

PACIFIC LINGUISTICS  
Series B-109

SELECTED TOPICS IN THE GRAMMAR OF  
LIMOS KALINGA, THE PHILIPPINES

Naomi Ferreira



Department of Linguistics  
Research School of Pacific Studies  
THE AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

*Pacific Linguistics* is issued through the Linguistic Circle of Canberra and consists of four series:

SERIES A: Occasional Papers

SERIES B: Monographs

SERIES C: Books

SERIES D: Special Publications

FOUNDING EDITOR: S.A. Wurm

EDITORIAL BOARD: T.E. Dutton, A.K. Pawley, M.D. Ross, D.T. Tryon

EDITORIAL ADVISERS:

B.W. Bender

University of Hawaii

David Bradley

La Trobe University

Michael G. Clyne

Monash University

S.H. Elbert

University of Hawaii

K.J. Franklin

Summer Institute of Linguistics

W.W. Glover

Summer Institute of Linguistics

G.W. Grace

University of Hawaii

M.A.K. Halliday

University of Sydney

E. Haugen

Harvard University

A. Healey

Summer Institute of Linguistics

L.A. Hercus

Australian National University

John Lynch

University of the South Pacific

K.A. McElhanon

Summer Institute of Linguistics

H.P. McKaughan

University of Hawaii

P. Mühlhäusler

University of Adelaide

G.N. O'

University of Victoria, B.C.

K.L. Pike

Summer Institute of Linguistics

E.C. Polomé

University of Texas

Gillian Sankoff

University of Pennsylvania

W.A.L. Stokhof

University of Leiden

B.K. T'sou

City Polytechnic of Hong Kong

E.M. Uhlenbeck

University of Leiden

J.W.M. Verhaar

University of Leiden

C.L. Voorhoeve

University of Leiden

All correspondence concerning *Pacific Linguistics*, including orders and subscriptions, should be addressed to:

PACIFIC LINGUISTICS  
Department of Linguistics  
Research School of Pacific Studies  
The Australian National University  
Canberra ACT 0200  
Australia

Copyright © The Author  
Copyedited by Pam Rosser  
Printed by ANU Printing Service

First Published 1993  
Typeset by Sue Tys  
Bound by F & M Perfect Bookbinding

The editors are indebted to the Australian National University for assistance in the production of this series.

This publication was made possible by an initial grant from the Hunter Douglas Fund. No royalties are paid on this or any other *Pacific Linguistics* publication.

ISSN 0078-7558

ISBN 0 85883 419 7

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface	v
Abbreviations	vii
Map: Philippine minor language groups	viii
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 The language	1
1.2 Phonology	2
1.3 Is Limos Kalinga an ergative language?	2
CHAPTER 2: WORD CLASSES	5
2.1 Verbs and nouns	5
2.2 Verbs and adjectives	6
CHAPTER 3: NOUN PHRASE MORPHOLOGY	8
3.1 Introduction	8
3.2 Determiner	8
3.3 The determiner <i>ud</i>	17
3.4 Pronouns	17
CHAPTER 4: VERB MORPHOLOGY	23
4.1 Introduction	23
4.2 Active verbs	24
4.3 Inactive verbs	43
4.4 Associative verbs	51
4.5 Reciprocal verbs	56
CHAPTER 5: VERBAL SENTENCE	57
5.1 Introduction	57
5.2 The syntax of verbal clauses	57
5.3 Subject	58
5.4 Other noun phrases in the verbal clause	59
CHAPTER 6: NON-VERBAL SENTENCE	60
6.1 Introduction	60
6.2 Classification	60
6.3 Identification	61
6.4 Location	61
6.5 Time	61

6.6 Quantification	61
6.7 Qualification	62
6.8 Existential	62
CHAPTER 7: TOPICALISATION	65
7.1 Introduction	65
7.2 Topicalisation of the subject	66
7.3 Topicalisation of the non-subject actor	68
7.4 Setting topicalisation	68
7.5 Topicalisation of a non-core noun phrase	68
7.6 Associative verbs	71
7.7 Topicalisation with shadow pronoun	71
CHAPTER 8: IDENTIFICATION SENTENCES	73
8.1 Introduction	73
8.2 Identification sentences with <i>ud</i>	73
CHAPTER 9: ASPECT	78
9.1 Introduction	78
CHAPTER 10: PERFECTIVE AND IMPERFECTIVE ASPECT	80
10.1 Introduction	80
10.2 Focus affixes	81
CHAPTER 11: MORPHOLOGY OF REDUPLICATION	86
11.1 Introduction	86
11.2 CV reduplication	86
11.3 CVC reduplication: casual action	88
11.4 SCV reduplication: repetitive	88
11.5 Other kinds of reduplication	90
CHAPTER 12: SEMANTICS OF REDUPLICATION	92
12.1 Introduction	92
12.2 Nouns	92
12.3 Verbs	93
12.4 Adjectives	94
12.5 CV reduplication	94
12.6 CVC reduplication	104
12.7 SCV reduplication	114
12.8 Poetic repetitive	118
APPENDIX:	120
REFERENCES	122

## PREFACE

This volume is a minimally revised version of an MA thesis submitted to Edith Cowan University in 1991. I began work on it as a member of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, under the supervision of Dr Sheldon Harrison at the University of Western Australia. The fieldwork involved 18 months in the Philippines from June 1980 to December 1981. For several months of that time I resided in the village of Asibanglan. Apart from short breaks, the rest of the time was spent at the Summer Institute of Linguistics workshop centre at Bagabag. Here I was assisted by Mr Luis Balutoc, a native of Asibanglan, who visited the centre on and off, spending several weeks at a time helping me.

After an interruption of seven years I resumed my study of Limos Kalinga at Edith Cowan University. While writing this work I have not had access to a native speaker of Kalinga from whom to elicit further language material or to check interpretations, and therefore my language examples are not always simple, or as clear as I would like them to be.

I have four main data bases for my study: the first, as mentioned above, is my field notes. The second is Wiens, Bosscher and Porter (n.d.), and the morpheme concordance which I ran on their material. The third is Wiens (n.d.c) *Dictionary of Limos Kalinga* from which I took both language examples and definitions of words. (The dictionary is Limos Kalinga to English only.) Definitions of words appearing in this work are a combination of definitions from the dictionary, translation from the texts, and my own input. The fourth source is about 70 pages of miscellaneous field notes (Wiens n.d.a-d), as well as the language examples in Wiens (1978, 1979, 1986). I also used Labaro and Torakawa (1981).

Wiens (n.d.a-d) included notes for the following two papers: 'The five faces of *ud*/The wizardry of *ud*', and 'The use of particles or adjuncts (flavour words) in Limos Kalinga'. Apart from this, there were notes on verbs, pronouns, non-verbal clauses, demonstratives and morphophonemics which I revised and built on.

In the material of Wiens available to me there was no discussion of topicalisation, except to mention the case markers, or of identification sentences, except to mention them and give a couple of examples. His only comments on aspect were contained in Wiens (1979). There were scattered comments on reduplication in the dictionary and in the notes.

Materials on other Kalinga dialects which I found helpful were: Gieser (1971) on Guininaang Kalinga, and Thomas (n.d., 1979) on Tanudan Kalinga. I also used grammars of other Philippine languages, including the following: Antworth (1979), Du Bois (1976), Elkins (1970), Forfia and Moore (1979), Miller and Miller (1976), Schachter and Otones (1972), and Shetler (1976). The language map on p.viii is from the Summer Institute of Linguistics, included with their permission.

The approach I have taken in writing this volume is primarily a traditional, structuralist one. Except for the statement on ergativity, I have not tried to develop a theoretical

discussion, but for that kind of discussion I refer readers to the following works: Comrie (1976), De Wolf (1988), Dixon (1979), Du Bois (1987), Durie (1987, 1988), Foley (1991), Foley and Van Valin (1984), Givón (1979), Li (1976), Reid (1992), Schachter (1973, 1977), Shibatani (1988), Starosta (1991), Starosta, Pawley and Reid (1982), as well as to more general works such as Fillmore (1968).

I wish to thank Mr Contes Balutoc, from Asibanglan, for his enthusiasm and patience in helping me to understand his language, and also the people of Asibanglan for making me so welcome in their village.

I would like to thank the Summer Institute of Linguistics for facilitating my fieldwork in the Philippines, and in particular Mr Hartmut Wiens for so willingly making his unpublished material available to me.

Thanks to Dr Sheldon Harrison for helping me to lay the foundation for this study, and also for many stimulating discussions on linguistics in general, and on Limos Kalinga in particular.

I would like to thank Professor Lawrence A. Reid of the University of Hawaii for detailed comments on this work, including help with some of the translations, and in understanding the nature of the *maN-* prefix and the structure of identification constructions.

Thanks to Dr Lou Hohulin of the Summer Institute of Linguistics for comments on this volume, including help with translation.

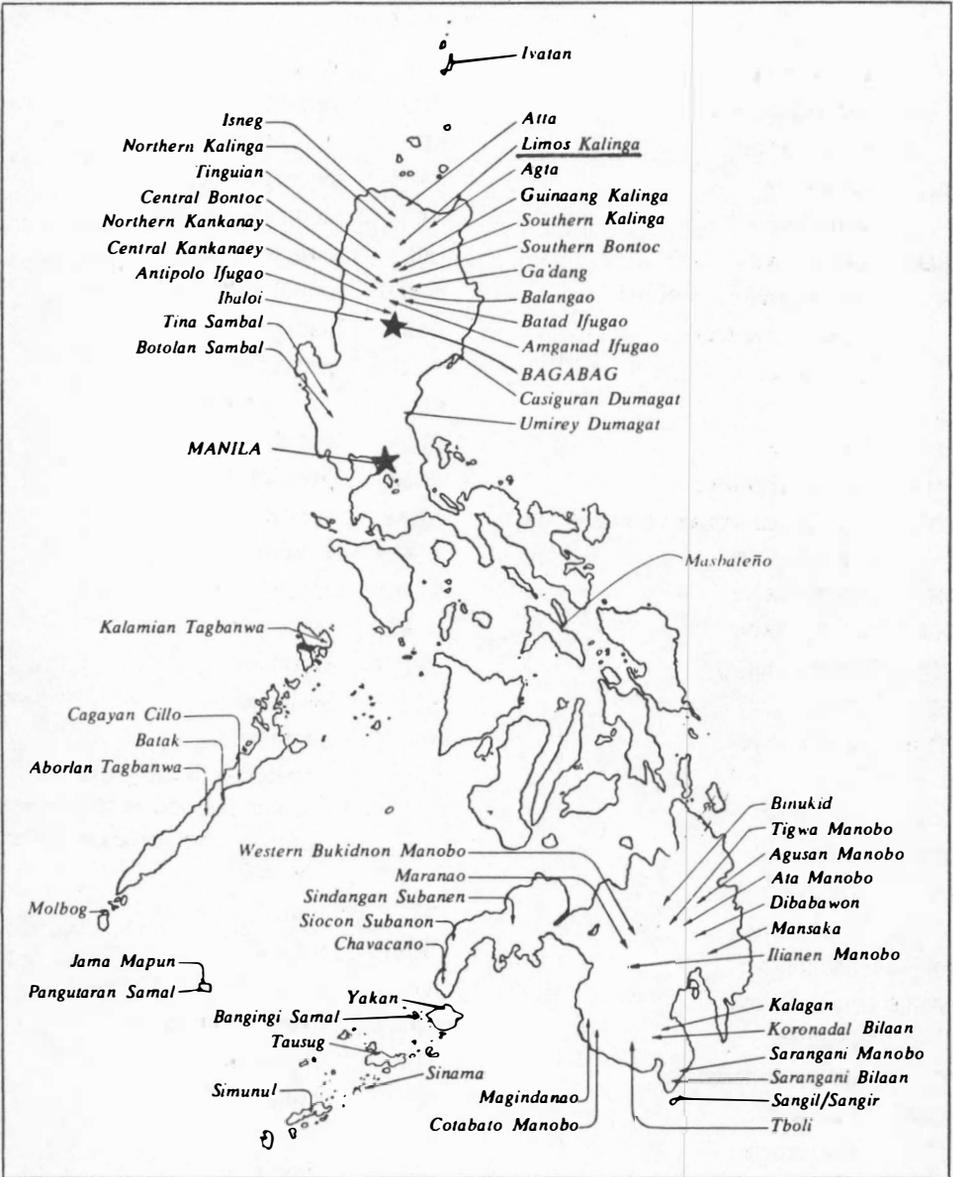
Thanks to Dr Graham McKay, my supervisor at Edith Cowan University, for his help and advice, as well as for valuable criticism of various drafts of this work. Of course I take the responsibility for any shortcomings.

Finally I would like to thank the Anthropology Department of the University of Western Australia for financial assistance to do the initial fieldwork, and Edith Cowan University both for a scholarship to pursue this study, and for making equipment available for me to use in the preparation of this volume.

Naomi Ferreirinho

## ABBREVIATIONS

1	first person	LOC	locative
2	second person	NEG	negative
3	third person	NH	near hearer
ABIL	abilitative	NS	near speaker
AF	actor focus	NP	noun phrase
ASSOC	associative	OBL	oblique
BEN	benefactive	OOS	out of sight
BF	benefactive focus	PART	particle
C	consonant	PERF	perfective
CAS	casual	PF	patient focus
CAUS	causative	PL	plural
COMP	complementiser	POSS	possibility
CVG	consonant-vowel plus consonant gemination	REAS	reason
CONT	continuative	RECIP	reciprocal
COOP	co-operative	REDUP	reduplication
DET	determiner	REP	reportedly
DIST	distant	REPET	repetitive
DISTR	distributive	S	syllable
DU	dual	SG	singular
EXC	exclusive	SEQ	“particle indicating that the clause which follows is subsequent in time to what precedes”(Wiens et al. n.d.).
EXIST	existential	ST	stative
GEN	genitive	SUBJ	subject
GF	goal focus	SVC	syllable/verb/consonant
HAB	habituaive	TAM	tense/aspect/mood
IMPERF	imperfective	THF	theme focus
IN	inactive	TP	topic
INC	inclusive reference	V	vowel
INDEF	indefinite	VIS	visible
INST	instrument		
LF	locative focus		
LG	ligature		



PHILIPPINE MINOR LANGUAGE GROUPS

# CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

## 1.1 THE LANGUAGE

Limos Kalinga (pronounced Kalingga), or *Linimos*, as it is referred to by its speakers, is one of ten Kalinga dialects. According to Reid (1974), Kalinga is in the Central Cordilleran subgroup of Philippine languages, and is coordinate with Itneg; both are coordinate with Bontoc and Kankanay; and all are coordinate with Isinai. Figure 1 is taken from Reid (1989:57) and is a revision of his earlier subgrouping of the Cordilleran languages.

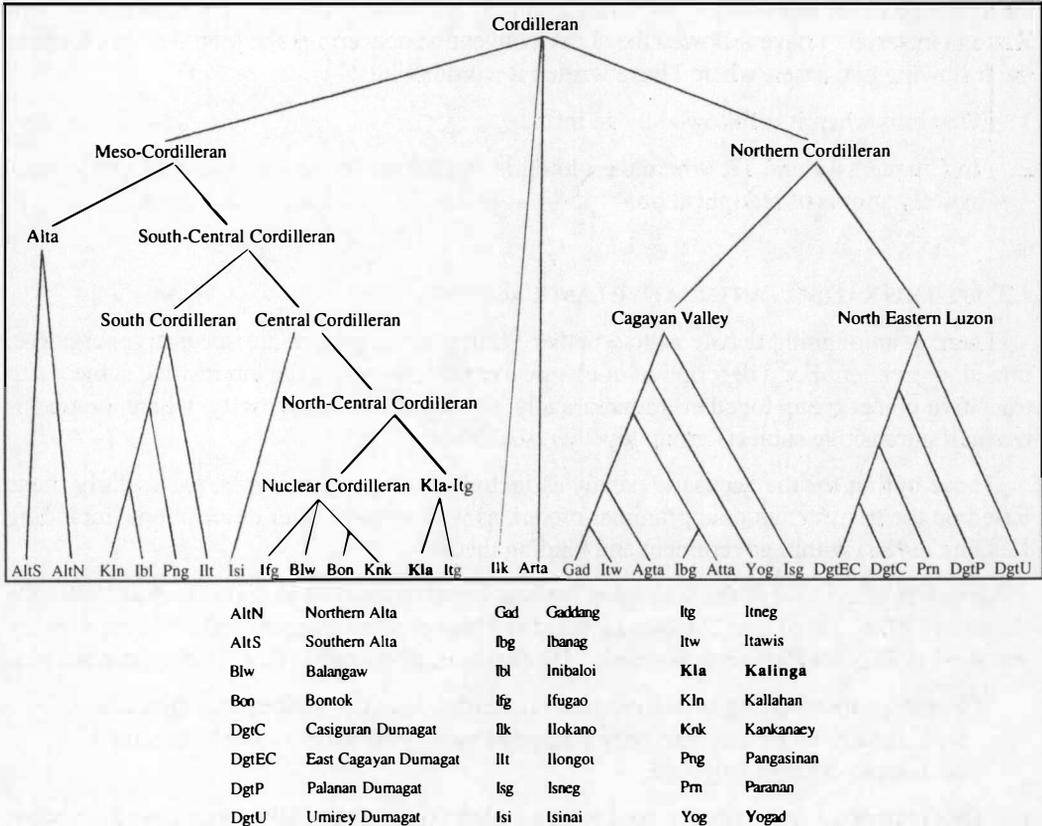


FIGURE 1: SUBGROUPING OF CORDILLERAN LANGUAGES

There are an estimated 70,000 to 80,000 Kalinga living in the mountainous Kalinga sub-province of Kalinga Apayo in northern Luzon, Republic of the Philippines. The term *Kalinga* means 'headhunter' in Limos Kalinga. *Linimos* itself is spoken by about 8,000 people living in about ten villages in the municipality of *Pinokpok* (Limos Kalinga: 'clearing') along the lower Saltan river.

## 1.2 PHONOLOGY

Wiens (1979:44-45) describes the phonemes of Limos Kalinga as follows:

*Linimos* has nineteen segmental phonemes, including fourteen consonants: *p, t, k, b, d, g, m, n, ng, s, l, w, y*, and *ʔ*, and five vowels *i, e, a, o, u*. Glottal stop is represented in the orthography in syllable initial position after another consonant or when occurring in geminant clusters between two vowels.

All syllables, and therefore all words in Kalinga are consonant-initial, and the glottal stop (represented in the orthography as *'*), has generally not been written word initially in printed Kalinga material. I have followed the above convention concerning the glottal stop, except in the following two cases, where I have written it word initially:

1. On verbs when it is followed by an infix.
2. In Chapters 11 and 12, where the glottal is significant to the discussion of consonant-vowel patterns of reduplication.

## 1.3 IS LIMOS KALINGA AN ERGATIVE LANGUAGE?

There is an ongoing debate as to whether Philippine languages are accusative, ergative, mixed, or neither. For a description of classical ergativity, where the intransitive subject and transitive object group together grammatically, as opposed to accusativity, where the transitive and intransitive subjects group together, see Dixon (1979).

Those opting for the accusative analysis include most early analyses, particularly those based on the transformational grammar model, as well as some later descriptions, including McGinn (1988) within government and binding theory.

Linguists convinced of the now quite popular ergative analysis include Gerdts (1988), De Guzman (1978, 1988) and Starosta (1986) for Philippine languages, and Starosta, Pawley and Reid (1982) for Proto Austronesian. De Guzman, as quoted in Reid (1981), states that:

Tagalog, manifesting verb roots that take either agent or patient as subject, as well as verb roots that take only patient as subject, is synchronically a mixed accusative-ergative language.

For De Guzman, a non-ergative root is one which follows the Fillmorean case hierarchy: agent-dative-instrument-object.

De Wolf (1988), accepts Starosta, Pawley and Reid's hypothesis regarding the evolution of the Proto Austronesian focus system, but questions their claim that the modern Philippine languages are ergative. I will not repeat De Wolf's objections to their hypothesis for the synchronic languages here, but refer the reader to his article.

Starosta (1986, 1991) and the lexicase grammarians in general seem to prefer the ergative analysis. Lexicase principles only allow for two kinds of case marking systems: ergative or accusative, so they cannot take a compromise position.

Since Schachter (1976), who simply described Tagalog as basically a predicate-topic language ('topic' as in traditional terminology), there have been an increasing number of Filipinists who feel that Philippine languages are neither accusative nor ergative. For example Foley (1991:13), in arguing against the ergative analysis, claims for Tagalog that "most actor focus affixes are not simply intransitive markers, but rather derivational suffixes in their own right". And that "simply glossing such affixes as 'intransitive' ignores the rich functions that they serve".

He further argues that the transitive/intransitive distinction in Philippine languages is obscure, and that the likelihood of ever being able to categorise pre-derivational Tagalog verbs into transitive or intransitive is remote. Since the ergative analysis presupposes a well-defined notion of transitivity by which to achieve this categorisation, it is an inadequate analysis.

Scaranelli (1985:357), on morphological and distributional grounds, suggests an ergativity continuum, where without pushing languages into categories, linguists could:

... observe the presence or absence of ergative and accusative features, look for correlation intra- and cross-linguistically, and examine the pressures which various grammatical structures may exert on the language as a whole.

Others have seen Philippine languages as being closest in typology to an active language. See Merlan (1985) and Durie (1987, 1988) (but also Starosta (1991) for an opposing point of view from the lexicase position).

Shibatani (1988:102) claims for Cebuano, a Philippine language, that it is best analysed as an active language where:

... the forms or marking relating to the intransitive subject are divided into two classes, one patterning after the transitive subject, and the other after the transitive object. In Cebuano, the majority of transitive topics pattern after the actor topic, but there is a small group of words that require their topics to invoke the goal-topic marking on them. As in the active type languages (see Merlan 1985), this latter group consists of stative predicates.

For the same phenomenon in Limos Kalinga, see section 4.3.2.

Like active languages, Philippine language morphology distinguishes agentive from non-agentive actor subjects. In Limos Kalinga the former are *-um-*, *man-* and *maN-*, and the latter *maka-* (and their perfective counterparts). Similarly in Limos Kalinga, both transitive and intransitive verb morphology distinguishes between the presence and absence of volitionality/intentionality, the former being active, and the latter inactive verbs. (See Table 5.)

From Shibatani's point of view, although Philippine languages come closest to being active type languages, they have one important difference, namely their rich voice distinctions. Typical active languages on the other hand have no voice alternation.

Shibatani (1988:105) argues that, morphologically speaking, "while the nominal case-marking system of Philippine languages is clearly accusative, the system of verbal marking

shows typical characteristics of an active language". He also describes some accusative syntax in Cebuano, a Philippine language, but concludes (1988:135):

The great differences between Philippine languages and accusative languages lies in that in the former, goal or patient is a preferred subject, and in the goal-subject construction, the actor nominal retains a number of subject properties, while in accusative type languages, agent is a preferred subject, and in the passive construction, in which patient is chosen as a subject, an agentive nominal loses most of its subject properties. Furthermore, while in accusative languages, the active construction is the principal construction type that conveys semantically transitive messages, Philippine languages divide such a task between the actor-subject construction and the goal-subject construction.

The preference of the goal subject is reminiscent of an ergative-type language, but again, the role of the goal-subject construction and the ergative construction differ considerably, as in an ergative language, it is the ergative construction that is primarily responsible for conveying semantically transitive propositions.

Of the above views, it is Shibatani's analysis and description of certain aspects of Philippine languages which appears to align itself most closely with my analysis of the Limos Kalinga data, and so I have decided to adopt his terminology in my description.

## CHAPTER 2

### WORD CLASSES

#### 2.1 VERBS AND NOUNS

In Kalinga as in Tagalog, verbs and nouns are not very distinct from one another. Apparently during the development of Austronesian as a proto-language, and since then in the development of the Philippine languages, there has been reanalysis of verbs into nouns by means of most of the focus affixes; and back again to verbs for the Philippine languages (Starosta, Pawley & Reid 1982).

After arguing for the universality of nouns and verbs, Schachter (1985:13) qualifies his conclusion by saying:

One might however, wish to say that in some languages, such as Nootka and Tagalog, nouns and verbs have enough in common grammatically for there to be some question about whether to regard them as two subclasses of a single part of speech rather than two distinct parts of speech.

Kalinga is like Tagalog in this respect. The process of agentive nominalisation is quite unconstrained in Tagalog and many (all?) Philippine languages, including Kalinga. By this I mean, (following Comrie & Thompson 1985:351ff) the productive process Kalinga has of turning verbs into nouns meaning 'one which 'verbs''. Comrie and Thompson (1985:352) follow Schachter and Otnes (1972:150ff) when they claim for Tagalog:

Any verb or adjective can become a noun meaning 'one which 'verbs'' simply by being used in a nominal slot in the sentence without any modification in its form.

This claim also holds true for Kalinga. All aspectual distinctions may be maintained. All that is necessary is for the verb to be preceded by a case marker in the following way:

- (1) *dit natoy*  
SUBJ died  
the dead
  
- (2) *dit man -'a -'ani*  
SUBJ AF -CV -harvest  
the harvesting  
from *ani*, noun/verb; 'harvest'
  
- (3) *nat man -ta -tadok -nu*  
SUBJ AF -CV -dance -your  
the way you dance/your dancing  
from *tadok* noun/verb; 'dance'

(For an explanation of the morphology see Chapters 3 and 4, and for a discussion of the function of consonant-vowel reduplication see the chapters on aspect.)

In English we have a process of 'zero derivation' whereby what native speaker intuition deems to be verb roots may be used as nouns. Examples are: 'cook', 'order', 'release' and 'drive'. Kalinga has roots like this also. For example:

- (4) *asug* verb; to cook, noun; cooked rice  
 (5) *bayu* verb; to pound, noun; pounding, as the process of pounding  
 (6) *dalus* verb; to clean, noun; cleaning, thing cleaned

Roots such as these may follow a case marker, without taking aspectual marking. However, as mentioned above, all verbs, complete with aspectual marking, may function as nouns simply by following a determiner/case marker. A determiner/case marker and any verb following it constitutes a noun phrase.

Verbs consistently require aspectual and focus affixation (although, as will be seen in Chapters 4, 7 and 8, some actor 'focus' affixes at least may be primarily marking aspect rather than focus). And except for generic nouns occurring in identification clauses, and for some indefinite nouns in existential clauses (see Chapter 6), nouns are normally preceded by case markers. But the words which are most difficult to analyse as either nouns or verbs are those which do not have the regular focus/aspect marking, (including the distinction between perfective and imperfective aspect), such as some words involving reduplication. Reduplication may occur on verbs, indicating finer aspectual distinctions than perfective and imperfective, and on nouns, to mark such things as plurality or nominalisation. (See Chapters 11 and 12.) If a word has reduplication, but the focus/aspect morphology is absent, one apparently assumes that the word is a noun. Such a word is at least functioning as a noun where it fills a nominal slot in a sentence, as it would do following a determiner/case marker, as in examples (7) and (8).

- (7) *Satun antokas -ku ud ba -basa -k.*  
 TP eyeglass -my DET CV -read -my  
 My eyeglass is **my reading instrument.**

- (8) *dit lag -lagsak*  
 SUBJ CVC -celebrate  
 the celebration

## 2.2 VERBS AND ADJECTIVES

Just as the distinction between nouns and verbs is not always clear, so the distinction between verbs and adjectives is somewhat blurred also. Most adjectives in their simple form appear as stative goal focus verbs. Verbs are inflected for aspect, focus, occasionally number, and intensity, but adjectives may be marked for number (dual/trial or plural), intensity, comparison of inequality and superlative. They may take the same form (but not always have the same meaning) as perfective, goal focus stative verbs.

To illustrate this description, I will now briefly introduce adjective morphology. Although there are irregular adjectives, in particular those which do not take the stative prefix *na-*, the general pattern is set out below. CV, CVC and SCV refer to the patterns of reduplication, where C represents 'consonant', V represents 'vowel', and S represents 'syllable'.

It should be noted that the CVC pattern indicates the reduplication of the initial  $C_1VC_2$  of the root, except where the second consonant is a glottal (which is rare), in which case the initial consonant is repeated again in its place. So *na-la'ing* 'intelligent', becomes *na-lal-la'ing* with CVC reduplication.

The formula for each distinction is at the head of its column in Table 1 below.

TABLE 1: ADJECTIVES

Root	English	Simple <i>na</i> + root	Dual/trial number <i>nangka</i> + root	Plural number <i>na</i> + CV + root
<i>bolang</i>	hard	<i>na-bolang</i>	<i>nangka-bolang</i>	<i>na-bo-bolang</i>
<i>lam'ok</i>	soft	<i>na-lam'ok</i>	<i>nangka-lam'ok</i>	<i>na-la-lam'ok</i>
<i>ngisit</i>	black	<i>na-ngisit</i>	<i>nangka-ngisit</i>	<i>na-ngi-ngisit</i>
<i>polkas</i>	white	<i>na-polkas</i>	<i>nangka-polkas</i>	<i>na-po-polkas</i>
<i>piya</i>	good	<i>na-piya</i>	<i>nangka-piya</i>	<i>na-pi-p(i)ya</i>
Intensive <i>na</i> + SCV + root		Comparative of inequality <i>na</i> + CVC + root (+ <i>an</i> )		Superlative <i>ka</i> + root + <i>an</i>
<i>na-bola-bolang</i>		<i>na-bol-bolang-an</i>		<i>ka-bolang-an</i>
<i>na-lamo-lamok</i>		<i>na-lam-lamok</i>		<i>ka-lamok-an</i>
<i>na-ngisi-ngisit</i>		<i>na-ngis-ngisit</i>		<i>ka-ngisit-an</i>
<i>na-polka-polkas</i>		<i>na-pol-polkas</i>		<i>ka-polkas-an</i>
<i>na-piya-piya</i>		- (irregular)		<i>ka-piya-an</i>

A few adjectives like the following are irregular and do not take the prefix *na-* in their simplest form. Most seem to have to do with size, except *lam'ok*, 'soft', which may alternatively take *na-* like the regular adjectives do.

*aboba* short      *bang'og* small      *dakol* big  
*andu* tall      *lam'ok* soft

## CHAPTER 3

### NOUN PHRASE MORPHOLOGY

#### 3.1 INTRODUCTION

A Limos Kalinga noun phrase consists minimally of either a pronoun alone, or of a determiner plus a noun. I will describe a simple noun phrase first, and then its possible expansion. Since the determiner is the most complex, I will describe it first.

#### 3.2 DETERMINER

The determiner may encode five elements:

1. Whether or not the nominal is a personal name;
2. Semantic case role, subject and topic;
3. Plurality;
4. Deixis;
5. Endocentric or exocentric reference.

I will discuss each in turn, but first it should be noted that there is an alternative determiner *ud*, which will be described in section 3.3 below.

##### 3.2.1 PERSONAL NAMES AND OTHER NOUNS

There are separate sets of case markers for personal names and other nouns, the latter set, which is given in Table 2, being more complex. I have called these two sets 'personal' and 'non-personal'. Personal name case markers have no deictic component. The distinct sets of case markers are given in the table in the following section on case marking.

TABLE 2: NON-PERSONAL DETERMINERS AND DEMONSTRATIVE ADJECTIVES

SUBJECT					
Reference	Deixis	Number			
		Singular	lg	Plural	lg
Exocentric	Distant			<i>dadit</i>	
Endocentric	Near speaker		<i>-n</i>	<i>datu</i>	<i>-n</i>
	Near hearer			<i>danat</i>	
	Distant		<i>-n</i>	<i>dadi</i>	<i>-n</i>
Demonstrative Adjective	Near speaker		<i>-wa</i>	<i>datu</i>	<i>-wa</i>
	Near hearer		<i>-a</i>	<i>danat</i>	<i>-a</i>
	Distant		<i>-ya</i>	<i>dadi</i>	<i>-ya</i>
GENITIVE					
Non-specific		C-	<i>(di)</i>		
		V-	<i>-n (di)</i>		
Reference	Deixis	Number			
		Singular	lg	Plural	lg
Exocentric	Distant	C-	<i>(di)dit</i>		<i>da(di)dit</i>
		V-	<i>-n (di)dit</i>		<i>-n da(di)dit</i>
Endocentric	Near speaker	C-	<i>(di)tu</i>	<i>-n</i>	<i>da(di)tu</i> <i>-n</i>
		V-	<i>-n (di)tu</i>	<i>-n</i>	<i>-n da(di)tu</i> <i>-n</i>
	Near hearer	C-	<i>(di)nat</i>		<i>da(di)nat</i>
		V-	<i>-n (di)nat</i>		<i>-n da(di)nat</i>
	Distant	C-	<i>(di)di</i>	<i>-n</i>	<i>da(di)di</i> <i>-n</i>
		V-	<i>-n (di)di</i>	<i>-n</i>	<i>-n da(di)di</i> <i>-n</i>
Demonstrative Adjective	Near speaker	C-	<i>(di)tu</i>	<i>-wa</i>	<i>da(di)tu</i> <i>-wa</i>
		V-	<i>-n (di)tu</i>	<i>-wa</i>	<i>-n da(di)tu</i> <i>-wa</i>
	Near hearer	C-	<i>(di)nat</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>da(di)nat</i> <i>-a</i>
		V-	<i>-n (di)nat</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>-n da(di)nat</i> <i>-a</i>
	Distant	C-	<i>(di)di</i>	<i>-ya</i>	<i>da(di)di</i> <i>-ya</i>
		V-	<i>-n (di)di</i>	<i>-ya</i>	<i>-n da(di)di</i> <i>-ya</i>
OBLIQUE					
Non-specific		C-	<i>si</i>		
		V-	<i>ut</i>		
Reference	Deixis	Number			
		Singular	lg	Plural	lg
Exocentric	Distant	C-	<i>si(di)t</i>		<i>sida(di)t</i>
		V-	<i>(u)dit</i>		<i>(u)tda(di)t</i>
Endocentric	Near speaker	C-	<i>situ</i>	<i>-n</i>	<i>sidatu</i> <i>-n</i>
		V-	<i>(u)ttu</i>	<i>-n</i>	<i>(u)tdatu</i> <i>-n</i>
	Near hearer	C-	<i>sinat</i>		<i>sidanat</i>
		V-	<i>(u)tnat</i>		<i>(u)tdanat</i>
	Distant	C-	<i>sidi</i>	<i>-n</i>	<i>sidadi</i> <i>-n</i>
		V-	<i>(u)tdi</i>	<i>-n</i>	<i>(u)tdadi</i> <i>-n</i>
Demonstrative Adjective	Near speaker	C-	<i>situ</i>	<i>-wa</i>	<i>sidatu</i> <i>-wa</i>
		V-	<i>(u)ttu</i>	<i>-wa</i>	<i>(u)tdatu</i> <i>-wa</i>
	Near hearer	C-	<i>sinat</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>sidanat</i> <i>-a</i>
		V-	<i>(u)tnat</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>(u)tdanat</i> <i>-a</i>
	Distant	C-	<i>sidi</i>	<i>-ya</i>	<i>sidadi</i> <i>-ya</i>
		V-	<i>(u)tdi</i>	<i>-ya</i>	<i>(u)tdadi</i> <i>-ya</i>
TOPIC					
Reference	Deixis	Number			
		Singular	lg	Plural	lg
Exocentric	Distant			<i>sada(di)t</i>	
Endocentric	Near speaker		<i>-n</i>	<i>sadatu</i>	<i>-n</i>
	Near hearer			<i>sadanat</i>	
	Distant		<i>-n</i>	<i>sada(di)</i>	<i>-n</i>
Demonstrative Adjective	Near speaker		<i>-wa</i>	<i>sadatu</i>	<i>-wa</i>
	Near hearer		<i>-a</i>	<i>sadanat</i>	<i>-a</i>
	Distant		<i>-ya</i>	<i>sadadi</i>	<i>-ya</i>

## 3.2.2 CASE, SUBJECT AND TOPIC

Case-marking particles are set out in the following table:

TABLE 3: CASE-MARKING PARTICLES

	SUBJ	GEN	OBL	LOC	TP
Non-personal	$\emptyset$	-n/ $\emptyset$ ( <i>di</i> )	<i>si/ut</i>	(u)d/ $\emptyset$	<i>sa</i>
Personal	<i>si/-t</i>	-n/ $\emptyset$ ( <i>ud</i> )	<i>kan</i>	-	<i>si</i>

Case markers in Limos Kalinga mark both syntactic categories and semantic case roles. Subject and topic are syntactic/pragmatic categories, while the other three cases comprise both syntactic and semantic components. The oblique case signals the core, yet non-subject status of a noun phrase. It includes all non-subject semantic goals in active clauses, whether they be patient, theme, location or benefactive, together with concomitant noun phrases; and semantic actors in inactive clauses. In clauses with a one-place predicate, location and time noun phrases may also take the oblique case. The location case marks non-core noun phrases for location and time. I will now describe each case in turn.

## 3.2.2.1 SUBJECT

The subject noun phrase is defined as the one which is cross-referenced to the verb, which indicates its semantic role by means of the focus affixes. Subjects are normally definite, referential and specific, and are chosen according to pragmatic discourse considerations such as foregrounding (Wiens 1978:103-114). For comment on the choice of the term 'subject' rather than 'topic' (or some other term) for this noun phrase, see Chapter 5.

In the case of nouns other than personal names, subject is unmarked, while for personal names the free form *si* generally follows consonant-final words, and *-t* follows vowels, becoming part of the preceding word. The subject is in bold type in examples (9) to (13).

In this section and the next I have written zero allomorphs indicating subject, but will not continue to do so in the rest of the volume. Instead I will gloss the deictic marker as SUBJ where appropriate.

The internal structure of the deictic marker is described later in this chapter, and also summarised on Table 2 above.

## A. Non-personal

- (9) *Kaysan* ( $\emptyset$ )     ***dit***     *lalaki*.  
 left.AF     SUBJ     DIST.OOS     man  
**The man (out of sight) left.**

- (10) *Ala -m (∅) tun iblu.*  
 get -you.GEN SUBJ NS book  
 Get the book (near speaker).

#### B. Personal

- (11) *Kaysan si Pedlo.*  
 left.AF SUBJ Pedro  
 Pedro left.
- (12) *Naka -baga -(∅) -t Nelson kan Pedlo.*  
 PERF.ASSOC -speak -SUBJ -DIST.OOS Nelson and Pedro  
 Nelson and Pedro (out of sight) spoke together.
- (13) *D -in -tong -na -(∅) -t Buwaya.*  
 -PF.PERF -meet -she.GEN -SUBJ -DIST.OOS Buwaya  
 She met Buwaya (out of sight).

#### 3.2.2.2 GENITIVE

The semantic case roles of both non-subject actor and possessor are represented by one case form called genitive, indicated by the enclitic *-n* following vowels and zero elsewhere. Where ambiguity would arise with a zero allomorph, the free form *ud* optionally occurs with personal names, and *di* optionally occurs with other types of nouns. In this section I have written zero allomorphs indicating genitive, but will not continue to do so. Instead I will gloss the deictic marker as GEN where appropriate. Although it usually follows a verb, the genitive case marker *-n* may also attach itself to the negative *adi*, or the modal hearsay particle *kanu* as in example (14).

- (14) *Kan -an kanu -n Binggayan...*  
 say -LF REP -GEN Binggayan  
 Binggayan said (so they say):...

#### A. Non-personal

- (15) *Na -ila -n dit ama (∅) dit abeng.*  
 PERF.ST -see -GEN DIST.OOS father SUBJ DIST.OOS child  
 The father (out of sight) saw the child (out of sight).
- (16) *In -anup -an (∅) da-dit tagu (∅) dit bolok.*  
 PERF -hunt -LF GEN PL-DIST.OOS person SUBJ DIST.OOS pig  
 The people (out of sight) hunted the pig (out of sight).
- (17) *In -tod -ku kan siya (∅) dit iblu -n*  
 PERF.THF -give -I.GEN OBL her SUBJ DIST.OOS book -GEN  
*dit sunud -ku.*  
 DIST.OOS sibling -my  
 I gave my sister's book (out of sight) to her.

## B. Personal

- (18) *Ingingina*      **-n**      **Benito**      ( $\emptyset$ )      *dit*      *kabayu.*  
 PERF.THF.sold    -GEN    Benito    SUBJ    DIST.OOS    horse  
 Benito sold the horse (out of sight).
- (19) *Iny*      **-asug**      ( $\emptyset$ )      **Kuya**      ( $\emptyset$ )      *dit*      *tipoy.*  
 PERF.PF    -cook    GEN    Cuya    SUBJ    DIST.OOS    viand  
 Cuya cooked the viand (out of sight).
- (20) *Ma* **-sakit**      ( $\emptyset$ )      *dit*      *abeng*      (**ud**)      **Malia.**  
 ST    -sick    SUBJ    DIST.OOS    child    GEN    Maria  
 Maria's child (out of sight) is sick.
- (21) *Ma* **-sakit** *din*      ( $\emptyset$ )      *kabayu*    **-n**      (**ud**)      **Malia.**  
 ST    -sick    DIST.VIS    SUBJ    horse    -GEN      Maria  
 Maria's horse (visible) is sick.

Deixis is normally marked on all nouns, except names and pronouns which are already specific. But to continually gloss deixis would be unnecessarily confusing, so from now on I will omit it unless it is pertinent to the discussion. (See sections 3.2.4, 3.2.5 and Table 2.) And from now on zero allomorphs indicating case (usually subject, but occasionally genitive) will be glossed under the deictic marker, as mentioned above.

## 3.2.2.3 OBLIQUE

As mentioned above, the oblique case signals the core, yet non-subject status of a noun phrase. This includes non-subject semantic goals in active clauses, concomitant noun phrases, and semantic actors in passive constructions (see Chapter 4 and section 3.3.4). In clauses with a one-place predicate, location and time noun phrases may optionally take the oblique case. For common noun phrases, (*u*)*t* normally follows vowels, and *si* normally occurs elsewhere. When *ut* is contracted to *-t*, it cliticises to the preceding word as in examples (22) and (23) below. The oblique personal marker is *kan*.

## A. Non-personal

- (22) *Nang*      **-anup**      *dadit*      *tagu*      **-t**      *bolok.*  
 PERF.AF    -hunt      SUBJ      person    -OBL      pig  
 The people hunted pig.
- (23) *Man*    **'-ala**    **-ka**      *utdatun*    *iblu.* / *Man'alakat datun iblu.*  
 AF    -get    -you.SUBJ    OBL      book  
 Get some of the books.
- (24) ' **-Um**    **-oy**    **-ka**      *mang*    **-ala**    *si*      *danum.*  
 -AF    -go    -you.SUBJ    AF    -get    OBL      water  
 Go get some water.

## B. Personal

- (25) ' -Umm -oy -kami kan Helena gumutus.  
 -AF -go -we.SUBJ OBL Helena vote  
 We went to vote with Helena.

## 3.2.2.4 LOCATIVE

This case, which only occurs on non-core noun phrases, is usually marked by (*u*)*d*. It comprises the semantic categories of location and past time. (For other functions of *ud*, see Table 3, sections 3.3, 3.4 and Chapter 8.) Any core noun phrase which may be cross-referenced to a locative focus verb takes the oblique case rather than the locative case when it is not in focus, and therefore not the subject.

Place names may have subject, oblique or locative case markers. *Ud*, the normal marker, is usually contracted to *-d* following a vowel. Sometimes placenames are not marked at all. Examples (26) to (32) are taken from Wiens (n.d.b), with my gloss.

- (26) *Mam -baat -kami -d Baliwon.*  
 AF -travel -we.SUBJ -LOC Baliwon  
 We're travelling to Baliwon.
- (27) *Kawad din dalam ud Asibanglan?*  
 where SUBJ path LOC Asibanglan  
 Where is the path to Asibanglan?
- (28) *Adayu tun bolaat -taku -ud Kanada.*  
 far SUBJ distance -we.GEN -LOC Canada  
 It's a long way between us and Canada.
- (29) *Kaysan<sup>1</sup> -da -d langit.*  
 AF.left -they.SUBJ -LOC sky  
 They left the sky.
- (30) ' -Umm -oy -da -d kalabyan.  
 -PERF.AF -go -they.SUBJ -LOC yesterday  
 They went yesterday.
- (31) *Mam -buya -taku -d Tuwaw.*  
 AF -go see -we.SUBJ -LOC Tuwaw  
 We will go to a show in Tuwaw./We will see something in Tuwaw.

However, as Wiens points out in his article, the following sentence is unacceptable:

<sup>1</sup>*Kaysan* is the suppletive perfective form of *dalan* 'to leave'.



## B. Personal

- (38) *Masakit* ( $\emptyset$ )     *din*     *kabayu*     *-n*     *da*     *Malia*     *kan*     *Pedlo*.  
 sick     SUBJ     DIST     horse     -GEN     PL     Maria     and     Pedro  
 Maria and Pedro's horse is sick.

## 3.2.4 DEIXIS

This component of the determiner is the most complex. Deixis is marked in both determiners and demonstratives. There are three deictic categories:

- (i) *tu*     near speaker     (NS)  
 (ii) *nat*     near hearer     (NH)  
 (iii) *di*     distant     (DIST)

*Di* is the 'unmarked' category of the three. Although it may be deleted in the subject or oblique cases it is still understood as being present, thus giving rise to the following abbreviations of the determiner:

Determiners for non-specific nominals merely indicate case. They have no deictic component. However, both subject and topic noun phrases must be specific, and are also understood as being definite. Adjectival demonstratives are actually non-personal determiners plus the ligature *-a*, thereby becoming: *tuw-a*, *nat-a*, *diy-a*, *si-tuw-a*, with the appropriate semi-vowel glide separating the otherwise contiguous vowels. Unlike the determiner ligature *-n*, which follows only vowels, the ligature *-a* follows both vowels and consonants.

The deictic components only occur with non-personal determiners, not with personal ones. The deictics are in bold type.

- (39) *Ala*     *-m*     ***di***     *-n*     *lapis*.  
 get     -you.GEN     SUBJ.DIST     -VIS     pencil  
 Get the pencil (**distant, visible**).
- (40) *Nangkalulumpu* ***da(di)***     *-t*     *luwang*     *sunud*     *-ku*.  
 fat     PL.SUBJ.DIST     -OOS     buffalo     sibling     -my  
 My brother's water buffalo (**distant, out of sight**) are fat.
- (41) *Nanaksak*     *si(di)*     *-t*     *kalabyan*.  
 PERF.AF.wash.she.SUBJ     OBL.DIST     -OOS     yesterday  
 Yesterday she washed (clothes) **over there**.

## 3.2.5 ENDOCENTRIC AND EXOCENTRIC REFERENCE

All vowel-final determiners require the ligature *-n* to link them to the following noun. This contrasts with the adjectival demonstratives, which, as mentioned above, require the ligature *-a* to link them to the following noun. Presumably *-n* is a tighter ligature than *-a*. Including the appropriate semi-vowels separating the otherwise contiguous pairs of vowels *ua* and *ia*, the resulting adjectival demonstratives are: *tuw-a*, *nat-a* and *diy-a*.

However, there is a further component which may be included in the determiner before it is linked to the following noun/s. The distance deictic *di*, (whether it is actually present, or deleted but understood to be present as the 'unmarked' deictic marker), may take the further morpheme *-t* to indicate 'out-of sight' location, or 'out-of-sight' time, which is, in effect, past time. The addition of this word-final *-t* gives rise to such forms as the following, (all of which contain, or imply the deletion of, *di*): the subject form *(di)t*, the topic form *sa-(di)t* and the oblique form *ut-dit/si-(di)t*. In fact, the subject form *(di)t* is often reduced to *-t*, which joins the preceding word, and only the verb affixation clarifies which noun phrase is in fact the subject, since *-t* as a subject determiner is homophonous with *-t* (a contraction of *ut*) as the oblique case marker.

Therefore, the presence of this indicator of out-of-sight or non-visible reference divides the set of determiners into two basic categories: those containing the out-of-sight (distant) deictic *(di)t*, and the remainder, which (except for the already consonant-final form *nat* 'near hearer'), are now the only vowel-final deictic forms left, and consequently require the ligature *-n* to link them to the following noun.

Wiens (1978:105) observes that whereas in everyday language vowel-final determiners usually require the ligature *-n* (thus becoming *tun*, *din*, and *sin* as mentioned above), for narrative (other than reported speech) *di* usually takes what he calls the 'narrative' marker *-t* to become *dit* rather than *din*; and the oblique marker *si(di)n* similarly becomes *si(di)t*. But when referring to real and specific places in a narrative, the narrator must switch to the non-narrative determiner, *tun* or *din* being the most common forms used. Wiens calls the 'narrative' function, (the one I have described as indicating 'out of sight' time), *exocentric*, and the other one *endocentric*. Apart from its occurrence in narrative, *dit* may occur with locative noun phrases to indicate that the place mentioned is either fictional, or out of sight. Wien's observations follow on from those of Gieser (1972), who, although working on the Guininaang dialect of Kalinga, throws light on the complex system of Limos Kalinga deictics. Gieser (1972:22) wrote:

In 1960 the writer noted that one indicator of time reference in Kalinga discourse is the occurrence of final *n* or *t* in certain case marking particles. Substantive phrases in a clause referring to nonpast time are usually marked by particles ending in *n* (*sin*, *din*, and *dan*), and those in a clause referring to past time are marked by particles ending in *t* (*sit*, *dit*, and *dat*). The occurrence of *-n* or *-t* is independent of aspect. Case marking particles with final *t* are particularly diagnostic of Kalinga narrative discourse when they mark constructions that otherwise give no indication of past time reference.

Example (42) illustrates the 'narrative' use of *t* to indicate past tense. The sentence gives the spatial setting for the story about 'Donglayan who went to get leaves for betel chewing'.

- (42) (*Si Donglayan inumoy manlawod.*) *Utdit man -ala -t*  
 SUBJ Donglayan went to.get.leaves OBL.PAST AF -get -OBL  
*dit lawod sit gawis dit kayu, naidung*  
 PAST leaf OBL.PAST middle SUBJ.PAST tree looked.down.and.saw  
*-ana dit luwang un inggaw sit pong'ad*  
 -LF.he.GEN SUBJ.PAST water.buffalo LG stay OBL.PAST base

*dit kayu un sakuw -ona dit kayu un sinakay*  
 GEN.PAST tree LG rub.with.horns -he.GEN SUBJ.PAST tree LG climbed  
 -na.  
 -he.GEN

(Donglayan went to get some leaves for wrapping betel chew.) **When** he was **in the** middle **of the** tree getting **the** leaves, he looked down and saw **the** water buffalo which was **at the** base **of the** tree which he had climbed, rubbing it with his horns.

The above sentence would not be completely ambiguous with regard to tense without the 'past tense' *-t*, but this certainly helps to make past tense clear, especially with the time clause beginning *utdit man-'alat...*. In fact, *utdit* 'when' is a common narrative connective in Limos Kalinga.

The previous examples throughout this section give many more examples of both exocentric determiners ending in *-t*, and endocentric ones ending with the ligature *-n*. Table 2 gives the full range of possible forms of the determiner and demonstrative adjective.

### 3.3 THE DETERMINER *ud*

*Ud* is another type of determiner. Unlike the complex one described above, *ud* is a simple form, which may contract to *d* following a vowel, in which case it cliticises to the end of the preceding word. *Ud* has the various functions listed below:

1. As noted above, it is an optional component of the genitive case marker *f* for names. (See section 3.2.2.2.)
2. *Ud* optionally precedes full form goal subject pronouns *sakon* 'me' and *sika* 'you'. See section 3.4.4, examples (58), (63), (65) and (67).
3. *Ud* is the normal location case marker for specific distant places, and may also occur with past time. (See section 3.2.2.4.)
4. *Ud* is a determiner occurring in inverted identification constructions to mark the predicate as a definite noun phrase. For a fuller description of this function of *ud*, see Chapter 8.
5. *Ud* occurs as a determiner in existential clauses (see section 6.8), and those with the predicate *masapul* 'need', as noted by Wiens (n.d.b), who gave the following supporting example:

- (43) *Adi -na ma-sapul ud babawi.*  
 NEG -it IN-need DET repetition  
 There is no need for repetition.

### 3.4 PRONOUNS

Pronouns may occur as noun phrases, since they comprise case as well as person and number. There are three cases, subject, genitive and oblique, paralleling the case system for other noun phrases, except that the subject category is further divided into full forms and minimal clitic ones. The non-clitic set of subject pronouns occur predicatively, in the pre-

verbal position as topics, and as with personal names, together with the preposition *kan* in the oblique set. See Table 4 below.

TABLE 4: PERSONAL PRONOUNS AND CASE MARKERS

Case:		SUBJECT		GENITIVE	OBLIQUE
Number	Person	Full	Minimal		
Singular	1	<i>sakon</i>	<i>-ak</i>	<i>-ku</i>	<i>kan sakon</i>
	2	<i>sika</i>	<i>-ka</i>	<i>-nu</i>	<i>kan sika</i>
	3	<i>siya</i>	$\emptyset$	<i>-na</i>	<i>kan siya</i>
Plural	1 DU	<i>dita</i>	<i>-ta</i>	<i>-ta</i>	<i>kan dita</i>
	1 EXC	<i>ditaku</i>	<i>-taku</i>	<i>-taku</i>	<i>kan ditaku</i>
	1 INC	<i>dikami</i>	<i>-kami</i>	<i>-mi</i>	<i>kan dikami</i>
	2	<i>dikayu</i>	<i>-kayu</i>	<i>-yu</i>	<i>kan dikayu</i>
	3	<i>dida</i>	<i>-da</i>	<i>-da</i>	<i>kan dida</i>
Case markers					
Personal		<i>si</i>		<i>-n/∅ (ud)</i>	<i>kan</i>
Non-personal		$\emptyset$		<i>-n/∅ (di)</i>	<i>si/ut</i>

### 3.4.1 FULL FORM SUBJECT PRONOUNS

There are some distributional restrictions on the free (full) form pronouns. The third person singular form *siya* only occurs as the preposed topic or, together with the preposition *kan*, as an oblique pronoun. It may not, however, occur as the goal subject like the other free form subject pronouns do. The third person singular goal subject pronoun is like the minimal subject form in that it is represented by a zero allomorph. Full subject pronouns do not denote actor subjects unless they are also topics, because the enclitic subject actor occurs following the verb.

The full form pronouns *sakon* and *sika* may optionally be preceded by the free form *ud* when they occur as semantic goals in a clause. But *ud* does not occur in topic (sentence initial) position, or preceding goal subjects in passive (as opposed to goal focus) constructions. See section 3.4.4, especially examples (63), (65) and (67); and also section 3.3 and Chapters 6 and 8 concerning the functions of *ud*.

### 3.4.2 MORPHOPHONEMICS

Minimal pronouns cliticise to the main verb, except when, they are attracted by and cliticise to auxiliary verbs (see section 3.4.3).

With regard to the actor pronouns, the following morphophonemic rules (Wiens n.d.a) should be noted: non-subject actor pronouns fuse with the locative focus suffix *-an* and the patient focus suffix *-on* in the following way:

<i>-an + ku</i> → <i>-ak</i>	<i>-on + ku</i> → <i>-ok</i>
<i>-an + nu</i> → <i>-am</i>	<i>-on + nu</i> → <i>-om</i>
<i>-an + na</i> → <i>-ana</i>	<i>-on + na</i> → <i>-ona</i>

Where the preceding verb is vowel final, not only are the first and second person actor pronouns *ku* and *nu* reduced to *-k* and *-m* respectively, as above, but the goal focus affixes are also reduced, as in examples (45) and (46).

- (44) *Awit -ona din kayu. (awit-on + na)*  
 carry -PF.he.GEN SUBJ wood  
 He will carry the wood.
- (45) *Ala -m nat lapis.*  
 get -PF.you.GEN SUBJ pencil  
 Get the pencil.
- (46) *Kawad nat iblu -m?*  
 where SUBJ book -your  
 Where is your book?

Examples (47) to (54) further exemplify pronoun usage in Kalinga:

- (47) *Tulung -am (ud) sakon.*  
 help -LF.you.GEN me.SUBJ  
 You will help me./Help me.
- (48) *Suluw -ak (ud) dida.*  
 teach -LF.I.GEN them.SUBJ  
 I will teach them.
- (49) *Man -'asug -ka.*  
 AF -cook -you.SUBJ  
 You will cook.
- (50) *Manuk -ku nat.*  
 chicken -my that  
 That is my chicken.
- (51) *Siya (ud) nang -ala -t din badang -ku.*  
 he.SUBJ.TP DET PERF.AF -get -OBL DET machete -my  
 He (was the one who) got my machete.

Note that in this example and the next the determiner *ud* marks the predicate. See also sections 3.3 and 6.3.

- (52) *Sakon (ud) mang -adok.*  
 I.TP DET AF -dance  
 I will (be the one who will) dance.

(53) *Naka -tadok -da kan dikami.*  
 COOP -dance -they.SUBJ OBL us  
 They danced with us.

(54) *Iny -aga'as -na kan siya.*  
 THF -whisper -he.GEN OBL her  
 He whispered it to her.

### 3.4.3 ORDER OF PRONOUNS

Since they often lack focus marking otherwise, some auxiliary verbs indicate focus by means of the pronoun deleted from the main verb. They include: *adi* (negative), *asi* 'then', *olog* 'can', *i* 'go', and *madama* 'while', as in examples (55), (56), (153), (161), (162) and (474).

(55) *Adi -m ma -liuw -an sakon.*  
 NEG -you.GEN IN -forget -LF me.SUBJ  
 Don't forget me.

(56) *Umun'una -ka asi -kami ma -itung'ud.*  
 go.ahead.AF -you.SUBJ then -we.SUBJ IN.PF -follow  
 Go ahead then we will follow.

### 3.4.4 PRONOUNS IN PASSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

Full form first and second person pronouns may occur with either inactive goal focus verbs, or less frequently with active goal focus verbs, to form passive constructions which background the semantic agent, either by demoting it to the oblique case, or by deleting it. In these constructions the first person singular pronoun is *-ak*, the clitic subject pronoun, and the second person singular subject pronoun is *dika* (which may have originally been a combination of *ud* plus *sika*) rather than *sika*. There are no third person pronouns available for this kind of passive. Examples (57) to (59) show the contrast between *dika* and *sika*. Note that *ud* optionally precedes full form goal subject pronouns *sakon* 'me' and *sika* 'you' in examples (58), (63), (65), and (67) below. (See also section 4.3.2 concerning passives, and section 3.3 for further description of *ud*.)

(57) *I -lugan dika (kan siya) utnat kalitun.*  
 THF -ride you.SUBJ OBL him OBL wheelbarrow  
 You will be pushed (ride) in the wheelbarrow (by him).

(58) *I -lugan -na (ud) sika utnat kalitun.*  
 THF -ride -he.GEN you.SUBJ OBL wheelbarrow  
 He will push (ride) you in the wheelbarrow.

- (59) *Ngadan -on dika -t bog'as nu...*  
 call -PF you.SUBJ -OBL tail if  
 You will be called 'the tail' if (you are always last on the trail).

Compare example (60), which is a passive construction involving an inactive verb and the pronoun *dika*, with example (61), which also has an inactive verb, but is not a passive construction. Example (61) contains the normal full subject second person pronoun *sika*.

- (60) *Na -liuw -an dika -t dat gaggayyom -nu -d Hong Kong.*  
 IN -forgot -LF you.SUBJ -OBL PL friend -your -in Hong Kong  
 You will be forgotten by your friends in Hong Kong.
- (61) *Na -liuw -an -da sika dat gagayyom -nu -d Hong Kong.*  
 IN forget -LF -they.GEN you.SUBJ PL friend -your -LOC Hong Kong  
 Your friends in Hong Kong, they will forget you.

Examples (62) to (68) illustrate the first person singular minimal subject pronoun *-ak* in passive constructions.

- (62) *I -lugan -ak sinat kalitun.*  
 THF -ride -I.SUBJ OBL wheelbarrow  
 I will be pushed (ride) in the wheelbarrow.
- (63) *I -lugan -nu (ud) sakon sinat kalitun.*  
 THF -ride -you.GEN me.SUBJ OBL wheelbarrow  
 You will push (ride) me in the wheelbarrow.
- (64) *Tulung -an -ak (kan sika).*  
 help -LF I.SUBJ (OBL you)  
 I will be helped (by you).
- (65) *Tulung -am (ud) sakon.*  
 help -LF.you.GEN me.SUBJ  
 You will help me.
- (66) *Suluw -an -ak (kan dida).*  
 teach -LF -I.SUBJ (OBL them)  
 I will be taught (by them).
- (67) *Suluw -an -da (ud) sakon.*  
 teach -LF -they.GEN me.SUBJ  
 They will teach me.
- (68) *Salin -an -ak kan bunot...*  
 cover -LF -I.SUBJ OBL cloud  
 I am covered by (Mr) Cloud...

Examples (69) and (70) compare the occurrence of the first person dual pronoun in passive and regular constructions.

(69) *Kan -on dita oniyon kan Kolen.*  
 eat -PF we (two).SUBJ later OBL Kolen  
 Later we'll be eaten by Kolen.

(70) *Kan -on ud Kolen dita oniyon.*  
 eat -PF GEN Kolen us (two).SUBJ later  
 Later Kolen will eat us.

## CHAPTER 4

### VERB MORPHOLOGY

#### 4.1 INTRODUCTION

Verbs are distinguished from other word classes in that, except for a few auxiliary verbs (see section 3.4.3), they are marked for aspect, and with a few exceptions, for focus. The aspectual distinction running throughout is between perfective (generally marked by *n-*) and imperfective (often marked by *m-*) (see Chapter 10). When a slash separates two forms such as *-um-/umm-*, the first represents the imperfective, and the second the perfective aspect.

By *focus* I mean that the verb indicates which noun phrase participant is the subject of the sentence. The focus affixes are summarised in Table 5 below. There are two groups of focus affixes corresponding to the macro-roles of *actor* and *goal*, with three types of the former: durative (*man-/nan-*), limited (*man-/naN-*) and partial (*-um-/umm-*); and four of the latter: patient (*-on/-in-*), theme (*i-/in-*), locative (*-an/-in--an*) and benefactive (*i--an/in--an*). Chapters 7 and 8 discuss whether the actor 'focus' affixes are primarily marking focus or aspect. It is probable that actor focus verbs either take *-um-*, (to indicate a one-place predicate), or have no overt focus marking, but (as well as having the obligatory distinction between perfective and imperfective aspect) have a further obligatory distinction between durative and limited aspect. Although goal focus verbs do not obligatorily have this further distinction, they may have it in some circumstances. There are more aspectual distinctions associated with goal focus affixes (see below, especially under section 4.2.3) and still others indicated by the various forms of reduplication (see Chapters 11 and 12). For further discussion of the relationship between subject and focus I refer readers to sections 3.2.2.1 and 5.2 on subject.

Verbs are subcategorised on the basis of the presence or absence of volitionality; that is, as either active or inactive verbs. Active verbs in particular are further subcategorised, as mentioned above, according to their degree of transitivity, along the lines of Hopper and Thompson's (1980) concept of transitivity as a characteristic of the clause rather than of just the verb. The focus affixes provide for a whole range of transitivity distinctions, as opposed to just the distinction between 'transitive' and 'intransitive' verbs usually recognised. The best way to describe what is happening is as a 'transitivity continuum'. (See section 4.2.3 below.) The inherent lexical meaning of the verb determines which affixes it can take, and so the system could be described as derivational rather than as inflectional. (See Anderson 1985:39.) The focus affixes themselves are a small, closed class. They specify the degree of transitivity of the clause by indicating the case role of the subject participant together with some aspectual distinctions. Goal focus constructions (that is, those where either the patient, theme, core locative or benefactive noun phrase is the subject) are high in transitivity and typically occur in foregrounded narrative. Actor focus clauses, (where the actor is the subject) typically occur as backgrounded material in discourse. The concept of a transitivity continuum is more transparent for active verbs than for inactive verbs, but the active system is paralleled by the inactive one.

There are two other subcategories of verbs: associative verbs, (which are comparatively rare), and causatives, both of which require additional participants. Causatives are marked by *pa-*, with the ‘focus’ affixes combining with *pa-* in various ways to distinguish the causer, causee and patient from one another.

Active verbs will be described first, including both actor focus and goal focus verbs, followed by a description of the transitivity continuum. The final two sections of this chapter will describe inactive and associative verbs.

TABLE 5: VERB FOCUS AFFIXES

Macro-role		Actor			Goal			
Role		Actor			Patient	Locative	Theme	Benefactive
Mode	Aspect	Durative	Limited	Partitive				
Active	Imperfective	<i>man-</i>	<i>maN-</i>	<i>-um-</i>	<i>-on</i>	<i>-an</i>	<i>i-</i>	<i>i----an</i>
	Perfective	<i>nan-</i>	<i>naN-</i>	<i>-umm-</i>	<i>-in-</i>	<i>-in-an</i>	<i>in-</i>	<i>in---an</i>
Inactive	Imperfective	<i>maka-</i>			<i>ma-</i>	<i>ma---an</i>	<i>mai-</i>	<i>mai--an</i>
	Perfective	<i>naka-</i>			<i>na-</i>	<i>na---an</i>	<i>nai-</i>	<i>nai--an</i>
Associative	Imperfective	<i>maka-</i>			<i>man--on</i>	<i>man--an</i>	<i>mangi-</i>	
	Perfective	<i>naka-</i>			<i>nan--on</i>	<i>nan--an</i>	<i>nangi-</i>	
					Person	Place	Thing	

## 4.2 ACTIVE VERBS

### 4.2.1 ACTOR FOCUS AFFIXES

#### 4.2.1.1 *-um-/umm-*

The actor focus infix *-um-/umm-* normally indicates a one-place predicate. It is the most intransitive verb affix, typically occurring with many verbs of motion, especially ‘*oy* ‘go’ and *datong* ‘come’ as below, to indicate that the actor is the subject of the clause.

(71a) ' *-Um* *-oy* *-ak* *sidi*.  
 -AF -go -I.SUBJ there  
 I am going there.

(71b) ' *-Umm* *-oy* *-ak* *sidi*.  
 -AF -go -I.SUBJ there  
 I went there.

(72a) *D* *-um* *-atong* *-kayu*.  
 -AF -come -you.SUBJ  
 You are coming.

(72b) *D* *-umm* *-atong* *-kayu*.  
 -AF -come -you.SUBJ  
 You came.

It also verbalises meteorological nouns such as *bali* ‘typhoon’ and *udan* ‘rain’.

(73) ' *-Um* *-udan*.  
 -AF -rain  
 It's raining.

(74) *G* *-umm* *-ali*.  
 -AF -typhoon  
 It typhooned.

It should be noted that roots beginning with a bilabial stop replace it with a velar stop when *-um-/umm-* is infixed (Wiens n.d.a), as follows:

<i>bali</i>	typhoon	<i>g-um-ali</i>	to typhoon
<i>piya</i>	good	<i>k-um-iya</i>	become good, improve, recover
<i>buuk</i>	drunk	<i>g-um-uuk</i>	become drunk

A third main function of *-um-/-umm-* is to form the inchoative for stative verbs, most of which would otherwise take *ma-* (imperfective)/*na-* (perfective). However a few stative verbs/adjectives may occur without any stative affix, but just the root alone.

Examples of *-um-/-umm-* with stative verbs are given below:

<i>piya</i>	good	<i>k-um-iya</i>	become good, improve, recover
<i>dakol</i>	big	<i>d-um-akol</i>	become big
<i>lam'ok</i>	soft	<i>l-um-am'ok</i>	become soft
<i>bilog</i>	strong	<i>b-um-ilog</i>	become strong
<i>'adani</i>	near	<i>'um-adani</i>	become near, approach
<i>'adayu</i>	far	<i>'um-adayu</i>	become far, recede
<i>buuk</i>	drunk	<i>g-um-uuk</i>	become drunk

#### 4.2.1.1.1 PARTITIVE ASPECT

Wiens (1979:24) describes the circumstances under which *-um-/-umm-* may also occur with a two-place predicate. When there is a choice of affix for a given verb root, he describes the role of *-um-/-umm-* in the following way:

The infix *-um-*, like the prefix *maN-*, indicates that the speaker views the action as limited in some way, but it further implies that when the actor has reached the expressed or implied limit to the action he will have only completed part of the possible or potential goal implied by the action.

Aspectual differences between the affixes, and the existence of a transitivity continuum resulting from the affixation of the various focus affixes will be further discussed and exemplified below. I will give just one pair of examples here, examples (75) and (76), (from Wiens 1979:25) to illustrate *-um-/-umm-* limiting a two-place predicate. As Wiens explains, the first example involves a limited amount of cooking, while the second focuses on the fact that what is cooked is only a part of the whole amount of rice.

- (75) **Mang** *-ulbul -ka -t kan- on din ma -sakit.*  
 AF -cook -you.SUBJ -OBL eat -PF GEN ST -sick  
 Cook soft the food of a sick person.  
 (*bulbul*, 'cook rice to make it soft').

- (76) **G** *-um -ulbul -ka -t akit -a lawa.*  
 -AF -cook -you.SUBJ -OBL a.little -LG just  
 Cook soft just a little.

As noted by Reid (pers.comm.), the object is optional when *-um-* indicates partitive aspect.

4.2.1.2 *man-/nan-*

The *man-/nan-* prefix assimilates to the point of articulation of the first consonant of the root, except where that consonant is a glottal. *Man-/nan-* is primarily an aspectual/transitivity marker, typically indicating both volitional and durative activity. Besides these meanings it indicates inclusive action, as opposed to that which separates out a particular individual, where *maN-/naN-* would be the normal choice. Whereas *man-/nan-* has a semantic component of durativity, *maN-naN-* typically implies some limit to the action, and *-um-/umm-* often indicates partitive action. This three-way contrast is particularly evident on those verb roots which may, in different contexts, occur with each of these three affixes.

There are some strictly intransitive verbs, such as verbs of motion, which normally occur with *man-*, (see examples (77) to (79) below), but it is more commonly found on verbs with two or more arguments.

As Reid (pers.comm.) observes:

... *man-* verbs with two arguments typically have indefinite, non-specifiable (generic) patients. Such patients are typically not countable. Because of their generic nature they become 'cognate objects', i.e. they are sometimes derived as intransitive verbs.

Example (80) below contains such a derived intransitive verb.

Therefore, although actor focus verbs obligatorily require one of the affixes *-um-*, *man-* or *maN-*, these affixes are not strictly indicators of focus as such, but also of aspect and transitivity. That is why *man-* and *maN-* may combine with other focus affixes, *maN-* in particular frequently co-occurring with the locative suffix *-an*. For example, both verbal and non-verbal contrastive identification constructions usually require *maN-*, because according to Wiens (1979:23) it implies some kind of limitation. In these constructions *maN-* may combine with locative suffix *-an*. See sections 7.5, 7.6 and sections 8.2.4 to 8.2.7.

Similarly, associative goal focus verbs usually take *man-* (although for a temporary situation they may take *maN-*) together with their goal focus affixes. See also section 4.4, in particular section 4.4.2.

The following examples illustrate the function of *man-/nan-*:

(77) *akkeyot* verb; to walk slowly, to dawdle

*Adi -ka man -'akkeyot -a k -um -iyang dalapnu*  
 NEG -you.SUBJ AF -dawdle -LG -AF -walk so that

*magpos dumkngam.*

early time.of.your.arrival

Don't walk **dawdling**, so that the time of your arrival will be early.

(78a) *okog* verb; to bend or stoop

*Man -'okog -ka nu man -loop -ka.*  
 AF -bend -you.SUBJ when AF -transplant -you.SUBJ

You **bend** over when you transplant (rice seedlings).

- (78b) **Man** -'o -'okkog nu man -agada.  
 AF -CV -C<sub>2</sub>.stoop when AF -climb<sup>2</sup>  
 He is **stooping** while climbing.
- (79) **Sadan man** -'abat -a init kan bulan bokon -a **man** -silnaad  
 TP AF -meet -LG sun and moon not -LG AF -linger  
*din man* -'abata -n -da ta sin akitan -a lawa.  
 SUBJ AF -meet -GEN -they for OBL little -LG just  
 When Sun and Moon met, their meeting did not **linger** at all.

*Man-/nan-* is regularly used to indicate the putting on of articles of clothing as in example (80), which is, as mentioned above, a derived intransitive clause.

- (80) **Mam** -badut.  
 AF -clothes.she.SUBJ  
 S/he put clothes on.

The following clauses have at least two participants, including an actor and an indefinite, non-specifiable (generic) patient.

- (81) **Mam** -bayu -t din pagoy.  
 AF -pound -OBL SUBJ rice  
 S/he is pounding rice.
- (82) **Nan** -'awit -ak si kayu.  
 AF -carry -I.SUBJ OBL wood  
 I carried firewood.
- (83) **Mang** -kiwas -ak si palatu un '-in-algaw.  
 AF -wash -I.SUBJ OBL plate LG day-after-day  
 I wash plates daily.

#### 4.2.1.3 *maN-/naN-*

Phonological fusing assimilation occurs when *maN-/naN-* precedes stops (Wiens n.d.a) as follows:

N + bilabial	→	<i>m</i>
N + dental	→	<i>n</i>
N + velar or glottal	→	<i>ng</i>

There are no instances of *maN-/naN-* preceding *l, w* or *y* in my data.

Wiens (1979:23) describes the aspectual meaning of *maN-/naN-* as follows:

<sup>2</sup>The CV reduplication and gemination of the second consonant here signifies continuative aspect.

The prefix *maN-* indicates that the speaker views the action as limited in some specific way as to time, manner, extent etc. It implies an end to the action and usually the limitation expressed or implied represents the total of the required action.

Since both *man-/nan-* and *maN-/naN-* may occur with strictly intransitive verbs, any comparison of their transitivity must be on the basis of their occurrence on verbs with two arguments, as was pointed out to me by Reid (pers.comm.). Both *man-* and *maN-* may take an indefinite object, but as Reid observes:

Typically *maN-* verbs with two arguments imply a patient that although indefinite is usually specifiable, and countable. Similarly, nominalizations of goal focus structures, which always have definite patients, require the nominalized verb to carry the *maN-* prefix.

My data confirm this. The nominalisation of a goal focus clause in Limos Kalinga does indeed require *maN-/naN-*, as can be seen from example (84), involving the actor focus verb *nangwa* (*naN-* + *kowa*) and the goal focus verb *kingwa* (*-in-* + *kowa*) 'made'.

- (84) *Singgad dit nang -wa tun pita?*  
 who SUBJ PERF.AF -make SUBJ earth  
 Who made the earth?

*K -ing -wa -n Npudyus kanu.*  
 -PERF.PF -make -GEN God REP  
 God made it (so they say).

Examples (85)-(95) show *maN-/naN-* in simple clauses:

- (85) *Mang -ay -'ayaw -ak -a lawa.*  
 AF -CVC -visit -I.SUBJ -LG just  
 I have just come visiting.

The following verbs, each of which is illustrated below, normally take *maN-/naN-*: *dalan* 'to leave, depart', *toddak* 'run', *alyug* 'to travel; go on a long, peaceful journey; to die', *tagada* 'to climb' and *ulin* 'return'.

- (86) *Mang -alan -kami nu osa -n bulan.*  
 AF -go -we.SUBJ when one -LG month  
 We will be leaving next month.

- (87) *Nu osa-n bulan man -oddak.*  
 when one-LG month AF -run.he.SUBJ  
 In one month he will be running.

- (88) *Nang -alyug si Gulok baliwon.*  
 PERF.AF -travel SUBJ Gulok lowlands  
 Gulok travelled to the lowlands (died).

(89) *Man -agada -ka di.*  
 AF -climb -you.SUBJ OBL.there  
 Climb up there.

(90) *Mang -ulin sooni.*  
 AF -return.he.SUBJ soon  
 He will return soon.

Although examples (91)-(93) do not, as Reid (pers.comm.) notes, have explicit objects, each example could be extended to include a specific, countable object.

If the patient is definite, *kan* 'eat' takes patient focus, but it may also take *maN-*, as in example (91):

(91) *Mang -an nu na-bitil.*  
 AF -eat.she.SUBJ when ST-hungry  
 She will eat when she is hungry.

This example could be extended to: 'She will eat three plates of rice when she is hungry'.

Examples (92) and (93) containing *saksak* 'laundry', and *danum* 'water', could similarly be extended to 'I'm laundering two shirts' and 'I'm fetching four buckets of water'.

(92) *Man -aksak -ak.*  
 AF -laundry -I.SUBJ  
 I'm laundering.

(93) *Man -anum -ak.*  
 AF -water -I.SUBJ  
 I'm fetching water.

Examples (94) to (98) all illustrate *maN-* verbs occurring with indefinite objects. The object of example (94) is non-specific, but although the objects in examples (95) to (98) are indefinite, they are both specific and countable.

(94) *pili* verb; choose

*Mam -ili -da si masilap un mapatgan si luwang...*  
 AF -choose -they.SUBJ OBL beads COMP value OBL carabao  
 They choose *masilap* beads to the value of a carabao (water buffalo)...

(95) *akaw* verb; steal

*Nu nang -akaw -da -t tulu un luwang...*  
 If PERF.AF -steal -they.SUBJ OBL three COMP carabao  
 If they stole three carabao...

(96) *ala* verb; get, take

*Nang -ala -t tulu -n nayun kanu -t dit antak*  
 PERF.AF -take.she.SUBJ -OBL three -LG lengths REP -OBL DIST bean

*ot i nan -asug.*

and go PERF.AF -cook

She took three pieces of bean to cook (a side-dish).

(97) ...*mang -ala -ka si duwa -n iting...*

AF -get -you.SUBJ OBL two -LG iting

...you get two itings (measurement) (of rice)...

(98) *bilag* verb; dry

...*-um -oy -da mam -ilag si lima -n iting...*

-AF -go -they.SUBJ AF -dry OBL five -LG iting

(After three nights) they go and dry five itings (measurement) of rice...

In terms of Hopper and Thompson's transitivity continuum, objects of *maN-* verbs are more individuated than those of *man-* verbs, and both are more so than objects of *-um-* verbs, which are not individuated at all. So of the three actor focus affixes, *man-/nan-* produces a clause which, in Hopper and Thompson's (1980) terms is more transitive than if any of the other two actor focus affixes were used, for any given verb. As will be shown below, some verbs have a choice of all three actor focus affixes, and of at least three goal focus ones too, thereby having a choice of a great variety of both aspectual nuances and degrees of transitivity, not to mention other facets of meaning. The Limos Kalinga verbal system is therefore capable of great flexibility. For examples of *maN-* in identification sentences, topicalisation and relativisation, see Chapters 7 and 8.

#### 4.2.2 GOAL FOCUS AFFIXES

##### 4.2.2.1 PATIENT FOCUS, *-on/-in-*

The suffix *-on* (imperfective) and the infix *-in-* (perfective) signal the fact that the semantic role of the subject is that of patient. Moreover, the subject is seen as being 'directly or broadly' affected (Wiens 1979:28), so patient focus affixes, especially the infix *-in-* which marks the perfective aspect, produce prototypically transitive clauses. Wiens claims that patient focus affixes bear the "heaviest functional load of all the non-actor focus affixes in Kalinga".

The following morphophonemic rules (Wiens 1979:44-45) apply to the combination of the suffix *-on* and singular non-subject actor pronouns:

*-on + ku* (first person) becomes *-ok*  
*-on + nu* (second person) becomes *-om*  
*-on + na* (third person) becomes *-ona*

Examples of patient focus affixes are given below, and a comparison of patient, locative and theme focus affixes is given after the introduction of both locative and theme focus.



- (107) *I -baat -nu nat pilak -nu.*  
 THF -travel -you.GEN SUBJ money -your  
 Take your money travelling./Travel with your money.

If the patient is definite, *pokpok* 'cut, chop' usually takes the goal focus suffix *-on*.

- (108) *Pokpok -om nat kayu.*  
 cut -PF.you.GEN SUBJ tree  
 Cut down the tree.

*Pokpok* may however take *i-* instead of *-on*. Wiens (1979) suggested that this *i-* implied conveyance of the object. However, Reid (pers.comm.) has brought to my attention the fact that this *i-* appears to be another, unrelated prefix which also occurs in Ilokano and other languages in the same subgroup as Kalinga, and that in these languages "it may occur on verbs that normally have the equivalent of the Kalinga *-on* suffix to provide a sort of peremptory force to a command". So it is only possible with second person actors, and these, such as in example (109), are the only examples of it which Wiens gives, or that I have observed.

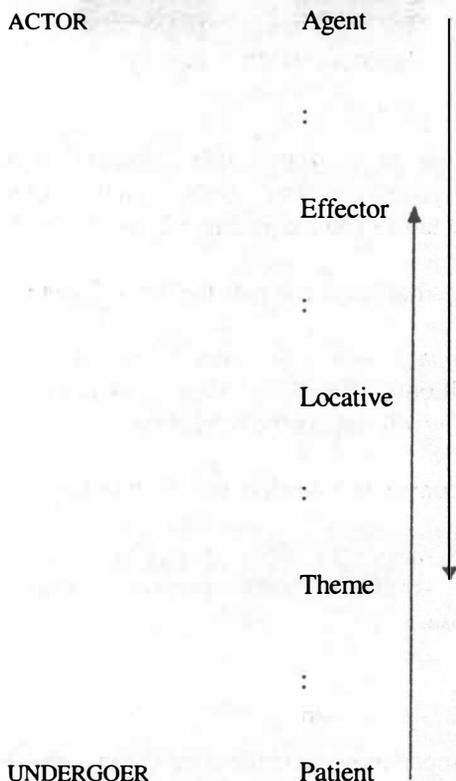
- (109) *I -pokpok -nu nat kayu.*  
 THF -cut -you.GEN SUBJ tree  
 Cut down the tree.

*Pokpok* may also take *i-* to focus effector-theme (instrument) as subject (see below), as in example (110).

- (110) *I -pokpok -nu nat badang.*  
 THF -cut -you.GEN SUBJ machete  
 Cut it down with the machete.

As can be seen in the last example, it is the context and the nature of the subject noun phrase, rather than the affix, which signals that an instrument is being used. The affix merely indicates that the subject participant is conveyed, not whether it is patient or instrument.

Foley and Van Valin (1984:59) present the following actor/undergoer hierarchy:



As can be seen, on their hierarchy theme is placed between patient and locative. In Hopper and Thompson's (1980) terms, theme focus produces a more transitive clause than does locative focus, but a less transitive clause than does patient focus. The arrows in Foley and Van Valin's diagram represent 'the increasing markedness' of the choice for undergoer and actor respectively. They place effector-theme (instrument) between effector and locative.

Some verbs which typically take theme focus will now be illustrated. *I-* marks imperfective aspect and *in-* marks perfective aspect. The following morphophonemic rules (Wiens 1979) should be taken into account:

- $i \rightarrow iy / -v$  (*i* becomes *iy* before vowels).  
 $i \rightarrow \emptyset / -i$  (*i* is deleted preceding another *i*).

The *-n* of *in-* assimilates to the place of articulation of the following consonant.

- (111) *I*                    *-mula*   *-na*            *tun*   *pagoy*.  
 IMPERF.THF   *-plant*   *-he.GEN*   SUBJ   *rice*  
 He is planting the rice./He will plant the rice.

- (112) *Im*            *-mula*   *-na*        *tun*        *pagoy*.  
 PERF.THF   -plant   -he.GEN   SUBJ   rice  
 He planted the rice.

- (113) *Igga*            *-m*            *tun*        *iblu*        *utnat*        *lamesa*.  
 IMPERF.THF.put   -you.GEN   SUBJ   book   on the   table  
 Put the book on the table./You are putting/will put the book on the table.

In this example the *i* of *igga* has coalesced with the theme focus *i*.

- (114) *I*                *-lugpa*        *-da*            *nat*        *moma*.  
 IMPERF.THF   -spit.out   -they.GEN   SUBJ   betel.chew  
 They are spitting out/will spit out the betel chew.

Speech verbs, since they convey information, usually take theme focus.

- (115) *Im*            *-baga*        *-na*            *dit*        *panggop*        *-na*.  
 PERF.THF   -tell        -she.GEN   SUBJ   purpose   -she.GEN  
 She told her purpose.

#### 4.2.2.3 LOCATIVE FOCUS, *-an/-in--an*

The verbal affix *-an* (imperfective) and the combination *-in--an* (perfective) indicate that the subject of a clause is a locative of some kind. 'Locative' here includes not only simple locative, but locative source, locative goal and the dative case role, as in Tagalog. (Concerning Tagalog, see Foley & Van Valin 1984:73, and Hopper & Thompson 1980:289.)

Wiens (1979:27) observes that all locative subjects have in common the fact that they are seen as being "less directly or broadly affected" by the action than a prototypical patient subject (marked by the *-on/-in-* focus affix) would be. Locative focus occurs with verbs of addition and removal. Included in the former group are such verbs as those indicating the putting on of clothing, the addition of a wound, physical injury or burn, and the application of such things as fertiliser or paint. The latter group includes the concept of removing dirt from articles or bodies, removing illness from people, and in general removing the outer layer of something such as the husk from a coconut (Wiens 1979:41).

Locative focus morphology also co-occurs in identification sentences with *siya ud* to indicate reason. (See examples (301) to (303).) And finally, the locative suffix *-an* is part of associative verb morphology. In this case it combines with the aspectual prefixes *man/maN-*, or with the inactive verb prefixes *ma-/na-*. (See section 4.4 below.)

The following morphophonemic rules (Wiens 1979:45) apply when the suffix *-an* is followed by any of the singular non-subject actor pronouns:

First person	<i>-an</i> + <i>ku</i>	→	<i>-ak</i>
Second person	<i>-an</i> + <i>nu</i>	→	<i>-am</i>
Third person	<i>-an</i> + <i>na</i>	→	<i>-ana</i>

I will now give examples of typical locative focus constructions, followed by some comparisons with patient focus ones. After the introduction of theme focus, all of the focus affixes will be compared and illustrated.

(116) *Saksak -am tun badut.*  
 wash -IMPERF.LF.you.GEN SUBJ dress  
 You are washing/will wash the dress./Wash the dress.  
 Perfective: *s-in-aksak-an.*

(117) *Sagad -ana nat bansag.*  
 sweep -IMPERF.LF.she.GEN SUBJ floor  
 She is sweeping/will sweep the floor./Sweep the floor.  
 Perfective: *s-in-agad-ana.*

(118) *Mulmul -ak tun kindi.*  
 suck -IMPERF.LF.I.GEN SUBJ candy  
 I am sucking/will suck the candy.  
 Perfective: *m-in-ulumul-ak.*

(119) *Angpas -an -da tun unas.*  
 chip.at -IMPERF.LF -they.GEN SUBJ sugarcane  
 They are chipping at/will chip at the sugarcane.  
 Perfective: *'-in-angpas-an.*

(120) *'-In -imus -an Juan si ama -na.*  
 -PERF -ask -LF John.GEN SUBJ father -his  
 John asked/questioned his father.

(121) *Pakuy -am si Pakito.*  
 shout -IMPERF.LF.you.GEN SUBJ Pakito  
 Shout to Pakito.

Examples (122)-(125) are from Wiens (1979:42), with my gloss.

(122) *Akaw -am dida.* (Locative-source)  
 steal -IMPERF.LF.you.GEN them.SUBJ  
 Steal from them.

Compare this with the following patient focus clause:

(123) *Akaw -om nat luwang -da.*  
 steal -you.GEN.IMPERF.LF SUBJ water.buffalo -their  
 Steal their water buffalo.

(124) *Bungwit -am dat igat sin sulung.*  
 fish -IMPERF.LF.you.GEN SUBJ eel OBL stream  
 Fish for eel in the stream.

Compare this locative focus clause with the following patient focus one:

- (125) *Bungwit -om* *din* *sulung.*  
 fish -IMPERF.PF.you.GEN SUBJ stream  
 Fish the stream.

Other verbs which act in a similar way to this one are, according to Wiens (1979:42), verbs of hunting such as: *bitu* 'trap in a pit', *balais* 'trap', *anup* 'hunt' and *alyug* 'travel', the latter, (from Wiens 1979:29) being exemplified below. Again, the gloss is mine.

- (126) *Alyug -am* *din* *asin.* (Locative-goal)  
 travel -LF.IMPERF.you.GEN SUBJ salt  
 Travel for the salt.

- (127) *Alyug -om* *din* *Baliwon.*  
 travel -PF.IMPERF.you.GEN SUBJ Baliwon  
 Travel the lowlands.

Wiens glosses this last example as 'Travel through/in the lowlands', but I question the need for a preposition here.

So we can see that the primary difference between patient focus and locative focus is that the former marks the subject as patient while the latter marks it as either locative (including locative source and locative goal) or dative. Patient focus signals that the goal is totally affected, while locative focus indicates that it is less directly or broadly affected than it would be in a patient focus construction. Sometimes this distinction produces a contrast like the English one in the well-known pairs of sentences:

John loaded (the) hay on the truck.  
 John loaded the truck with (the) hay.

Tom sprayed (the) paint on the wall.  
 Tom sprayed the wall with (the) paint.

Pairs of clauses like the following (taken from Wiens 1979:40-41) illustrate this contrast:

- (128) *Alisut -om* *nat* *boloy.*  
 wall -IMPERF.PF.you.GEN SUBJ house  
 Wall the house.

- (129) *Alisut -am* *nat* *boloy.*  
 wall -IMPERF.PF.you.GEN SUBJ house  
 Put wall(s) on the house.

- (130) *Badal -om* *nat* *sugat.*  
 wrap -IMPERF.PF.you.GEN SUBJ wound  
 Wrap the wound.

- (131) *Badal -am si bollat nat sugat.*  
 wrap -IMPERF.LF.you.GEN OBL herbs SUBJ wound  
 Wrap herbs around the wound./Wrap the wound around with herbs.

The total/partial contrast between the two goal focus constructions (patient focus and locative focus) just described is paralleled to some extent by that between the three sets of actor focus affixes: *maN-/naN-* (limited in some way), *man-/nan-* (durative, inclusive, and sometimes distributive), and *-um-/umm-* (partitive). This distinction does not apply to all verbs, but particularly to those verbs taking two argument noun phrases, for which the use of one of the affixes is unexpected. Sometimes *-um-/umm-* indicates other aspects of transitivity, such as non-volitional activity, or the fact that the verb takes only one participant. This issue will be discussed further below.

#### 4.2.2.4 BENEFACTIVE FOCUS, *i---an/in---an*

Benefactive focus is a type of goal focus construction where the subject participant is seen as having the action done in his or her place, rather than for his or her benefit (Wiens 1979). It is indicated by the prefix *i-* combined with the suffix *-an* (imperfective aspect), and by the prefix *in-* and the suffix *-an* (perfective aspect). So morphologically speaking it is a combination of theme focus and locative focus, and this seems to be reflected to some extent in the semantics of benefactive focus. The suffix *-an* could also be seen here as subjectivising an otherwise oblique noun phrase. If benefactive focus constructions were to be placed on the transitivity scale, they would probably fit between locative focus and theme focus, but it is not clear that they do fit neatly into the transitivity continuum.

The only morphophonemic rules are those that apply to theme focus. That is, *i* is deleted preceding another *i*, and becomes *iy* before vowels. Examples (132) to (135) illustrate benefactive focus.

- (132) *Iy -akut -an -da si danum si ina.*  
 IMPERF -carry -BF -they.GEN OBL water SUBJ mother  
 They are carrying water for mother.

- (133) *Iny -akut -an -da si danum.*  
 PERF -carry -BF -they.GEN OBL water  
 They carried water for him.

- (134) *I -paltiy -an -yu sakon.*  
 IMPERF -butcher -BF -you(PL).GEN me.SUBJ  
 You are butchering/will butcher for me./Butcher for me.

- (135) *Im -bayuw -an -na sakon si pagoy.*  
 PERF -pound -BF -she.GEN me.SUBJ OBL rice  
 She pounded rice for me.

### 4.2.3 TRANSITIVITY CONTINUUM

Before commenting further on the transitivity continuum in Limos Kalinga, I will quote Hopper and Thompson's (1980) summary of their paper 'Transitivity in grammar and discourse':

Transitivity involves a number of components, only one of which is the presence of an object of the verb. These components are all concerned with the effectiveness with which an action takes place, e.g., the punctuality and telicity of the verb, the conscious activity of the agent, and the referentiality and degree of affectedness of the object. These components vary with one another in language after language, which suggests that Transitivity is a central property of language use. The grammatical and semantic prominence of Transitivity is shown to derive from its characteristic discourse function: high Transitivity is correlated with foregrounding, and low Transitivity with backgrounding.

Throughout this chapter I have shown that the three actor focus affixes and the three goal focus affixes may be ranged in increasing order of transitivity. In fact, with the possible exception of the benefactive focus affixes, all of the focus affixes form a transitivity continuum. In ascending order of transitivity, the continuum is as follows:

TABLE 6: TRANSITIVITY CONTINUUM

	Imperfective	Perfective	
Actor focus affixes	<i>-um-</i>	<i>-umm-</i>	Partial
	<i>man-</i>	<i>nan-</i>	Inclusive
	<i>maN-</i>	<i>naN-</i>	Limited
Goal focus affixes	<i>-an</i>	<i>-in--an</i>	Locative focus
	<i>i-</i>	<i>in-</i>	Theme focus
	<i>-on</i>	<i>-in-</i>	Patient focus

If benefactive focus affixes fit in at all, then they fit between locative focus and theme focus, benefactive focus being morphologically a combination of the two, and semantically to some extent too. The dative case role (locative) is quite similar to benefactive focus, and so is effector-theme focus which (at least in the logical structure) also requires three participants. It should be remembered that theme focus comprises two possibilities, theme focus as such, and effector-theme focus, which may also be thought of as instrument focus.

As far as the co-occurrence of any given verb root with particular affixes is concerned, it seems that the only restraining factor is the inherent lexical meaning of each verb root. Benefactive focus is a particularly clear example of this. Anything which may logically be done by one person in the place of another may occur in the benefactive focus construction. Although I do not have examples of every affix in the continuum occurring on any given verb root, I do have examples of particular roots taking a wide range of affixes.

The first set of examples involves the verb *dalus* 'wash (dishes)':

## A. (i) Actor Focus

*-um-*

- (136) *D -umm -alus si Malia -t danat palatu.*  
 -AF -wash SUBJ Maria -OBL PL plate

Maria washed some plates.

The action here is non-durative, the plates are only partially affected, and they are referred to indefinitely.

*man-*

- (137) *Nan -dalus si Malia -t danat palatu.*  
 AF -wash SUBJ Maria -OBL PL plate

Maria washed some plates.

As Reid (pers.comm.) pointed out to me, the verb here is distributive, that is, the plates were washed individually, one after another.

*maN-*

- (138) *Nang -alus si Malia -t danat palatu.*  
 AF -wash SUBJ Maria -OBL PL plate

Maria washed some of the plates.

There has been a limited effect made on the pile of plates. A specification could have been included here. For example, 'Maria washed ten of the plates'.

## (ii) Locative Focus

- (139) *D -in -alus -an ud Malia danat palatu.*  
 -PERF -wash -LF GEN Maria PL.SUBJ plate

Maria washed the plates.

Although she finished washing them, only the outside of each plate was affected by her action.

## (iii) Benefactive Focus

- (140) *In -dalus -an ud Malia si ina -na -t nat palatu.*  
 PERF -wash -BF GEN Maria SUBJ mother -her -OBL DET plate

Maria washed some plates for her mother.

*Bunut* 'husk' is a good example, since all of the focus affixes except theme focus may occur with it. The three actor focus examples are contained in Wiens (1979:24-25), with my gloss. *Bunut* may also be a noun, as in:

- (141) *Ko -om nat bunut iyug si pupuggadan.*  
 make -IMPERF.PF.YOU.GEN SUBJ husk(GEN) coconut OBL doormats  
 Make the coconut husks into doormats.

As a verb, *bunut* means something to do with removing the husk of a coconut, as in the following examples:

B. (i) Actor Focus

*-um-*

- (142) *G -um -unut -kayu man sinat iyug.*<sup>3</sup>  
 -AF -husk -you.SUBJ O.K. OBL coconut  
 You husk some coconuts, O.K.?

*-Um-* indicates partitive action here.

*man-*

- (143) *Mam -bunut -taku -t tun iyug*  
 AF -husk -we(INC).SUBJ -OBL DET coconut  
 Let's husk some coconuts.

*maN-*

- (144) *Mam -unut -taku -t tun iyug si lima.*  
 AF -husk -we (INC).SUBJ -OBL DET coconut OBL five  
 Let's husk five of these coconuts.

The object of this clause is more individuated than those in the other two actor focus clauses above.

(ii) Locative Focus

- (145) *Bunut -am din iyug ta songlag -om.*  
 husk -LF.you.GEN SUBJ coconut for make.oil -PF.you.GEN  
 Husk the coconut to make coconut oil from it.

(iii) Patient Focus

The patient focus suffix *-on* together with *bunut* means: "to strip the coconut husk in order to use as a holder for orchids, a mat, etc." (Wiens n.d.c).

- (146) *Bunut -om nat igaw danat orkid.*  
 strip -PF.you.GEN SUBJ container GEN.PL orchid  
 Strip (the coconut of) the orchid container.

<sup>3</sup>*-Um-* causes the *b* of *bunut* to dissimilate to *g*.

Benefactive focus could also occur with this verb, when the action would be done for, or in the interests of another person. The five different affixes with *bunut* illustrated above show clearly the transitivity continuum in Limos Kalinga. The next example, *kan*, 'eat' takes four of the focus affixes. The actor focus sentences are from Wiens (1979:24), with his comments after each.

C. (i) Actor Focus

*-um-*

- (147) **K** *-um* *-an* *nat* *asu*.  
 -AF -eat SUBJ dog  
 The dog bites.

Wiens notes that: "The action involved in biting is the same as for eating but it is severely limited as to duration and further implies that having bitten, the dog will not have achieved all that it could have from this action, which would have been to consume the patient". In other words, *-um-* indicates partitive aspect here.

*man-*

- (148) **Mang** *-kan* *-kayu* *ta* *man* *-alan* *-kami*.  
 AF -eat -you.SUBJ for AF -leave -we.SUBJ  
 You eat, for we are leaving.

Wiens claims that: "The implication here is that those who are left will just continue eating, but nothing is implied about a limitation in time or in amount".

*maN-*

- (149) **Mang** *-an* *-ka* *nu* *na-bitil* *-ka*.  
 AF -eat -you.SUBJ when IN-hungry -you.SUBJ  
 Eat when you are hungry.

Wiens observes that: "Implicit here is a specification such as 'a meal' or a certain kind of food". A specific, countable object could have been mentioned in this clause.

(ii) Patient Focus

Only one goal focus affix has been found with *kan*, and that is the patient focus one: *-on/-in-*, as in example (150):

- (150) **Kan** *-on* *(di)* *kusa* *dadit* *utut*.  
 eat -PF GEN cat PL.SUBJ rat  
 The cat is eating the rats.

The rats will be completely devoured.

My final illustration of the Limos Kalinga transitivity continuum involves the verb root *baat* 'travel', which I have found occurring with six focus affixes, including the theme focus

prefix *i-* in both of its functions, theme focus and effector-theme (instrument) focus. I have not observed *baat* with the actor focus infix *-um-* or with benefactive focus, although at least the latter is conceivable. Of the following examples, (154), (155) and (157) are from Wiens (1979:38) with my gloss.

## D. (i) Actor Focus

*man-/nan-*

(151) **Mam**        *-baat*    *-kami*    *-d*        *Baliwon*.  
 IMPERF.AF    -travel    -we        -LOC    Baliwon  
 We are travelling to the lowlands (Cagayan Valley).

(152) **Nam**        *-baat*    *si*        *ama*    *-d*        *Baliwon*    *sit*    *osa*    *-n*    *tawon*.  
 AF.IMPERF    -travel    SUBJ    father    -LOC    lowlands    OBL    one    -LG    year  
 Father travelled to the lowlands (died) last year.

*maN-*

(153) *Olog*    *-na*        *-n*        **mam**    *-ab*    *-baat*    *sidan*    *bolbollaat*.  
 can    -he.GEN    -LG    AF        -CV    -travel    OBL.PL    distance  
 He can continue travelling distances.

## (ii) Effector-Theme (Instrument) Focus

(154) *I*                *-baat*    *-nu*        *nat*        *pilak*    *-nu*.  
 THF.IMPERF    -travel    -you.GEN    SUBJ    money    -your  
 Travel with your money.

## (iii) Locative Focus

(155) **Baat**    *-am*                *nat*        *kanon*    *-yu*.  
 travel    -LF.IMPERF    SUBJ    food        -your (PL)  
 Travel for your food.

## (iv) Theme Focus

(156) *I*                *-baat*    *-nu*        *nat*        *abeng*    *-nu*.  
 THF.IMPERF    -travel    -you.GEN    SUBJ    child    -your  
 Take your child on a journey.

## (v) Patient Focus

(157) **Baat**    *-om*                *din*        *Isabella*.  
 travel    -PF.IMPERF    SUBJ    Isabella  
 Travel (the province of) Isabella.

Although the Hopper and Thompson transitivity continuum seems to fit my data, further discourse studies would be necessary to substantiate this hypothesis.

### 4.3 INACTIVE VERBS

Inactive verbs lack volitionality and include the following semantic areas: states of being, ability, need, and involuntary and accidental activity. They may either take actor focus or goal focus affixes.

#### 4.3.1 ACTOR FOCUS

##### 4.3.1.1 *Maka-/naka-*

The inactive actor focus prefix is *maka-* (imperfective)/*naka-* (perfective), and the actor or experiencer is the subject of the clause. Stative verbs do not take *maka-*, the actor focus form of the inactive verb. However, some verbs like *ibil* 'cry' and *uway* 'wait', which involve more control over the action than such verbs as 'to be hungry or tired', may take *maka-*. At other times when the activity involves still more volitionality, the same verb roots may take the active verb focus affixes. For example, *tigammu* 'learn (active), know (inactive)', may take either active or inactive forms. Other semantic areas covered by *maka-* are ability, need, and coincidence as in 'happen to'. The context determines the exact interpretation. The following examples illustrate these various areas of meaning of *maka-/naka-*. Inactive verbs are in bold type.

(158) ***Maka -ibil*** *si Donglayon ul lawa ot kaysan.*

IN.AF -cry SUBJ Donglayon LG just and left

Donglayon just **burst into tears** and left.

(159) ***Maka -uway -ak*** *-a lawa kan sika maid dumdumatong.*

IN.AF -wait -I.SUBJ -LG just and you.SUBJ NEG come

(Uncle, I expected you would come last week), I just **waited** for you, but you didn't come.

(160) ***Naka -datong*** *pay dit gayyom ku utdit timpun dit naiyanakak.*

IN.AF -come even SUBJ friend my OBL time GEN birthday

My friend even **happened to come** at the time of my birthday.

The following inactive actor focus verbs indicate ability:

(161) *...ot nanapug yoong adi -na naka -datong sin boloy alan*  
and swam but NEG -he.GEN IN.AF -come OBL house spirit

*ta na -angoy...*

for IN.PF -tired

...and he swam, but he was not **able to return** to the home of the spirits, for he was tired, (and drowned and sank)...

(162) *Adi -kayu naka -suyop sit labi.*

NEG -you.SUBJ IN.AF -sleep OBL night

You **were unable to sleep** last night.

- (163) **Maka** -bayuw -ak.  
IN.AF -pound -I.SUBJ  
I am able to pound.
- (164) **Naka** -saksak kami.  
IN.AF -wash we.SUBJ  
We were able to wash.
- (165) **Maka** -kan -ak nu k -um -iya -ak.  
IN.AF -eat -I.SUBJ when -AF -well -I.SUBJ  
I'll be able to eat when I'm well.
- (166) **Maka** -ila -ak si tagu -n naid si ulu.  
IN.AF -see -I.SUBJ OBL person -LG NEG.EXIST OBL head  
I'll be able to see a person without a head.
- (167) ...yoong adi -na **maka** -ligwat ta naipikat kanu dit ebotna.  
but NEG -he.GEN IN.AF -get.up for stuck REP SUBJ behind.his  
...but he wasn't able to get up they say, because his bottom was glued (to the mortar by Gagwan).
- (168) ...adi -da pay **maka** -adayu.  
NEG -they.SUBJ even IN.AF -far  
...they were not even able to go far.

The inactive actor focus affixes in examples (169) and (170) indicate 'need'.

- (169) **Man** -alan -ak -on ta 'umoy -ak tumulung sidat **maka**  
AF -go -I.SUBJ -already to go -I help those in.AF  
**-sapul** kan sakon.  
-need OBL me  
I'm going to help those who need me.
- (170) **Adi** -da -on ud **maka** -talibas kan adi -da  
NEG -they.SUBJ -already LG IN.AF -work and NEG -they.SUBJ  
**maka** -utu ut kanon -da.  
IN.AF -cook OBL food -their  
They no longer needed to work or cook their food.

Examples (171) and (172) illustrate the inactive actor focus form of *tigammu* 'know'.

- (171) **Ginumtik** -da -t tun boboloy un maid amo **maka**  
fled -they.SUBJ -OBL DET village LG NEG.EXIST many IN.AF  
**-tigammu.**  
**-know.**  
(That's why) they fled to this village which not many know.

- (172) ...*un siya -d ka'aduwana koom di tagu un adi maka*  
 LG that -DET mostly doing GEN person LG NEG IN.AF  
*-tigammu kan Apudyus.*  
 -know OBL God  
 ...it's mainly those who do not **know** God who (do bad things such as steal and kill).

#### 4.3.2 GOAL FOCUS AFFIXES

As described above, inactive verbs indicate that the action lacks volitionality. Inactive Kalinga verbs requiring more than one participant may take either actor focus or goal focus morphology. As described above, the *maka-* (imperfective)/*naka-* (perfective) prefix signals actor focus, while the goal focus verb morphology comprises *ma-/na-* alone (in the case of patient focus) or in combination with the active goal focus affixes (for the other types of goal focus).

The goal focus inactive affixes parallel the active ones, and each set of focus affixes contains either the imperfective inactive prefix *ma-* or the perfective inactive prefix *na-*, as can be seen from the following extract from Table 5:

TABLE 7: INACTIVE GOAL FOCUS AFFIXES

	Imperfective	Perfective
Patient focus	<i>ma-</i>	<i>na-</i>
Theme focus	<i>mai-</i>	<i>nai-</i>
Locative focus	<i>ma---an</i>	<i>na---an</i>
Benefactive focus	<i>mai---an</i>	<i>nai---an</i>

The prefixes *ma-* and *na-* combine with all the corresponding active goal focus affixes except patient focus which is unmarked except for the inactive marker *ma-/na-*. In that sense the prototypically transitive patient focus in the inactive mode of the verb is 'unmarked' for focus. The contrast between active and inactive clauses can be seen from examples (173) and (174) below:

- (173) *P -in -okpok -ku din kayu.*  
 -PF -cut.down -I.GEN SUBJ tree  
 I cut down the tree.

- (174) *Na -pokpok dit kayu kan sakon.*  
 IN.PF -cut.down SUBJ tree OBL me  
 The tree was cut down by me.

The subject in example (174) is the experiencer, yet from a syntactic point of view it may be seen as a kind of 'actor' (see below), while the semantic agent takes the oblique case or is deleted.

As with actor focus inactive verbs, goal focus inactive verbs are divided into two types: abilitative and non-abilitative. In the case of goal focus inactive verbs, the latter (like example (174) above) are stative. In stative clauses the semantic actor/agent, (if there is one) either takes the oblique case or is deleted, whereas abilitative clauses have a regular non-subject actor. Stative verbs can be described as having ergative morphology, and abilitative ones as having accusative morphology (see below).

Stative verbs may be further divided into one-place predicates which are true semantic statives (as in example (176)) and two-place predicates (as in example (174) above) which in the English translation at least, seem like passives. That is, syntactically stative verbs may be subdivided on the basis of whether or not the verb may take a semantic agent (like *bayo* 'pound' can) or not. Verbs like *suyop* 'sleep', *talok* 'happy', and *balin* 'healthy' cannot, being true semantic statives..

Shibatani (1988) claims that, despite the goal focus verb morphology, evidence from the noun phrase controlling the gap in coordinate constructions supports his conclusion that, in Cebuano at least, stative subjects are considered to be (syntactic) actor subjects rather than goal subjects.

If this is so for Limos Kalinga, then stative clauses (such as examples (174) and (176)), have a (syntactic) 'actor' subject, and follow the ergative system. On the other hand, abilitative clauses (like example (177)) have goal focus verbs and goal subjects and are typical of an accusative language. To find a split such as this, even involving the same verb roots, is typical of an 'active' type language. See Shibatani (1988) and Merlan (1985). However, as noted by Shibatani (1988:105), Philippine languages are not typical 'active' type languages since they possess 'rich voice alternation', whereas 'active' type languages usually lack voice distinctions altogether. (See also section 1.3.)

By contrast, active one-place predicates usually have actor focus verb morphology and actor subjects, like example (175):

- (175) ' *-Um -oy -ka.*  
           -*AF -go -you.SUBJ*  
           You are going.

As mentioned above, example (176) is a true semantic stative:

- (176) *Ma -sugat -ka.*  
       IN.GF -hurt -you.SUBJ  
       You are being hurt./You will be hurt.

By contrast, example (177) illustrates an inactive two-place predicate with a true goal subject. Such a construction invokes an abilitative interpretation.

- (177) *Ma -sugat -na sika.*  
       IN.GF -hurt -he.GEN you.SUBJ  
       He can hurt you.

There is another inactive goal focus construction available for two-place predicates involving subject pronouns. It is another kind of passive, (not to be confused with the active goal focus construction, which some linguists call 'passive'). One of a special set of (first and second person) subject pronouns (most of which are full form subject pronouns) occur, together with the backgrounding of the semantic agent either by demotion to the oblique case or by deletion. The first person singular form is the clitic subject pronoun *-ak*, and the second person singular form is *dika* (which may have originally been a combination of *ud* plus the second person singular full form subject pronoun *sika*). But there are no special third person pronouns available for this kind of passive. These pronouns usually occur following inactive goal focus verbs, but they may follow active goal focus verbs when semantically appropriate. (See also section 3.4.4.) Compare example (177) above with example (178) below:

- (178) **Ma** -sugat dika kan siya.  
 IN.GF -hurt you.SUBJ OBL him  
 You can be hurt by him.

To summarise the description of inactive goal focus verbs in Limos Kalinga, I will now give another set of examples showing the basic three-way contrast between true statives, stative/passives and abilitative verbs:

Example (179) is a true stative with an inactive one-place goal focus predicate, taking what appears to be an 'actor' subject.

- (179) **Ma** -suyop -ka.  
 IN.GF -sleep -you.SUBJ  
 You will sleep.

Example (180) is a stative/passive clause, having a two-place predicate in its semantic structure.

- (180) **Ma** -bayu dit pagoy (kan Pedlo).  
 GF.IN -pound SUBJ rice OBL Pedro  
 The rice is being pounded (by Pedro).

Example (181) is an abilitative clause.

- (181) **Ma** -bayu -mi dit pagoy.  
 IN.GF -pound -we.GEN SUBJ rice  
 We are able to pound the rice.

The four types of inactive goal focus clauses, paralleling the active ones, will now be illustrated in turn, with stative examples being given first, and abilitative ones second, for each type. No distinction is made between the two types of statives. Stative examples are glossed ST, and abilitative ones ABIL.

## 4.3.2.1 PATIENT FOCUS

*Ma-* (imperfective)/*na-* (perfective) is the inactive counterpart of *-on* (imperfective)/*-in-* (perfective).

## A. Stative

- | Imperfective  | Perfective  |
|---|---|
| (182) <b>Ma</b> -suyop ka.<br>ST -sleep you.SUBJ<br>You will sleep.   | <b>Na-suyop ka.</b><br>You are asleep.                                  |
| (183) <b>Ma</b> -talok si Pedro.<br>ST -happy SUBJ Pedro<br>Pedro is/will be happy.   | <b>Na-talok si Pedro.</b><br>Pedro was happy.                           |
| (184) <b>Ma</b> -balin din mula.<br>ST -healthy SUBJ plant<br>The plants are healthy.   | <b>Na-balin din mula.</b><br>The plants were healthy.                   |
| (185) <b>Ma</b> -sdaaw -ak.<br>ST -surprised -I.SUBJ<br>I am surprised.   | <b>Na-sdaaw -ak.</b><br>I was surprised.                                |
| (186) <b>Ma</b> -bali nat mula.<br>ST -typhoon SUBJ plant<br>The plants will be destroyed (by the typhoon).                                 | <b>Na-bali nat mula.</b><br>The plants were destroyed (by the typhoon). |
| (187) <b>Ma</b> -tigammu dit awit di osaosa -n sunud.<br>ST -know SUBJ load GEN each -LG sibling<br>The load of each sibling will be known. |   |
- The verb *tigammu* (variant: *tagammu*) 'to know (inactive), learn (active)' usually takes goal focus, whether in active or inactive forms.
- |  |  |
|--|--|
| (188) <b>Na</b> -pokpok dit kayu (kan siya).<br>ST -cut SUBJ tree (OBL him)<br>The tree was cut down (by him). |  |
| (189) <b>Na</b> -patoy dit manuk.<br>ST -kill SUBJ chicken<br>The chicken was killed.                          |  |
| (190) <b>Na</b> -yaman dit alad.<br>ST -destroyed SUBJ fence<br>The fence was destroyed.                       |  |

- (191) **Na** -*ani* *dit* *pagoy*.  
 ST -harvest SUBJ rice  
 The rice was harvested.

#### B. Abilitative

- (192) **Na** -*bayu* -*mi* *dit* *binayu*.  
 ABIL -pound -we.GEN SUBJ rice  
 We were able to pound the rice.

- (193) *Osa* -*n* *tawen* **ma** -*adal* *kuw* -*on* *tun* *bagbaga*.  
 one -LG year ABIL -learn I -already SUBJ language  
 Within a year I'll be able to learn this language.

#### 4.3.2.2 THEME FOCUS

The inactive theme focus verb prefix *mai-* (imperfective)/ *nai-* (perfective) corresponds to the active prefix *i-/in-*.

#### A. Stative

- (194) **Nai** -*mus* *dit* *pilak*.  
 ST -beg SUBJ money  
 The money was begged for.

- (195) **Nai** -*mula* *dit* *pagoy*.  
 ST -plant SUBJ rice  
 The rice was planted.

- (196) **Nai** -*gga* *dit* *iblu* -*t* *dit* *lamesaan*.  
 ST -place SUBJ book -OBL DET table  
 The book was placed on the table.

The following three examples involve effector themes (instruments) and correspond to instrumental passives in English.

- (197) **Naiy** -*anup* *dan* *asu*.  
 ST -hunt SUBJ dog  
 The dogs were used to hunt with.

- (198) **Mai** -*dalus* *nat* *sagad*.  
 ST -sweep SUBJ broom  
 The broom is being used for/will be used for sweeping.

- (199) **Nai** -*bayu* *dit* *alu* *utdit* *pagoy*.  
 ST -pound SUBJ pestle OBL rice  
 The pestle was used to pound some rice.

## B. Abilitative

- (200) **Mai** -ngina -k.  
 ABIL -sell -I.GEN  
 I will be able to sell it.
- (201) **Nai** -mula -mi dit pagoy.  
 ABIL -plant -we.GEN SUBJ rice  
 We were able to plant rice.
- (202) **Nai** -ngina -mi dit bolok.  
 ABIL -sell -we.GEN SUBJ pig  
 We were able to sell the pig.

## 4.3.2.3 LOCATION FOCUS

The inactive locative focus affixes are *ma---an* (imperfective)/*na---an* (perfective), the counterpart of the active locative affixes *-an* (imperfective)/*-in---an* (perfective).

## A. Stative

- (203) **Ma** -sugat -an ka.  
 ST -wound -LF you.SUBJ  
 You are wounded.
- (204) **Ma** -dalus -an tun boloy.  
 ST -clean -LF SUBJ house  
 The house is being cleaned.
- (205) **Na** -mulmul -an dit kindi.  
 ST -suck -LF SUBJ candy  
 The candy has been sucked.
- (206) **Na** -sagad -an dit bansag.  
 ST -sweep -LF SUBJ floor  
 The floor has been swept.
- (207) **Na** -saksak -an dit badut.  
 ST -wash -LF SUBJ dress  
 The dress has been washed.
- (208) **Na** -bulas -an dit kapi.  
 ST -gather -LF SUBJ coffee  
 The coffee has been gathered.

## B. Abilitative

- (209) ***Ma*** -*ngin* -'***ak***.  
 ABIL -buy -LF  
 I'll be able to buy it.

In this example the final *a* of *ngina* is deleted preceding the locative focus suffix *-an*.

- (210) ***Adi*** -*na* ***ma*** -*agas* -***an*** *nat* *sakit* -*nu*  
 NEG -he.GEN ABIL -treat -LF SUBJ sickness -your  
 He isn't able to treat your sickness.

Here the pronoun following the main verb has been deleted under co-reference.

## 4.3.2.4 BENEFACTIVE FOCUS

The inactive benefactive focus affixes are: *mai--an* (imperfective)/*nai--an* (perfective), which correspond to the active affixes: *-an* (imperfective)/*-in--an* (perfective).

## A. Stative

- (211) ***Mai*** -*dalus* -***an*** *si* *ina* -***k***.  
 ABIL -clean -BF SUBJ mother -my  
 It is being/will be cleaned for my mother.

- (212) ***Mai*** -*laba* -***an*** *si* *ama* -***k***.  
 ABIL -clean -BF SUBJ father -my  
 Somebody should wash for my father.

- (213) ***Mai*** -*saksak* -***an*** *si* *ikit*.  
 ABIL -wash -BF SUBJ aunt  
 Someone should wash clothes for Aunt.

- (214) ***Mai*** -*danum* -***an*** *si* *mistulu*.  
 ABIL -water -BF SUBJ teacher  
 Someone should carry water for the teacher.

It seems that the context decides whether the passive translation or the 'Someone should...' translation is more appropriate. There is no attestation of an abilitative meaning for benefactive focus.

## 4.4 ASSOCIATIVE VERBS

The associative mode orients the verb towards a person, place or instrument which is somehow associated with the action of the verb. Actor focus signals a participating actor, while the three types of goal focus occurring in this mode indicate the associated person (patient focus), place (locative focus) or instrument (theme focus). Like causative verbs,

associative verbs require one more participant than their corresponding neutral active counterparts would. See Table 5 for the various associative mode affixes. Associative verbs are comparatively rare. There is no attestation of associative verbs with benefactive focus. The associative mode is illustrated below.

#### 4.4.1 ACTOR FOCUS AFFIXES

Wiens (n.d.a) observes that although the actor focus prefix *maka-* (imperfective)/*naka-* (perfective) is identical to the inactive one, the constructions differ in that associative verbs require an extra participant, the participating subject. There is however a possibility of ambiguity where plural actors occur. Examples (215)-(217) make this clear. The first has an associative verb, the second an inactive (abilitative) one, and the third is ambiguous.

(215) **Maka** -*bayu* -*ak* *kan* *sika*.  
 ASSOC -pound -I.SUBJ OBL you  
 I will pound with you.

(216) **Maka** -*bayu* -*ak*.  
 ABIL -pound -I.  
 I will be able to pound.

(217) **Maka** -*bayu* -*kayu*.  
 ABIL -pound -you(PL).SUBJ

Out of context this sentence (Wiens n.d.a) is ambiguous. It could either mean: 'You(PL) can pound', or 'You(PL) co-operate/join together in pounding'. (The imperative reading here is not necessary either.)

Again, compare the associative verbs in examples (218), (220), (221) and (222), with the abilitative verb in example (219).

(218) **Maka** -*kan* -*ak* *kan* *dikayu*.  
 ASSOC -eat -I.SUBJ OBL you  
 I will eat with you.

(219) **Maka** -*kan* -*ak* *nu* *kumiya* -*ak*.  
 ABIL -eat -I.SUBJ when become.well -I  
 I will be able to eat when I am well.

(220) **Maka** -*kan* -*ka* *kan* *dikami*.  
 ASSOC -eat -you.SUBJ OBL us  
 You eat with us.

(221) *Sin* *dit* **maka** -*kan* -*taku?*  
 who SUBJ ASSOC -eat -we.SUBJ  
 Who will we eat with?

- (222) **Maka** -kan -taku kan ama.  
 ASSOC -eat -we.SUBJ OBL father  
 We will eat with father.

#### 4.4.2 GOAL FOCUS AFFIXES

Only three goal focus affixes occur with associative verbs: patient focus, theme focus and locative focus. There is no attestation of associative benefactive focus in my data.

##### 4.4.2.1 PATIENT FOCUS

In the associative mode patient focus indicates that the person associated with the action (in the sense of the one used by someone else to get the job done) is the subject. The affixes are:

*man---on* (imperfective)/*nan---on* (perfective).

*MaN---on* (imperfective)/*naN---on* (perfective) also occurs, but with the 'limited' aspectual meaning of *maN-/naN-*, as opposed to the 'durative/inclusive' meaning of *man-/nan-*, (see section 4.2.1). Unless otherwise indicated, the following examples illustrate the former (durative/inclusive) meaning. Example (223) illustrates the 'limited' meaning for patient focus.

- (223) **Man** -aksak -ok si Tessie.  
 ASSOC -wash -PF.I.GEN SUBJ Tessie  
 I'll (temporarily) wash (clothes) with Tessie./I'll (temporarily) use Tessie to wash (clothes).

That is, 'This time I'll get Tessie to wash clothes, (although normally I have someone else do it)'.

- (224) **Mam** -pokpok -ok si Pablo.  
 ASSOC -cut -PF.I.GEN SUBJ Pablo  
 I'll cut trees with Pablo. (I'll use Pablo to cut trees).

- (225) **Mang** -ingin -ok si Malia.  
 ASSOC -sell -PF.I.GEN SUBJ Maria  
 I'll use Maria to sell.

- (226) **Man** -dalus -ok si Tessie utdin boly.  
 ASSOC -clean -PF.I.GEN SUBJ Tessie OBL house  
 I'll use Tessie to clean the house.

- (227) **Man** -dalus -on Pablo si Tessie utdin boly.  
 ASSOC -clean -PF Pablo SUBJ Tessie OBL house  
 Pablo will use Tessie to wash the house.

## 4.4.2.2 THEME FOCUS

Associative theme focus indicates that the instrument associated with the action is the subject. It is usually indicated by the prefix *mangi-*(imperfective)/*nangi-*(perfective). Examples (228) and (229) focus the associated instrument with *mangi-*:

(228) **Mangi**    *-pokpok -ku tun badang -ku.*  
 ASSOC.THF -cut       -I.GEN SUBJ machete -my  
 I will use my machete for cutting.

(229) **Mangi**       *-saksak -ku tun ima -k.*  
 ASSOC.INST -wash   -I.GEN SUBJ hand -my  
 I will use my hand to wash.

Wiens (n.d.a) observes that the associative instrument may sometimes be indicated by *man-* alone, as in example (230):

(230) **Mam**   *-bayu -k tun allu.*  
 ASSOC -pound -I.GEN SUBJ pestle  
 I will pound with this pestle.

Examples (231) and (233) show that the limiting aspectual prefix *maN-* may also occur alone to indicate associative theme focus:

(231) **Mang**   *-anup -yu dan asu.*  
 ASSOC -hunt -you.GEN PL.SUBJ dog  
 Use the dogs to hunt.

Compare example (231) with example (232), the normal theme focus construction.

(232) **Iy**    *-anup -yu dan asu.*  
 THF -hunt -you.GEN PL.SUBJ dog  
 Hunt with the dogs.

(233) **Nang**       *-appan -ku dat kolang sit bungwit.*  
 ASSOC.INST -bait -I.GEN PL.SUBJ worm OBL hook  
 I use worms as bait for my hook.

## 4.4.2.3 LOCATIVE FOCUS

Associative locative focus signals that the location associated with the verb is the subject. The affixes are:

*man--an* (imperfective)/*nan---an* (perfective)       Durative aspect

*maN--an* (imperfective)/*naN--an* (perfective)       Limited aspect

Note that the verb morphology expressing associative location focus with 'limited' aspect (see example (240)), will often also be found in relativisation and topicalisation

constructions, as well as in some nominalisations, such as that in example (302). This is because all of these constructions involve a combination of the various semantic components expressed by 'limited' aspect prefix *maN-* and the locative suffix *-an*.

- (234) **Mam** -*pokpok* -**an** -*mi* *din* *kabuluwan*.  
 ASSOC -cut -LF -we.GEN SUBJ bamboo.area  
 We will use the bamboo area for our cutting place.

- (235) **Mam** -*mula* -**an** -*mi* *ud* *Asibanglan*.  
 ASSOC -plant -LF -we.GEN SUBJ Asibanglan.  
 We will use Asibanglan for planting.

- (236) **Man** -*'al* -**an** -*mi* *si* *bulu* *din* *kabuluwan*.  
 ASSOC -get -LF -we.GEN OBL bamboo SUBJ bamboo.area  
 We are using the bamboo area to get bamboo.

Note that in this example the final *a* of '*ala* 'get', has been deleted preceding the locative suffix *-an*, but the glottal stop separating geminate vowels remains, resulting in *-'an*.

- (237) **Mang** -*kiwas* -**an** -*taku* *din* *sulung*.  
 ASSOC -wash -LF -we.GEN SUBJ river  
 We'll use the river for washing (our dishes).

Example (238) illustrates the use of associative locative focus to indicate that the noun phrase indicating time is the subject, thereby stretching the semantic notion of 'location' to include 'place-in-time'.

- (238) **Man** -*dalus* -**an** -*taku* *din* *al'algaw* *di* *kalima*.  
 ASSOC -clean -LF -we.GEN SUBJ day GEN fifth  
 We will use Friday for our cleaning day.

The following two identification constructions contain associative verbs. *Man-* occurs in example (239) to indicate the permanent association of storage with one's house, but *maN-* occurs in example (240) to indicate that the situation is temporary. When *maN---an* (as opposed to *man--an*) occurs in a contrastive identification construction, as in example (240), there is no difference between an associative and a non-associative verb.

In the following identification sentences, *ud* marks the predicate noun phrase, while the first noun phrase with topicalisation morphology is the subject as well as the topic (see Chapter 8).

- (239) ...**siya** -*d* *man* *-ponpon* -*ana* *si* *amin* *un*  
 TP -DET IMPERF.ASSOC -put -LF.he.GEN OBL all LG

*ma* -*'apit* -*na* -*t* *dit* *pita* -*na*.  
 IN -harvest -he.GEN -OBL DET earth -his

(...he can store all the property which he has gathered in his house), and **that's where** he puts all that he has harvested from his land.

- (240) **Sadadit tagu -t tu ud mang -al -'an -da**  
 TP.PL person -OBL here DET IMPERF -get -LF -they.GEN  
*Aguinaldo kan dadit suldadu -na utdit kan -on -da.*  
 Aguinaldo and PL.GEN soldiers -his OBL eat -IMPERF.PF -their.GEN  
**Those people here** were where they, Aguinaldo and his soldiers were getting their food.

#### 4.5 RECIPROCAL VERBS

Reciprocal action is unambiguously expressed by the infix *-inn-*. Quite often CV reduplication indicating plural actors occurs with reciprocal verbs, as in examples (242) and (244). If so, the infixation of *-inn-* occurs before the reduplication. Four examples involving *-inn-* are given below.

- (241) *sukat* verb; exchange  
**Nan- s -inn -ukat -da si sapatos.**  
 PERF.AF -RECIP -exchange -they.SUBJ OBL shoes  
 They exchanged shoes **with each other**.
- (242) *'ibil* verb; cry  
**Man -'i -inn -'ibil -da.**  
 AF -PL -RECIP -cry -they.SUBJ  
 They cry **for each other**.
- (243) *gubgub* verb; blame  
**Mang -in -inn -ubgub -da.**  
 AF -(C)VC -RECIP -blame -they.SUBJ  
 They blamed **each other**.

For the meaning of CVC reduplication, see Chapters 11 and 12.

- (244) *busal* noun; enemy  
*sadit timpu -n dit bi -b -inn -usal*  
 TP time -GEN DET PL -RECIP -enemy  
 the time of enmity (that is, of being continually **mutual** enemies)

The above example contains an adjective with reciprocal meaning.

Hohulin (pers.comm.) suggests that the frozen form *man-CV* is an alternative means of expressing reciprocal action. See examples (461)-(465).

## CHAPTER 5

### VERBAL SENTENCE

#### 5.1 INTRODUCTION

Like Tagalog and most Philippine languages, Limos Kalinga is a predicate-initial language. That is, the most common and basic clause type consists of a word or phrase expressing a predicate, followed by words or phrases expressing arguments. There are two main groups of predicates, verbal and non-verbal, although it is sometimes hard to distinguish between the two. The structure of verbal predicates will be described first.

#### 5.2 THE SYNTAX OF VERBAL CLAUSES

Verbal clauses in Limos Kalinga consist of a verb followed by one or more noun phrase arguments. A verbal clause contains one noun phrase which is cross-referenced to the verb. It is the most important element in understanding the Limos Kalinga clause. Givón (1984: 167) describes Philippine languages clearly as follows:

...case-marking systems of various types may be viewed as different solutions to the same functional dilemma – the need to code simultaneously the semantic and pragmatic functions of nominal participants in clauses. With respect to subjectivization, the Philippine solution is in a way rather elegant. Nouns that are *not* in the pragmatic case-role of subject/topic are marked for their *semantic* roles, by prefixes. The subject/topic noun is marked by prefix for its *pragmatic* role. And the verb is marked (by various prefixes/infixes/suffixes) for the *semantic* role of the subject/topic.

Language examples will now be given to illustrate how this description applies to Limos Kalinga. For further descriptions of the focus types see Chapter 4.

##### 5.2.1 ACTOR FOCUS

(245) *Nan -dalus si Malia -t danat palatu.*  
PERF.AF -wash SUBJ Maria -OBL PL plates  
**Maria** washed some plates.

##### 5.2.2 LOCATION FOCUS

(246) *D -in -alus -an ud Malia danat palatu.*  
-PERF -wash -LF GEN Maria PL.SUBJ plates  
Maria washed **the plates**.

## 5.2.3 BENEFACTIVE FOCUS

- (247) *In -dalus -an ud Malia si ina -na -t nat palatu.*  
 PERF -wash -BF GEN Maria SUBJ mother -her -OBL DET plates  
 Maria washed some plates **for her mother.**

## 5.2.4 THEME FOCUS

In this case the subject is an effector-theme, or instrument.

- (248) *In -dalus ud Malia nat sabun sinat palatu.*  
 PERF.THF -wash GEN Maria SUBJ soap OBL plate  
 Maria washed plates **with the soap.**

## 5.3 SUBJECT

My perspective on Philippine languages is that of De Wolf (1988). He is not convinced by Schachter's (1976) arguments against the cross-referenced noun phrase being the subject in Tagalog. Schachter argues that:

1. Not all sentences have a 'subject'.
2. A Philippine 'subject' must be definite, but subjects elsewhere need not be.
3. The cross-referenced noun phrase does not control reflexivisation.
4. Neither is it involved in complement noun phrase deletion under co-reference, which is what would be expected of a true subject.

De Wolf answers that:

1. 'Subjectless' sentences are no more a problem for Philippine languages than for European ones.
2. The link between definiteness (referentiality) and subjecthood in Philippine languages merely reflects a strong leaning in an already universal direction.
3. The reflexivisation/complement clause argument depends on cross-linguistic evidence whose validity and relevance are not demonstrated.

I agree with both De Wolf and Starosta, Pawley and Reid (1982) that the cross-referenced noun phrase has most claim to the status of subject. Shibatani (1988) is also in partial agreement with this position.

In Limos Kalinga then, most grammatical processes are controlled by the subject, while a few processes such as reflexivisation are controlled by the actor. The subject not only controls cross-clausal syntax, but knits the discourse together. Wiens (1978) claims that the choice of subject is primarily based on pragmatic discourse considerations such as foregrounding.

For common nouns in Limos Kalinga, the subject bears no overt marking. For personal names, however, *si* normally follows consonants; and *-t* follows vowels, cliticising to the preceding word, whatever part of speech it is. It need not always be a verb, as in the following example where it is a pronoun:

- (249) *Dintong* -na -t **Buwaya.**  
 met -she.GEN -SUBJ Buwaya.  
 She met **Buwaya.**

But although there is no overt case marking for the common noun subject, there is for all other common noun phrases, (except sometimes for peripheral noun phrases comprising placenames). Common noun subjects do require a determiner, however, which obligatorily encodes both deixis, and either endocentric or exocentric reference (for further detail, see Chapter 3). Personal names, by their nature are already both specific and referential.

#### 5.4 OTHER NOUN PHRASES IN THE VERBAL CLAUSE

In the verbal clause, the preferred word order is as follows:

Verb – Actor – Subject – Oblique NP – Location NP

Of course, if the actor is the subject, actor and subject fall together. Although some other Philippine languages have a fairly free word order, Limos Kalinga has at least a preferred word order, despite the case-marking system. Perhaps this is because some of the case markers are homophonous forms, such as *si/ut* which marks both subject (for names), and oblique noun phrase (for common nouns). Some of the deictic markers may be contracted also, and since the subject must be definite, (but has no overt case marker), sorting out the various noun phrases often means sorting out the deictic markers from one another, which may be difficult because of contractions, such as *(di)t* which is homophonous with *(u)t*. So the fixed word order helps disambiguate otherwise possibly ambiguous sentences.

CHAPTER 6  
NON-VERBAL SENTENCE

6.1 INTRODUCTION

These clauses consist of a predicate expression followed by a subject noun phrase, with the exception of some existential clauses which have no subject. The predicate expressions may be a noun phrase, an adjective phrase, an existential, a possessive, or a prepositional phrase. The following discussion builds on Wiens's (n.d.a) list of non-verbal clause types. There are six types of predicate initial non-verbal clauses, which are listed below together with the type of constituent comprising the predicate.

CLAUSE TYPE	PREDICATE TYPE
1. Classification	indefinite noun phrase
2. Identification	definite noun phrase
3. Location	locative word or phrase
4. Time	time word or phrase
5. Quantification	quantifier
6. Qualification	adjective phrase/stative verb
7. Existential	existential

A brief description of each of the above will now be given, together with examples. Subjects are in bold type.

6.2 CLASSIFICATION

The predicate noun is indefinite, having neither determiner nor case marker, and is followed by the subject noun phrase.

(250) *Pilipino si Pedro.*  
 Filipino SUBJ Pedro  
**Pedro** is a Filipino. (Wiens n.d.a)

In the case of names, as opposed to common nouns, *si* marks both subject and topic. For common nouns, *sa* marks the topic. The subject is unmarked for case, but obligatorily marked for deixis, whereas all other cases are obligatorily marked for case.

### 6.3 IDENTIFICATION

A basic identification clause consists of a predicate comprising a definite noun phrase with topic morphology (see section 3.2.2), followed by the subject. Note that 'topic' in this volume is different from that of traditional structuralist descriptions of identification sentences which use the terms 'topic' and 'comment'. A basic identification clause is illustrated below:

- (251) *Satun bulun -ku si Pedlo.*  
 TP companion -my SUBJ Pedro  
 My companion is Pedro.

Chapter 8 is devoted to a fuller description of identification sentences.

### 6.4 LOCATION

The locative word or phrase is followed by the subject noun phrase.

- (252) *Asibanglan din inggawan -mi.*  
 Asibanglan SUBJ staying.place -our  
 We live in Asibanglan./Our living place is Asibanglan.

### 6.5 TIME

The time word or phrase is followed by the subject. The time word is often preceded by *nu* 'when'.

- (253) *Nu bigat dit umoyan -mi.*  
 when tomorrow SUBJ going -our  
 We will go tomorrow./Our going will be tomorrow.

- (254) *Sooni nu labi dit amung.*  
 by.and.by when night SUBJ party  
 The party is tonight.

### 6.6 QUANTIFICATION

The quantifier word or phrase is followed by the subject.

- (255) *Lima dan abeng -da.*  
 five PL.SUBJ child -their  
 They have five children./Their children are five.

- (256) *Adu da -n 'a -'abeng.*  
 many PL -SUBJ PL -child  
 The children are many./There are many children.

## 6.7 QUALIFICATION

The adjective or stative verb is followed by the subject. Descriptive clauses are only distinguishable from verbal clauses when irregular adjectives, which do not take the stative prefix *na-* in their simplest form, occur in them. (See Chapter 2 on the difference between verbs and adjectives.) Compare example (257), containing an irregular adjective, with example (258), which contains a regular adjective with the same form as a stative verb.

(257) *Dakol din boloy.*  
big SUBJ house  
**The house** is big.

(258) *Na -tunglin nat danum.*  
ST -cold SUBJ water  
**The water** is cold. (Wiens n.d.a)

## 6.8 EXISTENTIAL

In these clauses, the predicate consists of an existential word and usually an otherwise unmarked noun phrase. The predicate may optionally be followed by a subject noun phrase, or by an adverbial phrase. The nouns within the predicate have no deictic marking because they are either indefinite or a name. Limos Kalinga has the following existential verbs:

<i>awad</i>	positive existential		'there is'
<i>maid, naid</i>	negative existential	imperfective, perfective	'none'
<i>an-tu</i>	predicate demonstrative	(near speaker reference)	'here is'
<i>an-nat</i>	predicate demonstrative	(near hearer reference)	'there is'
<i>an-di</i>	predicate demonstrative	(distant reference)	'there is'

Examples of the various possible types of existential clauses will now be given. The predicates in examples (259) and (260) contain indefinite noun phrases.

(259) *Awad tinampuk.*                      (260) *Awad badang -na.*  
EXIST flour                                      EXIST machete -his  
There is some flour.                          He has a machete.

Example (261) has a name in its predicate:

(261) *Awad Apu Diyus.*  
EXIST Lord God  
Lord God exists.

(262) *Maid ma -i -baga -k.*  
NEG.EXIST IN -THF -say -I.GEN  
I have nothing to say.

- (263) *Maid tutuppakan -mi.*  
 NEG.EXIST chair -we.GEN  
 We have no chairs.
- (264) *Na -piya ta antu -d iyug -ku, kan -an Kutu.*  
 IN -good because here.is -a coconut -my say -LF Kutu  
 'Good, because here I have a coconut', said Kutu. (Wiens n.d.c)

For a description of (*u*)*d*, which occurs in the above sentence, see below and also section 3.3 and Chapter 8.

The predicate in example (265) is followed by a locative phrase:

- (265) *Awad ulog sidin boloy -mi.*  
 EXIST snake OBL house -our  
 There is a snake in our house. (Wiens n.d.a)

Examples (266) and (267) contain both an existential and a subject:

- (266) *Antu dit iblu -t tu.*  
 EXIST SUBJ book -OBL here  
**The book** is here.
- (267) *Awad kan siya dit iblu -k.*  
 EXIST OBL he SUBJ book -my  
 He has **my book**.

Compare example (267) with example (268), the latter having a predicate which is a possessive verb rather than an existential.

- (268) *Kuw -ana dit iblu.*  
 possess -he.GEN SUBJ book  
 The book is his.

*Ud* may also occur in existential constructions. In this context it appears to mark indefinite noun phrases. See example (264) above and the two examples from Wiens (n.d.b) given below:

- (269) *Nu na -buyuk awad ud ogos -na.*  
 if IN -rotten EXIST INDEF maggots -its  
 If it is rotten it has maggots.
- (270) *Awad -da -d bagu -n tagu -t din boloy -mi.*  
 EXIST -they -a new -LG person -LOC house -our  
 There is a new person in our house.

In identificational sentences, on the other hand, *ud* appears to mark the second noun phrase both as being definite and as being the predicate of the construction. For further description of *ud* see section 3.3, and Chapter 8.

## CHAPTER 7

### TOPICALISATION

#### 7.1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of topicalisation is to foreground a noun phrase, but the kind of foregrounding is different from that of voice distinctions such as actor focus and goal focus constructions. Keenan and Schieffelin (1976) and Duranti and Ochs (1979) give evidence from English discourse and Italian conversation respectively that topicalisation and left-dislocation have as their main function either the introduction of a new referent into the discourse, or the reintroduction of a referent which has previously been introduced but is not mentioned in the immediately preceding discourse. Limos Kalinga topicalisation strategies have a similar function to those in the above-mentioned languages. The subject in Philippine languages is old information, but the topic is either new information, or not mentioned in the immediately preceding discourse. Shibatani (1988) claims for Cebuano and Tagalog that both actors and subjects can become topics. But, strictly speaking, despite a couple of exceptions involving either a pause or a preposition, only subjects can become topics in verbal clauses in Limos Kalinga. However virtually any noun phrase can become a subject for the purpose of topicalisation. As will be shown below, there is verb morphology available which promotes any noun phrase (including those signifying reason, time and price, which cannot otherwise be subjects), to subject for the purpose of topicalisation. The non-subject actor can only be topicalised if it leaves behind a non-focused shadow pronoun.

In Limos Kalinga topicalisation and relativisation involve similar verb morphology. According to Schachter (1973), that is because they are both foregrounding strategies. As mentioned above, Limos Kalinga (with a couple of exceptions given below), requires that the topic of a topicalisation sentence be a subject. Likewise, relativisation involving the deletion of the co-referent noun phrase requires that the head noun be a subject. Non-subject actors are only accessible to relativisation through pronominalisation. Similarly, from my evidence, the only way a non-subject actor may be topicalised is by leaving behind a (non-subject) shadow pronoun. For non-subject/non-actors to be either topicalised or relativised on, the locative suffix *-an* must be employed. Because topicalisation and relativisation both involve semantic limitation, the aspectual limiting prefix *maN-/naN-* usually co-occurs with *-an*. However associative verbs may instead combine *man-/nan-* with *-an*, and inactive verbs promoting a noun phrase to subject combine *ma-/na-* with *-an* (see below).

So we see that Limos Kalinga clearly distinguishes between subjects and non-subjects in both topicalisation and relativisation strategies. As will be further explained below, there are two exceptions to the rule that topics must always be subjects. One is setting topicalisation (see Hohulin & Hale 1977) which, when it occurs, is usually found at the beginning of a story to set the scene. In this case the setting noun phrase is set off from the rest of the

sentence by a pause. The second exception is when the benefactive noun phrase is topicalised by means of the preposition *pala* 'for', without any change in verb morphology, and without the topic case marker. (See section 7.5.5 below.)

In this study I have described the process of topicalisation, and have only mentioned relativisation in passing. For a comparison of the two processes in Keley-i, see Hohulin and Hale (1977).

## 7.2 TOPICALISATION OF THE SUBJECT

The subject noun phrase is simply moved to the pre-predicate position and marked by the appropriate topicalisation case marker, depending on whether the noun phrase contains a personal name or another type of noun. Pronouns must take the full subject form when topicalised. The verb undergoes no change when the subject of an *-um-/umm-* verb (the most intransitive verb affix on the transitivity continuum) or a goal subject is topicalised. However, when the actor subject of a *man-* verb is topicalised, it normally takes the *maN-* actor focus prefix rather than *man-*. In other words, one could say that neither the actor of an intransitive clause nor the patient of a transitive clause requires special verb morphology to be topicalised, but that the agent of a transitive clause does. So at first sight, it appears that there is something ergative in nature about this part of the syntax. (For a discussion of ergativity, see Chapter 1.) It should be remembered, however, that *maN-* is referred to by Wiens (1979:23) as indicating limited action:

The prefix *maN-* indicates that the speaker views the action as limited in some way as to time, manner, extent, etc. It implies an end to the action and usually the limitation expressed or implied represents the total of the required action. This affix is also used most commonly to emphasize the actor in prepredicate position. This is logical, however, from the description of its semantic function given above, since in this construction there is an implied limit to the time of the action. That is, at this particular time the actor so emphasized will perform the action, although normally, or on another occasion, someone else may do it.

So although the actor subject requires special marking on the verb, in my opinion *aspectual* marking is required because of the semantic nature of such topicalisation (see section 4.2.1.3) rather than anti-passivisation morphology. However the location suffix *-an* does seem to have the function of promoting peripheral noun phrases to subject in order for them to be topicalised. So although *maN-/naN-* usually (but not always) co-occurs with *-an* in topicalisation constructions, the prefix *maN-/naN-* has an aspectual (semantic) function while the suffix *-an* has both a semantic and a syntactic one.

When *-an* occurs on such verbs, its semantic role of location focus is broadened to include focus on (place in) time and price. In identification constructions *-an* may also focus on reason. This function of *-an* is syntactic to the extent that it converts noun phrases which could not otherwise be subjects into subjects. The pragmatic function of such subjectivisation is to foreground a noun phrase by means of a process such as topicalisation or relativisation.

Throughout the following set of examples the topic will be printed in bold, rather than the subject as previously. Example (271) illustrates the topicalisation of the subject of an intransitive *-um-* verb:

- (271) **Sakit** ' -um -oy Manila -t bigat.  
 TP -AF.IMPERF -go Manila -OBL tomorrow  
**I'm** going to Manila tomorrow.

Example (272) shows a topicalised relativised actor subject:

- (272) **Sadit babai** -n nang -ngina -t dit binayu ' -umm -oy  
 TP woman -LG PERF.AF -buy -OBL rice -AF.PERF -go  
 Manila.  
 Manila  
**The woman who bought the rice** went to Manila.

Note that like topicalisation, relativisation of the subject actor involves the limiting aspectual marker *maN-/naN-*, and for the same reason, namely restriction, in this case of the actor to one specific woman.

Example (273) illustrates the topicalisation of the goal (in this case, patient) subject:

- (273) **Sadit pagoy b** -in -ayu -n (ud) Juan.<sup>4</sup>  
 TP rice -PERF.PF -pound -GEN John.  
 John pounded **the rice**./It was **the rice** John pounded.

Example (274a), a basic verb initial sentence should be compared to example (274b), where the actor subject of a *man-* verb is topicalised. In example (274b) the durative aspectual prefix *man-* has been replaced with the limited action prefix *maN-*.

- (274a) **Nam** -bayu si Juan utdit pagoy.  
 PERF.AF -pound SUBJ John OBL rice  
 John pounded some rice.
- (274b) **Si Juan** nam -ayu utdit pagoy. (naN+bayu)  
 TP John PERF.AF -pound OBL rice  
**John** pounded some of the rice.
- (275) **Si Juan** nang -ingina utdit kabayu -na.  
 TP John PERF.AF -sell OBL horse -his  
**John** sold a horse of his.

<sup>4</sup>This construction may also take the ligature *-a* following *pagoy* 'rice', which would then be translated: '**the rice that John pounded**'.

## 7.3 TOPICALISATION OF THE NON-SUBJECT ACTOR

From my evidence, the only way a non-subject actor may be topicalised is by leaving behind a (non-subject) shadow pronoun (underlined in the following example).

- (276) *Sadit babai -n nang -ngina -t dit binayu tagammu*  
 TP woman -LG PERF.AF -buy -OBL DET rice know.PF  
-na -t ina -k.  
 -she.GEN -SUBJ mother -my.  
 The woman who bought some rice (she) knows my mother.

For further examples of topicalisation of the non-subject actor, see section 7.7 below and especially example (288).

## 7.4 SETTING TOPICALISATION

Setting topicalisation is the simplest form of topicalisation, merely separating the topic off from the rest of the sentence by a pause (comma). It involves no special morphology except *sa*, the topic case marker. In this type of topicalisation, the topic, which is a noun phrase indicating time or location, need not be subjectivised before it can be topicalised, because it is set off from the rest of the clause by a pause. The following example shows the topicalisation of an indefinite time phrase which is the equivalent of 'once upon a time'.

- (277) *Sadit osa -n algaw, inggaw da kanu -d man -'asawa -n*  
 TP one LG day lived they REP -DET AF -marry -LG  
*alan sin bateled Makililang.*  
 giant OBL mount Makililang  
 Once upon a time, they say, a married couple of giants lived on Mount Makililang.

Note that the time phrase is indefinite, despite the referential deictic marker *dit*, because it contains *osa* 'one'. Also, it begins the story, so there is no other reference to it. In a story, the *-t* of *dit* refers to something past, otherwise it refers to something out of sight. (See Chapter 3.)

This kind of topicalisation is common at the beginning of a story or new section of a discourse, and has been referred to as "setting topicalization" in contrast to "contrastive identification topicalization" which occurs elsewhere (Hohulin & Hale 1977:244). What Hohulin and Hale call "introductory topicalization" I refer to here as topicalisation with cross-referencing, which it is. But its purpose is probably to introduce new referents into the discourse, as Hohulin and Hale have pointed out, rather than to contrastively identify them. I have no quantitative evidence to confirm their hypothesis for Kalinga.

## 7.5 TOPICALISATION OF A NON-CORE NOUN PHRASE

Non-core noun phrases may be topicalised in Limos Kalinga without being set off from the rest of the clause by a pause (comma), but in this case they must first be converted to subject by means of the locative focus suffix *-an*. When occurring in topicalisation

constructions, the suffix *-an* never occurs alone, but always in combination with one of the following three sets of affixes, (each of which has a distinction between imperfective and perfective aspect):

1. The durative/inclusive aspect prefix *man-/nan-* which occurs with associative verbs. It should be noted that verb initial and topicalised associative clauses have identical verb morphology (*man-/nan- ----an*), since the associated noun phrase, originally a non-core noun phrase, has already been converted to subject before topicalisation, and so needs no further verb morphology before being topicalised. In this case the place being topicalised is habitually associated with the verb, so there is not the same limitation there normally is in topicalised constructions. For this reason the durative aspect prefix *man-/nan-*, rather than the limiting prefix *maN-/naN-*, co-occurs with the suffix *-an*.
2. The limiting aspect prefix *maN-/naN-* which co-occurs with *-an* in most topicalisation verbs because of the restriction normally involved in topicalisation.
3. The prefix *ma-/na-* which marks inactive verbs, where no durative/ limited distinction is available.

Non-core noun phrases which may be topicalised include not only location, indirect object and instrument, (which may also be subject in the simple verb initial clause), but time, price and reason, which cannot be subject except when they are topicalised. For topicalisation of reason noun phrases in identification sentences, see section 8.2, examples (301)-(303). Other types of topicalised non-core noun phrases will now be illustrated in turn:

### 7.5.1 LOCATION

In the following clauses the location noun phrase is both subject and topic. The first example contains an active verb, and the second an inactive one.

(278a) **San** **malket** nang -ingin -'ana -t dit kabayu.  
 TP market PERF -sell -LF.he.GEN -OBL DET horse  
**At the market**, he sold the horse.

(278b) **San** **malket** na -ingin -'an dit kabayu.  
 TP market IN -sell -LF GEN horse  
**At the market** the horse was sold./**The market** was the selling place of the horse.

The basic (non-topicalised) goal (location) focus sentence would be as in example (278c). The subject is in bold type.

(278c) Ing -ngina -na dit kabayu -t dit malket.  
 THF.PERF -sell -he.GEN SUBJ horse -OBL DET market  
 He sold **the horse** at the market.

## 7.5.2 INDIRECT OBJECT

Examples (279a) and (279b), involving an active and an inactive verb respectively, illustrate the indirect object as both subject and topic.

- (279a) *Si Pedlo nang -ingin -'ana -t dit kabayu.*  
 TP Pedlo PERF -sell -LF.he.GEN -OBL DET horse  
**To Pedro** he sold the horse.

- (279b) *Si Pedlo na -ingin -'an dit kabayu.*  
 TP Pedro IN -sell -LF GEN horse  
**To Pedro** the horse was sold./**To Pedro** was the selling of the horse.

## 7.5.3 TIME

- (280) *Satun algaw na -ingin -'an dit kabayu.*  
 TP day PERF.IN -sell -LF GEN horse  
**Today** the horse was sold./**Today** was the selling of the horse.

## 7.5.4 PRICE

- (281) *(Sat) limanggasut na -ingin -'an dit kabayu.*  
 TP 500 pesos PERF.IN -sell -LF GEN horse  
**Five hundred pesos** the horse was sold for./**For five hundred pesos** was the selling of the horse.

The topic case marker /determiner is optional for price noun phrases.

## 7.5.5 BENEFACTIVE

The only example I have of the topicalisation of the benefactive noun phrase involves the preposition *pala* 'for', rather than the topicalisation case marker *si*, and has no additional aspectual morphology (such as *maN-/ naN-*), on the verb, but is instead a straightforward theme focus construction. So the topicalised noun phrase *pala kan Pitel* is not subject, but purely topic, marked by a preposition rather than by a topic case marker. To some extent this construction parallels setting topicalisation (see above).

- (282) *Pala kan Pitel, ' -ing -ingina -na dit kabayu.*  
 for OBL Peter -THF.PERF -sell -he.GEN SUBJ horse  
**For Peter**, he sold the horse.

This different structure may be necessary to disambiguate indirect object from benefactive topicalisation constructions. Compare example (282) (benefactive focus) with example (283) (locative focus [indirect object]).

- (283) **Si Pitel nang -ingina -ana utdit kabayu -na.**  
 TP Peter PERF -sell -LF.he.GEN OBL horse -his  
**Peter** he sold a horse of his horse to.

## 7.6 ASSOCIATIVE VERBS

The subjects of associative verbs may be topicalised without further morphology. The three goal focus affixes *-on*, *-an* and *i-* combine with the durative/inclusive aspect prefixes *man-* (imperfective)/*nan-* (perfective) as follows:

<i>man- -on</i> ,	<i>nan- -on</i>	The associated person is the subject.
<i>man- -an</i> ,	<i>nan- -an</i>	The associated place is the subject.
<i>mangi-</i> ,	<i>nangi-</i>	The associated instrument is the subject.

*Maka-* does double duty for both *inactive* and *associative* actor focus, but both the structure of the sentence and the context usually disambiguate them. (See section 4.3.1.)

The following topicalisation involves the *place* associated with a certain action, in this case, sweeping. The basic sentence is given first, followed by the topicalised one.

- (284) **Man -sagad -am din boloy sin isaw.**  
 ASSOC -sweep -LF SUBJ house OBL dirt  
 You sweep dirt in the house./One sweeps dirt in the house.

- (285) **San boloy man -sagad -am sin isaw.**  
 TOPIC house ASSOC -sweep -LF.you.GEN OBL dirt  
**In the house** you sweep dirt.

As can be seen, the verb morphology is identical in each case. Since associative verbs represent action which is not limited in any way, but rather tends to be habitual activity associated with a person, place or thing, the durative/inclusive aspectual prefix *man-/nan-* is entirely appropriate, rather than the limiting aspectual prefix *maN-/naN-*.

## 7.7 TOPICALISATION WITH SHADOW PRONOUN

Here the topicalised noun phrase leaves a (non-focused) shadow pronoun behind in the clause. In the following illustrative Limos Kalinga examples both the topicalised noun phrase and the shadow pronoun are in bold type. The first example involves the subject of an intransitive verb, the second a goal (theme) subject, and the third a non-subject actor.

- (286) **Sada Benito kan Nelson man -sunud -da.**  
 TP.PL Benito and Nelson IMPERF.AF -sibling -they.SUBJ  
**Benito and Nelson**, (they) are brothers.

- (287) **Sada Benito kan Nelson im -balud dit mayol dida.**  
 TP.PL Benito and Nelson PERF.THF -imprison GEN mayor them  
**Benito and Nelson**, the mayor imprisoned them.

- (288) *Sika Asu, antu- d sungbat -am apay un*  
**you,TP Dog** here -LG answer -LF.you.GEN why LG  
*nakassalasalapaw -ka -l lawa kanu ot nakaogyat si Ugsa.*  
 kept.bounding -you.SUBJ -LG just REP and frightened TP Deer  
**You, Mr Dog, (you) come answer why you just sprang up and frightened Mr Deer.**

CHAPTER 8  
IDENTIFICATION SENTENCES

8.1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of an identification sentence is to foreground or highlight a particular noun phrase. A basic identification clause (see section 6.3) consists of the predicate, comprising a definite noun phrase with topic morphology, followed by the subject.

Example(289) is a basic identification sentence. The subject is in bold type.

- (289) *Satun bulun -ku si **Pedro**.*  
 TP companion -my SUBJ Pedro  
**Pedro** is my companion.

The subject often consists of a nominalisation containing a headless relative clause. But this construction may also be inverted so that the predicate contains the nominalisation. For example sentence (291) below is an inversion of sentence (290). Example (292) is simply a variation of (290).

- (290) *Sat kabayu -na -t<sup>5</sup> ing -ngina -n Juan.*  
 TP horse -his -SUBJ PERF.THF -sell -GEN John  
**What John sold** was his horse.

- (291) *Sat ing -ngina -n Juan dit kabayu -na.*  
 TP PERF.THF -sell -GEN Juan SUBJ horse -his  
**His horse** was what Juan sold.

- (292) *Siya, dit kabayu -na, dit ing -ngina -n (ud) Juan.<sup>6</sup>*  
 it.TP SUBJ horse -his SUBJ PERF.THF -sell -GEN Juan  
**What Juan sold** was that, his horse.

8.2 IDENTIFICATION SENTENCES WITH *ud*

Although in Limos Kalinga verbal sentences only subjects may be topics, in basic identification sentences the predicate may be the topic, providing it is a definite noun phrase; and

<sup>5</sup>*Dit*, the 'subject' determiner (in the sense that if it occurs alone without any other case marker, it indicates the subject), may be contracted to *-t* following a vowel. *Di-t* refers to something distant from both speaker and hearer, and either out of sight or in the past.

<sup>6</sup>*Ngina* means 'buy', and *i-ngina* 'sell'. When *i-ngina* takes the perfective THF prefix *in-* it becomes *ing-ngina*.

providing that in those sentences where the subject noun phrase comprises a headless relative clause, only the subject of that embedded clause may be the topic of the identification sentence. But in *ud* identificational sentences, subject and topic coincide again, as in verbal clauses.

The basic Limos Kalinga identificational sentence, with its predicate-subject relational order follows the unmarked relational order for all Limos Kalinga sentences. However, the subject of an identificational sentence may be topicalised (fronted) like that of a verbal sentence. In the topicalised version of the identificational sentence, *ud* is the determiner of the predicate (second) noun phrase, marking it both as being definite and as being the predicate. (For the various functions of *ud*, see section 3.3). Examples (293) and (294) illustrate identificational sentences with *ud*.

- (293) *Siya -d abunu din payaw.*<sup>7</sup>  
 SUBJ.TP.it -DET fertiliser SUBJ paddy  
**It/that** (water buffalo manure) is the fertiliser of the paddy.

- (294) *San Allaguia ud kaadaniyan un ospital.*  
 SUBJ.TP Allaguia DET closest LG hospital  
**Allaguia** is the nearest hospital.

De Guzman (1986:358), summarising various investigations into Philippine languages (especially Tagalog), concludes that:

...identification sentences, by virtue of their meanings, are used in answer to specific WH- or information questions or as a sequel to some preceding statements, such that there could be established certain presuppositions shared by both the speaker and the hearer in a discourse. In both cases, there are materials that are known or made known (and therefore shared at the point of delivery, if not before) and which are carried over as presupposed or old information in the succeeding sentence.

In basic Limos Kalinga identificational sentences the old, presupposed information is in the first (predicate) noun phrase, and the new, identified information is in the second (subject) noun phrase. But in the *ud* construction, which is the favourite kind of identification sentence in Limos Kalinga, the subject noun phrase with its new, identified information is topicalised (fronted). In Limos Kalinga the unmarked relational order for all sentences is predicate-subject, but topicalisation of the subject may occur in both verbal and non-verbal sentences, resulting in the marked subject-predicate word order. In *ud* identification constructions, only the subject of a clause embedded in the predicate (*ud*) noun phrase may be subject/topic.

It should be noted that *ud* often contracts to *d* following a vowel, and cliticises to the preceding word. In identification sentences involving *ud* as a determiner, various particles may come between the first and the second noun phrases. One such is the modal hearsay particle

<sup>7</sup>There is no genitive nasal preceding *din*. It appears that the genitive is sometimes not marked by *-n*, but simply by the juxtaposition of two noun phrases.

*kanu*, 'it is said; so they say', which is glossed as REP, (an abbreviation for 'reportedly'), and another is the modal particle *nin*, 'perhaps'. I will now give actor subject, goal subject, location subject and reason subject examples of Limos Kalinga identification sentences with *ud*. The subject/topic is in bold, and *ud* is glossed as DET (determiner).

### 8.2.1 ACTOR SUBJECT/TOPIC

The aspectual prefix *maN-/naN-* occurs in these sentences. (See section 4.2.1.)

- (295) **Si** **Bokid** *nin* *ud* *mang* *-ala*.  
 SUBJ.TP Bokid perhaps DET AF.IMPERF -get  
 Maybe **Bokid** is the one who will get it. (Wiens n.d.b)
- (296) **Sadat** **mengol**, **dida** *ud* *mam* *-angat* *nu* *'-um*  
 SUBJ.TP warrior they.SUBJ.TP DET IMPERF.AF -lead when -AF  
*-oy -da mang -ayaw.*  
*-go -they.SUBJ IMPERF.AF -headhunting*  
**The warriors, they** are the leaders when they go headhunting. (Wiens n.d.b)

### 8.2.2 ACTOR SUBJECT/TOPIC, INACTIVE VERB

Stative verbs take goal focus affixes, but the clause probably has a syntactic actor subject. (See section 4.3.2.)

- (297) **...sika** *-d* *ma* *-udiudi* *si* *'ay* *-am*.  
 ...you.SUBJ.TP -DET IN.GF -last OBL pass -IMPERF.LF.you.GEN  
 (You will be called 'tail' if) **you** are the last wherever you go (on the trail).

### 8.2.3 GOAL SUBJECT/TOPIC

- (298) **Sadit** **lupog** **dit** **kayu** **siya** *kanu* *-d* *k* *-in* *-an* *-da*.  
 SUBJ.TP rot GEN wood that.TP REP -DET -PERF.PF -eat -they.GEN  
 (They lived, for) **rotten wood, that** (so it is said) is what they ate (until the water had subsided).

### 8.2.4 LOCATION SUBJECT/TOPIC

When a location noun phrase is the subject/topic of an *ud* identification sentence containing a headless relative clause, the verb of that clause is obligatorily marked for either limited (*maN-*) or durative (*man-*) aspect, as well as by the locative suffix *-an*. While *maN-* is appropriate for a location noun phrase indicating a temporary location (see example (299)), *man-* is required to indicate an on-going association of a place with an action, as is the case in example (300), which contains an associative verb (see section 4.4.2.3). For further description of aspectual prefixes *maN-* and *man-*, see sections 4.2.1.2 and 4.2.1.3.

8.2.5 LOCATION WITH *maN--an*

- (299) **Sadadit tagu -t tu ud mang -al -'an -da**  
 SUBJ.TP.PL person -OBL here DET IMPERF -get -LF -they.GEN

*Aguinaldo kan dadit suldadu -na utdit kan -on -da.*

Aguinaldo and PL soldiers -his OBL eat -IMPERF.PF -they.GEN

**Those people here** were where they, Aguinaldo and his soldiers were getting their food.

8.2.6 LOCATION WITH *man--an* (ASSOCIATIVE PLACE FOCUS)

- (300) ...**siya -d mam -ponpon -ana si amin un**  
 ...SUBJ.TP -DET IMPERF.ASSOC -put -LF.he.GEN OBL all LG

*ma -'apit -na -t dit pita -na.*

IN -harvest -he.GEN -OBL DET earth -his

(He can store all the property which he has gathered in his house, and) **that is where** he puts all that he has harvested from his land.

## 8.2.7 REASON SUBJECT/TOPIC

Reason may be indicated by *siya-d* (*siya ud*), 'That's (the reason) why', followed by a headless relative clause with limited aspect prefix *maN-* (see section 4.2.1.3) and locative focus suffix *-an* (see section 4.2.2.3).

- (301) **Siya -d mang -amin -an -da -t inyisna -da**  
 SUBJ.TP -DET IMPERF -all -LF -they.GEN -OBL rice -their

*un binayun dit banat.*

LG pounded.rice GEN engagement.gift

**That's the reason for** their consuming all their cooked rice which was pounded for the engagement gift.

Example (302) is interesting in that the predicate of the main identification clause contains an embedded identification clause with an *ud* predicate.

- (302) **Siya -d man -uttuwa -ak un Kabuniyan ud 'umoy**  
 SUBJ.TP -DET IMPERF -believe -LF.I.GEN LG Kabuniyan DET go

*nangi -mula utdin Adamoy.<sup>8</sup>*

PERF -plant OBL Adamoy

**That's the reason** I believe/**That's the reason for** my believing that (the god) **Kabuniyan** was the one who planted the Adamoy tree.

<sup>8</sup>*Man-uttuwa-ak* consists of: *maN-* + *tuttuwa* + *an* + *ku*.

(303) **Siya** -d man -uttuw -an -ta utdin lintog Apudyus  
 SUBJ.TP -DET IMPERF -believe -LF -we.GEN OBL law Lord.God

un ing -kanglit dat buyut -na.  
 LG PERF.THF -write GEN.PL disciple -his

**That's the reason we believe./That's the reason for our believing the laws of God which his disciples wrote.**

## CHAPTER 9

### ASPECT

#### 9.1 INTRODUCTION

According to Chung and Timberlake (1985:212), "Aspect characterizes the relationship of a predicate to the time interval over which it occurs". The most basic aspectual distinction in Limos Kalinga is that between perfective and imperfective aspect. Comrie (1976:4) explains the difference between the two in this way:

...perfective looks at the situation from outside, without necessarily distinguishing any of the internal structure of the situation, whereas the imperfective looks at the situation from inside, and as such is crucially concerned with the internal structure of the situation, since it can both look backwards towards the start of the situation, and look forwards to the end of the situation, and indeed is equally appropriate if the situation is one that lasts through all time, without any beginning and without any end.

Kalinga has three main ways of indicating aspect. Firstly, by means of the *m/n* distinction which will be described in more detail below. These affixes are morphophonemically fused with the focus morphology of the verb. *N* represents perfective, and *m* imperfective. An example of this is:

*Nambayu*. 'He pounded (rice)', versus

*Mambayu*. 'He is pounding/was pounding (rice)'.

My evidence for this conclusion is given in Chapter 10.

The second method of indicating aspect is by means of the focus affixes: the actor focus prefixes *(m)an-/(n)an-* and *(m)aN-/(n)aN-* which indicate durative/inclusive and limited aspect respectively, and the aspectual/transitivity distinctions associated with the various goal focus affixes. (See the transitivity continuum in section 4.2.3.)

The third main way of indicating aspect is by means of reduplication of the root. Kalinga is rich in reduplication strategies.

Almost all verbal reduplication indicates either imperfective aspect of some kind, or multiple actors (as with adjectives), where CV reduplication indicates plurality. Sometimes other meanings accompany aspectual distinctions, and these will be described below.

The main types of verbal reduplication are as follows: firstly, CV reduplication, which marks either plural actors or continuity. Secondly, CVC reduplication, which normally indicates 'casual' action. I will define what I mean by 'casual' action below. Both also have

derivational functions. The third main type is SCV (syllable, consonant, vowel) reduplication, which indicates repetition. After describing the three main types of imperfectivity indicated by the different types of reduplication, I will briefly describe a rarer kind of reduplication indicating iterative/repetitive aspect.

Consonant gemination is often added to CV reduplication. In the case of glottal initial roots the second consonant is geminated, otherwise the first consonant of the root. Gemination adds the semantic quality of certainty or permanence to the meaning of the root.

It is possible to have one form of imperfectivity marked by reduplication at the same time as the perfective *n* of the focus morphology occurs. In this way Kalinga is directly able to express as a single whole a situation which has internal complexity, as in examples (304) to (308).

- (304) *Nakasuggayat si asu ot naka -s -sala -salapaw kapon sit*  
 PERF.startled TP dog and PERF -C -SCV -bound direction OBL

*bananaw.*

pond

The dog was startled and **kept bounding** in the direction of the pond.

- (305) *Nan -'a -'anggom -'an -da.* (*nan-* + CV + *'anggom* + *-an*)  
 PERF -PL -love -BEN -they.SUBJ

They loved one another with brotherly affection.

- (306) *Naka -pinapinakuy kalabyan.* Root: *pakuy*, 'shout'.  
 kept.on -shouting yesterday  
 Yesterday he kept on shouting.

- (307) *Nan -ti -tig -tigammu -da amin.*  
 PERF -PL -CVC -know -they.SUBJ all

They all got to know each other.

- (308) *otdag* verb; drop, fall; metaphoric, to die

*Man -'a -'akut kanu man datu, nan -'ot -'otdag kanu*  
 AF -PL -carry REP SEQ these AF -CVC -fall REP

*dit ugas sit pita batug dit sooban.*

SUBJ left-over.rice.grains OBL ground direction GEN door

When they carried the rice grain from the paddy, some was falling on the ground (leading) up to the door.

CHAPTER 10  
PERFECTIVE AND IMPERFECTIVE ASPECT

10.1 INTRODUCTION

There is a basic distinction made in Kalinga. It is in the Tense-Aspect-Mood (TAM) system, and is hard to tease out into separate threads. This distinction, or a similar one, exists in all Philippine languages that I know of. In actor focus it involves a distinction between *man-* and *nan-* for many verb roots. Throughout the system, it seems to hold that the second member of the pair always involves *n*, whether in a prefix or an infix. The one apparent exception to this claim is the perfective actor focus infix *-umm-*, but this was presumably originally *\*-umn-* before *n* assimilated to the preceding consonant. All goal focus affixes for the *n-* set involve *in-* either as a prefix or an infix.

These focus affixes have been set out in Table 8, which is taken from Wiens (1979:22), except for the labels and the order of the focus affixes, and is part of the larger Table 5 in Chapter 4. As can be seen, there is a basic two-way contrast. Those *n*'s (and the one *m* mentioned above) indicating perfectivity are in bold type.

TABLE 8: VERB FOCUS MORPHOLOGY

Focus	TAM	prefix	infix	suffix
Actor Focus	<i>M</i>		<i>-um-</i>	
	<b><i>N</i></b>		<b><i>-umm-</i></b>	
	<i>M</i>	<i>man-</i>		
	<b><i>N</i></b>	<b><i>nan-</i></b>		
	<i>M</i>	<i>maN-</i>		
	<b><i>N</i></b>	<b><i>naN-</i></b>		
Goal Focus (patient)	<i>M</i>			<i>-on</i>
	<b><i>N</i></b>		<b><i>-in-</i></b>	
(theme)	<i>M</i>	<i>-i-</i>		
	<b><i>N</i></b>	<b><i>-in-</i></b>		
(location)	<i>M</i>			<i>-an</i>
	<b><i>N</i></b>		<b><i>-in-</i></b>	<b><i>-an</i></b>
(benefactive)	<i>M</i>	<i>i-</i>		<i>-an</i>
	<b><i>N</i></b>	<b><i>in-</i></b>		<b><i>-an</i></b>

## 10.2 FOCUS AFFIXES

Among Filipinists, opinions vary as to how to describe this basic morphological distinction. Some choose 'tense'; others like Wiens for Kalinga, choose the aspectual 'perfective-/imperfective' distinction; while still others like Givón (1984) (for Bikol) and Chung and Timberlake (1985) (for Tagalog), following Schachter and Otnes (1972), speak of the modal distinction between realis and irrealis. Of course it is possible that different languages require a different category, but even within discussion of a single Philippine language the descriptions vary between tense, aspect and mood.

For Kalinga, as Wiens claims, the distinction seems to be basically an aspectual one between perfective and imperfective. There is also, however, another set of affixes which interact with this *M/N* distinction, and these are the various kinds of reduplication. Their function when combined with verbs is predominantly aspectual, along the lines of increased imperfectivity in such ways as: progressive, continuative, repetitive, habitutive and intensity. This system involves complex patterns which will be discussed below.

As would be expected, most reduplication occurs with the imperfective *M* verbs. Morphologically, the reduplicative process is closer to the verb root than is the *M* affix, and only rarely involves this affix. The *M* affix precedes the rest of the verb and as would be expected, this is mirrored in the semantics. Consequently, although it is not common, when reduplication does occur together with an *N* affix, it results in an overall perfective verb.

Before giving various examples of perfective and imperfective aspect, I will mention two exceptions to the perfective/imperfective meaning given above for the *M/N* distinction:

1. Strangely, quote formulas are almost always in imperfective aspect, even in narrative discourse where perfective would be expected, as in example (309).

- (309) *Utdi kanan ud Malio un: ' -um -una -ak*  
 then say GEN Mario LG -AF.IMPERF -first -I.SUBJ  
 ' -um -oy.  
 -AF.IMPERF -go  
 Then Mario said: "I'll go first".

2. As Wiens (1978:106) points out, "The choice of non-past tense [read: imperfective aspect – N.F.] is also fairly automatic with the particle *man*, which marks specific time, and with the particle *kad*, which marks temporal conditions". Marginal adverbial time clauses in narrative discourse frequently contain *man*, which is usually translated 'when' or 'while'. Although the context here usually seems to require either perfective or perfect meaning, the verb in the main clause is almost always in the imperfective aspect. The following example illustrates this:

- (310) *D -um -atong -da kanu man sit domang..*  
 -AF.IMPERF -come -they.SUBJ REP SEQ OBL other.side  
 When they arrived at the other side...

One reason for these apparent irregularities is that, in narrative at least, the imperfective has come to represent background material, whether in quotations or adverbial clauses. The

perfective marks the foreground, or backbone of the story, making it stand out more clearly. As Wiens (1978) has shown, however, at climactic points in the narrative, highlighting occurs by switching unexpectedly in the story-line from the perfective to the imperfective aspect. Just as the historic present gives vividness to story-telling in English, so does the imperfective when the perfective is expected in Kalinga. (For further details see Wiens 1978.)

Various types of perfective and imperfective clauses are illustrated below:

## 10.2.1 SIMPLE INDICATIVE CLAUSES

### 10.2.1.1 ACTOR FOCUS

*-um-/umm-*

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>(311a) ' <i>-Um</i>            <i>-oy -ak</i>        <i>sidi.</i><br/>                 -AF.IMPERF -go -I.SUBJ there<br/>                 I am going there.</p> | <p>(311b) ' <i>-Umm</i>        <i>-oy -ak</i>        <i>sidi.</i><br/>                 -AF.PERF -go -I.SUBJ there<br/>                 I went there.</p> |
| <p>(312a) ' <i>-Um</i>            <i>-udan.</i><br/>                 -AF.IMPERF -rain<br/>                 It is raining./It will rain.</p>                       | <p>(312b) ' <i>-Umm</i>        <i>-udan.</i><br/>                 -AF.PERF -rain<br/>                 It rained.</p>                                     |

*man-/nan-*

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <p>(313a) <i>Mam</i>            <i>-mula -ak</i>        <i>si</i>        <i>balat.</i><br/>                 IMPERF.AF -plant -I.SUBJ OBL bananas<br/>                 I will plant bananas./I am planting bananas.</p> | <p>(313b) <i>Nam</i>            <i>-mula -ak</i>        <i>si</i>        <i>kantila.</i><br/>                 PERF.AF -plant -I.SUBJ OBL sweet.potatoes<br/>                 I planted sweet potatoes.</p> |
| <p>(314a) <i>Mam</i>            <i>-bayu -ak.</i><br/>                 IMPERF.AF -pound -I.SUBJ<br/>                 I am pounding (rice).</p>   | <p>(314b) <i>Nan</i>            <i>-bayu -ak.</i><br/>                 PERF.AF -pound -I.SUBJ<br/>                 I pounded (rice).</p>   |
| <p>(315) <i>Nal</i>            <i>-ligwat -ak</i>        <i>sinat.</i><br/>                 PERF.AF -come.from -I.SUBJ there<br/>                 I came from there.</p>   |  |
| <p>(316) <i>Man</i>            <i>-tupak -ak.</i><br/>                 IMPERF.AF -sit -I.SUBJ<br/>                 I am sitting down.</p>  |  |
| <p>(317a) <i>Man</i>            <i>-'awit -ak</i>        <i>si</i>        <i>kayu.</i><br/>                 IMPERF.AF -carry -I.SUBJ OBL firewood<br/>                 I will carry firewood.</p>                      |  |

- (317b) *Nan* -'awit -ak si kayu.  
 PERF.AF -carry -I.SUBJ OBL firewood  
 I carried firewood.

Habitual use of *man*-:

- (318) *Mang* -kiwas -ak si palatu un in-algaw.  
 IMPERF.AF -wash -I.SUBJ OBL plates LG day.after.day  
 I wash plates daily.

The verb is distributive here also. That is, the plates are washed one after the other.

*maN-/naN-*

- (319) *Mang* -an nu nabitil. (maN- + kan)  
 IMPERF.AF -eat.she.SUBJ when hungry  
 She will eat when she is hungry.
- (320) *Man* -aksak -ak. (maN- + saksak + -ak)  
 IMPERF.AF -launder -I.SUBJ  
 I am laundering./I will launder.
- (321) *Nang* -abeng dat abeng -na. (naN- + abeng)  
 PERF.AF -bore PL.SUBJ child -his  
 His children bore children.
- (322) *Man* -alan -ak -on. (maN- + dalan + -ak + -on)  
 IMPERF.AF -road -I.SUBJ -already  
 I am leaving now.

10.2.1.2 PATIENT FOCUS: -on/-in-

- (323a) *Bayu* -om din pagoy.  
 IMPERF.pound -PF.you.GEN SUBJ rice  
 You are pounding the rice./Pound the rice.
- (323b) *B* -in -ayu -m din pagoy.  
 -PERF.PF -pound -you.GEN SUBJ rice  
 You pounded the rice.
- (324a) *Pokpok* -ok din kayu.  
 chop -IMPERF.PF.I.GEN SUBJ tree  
 I am chopping down the tree./I will chop down the tree.

- (324b) *P -in -okpok -ku din kayu.*  
 -PERF.PF -chop -I.GEN SUBJ tree  
 I chopped down **the tree**.
- (325) *Paltiy -on -da dit solwak.*  
 butcher -IMPERF.PF -they.GEN SUBJ animal.of.solwak.celebration  
 (When they have observed long enough, they call the man's relatives and) they  
 butcher **the animal of the solwak celebration**.
- (326) *Piya -ona -n isna.*  
 like -IMPERF.PF.she.GEN -SUBJ rice.  
 She likes the **rice**.
- (327) *In -tod -ku din alsom kan siya. (-in- + itod)*  
 PERF.PF -give -I.GEN SUBJ pomelo OBL her  
 I gave **the pomelo (citrus fruit)** to her.

10.2.1.3 THEME FOCUS: *i-/in-*

- (328a) *I -mula -na tun pagoy.*  
 IMPERF.THF -plant -he.GEN SUBJ rice  
 He is planting **the rice**./He will plant **the rice**.
- (328b) *In -mula -na tun pagoy.*  
 PERF.THF -plant -he.GEN SUBJ rice  
 He planted **the rice**.
- (329) *Igga -m tun iblu utnat lamesa.*  
 IMPERF.THF.put -you.GEN SUBJ book OBL table  
 Put **the book** on the table./You are putting/will put **the book** on the table.
- (330) *I -lugpa -da nat moma.*  
 IMPERF.THF -spit.out -they.GEN SUBJ betel.chew  
 They are spitting out/will spit out **the betel chew**.

Speech verbs, since they convey information, usually take theme focus.

- (331) *Im -baga -na dit panggop -na.*  
 PERF.THF -tell -she.GEN SUBJ purpose -her  
 She told **her purpose**.

10.2.1.4 LOCATIVE FOCUS: *-an/-in---an*

- (332) *Mulmul -ak tun kindi.* Perfective: *minulmulak*  
 suck -IMPERF.LF.I.GEN SUBJ candy  
 I am sucking/will suck **the candy**. Perfective: I sucked **the candy**.

- (333) *Angpas- an -da tun unas.*  
 chip.at -IMPERF.LF -they.GEN SUBJ sugarcane  
 They are chipping at/will chip at **the sugarcane**.  
 Perfective: *inangpasan*. They chipped at **the sugarcane**.
- (334) *In -imus -an Juan si ama -na.*  
 PERF -ask -LF John.GEN SUBJ father his  
 John asked/questioned **his father**.
- (335) *Pakuy -am si Pakito.*  
 shout -IMPERF.LF.you.GEN SUBJ Pakito  
 Shout to **Pakito**.

10.2.1.5 BENEFACTIVE FOCUS: *i---an/in---an*

- (336) *Iy -akut -an -da si danum si ina.*  
 IMPERF -carry -BF -they.GEN OBL water SUBJ mother  
 They are carrying some water **for mother**.
- (337) *Iny -akut -an -da si danum.*  
 PERF -carry -BF -they.GEN OBL water  
 They carried water **for him**.
- (338) *Iy -paltiy -an -yu sakon.*  
 IMPERF -butcher -BF -you(PL).GEN me.SUBJ  
 You are butchering/will butcher **for me./Butcher for me**.
- (339) *Im -bayuw -an -na sakon si pagoy.*  
 PERF -pound -BF -she.GEN me.SUBJ OBL rice  
 She pounded rice **for me**.

CHAPTER 11  
MORPHOLOGY OF REDUPLICATION

11.1 INTRODUCTION

There are three major reduplication patterns: CV, CVC, and SCV, which will now be dealt with in order of increasing complexity. First it should be noted that all Limos Kalinga words are phonemically consonant-initial, but word-initial glottals are not normally written in Kalinga orthography. However, I have not followed that convention in this chapter and the next, where the consonant-vowel patterns are important to the discussion. For example, /'ani/ 'to harvest' is usually written orthographically as *ani*, but in this chapter it will be written as it is phonemically, 'ani. Throughout this chapter and the next, the word containing the reduplication in each example, and its translation in the free translation, will be in bold type.

11.2 CV REDUPLICATION

Consonant-Vowel reduplication is simply the reduplication of the initial consonant and vowel of the root, and will henceforth be called CV reduplication. It may indicate either plurality or continuity/association on both nouns and verbs. As mentioned in Chapter 2, there is little to distinguish nouns and verbs from one another. Examples are:

<i>da-dalus</i>	'something (habitually) used for cleaning'	from <i>dalus</i>	'to clean'
'a-'abeng	'children'	from 'abeng	'child'

With rare exceptions, the reduplication morphology occurs closer to the root than does the focus morphology, which indicates that the root is normally reduplicated first. For example:

*Man-'e-'emeng.* 'He was laughing'. from 'emeng 'to laugh'

The following nominalisation, however, is an exception to the above generalisation, probably because *kan* has only one syllable:

(340) *mang -mang -an*  
CVC -IMPERF.AF -eat  
'eating time' that is, 'mid-morning' from *kan*, 'to eat'.

11.2.1 CV REDUPLICATION WITH GEMINATION

CV reduplication often co-occurs with gemination of the first consonant of the root, except when that consonant is a glottal, in which case the second consonant is geminated instead. This gemination intensifies the meaning, often adding the notion of permanence, and often

indicates habitual action, although CV reduplication alone may do so. Example (344) illustrates the gemination of the first consonant of the root, while examples (345) and (346), containing glottal initial roots, illustrate the gemination of the second consonant. CVG indicates consonant vowel reduplication with consonant gemination.

- (341) *Man -lal -latuk.*  
 AF -CVG -jump  
 He habitually jumps.
- (342) *'awat receive*  
*'A -'awwat -ona.*  
 CVG -receive -PF.he.GEN  
 He will **surely** receive it. (No doubt about it).
- (343) *'usal wear*  
*'U -'ussal -ona.*  
 CVG -wear -PF.she.GEN  
 She habitually wears it.

CV reduplication with consonant gemination may function either as a nominaliser or as verbal inflection. There is a sense in which nominalisations have a built-in notion of habituality. Examples of nominalisation are given first:

<i>balu</i>	verb;	to thrust a pole into the ground
<i>bab-balu</i>	noun;	stick for making holes
<i>kayap</i>	verb;	to creep, to crawl
<i>kak-kayap</i>	noun;	animal, creeping thing, but also generic of all animals
<i>kotob</i>	verb;	to bite
<i>kok-kotob</i>	noun;	teeth
<i>balasang</i>	noun;	heifer, young female animal, especially water buffalo
<i>bab-balasang</i>	noun;	pretty young girl around the age of adolescence.

The following sentences give examples of CV plus gemination as verbal inflection:

- (344) *Mam -pap -pakoy -a 'umalgaw.*  
 AF -CONT.C -shout -LG the.whole.day  
 He **keeps on shouting** the whole day.
- (345) *Man -kik -kiyang -on din anak.*  
 AF -CONT.C -walk -already SUBJ child  
 Their child **is walking** now.

## 11.3 CVC REDUPLICATION: CASUAL ACTION

CVC reduplication involves the reduplication of the initial consonant-vowel-consonant of the root, as in *tod-toddak* 'race, running', from *toddak* 'to run'. It has been found on noun and verb roots, and on at least one adverb root, and indicates casual, aimless or diminutive action. There are a few roots which take both CV and CVC reduplication simultaneously, but the order of the two types of reduplication is always the same: (AF)-CV-CVC-Root. In each of the cases I have encountered, CV reduplication may be interpreted as indicating plural number, and CVC reduplication as indicating casual action. Examples (346) to (348) below illustrate the combination of CV and CVC reduplication in the same word.

- (346) *datong* 'come'; The root is not found alone.  
*man-dat-datong* 'gather'; casual action  
*man-da-dat-datong* 'gather'; plural verb, casual action

- (347) *tigammu* 'know'  
*Nan-tigammu.* 'S/he knows, knew'.

**Nan** -*ti* -*tig* -*tigammu* -*da* *amin.*  
 PERF.AF -PL -CAS -know -they.SUBJ all  
 They all got to know one another.

In example (347) the CV plurality affix agrees with *amin* 'all'.

There are no examples in the text material of *tigammu* with CVC reduplication alone.

In the following example the verb *mambabagbaga* has been nominalised by the preceding determiner:

- (348) *baga* verb; 'say, tell' The root is not found alone.  
*bag-baga* noun; 'language, speech'  
*mam-bag-baga* verb; 'speak, discuss'  
*mam-ba-bag-baga* verb; 'speaking (plural, casual)'

*Kan -an -da kanu -n dit mam -ba -bag -baga un: "...".*

say -LF -they.GEN REP -LG SUBJ AF -PL -CAS -say LG

They spoke (so it is said), **saying**: ("Is that enough rice and side-dishes for all of us?") That is, they discussed (the strange action) among themselves, everyone asking their neighbours the same thing: "Is that enough rice and side-dishes for all of us?"

## 11.4 SCV REDUPLICATION: REPETITIVE

This kind of reduplication will be described as syllable-consonant-vowel (SCV) reduplication, because roots occur which reduplicate with the following pattern: CV(C)CV-Root, as follows:

*saksa-saksak* from *saksak*, 'wash';  
*ligwa-ligwat* from *ligwat*, 'stand up'.

SCV reduplication indicates repetitive action. It occurs on verbs, including stative verbs, and adjectives, but has not been found on nouns. On adjectives it indicates intensity. Examples of SCV reduplication on verbs are given below:

<i>man-dulu-dulu</i>	root: <i>dulut</i>	'come or go one after another'
<i>mang-aya-ayag</i>	root: <i>ayag</i>	'calling', as in 'He was calling when we passed by'.
<i>manga-mangan</i>	root: <i>kan</i>	'eat', as in 'While they were eating, the people came'.

Note that this last example, being the only single syllable root among them, is different from the above examples, in that the reduplication occurs after the combination of *maN-* and *kan*. McKay (pers.comm.) suggests that it is likely that SCV reduplication requires two syllables to apply to, which is logical, since one syllable could not provide an SCV pattern.

The following three examples are adjectives:

<i>bolang</i>	hard	<i>na-bola-bolang</i>	very hard
<i>polkas</i>	white	<i>na-polka-polkas</i>	very white
<i>piya</i>	good	<i>na-piya-piya</i>	very good

SCV reduplication often combines with *maka-*, to mean 'always', or 'keep on VERB-ing'. When it does so, the initial consonant of the root is almost always geminated too. Only a few combinations of *maka-* with SCV have been found which lack the initial consonant gemination. These may be errors in transcription, a variation between speakers, or else the gemination of the first consonant of the root may have a separate meaning, such as intensification, as it appears to have in some other places. No consonant gemination has been observed with *maka-* and SCV reduplication on glottal initial roots. Examples of *maka-* + consonant gemination + SCV + root are given below:

<i>maka-d-dawa-dawak</i>	keep on performing the curing ceremony
<i>maka-l-lapu-lapu</i>	keep on beginning to
<i>maka-k-kaka-kakan</i>	keep on eating
<i>maka-s-saksa-saksak</i>	keep on washing
<i>maka-m-mula-mula</i>	keep on planting
<i>maka-b-basa-basa</i>	keep on reading
<i>maka-d-dalu-dalus</i>	keep on cleaning
<i>maka-l-ligwa-ligwat</i>	keep on getting/standing
<i>maka-d-dato-datong</i>	keep on coming
<i>maka-k-kanglilanglit</i>	keep on writing
<i>maka-ng-ngina-ngina</i>	keep on buying
<i>maka-'asu-'asug</i>	keep on cooking
<i>maka-'ibi-'ibil</i>	keep on crying
<i>maka-'eme-'emeng</i>	keep on laughing
<i>maka-'obo-'oboy</i>	keep on lying down
<i>maka-'ini-'init</i>	keep on shining
<i>maka-'uda-'udan</i>	keep on raining



<i>ga-b-bain-an</i>	shameful
<i>ga-b-basul-an</i>	sin-causing
<i>ga-s-so-soom</i>	causing continual happiness
<i>ga-p-patoy-an</i>	causing death

Gemination is very common in Limos Kalinga, and often co-occurs with other types of reduplication. The most common type is gemination of the initial consonant of the verb root (or in the case of glottal initial roots, of the second consonant of the root), which usually appears to indicate an intensification of the action.

CHAPTER 12  
SEMANTICS OF REDUPLICATION

12.1 INTRODUCTION

Reduplication in Limos Kalinga is to a large extent iconic. It occurs on nouns, verbs, adjectives and occasionally on adverbs. This chapter will consist of a summary of the semantics of reduplication on nouns, verbs and adjectives, followed by evidence for these observations under the headings: CV, CVC and SCV reduplication, with the final section of the chapter describing a rare kind of reduplication, the Poetic Repetitive.

12.2 NOUNS

12.2.1 CV REDUPLICATION

When CV reduplication occurs on a noun root it indicates plurality, as the following examples show:

<i>'abeng</i>	noun;	child	<i>'a-'abeng</i>	noun;	children
<i>boloy</i>	noun;	house	<i>bo-boloy</i>	noun;	village

CV reduplication may also function as a nominaliser on verb roots, either alone or in combination with the prefix *man-* or the suffix *-an*.

12.2.2 CV REDUPLICATION WITH CONSONANT GEMINATION

CV reduplication with consonant gemination may also function as a nominaliser, forming nouns associated with the action of verb roots, as indicated by the following examples:

<i>kotob</i>	verb;	bite	<i>kok-kotob</i>	noun;	teeth
<i>kayap</i>	verb;	creep	<i>kak-kayap</i>	noun;	animal

12.2.3 CVC REDUPLICATION

CVC reduplication on verb roots may function as a nominaliser, as it does in the following examples:

<i>lagsak</i>	verb;	celebrate	<i>lag-lagsak</i>	noun;	celebration
<i>'ayaw</i>	verb;	visit	<i>'ay-'ayaw</i>	noun;	visiting

12.2.4 SCV REDUPLICATION

SCV reduplication on nouns is comparatively rare. See example (500).

## 12.3 VERBS

In Limos Kalinga reduplication is to a certain extent iconic. That is, as more of the root is reduplicated, so the semantic notion of plurality of occurrence increases proportionately. For example CV reduplication usually indicates continuity (but it may indicate plurality of actors, see below) and CV reduplication plus consonant gemination signifies intensity of action, often indicating habituity or permanence. Similarly, SCV reduplication indicates repetition.

But there is no clear iconic continuum in Limos Kalinga, because CVC reduplication indicates limited action, casual action, or action that is performed little by little, slowly, or half-heartedly. Non-intentional verb roots often take this type of reduplication. But it may also indicate an intense, random kind of activity, especially with intentional goal focus verbs (see the example given below).

Since there is a very fine line between nouns and verbs in Kalinga, words containing reduplication can usually function as either a noun or a verb. But CV reduplication indicating plurality on nouns is an exception, since such a noun is not normally verbalised.

Reduplication generally occurs on imperfective verbs, producing finer imperfective aspectual distinctions. It may however also occur on perfective verbs, in which case Kalinga is able to express in the perfective a whole situation with internal complexity. (See examples (304)-(308).) Both CV and CVC reduplication are very common on verbs. In my textual data there are approximately 500 examples of each. Although both may occur with perfective verbs, the overwhelming majority of examples of both kinds are imperfective. In the examples in this chapter, all verbs are imperfective unless otherwise indicated.

Compare the following examples, which illustrate the three types of reduplication on the verb root *kanglit*:

(353a) *kanglit* verb; to write

<i>Laweng</i>	<i>din</i>	<i>mang</i>	<i>-ka</i>	<i>-kanglit</i>	<i>-na.</i>
bad	SUBJ	AF	-CV	-write	-his

His writing (penmanship) is poor.

Although this is a nominalisation, the continuative/habitutive meaning of CV reduplication is similar for both nouns and verbs.

The following verb is a goal focus one:

(353b) *I* *-kang* *-kanglit* *-na.*  
 THF -CVC -write -he.GEN  
 He is writing it furiously.

Compare these with the SCV reduplication example below indicating repetitive action:

(353c) *Maka* *-k* *-kangli* *-kanglit.*  
 AF -C -SCV -write  
 He keeps on writing.

*Maka-* here means 'keeps on', and consonant gemination intensifies the action.

Apart from indicating aspect, CV reduplication may indicate plural actors, so ambiguity could arise. Where CV and CVC reduplication occur simultaneously, it seems that CV reduplication always indicates plural actors.

## 12.4 ADJECTIVES

### 12.4.1 CV REDUPLICATION

CV reduplication on adjectives signifies plurality, as it does on nouns and sometimes on verbs.

### 12.4.2 CVC REDUPLICATION

CVC reduplication on adjectives indicates the comparison of inequality. (See Chapter 2.)

### 12.4.3 SCV REDUPLICATION

SCV reduplication signifies intensity on adjectives. (See Chapter 2.)

## 12.5 CV REDUPLICATION

CV reduplication, whether on noun, verb or adjective roots, may either indicate plurality (number), or continuity, depending on the context.

### 12.5.1 CV REDUPLICATION: NOUNS

When occurring as a nominaliser CV reduplication seems to be much more productive, and systematically so, than CVC reduplication. I will describe CV reduplication both as an inflectional affix on nouns and as a nominaliser.

#### 12.5.1.1 CV REDUPLICATION AS A PLURAL MARKER ON NOUNS

CV reduplication indicates plurality on certain noun roots which signify either people or relationships. For example, the people-oriented noun *boloy* 'house', becomes *boboloy* 'village'. Further examples are given below:

<i>'abeng</i>	child	<i>'a-'abeng</i>	children
<i>'anak</i>	child	<i>'a-'anak</i>	children
<i>bakbakot</i>	old woman	<i>ba-bakbakot</i>	old women
<i>lallakay</i>	old man	<i>la-lallakay</i>	old men
<i>sunud</i>	sibling	<i>su-sunud</i>	siblings
<i>boloy</i>	house	<i>bo-boloy</i>	village
<i>kapingsan</i>	first cousin	<i>ka-kapingsan</i>	cousins
<i>'asawa</i>	wife	<i>'a-'assawa</i>	wives

The final example is irregular in that in addition to the CV reduplication, the second consonant is geminated.

## 12.5.1.2 CV REDUPLICATION AS A NOMINALISER

There are three main types of nominalisation formed by CV reduplication, which are: instrument, person and place nominalisation. (Note that they parallel the three types of associative goal focus affixes.) Each will be illustrated in turn.

## A. Instrument Nominalisation

CV reduplication derives instrument nominals from certain verb roots, as illustrated below. In each case the root will be given first.

- (354) *dalus*          verb;    to clean  
                           noun;    cleaning, thing cleaned  
       *da-dalus*      noun;    thing used for cleaning
- (355) *saksak*        verb;    to wash (pound) clothes  
       *sa-saksak*    noun;    paddle used for pounding clothes
- (356) *bakbak*        verb;    to pound  
       *ba-bakbak*    noun;    paddle used for pounding clothes

The following identificational sentences also appear to contain instrument nominalisations derived from verbs by CV reduplication:

- (357) *Palala ud mu -mula -n di iyug.*  
 shovel SUBJ CV -plant -GEN coconut  
 The **instrument used for planting coconuts** is a shovel.
- (358) *Satun antokas -ku ud ba -basa -k.*  
 TP eyeglass -my SUBJ CV -read -my  
 My eyeglass is **my reading instrument**.
- (359) *To -toddak -ku tun sapatus -ku.*  
 CV -run -my SUBJ shoes -my  
 My shoes are **my runners**.

## B. Person Nominalisation

CV reduplication derives person nominalisations from various verb or noun roots. These nominalisations are further verbalised by the focus affixes, and then for some roots nominalised back again by a determiner. This category of person nominalisation will be considered first, the shape of the resulting noun phrase being as follows:

determiner + *man-* + CV reduplication + root

- (360) *man-'a-'alisig*  
'*alisig* verb; spirit medium  
to cure illness by ceremony, but without sacrificing
- (361) *man-'a-'ayag*  
'*ayag* verb; a person permanently assigned to call  
to call, to summon
- (362) *man-'a-'awit*  
'*awit* verb; carrier  
to carry  
noun; load
- (363) *man-'a-'ani*  
'*ani* verb; harvesters  
to harvest
- (364) *man-'a-'agas*  
'*agas* noun; doctor  
verb; medicine, poison  
to treat or cure illness
- (365) *man-'a-'ani*  
'*ani* noun; harvesters  
harvest, as the process of harvesting
- (366) *man-da-dalus*  
*dalus* verb; cleaner  
to clean  
noun; cleaning, thing cleaned
- (367) *man-ya-yam'an*  
*yam'an* verb; destroyer  
to destroy
- (368) *man-'u-'ugud*  
'*ugud* noun; someone who speaks for another  
speech (word), wisdom, meaning  
verb; to say, to speak

The following gerunds, with the same shape as the above, simply indicate continuous/-habitutive activity.

- (369) *kanglit* verb; to write

*Laweng din mang -ka -kanglit -na.*  
bad SUBJ AF -CV -write -his  
His writing (penmanship) is poor.

- (370) *Man -adok -ka ila -k nat man -ta -tadok -nu.*  
AF -dance -you.SUBJ see -I.GEN SUBJ AF -CV -dance -your  
Dance,(so) I (can) see your **dancing**.

- (371) *Adi -na ma -sapul nat mang -ga -gangsang -yu.*  
not -it ST -harmonise SUBJ AF -CV -gong,playing -your  
Your **gong playing** doesn't harmonise.

## C. Place Nominalisation

Together with the locative suffix *-an*, CV reduplication, derives nouns from verb roots. These nouns take the following shape:

CV + root + *-an*

Firstly, examples containing ambiguous noun/verb roots will be given, followed by examples with unambiguous verb roots:

- |       |   |                |  |
|-------|---|----------------|--|
| (372) | <i>'a-'asug-an</i><br><i>'asug</i>              | verb;<br>noun; | cooking place, including the pot<br>to cook, as rice, or side dish<br>cooked rice          |
| (373) | <i>ngi-ngina-'an</i><br><i>ngina</i>            | verb;<br>noun; | place where one can buy things<br>to buy<br>buying, thing bought                           |
| (374) | <i>ba-bayyuw-an</i> <sup>9</sup><br><i>bayu</i> | verb;<br>noun; | place for pounding, or instrument used<br>to pound<br>pounding, as the process of pounding |
| (375) | <i>'o-'omom-an</i><br><i>'omom</i>              | verb;          | place for bathing<br>to bathe  |
| (376) | <i>ta-taltag-an</i><br><i>taltag</i>            | verb;          | threshing floor<br>to pound rice   |
| (377) | <i>su-sulsul-an</i><br><i>sulsul</i>            | verb;          | betel chew mashing tube<br>to mash something in a tube                                     |
| (378) | <i>'a-'ayag-an</i><br><i>'ayag</i>              | verb;          | the place for calling<br>to call   |
| (379) | <i>'i-'igaw-an</i><br><i>'igaw</i>              | verb;          | staying place, e.g. aeroplane hangar<br>to stay  |
| (380) | <i>'i-'ibil-an</i><br><i>'ibil</i>              | verb;          | crying place<br>to cry, to weep, to mourn  |
| (381) | <i>su-sukat-an</i><br><i>sukat</i>              | verb;          | changing place, dressing room<br>to change (clothes), exchange, trade                      |

<sup>9</sup>For some reason this root requires the gemination of the second consonant.

## D. Other CV Nominalisations

## (i) From a noun root:

- (382) *ku-kuwa*            noun;    possessions (personal)  
           *kuwa*                noun;    possession (obligatorily possessed)

## (ii) From an adjective root:

- (383) *dakol*                adjective; big  
           *da-dakol*            noun;    ancestor

## 12.5.2 NOUNS:CV REDUPLICATION WITH CONSONANT GEMINATION

- (384) *balu*                verb;    to thrust a pole into the ground  
           *bab-balu*            noun;    stick for making holes
- (385) *kayap*                verb;    to creep, to crawls  
           *kak-kayap*            noun;    animal, creeping thing, but also generic of all animals
- (386) *kotob*                verb;    to bite  
           *kok-kotob*            noun;    teeth
- (387) *badang*                noun;    helper  
           *ka<sup>10</sup> -ba -b -badang*    noun;    helper, right hand person  
           *co -CV -C -helper*
- (388) *balasang*            noun;    heifer, young animal, especially water buffalo  
           *bab-balasang*        noun;    pretty young adolescent girl
- (389) *dulaw*                adjective; (na-) bright yellow, red  
           *dud-dulaw*            noun;    kind of bird, yellow in colour
- (390) *duwa*                noun;    the cardinal number two  
           *dud-duwa-'an*        noun;    only two

The connection in meaning between these two nouns is not clear.

- (391) *lapu*                verb;    to begin  
           *lal-lapu*            noun;    beginning
- Ballita ud la -l -lapu un mami'il si batu.*  
 crowbar SUBJ CV -C -begin LG breaking OBL stone  
 A crowbar is the tool used to begin breaking stone.

<sup>10</sup>*Ka-* has the meaning here of co- as in co-worker.

## 12.5.3 CV REDUPLICATION: VERBS

## 12.5.3.1 INFLECTION: CONTINUATIVE

The primary semantic area covered by CV reduplication as a verbal inflection is continuity, although habitutive action is often included in that area. One verb, *sonot* 'repeat', has been found with *double* CV reduplication, which appears to indicate intense continuity. (See example (400) below.) Examples are given below under the headings: (Active) Actor Focus, (Active) Goal Focus and Inactive Verbs. The verb under consideration in each example is in bold type.

## A. Actor Focus

- (392) *D -um -atong man antu -t Doggan man -'e -'emeng...*  
 -AF -arrive SEQ here -SUBJ turtle AF -CV -laugh  
 When he arrived here, the turtle **was laughing (continuously)**...
- (393) **Man -'e -'emeng** *sit nang -ila -k.*  
 AF -CV -laugh OBL PERF.AF -see -I.SUBJ  
 He **was laughing** when I saw him.
- (394) *T -in -agatag -an -da --n in -datong*  
 -PERF -rattled.the.tagatag -LF -they.GEN -LG THF.PERF -bring  
*si Pudawana man -'a -'agtu si dagaw un gusi.*  
 SUBJ Pudawana AF -CV -carry.on.the.head OBL dagaw.class LG jar  
 Rattling the *tagatag*, they brought Pudawana (**continually**) **carrying** an ancient Chinese jar on her head.
- (395) *Man -a -anud din danum.*  
 AF -CV -flow SUBJ water  
 The water is flowing.

The CV reduplication in examples (396), (397) and (399) is ambiguous, since they contain plural actors, but example (398), containing a singular verb (in the nominalisation) is similar.

- (396) *Nu awad amu -amung man -dat -datong -da ot*  
 when exist SCV -feast AF -CVC -come -they.SUBJ and  
**mang -ga -gangs** *-da kad awad -da ud*  
 AF -CV -gongs -they.SUBJ then exist -they.SUBJ LG  
*man -adok kan man -da -dangdang -da pay, awad -da*  
 AF -dance and AF -CV -native.melody -they.SUBJ also exist -they.SUBJ  
*pay man -da -dangu, kan man -'a -'adi ot nu*  
 also AF -CV -poetry and AF -CV -melody and when  
*mawakas -on mang -an -da ot mang -ka -dalan -da.*  
 daybreak -already AF -eat -they.SUBJ and AF -all -leave -they.SUBJ

If/When there is a feast they gather and **play gongs**; then if there is a dance and they **sing native melodies** too, they (also) **recite poetry** and **sing adi songs**, and at daybreak they eat and go home.

- (397) *Mang -ko -kwa -ta nu 'al'algaw, ta masuyop -ta*  
 AF -CV -work -we.SUBJ when day but sleep -we.SUBJ  
*nu labi.*  
 when night  
 We(DU) **work** during the day but sleep during the night.

Although the following two examples contain nominalisations (signalled by the deictic markers) the CV reduplication has a similar function to that of verbs, so they are included here for comparison.

- (398) *Man -adok -ka ila -k nat man -ta -tadok -nu.*  
 AF -dance -you.SUBJ see -I.GEN SUBJ AF -CV -dance -your  
 Dance, (so) I (can) see your(SG) **dancing**.
- (399) *Adi -na ma -sapul nat mang -ga -gangsá -yu.*  
 not -it ST -harmonise SUBJ AF -CV -gong.playing -your  
 Your(PL) **gong playing** doesn't harmonise.

Example (400) is the only example of double CV reduplication in the text material, and it has the function here of intensifying the repetition.

- (400) *Kan -ana -t dit mangi -so -so -sonot sit ugud -na.*  
 say -LF.he.GEN -OBL AF -CV -CV -repeat OBL word -his  
 He **repeated** his words **over and over again**.

## B. Goal Focus

- (401) *Man -gaul man dit asu -na -n nabugi un 'a -'aggom*  
 AF -howl then SUBJ dog -he -LG pregnant which CV -hold  
*-ana -t silu.*  
 -he.GEN -OBL string  
 Then his pregnant dog, which **he was (continually) holding** with a rope, howled.
- (402) *'A -'awit -ona.*  
 CV -carry -PF.he.GEN  
**He (continually) carries** it.
- (403) *Do -dongl -ok.*  
 CV -hear -PF  
**I'll continue listening** for it.

## C. Inactive Verbs

Stative verbs take the *ma-/na-* prefix. Usually *ma-* signifies imperfective, and *na-* perfective. However sometimes *ma-* is fused to a root which never occurs alone. Adjectives usually take *na-*.

- (404) *Lumung -ana man, na -ila -na dit balbalu -n*  
 straighten.up -she.SUBJ when ST -saw -she.GEN SUBJ young.man -LG  
*ma -'e -'emes -a 'um -'i -'isdung kan siya -n dit*  
 ST -CV -smile -LG -AF -CV -look OBL her -LG SUBJ  
*man -titi.*  
 AF -standing.under.the.water

When she looked straight up she saw the (continually) **smiling** (face) of a (handsome) young man looking down at her as she stood (washing her hair) under the water (which was coming out of the bamboo water pipe).

- (405) *gumigum* stative verb; together in a group, not scattered  
*Ot sad kapiya -na ta na -gu -gummigum da.*  
 and TP good -it for PERF.IN -CV -together they.SUBJ  
 It was good that they **continued together** there/were **all together** there.

The gemination of the second consonant of *gumigum* indicates intensity. Again, the CV reduplication is ambiguous. It could be indicating plural actors.

## 12.5.4 CV REDUPLICATION WITH CONSONANT GEMINATION: VERBS

## 12.5.4.1 INFLECTION: HABITUITIVE/INTENSIVE

As stated previously, CV reduplication often indicates continuous action. When combined with consonant gemination, this meaning is intensified to indicate 'definite, unchangeable or irrecoverable action', as described by Shetler (1976:88) for Balangao. So habitutive action in Limos Kalinga is often indicated by means of CV reduplication plus consonant gemination.

It should be remembered that consonant gemination involves the initial consonant of the root, except where it is a glottal, in which case it involves the second consonant. If the actor focus prefix is *maN-*, then the initial consonant will fuse with the *N-*, as in example (413).

In the following examples I have glossed CV reduplication with gemination as CVG. The examples given below are imperfective unless otherwise stated, and are given in the following order: actor focus, goal focus, inactive verb and adjective.

## A. Actor Focus

- (406) *Mam -pap -pakoy -a 'umalgaw.*  
 AF -CVG -shout -LG the.whole.day  
 He **keeps on shouting** the whole day.

- (407) *latuk* verb; to jump between two points  
**Man -lal -latuk** *din tukak nu kumiyang.*  
 AF -CVG -jump SUBJ frog when walks  
 The frog **jumps** when he walks.
- (408) *Adi -da mang -kak -ka -kan kan man -lal -lonok*  
 NEG -they.SUBJ AF -CVG -CV -eat and AF -CVG -enter  
*si boly.*  
 OBL house  
 They weren't **eating** together or **entering** (each other's) houses.

In example (408), either one or more of the instances of CV reduplication may be indicating plural actors.

- (409) *kiyang* verb; walk  
**Kik -kiyang -om** *nat dalan.*  
 CVG -walk -PF.you.GEN SUBJ trip  
 Make the trip by walking./Walk the trip.
- (410) *Dogga, maka -odas -ka pay si kanon nu siya nat*  
 Turtle ABIL -find -you.SUBJ even OBL food if that SUBJ  
**mang -kik -kiyang -nu?**  
 AF -CVG -walk -your  
 Turtle, how can you even find food, if that's the **way you walk?** (i.e., so slowly).
- (411) **Mang -kik -kiyang -on** *din anak.*  
 AF -CVG -walk -already SUBJ child  
 The child is already **walking**.

Compare this with the similar CVC verb *kadammang* 'to crawl':

- (412) **Man -kad -kadammang** *din anak dan.*  
 AF -CVC -crawl SUBJ child their  
 Their child is **crawling** (around).
- (413) *D -umm -akol man dit anak -na, mam -ab*  
 -AF -grew.big when SUBJ child -his AF -CVG  
**balasang** *kanuw -on.*  
 pretty.young.woman REP -already  
 When his child grew big, she was already a pretty young woman, so they say.

In the above example the structure of the verb *mam-ab-balasang* is:

*maN-* + CV + C + *balasang*. The primary meaning of *balasang* is 'heifer', but its extended meaning as an adjective is 'pretty'.

(414a) *buuk* 'drunk'

... *kama -t dadin man -sugal mam -bub -buuk kan da*  
 like -OBL PL AF -gamble AF -CVG -drunk and PL

*man -'akaw onnu laweng -a kokoon.*

AF -steal or bad -LG works

... things like gambling, (habitually) **getting drunk** and stealing or bad deeds.

The following nominalisation has a similar meaning:

(414b) *san mam -bub -buuk*

TP AF -CVG -drunk

the drunk

## B. Goal Focus

(415) *San na -dulaw 'u -'ussal -ona.*

TP ST -red/yellow CVG -wear -PF.she.GEN

Red (clothes) is what she habitually wears.

(416) *dawak* 'curing ceremony'

*Gangay i -dad -dawa -ku, kanan Kuup.*

typical THF -CVG -curing.ceremony -I.GEN said Owl

"This is the way I **normally do the curing ceremony**", said Owl.

The following two examples show that CV reduplication with consonant gemination may indicate intensity rather than habituity for some verb roots in some circumstances.

(417) *awat* verb; receive

*'a -'awwat -ona.*

CVG -C.receive -PF.he

He will **surely receive** it (no doubt about it).

(418) *'awat* verb; understand

*'A'awwat -ana.*

CVG.understand -LF.he.GEN

He understands it clearly.

## C. Inactive Verb

(419) *'awat* verb; understand

*ma -'a -'awwat -an*

IN -CVG -understand -LF

understand very clearly

## D. Adjective

- (420)
- kaasi*
- adjective; to be pitied

**Kak** -*kaasi* da -n abeng Gowit ta natoy si Gowit.  
 CVG -to.be.pitied PL -SUBJ child Gowit because died SUBJ Gowit  
 Gowit's children are **to be pitied** because he died.

- (421)
- Kak**
- 
- kaasi*
- 
- kami*
- n tagu ta maid kanon -mi.
- 
- CVG -to.be.pitied -we.SUBJ -LG people because none food -our
- 
- We people are
- to be pitied**
- because we have no food.

## 12.6 CVC REDUPLICATION

The function of CVC reduplication is to indicate 'casual' action. Depending on the root and its context, this may mean that the action is done slowly, little by little, or that it is random or aimless activity. For some roots such as *toddak* 'run', the action is played at, or not taken seriously. The semantics of CVC reduplication in Limos Kalinga partially parallels that of Balangao, a related language (see Shetler (1976:86)). This type of action is sometimes called 'diminutive' by Philippine linguists, as it is by Shetler.

## 12.6.1 CVC REDUPLICATION: NOUNS

## 12.6.1.1 GERUNDS

The only clear type of CVC nominalisation I have found is that of gerunds. CVC reduplication has been found in various other nominalisations, but usually in conjunction with either gemination or further affixation. Gerunds are nominalisations of verb roots, the noun being the result of the action of the verb. In Limos Kalinga the resulting noun may be further verbalised by means of the focus affixes. The following examples illustrate Limos Kalinga gerunds:

- (422)
- tod-toddak*
- noun; race, running
- 
- toddak*
- verb; to run

*Nasigab* *din* ***tod-toddak*** *un* *alimok*.  
 hard SUBJ running LG game  
 The **running** game is hard.

- (423)
- bag-baga*
- noun; language, speech
- 
- baga*
- verb; to tell, to say

*Ngadan* *din* *bag* -*baga* -*on*?  
 what SUBJ CVC -say -PF

What are (they) **talking** about?/What's the **discussion** (about)?



(429) *'immukud* not found without reduplication  
*nan-'im-'immukud* verb; following on each others' heels

(430) *'alingag* verb; to reverberate

*Nu i -da ud gumiya ya mang -al -'alingag ayaya.*

When go -they LG shout then AF -CVC -reverberate shout.of.women.

Then,when they went to shout, the shout of the women reverberated back (in answer to the shout of the males).

(431a) *kissop* verb; to close both eyes tightly

*Mang -kis -kissop ta nabiti.*

AF -CVC -close.eyes because hungry

He is **blinking** because he is hungry.

Compare this with example (431b) which contains *maka-* plus CVC reduplication:

(431b) *Maka -kis -kissop si doktol.*

always -CVC -close.eyes SUBJ doctor

The doctor **keeps on blinking (in a random fashion)**.

(432) *tabyod* verb; seesaw, shake up and down.

*Man -ab -tabyod din awit -na -n bulu.*

AF -CVC -shake.up.and.down SUBJ load -her -LG bamboo

Her load of bamboo is **shaking up and down**.

Like *tabyod*, the similar verb *toytoy* 'shake up and down' may occur with with CVC reduplication.

(433) *todtod* verb; to drip water, liquid

*Man -tod -todtod din awit -na -n danum un nalata.*

AF -CVC -leak SUBJ load -his -LG water LG metal.can

His load of water in the can is **leaking**.

(434a) *'otdag* verb; drop, fall; metaphoric: to die. Usually occurs in reduplicated form.

*Man -'a -'akut kanu man datu, nan -'ot -'otdag kanu*

AF -PL -carry REP SEQ these AF -CVC -fall REP

*dit ugas sit pita batug dit sooban.*

SUBJ leftover.rice.grains OBL ground direction GEN door

When they were carrying the rice grain from the paddy, some **was falling on the ground** (leading) up to the door.

(434b) *Man -'ot -'otdag din bungan din iyug.*

AF -CVC -fall SUBJ fruit GEN coconut

The coconut fruit is **falling (randomly)**.

- (435)
- daludug*
- verb; to let tears fall in streams

**Man -dal -dalludug dit kuwa -na -n s -um -ibosibok.**  
 AF -CVC -flow SUBJ belong -her -LG -AF -sniffle/cry  
 Her tears **were flowing down** as she cried.

The gemination of the second consonant of the root in this example intensifies the action of the verb.

- (436)
- silangat*
- verb; raining and shining together

**Man -il -silangngat kanad ta... (maN- + CVC + root)**  
 AF -CVC -sun.shine.shower earlier so  
 It was raining and shining before, so (I could not come earlier)...

- (437)
- 'eknat*
- verb; to stretch

**Man -'ek -'eknat -a lawa...**  
 AF -CVC -stretch -LG just  
 (B-) just **stretches**, (and does not go to work).

- (438)
- kadammang*
- verb; to crawl

**Mang -kad -kadammang din anak dan.**  
 AF -CVC -crawl SUBJ child their  
 Their child is **now crawling (around)**.

- (439)
- katoy*
- noun; death

**Mang -kat -katoy sit nallausan.**  
 AF -CVC -death when passed.by  
 He was **dying** when we passed by.

- (440)
- ligammu*
- verb; to learn, to begin to know. (Always with CVC reduplication.)

**Man -lig -ligammu un mam -bag -baga -n abeng yu.**  
 AF -CVC -learn LG AF -CVC -talk -LG child your  
 Your child is **learning** to talk.

- (441)
- somok*
- noun; thought, mind
- 
- verb; to think
- 
- som-somok*
- noun; thought, mind

**Man -som -somok man,...**  
 AF -CVC -think SEQ

Then, while **thinking**, (he remembered the handkerchief the old man had given him)...

- (442) *baga* verb; to tell, to say, to inform  
*bagbaga* noun; language, speech

**Mam -bag -baga -da.**  
 AF -CVC -say -they.SUBJ  
 They are talking.

- (443) *'ayaw* noun; visit  
*man-'ay-'ayaw* verb; visit

*Mansidiyon 'umoy kanu uman ut Kabuniyon man -'ay -'ayaw*  
 then go REP again SUBJ Kabuniyon AF -CVC -visit  
*situn lagud.*  
 OBL downstream  
 Then Kabuniyon (a god) went **visiting** downstream again.

- (444) **Man -tag -tagammu -ta man?**  
 AF -CVC -know -we.SUBJ man  
 Let's get to know one another, O.K.?

- (445) *kussad* verb; kick someone with the sole of the foot  
*Mang -kus -kussad...*  
 AF -CVC -kick  
 (X) was kicking (Y)...

The next few verbs are verbs of 'gathering'.

- (446a) *datong* verb; to come, arrive at  
**Man -dat -datong -taku.**  
 AF -CVC -come -we.SUBJ  
 We are gathering together.

- (446b) **Man -dat -datong -da -t bigat da -t tagu.**  
 AF -CVC -gather -they -OBL tomorrow PL -OBL person  
 The people will **gather** tomorrow.

Preceded by a determiner *man-dat-datong* functions as a noun:

- (446c) *Nam -balun -da si patut dit awit -a binayu*  
 AF -take.as.lunch -they.GEN OBL heavy GEN load -LG rice  
*si man -at -datong -da -t dit kabagian -da.*  
 OBL AF -CVC -come -their -OBL family -their  
 They took as lunch a heavy load of pounded rice for their **meeting** with their relatives.

- (447) *'alibunu*  
*mang-al-'alibunu* verb; to group together, crowd around

## B. Goal Focus

There is no significant change in the meaning of CVC reduplication between actor focus and goal focus sentences, except that CVC reduplication on certain intentional goal focus verbs may indicate an intense, random kind of activity, as in example (448). Examples of CVC reduplication with goal focus verbs are given below.

- (448) 'aguduud verb; to hum, to buzz

*Inggaw si Biyugana 'ag -'aguduud -an.*  
 exist SUBJ Biyugana CVC -buzz -LF  
 There was Bee **buzzing** it (the wall, boring a hole in it).

- (449) *tuluy* verb; to continue

*In -tul -tuluy -na -n kumiya.*  
 THF -CVC -continue -she.GEN -LG improve  
 She **continued** to improve.

- (450) 'usal verb; to use

*'us -'usal -ona.*  
 CVC -use -PF  
 He is **using** it.

- (451a) *dongol* verb; to hear

Thomas in his Tanudan Kalinga dictionary (n.d.) also includes the meaning:  
*dongol* noun; news

*Dong -dongl -ok.*  
 CVC -hear -PF.I.GEN  
 I'll be **listening** (for the news).  
 (That is, if anyone comes past, I'll ask them for news.)

- (451b) *Adi -m dong -dongl -on nat kan -an -da.*  
 NEG -you.GEN CVC -listen -PF SUBJ say -LF -they.GEN  
 Don't **listen** to what they are saying.

Compare these two examples with the following two containing CV reduplication:

- (451c) *Do -dongl -ok.*  
 CV -hear -PF.I.GEN  
 I'll **continue listening** for it.

Note that the *o* of *dongol* is deleted preceding suffixes which alter the rhythm of the word. As mentioned above this regularly occurs with *o* in verb roots in such circumstances.

- (451d) *Do -dongl -on kanu -n Baliwanan un man -su -sulluk*  
 CV -listen -PF REP -GEN Baliwanan LG AF -CV -hide  
*si abaggilan.*  
 OBL trash.dump  
 Baliwanan, who **was hiding** in the trash dump, **was listening** to her.

Compare the above four sentences with the following (actor focus) SCV (repetitive) example:

- (451e) *Maka -dongo -dongol.*  
 AF -SCV -listen  
 He **keeps on listening** (for the news).

The following example contains an associative goal focus verb.

- (452) *Man -dak -dakng -on -taku da -tun isaw.*  
 ASSOC -CVC -come -PF -we.GEN PL -SUBJ dirt  
 Let's **pile up** the dirt (**gather the dirt together**).

When the stress pattern of a root is altered through affixation, *o* is often deleted from the root. In the case of *datong* above, this results in a contiguous *t* and *ng*, which causes the *t* to assimilate to the point of articulation of the velar nasal, becoming *k*. Then the CVC reduplication becomes no longer *dat-*, but *dak-*, and the final word becomes *man-dak-dakngon*.

- (453) *'alibunu*  
*mang-al-'alibunu* verb; to group together, crowd around  
*Apay al -'alibunu -an tu?*  
 why CVC -crowd.around -LF this  
 Why are you crowding around this?
- (454) *tudu* verb; point out, pinpoint  
*i-tud-tudu* verb; teach, advise (one or two)
- (455) *'alingu* verb; to disturb something  
*Adim 'al -'alinguw -on nat i -banat di udum.*  
 don't CVC -disturb -PF SUBJ THF -put.down GEN others  
 Never **disturb** (take) what others have put down.
- (456) *laggud* noun; comb  
 verb; to comb hair  
*Kada bigbigat kanu lag -lagud -on Ali dit iming na n*  
 every morning REP CVC -comb -PF king SUBJ beard his -LG  
*balituk.*  
 golden  
 Every morning (so they say), the king **combed** his golden beard.

- (457) *baga* verb; say  
*Ngadan din bag -baga -on?*  
 what SUBJ CVC -say -PF  
 What are (they) **talking** about?

### C. Inactive Verbs

Stative verbs take either *ma-* or *na-* as a prefix. CVC reduplication on inactive verbs has much the same meaning as it does on other verbs. These examples should be compared with those illustrating CV reduplication on inactive verbs.

- (458a) *kukul* verb; to detach, to displace, to scramble, as of a loosely tied bamboo roof, lice on the head by scratching etc.  
*ku -kukul -on -a iyug*  
 CV -detach -PF -LG coconut  
 immature coconut (i.e., the flesh can be detached easily).

This goal focus verb became an adjective merely by virtue of its position in the clause and the addition of the ligature *-a*.

- (458b) *Kadon ilid -om dit otop onnu san gubung -na*  
 then tie.down -PF.you.GEN SUBJ roof or SUBJ peak -its  
*dalap nu adi ma -kul -kukul.*  
 so that NEG ST -CVC -scramble  
 (After the roofing, cover the peak with grass), then tie down the roof or its peak so that it (the grass) will not **be scrambled**.

*Kukul* seems to be one of those verbs which already contains reduplication within its root, but which may then take further reduplication, usually CVC. However CV reduplication may occur with the adjective form of *kukul*, as seen in example (458a).

Further examples of inactive verbs are given below:

- (459) *sulit* verb; overuse, passage of time  
*Ma -sul -sulit kanu man sidi 'ininggaw kanuw -on dit bananaw.*  
 ST -CVC -time REP after there was REP -already SUBJ lake  
 After a few minutes (so they say), a lake appeared.
- (460) *dabbil* verb; to go together in a crowd  
*Ma -dab -dabbil -kayu -l lawa.*  
 ST -CVC -go.in.crowd -you.SUBJ -LG just  
 (You) just **be in the crowd**.

Other roots which can take both the stative prefix *ma-* and CVC reduplication are:

<i>songpat</i>	verb;	to chop (one strike only)
<i>songwat</i>	verb;	to follow, come after, substitute for
<i>sanak</i>	verb;	to happen (unfortunate bad luck)

## D. Adverbs

I have only one example of CVC reduplication occurring on an adverb:

<i>donoy</i>	adverb;	slowly, little by little
<i>don-donoy</i>	adverb;	slowly, little by little

## 12.6.2.2 THE COMBINATION OF CV AND CVC REDUPLICATION

As mentioned above, verbs may take both CV and CVC reduplication simultaneously, due to the fact that CV reduplication may sometimes indicate plural actors, (in the same way as it marks plurality on adjectives), rather than continuative aspect. For example, the single-action verb *datong* 'come' may take both kinds of reduplication to indicate plural, casual 'gathering, or coming together'. The only other verbs I have found taking both CV and CVC reduplication simultaneously are: *tigammu* 'know' and *baga* 'say'. However Hohulin (pers. comm.) suggested that these combinations may be better described as containing the alternative reciprocal (frozen) prefix *man*+ CV-. (See also section 4.5.)

In the following examples I have underlined those verbs which are possibly reciprocal verbs.

(461) *datong* verb; come, arrive at

***Man -dat -datong -taku.***

AF -CVC -come -we.SUBJ

We are gathering together.

(462) ... *man -da -dat -datong* *-da* *ot ma -bag -bagun -da.*

AF -PL -CVC -come -they.GEN and IN -CVC -keep.vigil they.SUBJ

(When a person died) they would gather together and keep vigil.

(463) *tigammu* verb; to know

*Nan -tigammu (naN- + tigammu)*

AF -know

S/he knows.

(464) ***Nan -ti -tig -tigammu -da amin.***

PERF.AF -PL -CVC -know -they.SUBJ all

They all got to know each other.

It seems *tigammu* either takes both forms of reduplication simultaneously, or neither.

- (465) *baga* verb; say, tell  
*bag-baga* noun; speech, language  
*mam-bag-baga* verb; to talk, to speak
- Kan -an da kanu -n dit mam -ba -bag -baga un:'...'*  
 say -LF they REP -LG SUBJ AF -PL -CVC -say LG  
 They spoke (so it is said), **saying** ('Is that enough side-dishes and rice for all of us?' (Because they were amazed at the small amount of food provided).

### 12.6.2.3 DOUBLE REDUPLICATION

Limos Kalinga tends to have disyllabic roots. There is a group of words involving repeated single actions such as 'slicing', 'chewing', 'poking', 'pounding', and 'hammering', which appear to have initially been monosyllabic, but which by virtue of the repeated nature of the acts involved, became new roots, with CVC reduplication, signifying casual action, being fused to the original root, thereby making a new stem, which could then take further CV or CVC reduplication as an inflectional affix. (See *kukul* in examples (458a) and (458b) above.) Another way to describe these two processes would be to call the first process derivational and the second one inflectional; but the original monosyllabic roots no longer occur alone. Examples of CVC root reduplication combined with CVC reduplication as an aspectual inflection indicating casual or random behaviour are given below:

- (466) *gapgap* verb; to slice, to cut or chop into slices  
**Gap -gapgap -on -da din taba kan bogas -na.**  
 CVC -slice -PF -they.GEN SUBJ fat and meat -its  
 They **are slicing** (its) fat and meat.
- (467) *kotkot* verb; chew  
**Kot -kotkot -om nat isna ot asi -m lumtun -on.**  
 CVC -chew -PF.you.GEN SUBJ rice and then -you.GEN swallow -PF  
**Chew** the rice and then swallow it.
- (468) *saksak* verb; to wash (pound) clothes  
**Sak -saksak -ona dit badut -na.**  
 CVC -wash -LF.he.GEN SUBJ shirt -his.GEN  
 He **is washing** his shirt (well).
- (469) *sabsab* verb; eat (Not observed in its unreduplicated form.)  
**Sab -sabsab -ona un dit mangan.**  
 CVC -eat -PF.he.GEN LG SUBJ eat  
 He **eats like a pig**.
- (470) *bokbok* verb; to smash into fine grains with a pestle  
**Bok -bokbok -ona.**  
 CVC -smash -PF.he.GEN  
 He **is smashing it**.

- (471) *basbas* verb; to whip (Not found in its unreduplicated form.)

**Bas** -*basbas* -*ona* *dit* *bollat*.  
 CVC -whip -PF.he.GEN SUBJ grass  
 He is **whipping and whipping** the grass.

- (472) *dukduk* verb; to disturb by poking in a tube

**Duk** -*dukduk* -*on* *danat* *kolang* *nat* *bagis* -*nu* *nu*  
 CVC -poke -PF GEN.PL worms SUBJ intestine -your when  
*nabitil* -*ka*.  
 hungry -you.SUBJ  
 The worms **poke** in your intestine when you are hungry.

- (473) *dogdog* verb; to pursue, to chase

**Utdit** *dog* -*dogdog* -*on* -*da* *dit* *kalupati*,...  
 When CVC -chase -PF -they.GEN SUBJ dove  
 When they **were chasing** the dove, (their healthy horse got tired).

For a subject focus example see example (433) above with *todtod* 'leak'.

## 12.7 SCV REDUPLICATION

Syllable-Consonant-Vowel (SCV) reduplication may be seen as a combination of the reduplication of the first syllable of the root, plus CV reduplication, the latter indicating continuative action. Overall, SCV reduplication indicates repetitive action. To indicate continuous repetitive action, the prefix *maka-* may be combined with SCV reduplication. *Maka-* means 'always', or 'keep on VERB-ing', and frequently co-occurs with SCV reduplication.

Examples of SCV reduplication are given below:

### A. Actor Focus

*man-/maN-*

<i>duwa</i>	two	<i>man-duwa-duwa</i>	to be in two minds, to doubt
<i>duwong</i>		<i>man-duwo-duwong</i>	to stagger, to walk limply as of a drunkard Always found in this form.
<i>dugus</i>		<i>man-dugu-dugus</i>	to wander around with no fixed plan Always found in this form.
<i>duwakkit</i>		<i>man-duwa-duwakkit</i>	talking very fast, or making the sound of the omen bird
<i>dulut</i>		<i>man-dulu-dulut</i>	to come or go one after another
' <i>ayag</i>	call	<i>mang-aya-'ayag</i>	calling, as in 'He was calling when we passed by'.
<i>kan</i>	eat	<i>manga-mangan</i>	eating, as in 'While they were eating, the people came'.

As can be seen, this last example is slightly different in that the reduplication comes **after** the combination of *maN-* and *kan*, probably because *kan* has only one syllable.

- (474) *Madama -da -n manga -mang -an sit d -um -akngan*  
 while -they -LG SCV -AF -eat OBL -AF -come  
*dadit tagu.*  
 PL.SUBJ person  
 While they **were eating** the people came.

*-um-*

SCV may occur with the infix *-um-*, as the following examples show:

- (475) *'-um-uda-'udan.* 'It keeps on raining.'  
 Root: *'udan* 'rain'.
- (476) *'-um-eme-'emeng.* 'He's always laughing'. (e.g. because he's crazy)  
 Root: *'emeng* 'laugh'.
- (477) *Ng-um-ina-ngina.* 'The prices are always going up and up'.  
 Root: *ngina* 'buy'.

## B. Goal Focus

- (478) *Dalu -dalus -ana din abakilanda.*  
 SCV -clean -LF.she.GEN SUBJ garbage.pit  
 She is cleaning the garbage pit well.
- (479) *Kiwa -kiwas -ana.*  
 SCV -wash (by pounding) -LF.she.GEN  
 She is washing it well (by pounding).
- (480) *'Awa -'awat -ona...*  
 SCV -receive -PF.he.GEN  
 He is receiving it (all the mail you have been sending)...
- (481) *Bayu -bayu -ona.*  
 SCV -pound -PF.he.GEN  
 He is pounding (the rice) well.
- (482) *'Usa -usal -ona dit badut -nu.*  
 SCV -wear -PF.he.GEN SUBJ shirt -your  
 He **keeps on wearing** your shirt.

(483) *Lena -lenad -om nat boka -m dalapnu mampangtad.*  
 SCV -level -PF.you.GEN SUBJ excavation -your so.that level  
 Level your excavation so that it will be even.

(484) *Eme -emeng -ana.*  
 SCV -laugh -LF.he.GEN  
 He keeps on laughing.

(485a) *'Aya -'ayag -ana.*  
 SCV -call LF.she.GEN  
 She keeps on calling her/him.

Compare example (485a) with (485b), the latter being the actor focus form of the verb.

(485b) *Mang -aya -'ayag...*  
 AF -SCV -call.she.SUBJ  
 She was calling (when we passed by).

(486) *Suka -sukat -ana.*  
 SCV -change -LF.she.GEN  
 She keeps on changing her clothes.

(487a) *I -kangli -kanglit -na.*  
 THF -SCV -write -he.GEN  
 He is writing it furiously.

Compare goal focus example (487a) with actor focus example (487b), the latter containing *maka-* and gemination of the initial consonant of the root as well as SCV reduplication.

(487b) *Maka -k -kangli -kanglit.*  
 maka -C -SCV -write  
 He keeps on writing.

(488) *'alimut verb; take good care of, protect; fence*  
 ' -In -ali -'alimut -ana kanu dit payaw na -t dat  
 -PERF -SCV -fence -LF.he.GEN REP SUBJ paddy his -OBL PL

*babuy.*

wild.pigs.

He **protected/fenced** his paddy to protect it from the wild pigs.

(489) *Ka -i -balu -balu -m...*  
 REPET -THF -SCV -jab -you.GEN  
 Keep on jabbing (the stick in so it will be strong).

## C. Adjectives

Adjectives regularly take SCV reduplication to intensify their meaning (see Chapter 2).

- (490) *bolang* adjective; hard  
*Nu kan -om din geddang -da -n luwang na -bola -bolang.*  
 if eat -LF.you.GEN SUBJ skin -PL -GEN carabao IN -SCV -hard  
 If you eat the skin of the carabao (water buffalo), it is **very hard**.
- (491) *duma* adjective; different  
*na-duma-duma* adjective; various
- (492) *'akit* few, little  
*'aki-'akit* very few, very little
- (493) *'adu* much, many  
*'adu-'adu* very many
- (494) *balu* good  
*na-balu-balu* very good
- (495) *dula* red  
*na-dula-dula* very red

D. *Maka-* + C<sub>1</sub> + SCV + Root

SCV often occurs with *maka-* to give the meaning 'always', or 'keep on VERB-ing'. When it does so, there is usually gemination of the initial consonant of the root as follows:

*maka-* + C<sub>1</sub> + SCV + Root.

The following are exceptions to this pattern:

1. When the root already contains a geminate cluster, the initial consonant does not appear to be reduplicated. For example: *toddak* 'run', *tukkol* 'look'.
2. Orthographic 'vowel-initial' roots, although having an actual phonemically significant glottal, do not reduplicate it.
3. A few other unexplained exceptions occur, perhaps due to transcription errors, to dialectal differences, or perhaps due to the fact that *maka-* + SCV does not necessarily always co-occur with consonant gemination. The gemination of the initial consonant may have a separate meaning.

*Maka-* verbs are actor focus ones. I have no comparable examples of goal focus verbs. Examples of *maka-* + SCV are given below:

- (496) *Nakasuggayat si asu ot naka -s -sala -salapaw kapon*  
 startled SUBJ dog and PERF -C<sub>1</sub> -SCV -bound toward

*sit bananaw.*

OBL pond

The dog was startled, and **kept bounding** in the direction of the pond.

- (497) *Maka -'agu -'agub sit angisol -da angganat indas -ana*  
*Maka -SCV -sniff OBL trail -their until found -LF.he.GEN*

*dit inggawan -da.*

SUBJ staying.place -their

He **kept on sniffing** their trail until he found the place where they were.

- (498) *Maka -'awa -'awat...*

*Maka -SVC -receive*

He is always receiving (e.g. letters).

- (499) *Maka -'awi -'awit si kayu.*

*Maka -SCV -haul OBL wood*

He **hauls** timber.

#### E. Miscellaneous Functions of SCV Reduplication:

When SCV reduplication is added to words other than verbs it appears to intensify their meaning.

#### Nouns

- (500) *'amung* noun; a gathering of people for a feast  
*'amu-'amung* noun; a gathering of people for a feast

#### Adverbs

- (501) *'amin* adverb; all  
*'ami-'amin* adverb; all
- (502) *'amo* adverb; more  
*'amo-'amod* adverb; too much  
*'amo -'amod begut ya gastus*  
 SCV -too.much difficulty and expense  
 too much difficulty and expense

### 12.8 POETIC REPETITIVE

There appears to be a form of reduplication which has special literary functions such as rhythm and assonance in poetry, and is used by skillful arbitrators where subtlety is required in settling a dispute. The form is:

$C_1 + -in- + V_1 + C_1 + -in- + \text{Root (without } C_1)$

that is, CV +root, with *-in-* infix into both the CV reduplication and the root. It appears to have the same meaning as SCV reduplication: repetitive action. Glottal-initial examples will be given first, followed by the others:

'emeng	laugh	'in-e-'in-emeng
'ibil	cry	'in-i-'in-ibil
'udan	rain	'in-u-'in-udan
'init	shine	'in-i-'in-init
'obog	lie down	'in-o-'in-obog
'ayag	call	'in-a-'in-ayag

In the following examples I have indicated the infix *-in-* as follows: /in/.

<i>pakuy</i>	call	<i>p/in/a-p/in/akuy</i>
<i>tukol</i>	look at	<i>t/in/u-t/in/ukol</i>
<i>toddak</i>	run	<i>t/in/o-t/in/oddak</i>
<i>salapaw</i>	jump	<i>s/in/a-s/in/alapaw</i>
<i>kakan</i>	eat (PL)	<i>k/in/a-k/in/akan</i>
<i>saksak</i>	wash	<i>s/in/a-s/in/aksak</i>
<i>mula</i>	plant	<i>m/in/u-m/in/ula</i>
<i>salad</i>	begin	<i>s/in/a-s/in/alad</i>
<i>basa</i>	read	<i>b/in/a-b/in/asa</i>
<i>yaman</i>	destroy	<i>y/in/a-y/in/aman</i>

Apparently this form of reduplication is usually, if not always, combined with *maka-/naka-* in the following way:

(503) *Maka-pina-pinakuy.* He keeps on shouting.

(504) *Naka-pina-pinakuy kalabyan.* He kept on shouting yesterday.

The meaning is the same as for *maka-paku-pakuy*, the SCV pattern. The poetic repetitive was pointed out to me by my main language assistant, and the only examples I have are those he gave me.

APPENDIX

TEXT

How Asibanglan got its Name

- |              |                  |            |                   |           |               |             |
|--------------|------------------|------------|-------------------|-----------|---------------|-------------|
| <b>Sadit</b> | <b>Nangal'an</b> | <b>tun</b> | <b>Asibanglan</b> | <b>si</b> | <b>Ngadan</b> | <b>-na.</b> |
| TP           | way.of.getting   | SUBJ       | Asibanglan        | OBL       | name          | -its        |
- 
1. *Sadit osa -n algaw satu un ili maid tagu si inggaw.*  
 TP one -LG day TP.this LG place NEG.EXIST person OBL stay  
 In the olden days no one lived in this place.
  
  2. *Tuttuwa un kaginnubatan ullawa.*  
 truly LG forested only  
 It was just forested.
  
  3. *Ot adu pay un atap un kakkayap.*  
 and many also LG wild LG animals  
 And there were also many wild animals.
  
  4. *Padan dadit alingun kanan -da, ugas kan osa pay adu un*  
 like SUBJ wild.pig say -they.GEN deer and one also many LG  
*dadakkolan un ulog un kuman si tagu.*  
 PL.big LG snake LG like OBL people  
 Like wild pigs, they say, deer, and one also (said) there were many big snakes like people.
  
  5. *Ot inggaw -da kanu -d 'ummoy nanganup si babuy.*  
 and stay -they.SUBJ REP -DET went hunted OBL wild.pig  
 And those who hunted wild pig, it is said, stayed there.
  
  6. *Nangwa -da si bawi -da ut kummampuhan -da -n*  
 made -they.SUBJ OBL shelter -their OBL camping.place -their -LG  
*nasuyop.*  
 sleep  
 They made their shelter for their camping place, to sleep.
  
  7. *Utdi siya kanu -d nangil'an -da utdit kayu un*  
 then that.TP REP -DET time.of.seeing -they.GEN OBL tree LG

*sabali, napilpilatan kan naattaataan nasungput pong'ad patingga*  
 different scarred and full-eyed finished base until

*nat gawis -na.*  
 SUBJ tip -its

Then that, they say, was the time they saw a tree which was different, scarred and full-eyed, from the trunk up until its tip (a fern tree).

8. *Siyadi -d kayu un inila -da un nangkokwa -da*  
 that.TP -DET tree LG saw -they.GEN LG made -they.SUBJ

*ut dit bawi -dan kummupunan -da.*  
 OBL shelter -their.LG ?...place -their

That's the tree which they saw for making the shelter for their camp.

9. *Ot lummoswa man dadit tagu un damu un inummoy ummili*  
 and came.out SEQ SUBJ people LG first LG came built.homes

*uttu, nginadanan -da -on si Asibanglan ta siya ud*  
 here named -they.GEN -already SUBJ Asibanglan for that DET

*nakailaan -da si kayu un sabali, ot kanan -da*  
 seeing.place -their OBL tree LG different and say -they.GEN

*un siyatu dit Asibanglan un kayu.*  
 LG this.TP SUBJ Asibanglan LG tree

And when the first people came out to build homes here, they had already named it 'Asibanglan', for its the place where they saw the tree which was different, and they said: "This is the Asibanglan tree".

## REFERENCES

- ANDERSON, Stephen R., 1985, Typological distinctions in word formations. In Shopen, ed. 1985: 3-56.
- ANTWORTH, Evan L., 1979, A grammatical sketch of Botolan Sambal. *Philippine Journal of Linguistics*, Special monograph issue, No.8.
- CHUNG, Sandra and Alan TIMBERLAKE, 1985, Tense, aspect and mood. In Shopen, ed. 1985: 202-258.
- COMRIE, Bernard, 1976, *Aspect: an introduction to the study of verbal aspect and related problems*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- COMRIE, Bernard and Sandra A. THOMPSON, 1985, Lexical nominalization. In Shopen, ed. 1985: 349-398.
- DE GUZMAN, Videia, P., 1978, Syntactic derivation of Tagalog verbs. *Oceanic Linguistics*, Special Publication, No.16.
- 1986, The subject of Tagalog identification sentences. In Benjamin Elson, ed. *Language in Global Perspective: Papers in honour of the 50th anniversary of the Summer Institute of Linguistics: 1935-1985*, 347-362. Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- 1988, Ergative analysis for Philippine languages: an analysis. In Richard McGinn, ed. *Studies in Austronesian Linguistics*. Ohio: Ohio University Press.
- DE WOLF, C.M., 1988, Voice in Austronesian languages of Philippine type: passive, ergative or neither? In Masayoshi Shibatani, ed. 1988: 143-193.
- DIXON, Robert M.W., 1979, Ergativity. *Language* 55: 59-138.
- DU BOIS, Carl D., 1976, Sarangani Manobo: an introductory guide. *Philippine Journal of Linguistics* Special monograph issue, No.6.
- DU BOIS, John W., 1987, The discourse basis of ergativity. *Language* 63/4: 805-855.
- DURANTI, A. and E. OCHS, 1979, Left dislocation in Italian conversation. In Givón, ed. 1979: 377-416.
- DURIE, Mark, 1987, Grammatical relations in Achehnese. *Studies in Linguistics* 11/2: 365-399.
- 1988, Preferred argument structure in an active language. *Lingua* 74: 1-25.
- ELKINS, Richard E., 1970, *Major grammatical patterns of Western Bukidnon Manobo*. Summer Institute of Linguistics Publications in linguistics and related fields, No.26. Norman: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- FILLMORE, Charles J., 1968, The case for case. In E. Bach and R.T. Harms, eds *Universals in linguistic theory*. New York: Holt, Rhinehart and Winston.

- FOLEY, William A.**, 1991, *The lexical basis of argument structure in Western Austronesian languages*. Paper presented at the Sixth International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics, Honolulu.
- FOLEY, William A. and Robert D. VAN VALIN Jr**, 1984, *Functional syntax and universal grammar*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- 1985, Information packaging in the clause. In Shopen, ed. 1985: 282-364.
- FORFIA, Kathleen and Sherry MOORE**, 1979, *Ga'dang grammar essentials*. Manuscript, Summer Institute of Linguistics, Manila.
- GERDTS, Donna**, 1988, Antipassives and causatives in Ilokano: Evidence for an ergative analysis. In McGinn, ed. 1988: 295-321.
- GIESER, C. Richard**, 1972, Kalinga sequential discourse. *Philippine Journal of Linguistics* 3/1: 15-33.
- GIVÓN, Talmy**, 1984, *Syntax - a functional-typological introduction*, vol.1. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- GIVÓN, Talmy**, ed., 1979, *Syntax and semantics 12: Discourse and syntax*. New York: Academic Press.
- HOHULIN, Lou and Austin HALE**, 1977, Notes on Keley-i relational grammar - I. *Studies in Philippine Linguistics* 1/2: 231-263. Manila: Linguistic Society of the Philippines and Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- HOPPER, Paul J. and Sandra A. THOMPSON**, 1980, Transitivity in grammar and discourse. *Language* 56: 251-399.
- KEENAN, E.O. and B. SCHIEFFELIN**, 1976, Topic as a discourse notion: a study of topics in the conversations of children and adults. In Li, ed. 1976: 335-384.
- LABARO, Bel and Kiyoko TORAKAWA**, 1981, *Limos Kalinga language learning lessons*. Manuscript, Summer Institute of Linguistics, Manila.
- LI, Charles N., ed.**, 1976, *Subject and topic*. New York: Academic Press.
- LI, Charles N. and Sandra A. THOMPSON**, 1976, Subject and topic: a new typology of language. In Li, ed. 1976: 457-89.
- MCGINN, Richard**, 1988, Government and case in Tagalog. In Richard McGinn, ed. *Studies in Austronesian linguistics*, 295-321. Ohio: Ohio University Press.
- MERLAN, F.**, 1985, Split transitivity: functional oppositions in intransitive inflection. In Johanna Nichols and Anthony C. Woodbury, eds, *Grammar inside and outside the clause*, 324-362. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- MILLER, Jeane and Helen MILLER**, 1976, *Mamanwa grammar*. Language data: Asian-Pacific series, No.8. Huntington Beach: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- REID, Lawrence A.**, 1974, The Central Cordilleran subgroup of Philippine languages. In *Papers of the First International Conference on Comparative Austronesian Linguistics*, *Oceanic Linguistics* 13: 511-560.
- 1981, Philippine linguistics: the state of the art. In Don V. Hart, ed. *Philippine studies: political science, economics, and linguistics*, 212-273. Illinois: Northern Illinois University Center for Southeast Asian Studies.
- 1989, Arta: another Philippine negrito language. *Oceanic Linguistics* 28/1: 47-74.

- 1992, On the development of the aspect system in some Philippine languages. *Oceanic Linguistics* 31/1: 65-91.
- SAWYER, Louise**, 1975, Aspect in Amganad Ifugao. *Anthropological Linguistics* 17/3: 107-116.
- SCANCARELLI, Janine**, 1985, Referential strategies in Chamorro narratives: preferred clause structure and ergativity. *Studies in Linguistics* 9/3: 335-362.
- SCHACHTER, Paul**, 1973, Focus and relativization. *Language* 49/1: 19-46.
- 1976, The subject in Philippine languages: Topic, actor, actor-topic, or none of the above. In Li, ed. 1976: 491-518.
- 1977, Reference related and role related properties of subjects. In P. Cole and J. Sadock, eds *Syntax and semantics 8: Grammatical relations*, 279-306. New York: Academic Press.
- 1985, Parts-of-speech systems. In Shopen, ed. 1985: 3-61. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- SCHACHTER, Paul and Fe OTANES**, 1972, *Tagalog reference grammar*. Berkely: University of California Press.
- SHETLER, Joanne**, 1976, *Notes on Balangao grammar*. Huntington Beach: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- SHIBATANI, Masayoshi**, 1988, Voice in Philippine languages. In Shibatani, ed. 1988: 85-142.
- SHIBATANI, Masayoshi, ed.**, 1988, *Passive and voice*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- SHOPEN, Timothy, ed.**, 1985, *Language typology and syntactic description 1: Clause structure*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- STAROSTA, Stanley**, 1986, Focus as recentralization. In P. Geraghty, L. Carrington, and S. Wurm, eds *FOCAL I: papers from the Fourth International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics. PL, C-93*: 73-95.
- 1991, Ergativity, transitivity, and clitic coreference in four Western Austronesian languages. Paper presented at the Sixth International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics, Honolulu.
- STAROSTA, Stanley, Andrew PAWLEY and Lawrence A. REID**, 1982, The evolution of focus in Austronesian. In A. Halim, L. Carrington and S.A. Wurm, eds *Papers from the Third International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics*, vol. 2: *Tracking the travellers. PL, C-75*: 145-170.
- THOMAS, Neville**, 1979, *Mangali grammar: tentative grammar sketch*. Manuscript, Summer Institute of Linguistics, Manila.
- n.d., *Tanudan Kalinga dictionary*. Manuscript, Summer Institute of Linguistics, Manila.
- WIENS, Hartmut**, 1976, Phonological features of Limos Kalinga, with comments on affected speech. *Philippine Journal of Linguistics* 7/1: 38-47.
- 1978, Focus shift and tense shift: Highlighting and conflict in Limos Kalinga. *Studies in Philippine Linguistics* 2/1: 103-114. Manila: Linguistic Society of the Philippines and Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- 1979, The semantic function of focus affixes in Limos Kalinga. *Papers in Philippine Linguistics* No.9. PL, A-50: 19-47.

1986, Please be specific: A functional description of noun-marking particles in Limos Kalinga. In G. Huttar and K. Gregerson, eds *Pragmatics in non-western perspective*, 85-97. Arlington: Summer Institute of Linguistics and University of Arlington.

n.d.a, Miscellaneous linguistic field notes.

n.d.b, The five faces of *ud* /The wizardry of *ud*. Manuscript, Summer Institute of Linguistics, Manila.

n.d.c, *Limos Kalinga dictionary*. Manuscript, Summer Institute of Linguistics, Manila.

n.d.d, The use of particles or adjuncts (flavour words) in Limos Kalinga. Manuscript, Summer Institute of Linguistics, Manila.

**WIENS, Hartmut, Kathleen BOSSCHER and Carol PORTER, eds, n.d., *Limos Kalinga texts*. Manuscript, Summer Institute of Linguistics, Manila.**

