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Chapter I

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter talks about the background information about the geography, the peoples, and languages of the central Ifugao people and their relationship with other languages and nearby peoples groups.

1.1 THE NAME OF THE LANGUAGE

The language variety spoken in the central Ifugao is known to other Ifugao tribes from the adjacent municipalities as the “*munkalyon*” which literary means ‘those who say *kalyon*’ and the “*munghokigho*” as a way distinguishing it the language from the “*mun’alyon*”, the “*mun’ibanawol*”, the “*mun’ikiangan*”, and the “*mun’iyayangan*”.

At present the “*munghokigho*”, a language variety spoken in baranggays Burnay, Boliwong, and Tungngod (that used to include Lagawe Proper) are now being assimilated to the *munkalyon*. The two are very similar except some few lexical terms; and one of which is the particle “*ghokigho*” whose counterpart in the *munkalyon* is “*boppo’oh*”. In this paper, I refer to the *munkalyon* and the *munghokigho* as the central Ifugao language.

People groups from the southern (Lamut) and south-western (Kiangnan, Asipulo, Tinoc) and North-western (Ayangans) sometimes choose to refer to the people by the general location, instead of the language and called them “*ihuddokna*” or ‘(people) from the north’; and when they do that they lump the speakers of both the “*mun’alyon*” and the “*munkalyon*”; and they sometimes includes speakers of the “*mun’ibannawol*” that lived farther north of Hingyon municipality.

The people prefer to refer to themselves by their respective place-names: thus both the

people groups from the northeastern baranggays of Hingyon that speak the “*mun’alyon*” dialect, and from the southwestern baranggays of Hingyon that speak the “*munkalyon*” dialect call themselves either “*ihuddoknah*” or ‘from the north’ or “*ihingyon*” or ‘from Hingyon’; and the people from the adjacent baranggays of Lagawe also identify themselves by their place-name refer to themselves as “*ilagawe*” or ‘from Lagawe’. Both of these groups though speak what I refer to as the ‘central Ifugao language’.

1.2 ETHNOLOGY

The dominant economic activity of the people is wet-farming; and even a major part of its religious activities are related its annual farming cycle; and its social leader is one who has had the historically largest land holdings. Supplemental economic activities are combinations of two or more of the following: livestock raising, vegetable production, wood curving, furniture production, micro-business ventures, and various kinds of employments.

The land is largely mountainous and all the higher elevations were covered with communal and family owned forests; the lower hills are dedicated to either housing or to orchard or a combination. Farm lands (wet fields and dry farms) are found along rivers and their tributaries from where irrigations are also drawn. Stone walls are found in rice fields and residential lands. Traditional houses are raised about the ground and were made from a combination of wood, bamboo, and thatched roofing. Modern houses that are made of a combination of reinforced concrete, wood, and galvanized sheets roofing are now replacing the traditional ones.

1.3 GEOGRAPHY AND DEMOGRAPHY

The language is spoken by inhabitants occupying the general location between latitude 16 52’ 41”N and 16 47’ 02” N and longitude 121 03’ 45” E and 121 09’ 20” E (<http://www.flashearth.com/> google earth, accessed Nov 24, 2007). Digital aerial map marked

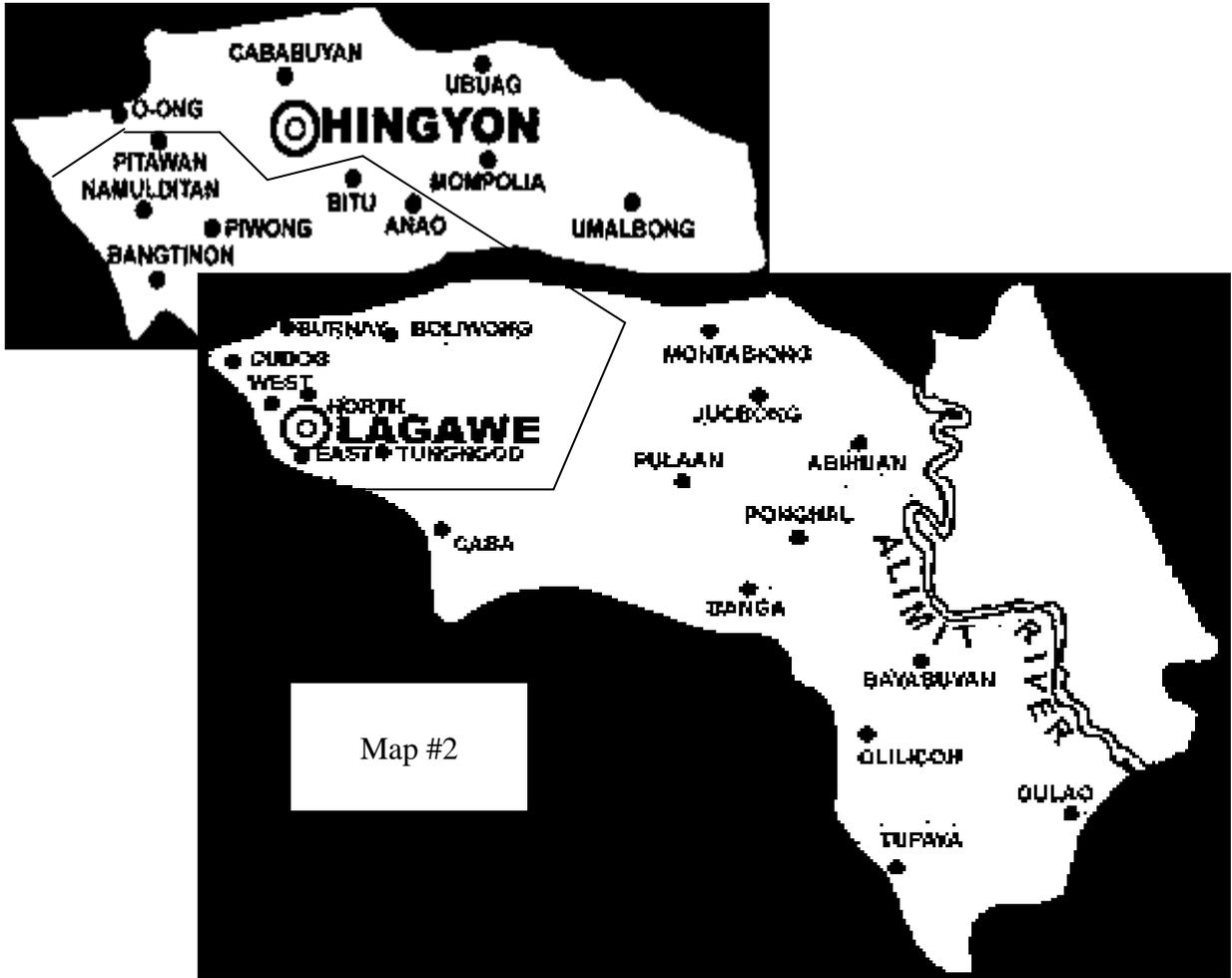
Map #1 (on following page) and drawn map marked Map #2 show the where the central Ifugao language variety or the “munkalyon is located in relation with the northern Ifugao language or the “mun’alyon” variety is located.

1.4 PHYSICAL LOCATION

The homeland of the Ifugao (L-complex) language is situated at the central portion of the Cordillera mountain ranges with altitudes ranging from 4,000 to 5,600 feet above sea level. It occupies less than 750 square miles (Bankoti 2004) in center of Northern Luzon.

At the central portion of this land, lies Hingyon-Lagawe, the home of the central Ifugao language variety. Hingyon-Lagawe is generally mountainous and it is bounded on western portion by the Ibulao river, on the southeast by the ridges along Tungngod-Pulaan boundary then to the Boliwong-Jukbong boundary , up to the Burnay-Umalbong boundary; on the northeast by eastern ridge dividing baranggay Anao and Mompolia, and baranggay Bitu and Baranggay Poblacion, and northeast by the political boundaries between Namulditan and Cababuyan, and between Pitawan and Oong; and on the southwest by the mountain ridges along the boundaries dividing Baraggays Namultitan-Piwong-Cudog and Bangtinon and down to the Ibulao river.

Google map of Hingyon-lagawe



Map #2

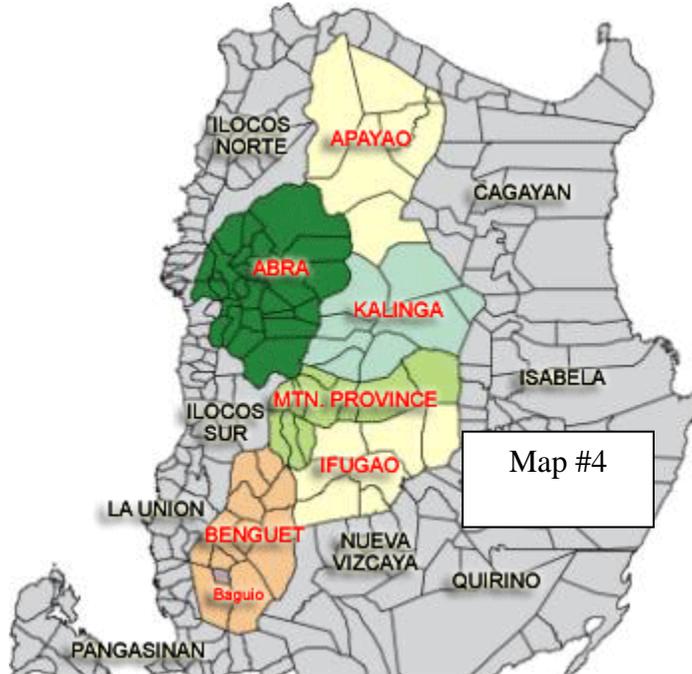
The other maps marked Maps #3 and #4 show the general location of land inhabited by the Ifugao tribes in relation to the provinces of northern Luzon, and geographical relationship among the municipalities of Ifugao.



Map #3

Map #3 shows the eleven municipalities of the province of Ifugao. The speakers of the central Ifugao language inhabited the southwestern of Hingyon municipality and the western portion of Lagawe Municipality.

For lack of an appropriate term, the “munkalyon”



language variety is referred to here as the ‘central Ifugao language’. North of it are speaker of the “mun’alyon”; to the east are the speaker of the “mun’iyangan”; to the south are speakers Ilocano and Ayangan; and to the is largely the speaker of “tuwali” and “kelei”.

The speakers are largely monolithic, or the people speak the same language. Where there are speakers of the

other languages they tend to learn and speak the host language. The four barangays: Poblacions East, West, North and South of Lagawe is different. There are minority speakers of Ilocano, Tuwali, and Ayangan, and even Tagalog.

The language is used in the homes, in social gatherings, in school campuses (except in class rooms), and in churches. Ilocano and central Ifugao language are largely used when transacting business; Ilocano when either one of the seller or buyer is an Ilocano. Some Ilocano entrepreneurs and residents are trying their best to speak the local language. English is used in written communication among offices, both private and public; while Ilocano and vernacular are used in oral communications both private and public establishments.

The interactions among language speakers are very cordial and friendly. People generally have the tendency to speak the host language where ever they are. The “Munkalyon” or central Ifugao language variety and the “tuwali” language are markedly dominant among all other language. Speakers of these two languages tend to speak their respective language where ever

they are, even when they are in any of the adjacent provinces; when speakers of the two language groups meet, each language group speak their own respective language when interacting or conversing with the other. It may be because the two language varieties are very similar and understandable among them.

In terms of temperament, both the “mun’alyon” and the central Ifugao language speakers, the “munkayon” equally dominant. This trait is observable in political activities, employment in government offices, in leadership in religious organizations, and in police blotters.

1.5 GENETIC AFFILIATION

The central Ifugao language is genetically affiliated with the Northern Philippine languages (McFarland 1980 and Ethnologue 2000). The ethnologue however further subdivided Northern Philippine languages into Northern Luzon and Southern Luzon, whereas McFarland considered it as one gene languages. McFarland divided the Northern Philippines languages into cordillera languages, Ilongots , and Sambalic languages; cordillera languages was in turn divided Dumagat languages, Northern cordillera languages, Ilocano, Central cordillera languages, and Southern Cordillera languages; Central Cordillera languages was further divided into Kalinga, Itneg, Balangaw, Bontoc, Kankanaey, Ifugao (L-complex), and Isinai; finally, the Ifugao (L-complex) languages was subdivided into Ifugao-Eastern, Ifugao-Kiangan, and Ifugao-Banaue. The genetic affiliation of the Ifugao (L-complex) language following McFarland model would then look like Figure 1.1 below. It can be contrasted to that of Gordon found in Etnologue in Figure 1.2 and also that of Reid’s, Figure1.3.

Figure 1.1 McFarland 1980

Northern Philippine languages
Cordillera languages
Central cordillera languages
Ifugao (L-complex)
Central Ifugao (Banaue)

Figure 1.2 Etnologue (Gordon 2005)

Linguistic Lineage for Ifugao, Amganad (northern and central Ifugao language varieties)

Austronesian (1268)

Malayo-Polynesian (1248)

Northern Philippine (72)

Northern Luzon (56)

South-Central Cordilleran (33)

Central Cordilleran (23)

Nuclear Cordilleran (9)

Ifugao (4)

Ifugao, Amganad [ifa]

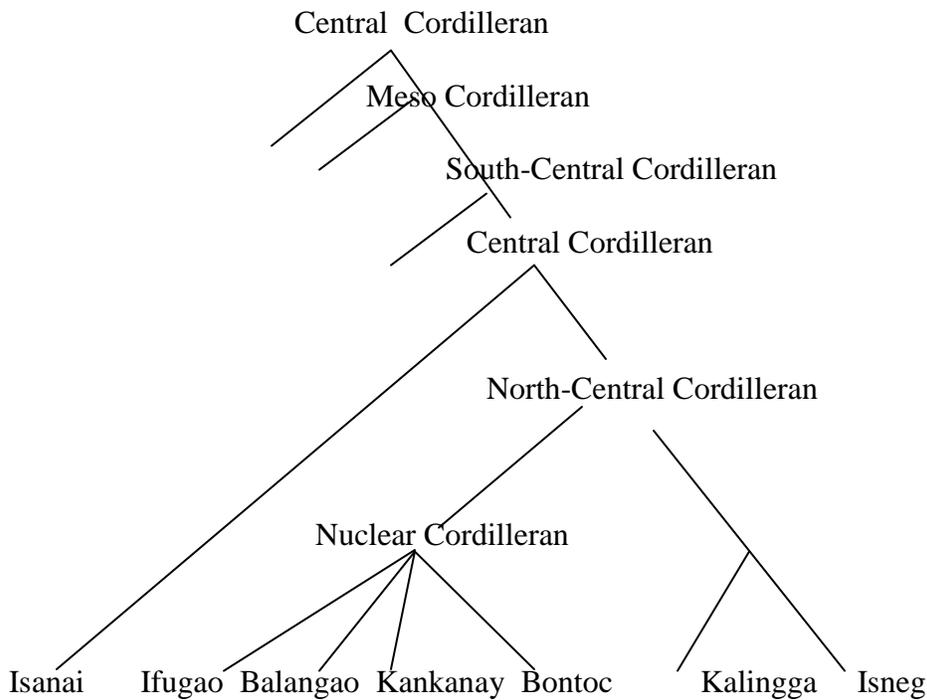
(Mun'alyon/ northern)

(Munkalyon/ central)

(Mun'ibannawol)

Gordon, Raymond G., Jr. (ed.), 2005. Ethnologue: Languages of the World, Fifteenth edition. Dallas, Tex.: SIL International. Online version: <http://www.ethnologue.com/>. Accessed November 25, 2007.

Figure 1.3 (Reid 1974)



The Ifugao-Banaue (or Ifugao Amganad) language has varieties, the “mun'alyon” dialect and the “munkalyon” dialect. The “munkalyon” is the focus of this research paper and I refer to it as the ‘central Ifugao language’ (or dialect). The Ifugao-Banaue language is one of the three major Ifugao language varieties spoken in the province of Ifugao, the other two are Ifugao-Eastern (Ayangan) and Ifugao Kiangan (Tuwali). Keley'i is another language variety spoken in the south-western portion of Ifugao, but it is more related to the Kalanguya language, which is spoken along the Ifugao-Benguet-Neuva Vizcaya boundary. This central Ifugao dialect, or the “mun'kalyon”, is spoken in thirteen baranggays starting from baranggay Pitawan, municipality of Hingyon in the north to baranggay Tungod, municipality of Lagawe in the south. The thirteen baranggays are Pitawan, Namuldita, Piwong, Bitu, and Anao, all in the municipality of Hingyon; baranggays Burnay, Cudog, Boliwong, Poblacion North, Poblacion West, Pablacion East, Poblacion South, and Tungod, all in the municipality of Lagawe. The total population in all these Central Ifugao “Munkayon” language

thirteen baranggays is about 12,548 according to the NSO 1995 census (<http://www.ifugao.gov.ph/baranggays.htm> accessed November 25, 2007).

On the other hand, northern Ifugao dialect or the “mun'alyon” is spoken in the eight northeastern baranggays more particularly baranggays Amganad, Tam'an, and Balawis in the municipality of Banaue, baranggays Cababuyan North, Cababuyan South, Poblacion, Mompolia, and Umalbondong, all in the municipality of Hingyon.

The distinctive difference of the central Ifugao dialect and northern Ifugao dialect varieties of the so called Ifugao Amganad or Ifugao-Banawe is the use of velar voiceless plosive /k/ in place of glottal stop /ʔ/ in some of the lexemes. These two dialect varieties and those spoken in the other western baranggays of Banawe or the “‘ibanawol” are lumped together and labeled as Ifugao Amganad or Ifugao-Banawe language by Raymond Gordon (ethnologue 2000) and is entered in the ethnologue three-letter code as “IFA”.

Raumond Gordon in the ethnologue included the other western baranggays of the municipality of Banaue, more particularly baranggays Bocos, View Point, Gohang, San Fernando, Poblacion and Tam-an to the Ifugao-Banawe (or Ifugao Amganad) language. The speakers in these baranggays, however, speak a somewhat different variety that have extra phonemes like [c, j, s, and r] (Llamzon 1978, p58) that is absent in the phonemes of both the northern and central Ifugao languages/dialects. The rest of the baranggays of Banawe speak the Banawe-eastern or the Batad Ifugao (or Ayangan) language variety.

There are other speakers of the Ifugao (L-complex) language scattered nationwide. It was reported that it comprise a majority in municipalities of Ambaguio and Kayapa, large minority in Kasibu and Diadi, a small minority in Barangay Villa Verde, municipality of Solano, all in province of Nueva Vizcaya; large minority language spoken in the municipality of Maddela, small minority in Cabarrogis, Aglipay, and Diffun, all in the province of Quirino (McFarland

1980). There are small communities in city of Malaybalay, Bukidnon, and in the municipality Ramon, Isabela, and in the municipality of Tuba, Benguet (personal knowledge). There may be speakers in other places nationwide.

1.6 SOCIOLINGUISTICS SETTING OF THE IFUGAOS

The people of Ifugao are closely related to the other tribes inhabiting the grand cordillera and calballo mountain ranges. Today they are separated into the two regional political and administrative units and called Cordillera Administrative Region or CAR. In the past, the Spaniards lapped all the people of mountainous lands of Northern Luzon and called them Ygolot, Igorrotes, Igorotes or Igorot (Henry Scott 1974, pp 169f). Later the term was used to designate the peoples groups of the old Mountain Province comprising Benguet, Ifugao, Bontoc, Kalinga and Apayao (Scott 1974, p 310, www.britannica.com/eb/article-9042068/Igorot). Often times the people of Kalinga and Ifugao excludes themselves from being called Igorot.

The Ifugao is sometimes called Ifugaw, Ipugao, Ypugao, Hilipan, or Quiangan by outsiders (Peralta 2000). Peralta (erroneously) reported that Ifugao is host to six different language varieties: Kiangnan-Hapao, Banaue-Burnay, Ayangan-Mayoyao, Hungduan (mistakenly named Hanglulu), Tuwali, and Keleyi. There may actually be only four language varieties; tuwali is the language name of the group of people who inhabited in the Kiangnan-Hungduan area (municipalities). Hapao is adjacent and one of the baranggays of Hungduan. He further reported that there were 167,369 speakers of the Ifugao language in 1990 (Peralta 2000, p 19).

The National Statistics Office in its 2000 census reported that total population of Ifugao province is 161,623.

Social life: Villages or hamlets (bobleh) of as many as eight to twelve dwellings (Encyclopedia of South-East Asian Ethnography pp256), housing an equal number of families or lesser, are built on hillocks at the sides of valleys or on top of hills overlooking rice fields.

Separate houses for rice storage or granaries (*alang*) are built within these villages and owned by the wealthy landed families (*kadangyan*) who may not necessarily be residents of the village. Houses are made of timber, bamboos, and rest on four posts, with thatch roofs. Residential houses are usually larger, have shelves (*patye*) all around the four sides of the wall and have hearths (*pundapulan*) while granaries don't have hearths nor shelves.

Some villages have temporary residential buildings built on the ground (*abung* or *abbung*) and a few have bigger modern buildings (*pinadel*) whose design is borrowed from the lowlanders. These modern buildings have more than two rooms and may house more than one nuclear families and/or partly serve as rice storage all at the same time. Some villages have a dormitory house for adult unmarried women or for unmarried men that serve as sleeping quarters (*agamang*); bigger villages may have both. Dormitories for women are under the supervision of aged widows. Families who live in modern residential buildings have rooms for unmarried women and/or unmarried men.

1.7 PREVIOUS STUDIES ON IFUGAO

1.7.1 Non-linguistic studies

N. S. Bisht and T. S. Bankoti in their studies on South-East Asian Ethnography came with the description of the social, political and religious life of the different peoples group, which include among others, Ifugao people in general.

William Henry Scott came up with study of the political and economic struggles of the Igorots or the peoples of the greater cordillera mountain ranges during the three and a half century Spanish occupation of the Philippines. Toh Godah (2001) of Japan made a comparative anthropological study of the cultures of Bontok and Ifugao.

A home-grown writer in the person of Lourdes Dulawan, (1984), came up with an anthropological study on the religious practices “*baki*” of the “*tuwali*” or Kiangan peoples group.

These cultural practices are, except for some few details, very identical among all the Ifugao tribes.

1.7.2 Linguistic studies

Lawrence Reid made a comparative phonological and morphological studies of the Central Cordillera languages that made him classify this group of seven languages; with Bontok-kankanaey, Balangaw, and Ifugao forming a sub-group he called Nuclear Cordillera that joined the Kalinga-Itneg sub-group into what he called North Central Cordillera. He also made phonological studies on Philippines languages (1971) where he came out with orthographies of, among others, three Ifugao language variations, specifically that of Amganad, Batad, and Bayninan language variations.

Leonard Newell (1971) made a report on the Types of Independent Clauses of the Batad (Ifugao Eastern) language variation. Anne West of the Summer Institutes of Linguistics came up with an unpublished manuscript on the Amganad phonology.

1.8 METHODOLOGY FIELDWORKS

The corpus on which this paper is based upon composed of data extracted from audio texts of some four discourses, a few were culled from data gathered by Anne West and Funnel (West, 1983), and elicited data in 2006 from the researcher himself which was used for a phonology paper of a group of four AGS students, of which this researcher is a member, as well as data from personal memory of the researcher himself.

Chapter II

PHONOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGY

2.0 PHONOLOGY INTRODUCTION

Central Ifugao dialect, locally called the "*munkalyon*", is one of two dialect varieties of Ifugao Amganad language variety; the other is the "*mun'alyon*" dialect. The central Ifugao dialect is spoken in thirteen baranggays starting from baranggay Pitawan, Hingyon municipality in the north to baranggay Tungod, municipality of Lagawe in the south. The thirteen baranggays are Pitawan, Namul dita, Piwong, Bitu, and Anao, all in the municipality of Hingyon; baranggays Burnay, Cudog, Boliwong, Poblacion North, Poblacion West, Poblacion East, Poblacion South, and Tungod, all in the municipality of Lagawe. The total population in all these thirteen baranggays is about 13,236 as reported by the Provincial government in their Socio-Economic Profile (2003) publication.

On the other hand, Ifugao Amganad dialect or the "*mun'alyon*" is spoken in the seven northeastern baranggays more particularly baranggays Amganad, Tam-an, and Balawis in the municipality of Banaue, baranggays Cababuyan North, Cababuyan South, Poblacion, Mompolia, and Umalbong, all in the municipality of Hingyon. The distinctive difference of the central Ifugao dialect variety is the use of velar voiceless plosive /k/ in place of glottal stop /ʔ/ in some of the lexemes.

These two dialect varieties and those spoken in the other western baranggays of Banaue municipality (Ujah, San Fernando, Gohang, View Point, Bocos, Poblacion) or the "*mun'ibanawol*" are lumped together and referred to as Ifugao Amganad language and is entered in the ethnologue three-letter code as "IFA".

2.1 CONSONANTS AND VOWELS

2.1.1 Consonant and Vowel Charts

Table 2.1 Consonants chart

MANNERS OF ARTICULATION	PLACES OF ARTICULATION				
	Bilabial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive vl vd	π β	τ δ		κ γ	ʔ
Fricatives		(σ)			η
Nasals	μ	ν		N	
Flaps		(P)			
Liquid		λ			
Glide	w		φ		

Table 2.2 Vowels chart

	FRONT	CENTRAL	BACK
CLOSE	ɪ		ʊ
OPEN-MID	E		ɔ
OPEN		A	

2.2 PHONEME INVENTORY

Central Ifugao dialect variety phonemes as evidenced by Minimal Pairs (Contrast in Identical Environment) and Near Minimal Pairs (Contrast in Analogous Environments) are the following:

2.2.1 Consonants

1. /p/ vs /b/

Example:

- | | | | |
|-------------------|--------------|-------------------|---------------------------|
| (1) <i>bahul</i> | 'fault, sin' | (5) <i>nablih</i> | 'ruptured' |
| (2) <i>pahul</i> | 'spear' | (6) <i>naḗlih</i> | 'wind-swept (rice plant)' |
| (3) <i>kaltib</i> | 'scissors' | (7) <i>ʔabɔk̄</i> | '(sleeping) mat' |
| (4) <i>kaḗtiḗ</i> | 'water bug' | (8) <i>ʔapɔk̄</i> | 'drizzling (rain)' |

2. /d/ vs /t/

Example:

- | | | | |
|---------------------|-----------|---------------------|--------------------|
| (1) <i>ʔipaddun</i> | 'compare' | (2) <i>ʔipaḗdun</i> | 'allow to shelter' |
|---------------------|-----------|---------------------|--------------------|

- | | | | |
|------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|------------------------|
| (3) <i>hapid</i> | 'leaf of a certain vine' | (6) <i>ʔɔ̄tnan</i> | 'place on top of' |
| (4) <i>hapiṯ</i> | 'speech' | (7) <i>tuduk̄</i> | 'prick with something' |
| | | (8) <i>tutuk̄</i> | 'very close' |

(5) *ʔɔ̄dnan* 'hold'

3. /d/ vs /l/

Example:

- | | | | |
|-------------------|----------------------|---------------------|------------------------|
| (1) <i>kadana</i> | 'where' | (5) <i>patal</i> | 'to light' |
| (2) <i>ʔalana</i> | 'he gets' | (6) <i>patad</i> | 'level/flat' |
| (3) <i>dulug</i> | 'put
between gap' | (7) <i>bɔ̄lhex</i> | 'separation' |
| (4) <i>lulug</i> | 'knee' | (8) <i>ʔɔ̄d̄nan</i> | 'to hold/clutch/touch' |

4. /k/ vs /g/

Example:

- | | | | |
|-------------------|----------------|--------------------|-------------------------------|
| (1) <i>makan</i> | 'food, edible' | (7) <i>tak̄hiŋ</i> | 'a game using flat
stones' |
| (2) <i>magan</i> | 'drying' | (8) <i>kilat̄</i> | 'lightning' |
| (3) <i>hulug</i> | 'to give-in' | (9) <i>gilat̄</i> | 'dread/ phobia' |
| (4) <i>huluk̄</i> | 'extra/excess' | | |

(6) *paghiŋ* 'pointed foot of
rooster'

5. /k/ vs /ʔ/

Example:

- | | | | |
|-------------------|------------|-------------------|----------------|
| (1) <i>kɔ̄lɔŋ</i> | 'pinch' | (4) <i>kaʔan</i> | 'remove' |
| (2) <i>ʔɔ̄lɔŋ</i> | 'nose' | (5) <i>huluk̄</i> | 'excess/extra' |
| (3) <i>kakan</i> | 'eat more' | (6) <i>huluʔ</i> | 'my trap' |

6. /μ/ vs /v/ Example:

- (1) *madan* 'be ready'
- (2) *nadan* 'readied'
- (3) *danɔp̄* 'removing
grass'

- (4) *damɔt̄* 'weight'
- (5) *banhɔm* 'you borrow'
- (6) *banhɔn* 'to borrow'

7. /v/ vs /N/ Example:

- (1) *nadan* 'readied'
- (2) *ɲadan* 'name, what?'
- (3) *danɔp̄* 'removing grass'

- (4) *danɔm* 'your beetle'
- (5) *dalan* 'way/path'
- (6) *dalanɲ* 'flame'

8. /ŋ/ vs /ʔ/ vs /O/ Example:

- (1) *ŋi* 'noun marker'
- (2) *ʔi* 'from (place)'
- (3) *ŋivAŋ* 'there'
- (4) *ʔivAŋ* 'mother (animal)'
- (5) *ʔivA* 'mother (address)'

- (6) *μvŋivvŋ* 'receiving repeatedly'
- (7) *μvʔvλεη* 'go slowly'
- (8) *ʔidɔh* 'python'
- (9) *ʔidvʔ* 'my spoon'
- (10) *ʔidɔ* 'red bird'

The null (\emptyset) has a limited distribution. It does not occur in word initial or word medial but in word final only.

9. /w/ vs /j/ Example:

- (1) *wagid* 'throw by hand'
- (2) *jaggit̄* 'showy movement'
- (3) *gawanɲ* 'young duck'

- (4) *gajan* 'a kind of spear'
- (5) *lawlaw* 'loose'
- (6) *lajlaj* 'to wither'

2.2.2 Vowels

1. /ɪ/ vs /E/ Example:

- (1) *ʔi* 'from (place)'
- (2) *ʔɛ* 'go'
- (3) *ʔivA* 'mother (address)'

- (4) *ʔEvA* 'he goes'
- (5) *μvʔvλ5iη* 'sprain'

(6) *μυν?υλ5εη* 'go slow'

2. /ε/ vs /a/ Example:

- | | | | |
|------------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| (1) <i>ʔumεh</i> | 'to go' | | |
| (2) <i>ʔumah</i> | | (3) <i>bɔlhεh</i> | 'separate/divorce' |
| | 'kaingin/clearing' | (4) <i>bɔlhah</i> | 'pocket' |

3. /u/ vs /ɔ/

Example:

- | | | | |
|---------------------|-----------|---------------------|----------------------------|
| (1) <i>kidul</i> | 'thunder' | (4) <i>hɔp̄hɔp̄</i> | 'to cover' |
| (2) <i>ʔadɔl</i> | 'body' | (5) <i>ʔinaduh</i> | 'spatula' |
| (3) <i>hup̄hup̄</i> | 'to suck' | (6) <i>ʔinadoh</i> | 'garden in the rice field' |

4. /a/ vs /ɔ/

Example:

- | | | | |
|---------------------|------------|---------------------|----------------|
| (1) <i>hap̄hap̄</i> | 'to chop' | (3) <i>ʔitudak̄</i> | 'to send away' |
| (2) <i>hɔp̄hɔp̄</i> | 'to cover' | (4) <i>ʔitudɔk̄</i> | 'to write' |

2.2.3 Borrowed Words

As a result of the influx of foreign goods and services, borrowing was made inevitable and as a result consonants /r/ and /s/ do now occur in Central Ifugao dialect, but they have not been included in this alphabet since they only occur in words borrowed from other languages. In some instances, /r/ and /s/ are used without undergoing phonological change.

- | | | | | |
|----------|-----------------|-----------|-------------|------------|
| Example: | (1) [sulat̄] | (Tagalog) | [sulat̄] | 'letter' |
| | (2) [petromak] | (English) | [petromak̄] | 'Petromax' |
| | (3) [kalamansi] | (Tagalog) | [kalamansi] | 'lemon' |
| | (4) [padas] | (Ilocano) | [padas] | 'to try' |

In some cases, however, these consonants have been assimilated into the Central Ifugao dialect and have received the following substitutions: /λ/ for /ρ/; sometimes /τ/ or /η/ for /σ/.

Example:

Central Ifugao dialect

(1) [sabun]	(Tagalog)	[habun]	'soap'
(2) [kamesita]	(Spanish)	[kamihhita]	'shirt'
(3) [tawar]	(Ilocano)	[tawal, tawar]	'bargain'
(4) [sardinaz]	(Tagalog)	[taldinat̃, haldinat̃]	'sardines'
(5) [rasɔŋ]	(Ilocano)	[lasɔŋ, rasɔŋ] (rahɔŋ*)	'reason'

2.2.4 Allophones

1. /k/ has two allophones: [κ] and [χ]. This process is called FRONTING, since the point of articulation of the back consonants moves to the front as a result of conditioning by front vowels.

[χ] occurs before or when it is followed by front vowels /i/ and /E/.

Example:

(1) /κAkE/	[κAχE]	'khaki'
(2) /πAλτικ/	[πAλτιχ]	'string line'
(3) /νAπAκι/	[νAπAχι]	ἄδεστροψεδᾶ

[κ] occurs before or when it is followed by central and back vowels /A/, /□/, and /ʊ/ or by another consonant.

Example:

(1) /κAτκAτ/	[κAτ κAτ]	'to bring out'
(2) /βAκAη/	[βAκAη]	'cow'
(3) /kɔhal/	[kɔhal]	'to split'

RULE:

- /k/ → [χ] / [i, E]__
- [χ] / __[i, E]
- [κ] / elsewhere

Plate #1 and #2 show the documentary evidences of fronting in the production voiceless velar plosive /k/. The palatography show the actual



production of the word [pAxi], and [xExE]. In both cases, the point of articulation is on the spot are at the palatal area, fronting however is more evident in the case of /k/ when preceded by the close-high-front vowel than with the close-mid-front vowel. It is may be because the close-high-front vowel requires firmer pressing of the tongue to the tongue roof than what it requires in the production of mid-high-front vowel /E/.

2. /ɣ/ has two allophones: [ɣ] and [ɿ]. By way of FRONTING, the point of articulation of the back consonants moves to the front as a result of conditioning by front vowels.

[ɿ] occurs before or when it is followed by front vowels /ɪ/ and /E/.

Example: (1) /ɣɪvAλɔτ/ [ɿɪvAλɔτ] ‘dirt’

(2) /λAɣɪμ/ [λAɿɪμ] ‘burn feathers of (something)’

[ɣ] occurs when it is followed by central and back vowels /A/, /ɔ/, and /ʊ/ or by another consonant.

Example: (1) /ɣAʔʊδ/ [ɣAʔʊδ] ‘shovel’

(2) /vAɣʊʔδ/ [vAɣʊʔδ] ‘wounded with something’

RULE:

/ɣ/ → [ɿ] / ___[ɪ, E]

→ [ɣ] / elsewhere

Plate #3, on the left, shows the palatography on the production of the word [pA|E]



3. /λ/ has three allophones: [λ5], [] and [λ]. This allophonic process is conditioned by the preceding and/or following vowels.

[λ5] occurs at syllable-initial preceding front vowels /ɪ/ and /E/.

Example: (1) /λɪμA/ [λ5ɪμA] ‘five’

(2) /βAλEη/ [βAλ5Eη] ‘house’

[] occurs syllable-final. The degree of retroflexion varies with the position of the

preceding vowel and/or a preceding back consonant. Prominent retroflexion occurs when it follows a back vowel, while lesser retroflexion occurs following the open central vowel.

- Example: (1) /β□λβ□λ/ [β□β□] ‘pine tree’
 (2) /μ□λμ□λ/ [μ□μ□] ‘to lick something or cut off all the hairs’

Other linguists would not agree that there is any form of retroflexion in the production of any of these words or in the language as whole. This researcher, from his limited knowledge and experience of phonetics, would like to believe that there is retroflexion. There is a need now for farther study on this particular phoneme.

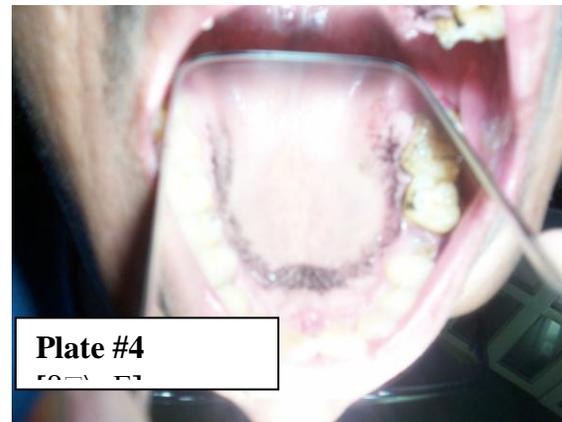


[λ] occurs syllable-initial followed by central and back vowels /A/, /□/, and /□/.

- Example: (1) /βAλAτ/ [βAλAτ] ‘banana’
 (2) /η□βλ□τ/ [η□βλ□τ] ‘cursed food (that causes stomach ache)’

RULE:

- /λ/ → [λ5] / ___ [front vowels]
 → [λ] / ___ [open central vowel]
 → [λ] / elsewhere



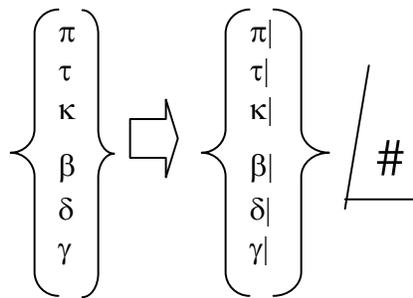
The palatography documentations (pictures) show the difference in the production of the alveolar liquid /l/. Plate #4 shows the palatography of the

production of the normal alveolar liquid, and plate #5 shows the effect of retroflexion in the production of the same phoneme /l/. Normally the tongue form a groove while the sides slightly touch the tongue roof, before the tongue tip close the groove opening and the air flow out through the nasal opening. In the production of retroflex alveolar liquid though, the tongue starts fro resting position then the tongue blade curl as the tongue tip touches front palate. The air is allowed to flow at the sides of the tongue. They palatography involed the production of the

words [bilah] and [β□}ηE].

4. The voiced and voiceless plosives in central Ifugao become unreleased in syllable-final. This occurs all over the board.

- Example:
- (1) *dalit*/ 'eel'
 - (2) *map/h□d*/ 'good'
 - (3) *duli* / 'to move'
 - (4) *pak/tiw* 'pepper'
 - (5) *?ul□g*/ 'snake'



2.3 PHONOTACTICS

Example of Syllable Patterns:

[?AτυN]	‘heat, warm’	→ ?A.τυN	→ CV.CVC
[κ□δ□η]	‘beg’	→ ?□.δ□η	→ CV.CVC
[μυνκοδοη]	‘to beg’	→ μυν.?ο.δοη	→ CVC.CV.CVC
[νυνκοδοη]	‘begged’	→ νυν.?ο.δοη	→ CVC.CV.CVC
[δAλ□μ]	‘sue’	→ δA.λ□μ	→ CV.CVC
[μυνδAλομ]	‘to sue’	→ μυν.δA.λομ	→ CVC.CV.CVC
[κAvτA]	‘song’	→ κAv.τA	→ CVC.CV
[μυNκAvτA]	‘to sing’	→ μυN.κAv.τA	→ CVC.CV.CV
[vAλ5ελ5εη]	‘over stretched’	→ vA.λ5ε.λ5εη	→ CV.CV.CVC
[vAλAφλAφ]	‘withered’	→ vA.λAφ.λAφ	→ CV.CVC.CVC
[βεβε]	‘lip sore’	→ βε.βε	→ CV.CV
[βαφβαφ]	‘ocean’	→ βαφ.βαφ	→ CVC.CVC
[η□πη□π]	‘to cover’	→ η□π.η□π	→ CVC.CVC
[?ιvAδυη]	‘spatula’	→ ?ι.vA.δυη	→ CV.CV.CVC
[?ιvAδ□η]	‘garden in the rice field’	→ ?ι.vA.δ□η	→ CV.CV.CVC
[μυντAνομ]	‘to plant’	→ μυν.τA.νομ	→ CVC.CV.CVC
[γA?υδ]	‘shovel’	→ γA.?υδ	→ CV.CVC
[μυNγA?υδ]	‘to shovel’	→ μυN.γA.?υδ	→ CVC.CV.CVC

The syllable structures of central Ifugao are: CV and CVC as attested by the examples above. These syllable types have no limitations because it can occur in all word positions: word initial, word medial and word final.

The ambiguous sequences $A\omega\iota\sigma$ better treated, not as diphthongs, but as a part of a CVC cluster because there is no evidence of diphthongs in this language variety. However, VC clusters are evidently allowed.

Example: $\gamma A\omega E\eta$ 'to reach'
Incorrect: $\rightarrow \gamma A.\omega E\eta$ \rightarrow CV.CVC (This is correct in *mun'alyon* dialect)
Correct: $\rightarrow \gamma A\omega.\eta$ \rightarrow CVC.CVC

The ambiguous sequences **ih** is better treated, not as diphthongs, but as a part of a CVC cluster.

Example: $baba\eta ih$ 'female'
Incorrect: $\rightarrow \beta a.\beta a.\eta i$ \rightarrow CV.CV.V (This is correct in *mun'alyon* dialect)
Correct: $\rightarrow ba.ba.\eta ih$ \rightarrow CV.CV.CVC

2.4 STRESS

2.4.1 Default stress.

In the Central Ifugao dialect or language variety, the stress is usually placed on the last syllable of the word. This is true not just for disyllabic words but also for words with three syllables.

Example:

- | | | | |
|--------------------------------|------------|--|------------------|
| (1) $mada\eta n$ | 'be ready' | (4) $\mu\alpha\beta/\mu\alpha\beta\lambda\sigma\epsilon\eta$ | 'be a bit tired' |
| (2) $tan\eta m$ | 'to plant' | (5) $pumpate\eta h$ | 'to kill many' |
| (3) $\beta al\sigma\epsilon h$ | 'house' | | |

For words having more than three syllables, the stress is marked on the pre-final syllable.

Example:

- | | | | |
|-------------------------|------------------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| (1) $malam\eta han$ | 'to grow flesh' | (3) $haNgaha\eta Ngap/$ | 'a lot of bolos' |
| (2) $\eta hapi\eta at/$ | 'to lie something on
a surface' | (4) $nakultina\eta han$ | 'adorned w/
curtains' |

However, there are cases where the stress placement is on the pre-final syllable even for disyllabic words and words with three syllables.

Example:

- (1) *ʔa□ma* ‘father’
 (2) *ʔi□d□* ‘red bird’
 (3) *ba□lat/* ‘banana’
 (4) *tinda□luh* ‘soldier’

2.4.2 Contrastive Stress

There are also cases where stress placement is used to differentiate meaning for homonyms.

Example:

- | | | | |
|---------------------|--------------------|-----------------|----------------------|
| (1) <i>ka□□n□n</i> | ‘remove’ | <i>kan□□n</i> | ‘to eat’ |
| (2) <i>nahi□l□η</i> | ‘look in awe’ | <i>nahil□□η</i> | ‘became dark’ |
| (3) <i>ʔu□bih</i> | ‘edible root crop’ | <i>kubi□h</i> | ‘basket for chicken’ |

2.5 MORPHOPHONOLOGICAL PROCESSES

2.5.1 Insertion of Approximant / j /

In cases where the roots end in front vowels; E, the E changes to A when the suffix -Av is attached, and the approximant *φ* is inserted before the suffix, and when it end in close front vowel *ι*, *ι* remain unchanged and the approximant *φ* is inserted before the suffix -Av. In both cases suffix -Av changes to -□v.

- Example:
- | | | |
|------------------------|----------------|--------------------------------|
| (1) <i>βAλEη + Av</i> | <i>βAλEηAv</i> | ‘to put up houses on’ |
| (2) <i>λ5ιλ5ι + Av</i> | <i>λιλιφ□v</i> | ‘to complain on’ |
| (3) <i>ηυʔλ5E + Av</i> | <i>huʔaj□n</i> | ‘to have the soil be loosened’ |

However, in cases wherein the root is a repeated syllable, E becomes remains and the approximant *j* is attached before the suffix -Av that changes to -□v.

Example:

- | | | |
|------------------------|------------------|----------------------------|
| (4) <i>λ5Eλ5E + Av</i> | <i>l5εl5εj□n</i> | ‘to overstretch something’ |
| (5) <i> E E + Av</i> | <i>/ε/εj□n</i> | ‘to rock the baby’ |

2.5.2 Insertion of approximant / w /

In cases where the roots end in back vowels; □, the □ becomes A when the suffix -□v is attached, and the approximant *w* is inserted before the suffix -□v, while *υ* remain unchanged.

Example:

- (6) ?υγ□ + Av ?ugaw□n ‘to have the rain be stopped’
 (7) δANλ□ + Av daŋlaw□n ‘to make something slippery’
 (8) ηυλυ + Av ηυλω□n ‘to have something be trapped’

Even in circumfix ending in -□v like ?A--□v, and πA--□v, the change from /E/ to /A/ and the approximant /φ/ is inserted; and □ still changes to /A/.

Example:

- (9) δ□κ/χE ?ad□k/kaj□n ‘to have lengthen something’
 (10) δ□κ/χE pad□k/kaj□n ‘to cause something to be lengthened’
 (11) δANλ□ padaŋlaw□n ‘to cause something to be slippery’

2.5.3 Dropping of phoneme / h / in final coda and phoneme / u / in clitic

In the central Ifugao dialect or language, when the possessive pronoun clitic for first person singular is =?u and the 2nd person singular suffix is =mu is attached to the root ending with a vowel or η, the possessive pronoun suffix for 1st person singular =?υ has two allomorphs: [=?υ] and [=?], and the possessive pronoun for 2nd person singular also has two allomorphs: [=μυ] and [=μ]. The final coda /h/ is dropped. In these cases, the vowel υ in the suffix is dropped during affixation because it is weak.

Example:

- (12) ματA+?υ → mata? ‘my eye’
 ματA+μυ → matam ‘your eye’
 (13) βαλεE+?υ → bale? ‘my house’
 βαλεE+μυ → balem ‘your house’
 (14) λαμ□η+?υ → lam□? ‘my flesh’
 λαμ□η+μυ → lam□m ‘your flesh’

2.5.4 Dropping of alveolar nasal / n /

Verbs ending in alveolar nasal, the final nasal drops out before the personal pronouns suffix is added. The personal pronoun suffix for 1st person singular is [=?υ], the 2nd person singular is [=μυ]. However, when it involves a suffix that starts with a semi vowel /y/ like the 3rd person plural =ψυ, νο χηανγε ιν τηε ωορδ ιτ ατταχηεσ το.

Example: noun/verb forms	___ + ‘I’	___ + ‘You (sg)’	___ + ‘You (pl)’	
(15) τυπιγ/τυπιγον	<i>tupig□?</i>	<i>tupig□m</i>	<i>tupig□nψυ</i>	‘to stab’
(16) η□Nπαλ/η□ηπαλ□n	<i>h□ηbal□?</i>	<i>h□ηbal□m</i>	<i>h□ηbal□nψυ</i>	‘to box’
(17) πυηικ/πυηικ□n	<i>puhik□?</i>	<i>puhik□m</i>	<i>puhik□nψυ</i>	‘to break’
(18) ?□γΑη/ ?□γαη□n	<i>?□gah□?</i>	<i>?□gah□m</i>	<i>?□gah□nψυ</i>	‘to drop’
(19) γ□λγ□λ/γ□λγ□λ□n	<i>g□lg□l□?</i>	<i>g□lg□l□m</i>	<i>g□lg□l□nψυ</i>	‘to saw’

Example (18) ?□γΑη ‘to drop’ has free variations: ?□γαη□n can be ?□γ ?□gh□n; ?□gah□? can be ?□ gh□?; ?□gah□m can be ?□gh□m; and ?□gah□nψυ can be □gh□nψυ.

Ιν τηεσε χαεσε, τηε ποωελ /a/ ισ δροπεδ.

However when the root or word ends with a consonant other than h, the word does not undergo any morphological change when the possessive pronouns and personal pronouns are attached.

Example:	my _____	your (sg) ____	‘You (pl)_____	
(20) μυφυN	<i>mujun?u</i>	<i>mujunmu</i>	<i>mujunyu</i>	‘___ forest’
(21) γΑ?υδ/	<i>ga?ud?u</i>	<i>ga?udmu</i>	<i>ga?udyu</i>	‘___ shovel’

2.5.5 Dropping of phoneme / o / and/ or phoneme /n/

Words with a sibilant onset and an open-mid-back vowel /□/ coda in final syllable would be shortened when the suffix [Av] is added. No other reason could be found for this phenomenon except economy. Examples 22 and 23 illustrate this. Contrast these with examples 24 to 26.

Example:

noun form	verb form	___ + ‘I’	___ + ‘You (sg)’	___ + ‘You (pl)’	
(22) δ□N□	δ□Nλ□v	<i>d□ηl□?</i>	<i>d□ηl□m</i>	<i>d□ηl□nψυ</i>	‘hear’
(23) πυλ□η	πυλη□v	<i>pulh□?</i>	<i>pulh□m</i>	<i>pulh□nψυ</i>	‘grab’
(25) γΑ?υδ	γΑ?υδ□v	<i>ga?ud□?</i>	<i>ga?ud□m</i>	<i>ga?ud□nyu</i>	‘to shovel’
(26) γΑ?υδ	γΑ?υδAv	<i>ga?uda?</i>	<i>ga?udam</i>	<i>ga?udavyu</i>	‘to farm’

The last two examples above show that suffix =an and =on are two different inflections. They shall be studied more in detail later in chapter 5.

2.5.6 Nasal assimilation processes

The process of nasal assimilation occurs very regularly in the morphophonemic processes; that is, when the affixes are attached to words.

2.5.6.1 $\mu\upsilon N-$, for infinitive form

Example:

- | | | |
|---|---|-----------------------|
| (1) $\mu\upsilon N + ?\square\delta\square\eta$ | $\rightarrow \mu\upsilon\nu?\square\delta\square\eta$ | ‘to beg’ |
| (2) $\mu\upsilon N + \pi A\phi\square\eta$ | $\rightarrow \mu\upsilon\mu\pi A\phi\square\eta$ | ‘to build rice field’ |
| (3) $\mu\upsilon N + \beta A\phi\upsilon\eta$ | $\rightarrow \mu\upsilon\mu\beta A\phi\upsilon\eta$ | ‘to pound’ |
| (4) $\mu\upsilon N + \tau A\nu\square\mu$ | $\rightarrow \mu\upsilon\nu\tau A\nu\square\mu$ | ‘to plant’ |
| (5) $\mu\upsilon N + \delta A\lambda\square\mu$ | $\rightarrow \mu\upsilon\nu\delta A\lambda o\mu$ | ‘to file a case’ |
| (6) $\mu\upsilon N + \kappa A\nu\tau A$ | $\rightarrow \mu\upsilon N\kappa A\nu\tau A$ | ‘to sing’ |
| (7) $\mu\upsilon N + \gamma A? \upsilon\delta $ | $\rightarrow \mu\upsilon N\gamma A? \upsilon\delta $ | ‘to shovel’ |

2.5.6.2 $\eta\iota\nu-$, for one (quantifying/ quantity)

Example:

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| (1) $\eta\iota N + \eta A\lambda\upsilon\beta $ | $\rightarrow \text{hinhalub/}$ | ‘one ganta’ |
| (2) $\eta\iota N + \pi A\eta\square\nu$ | $\rightarrow \text{himpah}\square n$ | ‘one shoulder load’ |
| (3) $\eta\iota N + \beta A N A$ | $\rightarrow \text{himbaya}$ | ‘one pot-full’ |
| (4) $\eta\iota N + \tau A\nu\square\mu$ | $\rightarrow \text{hintan}\square m$ | ‘one planting (quantity)’ |
| (5) $\eta\iota N + \delta A N A\nu$ | $\rightarrow \text{hindayan}$ | ‘one palm width’ |
| (6) $\eta\iota N + \kappa A\eta\upsilon\nu$ | $\rightarrow \text{hiŋkahun}$ | ‘one box-full’ |

2.5.6.3 $\nu\upsilon\nu-$, for past tense

Example:

- | | | |
|--|---|-----------------------------|
| (1) $\nu\upsilon\nu + \eta A? ? \upsilon\tau $ | $\rightarrow \text{nunha} ? ? \upsilon\tau $ | ‘lied’ |
| (2) $\nu\upsilon\nu + \pi A\lambda A$ | $\rightarrow \text{numpala}$ | ‘shoveled’ |
| (3) $\nu\upsilon\nu + \beta\square\lambda\lambda A\delta $ | $\rightarrow \text{numb}\square\lambda\lambda A\delta $ | ‘undressed’ |
| (4) $\nu\upsilon\nu + \tau A\nu\square\mu$ | $\rightarrow \text{nuntan}\square m$ | ‘had planted’ |
| (5) $\nu\upsilon\nu + \delta A\lambda\square\mu$ | $\rightarrow \text{nundal}\square m$ | ‘had filed a case’ |
| (6) $\nu\upsilon\nu + \kappa A\nu\tau A$ | $\rightarrow \text{nunŋkanta}$ | ‘had sung’ |
| (7) $\nu\upsilon\nu + \gamma A\omega E\eta$ | $\rightarrow \text{nunŋawe\eta}$ | ‘had reached for something’ |
| (8) $\nu\upsilon\nu + \mu\square\mu A$ | $\rightarrow \text{numm}\square ma$ | ‘had chewed betel nut’ |

- (9) νυν+ν□μν□μ → *nunn□mn□m* ‘had thought’
 (10) νυν+ΝΑδΑν → *nuηηadan* ‘named’

2.5.6.4 πυν-, usually used as instrument/object

Example:

- (1) πυν+ηΑπιδι → *punhapid/* ‘to use a leaf in betel nut chewing’
 (2) πυν+πΑτΕη → *pumpateh* ‘to kill many’
 (3) πυν+βΑλΑ → *pumbala* ‘to use as bullet’
 (4) πυν+μ□μΑ → *pumm□ma* ‘to use as betel nut’
 (5) πυν+τΑν□μ → *puntan□m* ‘to use for planting’
 (6) πυν+δΑλυη → *pundaluh* ‘to use for cleaning’
 (7) πυν+ν□μν□μ → *punn□mn□m* ‘manner of thinking’
 (8) πυν+κΑηυ → *pυηkahu* ‘to use as one’s dog’
 (9) πυν+γΑωΕη → *puηgaweh* ‘to use to reach something’
 (10) πυν+ΝΑδΑν → *puηηadan* ‘to use as name’

2.5.7 Types of reduplication

2.5.7.1 **Inherent Reduplication.** There are words in the dialect or language that do not have a non-reduplicated counterpart. They are inherently reduplicated.

Example:

- (1) *βακ|βακ/* ‘frog’
 (2) *β□γ|β□γ/* ‘a male name’
 (3) *wε?wε?* ‘crazy’
 (4) *w□)w□)* ‘molar teeth’
 (5) *τιτ|τιτ/* ‘animal sound (onomatopoeia)’
 (6) *τυτ|τυτ/* ‘scold angrily’

There are other two reduplication processes in the dialect or language. These two reduplication processes [termed in this paper as Reduplication-1 and Reduplication-2] apply for nouns, adjectives and verbs.

2.5.7.2 Nouns.

(a) For the Reduplication-1 set, this type of reduplication denotes a diminutive or miniature version of the noun. In other instances, it can also denote a pejorative sense of the noun. However, there are two alternations for this first type of reduplication. For the first alternation, the words with CV as initial syllable take on the consonant of the next syllable to complete its reduplication. Aside from this, the consonant, which was copied, is also doubled if it is in between vowels or not in a consonant cluster.

Example:		<u>Reduplication 1: CV</u>	
(1) βΑλεη	‘house’	<i>βαλβαλλεη</i>	‘playhouse’
(2) τΑλακ	‘truck’	<i>τα ταλλακ </i>	‘toy truck’
(3) ηυχι	‘feet’	<i>hukhuk/ci</i>	‘toy feet, feet’ (pejorative sense)

For the second alternation, the words with CVC as initial syllable do not need to take on another consonant as it is already complete.

Example:		<u>Reduplication 1: CVC</u>	
(1) ηΑΝγαπ	‘bolo’	<i>hahhahgap/</i>	‘a toy/small bolo’
(2) β□)ηΑ	‘pocket’	<i>b□)b□)ha</i>	‘a toy/small pocket’
(3) παλφ□κ/	‘vat’	<i>paλpl)j□k/</i>	‘a toy/small vat’

(b) In the Reduplication-2 set of the nouns, the first two syllables are repeated except for the last consonant, if there is. This type of reduplication denotes an increase in quantity of the noun root.

Example:		<u>Reduplication 2</u>	
(1) βΑλ5εη	‘house’	<i>βαλ5εβαλ5εη</i>	‘a lot of houses’
(2) τΑλακ	‘truck’	<i>ταλαταλακ </i>	‘a lot of trucks’
(3) τΑγυ	‘human’	<i>ταγυταγυ</i>	‘a lot of people’
(4) τινδΑλυη	‘soldier’	<i>tindatindaluh</i>	‘a lot of soldiers’
(5) ηΑΝγαπ	‘bolo’	<i>hahgahahgap/</i>	‘a lot of bolos’

2.5.7.3 Adjectives. For adjectives, the two reduplication processes in nouns are also evident.

(a) Reduplication of adjectives -1. This type of reduplication denotes a comparison in value/quality.

Example:		<u>Reduplication 1: CV</u>	
(1) δΑκ□	‘many’	δΑκ/δΑκ/κ□	‘more’
(2) ?□NA	‘big/large’	?□η ?□ηηA	‘bigger/larger’

Example:		<u>Reduplication 1: CVC</u>	
(1) δυκ/χE	‘long’	duk/duk/εε	‘longer’
(2) βιλλ□γ	‘wide’	biλbiλλ□g	‘wider’

(b) Reduplication Adjectives -2. This set of reduplication involves adjectives, and it denotes a superlative level of value or quantity, although it does not mean the highest level. However, Reduplication 2 set has two alternations for CV and CVC initial syllables.

Example:		<u>Reduplication 2: CV</u>	
(1) δΑκ□	‘many’	δΑκ/κ□δΑκ/κ□	‘very many’
(2) ?□NAλ	‘big/large’	?□ηηA?□ηηAλ	‘very big/large’

Example:		<u>Reduplication 2: CVC</u>	
(1) δυκ/χE	‘long’	duk/εεduk/εε	‘very long’
(2) βιλλ□γ	‘wide’	biλλ□bill□g	‘very wide’
(3) βαββιλ□γ	‘wide(pl n)’	babbiλλ□bl□g	‘(each is) very wide’

Other adjectives have prefixes like ?A-, vA- and μA-. In these cases, the prefixes are not reduplicated.

Example:		<u>Reduplication 1</u>	<u>Reduplication 2</u>
(1) μA?AτA	‘raw’	ma?at?ata ‘more raw’	ma?ata?ata ‘always raw’
(2) μAδANι	‘smooth’	μAδANδANι ‘smoother’	μAδANιδANι ‘always smooth’
(3) ?Aτικ/χE	‘short’	?Atik/tik/εε ‘shorter’	?Atik/cetik/εε ‘very short’

2.5.7.4 Verbs. For verbs, these two reduplication processes are also in place, but they are limited to certain verbs.

2.5.7.4.1 Reduplication of verbs -3: This kind of reduplication of verbs denote a degree of

progressiveness. The CV and CVC initial syllable have similar reduplication just as in nouns.

Example:		<u>Reduplication 1: CV</u>		
(1)	μΑΝΑν	‘eat’	μΑΝμΑΝΝΑν	‘eating’
(2)	μΑλ□?	‘sleep’	μα)μα))□?	‘sleeping’

Example:		<u>Reduplication 1: CVC</u>		
(1)	μΑβ/λ5εη	‘be tired’	μαβ/μαβ/λ5εη	‘be a bit tired’
(2)	?□δ/νΑμ	‘hold’	?□d/?□d/nAm	‘hold for awhile’

2.5.7.4.2 Reduplication of verbs -4: The verbs denote a repeated or ongoing kind of event/action and they are reduplicated in the following manner.

Example:		<u>Reduplication 2</u>		
(1)	μΑΝΑν	‘eat’	μΑΝΑμΑΝΑν	‘keep on eating’
(2)	μΑλ□?	‘sleep’	mal□mal□?	‘sleeping’
(3)	μΑβ/λ5εη	‘be tired’	μαβλ5εμαβλ5εη	‘repeatedly tired’
(4)	?□δ/νΑμ	‘hold’	?□d/nA?□d/nAm	‘keep on holding’

2.5.8 Reduplication associations

2.5.8.1 Reduplication association-1

The case of CV pattern is reduplicated in the following manner.

<u>Stem:</u>	β α λ ε η	‘house’	
	CVCVC		
<u>Prefixation:</u>	β α λ ε η		
	CVC +		
		CVCVC	
<u>Stem copying:</u>	β α λ ε η	β α λ ε η	
	CVC +		
		CVCCVC	
<u>Association:</u>	β α λ ε η	β α λ ε η	= βαλβα))εη ‘playhouse’
		\	
	CVCVC +	CVCCVC	

2.5.8.2 Reduplication association-2

The case of CVC pattern is, on the other hand, reduplicated in the following manner.

<u>Stem:</u>	$\eta \square N \pi \alpha \rangle$	‘to knock’
	CVCCVC	
<u>Prefixation:</u>	$\eta \square N \pi \alpha \rangle$	
	CVC + CVCCVC	
<u>Stem copying:</u>	$\eta \square N \pi \alpha \lambda$	$\eta \square N \pi \alpha \rangle$
	CVC + CVCCVC	
<u>Association:</u>	$\eta \square N \pi \alpha \lambda$	$\eta \square N \pi \alpha \rangle$
	⋮	
	CVC + CVC CVC	$= h \square \eta h \square \eta \pi \alpha \rangle$ ‘mock knocking’

2.5.8.3 Reduplication association-3

The case of CV pattern is reduplicated in the following manner.

<u>Stem:</u>	$\mu A N A v$	‘to eat’
	CVCVC	
<u>Prefixation:</u>	$\mu A N A v$	
	CVCV + CVCVC	
<u>Stem copying:</u>	$\mu A N A v$	$\mu A N A v$
	CVCV + CVCVC	
<u>Association:</u>	$\mu A N A v$	$\mu A N A v$
	⋮	
	CVCV + CVCVC	$= ma \eta ma \eta \alpha n$ ‘keep on eating’

2.5.8.4 Reduplication association -4

On the other hand, the case of CVC pattern alternation for adjectives only is reduplicated in the following manner.

<u>Stem:</u>	$\delta A \kappa \square \rangle$ ‘many’ CVCVC
<u>Prefixation:</u>	$\delta A \kappa \square \rangle$ CVCV + CVCVC
<u>Stem copying:</u>	$\delta A \kappa \square \rangle$ $\delta A \kappa \square \rangle$ CVCCV + CVCCVC
<u>Association:</u>	$\delta A \kappa \square \rangle$ $\delta A \kappa \square \rangle$ = <i>dak/k□dak/k□</i> ‘very many’ \ \ CVCCV + CVCCVC

2.5.9 Metathesis

Metathesis is morphological process whereby two or more phonemes in the root and an affix interchange their position when they are joined together. Central Ifugao language employs metathesis in some verb roots and their affixes. Consider the illustrative examples

ROOT	AFFIX	INFLECTED VERB	GLOSS
(1) ʔubun	<iNm>	ʔinumbun	‘sat’
(2) ʔuyun	<iNm>	ʔinumyun	‘became sad’
(3) bokon	<iNm>	binumkon	‘slighted’
(4) badun	<iNm>	bimmadun	‘struggled’

of a word having a back vowel (*u* or *o*), phoneme /*m*/ of the infix and the vowel of the root metathesized; and (2) when the vowel from the root is the open-mid back rounded vowel, it is raised (changed to high back unrounded vowel /*u* /) in a morphological process called assimilation to the point of articulation of the preceding consonant /*n* /.

2.5.10 Deletion

Deletion is a morphological process whereby a phoneme or a string of phonemes in a word or strings of words are dropped whenever the environment permits. The language employs maximum deletion for purposes of economy. Single phonemes, and well as strings of phonemes are observed to be dropped. Table 2.4 below gives us examples of deletions in the language.

Table 2.4 Deletion

Words and phrases	Resulting word/phrase	Gloss
(1) <i>ʔala -on</i>	<i>ʔalan</i>	'get'
(2) <i>maʔʔid</i>	<i>mid</i>	'non-exist'
(3) <i>wada hi bale</i>	<i>wadah bale</i>	'exist in the house'
(4) <i>wada hitu</i>	<i>wahtu</i>	'exist here'
(5) <i>wada hidi</i>	<i>wahdi</i>	'exist there'
(6) <i>ʔimme hi ʔad dalimɔn</i>	<i>ʔimmed dalimɔn</i>	'went to PLN.dalimɔn'
(7) <i>wada hidi hi ʔad domɔŋ</i> exist there TRM PM across	<i>wad domɔŋ</i>	'exist there across'

In (1) *ʔala -on* / is shortened by dropping /*o*/ of the affix *-on*; In (2), three phonemes from word *maʔʔid* 'non-exist' were dropped without any other reason except economy, *mid* then is a free variation. Words ending in open syllable has the tendency to attracts less important words, like demonstrative pronouns, personal pronouns, markers, and linker) to themselves, and drop strings of phonemes in the process especiall vowels and weak consonants like (*h*, *w*, and *ʔ*). In (3) the words *wada* 'exist' and the case marker *hi* are merged into one word, and become *wadah*. In (6) and (7), the process of attracting and deleting, as had happened in (3), continues to do the same process with the following words it can find. The process can be explained in a graphic representation illustrated

below.

- (6) ʔimme hi → ʔimmeh ʔad → ʔimmed dalimɔan → ʔimmed dalimɔan
/i/ dropped out → /hʔa/ dropped out → (the process stopped)
There is no more possible word to attract and so the process stopped there.

Another way of illustrating the possible alternative in expressing the clause 'It is there across' to illustrate what is happening in morphophonemic process of deletion may be seen in another way. Take for example (7), it can take any the following forms and remain grammatically correct and naturally possible in the language.

- (7) **wada hidi hi ʔad domaŋ** '(It) is there across.'
wadah did domaŋ '(It) is there across.'
wadad domoŋ '(It) is there across.'
wad domaŋ '(It) is there across.'

Chapter III

NOMINAL MARKING

3.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter discussed the nominal markings in central Ifugao language. Table 3.1 shows the summary of nominal markings and the occurrence of the nouns in term syntax. It is then followed by short discussions on each of the specific nominal markings and some illustrative examples. The discussion will start with pronominal markings and ends with common nouns markings.

Table 3.1 Chart of Nominal Marking System

Noun Class	S	A	O	E	System
A. Pronouns					
1SG	=a?	=?u	=a?	ha?on	S/O =a? ERG-ABS
2SG	=?a	=mu	=?a	he??a	S/O =a? ERG-ABS
3SG	hiya	=na	hiya	hiya	S/O =hiya ERG-ABS
1 DUAL	=ta	=ta	dita	dita	S/A =ta NOM-ACC
1PL EXCL	?ami	=mi	da?mi	da?mi	Tripartite
1PL INCL	ta?u	ta?u	dita?u	dita?u	S/A ta?u NOM-ACC
2PL	?ayu	=yu	da?yu	da?yu	Tripartite
3PL	=da	=da	dida	dida	S/A =da NOM-ACC
B. Personal names					
B1. Singular person					
- Definite	hi	⊖	hi	⊖	S/O hi? ERG-ABS
- Indefinite	han hi	⊖	han hi	han hi	S/O han hi ERG-ABS
B2 Two or more individuals					
- Definite	=da	⊖	=da	=da	S/O =da? ERG-ABS
B3 Group of individuals					
- Definite	=da	=da	=da	=da	Term
- Indefinite	han da	han da	han da	han da	Term
C. Specific Kinship Terms					
C1. Singular					
- Definite	hi	⊖	hi	⊖	S/O hi ERG-ABS

- Indefinite	han hi	han hi	han hi	han hi	Term
C2. Plural: (individuals) - Definite	=da	=da	=da	=da	Term
C3. Group (of individuals) - Definite	da	da	da	?ida	Unmarked
D. Common Nouns and Generic kinship Terms					
D1. Singular - Definite - Indefinite	nan han	nan han	nan han		Term Term
D2. Plural - Definite - Indefinite	nadan di	dadan di	nadan di		Term Term

3.1 PERSONAL PRONOUN FORMS

Personal pronouns are marked differently. All three classes of singular pronouns (first, second, and third person) are marked as ergative-absolutive; Dual, first person plural inclusive, and third person plural are marked as nominative-accusative, and; first person plural exclusive and second person plural are marked differently or tripartite. Table 3.2 show a comparative used of personal pronouns and the case each group of personal pronoun marks.

Table 3.2 Examples of the use of pronominal

PRN	3.1 Intransitive clause, S argument		3.2 Transitive clause, A argument	
1SG	Naloka?	'I slept.'	hinonpal?u didah	'I hit them.'
2SG	Nalok?ah	'You slept.'	hinonpalmu didah	'You(SG) hit them.'
3SG	Nalok hiyah	'He/She slept.'	hinonpalna didah	'He/She hit them.'
DUAL	Nalok tah	'We two slept.'	hinonpal ta didah	'We two hit them.'
1PL.EX	Nalok ?ami h	'We slept.'	Hinonpal mi didah	'We hit them.'
1PL.IN	Nalok ta?uh	'We slept.'	hinonpal tau didah	'We hit them.'
2PL	Nalok ?ayuh	'You slept.'	hinonpal yu didah	'You (PL) hit

		them.'
3PL	Nalok dah 'They slept.'	hinonǰpal da hi Bunoy 'They hit Bunoy.'
	3.3 Transitive clause, O argument	3.4 Transitive clause, E argument
1SG	Hinonǰpala? ?i didah 'They hit me.'	Indatnan ha?on 'He gave it to me.'
2SG	Hinonǰpal da?an didah 'They hit you.'	Indatnan he?ah 'He gave it to you(SG).'
3SG	Hinonǰpal da hiyah 'They hit him.'	Indatnan hiyah 'He gave it to him/her.'
DUAL	Hinonǰpal ditan didah 'They hit the Two of us.'	Indatnan ditah 'He gave to the two of us.'
1PL.EX	Hinonǰpal da?min didah 'They hit us.'	Indatnan da?mih 'He gave it to us.'
1PL.IN	Hinonǰpal dita?un didah 'They hit us.'	Indatnan dita?uh 'He gave it to us.'
2PL	Hinonǰpal da?yun didah 'They hit you.'	Indatnan da?yuh 'He gave it to you(PL).'
3PL	Hinonǰpal da didah 'They hit them.'	Indatnan dida 'He gave it to them.'

The true nature of some of the different pronouns, whether in free form or endclitic, could not be established definitely, specifically the bi-syllabic and three-syllable pronouns. Only the monosyllabic pronouns could be established as endclitics. In the meantime, all the bi-syllabic and three-syllable personal pronouns are encoded in this paper in their free forms, without suggesting their true form.

3.2 CASE MARKERS FOR PERSONAL NAMES

Central Ifugao language marks personal names whether they are definite or indefinite; and singular, plural (two or more individuals), or group (of individuals taken as one). Personal names referring to two or more individuals is limited to definite persons only,

and do not occur as indefinite or unknown individuals. Singular and plural personal names are marked as ergative-absolutive; and personal names referring to a group of individuals taken as one are marked as term. **hi** marks names referring to singular definite persons; **han hi** marks names referring to singular indefinite persons and as ergative-absolutive; and **da** marks names of two or more (plural) definite persons and as ergative-absolutive. While **da** marks names referring to groups of definite persons; and, **han da** marks names referring to group of indefinite individuals both as term. Personal names referring to either definite or indefinite singular or plural occurring as A argument are unmarked or Null (Θ). The following examples illustrate these.

3.2.1 Case markings for definite and indefinite personal singular names

The language makes use of **hi** to mark personal names referring to singular definite persons occurring as either subject of intransitive clauses or an object of transitive clauses and may be classified as ergative-absolutive pattern. Examples (3.1) and (3.5) illustrate this. While **han hi** is used to mark singular indefinite persons and can occur in all arguments and it may therefore Term pattern. Examples (3.2) and (3.6) illustrate this.

(3.1) **Nalok hi Bunuy**
 nalok [hi bunuy]_S
 PERF.sleep ABS.DEF.SG PN.bunuy
 'Bunuy slept.'

(3.2) **Nalok han hi Bunuy**
 nalok [han hi bunuy]_S
 PERF.sleep ABS.IND.SG PN.bunuy
 'A certain Bunuy slept.'

(3.3) **Kinan Bunuy nan balat**
 kinan [bunuy]_A [nan balat]_O
 PERF.eat PN.bunuy TERM.DEF.SG banana
 'Bunuy ate the banana.'

(3.4) **Kinan han hi Bunuy nan balat**
 kinan [han hi bunuy]_A [nan balat]_O
 PERF.eat TRM.IND.SG PN.bunuy TERM.DEF.SG banana

'A certain Bunuy ate the banana.'

- (3.5) **Hinongpal Balinon hi Bunuy**
 hinonɔpal [balinon]_A [hi Bunuy]_O
 PERF.hit PN.balinon ABS.DEF.SG PN.bunuy
 'Balinon hit Bunuy.'

- (3.6) **inihbut han hi Balinon han hi Bugan i han hi Bunuy**
 ʔinihbut [han hi balinon]_A [han hi bugan]_O [ʔi han hi bunuy]_E
 PERF.hit IND TRM.SG PN.balinon IND TRM.SG PN.bugan LK IND TRM.SG PN.bunuy
 'A certain Balinon sold a certain Bugan to a certain Bunuy.'

3.2.2 Case markings for definite and indefinite names

Case markings referring to two or more personal names of individuals (plural) are marked. The language also makes use of **da** to mark names referring to definite two or more individuals (plural nouns); **han da** to mark names referring to singular indefinite persons and both as ergative-absolutive. Consider example (3.8) to (3.12). Contrast them with Example (3.7). Examples (3.13) and (3.14) are ambiguous in meaning, and (3.15) is ungrammatical.

- (3.7) **Nalok han hi Bunuy ya han hi Kilip**
 nalok [han hi bunuy ya han hi kilip]_S
 PERF.sleep IND ABS.SG PN.bunuy CON IND ABS.SG PN.kilip
 'A certain Bunuy and a certain Kilip slept.'

- (3.8) **inumbun da Dulnuan**
 [inumbun]_V [da Dulnuan]_S
 PERF.sat.down ABS.PL Dulnuan
 'Dulnuan and company sat down.'
 Lit. They, Dulnuan sat.

- (3.9) **Nalok da Bunuy i Kilip**
 nalok [da bunuy ʔi kilip]_S
 PERF.sleep ABS.DEF.PL PN.bunuy CON.and PN.kilip
 'Bunuy and Kilip slept.'

- (3.10) **Kinan da Bunuy i kilip nan balat**
 kinan [da bunuy ʔi kilip]_A [nan balat]_O
 PERF.eat ABS.DEF.PL PN.bunuy CON PN.kilip TRM.DEF banana

- (3.11) '(They) Bunuy and Kilip ate the banana.'
Kinan **han hi** **Bunuy** **nan**
balat
kinan [han hi bunuy]_A [nan balat]_O
PERF.eat TRM.IND.SG PN.bunuy TERM.DEF.SG banana
'A certain Bunuy ate the banana.'
- (3.12) **Hinongpal** **Balinon** **da** **Bunuy** **i** **Kilip**
hinongpal [balinon]_A [da Bunuy ?i kilip]_O
PERF.hit PN.balinon ABS.DEF.PL PN.bunuy and PN.kilip
'Balinon hit Bunuy and Kilip.'
- (3.13) **Nalok** **han da Bunuy i Kilip***
- (3.14) **Kinan** **han da Bunuy i kilip** **nan balat***
- (3.15) **Nalok** **han da Bunuy ya Kilip***

3.2.3 Case markers for definite and indefinite singular nouns

The case markers for singular nouns are **nan**, **han** and **hi** ; while **nadan**, **han** or **han da**, and **da** marks plural nouns. are the 'Ergative (ERG)' noun markers. */nan/* and */han/* mark singular common nouns and human except kinship terms; but */nan/* marks definite nouns, while */han/* marks indefinite nouns. The case marker */hi/* and */han hi/* are used mark noun phrases acting as the subject in intransitive sentences and the patient-like noun phrases in transitive sentences referring to personal names and human referred to by kinship terms; */hi/* marks definite noun phrases, and */han hi/* marks indefinite noun phrases. The examples (3.16) to (3.23) below illustrate usages with common nouns, and examples (3.25) through (3.29) illustrate their usages with kinship term and personal names. Note that example (3.24) is not allowed in the language.

3.2.3.1 Common singular and plural; definite and indefinite nouns

- (3.16) **kinumga** **nan** **baba'i**
[kinumga]_V [nan baba'ih]_S
PERF.cried TRM.DEF.SG girl

'The girl cried.'

- (3.17) **kinumga nadan binaba'i**
[kinumga]V [nadan b<in>aba?ih]S
PERF.cried TRM.DEF.PL.the PLZ.girl
'The girls cried.'

- (3.18) **nangan han ungh**
[nangan]V [han ?ungh]s
PERF.ate TRM.INDEF.SG.a child
'A child ate.'

- (3.19) **nangan han ungh**
[nangan]V [han ?u??ungh]s
PERF.ate TRM.INDEF.SG CVC.PL.child
'Some children ate.'

- (3.20) **nanganda han u''ungh**
[nangan]V [=da han ?u??ungh]s
PERF.ate 3PL.TRM INDEF CVC.child
'Some children ate.'

- (3.21) **kinan nan ahu nan ihdah**
[kinan]V [nan ahu]A [nan ihdah]P
PERF.ate ABS.DEF ahu TRM.DEF viand
'The dog ate the viand.'

- (3.22) **pinaten nan ahu han manuk**
[pinaten]V [nan ahu]A [han manuk]P
PERF.killed ABS.DEF dog TRM.INDEF chicken
'The dog killed a chicken.'

- (3.23) **kinan han banniya han manuk**
[kinan]V [han banniya]A [han manuk]P
PERF.ate ABS.INDEF monitor TRM.INDEF chicken
'A monitor ate a chicken.'

- (3.24) **nangan han da u''ungh***

3.2.3.2 Singular definite and indefinite personal names and kinship terms

- (3.25) **kinumgah inayana**

[kinumga]v [hi inayana]s
PEFR.cried. ABS.DEF spouse.his
'His/her spouse cried'

(3.26) **immali han hi Dulnuan**
[immali]v [han hi Dulnuan]s
PERF.came INDEF.a ABS Dulnuan
'A certain (man named) Dulnuan came.'

(3.27) **inhingal nan lalakh inayana**
[inhingal]v [nan lalaki]A [hi inaya =na]P
PERF.scolded ABS.DEF male TRM.DEF.spouse 2SG.POSS
'The man scolded his spouse.'

(3.28) **hinumplit Ballituk hi ibbana.**
[hinumplit]v [Ballituk]A [hi ibba =na]P
PERF.wept PN.Ballituk TRM.DEF sibling 2SG.POSS
'Ballituk wept his sibling.'

(3.29) **hinongpal Dulnuan han hi Tolak**
[hinongpal]v [Dulnuan]A [han hi Tolak]P
PERF.knocked PN.Dulnuan INDEF TRM. Tolak
'Dulnuan knocked (with his fist) a certain (man named) Tolak.'

3.2.4 Noun markers for definite and indefinite nouns referring to a group

Marker for definite collective common nouns, plural nouns, and nouns referring to groups are marked with noun markers /*nadan*/, and indefinite collective common nouns, plural common nouns and nouns referring to indefinite groups are marked with /*han*/. The example (3.30) to (3.38) below illustrate these.

(3.30) **natukad nadan ka'iw**
[natukad]v [nadan ka'iw]s
fell TRM.DEF.the trees
'The trees fell down.'

(3.31) **inhingal nadan a'ammoda nadan i'imbabaleda**
[inhingal] [nadan a'ammoda] [nadan i'imbabaleda]

scolded TRM.DEF.PL.the parents.their TRM.DEF.PL.children.their
'Their parents scolded their children.'

(3.32) ***pindug nadan ahu nadan u"unga***

[pindug]v [nadan ahu]A [nadan u"unga]P
ran.after TRM.DEF.PL.the dogs TRM.DEF.PL.children
'The dogs ran after the children.'

(3.33) ***inhingal da Dulunuan an hina'aggi da***

Timmangon

[inhingal]v [da dulunuan an hina'aggi]A [da timmangon]P
scolded ERG.DEF.PL.3PL PN.dulnuan LK REC.CV.PL.sibling TRM.DEF.PL.3PL PN.timmango
'Dulnuan with his siblings scolded Timmango's group.'
Lit. They, dulnuan with siblings scolded they, Timmango.

(3.34) ***immeh muyung han duwan tagu***

[imme]v[hi muyung]OBL [han duwa -an tagu]s
went to forest TRM.INDEF.SG two LK human
'Two men went to the forest.'

(3.35) ***imme han duwan taguh muyung***

[imme]v [han duwa -an tagu]s [hi muyung]E
PERF.went TRM.INDEF.SG two LK human PM forest
'Two men went to the forest.'

(3.36) ***lingngon han da nakHalupe han liman bultic***

[lingngon]v [han da nakHalupe]A [han lima -an bultic]P
cut.down INDEF ABS offsprings.of.Halupe INDEF.SG five LK bultic.tree
'Offsprings of Halupe cut down five bultic trees.'

(3.37) ***natey lima hinan manuk***

nate **di** **lima hinan** **manuk**

[nate]V [di lima hinan manuk]S

PERF.died INDEF.TRM five ABS.DEF.PL.from.the chicken

'Five among the chickens died.'

(3.38) **pinaten** **nadan** **ahu** **di** **limah** **nan** **manuk**

[pinaten]V [nadan ahu]A [di lima -hi nadan manuk]P

PERF.killed ABS.DEF.PL ahu TRM.INDEF five from ABS.DEF.PL chicken

'The dogs killed five among the chickens.'

CHAPTER IV

SEMANTIC CLASSES OF VERBS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter I will discuss ten groups of semantic classes of verbs in central Ifugao language. These are verbs used for posture, motion, meteorological, emotion, activity, affect, perception, cognition, transfer, and utterance. Each group share at least four or more common basic affixes. Each of these classes of verbs will be briefly discussed starting with the classification of their respective verbal roots.

ROOTS: Roots are also classified as inherently verbal, nominal, or adjectival. A list of representative sample of each class of verbs, along with their English glosses and the corresponding common or basic affix, is given first. Occasionally, extended meanings of any of the root among the verb class being discussed will be provided.

BASIC VERBAL AFFIX: A brief discussion on classification each list of roots will follow the every list, and the basic affix or affixes the roots take. Then two examples clauses will be given to illustrate the use of the pair affixes, or in cases where a class of verbs roots take more than one basic affixes a selected pair of affix would be chosen.

4.2 POSTURE VERBS

Posture verb roots in central Ifugao language are basically verbal. Posture verbs in the language are physical positions that Agents or Patients executes. All these postures refers to humans , but some, like 'sit', 'stand', 'lie curled up', etc. may also be used to describe postures of a few selected animals like, monkeys, dogs and cats. A list of representative sample of an undetermined number of posture verbs is given in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1 List of some posture verbs

INTR.PERF.AG.jump TRM.DEF.SG cat
 'The cat jumped.'

4.3.2 Directional motion verbs

Table 4.3 Directional motion verbs

	ROOT	GLOSS	BASIC AFFIX
1.	tikid	'go up'	tikid- on / < in >
2.	dayyu	'go down'	dayyu- on / < in > ; dayyu(w) on
3.	ʔabbat	'go through the side'	ʔabbat- on / < in >
4.	muyyad	'southward'	muyyad- on / < in >
5.	huddok	'northward'	huddok- on / < in >
6.	huluŋ	'upstream'	huluŋ- on / < in >
7.	muyyad	'downstream'	muyyad- on / < in >
8.	lahʔun	'go out/come down '	l< um/iNm >ahʔun
9.	hogop	'go/come inside'	h< um/iNm >ogop
10.	hakkyab	'fly up to'	h< um/iNm >akkyab

Directional motion verbs in central Ifugao language refer also to human and animal motion. These verbs are monovalent intransitive verbs wherein the only required argument is S that executes the motion. These verbs take <**um**> or **-on** as their basic affix in their imperfective form and <**iNm**> or <**in**> as their basic affix in their perfective forms. These directional clauses may occur with non obligatory PP which are location and / or time. Consider example (4.5) and (4.6).

(4.5) **tikidon** **nadan** **u''ungah** **bigat**
 [tikid-on]v [nadan ʔuʔʔunga]S [hi bigat]E
 INTR.IMP.F.AG.walk.up TRM.DEF.PL CVC.PL.child TM tomorrow
 'The children will walk up (tomorrow).'

(4.6) **tinikid** **nadan** **u''unga** **hituh**
 [t<in>ikid]v [nadan ʔuʔʔunga]S ([hituh]E)

INTR.PERF.AG.walk.up TRM.DEF.PL CVC.PL.child DEM.here

'The children walked (up here).'

4.4 METEOROLOGICAL VERBS

An inventory of some fourteen meteorological verb roots that functions as base forms reveals that most of them are inherently nominal and some three of them are inherently adjectival.

Table 4.4 List of some meteorological Verbs

	ROOT	GLOSS	BASIC AFFIX
(15)	buguṯ	'clouds (n)'	b<um/iNm>uguṯ
(16)	bulan	'moon (n)'	b<um/iNm>ulan
(17)	bittuwon	'star (n)'	b<um/iNm>ittuwon
(18)	dulnu	'dew (n)'	d<um/iNm>ulnu
(19)	kilat	'lightning (n)'	k<um/iNm>ilat
(20)	hilog	'dark' (n)	h<um/iNm>ilog
(21)	potang	'sun shine (n)'	p<um/iNm>otang; p<um>tang, p<inum>tang
(22)	patal	'dawn (n)'	p<um/iNm>atal
(23)	ʔapuk	'drizzle rain (n)'	ʔ<um/iNm>apuk
(24)	ʔudan	'rain (n)'	ʔ<um/iNm>udan
(25)	dilag	'light (n)'	d<um/iNm>ilag
(26)	ʔagme	'light rain (n)'	ʔ<um/iNm>agme
(27)	lomlom	'continues rain (adj)'	l<um/iNm>omlom
(28)	ŋuloṗ	'dimming (adj)'	ŋulp= on , ŋ< in >lop,
(29)	kolop	'without sunshine (adj)'	kolp= on , k< in >lop

All nominal roots seems to take infix <um>/<iNm> as basic affix; and all adjectival roots seems to take =on/<in> as their basic affix. They do not require any argument in their construction. The verbs and clause they occur are therefore classified as atransitive (ATRN). They are very likely to take Location or Temporal non-obligatory Extended

arguments. The agent of the action is syntactically unrealized. Example (4.7) and (4.8) illustrate this.

(4.7) **umudan** **hi bigat**

[ʔ<um>udan]v [hi bigat]E

ATRN.IMPF.rain TM tomorrow

'It will rain (tomorrow).'

(4.8) **umudan** **ad Banawi ad kugaban**

[ʔ<imm>udan]v [ʔad banawi ʔad kugaban]E

ATRN.IMPF.rain PM Banaue TM yesterday

'It rained (in Banaue yesterday).'

4.5 EMOTION VERBS

Emotion verb roots in central Ifugao language are either inherently nominal or adjectival. All the emotion verbs refer to inward human feelings toward other people, an events, or circumstances they found themselves or other people to be in. They are sub-classified into two categories; active and stative emotion verbs.

4.5.1 Active emotion verbs

Active emotion verbs refer inward human feelings or toward other human individuals or things and may be triggered by unfavorable events or circumstance. Most of the active emotion verbs are inherently nominal and there are at least two roots that are inherently adjectival. Table 4.5 contains a list of some eight emotion verb roots.

Table 4.5 List of some active emotion verbs roots

	ROOT	GLOSS	BASIC AFFIX
58.	hihiwo	'hate'	h<um/iNm >ihiwo
59.	bunot̃	'anger'	b<um/iNm >unot̃
60.	bohol	'anoy/displease'	b<um/iNm >ohol
61.	takut̃	'afraid'	t<um/iNm >akut̃
62.	kaʔasi	'pitiful'	kaʔasi- on / <iN>
63.	pohod	'love/like (adj)'	pohod -on/iN- ; poh don , pi n hod
64.	homok̃	'mercy'	homok- on / <iN> ; homk- on , h<im>mok
65.	bokon	'feel bitter (adj)'	bokon- on / <iN>

Most these nominal roots take either <um/inm> or **mun-/nun-** as their basic affix. Few of them take **-on/<iN>** as their basic affix. These verbs require only one argument and occupy the S slot and functions as the Patient (experiencer of the emotion). Emotion verbs may occur in clauses with non-obligatory E argument, which, in this example, is encoded as time. Example (4.9) and (4.10) illustrate this.

(4.9) **bumungot** **hi amah indan****ih**
[b<um>unot̃]v [hi ʔama]s [-hi ʔindan]E
INTR.IMP.F.PAT.anger ABS father TM in.a.while
'My father will get angry (bye and bye).'

(4.10) **numbabawih** **bahulnah**
[nuN-babaw]v [-hi bahul]E [=na]S
INTR.PERF.PAT.repent LK sin 2SG.POSS
'He/she repented (from his sin).'

4.5.2 Stative emotion verbs

Active emotion verbs describe inward human feelings or state of emotions and they are Central Ifugao “Munkayon” language

usually triggered by unfavorable events or circumstance. Most of the stative emotion verbs are inherently nominal and some three roots are inherently adjectival. Table 4.6 contains a representative sample an undetermined number stative emotion verb roots in the language.

Table 4.6 List of some stative emotion verbs roots

	ROOT	GLOSS	BASIC AFFIX
66.	ʔuyun	'sad/sadness (adj)'	ʔ< um/inm >uyun
67.	ʔamlon	'happy (n)'	ʔ< um/inm >amlon
68.	bokon	'slight (adj)'	b< um/inm >okon
69.	baʔin	'shy/shame (n)'	b< um/inm >aʔin
70.	tutuyu	'remorse (n)'	mun-/nun- tutuyu
71.	babawi	'repent (n)'	mun-/nun- babawi
72.	ʔiliw	'longing (n)'	ma-/na- iliw

4.6 ACTIVITY VERBS

Most of the activity verb roots in the language are inherently verbal. There are some few nominal roots. Activity verbs are used to describe human activities with the used of body parts or their extensions or instrument. Table 4.7 contain some eleven roots used as based form for the construction of activity verbs.

Table 4.7 List of some activity verb roots

	ROOT	GLOSS	BASIC AFFIX
73.	labah	'wash clothes'	mun-/nun- labah
74.	buluh	'wash (face/hand)'	mun-/nun- buluh
75.	ula	'wash (dish/hand)'	mun-/nun- ula

			b<in>oŋwa
86.	putul	'cut to shorten'	putul- on / <in>
87.	loŋoh	'cut to fell'	loŋoh- on / <in>
88.	poton	'cut in two'	poton- on / <in>
89.	buhhak	'split'	buhhak- on / <in>
90.	tommaŋ	'split in two'	tommaŋ- on / <in>
91.	hodyap̄	'cut to sharpen'	hodyap̄- on / <in>
92.	gudigud	'crample'	gudigud- on / <in>
93.	biklih	'tear'	biklih- on / <in>
94.	loŋat̄	'hole (n)'	loŋat̄- on / <in>
95.	dahdah	'remove bark'	dahdah- on / <in> , dahdahan, dinahdahan
96.	pate	'kill, butcher'	pate- on / <in> , (patey on or patay on)
97.	Pudit, luhit, pulida, ditdit, dulidul, ludih, leleh, ʔinat, hupduṭ, tulik̄, tuwik̄, tibik̄, toboŋ...		

All affect verb roots, except the root **dahdah**, take **-on/<in>** affix in their imperfect and perfect forms to make the affect verb and the clause they occur in a transitive where the required arguments are an A or the agent who execute the action and a O argument that functions as the Patient of the action. **dahdah** however take circumfix <in- -an> in its perfective form without any change in syntactic requirement and the semantic information. The A argument is the agent who executes the action and the O is the patient. Example (4.16) and (4.17) illustrate this.

- (4.16) **Bongwahon** **Padduyaw nan ka'iw**
 [boŋwah -**on**]V [Padduyaw]A [nan kaʔiw]O
 TRN.IMP.AG.cut.into.two PN.padduyao TRM.DEF.SG wood
 'Padduyaw cut the wood in two.'

- (4.17) *dinahdahan* *Padduyaw nan ka'iw*
 [d<**in**>ahdah -**an**]V [padduyaw]A [nan ka'iw]O
 TRN.PERF.AG.remove.bark PN.padduyao TRM.DEF.SG wood
 'Padduyaw cut off the bark of the wood.'

4.8..PERCEPTION VERBS

Daguman (2004 p328) says that "perception verbs refer to events whereby animate participants perceive something through any of the five physical senses ." and it always involves two participants in their basic form: the perceiver and the object being perceive, or the causer and patient. The kind of affix being used would determine whether the event portrayed is initiated by the perceiver or whether the event happens to the perceiver or whether the participants involved the causer and the patient only. The use of affixes like **-on/<in>** and **?i- /?in-** would portray the former while the use of affixes like **<um>/<iNm>**, and **mi-/ni-** portrays the later. In both cases, the two participants are the perceiver and the one/thing being perceived. On the other hand, causatives and antipassive of causative affixes like **?ipa-/?inpa-** and **ma-/na-** involve the causer and a recipient/beneficiary in its basic clause construction; if ever the perceiver is involved, it would occupy the PP slot.

Table 4.9 List of some perception verb roots

	ROOT	GLOSS	BASIC AFFIX
98.	tibo	'see'	tibo- on/<in>
99.	maŋmaŋ	'look far'	maŋmaŋ- on/<in>
100.	hiliḽ	'pip alignment'	hiliḽ- on/<in>
101.	huŋhuŋ	'smell'	huŋhuŋ- on/<in>
102.	doŋŋol	'hear'	doŋŋol- on/<in>

103.	dapah	'touch'	dapah- <i>on</i> / <i>in</i> >
104.	dapudap̃	'find something in the dark'	dapudap̃- <i>on</i> / <i>in</i> >
105.	hidip̃	'pip'	<i>ʔi-ʔin-</i> hidip̃
106.	huliyap̃	'look staring'	<i>ʔi-ʔin-</i> huliyap̃
107.	gibok̃	'feel/sense'	<i>ʔi-ʔin-</i> gibok̃

Perception verbs are generally transitive verbs and the clause they occur would require an A argument functioning as Agent and an O argument functioning as recipient or beneficiary of the event. They tend to take *-on*/*in*> or *ʔi-ʔin-* basic affix. Consider example (4.18) and (4.19).

(4.18) *tibonna* *nadan* *i'ibayu* *ta* *adida*

magah

[tibo -on]V [=na]A [nadan ʔiʔiba =yu]O [ta adi =da magah]E
 TRN.IMP.AG.see 2SG TRM.DEF.PL CV.PL.sibling 3PL. CON.so.that NEG 3PL. Fall
 'He/she will look after your siblings (so that they would not fall).'

(4.19) *tinnibona* *nan* *nundongpallan* *an lugan*

[t<inn>ibo]V [=na]A [nan nun- -an donpal an lugan]O
 TRN.PERF.AG.see 2SG TRM.DEF.SG PERF.REC. collide LK car
 'He/she saw the cars (that collided).'

4.9 TRANSFER VERBS

Transfer verbs refer to action of Agents that effect that transfer of a Patient to another location. Most of the transfer verb roots take *ʔi-ʔin-* or *-on*/*in*> as their basic affix, and the verb and the clause they occur are transitive. They requires an A argument acting as the Agent of the verb and an O argument the function of Patient. The may also occur in an extended transitive clause wherein a non-obligatory E argument is included. Listed in Table 4.10 are some of the transfer verb roots in the language.

Table 4.10 List of some transfer verb roots

	ROOT	GLOSS	BASIC AFFIX
108.	haʔad	'place (v)'	<i>ʔi-/ʔin-</i> haʔad
109.	pullaŋ	'lay down'	<i>ʔi-/ʔin-</i> pullaŋ
110.	walin	'put down'	<i>ʔi-/ʔin-</i> walin
111.	ʔidat	'give'	<i>ʔi-/ʔin-</i> ʔidat
112.	dawawa	'give by extending ones hand'	<i>ʔi-/ʔin-</i> dawawa
113.	tanod	'throw'	<i>ʔi-/ʔin-</i> tanod
114.	happat	'put above'	<i>ʔi-/ʔin-</i> happat
115.	bokah	'throw'	<i>ʔi-/ʔin-</i> bokah
116.	tulud	'push'	<i>ʔi-/ʔin-</i> tulud
117.	lokah	'take down'	lokah- on/ <in>
118.	gawi	'pull toward self'	gawi- on/ <in>
119.	pullig	'roll'	pullig- on/ <in>

Verb root ***pullang*** 'lay down' and ***walin*** 'put down' with ***mi-/ni-*** may have the extended meaning of 'lying dead'. Example (4.20) and (4.21) illustrate the use ***ʔi-/ʔin-*** basic affix.

(4.20) ***ipullang*** ***nan*** ***unga*** ***nan*** ***ga'ud*** ***hinan***
pitok⁷

[ʔi- pullaŋ]V [nan ʔuŋa]A [nan gaʔud]O [hinan pitok]⁷E
 TRN.IMP.AG.put.down TRM.DEF.SG child TRM.DEF.SG shovel PM mud

'The child will lay down the shovel (on the mud).'

TRN.PERF.MAN.AG.carry.on.shoulder 2SG LK shoulder. 2SG.POSS TRM.IND.SGS wood
'He carried a wood (on his shoulder).'

Lit. 'He shoulder carried a wood on his shoulder.'

Example 4.26 is allowed in the language, and when this construction is use the manner of carrying is emphasized.

Chapter V

VALENCY CHANGING OPERATIONS

5.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter deals with the morphosyntax of two of the semantic classes of verbs in central Ifugao dialect, namely the posture and the affect verbs. For practical reason, only the posture verb *?umbun* 'sit' and the affect verb *hoŋpal* 'hit with one's fist' and the valency changing operations they undergo. I choose to study more both valency changing operations and Some additional combinations of two affixes and the addition of reduplication on affect verb root *hoŋpal* and their respective additional senses they bring into the inflected verb. For posture verb root *?umbun* only its affixes would be discussed, for reason of limited time. Posture verb *?umbun* would be discussed first.

5.1 VALENCY CHANGING OPERATIONS IN A POSTURE VERB

Posture verbs in the language encode positions that Agents execute. A representative sample of some of the roots that function as base forms for posture verbs in the central Ifugao language are given in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1 ROOTS OF POSTURE VERBS

Root	Basic Affix	Gloss	Root	Basic Affix	Gloss
<i>taddog</i>	<um>/ <imm>	'stand'	<i>tattanyad</i>	muN-/nuN-	'lie on one's back'
<i>?ubun</i>	<um>/ <imm>	'sit'	<i>tallukbub</i>	muN-/nuN-	'lie on one's stomach'
<i>bakilang</i>	mi-/ni-	'lie down'	<i>tallumpag</i>	muN-/nuN-	'lie prostrate'
<i>halikummod</i>	muN-/nuN-	'sit w/ feet closed'	<i>pukuh</i>	muN-/nuN-	'lie curled up'
<i>hilupittak</i>	muN-/nuN-	'sit w/ open feet'	<i>tiggij</i>	muN-/nuN-	'lie on one's side'

<i>hukkun</i>	muN-/nuN-	'kneel'	<i>dukug</i>	muN-/nuN-	'turn one's back (to a referent)'
<i>hippith</i>	muN-/nuN-	'sit on one's side'	<i>haygab</i>	?i-/?iN-	'face (a referent)'
<i>tuk?aj</i>	?i-/?iN-	'raise one's buttocks'	<i>yu??uŋ</i>	muN-/nuN-	'head-bend'
<i>hekkeŋ</i>	muN-/nuN-	'stand with one foot'	<i>ligguh</i>	muN-/nuN-	'face to the side'
<i>tiyad</i>	?i-/?iN-	'stand on one's toes'	<i>?ipiŋ</i>	?i-/?iN-	'lie/rest one's head on something'
<i>?uyyad</i>	muN-/nuN-	'stretch (one's feet)'			

The above base forms are inherently verbal roots. Their meaning range from simple postural notion, e.g. 'sit' ; to complex postural notions, e.g. 'lie curled up'; to postural notions over-arching manner notions, e.g. 'lie on one's side; or orientation, e.g. 'lie on one's back'. The three basic human postures are 'stand', 'sit', and 'lie down'. The above base forms for posture verbs basically refer to human posture, and all, except *tallumpag* 'lie prostrate' are all volitional. The three basic postures roots are also used to describe postures of mammals/animals.

Table 5.2 SUMMARY OF AFFIXES AND THEIR FUNCTIONS ON AFFECTS VERBS

Affix		Syntactic Information	Semantic Information
Type/Function	Form		
A. Basic	<i>-um/<iNm></i>	INTR.AG	
B. Non-basic			
1. .Antipassive	<i>?iCVC-/?iNmCVC-</i>	V S E	MAN
2. Causative Non-vol	<i>?ipa-</i>	V A O	NVOL
3. Causative Volitional	<i>pa-</i>	V A O	VOL
4. Passive INST. <i>Passive of causative</i>	<i>mipa-</i>	V O	

Other semantic Information			
5. .Antipassive (ABL)	<i>mi-/ni-</i>	V S	ABL
	<i>mi?i-/ni?i-</i>	V S	ASSO
	<i>?i-</i>	V S	Rest
	<i>?i-</i>	V S	Concentrate
	<i>mangmang-</i>	V S	immediate present
	<i>CinVm?<um></i>	V S	<i>immediate past</i>
	<i>CimmVCV-</i>	V S	DUR.long
	<i>nangnang-</i>	V S	DUR.short
	<i>CimmanVC-</i>	V S	<i>MAN.leisurely</i>

5.1.2 Basic Construction

Posture verbs in central Ifugao language are basically intransitive verbs and they take <um>/<iNm >; *mun-/nun-* or *?i-/?in-* affixes as basic. The basic clause in which posture verbs occurs are clauses that only require an S argument that functions as Agent of action. Two base forms 'stand' and 'sit' take <um>/<iNm> as their basic affix, while 'lie down' takes *?i-/?in-*. Table 5.2 list all possible affixes base form for posture verb *?ubun* 'sit' can take and the syntactic and semantic information each of the affix encodes in the verb and in the clause they occur in terms of the minimum number of valences an affix requires. For posture verb *?ubun*, example (5.1) and (5.2) illustrate uses of <um>/<iNm> affix.

(5.1) <i>umbun</i>	<i>hi</i>	<i>Lagutaw</i>	<i>hinan</i>	<i>teteh</i>
[?<um>bun] _v	[hi	lagutaw] _s	([hinan	teteh] _p)
INTR.AG.IMPF.sit	ABS.SG	PN.lagutaw	LOC.DEF	ladder
'Lagutaw sits (on the ladder).'				

(5.2) *inumbun* *nan* *tagu* *hinan* *dakdak*
 [ʔ<iNm> ubun]_v [nan tagu]_s ([hinan dakdak]_p)
 INTR.AG.PERF.sit TRM.DEFSG human LOC.DEF stone.floor
 'The man sat (on the stone floor).'

5.1.3 Basic construction with additional semantic information

5.1.3.1 Basic construction in abilitative mode

To convey that the Agent is able to execute the action referred to by the posture verb root like *?ubun* 'sit' the affix *maka-/naka-* is used. Example (5.3) illustrates this.

(5.3) *makabun* *moh* *Tukling*
 [maka-ʔubun mo]_v [-hi tukliŋ]_s
 INTR.ABL.IMPF.sit PAR.now ABS.DEF.SG PN.tukliŋ
 'Tukling can now sit.'

5.1.3.2 Basic construction focused on ability/usability of an instrument

To convey that the relevant body part 'buttocks' is able to execute the action referred by the posture verb like root *?ubun* 'sit' the affix *mi-/ni-* is used. Example (5.4) illustrates this.

(5.4) *mibun* *moy* *tipana*
 [mi-ʔubun mo]_v [-di tipa =na]_s
 INTR.ABL.IMPF.sit PAR.now TRM.INDEF.SG buttock.2SG.POSS
 'His buttock can now be seated.'

Some posture verbs can encode non-postural meaning. The verb *liggu* 'turn one's head' for instant may be used to encode the semantic sense of 'reject' or 'snub', and *?ubun* 'sit' may take the affix *?i-* to changes the primary meaning to other senses and the precise meaning would then depend on the context. The verb *?ubun* plus prefix *?i-* may change the primary meaning to 'rest' or 'concentrate' (5.5) and (5.6).

5.1.4.2 **Basic construction** (V S) plus non-specific time duration of the event.

The addition of the time element like “non-specific time” can be included as part of the semantic meaning of a posture verb can be encoded by affix <in>CVm- / <iNm>CVm-. The posture verb ?ubun can be inflected with these affixes to include these various semantic notion. Example (5.9) illustrates this.

- (5.10) *inum'umbun* *nadan* *mangili*
 [<iNm>CVm- ?ubun]_v [nadan mangili]_s
 INTR.AG.PERF.sit.sometime TRM.DEF.PL visitor
 'The visitors sat for some time.'

5.1.4.3 **Basic construction** (V S) plus the time element of long time duration

Posture verb like ?ubun take the affix <iNm>CVCV- / <in>CVCV- to includes the notion of “long time duration” of the event. Consider example (5.10). Note that short time duration can not be achieved by any kind of inflection, rather time words are used like the particle *ni?* As illustrated in (5.12) and (5.13).

- (5.11) *immubu'ubun* *nan* *lalaki*
 [<iNm>CVCV- ?ubun]_v [nan lalaki]_s
 INTR.AG.DUR.PERF.sit TRM.DEF.SG male
 'The man sat for a long time.'

- (5.12) *inumbun* *ni* *nan* *lalaki*
 [<iNm>?ubun]_v ([ni?]RC) [nan lalaki]_s
 INTR.AG.DUR.PERF.sit PAR.a.while TRM.DEF.SG male
 'The man sat (for a while).'

- (5.13) *inumbun* *ni* *hi* *kittay* *nan* *lalaki*
 [<iNm>?ubun]_v ([ni? hi kittay]_{RC}) [nan lalaki]_s
 INTR.AG.DUR.PERF.sit PAR.a.while LK small TRM.DEF.SG male
 'The man sat (for a short while).'

5.1.4.4 Basic construction (V S) plus the manner of action

Posture verb like *?ubun* may also take the affix *<iNm>CVCCVC-* / *<iN>CVCCVC-* to include the notion of “leisurely manner” of sitting in the semantic of the posture verb. Consider example (5.12).

(5.14) <i>immanub'ubbun</i>	<i>nan</i>	<i>lalaki</i>
[<imman>CVCCVC- ?ubun] _v	[nan	lalaki] _s
INTR.IMP.F.AG.leisyrely.sit	TRM.DEF.SG	male
'The man sat leisurely.'		

5.1.5 Causative construction, a valency increasing operation

Causative construction in the language make use of the verb affixes *?ipa-/iNpa-* and *pa- -on / pina-* to introduce a causer into the clause. The clause then become a transitive clause wherein the causee in the intransitive clause now becomes the Patient in the O argument. The first pair affix focuses on what the Patient did or undergone, while the second pair affix focuses on the action of the causer or Agent of the verb. Consider derivation of a causative in (5.13) from the basic clause in (5.2). Example (5.2) is copied below.

(5.2) <i>inumbun</i>	<i>nan</i>	<i>tagu</i>	<i>hinan</i>	<i>dakdak</i>
[?<iNm> ubun] _v	[nan	tagu] _s	([hinan	dakdak] _p)
INTR.AG.PERF.sit	TRM.DEFSG	human	LOC.DEF	stone.floor
'The man sat (on the stone floor).'				

(5.13) <i>impabunda</i>	<i>nan</i>	<i>tagu</i>	<i>hinan</i>	<i>dakdak</i>	
[?<iNpa> ubun] _v	[=da] _A	[nan	tagu] _O	([hinan	dakdak] _p)
TR.AG.PERF.sit	3PL.	TRM.DEFSG	human	LOC.DEF	stone.floor
'They had the man sat (on the stone floor).'					

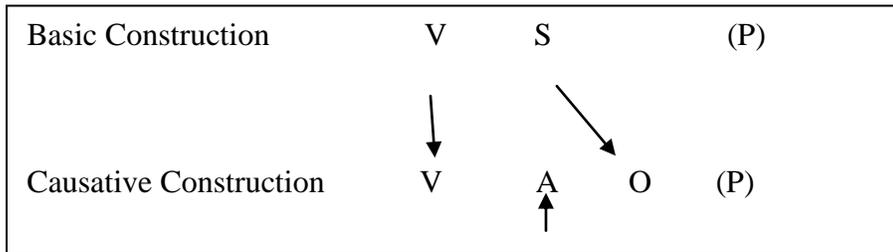
(5.14) <i>ipabunda</i>	<i>nadan</i>	<i>tinatagu</i>	
[?ipa- bun] _v	[=da] _A	[nadan	<in>CV- tagu] _O
TR.CAU.IMP.F.sit	3PL	TRM.DEF.PL	PLR. human
'They (will) make the people sit.'			

5.1.4.2 Causative in permission mode

Some verbs like posture verb *?ubun* may take the affix *pa-* / *pina-* to include the semantic sense of granting permission by the causer to the causee or Patient to do or perform an action. Like all other causative construction an A argument is required. Example (5.15) illustrates this.

(5.15) <i>pabunon</i>	<i>nan</i>	<i>lalaki</i>	<i>nadan</i>	<i>binabai</i>
[pa- -on bun] _v	[nan	lalaki] _A	[nadan	b<in>abai] _O
TR.AG.IMPF.sit	TRM.DEF.SG	male	TRM.DEF.PL	PLR.female
'The man (will) allows the women/girls to sit.'				

The derivation of causative clause construction from basic clause looks like the figure below:



5.1.4.5 Passive of causative

Causative clause construction that requires additional A argument and an O argument as contrasted with the its basic clause construction counterpart, may be turned into a middle voice where the A argument acting as the causer of the event is made implicit in the surface structure. Posture verb root like *?ubun* take the affix *mipa-* / *nipa-* is used for this purpose. Consider (5.16).

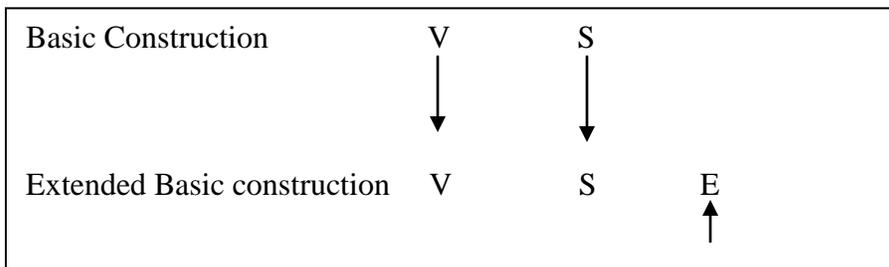
(5.16) <i>mipabunda</i>	<i>nan</i>	<i>tinataguh</i>
[mipa- bun] _v	[=da]A [nan	<in>CV-taguh] _O
INTR.IMPF.sit	3PL	TRM.DEF.SG
		PLR. human
'They (will) make the people sit.'		

5.1.5 Basic construction with associative sense

5.1.5.1 Basic construction plus extended argument

To convey that the Agent do similar acts that others had already done and join them, posture verb root *?ubun* 'sit' takes the affix *maki-/niki-* is used. This verb and the clause it occur requires an E argument acting as associates or co-doer of the action in addition to the S argument. Consider example (5.17) below.

(5.17) makibun nadan mangili i ditau
 [maki-?ubun]_V [nadan mangili]_S [?i ditau]_E
 INTR.ASSO.IMPF.sit TRM.DEF.PL visitor with 3PL.INC.
 'The visitors will sit with us.'



5.1.5.2 Basic construction plus association

Most of the three posture verbs do not allow the use of affix to encode reciprocal, except for *hanhab* 'face (a referent)' and *dukug/dukkug* 'turn one's back (to a referent)'. Even these two base forms are generic in terms of the kind of specific posture; it either mean 'standing', 'sitting', 'lying down' or 'sleeping'. In any case, context or the specific posture has to be specified. These verbs require the addition of a relative clause to encode some kind of associated action. The verb and the clause would then require an S argument and an E argument. Example (5.18) illustrates this.

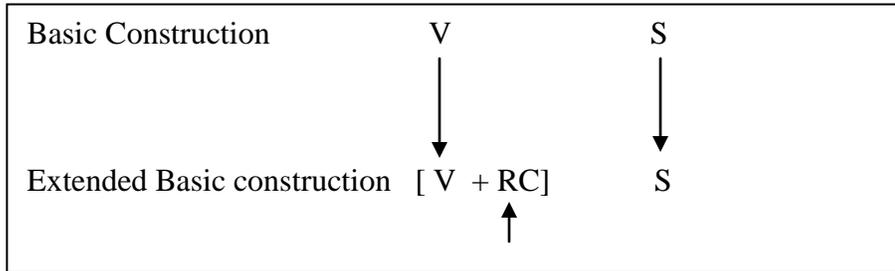
(5.18) *mundukkugandan dawan umbun*

[mun- -an- dukkug]_V [=da [?an dawa]CC]_S [?an [<um>?ubun]_V []_S]_{RC}
 INTR.REC.IMPF.turn.ones.back 3PL LK two REL INTR.IMPF.sit
 'The two of them will sit back to back.'

Lit. 'They, the two, will turn their on back to each other sitting.'

The compliment clause *?an duwa* 'the two' is optional in surface structure, but it is still part of the deep structure (the notional level). On the other hand, the relative clause *?an ?umbun* 'sitting' is required to clarify the kind of position the participants would be turning their back.

This relative clause slot may be change with ‘stand’, ‘sleep’, ‘eat’, etc without making the clause ungrammatical.



5.2 VALENCY CHANGING OPERATIONS IN AFFECT VERBS.

5.2.1 Nature of affect verbs

Affects verbs refers to actions performed by Agent that affect Patient physically. A list of sample roots that function as base forms of affect verbs in the language is given in Table 5.3. The affixes that occur with these roots and their respective functions are found in Table 5.4. Some of these affects verbs are observed to encode specific instrument or kind of instruments and/or the manner it would be used/applied.

Table 5.3 ROOTS OF AFFECTS VERBS

Root	Gloss	Root	Gloss
<i>boŋwa</i>	'cut off'	<i>pudit</i>	'flatten s.t/s.o'
<i>putul</i>	'cut to shorten'	<i>luhit</i>	'kill so/s.t by pressing it against a surface'
<i>Ha?it</i>	'sharpen'	<i>pulida</i>	'press to kill/wound s.o/s.t along a surface'
<i>poton</i>	'cut in two'	<i>ditdit</i>	'strike to kill/wound s.o with an instrument'
<i>buhhak</i>	'split'	<i>dulidul</i>	'press to wound s.o/s.t against a surface'
<i>tommaŋ</i>	'split in two'	<i>ludih</i>	'break s.o/s.t with an instrument'
<i>hodyap̄</i>	'cut to be pointed'	<i>leleh</i>	'over-stretch s.t'

<i>gudigud</i>	'crumple'	<i>ʔinat</i>	'pull to stretch s.t'
<i>biklih</i>	'tear'	<i>hupduṯ</i>	'break s.t by pulling'
<i>loṅaṯ</i>	'cut a hole'	<i>tulikṯ</i>	'make a hole'
<i>dahdah</i>	'cut off bark'	<i>tuwikṯ</i>	'prick/stab s.t/s.o'
<i>pateh</i>	'kill, butcher'	<i>toboṅ</i>	'place on a stick s.t'
<i>hoṅpal</i>	'hit with one's fist'	<i>dappiṯ</i>	'kick with toes'

Table 5.4 SUMMARY OF AFFIXES AND THEIR FUNCTIONS ON AFFECTS VERBS

Affix		Syntactic Information	Semantic Information
Type/Function	Form		
A. Basic	<i>-on/<in></i>	TR.PAT	
B. Non-basic			
1. .Antipassive	<i><um >/ <imm ></i>		
2. .Antipassive (ABL)	<i>maka-/naka-</i>		
3. Passive	<i>ma- / na-</i>		
4. Passive PAT	<i>?ipa-/ ?impa-</i>		
5. Passive INST.	<i>pan-/nan-</i>		
6. Applicative	<i>?i- / ?in-</i>		
7. Detransitivized	<i>mi- / ni-</i>		
8. Causative	<i>?ipa- / ?inpa-</i>		
9. Antipassive of a causative	<i>muNpa- / nuNpa-</i>		
10. Basic reflexive	<i>mun-/nun</i>		
11. Basic reciprocal 2-parti	<i>mun- -an/nun- -an</i>		
12. Basic reciprocal +2-parti	<i>mun.CV-/nun.CV-</i>		

C. Basic plus other semantic information			
13. Iterative/Repetitive	<i>CVC.CV</i>		
14. Habitual	< <i>an</i> >		
15. Reciprocal	<i>-hinCV-</i>		
	<i>pa-/pina-</i>		
	<i>pun?i-/nun?i-</i>		

5.2.2 Basic construction

Affect verbs in Central Ifugao language variety are basically transitive verbs. The basic clause in which affect verbs occurs are clauses that require an A argument and an O argument. Except for the root *dulidul*, all of the other roots listed in Table 5.3 take affix *-on* (or *-an* in the case of *hodyap* and *lujat*) in the imperfective aspect and affix <*in*> in the perfective aspect. These two affixes mark the verb and the clause it occurs in as transitive and cross-reference the semantic role of the O as Patient. Examples (5.19) to (5.22) illustrate this.

(5.19) *hongpalon Juan nan unгах.*

[hoŋpal -on]_V [juan]_A [nan ?uŋa]_O
 hit-TR.AG.IMPF PN.juan TRM.DEF.SG child
 'Juan hits the child.'
 Or 'Juan will hit the child.'

(5.20) *hinongpal nan tagu nan unгах*

[<in> hoŋpal]_V [nan tagu]_A [nan ?uŋa]_O
 TR.AG.PERF.hit TRM.DEF.SG human TRM.DEF.SG child

(5.21) *hongpalon nan lalaki nan unгах.*

[hoŋpal -on]_V [nan lalaki]_A [nan ?uŋa]_O
 hit-TR.AG.IMPF TRM.DEF.SG lalaki TRM.DEF.SG child
 'The male/man will hit the child.'

(5.22) *longatan* *nan* *babbayong* *nan* *dinangal*
 [lonjat –an]V [nan babbayong]A [nan dinangal]O
 bore.hole –TR.AG.IMPF TRM.DEF.SG bee TRM.DEF.SG girder
 ‘The bee is boring a hole on the girder.’

The basic affix for *dulidul* and *piluda* are *?i-* / *?in-* respectively for imperfect and perfect aspects. These affixes also mark the verb and the clause it occurs in as transitive in syntax. In this case, either the Patient taking O argument or the location occurring as an Extended argument will be made explicit and the other is left implied or both may be made explicit as in (5.23). Example (5.24) and (5.25) are alternative possibilities.

(5.23) *idulidul* *nan* *baba?i* *nan* *lubuy* *(hinan luta)*
 ?i-dulidul [nan baba?i]A [nan lubuy]O [(hinan luta)]E
 TR.AG.IMPF.press TRM.DEF.SG female TRM.DEF.SG clothe (DEF.LOC.ground)
 ‘The girl/woman will press the clothes on the ground.’

(5.24) *idulidul* *nan* *baba?i* *nan* *lubuy*
 ?i-dulidul [nan baba?i]A [nan lubuy]O
 TR.AG.IMPF.press TRM.DEF.SG female TRM.DEF.SG clothes
 ‘The girl/woman will get the clothes dirty.’
 Lit. ‘The girl will press (something-on-something) the clothes.’

(5.25) *idulidul* *nan* *baba?i* *hinan* *luta*
 ?i-dulidul [nan baba?i]A [(hinan luta)]E
 TR.AG.IMPF.press TRM.DEF.SG female DEF.LOC.ground
 ‘The girl/woman will press on the ground.’

5.2.2.1 Basic construction with habitual notion. Basic clause construction may be expanded to include habitual notion in the verb. This is achieved by the addition of affix *<an>* to the basic affixes like *-on/ <iNm>*, and *<um>/ <in>*. There is no valence change even with this additional inflection. Consider examples (5.26) and (5.27).

(5.26) *hanongpalon* *Juan* *nan* *ungah.*
 [<an> -on hoŋpal]_v [juan]_A [nan ?uŋa]_O
 TR.AG.HAB.IMP.F.hit PN.juan TRM.DEF.SG child
 'Juan habitually hits the child.'

Similar happens with affix <an> is added to the other affixes like the causative affix *ipa-* and *pa-* and antipassive affix *ma-* as in (5.27).

(5.27) *humanongpal* *hi* *Juan* *hi* *u''unga*
 [<uman>.hoŋpal]_v [hi Juan]_S [hi CVC-?uŋga]_E
 INT.AG.HAB.IMP.F. hit ABS PN.juan TRM.IND.SGS .PLZ.child
 'Juan habitually hits (children).'

5.2.2.2 Basic construction with habitual and durative notion. Basic clause construction can still be expanded to include the additional notion of duration in addition to the extended notion of habituality. This time, it make use of an inflected roots like *hanongpalon* as in (5.26) and *humanongpal* as in (5.27) and reduplicate parts of these verbs to achieved the notion of duration. Consider the effect of this when used in combination with the basic affixes *-on/in* and *<um>/<in>*. The requirements of the verb and the clause remains, an A argument and an O argument. Examples (5.28) and (5.29) illustrate this.

(5.28) *hano* + *hanongpalon* *Juan* *nan* *ungah.*
hano + *hanongpalon* *Juan* *nan* *ungah.*
 [C<an>Vh<an>oŋpal -on]_v [juan]_A [nan ?uŋa]_O
 TR.AG.HAB.DUR.IMP.F.hit. PN.juan TRM.DEF.SG child
 'Juan habitually hits the child for a long time.'

(5.29) *hongpahongpalon* *Juan* *nan* *ungah.*

[CVCCV.honpal -on]_v [juan]_A [nan ?uŋa]_O
 HAB.hit.TR.AG.IMPF PN.juan TRM.DEF.SG child
 'Juan repeatedly hits the child.'

Similar happens when similar reduplication is added to the other inflections like the causative and antipassives as in (5.30).

(5.30) *humanohanongpal* *hi Juan hi u''unga*
huma<noha>nongpal *hi Juan hi u''unga*
 [C<um><an>V- h<an>onpal]_v [hi Juan]_S [hi ?u??uŋa]_E
 INT.AG.HAB.DUR. hit ABS Juan E_{ET} CVC.PL.child
 'Juan habitually hits (children) for a long time.'

5.2.3 Antipassive-deliberative Construction.

Basic clause headed by an affect verb root, as in the above examples, requires two arguments; an Agent and a Patient. However, when the same affect verb root takes the imperfective affix <um> or the perfective affix <imm>, the Agent becomes an S argument, and the Patient becomes optional. The verb inflected with this affix and the clause it occurs became an intransitive. The added nuance of the affix is the volitional choice on the part of the Agent. Consider examples (5.31) and (5.32) below.

(5.31) *humongpal* *hi Juan hi u''unga*
 [h<um>onpal]_v [hi Juan]_S ([hi CVC-?uŋa]_O)
 INT.AG.IMPF.hit ABS PN.juan TRM.INDF.SG PLZ. child
 'Juan hits (children).'

(5.32) *himmongpal* *hi juan hinadan nala??uh*
 [h<um>onpal]_v [hi Juan]_S ([hinadan mala??uh]_O)
 INT.AG.PERF.hit ABS Juan TRM.DEF.PL passer.bye
 'Juan had hit one (of those who passed bye).'

5.2.3.1 Antipassive- Abilitive Construction. Another variant antipassive construction is encoded when the root takes the affix *maka-* (IMPFT) and *naka-* (PERF). It

is very similar to the antipassive-deliberative construction in all respect except that the added nuance in the affix is no longer focus on volition but on the capacity or ability of the Agent to do or perform an act. Example (5.33) illustrates this.

- (5.33) *makahongpal* *hi* *Juan* *hi* *u''unga*
 [maka- hongpal]_v [hi Juan]_A [hi CVC-?uŋga]_o
 INT.AG.IMP.F.hit ABS Juan TRM.IND.SG PLZ.child
 'Juan might hit children.'

A situational context of the above statement might be that Juan is not a boxer but he is just imitating a professional boxer punching air amidst children playing around.

5.2.3.2 Antipassive with notion of habitual and duration. An antipassive verbs (inflected) may be modified to include the sense of habitualness and extended time duration of the event or action. Here it involves the affix *man-* (or affixes *ma-* and *<an>*) and CV reduplication that resulted to *manongpal* or *ma-<an>hongpal* → *manhongpal* → *manhomanongpal* → *manhomanhonghongpal* or *manCVmanCVCpal* → *manomanonghongpal* or *manVmanVChongpal* , phoneme /h/ was in the reduplicated syllables.

- (5.34) *manomanonghongpal* *nadan* *u''unga*
 [manCVmanCVC-hongpal]_v [nadan CVC- ?uŋa]_s
 INT.PAT.HAB.IMP.F.hit TRM.DEF.PL PLZ.child
 'The children keep on hitting (others).'

5.2.4 Basic Passive construction

Intransitive clause has two types. One type is where the Agent of a verb occurs in S function. The second type is where a Patient similarly occurs in S function. This is referred to as (basic) passive construction. Passive construction requires only one argument that occurs in S function. That Agent becomes non-obligatory and when ever

it occurs, it occurs in a prepositional phrase and in the form of an extended argument. An example of this is given (5.35). In basic passive construction, affect verbs like *hongpal* takes the affix *ma-/na-* and cross-referencing S argument as a Patient. Consider the illustrative example (5.36) presented below.

(5.35) *mahongpal hanadan u'unga hinadan mn'a'awit*
 [ma-hoŋpal]_v [nadan CVC-ʔuŋa]_s [hi- []V [nadan munCV-
 ʔawwit]E]CC
 INT.PAT.IMPFT.hit TRM.DEF.PL PLZ.child REL [] TRM.DEF.PL PLZ.fight
 'The children would be hit (by/from those who are fighting).'

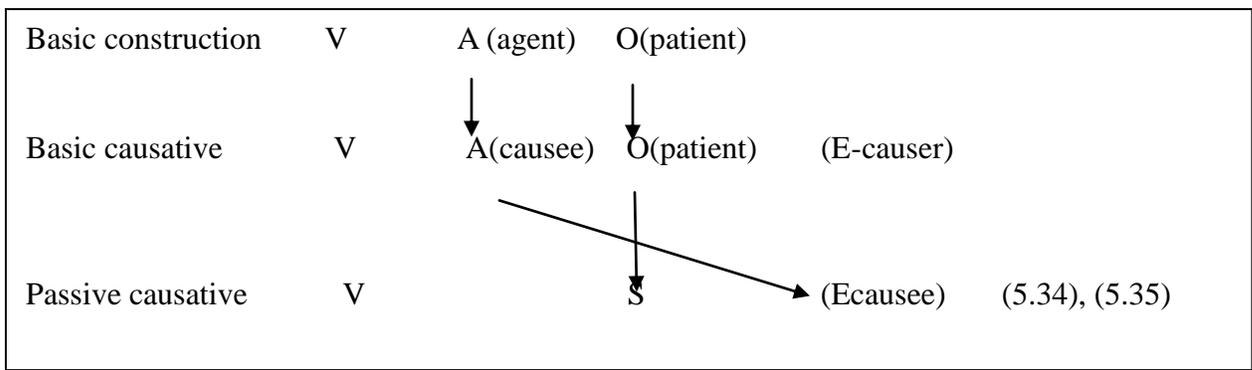
(5.36) *mahongpal nadan u'unga*
 [ma-hoŋpal]_v [nadan CVC-ʔuŋa]_s
 INT.PAT.IMPFT.hit TRM.DEF.PL PLZ.child
 'The children would be hit.'

5.2.4.1 A passive of a causative (with the notion of volition). A passive of a causative is a variant of the passive construction. In affect verb roots like *hongpal*, it take affix *pa-* (IMPFT) and *na-* (PERF) for this construction. This pair of affixes turn the verb and the clause they occur into intransitive where the required argument is an S argument taking the function of a Patient. In addition to this, the *pa-/na-* affixes encode the sense of volitional choice on the part of the Patient. Example (5.37) illustrates this.

(5.37) *pahongpal nadan u'unga i Juan*
 [pa-hoŋpal]_v [nadan CVC-ʔuŋa]_S ([ʔi juan]_E)
 INTR.IMPFT.PAT..hit TRM.DEF.PL PLZ.child E_{ET} PN.juan
 'The children allow themselves to be hit (by Juan).'

Semantic. The children place themselves in a situation where they are likely to be hit

by someone (Juan in the above example). They were aware of the potential danger, but for some reason remained or choose to stay in the path of danger. In basic passive construction as in example (5.36), the sense of volitional choice is absent. It just happen that potential Patient are in a situation where they are likely to be hit by someone's fist. In both examples, the potential agents of the action are not required syntactically, and when they are made explicit they take the Extended E argument slot.



5.2.5 Applicative construction

Affect verb roots like *hongpal* takes affix *?i-/?in-* to cross-reference the Instrument into the verb. In this clause, the verb takes O argument that encoded the semantic role of Instrument, the A argument remained as the Agent, and the Patient may be absent in the clause and when it is made explicit it occurs in the peripheral prepositional phrase. Consider example (5.38).

(5.38) *inhongpal* *Pacyao* *di* *iniggidnah* *pangal Morales*
 [?in- honpal]_V [pakyaw]_A [di ?iniggid =na]_O [-hi paŋal morales]_E
 TR.INS.PERF.hit PN.pakyaw TRM.DEF.SG left 2SG.POS TRM chin PN.morales
 ‘Pacyao used his left hand to hit (the chin of Morales).’
 Lit. ‘Pacyao hit with his left (the chin of Morales).’

5.2.6 Antipassive construction

An otherwise transitive clause can be detransitivized or made intransitive with the use of affixes *mi-/ni-* and affix *pan-/nun-*. There are two type of detransitivized construction: one takes affix *mi-/ni-* that encoded ability and the other take *pan-/nan-* that encode instrument.

5.2.6.1 Antipassive with abilititive notion. An otherwise transitive clause can be detransitivized or made intransitive with the use of affix *mi-/ni-*. Affect verb roots like *hongpal* take affix *mi-* (or *ni-*) makes the verb and the clause it occurs in as detransitivized intransitive and cross-reference the semantic role of the A argument as Agent in the sense of ability or capability. Example (5.39) illustrate this.

(5.39) *mihonpal* *moy* *taklen* *Juan*
[mi- honpal mo]v [-di takle =na juan]s
INT.ABL.IMPV.hit ADV.now TRM.DEF.SG hand.2SG.POS PN.juan
'Juan's hand can now hit.'
Or 'Juan's hand can now be used to hit.'

5.2.6.2 Antipassive with habitual and/or durative notion. To add the notion of habitual prefix *man-* plus reduplication of the first syllable of the stem is employed as in (5.40). The onset phoneme was dropped in the process. (What is thought to be a prefix *man-* is not used alone. I suspect that this affix form was a combination of two affixes that has undergone morphological changes, but it could not be pinpointed up to now.) To add the notion of habitualness and duration, infix <um> combined with CVCCV reduplication is employed as in (5.41) and (5.42).

(5.40) *manonghongpal* *nadan* *u''unga*
[manCVC-honpal]v [nadan CVC-?uŋa]s
INT.PAT.HAB.IMPV.hit TRM.DEF.PL PLZ.child
'The children had the habit of hitting (others).'

(5.41) *humongpahongpal hi Juan hi u'unga*
 [<um>CVCCV.honpal]_v [hi Juan]_s ([hi CVC-?uŋga]_o)
 INT.AG.HAB.IMPF. hit ABS PN.juan TRM.IND. PLZ. child
 'Juan repeatedly hits (children).'

(5.42) *himmongpahongpal hi Juan hinan nalana??uh*
 [<imm>CVCCV.honpal]_v [hi juan]_s ([hinan na- <na> la??uh]_o)
 INT.AG.HAB.PERF. hit ABS.SG PN.juan TRM.DEF.SG PERF. PLZ. passer-bye
 'Juan had repeatedly hit (one of those who passed bye).'

Note that in the transitive construction, the verbs *hinanoŋpaŋpal* and *hinoŋpahonpal* have similar notion of habitual, and habitual plus durative respectively.

Another way of adding either the notion of habitualness or habitual plus duration is the employment of another form of reduplication along with the basic affix *ma-*. This makes use of the additional affix <*an*> and reduplication of the inflected verb. Morphophonemic operation requires that the first consonant of the reduplicated syllable be dropped as in (5.43). (My theory is that *man* came from two distinct affexes *ma* and *an* and when then are combined one, probably the second vowel /a/ dropped.

(5.43) *manomanonghongpal hanadan u'unga*
 [manɛVmanCV- honpal]_v [hanadan CVC- ?uŋa]_s
 INT.HAB.AG.IMPF.hit TRM.DEF.PL PLZ.child
 'The children had the habit of hitting (others) until now.'

5.2.6.3 Extended antipassive

When affix *pan-/nan-* is used in affect verbs like *hongpal*, the focus is on the instrument used in the act or event. The verb and the clause it occurs in require an extended argument O that takes the function of Instrument. The A argument remains the Agent. Example (5.44) and (5.45) illustrate this.

(5.44) *panonpal mon Juan di taklena*
 [pan- honpal mo]_v [juan]_A [di takle =na]_o
 INT.INST.IMPF.hit PAR.now PN.juan TRM.IND.SG hand.2SG.POS

'Juan can now hit with his hand.'

(5.45) *nanonpal* *Juan* *nan* *iniggidna*
 [nan- honpal]_V [juan]_A [nan ?iniggid =na]_O
 INT.INST.PERF.hit PN.juan TRM.DEF.SG left 2SG.POS
 'Juan used his left hand to hit.'

The deep structure of the clause has no indication that the O argument is affected or a Patient like, but may be understood as affected when Agent made used of this instrument in the act. In the surface structure, the case or nominal markings may indicate that the O arguments in the above examples are the objects of the verbs. The above examples above may need further studies.

5.2.7 Basic Causative construction

There are three types of basic causative constructions: simple causative construction, causative with habitual notion, and causative with notions of habitualness and extended duration. Each in turn will be discussed below.

5.2.7.1 Simple habitual construction. Affect verbs can take affixes *?ipa-/?iNpa-* and *pa-/pina-* to encode the presence of a causer into the clause. These affixes do not distinguished whether or not the causer is one's own self or another person nor do they distinguished whether the act was done to oneself or to another nor the part to be affected or location the act would be applied. Affect verb roots and the clause they occur in requires an A argument taking the role as Causer (the brain), and an O argument that take the role of the Patient of the verb. The Causee (the one who perform the action) is optional. Consider (5.46).

(5.46) *ipahongpal* *Juan* *hi* *Pedro* *hinan* *tataguh*
 [?ipa- honpal]_V [juan]_A [hi pedro]_O [hinan CV-taguh]_E
 TR.CAUS.IMPF.hit PN.Juan ABS PN.Pedro TRM.DEFSG PLZ.taguh
 'Juan caused Pedro to be hit (by the people).'

TR.CAUS..HAB.IMP.F.hit 1SG TRM PN.pedro

'I habitually have Pedro be hit (for sometime).'

When we compare and analyze (5.49) and (5.50), we can conclude that the difference (/h/ moving two phonemes forward) we see in the later is a result of morphological process called metathesis. See section 2.xx.xx in chapter II for some discussion on metathesis.

5.2.8 Antipassive of causative-reflective construction

When affect verb is affixed by *muNpa-/nuNpa* (or *mumpa-/numpa-*), the S argument is the Causer or initiator of the action and at the same time the Patient of the action. The affix can be divided into two components; *muN-* is the reflective morpheme and *pa-* is the causative morpheme. The two affixes when combined have the effect of an antipassive. The affect verb roots like *hongpal* takes affix *muNpa-* to turn the argument S as the Causer and the Patient of the action. Example (5.51) illustrate this.

(5.51) *mumpahongpal* *hi Pedro*.
[muNpa- hongpal]_v [hi pedro]_s
INTR.REF.CAUS.IMP.F.hit ABS PN.pedro
'Pedro cause himself to be hit.'

Note that most of basic affixes, including the above *muNpa-* affix , can be farther expanded by adding other affix like <an> , and/or reduplication CVC, CV or CVCCV similar to examples (5.49) to include in the inflected verb the semantic notion of habitualness and/or extended time duration of the action or event. Here, *mumpahongpal* can be expanded to *mumpah<an>ongpal* (repeative) and *mumpahongpahongpal* (*mumpa-CVCCV-hongpal*) repeatedly allows himself to be hit for some extended time period', and *mumpahonghohongpal* (*mumpa-CVC-hongpal*) ' willfully allows himself to be hit'.

5.2.9 Reciprocal construction

Affects verbs may take affix *mun-* *-an/nun-* *-an* to indicate that two participants in an event are executing the action on or against each other. Reciprocal construction take the form of a plain intransitive clause where the S argument is always plural. (5.52) illustrates this.

- (5.52) *nunhongpalan da Pedro i Juan*
[*nun-* *honpal* *-an*]_v [da *pedro* ?i *juan*]_s
INTR.RECP.PERF. hit 3PL PN.pedro CON. PN.juan
'Pedro and Juan hit each other.'

5.2.9.1 Reciprocal with more than two participants. When more than two participants are involved in an action, CV reduplication is combined with the basic affix *mun-* *-an/nun-* *-an* of reciprocal construction. Example (5.53) illustrates this.

- (5.53) *nunhohongpalan da nadan i Daligi ya nadan i Lohot.*
[*nun-* *-an* CV-*honpal*]_v [da *nadan* ?i *daligi* ya *nadan* ?i *lohot*]_s
INTR.RECP.PERF.PLZ.hit 3PL TRM.DEF.PL from PLN.daligi CON TRM from
PLN.lohot
'Those (people) from Daligi and those from Lohot hit each other.'

5.2.9.2 Reciprocal with repetitive

When two or more participants repeatedly do an action toward each other, affix *<hin>* is added to the reciprocal affixes to add the semantic sense of a reflexive action. Both pairs of affixes *mun-/nun-* and *mun--an/nun--an* take along with them the additional affix *<hin>*. CV reduplication on the verb root add the semantic sense of repeated (pluralized) action, and may, along with affix *<hin>*, be added to the basic affix *mun-* *-an/nun-* *-an* of reciprocal construction. Examples (5.54) and (5.55) illustrate this. The additional notion of repetitive action was encoded by the pluralizer (PLZ) duplication in the verb root. Suffix *-an* as in (5.55) refers (cross referenced) to the more than one pair

of participants.

(5.54) *nunhinhongpal da Pedro i Juan*
[nunhinCV- hoŋpal]_v [da pedro ?i juan]_s
INTR.RECP.PERF.PLZ. hit 3PL PN.pedro CON. PN.juan
'Pedro and Juan repeatedly hit each other.'

(5.55) *nunhinhongpalan da nadan i Daligi ya nadan i Lohot.*
[nunhin- -an.CV-hoŋpal]_v [da nadan ?i daligi ya nadan ?i lohota]_s
INTR.RECP.PERF. PLZ.hit 3PL TRM. from PLN.daligi CON TRM from PLN.lohot
'Those (people) from Daligi and those from Lohot repeatedly hit each other.'

5.2.10 Residual Data:

Other additional semantic information encoded by the addition of CVC reduplication. Most of the above basic and extended clause construction can allow CVC reduplication to modify or add additional semantic information to the clauses. Affixes like *-on*, *ma-*, *maka-*, *mi-*, *?i-*, *?ipa-*, *pa-*, *mun-* can be combined with CVC or CV or CVCCV reduplication. Selected samples from the preceding examples illustrate some of the additional semantic information the CVC reduplication adds to existing information. Some of the data below are not discussed here for lack of sufficient time.

(5.56) *honghongpal Juan nan ungah.*
hoŋhoŋpal Juan nan ungah.
[CVC.hoŋpal -on]_v [juan]_A [nan ?uŋa]_O
TR.PAT.IMPF. hit PN.juan TRM.DEF child
'Juan slightly hits repeatedly the child.'

(5.57) *mahonghongpal nadan u''unga*
mahoŋhoŋpal nadan ?u??unga
[maCVC- hoŋpal]_v [nadan CVC- ?uŋa]_s
INT.PAT.HAB.IMPF.hit TRM.DEF.PL PLZ. child
'The children would repeatedly be hit.'

(5.58) *ipahonghongpal'uh Pedro.*

?ipahonhonpal'uh

Pedro.

[?ipaCVC- honpal]V [=?u]A [-hi Pedro]

CAUS.PAT.ITER.IMPF.hit 1SG ABS.SG PN.pedro

'I cause Pedro be hit repeatedly.'

Affix *mi* and CVC reduplication and the additional semantic information it carries.

(5.59) *mihonhonpal*

moy

taklen

Juan

mihonhonpal

moy

taklen

Juan

[miCVC- honpal mo]v [-di takle =na juan]s

INT.ABL.IMPF.hit ADV.now TRM.DEF.SG hand 2SG.POS PN.juan

'Juan's hand can now slightly hit.'

Or 'Juan's hand now be slightly used to hit.'

Affix *maka-* plus CVC reduplication and the additional semantic information it carries

(5.60) *makahonhonpal*

hi

Juan

hi ?u??unga

makahonhonpal

hi

Juan

hi ?u??unga

[makaCVC- honpal]v [hi Juan]A [hi CVC- ?unga]o

INT.AG.IMP.hit ABS Juan TRM.IND.SG PLZ.child

'Juan feel like hitting children.'

What is the root and the affixes involved in the word ***makikkan*** 'join.eat'

How do we treat the word ***namalattug*** 'one who shot' and ***napalattug*** 'guned/shot' from the noun ***pallattug*** 'gun'. I initially referred to them as verbalized nouns (nouns that turned into verbs) as the counterpart of nominalized verbs (verbs that turned into nouns).

Chapter VI

SENTENCE TYPES

6.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses about the sentence types specifically the declarative, imperative and interrogative sentence constructions in central Ifugao language variety. Declarative construction would be discussed first, followed by declarative construction, verbal and verb less sentences, followed by the discussion of imperative sentences the typical, then non-immediate imperatives and. lastly, interrogative constructions.

6.1 DECLARATIVE

Declarative sentences in central Ifugao language variety are simply sentences that are stating a fact or describing a thing. There are two types of declarative sentences in the language as most of languages do: the regular declarative constructions and the verbless constructions. The previous chapter focused on declarative constructions but for comparison an example will be given here. After that, I will be discuss the second type which is the verbless construction.

6.2 VERBAL CLAUSES

Verbal clauses encodes actions, and also state of condition. There are three arguments that could be present in a transitive declarative clause and these could be an A argument, an O argument, and E argument. In Intransitive declarative clause only have the S argument is required but other non-required arguments may optionally be present. Compare (6.1) and (6.2).

(6.1) ***mun'ukuk nan unah***
[mun- ?ukuk]V [nan ?unah]S
INT.IMPF cough TRM.DEF.SG child

'The child coughed'

(6.2) ***binalnuna*** ***nan*** ***dinjin***
[<in>balnu]V [=na]A [nan dinjin]O
TR.AG.PER.hit 2SG TRM.DEF.SGS wall

6.3 VERBLESS:

Central Ifugao language variety, like many languages, also has declarative verbless constructions. These constructions encode relation of identity, equation, naming, quantification, benefaction, possession, attribution, and counting. The components of basic verbless clause construction in the language are a verbless clause subject (VCS) and a verbless clause complement (VCC). Verbless clauses state relation between the verbless clause subject and verbless clause complement. These relations are determined by the nature of the VCC of the clause. There are at least 10 relations identified in the language.

6.3.1 Identity

When the verbless clause complement (VCC) is an unmarked noun phrase (NP) that determines a generic class, the clause expresses an identity relation between the verbless clause subject (VCS) and the verbless clause complement (VCC). The VCS is always specific. When a personal pronoun is phonologically free, the VCC occurs before the VCS as in (6.3) wherein there is a specifier and where the 2SG is the possessor. In (6.4), 2SG is also the possessor.

(6.3) ***hi aman*** ***Jose*** ***nan*** ***mituluh***
[hi ama =na Jose]VCS [nan mituluh]VCC
TRM. father 2SG.POS PN.jose TRM.SG teacher
'The father of Jose is the teacher.'

(6.4) *hi ibbana* *nan mangipangpangulun da'yuh*

[hi ?ibba =na]VCS [nan maŋipaŋpaŋulu ?i da?yuh]VCC

TRM.sibling 2SG.POS TRM. leader LK 2PL

'His/her sibling will be your leader.'

6.3.2 Equative verbless construction

The VCC in an equative clause is also specific. It asserts that the VCS is the same as the VCC. Unlike identity verbless construction, the verbless compliment clause VCC comes first before the subject or topic VCS as shown in (6.5).

(6.5) *on man* *makihhabahhabal* *nan* *a'ammod'uh*

[?on man makihhabahhabal]VCC [nan CV-'ammod = 'u]VCS

PART.only PART co-farmer TRM.SG PLZ parent 1SG.POS

'My parents are mere farmers.'

6.3.3 Naming

The naming relations in the language is determined by the used of the word *ŋadan* 'name' or *nunŋadan* 'named' followed by a genitive dependent and an NP headed by a proper name PN as in (6) and (7).

(6.6) *ballituk* *di ŋadanah*

[ballituk] VCS [di ŋadan =na]VCC

PN. PN.ballituk LK name 2SG.POS

'Ballituk is his name.'

(6.7) *hinonŋa han nunŋadan hi balinon*

[hinonŋal]V [=na]A [han [nunŋadan]VCS [hi balinon]VCC]O

PERF.AG.hit 2SG TRM named LK PN.balinon

'He hit (someone) named Balinon.'

6.3.4 Quantification in non-numeric terms

When the VCC is a non-numerical quantifier, the VCC states the quantity of the VCS in generic terms as in (8) and (9).

(6.8) *dokolda nadan imbabalen Maria*

[dakol =da] VCC [nadan ?imbabale =na maria]VCS

many 3PL TRM.PL child 2SG.POS PN.maria

'They, the children of Maria, are many.'

Lit. 'They are many, the children of Maria.'

(6.9) *kittakittay di boklaondah dih*

[CVCCV- kittay] VCC [di bokla?on =da hidih]VCS

PLZ.small TRM wage 3PL ADV.there

'Their wages there are very small.'

6.3.5 Benefaction

Benefactive in central Ifugao makes use of the borrowed Ilocano preposition word *para* (*pala* in Ifugao) 'for' to encode benefactive relation as (6.10). It identifies the VCC as the beneficiary of the VCS. See example (6.10) below. The word *para* 'for' is borrowed from the language Ilocano and Tagalog who also borrowed from Spanish.

(6.10) *Pala ?i da'yu datuwen kanta*

[pala ?i da?yu]VCC [datuwe -?an kanta]VCS

for PREP.to 3PL DEM.PL.these LK song

'These songs are for you(PL).'

6.3.6 Possession

Possession in central Ifugao makes use of the *bagin* 'owned by' phrase. When the VCC is a nominal that encodes a possessor, the clause expresses a possessive relation. The VCC identifies the possessor of the VCS as in (12).

(6.11) *Bagin Joseh tuwen hibluh*
[bagi =na jose] VCC [=hituwe -?an hibluh]VCS
possession 2SG.POS PN.jose DEM.SG.this LK book
'This book is Jose's.'
Lit. 'Possession of Jose, this book.'

6.3.7 Attributive

In attributive clauses VCC describes the VCS as having the characteristic of the VCC as in (6.12). There are also cases where the VCS can be an oblique noun phrase in which case the clause describes an attribute of a location as shown in (6.13).

(6.12) *Natayag hi Balinon*

[natayag]VCC [hi balinon]VCS
Tall ABS.DEF PN.balinon
'Balinon is tall.'

(6.13) *Munhihillong hi dolah*

[munhihillong]VCC [hi dolah]VCS
dark ABS.DEF outside
'It is dark outside.'

6.3.8 Existence and non-existence

Existential relation are marked by the existential word *wada* 'there is' and non-existential is marked *ma'id* 'there is not'. There are two types of existential clause where in the first types in the language. One type encodes plain existence or non-existence of

(6.18) Wadah bale nan libluh

[wada hi bale]VCC [nan libluh]VCS

exist TRM.IND house TRM.DEF.SG book

'The book is in the house.'

Lit. 'There is in the house the book.'

(6.19) Wadah bale

[wada hi bale]VCC

exist TRM.IND house

'There is in the house.'

6.3.9 Counting

When the VCC is numeral, the clause encodes a counting relation wherein the VCC states the exact number of the VCS. There syntactic arrangement is interchangeable; The default is VCC – VCS as in (6.20), but when the quantity is in focused the VCS come first as in (6.21).

(6.20) Onom ya ammuna di imbabalemih

[?onom ya ?ammuna]VCC [di ?imbabale =mi]VCS

six LK ADV.only TRM.DEF.SG child 1PL.EXC

'We only have six children.'

(6.21) Liman manok ya ammuna han wahtuh

[lima -?an manok ya ?ammuna]VCS [han wada -hitu]VCC

six LK chicken LK ADV.only TRM.IND.SG exist here

'There are only chicken here.'

6.3.10 Temporal

In a temporal relation, the VCS is placed at the time frame encoded by the VCC. The time marker (TMM) *hi* is used to introduce VCC. When it refers to a time in the past, the particles *di ?an (din)* and *?ad* are added after the time marker *hi*. Thus, for past time *hi ?ad* or *hi din*, and for non-past time *hi* is used to mark temporal VCC. Compare (6.22) and (6.23).

(6.22) Athidih din nadneh
[?athidi]VCC [-hi di [-?an nadneh]CC]VCS
It.was.like.that TMM.PAST REL long.ago
'It was like that long ago.'

(6.23) atdahdih ad kugaban
[?at<da>hidi]VCC [-hi ?ad kugaban]VCS
It.was.like.that 3PL TMM.PAST yesterday
'They were like that yesterday.'

(6.24) hi bigat di ka?amungan ta'uh
[hi bigat]VCS [di ka?amungan ta?uh]VCC
TMM.tomorrow TRM gathering 3PL.INC
'Our meeting will be tmorrow.'

6.3.11 Imperatives

Imperatives are statements that encode commands. The subject or Agent of the verbs is usually limited to second person singular (2SG) and plural (2PL), and also first person plural inclusive (1PL.Inc) and first person plural, dual (1PL.Dual). There are two types of imperative that will be discussed here; the immediate and non-immediate imperatives.

6.3.11.1 Immediate imperative

Immediate imperatives are command that encodes immediate respond and the

immediacy is marked by the particle [=ʔot] that is attached to the addressee as shown in (6.25) through (6.28). Reduplication and faster cadence of an imperative also encode an immediate response as in (6.29).

(6.25) ekayuwot

ʔe =kayu -ʔot
 Go 3PL PART.immediately
 'Go at once.'

Kayu (3PL) may come from *da?yu* that has undergone morphological changes. It is surprising though that it only occur in this verb 'go' when used alone. When it is combined with other verbs same pronoun reverts to its normal form =*yu* , as in (6.26) below.

(6.26) eyuwot

alan nan pageh

ʔe =yu -ʔot ʔalan nan page
 Go 3PL PART.immediately get TRM.DEF.SG palay
 'Go now and get the palay.'

(6.27) etaun

diyot

ʔe =tau ʔan di -ʔot
 Go 1PL.INC LK PART.instead PART.immediately
 'Let us instead go now.'

(6.28) etaun

diyot

ʔe =tau ʔan di -ʔot
 Go 1PL.INC LK PART.instead PART.immediately
 'Let us instead go now.'

(6.29) etau

etauh

ʔe =tau ʔe =tau
 Go 1PL.INC go 1PL.INC
 'Let's go, let's go.'

6.3.11.2 Non-immediate imperative

Non-immediate imperative encodes command that doesn't require an immediate respond from the addressee. Transitive verbs that are used in imperative constructions need an Agent and Patient. The primary function of the non-immediate imperative is to give an instruction that does not necessarily require an immediate response. In an intransitive verb, the addressee is the S as in (6.30) and (6.31). The first person inclusive (1PL.INC) and first person dual (1DUAL) can also be an addressee of an imperative, especially in hortatory discourse, as a way of mitigating direct imperatives and turn into an indirect imperative as in (6.32) and (6.32).

(6.30) *malok'ah*

[malok]V [=ʔa]S
INT.IMPF.sleep 2SG
'You sleep.'

(6.31) *alam nan pihhu'*

[ʔalan]V [=mu]A [nan pihhu =ʔu]O
TR.AG.IMPF.get 2SG TRM.DEF.SG money 1SG.POS
'You get my money.'

(6.32) *donglon tauy tugun nadan a'ammod tauh*

[donʔlo -an]V [tau]A [di tugun hanada -ʔan CV- ʔammod tau]O
TR.AG.IMPERF.hear 1PL.INC TRM advice DEM.they REL PLZ. parent 1PL.INC.POSS
'Let us obey the advices of our parents.'
Lit. 'Let us hear the advices of our parents.'

(6.33) *mangantah balat*

[manʔan]V [=ta]S ([hi balat]O)
INT.AG.IMPF.eat 1DUAL TRM.IND.SGS banana

NEG. TR.AG.IMPF.get [you] TRM.IND.SG DEM.that REL my.sibling
 'Do not eat that one, uncle.'

6.3.11.4 Mitigated Imperative

There are other strategies that encode **mitigated imperative** meanings. One is uttering peripheral statements before saying the actual command. An example of this is given (6.37). Another is the use of rhetorical question, which look like a real question in the surface structure but understood (in the deep structure) as a mitigated imperative. Example (6.38) and (6.39) illustrate this.

(6.37) wada ya han ibaga' ?ipabanowana' hi pihhum

[wada ya]VCC [han ibaga=?a]VCS [?ipabanowan]V []A [=?a]O [hi pihhu =mu]RL
 exist PART TRM. tell 1SG cause.to.lend 1SG TRM money 2SG

'I have something to say: lend me (some) money.'

(6.38) da'an mo ta eka munha'ang?

[da?ad mo ta ?e =ka munha?ang
 PART.where PART.Q? CON go 2SG IMPF.cook.

'How about you go to cook?'

(6.39) nganun ayu adi mangan

[?nanu -?on ?ayu ?adi manjan

Why LK 3PL NEG eat

'Why don't you(PL) eat?'

Meaning: 'You eat.'

6.3.11.5 Lexical items with imperative force

The language employs specific forms to call or to shoo away particular animals. Dogs, for example, have names and they are called by their names. Dogs can also be shooped by calling their names with a loud and sharp rising intonation. Birds also can

be called by imitating their sounds. Only water buffalo can be commanded to stop or go with specific words. In Table 1 is a list of some animals with their corresponding calling and shooing words or sounds.

Table 1 Some animals calls and shoos

Animal	Call	Shoo
Dog	Name (browniii, blakiii) ti:hti:hti:htiiih; tsktsktsktsk	tʃaʔ
Pig	kekokekokekoooo	tsu
chicken	ku:kulku:kulku:kul	ʔuwih
birds	Sound imitation	
duck	pa:papapapaaaaah	ʔuwih
water buffalo (carabao)	ho:ho; 'stop, stop'; ma:nsuh 'go'	tsu:h

6.3.11.6 Non-command meanings of imperative

Culture and language of central Ifugao, as it is generally true to other Philippine cultures, has a way of inviting guests for meal whether that invitation is joining a family meal or a feast or community feast. When ever an unexpected visitor shows up during meal time, it is a custom to invite them to eat. The addressee is free to accept or turndown the invitation. On the part of the one inviting, it is an act to show hospitality and courtesy, with holding invitation would imply stinginess. The language used is a non-command imperative that combined words and intonation to convey it. Example (6.40) and (6.41) invitation for a meal; (6.36) has a rising and falling intonation.

(6.40) *umali ayu ta mangan tauh*

ʔumali ʔayu ta maŋan taʔu

IMPF.come 3PL CON.so.that eat 1PL.INC

'Join us eating.'

Lit. 'You come so that we can eat.'

(6.41) mangan ta'u:

mangan ta?u:

IMPF.eat 1PLINC

'We eat'

6.3.12 Interrogatives

There three major types of interrogatives in the language: major type is the content question interrogatives; the second type is the non-interrogatives, and the non-content question interrogatives. Each in turn will be briefly discussed below.

6.3.12.1 Content questions. Interrogative constructions are clauses that are include one of the question words or the question particles that mainly functions to introduce content questions. Asking content questions in the language starts with the question words or particle. In Table 2, is a list of question words and their glosses.

Table 2 Content Questions Words

Question word	Meaning	Content area
da?anah; da?ad	'where?'	location
kan?una, kan?u, hi kan?u, ?udi kan?u	'when?'	temporal/time
ɲadan, ɲan/ɲay (contracted form), ɲay ka?atna	'what?' / 'how'	things, state or manner
ɲanu (?on), kanape (ta)	'why'	reason, justifications
ka?atna, katna, ?udi katna,	'how much' / 'how	quantity or price

	many'	
--	-------	--

The following examples will illustrate the uses of some of these question words and their syntactic positions in the clause they occur. Example (6.42) through (6.4X) are illustrative of some of their uses.

(6.42) *da?nay paᅇayan?*

da?ana di paᅇayan =mu

where LK go 2SG

'Where are you going?'

(6.43) *daad di kawad'ana?*

da?ad di kawada =na

where LK it.exist 2SG

'Where is it located?'

(6.44) *kan'una di paᅇayan?*

kan?ana di paᅇayan =mu

when LK go 2SG

'When are you going?'

(6.45) *udi kan?u di paᅇayan?*

?udi kan?u di paᅇayan =mu

PART when LK go 2SG

'When do you go?'

(6.46) *ngadan di ?aton =mu*

ngadan di ?aton =mu

what LK do 2SG

'What are going to do?'

(6.47) ngay ka?at di nitanom?

ngadan di ka?at di nitanom

what/how LK condition TRM.IND plant

'What is/are the condition of the plant/s?'

Or 'How is the plant?'

(6.48) nganu ?on maid hituh amayuh?

nganu ?on maid hitu hi ?ama =yu

why PART.Q? non-exist DEM.here TRM father 3PL.POS

'Why is it that your father is not here?'

(6.49) kanape ta maid hituh amayuh?

kanape ta maid hitu hi ?ama =yu

why PART.reason non-exist DEM.here TRM father 3PL.POS

'Why is it that your father is not here?'

(6.50) uddi katna tun manokmuh?

?uddi ka?atna hituwe -?an mamuk =mu

PART.Q? how.much/many LK.DEM.this REL chicken 2SG

'How much is your chicken?'

Lit. 'How much is this, your chicken.'

Note that there were morphological deletion of phonemes and syllables in *katna* and *tun*. The shorter form of (6.50) is showed below, (6.51) and (6.52).

(6.51) katna tun manokmuh?

ka?atna hituwe -?an mamuk =mu

how.much/many LK.DEM.this REL chicken 2SG

'How much is your chicken?'

Lit. 'How much is this, your chicken.'

(6.52) *katna nan manokmuh?*

ka?atna nan mamuk =mu

how.much/many TRM.DEF.SG chicken 2SG

'How much is your chicken?

Lit. 'How much, the chicken of yours?'

Ka?atna can be use as a question word that ask information about numerical quantity as in (6.53). Compare (6.52) and (6.53); the only difference is the addition of the clitic pronoun in the verb phrase.

(6.53) *ka?atnada nan manokmuh?*

ka?atna =da nan mamuk =mu

how.much/many 3PL TRM.SG chicken 2SG

'How many are your chicken?

Lit. 'How many they, the chicken of yours.'

6.3.12.2 Non-question interrogative. There three types of non-question interrogatives; each one of them is briefly discuss in turn.

6.3.12.2.1 Mitigated imperative interrogative. As briefly discussed in section 6.11.4 above, this type uses question rather than direct imperative to invite the addressee to do something without commanding the addressee. See example (6.38) and (6.39) above.

6.3.12.2.2 Reproof interrogative. The second is one that neither asks for information nor any answer (either yes or no) but rather to convey mild reprimand or reproof. This type makes use of a combination of interrogative and imperative to convey indirect reprimand or reproof. Example (6.54) illustrate this.

(6.54) *nganun ayu tumtummaddog, mangan tau.*

[ŋanu -ʔon ʔayu tumtummaddog, maŋan tau.

Why LK 3PL keep.on.standing, eat 1PL.INC

'Don't just stand there, let us all eat.'

Lit. 'Why are you still standing? Let us eat.'

Note that without the imperative clause, the above utterance would be understood as a content question.

6.3.12.2.3 Interrogative with surprise meaning.

There are few interrogative expressions that neither ask for information nor any answer (either yes or no), nor to convey reproof, but an expression of surprise on the part of the speaker. Example (6.55) and (6.56) illustrate this.

(6.55) *ngan a:y*

ŋan ʔaay

what PART

'What!

(6.56) *uddinona a:y*

ʔuddinon =na ʔaay

how 2SG PART

'How is it!

6.3.12.3 Yes/no interrogatives. The language has two kind interrogatives that would seek a yes or no answer. The first type of yes/no interrogative make use the question particles like *ʔon* . This question particle is introduced at the beginning an otherwise imperative clause. (6.57) illustrates this. The alternative is to makes use of same imperative statement but utter it with a rising intonation toward the end of the clause. The imperative portion of Example (6.57) can be uttered with such a rising intonation to achieve a similar yes/no question.

(6.57) *on alam tun hubluh*

ʔon ʔalan =mu hituwe ʔan hibluh

PART.Q? get 2SG TRM.DEM.this REL book

'Are you going to get this book?

The possible answer to this question are: *ʔo:m, ala?* 'yes, I will get'; or simple *ʔo:m*

'yes'; or **?adi?** 'no, I don't'; or **?adi? man** 'no, I really wouldn't' .

Note also that the interrogative part of this yes/no question is **alam tun hublul** and it conveys the function of an imperative, a command; 'Get this book'. The same clause can be changed into a yes/no interrogative by merely changing the intonation. The intonation would start from flat mid until the end of the word **tun** , or second to end, then rising intonation on the word *hublul* as in example (6.58) below.

(6.58) alam tun hublul

?alan =mu hituwe ?an hiblul

get 2SG TRM.DEM.this REL book

'Are you going to get this book?'

Chapter VII

RELATIVE AND COMPLIMENT CLAUSES

7.0 INTRODUCTION

Discussions in the previous chapters focused on independent clauses. This chapter focuses on subordinate clauses like clauses that occur as dependent element to a main clause. Relative clause will be discussed first then followed by the discussion of complement clauses then adverbial clauses.

7.1 RELATIVE CLAUSE

Relative clause (RC) is a type of subordinate clause that functions as modifier of a noun phrase within the main clause. It is an entire relative clause that is used to modify the head of the NP.

Central Ifugao relative clause is a post head modifier as in (7.1). When it occurs before the head, noun markers are used, and when it occurs after the head, it is followed by a REL Clause. The word *?an* in this sentence is a relativiser (REL); it links the head to the relative clause. The relativiser is the first constituent of the relative clause. The common argument relative clause shared with the main clause is deleted.

(7.1) ***?innala? nan kindi an indaṭ̃ miko i bugan***

?<inn>la =a? [nan kindi]HEAD [ʔan ?<in>idaṭ̃ miko ʔi bugan]RCL

PERF.TRN.AG.get 1SG TRM.DEF.SG candy REL PFT.TRN.AG.give PN.miko LK PN.bugan

'I took the candy that Miko gave to Bugan'

(7.2) ***pinate' nan ulog an nangalat hinan***

ungah

p<in>ate =a? [nan ?ulog]HEAD [ʔan nun- kalat hinan ?ungah]RCL
PERF.TRN.AG.kill 1SG TRM.DEF.SG snake RELV NLZ.PER.bite TRM.DEF child

'I killed the snake that bit the child.'

Note that there are other uses on ?an; it can also be used as linker to link a noun and an adjective as in *?onjal ?an ?ulog* 'big snake' or a question particle as described in the previous chapter, others more. They are not discussed in this paper.

7.2 ADVERBIAL CLAUSE

Adverbial clause (ADVC) is a type of subordinate clause that functions as a peripheral constituent of the main clause, supplying it with additional semantic information. Table 1 lists the adverbial relations and their meaning.

Table 7.1 Lists of Logical relations

Logical relations	Balangao	Meaning
Reason	<i>te , ʔo te</i>	'because', 'it is because'
Purpose	<i>ta , ʔo ta</i>	'so that'
Condition	<i>nu, ʔonha,</i>	'if'
Concession	<i>taʔon ʔon</i> <i>taʔon di,</i> <i>taʔon di kalina di/ya</i>	'in spite of' 'even though' 'even if'
Temporal	<i>handi, hidin (hidi ʔan)</i>	'when'
Sequence	<i>ʔianganah, ya den (ya deʔan)</i>	'until', and then, while
Counter-sequence	<i>ta ʔahi</i>	'before'
Contra-expectation	<i>ʔonnot, deyot, taʔonnot</i>	'instead', 'in spite of'

7.2.1 Reason

In an adverbial clause that provides a reason, the particle *te* 'because' occurs in the initial position of the subordinate clause. See (7.3).

(7.3) *umanamuta* *te* *umudan* *nin*
 [ʔ<um>anamut =aʔ] [te ʔ<um.udan nin]RC
 INT.AG.IMPF.go.home 1SG because INT.AG.IMPF.rain may.be
 'I go home because it might rain.'

7.2.2 Purpose

Purpose clause is an adverbial clause that gives the purpose or goal of the main clause. It uses one of the adverbial particles *ta* , *ʔo ta* that also introduced the relative clause. Consider example (7.4) below.

(7.4) ***umanamuta*** ***ta*** ***e'*** ***panganon*** ***nadan*** ***papah***
 ʔ<um>anamut =aʔ [ta ʔe =aʔ pa- kanon nadan papah]RC
 INT.AG.IMPF.go.home 1SG so.that go 1SG TR.AG.IMPF.feed TRM.PL duck
 'I will go home so that I will go and feed the ducks'

(7.5) ***umeya'*** ***o ta*** ***wa'e*** ***bo ya nibangada'***
 [ʔ<um>e =aʔ] [ʔo ta waʔe bo ya ni-bangad =aʔ]RC
 INTR.AG.PERF.go 1SG so.that some.time again LK PER.return 1SG
 'I go so that I will return again sometime.'

It is observed that the two adverbial particles or markers have no semantic difference. It may be the other one is shorter or contracted form of the longer ones.

7.2.3 Condition

A condition adverbial clause encodes a situation that the speaker thinks must happen before that which is expressed in the main clause can happen. It introduced by one of the subordinators (SUBR) *nu* and *ʔonha* 'if' and occurs before the main clause. Subordinator *nu* is used for non-past events, while *ʔonha* is for past event. Normally the adverbial clause follows the main clause as in examples (7.6) and (7.7).

briefly discussed in turn below.

7.2.4.1 In-spite-of concession. A circumstance in the main clause that the speaker strongly believed to be true in spite of the circumstance encoded in the adverbial clause. In other words what the main clause says is true even if what the adverbial clause says or does. This adverbial clause is introduced by the form **taʔon di** ‘in spite’. Example (7.10) illustrates this.

(7.10) **taʔon di nahamintuh naʔe ya magde damdama**
[taʔon di na- hamintu -hi naʔe]RC ya [magde damdama]
ADV.in.spite PER.concrete TRM DEM.that LK IMPF.slide still
‘In spite of it being concreted, it will still erode.’

7.2.4.2 Even-if concession. Normally a circumstance encoded in the main clause would be different if the circumstance encoded in the adverbial clause would happen but the speaker still believes would be changed. This adverbial clause would be introduced by the form **taʔon ʔon** ‘even though’. Consider example (6.11).

(7.11) **taʔon on imbagan gobernador ya maid ha idatmih pihhuh**

[taʔon ʔon ʔiN- бага -nan gobernador]RC ya [maid ha ʔidat =mi -hi pihhuh]

ADV.even.though PER.say TRM. governor LK [non.exist TRM.IND give 1PL. TRM. money

‘Even though the governor promised it, we will not give money.’

Lit. ‘Even though the governor said it, we will not give money.’

7.2.5 Temporal-simultaneous adverbial clause.

Temporal-simultaneous clause encodes an event that occurs simultaneously with the main clause event. It is introduced by the subordinator *hidin* ‘when’ and may occur before the main clause, as in (7.12) and (7.13). It may also be introduced by the subordinator *ya den* (contracted form of *ya de ʔan*) ‘while’ but in the case it follows the main clause, as in (7.14).

(7.12) **hidin immali amih baleyu ya wahdi ayuh payoh**

[hidin ?<imm>ali ?ami -hi bale =yu]RC ya [wada hidi ayu -hi payo]

when PERF.come 1PLE.EXC TRM house 2SG.POS LK exist there 2PL TRM field

‘When we came to your house, you were in the field.’

(7.13) **wahdi ayuh payoh din immali amih baleyu**

[wada hidi ?ayu -hi payo] [hidin ?<imm>ali ?ami -hi bale =yu]

exist there 2PL TRM field **when** PERF.come 1PLE.EXC TRM house 2SG.POS]RC

‘You were in the field, when we came to your house.’

(7.14) **mangali amih baleyu ya den mange ayu boh**

[maŋ-?ali ?ami -hi bale =yu] [ya den maŋ- ?e ?ayu boh]RC

IMPF.go 1PL.INC TRM. house 2SG.POSS **while** IMPF.go 2SG also

‘We were coming to your house while you also leaving.’

7.2.6 Sequential adverbial clause.

A sequential adverbial clause is a temporal adverbial clause that encodes an event that immediately precedes the main clause event. It normally occurs before the main clause. It is introduced by the verb phrases *nagibbu* ‘finished’ or *hidin nagibbu* ‘when finished’. Example (7.15) illustrates this.

(7.15) **hidin nagibbun kinlonda nan itungu ?ot munha’angdah bogah**

[hidin nagibbu ?an k<in>olonda nan ?itungu]RC ?ot [mun- ha?aŋ=da hi bogah]

when finished LK PERF.split TRM. fire.wood then IMPF.cook 3PL TRM rice

'After they finished splitting the fire wood, (then) they cook rice.'

Note: The used *hidin nagbbu* is different from *hidin nagibbu ?ot* in the later is used as a summary of the preceding clause. See section 7.2.8 for the discussion of summary clause.

Another sequential adverbial clause is one that the speaker believes must happen before the main clause event can happen, and it usually occurs before the main clause also. It is introduced by the word *gahin* 'unless/until', as illustrated in (7.16). However, it can also occur after the main clause, as in (7.17).

(7.16) ***gahin di matdukan ya ahi waday alanyuh dolog***

[gahin di ma-tudukan]RC ya ?ahi wada -di ?ala -on =yu -hi dolog
unless LK IMPF.drain.water LK before exist LK IMPF.get 2PL TRM mud.fish
'Until (it) drains some water, before you can get any mud fish.'

(7.17) ***maid di ma'alayuh dolog gahin di ma- tudukan***

Ma?id di ma?ala =yu -hi dolog [gahin di ma- tudukan]RC
non.exist LK IMPF.get TRM mud.fish **unless** LK IMPF.drain.water
'You would not get any mud fish, unless (it) get drained a little.'

7.2.7 Plain temporal sequential clause

A temporal sequential adverbial clause is a temporal adverbial clause that encodes an event that happens after the main clause event and occurs after the main clause. This relative clause is introduced by the word *?ot ?ahi* 'before'. Example (7.18) illustrates this.

(7.18) ***immanamut amih numboblayanmi ?ot ahida numpapatteh***

ʔimmanamut ʔami -hi numboblayan =mi [ʔot ʔahi =da
numpapatteh]RC

IMPF.go.home 1PL.EXC TRM. home.place 1PL.EXC.POS **before** 2PL PERF.REC.quarrel
'We returned to our village before they quarrel among themselves.'

7.2.8 Summary clause

Summary clause is clause that repeats the previous clause or probably an episode in a story into a short clause and the same time functions as an introduction of the next clause or episode. A number of grammarians technically called the 'tail-head' device in narrative discourse. Tail-head device has two types: One repeats the main verb in the preceding clause following: [V + (PRON) + ʔot] pattern; the second is the use of the generic summary statements *nagibbu ʔot ...* 'then after that ...' or *hidin nagibbuh diye ʔot ...* 'when that was finished...'. This paper is concerned with the later, and example (7.19) provides us an illustration.

(7.19) *immeda naki'ap'apput nadan u"ungah ad lagawe.*
ʔimme =da nakiʔapʔapput nadan CVC-ʔuŋa -hi ʔad lagawe
PERF.go 3PL PERF.participate.contest TRM.PL PLZ.child TRM PLM lagawe
'The children went to participate in the contest in Lagawe.'

hidin nagibbuh diye ot mumpanganamutda babaleda
hidin nagibbuh diye ʔot muNpa- ʔanamut =da CV-bale =da
when finished that then PERF.ASS.go.home 3PL PLZ.house 3PL.POS
'**When that was finished**, each of them went to their houses.'

7.2.9 Complement clauses

Complement clauses are clauses that occur as complements of a verb; in other words, they are required by the sub categorization features of the verb. They typically function as the subject or object of another clause they are attached to and they occur in extended argument slot. It is introduced by complementizer (COMP) *ʔan*. Example (7.20) illustrates this.

(7.20) *imbaganan* *da'mi* *an* *waday* *Imbabaledah*

[ʔiN-baga]V [=na]A [-ʔi daʔmi]O [ʔan wada -di imbabale =da]E

INT.PERF.tell 3SG LK 1PL.EXC COMP exist TRM child 3PL

'He/She told us that they have a child.'

7.2.10 Complement taking verb

There are verb that take (nominal) compliment clause. As defined somewhere, compliment clause provide additional information on a noun phrase. Example (7.21) below shows that *ʔala* 'get' is a complement taking verb. The verb of the complement clause *nagah* 'fall' occurs at the end part and is not inflected with verb agreement marker. It serves as the head of the main clause it occurs. There are four semantic types of Complement taking verbs namely: transfer, utterance, perception, cognition and emotion verbs. Examples of each type follow.

7.2.10.1 Transfer verb

(7.21) *in:alada* *nan* *hibluna* *an nagah*

[ʔ<in>alan =da]_{MAT CL} [nan hublu=na ʔan na-gah]_{COMPL CL}

TR.PERF.get =3PL TRM.DEF book=2SG.POS LK PFT-fall

'They got her book that fell'

7.2.10.2 Utterance verb

The example below shows that utterance *kalyon* 'say' and *baga* 'tell' are complement taking verbs. In this example the complement clause is a direct quote as in (7.22).

(7.22) *dingol un kalyonay* *ume* *tau* *makikkan hi baleda*

[diŋol =ʔu ʔan kalyo =na]_{MAT CL} [-di ʔ<um>e tau makikkan hi bale=da]_{COMP CL}

PERF.hear 1SG LK IMPF.say 1SG LK IMPF.go 1PL.INC join.eat at house 3PL

'I heard him/her saying that 'we join them eat at their house''

Lit. I heard him/her saying, we go (and) join them eat at their house.'

7.2.10.3 Perception verb

Perception verbs require the semantic roles perceiver and a stimulus as illustrated in (7.23).

- (7.23) **tinnibo'** **nan** **tagun** **namalattug hinan baka**
 [t<inn>ibo=?u]_{MAT CL} [nan tagu ?an na-malattog hinan baka]_{COMP CL}
 TR.PERF.see =1SG TRM.DEF person REL VLZ.shot TRM.DEF COW
 'I saw the person who shot the cow.'

7.2.10.4 Cognition verbs

Cognition verbs require the semantic role of cognizer and idea as in (7.24).

- (7.24) **?nnila'** **an** **waday** **poblemanah**
 ?<inn>ila =?u ?an wada di poblema =na
 INT.PFT.know 1SG. REL exist TRM.IND problema =2SG
 'I recognized that he/she has problem'

7.2.10.5 Emotion verbs

Emotion verbs involve the semantic function of an experiencer and may also require a stimulus. Compare sentences (7.25) and (7.26).

- (7.25) **minomnomana'** **tayyah**
 mi- nomnomon =?u tayyah
 INT.IMPF.worry =1SG PART.(intensifier)
 'I am really worried'

- (7.26) **bimmungota' hinan kinalina**
 B<imm>unot =?u hinan k<in>ali =na
 TR.PERF.angry =1SG TRM PERF.say 2SG
 'I got angry at what he/she said.'

Chapter VIII

DISCOURSE FEATURES

8.0 INTRODUCTION.

There are four discourse texts that were collected: three of them were narrative and one was procedural. Three of the texts were recent recording (June and July 2007) and (one was recorded sometime in January 2004). However, only one narrative discourse was fully transcribed and analyzed; another one was partially transcribed. (I lost to computer virus the full transcription of the second one.) Since the researcher is not prepared to handle variances or differences among the texts, only one text, the "haddakan", is actually analyzed, and the other was only consulted to clarify or verify specific features that are not very clear in the choice text.

The subject text was orally narrated by a 92 years old man and taped. The only audience was the text collector who is also a relative of the narrator. The content of the story is an incident that happened some 65 years ago and at the barrio/county of Piwong in the municipality of Hingyon, and last for some time .

The theme of the story is "haddakan" which purpose is the establishment of the guilty party. Haddakan is employed in cases relating to boundary disputes, theft, and slander. The story is about a malicious slander that stems from a suggestion of theft by the accused (the narrator). The object of the controversy is a ten peso bill that was somehow dropped by the accused in the vicinity where the two complainants were at the time it happened. Since theft is one of the most damaging accusations a person or family can ever be charged with, second only to adultery, the suggestion of theft was taken very seriously. The complainants thought their persons and honor were slandered. Conflict of this kind does not go to "haddakan" right away. Most probably there were interest groups from common and neutral relatives who might have tried to negotiate for an amicable settlement, aside from Dammukay, the uncle of the accused, but somehow failed. There was the hardening of positions (S#15 and S#18). The hiring of

professional shaman made the conflict more serious. (Conflicts can be settled without seriously severing relations even with the employment of "haddakan". In this case the "Haddakan" is done without the "baki" rituals, which would then render the hiring of professional shaman or "munbaki" irrelevant). In the end the accused was vindicated and by inference proved the two got the ten peso bill. However, up to this time what actually happened to that ten peso bill has never been established.

The context of this chapter is largely based on the draft that made during four week discourse workshop in 2003.

8.1 DISCOURSE FEATURES

I am using a kind of analytical tools I learn from Dr. Michael Warlod, of Canadian Institutes of Linguistic from two discourse workshops (January 2003 and January 2004) he conducted for the Northern Philippines Mother Tongue Translators Association (NPMTTA). It basically follows Longacre's notional plot structure.

The text has all the seven suggested components of a notional plot structure. Find below the summary observations and some findings. The subject narrative story can be broken down into the following:

8.1.1 Setting

The setting is the part of the story where the time, place and participants are mentioned. Here in the text, the setting was encoded in the first eight sentences and it has the following features: It has a temporal setting 'one day..' at the very first sentence. The spatial setting was mentioned and major participants were introduced. It employed tail-head linkage between clauses (sentences in this chapter), as in S.3 and S.4; and stative verbs were employed, as in S.1, S.4), S.5 and S.6, that was encoded three sentences S.4 through S.6.

8.1.2 Inciting Moment

The inciting moment is the part of the story when the conflict starts. The text shows us that this section was encoded in sentences S.9 through S.18. It was observed that sentence 9 marks the specific spatial location where the protagonist changed direction by 180 degrees to talk to the two individuals who became his accusers. The protagonist statements was in the monologue (S.10-S.12), which sounded like pleading and at the same time an accusation, that was taken very seriously. The relatives of the two antagonists worsen the situation when they, collectively, interpreted the words of the protagonist as a slander on their persons and honour, and right away challenged the protagonist to a "haddakan". The challenge was readily accepted. In this section we find dialogue, the clauses employed tail-head linkage; and repetition. The "*ihadak*" was repeated.

8.1.2 Developing Tension

Developing tension is the part of the story where tension builds up. Tension increases when all parties decided to employ professional shamans, the "munbaki". The rituals performed by the shaman includes call from the divine world or deities to pronounce curses and bring doom to their opponents to influence the result of an undertaking.

The surface structure, though in oral form, employed contrasts to achieve the notional plot. a). One party is materially prepared while at least one of the opposing parties, a major participant, lacks resources. b). The materially prepared party got good results with their "baki" while the two opposing parties got bad results. c). The shaman of the protagonist continues to support his clients all the way to the finish, while the major antagonist was deserted by his hired shaman, and left them on their own. These discrepancies added to the build up of tension.

Tension was achieved when on the side of the protagonist, his chosen shaman was late

in coming, then unexpectedly postponed the performance of the rituals, and did not appear at the appointed time.

The above were encoded in a rather long chunk, sentences S.23 through S.29. It also employed tail-head linkage (Sentences 28-29; 34-35; 44-45-47; 62-64; 66-67; 70-71); It also employed dialogue (S32-34; 42-49; 88-90) both direct and indirect speech forms. High unexpectancy level was employed (S.81 to S.82) leading to the climax. The pacing of events was slower compared to the climax.

8.1.3 Climax

Climax is the part of the story where the maximum tension is achieved. It is observed that it was shorter chunk that runs from sentences 96 through 105 only. The number of events that happened in a shorter time was more, compared to the events in the previous lines. The verbs to non-verbs ratio though, does not give us a hint whether or not maximum deletion was ever employed. The employment of lexical choice achieved the notional objective of a climax. Some of the words used are: "*tinumkuk*" or 'shouted'; "*nahilhilit*" 'broke into many pieces' and "*nakahaddakan*" the superlative of "*nahadakan*" which can be glossed to mean 'hit and proven guilty'. The use of exclamatory expression "*neyya!*" 'there it is' that suggest conclusive evidence. The climax ends with the taking home of the the bet or pot money (S.105).

8.1.3 Denouement

Denouement is the portion of the story tension starts to cool off and where solution to the conflict are sought, as illustrated in sentences S.106 to S.115. Tension was reduced when the the "*hidit*" ritual was performed. *Hidit* ritual is a mending-of-relations rite that is normally performed by the parties involved. This was not the case in the story; it was done through an unsolicited proxy. The refusal of the losing party prepared the audience for some twist and turns in the story forth coming. It reverts back to the menial activities. Ends with a summary statement (S.113 to S.115).

8.1.4 Final suspense

The final suspense is a sub-plot in the story that has the feature of a full narrative story, although very much shorter compared to the whole length of the (main) story. This is observed in sentences S.116 to S.124.

The final suspense can be broken down as follows: Setting (S.116), Inciting moment (S.117), Developing tension (S.118 through S.122) and Anti-climax (S.123).

8.1.5 Conclusion

The conclusion of both the sub-plot and that of the main story were merged together into one. The conclusion was very compared to the other parts of the story. The last two sentences concluded the story; it was in the form of comment from the narrator. These two sentences reads: 'He had been keeping an eye on me and threatening me for long a time. It was until my brother Domogdog married his cousin Kuntig before he stop and we had peace between us.'

8.2 PARTICIPANTS REFERENCE.

There are at least four major participants namely: Ogama, the protagonist and narrator; his cousin Balinon; his hired shaman, Anniban; and Yogyog, one of the complainants/litigants. The man referred to as "Ibban Nabanalan" or 'brother of Nabanalan' is relegated to a minor participant, although he is one of the three parties to the conflict. "Ibban Nabanalan" was personally mentioned only in two instances S.6 and S.9.

Major as well as minor participants are introduced by **kinship relation** to a referent person (see chart 3.1). Those who can not be referenced to anyone among the participants are introduced by their **place of residence** as the case of Anniban (S.19). Anniban was later addressed by the brothers of the protagonist and narrator as "**apu**" (S.46) which can mean either '**grandparent**' or the equivalent of '**sir**'. The latter must

have been meant in this case since Anniban was just a hired professional sahaman. Sentence 111 implied purely business relationship. Relatives would likely decline to be paid for their services or at least, returns a portion of the service fee as an acknowledgment and affirmation of such a kinship relation.

The case of the "babain **imbabalen** bon **Ekek** an didan iPindongan" may have been meant to be introduced by her kin relation to Ekek and his place of residence. Had she been known by her first name, probably "**babain**" was dropped in favor of her first name, and the contracted modifier phrase "**bon**" was totally dropped. "**bon**" is the contracted form of "**bo deya an**" and pronounced "bo deyan". Ekek was not a participant. The modifier phrase "an didan iPindongan" is ambiguous as to whom it was referring to. It could be referring to Ekek or the "babai" or both. It probably refers to both Ekek and the "babai" plus others.

Subsequently, both minor and major participants, without exception, are reintroduced by their first names. Where participants switches back and forth in a number of clauses or sentences, the corresponding third person personal pronouns are usually used. This results in a series of identical pronouns referring to different individuals or groups of individuals. Chart 2.1 supports this observation. Where identical pronouns are used, the only clue given to the audience is by way of context and the schema shared by both the narrator and the audience.

Another observation about the feature of the discourse is the use of a referent person to refer to a larger group of individuals (S.3, S.6, S.13, S.19, S.22, S.82, S.84). This is marked with the plural third person personal pronoun "da". At these instances, the referent person is use to label a particular group of individuals and give them a temporary identity for the duration of the discourse.

8.3 EPISODE BOUNDARY MARKERS.

The use of **contrastive clause**. The narrator uses contrastive clauses. Sentence 19 states two similar and simultaneous courses of action taken. "O ya e' galiyon hi Anniban

... ya e ginalin da Binumnga...Dayog..." ('So I went to choose Anniban ... and Binumnga chosed Dayog...') is an example of this contrastive clause. Sentences 19 through 25 is one episode, and sentences 26 through 59 is another episode. However they talk about three activities happening simultaneously. The activity of the third group, a minor party, was simply summed up in one short sentence and as a comment (S.22).

Similarly, sentence S.59 which ends an episode, and sentence S.60 are linked by contrastive clause marker. Sentence S.60 starts a new episode but it is lunched from the last sentence of the preceding episode. "**deyot**" is the contracted form of "**dey ot**" which literally means 'there and' which actually means 'there at that point ...(he returns..). While "**Ya den**" is a contracted form of "**ya dey an**" which encode the contrast which would be glossed to mean '**in contrast to**...(his going back... we continued on...). The act of Anniban turning to go back, and the continued movement of the rest of the party provided contrast. Sentence 83 starts a new episode that ends with sentence 96. This episode is signaled with the phrase "alina on" which may either encode the idea of suddenness and/or surprise depending on the context. In this case "**Alina on**" encoded surprise rather than suddenness. The surprise came about when the unexpected happened, they came from a different location. The contrast is from the expected to the unexpected.

Sentence 107 is another similar example of a sentence introducer "**kalyon ta**" encoding surprise. This time, what was normally expected did not happen. "Kalyon" may mean '**say**' or '**thought**' as what the mind expected. In this particular case the latter is meant. The antagonists refused to mend whatever severed relationship and reconcile, saved only by an unsolicited proxy. This scenario predicated a continuation of the conflict and points to a constituent of plot in the story, the final suspense.

8.4 USE OF VERBS

The verbs are observed to have been inflected for aspect to mark complete or non-complete aspects. Reduplication of stem encode continueative or duration.

Prominence has no distinctive mark in the verb forms. Instead prominence is communicated by the tone of the speaker and by way of fronting. Fronting in this case is bringing what is to be in focus as near as possible to the verb or verb phrase.

The verbs to non-verbs ratios for the following plot structure are as follows:

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|-------|
| 1. Setting (S.1 to S.8) | 1:8.7 |
| 2. Inciting Moment (S.9 to S.18) | 1:8.2 |
| 3. Developing Tension (S.19 to S.95) | 1:9.6 |
| 4. Climax (S.96 to S.105) | 1:7.0 |
| 5. Denouement (S.106 to S.115) | 1:6.0 |
| 6. Final Suspense (S.116 to S.123) | 1:7.3 |
| 7. Conclusion (S.124 to S.125) | 1:10 |

The foregoing ratio did not include pronouns attached to the verbs or words contracted into one or attached to other words. Cases like these are counted as one word.

Note that the ratio is significantly lower in the sections from S.96 to S.123, which include the plot constituents of Climax, Denouement, and final Suspense. For further discussion of the significance of these ratios, see (Walrod, 1979 pp25-28).

8.5 CONCLUSIONS

8.6.1 Introduction and re-introduction of participants.

It can be safely concluded that narrative discourse relating actual events in the central Ifugao language prefers to introduce participants, without bias toward minor or major participant, by kinship relation to a referent person. A referent person must have been known or familiar to the audience. Decision as to who is qualified to be a referent person is left to the sole judgment of the narrator. Obviously, the nearest male kin are the likely candidates to be a referent person; prestige and prominence are added qualifications.

The form or formula used to introduce participants may take the following form: (Particle/ Noun Marker) +/- (Given Name) + (Kinship Relation) + (Referent Person) +/- (Place of Residence of Referent Person). This formula is also used in the labeling of groups of individuals collectively referred to and viewed as single unit participants.

Narrative discourse in the central Ifugao region may reintroduce participant by their first name, except where the narrator, is related to any of the participants where he/she is obliged to append the kinship relation to the first name. Usually though, third person personal pronouns are used. This is particularly true in cases where there are more than one participant or group of participant on stage at a particular time span; and they are referred to by switching back and forth. This occurs in the dialogue section of the narrative.

8.6.2 Verbs use

The kind of verbs used in the mainline does not show any substantial evidence to make a conclusion about how they may help to realize any of the notional plot the narrator wanted to achieve. What may be concluded at this point in time is that verbs are inflected for aspect. There is a need to make further studies before case marking in this language can be established. Case markings usually mark the roles of the syntactic constituents to verbs or verb phrases, in other words that which is put to prominent position.

What can be concluded about prominence marking, aside from intonation, is fronting that which is to be put to prominence position to as near as possible to the verb or verb phrase.

8.6.3 Case marking and activity prominence

This researcher did not have other information and enough material to make even a thesis about Activity Prominence as contrasted to case or role markings.

However, bare intuition tells me that activity may have been meant to put into prominence or focus in some portions of a narrative discourse; in which case it makes all the other syntactic constituents secondary. The following events or activity is forwarded for study:

S.3a "kumaʔana?" 'I get out'

S.6a "ʔibangngadʔu" 'I return back'

S.23 " kumaan ... an taynana" 'get out...he leave'

S.30 "Muntutunnud ami" 'we walk following one another' . Note that "ami" is obligatory, otherwise it could have been dropped.

S.35 "madagga ami" 'we continue on' . Again "ami" is obligatory.

S.46 "Pidwonda" 'they repeated'

S.55 "mibangngad" 'return back' contrasted to "madagga"

S.78 "Ihahapitda" 'they talk (it) over'

The following list is preliminary. It may be found out that some may have been indeed actually mark by normal prominence marking/s. It has yet to be established how central Ifugao discourse marks prominence innarrative discourse. It may be worth noting that some of these clauses are one word sentences.

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APPENDIX

“Haddakan Narrative Story”

(By Ogama, Recorded in December 18, 2003 and by Dalmas Binwag, researcher, recorded at Lagawe, Ifugao)

¹Ihan hinalgowan ya immeya' nitugal hi ad Awwa. ²ta hidin inaput-u han tulumpulu ya
One day I-went play-cards in Awwa that when I-won some thirty
One day, I went to gamble at Awwa. When I won some thirty pesos,

tinnibo' an tinidlung Bahwao di biling. ³Ot kumaana' hidi ot umagwata' ad Pindongan an alyo di
I-saw that tampered Bahwao the biling. So I-left there. And I-went-across to Pindongan I-saying
I saw that Bahwao tamper the dice. So I left and went across to Pindongan saying to my self that

“agad diot ta umea' te wan nabangngad da apu hi balena an ey nanungul”. ⁴Umagwata' ya
“I-would better go because may-be returned they grand-parent to his-house performing-(baki). I-went-across and
‘I would better go because my grand father might have returned going to perform baki.’ I went across and

maidda dih an uggeda nabangngad. ⁵Dehdidah ad Umina ot inay-un-u an mabangngad hi ad
they-are-not there, they-did-not return. They-were-there at Umina so I-continued to-return to
he was not there, he did not return. He is still at Umina. So I continued to go back to

Pugo.

Pugo.

Pugo.

⁶Nimmodnoda' hinan nunda'ul ad Pindongan, o ya wada da Yogyog i ibban Nabanalán
I-went-down there below at Pindongan and there-were Yogyog (and) the brother-of Nabanalán
As I went further down Pindogan, then I saw Yogyog and the brother of Nabanalán

an numpinaddingda nan abung. ⁷Ya den pun-ihuhu' nan pihu boppo an linanuddun-ut ihudu'
sitting-at-both-pamadingan at house while I-was-putting-in the my-money ...that-I-rolled putting-into
sitting on both sides of the door of the house. At that time, I was putting my money into

hinan tabayag-u. ⁸Mu ten innila ya nihallay nanguhbung-u ta wan mag-a. ⁹Mu towan an nganu
the my-tabayan. However I-knew that wrong how-I-let-down that may-be (it) fall. But did-not-know-why
the tube for lime. However, I could have missed the mouth of the tube and a bill fell. I do not understand myself

on-un'a bo limmikod hinan abung ya ninomnom-u an kalyo di nganun bo anu kay-u agge
I-went to-the-other-side the house and I-remembered saying that why-is-it as-if-I did-not
why it came to mind I may not have put the ten peso bill into the tube. That happened when I turn to the other side of the house.

inubhung nan himpulu. ¹⁰Tibo' tatawwa ya maid hidiye nan himpulu ot ibangngad-u ot kalyo di
put-it the ten. I-saw as-suspected and none there the ten. So I-return and I-said that:
I check it up and its true, I didn't have the ten peso bill. So I return to

“da'yu nan nangala nan pihu' an himpulu. ¹¹Kalyon yu on inapput-u ya den hinae nan pihhu an
“it-is-you who got the my-money, ten. Saying you that I-won-(that) but that-is the my-money
Yogyog and said: “You were the ones who got my ten peso bill. You might be thinking that I won that money,
Central Ifugao “Munkayon” language Page 136 of 146 By: Dalmas Binwag

eh ibiling mu den pinakkin Bahwao nan biling. ¹²Ot kaly'o ney di da'yuy nangala."
I-was-to play-biling but destroyed Bahwao the biling. So thought already that it is you who got."
but it is not; that is my very own money I was about to gamble but Bahwao tampered the dice. I think the two-of you got."

¹³O ya abunadi ya ihudhudda i ibbadan hi Nabalan ya ihawon Nabalan ya at boh di
And with-that-only, they-related to their-brother Nabalan. And took-offense Nabalan and the-same with
With that only, they reported to their brother Nabalan. Nabalan took it offending. The same is true

da Binumnga an hi'ibban Yogyog. ¹⁴Kalyonday impahkoha' bo dida. ¹⁵Ya kalyonday: "ihadak
the Binumnga the brother-of Yogyog. They-were-saying I-made-thief also them. And they-said: "let-find-out
with Binumnga, the brother of Yogyog. They were saying I was accusing them of theft. They said: " we have to
tau." ¹⁶Kalyo di: "ot toomman ya inhadak tau."
us." I-said; "So (i) yield to find-out we."
prove (who is wrong)." I answered saying: "I have to submit, let us prove."

¹⁷Bumoh'ol ha din hi Dammukay an kalyonay: "On dan hinae doha an hinae ey ya ugan
Was-angry the former Dammukay, he-saying: "For that only, that-is (I-) suppose is uga
Former Dammukay was not in favor saying: "For that only; that is only a negligible

di pihhu." ¹⁸Ya kalyo di: "adi' man. Ah! ihadakmi."
of money." And I-said that "I-cannot, no. Ah! We-have-t-find-out."
coin." But I said: "No, I would not budge. We have to prove (who is wrong)."

¹⁹O ya eh galiyon hi Anniban ad Kudog ya ey ginalin da Binumngandi i ibbanan hi
Then I went-to-choose Anniban of Kudog and they have-chosen they Binumnga-former and his-brpther
I choose Anniban of Kudog as my lead priest, and Binumnga and their brother Yogyog

Yogyog hi Dayog ad Bangtinon.
Yogyog Dayog of Bangtinon.
have chosen Dayog of Bangtinon.

²⁰Nunbakiyonda. ²¹O ya inungada ad Pindongan ya dinadagna. ²²Ya dinadagna boy ingngunun
They-have-(him)-perform-baki and they-inunga in Pindongagn and it-destroy. And it-destroyed also the-work-of
They had him perform baki and it went bad, they performed that at Pindongan. What Yogyog

da Yogyog. ²³O ya maid ha panopdopda ya kumaan din Ibangtinon an taynana an kalyonay:
they Yogyog. And none to cover-up-that and get-out former from-Bangtinon he-leaving he-saying:
and his brothers perform also went bad. When have nothing for follow up, the man from Bangtinon has to leave saying:

"athinaen adi tau pidwon ya adiya, Kumaana'. ²⁴Ey ayu maniboh udum."
"If-that-is-case neg. we(inc) have-a-second, I-neg, I-am-leaving. Go you see others."
"If that is the case, that we are not to repeat (the baki), I am giving up; I'm leaving. Go and see some one else."

²⁵Dey, at boh did Pindongan an dinadagna bo ya ibalindad Panniki hi balen ulitaudan hi
There, same there at Pindongan, it-destroyed also and they-transferred-to Panniki in-the house-of their-uncle-that is
There it is, when what they performed at Pindongan went bad also, they had to transfer venue at Panniki at the house

Taneeng.
Taneeng.
of their uncle Taneeng.

²⁶Da'mi e pibo ya indani man ta immalih Anniban ta kalyo di ingununa idiyen hilong ya
We in our-case, after-a-while, there came Anniban thinking that he-work-(it)-out that night and
In our case, Anniban arrived after a while thinking that he would work it out that night.

kinalina ot di: "toon bo ya hi mawiit. Bumuwaha' ta daggwo' hi ibbam an hi Balinon ad
he-said: "even if by morning. I-will-come-early so-that I-will-take-along your-brother that is Balinon of
Instead he said that he (would work it out) early in the morning: saying: "I will start early so that I will take along
Balinon, your relative from

Kudog ta dieta bultung ya hiyay nakibultung." Ot kalyo di: "ot taomman."
Kudog so-that when-it-is Bultung, he Will-be-the-one-to-wrestle." Then I-said that: "even-so."
Kudog. So that it requires wrestling then he will be the one to wrestle." Then I said: "Yes, I submit."

Nawi'it ot ya maid dan umali. Kalyo di: "ah, ondan boppo he'a kan-u anu?" Ta umea'
Morning-came and neg. they came. I-said that: "ah! When will-it-be does he think?" So I-went
Morning came but none of them came. I said to myself 'when will it be do they think.' So I decided to go to see them

bo. Immeya' ta pimmahhada' nayya ad Kay-ang hi kalata ya ahida wada an inkuyugnah
again. I-went that-when I-went-down exc. In Kay-ang at-the road, before they-are, he-tag-along
again. I went until I reached Kay-ang down the road and there are; Anniban tagging along

Balinon. Ot muntutun-ud ami.
Balinon. Then walk-following-one-another we(exc).
Balinon. Then we walk together.

Muntikid ami nayya hi Awanlawa ya in-alawan han ido ya kalyon Balinon an
Climbing we(exc) at Awan;awa and crossed a bird and said Balinon,
We were climbing Awanlawa when there came a red-bird crossing our path. Balinon

inliggunan Anniban. Konan: "nganun ditau bo alawahon apu?"
Looking-toward Anniban. Saying: "Why-did us come-crossing grand-parent?"
turned to Anniban and inquired saying: "Sir, Why did that bird have to cross our path?"

O ya timbal Anniban kalyonay: "aay!! Maphod. Maphod te kalyona nimpeyon 'Ume
Then answered Anniban saying: "Aay! Good. Good because it-says realy-that 'Go
Anniban answered him saying: "Oh! That was good. That was good because it is really saying

tau ot umannung an mangapput tau.'
we(inc) and come-true that will-win we(inc).'
to us to 'go and, for sure, we are going to win'."

Ot madagga ami. Ot umali amid Bungngubung ya wada Mulling an nangdon hi kataw
And went-beyond we(exc). And came we-at Bungngubung and there-was Mulling, carrying Kataw,

Then we went on and came to Bunggubung and there was Mulling carrying basket

an napnuh manuk an ena iduminggu. Ta pamaag ot boltano' ot inodnod-u an kalyo di filled-with chicken that he-is-to market. That just I-take-over and I-brought-down, saying that: filled with chicken to sell to the market. I just took over from him and brought them down (to Pugo)

'nangamung di kalyon Anniban di ingununa.' Ya hiya diyen limay imbakinah: Tungul ya 'whatever says Anniban work-with.' And true that five he-offered-in-baki: Tungul and 'Its up to Anniban to determine many he need.' As expected, he offered five: one each for the tungul god,

nipakbih ya gahhido ya mana'haot ya inumban ya abuh.
nipakbih and gahhido and manahhaot and inumban and that's-all.'
the spirits, the bird god, the lying god, and the inumban god; and that was all.

Buniklida nan nipakbi ya in-ammana ya binuklida bo nan nitungol ya in-ammana.
They-opened the nipakbi and made-it-good and they-opened also the nitungul and made-it-good.
They opened the one (we) offered to the spirits and it went good; they also opened the one offered the tungul god and it went also good.

Buniklida din nibaki gahhido ya immakid. Ya kalyonay: "aay!! Maphod te panga'akidna
They-opened that-was perform-in-baki gahhido and it-curved-in. And he-said: "Ayy! Good because it-will-use-to-hook-in
They opened the one offered to the bird god and its liver curved. He Anniban said: "Oh! That is really good because it will use

numpe hi apputon tau."
as-I-said that-which will-win we(inc)."
to hook-in a win for us."

Ya kalyon din iiba' an da Gotanandi i Dumogdog di: "Aay!! Nakaya!! Katatakut apu.

And said the-former my-brothers that is Gotana-former and Domogdog that: "Ayy! Exc. It-is-fearful, grand-parent.
But my former brothers, Gotana and Domogdog said: "Oh, No! It is very fearful, sir.

Taonadiy pidwaon tau nae. Pidwaomadi."
Painful-it-may-be, make-repeat we that-one. You-repeat-please."
If you don't mind, let us repeat that one. Please repeat."

Ya kalyonay: "aay!! Mu maphod hinae numpe."
And he-says: "Ayy! But good that-one as-I-said."
Then Anniban said: "Oh, yes! But that one is really good."

Adida maihikan ya pidwonda. Pidwona bo ya binuklina ya nihumwit bo mu dey mon
They-neg. persuaded and they-make-repeat. He-make-repeat again and he-opened and it-is-well-define but it-is-a-bit already
They (my brothers) could not be persuaded. So Anniban repeated and when he opened it, it well defined but it

naagidan ya kalyonay: “On tuwali maphod an immakid ta pangak-akidna nimpe iha apputon tau.”
pointed and he-says: “Was-it-not already good that it-curved so-that it-will-use-to-hook as-I-said that-which will-win we.”
was pointed, and he said: “Was it not already good, as I said, it curved so that it will use to hook-in a win for us.”

Dey ibakina na nan mibaki Wadlagud ya in-ammanan nihumwit an munwidwidiwid di
There, he-baki that which to-be-baki Wadlagud and it-made-good, it-is-well-defined, vibrant is-the
He performed the baki of Wadlagud god and it went good, it is well defined and its heart was

puhuna. Kalyonay: “Teya maphod. Iuluna.”
his-heart. He-says: “There-it-is, good. It will lead.”
Vibrant. Anniban said: “here it is! It is good. It will lead.”

Ibukadna de ya iuluna ami peman. Ilikodmi hi nan bale ya den hiyay nangdon hinan
He-perform-bukad and he-lead us (simp). We-went-around the house while he-is-one holding the
He performed the bukad and then led us out. We went around the house while he is holding the

pahul. Ikuyug da’ mi ta inggana pumahhad amih ad Punbanngan (hi payon deyan Manuel).
Spear. Leading us until we landed-down at Punbanngan (the field-of that-is Manuel).
spear. He led the way until we reached Punbanngan, the rice paddy of Manuel.

Iluhadna nan gayang an nundaddawagona deya an indongdongnah did Pindongan di tadamnan
He-planted the gayang-spear he-have-it-leaning --- he-pointed-there at Pindongan its-blade
There he planted the spear, the spear leaning. Its blade pointed toward Pindongan.

kalyonay: “Te boltanon mohpe tun ugub ta ume ayu ta mibangngada ta okoda hinan ato.” Saying:
“Here! Take-over now this ugub so-that you may-go so-that I-will-return so-that its-up-to-me what I-will-do.”
Then he said: “Take over these ugubs (and eggs) from here and go. I am going back to the house
and perform those I intended to do.”

Kalyonan Balinon di: ” ume ayu e tuwali ta wan uhup ya immohnong ayu ya nabangngad di
He-says-to Balinon that: “Go you(exc) if (condition) then it-is uhup(bad) then stop you(exc) and returned
He then said to Balinon: “You go but if there is any bad sign, you all must stop. Then one of you must return

oha ta holtakon tau.”
One so-that remedy we.”
so that we will remedy.”

Kalyon Balinon di: “o.”
Says Balinon that: “yes.”
Balinon answered and said: “yes, we will do that.”

Dey ot mibangngad hi boble ya den madagga ami ida Balinon.
There(exp) (he-)returns to residential while move-ahead we with Balinon.
From there he returned back to the place, while we went ahead with Balinon and others.

Ume ami ta diyen damuna mitumuk ami ad Pikdol dey ya kalyon nan ido di:

Go we that nearly about to-touch we at Pikdol (exp) then says the red-bird that:
We moved forward until we were about to reach Pikdol then there came a red bird that says:

“piit...piit...piit...” Tulu han pitpit ya abu. Ya kalyon Balinon di: “Ahh! Maphod.”
“Piit...piit...piit...” Three a pitpit and that-is-all. So says Balinon that: “Ahh! Good.”
“Piit...piit...piit...” There were only three pitpit calls. Balinon spoke and said: “Oh! That is good.”

Ume ami ta muntikid ami ad Ammuging dayya ya impaalina han pohod hi ad Labbuut
Go we and climb we at Ammuging (exp) and he-send a good-sign there at Labbuut
We moved forward and when we were moving uphill at Ammuging, the bird send a good sign from our

hi winawwan mi. Kalyonay: “maphod.” Inggana ot umablat ami ad Nak-atang.
there in-right-side us. He-says: “Good.” Until reach-the-top we at Nak-atang
right side towards Labbuut. Balinon spoke and said: “Its good.” We kept moving until we reached the top at the place called Nak-atang.

Munbanong ami boh ad Nak-atang dayya. Ta damuna bo hi uyduhonmi bo ya
Walk-on-the-dike we also-there at Nak-atang (exc). When nearly also there walk-past-the-end and
We walk through the dike of Nak-atang. Then when we were about to reach the end,

impaalina bo han pohod inadayyan boble. Kalyonay: “maphod.”
It-send also a for-good from-that residential-place. He-says: “Good.”
The bird from the residential place also sent a good sign. Balinon spoke and said: “that is good.”

Ume ami. Hiya dumatong ami nan alungattiw di ad Pindongan nan ngawit di Ibantule
Go we. Just reaching we the edge of at Pindongan at-the end of Ibantule
We moved on. When we were at the end of Ibantule and were just about to reach the adge of Pindongan,

ya ondan hiiya da han duwan idon munhayuwitkdan manghup an mun-inayuddukanda
and what a-terrible they a two red-bird-that distress-calls sending bad-sign, they-driving-under
There were distress calls from two red birds sending bad signs. They were driving in various directions

nadayyan pu'un di paluttan. Kalyon Balinon di: “Umohnong tau.” Umohnong ami inggana ot
there-at below-stem of bamboo. Says Balinon that: “make-stop us.” Make-stop we until
under the bands of bamboos. At that Balinon said: “Let us make a stop here.” We stopped and waited until

umohnong nan ido ot ahina kalyon di: “Ume tau mohpe ta madagga tau.”
make-stop the bird then make say that: “Go we exp. so-that go-beyond us.”
the birds were silent. That is the time Balinon spoke and said: “Its now time to move ahead.”

Madagga amid Pindongan hi way balen Nabanalan. Kalyon Balinon di: “ahh!”
Go-on we-at Pindongan at-the-vicinity house-of Nabanalan. Says Balinon that: “Ahh!”
We went on to Pindongan near the house of Nabanalan. There Balinon spoke and said:

Umohnong tau tun inablat tau an haelon di tumuluwan di algo.” Ta umohnong ami i diyen way
Make-stop we at-this reached-climbing us that strike at-the rising of-the sun.” So make-stop we at that vicinity-of
“We stay at this place we had reached, where the sun strike at sunrise.” So we stayed in that

place with in the

alang Akup. Ya maid da. Maiddan kakakimngaod Pindongan an maiddah di da Nabanalán an storage-house Akup. And none they. They-none erry-absence-of-people-at Pindongan, they-were-not there they Nabanalán compound of the storage house of Acup. But no one was there. Pindongan was deserted, no body was there, even

hinaaggi. Ya maid da bo da Yogyog an malpu hi bongwana an malpuh ad Pindongan. brothers. And none they also they Yogyog coming-from the other-end coming-from at Pindongan. the Nabanalán brothers were not there. Even the Yogyog brothers who were supposed to come from the other end of Pindongan were not there.

Apah! Alina on wadada an mangili mu habalih nalpuwanda. Ya dey nimpeh othadi an (exp) unexpectedly they-were-there coming but different they-came-from. As-was-said because Unexpectedly, we saw them coming but coming from a different place. As I have said, it is because they

inbalindah ad Pannikin eda pinidwah balen Taneeng. Immalida ya indanibo ya immalida da they-transferred to Panniki, they-made repeat-at house-of Taneeng. They-came and after-a-while they-came they transferred venue to Panniki at the house of Taneeng when they were made to repeat (their baki). Nabanalán's group

Binumnga an hiibban Yogyog hi bongwana.
Binumnga brother-of Yogyog at-the other-end.
came, and after a while Binumnga, the brother of Yogyog, and company came from the other end of Pindogan.

O ya dey ihahapitda. Hi Guinuyyab di natuddu hi mangihapit ta hiyay
There-and-then they-talk-over. Guinuyyab appointed to-talk-it-over so he-is-the-one
There and then the relatives of both parties talk it over. It was Guinuyyab who was appointed as mediator.

numbaninangngadan hi ad Pugo. Dey ya kalyon he'an din hi Guinuyyab di: "Ukatonyu nan came-back-and-forth to Pugo. Then says (simp) former Guinuyyab that: "Bring-out the He was the one who came back and forth to Pugo. Then Guinuyyab sympathetically said: "Bring out

pontotodohan yu." Ya den indadaan-u han hinggatut. O ya nadohdo aya ya nanom. Nanom i your-lump-sum-bet." And already I prepared a one-hundred. And it-was-finally-set (emotive-less-than exp) sixty. Sixty for your money for the bet." All the while I was prepared with one hundred pesos. After some bargaining, the bet was pegged at sixty pesos.

Yogyog ya nanom i ibban Nabanalán. Ya nanom i haon. O ya odnan Guinuyyab.
Yogyog and sixty for brother of Nabanalán. And sixty for me. And hold uinuyyab.
Sixty pesos came from Yogyog, and sixty pesos from the brother of Nabanalán, and sixty from me. Guinuyyab held them.

Ya kalyonay: "Aga, ngadan. Bultung onu itlog ya ugob?"
And he-says: "Now, what? Wrestling or egg and ugob?"
Then he said: "What now? Will it be wrestling or will it be the egg and the ugob?"

Ya kalyonday: "Aay! Toomman ya nan itlog ya nan ugob."

And they-say: “Ayy! (simpa) even the egg and stick.”
Then they spoke and said: “Never mind, we just go for the egg and stick.”

Kalyo di: “Haon di umunna.”
I-say that: “I-will-be the first.”
I spoke and said: “I will go for it first.”

Mundukog hi Yogyog. Deyot tumkuka an kalyo di: “Iyuh-um an algo ya bulan te
Turn-(his)back Yogyog. Then I-cried-aloud saying that: “You-prove sun and moon because
Yogyog turned on his back, then I cried aloud saying: “Vindicate me, you sun and you moon

innalada aya nan pihhu’ an himpulu mu ten iha’otda. Nangamung-a algo ya bulan ya da
they-got really the my-money ten but here they-lie. Its-up-you sun and moon and they
because really got my ten peso money but they are denying it. I trust in you sun and moon, and you Mangmang

mangmang ida lodong.” Intanod-u din itlog ya nahilhilit hi bonogna.
Mangmang(looking-god) and-they Lodong(pointing-god).” I-threw that egg and it-broke in his-back.
god and lodong god.” I threw that egg and broke on Yogyog’s back.

Eh bo dalondonon hinan ugub ya kalyonday: “ammuna. Nakahaddakan tuwali ya.”
I-was-about-to also follow-up with-the ugub and they-say: “Enough. (he-)was-struck already.”
I was about to throw the ugub when the people said ‘that is enough. He was already hit.”

Nipallog hi ibban Nabanalan ya intanod-u bo din ohan itlog ya niptok hi palpalangna ya
Took-(his)-place the brother-of Nabanalan and I-threw also that one egg and struck the edge-of-the-back
The brother of Nabanalan took over the place of Yogyog. I then threw the egg and struck the edge of his back,

kimmudlayyuy itlog ya niulpuh hadin babain imbabalen bon Ekek an didan iPindongan.
and slipped-the egg and(hit)-leg a-former lady, child-of also Eke, they-theyselfs from-Pindongan.
then it slipped and hit that late woman, the child of Ekek, who was also from Pindongan.

Kalyon Balinon di: “Neya! Indatyu i hiya an hiyay ngangikabuy.”
Says Balinon that: “There-it-is! You-gave to her, she-is-the-one-who kept.”
Then Balinon spoke and said: “There it is! You gave it(money) to her and she had kept it.”

Nundukoga’ ta hinadakana’ on nihalla. Intanoddan duwa nadan itlog ya nadan ugub on
I-turned-my-back that I-was-hit-upon but failed. They-threw two the eggs and the ugubs but
I turned my back for them to hit but all failed hit me. They both threw their respective egg and their

nun’ihalla. Maid ha e niptok.
all-failed. None-of-them hit-mark.
ugubs but they all failed. Not one of they hit me.

De alan mih diyen hinggatut ta bahintin pihhuda.
There get we(exc) that one-hundred and twenty, their-money.

Then we took their one hundred twenty pesos money.

Kalyon ta e ami munhihidit ya adida. Maagagan hi Taneeng ya kalyonay: “Aay! Taon
When we are-about to-go-for-peace-pact, they refuse. Force-by-urgency Taneeng he-says: “Ayy! In spite
When it was time for the peace pack, they refused. Taneeng was force to save the situation and said:

aya ya nunhiditta.” Dey ot munhidit ami i Taneeng.

(simp) we-(two-of-them)make-peace-pact.” There make-peace-pack we(exc) with Taneeng.
“Well, the two of us may make peace pact.” Then we made peace pact with Taneeng.

Ya mibanggad amid Pugo ya ibangotda mo nan inngunun Anniban ya malutu. Ya de
Then make-retun we-at Pugo and they-hang-to-cook now the made-work-by Anniban then it-is-cooked. And there
Then we return to Pugo. Then they cooked the chickens offered by Anniban. When they were cooked, we

mangan ami.
eat we(exc).
then ate.

Ot ahi idat i Anniban di lima ya indat-u I Balinon di duwa. Bagi nan udum.
Then I-afterward give to Anniban the five and I-gave Balinon two. Mine the other.
Afterwards, I gave Anniban ten pesos and gave Balinon two pesos; all the rest were mine.

Adi man linglingngon da Yogyog nan nanadaka’ i dida. Wa e ha kaamamungan ya
(Neg) (concern) ever-forget they Yogyog the my-wining over them. When-ever there-is a gathering,
Unfortunately, Yogyog could not forget this incident where I won over they. Whenever there is a

wada nan ogganda ibaga. Hiya nan taon bo di haon ya tatandaana.
There-is the they-sometimes say. That-is-why even also me always-watchful.
gathering, there is that bitterness of words that comes from him. That is why I had been always watchfull.

Wada han ohan emi nundadammuwan hi ad Awwa i nan binggawan ya den
There-was a one-(time) we-were-made-to meet-together at Awwa in a Bingo-playing-place and already
One time we met each other at Awwa at the bingo game. Yogyog was a bit drank at that time

nabutbutong hi Yogyog. Indani ya wada bo tatawwa nan oggan kalyon Yogyog ya dey an
was-drunk Yogyog. After-a-while there-is also as-expected that some-time says Yogyog and that-(time)
Some time later, I start to hear again what he use says to me, and at that time my brother was

wahdi nan iba.
there-is-there the my-brother.
there among us.

Indani ot kalyo hi nan iba’ di: “Hay! Wae ot ya immanamut.”

After-a-while I-told to my-brother that: “Hayy! Find-time and go home.”

After some time, I went to my brother and said to him: “Hey! Find time to home.”

Hihinnod-u ot ingganah tinnibo’ an nagayyud nan iba. Ot mainda’ dani ot munlinnoga’
I-waited until I-saw pulled-out the brother-me. Then after-some-time then I-go-out-of-sight
I waited until I noticed my brother pulled out of sight, then I snick out of sight, after a while

ot umanamuta' ad Pugo.
and I-go-home to Pugo.
and went home to Pugo.

Indandaniyot ya wada tatawwa hi Yogyog an dan bo hiiya an itakitakinan ibbana an
After-a-while there-is babai as-expected Yogyog, a-futile-struggle bodily-trying-to-turn-back-by his sister
In a short while, there were yogyog and his sister at a distant, her sister struggling to pacify him

an babai on dayyan mangali. O ya den nundaan ami mo dih ad Pugo. Indani aya ta immalida
a lady however there (he-)coming. But had-prepared we(exc) already there at Pugo. In-a-while after-all when they-came
but Yogyog kept coming. We were already prepared at Pugo (to meet him). However, when they came

hinan ngawit di ad Punbangan ya, ahh! Ibangngadda.
at-the end of Punbangan then, ahh!! They-are-returning-back.
at the end of Punbangan, they turn back and went away.

Nabayag nan ena humihihiwohan i ha'on. Inggana man ot iayan abba' an hi
It-took-long-time his-have been-hating against me. Until married my-brother that is
He had been hating and threatening me for long a time. It was until my brother Domogdog

Domogdog hi ibbana an hi Kuntig ot ahi duminong.
Domogdog his-sister that is Kuntig then he make-stop.
married his cousin Kuntig before he stop and we had peace between us.

Sentences chart

Participant referents chart