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SELECTED TOPICS IN LIMOS KALINGA GRAMMAR

BY

Naomi J. Saggers B.A., Dip. Ed., L. Th.

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the
Requirements for the Award of

Master of Arts (Applied Linguistics)

at the School of Community and Language Studies
Edith Cowan University

Date of Submission: October, 1991

Abstract

Selected Topics in Limos Kalinga Grammar

The Grammar is of the Limos Kalinga dialect, referred to by its speakers as Linimos. It is one of ten Kalinga dialects belonging to the Central Cordilleran subgroup. An estimated 70,000 to 80,000 Kalingas live in the mountainous Kalinga subprovince of Kalinga Apayo in northern Luzon, Republic of the Philippines. Linimos itself is spoken by about 8,000 people living in about ten villages along the lower Saltan river in the municipality of Pinokpok.

The Grammar comprises an Introduction, followed by a survey of the basic grammar of the language. This survey includes a chapter on word classes, including the distinction between nouns and verbs, a hazy area in Philippine linguistics. Then the noun phrase is described, with the focus on the complex deictic component of the determiner. The third chapter introduces the structure of the verb, and the focus morphology in particular. The relationship between the focus affixes and transitivity is of particular interest, as a transitivity continuum emerges along the lines of that proposed by Hopper and Thompson (1980).

The next major section of the Grammar describes both verbal and non-verbal syntax, including subject and topic. Areas chosen for closer attention here are topicalization and identification sentences.

The most detailed section of the thesis is the final one on Aspect. The perfectivity/imperfectivity distinction is described first, followed by the complex system of reduplication. There are three major types of reduplication, one of which frequently combines with consonant gemination, which produce aspectual distinctions on verbs.

The results are significant for the comparative study of Philippine linguistics, as little has been done on the topic of aspect, particularly that indicated by reduplication. To have the basic outline of the grammar set out simply will be of benefit to those working

in the area of translation and literacy, as well as for language learning and, again, for comparative linguistics.

I certify that this thesis does not incorporate, without acknowledgement, any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any institution of higher education and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it does not contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text.

Naomi Saggers

Preface

I began work on this thesis as a member of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (S.I.L.), 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 S.I.L. 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 the Edith Cowan University. While writing this thesis 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 thesis: the first, as mentioned above, is my field notes. The second is Wiens, Bosscher & Porter (1979), 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 thesis 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-c), as well as the language examples in Wiens (1978, 1979, 1986). I also used Labaro & Torakawa (n.d.).

Wiens (n.d.a-c) 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 topicalization, 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), Dubois (1976), Elkins (1970), Forfia & Moore (1979), Miller & Miller (1974), Schachter & Otanes (1972), Schachter (1977) and Shetler (1976). The language map on p. 12 is from S.I.L., included with their permission.

The approach I have taken in writing this thesis 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), Givon (1979), Li (1976), Reid (in press), Schachter (1973, 1977), Shibatani (1988), Starosta (1991), Starosta, Pawley & 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 S.I.L. for facilitating my fieldwork in the Philippines, and in particular Mr Hartmut Wiens for so willingly making his unpublished material availabe to me.

Thanks to Dr Sheldon Harrison for helping me to lay the foundation for this thesis, 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 thesis, 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 thesis, including help with translation.

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

Finally I would like to thank the Anthropolgy Department of U.W.A. 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 thesis.

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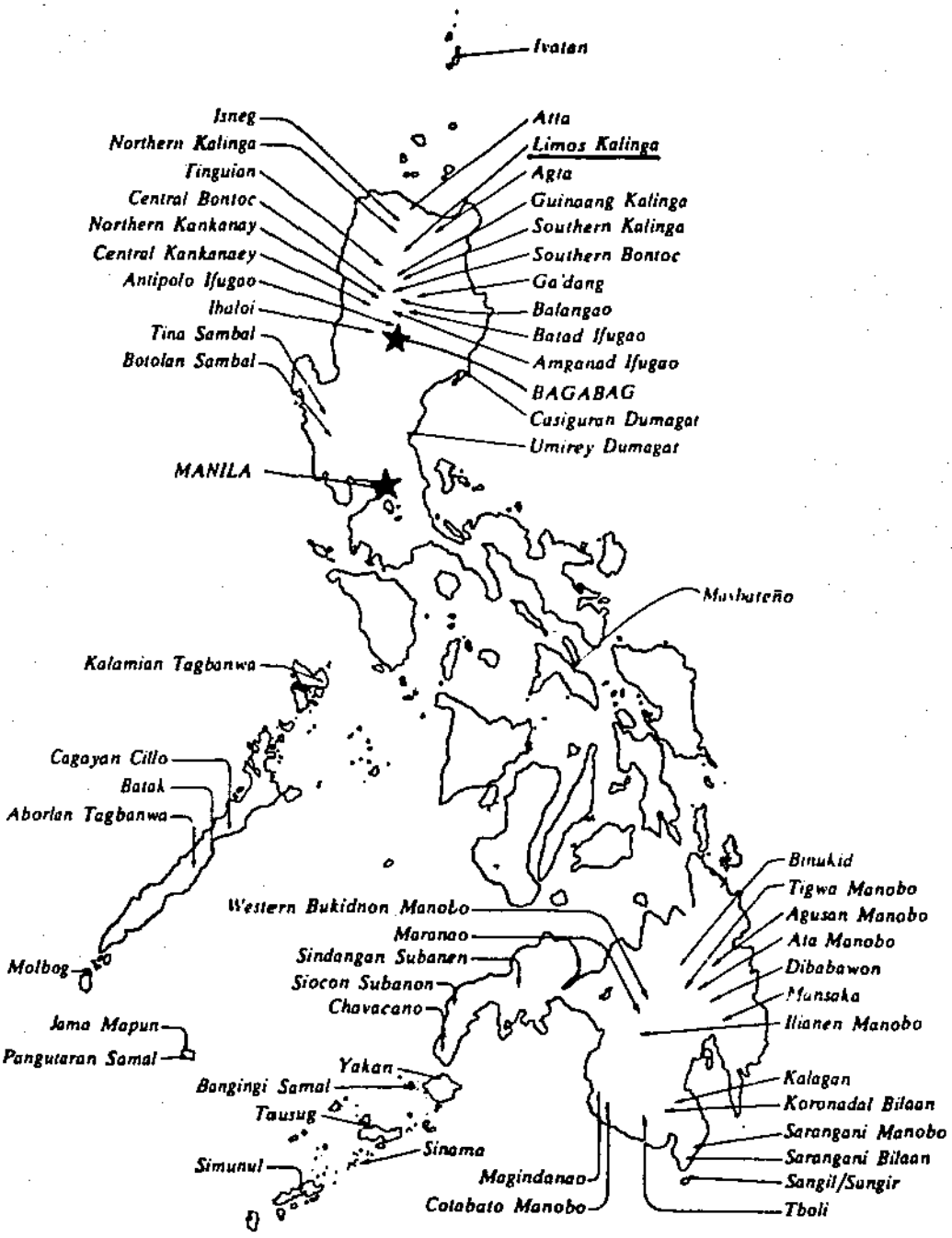
Abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
3PS	third person singular
ABIL	abilitative
AF	actor focus
ASSOC	associative
BF	benefactive focus
C	any consonant
CAS	casual
CAUS	causative
COMP	complementizer
CVG	consonant-vowel plus consonant gemination
CONT	continuative
DET	determiner
DIST	distant
DISTR	distributive
DL	dual
EXIST	existential
GEN	genitive
GF	goal focus
HAB	habituative
IMPERF	imperfective
IN	inactive
INCL	inclusive reference

LF	locative focus
LG	ligature
LOC	locative
NH	near hearer
NS	near speaker
NP	noun phrase
OBL	oblique
OOS	out of sight
PART	particle
PERF	perfective
PF	patient focus
PL	plural
POSS	possibility
RECIP	reciprocal
REDUP	reduplication
REP	reportedly
REPET	repetative
SG	singular
SEQ	'particle indicating that the clause which follows is subsequent in time to what precedes' (Wiens, et al., 1977).
STAT	stative
SUBJ	subject
S	syllable
TAM	tense/aspect/mood
THF	theme focus
TP	topic
V	any vowel
VIS	visible

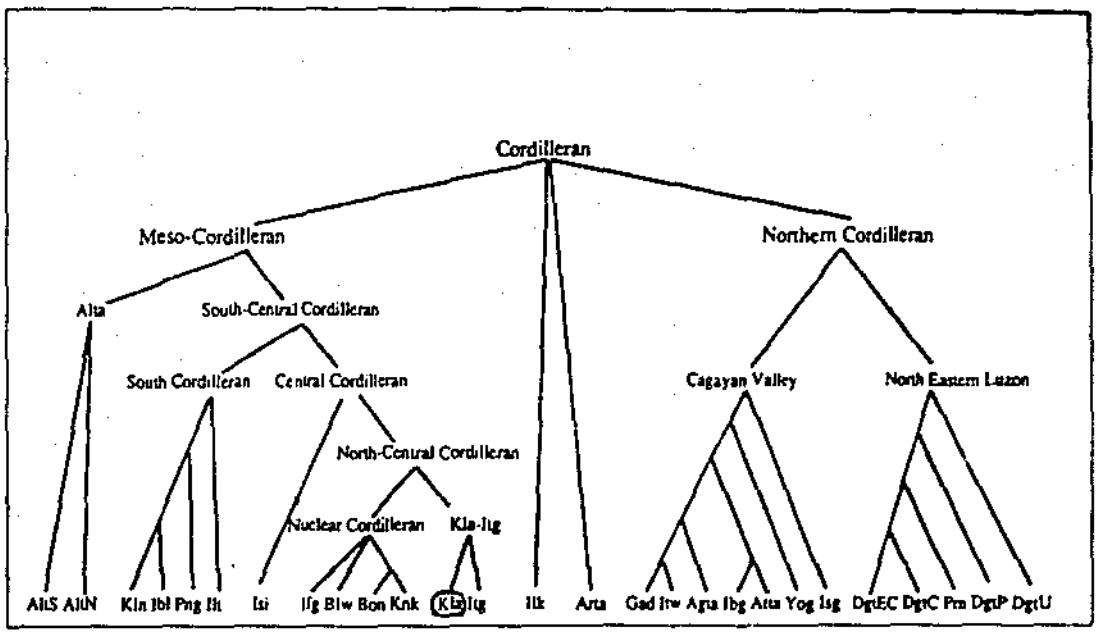
Philippine Minor Language Groups



CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

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. Chart 1 is taken from Reid (1989, p. 57) and is a revision of his earlier subgrouping of the Cordilleran languages.



AltN	Northern Alta	Gad	Gaddang	Itg	Itneg
AltS	Southern Alta	Ibg	Ibanag	Itw	Itawis
Blw	Balangaw	Ibl	Inibaloi	Kla	Kalinga
Bon	Bontok	Ifg	Ifugao	Kln	Kallahan
DgtC	Casiguran Dumagat	Ilk	Ilokano	Knk	Kankanacy
DgtEC	East Cagayan Dumagat	Ilt	Ilongot	Png	Pangasinan
DgtP	Palanan Dumagat	Isg	Isneg	Prn	Paranan
DgtU	Umirey Dumagat	Isi	Isinai	Yog	Yogad

Chart 1: Subgrouping of Cordilleran Languages

There are an estimated 70,000 to 80,000 Kalingas 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.

Phonology

Wiens (1979, pp. 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 ?, 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.

Is Limos Kalinga an Ergative Language?

There is an ongoing debate as to whether Phipippine 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 Cena (1977), Gerdts (1980, 1988), De Guzman (1978, 1979, 1988) and Starosta (1986) for Philippine languges, and Starosta, Pawley & Reid (1982) for Proto-Austronesian. De Guzman (1979) 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 & 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 (1988, 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 has been an increasing number of Filipinists who feel that Philippine languages are neither accusative or ergative. For example Foley (1991, p. 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 categorize 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 categorization, it is an inadequate analysis.

Scaranelli (1985, p. 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, p. 102) claims for Cebuano, a Philippine language, that it is best analyzed 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 4.2.2.

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 chart 6).

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, p. 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 (p. 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, p. 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 nominalization is quite unconstrained in Tagalog and many (all?) Philippine languages, including Kalinga. By this I mean, (following Comrie and Thompson, 1985, p. 351f) the productive process Kalinga has of turning verbs into nouns meaning 'one which "verbs"'. Comrie and Thompson (1985, p. 352) follow Schachter & Otanes (1972, pp. 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*
   SUBJECT died
   the dead

2. *dit* *man* *-'a* *-'ani*
   SUBJECT ACTOR FOCUS -CV -harvest
   the harvesting,
   from *ani* , noun/verb; 'harvest'

3. *nat* *man* *-ta* *-tadok* *-nu*
   SUBJECT ACTOR FOCUS-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* v. to cook, n. cooked rice
5. *bayu* v. to pound, n. pounding, as the process of pounding
6. *dalus* v. to clean, n. 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 analyze 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 nominalization. (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.*
   TOPIC eye-glass -my DET CV -read -my
   My eye-glass is **my reading instrument.**

8. *dit lag -lagsak*
   SUBJECT CVC -celebrate
   the celebration (multiple celebrating).

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 the following chart:

Adjectives

root	English	simple *na* + root	dual/trial no. *nangka* + root	plural no. *na* + CV + root
bolang	hard	*na-bolang*	*nangka-bolang*	*na-bo-bolang*
lam'ok	soft	*na-lam'ok*	*nangka-lam'ok*	*na-la-lam'ok*
ngisit	black	*na-ngisit*	*nangka-ngisit*	*na-ngi-ngisit*
polkas	white	*na-polkas*	*nangka-polkas*	*na-po-polkas*
piya	good	*na-piya*	*nangka-piya*	*na-pi-p(i)ya*

intensive *na* + SCV + root	comparative of inequality *na* + CVC + root (+*an*)	superlative *ka* + root +*an*
na-bola-bolang	*na-bol-bolang-an*	*ka-bolang-an*
na-lamo-lamok	*na-lam-lamok*	*ka-lamok-an*
na-ngisi-ngisit	*na-ngis-ngisit*	*ka-ngisit-an*
na-polka-polkas	*na-pol-polkas*	*ka-polkas-an*
na-piya-piya	- (irregular)	*ka-piya-an*

Chart 2.

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

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.

3.1. Determiner

The determiner may encode five elements:

1. Whether or not the nominal is a personal name.
2. Semantic case role/subject/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 3.2 below.

3.1.1. Personal name/Other nouns

There are separate sets of case markers for personal names and other nouns, the latter set, which is given on chart 3, 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.

SUBJECT					
Reference	Deixis	Number			
		Singular	lg	Plural	lg
Exocentric	Distant	dit		dadit	
Endocentric	Near speaker	tu	-n	datu	-n
	Near hearer	nat		danat	
	Distant	di	-n	dadi	-n
Demonstrative Adjective	Near speaker	tu	-wa	datu	-wa
	Near hearer	nat	- a	danat	- a
	Distant	di	-ya	dadi	-ya

GENITIVE					
Nonspecific	C-	(di)			
	V-	-n (di)			
Reference	Deixis	Number			
		Singular	lg	Plural	lg
Exocentric	Dist. C-	(di)dit		da(di)dit	
	V-	-n (di)dit		-n da(di)dit	
Endocentric	N.Sp. C-	(di)tu	-n	da(di)tu	-n
	V-	-n (di)tu	-n	-n da(di)tu	-n
	N.H. C-	(di)nat		da(di)nat	
	V-	-n (di)nat	-n	-n da(di)nat	
	Dist. C-	(di)di	-n	da(di)di	-n
	V-	-n (di)di	-n	-n da(di)di	-n
Demonstrative Adjective	N.Sp. C-	(di)tu	-wa	da(di)tu	-wa
	V-	-n (di)tu	-wa	-n da(di)tu	-wa
	N.H. C-	(di)nat	-a	da(di)nat	-a
	V-	-n (di)nat	-a	-n da(di)nat	-a
	Dist. C-	(di)di	-ya	da(di)di	-ya
	V-	-n (di)di	-ya	-n da(di)di	-ya

OBLIQUE					
Nonspecific	C-	si			
	V-	ut			
Reference	Deixis	Number			
		Singular	lg	Plural	lg
Exocentric	Dist. C-	si(di)t		sida(di)t	
	V-	(u)tdit		(u)tda(di)t	
Endocentric	N.Sp. C-	situ	-n	sidatu	-n
	V-	(u)ttu	-n	(u)tdatu	-n
	N.H. C-	sinat		sidanat	
	V-	(u)tnat		(u)tdanat	
	Dist. C-	sidi	-n	sidadi	-n
	V-	(u)tdi		(u)tdadi	-n
Demonstrative Adjective	N.Sp. C-	situ	-wa	sidatu	-wa
		(u)ttu	-wa	(u)ttu	-wa
	N.H. C-	sinat	- a	sidanat	- a
	V-	(u)tnat	- a	(u)tnat	- a
	Dist. C-	sidi	-ya	sidadi	-ya
	V-	(u)tdi	-ya	(u)tdadi	-ya

TOPIC					
Reference	Deixis	Number			
		Singular	lg	Plural	lg
Exocentric	Distant	sa(di)t		sada(di)t	
Endocentric	Near speaker	satu	-n	sadatu	-n
	Near hearer	sanat		sadanat	
	Distant	sa(di)	-n	sada(di)	-n
Demonstrative Adjective	Near speaker	satu	-wa	sadatu	-wa
	Near hearer	sanat	- a	sadanat	- a
	Distant	sadi	-ya	sadadi	-ya

Chart 3: Nonpersonal Determiners and Demonstrative Adjectives

3.1.2. Case/Subject/Topic

Case marking particles are set out in the following table:

Case marking Particles

	SUBJ	GEN	OBL	LOC	TOPIC
Nonpersonal	∅	-n/∅ (di)	si/ut	(u)d/∅	sa
Personal	si/-t	-n/∅ (ud)	kan	-	si

Chart 4.

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.

(i) 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, p. 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 preceding word is not always a verb. It may be a pronoun (see chart 5), for example, as in example 3 below. The subject is in bold type in examples 1 to 5.

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 thesis. 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 summarized on chart 3 above.

Personal

1. *Kaysan si **Pedlo.***
   left,AF SUBJ Pedro
   Pedro left.

2. *Naka -baga -(ϕ) -t **Nelson** **kan** **Pedlo.***
   PERF,ASSOC -speak -SUBJ -DIST,OOS Nelson and Pedro
   Nelson and Pedro (out of sight) spoke together.

3. *D -in -tong -na -(ϕ) -t **Buwaya.***
   -PF,PERF -meet -she,GEN SUBJ -DIST,OOS Buwaya
   She met **Buwaya (out of sight).**

Nonpersonal

4. *Kaysan (ø) dit lalaki.*
   left,AF SUBJ DIST,OOS man
   The man (out of sight) left.

5. *Ala -m (ø) tun iblu.*
   get -you,GEN SUBJ NS book
   Get **the book (near speaker).**

(ii) 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 or pronoun, the genitive case marker *-n* may also attach itself to the negative *adi*, or the modal hearsay particle *kanu* as in example 6.

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

Nonpersonal

7. *Na -ila -n dit ama (ϕ) dit abeng.*
   PERF,ST -see -GEN DIST,OOS father SUBJ DIST,OOS child
   The father (out of sight) saw the child (out of sight).

8. *In -anup -an (ϕ) da-dit tagu (ϕ) 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).

9. *In -tod -ku kan siya (ϕ) dit iblu*
   PERF,THF -give -I,GEN OBL her SUBJ DIST,OOS book

   -n dit sunud -ku.
   -GEN DIST,OOS sibling -my
   I gave my sister's book (out of sight) to her.

Personal

10. *Ingngina -n Benito (ϕ) dit kabayu.*
    PERF,THF,sold -GEN Benito SUBJ DIST,OOS horse
    Benito sold the horse (out of sight).

11. *Iny -asug (ϕ) Kuya (ϕ) dit tipoy .*
    PERF,PF -cook, GEN Cuya SUBJ DIST,OOS viand
    Cuya cooked the viand (out of sight).

12. *Ma -sakit* *(ϕ)* *dit* *abeng* *(ud)* ***Malia.***
ST -sick SUBJ DIST,OOS child GEN Maria
Maria's child (out of sight) is sick.

13. *Ma-sakit* *din* *(ϕ)* *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 3.1.4, 3.1.5 and Chart 3). And from now on zero allomorphs indicating case (usually subject, but occasionally genitive) will be glossed under the deictic marker, as mentioned above.

(iii) 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 3.2.4). 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*, a free form, normally occurs elsewhere. When *ut* is contracted to *-t*, it cliticizes to the preceding word. The oblique personal marker is *kan*.

Nonpersonal

14. *Nang* *-anup* *dadit* *tagu* *-t* *bolok.*
PERF,AF -hunt SUBJ person -OBL pig
The people hunted pig.

15. *Man -'ala -ka utdatun iblu. / Man'ala kat datun iblu.*
AF -get -you,SUBJ OBL book
Get some of the books.

16. *' -um-oy -ka mang -ala si danum.*
-AF -go -you,SUBJ AF -get OBL water
Go get some water.

Personal

17. *' -umm -oy -kami kan Helena gumutus.*
-AF -go -we,SUBJ OBL Helena vote
We went to vote with Helena

(iv) 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 chart 4, sections 3.2, 3.3, 4.2.2 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 place names are not marked at all. Examples 18 to 24 are taken from Wiens (n.d.b), with my gloss.

18. *Mam -baat -kami -d Baliwon.*
AF -travel -we -LOC Baliwon
We're travelling to Baliwon.

19. *Kawad din dalan ud Asibanglan.*
    where SUBJ path LOC Asibanglan
    Where is the path to Asibanglan?

20. *Adayu tun bolaat -taku -ud Kanada.*
    far SUBJ distance -we,GEN -LOC Canada
    Its a long way between us and Canada.

21. *Kaysan -da -d langit.*
    AF,left -they,SUBJ -LOC sky
    They left the sky.

Note: *kaysan* is the suppletive perfective form of *dalan* 'to leave'.

22. *' -umm -oy -da -d kalabyan.*
    -PERF,AF -go -they,SUBJ -LOC yesterday
    They went yesterday.

23. *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:

24. **Mam-buya taku-d adayu.*
    far
    We will go to a show far away.

It should be noted that *nu* may be used with future time words, as in the following example:

25. *Nu* *bigat* *man* *-tiliw* *-ta.*
tomorrow AF -fight -we(DL),SUBJ
Tomorrow we (two) will fight.

Elsewhere *nu* is a complementizer, or means 'if, when', so it probably means 'when' here too, rather than merely being a case marker.

(v) Topic

The topic is the noun phrase preposed before the verb. It gives pragmatic focus for such purposes as introducing a new referent into the discourse or reintroducing a referent not mentioned in the immediately preceding discourse. (See chapter 7 for further discussion and references). Personal names are marked by *si/(u)t* and other nouns by *sa*. The non-personal case markers combine with the deictic markers as in examples 26 and 27. Topics in the following three sentences are in bold type.

Nonpersonal

26. ***Sanat*** ***matoy*** ***bokon*** ***-a*** ***mang*** ***-ulin.***
Topic dead NEG -LG AF -return
The dead one is the one who will not return.

27. ***Satun*** ***manuk*** ***-ku*** ***natoy.***
Topic chicken -my died
My chicken was the one that died.

Personal

28. *Si* *Ali* *na'abus* *natoy.*
    Topic Ali finished died.
    The king died.

3.1.3. Plurality

The optional plural marker *da* may occur as a component of any determiner except *ud.* While *da* may occur preceding names, *ud* may not. The plural marker occurs between the case marker and the deictic marker (*tu, nat* or *di*) if there is one, as in examples 29 and 30.

Nonpersonal

29. *Ayam* *(0)* *da* *-din* *asu.*
    animal SUBJ PL -DIST dog
    Dogs are animals.

Personal

30. *Masakit* *(0)* *din* *kabayu* *-n* *da* *Malia* *kan* *Pedlo.*
    sick SUBJ DIST horse -GEN PL Maria and Pedro
    Maria and Pedro's horse is sick.

3.1.4. 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 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: *-t* (subject), *sin* and *sit* (oblique).

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 nonpersonal 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 nonpersonal determiners, not with personal ones. The deictics are in bold type.

31. *Ala -m di -n lapis.*
get -you,GEN SUBJ,DIST -VIS pencil
Get the pencil **(distant, visible).**

32. *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.

33. *Nanaksak si(di) -t kalabyan.*
PERF,AF,wash,she,SUBJ OBL,DIST -OOS yesterday
Yesterday she washed (clothes) **over there.**

3.1.5. 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* 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, p. 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, p. 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 34 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'.

34. *(Si Donglayan inumoy manlawod). Utdit*
SUBJ Donglayan went to get leaves. OBL-past

man-ala -t dit lawod sit gawis dit kayu,
AF-get -OBL,PAST leaf OBL,PAST middle SUBJ tree

naidung -ana dit luwang un
looked.down.and.saw -LF,he,GEN SUBJ,PAST water buffalo LG

inggaw sit pong'ad dit kayu un
stay OBL,PAST base GEN,PAST tree LG

sakuw -ona dit kayu un sinakay -na.
rub-with horns -he,GEN SUBJ,PAST tree LG climbed -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* . Chart no 3 entitled Nonpersonal Determiners and Demonstrative Adjectives gives the full range of possible forms of the determiner and demonstrative adjective.

3.2. 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 cliticizes to the end of the preceding word. *Ud* has the various functions listed below:

i. As noted above, it is an optional component of the genitive case marker for names. (See 3.1.2. (ii)).

ii. *Ud* optionally precedes full form Goal subject pronouns *sakon* 'me' and *sika* 'you'. See section 3.3.4, examples 50, 55, 57 and 59.

iii. *Ud* is the normal Location case marker for specific distant places, and may also occur with past time. (See 3.1.2. (iv)).

iv. *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.

v. *Ud* occurs as a determiner in existential clauses (see section 6.7), and those with the predicate *masapul* 'need', as noted by (Wiens (n.d.b), who gave the following supporting example:

35. Adi -na ma-sapul ud babawi.
NEG -it IN-need repetition
There is no need for repetition.

3.3.3. 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 chart 5 below.

Personal Pronouns and Case Markers

Case:		SUBJECT		GEN	OBLIQUE
Number	Person	full	minimal		
Singular	1	sakon	-ak	-ku	kan sakon
	2	sika	-ka	-nu	kan sika
	3	siya	∅	-na	kan siya
Plural	1 dl	dita	-ta	-ta	kan dita
	1 exc	ditaku	-taku	-taku	kan ditaku
	1 inc	dikami	-kami	-mi	kan dikami
	2	dikayu	-kayu	-yu	kan dikayu
	3	dida	-da	-da	kan dida
Case Markers					
Personal		si		-n/∅ (ud)	kan
Nonpersonal		∅		-n/∅ (di)	si/ut

Chart 5.

3.3.1. 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 prepostion *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 3.3.4, Pronouns in Passive Constructions, especially examples 55, 57 and 59; and also section 3.2 and chapters 6 and 8 concerning the function of *ud.*

3.2.2. Morphophonemics

Minimal pronouns cliticize to the verb, except when, as noted by Wiens (n.d.a.), they are attracted by and cliticize to pre-verbal words (see 3.2.3).

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:

-an + ku ⟶ *-ak*	*-on + ku* ⟶ *-ok*
-an + nu ⟶ *-am*	*-on + nu* ⟶ *-om*
-an + na ⟶ *-ana*	*-on + na* ⟶ *-ona*

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 37 and 38.

36. *'awit -ona din kayu.* *(awit-on + na)*
carry -PF,he,GEN SUBJ wood
He will carry the wood.

37. *Ala -m nat lapis.*
get -PF,you,GEN SUBJ pencil
Get the pencil.

38. *Kawad nat iblu -m?*
where SUBJ book -your
Where is your book?

Examples 39 to 46 further exemplify pronoun usage in Kalinga:

39. *Tulung -am (ud) sakon*
help -LF,you,GEN me,SUBJ
You will help me. / Help me.

40. *Suluw -ak (ud) dida.*
teach -LF,I,GEN them,SUBJ
I will teach them.

41. *Man -'asug -ka.*
AF -cook -you,SUBJ
You will cook.

42. *Manuk -ku nat.*
chicken -my that
That is my chicken.

43. *Siya (ud) nang -ala -t din badang -ku.*
he,SUBJ,TP DET PERF,AF -get -OBL 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 3.2 and 6.2.

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

45. *Naka-tadok -da kan dikami.*
COOP-dance -they,SUBJ OBL us
They danced with us.

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

3.2.3. Order of Pronouns

As mentioned above, both clitic subject and non-subject actor (genitive) pronouns are frequently attracted by, and cliticize to preverbal words. These include: *adi* (negative), *asi* 'then', *olog* 'can', *i* 'go', and *madama*, 'while', as in examples 47 and 48.

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

48. *'Umun'una -ka asi -kami ma -itung'ud.*
go ahead -you,SUBJ then -we,SUBJ IN -follow
Go ahead then we will follow.

For an example with *madama* 'while', see ch. 12, example 122, and for an example with *olog* 'can', see ch. 4, example 83.

3.2.4. 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 49 to 51 show the contrast between *dika* and *sika*. Note that *ud* optionally precedes full form goal subject pronouns *sakon* 'me' and *sika* 'you' in examples 50, 55, 57, and 59 below. (See also section 4.2.2. concerning passives, and section 3.2 for further description of *ud*).

49. *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).

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

51. *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 52, which is a passive construction involving an inactive verb and the pronoun *dika,* with example 53, which also has an inactive verb, but is not a passive construction. Example 53 contains the normal full subject second person pronoun *sika.*

52. *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.

53. *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 54 to 60 illustrate the first person singular minimal subject pronoun *-ak* in passive constructions.

54. *I -lugan -ak sinat kalitun.*
THF-ride -I,SUBJ OBL wheelbarrow
I will be pushed (ride) in the wheelbarrow.

55. *I -lugan -nu (ud) sakon sinat kalitun.*
THF -ride -you,GEN me,SUBJ OBL wheelbarrow
You will push (ride) me in the wheelbarrow.

56. *Tulung -an -ak (kan sika).*
help -LF -I,SUBJ (OBL you)
I will be helped (by you).

57. *Tulung -am (ud) sakon.*
help -LF,you,GEN me,SUBJ
You will help me.

58. *Suluw -an -ak (kan dida).*
teach -LF -I,SUBJ (OBL them)
I will be taught (by them).

59. *Suluw -an -da (ud) sakon.*
teach -LF -they,GEN me, SUBJ
They will teach me.

60. *Salin -an -ak kan bunot...*
cover -LF -I,SUBJ OBL cloud
I am covered by (Mr) Cloud....

Examples 60 and 61 compare the occurrence of the first person dual pronoun in passive and regular constructions.

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

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

CHAPTER 4

VERB MORPHOLOGY

4.0. Introduction

Verbs are distinguished from other word classes in that 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 summarized on the chart 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*). But see Chapters 7 and 8 for a discussion of 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 Transitivity Continuum in this chapter) 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 3.1.2 (i) and 5.1 on Subject.

Verbs are subcategorized on the basis of the presence or absence of volitionality; that is, as either active or inactive verbs. Active verbs in particular are further

subcategorized, as mentioned above, according to their degree of transitivity, along the lines of Hopper & 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 recognized. The best way to describe what is happening is as a 'transitivity continuum'. (See section 4.1.3 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, p. 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 (i.e., 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.

Verb Focus Affixes

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

Chart 6.

4.1. Active Verbs

4.1.1. Actor Focus Affixes

(i) *-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.

1a. ' *-Um -oy -ak sidi.*
-AF -go -I,SUBJ there
I am going there.

1b. ' *-Umm -oy -ak sidi.*
-AF -go -I,SUBJ there
I went there.

2a. *D -um -atong -kayu.*
-AF -come -you,SUBJ
You are coming.

2b. *D-umm -atong -kayu.*
-AF -come -you,SUBJ
You came.

It also verbalizes meteorological nouns such as *bali* 'typhoon' and *'udan* 'rain'.

3. ' *-um -udan.*
-AF -rain
Its raining.

4. *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:

bali	typhoon	*g-um-ali*	to typhoon
piya	good	*k-um-iya*	become good, improve, recover
buuk	drunk	*g-um-uuk*	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:

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

Partitive Aspect

Wiens (1979, p. 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 5 and 6, (from Wiens, 1979, p. 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.

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

6. *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 (p.c.), the object is optional when *-um-* indicates partitive aspect.

(ii) *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 7 to 9 below), but it is more commonly found on verbs with two or more arguments.

As Reid (p.c.) 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 10 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, p. 23) it implies some kind of limitation. In these constructions *maN-* may combine with Locative suffix *-an*. See section 6.2, especially 6.2.1 and 6.2.2, and chapter 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 4.3, in particular 4.3.2.

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

7. *'akkeyot*

verb;

to walk slowly, to dawdle.

Adi -ka man -'akkeyot -a k -um -iyang dalapnu magpos

NEG you,SUBJ AF - dawdle -LG -AF -walk so that early

dumkngam.

time of your arrival

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

8a. *'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).

8b. *Man -'o -'okkog nu man -agada.*

AF -CV-C_2,stoop when AF -climb

He is **stooping** while climbing.

Note: The CV reduplication and gemination of the second consonant here signifies continuative aspect.

9. *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 t a 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 10, which is, as mentioned above, a derived intransitive clause.

10. *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.

11. *Mam -bayu -t din pagoy.*
    AF -pound -OBL rice
    S/he is pounding rice.

12. *Nan -'awit -ak si kayu.*
    AF -carry -I,SUBJ OBL wood
    I carried firewood.

13. *Mang -kiwas-ak si palatu un '-in-algaw.*
    AF -wash -I,SUBJ OBL plate LG day-after-day
    I wash plates daily.

(iii) *maN- /naN-*

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

N + bilabial —> m

N + dental —> n

N + velar or glottal —> ng

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

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

> 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 (p.c.). 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 nominalization of a goal focus clause in Limos Kalinga does indeed require *maN-/naN-*, as can be seen from example 14, involving the actor focus

verb *nangwa (naN- + kowa)* and the goal focus verb *kingwa (-in- +kowa) 'made'.*

14. *Singngad dit nang -wa tun pita?*
who SUBJ PERF,AF -make SUBJ earth
Who made the earth?

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

Examples 15-25 show *maN- /naN-* in simple clauses:

15. *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'.

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

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

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

19. *Man -agada -ka di.*
AF -climb -you,SUBJ OBL,there
Climb up there.

20. *Mang -ulin sooni.*
AF -return,he,SUBJ soon
He will return soon.

Although examples 21 - 23 do not, as Reid (p.c.) 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 21:

21. *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 22 and 23 containing *saksak* 'launder', and *danum 'water'*, could similarly be extended to 'I'm laundering two shirts' and 'I'm fetching four buckets of water'.

22. *Man -aksak -ak.*

AF -lander -I,SUBJ

I'm laundering.

23. *Man -anum -ak.*

AF -water -I,SUBJ

I'm fetching water.

Examples 24 to 28 all illustrate *maN-* verbs occurring with indefinite objects.The object of example 24 is non-specific, but although the objects in examples 25 to 28 are indefinite, they are both specific and countable.

24. *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)...

25. *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,...

26. *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).

27. *...mang -ala -ka -si -duwa -n iting*
AF -get -you,SUBJ -OBL -two -LG iting
...you get two itings (measurement) (of rice), ...

28. *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 & 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 & 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, topicalization and relativization, see Chapters 7 and 8.

4.1.2. Goal Focus affixes

(i) 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, p. 28), so patient focus affixes, especially the infix *-in-* which marks the perfective aspect, produce proto-typically 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, p. 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.

29. *Bayu* *-om* *din* *pagoy.*
pound -IMPERF,PF,you,GEN SUBJ
rice
You are pounding the rice./Pound the rice.

30. *B -in -ayu -m din pagoy.*
-PERF,PF -pound -you,GEN SUBJ rice
You pounded the rice.

31. *Pokpok-ok din kayu.*
chop -IMPERF,PF SUBJ tree
I am chopping down the tree./I will chop down the tree.

32. *P -in -okpok -ku din kayu.*
-PERF -chop -I,GEN SUBJ tree
I chopped down the tree.

33. ... *Paltiy -on -da dit solwak.*
butcher-IMPERF,PF -they,GEN SUBJ animal of solwak celebration
... they butcher the animal of the solwak celebration.

34. *Piya-ona -n isna.*
like -IMPERF,PF,she,GEN-SUBJ rice.
She likes rice.

35. *' -In -tod -ku din alsom kan siya. (-in- + 'itod)*
-PERF,PF-give -I,GEN SUBJ pomelo OBL she
I gave the pomelo (citrus fruit) to her.

(ii) Theme Focus, *i-/-in* -

Foley and Van Valin (1984, p. 51) characterize 'theme' as 'the entity whose location is at issue', and claim that for Tagalog, *i-* marks themes, whether simple themes or effector themes. It is also true for Limos Kalinga that the 'theme' is 'something that moves'. Wiens (1979, p. 29) puts it this way :

> The affix *i-* indicates that the speaker wants the focused participant [read 'subject' N.S.] to be understood as being conveyed. This participant may at the same time be affected or it may be the thing used to accomplish the action, but it is not the function of this affix to indicate this aspect. The context will make it clear whether the participant is patient or instrument if this is relevant, but the primary function of *i-* is to indicate that the participant is conveyed.

Examples 36 and 37 illustrate the use of this affix.

36. *I -baat -nu nat abeng -nu.*
THF -travel -you,GEN SUBJ child -your
Take your child travelling./Travel with your child.

37. *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.*

38. *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 (p.c.) 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 39, are the only examples of it which Wiens gives, or that I have observed.

39. *I -pokpok -nu nat kayu.*
THF -cut -you,GEN SUBJ tree
Cut down the tree.

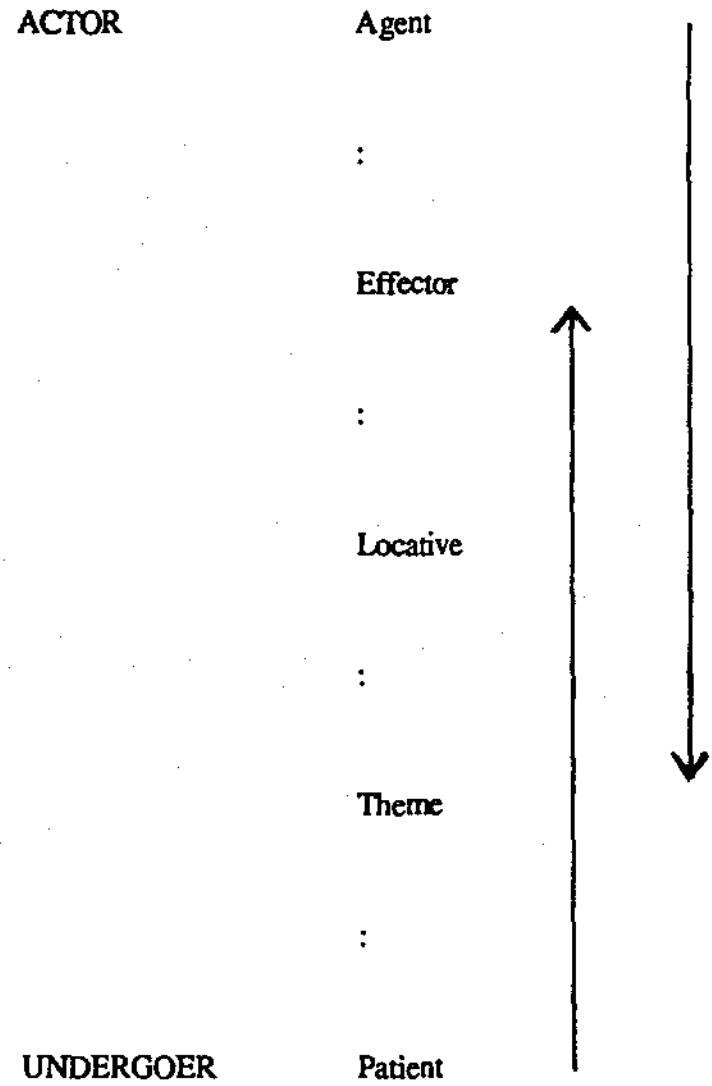
Pokpok may also take *i-* to focus Effector-Theme (Instrument) as subject (see below), as in example 40.

40. *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 & Van Valin (1984, p. 59), present the following actor/undergoer hierarchy:



As can be seen, on their hierarchy theme is placed between patient and locative. In Hopper & 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 → *iy* / -V (*i* becomes *iy* before vowels).

i → ∅ / *-i* (*i* is deleted preceding another *i*).

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

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

42. *Im -mula -na tun pagoy.*
PERF,THF -plant -he,GEN SUBJ rice
He planted the rice.

43. *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*.

44. *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.

45. *Im* *-baga* *-na* *dit* *panggop* *-na.*
PERF,THF -tell -she,GEN SUBJ purpose -she,GEN
She told her purpose.

iii) 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, p. 73, and Hopper & Thompson, 1980, p. 289).

Wiens(1979, p. 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 proto-typical 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 fertilizer 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, p. 41).

Locative focus morphology also co-occurs in identification sentences with *siya ud* to indicate Reason. (See Chapter 8, examples 13 to 15). And finally, the locative suffix *-an* is part of associative verb mophology. In this case it combines with the aspectual prefixes *man/maN-*, or with the inactive verb prefixes *ma-/na-*. (See section 4.3 below).

The following morphophonemic rules (Wiens, 1979, p. 45) apply when the

suffix *-an* is followed by any of the singular non-subject actor pronouns:

first person	*-an*	+	*ku*	→	*-ak*
second person	*-an*	+	*nu*	→	*-am*
third person	*-an*	+	*na*	→	*-ana*

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.

46. *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*** .

47. *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*** .

48. *Mulmul* ***-ak*** *tun* *kindi.*
suck -IMPERF,LF,I,GEN SUBJ candy
I am sucking/will suck the candy.
Perfective: ***m-in-ulmul-ak*** .

49. *Angpas -an -da tun unas.*
chip at -IMPERF, LF -they,GEN SUBJ sugar cane
They are chipping at/will chip at the sugar cane.
Perfective: *'-in-angpas-an*

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

51. *Pakuy -am si* Pak.:o.
shout -IMPERF,LF,you,GEN SUBJ Pakito
Shout to Pakito.

Examples 52-55 are from Wiens (1979, p. 42), with my gloss.

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

Compare this with the following patient focus clause:

53. *Akaw -om nat luwang -da.*
steal -you,GEN,IMPERF,LF SUBJ water buffalo -their
Steal their water buffalo.

54. *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:

55. *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, p. 42), verbs of hunting such as: *bitu* 'trap in a pit', *balais* 'trap', *anup* 'hunt' and *alyug* 'travel', the latter, (from Wiens, 1979, p. 29) being exemplified below. Again, the gloss is mine.

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

57. *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, pp. 40, 41) illustrate this contrast:

58. *Alisut* *-om* *nat* *boloy.*
wall -IMPERF,PF,you,GEN SUBJ house
Wall the house.

59. *Alisut* *-am* *nat* *boloy.*
wall -IMPERRF,PF,you,GEN SUBJ house
Put wall(s) on the house.

60. *Badal* *-om* *nat* *sugat.*
wrap -IMPERF,PF,you GEN SUBJ wound
Wrap the wound.

61. *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 paralled 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.

(iv) 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 subjectivizing 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 62 to 65 illustrate benefactive focus.

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

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

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

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

4.1.3. Transitivity Continuum

Before commenting further on the transitivity continuum in Limos Kalinga, I will quote Hopper & 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:

Transitivity Continuum

	Imperf	Perf	
Actor Focus affixes	-um-	-umm-	Partial
	man-	nan-	Inclusive
	maN-	naN-	Limited
Goal Focus affixes	-an	-in--an	Locative focus
	i-	in-	Theme focus
	-on	-in-	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)':

Actor Focus

-um-

66. *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-

67. *Nan -dalus si Malia -t danat palatu.*
AF -wash SUBJ Maria -OBL PL plate
Maria washed some plates.

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

maN-

68. *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'.

Locative Focus

69. ***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.

Benefactive Focus

70. ***In -dalus -an*** *ud Malia si ina -na -t nat palatu.*
PERF-wash -BF GEN Maria SUBJ mother -her -OBL 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, pp. 24, 25), with my gloss. *Bunut* may also be a noun, as in:

71. *Ko -om* ***nat bunut*** *iyug si pupuggadan.*
make -IMPERF,PF,you,GEN SUBJ husk (GEN) coconut OBL door-mats
Make the coconut husks into door mats.

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

Actor Focus

-um-

72. *G -um -unut -kayu man sinat iyug.*
-AF -husk -you,SUBJ O.K.? OBL coconut
You husk some coconuts, O.K.?

(Note: *-um-* causes the *b* of *bunut* to dissimilate to *g*).

-Um- indicates partitive action here.

man-

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

maN-

74. *mam -unut -taku -t tun iyug si ima.*
AF -husk -we (INC),SUBJ -OBL 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.

Locative Focus

75. *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.

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).

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

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, p. 24), with his comments after each.

Actor focus

-um-

77. ***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-

78. ***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-

79. ***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.

Patient Focus

Only one goal focus affix has been found with *kan*, and that is the patient focus one: *-on/-in-*, as in example 80:

80. ***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, nos 84, 85 and 87 are from Wiens (1979, p. 38) with my gloss.

Actor Focus

man-/nan-

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

82. *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-

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

Effector-Theme (Instrument) Focus

84. ***I*** ***-baat*** *-nu nat pilak -nu.*
THF,IMPERF -travel -you,GEN SUBJ money -your
Travel with your money.

Locative Focus

85. ***Baat*** ***-am*** ***nat*** ***kanon*** ***-yu.***

travel -LF,IMPERF SUBJ food -your (PL)

Travel for your food.

Theme Focus

86. ***I*** ***-baat*** ***-nu*** ***nat*** ***abeng*** ***-nu.***

THF,IMPERF -travel -you,GEN SUBJ child -your

Take your child on a journey.

Patient Focus

87. ***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.

4.2. 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.

4.2.1. Actor Focus

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.

88. ***Maka -ibil*** *si Donglayon ul lawa ot* ***kaysan.***
IN,AF -cry SUBJ Donglayon LG just and left
Donglayon just **burst into tears** and left.

89. ***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.

90. ***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:

91. *..ot nanapug yoong adi -na* ***naka -datong*** *sin boloy alan*
and swam but NEG -he,SUBJ IN,AF -come OBL house spirit

ta na -angoy....
for IN,PF-tired
...and he swam, but he got tired and was not **able to return** to the Home of the Spirits, for he was tired, (and drowned and sank).

92. *Adi -kayu* ***naka -suyop*** *sit labi.*
NEG -you,SUBJ IN,AF -sleep OBL night
You **were unable to sleep** last night.

93. ***Maka -bayuw*** *-ak.*
IN,AF -pound -I,SUBJ
I am able to pound.

94. ***Naka -saksak*** *kami.*
IN,AF -wash we,SUBJ
We were able to wash.

95. ***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.

96. ***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.

97. *Yoong adi -na* ***maka -ligwat*** *ta naipikat kanu dit* *ebotna*
but NEG -he,SUBJ 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).

98. *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 99 and 100 indicate 'need'.

99. *Man -alan -ak* *-on* *ta* *'umoy -ak tumulung*
AF -go -I,SUBJ -already to go -I help

sidat ***maka -sapul*** *kan sakon.*
those IN,AF -need OBL me
I'm going to help those who **need** me.

100. *Adi -da -on ud maka -talibasu kan*
NEG-they,SUBJ -already LG IN,AF -work and

adi -da maka -utu ut kanon -da.
NEG-they,SUBJ IN,AF -cook OBL food -their
They no longer **needed to work** or **cook** their food.

Examples 101 and 102 illustrate the inactive actor focus form of *tigammu* 'know'.

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

102. ....*un siya -d ka'aduwana koom di tagu un adi*
LG that -DET mostly doing GEN person LG NEG

maka -tigammu kan Apudyus.
IN,AF -know OBL God
....its mainly those who do not **know** God who (do bad things such as steal and kill).

4.2.2. 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 chart 6:

Inactive Goal Focus Affixes

	Imperfective	Perfective
Patient Focus	ma-	na-
Theme Focus	mai-	nai-
Locative Focus	ma---an	na — an
Benefactive Focus	mai--an	nai— an

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 proto-typically 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 103 and 104 below:

103. *P -in -okpok -ku din kayu.*
-PF -cut down -I,GEN SUBJ tree
I cut down the tree.

104. *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 104 is the experiencer, yet from a syntactic point of view it may

be seen as a 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 104 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 106) and two-place predicates (as in example 104 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 *bayu* 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 104 and 106), have a (syntactic) '**actor**' subject , and follow the ergative system. On the other hand, abilitative clauses (like example 107) 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, p. 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 ch. 1 under the heading: 'Is Limos Kalinga an Ergative Language?').

By contrast, **active** one-place predicates usually have actor focus verb morphology and actor subjects, like example 105:

105. ' *-um -oy -ka.*
-AF -go -you,SUBJ
You are going.

As mentioned above, example 106 is a true semantic stative:

106. *Ma -sugat -ka.*
IN,GF -hurt -you,SUBJ
You are being hurt./You will be hurt.

By contrast, example 107 illustrates an inactive two-place predicate with a true goal subject. Such a construction invokes an abilitative interpretation.

107. *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 3.2.4). Compare example 107 above with example 108 below:

108. *Ma -sugat dika kan siya.*
IN,GF -hurt you,SUBJ OBL him
You can be hurt by him.

To summarize 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 109 is a true stative with an inactive one-place goal focus predicate, taking what appears to be an 'actor' subject.

109. *Ma -suyop -ka*
IN,GF -sleep -you,SUBJ
You will sleep.

Example 110 is a stative/passive clause, having a two-place predicate in its semantic structure.

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

Example 111 is an abilitative clause.

111. ***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, parallelling 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.

(a) Patient Focus

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

Stative

Imperfective	Perfective
112. *Ma-suyop ka.*	*Na-suyop ka.*
ST -sleep you,SUBJ	
You will sleep.	You are asleep.
113. *Ma-talok si Pedlo.*	*Na-talok si Pedlo.*
ST-happy SUBJ Pedro	
Pedro is/will be happy.	Pedro was happy.

114. *Ma-balin din mula.* *Na-balin din mula.*

ST -healthy SUBJ plant

The plants are healthy The plants were healthy.

115. *Ma -sdaaw -ak.* *Na-sdaaw -ak.*

ST -surprised-I, SUBJ

I am surprised. I was surprised.

116. *Ma-bali nat mula.* *Na-bali nat mula.*

ST -typhoon SUBJ plant

The plants will be destroyed The plants were destroyed (by the

(by the typhoon). typhoon).

117. *Ma-tigammu dit awit di osaosa -n sunud.*

ST -know SUBJ load GEN each -LG sibling

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.

118. *Na -pokpok dit kayu (kan siya).*

ST -cut SUBJ tree (OBL him)

The tree was cut down (by him).

119. *Na -patoy dit manuk.*

ST -kill SUBJ chicken

The chicken was killed.

120. *Na -yaman dit alad.*
ST -destroyed SUBJ fence
The fence was destroyed.

121. *Na -ani dit pagoy.*
ST -harvest SUBJ rice
The rice was harvested.

Abilitative Examples

122. *Na -bayu -mi dit binayu.*
ABIL -pound -we,GEN SUBJ rice
We were able to pound the rice.

123. *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.

(b) Theme focus

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

Stative

124. *Nai -mus dit pilak.*
ST -beg SUBJ money
The money was begged for.

125. *Nai -mula dit pagoy.*

ST -plant SUBJ rice

The rice was planted.

126. *Nai -gga dit iblu -t dit lamesaan.*

ST -place SUBJ book -OBL table

The book was placed on the table.

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

127. *Naiy -anup dan asu.*

ST -hunt SUBJ dog

The dogs were used to hunt with.

128. *Mai-dalus nat sagad.*

ST -sweep SUBJ broom

The broom is being used for/will be used for sweeping.

129. *Nai -bayu dit alu utdit pagoy.*

ST -pound SUBJ pestle OBL rice

The pestle was used to pound some rice.

Abilitative

130. *Mai -ngina -k.*

ABIL -sell -I,GEN

I will be able to sell it.

131. *Nai -mula -mi dit pagoy.*
ABIL -plant -we,GEN SUBJ rice
We were able to plant rice.

132. *Nai -ngina -mi dit bolok*
ABIL -sell -we,GEN SUBJ pig
We were able to sell the pig.

(c) 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).

Stative

133. *Ma-sugat -an ka.*
ST -wound -LF you, SUBJ
You are wounded.

134. *Ma-dalus -an tun boloy.*
ST -clean -LF SUBJ house
The house is being cleaned.

135. *Na-mulmul -an dit kindi.*
ST -suck -LF SUBJ candy
The candy has been sucked.

136. *Na -sagad -an dit bansag.*
ST -sweep -LF SUBJ floor
The floor has been swept.

137. *Na -saksak -an dit badut.*
ST -wash -LF SUBJ dress
The dress has been washed.

138. *Na -bulas -an dit kapi.*
ST -gather -LF SUBJ coffee
The coffee has been gathered.

Abilitative

139. *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*.

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

Here the negative, *adi* attracts the actor pronoun to the preverbal position.

(d) 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).

Stative Examples

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

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

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

144. ***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.