set of Locative Demonstratives (§5.2.2.4.1) can form adjuncts with locative meanings. Table 6.6 summarizes the functions and roles of Oblique DPs.

Clause type	Syntactic Function	Role
Voice-marked clause (with bivalent or trivalent predicate)	argument	undergoer
All types	adjunct	instrument, manner, time, location, duration
	modifier	beneficiary, patient, duration, location
Existential clause ( <i>isay</i> )	complement	location

The functions and semantic roles of Oblique constituents are explored in more detail in the sections below.

### 6.4.1 Argument function

Oblique constituents can function as arguments in clauses having bivalent or trivalent Vwords as head of the predicate.

#### 6.4.1.1 Clauses with bivalent V-words as predicate

In clauses with bivalent V-words as predicate, the Absolutive argument carries the actor role and the Oblique argument expresses an undergoer role.

(6.70)	ay bumili itam nen ti sundangi sid					
	?aj	b <um>ili=?itam=nən</um>	[ti	sundaŋ=i=sid]		
	INTJ	<av>buy=1pi.ABS=already</av>	OBL	knife=SPEC=PL		
	'we ha	ave bought some knives again	ı' (88.6	50)		

- (6.71) mentanem itam ti pagi
   mən-tanəm=?itam [ti pagi]
   AV-plant=1pi.ABS OBL rice
   'we plant some rice' (81.80)
- (6.72) məngalap itam ti bulangeni
   məŋ-ʔalap=ʔitam [ti bulaŋən=i]
   AV-get=1pi.ABS OBL monkey=SPEC
   'we catch monkeys' (99.113)

#### 6.4.1.2 Clauses with trivalent V-words as predicate

Clauses with trivalent V-words as predicate may have three arguments: a Genitive actor, an Oblique and an Absolutive argument. The semantic roles of the Oblique and Absolutive arguments depend on the voice of the V-word. If the predicate is in Locative voice, the Oblique argument may express a theme (as in 6.73). If the predicate is in Conveyance voice, the Oblique may express an addressee (as in 6.74).

(6.73) atdan de itam ti puhunan
?atəd-an=də=?itam [ti puhunan]
give-LV=3p.GEN=1pi.ABS OBL capital
'they gave us some capital' (91.876)

(6.74) ibidde' ten ana' 'o
?i-biddə=? [tən ?ana?=?u]
CV-say=1s.GEN OBL child=1s.GEN
'I told my child' (82.053)

(6.75) awon 'o sep sid ettoduwan ti polung ni alta i sid
 ?awun=?u=sip=sid
 ?ac-tudu-an
 not.exist=1s.GEN=still=3p.ABS
 PRG-teach-LV

[ti puluŋni?alta=i=sid]OBLlanguageGENalta=SPEC=PL'I am not teaching them the language of the Alta yet' (60.46)

The following example shows a clause with a predicate headed by a Causative word in Conveyance voice. In this clause, the Oblique argument expresses a causee.

(6.76) obram siya a ipa'inom ti ana'-i
?ubra=m sija ?a ?i-pa-?inum [ti ?ana?=i]
can=2s.GEN 3s.ABS LK CV-CAU-drink OBL child=SPC
'you can make your child drink it' (93.649)

## 6.4.2 Adjunct function

When functioning as adjuncts, Oblique constituents have a number of meanings, including instrumental, manner, temporal or locational. The interpretation of the Oblique adjunct depends on the predicate. The following subsections below explore the different meanings of Oblique case-marked constituents in adjunct function.

#### 6.4.2.1 Oblique phrases with instrumental meaning

Oblique phrases with instrumental meaning specify the instrument used to accomplish an action.

(6.77)	mensuklay ti damet miyo-i ten buh miyo						
	mən-suklaj	[ti	damət=miju=i]	tən	buh=miju		
	AV-comb	OBL	hand=2p.GEN=SPEC	OBL	hair=2p.GEN		
	'you comb your (pl) hair with your hand' (63.58)						

- (6.78) ulasan mo ti waget-i
  ?ulas-an=mu [ti wagət=i]
  wash-LV=1s.GEN OBL water=SPEC
  'you wash it with water' (94.141)
- (6.79) melanislanis pag inilutom ti asin at bitsin-i
   mə-lanis-lanis pag ?<in>i-lutu=m
   ST-RDP-tasty if CV<PRF>-cook=2s.GEN

[ti?asin?atbitsin=i]OBLsaltandvetsin=SPEC'it is tasty, if you cook it with salt and sodium glutamate' (94.300)

(6.80) tegtegen mo ti betuh
 təgtəg-ən=mu [ti betuh]
 crush=PV=2s.GEN OBL stone
 'you crush it (the plant) with a stone' (95.209)

#### 6.4.2.2 Oblique manner phrases

This subtype of phrase specifies the manner in which the event takes place.

(6.81)	kaya awon obra menla'ad ti deretso-i							
	kaja	?awun	?ubra	mən-la	a?ad	[ti	diritsu	u=i]
	thus	not.exist	can	AV-wa	alk	OBL	straight=SPE0	
	'so yo	u cannot walk	straight	' (99.11	91)			
(6.82)	ettang	apen de am ti	de'el a	puso ti'	sen di'a	mi		
	?∍C-ta	aŋgap-ən=də=	?am		[ti	də?əl	?a	pusu]
	PRG-	-agree-PV=3p.GEN=2p.ABS OI				big	LK	heart
	(10 - 1-							

ti?sin di?ami PROX.DEM.LOC 1pe.LOC 'they accept you wholeheartedly here, among us' (57.10)

(6.83) guyoden mod yay ti melakasi

gujud-ən=mu=d=jaj	[ti	mə-lakas=i]
pull-PV=2.GEN=d=DIST.DEM.ABS	OBL	ST-strengh=SPEC
'you pull it strongly' (100.542)		

(6.84) basta inas'an mo ti uman-i sena, ma'eg'ang siya
 basta ?inas-an=mu [ti ?uman=i=sina]
 just apply-LV=2s.GEN OBL like=SPEC=MED.DEM.LOC

mə-əg?aŋ=sija POT.PV-go=3s.ABS 'you just have to apply it like that, you will be able to remove it (the dirt)' (95.271)

(6.85) iyessangep mid la ti bahagya-i?
?i-?əC-saŋəp=mi=dla [ti bahagija=i]
CV-PRG-grill=1pe.GEN= just OBL slight=SPEC
'we grill (it) just a little bit' (92.567)

#### 6.4.2.3 Oblique temporal phrases

Oblique temporal phrases denote the time or duration of an event.

(6.86)	mensolid man nen ti pulab-i							
	mən-s	uli=d=r	nannən	[ti	pulab=i]			
	AV-ret	turn=d=	again	OBL	evening=SPE	С		
	ʻl will r	eturn a	gain in the eve	ening' (4	2.19)			
(6.87)	aydi in tujo, ippirito ti papa'as-i							
	?ajdi	?in	tuju	?i-pirit	u=?			
	INTJ	ABS	dried.fish	CV-fry	=1s.GEN			
	[ti	papa	Pas=i]					
	OBL	mornii	ng=SPEC					
	'as for the dried fish, I fry (it) in the morning' (61.58)							
(6.88)	siya ya	ay ehhu	ulen de ten ara	W				
	sija=ja	aj	?əC-h	uli-ən=o	ec	[tən	?araw]	

3s=DIST.DEM.ABS	PRG-hunt-PV=3p.GEN	OBL	day
'this is what they wou	uld hunt back in these days	' (69.108)	

(6.89)	umabot ti duwa-i a lingo						
	? <um>abut</um>	[ti	duwa	a=i	?a	liŋgu]	
	<av>reach</av>	OBL	two=\$	SPEC	LK	week	
	'it takes two	weeks'	(104.33	30) (lit. it	reache	s two weeks)	
(6.90)	i'en ay tano	dan mo	ti tatlo-i	a bulan			
	?i?in	?aj	tanuc	l-an=mu			
	PROX.DEM	1 PM	wait-l	_V=2s.G	EN		
	[ti tatlu	ı=i	?a	bulan	]		
	OBL three	e=SPEC	LK	month			
	'as for this, you wait three months' (95.215)						

### 6.4.2.4 Oblique locative phrases

Oblique locative phrases denote the location or source of a state of affairs.

(6.91)	mensome amid ti de'el-i a betuh						
	mən-sumə=?ami=d	[ti	də?əl=i	?a	bətuh]		
	AV-hide=1pe.ABS=d	OBL	big=SPEC	LK	stone		
	'we hide on a big stone' (83	.250)					
(0.00)	ourstaken eid ten ehuwede	_					
(6.92)	sumtokan sid ten abuweda	ו					
	sumtuk-an=sid [tən	?abuv	wədan]				
	fight-LV=3p.ABS OBL	sandy	.place				
	'they fight in that sand' (83.	276)					
(6.93)	etulen mi yay ten pon na						
	?ətul-ən=mi=jaj		[tən	pun=	na]		
	cut-PV=1pe.GEN=DIST.DE	M.ABS	OBL	trunk	=3s.GEN		
	'we cut off the trunk' (100.5	29) (lit. v	we cut it by thi	s trunk	of it)		
(6.94)	inomalang sela ti me"ena'e	m a lella	a'ay				
	? <in><um>alaŋ=sila</um></in>	[ti	mə??ənna?a	əm			
		217					

<PRF><AV>come=also OBL very.old

#### ?a la-la?aj]

LK RDP-old.man

'(this medicine treatment) also comes from the oldest (Alta) men' (92.02)

### 6.4.3 Modifier function

Oblique constituents can also function as modifiers of other DPs. These modified DPs can appear in argument and predicate functions.

#### 6.4.3.1 Modifier of other arguments

In the following example, the Absolutive DP, headed by the U-word *badʒit* 'budget', is modified by an Oblique DP:

(6.95) minamin mid in budget mi ti penlati-i
 m<in>amin=mi=d
 <PRF>consume=1pe.GEN=d

[?inbadʒit=mi[tipən-lati=i]]ABSbudget=1pe.GENOBLGER-rattan=SPEC'we spent all our money (earned) with rattan' (86.129)

In the following example the modified phrase is headed by the Gerundive form of the word *betlay* 'carry' that is modified:

(6.96) mahirap na ngi say in pembetlay ti ayuh-i
 mə-hirap=na=ŋi=saj
 ST-hardship=already=emphasis=DIST.DEM.LOC

[?in pən-bətlaj [ti ?ajuh=i]] ABS GER-carry **OBL** wood=SPEC 'the process of carrying wood there is quite hard' (100.580)

In the two following examples the modified Absolutive DP is headed by the V-words *mentarabaho* 'to work' and *mengyari* 'to happen'.

(6.97)	bawal in mentrabaho ti kusina-i							
	bawal	[ʔin	mən-tarabah	u	[ti	kusina=i]]		
	forbidden	ABS	AV-work		OBL	kitchen=SPEC		
	'it is forbidde	n to wo	rk in the kitche	n' (99.7	9)			
(6.98)	umannasay i	n miner	ngyari ti buhay	o-i				
	?uman=na=s	aj		[ <b>[</b> ʔin	m <in>əŋ-jari</in>			
	like=already=	=DIST.D	DEM.LOC	ABS	AV <prf>-happen</prf>			
	[ti buhaj=?u]]=i]							
	OBL life=1	s.GEN=	=SPEC					
	'that is how it	happer	ned to my life'	(46.67)				

#### 6.4.3.2 Modifier of non-voice marked predicates

Oblique constituents may also function as modifiers of heads of predicates. In the following example the Unmarked Phrase headed by the U-word *gamot* 'medicine' functions as a predicate and is modified by the Oblique constituent. The unit [predicate + modifier] is split as the Absolutive Demonstrative =2in is attached to the head of the predicate:

(6.99)	gamot'en ti ug'ug ni ana'							
	[gamut]=?in	[ti	?ug?ug	ni	?ana?]]			
	medicine=PROX.DEM.ABS	OBL	cough	GEN	child			
	'this is medicine for children's cough' (93.70)							

The following example shows the U-word *importante* 'important' modified by an Oblique constituent. As in the preceding example, the Absolutive DP is placed between head of the predicate and the Oblique modifier:

(6.100) ma'in importante in blongay ti alta-i?
ma?in [?impurtanti] ?in bluŋaj [ti ?alta=i]]
why important ABS Balobo OBL Alta=SPEC
'Why is the Balobo plant important to the Alta?' (515.06)

## **6.4.4 Complement function**

Oblique DPs may also function as complements of the Existential *isay*. They share this function with Locative DPs, Pron / PrPs and Dem / DemPs (see §6.5.3 below).

(6.101)	pero isay ti penti'edan ni lanslide=i						
	piru	?isaj	[ti	pənti?ədan	[ni	lanslajd=i]]	
	but	be.at	OBL	bottom	GEN	landslide=SPEC	
	ʻbut (tl	ne big s	tone) is	at the bottom	of a lar	ndslide' (103.199)	

## 6.5 Locative case

Locative constituents may be formed by DPs marked with the Locative Article *ta* (§5.3.1). If the lexical head of a DP is a person noun, the Article used is *ni*. If the lexical head of the DP is plural, the plural Locative Article *niden* is used.

Locative DPs can function as oblique arguments, encoding a definite undergoer in clauses with bivalent and trivalent predicates, and they may also function as adjuncts with locational meaning in any type of clause. In addition, Locative DPs can function as complements of the Existential *isay*, a function in which they express a location. Finally, Locative DPs can also function as a complement of the predicates, expressing a partitive meaning.

Locative Personal Pronouns (§5.2.1.4) and Locative Demonstratives (§5.2.2.4) may also form Locative constituents, sharing all functions with Locative DPs, except for the complement of the predicate function. Table 6.7 shows the function and roles of Locative constituents:

Clause type	Syntactic Function	Role
Voice-marked clauses (with bivalent or trivalent predicate)	argument	undergoer
All types	adjunct	location
	complement (of the predicate)	partitive
Existential clause (isay)	complement (of the	location

	Existential	
--	-------------	--

## 6.5.1 Argument function

Locative constituents may function as arguments in voice-marked clauses headed by bivalent and trivalent V-words, in which they express an undergoer.

### 6.5.1.1 Clauses with bivalent V-words as predicate

(6.102)	awon mi mengotang ni	Maricel				
	?awun=mi n	nəŋ-?utaŋ	[ni	maris	il]	
	not.exist=1pe.ABS A	V-borrow	LOC	Marice	el	
	'we do not borrow mon	ey from Mari	cel' (86	.425)		
(6.103)	meiwadde linumemya o	di'ami				
	majwaddə l <in><ur< td=""><td>m&gt;əmja</td><td>[di?an</td><td>ni]</td><td></td><td></td></ur<></in>	m>əmja	[di?an	ni]		
	exist <prf>&lt;</prf>	<av>wake</av>	1pe. <b>L</b> 0	OC		
	'there is someone who	woke us up'	(68.12)	)		
(6.104)	awon nen te mensopor	rta di'aw, ay!				
	?awun=nən ta	ə mən-s	upurta	[di?av	v]	aj
	not.exist=already	NSP AV-su	pport	2s. <b>LO</b>	С	INTJ
	there is no one that su	ipports you a	nymore	e' (99.24	16)	
(6.105)	ma'in awon mod a apo	lungen, Bok?	? ma'un	a di'en		
	ma?in ?awun=mu=d	?əC-?a	apuluŋ-	ən	buk	
	why not.exist=2s.GE	EN=d PRG-s	speak-F	٧	Buk	
	ma?una [di?ən]					
	say 1s.LOC					
	"why are you not talkin	ng to me, Bok	" he s</td <td>aid to n</td> <td>ne' (83.</td> <td>036)</td>	aid to n	ne' (83.	036)
(6.106)	ngo'an mo in la'ay mo,		•	na'una	say	
	ngu?-an=mu ?	Pin la?aj=I	mu			

?adinu=d	?in	la?aj=mu	ma?una <b>[=saj]</b>		
where=d	ABS	husband=2s.GEN	say=DIST.DEM.LOC		
"call your husband, where is he now", he said to her' (100.0199)					

#### 6.5.1.2 Clauses with trivalent V-words as predicate

(6.107)	inebenta de diya'yay ni dila-	i a Puling				
	? <in>i-binta=də dija?jaj [ni dila?i ?a puliŋ</in>					
	CV <prf>-sell=3p.GEN</prf>	now	LOC	uncle	LK	Puling
	'they have sold (the land) to	uncle Puling' (	(103.50)	3)		
(6.108)	e"iponen mi iye'ated mi ni S	ipten				
	?əC-?ipun-ən=mi	?i-?əC-?atəd⊧	=mi		[ni	siptin]

PRG-collect-PV=1pe.GEN CV-PRG-give=1pe.GEN **LOC** chiefain 'we collect them and we give them to the chieftain' (89.252)

(6.109)	initudu ded man di'etam ay		
	? <in>i-tudu=də=d=man</in>	[di?itam]	?aj
	CV <prf> -teach=3p.GEN=d=CNTR</prf>	1pi. <b>LOC</b>	INTJ
	'they taught it (the culture) to us' (99.45)		

(6.110)	ippabasa de di'en in mapa						
	?i-pa-basa=də	[di?ən]	?in	mapa			
	CV-CAU-read=3p.GEN	1s. <b>LOC</b>	ABS	map			
	'he read the map to me' (82.32)						

(6.111)	nanih ipa'inta' di'aw in salago						
	nanih	nanih ?i-pa-inta=? [di?aw] ?in salagu					
	later	CV-CAU-see=1s.GEN	ABS	salago			
	'later, I will show you the salago plant' (86.368):						

## 6.5.2 Adjunct function

When functioning as adjuncts, Locative constituents denote the location or source of a state of affairs.

(6.112)	dati isay'e minentira ta Malabidam <in>ən-tira[ta malabida]dati?isaj=ə?m<in>ən-tira[ta malabida]originallybe.at=1s.ABSAV<prf>-liveLOC'first I lived in Malabida' (76.07)KalabidaKalabida</prf></in></in>
(6.113)	ay ten inomay itam ta Dicoliat 'ina ai tən ? <in><um>aj=?itam <b>[ta dikulijat]</b>=?ina INTJ when <prf><av>go=1pi.ABS <b>LOC</b> Dicoliat=MED.DEM.ABS 'that (picture) is when we all went to Dicoliat' (75.02)</av></prf></um></in>
(6.114)	mensoli itam ta pinsal mən-suli=?itam <b>[ta pinsal]</b> AV-return=1pi.ABS <b>LOC</b> cousin 'let's go back to (the house of) our cousin' (88.630)
(6.115)	mensosoli dla sen, di'en mən-su-suli=dla <b>[=sin] [di?ən]</b> AV-RDP-return=just=PROX.DEM. <b>LOC</b> 1s. <b>LOC</b> 'he just keeps coming back here, at my (house)' (77.222)
(6.116)	ay unoden mod si say ma'una' aj ?unud-ən=mu=d=sid <b>[=saj]</b> ma?una INTJ follow-PV=1s.GEN=d=3p.ABS=DIST.DEM.LOC say 'follow them there, (he) said' (100.887)
(6.117)	ettiran de say a tape ?əC-tira-an=də[=saj ?a tapə?] PRG-live-LV=3s.GEN=DIST.DEM.LOC LK land 'they are living on that land there' (88.50)
(6.118)	i'en, i-tanem mi sen in tangkay na ?i?in ?i-tanəm=mi <b>[=sin]</b> PROX.DEM CV-plant=1pe.GEN=PROX.DEM. <b>LOC</b> ?in taŋkaj=na
	ABS stem=3s.GEN

'and this one, we plant its stem here' (93.247)

### 6.5.3 Complement function

#### 6.5.3.1 Complement of *isay*

As the examples below show, Locative constituents may function as complements of the Existential *isay*, a function in which they express the location of the existing entity:

(6.119)	ten isay tam sep ta project				
	tən ?isaj=itam=sip <b>[ta prajik]</b>				
	when	be.at=1pi.ABS=still LOC project			
	'when we were still living at the project' (81.2)		iect' (81.214)		

(6.120) in isay ni Bianing, ti Dyendyen 'o
?in ?isaj [ni bijaniŋ] ti djindjin=?u
ABS be.at LOC Bianing ABS Dyendyen=1s.GEN
'the one who stays at Bianing's, my (daughter) Dyendyen' (100.1237)

#### 6.5.3.2 Complement of the predicate

When appearing in this function, Locative case-marked DPs sometimes show a weak form of the *ta* Article, realized as [tə]. However, as the corpus contains some examples in which the Article is realized as [ta], we assume that it is the same Article. The question of whether this realization of the Locative Article is related to the non-specific Article *te* (§5.3.1.4) requires further investigation.

For the time being, we will analyze [tə] as a variant of *ta*, but represent it as *t*ə in the morphophonological transcription tier of the glosses, so that the examples of this form can be easily located in the future.

#### 6.5.3.2.1 Clauses with voice-marked predicates

(6.121) ay si'en man ay me'tog e' te uluh
?aj si?ən=man ?aj mə-?tug=ə? [tə ?uluh]
INTJ 1s=CNTR PM ST-hardness=1s.ABS LOC head
'as for me, I am hard headed' (88.170) (lit. I am hard on the head)

(6.122)	melasa 'en te iyan, melanis			
	mə-lasa[=?in]	[tə	?ijan]	mə-lanis
	ST-taste=PROX.DEM.ABS	LOC	leaf	ST-sweetness
	'the leaves of this one are ta	isty, and	d sweet'	(94.774) (lit. that one is tasty on
	the leaves)			

(6.123) obra hela siya illaga, eggate'an te iyan
 ?ubra=hila[=sija] ?i-laga ?əC-gatə?-an [tə ?ijan]
 can=too=3s.ABS CV-boil PRG-milk-LV LOC leaf
 'it is also possible to boil it, or extract the milk of its leaves' (93.378)

#### 6.5.3.2.2 Clauses with voice-unmarked predicates

(6.124) dedde'el siya te iyan							
	də-də?əl[=sij	a]	[tə	?ijan]			
	RDP-big=3s.	ABS	LOC	leaf			
	'it has very big leaves' (94.701) (lit. it is very big on the leaves)						n the leaves)
(6.125)	Adat 'en te n	gadden					
	?adat[=?in]			[tə	ŋaddə	n]	
	adat=PROX.DEM.ABS			LOC	name		
	'its name is a	adať (95.	.163)	(lit. this	s is ada	t on the	e name)
(6.126)	Artur yad te ı	ngadden	'0				
	?artur[=jaj]=d			[tə	ŋaddə	n=?u]	
	artur=DIST.DEM.ABS=d			LOC	name=	=1s.GEI	N
	'Artur is my name' (88.06) (lit. that is Artur on my name)						ame)
(6.127)	kung ngo'an mi 'en ay Koronang tinik dahil ado te set						
	kuŋ ŋuʔ-an=mi=[ʔin]					?aj	kurunaŋtinik
	if name	-LV=1pe	e=GEN.	DEM.A	BS	PM	kurunang.tinik
	dahil	?adu	[tə	sit]			
	because	many	LOC	thorns			
	'the way we name it (this plant) kurunang tinik because (it) has many thorns'				ause (it) has many thorns'		

(94.018) (lit. because it is many on the thorns)

# 7. Voice-marked words

This chapter provides an overview of the different voice-marked words and explores the type of participants they require as well as their aspect inflection. Section §7.2 explores nonderived V-words, §7.3 deals with Potentive words and §7.4 presents Stative words. Finally §7.5 explores Causative words.

## 7.1 Introduction

As was presented in §5.4.3 V-words are a subclass of content words distinguished by carrying a voice affix and by the capacity of inflecting for aspect. Northern Alta words show a voice system characteristic of Philippine languages, in which the affix appearing on the predicative word determines which semantic roles are assigned to the case-marked arguments in a clause. It was shown in Sections §4.2.1 and §5.4 that V-words may also function as the lexical head of a DP or LP, appearing in argument and modifier functions respectively, without additional coding. However, it is only V-words functioning as predicates that we are concerned with in this chapter.

On the basis of the fact that other content words may also appear in predicate, argument and modifier functions, it was suggested in §5.4.1 that the *syntactic uniformity hypothesis for content words* is also justified for Northern Alta: since all content words may appear in the same positions, they are not classified into different syntactic categories. However, we saw in §5.4.2 that content words may be divided by morphological criteria. On the basis of the two following properties, we defined V-words as distinct from other content words:

- 1. V-words carry a voice affix
- 2. V-words may inflect for aspect

Thus, V-words form a major (morphological) class of content words, distinct from the second major class which we named U-words.

V-words can be further subclassified on the basis of the set of affixes they take. We distinguish four main types of V-words: non-derived words, Potentive words, Stative words and Causatives. For Tagalog, Himmelmann (2004, p.9) distinguishes stative words from dynamic words on the basis of morphological criteria: "Stative is a marked category in two regards. On the one hand, it is marked in the superficial morphological sense of involving

more morphological marking than nonstatives, at least in Locative and Conveyance voice. On the other hand, it is marked in the functional sense of being the marked member in a binary opposition." Considering his first criterion, and on the basis of the morphology of Northern Alta Locative voice words and Conveyance voice words, we assume that nonderived words are the most basic category, given that in the Locative and Conveyance voices, Potentive, Stative and Causative words involve more morphological marking than the forms classified as non-derived.

## 7.2 Non-derived V-words

Non-derived V-words are characterized by carrying one of the affixes appearing in Table 7.1 below. As shown in Table 7.9 they may inflect for perfective and progressive aspect. Non-derived words involve the expression of an actor that is volitional and in control of the event. Certain <um> words (see §7.2.1) constitute an exception in that they may also take no participant at all or in that they may take an actor that is not in full control (see example 6.5).

Actor voice non-derived V-words take an Absolutive actor and may take an Oblique undergoer. In the Undergoer voices, non-derived V-words take a Genitive actor, an Absolutive undergoer, and they may also take an Oblique argument, expressing an undergoer role.

Table 7.1 shows the main types of non-derived V-words, and provides one example per voice. Each voice is further explored in the subsections below. The aspectual inflection of non-derived V-words is explored in §7.2.7

Voice	Affix	Example	Section
Actor voice (AV)	<b><um></um></b> / <um>/</um>	<b><um>e'ay</um></b> /? <um>ə??aj/ 'to go'</um>	§7.2.1
	<b>men-</b> /mən-/	<b>men-tanem</b> /mən-tanəm/ 'to plant'	§7.2.2
	<b>meng-</b> /məŋ-/	<b>meng-alap</b> /məŋ-ʔalap/ 'to catch something'	§7.2.3
Patient voice (PV)	<b>-en</b> /-ən/	<b>alap-en</b> /ʔalap-ən/ 'to get something'	§7.2.4

Table 7.1 Voice affixation of non-derived V-words

Locative voice (LV)	<b>-an</b> /-an/	<b>ngo-'an</b> /ŋuʔ-an/ 'to give someone'	§7.2.5
Conveyance voice (CV)	<b>i-</b> /?i/	<b>i-dton</b> /ʔi-dton/ 'to place something'	§7.2.6

One and the same root does not necessarily occur in distinct voice categories, with the different voice affixes listed in Table 7.1. Some roots may occur in several categories, as for example the root alap 'get, catch'. The corpus mostly contains occurrences of the Patient voice form alapen, a small number of occurrences of the Actor voice form mengalap, three occurrences of the Conveyance voice form ialap and one single occurrence of the Actor voice umalap. Other roots however occur in more limited voice categories. For example the root ngo' 'name' most often occurs in Locative voice form ngo'an.

## 7.2.1 Actor voice <um> words

Actor voice <um>/<um>/ words may form clauses in which there is no argument at all. They may also form clauses in which they take one or two arguments. Table 7.2 summarizes the possible valency patterns of *<um>* words.

Table 7.2	Valency	patterns	of	<um></um>	words
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Valency	Case and role of Argument/s	Example
0		7.1
1	Absolutive (actor)	7.2, 7.4, 7.5, 7.6
	Unmarked Phrase (actor)	7.3
2	Absolutive (actor) Oblique (undergoer)	6.70, 5.238

Actor <um> words may form clauses in which there are no arguments. In these clauses they refer to meteorological events:

(7.1)	pag awon um'udden, awon siya pwede a ilipat				
	pag	?awun	? <um>?-uddən</um>		
	if	not exist	<av>RDP-rain</av>		

?awun=sija	pwidi	?a	?i-lipad
------------	-------	----	----------

not.exist=3s.ABS can LK CV-transfer 'if it is not raining it is not possible to transplant it' (94.256)

Actor <um> words may form clauses in which they take one argument, which is either an Absolutive argument (as in 7.2) or an Unmarked Phrase (7.3). In both examples, the Actor <um> word expresses a change of state:

- (7.2) dinom'el nen in ana'
  d<in><um>ə?əl=nən
  ?in
  ?ana?
  <PRF><AV>big=already
  ABS
  child
  'the child grew up' (76.094)
- (7.3) binoma'ik nen waget-i
  b<in><um>a?ik=nən wagət=i
  <PRF><AV>small=already water=SPEC
  'water got scarce/smaller' (100.515)

In clauses with one argument, Actor voice  $\langle um \rangle$  words may express motion (as in examples 7.4 and 7.5), in which case the single argument expresses the actor role.

(7.4)'umali 'ad, wadi, ma'unad say, menginad itad?<um>ali=?a=dwadima?una=d=saj<AV>come=2s.ABS=dyounger.siblingsay=d=DIST.DEM.LOC

mən-ginan=d=?itam=d AV-run=d=1pi.ABS=d 'come, brother, I said to them, let's run' (100.310)

(7.5) bagay, tanghalid dumateng tiyama miyu at mengan
bagaj taŋhali=d d<um>atəŋ tijama=miju ?at məŋ-?an
then noon=d <AV>arrive ABS.father=2p.Gen and AV-eat
'then, at noon, your father comes and eats' (61.39)

As the Examples (7.4) and (7.6) show, *<um>* words can be used to express commands.

(7.6) ha, tumbag 'a!

ha **t<um>bag**=?a INTJ <AV>reply=2s.ABS 'hey, answer (my question)!' (21.09)

Actor voice *<um>* words may also take two arguments: an Absolutive actor and an undergoer marked in the Oblique case. Examples of this type are words like *bumili* 'to buy' (see Example 6.70) or the word *lumemya* 'to wake' (Example 6.103).

Finally, the infix *<um>* may also be used with the irregular content word *budi* 'want', which in its unaffixed form takes a Genitive actor and an Absolutive undergoer and thus behaves like an Undergoer voice form. In contrast with the unaffixed form, the word *bumudi* takes an Absolutive actor and an Oblique-marked undergoer:

(7.7)	anon'	anon'a a binomudi ti awon te tarrabaho? ma'unad ti Don Pepe							
	?anun=?a why=2s.ABS		?a	b <in><um></um></in>	b <in><um>udi</um></in>				
			LK	<prf><b><av></av></b>want</prf>					
	ti	?awun	tə	tarabahu	ma?una=d	ti	dunpipi		
	OBL	not.exist	NSP	work	say=d	ABS	Don.Pepe		
'why did you love the one who does not have a job? sa					ave a job? said	Don Pe	epe' (53.55)		

Table 7.3 provides examples of Actor voice *<um>* words:

Semantic Type	Examples	Translation	
meteorological	<b>um'udden</b> /ʔ <um>-ʔ-uddən/</um>	to be raining <sup>32</sup>	
	dumdalam /d <um>-d-alam/</um>	to be getting dark	
change of state dum'el /dum?el/		to become big, to grow	
	<b>buma'ik</b> /bumaiʔk/	to become small/scarce	
	umingel /ʔ <um>iŋəl/</um>	to get angry	
	<b>lumemya</b> /l <um>əmja/</um>	to wake	
	<b>pumoti</b> /p <um>uti/</um>	to become white	

Table 7.3 Examples of	Actor voice < <i>um</i> > words

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Some forms in this table show progressive aspect C reduplication (§7.2.7.3) and for this reason, they are translated with English gerundives.

action	<b>umali</b> /ʔ <um>ali/</um>	to come	
	dumateng /d <um>atəŋ/</um>	to arrive	
	tumbag /t <um>bag/</um>	to reply	
	<b>bumili</b> /b <um>ili/</um>	to buy	
other	<b>bumudi</b> /b <um>udi/</um>	to want	

## 7.2.2 Actor voice men-words

Actor *men-*/mən-/ words express an action related to the root, which is durative and lacks an inherent terminal point. Actor *men-* words take one argument, marked in the Absoutive case. The prefix *men-* undergoes regressive assimilation with the first consonant of the root it is attached to (see §3.2.1.1).

(7.8)	menla'ad ami ti papa'asi					
	<b>mən-la?ad</b> =?ami	ti	papa?as=i			
	AV-walk=1pe.ABS	LOC	morning=SPEC			
	'we walk in the morning' (60.10)					

- (7.9) mengamas sid, oma de 'in sigudo
   mən-gamas=sid ?uma=də=?in sigudu
   AV-weed=3p.ABS farm=3p.GEN=PROX.DEM.LOC maybe
   'they weed, that is probably their land' (109.142)
- (7.10) mengalaw sid ti bola-i
  mən-galaw=sid ti bula=i
  AV-play=3s.ABS OBL ball=SPEC
  'they play with a ball' (109.189)

In contrast with the preceding examples, in which the actors are human, in the next example the actor of the *men*-word is a plant.

(7.11) menbudde' siya, tapos mengiyan inad a 'elan
mən-buddə'=sija tapus məŋ-?ijan=?ina=d ?a ?əlan
AV-flower=3s.ABS then AV-fruit=MED.DEM.ABS=d LK all
'it flowers, then it starts bearing all the fruits' (94.173)

Actor *men*- words can take a second argument, which is marked in Oblique or Locative case (see §6.4.1.1 and §6.5.1) and carries an undergoer role. In the example below, the second argument is marked with the Locative case and expresses definite undergoer.

(7.12) mentanod ami ni Emel
 mən-tanud=?ami=d ni ?imil
 AV-wait=1pe.ABS=d LOC Emel
 'we wait for Emel' (86.133)

Table 7.4 provides additional examples of Actor voice men-words:

Examples	Translation
<b>men'oma</b> /mən-?uma/	to farm
<b>menla'ad</b> /mən-laʔad/	to walk
mentanod /mən-tanud/	to wait
<b>menbilay</b> /mən-bilaj/	to live
<b>menpolung</b> /mən-puluŋ/	to talk
<b>menlati</b> /mən-lati/	to collect rattan
<b>mendilus</b> /mən-dilus/	to swim
<b>menledep</b> /mən-lidəp/	to dive
<b>mengigi</b> /mən-gigi/	to grind teeth
<b>menbudde</b> /mən-buddə/	to bloom

#### 7.2.3 Actor voice meng-words

Actor *meng-* /məŋ/ words express distributive or repeated actions. Words carrying the prefix meng- take an Absolutive case-marked actor and also take an argument marked in the Oblique case. The actor of *meng-* words may be human (7.13), or non-human, as in (7.14). The prefix *meng-* triggers nasal substitution when attached to roots starting with the obstruents b, p, k, g and ? (see §3.2.4).

(7.13) tiyama, isay ta mudung, mengaludu, mengalap ti laman

	tijama	?isaj	ta	mudu	Ŋ	məŋ-	?aludu
	ABS.father	be.at	LOC	mount	ain	AV-h	unt
	məŋ-?alap	ti	laman	1			
	AV-get	OBL	wild.p	wild.pig			
	'my father, he	e was o	n the m	ountain	, huntir	ng, cato	hing wild pigs' (39.07)
(7.14)	tanodan mo t	i tatlo-i	a bulan	mengiy	/an ner	n siya ti	ado-i
	tanud-an=mu	I	ti	tatlu=i		?a	bulan
	wait-LV=2s.0	GEN	OBL	four=S	SPEC	LK	month
	<b>məŋ-ʔijan</b> =n	ən	sija		ti	?adu=	=i
	AV-fruit=already		3s.AB	S	OBL	many	=SPEC
	'you wait for three months and it already bea			ears a	lot (of fruits)' (94.390)		

Table 7.5 provides examples of Actor voice *meng-* words.

Example	Translation
<b>mengaludu</b> /məŋ-ʔaludu/	to hunt
<b>mengaso</b> /məŋ-ʔasu/	to hunt (with dogs)
<b>mengoriente</b> /məŋ-kurjinti/	to fish (with iron rod)
menpeltag /məŋ-pəltag/	to spear
<b>mengotan</b> /məŋ-ʔutan/	to borrow from
<b>menginta</b> /məŋ-ʔinta/	to see something
<b>mengaliyo</b> /məŋ-ʔaliju/	to search something
mengated /məŋ-?atəd/	to give someone
<b>mengan</b> /məŋ-ʔan/	to eat
<b>mengalap</b> /məŋ-ʔalap/	to catch something
<b>mengolas</b> /məŋ-ʔulas/	to wash something
mengut'ut /məŋ-?ut?ut/	to dig
<b>mengyari</b> /məŋ-jari/	to happen
<b>mengiyan</b> /məŋ-ʔijan/	to bear fruit

## 7.2.4 Patient voice -en words

Patient *-en* /-ən/ words take two arguments, a Genitive actor and an Absolutive undergoer. As explained in §6.2.2.1, the undergoer may be more or less affected and express various semantic roles such as patient, theme or stimulus.

(7.15)	pero alapen e' ni Don Pepe				
	piru	<b>?alap-ən</b> =ə?	ni	dunpipi	
	but	get-PV=1s.ABS	GEN	Mr.Pepe	
	'but Mr. Pepe held me' (53.54)				

More examples of clauses containing Patient *-en* words are provided in Sections §4.3.1.2.1 and §6.2.2.1. In addition, Table 7.6 provides examples of Patient voice *-en* words, and indicates the semantic categories they belong to.

Semantic Type	Examples	Translation	
Perception aloben /?alub-ən/		to smell something	
	tangalen /taŋal-ən/	to look at something	
	<b>pansinen</b> /pansin-ən/	to pay attention to something	
Cognition	<b>isipen</b> /ʔisip-ən/	to think about something	
annolen /ʔannul-ən/		to know something/someone	
	<b>buden</b> /budi-ən/	to want something	
Communication	<b>tangapen</b> /taŋgap-ən/	to accept someone	
	<b>libangen</b> /libaŋ-ən/	to entertain someone	
	<b>uyogen</b> /ʔujug-ən/	to mock someone	
Transfer	<b>unoden</b> /ʔunud-ən/	to follow someone	
	damolagen /damulag-ən/	to chase something/someone	
	lokmaten /lukmat-ən/	to remove something	

#### Table 7.6 Examples of Patient voice -en words

	<b>eg'angen</b> /ʔəɡʔaŋ-ən/	to remove something
	<b>guyoden</b> /gujud-ən/	to pull something
	gamiten /gamit-ən/	to use something
	haplusen /haplus-ən/	to caress someone
Affect	<b>alapen</b> /?alap-ən/	to catch something
	linisen /linis-ən/	to clean something/someone
	magneten /magnit-ən/	to magnetize something
	etulen /ʔətul-ən/	to cut something
	hakoten /hakut-ən/	to chop something (wood)
	tistisen /tistis-ən/	to cut something in pieces
	tegtegen /təgtəg-ən/	to crush something
	<b>badilen</b> /badil-ən/	to shoot something/someone
	peltagen /pəltag-ən/	to spear something/someone

### 7.2.5 Locative voice -an words

Locative *-an* /-an/ words take two arguments: a Genitive actor and an Absolutive undergoer. In clauses with predicates headed by Locative *-an* words, the Absolutive argument may express various semantic roles, which are described and exemplified in §6.2.2.2.

(7.16) sa'latan de dla yay ti begas-i
 sa?lat-an=də=dla=jaj ti bəgas=i
 barter-LV=3p.GEN=just=DIST.DEM.ABS OBL rice=i
 'they just traded for some rice' (88.362)

As shown in §6.4.1.2, some *-an* words may take three arguments. Examples (6.73, 6.75) show *-an* words taking a Genitive actor, an Absolutive recipient and an Oblique case-marked theme. Additional examples of clauses containing Locative *-an* words are provided in §4.3.1.2.2. Finally, Table 7.7 below provides examples of Locative voice *-an* words.

Table 7.7 Examples of Locative voice -an we	ords
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Example	Translation		
soliyan /suli-an/	to return somewhere		
<b>puledan</b> /puləd-an/	to sleep somewhere		
<b>bi'nan</b> /bi <b>?</b> en-an/	to approach someone		
kabitan /kabit-an/	to attach somewhere		
ta'bonan /ta?bun-an/	to cover something		
puluputan /puluput-an/	to roll a string around something		
atdan /?ated-an/	to give someone		
payongan /pajuŋ-an/	to build for someone		
palitan /palit-an/	to exchange with someone		
sa'latan /saʔlat-an/	to exchange with someone		
tolongan /tuluŋ-an/	to help someone		
itan /?inta-an/	to look at something/someone		
<b>ali'sapan</b> /aliʔsap-an/	to forget something		
tanda'an /tanda-an/	to remember something		
bantayan /bantaj-an/	to guard something		
tanodan /tanud-an/	to wait for something		
ngo'an /ŋu?-an/	to call someone		
biddan /bidde-an/	to scold someone		
<b>baybayan</b> /baibaj-an/	to guide someone		
ut'utan /?ut?ut-an/	to excavate something		
linisan /linis-an/	to clean something		
ulasan /?ulas-an/	to wash something		
sabdulan /sabdul-an/	to sprinkle water on something		
ta'buwan /ta?bu-an/	to pour water on something		

## 7.2.6 Conveyance voice *i*- words

Conveyance *i*- words take a Genitive agent, and an Absolutive argument expressing an entity that is moved through space, given to someone, said to someone, or undergoing a change of state (theme), or an entity that is used for something (instrumental).

(7.17)	meiwadded man sid a me'alap a lama, siya yay ibenta mi sela					
	majwaddə=d=man=s	sid	а	mə-?alap	?a	laman
	have=d=CNTR=3.AE	BS	LK	ST-get	LK	wild pig
	sija=jaj	?i-bin	t <b>a</b> =mi=:	sila		

3s=DIST.DEM **CV-sell**=1pe.GEN=also 'if they have caught a wild pig, that also is what we sell' (61.62)

(7.18) itanem mod siya ta'bunan mod
?i-tanəm=mu=d=sija ta?bun-an=mu=d
CV-plant=2s.GEN=d=3s.ABS cover-AN=2s.GEN=d
'you plant it, you cover it' (94.215)

As shown in §6.4.1.2, some Conveyance voice *i*- words can take three arguments. Examples (6.74) and (6.109) show examples of *i*- words with a Genitive agent, an Absolutive theme and an Oblique case-marked recipient. Additional examples of clauses containing Conveyance voice *i*- words are provided in Sections §4.3.1.2.3 and §6.2.2.3. Table 7.8 below provides examples of Conveyance voice words

Table 7.8 Examples of Conveyance voice *i*- words

Semantic Type	Example	Meaning		
Transfer	ilipad /?i-lipad/	to transfer something		
	<b>isome</b> /ʔi-sumə/	to hide something		
	itanem /ʔi-tanəm/	to plant something		
	ihakot /ʔi-hakut/	to collect something		
	<b>isako</b> /ʔi-saku/	to put something in a sack		
	<b>iyelwas</b> /ʔi-əlwas/	to take something across		
	itinda /ʔi-tinda/	to sell something		
	<b>ibenta</b> /ʔi-binta/	to sell something		
	isurrender /ʔi-surindir/	to surrender		
	<b>ikarga</b> /ʔi-karga/	to load something		
	<b>isakay</b> /ʔi-sakaj/	to ride something on a vehicle		
	<b>ipalit</b> /ʔi-palit/	to trade something		

	ikabit /ʔi-kabit/	to attach something		
	<b>iyedpen</b> /ʔi-ədpən/	to place something		
	isabit /ʔi-sabit/	to hang something		
	<b>igaya'</b> /ʔi-gajaʔ/	to prepare something		
Benefaction	iyated /?i-atəd/	to give something		
	ida'ut /ʔi-daʔut/	to share something		
	ibilay /ʔi-bilaj/	to provide food		
Communication	<b>ipolung</b> /ʔi-puluŋ/	to tell something		
	ibidde /ʔi-biddə/	to say something		
	ibawal /ʔi-bawal/	to prohibit something		
Cause a change	<b>igisa</b> /ʔi-gisa/	to cook something		
of state	<b>ipirito</b> /ʔi-piritu/	to fry something		
	<b>ipaksiw</b> /ʔi-paksiw/	to vinegar-fry something		
	ilaga /ʔi-laga/	to boil something		
	ita'bon /ʔi-ta'bun/	to use as cover		
	igamot /ʔi-gamut/	to use as medicine		
	<b>igulay</b> /ʔi-gulaj/	to use as food		

# 7.2.7 Aspect inflection of non-derived V-words

Table 7.9 below summarizes the aspectual inflection non-derived V-words. The column Basic form provides the affixes for the Actor and Undergoer voices. The Perfective and Progressive columns show the position of the affixes or reduplicated segments in relation to each voice affix. Tables 7.10 and 7.11 provide V-words inflected for perfective and progressive aspects and are followed by examples.

Voice	Basic form	Perfective	Progressive
AV	<b><um></um></b>	<b><in><um></um></in></b>	C <um></um>
	/ <um>/</um>	/ inum /	/C <um>/</um>
AV	<b>men-</b>	<b>m<in>en-</in></b>	<b>men-C(V)</b>
	/mən-/	/m <in>ən-/</in>	/mən-C(V)/

Table 7.9 Aspect inflection of non-derived V-words
--

AV	<b>meng-</b> /məŋ-/	<b>m<in>eng-</in></b> /m <in>əŋ-/</in>	-
AV	<b>mengi-</b> /məŋi-/	<b>m<in>eng-</in></b> /m <in>əŋi-/</in>	-
PV	<b>-en</b>	<b><in></in></b>	<b>eCen</b>
	/-ən/	/ <in>/</in>	/ʔəCən/
LV	<b>-an</b>	<b><in>an</in></b>	<b>eCan</b>
	/-an/	/ <in>an/</in>	/ʔəCan/
CV	<b>i-</b>	<b><in>i</in></b>	<b>i-eC-</b>
	/ʔi-/	/? <in>i-/</in>	/ʔi-əC-/

### 7.2.7.1 Basic forms

Aspect unmarked forms are formed by adding a voice affix to the root. The meanings of the aspect-unmarked forms are described in Sections §7.2.1 - §7.2.6

### 7.2.7.2 Perfective aspect

Perfective aspect is marked by adding the perfective infix *<in>* to the voice-marked forms presented in the preceding section. As Table 7.10 shows, perfective Patient Voice forms are unmarked for voice, and thus do not carry the PV suffix *-en*. The table provides one perfective example per voice form, and indicates the placement of the perfective infix *<in>* in relation to the voice affix.

Voice	Stem	Perfective Affixation	Perfective form	Perfective meaning
AV	dumateng /d <um>atəŋ/</um>	<b><in></in></b> <um> /<inum>/</inum></um>	<b>dinumateng</b> /d <in><um>atəŋ/</um></in>	arrived
AV	mensanga /mən-saŋa/	m <b><in>en-</in></b> /m <in>ən-/</in>	<b>minensanga</b> /m <in>ən-saŋa/</in>	married
AV	menginta /məŋ-ʔinta/	m <b><in></in></b> eng- /m <in>əŋ-/</in>	<b>minenginta</b> /m <in>əŋ-ʔinta/</in>	saw someone
AV	mengitudu /məŋ-ʔitudu/	m <b><in></in></b> engi- /m <in>əŋi-/</in>	<b>minengitudu</b> /m <in>əŋi-tudu/</in>	taught someone
PV	alapen /?alap-ən/	<b><in></in></b> / <in>/</in>	inalap /? <in>alap/</in>	got something

Table 7.10 Perfective aspect of non-derived V-words

LV	tanda'an /tanda-an/	<b><in></in></b> an / <in>an/</in>	<b>tinanda'an</b> /t <in>anda-an/</in>	remembered something
CV	inibilay /ʔi-bilaj/	<b><in></in></b> i- /? <in>i-/</in>	<b>inibilay</b> /? <in>i-bilaj/</in>	sustained with

(7.19)	umalang ten si'aw ay dinumateng ti'sen								
	?umalaŋ	tən	si?aw	?aj	d <in></in>	d <in><um>atəŋ</um></in>		ti?sin	
	since	when	2s	РМ	<prf><av>arrive</av></prf>		PRO>	.DEM.LOC	
	'since the mo	oment yc	ou arrive	ed here	e' (20.02	2)			
(7.20)	si'en ay papa'as a minensanga								
	si?ən ?aj	papa?	as	?a	m <in:< td=""><td>&gt;ən-sar</td><td>ja</td><td></td><td></td></in:<>	>ən-sar	ja		
	1s PM	early		LK	AV <p< td=""><td>RF&gt;-sp</td><td>ouse</td><td></td><td></td></p<>	RF>-sp	ouse		
	'as for me, I g	got marr	ied earl	ly' (39.1	17)				
(7.21)	minenginta e	' man ti	ettase a	a debdi					
	m <in>əŋ-ʔir</in>	<b>ita</b> =ə?=r	man		ti	?əttas	si	?a	dəbdi
	AV <prf>-se</prf>	e=1s.Al	BS.CN1	ΓR	OBL	one		LK	girl
	'I saw again a	a girl' (68	8.28)						
(7.22)	bagay inalap		-						
	bagaj		alap=de		?in hanbag				
	then		>get=3p			ABS	handb	bag	
	'then, they to	ok the h	andbag	g' (61.2	6)				
(7.00)				torio					
(7.23)	kaya tinanda			storia		JiJidi		<b>)</b> 0	?isturia
	•	anda-an <sup>:</sup> >remerr		-1no (		?i?jaj DIST.I		?a LK	
	so <prf 'so we remer</prf 			-		0131.		LN	story
	SO WE TEITIEI		1121 210	iy (Jz.	107)				
(7.24)	mengalap in	laman, s	siva vav	/ inibila	v na di'a	ami			
()	məŋ-?alap	?in	laman		sija=ja				
	AV-get	ABS	wild.pi			-, ST.DEN	M		
	5.5			0					
	? <in>i-bilaj=</in>	na		di?am	i				
	CV <prf>-liv</prf>		EN	1pe.L					

'hunting the wild pig, that is what he did to sustain us with' (39.08)

### 7.2.7.3 Progressive aspect

The encoding of the progressive aspect is different throughout the voice alternations and may involve reduplication and affixation. In Actor voice <um> words, the progressive aspect is encoded with the initial C reduplication of the root. The reduplicated consonant is placed between the <um> infix and the root. As shown by forms like um'udden /?um?udden/ (Example 7.1) a glottal onset participates in C reduplication. Actor voice men- words indicate the progressive aspect with initial CV reduplication of the root. The reduplicated segment is placed between the men- prefix and the root. The expression of the progressive aspect with Actor voice meng- words requires further research.

In both Patient and Locative voices, the progressive aspect is indicated by the affix eC-/?əC-/, in which C indicates the reduplication of the initial consonant of the root. Conveyance voice forms indicate reduplication by inserting the infix eC-/?əC-/ between the CV prefix *i*- and the root<sup>33</sup>. As indicated in Table 7.11 below, the sequence /?i<?əC-/, which contains the CV prefix *i*- and progressive infix /<?əC-/ is phonetically realized as [?ijəC-]. In the case of the Undergoer voices a glottal onset also participates in the C reduplication.

Voice	Stem	Progressive	Progressive form	Progressive meaning
AV	dumateng /dumatəŋ/	<b><um>C</um></b> / <um>C/</um>	<b>dumdateng</b> /d <um>d-atəŋ/</um>	arriving
AV	mensiya /mensija/	<b>men-CV</b> /mən-CV/	<b>mensisiya</b> /mən-si-sija/	regretting
PV	alapen /?alapen/	<b>еСеn</b> /ʔəСən/	<b>e''alapen</b> /ʔeʔ-ʔalap-en/	getting
LV	tuduwan /tuduan/	<b>eCan</b> /ʔəCan/	<b>ettuduwan</b> /ʔet-tudu-an/	teaching
CV	tanem /?itanəm/	<b>i-?eC-</b> /ʔi-ʔəC-/ [ʔijəC-]	<b>iyettanem</b> /?i-?et-tanem/	planting

Table 7.11	Progressive as	spect of non	-derived V	-words
	11091000110 40			110100

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> An alternative analysis is one where the CV prefix is added to a stem that is already reduplicated with progressive aspect, so that infixation always occurs after the initial consonant (Lawrence Reid, personal communication, September 2018)

(7.25)	ti lingo'an yay	y a dumdaten	g					
	ti liŋu=?	Pan=jaj				?a	d <um< th=""><th>ı&gt;-datəŋ</th></um<>	ı>-datəŋ
	OBL sunda	ay=quotative=	DIST.DE	EM.ABS		LK	<um></um>	RDP-arrive
	'she is suppo	osed to be con	ning this	Sunday	y' (88.59	)		
(7.26)	kaya mensisi	iya' man, awo	n te meg	gagawi				
	kaja <b>mən-</b>	<b>si-sija</b> =?=mar	า		?awur	n	tə	mə-gagawi
	thus AV-R	DP-cry=1s.AE	BS=CNT	R	not.ex	ist	NSP	POT.PV-do
	'so I am regre	etting that I do	n't have	anythir	ng to do	' (15.17	<b>'</b> )	
(7.27)	e"alapen na	in karga ni'na	y					
	?əC-?alap-e	<b>n</b> =na	?in	karga		ni?nai		
	PRG-get-PV	=3s.GEN	ABS	currer	nt	DIST.	DEM.G	EN
	'he is getting	the electricity	from the	at one' (	104.45	9)		
(7.28)	et-todu-an 'o	sela sid						
	?əC-tudu-an	<b>1</b> =?u=sila		sid				
	PRG-teach-L	<b>-V</b> =1s.GEN=a	lso	3s.AB	S			
	'I am also tea	aching them (t	he Alta I	anguag	e)' (49.6	61)		
(7.29)	diya'yay ay i'	en ay iyettane	m/ ittane	em mi ti	oma-i			
	dija?jaj	γαj γίγιγι	า	?aj	?i-?∍C	-tanəm	i=mi	
	now	INTJ PRO	X.DEM	PM	CV-PF	<b>RG</b> -plar	nt=1pe.	GEN
	ti ?uma							
	OBL swidd	len=SPEC						
	'and now this	e ono ie tho or		o nlanti	na in th	o form'	(0/ 19	8)

'and now, this one is the one we are planting in the farm' (94.188)

# 7.3 Potentive V-words

Potentive V-words carry one of the affixes appearing in Table 7.12 below. In addition, as shown in Table 7.13, Potentive words may inflect for perfective aspect. Potentive words indicate that the actor is not volitional or not in full control of the action. Another possible reading of Potentive words is that the actor has the ability to perform an action.

In the same way as non-derived words, Actor voice Potentive words may take an Absolutive actor and an Oblique undergoer. Potentive words in Undergoer voices take a Genitive actor, an Absolutive undergoer, and they may also take an Oblique argument, expressing an undergoer role.

Table 7.12 below shows the possible voice formations of Potentive words and provides one example per voice. The table is followed by a number of example sentences containing Potentive words in the different voices, as well as the forms inflected for perfective aspect. The expression of progressive aspect in Potentive words requires further investigation.

Voice	Affix	Example	Meaning	Section
AV	<b>me'e-</b> /mə?ə/	<b>me'e-inom</b> /məʔə-ʔinum/	to be able to drink	§7.4.1
PV	<b>me-</b> /mə-/	<b>me'-alap</b> /mə-'ʔalap/	to be able to catch something	§7.4.2
LV	<b>mean</b> /məan/	<b>me'aliyu'an</b> /mə-?aliju-an /	to be able to look for something	§7.4.3
CV	<b>me'i-</b> /məʔi-/	<b>me'ibut</b> /mə?i-but/	to be able to transfer	§7.4.4

Table 7.12 Voice affixation of Potentive words

## 7.3.1 Potentive Actor voice me'e-words

(7.30)	hangan me'epidot nen sid ti ginto-i, paletan ded yay ti syoktong-i					
	hangan	<b>mə?ə-pidut</b> =nən=sio	mə?ə-pidut=nən=sid			gintu=i
	even	POT.AV-collect=alre	ady=3p	ABS	OBL	gold=SPEC
	palit-an=də=o	d=jaj		ti	sijuktu	ıŋ=i
	trade-LV=3p.	GEN=d=DIST.DEM.A	BS	OBK	rice.w	ine=SPEC
	'even if they	manage to get some g	old, the	ey trade	it for rid	ce wine' (103.308)
(7.31)	me'e'intindi e' sela ti pengagawi-i ti beli-i					
	mə?ə-?intin	<b>di</b> =ə?=sila	ti	pən-g	agawi=i	i
	POT.AV-und	erstand=1s.ABS=also	OBL	GER-	make=8	SPEC

ti	bəli=i
OBL	house=SPEC
'l also	understand the making (process) of a house' (69.63)

(7.32)bagay awon me'e'inom ti gamot-i, ay pumpatibagaj ?awunmə?ə-?inumtigamut=i?ajwhen not.existPOT.AV-drinkOBLmedicine=SPECPM

p<um>p-ati
<AV>RDP-faint
'when (he) does not have the chance to drink his medicine (he) faints' (39.56)

## 7.3.2 Potentive Patient voice me-words

(7.33)	metanda 'o gul ina ay	
	<b>mə-tanda</b> =?u=gul=?ina	?а <u>ј</u>
	POT.PV-remember=1s.GEN=emphasis=PROX.DEM.ABS	INTJ
	'I can remember that (the fact that the Alta would share their food	d' (92.133)

(7.34)	elan a	ma'ala	ap aam ti kalikasan-i		
	?əlan	?a	<b>mə-?alap</b> =tam	ti	kalikasan=i
	all	LK	POT.PV-get=1pi.GEN	OBL	nature=SPEC
	'all the	e things	we are able to get from natu	re' (99.2	208)

## 7.3.3 Potentive Locative voice me- -an words

(7.35)	hangan dya'yay awon de sepla me'aliyo'an			
	haŋgan	dija?jaj	?awun=də=sipla	
	until	now	not.exist=3p.GEN=still	

#### mə-?aliju-an

POT-search-LV 'until now they have not been able to look for it' (103.114)

(7.36) in damet 'o, awon 'od me'olasan
?in damət=?u awun=?u=d mə-?ulas-an
ABS hand=1s.GEN not.exist=1s.GEN=d POT-wash-LV

'my hands, I haven't been able to wash them' (76.386)

(7.37) awon sep me'ebu'san 'en
?awun=sip mə?ə-bu?as-an=?in
not.exist=still POT-open-LV=PROX.DEM.ABS
'this is not yet ready to be opened' (92.262)

## 7.3.4 Potentive Conveyance voice me'i- words

(7.38) dapat na ma'esoli tam sela in umansay a kultura tam dapat=na mə?i-suli=tam=sila should=already POT.CV-return=1pi.GEN=also

?in?umansaj?akultura=tamABSPROX.DEM.SMLLKculture=1pi.GEN'we too should now be able to transfer such a culture of ours (to the children)'(100.121)

(7.39) awon de budi in ma'etudu sid
?awun=də budi ?in mə?i-tudu=sid
not.exist=3p.GEN want ABS POT.CV-teach=3s.ABS
'they do not want the one who can teach them' (58.54)

## 7.3.5 Perfective aspect of Potentive words

The perfective aspect is marked by adding the perfective infix  $\langle in \rangle$  to the different Potentive voice-marked forms presented in the preceding section. Table 7.13 shows examples of perfective Potentive words.

Voice	Basic form	Perfective	Example	Meaning
AV	<b>me'e-</b> /mə?ə/	<b>m<in>e'e-</in></b> /m <in>ə?ə/</in>	<b>mine'edpen</b> /m <in>ə?ə-dpen/</in>	was able to reach
PV	<b>me-</b> /mə-/	<b>m<in>e-</in></b> /m <in>ə-/</in>	<b>mine'ulay</b> /m <in>ə-?ulaj/</in>	abandoned

Table 7.13 Perfective aspect of Potenti	ve words
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LV	<b>me'ean</b> /mə?əan/	<b>m<in>e'ean</in></b> /m <in>ə?ə</in>	<b>mine'e'itan</b> /m <in>ə?ə-?inta-an/</in>	was able to see
сѵ	<b>me'i-</b>	<b>mine'i</b>	<b>mine'ibidde</b>	was able to
	/məʔi-/	/m <in>ə?i-/</in>	/m <in>ə?i-biddə/</in>	say

(7.40)	kaya a	ami mina'adpen sed, uwah-i, dite'i						
	kaja=7	Pami		m <in>ə?ə-dp</in>	<b>əən</b> =sin=d			
	thus=1pe.ABS		POT.AV <prf< td=""><td colspan="3">POT.AV<prf>reach=PROX.DEM.LOC</prf></td></prf<>	POT.AV <prf>reach=PROX.DEM.LOC</prf>				
	?uwah	i=i		diti?i				
	thing=	SPEC		Diteki				
	'so we	were a	ble to r	each that place	e here, Diteki' (100.41	9)		
(7.41)	in 'elaı	an a initamen mi say, mina'ulay mid say						
	?in	?əlan	?a	? <in>i-tanəm=mi=saj</in>				
	ABS	all	LK	CV <prf>-pla</prf>	ant=1pe.GEN=DIST.D	EM.ABS		
	m <in></in>	ə-?ula	<b>j</b> =mi=d=	=saj				
	POT.F	v <prf< td=""><td></td><td>ndon=1pe.GEN</td><td>I=d=DIST.DEM.ABS</td><td></td></prf<>		ndon=1pe.GEN	I=d=DIST.DEM.ABS			
					, we abandoned them	there' (100.441)		
(7.42)	pero n	nine'e'it	an nen	sid ni kuya Ep	pena			
( )	piru			nta-an=nən=si	-			
	but			ee-LV=already				
	ni	kuja		?іррәŋ				
	GEN	brothe	r					
				Eppeng is able to see t	hom'(77.114)			
	DULKU	іуа срр	eng wa		nem (77.114)			
(7.43)	bisa b	at awor	n də mir	na'ibbide di'am	?			
	bisa=b	bat	?awun	i=də	m <in>ə-?i-biddə</in>	di?am		
	NEG=	Q	not.ex	ist=3p.GEN	POT.CV <prf>-say</prf>	2p.LOC		
'isn't it that they did not say it to you?' (52.78)								

## 7.4 Stative V-words

Stative words are V-words that are characterized by one the affixes appearing in Table 7.14 below. As shown in examples (7.47), (7.53) and (7.56) Stative words may inflect for perfective aspect by taking the perfective infix  $\langle in \rangle$ . Stative words denote a state of being (as in examples below), or a property (as in examples 4.30, 5.26 or 5.44).

Stative words carrying the prefixes *me*- and and *me'e*- take one argument marked in the Absolutive case, which expresses the experiencer role and may also take an Oblique argument. In Locative and Conveyance voices Stative words may take two arguments: a Genitive experiencer and an Absolutive argument.

Table 7.14 shows the possible voice formations of Stative words and provides one example per voice. The table is followed by a number of example sentences containing Stative words in the different voices.

Affix	Gloss	Example	Meaning	Section
<b>me-</b> /mə-/	ST	<b>me'anting</b> /mə-?antiŋ/	to be scared	§7.5.1
<b>me'e</b> /mə?ə-/	ST.AV	<b>me'elbeng</b> /mə?ə-lbəŋ/	to be buried	§7.5.2
<b>aan</b> /ʔaan/	ST.LV	<b>a'ingelan</b> /ʔa-ʔiŋəl-an/	to be angry at someone	§7.5.3
<b>i'a-</b> /i?a-/	ST.CV	<b>i'abilay/</b> /iʔa-bilaj/	to be living out of something	§7.5.4

Table 7.14 Voice affixation of Stative words

## 7.4.1 Stative me-words

Stative *me-* /mə-/ words take an argument to which the experiencer role is assigned. As the examples below show, the argument is marked in the Absolutive case. However, examples (4.10), (4.11) or (5.147), show clauses with predicates headed by Stative *me-* words in which the single argument is an Unmarked Phrase. Stative *me-* words may also take a second argument, marked in the Oblique case, as shown in (7.46 – 7.47).

- (7.44) me'anting e' baka may ulag sinad
  mə-?antiŋ=ə? baka maj ?ulag=sina=d
  ST-fear=1s.ABS maybe have snake=MED.DEM.LOC=d
  'I am scared, maybe there are snakes there' (100.264)
- (7.45) me'itnud ami ten pon ni alagyan=i
   mə-?itnud=?ami tən pun ni ?alagjan=i
   ST-sit=1pe.ABS OBL tree GEN katmon=SPEC
   'we are sitting on a Katmon tree' (100.843)

The two following examples are extracted from recording 103 in which an Alta speaker tells a story in which some Alta were digging a hole but at some point, water came out and filled the hole. In (7.46) the hole gets full of water, but the water is unexpressed in the stative predication. Later on, in the recording, the speaker repeats that the hole was filled by water. As Example (7.47) shows, the argument *water* is marked in the Oblique case:

(7.46) ginomsa waget-i, minetno in ebut, awon mi minalap

g <in><um>sa</um></in>	wagət=i,	m <in>ə-tnu</in>	?in	?əbut
<prf><av>flow</av></prf>	water=SPEC	ST <prf>-full</prf>	ABS	hole

?awun=mim<in>ə-?alapnot.exist=1pe.GENPOT.PV<PRF>-get'the water started to flow, the hole got full, we couldn't get (what we werelooking for)' (103.30)

(7.47) minetnu ti waget-i
m<in>ə-tnu ti wagət=i
ST<PRF>-full OBL water=SPEC
'the hole got filled by water' (103.040)

## 7.4.2 Stative Actor voice me'e-words

Stative *me'e*- /mə?ə -/ words take an Absolutive argument to which the experiencer role is assigned. The semantic differences with *me*- words require further investigation.

sidde me'ennol-i ten me'elbeng sid sen
 siddə mə?ə-nnul=i tən mə?ə-lbəŋ=sid=sin
 249

3s ST.AV-know=SPEC when ST.AV-bury=3s.ABS=PROX.DEM.LOC 'they are the ones who know about the ones who are buried here' (103.095)

- (7.49) me'ebbiting na in kardero
  mə?ə-bitiŋ=na ?in kaldiru
  ST.AV-hang=already ABS pot
  'the pot is already hanging' (106.140)
- (7.50) me'ebi'et am gul man'a'ana'!
   mə?ə-bi?ət=?am=gul=man
   ST.AV-lazyness=2p.ABS=emphasis=contrast
   ADP-child
   'and you my children are indeed lazy!'

## 7.4.3 Stative Locative voice a- -an words

Locative *a*- *-an* /?a- *-an*/ words take a Genitive argument to which the experiencer role is assigned. As Examples (7.51) and (7.54) show, if the Absolutive argument is expressed it carries the stimulus role.

(7.51)	ay awo ?aj	on 'od man kay ?awun=?u=d=		a'inglan	e' niya	ma kaja			
	РМ	not.exist=1s.	GEN=d	l=contra	ast	capab	le		
	kasi	?a-?iŋel-an≕	ə,		nijama	ı			
	thus	ST-angry-LV=	=1s. <b>AB</b>	S	GEN.f	ather			
	'l was	not capable (to	o hunt)	so fathe	er was a	angry at	me'		
	(100.1	73)							
(7.52)	saka b	pi'et sid a meng	gagawi	ti delan	ni lati-i,	ti'sina	waget r	ni Along	o'ongan-i,
	abi'tar	n de							
	saka	bi?ət=sid		?a	mən-g	agawi	ti	dəlan	ni
	and	lazyness=3s.	ABS	LK	AV-do		OBL	way	GEN
	lati=li		ti?sina	1		wagət			
	rattan	=SPEC	MED.I	DEM.LC	C	water			
	ni	?aluŋu?uŋan:	=		?a-bi?	et-an=₀	də		

GEN alungoongan=SPEC ST-lazyness-LV=3p.**GEN** 'and they were lazy to build a path for the rattan camp, there by the Aloongan river, it made them lazy' (86.106)

(7.53)umingan yay kong engo'an mi a mudung sela, inate'nagan ni eroplano-i ?uminan=jaj ?əC-ŋu-an=mi ?a kuŋ mudun umingan=DIST.DEM.ABS PRG-name-LV= if LK mountain ?<in>a-tə?nag-an ?iruplanu=i sela ni also ST<PRF>-fall-LV **GEN** plane=SPEC 'Umingan is how we call the mountain there, where the crashed plane lies' (103.126)

(7.54) siyad yay 'a"apuyatan de-i
sija=d=jaj ?əC-?a-pujat-an=de=i
3s.ABS=d=DIST.DEM.ABS PRG-ST-insomnia-LV=3s.GEN=SP
'that (the tv) is what makes them have insomnia' (91.551)

## 7.4.4 Stative Conveyance voice i'a-words

Stative Conveyance voice *i'a* /?i?a/ words take a Genitive argument to which the experiencer role is assigned. As Example (7.60) shows, the argument marked in the Absolutive case expresses the semantic role source.

(7.55)	i'abilay mid la ngi, menledep a	mi, ippalit r	ni ti begas-i	
	<b>?i?a-bilaj</b> =mi=dla=ŋi	mən	-lidəp=?ami	
	ST.CV-life=1pe. <b>GEN</b> =only=en	V-life=1pe. <b>GEN</b> =only=emphasis		

?i-palit=mitibəgas=iCV-trade=1p.GENOBLrice=SPEC'what we only live from, we fish and trade for rice' (76.013)

(7.56)	ten an	na' e' sepla ay ay ini'abilay mi sela in penlidep nen alapowan 'o a debdi					
	tən	?ana=ə?=sipla ?aj <b>?<in>i?a-bil</in></b>		<b>?<in>i?a-bilaj</in></b> =mi=sila			
	when	child=1s.ABS=still		РМ	ST.CV <prf>-life=1pe.GEN=also</prf>		
	?in	pən-lidəp	nən	054	?alapowan=?u	?a	dəbdi

**ABS** GER-dive D.GEN grandparent=1s.GEN LK girl 'when I was still a child we were also sustained by the fishing of my feminine grandparents'

(7.57) pagka minahuli e', ibilango e', ti dahil na ngi, ti penhanapbuhay mo-i, ti iye'abilay ni pamilya-i
 pagka m<in>ə-huli=ə?
 ?i-bilaŋgu=ə?
 if POT.PV<PRF>-hunt=1s.ABS
 CV-prisoner=1s.ABS

ti dahil=na=ŋi OBL because=already=emphasis

ti pən-hanapbuhaj=mu=i

OBL GER-source.of.income=2s.GEN=SPEC

ti ?i<?əC>?a-bilaj ni pamilija OBL ST.CV<PRF>-life **GEN** family 'if I hunt, I get arrested, just because you look for an income, for the family to be sustained' (91.666)

Some words in our corpus show a Stative *ika*- prefix, which is most likely borrowed from a neighboring language, given that the Alta reflex of PAn \*k is a glottal stop and that Alta already has a Stative Conveyance voice prefix *i*?*a*- (which contains the expected reflex of PAn \*k). The prefix *ika*- may have been borrowed from Tagalog. Example (7.58) shows how the prefix *ika*- is followed by the Tagalog root *buhay* 'life', instead of the Alta equivalent *bilay*. Both examples below show that the argument marked in the Genitive case expresses the experiencer role. Example (7.58) also shows that the argument marked in the Absolutive case expresses the semantic role source.

(7.58)i'ina penuwah ni halaman i, i'ina dla in ikabilay mi ?i?ina pən-?uwah ni halaman=i PROX.DEM GER-thing GEN plant=SPEC ?i?ina=dla ?in ?ika-bilaj=mi ABS PROX.DEM=only ST-life=1pe.GEN 'the what's-it of plants, it was the only thing that we were living on' (49.31) (7.59) ay minatanda'an'owi inekabuhay ni magulang owi, diami, ay in pengaludu m<in>ə-tanda-an=?u=i ?<in>ika-buhaj ?aj POT.PV<PRF>-remember-LV=1s.GEN=SPEC ST<PRF>-life PΜ magulang=?u=i ni di?ami, GEN parents=1s.GEN=SPEC 1pe.LOC ?in pəng-?aludu ?aj PM **ABS** INSTR-hunt 'I was able to remember that my parents, our parents, were living of (their) hunting tools' (69.84)

# 7.5 Causative V-words

Causative words are derived by the Causative prefix *pa-*/pa-/, which can co-occur with the voice affixes provided in Table 7.15 below. Like other V-words, Causative words may also inflect for perfective aspect (see Table 7.16).

Words carrying the prefix *pa*- denote causation. Causative words co-occurring with the prefix *men*- take an Absolutive argument expressing the causer of the action and an Oblique argument expressing the causee. In undergoer voices, Causative words take a Genitive causer, and an Oblique causee. Some Causative words may take a third argument, which is marked in the Absolutive case, and which may express the theme role (see examples 7.64, 7.65 and 7.69).

Table 7.15 shows the possible formation of Causative words and provides one example per voice. The table is followed by examples containing Causative words in different voices.

	Basic form	Example	Meaning
AV	<b>menpa-</b> /mən-pa-/	<b>menpa'an</b> /mən-pa-ʔan/	to feed (to have someone eat)
PV	<b>pa-</b> /pa-/	<b>palusaw</b> /pa-lusaw/	make something melt

Table 7.15 Voice affixation of Causative word	s
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LV	<b>pean</b>	<b>pasdepan</b>	make someone
	/paan/	/pa-sdəp-an/	enter somewhere
CV	<b>іра-</b> /?іра-/	<b>ipa'inum</b> /ipa-?inum/	make someone drink

(7.60) me'amames 'an siya menpa'an ti awon ni melinis a luto mə-?amaməs=?an=sija mən-pa-?an ti ?awun ST-shame=QUOT=3s.ABS AV-CAU-eat OBL not.exist ni mə-linis ?a lutu GEN ST-clean LΚ food 'she appears to be ashamed of feeding someone with food that isn't clean' (106.052) (7.61) pagka may menpagamas, mengamas tena pagka maj mən-pa-gamas mən-gamas tina if have AV-CAU-weeding AV-weeding ABS.mother 'if there is someone hiring to weed, mother goes to weed' (76.317) (7.62) i'en, pwedem 'en a pelusaw ?i?in pwidi=m=?in а pa-lusaw CAU.PV-melt PROX.DEM can=1s.GEN=PROX.DEM.ABS LK 'as for this, you can have someone melting it' (103.158) in aduwan di'ami a Alta, budi ded a pasdepan (7.63)?in ?aduwan di?ami ?a ?alta budi=də=d ABS other LK Alta want=3p.GEN=d 1pe.LOC ?a pa-sədəp-an LK CAU-enter-LV

'some other members of our Alta tribe want to let them (the outsiders) come in' (103.421)

(7.64)	obram siya a ipa'inom ti ana	a'-i			
	?ubra=m= <b>sija</b>	?a	?i-pa-?inum	ti	?ana?=i
	can=2s.GEN=3s.ABS	LK	CV-CAU-drink	OBL	child=SPC
		254			

'you can make the child drink it' (93.649)

(7.65) ipa'inta de di'en in mapa ni Gabaldon at Dikapinisan

<b>?i-pa-?inta</b> =də	di?ən	[ʔin	mapa
CV-CAU-see=3p.GE	EN 1s.LOC	ABS	mapa
ni gabaldun	?at dikapinisan	]	
GEN Gabaldon	and Dikapinisar	n	
'they showed me the	e map of Gabaldon a	nd Dikap	inisan' (82.029)

## 7.5.1 Perfective aspect of Causative words

Perfective aspect is indicated with the infix <*in*>, as shown in Table 7.16:

	Unmarked for aspect	Perfective
Actor voice	<b>menpa-</b> /mən-pa-/	<b>minenpa-</b> /m <in>ən-pa-/</in>
Undergoer voices	<b>pa-</b> /pa-/	<b>pina-</b> /p <in>a-/</in>
	<b>paen</b> /paən/	<b>pinaen</b> /p <in>aən/</in>
	<b>paan</b> /paan/	<b>pinaan</b> /p <in>aan/</in>
	<b>іра-</b> /?іра-/	<b>inipa-</b> /? <in>i-pa-/</in>

- (7.66) si'en in minempad'el diya na
  si?en ?in m<in>ən-pa-d?əl dija=na
  1s ABS AV<PRF>-CAU-big 3s.LOC=already
  'I was the one who raised her' (73.20)
- (7.67) inumay ami say pina'ay na ami ni Madam Fe
   ?<in>-um-aj=?ami=saj
   <PRF>AV-go=1pe.ABS=DIST.DEM.LOC

	<b>p<in>a-?aj</in></b> =na=?ami		ni	madam	рі	
	CAU <prf>-go=already=1pe</prf>	e.ABS	GEN	Madam	Fe	
	'we went there, as we were s	ent by	Madam	ı Fe' (77.128)		
(7.68)	entetten na sip a pinapati in a	ama de	•			
	?əntəttən=na=sip	?a	p <in>a</in>	a-pati-en		?in
	almost=3s.GEN=still	LK	CAU<	PRF>-die-PV		ABS
	?ama=də					
	father=3p.GEN					
	'he almost caused the death	of their	father'	(76.89)		
(7.69)	inipa'inta na di'en					
	? <in>i-pa-?inta=na</in>		di?en			
	CV <prf>-CAUS-see=3s.Gl</prf>	ΞN	1s.LO	C		
	'he showed (it) to me' (97.63	6)7				

# 7.6 Other derived V-words

# 7.6.1 Words carrying the prefix mengi-

Actor *mengi-* /məŋi-/ words take an Absolutive actor and may also take an undergoer marked with the Oblique case. The Oblique-marked argument expresses the theme role, or the addressee.

(7.70)	in me"ena'em mengipatod ti ana-i sid					
	?in mə??əna?əm	məŋi-	patud	ti	?ana?=i=sid	
	ABS elder	AV-or	der	OBL	child=SPEC=PL	
	'the elders correct the chil	dren' (99	.31)			
(7.71)	mengibu'ud ami ti ulam m	i				
	<b>məŋi-bu?ud</b> =?ami	ti	?ulam	=mi		
	AV-separate=1pe.ABS	OBL	food=	1pe.GE	N	
	'we separate our (part of)	food (fror	n the ga	ame)' (9	92.504)	

- (7.72) mengisalang nen sid ti uwah de-i
  məŋi-salaŋ=nən=sid ti ?uwah=də=i
  AV-cook=already=3s.ABS OBL thing=3p.GEN=SPEC
  'they cook their stuff (food)' (109.1117)
- sidden minengitudu ti'sen di'etam
   siddə-sidde m<in>əŋi-tudu ti'sin di'itam
   RDP-3s AV<PRF>-teach PROX.DEM.LOC 1pi.LOC
   'they (our parents) are the ones who taught us (what we know) (99.454)

Table 7.17 provides examples of Actor voice *mengi*- words.

Examples	Translation		
mengipatod /məŋi-patud/	to correct someone		
<b>mengitudu</b> /məŋi-tudu/	to teach someone		
<b>mengipalit</b> /məŋi-palit/	to trade something		
mengibenta /məŋi-binta/	to sell something		
mengi'ated /məŋi-?atəd/	to give something		
<b>mengi'unud</b> /məŋi-ʔunud/	to follow someone		
<b>mengibu'ud</b> /məŋi-bu?ud/	to separate something		
<b>mengisalang</b> /məŋi-salaŋ/	to cook something		
mengi'anod /məŋi-ʔanud/	to flood something		

# 8. Glossed text: "The story of Minero"

# 8.1 Introduction

This text is a transcription of a video recording that we made in April 2016 in Minero, a place located at about an hour trekking to the west of Barangay Diteki. The recording was transcribed and translated following the annotation workflow explained in §1.7.4.4. The contents of the session, including the video and extracted audio files, as well as the recorded transcription and written resources, are all accessible at the Northern Alta Collection of the ELAR archive, at the following link: https://elar.soas.ac.uk/Record/MPI1056850. In the following subsections we discuss the methodology and content of the text.

## 8.1.1 Methodology

#### 8.1.1.1 Planning and setting of the recording

The trip to Minero was suggested by Genalyn Garcia during our 2016 fieldtrip. At that time, Genalyn had already participated in recording sessions 81, 94, 95 and 96 and, in addition to be very comfortable in front of the camera, she was keen on participating in more recording and transcription sessions. Given that she was aware of our interest on documenting elements that could be representative of the Alta culture, Genalyn suggested that we visit Minero, a place where the Alta had a camp in the past, but which they had to abandon due to a number of factors explained in the text. A few days later, after having packed the recording equipment, we walked up to Minero together with her husband and son, as well as with our Tagalog expert Marilyn Gallego (§1.7.2.1.2).

The video was recorded with a Canon Legria HF G25 and a shotgun microphone Rode NTG2. Genalyn is placed in front of the flank of a little mountain on which an Alta camp was located decades ago. Figure 8.1 below shows the setting of the recording.



Figure 8.1 Setting of recording session 103

Right before arriving to the recording spot, Genalyn's child started crying because he was bitten by the family's dog. At the beginning of the recording, the child had already calmed down and appears next to her mother. After a couple of minutes, he joined his father, who was located a few meters behind the camera, and started crying again for few minutes. This can be heard on the recording.

#### 8.1.1.2 Annotation

Once the recording was made, we followed the steps described in §1.7.4.4. First, we segmented the recording, and subsequently transcribed and translated it to Tagalog, with the assistance of a native consultant, which in this case, was Genalyn as well. Once we had a recorded Tagalog translation file, Marlyn Gallego transcribed the Tagalog translation (that was made by Genalyn) into the Tagalog ELAN tier, and finally translated each Tagalog segment to English.

#### 8.1.1.3 Interlinear morpheme glossing (Flex)

Once the ELAN annotation was completed, we exported the text from ELAN and imported it into the FLEx lexical database, following Gave and and Salffner's workflow (2014). After completing the importation, we proceeded with the analysis in the software FLEx. Each morphologically complex word was divided into morphemes by selecting the option "wdit

morpheme breaks". Subsequently, we added a gloss to each morpheme and created a new entry for each of the new morphemes in the lexicon. Figure 8.2 shows a screenshot of the text 103 with interlinear morphemic glosses:

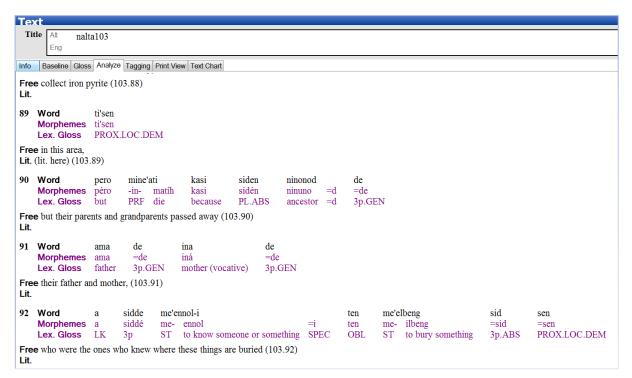


Figure 8.2 Screenshot of text 103 with interlinear morphemic glosses

#### 8.1.1.4 Second and third English translation, English subtitling

In order to improve the quality of the English translation, we asked another native speaker of Tagalog to provide an English translation for the text. This second translation was done by Ricardo Quilatan, a university student from Manila, who collaborates with the transcription of the Tagalog translations made by the Alta of their recordings, and also with their translation to English. When Ricardo collaborates with this project, he receives a .wav file of the transcription session, in which he can hear the segment number, the segment in Alta, and the translation to Tagalog by an Alta native speaker. He also receives the ELAN file (.eaf) of the recording, in which he writes the Tagalog transcription. Subsequently, Ricardo adds an English translation of the Tagalog segment into the English tier.

When I started working on the third English translation, I could not only rely on the Alta videorecording, as well as on the Alta transcription, but also on the Tagalog translation, on two different English translations made on the basis of the Tagalog translation, and also on

the interlinear morpheme glosses. On the basis of all these annotations, I completed a new translation to English, the third one.

In order to obtain a smooth English translation, that could also used as subtitles for the video file, I asked Abbie Bentley, a native speaker of English, to help me review the third translation and polish the English. Whenever we modified the content of an English segment, we left the original free translation visible, in the literal translation tier.

Finally, we decided to add punctuation marks (commas and periods) to the English translation in order to have subtitles that are easy to understand. Whenever we added a punctuation mark, we took into consideration the intonation of the Alta speech, in a way that the punctuated English translation could fit with what the native speaker is saying. Finally, we added the ELAN reference number to each segment. Figure 8.3 provides a screenshot of the subtitled video file 103, in which the subtitles have a full stop at the end of the sentence:



Figure 8.3 Screenshot of video 103 with subtitles

## 8.1.2 Text genre and communication context

In the Arbil metadata structure, session 103 is labelled as belonging to the genre "discourse" and the subgenre "narrative". We consider that this text is a narrative in the sense that it

provides an account of a series of events that are connected with Minero, a placed regarded as the ancestral domain of the Alta, and its surroundings. The modalities associated with the text are "speech" and "pointing gestures" and the subject selected is "history".

This text is classified as a monologue, in which the speaker freely shares her memories and thought related to Minero. Genalyn knew that we were interested in hearing stories of the past the happened in Minero because we had already made a number of recordings in which the Alta tell stories of the past. Given that her suggestion to visit Minero involved her telling stories related to this place, we didn't give her any instructions on what to say. For this reason, the planning type in the Arbil database is defined as "semi-spontaneous" and "non-elicited". In addition, the recording is labelled as "non-interactive", although the speaker was asked one question during the recording: Marilyn Gallego asked her to explain about the golden minerals that get stuck to the rocks. The social context is defined as "private", since no one else could hear what Genalyn is saying. Genalyn was however aware that the text would eventually be uploaded into the ELAR archive. Finally, four keywords were added to this session bundle and can be used to retrieve the recording in the Northern Alta collection of the ELAR archive, the keywords are: biography, locations, pointing and Alta people.

### 8.1.3 Content and structure

#### 8.1.3.1 Summary

The Alta were told by their grandparents, who themselves were told by their grandparents, that the Spaniards and the Japanese left or burried a number of valuable objects in the area, such as gold and guns. Genalyn shares some of these stories and shows that non-Alta outsiders have intented to take advantages of the resources of the ancestral domain eversince the Alta dismantled their camp and settled down in Barangay Diteki. Altough some Alta agree with letting outsiders exploit the resources of the ancestral domain, Genalyn reminds that the Alta have been fooled by outsiders on several ocasions, in which they traded their lands with outsiders for just a few kilos of rice, some bottles of alcohol and other supplies. She also reports that a local company intends to build a dam, which she strongly opposes.

#### 8.1.3.2 Structure

The text can be divided in 15 parts, each of which is associated with a story or topic. Table 8.1 shows a list of these parts, and the segment numbers they cover.

Part	Segment	Торіс
1	1-38	Digging a whole by the Kamaragui tree
2	39-54	The big Santol tree and the burried truck
3	55-97	The dismantled Alta camp
4	98-117	The crashed plane
5	118-173	The way to Dupinga and another crashed plane
6	174-232	The big landslide and the cemented object
7	233-290	The Alteia falls and the golden bar
8	291-339	The Alta lands that were traded for alcohol
9	340-398	The gold pyrite on the local stones
10	399-447	Dyabubu and two gold bars
11	448-465	The risks of blasting the mountains
12	466-496	Why we shouldn't let outsiders in
13	497-526	The lands they sold to uncle Robert
14	527-559	The way to Magdalenas and surrounding mountains
15	560-575	The effects of logging on this land

Table 8.1 Parts of text 103

## 8.1.4 Problems and limitations of this glossed text

Although this glossed text, together with the video it is based on, provides a large amount of information on the Northern Alta language, it has a number of limitations that are presented in this section.

### 8.1.4.1 Phonological transcription

Given that our lexicon does not include a phonological transcription for each of the lexical items, the glossed text presented here does not include the morpho-phonological tier that as provided in the grammatical chapters of this dissertation (see §1.8.1). However, tier two of the glossed includes morphological boundaries and carries a one-to-one relation with tier three. In this sense, it can be considered a morphological transcription rather than a morpho-phonological one, for this reason it is named as the "morphemes" tier in FLEx, and is distinct from tier one, in which words are simply spelled with the pratical orthography:

8	8 Word Morphemes Lex. Gloss	simul		=d =d	ut'utan ut'ut <b>dig a hole</b>	-an LV	yay =yay DIST.DEM.ABS
	Free When we s _it. (lit. we start		.08)				

Figure 8.4 Tier structure in FLEx and in the extracted glossed text

However, despite the lack of phonological transcritpion, future reasearchers will have the possibility of downloading and listening to the original recording in the archive collection, at the following link https://elar.soas.ac.uk/Record/MPI1056850.

### 8.1.4.2 Orthography

Given that stress is not predictible in Northern Alta, we dediced to add acute accents to syllables nuclei in the lexicon, so the reader could see where the stress goes in a word (see §2.1 and §9.1.5.2). Although many words (not yet all words) in the lexicon carry stress marks, the pratical orthography used in ELAN transcription does not carry them. Thus, as we well see below, in examples such as 103.1, the word *araw* 'day' is spelled with stress marks in the transcrption, but carries the stress mark in the morphological tier (tier number two), because it is spelled as *áraw* in the FLEx exicon. During the parsing process, FLEx ignores the accute mark and assumes that both are the same form. For this reason, the reader will find an inconsistency between the spelling of some words in tiers 1 and 2.

Word	araw
Morphemes	áraw
Lex. Gloss	day

Figure 8.5 Example of FLEx Parsing

#### 8.1.4.3 Intonation units

A better version of this glossed text would provide a transcription of intonation units. This is also one of the limitations of this dissertation, given that this topic was not investigated within the scope of this project. In the same way as with the preceding limation, future researchers will be able listen to the original recording https://elar.soas.ac.uk/Record/MPI1056850 and carry out the transcription of the intonation.

## 8.2 The story of Minero

ten araw ten áraw OBL day Back in the days (103.01)

mabilayseplamagulangowima-biláy=seplamagulang=o=iSTlife=stillparents=1s.GEN=SPECwhen my parents were still alive (103.02)

may pon ni kamaragi may pon ni kamarág =i have tree GEN narra tree =SPEC there was a Narra tree here (103.03)

haponesa'i inay ami ni duwa ad saka hapon а -inay =amí ni haponesa =i а duwa atsaka hapon PRF go =1pe.ABS GEN japanse woman =SPEC LK two and also japanese male and two Japanese women and one man came to us. (103.04)

a uwah

a uwah

LK thing

#### (lit.) who were...(103.05)

sidde in elan miyi minangut'ut а siddé in ut'ut elan =mi =i meng--inа ABS accompany =1pe.GEN =SPEC LK AV PRF Зр dig a hole They were the ones that dug a hole with us. (103.06)

ten essimolan mid uwah а ten eCsimul -an =mi =d а uwah **OBL PRG** start LV =1pe.GEN ==d LK thing (lit. when we started digging) (103.07)

essimolan mid а ut'utan yay eCsimul -an =mi =d а ut'ut -an =yay PRG start LV =1pe.GEN ==d LK dig a hole LV =DIST.DEM.ABS When we started digging, (lit. we started digging that) (103.08)

aaaa

aaaa

ummmm (103.09)

tatloasinagoapatmiainut'utantatlóasinagoapát=mia-in-ut'ut-anthreeLKsunorfour=1pe.GENLKPRFdiga holeLVit took us three to four dayswe dug it for three or four days (103.10)

hangan ti dinompen-i ti hangan-i si'e ti =si'e hangán ti -in--umdpen =i hangán =i even OBL PRF AV reach =SPEC OBL even =SPEC =LPROX.LOC.DEM to reach this depth (lit. until a reaching of this point) (103.11)

ay dya'yay ay dya'yay interjection now and then, (103.12)

ma'una in issa in hapon ma'uná' in issa in hapon say ABS one ABS Japan one of the japanese said (103.13)

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piyad la pemenhatiyan а tam menpiya =dla а peháti -an =tam LV =1p.GEN good =only LK CAU AV split it would be good to split it. (103.20)

aidimapiyakongmalaptamme'ay di!me-píyakungma-álap=tam=CeinterjectionSTgoodwhenPOTget=1p.GEN=alreadyyay!It would be good, if we manage to find, (it) (103.19)

me'una ami me'una =amí say =1pe.ABS **he said to us (103.18)** 

me'una siya me'una =siyá say =3s.ABS **He said (103.17)** 

interjection yay! (103.16)

aidi aidi

mebi'en

me- bi'en =nen a me- 'alap ST proximity LK ST get we will be able to find (it) soon (103.15)

nen a

ma'alap

he said to us (103.14)

me'una siya di'ami me'una =siyá di'ámi say =3s.ABS 1pe.LOC ibig sabihin ibig sabihin in other words But actually, (lit. in other words) (103.21)

sigudo may isip sid a medu'es di'ami sigúdo may ísip =sid a medú'es di'ámi maybe have thought =3p.ABS LK bad 1pe.LOC they were probably planning to fool us. (lit. they probably had bad thoughts for us) (103.22)

kaya kayá so **So (103.23)** 

mebi'en uwah (me'alap ten nen а ) ten mebi'en =nen a uwah meálap OBL ST LK thing POT proximity get when we were closer to our goal (lit. when we were close again to catch) (103.24)

dahil betu' namud a kodrado in e'itan mi ten dáhil betu' namud a kodrádo in eCitán =mi ten because stone just LK square ABS PRG look at something =1pe.GEN OBL ebut ebút hole we saw that only a square-shaped stone (was left to remove) in the hole (lit. as only a square-shaped stone is what we were seeing in the hole) (103.25)

ibig sabihin siya namud yay in puwede a me'eg'ang para ibig sabihin =siyá namud =yay in pwéde me-'eg'ang para а in other words =3s.ABS just =DIST.DEM.ABS ABS can LK POT leave for

itanmiditán=mi=dlook at something=1pe.GEN==dthus, that was what we needed to remove in order to see (what was underneath).(103.26)

dya'yay dya'yay then and then (103.27)

ten i'yay a betuh ten i'yáy a betuh OBL DIST.DEM LK stone when that stone (103.28)

ay ellokmaten ded ay eC- lokmat -en =de =d PM PRG remove PV =3p.GEN ==d was removed by them, (103.29)

waget-i minatno in ebut awon ginomsa mi matnó in -in--umgsa waget =i -inebút awón =mi PRF AV flow water =SPEC PRF fill ABS hole not.exist =1pe.GEN minalap -inálap m-POT PRF get

the water came out and filled the hole, so we could not get anything. (103.30)

ti'sen a parte ti'sen a parte PROX.LOC.DEM LK side This happened here, on this side, here, on this side (103.31) kaya kayá so **so (103.32)** 

me'unad in magulang 'o me'una =d in magúlang =o say ==d ABS parents =1s.GEN my parents said that (103.33)

sigudo may eden sid 'o sigúdo edden =sid o maybe exist load =3p.ABS or they probably had plans (lit. hey were maybe carrying) (103.34)

medu'es a isip kaya ami medú'es a ísip kayá =amí bad LK thought so =1pe.ABS to fool us, in order to to make us (lit. bad thoughts, so we) (103.35)

sigudo umansay a sigúdo umansay a maybe DIST.SML.DEM LK (lit. maybe like this we would) (103.36)

minatno ti waget-i -in- matnó ti waget =i PRF fill OBL water =SPEC fill the hole with water (lit. fill the hole with water) (103.37)

kaya awonmiminalapinisaysenkayá awón=mim--in-álapinisaysensonot.exist=1pe.GENSTPRFgetABSbe.atPROX.LOC.DEM

so we would not able to get whatever was there. (lit.so we would not able to get whatever was there) (103.38)

tapos, may pon ni uwah-i sena-i tapos may pon ni uwah =i sina =i then have tree GEN thing =SPEC MED.LOC.DEM =SPEC Also, there was another tree there, also, there was another tree there (103.39) santol de'el а santól de'el а kind of tree LK big a big Santol tree, (103.40) pang di trenta o trenta o thirty or not more than thirty (103.41) kwarenta te pon di di kwarénta te pon interjection fourty NS tree or forty years old, (lit. forty on the tree) (103.42)

in ango'an de a in eC- ngo' -an =de a ABS PRG call LV =3p.GEN LK the one they call (103.43)

in in ABS **the (103.44)**  in dedde'el santol , bangkok а in dede'el a santól bankuk ABS RDP big LK kind of tree Bangkok tree the Bangkok. the very big Santol tree...Bangkok (103.45)

kongengo'andeselatenarawkungeC-ngo-an=de=sélatenárawifPRGnameLV=3p.GEN=alsoOBLday

That is what they would call it in the past. (103.46)

pero isay de istoria ni menna'em mi sid sen а а péro isay de sen а istoria ni menna'em =mi =sid а but be.at since PROX.LOC.DEM LK story GEN old =1pe.GEN =3p.ABS LK ninuno ninuno ancestor

There are stories from our ancestors, but there are stories of our ancestors (103.47)

lella'ay inelbeng а isay an sen in а le la'ay isay =an sen -inilbeng in LK RDP old man be.at =is said to PROX.LOC.DEM PRF bury something ABS the oldest men, saying that they burried here a (103.48)

in five tons a pennepno ti in five tons a pen- eC- penuh ti ABS five ton LK GER PRG full OBL a 5-ton truck full of (103.49)

ti uwah-i sid badil ti uwah =i =sid badíl OBL thing =SPEC =3p.ABS gun guns (lit. full of umm guns) (103.50)

tapos siddengamit nihapon-itapos siddengamit nihapon=ithenPROX.DEM.PLtoolGENjapanese male=SPECas well as things that belonged to the japanese.(lit. then these things of the japanese) (103.51)

salokut sid salókut =sid bulrush =3p.ABS **And bulrush canes. (103.52)** 

ti'sen a banda ti'sen a bandá PROX.LOC.DEM LK side

They said it was on this side, (103.53)

digdig-i en digdíg =i =en next.to =SPEC =PROX.DEM.ABS just next to us. (103.54)

tapos

tapos

then

Also, (103.55)

ti'senkasi,tenarawti'senkasi,tenárawPROX.LOC.DEMbecauseOBLdayand here, back in the days(103.56)

aybinalebbelinialta-iaybinalebbelínialta=iPMgroup of housesGENAlta language=SPEClied the communiy of the Alta,(lit. was the settlement of the Alta) (103.57)

ti'sina suluk-i i'e ti'sina súluk =i i'e MED.LOC.DEM corner =SPEC PROX.DEM there on that area. (103.58)

tapos tapos

then

And also, (103.59)

ado sela sid amoti sen а tanem a gugulay gulay ado =séla =sid sen а taném a guamoti many =also =3p.ABS PROX.LOC.DEM LK plant LK RDP vegetable sweet potato there were many plants here, vegetables, sweet potatoes... (103.60)

a a

LK

ummmm (103.61)

kayad la sid minabuwag sen gagawi ni kayad la =sid -inmabuwag =sen gagawi ni however =3p.ABS ST PRF leave =PROX.LOC.DEM do something GEN waget-i waget =i =SPEC water but they demolished this place because of the water, (lit. but they demolished here because of the water) (103.62)

kasi sid te elsotan bario awon papunta ta а kasi awón =sid te elsotan papuntá ta báryo а because not.exist =3p.ABS NS way through LK bound for LOC village because they did not have a way through (the water) to go to the village. (103.63) kaya inomeg'angsidsenkayá -in--um-eg'ang =sid=sensoPRFAVleave=3p.ABS=PROX.LOC.DEMSo they left this place(lit. so they left this place) (103.64)

oma 'en ten araw oma =en ten áraw swidden =PROX.DEM.ABS OBL day which was a swidden back in the days. (103.65)

i'inaame'iddipaningomasiddinai'inaame'i-dipaningomasiddínaMED.DEMLKCMTVthe other sideswiddenMED.DEM.PLThere on both sides, these were also swiddens (103.66)

pero ti gagawi ni waget-i péro ti gágawin ni waget =i but OBL do something GEN water =SPEC **but because of the water, (103.67)** 

dahil sid elsotan bumbili ti awon te а а anen dáhil =sid elsotan bili ti awón te а b--umа anen because not.exist =3p.ABS NS way through LK RDP AV buy OBL LK rice miyi =mi =i

=1pe.GEN =SPEC

they would not be able to go through and buy food.

(lit. because they did not have a way through, to buy our food) (103.68)

tinomepdeamita-in--um-tepde=amítaPRFAVbottom=1pe.ABSLOCSo we moved down to the (103.69)

barrio báryo village **village. (103.70)** 

umalang say umálang =say come from =DIST.LOC.DEM Since then, (103.71)

hangan dya'yay hangán dya'yay even now and until now, (103.72)

awon nen ta linomuway tinomira а awón =nen ta -in--umluway а -in--umtira not.exist =already LOC PRF AV repeate LK PRF AV reside kase sen sen kasé PROX.LOC.DEM because

there is no one who came back to to live here because (103.73)

awon te me'elsot bario nen а papunta ta te me'eawón =nen elsot а papuntá ta báryo not.exist =already NS POT.AV way through LK bound for LOC village it is not possible to pass through and reach the village (103.74)

mangalap ti bagas-i meng- álap ti bagas =i AV get OBL rice =SPEC to get some rice. (103.75)

isay ami sen dinom'el isay =amí =sen -in- -um- d'el be.at =1pe.ABS =PROX.LOC.DEM PRF AV big We grew up here. (103.76)

dinom'el, isay ami sen minegka'isip isay =amí sen -in--omd'el, men--inísip abe.at =1pe.ABS PROX.LOC.DEM PRF PRF AV big AV CWA1 thought We grew up and matured here (103.77)

hangan mine'atid magulang mi in hangán mein magúlang =mi -inatí =d even ST PRF die ==d ABS parents =1pe.GEN until our parents passed away. (103.78)

ibig sabihin, awon mi inolay
ibig sabihin, awón =mi -in- olay
in other words not.exist =1pe.GEN PRF leave
In other words, we would not have left this land (103.79)

hangan dya'yay mebilay sep la hangán dya'yay me- biláy =sep =la even now ST life =still =just until now, if they were still alive. (103.80)

ad saka pati at saka =patí and and =including And also, (103.81)

aaaa aaaa mmmm (103.82) inanting mi-i sen talaga waget а talága in anting =mi =i =sen а waget ABS =1pe.GEN =SPEC =PROX.LOC.DEM LK naturally water fear water is what we are really afraid of here. (103.83)

awonamiwadisenum'eg'angawón=amíwadi=sen-um-eg'angnot.exist=1pe.ABSyounger sibling=PROX.LOC.DEMAVleaveWe should not have left this place,(lit. we did not leave this place) (103.84)

dahilan nangi ti hirap sela ngi bilay ni ti dahilan =na =ngi hirap =séla =ngi ni biláy because =already =emphasis OBL difficulty =also =ngi GEN life miyi =mi =i =1pe.GEN =SPEC

but because of the difficulties (103.85)

inumosol amid -in- -um- osol =amí =d PRF AV bring down =1pe.ABS ==d we went down (to the barangay). (103.86)

magulang miyi ten araw kasi me'hilig sid а áraw kasi hilig magúlang =mi =sid ten me-=i а OBL day because ST inclination parents =1pe.GEN =SPEC =3p.ABS LK me'aliyo mealiyo ST look for Back in the days, our parents used to (103.87)

ti giginto-i ti giginto =i

OBL iron pyrite =SPEC

## collect iron pyrite (103.88)

ti'sen ti'sen PROX.LOC.DEM in this area, (lit. here) (103.89)

pero mine'atikasisidenninonoddepéro -in-metíhkasisidénninuno=d=debutPRFdeadbecausePL.ABSancestor==d=3p.GENbut their parents and grandparents passed away (103.90)

ama de ina de ama =de iná =de father =3p.GEN mother =3p.GEN their father and mother, (103.91)

sidde me'ennol-i а ten me'elbeng siddé me- ennol =i ten meilbeng а LK 3p ST know someone or something =SPEC OBL ST bury something sid sen =sid =sen =3p.ABS =PROX.LOC.DEM

who were the ones who knew where these things are buried (103.92)

a puwesto

a pwésto

LK place

around here. (103.93)

pero bisad la sen péro bisa =dla =sen but not =only =PROX.LOC.DEM But it's not just around here, (103.94)

ti'sinasepdingato-iinaadosepti'sina=sepdingáto=i=ináado=sepMED.LOC.DEM=stillupstream=SPEC=MED.DEM.ABSmany=stillup there in that direction, there is still plenty of it, (103.95)

ti'senta'po-iinamaiwadde septi'senta'pó=i=inámaiwaddé =sepPROX.LOC.DEM summit=SPEC=MED.DEM.ABSexist=stillhere on this mountain top there is still some of it, (103.96)

ti'sinaparte-iinati'sinaparte=iMED.LOC.DEMside=SPECMED.DEMand there on that side (103.97)

inate'nagan ni eroplano-i ten araw а =i а -in-a te'nag -an ni eropláno ten áraw LK PRF-ST fall LV GEN airplane =SPEC OBL day where a plane crashed back in the days. (103.98)

i'ina mudung-i ina
i'ina mudúng =i =iná
MED.DEM mountain =SPEC =MED.DEM.ABS
That mountain there, (103.99)

isaysinaminate'naginisaysina-in-ma-te'naginbe.atMED.LOC.DEMPRFSTfallABSthat is where a planecrashed (103.100)

eroplano eropláno airplane (lit. an airplane) (103.101) ten araw ten áraw OBL day back in the days, (103.102)

a service ni hapon-i sid a service ni hapón =i =sid LK GEN Japan =SPEC =3p.ABS which was a service of the Japanese (103.103)

ten panahon ni guerra-i ten panahon ni gerra =i OBL time GEN war =SPEC during World War II. (103.104) (lit. at the time of the war)

ti'sen ta'po-i ina ti'sen ta'pó =i =iná PROX.LOC.DEM summit =SPEC =MED.DEM.ABS Here, on this peak, (103.105)

isay sinad minate'nag isay sina =d ma- -in- te'nag be.at MED.LOC.DEM ==d ST PRF fall is where it crashed. (103.106)

kaya ti'sina kayá ti'sina so MED.LOC.DEM So in that area (103.107) (lit. so there)

pe'aliyo'endedinpe-aliyo-en=dinCAUlook forPV=3p.GEN==dABSpeople are searching for the

(lit. they are having people searching for the plane) (103.108)

eroplano in tambutso na eropláno in tambótso =na airplane ABS exhaust pipe =3s.GEN plane, especially for its muffler, (103.109)

dahilginto'anyaydáhilginto=an=yaybecausegold=is said to=DIST.DEM.ABSbecause that part is said to be made of gold. (103.110)

hangan dya'yay awondesep lame'aliyo'anhangán dya'yay awón=de=seplame-aliyo-anevennownot.exist=3p.GEN=stillPOTlook forLVSo far they have not been able to find it (103.111)

sinata'po-iinasinata'pó=i=ináMED.LOC.DEM summit=SPEC=MED.DEM.ABSover there, on the plains(lit. over there, on the top) (103.112)

a kapatagan

a kapatágan
LK plain
at the top of the mountain
(lit. which is a plain) (103.113)

tapos tapos then Also, (103.114) bisa dla a ti'sina bisa =dla a ti'sina not =only LK MED.LOC.DEM it is not only there, (that a plane crashed) (103.115) kase kasé because because (103.116) ti'sina dipaning-i ina ti'sina dipáning =i =iná MED.LOC.DEM the other side =SPEC =MED.DEM.ABS there on that side (103.117) papunta sen dupinga-i а а =i а papuntá =sen а Dupínga LK bound for =PROX.LOC.DEM LK Dupinga river =SPEC on the way to Dupinga, (lit. the way from here to Dupinga) (103.118) maiwadded sina а maiwaddé =d sina а exist ==d MED.LOC.DEM LK there is (103.119) in de engo'an uwah а in eC--an =de uwah ngo а ABS PRG call someone LV =3p.GEN LK thing what they call (103.120) in а in а ABS LK (lit.mmm) (103.121)

umingan yaykong engo'anmiamudungumingan =yaykung ngo-an =miamudúngDiteki=DIST.DEM.ABSifcall someoneLV=1pe.GENLKmountainUmingan. That is what we call that mountain. (103.122)

sela, inate'nagan ni eroplano-i kasi sela, -in- te'nag -an ni eropláno =i kasi also PRF fall LV GEN airplane =SPEC because **A plane crashed there too. (103.123)** 

melakas in magnet na me- lakás in magnet =na ST strengh ABS magnet =3s.GEN There is a strong magnetic force (103.124)

di'aw a la mesa a betuh di'aw a lamesa a betuh similar LK table LK stone in a round stone, (103.125)

de'el a betuh de'el a betuh big LK stone a huge rock (lit. a big rock) (103.126)

melapad siya me- lapad =siyá ST width =3s.ABS which is quite wide, (103.127)

pero di'aw a ubulan péro di'aw a ubúlan but similar LK grindstone **but which looks like the ones used for sharpening knives. (103.128)**  de'el la mesa de'el lamesa big table It is as high as a table (103.129)

pero mekapal siya / pero kapal na'i péro mekápal =siyá péro kápal =na =i but ST thickness =3s.ABS but thickness =3s.GEN =SPEC but rather deep, (lit. but rather thick, its thickness is) (103.130)

mgakwatropiemangákwatropieapproximatelyfourfootabout four feet,(lit. like about four feet) (103.131)

kapalna'inenbetuhkápal=na=i=nenbetuhthickness=3s.GEN=SPEC=alreadystonethat was the thickness of that stone. (103.132)

dya'yay dya'yay

now

```
Then, (103.133)
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i'yay kasi tinomapat say in eroplanod i'yáy kasi -in--umtápat =say in eropláno =d DIST.DEM because PRF AV direct =DIST.LOC.DEM ABS airplane ==d mannen =mannen =again because that (stone) was in the direction of the airplane, (103.134)

kaya minate'nag kayá ma- -in- te'nag so ST PRF fall it crashed. (103.135)

minate'nag siya me- -in- te'nag =siyá ST PRF fall =3s.ABS It crashed because it was (lit. it crashed) (103.136)

inegopnenmagneticnenbetuh-in- iigopnenmagneticnenbetuhPRF-CVattractionGENmagnetismGENstoneattracted by the magnetism of that rock.(lit. attracted by that magnetism of that rock) (103.137)

aaaa aaaa mmmmm (103.138)

me'unad in ninuno sid sidden man mi а me'una =mi =sid sidden =d =man in ninuno а say ==d =contrast ABS ancestor =1pe.GEN =3p.ABS LK PROX.DEM.PL mangaso mengaso AV dog Our ancestors who used to hunt with dogs, (103.139) me'aliyo ti laman-i uwah-i ni aliyo meti laman =i ni uwah =i ST =SPEC

ST look for OBL wild boar =SPEC GEN thing =SPEC mudumudungi mudu- mudúng =i

RDP mountain =SPEC

they used to search for the wild pig of the mountains, (103.140) me'una sid ay i'yay an ay me'una =sid ay i'yáy =an ay say =3p.ABS PM DIST.DEM =is said to PM they said that that thing (rock) was said to be (103.141) in engo'an de а eCin ngo -an =de а ABS PRG call someone LV =3p.GEN LK what they would call, (103.142) engo'an a, asenod de en eCngo -an =de a, aséno =d =en PRG call someone LV =3p.GEN LK what ==d =PROX.DEM.ABS they would call it...how was it again (103.143) aaaa aaaa mmmm (103.144) marmol a betuh marmol a betuh marble LK stone a marble rock. (103.145) kaya yay isay say kayá =yay isay =say =DIST.DEM.ABS be.at =DIST.LOC.DEM SO So that (rock) lies there, (103.146) pero i'yay péro i'yáy

but DIST.DEM but it (103.147)

gagawi'an sela sid ni hapon ad kastila-i gágawin =an =séla =sid ni hapon at kastíla =i do something =is said to =also =3p.ABS GEN Japan and spaniard =SPEC is said to have been made by the Japanese and the Spaniards (103.148) ten araw ten áraw OBL day back in the days. (103.149) sumesdep-i kaya ado sen =sen kayá ado sdep =i SO many =PROX.LOC.DEM enter =SPEC This is why many people have penetrated (this domain) (103.150) aseseno a а а aseséno a LK whatever LK with all sorts (103.151) bumbalak kayad la b--umbálak kayad la RDP AV plan however with all sorts of intentions, however (103.152) pendingen kasi awon sid mi pendingen =mi =sid awón kasi not.exist enter a place =1pe.GEN =3p.ABS because we refused to let them in. (103.153)

awonmibudiame'awenyaysiddi'amiawón=mibudiamen'awon=yay=siddi'áminot.exist=1pe.GENwantLKabandon=DIST.DEM.ABS=3p.ABS1pe.LOCWe don't want them to take what belongs to our domain, (103.154)

budimi-isi'ami mekenabang-ia awonbudi=mi=isi'ámi me'inabang=ia awónwant=1pe.GEN=SPEC1pemake profit=SPECLK not.existwe want to be the ones who benefit from it (103.155)

iba a ta'o
ibá a tá'o
another LK person
and not other people. (103.156)

si'ami a mismo in me'e'inta si'ámi a mísmo in me'e- intá 1pe LK actual ABS POT.AV see We should be the ones who find (something), (103.157)

ad si'ami a mismo in mengisurrender
at si'ámi a mísmo in mengi- surrender
and 1pe LK actual ABS AV surrender
we should be the ones ourselves to deliver (it to the government). (103.158)

si'amid bahalad pengisurrenderan in mi si'ámi =d bahála =d in pengisurrender -an =mi ==d responsability ==d ABS CWA2 1pe surrender LV =1pe.GEN We are responsible for delivering, (103.159)

konga'a'dandeamioawonkungeC-atdán=de=amíoawónwhetherPRGgive someone=3p.GEN=1pe.ABSornot.existwhether or not they give us something in return. (103.160)

basta in ta'os puso ami a básta in ta'ós puso =amí a just ABS sincere heart =1pe.ABS LK **As long as we wholeheartedly (103.160)** 

mangisurrenderdi'depagminalapmimengi-surrenderdi'depagm--in-álap=miAVsurrender3p.LOCifPOTPRFget=1pe.GENhand over to them whatever we find, (103.162)

dahil annolen mi а i'yay ay awon para di'ami dáhil annol -en =mi i'yáy awón para di'ámi а ay PV =1pe.GEN LK DIST.DEM PM not.exist for because know 1pe.LOC because we know that this thing does not belong us (103.163)

para ti gobierno-i para ti gobierno =i for OBL government =SPEC but to the government. (103.164)

kaya kong malap mi man bilang i'yay а kayá kung málap =mi =man bílang i'yáy а if get =1pe.GEN =contrast by way of DIST.DEM LK SO POT So if we are able to find something that was

# (lit. so if we are able to find something that is counted as of these things) (103.165)

inetanem ni hapon-i sid -in- *i*- taném ni hapón =i =sid PRF CV plant GEN Japan =SPEC =3p.ABS **burried by the Japanese (103.166)** 

ainomaysentenarawa-in--um-ay=sentenárawLKPRFAVgo=PROX.LOC.DEMOBLdaywho came here in the past, (103.167)

baka puwede a baká pwéde a maybe can LK **maybe we can (103.168)** 

isurrender mi surrender =mi i-CV surrender =1pe.GEN give it to them. (103.169) bahalad kong a'a'dan de sid ami 0 bahála =d =sid kung eCatdán =de =amí 0 responsability ==d =3p.ABS if PRG give someone =3p.GEN =1pe.ABS or awon awón not.exist Whether or not they give it to us, this will depend on the governement. (103.170) importante si'ami a me'e'inta mismo in importante si'ámi a mísmo in me'eintá LK actual ABS POT.AV important 1pe see It is important that we are the ones who find it. (103.171) tapos tapos then And (103.172) ti'sen parte ti'sina-i , ti'sen sela a ti'sen ti'sen =séla a parte ti'sina =i PROX.LOC.DEM =also LK side MED.LOC.DEM =SPEC PROX.LOC.DEM here, also on that side (103.173) landslide-i а de'el lanslaid =i de'el а landslide =SPEC LK big

where there was a big landslide, (103.174)

maiwadde sena a maiwaddé sena a exist also LK there is is also a (103.175)

simento siya siménto =siyá cement =3s.ABS cemented thing (103.176)

a melapad pero may kandado siya a de'el a me- lapad péro kandado =siyá a de'el LK ST width but exist padlock =3s.ABS LK big which is quite large but it has a very big lock, (103.177)

a padlak na a padlak =na LK padlock =3s.GEN a padlock (103.178)

a de'el, ti'sina
a de'el, ti'sina
LK big MED.LOC.DEM
that is quite big, over there. (103.179)

dya'yay dya'yay now (lit.then) (103.180)

dahilan sela ti landslide-i minata'bo nen siya dahilan =séla ti lanslaid =i ma--inta'bón -en =siyá because =also OBL landslide =SPEC ST PRF cover PV =3s.ABS It got burried because of the landslide. (103.181)

di'omano di'omano it is said It is said that (103.182)

me'edton ti pon ni katmoni me'e- dton ti pon ni Alangyán =i ST.AV place OBL tree GEN Katmon =SPEC a Katmon tree lies there, (103.183)

katmon a de'el Alangyán a de'el Katmon LK big a big (103.184)

a ayuh

a ayuh

LK tree

# Katmon tree (103.185)

me'edton yay, dya'yay me'e- dton yay, dya'yay ST.AV place DIST.DEM.ABS now

# lies there, and (103.186)

ine'itan			yay	nena	а	niyama
-in-	i-	itán	=yay	nena	а	niyama
PRF	CV	look at something	=DIST.DEM.ABS	mother	LK	father
it (the cemented object) was seen by my parents (103.187)						

tenmenlatihsidsinatenmen-latih=sidsinaOBLAVrattan=3p.ABSMED.LOC.DEMwhen they were collecting rattan there. (103.188)

ine'itandeyay-in-i-itán=de=yayPRFCVlook at something=3p.GEN=DIST.DEM.ABSThey saw that thing, (103.189)

a kandado

a kandado

LK padlock

a padlock, (103.190)

peros in kandado na péros in kandado =na but ABS padlock =3s.GEN but this padlock (103.191)

ay de'el a talaga ay de'el a talága PM big LK naturally i**s actually quite big (103.192)** 

de'el kodrado sela de'el kodrádo =séla big square =also and also it is shaped like a square, (103.193)

pero in semento na péro in semento =na but ABS cement =3s.GEN but the cemented part (103.194)

de'el sela de'el =séla big =also **is also rather big. (103.195)**  pero isay ti péro isay ti but be.at OBL It is located (lit. but it is located) (103.196)

penti'edannilandslide-iaumansaypenti'eddánnilanslaid=iaumansaybaseGENlandslide=SPECLKDIST.SML.DEMat the bottom ot the landslide, like this. (103.197)

isaysayaine'itandeisay=séla=saya-in-i-itán=debe.at=also=DIST.LOC.DEMLKPRFCVlook at something=3p.GENIt is there that they saw it. (103.198)

tinagaltagali ti dahil minatid in magulang ti tagal tagal =i dáhil metíh -in--in-=d in magúlang OBL PRF time time =SPEC because PRF dead ==d ABS parents 'o =0

=1s.GEN

During the long period since my parents passed away (103.199)

a tatlo epat a bagiyod dinommani a tatló epát a bagiyo =d dman =i LK three four LK storm ==d pass =SPEC three or four typhoons hit (the area) (103.200)

minata'bonan siya ma- -in- ta'bón -an =siyá POT PRF cover LV =3s.ABS and it (the cemented object) got covered. (103.201) kaya awonnendya'yay etankayá awón=nendya'yay itansonot.exist=already nowlook at somethingThat is why it is not visible anymore. (103.202)

pero may etanamisinaadi'awsalaminpéro may itan=amísinaadi'awsalaminbuthave look at something=1pe.ABSMED.LOC.DEMLKsimilarglassesBut we have seen something there like a mirror, (103.203)

pag isay amisaydilod-ipag isay =amí=saydilód=iifbe.at =1pe.ABS=DIST.LOC.DEMdownstream=SPECwhen we were downstream. (103.204)

# atlumelsengasenaat-um--l-elseng=aselaandAVRDPlook=2s.ABSalsoIf you look in this direction (103.205)

# (lit. and you look in this direction) (103.205)

talagaamesilaw'aawonmotalágaamesilaw=aawón=monaturallyLKdazzled=2s.ABSnot.exist=2s.GENyou just get dazzled, and you would not be (103.206)

kaya a elsengan kayá a elseng -an so LK look LV able to look at it, (103.207)

messilaw 'a a talaga mesilaw =a a talága dazzled =2s.ABS LK naturally you would just get dazzled. (103.208) itanmosiyaduwaitán=mo=siyáduwalook at something=2s.GEN=3s.ABStwoYou look at it, and there are two (103.209)

me'i'unodsidyayduwasidme'i-sunód=sid=yayduwa=sidCMTVfollow=3p.ABS=DIST.DEM.ABStwo=3p.ABSconsecutive dazzles, (103.210)

issa ten ta'po, issa ten tepdeissa ten ta'po, issa ten tepdeone OBL summit one OBL bottomone on the top and one at the bottom. (103.211)

kaya kayá so

So (103.212)

budi-i mangyari niden ume'ay а sen budi niden =i а meng--umsen want =SPEC LK AV happen PL.GEN AV go PROX.LOC.DEM what I want to happen to those who come here (103.213)

a a LK

who (103.214)

gumgagawi ti many dam-i -g- -um- gágawi ti many dam =i RDP AV do OBL dam =SPEC intend to build a dam, (103.215) essdepen de 'en eC- sdep -en =de 'en PRG enter PV =3p.GEN PROX.DEM.ABS they will come in here (103.216)

dam-i eggagawiyan de ti sen eCgágawi -an =de ti dam =i =sen PRG LV =3p.GEN OBL dam =SPEC =PROX.LOC.DEM do they will build a dam here (103.217)

eggagawiyandeselati'sinadiyabobo-ieC-gágawi-an=de=sélati'sinaDyábobo=iPRGdoLV=3p.GEN=alsoMED.LOC.DEMDyabobo=SPECand will build another dam there in Dyabubu. (103.218)

diya'yay diya'yay now **Now, (103.219)** 

me'una sid me'una =sid say =3p.ABS they say that (103.220)

pagka'an halimbawa minalap de yay pagká halimbáwa m--inálap =de =an =yay when =is said to example POT PRF get =3p.GEN =DIST.DEM.ABS if they happen to find something (103.220)

payongandeamitieskwelahan-ipáyong-an=de=amítieskwelahan=istand upLV=3p.GEN=1pe.ABSOBLschool=SPECthey will build us a school, (103.222)

ialapan de ami ti aaa i- álap -an =de =amí ti aaa CV get LV =3p.GEN =1pe.ABS OBL they will get us (103.223)

pa'aralan ni ana'-i pa'aralan ni ana' =i school GEN child =SPEC a place for our children to study, (103.224)

hangan ti sid awon na mentapos hangán ti =sid awón =na mentapos even OBL not.exist =3s.GEN =3p.ABS AV finish sidded bahala-i siddé =d bahála =i ==d responsability =SPEC 3p

even if they do not acheive their plans, they would still build the school. (lit. even if they did not finish, it would be their responsibility) (103.225)

ibig sabihin ibig sabihin in other words In other words, (103.226)

siya dlayayinplano depara di'amisiyá =dla=yayinpláno =depara di'ámi3s=only=DIST.DEM.ABSABSplan=3p.GENfor1pe.LOCthese were just things they said.(lit. these were just their plans for us) (103.227)

in uwah in uwah ABS thing About the dazzling thing, (lit. the thing) (103.228) in i'ina in i'ina ABS MED.DEM that one (103.229)

isay-i sen isay =i sen be.at =SPEC PROX.LOC.DEM is there, (103.230)

dipaning-i maiwadde sela tapos kasi sina tapos kasi sina dipáning =i maiwaddé =séla then because MED.LOC.DEM the other side =SPEC exist =also sina sina MED.LOC.DEM but there is another one on the other side, (lit. and then, because the there on the other side, there is also) (103.231)

peros péros but **but (103.232)** 

isay ten alteia falls isay ten Alteia falls be.at OBL Altea fall

it is located in these Alteia falls (103.233)

i'yay, annolen pero awon mi say i'yáy péro awón =mi =say annol -en DIST.DEM but not.exist =1pe.GEN =DIST.LOC.DEM know someone or something ΡV kong adino say а parte kung adino =say parte а where =DIST.LOC.DEM LK side if

### there, but we don't know the exact location. (103.234)

in issa minalap ded, inalap ni nana Inga issa min -inálap =de =d -inálap ni nana Inga ABS one POT PRF get =3p.GEN ==d PRF get GEN mother Dominga One of them was found by Nana Inga (103.235)

kayadla kayadlá however **but (103.236)** 

inikarga de ti elikopter-i -in- i- kárga =de ti elikopter =i PRF CV load =3p.GEN OBL helicopter =SPEC they loaded it into a helicopter (103.237)

in elikopter ibbide de yay na а mensoli in elikopter =de =yay ibbide =na а mensoli ABS helicopter =3p.GEN =DIST.DEM.ABS tell something =3s.GEN LK AV return that helicopter of theirs, they told us he would come back (103.238)

dahil ded awon man minensoli, minalap álap =de awón =man men--insoli. dáhil m--in-=d not.exist =contrast AV PRF return because POT PRF get =3p.GEN ==d in budi de alapen а in budi =de а álap -en ABS want =3p.GEN LK get PV but he has not returned yet because they got what they wanted. (lit. and he has not returned because they managed to get what they wanted to get)

(103.239)

kaya medla amid a kayá medla =amí =d a so =1pe.ABS ==d LK So we have learned our lesson (103.240)

menpapasoktiuman-isaykasimen-pa-pasok tiuman=i=saykasiAVCAUenterOBLDIST.SML.DEM=SPEC=DIST.LOC.DEMbecauseabout letting people in (our ancestral domain) like that, because (103.241)

kong baga eggamitendeamidlakong baga eC-gamit-en=de=amí=dlaactuallyPRGtoolPV=3p.GEN=1pe.ABS=onlythey are actually just using us (103.241)

bilang elan de me'aliyo а а а а bílang а elan =de а mealiyo LK by way of LK accompany =3p.GEN LK POT look for in order to help them search. (103.243)

mina'a'aliyo' didde namud pero pag nen diddé péro pag -inaliyo ma'a-=nen namud but when POT.AV PRF look for =already 3p.LOC just But if we found something it would be only theirs, (103.244)

awondeamidaa'danawón=de=amí=daatdánnot.exist=3p.GEN=1pe.ABS==dLK give someonethey wouldn't give us anything. (103.245)

aaaa aaaa mmm (103.246)

minsan minsan occasion ever (103.247) siyad yay uwah miyi siyá =d =yay uwah =mi =i 3s =d =DIST.DEM.ABS thing =1pe.GEN =SPEC This is (103.248)

karanasan mitibilay miyiakaranasan =mitibiláy =mi=iaexperience =1pe.GENOBLlife=1pe.GEN=SPECLKwhat we have experienced in our life and (103.250)

awonmidabudiaawón=mi=dabudianot.exist=1pe.GEN==dLKwantLKwe don't want them (103.249)

essoliyan eC- soli -an PRG return LV to return (103.250)

kasiadodmenlokodi'amikasiado=dmen-lokodi'ámibecausemany==dAVfool1pe.LOCbecausemanypeoplehave fooled us, (103.251)

kaya awonmidbudi amaiwadde senasumesdepkayá awón=mi=dbudi amaiwaddé senasdepsonot.exist=1pe.GEN==dwant LKexistPROX.LOC.DEMLKenterso we do not want anyone to penetrate (our ancestral domain). (103.253)

a aduwan a ta'o
a áduwan a tá'o
LK other LK person
Not the ones who are not Alta. (103.254)

masbudi in si'amid me'e'inta-i mas budi in si'ámi =d me'einta =i ==d POT.AV more want ABS 1pe see =SPEC It is better if we are the ones that find someting (103.255)

para mesolo mi kong para me- solo =mi kung for ST alone =1pe.GEN if in order to have it for ourselves, if (103.256)

aaaa aaaa **aaa (103.257)** para di'ami a talaga para di'ámi a talága for 1pe.LOC LK naturally **it is really for us, (103.258)** 

isay di'ami ve'ated ni mahali panginoon а iisay di'ámi eCated ni mahal -i а pangino'on be.at 1pe.LOC CV PRG give GEN expensive SPEC LK god if it is to us that our dear Lord granted it (103.259)

bisa a ti aduwani bisa a ti áduwan -i not LK OBL other SPEC not to the others (103.260)

tapos tapos then **then (103.261)** 

aaa aaa

## aaa (103.262)

dapat

dápat

must

we should (103.263)

awon mi 'en puwede a papasokan ti awón =mi 'en pwéde a papasok -an ti not.exist =1pe.GEN PROX.DEM.ABS can LΚ OBL aduwani áduwan -i SPEC other not let the others in.

(lit. we should not let the others in) (103.264)

anigni'nina-ianígni'ninásimilarityLPROX.DEM.GENJust like it happened with the other (golden bar), (103.265)

wadi wadi younger sibling my friend, (lit. my brother) (103.266)

uwah-i uwah =i thing =SPEC (lit. and...)(103.267)

dapat inadi'amiaaltadápat =inádi'ámiaaltamust =MED.DEM.ABS1pe.LOCLKAlta peoplethat thing should belong to us, the Alta (103.268)306

bisa a si'ami bisa a si'ámi not LK 1pe but it is not ours. (lit. but it is not us) (103.269)

diya'yay diya'yay now **And now (103.270)** 

a me'una'e a me'una =e' LK say =1s.ABS I say (103.271)

me'una sidawonandapat ame'una =sidawón=andápat asay=3p.ABSnot.exist=is said tomustLKthey (some other Alta) say (103.272)

awonandapataawón=andápatanot.exist=is said tomustLKwe should not (103.273)

ipegbawal mi 'en dahil ipeg- báwal =mi 'en dáhil CAU forbid =1pe.GEN PROX.DEM.ABS because forbid them because (103.274)

a a LK **a (103.275)**  para an ti lahat-i para =an ti lahát =i for =is said to OBL all =SPEC this is said to be for everyone, (103.276)

awonpuwededahilkasiawónpwédedáhilkasinot.existcanbecausebecausebut (I think) this is not possible because (103.277)

Alta dla alta =dla Alta people =only only the Alta (103.278)

Alta-itenarawalta=itenárawAlta people=SPECOBLdaythe Alta people in the past (103.279)

ti kapatagan-i mina'awon ami na ti kapatágan awón =na =i ma--in-=amí OBL plain =SPEC POT PRF PRF =already =1pe.ABS were robbed of our lands (103.280)

kaya kayá so **so (103.281)** 

diya'yay man diya'yay =man now =contrast **now (103.282)**  a si'ami ay
a si'ámi ay
LK 1pe PM
we are the ones that (103.283)

si'amid ay minegka'isip si'ámi =d ay men--inísip a-PRF 1pe ==d PM AV CWA1 thought realized (lit. we are the ones who realized that) (103.284)

o uwah

o uwah

or thing

or, how to put it, (103.285)

hangan ti mudumudung-i hangán ti mudu- mudúng =i even OBL RDP mountain =SPEC even in the mountains (103.286)

pinomayag ami minegkaroon hangan addiyo namud a -in-=amí namud a -inmenkaro'on hangán addiyo -ompayag PRF AV agreement =1pe.ABS just LK PRF even far possess we agreed to live there, even if it is far (103.287)

ibig sabihin maiwadde ami sela a
ibig sabihin maiwaddé =amí =séla a
in other words exist =1pe.ABS =also LK
in order to also have (103.288)

karoonroonan hangan ba'ik na karo'onro'onan hangán ba'ik =na property even small =already a property, even a small one. (103.289)

ti'sina kasi ten araw ti'sina kasi ten áraw MED.LOC.DEM because OBL day Because there, back in the days, (103.290)

ti'sina kapatagan-i ti'sina kapatágan =i MED.LOC.DEM plain =SPEC there in the plateaus (103.291)

wadi wadi younger sibling my friend, (lit. brother) (103.292)

ten mebilay sepla ninuno miyi sid biláy =sepla ninuno =i =sid ten me-=mi OBL ST life =still ancestor =1pe.GEN =SPEC =3p.ABS when our ancestors were still alive (103.293)

a magulang ni magulang miyi
a magúlang ni magúlang =mi =i
LK parents GEN parents =1pe.GEN =SPEC
the parents of our parents (103.294)

dapat sidde wadiindápat siddé wadiinmust 3pyounger siblingABSthey had to (103.295)

sidde wadi in siddé wadi in 3p younger sibling ABS

## they, my friend, where the ones (103.296)

didde kapatagan-i wadi 'ena, diddé kapatágan wadi =éna =i 3p.LOC younger sibling =MED.DEM.ABS plain =SPEC these plains belonged to them, my friend (103.297) pero minengyari-i péro meng--inyari =i but AV PRF happen =SPEC but what happened was that (103.298) а а LΚ that (103.299) inalap uldin-i sid ni uldín =sid -inálap ni =i PRF get GEN non-Alta person =SPEC =3p.ABS they (they lands) were taken by the Tagalog. (103.300) pinalitan de dla ti alak-i -an =de =dla ti -inpalit alak =i PRF barter LV =3p.GEN =only OBL wine =SPEC They exchanged it for some wine, (103.301) siyoktong syoktóng rice wine rice wine. (103.302) ti lolo lola miyi ti lola lolo =mi =i OBL grandfather grandmother =1pe.GEN =SPEC Our grandparents (103.303)

pinomayag nen sid -in- -om- payag =nen =sid PRF AV agreement =already =3p.ABS agreed with it, (103.304)

o hangan me'epidot nen sid ti ginto-i hangán me'epidot =nen =sid ti ginto =i 0 collect =already =3p.ABS OBL gold or even POT.AV =SPEC even when they were able to get some gold, (103.305)

paletan de dla ti siyoktong-i ye'ated nen =dla ti syoktóng ipalit -an =de =i eCated =nen barter LV =3p.GEN =only OBL rice wine =SPEC CV PRG give =already ninuno mi sid =sid ninuno =mi ancestor =1pe.GEN =3p.ABS they just traded it for rice wine, thus our ancestors were given wine (103.306)

kasi,awonsidtepineg'aralankasi,awón=sidtepineg'aralanbecausenot.exist=3p.ABSNSeducationbecausethey were not educated. (103.307)

budi de uman na say in mangyari а in budi =de uman =na =say а meng-DIST.SML.DEM =already =DIST.LOC.DEM ABS want =3p.GEN LK AV happen Alta-i ti alta ti =i OBL Alta people =SPEC That is what they (the outsiders) want to do to the Alta, (103.308)

hangan diya'yay hangán diya'yay even now even nowadays (103.309) siya seplabudide-iamangyarii'yaysiyá=sep=labudi=de=iameng-i'yáy3s=still=justwant=3p.GEN=SPECLKAVhappenDIST.DEMthis is still what they want to happen.(lit. this is still what they want to happen, this) (103.310)

kaya me'una'e kayá me'una =e' so say =1s.ABS So I say (103.310)

kasi,mina'ape'arale'selakasi,ma--in-pe-aral=e'=sélabecauseSTPRFCAUstudy=1s.ABS=alsosince I have been educated, (103.311)

mina'atungtunge'tihangan grade four-ima'a--in-tungtung=e'tihangán grade four=iPOT.AVPRFcover=1s.ABSOBLevenI managed to reach grade four, (103.313)

a a LK (lit. a) (103.314)

budi-iamangyaribudi=iameng-want=SPECLKAVhappen(lit. I would like that) (103.315)

bilay niden in ni ninuno mi ten araw =mi ten áraw in biláy niden ni ninuno ABS life PL.GEN GEN ancestor =1pe.GEN OBL day what happend to our ancestors in the past (103.316) 313

awondedeggagawindi'amiawón=de=deC-gágawin-endi'áminot.exist=3p.GEN==dPRGdo somethingPV1pe.LOCI don't want them to do the same to us. (103.317)

si'essiami namud sela in mangepayong si'a- si'ámi namud =séla in mengi páyong 1pe 1pe just =also ABS AV stand up We should be the ones who decide (lit. we are the ones who decide) (103.318)

ti sarili miyi a ti'ed ti sarili =mi =i a ti'ed OBL self =1pe.GEN =SPEC LK foot by ourselves. (103.319)

pagkatapos pagkatapos afterwards **So (103.320)** 

budide-iamangyaridi'amibudi=de=iameng-di'ámiwant=3p.GEN=SPECLKAVhappen1pe.LOCwhat they want to happen to us, (103.321)

kung baga kung baga actually actually (103.322)

nidden tagalog-i nidden tagálog =i PROX.GEN.DEM.PL tagalog people =SPEC these Tagalog people, (103.323)

budide-ia'apiaminamudbudi=de=ieC-api=amínamudwant=3p.GEN=SPECPRGoppress=1pe.ABSjustwhat they want is to oppress us. (103.324)

sidde namud budi a mabilay siddé namud budi a ma- biláy 3p just want LK ST life

They want to be the only ones who have a good life (103.325)

ad si'ami apiapihan
at si'ámi api'apíhan
and 1pe oppressed
while we are oppressed. (103.326)

kung baga kung baga actually Actually, (103.327)

iyowahi maiwadded de ami namud pag i-=de uwah =i =amí namud pag maiwaddé =d CV thing =SPEC =3p.GEN =1pe.ABS just when exist ==d ye'abilayan ieCbilay -an CV PRG life LV

they just keep on pushing us out of our lands.(103.328)

tapos tapos then Also (103.329) ti'sen sela ti'sen =séla PROX.LOC.DEM =also here is also (103.330)

budi sep ume'aye sina budi =sep ume'ay =i sina =SPEC MED.LOC.DEM want =still go I still want to come here. (lit. I still want to go that way) (103.331)

sata ni bilay owi ni biláy =o =i GEN life =1s.GEN =SPEC During my whole life, (103.332)

umalang a 16 yearse' umálang a 16 years =e'

come from LK

since the age of 16 (103.333)

diya'yaye' mannen diya'yay =e' =mannen now =1s.ABS =again now is the only time (103.334)

time mannen a diya'yaye' na а time =mannen a diya'yay =e' =na а =again LK now =1s.ABS =already LK when

the time when (103.335)

inomay sen -in--um- ay =sen PRF AV go =PROX.LOC.DEM I came back here. (103.336)

diya'yay 'od mannen a minadateng 'en a lugar diya'yay =o =d =mannen a ma--indaténg 'en lugar а LK POT PRF arrive PROX.DEM.ABS LK place now =1s.GEN ==d =again It's only now that I am able again to reach this place, (103.337)

pero isaye'sendinom'elpéro isay=e'sen-in--um-d'elbutbe.at=1s.ABSPROX.LOC.DEMPRFAVbigbut I grew up here. (103.338)

```
explain mo ba yan (instructions)
```

mo

Can you explain about the gold colour on these rocks? (instructions in Tagalog) (103.340)

a a LK **ummm (103.41)** 

i'en i'én PROX.DEM About this, (103.342)

di'ami a uwah 'en di'ámi a uwah 'en 1pe.LOC LK thing PROX.DEM.ABS (**lit. in our place this whatchamacallit( (103.343)** 

i'en ay alapen mi 'en
i'én ay álap -en =mi 'en
PROX.DEM PM get PV =1pe.GEN PROX.DEM.ABS
We collect it (103.344)

puwede 'enaibbentapwéde 'enai--b-canPROX.DEM.ABSLKCVRDPand it can be sold (103.345)

kayad la awon'enintunay agoldkayad la awón'enintúnay agoldhowever not.existPROX.DEM.ABSABSpureLKbut it is not pure gold. (103.346)

a ginto

a ginto

LK gold

## gold (103.347)

bisa 'en in tunay a ginto bisa 'en in túnay a ginto not PROX.DEM.ABS ABS pure LK gold This is not pure gold (102.248)

# This is not pure gold (103.348)

etay 'en ni ginto-i sid na а =i etay =na 'en ni ginto =sid а excrement =already PROX.DEM.ABS GEN gold =SPEC =3p.ABS LK inomapet ti betuh-i ip'èt (lar) ti betuh =i -in--om-PRF AV OBL stone =SPEC stick this is some gold residue that got stuck on the rock. (103.349)

kung baga in mineta'peg ten inetanem ni hapon-i kung baga in taném ni -inta'pég ten hapón me--in--е-=i ABS ST actually PRF cover OBL PRF plant GEN Japan =SPEC sid =sid

=3p.ABS

This is actually one of the stones that was covering the things that the japanese burried here (103.350)

siyad sid inomapet 'en in siyá =d =sid 'en in -in--omip'èt (lar) 3s =d =3p.ABS PROX.DEM.ABS ABS PRF AV stick and this is what got stuck on these rocks. (103.351) kulay de in in kulay =de ABS colour =3p.GEN Their colour (103.352) inomay betuh-i sen -in--umay =sen betuh =i PRF AV go =PROX.LOC.DEM stone =SPEC got stuck on the rock, (103.353) diya'yay diya'yay now so (103.354) i'en puwedem 'en а pelusaw i'én pwéde =m 'en pelusaw а PROX.DEM can =2s.GEN PROX.DEM.ABS LK CAU melt you can melt it, (103.355) eggamiten mo 'en ti penglusaw-i eCgamit -en =mo 'en ti penglúsaw =i PRG tool PV =2s.GEN PROX.DEM.ABS OBL dissolvent =SPEC you can use some tool for melting(103.356) tapos malap 'en monmon mo а

tapos m- álap =mo 'en a monmon then POT get =2s.GEN PROX.DEM.ABS LK complete 319

### and you can extract it completely. (103.357)

puwede a pengbetuh ni singsing-i sid ad kwentas pwéde a pengbetuh ni singsing =i =sid at kwentas can LK ornament GEN ring =SPEC =3p.ABS and necklace You can use it as material for rings and necklaces (103.358)

bracelet ni relo-i а pegagawim а а pegágawi =m а bracelet ni relóh =i LK CAU =2s.GEN LK GEN watch do =SPEC and also for the watchbands. (103.359)

hikaw puwede sid 'en híkaw pwéde =sid 'en earring can =3p.ABS PROX.DEM.ABS Earrings can also be made. (103.360)

kasi sidden kasi siddé -n because ? ? These (rocks), (103.361)

uman-i sen uman =i sen DIST.SML.DEM =SPEC PROX.LOC.DEM like this one, (103.362)

kung baga in ineta'bon de ti ebuti sid kung baga in -inita'bón =de ti ebút =i =sid actually ABS PRF CV cover =3p.GEN OBL hole =SPEC =3p.ABS like the ones that they (the Japanese) used to cover the holes (103.363)

diya'yay inalap ni waget-i diya'yay -in- álap ni waget =i now PRF get GEN water =SPEC were brought by the water. (103.364)

inot'utan , mine'anod -in- ut'ut -an me- -in- anod PRF dig a hole LV ST PRF current of water They drifted with the current of the water (103.65)

siyadsidenminekalatnensiyá=dsidénme--in-kalat=nen3s=dPL.ABSSTPRFspread=alreadyand these were the ones that spread. (103.366)

awon tam annolen kong adinod siden а awón =tam annol -en kung adino =d sidén а ==d PL.ABS LK not.exist =1p.GEN know someone or something PV if where banda inomalang bandá -in--umalang PRF side AV come

We don't know where they came from (103.367) (lit. we don't know from which directions they came from

perosta'pegsidinaniginto-isidpérosta'pégsiddinániginto=i=sidbutcoverMED.DEM.PLGENgold=SPEC=3p.ABSbutthese were used to cover the pieces of gold (103.368)(lit. but these were a cover of the pieces of gold)

siyadla'eninetaydesiyá=d=la'eninetay=de3s=d=justPROX.DEM.ABSABSexcrement=3p.GENand this is just the residue. (103.369)

kong ango'anayetaykung ngo-an ayetayifcall someoneLVPMCall it "etay". (103.370)

kasi kasi

# because

because

inelbeng ado gul a uwah sen ni hapon-i ado =gul а uwah sen -inilbeng ni hapón =i many =indeed LK thing PROX.LOC.DEM PRF bury something GEN Japan =SPEC Many things were indeed buried here by the Japanese, (103.372)

awon tam annolen baka mebine' tam aduwan-i awón =tam annol -en baká bine' =tam áduwan me-=i not.exist =1p.GEN know PV maybe ST step =1p.GEN other =SPEC we don't know if we are stepping over them (103.373)

kasi

kasi

because

because (103.374)

ten araw ten áraw OBL day

ODL duy

in the past (103.375)

usuh guerra-i usuh gerra =i vogue war =SPEC wars were frequent (103.376)

basta iyedtondenamud inabásta i--eCdton=denamud =inájustCVPRGplace=3p.GENjust=MED.DEM.ABSand they just buried their things (103.377)(lit. they just place these)

kong adidino kung adidino anywhere anywhere (they wanted) (103.78)

dahil awon ded man me'denan а 'elan dáhil awón =de =d =man meeddén -an a 'elan because not.exist =3p.GEN ==d =contrast POT load LV LK all because they were not able to carry their (103.379)

in kayamanan a adedden de in kayamanan a eC- edden =de ABS wealth LK PRG load =3p.GEN valuable objects. (103.380)

mudung ay awon tam annolen kong i'en minatno а awón =tam annol -en kung i'én а mudúng ay -inmatnó PV if fill not.exist =1p.GEN know PROX.DEM LK mountain PM PRF We don't know if this is the mountain that contains (these objects) (103.381)

i'en, sina, ti'sina
i'én sina ti'sina
PROX.DEM MED.LOC.DEM MED.LOC.DEM
this one, there, or there (103.382)

hangan ti'sen hangán ti'sen even PROX.LOC.DEM or even here. (103.383)

kong talaga maiwadde kasi awon tam annolen а awón =tam annol -en kung talága maiwaddé kasi а not.exist =1p.GEN know PV if naturally LK exist because We don't know if there actually are (buried objects) because (103.384) istoria ni ninuno-i sid istoria ni ninuno =i =sid story GEN ancestor =SPEC =3p.ABS our ancestors said that (103.385) (lit. the story of our ancestors) araw talaga ten а isay de sen, ado sen ten áraw talága a isay =de = sen ado sen OBL day naturally LK be.at =3p.GEN PROX.LOC.DEM many PROX.LOC.DEM minelbeng-i -inilbeng me-=i ST PRF bury something =SPEC back in the days, many things were buried here (103.386) hapon-i hapón =i =SPEC Japan by the Japanese. (103.387) ten araw ten áraw OBL day back in the days (103.388) kaya kayá so so (103.389) menewala e' sela kong minsan menewala =e' =séla kung minsan believe =1s.ABS =also if occasion I sometimes believe (in these stories) (103.390)

kasi ado sen menbalak-i kasi ado sen menbálak =i because many PROX.LOC.DEM AV plan =SPEC because there are many people who have plans (of excavating) here (103.391) dahil uman sigudo say ado sid а ado dáhil uman sigúdo =say =sid а because DIST.SML.DEM maybe =DIST.LOC.DEM many =3p.ABS LK ittibeng i--ttibeng CV RDP hear because many people have heard (103.392) a'ado mineuwah а 'ado me--a--inuwah а many ST PRF LK RDP thing that many things (103.393) inetamen ad kastila ni hapon-i -initanem ni hapón =i at kastíla PRF CV plant GEN Japan =SPEC and spaniard were buried by the Japanese and by the Spaniards (103.394) kaya sid budi a sumesdep kayá =sid budi a sdep =3p.ABS want LK enter SO and that is why they want to penetrate (this land). (103.395) ad diya'yay awon mi budi a pesdepen sid diya'yay awón =mi budi a esdep -en =sid at pe-PV =3p.ABS and now not.exist =1pe.GEN want LK CAU enter Now we don't want to let them in (103.396)

kasi gul kasi =gul because =indeed because (103.397)

budimiinsi'amiselamakenabang-ibudi=miinsi'ámi=sélame'inabang=iwant=1pe.GENABS1pe=alsomake profit=SPECwe want to benefit (from these things) as well. (103.398)

in ngadden na o gul nen in ngadden =na =o =gul =nen ABS =already =1s.GEN =indeed =already As I said (103.399)

Diyabobo ad ti nana Inga, mina'a'alap ta ti at nana Inga me'e--inálap ta Diyabobo and OBL mother Dominga POT.AV PRF get LOC Dyabobo Nana Inga was able to find (some gold) in Diyabobo, (103.400)

mesmo a elan de mesmo a elan =de actual LK accompany =3p.GEN she was with them (103.401)

pero ginagawid de-i péro -in- gágawi =d =de =i but PRF do ==d =3p.GEN =SPEC but what they did, (103.402)

hapon sela yay hapon =séla =yay Japan =also =DIST.DEM.ABS these Japanese, (103.403) mina'a'inta sid me'e- -in- inta =sid POT.AV PRF see =3p.ABS they found (some gold) (103.404)

inesakay de ti elikopter-i -in- -e- sakay =de ti elikopter =i PRF *CV* load =3p.GEN OBL helicopter =SPEC and they loaded it onto a helicopter. (103.405)

ine'uli de -in- -e- uli =de PRF *CV* going home =3p.GEN They took it home, (103.406)

hangan diya'yay awon ina'tdan ded ti nana Inga hangán diya'yay awón =de =d -inatdán ti nana Inga not.exist =3p.GEN ==d PRF give someone OBL mother Dominga even now and until now they haven't given it back to Nana Inga. (103.407)

mina'a'alap sid ti duwa-i bar а álap =sid me'e--inti duwa =i а bar POT.AV PRF get =3p.ABS OBL two =SPEC LK

## They found two bars (103.408)

a gintoa gintoLK goldof gold, (103.409)

pero awon ded ina'tdan in be'es elan а péro awón =de =d -inatdán in be'es а elan but not.exist =3p.GEN ==d PRF give someone ABS old woman LK accompany de =de =3p.GEN but they did not give anything to the old lady that was with them (103.410)

tenti'sinaDiyabobo-itenti'sinaDyábobo=iOBLMED.LOC.DEMDyabobo=SPECwhen they were there in Diyabobo. (103.411)

kaya ti'sen kayá ti'sen so PROX.LOC.DEM **Now, (103.412)** 

siya 'enedmonde-isiyá 'endemón=i3sPROX.DEM.ABSfirst?=3p.GEN=SPECone of their priorities is (103.413)(lit. this is one of their priorities)

e'eppayongan ti many dam-i e'e- -p- páyong -an ti many dam =i OBL dam =SPEC to build a dam (103.414) (lit. they are building a dam)

pero si'ami awon mi talaga a budi péro si'ámi awón =mi talága a budi but 1pe not.exist =1pe.GEN naturally LK want **but we don't want it, of course. (103.415)**  kasi siyad la yay plano de-i а =d =la kasi =siyá =yay pláno =de =i а ==d =just =DIST.DEM.ABS plan =3p.GEN because =3s.ABS =SPEC LK '0 annolen annol -en =o know someone or something PV =1s.GEN This is one of their plans that I know of. (103.416)

in aduwan di'ami a Alta budi ded
in áduwan di'ámi a alta budi =de =d
ABS other 1pe.LOC LK Alta people want =3p.GEN ==d
Some of our fellow Alta have already agreed (103.417)

budi ded a pasdepan budi =de =d a pa- sdep -an want =3p.GEN =d LK to let them in (103.418)

para magkatrabaho sid para magka- trabaho =sid for =3p.ABS in order to have a job. (103.419)

me'una me'una say I said (103.420)

si'en hinomad langi si'én -in- homad =la =ngi 1s PRF obstacle =just =emphasis I am against it, (103.421) kong budi miyo kung budi =miyú if want =2p.GEN if you want it (103.422)

hangan i'issa' ipaglaba 'o hangán i'issá ipaglaba =o even alone fight =1s.GEN I will be the one to stop it (103.423)

kasi

kasi because

because (103.424)

may karapatan may karápatan have right we have the right (103.425)

may karapatan itam ti mudumudung-i may karápatan =itám ti mudu- mudúng =i have right =1pi.ABS OBL RDP mountain =SPEC to decide what happens to our land, (103.426)

pareparehas itam a may karapatan pare- paréhas =itám a may karápatan =1pi.ABS LK have right

and my right is the same as everyone else's. (103.427)

o sige, payagan miyo sid me'una o sige, payag -an =miyú =sid me'una or agreement LV =2p.GEN =3p.ABS say **Do as you please (103.428)**  pero si'en awon 'o budi péro si'én awón =0 budi not.exist =1s.GEN want but 1s but as for me, I don't want it. (103.429)

kasi kasi

because

because (103.430)

awon miyod la annolen awón =miyú =d =la annol -en not.exist =2p.GEN ==d =just know someone or something PV

## you don't know (103.431)

pangyayari-i yay =i peng- -yayari =yay ? RDP happen =SPEC =DIST.DEM.ABS

what is actually happening. (103.432)

kasi in uwah sid uwah =sid kasi in because ABS thing =3p.ABS

# Because (103.433)

siddina siddína MED.DEM.PL those (103.434)

budina sena a sumesdep-i а а budi =na sena a sdep =i LK want =3s.GEN also LK enter =SPEC who want to come in (103.435)

they will abandon us like shit. (103.439) ma'una pag minalapded kagustuhan de in а álap =de ma'uná' pag ma--in-=d in kagustuhan =de а ST PRF if ==d ABS =3p.GEN LK say get =3p.GEN alapen álap -en PV get I say, once they get what they want to get. (103.440) o diya'yay o diya'yay or now (lit. then) (103.441)

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### lawan de itam e' iwala di'aw etay а а láwan =de =itám =e' iwala а di'aw а etay abandon =3p.GEN =1pi.ABS =1s.ABS lose someone LK similar LK excrement

### pag mif ST PRF once they manage to get what they want (103.438)

ded pag minalap ina álap =de =d =iná -inget =3p.GEN ==d =MED.DEM.ABS

### LK AV happen you don't know what they want to happen, (103.437)

la

annolen

annol

in

-en in

budi de

budi =de

mangyari а mengа

awón =miyú =d =la not.exist =2p.GEN ==d =just know someone or something PV ABS want =3p.GEN

miyod

say

I say (103.436)

me'una

me'una

awon

si'etam

si'étam

1pi

## we will be the ones (103.442)

magmukhang kawawa itam mannen magmukhang kawawa =itám =mannen =1pi.ABS =again

## who suffer the consequences again (103.443)

kasi minalap ded in budi ded а alapen kasi álap =de m--in-=d in budi =de =d a álap -en because ST PRF ΡV get =3p.GEN ==d ABS want =3p.GEN ==d LK get if they get what they want. (103.444)

magmukhang kawawa itam mannen magmukhang kawawa =itám =mannen =1pi.ABS =again

We will suffer (103.445)

sidde me'una, masarap mannen te bilay siddé me'una masarap =mannen te biláy 3p say tasty =again NS life while they are the ones who have a nice life. (103.446)

a a LK **(103.447)** 

ti Antoniod mannen ti Antonio =d =mannen OBL =again

For example Antonio (103.448)

esdepennadmannenwadid'enesdep-en=n=d=mannenwadi=d'enenterPV=already==d=againPROX.DEM.ABSwanted to come to (103.449)

a lugar

a lugar

LK place

this place again (103.450)

pero si'amidmanneninomadlang-ididdepéro si'ámi=d=mannen-in--om-adlang=ididdébut1pe==d=againPRFAVimpede=SPEC3p.LOCbut we stopped them (103.451)

kasi

kasi

because

### because (103.452)

siyad man yad in balak na siyá =d =man =yay =d in bálak =na 3s ==d =contrast =DIST.DEM.ABS ==d ABS plan =3s.GEN he had the same plan. (103.453)

adsaka awonmidbudi atalagaatsaka awón=mi=dbudi atalágaand andnot.exist=1pe.GEN==dwant LKnaturallyAnd of course we did not want it. (103.454)

kasi mati ami kasi metíh =amí because dead =1pe.ABS **Even if we die, (103.455)**  a tiga ti'sen
a tiga ti'sen
LK from PROX.LOC.DEM
the ones who are from here, (103.456)

a a LK

a (103.457)

ti pagkasi ginamitan ded 'en -ingamit -an =de 'en ti pag kasi =d if LV =3p.GEN ==d PROX.DEM.ABS OBL because PRF use dilamita-i dilámita =i dynamite =SPEC for example if they used dynamite (103.458)

in pempapdo' sid pangwasak ti mudung-i а in pempapdo' =sid а pengwasa' ti mudúng =i ABS detonation =3p.ABS LK INST destruction OBL mountain =SPEC or other devices to blow up the mountains (103.459)

bisad la a bisa =d =la a not ==d =just LK it would not only be (103.460)

si'amid dla mati-i lahat si'ámi =d =dla metíh =i lahát 1pe ==d =only dead =SPEC all all of us here who would die (103.460) hanganBalermatiduldin-isidhangánBalédmetíh=duldín=i=sidevenBaler towndead==dnon-Alta person=SPEC=3p.ABSbut also up until Baler, the Tagalogs there would die as well (103.462)

awon te mabuway di'ami awón te ma- buway di'ámi not.exist NS ST remain 1pe.LOC and nothing would be left. (103.463)

dahil pagka dimmanan ni baguiyo-i a minsan dáhil pagká dinmanan ni bagiyo =i а minsan because when have passed through something GEN storm =SPEC LK occasion o'udden melakas 'udden melakás 0 ST or rain strengh

## Because when the occasional typhoons pass through (103.464)

wasak'eda'elanwasa'=en=da'elandestruction=PROX.DEM.ABS==dLKallthey destroy everything. (103.465)

annolen miyo annol -en =miyú know PV =2p.GEN You know (103.466)

bisa' man a bisa' =man a not =contrast LK that I am not (103.467)

bisa' man а ibbide metapang e' bidd -en mebisa' =man а itápang =e' PV ST not =contrast LK CV say courage =1s.ABS saying that I am brave, (lit. I am not saying that I am brave) (103.468)

bisa' man ibbide а а bisa' =man ibidd а -en a not =contrast LK CV say PV LK I am not saying that (103.469)

meba'it e' ba'it me-=e' ST kindness =1s.ABS I am kind either, (103.470)

awon 'od budi a ibbide man а awón budi a bidd =0 =d =man i--en a not.exist =1s.GEN ==d =contrast want LK CV say PV LK

I don't want to say that I (103.471)

ipe'ibut 'o ipeibut =0 ? CAU.CV =1s.GEN

mudúng

own (103.472)

mudung-i

=i mountain =SPEC

the mountain, (103.473)

pero talaga ipeglaba 'od Karapatan а la in laban =o péro talága а ipeg-=d =la in karápatan fight =1s.GEN ==d =just ABS right but naturally LK CAU but of course I want to fight for our rights, (103.474)

Karapatan miaAltakarápatan =miaaltaright=1pe.GENLKAlta peoplethe rights of the Alta people.(103.475)

pero in katribu sid péro in ka- tribu =sid but ABS =3p.ABS But the other members of my tribe, (103.476)

budide-iatalagabudi=de=iatalágawant=3p.GEN=SPEC LK naturallythey wantwhat they want is (103.477)

sumesdep para magkaroon ti maiwadded trabaho-i а maiwaddé -d a sdep para magkaro'on ti trabaho =i have =d LK enter for own OBL work =SPEC the outsiders to come in, so they can get a job. (103.478)

me'una me'una say I say (103.479)

normal na ina normal =na =iná normal =already =MED.DEM.ABS that it is normal (103.480)

ti issa-i a ta'o meghirap-i ti issa =i a tá'o mahirap =i OBL one =SPEC LK person poor =SPEC for a poor person. (103.481)

isay na ina di'etam peghihirap tami isay =na =iná di'étam peghihirap =tam =i be.at =already =MED.DEM.ABS 1pi.LOC suffering =1p.GEN =SPEC It is up to us (103.482)

maykanyakanyaetamaprincipiomaykanyakanyaétamaprinsipyohave1pi.ABSLKprincipleto stick to our principles (103.483)

ipayongtamsarili tam-iaabdei-páyong=tamsaríli =tam=iaabdeCVstand up=1p.GENself=1p.GEN=SPECLKbodyand to stand on our own two feet (103.484)

dinom'el dahil itam ti kahirapan-i dáhil d'el =itám ti -umkahirapan -in-=i because PRF AV big =1pi.ABS OBL adversity =SPEC because we grew up with adversity (103.485)

a hangan diya'yay ma'una mebilay itam sep la
a hangán diya'yay ma'uná' me- biláy =itám =sep =la
LK even now say ST life =1pi.ABS =still =just
and so far we are still alive. (103.485)

pansinen miyo pansin -en =miyú notice PV =2p.GEN Remember that (103.486)

ti ti OBL **(103.488)**  Ia'awnipanahon-iIa'awnipanahon=ilengthGENtime=SPECthrough the years (103.489)

hangan diya'yay mebilay itam sep la hangán diya'yay me- biláy =itám =sep =la even now ST life =1pi.ABS =still =just until now we are still alive, (103.490)

bakit dahilan ti uwah-i bakit dahilan ti uwah =i because OBL thing =SPEC

why have we been through so much? Because of our (103.491)

katangahan tamime'una e'katangahan =tam=ime'una =e'stupidity=1p.GEN=SPECsay=1s.ABSour stupidity, I said (103.492)

didde diddé 3p.LOC **to them. (103.493)** 

kasiawonitamwadimeghirapkasiawón=itámwadimeghirapbecausenot.exist=1pi.ABSyounger siblingdifficultWe will not be poor (103.494)

kong si'etam ay mesipag kung si'étam ay me- sipag if 1pi PM ST industriousness **if we are hardworking. (103.495)**  a a INTJ **aaaa (103.496)** 

anig ti tape'-i sid а ipembenta de aníg ti tape' =i =sid ipembenta =de а =SPEC =3p.ABS LK CAU.CV similarity OBL land ? sell =3p.GEN Like those lands that they have sold, (103.497)

anig ti'sina aníg ti'sina

similarity MED.LOC.DEM

like the ones there (103.498)

pag mamay'arid Alta-i man inad ni pag mamay'ari =iná alta =i =d =man =d ni if ==d =contrast =MED.DEM.ABS ==d GEN Alta people possessions =SPEC were property of the Alta. (103.499)

inebentad diya'yay ni de dila'i a Roberto i--inbenta =d =de diya'yay ni dila'i a PRF CV sell ==d =3p.GEN now GEN uncle LK They sold them to uncle Robert, (103.500)

a ama ni dila'i a Marc a ama ni dila'i a LK father GEN uncle LK **the father of uncle Marc. (103.501)** 

i'en a tape' i'én a tape' PROX.DEM LK land This land here. (103.501) pero péro

but

But (103.503)

Alta-i pag mamay'ari 'en ni а ninuno pag mamay'ari 'en ni alta =i ninuno а when possessions PROX.DEM.ABS GEN Alta people =SPEC LK ancestor that was a property of our Alta ancestors (103.504)

i'ina a tape'
i'ina a tape'
MED.DEM LK land
that land there (103.505)

diya'yay diya'yay now **but now, (103.506)** 

ti uldin-i kagustuhan man-i ni sid ti =i ni uldín kagustuhan =man =i =sid OBL =SPEC GEN non-Alta person =SPEC =3p.ABS =contrast because the Tagalog people wanted (103.507) (lit. because of the will of the Tagalog people)

a sidde megkaroon ti mebi'en-i

a siddé megkaroon ti mebi'en =i

LK 3p OBL near =SPEC

to be the ones to own the surrounding areas, (103.508)

pinalitan inad ti ded man begas palit -in--an =de =d =man =iná =d ti begas PRF LV =3p.GEN ==d =contrast =MED.DEM.ABS barter ==d OBL rice

nangi =na =ngi =already =emphasis they traded the Alta land for rice (103.509) (lit. they traded that for rice)

siyoktong syoktóng rice wine and rice wine (103.510)

kong asesenod la in inepalit de ten be'es kung aseséno =d =la in -in-palit =de ten be'es ==d =just ABS PRF whether whatever CV barter =3p.GEN OBL old woman and whatever else they traded it for with the old ladies (103.511)

minangibenta

mengi -in- benta AV PRF sell

who sold the land. (103.512)

kayaddiya'yay isaynendiddekayá=ddiya'yayisay=nendiddéso==dnowbe.at=already3p.LOCSo now it is their property (103.513)

awonnainateliboawón=na=inátelibonot.exist=already=MED.DEM.ABSNSthousandfor less than a thousand (pesos) (103.514)

a bayad na a báyad =na LK payment =3s.GEN in total. (lit. as a payment for it) (103.515)

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kong baga ina ay parsial kong baga =iná ay parsial actually =MED.DEM.ABS PM Basically, that was not a fair trade. (103.516)

diya diyá 3s.LOC (lit. to it) (503.517)

ina'dan ded la ti tatlo-i boti а а -in-=de =d =la ti tatló atdán =i а boti а PRF give someone =3p.GEN ==d =just OBL three =SPEC LK bottle LK siyoktong syoktóng rice wine They just gave three bottles of rice wine, (103.518)

ina'dan ded ti kilo begas-i а epat a 0 -inatdán =de =d ti =i kílo begas а epát a 0 PRF give someone =3p.GEN ==d OBL rice =SPEC LK four LK kilogram or limma limmá five five or six kilos of rice (103.519) (lit. they gave five or six kilos of rice)

asin, kape, asucal asin, kape, asúkal salt coffee sugar salt, coffee, sugar (103.520) o siyad la yay palit na-i o =siyá =d =la =yay palit =na =i ==d =just =DIST.DEM.ABS barter =3s.GEN or 3s =SPEC and that was the deal. (103.521) (lit. that was the deal for it)

minagingtiuldinnen-i-in-maging-tiuldín=nen=iPRFbecomeOBLnon-Alta person=already=SPECIt became property of the Tagalog (103.522)

awonnentiAlta-iawón=nentialta=inot.exist=alreadyOBLAlta people=SPECand not anymore to the Alta. (103.523)

tenuldininadtenuldín=iná=dOBLnon-Alta person=MED.DEM.ABS==dNow the Tagalog own (103.524)(lit. that now belongs to the Tagalog)

a oma a oma LK swidden

these farms (103.525)

a a LK which are (103.526)

ti'sinadmanparte-iinati'sina=d=manparte=i=ináMED.LOC.DEM==d=contrastside=SPEC=MED.DEM.ABSthere, on that side. (103.527)

adosenamaypegmamay'ari-iado=senamaypeg-mamay'ari-imany=PROX.LOC.DEMLKhaveManyused to own lands here, (103.528)

a Alta sela a alta =séla LK Alta people =also

Alta people too, (103.529)

pero

péro

but

But (103.530)

i'inaayeppayonganmitunursery-ii'inaayeC-páyong-an=mitinursery=iMED.DEMPMPRGstand upLV=1pe.GENOBL

that is where we are going to build a nursery. (103.531)

siyad ina engaddenan mi in а siyá =d =iná in eCngadden -an =mi а 3s ==d =MED.DEM.ABS ABS PRG name LV =1pe.GEN LK

That is what we call (103.532)

papunta ta Magdalenas papuntá ta Magdalenas bound for LOC Magadelnas the way to Magadelenas, (103.533)

um'ahon 'a uman-i um'ahon =a uman =i go up =2s.ABS DIST.SML.DEM =SPEC you go up this way (103.534) tapos sumsaidkad'atapos s- -um- saidkad =athen=2s.ABSthen continue straight (103.535)

siyadyayinnedi di'ansiyá=d=yayinNedi'di'an3s==d=DIST.DEM.ABSABSNedi'di'anand you will reach Nedi'di'an (103.536)(lit. and that is Nedi'di'an)

ina-i =iná =i =MED.DEM.ABS =SPEC (lit. that) (103.537)

pag isay sinamudung-iinapag isay sinamudúng=i=ináifbe.atMED.LOC.DEMmountain=SPEC=MED.DEM.ABSon that montain there (103.538)(lit. once you are on that mountain there)

apinenti'dan ni'ninaduwa-i( a mudung)apinenti'dan ni'nináduwa =ia mudúngLKbottomLPROX.DEM.GENtwo=SPECLK mountainat the lower part of the two mountains.(103.539)

tapos tapos then **Then (103.540)** 

um'ikod 'a -um- ikod =a AV turn =2s.ABS you turn, (103.541) tumtelde um'ikod Magdalenas selad а а t- -umtelde a -umikod a Magdalenas =séla =d 2s.ABS AV turn 2s.ABS Magadelnas =also ==d yay =yay =DIST.DEM.ABS

you keep going up and you will reach Magdalenas (103.542)

tapos

tapos

then

then (103.542)

um'aho'ad mannen -um- áhon a =d =mannen AV ascend 2s.ABS ==d =again

you go up again, (103.544)

menel de а siyad yay in angadenan elde ='a =siyá ngadden men-=d =yay in e--an AV ascension =2s.ABS =3s.ABS ==d =DIST.DEM.ABS ABS mi а =mi а =1pe.GEN LK you ascend, and that is what we call (103.545)

Magdalenas ad Lanaw Magdalenas at Lanaw Magadelnas and place nearby Diteki Magdalenas and Lanaw. (103.546)

ti'sina ta'po-i ina ti'sina ta'pó =i =iná MED.LOC.DEM summit =SPEC =MED.DEM.ABS

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#### There, on that summit, (103.547)

siyadgulinadinsengnan-isiyá=d=gul=iná=dinSingnan=i3s==d=indeed=MED.DEM.ABS==dABSSingnan=SPECthat is indeed Singnan (103.548)

siyadman'eninsiyá=d=man='enin3s==d=contrastPROX.DEM.ABSABSand that one there is (103.549)

mapolud

mapolud

Mapolud

Mapolud. (103.550)

i'i'e parte-i i'e i'i'é parte =i i'e LPROX.DEM side =SPEC PROX.DEM There, in that part (103.551)

papuntai'i'eamaytibagade'elpapuntái'i'éamaytibagade'elbound forLPROX.DEMLKhavelandslideLKbigover that way, where there is a big landslide (103.552)

siyadinainmapoludsiyá=d=ináinmapolud3s==d=MED.DEM.ABSABSMapoludthat there is Mapulud (103.553)

siyad 'en in Minero a mesmo siyá =d 'en in Minero a mesmo 3s ==d PROX.DEM.ABS ABS Minero LK actual that is the proper Minero. (103.554)

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mapolud

mapolud

Mapolud

Mapolud (103.555)

tapos

tapos

then

then (103.556)

Singnan Nedi'di'an singnan Nedi'di'an Singnan Nedi'di'an **Singnan, Nedi'di'an (103.557)** 

Magdalenas Lanaw Magdalenas Lanaw Magadelnas place nearby Diteki Magdalenas, Lanaw, (103.558)

siyad sidina a mudung siyá =d siddiná a mudúng 3s ==d MED.DEM.PL LK mountain

those are the names of these mountains. (103.559)

(lit. that is what these mountains are)

siyad man 'en in pe'ay sina project-i siyá =d =man ='en in peay sina project =i ==d =contrast PROX.DEM.ABS ABS CAU 3s go MED.LOC.DEM And this is the way to the project site. (103.560)

i'en a mudung i'én a mudúng PROX.DEM LK mountain This mountain, (103.561) papuntasenaproject-ipapuntásenaproject = ibound forPROX.LOC.DEMLKthat is the way to the projet site, (103.562)

i'ina i'ina MED.DEM (lit. that one) (103.563)

pero i'enmebi'en na'enpéro i'énmebi'en =na'enbutPROX.DEM near=alreadyPROX.DEM.ABSbut this one is quite close. (103.564)

kong ella'adenmomebi'enkung eC-la'ad-en=momebi'enifPRGwalkPV=2s.GENnearIf you walk there, it is close. (103.565)

kayadlamine'siyangulnengagawinikayadláme--in-siyan=gul=nengágawinihoweverSTPRFdrought=indeed=alreadydoGENHowever, the place got dry because of the actions of the (103.566)

mentitistis-i sid mentitistis =sid logger =3p.ABS loggers. (103.567)

minamin nen ta ado а ayuh ma--inmemin =nen ta ado а ayuh ST consumed =already LOC many LK tree PRF Many trees have disappeared, (103.568)

kaya mina'siyanneninwaget nakayá ma--in-siyan=neninwaget =nasoSTPRFdrought =alreadyABSwater=alreadyso the water dried up (103.569)

kaya uwadawonnentewagetkayá uwah=dawón=nentewagetsothing==dnot.exist=alreadyNSwaterand there is no more water.(103.570)

in bisamaywaget 'entenarawimbesamaywaget =entenárawinsteadLKhavewater=PROX.DEM.ABSOBLdayAs opposed to the times when there was water (103.571)

diya'yay awon nen diya'yay awón =nen now not.exist =already

## now there is no water anymore (103.572)

kasi minamin in dedde'el ayuh sid nen а kasi ma--inmemin =nen in de--dde'el a ayuh =sid because ST PRF LK tree =3p.ABS consumed =already ABS because the big trees were removed, (103.573)

a menbilay ti uwah-i a men- biláy ti uwah =i LK AV life OBL thing =SPEC the ones that provide (103.574)

waget waget water water. (103.575)

# 9. Glossary

## 9.1 Introduction

## 9.1.1 Sources of the words in this glossary

The present glossary contains approximately 2,400 entries, of which 1,300 are roots. The words listed come from different sources. As explained in §1.3, a first layer of words comes from two sets of previously collected materials: Vanoverberg (1937) and Reid (1987a). Both sets of data were collected by the authors by using prefabricated word lists and, to this point, I have only revised a part of them. The words that I have not yet verified carry the tags [*v*] and [*lar*] respectively, in order to be located and revised in the future. Currently, the glossary contains 42 words tagged as [*v*] and 242 as [*lar*]. A second layer of words comes from a 150-item wordlist that I collected during my third fieldtrip by asking the Alta to translate Tagalog words to Northern Alta. The translation of this wordlist was recorded with four different speakers and can be retrieved in sessions 22 - 25 (see §10.2).

The most extensive layer of words is the one we extracted from the corpus of texts that we annotated with ELAN, and more specifically from those we imported and glossed with FLEx. The process of interlinear morpheme glossing of a text in FLEx involves the addition of morpheme boundaries and provides the possibility of adding each glossed morpheme into the lexicon. Once these morphemes are incorporated, the software FLEx can recognize them automatically in new texts. Currently there are more than 100 minutes of glossed texts in FLEx, including sessions 76, 99 and 103, and also a part of session 93. Finally, an additional layer of words was introduced into the lexicon manually, and comes from the glossed examples appearing in Chapters §2 - 7. This layer also includes new words I came across when I watched the videos I had recorded or reviewed older elicited materials.

As Mosel (2011, p.6) points out, the method of translating wordlists has its flaws and should be complemented with the Active Eliciting method, a method in which "indigenous assistants are asked to create their own set of data without translating words or sentences". However, since this glossary is the result of a short-term documentation project, in which text collection and grammatical description where pressing concerns, it was only in August 2018 that we extracted the plant entries and asked the members of the speech community to add plant names. This task is currently being carried out with the assistance of the trainees (Maebell and Jennifer, §1.7.2.1) and is not yet complete.

## 9.1.2 Structure of the glossary

The glossary is subdivided in two main parts, the Alta-English glossary, and the reversal English-Alta index. All the elements in both parts are organized alphabetically.

The Alta-English glossary is organized using FLEx's hybrid mode, which is a combination of the root-oriented and the lexeme-oriented approaches. In this mode, both roots and derived lexemes are displayed as main entries, and in addition, derived lexemes are also displayed as subentries. Thus, if the reader wants to know the meaning of the word *mengated*, he can find the word listed under the letter *M*. In this case, the word entry shows the glossing translation 'to give' and also provides the form which it is derived (with the abbreviation *der. of* **áted**). In addition, a reader may directly recognize that *mengated* is a derived lexeme carrying a *meng*- prefix and the root *ated*, and thus could also find *mengated* listed as a subentry under the headword *ated* 'give'. We consider the hybrid mode of representing the lexical data as practical for the speech community, and can also be interesting for linguists as it provides an idea of the possible voice derivations of each root.

The reversal index was created by copying the English gloss of each Northern Alta word into the field Reversal form. The glosses were subsequently modified in order to have a more user friendly reversal index. For example the glossing the V-word *mengated* is 'to give'. But since most V-words have their English glossing starting with the particle "to", we decided to remove them. Thus if the user wants to know how to say *give* in Alta, it is possible to go directly to the letter G and find the Alta equivalents of *give*.

## 9.1.3 Content of an entry

Each entry contains a headword, which, as we have seen, may either be a root of a derived stem. The headword is followed by an abbreviation of the word class it belongs to. The classification of word classes in the glossary follows the one provided in Chapter §5 of this dissertation. A table of abbreviations of word classes is presented in the glossary in §10.2.6, and also appears in the full list of abbreviations of this dissertation (§10.1).

The next part of the entry is the English translation. When extracting a glossary from the lexical database FLEx displays the gloss of a word as the translation by default, unless a

definition is introduced in the definition field, in which case it is the definition that is displayed in the printed glossary. We have tried to keep the glosses as short as possible because glosses are used when carrying out interlinear glossing. Whenever we needed more words to express the meaning of an Alta word, we decided to introduce a longer translation in the 'definition' field, but kept an orienting English word in the field gloss. As an example of this issue, we have glossed the action-denoting root *an* with the single gloss *eat*, but in the definition field we translate it as the *act of eating*, which is what appears in the glossary as a translation. We have tried to be consistent in following this and other conventions, all of which are listed on Table 9.1 below.

Type of word	Word class abbreviation	Translation (Gloss / Definition)
action denoting root	u	<b>act of +</b> meaning of the root in gerundive form. (ex: <i>the act of eating</i> )
V-word	v	to + infintive (ex: to eat)
Stative V- word	st	English adjective
place name	u	Alta place name
plant or animal name	u	kind of plant / kind of animal
Alta person word	u	name of Alta person
personal Pronoun	pron	gloss (see §10.2.1)
Demonstrative	dem	gloss (see §10.2.2)
Article	art	gloss (see §10.2.3)
Interjection	intj	<b>gloss</b> (see §10.2.6)

Table 9.1 Some conventions followed when adding English translations to the entries

An entry also indicates the donor language in the case of items borrowed from other languages. The glossary contains about 230 words that are most likely borrowed from Tagalog, 150 Spanish words and 22 English words. The way in which Alta has borrowed from Spanish and English is unclear, but it is most likely that these words were borrowed through Tagalog or Ilokano. An entry may also indicate the source of the word (or the name of the person who collected it, as we have seen in §9.1.1), and in the case of roots, it also includes the words that are derived from the root (as explained in §9.1.2).

Finally, the entries belonging to the semantic field of plants contain additional information due to the fact that we recently became aware that the Alta have a wide knowledge of plants, and therefore considered the option of compiling a plant mini-dictionary. For this reason, some plant entries in this glossary include an English translation of a recorded description of the plant in Alta (sessions 93, 94, 95), and may also include the Alta original text and the reference number of the description in the corpus of recording. Some plant names also include the scientific name, which requires further verification with a plant specialist. As other semantic fields of the lexical database, the plants have semantic field tagging (with the code 1.5 - Plant). In the future, the entries carrying this tag can be selected and exported in order to compile a thematic mini-dictionary. However, as pointed in §9.1.1, this is still an ongoing task.

As for the entries in the reversal index, each entry is headed by the reversal form in English, and it is followed by the translation to Northern Alta and the word class to which the Northern Alta form belongs to.

### 9.1.4 The FLEx lexical database and the printed glossary

This printed glossary was extracted from the Northern Alta lexical database that we have built up with the software Fieldworks Language Explorer (FLEx), developed by the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL). The data in the FLEx lexical database can be configured in order to be exported as a Word document (in XHTML format), or as a dictionary document (through Pathway software). The configuration options allow the user to select which information from the lexical database will be extracted to the glossary and under which formats. Thus, although this glossary is a printed version of the lexical database, it does not contain all of the information included in the database.

In addition to the information provided in the glossary, the FLEx lexical database includes photos for a number of plant entries, semantic domains for 760 words, and reconstructed forms for 200 words, which were extracted from Blust and Trussel's Austronesian Comparative Dictionary (2010 - ongoing). Although neither the glossary nor the lexical database contains example sentences, examples can be found through searches in the corpus of ELAN texts.

## 9.1.5 Problems and limitations of this glossary

#### 9.1.5.1 The glosses in the lexicon and in the grammar

A minor difference between the abbreviations of the lexicon and the grammar is the fact that the abbreviations of word classes appear as lower cases in the lexicon, while in the grammar the appear in capital letters. For example, Stative words (§7.5) are glossed with the abbreviation *ST* in the grammar but as *st* in the lexicon. As a solution to this problem, both glosses appear on the same line in the table of abbreviations (Table 10.1), separated by a slash: *ST/st* 

#### 9.1.5.2 Orthography

The orthography used in this glossary follows the practical orthography described in §2.4 and used in the corpus of ELAN annotated recordings. In addition to these rules, and given that the position of the stress syllable in a word cannot be predicted, we considered that it would be useful for readers to know the location of the stressed syllable in an Alta word. For this reason we decided to add an acute accent over the syllable nucleus. The problem here is a matter of consistency, given that not all words show this information.

On the other hand, the words that come from previously collected materials (see §9.1.1) use different spelling systems. Since we were not sure of how to adapt them to the current orthography, we decided to leave them as they appear in the source.

Finally, a number of words are spelled with capital letters, these include two main subtypes of U-words, place names and person names.

### 9.1.6 Future plans for the glossary and lexical database

At this point, the vocabulary appearing in this glossary is limited to collected wordlists and to the words that I imported from FLEx texts during the process of adding interlinear morpheme glossing. However, as we have seen, these methods have not been complemented with other methods such as Active Eliciting. In the future, if the host university provides computers to the trainees of this documentation project, the community will have the opportunity to expand the vocabulary autonomously with the collaboration of the trainees, who have been trained to add words to the glossary. As explained in §9.1.1, the trainees are currently working on the expansion of plant names, but they will be working on paper until I receive permission to donate part of the documentation material (including the trainees' laptops) to the community.

In order to give priority to text collection and grammatical analysis, in-depth semantic analysis has not yet been carried out as part of this documentation project and was left for the future. For this reason, the reader may find in the reversal index that a number of words such as *chop, boil* or *dirt* show two or three Alta counterparts, each of them with a different root. To this point the semantic contrasts between these different counterparts has not been investigated and thus require future research.

Similarly, other relations between words need further research in the future. To this point, the glossary only treats a limited number of forms as homonyms (for example the Predicate Marker *ay* and the Interjection *ay*, or the 3s.GEN *na* and the Adverb *na* 'already') and treats most words with the same shape and different meaning as cases of polysemy). This can be observed in entries in which multiple word classes and senses are listed under the same headword. In addition, the current glossary only contains limited information on semantic relations between words. These relations can be introduced in the future, since FLEx allows to indicate synonymy, antonymy, hyponymy or hypernymy and even customized relations by using the field "Lexical Relations".

Finally, a better version of this glossary would contain example sentences, showing the reader how to use a specific word in context. The entries of the glossary and the lexical database do not contain such examples. However, FLEx allows to check words in context by right clicking in a specific word and choosing the option "show entry in concordance". Another possibility of finding words in context is by running searches in the ELAN corpus of annotated texts. It is by using these methods that we have detected most of the examples presented in this grammar.

## 9.1.7 List of Abbreviations in the glossary

Table 9.2 presents the abbreviations used in the glossary. A number of these abbreviations are specific to the software FLEx and do not appear elsewhere in this dissertation. For the sake of clarity, we present these abbreviations in isolation in the table below. In addition, a complete table of abbreviations in this dissertation is provided in Appendix A.

Table 9.2 Table of abbreviations of the glossary

Abbreviation	Meaning	
acw	affixed content word	
adv	Adverb	
art	Article	
coordconn	Coordinate Conjunction	
dem	Demonstrative	
der. of	derivative of	
discconn	discourse connective	
exist	Existential	
fr.var of	free variant of	
ifx	infix	
[ilk]	Ilokano borrowing	
int	Interrogative Pronoun	
intj	Interjection	
[jen]	word collected by trainee Jennifer Marques	
[lar]	word extracted from Reid (1987a)	
lk	Linker	
МР	minimal pair	
n	noun / U-word	
neg	Negator	
pfx	prefix	
pl	plural	
pl.m	Plural Marker	
pm	Predicate Marker	
prep	Preposition	
pron	personal Pronoun	
say. of	saying of	
sfx	suffix	
[sp]	Spanish borrowing	

st	Stative word
subordconn	Subordinate Conjunction
[tag]	Tagalog borrowing
v	verb / V-word
[v]	word extracted from Vanoverberg (1937)

## 9.2 Northern Alta Glossary

## 9.2.1 Northern Alta – English Glossary

a1 lk Linker particle a3 intj interjection **a-** pfx content word prefix -a- ifx RDP =a pron 2s.ABS fr. var. **a2** a'a' {fr. var. of aká'} a'ána' u children (der. of **ána'**) a'ángas u boyfriend, girlfriend a'áyuwan u grove, forest (der. of ayúh) aba! intj Interjection ababáyo u wound on hands abágan u barking of a dog abanatú'an u Cabanatuan a'báng u act of climbing •a'bangen v to climb something •uma'báng v to climb **a'bangen** v to climb something (der. of a'báng) abantáyan v to guard something (der. of **bantáy**) abdé' u body abdét u footprint •abdetán v to mark somewhere

#### Аa

abdetán v to mark somewhere (der. of abdét) abé u mat [v] abó u 1. hearth 2. ashes [lar] abogádo u lawyer [sp] ábut u act of reaching •umábut v to reach abuwedán u sandy place (der. of **buwéd**) aC- {fr. var. of eC-} pfx PRG ada'at u act of standing up a'dan {fr. var. of atdán} adánayan u relative fr. var. wáyay •pet'adánayan u relatives ádat u thistle of the mountains "We call this plant the Thistle of the Mountains. We sometimes plant and harvest it, since it is quite easy to grow. Its roots can survive. As it is sharp, it can cause wounds on the ankles." addan u poor addyó u far addyos! intj Interjection [sp]

adé! intj Interjection aded nen di! intj Interjection adidíno adv wherever adíno int where adlang u act of impeding ádo u much, many adóy! intj Interjection adoya! intj Interjection adútay u abaca [lar] áduwan u other, different adyan u location, position agád adv immediately [tag] •ka'ágad adv right away ágap u promptness, quickness •me'ágap st quick age- pfx RDP agél u kind of plant ágep u act of rescuing •manágep v to be rescued •penágep u rescue agtáy u liver ahéno int what fr. var. aséno áhon u act of ascending [tag] •um'ahon v to go up aidí inti Interjection aká' u older sibling fr. var. a'a' •pet'ákan u siblings akála v to believe akásya u acacia tree [tag] [lar] akkáw intj Interjection akógunan u hideout akúyog u friend [v] ala'ala u act of remembering •ipa'ála'ala v to remind alabingat u kind of fish alága u care [tag] álak u wine [tag] alakalakán u back of the knee [tag] álang u act of coming from somewhere •umálang v to come from álangan u abnormal, uncertain [tag]

Alangyán u Katmon [Dillenia philippinensis] álap u act of getting alápen v to get something •ma'álap v to be able to obtain •mengálap v to get pengálapan acw source of income alápen v to get something (álap) alapnít u bat alápowan u 1. grandson 2. grandfather álat u act of biting •aláten v to bite something aláten v to bite something (der. of álat) albí u mercy, compassion [lar] •me'albí st compassionate albógan u west [lar] aldèn u stairway, ladder [lar] alébangbang u butterfly alé'en u wild cat alekabuk u dust [lar] alénuh; anínuh u shadow [lar] aléwi u left fr. var. awili ali u act of coming •umáli v to come alibaba' u drivel, drool [lar] alí'sap u act of forgetting aliyo' u act of looking for, searching •aliyo'én v to search something ·men'alíyo v to search •mengáliyo' v to seek •penmangaliyo acw making a living aliyo'én v to search something (der. of alíyo') alloh u pestle for rice [lar] aló' u act of offering fr. var. alok •alo'an v to make an offer to someone

•ialo' v to offer something alo'an v to make an offer to someone (der. of aló') alób u 1. odor 2. kiss •aloban v to kiss someone •áloben v to smell something aloban v to kiss someone (der. of alób) alóban u sheath for bolo [lar] alóbasa u pumpkin [sp] áloben v to smell something (der. of **alób**) alok {fr. var. of aló'} alta u 1. person 2. Alta language 3. Alta people Alteia u falls nearby Diteki áludu' u act of hunting mengáludu v to hunt •pengáludu' acw hunting material álun u wave [lar] **=am** {fr. var. of **=amyú**} amá u father •pet'áma u father and children ama'u u fist aménen v to consume something (der. of amin) =amí pron 1pe.ABS amin act of consuming aménen v to consume something •memin st consumed •minámin v to have run out •mináminèn st consumed ámo u boss [sp] amóti u sweet potato [sp] ampalayá u wild cucumber amúl u gnat amúti a ayúh u sweet potato [ lpomoea Batatas] "If you wait for four months it will bear many fruits. Sometimes we plant it. Its leaves are also edible. You can cook the leaves or eat them raw. The fruits are also edible, if you peel them and boil them in a pot with water. The fruit is called Amúti." =amyú pron 2p.ABS

fr. var. =am an u act of eating •anén u cooked rice, food •e"anén u food •mengán v to eat •menpa"an v to feed -an ??? > v sfx LV **=an** adv is said to ána' u child •a'ána' u children •anna' u children •apapa"ana' u infant •iyaná' v to be born •men'aná' v to breed aná' a ba'ík u baby anáy u termite anén u cooked rice, food (der. of an) anén ni kuníhu u rabbiťs foot fern [Davallia Solida] "The leaves of this plant can be used to feed the rabbits. If you chop them with a knife, and place them in a sack, you can feed the rabbits in your farm." angán {fr. var. of hangán} coordconn even angán papéno adv no matter how anges u act of breathing anggú u kind of berry fruit [ien] ángin v to go somewhere áni u act of harvesting aníg 1. u similarity 2. subordconn like •anígen v to imitate someone •umanig v to be like anígen v to imitate someone (der. of aníg) ánim u six [tag] anito u spirit, ghost aniyúlan u coconut plantation (der. of **niyúl**) ánkop u moral lecture anna' u children (der. of ána') [lar] annólen v to know someone or something (der. of **nnol**) anod u current of water

•me'anód st flooded miní'anúd st carried by current **anompan** int why anón int why ánop u act of hunting •mengánup v to hunt antíng u fear •me'antíng st affraid antipára u goggles [sp] apa'asan u next morning apálya u kind of plant apapa"ana' u infant (der. of ána') apárato u device apát u four fr. var. epát apat'ákan u sibling apduh u gall [lar] apelído u family name [sp] apésa u cousin •pet'apésa u cousins apet u act of sticking •mepét st stuck, glued api u act of oppressing [tag] ·api'apíhan u oppressed •ka'apíhan u oppression api'apíhan u oppressed (der. of api) apíd u plant louse apítti u short aplusèn v to rob [lar] **Apó** u Alta deity apó u 1. grandson 2. grandparent nidyapo u grandparents (GEN.pl) •niyápo u grandparent (GEN) •tidyápo u grandparents (ABS.pl) •tiyápo u grandfather (ABS) apódan v to hurry up apongo' u act of putting [sp] apos u act of embracing apóy u 1. fire 2. wood apúl u lime [lar] ara'an u hundred áral u act of studying

aranásan u experience fr. var. **karanasan** áraw u day [tag] aré! intj Interjection arína u flour [sp] ása u dependent aságan u floor [lar] asáhan v to rely on [tag] asáinment u homework [eng] asáng u gills asáwa u husband, wife [tag] ·petsásawa u couple áse u act of placing •iyáse v to place something aséno {fr. var. of ahéno} aseséno pro-form whatever asín u salt [tag] asó u dog •pengasuhan acw hunting ground asó' u smoke •me'ásu' v to smoke •um'asu' v to be smoking assinúken u hiccough [lar] asúkal u sugar [sp] asúl u blue [sp] at coordconn and átang u offering to the gods [tag] atát u bark, skin atdán v to give, provide, pay, add to someone or something (der. of áted) fr. var. a'dan áted u act of giving •atdán v to give, provide, pay, add to someone or something •mengáted v to give •pa'atdan u loan atép u roof [lar] ati u act of dying •metíh st dead •papati v to kill atólangan u son-in-law atsaka coordconn and also

•men'áral v to learn, to study

•pen'aral u study, studying

atse di intj Interjection

attetút u farting plant [Lantana Camara] "If you smell this plant, it can be quite malodorous. It smells like a fart, but it can be used as medicine for cough. If you have sore throat or phlegm, you can make a necklace with the stem and leaves, wrap it around your neck and wear it." a'tul u half (der. of etúl) atulung u slave [lar] áwad u act of reaching awádan v to give something awádan v to give something (der. of **áwad**) awáyan u bamboo awili {fr. var. of aléwi} u left hand awón exist not.exist •men'awon v to to abandon ay1 pm Predicate Marker ay2 intj Interjection ay3 u act of going •i'ay v to bring someone somewhere •inay v to have gone •ináyan v to go somewhere •ume'áy v to go ay di! intj Interjection ay nakó intj Interjection [tag] ayán v to live, dwell [lar] aydi intj Interjection ay'ó intj Interjection áyud u hammock ayúh u 1. tree 2. wood a'áyuwan u grove, forest •me'i'ayuh v to collect firewood •men'ayúh v to cut trees, to log ayús u order ayúsen v to arrange something ayúsen v to arrange something (der. of ayús) Βb

-b- ifx RDP
ba'ba' u frog
bába u lowness [tag]

babág u quarrel baba'ik u very little, small (der. of **ba'ík**) badíl u gun [eng] •badílen v to gun something down badílen v to gun something down (der. of **badíl**) bádo u t-shirt •menbádo v to wear bága' u ember [lar] MP bagá'. bagá' u lungs [lar] bagal u slow [lar] bag'ang u molar tooth [lar] bágay 1. subordconn when , in order to, during, thus 2. *u* thing [tag] bagíyo u storm, typhoon [tag] bágo u new, fresh [tag] menbágo v to change •pembabágo u change **bago'óng** u shrimp or fish paste [tag] Bagyá u name of Alta elder bahaghári u rainbow [tag] [lar] bahála u responsability, charge [tag] **bahin** u act of sneezing [tag] [lar] ba'ík u small, few, young •baba'ik u very little, small •bebba'ík u young ba'it u kindness •mebá'it st kind baká adv maybe, if [tag] **bákal** u iron [tag] bakbak u down baklás u act of uprooting, detaching bákud u fence [tag] pengbákud acw material used to build a fence bal u loincloth, g-string •me'ebál v to wear the G-string 'bal' •menbál v to wear G-string bálak u plan, idea [tag] baldé u bucket [sp]

Baléd u Baler town balegbég u kind of lizard =balí 1. adv expresses discovery 2. so balíkat u shoulder Balíti u Balete tree bálo 1. u new 2. subordconn before **balsah** u raft [sp] [lar] banagán u lobster **bandá** u side, direction [sp] bangká u boat, canoe [sp] bangkó u bench, chair [sp] bangkók u Bangkok tree bantáy u act of guarding abantáyan v to guard something menbantáy v to guard bánuwan u 1. market 2. town bao'o'úl u turtle **barangáy** u barangay **báryo** u village [sp] bása u act of reading [tag] menbása v to read basáw u outside basé'ot u monitor lezard bási u kind of wine basi'lang u word related with a ritual báso u glass [sp] básta adv just, simply [sp] bastós u rude [sp] =bat adv interrogative Adverb batá'an u slave [lar] batangal u kind of berry fruit [ien] bátay u base baté' u act of writing •menbate' v to write **bati** u greeting [tag] batóg u barking of a dog **ba'úl** u coconut shell [tag] báwad u every **báwal** u act of forbidding **báwang** u garlic [tag] bayábas u guava tree báyad u payment [tag] báyaw u brother-in-law [tag] baybáy u sea

bayé' u species of tiny fish báyolet u violet [eng] **bayúh** u act of crushing with a mortar •menbayúh v to crush, to pound be'a' u bow bebba'ík u young (der. of **ba'ík**) be'és u 1. old woman 2. wife begás u husked rice bele- pfx RDP belí u house •binalebbelí u group of houses •menbeli v to build a house beló u widow, widower [v] belón u provisions •menbelón v to take provisions on a trip •pengbelón acw food used as provision bélúh u widow, widower [lar] bènèg u buttocks [lar] benéng u river bèngáh u water jar [lar] benglé u 1. middle 2. deep sea **benta** u act of selling [sp] bentiladór u fan [sp] beráso u arm [sp] bérde u green [sp] besbes u kind of Alta food béses u time, ocasion [sp] beta'an v to split [lar] betláy u act of carrying •betláyen v to carry on shoulder betláyen v to carry on shoulder (der. of betláy) bètu' u nape of neck [lar] betúh u stone, rock •ebbetú'an u river, place full of stonesn bid u act of saying •biddán v to scold someone •bidden v to tell someone •ibbide v to tell something •me'ibidde v to be able to say something

 penbiddán acw advice, reprimand biddán v to scold someone (der. of **bid**) bidden v to tell someone (der. of bid) bí'en u proximity ·bi'nán v to approach something •mebi'en st near bí'et u lazyness •mebí'et st lazy bigkisen v to tie in a bundle [lar] biglá adv suddenly [tag] **bihíra** adv rarely [tag] bílang u 1. act of counting 2. as, by way of bi'lat boa bila'uh u winnowing basket [lar] biláy u life •ibilay v to raise someone •ikabilay u source of income mebilay st alive bíli u act of buying **bilóg** u circle **bilut** u act of rolling into a cylindrical shape bimbí' u aunt binalebbelí u group of houses (der. of **belí**) bi'nán v to approach something (der. of **bí'en**) bine' u step bingáw u harelip [lar] **binhí** u seed for planting bísa neg no, not **bisa bat?** isn't it? **bisíta** u visitor, guest [sp] biskál u string, rope bitélen u hungry (der. of bitíl) bithay u sieve, sift [lar] bitíl u hunger •bitélen u hungry bit'ing u ankle bitón u star

[lar] bitsín u vetsin [tag] bitú'an u intestines **biyáhe** u trip, travel [sp] bla' u act of dividing •bla'én v to divide something bla'én v to divide something (der. of **bla'**) blóngay u balobo [ien] **blu** u blue [eng] bo' u hair feather **bobóng** u backside bol u knee bóla u ball [sp] bólpen u ball pen [eng] bónes u act of wrestling •menbones v to wrestle bósis u voice [sp] [lar] **bóte** u bottle [sp] **botones** u button [sp] brawn u brown [eng] bu'ás u act of clearing bu'sán v to open something bubúng u household buddé' u blossom •memuddé v to blossom •menbuddé' v to blossom budí v to want, to like •budí ta'a l love you •budin u love penbudí acw love budí ta'a l love you (der. of **bud**í) budin u love (der. of **budí**) [lar] bugáwen v to drive away [lar] **búhay** u life [tag] bú'ig u bunch buklat u act of opening buklul u tumor [lar] buksán v to open something [tag] bukungbúkung u ankle [lar]

búlak u cotton [lar] bulaklák u flower •bulaklakan u flowered bulaklakan u flowered (der. of **bulaklák**) [lar] bulallá u kind of fruit similar to rambutan [ien] bulán u 1. moon 2. month bulángen u monkey bulát u blind bulí u 1. buttocks 2. anus [v] buliting u sty in one's eye [lar] **búlto** u pack, bundle [sp] Buluy u place within the Alta world bumbula u bubble [lar] bumbulús v to flow [lar] **bumbu'u** v to constitute bunáy u egg, roe bunbunan u fontanelle [lar] bungaw u testicle bungótung u wild pig bunsó u youngest child bus u lezard busádih u tumor bu'sán v to open something (bu'ás) but u act of throwing •ibút v to throw something away •minébut st lost butág u areca nut butíl u lie •mebútil st lie, false •menbutíl v to lie buting u kind of marine fish butlíg u cyst •butligbutlig u covered with cysts butligbutlig u covered with cysts (der. of **butlíg**) butól u seed of fruit butu' u kidney [lar]

bu'ut u act of separating •ibu'út v to set something aside buwag u act of leaving **buwáy** u remain, leftover buwáyah u crocodile buwéd u sand [v] •abuwedán u sandy place buybúy u broom Сс C- v pfx RDP **=Ce** adv already CVCV- pfx RDP D d -d- ifx RDP =d adv aspectual particle da subordconn since da'ep u act of catching meda'ép v to be able to cactch •menda'ép v to catch dagdag u act of adding [tag] •dagdagán v to add to something dagdagán v to add to something (der. of dagdag) dagís u moutain rat dagmáng u act of stumbling •mendagmáng v to stumble dagté' u sap of a tree [lar] dáhil subordconn because, thus [tag] dahilan prep because dahilan prep because [tag] (der. of dáhil) Dakyapin u Alta person noun dalám u night, evening, late •dalamdalam adv every night dalamdalam adv every night (der. of dalám) dalampasígan u shore, seashore [lar] dalát u sea dalíri u finger [tag] dalmèt u weight [lar] dam1 u dam [eng] dam2 u act of borrowing damét u hand

·dametdamét u hands dametdamét u hands (der. of damét) dammanol v to study [lar] damó u grass damólag u act of chasing [tag] damólagen v to chase something damólagen v to chase something (der. of damólag) [lar] damóng makahiyá u kind of plant [Mimosa Pudica] "This plant is used during All saint's Day. Some people paint the leaves and give them the appearance of a flower, then they place them on the graves. The decorated plant can be sold for 10 pesos a piece. The root can be used as medicine to treat the bleeding caused by a miscarriage." dangkal u span of 8 inches dápat v must, should [tag] dapdáp u indian coral tree dastér u dress dat u 1. act of reaching 2. act of experiencing 3. act of guiding •madat v to be able to reach daténg u act of arriving •dumaténg v to arrive •pangadaténg u arrival dáti adv originally, previously [tag] da'út u act of sharing •da'útan u share with someone •menda'út v to share da'útan u share with someone (der. of da'út) dáya' u act of cheating [lar] dayámih u rice straw [lar] dáyaper u diaper [eng] dayó u act of visiting [tag] •dayúhan u outsider, foreigner •dumáyo v to visit dayúhan u outsider, foreigner [tag] (der. of dayó) de- pfx RDP

=de pron 3p.GEN debbelew u opposite side debdí u girl debúy u pig dedde'len v to enlarge (der. of **de'él**) deddiyán u 1. old object 2. previous de'él u big •dedde'len v to enlarge •de'len v to grow de'ép u act of hunting delán u road, way delawá u two de'len v to grow (de'él) delikádo u critical, delicate demét u contest demó u 1. first 2. eldest child •medemo st be first •pa'idemówan acw first, primary demót u greedy, glutton dengét u dirt depóg u carabao di inti Interjection di'ám pron 2p.LOC di'ámi pron 1pe.LOC di'amiyú pron 1p.LOC Dianawan u name of a Barangay di'aw u similar di'áw pron 2s.LOC dibáyder u divider Dibbanawan u Alta place name Dibbulúwan u Alta place name **Dibut** u Dibut barangay diddé pron 3p.LOC fr. var. didde': di'de di'en pron 1s.LOC di'étam pron 1pi.LOC digdíg u next to Dikíldit u Alta place name diláh u tongue dilá'i u uncle dilámita u dynamite [sp] diláw u yellow Dildil u name of Alta elder dilig u act of watering plants •pendiligen acw watering of the plants

dilód u downstream dilus u act of bathing •mendílus v to bathe Dimananglá u Alta place name Dimáni u Alta place name Dimasalan u Alta place name **Dimasingay** u Alta place name Dimaya'an u Alta place name dinát v 1. to reach 2. to see dingáto u upstream dingding u wall dinmanan v to have passed through something (der. of dman) di'omano it is said dipá' u phantom Dipacúlao u Alta place name dipáning u the other side diplét u dirt •dípleten v to make dirty mediplét st dirty dípleten v to make dirty (der. of diplét) disálad u 1. inside 2. under •ipadisalad v to put something under something else •medísalad st deep diskárga u unload ditáh u devil Tree [Ditáh Alstonia Scholaris] "I'in man Ditáh, kung a ngo'an mi 'in, dahil kumkatas siya mapoti-i. Obra siya ti talengo-i o kaya in melukmat a kukúh ipateg doon na siya a umansay, in kukú ah ma'eg'ang, siyad vay in mensoli. Soliyan na in uwah ha." (95.134) "Ditáh is how we call this plant, as its juice is white. It can be used for wounds or for example if a fingernail is removed, you can cure the remaining part with the juice that is released by the stem, and the nail will grow again. " "Obra siya ti Malaria-i in katas na. In ulit na sepsepen mo siya, obra siya a inomen hela, pag inilagam ti waget-i. Palboten mo in waget, obrad siya a inomen. Herbal hela siya." (95.142) "It's juice can also be used for Malaria. You

can suck the bark, and you can also drink it, after boiling it with water. It is also a medicinal herb." Ditá'ilin u name of a Barangay where the Alta lived in the past (Maria Aurora) Dite'i u Alta place name Ditólag u Alta place name Ditumabo u Alta place name diwánan u right diyá pron 3s.LOC =dla adv only dman u act of passing •dinmanan v to have passed through something •dumman v to pass doktór u physician [sp] doon u leaf dóse u twelve dpen u act of reaching •edpenén v to reach something dton u act of placing •idtón v to place something du- pfx RDP dugsún u act of linking duma'el v to flood dumaténg v to arrive (der. of daténg) dumáyo v to visit (der. of dayó) dumman v to pass (der. of **dman**) dumu'el u birch [lar] Dupínga u Dupinga river du'ut u firewood •du'útan v to feed the fire du'útan v to feed the fire (der. of du'ut) dúwa u two pengadwá adv secondly dúyan {fr. var. of indáyon} **Dyábobo** u place in Diteki, by the river Dyáned u Alta place name dya'yay 1. adv now 2. adv today 3. discconn then fr. var. ya'yay dyós u god [sp]

#### Еe

e- v pfx allomorph of i-=e' pron 1s.ABS e"anén u food (der. of an) ebbetú'an u river, place full of stonesn (der. of **betúh**) ebut u act of losing •me'ébut v to disappear ebút u hole fr. var. ubut eC- pfx progressive aspect prefix fr. var. aCedád u age [sp] eddén u load ·eddenán v to carry something eddenán v to carry something (der. of eddén) edét u 1. garbage 2. underbrush edpenén v to reach something (der. of **dpen**) edsáng u act of lying down •edsangán u place for lying down •ipa'edsang v to lay something down •umedsáng v to lie down edsangán u place for lying down (der. of edsáng) edúng u nose e'élan u group, union eg'ang u act of leaving ·eg'ángen v 1. to remove something 2. to quit or leave something •ma'eg'ang v to be able to quit pa'eg'áng v to have (some definite thing) removed (by somebody) umeg'áng v to depart, to leave eg'ángen v 1. to remove something 2. to quit or leave something (der. of eg'ang) egém u ant egét u intestines [lar] egúng u roaring élan u 1. act of accompanying 2. spouse •pet'élan u couple of companions elán u all elikopter u helicopter [eng]

elseng u act of looking •elsengán v to look at something elsengán v to look at something (der. of **elseng**) elsotan u way through (der. of **Isot**) elwás u act of crossing •iyelwás v to take something across •umelwás v to cross emán u betel chew [lar] •pen'eman acw betel chew practice émanguh u crab [lar] émit u kind of fruit [ien] -en ??? > v sfx PV =en dem PROX.DEM.ABS =éna {fr. var. of =iná} dem MED.DEM.ABS èná u pus [lar] epát {fr. var. of apát} eropláno u airplane [sp] eskwélahan u school [sp] essván u place et- pfx RDP étaleng u ilongot tribe etay u excrement, residue etlén u act of swallowing •etlenán u throat •iyetlén v to swallow something etlenán u throat (der. of etlén) etteng {fr. var. of tetteng} ettút u act of farting etugèn v to escort etúl u cut, chop •a'tul u half ewwádi u siblings (der. of wádi') Ff falls u fall five u five Gg -g- ifx RDP -ga- ifx RDP

gágawi 1. u act of doing 2. caused by 3. u effect •gágawin v to do something megagawi v to be able to do something •pengágawi acw task, making gágawin v to do something (der. of gágawi) gagsa include galámay u finger [v] galang u respect igalang v to respect someone galáw u game, contest •mengálaw v to play galís u ringworm gamas u act of weeding plants •gamasan v to weed a land mengamás v to weed pengamás acw tool for weeding gamasan v to weed a land (der. of gamas) gambul u act of loosen the soil gámit u tool, personal things [tag] •gamítan v to use something gamítan v to use something (der. of gámit) gamót u medicine [tag] •menpagamot v to cure gandá u beauty •meganda st beautifull ganít u taro gapang u act of crawling gapangan v to crowl somewhere •gumápang v to crawl gapangan v to crowl somewhere (der. of **gapang**) gapúèn u bind [lar] gárden u act of gardening, garden [eng] gátas u milk gaté' u coconut milk •gate'an v to cook with coconut milk gate'an v to cook with coconut milk (der. of gaté') gaya' u act of preparing igayá v to prepare something •mengayá' u prepare

gayat u act of chopping •gayáten u chop gayatgayaten v to slice gayáten u chop (der. of gayat) gayatgayaten v to slice (der. of gayat) gded u act of requesting •gdeden v to request something umagded v to request gdeden v to request something (der. of **gded**) gegámbah u spider gelgél u slice •gelgelén v to slice something mengelgél v to slice gelgelén v to slice something (der. of **gelgél**) gemgém u 1. act of holding 2. assistant •gemgeman v to hold something mengemgem v to hold gemgeman v to hold something (der. of **gemgém**) gepét u 1. knot 2. bunch gepettán v to tie somewhere menggeppét u soldier gepettán v to tie somewhere (der. of **gepét**) gerra u war [sp] getél u itch •mengetél v to itch **gèyèt** {fr. var. of **útin**} giginto u iron pyrite (der. of **ginto**) gíling u act of grinding [lar] ginan u act of running •mengínan v to run away ginébra u gin [sp] ginílat u spearfishing arrow ginto u gold •giginto u iron pyrite magiginto u gold seeker gísa u act of cooking [sp] •igísa v to cook something gitè"èn v to tickle someone [lar]

gobyérno u government [sp] gong u thinness grin u green [eng] grípo u faucet [sp] gsa' u act of flowing •gsa'an v to flow somewhere •gumsá v to flow gsa'an v to flow somewhere (der. of gsa') gu- pfx RDP =qul adv indeed gúlay u vegetable gulugud u spine [lar] gulugud ni pagu-i u clavicle [lar] gumápang v to crawl (der. of **gapang**) [lar] gumsá v to flow (der. of gsa') gurámut ni ti'éd-i u toe (der. of ti'éd) [lar] gusgus u act of scratching [lar] guyod u act of pulling •guyóden v to pull something guyóden v to pull something (der. of **guyod**) Ηh hábang subordconn while haiwey u road [eng] hakot u act of chopping hakóten v to chop something manhákot v to chop hakóten v to chop something (der. of hakot) halá intj ok haláman u plant [tag] halígi u pillar [tag] halimbáwa u example [tag] halo u mix •haluwan u mix something hálus adv nearly, almost haluwan u mix something (der. of halo) hámug u dew [lar]

hanap-búhay u source of income [tag] hánbag u handbag [eng] handá ready [tag] hangán 1. subordconn even 2. prep until [tag] fr. var. angán hangan papéno adv no whater what hánip u lice, flea [tag] haplus u act of caressing •háplusen v to carress or stroke something háplusen v to carress or stroke something (der. of **haplus**) hapón u 1. Japan [sp] 2. japanese male haponesa u japanse woman hárap u front, aspect, presence •me'ehárap v to meet hasík u act of sowing •menhasík v to sow hati- pfx RDP háti u act of splitting háwi u act of parting underbrush ·pengháwi acw tool for parting underbrush háyup u animal hela {fr. var. of =séla} **hen** {fr. var. of **=sen**} hep {fr. var. of =sep} hibás u low tide [tag] hidap u difficulty, poverty hidwá'an u disagreement, conflict [tag] híkaw u earring [tag] hilig u inclination, interest [tag] •mehilig st prone hilod u massage [tag] Himena u name of Alta elder hina {fr. var. of **=siná**} hindada'él u thumb [lar] hípag u sister-in-law [tag] pethípag u siblings in law hirap u difficulty, poverty [tag] •kahirapan u adversity, suffering •mehírap st 1. poor 2. difficult •peghihirap acw suffering homad u obstacle hubád u naked

•hubaden u to take of a piece of cloth •me'ehúbad st naked hubaden u to take of a piece of cloth (der. of **hubád**) hugpungan ni dameti u wrist húli u hunt [tag] •mehúli v to catch, to hunt •menhúli v to hunt penghúli acw tool for hunting •penhúli acw hunting hulí adv last hunos u share of crop •mehonusan u source of income Ιi i- ??? > v pfx conveyance voice prefix =i spec Specificity Marker i'a- pfx ST ialo' v to offer something (der. of aló') i'án u fish [v] i'at u act of get up, standing up •i'i'at v to overcome something •umi'at v to stand up i'ay v to bring someone somewhere (der. of **av3**) i'ayep v to bring someone/something ibá u another [tag] •iba'ibá u different •ka'ibá u different •káka'ibá u odd ibábaw u surface, top, tip [tag] iba'ibá u different (der. of **ibá**) ibbide v to tell something (der. of **bid**) **ibensih** v to kick [lar] ibig sabihin discconn in other words [tag] ibilay v to raise someone (der. of **biláy**) **ibítu** v to bury [v] ibudbud v to sprinkle ibút v to throw something away (der. of **but**) ibu'út v to set something aside

(der. of **bu'ut**) idép u forehead idtón v to place something (der. of dton) idúl u thunder [lar] idu'út v to share something idúwa adv day after tomorrow =i'é dem LPROX.DEM.ABS i'én dem PROX.DEM igalang v to respect someone (der. of galang) igayá v to prepare something (der. of **qaya'**) igdebí u kind of crop (irabi in Tagalog) [jen] igdét u eel [v] igísa v to cook something (der. of gísa) igop u attraction [tag] igórot u Igorot people i'i'at v to overcome something (der. of i'at) i'i'é dem LPROX.DEM i'iná dem MED.DEM i'issá u alone ikabilay u source of income (der. of **biláy**) ikésap v to blink one's eyes [lar] ikkabít v to tie something (der. of kabít) ikod u act of turning fr. var. ikot •um'ikod v to go around ikot {fr. var. of ikod} ilaga v to boil [tag] ilát u lightning [lar] iláway v to look down [lar] ilbéng v to bury something (der. of **Ibeng**) ilebsáng v to let go, to release (der. of lebsang) ile'bung v to mix something to something

(der. of **le'bung**) iledep v to plunge something (der. of **ledep**) ilege' mo pata'poh look forward! [lar] ilipat v to transfer something (der. of lípat) ilokáno u ilokano people and language ilús u kind of plant [ien] ilúto v to cook something (der. of luto) imálan v to burn, to scorch •ma'imálan v to burn imáng u act of taking care •men'imáng v to take care imbes adv instead. rather imbís adv instead [sp] impluwensia u influence **importante** u important [sp] **imposible** u impossible [sp] in art 1. ABS 2. the -in- v ifx PRF iná u mother (vocative) •pet'éna u mother and son •téna u mother (reference) •tiddena *u* mothers =iná dem MED.DEM.ABS fr. var. **=éna** inábat v to be cursed by the anito spirit inámag u mold [lar] in'apát u fourth inay v to have gone (der. of **ay3**) ináyan v to go somewhere (der. of **ay3**) indáyon u hammock [ilk] fr. var. dúyan indúwa u second iném u six inés u movement Inga u name of Alta lady ingél u anger, bravery •méngèl st brave •um'ingel v to get angry inginer u engineer [eng]

in'inném u sixth ínit u heat •me'ínit st hot inkantáda u enchanted [sp] inlabindúwa u twelfth inlabinissá u eleventh inlimmá u fifth innam u taste •innaman v to taste something •me'e'innám v to taste innaman v to taste something (der. of innam) [lar] inom u act of drinking •inomen v to drink something •ipa'inom v to make someone drink •me'e'inom v to be able to drink •umínom v to drink inomen v to drink something (der. of **inom**) inomulí v to return, to go home inómunid a bulán adv next month inpitó u seventh insáppulo u tenth insiyám u ninth intá u act of seeing •ipa'intá v to show something to someone •itán v to look at something •me'intá v to find intátlo u third interés u profit [sp] interesádo u interested, enthusiastic [sp] intutúdu u index **inumbèl** v to fly inwaló u eighth ipa'ála'ala v to remind (der. of ala'ala) ipa'dang u healing ritual ipadisalad v to put something under something else (der. of **disálad**) ipa'edsang v to lay something down (der. of edsáng) ipaglaban v to fight [tag] ipah u husk of rice [lar] **ipa'inom** v to make someone drink (der. of inom)

ipa'intá v to show something to someone (der. of intá) ipalít v to trade something (der. of palit) ipamúlat v to let someone know **ipáyong** v to raise something (der. of páyong) ipe- pfx Causative prefix ipeg- pfx Causative prefix ipès u cockroach ipgés v to drip something (der. of pgés) ipolung v to speak a language (der. of **pólung**) ipus u 1. hairy end of plants 2. tail iral u prevalence [tag] isabít v to hang something (der. of sabít) isábug v to plant by scattering isáda v to close isahóg v to mix something (der. of **sahóg**) isa'lang v to face (der. of sa'lang) ísalang v to cook something by using a fire (der. of **salang**) isá'lat v to trade (der. of sa'lat) isalnag v to fry rice [lar] isángèp v to boil something [lar] isáy exist to be at isbú u urine •umisbú v to urinate isdép 1. v to use 2. u start of school or work (der. of sdep) isénag v to dry on the sun (der. of sinág) [lar] isep u act of closing eyes •iyésep v to close one's eyes •men'isép v to close the eyes ísip u thought [tag] •isípen v to think about something isípen v to think about something

(der. of ísip) [lar] isitsit v to gossip isí'yan v to to abandon someone (der. of si'yán) isoli v to recover something (der. of **soli**) issa u one [tag] istórya u story [sp] ita'bon v to cover something (der. of ta'bón) =itám pron 1pi.ABS itamme! let's go itán v to look at something (der. of intá) itanem v to plant something (der. of taném) itang'ál v to raise something (der. of tang'al) ita'pèg v to close (der. of ta'pég) [lar] ita'puh above (der. of ta'pó) [lar] itassé u one itasse a ta'ón last year itáw u act of fighting •me'i'itaw v to fight someone •men'itáw v to fight itég u abundance ite'nag v to throw something (der. of te'nag) itidia' v to kick [lar] itinda v to sell something (der. of tínda) itnud u act of sitting •itnúdan u chair •men'itnúd v to squat itnúdan u chair (der. of itnud) itódu v 1. to teach something (der. of tódu) ittugen v to bring (der. of tugen) itúlag v to push something (der. of túlag) itulús v to continue something (der. of tulús)

iut u sexual intercourse [lar] iwala v to lose somone, to separate someone [tag] i'ya'í dem FDIST.DEM iyán u fruit, kernel •mengíyan v to produce fruit •men'iyán v to produce fruit •pen'iyán acw flowering iyaná' v to be born (der. of **ána'**) iváse v to place something (der. of **áse**) i'yáy dem DIST.DEM iyelwás v to take something across (der. of elwás) iyésep v to close one's eyes (der. of isep) iyetlén v to swallow something (der. of **etlén**) iyubul v to sharpen something (der. of **ubul**) Κk **ka'ágad** adv right away [tag] (der. of **agád**) ka'altahan u Alta people ka'apíhan u oppression (der. of **api**) ka'asawa u act of getting married kábag u gas pain [tag] kabán u sack of 75 liters [tag] •kabankaban adv sold by kaban kabankaban adv sold by kaban (der. of **kabán**) **kabít** u 1. act of tying 2. installation, connection [tag] •ikkabít v to tie something •kabítan v to tie somewhere kabítan v to tie somewhere [tag] (der. of kabít) kabuháyan u life, existence [tag] **kada-** pfx each, every kadasedep u entering (der. of sdep) kadebdí u woman [v] kagamotan u usage as medicine

kahirapan u adversity, suffering [tag] (der. of hirap) ka'ibá u different [tag] (der. of **ibá**) ka'ibígan u friend [tag] ka'ilángan v to need [tag] kaisa coordconn than [tag] káka'ibá u odd [tag] (der. of ibá) kalagayan u social position [tag] kalaháti u half [tag] kalan u stove [tag] [v] kalas u act of separating •kalásen v to separate something from something kalásen v to separate something from something (der. of kalas) kalat u act of spreading •mekalat st spread kaláw u hornbill kalikasan u nature, world [tag] kalimítan adv usually kaliskis u scales of a fish •kalískisan v to scale a fish kalískisan v to scale a fish (der. of kaliskis) kaluluah u spirit of death person [lar] káma u bed [sp] kamarág u narra tree [ibn] kamátis u tomato [sp] kambál u twin [tag] kambíng u goat [tag] kampo u field [sp] kamudúngan u mountainous area (der. of mudúng) kamún de'él u thumb kanáni a papa'ás adv this morning (der. of pa'as) kandado u padlock [sp] kantá u song [sp] •menkantá v to sing kápal u thickness [tag] mekápal st thick kapamílya u family [tag]

(der. of **pamílya**) kaparusáhan u punishment [tag] (der. of **parúsa**) kapatágan u plain [tag] (der. of pátag) kapatíd u sibling [tag] kapé u coffee [sp] kaputód u shorts karanasan {fr. var. of aranásan} karápatan u authority, right, claim [tag] karayum u needle [tag] [lar] kareta u small cart [sp] kárga u act of loading [sp] karo'on v to hold, to have, to take [tag] •karo'onro'onan u property •menkaro'on v to possess karo'onro'onan u property [tag] (der. of **karo'on**) karsada u road [sp] kartón u cardboard [sp] kasábay u colleague [tag] (der. of sábay) kasal u wedding [sp] [lar] kasaysáyan u story [tag] kasé subordconn because [tag] kaseróla u pot Kasigúran u Casiguran, people from Casiguran kasipágan u industriousness (der. of sipag) **kastíla** u spaniard [sp] kasukasú'an u joint katangahan u stupidity [tag] katás u juice, leak [tag] [lar] katotúbo u native Katúday u kind of plant [Sesbania grandiflora] katulad u similar katúlong u helper [tag] (der. of túlong) ka'ugali'an u custom (der. of ugáli) ka'ugnáy u connection [tag] **kawálih** u cooking pot, frying pan [tag]

[lar] kawáwa u pitiful [tag] káwit u hook [ilk] káya u capable [tag] kayá subordconn so, therefore [tag] kaya gúl adv exactly kayabang u basket kayadlá subordconn however kayamanan u wealth, treasure kayas u act of shaving off •kayasen v to shave something off kayasen v to shave something off (der. of kayas) kayudèn v to grate [lar] kendi u candy késa coordconn than kesara coordconn than kíki u vagina kilála u act of knowing someone [tag] kilaw u act of eating raw meat •kilawen v to eat something raw or soaked in vinegar kilawen v to eat something raw or soaked in vinegar (der. of kilaw) kílay u eyebrow [tag] kilekileh u armpit [lar] kílo u kilogram [sp] **kilometro** u kilometer [sp] kinumbèt u wrinkled person kita u income, earnings [tag] •menkita v to make money kodrádo u square [sp] kolu u act of boiling [lar] kompleto u complete [sp] komunidád u community [sp] konóhan u rice mill koryénte u electricity kubéta u toilet [sp] kúgun u cogon grass "The root of this plant can be used as medicine for kidney or UTI (urinary tract infection). You cut the tips of the root, wash them, boil them in water, and drink it."

kukóh u fingernail kúlang u lacking, insufficient [tag] [lar] kúlay u colour kultúra u culture [sp] kúlut u curly [lar] kumustá int how are **kuného** u rabbit [sp] kung subordconn 1. if [tag] 2. whether 3. nor 4. when •kung adidino adv anywhere •kung ahéno u whatever •kung baga discconn actually, for example, if say kung adidino adv anywhere (der. of **kung**) kung ahéno u whatever (der. of **kung**) kung baga discconn actually, for example, if sav (der. of kung) kurimá'mat u eyelash kurúnang tinik u crown of thorns [Euphorbia milii] "I'in ngo mi-i Koronang Tinik 'en, dahil ado te set. Mensangasanga sina ti ado-i, tapos memudde sila ti uman-i sin. Kulay-i ni'nin dilaw, dilaw hila 'in a doon na-i, kulay na-i green hela. (94.18)" We call this plant Koronang Tinik beacause it has many thorns. It produces many branches and then produces many flowers too. Their colour is yellow, and the leaves are also yellow or green. kusína u kitchen [sp] •pengkusína acw kitchen accessories kutsára u spoon [sp] **kutsílyo** u knife [sp] kwarénta u fourty [sp] kwatro u four kwéntas u necklace [sp] LI -I- ifx RDP =la adv just lá'ad u act of walking

·la'áden v to walk a certain time or distance •menlá'ad v to walk penlaádam acw way, path la'áden v to walk a certain time or distance (der. of lá'ad) la'angáw u fly, housefly [tag] [lar] la'aw u length •luma'aw v to strech out ·melá'aw st long la'áy u 1. old man 2. husband •menla'áy v to marry a man labá u act of washing clothes [sp] •menlaba v to wash clothes •penlabá acw laundry labáda u washed clothes [sp] penlabáda acw laundry laban u fight, conflict lábi u lips [sp] labin issá u eleven labintanús u "This plant is the Labintanus. The leaves are like.... but it is a Labintanus plant. This is another kind of thistle that grows around here and also in the mountains" laddé u act of weaving •menladdé v to weave cloth lagárih u saw [lar] lagitík u kind of plant [Illigera Luzonensis] "We call this plant Lagitik. It can be used to treat ulcers, if you pound its leaves and drink them" lagwát u act of jumping/diving in the water •lumagwat v to jump, to dive lahát u all, total, everyone [tag] lakás u strengh •melakas st strong lakot u act of removing lalla'í u boy, male lálo adv especially lamán u wild boar lamésa u table [sp] [v] lamesíta u small table [sp]

lamón u grass lámpas u excessive [tag] lamút u root [lar] lanáw u 1. lake 2. place nearby Diteki landok u iron [lar] langís u oil [tag] langít u sky langka {fr. var. of nangká} languy u act of swimming •lumangúy v to swim lanslaid u landslide lapad u width [tag] •melápad st wide lapastangan u disrespectful [tag] lápis u pencil [sp] lasá u taste •melása st tasty lasát u 1. breast 2. milk for feeding a baby láta u tin, can [sp] latag u act of laying on the ground •menlatag v to lay down latíh u rattan •menlatíh v to search for and cut rattan •penlatíh acw rattan production lawad u vastness láwan v to to abandon someone lawís u end, extremity láyag u sail [lar] láyunin u purpose [tag] **Ibeng** u act of burying •ilbéng v to bury something **Ibut** u act of boiling •lumelbút v to be boiling •mellebút st 1. boiling 2. crazy, insane Ideb u act of burning •lumeldép v to be burning le RDP lebé' u act of pounding, crushing •menlebé' v to pound rice •penlebé' acw crushing, pounding lebsang u act of escaping •ilebsáng v to let go, to release •me'elebsang v to be able to escape le'bung u act of mixing

•ile'bung v to mix something to somethina ledep u act of swimming under water •iledep v to plunge something •lumedep v to dive in the water •menlédep v to fish with goggles and spear •penledep acw diving ledom u shade legúg u river bank lemvá u act of waking •lumemyá v to wake up •melemyá v to be awake le'ned u suprise •mele'néd st suprised lepét u humidity •melpét st soaked •nalpét st wet lepwá u act of chopping lesúng u mortar for rice letráto u portrait [sp] le'udan v to reject libang u act of entertaining •libángen v to entertain someone melíbang st entertained libángen v to entertain someone (der. of **libang**) libro u book [sp] libu u thousand líbut u surroundings [tag] li'ég u neck [tag] likot u act of moving •likóten v to move something likóten v to move something (der. of likot) limáte' u kind of leech limmá u five limuy u skirt lináw u clarity •melínaw st clear lindól u earthquake lingáh u sesame [lar] línget u sweat lingo u 1. week [sp] 2. Sunday linis u cleanliness •linísan u clean something

•melínis st clean •menlínis v to clean linísan u clean something (der. of linis) linta u kind of leech linúg u drunk •melinúg st drunk li'ód u back •palli'ódan u behind lípat u act of transferring •ilipat v to transfer something •lumipat v to migrate •palipat-lipat u wandering around lipdés u hit lipdesén v to hit someone lipdesén v to hit someone (der. of **lipdés**) **lipóngen** v to turn around something lisá' u nit of louse lítid u vein [lar] litlit u betel leaf, piper betel lokmat u act of removing [tag] •lokmaten v to remove something **lokmaten** v to remove something (der. of **lokmat**) loko u fool [sp] •menlóko v to fool lola u grandmother [tag] lolo u grandfather [tag] **lóna** u tarp [sp] longkut u sadness •melongkut st sad, lonely lo'ob {fr. var. of lu'ub} **Isot** u act of passing through •elsotan u way through Itaw u act of floating •lumèltaw v to te be floating •lumtaw v to surface Iteg u act of swelling •lumelteg v to be swelling luah u tear in eye [lar] lubíd u string, rope lubóng u earth lu'duyèn v to block, as a hole [lar]

lugár u place [sp] luhúd u act of kneeling [lar] lukbán u pomelo luma'aw v to strech out (der. of la'aw) lumagwat v to jump, to dive (der. of lagwát) lumangúy v to swim (der. of **languy**) lumedep v to dive in the water (der. of ledep) lumékoh v to turn [lar] lumelbút v to be boiling (der. of **lbut**) lumeldép v to be burning (der. of Ideb) lumèltaw v to te be floating (der. of Itaw) [lar] **lumelteg** v to be swelling (der. of **Iteg**) lumemyá v to wake up (der. of lemyá) lumipat v to migrate (der. of lípat) lumípung v to revolve [lar] lúmot u moss [lar] lumtaw v to surface (der. of Itaw) lúpa u face [tag] [v] lusaw u act of melting, dissolving penglúsaw acw dissolvent penlúsaw acw process of dissolving lusút u barging a way through lu'tab u saliva [lar] lutít u mud luto u act of cooking [tag] •ilúto v to cook something •menluto v to cook lu'ub u during, within fr. var. lo'ob luway u act of repeating

 luwáyèn v to repeat something luwáyèn v to repeat something (der. of luway) [lar] luwe' u ghost lúyah u ginger [tag] Mm **m** {fr. var. of **=mo**} **m-** {fr. var. of **ma-1**} =m pron 2s.GEN **ma-1** ??? > v pfx 1. Stative prefix 2. Potentive AV prefix fr. var. m-; mema-2 pfx RDP ma'a- {fr. var. of me'e-} ma'agásan u miscarriage [tag] ma'álap v to be able to obtain (der. of *álap*) ma'apdès u stinging pain [lar] mabalítan v to hear about something madalang adv rarely madaling-araw adv early dawn [tag] madat v to be able to reach (der. of dat) madí'it u unmarried girl madre kakaw u kind of plant madrí kakáw u kind of plant [Gliricidia Sepium] "The leaves of this plant are edible (like the ones of the Katuday (Sesbania Grandiflora), but these leaves need to be processed before. It can also be used to make a fence. It can also be used for skin irritation, if you take the leaves and scrub them on your skin it will remove the stinging. You can also pound the leaves with a stone, extract their juice and wash yourself with it." ma'eg'ang v to be able to quit (der. of eg'ang) Ma'eg'eg u name of Alta elder ma'épè'itaw v to oppose [lar] Magdalenas u sacred place within the Alta ancestral domain magiginto u gold seeker (der. of **ginto**) maging- v pfx to become [tag]

magka- pfx [tag] [lar] fr. var. megkamagkaro'on v to have, to own [tag] magnet u magnet magnetik u magnetism magúlang u parents, ancestors [tag] maháli a áraw all saint's day ma'imálan v to burn (der. of **imálan**) má'in int why maiwaddé v to be, exist, have Makadipá u god Alta deity makina u motor, device [sp] Malabida u Area or Barangay in Aurora province where Alta is spoken malagkít u sticky rice malakáya u 1. to trawl 2. to hun malápasi u kind of berry fruit [ien] malí st incorrect [tag] malimbúy u money mamay'ari u possessions mames u act of being shameful •me'amámes st shv •meka'amámes st shameful **=man** adv Adverb that expresses a contrast manágep v to be rescued (der. of **ágep**) mánaili v to continue [tag] mangá approximately [tag] mangadlít u kind of fish [tag] mangga u mango [lar] mangko' u bowl manhákot v to chop (der. of hakot) maní u peanut [sp] =mannen adv again [ilk] mannolangan u children's inlaws manó' u chicken manólangan u parent-in-law mantíka u oil [sp] manú' u 1. bird 2. wildchicken mapa- pfx ? mapóled v to sleep (der. of póled)

Mapolud u Alta place name maranasan v to experience marmol u marble [sp] marsiál law u kind of plant "This plant can be used to treat wounds, if you take the leaves, extract the juice, and then poor it on a wound. This is a herbal medicine of the Alta." mas adv more [sp] mátah st unripe, raw matáh u eye [tag] matáng hípong u chicken food [Breynia rhamnoides] "This plant is used as food by wild chicken in the mountains, even humans can eat the leaves as they are sweet. When it's unripe, it is red but when ripe it turns violet." fr. var. matang udang matang udang {fr. var. of matáng hípong} mate'nag v to fall (der. of **te'nag**) matlém u blood matmó v to burn, to be on fire (der. of **temó**) matnó v to fill ma'ulila v to become orphaned ma'uná' v to say (der. of uná) fr. var. me'una may exist have máya u sparrow [tag] Maynilá u Manila Máyo u May **me-** {fr. var. of **ma-1**} me'a- {fr. var. of me'e-} me'ágap st quick (der. of **ágap**) me'álat st salty me'albí st compassionate (der. of **albí**) me'amámes st shy (der. of **mames**) me'aníto st supersticious me'anód st flooded (der. of **anod**) me'antíng st affraid (der. of anting)

me'apsút st sour me'ásu' v to smoke (der. of asó') [lar] mebá'it st kind (der. of **ba'it**) meba'síd st strong [v] meba'sig st fast [lar] mebi'en st near (der. of **bí'en**) mebí'et st lazy (der. of **bí'et**) mebíkong st crooked [v] mebilay st alive (der. of **biláy**) mebílis st fast [tag] mebílug st round [lar] mebínat st have a relapse mebútil st lie, false (butíl) mebúyu st 1. rotten 2. stinky meda'ép v to be able to cactch (der. of da'ep) medálas st quick [v] medáli st easy [v] medangín st cold meddi u lady [lar] medelmét st heavy medemo st be first (der. of **demó**) **mediplét** st dirty (der. of **diplét**) [v] medísalad st deep (der. of **disálad**) [lar] medlá v to have learned a lesson medú'es st 1. bad 2. ugly **medyo** adv somewhat [sp] me'e- pfx Potentive prefix fr. var. ma'a-; me'ame'ebál v to wear the G-string 'bal' (der. of bal)

me'ebut st mean me'ébut v to disappear (der. of **ebut**) **me'ehárap** v to meet (der. of hárap) me'ehúbad st naked (der. of **hubád**) [lar] me'e'innám v to taste (der. of **innam**) me'e'inom v to be able to drink (der. of **inom**) me'ekatsá v to wear the katsa clothing me'eldén st strong [v] me'elebsang v to be able to escape (der. of lebsang) me"ena'ém u elder (der. of menna'ém) mè'èppulèd v to sleep (der. of **póled**) [lar] me'epsul v to be full, saciated (der. of **psúl**) me'essabít v to hang (der. of sabít) me'etabdé st very fat (der. of tabdé) me'ettirá v to live (der. of tira) megagawi v to be able to do something (der. of gágawi) megaling st skillful, ingenious [tag] meganda st beautifull [tag] (der. of gandá) meghápon u all day long [tag] megka- {fr. var. of magka-} mehál st expensive mehámog st cool, chilly mehégit st excessive, more mehidap st difficult, poor mehigpít st tight mehilig st prone (der. of **hilig**) mehína st 1. weak 2. slow mehírap st 1. poor [tag] 2. difficult (der. of **hirap**) mehonusan u source of income (der. of hunos)

mehúli v to catch, to hunt (der. of húli) **me'i-** pfx comitative prefix me'i'ayuh v to collect firewood (der. of ayúh) me'ibidde v to be able to say something (der. of **bid**) me'i'itaw v to fight someone (der. of itáw) [lar] me'inabang v to make profit [tag] •pa'inabang acw profit •pa'inabangan acw source of income me'íngit st envious [tag] me'ínit st hot (der. of init) me'intá v to find (der. of intá) mè'ipagkilálah v to know [tag] [lar] me'isuntu' v to hit, strike (der. of suntók) me'itagbo v to converge me'i'utuh v to delouse (der. of utúh) [lar] meka'amámes st shameful (der. of mames) [v] mekalat st spread (der. of kalat) mekápal st thick (der. of kápal) mekípot st narrow mèkislap st smooth [lar] melá'aw st long (der. of **la'aw**) meladdén st light, not heavy in weight melahdín st cheap [v] melakas st strong (der. of lakás) mèlamsit st tasteless, lacking salt [lar] melánis st sweet melápad st wide i'en a beli ay mèlápàd this house is wide (der. of **lapad**) melapyát st flat

melása st tasty (der. of lasá) meláya v to free me'leb v to fall down melebang st entertained mèlégayah st happy [lar] melékot st naughty melemnín st soft melemyá v to be awake (der. of lemyá) mele'néd st suprised (der. of **le'ned**) melíbang st entertained (der. of **libang**) melikbet blurred melínaw st clear (der. of lináw) melínis st clean (der. of linis) melinúg st drunk (der. of linúg) mellebút st 1. boiling 2. crazy, insane (der. of **lbut**) meló'ag st loose melongkut st sad, lonely (der. of longkut) melpét st soaked (der. of **lepét**) mema'us st hoarse [lar] memin st consumed (der. of amin) **mempa-** ??? > v pfx ? memuddé v to blossom (der. of **buddé'**) **men-2** ??? > v pfx sfx actor voice prefix men'alíyo v to search (der. of alíyo') men'aná v to be born [v] men'aná' v to breed (der. of ána') menánanih adv very soon (der. of nánih) men'áral v to learn, to study (der. of áral)

**mèn'armusal** v to breakfast [sp] [lar] men'awon v to to abandon (der. of awón) men'ayúh v to cut trees, to log (der. of ayúh) menbádo v to wear (der. of **bádo**) menbágo v to change (der. of **bágo**) menbál v to wear G-string (der. of **bal**) menbantáy v to guard (der. of **bantáy**) menbása v to read (der. of bása) menbate' v to write (der. of **baté'**) menbayúh v to crush, to pound (der. of **bayúh**) menbeli v to build a house (der. of **belí**) menbelón v to take provisions on a trip (der. of **belón**) menbíhis v to change clothes [lar] menbítu v to dig [v] menbones v to wrestle (der. of **bónes**) menbuddé' v to blossom (der. of buddé') menbutag v to chew areca nut menbutíl v to lie (der. of **butíl**) menda'ép v to catch (der. of da'ep) mendagmáng v to stumble (der. of dagmáng) mèndalúp v to sew [lar] menda'út v to share (der. of da'út) mendengdéng v to warm by fire mendílus v to bathe (der. of dilus) me'nèg st thick

[lar] menépis st thin menewala v to believe meng-1 {fr. var. of meng-2} meng-2 ??? > v pfx AV fr. var. meng-1 mengálap v to get (álap) **mengálaw** v to play (der. of galáw) mengáliyo' v to seek (der. of aliyo') [lar] mengáludu v to hunt (der. of **áludu'**) mengamás v to weed (der. of gamas) mengán v to eat (der. of **an**) **mengánup** v to hunt (der. of **ánop**) mengáted v to give (der. of **áted**) mengáwngaw st noisy mengayá' u prepare (der. of gaya') méngèl st brave (der. of **ingél**) [lar] mengelgél v to slice (der. of gelgél) mengemgem v to hold (der. of **gemgém**) mengetél v to itch (der. of getél) mengétid st black mengétugen v to escort (der. of tugen) menggeppét u soldier (der. of gepét) menghali v to take lunch **mengi-** pfx actor voice prefix mengigí v to grit the teeth mengínan v to run away (der. of ginan) mengingíng v to tremble (der. of **ngingin**) mengisalang v to cook (der. of **salang**)

mengíyan v to produce fruit (der. of iyán) mèngódèl st dull (knife) [lar] mengólas v to wash (der. of **ulas**) mengótan v to borrow (der. of útan) meng'uno v to lead menguyód v to pull mengyári v to happen (der. of yari) menhasík v to sow (der. of hasík) menhilámos v to wash face menhúli v to hunt (der. of húli) meni'aná v to bear a child [v] men'imáng v to take care (der. of imáng) **men'isép** v to close the eyes (der. of **isep**) menisid v to dive [tag] men'isoli v to recover (der. of soli) men'itáw v to fight (der. of itáw) men'itnúd v to squat (der. of **itnud**) men'iyán v to produce fruit (der. of **iyán**) menkantá v to sing (der. of kantá) menkaro'on v to possess (der. of karo'on) menkasala v to do wrong [tag] (der. of sala) menkasanga v to get married (der. of sangá) menkita v to make money (der. of kita) menlá'ad v to walk (der. of lá'ad) menla'áy v to marry a man (der. of la'áy) menlaba v to wash clothes [sp]

(der. of labá) menladdé v to weave cloth (der. of **laddé**) menlatag v to lay down (der. of latag) menlatíh v to search for and cut rattan (der. of **latíh**) menlebé' v to pound rice (der. of lebé') menlédep v to fish with goggles and spear (der. of **ledep**) menlínis v to clean (der. of linis) menlóko v to fool (der. of loko) menlólo v to twist menluto v to cook [tag] (der. of luto) menmumuda v to scold (der. of **mumuda**) menna'ém st old •me"ena'ém u elder menngadden v to name (der. of ngaddén) menngó v to call (der. of ngo') mennólan v to be able to know something (der. of **nnol**) mèn'óluh v to snoar menpa-pfx? menpa"an v to feed (der. of **an**) menpagamot v to cure (der. of gamót) menpahínga v to rest menpangap v to pretend, to disguise as menpánti v to wear panties or string menpapiya v to heal (der. of **piya**) menpasalámat v to express gratitude (der. of salámat) menpeltág v to spear fish (der. of **peltág**) menpólung v to speak (der. of **pólung**) mensabay v to do simultaneously (der. of sábay)

mensagep v to fetch water (der. of sagep) mensambá v to pray mensangá v to branch out (der. of sangá) mensangasangá v to ramify, to spread out (der. of sangá) mensapul v to start (der. of **sapúl**) mensayaw v to dance (der. of sayaw) mensená v to cook (der. of sená) mensiba v to split [lar] mensigarílio v to smoke (der. of sigarílio) mensíkap v to persevere, to try (der. of **sikap**) mensílo v to catch with a trap (der. of sílo) mensimbá v to go to church (der. of **simba**) mensiyá v to cry (der. of siva1) mensóli v to come back (der. of soli) mensóme' v to hide (der. of some') mensuklay v to comb mensúsu v to be breast-feed •susu u breast mentabás v to cut (der. of tábas) mèntagi'lid v to spill [lar] mentagpó v to meet mentaném v to plant (der. of taném) mentangál v to look (der. of tangal) mentanod v to wait (der. of tanód) mentanóng v to ask (der. of tanóng) mentap v to clean rice

mèntáp v to winnow [lar] mentarábaho v to work (der. of **tarabáho**) menta'yuh v to fetch water menteged v to pass time (der. of **tegéd**) mentegtég v to crush with a stick (der. of **teatea**) mentindá v to sell (der. of tínda) mentípid v to save up, to economise mentitistis logger mentiyága v to persevere mentódu v to teach (der. of tódu) mentúlag v to push (der. of túlag) mentulús v to continue (der. of tulús) men'udíng v to make coal (der. of úding) men'úg v to inaugurate, to build men'úma v to cultivate land (der. of **óma**) menwalís v to sweep, broom (der. of **walís**) menwata'watá' v to spread out (der. of wata'wata') me'odut st makulit mepágal st tired mèpáhang st pungent, spicy [lar] mepangánib st dangerous mepatód st good, nice (der. of **patód**) mepenáng st feverish (der. of **penáng**) mepét st stuck, glued (der. of **apet**) mepilay st lame **mepít** st bitter mepíya st good (der. of **piya**) mepóti st white (der. of **poti**) mesa'ít st sick, painful

(der. of sa'it) mesalamuha v to mingle with others mesárap st 1. pleasant [tag] 2. tasty mesayá st happy mesdém st dark (der. of sdem) mesiglát st bright mesílaw st dazzled mesipag st hard working, diligent [tag] (der. of **sipag**) mesípel st happy mesiyán st dry (der. of **siyan2**) meslét st red meslób st flagrant mesyádo adv excessive, much [sp] mètab'ang st lacking salt [lar] metabdé st 1. fat 2. fertile (der. of tabdé) metádem st sharp (der. of tadem) metágal st long lasting [tag] metalengowan v to be wounded (der. of taléngo) metan'al st high, tall [v] metanda'án v to be able to remember something (der. of tandá) metang'ál st high, tall (der. of tang'al) metápang st brave (der. of tápang) meta'pó st high, tall (der. of ta'pó) metebdé st short metepdé st 1. low 2. cheap metgéd st lasting (der. of **tegéd**) metíh st dead (der. of ati) me'tóg st hard metóyud st pregnant metuldóg st straight [v] metúpok st burned [tag]

metútu st able to learn (der. of tutu) **metúyu** st dry (der. of túyu) me'úhaw st thirsty (der. of **uháw**) [lar] me'úlap u cloud [lar] me'una {fr. var. of ma'uná'} mewasá st burned to ashes =mi pron 1pe.GEN minabsag st broken in pieces [lar] minabta' v to crack [lar] minágóng st skinny [lar] minagpung v to fracture [lar] minále'ned st surprised minálimês st drown [lar] minálom st ripe minálúgih v to have lost minámin v to have run out (der. of amin) mináminèn st consumed (der. of amin) [lar] minapsul v to get saciated (der. of **psúl**) minásídah st out of order [lar] minátáluh v to lose, to be surpassed [lar] minébut st lost (der. of **but**) minébwèl v to have collapsed [lar] minennolan v to have learned something (der. of **nnol**) **Minero** u Alta place name [sp] miní'anúd st carried by current (der. of anod) [lar] minsan u occasion [tag] mísmo u actual, self [sp] mitjat u kind of fish =miyú pron 2p.GEN

fr. var. miyu =mo pron 2s.GEN fr. var. m mon u act of becoming found of someone monmon u complete mudu- pfx CVCV reduplication mudung mudúng u mountain •kamudúngan u mountainous area mukhá u face [tag] mumuda u act of scolding •menmumuda v to scold penmumúda acw scolding mumulat v to open eyes [lar] Muntingsili u name of Alta elder múra u 1. cheap 2. unripe (coconut) [tag] mutá u eyedirt [tag] Νn =na1 pron 3s.GEN =na2 adv already nabtá st broken (jars) nalpét st wet (der. of lepét) [v] namaddé st dry [v] namí u species of plant with edible root [ien] namú' u mosquito =námud adv just, only nanay u mother [tag] nangá u roof [v] nangká u jackfruit fr. var. langka nánih adv later menánanih adv very soon napegsát st broken (ropes) [v] napês u bran, rice [lar] nára u rosewood [Pterocarpus Indicus,] "This plant grows in the area and spreads its seeds around in order to reproduce. It grows pretty much anywhere around here. We call this plant Narra. If you wait thirty years, you can chop the tree down and use the

wood to make tables, chairs or beams for the walls of a house." nayunan v to increase [lar] Nedi'di'an u Alta place name negosiante u businessman nen art GEN **=nen** adv already nena u mother (GEN) new word u new meaning ngaddén 1. u name 2. u hundred 3. proform thing menngadden v to name •ngadnan u to name, to say something ngadnan u to name, to say something (der. of ngaddén) ngalangalah u gums, palate (der. of ngalngal) [lar] ngalngal u act of masticating •ngalangalah u gums, palate ngangaw u noise =ngaród adv indeed =ngay adv Interjection ngayan v to feast **ngenge** u laughter =ngi adv pragmatic particle ngingin u trembling •mengingíng v to tremble ngipén u tooth ngo' u act of calling •menngó v to call •ngo'an v to call someone, to name someone •pengo' u summons ngo'an v to call someone, to name someone (der. of **ngo'**) ngodus u lips ngúmo' u act of shouting loudly ni1 art GEN ni2 art LOC nid art PL.GEN nidden dem PROX.GEN.DEM.PL niddena u mothers (GEN) niddi'e dem LPROX.GEN.DEM.PL niddiná dem MED.DEM.GEN.PL niden art PL.GEN

nidén art PL.LOC nidyapo u grandparents (GEN.pl) (der. of apó) nidyay dem MED.DEM.GEN.PL ni'na'í dem FDIST.DEM.GEN ni'náy dem DIST.DEM.GEN ni'nén dem PROX.DEM.GEN ni'ni'é dem MED.DEM.GEN ni'niná dem LPROX.DEM.GEN ninúno u ancestor [tag] niyama u father (GEN) niyápo u grandparent (GEN) (der. of apó) niyúl u coconut [Cocos Nucifera] "This is the Coconut tree. We usually plant it when the tree is small, and wait for five years, until it bears new fruits. When it does, it bears many of them. One of it's rounded fruits can be sold for 12 pesos. The unripe fruit (búku) which has not fallen yet from the tree can be sold for 10 pesos/piece." •aniyúlan u coconut plantation nnol u act of knowing •annólen v to know someone or something •mennólan v to be able to know something •minennolan v to have learned something **normal** u normal [sp] nu'ánu 1. int when 2. conn if [lar] 0 0 o coordconn or =o pron 1s.GEN oblás u naked obligádo u obliged, forced obra v can [sp] olay u act of leaving, abandonning •ulayen v to let something oli u act of coming óma u swidden, field •men'úma v to cultivate land óna u sugar cane plantation órens u orange osèn v to chew sugarcane

[lar] ospitál u hospital [sp] Pρ -p- if x RDP pa- {fr. var. of pe-} =pa adv still [tag] pa'aralan u school pa'as morning ·kanáni a papa'ás adv this morning •pa'asan u next day •papa'ás 1. *u* morning 2. *adv* early pa'asan u next day (der. of **pa'as**) pa'atdan u loan (der. of **áted**) paboríto u favorite [sp] pa'dáng u Alta traditional medicine padángas u lobster padíngil u cheek padlak u padlock pa'eg'áng v to have (some definite thing) removed (by somebody) (der. of eg'ang) pag subordconn 1. if 2. when pagê' u hoarse [lar] paghárin-uri u superiors pagí u rice pagká subordconn when, at any time that, if pagka'in acw food [tag] pagkakásundo acw reconciliation [tag] pagkatapos acw afterwards [tag] pagka'uldin acw person pagód u wind pagpág u act of shaking pagúh u chest pahídan v to wipe [lar] páhidèn v to rub [lar] pa'idemówan acw first, primary (der. of **demó**) pa'inabang acw profit [tag] (der. of **me'inabang**) pa'inabangan acw source of income [tag] (der. of me'inabang)

pa'ínan u bait [lar] pakáway u outrigger [lar] pakikitungo u behaviour [tag] paklan u stem pakó u edible wild fern [Athyrium esculentum] paksíw u act of cooking with vinegar pálad u palm of the hand palagi adv often palaman u 1. stuffing 2. jam palang u kind of knife palénke u market [sp] palikpík u fin palípat-lípat u wandering around (der. of lípat) palit u barter, exchange [tag] •ipalit v to trade something •palitan v to trade with someone palitan v to trade with someone (der. of **palit**) palli'ódan u behind (der. of li'ód) [lar] pam- { pen-} pfx ? pamamagitan u through the means of [tag] pamílya u family [sp] •kapamílya u family paná u bow panáhon u time [tag] panáy u pure, uniform, all panga- pfx once finished pangadaténg u arrival (der. of daténg) pangánay u eldest child pangarap u ambition [tag] pángil u canine tooth pangimlás u viand pangino'on u god pangókad u ladle of coconut shell [lar] pangonáhin u leader [tag] pangónakan u nephew pansin u act of noticing, observing pantalón u trousers [sp] pantiyon u cementery [sp] pantug u bladder

[lar] pan'ukbé' u wedge [lar] papa'ás 1. *u* morning 2. *adv* early (der. of **pa'as**) pápan u kind of animal papati v to kill (der. of ati) [lar] papéno int how •papeppapeno adv anyhow, however papeppapeno adv anyhow, however (der. of **papéno**) papólden v to get somebody to sleep (der. of póled) papuntá u bound for [tag] para 1. prep for 2. subordconn in order to [sp] para'an u method, manner paréhas u same, identical, equal [sp] paréhos u same, identical, equal [sp] paroparó u butterfly [tag] parte u side [sp] parúsa u punishment •kaparusáhan u punishment pasdepán u entrance (der. of sdep) pasok u enter [tag] patabá u fertilizer pátag u flatness •kapatágan u plain patakaran u rule [tag] patí prep even =patí adv including, also, likewise [tag] patód u order, quality •mepatód st good, nice patong u layer payá u wing payag u agreement •payagan v to accept payagan v to accept (der. of payag) payegpég u small hut páyong u 1. umbrella [tag] 2. act of standing up, act of establishing •ipáyong v to raise something payóngan v to build for someone payóngan v to build for someone

(páyong) pe-1. pfx Causative prefix 2. pfx fr. var. papedpéd u spurge [Euphorbiacae] "This plant was collected by our ancestors back in the days, as was chewed by them. They would process it and wait until it got dry and then chop it as thin as possible and mix it with tobacco. Then they would roll a cigar with it, and would not even need to buy a filter for it. It is quite flagrant." pedú' u gun pegessén v to squeeze peghihirap acw suffering [tag] (der. of hirap) peho u sure pekas u freckle pellé u meat of the pig [sp] pelpél u kind of edible river fish peltág u small spear used for fishing •menpeltág v to spear fish •peltagen v to spear something penpeltág acw process of spearfishing peltagen v to spear something (der. of **peltáq**) pembabágo u change (der. of **bágo**) pemet- u pfx KIN.PL pempapdo' u detonation, explosion **pen-** pfx gerundive prefix penágep u rescue (der. of ágep) pen'agíh acw threshing penáng u fever mepenáng st feverish pen'aral u study, studying (der. of áral) penárra u door penbiddán acw advice, reprimand (der. of **bid**) penbilutan acw thing used for rollling cigarettes penbudí acw love (der. of **bud**í) pendiligen acw watering of the plants (der. of dilig)

pending u act of entering •pendingen v to enter a place pendingen v to enter a place (der. of **pending**) pen'eman acw betel chew practice (der. of emán) **peng-** pfx instrumental prefix pengadwá adv secondly (der. of dúwa) pengágawi acw task, making (der. of gágawi) pengálapan acw source of income (der. of **álap**) pengáludu' acw hunting material (der. of **áludu'**) pengalwá u second pengamás acw tool for weeding (der. of gamas) pengasuhan acw hunting ground (der. of **asó**) pengbákud acw material used to build a fence (der. of bákud) pengbelón acw food used as provision (der. of belón) pengbetuh acw ornament, jewel pengháwi acw tool for parting underbrush (der. of háwi) penghúli acw tool for hunting (der. of húli) pengi- pfx content word prefix pengisalangan acw place for cooking with a pot (der. of **salang**) pengkusína acw kitchen accessories (der. of kusína) penglúsaw acw dissolvent (der. of **lusaw**) pengo' u summons (der. of **ngo'**) peng'ut'út acw tool for digging (der. of **ut'ut**) pengwasak acw tool used for destruction, bomb penhúli acw hunting (der. of húli) pen'iyán acw flowering

(der. of **iyán**) penlaádam acw way, path (der. of **lá'ad**) [v] penlabá acw laundry (der. of labá) penlabáda acw laundry (der. of labáda) penlatíh acw rattan production (der. of latíh) penlebé' acw crushing, pounding (der. of lebé') penledep acw diving (der. of ledep) penlúsaw acw process of dissolving (der. of **lusaw**) penmangaliyo acw making a living (der. of aliyo') penmumúda acw scolding (der. of **mumuda**) pénnet u kind of fruit [jen] penpeltág acw process of spearfishing (der. of **peltág**) pensagép acw fetching water (der. of sagep) pensáwan u loss of interest (der. of **sawa**) pensená acw cooking (der. of sená) pensigarílyo acw smoking (der. of **sigarílio**) pensikapan acw attempt pentabás acw tool for cutting pentaném acw process of planting (der. of taném) penti'eddán acw base, bottom (der. of **ti'éd**) pen'udíng acw charcoal production penúh u full pen'unan u what is said by others pepíyan v to improve something (der. of **piya**) peppos u kind of fruitg [ien] péra u money [tag] **péro** coordconn but [sp] fr. var. péros

péros {fr. var. of péro} pèssal u locust [lar] **pet-** pfx reciprocal relationship prefix pet'adánayan u relatives (der. of adánayan) pet'ákan u siblings (der. of aká') pet'áma u father and children (der. of amá) pet'apésa u cousins (der. of apésa) pet'apo u grandparents and grandsons pet'élan u couple of companions (der. of **élan**) pet'éna u mother and son (der. of iná) pethípag u siblings in law (der. of hípag) petsásawa u couple (der. of asáwa) pe"uná v to have someone say (der. of uná) pgés u act of squeezing •ipgés v to drip something pi- pfx RDP pidot u act of collecting **pie** u foot [sp] pilás u flesh, meat pílat u scar [lar] pilaway u job's tears [lar] pilay u lame, cripple [lar] pilén v to choose [lar] pilikmatah u eyelash [tag] [lar] pilingan u species of fresh water fish pilipit u twist **pinaka-** pfx superlative prefix [tag] pi'nat u tear [lar] **pine-** pfx Causative perfective prefix pineg'aralan u education, studies pinen- pfx Causative perfective prefix

pinenti'dan u bottom (der. of **ti'éd**) pingán u dish pingey u sheaf of rice pinúngus v to tie pínya u pineapple [sp] piráso u piece [sp] **piríto** u act of frying [sp] pirmi u permanent [sp] **piso** u peso (Philippine currency) [sp] pisopiso adv peso by peso pit u act of clipping [tag] pitú u seven piva u good •menpapiya v to heal mepíya st good •pepíyan v to improve something pláno u plan [sp] po'étpo'et u curly pokpók u act of hammering póled u be sleepy mapóled v to sleep •mè'èppulèd v to sleep •papólden v to get somebody to sleep **polowan** u handle for knives or daggers pólung u 1. language, word 2. act of speaking •ipolung v to speak a language •menpólung v to speak •pólungen v to tell someone pólungen v to tell someone (der. of **pólung**) pon u 1. tree 2. trunk 3. leader pósa u cat poti u white mepóti st white •pumóti v to whiten presyo u price [sp] prinsipyo u principle [sp] probléma u problem [sp] proteksyón u protection [sp] proyékto u project [sp] psúl u act of getting full, saciated •me'epsul v to be full, saciated •minapsul v to get saciated pu'él u thigh pugarán u nest [tag]

pugitáh u octopus pugúh u island puhunan u capital, investment [tag] puláb u afternoon •pumólaban u dinner •tempuláb adv yesterday pulak u act of chopping •puláken v to chop down puláken v to chop down (der. of **pulak**) pulís u policeman [tag] [lar] **pulúput** u act of entwining [tag] pumólaban u dinner (der. of **puláb**) pumóti v to whiten (der. of **poti**) pumpatí v to faint pu'nah v to hit, strike [lar] púngan u pillow puríket u [Bidens Pilosa] "This plant can make stains on your clothes, and it also causes itch. If a leaf (or seeds) falls somewhere, the plant will grow and reproduce easily." púro adv whole [sp] puséd u navel pusó u heart pussónan u lower abdomen [lar] pusu-pusuwan u kind of fruit (pelisyoken) [jen] pusútan v to wrap [lar] puyat u insomnia púyeng u kind of plant [Rubus Benguetensis] "The Púyeng plant is solid, and it can stand strong rains. This is medicine we use for high blood pressure. Its juice, can be extracted and fermented like coconut wine, and can be used to cure children or babies' cough." puyoh u hair whirl [lar] **pwéde** u can, be possible [sp] pwésto u place [sp]

R r rekádo u ingredients for seasoning [sp] **relóh** u watch [sp] rep u fridge [eng] repólyo u cabbage [sp] rímas u breadfruit Ss -s- ifx RDP sá'ano 1. int how many 2. u few •sasa'ano pro-form a few sabáw u soup [tag] sábay u simultaneity •kasábay u colleague mensabay v to do simultaneously •sabáyan v to accompany someone sabáyan v to accompany someone (der. of sábay) sabdulan v to splash water on someone sabít u act of hanging •isabít v to hang something •me'essabít v to hang sabítan v to hang somewhere sabítan v to hang somewhere (der. of sabít) sablé u act of missing someone sabug u act of scattering [tag] sábung u rooster sabút u pubic hair [lar] sad {fr. var. of =say} dem there sa'det u act of fetching, carrying •sa'deten v to collect something sa'deten v to collect something (der. of sa'det) sádu u horn sa'ep u act of lying down sagep u act of fetching water •mensagep v to fetch water •pensagép acw fetching water •sagepen v to fetch something sumagep v to fetch water sagepen v to fetch something (der. of **sagep**) ságing u banana [tag] saglít u moment, second sagoten v to reply sagrádo u sacred [sp]

sagwan u paddle of canoe [lar] sahóg u mixture •isahóg v to mix something =sa'í dem FDIST.LOC sa'it u pain, disease •mesa'ít st sick, painful saka coordconn and, also sakay u load •sumákay v to ride a vehicle sáko u sack [sp] sakóp u included sakripísyo u sacrifice [sp] sakúna u accident sala u error, mistake, fault •menkasala v to do wrong salágu u kind of plant [ien] salámat u thanks •menpasalámat v to express gratitude salámin u glasses salang u act of cooking •ísalang v to cook something by using a fire •mengisalang v to cook pengisalangan acw place for cooking with a pot sa'lang u act of facing •isa'lang v to face •sa'langan u front sa'langan u front (der. of sa'lang) sálap u arm salapáng u harpoon sa'lat u act of changing ·isá'lat v to trade •sá'latan v to change something sá'latan v to change something (der. of **sa'lat**) salémat u mocous in one's eye [lar] salétah u word, language [tag] [lar] salíbi u carry a baby salímat u dirt in eye [lar] salob- pfx RDP

salób u (measure of volume) •salobsalób adv salob salobsalób adv salob (der. of salób) salókut u bulrush sa'lóng u small hut salubong u reception, meeting sampú u ten Samson u name of Alta elder sanáy u efficient, used to sandú u ladle sangá u 1. branch 2. spouse •menkasanga v to get married •mensangá v to branch out mensangasangá v to ramify, to spread out sangep u act of grilling sánget u act of sneezing sanggíl u act of leaning santól u kind of tree [Sandoricum koetjape] sapat u sufficient, enough sa'pat u act of climbing sapátos u shoes [sp] sapsap {fr. var. of sepsep} sapúl u beginning, start •mensapul v to start sápulo u ten [v] sari u kind [tag] saríli u self, oneself [tag] sarisari u assorted [tag] saríwa u fresh sasa'ano pro-form a few (der. of sá'ano) sasáh u nipa [lar] sasálap u arms sa'út adv first sawa u act of getting tired of pensáwan u loss of interest =say dem 1. DIST.LOC.DEM fr. var. sad sayaw u act of dancing •mensayaw v to dance •sayawan v to dance for someone sayawan v to dance for someone (der. of sayaw)

sdem u darkness •mesdém st dark •sumdem v to get dark sdep u 1. act of entering 2. act of getting hired •isdép 1. v to use 2. u start of school or work ·kadasedep u entering •pasdepán u entrance sdepen v to go in •sumdép v to enter sdepen v to go in (der. of **sdep**) -se- ifx RDP sebcál u bracelet sèddit u act of crushing lice [lar] sèdèm u rain cloud [lar] sedúl u bumblebee =séla adv also, too, as well fr. var. hela sèlang u jaw [lar] seleslúng u streams (der. of **selúng**) sélpon u cell phone [eng] selúng u stream •seleslúng u streams sélupin u cellophane =sen dem PROX.LOC.DEM fr. var. hen sená u act of cooking •mensená v to cook •pensená acw cooking senias u signal séntro u center [sp] =sep adv still fr. var. hep sèpang u waist [lar] =sepla adv still sepsep u act of sucking fr. var. **sapsap** se'se'an v to put a stopper into a hole set u thorn [lar]

si'a- pron pfx 1pe si'ág u kind of plant si'ám pron 2p si'ámi pron 1pe si'áw pron 2s sibúh u act of blowing sibúyas u onion [sp] =sid1 pron 3p.ABS =sid2 pl.m Plural Marker siddé pron 3p sidden dem PROX.DEM.PL siddi'é dem LPROX.DEM.PL siddína dem MED.DEM.PL sidén art PL.ABS sídong u space under the house [v] sidyay dem DIST.DEM.PL =si'e dem LPROX.LOC.DEM si'én pron 1s si'étam pron 1pi sigarílio u cigarette [tag] •mensigarílio v to smoke ·pensigarílyo acw smoking sigém u kind of salt sigúdo adv maybe sigurádo u sure, certain [sp] sikap u zeal, dilligence [tag] •mensíkap v to persevere, to try sikwat u act of raising with a lever sikwatsikwaten v to repeatedly raise something with a lever silángan u east [lar] silaw u dazzle sílo u trap, snare •mensílo v to catch with a trap si'lu u act of ? simba u act of going to church •mensimbá v to go to church •simbáhan u church simbáhan u church [tag] (der. of simba) siménto u cement [sp] simula u act of starting [tag] •simúlan v to start something **simúlan** v to start something [tag] (der. of simula)

=siná dem MED.LOC.DEM fr. var. hina sínag u sun [V] sinág u 1. sun 2. day •isénag v to dry on the sun •sinagsinág adv everyday •tagesénag u day sinagsinág adv everyday (sinág) sinélas u flipflops [sp] síngko u five [sp] Singnan u 1. place in Diteki singsing u ring sipag u industriousness •kasipágan u industriousness •mesípag st hard working, diligent sipél u gratitude sípit u crab pincers sipón u headcold [tag] [lar] sipún u mocous from one's nose [lar] sísin u act of regretting [lar] sistéma u system, policy sítaw u string bean [tag] situasyon u situation si'uh u elbow siya1 u act of crying •mensiyá v to cry siya2 pron 3s =siyá pron 3s.ABS siyám u nine siyan1 u drought siyan2 u siyán •mesiyán st dry si'yán u act of separating •isí'yan v to to abandon someone **so'ep** {fr. var. of **su'ep**} soli u act of returning •isoli v to recover something •men'isoli v to recover •mensóli v to come back •sóliyan v to return somewhere sóliyan v to return somewhere (der. of soli)

solo u alone [sp] some' u act of hiding •mensóme' v to hide Sómil u Alta place name subisubi u epilepsia subuk u act of trying su'ep u 1. barter, exchange 2. dress fr. var. so'ep sugsug u act of examining closely suksúk u kind of sweet potatioo súlat u act of writing [tag] sulpút u infection sulu u torch [lar] súluk u corner sumagep v to fetch water (der. of **sagep**) sumákay v to ride a vehicle (der. of **sakay**) sumdem v to get dark (der. of sdem) sumdép v to enter (der. of sdep) sumíbul i pagúd-i v to blow (the wind) [lar] sumpung u whim, caprice [tag] sundálo u soldier [sp] sundan v to follow someone [tag] (der. of **sunód**) sundáng u machete sundo u act of fetching [tag] sunód u act of following [tag] •sundan v to follow someone suntók u fight •me'isuntu' v to hit, strike surrender v to surrender, to hand over [eng] súrut u bedbug susu u breast [tag] (der. of **mensúsu**) swéldo u salary, wage [sp] syel u shell syoktóng u rice wine Τt -t- ifx RDP ta art LOC ta'á pron 1pi+2s

ta'am pron 1pi+2p ta'áw u steal [lar] tábas u act of cutting down [tag] •mentabás v to cut tabdé u fatness, fertileness •me'etabdé st very fat •metabdé st 1. fat 2. fertile ta'bén u act of going away tablá u board, plank [sp] ta'bón u act of covering •ita'bon v to cover something •ta'bonan v to cover something ta'bonan v to cover something (der. of **ta'bón**) ta'buwan v to pour water on something tadem u blade •metádem st sharp •tadem ni paná-i u arrow tadem ni paná-i u arrow (der. of tadem) tadén dem PROX.DEM tadi'é dem LPROX.DEM tadína dem MED.DEM tadya'í dem FDIST.DEM tadyáy dem DIST.DEM taga- u pfx from [tag] tagal u time (reference to length or duration) [tag] tagálog u tagalog people tagèsa' outside [lar] tagesénag u day (der. of sinág) [lar] taglang u rib [lar] tagpó u waterfall takípan u act of covering up another one's fault [tag] [lar] takták u (house) talága 1. adv of course, naturally 2. u sure talampákan u sole of foot talangká u crayfish talbak u kind of fruit (tagbak) [ien] talbós u edible leaf [tag]

talegagot u stomach [lar] talénèp u dream [lar] talénga u ear talengangág u earwax [lar] taléngo u wound metalengowan v to be wounded taling u wart, mole [lar] talód u truth talóman u scream talón u forest talóng u eggplant =tam pron 1p.GEN táma1 u correct táma2 u wound [tag] tambaba'ik u little finger [lar] tambong-tambóng u kind of plant tambótso u exhaust pipe [sp] tandá u act of remembering •metanda'án v to be able to remember something •tanda'an v to remember something tanda'an v to remember something [tag] (der. of tandá) tanem- pfx RDP taném u plant •itanem v to plant something •mentaném v to plant pentaném acw process of planting tangal u act of looking •mentangál v to look tangálen v to look at something tang'al u height, altitude •itang'ál v to raise something •metang'ál st high, tall •tum'angal v to grow up tangálen v to look at something (der. of tangal) tangap u act of accepting •tangápan u agrement, acceptance •tangapen v to to accept or welcome someone tangápan u agrement, acceptance

(der. of **tangap**) tangapen v to to accept or welcome someone (der. of tangap) tangháli u noon [tag] tangkáy u stem tánod u guard, warder tanód u act of waiting •mentanod v to wait tanódan v to wait for something tanódan v to wait for something (der. of **tanód**) tanóng u question •mentanóng v to ask tantyádo v to estimate [sp] tanúduh u finger [lar] tá'o u person [tag] ta'ón u year ta'ós u sincere tapálang u kind of seafood tápang u courage •metápang st brave tápat u direct, in front of tapde u act of using [lar] tape' u land, soil •tappé u earth, ground, land, soil tapé u dirt ta'pég u act of covering ita'pèg v to close •tá'pegan v to cover something tá'pegan v to cover something (der. of ta'pég) tápis u traditional Alta corset for girls ta'pó u summit •ita'puh above •meta'pó st high, tall tápos 1. *u* act of finishing 2. *discconn* then tappé u earth, ground, land, soil (der. of tape') [v] tarabáho u work [sp] •mentarábaho v to work tása u cup ta'sa'í dem there tatló u three táwa u act of laughing [tag]

tayóg u coconut wine ta'yúng u act of fetching water te art non-specific Article tebág u answer •tebágen v to reply to a question tebágen v to reply to a question (der. of tebág) tegdu u act of dripping •tumtègdu v to be dripping tegéd u time (reference to length or duration) •menteged v to pass time metgéd st lasting tegteg u act of crushing with a stick •mentegtég v to crush with a stick •tegtegén v to crush something with a stick **tegtegén** v to crush something with a stick (der. of tegteg) teg'ud u act of throwing •tèg'udèn v to throw something tèg'udèn v to throw something (der. of teg'ud) teiwadde exist there is (der. of tey) telde u ascension •tumelde v to lift temó u act of burning •matmó v to burn, to be on fire •temó'en v to burn something temó'en v to burn something (der. of temó) templa u act of blending tempuláb adv yesterday (der. of **puláb**) ten 1. art OBL 2. adv when 3. art OBL ten demó adv at first ten eddamo a panáhon adv a long time ago ten makálawa adv day before yesterday ten nánih adv earlier [v] ten sinag adv in the past, back in the days téna u mother (reference) (der. of iná) te'nag u fall •ite'nag v to throw something

•mate'nag v to fall tepde u bottom •tumepde v to go down, to move down tetteng adv almost, nearly fr. var. etteng tey exist there is •teiwadde exist there is ti1 art OBL ti2 art ABS ti ahéno int who tián u belly [lar] tibag slope tibeng u act of hearing tibi u tuberculosis tíbi u television tid art PL.ABS tidde' with tiddena u mothers (der. of iná) tidyama u fathers tidyápo u grandparents (ABS.pl) (der. of apó) ti'éd u (leg and foot, LAR) •gurámut ni ti'éd-i u toe •penti'eddán acw base, bottom •pinenti'dan u bottom •ti'édti'éd u feet ti'édti'éd u feet (der. of ti'éd) ti'él u wild sugarcane [Saccharum spontaneum] tiga prep from tiga Dite'i from Diteki tik u sticker (showing price) tíkin u boat pole [lar] timid u chin [lar] tinápay u bread [tag] tínda u act of selling [sp] •itinda v to sell something •mentindá v to sell •tindáhan u shop tindáhan u shop [sp] (der. of tínda) tingting u midrib of palm leaves, broom made of midribs [tag]

tinidór u fork [sp] tinúbus v to redeem [lar] tipák u act of choppping rattan tira u act of residing •me'ettirá v to live •tirán v to live somewhere •tumira v to live tirán v to live somewhere (der. of tira) tisa'bab u act of scumbling [lar] ti'sa'í dem DIST.LOC.DEM ti'say dem DIST.LOC.DEM ti'sén dem PROX.LOC.DEM ti'si'e dem LPROX.LOC.DEM ti'sina dem MED.LOC.DEM tistis u act of logging •tístisen v to log something tístisen v to log something (der. of tistis) títi u penis 14.10 [tag] tiyáma u father tiyápo u grandfather (ABS) (der. of apó) tobígan u rice paddy [tag] tóbil u mouth tódu u act of teaching •itódu v 1. to teach something mentódu v to teach todúwan v to teach someone todúwan v to teach someone (der. of tódu) toka u turn [sp] tokóy u know tólang u bone [lar] tons u ton tópik u topic [eng] tráysikel u rickshaw [eng] trenta u thirty [sp] trey u plate [eng] tribu u tribe [sp] tubblí u poison wine [Derris Eliptica Benth] "This plant can be used as a piscicide. You can crush the plant, with a stone

then u place it into the water, and it kills the baye fishes." tu'be u act of poking tubo u act of planting tubung u water container [lar] tudtud u heel tudú u skewer tugen u act of escorting •ittugen v to bring mengétugen v to escort tugí u kind of yam tul u act of cutting •tulen v to cut something túlag u act of pushing •itúlag v to push something •mentúlag v to push tulág u spear [tag] túlay u bridge tulen v to cut something (der. of tul) tulèng u deaf túlong u help •katúlong u helper tulús u continuance •itulús v to continue something •mentulús v to continue tulúy u continuation [tag] •tulúy-tulúy adv progressively tulúy-tulúy adv progressively [tag] (der. of tulúy) tum'angal v to grow up (der. of tang'al) tumelde v to lift (der. of telde) tumepde v to go down, to move down (der. of **tepde**) tumira v to live (der. of tira) tumtègdu v to be dripping (der. of **tegdu**) [lar] tu'nang u remember túnay u pure tungkud u walking stick, cane [lar] tungtung u cover tungúwan v to ignite something

turuturumbúng u kind of plant "The juice of this plant can be use for your eyes. If you have something on your eye, some dirt, you can put some drops of the juice directly on your eyes and it will remove the eyedirt. Even in some cases if you can't see anymore, you just need to proceed like we say and you will get better" tutu u act of learning metútu st able to learn Tutuy u name of Alta elder túyu u drought •metúyu st dry twálya u towel [sp] Uu uban u hair gray [lar] ubêt u vagina [lar] úbi u kind of yam **ubúd** u upper stalk ubul u act of sharpening •iyubul v to sharpen something •ubúlan u grindstone ubúlan u grindstone (der. of **ubul**) ubut {fr. var. of ebút} u hole udáng u shrimp uddén u rain •um'uddén v to rain úding u 1. charcoal 2. shoot [lar] •men'udíng v to make coal ududmá adv tomorrow ugáli u manners, tradition •ka'ugali'an u custom ugdèng u dandruff [lar] ugdét u root, origin ugsad u descent ug'úg u cough uháw u be thirsty •me'úhaw st thirsty ulág u snake [v] úlam u viand [tag]

 ulámen v to lunch something ulámen v to lunch something (der. of **úlam**) ulas u act of washing •mengólas v to wash ·ulásan v to wash something ulásan v to wash something (der. of **ulas**) ulayen v to let something (der. of **olay**) uldín u non-Alta person ulêd u worm ulés u blanket ulet u peelings of cooked tubers [lar] ulétaw u youn man [v] fr. var. ulitáw uli u act of going back home •umóli v to come ulila u orphan ulít u bark, skin ulítan v to peel something ulítan v to peel something (der. of ulit) ulitáw {fr. var. of ulétaw} u bachelor, unmarried boy ulté' u sprout ulu ni lasat u nipple [lar] ulúh u head -um- ??? > v ifx AV uma'ban v to chop uma'báng v to climb (der. of a'báng) umábut v to reach (der. of **ábut**) **umagded** v to request (der. of gded) [lar] um'ahon v to go up (der. of **áhon**) umálang v to come from (der. of **álang**) umáli v to come (der. of ali) umán 1. prep like 2. adv seemingly umanhay {fr. var. of umansáy} umanig v to be like

(der. of aníg) umansa'í dem FDIST.SML.DEM umansáy dem DIST.SML.DEM fr. var. **umanhay** umansén dem PROX.SML.DEM umansi'é dem LPROX.SML.DEM umansiná dem MED.SML.DEM um'asu' v to be smoking (der. of asó') ume'áy v to go (der. of **ay3**) umedsáng v to lie down (der. of edsáng) umeg'áng v to depart, to leave (der. of eg'ang) umelwás v to cross (der. of elwás) umgèn v bear down, exert oneself [lar] umi'at v to stand up (der. of i'at) um'ikod v to go around (der. of ikod) um'inés v to move umíng u beard Umíngan u Alta place name um'ingel v to get angry (der. of ingél) umínom v to drink (der. of **inom**) **Umiray** u Umiray river umisbú v to urinate (der. of isbú) umkab v to yawn [lar] umóli v to come (der. of **uli**) umtá'ih v to defecate [lar] um'uddén v to rain (der. of uddén) umunod v to follow (der. of unod) um'unód=i u the following, the next (der. of **unod**) umútan v to borrow money uná u act of saying

•ma'uná' v to say •pe"uná v to have someone say unás u sugarcane [lar] unát u straigh (hair) ungút u coconut uníh u sound unod u act of following •umunod v to follow •um'unód=i u the following, the next •unoden v to follow something unoden v to follow something (der. of **unod**) unómen u word, speech [v] upa u wage, rent [tag] •upáhan v to rent something upáhan v to rent something [tag] (der. of **upa**) upoh u gourd [lar] upu'upúhan u Its leaves are edible, you can eat them raw in a salad, or boil them and prepare them with bagoong, oignons and tomatoes. It is quite tasty and it's good for high blood pressure usáh u deer usol u act of bringing down (to bring rattan plants down) usu u vogue utában v to stab [lar] útah u vomit útan u debt •mengótan v to borrow utay'utay adv gradually uté' u brain útin u penis fr. var. gèyèt

utúh u lice, louse •me'i'utuh v to delouse utúsan v to send on an errand [lar] ut'ut u act of digging a hole •peng'ut'út acw tool for digging •ut'után v to excavate ut'után v to excavate (der. of ut'ut) uwáh u thing uyéng u rat, mountain rat uyógen u mock something Ww =wadá adv perhaps wádi' u younger sibling ewwádi u siblings [v] wadí' u younger sibling (vocative) wagét u 1. water 2. river wakwák u crow walís u sweep •menwalis v to sweep, broom waló= u eight wasa' u destruction, ruin wasingmasín u washing machine [eng] wata'wata' u act of scattering •menwata'watá' v to spread out Υy

-ya- ifx RDP =ya'í dem FDIST.DEM.ABS yapyáp u kind of small fish yari u act of happening •mengyári v to happen =yay dem DIST.DEM.ABS ya'yay {fr. var. of dya'yay} yègyèg u earthquake [lar] yelgít u eye yún u June [eng]

## 9.2.2 English – Northern Alta Reversal Index

abaca -- adútay u abandon -- láwan v; men'awon v abandon someone -- isí'yan v able to learn -- metútu st able to obtain -- ma'álap v abnormal, uncertain -- álangan u above -- ita'puh acacia tree -- akásya u accept -- tangap u accident -- sakúna u accompany -- élan 1 u accompany someone -- sabáyan v actual -- mísmo u actually -- kung baga discconn add -- dagdag u add to something -- dagdagán v adversity, suffering -- kahirapan u advice -- penbiddán acw affraid -- me'antíng st afternoon -- puláb u afterwards -- pagkatapos acw age -- edád u agree -- payagan v agreement -- payag u agreement, acceptance -- tangápan u airplane -- eropláno u alive -- mebilay st all -- lahát u all -- elán u all day long -- meghápon u all saint's day -- maháli a áraw almost -- hálus adv almost -- tetteng adv alone -- solo u alone -- i'issá u already -- <u>=Ce</u> adv; <u>=na2</u> adv; <u>=nen</u> adv also -- <u>=séla</u> adv Alta language -- alta 2 u alta people -- ka'altahan u ambition -- pangarap u ancestor -- ninúno u and -- saka coordconn and -- atsaka coordconn

## A a

and -- at coordconn anger -- ingél u angry -- um'ingel v animal -- háyup u ankle -- bit'ing u; bukungbúkung u another -- ibá u answer -- tebág u ant -- egém u anus -- bulí 2 u anyhow -- papeppapeno adv anywhere -- kung adidino adv approach something -- bi'nán v aproximately -- mangá areca nut -- butág u arm -- <u>beráso</u> u; <u>sálap</u> u armpit -- kilekileh u arms -- <u>sasálap</u> u arrange -- ayúsen v arrival -- pangadaténg u arrove -- daténg u; dumaténg v arrow -- tadem ni paná-i u arrow (spearfishing) -- ginílat u as, by way of -- bílang 2 u ascension -- telde u ashes -- abó 2 u ask -- mentanóng v aspect, presence -- hárap u assistant -- gemgém 2 u assorted -- sarisari u at first -- ten demó adv attempt -- pensikapan acw attraction -- igop u aunt -- bimbí' u authority, right, claim -awake -- melemvá v Βb **baby** -- **aná' a ba'ík** u bachelor, unmarried boy -- ulitáw u back -- li'ód u back in the days -- ten sinag adv back of the knee -- alakalakán u backside -- bobóng u bad -- medú'es 1 st

bait -- pa'ínan u Baler town -- Baléd u Balete tree -- Balíti u ball -- bóla u ballpen -- bólpen u balobo -- blóngay u bamboo -- awáyan u banana -- ságing u Bangkok tree -- bangkók u barangay -- barangáy u bark -- atát u; ulít u barking of a dog -- abágan u; batóg u barter, exchange -- palit u; su'ep 1 u base -- bátay u base, bottom -- penti'eddán acw basket -- kayabang u bat -- alapnít u bathe -- dilus u bathe -- mendílus v be able to entertain -- melíbang st be able to quit -- ma'eg'ang v be at -- isáy exist be born -- men'aná v be born -- iyaná' v be found of someone -- mon u be like -- umanig v be quick -- me'ágap st be rescued -- manágep v be thirsty -- uháw u bean -- sítaw u bear (fruit) -- mengíyan v bear (fruit) -- men'iyán v bear a child -- meni'aná v bear down -- <u>umgèn</u> v beard -- umíng u beautifull -- meganda st beauty -- gandá u because -- dáhil subordconn; dahilan prep; kasé subordconn because -- kasé subordconn become -- maging- v become orphaned -- ma'ulila v bed -- káma u bedbug -- súrut u before -- bálo 2 subordconn beginning -- <u>sapúl</u> u behaviour -- pakikitungo u

behind -- palli'ódan u believe -- menewala v believe, think -- akála v belly -- tián u bench, chair -- bangkó u berch -- dumu'el u betel chew -- emán u betel chew practice -- pen'eman acw betel leaf, piper betel -- litlit u **big -- <u>de'él</u> u** bind -- gapúèn u bird -- manú' 1 u bite something -- aláten v bitter -- mepít st black -- mengétid st bladder -- pantug u blade -- tadem u blanket -- ulés u blind -- bulát u blink one's eyes -- ikésap v block, as a hole -- lu'duyèn v blood -- matlém u blossom -- buddé' u; memuddé v; menbuddé' v blow (wind) -- sumíbul i pagúd-i v blue -- asúl u; blu u board, plank -- tablá u boat pole -- tíkin u boat, canoe -- bangká u **body -- <u>abdé'</u> u** boil -- <u>ilaga</u> v; <u>isángèp</u> v; <u>lumelbút</u> v boiling -- mellebút 1 st bomb -- pengwasak acw bone -- tólang u book -- libro u born -- lumeldép v borrow -- dam2 u; mengótan v; umútan v boss -- ámo u bottle -- bóte u bottom -- pinenti'dan u; tepde u bound for -- papuntá u bow -- paná u bowl -- mangko' u boy -- lalla'í u boyfriend, girlfriend -- a'ángas u bracelet -- sebcál u

brain -- uté' u bran -- napês u branch -- sangá 1 u branch out -- mensangá v brave -- méngèl st; metápang st bread -- tinápay u breadfruit -- rímas u breakfast -- mèn'armusal v breast -- lasát 1 u; susu u breast-fed -- mensúsu v breathe -- anges u breed -- men'aná' v bridge -- túlay u bright -- mesiglát st bring -- ittugen v bring someone/something -- i'ayep v broken -- minabsag st; minásídah st broken (jars) -- nabtá st broken (ropes) -- napegsát st broom -- buybúy u broom made of midribs -- tingting u brother-in-law -- báyaw u brothers or sisters in law -- pethípag u brown -- brawn u bubble -- bumbula u bucket -- baldé u build -- men'úg v build a house -- menbeli v build something -- payóngan v bulrush -- salókut u bumblebee -- <u>sedúl</u> u bunch -- gepét 2 u bunch of bananas -- bú'ig u burn something -- temó'en v burn, be on fire -- matmó v burn, scorch -- imálan v burned -- ma'imálan v; metúpok st burned to ashes -- mewasá st bury -- ibítu v; ilbéng v businesman -- negosiante u but -- péro coordconn butterfly -- alébangbang u; paroparó u buttocks -- bènèg u; bulí 1 u button -- botones u **buy** -- <u>bíli</u> u Сс Cabanatuan -- abanatú'an u

cabbage -- repólyo u call -- menngó v call someone -- ngo'an v can, be possible -- obra v; pwéde u candy -- kendi u cane -- tungkud u canine tooth -- pángil u canine tooth, tusk -capable -- káva u capital, investment -- puhunan u carabao -- depóg u cardboard -- kartón u carress or stroke something -háplusen v carried by currend -- miní'anúd st carru -- betláy u; eddén u carry a baby -- salíbi u carry on shoulder -- betláyen v carry something -- eddenán v Casiguran -- Kasigúran u cat -- pósa u catch -- da'ep u; meda'ép v; menda'ép v catch (hunting) -- malakáya 2 u catch with a trap -- mensílo v caused by -- gágawi 2 cell phone -- <u>sélpon</u> u cellophane -- sélupin u cement -- siménto u cementery -- pantiyon u center -- séntro u chair -- itnúdan u change -- menbágo v; pembabágo u change clothes -- menbíhis v change something -- sá'latan v charcoal -- úding 1 u charcoal production -- pen'udíng acw chase -- damólag u chase something -- damólagen v cheap -- melahdín st; metepdé 2 st; **m<u>úra 1</u> u** cheat -- dáya' u cheek -- padingil u chest -- pagúh u chew areca nut -- menbutag v chew sugarcane -- osèn v chicken -- manó' u chicken food -- matáng hípong u

child -- anna' u child, offspring -- ána' u children -- a'ána' u children's inlaws -- mannolangan u chin -- timid u choose -- pilén v chop -- gayáten u; manhákot v; uma'ban v chop down -- puláken v chop something -- hakóten v church -- simbáhan u cigarette -- sigarílio u circle -- bilóg u clarity -- lináw u clavicle -- gulugud ni pagu-i u clean -- melínis st; menlínis v clean rice -- mentap v clean something -- linísan u cleanliness -- linis u clear -- bu'ás u clear -- melínaw st climb -- <u>uma'báng</u> v climb something -- a'bangen v close -- isáda v; ita'pèg v close (eyes) -- men'isép v close one's eyes -- iyésep v cloud -- me'úlap u cockroach -- ipès u coconut -- niyúl u; ungút u coconut milk -- gaté' u coconut plantation -- aniyúlan u coconut shell -- ba'úl u coconut wine -- tayóg u coffee -- kapé u cogon grass -- kúgun u cold -- medangín st collapse -- minébwèl v colleague -- kasábay u collect firewood -- me'i'ayuh v collect something -- sa'deten v colour -- kúlay u comb -- mensuklay v come -- álang u; umálang v come -- umáli v; umóli v come back -- mensóli v come out -- gsa' u community -- komunidád u

compassionate -- me'albí st complete -- kompleto u; monmon u connection -- kabít 2 u connection -- ka'ugnáy u constitute -- bumbu'u v consumed -- memin st consumed -- mináminèn st contest -- demét u continuance -- tulús u continuation -- tulúy u continue -- mánaili v; mentulús v continue something -- itulús v converge -- me'itagbo v cook -- mengisalang v; menluto v cook rice -- mensená v cook something -- igísa v; ilúto v cook something by using a fire -ísalang v cook with coconut milk -- gate'an v cooking place -- pengisalangan acw cooking pot -- kawálih u cool -- mehámog st corner -- súluk u correct -- táma1 u corset -- tápis u cot -- edsangán u cotton -- búlak u cough -- ug'úg u count -- bílang 1 u couple -- petsásawa u couple of companions -- pet'élan u courage -- tápang u cousin -- apésa u cousins -- pet'apésa u cover -- takípan u; tungtung u cover something -- ita'bon v; ta'bonan v; tá'pegan v covered with cysts -- butligbutlig u crab -- émanguh u crack -- minabta' v crawl -- gumápang v crayfish -- talangká u crazy -- mellebút 2 st critical -- delikádo u crocodile -- buwáyah u crooked -- mebíkong st cross -- umelwás v

crow -- wakwák u crowl -- gapangan v crown of thorns -- kurúnang tinik u crush -- bayúh u crush -crush lice -- sèddit u crush something with a stick -tegtegén v crush with a stick -- mentegtég v crush, pound -- menbayúh v crushing -- penlebé' acw cry -- mensiyá v cultivate land -- men'úma v culture -- kultúra u cup -- tása u cure -- menpagamot v curly -- kúlut u; po'étpo'et u current of water -- anod u cursed -- inábat v custom -- ka'ugali'an u cut -- etúl u cut -- mentabás v; tulen v cut into many slices -- gayatgayaten v cyst -- butlíg u D d dam -- dam1 u dance -- mensayaw v dance for someone -- sayawan v dandruff -- ugdèng u dangerous -- mepangánib st dark -- mesdém st darkness -- sdem u day -- áraw u; sinág 2 u; tagesénag u day after tomorrow -- idúwa adv day before yesterday -- ten makálawa adv dazzle -- silaw u dazzled -- mesílaw st deaf -- tulèng u **dear** -- *u* debt -- útan u deep -- medísalad st deep sea -- benglé 2 u deer -- usáh u defecate -- umtá'ih v denlouse -- me'i'utuh v dependent -- ása u

descent -- bába u; ugsad u destruction -- wasa' u detonation -- pempapdo' u device -- apárato u dew -- hámug u diaper -- dáyaper u die -- metíh st different -- iba'ibá u; ka'ibá u difficult -- mehírap 2 st dig -- menbítu v dilligence -- sipag u dilligent -- mesípag st dinner -- pumólaban u direct -- tápat u dirt -- dengét u; diplét u; tapé u dirt in eye -- salímat u dirty -- mediplét st disagreement -- hidwá'an u disappear -- me'ébut v disguise as -- menpangap v dish -- pingán u disrespectful -- lapastangan u dissolvent -- penglúsaw acw dissolving -- penlúsaw acw dive -- lumedep v; menisid v dive -- ati u divide -- bla' u divide something -- bla'én v divider -- dibáyder u diving -- penledep acw do -- gágawin v do at the same time -- mensabay v do something -- megagawi v do wrong -- menkasala v dog -- asó u door -- <u>penárra</u> u down -- bakbak u downstream -- dilód u dream -- talénèp u dress -- dastér u; su'ep 2 u drink -- umínom v drink soemthing -- inomen v drip -- ipgés v; tegdu u; tumtègdu v drive away -- bugáwen v drivel, drool -- alibaba' u drought -- siyan1 u; siyan2 u; túyu u drown -- minálimês st

drunk -- linúg u dry -- mesiyán st; metúyu st; namaddé st dry on the sun -- isénag v dull -- mèngódèl st Dupinga river -- Dupínga u during -during -- lu'ub u dust -- <u>alekab</u>uk u dwell -- ayán v dynamite -- dilámita u Еe each -- kadaear -- talénga u earlier -- ten nánih adv early -- papa'ás 2 adv early dawn -- madaling-araw adv earring -- híkaw u earth -- lubóng u; tappé u earthquake -- lindól u; yègyèg u earwax -- talengangág u east -- silángan u easy -- medáli st eat -- an u; mengán v education -- pineg'aralan u eel -- igdét u effect -- gágawi 3 u efficient -- sanáy u egg -- bunáy u eggplant -- talóng u eight -- waló= u eighth -- inwaló u elbow -- si'uh u elder -- me"ena'ém u eldest child -- demó 2 u; pangánay u electricity -- koryénte u eleven -- labin issá u eleventh -- inlabinissá u ember -- bága' u embrace -- apos u enchanted -- inkantáda u engineer -- inginer u enlarge -- dedde'len v enter -- pasok u; sumdép v enter a place -- pendingen v entertain someone -- libángen v entertained -- melebang st

enthusiastic -- interesádo u entrance -- isdép 2 u; kadasedep u; pasdepán u envious -- me'íngit st epilepsia -- subisubi u error -- sala u escape -- <u>me'elebsang</u> v escort -- etugèn v; mengétugen v especially -- lálo adv estimate -- tantyádo v even -- angán coordconn; hangán 1 subordconn; patí prep evenin -- <u>dalám</u> u evening -every -- báwad u every night -- dalamdalam adv everyday -- sinagsinág adv exactly -- kaya gúl adv example -- halimbáwa u excavate -- ut'után v excessive -- lámpas u excessive -- mehégit st excessive -- mesyádo adv excrement -- etay u exhaust pipe -- tambótso u exist -- maiwaddé v expensive -- mehál st experience -- aranásan u; dat 2 u; maranasan v experience difficulty -express gratitude -- menpasalámat v extremity -- lawís u eye -- matáh u; yelgít u eyebrow -- kílay u eyedirt -- mutá u eyelash -- kurimá'mat u; pilikmatah u Ff face -- isa'lang v; lúpa u; mukhá u faint -- pumpatí v fall -- falls u; mate'nag v; te'nag u fall down -- me'leb v family -- kapamílya u; pamílya u family name -- apelído u fan -- bentiladór u far -- addyó u farting plant -- attetút u fast -- apódan v; meba'sig st; mebílis st fasten -fat -- metabdé 1 st father -- amá u; tiyáma u father and child -- pet'áma u fathers -- tidyama u father's -- niyama u fatness, fertileness -- tabdé u faucet -- grípo u favorite -- paboríto u fear -- anting u feast -- ngayan v fectch water -- mensagep v feed -- menpa"an v feed the fire -- du'útan v feet -- ti'édti'éd u fence -- bákud u fertile -- metabdé 2 st fertilizer -- patabá u fetch -- sundo u fetch something -- sagepen v fetch water -- menta'yuh v; sumagep v fetching water -- pensagép acw fever -- penáng u feverish -- mepenáng st few -- sá'ano 2 u; sasa'ano pro-form field -- kampo u fifth -- inlimmá u fight -- me'i'itaw v fight -- laban u fight -- ipaglaban v; men'itáw v; suntók u fill -- matnó v fin -- palikpík u find -- me'intá v finger -- dalíri u; galámay u; tanúduh u fingernail -- kukóh u fire -- apóy 1 u first -- demó 1 u; medemo st; pa'idemówan acw; sa'út adv fish -- i'án u fish with goggles and spear -menlédep v fist -- ama'u u five -- five u; limmá u; síngko u flagrant -- meslób st flat -- melapyát st flatness -- pátag u

flesh -- pilás u flipflops -- sinélas u float -- Itaw u; Iumèltaw v flood -- duma'el v flooded -- me'anód st floor -- aságan u flour -- <u>arína</u> u flow -- bumbulús v; gumsá v flow somewhere -- gsa'an v flower -- bulaklák u flowered -- bulaklakan u flowering -- pen'iyán acw fly -- inumbèl v fly -- la'angáw u follow -- sundan v; umunod v follow something -- unoden v following -- um'unód=i u fontanelle -- bunbunan u food -- e"anén u; pagka'in acw food used as provision -- pengbelón acw fool -- loko u; menlóko v foot -- pie u; ti'éd u footprint -- abdét u for -- para 1 prep for example -forehead -- idép u foreigner -forest -- a'áyuwan u forest -- talón u forget -- alí'sap u fork -- tinidór u four -- apát u; kwatro u fourth -- in'apát u fourty -- kwarénta u fracture -- minagpung v freckle -- pekas u free -- meláya v fresh -- bágo u fresh -- saríwa u fridge -- rep u friend -- akúyog u; ka'ibígan u frog -- ba'ba' u from -- taga- u; tiga prep fry rice -- isalnag v frying pan -full -- penúh u

Gg

gall -- apduh u game -- galáw u garbage -- edét 1 u garden -gardening -- gárden u garlic -- <u>báwang</u> u gas pain -- <u>kábag</u> u get -- <u>álap</u> u get -- mengálap v get dark -- <u>sumdem</u> v get drunk -- melinúg st get married -- menkasanga v get saciated -- minapsul v get somebody to sleep -- papólden v get something -- alápen v ghost -- luwe' u gills -- <u>asáng</u> u gin -- ginébra u ginger -- lúyah u girl -- <u>debdí</u> u give -- <u>atdán</u> v give -- áted u; da'út u; mengáted v give something -- awádan v glass -- <u>báso</u> u glasses -- <u>salámin</u> u glued -- mepét st gnat -- <u>amúl</u> u go -- <u>inay</u> v; <u>ume'áy</u> v go around -- <u>um'ikod</u> v go down -- <u>tumepde</u> v go home -- uli u go in -- sdepen v go somewhere -- <u>ángin</u> v; <u>ináyan</u> v go to church -- mensimbá v; simba u go up -- <u>um'ahon</u> v goat -- kambíng u god -- Apó u; dyós u; Makadipá u; pangino'on u goggles -- antipára u gold -- ginto u gold seeker -- magiginto u good -- mepatód st; mepíya st; piya u gossip -- <u>isitsit</u> v gourd -- upoh u government -- gobyérno u gradually -- utay'utay adv

grandfather -- alápowan 2 u; lolo u grandmother -- lola u grandparent -- niyápo u grandparent -- <u>apó 2</u> u grandparent -- tiyápo u grandparents -- tidyápo u grandparents -- nidyapo u grandparents and grandsons -- pet'apo grandson -- <u>alápowan 1</u> u; <u>apó 1</u> u **grass -- <u>damó</u> u; <u>lamón</u> u** grate -- kayudèn v gratitude -- sipél u greedy -- demót u green -- <u>bérde</u> u; grin u greeting -- bati u grill -- sangep u grind -- gíling u grindstone -- ubúlan u grit the teeth -- mengigí v group -- <u>e'élan</u> u group of houses -- binalebbelí u grow -- <u>de'len</u> v grow up -- <u>tum'angal</u> v g-string -- <u>bal</u> u guard -- <u>tánod</u> u guard something -- abantáyan v guava tree -- <u>bayábas</u> u **guide -- <u>dat 3</u> u** gun -- <u>badíl</u> u; **pedú'** u gun something down -- badílen v guuard -- bantáy u; menbantáy v Ηh **hair** -- <u>bo'</u> u hair gray -- <u>uban</u> u hair whirl -- puyoh u hairy end of plants -- ipus 1 u half -- a'tul u; kalaháti u hammer -- pokpók u hammock -- <u>áyud</u> u; <u>indáyon</u> u hand -- damét u handbag -- hánbag u handle -- polowan u hands -- dametdamét u hang -- me'essabít v; sabít u hang something -- isabit v hang somewhere -- sabitan v

happen -- mengyári v; yari u happy -- mèlégayah st; mesayá st; mesípel st hard -- me'tóg st hard working -harelip -- bingáw u harpoon -- salapáng u harvest -- áni u have -- may exist have -- karo'on v have a relapse -- mebínat st he -- <u>=siyá</u> pron; <u>siya2</u> pron head -- ulúh u headcold -- sipón u heal -- menpapiya v heal someone -- ipa'dang u hear -- tibeng u hear about something -- mabalítan v heart -- pusó u hearth -- abó 1 u heat -- ínit u heavy -- medelmét st heel -- tudtud u height -- tang'al u helicopter -- elikopter u help -- túlong u helper -- katúlong u here -- <u>=sen</u> dem; <u>=si'e</u> dem; <u>ti'sén</u> dem hiccough -- assinúken u hide -- mensóme' v; some' u hideout -- akógunan u high -- metang'ál st high, tall -- metan'al st; meta'pó st higher part of a village -hire someone -his -- =na1 pron; diyá pron hit -- lipdés u; me'isuntu' v hit someone -- lipdesén v hoarse -- mema'us st; pagê' u hold -- gemgém 1 u; mengemgem v hold something -- gemgeman v hole -- <u>ebút</u> u; <u>ubut</u> u homework -- asáinment u hook -- káwit u horn -- <u>sádu</u> u hornbill -- kaláw u hospital -- ospitál u

hot -- me'ínit st house -- belí u household -- bubúng u how -- papéno int how are -- kumustá int how many -- sá'ano 1 int however -- kayadlá subordconn hundred -- ara'an u; ngaddén 2 u hunger -- bitíl u hungry -- bitélen u hunt -- áludu' u; de'ép u; húli u; mehúli v; mengáludu v; menhúli v hunt -- ánop u hunt for game -- mengánup v hunting -- penhúli acw hunting ground -- pengasuhan acw hunting material -- pengáludu' acw hunting tool -husband -- la'áy 2 u husk of rice -- ipah u hut -- payegpég u; sa'lóng u L i I -- <u>=e'</u> pron I love you -- budí ta'a if -- kung 1 subordconn; nu'ánu 2 conn; pag 1 subordconn if -- pagká subordconn ignite something -- tungúwan v ilongot tribe -- étaleng u imitate someone -- anígen v impede -- <u>adlang</u> u important -- importante u impossible -- imposible u improve something -- pepíyan v in front -- sa'langan u in order to -in order to -- para 2 subordconn in other words -- ibig sabihin discconn include -- gagsa included -- sakóp u including -- <u>=patí</u> adv income -- kita u incorrect -- malí st increase -- nayunan v indeed -- <u>=gul</u> adv; <u>=ngaród</u> adv; <u>akkáw</u> inti index -- intutúdu u

indian coral tree -- dapdáp u industriousness -- kasipágan u infant -- apapa"ana' u infection -- sulpút u influence -- impluwensia u ingredient -- pensená acw ingredients for seasoning -- rekádo u inmediately -- agád adv inside -- disálad 1 u insomnia -- puyat u instead -- imbís adv intestines -- bitú'an u; egét u iron -- bákal u; landok u iron pyrite -- giginto u island -- pugúh u it is said -- di'omano itch -- getél u itchy -- mengetél v Jj jackfruit -- nangká u jam -- palaman 2 u **Japan** -- hapón 1 u japanese male -- hapón 2 u japanse woman -- haponesa u jaw -- sèlang u Jeez! -- addyos! intj joint -- kasukasú'an u juice -- katás u jump -- lumagwat v jump in the water -- lagwát u **June -- <u>yún</u> u** just -- =námud adv Κk kernel -- iyán u kick -- ibensih v; itidia' v kidney -- butu' u kill -- papati v kilogram -- kílo u kilometer -- kilometro u kind -- mebá'it st; sari u kind of salt -- sigém u kindness -- ba'it u kiss -- alób 2 u kiss someone -- aloban v kitchen -- kusína u kitchen accessories -- pengkusína acw **knee** -- **bol** u

kneel -- luhúd u knife -- kutsílyo u knot -- gepét 1 u know -- kilála u know -- annólen v; mè'ipagkilálah v; nnol u; tokóy u knowledge -- mennólan v 11 lacking -- kúlang u lacking, insufficient -ladder -- aldèn u ladle -- sandú u ladle of coconut shell -- pangókad u lady -- meddi u lake -- lanáw 1 u lame -- mepilay st lame -- pilay u land -- tape' u landslide -- lanslaid u language -- pólung 1 u last -- hulí adv last year -- itasse a ta'ón late -later -- nánih adv laugh -- ngenge u; táwa u laundry -- penlabá acw; penlabáda acw lawyer -- abogádo u lay down -- menlatag v lay something down -- ipa'edsang v layer -- patong u lazy -- mebí'et st lazyness -- bí'et u leader -- pangonáhin u; pon 3 u leady -- meng'uno v leaf -- doon u lean -- sanggíl u learn -- men'áral v; tutu u learned something -- minennolan v leave -- olay u leave -- eg'ang u leave -- umeg'áng v leave -- buwag u leech -- limáte' u; linta u left -- aléwi u left hand -- awili u leftover -length -- la'aw u

let -- ulayen v let go -- ilebsáng v let someone know -- ipamúlat v let's go -- itamme! lezard -- bus u lice -- hánip u lice -- utúh u lie -- butíl u; menbutíl v lie down -- edsáng u; sa'ep u; umedsáng v lie, false -- mebútil st life -- biláy u; búhay u life, existence -- kabuháyan u lift -- tumelde v light -- meladdén st lightning -- ilát u like -- aníg 2 subordconn; umán 1 prep like that -- umansáy dem; umansiná dem like this -- umansén dem lime -- apúl u link -- dugsún u lips -- lábi u lit a fire -- du'ut u little finger -- tambaba'ik u live -- me'ettirá v; tira u; tumira v live somewhere -- tirán v liver -- agtáy u lizard -- takták u load -- kárga u; sakay u loan -- pa'atdan u lobster -- banagán u; padángas u location, position -- adyan u locust -- pèssal u log -- men'ayúh v log -- tistis u log something -- tístisen v long -- melá'aw st long time -- metgéd st long time ago -- ten eddamo a panáhon adv look -- elseng u; mentangál v; tangal u look at something -- elsengán v; tangálen v look down -- iláway v look forward -- ilege' mo pata'poh loose -- meló'ag st

loosen soil -- gambul u lose -- iwala v lose -- ebut u; minátáluh v lose interest -- pensáwan u loss -- minálúgih v lost -- minébut st love -- budin u loving -- penbudí acw low -- metepdé 1 st low tide -- hibás u lower abdomen -- pussónan u lunch something -- ulámen v lungs -- bagá' u Mm machete -- sundáng u magnet -- magnet u magnetism -- magnetik u make an offer to someone -- alo'an v make coal -- men'uding v make dirty -- dípleten v make money -- menkita v make profit -- me'inabang v make someone drink -- ipa'inom v making a living -- penmangaliyo acw makulit -- me'odut st mangadlit fish -- mangadlít u mango -- mangga u manners -- ugáli u marble -- marmol u mark -- abdetán v market -- bánuwan 1 u; palénke u marry a man -- menla'áy v massage -- hilod u mat -- <u>abé</u> u May -- Máyo u mayb -- baká adv maybe -- <u>=balí 1</u> adv; sigúdo adv Maynila -- Maynilá u me -- si'én pron mean -- me'ebut st meat of a pagi -- pellé u medicine -- gamót u meet -- me'ehárap v; mentagpó v melt -- lusaw u mercy -- albí u method -- para'an u middle -- benglé 1 u

migrate -- lumipat v milk -- gátas u milk for feeding a baby -- lasát 2 u mine -- di'en pron mingle with others -- mesalamuha v miscarriage -- ma'agásan u miss someone -- sablé u mix -- le'bung u mix something -- isahóg v mix something to something -- ile'bung v mixture -- sahóg u mock something -- uyógen u mocous from one's nose -- sipún u mocou's in one's eye -- salémat u molar tooth -- bag'ang u mold -- inámag u moment -- saglít u money -- malimbúy u; péra u monitor lezard -- basé'ot u monkey -- bulángen u month -- bulán 2 u moon -- bulán 1 u moral lecture -- ánkop u more -- mas adv morning -- papa'ás 1 u mortar (rice) -- lesúng u mosquito -- namú' u moss -- lúmot u mother -- nanay u; téna u mother (vocative) -- iná u mother and son -- pet'éna u mothers -- tiddena u motor, device -- makina u mountain -- mudúng u mountain rat -- uyéng u mountain rat -- dagís u mountainous area -- kamudúngan u mouth -- tóbil u move -- likot u; um'inés v move something -- likóten v movement -- inés u much, many -- ádo u mud -- lutít u my -- <u>=o</u> pron Νn naked -- hubád u; me'ehúbad st; oblás u

nephew -- pangónakan u nest -- pugarán u new -- bálo 1 u next day -- pa'asan u next month -- inómunid a bulán adv next to -- digdíg u nice -nine -- siyám u ninth -- insiyám u **nipa -- <u>sasáh</u> u** nipple -- ulu ni lasat u nit of louse -- lisá' u no matter how -- angán papéno adv no whater what -- hangan papéno adv noise -- ngangaw u noisy -- mengáwngaw st Nominal affix -- anon-Alta person -- uldín u noon -- tangháli u nor -- kung 3 subordconn nose -- edúng u not -- bísa neg not exist -- awón exist notice -- pansin u now -- dya'yay 1 adv 00 obliged -- obligádo u obstacle -- homad u ocasion -- minsan u occasional -octopus -- pugitáh u odd -- káka'ibá u

name -- menngadden v; ngaddén 1 u;

ngadnan u

nape of neck -- bètu' u

narra tree -- kamarág u

naturally -- talága 1 adv

narrow -- mekípot st

native -- katotúbo u

nature -- kalikasan u

naughty -- melékot st

necklace -- kwéntas u

need -- ka'ilángan v

needle -- karayum u

navel -- <u>puséd</u> u near -- mebi'en st

neck -- li'ég u

**odor** -- <u>alób 1</u> u offer -- <u>aló'</u> u offer something -- ialo' v offer to the gods -- átang u often -- palagi adv oil -- langís u; mantíka u ok -- halá intj old -- menna'ém st **old man -- <u>la'áy 1</u> u** old object -- deddiyán 1 u old woman -- be'és 1 u older sibling -- aká' u once finished -- pangaone -- issa u; itassé u one thing placed over another -onion -- <u>sibúyas</u> u only -- <u>=dla</u> adv open -- <u>buksán</u> v open -- buklat u open eyes -- mumulat v open something -- bu'sán v oppose -- ma'épè'itaw v opposite side -- debbelew u oppressed -- api'apíhan u oppression -- ka'apíhan u opress -- api u or -- <u>o</u> coordconn orange -- órens u order -- ayús u; patód u originally -- <u>dáti</u> adv ornament -- pengbetuh acw orphan -- ulila u other -- <u>áduwan</u> u other side -- dipáning u outrigger -- pakáway u outside -- basáw u; tagèsa' outsider -- dayúhan u overcome something -- i'i'at v own -- <u>saríli</u> u own -- <u>magkaro'on</u> v Рp pack -- <u>búlto</u> u paddle -- sagwan u padlock -- kandado u; padlak u pain, disease -- sa'it u painful -palate -- ngalangalah u

palm of the hand -- pálad u parent-in-law -- manólangan u parents -- magúlang u part underbrush -- háwi u pass -- dman u; dumman v pass through -- dinmanan v pass time -- menteged v payment -- báyad u peanut -- <u>maní</u> u peel -- <u>ulítan</u> v peelings of cooked tubers -- ulet u pencil -- lápis u penis -- <u>títi</u> u; <u>útin</u> u perhaps -- <u>=wadá</u> adv permanent -- pirmi u persevere -- mentiyága v persevere -- mensíkap v person -- alta 1 u; pagka'uldin acw; tá'o u personal things -**peso -- <u>piso</u> u** peso by peso -- pisopiso adv pestle -- alloh u phantom -- dipá' u physician -- doktór u piece -- piráso u pig -- <u>debúy</u> u pile -pillar -- <u>halígi</u> u **pillow -- <u>púngan</u> u** pincers of crab -- sípit u pineapple -- pínya u **pitiful -- <u>kawáwa</u> u** place -- lugár u; pwésto u place something -- idtón v **plain -- <u>kapatágan</u> u** plan -- bálak u plan -- pláno u plant -- tubo u plant -- haláman u; mentaném v; taném plant by scattering -- isábug v plant louse -- <u>apíd</u> u plant something -- itanem v planting -- pentaném acw plate -- trey u play -- mengálaw v

pleasant -- mesárap 1 st plunge -- iledep v **poke** -- **<u>tu'be</u>** u policeman -- pulís u pomelo -- lukbán u poor -- addan u; mehidap st portrait -- letráto u possess -- menkaro'on v possessions -- mamay'ari u pot -- kaseróla u pound -- lebé' u pound rice -- menlebé' v pour water on something -- ta'buwan v poverty -- hidap u; hirap u pray -- <u>mensambá</u> v pregnant -- metóyud st prepare -- mengayá' u prepare something -- igavá v prevalence -- iral u previous -- deddiyán 2 u price -- presyo u principle -- prinsipyo u problem -- probléma u profit -- interés u; pa'inabang acw; **pa'inabangan** acw progressively -- tulúy-tulúy adv project -- proyékto u promptness -- <u>ágap</u> u prone -- <u>hilig</u> u prone -- <u>mehilig</u> st property -- karo'onro'onan u protection -- proteksyón u provisions -- belón u proximity -- <u>bí'en</u> u pubic hair -- <u>sabút</u> u pull -- menguyód v pull something -- guyóden v pumpkin -- alóbasa u punishment -- kaparusáhan u; parúsa u pure -- <u>túnay</u> u pure -- panáy u purpose -- láyunin u **pus -- <u>èná</u> u** push -- itúlag v; mentúlag v put -- <u>apongo'</u> u put a stopper into a hole -- se'se'an v put something under -- ipadisalad v

Qq quality -quarrel -- <u>babág</u> u question -- <u>tanóng</u> u quick -- medálas st quit -- eg'ángen 2 v Rτ rabbit -- kuného u raft -- <u>balsah</u> u rain -- uddén u; um'uddén v rain cloud -- <u>sèdèm</u> u rainbow -- bahaghári u raise -- <u>sikwat</u> u raise someone -- <u>ibilay</u> v raise something -- ipáyong v; itang'ál v ramify -- <u>mensangasangá</u> v rarely -- bihíra adv; madalang adv rather --rattan -- latíh u rattan production -- penlatíh acw raw -- <u>mátah</u> st reach -- dinát 1 v; edpenén v; madat v; <u>umábut</u> ∨ read -- <u>menbása</u> v ready -- <u>handá</u> reception -- salubong u reconciliation -- pagkakásundo acw recover -- <u>men'isoli</u> v recover something -- isoli v red -- <u>meslét</u> st redeem -- <u>tinúbus</u> v regret -- sísin u reject -- le'udan v **relative -- <u>adánayan</u> u** relatives -- pet'adánayan u rely on -- <u>asáhan</u> v **remain -- <u>buwáy</u> u** remember -- metanda'án v; tanda'an v; **<u>tu'nang</u>** u remind -- <u>ipa'ála'ala</u> v remove -- <u>pa'eg'áng</u> v remove something -- eg'ángen 1 v; hubaden u; lokmaten v rent -- upa u rent something -- <u>upáhan</u> v repeat -- <u>=mannen</u> adv; <u>luway</u> u repeat -- <u>luwáyèn</u> v

repeatedly raise something with a lever -- sikwatsikwaten v reply -- sagoten v; tebágen v request -- umagded v request something -- gdeden v rescue -- penágep u respect -- galang u respect someone -- igalang v responsability -- bahála u rest -- menpahínga v return -- soli u return -- inomulí v return somewhere -- sóliyan v revolve -- lumípung v rib -- taglang u rice -- pagí u rice (cooked) -- anén u rice (husked) -- begás u rice mill -- konóhan u rice paddy -- tobígan u rice straw -- dayámih u rice wine -- syoktóng u rickshaw -- tráysikel u ride -- sumákay v right -- diwánan u; karápatan u right away -- ka'ágad adv ring -- singsing u ringworm -- galís u river -- benéng u; wagét 2 u river bank -- legúg u road -- haiwey u; karsada u road, way -- delán u roaring -- egúng u rob someone -- aplusèn v roll a string around something -pulúput u roof -- <u>atép</u> u; <u>nangá</u> u rooster -- sábung u root -- ugdét u root -- lamút u rotten -- mebúyu 1 st round -- mebilug st rub -- páhidèn v rude -- bastós u rule -- patakaran u run -- ginan u; mengínan v run out -- minámin v

run out of something -- aménen v Ss saciated -- me'epsul v **sack -- <u>sáko</u> u** sack of 75 liters -- kabán u sacred -- sagrádo u sacrifice -- sakripísyo u sad -- melongkut st sadness -- longkut u sail -- <u>láyag</u> u salary -- swéldo u saliva -- lu'tab u salt -- <u>asín</u> u salty -- me'álat st same -- paréhas u; paréhos u sand -- buwéd u sandy place -- abuwedán u sap of a tree -- dagté' u save up -- mentípid v saw -- lagárih u **say -- <u>ma'uná'</u> v; <u>ngadnan</u> u** scale a fish -- kalískisan v scale of a fish -- kaliskis u scar -- pílat u scatter -- wata'wata' u school -- eskwélahan u; pa'aralan u scold -- menmumuda v; mumuda u scold someone -- biddán v scolding -- penmumúda acw scratch -- gusgus u scream -- talóman u sea -- baybáy u; dalát u search -- alíyo' u search -- men'alíyo v search for and cut rattan -- menlatíh v search something -- aliyo'én v seashore -- dalampasígan u second -- indúwa u secondly -- pengadwá adv; pengalwá u **see** -- <u>itán</u> v seed for planting -- binhí u seed of fruit -- butól u seek -- mengáliyo' v seemingly -- umán 2 adv sell -- mentindá v sell something -- itinda v send on an errand -- utúsan v

separate -- si'yán u separate -- bu'ut u separate something from something -kalásen v sesame -- lingáh u set something aside -- ibu'út v seven -- pitú u seventh -- inpitó u sew -- mèndalúp v sexual intercourse -- iut u shadow -- alénuh; anínuh u shake -- pagpág u shameful -- meka'amámes st share -- menda'út v share of a crop -- hunos u share something -- idu'út v share with someone -- da'útan u sharp -- metádem st sharpen something -- iyubul v shave something off -- kayasen v sheaf of rice -- pingey u sheath for bolo -- alóban u shell -- syel u shiver -- menginging v shoes -- sapátos u shoot -- úding 2 u shop -- tindáhan u short -- apítti u; metebdé st shorts -- kaputód u should -- dápat v shoulder -- balíkat u shout -- ngúmo' u show something to someone -- ipa'intá v shrimp -- udáng u shrimp or fish paste -- bago'óng u shy -- me'amámes st sibling -- apat'ákan u; kapatíd u siblings -- ewwádi u siblings -- pet'ákan u sick -- mesa'ít st side -- parte u side -- <u>bandá</u> u sieve -- bithay u signal -- ngadnan u; senias u similar -- di'aw u; katulad u similar to -- aníg 1 u

simply -- básta adv simultaneity -- sábay u since -- da subordconn sincere -- ta'ós u sing -- menkantá v sister-in-law -- hípag u sit -- itnud u situation -- situasyon u six -- iném u sixth -- in'inném u skewer -- tudú u skillful -- megaling st skin -skinny -- minágóng st skirt -- limuy u sky -- langít u slave -- batá'an u sleep -- mapóled v; mè'èppulèd v; póled u slice -- mengelgél v slice something -- gelgelén v slow -- bagal u; mehína 2 st small -- ba'ík u small cart -- kareta u small table -- lamesíta u smell something -- áloben v smoke -- pensigarílyo acw smoke -- asó' u; me'ásu' v smoke -- mensigarílio v smooth -- mèkislap st snake -- ulág u snare -- sílo u snoar -- mèn'óluh v so -- <u>=balí 2;</u> kayá subordconn soaked -- melpét st social position -- kalagayan u soft -- melemnín st sold by kaban -- kabankaban adv sold by salob -- salobsalób adv soldier -- menggeppét u; sundálo u sole of foot -- talampákan u somewhat -- medyo adv song -- kantá u son-in-law -- atólangan u sound -- uníh u soup -- sabáw u sour -- me'apsút st

source of income -- hanap-búhay u; ikabilay u; mehonusan u; pengálapan acw sow -- hasík u; menhasík v space under the house -- sídong u span of 8 inches -- dangkal u spaniard -- kastíla u sparrow -- máya u spatious -- lawad u speak -- menpólung v speak a language -- ipolung v spear -- peltág u; tulág u spear fish -- menpeltág v spear something -- peltagen v spearfishing -- penpeltág acw species of fresh water fish -- pilingan u species of tiny fish -- bayé' u speech -- unómen u spicy -- mèpáhang st spider -- gegámbah u spill -- mèntagi'lid v spine -- gulugud u spirit of death person -- kaluluah u spirit, ghost -- anito u splash water on someone -- sabdulan v spoon -- kutsára u spouse -- asáwa u spouse -- élan 2 u; sangá 2 u spread -- kalat u; mekalat st spread out -- menwata'watá' v sprinkle -- ibudbud v sprout -- talbós u; ulté' u square -- kodrádo u squat -- men'itnúd v squeeze -- pegessén v stab -- utában v stand up -- páyong 2 u; umi'at v star -- bitón u start -- mensapul v; simula u; simúlan v steal -- ta'áw u stem -- paklan u; tangkáy u step -- bine' u stick -- apet u sticker -- tik u sticky rice -- malagkít u still -- =pa adv; =sepla adv still -- =sep adv

stinging pain -- ma'apdès u stinky -- mebúyu 2 st stomach -- <u>talegagot</u> u stone -- betúh u stony or rocky place -- ebbetú'an u stony place -storm -- bagíyo u story -- istórya u; kasaysáyan u stove -- kalan u straigh (hair) -- unát u straight -- metuldóg st stream -- selúng u streams -- seleslúng u strech out -- luma'aw v strengh -- lakás u string -- biskál u; lubíd u strong -- meba'síd st; me'eldén st; melakas st study -- dammanol v study -- pen'aral u stuffing -- palaman 1 u stumble -- dagmáng u; mendagmáng v; tisa'bab u stupidity -- katangahan u sty in one's eye -- buliting u suck -- sepsep u suddenly -- <u>biglá</u> adv suface -- lumtaw v suffering -- peghihirap acw sufficient -- sapat u sugar -- asúkal u sugar cane plantation -- óna u sugarcane -- unás u summit -- ta'pó u summon -- pengo' u sun -- sinág 1 u Sunday -- lingo 2 u superiors -- paghárin-uri u supersticious -- me'aníto st suprise -- le'ned u suprised -- mele'néd st sure -- sigurádo u sure -- talága 2 u surface -- ibábaw u surprised -- minále'ned st surrender -- surrender v surroundings -- líbut u

swallow -- iyetlén v sweat -- línget u sweep -- menwalis v sweet -- melánis st sweet potato -- amóti u; amúti a ayúh u swell -- lumelteg v swidden -- óma u swim -- lumangúy v swim -- ledep u system -- sistéma u Τt table -- lamésa u tail -- ipus 2 u take care -- men'imáng v take food somewhere -- menbelón v take lunch -- menghali v take something across -- ivelwás v taro -- ganít u tarp -- lóna u task -- pengágawi acw taste -- innam u; innaman v; lasá u; me'e'innám v tasteless -- mèlamsit st; mètab'ang st tasty -- melása st; mesárap 2 st teach -- <u>mentódu</u> v teach someone -- todúwan v teach something -- itódu 1 v tear -- pi'nat u tear in eye -- luah u television -- tíbi u tell -- ibbide v tell someone -- bidden v; pólungen v ten -- sampú u; sápulo u tenth -- insáppulo u termite -- anáy u testicle -- bungaw u than -- késa coordconn; kesara coordconn thanks -- salámat u that -- <u>=éna</u> dem; <u>=yay</u> dem; <u>i'yáy</u> dem the -- in 1 art; in 2 art the morning after -- apa'asan u the most -- pinakathere is -- teiwadde exist there is -- tey exist therefore -they -- siddé pron

thick -- mekápal st; me'nèg st thickness -- kápal u thigh -- pu'él u thin -- menépis st thing -- bágay 2 u; ngaddén 3 pro-form think -- isípen v thinness -- gong u thirsty -- me'úhaw st thirty -- trenta u this -- <u>=en</u> dem; <u>=iná</u> dem; <u>i'én</u> dem; <u>i'i'é</u> dem; i'iná dem this -- ni'niná dem this morning -- kanáni a papa'ás adv Thistle of the mountains -- ádat u thorn -- set u thought -- ísip u thousand -- libu u threshing -- pen'agíh acw throat -- etlenán u through the means of -- pamamagitan u throw -- tèg'udèn v throw away -- ibút v throw something -- ite'nag v thumb -- hindada'él u; kamún de'él u thunder -- idúl u thus -tickle -- gitè"èn v tie -- gepettán v; pinúngus v tie in a bundle -- bigkisen v tie something -- ikkabít v tie somewhere -- kabítan v tight -- mehigpít st time -- panáhon u; tegéd u time -- béses u tin -- láta u tired -- mepágal st today -- dya'yay 2 adv toe -- gurámut ni ti'éd-i u toilet -- kubéta u tomato -- kamátis u tomorrow -- ududmá adv ton -- tons u tongue -- diláh u tool -- gámit u tool for cutting -- pentabás acw tool for digging -- peng'ut'út acw tool for hunting -- penghúli acw

tool for weeding -- pengamás acw; pengháwi acw tooth -- ngipén u topic -- tópik u torch -- sulu u towel -- twálya u town -- bánuwan 2 u trade -- isá'lat v trade something -- ipalít v trade with someone -- palitan v traditional medicine -- pa'dáng u transfer -- lípat u transfer something -- ilipat v trawl -- malakáya 1 u tree -- ayúh 1 u; pon 1 u tree trunk -- pon 2 u tremble -trembling -- ngingin u tribe -- tribu u trip -- biyáhe u trousers -- pantalón u true -truth -- talód u try -- subuk u t-shirt -- bádo u tuberculosis -- tibi u tumor -- buklul u; busádih u turn -- ikod u; lumékoh v; toka u turn around something -- lipóngen v turtle -- bao'o'úl u twelfth -- inlabindúwa u twin -- kambál u twist -- menlólo v; pilipit u two -- dúwa u Uu ugly -- medú'es 2 st umbrella -- páyong 1 u uncle -- dilá'i u under -- disálad 2 u underbrush -- edét 2 u unhappy -- medlá v unit -unload -- diskárga u unmarried girl -- madí'it u unripe (coconut) -- múra 2 u until -- hangán 2 prep upper stalk -- ubúd u

uproot -- baklás u upstream -- dingáto u urinate -- isbú u; umisbú v usage as medicine -- kagamotan u use -- isdép 1 v; tapde u use something -- gamítan v used -usually -- kalimítan adv Vν vagina -- kíki u; ubêt u vegetable -- gúlay u vein -- lítid u very -- itég u very fat -- me'etabdé st very little -- <u>baba'ik</u> u very old -very soon -- menánanih adv vetsin -- <u>bitsín</u> u viand -- úlam u village -- báryo u violet -- báyolet u visit -- dumáyo v visitor -- bisíta u voice -- bósis u vomit -- útah u Ww waist -- sèpang u wait -- mentanod v wait for something or someone -tanódan v wake up -- lumemyá v walk -- menlá'ad v walk -- lá'ad u walk a certain time or distance -la'áden v wall -- dingding u wandering around -- palipat-lipat u want -- budí v war -- gerra u ward -warm by fire -- mendengdéng v wart -- taling u wash -- mengólas v wash clothes -- labá u; menlaba v wash face -- menhilámos v wash something -- ulásan v washed clothes -- labáda u

washing machine -- wasingmasin u watch -- relóh u water -- wagét 1 u water container -- tubung u water jar -- bèngáh u water plants -- dilig u waterfall -- tagpó u watering of the plants -- pendiligen acw wave -- <u>álun</u> u way -- penlaádam acw way -- elsotan u weak -- mehína 1 st wealth, treasure -- kayamanan u wear -- menbádo v wear G-string -- menbál v wear panties or string -- menpánti v wear the G-string 'bal' -- me'ebál v wear the katsa clothing -- me'ekatsá v weave -- menladdé v wedding -- kasal u wedge -- pan'ukbé' u weed -- mengamás v weed a land -- gamasan v week -- lingo 1 u weight -- dalmèt u welcome someone -- tangapen v west -- albógan u wet -- lepét u; nalpét st what -- ahéno int whatever -- aseséno pro-form; kung **ahéno** u what-you-may-call-it -- uwáh u when -- bágay 1 subordconn when -- kung 4 subordconn; nu'ánu 1 int; pag 2 subordconn; ten 2 adv where -- adíno int wherever -- adidíno adv whether -- kung 2 subordconn while -- hábang subordconn whim -- sumpung u white -- mepóti st; poti u whiten -- pumóti v who -- ti ahéno int whole -- púro adv why -- anompan int; anon int; ma'in int

wide -- melápad st widow -- bélúh u width -- lapad u wife -- be'és 2 u wild boar -- lamán u wild cat -- alé'en u wild cucumber -- ampalayá u wild pig -- <u>bungótung</u> u wild sugarcane -- ti'él u wildchicken -- manú' 2 u wind -- pagód u **wine -- <u>álak</u> u** wing -- payá u winnow -- <u>mèntáp</u> v winnowing basket -- bila'uh u wipe -- pahídan v with -- tidde' woman -- kadebdí u wood -- apóy 2 u; ayúh 2 u word -- salétah u word related with a ritual -- basi'lang u work -- mentarábaho v; tarabáho u worm -- ulêd u wound -- metalengowan v; taléngo u; táma2 u wound on hands -- ababáyo u wrap -- pusútan v wrestle -- menbones v wrestle -- bónes u wrinkled -- kinumbèt u write -- menbate' v Υy yawn -- <u>umkab</u> v yesterday -- tempuláb adv you -- =a pron; si'áw pron you guys -- <u>=amyú</u> pron; <u>si'ám</u> pron youn man -- ulétaw u young -- bebba'ík u younger sibling -youngest child -- bunsó u your -- =m pron; =mo pron yours -- <u>=miyú</u> pron; <u>di'áw</u> pron Ζz zeal, dilligence -- sikap u

## **10.** Conclusions

#### 10.1 Summary

The first chapter of the dissertation provides a description of the sociolinguistic background of Northern Alta and subsequently presents the methods used to collect data in the field, including recording methods, elicitation techniques, and type and level of annotations added to each recording. The structure and outputs of the documentary collection, including the metadata structure and organization of the data using the ELAN software, are then described. Finally, the way in which the data is presented in this dissertation is discussed at the end of the first chapter.

Chapter 2 deals with the phonology of the language and discusses the orthography used in the corpus of annotated recordings.

Chapter 3 examines morphology, with a focus on the morpho-phonological alternations occurring frequently in the language, which include assimilation, gemination, consonant deletion, epenthesis, nasal substitution, aphaeresis, stress change, syncope, vowel lengthening and vowel lowering. The chapter ends with a preliminary analysis of reduplication patterns.

Chapter 4 discusses the types of phrases attested in Northern Alta, describing their possible constituent structure and syntactic functions. The second part of the chapter provides an overview of the possible clause types, which are defined in terms of the type of predicates they have. Three main clause types are defined: clauses with voice-marked predicate, clauses with voice-unmarked predicate and clauses with an Existential as predicate.

Chapter 5 presents a classification of the parts of speech. The first part of the chapter deals with proforms, which include Personal Pronouns, Demonstratives and Interrogative Pronouns. The second part of the chapter introduces the different classes of function words. The third part of the chapter discusses the problems related to the classification of Northern Alta content words, and defines two major classes on the basis of morphological criteria, V-words and U-words. Other classes of content words include Adverbs, Existentials and another group of content words that we refer to as content words derived by affixes.

Chapter 6 presents an analysis of case relations, conducted on the basis of the syntactic functions and semantic roles of the different case-marked constituents, such as Determiner Phrases, Pronouns and Demonstratives. The results of the analysis distinguish four different cases: Absolutive, Genitive, Oblique and Locative.

Chapter 7 deals with the classification of V-words, distributed in four main classes, nonderived words, Potentive words, Stative words and Causative. Since V-words are defined in terms of their voice and aspectual morphology, we discuss voice affixation and aspectual inflection for each subclass, and illustrate them with glossed examples.

Chapter 8 provides interlinear morpheme glossing for a twenty-five minute monologue that was recorded with native speaker Ginalyn Garcia. The monologue was recorded in a place called Minero, an area where the Alta used to dwell in the past but decided to abandon when they settled in the barangays. The text is interesting from a linguistic perspective as it contains a high number of Demonstratives, including phrases where the Demonstrative appears in the article slot of a DP. The video provides an additional value to the text given that many of these Demonstratives are accompanied by gestures, i.e. pointing to a certain location in order to tell a story. The text is also valuable from a historical perspective as it offers a number of stories from the time the Alta were living there.

Finally, Chapter 9 provides a glossary of the language which was compiled by extracting the lexical data of the database that was created using the SIL software Fieldworks Language Explorer. The chapter begins with an introduction to the glossary, in which the sources of words, the content of an entry, as well as other related problems are discussed. The second part of the chapter contains the Northern Alta-English glossary and the third part of the chapter provides an English-Northern Alta reversal index.

#### **10.2 Future research**

This five year project had two main goals: the documentation and the description of the Northern Alta language. This chapter addresses a number of limitations identified throughout the dissertation and suggests key areas for further research.

Several aspects of the grammar represent parts of the limitations of the present study and also constitute opportunities for future research.

We could not for instance provide at this stage any explanations for the alternation between [s] and [h] when describing the phonology of the language. The fact that the alternation only occurs in words belonging to closed classes makes it particularly interesting. Besides, as mentioned in Chapter 3, there was not enough time to conduct a thorough analysis of clitics and only a table of the main reduplication patterns was provided. Both clitics and reduplication would be interesting topics for future research.

Another opportunity for future research is to extend the understanding of Demonstratives. As shown in Chapter 5, the system is rather complex, and the semantic differences between the members of one subset, which were interpreted as a distinction for distance, are not at this stage fully understood. With the video recordings we have produced, a corpus-based study of Demonstratives in relation to gestures would be possible in the future.

Other parts of speech requiring further investigation include the Specificity Marker, in particular its scope and semantics. In addition, a number of Enclitic Adverbs require further semantic analysis, these include the Adverb =d, and also the following three Adverbs =na, =nen and =Ce, all of which are translated as "already" in this grammar and lexical database, in spite of the fact that the differences in the usage and meaning are not understood. A corpus-based analysis of their meaning and distribution would require time and might need to be complemented with some elicitation sessions with a native speaker.

Other issues that we described as requiring further research include the Locative Article ta and its [tə] variant in Chapter 6. The aspect system in Chapter 7 also needs additional research, including the formation of progressive aspect in certain V-words, for example *meng-* words, and also in Potentives, Statives and Causatives. Finally, subjecthood and syntactic processes which have not been discussed in this dissertation also constitute important areas for future research on the Northern Alta language.

Fortunately, the present work includes the collection of data for the grammatical description the language, as well as a compilation of a language documentation corpus and a documentary collection; a tool which will allow further investigation not only on the grammar, but also from typological or anthropological perspectives.

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# **Appendix A: List of abbreviations**

Table A.1 List of Abbreviations

Abbreviation	Meaning
ABS	Absolutive case
Acw	affixed content word
ADV / adv	Adverb
AdvP	Adverb Phrase
ART / art	Article
AV	Actor voice
АуР	ay Phrase
С	consonant
CAU	Causative
CNTR	contrast
coordconn	Coordinate Conjunction
сѵ	Conveyance voice
CWA	content word affix
D	deictic
DEM / dem	Demonstrative
DemP	Demonstrative Phrase
der. of	derivative of
discconn	discourse connective
DIST	distal (Demonstrative)
DP	Determiner Phrase
DYAD	kinship term expressing a dyadic relation
ELAN	Eudico Linguistic Annotator
ELAR	Endangered Languages Archive
ELDP	Endangered Languages Programme
ЕМРН	emphatic
ERG	ergative
exist	Existential
FDIST	far distal

fr. var of	free variant of
GEN	Genitive case
GER	Gerund
ifx	infix
[ilk]	Ilokano borrowing
INDEF	indefinite
INST	instrumental
int	Interrogative Pronoun
INTJ / intj	Interjection
[jen]	word collected by trainee Jennifer Marques
[lar]	word extracted from Reid (1991b)
KWF	Komisyon Sa Wikang Filipino (KWF)
LC	locative content word
LK / Ik	Linker, Ligature
LIT	literal translation
LOC	Locative case
LP	Linker Phrase
LPROX	less proximal
LV	Locative voice
MED	medial
MP	minimal pair
n	noun (morphologically defined) /U-word
NCIP	National Commission on Indigenous Peoples
NEG / neg	Negator
NSP	non-specific
OBL	Oblique case
PAN	Proto-Austronesian
PL / pl	plural
PL / pl.m	Plural Marker
pfx	prefix
PM / pm	Predicate Marker
РМР	Proto-Malayo-Polynesian
РОТ	Potentive

PP	Pronoun Phrase
PPh	Proto-Philippines
prep	Preposition
PRF	perfective
PRG	progressive
pron	Personal Pronoun
PROX	proximal
PrP	Prepositional Phrase
PV	Patient voice
PWMP	Proto-Western-Malayo-Polynesian
Q	question particle
QUOT	quotative
RDP	reduplication
REC	reciprocal
regex	regular expression
REF	referential
say. of	saying of
SML	similative
sfx	suffix
[sp]	Spanish borrowing
SPEC	Specificity Marker
ST	Stative
subordconn	Subordinate Conjunction
[tag]	Tagalog borrowing
U	U-class of content words
UP	Unmarked Phrase
V / v	V-class of content words
[v]	word extracted from Vanoverberg (1937)
VP	Voice-marked Phrase
VOC	vocative

## **Appendix B: Glossing of word classes**

This section explains the system we have used to gloss the examples in this dissertation. The first subsections present the word classes which have more complex glossing because the gloss has several components. The last section presents the word classes for which the gloss carries a single element.

#### **Personal Pronouns**

The glossing of Personal Pronouns includes two parts which are separated by a period. The first part of the gloss specifies the person and number of the Pronoun. The second part of the gloss includes the case. Unmarked Pronouns do not carry any indication for case. Table B.1 provides all the abbreviations appearing in glosses of Personal Pronouns.

Abbreviation	Meaning
1s	1st person singular Pronoun
2s	2nd person singular Prounoun
3s	3rd person singular Pronoun
1р	1st person plural Pronoun
1рі	1st person plural inclusive Pronoun
1ре	1st person plural exclusive Pronoun
2р	2nd person plural Pronoun
Зр	3rd person plural Pronoun
ABS	Absolutive case
GEN	Genitive case
LOC	Locative case

#### Demonstratives

The glosses of Demonstratives incudes three main parts and main include a fourth one. The first part of the gloss consists of the degree of distance (PROX, LPROX...), the second part

is the word class (DEM), and the third part shows the case (ABS, GEN...). When one of the sets distinguishes number, the gloss PL is added. Table B.2 shows the abbreviations appearing in glosses of Demonstratives.

Abbreviation	Meaning
DEM	Demonstrative
PROX	proximal
LPROX	less proximal
MED	medial
DIST	distal
FDIST	far distal
ABS	Absolutive
GEN	Genitive
LOC	Locative
SML	similative
PL	plural

Table B.2 Abbreviations in glosses of Demonstratives

#### Articles

The glossing of Articles is composed of one main part, which is the case marked by the Article. Some Articles may also carry additional elements which indicate that it is a plural Article or that it is deictic. In this case, the additional emelement precedes the case. Table B.3 provides the abbreviations appearing in the glosses of Articles.

Table B.3 Abbreviations in the glosses of Articles

Abbreviation	Meaning
PL	plural
D	deictic
ABS	Absolutive
GEN	Genitive
OBL	Oblique

LOC	Locative
NSP	non-specific Article

#### **V-words**

The glossing of V-words is as follows, the root of the word is glossed with an English rough equivalent. In addition, the gloss also carries an indication of the type of voice, and it may also carry an indication of the aspect. In case the word is Potentive or Stative it carries the glosses POT and ST respectively. Finally, if the V-word carries a Causative affix, the gloss also indicates it with the gloss CAU. Table B.4 includes all the abbreviations appearing in the glosses of V-words.

Abbreviation	Meaning
AV	Actor voice
PV	Patient voice
LV	Locative voice
сѵ	Conveyance voice
PRF	perfective aspect
PRG	progressive aspect
RDP	reduplication
РОТ	Potentive word
ST	Stative word
CAU	Causative word

Table B.4 Abbreviations in the glosses of V-words

### Affixed content words

Affixed content words carry the abbreviation of the affix that marks them. In addition, the root of the word is glossed a single-word English translation. Table B.5 below provides the abbreviations appearing in the glosses of affixed content words.

Table B.5 Abbreviations of the glosses of Affixed content words

Abbreviation	Meaning

CWA	content word affix
GER	gerundive
LC	locative
INST	instrumental
DYAD	kinship term expressing a dyadic relation

#### **Glossing of other word classes**

As for the rest of word classes, some of them were glossed with a single-word English translation, while others were glossed with the abbreviation of their word class. Table B.6 shows which classes are glossed with an English translation and which ones are glossed with an abbreviation.

Word class	Glossing
Adverb	single-word English translation
Coordinate Conjunction	
Existential	
Interrogative Pronoun	
Irregular content word	
Subordinate Conjunction	
U-word	
Interjection	INTJ
Linker	LK
Negator	NEG
Plural Marker	PL
Predicate Marker	РМ
Preposition	PREP
Specificity Marker	SPEC

#### Table B.6 Abbreviations in the glosses of other word classes

# Appendix C: Recordings of the language

Table C.1 Table of recordings of the Northern Alta language for this dissertation

Session Number	Title	Consultant	Length (min)	Genre	Audio/ video
1	Basic word order, Personal Pronouns, Interrogatives, volitive <i>budi</i>	Renita Santos	44	recorded elicitation	audio
2	Vocabulary (clothes and colors), Interrogatives (2), [adj – noun] structures, asking and expressing time, improvised conversation	Renita Santos	69	recorded elicitation	audio
3	Elicitation of [adj - noun] structures (2), [num – adj – noun] structures. Existentials <i>maiwadde</i> and <i>awon</i> , vocabulary of furniture, locating objects in the house, the verb <i>mennol</i> (to know)	Renita Santos	91	recorded elicitation	audio
4	Communicating acceptability judgments, Personal Pronouns allomorphy, verb mannol (2), body parts	Renita Santos	57	recorded elicitation	audio
5	Body parts (2), numerals, properties of verbs, =i enclitic,	Renita Santos	96	recorded elicitation	audio
6	Interrogative sentences, Interrogative Pronouns.	Renita Santos	78	recorded elicitation	audio
7	Open content questions, ligatures	Renita Santos	11	recorded elicitation	audio
8	Interjections, expressing disagreement, some colors, vocabulary of food	Renita Santos	43	recorded elicitation	audio
9	Comparative and superlative sentences	Renita Santos	35	recorded elicitation	audio
10	Vocabulary pronounciation	Renita Santos	53	recorded elicitation	audio
11	Verb inflection and derivation: ated ('to give') iyated, atdan, inatdan	Renita Santos	108	recorded elicitation	audio
12	Transcription session of an Erlinda Ganarrial recording	Renita Santos	51	recorded elicitation	audio
13	Numerals, num – noun structures, basic sentences, interrogative sentences	Pelicito Marquez	108	recorded elicitation	audio
14	The name of Diteki	Perlita, Violeta	4'09	explanatory/ procedural	audio
15	The plane story	Prodencio Galvan	2'15	oral history	audio
16	The typhoon story	Carmelita Balansio	1'49	oral history	audio
17	How I proposed to my wife	Pelicito Marquez	1'05	oral	audio

				history	
18	Why the Alta population is decreasing	Prodencio Galvan	1'30	explanatory/ procedural	audio
19	A day in my life	Prodencio Galvan	1'08	explanatory/ procedural	audio
20	I am grateful to this project	Renita Santos	1'08	explanatory/ procedural	audio
21	Alex, you should give up smoking!	Erlinda Ganarrial	2'02	role play	audio
22	Wordlist 1	Prodencio Galvan	18'36	recorded wordlist	audio
22	Wordlist 2	Prodencio Galvan	12'42	recorded wordlist	audio
23	Wordlist 1	Erlinda Ganarrial	11'12	recorded wordlist	audio
23	Wordlist 2	Erlinda Ganarrial	8'02	recorded wordlist	audio
24	Wordlist 1	Renita Santos	9'36	recorded wordlist	audio
24	Wordlist 2	Renita Santos	7'29	recorded wordlist	audio
25	Wordlist 1	Carmelita Balansio	12'05	recorded wordlist	audio
25	Wordlist 2	Carmelita Balansio	10'35	recorded wordlist	audio
26	Wordlist: expressions of time	Renita Santos	9'30	recorded wordlist	audio
27	Names of plants	Renita Santos	1'55	recorded wordlist	audio
28	Clothes and colors	Renita Santos	2'13	recorded wordlist	audio
29	Furniture of the house	Renita Santos	1'29	recorded wordlist	audio
30	Bodyparts	Renita Santos	2'54	recorded wordlist	audio
31	Expressions of time, Interjections	Renita Santos	2'54	recorded wordlist	audio
32	Consonants	Renita Santos	2'08	recorded wordlist	audio
33	Adjectives	Renita Santos	5'32	recorded wordlist	audio
34	Syllable final consonants	Renita Santos	2'51	recorded wordlist	audio
35	Interjections	Renita Santos	2'43	recorded wordlist	audio
36	Minimal pairs	Renita Santos	1'23	recorded wordlist	audio
37	Numerals	Renita Santos	5'20	wordlist	audio

38	Lin! Wash the dishes and clean the house!	Erlinda Ganarrial	2'28	role play	audio
39	The story of my family	Renita Santos	3'31	oral history	audio
40	Planting rice	Rogelio Ganarrial	2'28	explanatory/ procedural	audio
41	How I learned to speak Alta	Mila Lazam	0'59	explanatory/ procedural	audio
42	A typical day in Dianed	Mila Lazam	1'08	explanatory/ procedural	audio
43	Alex, please stay a bit longer in Decoliat	Erlinda Ganarrial	1'17	role play	audio
44	Introducing Carmelita Balansio	Carmelita Balansio	3'09	oral history	audio
45	A Northern Alta song	5 speakers	0'50	song	audio
45	A Northern Alta song	4 speakers	0'59	song	audio
46	When I was hunting for the soldiers	Elena, Violeta	4'55	oral history	audio
47	One day in Dianed	Pelicito Marquez	1'06	explanatory/ procedural	audio
48	A children song	Erlinda Ganarrial	0'50	song	audio
49	Speaking Alta in the community	Balong	4'53	explanatory/ procedural	audio
50	Hunting story: when my wife was bitten by a snake	Balong	0'56	oral history	audio
51	Collecting and selling orchids	Balong	0'44	oral history	audio
52	About Jimena and Ma'eg'eg	Elena, Violeta	9'22	oral history	audio
53	A love story: Don Pepe	Elena, Violeta	5'26	oral history	audio
54	Hunting and offerings to the Anito spirits	Di'et Lazam	4'08	explanatory/ procedural	audio
55	How to make charcoal	Prodencio Galvan	1'56	explanatory/ procedural	audio
56	If all the Alta lived in the same community	Prodencio Galvan	1'53	explanatory/ procedural	audio
57	Welcome to Diteki	Perlita, Violeta	2'23	oral history	audio
58	I am thankful that you came to Decoliat	Erlinda Ganarrial	4'17	oral history	audio
60	Interviewing Emelita, a young Alta speaker	Emelita Wangit, Erlinda	5'25	explanatory/ procedural	audio

61	A recoding session with Rose Domingo	Rose Domingo	12'30	explanatory/	audio
			12 30	procedural	audio
62	Violeta describes the kinship system	Violeta Fernandez	10'00	explanatory/ procedural	audio
63	Hunting with dogs, by Elena Maximino	Elena, Violeta	9'49	oral history	audio
65	Our life is better now	Pelicito Marquez	0'48	oral history	audio
66	A conversation at night	Mila, Pelito, Violeta	14'25	oral history	audio
67	It is more convenient to record here in Decoliat	Prodencio Galvan	0'42	explanatory/ procedural	audio
68	A presentation of myself	Prodencio Galvan	3'36	explanatory/ procedural	audio
69	Presenting Inelda & Antonio Andon	Inelda & Antonio Andon	16'00	oral history	audio
70	Describing pictures: Spain-Philippines friendship day 2015	Violeta fernandez	4'06	explanatory/ procedural	video
71	Describing pictures: a picnic at the river	Violeta fernandez	2'29	explanatory/ procedural	video
72	Describing pictures: inside the house in Diteki	Violeta fernandez	2'01	explanatory/ procedural	video
73	Describing pictures: de-flea by the river	Violeta fernandez	1'57	explanatory/ procedural	video
74	Describing pictures: a pot cooking meat, rice and vegetables	Violeta fernandez	1'05	explanatory/ procedural	video
75	Describing pictures: the day we had a flat tire	Violeta fernandez	2'58	explanatory/ procedural	video
76	Interview with Violeta Andon Mariano	Violeta Andon (interviewed by VF)	27	oral history	video
77	Preparing <i>suman</i> cake	VAM, VLF, AGL	10'41	explanatory/ procedural	video
78	Pointing at locations in Diteki	Nelita Cristobal	3'08	explanatory/ procedural	video
79	Pointing at locations in Diteki	Nelita Cristobal	7'52	explanatory/ procedural	video
80	Spearfishing demonstration at the river	Nelita Cristobal	3'03	explanatory/ procedural	video
81	Ginalin and Conchita talk about locations for hunting, rattan, fishing and planting	Ginalyn Garcia, Conchita Genes	13'16	explanatory/ procedural	video
82	A story by Dominga Lazam	Dominga Lazam, Coralyn Manzano	6'37	oral history	video
83	Coralyn's love story	Coralyn Manzanzo, Dominga Lazam	11'17	oral history	video
84	Introducing Dominga Lazam	Dominga Lazam, Coralyn Manzano	1'14	oral history	video
85	Describing pictures: spearfishing	Nelita Cristobal	39	explanatory/	video

				procedural	
86	The times when we were working with rattan	Rebeca Huego, Nelita Cristobal	36	oral history	video
87	A conversation about past experiences in the mountain	Elizabeth Querijero, Coralyn Manzao	29	oral history	video
88	Past and present of the Alta	Aning, Conchita Genes	52'12	oral history	video
89	Collecting and selling orchids	Coralyn Manzano, Conchita Genes	16'22	explanatory/ procedural	video
90	Past and present of the Alta (part II)	Aning, Conchita Genes	9'5	oral history	video
91	A conversation with two Alta men	Arturo Priginal, Renato Genes	53'34	oral history	video
92	Producing medicines with dears' horns	Arturo Priginal, Renato Genes	36'35	explanatory/ procedural	video
93	Gardening with Nene: techniques, names, and use of the plants (Coralyn's Garden)	Coralyn Manzano, Conchita Genes	37'88	explanatory/ procedural	video
94	Gardening with Ginalyn: techniques, names, and use of the plants (Ginalyn's garden)	Ginalyn, Coralyn	42'49	explanatory/ procedural	video
95	Wild plants in Diteki	Ginalyn, Coralyn	16'13	explanatory/ procedural	video
96	Long time no see!	Ginalyn, Coralyn	16'50	role play	video
97	Interviewing community elder Elena "Buldozer" Maximino	Elena Maximino, Dominga Lazam	60	oral history	video
98	Ate Inga interviews her sister Ate Ligaya	Dominga Lazam, Ate Ligaya	21	oral history	video
99	Kuya Ino and Kuya Ikkaw: past experiences in the mountain	Regino Sindak, Gabriel Lasam	60	oral history	video
100	Ate Reny and Ate Evelen: past experiences in the mountain	Renita Santos, Evelyn Priginal	67	oral history	video
101	Orchids and other plants: gardening and sellin in the market	Alvin Mariano (Balong)	68	explanatory/ procedural	video
102	Ate Tikkay interviews Ate Emel	Nelita Cristobal, Emelda Pujeda	67	oral history	video
103	History of Minero, a place in the Alta ancestral domain	Ginalyn Garcia	25	oral history	video
104	Kuya Renato explains how to build the tool for <i>pangoriente</i> fishing	Renato Genes, Coralyn Manzano	50	explanatory/ procedural	video
105	Pangoriente fishing demonstration at the river	Renato Genes, Coralyn Manzano	10	explanatory/ procedural	video
106	Describing pictures: cooking fish at Ate Udang's	Nelita Cristobal	16	explanatory/ procedural	video
107	Describing pictures: cooking <i>upo</i> and shrimp at Ate Beth's	Nelita Cristobal	4'47	explanatory/ procedural	video

Describing pictures: cooking <i>baye</i> , pilengan and <i>udang</i> at the river	Nelita Cristobal	2'42	explanatory/ procedural	video
Describing pictures: the Agta from Casiguran	Nelita Cristobal	16'3	explanatory/ procedural	video
How to carve a spoon on with a palm's branch	Nelita Cristobal	1'49	explanatory/ procedural	video
2016 fieldtrip photos (Canon Camera)		photos	i	
2016 fieldtrip photos (Xiaomi 2)		photos	;	
2015 fietrlip photos		photos	i	
June 2014 fieldtrip photos		photos	;	
January 2014 fiedtrip photos and videos		photos		
September 2013 fieldtrip photos		photos	;	
Legal Documents: ELDP application, community permissions, NCIP		word/ pdf		
Lorenzo Delacruz explains how to work with rattan	Lorenzo Delacruz	9'37	explanatory/ procedural	video
Presenting the marine water fishing spear <i>paná</i>	Pelicito Marquez	7'20	explanatory/ procedural	video
Interview with Pelicito's wife	Mila Lazam	9'20	oral history	video
Conversation with Pelicito and Carmelita at Dianed tribal Hall	Carmelita Muhar, Pelicito Marquez	21'35	oral history	video
A conversation about Makadipa and other Alta divinities	Kuya Ino, Alex		explanatory/ procedural	video
Kuya Juani doing handmade sweeps <i>walis</i>	Kuya Juani, Rubena	41	oral history	video
Kuya Juani, past and present life	Kuya Juani	6'50	oral history	video
Emily describes the water marine fishing rod	Emily Villaflor, Antonio Priginal	4'40	explanatory/ procedural	video
Interview with Carmelita Muhar	Carmelita Muhar	8'26	oral history	video
Handmade sweeps at Barangay Villa	Jovito and Pepito	27'39	explanatory/ procedural	video
Ate Tikkay interviews Pepito Dandan Sarmiento	Nelita Cristobal, Nelito Sarmiento	5'36	explanatory/ procedural	video
Interviewing Dominga Prinigal	Dominga Priginal	6'32	oral history	video
About the IPRA law, with barangay Chieftain Lorenzo Delacruz	Lorenzo Delacruz Sarmiento	19'56	oral history	video
Interview with Lusviminda Campos	Lusviminda Campos Sarmiento	10'15	oral history	video
	pilengan and udang at the river         Describing pictures: the Agta from Casiguran         How to carve a spoon on with a palm's branch         2016 fieldtrip photos (Canon Camera)         2016 fieldtrip photos (Xiaomi 2)         2015 fietrlip photos         June 2014 fieldtrip photos         January 2014 fieldtrip photos and videos         September 2013 fieldtrip photos         Legal Documents: ELDP application, community permissions, NCIP         Lorenzo Delacruz explains how to work with rattan         Presenting the marine water fishing spear paná         Interview with Pelicito's wife         Conversation about Makadipa and other Alta divinities         Kuya Juani doing handmade sweeps walis         Kuya Juani, past and present life         Emily describes the water marine fishing rod         Interview with Carmelita Muhar         Handmade sweeps at Barangay Villa         Ate Tikkay interviews Pepito Dandan Sarmiento         Interviewing Dominga Prinigal         About the IPRA law, with barangay Chieftain Lorenzo Delacruz	pilengan and udang at the riverNelita CristobalDescribing pictures: the Agta from CasiguranNelita CristobalHow to carve a spoon on with a palm's branchNelita Cristobal2016 fieldtrip photos (Canon Camera)Nelita Cristobal2016 fieldtrip photos (Xiaomi 2)20152015 fietrlip photosJune 2014 fieldtrip photosJune 2014 fieldtrip photosJune 2014January 2014 fieldtrip photosLorenzoLegal Documents: ELDP application, community permissions, NCIPLorenzo DelacruzLorenzo Delacruz explains how to work with rattanLorenzo DelacruzPresenting the marine water fishing spear panáPelicito MarquezConversation with Pelicito's wifeMila LazamConversation about Makadipa and other Alta divinitiesKuya Juani, RubenaKuya Juani doing handmade sweeps walisKuya JuaniKuya Juani, past and present lifeKuya JuaniEmily describes the water marine fishing rodEmily Villaflor, Antonio PriginalInterview with Carmelita MuharCarmelita MuharHandmade sweeps at Barangay VillaJovito and PepitoAbout the IPRA Iaw, with barangay Chieftain Lorenzo DelacruzSarmientoInterview with Lusviminda CamposLorenzo DelacruzSarmientoDominga Pringial	pilengan and udang at the riverNelita Cristobal242Describing pictures: the Agta from CasiguranNelita Cristobal16'3How to carve a spoon on with a palm's branchNelita Cristobal1'492016 fieldtrip photos (Canon Camera)Photos2016 fieldtrip photos (Xiaomi 2)photos2015 fietrlip photosphotosJune 2014 fieldtrip photosphotosJune 2014 fieldtrip photos and videosphotosJanuary 2014 fieldtrip photosphotosLegal Documents: ELDP application, community permissions, NCIPword/ pdfLorenzo Delacruz explains how to work with rattanCarmelita Muhar, Pelicito MarquezPresenting the marine water fishing spear <i>paná</i> Pelicito MarquezA conversation about Makadipa and other Alta divinitiesKuya Juani, AltaKuya Juani, past and present lifeKuya Juani, Attonio PriginalKuya Juani, past and present lifeKuya Juani at Dianed tribal MuharKuya Juani, past and present lifeKuya Juani Attonio PriginalAte Tikkay interviews Pepito Dandan SarmientoNelita Cristobal, Nelito Carmelita MuharAte Tikkay interviews Pepito Dandan SarmientoNelita Cristobal, Attonio PriginalAbout the IPRA law, with barangay Chieftain Lorenzo DelacruzSarmientoInterview with Luxyminda Campos rodLorenzo Delacruz Sarmiento10:156SarmientoSi36	pilengan and udang at the riverNelita Cristobal242proceduralDescribing pictures: the Agta from CasiguranNelita Cristobal16'3explanatory/ proceduralHow to carve a spoon on with a palm's branchNelita Cristobal1'49explanatory/ procedural2016 fieldtrip photos (Canon Camera)photosphotos2015 fieldtrip photos (Xiaomi 2)photosphotosJune 2014 fieldtrip photos and videosphotosJune 2014 fieldtrip photos and videosphotosSeptember 2013 fieldtrip photosphotosLegal Documents: ELDP application, community permissions, NCIPvord/ proceduralPresenting the marine water fishing spear panáPelicito Marquez7'20Presenting the drivinitiesCarmelita Muhar, Rubenal21'35oral historyA conversation about Makadipa and other Atta divinitiesKuya Juani, past and present lifeKuya Juani6'50Kuya Juani, past and present lifeEmily Villaflor, Antonio Priginal4'40explanatory/ proceduralInterview with Carmelita Muhar rodCarmelita Muhar6'50historyKuya Juani, past and present lifeKuya Juani6'32oral historyHandmade sweeps at Barangay VillaJovito and Pepito5'36explanatory/ proceduralInterview with Carmelita MuharCarmelita Muhar6'32oral historyKuya Juani, past and present lifeLorenzo Delacruz5'36explanatory/ proceduralInterview with Carmelita MuharCarmelita Muhar

502	What does Genalyn think of Alex?	Ginalyn Garcia	2'04	trainees collection	audio
503	A story by tita Ginalyn Garcia	Ginalyn Garcia	2'10	trainees collection	audio
504	How to court an Alta	Ginalyn Garcia	1'07	trainees collection	audio
505	The 3 sisters	Ginalyn Garcia	0'56	trainees collection	audio
506	History of <i>eman</i> (the way Alta chew Betel leaf)	Nelita Cristobal	2'32	trainees collection	audio
507	Elena describes Alex	Elena Maximino	3'12	trainees collection	audio
508	How to prepare the <i>eman</i> betel chew	Ginalyn Garcia	4'37	trainees collection	audio
509	How to harvest and use the <i>Salago</i> plant	Nelita Cristobal	7'49	trainees collection	audio
510	Our trip to Dimani	Nelita Cristobal	3'41	trainees collection	audio
511	The Ilus plant, and old Alta food	Nelita Cristobal	1'25	trainees collection	audio
512	Process how to use and get the <i>Nami</i> and how does it taste	Nelita Cristobal	1'55	trainees collection	audio
513	How to harvest the <i>Blongay</i> and how to use it	Antonio Andon	0'14	trainees collection	audio
514	Interview about the Salago plant	Coralyn	2'43	trainees collection	audio
515	Interview about the <i>Blongay</i> tree	Coralyn	2'43	trainees collection	audio