

A Sketch Of Kagayanen Clause Structures

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0. Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to give a brief sketch of Kagayanen clause structures as background information for the other papers on Kagayanen in this volume. Many details, e.g. differences in marked and unmarked forms, differences in intentional and unintentional actions or whether the Theme (Patient) is totally or partially affected, are omitted.

1. Verbal Clauses

There are two main clause types in Kagayanen: verbal and nonverbal. A verbal clause has a verb and one or more noun phrase arguments. Verbal clauses are classified as transitive (section 1.1) or intransitive (section 1.2).¹

1.1. Transitive Clauses

A transitive clause has two obligatory arguments, Agent and Patient (or Agent and Theme in localist case grammar), in its basic form. The basic order of constituents in a transitive clause is verb — ergative NP (Agent) — absolutive NP (Theme), i.e. Kagayanen is a VSO language.

1.1.1. *Basic Transitive Clause with Active Transitive Verb*

The unmarked form of semantically transitive motion verbs, bidirectional verbs, causative verbs, ditransitive verbs and utterance verbs occurs in a basic active transitive clause in which the Agent is the ergative noun phrase, the Theme is the absolutive noun phrase and is cross-referenced on the verb by the affix *pa-*, and the Location is an oblique noun phrase, except for causative clauses where the nuclear Location is covert in the verb.² Thus, the Agent, Theme and Location have a CAUSE GOTO orientation: that is, the Agent causes the Theme to move toward the Location, as in example 1 with the transitive motion

¹ I am grateful to Mary Ruth Wise for her help and suggestions in writing this paper. Louise MacGregor and Jacqueline Huggins also made many helpful suggestions.

² In localist case grammar Location can either be a physical site or a state and in Kagayanen Locations that are states are always covert NPs in that they never occur in the clause.

verb *batang* 'put'.³ Examples with the bidirectional verb *eles* 'borrow/lend', the causative verb *utod* 'cut', the ditransitive verb *atag* 'give', and the utterance verb *ambal* 'say' are in 2, 3, 4, and 5, respectively.

- (1)
- | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|----------|--------|-------|----------|-----|---------|--|
| VERB | ERG | ABS | | OBL | | | |
| Pabatang | din | bulak | an | naan | ta | lamisa. | |
| pa=batang | din | bulak | an | naan | ta | lamisa | |
| ACT,TH,R=put | 3,SG,ERG | flower | DEF,M | SPAT,DEF | OBL | table | |
- 'She⁴ put the flower on the table.'

- (2)
- | | | | | | | | |
|----------------------|-----|--------|----------|------|-------|----|--|
| VERB | | ERG | | ABS | | | |
| Paeles | | ta | katagsa | ko | libro | an | |
| pa=eles | | ta | katagsa | ko | libro | an | |
| ACT,TH,R=borrow/lend | ERG | cousin | 1,SG,GEN | book | DEF,M | | |
- OBL
- | | | | |
|----------|-----|----------|--|
| naan | ki | yaken. | |
| naan | ki | yaken | |
| SPAT,DEF | OBL | 1,SG,OBL | |
- 'My cousin lent me a book.'

- (3)
- | | | | | |
|--------------|-----|------|------|-------|
| VERB | ERG | ABS | | |
| Pautud | ta | mama | kaoy | ya. |
| pa=utod | ta | mama | kaoy | ya |
| ACT,TH,R=cut | ERG | man | wood | DEF,F |
- 'The man cut the wood.'

- (4)
- | | | | | | | | |
|---------------|-------------|-------|----|-------|----------|-----|-------|
| VERB | ERG | ABS | | OBL | | | |
| Paatag | nay | dayad | na | sidda | naan | ta | bai |
| pa=atag | nay | dayad | na | sidda | naan | ta | bai |
| ACT,TH,R=give | 1,PL,EX,ERG | good | LK | fish | SPAT,DEF | OBL | woman |
- ya.
ya
DEF,F
- 'We gave the good fish to the woman.'

- (5)
- | | | | | | | |
|--------------|----------|-------|-------|-----|---------|--------------|
| VERB | ERG | ABS | | OBL | | |
| Paambal | din | dayad | an | na | isturya | ki yaken. |
| pa=ambal | din | dayad | an | na | isturya | ki yaken |
| ACT,TH,R=say | 3,SG,ERG | good | DEF,M | LK | story | OBL 1,SG,OBL |
- 'He told the good story to me.'

³ Realis verbs instead of irrealis are used in the examples as much as possible since they are more productive. The case marker *ta* is glossed ERG, GEN, or OBL to indicate the different functions of the noun phrases it marks; it could be glossed 'nonabsolutive (NONABS)'.

⁴ Since gender is not distinguished in third person pronouns, 'he' or 'she' in the free translation comes from the context.

1.1.2. Basic Transitive Clauses with Perception and Cognition Transitive Verbs

The unmarked form of a perception verb (example 6) and a cognition verb (example 7) occurs in a transitive clause in which the Theme is the absolutive noun phrase, as in example 7, and is cross-referenced on the verb by the affix *na-*-*an*; the absolutive can be replaced by a complement clause, as in example 6. The Location is an ergative noun phrase. The Theme and the Location have a GOTO orientation: that is, the Theme moves toward the Location.

- (6)
- | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------|----------|-------|-----|--------|--|--|
| VERB | ERG | COMP | CL | | | |
| Namatian | din | ambal | ta | pari. | | |
| na=mati=an | din | ambal | ta | pari | | |
| <u>STAT,TH,R</u> =hear= | 3,SG,ERG | say | GEN | priest | | |
- 'He heard what the priest said.'

- (7)
- | | | | | | | |
|--------------------------|-----|-------|--------|-------|----|--------|
| VERB | ERG | | ABS | | | |
| Naisipan | ta | bai | sabat | an | na | dayad. |
| na=isip=an | ta | bai | sabat | an | na | dayad |
| <u>STAT,TH,R</u> =think= | ERG | woman | answer | DEF,M | LK | good |
- 'The woman thought of the good answer.'

1.1.3. Antipassive, Passive and Applicative Constructions

An antipassive clause can be formed from an active transitive clause by demoting the Theme to the oblique phrase. The Location is also an oblique noun phrase and the Agent is the absolutive noun phrase which is cross-referenced on the verb with the affix *ga-*, as in example 8 (cf. example 1).

- (8)
- | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|----------|-----|--------|-------|----------|-----|---------|
| VERB | ABS | OBL | | | OBL | | |
| Gabatang | kanen | ta | bulak | an | naan | ta | lamisa. |
| ga=batang | kanen | ta | bulak | an | naan | ta | lamisa |
| ACT,AG,R=put | 3,SG,ABS | OBL | flower | DEF,M | SPAT.DEF | OBL | table |
- 'He put the flower on the table.'

Similarly, an antipassive construction can be formed from a perception or cognition transitive clause by demoting the Theme; the Location is the absolutive which is cross-referenced on the verb with the affix *ga-*, as in example 9 (cf. example 6).

- (9)
- | | | | | | | |
|----------------|----------|-----|-------|-----|--------|--|
| VERB | ABS | OBL | | | | |
| Gamati | kanen | ta | ambal | ta | pari. | |
| ga=mati | kanen | ta | ambal | ta | pari | |
| ACT,LOC,R=hear | 3,SG,ABS | OBL | say | GEN | priest | |
- 'He heard what the priest said.'

A passive construction can be formed from a transitive clause by deleting the Agent and the Theme is the absolutive noun phrase. Deletion of the Agent is obligatory. The Kagayanen passive is a non-morphological passive in that the verb does not take stative affixes. Rather, the verb in a passive clause takes the same affixes as it does when it occurs in a transitive clause.

	VERB	ABS			OBL		
(10)	Pabatang	en	bulak	an	naan	ta	lamisa.
	pa=batang	en	bulak	an	naan	ta	lamisa
	<u>ACT,TH,R=put</u>	CM	flower	DEF,M	SPAT,DEF	OBL	table

'The flowers were put on the table.'

An applicative⁵ construction can be formed from an active transitive clause by promoting the Location to the absolutive noun phrase which is cross-referenced on the verb with the affix *pa--an*. The Agent is the ergative noun phrase and the Theme is demoted to the oblique noun phrase, as in examples 11 and 12.

	VERB	ERG	ABS		
(11)	Paambalan	din	yaken		i
	pa=ambal=an	din	yaken		i
	<u>ACT,LOC,R=say=</u> ___	3,SG,ERG	1,SG,ABS,EMPH		DEF,N

OBL
 ta dayad na isturya.
 ta dayad na isturya
 OBL good LK story

'He told me a good story.'

	VERB	ERG	ABS		OBL
(12)	Pabatangan	din	lamisa	an	ta bulak.
	pa=batang=an	din	lamisa	an	ta bulak
	<u>ACT,LOC,R=put=</u> ___	3,SG,ERG	table	DEF,M	OBL flower

'He put some flowers on the table.'

An applicative construction can also be formed by promoting the Beneficiary, i.e. a nonnuclear Location, to the absolutive and demoting the Theme, as in example 13 (cf. example 3).

	VERB	ERG	ABS		
(13)	Pauturan	ta	mama silingan	din	an
	pa=utod=an	ta	mama silingan	din	an
	<u>ACT,LOC,R=cut=</u> ___	ERG	man neighbor	3,SG,GEN	DEF,M

OBL
 ta kaoy.
 ta kaoy
 OBL wood

'The man cut some wood for his neighbor.'

⁵ The term "applicative" is used for a construction in which an underlying oblique argument is promoted to the absolutive (see Trask 1993:18-19).

1.1.4. Transitive Clauses with Derived Transitive Verbs

A transitive clause (example 14) can have a verb derived from an intransitive verb (example 15) with the verbal affix *pa-*⁶ which cross-references an absolutive Theme.

	VERB	ERG	ABS		OBL			
(14)	Pasakay	din	karton	an	naan	ta	pambot	ya.
	pa=sakay	din	karton	an	naan	ta	pambot	ya
	ACT,TH,R=ride	3,SG,ERG	box	DEF,M	SPAT,DEF	OBL	pumpboat	DEF,F

'He put the box on the pumpboat.'

	VERB	ABS		OBL			
(15)	Gasakay	kanen	an	naan	ta	pambot	ya.
	ga=sakay	kanen	an	naan	ta	pambot	ya
	ACT,TH,R=ride	3,SG,ABS	DEF,M	SPAT,DEF	OBL	pumpboat	DEF,F

'He rode the pumpboat.'

An applicative transitive clause can be derived from all the different types of intransitive clauses (see section 1.2 for intransitive clauses) with the verbal affix *pa- -an*. With intransitive motion verbs (example 16) and bodily process verbs (example 17) the oblique Location is promoted to the absolutive noun phrase and is cross-referenced with *pa- -an* and the Theme is the ergative noun phrase.

	VERB	ERG	ABS	
(16)	Patakasán	din	uma	ya.
	pa=takas=an	din	uma	ya
	ACT,LOC,R=ascend=	3,SG,ERG	field	DEF,F

'He ascended to the field.'

	VERB	ERG	ABS	
(17)	Pabaanan	ta	bata	yaken i.
	pa=baan=an	ta	bata	yaken i
	ACT,LOC,R=sneeze=	ERG	child	1,SG,ABS,EMPH DEF,N

'The child sneezed on me.'

With some intransitive activity verbs (example 18), a Theme is cross-referenced with *pa- -an* and an Agent is the ergative noun phrase. The Theme is not totally affected by the action of the verb.

	VERB	ERG	ABS	
(18)	Pasayawan	din	nanay	din an.
	pa=sayaw=an	din	nanay	din an
	ACT,TH,R=dance=	3,SG,ERG	mother	3,SG,GEN DEF,M

'She danced for her mother.'

⁶ Note that *pa-* often has an underlying causative meaning but this is not reflected in the glosses in this paper and the other Kagayanen studies in this volume.

With some stative verbs (example 19), some process verbs (example 20), some meteorological verbs (example 21) and some emotion verbs (example 22) the Theme is cross-referenced with *pa-* *-an*; and an Agent is the ergative noun phrase and the nuclear Location is covert.

	VERB	ERG	ABS	
(19)	Paitaan	din	gulay	an.
	pa=ita=an	din	gulay	an
	<u>ACT,TH,R</u> =soft=___	3,SG,ERG	vegetables	DEF,F

'He softened the vegetables.'

	VERB	ERG	ABS	
(20)	Pasikalan	din	waig	an.
	pa=sikal=an	din	waig	an
	<u>ACT,TH,R</u> =boil=___	3,SG,ERG	water	DEF,M

'She boiled the water.'

	VERB	ERG	ABS	
(21)	Paadlawan	din	bayo	din an.
	pa=adlaw=an	din	bayo	din an
	<u>ACT,TH,R</u> =sun=___	3,SG,ERG	clothes	3,SG,GEN DEF,M

'He put his clothes in the sun.'

	VERB	ERG	ABS	
(22)	Paadlekan	din	ayam	an.
	pa=adlek=an	din	ayam	an.
	<u>ACT,TH,R</u> =afraid=___	3,SG,ERG	dog	DEF,M

'He made the dog afraid.'

1.2. Intransitive Clauses

An intransitive clause has only one obligatory argument, Theme or Agent, which is the initiator of the action in active intransitive clauses and which is the experiencer or Theme in stative and process clauses. The argument is covert with meteorological clauses.

1.2.1. Active Intransitive Clauses

There are two types of active intransitive clauses, intransitive clause with a motion verb (section 1.2.1.1) and with an activity verb (section 1.2.1.2). The one obligatory argument with the intransitive motion clause is Theme and with the intransitive activity clause is Agent.

1.2.1.1. Intransitive Clause with Intransitive Motion Verb

The unmarked form of a semantically intransitive motion verb (example 23) occurs in an intransitive clause in which the Theme is the absolutive noun phrase and is cross-referenced on the verb by the affix *ga-*, and the Location is an oblique noun phrase. In such a representation, the Theme is characterized as inherently suited to the action of the verb, in the sense that the Theme appears to be designed to participate in the action. Also,

the Theme and the Location have a GOTO orientation: that is, the Theme moves toward the Location.

	VERB		ABS		OBL	
(23)	Gatakas	en	kanen	an	ta	bungyod.
	ga=takas	en	kanen	an	ta	bungyod
	ACT,TH,R=ascend	CM	3,SG,ABS	DEF,M	OBL	hill

'He ascended a hill.'

1.2.1.2. Intransitive Activity Clause

The unmarked form of an activity verb (example 24) occurs in an intransitive clause in which the Agent is the absolutive noun phrase and is cross-referenced on the verb with the verbal affix *ga-* and the Theme is the oblique noun phrase which is optional. The nuclear Location is covert. The Agent, Theme and Location have a CAUSE GOTO orientation: that is, the Agent causes the Theme to move toward the Location, e.g. state of being sung in example 24.

	VERB	ABS	OBL			
(24)	Gakanta	kanen	ta	dayad	na	kanta.
	ga=kanta	kanen	ta	dayad	na	kanta
	ACT,AG,R=sing	3,SG,ABS	OBL	good	LK	song

'He sang a good song.'

1.2.2. Stative Intransitive Clause

The unmarked form of a stative verb (example 25) occurs in an intransitive clause in which the Theme is the absolutive noun phrase and is cross-referenced on the verb by the affix *na-* and the nuclear Location is covert. The Theme and Location have an AT orientation: that is, the Theme is at the Location.

	VERB	ABS	
(25)	Napatay	kanen	ya.
	na=patay	kanen	ya
	STAT,TH,R=die	3,SG,ABS	DEF,F

'He is dead.'

1.2.3. Process Intransitive Clause

The unmarked form of a process verb (example 26) or a bodily process verb (example 27) occurs in an intransitive clause in which the Theme is the absolutive noun phrase and is cross-referenced on the verb by the affix *ga-*; the nuclear Location is covert. (The oblique noun phrase in 26 is an optional nonnuclear Location.) The Theme and Location have a GOTO orientation: that is, the Theme goes to the Location.

	VERB		ABS		OBL		
(26)	Gatunaw	en	asin	ya	naan	ta	waig.
	ga=tunaw	en	asin	ya	naan	ta	waig
	ACT,TH,R=dissolve	CM	salt	DEF,F	SPAT,DEF	OBL	water

'The salt has dissolved in the water.'

	VERB		ABS		
(27)	Gabaan		bata	ya.	
	ga=baan		bata	ya	
	ACT,TH,R=sneeze	child		DEF,F	

'The child sneezed.'

1.2.4. Meteorological Intransitive Clause

The unmarked form of a meteorological verb occurs in an intransitive clause in which the nuclear Theme and nuclear Location are covert, and the verbal affix is *ga-*, as in example 28.

	VERB	
(28)	Galinaw	en.
	ga=linaw	en
	ACT,R=calm	CM

'It is calm now/became calm.'

1.2.5. Emotion Intransitive Clause

The unmarked form of emotion verbs (example 29) occurs in an intransitive clause in which the Theme is the absolutive noun phrase and is cross-referenced on the verb by the affix *na-* *-an*; the oblique noun phrase is an optional nonnuclear Agent. The nuclear Location is covert. The Theme and the Location have an AT orientation: that is, the Theme is at the Location.

	VERB		ABS		OBL	
(29)	Nasadyaan		kanen	an	ta	atag ya.
	na=sadya=an		kanen	an	ta	atag ya
	STAT,TH,R=happy=	___	3,SG,ABS	DEF,M	OBL	gift DEF,F

'He is very happy with the gift.'

1.2.6. Intransitive Clauses with Derived Intransitive Verbs

Some perception verbs (example 30) and adjectives (examples 31–32) can occur in an intransitive clause which is the same as the emotion intransitive clause in form (section 1.2.5) and has the same meaning — that the Theme feels something. The Theme is the absolutive noun phrase and is cross-referenced on the derived intransitive verb with the affix *na-* *-an*. A nonnuclear Agent occurs in the oblique phrase.

	VERB		ABS		OBL	
(30)	Nalasaan		kanen	ta	tama na	luy-a
	na=lasa=an		kanen	ta	tama na	luy-a
	STAT,TH,R=taste=	___	3,SG,ABS	OBL	many LK	ginger

naan ta gulay.
 naan ta gulay
 SPAT OBL vegetables

'He experienced a (strong) taste from the large quantity of ginger in the vegetables.'

(31) VERB ABS OBL
 kanen an ta uran.
 na=tignaw=an kanen an ta uran
STAT,TH,R=cold=___ 3,SG,ABS DEF,M OBL rain

'He felt cold from the rain.'

(32) VERB ABS OBL
 kanen an ta mama ya.
 na=layog=an kanen an ta mama ya
ACT,TH,R=tall=___ 3,SG,ABS DEF,M OBL man DEF,F

'He felt the man was very tall. (Lit: He felt tallness by the man.)'

Some stative verbs (example 33), process verbs (example 34), meteorological verbs (example 35), causative verbs (example 36), and activity verbs (example 37) occur in an intransitive clause which is similar in form to the intransitive clause examples in 30–32 except that the meaning is that something happened to the Theme, which is usually a person, and caught him/her off guard. The Theme is the absolutive noun phrase and is cross-referenced on the derived intransitive verb with the affix *na-*-*an*. A nonnuclear Agent occurs (except with meteorological verbs) in the oblique phrase.

(33) VERB ABS OBL
 kanen an ta pambot.
 na=patay=an kanen an ta pambot
STAT,TH,R,APT=die=___ 3,SG,ABS DEF,M OBL pumpboat

'The pumpboat died on him.'

(34) VERB ABS OBL
 kanen an ta asin.
 na=tunaw=an kanen an ta asin
STAT,TH,R,APT=dissolve=___ 3,SG,ABS DEF,M OBL salt

'The salt dissolved on him.'

(35) VERB ABS
 kanen an.
 na=adlaw=an kanen an
STAT,TH,R,APT=sun=___ 3,SG,ABS DEF,M

'He was caught in the sunshine.'

(36) VERB ABS OBL
 kanen an ta bisikil.
 na=samad=an kanen an ta bisikil
STAT,TH,R,APT=break=___ 3,SG,ABS DEF,M OBL bicycle

'The bicycle broke on him.'

	VERB	ABS		OBL	
(37)	Nakan-anan	kanen	an	ta	sidda.
	na=kan-an=an	kanen	an	ta	sidda
	<u>STAT,TH,R</u> =eat=___	3,SG,ABS	DEF,M	OBL	fish

'The fish ate (the bait) on him.'

2. Nonverbal Clauses

A nonverbal clause is constructed of a topic and a comment. The topic is a noun phrase and the comment has a variety of structures depending on the clause type.

2.1. Equative Clauses

Equative clauses are constructed of two phrases juxtaposed; the first is the comment and the second the topic. This order can be switched for emphasis. The topic noun phrase in an equative clause is definite and has no case marker. If the topic noun phrase is a pronoun it can occur after the first word in the comment making the comment a discontinuous noun phrase.

2.1.1. Descriptive Clause

The comment of a descriptive clause (example 38) is an adjective or adjective phrase.

	COMMENT	TOPIC		
(38)	Sikad langkaw	iya	na	baba.
	sikad langkaw	iya	na	baba
	very long	3,SG,POSS	LK	mouth

'His (a fish's) mouth is very long.'

2.1.2. Identification Clause

The comment of an identification clause (example 39) is a noun phrase.

	COMMENT	TOPIC		
(39)	Blangay	ame	i	na sakayan.
	blangay	ame	i	na sakayan
	sailboat	3,PL,EX,POSS	DEF,N	LK conveyance

'Our conveyance is a sailboat.'

2.1.3. Location Clause

The comment of a location clause (example 40) is a prepositional phrase that has an oblique marker.

	COMMENT			TOPIC		
(40)	Naan	ta	Manila	sawa	ko	ya.
	naan	ta	Manila	sawa	ko	ya
	SPAT,DEF	OBL	Manila	spouse	1,SG,GEN	DEF,F

'My spouse is in Manila.'

2.1.4. Possessive Clause

The comment of a possessive clause (example 41) is a possessive pronoun or possessive phrase.

	COMMENT			TOPIC		
(41)	Iya	ta	magulang	ko	yon	na balay.
	iya	ta	magulang	ko	yon	na balay
	3,SG,POSS	GEN	older.sibling	1,SG,GEN	D3,DEM,ABS,G	LK house

'That house is my older sibling's.'

2.1.5. Thematic Clause

The comment of a thematic⁷ clause has a prepositional phrase with the thematic preposition word either *parti* 'about' or *tenged* 'about/because'. The unmarked order is comment–topic (example 42), but the marked order topic–comment occurs frequently since it functions to introduce the theme of a discourse (example 43).

	COMMENT			TOPIC		
(42)	Parti	ta	sidda	yi	na	libro.
	parti	ta	sidda	yi	na	libro
	about	OBL	fish	D1,DEM,ADJ,G	LK	book

'This book is about fish.'

	TOPIC			COMMENT		
(43)	Isturya	nai		parti	ta	patay na ittaw.
	isturya	nai		parti	ta	patay na ittaw
	story	D1,DEM,ADJ		about	OBL	dead LK person

'This story is about a dead person.'

2.2. Existential Clauses

Existential clauses are constructed of a comment which has an existential word *may* 'existential.indefinite' and/or *anen* 'existential.definite' followed by the topic noun phrase.

⁷ "Thematic clause" is used here in the sense that the comment part of the clause names the theme or topic of the whole discourse. "Referential clause" would also be appropriate but has been avoided since "referentiality" of participants and props, a totally different concept, is an important term in these papers.

2.2.1. Indefinite Existential Clauses

There are three types of indefinite existential clauses, the basic (section 2.2.1.1), the possessive (section 2.2.1.2), and the possessive with an embedded verbal clause (section 2.2.1.3). The comments of all indefinite existential clauses have the indefinite existential word *may* and the topics are all unidentifiable. The topic can be either a count noun or a mass noun.

2.2.1.1. Basic Indefinite Existential Clause

The basic indefinite existential clause (example 44) is constructed of a comment with the existential word *may* followed by a topic. The topic can have an optional relative clause (example 45). This existential clause has two functions: to state the existence or presence of something/someone (example 43) or to introduce an unidentifiable participant/prop (example 44). When participants/props are introduced, the relative clause must occur with the existential clause. The existential clause with a relative clause may be shortened by deletion of the head noun (example 46). This clause functions to introduce indefinite minor participants/props whose identity is unknown to the narrator.

	COMMENT	TOPIC
(44)	May	apoy pa.
	may	apoy pa
	EXT.INDEF	fire INC

'There is still a fire.'

	COMMENT	TOPIC	RELATIVE CLAUSE				
(45)	May	manakem	na gatindeg	naan	ta	gangaan.	
	may	manakem	na ga=tindeg	naan	ta	gangaan	
	EXT.INDEF	elderly.person	LK ACT,TH,R=stand	SPAT,DEF	OBL	doorway	

'There was an elderly person standing in the doorway.'

	COMMENT	TOPIC			
(46)	May	gatindeg	naan	ta	gangaan.
	may	ga=tindeg	naan	ta	gangaan
	EXT.INDEF	ACT,TH,R=stand	SPAT,DEF	OBL	doorway

'Someone was standing in the doorway.' (Lit: 'There was someone standing in the doorway.')

When an existential clause is embedded in a Location (oblique) noun phrase and a definite common noun is the topic of the existential clause, then it means the place where the common noun is located (example 47). When the topic of the embedded existential is a time, location or distance, then it means an indefinite time, location or distance (example 48).

			COMMENT	TOPIC	
(47)	Gabalik	a	ta may	bangkaw	ya.
	ga=balik	a	ta may	bangkaw	ya
	ACT,TH,R=return	1,SG,ABS	OBL	EXT.INDEF	spear DEF,F

'I returned to *where the spear was*.'

	COMMENT	TOPIC							
(48)	May	isya	na	kilem	na	sikad	pawa	bulan	an,
	may	isya	na	kilem	na	sikad	pawa	bulan	an
	EXT.INDEF	certain	LK	night	when	very	bright	moon	DEF,M
	gapasyar	uyi			na	patay.			
	ga = pasyar	uyi			na	patay			
	ACT,TH,R=stroll	D1,DEM,ADJ,EMPH,G	LK			dead			

'On a certain night when the moon was very bright, this dead person was strolling.'

2.2.1.2. Indefinite Possessive Existential Clause

An indefinite possessive existential clause is constructed of a comment which has the existential word *may* followed by a noun phrase which is an indefinite possessed thing. The topic is the possessor and it can be fronted for emphasis. This clause can function as a statement of possession (example 49), part-whole relationship (example 50), human relationship (example 51) and sickness (example 52).

	COMMENT		TOPIC					
(49)	May	tirador	a	di.				
	may	tirador	a	di				
	EXT.INDEF	slingshot	1,SG,ABS	D1,A,G				

'I have a slingshot here.'

	COMMENT			TOPIC				
(50)	May	bunga	man	en	ake	i	na	saging.
	may	bunga	man	en	ake	i	na	saging
	EXT.INDEF	fruit	also	CM	1,SG,POSS	DEF,N	LK	banana

'My banana plant also has fruit already.'

	COMMENT		TOPIC				
(51)	May	sawa	danen	tanan.			
	may	sawa	danen	tanan			
	EXT.INDEF	spouse	3,PL,ABS	all			

'All of them have spouses.'

	COMMENT		TOPIC				
(52)	May	swalen	yaken	i.			
	may	swalen	yaken	i			
	EXT.INDEF	chicken.pox	1,SG,ABS	DEF,N			

'I have chicken pox.'

2.2.1.3. Indefinite Possessive Existential Clause with an Embedded Verbal Clause

This clause consists of a comment that has an existential word *may* followed by an embedded verbal clause which has an embedded relative clause. The Theme of the embedded clause is in the relative clause. The embedded verbal clause is always transitive and the verbal affix cross-references the Theme or Location. The topic noun phrase usually occurs between the verbal clause and its embedded relative clause, but it can be fronted. This topic noun phrase is the initiator or the experiencer of the action in the embedded

verbal clause. This construction introduces props (example 53), usually major ones (example 54).

	COMMENT			TOPIC		COMMENT	
(53)	May	dala	man	kanen	na	bayo.	
	may	dala ⁸	man	kanen	na	bayo	
	EXT.INDEF	carry	also	3,SG,ABS	LK	shirt	

'He was carrying a shirt.' (Lit: 'There was something he was carrying which was a shirt.')

	COMMENT			TOPIC		COMMENT		
(54)	May	nakita		kay	na	isya	na	yupan.
	may	na=kita		kay	na	isya	na	yupan
	EXT.INDEF	STAT,TH,R=see		1,PL,EX,ABS	LK	certain	LK	bird

'We saw a certain bird.' (Lit: 'There was something we saw which was a certain bird.')

2.2.2. Definite Nonspecific Existential Clauses

There are two types of definite nonspecific existential clauses, basic (section 2.2.2.1) and possessive (section 2.2.2.2). The comment has both of the existential words, *may* and *anen*. The topic is definite but nonspecific and must be a count noun.

2.2.2.1. Basic Definite Nonspecific Existential Clause

A definite nonspecific existential clause states the existence or presence of a definite but nonspecific reference, as in example 55. The topic may have an optional relative clause.

	COMMENT			TOPIC						
(55)	May	anen		ittaw	na	naan	ta	dalem	ta	silong.
	may	anen		ittaw	na	naan	ta	dalem	ta	silong
	EXT.INDEF	EXT.DEF		person	LK	SPAT,DEF	OBL	below	OBL	yard

'There is someone below in the yard.'

2.2.2.2. Definite Possessive Nonspecific Existential Clause

In a definite possessive nonspecific existential clause the topic noun phrase splits the comment making it discontinuous, as in example 56.

	COMMENT		TOPIC		COMMENT	
(56)	May	anen	a	bayo	na	dayad.
	may	anen	a	bayo	na	dayad
	EXT.INDEF	EXT.DEF	1,SG,ABS	clothes	LK	pretty

'I have a piece of clothing that is pretty.'

⁸ Sometimes the verbal affix cross-referencing the absolutive noun phrase is omitted in natural texts, which is the case here.

2.2.3. Definite Specific Existential Clause

A definite specific existential clause has the definite existential word *anen* in its comment with an optional location phrase and the topic is a definite and specific noun phrase. The clause states the presence of a definite and specific referent, as in examples 57–58. There is no definite possessive specific existential clause.

	COMMENT	TOPIC		COMMENT				
(57)	Anen	manong	ko	naan	ta	dalem	ta	silong.
	anen	manong	ko	naan	ta	dalem	ta	silong
	EXT.DEF	older.brother	1,SG,GEN	SPAT,DEF	OBL	below	OBL	yard

'My older brother is here below in the yard.'

	COMMENT		TOPIC					
(58)	Anen	ki	kanen	balpin	no	an	na	pangita
	anen	ki	kanen	balpin	no	an	na	pangita
	EXT.DEF	OBL.P	3,SG,OBL	ballpoint	2,SG,GEN	DEF,M	LK	look.for

no.
no
2,SG,ERG

'The ballpoint pen that you are looking for is there with him.'

2.3. Cleft Constructions

A cleft construction in Kagayanen consists of a noun phrase followed by a relative clause, as in example 59.

	NOUN PHRASE			RELATIVE CLAUSE			
(59)	Bakod	na	balay	na	nakita	ko	gina.
	balod	na	balay	na	na=kita	ko	gina
	big	LK	house	LK	STAT,TH,R=see	1,SG,ERG	earlier

'(It's) a big house that I saw earlier./A big house is what I saw earlier.'

In addition, a cleft construction can consist of a single noun phrase, as in example 60.

(60)	Bakod	na	balay.
	bakod	na	balay
	big	LK	house

'(It's) a big thing which is a house.'

3. Subordinate Clauses

There are four types of subordinate clauses: circumstantial (section 3.1), reason (section 3.2), purpose (section 3.3), and relative (section 3.4). Usually the subordinate clause follows the main clause but for emphasis it may be fronted.

3.1. Circumstantial Clause

There are two circumstantial clause constructions. A basic circumstantial clause is constructed of *na* 'when' followed by a verbal clause or nonverbal clause, as in example 61.

- (61)
- | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------------------|----------|----------------|------|----------|----------|------|----------|-------|--|
| MAIN CLAUSE | | | | | | | | | |
| Natubuan | kanen | i | ta | masakit | | | | | |
| na=tubo=an | kanen | i | ta | masakit | | | | | |
| <u>STAT,LOC,R</u> =grow= | 3,SG,ABS | DEF,N | OBL | sickness | | | | | |
| CIRCUMSTANTIAL CLAUSE | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>na</i> | kanen | 2 ⁹ | nang | pa | duminggo | idad | din | an. | |
| <i>na</i> | kanen | 2 | nang | pa | duminggo | idad | din | an | |
| when | 3,SG,ABS | two | only | INC | week | age | 3,SG,GEN | DEF,M | |
- 'He got sick when he was just two weeks old.'

A circumstantial clause constructed with the gerund affix *pag-* occurs after background or collateral information in order to get back to the main event line of the story. This type of circumstantial clause must occur before the main clause, as in example 62.

- (62)
- | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|-------|-----|---------------|-------------|-------|--|
| CIRCUMSTANTIAL CLAUSE | | | | MAIN CLAUSE | | |
| Pagpapawa | man | en, | pasugo | ko | bata | |
| pag=CV=pawa | man | en | pa=sugo | ko | bata | |
| GER=DIM=bright | also | CM | ACT,TH,R=sent | 1,SG,ERG | child | |
| ko | i. | | | | | |
| ko | i | | | | | |
| 1,SG,GEN | DEF,N | | | | | |
- 'When it had begun to dawn, I sent my child (on an errand).'

3.2. Reason Clause or Phrase

A reason clause is constructed of the conjunction *tak* 'because' followed by a verbal clause (example 63) or *tenged na* followed by a nonverbal clause. A reason phrase begins with the preposition *tenged* 'because of, concerning', followed by a noun phrase (example 64).

- (63)
- | | | | | | |
|-------------------|-------------|-------|-----|---------------|--|
| MAIN CLAUSE | | | | | |
| Gapit | kay | anay | ta | dawisan | |
| ga=apit | kay | anay | ta | dawisan | |
| ACT,TH,R=stop.off | 1,PL,EX,ABS | first | OBL | tip.of.island | |

⁹ As it appears in the text written by the author.

REASON CLAUSE

<i>tak</i>	<i>ganampara</i>		<i>pa</i>	<i>mga</i>	<i>gurmiti</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>sid-anan.</i>
<i>tak</i>	<i>gang=tampara</i>		<i>pa</i>	<i>mga</i>	<i>gurmiti</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>sid-anan</i>
because	ACT,AG,R,RP=spearfish		INC	PLM	crew	OBL	viand

'We stopped off first at the tip of the island because the crew went spearfishing for their viand.'

MAIN CLAUSE

REASON PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE

(64)	<i>Gabalik</i>	<i>patay</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>ittaw</i>	<i>tenged</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>iya</i>
	<i>ga=balik</i>	<i>patay</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>ittaw</i>	<i>tenged</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>iya</i>
	ACT,TH,R=return	dead	LK	person	because	OBL	3,SG,POSS

<i>na</i>	<i>mga</i>	<i>bata.</i>
<i>na</i>	<i>mga</i>	<i>bata</i>
LK	PLM	child

'The dead person returned because of her children.'

3.3. Purpose Clause or Phrase

A purpose clause is constructed of *aged* 'so that' followed by an irrealis clause (example 65). A purpose phrase begins with the preposition *para* 'for' followed by a noun phrase (example 66).

MAIN CLAUSE

(65)	<i>Giling</i>	<i>kay</i>	<i>naan</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>bukid</i>
	<i>ga=iling</i>	<i>kay</i>	<i>naan</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>bukid</i>
	ACT,TH,R=go	1,PL,EX,ABS	SPAT,DEF	OBL	mountain

PURPOSE CLAUSE

<i>aged</i>	<i>mangita</i>	<i>kay</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>ame</i>
<i>aged</i>	<i>mang=ngita</i>	<i>kay</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>ame</i>
so.that	ACT,AG,IRR,RP=look	1,PL,EX,ABS	OBL	1,PL,EX,POSS

<i>na</i>	<i>kan-anen.</i>
<i>na</i>	<i>kaan=en</i>
LK	<i>eat=ACT,TH,IRR</i>

'We went to the mountain so that we will look for something to eat.'

MAIN CLAUSE

PURPOSE PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE

(66)	<i>Galuto</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>suman</i>	<i>para</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>pista.</i>
	<i>ga=luto</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>suman</i>	<i>para</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>pista.</i>
	ACT,AG,R=cook	1,SG,ABS	OBL	sticky.rice	PURP	OBL	fiesta

'I cooked sticky rice for the fiesta.'

3.4. Serial Verbs

A serial verb construction with equi-NP deletion can occur with verbs such as 'leave' and 'want.' The linker *na* is followed by an irrealis verb as in example 67.

	MAIN CLAUSE			PURPOSE CLAUSE		
(67)	Gapanaw	kanen	ya	na	mulí.	
	ga=panaw	kanen	ya	na	m=ulí	
	ACT,TH,R=go	3,SG,ABS	DEF,F	LK	ACT,TH,IRR=go.home	
	'He left to go home.'					

3.5. Relative Clause

A relative clause is constructed of the linker *na* followed by a clause either verbal or nonverbal. There is zero reference in the relative clause to the head noun in the main clause, but the affix of the verb in the relative clause cross-references the head noun. This affix may cross-reference any of the roles. It can cross-reference the Theme of an intransitive clause, as in example 68; Agent, as in example 69; Theme of a transitive clause, as in example 70; or Location, as in example 71.

				RELATIVE CLAUSE			
(68)	Ake	na	magulang	na	<i>giling</i>	<i>di</i>	<i>gibii</i>
	ake	na	magulang	na	ga=iling	di	gibii
	1,SG,POSS	LK	older.sibling	LK	ACT,TH,R=go	D1,A,G	yesterday

MAIN CLAUSE
galarga gina.
ga=larga gina
ACT,TH,R=depart earlier

'My older sibling *who came here yesterday* left on a trip earlier.'

				RELATIVE CLAUSE		
(69)	Ake	na	magulang	na	<i>gakaan</i>	<i>unti</i>
	ake	na	magulang	na	ga=kaan	unti
	1,SG,POSS	LK	older.sibling	LK	ACT,AG,R=eat	D1,A,SP

MAIN CLAUSE
gibii galarga gina.
gibii ga=larga gina
yesterday ACT,TH,R=depart earlier

'My older sibling *who ate here yesterday* left on a trip earlier.'

				RELATIVE CLAUSE		
(70)	Ake	na	magulang	na	<i>patiro</i>	<i>no</i>
	ake	na	magulang	na	pa=tiro	no
	1,SG,POSS	LK	older.sibling	LK	ACT,TH,R=hit	2,SG,ERG

MAIN CLAUSE
gibii galarga gina.
gibii ga=larga gina
yesterday ACT,TH,R=depart earlier

'My older sibling *whom you hit yesterday* left on a trip earlier.'

- (71)
- | | | | | | | | |
|-----------|----|---------------|----|-----------------------|-----|--|-------------|
| | | | | RELATIVE CLAUSE | | | |
| Ake | na | magulang | na | <i>palingan</i> | | | nay |
| ake | na | magulang | na | pa=iling=an | | | nay |
| 1,SG,POSS | LK | older.sibling | LK | <u>ACT,LOC,R</u> =go= | ___ | | 1,PL,EX,ERG |
- MAIN CLAUSE
- | | | |
|---------------|-----------------|---------|
| <i>gibii,</i> | galarga | gina. |
| <i>gibii</i> | ga=larga | gina |
| yesterday | ACT,TH,R=depart | earlier |
- 'My older sibling *whom we went to yesterday* left on a trip earlier.'

4. Negative Constructions

Kagayanen has two negative markers: *ula* and *dili*. *Ula* negates realis clauses (example 72); it also occurs in negative existential clauses (example 73). When the negative markers occur on verbal clauses the initiator of the action whether an absolutive of an intransitive clause or ergative noun phrase of a transitive clause is fronted, as in example 72.¹⁰

- (72)
- | | | | | | | | |
|------------|----------|--------------|--------|-------|----------|-----|---------|
| <i>Ula</i> | din | pabetang | bulak | an | naan | ta | lamisa. |
| <i>ula</i> | din | pa=betang | bulak | an | naan | ta | lamisa |
| NEG | 3,SG,ERG | ACT,TH,R=put | flower | DEF,M | SPAT,DEF | OBL | table |
- 'He did not put the flower on the table.'

Usually the existential words *may* and/or *anen* are deleted when *ula* negates an existential clause (example 73). However, the basic existential clause with a relative clause as the topic (example 74) and the possessive existential clause with an embedded verbal clause (example 75) when negated retain *may*. Both a negated indefinite existential clause and a negated definite nonspecific existential clause are the same in structure since the topic is nonreferential.

- (73)
- | | | |
|------------|------|-----|
| <i>Ula</i> | apoy | en. |
| <i>ula</i> | apoy | en |
| NEG | fire | CM |
- 'There is no fire now.'

- (74)
- | | | | | | | |
|------------|------------|----------------|----------|-----|----------|--|
| | COMMENT | TOPIC | | | | |
| <i>Ula</i> | <i>may</i> | gatindeg | naan | ta | gangaan. | |
| <i>ula</i> | <i>may</i> | ga=tindeg | naan | ta | gangaan | |
| NEG | EXT.INDEF | ACT,TH,R=stand | SPAT,DEF | OBL | doorway | |
- 'No one was standing in the doorway.' (Lit: 'There was no one standing in the doorway.')

¹⁰ Certain morphemes, such as negatives and sentence-initial adverbs, attract enclitics to the second position. Discussion of this is beyond the scope of this paper.

	COMMENT			TOPIC	RELATIVE CLAUSE	
(75)	<i>Ula</i>	<i>may</i>	<i>nakita</i>	<i>Akay</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>yupan.</i>
	<i>ula</i>	<i>may</i>	<i>na=kita</i>	<i>Akay</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>yupan</i>
	NEG	EXT,INDEF	ACT,TH,R=see	<i>Akay</i>	LK	bird

'Akay did not see a bird.' (Lit: 'There was nothing Akay saw that was a bird.')

Dili negates irrealis clauses (example 76), equative clauses (example 77), thematic clauses (example 78), and nominals cross-referenced on the verb (examples 79–81). With equative clauses (example 76) and the thematic clause (example 77) the negative marker can occur only in the comment.

(76)	<i>Dili</i>	<i>din</i>	<i>betangen</i>	<i>bulak</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>naan</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>lamisa.</i>
	<i>dili</i>	<i>din</i>	<i>betang=en</i>	<i>bulak</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>naan</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>lamisa</i>
	NEG	3,SG,ERG	put=ACT,TH,IRR	flower	DEF,M	SPAT,DEF	OBL	table

'He will not put the flower on the table.'

	COMMENT			TOPIC		
(77)	<i>Dili</i>	<i>sikad</i>	<i>langkaw</i>	<i>iya</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>baba.</i>
	<i>dili</i>	<i>sikad</i>	<i>langkaw</i>	<i>iya</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>baba</i>
	NEG	very	long	3,SG,POSS	LK	mouth

'His (a fish's) mouth is not very long.'

	TOPIC			COMMENT					
(78)	<i>Isturya</i>	<i>nai</i>		<i>dili</i>	<i>parti</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>patay</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>ittaw.</i>
	<i>isturya</i>	<i>nai</i>		<i>dili</i>	<i>parti</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>patay</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>ittaw</i>
	story	D1,DEM,ADJ		NEG	about	OBL	dead	LK	person

'This story is not about a dead person.'

(79)	<i>Dili</i>	<i>kanen</i>	<i>gabetang</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>bulak</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>naan</i>
	<i>dili</i>	<i>kanen</i>	<i>ga=betang</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>bulak</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>naan</i>
	NEG	3,SG,ABS	ACT,AG,R=put	OBL	flower	DEF,M	SPAT,DEF
	<i>ta</i>	<i>lamisa.</i>					
	<i>ta</i>	<i>lamisa</i>					
	OBL	table					

'He was not the one who put the flower on the table.'

(80)	<i>Dili</i>	<i>bulak</i>	<i>pabetang</i>	<i>din</i>	<i>naan</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>lamisa.</i>
	<i>dili</i>	<i>bulak</i>	<i>pa=betang</i>	<i>din</i>	<i>naan</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>lamisa</i>
	NEG	flower	ACT,TH,R=put	3,SG,ERG	SPAT,DEF	OBL	table

'It was not the flower he put on the table.'

(81)	<i>Dili</i>	<i>lamisa</i>	<i>pabetangan</i>	<i>din</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>bulak</i>	<i>an.</i>
	<i>dili</i>	<i>lamisa</i>	<i>pa=betang=an</i>	<i>din</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>bulak</i>	<i>an</i>
	NEG	table	ACT,LOC,R=put=	3,SG,ERG	OBL	flower	DEF,M

'It was not the table where he put the flower.'

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CONTENTS

Editor's note	i
In appreciation	i
Preface	ii
Abbreviations	iii
A sketch of Kagayanen clause structures <i>Carol Jean Pebley</i>	1
Participant reference in Kagayanen <i>Carol Jean Pebley</i>	21
Kagayanen enclitic demonstratives <i>i, an, and ya</i> <i>Carol Jean Pebley</i>	50
Two Kagayanen texts <i>Louise MacGregor and Carol Jean Pebley</i>	91
References	115

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