4 Morphology

4.1 Introduction

This section gives a preliminary sketch of Ayta Abellen morphology following a basic item-and-arrangement model. The sketch covers the following topics:

- Phonemes in section <u>2.1.4</u>.
- Morpheme types in section <u>4.3</u>.
- Word categories in section <u>4.4</u>.
- Inflection in section <u>4.5</u>.
- Derivation in section <u>4.6</u>.
- Clitics in section 4.7.
- Morpho-syntactic feature system in section 4.8.
- Allomorphy in section <u>4.9</u>.
- Natural classes in section <u>4.10</u>.
- Residue in section 4.11.

4.2 Phonemes

Ayta Abellen has 20 phonemes as shown in the following table (the first column shows the orthographic representations):

Representation	Basic IPA Symbol	Name	Description
'	?	2	glottal stop
-	?	2	glottal stop
a	a	a	low central unrounded vowel
ā	a:	ā	lengthened open front unrounded vowel
b	Ъ	b	voiced bilabial stop
d	d	d	voiced alveolar stop
е	e	е	close central unrounded vowel
g	g	<i>g</i>	voiced velar stop
h	h	h	glottal fricative
i	i	i	high front unrounded vowel

k	k	k	voiceless velar stop
l	1	l	alveolar lateral
m	m	m	bilabial nasal
n	n	n	alveolar nasal
ng	ŋ	ŋ	velar nasal
0	ο	0	mid back rounded vowel
p	p	p	voiceless bilabial stop
t	t	t	voiceless alveolar stop
U	u	u	high back rounded vowel
W	w	W	voiced labial-velar approximant
У	У	У	close front rounded vowel

4.3 Morpheme types

Words in this analysis of Ayta Abellen are formed from morphemes of 8 types. The following table lists the types along with a count of how many instances are in the lexicon. Section 4.3 lists some or all of these.

Count	Name	Description	Appendix
2	circumfix	A circumfix is an affix made up of two separate parts which surround and attach to a root or stem.	<u>D.3.1</u>
19	enclitic	An enclitic is a clitic that is phonologically joined at the end of a preceding word to form a single unit. Orthographically, it may attach to the preceding word.	<u>D.3.2</u>
4	infix	x An infix is an affix that is inserted within a root or stem.	
35	phrase	A phrase is a syntactic structure that consists of more than one word but lacks the subject-predicate organization of a clause.	<u>D.3.4</u>
51	prefix	A prefix is an affix that is joined before a root or stem.	<u>D.3.5</u>
3548	root	A root is the portion of a word that (i) is common to a set of derived or inflected forms, if any, when all affixes are removed, (ii) is not further analyzable into meaningful elements, being morphologically simple, and, (iii) carries the principle portion of meaning of the words in which it functions.	<u>D.3.6</u>

547	stem	"A stem is the root or roots of a word, together with any derivational affixes, to which inflectional affixes are added." (LinguaLinks Library). A stem "may consist solely of a single root morpheme (i.e. a 'simple' stem as in <i>man</i>), or of two root morphemes (e.g. a 'compound' stem, as in <i>blackbird</i>), or of a root morpheme plus a derivational affix (i.e. a 'complex' stem, as in manly, unmanly, manliness). All have in common the notion that it is to the stem that inflectional affixes are attached" (Crystal 1997).	<u>D.3.7</u>
2	suffix	A suffix is an affix that is attached to the end of a root or stem.	

This appendix lists morphemes by morphological type. Only the first ten morphemes will be listed for each morphological type.

- <u>Circumfix</u> (2).
- <u>Enclitic</u> (19).
- <u>Infix</u> (4).
- <u>Phrase</u> (35).
- <u>Prefix</u> (51).
- <u>Root</u> (3548).
- <u>Stem</u> (547).
- <u>Suffix</u> (2).

4.3.1 Circumfix

This subsection lists all the instances.

ka- -an 'STA GV' *ka- -an* 'COLL'

4.3.2 Enclitic

This subsection lists the first ten instances.

=ana 'now'
=awod 'so'
=bay 'EMPH'
=bega 'absolutely'
=bengat 'just'
=dayi 'OPT'
=ingat 'on other hand'

=kano 'it is said'
=lagi 'possibly'
=laweh 'uncertainty'

4.3.3 Infix

This subsection lists all the instances.

-*in*- 'PFV, OV' -*in*- 'PFV' -*om*- 'AV ' -*om*- 'PV'

4.3.4 Phrase

This subsection lists the first ten instances.

agyamakanoman	'whenever'
aniton balang	'evil spirit'
Apo Dioh	'God'
balita kothido	'hearsay'
bato balani	'magnet'
bayontao	'bachelor'
habaw nono	'breast milk'
habot maih	'corn silk'
hipilyon ngipen	'tooth brush'
indyan minggo	'Indian mango'

4.3.5 Prefix

This subsection lists the first ten instances.

[C^1][V^1]-	'PL'
[C^1][V^1]-	'EMPH'
Ø-	'N>V'
Ø-	'AV'
Ø-	'No Aspect'
Ø-	Adj > V'
Ø-	'Num>V'
aN-	'CONT'

Dup-	'DIMUN'
<i>i</i> -	'CV'

4.3.6 Root

This subsection lists the first ten instances.

<i>a</i> ′	'REL'
a	'LNK'
aba	'delay'
abagat	'rainy season'
abala	'activity'
abala	'bother'
abalayan	'parents by marriage'
abang	'rent'
abano	'cigar'
abanti	'advance'

4.3.7 Stem

This subsection lists the first ten instances.

adadoen	'nlow'
aaaaoen	'plow'
adapan	'front of'
agapayan	'stay beside'
agwayen	'cut vines'
ahonbalang	'wild creature'
ampagkabawan	'being senile'
ampameyeng-peyeng	'shake head'
anak-anak	'doll'
anemagatoh	'600'
anganagen	'attack by termites'

4.3.8 Suffix

This subsection lists all the instances.

-an 'GV' *-en* 'OV'

4.4 Word categories

In this analysis of Ayta Abellen there are 11 major syntactic categories for words. Some of these in turn have subcategories. The following is a complete list of the categories and subcategories that are posited (along with a count of how many instances of each are found in the lexicon; some or all of these are in the appendix).

- <u>Adjective</u> (408)
- <u>Adverb</u> (122)
- <u>Connective</u> (28)
- <u>Demonstrative</u> (27)
- <u>Interjection</u> (35)
- <u>Interrogative pro-form</u> (16)
- <u>Noun</u> (1846)
- <u>Number</u> (0)
 - <u>Cardinal numeral</u> (32)
 - Ordinal numeral (6)
- <u>Preposition</u> (22)
- <u>Pronoun</u> (47)
- <u>Verb</u> (1952)
 - \circ <u>Pseudo verb</u> (14)

The categories are defined as follows (the category's abbreviation is shown within square brackets):

4.4.1 Adjective [Adj]

An adjective is a word whose main syntactic role is to modify a noun or pronoun, giving more information about the noun or pronoun's referent.

This subsection lists the first ten instances.

abli 'valuable' 'beautiful' ada 'considerate' aep aha 'sharp' ahem 'sour' ak-haw 'strong' akokoh 'selfish' aktong 'stiff, rigid' 'o'clock' alah

alalang 'sharp'

4.4.1.1 Unaffixed adjectives

Some word bases function as adjectives with no affixation:

- (87) a. *alan* old (used)
 - b. baloktot wrong
 - c. bayo new
 - d. bogtong only
 - e. bokod alone
 - f. hohto correct
 - g. kanayon another
 - h. kolang lacking
 - i. lombo different
 - j. padiho same
 - k. pawa pure
 - l. peteg true
 - m. sigorado sure

4.4.1.2 Affixed adjectives

The majority of adjectives are formed by prefixing a noun base with ma-:

- (88) a. ma-ada 'beautiful'
 - b. ma-amot 'hot'
 - c. ma-bitil 'hungry'
 - d. ma-dinat 'dirty'
- (89) Peteg a maamot haanin. true LK hot today.

4.4.1.3 Pluralization

Adjectives can be marked for plural number. With *ma*- adjectives the form *-nga* is prefixed between the *ma*- prefix and the base:

(90) a. *ma-kandi* 'small (SG)' b. *manga-kandi* 'small (PL)'

- (91) a. matobag
 b. mangatobag
 'brutal (SG)'
 'brutal (PL)'
- (92) a. *malake* 'big (SG)' b. *mangalake* 'big (PL)'
- (93) a. Makandin bengat ti tanda ko.'I know just a little.'
 - b. *Hatew ha mangakandi kayi po ihtibay, nadama ti paday mi.*'Then, when we were still little, our rice was destroyed.'

It is not yet known how unaffixed adjectives are pluralized.

4.4.1.4 Superlative degree

A ma- adjective forms the superlative degree by prefixing the form pinaka-:

- (94) a. *pinakamatowa* 'oldest'b. *pinakamakaydeng* 'youngest'c. *pinakadimengdimeng* 'purest'
- (95) a. Yatin matowa ye pinakamatowa ha Labney.'This old one is the oldest in Labney.'

4.4.1.5 Actuality: surprise and superlativeness

Like in Tagalog there seems to be another class of adjectives that is formed by the affix ka-. This class of adjectives indicates superlativeness and surprise of the quality the base denotes. It indicates that the speaker actually saw or experienced this quality:

- (96) a. *kaginta* 'big' b. *kalake* 'big'
- (97) a. *Miabot ako ihtew ha angkonaan lan aho, bilewen ko ket kaginta a maambal.*'When I arrived where the dogs were, I saw a big python.'

4.4.1.6 Intensification

An intensive degree of quality denoted by an adjective is expressed by a repetition of the base. With unaffixed adjectives the base also is doubled:

- (98) a. *dimengdimeng* 'very pure'
- (99) Labay ko ket pinakadimengdimeng dayi.'I like the very pure.'

4.4.1.7 Limitation

A limitation degree of the quality expressed by an adjective may be indicated be reduplicating the first CV- of the adjective

(100) a. bobokod 'alone'

4.4.2 Adverb [Adv]

An adverb, narrowly defined, is a part of speech whose members modify verbs for such categories as time, manner, place, or direction. An adverb, broadly defined, is a part of speech whose members modify any constituent class of words other than nouns, such as verbs, adjectives, adverbs, phrases, clauses, or sentences. Under this definition, the possible type of modification depends on the class of the constituent being modified.

This subsection lists the first ten instances.

'now' =ana =awod 'so' =bay'EMPH' 'absolutely' =bega =bengat 'just' 'OPT' =dayi =ingat 'on other hand' =kano 'it is said' =lagi 'possibly' =*laweh* 'uncertainty'

4.4.2.1 Enclitic adverbs

Enclitic adverbs are a closed set of uninflectable particles that occur usually immediately after the predicate. Any enclitic pronoun that may be present precede the enclitic adverbs. The most common enclitic adverbs and their meaning are as follows:

(101) a.	na (ana, -yna, -na)	'now, already'
b.	ро	'still, yet'
с.	bengat	'just, only'
d.	man	'emphasis, polite request'
e.	dayi	'desire'
f.	met	'emphasis, in contrast'
g.	teed	'also'
h.	kano	'reported speech'
i.	lagi	'possibly'
j.	nayi	'question (rhetorical)'
k.	laweh	'question (certainty)'

(The enclitic adverb na takes the linker a (*ana*) when following words ending in a consonant; it takes the linker -y (-*yna*), when following words ending in the vowels a, e, or o; no linker is used when following words ending on -i (-*na*).)

All of the enclitic adverbs can occur without other enclitic adverbs, except *teed* 'also', but when more than one enclitic adverb occurs in a sentence, their relative order is fixed. The order is as follows^[28]:

na/po	bengat	-
na/po	met	nayi/laweh
na/po	man	-
ро	dayi	-
-	met	ра
-	met (a)	teed
-	kano	-
-	lagi	-

Example of sentences using enclitic adverbs are as follows:

(102)	No	maabonoan	moyna,	bilewen	mon	manged.
	no	m-ka-abono-an	mo=yna	bilew-en	mo-n	ma-nged
	if	CTPLT-STA-fertilizer-GV	2SG.NOM=already	see-OV	2SG=LK	ADJ-good

When you already applied the fertilizer, watch (it) carefully.

- (103) Awo, malyadi ka po nin magodong. awo malyadi ka po nin m-pag-odong possible 2SG.NOM still LK CTPLT-DUR-return yes Yes, it is possible for you to still come back. (104) Yabayin anan bengat ti tanda ko habiyen ha Ayta. *yain=bay* a=na=nbengat ti tanda ko habi-en ha ayta NOM know 1SG.GEN language=OV DAT Ayta this=EMPH LK=now=LK just Just this is now what I know to say in Ayta. (105) Ano anak mo? nayi met ve anak mo ano met nayi ve how-many on-the-other-hand QUES NOM child 2SG.GEN And how many children do you have? (106) Manaliw ako po man. *m*-*pan*-*haliw* ako po man. CTPLT-PL-buy 1SG.NOM still please Please let me still buy some more. (107) Magtabahtabah kitawo po dayi. *m-pag-tabahtabah* kitawo po dayi CTPLT-DUR-have.snack 1PL.INCL.NOM yet OPT I like us to have a snack yet.
- (108) Emen met pa ha legan. emen met pa ha legan like also still as while Still the same as always.
- (109) Hiya met ateed. hiya met ateed 3SG.EMPH also then He also.
- (110) Ahe na kano labay ti kotsokotso.
 ahe na kano labay ti kotsokotso
 NEG 3SG.GEN it-is-said like NOM make-trouble
 So she said she does not like trouble making.
- (111) Way-omen lagiy dapaten ko, wana nin laki.

way-omenlagi=yedapat=-enkowan-=naninlakihowpossibly=NOMdo=OV1SG.GENsaid=3SG.GENGENmale"What will I possibly do?", thought the man.

4.4.2.2 Moveable adverbs

Moveable adverbs are full words or phrases that do not have a fixed position in the sentence.

4.4.2.2.1 Manner

Manner adverbs are either unaffixed, or, if affixed they are a subclass of *ma*- adjectives. Examples are:

(112) a. manged 'well'

	0		
	b. kadihko	'maybe'	
	c. kaya	'rather'	
	d. oman	'again'	
	e. popoh	'always'	
113)	Manged	kan	manloto.
	ma-nged	ka=n	m-pan-loto
	ADJ-good	2SG.NOM=LK	CTPLT-PL-cook
	You cook v	vell.	

4.4.2.2.2 Time

(

Time adverbs fall into two classes: unmarked and marked.

4.4.2.2.2.1 Unmarked time adverbs

Note that some time adverbs unmarked for case are marked for time. If they refer to the future they are marked with *ma*-, and if they refer to the past they are marked with *na*-.

- (114) a. *bowan-bowan* 'every month'
 - b. minamangaamot 'every day'
 - c. hine 'before'
 - d. *naboyot* 'a long time'
 - e. naapon 'yesterday'
 - f. *nadeglem* 'yesterday at night time'

	g.	na	ngon		'earli	ier (same d	lay)'					
	h.	ha	tew		'then	ı'						
	i.	ha	anin		'now	,'						
	j.	тс	ıbekah		'mor	ning'						
	k.	тс	ıdanon		'soor	1'						
	1.	тс	ıdeglem		'at ni	ight time'						
	m.	lar	10		'latei	r '						
	n.	mi	nghan		'som	e time in t	he furure'					
(115)	Ηđ	ı	lomateng	yatii	n	domingo,	minaman	gaamo	ot d	akoynan		ampoli.
	ha		lateng- om	yati	=n	domingo	mina- mangaam	ot	Ċ	ako=yna=n		aN-poli
	DA	٩T	arrive- AV	this=	=LK	week	every-day	7		1SG.NOM=	already=LK	CONT- go.home
	Th	is c	oming wee	ek I v	vill g	o home ev	very week.					
(116)	Na	iboj	yot		akoy	ynan		ahe	n	akew	ihti	
	n-k	ka-l	boyot		ako	=yna=n		ahe	n-	-ka-lakew	ihti	
	PR	RF-S	STA-long.	time	1SG	.NOM=ala	ready=LK	NEG	P	RF-STA-go	here	
	I di	id n	ot come h	ere fo	or a l	ong time						

I did not come here for a long time.

(117)	Moli	akoynan	madanon.
	m-oli	ako=yna=n	ma-danon
	CTPLT=go.home	1SG.NOM=already=LK	ADV=soon
	I'm going home so	oon.	

4.4.2.2.2.2 Marked time adverbs

(118) a. *ha legan* 'at some time ago'b. *ha kabatowan* 'at the river'

4.4.2.2.3 Locative

Locative adverbs fall into two classes: marked and unmarked.

4.4.2.2.3.1 Unmarked locative adverbs

The unmarked locative adverbs include the following:

(119) a. *ihti* 'here'

- b. ihen 'there'
- c. *ihtew* 'over there'

The marked locative consists of a noun plus the oblique case-marker ha.

- (120) a. *ha likol* 'behind'b. *ha lohan* 'down river'
- (121) Ibat akoyna ha Kayawedan.
 ibat ako=yna ha kayawedan
 from 1SG.NOM=already OBL Kayawedan
 I'm from Kayawedan.
- (122) Mangkomonin ako ihtibay ha badion Labney. m-paN-konin-om ako ihti=bay ha badion labney CTPLT=PL=reside=AV 1SG.NOM here=EMPH OBL village Labney I'm living here in the village of Labney.

4.4.2.2.4 Instrumental

Instrumental adverbs denote the instrument used to perform an action. They are expressed as an ergative case-marked nonpersonal noun. An example is:

(123) Antoyhoken lan etak. aN-toyhok-en la=nin etak CONT=stab=OV 3PL.GEN=GEN machete They are stabbing (someone) with a machete.

4.4.2.2.5 Causal

Causal adverbs denote the reason or cause of an action or situation. They are composed of the preposition *oli* 'because of' plus an oblique case-marked nimonal. An example is:

(124

124	Kaya-bay,	ti	kabibia y	haani n	ket	magol o	oli	ha	hilay	NP A.
	kaya=bay	ti	<i>kabibia</i> y	haani n	ket	m-ka- golo	oli	ha	hilay	NP A.
	therefore=EM PH	NO M	living	now	IN V		because. of	OB L	3PL.NOM=NO M	NP A

Therefore, life now is troubled because of the NPA.

4.4.2.2.6 Referential

Referential adverbs denote the subject of a locutionary action. They are composed of the preposition *oli* 'about' plus a locative adverb or an oblique case-marked nominal. Examples are:

(125	Main	akon		itepet		oli	ihtiba	у	a	papel.		
)	main	ako=n		i-tepet		oli	ihti=ł	pay	a	papel		
	EXT	1SG.NOM	=LK	CV-ques	stion	about	this=H	EMPH	LK	paper		
	I have	e a question	about	this pape	er he	re.						
(126)	Mai n	ka	nin	tanam	kan	gko	oli	ha	panz g	gaibe	ko	kamo.
	main	ka	nin	tanam			oli		paN ibeg		ko	kamo
	EXT	2SG.NO M	GE N		1SC T	i.DA	abou t	OB L	PL-S love	STA-	1SG.GE N	2SG.DA T

You have some feeling towards me about my love towards you.

4.4.2.2.7 Measurement

Measurement adverbs denote the extent of a process. They are composed of the oblique case-marker *ha* plus an expression of measurement.

(127)	Tianoy	bayad	ha	maghay	mitodo	kanan	tapih	ayti.
	ti-ano=ye	bayad	ha	magha=y	mitodo	kana=nin	tapih	a-yati
	each- how.many=NOM	payment	DAT	one=NOM	meter	3SG.DAT=LNK	cloth	LK- this
	How much is the payment for one meter of this cloth?							

4.4.2.2.8 Other Adverbials

The adverb *agya* 'even' is used as an intensive to stress an unlikely instance. The following example is an answer to the invitation to eat.

(128)	Agya	ahe	ana,	noba	tawayan	ko	makandi.
	agya	ahe	a=na,	noba	taway-an	ko	ma-kandi
	even	NEG	LK=now,	but	taste-GV	1SG.GEN	ADJ-small
	Not so	o, but i	will taste a	a little			

The adverb *ahe* 'not' simply negates clauses and questions.

(129)	Ahe	akoyna	nakokonaan.
	ahe	ako=yna	n-ka-CV-konin-an
	NEG	1SG.NOM=already	PRF-STA-EMPH-locate-GV
	I can't	remember anymore.	

(130)	Ahe,	hikoy	pinakamakaydeng.
	ahe	hiko=ye	pinaka-ma-kaydeng
	NEG	1SG.EMPH=NOM	SUP-ADJ-young

No, I'm the youngest (answer to the question if someone is the oldest child in a family).

The adverb *aliwa* 'not' negates adjectives.

(131) Aliwan matoynong ye paghabi ko.
 aliwa=n ma-toynong ye pag-habi ko
 NEG=LK ADJ=straight NOM GER=language 1SG.GEN
 My speech is not grammatical.

4.4.3 Connective [Conn]

Also known as a conjunction, a connective is a class of parts of speech whose members syntactically link words or larger constituents, and expresses a semantic relationship between them. A conjunction is positionally fixed relative to one or more of the elements related by it, thus distinguishing it from constituents such as English conjunctive adverbs.

This subsection lists the first ten instances.

'COMP' =na''REL' 'LNK' а angga 'until' bana 'because' 'before' bayo biha 'and then' bilang 'like' 'and' boy dinan 'comparative'

4.4.3.1 Conjunctive

Two sentences that a loose coordinating connection with each are related with ket.

Two clauses in the same sentence are usually connected with boy 'and'.

(1 33)	Amp anga n	kayin	be ng at	ni n	ka lot ,	b о у	n o	m ai n	mak wen	ke n a	ti	tat an g	ko,	yab ayt i	ye	an- iha liw	mi	ni	be ya h.
	eatin g	1PL.EX CL.NO M	jus t	G E N	ka lot	a n d	i f	E X T	can. get	m ea t	N O M	fat her	1SG. GEN	this	N O M	bu yin g	1PL.EX CL.GE N	G E N	ric e

We are just eating kalot and if my father is able to get meat, this is what we are using to exchange for rice.

Two NPs can also be connected with boy 'and'.

(134) Main hilan tanem a obi boy loko boy malabong a tatanamen la.
 EXT 3PL.NOM plant LK ube and taro and many LK plants 3PL.GEN They have ube and taro and many other plants.

4.4.3.2 Disjunctive

here.

Disjunction is signalled by the use of o 'or'.

(135) Ahe ko tanda no nakaoli hila o ahe.
NEG 1SG.GEN know if returned.home 3PL.NOM or NEG I don't know if they made it home or not.

4.4.3.3 Adversative

Clauses in adversative relationship are connected with noba 'but'.

(136) Main kayin miting noba ahe natoloy.

EXT 1PL.EXCL.NOM meeting but NEG continue

We had a meeting but it did not push through.

4.4.3.4 Reason

Reason is often shown by using ta 'for'.

4.4.3.5 Purpose

Purpose is shown by using ta-omen 'in order that'.

(138)	Angkatongto ng	beng at	ta-omen	makit	ye	pinangibat an	min	traditio n.
	speaking	only	in.order.th at	will.be.se en	NO M	source	1PL.EXCL.G EN	traditio n

I am just saying this so that the source of our tradition can be seen.

4.4.4 Interjection [Interj]

An interjection is a part of speech, typically brief in form, such as one syllable or word, whose members are used most often as exclamations or parts of an exclamation. An interjection, typically expressing an emotional reaction, often with respect to an accompanying sentence, is not syntactically related to other accompanying expressions, and may include a combination of sounds not otherwise found in the language.

This subsection lists the first ten instances.

adey	'don't'
adi	'don't'
agya	'not 3SG'
ah	'ahh'
araay	'ouch!'
arooy	'oh my!'

awo	'yes'
awobay	'yes'
ay	'oh!'
bahala	'it's up to'

4.4.5 Noun [N]

"Nouns are items which display certain types of inflection (e.g. of case or number), have a specific distribution (eg. they may follow prepositions but not, say, modals), and perform a specific syntactic function (e.g. as subject or object of a sentence). Nouns are generally subclassified into common and proper types, and analysed in terms of number, gender, case, and countability." (Crystal 2008:333)

The Noun category has 1 inflectional template:

Number

This subsection lists the first ten instances.

abagat	'rainy season'
abala	'activity'
abalayan	'parents by marriage'
abang	'rent'
abano	'cigar'
abaw	'beetle'
abay	'lower abdomen'
Abellen	'Abellen'
Abelling	'Abellen'
abeng	'quail'

4.4.5.1 Mass Nouns

These nouns refer to something other than a distinct countable quantity:

(139) a. *paday* 'rice'b. *lanom* 'water'

4.4.5.2 Pluralization

Nonpersonal nouns are pluralized by reduplicating the first CV- of the singular form of the noun:

(140)	tao 'person'		tatao 'persons'
	katongno 'brother'	⇒	kakatongno 'brothers'

If a noun base begins with a vowel, the unwritten initial glottal stop functions as a consonant:

(141) anak 'child' \Rightarrow aanak 'children'

If a noun base begins with two identical CV-syllables, the vowel of the first syllable is lengthened to form the plural:

(142)
$$babai$$
 'woman' $\Rightarrow baba:i$ 'women'

4.4.5.3 Derived Nouns

Word bases can form derived nouns by the addition of derivational affixes.

4.4.5.3.1 Abstract nouns

ka-+ base + -an and ka-CV + base form abstract nouns from the base:

(143)	tapol 'search'	⇒	katapolan 'need'
	biay 'life'	⇒	kabiayan 'livelihood'
	haad 'situation'	⇒	kahahaad 'situation'

4.4.5.3.2 Locative nouns

base + -an designates a place associated with what is specified in the base:

(144)	tanem 'plant'	⇒	tanaman 'plantation'
	ibat 'from'	⇒	ibatan 'origin'
	angga 'until'	⇒	anggaan 'limit'

4.4.5.3.3 Origin nouns

taga- + base refers to a person from the place designated by the base:

(145) *Germany* 'Germany'
$$\Rightarrow$$
 taga-Germany 'person from Germany'

4.4.5.3.4 Social relationship nouns

mi- + dup + base refers to more than two people in an intimate kinship or social relationship:

(146)	katongno 'sibling'	⇒	mikakatongno 'siblings'
	pamilya 'family'	⇒	mipapamilya 'family members'

4.4.5.3.5 Diminuative nouns

base + base refers to an imitation of what the base designates:

(147) baey 'house' \Rightarrow baeybaey 'dollhouse'

4.4.5.3.6 Collective nouns

ka- + dup + base + -an, refers to a group of more than two people in a companionship relationship:

(148)
$$lamo$$
 'companion' \Rightarrow *kalalamoan* 'group of companions'

4.4.5.3.7 Occupational nouns

ma:g-+ base, refers to a person who occupation is what the base designates:

(149) $talon 'field' \Rightarrow ma: gtalon 'farmer'$

4.4.5.3.8 Associative nouns nouns

ka- + base refers to one of two people associated in a reciprocal relationship designated by the base:

(150) tanda 'know' \Rightarrow katanda 'acquantaince'

4.4.5.4 Gerunds

Gerunds are translatable by the '-ing' form of a verb in English.

(151)	Basic form		Aspectless Gerund
	(1) - <i>om</i> - + base		Aspectless Gerund pan- + -om- + base
	komodang 'walk'	⇒	pangomodang 'walking'
	(2) <i>maN</i> -+ base	⇔	<i>paN</i> -+base
	manganop 'hunt'	⇔	panganop 'hunting'

The glosses and in some cases the parsing of the underlined forms in the following examples are not certain. More data are needed to confirm or discard this analysis.

(152) Pangwa mo ko nin magha. paN-kowa mo ako nin magha GER-get 2SG.GEN 1SG.NOM GEN one Get me one!

In this example the gerund functions as imperative (ko being the beneficiary).

- (153)Impakalannaynanahawa koyepamangan..-iN-pa-kalanna=yna=ninahawa koyepaN-panganPFV-CAUS-prepare3SG.GEN=already=GENspouse1SG.GENNOMGER=eat=GVMy wife already prepared the food.KeKeKeKeKe
- (154) Yabayti ye panongtongen nan palmama..
 yati=bay ye pan-tongtong-en na=n pan-mama
 this=EMPH NOM GER-talk-OV 3SG.GEN=LK GER=chewing.preparation
 This is the story of making chewing preparation.
- (155) kahahaad nin pagtalon. kahahaad nin pag-talon situation GEN GER-field

situation of working in the field (i.e. farming)

(156)Pamapalanomangganmanawayayneypaday..pan-CV-pa-lanomangga=nm-pan-dawaya=yna=yepadayGER-CONT-CAUS-
wateruntil=LKCTPLT=PL=fruit3SG.NOM=already=NOMriceContinue to water (it) until the rice bears fruit.

In this example again the gerund functions as an imperative.

(157) Mangikoninkaninpamateykanla.m-pan-i-koninkaninpan-pa-pateykanlaCTPLT-PL-CV-locate2SG.NOMGENGER-CAUS-die3PL.DATPlace some poison (killer) to them.

4.4.6 Number [Num]

4.4.6.1 Cardinal numeral [CardNum]

A cardinal numeral is a numeral of the class whose members are considered basic in form, are used in counting, and are used in expressing how many objects are referred to.

This subsection lists the first ten instances.

anem	'6'
anemagatoh	'600'
anemapo'	'60'
apat	'4'
apatagatoh	'400'
apatapo'	'40'
gatoh	'100'
hyam	'9'
hyamagatoh	'900'
hyamapo'	'90'

4.4.6.2 Ordinal numeral [Ordnum]

An ordinal numeral is a numeral belonging to a class whose members designate positions in a sequence.

This subsection lists all the instances.

ikalwa 'second'
ikatlo 'third'
kakalwa 'second'
kalwa 'second'
katlo 'third'

4.4.7 Preposition [Prep]

"Prepositions are the set of items which typically precede noun phrases (often single nouns or pronouns), to form a single constituent of structure." (<u>Crystal 2008:383)</u>

This subsection lists the first ten instances.

'GEN' =n'NOM' =yala 'one' alas '> two o'clock' angga 'until' bahta 'as long as' ha 'OBL' hilay 'PropmrkrPL' hilay 'PLTopicmrkr' hiyay 'TM'

4.4.8 Pronoun [Pro]

"Pronouns are the closed set of items which can be used to substitute for a noun phrase (or single noun)." (<u>Crystal 2008:391)</u>

This subsection lists the first ten instances.

agyahinyaman	'whatever'
ako	'1SG.NOM'
hika	'2SG.EMPH'
hikawo	'2PL.EMPH'
hikayi	'1PL.EXCL.EMPH'
hikita	'1DU.EMPH'
hikitawo	'1PL.INCL.EMPH'
hiko	'1SG.EMPH'
hila	'3PL.EMPH'
hilabayin	'3PL.EMPH'

4.4.8.1 Personal Pronoun

4.4.8.1.1 The form of personal pronouns

Personal ponouns are internally marked for case. (158) shows the personal pronouns according to case, person, and number.

Numb er	Pers on	ЕМРН	Nom	Gen	Dat	Gloss
	1	hiko 1SG.EMPH	ako/ko 1SG.NOM	ko 1SG.GEN	kangko 1SG.DAT	I, mine, to me, etc.
	2	hika 2SG.EMPH	ka 2SG.NOM	mo 2SG.GEN	kammo 2SG.DAT	you, your, to you, etc.
	1+2 (incl.)	hikita 1DU.EMPH	kita 1DU.NOM	ta 1DU.GEN	kanta 1DU.DAT	I and you, ours, etc.
	3	hiya 3SG.EMPH	ya 3SG.NOM	na 3SG.GEN	kana 3SG.DAT	he/she/ it, his, etc.
	1 (excl.)	hikayi 1PL.EXCL.E MPH	kayi 1PL.EXCL.N OM	mi 1PL.EXCL. GEN	kanmi/kamm i 1PL.EXCL. DAT	we (but not you), etc.
	2	hikawo 2PL.EMPH	kawo 2PL.NOM	yo 2PL.GEN	kanyo 2PL.DAT	you, yours, to you, etc.
	1+2 (incl.)	hikitawo 1PL.INCL.EM PH	kitawo 1PL.INCL.N OM	tawo 1PL.INCL.G EN	kantawo 1PL.INCL.D AT	we and you, etc.
	3	hila 3PL.EMPH	hila 3PL.NOM	la 3PL.GEN	kanla/kalla 3PL.DAT	they, their, etc.

In addition to these pronouns there are a two composite pronouns that combine the functions of the first person singular genitive form with the second person singular and second person plural nominative forms:

kata 1SG.GEN 2SG.NOM 'I...you (sg.)', from ko ka

katawo 1SG.GEN 2PL.NOM 'I ... you (pl.)', from ko kawo

The forms *ko ka* and *ko kawo* are ungrammatical and must be replaced by the appropriate composite pronouns.

(159) Angkaaliktan kata. 'I'm loving you.'

4.4.8.1.2 The functions of personal pronouns

EMPH pronouns occur most often as free forms in the fronted position in a sentence which signals discourse prominence, both syntactically clause-internal as fronted noun-phrase and clause-external (as delimiting component).

(160) a. Hikaiy ibat ha Kayawedan.	'We (excl.) are the ones from Kayawedan.'
b. (Compare: Ibat kai ha Kayawedan.	'We are from Kayawedan.')
c. Hiko, ibat ako ha Germany.	'As for me, I'm from Germany.'

NOM marked pronouns occur:

1. as constituents in all verbal clause types,

(161) a. Angkatoloy ako. 'I'm sleeping.'b. Manyag hila nin baey. 'They will make a house.'

2. as possessor in existential clauses (with main 'existence' and homain 'non-exist).'

(162) a. *Main akon tatloy baey.* 'I have three houses.'b. *Homain yan beyah.* 'He has no rice.'

3. The 3rd person singular and plural pronouns function as the base of demonstrative pronouns when affixed with the the suffixes -ti, -in and -tew, which denote the distance of an object in relation to speaker and hearer (see (170)).

GEN marked pronouns occur:

1. as constituents in all verbal clauses,

(163) Hamhamen la yay baboy. 'They snatched the pig away.'

2. as possessive pronouns at noun phrase level when possessive occurs after the noun.

(164) Tapolen mo yay etak ko. 'Look for my machete.'

DAT marked pronouns occur:

1. as oblique constituents in all verbal clauses,

(165) Angkaaliket ako kamo. 'I love you.'

2. as oblique constituent in existential clauses,

(166) Main ka nin tanam met kangko. 'You also have feelings towards me.'

3. as comment in a possessive clause,

(167) Kangko yain. 'That is mine.'

4. in referential phrases,

(168) Tongtongen ko...oli kallan māgtalon. 'I will talk...about the farmers.'

5. in non-verbal expressions.

(169) a. *Omon met kamo*. 'The same to you.'b. *Malake a halamat kanyo*. 'Many thanks to you.'

4.4.8.2 Demonstrative [Dem]

A demonstrative is a determiner that is used deictically to indicate a referent's spatial, temporal, or discourse location. A demonstrative functions as a modifier of a noun, or a pronoun.

(170)		Class I – personal		Class II	Class III	
	number	full minimal		locative	temporal	
	singular	hiyati yati		ihti	haanin	near (d1)
	plural	hila yati				
	singular	hiyain yain		ihen	hine	some distance (d2)
	plural	hila yain				
	singular	hiyatew	yatew	ihtew	hatew	far away (d3)

plural hila yatew				
-------------------	--	--	--	--

4.4.8.2.1 Personal demonstrative pronouns (class I)

The nominative third-person pronouns *ya* and *hila* are used to form the singular and plural of the Class I personal demonstrative pronouns respectively. The suffixes *-ti*, *-in*, and *-tew* show the relative distance of the item or person referred to: *-ti* indicates nearness (to speaker and hearer), *-in* indicates some distance (close to hearer, or only somewhat close to hearer and speaker), and *-tew* indicates distance (from both hearer and speaker).

The full forms of the singular demonstrative personal pronouns are formed by adding the prefix *hi*- to the minimal form. There is no formal distiction between full and minimal forms of the plural personal demonstrative pronouns.

Personal demonstrative pronouns are unmarked for case. To mark them for case the demonstrative pronouns are preceded by the personal pronouns *ya* or *hila* or by personal pronoun plus case-marker combinations, but the simple form of the demonstrative pronoun can by itself, or as part of a noun phrase realize the absolutive argument of a verbal clause. The personal demonstrative pronoun never occurs in the ergative case because its definiteness would obligatorily require it to be the absolutive argument of the clause.

(171)	a.	Ipatanda ko lano no mayadi yati.	'I will let you know later when this is finished.'
	b.	Aya hila yain?	'What are these?'
	c.	Makew ako ha kabatoan ta oyahan ko ya yati.	'I will go to the rive because I will wash this.'

The distribution of the minimal and the full form of the demonstrative pronoun is identical in the following positions: Both can occur as nominal modifiers in modification constructions, in genitive noun-phrases, in oblique clause constituents, and probably both occur in equative clauses and with the non-personal oblique marker *ha*.

(172) a. yain a gobat	'that war'
b. hiyatin kahahaad	'this situation'
c. nan yain	'of this'
d. nan hiyati	'of this'
e. <i>kanan yain</i>	'with/from that'

f. kanan hiyain	'with/from that'
g. Tepeten na yayna ti babai kanan yain.	'He would now ask the girl about this.'
h. Homawa yay balatang kanan hiyain.	'The young lady was weary of this.'
i. Yati ye kaginta a baey.	'This is the big house.'
j. Hiyabayti ye makaagat.	'This is the oldest.'
k. <i>ibat ha hiyain</i>	'from that'

But only the minimal form can be used as the free form in short answers.

(173) Yati. 'This.' (i.e. answering a question like "Which do you want?")

4.4.8.2.2 Locative demonstrative pronouns (class II)

Locative demonstrative pronouns are formed by affixing the locative bound root *ih*- with basically the same suffixes (but with one vowel change) that are used to mark the personal demonstrative pronouns for relative distance of the item or person referred to (as shown in the chart 4), so that Class I and Class II demonstrative pronouns can be summarized as follows.

(174)	Class I			Class I		
	deictic in space, time and relation: ya/hila			+ deictic in space:.ih-+ ^[29]		
	near (d1)	'this'	-ti	near (locd1)	'here'	
	some distance (d2)	'that'	-in -e	n some dist. (locd2)	'there'	
	far away (d3)	'that over there'	-tew	far away (locd3)	'over there'	

4.4.8.2.3 Temporal demonstrative pronouns (class III)

The temporal demonstrative pronouns have some similarities in form with the personal demonstrative pronouns and the locative pronouns. The temporal demonstrative pronouns are also mark relative distance of the item or person referred to.

(175) a. haanin 'now'

- b. *hine* 'some time ago'
- c. *hatew* 'then, at that time'

4.4.8.2.4 Emphatic demonstrative pronouns

Emphatic forms of the personal demonstrative pronouns and the locative demonstrative pronouns are formed by affixing any of the forms of these pronouns

with the enclitic *-bay*. There are no emphatic temporal demonstrative pronouns. The emphatic demonstrative pronouns occur in equative clauses and in the fronted position of verbal clauses signaling discourse prominence.

(176)		Class I		Class II	Class III	
	number	full ^[30]	minimal	locative	temporal	
	singular	hiyabayti	yabayti	ihtibay		near (d1)
	plural	hilabayti				
	singular	hiyabayin	yabayin	ihenbay		some distance (d2)
	plural	hilabayin				
	singular	hiyabaytew	yabaytew	ihtewbay		far away (d3)
	plural	hilabaytew	1]			

(177) a. Yabayin ye baey yo.

b.	Yabavin	a maambal	antibeen	lan aho ko.	
··					

- c. Iyabayin ilakew me ha lohan.
- d. ...oli ha yabaytew
 e. Mangkomonin ako ihtibay ha badion Labney.
- f. Labay ko ihtibay, ta matana.
- g. Malabong a hadtan ko tongkol ihtibay.
- h. Ihtibay ti nagpohtoan la.

'That is your house.'

'It was that python that my dogs barked at.'

'That is what we take to the lowland.'

'...because of that'

'I live here in the barangay Labney.'

I like it here because it's peaceful. I have much to say about this here.

It was here that they set up camp.

4.4.8.3 Interrogative pro-form [Interog Pro-form]

An interrogative pro-form is a pro-form that is used in questions to stand for the item questioned.

This subsection lists the first ten instances.

ano'how many'aya'what'aya'which'hinya'what; who'hinyain'what is that'hinyatew'what is this'hinyati'what is this'makano'when'

nakano 'when' *pano* 'how'

4.4.8.4 Indefinite Pronoun

agya hinya	'whoever'
agya aya	'whatever'
agya way ihtew	'wherever'
agya makano	'whenever'

4.4.9 Verb [V]

A Verb is a part of speech whose members typically signal events and actions; constitute, singly or in a phrase, a minimal predicate in a clause; govern the number and types of other constituents which may occur in the clause; and, in inflectional languages, may be inflected for tense, aspect, voice, modality, or agreement with other constituents in person, number, or grammatical gender.

The Verb category has 5 inflectional templates:

AV/PV/CV inflection template OV/GV inflection template PFV OV inflection template Prolonged action template Stative verb template

These templates are valid for not only this category, but also its subcategory: <u>Pseudo</u> <u>verb</u>.

The Verb category has 3 inflection classes: partial, motion, and state.

The Verb category has 2 inflectable features: <u>voice in Philippine-type</u> <u>languages</u> and <u>aspect</u>.

This subsection lists the first ten instances.

aba'delay'abala'bother'abang'rent'abanti'advance'abaw'gather beetles'

abholto	'absolve'
abli	'value'
ablo	'out of line'
abo	'heat'
aboh	'pant'

4.4.9.1 Pseudo verb [PseudoV]

A partially inflectable verb.

The Pseudo verb category has 1 inflectional template:

Pseudo verb

This subsection lists the first ten instances.

ba'ko	'I thought'
ba'la	'they thought'
ba'mo	'you thought'
ba'na	'he thought'
bobokod	'do alone'
labay	'like'
main	'EXT'
padah	'speed up'
tanda	'know'
wanla	'they said'

4.5 Inflection

In this analysis of Ayta Abellen the following word categories are inflected:

Noun (<u>4.5.1</u>) Verb (<u>4.5.2</u>)

In the inflectional templates expressed below, parentheses indicate that a slot is optional.

4.5.1 Noun inflection

This section lists all inflectional templates and slots for the Noun category.

4.5.1.1 Noun Templates

The category Noun has the following template.

4.5.1.1.1 Number

These are the morphemes in the noun prefix slot which inflect the stem for number. Singular nouns are not marked. $[C^{1}][V^{1}]$ means that the first consonant and vowel are reduplicated from the stem.

(<u>Noun pre</u>)	Stem
[C^1][V^1]- 'PL'	

4.5.1.2 Noun Slots and Fillers

The following is a listing of the fillers of the slot involved in Noun inflection.

4.5.1.2.1 Noun pre

These are the morphemes in the noun prefix slot.

Form	Gloss	Definition
[C^1][V^1]-	'PL'	Plural

4.5.2 Verb inflection

This section lists all inflectional templates and slots for the Verb category and its subcategories.

4.5.2.1 Verb Templates

The category Verb has the following templates.

4.5.2.1.1 AV/PV/CV inflection template

This is the inflection template for AV/PV/CV verbs. This template is valid for not only the <u>Verb</u> category, but also its subcategory: <u>Pseudo verb</u>.

<u>Aspect</u>	Voic	e prefix	Stem
aN- 'CONT'	Ø-	'AV'	
<i>-in-</i> 'PFV'	<i>i</i> -	'CV'	

<i>m</i> -	'CTPLT'	- <i>om</i> -	'AV '	
<i>n</i> -	'PFV'	<i>-om-</i>	'PV'	

4.5.2.1.2 OV/GV inflection template

This is the inflection template for OV/GV verbs. This template is valid for not only the <u>Verb</u> category, but also its subcategory: <u>Pseudo verb</u>.

Aspect	Stem	(Voice suffix)
aN- 'CONT'		<i>-an</i> 'GV'
<i>-in-</i> 'PFV'		-en 'OV'
<i>m</i> - 'CTPLT'		
<i>n</i> - 'PFV'		

4.5.2.1.3 PFV OV/CV inflection template

This is the inflection template for aspect-voice portmanteau forms. This template is valid for not only the <u>Verb</u> category, but also its subcategory: <u>Pseudo verb</u>.

Aspect/voi	<u>ce</u> Stem
<i>-in-</i> 'PFV,	OV'
<i>in</i> 'PFV,	OV'
<i>iN-</i> 'PFV,	CV'

4.5.2.1.4 Prolonged action template

This is the inflection template for prolonged action stems that are derived into nouns. This template is valid for not only the <u>Verb</u> category, but also its subcategory: <u>Pseudo</u> <u>verb</u>. This template is a non-final template. That is, when it applies, it does not yet make a well-formed word. It requires a derivational affix to change its category and then the resulting category may have an inflectional template to complete it.

<u>Om prefix</u>	Stem
-om- 'AV '	
<i>-om-</i> 'PV'	

4.5.2.1.5 Stative verb template

This is the inflection template for stative verbs. This template is valid for not only the <u>Verb</u> category, but also its subcategory: <u>Pseudo verb</u>.

Aspe	<u>ct</u>	Stative voice		Stem	(Stative voice suffix)
aN-	'CONT'	ka-	'STA OV'		kaan 'STA GV'
-in-	'PFV'	kaan	'STA GV'		
<i>m</i> -	'CTPLT'	kai-	'STA CV'		
<i>n</i> -	'PFV'	paka-	'STA AV'		

4.5.2.2 Verb Slots and Fillers

The following is a listing of the fillers of the slots involved in Verb inflection.

4.5.2.2.1 Aspect

These are the morphemes in the aspect slot.

Form	Gloss	Definition
aN-	'CONT'	Continuous aspect.
-in-	'PFV'	Perfective aspect.
<i>m</i> -	'CTPLT'	Contemplated aspect.
<i>n</i> -	'PFV'	Perfective aspect.

4.5.2.2.2 Aspect/voice

These are the morphemes in the aspect/voice slot.

Form	Gloss	Definition
-in-	'PFV, OV'	Perfective aspect, object voice.
in	'PFV, OV'	Perfective aspect, object voice.
iN-	'PFV, CV'	Perfective aspect, conveyance voice.

4.5.2.2.3 Om prefix

These are the morphemes in the om prefix slot.

Form	Gloss	Definition
- <i>om</i> -	'AV '	Actor voice.
- <i>om</i> -	'PV'	Patient voice.

4.5.2.2.4 Stative voice

These are the morphemes in the stative voice slot.

Form	Gloss	Definition
ka-	'STA OV'	Stative patient voice.
kaan	'STA GV'	Stative goal voice.
kai-	'STA CV'	Stative conveyance voice.
paka-	'STA AV'	Stative actor voice.

4.5.2.2.5 Stative voice suffix

These are the morphemes in the stative voice suffix slot.

Form	Gloss	Definition
kaan	'STA GV'	Stative goal voice.

4.5.2.2.6 Voice prefix

These are the morphemes in the voice prefix slot.

Form	Gloss	Definition	Inflection Features
Ø	'AV'	Actor voice.	[voice in Philippine-type languages:actor voice]
<i>i</i> -	'CV'	Conveyance voice.	[voice in Philippine-type languages:conveyance voice]
- <i>om</i> -	'AV '	Actor voice.	[voice in Philippine-type languages:actor voice]
- <i>om</i> -	'PV'	Patient voice.	[voice in Philippine-type languages:patient voice]

4.5.2.2.7 Voice suffix

These are the morphemes in the voice suffix slot.

Form	Gloss	Definition	Inflection Features
-an	'GV'	Goal voice.	[voice in Philippine-type languages:goal voice]
-en	'OV'	Object voice.	[voice in Philippine-type languages:object voice]

4.5.2.3 Pseudo verb inflection

This section lists all inflectional templates and slots for the Pseudo verb category.

4.5.2.3.1 Pseudo verb Templates

The category Pseudo verb has the following template.

4.5.2.3.1.1 Pseudo verb

This inflectional template for Pseudo verb has the following slot after the stem.

Stem	(<u>Voice suffix</u>)
	<i>-an</i> 'GV'
	-en 'OV'

4.5.2.3.2 Pseudo verb Slots and Fillers

The category Pseudo verb does not define any slots. Its templates, however, may use any of these slots: <u>aspect, aspect/voice</u>, <u>om prefix</u>, <u>stative voice</u>, <u>stative voice</u> <u>suffix</u>, <u>voice prefix</u>, and <u>voice suffix</u>.

4.6 Derivation

The lexicon currently contains 42 derivational affixes. A number in the table below indicates the number of derivational affixes that attach to a stem of the syntactic category named in the row label to the left and produce a stem of the syntactic category named in the column label above it. (Note that it is possible for a derivational affix to have more than one mapping so the sum of the numbers in the table may be greater than the number of derivational affixes in the lexicon.)

	<u>Adj</u>	Adv	<u>CardNum</u>	N	<u>Ordnum</u>	<u>v</u>
<u>Adj</u>	<u>6</u>			1		1
CardNum		<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>		<u>1</u>	1
N	1	1		2		2
Num						<u>1</u>
<u>Ordnum</u>						<u>1</u>
<u>v</u>				<u>10</u>		<u>14</u>

The following are the derivational affixes in this analysis of Ayta Abellen:

4.6.1 From Adj to Adj

ma-	'Adj, SG'	Adjective, singular.
manga-	'Adj, PL'	Plural adjective marker.
ma-	'Adj, SG'	Singular adjective marker.

Dup-	'DIMUN'	Diminuative root reduplication.
pinaka-	'SUP'	Superlative degree marker.
[C^1][V^1]-	'EMPH'	Emphasis.

4.6.2 From <u>Adj</u> to <u>N</u>

ka--an 'COLL' Collective noun marker.

4.6.3 From Adj to V

 O - 'Adj > V' Adjective to Verb null derivation.

4.6.4 From <u>CardNum</u> to <u>Adv</u>

titi- 'X per' X per.

mani- 'each' Each. Denotes distributivity of numerals.

ti- 'each' Each. Denotes distributivity of numerals.

4.6.5 From CardNum to CardNum

[C^1][V^1]-	'EMPH'	Emphasis.
manga-	'approximately'	Approximately.
labin-	'10 +'	Ten plus X.

4.6.6 From CardNum to Ordnum

ika- 'ORD NUM ' Ordinal number marker.

4.6.7 From <u>CardNum</u> to <u>V</u>

maika- 'ord num verbalizer' Ordinal number verbalizer.

4.6.8 From N to Adj

^0- 'N > Adj' Noun to adjective null derivation.

4.6.9 From <u>N</u> to <u>Adv</u>

mina- 'every' Every.

4.6.10 From <u>N</u> to <u>N</u>

ka--an'COLL'Collective noun marker.mi-'SOC REL'Social relationship noun marker.

4.6.11 From № to **№**

^0- 'N>V' Noun to verb null derivation.

4.6.12 From <u>Num</u> to <u>V</u>

^0- 'Num>V' Number to verb null derivation.

4.6.13 From <u>Ordnum</u> to <u>V</u>

ka- 'STA NUM' Ordinal number to verb derivation.

4.6.14 From <u>V</u> to <u>N</u>

pāg-	'PA.GER'	Prolonged singular action gerundivizer.
pāy-	'REC.PA.GER'	Reciprocal prolonged action gerundivizer.
pangi-	'PL.DETR.GER'	Plural action detransitive gerundivizer.
pāngi-	'PL.PA.DETR.GER'	Plural prolonged action detransitive gerundivizer.
pāN-	'PL.PA.GER'	Plural prolonged action gerundivizer.
māN-	'OCCUP'	Occupational noun marker.
ka-	'ASSOC'	Reciprocal association marker.
paN -	'PL.GER'	Plural action gerundivizer.
pag-	'SG.GER'	Singular action gerundivizer.
māg-	'OCCUP'	Occupational noun marker.

4.6.15 From <u>V</u> to <u>V</u>

Citation form	Gloss	Definition	To inflection class
ka-	'STA'	Stative.	
paki-	'REQ'	Request mode.	
pangi-	'PL.DETR'	Plural, detransitive.	
pāngi-	'PL.DETR'	Plural, detransitive.	
Dup-	'DIMUN'	Diminuative root reduplication.	
[C^1][V^1]-	'EMPH'	Emphasis.	

pai-	'CAUS.2TRANS'	Causative mode, bitransitive.	partial
pa-	'CAUS'	Causative. Denotes that someone permits or causes someone to do something.	partial
pag-	'DUR'	Durative mode. Verbal action spans a duration of time.	partial
paka-	'APT'	Aptative mode. Signals that a noun phrase has an actor relationship to a transitive verb, denoting abilitative action.	partial
paki-	'REQ'	Request mode. Signals that an active verb has an actor relationship to a noun phrase, indicating a request for social action.	partial
paN -	'PL'	Plural action mode. Indicates that plurality of events taking place.	
pay-	'REC'	Reciprocal mode. Signals that the actors referred to by the noun phrase are involved in reciprocal action to each other.	partial
pi-	'HAB'	Habitual mode. Signals that the event is occurring habitually.	partial

4.7 Clitics

In this analysis of Ayta Abellen there are 19 clitics.

Form	Gloss	Definition	Category	Attaches to:
=ana	'now'	Now, already. Signals that a condition, an action or process has reached a certain actual state.	Adverb	Any category
=awod	'so'	So, therefore, then. Expression signals inference relation.	Adverb	Any category
=bay	'EMPH'	Forming long or maybe better emphatic forms of demonstrative pronouns, conjunctions and adverbs.	Adverb	Any category
=bega	'absolutely'	Absolutely. Not even a little bit.	Adverb	Any category
=bengat	'just'	Just.	Adverb	Any category
=dayi	'OPT'	Optative mood. Added to express a wish of the speaker that an action be possible.	Adverb	Any category

=ingat	'on other hand'	On other hand, rather.	Adverb	Any category
=kano	'it is said'	Supposedly; so they said; so he said; so it is said; according to. (Often an expression of doubt).	Adverb	Any category
=lagi	'possibly'	Possibly; perhaps.	Adverb	Any category
=laweh	'uncertainty'	Marks questions, often denoting uncertainty.	Adverb	Any category
=manayti	'surprise'	Denotes mild surprise at new information, or an unexpected event or situation, or in expressing an afterthought.	Adverb	Any category
=modin	'same'	Same as always.	Adverb	Any category
= <i>n</i>	'COMP'	Complementizer.	Connective	Any category
	'GEN'	Genitive case marker contraction.	Preposition	Any category
=nayi	'QUES'	Marks an utterance as a question, often denoting politeness.	Adverb	Any category
=pa	'still'	Still.	Adverb	Any category
=po	'yet'	Yet, still.	Adverb	Any category
=tana	'just '	Just.	Adverb	Any category
=teed	'also, too'	Also, too.	Adverb	Any category
=y	'NOM'	Nominative case marker contraction.	Preposition	Any category

4.8 Morpho-syntactic Feature System

Ayta Abellen has a morpho-syntactic feature system with the feature structure types listed in section 4.8.1 and the features given in section 4.8.2.

4.8.1 Morpho-syntactic Feature Structure Types

Ayta Abellen has a feature system with the following feature structure types:

4.8.1.1 Inflection

Name	Description
<u>voice in</u> <u>Philippine-type</u> <u>languages</u>	Philippine-type languages (e.g. Tagalog and Cebuano as well as some in Malaysia) have a voice or focus system in which the verb selects the semantic role of the grammatical subject. The verb has an affix which indicates the semantic role of the nominative marked argument.
aspect	Aspect is a grammatical category associated with verbs that expresses a temporal view of the event or state expressed by the verb.

Ayta Abellen verbs have the following features:

4.8.1.2 Pronoun agreement

Features common to agreement on pronouns. It has the following features:

Name	Description
case	Case is a grammatical category determined by the syntactic or semantic function of
	a noun or pronoun.

4.8.2 Morpho-syntactic Features

Ayta Abellen has a morpho-syntactic feature system with the following features:

4.8.2.1 Aspect

Aspect is a grammatical category associated with verbs that expresses a temporal view of the event or state expressed by the verb. It has the following possible values:

Name	Abbreviation	Description
continuous aspect	cont	Continuous aspect is an imperfective aspect that expresses an ongoing, but not habitual, occurrence of the state or event expressed by the verb.
perfective aspect	pfv	Perfective aspect is an aspect that expresses a temporal view of an event or state as a simple whole, apart from the consideration of the internal structure of the time in which it occurs.
contemplated aspect	ctplt	Contemplated aspect is an aspect that expresses an action that is not started but is anticipated.

4.8.2.2 Case

Case is a grammatical category determined by the syntactic or semantic function of a noun or pronoun. It has the following possible values:

Name	Abbreviation	Description
dative case	dat	Dative case is a case that marks any of the following: (1) Indirect objects (for languages in which they are held to exist); (2) Nouns having the role of (a) recipient (as of things given), (b) beneficiary of an action, or (c) possessor of an item.
nominative case	nom	Nominative case is the case that identifies clause subjects in nominative-accusative languages. Nouns used in isolation have this case.
genitive case	gen	Genitive case is a case in which the referent of the marked noun is the possessor of the referent of another noun. The genitive case can also be used for the actor in non actor voice sentences.

4.8.2.3 Voice in Philippine-type languages

Philippine-type languages (e.g. Tagalog and Cebuano as well as some in Malaysia) have a voice or focus system in which the verb selects the semantic role of the grammatical subject. The verb has an affix which indicates the semantic role of the nominative marked argument. It has the following possible values:

Name	Abbreviation	Description	
actor voice	AV	The nominative marked argument has the semantic role of actor.	
patient voice	PV	e nominative marked argument has the semantic role of tient.	
object voice	OV	The nominative marked argument is the object toward which the verbal action is directed.	
conveyance voice	CV	The nominative marked argument has the semantic role of a theme being conveyed in some way by the verbal action.	
goal voice/focus	GV	The nominative marked argument has the semantic role of goal or recipient.	

4.9 Allomorphy

This analysis of Ayta Abellen has phonological conditioning of allomorphs.

4.9.1 Phonological Environments

Representation	Name	Description	Count
/#_[Bil]	_Bil	Stem Initial, Before Bilabial	2 instances
/#_[V]	_ V	Stem initial, Before Vowel	8 instances
/[C]_	[C]_	After Consonant	2 instances
/_[C^1][V^1]	CV Redup	Consonant Vowel Reduplication	2 instances
/_[V^1]	_[V^1]	Before reduplicated Vowel	2 instances
/#_[Alv]	_Alv	Stem Initial, Before Alveolar	2 instances
/#_[Vel]	_Vel	Stem Initial, Before Velar	2 instances
/#[C]_	C _	After stem-initial Consonant	2 instances
/#[Nas]_	[Nas] _	After Stem-initial Nasal	11 instances
/#[Nas]_[C]	# [Nas] _ [C]	After stem initial Nasal and before Consonant	1 instance
/#[Nas]_[V]	# [Nas] _ [V]	After stem initial Nasal and before Vowel	1 instance
/#_	#_	Word initial	7 instances
/#_[V^1]	V Redup	Vowel Reduplication	1 instance
/#_h	_ h	Before h	1 instance
/[Nas]_	_Nas	Following Nasal	7 instances
/_[V]	_[V]	Before Vowel	3 instances
/_a	_a	Before a	1 instance
/_w	_ W	Before w	2 instances
/ y _	У_	After y	1 instance

The following is a complete list of the phonological environments that condition allomorphs in this analysis:

The following is a complete list of the phonological environments that condition infix positioning in this analysis:

Representation	Name	Description	Count
/#_[V]	_ V	Stem initial, Before Vowel	7 instances
/[C]_	[C]_	After Consonant	2 instances
/#[C]_	C _	After stem-initial Consonant	4 instances
/#_	#_	Word initial	2 instances
/_w	_ W	Before w	2 instances

4.9.2 Inflection Classes

This analysis of Ayta Abellen also has allomorphy that is lexically conditioned by inflection class.

The category <u>Verb</u> has the inflection classes shown in the following table. There is no default inflection class for this category.

Name	Description	Stem count	Affix count
Motion	Motion verbs	36 stems	3 affixes
Partial	Partially inflectable	14 stems	1 affix
State	Change of state verbs	35 stems	3 affixes

4.10 Natural Classes

The following natural classes have been defined in this analysis of Ayta Abellen.

Class	Phonemes	Class Name
Alv	d, h, l, n, t	Alveolar plus
Bil	b, m, p	Bilabial
С	b, d, g, h, k, l, m, n, ŋ, p, t, w, y, ?	Consonant
Glot	h	Glottal
Nas	<i>m</i> , <i>n</i> , <i>ŋ</i>	Nasal
V	a, e, i, o, u	Vowel
Vel	g, k, ŋ	Velar

4.11 Residue

4.11.1 Ad hoc constraints

The following sets of morphemes or allomorphs never co-occur in the same wordform, but the morphological description given above does not yet offer an explanation. They are listed as follows:

- Morpheme ad hoc sequences
- Allomorph ad hoc sequences

4.11.1.1 Morpheme ad hoc sequences

The following table delineates the sets of morphemes which may not co-occur:

Key morpheme	Cannot occur	Other morphemes
Ø-		ka-
'N>V'	Adjacent before	'ASSOC'
N>V		V>N
Ø-		pag-
'N>V'	Anywhere around	'GER'
N>V		V>N
Ø-		Ø-
'N>V'	Adjacent before	'N>V'
N>V		N>V
-in-		Ø-
'PFV'	Adjacent before	'AV'
V:Aspect		V:Voice prefix

4.11.1.2 Allomorph ad hoc sequences

The following table delineates the sets of allomorph/morpheme pairs which may not co-occur:

Key allomorph/morpheme	Cannot occur	Other allomorph/morphemes
pa 'CAUS'	Adjacent after	m 'CTPLT'
Ø 'AV'	Anywhere around	Ø 'CTPLT'
Ø 'AV'	Adjacent before	a 'CAUS'

5 Syntax

The syntax outline that follows was generated using PAWS.

5.1 Introduction

The Ayta Abellen language is spoken in the province of Tarlac in the Philippines. There are approximately 3,500 speakers. Ayta Abellen is a member of the Sambal language subgroup. After giving information on the syntactic typology of the language, the grammar begins by describing the smaller phrases which can modify other phrases before moving through several types of nominal phrases and on to adpositional phrases. Basic, main clause sentences are then covered, followed finally by various types of embedded clauses and constructions involving changes in word order.

This is a description of the syntax of Ayta Abellen based on the answers given to the PAWS Starter Kit. Examples from Tagalog are supplied for each section for comparison.

5.2 Word Order Typology

Tagalog as well as most Philippine languages are Verb-Subject-Object languages.

The basic word order of Ayta Abellen in transitive sentences is also VSO, as shown in the following examples:

- (178) a. *N-am-Ø-yay ya=n pilak ye Pablo kangko*. PFV-PL-AV-give 3SG.NOM=GEN money NOM Pablo 1SG.DAT 'Pablo gave money to me.'
 - b. *Bogbog-en la ya=n la-laki* CTPLT-beat-OV 3PL.GEN 3SG.NOM=GEN PL-man

ye Juan ha loob baey na. NOM Juan DAT inside house 3SG.GEN 'The men will beat Juan inside his house.'

C. Am-paolay-an na ya=n Apo Dioh ye laki.
 CONT-abandon-GV 3SG.GEN 3SG.NOM=GEN Lord God NOM man
 'The man is being abandoned by God.'

In keeping with the head-initial typology, Ayta Abellen has prepositions (section 5.9.2).

Possessors occur after the noun being possessed (section <u>5.6.4</u>). Adjective phrases occur on either side (but not both sides) of the noun they are modifying (section <u>5.6.5</u>). Relative clauses occur after the head noun (section <u>5.14</u>).

In Ayta Abellen, pro-drop of the nominative marked argument is allowed for subject, direct object, and indirect object (section 5.11.2).

Ayta Abellen has auxiliaries which are written as separate words (section 5.11.3).

In Yes/No questions, there is a question marker which occurs in the second position of the sentence (section 5.13.1). In content questions, an interrogative phrase moves to the front of the clause (section 5.13.2).

5.3 Quantifiers and Quantifier Phrases

Quantifiers can show up in various places in a nominal phrase. Most languages have four sets of quantifiers:

- Those meaning *all* or *not*, which modify the whole nominal phrase,
- quantifiers such as *some* or *no*, which do not co-occur with any other modifers except adjectives,
- other quantifiers such as *many* or *few*, and
- numbers.

Each type will be considered in turn.

5.3.1 Quantifiers which modify the whole nominal phrase

Quantifiers meaning *all* or *not* seem to be a category of their own. They usually occur first (or last) in a nominal phrase, in a position distinct from the other quantifiers but in the same place as degree words like *only* and *just* (which can also act as focus markers, to be discussed in section 5.18) and words that mean the same as *almost* (which can also co-occur with *all*), so we will refer to them as special degree words. These words modify the whole nominal phrase, as in *all five children, only Sue's three children, nearly all John's young children* and *just this many children*. Note that *not* can occur in place of or before these other special degree words, as in *not the children, not all five children, not just this many children* or *not only Sue's three children*.

Tagalog quantifiers which can modify the whole nominal phrase include words like *lahat* 'all', *halos* 'almost all', and *lang* 'only'. Examples of nominal phrases are:

(179) *lahat ng mga anak ni Rosie*all GEN PL child GEN Rosie'all the children of Rosie'

(180) ang mga hayop sa bukid lang

NOM PL animal DAT mountain only 'only the animals in the mountains'

Ayta Abellen uses the following to express these notions:

(181)	Ayta Abellen	meaning
	kaganaan	'all'
	pawa	
	haloh	'almost all'
	bengat	'only or just'

In Ayta Abellen, these are expressed as separate words which modify the whole nominal phrase. They occur on either side (but not both sides) of the rest of the nominal phrase. Ayta Abellen positive nominal phrase examples include:

- (182) a. *kaganaan a tanam nan laki* all LNK feelings GEN man 'all the man's feelings'
 - b. *hilan kaganaan ti hahapon a manga-tobag* NOM all NOM Japanese LNK PL-cruel
 'all the cruel Japanese (soldiers)'
 - c. yabayin anan bengat this now just
 'just this now'
 - d. maghay kolap bengat
 one blink only
 'just the blink of an eye'

5.3.2 Quantifiers which do not co-occur with Determiners

The second set includes quantifiers like *some*, *every*, and *no*, which do not allow any other articles, demonstratives or possessors in the nominal phrase. English examples include *some sad children*, *almost every little girl that I see* and *no black dogs*. Because they take the place of articles, demonstratives and possessors, we will treat these quantifiers as determiners with their own phrase structure rule.

Philippine languages like Tagalog have quantifiers which act as the only determiner in the nominal phrase as in (183) and (184).

- (183) *bawat tao* each person 'each person'
- (184) *tuwing umaga* every morning 'every morning'

Ayta Abellen has the following positive quantifiers which act as the only determiner in the nominal phrase:

(185)	Positive Quantifiers			
	balang	'each'		
	pawa	'all'		
	kaganaan	'all'		

Ayta Abellen examples of positive quantifier determiners in full nominal phrases include:

- (186) a. *balang magha kanla* each one DAT.3PL 'each one of them'
 - b. kaganaan a ta-tao
 all LNK PL-person
 'all people'

5.3.3 Other Quantifiers and Degree words

Other quantifiers, like *many*, *much*, and *few*, come in a different position in the nominal phrase. In English, this is after an article, demonstrative or possessor and before an adjective and noun, as in *John's many black dogs*. Further, these quantifiers can be modified by degree words such as *very* and *so*, as in *very many dogs* or *so much waste*.

In Tagalog these quantifiers, *marami* 'many' and *kaunti 'few'*, generally precede the noun with the possessor or demonstrative following the noun, as in,

- (187) sa mga maraming aso ni Juan
 DAT PL many dog GEN Juan
 'to the many dogs of Juan'
- (188) *ang kaunting tubig na ito* NOM little water LNK this 'this little amount of water'

Ayta Abellen has the following quantifiers of this type:

Quantifiers		
malabong	'many'	
makandi	'few'	

Ayta Abellen has degree words which can modify the quantifiers. These degree words occur on either side of the quantifier. Ayta Abellen examples include:

- (189) a. malabong a tobat hila=y ta-tao many LNK very NOM=NOM PL-person 'very many are the people'
 - b. tobat a malabong ye n-a-kwa na
 very LNK many NOM PFV-STA.OV-get 3SG.GEN
 'very many is what he got'
 - c. makandi ya=n tobat
 few 3SG=LNK very
 'it is very few'

5.3.4 Numbers

Numbers cannot be modified by the degree words like the quantifiers can, though they occur in the same position. Cardinal numbers can, however, be modified by ordinal numbers and by *next* and *last*, as in *the first twenty boys* or *the next one hundred years*. Ordinal numbers and *next* and *last* can also modify nouns directly, as in *the third girl* and *the last boy*. Since these modifiers (including ordinal numbers) also act as regular adjectives in modifying nouns directly, they act syntactically like adjectives.

5.3.4.1 Cardinal Numbers

Tagalog cardinal numbers can be modified by ordinal numbers and by 'next' and 'last', as in,

- (190) *yong unang isang daan* those first one hundred 'those first one hundred'
- (191) ang susunod na baente na taon NOM next LNK twenty LNK year 'the next twenty years'

The basic forms for Ayta Abellen cardinal numbers are given in the following chart:

	Cardinal Numbers
1 through 10	magha 'one'
	<i>loa</i> 'two'
	tatlo 'three'
	apat 'four'
	<i>lima</i> 'five'
	anim 'six'
	pito 'seven'
	walo 'eight'
	hyam 'nine'
	mapo 'ten'
11 through 20	mapo boy magha 'eleven'
	<i>mapo boy loa</i> 'twelve'
	mapo boy tatlo 'thirteen'
	<i>mapo boy apat</i> 'fourteen'

	mapo boy lima'fifteen'mapo boy anim'sixteen'mapo boy pito'seventeen'mapo boy walo'eighteen'mapo boy hyam'nineteen'loampo'twenty'
30 through 100 (by tens)	tatlompo''thirty'apatapo''forty'limampo''fifty'anemapo''sixty'pitompo''seventy'walompo''eighty'hyamapo''ninety'

Larger cardinal numbers can be compounds which may be written as separate words, such as *one hundred thirty three, four thousand and three* or *six thousand one hundred and thirty three*. Examples of compound numbers in Ayta Abellen include:

(193) a. malibo boy hiyam a gatoh boy apatapo boy lima. thousand and nine LNK hundred and forty and five '1945'

5.3.4.2 Ordinal Numbers

Tagalog ordinal numbers, with the exception of *una* first, are formed by adding the prefix *ika*-, as in *ikalawa* second, *ikatlo* third, *ikaapat* fourth. Ordinal numbers can also modify nouns directly, as in,

(194) *ikalawang buwan* second month 'second month'

In Ayta Abellen, ordinal numbers also may be formed by adding a prefix to the cardinal number. The first ten ordinal numbers are:

(195) Ordinal Numbers

first through tenth	ona	'first'
	ikalwa	'second'
	ikatlo	'third'
	ikapat	'fourth'
	ikalima	'fifth'
	ikanem	'sixth'
	ikapito	'seventh'
	ikawalo	'eighth'
	ikahyam	'ninth'
	ikapo'	'tenth'

When the ordinal numbers in Ayta Abellen modify a cardinal number, as in *the first twenty boys*, they occur before the cardinal number.

Ayta Abellen examples of the use of ordinal numbers and the modifiers meaning "last" or "next" within a nominal phrase include:

- (196) a. *ikaloa=n baey ha wanan* second=LNK house DAT right 'second house on the right'
 - b. hoyot a mangaamot
 last LNK day
 'last day'

5.4 Adverbs and Adverb Phrases

Adverbs express four basic types of information:

- time,
- location,
- manner, and
- reason or purpose.

These types have different characteristics as to which positions they may occupy and how they may be modified. Each type will be covered in turn.

Languages normally have degree words which can modify at least some types of adverbs. Ayta Abellen has such degree words. These degree words occur after the adverb. The degree words can modify temporals, locatives, and manner adverbs, but reason or purpose adverbs are not modified.

5.4.1 Temporal Adverbs

Temporal adverbs include the English words: *already, then, soon, now, later,* and *always.* Examples including degree word modifiers are: *very soon, much later* and *only now.* Many languages also have a negative temporal adverb meaning 'no when', such as *never* in English.

Tagalog temporal adverbs include: *madalas* 'often', *minsanminsan* 'sometimes', *mamaya* 'sometimes', *ngayon* 'now', *noong* 'back then', *nang* 'when', *buhat* 'from', *mula* 'from', *palagi* 'always', and *hanggang*'until'. Degree for temporal adverbs is communicated in a variety of ways like using a past particle in *mula pa noon* 'from back then', or adding a prefix as in *napakadalas* 'very often'. The Tagalog negative temporal adverb phrase *kahit kailan* literally means 'even when'.

Examples of Ayta Abellen positive temporal adverbs and any degree words which can modify them include:

(197) a. *ha hatew* DAT time-past 'in time past'

> b. *haanin* now 'now'

- c. *lano* later 'later'
- d. *lanang* always

'always'

- e. *popoh* always 'always'
- f. *papainghan* later 'later (in the day)'

Examples of these positive temporal adverbs in sentences include:

- (198) a. Main ya=n hakit paibat ha hatew.
 EXT 3SG.NOM=GEN sickness from when time-past
 'He has been sick from earlier.'
 - b. Haanin lalo ya=n Ø-om-way ye ginit na.
 now more 3SG.NOM=COMP CTPLT-AV-widen NOM tear 3SG.GEN
 'Now, the tear will get even wider.'
 - c. Lano madeglem, m-Ø-akew kitawo ha baey na. later tonight CTPLT-AV-go 1PL.INCL DAT house 3SG.GEN 'Later tonight we will go to his house.'
 - d. *Lanang ya=n am-pag-Ø-habi=n* always 3SG.NOM=GEN CONT-PL-AV-speaking=GEN

laban ha gobyerno. against DAT government 'Always he is speaking against the government.'

e. Popoh hila=n am-pay-Ø-tipon ha baey la.

always 3PL.NOM=LNK CONT-REC-AV-gather DAT house 3PL.GEN 'Always they are gathering together at their house.'

f. "Papainghan ana," wana. later now 3SG.said "Later in the day," he said.

The time element of a sentence can also be expressed by other types of words or phrases, such as: nominal phrases *yesterday*, *last night*, *next year*, *tomorrow*, *a long time ago*; prepositional phrases *for a long time*, *in a little while*, *at 10 o'clock*; and adverbial clauses *while you are working*, *when Sue arrived*. These phrases occur in the same positions as the temporal adverbs, normally either initially or finally in the clause. See section 5.6 for the structure of nominal phrases and section 5.9 for information on pre/post-positional phrases. See also section 5.15.1 for examples of temporal adverbial clauses.

5.4.2 Locative Adverbs

Locative adverbs include the English words: *here*, *there*, *everywhere*. Locative adverbs can be modified by *only* and *right*, as in: *only here*, *right here* and *right there*.

Locative adverbs in Tagalog include: *dito* 'here', *diyan* 'there (near hearer)', and *doon* 'there (far)'. Locative adverbs can be modified by *lang* 'only', as in *diyan lang* 'there only'.

Examples of Ayta Abellen positive locative adverbs and any degree words which can modify them include:

(199) a. *ihti*

here 'here (near speaker)'

b. *ihen* there 'there (near hearer)'

- c. *ihtew* there 'there (far)'
- d. *ihti bengat* here only 'here only'
- e. *ihen bengat* there only 'there only'
- f. *ihtew bengat* there only 'there only'

Examples of positive locative adverbs and degree words in complete sentences include:

- (200) a. Ø-I-lakew yo ya ihti kangko. CTPLT-CV-bring 2PL.GEN 3SG.NOM here 3SG.DAT 'Bring him here to me.'
 - b. *Ano=y* tao a anti ihen?' how.many=NOM people LNK present there 'How many people are present there?'
 - c. Malabong hila=y tatao ihtew a n-ang-Ø-an. many 3PL=NOM people there LNK PFV-PL-AV-eat 'Many are the people there who ate.'

Location is often also expressed by a prepositional phrase, such as: *in the mountains, at San Jose, over there*. Many languages allow just a nominal phrase, consisting of a

proper noun or description of the place. Locative expressions may normally occur either initially or finally in the clause, or as complements to motion verbs. See section 5.11.4 for examples with motion verbs.

5.4.3 Manner Adverbs

Manner adverbs directly modify the verb and usually end in *-ly* in English. These manner adverbs can be modified by *very* and *so*, as in: *very quickly*, *so slowly* and *very well*.

In Tagalog manner adverbs tend to occur clause final and are introduced with the word *nang* or the linker *na/-ng*, as in,

- (201) Kailangan natin=g k<um>ain na=ng mabilis. must 1PL.GEN=LNK <PFV.AV>eat GEN=LNK quickly 'We must eat quickly.'
- (202) Bigla siya=ng <um>upo. suddenly 3SG.NOM=LNK <PFV.AV>sit 'Suddenly she sat down.'

(First example from Schachter and Otanes 1972.)

The position of manner adverbs is similar for Ayta Abellen with the adverb being marked with the enclitic =n on the previous word. Examples include:

- (203) a. Ø-Bilew-en mo=n manged. CTPLT-look-OV 2SG=LNK well 'You look at it well.'
 - b. Ø-I-galang mo=n loboh.
 CTPLT-CV-honor 2SG=GEN wholeheartedly
 'You wholeheartedly honor him.'

5.5 Adjectives and Adjective Phrases

In many grammars, numbers, quantifiers, articles, and demonstratives are considered adjectives, but each of them has a different distribution from the qualitative adjectives, so they will each have distinct syntactic categories. This section is limited to

considering qualitative adjectives that express size, color, age, texture, form, or quality. One characteristic of this type of adjective is that more than one can modify a noun and in general the order of the adjectives can change (with a slight change in meaning due to the scope of the modification). For example, *hard dull brass rods* versus *dull hard brass rods*versus *brass hard dull rods*, etc. The position of adjectives within the nominal phrase will be dealt with in section <u>5.6.5</u>.

Qualitative adjectives themselves may be modified. Some English examples are: *very big, so blue, extremely large, very well built* and *very easily forgotten.* Not all combinations of words work due to semantics and other considerations, but in general it seems that certain degree words and manner adverbs or manner adverb phrases can modify adjectives.

Tagalog has qualitative adjectives, such as,

- (204) B<in>igay niya ang magandang bulaklak sa akin
 <PFV.OV>give 3SG.GEN NOM beautiful flower DAT 1SG.DAT
 'He gave the beautiful flower to me.'
- (205) Meron sila=ng masipag na anak EXT 3PL.NOM=LNK industrious LNK child 'They have an industrious child.'

(Examples taken from <u>Schachter and Otanes (1972)</u>.)

These adjectives can be either intensified or moderated. Intensification is done through reduplication as in *pagod na pagod* 'very tired' or *butas-butas* 'full of holes' or by using the *napaka-* prefix as in *napakaganda* 'very beautiful'. Moderation is expressed by using *medyo* 'rather' before the adjective as in *medyo gutom* 'rather hungry' or with *nang kaunti* after the adjective as in *magugulo ng kaunti*'somewhat troublesome'.

Ayta Abellen has qualitative adjectives as in (206a). Intensification of adjectives is done with the degree marker *tobat* which can occur either after the adjective (206b) or before the adjective as in (206c). Intensification is also expressed through stem reduplication as in (206d). Moderation is expressed with the word *makandi* as in (206e).

(206) a. *maalale a ihip* deep LNK thought

'deep thought'

- b. mayadet a tobat a baey
 big LNK very LNK house
 'very big house'
- c. tobat a mayadet a baey very LNK big LNK house 'very big house'
- d. matagay a matagay a matondol high LNK high LNK mountain 'very high mountain'
- e. *makandi=n kataangan* small=LNK distance 'small distance'

5.6 Nominal Phrases

Nominal phrases can be very complex. This section concentrates on those with common nouns as the lexical head. Modification by articles, demonstratives, possessors, quantifiers and degree words, adjective phrases, pre/post-positional phrases and noun compounds is considered. Participles are also covered, but nominal phrases headed by proper names are handled in section <u>5.7</u> and those headed by pronouns, demonstratives, and quantifiers are handled in section <u>5.8</u>. Relative clauses are covered in section <u>5.14</u>.

The basic order of elements allowed in nominal phrases in Ayta Abellen is:

(207) (Dem) (QP) (AdjP) ((N) N) N (AdjP) (QP) (Poss) (Deg)

Each of these phrases will be discussed and exemplified in sections <u>E.6.3-5.6.6</u>, after first dealing with agreement and case marking.

5.6.1 Agreement

Many languages require agreement between at least some of the modifiers and the head noun. While English only has number agreement, in other languages this agreement may also include animacy, class, or gender.

Tagalog has no agreement features between the noun and modifiers for number, animacy, or gender.

In Ayta Abellen, there is also no number agreement. Instead, number marking comes from the number or quantifier. Further, there is no agreement in animacy, class number, nor gender between the modifiers and the head noun.

5.6.2 Case

Nouns and their modifiers may also be marked for case. The most common case system is nominative-accusative. This is the system English has, though only pronouns are marked for case in English. In a nominative-accusative system, subjects of both transitive and intransitive verbs are in nominative case, while direct objects are accusative case. Possessors are genitive case. The nominative pronouns in English are: *I, we, you, he, she, they.* The accusative pronouns are: *me, us, you, him, her, them.* The genitive pronouns include: *my, our, your, his, her, their.* Therefore, we say *They hit him* and not *Them hit he.*

In an ergative-absolutive case system, subjects of transitive verbs are marked with the ergative case, while objects of transitive verbs and subjects of intransitive verbs are marked with the absolutive case. The case of possessors is not set cross-linguistically. Some languages with an ergative-absolutive system simply have different sets of verbal agreement markers, but no marking on nouns.

Some languages are even more complex in that they normally have a nominativeaccusative system but under some conditions the case system switches to ergativeabsolutive. This is called "split ergativity."

The case system of Philippine languages has been a topic of debate among linguists studying Philippine languages. Some have argued for an ergative analysis (Brainard, Gault) while others (Kroeger, etc.) have argued for a nominative-accusative analysis of the case system. The existence of different focuses or voices is a primary complicating factor. Just looking at actor focus verbal sentences, Tagalog (and other Philippine languages) have a nominative-accusative system as the actor (subject) is marked with the *ang* 'NOM' marker in both transitive and intransitive sentences. Non actor focus sentences are transitive but the difficulty in determining what the true subject is in these constructions makes it also hard to determine whether Tagalog is

truly ergative. It is helpful just to say that Tagalog is nominative-accustive for actor voice verbal predications.

Ayta Abellen has a nominative-accusative case system in the same sense as Tagalog. Subjects of both transitive and intransitive verbs are marked in the same way for actor voice transitive verbal sentences and use the same set of pronouns, but objects of transitive verbs are marked differently.

The pronoun sets will be given in section 5.8.

5.6.3 Articles and Demonstratives

In English, the articles are *a*, *an*, and *the*. English demonstratives include *this*, *that*, *these*, and *those*. Some simple examples are: *a book*, *an apple*, *the book*, *the books*, *this apple* and *those books*.

In English, articles and demonstratives do not co-occur in the same nominal phrase, and both occur before the noun. Some languages allow both to co-occur in the same phrase, and they may occur in different positions with respect to the noun. Therefore, they need distinct syntactic categories. Some languages only have one set, either articles or demonstratives. A few languages may not have either type expressed as separate words.

Tagalog does not have articles but does have optional demonstratives that precede the noun, including *ito* 'this', *iyan* 'that (near)', and *iyon* 'that (far)'.

Ayta Abellen has only demonstratives that are realized as separate words, no articles. The demonstratives are not marked for case. The demonstrative occurs before the noun. The presence of a demonstrative is always optional. Examples of nominal phrases including articles and/or demonstratives as allowed in Ayta Abellen include:

- (208) a. *yati=n pag-katongtong tawo* this=LNK GER-discuss 1PL.INCL.GEN 'this discussion of ours'
 - b. *yain a mangga* this LNK mango 'this mango'

c. *yatew a kayo* that LNK tree 'that tree'

5.6.4 Possessors

Possession can normally be expressed by a possessive pronoun (to be addressed in section 5.8) or by a full nominal phrase. Many languages also add some kind of marking, such as the 's in English, as an indication of possession. These markings are either affixes (or clitics) on the head noun or phrase-level clitics which attach to one end of the whole phrase. The English marking is this second type, because alongside phrases where the 's appears to attach to the head noun, as in *the boy's mother*, there are phrases which clearly show that the clitic attaches to the end of the whole nominal phrase, such as *the boy that I just talked to's mother* or *the girl in green's wonderful speech*. Possessors can also be embedded in one another, as in *the boy's sister's dog*.

In Tagalog, possession can be shown with an existential possessive clause, as in,

(209) *May lapis ang bata.* EXT pencil NOM child 'The child has a pencil.'

or with the possessor modifier following the head noun, as in,

(210) *lapis ng bata* pencil GEN child 'child's pencil'

But the possessor does not always follow the head noun as there are constructions where both a modifier and a possessor can precede the head noun, as in,

(211) *maliit kong* anak small 1SG.GEN child 'my small child'

(Examples taken from <u>Schachter and Otanes (1972)</u>.)

In Ayta Abellen, possession can also be shown with existential possessive clauses. In non existential sentences the possessor modifiers follow the head noun but unlike Tagalog there are no forms where the possessor can precede the head noun. Examples of possessed nominal phrases with simple and embedded possessors in Ayta Abellen include:

- (212) a. *Main ya=n damwag ye Totoy*. EXT 3SG.NOM=GEN water.buffalo NOM Totoy 'Totoy has a water buffalo.'
 - b. damwag nan Totoy water.buffalo GEN Totoy
 'Totoy's water buffalo'
 - c. damwag nin katongno nan kapitan water.buffalo GEN sibling GEN captain 'captain's brother's water buffalo'
 - d. *baey nin ali nan Vangie'* house GEN younger.sibling GEN Vangie 'Vangie's younger sister's house'

Examples with relative clauses within the possessor here, included in simple full sentences are:

(213) a. *In-om-alih* ya=yna=y indo nin laki PFV-AV-left 3SG.NOM=now=NOM mother GEN man

> a k<in>atongtong ko. REL <PFV>talk 1SG.GEN

'The mother of the man that I was talking to left already.'

As seen in the examples above, Ayta Abellen does not have any special marking to distinguish possessors from any other nominal phrase. The possessors take genitive

case marking but these same surface forms can function as subjects or indirect objects in other sentences. The possessor occurs after the noun being possessed.

5.6.4.1 Possessors and Articles Or Demonstratives Occurring Together

In English, possessors and articles or demonstratives do not co-occur in the same nominal phrase, unless the possessor is expressed in a prepositional phrase. For example, *those [the boy's] books* is ungrammatical; instead one would use *those books [of his]* to express the same thought. Some other languages allow both possessors and articles or demonstratives to occur in the same phrase, so the first example above would be grammatical.

In Tagalog, nominal possessors can occur in the same phrase as demonstratives where the demonstrative precedes the noun and the possessor follows the noun, as in,

(214) *ito=ng lapis ko* this=LNK pencil 1SG.GEN 'this pencil of mine'

In Ayta Abellen, like Tagalog, nominal possessors may occur in the same phrase as demonstratives, as in,

(215) *yati=n lapih ko* this=LNK pencil 1SG.GEN 'this pencil of mine'

5.6.4.2 Possessor Case

With the normal nominative-accusative case system followed by Ayta Abellen, possessors are marked with the genitive case.

In some languages, the possessor agrees with the case of the head noun. In other languages, the possessor is marked with its own case, say genitive, while the head noun is marked with case depending on its position relative to the verb: nominative or accusative, ergative or absolutive depending on the case system.

In Tagalog and Ayta Abellen, there is no case agreement for possessed NPs.

5.6.5 Adjective Phrase Modifiers

Adjective phrases (AdjP) were discussed earlier in section <u>5.5</u>. Adjective phrases which modify a noun occur close to the noun, yielding nominal phrases such as: *just those very few old, dirty books, all the boy's many black dogs* and *only the first one hundred very eager young boys*. As the English examples show, adjectives all occur before the noun, and more than one adjective phrase is allowed. This is handled by a recursive rule.

In Tagalog, adjective phrases tend to precede the noun they modify, as in (216).

(216) *lahat ng mga hinog na mangga* PL GEN PL ripe LNK mango 'all ripe mangoes'

But adjective phrases can also follow the noun they modify, as in (217).

(217) mangga na nasa bahay mango LNK present house 'mangoes in the house'

In Ayta Abellen, adjective phrases also precede the noun they modify, as in (218).

(218) kaganaan a manga-naom a mangga all LNK PL-ripe LNK mango 'all the ripe mangoes'

But adjective phrases can also follow the noun they modify, as in (219).

(219) kaganaan a ta-tao a anti ihen ha baey ko
 all LNK PL-person LNK present there DAT house 1SG.GEN
 'all the people there at my house'

5.6.6 Noun Compounds

Many languages are like English, in that they have noun modifiers. It may seem like all nouns can also be used as adjectives, but a closer look reveals that true adjectives come before the noun modifier, as in *large, round [syrup bottle]* but not **round, syrup large bottle*. Therefore, noun modifiers will be treated as compound nouns which are written as separate words.

In the English examples above, *bottle* is clearly the head noun rather than *syrup*, because *syrup* is restricting the type of *bottle*, not the other way around. In all compound nouns and noun modifier constructions in English, the head is the right-most noun in the series.

In Tagalog, the left-most noun is the head of the compound, as in,

(220) tubig ulan water rain 'rainwater'
(221) tanod bayan

> guard town 'policeman'

Ayta Abellen also has compound nouns that are written as separate words. The leftmost noun is the head in these constructions. Examples include:

- (222) a. *tambal dagih* medicine rat 'rat poison'
 - b. *polot panilan* honey honeybee 'honey'
 - c. *labok maih* hair corn 'corn silk'

5.7 Proper Names

Proper names are a special kind of noun that act syntactically just like other nouns. In English, some proper names can stand alone, like *Sue* and *Russia*. Others are like compound nouns, such as *George Washington*. Proper names may also contain articles and/or pre/post-positional phrases, as in *the United States of America*. Many languages require an article before a name. Appositives also occur, possibly including a

possessor, as in *my son, David*. In addition, proper names can be modified by adjectives and relative clauses, as in *the good, old USA* or *the Susan Welch that I know*.

In Tagalog, personal proper names are required to be marked for case with *si* (NOM), *ni* (GEN), or *kay* (DAT). Non personal proper names such as place names are marked with *sa* (DAT). Proper names can be modified by demonstratives, as in,

(223) si Juan
NOM Juan
'Juan'
(224) ito=ng Juan
this=LNK Juan
'this Juan'

Ayta Abellen has a pronominal agreement system. When there are proper noun NPs, coreferential pronouns agreeing in case, person, and number occur in their usual positions in the clause while the full NPs follow later in the sentence. When there are no other intervening particles or arguments it appears that the personal proper name argument is *yay* as in (225).

(225) *N-ag-Ø-habi* ya=y Pabling kanna. PFV-DUR-AV-speak 3SG.NOM=NOM Pabling 3SG.DAT 'Pabling spoke to him.'

But when there is an intervening particle, like *met* 'also' in (226), it can be seen that there is both a pronoun and a case marker.

(226) N-ag-Ø-habi ya met ye Pabling kanna.
PFV-DUR-AV-speak 3SG.NOM also NOM Pabling 3SG.DAT
'Pabling also spoke to him.'

This leads to the conclusion that the correct analysis of *yay* in (225) should be ya=y as in (227).

(227) *N-ag-Ø-habi* ya=y Pabling kanna. PFV-DUR-AV-speak 3SG.NOM=NOM Pabling 3SG.DAT 'Pabling spoke to him.' The same is true for proper nouns marked as genitive (228a) and dative (228b). Non personal proper names are marked with the dative *ha* as in (228c). Proper names can also be marked with a demonstrative as in (228d).

- (228) a. *baey na=n Pabling.* house 3SG.GEN=GEN Pabling 'Pabling's house'
 - b. kana=n Apo Dioh.
 3SG.DAT=GEN Lord God
 'to God'
 - c. *ha Tarlac*. DAT Tarlac 'to Tarlac'
 - d. *yati=n Pidigo.* this=LNK Pidigo 'this Pidigo'

Examples of proper names with prepositional phrases in Ayta Abellen include:

(229) a. *ibat kana=n Apo Dioh.* from 3SG.DAT=LNK Lord God 'from God'

b. palakew ha Tarlac.
headed DAT Tarlac
'headed toward Tarlac'

Examples of proper names modified by relative clauses included in simple full sentences in Ayta Abellen include:

(230) a. Am-Ø-pahalamat ako kana=n Apo Dioh

CONT-AV-thank 1SG.NOM 3SG.DAT=LNK Lord God

a n-am-Ø-yay kangko nin kaganaan. REL PFV-PL-AV-give ISG.DAT GEN all

'I am thanking God who gave everything to me.'

b. *Hiyay Pidigo a matoa, main ya=n hakit.*TM Pidigo REL old EXT 3SG.NOM=GEN sickness
'Pidigo who is old is sick.'

5.8 Pronouns

Pronouns come in various types, including personal pronouns, possessives, reflexives, reciprocals, and indefinites. These pronouns normally stand alone in the place of a nominal phrase, but in some languages they may be modified by determiners and quantifiers. Each of these types and issues will be looked at in turn, after covering the agreement features on all types of pronouns.

5.8.1 Agreement Features on Pronouns

Pronouns normally have either more than or the same number of agreement features as nouns have.

Tagalog and Ayta Abellen pronouns have agreement features for person and number. The following chart shows the features used for pronouns in Ayta Abellen.

(231)	Type of feature	Feature
	person	first exclusive
	person	first inclusive
	person	second
	person	third
	number	singular
	number	dual
	number	plural

5.8.2 Personal Pronouns

Personal pronouns normally have either more than or the same number of case features as nouns have.

In Tagalog, personal pronouns have the same number of case features as nouns. Tagalog can be viewed as having a nominative-accusative case system. Pronouns and nouns are marked for nominative, genitive, and dative case.

Ayta Abellen has a pronominal system similar to Tagalog. There are also three distinct sets of pronouns that correspond to nominative, genitive, and dative case. The personal pronouns which correlate to nominative marked nominal phrases are shown here, beginning with first person, then second person, then the third person pronouns.

(232)

Nominative marked perso		ked persoi
Pronoun	Feature	Gloss
ako	1SG	Ί'
kita	1PL.DU	'we'
kayi	1PL.EXCL	'we'
kitawo	1PL.INCL	'we'
ka	2SG	'you'
kawo	2PL	'you'
ya	3SG	'he/she/it'
hila	3PL	'they'

Genitive marked persona		
Pronou	Feature	Gloss
n		
=ko	1SG	'my'
=ta	1PL.DU	'our'
=mi	1PL.EXCL	'our'
=tawo	1PL.INCL	'our'
=mo	2SG	'your'
=yo	2PL	'your'
=na	3SG	'his/her/its'
=la	3PL	'their'

Dative marked person		
Pronoun	Feature	Gloss
kangko	1SG	'to me'
kanta	1PL.DU	'to us'

kammi	1PL.EXCL	'to us'
kantawo	1PL.INCL	'to us'
kammo	2SG	'to you'
kanyo	2PL	'to you'
kanna	3SG	'to him'
kanla	3PL	'to them'
	Emphatic p	ersonal p
Pronoun	Feature	Gloss
hiko	1SG	'T'
hikita	1PL.DU	'we'
hikayi	1PL.EXCL	'we'
hikitawo	1PL.INCL	'we'
hika	2SG	'you'
hikawo	2PL	'you'
hiya	3SG	'he/she/it'
hila	3PL	'they'

5.8.3 Possessive Pronouns

Many languages also have possessive pronouns which can stand alone, such as *yours, mine, theirs* and *hers* in English. These are distinct from those pronouns which can occur in possessor position, such as *your, my, their* and *her*, which were exemplified under personal pronouns above.

Tagalog does not have any possessive pronouns that stand alone as a nominal phrase.

Ayta Abellen also does not have any possessive pronouns that stand alone as a nominal phrase.

5.8.4 Reflexives

Reflexives are another type of pronouns that most languages have. They occur only in the same case as direct objects and normally must agree with the subject in person, gender, and number features. Examples in English

are: *herself*, *himself*, *themselves* and *myself*. Some languages have a completely separate set of pronoun forms for reflexives, others use a phrase which consists of a noun (usually meaning 'self') that is possessed by the pronoun that refers back to the subject, some languages have a verbal affix which indicates reflexive action, and some languages do not distinguish reflexive constructions at all.

Reflexives in Tagalog are expressed by the noun *sarili* 'self' modified by a pronoun possessor as in *sarili ko* 'my self' or *sa aking sarili* 'to my self'.

Ayta Abellen also has reflexives which are phrases consisting of a certain noun with a pronoun as the possessor. The forms used for reflexives are given here, beginning with first person, then second person, then third person:

Reflexive J	
Reflexive	Gloss
hadili ko	'my self'
hadili yo	'your self'
hadili na	'his self'

Some examples with a reflexive used in oblique and object positions of a simple sentence are:

- (233) a. Ahe na h<in>abi ye tongkol ha hadili na.
 not 3SG.GEN <PFV.OV>speak NOM about DAT self 3SG.GEN
 'He did not speak about his self.'
 - b. *H*<*in*>*abi na ha hadili na*, <PFV.OV>speak 3SG.GEN DAT self 3SG.GEN

wana, "Peteg awod yain."he-said true then that'He said to himself, "So that then is true."'

- c. Ø-I-ligtah mo=y hadili mo.
 CTPLT-CV-save 2SG.GEN=NOM own 2SG.GEN
 'You save yourself.'
- d. Ø-Biha-en yo=y hadili yo.
 CTPLT-careful.OV 2PL.GEN=NOM self 2PL.GEN
 'Take care of yourself.'

5.8.5 Reciprocals

Reciprocals are similar to reflexives except that they only occur with plural subjects. They may be formed in the same way reflexives are, or they may be distinct. For example, in English, the reciprocal forms are phrases: *each other* and *one another*. Some languages use only a verbal affix to indicate reciprocal action of the plural subject, others have separate pronouns, others use a possessed noun phrase or a quantified noun phrase (as in English), and some do not mark reciprocal action at all.

Tagalog uses the *mag- -an* and *nag- -an* circumfixes attached to the verb to indicate reciprocal action, as in,

- (234) *Mag-tulung-an* tayo. CTPLT.REC-help-REC 1PL.INCL.NOM 'We will help each other.'
- (235) *Nag-halik-an sila.* PFV.REC-kiss-REC 3PL.NOM 'They kissed each other.'

Ayta Abellen also uses a verbal prefix *pay*- to indicate reciprocal action.

- (236) a. *n-a-pay-Ø-tipon* PFV-STA-REC-AV-gather 'gathered together'
 - b. *n-a-pay-Ø-tongtong* PFV-STA-REC-AV-talk 'talked together'
 - c. *n-a-pay-Ø-laban* PFV-STA.OV-REC-AV-fight
 'fought each other'

Some examples of reciprocals in sentences are:

(237) a. *Hilay Ayta, n-a-pay-Ø-tipon* hila. TM Ayta PFV-STA-REC-AV-gather 3PL.NOM 'The Aytas, they gathered together.'

b. *Nangon, n-a-pay-Ø-tongtong* Earlier, PFV-STA-REC-AV-discuss

kayi ha baey ko 1PL.EXCL.NOM DAT house 1SG.GEN 'Earlier, we discussed together at my house.'

c. *Hilay Ayta boy Hapon*, TM Ayta and Japanese

n-a-pay-Ø-laban hila=yna. PFV-STA-REC-AV-fight 3PL.NOM=now 'The Ayta and Japanese fought each other.'

5.8.6 Indefinites

In English, indefinites include *everybody*, *everything*, *everyone*, *anybody*, *something*, etc. Also, *nobody*, *nothing*, *none* are negative versions of the indefinite pronouns. Note that these are made up of a quantifier (positive or negative) plus an indefinite generic noun. Some languages may not merge them into a single word, as in *no one* for English.

<u>Haspelmath (2000)</u> says that "In Tagalog, existential sentences are used where other languages use specific indefinite pronouns." The following examples are given for positive and negative existential sentences:

- (238) *May d<um>ating kahapon*. EXT <PFV.AV>arrive yesterday 'Someone came yesterday.'
- (239) *Walang d<um>ating kahapon.* none <PFV.AV>arrive yesterday 'No one arrived yesterday.'

In spite of the preference for existential sentences for indefinites there are indefinite pronouns *sinuman* 'whoever' and *kailanman* 'whenever' which can occur in "a restricted range of functions" <u>Haspelmath (2000)</u>.

Ayta Abellen also has a preference for expressing indefinites with existentials but does allow a limited number of indefinite pronouns. In Ayta Abellen, some or all of the positive indefinites are merged into single-word pronouns. Examples of the positive indefinite pronouns include:

Р	ositive Indefinite Pron
hinyaman	'whoever, whatever'
makanoman	'whenever'
wayihtewman	'wherever'

An example of a single word indefinite pronoun nominal phrase can be seen in (240a).

(240) a. *Manged* ya=n pag-ameyan nin agya hinyaman. good 3SG.NOM=LNK GER-shade GEN even whatever 'It's good at shading even whatever.'

5.8.7 Pronouns as the Head of a Nominal Phrase

Though pronouns and also demonstratives, quantifiers, and numbers can stand alone as a nominal phrase in the right context, sometimes modifiers are also allowed. In most languages, these elements cannot be modified by possessors, adjectives, or other quantifiers, although they can be modified by a degree word, an article and/or a demonstrative. English examples of this type include the following: *all twelve, only he, just two* and *just those few*.

In Tagalog, pronouns can be modified by a degree word, as in,

- (241) siya lang
 3SG.NOM only
 'only he'
 (242) ito lang
- this only 'only this'

Examples of this type in Ayta Abellen include:

(243) a. *hiya bengat* 3SG.NOM only 'him only'

> b. yati bengat this only 'this only'

In addition, it is possible to have a pronoun or quantifier modified by a relative clause, as in *all those who will go with us* and *only these two which I saw*. Examples of this type in Ayta Abellen, included in full sentences are:

(244) a. *Ma-ligha hila a* Adj-happy 3PL.NOM REL

> *n-aki-Ø-lamo kammi.* PFV-REQ-AV-companion 1PL.EXCL.DAT

'They who joined with us were happy.'

b. *N-a-baha* yati=n loa a n-a-kit ko. PFV-STA.OV-wet these=LNK two REL PFV-STA.OV-see 1SG.GEN 'These two which I saw were wet.'

This distribution discussed for English can be accounted for by classifying pronouns, demonstratives, quantifiers, and numbers as NPs (rather than DPs) in the expanded DP tree structure for nominal phrases. However, some languages allow pronouns to be modified by possessors and adjectives as well, so the correct category in that case is N. A few languages may require pronouns to stand alone without any modification at all, making them only DPs. (Possessive, reflexive, and reciprocal pronouns are always DPs, since they must stand alone.)

For Tagalog and Ayta Abellen, the correct category or level in the tree structure for personal pronouns and other elements which can occur without a head noun is NP, like in English, because they can be modified by degree words, demonstratives,

relative clauses and PPs, but not by possessors or adjectives. The optional PP occurs after the element acting as the head of the nominal phrase.

5.9 Pre/Post-Positional Phrases

This section covers the internal structure of PPs, which can be either prepositional or postpositional phrases. Possible modifiers are considered first, then the type of PP, and finally the complements allowed.

Philippine languages like Tagalog do not have an easily identifiable set of prepositions. The case markers (*ang*, *ng*, *sa*) have many overlapping characteristics with prepositions but they are best labeled "proclitics" (Kroeger 1993). One of those proclitics, *sa*, is sometimes labeled as the only true preposition in Tagalog. But because it also marks dative case, it is probably best not labeled as a preposition. There are a few other words that can be safely called prepositions such as *taga* as in *taga Maynila* 'from Manila', *para* as in *para kay Jose* 'for Jose' or *para sa mga tao* 'for the people', and *galing* as in *galing sa Maynila* 'coming from Manila.'

Ayta Abellen also has case marking proclitics (*ye*, *nin*, *ha*) that are not labeled prepositions in this grammar description. Like Tagalog, there is a small set of words that can more easily be labeled prepositions such as *taga* 'from', *ibat* 'from', *palakew* 'going to'. These, with the exception of *taga*, are used with the dative case marker *ha* (see 9.3).

5.9.1 Modifiers

There are normally a few degree words that can modify a whole PP, such as *just* and *right* in *just around the corner* and *right to the last second*. Ordinal numbers and adjectives can also modify PPs, as in *next in line* and *first out the door*. In addition, certain manner adverbs can modify PPs, as in *almost in the hole, mostly up the tree, squarely on the table,* and *nearly upon the enemy*.

Tagalog does not regularly allow modifiers to prepositional phrases although in some special cases this can occur as in *unang galing sa Maynila* 'first one from Manila'. But it should be mentioned that this is really an elided form where a noun like *tao* 'person' has been left out.

Ayta Abellen also does not regularly have any modifiers which occur either before or after PPs syntactically. Like Tagalog, a contracted form of *onan taon ibat ha Maynila* 'first person from Manila' could result in *onan ibat ha Maynila* 'first from Manila', appearing to be a modfier of the PP. But this is a contracted form and neither degree words nor ordinals nor adverbials can modify PPs as separate words.

5.9.2 Head Type

Prepositions come before their complements, while postpositions come afterward. English has prepositions, as shown in *for Joe* and *by the river*. The prepositions or postpositions may be separate words, or they may be clitics which are attached to the edge of the complement or to its head.

Tagalog and Ayta Abellen have prepositions only. They are all separate syntactic words. See the examples in the next section.

5.9.3 Complements within PP

Prepositions or postpositions normally take a nominal phrase for their complements, as in *to [Bill's house]* and *under [the giant Sycamore tree]*.

Tagalog prepositions can take a nominal phrase for the complement of a PP, as in (245).

(245) para sa mga importanteng tao sa Maynila
 for DAT PL important people DAT Manila
 'for the important people in Manila'

Ayta Abellen prepositions can also take a nominal phrase complement of a PP, as as in (246).

(246) *palakew ha baey na=n Pabling* toward DAT house 3SG.GEN=GEN Pabling 'toward the house of Pabling'

5.9.3.1 Locative Adverb Complements

Most languages will allow locative adverbs as complements of prepositions or postpositions, such as *over there* and *in here*.

Tagalog allows locative adverbs as complements of prepositions as in:

(247) Mula roon, p<um>unta sila sa Bagiuo. from there <PFV.AV>go 3PL.NOM DAT Bagiuo 'From there, they went to Bagiuo.' Ayta Abellen also allows locative adverbs as complements of prepositions as in:

- (248) Paibat ihtew, n-Ø-akew hila ha banwa=n Angeles. from there, PFV-AV-go 3PL.NOM DAT city=LNK Angeles 'From there, they went to the town of Angeles.'
- (249) Maligha hila=y tatao a taga ihtew happy 3PL=NOM people LNK from there 'The people who are from there are happy.'

5.9.3.2 Locative PP Complements

Locative prepositions and postpositions are a special group in that they can take another locative PP as their complement. English examples of this type include: *up* [to the top], around [behind the shed] and over [by the table].

Tagalog and Ayta Abellen have locative prepositions which take a locative PP complement, as seen in (250) and (251).

- (250) galing sa ilalim ng bahay niya from DAT underneath GEN house 3SG.GEN 'from underneath his house'
- (251) *ibat ha hilong nin mangga* from DAT under GEN mangga 'from under the mango tree'

5.10 Austronesian Voice and Case patterns

Tagalog and other Austronesian languages have a rich voice and case marking system. <u>Kroeger (1993)</u> says, "Each verbal clause must contain one and only one nominative argument. A characteristic property of all Philippine-type languages is that the thematic role of the nominative element is reflected in a verbal affix which I will call the voice marker."

- (252) B<um>ili ang lalake ng isda sa tindahan.
 <PFV.AV>buy NOM man GEN fish DAT store
 'The man bought fish at the store.'
- (253) B < in > ili ng lalake ang isda sa tindahan.

<PFV.OV>buy GEN man NOM fish DAT store 'A man bought the fish at the store.'

(254) B<in>il-han ng lalake ng isda ang tindahan.
<PFV>buy-GV GEN man GEN fish NOM store
'At the store the man bought fish.'

<u>Kroeger (1993)</u> further says, "The voice marker in each example reflects the role of the nominative argument in that clause: AV for 'Active Voice' (indicating that the nominative argument is the Actor); OV for 'Objective voice'; DV for 'Dative/Locative Voice.'"

Ayta Abellen has a voice system similar to Tagalog. Voice is marked on the verb which indicates the semantic role of the nominative argument. While different terms are used here for the different voices, they are very similar to the three kinds of voice in the Tagalog examples above. Here I use AV for Actor voice, CV for Conveyance voice, and GV for Goal voice.

- (255) M-am-Ø-yay ya=n haa kammo.
 CTPLT-AV-give 3SG.NOM=GEN banana 2SG.DAT
 'He will give a banana to you.'
- (256) Ø-I-byay na ye haa kammo. CTPLT-CVgive 3SG.GEN NOM banana 2SG.DAT

'He will give the banana to you.'

(257) Ø-Bi-an na ka=n haa. CTPLT-give-GV 3SG.GEN 2SG.NOM=GEN banana 'He will give you a banana.'

Each argument is marked for case. For a nominative analysis there are three cases: nominative, genitive, and dative. Some view the nominative marked argument as the grammatical subject of the sentence. Others regard the actor or agent of the sentence to be the subject. With this analysis the case marking of the subject is not the same for all voices with the subject being marked with nominative case for actor voice and genitive case for all other voices.

5.11 Basic, Single-Clause Sentences

This section covers intransitive, copular, transitive, ditransitive and passive sentences in their basic surface word order (i.e. not changed by focus, topic, interrogative, or negation constructions). As noted in section 1, the typology of Ayta Abellen is VSO, so the basic word order is the verb in initial position, then the subject, then any complements. The order with any auxiliaries present will be discussed in section 5.11.3.

Before discussing each of the sentence types in turn, general issues of inflection and agreement features, pro-drop, and auxiliaries will be covered.

5.11.1 Inflection Features

Verbs usually carry inflection features, such as tense, aspect, and/or mood. In most cases, these features are added by affixes, but may also be part of irregular verb forms.

Tagalog verbs are inflected for aspect. Schachter and Otanes (1972) define three aspects.

(258)	Type of feature	Feature
	aspect	continuative
	aspect	imperfective
	aspect	perfective

Ayta Abellen verbs are also inflected for aspect.

(259)	Type of feature	Feature
	aspect	continuative
	aspect	contemplated
	aspect	perfective

5.11.2 Pro-Drop

Some languages are pro-drop languages which allow a subject and/or object to be missing. For example, in Spanish the normal way to say "I buy a book" is *Compro un libro* rather than with the overt subject pronoun included: *Yo compro un libro*. This is not allowed in English, except for imperatives. (The missing subject of infinitives in embedded complements will be covered in section <u>5.12</u>.)

Tagalog is a pro-drop language. <u>Kroeger (1998)</u> says "Virtually any argument can be referred to with zero anaphora, including oblique recipients."

In Ayta Abellen, pro-drop is also allowed in any type of sentence and for any type of argument as evidenced by the deletion of the subject in (260a), the direct object in (260b), and the indirect object in (260c).

(260) a. Ket ahe ana n-an-Ø-dawa.
and not now PFV-PL-AV-fruit
'And [it] did not now bear fruit.'

- b. K<ing>wa ko=yna.
 <PFV.OV>-take 1SG.GEN=already
 'I took [it] already.'
- c. Haanin, Ø-i-byay mo=yna=y haa.
 now CTPLT-CV-give 2SG.GEN=now=NOM banana
 'Now, you give the bananas [to him].'

5.11.3 Auxiliaries

Some languages have auxiliary elements that are separate words, and some can have more than one auxiliary element before the main verb. Examples for English transitive single-clause sentences include: *The boy will hit the ball, The boy might have hit the ball* and *The boy might have been hitting the ball.*

In some languages verbal negation is an auxiliary element, while in others it is simply a verbal affix. English has both the negative auxiliary *not*, which is a separate word that must always follow another auxiliary, and the contraction form *-n't*, which is written as a suffix on the auxiliary. Examples of English negative transitive single-clause sentences include: *The boy did not hit the ball*, *The boy won't hit the ball* and *The boy might not have hit the ball*.

Tagalog has a negative auxilary *hindi* 'not'. This is the only type of verbal negation in the language.

Ayta Abellen has a negative auxiliary *ahe* 'not' which is written as a separate word, and that is the only type of verbal negation in the language. There is no negative

verbal affix nor negative auxiliary affix. The negative auxiliary may be the only auxiliary in the phrase; no other auxiliary is required.

See section 5.16.2 for examples of these negative elements used in sentences and further discussion of the negation constructions in Ayta Abellen.

5.11.4 Intransitives and Motion Verbs

Simple intransitives do not have any complements after the verb, such as in *The girl swims*. Motion verbs include a location in the form of either a PP or adverb. English examples of motion verbs include *The girl ran around the track*, *My mother went to the store* and *My teacher came here*.

Examples of Tagalog intransitive verb sentences are:

- (261) Nag-la~laro ang mga bata.
 AV-CONT~play NOM PL child
 'The children are playing.'
- (262) *Um-upo siya*. PFV.AV-sit 3SG.NOM 'He sat down.'

Examples of simple intransitive sentences in Ayta Abellen include:

- (263) a. *T*<*in*><*om*>*angoy* ya. <PFV><AV>-swim 3SG.NOM 'He swam.'
 - b. *Am-pang-Ø-an hila po.* CONT-PL-AV-eat 3PL.NOM still 'They are still eating.'

An example of a Tagalog motion verb sentence is:

(264) *P*<*um*>*unta* sila sa dagat. <PFV.AV>-go 3PL.NOM DAT ocean 'They went to the ocean.' Ayta Abellen examples with motion verbs include:

- (265) a. *N-Ø-ayew ya=y babayi ha gilid dagat*. PFV-AV-run 3SG.NOM=NOM woman DAT side ocean 'The woman ran to the seashore.'
 - b. *N-Ø-akew* ya ha banwa.
 PFV-AV-go 3SG.NOM DAT city
 'He went to the city.'
 - c. *Hiyay maihtodo ko, n-Ø-akew ya ihti.* TM teacher 1SG.GEN PFV-Ø-go 3SG.NOM here 'My teacher came here.'

5.11.5 Copular Constructions

Copular sentences can have an adjective, PP, or nominal phrase following the copular verb. Some languages do not require a copular verb or auxiliary to be present. English examples include *The girl is pretty*, *She seems nice*, *The girl is in charge* and *He is the leader*.

Tagalog copular sentences do not require a copular verb <u>Kroeger (1998)</u> although it has been proposed that Tagalog has a null copula which sometimes is overt in the form of *maging* 'become' <u>Richards (2009)</u>.

Ayta Abellen copular sentences also do not require a copular verb as seen in (266) and (267).

- (266) Yabayin ye baey ko. that NOM house 1SG.GEN 'That is my house.'
- (267) Manged ye pakibat mo. good NOM answer 2SG.GEN 'Your answer is good.'

5.11.6 Transitives and Ditransitives

Examples of English transitive single-clause sentences include *The batter will hit the ball, My baby wants that toy* and *The dog might have buried his bone.*

Examples of Tagalog transitive sentences include:

(268) B<in>ili niya ang isda.
<PFV.OV>buy 3SG.GEN NOM fish
'He bought the fish.'

Ayta Abellen examples of transitive sentences include:

(269) a. H<in>aliw na ya=n anak ko
<PFV.OV>buy 3SG.GEN 3SG.NOM=GEN child 1SG.POSS
ye digalo.
NOM gift
'My child purchased the gift.'
b. Ø-Bogbog-en na ya=n Totoy
CTPLT-beat-OV 3SG.GEN 3SG.NOM=GEN Totoy

ye kaaway na. NOM enemy 3SG.GEN 'Totoy will beat up his enemy.'

Ditransitives are verbs where a subject can take two objects. The second object can be expressed as a PP or as a nominal phrase. Some languages, like English, allow both types via dative movement, as in *The girl gave the gift to her mother* and *The girl gave her mother the gift*.

For Tagalog ditransitive verbs both the theme and the recipient are nominal phrases. In conveyance voice constructions like (270) the theme is a nominative marked nominal phrase while the recipient is a dative marked nominal phrase.

(270) I-bi~bigay niya ang sapatos sa nanay niya.
 CV-CTPLT~give 3SG.GEN NOM shoes DAT mother 3SG.GEN
 'He will give the shoes to his mother.'

But for goal voice, the first object is a nominative marked nominal phrase with the semantic role of recipient while the second object is a genitive marked nominal phrase with the semantic role of theme, as in,

(271) Bi~bigy-an niya ang nanay niya=ng sapatos.
CTPLT~give-GV 3SG.GEN NOM mother 3SG=GEN shoes
'He will give his mother shoes.'

In Ayta Abellen, like Tagalog, both objects in a ditransitive clause are expressed as nominal phrases. When all three objects are full nominal phrases, the argument with the semantic role of actor is typically marked as topic and left dislocated as in (272a). When pronouns are used for both the actor and the recipient, the order of the arguments remains the same as in (272b). The order of arguments for ditransitive clauses does change, however, for different voices. With the goal voice example in (272a) the order is actor (genitive), recipient (nominative), theme (genitive). For object voice in (272c), the order is actor (genitive), theme (nominative), recipient (dative). This same order (with different case markings) is true for actor voice (272d).

(272) a. *Hiyay Pabling,* \emptyset *-biy-an na ya=n tapih* TM Pabling CTPLT-give-GV 3SG.GEN 3SG.NOM=GEN cloth

> *ye indo na.* NOM mother 3SG.GEN

'Pabling will give some cloth to his mother.'

- b. Ø-Biy-an na ya=n tapih
 CTPLT-give-GV 3SG.GEN 3SG.NOM=GEN cloth
 'He will give some cloth to his mother.'
- c. Ø-I-byay mo=y kaganaan a CTPLT-CV-give 2SG.GEN=NOM all LNK

bandi mo kanlan mangaidap. wealth 2SG.GEN DAT.PL poor

'You give all your wealth to the poor.'

d. *M-an-Ø-aliw* ya=n beyah CTPLT-PL-AV-buy 3SG.NOM=GEN rice

kanan ali na. DAT younger-sibling 3SG.GEN 'He will buy rice from his younger sibling.'

5.12 Complement Clauses

There are various types of embedded clauses which are complements of main verbs. Complement clauses function as a argument of a verb. There is some degree of crosslinguistic similarity in the types of clausal complements that verbs subcategorize for. Adjectives acting as the predicate of the sentence may also subcategorize for the various types of clausal complements. Examples of each type of clausal complement will be given in the next section, followed by a discussion of the complementizers and their position in declarative embedded clauses. See section <u>5.13</u> for similar discussion for questions and section <u>5.14</u> for relative clauses.

5.12.1 Types of Complement Clauses

Each of the following subsections exemplifies a particular subcategorization requirement for a verb (or other category of head - see section 5.15 for examples of Adverbial Clauses).

5.12.1.1 A Finite Complement

Verbs which take a finite complement, with or without a complementizer, include the following examples in English: *I believe Jill to be my friend*, *Jill insists (that) she is my friend* and *I know (that) he likes me*.

Examples of Tagalog verbs which take a finite complement include (273) and (274) where *na* is the complementizer.

- (273) Alam ko na da~Ø-rating din ang araw. know 1SG.GEN COMP CTPLT~AV-arrive also NOM day 'I know that the day will arrive.'
- (274) Na-ni~niwala ako na hindi STA-CONT~trust 1SG.NOM COMP NEG

na-tu~tulog ang Diyos. STA-CONT-sleep NOM God 'I believe that God does not sleep.'

Examples of this type in Ayta Abellen include (275a), (275b), and (275c) where a is the complementizer.

- (275) a. *M-atanda-an la a n-Ø-akew ya ihtew*. CTPLT-know-GV 3PL.GEN REL PFV-AV-go 3SG.NOM there 'They will know that he went there.'
 - b. *Ket an-habi-en la a an-topad-en* and CONT-say-OV 3PL.GEN REL CONT-fulfil-OV

la=y kaotohan. 3PL.GEN=NOM law

'And they are saying that they are fulfilling the law.'

c. *Am-pag-Ø-habi hila a m-ag-Ø-ilyadi* CONT-DUR-AV-say 3PL.NOM REL CTPLT-DUR-AV-become

ka=n kapitan. 2SG.NOM=GEN captain

'They are saying that you will become captain.'

5.12.1.2 A Nonfinite Complement

Verbs which take only a nonfinite complement without a complementizer, but the subject is dropped when it is coreferent with the main clause subject, including the following examples in English: *I want to come to the party* and *I want Joe to come to the party*.

Examples in Tagalog include (276) where the subject is overt and (277) where the subject is coreferent with the main clause subject. The complement is connected to the main clause with the =ng linker which <u>Richards (1999)</u> labels an allomorph of the *na* complementizer.

(276) *B*<*in*>*a*~*balak ni Maria*=*ng m*-*aka*-Ø-*pagaral* <OV>CONT~plan GEN Maria=LNK CTPLT-APT-AV-study

ang anak niya sa UP. NOM child 3SG.GEN DAT UP 'Maria is planning for her child to be able to study at UP.'

(Example taken from Aldridge (2006).)

(277) Gusto ni Maria=ng b<um>ili ng libro. want GEN Maria=LNK <PFV.AV>buy GEN book 'Maria wants to buy a book.'

(Example taken from <u>Aldridge (2005)</u>.)

Examples in Ayta Abellen do not have an overt subject but rather the subject as coreferent with the main clause subject. The complements are linked to the main clause using the forms =y (278a) and =n(278b).

- (278) a. *Tanda ko=y m-ag-Ø-habi nin Ayta*. know 1SG.GEN=NOM CTPLT-DUR-AV-speak GEN Ayta 'I know how to speak Ayta.'
 - b. Ang-ihip-en la ya=n Ø-paty-en.
 CONT-think-OV 3PL.GEN 3SG.NOM=LNK CTPLT-die-OV
 'They are thinking of killing him.'

5.12.1.3 A Nonfinite Complement with a Coreferent Subject

Verbs which take only a nonfinite complement without a complementizer, and the subject must be coreferent with the main clause subject and dropped, include the following examples in English: *Joe tried to come to the party* and *I tried to think of more examples*.

Tagalog allows a nonfinite complement with a coreferent subject but requires a complementizer as in (279). In this situation it can be said that there is obligatory control, that the actor of the complement clause is obligated to be coreferential with the subject of the matrix clause.

(279) *N-a-pilit-an* si Charlie=ng hiram-in PFV-STA-force-GV NOM Charlie=COMP borrow-OV

> *ang pera sa bangko.* NOM money DAT bank 'Charlie was forced to borrow money from the bank.'

(Example taken from <u>Kroeger (1993)</u>.)

The same is true for Ayta Abellen with a complementizer being required and the actor of the complement clause being obligated to be coreferential with the subject of the matrix clause, as in (280).

(280) *N-a-pilit* y*a*=*n in-om-alih ihtew.* PFV-STA.OV-force 3SG.NOM=COMP PFV-AV-leave there 'He was forced to leave there.'

5.12.1.4 An Object plus a Complement Clause

Verbs which take a direct object as well as either a finite or nonfinite clause complement include the following examples in English: *I will persuade Joe that he should come to the party* and *I will persuade Joe to come to the party*.

Examples of this in Tagalog are:

(281) S<in>abih-an ako ni Luz na <PFV>say-GV 1SG.NOM GEN Luz COMP

> *i-b<in>igay mo na ang pera kay Charlie.* CV<PFV>give 2SG.GEN already NOM money DAT Charlie 'I was told by Luz that you already gave the money to Charlie.'

(Example taken from <u>Kroeger (1998)</u>.)

(282) *H*<*in*>*imok ni Maria si Juan*=*g suriin* <PFV.OV>persuade GEN Maria NOM Juan=COMP examine

ng bago=ng doktor.

GEN new=LNK doctor

'Maria persuaded Juan to be examined by the new doctor.'

(Example taken from Miller (1988).)

Examples of this type in Ayta Abellen include:

(283) a. *An-habi-en ko kanan Alma a* CONT-say-OV 1SG.GEN DAT Alma COMP

> *m-Ø-akew* ya ha banhal nan katongno na. CTPLT-AV-go 3SG.NOM OBL wedding GEN sibling 3SG.GEN 'I am telling Alma that she will go to her brother's wedding.'

b. *Pilit-en mo hila=y ta-tao* force-OV 2SG.GEN 3PL.NOM=NOM PL-person

a m-Ø-akew ihti. COMP CTPLT-AV-go here

'You force the people to come here.'

5.12.2 Complementizer Position

English has two complementizers which mark declarative embedded clauses, *that* for finite clauses and *for* for nonfinite clauses. In other languages the complementizers for embedded declarative clauses may or may not be overt, and in some languages they are clitics which are written attached to another word.

In Tagalog there are two complementizer forms for declarative embedded clauses: 1) *na* 'that' and 2) =*ng* which <u>Richards (1999)</u> says "corresponds to the affix - \emptyset ". Ayta Abellen similarly has two complementizer forms: 1) *a* 'that' 2) =*n* which is a contracted form of *nin*. It also does not have an explicit gloss in English. The complementizer occurs before the embedded clause.

5.13 Questions

This section considers the main clause and embedded clause varieties of Yes/No questions and content questions.

5.13.1 Yes/No Questions

In English, main clause yes/no questions are formed by moving an auxiliary verb in front of the subject. Other languages use a Yes/No question marker or special complementizer instead of the fronted auxiliary. This is the case in embedded Yes/No questions in English; no auxiliary fronting is allowed but *whether* or *if* fills the complementizer position. Since languages may act differently in main clause and embedded clause Yes/No questions, each will be covered separately.

5.13.1.1 Main Clause Yes/No Questions

English examples of main clause Yes/No questions, showing the required fronting of an auxiliary, include: *Are you going to the store?*, *Will Sue buy the present for her mother?* and *Could the boy have hit the ball?*

Tagalog Yes/No questions are formed by inserting the *ba* marker in the 2nd position as in,

(284) *Ikaw ba ang bago=ng dating?* 2SG.NOM QUES NOM new=LNK arrival 'Are you the new arrival?'

Questions can also be marked with a rising pitch on the last word even without the *ba* marker, as in,

(285) *N-aka-Ø-punta kayo?* PFV-APT-AV-go 2PL.NOM 'Were you able to go?'

In Ayta Abellen main clause yes/no questions, there are two question markers *nayi* and *laweh*. These question markers are written as separate words and occur in the second position of the sentence (or third if there is a preceding pronoun). In Ayta Abellen also a yes/no question can be marked with rising pitch on the last word, even without an overt question marker in the sentence.

Ayta Abellen examples of main clause yes/no questions include:

(286) a. *M-Ø-akew ka laweh ha banwa?* CTPLT-AV-go 2SG.NOM QUES DAT city 'Will you go to the city?'

b. *N-Ø-akew ka nayi ihti a m-ang-Ø-an?*PFV-AV-go 2SG.NOM QUES here LNK CTPLT-PL-AV-eat
'Did you come here to eat?'

5.13.1.2 Embedded Clause Yes/No Questions

English examples of embedded clause yes/no questions, showing the presence of the question markers or complementizers, include: *I wonder whether she will come*, *I will know if she goes* and *Sue wonders whether the boy could have hit the ball*.

Tagalog has a complementizer *kung* 'if, when' for embedded yes/no questions. An example is:

(287) Hindi ko alam kung b<um>ili ng isda ang babae. NEG 1SG.GEN know whether <PFV.AV>buy GEN fish NOM woman 'I don't know whether the woman bought fish.'

(Example taken from Law and Gärtner (2005).)

In Ayta Abellen embedded clause yes/no questions, there is a complementizer *no* for embedded question clauses. The complementizer is written as a separate word and occurs before the rest of the embedded question.

Ayta Abellen examples of embedded clause yes/no questions include:

- (288) a. *Tawan no m-Ø-akew ya ihtibay.* don't-know COMP CTPLT-AV-go 3SG.NOM here 'I don't know if he will come here.'
 - b. Tanda ko no peteg ye h<in>abi na.
 know 1SG.GEN whether true NOM <PFV.OV>say 3SG.GEN
 'I know whether what he said is true.'

5.13.2 Content Questions

Content questions differ from yes/no questions in that they contain an interrogative word or phrase, known as wh-phrases in English because they almost all begin with *wh*.

Tagalog has separate word interrogatives:

(289)	Interro	gatives used in content questions	5
	alin	'which'	
	ano	'what'	
	sino	'who'	
	kailan	'when'	
	saan	'where'	
	bakit	'why'	
	paano	'how'	

The corresponding interrogative words in Ayta Abellen are shown in the following chart.

(290)	Interrogatives u	used in content questions
	aya	'what'
	hinya	'who'
	makano, nakano	'when'
	wayihtew	'where'
	taket	'why'
	wayemen	'how'

Of the examples of interrogative words above, most simply stand alone as pronouns or adverbs, but *how* can either be a manner adverb by itself or a degree word modifying an adjective, as in *how big* or a degree word modifying a quantifier, as in *how many children*; *what* can either be a pronoun by itself or a demonstrative modifying a noun, as in *what books*; *which* never stands alone but always modifies a noun as a demonstrative, as in *which boy*; and *whose* can be either a stand alone possessive pronoun, or it can fill the possessor position in a nominal phrase, as in *whose toys*.

In Tagalog, *paano* 'how' is used as an interrogative pronoun while *gaano* 'how' is used as a degree word modifying a quantity as in,

(291) Paano ang lakad niya?

how NOM walk 3SG.GEN 'How does he walk?'

(292) *Gaano kalayo ang ilog?* how far NOM river 'How far away is the river?'

(Examples taken from Schachter and Otanes (1972).)

Tagalog has interrogative words that can modify a noun, as in,

(293) *Alin libro?* which book 'Which book?'

The word kanino 'whose' fills the possessor position in a nominal phrase, as in,

(294) *Kanino=ng bahay ito?* whose=LNK house this 'Whose house is this?'

In Ayta Abellen the word *way-emen* 'how' is used both as an interrogative pronoun (295) and as a degree word modifying a quantity. When modifying a quantity, the word *wayemen* 'how' occurs only before the adjective as in (296),

- (295) Wayemen ye pag-biay mo? how NOM GER-live 2SG.GEN 'How is your living?'
- (296) Wayemen kakadang ye labok na? how long NOM hair 3SG.GEN 'How long is his hair?'

Ayta Abellen has interrogative words that can modify a noun, as in,

(297) *Hinya=y liblo yati?* whose=NOM book this 'Whose book is this?' The word hinya 'who, whose' fills the possessor position in a nominal phrase, as in,

(298) *Hinya=y* ngalan a n-aka-Ø-holat ihti? whose=NOM name LNK PFV-APT-AV-write here 'Whose name is written here?'

Depending on the basic word order of the language, content questions may be formed with or without fronting an interrogative phrase. Head-final languages (SOV, OVS, and OSV) usually do not have movement of an interrogative phrase in content questions, while head-initial languages (SVO, VOS, and VSO) usually require fronting of an interrogative phrase. In languages without fronting for interrogatives, the phrase structure of a content question will either be the same as a Yes/No question with a question marker or auxiliary in the complementizer position or just the same as a normal sentence. In either case, the interrogative phrase appears in its normal argument positon. Many SOV languages optionally allow movement of an interrogative phrase to the position immediately before the verb.

In both main clause and embedded content questions in Tagalog and Ayta Abellen, an interrogative phrase moves to the front of the clause.

5.13.2.1 Main Clause Content Questions

English examples of main clause content questions, showing the required fronting of an interrogative phrase, include: *Which boy hit the ball?*, *Who might have hit the ball?*, *What did the boy hit?*, *When will she come?* and *Where is the leader?*

In Tagalog content questions there is fronting of the interrogative pronouns as in (299). For cleft equative sentences like (300) the noun phrase is marked with nominative case. When the noun phrase is a headless relative clause as in (301), the clause is also marked with nominative case.

- (299) *Kailan siya* da-Ø-rating? when 3SG.NOM CTPLT-AV-arrive 'When will he arrive?'
- (300) *Nasaan ang bangko?* where NOM bank 'Where is the bank?'
- (301) Ano ang n-a-kita niya doon? what NOM PFV-STA.OV-see 3SG.GEN there

'What did	he	see	there?'

In Ayta Abellen main clause content questions there is also fronting of the interrogative pronouns with no marker or auxiliary fronting as in (302). Interrogative cleft sentences have similar case marking patterns to Tagalog as seen in (303) and (304).

- (302) *Makano ya=n m-Ø-akew ihti?* when 3SG=COMP CTPLT-AV-go here 'When will he come here?'
- (303) *Wayihtew* ya=y anak ko? where NOM=NOM child 1SG.GEN 'Where is my child?'
- (304) *Hinya=y n-a-kit yo?* what=NOM PFV-STA.OV-see 2PL.GEN 'What did you see?'

5.13.2.2 Embedded Clause Content Questions

English examples of embedded clause content questions, showing the required fronting of an interrogative phrase, include: *I know who hit the ball*, *I wonder when she will come* and *I will ask what the boy hit*.

Tagalog has embedded clause content questions, as in,

(305) Magta-tanong ako kung kanino=ng lapis ito. CTPLT.AV-ask 1SG.NOM COMP who=LNK pencil this 'I will ask whose pencil this is.'

The complementizer *kung* occurs before the interrogative pronoun.

In Ayta Abellen embedded clause content questions, there is a complementizer *no* 'if, when' written as a separate word. The complementizer occurs immediately before a fronted interrogative pronoun. A complementizer and fronted interrogative phrase are required in every embedded content question.

Ayta Abellen examples of embedded clause content questions include:

- (306) a. *Tanda ko no hinya ka*. know 1SG.GEN COMP who 2SG.NOM 'I know who you are.'
 - b. *M-an-Ø-epet* ako no hinya=y CTPLT-PL-AV-ask 1SG.NOM COMP who=NOM

n-am-Ø-yay nin pilak. PFV-PL-AV-give GEN money 'I will ask who gave money.'

5.14 Relative Clauses

Relative clauses normally modify a head noun and have one of four structures:

- like a complement clause headed by 'that', as in *the man that came to the meeting late*;
- like a content question with 'who' or 'which' fronted, as in *the man who came to the meeting late*;
- (or for some languages other than English) like a complement clause but with a special relative marker occurring in the complementizer position, or possibly with two markers which occur on each sides of the relative clause;
- (or for some languages other than English) like a regular sentence with a relative marker attached to the verb.

Some languages also allow one of the above structures to occur by itself as a nominal phrase without a head noun to modify, usually called "headless" relative clauses.

"Tagalog and most Philippine-type languages are examples of languages which can relativize only on subjects" (Kroeger 2004:181). Tagalog has a relativizer ligature =ng which can also occur as a separate word *na* depending on phonological environment of the preceding phoneme. Tagalog is an example of the third structure listed above. An example of a relative clause in Tagalog is:

(307) Matalino ang lalaki=ng b<um>asa ng diyario. intelligent NOM man=REL <PFV.AV>read GEN newspaper 'The man who read a newspaper is intelligent.' Tagalog does allow headless relative clauses, as in,

(308) ang n-DUR-Ø-nakaw ng kotse mo
 NOM PFV-DUR-AV-steal GEN car 2SG.GEN
 'the one who stole your car'

(Examples taken from Sabbagh (2008).)

Ayta Abellen also is an example of the third structure listed above. Only subjects can be relativized. Relative clauses occur after the head noun. The relative marker *a* occurs before the sentence part of the relative clause.

Examples of relative clauses in Ayta Abellen include:

(309) a. *kagalingan a d<in>yag la* skillfulness REL <PFV.OV>do 3PL.GEN 'skillfulness that they did'

> b. *laki a ibat ha lale* man REL from DAT forest 'man from the forest'

Full sentences containing the above relative clauses are as follows:

(310) a. *Hiyay kagalingan a d<in>yag la*, TM skillfulness REL <PFV.OV>do 3PL.GEN

> *n-an-Ø-yag hila=n baey.* PFV-PL-AV-do 3PL.NOM=GEN house 'They skillfully made a house.'

b. L<in><om>ateng ya=ynay laki a ibat ha lale.
 <PFV><AV>arrive 3SG.NOM=now man REL from DAT forest
 'The man from the forest arrived.'

Ayta Abellen does allow headless relative clauses, as in (311).

(311) *Hila=y n-an-Ø-yag nin tori*, 3PL.NOM=NOM PFV-PL-AV-make GEN tower

> *n-ang-a-Ø-igat hila.* PFV-PL-STA-AV-surprise 3PL.NOM

'The ones who made the tower, they were surprised.'

5.15 Adverbial Clauses

This section considers the complements that can follow temporal and reason adverbs, which were introduced in section 5.4.1. All of these adverbial clauses (or phrases) act the same as simple adverbs, so they will be considered AdvPs with the appropriate type of complement. Adverbial clauses of these types normally may occur either sentence-initially or sentence-finally.

5.15.1 Adjuncts of Temporal Adverbs

English examples of temporal adverbs with adjuncts used in full sentences include:

- 1. [Since then], John has been moody.
- 2. John has been home [since last week].
- 3. [Since John has been home from the hospital] he is doing better.
- 4. John is feeling fine [now that he is home from the hospital].
- 5. The dog followed Sue everywhere [when she returned from college].
- 6. [When she returned from college], the dog followed Sue everywhere.

These examples show that particular temporal adverbs subcategorize for certain types of complements. In (1) *since* is followed by another temporal adverb, in (2) by a temporal nominal phrase, and in (3) it has a sentential adjunct. Examples (5) and (6) show that *when* also takes a finite sentential adjunct, whereas *now* in (4) has a finite clausal adjunct with a complementizer.

Tagalog temporal adverbs can occur sentence initial (312), sentence final (313), or sentence medial (314). Adverbial sentential adjuncts are common as in (315).

- (312) *Mula noon, hindi siya n-aka-pag-Ø-trabaho.* from then not 3SG.NOM PFV-APT-DUR-AV-work 'Since then, he has not been able to work.'
- (313) T<um>ira ako roon hanggang 1950.

<PFV.AV>live 1SG.NOM there until 1950 'I lived there until 1950.'

- (314) N-ag-Ø-bakasyon si Pedrong minsan sa Bagiuo.
 PFV-DUR-AV-vacations NOM Pedro sometimes DAT Bagiuo
 'Pedro vacations sometimes in Bagiuo.'
- (315) Nang m-aka-Ø-lampas ng ala una, pu-Ø-punta na tayo. when CTPLT-APT-AV-pass GEN o'clock one CTPLT-AV-go now 1PL.INCL 'After one o'clock we will go.'

In Ayta Abellen, the preference is for temporal adverbial phrases to occur sentence initial (316a). Both a temporal adverb and an adverb sentential adjunct can occur before the main clause of the sentence (316b). The adverbial sentential adjuncts occur after the adverb but before the verb. Temporal adverbial phrases can also occur at the end of the sentence (316c) but not sentence medial. Examples of temporal adverbial clauses in Ayta Abellen, included in full sentences are:

(316) a. *Ha anti ko ha lale, am-pam-Ø-ahaka* DAT present 1SG.GEN DAT forest CONT-PL-AV-climbing

ko ha matondol.1SG.NOM DAT mountain-peak

'When I am in the forest, I am climbing to the mountain peak.'

b. *Hatew, ha n-an-Ø-ambot hila=y hahapon,* past DAT PFV-PL-AV-win NOM.PL=NOM Japanese

in-om-alih ya=y General Mcarthur. PFV-AV-left 3SG=NOM General McArthur 'Before, when the Japanese won, General McArthur left.'

c. Am-pag-Ø-painawa kawo po nayi angga haanin?
 CONT-DUR-AV-rest 2PL.NOM still RHET until now
 'Are you still resting until now?'

5.15.2 Complements of Reason Adverbs

Turning now to adverbial phrases or clauses which express reason or purpose, we find adverbs which stand alone, such as *therefore* and *so*, along with those that take various types of complement clauses. English examples of reason or purpose adverbs which take clausal complements include:

- 1. John rushed to the hospital [because Sue was in an accident].
- 2. [Since Jill said that she likes him], Joe smiles all the time.
- 3. Bill rushed to the airport [so that he could see Kay before she left].
- 4. The troops threw grenades at the enemy [in order to escape].
- 5. The troops threw grenades at the enemy [in order for the prisoners to escape].

In the examples above, *because* and *since* take only finite sentential complements and *so* takes a finite clausal complement with a complementizer. In contrast, *in order* takes either a nonfinite sentential complement with a pro-dropped subject or a nonfinite clausal complement with a complementizer.

Examples of Tagalog reason or purpose adverbial clauses are:

- (317) Kaya, b<in>ili niya ang lahat ng sapatos.
 so PFV-buy-OV 3SG.GEN NOM all GEN shoes
 'So she bought all the shoes.'
- (318) Dahil sa magandang pananalita niya, Because of good speaking 3SG.GEN,

n-an-Ø-iwala sila sa kaniya. PFV-PL-AV-believe 3SG.NOM DAT 3SG.DAT 'Because of his beautiful words, they believed in him.'

(319) Ø-Puntah-an niya ang barangay nila CTPLT-go-GV 3SG.GEN NOM barangay 3PL.GEN

> *upang* Ø-*ipaliwanag* ang g<*in>awa* niya. in.order.to CTPLT-CV-explain NOM <PFV.OV>do 3SG.GEN 'He will go to their barangay in order to explain what he did.'

Examples of reason or purpose adverbial clauses in Ayta Abellen, included in full sentences are:

(320)	a.	Kayabay, n-apatey	la	ya=y	Amerikano.

so PFV-kill 3PL.GEN 3SG.NOM=NOM American 'So, they killed the American.'

b. *Oli ha kabiangan nin nakem na,* because DAT hardness GEN inner.being 3SG.GEN

n-a-poot-Ø ya=y *indo na.* PFV-STA.OV-anger 3SG.NOM=NOM mother 3SG.GEN 'Because of the hardness of his inner being, his mother became angry.'

c. *M-ag-Ø-pahyal ya ha baey nan balatang* CTPLT-DUR-AV-visit 3SG.NOM DAT house GEN woman

taomon nam-ahadt-antilabay na.so.that3SG.GENCTPLT-say-GVNOMwant3SG.GEN

'He will visit the house of the young woman so that he will say what he wants.'

5.16 Negation Constructions

All languages have the ability to express negation. This is usually achieved through the use of:

- special negative degree words, such as *not* (section 5.3.1), or negative quantifier determiners, such as *no* (section 5.3.2), which negate a nominal phrase,
- negative indefinite pronouns, such as *noboby* or *nothing* (section <u>5.8.6</u>), which express a negative nominal argument by themselves,
- negative adverbs, such as *never* (section 5.4.1) or *nowhere* (section 5.4.2),
- negative auxiliaries, such as *not* or the contraction affixal form *n't* (section <u>5.11.3</u>), and/or
- negative verbal affixes (section 5.11.3).

All of the above have been covered as individual items in previous sections (as noted). After discussing the type of negation system Ayta Abellen uses, the data given will be reviewed here by category or phrase type, as well as adding examples used in complete sentences and discussing any co-occurrence restrictions between the various negative elements.

5.16.1 Type of Negation System

Languages fall into two major classifications with respect to negation: Polarity Changing languages versus Negative Concord languages, exemplified by standard English and Spanish or Black English, respectively.

Polarity Changing languages normally allow only a single negative element in the sentence for negation to be expressed (though technically any odd number of negatives expresses negative polarity) because the presence of two (or any even number of) negative elements changes the polarity back to positive. For example, *John saw nothing* is negative, but *John didn't see nothing* is positive because it means the same as *John saw something*. The version with a negative auxiliary is expressed as *John didn't see anything*, using what is known as a negative polarity item in object position. Such negative polarity items may occur as subjects in some contexts without any other negation present, such as *Anyone may come*, but they may only occur in object position when some higher (technically c-commanding) element is negative. For example, one can say *Nobody saw anyone* and *Nowhere will they find anyone* but without the negative subject or fronted negative adverb the negative auxiliary must be used, as in *We did not see anyone* and *They will not find anyone anywhere*.

In Negative Concord languages, any number of negative elements expresses negative polarity, so in a Negative Concord version of English (such as Black English) *John didn't see nothing* is the correct way to express a negative sentence with a negative object. In these languages, similarly to the restriction on negative polarity items in Polarity Changing languages, a negative element may normally occur in subject position or a fronted position without any other negative element present, but a negative object may only occur when some higher (technically c-commanding) element is negative. Some Negative Concord languages have the stronger restriction that any negative argument must co-occur with verbal negation and still others require fronting of the negative argument, similarly to the fronting of question words or phrases in content questions.

Tagalog and Ayta Abellen are Polarity Changing languages, since the polarity changes between positive and negative with each instance of negation. Tagalog has negative polarity items in: *kahit anuman*'whatever', *kahit sinuman* 'whoever', *kahit kailanman* 'whenever', and *kahit saanman* 'wherever'. The equivalents in Ayta Abellen are: *agya hinyaman* 'whatever, whoever', *agya makanoman* 'whenever', and *agya wayihtewman* 'wherever'. The negative pronouns, determiners, and adverbs may occur in object position or the normal adverb position even when there is another negative element in the sentence.

5.16.2 Auxiliary and Verbal Negation

Tagalog has the negative auxiliary *hindi* which is written as a separate word. Examples in full sentences are:

(321) Hindi pwede yan.
not possible that
'That's not possible.'
(322) Hindi siya masipag.
not 3SG.NOM sindustriou
'He is not industrious.'

We saw in section 5.11.3 that Ayta Abellen has one negative auxiliary which is written as a separate word, and that is the only type of verbal negation in the language. There is no negative verbal affix nor negative auxiliary affix. The negative auxiliary may be the only auxiliary in the phrase; no other auxiliary is required. The negative auxiliary word in Ayta Abellen is *ahe* 'not'.

Examples of the negative auxiliary word used in a complete sentence include:

(323) a. *Ahe malyadi yain.* not possible that 'That is not possible.'

> b. *Ahe ya n-ang-Ø-an nangon*. not 3SG.NOM PFV-PL-AV-eat earlier 'He did not eat earlier today.'

5.17 Coordination Constructions

This section considers basic coordination constructions where there is an overt conjunction between the conjuncts, including coordination at the sentence level and at the verb phrase, nominal phrase, and adjective level. More complex types of coordination constructions, such as lists without overt conjunctions between each conjunct, gapping, appositives and comparatives, will need to be dealt with later.

In English, the conjunctions which can be used between two conjuncts are: *and*, *or*, *but* and *and/or*. In addition, there are coordination constructions which require

an initial conjunction, such as *either...or* and *neither...nor* constructions. Some languages also use a word meaning *with* as a conjunction between nominal phrases.

Ayta Abellen uses the following conjunctions between conjuncts:

(324)	Coord	inating co
	Ayta Abellen	meaning
	boy	'and'
	boy ket	
	ta	
	0	'or'
	noba	'but'

5.17.1 Sentence-level coordination

Sentence-level coordination includes most types of sentences, including declaratives and questions. Some English examples are:

- 1. John went to the office this morning but he did not return.
- 2. When did the mail come and where is my package?
- 3. Either I will come to the party or I will send my sister.

Tagalog has sentence-level coordination constructions using conjunctions such as: at (a), o (b), and *pero* (c).

- (325) *T*<*um*>*ahol* ang aso at *n*-*a*-takot-Ø ang pusa. <PFV.AV>bark NOM dog and PFV-STA.OV-afraid NOM cat 'The dog barked and the cat got scared.'
- (326) *M-Ø-agaaral ka ba o m-a-tutulog.* CTPLT-AV-study 2SG.NOM QUES or CTPLT-STA.OV-sleep 'Are you going to study or sleep?'
- (327) T<um>awag ako kaninang umaga pero wala ka.
 <PFV.AV>call 1SG.NOM earlier morning but not.exist 2SG.NOM
 'I called this morning, but you were not there.'

(Tagalog examples taken from Gallo-Crail (2010).)

Ayta Abellen examples of sentence-level coordination include:

(328) a. *Ket am-paty-en la hila boy* and CONT-kill-OV 3PL.GEN 3PL.NOM and

> *antoyhoken la=n etak.* CONT-stab-OV 3PL=GEN machete

'And they are killing them and stabbing them with machetes.'

b. *Malabong ana=n pag-obda noba ahe ko po* many now=LNK GER-work but NEG 1SG.GEN yet

malyadi=n m-ag-Ø-obda. can CTPLT-DUR-AV-work 'Much now is the working but I still cannot work.'

5.17.2 Verb clause coordination

Verb phrase coordination is exemplified in the following English sentences:

- 1. Bill ran the race and won the prize.
- 2. I will come to the party or send my sister.
- 3. I will not come to the party nor send my sister.

Tagalog allows verb clause coordination where the same subject is used for two clauses. Examples include:

(329) *P*<*um*>*unta na kami sa may tindahan* <PFV.AV>go now 1PL.EXCL.NOM DAT EXIST store

at b<um>ili ng inumin. and *<*PFV.AV>buy GEN drink 'We went to the store and bought something to drink.'

Ayta Abellen examples with verb clause coordination include:

(330) a. Hiyay lota ye am-paka-Ø-pa-tobo

TM soil NOM CONT-APT-AV-CAUS-grow

boy am-Ø-pakapadawa nin bini. and CONT-AV-yield GEN seed

'The soil is what makes the seed grow and bear fruit.'

b. *Ahe m-a-lokoloko* NEG CTPLT-STA.OV-cheat

> boy ahe m-aki-Ø-halehale ha Iloko. and NEG CTPLT-REQ-AV-mix DAT Ilokano

'They will not be cheated and are not mixing with the Ilokanos.'

5.17.3 Nominal phrase coordination

Nominal phrase coordination is exemplified in the following English sentences:

- 1. Bill ran in the Boston Marathon and the Olympics.
- 2. My sister or I will be there.
- 3. Neither my sister nor I will be there.
- 4. I will come to the wedding and/or the reception.

Tagalog has nominal phrase coordination as can be seen in this example:

(331) *Hu-hugas-an ko ang mga tenedor at mga kutsara*. CTPLT-wash-GV 1SG.GEN NOM PL forks and PL spoons 'I will wash the forks and spoons.'

Ayta Abellen examples with nominal phrase coordination include:

(332) a. *M-ang-Ø-gawa kayi=n Ø-tamn-an mi=n* CTPLT-PL-AV-work 1PL.EXCL CTPLT-plant-GV 1PL.EXCL=LNK

> *pa-paday boy bo-botey boy nakahinadi.* PL-rice and PL-taro and others

'We will work together to plant rice and taro and other things.'

b. *N-ag-Ø-kamain ana=n Iloko boy Ayta*.
PFV-DUR-AV-have now=GEN Ilokano and Ayta
'There came to be now Ilokanos and Aytas.'

5.17.4 Adjective coordination

Adjective coordination is exemplified in the following English sentences:

- 1. The black and white dog belongs to my son.
- 2. The sore on your leg is ugly and painful and dangerous.
- 3. My sister wants a red or blue candle.

Tagalog adjective coordination is done with the conjunction *at*, as in:

(333) Maganda at mayaman si Rosa.
beautiful and rich NOM Rosa
'Rosa is beautiful and rich.'

(Tagalog example from Schachter and Otanes (1972).)

Ayta Abellen adjective coordination is done with the conjunction boy, as in:

(334) a. *manga-yadet boy manga-tampa a baey* PL-big and PL-beautiful LNK house 'big and beautiful house'

5.18 Topic and Focus Constructions

This section considers two types of constructions which draw attention to a particular element. Since topics occur outside of focus constructions, they will be considered first. The following example shows that a single sentence may have both a topic and a focused phrase. In this case, the topic *Bill* is introduced by the topic marker *as for*, then the focused phrase *soccer*, which has been moved out of its regular place in the sentence follows.

• As for Bill, soccer he plays ____ best.

5.18.1 Topics and Topic Markers

As defined here, topic constructions consist of a topic phrase followed by a complete sentence or question and usually set apart by punctuation. Certain markers may be used to set off topics, as shown in the following English examples:

- 1. As for John, I think he will make a good doctor.
- 2. Speaking of Jill, where is she?

Topic in Tagalog is marked syntactically through left dislocation with a resumptive pronoun or morphologically by the word *ay* which occurs after the topic phrase. This understanding of the "ay inversion" is supported by <u>McKaughan (1973)</u>, <u>Kroeger</u> (1993), <u>Kaufman (2005)</u>, and <u>Hirano (2006)</u>. Sentence examples include:

- (335) *Si Juan ay isang magsasaka*. NOM Juan INV a farmer 'Juan is a farmer.'
- (336) Ang mga tao rito ay mabait. NOM PL person here INV nice 'The people here are nice.'

Ayta Abellen has topic phrases introduced by *hiyay* which occur before the main sentence and are separated by a pause. Some examples include:

- (337) a. *Hiyay Pabling, n-Ø-akew ya ha banwa.*TM Pabling PFV-AV-go 3SG.NOM DAT city
 'Pabling went to the city.'
 - b. *Hiyay laki, labay na ya=n* TM man want 3SG.GEN 3SG.NOM=COMP

kalogoden ti babai. love-OV NOM woman

'The man wants to be in love with the woman.'

c. Hiyay alaga nan beyah ha hatew, baente pisos
 TM value GEN rice DAT time.past twenty pesos

ye maghay kaban. NOM one kaban 'The value of rice before was twenty pesos per kaban.'

In Ayta Abellen, the topic phrase is marked by certain words or phrases. The topic markers occur before the topic phrase itself. For more information about topic marking in Ayta Abellen, see <u>Stone (2008)</u>.

(338)

Т	opic mark
Topic Markers	Meaning
hiyay	'SG'
hilay	'PL'
yati	'this'
yain	'that'
yatew	'that (far)'

5.18.2 Focused Phrases and Focus Markers

In contrast to topics, while focus constructions also have an element fronted which may be set off by punctuation, the phrase in focus is moved from its normal position in the sentence, leaving a gap. Certain markers, such as *only* in English, may be used to mark the focused phrase. Focus constructions are not used frequently in SVO languages, since the subject is usually in focus and is already first in the normal order. Other word orders, such as VSO languages, may make extensive use of focus constructions. English examples of focus constructions include:

- 1. Girls, I like ___.
- 2. Soccer, Bill plays ____ best.
- 3. Only that boy, Jerry hit ___.

Tagalog and Ayta Abellen do not allow a focus phrase to be moved before or after the rest of the sentence out of its normal position. Focus phrase constructions in these languages are usually cleft sentences as in (339) for Tagalog and (340) for Ayta Abellen.

(339) Isda ang gusto ko. fish NOM want 1SG.GEN 'Fish is what I want.'

(340) *Yati ye labay ko=n habi-en.* this NOM want 1SG.GEN=COMP say-OV 'This is what I want to say.'

5.19 Exclamations and Greetings

This section considers various types of common utterances which are not complete sentences. We will deal with greetings, interjections and exclamations in turn.

5.19.1 Greetings

Greetings typically consist of a particular word or phrase, either standing alone or followed by a name or nominal phrase describing the peson or animal being greeted. Some are full sentences or full questions, such as *How do you do? How are you?* and *Have a good day!* which do not need to be treated separately. Some examples of English greetings are:

- 1. Hi!
- 2. Howdy!
- 3. Hello, Jill.
- 4. Goodby.
- 5. Good day, sir.
- 6. Good morning, Bob.
- 7. Good afternoon.
- 8. Good evening.
- 9. Good night, sweet baby.

Some Tagalog examples are:

- (341) a. *Kumusta?* how 'How are you?'
 - b. *Magandang umaga po.* good morning RESP 'Good morning.'

Examples of greetings in Ayta Abellen include:

(342) a. *Komohta?* how-are 'How are you?'

> b. *Koko=yna*. 1SG=now 'I will go now.'

5.19.2 Interjections

Interjections typically consist of a particular word or phrase that is used alone, usually with an exclamation point following it. Though many of the words in interjections are not used in any other situation, regular adjectives are also used in this way. Some examples of interjections in English are:

- 1. Ouch!
- 2. Gross!
- 3. Cool!
- 4. Jumping Jehoshaphat!
- 5. Jiminy Cricket!

Examples of interjections in Tagalog include:

(343) Aba!

hey

'Hey!'

(344) Salamat! thanks

'Thanks!'

Examples of interjections in Ayta Abellen include:

(345) a. *Hi!* expr 'Hi! (expression denoting disagreement)' Yes and No answers to questions will be treated similarly to interjections. Ayta Abellen uses the following words to express these answers:

(346)

Interject	
Ayta Abellen	meaning
Awo Awobay	'yes'
Ahe Aliwa	'no'