A Referencce Grammar og Ibanag: Phonology, Morphology, & Syntax

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DEDICATION

To my JOSH & JESH. . .

SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

[ ]	-	phonetic representation
/ /	-	phonemic transcription
' '	-	free translation
:	-	inside [ ] represents vowel length
'	-	morphemic glottal stop
´	-	stressed vowel/syllable
-	-	affix boundary
=	-	clitic boundary
*	-	ungrammatical utterance
-an	-	a morpheme preceded by a hyphen is a suffix
mag-	-	a hyphen preceded by a morpheme is a prefix
-in-	-	a morpheme in between hyphens is an infix
pan- - an	-	an example of a circumfix
1	-	1st person
2	-	2nd person
3	-	3rd person
A	-	core argument referring to agent
ABS	-	absolutive case
AG	-	agent
ADJ	-	adjective
BEN	-	benefactive
CAU	-	causative
CM	-	case marker
COM	-	comitative
COMP	-	complementizer
COMPA	-	comparison particle
CONT	-	continuative
DEF	-	definite

DEM	-	demonstrative
DET	-	determiner
DIS	-	distal
DUR	-	durative
ERG	-	ergative
EXI	-	existential
EXI.NEG	-	negative existential
FUT	-	future particle
HON	-	honorific
IMP	-	imperfective
INCH	-	inchoative
INS	-	instrument
INT	-	intensifier
INTR	-	intransitive
ITER	-	iterative
LIG	-	ligature
LOC	-	locative
NEG	-	negative
NEGV	-	negative verb
NR	-	non-referential
NOM	-	nominalizer
NP	-	noun phrase
O	-	other core argument, the object
OBL	-	oblique
PAR	-	particle
PAT	-	patient
PERF	-	perfective
PERS	-	personal
PLU	-	plural marker
PRO	-	process
R	-	reduplication

REC	-	recent past
REL	-	relativizer
REM	-	remote past
S	-	single argument
ST	-	stative
TEMP	-	temporal
TH	-	theme
TL	-	topic linker
TRAN	-	transitive
e	-	exclusive
i	-	inclusive
p	-	plural
s	-	singular
(C)	-	contraction
(P)	-	proverb
(R)	-	riddle
(c)	-	conversational
(w)	-	written

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

IBANAG refers to the people as well as the language spoken in Northern Luzon, Philippines (see Figure 1).

Ibanag belongs to the Cordilleran subgroup of the Malayo-Polynesian branch of the Austronesian language family. Reid (1974, 2006) classifies Ibanag as a member of the Cagayan Valley sub-group of the Northern Cordilleran Group of Northern Luzon, Philippines (see Figure 2). The other members of the Cagayan Valley sub-group are Itawes, Ga'dang, Northern Cagayan Agta, Atta, Yogad, and Isnag. The North-East Luzon group consists of East Cagayan Dumagat, Kasiguranin, Casiguran Dumagat, Paranan, Palanan Dumagat (see Figure 3).

1.1 Ibanag: the language and the people

Ibanag (also *Ibanak, Ybanag,* or *Ybanak*) is spoken by approximately 500,000 people who come mainly from Cagayan and Isabela. Ibanag-speaking cities/towns of Cagayan include Tuguegarao, Aparri, Solana, Piat, Lallo, Iguig, Pamplona, Abulug, Camalaniugan, and Peñablanca. McFarland (1980) reports that Ibanag is the dominant language in Santa Maria and Cabagan and the minor language in San Pablo, Tumauini, Santo Tomas, Reina Mercedes, Ilagan, San Mariano, Angadanan, Gamu, Naguilian, and Magsaysay. Additionally, Gordon (2005) puts Ibanag on the 18th slot of the top 20 most popular or spoken languages of the Philippine archipelago.

Ibanag comes from the root *bannag* 'river' which probably refers to the people who settled along the coast of now Cagayan River surrounding Northern Luzon. Hence, the earliest Ibanag speakers are the settlers along Cagayan River who have eventually spread throughout the province. Older generation resource speakers narrate that Ibanag speakers then enjoyed some sort of supremacy over the non-speakers of the language, specifically, the Itawes group. Ibanag was then considered the prestige language in the province.

1
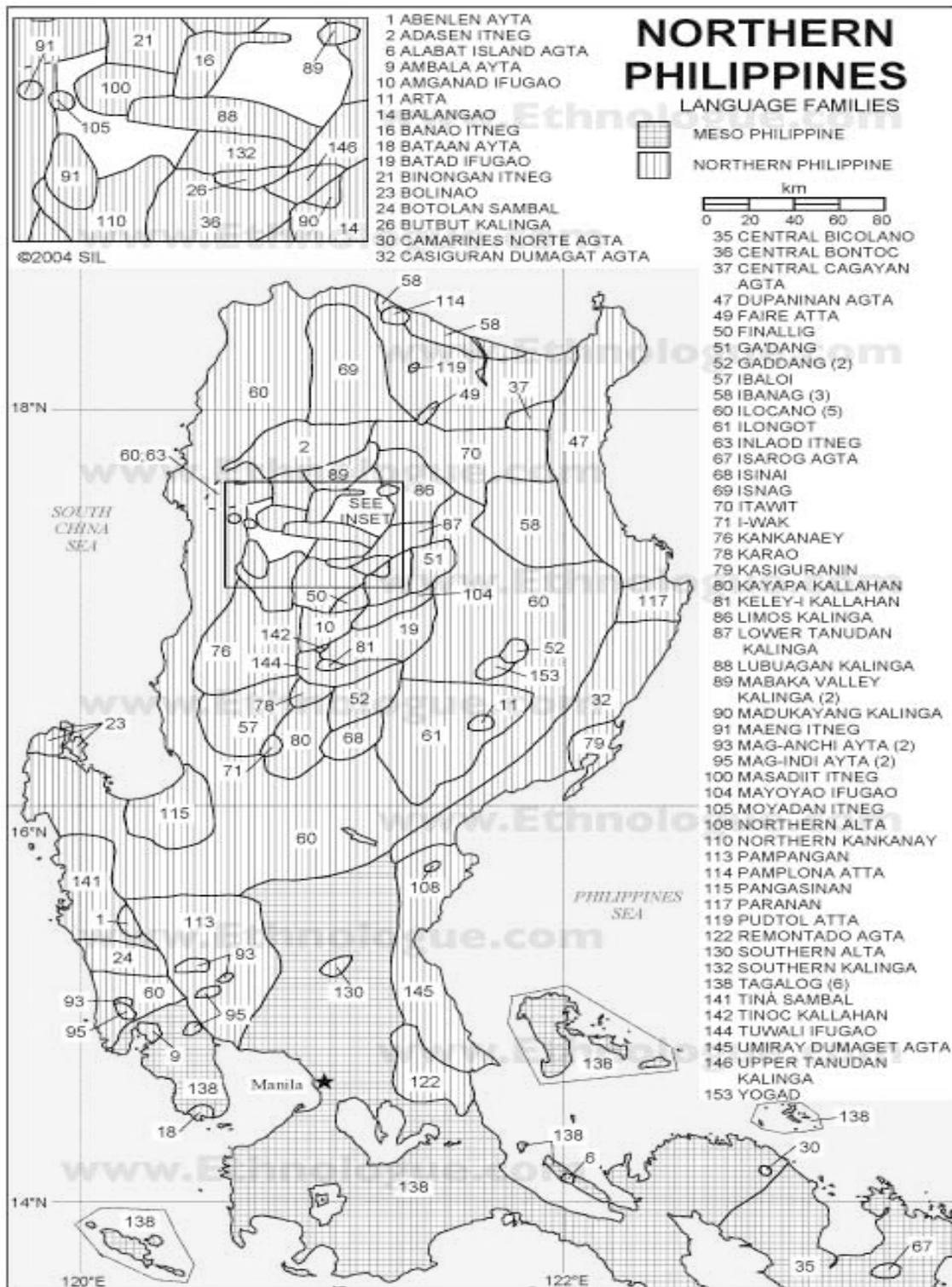
Figure 1. Map of Northern Luzon, Philippines.

Cordilleran

Meso Cordilleran

Northern Cordilleran

Alta

South Central Cordilleran

Cagayan Valley

North-East

Luzon

south cordilleran

central cordilleran

North-Central Cordilleran

Nuclear Cordilleran

KLA-ITG

ALTS ALTN KLN IBL PNG ILT ISI IFG BLW BON KNK KLA ITG ILK ART GAD ITW AGTCC **IBANAG** ATT YOG ISG DGTEC KAS DGTCDGTP
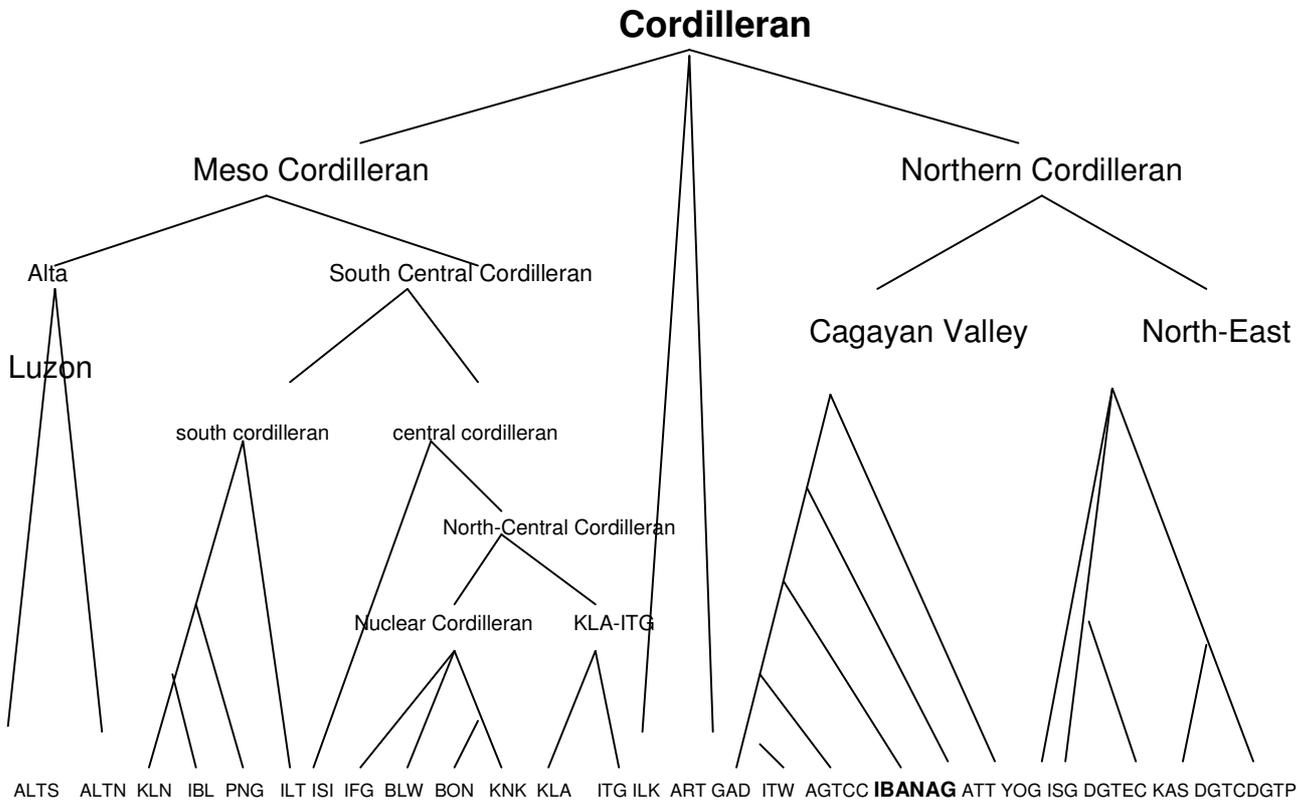
EC	East Cagayan Dumagat	GAD	Gaddang	IWK	Iwak
ALTN	Nothern Alta	IBG.	Ibanag	KAR	Karao
ALTS	Southern Alta	IBL	Inibaloi	KAS	Kasiguranin
ART	Arta	IFG	Ifugao	KLA	Kalinga
ATT	Atta	ILK	Ilocano	KLN	Kalanguya
BLW	Balangaw	ILT	Ilongot	KNK	Kankanaey
BON	Bontok	ISG	Isnag	MAL	Malaweg
DGTC	Casiguran Dumagat	ISI	Isinai	PNG	Pangasina
DGTEC	East Cagayan Dumagat	ITG	Itneg	PRN	Paranan
DGTP.	Palanan Dumagat	ITW	Itawis	YOG	Yogad

Figure 2. The revised sub-grouping of Cordilleran languages (Reid, 2006)

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With the status of Ibanag, it was taught in elementary public schools for quite sometime. Itawes speakers would have to learn the Ibanag vis-à-vis the other lessons taught in school. With the influx of Ilocano and Tagalog, too, from neighboring regions, Cagayan has become a melting pot, not only of cultures, but of languages as well. Ibanag people then had to interact to diverse languages in their day-to-day life.

With the complexity of sociolinguistic situation in the Philippines, the number of monolingual Ibanag speakers has noticeably reduced. The predominance of English and Tagalog in the media and education has considerably influenced the native Ibanag speakers.

1.2 Objective of the study

The present dissertation aims at providing a groundbreaking analysis of the language, illustrating the intricacies of Ibanag in as clear and comprehensive a manner as possible. As should a reference grammar do, this study deals with the phonology, morphology and syntax of the language. The grammar of the various lexical categories is carefully explicated focusing on their semantic, morphological, and syntactic properties.

1.3 Theoretical Orientation

As opposed to early studies on Philippine languages that exploit linguistic theories such as Pike's (1963) and Longacre's (1964) tagmemics model (cf., Hidalgo & Hidalgo 1971; Porter 1977; Reid 1966; Reid 1970), or Chomsky's (1965) generative grammar (cf. Mirikitini 1972), or Fillmore's (1968) case grammar (cf. McKaughan 1958), or Van Valin's (2001) Role and Reference grammar (cf., Aragones 2003) or Perlmutter and Postal's (1977) Relational grammar (cf., Bell 1976; Wimbish 1987), the present study is basically free from any linguistic theory and uses eclectic approach in describing the features of the language.

As for the structure of clause types, I modify Dixon and Aikhenvald's (2000) discussion on core arguments and peripheral arguments (also called "adjuncts"). Core

arguments are distinguished from peripheral arguments in that core arguments must be stated (or be understood from the context) for a clause to be acceptable whereas peripheral arguments or adjuncts are less dependent on the nature of the head of a clause. This means that they may or may not be included in the sentence to indicate place, time, cause, purpose, and so on. The modification that is made in this study, however, is the use of basic terms such as 'subject', 'object', etc. Particularly, the term 'indirect object' is not used in this study; instead, 'benefactive' or 'beneficiary' is used. For further explanation of core and peripheral arguments, see chapter 4.

The case-marking system in this study uses the 'ergative-analysis' system which is the current trend in Philippine linguistics. Diachronically, the ergative-absolutive analysis begins with various works employing the Relational Grammar theory. Payne (1982) defines ergative as "a term traditionally used to describe systems of nominal case marking where subjects of intransitive clauses are marked the same as direct objects, while subjects of transitive clauses are marked differently" (p.76). Dixon (1994), likewise, explains that "the term was first used to refer to the case marking on constituents of a noun phrase: 'ergative' is the case marking transitive subject, contrasting with another case – originally called 'nominative' but nowadays 'absolutive' – marking intransitive subject and transitive object" (p.1). Bickford (1998:269) simply defines it as "subject of a transitive clause." Absolutive, on the other hand, is defined simply as the subject of intransitive clauses and the object of transitive clauses.

To illustrate the intransitive and transitive dichotomy, consider examples (1) and (2) below. In (1), the core argument pronominal *kami* 'we' is encoded as 'absolutive' and the peripheral argument *sine* 'movie' is encoded as 'oblique'; hence, this construction is intransitive. On the other hand, (2) exhibits an ergative agent *mi* 'we' and an absolutive theme *sine* 'movie'; hence, this construction is transitive. For further description and analysis of intransitive and transitive clauses, refer to Chapter 4 (clause types), Chapter 5 (nominal marking system), and Chapter 9 (verbs).

(1) Naggiraw   kami   ta   sine.
     nag- giraw   kami   ta   sine
     {PERF-INTR}- watch   ABS.1pe   OBL   movie

     'We watched a movie.'

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(2) Giniraw   mi   i   sine.
     -in- giraw   mi   i   sine
     {PERF-TRAN}- watch   ERG.1pe ABS   movie

     'We watched the movie.'

The discussion or analysis of other topics is adapted from various works. For instance, in pronominals, I have distinguished the term ergative and genitive. Since these two cases have the same forms but different functions, I maintained in this study that ergatives refer to the agents, whereas genitives refer to possessors. This is further elucidated in Chapter 6 (pronominals).

Since Ibanag has intrinsic characteristics, these can only be described using typological approach. Whaley (1997) defines typology as "the classification of languages or components of languages based on shared formal characteristics' (p.7). She further clarifies that typology is not a theory of grammar but an approach. There are three significant propositions of typology: i) it involves cross-linguistic comparison; ii) it classifies languages or aspects of languages; iii) it examines formal features of languages. In this study for instance, there are items or particles that can only be classified as belonging to a particular category when compared cross-linguistically or when the function is described. This approach is particularly applied in Chapters 10, 11, 12, 13, 14 and 15, respectively.

1.4 Setting of the Study

The setting of the study is Tuguegarao City, the capital town of Cagayan and the regional center of Region II, otherwise known as Cagayan Valley. There are some reasons for choosing Tuguegarao as the setting of the research. First, with 49 barangays comprising the city, it has the biggest population among all the towns in Cagayan. As of 2000, Tuguegarao had a total population of less than 100,000 making it the premier Ibanag city. Second, being the regional center of Cagayan Valley, Tuguegarao is considered the center of education, commerce, industry, and politics.

Hence, Ibanag speakers from Tuguegarao are generally educated which facilitates description of the language. Third, the Tuguegarao Ibanag is the variety that I am most exposed to.

1.5 Orthography

Earlier works on the language (cf. KWF, 1997; Tsuchida, Yamada, Constantino, & Moriguchi 1989; Verstraelen, 1973) utilize a Spanish orthography. Examples that are drawn from these works have been realigned with the current orthography of the language.

In this work, the orthography is based on the recommended spelling conventions of the translator's committee for the Bible. The suggestions below provide consistency in the spelling conventions especially for written works such as the bible. These are summarized as follows:

a. Spelling should represent the actual pronunciation as much as possible;
b. Spelling of Ibanag should be as close as possible to spelling in other languages;
c. The system of spelling should be as easy as possible to learn; it should be consistent and non-innovative as possible;
d. The system of spelling should be useful for all subdialects of Ibanag
e. The alphabet should be as easy as possible to type.

Note that these rules in spelling can only be applied in written samples. The spoken samples are not bound to follow any rules, whether phonological or morphological.

In this study, samples that are taken from other published works which follow the Spanish orthography are revised. Some example of revision madde in this study are shown in Table 1.1 below:

Table 1.1 Sample revision of Spanish orthography

Spanish Orthography	Revised	Gloss
quittalappo	kittalappo	'very industrious'
guitaddangngan	gitaddangngan	'kept on standing'
Lappao	lappaw	'flower'
y cofun	i kofun	'a friend'
baguitolay	baggitolay	'unmarried man'
batu y balay cu	batu i balay ku	my house is made of stone

1.6 Previous Publications on Ibanag

Early studies on Philippine linguistics, which are century-old, have focused on comparative linguistics. Of these various studies, Ibanag has always been one of the languages being studied. Blake (1906) compares the phonology, articles, and pronouns of at least 15 different languages across the archipelago, including Ibanag. Likewise, Conant (1908, 1912) also includes Ibanag in his investigation of the "F" and "V" and the pepet law of Philippine languages. In his 1908 work, he emphasizes the consonant doubling as a distinct feature of Ibanag.   Similarly, Viray (1941) studies nasal assimilation, nasal substitution, and nasal accretion in Tagalog, Cebuano, Hiligaynon, Iloko, Samar-Leyte, Bikol, Pangasinan, Pampangan, Ibanag, and Ivatan. The analysis of these four studies is done on the lexical level only. Conversely, Constantino (1965) examines sentence patterns of 26 Philippine languages including Ibanag.   Llamzon (1968) also includes Ibanag in his collection of words and phrases of three Philippine languages (the two other being Tagalog and Ilokano).

Tharp (1974) compares the phonology, case marking particle system, and pronominal system of seven Northern Cordilleran languages: Ilokano, Ibanag, Gaddang, Yogad, Agta, Atta, and Casiguran Dumagat. With the inclusion of seven languages and the focus of investigation (being pronouns, determiners and sounds), the analysis was done on the lexical level only. There were no sample utterances or texts

to illustrate the alleged diversity. As Tharp explains, some, if not most, of the samples were taken from word lists and dictionaries published during that time.

The work of Tsuchida, Yamada, Constantino, and Moriguchi in (1989) offer a comparison of grammatical features of six Batanic languages (Imorod Yami, Iranomilek Yami, Itbayat, Ivasay Ivatan, Isamorong Ivatan, and Babuyan) and two Cordilleran languages (Ilokano and Ibanag). In this work, 590 sentences of different types are compared for grammatical features: i) simple or basic sentences, ii) compound and complex, iii) causatives, iv) showing syntactic functions and forms of various particles, v) negations, vi) imperatives, vii) interrogatives, viii) pronominals, ix) deictics, x) sequences of personal pronouns, xi) special forms and use of deictics and personal pronouns, xii) numerals, xiii) fraction terms, xiv) price terms, xv) common expressions and greetings, and xvi) inflections of verbs. A list of the restricted class morphemes such as the personal pronouns, demonstratives, interrogative particles, enclitics, and conjunctions is also provided. A number of examples used in this study are drawn from this work.

Although Tsuchida et al.'s work went beyond the lexical level, as opposed to Tharp (1974), they failed to provide an analysis of the structure of Ibanag. The work, though, provides a list of earlier studies or manuscripts that are unpublished. As for Ibanag, Tsuchida et al. include at least four works (Bugarin, 1854; McFarland, 1970a, 1970b; Tsuchida, 1962).

For a period of time, Ibanag has been among the foci of comparative linguistics in the Philippines.

The earliest published linguistic work on Ibanag dates back approximately eight decades ago. Brandes and Sheerer (1927-28) deal with a specific issue in the phonology of Ibanag, that is, the sandhi (assimilation of sounds at juncture) of the language. On the other hand, Verstraelen (1973) offers a morphosyntactic analysis of the language utilizing a rather complicated set of linguistic formulas which can only be understood by those who have sufficient background on linguistics. Although Verstraelen's work is considered the first linguistic analysis of the syntax of Ibanag, it offers very little chance of understanding the complexities of the language. Also, the topics are not systematically arranged and very few sentences are used to describe

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each morphosyntactic feature. With the complexity of the formulas, probably only structural linguists can understand Verstraelen's analysis of the language.

Although only a few scholarly journals that dealt solely with the language have been published, a considerable number of graduate theses and dissertations have focused on Ibanag.

Ibarbia (1969) comes up with an Ibanag-English dictionary compounded with a brief description of the pronunciation, morphology, syntax, and orthography of the language. On the other hand, Bauza (1972) describes the structure of the language based on its phonology, morphology, and syntax. Although the work has attempted to deal with the aspects of grammar, the treatment lacks in depth analysis of the features of the language. As a follow-up, Bauza (1996) provides a brief description of the phonology, morphology, and the parts-of-speech taxonomy of Ibanag lexical items. The work, however, does not provide a description of the intricacies of the language. Additionally, the syntax of the various lexical categories in Ibanag is not explicated. Examples are provided but there are no explanations provided for whatever linguistic phenomenon the language might have exhibited. In addition, the data for analysis come mainly from spoken register. Hence, some characteristics of the language have inadvertently been neglected.

Besides the linguistic aspect of Ibanag, the folk and religious literature has also been the subject of studies of some theses and dissertations. Bangan (1976) and Del Rosario (2000) explore Ibanag and Cagayan folk literature in general. Dayag (1993), on the other hand, deals with the form and metaphors of *pasyon*, a Filipino Lenten song that depicts the sufferings and death of Christ. Likewise, these works append authentic Ibanag literary pieces in their papers which yield possibilities for investigation of their grammatical features.

The *Komisyon sa Wikang Filipino* (1997) comes up with a compilation of Ibanag-Filipino lexicon, which is more of a guide to speaking Ibanag. Unlike Ibarbia's (1969), this compilation is not accompanied with description of the pronunciation, morphology, and the like, but only common utterances.

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1.7 The research gap

The current literature on Ibanag confirms the observation of Liao (2006). In her study, she has clearly outlined the development of Philippine linguistics in the last 25 years as a sequel to the studies of Constantino (1971), McKaughan (1971), Reid (1981), and Quakenbush (2005). Liao underscores the pressing need to document major and minor languages in the Philippines. And since the vast majority of studies in Philippine languages are done by non-Filipinos, she emphasizes the demand for Filipino linguists to be involved in the documentation of Philippine languages. Additionally, she highlights that in the last 25 years, there had been 14 M.A. theses and 16 Ph.D. dissertations written about Philippine-type languages, but only one of them was written by a Filipino (i.e., Daguman 2004). She strongly recommends that reference grammars on minor, as well as major, languages, zeroing in on Ibanag and Itawes of Cagayan Valley sub-group, be written. In addition, she stresses that only few detailed reference grammars have appeared in the past 25 years. These include Rubino's (1997) *A reference grammar of Ilocano*, Ruffolo's (2004) *Topics in the morpho-syntax of Ibaloy, Northern Philippines*, and Daguman's (2004) *A grammar of Northern Subanen*. This is the research gap that the present study addresses.

Chapter 2

PHONOLOGY

2.1 Introduction

Phonology refers to the sound system of a particular language. In this section, the features of the language are described and are exemplified. To illustrate stress, the diacritic mark (´) is placed on top of the stressed vowel phoneme. As for phonemic glottal stops, the voiced receives (^) while the voiceless receives (?). For the morphemic glottal stop, the symbol (') is used. Likewise, period (.) is used to syllabicate the words and colon (:) is used to show a lengthened pronunciation. The brackets ([ ]) are used for phonemic transcription.

2.2 The vowels

In contrast with other Philippine-type languages which demonstrate less than five vowels, e.g., Cebuano has only three, Ibanag has six vowels. These are the high front /i/, the mid-front /e/, the low central /a/, the mid-central /ə/ or the schwa, the low back /o/ and the high back /u/.

Table 2.1. Distribution of vowel sounds

	Front	Center	Back
High	/i/		/u/
Middle	/e/	/ə/	
Low		/a/	/o/

As Conant (1912) has earlier observed, /a/ is the most dominant vowel in Ibanag. As evident in the examples below, there is apparently a preponderance of the vowel *a* in the language. The vowel /a/ in Ibanag resembles the *a* in 'father'.

ababba	[?a.bab:.bá]	'short'
aggayaman	[?ag:.ga.yá.man]	'playground'
galanggatangan	[ga.láŋ:.ga.tá.ŋan]	'not worthy buying'
mattala-talakag	[mat.ta.la:.ta.la.kág]	'become lazy'

The vowels /e/ and /i/ are usually spoken interchangeably, especially by the Visayan speakers. In Ibanag, this phenomenon never occurs. These two phonemes are distinct sounds which means that one is never confused from the other.

espeho	[?es.pé:.ho]	'mirror'
eskwela	[?es:.kwé.la]	'school'
dinengdeng	[di.neŋ.déŋ]	'boiled vegetables'
kulamemmeng	[ku.la.mé:.meŋ]	'wrinkles'

The vowel `i is pronounced as a high front vowel. Unlike English where there are many possible variants of the phoneme, the /i/ in Ibanag nearly resembles the i in 'rip'.

girigiri	[gi.ri.gí:.ri]	'scraps of cloth'
ammiribirang	[?am.mi.ri:bi.ráŋ]	'dragonfly'
anninni	[?an:.nín.nî]	'rag'

The phonemes /o/ and /u/ are also usually uttered interchangeably, not only by Visayan speakers but also by the Ilocano speakers. The vowel /o/ and /u/ are both produced by the back open unrounded at the low and high tongue positions, respectively.

kokkoban	[kok.kó:.ban]	'to dig a place'
kolo-kolor	[ko.lo.kó:.lor]	'crayons'
duruddunan	[du.rud:.du.nán]	'push'
dumurumug	[du.mu.rú:.mug]	'news'

The phonemic identities of these two vowels may be contrasted in the following minimal pairs:

ulu	[?u.lû]	'my head'
ulo	[?u.lô]	'blanket'
balu	[bá.lu?]	'my widow'
balo	[ba.lô]	'reply, answer/
galu	[gá.lû]	'twine, rope'
galo	[ga.lô]	'laughter'

In the case of some Spanish borrowings, the choice of whether to use /o/ or /u/ has evolved through time. According to the informants[1], the following loanwords are originally *o*-ending. However, some words have eventually become u-ending since speakers have pronounced them as such.

The following words have consequently received the vowel /u/ in the final position:

kampu	[kám.pu]	'camp'
espiritu	[es.pí.ri.tu]	'spirit'
gubiernu	[gub.yér.nu]	'government'
husgadu	[hus.gá.du]	'jury'
infiernu	[?in.fiyér.nu]	'hell'
insensu	[?in.sén.su]	'incense'
interu	[?in.té.ru]	'entire'

On the other hand, the following words have retained their final vowel /o/:

baryo	[bár.yo]	'barrio'
bawtiso	[báw.ti.so]	'baptize'
disipulo	[di.sí:.pu.lo]	'disciple'
insulto	[in.súl:.to]	'insult'
milagro	[mi.lág:.ro]	'miracle'
paralitoko	[pa.ra.lí.ti.ko]	'paralyzed'

The schwa sound /ə/ is produced in the mid-central part of the tongue. Note that Ibanag does not draw heavily on schwa sounds, as compared to Ilocano (cf. Vanoverbergh, 1955). To illustrate the difference of /ə/ from /a/, Bauza (1972) provides the following minimal pairs[2]:

lappag	[lap.pəg]	'slap'
lappag	[lap.pág]	'swelling'
abbag	[?ab.bəg]	'crosswise'
abbag	[?ab.bág]	'the other side'

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[1] Special thanks go to one of my informants - Ms. Benjamina Quilang, a member of the Translation Committee for the Ibanag Bible. The project was under the auspices of Philippine Bible Society, Manila, Philippines.

[2] Present-day speakers do not recognize the distinction of these minimal pairs. Apparently, such occurrence is true among the older generation only.

bannag	[ban.nəg]	'numbness'
bannag	[ban.nág]	'tiredness'
kannag	[kan.nəg]	'thickness'
kannag	[kan.nág]	'scab over a wound'

2.3 The diphthongs

Bauza (1972) contends that there are six diphthongs in Ibanag, namely the high front /iy/, the mid front /ey/, the low central front /aw/, the low central back /ay/, the mid back /oy/ and the high back /uw/. However, only two of these identified diphthongs are apparent in the current observation and analysis of the language. These are the /aw/ and the /ay/, respectively.

lappaw	[lap.páw]	'flower'
sitaw	[si.táw]	'where'
furaw	[fu.ráw]	'white'
poray	[pó.ray]	'anger'
nalelay	[na.lé.lay]	'withered'
tolay	[tó.lay]	'person'

The occurrence of the diphthongs /iy/. /ey/, and /uw/ is probably evident in loanwords but not in native words.

2.4 Stress

The pattern of stress in Ibanag is sometimes unpredictable. Primary and secondary stress is usually true for polysyllabic words.

Stress falls on the last syllable if the penultimate syllable is closed, i.e. the last vowel is preceded by two consonants or a consonant followed by a glottal stop. The following examples illustrate stress on the final syllable.

amang	[?a.máŋ]	'ghost'
awan	[?a.wán]	'none'
dakal	[da.kál]	'big'
ayong	[?a.yóŋ]	'monkey'
dagun	[da.gún]	'year'
bitun	[bi.tún]	'star'

Open penultimate syllable usually gets the stress. The vowels may or may not get the glottal stop mark. Consider the following examples.

tappe	[t a p.p ê]	'pat'
gabi	[g a.b í]	'night'
futu	[f u.t û]	'heart'
avu	[? a.v û]	'hair'
daga	[d á.g a]	'blood'
dana	[d á.n a]	'old'
kallo	[k á l:.l ô]	'mercy'

2.5 The consonants

Consonants are classified according to point of articulation and manner of articulation. There are 19 identified consonant sounds in Ibanag, among these are /f/, /v/, /z/, and /j/. As opposed to some Philippine type languages where these consonants only appear in borrowed words, just like in Hiligaynon (Wolfenden 1971), Ibanag uses these consonants heavily in their native words. The table below summarizes the Ibanag consonants.

Table 2.2. Phonemic consonant chart of Ibanag

Consonant Class	Labial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveo-lar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops (voiceless)	/p/		/t/			/k/	/?/
Stops (voiced)	/b/		/d/			/g/	
Nasal (voiced)	/m/		/n/			/ŋ/	
Fricative (voiceless)		/f/		/s/			/h/
Fricative (voiced)		/v/		/z/			
Affricate (voiceless)				/ch/			
Affricate (voiced)				/j/			
Lateral (voiced)				/l/			
Trill (voiced)				/r/			
Glide (voiced)					/y/	/w/	

2.5.1 The stops

Stops are produced by blocking the air flow then releasing it afterwards. Based on place of articulation and voicing, stops can be further classified into four: bilabial, dental, velar, and glottal. Voiceless stops are those that are not articulated with aspiration (a puff or air) in syllable initial position. As syllable codas (final consonant of the syllable), they are usually unreleased, not articulated with full force.

2.5.1.1 Bilabial stops

Just like in English, Ibanag bilabial stops are composed of the voiceless /p/ the voiced /b/. Some examples are presented below.

apan	[ʔá.pan]	'get'
apape	[ʔa.pa:.pê]	'bitter gourd'
dupo	[du.pô]	'banana'
kapilya	[ka.píl:.ya]	'chapel'
pasiran	[pa.si.rán]	'shame'
passil	[pas.síl]	'envy'
begal	[bé:.gal]	'goiter'
bida	[bí:.da]	'story'
abbay	[ʔab.báy]	'female carabao'
ubó	[ʔú:.bô]	'buttocks'
kabibi	[ka.bí:.bi]	'clam'
mabisin	[ma.bi.sín]	'hungry'

2.5.1.2 Dental stops

The dental stops are the voiceless /t/ and the voiced /d/. These are produced with the tip of the tongue touching the teeth. One notable feature of Ibanag phonology is that the voiceless /t/ never occurs in the final position.

itoli	[ʔi.tó:.li]	'return'
utun	[ʔu.tún]	'top'
tagetay	[ta.gé:.tay]	'comb'
tagaruli	[ta.ga:.rú.li]	'sin'
daping	[da:píng]	'dirt'
darulu	[da.rú:.lu]	'spinal cord'
duddugan	[dud:ʔdu:gán]	'stab'
maddulo	[mad:dú:lo]	'welcome/come in'

2.5.1.3 Velar stops

The velar stops in Ibanag are the voiceless /k/ and the voiced /g/. They are never aspirated, and in final position are usually unreleased. Because of their phonological affinity, these two velar stops are often used interchangeably, especially in oral register. In addition, since Ibanag and Itawes are both spoken in Cagayan Valley (and are 69% intelligible, as reported by Gordon, 2005), the /k/ - /g/ dichotomy is often the distinguishing factor. Older generation Ibanag speakers contend that the voiced /g/ is an Ibanag feature while the voiceless /k/ is attributed to Itawes. Others, however, say otherwise. This study maintains that /g/ is attributed to Ibanag and /k/ to Itawes. One informant emphasizes that the language is Ibanag and not Ibanak. I surmise that the discrepancy is purely phonological, that is, speakers tend to omit the final consonant thus resulting in /k/. Consider the following examples.

Table 2.3. The /k/ - /g/ distinction between Ibanag and Itawes[3].

Ibanag	Itawes	Gloss
afug	afuk	'lime'
bitug	bituk	'a hit at the back'
lidag	lidak	'edible snail'
mattalebag	mattalebak	'pass by'
talakag	talakak	'lazy'

kofun	[ʔkó:.fun]	'friend'
talakag	[ta.la.kág]	'lazy'
pakul	[pa.kúl]	'ladle'
makkulle	[mak:.kul.lé]	'to shout'
likuk	[li.kúk]	'back'
galo	[ga.lô]	'laugh'
garsib	[gar:.síb]	'scissors'
kagi	[ka.gî]	'say'
kageg	[ka.gég]	'broom'
iggo	[ʔig.gô]	'tighten'
talebag	[ta.lé:.bag]	'pass by'
ikirug	[i.ki.rúg]	'to stir fry'

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[3] This information is supplied by Ms. Marita Iringan, well-versed in both Ibanag and Itawes.

2.5.1.4 Glottal stop

Another interesting feature of Ibanag is the preponderance of glottal stop /ʔ/ in the language. Rubino (1997) surmises that due to human anatomy constraints, glottal stops never occur voiced. Vowel-initial words in Ibanag have the glottal stop as their initial consonantal onset.

bagga	[b a g:g â]	'rice'
appa	[a p:.p â ʔ]	'four'
galu	[g a.l û]	'rope'
galo	[g a.l ô]	'laugh'
gare	[g a.r ê]	'adverbial particle'

To distinguish the glottal stop phoneme from the glottal stop morpheme, the latter is marked ('). There is only one morpheme that is represented by the glottal stop mark, that is the first person singular ergative and genitive *ku.* This morpheme becomes a glottal stop when it precedes a word with a vowel final sound (see chapter 5 – Pronominals for the discussion of this phenomenon). Some examples are provided below:

yama	+ ku	=	yama=k	=	yama'	'my father'
takki	+ ku	=	takki=k	=	takki'	'my feet'
nobio	+ ku	=	nobio=k	=	nobio'	'my boyfriend'

In some cases of o-ending words, the morpheme *ku* is retained.

bikô ku	=	*biko=k	;	*biko'	'my side'
dekô ku	=	*deko=k	;	*deko'	'my delicacy'

2.5.2 The fricatives

Ibanag has one native voiceless alveolar fricative [s], and a non-native glottal fricative [h]. It has been observed that /h/ is not a typical Ibanag phoneme.

The voiceless alveolar fricative is pronounced like the *s* in `soda`. Like the stops, it may geminate in certain environments:

sikaw	[si.káw]	'you'
suddalu	[sud.dá.lu]	'soldier'
sintu	[sin.tú]	'fist-fight'
bussi	[bus.sí]	'pregnant'
mabisin	[ma.bi.sín]	'hungry'
polbus	[pol:.bús]	'powder'
kurus	[ku..rús]	'cross'

One interesting feature of the Ibanag phonology is the propensity towards the voiced alveolar fricative /z/. When derivational prefixes undergo consonant change, the /z/ is utilized (cf. section 2.3.4 of this chapter). Note that this phenomenon is not a proto-Austronesian characteristic. This fricative however never occurs in the final position.

zibbo	[zib:.bô]	'darkness'
zila	[zi.lá]	'tongue'
zipping	[zí:.piŋ]	'twins'
tazzi	[taz.zí]	'condemnation'
zizzilan	[zíz:.zi.lan]	'to lick'
zizzing	[zíz:.ziŋ]	'wall'
gazzing	[gaz.zíŋ]	'goat'
maganazzing	[ma.ga.naz:. zíŋ]	'afraid'

Before the glide [y] or its counterpart (vowel *i* followed by another vowel), the fricative /s/ palatalizes to [sh]:

siémpre	[shem.pre]	'of course'
nasion	[nashón]	'country'
ísyu	[í:.shu]	'issue'

Conant (1908) argues that the labio-dental fricative /f/ in English becomes a pure labial fricative in Ibanag, as in *futu* [fu.tû] 'heart'. This phenomenon, however, is denied by present-day Ibanag speakers. They claim that the fricative /f/ in *fugak* 'afternoon' is the same as the fricative /f/ in 'feather. The fricative /f/ does not occur as a final consonant.

fun	[fún]	'root; stem'
fungan	[fu.ŋán]	'pillow'
futag	[fú.tag]	'umbilical cord'
afi	[ʔa.fí]	'fire'
daffug	[daf.fúg]	'male carabao'
afafu	[ʔa.fá.fu]	'drizzle'

The labio-dental fricative /v/, like the alveo-dental /z/, is also dominant in Ibanag phonology. It does not occur in final position, too.

vulavuga	[vu.la.vu.gâ]	'nothing'
vuling	[vu.líŋ]	'blind'
vukig	[vukíg]	'horizon'
davvun	[dav:vún]	'earth'
gavva	[gav:vâ]	'suddenly'
tuvvug	[tuv:.vûg]	'connection'
ikivvu	[i.kiv:.vú]	'mix'
uvovug	[u.vó.vug]	'talk'

The glottal fricative [h] is apparently not evident in Ibanag. If it does, they are usually loanwords from languages like Spanish, as shown by the few examples provided.

húsi	[hú:.si]	'fabric' (fr. pineapple)
espeho	[?es.pé:.ho]	'mirror'

2.5.3 The affricates

Although there are no native affricate phonemes in Ibanag, they do occur in the language as a result of palatalization in certain phonological environments, or in foreign language borrowings.

The voiced alveo-palatal affricate /j/ is exhibited in Ibanag, unlike other Philippine-type languages. This voiced affricate is produced like the English `j' in `juice'. The /j/ is represented in the orthography by `dy' or `di + a vowel.'

badyu	[ba.jú]	'storm'
Dios	[jós]	'God'
dyaket	[já.key]	'jacket'

2.5.4 The liquids

The liquid consonant/l/ is pronounced as a dental lateral in all environments. It does not have a velarized variant like the English `l' in syllable final position.

lallaki	[lal.lá:.ki]	'boys'
kallab	[kal.láb]	'lid'
kallua	[kal.luá]	'pot hanger'
dakal	[da.ká]	'big'
nagadal	[na.gá:.dal]	'studied'

2.5.5 The trill

The consonant /r/, is labeled 'trilled' here as opposed to retroflex in English since it resembles more the *'rr'* in mirror than the *'r'* in Spanish 'araña' (Rubino, 1997).

riku	[ri.kú]	'wealth'
renu	[ré:.nu]	'cleanliness'
marake	[ma.rá:ke?]	'bad'
annaran	[an.ná.ran]	'strainer'
dompar	[dom:pár]	'hit'
altar	[?al.tár]	'altar'

2.5.6 The glides

Ibanag has two glides, /w/ and /y/. Both may appear in onset or coda position. The labio-velar glide /w/ is formed with rounded lips and some obstruction at the velar part of the mouth.

wagi	[wa.gî]	'sibling'
watay	[wá.tay]	'ax'
kawe	[ka.wê]	'human waste'
nawawan	[na.wá:.wan]	'lost'
nanaw	[na.náw]	'left'
taw	[táw]	'here'
sitaw	[si.táw]	'where'

The palatal glide /y/ is pronounced in Ibanag in the same manner as the `*y*' in English `yes.' Also, this is the consonant counterpart of the high front vowel `*i*.'

yena	[yé.na]	'mother'
yatun	[yá.tun]	'that'
laya	[la.yá]	'ginger'

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paggayaman	[pag.ga.yá:man]	'playground'
gayang	[gá:.yang]	'crow'
nalelay	[na.lé.lay]	'withered'
darelay	[da.ré.lay]	'hook'

2.5.7 The nasals

Ibanag, as most Philippine languages do, has three nasal consonants: /m/, /n/, and /ng/. All these are voiced.

The bilabial nasal /m/ is produced by closing the air stream at the lips.

makua	[mak:.uâ]	'work'
mape	[ma.pê]	'bitter'
umay	[?u.máy]	'to come'
amá	[?a.má]	'father'

The dental nasal [n] is produced by obstructing the airflow in the mouth and the tongue pressing the upper teeth, or the alveolar ridge slightly behind the upper teeth.

navuyu	[na.vu.yû]	'odorous'
nawag	[ná:.wag]	'light'
lannaw	[lan.náw]	'fresh'
innagan	[?in.nág:.an]	'to wait'
supan	[su.pán]	'blow'
lubban	[lub.bán]	'pomelo'

The velar nasal [ng] is formed by obstructing the airflow in the mouth at the velum. It is equivalent to the English `ng' in `sing.' The velar nasal may appear in syllable initial position.

ngila	[ŋí:.la]	'yellow'
ngisi	[ŋi:.sî]	'black'
ngamin	[ŋá:.min]	'all'
mangi	[ma.ŋî]	'corn'
mangga	[máŋ.ga]	'mango'
nasingngo	[na.siŋ:.ŋô]	'delicious'
naraping	[na.ra.píŋ]	'dirty'

2.6 Consonant germination

Consonant gemination is probably the most dominant characteristic of Ibanag phonology and morphology. This phenomenon is also evident in proper nouns such as names and places in Cagayan. Consider the following examples:

Proper names: Bassig
                   Taccad
                   Macasaddu
                   Macarubbo
                   Tattao

Places: Cataggamman
                   Annafunan
                   Dummon
                   Gammad
                   Lallo

Consonant gemination is very evident even in root words.

babbak   -   'to pound'
bagga   -   'rice'
daddu   -   'feather'
kuttu   -   'hurriedly'
gaggal   -   'saw'
barukku   -   'neckerchief'
davvun   -   'earth'

Consonants /k/, /t/, /d/, /m/, or /n/ usually geminate as a result of encliticization:

(2.1)   Babbakam=mu   yaw.
        babbak- an=mu   yaw
        pound-PAT=ERG.2s   DEM/PROX

        '(You) pound this.'

(2.2)   Appak=ku   yatun.
         apan=ku   yatun
         get=ERG.1s   DEM/MED

        'I will get that.'

(2.3) Gafutan=na.
      gafut-an=na
      catch-PAT=ERG.3s

      'S/he will catch.'

(2.4) Agaladda   yayya.
      agal-an=da   yayya
      call-PAT=da   ABS.3s

      'They will call him/her.'

As Rubino (1997) observes, consonant gemination also transcends prefix boundaries. Whittle and Lusted (1963) call this process 'sandhi' in Atta. Brandes and Sheerer (1927-28) also use the same term in their study. For purposes of clarity, the assimilation of the initial consonant of the root to the final consonant of the prefix is termed here as consonant gemination still.

mattura	=	mag	+	tura	'to write'
mazzigu	=	mag	+	zigu	'to bathe'
makkoko	=	mag	+	koko	'to steal'
pallutu	=	pag	+	lutu	'for cooking'
nabbabbal	=	nag	+	babbal	'washed'
ipaffutu	=	ipag	+	futu	'put in one's heart'

2.7 Sandhi

As earlier mentioned, sandhi refers to the assimilation of sounds at juncture. In Ibanag, assimilation sometimes results in the deletion of some phonemes. This process is then called 'sandhi' in this study.

In the case of *tangabbalay* 'one house', for instance, the string '*dday*' is eventually omitted and the *b* assimilates with *nga.*

tangabbalay 'one house' =   tadday nga balay

2.8 Summary

In this chapter, the phonology of Ibanag is described. As explained, Ibanag has six vowel phonemes, nineteen consonant phonemes, and three diphthongs. Native words are provided to exemplify the vowel, consonant, and diphthong sounds. Stress, as well as the phonological process of consonant gemination and sandhi, is also exemplified.

Having explained the phonology of Ibanag, the discussion on morphology follows.

Chapter 3
MORPHOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

Whittle and Lusted (1963) report that Ibanag is mutually intelligible with Atta in the same manner that Itawes is. In fact, Ibanag share some morphological resemblance also with other members of the Northern Cordilleran group like Atta (cf. Whittle and Lusted, 1963), Yogad (cf. Davis, Baker, Spitz, & Baek ,1998) and Agta (cf. Healey, 1960). Some examples are presented below.

Table 3.1. Ibanag-Agta comparison

Ibanag	Atta	Gloss
tolay	tolay	'person'
nadaping/naraping	naraping	'dirty'
dana	dan	'old'
bagga	bagga	'rice'
gigiammu	gigiammu	'knowledge'

Table 3.2. Ibanag-Yogad comparison

Ibanag	Yogad	Gloss
atawa	atawa	'spouse'
abbing	abbing	'child'
danum	danum	'water'
wagi	wagi	'sibling'
tolay	tolay	'person'

Table 3.3. Ibanag-Agta comparison

Ibanag	Agta	Gloss
takki	takki	'foot'
abbing	abbing	'child'
poray	poray	'anger'
tolay	toaly	'person'
dakal	dakal	'big'
bagga	baggat	'rice'
wagi	wagi	'sibling'
danum	danum	'water'
atawa	atawa	'spouse'
bilag	bilag	'sun'

There are also some morphological phenomena in Ibanag. The most prevalent are those presented below.

3.2 Vowel Loss

Bauza (1972) explains that vowel loss occurs when prefixes like *ma-* and *ipa-* are attached to base words that begin with the vowel a-.

```
ma-   +   ari    'remove'    =   mari      'to be removed'
ma-   +   awag 'need'        =   mawag     'needed'

ipa   +   alsa  'remove'     =   ipalsa    'to be removed'
ipa   +   ala   'get,fetch'  =   ipala     'to have something
                                             fetched'
```

3.3 Vowel Change

Vowel change in Ibanag is another distinct characteristic of the language. Such, however, is more evident in spoken register than in written. Throughout the study, sample utterances that exhibit vowel change come from the spoken data. On the

contrary, if the sample utterance comes from the written data, the morphological make-up of the word does not change.

There are two instances where vowel change is evident. First, when the prefixes *ma-* and *ipa-* are attached to a word base which begins with the vowel *i-*, the combination of *a-* and *i-* thus becomes *e-*.

ma-	+	itoli	'to return'	=	metoli	'to be returned'
ma-	+	illaw	'drunk'	=	mellaw	'to be drunk'
ipa-	+	ilig	'hone'	=	ipelig	'to have something honed, sharpened'
ipa-	+	ilabbe	'bring home'	=	ipelabbe	'to have something brought home'

Second, when the prefixes ma- and *ipa-* are attached to a word base which begins with the vowel u-, the combination of *a-* and *u-* becomes *o-*.

ma-	+	ulaw	'dizzy'	=	molaw	'to become dizzy'
ma-	+	uli	'change'	=	moli	'to be changed'
ipa-	+	ulug	'bring down'	=	ipolug	'have something brought down'
ipa-	+	ufu	'consume'	=	ipofu	'have something be consumed'

3.4 Diphthong Change

Aside from vowel change, diphthong change also occurs in Ibanag. Mr. Barreo explains that diphthong change is more evident in spoken register and among the younger generation. There are two instances where diphthong change occurs. First, when the first person ergative/genitive *–ku* encliticizes with nouns ending in diphthongs *–ay* and -*aw,* the diphthong *–ay* becomes *–e* and *–aw* become *–o*, respectively. The ergative/genitive pronoun therefore is dropped altogether. Note that the omission of the genitive is apparently delegated to the glottal stop of the final vowel. It should be noted that the mark (^) is for voiced glottal stop phoneme, whereas the mark (?) is for the voiceless glottal stop phoneme. Conversely, the mark (') encodes glottal stop

morpheme. Hence, the mark (') represents the morpheme *ku-* first person ergative/genitive enclitic.

Table 3.4. Diphthong –*ay* + *ku* change

Nouns with –ay endings	Gloss	With ERG/GEN.1s	With diphthong change	Gloss
blay	'house'	balay ku	bale'	'my house'
takay	'ride/car'	takay ku	take'	'my ride/car'
ipay	'put'	ipay ku	ipe'	'I will put.'
pattolay	'life'	pattolay ku	pattole'	'my life'

Similarly, when the first person genitive –*ku* is attached to nouns ending with diphthong –*aw,* the diphthong –*aw* becomes –*o* and the genitive pronoun *ku* is dropped. The vowel *o* here gets a glottal stop.

Table 3.5. Diphthong –*aw* + *ku* change

Nouns with –aw endings	Gloss	With ERG/GEN.1s	With diphthong change	Gloss
lappaw	'flower'	lappaw ku	lappo'	'my flower'
palataw	'bolo'	palataw ku	palato'	'my bolo'
kalussaw	'hate'	kalussaw ku	kalusso'	'I hate.'

Second, when the second person singular genitive *mu* is attached to nouns ending with the diphthong –*ay,* the said diphthong becomes –*e* and then the *u* in the genitive *mu* is dropped and the remaining *m* encliticizes with the base word, now ending in –*e.*

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Table 3.6. Diphthong –*ay* + *mu* change

Nouns with –ay endings	Gloss	With ERG/GEN.2s	With diphthong change	Gloss
balay	'house'	balay mu	balem	'your house'
takay	'ride/car'	takay mu	takem	'your ride/car'
ipay	'put'	ipay mu	ipem	'you put'
pattolay	'life'	pattolay mu	pattolem	'your life'

Similarly, when the genitive *mu* is attached to nouns ending with the diphthong -*aw*, the said diphthong becomes –*o,* and then the *u* in the genitive *mu* is dropped then the remaining *m* encliticizes with the base word, now ending in –*o.*

Table 3.7. Diphthong –*aw* + *mu* change

Nouns with –aw endings	Gloss	With ERG/GEN.2s	With diphthong change	Gloss
ballaw	'lap'	ballaw mu	ballom	'your lap'
gakaw	'breast'	gakaw mu	gakom	'your breast'
lappaw	'flower'	lappaw mu	lappom	'your flower'

3.5 Consonant Change

The following are instances exhibit consonant change. First, when the verb infixes denoting completed action –*in-* and –*imin-* are affixed to word bases beginning with the consonant *t-,* the *t-* is replaced with the consonant *s-*, or at times –*z.* This phenomenon, as explained by the informants, usually happens in oral register.

| tabbag | 'reply' | + | -in- | = | sinabbag | 'answered' |
| tammi | 'hold' | + | -in- | = | sinammi | 'held' |

| tangi | 'cry' | + | -imin- | = | siminangi | 'cried' |
| tuttul | 'go after' | + | -imin- | = | siminuttul | 'followed' |

Second, when the infixes –ini and –imin- are attached to verbs beginning with the consonant *d-,* the *d-* becomes *z-.*

daga	'to pass for'	+	-in-	=	zinaga	'passed for'
daddag	'chase'	+	-in-	=	zinaddag	'chased'
dumaki	'to cross'	+	-imin-	=	ziminaki	'crossed'
dumakal	'to grow'	+	-imin-	=	ziminakal	'grew'

Third, when the adjective-forming affix *ma-* is attached to nouns beginning with the consonant *d-,* the *d-* becomes *r-.*

daping	'dirt'	+	ma-	=	maraping	'dirty'
dakay	'evil'	+	ma-	=	marakay	'bad/evil'
dammo	'weight'	+	ma-	=	marammo	'heavy'

Fourth, when the suffix –an is attached to the word base ending with the consonant –g, the –g becomes –b. However, if the vowel that precedes the –g is e, the consonant –g can either become –r or it may remain unchanged.

gattag	'soak'	+	-an	=	gattaban	'to soak'
kattab	'cut'	+	-an	=	katabban	'to cut'
aleg	'seek'	+	-an	=	alegan/aleran	'to seek'
kageg	'sweep'	+	-an	=	kagegan/kageran	'to sweep'

3.6 Metathesis

Metathesis refers to the reversal of two sounds or letters in a word, either as a result of mispronunciation or as a historical development. Ibanag also shows evidence of this linguistic phenomenon.

Consider the case of *nipepatay* 'caused to be killed'. The derivation comes from the root *patay* 'kill' and is prefixed with the causative affix *ipa* in its perfective form, *ipina*. The derivation would have been ipinapatay; but with metathesis, it has become *nipepatay,* as illustrated below:

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nipepatay   =   ipa (-in-) + patay   =   ipinapatay

3.7 Reduplication

A very distinct characteristic of Austronesian languages in general, or Philippine-type languages in particular, is reduplication. Crystal (2000) defines reduplication as a morphological process that repeats some parts or patterns of a morpheme typically as a way of indicating something like repetitive or plural features. As Trask (1993) notes, reduplication is a common phenomenon in the languages of the world which has a variety of forms and which serves a variety of purposes. In Ibanag, reduplication is probably the most dominant and interesting feature. It occurs among nouns, adjectives, verbs, adverbs, and also numerals.   In addition, the wide range of reduplication suggests various meanings such as plurality, intensity, iterativity, frequency, limitation, among others.

Since the discussion of the various reduplication processes of nouns, adjectives, verbs, and other word classes are subsumed in their own chapters, a few examples of the reduplicated words are presented in separate tables below.

3.7.1 Nouns

Reduplication in nouns generally suggests plurality.   The reduplicant shape depends on the CV morphological make-up of the base word.   Below are some examples of reduplicated nouns.

Table 3.8. Reduplication in nouns

Base	Gloss	Reduplicated	Gloss
tolay	'person'	*to*tolay	'people'
balay	'house'	*bab*balay	'houses'
atawa	'spouse	*ata*-atawa	'spouses'

vukig	'land'	*vuki*-vukig	'lands'
tavvung	'offering'	*tavvu*-tavvung	'offerings'
gannug	'thing'	*ganna*-gannug	'things'
daddam	'grief'	*dadda*-raddam	'grief'
riga	'suffering'	*ziga*-riga	'sufferings'
laddug	'lie'	*ladda*-laddug	'lies'
gawayan	'health'	*gawa*-gawayan	'health'
pangngua	'act'	*pangua*-pangua	'acts'

3.7.2 Adjectives

Adjectives utilize reduplication to encode plurality, intensity, moderation, and superlativity. Some examples are presented below.

Table 3.9. Reduplication in adjectives

Base	**Gloss**	**Reduplicated**	**Gloss**
abbabba	'short'	abba*r*abba	'short (plural)'
baddi	'small'	ba*r*addi	'small (plural)'
kabbi	'pitiful'	*kak*kabbi	'very pitiful'
dakal	'big'	*daka*-dakal	'very big'
nakabbal	'thin'	na*kak*kabbal	'very thin'
nangisi	'black'	na*ngisi*-ngisi	'very black'
nasikan	'strong'	na*sika*-sikan	'very strong'

3.7.3 Verbs

Reduplication in verbs encodes the number of agents, iterativity of the action, and frequency of action. Some of the examples are presented below.

Table 3.10. Reduplication in verbs

Base	Gloss	Reduplicated	Gloss
sugal	'gamble'	nassu*ru*galadda	'place where they gambled'
bilaya	'divide'	nabbi*ri*llayad=da	'divided among themselves'
lakag	'walk'	nal*laka*-lakag	'keeps on walking'
levu	'go around'	mal*levu*-levu	'to go around'
galô	'laugh'	ni*gala*-galo	'laughed at'
talebag	'pass by'	nat*tale*-talebag	'kept on passing by'

3.7.4 Other lexical categories

Reduplication may also occur in adverbs. The process seems to suggest intensity and emphasis. Consider the few examples provided.

Table 3.11. Reduplication in Adverbs

Root	Gloss	Reduplicated	Gloss
aggaw	'day'	'*agga*-aggaw'	'very day (broad daylight'
gavva	'suddenly'	*gavva*-gavva	'then suddenly'
manawag	'clear'	*mana*-manawag	'very clearly'

Reduplication is also evident in numerals. It mainly encodes limitative meaning. Consider the examples below.

Table 3.12. Reduplication in Numerals

Root	Gloss	Reduplicated	Gloss
tadday	'one'	*tad*tadday	'only one'
appa	'four'	*ap*-appa	'only four'
lima	'five'	*limi*-lima	'only five'
annam	'six'	*an*-annam	'only six'

3.8 Summary

In this chapter, some important features of Ibanag morphology are explained. These are vowel loss, vowel change, diphthong change, consonant change, and metathesis. Likewise, the reduplication process that happens in some Ibanag lexical categories such as noun, adjective, verb, and other lexical categories such as adverbs and numerals, is also summarized. A more detailed description of the reduplication process is provided in the sections that follow.

Chapter 4

CLAUSE TYPES

4.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the different types of clauses that are evident in Ibanag. Accordingly, the basic constituent order, or what is traditionally called 'basic word order', of these clause types, is discussed.   Since subjects and objects are not usually single words, but sometimes phrases or even clauses, 'word order' is deemed inappropriate to use.   Hence, 'constituent order' is more encompassing.   As evident in the following examples in English, subjects can either be a single word, a phrase, or even a clause.:

    a. **James** is crazy.
    b. **My favorite student** is crazy.
    c. **That he prefers beauty over brains** is crazy.

Like in Ilocano (cf. Dita, 2006), Ibanag exhibits this feature, too.   Subjects, as well as objects, also appear in phrases and clauses, not just single words.   In the following examples, the predicates have the same structure: the single word adjectival m*apia* 'good'.   The subjects, however, come in different forms: (4.1) a single word demonstrative, (4.2) a genitive phrase, and (4.3) a nominal clause.   Hence, the term 'constituent' is deemed more appropriate to use than 'word'.

(4.1) Mapia **yaw**.
        good   DEM
        'This is good.'

(4.2) Mapia **i   wagi   na.**
        good   DET sibling GEN.3s
        'His/her sibling is good.'

(4.3) Mapia **nga   minay kamu   ngamin.**
        good   REL   came ABS.2pe all
        'That you all came is good.'   (lit., It is good that you all came.)

Appropriately, the term "basic constituent order" is used throughout this paper in describing the arrangement of subject (S), verb (V), and object (O).

Ibanag is basically a VSO language.   It employs a predicate-initial structure, especially in conversational register. However, it is also possible that the subject takes the initial position and a topic linker conjoins it with the predicate. This structure, though, is not a typical utterance.

There are two general types of clauses presented in this chapter: the non-verbal and the verbal. Non-verbal clauses have predicates that are either nominals, adjectivals, prepositionals, locatives or existentials. The verbal clauses, on the other hand, have finite verbs in their predicates.

4.2 Non-verbal clauses

One issue in the constituent order of some Philippine languages is the debate whether a copular verb exists. In Ilocano, for instance, *ket* is argued by Liao (2004) as a topic linker, which is supported by Dita (2006). Reid (1978), on the other hand, contends that *ket* is an inversion marker. The Tagalog counterpart of *ket* which is *ay* is also classified by Schachter and Otañes (1972) as an inversion marker.

In Ibanag, the form of what seems to be a copula verb is also *ay.* The use of *ay*, however, is now antiquated.   The translated version of the Bible uses *ay* heavily. Literary pieces and other religious texts also utilize *ay*.   Transcripts of taped conversations, dialogues, and interviews, however, show very minimal use of *ay.* Contemporary Ibanag seldom use *ay.* In this paper, I maintain that *ay* is a topic linker, and not an inversion marker. Consequently, the label TL is used throughout the paper. The following examples illustrate the use of *ay.* The *ay* in example (4.4) resembles the function of a copula verb; whereas the *ay* in (4.5) behaves more as a topic linker than a copula verb.

(4.4)   I   tolay   nga nazzigu **ay** ari   ngana   nga mawag
        DET person LIG bathed   TL   NEG already LIG necessary

```
tu      mabbaggaw  ta          marenu  ngana. (Juan 13:10)
DET     wash                   because clean    already
```

'Anyone who has taken a bath is completely clean and does not
have to wash himself.' (John 13:10)

(4.5)   I   sinni laman nga   magginna nikamu   **ay**
        DET   who only   LIG   listen   ABS.2s   TL

        magginna   niakan. (Lucas 10:16)
        listen   OBL.1s

'Whoever listens to you listens to me.'

As can be seen, examples (4.6) and (4.7) are introduced by *ay*. In these
sentences, *ay* apparently links the previous topic to the present one. The free
translation suggests that it does not behave as a copula verb. The noun clauses are
linked to their predicates by *ay*.

(4.6)   **Ay** kinagi ni   Jesus ta   babay, "Napakoma ngana   i
        TL   said PERS   Jesus OBL woman forgiven   already DET

        kataguriliam=mu ira. (Lucas 7:48)
        sins=GEN.2s   PLU

'Then Jesus said to the woman, "Your sins are already forgiven."'

(4.7)   **Ay** minay yaya   ta   interu nga   probinsia na
        TL   came   ABS.3s   LOC   entire LIG   province LIG

        Galilea nga nallayya-gayya ta   sinagoga
        Galilea LIG preaching   LOC   synagogue

        ira. (Marcos 1:39)
        PLU

'So he traveled all over Galleli preaching in the synagogues.'

```

Non-verbal clauses in Ibanag are headed by a constituent which does not belong to the category of verbs. There are five types of non-verbal clauses that are described here: nominal predicate (4.2.1), adjectival predicate (4.2.2), existential predicate (4.2.3), prepositional predicate (4.2.4) and locative predicate (4.2.5).

## 4.2.1 Nominal predicate clauses

The constituent order of nominal predicate clauses is that the predicate nominal takes the initial position and is preceded by the nominative complement which can either be a full NP or a pronominal.

There are four types of nominal predicate clauses that are distinguished here: classificational (4.2.1.1), identificational (4.2.1.2), quantificational (4.2.1.3) and possessive (4.2.1.4).

### 4.2.1.1 Classificational nominal clauses

Reid and Liao (2004) define classificational nominal clauses as "those that classify the entity expressed in the nominative phrase of the clause" (p. 436).  This kind of predicate nominal is usually a generic common noun which is either derived or bare. Also, classificational nominal predicates are neither introduced nor accompanied by any determiner.

(4.8)  **Babai**  i       anak=ku.
       girl    DET   child=GEN.1s
       'My child is a girl.'

(4.9)  **Aripan**[4]   i        kapitta'.
       servant   DET    cousin=GEN.1s
       'My cousin is a servant.'

(4.10) **Mannabaku**   si      yena'.
       smoker          PERS   mother=GEN.1s
       'My mother is a smoker.'

(4.11) **Basikul**  i       ikan    mi.
       snail     DET   viand   GEN.3p
       'Our viand is snail.'

---

[4] Dr. Mary Cusipag notes that this term is rather antiquated.

The nominal complement may also be expressed by a pronoun, either a free pronoun or a bound pronoun which encliticizes with the predicate.

> (4.12) Minalladdug **yayya**
> liar             ABS.3s
> 'He/She is a liar.'

> (4.13) Mestra=**na'**.
> teacher=ABS.1s
> 'I am a teacher.'

> (4.14) Itawes **ira**.
> Itawes   ABS.3p
> 'They are Itawes.'

## 4.2.1.2 Identificational nominal clauses

Identificational nominal clauses specifically identify those in the nominative noun phrases. If classificational nominals are common nouns, identificational nominals are specific nominals. There are various forms of identificational nominals. Examples (4.15) and (4.16) are personal nouns. Title terms may also accompany personal nouns, as in *Manang* 'older sister' in (4.15) or the personal determiner *si*, as in (4.16).

> (4.15) **Si    Manang Goring** i    bagu nga kapitan mi.
> DET  HON    Goring DET  new  LIG captain GEN.3p
> '*Manang* Goring is our new captain.'

> (4.16) **Si    Baldo** i     nellawan.
> DET  Balso DET   went.out
> 'It was Baldo who went out.'

An independent personal pronoun can also be a predicate in an identificational nominal clause, as in the following examples:

> (4.17) **Sakan** i     kimminan ta    dupo'.
> ABS.1s DET   ate      OBL   banana
> 'I was the one who ate the banana.'

(4.18) **Ben**  yayya.
       Ben   ABS.3s
       'He is Ben.'


Examples (4.19) and (4.20) have specific names of places as predicates.

(4.19) **Cataggamman** i     baryo   da.
       Cataggamman   DET barrio  GEN.3p
       'Their barrio is Cataggamman.'

(4.20) **Tuguegarao** i     kakastan      nga ili    ta   Cagayan.
       Tuguegarao  DET  most.beautiful LIG town  OBL  Cagayan
       'The most beautiful town in Cagayan is Tuguegarao.'


Finally, a demonstrative phrase can also function as predicate in an
identificational nominal clause, as in (4.21).


(4.21) **Yari**  laman i     masingan  nu      tari.
       that   only  DET  see          ABS.2s  there
       'That's all that you can see there.'


### 4.2.1.3  Quantificational  nominal clauses

In this kind of clause, the predicate is a quantification term, usually a numeral,
which quantifies the entity expressed by the nominative complement.


(4.22) **Annam**  ngamin i     aná   na.
       six        all     DET child GEN.3s
       'She has six children in all.'

(4.23) **Tadtadday** laman i      nasingak=ku  nga  kitaw.
       only.one    only  DET  saw=ERG.1s LIG  cat
       'I saw only one cat.'


Measurement expressions may also be used as quantificational nominals.

(4.24) **Tallu kilometro**   i     nilakak=ku.
       three kilometers   DET  walked=ERG.1s
       'I walked three kilometers.'


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(4.25) **Duagatu** i nepaga'.
two.hundred DET paid=ERG.1s
'I paid two hundred (pesos).'

(4.26) **Tanga-*caltex*[5]** i kiniddaw ku.
one.*caltex* DET asked ERG.1s
'I asked for one liter.'


Quantification terms may also include clock time numerals, as in (4.27) and (4.28).


(4.27) **Alas-siyete** i klase'.
seven.o'clock DET class=GEN.1s
'My class is at seven o'clock.'

(4.28) **Alas-diyes** yari kasal.
ten.o'clock DEM wedding.
'The wedding is at ten o'clock.'


### 4.2.1.4 Possessive nominal clauses

Possessive nominal predicates either contain a genitive, as in (4.29) and (4.30); a possessive pronoun, as in (4.31) and (4.32); or a locatively-marked noun phrase which is the possessor in predicate position, as in (4.33) and (4.34). Note that genitive first person singular may not be overtly spelled. A glottal stop (') is used to mark the case instead.


(4.29) Yayya i **karruba'.**
ABS.3s DET neighbor=GEN.1s
'He/She is my neighbor.'

(4.30) Yari i **bale'**.
DEM DET house=GEN1s
'That is my house.'

(4.31) **Kuak** yatun.
mine that
'That is mine.'

---

[5] Caltex here refers to the container of lube oil with a brand name of Caltex

(4.32) **Kuam**  ngamin  yaw.
    yours   all     this
    'These are all yours.'

(4.33) **Kanni  kako**        yaw   akkageg.
    OBL    grandmother   this   broom
    'This broom is grandmother's.'

(4.34) **Ta    wagi'**          yaw   nga   litratu.
    LOC   sibling=GEN.1s   this  LIG   picture
    'This picture is my sibling's.'

## 4.2.2  Adjectival clauses

In keeping with the discussion in chapter 6, I conjecture that Ibanag has a lexical category called 'adjectives'.  Hence, adjectival clauses constitute a classification of non-verbal clauses.  Predicates of adjectival clauses either exhibit a bare or unaffixed adjective or a derived or affixed one.  In this section, there are two kinds of adjectival predicates that are distinguished: qualificational and comparative adjectivals.

### 4.2.2.1  Qualificational adjectival clauses

Qualificational adjectives basically describe the nominal subjects  (See chapter 6 for further discussion of adjectival).  The following examples illustrate how adjectival predicates 'qualify' the NPs.  Examples (3.35), (3.36), and (3.37) exhibit bare or unaffixed adjectival predicates, whereas examples (3.38) and (3.39) exhibit affixed or derived adjectives.

(4.35) **Uzzin**   i      sinnun na.
    red     DET  shirt    GEN.3s
    'His/her shirt is red.'

(4.36) **Apiddu**  yari   kurtina  da.
    long      DEM  curtain  GEN.3p
    'Their curtain is long.'

(4.37) **Nasippo**  i      ana'  ku.
    good/nice  DET   child   GEN.1s
    'My child is good/nice.'

(4.38) **Nasiksikan** paga i    ama'.
       very.strong  still  DET father=GEN.1s
       'My father is still very strong.'


### 4.2.2.2 Comparative adjectival clauses

This type of clause presents a comparison of two or more entities or parties.  As discussed in chapter 6, there are three degrees of gradation in Ibanag: the comparative, the moderate, and the superlative.  What will be presented here, however, will only be the comparative and the superlative as they express comparison between and among entities. These are exemplified below.

(4.39) **Mas    nasippo** i    probinsiyana       ira    anne
       COMP  virtuous  DET  one.from.province  PLU   than

       ta    Manilenya.
       OBL   one.from.Manila

'Women from the province are more virtuous than those from Manila.'


(4.40) Si    Maria  i    **kalappatan**       nga babay    taw
       PER  Maria  DET  most.industrious  LIG  woman   here

       ta      baryo  tam.
       OBL   barrio  GEN.1pi

'Maria is the most industrious woman in our barrio.'


## 4.2.3 Existential predicate clause

Existential clauses may either express the existence of something or express possession of something.  Both classifications also have their negative counterparts. The first three examples show existence and their negative counterparts, whereas the next three examples show possession and their negative counterparts.


(4.41) **Egga** nangisi nga  bavi tari.
       EXI   black   LIG  pig   there
       'There is a black pig there.'


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(4.42) **Egga** tolay  nga tadday laman i  takki na.
EXI  person LIG one  only DET foot GEN.3s
'There is a person who has one leg only.'

(4.43) **Awat**  tu  tolay  nga tallu  i  takki na.
NEG.EXI PAR person LIG three DET foot GEN.3s
'No person has three feet.'

(4.44) **Egga** bingal  da  dua.
EXI  grudge GEN.3p two
'They have grudge (on each other).'

(4.45) **Egga** bigag  na.
EXI  wound GEN.3s
'He/She has a wound.'

(4.46) **Awat**=tu  bigag  na.
NEG.EXI=PAR  wound GEN.3s
'He/She has no wound.'

## 4.2.4 Prepositional predicate clauses

Prepositional phrases in Ibanag are generally used to show purpose or beneficiary, since directional or locatives are considered locative predicates. Unlike English which exhibits a rather complicated prepositional system, Philippine-type languages, Ibanag included, use simple, often generic, prepositions. Benefactive roles are often signaled by the preposition *para* 'for', as in (4.47) and (4.48).

(4.47) **Para nikaw**  i  futu'.
for  OBL.2s DET  heart=GEN.1s
'My heart is for you.'

(4.48) **Para ta  atawa'**  yaw  sigarilyu
for  LOC spouse=GEN.1s DEM cigarette
'This cigarette is for my spouse.'

## 4.2.5 Locative clauses

There are two possible structures of the predicate of a locative clause: one is a full locative phrase and the other is a deictic pronoun. Note that full locative phrases

are introduced by the locative particle *ta*. Additionally, locative phrases can be a specific name of a place, as in (4.49) and (4.50), or spatial location, as in (4.51) and (4.52). Directional and locative predicates are exemplified in (4.53), (4.54), and (4.55).

(4.49) **Ta Cagayan** ira nageskwela.
OBL Cgayan PLU studied
'They studied in Cagayan.'

(4.50) **Ta Manila** yayya neyana'.
OBL Manila ABS.3s born
'S/he was born in Manila.'

(4.51) **Ta arubang mi** i bale da.
OBL front GEN.1p DET house GEN.3p
'Their house is in front of us.'

(4.52) **Ta biko' ku** yayya nagitubang.
OBL side=GEN.1s ABS.3s sat
'S/he sat beside me.'

(4.53) **Ta lawan** kami nabbayle.
OBL outside ABS.1p danced
'We danced outside.'

(4.54) **Ta utun** yayya nakkaturug.
OBL up ABS.3s slept.
'He/She slept upstairs.'

Deictic pronouns used as locatives are illustrated in examples (4.55) and (4.56).

(4.55) **Taw tam** ngana kuman.
here ABS.1pi just eat.
'We will just eat here.'

(4.56) **Tari ira** nassimmû.
there ABS.3p met
'They met there.'

Full locative phrases can also be introduced by a deictic pronoun for purposes of emphasis.

(4.57) **Tari ta Cabagan** ira minay.
      there OBL Cabagan ABS.3p went
      'They went there in Cabagan.'

(4.58) **Taw ta eskwela** na' namisag.
      here OBL school ABS. 1s urinated
      'I urinated here in school.'

(4.59) **Tari ta lawan** ira nakkarela.
      there OBL outside ABS.3p ran
      'They ran there, outside.'

## *4.3 Verbal clauses*

Verbal clauses are clauses headed by verbs occupying the initial position of a sentence. The aspects of the verbs are denoted by the highly complex affixes of Ibanag. There are two types of verbal construction presented here: the intransitive and transitive constructions.

There have been various interpretations on the transitivity of verbs cross-linguistically. As for English, transitivity is determined by the number of the complement. For example, Wardhaugh (2001) classifies verbs as intransitive, monotransitive, ditransitive, and complex transitive. Transitivity here is determined by the number of the complements where intransitive means there is no complement, monotransitive has one, ditransitive has two, and complex transitive has two where one is objective complement. Philippine-type verbs are analyzed differently. As Reid and Liao (2004) argue, what determines the transitivity of a verb is the type of the complement, not the number of the complement. Similarly, Ruffolo (2004) stresses that "complements determine the transitivity of a verb" (p. 409). In this paper, transitivity, likewise, is determined through the type of complements.

If transitivity has to do with the type of complement the verb takes, valency, on the other hand, has to do with the number of arguments that a verb takes. Dixon and Aikhenvald (2000) distinguish core from peripheral arguments. In their view, the occurrence of core arguments is determined by the head of the clause, whereas, the occurrence of peripheral arguments (or adjuncts in this paper) is less dependent on the

kind of the head of the clause.  Peripheral arguments or adjuncts are those that indicate the place, time, frequency, reason, purpose, and so on.  As is their nature, they are optionally included in the clause.

Verbal clauses in Ibanag are either intransitive or transitive.  The valency of both intransitive and transitive may also vary.  These are discussed below.

## 4.3.1  Intransitive construction

In Ibanag, intransitive constructions can have two types of valency.  These are referred to here as monovalent (also monadic) intransitive and bivalent or divalent (also dyadic)  intransitive.   In  addition,  ambient  clauses  are  considered  semantically intransitive.  These are the types of intransitives that are not marked for valency.

### 4.3.1.1  Ambient clauses

Ambient clauses do not exhibit core arguments.  These are the semantically intransitive clauses since they refer to a temporal state.  As Gonzalez (1970) describes, such a state is specified as ambient and requires no accompanying noun.  Some examples are presented below.


(4.60) **Magguran**.
IMP- rain
'It's raining.'

(4.61) **Nabbadyu**.
PERF- storm
'It stormed.'

(4.62) **Nappadda**-**paddak**.
PERF- ITER- wind
'The wind keeps on blowing (lit. It winds).'


### 4.3.1.2  Monovalent (monadic) intransitive

In this construction, there is only one core argument.  This argument is therefore the  actor  or  expereincer  in  the  clause,  except  for  ambient  clauses.   Note  that  core arguments  are  not  limited  to  NP  only;  hence,  pronominals  are  also  regarded  as  NPs

here. The core arguments in monovalent intransitives are encoded by the absolutive case (**ABS**), for both pronominals and nominal markers.

Adjuncts of time, place, and manner may appear after the NP complement. In the following examples, (4.63) and (4.64) exhibit noun NPs without adjuncts after them, while (4.65) and (4.66) have pronominal NPs with adjuncts after them, and (4.67) has a locative adjunct after the NP.

(4.63) Nanaddag **i** **abbing**.
stood.up **ABS** child
'The child stood up.' (Tsuchida et al. 1989:37)

(4.64) Naddama **i** **kitu anna kitaw**.
quarreled **ABS** dog and cat
'The dog and cat quarreled." (Tsuchida et al. 1989:46)

(4.65) Nakkarela **na'** nga insigida.
ran **ABS.1s** LIG right.away
'I ran right away.'

(4.66) Manaw **kami** sonu umma.
leave **ABS.1pe** FUT tomorrow
'We will leave tomorrow.' (Tsuchida et al. 1989:87)

(4.67) Nabbayle-bayle **ira** ta lawan na balay.
ITER-dance ABS.3p OBL outside LIG house
'They kept on dancing outside the house.'

### 4.3.1.3 bivalent/divalent (dyadic) intransitive

Ibanag intransitives can have two nominal complements: one is the actor/experiencer and the other is the theme or patient. Theme, according to Trask (1993), refers to an NP expressing an entity which is in a state or a location or which is undergoing a motion. This entity is always non-human, either animate or inanimate. Patient, on the other hand, has the same role as theme but is human and/or animate. The actor in bivalent/divalent intransitive construction is case-marked as absolutive (ABS) and the theme as oblique (OBL). Note that this construction resembles the canonical transitive in English. As earlier established, what determines the transitivity of Philippine-type verbs (Ibanag included) is not the number of arguments but the type of

an argument. Since the theme is encoded here as an oblique, then it is not considered a core argument.

The two possible forms of nominal complement in this construction are a pronominal or a full NP.

*With an absolutive pronoun*

In this construction, there is only one core argument and this encoded by the absolutive pronoun. The themes, *barenghenas* 'eggplant' in (4.68), *bagga* 'rice' in (4.69) and *mangga* 'mango' in (4.70), are encoded by the oblique *ta* which means they are not core arguments.

> (4.68) Nagkoko **yayya**    ta    barenghenas ta    tienda.
>         stole    ABS.3s  OBL eggplant    OBL  store
>         'S/he stole an eggplant from the store.'

> (4.69) Gumatak=**ka**    ta     bagga.
>         buy=ABS.2s   OBL  rice
>         '(You) buy rice.'

> (4.70) Kuminan **ira**    ta    mangga.
>         ate      ABS.3s  OBL  mango
>         'They ate mango.'

*with an absolutive full NP*

Aside from free and bound pronominals, full NPs are typically actors in an intransitive verbal clause. Note that these NPs can be substituted by pronominals. The themes are again encoded by the oblique *ta.*

> (4.71) Nakkoko **yari**    **kofun ku**     ta    kitû.
>         stole     REC friend GEN.1s  OBL   dog
>         'My friend stole a dog.'

> (4.72) Nallutu **si**    **manang** ta    pinakbet.
>         cooked   DET  HON     OBL vegetable.recipe
>         'Manang cooked *pinakbet.'*

(4.73) Nangiyawa **yari presidente ta grupo** ta tura.
gave REC president OBL group OBL letter
'The president of the group gave a letter.'

## 4.3.2 Transitive construction

A canonical transitive in Ibanag requires two core arguments: one is the agent and the other is the patient. Note that patient here refers to human complements. Transitive constructions are either bivalent or divalent or triadic or trivalent. These are discussed in turn. The agent is case-marked as ERG whereas the patient as ABS.

### 4.3.2.1 bivalent/divalent (dyadic) transitive

Divalent or bivalent transitives exhibit two core arguments. The structure of the arguments could be full noun phrases or plainly pronominals. The agent is case-marked as ergative (ERG) and the patient as absolutive (ABS). If there are other NPs within the clause, they are case-marked as OBL. Examples of this construction are presented below.

*With two full NPs*

The two full NPs in the following constructions are the agents and the patients. Since the core arguments in this construction are full NPs, the nominal markers bear the ergative-absolutive case-marks. These nominal markers, as will be discussed in the next chapter, are either determiners or deictic pronouns.

(4.74) Inagalan **na yena'** **yari karpinteru.**
called **ERG** mother=GEN.1s **ABS** carpenter
'My mother called the carpenter.'

(4.75) Nasingan **na mestra i wagi'**.
saw ERG teacher ABS sibling=GEN.1s
'The teacher saw my sibling.'

(4.76) Nilappag **na bagitolay yari gwardiya**.
slapped **ERG** young.man **ABS** guard
'The young man slapped the guard.'

(4.77) Ari metabbo **na magana i ana na**. (P)

NEG throw **ERG** parent **ABS** child GEN.3s
'A parent can never disown his/her own child.'

(4.78) Pinakan **na maginganay i kitu'**
CAU- eat **ERG** maiden **ABS** dog=GEN.1s
'The maiden fed my dog.' (Tsuchida et al. 1989:63)

*With two pronominals*

To illustrate clearly the arguments, the nominal arguments above can be substituted by the pronominals. Compare, for instance, (4.76) with (4.79). Again, the agent is case-marked as ergative and the patient as absolutive.

(4.79) Nilappag **na yayya.**
slapped **ERG.3s ABS.3s**
'S/he slapped her/him.'

(4.80) Inagalan=**na sakan**.
called=**ERG.3s ABS.1s**
'S/he called me.'

(4.81) Iningan **na ira** ngamin. . . (Lucas 6:10)
looked **ERG.3s ABS.3p** all
'He looked at them all.'

*With pronominal ergative and full noun absolutive complements*

The core arguments may not be both full pronominals nor full NPs but a combination of the two. Here, the agent is a pronominal and the patient is a full NP.

(4.82) Gafutan **tam yari manu'.**
catch **ERG.2pi ABS** chicken
'Let us catch the chicken.'

(4.83) Gonggoran **nu** ngana **i kalderu ira**.
scour **ERG.2p** now **ABS** pot PLU
'(You) scour the pots now.'

(4.84) Ari m**u** kaddutan **i abbing.**

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NEG **ERG.2s** pinch      **ABS**    child
'(You) don't pinch the child.'

(4.85) Itoli**'**             labbi    **yaw garsig**.
        return=**ERG.1s** first    **ABS**     scissors
        'I will return first these scissors.'

*With full noun ergative and pronominal absolutive complements*

     The combination can be the other way around. This time, the agent is a full NP and the patient is a pronominal.

     (4.86) Inilimag    **na**       **bagitolay**      **yayya**.
              denied     **ERG** young.man     **ABS**.3s
              'The young man denied her.'

     (4.87) Kalussaw    **ni**     **Dencio**    **ira.**
              hate         **ERG** Dencio    **ABS**.3p
              'Dennis hates them.'

     (4.88) Tinuduan    **na**     **mestra**    **sakan.**
              taught       **ERG** teacher   **ABS**.1s
              'The teacher taught me.'

**4.3.2.2 trivalent (triadic) constructions**

     In this kind of construction, there are three core arguments, two of which are human, the agent and the benefactive, while the other can be non-human, the theme. The agent is encoded as ERG, the theme as ABS and the benefactive as OBL. It is also possible that the benefactive is introduced by the oblique *para* 'for'.

*With three full NPs*

     In the following examples, all arguments as full NPs; however, only the nominal markers are highlighted to illustrate the case-marks used.

(4.89) Iniyawa **ni    Pedro  yari** annusi **kanni**  Petra.
　　　 gave  **ERG** Peter **ABS** key  **OBL**  Petra
　　　 'Peter gave the key to Petra.'

(4.90) Nattura **ta**  berso **si**   Abo para **kanni** Keit.
　　　 wrote  **ABS** poem **ERG** Abo for  **OBL**  Keit
　　　 'Abo wrote a poem for keit.'

(4.91) Nelutuan  **na**  yena **i**  ana na  **ta**  adobo.
　　　 PERF- cook **ERG** mother **ABS** child GEN.3s **OBL** adobo
　　　 'The mother cooked *adobo*[6] for her child.'

*With two pronominals and a full NP*

　　In this construction, the agent and the benefactive are pronominals, whereas the theme is an NP.  Consider the examples below.

(4.92) Ivuvvu **mu**     yaw  danum **nyakan**.
　　　 pour  **ERG**.2s ABS water  **OBL**.1s
　　　 '(You) pour this water on me.'

(4.93) Itoli=**m**      yari   sapatu **sa**.
　　　 return=**ERG.2s** ABS  shoes **OBL**.3s
　　　 '(You) return the shoes to him/her.'

## 4.4  Summary

　　In this chapter, there are two main types of clauses presented:  the non-verbal and the verbal.  Non-verbal clauses have various forms:  nominal, adjectival, existential, prepositional, and locative.  Likewise, nominal clauses have various forms.  As for the verbal clauses, the transitivity and the valency are distinguished.  Intransitive and transitive clauses are exemplified to illustrate the distinction of the two.  In addition, the valency of both intransitive and transitive constructions are discussed, in that, intransitives can be monovalent or divalent, whereas transitives can be divalent and trivalent.

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[6] This is an authentic Filipino delicacy.

# Chapter 5

# NOMINAL MARKING SYSTEM

## 5.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the different types of words that introduce NPs. There are two distinct nominal markers in Ibanag: determiners and demonstratives (deictic pronouns). Before I discuss the nominal markers, I will illustrate the syntax of a typical Ibanag NP first.

## 5.2 Constituent order

NPs are characterized as phrases having nouns or pronouns as their heads. Wimbish (1989) explains that the minimum component of an Ilocano NP is a determiner and a head noun. Apparently, this holds true for Ibanag NPs, too. He adds that NPs may also include quantifiers, modifiers, and either a relative clause or an embedded clause. Since NPs may have more than two constituents, it is therefore appropriate to describe the order of constituents of an NP.

Basically, there are two types of markers that introduce NPs: determiners and demonstratives.

(5.1)  **i**    tolay
       DET  person
       'a person'

(5.2)  **yari**   tolay
       DEM  person
       'that person'

However, when an NP is used as a vocative, no determiner is needed before the head noun, as in (5.3) and (5.4).

(5.3)   **Babay**, sikaw    i      nawak na     balay."
        woman ABS.2s DET  light  DET  house
        'Woman, you are the light of the house.'


(5.4)   "**Mestru**,  ikaya ku      nakuan tu     makasingan na."
         teacher  like  ERG.1s again   that  ABIL- see   ABS.1s
        '"Teacher, I want to see again."'


In addition, when an NP is used as a response to a question, no nominal marker is needed.  Hence, the head noun is the sole constituent in a predicate, as in (5.6) and (5.8).


(5.5)   Anni  kaya' mu?
        what  like  ERG.2s
        'What do you like?'


(5.6)   **Patta**.
        'catfish'


(5.7)   Anni  ginatang na?
        what  bought   ERG.3s
        'What did s/he buy?'


(5.8)   **Kamasi**!
        'Tomato!'


A modifier can also appear before the nominal marker and the head noun.  But unlike English where they just co-occur with each other, Ibanag NPs require a ligature (LIG) to connect the modifier to the head noun, as in the following examples.


(5.9)   i      **nataba nga** patta
        DET  fat       LIG  catfish
        'a fat catfish'


(5.10)  yari    **baddi nga**  kamasi
        DEM   small  LIG  tomato
        'that small tomato'

Finally, nominal markers take the initial position in nominalized clauses. Note that the translation in English does not bear any counterpart of either a determiner or a demonstrative. Examples (5.14) and (5.15) show how these NPs are used as complements and subjects in a clause, respectively.

(5.11) **i**    kinnagi    na
      DET  PERF- say  ERG.3s
      'what s/he said'

(5.12) **i**    inangngayan  mu
      DET  PERF- go     ERG.2s
      'where you went (to)'

(5.13) **i**    pinabbayle'
      DET  PERF- dance=ERG.1s
      'how I danced'

(5.14) Ari  ku       kaya  **i**    giniraw  ku
      NEG  ERG.1s like   DET  watched  ERG.1s
      'I don't like what I watched'

(5.15) Nasingngo i      kinak=ku
      delicious   DET  ate  ERG.1s
      'What I ate is delicious.'

The two types of Ibanag core nominal markers will be dealt with simultaneously, section 5.3 for the determiners and section 5.4 for the demonstratives.

## 5.3 Determiners

Most Philippine language researchers claim to have found only one definite marker. For instance, Tagalog has *ang* (cf. Schachter 1976:495; Schachter & Otañes 1972) and Botolan Sambal has *ya* (cf. Antworth 1979:13). In Ibanag, this definite marker is the determiner *i.* Ibanag determiners encode number (singular and plural), case (core and oblique), and distinguish between personal and impersonal.

Table 5.1.  Summary of Ibanag determiners

| Non-Personal (Common noun) Articles | | |
|---|---|---|
| | CORE | OBLIQUE |
| singular | I | ta |
| plural | i – ira | ta  -  ira |
| | | |
| Personal Articles | | |
| | CORE | OBLIQUE |
| singular | ni/si | kanni |
| plural | da | kada |

## 5.3.1  Number of determiners

Ibanag determiners also encode either singularity or plurality of the nominal they refer to.  NPs that are generally singular in meaning are introduced by the determiner *i;* whereas, NPs that are plural in meaning are introduced, still, by the determiner *i* and is post-modified by the plurality marker *ira.*  These are discussed in turn.

### 5.3.1.1  The determiner *i*

The determiner ***i*** is a very versatile nominal marker in Ibanag. Like the determiners of other Cordilleran languages (cf., Reid, 2002), it can introduce a single word noun, a noun phrase, a relativized clause, a verb-like item, or an adjective one. Hence, the symbol **DET** is used throughout this study.

> (5.16) i    tolay
>        DET   person
>        'the/a person'

> (5.17) i    mestru
>        DET   male.teacher
>        'the/a teacher'

(5.18) i       maginganay nga  Amerikana
      DET   maiden      LIG  American
      'an American maiden'

(5.19) i       suldado nga  abbing
      DET   soldier  LIG  young
      'a young soldier'

(5.20) i       nasippo   nga   tolay
      DET   virtuous  LIG   person
      'a virtuous person'

(5.21) i       tolay   nga  awat=tu     kofun=na
      DET  person  REL  NEG=PAR   DET  friend=GEN.3s
      'a person who doesn't have friends'

(5.22) i       pinatollay na
      DET  life        GEN.3s
      'his/her life'

(5.23) i       pinakkansyon na
      DET  singing  GEN.3s
      'his/her singing'

Unlike English where definiteness and indefiniteness are encoded by 'the' and 'a/an', respectively, Ibanag determiner *i* can both encode definiteness and indefiniteness of referent, as seen in the following examples.

(5.24) Egga  taw   ngana   **i**        mestra.
      EXI    DEM   already  **DET** (**DEF**) teacher
      '**The** teacher is already here.'

(5.25) Egga **i**     mestra   ta   lawan
      EXI   **DET** teacher  OBL outside
      'There is **a** teacher outside.'

If English requires zero articles for some abstract nouns, Ibanag abstract nominals have obligatory determiners.

(5.26) **I      pattolay** ay panga    anna pangiyawa. (P)
          DET life        TL   receiving  and  giving
          '**Life** is a (process of) receiving and giving.'

(5.27) **I      pallag** kunna ariling; mabuebbuelta, mabbiribiring. (P)
          DET wheel  like    wheel back.and.forth  spins
          '**Fate** is like a wheel; it moves back and forth, it spins.'


The determiner *i* is also used to refer to the Supreme Being.  In some cases, the determiner *i* is replaced by the honorific term *Yafu*.  At times, the determiner still precedes the honorific phrase.


(5.28) Nu    **i**    Dios managaruli, awan na   tu    uli-uli. (P)
          when **DET** Lord punishes     NEG LIG DET turning.back
          'When the Lord punishes, there is no turning back.'

(5.29) **I      Yafu Dios** ay pabbalinan=na        noka  yayya. . . (Lucas 1:32)
          DET  HON  God TL  IMP- make=ERG.3s FUT   ABS.3s
          'The Lord God will make him. . .'


### 5.3.1.2  The *i – ira* determiner

Unlike other Philippine-type languages, the determiner *i* does not signal plurality of NP.  If the nominal it precedes is not morphologically marked, that is, not reduplicated for plurality, the plural marker ***ira*** is utilized.  The marker usually appears after the NP. In the entire paper, the symbol **PLU** is used to indicate *ira* as a plurality marker.


(5.30) **i      disipulo ira**   ni      Kristo
          DET  disciple PLU   PERS  Christ
          'the disciples of Christ'

(5.31) **i      libru ira**   ta     balay
          DET  book PLU  LOC  house
          'the books in the house'

(5.32) i       abbing  ira    ta    lawan
          DET   child    PLU OBL  outside
          'the children outside'


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(5.33) i     tolay   ira   nga   laddug
      DET  person  PLU  LIG  liar
      'people who are liar'

It is also possible that the nominal item is reduplicated for plurality and the plural marker *ira* is still used.

(5.34) **I      babagitolay   ira**   ta    ili
      DET   R- bachelor   PLU  LOC  town
      The bachelors in town

(5.35) **I       mamanu   ira**   ta   likuk
      DET   R- chicken  PLU  LOC  back
      The chickens at the back

(5.36) Minay i     mamaginganay ira   ta    baryo.
      went  DET  ladies         PLU  LOC  baryo
      'The ladies went to the barrio.'

(5.37) Minay  i     babagitolay ira   ta    babario ira.
      went   DET  bachelors   PLU  LOC  barrios  PLU
      'The bachelors went to the barrios.'

Note, however, that the plurality marker *ira* has a homomorph – the third person plural absolutive *ira.* See chapter 6 for the discussion of pronominal absolutives. The examples below contrast the two.

(5.38) Nassingak=ku     **ira**     nga   kumkuman ta    mangga
      PERF- see=ERG.1s  **ABS**.3p  REL  eating      OBL  mango

          anna  bayyabo  **ira**.
          anna  guave     **PLU**

      'I saw them eating mangoes and guavas.'

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## 5.3.2  Case of determiners

There are two cases of determiners distinguished here:  the core and the oblique.  The distinction between core and oblique case lies in its replaceability.  As for core arguments that are in full noun phrases, they can be replaced by the ergative or the absolutive pronominal.  The oblique, on the other hand, lacks this feature.  This can not be replaced by any pronominal, enclitic or not.

## 5.3.2.1  Core nominal markers

Core determiners introduce core arguments in a clause.  As earlier mentioned, there are two types of core nominal markers: determiners and demonstratives.  Two types are distinguished here: the definite and the indefinite

Intransitive clauses take one core argument.  If this is a full noun phrase, it is introduced by a determiner; otherwise, it utilizes an absolutive enclitic pronominal.   In (5.39), the determiner *i* is a core nominal marker as it can be substituted by a pronominal in (5.40).

(5.39) Nagitubang  **i**     maginganay.
　　　 PERF- sit    DET   maiden
　　　 'The maiden sat down.'

(5.40) Nagitubang  yayya.
　　　 sat.down    ABS.3s
　　　 'She sat down.'

(5.41) Nakkarela   i     abbing    ira.
　　　 PERF- run  DET   child      PLU
　　　 'The children ran.'

(5.42) Nakkarela   ira.
　　　 PERF- run  ABS.3p
　　　 'They ran.'

Transitive constructions, on the other hand, take two core arguments:  one is the agent and the other is the patient.  If these two core arguments co-occur with each other, the personal determiner *ni* introduces the agent and the personal determiner *si*

introduces the patient. If the pronominal counterpart is used, the agent is represented by an ergative and the patient by an absolutive. The examples below illustrate how the pronominals are replaced by the core arguments bearing the determiners.

(5.43) Nasingan=na         yayya.
       PERF- see=ERG.3s  ABS.3s
       'She saw her.'

(5.44) Nasingan=na       si     Lolit.
       PERF- see=ERG.3s  PERS  Lolit
       'She saw Lolit.'

(5.45) Nassingan   ni     Marivic  yayya.
       PERF- see   PERS Marivic  ABS.3s
       'Marivic saw her.'

(5.46) Nasingan   ni     Marivic  si    Lolit.
       PERF- see  PERS Marivic  DET Lolit
       'Marivic saw Lolit.'

(5.47) Inummukan=na   yayya.
       kissed=ERG.3s  ABS.3s
       'He kissed her.'

(5.48) Inummukan=na   si      Gretchen.
       kissed= ERG.3s   PERS   Gretchen
       'He kissed Gretchen.'

(5.49) Inummukan  ni     John  yayya.
       kissed       PERS John  ABS.3s
       'John kissed her.'

(5.50) Inummukan  ni     John  si     Gretchen.
       kissed       PERS John  PERS  Gretchen
       'John kissed Gretchen.'

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

(5.51) Inummukan na        lalaki i    babay.
       kissed      DET(IND) man  DET girl
       'The boy kissed the girl.'

If the action is indefinite, the verb is encoded entirely in a morphologically different manner. In the following example, the actor is introduced by the definite determiner *si* (referring to John). Note that the supposed receiver of the action is introduced by an oblique determiner *ta* (referring to *babay* 'girl'). This construction is therefore an intransitive.

(5.52) Nangummo ta    babay si      John.
       kissed      OBL girl   PERS John
       'John kissed (at) (some) girls.'

**5.2.2.2 Oblique *ta***

This sub-section describes the use of *ta* as an oblique marker. However, *ta* is also an Ibanag subordinator. To distinguish the oblique marker *ta* from the subordinator *ta,* consider the following examples. These illustrate the function of *ta* as a subordinator.

(5.53) Manaw na'     ngana **ta**       naribbo ngana.
       leave   ABS.1s now  because dark     already
       'I will leave now because it is already dark.'

(5.54) Tadde aggaw, **ta**   kabalid=da   nga nakkasimmu. . .
       one   day     after finish=ABS.3p REL PERF- meet
       'One day, after they met. . .' (w)

(5.55) **Ta**       tadday kamu **ta**   pinili   na
       because one     ABS.2p REL  chose  DET

            Dios. . . (2 Tesalonica 2:13)
            God

       'Because you are one of those whom God chose. . .

One feature of Philippine-type languages is that there is no direct counterpart for prepositions. Instead, these preposition-like items are called obliques and are classified as either nominal marker or pronominals. As presented in section 3, the oblique pronominals translate to prepositional phrases or benefactive phrases. For instance, *niakan* translates to 'to me' or *sa* translates to 'to/for him/her'. As for oblique nominal markers, they are the rough counterparts of prepositions which introduce goal or benefactive NPs.

There are various functions of the oblique marker *ta.* For one, locative nouns are introduced by *ta.* These locatives may be generic in nature.

(5.56) Ay minay yayya  **ta**   interu nga probinsya na
     TL went ABS.3s OBL whole LIG province LIG

        Galilea. . . (Marcos 1:39)
        Galilee .

     'So he traveled all over (the province of) Galilee.'

(5.57) Egga i   bida   nga newwara   **ta** ili   na Enrile
     EXI DET story REL PERF- spread OBL town LIG Enrile
     'There was a story that was spread in the town of Enrile.' (w)

(5.58) Nelukag    na   totolay **ta** Callao. . .
     PERF-wake  DET people OBL Callao
     'The people of Callao woke up. . .'

(5.59) Egga    tari **ta**  utun  yayya.
     EXI(LOC) there OBL up   ABS.3s
     'S/he is up there.'

(5.60) Mallusak=ka    **ta**  utun; manoli  **ta**  mutung. (P)
     IMP- spit=ABS.2s OBL  up  IMP-return OBL face
     'Spit upwards and it comes to the face.'

(5.61) Egga amang tari **ta**   kakayuan.
     EXI ghost DEM OBL  forest
     'There is ghost in the forest.'

(5.62) Aru  i   kimi   **ta**  estante.
     Many DET cockroach OBL cabinet
     'There are many cockroaches in the cabinet.'

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(5.63) . . . megafu    ta    netura    i    ngaga-ngagan   nu    **ta**
. . . because   LIG   written   DET   PLU-name       GEN.3p   LOC


langi  (Lucas 10:20)
heaven

'.. .because your names are written in heaven.'
In intransitive construction, the theme (the entity in motion) is introduced by the

oblique *ta.*

(5.64) Giminatang  si      Cathy   **ta**    dulse.
PERF- buy   PERS   Cathy   OBL   candy
'Cathy bought (a) candy.'

(5.65) Nakasinganna'      **ta**    ayong.
ABIL- see=ERG.1s   OBL   monkey
'I saw a monkey.'

(5.66) I      baranghenas ari    mavvunga **ta**   kamasi. (P)
DET   eggplant   NEG   bear      OBL   tomato
'An eggplant will not bear tomato.'

(5.67) Iniddan      na'                   **ta**   bagga.
PERF-give   ERG.3s+ABS.1s   OBL   rice
'S/he gave me rice.'


The agents of intransitive verbs, or those in actor focus, are encoded by the

oblique *ta.* Note that the translation in English resembles that of the passive.

(5.68) Nadapingan=na'      **ta**    fuyu.
PERF- soil=ABS.1s   OBL   mud
'I was soiled with mud.'

(5.69) Naassupan yayya   **ta**    nasikasikan na   paddak.
PERF- blow ABS.3s OBL   very.strong    LIG   wind
'He was blown by the very strong wind.'

(5.70) I      ikan makanna   **ta**   simu    na. (P)
DET   fish IMP- catch OBL   mouth   GEN.3s
'Fish is caught by its mouth.'

Nominals that undergo a particular state or condition encoded by an adjective are also introduced by the oblique *ta.*

(5.71) Alawa **ta** abbing yari sinnung.
loose OBL child DEM clothes
'The clothes are loose on the child.'

(5.72) Nakasta **ta** maginganay i avu' na.
nice OBL maiden DET hair GEN.3s
'The hair of the maiden is nice on her.'

(5.73) Atazzi i palda **ta** yena'.
tight DET skirt OBL mother=GEN.1s
'The skirt is tight on my mother.'

Benefactive phrases are likewise encoded by the oblique *ta.* The benefactive marker *para* 'for' can still co-occur with the oblique *ta.*

(5.74) Egga i ne-uffun na ta mariga ira nga totolay.
EXI DET PERF- extend ERG.3s OBL poor PLU LIG people
'She was able to extend (some help) to the poor.' (w)

(5.75) Para ta aran yaw innafi.
for OBL dwarf DEM rice
'This rice is for the dwarf.'

Temporal phrases are also case marked by the oblique *ta.*

(5.76) **Ta** kaummanan na ta maribbo paga laman.. . (Marcos 1:35)
OBL early/next day LIG OBL dark still only
'Very early the next morning, long before daylight. . .'

(5.77) Manaw kami **ta** fugak.
leave ABS.1pe OBL afternoon
'We will leave this afternoon.'

Causative and resultative phrases, likewise, are introduced by *ta.*

(5.78) Pinammapia ni      Jesus  i     aru    nga totolay **ta**
       PERF- heal  PERS Jesus DET  many  REL people OBL

       maganna-gannu nga   tulagad=da. (Marcos 1:34)
       different           LIG   illness=GEN.3p

       'Jesus healed many who have different illnesses.'

(5.79) Napporay  yayya   **ta**          nawawan i     sakkalang na.
       got.mad    ABS.3s because  lost         DET ring        GEN.3s
       'She got mad because she lost her ring.'


## 5.4  Demonstratives

Demonstratives can both function as nominal markers and pronominals.  See chapter 4 for the full discussion of pronominals.  I maintain in this paper that demonstratives behave as pronominals if they can function as sole constituents in a predicate clause.  That is, an NP does not precede the demonstrative.  Otherwise, the demonstrative functions as a nominal marker.

There are two types of demonstratives that can function as nominal marker: the spatial and the locative.


### 5.4.1  Spatial demonstratives

As for the spatial, three degrees of space are distinguished here:  the proximal, the medial, and the distal.  Other philippinists use different terms for this category. Ferreirinho (1993) also marks three deictic categories in Limos Kalinga namely 'near speaker' (NS), 'near hearer' (NH), and 'distant' (DIST).


Table 5.2.  Summary of Ibanag spatial demonstratives

|          | **PROXIMAL** | **MEDIAL**   | **DISTAL**  |
|----------|--------------|--------------|-------------|
| Singular | yaw          | Yatun        | yuri        |
| Plural   | yaw ngamin   | yatun ngamin | yuri ngamin |

### 5.4.1.1 Proximal space

Rubino (1997) explains proximal space as those that refer to entities located within the physical and mental realm of the speaker.

(5.80) **Yaw** nga kitu i kiminan ta ikan ta lamesa.
PROX LIG dog DET PERF-eat OBL fish OBL table
'This dog is the one that ate the fish on the table.'

(5.81) **Yaw** ngamin ira nga prutas i kaya ku kanan.
PROX all PLU LIG fruit DET like ERG.1s eat
'These are all the fruits that I want to eat.'

These proximal demonstratives can also be used to refer to a subject previously mentioned by the speaker. The referent may not be reconstructed within the sentence or even before the said utterance.

(5.82) **Yaw** nga problema i manaki ku maginna'.
PROX LIG problem DET dislike ERG.1s hear
'This problem is what I don't want to hear.'

(5.83) **Yaw** nga relasyon laman i inspirasyon ku.
PROX LIG relationship only DET inspiration GEN.1s
'This relationship is my only inspiration.'

### 5.4.1.2 Medial space

Medial space encodes proximity to the addressee. These demonstratives often co-occur with the second person pronominals.

(5.84) **Yatun** nga sapatu i nakasta ta takki=m.
MED LIG shoe DET nice OBL feet=GEN.2s
'That shoe is nice on your foot.'

(5.85) Sitaw mu inna' **yatun** kakkanam=mu.
where ERG.2s get MED eating=ERG.2s
'Where did you get that one you are eating?'

If proximals are usually associated with the speaker, medials are associated with the addressee.  They refer to an entity previously mentioned by the addressee.

(5.86) **Yatun** nga   mestru              i       nangiyawa niakan     ta
       MED    LIG  male.teacher  DET  gave              OBL.1s   OBL

          atattannang   nga  gradu.
          high              LIG   grade

       'That teacher gave me a high grade.'

(5.87) Nasissippo **yatun** nga  mestru.
       very.nice      MED   LIG male.teacher
       'That teacher is very nice.'

### 5.4.1.3  Distal space

The referent of distal space, on the other hand, is neither within the realm of the speaker nor the addressee.  Because of its nature, the third person pronominals are usually associated with the distal space.

(5.88) **Yuri**    sinnung  na    babay  i      kaya' ku.
       DIST   clothes  LIG  woman DET   like    ERG.1s
       'I like those clothes of the woman.'

(5.89) Marake  **yuri**    kinnagi      na.
       bad         DIST   PERF- say   ERG.3s
       'Those that s/he said are bad.'

### 5.4.2  Temporal demonstratives

Rubino (1997) identifies two types of temporal demonstratives for Ilocano: the recent past and the remote past.  These temporal demonstratives are used to indicate referents that are not apparent in the speech event.  Such referent is most likely to have happened in the past.  Hence, the recent and the remote past are identified.

### 5.4.2.1 recent past

If the referent has been mentioned earlier in the discourse, the demonstrative *yari* is used. Most likely, the referent is living and is known by both the speaker and the addressee. For this particular use of temporal demonstratives, the symbol REC is used.

(5.90) Alle nassingak=ku ngana **yari** babay ganguri.
like PERF- see=ERG.1s already REC woman a.while.ago
'It feels like I have already seen the woman a while ago.'

(5.91) **Yari** kabiko mu ta umma i nobio'
REC COM-sit GEN.2s OBL morning DET boyfriend=GEN.1s

turi high school.
then high school.

'The one on your side this morning was my boyfriend back in high school.'

### 5.4.2.2 remote past

The remote past, on the other hand, is usually used to refer to someone who has not been seen for a long time or to the deceased. The referent could also be things that do not exist anymore.

(5.92) Ari ku mattamman yuri ngamin sakripisio'
NEG ERG.1s forget **REM** all sacrifice=GEN.1s

nikaw.
OBL.2s

'I couldn't forget all those sacrifices I had for you.'

(5.93) **Yuri** nga kadduba' i katalakkan nga
REM LIG neighbor=GEN.1s DET SUP- lazy LIG

nassingak=ku na.
PERF-see already (C)

'My neighbor then was the laziest I had seen so far.' (assuming that the referent is not existing anymore)

## 5.5 Summary

In this chapter, two cases of nominal markers are identified: the core and the oblique. Also, there are two general types of core nominal markers used in Ibanag: the determiners and the demonstratives. The different properties of the these nominal markers are discussed including the constituent order, the number, the definiteness, and their various functions. There are two types of deictic pronouns illustrated here: the spatial and temporal. As for spatial, three distinctions are made: proximal, medial and distal. As for temporal, two distinctions are presented: recent and remote. Having presented the most common Ibanag nominal markers, the pronominal are described in the next chapter.

# Chapter 6

# PRONOMINALS

## 6.1 Introduction

This section presents the pronominal system of Ibanag. There are five distinct sets of Ibanag pronouns: absolutives, ergatives, genitives, obliques, and possessives. Ibanag pronouns are distinguished here according to their case-marking, person, number, and functions.

## 6.2 Personal pronouns

Certain pronominals encode two possible meanings; hence, they have the same form but have different functions. Consider the case of ergatives and genitives. Reid and Liao (2004) use the term 'genitive' to refer to the possessors in an NP and to the agents of transitive constructions. Tsuchida et al. (1989) also employ the term 'genitive' in classifying Ibanag personal pronouns. Note that Ibanag has identical pronominal forms in the ergative and genitive case. Just like in Ilocano (Dita, 2006), I maintain in this study that the term **ergative** is used to refer to the agent in a transitive construction; whereas, the term **genitive** is used to refer to the possessor in an NP. Put simply, if the pronoun encliticizes to a verb, it is ergative; whereas, if it encliticizes to a noun, it is genitive. The following examples illustrate this.

(6.1) Nassingan=**na**   i   wagi   **na**.
saw=**ERG.3s**   DET sibling **GEN.3s**
'S/he saw her/his sibling.'

(6.2) Baggawan=**nu**   i   takki **nu**.
wash=**ERG.2p** DET  feet  **GEN.2p**
'Wash your feet.'

(6.3) Gafutad=**da**   yari   nelawan nga bavi **da**.
catch=**ERG.3p** DEM went.out LIG pig **GEN.3p**
'They will catch their pig which went out.'

(6.4)  Usam=**mu**      i      kampilam=**mu**. . .
       use=ERG.2s  DET   shield=GEN.2s
       '(You) use your shield.' (Salmo 17:13)


Pronouns in Ibanag encode person, number, and respect.  The first person plural pronouns differentiate inclusivity (including addressee) and exclusivity (excluding addressee).  Examples (6.5)-(6.6) and (6.7)-(6.8) illustrate this feature.


(6.5)  Umay **tam**      ta      Manila.
       will.go    ABS.1pi  LOC  Manila
       'We (both) will go to Manila.'

(6.6)  Umay **kami**      ta      Manila.
       will.go  ABS.1pe  LOC  Manila
       'We will go to Manila.'

(6.7)  **Sittam**    i      umay   ta     Manila.
       ABS.1pi  DET   will.go  LOC  Manila
       'We (the two of us) are the ones who will go to Manila.'

(6.8)  **Sikami**    i      umay   ta    Manila
       ABS.1pe   DET   will.go  LOC  Manila
       'We are the ones who will go to Manila.'


The second person pronouns include an element of respect; that is, the plural number is preferred when referring or talking to the elderly.  Consider the following examples.


(6.9)  Angngayan=**nu**?
       where.going=ERG.2p
       'Where are you going?' (referring to an elderly addressee)

(6.10) Kaya' **nu**      yaw?
       like    ERG.2p  DEM
       'Do you like this?'


Pronouns do not mark gender distinctions.  Hence, the slash is used to encode both masculine and feminine genders, as illustrated in (6.11) and (6.12).

(6.11) Kalussaw=**na** **yayya**.
     hate=ERG.3s  ABS.3s
     'S/he hates her/him.'

(6.12) Naginna'=**na**    **yayya**.
     heard=ERG.3s  ABS.3s
     'S/he heard her/him.'

Table 6.1 presents the summary of personal pronouns in Ibanag.

Table 6.1  Summary of Ibanag personal pronouns

|  | Absolutive Free | Absolutive Enclitic | Ergative/ Genitive | Oblique | Possessive |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **1st person SING** | sakan | =na' | =ku | nyakan | kwak |
| **1st person PLU inclusive** | sitta | =tam | =tam | nittam | kwata |
| **1st person PLU exclusive** | sikami | =kami | =mi | nikami | kwami |
| **2nd person SING** | sikaw | =ka | =mu | nikaw | kwam |
| **2nd person PLU** | sikamu | =kamu | =nu | nikamu | kwanu |
| **3rd person SING** | yayya | yayya | =na | sa | kwana |
| **3rd person PLU** | ira | =da | =da | nira | kwada |

As discussed earlier, the first person ergative or genitive case, *ku* may undergo some changes depending on the word it encliticizes with. When the host word has a final diphthong *–ay,* this becomes *e.* When the host word has final diphthong *–aw,* this becomes *o.* The first person genitive pronoun *ku* is consequently omitted and the case is thus denoted by the glottal stop, which is marked here by the apostrophe ('). Hence -

(6.13) bal**ay**  **ku**
     bal**e'**
     house **GEN.1s**
     'my house'

(6.14) tak**ay　ku**
　　　 tak**e'**
　　　 ride/car　GEN.1s
　　　 'my ride/car'

(6.15) lapp**aw　ku**
　　　 lapp**o'**
　　　 flower=GEN.1s
　　　 'my flower'

(6.16) palat**aw　ku**
　　　 palat**o'**
　　　 bolo=GEN.1s
　　　 'my bolo'


The same process applies to the first person ergative, as in the following example:

(6.17) *Ip**ay　ku**　 sangaw.
　　　 Ip**e'**　　　 sangaw
　　　 put.ERG.1s　now
　　　 'I will put now.'


In the case of second person ergative or genitive *mu,* on the other hand, the pronoun is not deleted totally. The consonant *m* is attached to the host word while the vowel *u* is omitted. Consider the following examples:

(6.18) bal**ay　mu**
　　　 bal**em**
　　　 house=GEN.2s
　　　 'your house'

(6.19) pan**aw　mu**
　　　 pan**om**
　　　 leaving=GEN.2s
　　　 'your leaving'

In some cases, when the first person ergative encliticizes with a verb ending with the vowel *a,* the ergative pronoun is omitted altogether. The case marking is then denoted by the glottal stop.

(6.20) *Naginna' **ku** ira.
        Naginn**a'** ira.
        heard=ERG.1s ABS.3p
        'I heard them.'

## 6.2.1  Absolutives

The term 'absolutive' is used in this study, as opposed to 'nominative' in Reid and Liao (2004), Rubino (1997), among others.  In  keeping with the recent trend in Philippine linguistics which is the 'ergative-absolutive' analysis.  Absolutive, as Trask (1993) defines, "is the case form which marks both the subject of an intransitive and the direct object of a transitive verb, and which contrasts with the ergative" (p.3).

There are two forms of absolutives, the free and the enclitic absolutives.  These are discussed in turn.

### 6.2.1.1  the free absolutives

Free absolutives are those that are used independently.  Table 6.2 presents the summary of Ibanag free absolutives.

Table 6.2.  Ibanag free absolutives

| | Ibanag Pronoun | Gloss |
|---|---|---|
| 1st person singular (1s) | sakan | 'I' |
| 1st person plural exclusive (1pe) | sikami | 'we' |
| 1st person plural inclusive (1pi) | sitta | 'we' |
| 2nd person singular (2s) | sikaw | 'you' |
| 2nd person plural (2p) | sikamu | 'you' |
| 3rd person singular (3s) | yayya | 'he', 'she' |
| 3rd person plural (3p) | ira | they |

There are various functions of the free absolutes. First, they can stand alone in an utterance. They are usually used as a response to a question. Consider the examples below:

(6.21)  Sinni   y      kimminan ta    dupo?
        who   LIG  ate         LIG  banana
        'Who ate the banana?

(6.22)  **Sakan**!
         ABS.1s
         'I (did).'

(6.23)  Sinni yari   naggalo?
        Who  DEM  laughed?
        'Who laughed?'

(6.24)  **Yayya**!
         ABS.3s
         'He (did).'

Second, they can function as vocatives, that is, the head of the NP in the vocative. The series of phrases below illustrate how absolutes function as heads in vocatives. All these are taken from the bible.

(6.25)  **Sikamu**   nga  babbay, . . .
         ABS.2p  LIG  women,
         You) women.

(6.26)  **Sikamu**  nga  lallaki, . . .
         ABS.2p  LIG  men
         '(You) men. . .'

(6.27)  **Sikamu**  nga  ana,  . . .
         ABS.2p  LIG  children
         '(You) children. . .'

(6.28)  **Sikamu**  nga  aripan, . . .
         ABS.2p  LIG
         '(You) servants. . . '

Third, free absolutes can also function as sentence initial subject. Note that Ibanag is basically a VSO language which means that verbs typically occupy the initial position in a sentence. When pronominals take the initial position, such style is considered formal and rare. Consider the following examples:

(6.29) **Sittam**   nga  masikan ta    angngurug ay   mawag  tu
       ABS.1pi REL  strong  DET  faith       TL    offer     DET

                pasensyat=tam           danuri  makafi ira     ta
                understanding=GEN.1pi  those   weak   PLU   DET

                pakkafiyad=da.
                shortcomins=GEN.3p

      'We who are strong in faith shouls understand the weak of their shortcomings.' (Taga-Roma 15:1)

(6.30) . . .**sikaw**    laman i    santo,  **sikaw**   laman i    Yafu,
       ABS.2s  only   DET  holy   ABS.2s only   DET  Lord

        **sikaw**   laman i      katannangan, O   Jesucristo
         ABS.2s only   DET   highest      O   Jesus Christ

      'You alone is the holy one; you alone is the Lord; you alone is the Almighty, O Jesus Christ.'

Fourth, the free absolute functions as the predicate in an identificational clause.

(6.31) **Sakan**   i   kimminan ta    dupo.
       1s.ABS DET  ate        DET banana
       'I (was the one who) ate the banana.'

(6.32) **Sikaw**    i    Ana  ku.
       ABS.2s   DET  son  GEN.1s
       'You are my son.' (Hebreo 5:5)

(6.33) **Sikaw**     i     kaguapaan nga  babay  nga  nasingak=ku.
       ABS.2s DET   prettiest    LIG  woman REL  seen=ERG.1s
       'You are the prettiest woman that I have seen.'

Fifth, the free absolute functions as subject in a classificational nominal clause.

(6.34) Suldadu **yayya**.
     soldier   ABS.2s
     'He is a soldier.'

(6.35) Laddug  ngamin **ira**.
     liar        all       ABS.3p
     'They are all liars.'

(6.36) Talakag  **sikaw**.
     lazy       ABS.2s
     'You are lazy.'

Sixth, they can function as subject in prepositional predicate:

(6.37) Para nyakan  **yayya**.
     for    OBL.1s  ABS.3s
     'S/he is for me.'

(6.38) Para nikamu  **sikami**.
     for    OBL.2p  ABS.3p
     'We are for you.'

Seventh, they can function as a topic in a contrastive clause:

(6.39) **Sikamu**  mabattang; **sikami**   umay.
     ABS.2p  left          ABS.1p  go
     'You will be left; we will go.'

(6.40) **Yayya**   nattaba-taba; **sakan**   nakakkabbal.
     ABS.3s  very.fat       ABS.1s  very.thin
     'She is very fat; I am very thin.'

(6.41) **Sikami**,  naguguapa; **ira**       nararake.
     ABS.1p  beautidul   ABS.3p  ugly
     'As for us, we are beautiful; as for them, they are ugly.'

Finally, free absolutives function as object or patient of a dyadic transitive.

(6.42) Nasingak=ku  **sikamu**.
     saw=ERG.1s  ABS.2p
     'I saw you.'

(6.43) Naginna'        **ira**.
        heard=ERG.1s   ABS.3p
        'I heard them.'

(6.44) Inalegad=da        **sakan**.
        looked.for=ERG.3p   ABS.1s
        'They looked for me.'

**6.2.1.2  the enclitic absolutives**

Ibanag enclitic absolutive pronouns are attached to the first constituent of the predicate clause or phrase.  However, unlike Ilocano or other Philippine languages, Ibanag enclitic absolutives do not encliticize to the host word all the time.   Table 6.3 presents a summary of the enclitic absolutives.

Table 6.3.  Ibanag enclitic absolutives

|      | **Ibanag Pronoun** | **Gloss** |
|------|-------------------|-----------|
| 1s   | =na               | 'I'       |
| 1pe  | =tam              | 'we (both)' |
| 1pi  | =kami             | 'we'      |
| 2s   | =ka               | 'you'     |
| 2p   | =kamu             | 'you'     |
| 3s   | =yayya            | 's/he'    |
| 3p   | =da               | 'they'    |

Enclitic absolutives also have various functions.  First, they can function as S in a monadic intransitive clause:

(6.45) Mano  **na'**     sonu  umma.
        leave   ABS.1s   tomorrow
        'I will leave tomorrow.'

Second, they can function as S of dyadic intransitive clause:

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(6.46) Nallutu=**nâ**      ta      kamote
       cooked=ABS.1s   OBL   sweet.potato
       'I cooked sweet potato.'

(6.47) Batu-batugat=**tam**      yaw      tinapa      ira.
       put.in.rows=ABS.1pi   DEM   dried.fish   PLU
       'Let us put in rows these dried fish.'


Third, they can function as O in a dyadic transitive clause:


(6.48) BInambarad=da      **sakan**.
       punished=ERG.3p   ABS.1s
       'They punished me.'

(6.49) Ari      mu      bigaran   **yayya**.
       NEG   ERG.2s   hurt      ABS.3s
       'Do not hurt him/her.'

(6.50) Parigam=mu      **kami**.
       imitate=ERG.2s   ABS.1p
       'You imitate us.'


Fourth, they can function as O of a triadic transitive clause:


(6.51) Ipayyam=mu   **kami**      ta      kape      taw.
       send=ERG.2s   ABS.1p   DET   coffee   here
       'Send us (some) coffee here.'


At times, the first person enclitic absolute *na'* becomes *nga.* This phenomenon is more apparent in written samples especially the translated version of the bible. Recall that *n* is a nasal consonant and *ng* is likewise nasal.  Hence, the two are often treated the same.  The following examples are all taken from the bible.


(6.52) Maski nu makastigu **nga**,      arayu **nga**      ta      patay.
       even if punished ABS.1s   far      ABS.1s   DET   death
       'Even if I am punished, I am far from death.' (2 Corinto 6:9)

(6.53) Mabbala-balo **nga'**     Dios   ta       niyawa na. . .
        thank           ABS.1s Lord because gave   GEN.3s
        'I thank, Oh God, because he gave. . .' (2 Corinto 8:16)

## 6.2.2 The ergatives

Ibanag ergatives are always enclitics; hence, they never occur as free pronominals. As earlier explained, ergatives can be omitted depending on the final phoneme of the host word.

Table 6.4  Ibanag ergatives

|  | **Ibanag Pronoun** | **Gloss** |
|---|---|---|
| 1s | =ku / =k | 'I' |
| 1pe | =tam | 'we (both)' |
| 1pi | =mi | 'we' |
| 2s | =mu / =m | 'you' |
| 2p | =nu | 'you' |
| 3s | =na | 's/he' |
| 3p | =da | 'they' |

Note that the first person absolutive enclitic and the third person singular ergative have the same morphological form: **na.** Phonologically, though, the two have notable difference.  The absolutive is glottal stop whereas the ergative is not.  Hence, they can be considered more as homomorphs than homophones.  The more apparent distinction of the two lies in their syntactic properties.  The absolutive is the actor in an intransitive clause, as in (6.54); whereas, the ergative is the agent in a transitive clause, as in (6.55).

(6.54) Kimminan na'      ta     dupo.
       ate          ABS.1s OBL  banana
       'I ate banana.'

(6.55) Nassingan   na        i      dupo'
       saw          ERG.3s DET  banana=GEN.1s
       'S/he saw my banana.'

These homomorphs can also co-occur with each other. If the ergative case is the agent and the absolutive case is the benefactive, only one *na* appears in the sentence. The ergative therefore is not phonologically overt anymore. Consider the following examples:

(6.56) Iniddan   na'                ta    bagga.
       gave      ERG.3s+ABS.1s  OBL   rice
       'S/he gave me rice.'

(6.57) Itinallung   na'               ta    bale   da.
       brought.in   ERG.3s+ABS.1s OBL   house  GEN.3p
       'S/he brought me in their house.'

Another noteworthy feature of the Ibanag ergatives concerns the singular forms of the first and second persons, respectively. Note that when they are attached to host words ending in vowel, the first person *=ku* can be reduced to *=k* or can be omitted altogether. On the other hand, the second person *=mu* can only be reduced to *=m* but can never be omitted.

(6.58) Inatawa' **(k)**       yari   kofun   mu        turi   high school.
       married=ERG.1s DEM  friend  GEN.1s  REM  high school
       'I married your former friend in high school.'

(6.59) Inatawa=**m**      kari   yayya?
       marry=ERG.2s   HRSY  ABS.3s
       'Did you really marry him/her?'

Ergatives function as agents of two types of transitives: either dyadic or triadic. The examples below illustrate how ergatives are used as agents of transitive constructions.

(6.60) Ariam=**mu**       nga  tammitan yaw;   ariam=**mu**      nga
       NEG=ERG.2s  LIG   try          PROX  NEG=ERG.2s  LIG

              sissiman yatun;  ariam=**mu**      nga   siggeran yari.
              taste     MED   NEG=ERG.2s  LIG   do         DIST

       'Don't try this; don't taste that; don't do that. . .' (Colosas 2:21)

(6.61) Tangngawan=**nu**    i         parientes nu           ira.
      take.care=ERG.2p DET  parents   GEN.2p  PLU
      '(You) take care of your parents.'

(6.62) Tinamay **na**      i       kitu'.
      poisoned  ERG.3s DET  dog=GEN.1s
      'S/he poisoned my dog.'

(6.63) Lappaggak=**ku**  mananwan yari  nga babay.
      slap=ERG.1s      later          DEM LIG woman
      'I will slap that woman later.'

(6.64) . . ."akkatam=**mu** i       agiddam=mu anna lumakag  ka  . . ."
      fix=ERG.2s    DET bed=GEN.2s and    walk      ABS.2s
      '(You) fix your bed and go. . .'(Juan5:8)

(6.65) Kinna=**ku**      i      dupo.
      Ate=1s.ERG DET  banana
      'I ate the banana.'

(6.66) Iyawa' **mu**       nyakan  i      bendisyon mu.
      give    ERG.2s OBL.1s DET blessing     GEN.2s
      '(You) give me your blessing.'

(6.67) Igatangak=ku labbi i       wagi'              ta      dulse.
      buy=ERG.1s   first DET sibling=GEN.1s DET kendi
      'I will first buy my sibling a candy.'

There are cases in which the ergative and the absolutive pronouns are fused. That is, both the agent and the patient of the verb are encliticized into it. In sentence (5.68), if the pronouns were have to be spelled out freely, the utterance would have been

(6.68) *Nasingan **ku**        **sikaw**
      saw           ERG.1s  ABS.2s
      'I saw you.'

The fusion of the pronouns results in the reduction of =*ku* to =*k* and *sikaw* to =*ka* and finally to =*a.* Hence, the last syllable in the utterance =*ka* already bears the agent and the patient of the verb.

DuBois (1976) claims that there is some sort of abbreviation that happens with *ta* in Saranggani Manobo. He explains that the clause, *Kinita ko sikona* 'I saw you' becomes *Kinita ta* 'I saw you'. Compare this with (6.68) above and with (6.69) and (6.70) below. Aside from the abbreviation that is possibly happening here, I surmise that the utterance is usually the product of speakers' way of simplifying utterances for purposes of convenience.

(6.69) Nasingat**taka**.
　　　 na- singan= ta=k=a
　　　 saw=ERG.1s=ABS.2s

(6.70) Ayatat**taka**.
　　　 ayat=ta=k=a
　　　 love=ERG.1s=ABS.2s
　　　 'I love you.'

## 6.2.3 The obliques

Obliques are used to express direction towards a person or persons, or the transmission of an object towards the entity or party specified by the oblique pronoun:

The semantic roles of location, source, goal, cause, result, and benefactive are encoded by the oblique pronouns. When the referent is a full noun phrase, the oblique marker *ta* is used (see chapter 5 for the discussion). Obliques take the free form and are one-word. Table 5.5 presents the Ibanag obliques.

Table 6.5 Ibanag obliques

|  | **Ibanag Pronoun** | **Gloss** |
|---|---|---|
| 1s | nyakan | 'to me' |
| 1pe | nittam | 'to us both' |
| 1pi | nikami | 'to us' |
| 2s | nikaw | 'to you' |

| 2p | nikamu | 'to you' |
|----|--------|----------|
| 3s | sa | 'to him/her/it' |
| 3p | nira | 'to them' |

Obliques have he following functions:  First, they denote the semantic role of

'source'.


(6.71) Nanaw   na'       ngana   **nira**
           left      ABS.1s   already   OBL.3p
           'I left (from) them already.'

(6.72) Naggafu   **nyakan**   yaw.
           came        OBL.1s   this
           'This came from me.'


Second, they also denote the goal semantic role.

(6.73) Umay       na'       **nikamu**   tatun   nu       maggafu
           will.come   ABS.1s   OBL.2p   there   when   come.from


                    na         ta       Macedonia. . .
                    ABS.1s   LOC   Macedonia. . .


           'I will come to you there when I arrive from Macedonia.'  (1 Corinto 16:5)

(6.74) Minay   ira        **nyakan**
           came    ABS.3p   OBL.1s
           'They came to me.'

(6.75) . . . ngem   iyawa   ku       **nikaw**   i       egga   niakan
           . . . but     give     ERG.1s   OBL.2s   DET   EXI   OBL.1s


           '…but I will give you what is with me.'  (Kingngua 3:6)

(6.76) Iyawa   ku       **nikamu**   yari   kwartu.
           give     ERG.1s   OBL.2p   DEM   money
           'I will give (to) you the money.'


Third, obliques can also function as benefactives, or, in Rubino's (1997:69)

words, patientive or recipient.

(6.77) Megafu **nikamu** yaw.
　　　 because OBL.2p this
　　　 'This is because of you.'

(6.78) Para **nyakan** kanu yari kansion=na.
　　　 for OBL.1s PAR DEM song=GEN.3s
　　　 'That song of his is apparently for me.'

(6.79) Aranni na' ngana nga molang **nikaw**.
　　　 near ABS.1s already REL tired OBL.2s
　　　 'I am almost tired of you.'

(6.80) Sangaw i aggaw para **nikami**.
　　　 now DET day for OBL.1p
　　　 'Today is the day for us.'

(6.81) Itavvung mi **nikaw** i sakrifisyo. . .
　　　 offer ERG.1pe OBL.2s DET sacrifice
　　　 'We offer you sacrifice. . .'

Fourth, obliques also express location in terms of person.

(6.82) Alawa **nyakan**.
　　　 loose OBL.1s
　　　 'It is loose on me.'

(6.83) Nakasta **nikamu**.
　　　 nice OBL.2s
　　　 'It is nice on you.'

Fifth, obliques express possession when they co-occur with existentials.

(6.84) Egga **niakan**.
　　　 EXI OBL.1s
　　　 'It is with me.'

(6.85) Awan **nikaw** yari sakkalang?
　　　 NEG.EXI OBL.2s DEM ring
　　　 'The ring is not with you?'

(6.86) I Yafu egga (paray) **nikamu**.
　　　 DET Lord EXI (for) OBL.2p
　　　 'The Lord be with you.' (w)

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(6.87) Kunne' **nikaw** gapa.
　　　　 like.that OBL.2s also
　　　　 'And also with you.' (w)


## 6.2.4 The genitives

　　Ibanag genitives are attached to the nouns to express possession. These genitives encliticized to the nouns and are not written independently. Unlike English where genitives are pre-nominals, genitives in Ibanag are post-nominals. Hence, the possessed entity comes first before the possessor. Since I argue that genitives are not the same as ergatives, there is only one function of genitives here – that is, to show possession. Note that the first person genitive is usually omitted (or not phonologically overt) when the host word ends with a vowel or the diphthong –*ay*


　　Table 6.6. Ibanag genitives

|     | **Ibanag Pronoun** | **Gloss** |
|-----|--------------------|-----------|
| 1s  | =ku / =k           | 'my'      |
| 1pi | =tam               | 'our'     |
| 1pe | =mi                | 'our'     |
| 2s  | =mu / =m           | 'your'    |
| 2p  | =nu                | 'your'    |
| 3s  | =na                | 'his/her/its' |
| 3p  | =da                | 'their'   |


　　In the examples below, the genitives in bold encliticize with the host words, which are the possessed referents here. As is the rule in Ibanag, if the host word ends with a vowel, the first person genitive *ku* 'my' becomes a glottal stop is then represented by ('), as in (6.88). The genitives *ku* 'my' and *na* 'his/her' in (6.89) and (6.90) geminate with their host words, but not (6.91) as the host word ends with a vowel.

(6.88) Yaw i 　　bagu nga bisikleta**'**
　　　　 this DET new LIG bicycle=GEN.1s
　　　　 'This is my new bicycle.'

(6.89) Nataki  i      tannak=**ku**.
       painful   DET  neck=GEN.1s
       'My neck is painful.'


(6.90) Adaka-dakal  i      san=**na**.
       very.big        DET  stomach=GEN.3s
       'His/her stomach is very big.' (c)

(6.91) Nanaw ngana   yari     bisita =**da.**
       left     already  DEM   visitor=GEN.3p
       "Their visitor left already.'


## 6.2.5  Multiple referents

If the possessed noun is more than one, the genitive encliticizes only with the second NP, as in the following example:

(6.92) Natagga  i      ulu     anna futu   **na**.
       hard        DET  head   and   heart  GEN.3s
       'His/Her head and heart are hard.'

(6.93) Kaabbingan ngem katannanga **da**        yayya.
       youngest     but    tallest        GEN.3p  ABS.3s
       'S/he is the youngest but the tallest (among them all).'


Likewise, when there are two verbs, the ergative encliticizes with the second verb.

(6.94) Ginatang anna  kinnan **na**        yari    dupo'.
       bought    and   ate    ERG.3s  DEM  banana
       'S/he bought and/then ate the banana.'


## 6.2.6  The possessives

Genitives and possessives both encode possession.  If genitives are always attached to the NP being possessed, possessives are always independent.  Quirk et al.

(1985) refer to independent possessives which are used to replace the NP expressing possession as absolute possessives.  This term is applied in this study.


Table 6.7.  Ibanag possessives

|     | **Ibanag Pronoun** | **Gloss** |
| --- | --- | --- |
| 1s | kwak | 'mine' |
| 1pi | kwata | 'ours' |
| 1pe | kwami | 'ours' |
| 2s | kwam | 'yours' |
| 2p | kwanu | 'yours' |
| 3s | kwana | 'his/hers/its' |
| 3p | kwada | 'theirs' |


(6.95) **Kwami**    ngamin  yaw.
          POS.1pe   all          DEM
          'These are all ours.'

(6.96) **Kwam**   ngana  yayya    nu  kaya'  mu.
          POS.2s   now      ABS.3s  if    like     ERG.2s
          'S/he is yours if you like.'

(6.97) Nabayag  ngana   nga  **kwak**    yayya.
          long.time   already  REL  POS.1s  ABS.3s
          'S/he has been mine, for the longest time.' (c)


## 6.3  Demonstratives

Recall that demonstratives are presented in the preceding chapter as nominal markers.  In this chapter, demonstratives are discussed as pronominals.  Hence, they do not appear as part on nominal phrases, as in (5.98) but as heads or sole constituents of predicate clauses, as (5.99).

(6.98) Kaya' ku        **yaw**  nga  sapatu.
          like   ERG.1s  DEM   LIG  shoe
          'I like these shoes.'

(6.99) Kaya' ku      **yaw**.
          like   ERG.1s DEM  LIG  shoe
          'I like these shoes.'

Ibanag demonstratives also adapt the three degrees of spatial orientation presented earlier: proximal, medial, and distal.  They are also distinguished as spatial and locative.  These are discussed in turn.

Table 6.8.   Summary of Ibanag demonstratives

|            | PROXIMAL | MEDIAL    | DISTAL   |
|------------|----------|-----------|----------|
| **Spatial**    | yaw      | yatun     | yuri     |
| **Locative**   | taw      | tatun     | turi     |
| **Similative** | kunnaw   | kunnatun  | kunnari  |

## 6.3.1  Spatial demonstratives

When spatial demonstratives are the sole constituents of a predicate clause, then they behave as pronouns.  The three degrees of space are distinguished below.  For purposes of clarity, the conventions PROX, MED, and DIST are used to refer to 'proximal', 'medial' and 'distal', respectively.  In addition, the (/SP) is added to indicated that the demonstrative being referred to is 'spatial'.

## 6.3.1.1  Proximal space

Proximal demonstratives are those that refer to entities near the speaker which are visible.  Often, the first person pronouns co-occur with the proximals, as in (5.100) where the first person *mi* 'our' co-occurs with *yaw* 'PROX'. The proximal *yaw* translates to the English 'this'.  Consider how *yaw* is used in the following sentences.

(6.100)  **Yaw**       i      bale    mi,       **yuri**   i      kwada.
         PROX/SP  DET  house  GEN.1pe  DIST  DET  POS.3p
         'This is our house, that is theirs.'


(6.101)  Mas    nakasta **yaw**        adde   **yatun**.
         COMP  nice     PROX/SP    than   MED
         'This is nicer than that.'

(6.102)  **Yaw**       i      kakastan  ira    ngamin.
         PROX/SP  DET  nicest    PLU   all
         'This is the nicest of them all.'


### 6.3.1.2  Medial space

Medial demonstratives are those that refer to entities near the addressee which are also visible to both the speaker and the addressee.    Often, the second or third person pronominal co-occurs with the medials, as in (6.103).  In (6.104) and (6.105), the use of *yatun* 'that' can be deduced as something referring to the addressee's vicinity or possession.

(6.103)  **Yatun**      i      kinoko       na        niakan.
         MED/SP  DET  PERF-steal  ERG.3s  OBL.1s
         'That is what s/he stole from me.'

(6.104)  Nammi   nga  dulse  **yatun**.
         sweet    LIG   sweet  MED/SP
         'That is a sweet candy.'

(6.105)  Natagga **yatun**.
         hard       MED/SP
         'That is hard.' (c)


### 6.3.1.3  Distal space

Distal refers to entities that are far to both the speaker and the addressee.  Also, these entities are usually not visible to both parties talking.  In (6.106), the entity being

referred to which is *bale* 'house' is understood to be far from both the speaker and the addressee.

(6.106) **Yuri**      i      bale   mi.
DIST/SP   DET   house  GEN.1pe
'That is our house.' (c)

(6.107) Takay   mi          **yuri**.
car      GEN.1pe   DIST/SP
'That  is our car.' (c)


(6.108) Ariam=mu        nga  tammitan **yaw**;      ariam=mu      nga
NEG=ERG.2s  LIG  handle    PROX/SP   NEG=ERG.2s  LIG

sissiman **yatun**;      ariam=mu      nga   siggeran
taste     MED/SP   NEG=ERG.2s  LIG    touch

**yuri**.      (Colosas 2:21)
DIST/SP

'Don't handle this; don't taste that; don't touch that. . .'


## 6.3.2  Locative demonstratives

Locative demonstratives, just like spatials, function as sole constituents of predicate clauses; otherwise, they are modified by an oblique phrase identifying the specific place referred to by the locative. Such function indicates emphases. There are also thee degrees of space identified here, which are discussed in turn.  The locative demonstratives *taw* 'here', *tatun* 'there', and *turi* 'there (far)' are labeled simply as PROX, MED, and DIST.


### 6.3.2.1  Proximal space

Demonstratives in proximal space refer to the location where the speaker is at the moment of speaking.  As in (6.111), the utterance is an imperative ordering the addressee to proceed to the location of the speaker.

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(6.109) Kandaru **turi**,  kandaru **taw**;   kandaru adde    ta
        lock        DIST lock      PROX lock        until    OBL

            sanga-sangaw. (R)
            R(EMP)- now

        'Lock here, lock there; lock almost everywhere.'


(6.110) Yayya    i       nakkaturuk **taw**.
        ABS.3s   DET  PEF- sleep  PROX
        'S/he slept here.' (Tsuchida et al. 1989:94)


(6.111) Umay  ka        **taw**.
        go    ABS.2s   PROX
        '(You) come here.'


### 6.3.2.2 Medial space

The medial space, on the other hand, refers to the location of the addressee at the moment of speaking.


(6.112) Yayya     i       nakkaturuk **tatun**.
        ABS.3s   DET  PEF- sleep  MED
        'S/he slept there.'  (Tsuchida et al. 1989:94)

(6.113) Umay ka        **tatun**.
        go    ABS.2s  MED
        '(You) go there.'

(6.114) Imbes    na  nakataddak  ka           **tatun**, sinnawam=mu
        instead  LIG standing      ABS.2s    MED  wash=ERG.2s

            na  kwan  i       pigga-piggan.
            LIG then   DET   R(PLU)- plate

        'Instead of standing up there, why don't you wash the dishes?'

### 6.3.2.3 Distal space

Finally, the distal demonstrative refers to the location where neither the speaker nor the addressee is at the moment of speaking.

(6.115)  Yayya    i      nakkaturuk **turi**.
        ABS.3s   DET   PEF- sleep  DIST
        'S/he slept there.'  (Tsuchida et al. 1989:94)

(6.116)  Umay  ka        **turi**.
        go      ABS.2s  DIST
        '(You) go there.'


## 6.3.3  similative demonstratives

For this paper, the term 'similative demonstrative' is used to refer to expressions that instruct or demonstrate the similarity of two entities.  These expressions are usually accompanied by actions denoting the points of similarity, either shape, length, etc.  In addition, these expressions are morphologically complex in nature.  The lexical item *kunna* (which means 'said') is attached to the locative demonstratives.


### 6.3.3.1 Proximal space

For the proximal space, *kunna* fuses with *taw* 'here' which results in *kunnaw* 'like this'.  This expression is used when the referent is within the speaker's domain.  Since expressions used here are apparently phrasal in nature, they are not labeled like the other demonstratives.  Instead, the English equivalent is used.

(6.117)  **Kunnaw** i     kiningwa  na,       ari    nga kunnatun.
        like.this  DET  PERF- do  ERG.3s  NEG  LIG  like.that
        'What s/he did was like this, not like that.'  (Tsuchida et al. 1989:94)

**6.3.3.2  Medial space**

Likewise, *kunna* fuses with *tatun* 'that' thus producing *kunnatun* 'like that'.  This expression is used when the referent is within the addressee's domain.

(6.118)  **Kunnatun** i      kiningwa na,      ari    nga kunnaw.
like.that    DET PERF-do ERG.3s NEG LIG like.this
'What s/he did was like that, not like this.'  (Tsuchida et al. 1989:95)

**6.3.3.3  Distal space**

As for the distal counterpart, *kunna* fuses with *tari* 'that' meaning the referent is not within the domain of both the speaker and the addressee.

(6.119)  Kunnari   i      kiningwa na,      ari    nga kunnatun.'
like.that    DET PERF- do ERG.3s  NEG LIG  like.that
'What s/he did was like that, not like that.'  (Tsuchida et al. 1989:95)

## 6.3.4  Mental demonstratives

Aside from the three types of demonstrative discussed in this chapter, there is still another type of demonstrative that also distinguishes proximal, medial, and distal. This is termed 'mental demonstrative' here as the entity referred to is not physically present but only mentally.  Ruffolo (2005) adapts Diessel's (1999) and Himmelman's (1996) concept of 'recognitional demonstratives'.  Put simply, mental demonstratives refer to a familiar knowledge that is both shared by the speaker and the addressee.

**6.3.4.1  Proximal space**

In this function, only the speaker assumes familiarity of the referent.  The spatial *yaw* 'this' and the similarity *kunnaw* 'like this' can be used for this function.

(6.120)  **Yaw**          ngana   i      ikassing=ku. . .
PROX/MEN already   DET   CAUS-fear=GEN.1s
'This is already what I fear. . .' (referring to something inanimate)

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(6.121)  **Yaw**          i      ari    ku            kaya'. . .
         PROX/MEN  DET   NEG   ERG.1s   like
         'This is what I don't like' (referring to a state of mind or a situation).

(6.122)  **Kunnaw**  i      nabinnay  ngana    nga  kaya'  ku.
         like.this   DET  long.time  already  LIG  like   GEN.1s
         'What I have long wished is like this.'


**6.3.4.2  Medial space**

As for the medial, only the addressee assumes familiarity of the referent.  All the three other demonstratives can be used for this function.  The locative demonstratives, when used as mental demonstratives, are used to emphasize temporals.  Consider the examples below.

(6.123)  **Yatun**        gabba laman nga  aggaw. . . (Lucas 24:13)
         MED/MEN  very   only    LIG   day
         'On that very same day. . .'


(6.124)  I        kukua nga  nazzigarigatan , **yatun**         i        manayun
         DET   own    LIG   hard-earned      MED/MEN   DET   last.long

         ta    lima=m. (P)
         OBL  hand=GEN.2s

         'Property that is hard-earned, that is what lasts longer in your hand.' (w)


(6.125)  Manaki    ku          **yatun**!
         don't.like  ERG. 1s   MED/MEN
         'I don't like that!' (referring to something earlier mentioned)

(6.126)  Marake yatun          egga ta   nono  mu.
         bad      MED/MEN  EXI  OBL  mind  GEN.2s
         'What is in your mind is bad.'


(6.127)  Kunnatun  i       kinnagi        na    yena'.
         like.that    DET   PERF- say   DET   mother=GEN.1s
         'That is what my mother said.'

The distals are probably the most common mental demonstratives. Since the referents are not physically present, the distal is thus more appropriate to use than the proximal and the medial. In literature, the distal use is more prevalent. The expression for this is usually not *yuri* but *yari.* Also, there is a plural counterpart for this demonstrative – *danuri* 'those'.

(6.128)  Awan      **danuri**      nga uga-ugali ngana.
NEG.EXI  DIST/MEN  LIG R(PLU)- already
'Those practices are long gone.'

## 6.4  *The non-referential na*

Earlier, I have distinguished the homomorphs *na'* (first person singular absolutive enclitic) and *na* (third person singular ergative). Ibanag exhibits another homophone of the pronominal *na,* the non-referential one. Rubino (1997) explains that Ilocano has this same feature, too. He contends that *na* has become a 'fossilized enclitic' in many expressions and that the referent remains unclear. The same observation holds true for Ibanag. Syntactically, the *na* neither behaves as absolutive nor ergative pronominal. Hence, such function of *na* is treated (and thus labeled) as NR, which means 'non-referential'.

Some of the uses of this NR *na* are identified here. First, it co-occurs with phrases denoting obligation, as in (6.129)

(6.129) Ta        neggagangay **na**, ayatam=mu    i      atawa=m
because   tradition        NR love=ERG.2s DET spouse=GEN.2s
'Because it is a tradition that you have to love your spouse.'
The non-referential *na* is also used in temporal phrases, as in (6.130).

(6.130) Ta    kabalin **na**  nipasserbi na       ta  Templo. . . (Lucas 1:23)
OBL  after     NR  serve      ERG.3s OBL temple
'After he served in the temple. . .'

## 6.5  Anaphoric and cataphoric reference

Quirk et al. (1985) explain that demonstratives functioning either anaphorically or cataphorically  are extensions of their situational use.  When demonstratives are used in anaphoric sense, the demonstrative follows its antecedent.  In (6.131), the MED *yatun* refers back to the preceding clause *ariam=mu. . .*

(6.131)  Ariam=mu      nga  pakakuan    i        maguvovug ta
          NEG=erg.2S  LIG   get.used.to  DET    IMP- speak  OBL

          makanninipan,  ta        **yatun**       i          makabukkay
          unpleasant        because   MED/ANA DET  cause

          ta      mapia nga  ammung na      tolay
          OBL   good  LIG  unity       DET  person

          'Do not get used to speaking unpleasantly, for that is often the cause of great disunity.'

(6.132)  Mabbala-balo      ka          nga  kanayun ta      totolay
          IMP- ITER- thank  ABS.2s  LIG  always     OBL  R(PLU)- person

          ira    ta   **kunnari**             i      nakasta nga ugali.
          PLU  for  like.that/MEN/ANA  DET  good    LIG  attitude

          'Always thank other people because good attitude means like that.'

The cataphoric reference is often used when quoting someone.  This function is usually apparent in oral samples.  In (6.133), the simulative *kunnaw* refers to theclause that follow, *"Manaw ka. . ."*

(6.133)  **Kunnaw** i       kinnagi    na,        "Manaw ka         na   anna
          like.this  DET   PERF-say  ERG.3s  go         ABS.2s  now  and

          ari   ka        na    mattoli.'
          NEG  ABS.2s  now  return

          'S/he said like this, "go now and never come back anymore."'

## 6.6 Indefinite pronouns

Indefinite pronouns in Ibanag are basically phrasal. They are formed by combining the subordinator *maski* 'even' and the interrogatives. Surprisingly, there are only a few indefinite pronouns in Ibanag. Since *anni* 'what' is very versatile, when combined with *maski* can encode the meaning 'whatever, whenever, and however'. Hence, there are only three members of this group. The table below presents the basic Ibanag indefinites.

Table 6.9. Ibanag indefinite pronouns

| sinni | 'who' | maski sinni | 'whoever' |
|-------|-------|-------------|-----------|
| anni | 'what' | maski anni | 'whatever/however' |
| sitaw | 'where' | maski sitaw | 'wherever' |

(6.134) **Maski anni** dake na wagi=m, ari mu
however bad DET sibling=GEN.2S NEG ERG.2s

yayya maitabbo.
ABS.3s IMP- tabbo

'However bad your sibling is, you can't disown him/her.'

(6.135) Awat tu kaya=ku kaergo, **maski sinni** paga.
NEG.EXI PAR like=ERG.1s COMI-speak whoever EMP.PAR
'There is no one I want to talk to, whoever he is.'

## 6.7 Summary

This section presents the Ibanag pronominals: personal, demonstrative, indefinite. There are five sets of personal pronominals; namely, absolutives, ergatives, genitives, obliques, and possessives. There are two possible forms of absolutives here: either they are free or independent or they encliticize. Although ergatives and genitives have the same form, they function differently. Ergatives are agents in transitive constructions; whereas, genitives show possessions. The possessives and genitives,

on the other hand, may both denote ownership but they do not resemble in form and in function. Possessives are distinguished from genitives here in that the former are always independent and the latter is always enclitic. Thus, possessives here are considered absolute possessives. The various meaning and functions of these sets of pronouns are exemplified in this chapter.

Conversely, there are four types of demonstratives distinguished here: spatial, locative, similarity, and mental. The three degrees of space (proximal, medial, and distal) are also discussed. Other issues concerning pronominals are discussed; e.g., anaphoric and cataphoric reference and non-referentiality. Instances of homomorphs are also exemplified here.

# Chapter 7

# NOMINALS

## *7.1  Introduction*

This section will introduce Ibanag nouns and the corresponding properties of the members of this lexical category.   Among the properties of nouns dealt with in this chapter are number (7.2), gender (7.3), morphological characteristics (7.4), nominalization of verbs (7.5) and borrowed nouns (7.6)

## *7.2  Number of Nouns*

There are two ways to encode plurality in Ibanag.  One is by adding the plurality marker *ira* to the lexical noun or noun phrase, and the other is by reduplication.

### 7.2.1  The plurality marker ira

The plurality marker *ira* can be used both in singular and plural nouns.  The more common function, however, is to indicate plurality for those that are not morphologically marked, that is, there is no reduplication within the word.  In addition, the plural marker *ira* is always used after the noun it refers to.  If the nominal is possessed, then the plural marker appears after the genitive pronominal, as (7.3).   Note that *ira* is also the pronominal for third person plural absolutive (See Chapter 6 for the discussion of personal pronouns).  The following examples illustrate the function of *ira* as a plurality marker.

(7.1)    i       abbing  **ira**
         DET   child    PLU
         'the children'

(7.2)    i       kiminan  ta      dulse  **ira**
         DET   ate            OBL  candy  PLU
         'those who ate candies'

(7.3)   Ay   kinagi ni        Jesus   ta       babay, "Napakoma ngana     i
        TL   said   PERS Jesus OBL   woman   forgiven     already   DET

              kataguriliam=mu **ira**. (Lucas 7:48)
              sins=GEN.2s        PLU

        'Then Jesus said to the woman, "Your sins are already forgiven."'


(7.4)   Minay i        disipulo **ira**   nga   nallaya-gayya   ta
        went   DET   disciple PLU   REL   preach                OBL

              ngamin nga   lugu-lugar. (Marcos 16:20)
              all        LIG   places

        'The disciples went and preached everywhere (lit. The disciples
        went and preached to all places).'


## 7.2.2 Reduplication

        The more common means of pluralizing nouns is through reduplication.  There
are various reduplicant shapes in Ibanag that signal plurality.  One is the CV reduplicant
shape.   The table below presents some of the Ibanag plural nouns that exhibit CV
reduplication.


Table 7.1. CV Reduplication Pattern

| Root | Gloss | Reduplicated | Gloss |
|------|-------|--------------|-------|
| tolay | 'person' | **to**tolay | 'people' |
| karruba | 'neighbor' | **ka**karruba | 'neighbors' |
| baryo | 'barrio' | **ba**baryo | 'barrios' |
| tukâ | 'frog' | **tu**tukâ | 'frogs' |


(7.5)   Naggafut ta   **tutukâ**   yari totolay ira   ta      baryo.
        caught      OBL   frogs      DEM people PLU OBL   barrio
        'The people in the barrio caught frogs.'

(7.6)     Sinni   i     **kakarruba**'?
          who    DET   PLU- neighbor=GEN.1s
          'Who are my neighbors?'

(7.7)     …nallaka-lakag          si     Jesus   ta     **ili-ili.** .
          …PERF(ITER)- walk    PERS   Jesus   LOC   R(PLU)-town

          anna  **babario**. (Lucas 8:1)
          and    R(PLU)- barrio
          '…Jesus kept on walking in towns and in barrios.'

Another process is that the initial CV is reduplicated and the initial consonant geminates with the base word. Hence, the pattern becomes $C_1VC_1$ .

Table 7.2. CVC Reduplication Pattern

| Root | Gloss | Reduplicated | Gloss |
|------|-------|--------------|-------|
| wagi | 'sibling' | **waw**wagi | 'brothers/sisters' |
| kayu | 'tree' | **kak**kayu | 'trees' |
| bagitolay | 'young man' | **bab**bagitolay | 'young men' |
| maginganay | 'lady' | **mam**maginganay | 'ladies' |
| manû | 'chicken' | **mam**manû | 'chickens' |

(7.8)     I     **babbagitolay**      da      ay    napapatay   ta      gerra,
          DET   R(PLU)- bachelor   GEN.3p   TL   PERF- die   OBL   war

          ay   awan   ngana    tu    mangikasal    ta
          TL   NEG    already   DET   DES- marry    OBL

          **mammaginganay**   da. (Salmo 78:63)
          R(PLU)- maiden    GEN.3p

          'Young men were killed in war, and young women had no one to marry.

(7.9)     Naffurulu   i    **mammanu** nga   parehu  i      duddu. (P)
          congregate  DET   birds         REL   similar  DET   feather
          'Birds of the same feather flock together.'

When the noun begins with a vowel, on the other hand, the initial VC is reduplicated. Some vowel-initial nouns form their plural by reduplicating the initial VCV. Some examples are presented below.

Table 7.3. VC/VCV Reduplication Pattern

| Root | Gloss | Reduplicated | Gloss |
|------|-------|--------------|-------|
| abbing | 'child' | **ab**-abbing | 'children' |
| ana | 'offsping' | **an**-ana | 'offsprings' |
| atawa | 'spouse' | **ata**-atawa | 'spouses' |
| ikan | 'fish' | **ika**-ikan | 'fishes' |

(7.10)  Aru   paga  i   **ika**-**ikan**   nga  ari   paga natavukulan. (P)
         many  still   DET  PLU- fish REL NEG  still   caught
         'There are still plenty of fish that have not been caught yet.'

(7.11)  Ollu  ta   ngamin, ikiddo'       gafu  tu    metavvung ta   Dios
         first  OBL  all        ask=ERG.1s then DET  offered     OBL God

             i     **kiddi**-**kiddaw**, **dasa**-**dasal**,   pakimemallo anna
             DET  PLU-ask      PLU- prayer    request      and

             **pabbalo-balo** para ngamin na   totolay.   (1Timeteo 2:1)
             PLU- thank    for   all        LIG  people

        'First of all, then, I urge that petitions, prayers, requests, and
        thanksgivings be offered to God for all the people.'

Another reduplicant shape is the $C_1V_1C_2V_2$. This can also be called 'almost full' reduplication. Often, only the final C is not included in the reduplicant shape. Also, these are usually hyphenated. If the base word starts with the consonant *d,* the reduplicant shape is still $C_1V_1C_2V_2$ but the initial consonant of the base is changed to *r.* Some examples are presented in the table below.

Table 7.4.   $C_1V_1C_2V_2$ Reduplication Pattern

| Root | Gloss | Reduplicated | Gloss |
|------|-------|--------------|-------|
| vukig | 'land' | **vuku**-vukig | 'lands |
| nasion | 'country' | **nasa**-nasion | 'countries' |
| dasal | 'prayer' | **dasa**-dasal | 'prayers' |
| kurug | 'true' | **kuru**-kurug | 'truth' |

(7.12)     Uvovug pinoryan, makadaral    ta        gawa-gawayan (P)
           word      angered   spoil            DET   actions

           "Harsh words spoil the health.


Similarly, if the base word contains CVCCV shape, then the reduplicant shape is the same.   The process is almost full reduplication.   Some examples are presented below.


Table 7.5.  The CVCCV Reduplication Pattern

| Root | Gloss | Reduplicated | Gloss |
|------|-------|--------------|-------|
| tavvung | 'offer' | **tavvu**-tavvung | 'offerings' |
| gannug | 'things' | **ganna**-gannug | 'things' |
| ngagan | 'name' | **ngaga**-ngagan | 'names' |
| laddug | 'lie' | **ladda**-laddug | 'lies' |
| daddam | 'grief' | **dadda**-raddam | 'griefs' |
| tazzi | 'condemnation' | **tazza**-tazzi | 'condemnation' |

(7.13)     . . . megafu    ta    netura    i    **ngaga**-**ngagan**  nu        ta
           . . . because  OBL  written  DET  PLU-name          GEN.3p  OBL


           langi  (Lucas 10:20)
           heaven

'.. .because your names are written in heaven.'

(7.14)   Ngamin  i      **ganna**-**gannug**  ay  niyawa  niakan    na
         all        DET   PLU- thing         TL  gave    OBL.1s   DET

         Yama.   (Lucas 10:22)
         father

'My Father has given me all things.'

Finally, full reduplication is also another way of pluralizing Ibanag nouns.  If the noun is rather short, usually disyllabic, the entire word is reduplicated.  There are also some consonant changes in the process.   Some examples are presented below.

Table 7.6.  Full reduplication pattern

| Root | Gloss | Reduplicated | Gloss |
|------|-------|--------------|-------|
| Ili | 'town' | **ili**-ili | 'towns' |
| Riga | 'difficulty' | **ziga**-riga | 'difficulties' |
| mula | 'plant' | **mula**-mula | 'plants' |
| pangua | 'deed' | **pangua**-pangua | 'deeds' |
| mula | 'plant' | **mula**-mula | 'plants |
| kutu | 'louse' | **kutu**-kutu | 'lice' |
| balo | 'thank' | **bala**-balo | 'thanks' |

(7.15)   I     **dagi**-**raging** na     naggatag ta      **mula**-**mula**  nu
         DET   PLU- cry   OBL   gather    DET  PLU- plant  GEN.2p

         ay  nakadde  ngana    ta     Dios.  (Santiago 5:4)
         TL  reached  already  OBL   God

'The cries of those who gather in your crops have reached the ears of God.'

## 7.3  Gender of nouns

Nouns that are gender-specific are usually Spanish-loaned words.  Just like in Ilocano nouns, the masculine gender ends with *o* while the feminine gender with *a.*

Table 7.7.  Gender of Nouns

| Masculine | Gloss | Feminine | Gloss |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| mestru | 'male teacher' | mestra | 'female teacher' |
| basurero | 'garbage man' | basurera | 'garbage woman' |
| milionaryo | 'male millionaire' | milionarya | 'female millionaire' |
| chismoso | 'male rumor monger' | chismosa | 'female rumor monger' |
| abugadu | 'male lawyer' | abugada | 'female lawyer' |

On a sociolinguistic note, it is sometimes possible that spouses of those who have particular titles or positions also receive the feminine counterpart of the title.  Note that the 'title' is acquired through affinity, and not by profession.  Here are the usual examples.

Table 7.8.  Gender of nouns through affinity

| Masculine | Gloss | Feminine | Gloss |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| kapitan | 'captain' | kapitana | 'female captain/wife of a captain' |
| mayor | 'mayor' | mayora | 'female mayor/wife of a mayor' |
| konsehal | 'councilor' | konsehala | 'female councilor' |
| Arabyano | 'Arabian (an OFW of Saudi Arabia)' | Arabyana | 'wife of the OFW of Saudi Arabia' |

There are also lexical items in Ibanag that do not contain any morphological affinity as to their gender.  Hence, they are encoded differently.

Table 7.9.  Masculine-Feminine Dichotomy

| Masculine | Gloss | Feminine | Gloss |
|-----------|-------|----------|-------|
| bagitolay | 'young man' | maginganay | 'young woman' |
| yama | 'father' | yena | 'mother' |
| lakay | 'old man' | bako | 'old woman' |
| kayung | 'brother-in-law' | asipag | 'sister-in-law' |
| kabalyu | 'horse' | egua | 'female horse' |
| lalung | 'rooster' | upa | 'hen' |
| daffug | 'male carabao' | abbay | 'female carabao' |

When the gender is not encoded by the lexical item, the appositive phrase *nga lalaki* or *nga babay* is then provided to express masculinity or femininity, respectively.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| kapitta nga lalaki | - | cousin who is male |
| kapitta nga babay | - | cousin who is female |
| wagi na lalaki | - | male sibling |
| wagi na babay | - | female sibling |
| kadduba nga lalaki | - | male neighbor |
| kadduba nga babay | - | female neighbor |

## 7.4  Morphological formation of nouns

There are various affixes in Ibanag that derive nouns from verbs, adjectives, nouns, numerals, or any lexical category.  Nouns are classified here as bare and derived.

### 7.4.1 Bare Nouns

Bare nouns refer to those unaffixed lexical items that semantically refer to names of people, things, places, or objects. Bare nouns are further classified into proper and common. These are discussed in turn.

### 7.4.1.1 Proper Nouns

Proper nouns are either personal names of people or terms that refer to people. Under this category, two sub-types are identified: the personal nouns and the title terms.

*Personal nouns*

Personal nouns refer to the names of particular individuals which the speaker and the hearer can identify. These nouns can be used as vocatives, as in (7.16) and (7.17) or as head of personal noun phrase, as in (7.18) and (7.19). When used as the latter, personal nouns are accompanied with a personal determiner, *si* or *ni* or their plural counterparts.

(7.16)      **Eduardo**, sonu anni kamu    manaw?
            Eduardo FUT what ABS.2s leave
            'Eduardo, when will you leave?'

(7.17)      **Roda**, apam=mu      labbi yaw    platu ira.
            Roda, get=ERG.2s first    PROX plates PLU
            'Roda, get these plates first.'

(7.18)      Egga ta     balay=mi      **si**      **Ana**.
            EXI   OBL house=GEN.1pe   PERS   Ana
            'Ana is in our house.'

(7.19)      Umay nâ      ta   balay   **da**       **Carol**.
            Will.go ABS.1s OBL house   PERS(PLU) Carol
            I will go to the house of Carol (and her family).

Personal nouns can be classified into two categories: proper names and title terms.

<u>Proper names of people</u>

Proper name refers to a unique individual. Although it is by itself a noun, it does not exhibit the properties of some nouns such as reduplication for plurality or the use of any other determiner before it.

(7.20)　Neruffu　**si**　**Maritess**　ganguri.
　　　　　tripped.off　PERS　Maritess　a.while.ago
　　　　　'Maritess tripped off a while ago.'

When proper names are accompanied by the plurality marker *ira,* the phrase refers to at least more than one individual, one of which is the referent of the proper name. Consider the following example:

(7.21)　Nabattang **ira**　**Manong Karding**　ta　lawan.
　　　　　left　　　　PLU　Manong Karding　　OBL　outside
　　　　　'Manong Karding and his companions were left outside.'

<u>Kinship terms</u>

Kinship terms are also regarded as personal nouns. Often, they appear in genitive form and are preceded by a personal determiner.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| asipag | - | sister-in-law |
| kayung | - | brother-in-law |
| katugangan | - | parent-in-law |
| manugang | - | child-in-law |
| kakay | - | grandfather |
| kake | - | grandmother |
| uncle | - | uncle |
| auntie | - | auntie |

(7.22)　Kavuluk=ku　　　　　i　**atawa**=k　　　ta　umma.
　　　　　companion=GEN.1s　DET　spouse=GEN.1s　OBL　morning
　　　　　'I was with my husband/wife this morning'

Proper names can be compounded when accompanied with a title term such as *Kakay* 'grandfather' as in (7.23).

Title terms

Title terms are used to show respect and politeness. When these terms appear with proper names, they constitute a nominal compound as in (7.23);

(7.23)  Minay ta   balay si   **Kakay       Kaning.**
        came  OBL house PERS  grandfather  Kaning
        'Grandpa Kaning came to the house.'

Title terms usually precede names of persons except in cases where *padi* 'priest' and *Yafu* 'God'. Consequently, these titles are labeled 'HON', which means 'honorific'.

(7.24)  Arayyu i      inangayan na   **Yafu** padi.
        Far     DET  went.to       DET  HON   priest
        'The priest went to a far place.'

Title terms in Ibanag include kinship terms, names of prestigious professions, and English titles. As has been observed, English titles 'auntie' and 'uncle' are often utilized as opposed to their Ibanag counterparts. The following are the most common title terms used in Ibanag:

|           |   |                              |
|-----------|---|------------------------------|
| Yafu      | - | sir, madam, religious person |
| manong    | - | older brother                |
| manang    | - | older sister                 |
| mestra    | - | female teacher               |
| mestru    | - | male teacher                 |
| kapitan   | - | captain                      |
| konsehal  | - | councilor                    |
| gubernador| - | governor                     |
| mayor     | - | mayor                        |

### 7.4.1.2  Common nouns

Unaffixed nouns that are categorized as common fall under this broad category. Unlike proper nouns which are specific, common nouns refer to more general terms. Items that belong to this class are further subdivided below.

*Concrete inanimate nouns*

These nouns include landscape terms, instruments, item for wear, among others. Note that nouns listed in this class are either count or mass.  Below are few examples of this class.

Table 7.10.  List of Concrete Inanimate Nouns

| afî | 'fire' | atô | 'roof |
| atû | 'smoke' | baláy | 'house |
| paddák | 'wind' | sinnúng | 'clothes |
| danúm | 'water' | takáy | 'vehicle |
| kunám | 'cloud' | ikán | 'viand |
| bukúlok | 'mountain' | sapátu | 'shoe |
| bannág | 'river' | lamésa | 'table |
| langî | 'sky' | bángku | 'chair |
| bilág | 'sun' | kátre | 'bed |
| urán | 'rain' | galû | 'rope |
| kila-kilá | 'lightning' | asúkar | 'sugar |
| bébay | 'sea' | asín | 'salt |

Note that some of the common nouns listed above are borrowed words; e.g., *lamesa* 'table' from Spanish and *atap* 'roof' from the English word 'top'.

*Body-parts nouns*

These nouns refer to the various body parts.  Note that these terms are inherently nouns.  Some of the examples are presented in the table below.

Table 7.11.  Body-parts nouns

| avû | 'hair' | takki | 'foot' |
|---|---|---|---|
| mata | 'eyes' | lima | 'hand' |
| muka | 'face' | kuramay | 'fingers' |
| ngipan | 'teeth' | kavvu | 'armpit' |
| bibik | 'lips' | abaga | 'shoulders' |
| kiray | 'eyebrow' | futu | 'heart' |
| simik | 'chin' | uffu | 'legs' |
| igung | 'nose' | taggang | 'chest' |
| kimma | 'eyelash' | tulang | 'bone' |
| ulu | 'head' | agal | 'liver' |
| muka | 'cheek' | san | 'stomach' |
| darulu | 'spine' | frente | 'forehead' |

(7.25)  "Afu, ari laman tu   i   **takki** gafu i    baggawam=mu
        Lord NEG only    DET DET feet  then DET wash=ERG.2s

        nu ari  i   **lima** anna ulu   **paga**," kun=ni
        but NEG DET hand and  head also     said= PERS

        Pedro (Juan 13:9)
        Peter

'Peter answered, "Lord, do not wash only my feet then, wash my hands and head, too!"'

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*Animate non-human nouns*

Also part of the class of common nouns includes the terms referring to animals and insects. For some, there is a distinction between the male and the female, or between the mother and its young. Others, however, do not offer such distinction. Below is a list of some members of this group.

Table 7.12. Animate non-human Nouns

| bávi | 'pig' | ayóng | 'monkey' |
|------|-------|--------|----------|
| kitû | 'dog' | pátu | 'duck' |
| kazzîng | 'goat' | lamû | 'mosquito' |
| kitáw | 'cat' | lángaw | 'fly' |
| báka | 'cow' | tuggî | 'worm' |
| kabályu | 'horse' | iráw | 'snake' |
| nuáng | 'carabao' | tukâ | 'frog' |
| lálung | 'rooster' | daggâ | 'turtle' |
| úpa | 'hen' | kimí | 'cockroach' |
| balakák | 'rat' | ánay | 'termites' |

## 7.4.2 Derived nouns

Ibanag has various derivational affixes for nouns. There are primarily two ways of nominalization in Ibanag: by affixation and by putting determiners before the nominalized item.

The following sections will discuss the different derivational affixes that can nominalize a root, whether a base form of a verb, or even another noun.

**7.4.2.1 Abstract nouns**

An abstract noun is a noun whose meaning is an abstract concept.  Ibanag abstract nouns may be formed by adding the prefix *ka-* to the root.  The prefix *ka-* is usually used with bare adjectives.  The derived abstract noun thus refers to the state denoted by the root. The prefix *kina-* is the perfective counterpart of the *ka-* nominalizer. Some examples are presented below.

Table 7.13.  Abstract *ka-* Nouns

| Root | Gloss | Abstract Nouns | Gloss |
|------|-------|----------------|-------|
| atannang | 'tall' | ka(a)tannáng | 'tallness' |
| alistu | 'fast' | kaalistú | 'speed' |
| kurúg | 'true' | kakurúg | 'truth' |
| arayú | 'far' | kaarayú | 'farness' |
| tabá | 'fat' | katabá | 'fatness' |
| póbre | 'poor' | kapóbre | 'poorness' |
| rikû | 'rich' | karikû | 'richness' |

(7.26)  I      **Kapobre**   anna **Kariku** (Santiago 1:9-11)
        DET   ABS-poor   and    ABS- rich
        'Poorness and Richness'

(7.27)  Kunnasi ngana    **kataba** yayya?
        how       already fat       ABS.3s
        'How fat is s/he already?'

(7.28)  . . . mabbabawi     ira      ta   **kataguriliad**=da        anna
        . . . mag- ba- bawi  ira      ta    ka- -an – tagurili = da   anna
        . . . IMP- R- repent   ABS.3p OBL  ABS- sin = GEN.3p      and

              mabawtisowan         ira (Kingngua 13:24)
              mag- -an – bawtiso  ira
              IMP- baptize              ABS.3p

        '. . . they will repent for their sins and they will be baptized.'

Another abstract nominalizer is the prefix *pang-*. When this prefix is attached to the root, it encodes the meaning of 'state of being.' Below are some of the examples of the derived abstract nouns.

Table 7.14. Abstract *pang-* Nouns

| Root | Gloss | Abstract Nouns | Gloss |
|------|-------|----------------|-------|
| ayâ | 'happy' | pagayayâ | 'happiness' |
| daddám | 'grieve' | paddaddám | 'grief' |
| ziga-rigâ | 'difficulty' | pazziga-rigâ | 'suffering' |
| duma-rumá | 'different' | padduma-rumá | 'difference' |
| toil | 'return' | panolî | 'the coming back' |
| tólay | 'leave' | pattólay | 'life' |

(7.29)  Ta        ngamin danuri  i      sigga-aya nga   maginnennag
        because   all             those  DET   joyfully    REL   waiting

                  ta      **panoli**          na.. . (2 Timoteo 4:8)
                  OBL    coming.back    GEN.3s

'Because all those are joyfully waiting for his coming back. . .'

**7.4.2.2  Locative nouns**

The suffix *–an* is probably the most versatile locative nominalizer in Ibanag. This suffix, along with various prefixes, when attached to the base word, refers to a place associated by the action encoded by the root word.

The first set of circumfix is *a- -an.* The initial consonant is then doubled. Consider the following examples:

Table 7.15.  Locative *ag-* Nouns

| Root | Gloss | Locative Nouns | Gloss |
|------|-------|----------------|-------|
| Idda | 'lie down' | aggiddan | 'place for lying' |
| Karera | 'race' | akkareran | 'place for racing' |
| Lutu | 'cook' | allutuan | 'place for cooking' |
| babbal | 'wash' | abbabbalan | 'place of washing' |
| Bavi | 'pig' | abavian | 'place of pigs' |
| Turug | 'sleep' | akkaturugan | 'place of sleeping' |
| Giling | 'grind' | aggilingan | 'place of grinding' |
| Takay | 'ride' | attakayan | 'place for riding' |
| sermon | 'sermon' | assermonan | 'pulpit' |

(7.30)   Massirimmu        tam        ta     **attulluan**.
         MAG- R- simmu     tam        ta     a- tullu –an
         IMP- R(PLU)- see  ABS.1pi    OBL    LOC- sending.off –LOC

         'We will see each other at the pier.'

The second way of deriving locative nouns is through the circumfix *ka- -an.* The derived form refers to a place in which the root is of excessive quantity, which is supposed to be the patient or the theme referred to.  It is also possible to reduplicate the initial CVC of the base to indicate plurality.

Table 7.16.  Locative *ka- an* Nouns

| Root | Gloss | Locative Nouns | Gloss |
|------|-------|----------------|-------|
| Lanut | 'vine' | kalanutan | 'full of vines' |
| Batu | 'stone' | kabatuan | 'full of stones' |
| Kayu | 'tree' | kakayuan | 'full of trees' |
| Pinya | 'pineapple' | kapinyaan | 'full of pineapples' |
| Kaddo | 'grass' | kakaddoan | 'full of grass' |

(7.31)    Ari     kamu    umay  ta    **kakadoan**.
             NEG  ABS.2p  go    OBL  LOC- grass
             'Do not go to the grassy area.'

(7.32)    Nappaladio   ira    ta      **kakaykayuan**.
             nag- paladio  ira    ta      ka- -an – kay- kayu
             PERF- run    PLU  OBL   LOC- R(PLU)- tree
             'They ran to the woods.'


The third way is the circumfix *pag- -an*. The derived locative expresses that the action encoded by the root takes place in the derived noun. Some examples are listed in the table below.


Table 7.17. Locative *ka- -an* Nouns

| Root | Gloss | Abstract Nouns | Gloss |
|------|-------|----------------|-------|
| gayam | 'play' | paggayaman | 'playground' |
| agdian | 'to live in' | paddianan | 'place to live in' |
| gafu | 'come from' | paggafuanan | 'place of origin' |
| lutu | 'cook' | pallutuan | 'place for cooking' |
| zigu | 'bathe' | pazzigutan | 'place for bathing' |
| ornu | 'bake' | pagornuan | 'bakery' |


(7.33)    Sitaw   i     **pazzigutan**     tam?
             where   DET  place.for.bathing  GEN.2pi
             'Where are we going to take a bath?'

(7.34)    Egga  ta      abbag  yari    **pagornuan**.
             EXI   OBL  west    REC  place.for.baking
             'The bakery is in the west.'

(7.35)    Sobra      kapatu   na  tari  ta    **naggirawan**  da.
             excessive  ABS- hot  LIG  there  LOC  LOC- watch  GEN.3p
             'It's hot in there where they watched.

(7.36)    Naka-angay na'      ngana    ta    **nakkansionan** na.
          ABIL- went   ABS.1s  already LOC  LOC- sing        GEN.3s
          'I have gone already to where s/he sang.'


**7.4.2.3 Comitative nouns**

Comitative nouns refer to individuals in whose company something is done. These nouns are formed by adding the prefix *ka-* with the root, which in turn, refers to the shared entity. The basis of association could be:  (a) an activity; (b) a place, occupation, or origin; (c) a quality; (d) group membership; (e) spatial relation.  Examples are given in the table below.


Table 7.18.  Comitative Nouns

| a. uvovug | 'speak' | kauvovug | 'speak with someone' |
|---|---|---|---|
| gayam | 'play' | kaggayam | 'playmate' |
| b. eskwela | 'school' | ka-eskwela | 'schoolmate' |
| opisina | 'office' | ka-opisina | 'officemate' |
| c. takki | 'feet' | katakki | 'of the same feet size' |
| boses | 'voice' | kaboses | 'of the same voice quality' |
| d. partido | 'party (political)' | kapartido | 'running mate in a party' |
| relihiyon | 'religion' | karelihiyon | 'of the same religious sect' |
| e. biko | 'side' | kabiko | 'seated beside' |
| batug | 'same line' | kabatug | 'of the same line' |


(7.37)    Yari   **kabiko'**                 ku          ganuri      ay    yari
          Yari   ka- biko                    ku          ganuri      ay    yari
          DEM   COM-one.seated.beside   GEN.1s   a.while.ago  TL   DEM

          **kailia'**
          ka- ili
          COM- town=GEN.1s

          'The one seated beside me a while ago is my town mate.'

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(7.38)   **Kapartido'**          yari    **kauvovug**    ku.
ka- partido=(ku)      yari    ka- uvovug    ku
COM- party=GEN.1s    REC    COM- speak    GEN.1s

'The one I was speaking with is my party mate.'

(7.39)   **Iddeddukak=ku** ira        nga  **kakkofun**. . . (2Pedru 3:1)
love=ERG.1s    ABS.3p  LIG   COM-friend
'I will love them who are (my) friends. . .'


### 7.4.2.4  Reciprocal nouns

Reciprocal nouns refer to a construction expressing the action or state of being of two individuals or entities to each other.  When the prefix *mag-* is attached to a nominal referring to a person, it expresses kinship, either by consanguinity or affinity.  In addition, the relationship could either be from the same generation or from older and younger generation.


Table 7.19.  Reciprocal Nouns

| Root | Gloss | Reciprocal Nouns | Gloss |
|------|-------|------------------|-------|
| yamâ | 'father' | mayyama | 'father and child' |
| yenâ | 'mother' | mayyena | 'mother and child' |
| kapittâ | 'cousin' | makkapitta | 'cousins' |
| wagî | 'sibling' | mawwagi | 'brothers/sisters' |
| kófun | 'friend' | makkofun | 'friends' |
| kadduba | 'neighbor' | makkaduba | 'neighbors' |


(7.40)   **Makkofun**   i      mawwagi     ira.
mag- kofun   i      mag- wagi     ira
REC.friend   DET   REC. sibling   PLU
'The siblings are friends.'

(7.41)    Egga   taw   ngana  i    **mayyena**.
             EXI    here  already DET mother.and.child
             'The mother and child are here already.'

When the initial CV of the root is reduplicated, it means that the reciprocity is more than two.

(7.42)    Mak**ko**kofun         ngamin  ira    totolay        tari.
             mag- ko- kofun       ngamin  ira    to-tolay      tari
             REC- R(PLU)- friend  all      PLU  R(PLU)-person   there
             'The people there are all friends.'

(7.43)    Maw**wa**wagi          kanu  i    nobyo    na       turi.
             mag- wa- wagi        kanu  i    nobyo    na       turi
             REC- R(PLU)- sibling   HRSY DET boyfriend  GEN.3s  REM
             'Her boyfriends then were brothers.'

It is also possible that the prefix *mag-* is attached to a comitative noun.  This expresses that the two who have blood relationship also share some characteristics.

(7.44)    Ari    tam       laman  **mak**kadagun,     **mak**ka-boses
             ari    tam       laman  mag- ka- dagun     mag- ka- boses
             NEG  ABS.1pi   only    REC-COM- year    REC-COM- age

                        tam        paga.
                        tam        paga
                        ABS.1pi  also

             'We are not only of the same age but also of the same voice.'

(7.45)    **Man**nobio      kanu  yari  **mak**kadduba  ta     zita.
             mag- nobio      kanu  yari  mag- kadduba  ta     zita
             REC- boyfriend HRSY  DEM REC- neighbor  LOC  south

             'The neighbors in the south are apparently boyfriends.'

### 7.4.2.5 Pretense nouns

Ruffolo (2004) describes pretense nouns as those that refer to diminutive imitations of the real thing or those with deprecatory quality (Rubino 1997). In Ibanag, pretense nouns are formed by adding the lexical item *alale* (sometimes *allele*) to the entity referred to. The lexical item *appe* (which means 'just pretending') can also be prefixed. The derived noun would then mean 'pretending to be someone or something' which is denoted by the root word. The derived constructions are often hyphenated.

Table 7.20. Pretense Nouns

| Root | Gloss | Pretense Nouns | Gloss |
|------|-------|----------------|-------|
| abbing | 'child' | alale-abbing | 'like a child' |
| abugadu | 'lawyer' | appe-abugadu | 'false lawyer' |
| reyna | 'queen' | appe-reyna | 'false queen' |
| mestru | 'male teacher' | appe-mestru | pretending to be male teacher' |

(7.46)  Si      Pablo tuange ta      **appe-apostol**  ira ( 2 Corinto 11:1-15)
        PERS Paul   OBL     LOC  PRE- apostle    PLU
        'Paul to those pretending to be apostles'

(7.47)  I       kata-katolay                  nga    **appe-mestru**
        DET   ABS- R(PLU) – person  LIG     PRE- male.teacher

        ira   (2 Pedru 2:11-22)
        PLU
        "People who pretend to be teachers'

### 7.4.2.6 Ownership and relative location

The prefix *maka-* encodes both ownership and relative location. The derived noun refers to the owner of the entity encoded by the root. Diachronically, the prefix is

*makin-* but is usually pronounced with the schwa; hence *makən-*. When attached with the root, the initial consonant geminates with the prefix thereby producing *makə-*.

Table 7.21.  Ownership Nouns

| Root | Gloss | Ownership Nouns | Gloss |
|------|-------|-----------------|-------|
| kua | 'own' | makək-kua | 'owner' |
| takay | 'car' | makəttakay | 'owner of the car' |
| sinnun | 'clothes' | makəssinnun | 'owner of the clothes' |
| tienda | 'store' | makət-tienda | 'owner of the store' |
| atubang | 'chair' | makən-atubang | 'owner of the seat' |

(7.48)  Yayya    i    **makintakay**   ta    BMW    ta    lawan.
        ABS.3s   DET  car.owner       OBL   BMW    LOC   outside
        'S/he is the owner of the BMW outside.'

(7.49)  Sinni   i    **makin-sinnun**  yari   egga  ta    lawan?
        who     DET  OWN- clothes      DEM    EXI   LOC   outside
        'Whose clothes are those outside?'

The same prefix is used to refer to the relative location of an entity.  When the prefix *makin-* is attached to a locative or a lexical item referring to a location, it means the jurisdiction or area of responsibility.  Some examples are presented below.

Table 7.22.  Ownership-Locative Nouns

| batug | 'line' | makəb-batug | 'the one of the same line' |
|-------|--------|-------------|----------------------------|
| likuk | 'back' | makəl-likuk | 'the one at the back ' |
| arubang | 'front' | makən-arubang | 'owner of the front part' |

(7.50)  Yari   **makin-likuk**  i    makinkua   taw   nga  balay.
        DEM    OWN-back        DET  owner      DEM   LIG  house
        'The owner of this house is the one at the back.'

### 7.4.2.7  Origin nouns

The prefix *taga-* encodes origin of different nature.  This nominal prefix is shared by the majority of Philippine languages (cf. Schachter & Otañes, 1972; Rubino, 1997).  First, it designates the place of origin of a person.  In this case, the specific name of place is attached to the prefix.  This means that the person hails from this place.  Some examples are listed below.

Table 7.23.  Origin-Location Nouns

| Origin Nouns | Gloss |
| --- | --- |
| taga- Tuguegarao | 'from the province of Tuguegarao' |
| taga- America | 'from the country of America' |
| taga- Atulayan | 'from the barrio of Atulayan' |
| taga- Mindanao | 'from the islands of Mindanao |

(7.51)   i      ollu nga tura ni      Pablo ta    **taga**-Tesalonica
         DET  first LIG letter PERS Pablo LOC DES- Tesalonica
         'the first letter of Paul to the Tesalonians. . .'

(7.52)   Ari    nga nafuraw i    **taga**-Cagayan ira.
         NEG LIG white    DET ORI- Cagayan PLU
         'Those from Cagayan are not white(-skinned).'

Second, the prefix *taga-* designates the location of a person.  It means that he or she lives or comes from the place or such location.  Note that the locative nouns in this case may not be a specific name of place.

Table 7.24.  Origin Nouns

| Root | Gloss | Origin Nouns | Gloss |
|------|-------|--------------|-------|
| bukulok | 'mountain' | taga-bukulok | 'from the mountains' |
| utun | 'upper floor' | taga-utun | 'from the upper floors' |
| arubang | 'front' | taga-arubang | 'from the front' |
| ili | 'town' | taga-ili | 'from the town' |
| zigattu | 'east' | taga-zigatu | 'from the east' |
| sigaran | 'north' | taga-sigaran | 'from the north' |

(7.53)    Maski  taga-anni  kamu,   **taga-zigattu**  onu  **taga-taggapan**. . .
              even   ORI-what  ABS.2p  ORI- east   or    ORI- west
              'Wherever you come from, from the east or from the west. . .'

### 7.4.2.8  Instigator nouns

The prefix *para-* derives instigator nouns.  If the prefix is attached to the base form of a verb, it means that a person is designated or employed to perform the action encoded by the base word.  Since the counterpart of this prefix in Tagalog is *taga-*, it is possible to utilize either of the prefixes and the meaning is still the same.

Table 7.25.  Instigator Nouns

| Root | Gloss | Instigator Nouns | Gloss |
|------|-------|------------------|-------|
| gating | 'to buy' | para-gatang | 'buyer' |
| tura | 'to write' | para-tura | 'writer' |
| lutu | 'to cook' | para-lutu | 'cook' |
| kansiyon | 'to sing' | para-kansion | 'singer' |
| tuddu | 'to teach' | para-tuddu | 'teacher/tutor' |
| babbal | 'to wash' | para-babbal | 'launder' |

(7.54)   **Taga-Isabela**  yari    para-plancha  mi.
ORI- Isabela    DEM  INS- iron      GEN.1pi
'The one who irons for us is from Isabela.' (lit., The ironer is from Isabela)

(7.55)   Manga' kamu    ta    **taga-munisipyo**    nga
get        ERG.2p  OBL  ORI- municipal hall    LIG

para-pirma  ta    dokumento.
INS- sign   OBL   document

'(You) get someone to sign the document from the municipal hall.'

(7.56)   **Taga-St. Paul**  kanu    yari  *taga*-tallung  ta    empleyadu
ORI- St. Paul    HRSY  DEM  INS- inside   OBL   employee

ira    ta    kumpaya.
PLU   OBL   company

'The one who brings in employees in the company is apparently
from St. Paul.'


Likewise, the prefix *man-,* when attached to the root, refers to a person associated with the action encoded by the root. When the root refers to an object, the addition of the prefix *man-* means that the person has fondness to the object.


Table 7.26.  Designation Nouns

| Root | Gloss | Designation Nouns | Gloss |
|------|-------|-------------------|-------|
| dekô | 'glutinous rice' | maneko | 'one who cooks glutinous rice' |
| tabakú | 'cigar' | manabaku | 'one who smokes cigar' |
| sugal | 'gamble' | manugal | 'gambler' |
| ilut | 'massage' | mangilut | 'one who massages' |


The prefix *minag-* also refers to a person associated with the action encoded by the root.  It also denotes fondness of something.


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Table 7.27.  Association Nouns

| Root | Gloss | Association Nouns | Gloss |
|------|-------|-------------------|-------|
| takaw | 'to steal' | minattakaw | 'thief' |
| bayle | 'to dance' | minabbaylê | 'fond of dancing' |
| pastor | 'shepherd' | minappastor | 'fond of herding' |
| lafug | 'joke' | minakkilafug | 'fond of joking' |
| tagaruli | 'sin | minattagaruli | 'sinner' |

(7.57)   I      Kapakoma    na    **Minattagaruli** nga Babay (Lucas 7:36-49)
          DET  ABS- forgive  DET  INST- sin        LIG  woman
          'Forgiving the sinful woman'

(7.58)   I        **minattakaw**    ay   arian=na         ikakua   i
          I        minag-takaw    ay   ari- =na          i-kakua  i
          DET     INS- thief      TL   NEG=NOM.3s   respect  DET


                  kagitta=na.
                  ka-gitta=na
                   REC- like=GEN.3s

          'The thief does not respect his fellow thief.'


(7.59)   Sakan   i     mapia  nga   **minappastor**. (Juan 10:15)
          ABS.1s  DET  good   REL   DES- shepherd
          'I am the good shepherd.'


(7.60)   I     tolay   nga   **minakkilafug**, mammallag  ka      sa
          DET  person  REL  fond.of joking    trust          ABS.2s  OBL.3s

              anne ta  ari   matannug. (P)
              than DET NEG  noisy

          'He who jokes around can be better trusted than he who is serious.'

### 7.4.2.9 Instrumental nominals

Instrumental nominals refer to objects used for a particular function. There are two ways to encode this type of noun. One is by prefixing the vowel *a-* to the root word. The initial consonant of the base word is reduplicated, as in the examples given below.

Table 7.28. Instrumental *ag-* Nouns

| Root | Gloss | Instrumental Nouns | Gloss |
|------|-------|--------------------|-------|
| takkuwel | 'pole' | attakkuwel | 'pole for picking fruit' |
| bara | 'bar' | abbara | 'door, window bar' |
| malebay | 'trap' | ammalebay | 'trap for wild chickens' |

(7.61)    Manga' kamu    labbi i    **attakuwel**    tari.
          get       ERG.2p first DET  pole           there
          '(You) get first a pole (for picking) there.'

Another way of forming instrumental nominals is by prefixing *pan-* to the base form of the verb. This denotes the instrument utilized in carrying out the action. Some examples are given in the table below.

Table 7.29  Instrumental *pang-* Nouns

| tura | 'write' | pattura | 'writing instrument:pen' |
|------|---------|---------|--------------------------|
| lakak | 'walk' | pallakak | 'used for walking' |
| lutu | 'cook' | pallutu | 'used for cooking' |
| zigu | 'bathe' | pazzigu | 'used for bathing' |
| vura | 'erase' | pavvura | 'eraser' |
| bayle | 'dance' | pabbayle | 'used for dancing' |

(7.62)    Gatto tu   **pazzigu**    na    prinsesa ira.
          milk   DET INS-bathe  DET  princess  PLU
          'Milk is what princesses use for bathing.'

(7.63)     Awap     paga tu  **pattura**     anna  **pavvura'**.
           NEG.EXI  still   DET for.writing  and   for.erasing=GEN.1s
           'I still don't have pen and eraser.'

## 7.5  Nominalization of verbs

Gerunds are nouns derived from verbs through the affixation. Ibanag gerunds exhibit nominal affix but also exhibit a very important verb characteristic which is aspect. There are three types of gerunds in Ibanag:  manner, instrument, and location or reason. Thus, gerunds refer to the way an action is performed, the fact that an action is performed and the reason why an action is performed. Table 6.40 below summarizes the complex affix for nominalizing verbs.

Table 7.30.  Summary of nominal Affix

| Verbal affix | Instrument | Locative | Gerund (Manner) |
|---|---|---|---|
| **ACTOR FOCUS (INTRANSITIVE)** | | | |
| ag- | pag- | pag- -an | panag- |
| maka- | paka- | paka- -an | pannaka- |
| makipag- | pakipag- | pakipag- an | pannakipag- |
| Maki- | paki- | paki- -an | pannaki- |
| mang- | pang- | pang- -an | panang- |
| mangpa- | pangpa- | pangpa- -an | panangpa- |
| **GOAL FOCUS (TRANSITIVE)** | | | |
| -en/-an | pang- | pang- -an | panang- |
| ma- | paka- | paka- -an | pannaka- |
| mapa- | pakapa- | pakapa- -an | pannakapa- |
| i- | pangi- | pangi- -an | panangi- |
| ma- -an | paka- | paka- -an | pannaka- |
| mapai- | pakapai- | pakapai- -an | pannakapai- |
| ipa- | pangipa- | pangipa- -an | panangipa- |
| maipa- | pakaipa- | pakaipa- -an | pannakaipa- |

(7.64)  **Nakkaturugam**=mu?
        nag- -an ka- turug=mu
        LOC- PERF- sleep= ABS.2s
        'Where did you sleep?'

(7.65)  **Pattakayam**=mu?
        pag- -an – takay=mu
        LOC- ride=ABS.2s
        'Where will you ride?' (c)

(7.66)  Davvun nga **naggafuanan**; davvun gapa nga **panolian**. (P)
        earth   REL come.from      earth    also REL   return
        'From dust we came, to dust we return.'

(7.67)  i    **inuvovug** ni    Pedro ta    templo (Kingngua 3:11-26)
        DET  said       PERS Peter LOC temple
        'what was said by Peter in the temple'

(7.68)  I   **makkaturuk**  ay    kollattan.
        DET sleep         LIN  to.blanket
        'He who is asleep is blanketed.' (w)

(7.69)  I   talakak ay   makkappak, i   **malappo**          massappo
        DET lazy   LIN fast           DET industrious/active feast
        'The lazy will fast, the active will feast.' (w)

(7.70)  Mas   mapia i  **mangiyawa** anne ta   **mangalawa**.
        Mas   mapia i  mang-iyawa anne ta   mang-alawa
        COMP good  DET to.give        CONJ PREP to.receive

        'It is better to give than to receive.' (w)

(7.71)  Girawat=tam    i   **pangiyawa** na    Presidente ta
        watch=ERG.2pi DET ABS-give    OBL presidet   OBL

            medalya nira
            medal   OBL.3p

        'We will watch the awarding of medals by the president to them.'

## 7.6  Borrowed Nouns

Since Ibanag is highly influenced by other contact words, its lexicon also reveals numerous borrowed words.  Most of the borrowed words come from Spanish, others from Itawes, Ilocano or even Tagalog.  The Holy Bible of Ibanag exhibits numerous Spanish loaned words.  Older generation Ibanag speakers still use these borrowed words. The younger generation, on the other hand, tend to borrow more from Tagalog or from Ilocano.   Some of the common borrowed nouns in Ibanag are presented in the table below.

Table 7.31.  Borrowed Nouns

| Borrowed Nouns | Gloss | Borrowed Nouns | Gloss |
|---|---|---|---|
| pabbawtizo | 'baptism' | probinsiya | 'province' |
| bendision | 'blessing' | apostol | 'apostle' |
| prueba | 'proof' | tiempo | 'time' |
| espiritu | 'spirit' | serbisyo | 'service' |
| gubernador | 'governor' | seremonia | 'ceremony' |

(7.72)    Ariat=tam        ngana    nga mawag i   **testigu**. (Lucas 22:71)
          NEG=ERG.2pi anymore  LIG  call     DET  witness
          'We will not call a witness anymore'

(7.73)    Ari     ittam     nga  mammakatalo ta    panuttul     ta
          NEG   ABS.2pi  LIG   trust              OBL  external     OBL

          **seremonia** (Filipos 3:3)
          ceremony

          'We do not put any trust in external ceremonies.'

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## 7.7 Summary

In this section, the many features of noun are presented. First, the two processes that mark plurality, the particle *ira* and reduplication, are explained. There are various reduplicant shapes presented to illustrate the derivation of nouns. The gender of proper and some common nouns are also discussed.

To explain the morphological characteristics of nouns, the various derivational affixes are exemplified. The derived nouns are the following nouns: abstract, locative, comitative, reciprocal, pretense, ownership, origin, instigator, designation, instrumental, and gerunds. Various examples are given to show the derivation process. Also, accompanying utterances are provided to illustrate the syntactic properties of these nouns. And since Ibanag draws quite a few from Spanish loanwords, examples of these are also included in this chapter.

Having explained the nominal system of Ibanag, the discussion of adjectives follows.

# Chapter 8

# ADJECTIVES

## *8.1  Introduction*

This section presents a distinct lexical category in Ibanag called 'adjectives'.  Some philippinists strongly conjecture that Philippine-type languages do not exhibit an adjective-like word class.  Liao (2004), for instance, emphasizes that the seemingly adjective items are actually stative verbs since they share some characteristics with verbs (e.g., affixation).  Similarly, Ruffolo (2004) argues that Ibaloy does not have adjectives, only stative verbs.  In this study, I surmise that Ibanag does possess lexical items which can be categorized as 'adjectives'.

Quirk, et al. (1985:402-403) present four criteria for a particular lexical item to be categorized as adjectives: a) it can occur in predicative function; b) it can occur in attributive function; c) it can be pre-modified by the intensifier *very*; and d) it takes a comparative and superlative form.  Although such criteria were meant for English adjectives, I would like to use these criteria to conjecture that Ibanag has a lexical category of adjectives.

To illustrate criteria (a), Sentences (8.1) and (8.2) show that bare adjectives can function predicatively.  Sentence (8.1) has a pronominal complement, whereas sentence (8.2) has a full NP complement.

(8.1)   **Talakag**   yayya.
      lazy       ABS.3s
      'S/he is lazy.'

(8.2)   **Atannang**  si   Carol.
      tall       DET  Carol
      'Carol is tall.'

The next examples illustrate criterion (b). When bare adjectives function attributively, they precede nominals and are conjoined by ligatures. Note that the absence of ligatures between the bare adjective and the nominal is not possible in Ibanag. In addition, what conjoins these two is a ligature and not a conjunct. Using the same examples above, the attributive function of the adjectives *talakak* 'lazy' and *atannang* 'tall' are shown below.

(8.3)　**Talakak nga tolay**　yayya.
　　　　lazy　　LIG person　ABS.3s
　　　　'S/he is a lazy person.'

(8.4)　**Atannang nga babay**　si　　Carol.
　　　　tall　　　LIG girl　　PERS Carol
　　　　'Carol is a tall girl.'

As for criterion (c), bare adjectives can also be intensified in Ibanag. The intensification is done through reduplication though, unlike English where the adverbial *very* signals intensification. Example (7.5) follows a CV(C) reduplication, whereas example (8.6) follows a VC reduplication.

(8.5)　**Kakkabbi**　yayya.
　　　　pitiful　　　ABS.3s
　　　　'S/he is pitiful.'

(8.6)　**Atattannang**　si　　Carol.
　　　　very.tall　　　DET Carol
　　　　'Carol is very tall.'

Ibanag bare adjectives can also take comparative and superlative forms. However, the derivation or morphological change may not be as neat as those in English comparatives and superlatives. Hence, I contend that Ibanag adjectives undergo degrees of gradation instead of the comparative-superlative dichotomy. Brainard and Behrens (2002) likewise argue that Yakan adjectives undergo degrees of gradation instead of the comparative-superlative affixation.

In Ibanag, there are two ways to mark the degree of gradation. One is by adding a comparative particle (henceforth COMP) *mas* 'more', as in (8.7) and (8.8). The other way is through reduplication. The highest degree of gradation (or roughly the superlative degree) is circumfixed by *ka- -an*, as in (8.9) and (8.10).

(8.7)     **Mas**    **bagu** yari   pulsera?         adde   nikaw.
             COMP   new   DEM   bracelet=GEN.1s   than   GEN.2s
             'My bracelet is newer than yours.'

(8.8)     Si      Carol   i      **mas**      **atannang**.
             PERS   Carol   DET   COMP   tall
             'Carol is the one taller.'

(8.9)     Yayya    i      **kakastan** ira     ngamin.
             ABS.3s   DET   nicest     PLU    all
             'She is the nicest of them all.'

(8.10)    Si     Carol   i   **kattannangan**    ngamin   ta     babbay   ira.
             DET   Carol   DET   tallest         all        OBL   girls     PLU
             'Carol is the tallest of all the girls.'

## 8.2 Morphological properties of adjectives

Ibanag adjectives are classified morphologically as bare, derived, and inflected. These classifications are elaborated below.

Table 8.1 presents a summary of the morphological properties of adjectives vis-à-vis nouns and verbs. As can be seen from the table, adjectives, nouns, and verbs share similar morphological properties.

Table 8.1.  Morphological properties of adjectives vis-à-vis nouns and verbs

| Properties | Adjectives | Nouns | Verbs |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1.  bare or unaffixed | yes | yes | no |
| 2.  affixed from derivation | yes | yes | yes |
| 3.  affixed for plural inflection | yes | yes | yes |
| 4.  reduplicated | | | |
|    a.  for intensification | yes | no | yes |
|    b.  for plurality | yes | yes | yes |
| 5. affixed  for gender | yes | yes | no |

## 8.2.1  Monomorphemic adjectives

Monomorphemic adjectives are those that are unaffixed, whether derivational or inflectional.   The following are a few examples of Ibanag monomorphemic adjectives.

Table 8.2.  Monomorphemic adjectives

| Root | English Gloss | Root | English gloss |
|---|---|---|---|
| ngila | 'yellow' | kabbi | 'pity' |
| kafi | 'weak' | talakag | 'lazy' |
| guapa | 'pretty' | kukkul | 'playful' |
| kitul | 'deaf' | mape | 'bitter' |
| dakal | 'big' | baddi | 'small' |
| atannang | 'tall' | akkabbal | 'thin' |

(8.11)    **Kitul**  i     anâ  na.
        deaf   DET  child   GEN.3s
        'His/Her child is deaf.'

(8.12)    **Dakkal**  yab= balay    nu      aranni.
        big         DEM= house  when   near
        'The house is near when (it) is near.'  (Verstraelen 1973:57)

(8.13)  **Atannang** i    atawa'.
        tall         DET  spouse=GEN.1s
        'My spouse is tall.'

## 8.2.2 Derived adjectives

Ibanag has a few affixes which may be used to form adjectives.  As has been previously stated, adjectives that are derived from verbs are called stative verbs by a number of studies on Philippines languages (cf.  Liao 2004; Rufollo 2004).  In this section, there are two derivations of adjectives shown: one from nouns and the other from verbs.

### 8.2.2.1  from nouns

A number of Ibanag adjectives are derived from nouns.  There are various prefixes attached to nouns to form adjectives.

*The prefix na-*

The most typical form of Ibanag adjective is formed by prefixing *na-* to the root word, here, nominal roots.  This structure is similar to the perfective aspect of the stative *ma-*  verb.  Table 8.3 presents some common Ibanag adjectives with *na-* nominal derivatives.

Table 8.3.  The *na-* derived adjectives

| Root | English Gloss | Derived Adjectives | English gloss |
|------|---------------|--------------------|---------------|
| laing | 'intelligence' | nalaing | 'intelligent' |
| tagga | 'hardness' | natagga | 'hard' |
| daping | 'dirt' | nadaping | 'dirty' |
| lappo | 'industry' | nalappo | 'industrious' |
| riku | 'richness' | nariku | 'rich' |
| singngo | 'palatability' | nasingngo | 'palatable' |
| taba | 'fatness' | nataba | 'fat' |

(8.14)  **Natagga** yaw   kayu.
        hard      DEM  wood
        'This wood is hard.'

(8.15)  **Nasingngo** yaw    zinagan
        palatable    DEM   recipe (pork and blood)
        'This (pork and blood) recipe is palatable.'


*the prefix ma-*

Another prefix used to derive adjectives from nouns is *ma-*.  Bauza (1996) notes that the prefix *ma-* means possessing the quality denoted by the baseword.  However, this kind of derivation is not as common as the *na-* derivatives.  Table 8.4 presents a few Ibanag adjectives that are derived from nouns using the prefix *ma-*.


Table 8.4.  The *ma-* derived adjectives

| Root | English Gloss | Derived Adjectives | English gloss |
|------|---------------|--------------------|---------------|
| pasensiya | 'patience' | mapasensiya | 'patient' |
| ngina | 'price' | mangina | 'expensive' |
| sikan | 'strength' | masikan | 'strong' |
| patu | 'heat' | mapatu | 'hot' |
| kafi | 'weakness' | makafi | 'weak' |
| pia | 'goodness' | mapia | 'good' |

(8.16)  **Mapasensiya** i      mestra?.
        patient           DET   teacher=GEN.1s
        'My teacher is patient.'

(8.17)  **Masikan** paga si    Kakay              Berto
        strong     still  DET  HON (grandfather)  Berto
        'Kakay Berto is still strong.'

(8.18)  **Madalu** i      kalsada.
        slippery  DET   road
        'The road is slippery.'

*The prefix maka-*

The prefix *maka-* carries the meaning "causing what the word base denotes". When the base word begins with a vowel *a-*, the derived word is hyphenated. When the base word begins with any of the other vowels, the hyphen is optional. In the case of consonant beginnings, the initial C is reduplicated. The table below presents some of the *maka-* derived adjectives.

Table 8.5. The *maka-* derived adjectives

| Root | English Gloss | Derived Adjectives | English gloss |
|------|---------------|--------------------|--------------|
| bannag | 'tiredness' | makabbannag | 'causing tiredness' |
| ulang | 'boredom' | makaulang | 'causing boredom' |
| taki | 'sickness' | makattaki | 'causing sickness' |
| patay | 'death' | makapatay | 'causing death' |
| bisin | 'hunger' | makabisin | 'causing hunger' |

(8.19)   **Makabannag** tu     makkarela.
         tiresome       DET   to.run
         'It is tiresome to run.'

(8.20)   **Makabisin**       i      singngo na.
         causing.hunger  DET   aroma   GEN.3s
         'Its aroma can cause hunger.'

(8.21)   **Maka**-**sirap**          gapa yari     pomada=m.
         causing.blindness  also   DEM   pomade=GEN.2s
         'Your pomade is blinding.'


*The prefix/infix in-/-in-*

The prefix/infix *in-/-in-* carries the meaning "full of" what the nominal base word denotes. When the base begins with a vowel, *in-* is prefixed; whereas when the base begins with a consonant, *-in-* is infixed. In the process of infixation, a consonant change can possibly occur. At times, when the base begins with a *d-,* this is changed to *z-* and

when the base begins with a *t-,* this is changed to *s-.* The table below presents some of the *–in/-in-* derived adjectives.

Table 8.6. The *–in/-in-* derived adjectives

| Root | English Gloss | Derived Adjectives | English gloss |
|------|---------------|--------------------|---------------|
| batu | 'stone' | binatu | 'full of stones' |
| taggam | 'ant' | sinaggam | 'full of ants' |
| alipo | 'worms' | inalipo | 'full of worms' |
| kutu | 'lice' | kinutu | 'full of lice' |
| daping | 'dirt' | zinaping | 'full of dirt' |

(8.22)  **Inalipo**      ngana    yari    dupo.
full.of.worm    already   DEM   banana
'That banana is already full of worms.'

(8.23)  **Liniddag**     yari    karayan.
full.of.snail   DEM   karayan
'That river is full of snails.'  (w)

*the prefix magâ-*

The prefix *magâ-* carries the meaning "smelling like". The final syllable of the prefix is a glottal stop, especially when the base word begins with a vowel. When the base word begins with a consonant, the initial consonant usually geminates with the prefix, hence the glottal stop is not evident. The table below presents some of the *magâ-* derived adjectives.

Table 8.7. The *magâ-* derived adjectives

| Root | Gloss | Derived Adjectives | Gloss |
|------|-------|--------------------|-------|
| kazzing | 'goat' | magak-kazzing | 'smelling like goat' |
| silam | 'vinegar' | magas-silam | 'smelling like vinegar' |
| uggang | 'sweat' | magâ-uggang | 'smelling like sweat' |
| asogi | 'sulfur' | magâ-asogi | 'smelling like sulfur' |
| kalambag | 'bat' | magak-kalambag | 'smelling like bat' |

(8.24)  **Maga-livun**    yayya.
CAU.livun      yayya
CAU.tomb    ABS.3s
'S/he smells like tomb.'

(8.25)  **Maga-pigge**          i      sabon  mu.
CAU.pigge              i      sabon  mu
CAU.coconut.milk   DET  soap   GEN.2s
'Your soap smells like coconut milk.'

**8.2.2.2  from verbs**

Ibanag adjectives can also be derived from verbs.  Some prefixes used in the derivation are discussed below.

*The prefix na-*

The prefix *na-* is also used in deriving adjectives from verb roots.  This structure resembles the stative *ma-* verbs.  Apparently, this is a type of verbal called 'participle'. As opposed to *na-*derived adjectives discussed earlier, the *na-* derived adjectives here have verbal roots.  Table 7.8 presents a list of these adjectives.

Table 8.8. The *na-* verb derivation adjectives

| Root | Gloss | Derived Adjectives | Gloss |
|------|-------|--------------------|-------|
| renu | 'to clean' | narenu | 'clean |
| daral | 'to spoil' | nadaral | 'spoiled' |
| itura | 'to write' | naitura | 'written' |
| ibassi | 'to break' | naibassi | 'broken' |

(8.26)  Egga **naitura** a    kontrata  da.
        EXI   written  LIG  contract  GEN.3p
        'They have a written contract.'

(8.27)  **Naibassi** a    basu  i    neusa na.
        broken    LIG  glass DET used  ERG.3s
        'H/she used a broken glass.'

*The prefix minaC-*

The prefix *minaC-* carries the meaning "fond of" when attached to the base word which denotes the action being done.  The derived word means that the action denoted by the base word is done iteratively.  The table below presents some of the adjectives that follow this pattern.

Table 8.9. The *minaC-* derived adjectives

| Root | English Gloss | Derived Adjectives | English gloss |
|------|---------------|--------------------|--------------|
| gannug | 'lie' | minaggannug | 'fond  of lying' |
| koko | 'steal' | minakkoko | 'fond of stealing' |
| dayaw | 'praise' | minaddayaw | 'fond of praising' |
| bayle | 'dance' | minabbayle | 'fond of dancing' |
| garuli | 'sin' | minattagaruli | 'sinful' |
| allallo | 'mercy' | minaggallallo | 'merciful' |

(8.28) … ngem ta kakurugan na ay **minaggannug**,
… but OBL truth LIG TL ITER-.lie

**minakkelug**, **minaddaya**-rayaw ta sinan-dios ira,
ITER- greed ITER- worship OBL like.god PLU

**minammara**-**parake** ta ikattolay na, **minaggilellaw**
ITER- slander OBL life GEN.3s ITER-.drink

onu **minakkoko**. (1 Corinto 5:11)
or ITER-.steal

'…but the truth is s/he is a liar, greedy, worships idols, a slanderer,
or a drunkard or a thief '

(8.29) Afu Jesus, initavvung mu i **minattagaruli** ira.
HON Jesus threw ERG.2s DET sinful PLU
'Lord Jesus, you offered those sinful ones.' (w)


## 8.2.3 Inflected adjectives

Ibanag adjectives undergo inflection due to the following: pluralization, intensification, and gradation. These processes are discussed in turn.

### 8.2.3.1 For pluralization

There are two ways to signal plurality in Ibanag. One is through reduplication and another is through the plurality marker *ira*. Just like in nouns, when the head adjective is not morphologically inflected for plurality, the versatile plurality marker *ira* would. Often, this marker precedes the head adjective. In sentence (8.30) below, the head adjective is *mataki* 'sick' which is not marked for plurality. Hence, *ira* follows the adjective. The occurrence of *ira* is also possible even if the head adjective is already marked for plurality, that is, reduplication occurs within the word. Consider sentence (8.31).

(8.30) Afu Jesus, inurum i **mataki** ira.
HON Jesus cure DET sick PLU
'Lord Jesus, cure the sick ones.' (w)

(8.31)   Inagaladda        i        **darakal**   ira.
         called     ERG.3p DET  big.PL    PLU
         'They called the tall ones.'


The other way to mark plurality in Ibanag is through reduplication.  Depending on the morphological make-up of the word, there are various reduplicant shapes that signal plurality.  It should be noted that plurality in adjectives is a distinct feature of Philippine-type languages.


*The CV shape*

Some bare adjectives form their plural by reduplicating the initial CV of the base word.  As has been a distinct characteristic of Ibanag morphology, a consonant change occurs in the process of reduplication.  If the consonant in the reduplicant shape is either *d-* or *b-*, this is changed to *r-* when reduplicated.  Below are some examples of this pattern.


Table 8.10.  Plural adjectives

| Root | English Gloss | Derived Adjectives | English gloss |
|------|---------------|--------------------|---------------|
| dakal | 'big' | darakal | 'big (plural)' |
| baddi | 'small' | baraddi | 'small (plural)' |
| ababba | 'short' | abbarabba | 'short (plural)' |


(8.32)   Napakaru  i     pangakusan  na  **darakal**  na    papari
         so.many   DET  accusations  of  big.PL    LIG  priest.PL

         kani   Jesus.
         OBL   Jesus

         'The high priests have many accusations against Jesus.' (Marcos 15:3)


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(8.33)    Nakasingan na        tu    **baraddi**   nga  lappaw ira.
          saw.ABIL    ERG.1s DET   small.PL  LIG  flower  PLU
          'I was able to see small flowers.'


*The CVC shape*

Another reduplicant shape that signal plurality is the CVC reduplication.  Here, the initial CVC of the base word is reduplicated and is then attached to the adjective-forming prefix *na-* and the base word itself.  Note that this particular process resembles that of the intensification process.  In sentence (8.34), *nalallapo* índustrious' must be plural here, as suggested by the head noun *tottolay* 'people'.  Furthermore, the source where this sentence is lifted provides other versions in other languages which confirm all the more that *nalallappo* is taken as plural here.

Conversely, sentence (8.35) uses the same structure of *nalallappo* but used otherwise here.  As can be deduced from the free translation, such is used to express intensification.  Indeed, CVC reduplication expresses both plurality and intensification.


(8.34)    **Nalallappo**        it=tattole ira    tak    koman
          industrious.PL  DET=person.PL LOC   field
          'The people in the field are industrious.'  (Tsuchida et al. 1989:76)

*contrast with:*

(8.35)    Im    maginganay  in    **nalallappo**
          DET  maiden         DET  very.industrious
          'The maiden is the one very industrious (not the bachelor)
          (Tsuchida et al. 1989:52)


**8.2.3.2  for intensification**

Ibanag  adjectives  are  generally  intensified  through  reduplication.    For monosyllabic adjectives, either the initial or the first two letters are reduplicated.  In the case of polysyllabic adjectives, the first two syllables are usually reduplicated.    The

various patterns of reduplication involved in the intensification of adjectives are discussed below.

*The bare adjectives*

For bare adjectives, the reduplicant shape varies. Some disyllabic items have the initial two letters reduplicated, as in the first three examples in the table below. Other disyllabic items have the first four letters reduplicated.

Table 8.11.  The CVC intensified adjectives

| Root | English Gloss | Derived Adjectives | English gloss |
|------|---------------|--------------------|---------------|
| kabbi | pity | **kak**kabbi | pitiful |
| tunung | straight | **tut**tunung | very straight |
| alinno | short/low | **ali**llinno | very short/very low |

Some bare adjectives are fully reduplicated to signal intensification. Note that a vowel change occurs in the reduplication. In the reduplicated root, the vowel in the second syllable is changed to the vowel of the first syllable. However, there is no change in the consonants. The structure then becomes:

$$C_1V_1C_2V_1$$

Figure 3.  Reduplication pattern for intensification

Table 8.12.  Adjectives fully reduplicated for intensification

| Root | English Gloss | Derived Adjectives | English gloss |
|------|---------------|--------------------|---------------|
| killu | 'crooked' | killikillu | 'very crooked' |
| bagu | 'new' | bagabagu | 'very new' |
| dakal | 'big' | dakadakal | 'very big' |
| dana | 'old' | dana-dana | 'very old' |

(8.36)    Ta    kabalin na,  kinarolig na        i     **daka-dakal**
            LOC  finish   PF  rolled    ERG.3s DET  very.big

                        nga batu   nga  nipanerra da       ta     puerta
                        LIG  stone REL  blocked   ERG.3p LOC  entrance

                        na   livun.
                        LIG  tomb

            'After that, he rolled the very big stone which they used to block the entrance of the tomb.'(Marcos 15:46)

(8.37)    **Bagabagu** paga yari  netabbo na       nga  sinnung na.
            very.new   still    DEM thrown  ERG.3s LIG  clothes GEN.3s
            'The clothes that she threw are still very new.'

*The derived adjectives*

As for the derived or prefixed adjectives, there are two patterns that are used for intensification. The first is the $C_1VC_1$ reduplication where the initial consonant is also the final consonant in the reduplicant shape. Some examples of this pattern are provided in Table 8.13.

Table 8.13. The $C_1VC_1$ reduplicant shape for intensification

| Root | English Gloss | Derived Adjectives | English gloss |
|------|---------------|--------------------|---------------|
| nalappo | industrious | nalallappo | very industrious |
| nakasta | nice | nakakkasta | very nice |
| nakabbal | thin | nakakkabbal | very thin |
| natagga | hard | natattagga | very hard |
| nalapo' | soft | nalallapo' | very soft |

The other pattern of intensification for affixed or derived adjectives is the $C_1V_1C_2V_1$. In this pattern, the two consonants depend on the first two syllables of the base word and the vowels depend only on the vowel of the first syllable. The first four

examples in Table 8.14 illustrate this pattern.  Note that if the base word is disyllabic, then the pattern is full reduplication.  The last four examples illustrate this pattern.


(8.38)  Ngatta ta  **nakakkabbal** ka      sangaw?
        why    PAR very.thin     ABS.2s  now
        'Why are you very thin now?'

(8.39)  **Nalallapo**' i     inafi tam.
        very.soft DET  rice  GEN.1p
        'Our rice is very soft.'


Table 8.14.  The $C_1V_1C_2V_1$ reduplicant shape for intensification

| Root | English Gloss | Derived Adjectives | English gloss |
|------|---------------|--------------------|--------------| 
| nalammo | 'quiet' | nalammalammo | 'very quiet' |
| nakunnal | 'thick' | nakunnukunnal | 'very thick' |
| naguribo | 'dark' | naguru-guribo | 'very dark' |
| napatu | 'hot' | napatapatu | 'very hot' |
| nangisi | 'black' | nangisingisi | 'very black' |
| nataba | 'fat' | natabataba | 'very fat' |
| nasikan | 'strong' | nasikasikan | 'very strong' |


(8.40)  **Napatapatu** gapa    taw.
        very.hot      really  here.
        'It is really very hot in here.'

(8.41)  **Naguruguribo** ta     kusina.
        very.dark        LOC    kitchen
        'It is very dark in the kitchen.'

(8.42)  **Nakunnukunnal**  i       libru'.
        very.thick        DET     book=GEN.1s
        'My book is very thick.'

**8.2.3.3  For gradation**

Aside from intensification, Ibanag adjectives are also inflected for gradation. Since the marks for the comparative and superlative degrees in Ibanag are not phonologically related (as opposed to the –er - -est and the *more-most* dichotomy in English), it may be more appropriate to use gradation over comparison. There are three degrees of gradation in Ibanag which are discussed below.

*Comparative degree*

The comparativity of Ibanag adjectives is done by adding the comparative particle *mas* to the root adjective. The same comparative article is used for both bare and derived adjectives. The *mas* particle is also used in Tagalog (cf. Schachter & Otañes, 1972)

Table 8.15.  Comparative adjectives

| Root | English Gloss | Derived Adjectives | English gloss |
|------|---------------|--------------------|--------------| 
| atannang | 'tall' | mas atannang | 'taller' |
| nataba | 'fat' | mas nataba | 'fatter' |
| alistu | 'fast' | mas alistu | 'faster' |
| arayyu | 'far' | mas arayyu | 'farther' |
| nasikan | 'strong' | mas nasikan | 'stronger' |
| nalapo' | 'soft' | mas nalapo' | 'softer' |

(8.43)  **Mas   napia** nyo'    anne  kanni Ana.
COMP  good  OBL.1s  than  OBL  Ana
'Mine is better than Ana's.' (Verstraelen 1973:9)

(8.44)  **Mas   mapia** i    mangiyawa anne  ta    mangalawa. (PRO)
COMP  good  DET  give           than  LOC   receive
'It is better to give than to receive.'

*Moderate degree*

Ibanag adjectives are also intensified for moderation. This is done through reduplication. The reduplication expresses the meaning "rather" or "somewhat". Note that this kind of intensification is usually applicable to derived adjectives, not bare ones. The initial CV(C) of the base is then reduplicated and is infixed between the derivational prefix *na-* and the base word.

Table 8.16. Moderate degree adjectives

| Root | English Gloss | Derived Adjectives | English gloss |
|---|---|---|---|
| mapatu | 'hot' | mapapatu | 'somewhat hot' |
| malannaw | 'fresh' | malallannaw | 'somewhat fresh' |
| makasta | 'pretty' | makakkasta | 'somewhat pretty' |
| manawag | 'bright' | mananawag | 'somewhat bright' |

(8.45)  **Malalannaw**      yari    ikan.
        somewhat.fresh DEM   fish
        'That fish is somewhat fresh.'

(8.46)  **Mananawag**        i      pintura   nab=balay.
        somewhat.bright  DET   paint      LIG=house
        'The paint of the house is somewhat bright.'

*Superlative degree*

In the case of the highest degree of gradation, or roughly the superlative degree, the inflection is marked by the circumfix *ka-  -an*. When the base word ends with a vowel, however, the consonant *t-* is added to the suffix *–an*, hence, *-tan.* In addition, a vowel change also occurs. The table below presents some of the inflected adjectives.

Table 8.17. Adjectives in superlative degree

| Root | English Gloss | Derived Adjectives | English gloss |
|------|---------------|--------------------|---------------|
| dakal | 'big' | kadakallan | 'biggest' |
| lappô | 'industry' | kalappattan | 'most industrious' |
| lapô | 'softness' | kalapattan | 'softest' |
| dammô | 'weight' | kadammattan | 'heaviest' |
| lappaw | 'lightness' | kalappawan | 'lightest' |
| kastá | 'nice, pretty' | kakastan | 'nicest, prettiest' |

(8.47)  Yari   bag  mu       i       **kadammattan** ngamin  taw.
        DEM   bag  GEN.2s  DET   heaviest              all        here
        'Your bag is the heaviest of all here.'

(8.48)  Yaw  i       **kadakkalan** nga  barenghenas  nga  nassingak=ku.
        this  DET   biggest            LIG   eggplant         REL   seen=ERG.1s
        'This is the biggest eggplant that I have seen.'

(8.49)  Ta    appa nga ana'      ku         ira,   si      Ben   i
        DET   four LIG   offspring GEN.1s   PLU   PERS  Ben   DET

              kalappatan.
              most.industrious

        'Of my four children, Ben is the most industrious.'

(8.50)  Yayya   i        kakastan nga maginganay ta      baryo  mi.

        ABS.3s  DET    prettiest LIG  maiden          LOC  barrio GEN.1p
        'She is the prettiest maiden in our barrio.'

## 8.2.4  Gender of adjectives

Aside from the three aspects discussed above, gender is also morphologically marked in Ibanag.  Although native Ibanag adjectives do not exhibit genders, loanwords, especially Spanish, do mark gender morphologically.  The -a - -o dichotomy is used to indicate gender for Ibanag loaned adjectives.

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Table 8.18.  Ibanag loaned adjectives with gender distinction

| Root | English Gloss | Derived Adjectives | English gloss |
|------|---------------|--------------------|---------------|
| relihiyoso | religious man | relihiyosa | religious woman |
| Ambisyoso | ambitious man | ambisyosa | religious woman |
| Chismoso | man mongerer | chismosa | woman mongerer |

(8.51)    I     tadday nga kofun ku,    **ambisyosa**; yari    tadday
         DET  one    LIG friend GEN.1s ambitious    DEM    one

         **chismoso**               gapa.
         rumor.mongerer(male)    EMP

'One of my friends is ambitious; another is a rumor-mongerer.'


## 8.3  Syntactic properties of adjectives

Adjectives can function as sole predicates or as modifiers of NPs.  These functions are further elaborated below.


### 8.3.1  Predicate in a non-verbal clause

Like nouns, adjectives can also function as predicates in non-verbal clause.  This is the predicative function of adjectives.  Since Ibanag is typically a predicate-initial language, adjectives when used predicatively therefore take the initial position in a non-verbal clause.    The following examples illustrate how adjectives can be used predicatively.

(8.52)    **Mapapatu**       taw.
         somewhat.hot    here
         'It is hot (in) here.'

(8.53)    **Masikan** i      wagi?
         strong    DET  sibling=GEN.1s
         'My brother/sister is strong.'

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(8.54)  **Baraddi**   yari   kitaw  ira.
        small.PLU  DEM   cat    PLU
        'The cats are small.'

(8.55)  **Narerenu** i      bale   da.
        very.clean  DET   house  GEN.3p
        'Their house is very clean.'

## 8.3.2 Modifier within a NP

Adjectives can either take the pre-head or post-head position as NP modifier.  In this case, only full NPs or lexical nouns can be pre-modified or post-modified by an adjective.  Either way, these adjectives are conjoined to the head NP by the ligature -(ng)a.  Note that the structure of a post-head modifier resembles that of a relative clause.

ADJ + LIG +  NP

NP + LIG + ADJ

Figure 4.   Structure of NPs with adjectives as modifiers

## 8.3.2.1  As pre-head modifiers

Aside from the predicative function of adjective, it can also function as attribute. In this structure, the adjective is preceded by an NP, not the other way around.

(8.56)  **guapa**   a      maginganay
        pretty    LIG   lady
        'pretty lady'

Note that when adjectives function as pre-head modifiers, they resemble the structure of an adjectival predicate with an NP relative clause.  However, it is very

unlikely that the NP clause functions as a relative clause to the adjectival predicate. Using the example above, if the ligature phrase would be interpreted as a relative clause to the adjective *guapa* 'pretty', then the free translation of *guapa a maginganay* would be 'pretty who is a lady'. Thus, the translation 'pretty lady' is more appropriate. Consider the other examples presented below:

    (8.57)    i    **talakag** nga tolay
                DET lazy    LIG person
                'a lazy person'

    (8.58)    ta    **arayyu** a    lugar
                LOC far      LIG place
                'in a far place'

    (8.59)    i    **killu**    a    rason  nu
                DET  crooked LIG reason GEN.2p
                'your crooked reason'

    (8.60)    i    **nataba** nga  manu
                DET  fat    LIG   chicken
                'the fat chicken'


### 8.3.2.2 As post-head modifiers

When adjectives occur as modifier within a noun phrase, they behave like complements in a relative clause. These adjectives are conjoined to the NP by a ligature *(ng)a*. Using the same examples as above, when the same adjectives are used as post-modifiers of the head NP, then the structure would be NP modified by a relative clause. Consider the examples below.


    (8.61)    maginganay nga **guapa**
                lady          LIG pretty
                'lady who is pretty'

    (8.62)    i     tolay    nga **talakag**
                DET person LIG lazy
                'a person who is lazy'

(8.63)    ta    lugar  nga  **arayu**
LOC  place  LIG  far
'in a place which is far'

(8.64)    i    rason  nu      a  **killu**
DET  reason  GEN.2p  LIG  crooked
'your crooked reason'

(8.65)    i    manu  a  **nataba**
DET  chicken  LIG  fat
'the chicken which is fat'

(8.66)    I    **makasta** nga babay  ay  pira  ta    lima=m,
DET  pretty    LIG  girl    TL  silver  OBL  hand=GEN.2s

            i    **mapia** nga babay ay vulawan ta    kaban.
            DET  good  LIG girl    TL  gold    OBL  true

'A pretty girl is silver in your hands; a good girl is gold in the true.'

## 8.4 Semantic properties of adjectives

Dixon (2004) presents thirteen semantic types of adjectives that usually occur cross-linguistically.  These are dimension, physical property, value, color, human propensity, speed, quantification, difficulty, age, position, qualification, similarity, and numeral.  Numerals, in this paper, are treated separately since they constitute a lexical category of their own.  These semantic types are discussed in turn.

### 8.4.1 Dimension

Dimension adjectives probably constitute one of the biggest semantic classes of Ibanag adjectives.  These adjectives refer to size, shape, breadth, height of an entity. The table below presents some of the dimension adjectives which are antonymic.  The first two columns are more of the 'positive' connotation and the other two columns are their counterparts.

Table 8.19.    Dimension adjectives

| Adjectives | Gloss | Adjectives | Gloss |
|------------|-------|------------|-------|
| dakal | 'big' | baddi | 'small' |
| apaddu | 'long' | ababba | 'short' |
| nataba | 'fat' | nakabbal | 'slim' |
| nakannag | 'thick' | naeppi | 'thin' |
| alawa | 'loose' | atazzi | 'tight' |
| adalam | 'deep' | ababbaw | 'shallow' |

(8.67)    **Apaddu** i        palda na.
           long    DET  skirt  GEN.3s
           'Her skirt is long.'

(8.68)    I    alinannang **adalam** nu agi ay    **ababbaw**.
           DET whirlpool      deep    if current    shallow
           'The whirlpool is deep if the current is shallow.'

## 8.4.2 Physical property

The other largest semantic class consists of physical property adjectives. Not all items in this class have their antonyms. Six pairs are presented here, however. As to the taste of food, the opposite is usually negated by *ari* 'not'. Below is a list of the physical property adjectives in Ibanag.

Table 8.20.  Physical property adjectives

| Adjectives | Gloss | Adjectives | Gloss |
|------------|-------|------------|-------|
| matagga | 'hard' | malapo | 'soft' |
| madammo | 'heavy' | malappaw | 'light' |
| maribbo | 'dark' | manawak | 'bright' |
| mapatu | 'hot' | malammin | 'cold' |
| Finu | fine | gurdu | 'coarse' |
| nataram | 'sharp' | dulpag | dull |
| nasingngo | delicious | mape | 'bitter' |
| nalsam | 'sour' | natammi | 'sweet' |

(8.69)      Ari         **mape**   yaw   nga    apape
             NEG.EXI   bitter   DEM   LIG     bitter.gourd
             'This bitter gourd is not bitter.'

(8.70)      **Nataram** ngana     yari    kutsilyo.
             sharp       already   DEM   knife
             'The knife is already sharp.'

(8.71)      **Maribbo** ta      utun.
             dark         LOC    up
             'It's dark up there.'

(8.72)      **Matagga**' ngana    yaw    kabatenggal.
             hard        already   DEM   sponge.gourd
             'This sponge gourd is already hard.'

(8.73)      I      brasi     nga   inikkaw,   nu ari        attazzi,
             DET   clothes   LIG   borrowed   if    NEG.EXI     tight

                  **alawa**   nikaw. (P)
                  loose    OBL.1s

             'Clothes that are borrowed are either tight or loose.'

## 8.4.3 Value

Value adjectives refer to the worth, importance or usefulness of something. Some members of this class have opposite counterparts. These are presented in table 8.20 below.

Table 8.21.   Value adjectives

| Adjectives | Gloss | Adjectives | Gloss |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mapia | 'good' | marake | 'bad' |
| Mangina | 'expensive' | nalaka | 'cheap' |
| nariga' | 'difficult' | nalogon | 'easy' |
| Naladda | 'sturdy' | | |

(8.74)   Naladda yaw  nga sapatu.
         sturdy    this  LIG shoes
         'These shoes are sturdy.'


(8.75)   Ari     marigâ  i      mattolay  nu  ammu=m      i
         NEG  difficult  DET  life          if    know=ABS.2s  DET

         makipattadday.
         cooperate

         'Life is not difficult if you know how to cooperate.'


(8.76)   **Marakê**  i      gannu-gannug  da.
         bad       DET  actions              GEN.3p
         'Their actions are bad.'


## 8.4.4  Color

Some basic colors have native terms in Ibanag and some are adapted from Spanish.  Table 8.21 presents the native and the loaned color terms in Ibanag.  There are also some Ibanag colors that are based on particular nominals.  If these are referred to, the word *kolor* 'color' is hyphenated to the nominal.


Table 8.22.   Ibanag basic colors

| Adjective | Gloss | Adjective | Gloss |
|-----------|-------|-----------|-------|
| Uzin | 'red' | furaw | 'white' |
| Ngila | 'yellow' | nangisi | 'black' |
| Berde | 'green' | kahu | 'gray' |


(8.77)   **Marake**  i      gawa-gawayan  da.
         bad        DET  actions              GEN.3p
         'Their actions are bad.'

(8.78)   **Kolor**-**kahu**  yari   sinnun na.
         color.ash   DEM  shirt  GEN.3s
         'His/her shirt is gray.'


(8.79)   **Uzzin** i      nasingak=ku  nga kwartu  na.
         red   DET  saw=ERG.1s  LIG  money  GEN.3s
         'His money which I saw is red (referring to 50-peso bill).'


(8.80)   Nu     natolay **mangisi**, nu     matay **mafuraw**.
         when alive    black     when dead  white
         'When alive, it is black; when dead, it is white.'  (r)


## 8.4.5  Human propensity

Adjectives in this class refer to particular behaviors demonstrated by humans. An incomplete inventory of this class is presented below.   .

Table 8.23    Human propensity adjectives

| Adjective | Gloss | Adjective | Gloss |
|-----------|-------|-----------|-------|
| Malappo | 'industrious' | talakak | 'lazy' |
| Madammo | 'strong' | makafi | 'weak' |
| Laddug | 'liar' | tarku | 'coward' |
| matagga-tagga | 'proud' | itu | 'selfish |


(8.81)   I     **talakag** ay  makkappak, i  **malappo**  massappo. (P)
         DET  lazy    TL  fasts       DET industrious feasts
         'The lazy fasts, the industrious feasts.'


(8.82)   Ari   ka      nga  **mataggatagga** ta       sikaw
         NEG  ABS.2s  LIG  proud           because  ABS.2s

         babay   ka        nga  neyana'. . .
         woman  ABS.2s  REL  born. . .

'Do not be proud for you have been born a woman…'

### 8.4.6 Speed, quantification, age, and difficulty

Speed adjectives are generally small in number. Among the members of this class are *alistu* 'fast', *battag* 'slow', *paspas* 'fast', *nabayag* 'slow'.

(8.83) **Nabattag** i pag-ung ira.
slow DET turtle PLU
'Turtles are slow.'

Note that when the adjective *alistu* 'fast' appears before a verb, it does not function as adjective but as an adverb. Contrast sentence (7.84) and (7.85) below: the first exemplifies the adjective *alistu;* whereas, the second exemplies its use as an adverb.

(8.84) **Alistu** yari takay na.
fast DEM car GEN.3s
'His/Her car is fast.'

(8.85) **Alistu** yayya makkarela.
fast ABS.3s run
'S/he runs fast.'

Quantification adjectives are non-numeral quantifiers. The most common members are *aru* 'many, much' and *baddi* 'few, little'. Note that these quantification terms are the same as some of the indefinite pronouns discussed earlier. The difference, however, lies in the syntax. When these quantification terms appear before nominals, they function as adjectives. When they function as the sole predicate in a clause, then they function as indefinite pronouns. Compare the sentences below:

(8.86) **Baddi** nga gatto i ipay mu.
little LIG milk DET put ERG.2s
'You put little milk.'

(8.87) **Baddi** i neppay na.
much DET put.PERF ERG.3s
'S/he put (just a) little.'

(8.88)    Aru    nga  lima   palappawan na        obra
            many  LIG  hands  ABIL.light    GEN.3s  work
            Many hands will make the work light.'

Age when referring to humans is expressed in antonymic pair as *bako* 'old' and *abbing* 'young'. On the other hand, when the referent is another living thing, such as fruit, the expressions *malutu* 'ripe' and nata 'unripe' are used.

(8.89)    Aranni ngana    nga  **malutu**  yari  bayyabo.
            near    already  REL  ripe     DEM  guava
            'The guava is about to be ripened.'

The degree of difficulty is expressed through the terms *nalapo'* 'easy' and *nariga* 'difficult' or 'hard'. Note that these terms can also function as adverb. The examples below illustrate their function as adjective.

(8.90)    **Nalapo'** laman yari   eksamen.
            easy     only  DEM  examination
            'The examination was rather easy.'

(8.91)    **Nariga**  yari    kansion.
            difficult  DEM  song
            'The song is difficult.'

## 8.4.7 Position, qualification, similarity

Position adjectives in Ibanag constitute a small group. The most common of this class is the antonymic pair *arayyu* 'far' and *aranni* 'near'. Both adjectives also undergo the same process of gradation and intensification. As this antonymic pair both begin with a vowel, the reduplication pattern for intensification is CV$_2$. Hence, the initial vowel is not reduplicated. The table below presents a comparison of *arayu* and *aranni.*

(8.92)    **Arayyu** paga  i     balay  mi.
            far      still  DET  house  GEN.3p
            'Our house is still far.'

(8.93)  **Aranni** ngana   i      eskwela da.
        near   already DET  school  GEN.3p
        "their school is already near.'


As for qualification, the most common member of this class is the antonymic pair *kurug* 'true' and *laddug* 'lie'


(8.94)  **Kurug** yari    kinnagi  na.
        true    DEM    said     ABS.3s
        'What s/he said is true.'


(8.95)  **Laddug** laman nga   nasingak=ku   yayya.
        lie         only  REL  saw=ERG.1s   ABS.3s
        'It is only a lie that I saw him/her.'


To express similarity in Ibanag, or the lack of it, the expressions *maggiritta* 'alike' and *madduruma* 'different' are used.  Consider the following example.


(8.96)  **Maggiritta** i ulu, **nadduruma**   i       kinattu.
        alike       DET   not.the.same DET   carried
        Heads, they appear alike but what they carry are so unlike.'


## 8.5  Summary

Ibanag has a distinct lexical category called 'adjectives'.  There are three aspects of Ibanag adjectives presented in this chapter:  the morphological, syntactic and semantic properties.   There are four areas of morphology discussed here: the monomorphemic or bare adjectives, the derived, the inflected, and the morphologically-marked gender of adjectives.  As for the syntactic properties of Ibanag adjectives, two are identified: as predicate in a non-verbal clause and as modifier in NPs.   As to the semantic properties of Ibanag adjectives, there are twelve categories in all.  In addition, various examples are provided to exemplify how adjectives function in Ibanag.

# Chapter 9

# VERBS

## 9.1 Introduction

As has been frequently noted by Philippinists, the verbal system constitutes the most complicated, and thus most challenging, area of any Philippine language. There are various affixes that can occur with a verb and these affixes can encode a wide range of information. A root word can carry a prefix, suffix, infix, or even a circumfix. These affixes can encode aspect, focus, transitivity, number, and even core arguments. All these features are discussed at length in the sections that follow. The topics discussed in this chapter are outlined below.

9.2   Focus

9.3   Transitivity

9.4   Aspects

9.5   Classes

## 9.2 Focus

Although this study adapts the ergative-absolutive analysis, focus system analysis is also illustrated in this section. Barlaan (1999) stresses that a basic clause in any Philippine-type language, or Isnag for that matter, consists of an affixed verb followed by one or more NP which is marked as the focused NP. Similarly, Thomas (1958) describes 'focus' as a device to put in the limelight a noun in any of the major sentence spots. On the other hand, Forster (1964:28) defines the 'focus system' as "an orientation of attention toward one of the grammatical roles." Dean's (1958) description of Bilaan introduced the concept of "focus" in analyzing Philippine verbs as opposed to the concept of "voice" in English. Since then, various philippinists have pursued similar analysis, as discussed by French (1987).

In Ibanag, the focus types are classified into two: the intransitives exhibit Actor Focus (hereafter AF), and the transitives Goal Focus (GF). The goal foci are further classified as Patient Focus (PF), Locative Focus (LF), Benefactive Focus (BF),

Instrumental Focus (IF), Comitative Focus (CF), and Theme Focus (TF). It should be noted that, as Naylor (1973) points out, all focused items are necessarily definite. Table 9.1 presents the summary of affixes for each focus type.

Table 9.1  Summary of affixes of major focus types

| Macro Role | Semantic Role | Focus Affix |
|---|---|---|
| Actor (INTRANS) | Actor | ag-<br>-um-<br>mang- |
| Goal (TRANSITIVE) | Patient | -an |
| | Locative | -an |
| | Benefactive | i- -an |
| | Instrumental | pag-, pang- |
| | Comitative | ka- |
| | Theme | i- |

## 9.2.1 Actor focus

Actor focus verbs take at most, one core argument in absolute case whose relationship to the verb is that of `actor'. Actor focus verbs may be formed with the prefixes *mag-* or *mang-*, or the infix *-um-*.

As is the nature of Ibanag morphology, the final consonant in the prefix *mag-* geminates with the initial consonant of the root verb. Examples (9.1), (9.2), and (9.3) illustrate *mag-* prefixes, whereas (9.4) and (9.5) illustrate *–um-* infixes.

(9.1)   **Nak**=karela        ira.
         nag-karela        ira
         PERF- run        ABS.3p
         'They ran.'

(9.2)   **Nag**=giggi        na'        ngana.
         nag- giggi        na'        ngana
         PERF- brush    ABS.1s        already
         'I brushed (my teeth) already.'

(9.3)    **Mab**=bayle    tam.
         mag-bayle    tam
         IMP- dance    ABS.1pi
         'Let's dance.'

(9.4)    T**um**addag    kamu.
         um- taddag    kamu
         stand        ABS.2p
         '(You) stand.'

(9.5)    L**um**akak    ka        'na.
         um- lakak    ka        ngana
         IMP- walk    ABS.2s    now
         '(You) walk now.'

Note that some verbs morphologically contain the actor prefix *mag-* but lacks the actor semantically, as in the following examples:

(9.6)    **Nallelay**        i        lappaw.
         nag- laylay    i        lappaw
         PERF- wilt    ABS    flower
         'The flower wilted.'

(9.7)    **Nalluag**        i        danum    ngana.
         nag- luag    i        danum    ngana
         PERF- boil    ABS    water    already
         'The water has boiled.'

## 9.2.2  Goal focus

There are five types of goal that are identified here:  the patient, benefactive, instrumental, locative, and theme.  These foci are discussed in turn.  The findings of Barlaan (1999) for Isnag that goal is the most frequent overtly occurring role in discourse concurs with Ibanag.

### 9.2.2.1 Patient focus

The patient focus takes an argument in the absolutive case whose semantic role with respect to the verb is that of `patient'. The patient focus suffix is -*an* (perfective -*in*-). The suffix -*an* typically forms transitive verbs where the absolutive argument is directly affected by a volitional actor. Table 9.2 presents some examples of patient focus verbs.

Table 9.2. Patient focus verbs

| lappag | 'slap' | lappagan | 'to slap someone' |
|--------|--------|----------|-------------------|
| kabbang | 'scratch' | kabbangan | 'to scratch someone' |
| gappo | 'cut' | gappatan | 'to cut something' |
| gafut | 'catch' | gafutan | 'to catch something' |
| baggaw | 'wash' | baggawan | 'to wash something' |
| bobbol | 'heat' | bobbolan | 'to heat something' |

(9.8)     **Kabbangam**=mu        labbi    i      likuk=ku.
           kabbang- an=mu           labbi    i      likuk=ku
           IMP-scratch- PAT=ERG.2s    first     ABS   back=GEN.1s
           '(You) scratch my back first.'

(9.9)     **Kingkingkilikan**=na            i       abbing.
           R- kingkilik- an=na            i       abbing
           R(CONT)- tickle- PAT=ERG.3s   ABS    child
           'S/he tickles the child.'

(9.10)     **Babbakam**=mu            labbi   yari       deko.
           babbak –an =mu           labbi   yari       deko
           IMP- pound-PAT= ERG.2s    first     DEM/ABS   glutinous.rice
           '(You) pound the glutinous rice first.'

(9.11)     **Baraggan**= nu            i       manu'    ira.
           barag –an=nu            i       manu'    ira
           IMP-throw –PAT=ERG.2p    ABS     chicken   PLU
           '(You) stone the chickens.'

(9.12) **Binobbolan**      ni          Mario    i      nagkoko.
      -in- bobbol -an      ni          Mario    i      nag- koko
      PERF- beat-PAT    PERS/ERG  Mario    DET  PERF- steal
      'Mario beat the thief (lit. one who stole).'


### 9.2.2.2 Locative focus

As mentioned earlier, -an is a versatile locative suffix.  In verbs, the locative focus is likewise formed by the suffix –an.  It means that the absolutive argument is the location where the action occurred.

(9.13) **Lelevutan**                  na      kitu   i    tienda  nu.
      R- levu –an                  na      kitu   i    tienda  nu
      R(CONT)-go.around-LOC  ERG    dog   ABS  store   GEN.3p

      'The dog is going around your store.'

(9.14) **Baggawam**=mu          i       takay.
      baggaw- an=mu          i        takay
      IMP-wash-LOC=ERG.2s    ABS.    car

      '(You) wash the car.'

(9.15) **Kinokkoban**=na        i      likuk  na   balay     da.
      -in- kokkob- an=na        i      likuk  na   balay     da
      PERF- dig –LOC=ERG.3s  ABS   back  LIG  house    GEN.3p

      'S/he dug their backyard.'


In addition, the suffix –an also indicates addition or removal of something in relation with a location.

(9.16) **Bistian**            nu      ngana  yari  sala.
      IMP-bisti –an      nu      ngana  yari   sala
      decorate            ERG.2p  now    DEM  living.room

      '(You) decorate the living room now.'

(9.17)   **Ginihhitan**      ni     Manang Flor  i     interu  balay.
         -in- gihhit –an     ni     Manang Flor  i     interu  balay
         PERF- clean   ERG HON      Flor  ABS   entire  house

'Manang Flor cleaned the entire house.'

### 9.2.2.3  Benefactive focus

Benefactive focus usually takes a human argument and is case marked as absolutive.  The absolutive argument is understood as the one benefiting the action of the verb.  It also means that the action that was supposedly performed by him/her is performed by someone else.  Benefactive focus is formed by the circumfix *i- -an* (or *in- an* for the perfective aspect).  Note that the prefix *i-* is a theme affix and the suffix *–an* is a locative.  Hence, benefactive focus is a combination of theme and locative affixes.

(9.18)   **Ibabbalak**= ku            labbi           i     ana'   ku.
         babbal- i- -an=ku            labbi           i     ana'   ku
         IMP-wash- BEN= ERG.1s   for.a.moment  DET   child   GEN.1s

'I will just wash (clothes) for my child.'

(9.19)   Ari    ku     **naibattangan**     ta    innafi  si     yena.
         ari    ku     na-i-battang-an     ta    innafi  si     yena
         NEG   ERG.1s  IMP- leave - BEN   OBL  rice      ABS  mother

'I was not able to leave rice for mother.'

### 9.2.2.4  Instrumental focus

The instrument focus assigns the absolutive case to the instrument, tool, or any means used in carrying out the action.  The prefix *i- pag-* (or *pinag-* for the perfective) is used to form benefactive focus.

(9.20)   **Ipinattura;=** na            yari   bolpek=ku          ganguri
         i-pinag- tura=na              yari   bolpek=ku          ganguri
         PERF-INST- write=ERG.3s   DEM    ballpen=GEN.1s   a.while.ago

'S/he used my ballpen for writing a while ago (lit. S/he wrote with
 my ballpen a while ago).'

(9.21)  **Ipinabbaggaw** = na          yari    danum   ta    baldi.
        pinag- baggaw= na             yari    danum   ta    baldi
        PERF- INST-wash=ERG.2s   DEM    water   OBL   pail

'S/he used the water in the pail for washing.'


### 9.2.2.5  Comitative focus

In comitative focus, the party with whom the action is performed with is the absolute argument.  It is formed by the prefix *ka-* (or *kina-* for the perfective) and the root verb.  Since *ka-* is also a nominalizer, comitative constructions are also treated in chapter 7.


(9.22)  Yari   maginganay   i    **kauvovug**      na,     ari
        yari   maginganay   i    ka- uvovug       na      ari
        DEM    lady              DET  COM-speak.with   ERG.2s   NEG

        nga  yari   bagitolay
        nga  yari   bagitolay
        REL  DEM   young.man

'It is the lady s/he is talking with, not the young man.'


### 9.2.2.6  Theme focus

Foley and Van Valin (1984) explain that 'theme' refers to the entity whose location is the issue at hand.  Similarly, Wardhaugh (2001) pertains to the entity in motion as the 'theme.'  Hence, the entity at issue is in the absolute argument.  To form the theme focus, the prefix *i-* (or the infix *–in-* in the perfective) is attached to the root.

Table 9.3.  Theme focus verbs

| lawan | 'outside' | ilawan | 'to put outside' |
|-------|-----------|--------|------------------|
| toil | 'return' | itoli | 'to return something' |
| tallung | 'inside' | itallung | 'to bring inside' |
| pay | 'put' | ipay | 'to put something' |

| limag | 'deny' | ilimag | 'to deny something' |
|-------|--------|--------|---------------------|
| vuvvu | 'pour' | ivuvvu | 'to pour something' |
| yawa | 'give' | iyawa | 'to give something' |
| tabbo | 'throw' | itabbo | 'to throw something' |

(9.23) **Ilawan** nu yayya.
i- lawan nu yayya
TH- outside ERG.2p ABS.3s

'(You) bring him/her out.'

(9.24) **Itabbo** mu ngana ngamin yaw.
i- tabbo mu ngana ngamin yaw
TH- throw ERG.2s now all DEM

'Throw all these now.'

(9.25) **Ikivu** mu i gatto ta macaroni
i- kivu mu i gatto ta macaroni
TH-mix ERG.2s ABS milk LOC macaroni

'Mix the milk with the macaroni.'

(9.26) Ari mu **itubba** i lamesa.
ari mu i- tubba i lamesa
NEG ERG.2s TH- push ABS table

'Don't push the table.'

## 9.3 Transitivity

As earlier discussed, transitivity in Philippine-type languages does not depend on the number of verbal complement but on the type of complements. As opposed to the English verb types, that is, intransitive, monotransitive, ditransitive, and complex transitive (Wardhaugh: 2001), Ibanag verbs are classified as either intransitive or transitive.

Reid and Liao (2004), as well as Ruffolo (2004), argue that what determines the transitivity of a verb is the type of the complement. If transitivity has to do with the type

of complement the verb takes, valency, on the other hand, has to do with the number of arguments that a verb takes. Dixon and Aikhenvald (2000) distinguish core from peripheral arguments. In that, the occurrence of core arguments is determined by the head of the clause; whereas, the occurrence of a peripheral arguments (or adjuncts) is less dependent on the kind of the head of the clause. Peripheral arguments or adjuncts are those that indicate the place, time, frequency, reason, purpose, and so on. As is their nature, they are optionally included in the clause.

As for Ibanag transitivity, only two types are identified: the intransitive and the transitive. These are discussed in turn.

To illustrate the type of complement that the verb takes, the case-marking symbols ABS, ERG, and OBL, that is, absolutive, ergative, and oblique, respectively. (cf. Chapter 5: Nominal marking system, and Chapter 6: Pronominal system). The nominal marker determiners and demonstratives are also case-marked to further illustrate the type of complement used.

Aside from the case markers provided, the verbal affixes are also labelled. The symbols INTR and TRAN, which are in brackets { }, are used vis-à-vis the aspect symbols PERF and IMP.

## 9.3.1 Intransitive

Intransitive verbs are those that require only one core argument, either an actor or an undergoer/experiencer. This core argument is case-marked as absolutive, as in *na* in (9.27). If there are other NPs within the clause, which are peripheral argument, they are case-marked as obliques, as in *ta pinakbet* in (9.29). Note that the English translation of Ibanag intransitives resembles that of a canonical transitive. It should be emphasized here that the basis of transitivity is not on the number of complements but on the type. If there are two core arguments, then the clause is transitive. If there is only one core argument, then it is intransitive, as in (9.27) and (9.28) below. If there are other NPs in the clause which are encoded as oblique, it means they are not core arguments.

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(9.27)  **Nallutu**              na'.
        nag- lutu              na
        {PER-INTR}- cook       ABS.1s

        'I cooked.'

(9.28)  **Nallutu**              si          Ben.
        nag- lutu              si          Ben
        {PER-INTR}- cook       PERS/ABS    Ben

        'Ben cooked.'

(9.29)  **Nallutu**              si          Ben      ta      pinakbet.
        nag- lutu              si          Ben      ta      pinakbet
        {PER-INTR}- cook       PERS/ABS    Ben      OBL     *pinakbet*

        'Ben cooked *pinakbet*.'


Another determining factor is the prefix of the verb, As earlier discussed, *nag-,* *mag-* and *–um-* - affixed verbs are actor-focused. Hence, these constructions are most likely to be intransitive, as in (9.30). If a theme is added to the clause, as in (9.31) or a locative phrase is added, as in (9.32), the transitivity does not change.


(9.30)  Naggiraw               kami.
        nag- giraw             kami
        {PERF-INTR}- watch     ABS.1pe

        'We watched.'

(9.31)  Naggiraw               kami       ta      sine.
        nag- giraw             kami       ta      sine
        {PERF-INTR}- watch     ABS.1pe    OBL      movie

        'We watched a movie.'

(9.32)  Naggiraw               kami       na    sine    ta  Glorietta.
        nag- giraw             kami       na    sine    ta  Glorietta
        {PERF-INTR}- watch     ABS.1pe    OBL   movie   OBL Glorietta

        'We watched a movie at  Glorietta.'

### 9.3.2 Transitive

Transitive verbs take two core arguments: an agent and a patient. The agent is encoded as ergative; whereas, the patient is encoded as absolutive. If there are other NPs or peripheral arguments, in the clause, they are encoded as obliques.

Aside from the number of core arguments, another notable difference of intransitive form transitive is the verbal affix used. The root verb used in both intransitive and transitive is the same (*lutu* 'to cook) but the affixes used are different. In transitive clauses, the verb is *–in-* affixed. Consider the following examples.

(9.33)  **Nilutu'**                     i        paborito=m
        in- lutu =ku                     i        paborito=mu
        {PERF-TRAN}- cook = ERG.1s    ABS    favorite=GEN.2s

        'I cooked your favorite.'

(9.34)  **Nilutu**          ni    Ben    i      paborito=m
        in- lutu          ni    Ben    i      paborito=mu
        {PERF-TRAN}- cook   ABS   Ben    ABS   favorite=GEN.2s

        'Ben cooked your favorite.'


Compare (9.35) with (9.31) above. Aside from the verbal affix, the two also differ in nominal markers and consequently, in case-marks.

(9.35)  **Giniraw**             mi        i        sine.
        -in- giraw             mi        i        sine
        {PERF-TRAN}- watch    ERG.1pe   ABS     movie

        'We watched the movie.'

(9.36)  **Giniraw**             mi        i      sine    ta  Glorietta.
        -in- giraw             mi        i      sine    ta  Glorietta
        {PERF-TRAN}- watch   ERG.1pe  ABS   movie  OBL Glorietta

        'We watched the movie at  Glorietta.'

## 9.4 Aspects of verb

For this study, I argue that the affixes for aspects are derivational, as opposed to Rubino's (1997) claim that Ilocano verbs inflect for aspect. Literature in Philippine linguistics also shows that the terms 'aspect' and 'tense' are used interchangeably. For purposes of consistency, the term 'aspect' is preferred over 'tense' in this study.

There are three aspects identified in Ibanag. The terms imperfective, continuative, and perfective are adapted. Imperfective refers to an action that is yet to happen; continuative to an action happening; and perfective to an action that has happened. Contrast the conjugation of the verb *kuralig* 'roll' in the three aspects.

(9.37)　　Makkuralig　　sangaw　　i　　bola
　　　　　mag- kuralig　sangaw　　i　　bola
　　　　　IMP-roll　　　　later　　ABS　ball

'The ball will roll later.'

(9.38)　　Nakkura-kuralig　　　　i　　　bola.
　　　　　nag- kura- kuralig　　　i　　　bola
　　　　　PERF- R(CONT)- roll　　ABS　ball

'The ball is rolling.'

(9.39)　　Nakkuralig　　i　　bola　ta　　umma.
　　　　　nag- kuralig　i　　bola　ta　　umma
　　　　　PERF- roll　　ABS　ball　OBL　morning
'The ball rolled this morning.'

The two tables below present the conjugation of some common verbs in Ibanag in intransitive and transitive functions in the three aspects.

Table 9.4  Conjugation of Intransitive verbs

| Root Verb | Perfective | Continuative | Imperfective |
|-----------|------------|--------------|--------------|
| tura `write' | **na**ttura | **mattut**tura | **mat**tura |
| gatang `buy' | g**imin**atang | g**imina**gin atang | g**um**atang |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| koko `steal' | **nak**koko | **nakko**koko | **mak**koko |
| ruffu 'stumble' | **ne**ruffu | **meru**ruffu | **me**ruffu |
| taddag 'stand' | **na**naddag | **nanadda**-naddag | **ma**naddag |

Table 9.5  Conjugation of transitive verbs

| Root Verb | Perfective | Continuative | Imperfective |
|---|---|---|---|
| tura `write' | **tin**ura | **tinura**tura | tura**tan** |
| gatang `buy' | g**in**atang | **gata**gatang**an** | gatang**an** |
| koko `steal' | k**in**oko | k**inokk**oko | koko**tan** |
| Iddan 'give' | **in**iddan | **iddi**-iddan | iddan |
| purban 'to try' | p**in**urban | **pinurba**-purban | purban |

## 9.4.1  Perfective aspect

The pattern for perfective aspect is quite predictable.   First,  for the *mag-, ma-, maka-,  maki-* and *mang-* verbs,  the *m* is changed to *n.*  Thus, they become *nag-, na-, naka-, naki-* and *nang-*, respectively.   Second,    *-um-* verbs become *-imm-* in the perfective.   Third,  for those suffixed by *-an*, the perfective aspect is formed by the addition of the infix *-in-*, placed before the first vowel of the root and the suffix is retained.   Fourth, the prefixes k*a-* and *pa-* become *kina-* and *pina-*, respectively, and finally, *i-* becomes *in-* in the  perfective.

    (9.40)    **Iniddan**    na'        ta    bagga'.
                in- iddan    na'        ta    bagga
                PERF- give   ERG.3s+ABS.1s   OBL  rice
                'S/he gave me rice/'

    (9.41)    **Nabbagaw**    yayya    ta    lima.
                nag- baggaw    yayya    ta    lima
                PERF- wash    ABS.3s  OBL   hand
                'S/he wash his/her hands.'

(9.42)  **Inavvutan**       na      yari  bag  ku.
        in- avvut –an       na      yari  bag  ku
        PERF- hole          ERG.3s  DEM   bag  GEN.1s
        'S/he holed my bag.'

(9.43)  **Kinabayle'**              si                Derek    ta
        kina- bayle=ku              si                Derek    ta
        PERF- bayle=ERG.1s          PERS/ABS          Derek    OBL

                tatageno'
                R- tageno=ku
                R(PLU) –dream=GEN.1s

        'I danced with Derek in my dreams.'

## 9.4.2 Continuative

It should be noted that 'continuative' resembles the present tense in English. Hence, it is used to refer to actions that are presently performed or to habitual actions or universal facts. The continuative aspect in Ibanag is encoded in two ways, one is through reduplication pattern and the other is through the lexical item *maddaggun* 'presently' or 'in progress'. Contrast the means of expression of the *ergo* 'talk' in the imperfective (9.44) and continuative (9.45) aspects, taken from Tsuchida et al. (1989:129-130)

(9.44)  Kayergo      sangaw  i      abbing  ta    maginganay.
        ka- ergo     sangaw  i      abbing  ta    maginganay
        IMP- talk    later   ABS    child   OBL   maiden

        'The child will talk to the maiden later.'

(9.45)  Maddaggun  nga  makiyergo  i    abbing  ta    maginganay.
        maddaggun  nga  maki- ergo  i    abbing  ta    maginganay
        presently      LIG  IMP- talk   ABS  child   OBL   maiden

        'The child is (presently) talking with the maiden.'

If the lexical item *maddaggun* is used in the clause, the verb takes the imperfective affix or the infinitive form. No morphological reduplication takes place. A

contemporary Ibanag speaker notes that the use of '*maddaggun*' is more typical that the reduplication.  This is probably due to the complexity of the reduplication process.  Also, the item *maddaggun* usually takes the initial position for emphasis of the time frame.


(9.46)  **Maddagun**    ira         **kuman**.
        presently       ABS.3p   eat
        'They are (presently) eating.'


(9.47)  **Maddaggun**     yayya      **mazzigu**.
        maddaggun      yayya     mag- zigu
        presently          ABS.3s   IMP- bathe
        'S/he is taking a bath (at the moment).'


The reduplication pattern to encode continuative tense varies.  Consider the following example:


(9.48)  Ngatta    nga    **in-innaggam**=mu      si      yena=m
        ngatta      nga    -inn- innaggan=mu    si      yena=m
        why         LIG    CONT- wait=ERG.2s    ABS  mother=GEN.2s


        nga    kanayun?
        nga    kanayun
        LIG     always


'Why are you always waiting for your mother?'


## 9.4.3 Imperfective aspect

The imperfective aspect can be encoded in two possible ways.  One is through affixes (usually the *mag-*) and the other is through the temporal expression *sangaw* 'later'.  Contrast the following example from Tsuchida et al. (1989:129):


(9.49)  Iddan        na'                     sangaw   ta   bagga'.
        iddan        na'                     sangaw   ta   bagga'.
        IMP- give  ERG.3s+ABS.1s   later        OBL   rice
        'S/he will give me rive later.'

Just like the continuative, the occurrence of *sangaw* 'later' apparently is more typical than the morphological marking in expressing an even that is yet to happen.

(9.50)  Avutam=mu         sangaw    yatun   .
        avutan=mu         sangaw    yatun
        IMP-ask=ERG.2s   later       SP/MED

        'Ask that later.'

Just like in English, the infinitives take the imperfective aspect.  Also, verbs in the imperative take the same aspect.  Consider the following examples.

(9.51)  Kana-kanayun    kamu     nakuan    nga   mappakalino,
        R – kanayun      kamu     nakuan    nga   mag-paka-lino
        R(INT)- always    ABS.2p  FUT.PAR  LIG   IMP- INCH- humility

            mappakasippo,        anna      mappasensia    nu
            mag-paka- sippo       anna      mag- pasensia   kamu
            IMP-INCH-virtue       and        IMP- patience   ABS.2p

            ta    katagi-tadday        nikamu. (Efeso 4:2)
            ta    ka- taggi-tadday     nikamu
            OBL  NOM- DIST- one   OBL.2p

        'Be always humble, gentle, and patient, and be tolerant with one another.'  (Ephesians 4:2)

## 9.5  Verbal classes

The concept of Aktionsart (from German, 'type of action') can also be applied in classifying Ibanag verbs. Vendler (1957), in Van Valin and LaPolla (1999), summarizes verbs into the following four basic Aktionsart categories.

*States:* non-dynamic and temporally unbounded verbs;

*Activities*: dynamic and temporally unbounded verbs;

*Accomplishments:* temporally extended (non instantaneous) changes of states leading to a terminal point;

*Achievements*: instantaneous changes of states as well as changes in activities with an inherent terminal point.

Further, the Aktionsart classes of verbs can be distinguished in terms of binary features such as dynamism, punctuality, and telicity. 'Dynamism' distinguishes happening situations from non-happening ones; 'Telicity' refers to whether the verb has an inherent terminal point or not; and 'Punctuality distinguishes telic events with internal duration from those which lack it. Table 8.6 presents a comparison of the binary features of the four basic Aksionsart categories.

Table 9.6  Binary features of Aktionsart verbs

|  | **Dynamism** | **Telicity** | **Punctuality** |
|---|---|---|---|
| **State** | no | no | no |
| **activity** | yes | no | no |
| **accomplishment** | yes | yes | no |
| **achievement** | yes | yes | yes |

However, there could be possible discrepancies in the interpretation of Aktionsart verbs in the sentential and lexical level. For instance, the addition and the nature of the complements and adjuncts often affect the Aktionsart interpretation of the verb.

One notable advantage of the Aktionsart classification is its distinction between two major classes of verbs: dynamic versus stative verbs. Such a distinction depends on whether 'dynamism' is present or absent. With this, further subdivisions may be made within each of the above two major classes.

With the complexity of verbal system in Philippine languages, various studies have been concerned with issues concerning verbs. As for the classification of verbs stems, studies include Wolff (1970) for Cebuano, MacLeod (1972) for Umiray Dumagat, Chandler (1974) for Northern Kankanaey, to name a few. In Tagalog alone, several studies have been made for the classification of verbs. These include Schachter and Otañes (1972), Ramos (1974), McFarland (1976), and De Guzman (1978).

With the intricacy of verbal affixes in Ibanag, it is appropriate to discuss verbs according to classification. It should be noted that the attempt made here may not draw neat results as to the classification of Ibanag verbs. This means that some verbs may overlap membership to other types or there may be discrepancies in the classification as compared with other Philippine languages. Based on the affixes discussed here, there are twenty Ibanag verb classes.

## 9.5.1 Stative verbs

One area that has received controversial treatment in Philippine languages is the concept of 'adjectives'. Some studies have argued that Philippine languages lack a lexical category which resembles the adjectives in English. Ruffolo (2005), for instance, contends that Ibaloy does not have adjectives, and that, those concepts that are supposedly expressed by adjectives are expressed by nouns and verbs in Ibaloy. Similarly, Liao (2004) uses 'stative' instead of adjectives to refer to these concepts. On the other hand, many philippinists (cf. Brainard & Behrens 2002; Daguman 2004; De Guzman 1992; Rubino 1997) still insist that Philippine-type languages, indeed, exhibit adjectives in their languages. I have consistently argued in this study that Ibanag has a lexical category called adjectives (see chapter 6 for the full discussion of adjectives).

Part of the complexity of Ibanag morphology is its ability to encode more than one possible meaning. The prefix *na-,* for instance, can both encode an adjective meaning and a stative verb concept. Additionally, a great majority of the roots that can function as an adjective can also function as a stative verb. Hence, the following analysis of stative verbs is arbitrary as there seems to be no distinction, morphologically speaking, between the adjective and the stative verb affixes.

One argument for stative verbs is its inchoativity. Whereas, one argument against it is that its occurrence is more apparent in the perfective aspect than in the imperfective.

There are two possible interpretations for stative verbs. One is that the entity which is in a particular state or condition is in the absolute argument. Thus, stative verbs always occur as intransitives. Consider the following examples:

(9.52)  Nataba      sikaw.
        na- taba     sikaw
        ST- fat      ABS.2s
        'You are fat.'

(9.53)  Nabasa     paga    i       avu'   ku.
        na- basa    paga    i       avu'   ku.
        ST- dry      still    DET   hair    GEN.1s
        'My hair is still wet.'

(9.54)  Nammi    yaw   nga   dupo'.
        nammi    yaw   nga   dupo
        sweet     DEM   LIG   banana
        'This banana is sweet.'

(9.55)  Napannu    i       basu.
        na- pannu    i       basu
        ST- full      DET    glass
        'The glass is full.'

(9.56)  Nangural    i       palataw.
        na- ngural     i       palataw
        PERF- dull    ABS    bolo
        'The bolo is dull.'

(9.57)  Nalutu   ngana   i       mangga
        na- lutu  ngana   i       mangga
        ripe       already  DET   mango
        'The mango is already ripe.'

The other interpretation of stative verbs is that the entity is the site where the condition is located. Therefore, the verb is circumfixed with *na- -an*, where *–an* cross-references with the supposed theme.

(9.58)  Naavvutan           i      bag    ku.
        na- avvu an         i      bag    ku
        PERF- hole –LOC   ABS   bag     GEN.1s
        'My bag has hole in it (lit., My bag was holed).'

## 9.5.2 Inchoative verbs

Inchoation refers to the start of one's development. As earlier mentioned, most stative verbs can undergo inchoativity. The infix *–um-* (or *–imm* for the pefective)

signals inchoative verbs. When the root begins with a vowel, *um-* is prefixed to the root. Just like stative verbs, inchoative verbs are semantically intransitive.

Table 9.7  Comparison of stative and inchoative verbs

| STATIVE | GLOSS | INCHOATIVE | GLOSS |
|---------|-------|------------|-------|
| dakal | 'big' | dumakal | 'to become big' |
| natagga | 'hard' | tumagga | 'to become hard' |
| nakafi | 'weak' | kumafi | 'to become weak' |
| nadammo | 'heavy' | dumammo | 'to become heavy' |
| apiddu | 'long' | umapiddu | 'to become long' |
| baddi | 'small' | bumaddi | 'to become small' |

(9.59)  **Nakafi**    ngana    ira.
na- kafi    ngana    ira
ST- weak  already   ABS.3p
'They are already weak.'

(9.60)  **Kimmafi**      ngana     ira.
–imm- kafi    ngana      ira
INCH- weak    already   ABS.3p
'They became weak already.'

(9.61)  **Natagga**      i      karne.
na- tagga    i      karne
ST- hard     DET   meat
'The meat is hard.'

(9.62)  **Tumagga**     i     karne    nu     ari    paga    malutu.
-um- tagga    i     karne    nu     ari    paga    ma- lutu
INCH- cook    DET  meat     when  NEG  still     IMP- cook
'The meat will harden when not cooked yet.'

(9.63)  **Apiddu**   i      palda    na.
apiddu    i      palda    na
long       DET   skirt    GEN.3s
'Her skirt is long.'

(9.64)  Gavva  **umapiddu**  i  palda  na.
   gavva  um- apiddu i palda na
   suddenly INCH- long DET skirt  GEN.3s
   'Her skirt suddenly became long.'

(9.65)  **Bimmaddi**  i  takki'   turi ta
   -imm- baddi i  takki=ku  turi ta
   INCH- small ABS feet=GEN.1s REM OBL

      nabalin=na'     nagana'
      na- balin =na'    nag- ana'
      PERF-finish=ERG.1s  PERF- give.birth

   'My feet became small after I finished giving birth.' (w)

## 9.5.3 Process verbs

   Process verbs represent those events in which a person or an entity goes through a certain process or a particular change of state.  Process verbs include both bodily and non-bodily processes.  Furthermore, process verbs can occur in intransitive and transitive clauses.

   In intransitive clauses, the core argument is in absolute case.  Process verbs are formed by the prefix *mag-* (or *nag-* for the perfective) and the root word.  And as is the nature of Ibanag morphology, the initial consonant geminates with the *g* of the prefix.

Table 9.8  Ibanag bodily process verbs

| Verb | Gloss | Verb | Gloss |
|---|---|---|---|
| maginangngo | 'to breathe' | makkawe | 'to defecate' |
| magikkak | 'to cough' | mamisag | 'to urinate' |
| magubban | 'to sneeze' | maguta | 'to vomit' |
| mattangi | 'to cry' | maguggang | 'to sweat' |
| massino | 'to hiccup' | makkattu | 'to expel flatulence' |
| mallusak | 'to spit' | malukag | 'to wake up' |
| magana | 'to give birth' | maggalo | 'to laugh' |
| marregla | 'to menstruate' | | |

(9.66)  **Mamisag**      na'        labbi.
        mag- pisag    na'        labbi
        PRO- urine    ABS.1s   first
        'I will urinate first.'

(9.67)  Sobra  **maguggang**      yayya.
        sobra    mag- uggang    yayya
        excess  PRO- sweat       ABS.3s
        'S/he sweats excessively.'

(9.68)  **Naguta**        si        Ifan    ta     bus.
        nag- uta        si        Ifan    ta     bus
        PRO- vomit   PERS   John   OBL   bus
        'John vomited in the bus.'


Non-bodily processes or natural processes refer to those that have non-volitional
agents.  The action is naturally occurring, hence, these verbs are always semantically
intransitive in nature.


(9.69)  **Nattag**        i      bayyabo.
        nag- attag    i      bayyabo
        PERF- fall    DET   guava
        'The guava fell.'

(9.70)  **Malulluag**              i          danum.
        mag- lul- luag          i          danum
        PRO- R(CONT)-boil   DET    water
        'The water is boiling.'

(9.71)  **Natturki**      i      daga    ta      bigang  na.
        nag- turki    i      daga    ta      bigang  na
        PRO- squirt  DET  blood   OBL   wound   GEN.3s
        'Blood squirted from his/her wound.'  (w)

(9.72)  **Malluppak**    sangaw  i     bigang   na.
        mag- luppak   sangaw  i      bigang   na
        PERF- swell    later     ABS  wound   GEN.3s
        'His/her wound will swell later.'

(9.73)  Tanakua, **mamapia**   ngana   yayya.
        tanakua   mag- pia      ngana  yayya
        then        PERF- well   already  ABS.3s
        'Then, it becomes well.'

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(9.74)    **Navvunga**       ngana    yuri    lomboy.
          nag- vunga        ngana    yuri    lomboy
          PERF- bear.fruit   already  DEM     duhat.tree
          'That duhat tree already bore fruits.'


Finally, some process verbs are semantically non-volitional and uncontrolled. The suffix –en derives a patient argument. Hence, the construction becomes transitive.


(9.75)    **Uligam**=mu          yayya.
          ulig –an=mu            yayya
          sleep – PAT=ERG.2s    ABS.3s
          '(You) put him/her to sleep.'


### 9.5.4 Grooming verbs

Grooming verbs refer to actions related to one's body. Since the patient is understood to be one's self, there is no need to mention it. This patient which is one's body is incorporated or is lexicalized with the verb already. Also, the specific body part to which the action is performed is not mentioned. Hence, grooming verbs are lexically reflexive in nature.

Grooming verbs are formed by the prefix mag- and its perfective or continuative counterparts.

(9.76)    Kanayun yayya    **mattage-tagetay**.
          kanayun   yayya    mag- R- tagetay
          always    ABS.2s   IMP- R(ITE)- comb

          'S/he is always combing (his/her hair).'

(9.77)    **Nazzigu**       na'      ta    banyu.
          nag- zigu        na'      ta    banyu
          PERF- bathe      ABS.1s   OBL   bathroom

          'I took a bath in the bathroom.'

(9.78)    Ari    paga yayya    **nappawpaw**.
          ari    paga yayya    nag- pawpaw
          NEG    yet   ABS.3s   PERF- wash(genitals)

          'She has not washed (her genitals) yet.'

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(9.79) **Nallisa**     ngana    i     abbing   ira?
       nag- lisa     ngana    i     abbing   ira
       PERF- sponge  already  ABS  child    PLU
       'Have the children sponged already?'

(9.80) **Massinnun**    ka      na.
       mag- sinnun    ka      ngana
       IMP- clothes    ABS.2s  now-(C)

       'Put on your clothes now (lit., Clothe now).'


These lexically reflexive verbs can also refer to specific items that are worn and are lexicalized in the root.  In other words, the root is the item itself that is worn. Consider the following examples.

| massapatu | - | 'to wear shoes' |
| mappantalon | - | 'to wear pants' |
| madjaket | - | 'to wear jacket' |
| magenchohos | - | 'to wear eyeglasses' |

## 9.5.5 Meteorological/ambient verbs

Meteorological verbs refer to naturally occurring forces where the roots are basically nouns.  These nouns are verbalized by the prefix *mag-*.  When verbalized, they can be the sole constituent in ambient clauses.

(9.81)    Nagafafu.
         nag- afafu
         PERF- drizzle
         'It drizzled.'

(9.82)    Nappadda-paddak.
         nag- paddak- paddak
         PERF- R(INT)- wind
         'The wind blew and blew.'


Since meteorological verbs are semantically intransitive, locative and temporal phrases occur as adjuncts to these verbs.

(9.83)   **Nagguran**   ta   gabi.
         nag- uran   ta   gabi
         PERF- rain   OBL   night
         'It rained last night.'

(9.84)   **Nabbaju**     ta   Batanes.
         nag- baju     ta   Batanes
         PERF- storm   OBL   Batanes.
         'It stormed in Batanes.'

(9.85)   Alle     **nallunig**           ta     umma.
         alle     nag- lunig           ta     umma
         look.like   PERF- earthquake   OBL   morning
         'It looked like there was an earthquake this morning.'

(9.86)   **Nattali**.           ganguri
         nag- tali           ganguri
         PERF- lightning       a.while.ago
         'A lightning struck a while ago.'

(9.87)   **Luminammak**     i       bilak
         linammak –um-   i       bilak
         set- PERF         ABS   sun
         'The sun has set.'

(9.88)   **Nakunam**       i       langi'.
         na – kunam     i       langi'
         PERF- cloud     ABS   sky
         'The sky is cloudy.'


Some meteorological verbs can be suffixed with –*an* which is a locative affix. When –*an* is attached to the meteorological verb, the nominal argument is the specific physical location to which the verb took place.


(9.89)   Nauran**an**       kami.
         nag- uran –an       kami
         PERF- LOC- rain     ABS.1pe
         'We were rained on.'

### 9.5.6 Motion verbs

Motion verbs refer to actions that involve the movement of an entity, animate or not, through a particular path. All motion verbs, thus, undergo a change in location. The entity in motion is the 'theme' and the end goal of the theme is encoded by an oblique phrase.

(9.90) **Nattalung** ira ta kwarto.
nag- tallung ira ta kwarto
PERF- enter ABS.3p OBL room
'They entered (in) the room.'

(9.91) **Minay** ira ta Manila.
in- umay ira ta Manila
PERF- go ABS.3p OBL Manila
'They went to Manila.'

(9.92) **Maggipa** tam ta highway.
mag- gipa tam ta highway
IMP- alight ABS.1pi OBL hghway
Let's alight at the highway.'

For some motion verbs, the locative may not be overtly encoded as it is lexicalized with the root. At times, the understood end goal is one's home or own, as in the following examples.

(9.93) (Ma)**Lubbe'** na' ngana.
mag-lubbe na ngana
IMP-go.home ABS.1s now
'I will go home now.'

(9.94) **Maddulo** kamu.
mag- dulo kamu
IMP- come.in ABS.2pe
'(You) come in.' (Also: 'Welcome.')

Some motion verbs can also be derived from spatial reference, as in the following:

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(9.95)    **Nappaladiu**    ira         ta        lawan.
          nag- paladiu      ira         ta        lawan
          PERF- run         ABS.3p      OBL       outside
          'They ran outside.'

(9.96)    Nallaka-lakag           kami        tari.
          nag- R- lakag           kami        tari
          PERF- R(ITE)- walk      ABS.1pe     SPA/DIST
          'We walked and walked there.'


## 9.5.7 Body posture verbs

Some verbs appear to be in motion although there is no change in location specified.  These are the body posture verbs.  In this kind of verb, the absolutive argument  must be animate, human, or non-human.  Note that the action carried out is voluntary in nature, unless the tone is imperative, as in (9.98).  Consider the following examples:

(9.97)    Nanaddag      i        abbing.
          nag- taddag    i        abbing
          PERF- stand    ABS     child
          'The child stood up.'

(9.98)    Magitubang     ka          labbi.
          mag- itubang   ka          labbi
          IMP- sit.down  ABS.2s      for.a.moment
          'Have a seat (lit. Sit down first).'


If a locative phrase is expressed, then the change in body posture is not the end goal of the action but the locative expressed.  It also means that the emphasis in the sentence is not the body posture but the locative.

(9.99)    **Nanaddag**     i        abbing   ta      utun na  balay.
          nag- taddag      i        abbing   ta      utun na  balay
          PERF- stand      ABS     child     OBL    top  LIG  house
          'The child stood up on top of the house.'

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(9.100) **Nagitubang** yayya ta aranni na presidente.
nag- itubang yayya ta aranni na presidente
PERF- sit.down ABS.3s OBL near LIG president
'S/he sat down near the president.'


Body posture verbs also involve change in configuration of the whole body or some body parts. The actions encoded by the verb are manipulations of the shape of the body or some particular parts of the body, like the head, hand, or feet. Note that the motion involved in this kind of verb is rather contained, not the motion within a path. This means that the end point is just the body, as evident in the absence of a locative phrase.


(9.101) **Mappalitukag** tam ngamin.
mag- palitukag tam ngamin
IMP- kneel ABS.1pi all
'Let us all kneel down.'

(9.102) **Mapposu** ka nge'.
mag- posu ka nge'
IMP- bend.forward ABS.2s PAR
'Will you bend forward?'

(9.103) **Nakkummag** lamang ngana yayya.
nag- kummag lamang ngana yayya
PERF- bow only already ABS.3s
'S/he just bowed his/her head.'


## 9.5.8 Bidirectional verbs

The term 'bidirectional' is borrowed from Brainard and Behrens (2002:75) which, they explain, has semantically transitive roots which represent two separate events. In one event, the theme moves away from the agent. These verbs include 'sell', 'lend', and 'pawn'. The agent is case-marked as ergative while the theme is case marked as oblique. Hence, the clause is intransitive.

(9.104)   **Nallaku**      na'         ta      bavi.
          nag- laku    na'        ta      bavi
          PERF- sell   ABS.1s    OBL    pig
          'I sold a pig.'

(9.105)   Kanayun  yayya   **massasalda**         ta    sakkalang  niakan.
          kanayun  yayya    mag-R- salda          ta    sakkalang  niakan
          always    ABS.3S  IMP- R(CONT)- pawn  OBL  ring        OBL.1s
          'S/he always pawns his/her ring to me.'


        In the other event, the theme moves toward the agent.  These verbs include
'buy', 'borrow', and 'keep pawn'.  The agent is case-marked as ergative and the theme
absolutive.  Hence, the construction is transitive.


(9.106)   Ginatang        ku          i      bavi.
          -in- gatang     ku          i      bavi
          PERF- buy       ERG.1s    ABS  pig
          'I bought a pig.'


## 9.5.9  Ditransitive verbs

        Ditransitive verbs, on the other hand, refer to semantically transitive events.  The
agent causes the theme to move to the recipient.  Hence, there are two complements of
ditransitive verbs: the agent and the recipient.  The agent is encoded by an ergative and
the recipient by an oblique.  Likewise, the theme is encoded by an absolutive.

(9.107)   Iyawa      ku         so        nikaw    i      sassana'  ku
          iyawa      ku         sangaw   nikaw    i      sassana'  ku
          IMP- give  ERG.1s  later (C)  OBL.2s  ABS  doll        GEN.1s
          'I will give you my doll later.'

(9.108)   Iniyawa      Na        niakan     sikaw.
          in- iyawa    Na        niakan     sikaw
          PERF- give  ERG.3s  OBL.1s   ABS.2s

          'He gave you to me.'


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### 9.5.10 Causative verbs

Causative verbs refer to those actions that are not directly performed by the actor. It means that the action is caused to be done by someone. In Ibanag, the causative morpheme is the prefix *pa-* which can co-occur with other affixes to encode causation.

(9.109)   **Napalluag**      na'      ta      danum.
          nag- pa- luag      na'      ta      danum
          PERF- CAU- boil    ERG.1s    OBL     water
          'I boiled water (lit., I caused the water to boil).'

With the transitive circumfixes *pa- -an* and *pag- an,* the absolutive argument is deduced as the one affected by the action; whereas, the ergative argument is the one responsible for the action to be performed or is made to perform the action.

(9.110)   **Pakarenuam**=mu          i      nono=m
          paka- renu –an=mu        i      nono=mu
          CAU - clean –PAT=ERG.2s    ABS    mind=GEN.2s
          'Cleanse your mind.'

(9.111)   **Patuddua'**               sangaw    i      ana'=ku
          pa-tuddu-an =ku           sangaw    i      ana'=ku
          CAU- teach- PAT=ERG.1s    FUT.PAR    ABS   child=GEN.1s

                 nga     mab-ballet.
                 nga     mag- ballet
                 LIG     IMP- *ballet*

          'I will have my child be taught *ballet.*'

(9.112)   . . . tapenu   **paguruvovugad**=da                nu
          . . . tape-nu   pag- -an -R – uvovug=da              nu
          . . . so that    CAU-PAT- R(PLU) – speak=ERG.3p    REL

                 kunnasi   i      pamapatay    da        kani
                 kunnasi   i      pang- patay    da        kani
                 how       DET   POT- kill      ERG.3p     OBL.3s

Jesus.  (Marcos 3:6)
Jesus
Jesus

'. . . so that they will talk about how they will kill Jesus (Mark 3:6).'


With intransitive affixes *mangpa-* or *mangipa-*, the absolutive argument is the one responsible for the action to be performed, while the referent receiving the action is in oblique marking.  With the prefixes *magpa-, puma-, makapa-,* and *makipa-,* the absolutive referent may be the causer and the beneficiary of the causative action of the verb, while the one who actually performs the action is either not encoded or appears in the oblique case.

(9.113)   Nappa-ilut                na'       ta       atawa'
          nag- pa- ilut              na'       ta       atawa=ku
          PERF- CAU- massage     ABS.1s    OBL    spouse=GEN.1s
          'I had my spouse to massage me.'

## 9.5.11 Reciprocal verbs

Reciprocal verbs refer to those actions than can only be performed in reciprocity, that is, there are two participants of the action.  The undergoer, therefore, is always plural and the mention of 'both' or 'two' is optional.  The sole argument in the clause is case-marked as absolutive.

(9.114)   **Nassintu**        ira       dua.
          nag-sintu          ira       dua
          PERF- fist.fight   ABS.3p   two
          'They (two) fist- fought.'

(9.115)   **Nagatawa**      ngana     ira.
          nag- atawa      ngana     ira.
          PERF- marry     already   ABS.3p
          'They already got married.'

Other reciprocal verbs include *maddama* 'argue', *massimu* 'meet', and these reciprocal verbs can also encode iterativity.  The infix –in- is added to the *mag*- form of the verb.  Again, the absolutive argument is always plural.

(9.116)  **Naginnummo**      ira.
        nag- -in- ummo      ira
        PERF- REC- kiss   ABS.3p
        'They kissed each other.'

(9.117)  Aranni   ira    **nappinnatay**      ngana.
        aranni   ira      nag- -in- patay      ngana
        near      ABS.3p  PERF- -REC- kill   already
        'They nearly killed each other already.'


## 9.5.12  Activity verbs

Activity verbs refer to events where an agent performs an activity. These activities may or may not involve a theme. In addition, activity verbs are typically intransitive as the focus is more on what the agent is doing rather than what the agent is doing with the object. Common examples of activity verbs include *kuman* 'to eat', *makkansion* 'to sing', *mammula* 'to plant', *mattura* 'to write', *maggiraw* 'to watch', *mabbayle* 'to dance', among others. Activity verbs are commonly formed by the prefix *mag-*.


(9.118)  **Maginum**      tam.
        mag-           tam
        IMP- drink    ABS.2pi
        'Let's drink.'

(9.119)  **Mabbabbayle**         ira.
        mag- R- bayle              ira
        IMP- R(CONT)- dance   ABS.3p
        'They are dancing.'


Activity verbs can also occur as sole constituents when the clause is used as a response to a question, as in (9.123 ).

(9.120)  Anni   gagganguan   ni     Bong?
        anni   R- ganguan      ni      Bong
        what   R(CONT)       PERS  Bong
        'What is Bong doing?'

(9.121)  **Kuma-kuman**.
R- kuman
R(CONT) –eat
'Eating.'

(9.122)  Sitaw    si      yena=m?
where    PERS    mother=GEN.2s
'Where is your mother?'

(9.123)  **Makkakkansion**.
mag- R- kansion
IMP- R(CONT)- sing
'(She is) singing.'

The undergoer of the activity is case-marked as absolutive. If locatives or temporals are to be mentioned, they are case-marked as obliques, as in the following examples.

(9.124)  Nammula      si      Kardo.
nag- mula    si      Kardo
PERF- plant   PERS  Kardo
'Kardo planted.'

(9.125)  Nammula      si       Kardo    ta      bukulok.
nag- mula     si      Kardo    ta      bukulok
PERF- plant    PERS  Kardo    OBL  mountain
'Kardo planted in the mountain.'

Activity verbs can also occur in transitive clauses, especially if the theme is deemed important to mention. As such, the theme is emphasized in the clause.

(9.126)  Nammula     **ta    kamasi**  si       Kardo.
nag- mula    ta    kamasi  si       Kardo
PERF- plant   OBL tomato   PERS  Kardo
'Kardo planted tomato.'

(9.127)  Nakkansion     na'  **ta    pasyon**.
nag- kansion    na'  ta    pasyon
PERF- sing      ABS.1s  *pasyon*
'I sang *pasyon* (Lenten son depicting the crucifixion and death of Jesus).'

(9.128) Nabbayle ira **ta tango**.
nag- bayle ira ta tango
PERF- dance ABS.3p OBL *tango*
'They danced *tango*.'

## 9.5.13 Comitative verbs

Comitative verbs refer to actions that are performed with other people. There are two possible constructions for this kind of verbs: intransitive and transitive. Also, other affixes can co-occur with the comitative affixes.

For the intransitive construction, the prefix *maki-* (or *naki-* for the perfective) is attached to any action root. The derived verb encodes shared participation. The party performing the action is case-marked as absolutive, and the co-participant is case-marked as oblique. The symbols {PERF/IMP/CONT-INTR/TRA} are also provided to indicate whether the verb is in perfective, imperfective, continuative tense and whether it is intransitive or transitive.

(9.129) Gafu ta **niketadday** kamu kani
gafu ta naki- tadday kamu kani
because COM{PERF/INTR} -one ABS..2Pe OBL

        Cristo, . . . (Efeso 2:22)
        Cristo
        Christ

'Because you were one with Christ. . .' (Ephesians 2:22)

(9.130) **Makiyergo** na' labbi nira.
maki- ergo na' labbi nira
COM{IMP/INTR} -speak ABS.1s first OBL.3p

'I will talk with them first.'

(9.131) Umay tam **makibayle** ta baryo.
umay tam maki- bayle ta baryo
go ABS.1pi COM{IMP-INTR}- dance OBL barrio

'Let's join in the dancing in the barrio.'

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The comitative prefix *maki-*, when attached with the root, implies a social formula of asking permission.  The other party, however, is not usually overt in the clause.  Note that the supposed co-performer does not necessarily have to perform the action with the actor but would allow the actor to perform the action.  At times, the lexical item *mabalin* 'possible' pre-modifies the verb.  For conversational register, the particle *nge* (loosely translates to 'please') usually appears.


(9.132)   Mabalin    i        **maki**-**inum**?
          mabalin    i        maki- inum
          possible   DET   COM{IMP-INTR}- drink

          'May we have a drink (with you)?'

(9.133)   **Makipisag**                    na'        **nge**?
          maki- pisag                      na'        nge
          COM{IMP-INTR} - urinate     ABS.1s   please

          'May I urinate please (or May I use your toilet please?).'


The reciprocal infix *–inn-* can also co-occur with the comitative *maki-.*  The derived verb, aside from the reciprocity and comitativeness it encodes, also denotes plurality of people involved in the performance of the action.


(9.134)   **Makipinnatay**                  kanu      ira.
          maki- patay- -inn-                kanu      ira
          COM{IMP-INTR} - kill - REC       HRSY   ABS.3p

          'They say they would participate in the killing.'


Another affix can co-occur with the comitative *maki-,* the abstract nominalizer *pag-*.  Hence, the complex prefix becomes *makipag-* (or *nakipag-* for the perfective). This is labeled here as 'COM/NOM' which means 'comitative- nominal' prefixes.

(9.135)   **Nakipaddian**                         yayya    nira       nga
          naki- pag- dian                        yayya    nira       nga
          COM/NOM{PERF/INTR}- stay    ABS.3s   OBL.3s   LIG

**nakipattrabahu**. (Kingngua18:3)
naki- pag- trabahu
COM/NOM{PERF/INTR}- work

'They stayed and worked with them.'   (Acts 18:3)


(9.136)   . . .danuri       totolay    nga    **makipaddasal**
              danuri       R-tolay    nga    maki- pag- dasal
              DEM(PLU)   people    LIG    COM-NOM{IMP-INTR} - pray


              to     santo   rosaryo. . .
              ta     santo   rosaryo
              OBL   holy     rosay

'. . .those people who want to pray the holy rosary with. . . (w)'


(9.137)   Pinaginnolay          ittam       na        Dios   nga nesipo
              pinag- inn tolay      ittam       na        Dios   nga nai- sipo
              CAU{PERF}- live     ABS.1pi   PERS   God    LIG   POT{PERF} -side


              kani   Cristo   tapenu   **makipammaguray**
              kani   Cristo   tapenu   maki- pag –maguray
              OBL    Christ   so.that   COM/NOM{IMP-INTR} –rule

              ittam     sa       ta       langi.   (Efeso 2:6)
              ittam     sa       ta       langi
              ABS.1pi   OBL.3s   OBL    heaven

'He raised us up with Him to rule with him in heaven.'
(Ephesians 2:6)


        Transitive constructions, on the other hand, are formed by the prefix *ka-* (or *kina-*
for the perfective) and the root verb.   Since *ka-* is also a nominalizer, comitative
constructions are also treated in chapter 5.   Unlike in intransitive constructions where
the co-performer is not mentioned, in transitive constructions, it is obligatory.  The agent
is then encoded by the ergative case and the co-performer with the absolutive case.

(9.138) Kaya' ku **kabayle** si Piolo.
kaya ku ka-bayle si Piolo
want ERG.1s COM{IMP-TRAN}- dance PERS/ABS Piolo
'I want to dance with Piolo.'

(9.139) Kurug nga **kina**-**idda**=m yayya?
kurug nga kina- idda=mu yayya
true COMP COM{PERF-TRAN} - lie.down=ERG.2s ABS.3s
Is it true that you slept with him/her?' (c)

(9.140) **Kina-itubang** na i kakastan nga
kina- itubang na i ka-kasta-n nga
COM{PERF-TRAN}- sit ERG.3s ABS R(INT)- pretty-PAT LIG

babay ta davvun.
babay ta davvun
woman OBL earth

'I sat with the prettiest woman on earth.'


Another possible construction of the comitative verbs is the addition of the reciprocal infix –inn-. The derived verb encode reciprocity of an action which is performed with other parties.


(9.141) **Kinasinnuntu** na ana' ku
kina- suntu- -inn- na ana' ku
COM- {PERF-TRAN} - fist.fight - REC ERG.3s child GEN.1s

ira ngamin.
ira ngamin
PLU all

'My child had a fist-fight with them all.'

### 9.5.14 Pretense verbs

The prefix *agin-* derives verbs that are feigned. Just like nouns, there are also pretense verbs. This means that the action, either stative or dynamic, denoted by root is faked by the actor encoded as absolutive. With this, pretense verbs are semantically intransitive. Often, the initial CV(C) of the root is reduplicated. The prefix *agin-* is

labeled 'PRET' which means 'pretense.' Table 9.10 below presents some derived pretense verbs which are stative in nature.


Table 9.9  Comparison of stative and pretense verbs

| nariku | 'rich' | aginririku | 'to pretend to be rich' |
|--------|--------|------------|-------------------------|
| nasippo | 'virtuous' | aginsisippo | 'to pretend to be virtuous' |
| naguapa | 'pretty' | aginguguapa | 'to pretend to be beautiful' |
| nalappo | 'industrious' | aginlalappo | 'to pretend to be industrious' |
| nalaing | 'intelligent' | aginlalaing | 'to pretend to be intelligent' |
| mabisin | 'hungry' | aginbibisin | 'to pretend to be hungry' |


(9.142)  Anni   karake      na        yatun nga babay; ari    laman
         anni   ka-rake     na        yatun nga babay  ari    laman
         what   NOM- bad   ERG.3s   DEM   LIG  woman  NEG   only


       yayya   **naginguguapa**,        **naginririku**              paga.
       yayya   nagin- R- guapa          nagin- R- riku              paga
       ABS.3s  PRET{PERF}-R-pretty   PRET{PERF}-R-rich    too

How bad that woman is, she did not only pretend to be beautiful, she also pretended to be rich.' (c)


Activity verbs can also be feigned.   Again, the initial CV(C) of the root is reduplicated.


(9.143)  **Naginlulutu**                        gapa    yayya.
        nagin- R- lutu                       gapa     yayya
        PRET{PERF}- R –cook            also     ABS.3s
        'S/he pretended to cook.'

(9.144)  **Magimbibibbig**         kamu     sonu    mattalung         i       .
        magin- R –bibbig          kamu     sonu    mag- tallung       i
        IMP- R- read               ABS.2p   when    IMP- enter         ABS


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mestra
mestra
female.teacher

'You pretend to read when the teacher comes in.'

The pretentive affix *agin-* can also co-occur with other affixes to denote variety of meanings. For one, the frequentative prefix *man-,* when combined with the pretentive *agin-,* that is *minagin-* denotes a frequentative pretentive action. Consider the following example:

(9.145)　Turi　　paga　nga　　ammu　nga　managinlalaing
　　　　　turi　　paga　nga　　ammu　nga　man- -agin- R- laing
　　　　　REM　　also　COMP　know　　LIG　FREQ- PRET- R- intelligent

　　　　　yayya
　　　　　yayya.
　　　　　ABS.3s

'Since then, I have always known him/her pretending to be intelligent.' (c)

The comitative prefix *maki-* can also co-occur with the pretentive prefix *agin-.* The nominal prefix *pa-* also co-occurs with the two other affixes to denote the state of the root verb.

(9.146)　Nakipagintatangi'　　　　　　　gapa　ira.
　　　　　naki- pa- agin- R- tangi　　　　gapa　ira
　　　　　COM{PERF}NOM- PRET-R- cry　　also　ABS.3p

'They pretended to be crying with us also.'

If the potentive prefix *maka-* is combined with the pretentive *agin-*, it means that the actor has the ability to feign the action denoted by the root.

(9.147)  **Makapagintatangi**          ka       nu kaya' mu.
         maka- pa- agin- R- tangi      ka       nu kaya' mu
         POT{IMP}-NOM-PRET-R- cry   ABS.2s  if   want  GEN.2s

         'You can pretend to cry if you want to.'


## 9.5.15  Utterance verbs

Utterance verbs refer to events that involve the sense of speech. The agent refers to the party who 'uttered' the verb which is encoded by an ergative and the recipient refers to the addressee, which is encoded in oblique phrase.


(9.148)  Kinnagi      na        ngana   i     kurug    niakan.
         -in- kagi     na        ngana   i     kurug    niakan
         PERF- tell  ERG.3s   already  ABS  truth        OBL.1s

         'S/he already told me the truth'


It is also possible that the recipient or the addressee is not mentioned.  In such case, the recipient is understood to be human or is insignificant.


(9.149)  Kinnagi      na        laman   i     kurug.
         -in- kagi     na        laman   i     kurug
         PERF- tell  ERG.3s  only      ABS   truth
         'S/he only told the truth.'


The theme refers to anything that is uttered, possibly an NP or a complement clause, and thus an obligatory constituent in the clause.  The NP can be any nominal phrase, including a gerund phrase (*pinallube*), as in (9.151).


(9.150)  Kinnagi      na        niakan   i      sikreto  nu.
         -in- kagi     na        niakan   i      sikreto  nu
         PERF- tell  ERG.3s  OBL.1s   ABS    secret   GEN.2pe
         'S/he told me your secret.'

(9.151)  Inistorya'      i       pinallubbe'                    ta
         in- istorya=ku  i       pinag- lubbe=ku                ta
         PERF- narrate   ABS.    NOM/PERF- go.home=GEN.1s       OBL

         Cagayan    nira.
         Cagayan    nira
         Cagayan    OBL.3s

'I narrated them my going home to Cagayan.' (c)

If the complement of the utterance verb is a nominal clause, the complementizer *nga* 'that' introduces complement clauses.

(9.152)  **Kinnagi**   na      niakan   nga     bussi     ka.
         -in- kagi     na      niakan   nga     bussi     ka
         PERF- tell    ERG.3s  OBL.1s   COMP    pregnant  ABS.2s

'S/he told me that you are pregnant.' (c)

(9.153)  **Inistorya**      na      ta      kofun    mu      ira      nga
         in- istorya        na      ta      kofun    mu      ira      nga
         PERF- narrate      ERG.3s  OBL     friend   GEN.2s  PLU      COMP

         aru     nobio=m           turi.
         aru     nobio=mu          turi
         many    boyfriend=GEN2s   REM

'S/he told your friends that you had many boyfriends then.'  (c)

In the case of the utterance verb *avutan* 'to ask', the recipient or addressee may not be overtly expressed in the clause.  It is understood, however, that the source of information is the authority of the information.  However, the theme or patient is obligatory.  Note that the root of the verb is *avu* 'ask' and the suffix *-an* is a patientive affix.  The utterance verb therefore co-references with the patient within the clause. Consider the following example:

(9.154)  Avutak=ku              labbi   i   presyo na.
         avu -an =ku            labbi   i   presyo na
         IMP- ask -PAT=ERG.1s   first   ABS price   GEN.3s
         'I will ask first its price.'

The patient is obligatory if it has to co-reference with the theme which could be a nominal clause.

(9.155)    Avutak=ku               kanu   nikaw    nu     anni     i
                avu -an =ku            kanu   nikaw    nu     anni     i
                ask- PAT=ERG.1s   HRSY  OBL.1s  REL   what     DET

                            kaya   mu?
                            kaya   mu?
                            like    ERG.2s

                'I will ask you, they say, what you want.'

(9.156)    Inavutak=ku                   sa          nu     anni     i
                in- avu -an =ku           sa          nu     anni     i
                PERF- ask- PAT=ERG.1s    OBL.3s    REL    what     DET

                            kaya'   na.
                            kaya'   na.
                            like     ERG.3s

                'I asked him/her what she/he wants.'

## 9.5.16 Perception verbs

Perception verbs refer to the events that involve the physical senses, e.g. *massingan* 'to see', *maginna* 'to hear', *masissim* 'to taste', *mattagano* 'to feel'.

(9.157)    Ariak=ku         **matageno'**   i      baggi'.
                ari= ku          ma-tageno   i      baggi=ku
                NEG=ERG.1s    IMP-feel   ABS  body=GEN.1s

                'I can not feel my body.' (w)

(9.158)    O **ginnam**=mu        kari    i     kunnaw  nga   silassigo
                o   ginna=mu        kari    i     kunnaw  nga   silassigo
                oh  IMP- listen=ERG.2s  please  DET  DEM    LIG   bitter.cry

ku. . .
ku
GEN.1s

'Oh please listen to this my bitter cry. . .' (w)


(9.159)  Awan  vuluvuga  tu          tolay  nga  **nakasingan**    sa,
         awan  vuluvuga  tu          tolay  nga  naka- sinagn     sa
         NEG   ever       NEG.PAR  person  LIG  POT- see          OBL.3s

         anna  awan  vuluvuga  tu              makawaya     nga
         anna  awan  vuluvuga  tu              maka-waya    nga
         and   NEG   ever       NEG.PAR      POT- able      LIG

         **maningan**    sa.    (1Timoteo 6:16)
         ma- singan      sa
         IMP- see        OBL.3s

'No one has ever seen him; no one can ever see him.'
(1 Timothy 6:16)


## 9.5.17  Emotion verbs

Emotion verbs refer to states or events involving emotions such as *poray* 'anger', *aya* 'happiness', among others.  Though emotion verbs are typically intransitive, transitive constructions are also possible.  For intransitive constructions, the stative prefix *na-* usually marks emotion verbs.  Consider the following examples:


(9.160)  **Nabannag**  na'        ngana.
         na- bannag    na         ngana
         ST- tire      ABS.1s   already
         'I am already tired.'

(9.161)  **Kappasiran**     i         kavuluk=ku.
         ka- pasiran       i         ka- vulun=ku
         PAT- shame        ABS     PAT- companion=GEN.1s
         'I am ashamed of my companion.' (c)

(9.162)  **Maganazzing**       na'       ta        dakal  nga  kitu  ira.
         mag- gazzing         na'       ta        dakal  nga  kitu  ira
         ST- afraid           ABS.1s  OBL   big    LIG  dog   PLU
         'I am afraid of big dogs.'


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(9.163)　Ari　kamu　**mangappo'**　ta　karuan.
　　　　　ari　kamu　mang- appo'　ta　ka-aru-n
　　　　　NEG　ABS.2pe　POT- despise　OBL　NOM- many
　　　　　'Do not despise others.' (w)


For transitive construction, the patient or the receiver of the emotion is identified in the clause.  If the experiencer is encoded by the ergative, the patient is encoded by the absolutive.


(9.164)　Kalussaw　ku　　　yayya.
　　　　　ka- lussaw　ku　　　yayya
　　　　　PAT- hate　　ERG.1s　ABS.3s
　　　　　'I hate him/her.'

(9.165)　Kapassilan=na'
　　　　　ka- passil= na + sakan
　　　　　PAT- envy = ERG.3s + ABS.1s
　　　　　'S/he envies me.'


## 9.5.18  Cognition verbs

Cognition verbs refer to events related to the mental faculty.  They are formed by the prefix *mag-* and its other forms.  The agent is case-marked as ergative and the theme as absolutive.


(9.166)　Ariat=taka　　　　　　vulavvuga　a　**kattamman**.
　　　　　ari=ta=ka　　　　　　vulavvuga　a　ka- tamman
　　　　　NEG=ERG.1s+ABS.2s　PAR　　　　LIG　forget

　　　　　'I shall never forget you.' (w)

(9.167)　**Panaddamman**=nu　　　　i　　paginnolay　　tam.
　　　　　pag- daddam- an=nu　　　　i　　pagin- tolay　　tam
　　　　　IMP- think –PAT= ERG.2pe　ABS　NOM-person　GEN.1pi

　　　　　'(You) think of our life.'

(9.168)  **Takkilallan**=nu         nga    kanayun,  ana'   kayu    na
         takkilallan=nu            nga    kanayun   ana'   kayu    na
         remember=ERG.2pe  LIG    always      child   ABS.2p   DET

                  Dios.
                  Dios
                  God

         'Always remember, you are the children of God.'


(9.169)  Ari     tu      kunnatun      i      **ginigiammu**          nu
         ari     tu      kunna-tatun   i      gi-R-in- ammu          nu
         NEG   PAR   like.that        DET   NOM-R-PERF- know     ERG.2pe

                  nga       meyannung   kani  Cristo.  (Efeso 4:20)
                  nga       mai- annung  kani  Cristo
                  COMP   POT- about    OBL   Christ

         'That was not what you learned about Christ.'


(9.170)  **Nalippawa'**              ngana      i      nattagaruliak=ku
         na- lippawa=ku            ngana      i      nag- tagaruli=ku
         PERF-realize=ERG.1s   already    ABS   PERF- sin=GEN.1s

         'I already realized my sin.'


## 9.5.19  Potentive verbs

Potentive verbs refer to those that express ability or need, and involuntary or accidental activities.  These verbs are formed by the prefix *maka-* for intransitive constructions and *ma-* for transitive ones.  The prefix *ma-* is a basic potentive marker that can be attached to a vast majority of verbs, especially the dynamic ones.  The table below presents some of the verbs that can co-occur with the prefix *ma-.i*

Table 9.10.  Example of potentive verbs

| gatu | 'owe' | maggatu | 'to owe' |
|------|-------|---------|----------|
| zigu | 'bathe' | mazzigu | 'to bathe' |
| gafu | 'catch' | magafu | 'to catch' |
| immang | 'stop' | magimmang | 'to stop' |
| galo | 'laugh' | maggalo | 'to laugh' |
| giraw | 'watch' | maggiraw | 'to watch' |
| guvvug | 'bark' | maguvvug | 'to bark' |
| uvovug | 'talk' | maguvovug | 'to talk' |
| kageg | 'sweep' | makkageg | 'to sweep' |
| kua | 'work' | makua | 'to work' |
| lippawa | 'realize' | mallippawa | 'to realize' |
| kagak | 'fly' | makkagak | 'to fly' |
| lilli | 'give way' | mallilli | 'to give way' |
| latu | 'jump' | mallatu | 'to jump' |

(9.171)  **Maguvvug**   so   i       kitu   sonu   **mattalebag**      ka.
         ma- guvvug   so   i       kitu   sonu   mag- talebag    ka
         IMP- bark      FUT ABS   dog    when  IMP- pass.by   ABS.2s

         'The dog will bark later when you pass by.'


(9.172)  **Nakkageg**       yayya     ganguri.
         nag- kageg      yayya     ganguri
         PERF sweep    ABS.3s   a.while.ago
         'S/he swept a while ago.'


(9.173)  Mallatu-latu                mangngana    i      abbing    ira.
         mag-R- latu                 mangngana    i      abbing    ira
         IMP-R(CONT)- jump         again                  ABS    child    PLU
         'The children are jumping again.'


(9.174)  Magimmang       kamu       ngamin!
         mag- immang      kamu       ngamin
         IMP- stop            ABS.2pe   all
         'You all stop!'

(9.175)  Sonu  anni  sikaw   manoli?
         sonu   anni  sikaw  ma- toli
         when   what  ABS.   IMP- return
         'When will you return?'


The productive *ma-* can also occur with the patientive prefix *i-*. The derived construction expresses the potential of performing the action denoted by the verb which co-references with the theme or patient. These constructions are therefore semantically transitive as patients are obligatory. The agent is case-marked as ergative and the patient as absolutive.

(9.176)  **Mai-ali'**          ngana  i      pamilya'       ta   mansion.
         ma-i- ali'            ngana  i      pamilya=ku     ta   mansion
         POT-PAT- transfer     already  ABS  family=GEN.1s  OBL  mansion

         'I can already transfer my family in the mansion.'


(9.177)  Ariak=ku         paga  **maitoli**        yari  fungam=mu.
         ari=ku           paga  ma-i-toli          yari  fungan=mu
         NEG=ERG.1s       yet   POT-PAT-return      DEM   pillow=GEN.2s

         'I can't return your pillow yet.'

(9.178)  Kunnasi'        **maituddu**         yaw  nga  kansion ta
         kunnasi=ku      ma-i-tuddu           yaw  nga  kansion ta
         how=ERG.1s      POT-PAT- teach  this  LIG  song     OBL

              wagi=k?
              wagi=k
              sibling=GEN.1s

         'How can I teach this song to my brother/sister?'

(9.179)  **Nailubbe'**          ngana    i       nobio'
         na-i-lubbe= ku         ngana    i       nobio=k
         POT-PAT-lubbe          already  DET     boyfriend=GEN.1s

              ta     balay  mi
              ta     balay  mi
              OBL    house  GEN.1pe

         'I was able to take home my boyfriend.'


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The following examples exhibit the sense of ability of the argument in the absolutive. The theme may or may be expressed overtly. Potentive verbs that express ability are typically in the imperfective tense, as in the following examples.

(9.180)    Ari    yayya    **makaginna**.
            ari    yayya    maka- ginna
            NEG    ABS.3s  POT- hear

            'S/he can't hear.'

(9.181)    **Maka**-**pisu**            na'.
            maka- pisu            na'
            POT- turn.upside.down  ABS.1s

            'I can turn upside down.

(9.182)    Ari    na'    **makababbag**.
            ari    na'    maka- babbag
            NEG    ABS.1s  POT- split.with.ax

            'I could not (use the) ax.' (w)

(9.183)    **Makabbibbig**  ngana    i      ana'  ku      ta      libru.
            maka- bibbig    ngana    i      ana' ku      ta      libru
            POT- read         already  ABS  child  GEN.1s  OBL  book

            'My child can already read a book.'

Potentive verbs that express accident or involuntary activities, on the other hand, are often expressed in the perfective. Note that these events are not desired by the experiencer but have happened, nonetheless.

(9.184)    **Nakasingan**=na'    ta    ayong     tatun.
            naka- singan=na'    ta    ayong     tatun
            POT- see=ABS.1s    OBL  monkey   SP/MED

            'I was able to see  a monkey there.'

(9.185)  **Nakassissim**  na'      ta      daga.
         naka- sissim    na      ta      daga
         POT- taste      ABS.1s  OBL    blood

         'I was able to taste blood.'  (w)


The potentive prefix *maka-* can also express causation.  It means that the theme in absolutive case has the ability to perform the action encoded by the root.


(9.186)  **Maka**-**uggang**    i      mab-basketbol.
         maka- uggang    i      mag- basketbol
         POT- sweat      ABS   IMP- basketbol
         'Basketball can cause someone to sweat.'

(9.187)  **Maka-atu**    i      kamosi.
         maka-atu      i      kamosi
         POT- flatus    ABS   sweet.potato
         'Sweet potato can cause someone to expel flatulence.'  (w)


Ibanag has a particular type of potentive verbs which express deontic modality. It means that the action has some sort of moral obligation, at the same time, it encodes some sort of ability to perform the action.  In addition, these verbs are typically exhortative in mood.  Verbs of this kind are formed by the prefix *makka-* (as opposed to *maka-* of the potentive verbs) and the reduplication of the root, either partial or full. These verbs are coded here as 'POT/E' which means potentive exhortative.

(9.188)  **Makka-alla-allo** kamu      lallagu,  **makka-iddu-iddu**
         POT/E- R- kind  ABS.2p   instead   POT/C- R- tender

                 kamu,     anna  **makka-paka-pakoma**
                 ABS.2p   and    POT/C- R- forgive

                 kamu    ta        kunna  nipamakoma   na
                 ABS.2p   because  like     PERF- forgive  DET

                 Dios  nikamu    gafu      kani  Cristo.  (Efeso 4:32)
                 God   OBL.2pe   through  OBL   Christ

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'Instead, be kind and tender-hearted to one another, and forgive one another, as God has forgiven you through Christ.'

## 9.5.20 Desiderative verbs

Ibanag also exhibits verbs that do not only express the ability to do something but also the need to perform something. In this study, these are categorized as desiderative verbs (Rubino 1997). With the prefix *sikka-,* the verb encodes a wish to perform an action or the need to fulfill some natural bodily processes. To express the urgency of the action, the temporal particle *ngana* 'already' usually co-occurs with this type of verbs.

Desiderative verbs are further classified into 'wish and need'. The following examples express the wish to perform the action encoded by the root. These are labeled here as 'DES/W' which means 'desiderative wish'.

(9.189)  **Sikka-turug**   na'       ngana.
         DES/W- sleep   ABS.1s   already
         'I want to sleep already.'

(9.190)  **Sikka-lubbe**       i       abbing   ira    ngana.
         DES/W- go.home   ABS   child    PLU   already
         'The children want to go home already.'

On the other hand, the examples below express the need to perform some natural bodily processes. Unlike the 'desiderative wishes' explained earlier, verbs of this kind are body needs and must therefore be fulfilled. These verbs are labeled 'DES/N' here, meaning 'desiderative need'.

(9.191)  **Sikka-pisag**       ngana    yayya.
         DES/N- urinate   already   ABS.3s
         'S/he needs to urinate already.'

(9.192)  **Sikkawe**           ka        mangngana?
         sikka- kawe        ka        mangngana
         DES/N- defecate   ABS.2s   again
         'You need to defecate again?'

## 9.6 Summary

In this section, the various issues concerning verbs are discussed. Among these are the focus, transitivity, aspect, and classes. Throughout the chapter, the concept of 'voice' has not been mentioned. I maintain that the 'active-passive' dichotomy is not apparent in Ibanag, as opposed to earlier claims on Phillipine languages. Hence, the concept of 'focus' here takes the place of 'voice'.

Although transitivity is perceived to be a minor issue of some philippinists, as evident in their studies (cf. Ramos 1974; Wolfenden 1971), it is also elucidated here especially in the dictinction between intransitive and transitive. The affixes that are used for each type are clearly illustrated throughout the chapter.

The aspect of Ibanag verbs are also categorized into three; namely, perfective, continuative, and imperfective. I have illustrated, however, that Ibanag verbs are derived and not inflected for aspect.

Finally, the wide range of verbal classes is exemplified. In this chapter, twenty classes are identified. It is made clear though that these verbs are not utually exclusive, and that, one type may be subsumed in more than one category.

# Chapter 10

# ADVERBS

## 10.1 Introduction

Ibanag adverbials are generally divided into two categories: the particles and adjuncts. The former are short lexical items that only function as adverbials, while adjuncts are those that refer to the 'where, when, how' of the verb or adjective. These categories are further elaborated below.

## 10.2 Adverbial particles

Particles are known to be 'catch-all' terms for various sets of words and terms that lack a precise lexical definition. In Ibanag, there are quite a number of particles that add more meaning to the utterances, Some do not exact equivalent in English. Other particles that usually co-occur with particular items (cf. *tu* in negation) appear in other chapters. There are 14 different particles presented In this section.

### 10.2.1 *Ngana*

The Ibanag adverbial *ngana* is probably one of the most versatile particles as it suggests various uses. First, it encodes the completion of an action. It is equivalent to 'already' in that it expresses perfective verbs. Hence, this particle is a post-adverbial modifier.

(10.1)    Nanaw=da    **ngana**.
            left=ABS.3p    already
            'They left already.'

(10.2)    Nabalin=kami    **ngana**
            done=ABS.1p    already
            'We are done already.'

(10.3)　　Nalluwag **ngana**　yari　danum.
　　　　　boiled　　already REC　water
　　　　　'The water boiled already.'


　　　　Second, the adverbial *ngana* also expresses recency of action, or at some point, it may mean that an action was completed earlier than expected, as in the example below.  With this, it resembles the function of the present perfect tense in English.  It appears immediately after the lexical verb used in the clause.


(10.4)　　Nallukag **ngana**　yari　abbing.
　　　　　woke.up　already　REC　child
　　　　　'The child woke up already. (The child has woken up.)'

(10.5)　　Kiminan **ngana**　ira　　　ngamin.
　　　　　ate　　　already　ABS.3p　all
　　　　　'All of them ate already/They have all eaten.'


　　　　When *ngana* appears immediately after an independent personal pronoun or a demonstrative, it expresses preference for the mentioned pronoun or demonstrative over any alternative or other choice.


(10.6)　　Sakan **ngana**　i　　mabbabbal.
　　　　　ABS.1s　already　DET　wash
　　　　　'I will be the one to wash (not someone else).'

(10.7)　　Sikamu **ngana**　mappolu　　mazzigu.
　　　　　ABS.2p　already　to.be.first　to.take.a.bath
　　　　　'You take a bath first (before anyone else).'

(10.8)　　Yaw **ngana**　usam=mu.
　　　　　PROX　already　use=ABS.2s
　　　　　'This is what you will use (not something else).'


　　　　When *ngana* appears with the negative existential, it indicates that the topic at hand is no longer in existence although it may have existed before the time of utterance. Hence, *ngana* here is interpreted as 'anymore'.


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(10.9)   Ari         **ngana**   massisigarilyu si       Dencio.
         NEG.EXI     anymore  smoking          PERS Dencio
         'Dencio is not smoking anymore.'

(10.10) Ari **ngana**    magiskwela yari     anâ=ku.
         NEG.EXI     anymore    schooling    REC child=1s.GEN
         'My child will no longer go to school.'


*Ngana* can also co-occur with the positive existential *egga.* When the two are combined, *egga ngana,* the expression means that something has finally existed or occurred. Hence, the equivalent of *ngana* here becomes 'already'.


(10.11) Ikagi=m          niakan    nu      egga    **ngana**    i
         Tell=ERG.2s     OBL.1s    when    EXI     already     DET

         lappaw   na.
         flower   GEN.3s

         'Tell me if it already has a flower.'


When *ngana* is used with the future temporal expression, it expresses the speaker's rather surprise of how little time there is between the time of utterance and the temporal expressed. Again, it means that the time frame is sooner than expected.


(10.12) Sonu      Liggu    **ngana**  i     nekaana=ku.
         FUT       Sunday   already DET birthday=GEN.1s
         'My birthday will already be on Sunday.'

(10.13) Sonu    umma     **ngana**   yayya    manaw.
         FUT      tomorrow    already ABS.3s    leave
         'S/he will leave already tomorrow.'


*Ngana* may also mean longer than expected when used with other temporal expressions.

(10.14)  Tallu vulan    nâ      **ngana**   ari      naggiraw ta    sine.
         three months ABS.1s  already NEG.EXI watched OBL  movie
         'I have not watched a movie for three months already.'

(10.15)  Tadde aggaw **ngana**   yayya    makkaturug.
         one   day   already ABS.3s  sleeping
         'S/he has slept for a day already.'

*Ngana* may also appear with verbal or adjectival predicates to further affirm the veracity of the statement as regards the present time.

(10.16)  Nalutu **ngana**  yaw    mangga.
         ripe   already  PROX mango
         'This mango is already ripe.'

(10.17)  Narenu **ngana**   yari    balay=nu.
         clean   already REC  house=GEN.2p
         'Your house is already clean.'

(10.18)  Makkontento kamu   **ngana**    ta     sweldo nu.
         satisfied      ABS.2p already  OBL salary GEN.2p
         "Be satisfied with your salaries.'

When *ngana* is attached to *man*, the expression *mangngana* is equivalent to the English 'once again'.  Hence, this is used to express an action that has recurred.

(10.19)  Magayaya kamu,   kagiak ku      **mangana**,  i     Yafu
         rejoice    ABS.2p say    ERG.1s once.again DET  HON

              ay  egga  ta     aranni.
              TL  EXI   OBL  near

         'Rejoice, I say again, the Lord is just near.'


## 10.2.2 *Gapa*, emphatic and additional information particle

There are two main functions of the adverbial particle *gapa*.   First, it expresses emphasis on the topic at hand.

(10.20) Innak=ku      yari  lapis=na          ngem  naikkagi=k
        got=ERG.1s    REC   pencil=GEN.3S  but      told=ERG.1s

        **gapa**  yayya.
        also    ABS.3s

        'I got his/her pencil but I also told him/her.'

(10.21) . . .ammu  tam      **gapa**  tu      iyawa  na      i      anni
        . . .know  ABS.2pi  also    SUB    give    ABS.3s  DET  what

        laman  nga  kiddawat=tam  sa.  (1 Juan 5 :15)
        only    LIG  ask=ABS.2pi    OBL.3s

        '. . .we know also that He gives us what we ask from Him.'


Second, g*apa* may also be used to emphasize clauses that contain additional information to the topic at hand.


(10.22) Magana      **gapa**  i      ulapa  ngem  iwara-wara  na
        gives.birth  also    DET  crazy  but      scatters      ABS.3s
        'The foolish (one) also gives birth but scatters him/her.'


(10.23) I      sinni  laman  nga  mangaya  ta  Dios  ay  mawag
        DET  who    only    LIG  love        OBL  God    TL  must

        tu      ayatan  na      **gapa**  i      wagi
        SUB    love      ABS.3s  also    DET  sibling

        na !    (1 Juan 4 :21)
        GEN.3s

        'Whoever loves God  must love his brother also.'


## 10.2.3 *Paga*, confirmation particle

*Paga* is another versatile Ibanag adverbial particle as it poses various functions. For one, the particle *paga* expresses some degree of addition or confirmation to topic at hand.  Hence, the rough equivalent of this would be 'more' or 'too.'

(10.24)   Kumak kamu    **paga**.
          Eat     ABS.2s   more.
          'Eat more.'

(10.25)   Egga **paga**.
          EXI   more
          'There is still some more.'

(10.26)   Ari        laman gwapa    yayya,   seksi **paga**.
          NEG.EXI LIM      beautiful ABS.3s sexy  too
          'She is not only beautiful, she is sexy, too.'

(10.27)   Idasa-dasal ku        tu      mas      dumakal  **paga**   i
          pray            ERG. 1s SUB   COMP  get.big      more       DET

          pangaya nu          tak=katagitadday.
          love       GEN.2p  OBL=each.one

          'I pray that you will love each one even more.'


When *paga* co-occurs with temporals, it means 'more' time beyond what is expressed by the temporal.


(10.28)   Tallu aggaw **paga** adde i        lubbe      na.
          three days   more   until DET arrival      GEN.3s
          'three more days until his arrival.'

(10.29)   Sonu gabi **paga** ira        manaw.
          FUT   night  more ABS.3p leave
          'They will leave tomorrow night (not tonight).


When *paga* co-occurs with negative existential *awan*, it expresses negation or the absence of a particular action or a state that would otherwise have been fulfilled or attained.  Hence, the equivalent of this particle in English is 'yet.'


(10.30)   Awap=**paga**    tu      atawa=k.
          NEG.EXI=yet DET   spouse=GEN.1s
          'I don't have a spouse yet.'

(10.31)   Awan     tu     asin na      **paga**.
          NEG.EXI  PAR    salt  GEN.3s  yet.'
          'It does not have salt yet.'


When *paga* appears with the other negative *ari*, this encodes indefiniteness of an action.  It means that at the moment of utterance, the action referred to has not been committed.  However, there is a chance that this action will be fulfilled at any given time in the future.  This particular use resembles one of the functions of present perfect tense, that is, it expresses indefinite action.


(10.32)   Ari    **paga**  yayya     nappaga.
          NEG    yet       ABS.3s    paid
          'S/he has not paid yet.

(10.33)   Ari    ku        **paga**  yayya      nassingan.
          NEG    ERG.1s    yet       ABS.3s     seen
          'I have not seen him/her.'


When *paga* appears with comparative adjectives, the particle intensifies the comparison.  That is, the predicate to which *paga* is attached gets the more positive comment or receives better compliment.  Hence, *paga* here is translatable to 'even more.'


(10.34)   Mas     atannang **paga**  i     wagi' (anne yayya).
          COMP    tall             more  DET   brother/sister=GEN.1s
          'My brother/sister is even taller (than he/she is).'

(10.35)   Mas     nasingngo **paga**  i       adobo=k       taw ah!
          COMP    delicious  more     DET     adobo=GEN.1s  here huh
          'My adobo is even more delicious than this, huh.' (c)


When *paga* is combined with the particle of limitation *laman,* the expression means that the state-of-affairs is still going on.  This expression can be loosely translated to the present progressive tense in English.

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(10.36)  Kumkuman  da          **paga** laman.
   eating  ABS.3p still
   'They are still eating.'

(10.37)  Maddaggun **paga**.laman  yayya      mazzigu.
   PRES  still   ABS.3s bathe
   'She is still taking a bath.'

When *paga* is combined with the subordinator *maski* 'if', the expression denotes an additional information or a rather unexpected referent or an action.  Also, this can roughly be translated to 'even if.'

(10.38)  Maski **paga** avutan nu        y        kapitta=k,          ari
   Even.if  ask  ERG.2s DET cousin=GEN.1s  NEG

    ku          ammu    yari.
    ERG.1s know  REC

'Even if you ask my cousin, I don't know that.'

## 10.2.4 *Lagu*, particle of consequence

The particle *lagu* 'then' generally expresses consequence, as illustrated by the examples below.  The free translation suggests that it is equivalent to the English 'already'.

(10.39)  Itubbal              mu        **lagu**   ngana,  mataga paga. (P)
   Put.into.mouth  ABS.2s  PAR  already  falls      still
   'You are to put into your mouth already, it still falls.'

(10.40)  Tuvuam=mu     **lagu** ngana, tumatangi-tangi paga
   Feed=ERG.2s  already        cries                    still
   'You already feed it, it still cries.'

*Lagu* is often used in interactions which encode positive response to previous statements.  It may also confirm or certify the validity of the statement just mentioned.  Consider the dialogue below.

(10.41)  A:   Yayya   yari   nasingan tam      ganuri?
              ABS.3s  DET   saw      ERG.2pi a.while.ago
              'He/She was the one we saw a while ago?'

         B:   O **lagu**
              Yes, he is.'


         F:   Nalologon gapa     yaw!
              Easy          indeed   DEM
              'This is indeed easy!'

         G:   O' **lagu**.
              'Oh yes, indeed.'


## 10.2.5 *Labbi*, particle of urgency

When *labbi* is used in imperatives or declaratives that encode actions that are yet to commence, the addition of the particle *labbi* means that the action to which *labbi* is attached to should be done first or should be performed first before any other action takes place.  Thus, it is labeled 'particle of urgency.'


(10.42)  Kumak  kamu     **labbi**.
         Eat      ABS.2s   first
         'Eat first (before you play).

(10.43)  Nu     lubbe   nikaw   i      patu, mabbilang   ka
         When  comes   OBL.2s  DET   heat   count        ABS.2s

         **labbi**  ta     maffulu
         first    OBL   tens

         'When hotheadedness overcomes you, count first one to ten.'


## 10.2.6 *Kari*, interrogative and imperative particle, assertion particle

There are many uses of the particle *kari*.  For one, it makes interrogatives 'more interrogative' in the sense that its presence in a question statement strengthens the remark.  Note that a rising intonation already marks the interrogativity in Ibanag.  The

inclusion of *kari* therefore emphasizes the mood of the statement. Contrast the two sentences below.

(10.44) Anni    i      kaya nu?
        what   DET   want GEN.2p
        'What do you want?'

(10.45) Anni **kari**   y      kaya nu?
        What PAR   NOM   want GEN.2p
        'What do you (really) want?'


The particle *kari* may also be used in imperatives. It could either mitigate the statement, as in example (10.46 ), or at times, it also gives an air of sarcasm especially if the present utterance is a reiteration already, as in (10.47 ).

(10.46) Mallawan ka       **kari** labbi.
        Go.out     ABS.2s PAR  first
        'Go out first.'

(10.47) Ari    mu      **kari** naginna y       kinnagi=k?
        NEG ERG.2s PAR  hear     NOM  said=ERG.1s
        'Didn't you hear what I said?'


*Kari* may also be used to counter a particular statement. Its function is to assert the truth that has been denied in the previous statement. Consider the two sets of dialogue below.

(10.48) A.    Awan       si    Marita taw.
              NEG.EXI  DET  Maria  here
              'Maria is not here.'

        B     Egga **kari**.
              EXI   PAR
              '(No) She is here.'

        G.    Ari         nabbaggaw na  lima na     si    Josh.
              NEG.EXI  wash      DET  hand GEN.3s PERS  Josh
              'Josh did not wash his hands."

H.   Nabbaggaw **kari**.
'No, he did.' (lit., that's not true, he washed)

### 10.2.7 *Naku an*, optative particle

*Nakuan* is an optative particle which expresses the speaker's desire that something be realized or achieved.

(10.49)   Makasingan ka       **nakuan**   ta       amang tari.
See              ERG.2s   OPT       OBL   ghost   there
'I wish you would see a ghost there.'

(10.50)   Nanga kamu       **nakuan**   ta       aru.
Eat          ERG.2p   OPT       OBL   many
'You should have eaten more.'

*Nakuan* also functions as a mitigating device in imperatives. Hence, it can be a polite marker. Since there is no direct counterpart of the particle in English, the label OPT (optative) is used.

(10.51)   Maintindyan mu       **nakuan**   i       kayak ku       nga   kagian.
Understand ERG.2s   OPT       DET   like   ERG.1s   REL   say
'I hope you understand what I mean.'

(10.52)   Mangâ   kamu   **nakuan**   ta       leche flan   taw.
get          ABS.2p   OPT       OBL   *leche flan*   here
'Just get leche flan here, okay.'

### 10.2.8 *laman*, particle of limitation

The particle *laman* generally expresses limitation.

(10.53)   Yatun **laman**   i       ina   mu?
DEM   **only**   DET   got   ABS.2s
'That is all that you got?'

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(10.54)    Hotdog **laman** i    kayâ na       kanan.
              *hotdog* only   DET like   ABS.3s  eat
              'S/he only likes to eat hotdog.'

If *laman* appears after a predicate noun or adjective, it expresses a rather negative connotation as it belittles the phrase with which *laman* is connected to.

(10.55)    High school **laman** i    nabalin   na.
              High school **only**  DET finished  ABS.3s
              'He only finished high school.'

(10.56)    Adde ta   ili     **laman** i    nalevu    ku.
              until  OBL town **only**  DET go.around  ABS.1s
              'I have only gone around the town.'

(10.57)    Innafi **laman** i    ammu nga   ilutu.
              Rice  only  DET   know REL   cook
              'I can only cook rice.'

On the other hand, *laman* can also connote something positive when what is expected is the opposite of what happened. Consider the following examples.

(10.58)    Baddi **laman** i     kinnak=ku.
              Small **only**  DET ate=ERG.1s
              'I have only eaten little.'

(10.59)    Tadday **laman** i    nawawan.
              One   **only**  DET lost.
              'Only one is lost.'

## 10.2.9 *Noka*, future particle

*Noka,* according to present-day speakers of Ibanag, has become antiquated. The expression *sonukua* is used more often now and by the younger generation especially in conversations. *Noka* (or *sonukua*) encodes futuristic modality or an action which is being contemplated. This particle then shows that the action expressed by the predicate has yet to commence. In addition, speakers would use this particular adverbial particle to express

their complete belief that the action will occur. The equivalent of this particle in English is the future tense auxiliary.

(10.60)  Mabussi     ka      noka anna magana   ka       **noka**
         bepregnant ABS.2s FUT  and   give.birth ABS.2s  FUT

         ta    abbing nga lalaki, anna ngaganam mu       **noka**
         DET  child    LIG  boy     and  name        ERG.2s  FUT

         tu    Jesus.
         DET  Jesus

         'You shall become pregnant and you will give birth to a baby boy and you will name him Jesus.'

(10.61)  Ume  **noka** i     Yafu  nga mamaliag tang ngamin.
         Come FUT  DET hon   REL save      OBL  all
         'The Lord will come to save all of us.'

(10.62)  Ngem ariat=tam       paga nga ammu nu    anni **noka**
         but    NEG=ABS.2pi still LIG  know  SUB what FUT

         i       pabbalinat=tam. (1 Juan 3 :2)
         DET   become=ABS.2pi

         'But it is not yet clear what we shall become.'

## 10.2.10 *Balattan*, particle of surprise

*Balattan* is used to express surprise. It means that the new information encoded in the sentence is contrary to the schema of the speaker. Consider the following examples.

(10.63)  Yayya  **balattan** i     makakua ta    tienda.
         ABS.3s PAR       DET owner      OBL  store

         'It turns out s/he is the owner of the store/ S/he is the owner of the store after all.'

(10.64)  Sikaw   **balattan**  i     atawa   na   kofun  ku!
         ABS.2s  PAR          DET   spouse  LIG  friend GEN

'So, you are the husband/wife of my Friend?!'

## 10.2.11 *Gare*, particle of reason

*Gare* is used in conjunction with a reason.  It usually appears in statement used as response to questions concerning reasons. Consider the dialogue below.

(10.65)  A.   Ngatta  ta    manaw  ka?
              why     OBL   leave  ABS.2s
              'Why are you leaving?'

         B:   Awan  **gare** ta    trabahu  taw?
              NEG   PAR    OBL   work     SPA/PROX
              'Because there is no work here?'

         G:   Ngatta  napporay  nikaw    i     atawa=m?
              why     got.mad   OBL.1s   DET   spouse=GEN.2s
              'Why did your spouse get mad at you?'

         H:   Nattammak=ku  **gare**  nga   maggiraw  kami      nakuan
              forgot=ERG.1s   PAR   LIG   watch     ABS.2pe  PAR

                       ta    sine
                       OBL   movie

              'Because I forgot that we should watch movie.'

## 10.2.12 *Tamma*, particle of confusion

When expressing confusion in Ibanag, the particle *tamma* usually supplements the verb.

(10.66)  Abatan=na       **tamma** nu      attu   na        i
         thinks=ERG.3s   maybe   SUB     flatus GEN.3s    DET

                  atte   na.
                  stool  GEN.3s

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'He thinks maybe that his stool is only his flatus.'

(10.67) Nabattang    na        tamma i    annusi na.
        left         ERG.3s    maybe DET  key    GEN.3s
        'S/he left her/his key, maybe.'


### 10.2.13 *Gabbalaman,* particle of emphasis

The expression *gabba laman* roughly translates to 'just the same'.  When uttered, it gives an impression that nothing can be done with the issue or topic at hand.

(10.68) I       yena,    yena      **gabbalaman**.
        DET   mother   mother    PAR
        'Mother is mother (just the same).' (w)

(10.69) "I      kitu ay  tolian na        **gabbalaman** i      uta
        DET  dog  TL return ERG.3s  PAR           DET  waste

        na."       (2 Pedro 2:22)
        GEN.3s

        'A dog goes back to what it has vomited.'


(10.70) Ngem megafu  **gabbalaman** ta      uvovug  na Dios, i
        but     because PAR           OBL    words   LIG  God  DET

        langi      anna davvun nga egga  sangaw  ay
        heaven  and   earth   LIG EXI   now          TL

        mannanayun. . . (2 Pedro 3 :7)
        lasts

        'But the heaven and earth that now exist are being preserved by the same command of God.'


### 10.2.14 *Gamma*, negative particle

The particle *gamma* usually co-occurs with the negative particle *ari.*  Apparently, it affirms the negation being made or it emphasizes more its negativity.

(10.71) Nakakorona, ari **gamma** reyna; nassirisi ari **gamma** nga sira
with.crown NEG PAR queen with.scales PAR LIG fish

'It wears crown though not a queen; it has scales though not a fish.'


(10.72) Ngatta nga mattattangi ka, ari nâ **gamma**
why LIG crying ABS.2s NEG ABS.1s PAR

mapporay.
get.mad

'Why are you crying, I'm not mad.'


## 10.3  Adjuncts

Adjunct, as Trask (1993:8) defines, is "a category which is a modifier of a lexical head without being subcategorized for by that lexical head and which could in principle be removed without affecting well-formedness."  There are five adjuncts identified in Ibanag: manner, locative, temporal, frequency and simultaneity.


### 10.3.1  Adjunct of manner

Adjuncts of manner in Ibanag may either pre-modify or post-modify the verbs. Either way, the adjunct and the verb are conjoined by the ligature *nga.*  Compare (10.74) and (10.75) for the placement of manner adjuncts.


(10.73) **Mana-manawag** nga kagian na Espiritu tu
R(INT)- clear LIG say DET Spirit SUB

egga noka. . . (1Timoteo 4:1)
EXI FUT

'The Spirit says clearly that there will be. . ..'


(10.74) Makkanta ka nga **sigga**-**pagayaya**.
sing ABS.2s LIG with.all.heart
'Sing with all your heart.'

(10.75) **Sigga-pagayaya** nga makkulle kamu.
with.all.heart     LIG shout    ABS.2p
'Shout with all your heart.'


Some adverbs of manner are expressed through posture or configuration verbs (see previous chapter). These are expressed through the prefix *naka-* and the root verb, as in (10.76) and (10.77):

(10.76) **Nakatuppo** ira      nga kimminan.
squatted     ABS.3p LIG ate
'They ate squatting.'

(10.77) **Nakataddag** yayya     nga naturra.
standing      ABS.3s LIG write
'S/he wrote standing up.'

## 10.3.2 Locatives

Locatives in Ibanag are generally case-marked as obliques. Locative phrases can be definite names of places, indefinite location, or spatial demonstrative. Contrast examples (10.78), (10.79), and (10.80).

(10.78) Minay ira     **ta**     **Atulayan**.
went   ABS. 3p OBL Atulayan
'They went to Atulayan.'

(10.79) Minay ira     **ta lawan.**
went   ABS.3p OBL outside
'They went outside.'

(10.80) Minay ira     **tari**
went   ABS.3p DIST
'They went there.'

(10.81) Kalanutan      i    **utun**     na;     kabatuan
NOM.lanut.LOC DET upper.part GEN.3s    NOM.batu.LOC

        i    **unak**     na.
        DET inner part GEN.3s

'Its upper part is full of vines; its inner part is full of stones.'

(10.82)  Afi  ta   **utun**, afi  ta   **gugak**.
         Fire LOC  top    fire LOC  below
         'Fire on top, fire below.'


## 10.3.3  Temporals

There are many ways to express Ibanag temporals.  One is using the expression *sonu*, which denotes a futuristic meaning, and is combined with particular temporal like day, week, or month.  Another popular temporal is the combination of *turi* and other time frame expressions.  Table 10.1 presents some of the common temporals in Ibanag.


Table 10.1  Temporals as means of adverbial expression

| Ibanag temporal expression | Gloss |
|---|---|
| turi | 'last time' |
| ganuri | 'a while ago' |
| sangaw | 'now' |
| sangaw ngana | 'right now' |
| sonu-umma | 'tomorrow' |
| kagabi | 'last night' |
| kagabi ta fugag | 'yesterday afternoon' |
| sonu tadde aggaw | 'the next day/morning' |
| sonu tadde ligguan | 'next week' |
| sonu tadde vulan | 'next month' |
| sonu- umma ta umma | 'tomorrow morning' |
| ta tanakuan na aggao | 'some other day' |
| tungngao tadde aggao | 'the other day' |
| tungngao tadde ligguan | 'the other week' |
| tungngao tadde vulan | 'the other month' |

(10.83)  Kuwa=m **sangaw**, kuwâ      noka.
OBL.2s now       OBL.1s   later
'Yours now, mine later.'


(10.84)  **Adde turi**, i      tolay   na    Enrile kurugad=da       tu
Since then  DET people LIG   Enrile believe=ABS.3p SUB

kayu   na     balete egga i     maddian           nga
tree   LIG    balete EXI DET  dwelling.place  LIG

Sarangay
Sarangay.

'Since then, the people of Enrile believe that the balete tree is the dwelling
place of Sarangay (evil spirit).' (w)


(10.85)  I      maraddam   ta   **sangaw**   ay   magayaya   ta
DET  sad              OBL now       TL   happy        OBL

urian nga  aggao.
later LIG   day

'He who is sad now may be happy later somehow.' (w)

(10.86)  Si     Juan egga ta    balay   mi          **tatun nga tiempo**.
PERS John EXI   OBL  house GEN.3p  that.time
'John was in our house that time.'

(10.87)  **Namittan nga umma**, egga minay nga   adaddakal
one.day                     EXI   came LIG   very.big

nga  bavi ta        dyam=mi.
LIG  pig   OBL   place=GEN.1p

'One day, a very big pig came to our place.'


## 10.3.4  Adverb of frequency

The adverb of frequency can be expressed in two ways.  One is through the lexical
item *kanayun* 'always' which can pre-modify or post-modify the verb, as in the following
examples.

(10.88)   Magayaya kamu    nga  **kanayun** anna maddasal  kamu
          Rejoice     ABS.2p LIG   always    and  pray        ABS.2p

                ta      ngamin nga  tiempo.
                OBL    all         LIG   time

          'Always rejoice and pray at all times.'


(10.89)   **Kanayun** ira      nga  makkukkulle ta    lawan.
          always      ABS.3p LIG   IMP-R- shout OBL  outside
          'They are always shouting outside.'


     Frequency in Ibanag is also expressed through the prefix *kada-* which is attached
to the temporal.    Table 10.2 presents some of the common Ibanag frequency
expressions.


Table 10.2.  Adverbs of frequency

| Ibanag frequency expressions | Gloss |
|---|---|
| aggao- gavi | 'day and night' |
| kada fugag | 'every afternoon' |
| kada- gabi | 'every night' |
| kada- Lunis | 'every Monday' |
| kada- ragun | 'every year' |
| kaggaggao | 'everyday' |


(10.90)   **Kada nu gabi**, ari    na          makakaturug.
          Every LIG   night NEG ABS.1s    sleep
          'Every night, I can't sleep.'


(10.91)   Anni  y      pinaratu nga  **mamidua** nga  meyana?
          What NOM  creature REL  twice       REL  born
          'Which creature is born twice?'

### 10.3.5 Adverb of simultaneity

To express simultaneous action, the lexical item *aggiddan* (from the root *giddan* 'same time', or the perfective counterpart *naggiddan* pre-modifies the verb. Unlike manner adjuncts, this adverb does not occur as a post-modifier of the verb.

(10.92) **Naggiddan** nga maddapa i daga anna
same.time LIG fall DET blood and

          turu na lua. . .
          drop LIG tear

'They simultaneously fall, my blood and my tears. . '

## *10.4 Summary*

In this section, the interesting lexical category of adverbials is presented. There are two main types of adverbials in Ibanag: particles and adjuncts.

Ibanag adverbial particles are among the distinct features of the language. In this paper, there are 14 adverbial particles identified and exemplified. Aside from their ability to encode a wide range of meaning, they do not have one-to-one mapping in English. In addition, these particles can co-occur with each other or can come in series.

On the other hand, there are five types of adjuncts presented here: manner, locative, temporal, frequency, and simultaneity. The copiousness of examples all the more lend elucidation to the various forms and functions of Ibanag adverbials.

Having discussed adverbials, the discussion of numbers follows.

# Chapter 11

# NUMBERS

## 11.1 Introduction

This section presents Ibanag numerals and its many sub-categories. Among the topics covered here are: cardinals (11.2), ordinals (11.3), multiplicatives (11.4), distributives (11.5), limitatives (11.6), and Spanish borrowings (11.7). The semantic and morphological characteristics of these numerals are discussed vis-à-vis their syntactic properties.

## 11.2 Cardinals

Ibanag cardinals follow a decimal (base 10) system. The cardinal numbers from one to ten are:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| tadday | - | 'one' |
| dua | - | 'two' |
| tallu | - | 'three' |
| appa | - | 'four' |
| lima | - | 'five' |
| annam | - | 'six' |
| pitu | - | 'seven' |
| walu | - | 'eight' |
| siam | - | 'nine' |
| mafulu | - | 'ten' |

Cardinals eleven to nineteen are formed by *kara* and the cardinals from one to nine. Note that ten is not *kara* but *mafulu*. However, eleven onwards is formed not by prefixing *mafulu* with the cardinals but *kara*. Hence, eleven is not *\*mafullutadday* but *karatadday.* The two cardinals, *appa* and *annam*, are hyphenated with the prefix *kara* while the rest are assimilated with the prefix *kara* with the initial consonant reduplicated. Ibanag cardinals eleven to nineteen are presented below.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| karatadday | - | 'eleven' |
| karaddwa | - | 'twelve' |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| karattallu | - | 'thirteen' |
| kara-appa | - | 'fourteen' |
| karallima | - | 'fifteen' |
| kara-annam | - | 'sixteen' |
| karappitu | - | 'seventeen' |
| karawwalu | - | 'eighteen' |
| karassyam | - | 'nineteen' |

The succeeding tens, that is thirty to ninety, use the original cardinals (*dua* to *siam*) compounded by *fulu* 'ten'.   Note also that tens, hundreds and thousands are expressed by the prefix *ma-* and the particular term for the number, i.e., *gatu* 'hundred', *rivu* 'thousand', and *milyon* 'million'.  Some of these cardinals are presented below.

In two-digit numbers, *annam* 'six' and *siyam* 'nine' are conjoined by *fulu* with the ligature *na.*  Hence, *annam na fulu* '60' and *siyam na fulu* '90'.  These are presented below.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| duafulu | - | 'twenty' |
| duafulu-tadday | - | 'twenty-one' |
| limafulu | - | 'fifty' |
| pitufulu-annam | - | 'seventy-six' |
| magatu | - | 'one hundred' |
| magatu tu tadday | - | 'one hundred one' |
| marivu | - | 'one thousand' |
| mafulurivu | - | 'ten thousand' |
| magatukarivu | - | 'one hundred thousand' |

As for small units attached to hundreds or thousands, a number ligature *tu* conjoins the hundred (or thousand) and the small number.  Hence, *magatu tu tadday* 'one hundred one', and so on.  The ligature that apparently connects the two numbers is not a conjunction and is therefore a ligature in this case.  Similarly, notice that ten thousand is expressed *mafulurivu* (*mafulu* being 'ten' and *rivu* being 'thousand') but one hundred thousand is expressed *magatukarivu*.  The CV *ka* appears to connect these two numbers but is not written separately unlike *tu.*

Syntactically, cardinals can have various uses.  First, cardinals are nominal modifiers as in (11.1), (11.2), and (11.3)

(11.1)　I　　pammakan　ni　Jesus　ta　**limarivu**　　nga　totolay
　　　　DET　feeding　　PERS　Jesus　OBL　five.thousand　LIG　people

　　　　'the feeding of Jesus of five thousand people' (Mateo 14:13-21)


(11.2)　Nanoli　　nga　sigga-pagayaya　danuri　i　　**pitufulu-dua**.
　　　　came.back　LIG　joyfully　　　　　　PLU　DET　seventy-two
　　　　'All the seventy-two came back with joy.' (Lucas 10:17)


(11.3)　Egga **magatu　tu　　tadday** nga　istorya　na.
　　　　EXI　hundred　LIG　one　　LIG　story　　GEN.3s
　　　　'S/he has one hundred and one stories.'


　　　Second, a cardinal can also be the core arguments of a clause.　Examples (11.4) (11.5), and (11.6) exhibit numeral expressions as themes.


(11.4)　**Kara-appa**　ta　　dagun　ngana　i　　nappasa turi　　ta
　　　　Fourteen　　LIG　years　already　DET　passed　when　SUB

　　　　　nessimu　yaw.
　　　　　seen　　DEM

　　　　'Fourteen years has passed since this was seen.' (2 Corinto 12:2)

(11.5)　**Duagatukarivu**　　　　i　　nala　da　　ta　　opisina.
　　　　two.hundred.thousand　DET　took　ABS.3p　OBL　office
　　　　'They got two hundred thousand from the office.'

(11.6)　**Magatu-limafulu-tallu**　　ngamin I　　nakan na.
　　　　One hundred fifty-three　all　　DET　ate　ERG.3s
　　　　'S/he has eaten one hundred fifty-three in all.'


## 11.3　Ordinals

　　　Ibanag ordinals, except for 'first', are formed by attaching the prefix *maika-* (which is usually pronounced *meka-*) with the cardinals.　'First', however, is expressed *olu,* not *mekatadday.*　Note that *olu* 'first' can also be verbalized, e.g., *nappolu* 'went first'.　Ibanag ordinals are presented below.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| olu | - | 'first' |
| mekarua | - | 'second' |
| mekatallu | - | 'third' |
| mekasyam | - | 'ninth' |
| mekamafulu | - | 'tenth' |
| mekakarattadday | - | 'eleventh' |
| mekakaraddwa | - | 'twelfth' |
| mekadwafulu | - | 'twentieth' |
| mekamagatu | - | 'one hundredth' |

Ordinals, generally, are nominal modifiers.  The following examples illustrate how ordinals behave as such.

(11.7)   Haspe   i   **ollu**, safiro   i   **mekarua**, kalsedonia   i
         Jasper DET first sapphire DET second     agate       DET

       **mekatallu**, Esmeralda i   **meka**-**appa**, sardonika
       third          emerald    DET fourth         onyx

       i   **mekalima**, karnelia   i   **meka**-**annam**, krisolito
       DET   fifth        carnelian DET sixth          yellow.quartz

       i   **mekapitu**, berilo i   **mekawalu**, topasio i
       DET   seventh   beryl DET eighth        topaz   DET

       **mekasiam**, krisoprasio   i   **mekamafulu**, hasinto
       ninth        chalcedony DET   tenth          turqouise

       i   **mekakaratadday**,   anna   amatista   i
       DET   eleventh          and    amethyst   DET

       **mekakaradua**.   (1 Nepakannammu 21: 19-20)
       twelfth

'Jasper was the first, sapphire second, agate third, emerald
fourth, chardonnay fifth, carnelian sixth, yellow quartz seventh,
beryl eight, topaz ninth, chalcedony tenth, hyacinth
eleventh, and amethyst twelfth.'

(11.8)   Yayya     kari   i   **napolu** onu **naporyan**?
         ABS.3s   PAR   DET first     or   last
         'Is he/she the first or the last?'

(11.9) **Olu** (mab)bi i     baggi';     **urian** i     pakiwagi'.
first first    DET self=GEN.1s last    DET brothers=GEN.1s
'Myself first, my brethren after.'

(11.10) I     **mekarwa** nga   mabibbig ay   nala   ta   **olu**
DET   second    LIG   reading   TL   taken OBL   first

nga   tura   ni     San   Juan.
LIG   letter PERS   St.   John

'The second reading is taken from the first letter of St. John.'

(11.11) Egga i     ammu'       nga tolay   nga mangurug kanni
EXI   DET know=ERG.1s LIG person LIG believes   OBL

Cristo nga   gavva     nga neyangay ta     utun   ta
Christ LIG suddenly LIG brought   OBL   top     OBL

**mekatallu** nga langi.
third         LIG heaven

'I know of a person who believes in Jesus Christ who suddenly was brought to the top of the third heaven.' (2 Corinto 12:2)

## 11.4 Mulitiplicatives

Multiplicatives (also called frequentatives, cf. Ruffolo, 2004) express multiple items such as twice, thrice, four times, and so on. Ibanag multiplicatives are formed by adding the prefix *mamin-* to cardinals. When the action denoted by the multiplicative is past, the prefix *mamin-* becomes *namin-* and is affixed to the cardinal number. Again, the first in the line of multiplicatives, that is 'once', is unaffixed. Also, the multiplicative equivalent of the cardinal *dwa* 'two' undergoes consonant change. Just like its ordinal counterpart, the initial letter *d* becomes *r* and when it (*rwa*) attaches to the multiplicative prefix *mamin-*, the final consonant *n* is dropped thus producing *mamirwa* 'twice'. Finally, the cardinals that begin with vowels are hyphenated.

mittan          -     'once'
mamirwa         -     'twice'
mamittallu      -     'thrice'

mamin-appa      -      'four times'
maminlima       -      'five times'
mamin-annam     -      'six times'
maminmafulu     -      'ten times'
maminkarattadday -     'eleven times'
maminmagatu     -      'one hundred times'


Multiplicatives are mainly frequency adjuncts as they encode how many times a certain action occurred.  These are illustrated by the examples that follow.


(11.12)  **Namin**-**annam** ngana  ira       nga nattoli       taw.
         six.times       already ABS.3p LIG came.back   here
         'They have come back here for six times already.'

(11.13)  **Namin-appa**    ngana  yayya     kiminan.
         four.times        already ABS.3s  ate
         'S/he has eaten thrice already.'

(11.14)  Maski  **mamimmagatu**    mu        paga nga  avutan, yari
         even.if one.hundred.times ERG.2s    even LIG   ask     REC

            lagapa i      kagiak=ku.
            also    DET  said=ERG.1s

         'Even if you ask me one hundred times, I will say the same thing.'


As is the characteristic of Ibanag morphology, a consonant or a vowel may be lost when the root is affixed.  This is especially evident in the spoken data.  Consider the following example:


(11.15)  **Namillu**     ngana    nga  niyavu ni    Jesus   nu
         three.times  already    LIG  asked  PERS  Jesus   if

            ayatan na       yaya.
            loves   ERG.3s  ABS.3s

         'Jesus already asked three times if he loves him.'  (Juan 21:17)


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## 11.5 Distributives

Ibanag distributives are expressed by prefixing *taggi-* to cardinals. For example, *taggi-tadday* 'one each'; *taggi-appa* 'four each'; and so on. The formed words are always hyphenated. The following are the common Ibanag distributives:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| taggi-tadday | - | 'one each' |
| taggi-dua | - | 'two each' |
| taggi-tallu | - | 'three each' |
| taggi-appa | - | 'four each' |
| taggi-lima | - | 'five each' |
| taggi-annam | - | 'six each' |
| taggi-mafulu | - | 'ten each' |
| taggi-karatadday | - | 'eleven each' |
| taggi-magatu | - | 'one hundred each' |

Distributives are also nominal modifiers, specifically the benefactives in a transitive clause.

(11.16) Giminatang na ta **taggi**-**appa** nu a dulse.
Bought ERG.1s DET four.each OBL.2p LIG candy
'I bought you candy, four each.'

(11.17) **Taggi**-**tadday** laman i nelubbe da nga saku.
One.each only NOM brought.home ERG.3p LIG sack
'They were able to bring home one sack each only.'

(11.18) Pagitubangan nu i totolay ta finuddu-fuddu
make.sit ERG.2p DET people OBL groups

tu mattaggi-limafulu. (Lucas 9:14)
LIG fifty.each

'Make the people sit down in groups of about fifty each.'

## 11.6 Limitatives

Limitatives (or restrictives in Rubino 2000) express the concept of 'only'. In Ibanag, there is no prefix to denote this limitation. Instead, a reduplication of the initial

syllable is done.  There are some inconsistencies in the process, however.  For those beginning with CVC, the initial CVC is reduplicated (e.g., *tadday* becomes *tadtadday*). In the case of the one syllabled-cardinal *dua* (or *dwa*), the supposed equivalent is *dududua*, that is , the initial CV is reduplicated.  As is the process for the cardinal 'two', the initial consonant *d* becomes *r,* the second reduplicant shape is thus *ru,* but the initial reduplicated syllable is still *du.*  The complicated process finally results in *dururwa* 'two only'*.*  As for the cardinals that begin with VC, the initial CV is reduplicated.  At times, a vowel similar to the V in the initial syllable is added to the reduplicated shape.  Consider the following examples:

|            |   |             |
|------------|---|-------------|
| ta̱dtadday | - | 'only one'  |
| dururwa    | - | 'two only'  |
| tala-tallu | - | 'three only'|
| apa-appa   | - | 'four only' |
| limi-lima/lillima | - | 'five only' |

Cardinals that begin with CV (i.e., ten onwards) form their limitatives by reduplicating the initial CV and adding *la* to the reduplicated syllable.  Consider the examples below:

|                 |   |               |
|-----------------|---|---------------|
| malammafulu     | - | 'ten only'    |
| kalakkaratadday | - | 'eleven only' |
| kalakkaradwa    | - | 'twelve only' |

Limitatives, like the other numerals, also function as nominal modifiers.  Note that although they are semantically limitative, the lexical item *laman* 'only' can still co-occur with them.

(11.19)  Sakan    anna   i     Yama  ay    **tadtadday** laman.
         ABS.1s   and    DET   Father  TL    one.only    only
         'The Father and I are but only one.' (Juan 10:30)

(11.20)  **Dururua**  ngana  i        nabattang nga  dupo.
two.only  already  NOM  left          LIG  banana
'Only two bananas have been left.'

(11.21)  **Kalakarasiyam** i        minay nga kakofun na        ta      piyesta.
nineteen.only  DET  came  LIG  friend   GEN.3s  LOC  feast
'Only nineteen of her friends came to the feast.'


The fractional item *gaddua* 'one half' can also be expressed as a limitative. Here, the initial CVC is reduplicated, thus, *gadgadua* 'one half only'.


(11.22)  **Gadgadua**       nga kaban i       nabattang ta       bagga.
One-half.only  LIG  cavan  DET  left          DET  rice
'Only one-half cavan of our rice was left.'

## 11.7 Fractions

Fractions in Ibanag are generally expressed by the prefix *pakka-* and the cardinals. Only denominators are expresses with this prefix.  The numerators are expressed through cardinals.  Notice the assimilation of *pakka* and *tallu* which is *pakkallu* in one-third.  The consonant *t* has been dropped here.  On the other hand, one-fourth is expressed *pakkappa* where the assimilation is more subtle (the final vowel of *pakka* and the initial vowel of *appa*).  Some Ibanag fractions are presented below:


tallu pakkalima       -       'three-fifths' or 3/5
pakkamafulu        -       'one-tenth' or 1/10
appa pakkapitu      -       'four-seventh' or 4/7
lima pakkamagatu   -       'five over one hundred' or 5/100


(11.23)  I       **pakkamafulu** na     salug  laman i        lutuam=mu
DET  one-tenth      LIG  ganta  only  DET  cook=ABS.2s
'Cook only one-tenth of a ganta.'


(11.24)  Yari  laman **tallu pakkalima** i     nabalin  da        ta      trabahu.
DEM only    three-fifths        DEM finished  ERG.3p OBL  work
'They were only able to finish three-fifths of the work.'

## 11.8  Spanish numerals

Although Ibanag has its own numeral system, Spanish loan words are still dominant in terms of time, date, percentages, prices, and age expressions.   As has been observed, cardinals one to ten are sometimes used in placed of the Spanish counterparts. However, eleven onwards are usually expressed in Spanish.   This is probably due to economy and convenience.    As shown in section 11.2, higher cardinals are morphologically complicated.  Hence, the preference for Spanish borrowing is apparent.

Here is the list of the Spanish number terms used in Ibanag:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | - | uno |
| 2 | - | dos |
| 3 | - | tres |
| 4 | - | kuatro |
| 5 | - | singko |
| 6 | - | sais |
| 7 | - | siete |
| 8 | - | otso |
| 9 | - | nuebe |
| 10 | - | dies |
| 11 | - | onse |
| 12 | - | dose |
| 13 | - | trese |
| 14 | - | katorse |
| 15 | - | kinse |
| 16 | - | disisais |
| 17 | - | disisiete |
| 18 | - | disiotso |
| 19 | - | disinuebe |
| 20 | - | beinte |
| 25 | - | beintisingko  (beinte y singko) |
| 30 | - | trenta |
| 40 | - | kuarenta |
| 50 | - | singkuenta |
| 60 | - | sisenta |
| 70 | - | sitenta |
| 80 | - | otsenta |
| 90 | - | nobenta |
| 100 | - | sien |
| 200 | - | dosientos |
| 300 | - | tresientos |
| 400 | - | kuatrosientos |
| 500 | - | kinientos |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 600 | - | saisientos |
| 700 | - | setesientos |
| 800 | - | otsosientos |
| 900 | - | nobesientos |
| 1000 | - | mil |
| 2000 | - | dos mil |
| 3000 | - | tres mil |
| 1,000,000 | - | milión |

## 11.8.1 Clock time

Clock-time in Ibanag is expressed using Spanish loan terms. These loan terms are preceded by *alas* 'o'clock'. Both hour and minute expressions are expressed in Spanish. Also, the minute is conjoined with the hour by the Spanish conjunction *y* (pronounced as 'i'). When the minute expression is *media* (which means 'half'), the use of the *y* connector is obligatory. When it is any other, *y* is optional .

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ala-una | - | 1:00 |
| alas-ocho | - | 8:00 |
| alas-dose | - | 12:00 |
| alas-tres y media | - | 3:30 |
| alas-dies | - | 10:00 |
| alas-singko (y) beinte | - | 5:20 |
| alas onse (y) kinse | - | 11:15 |

These time expressions usually function as temporal adverbs and are introduced by temporal determiners such as *tu, ta,* or *sonu.*

(11.25)  Kumat=tam    sonu   **alas onse beinte singko**.
Eat=ABS.1p   TEMP  eleven.tenty-five
'We will eat at 11:25.'

(11.26)  **Alas-kwatro y media** ngana   turi    ta     naka-adde da       taw.
four thirty                already  when  DET   arrived    ABS.3p  here
'It was already four thirty when they got here.'

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## 11.8.2 Dates

Dates are also expressed in Spanish. The first day of the month is usually expressed in Spanish ordinal *primero* 'first'. The rest of the days use the other Spanish number terms presented earlier. When referring to a particular day of the month, the day is mentioned first and is conjoined with the month by the expression *na* 'of'. Often, the vowel *a* is also affixed to the day, especially those from 2-10.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| a-dies na Mayo | - | 10<sup>th</sup> of May / May 10 |
| a-dos na Agosto | - | 2<sup>nd</sup> of August / August 2 |
| Oktubre beinte-dos | - | October 22 |
| beinte-singko na Disiembre | - | December 25 |

(11.27)  Sonu **a**-**nuebe na Pebrero**   i   kasal   da.
TEMP ninth   of February DET wedding GEN.3p
'Their wedding is on the 9<sup>th</sup> of February.'

(11.28)  Massisimmu   tam   ngamin ta   **primero na Hulyo**.
See.each.other ABS.1p all   DET first   of July
'We will all see each other on the first of July.'

## 11.8.3 Percentages

Ibanag percentages can either be expressed through Spanish loan words or through native cardinals. The said cardinals are conjoined by the ligature *nga* to the Spanish counterpart of percentage, *porsiento*. When Spanish cardinals are used, the ligature *nga* may not be used.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Annam nga porsiento / sais porsiento | - | six percent (6%) |
| Maffulu nga porsiento / dies porsiento | - | ten percent (10%) |
| Duafulu nga porsiento / beinte prosiento - | | twenty percent (20%) |

(11.29)  **Kinse porsiento** i   ana'   yari   gatu'.
Fifteen percent   DET interest   DEM debt=GEN.1s

'The interest of my debt is fifteen percent.

(11.30)   **Karadua nga porsiento** i          nala   da         ta      premyo'.
          Twelve   LIG   percent      DET   got   ERG.3p   OBL   prize=GEN.1s

          'They got twelve percent of my prize.'


## 11.8.4  Prices

Either Spanish or Ibanag expressions are used in pricing.  However, the Spanish loan terms are more dominant.  Also, the monetary unit is often left unexpressed as it is clear in the context.


(11.31)   **Mil          dos** ngamin pinaga'.
          Thousand  two  all        paid=ERG.1s

          'I paid one thousand two hundred in all.'

(11.32)   **Singkwenta** i        tangakilu  na      lansones.
          Fifty            DET   one.kilo   LIG   lanzones

          'A kilo of lanzones is fifty pesos.'


## 11.8.5  Age expressions

Age expressions in Ibanag may be encoded in Spanish or the vernacular.  When the age is mentioned with 'years old' counterpart, the Ibanag cardinals are preferred. However, when *daggun* 'year' is omitted, the Spanish loan words are used instead.


(11.33)   **Appa** i         daggun na            ngana.
          Four  DET   year     GEN.3s   already
          'He/She is already four years old.'

(11.34)   **Katorse**     na          ngana.
          Fourteen   GEN.3s   already
          'He/She is fourteen already.'

## 11.9  Summary

In this section, the different types of numerals are presented, namely, cardinals, ordinals, multiplicatives, distributives, limitatives, and the Spanish borrowings.  The morphological properties are explained along with their syntactic properties.  Generally, numerals function as nominal modifiers and adjuncts.  In addition, Ibanag numerals, just like other Philippine-type languages, are drawn heavily from Spanish loanwords.

Having explained the category of numerals, the discussion of existentials follows.

# Chapter 12

# EXISTENTIALS

## 12.1 Introduction

There are two types of existentials in Ibanag that can be used to encode existential constructions: *egga* for the positive existential and *awan* for its negative counterpart. Below are examples to illustrate these two uses:

Positive:

> ***Egga*** amang tari.
> EXI   ghost   there
> 'There is a ghost there.'

Negative:

> ***Awan***     tu     amang tari.
> NEG.EXI PAR   ghost   there
> 'There is no ghost there.'

There are three main uses of the existentials *egga* and *awan* in Ibanag: 1) to express the existence of something, which is the most common; 2) to show possession; and 3) to encode location. These uses are further explained in the sections that follow.

## 12.2 Existential use

This section discusses the different uses of existentials which express the existence or non-existence of something. As for the positive existential, *egga* is simply followed by the existentialized phrase. However, in the case of the negative existential, *awan* is also followed by the existentialized phrase but with an obligatory negative particle *tu*. Since *tu* behaves here as a particle than a ligature, as opposed to the ligature *tu* in numerals (cf. 11.2), this will be labeled PAR (particle). The existential

expression *egga* is labeled EXI (existential), whereas its negative counterpart is labeled NEG.EXI (negative existential) Consider the following examples:

(12.1)  **Egga** assitu  ta  balay.
        EXI   puppy  OBL  house
        'There is a puppy in the house.'

(12.2)  **Awan**   tu   assitu  ta  balay.
        NEG.EXI  PAR  puppy  OBL  house
        'There is no puppy in the house.'

Notice that the existentialized nominal in the two sentences above have the same components, except that in (12.2), the negative counterpart, the particle *tu* precedes the negative expression *awan*. If this particle *tu* is omitted from the negative existential clause, the resulting clause is somewhat awkward. Likewise, if the particle *tu* is inserted before the nominal phrase in the positive existential clause, the resulting clause also sounds strange. The asterisks before the items signify ungrammaticality.

*__Egga__ tu    assitu   tab=balay.
 EXI   PAR  puppy   OBL=house
'There is a puppy in the house.'

*__Awan__    assitu  tab=balay.
NEG.EXI  puppy  OBL=house
'There is no puppy in the house.'

The following examples further illustrate the uses of existentials *egga* and *awan*. Take note of the use and non-use of particles before the nominal phrases.

(12.3)  **Egga** lappaw  a    navuyu.
        EXI   flower   LIG  odorous
        'There is an malodorous flower.'

(12.4)  **Awan**   tu   lappaw  a    navuyu.
        NEG.EXI  PAR  flower   LIG  odorous
        'There is no malodorous flower.'

It is also possible that the existentialized phrase in the positive existential clause contains a determiner. However, this is not obligatory, especially in conversational register. The following examples show that determiners can also be used in positive existentials.

(12.5)  **Egga**  i  tadday  nga  pinaratu  nga  magana  ta
     EXI  DET  one  LIG  creature  REL  give.birth  OBL

          futu  na.
          heart  GEN.3s

     'There is one creature that gives birth through its heart.' (R)

(12.6)  **Egga**  i  tadday  nga  lakalakay,  maggaggun  ta  uway.
     EXI  DET  one  LIG  old.man  pulling  OBL  rattan
     There is an old man pulling a rattan. (R)

(12.7)  I  **egga**  nga  ikan,  passirapattan.
     DET  EXI  LIG  viand  share
     'Whatever viand is there, let us share.' (w)

(12.8)  **Egga**  i  kalakkabak=ku,  napannu  ta  batu.
     EXI  DET  little.trunk=GEN.1s  full  OBL  stone
     'I have a little trunk filled with stone chunks.' (w)

## 12.3 Possessive use

Possession can also be expressed with the existentials *egga* and *awan.* They take the initial position in the sentence while the object being possessed follow.

(12.9)  **Egga**  palattuk  da
     EXI  gun  GEN.3p
     'They have guns.'

(12.10)  **Egga**  bagu  nga  sinnun=na.
     EXI  new  LIG  clothes=GEN.3s
     'S/he has new clothes.'

To express the non-possession of an object, the negative existential *awan* is used instead.

(12.11)  **Awan**     tu    palattuk  da.
         NEG.EXI  PAR gun       GEN.3p
         'They don't have guns.'

(12.12)  **Awan**     tu    bagu nga  sinnun=na.
         NEG.EXI  PAR  new   LIG  clothes=GEN.3s
         'S/he does not have new clothes.'

## 12.4  Locative use

   Existentials *egga* and *awan* can also encode locatives.  The rough equivalents of

these expressions in English are 'is/are in' and 'is/are not in', respectively.  Hence, the

existential particles usually occupy the initial position in the sentence, followed by the

definite location of the referent then the referent or the entity that is in the location.  Note

that in these constructions, the negative particle *tu* is not an obligatory constituent.

Consider the following examples:

(12.13)  **Egga**   ta b=balay  mi      si      yama.
         EXI      OBL=house  GEN.3p  PERS   father
         'Father is in our house.'

(12.14)  **Awan**     tab=balay   mi      si      yama.
         NEG.EXI  OBL=house  GEN.3p  PERS father
         `Father is not in our house.'

(12.15)  **Egga** tam= Manila  ya[7]  babalay  nga   nakasta
         EXI      OBL=Manila REC  houses   LIG   beautiful
         'The beautiful houses are in Manila.'  (Verstraelen 1973:6)

(12.16)  **Awan**     ta    pitaka=k        yari  resibu.
         NEG.EXI  OBL  wallet=GEN.1s  REC  receipt
         'The receipt is not in my wallet.'

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[7] For purposes of convenience, the deictic pronoun *yari* is sometimes abbreviated into *ya.*

The locatives in the following sentences refer to one's possession of something, as expressed by the oblique case. Put shortly, a pronominal may also express 'location', as any full NP locative does.

(12.17)  **Egga** niakan yari annusi.
       EXI   OBL.1s REC key
       'I have the key.' (lit. The key is with me.)

(12.18)  **Awan** niakan yari annusi.
       NEG.EXI OBL.1s REC key
       'I don't have the key.' (lit. The key is not with me.)

(12.19)  **Egga** nittam i grasya nad=Dios.
       EXI   OBL.1pi DET grace  DET=Lord
       'The grace of the Lord is with us.'

(12.20)  **Awan** nikamu i problema.
       NEG.EXI OBL.3p DET problem
       'The problem is not with you.'

(12.21)  Dios, Nikaw, Maria, napannu ka     ta    gracia, Yafu
       Lord OBL.2s Mary full       ABS.2s OBL grace   HON

       Dios i **egga** nikaw,
       Lord DET EXI OBL.2s

       'Hail Mary, full of grace, the Lord is with you.'

Locative phrases can also be expressed through adverb of places. The existential particles are thus followed by the spatial expressions *taw* 'here', *tatun* 'there', and *tari* 'there (yonder)'.

(12.22)  **Egga** taw       yari abbing nga nawawan.
       EXI   SPA/PROX REC child   LIG lost
       'The lost child is here.'

(12.23)  **Awan** tari       yari pronggo.
       NEG.EXI SPA/DIST REC pitcher.
       'The pitcher is not there.'

(12.24)  **Awan**        tatun        yari  garsib.
         NEG.EXI  SPA/MED   REC  scissors
         'The scissors are not there.'

## 12.5  Other uses of egga and awan

Aside from the three common uses of *egga* and *awan* which are existential, possessive and locative, there are other possible uses of these existential expressions.

### 12.5.1  *Egga/awan* in identificational constructions

To highlight the existence of a possessed entity or referent, they take the initial position in the sentence followed by the existential particles then the oblique pronouns. These possessed referents can also be intensified by placing either an amplifier or a downtoner (Quirk et al.1985:398) before the possessed referents. Consider the examples below.

(12.25)  Taggam  i      **egga**  ta      piggan=na.
         ant        DET  EXI   OBL  plate=GEN.1s
         'Ant is what is on his/her plate.'

(12.26)  Puro pangas  i      **egga**  nikaw.
         pure pride     DET   EXI   OBL.2s
         'What you have is all pride.' (lit. What you have is pure pride.)

(12.27)  Respeto  i      **awan**        nikamu.
         Respect   DET   NEG.EXI  OBL.3p
         'Respect is what you do not have.'

To specify the possessed referent or to be more specific with the existence of a possessed referent, a determiner is placed before the said possessed referents.

(12.28)  Yari  baddi nga anninni  i      **egga**  niakan.
         DET   small  LIG  rug         DET  EXI    OBL.1s
         'What is with me is the small rug.'

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(12.29)  I     assaru  i     **egga**  nikaw.
         DET   pail    DET   EXI      OBL.2s
         'The pail is what is with you.'

## 12.5.2 *Egga/awan* in non-identifiable constructions

The existential particles *egga* and *awan* may also be used to encode a non-identifiable referent.  In English, this construction is the rough equivalent of indefinite pronouns like *someone, somebody, etc.*  Hence, the existential *egga* translates to 'somebody' or 'someone'; whereas, the negative existential *awan* translates to 'nobody' or 'no one'.

(12.30)  **Egga** minay.
         EXI   came
         'Someone came.'

(12.31)  **Awan**    tu    minay.
         NEG.EXI  PAR   came
         'Nobody came.'

(12.32)  **Egga** naggalo.
         EXI   laughed
         'Someone laughed.'

(12.33)  **Awan**    tu    naggalo,'
         NEG.EXI  PAR   laughed
         'Nobody laughed.'

(12.34)  Nu  i    Dios  managaruli, **awan**    na   tu    uli-uli.
         If  DET  Lord  punishes     NEG.EXI  LIG  DET   turn.back
         'If the Lord punishes, there is no turning back.'

## 12.5.3 Egga/awan with particles

The existentials *egga* and *awan* usually co-occur with some adverbial particles.  Among these common particles are *paga* and *ngana.*

**12.5.3.1 Egga/awan with paga**

When the particle *paga* co-occurs with the existentials *egga* and *awan,* the encoded meaning does not resemble an existent and non-existent dichotomy.  If *paga* appears after *egga,* it means 'there is more'.   However, the negative counterpart of this expression is not *awan paga* but *awan ngana* 'there is no more'(lit.).

(12.35)   **Egga** *paga*  nabattang nga  innafi.

EXI   more  left          LIG  rice
'There is  more rice left.'

(12.36)   **Egga** *paga*  tadday taw.

EXI   more  one     here
'There is one more here.'

When *paga* co-occurs with *awan*, it expresses an indefinite existence, that is, at the moment of speaking, the object of concern has not come into existence or has not so far appeared.  There is a possibility that such referent may or may not appear or exist thereafter.  Hence, *paga* here is roughly equivalent to the adverb 'yet' in English.

(12.37)   **Awan**      *paga* i      kanam=mi.
NEG.EXI   yet    DET   eat=GEN.1p
'We have nothing to eat yet.'

(12.38)   **Awan**      *paga* si     Maria.
NEG.EXI   yet   DET  Maria
'Maria is not here yet.' (or Maria has not arrived yet.)

**12.5.3.2 Egga/awan with ngana**

When the adverbial particle *ngana* co-occurs with the existentials *egga* and *awan*, it encodes the existence or non-existence at the present time.  Hence, the *ngana* in the existential *egga* is equivalent to 'now' or 'already'; whereas, the *ngana* in the negative existential *awan* is equivalent to 'no longer' or 'not anymore'.

(12.39)  **Egga** *ngana*     i      kuryente!
         EXI     already  DET   current
         'There is power already.'


(12.40)  **Egga** *ngana* bagu  nga   bisikleta  da
         EXI     now    new   LIG   bicycle    GEN.3p
         'They now have a new bicycle.'


## 12.6  Summary

In this section, there are three main uses of the expressions *egga* and *awan.* These are existential use, locative use, and possessive use.  Also, the other possible constructions containing the existential expressions are also explained.

Having explained the functions of existentials, the discussion of conjuncts follows.

# Chapter 13

# CONNECTORS

## *13.1 Introduction*

This section presents the different forms of conjuncts in Ibanag. Aside from the traditional kinds of conjunctions, i.e., coordinate, subordinate, and correlate conjunctions, another prominent connector in Ibanag are ligatures. Hence, this chapter will be divided into the following sub-sections: (13.2) the topic linker *ay*; (13.3) conjuncts; and (13.4) ligatures.

## 13.2 *The Topic Linker ay*

As discussed in Chapter 4, the basic constituent order of Ibanag, and most Phillipine-type languages for that matter, is basically VSO. Since the predicate comes before the subject, *ay* is sometimes argued to be a topic linker or an inversion marker. The function of *ay* resembles that of the copular verb *be* in English. As earlier established, I maintain in this paper that *ay* in Ibanag functions as a topic linker. Consider the examples below.

(13.1)　I　kurug　**ay**　nattammak=ku　nagan mu
　　　　DET　truth　TL　forgot=ABS.1s　name GEN.2s
　　　　'The truth　is I forgot your name.

(13.2)　I　napia nga　gangnguan=nu　**ay**　mallabbe　kamu na.
　　　　DET　good　LIG　do=ABS.2p　TL　go.home
　　　　'What you better do is to go home.'

In addition, *ay* may not behave as copular verb all the time. It is still a topic linker in that it conjoins the subject argument to its predicate. Consider the following examples

(13.3)  I      mappolu **ay** mabbangku; i     maporian **ay** makkakkam
        DET  first     TL   seated        DET last       TL   grab
        'The first comer gets a seat; the latecomer grabs one.'

(13.4)  I     mapia nga kitu **ay** ari    maguvug nu     awat .
        DET good   LIG dog TL   NEG  bark        when NEG

        tu     gafu
        PAR  reason

        'A good dog does not bark without a cause.'


This topic linker eventually evolved into **e** especially in spoken discourse. One possible reason for such is that *e* can be lengthened for dramatic purpose, something that appears awkward for *ay* since the final sound is the glide *y*. Hence, another possible function of *ay* (or *e*) is for dramatic purposes. When nominal referents are preposed and the normally initial position of the predicate follows the nominals, *e* is used to introduce the predicate. This style is often used to emphasize a not-so-ordinary or strange fact or attribute about the nominal referent. As a proof of the emphasis of the predicate, the conjunct *e* is also considerably lengthened.


(13.5)  Yari  atawa=na            **e** . . . nattabataba.
        REC  spouse=GEN.3s   (uh)  very.fat
        'His wife is. . . very fat.'

(13.6)  Si  Ana **e** napakaru    kuman.
        DET Ana (uh) many/much eat
        'Ana (uhm) eats much.'


*Ay* as a conjunct is used to introduce reason or resultative clause. These clauses being introduced by *ay* are usually dependent on the preceding clause or utterance, or the 'if' clause in English. Moreover, this conjunct does not have a rough equivalent in English as comma is usually used instead of a particular lexical item or conjunct. Consider the following examples.

(13.7)  Nu manaw kamu      mananwan **e** awat tu    mabattang    taw.
        If   leave ABS.2p  later          **,** NEG PAR leave         here
        'If you leave later, no one will be left here.'


## 13.3  Conjuncts

Since Ibanag connectors are multi-functional, it is difficult to categorize them neatly. It may not be appropriate to classify them as coordinate, subordinate, or correlative since they do not map directly to the English taxonomy of conjuncts. They can be described though as exhibiting the characteristics of their English counterparts. The following sub-sections present the common Ibanag conjuncts.


### 13.3.1  Anna

*Anna* 'and' is probably the most frequently used coordinator as it can convey various meanings depending on its usage. Foremost, it can be used to connect constituents that can be connected; either words, phrases, clauses, or sentences.

Sentence (13.8) shows that there are two proper nouns, here two people, in the subject position which are conjoined by a*nna.* Conversely, sentence (13.9) shows how the compound predicate is conjoined, here two verbs.


(13.8)  Nattallung    ta    unâ    si      Kiray  **anna** Yna.
        entered        OBL  inside PERS    Kiray  and     Yna
        'Kiray and Yna got inside' (lit.  Kiray and Yna went in).

(13.9)  Nabbayle      **anna** nakkansion    yari   ab-abbing
        danced        and     sang          REC    children

        **anna** ngamin  tottolay      tari.
        and     all     people        there

        'The children and all people there danced and sang.'


Sentence (13.10) illustrates how the connector *anna* conjoins phrases.

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(13.10)  Dakal    nga  balay  **anna**  nakakkasta  nga  takay
         big           LIG  house  and     beautifu      LIG  car

         i      kayak=ku.
         DET  like=ERG.1s

'What I like are a big house and a beautiful car.'


Sentence (13.11) shows how clauses can be conjoined by *anna.*


(13.11)  Marayaw  ka       ngamin  tab      babbay  **anna**  marayaw
         blessed    ABS.2s  all       OBL     women   and       blessed

         i      vunga  nas      san=mu.
         DET  fruit    LIG      womb=GEN.2s

'Blessed are you among women and blessed is the fruit of your womb.'


As is the rule in English, when three or more constituents are conjoined, comma or a phonological break can be used to separate the constituents and only the last item is conjoined by *anna*.

(13.12)  Chico,  manga,  kaimito,  **anna**  dupo  i      inâ  na.
         chico    mango   star.apple  and     banana  DET  got  ERG.3s
         'S/he got chico, mango, star apple, and banana.'


However, *anna* can be used to connect three or more constituents for deliberate effect, especially if the elements are perceived to have equal "weight". Consider the following example:

(13.13)  Datarayawad-da      Ama,  **anna**  Ana  **anna**  Espiritu  Santo.
         glory.be              OBL  father  and  Son  and  Spirit  Holy
         'Glory be to the Father,and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit.'


There are other meaning relationships conveyed by the use of *anna* 'and'. It could encode that the enumerated actions happened chronologically, as in the following sentence:

(13.14)  Kiminan yayya  **anna** naggiraw  ta    TV    **anna** kiminan
         ate     ABS.3s and    watched  OBL  TV    and   ate

         mangngana **anna** nakkaturuk.
         again            and    slept

'He ate and watched TV and ate again and/then slept.'


It could also express that there are many members of a particular thing or too many of it, as in:


(13.15)  I       nassingan=ku  la    tari   ay  lappaw **anna** lappaw
         DET     saw=ERG.1s    PAR   there  TL  flower  and    flower

         **anna** lappaw
         and   flower

'What I saw there were flowers and flowers and flowers.'


## 13.3.2 *Ngem*

*Ngem* is a coordinating conjunction used to introduce a contrastive coordinate clause.  This conjunct is roughly the counterpart of 'but' in English.


(13.16)  Egga   i    tadday nga  mata na,      **ngem** ari    makasingan
         EXI    DET one    LIG  eye  GEN.2s but     NEG   see

         gamma. (w)
         PAR

'It has one eye, but it cannot see anyone.'

(13.17)  Egga  i    ulu   na       **ngem**  nessina. (r)
         EXI   DET head  GEN.2s but        separated
'It has head but separated.'


*Ngem* can also be omitted in the sentence.  Either a phonological break or comma is used in place of this conjunct.  In sentence (13.18), the counterpart of 'but'

would have been placed after *magkagak* 'fly', hence, a phonological break is expected instead.

(13.18) Nagifu   ari   gamma   nga   daggua**,**   ***magkagak***   awan
        tailed   NEG   though   LIG   heroin   fly   NEG

        tu   paya= na.  (r)
        PAR   wing=GEN.2s

'It has a tail though not a heroin, it flies but it has no wings.'

The following example illustrates how two contrastive clauses can be conjoined by *ngem* 'but'.

(13.19) Nu   keraaddammak=ku,   ariak=ku   mala;   ***Ngem***   nu
        if   remember =ERG.1s   NEG=ERG.1s   get   but   when

        kattammak=ku,   megeraga   ta.  (r)
        forget=ERG.1s   snatch   PAR

'If I remember it, I do not get any; but when I forget, I snatch many.'

### 13.3.3 *Onu*

*Onu* 'or' is used to indicate options.  Hence, this connector is placed between the items presented as alternatives, whether words, phrases, clauses, or sentences.

(13.20) Anni   mas   kaya=mu:   dupo   ***onu***   mangga.
        what   COMP   like=ERG.2s   banana   or   mango
        'Which do you like more: banana or mango?'

(13.21) Bagu   nga   sapatu   ***onu***   nangina   nga   sinnung?
        new   LIG   shoes   or   expensive   LIG   clothes
        'New shoes or expensive clothes?'

(13.22) Manaw   tam   ngana   ***onu***   kumat=tam   labbi?
        leave   ABS.2pi   now   or   eat=ABS.2pi   first
        'We leave now or we eat first.'

When *onu* is used to introduce a succeeding clause, it translates to 'nor'.

(13.23)  Awat=tu   tangngo nga   ari   funatan na    dagun, **onu**
         NEG+DET  tear     COMP  NEG  wipe    PREP  year    nor

         daddam nga    ari   vukkayan na    patay (p)
         sorrow  COMP  NEG  shatter   PREP  death

'There is no year that years won't wipe away, nor sorrow that death will not shatter.'

### 13.3.4  *Tape*

The coordinator *tape* is equivalent to the English 'so' which is used to connect succeeding clauses.  Examples (13.24), (13.25), and (13.26) illustrate this function.  Often, *tape* co-occurs with *nu* and the meaning becomes 'so that' which functions as subordinator.  Items (13.27), (13.28), and (13.29) illustrate this particular function.

(13.24)  Labbe    kamu    na   **tape** ari   kamu     poryan na
         go.home  ABS.2p  now  so     NEG  ABS.2pe  scold  LIG

         yena    nu.
         mother  GEN.2p

'Go home now so your mother won't scold you.'

(13.25)  Tappingam=mu    i     ubo          na       **tape**
         chip.off=ERG.2s  DET   butt/bottom  GEN.3s   so

         mala=m      i     mayan=na. (r)
         get=ERG.2s  DET   contents=GEN.3s

'You chip off its bottom so you can get its contents.'

(13.26)  O Dios, uffunan=na             **tape** mellilli  na
         O God   help=ERG.2s=ABS.1s     so      spare    ABS.1s

'O God, do help me so I will be spared.' (w)

However, if the subordinator *nu* 'that' co-occurs with *tape* 'so', the expression becomes 'so that' and thus functions as subordinator. The following sentence illustrate this function.

(13.27)  Pekarenuam-mu     yoye    balay mi        **tapenu**    mari
    cleanse=ERG.2s PROX house=GEN.1p so that NEG

      ngana  i   daping na  lussaw (w)
      anymore DET  attack LIG hate

    'Cleanse our home so that hate will not stay.'

## 13.3.5 *Sonu kua*

The expression *sonu kua* is usually used to connect items or events that are told in sequence. It can be roughly translated to 'then' in English. This temporal connective behaves more as a coordinator than a subordinator. In oral discourse, this expression is usually uttered as *tanakua*.

(13.28)  Gugguram=mu labbi **sonu kua** babbalan mu  na.
    scour= ERG.2s  first  then   wash  ERG.2s already
    'Scour it first then you can wash already.'

(13.29)  Itallung  mu  yaw  ngana **sonu kua** itolim  yari  kalderu.
    Bring.in  ERG.2s DEM now then    return  DEM  kettle
    'Bring this in first then you return the kettle.'

## 13.3.6 *Anne*

*Anne* 'than' conjoins items that are compared. Hence, it appears between the two items being compared. This expression can also mean 'rather than'.

(13.30)  Mas  mapia i   mangiyawa **anne** ta  mangalawa. (p)
    COMP  good  DET  give    **than** PREP  receive.
    'It is better to give than to receive.'

(13.31) Mas      mapia i       mattattadday, **anne** ta     mevulun  ta
        COMP  good   DET  be.alone       **than**  DET  go.with   DET

        marake nga  tolay. (p)
        bad       LIG  person

'It is better to be alone than to go with a bad companion.'

(13.32) I        uvovug nga  mattottoli, dumakal **anne** tu      umabaddi.
        DEM  talk      LIG  repeated   gets.big    than   PAR  gets.small

'That talk which is often repeated grows big rather than gets small.'

### 13.3.7  *Ta*

Recall that *ta* is an oblique marker as explained in chapter 6.   Hence, *ta* is used to introduce nominal phrases, as can be seen in the examples below:

(13.33) Makadaral   yari    ***ta***       gawagawayan.
        spoil              REC   OBL   act/mood
        'That can spoil the mood.'

(13.34) Alawatam=mu        ***ta***       mapia nga nono.
        receive=ERG.2s OBL    good   LIG  heart
        'Receive it with an open/good heart.'

*Ta* is also a conjunct, particularly, a subordinator.  It is the rough equivalent of the English 'for'.  It is therefore used to introduce reason clauses.  Consider the following examples.

(13.35) Idedukam=mu          i       atawa=m              ***ta*** negagangay
        take.care=ERG.2s DET   spouse=GEN.2s   for  natural

        lagu   a     kunna. (p)
        PAR   LIG  like.that

'Take care of your spouse for it is but natural to do so.'

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(13.36) Ari    ka      mataggatagga, **ta** sikaw babay ka      neyana. (w)
        NEG ABS.2s proud            for  ABS.2s woman ABS.2s borne
        'Do not be proud because you are borne as a woman.'

(13.37) Ariam=mu        depresiowan i       katakatolay nga katagitadday
        NEG=ERG.2s despise          DET  personality  LIG anyone

                **ta** tiempo la  i    mapalappa **ta** panguli-uli na
                **for** time    only DET tell      **OBL** change     LIG

                palupaggiya. (w)
                fortune

        'Do not despise the personality of anyone, for only time will tell the change
        of fortune.'


## 13.3.8 *Megafu*

The connector *megafu* may either function as a preposition or as a subordinator.
When a nominal or oblique immediately precedes *megafu,* it behaves like a preposition.
It could mean 'because', 'through', 'due to', etc.  When a clause precedes *megafu*, it
behaves as a subordinator.  It would mean 'because' or 'because of'.  Sentence (13.33)
illustrates how *megafu* functions as preposition, while (13.34) and (13.35) illustrate how
it functions as a subordinator.

(13.38) Kiddawam=mi  yaw    **megafu** kanni Yafu mi        nga
        Ask=ERG.1p     PROX  through   OBL   Lord GEN.1p    LIG

                Jesuristo     nga   ana mu.
                Jesus.Christ  LIG   son GEN.2p

        'We ask this through our Lord, Jesus Christ, who is your son.'

(13.39) Nevussi    **ta megafu** ta        espiritu Santo
        conceived  because       OBL   spirit   Holly
        'conceived by the Holy Spirit' (lit., conceived because of the Holy  Spirit).

(13.40) Daga na          ay mevuvvu **megafu** lan=niakan
        blood GEN.3s TL flow        because   only=OBL.1s
        'His blood will flow just because of me.'

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### 13.3.9 *Nu*

The subordinator *nu* can be considered the rough equivalent of 'if' or 'when'. The first two examples illustrate the use of *nu* as the 'if' equivalent.

(13.41)  I       taggam   ***nu***      baddi paga,  ***nu***   mebattay
         DET  ant          when   small  still      if     stepped.upon

                 kagatan=na       ka. (p)
                 bite=ERG.3s      ABS.1s

The ant though small, if stepped upon will bite.'

(13.42)  ***Nu*** kaya  mu      i       kuman  ta     illuk,  attammam=mu
         If   want  ERG.2s  DET   eat        OBL   egg    bear=  ERG.2s

              i         appappake   na      manu. (p)
              DET     crackling     LIG    chicken

'If you want to eat eggs, then bear with the crackling of the chicken.'

The following examples illustrate the 'when' equivalent of the subordinator *nu*.

(13.43)  ***Nu***      maguran, matay; ***nu***      mabbilak, mottolay. (r)
         when  rains         dies    when  shines         lives
         'When it rains, it dies; when it shines, it lives.'

(13.44)  ***Nu***      messiggu, mattoyang; **nu**      kabalaran, magimmang. (r)
         when  tied         wanders   when  untied       rests
         'When it is tied, it wanders; when it is untied, it rests.'

(13.45)  Nakkubag i      ammay  ***nu***      egga ngana  i
         bends      DET  rice.plant  when   EXI   PAR    DET

              bagga na.
              rice    GEN.3s

'The riceplant bends when it already has grains.'

(13.46)  ***Nu***      lubbe  nikaw      i       pia,        aru       nikaw
         when  comes  OBL.2s  DET   goodness  many    OBL.2s

```
                    i   mamassil   sa.
                    DET   envious   OBL.3s
```

'When good fortune comes, many will be envious of you.'


*Nu ari* 'if not' is used to connect contrastive clauses. Unlike in English where the opposing clause is usually introduced by 'then', the counterpart of this may be a mere phonological break in Ibanag.

```
(13.47)   I      brasi   nga    inikkaw,   ***nu ari*** atazzi,   alawa   nikaw.     (p)
          DET    clothes LIG    borrowed   if not    tight    loose   OBL.2s
          'Clothes that are borrowed are either tight or loose.'
```


13.3.10 *Adde*

Adde 'until' is a subordinator which denotes a particular time frame.


```
(13.48)   Totto   ka      la     totto   ***adde*** ta     mallappo.
          pound   ABS.2s  PAR    pound   until   OBL    softens
          'Pound and pound until it softens.'
```


```
(13.49)   Ipem   ta       nono  mu,     ***adde*** ta      patay  sikaw
          put    OBL      mind  GEN.2s  until   OBL     death  ABS.2s

                  i        ayatak=ku.
                  DET      love=ERG.1s
```

'Bear in mind, until death you are the one I love.'

Adde may not only mean 'until' but also 'almost', as the example below suggests.


```
(13.50)   Kandaru  turi,   kandaru  taw,   kandaru ***adde***  ta sangaw-sangaw.
          lock        there  lock        here  lock        almost  OBL now.and.then
```

'Lock there, lock here, lock almost everywhere.'

This expression can also be an ordinary preposition like 'from', as the example below suggests.

(13.51)　Paliarak-kami　　　　　　　ta　***adde*** na　marakay.
　　　　　Deliver=ERG.2s=ABS.1p OBL　from　　LIG　evil
　　　　　'But deliver us from evil.'

Note that *adde* can also co-occur with *sangaw* 'now' which when combined would mean 'until now'. This expression functions as a temporal connective in that it denotes that an action started sometime in the past and is stretched until the present time
.

(13.52)　Sikaw　laman　i　　al-allegak=ku　　***adde*** sangaw.
　　　　　ABS.2s　only　DET　calling=ERG.1s　until now

'You are the one I'm calling until now.'

13.3.11 *Maski*

This subordinator is equivalent to 'even' or 'even if' in English. It is used to introduce a clause whose meaning is completed through another clause. This can also be positioned initially in the sentence.

(13.53)　***Maski*** gurameme i　　balay　nu　　alawa　i　　futu
　　　　　Even.if rundown　DET　house　when　roomy　DET　heart

　　　　　nga　mangalawa ta　　kattolay. (p)
　　　　　LIG　receive　　OBL　fellowmen

'Even if your house be rundown, so long as your heart is roomy to receive your fellowmen.'

When *maski* co-occurs with *anni*, the expression either means 'whatever' or 'however'. The latter can also mean 'no matter how'. How they are used depends on the semantics of the sentence. It is also used to introduce dependent clauses.

(13.54) **Maski anni** y   kuam=mu,   ariat=ta=ka   gustu.
Whatever NOM do=ABS.2s NEG=ERG.1s=ABS.2s like

'Whatever you do, I do not like you.'

(12.55) **Maski anni**   dake na   wagi=m,   wagi=m
However/no matter   bad   ERG.2s sibling=GEN.1s sibling=GEN.1s

          gabbalaman. (p)
          still

'No matter how bad your brother/sister is, he/she is still your
      brother/sister.'

When *maski* co-occurs with *sitaw*, it means 'anywhere' or wherever'. The expression introduces a dependent clause.

(13.56) **Maski sitaw**   i   angngayan na,   ivevulu
anywhere/wherever DET goes   ABS.3s goes.with

        na   i   bale na.
        ABS.3s DET   house GEN.3s

'Anywhere it goes, it carries its house.'

It is also possible to translate the meaning of *maski* to subordinators 'though' or 'although'.

(13.57) **Maski**   vulawan i   bale=m   nu   marake
Though gold   DET house=GEN.2s   if   bad

        i   kostumbre=m
        DET character=GEN.1s

'Though your house be gold, if your character is no good.'

13.3.12 *Namegafu*

Namegafu is an example of a polymorphemic conjunct which can be roughly translated to 'since' or 'because'. This expression is also used to introduce subordinate clauses.

(13.58) ***Namegafu*** ta panaw mu, namapia i
Since OBL departure GEN.2s became.good DET

       pattalatole'.
       life=GEN.1s

'Since you left, my life became good.'

(12.59) ***Namegafu*** ta ginangngua=m, nawawam=mu i
because OBL did=ERG.2s lost=ERG.2s DET

       mapia nga kofun
       good LIG friend

,Because of what you did, you lost a good friend.'

13.3.13 *Ligue*

Ligue is another subordinator which means 'before'. It also introduces a dependent clause.

(13.60) Sipatam=mu i yena ***ligue*** mala i ana na. (r)
cut=ERG.2s DET mother before get DET daughter GEN.3s
Cut first the mother, before you can get the daughter.

(13.61) Ifullu mu labbi yayya ***ligue*** nga kuman sa. (r)
lift.one's.skirt ERG.2s first ABS.3s before LIG eat OBL.3s
'You first lift its skirt before you can eat it.'

13.3.14 *Lagud*

Lagud 'therefore' is a resultative conjunction. It is used to introduce a clause whose meaning is dependent on the matrix clause. However, for deliberate purposes, *lagud* can also take the initial position in a clause, as in (13.57).

(13.62)   **Lagud**   kuam=mu   ta   napia   i   kakadduba=m
                Therefore do=ERG.2s   OBL   good   DET   neighbors=GEN.2s

                        ira   ta   nu   lubbe   nikaw   i   ziga,   ira
                        PLU   for   when   comes   OBL.2s   DET   misfortune   ABS.3p

                        i   mabbi   nga   kumurak
                        DET   quickly   LIG   help

              'Therefore, do good to your neighbors for when misfortune strikes
                   you, they will quickly run to your side.'

13.3.15 *Turi*

Recall that *turi* is a temporal adverbial used to introduce temporal phrases, as (13.58-60). However, when *turi* co-occurs with *ta,* the expression translates to 'when' which can be a subordinator trhat introduces a clause with temporal referent, as in (13.61). Consider the examples below.

(13.63)   **turi**   nga   tiempo
               during   LIG   time
               'during those times'

(13.64)   **turi**   nga   aggao
               during   LIG   day
               'during that day'

(13.65)   **turi**   tadday nga   liggu
               during   one   LIG   week
               'during the other week'

(13.66)   **Turi**   ta   minay kamu   ta   ili,   naddama ira   dua
               When   DET   went   ABS.2p   OBL   town   quarreled   PLU   two

'When you went to town, they quarreled. (lit., During that time you
went to town, the two quarreled).

Turi also co-occurs with maddaggun which roughly translates to 'while'. Hence,
this expression is used to describe an action that is going on.

(13.67) **Turi maddaggun** kami   kuman, egga minay nga   tolay.
         while   ABS.1p eat   EXI came LIG   person
         'While we were eating, somebody came.'

(13.68) Nagguran ta   masikan **turi maddagun** ira
         rained   REL   strong   while   ABS.3p

         maggaggayam ta   lawan
         play   OBL   outside

         'It rained hard while they were playing outside.'

13.3.16 *Sonu (mabalin)*

This expression can be roughly translated to 'after'. Note that *sonu* is a temporal
stem and *mabalin* means 'after' or 'finished'. The two item combined would literally
mean 'when finished'. The same expression captures the temporal adverb 'after'.
Hence, it still functions as a subordinator.

(13.69) Alegam=mu yayya **sonu mabalin** kami   kuman.
         call=ERG.2s ABS.3s after r   ABS.1p eat
         'Call him after we eat.'

(13.70) **Sonu mabalin** ira   mazzigu, mallawan kamu   na.
         After   ABS.3p bathe   go.out   ABS.2p already

         'After they bathe, you can go out already (lit. When they finish taking a
         bath, you can go out already.)'

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13.4 Ligatures

The presence of a ligature in NPs is a distinct feature of Austronesian languages. Ligatures are obligatory morphemes that link certain constituents, usually modifiers or specifiers, to the head noun of a nominal phrase. There are two forms of ligature in Ibanag: *nga* and *na*

13.4.1 *Nga*

Except for personal nominals, a prototypical Ibanag NP contains a ligature. The ligature is used to connect the modifier to its head noun. The following are examples of NP with required ligatures.

(13.71) i   naguapa   **nga** babay
DET beautiful   LIG woman
'the beautiful woman '

(13.72) nasikan **nga** paddak
strong   LIG   wind
' strong wind'

(13.73) arayyu **nga** lugar
far   LIG   place
' far place'

13.4.2 *Na*

The ligature *na* is used in possessive phrase. It connects the possessed object to its possessor, as illustrated by the following phrases.

(13.74) attolay **na**   wagi'
life   LIG sibling=GEN.1s
' my sibling's life'

(13.75) atawa **na**   babay
spouse LIG   woman
'the woman's husband'

(13.76) kitu **na** karruba'
dog LIG neighbor=GEN.1s
' my neighbor's dog'

13.5 Summary

In this section, the various expressions that mainly connect constituents, phrases, and clauses are discussed. There are three types of connectors identified in Ibanag: the topic linker *ay*, the numerous conjuncts, and the ligatures *nga* and *na.* There are sixteen expressions that function as conjuncts. Some are monomorphemic while some are polymorphemic. Also, these conjuncts suggest various syntactic properties as exemplified in the whole chapter. Of the 16 conjuncts, some behave as coordinators while some as subordinators.

Having explained the semantic, morphological, and syntactic properties of conjuncts, the discussion of interrogatives follows.

Chapter 14

INTEROGATIVITY

14.1 Introduction

The types of questions asked in Ibanag can be classified into four categories: the Yes/No questions, the Alternative questions, the Confirmation questions, and the Information questions. These types are elaborated below.

14.2 Yes/No Questions

Yes/No questions are questions that are basically answered by either a *yes* or a *no*. In Ibanag, this type of question is determined in two ways. One is the use of a second position enclitic *kari.* This optional particle usually appears after the predicate.

    (14.1)   Nataba=nak **kari**?
                 fat=ABS.1s   PAR
                 'Am I fat?'

    (14.2)   Nassingngo **kari**   i   apapê?
                 delicious   PAR   DET bitter.gourd
                 'Is bitter gourd delicious?'

The other way to determine a yes/no question in Ibanag is through the rising intonation at the end of the utterance. This yes/no question follows the same constituent order of a declarative sentence. The only distinguishing factor is the rising of the voice at the end. This rising thus signals interrogativity.

    Statement: Nagwapa=nak.
                      beautiful=ABS.1s
                      'I am beautiful.'

    Question: Nagwapa=nak**?** (with rising intonation)
                    beautiful=ABS.1s
                    'Am I beautiful?'

Statement:	Nadaping yaw.
	dirty PROX
	'This is dirty.'

Question:	Nadaping yaw**?** (with rising intonation)
	dirty PROX
	'Is this dirty?'

14.2.1 Answering Yes/No Questions

Yes/No questions are generally answered by either u*wan* 'yes' or *ari* 'no'. However, if the question bears an existential phrase or a possessive in the predicate, the answer is normally the existential *egga* 'there is' or the negative existential *awan* 'there is none'. Consider (14.3) and (14.4).

(14.3)   Egga   kavulum=mu?
           EXIS   companion=GEN.2s
           'Do you have a companion?'

(14.4)   **Egga**.
           EXI
           'I have.'

(14.5)   **Awan**.
           NEG.EXIST
           'I don't have'

14.2.2 Answering Yes/No Negative Questions

There are also interrogative constructions in Ibanag that are introduced by a negative existential *ari*. In this light, there are two possible ways to respond to the question: either by affirming it or by negating it. The affirmation is expressed by *wan* 'yes' and the interrogative clause follows; whereas, the negation is expressed by *ari* 'no' and the positive counterpart of the interrogative clause follows. Consider (14.7) and (14.8). In addition, the constituent order follows that of a declarative sentence except that there is a rising of intonation at the end to signal interrogativity.

Question:

(14.6)   Ari   da   kimminan?
         NEG ABS.3p ate
         'Didn't they eat?'

Response 1:

(14.7)   **Wan**. Ari   da   kimminan.
         Yes. NEG ABS.3p ate
         'Yes. They didn't eat.'

Response 2:

(14.8)   **Ari**. Kimminan=da.
         No. ate=ABS.3p
         'No. They ate.'

14.3 Alternative Questions

Alternative questions are those with which possible answers are provided in the question. The speaker can provide as many choices as possible. The last choice is then joined by the conjunction *o* 'or'. When there are only two choices, these constituents are conjoined by the same particle. There number of possible choices depends on the speaker. Only the last alternative receives a statement intonation, while the first and the succeeding alternatives all receive rising intonation.

(14.9)   **Anni** mas kaya=mu: taw o turi
         what   more like=ERG.2s   here or there
         'Which do you prefer (lit. What do you like more): here or there?'

(14.10) **Sinni** nakagafu nikaw: yari wagim=m,   yari   kapitta=m,
         who caught   OBL.2s REC sibling=GEN.2s REC   cousin=GEN.2s

                i   yena=m,   onu yari kofun=mu?
                DET mother=GEN.2s or   REC friend=GEN.2s

         'Who caught you: your brother/sister, your cousin, your mother, or
         your friend?'

14.4 Confirmation Questions

Confirmation questions resemble the tag questions in that they bear the confirmation of the proposition. Ibanag confirmation questions are formed in two ways. First, tag questions are formed with the statement to be confirmed, followed by a tag particle *anni* 'what'. Unlike English tags where tag depends on the gender of the subject and the aspect and tense of the verb, Ibanag tags are formed with the particle *anni* regardless of the number of the subject or the tense and aspect of the verb used in the proposition. The tag *anni* is always pronounced with falling intonation.

(14.11) Magguran ta   lawan **anni?**
       raining   OBL outside what
       'It's raining outside, isn't it?'

(14.12) Sikkalabbe   kamu   ngana **anni**?
       feels.like.going.home ABS.2s already what
       'You feel like going home now, don't you?'

Confirmation questions can also be formulated in a negative manner and the tag question particle still appears at the end. If used this way, the *anni* translates to 'right' in English.

(14.13) Ari   freska yaw   **anni**?
       NEG fresh PROX what
       'This is not fresh, right?'

(14.14) Ari   mu   kua yaw   **anni**?
       NEG GEN.2s own PROX what
       'This is not yours, right?'

14.5 Information Questions

Information questions refer to those that elicit information. There are numerous interrogative words in Ibanag that can be used for this purpose. This section will discuss the different means to draw out information.

14.5.1 *Anni* 'what' questions

'What' questions are asked with the interrogative *anni* 'what'. There are many uses of this question particle. For one, it refers to any noun when used as the predicate in an equational sentence.

(14.15) **Anni**   yaw?
        What   PROX
        'What is this?'

(14.16) **Anni** i   nawawan?
        What DET lost
        'What was lost?'

(14.17) **Anni** i   nasingam= mu?
        What DET saw=ERG.2s
        'What did you see? (Tsuchida et al. 1989:83)

The interrogative *anni* can also be pluralized. If the expected response is more than one, then the question is pluralized. To do so, the plural marker *ira* follows the interrogative *anni.* To illustrate this, sentence (14.17) would then become:

(14.18) **Anni ira** i   nasingam= mu?
        What PLU DET saw=ERG.2s
        'What are those that you saw?'

There are other uses of *anni* 'what'. One is the expression *anni gapa* which is not a question but an expression of discontentment or frustration with the foregoing. Thus, this expression invokes negative feeling. Consider the responses G and H.

(14.19) A: Nattamak=ku   yari   annusi ta   takay.
              forgot=ERG.1s REC key   OBL   car
              'I forgot the key in the car.'

        B.   **Anni gapa**!
              'Oh, my!' (or My gosh!)

(14.20) G: Nabattang yari abbing ta   lawan.
                 Left   REC child   OBL   outside
                 'The child was left outside.'

         H: **Anni gapa**!
                 'What?'

14.5.2 *Sinni* 'who' questions

The interrogative *sinni* is used to elicit information as to the 'who' in the sentence. It functions as an interrogative noun in predicate position.

(14.21) **Sinni** i   yena=m?
         Who   DET mother=GEN.2s
         'Who is your mother?'

(14.22) **Sinni** yari   tolay?
         Who   REC   person
         'Who is that person?'

Sinni also appears in absolute role with respect to the verb.

(14.23) **Sinni** giminatang ta   bagu na   sinnung.
         Who   bought   OBL   new   LIG   clothes
         'Who bought new clothes?'

(14.24) **Sinni** nakasingan ta   kitu=k?
         Who   saw   OBL   puppy=GEN.1s
         'Who saw my puppy?'

(14.25) **Sinni** i   kiminat=ta   mangga=m?
         Who   DET ate=OBL   mango=GEN.2s
         'Who ate your mango?' (Tsuchida et al. 1989:83)

The interrogative *sinni* 'who' can also be pluralized. The plural marker *ira* appears after the interrogative. The expected response to this question, therefore, is also plural. To illustrate this, consider the following example:

(14.26) **Sinni ira** i   nakasingan niakan?
         Who PLU DET saw   OBL.1s
         'Who are those who saw me?'

14.5.3 *Ngatta* 'why' questions

Ngatta is an interrogative question that elicits a reason or response. Generally,

its clause is preceded by the ligature *nga*. However, it is also possible that the ligature

is not overtly expressed in the sentence, as in (14.29).

(14.27) **Ngatta** nga ari kamu   minay ta fiesta?
         Why   LIG NEG ABS.2p came OBL feast
         'Why didn't you come to the feast?'

(14.28) **Ngatta** nga mattatangi yari abbing?
         Why   LIG crying   REC child
         'Why is the child crying?'

(14.29) **Ngatta** awan tu   tolay   taw?
         Why   NEG PAR person PROX/SP
         Why are there no people here? (lit., Why no people here?)

Ngatta is also used when responding to verbal summons.

(14.30) A: Jojo! (calling to Jojo)

         B: **Ngatta**?
               (Why? What do you want?

Ngatta gapa is a phrase that is usually used to elicit further response or more

elaborate response from the addressee. This phrase usually comes after the initial

question *ngatta.* The response to this question is therefore a follow-up to the first

answer or an elaboration of the former response.

(14.31) A: **Ngatta** sangaw kamu   laman nallukag?
               Why   now   ABS.2s only   woke.up
               'Why did you wake up only now?'

B: Mattaki ulo'.
                hurts   head=GEN.1s
                 'My head hurts.'

        C: **Ngatta** gapa?
                Why   PAR
                Why? (lit, But why? What about?)

        D: Nellaw=na'   ta   gabi
                drunk=ABS.1s OBL night
                'I was drunk last night.'

14.5.4 *Sitaw* 'where' questions

        In order to ask the location of a particular thing or person, the interrogative *sitaw* is used. Often times, the nominal *i diyan=na* 'the location' precedes the interrogative *sitaw.*

    (14.32)   *Sitaw* yari   balay=nu.
              where REC   house=GEN.2s
              'Where is your house?' (with the assumption that the house is not within the vicinity of the speaker)

    (14.33)   *Sitaw* I   inangngayan=nu?
              Where DET came=ERG.2s
              'Where did you come from?'

    (14.34)   Sitaw i   diyan na   yari   garsib?
              Where DET place LIG REC scissors
              Where are the scissors located?   (lit., Where is the location of the scissors?)

        When the desired information is a definite or a specific location of something, the interrogative *sitaw* 'where' may be omitted and the *diyan na* is usually preferred.

    (14.35)   Diyan=na   i   anak=ku?
              Where=LIG DET child=GEN.1s
              'Where is my child?' (Tsuchida, et al. 1989:85)

14.5.5 *Sonu anni* 'when' questions

Temporals are elicited by the interrogative *sonu anni*. Note that *sonu* is also a futuristic particle as it often accompanies information of future events. The expected response to this question is usually a particular day or date. Time element requires a different interrogative.

(14.36) **Sonu anni** kamu manaw?
When ABS.2s leave
'When will you leave?'

(14.37) **Sonu anni** kasar=nu?
When wedding=GEN.2p
'When is your wedding?'

However, if the intended question is 'since when' which refers to the beginning of an event or situation, the interrogative *ta anni paga* 'since when' is used.

(14.38) A: Egga taki ni Ben.
EXIST illness PERS Ben
'Ben has illness.'

Ta anni paga
OBL what PAR
'Since when?'

Tanga-liguan ngana.
one week already
'One week already.'

If the intention is to ask a hypothetical question about the future, the interrogative would be *so nu anni mang=ngana* which literally means 'when again'?

(14.39) **So nu anni mang=ngana** i labbe nu?
When again FUT.LIG DET go.home GEN.2p
'When will you go home again?'

14.5.6 *Kunnasi* 'how' questions

Kunnasi is an interrogative that elicits a response as to the manner of doing something. It functions as a counterpart to either verbal, adjectival or adverbial phrase in the sentence. The usual response to this question would be *kunnaw* 'like this' and is usually accompanied by actual demonstration of how something is done.

(14.40)   **Kunnasi** yaw? (referring to what should be done on something)
         How   PROX
         'How is this?' (lit., What should be done with this?)

         Kunnaw.
         'Like this.'

(14.41)   **Kunnasi** ngana i   attolay   na   wagi=m?
         How   LIG   DET   life   GEN.3s   brother/sister=GEN.2s
         'How is the life of your sister/brother?'

(14.42)   **Kunnasi** i   mavvuka   taw?
         How   DET   open   PROX/SP
         'How is this opened?' (lit., How to open this?)

(14.43)   **Kunnasi** i   mabbayle ta   tango?
         How   DET   dance   OBL   tango
         'How is tango danced?' (lit., How to dance tango?)

To ask how long, short, fast, big, etc., an object is, the adjectival stem should be nominalized or it should appear in nominal form. The adjective root in the examples below are prefixed with the nominalizer *ka* and they co-occur with *kunnasi.* Otherwise, bare adjectives cannot co-occur with *kunnasi.*

(14.44)   **Kunnasi** katannang i   atawa= na?
         How   tallness   DET   spouse=GEN.3s
         'How tall is his/her spouse?'

(14.45)   **Kunnasi** kabaddi   na   yari   bavi?
         How   smallness   GEN.3s   REC   pig
         'How small is the pig?'

(14.46) **Kunnasi** kaarayu i   balay=nu?
How   farness DET   house=GEN.2p
'How far is your house?'

14.5.7 *Piga* 'how much/many' questions

The interrogative *piga* may either mean 'how much' or 'how many'. Unlike its English counterpart, *piga* comes as a single word. There are two functions of this interrogative. First, it refers to the price of a particular entity.

(14.47) **Piga**   yaw? (referring to an item)
How.much PROX
'How much is this?'

(14.48) **Piga** i   pinanggatang=mu yaw?
How   DET bought=ERG.2s   PROX
'For how much did you buy this?'

Second, it refers to the number of a particular group or a collective noun, as in people, animals, etc.

(14.49) **Piga**   ngamin i   estudiante=m?
How.many all   DET   student=GEN.2s
'How many students do you have in all?'

(14.50) **Piga**   i   nobia=m   ngana?
How.many DET girlfriend=GEN.2s already
'How many girlfriends have you got already?'

14.5.8 *Makikwa* 'whose' question

The prefix *makin-* refers to the owner of something while *kwa* means 'own'. Recall that *kwa* is the base word of the absolute possessives. The interrogative *makinkwa* (or *makikwa* in spoken register) 'who owns' is used to elicit information on the owner of something.

(14.51) **Makikwa** ta   manuk   taw?
         whose   OBL chicken PROX/SP
         'Whose chicken is this?' (Tsuchida et al. 1989:84)

(14.52) **Makikwa** yari   takay ta   lawan?
         whose   REC   car   OBL   outside
         'Who owns the car outside?'

14.5.9 Other morphologically complex interrogatives

There are other interrogative forms in Ibanag. Some of these are the combination of the already discussed interrogatives. Others are derived from other lexical items.

14.5.9.1 How related

Information on kinship or degree of relatedness is elicited by the interrogative *anni* 'what' and the genitive phrase lor pronominal item. The rough equivalent of this expression is then 'how related to.' The answer to the question is usually the particular relation in genitive case.

(14.53) A: **Anni**=m   si   Ana?
         How.related=GEN.2s   PERS   Ana
         'How is Ana related to you?'

         B: Kapitta=k.
         Cousin=GEN.1s
         'She is my cousin.'

(14.54) G: **Anni**=m   yari   kavulum=mu   ganguri?
         How.related =GEN.2s REC   companion=GEN.2s   a.while.ago
         'How are you related with your companion a while ago?'

         H: Nobya=k   yayya.
         Girlfriend=GEN.1s   ABS.3s
         'She is my girlfriend.'

14.5.9.2 What ordinal numbers

If the desired question is the particular order something or someone falls to, the appropriate interrogative would be *maika-piga* 'in what order'. As earlier discussed, ordinals are encoded by the prefix *maika* (or *meka,* orally) and the number. The question that pertains to this information, however, is not *anni* 'what' but *piga* 'how much' although the desired information has nothing do to with amounts. The answer to this kind of question is usually just the specific ordinal number.

(14.55) A: **Maika-piga** nga presidente naf=Filipinas si Roxas?
What.order LIG president OBL= Philippines PERS Roxas
'In what order (among presidents) does Roxas fall?'
(Tsuchida et al. 1989:81)

B: Maika-lima.
'Fifth.'

(14.56) G: **Maika**-**piga** nga pasyente=m ngana yari?
What.order LIG patient=GEN.1s already REC
'(Among all your patients), in what order does that belong?

14.5.9.3 How many times

If the question intends to elicit information as to 'how many times' an action is committed, the expression is *namim-piga* (or *namip-piga* in oral samples)*.* The expression is a combination of the prefix *namin-* and the interrogative *piga* 'how much'. Note that the answer to the question bears the same prefix *namin* plus the particular cardinal number which denotes the number of times the action took place.

(14.57) A: **Namip**-**piga** ka nga nanoli taw?
How.many.times ABS.2s LIG returned PROX
'How many times did you return here?' (Tsuchida et al. 1989:84)

B: **Namin**-dua ngana.
PREF-two already
'Twice already.'

(14.58) G: **Namim**-**piga**=k   ngana   kinagi nikaw   nga ari
            How.many.times=ERG.1s already said   OBL.2s REL NEG

            mu   usan yari?
            ERG.2s   use   that

            'How many times have I told you not to use that?'

            H: **Namin**-walu   ngana.
            PREF-eight   already
            'Eighth time already.'

14.5.9.4 Where from

Information as to the origin or hometown of a person is encoded by the interrogative *taga-sitaw*. The oblique *taga* literally means 'from' and *sitaw* means 'where'. This interrogative phrase functions as the predicate of the clause.

(14.59) **Taga**-sitaw   i   kofun=mu?
         from.where   DET friend=GEN.2s
         'From where is your friend?'

(14.60) **Taga**-sitaw   i   bagitolay?
         from.where   DET bachelor
         'From where is the bachelor?' (Tsuchida et al. 1989:85)

14.5.9.5 For whom

To elicit the beneficiary of something, the interrogative *para sinni* 'for whom' is used. Note that *para* means the preposition 'for' and *sinni* means the interrogative 'who'. At times, the ligature *ga* appears between these two expressions. The expected response to this particular question always bears the expression *para* 'for' then the specific nominal.

(14.61) **Para ga   sinni** yaw?
         For   PAR who   this
         'For whom is this?' (Tsuchida et al. 1989:84)

(14.62) **Para sinni** yaw   prutas ira?
For who DEM fruits PLU
'For whom are these fruits?'

14.5.9.6 To whom

'To whom' refers to the receiver of something, usually an object. To elicit this information, the interrogative *sinni* 'who' is used. Note how it differs with the 'who' question as discussed earlier.

(14.63) **Sinni** i   nangiyawatam=mu ta   turak= ku?
Who DET given=ERG.2s   OBL   letter=GEN.1s
'To whom did you give my letter?'

14.5.9.7 What time

If the desired information is the particular time an action will take place, the interrogative *anni oras* 'what time' is used. The expected answer to this is therefore a specific time. The ligature *nga* may or may not appear between *anni* and *oras*.

(14.64) **Anni nga oras** ka   nangngun?
What LIG time ABS.2s got.up
'What time did you get up?'

(14.65) **Anni oras** kamu   manaw sonu umma?
what time ABS.2p leave   tomorrow
'What time will you leave tomorrow?'

14.5.10 Questions as Social Formulas

Some Ibanag questions neither ask for any information nor confirmation. These are questions that are rather hypothetical since they are used as social formulas. More often than not, these questions are used just to 'greet' an acquaintance, a neighbor, a familiar face, or even a total stranger. In short, these questions are purely for phatic

communion. Hence, the answers to the questions are not obligatory. A simple nod, a simple yes, or okay, or whatever demonstrative would suffice.

(14.66) **Angngayan**=nu?
Where.going=GEN.2p
'Where are you going?' (asked when someone is passing-by)

(14.67) **Sitaw   naggafuanam**=mu?
Where come.from=GEN.2s
'Where did you come from?'

(14.68) **Kunnasi** ngana?
How   already
'What's up?'

14.6 Summary

In this section, the different forms of interrogativity are presented. There are four identified types of interrogative: the yes/no, alternative, question, and information. The information questions are further divided into sub-types. Among the interrogative expression in Ibanag are: *anni* 'what', *sinni* 'who', *ngatta* 'why', *sitaw* 'where', *sonu anni* 'when', *kunnasi* 'how', and *piga* 'how much/many'. There are also morphologically complex interrogatives in Ibanag. And lastly, interrogatives are also used as social formulas.

Having explained the interrogativity in Ibanag, the discussion on negation follows.

Chapter 15

NEGATION

15.1 Introduction

This section presents the different forms and processes of negation in Ibanag. Since negation in Ibanag is practically expressed by *awan* 'none' and *ari* 'no', the areas of concern for this section will be: 15.2) predicate negation; 15.3) existential negation; 15.4) negative responses/expressions; 15.5) negative verbs; and 15.6) specific formulas for negative propositions.

15.2 Predicate negation

Predicate negation is formed through the lexical item *ari* 'no'. The negative particle *ari* always takes the initial position and a ligature connects the negative particle and the predicate. The same process applies to both verbal and non-verbal clauses. Although only the lexical item *ari* is labeled as NEG, it should be made clear that the ligature *nga* is an obligatory constituent in negative verbal clauses.

15.2.1 Non-verbal clauses

Non-verbal clauses are negated by fronting the negative particle *ari* and the ligature *nga.* Examples (15.1) and (15.2) illustrate how nominal clauses are negated.

(15.1) Abugadu   i   ana' na.
    lawyer   ABS child GEN.3s
       'His/her child is a lawyer.'

(15.2) **Ari**   nga abugadu   i   ana' na.
       NEG LIG lawyer   ABS child GEN.3s
       'His/her child is not a lawyer.'

If the ligature *nga* which connects the negative particle *ari* and the predicate is omitted, the resulting sentence becomes ungrammatical, as in:

```
*Ari    abugadu  i      ana' na.
 NEG  lawyer    ABS child GEN.3s
```
'His/her child is not a lawyer.'

In the case of identificational or classificational clauses, the negated constituent precedes the affirmative constituent.

(15.3) Suddalu i   wagi',   **ari**   nga pulis.
        soldier   ABS sibling=GEN.1s NEG LIG policeman
        'My sibling is a soldier, not a policeman.'

(15.4) Yari abbing i   kimminan ta   mangga, **ari**
        REC child   DET PERF- eat OBL mango   NEG

                yari   mammanu.
                DET   R(PLU)-bird

        'The child was the one who ate the mango, not the birds.'

Adjectival and prepositional clauses are also negated in the same process.

(15.5) Nasippo   si   Gloria.
        virtuous   PERS Gloria
        'Gloria is virtuous.'

(15.6) **Ari**   nga nasippo   si   Gloria.
        NEG LIG viruous   PERS Gloria
        'Gloria is not virtuous.'

(15.7) Para kanni Rica   yaw   lappaw ira.
        for   OBL   Rica   DEM/PROX flower PLU
        'These flowers are for Rica.'

(15.8) **Ari**   nga para kanni Rica yaw   lappaw ira.
        NEG LIG for OBL   Rica DEM/PROX flower   PLU
        'These flowers are not for Rica.'

15.2.2 Verbal clauses

The same process applies to verbal clauses, the negative particle *ari* and the ligature *ang* take the initial position.

(15.9)   Nappaluag   ta   danum   si   Eda.
CAU- boil   OBL   water   PERS   Eda
'Eda boiled water.'

(15.10)   **Ari**   nga nappaluag ta   danum si   Eda.
NEG   LIG   CAU- boil   OBL   water   PERS   Eda
'Eda did not boil water.'

(15.11)   Nazzigu   si   Pat.
PERF- bathe   PERS   Pat
'Pat took a bath.'

(15.12)   **Ari**   nga nazzigu   si   Pat.
NEG   LIG   PERF- bathe   PERS   Pat
'Pat did not take a bath.'

(15.13)   Nabbaggaw   ta   platu   si   Jesh.
PERF- wash   OBL   plate   PERS   Jesh
'Jesh washed the dishes.'

(15.14)   **Ari**   nabbagaw   ta   platu   si   Jesh
NEG   PERF- wash   OBL   plate   PERS   Jesh
'Jesh did not wash the dishes.'

In the case of contrasted topics, the negative particle appears with the negated constituent. In this kind of construction, the negated constituent always appears after the matrix clause. Consider the following examples.

(15.15)   Naggiraw   ta   TV   si   Joshua, **ari**   nga
PERF- watch   OBL   TV   PERF   Joshua   NEG   LIG

naggangua ta   asaynment na.
PERF- do   OBL   assignment   GEN.3s

'Joshua watched TV; he did not do his assignment.'

When topics are contrasted, certain adverbial particles co-occur with negative clauses and their affirmative counterparts. The adverbial *ngana* 'already' usually co-occurs with the affirmative clause, whereas the adverbial *paga* 'yet' is considered collocate of the negative particle *ari*. Consider the examples below.

A: Nanaw   ngana   si   Marita?
       PERF- leave already PERS   Marita
       'Has Marita left? (lit., Did Marita leave already?)'

B: **Ari**   paga.
       NEG   yet
       'Not yet.'

G: Nappaga   kamu   ngana?
       PERF- pay ABS.3p already
       'Have you paid? (lit., Did you pay already?)'

H: **Ari**   paga.
       NEG   yet.
       'Not yet.'

15.3 Existential negation

If predicate clauses are generally negated by **ari,** existential clauses, on the other hand, are negated by **awan.** There are two possible constructions of existential clause in Ibanag: existential possessive and existential location. Both constructions can be negated using *awan.* To distinguish *awan* from *ari*, *awan* is labeled as 'NEG.EXI'

15.3.1 Existential possessives

Existential possessives are encoded by *egga* and are followed by the entity possessed. NP possessors are case-marked as absolutive, whereas pronominals take the genitive case. If *nga* is the obligatory constituent in negative predicate clauses, the particle *tu* is the obligatory constituent for negative existential possessive clauses. Consider the following examples.

(15.16)   Egga lappaw na maginganay.
          EXI   flower LIG maiden
          'The maiden has a flower.'

(15.17)   **Awat**=tu   lappaw na maginganay.
          NEG.EXI=PAR flower   LIG maiden
          'The maiden has no flower.'

          *Awan   lappaw na   maginganay.
           NEG.EXI flower   OBL maiden
          'The maiden has no flower.'

(15.18)   Egga i   Dios.
          EXI   DET God
          'There is God.'

(15.19)   **Awat**   tu   Dios.
          NEG.EXI PAR God
          'There is no God.'

15.3.2 Existential locatives

Existential locatives, likewise, are encoded by *egga* and preceded by the locative phrase. The entity or party whose location is at issue may or may not appear in the clause. If *tu* is an obligatory particle in existential possessives, this is not true in existential locatives. Since locative phrases are generally introduced by the oblique marker *ta,* there is no need to insert *tu.* Apparently, the oblique *ta* suffices.

(15.20)   Egga ta   Laguna i   balay mi.
          EXI   OBL Laguna DET house GEN.1pe
          'Our house is in Laguna.'

(15.21)   **Awat**= ta   Laguna i   balay mi.
          NEG.=OBL Laguna DET   house GEN.1pe
          'Our house is not in Laguna.'

(15.22)   Egga niakan yari   lapis   mu.
          EXI   OBL.1s DEM/REC pencil GEN.2s
          'Your pencil is with me.'

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(15.23) **Awan**   niakan   yari   lapis   mu.
         NEG.EXI OBL.1s   DEM/REC   pencil GEN.2s
         'Your pencil is not with me.'

15.4 Negative responses/expressions

A negative response to a question is simply *ari.* Whereas, the negative response to an imperative statement is the negative verb *manakî* 'don't like' which is labeled here 'NEGV' (negative verb). Consider the dialogues below.

(15.24) A: Naguapa   yayya?
               beautiful   ABS.3s
               'Is she beautiful?'

         B: **Ari**.
                NEG
                'No.'

(15.25) A: Lubbe   ka   ngana!
               go.home   ABS.2s   now
               'Go home now!'

         B: **Manakî** ku.
               NEGV   ERG.1s
               'I don't like.'

(15.26) G: Ikagi=m   nga   mazzigu i   abbing ira   ngana.
               Tell=ERG.2s REL   bathe   DET   child   PLU PAR
               'Tell the children to take a bath now.'

         H: **Manakî** da   paga.
               NEGV   ERG.3p still
               'They still don't want to.'

When the negative response *ari* co-occurs with *ngana,* it encodes some degree of politeness. It could mean 'no, thank you'. Hence, the *ngana* in the negative response serves as a mitigating device.

(15.27)   A: Kumak= ka   labbi.
                   eat+ ABS.2s first
                   'You eat first.'

           B: **Ari   ngana**.
                   NEG anymore
                   'Not anymore (No, thank you/ It's okay.)'

15.5 Summary

In this section, the different forms of negation in Ibanag are illustrated. There are three types of negation discussed here: predicate negation, existential negation, and negative response. As for predicate negation, the ways of negating verbal and non-verbal clauses are shown. Likewise, the existential, locative and possessive negation are also exemplified. Finally, the ways of negating responses, specifically a question and a command, are illustrated.

Having explained negation in Ibanag, the last chapter follows: the different syntactic processes.

Chapter 16

SYNTACTIC PROCESSES

16.1 Introduction

This section discusses the different possible syntactic processes that Ibanag clauses can go through. These syntactic processes are discussed in the following sections: (16.2) antipassivization/detransitivization, (16.3) relativization, (16.4) clefting, (16.5) pseudo-clefting, and (16.6) topicalization.

16.2 Antipassivization/Detransitivization

Diachronically, the concept of Philippine-type languages exhibiting active-passive dichotomy stems from Bloomfield's (1917) and Blake's (1925) early studies on Tagalog. They have conjectured that Tagalog affixes are of two classifications: the active (*-um-*) and the passive (*in-, i-, -an*). Constantino (1971), likewise, supports this contention and further explains the passive affixes as direct (*-in*) passive, instrumental (*i-*) passive, and local (*-an*) passive, respectively. The analyses of Philippine verbal affixes then had revolved around this until the ergative analysis ensued. Among the early studies on ergativity are those of Payne (1982), Gerdts (1988), and De Guzman (1988).

To explicate the syntactic processes in Ibanag, it is deemed imperative to reiterate the distinction between intransitive and transitive construction.   A canonical intransitive has only one core argument, that is the actor or experiencer, which is case-marked as absolutive. Sentence (16.1) is a canonical monovalent intransitive while (16.2) is a canonical divalent intransitive.

(16.1) Nanaddag **i   abbing**.
        stood.up   **ABS**   child
        'The child stood up.' (Tsuchida et al. 1989:37)

(16.2) Gumatak=**ka   ta   bagga**.
        buy=**ABS.2s   OBL**   rice
        '(You) buy rice.'

Conversely, a canonical transitive in Ibanag requires two core arguments: one is the agent and the other is the patient, which are case-marked as ergative and absolutive, respectively. Sentence (16.3) and (16.4) are examples of canonical transitive.

(16.3) Ituddu   na   mestra   i   kansion.
        i- tuddu   ERG   mestra   i   song
        IMP-.teach   ERG   teacher   ABS   song

        'The teacher will teach the song.'

(16.4) Baggawan   na   abbing   i   lima   na.
        baggaw -an   na   abbing   i   lima   na
        IMP- wash   ERG   child   ABS   hands   GEN.3s

        'The child will wash his/her hands.'

Passivization only takes place among transitive clauses. This process involves the demotion of the subject to either an oblique NP or the object of a *by*-phrase. This process is not applicable to Philippine-type languages, in general, or to Ibanag, in particular. Sentence (16.5) and (16.6) illustrate how the two transitive sentences undergo the process of detransitivization. The verb is detransitivized in the sense that it was converted to intransitive. Notice that the absolutive arguments (*i kansion* 'the song' and *i lima na* 'his/her hands') have become oblique arguments in the process. More importantly, the verbal affixes have been changed, too. This is then called the antipassivization process, and not passivization.

(16.5) Mabbaggaw   ta   lima   na   i   abbing.
        mag- baggaw   ta   lima   na   i   abbing
        IMP- wash   OBL   hand   GEN.3s   ABS   child

        'The child will wash his/her hands.'

(16.6) Mattuddu   ta   kansion   i   mestra.
        mag- tuddu   ta   kansion   i   mestra
        IMP- teach   OBL   song   ABS   teacher

        'The teacher will teach a song.'

The following sentences further illustrate how antipassivization in Ibanag is derived. Take note of the case marking of the arguments and the affixation of the verb.

(16.7)　　**Gin**arsib　　**na**　　abbing　**i**　　papel.
　　　　　　-in- garsib　　na　　abbing　i　　papel
　　　　　　PERF- cut　　ERG　child　　ABS　paper

　　　　　　'The child cut the paper.'

(16.8)　　**Nag**garsib　**i**　　abbing　**ta**　　papel.
　　　　　　nag- garsib　i　　　abbing　ta　　papel.
　　　　　　PERF- cut　　ABS　child　　OBL　papel

　　　　　　'The child cut a paper.'

16.3 Relativization

A relative clause is usually a constituent of the NP whose head it modifies. The syntax of Ibanag NPs seems to suggest that NPs are inherently relativized. Note that the head nominal and its modifier can interchange positions without affecting the meaning. Consider the examples below.

(16.9)　　A:　　i　　naguapa　**nga** babay
　　　　　　　　　DET　beautiful　LIG　woman
　　　　　　　　　'the beautiful woman '

　　　　　　B:　　i　　babay　**nga**　naguapa
　　　　　　　　　DET　woman LIG　beautiful
　　　　　　　　　' the beautiful woman'

(16.10)　G:　　nasikan **nga**　paddak
　　　　　　　　　strong　LIG　wind
　　　　　　　　　' strong wind'

　　　　　　H:　　paddak　**nga**　nasikan
　　　　　　　　　wind　　　LIG　strong
　　　　　　　　　' strong wind'

However, it seems to suggest that when the modifier precedes the head noun, it resembles a relativized construction. Hence, examples B and H can be interpreted as follows:

> B: i   babay **nga** naguapa
> DET woman LIG beautiful
> ' the beautiful woman' OR ' the woman who is beautiful'

> H: paddak **nga** nasikan
> wind   LIG   strong
> ' strong wind' OR ' wind that is strong'

Using transitive sonstructions as examples, when the core arguments are relativized, the derived structure becomes a phrase or is already an ungrammatical sentence. Examples (16.12) and (16.14) are merely NPs or are incomplete sentences. (For ease of comparison, the sentences are repeated below.)

(16.11) Ginarsib   na   abbing i   papel.
-in- garsib   na   abbing i   papel
PERF- cut   ERG   child   ABS   paper

'The child cut the paper.'

(16.12) *I   papel   nga ginarsib   na   abbing
DET   paper   LIG cut   ERG   child

'The paper which was cut by the child'

(16.13) Naggarsib   i   abbing ta   papel.
nag- garsib   i   abbing ta   papel.
PERF- cut   ABS   child   OBL   papel

'The child cut a paper.'

(16.14) *I   abbing   nga naggarsib   ta   papel
DET   child   LIG   cut   OBL   paper

'The child who cut the paper'

16.4 Clefting

Clefting is a process by which a focused constituent is extracted from its position and often set off with some additional material, including an extra verb. To illustrate how clefting is derived, sentence (16.3) will be made a trivalent transitive, that is, it takes three nominal complement: the agent, the theme, and the locative. These three nominal phrases can undergo clefting: (A) is theme-focused, (B) locative-focused, and (C) agent-focused. The derivations below resemble the *it*-clefting in English.

(16.15)   Ituddu   na   mestra   i   kansion ta   kapilya
          TH-.teach   ERG   teacher   ABS   song   OBL   chapel

          'The teacher will teach the song in the chapel.'

   A: I   kansion   i   ituddu   na   mestra.
          DET   song   DET   TH-teach   ERG   teacher

          'It is the song that the teacher will teach.'

   B: Ta   kapilya i   pattuduan   na   mestra ta   kansion.
          OBL   chapel   DET   LOC- teach   ERG   teacher   OBL   song

          'It is in the chapel where the teacher will teach the song.'

   C.   I   mestra   i   mattudu   ta   kansion
          DET   teacher   DET   AG-teach   OBL   song

          'It is the teacher who will teach the song.'

16.5 Pseudo-clefting

Aside from *it*-clefting, Ibanag transitive clauses can also undergo pseudo-clefting. Pseudo-clefting is a process in which the non-focused constituents are extracted from their positions and preceded by a WH-item, which is the determiner or nominalizer *i* in Ibanag. The cleft constituent is connected to the focused constituent by the copular verb, or the topic linker *ay* in Ibanag. Using the same example (16.15), the following sentences are derived.

(16.16)   Ituddu   na   mestra i   kansion ta   kapilya
            TH-.teach ERG teacher ABS song   OBL chapel

'The teacher will teach the song in the chapel.'

A: I   ituddu   na   mestra ta   kapilya ay i   kansion
      DET TH-.teach ERG teacher OBL chapel TL ABS   song

'What the teacher will teach in the chapel is the song.'

B: I   pattudduan na   mestra ta   kansion ay ta   kapilya.
      DET LOC-.teach ERG teacher OBL song   TL OBL chapel

'Where the teacher will teach the song is in the chapel.'

C: I   mattuddu   ta   kansion ta   kapilya ay i   mestra.
      DET AG-teach OBL song   OBL chapel TL DET teacher

'Who will teach the song in the chapel is the teacher.'

16.6 Topicalization

Topicalization is a phenomenon in which some element of a sentence is singled out as a topic (Trask, 1993). This is done by preposing the topicalized element, usually the theme or patient in the clause. The topic is then separated from the rest of the sentence by a comma. Barlaan (1999) calls this process NP fronting. Consider the sentences below. The topicalized version of (16.17) is (16.18). Contrasting the two, aside from the theme fronted, the topicalized clause contains an absolutive pronominal that cross-references with the topicalized theme.

(16.17)   Nasissippô   anna nalallapô   i   Ibanag ira.
            very.virtuous and   very.industrious DET Ibanag PLU

'The Ibanag people are very virtuous and very industrious.'

(16.18) **I   Ibanag ira**, nasissippô anna nalallapô   **da**.
         DET   Ibanag   PLU very.virtuous and   very.industrious ABS.3p

         'As for the Ibanag people, they are very virtuous and very industrious.'

Here are other examples of topicalized construction.

(16.19) I   kofuk=ku,   napakaru i   dada-raddam na.
         DET friend=GEN.1s many   DET worries   GEN.3s

         As for my friend, she has so many worries.

(16.20) Yuri talakag nga totolay   ira, awan sangaw i   mapia
         REM lazy   LIG people   PLU NEG   later   DET good

               nga   pabbalinad=da.
               LIG   become=GEN.3p

         'As for the lazy ones, there's nothing good that awaits them.'

16.7 Summary

In this section, the different syntactic processes in Ibanag are discussed. There are five types identified here: the antipassivization or detransitivization, the relativization, the two types of clefting which are it-clefting and pseudo-clefting, and topicalization. The antipassivization and clefting utilize transitive clauses in the derivation process. Also, these two processes can be considered 'focus' derivations since they involve the process of highlighting or focusing on a particular argument or role. These are theme focus, locative focus, and agent focus.

Having presented five types of syntactic processes in Ibanag, I surmise that there are still other processes possible such as the Equi-NP deletion and raising. However, further investigation is needed as to how these can be applied in the language.

Chapter 17

CONCLUSION

17.2 Summary

In summary, I have described Ibanag by looking at its most salient features. The three aspects of grammar have been covered: phonology, morphology, and syntax. Since there have been various studies on phonology and morphology of Ibanag, the bulk of the analysis is focused on the syntax. The discussion of syntax is interspersed in the description of the various lexical categories and clause types. In section three, the two types of clauses, non-verbal and verbal, have been described. The sub-topics under these types are explicated. As for non-verbal clauses, there are five types described. These are the nominal clauses, the adjectival clauses, the existential clauses, the locative clauses, and the prepositional clauses. Several sub-types of these types were also identified. As for the verbal clauses, intransitives are distinguished from transitives. The valency for both types is also distinguished. Intransitives have monovalent and divalent or bivalent, whereas transitives have divalent and trivalent. The constituent order of these clause types is discussed at length.

Chapter 5 is concerned with the nominal marking system. There are two types identified here: the determiners and the demonstratives. As for determiners: core argument markers are distinguished from peripheral argument markers. Again the syntax of these nominal markers is exemplified.

Chapter 6 deals with the pronominal system of the language. There are five types of personal pronouns identified: the absolutives, the ergatives, the genitives, the obliques, and the possessives. The grammatical functions of each, including the possible constraints, have been presented. As for deictic pronouns, there are two types that were discussed here: spatial and temporal. These two are further distinguished into proximal, medial, and distal. There were various examples used to illustrate the features of each type presented.

Chapter 7 is concerned with the nominals which are distinguished for number, gender, and morphological formation. There are two ways of pluralizing Ibanag nouns:

through the plural particle *ira* and through reduplication. The various reduplicant shapes have been exemplified.   There are nine forms of derived nouns presented here: abstract, locative, comitative, reciprocal, pretense, ownership and relative location, origin, instigator, and instrumental nouns. Various examples have been drawn to show the syntactic properties of Ibanag nominals, as well.

Chapter 8 deals with adjectives. Since adjectives has been among the subject of controversy in Philippine studies, issues concerning the identification of adjectives have clarified. The morphological, semantic, and syntactic properties of adjectives have been discussed at length. As for the morphology, I have distinguished bare, derived, and inflectional adjectives. There are two syntactic functions exemplified here: modifier in an NP and predicate in a non-verbal clause.   There are seven identified semantic groups of Ibanag.

Chapter 9 comprises the discussion of verbs. As has been well-established, verbs are the most complicated category in Philippine languages due to their highly-complex affix system.   As such, issues such as focus, aspects, transitivity, and classification are clarified. The discussion of focus is divided into actor and goal, where the latter has been further divided to patient, theme, benefactive, instrument, locative, and comitative. Issues of transitivity, as well as valency, have been elucidated here. There are three distinctions of aspects explained: imperfective, continuative, and perfective. As for the verb classes, there are twenty types identified here.

Chapter 10 is concerned with adverbials. There are two main types of Ibanag adverbials that have been identified: the particles and the lexical adverbs. There are various particles in Ibanag that behave like adverbs, fourteen of which are identified here. Based on the syntax of the examples, these particles suggest that they are adverbs. The other type of adverbs are the locatives, temporals, adverbial manner, adverbs of frequency, and adverb of simultaneity.

Chapter 11 deals with Ibanag numerals. Traditionally, numbers are subsumed in the discussion of adjectives. Here, they constitute a lexical category of their own. At least six types are identified here: the cardinals, the nominals, the distributives, the multiplicatives, the limitatives, and the Spanish loanwords.

Chapter 12 deals with existentials *egga* and *awan.* Three types are distinguished here: the basic existentials, the locative existentials, and the possessive existentials. The other possible functions of existentials are also exemplified here.

Chapter 13 deals with connectors: coordinators, subordinators, and ligatures. There are various connector particles that sometimes behave as coordinators and sometimes subordinators. Also, these connector particles can co-occur with each other and still function as coordinators. As for ligatures, two types are identified: the *nga* and the *na.*

Chapter 14 deals with the various interrogative particles of ibanag. Four types of questions are identified: the yes-no question, the alternative question, the confirmation question, and the information question. As for the latter type, the counterpart of the *wh-* question particles are discussed along with their syntax. Also, questions as social formulas are also exemplified here.

Chapter 15 deals with the processes of negation. There are three types identified here: the predicate negation, the existential negation and negative verbs. Several examples are provided to illustrate the syntax.

Finally, Chapter 16 deals with the syntactic processes in Ibanag. Among the identified processes are: antipassivization or detransitivization, relativization, clefting, pseudo-clefting, and topicalization.

A comprehensive glossary of terms is provided at the end of the last chapter. In addition, authentic Ibanag texts of varied types are appended for reference.

17.2 Directions for future study

The present study posseses several possibilities of future research. The controversy on Philippine adjectives should be further investigated. Are there really adjectives in the Philippine-type languages? Or are these items verbs? Although I have surmised in this study that Ibanag has a lexical category called adjectives, it would be interesting to investigate further the morphological and syntactic properties shared by adjectives and verbs.

The verbal system of Ibanag needs further investigation. Specifically, the aspect system needs more elaboration. Whether Ibanag has a recent perfective aspect or none is an interesting endeavour. The affix system of Ibanag is another area that needs more attention. Particularly, what semantic roles are cross-referenced by the affixes? The verbal classes constitute another interesting subject of investigation. Whether verbs can be neatly classified or not is insightful.

The particles of Ibanag seem to suggest various functions. Although they are classified as adverbs here, it would be interesting to note what other meanings do they give the sentence. I contend, too, that adverbial particles are an open-class as more particles are introduced by speakers across generations. Aside from these items, the syntactic processes need further investigation. Is passivization possible in Ibanag? Also, it would be interesting to investigate how equi-NP deletion and raising can be applied in Ibanag. There are other phenomena in Ibanag that need further investigation.

Finally, the sociolinguistic aspects of the language need special attention, too. As the language is heavily influenced by other Northern Cordilleran languages, such as Itawes, Ilocano, and Tagalog, it would be insightful to look at the degree of influence these languages have impacted on Ibanag. And with the interplay of language or cultural diversity and popular media in the community, it would be interesting how Ibanag has stood all these.

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

absolutive: the case form which marks both the subject of an intransitive and the direct object of a transitive verb, and which contrasts with the ergative. For example, the third person singular *yayya* 'he/she' is the subject in intransitive clause, Kimminan *yayya* 'S/he ate', and the direct object in the transitive clause, Nassingak=ku *yayya* 'I saw her/him'.

ambient clauses: clauses about the weather or atmosphere.

classificational nominal clauses: those that classify the entity expressed in the nominative phrase of the clause.

comitative nouns: refer to individuals in whose company something is done.

consonant germination: assimilation of the final consonant of an affix with the initial consonant of the root word.

desiderative: a mood category expressing the sense of 'wanting' or 'desiring'. In Ibanag, this mood is encoded by the prefix *sikka-* which, when attached to a root verb, expresses the wish or desire to perform such an action.

distal: refers to entities that are neither located within the physical and mental realm of the speaker nor the addressee.

divalent verb: a verb that takes two core arguments.

dyadic: see divalent.

enclitic: a clitic which usually attaches to the preceding host.

ergative: "a term traditionally used to describe systems of nominal case marking where subjects of intransitive clauses are marked the same as direct objects, while subjects of transitive clauses are marked differently" (Payne 1982:76); "the term was first used to refer to the case marking on constituents of a noun phrase: 'ergative' is the case marking transitive subject, contrasting with another case – originally called 'nominative' but nowadays 'absolutive' – marking intransitive subject and transitive object" (Dixon 1994:1); "subject of a transitive clause Bickford (1998:269)."

existential clauses: either express the existence of something or express possession of something.

genitive: case mark of a pronoun that refers to the possessor in an NP.

Identificational nominal clauses: specifically identify those in the nominative noun phrases

medial space: refers to entities located within the physical and mental realm of the addressee (Rubino, 1997).

metathesis: the reversal of two sounds or letters in a word, either as a result of mispronunciation or as a historical development.

monadic: see monovalent.

monovalent verb: a verb that takes only one core argument.

oblique: a case marking that denotes an NP which is neither a subject nor a direct object. In Ibanag, this is exemplified by *ta*, as in, Kimminan=na *ta* dupo 'I ate a banana'.

patient: refers to an NP expressing an entity undergoing an action (Trask, 1993), specifically, a human entity in this study (cf. Theme).

pretense nouns: those that refer to diminutive imitations of the real thing (Ruffolo, 2003) or those with deprecatory quality (Rubino, 1997).

proximal space: refers to entities located within the physical and mental realm of the speaker (Rubino, 1997).

recent past: refers to something that has been mentioned earlier in the discourse. Most likely, the referent is living and is known by both the speaker and the addressee (Rubino, 1997).

remote past: refers to someone who has not been seen for a long time or to the deceased. The referent could also be things that do not exist anymore.

sandhi: assimilation of sounds at juncture (cf. Brandes & Sheerer, 1927-28)

similative demonstrative' is used to refer to expressions that instruct or demonstrate the similarity of two entities

theme: refers to an NP expressing an entity which is in a state or a location or which is undergoing a motion (Trask, 1993), specifically, a non-human entity in this study (cf. Patient).

triadic: see trivalent.

trivalent verb: a verb that takes three core arguments.

valency: the number of core arguments that a verb takes (Dixon and Aikhenvald 2000:3).

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Appendix A
Sample Ibanag Bible Verse

I AYA
(1 Corinto 3:1-13)

Maski nu makapaguvovub nga ta ngamin nga uvovug na totolay tuange ta uvovug na angel ira, ngem nu awan niakan I aya, kagitta laman I kallitang nga guni na gansa onu kekkeng. Maski nu malalaki nga nga mallayya-gayya; maski nu egga niakan ngamin I pakannammu, anna malippawa ku ngamin I gannug nga ari paga nga nepakannammu; maski nu egga niakan I dakal nga angngurug nga makeyali ta vukig ira, ngem nu awan niakan I aya, awan tu kwenta. Maski nu iyawa kun gamin I kukua ira, anna maski paga ipatuggi I baggi, ngem nu awan niakan I aya, awan tu pammakapiak-ku taw ira nga kuak-ku.

I aya ay pappasensia anna pagallo. Ari tu pamassa-passil on u pappara-parayag, onu pappakatannang. Ari tu pamabbastus. Ari tu pakkarga ta pammakapian laggapa na baggi; ari tu pallullusaw onu pamappan tu taki na nono. Ari tu pakkarga ta pammakapian laggapa na baggi; ari tu pallullusaw onu pamappan tu taki na nono. Ari tu pappagayaya ta marakay, nu ari pagayaya megafu ta kurug. I aya ay pagattam ta anni laman; yaya I pammakatalo pagiddanama, anna pappasensia nga awan tu panuppalan na.

I aya ay mannanayun. I kalalaki nga mallayya-gayya ay ari nga mabbayag. I pakawayya nga maguvovug ta uvovug nga ari paga nannammu ta anni laman nga gannug ay mapawan. Ta I pakannammu tuange ta kalalaki nga mallayya-gayya ay egga I pakkurangad-da. Ngem noka nu duttal I awan tu pakkurangan, mapawan I egga I pakkurangan na.

Turi ta kabbing ku, I paguvovug, pappana-panono, anna parrasa-rasok-ku ay kagitta na abbing. Ngem sangoye ta dakal ngana I daguk-ku, nallikurak-ku ngana I annangngua na abbing. Ta sangoye, ipaningat-tam ay kagitta na paningan tu muka ta maribbo nga espejo, ngem egga noka I tiempo nga masingat-tam tu mapia I yafu. Makkurang paga I ammu ta sangoye, ngem awan noka tu pakkurangan na, kagitta na pakannammu na Dios niakan.

Ay danoye nga tallu I mannanayun: I angngurug, aggiddanama anna aya; ngem I kadakallan ta kebalinan taw nga tallu, ay I aya.

Appendix B
Ibanag Black Rosary

Y Mangi-olu (prayer leader) ta cancion anna ngamin nga dasal ay y napili na purok coordinator. Un egga ta miembro na familia nga sponsor y makammu ta ngamin nga cancion anna nasal, yayya y uwaya na mangi-olu.

A. CANCION (ta kelakad na imahen ni Sta. Maria) Ave Maria

B. PANGIGAFU NGA DASAL

Ye Virgen Maria Yena ni Jesus anna Yena mi gapa kurugadakal y pagyaya mi nga mangalawa Nikau toye ta balay/lugar mi. Mabbalobalo kami nikau ta sinagapian y may makitappaggian nikami anna mebilang tu tadday nga miembro noye na familia mi.

O meddu nga Yena kuam-mu y anni laman nga ikaya mu nga kuan toye ta balay mi. Tuluam-mu y giffautuam-mi. Pabbabawiam-mu kami ta katagaruliam-mi. Iyaranni mu ngamin nga marakay anna kanninipang.

O virgen Maria ari laman tu y balay mi y ivuka mi nikau. Iyalawa mi gapa nikau ngamin giffutuam-mi.

Uffunam-mu kami kari tapenu ta ngamin nga ikalaangam-mi maparulo mi y uray na Dios Ama anna tuttulammi y Evangelio ni Jesucristo. O meddu nga Yena bendicionam-mu ngamin y maggian toye nga balay. Kuam-mu kami tu familia nga makimoray ta Dios, anna familia nga mangibllay ta kissatolay. Uruam-mu kami ta ngamin nga tulagan na nono anna baggi. Pekarenuam-mu yoye balay mi tapenu mari ngana y dapin na lussau, passil anna kaparayag.

Itabba mi nikau, O Virgen Maria tu yau nga pavvisitam nikami y kunna pamegafu mi mangana ngalumakad ta dalan na angngurug, tunung, aya anna sippo.

Mammaguray ka nikami O meddu nga Yena. Mammaguray ka toye ta barangay mi. Mammaguray ka paray ta tangarawunan tapenu mabbalin tu Pappatulan na Ana mu y sinakkabban. Kiddawam mi yau megafy kani Cristo nga Yafu mi. Amen!

C. DASAL NA SANTO ROSARIO

GAFU NGA CANCION—DASALAT-TAM Y SANTO ROSARIO

Dasalay-tam y Santo Rosario,

Sittam a devotos na Yena na Dios

Ay mevulun sa y pabbabawi

Ta liwaliwa tam a napafutu.

Cristianos ngamin, May kamu tau;

Dasalat-tam y Santo Rosario ni Santa Maria nga Yena na Dios.

Dasalat-tam y Santo Rosario ni Santa Maria nga Yena na Dios.

ANGURUG NGA-K

Mangurug nga-k ta Dios Ama nga makapangngua sangamin, nga nanolay ta langi ana ta davvun.

Mangurug nga-k pa kani Jesucristo, nga ya la tadday nga Ana na, nga Yafu tam ngamin; nevussi ta megafu ta espiritu Santo; neyana kani Santa Maria nga Virgen; nazzigariga ta nepammaguray ni Poncio Pilato, nepato ta cruz, natay anna netanam; minulug ta gian na nammatay; naginnolay ta ikatallu aggau na patay na; minune ta langi anna nagitubang ta ziwanan na Dios Ama nga makapangngua sangamin; maggafu noka Sa Mangurug nga-k p ata Espiritu Santo. Kurugak-ku pa y Santa Iglesia Catolica; tagappo na sasanto; koma na katagarulian; paginnolay noka na baggi na adde na tolay; anna ngangangay nga katolayan. Amen!

AMA MI

Ama mi, a maggiat-ta langi, marayayrayau paray y nganggam-mu. Maparattal nikami y pappatulam-mu, makua y urea ta davvun ta kunne ta langi.

Y kanam-mi ta kaggaggau, iyawa mu nikami ta aggau au; pakomam-mu y katagarulian-mi ta kunna pamakoma mi ta nakatagaruli nikami; ariak-kami ippasifu ta pangakkakka nikami; paliarak-kami ta adde na marakay. Amen!

DIOS NIKAU, MARIA

Dios, Nikau, Maria, napannu ka ta gracia, Yafu Dios y egga nikau, marayau ka ngamin ta Babia, anna marayau y vunga na sam-mu a si Jesús.

Sta Maria, Yena na Dios ipakimallo kami nga minattagaruli sangau anna noka pa ta oras na patay mi. Amen!

GLORIA

Datarayawad-da Ama, anna Ana anna Espiritu Santo.

Ta kunne gala ta gafu na, tuange sangau, tuange ta maffugafugab. Amen!

MISTERIOS NA SANTO ROSARIO

I.   Misterios nga Pagayaya
(Madasal ta Lunes anna Jueves)
1. Y pangibakka ni Asrcangel Gabriel kani Santa Maria ta passinolay na Dios Ana ta san na.
2. Y pakitaful ni Santa Maria kani San Isabel nga kapitta na.
3. Y keyena na Ana na Dios ta annung na katolay na.
4. Y pangitavving ni Virgen Maria kani Jesus nga Ana na ta templo.
5. Y kawawan ni Jesus ta tenplo anna y pakasimmu da sa.

II.   Misterios nga Makaraddam
(Madasal ta Martes anna Viernes)
1. Y pakimallo ni Jesus ta Getsemani anna paguggang na ta daga.
2. Y pipisi nga inattamman ni Jesús nga negakko ta kallang.
3. Y barungu nga sisi nga inipamarungu da kani Jesús.
4. Y pamuttung ni Jesús ta Santa Cruz.
5. Y kepato ni Jesús ta kayu na Santa Cruz.

III.   Misterios nga Makarayau
(Madasal ta Miércoles, Sabado anna Liggu)
1. Y paginnolay ni Yafu tam a Jesus.
2. Y makapabbau nga une ni Jesús ta langi.
3. Y ulug na Dios Espiritu Santo ta apóstoles.
4. Y kala ni Santa Maria ta langi.
5. Y kabarungu ni Santa Maria ta langi.

IV.   Misterios na Tulu
1. Y kabautizo ni Jesus ta Bannag na Jordan
2. Y milagro ta Boda ta Cana.
3. Y kelammuyag na pappatulan na Dios.
4. Y panguli-uli nak kasissinnan ni Jeuss.
5. Y kapagaddatu na Santa Eucharistia..

LITANIA NI VIRGEN MARIA

Ye Afu Dios, *
Cristo, *
Ye Afu Dios, *
Cristo, ginnak-kami
Cristo, tangngagak-kami
Dios Ama ta langi, *
Dios Ana, nanavvu ta mundo, *
Dios Espiritu Santo, *
Santa Trinidad, tattadday nga Dios, *
Snata Maria, ipakimallo kami
Santa nga Yen ana dios
Santa nga Virgen na vírgenes
Yena ni Cristo
Yena na Santa gracia
Yena nga kuruga marenu
Yena nga memugud
Yena nga ari nanni
Yena nga ari napali
Yena nga minanam-mayu
Yena nga makapabbau
Yena na mapia nga nga tabarang
Yena na Manolay
Yena na Manavvu
Virgen nga kurug minappalan
Virgen nga marayau
Virgen nga merumug
Virgen nga makapangngua
Virgen nga minaggallallo
Virgen nga mekatallo
Agganinuan na tunung
Trono na sirib
Fun na mulamugam-mi
Vaso na sippo
Vaso nga mekakua
Vaso na nerulay nga devocion
Rosa na langi
Torre ni David
Torre nga marfil
Balay nga bulawan
Ammappannanna
Pakkasinabban
Gagayagan na Langi
Darammagat-ta Umma
Pia na makkataki

Tutuyugan na minattagaruli
Bannay na sigga-maraddam
Uffun na Cristianos
Reina na Patriarcas
Reina na profetas
Reina na apostoles
Reina na martires
Reina na confesores
Reina na virgins
Reina nga ari nesipo ta katagaruilian na zininaga
Reina na Santisimo Rosario
Reina na imammo

* ikallo kami

Cordero na Dios nga mamakoma ta katagarulian na tangaravvunan, **ikallo kami, Afu.**
Cordero na Dios nga mamakoma ta katagarulian na tangaravvunan, **ginnak-kami, Afu.**
Cordero na Dios nga mamakoma ta katagarulian na tangaravvunan, **ikallo kami, Afu.**

D. TU IKOMANGAY MI NGA MAKALA TA NETABBA NI YAFU MI A JESUCRISTO.

Makimallo ittam:

Ah! Afu Dios, nga ta megafu ta pattolay na tattadday nga Ana mu, patay na anna paginnolay na, inipakala na nikami, ta balo nga awat-tu kofutan: ipakimallo mi Nikauy, tu iyanuga mu, tu sikami au nga manaddaddam ta misterios ni Santa Maria Virgen, parigan gapa y egga ira tu ikomangay mi maffugab nga makala ta netabba nikami nira. Kiddawam mi yau megafu kani Cristo nga Yafu mi. Amen!

DIOS NIKAU REINA

Dios Nikau Reina, Yen ana allo, inango anna ikabannay mi anna agginanamam-mi. Sikau y ilalattui mi, nga manalasigo ng tumangi-tangi ta davvun au karigatan. Ilipem kari ni-kami, Afu nga ammakatalakkam-mi, y matam annatun nga minaggallallo. Ay un mofu y kekebbagam-mi au, ipasingam-mu nikami si Jesús nga marayau nga vunga na sam-mu. Ah, Afu Santa Maria nga balabalay na allo anna sippo anna ammi, ipakimallo kami, santa yen ana Dios tu ikomangay mi nga makala ta initabba ni Jesucristo. Amen!

E. Y PANGITAVVUNG TA EGGA NGA IYAWA RA NA "LOVE OFFERINGS"

Y Mangi-olu: Yaw nga parte na team addasal tam ta Santo Rosario itavvung tam y mawayya nga itavvung ta panguffun tam ta naduruma nga programa na parokya tam.

Y MAKANTA TA OFERTORIO:
Dios ku alawatam mu
Y tavvung ku sangaw
Vurayu noye naf futu
Pamakakua nikaw.

Si Cristo nga ANA' mu
Baggi na ay natalaman
Daga na ay mevuvvu
Megafu lan niakan

Y ekku pabbalo
Y panavvu mu nio
Masippo nga pamarulo
Marenu nga inango.

F. Y Pangibillay na tadday nga miembro na familia nga nangi-sponsor ta mapia nga nesimmu ta attolay da nga familia megafu ta pia anna sippo na kafamilia na anna kakaruba na.

DASAL NGA PAPPABATTANG

Ye Virgen Maria zimittal ngana y oras na panom toye ta balay mi. Ariam-mi meveuya-vuya y pabbalobalo mi nikau.

Manau ka ngana, O meddu nga Yena nga mabattang nikami y ammi na aya anna y Bangui na iddu mu. Daddammam-mi adde noka y initabarang mu nikami, ay tangangallam-mi adde noka y gracia anna bendicion nga iniyawa mu nikami.

Manau ka ngana o meddu nga Yena ngem ipakimallo mi nikau to pappannam-mu ta futum y gingngaganam-mi tapenu ivulum-mu kami ta sitau laman nga angayam-mu. Ariam-mu kami nga kattammam daddammam-mu tu malaray kami ay tu nu ariam-mu kami uffunan mawawam-mi y graciam.

Paray nakuan tu manolo ka mangana O meddu nga Yena ay aggaparak-kami nga ipaddasal kani Jesús nga Ana mu anna Yafu mi Sangay adde ta ngangangay. Amen!

PROSISYON NA IMAHEN

Kabalin na nasal nga pappabattang, y imahen ni Sta. Maria ay me-prosisyon nga me angay ta tumunog nga parte na purok anna metallung to unak na balay na tumunok nga familia. Nu mekanna nga tari nga parte ne purok ay nanaddagan na barangay, y main sponsor ay y barangay captain anna officiales na barangay anna metallung y imahen ta unak na barangay hall.

Pare nakuan nga malagum ta prosisiyon danuri totolay nga nakipaddasal to santo rosaryo. Y mepango nga cancion kani Sta. Maria y macancion ta ke-prosisyon na.

Appendix C
Sample Ibanag Dialogue

Makkofun nga nakkassimmu ta plasa

Kofun 1:   Dios nikaw kumare, kunasi ka ngana?

Kofun 2:   Okay laman. Kunnaw ngam ari na mabba makapanaw ta ziga.

Kofun1:   Sikaw gapa ko kumari, yatun laman kanayun kayam-mu ngana. Egga laggapa sangaw i allo na Dios.

Kofun 2:   Pare nakuan ngam.

Kofun 1.   Anni gatangam-mu? Fresca ira yaw gulay nga laku, anni kari sangaw luttuam-mu?

Kofun 2:   ma-inabbraw na siguro laman sangaw. Piga ira gulay nga laku-m kari.

Kofun 1.   Nangina sangaw ngana mabba i karne, mas aru sangaw ngana i kuman ta gulay. Mas lagu ngana nga masustansya i gulay ngem ta karwan ira nga karne. Baddi paga i chansa nga ma-high-blood i tolay nga ari kuruga kuman ta karne.

Kofun 2:   Yatun mabba kajad-da.

Kofun 2:   Ta balay lagu, yatun i kanayun mi nga kanan, gulay, aggi mittan laman kami nga kuman ta karne ta maganassing kami ta taki

              Ay, kumari, kunasi yuri ana-k mu nga egga ta abroad ngana? Mangitugu-k gapa ta kuartu?

Kofun1:   Aggi mittan laman mabba ko kumari.

Kofun 2:   E pagurayan mu gapa ngana baka egga gapa ira I mawak na.

Kofun 1:   Yatun lagu…… Aggi piga gabba yaw i don na kamosi nga laku-m?

Kofun 2:   Ay singko pesos laman kumare, ngatta ari kamu nammula ta kamosi ta labbang?

Kofun 1:   Awan, ari kami nakamula ta tanakuwan mabba nemula ni ana-k ku. Sige kumare, iyawatan na nge ta tallu patto.

Kofun 2:   Sige, kumari, diyes tallu patto ngana laman para nikaw. Rigacham gapa ngana i tadday.

Kofun 1:   Ay, mabbalo kumare. Molu na gafu ngana ta aru paga I plasa-k ku.

Magatawa ta assimmu da ta balay nu gabi maggafu ta trabahu

Babay: Papang kunasi gapa i trabahuu-m nagna? Kumusta yari kliyente nu nga
           magikkaw ta kuwartu ta bangku nu? Na-approve yayya ngana? Piga gare
           yuri i-loan da ngana?

Lalaki: Okay laman.

Babay: Anni yari business da gare ngana?

Lalaki: Hardware. Duwa puwestu da tatun ta ili.

Lalaki: Piga gapa na-approve nga loan da.

Babay: 2 million pesos laman ta baddi yari davvun mga collateral da gare.

Babay: Piga gare yari i-loan da ngana nakuan?

Lalaki: Six million nakuan.

Babay: E sikaw puwede ka ngana ma-loan ta mga 1 million? Gumatang ta nakuan
           ta sarili ta nga balay antere davvun. I sobra, igatang tat a takay nga
           puwede nga pa-business tam.

Lalaki: Puwede na ma-loan ngem ari nga nakakadde ta 1 million siguro. Antare,
           nu ma-loan na, ari na sangaw puwede mare-sign nu ari na sangaw paga
           nabalin nga mappaga ta gatu.

Babay: E di magonnuk ta tapenu makapaga tat a alisto.

Lalaki: Ay sus, nu yatun balak mu e di mangonnuk ta labbi ngana lige ta
           gumatang ta davvun anna balay, awan paga tu interest nga mapagan.
           Mamang, nalutu pano ngan i ma-fugak? Nabisin na ngana. Paguraya-m
           mu plano-wat-ta ta napia i aggatang tat a balay anna davvun.

           Kuman ittam nakuan ngana. Sikaw, awan tu kuam mu sonu mabalin
           kuman? Genna gabba ira i abbing ira, baka nabisin ira ngana.

Babay: Ay, kabi ta inna-k ku nu nalutu ngana I makan. Egga tatun ta sala I abbing
           ira, maggiraw data T.V. Nabilin kanu gamma ngana I assignments da ira.
           Sige ma-rest kalabbi ngana, agala-t ta kasonu puwede ngana I kuman.

Lalaki: . Bitam mu Mamang, matoli ka insagida taw tai –masahe-m nge lik-k ta
           alle nadadammo mabba.

Babay: Asus, yatun mangana yuri masahe nga ammu add eta gari.

Sample Ibanag Procedural Text

I mallutu onu mangibaggung ta mangi nga inafi

Kakarwan, i malutu nga inafi ay bagga na ammay. Yaw ngana siguro i kalogonan ta malutu nga inafi ta awayya na laman nga mapanawan maski paga maga-al-alwak i danum na, sonu mattoli i maluttu manganannuan, nalutu ngana. Ngamme ari gitta na mallutu ta inafi nga bagga na mangi. Ta aru nga tolay manaki da i mallutu onu mangibaggung ta inafi nga mangi ta mas aru banna-k ta mallutu. Lagu ta masingngo i inafi nga mangi, awayya na nga mapasensyan i maluttu ta kunnaw nga inafi.

Nalogon laman I malutu onu mabbagung ta inafi nga mangi. Olu, mangipatu ka ta danum ta kaldero. Ta paginaggan ta pagalwak na danum, mangiprepara ka ta bagga nga sakto laman ta nepatum nga danum. Sonu magalwak ngana I danum, ipem ngana I bagga na mangi antare siguraduwam-mu nga mas attananng ta 1 inch i danum anne ta bagga ta kalderu. Ari nga puwede maserran antare mapanawan i bagga antare danum nga makaal-alwak ta matavvu antare marake nu matantang e nelo sangaw tagga na assi na, arim sangaw nga makan. Mawak egga i kwek nga meusa para ta pangikiru-k ta maddaraggun mu nga itlutu nga inafi na mangi. Sonu awan tu danum ngana na maddaraggun mu nga ikirukiruk, puwede na ngan nga matakkabban antare mekikkik ta baggang nu ta kalan na kayu I neusam ta pallutu. Ngem nu LPG I neusam ta pallutu, ikafim ta kakaffian i afi na kalan adde sonu fermi nga malutu onu memaga/mebba yuri danum na nettalla-c mu..

Kunnari laman i mallutu ta mangi nga inafi. Aru i bannak ngen sonu tyempo na kuman ngana ay metamman mu ngana yuri bannak mu ta ammum gamma tu masustansya i paddaraggunam mu nga kanan. Gitta na kagian da, "Awan tu masinngo ta gitta na produkto na pasensya.

Y PAGGAFUANAN NA LUNIG

Turi ta olu ira nga aggao, egga y tangabalay nga kuruga mariga. Egga gapa y tadde ana da nga si Bernardo Carpio. Y aleran na tangabalay ta kagaggao ay fustu la ta kanadda. Lagud, nagalek ira ta kuruga akkan. Kada nu ume mattrabahu si yena, siempre ifuku na si ana na ta kuarto. Iddan na la yao ta gayaman na. Sangao nu lubbe yaya, dangnganan na nga nabakki-bakki ngamin y aggayaman na abbing. Kagaggao kunnao y nesimmu adde ta auan ngana tu meyawa na sa nga gayam. Sangao nabattabattang si abbingnga awattu gayaman na. Ta labbe ni yena zinangnganan na nga makkakattu ngamin y ameringan anna zizzing na balay. Ari nakapika y yena; ya kingngua na y nagobserba. Turi ta napoli y nadaral ta balay, nabattang na mangngana si abbing anna mine yaya nattrabahu. Ta labbe na kunnari mangngana y wara nga nesimmu. Sangao y iningngua ni yena ay guinakkak na nga iniddan ta balayang si abbing paninnanna. Kinattukattu na abbing y balayang. Naburung si magana na ta sikan na. Nepaddumurumug y sikan ni Bernardo Carpio.

Ziminakal si Bernardo nga kasikannan nga abbing ta tanga-parransuan. Ngamin y nakippinay sa nga abbing ay inafu na. Liminakak y dagun ay yaya ngana y kasikannan nga tolay ta interu Filipinas. Megafu tao nappangas gapa yayya. Ta pangas nga ikaya na ngana labanan y Dios. Ta olu nga labadda pinangaffu ni Dios yaya. Ngem ta mekatallu nga labadda ipapaguimmang ni Dios y Addama na dua nga bukik. Tape ipasingan na y sikan na, mine yaya ta mallatanan na dua nga bukik. Naddappa yaya tape y dua bukik immangadda y labadda. Ngem anne ta naguimmang ira, guinalpi si Bernardo. Natanam yaya nga sigga-totolay. Ulu na laman y nallauan.

Adde sangano kurugan na totolay aga nu kuan ni Bernardo Carpio nga guyuan y baggui na tape makapanao ta pallatanan na dua bukik, magguyu gapa y dabbun ay yatun y kegafuanan na lunik. Kadian paga na mannakam nga noka nu makapanao si Bernardo Carpio ta rallatanan na bukik ira, yatun ngana y pamunu ngana na tanga-sinakkabban.

Y NAGGAFUANAN NA KUEBA IRA

Ta olu-olu ira nga aggao auan to kueba maski sitao nga lugar. Ta danuri ira nga aggao, egga tadday nga makakkasta nga maguinganay. Nu y kasta na auan to makeyattam nga ari mangibuya ta aya na sa. Ziminattal ta nono nao nga babay tu taguenappan na nu sinni y kurug nga maya sa. Lagud, kunna nga makkagui ta tadday nga mangayaya sa, "Kada nu gabi nu tiempo na lammin ay ari nga makakaturug. Nu auayyam nakuan, wagui, y mamadday ta sinan-aguiddan ta unag na bakulug toye ta aranni ta bale mi ay fabor tu kuammu tape egga pakkaturugak ku nu tiempo na lammin. Ganalaman, yuri nga mangya ay nakkokkok ta abbu ta patangagabi. Ta kommanan na minay si babay taru ta dian na pattrabahuan na lalaki. Anni y enna nasingan? Y lalaki ay natay nga zinangnganan na! Nasingan na gapa tu yuri lalaki ay maggakammo ta dakal nga batu. Naraddam y babay ta nesimmu tari ta inaya na. Sangao y avvu nga pinadde nari na lalaki turi nga bakulug ay inagaladda nga kueba.

NEKURUG NGA TATAGENO

Ta kabalin na pammaguray na Gagassila ta Filipinas egga y magataua nga naddian ta zita na ransu na Callao ta Penablanca, Cagayan. Mangngagan ira ta Pascual Magulad anna Fortunata Palumayan. Ta karu na ana da, tattadday y nabattang nga mangibida toye ta mappange nga istorya:

Y burido nga ana da y zipping. Makapabbao ira yao nga zipping ta y tadday ay kabayu anna mekarua ay abbing nga lalaki. Ta pasiran na yama ta kabayu nga ana na, netanam na yao ta kammayan.

Namittan nga gabi, mattatagueno si Yama. Nakiubobug kanu y kabayu sa anna kuana nga nakkagi, "Ama, nu arian ira ta makannipang nga mesimmu ta mappange." Urorian y nepabbabawi ni yama. Ta tumunuk nga aggao, nattay gapa si kaziping na.

Nappasa y tangaragun nadisgrasya anna napilay si yama. Ari yaya ngana nakalakag adde ta pate na. Ari nabayag ay natay ira nga tangabalay. Ya la nabattang da y tattadday ngana nga anada nga si Emilio. Auattu nesimmu kani Emilio adde ta labbe na matapang nga nepammaguray na Hapon.

Namittan nga umma, ta pamalin na gubiernu na hapon, nelukagan na totolay ta Callao y nekalevu da ta suddalu nga hapones. Ta pattangngan na totolay ira egga y annam-fulu nga tolay nga sinuggi na hapon ta pagara-arubangan. Karuan ta tolay nga natuggi ay da Emilio Magulad anni ataua na, ana da kakkayung anna afu na. Nalippawa na taga Callao ira y nesimmu kani ziping ay kurugadda tu yuri ngana y kebalinan nuri na tatagueno na yama ni Emilio.

BIDA NA SANTO

Ta pamegafuanan na Gagassila nga nanga ta nono ta totolay ta laguman na davvun na Cagayan, ari ira nappakariga negafu ta ya pinapolu ra nga zinok ay y papari na misyonario. Ira yao nga misionaryo ay manassippo, ari ira aburidu anna ammu ra y makilibulibu ta sinni laman. Ngem yari kakbulu da nga Espanol nga military nga mine nadian tao nga lugar ay marake y pangupangnguwa ra awattu konsensiya ra anna minattazzi ira ta tolay.

Y misionaryo nangiyawa ira ta bultu ni San Miguel Arkanhel anni Santa Catalina ta ili ira na Nazziping anna Dummun ta Gattaran, Cagayan.

Y totolay nepallo y angnguruk da ta sasantos. Nu egga y mesimmu nira, ira yao y papaladiuwadda. Egga gapa nga pupuburban y pakawayya na sasanto ira. Namittan nagipato ira ta chicharon ta tangnga na darafugan anna kiniddo kanni San Miguel tu pattuguan na si chicharon. Y kiniddo ra ay ari sinabak na santo. Yatun y nattakitan na nono ra. Lagud, pinaguyoyungadda si San Miguel. Namadday ira ta baddi nga balsa anna kalapay nga kepayyan effektos na ira. Netud da si San Miguel anna kalapo na turi ta baddi nga balsa ay netubba da yao ta tangnga nga danum. Y arig nga dakal na totolay mayagal na, "Miguel, Miguel, kattuam mu y kakalapem ay dagatam mu si Santa Catalina ta Dummun nga mebulu nikao."

Inibbattadda si balsa ta nesiggutan na tape manuk ta masikan nga agui. Si dakal na totolay kinagui na mangngana, "Uwan, nattammattam gabba. Mawag da y kalan anna banga nga palluttuadda. Mawag da paga y bagga, karnem anna piggan. Mabi kakabuluk ku, apan nu ira yao."

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Turi ta egga ngamin ngana, si dakalda kunna mangngana, "Miguel! Miguel! Maganaanuk ka ngana. Tammitammu y kakkalapem ay dagatam mu si Santa Catalina ta Dummun ta mabbulu kamu nga magananug anna ari kamu ngana manoli."

Nagguyu si balsa ay minay ta tangnga na danum. Fabor tu fulutan sa y masikan nga agui ya kiningngua na balsa y netulya na yao adde ta arung na simban na Gagassila ta Nassiping. Turi ta olu y simban ni San Miguel ay egga ta Lapogan, zigattu na bukik na Caramut. Yao nga bukik ay 16 yardas y katannang na. Nengagadda ta "Middua walu," nga y kebalinan na ay 16.

SI CELO ANNA BUAYA IRA

Nakasingak ka ngana ta buaya? Maganassing ka na?

Si Celo nga ana na minaggisira ay mattolay turi ta danum na Pamplona napannu paga ta buaya. Kagaggao yaya makasingan ta buaya yatun ta ari yaya maganassing nira. Ta lima ragun nga umera aggisira anni yama na, auan paga tu nesimmu nira ta dian na buaya ir[a].

Tadde aggao naguronay si Celo nga mine nagisira. Ta pangibullak na ta tabukul, nataga yaya ta danum. Ginafu yaya na dakal nga buaya. Sinangngallan na buaya si Celo ta masikan anna nebabba na yaya ta danum. Inaguk na buaya yaya ta paninnanao nu natay ngana y abbing. Si Celo ari naginango. Nebabba na mangngana na buaya yaya anna inaguk na nu natolay paga. Ari magguyuguyu si Celo. Abbattan lagu na buaya tu nate ngani yaya.

Neange na buaya si Celo ta abbu ta pipi na danum. Nanga ta panga-panga na kayu, kaddo anna karuan nga mula nga nepanakkak na. Manao si buaya ta enne inagalan y kakabulun na tape pagaraarubangngadda y baggi ni Celo.

Si Celo naginango ta makafi. Maganassing bi yaya nga magguyu. Sinesenu na y nakkarekay nga auan tu tannuk na, nakadde yaya ta arayyu, ari nallipalipay. Nakasingan ta dakal nga kayu nga aranni sa. Nesiddaraga na y nakkaly anna naddian tari nga ari matattannuk.

Nappasa y mangananuang lima nga darakal nga buaya y mine ta lugar nga nangipayyadda sa. Tadde nira y nanganri ta kaddo anna panga-panga na kayu nga takkak na. Naggazzi y buaya ta dianna kakaddakkan.

Awan yaya tari. Nattubu ira ta danum ta edda aleran si Celo tari. Nattabbaralo y utun na danum. Si Celo nasingan na y appa nga buaya nga kalakkagatadda y tadday nga buaya. Nassangaro yao tam magafu ta lusso na anna tabi na kinagara.

Ta mazzibbo ammu ni Celo tu nalibre ngana yaya. Minuluk ta kayu. Napannu yaya ta nerbios anna bisin ngem nakua na paga y nappalagiu ta ta, wawwagi na ira anna kakkofun na nga nagattal anna maraddam ta inabbo pasadas na ta dian na buaya ira.

Ta gabi naddasal ira ta ipappabalo da ta Dios ta nekalibre na inango na.

KUNNASI Y KEGGA NA AMANG TA HORNO

Egga y bida megafu ta horno nga mepasapasa ta totolay ta kada dagun. Y horno ay ari laman nga appaddayan ta ladrilyu; turi ta tiempo na Gagassila ay appasiaran gapa na makkaayaya ira megafu ta y nepagyan na ay paggasissinnanna y palku na danum na Cagayan. Yao nga bida nesimmu turi ta olu nga parte na nepanga na Gagassila ta Cagayan.

Turi ta y kabalyero ira nga Gagassila nga magalek ta bulauan ay limibbe ta Cagayan, y ili na Tuguegarao ay kakayuan paga laman. Y totolay ira ay nepassirinna ta nadduruma nga barangay nga makimoray ta datu. Tadday ta datu ira ay si Magay nga egga y makasata nga ana na nga Abdulah. Y wu ni Abdulah ay kulu ta baddi anna magadde ta tumang na. Y ngipan na ay nafurafurao kaguitta na perlas. Y baggui na ay kaguitta na baggui na Venus de Milo. Yaya y nagitaddag ta kakastan na makasta ta rasa na Malayan. Y yama na ay naggafu ta gamu na hiraya. Kuruga kinolugan yaya na babbaguitolay ira ta lugar da anna ta tanakuan ira nga ili ngem auattu nayatan na.

Ta nepappasa na tadde aggao, y kabalyero nga Gagassila nga si Leon ay naddaga ta balera Magay. Makasta yaya nga lalaki. Yatun y gafu na nga ari makapabbao nu nakkaaya ira enni Abdulah ta gafu-gafu paga laman na pakkasingadda. Ari nabinnay kinaragatan ni Leon y makkagul ta aya na nga mangatawa kanni Abdulah. Si Magay kiniddo na nga mangiyawa si Leon ta dote. Sangao si Leon mine ta Manila. Inaddadda yaya ta dua ligguan nga mangiyawa ta dote. Y olu nga ligguan, neusa na makkaaya nga mattotoyang ta ili; y horno y addafungadda.

Egga y aggitubangngan ira ta pipi na danum na Cagayan nga masingammu nu egga y tullung nga lancha anna barangay. Nu mazzibbo yao nga lugar y napakannammuan ni Leon kanni Abdulah, y nangipromesan na nga manoli yaya kabalin na tanga-ligguan. Nappasa y tangaligguan, dua ligguan, tallu ligguan, anna nappasa y aru nga bulan ngem auan la si Leon. Si Abdulah egga la nga aggainnak ta nagilogo nga inaya na.

Nappadasi si Abdulah adde ta pate na. Ya ultimo nga binuya na y ngagan ni Leon. Adde sangao nu gabi ira nga kegga na bulan, egga y masingan nga makasta nga babay nga aggataddak ta utun na horno anna aggasifu ta danum nu egga y barangay onu lancha nga tullung.

Appendix F
Sample Ibanag Proverbs

1. Azzac ngana nicami;
   y lappao nga quinelugam mi

   We now have obtained
   The flowers we desired.

2. Ara, apammu sangao y
   maseta mi ta gabi aggao,
   idedducammu cari gapa
   ta cunne inipaguiddu mi sa.

   Alright, you may now
   Take this whole day plant of ours
   Please take care of it the way we did

3. Ariammu nga pagiyawa,
   ta kenga y uggang na lima

   Do not give it all away
   Lest your waste the sweet of my
   hand.

4. Masqui anni dake na waguim,
   Waguin gabbalaman.

   No matter how bad your brother
   Sister, he/she is still your
   sister/brother

5. Ari metabbo na Magana y ana na

   A parent can never disown his/her
   child.

6. Ta nittam nga neyana, y magana
   ay
   nazzigariga, mepanggo tu tanggat-
   tam mu y ivuvog na darakal tam

   When we born, our parents
   Suffered a lot, we must therefore
   Remember all the teachings of our
   elders.

7. Y mappaladio, meruffu.

   He who runs, stumble.

8. Masqui gurameme y balle
   nu alawa y futu nga mangalawa ta
   icattolle.

   Even if your house be rundown,
   So long as your heart is roomy to
   receive your fellowmen.

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