

AN AGTA GRAMMAR

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0.0 INTRODUCTION

There are about 600 negritos calling themselves Agta and speaking the language, upon which this analysis is based, living in the central region of Cagayan Province, Northern Luzon, Philippines. Two dialects are recognised, Southern Agta being the one spoken by the larger number. This dialect is spoken in the municipalities of Amulung, Baggao, Alcala and Gattaran, while Northern Agta is spoken in the municipalities of Lal-lo, Calamaniugan and Buguey. Elsewhere in Cagayan Province at least four other languages are spoken by other sections of this tribe of negritos, which numbers about 2,000 in all.

The Agta are semi-nomads, their life being divided between hunting and collecting forest products on the one hand, and working as casual labourers for lowland farmers on the other. They therefore live on the fringe, between the cultivated Cagayan river flats and the forested hills. All of them speak at least one other negrito dialect, and most have a good knowledge of Ilocano and/or Ibanag also. They are completely illiterate to date, although one or two are attending barrio schools in some places.

The Agta language belongs to the Malayo-Polynesian (Austro-nesian) group of languages as do all the other languages of the Philippines, and is specifically a member of the Ilocano-Ibanag group of languages, having about 50 per cent cognates in common with these. Culturally, the Agta are very similar to the other forest dwellers in other parts of the Philippines, and their non-material culture, including religion, kinship system, and marriage customs, has much in common with that of the less acculturated communities of the Philippines as a whole.

Materials for the present analysis were gathered at barrio Bagunut, Baggao, during the years 1955-57 under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. All data were collected by the monolingual approach, there being no intermediate language familiar to both parties. The grammar is based only upon text materials, that is, utterances caught by pen or tape during conversations or periods of story telling, and all examples used in the grammar are from such text. The Agta speakers involved were many, but notable among our language helpers

were Mr. Pedro (Illu) Tumbali, Mr. Sitong Tumbali and wife, Mrs. Loring of Alcala municipality, Mr. Ipi Gammad and wife, Mrs. Upin of Cumao, and Mrs. Victorina of Baggao municipality.

0.1 *Acknowledgments*

The author is primarily indebted to Alan Healey, for although the presentation of the Agta Grammar is the author's, the preceding collection of material and analysis of it was a piece of husband-wife teamwork, and it is impossible to make any realistic division of the work into two spheres of responsibility. Much is also owed to W. J. and L. F. Oates, who commenced the work among the Agtas, and passed on a Phonology, a Vocabulary, and a number of hints on the grammar. As far as the theory underlying the thesis is concerned, the author is indebted to R. S. Pittman for an introduction to analysis and presentation based on the relationship of pairs of immediate constituents, and to both Pittman and Charles C. Fries for the concept of the natural self-ordering and self-interpretation of a language. An attempt has been made to avoid cumbersome terminology in order to gain clarity and understandability, but such linguistic terminology as is used owes its origin to previous studies of Philippine languages, to Pittman, or to the older descriptive linguists, mediated by E. A. Nida.

0.2 *The Purpose*

The purpose of this thesis is threefold. (a) It is the presentation of the grammar of a little known language.¹ Although Agta is structurally similar to the other languages of the Philippines, and particularly to the Ilocano-Ibanag group of languages, it differs sufficiently from them to necessitate separate treatment. (b) The thesis has been prepared to assist other linguists to learn the language. Other members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics have taken up residence among the Agtas, and this work is for them. (c) An attempt has been made to present the materials in a pedagogically useful order, that is, one that is determined by the structure of the language, and that does not at any stage presuppose knowledge of material not already dealt with in the grammar. It is submitted that the reader of a grammar should not need to refer forward to later material in order to understand a matter under discussion. On the other hand, knowledge of matters previously discussed is assumed throughout the grammar.

0.3 *The Approach*

The approach utilises Pittman's application of Hjelmslev's theory, relationship based on overt and covert ligatures being basic, and classes of word bases being determined only by class and construction markers.

0.4 *The Presentation*

The presentation is, however, the result of trial and error. The present order appears to agree with the intrinsic structure of the language itself. The procedure has been to allow presentation to be moulded to structure, not vice versa.

Each basic construction has a chapter to itself. Each chapter is internally patterned thus: (a) theoretical reasons for the particular analysis, (b) description of the construction according to the analysis, and (c) partly graded illustrative examples taken from text. An appendix draws together the different Agta ways of handling the equivalents of a single English grammatical mechanism, and a glossary indicates where equivalents of English grammatical categories, identified by their traditional names, may be found in the grammar. Discussions of the lateral morphemes and their morphophonemics are subsumed under those syntactic constructions in which they occur.

0.5 *Phonology*²

The phonemes of Agta are *a, b, k, d, e, f, g, h, i, l, m, n, ng* (velar nasal), *o, p, q* (glottal stop), *r* (alveolar flap), *s, t, u, v, w, y, z*. The symbols *f* and *v* represent bilabial fricatives. Phonemic vowel length, represented by (¹), occurs with the vowels *a, i*, and *u*, but not *e* and *o*. Due to the incomplete analysis of vowel length, especially of its morphophonemics, there are some inconsistencies in its recording in the examples used in the following materials.

0.6 *Symbols and Abbreviations*

The following symbols and abbreviations have been used in the literal translations of examples and the symbolisation of types of constructions:

- indicates morpheme boundaries in both the language material and the literal translation, and also where relevant in construction symbolisation. Except for expanded word bases and situations where the process of reduction has removed the overt morpheme boundary, all morpheme boundaries have been thus indicated. Possibly further morphological break down than

has been attempted might be legitimate, especially in the cases of Pronouns (see Section 2.2) and Post-Adverbs (see Section 6.1). Infixes and prefix-suffix combinations have been indicated in the literal translation as though they were prefixes.

- / (a) divides the semantic elements of semantically complex morphemes (portmanteau morphemes, or morphemes whose class is indicated together with their meaning); (b) divides the meanings of sequences of morphemes which are formally indivisible as a result of morphophonemic change, such as reduction; (c) separates the words of an English translation where several English words are required to translate a single Agta morpheme.
- Word boundaries in language material, literal and free translations are indicated by a single space.
- YA The occurrence of the equational ligature is marked by the
 NA capitalised commonest form YA in the literal translation and
 TA construction symbolisation, that of the attributive ligature by NA, and that of the oblique ligature by TA. The Pronoun classes corresponding to these ligatures are respectively marked by YA/, NA/, and TA/ in the literal translation and construction symbolisation, with the specific translation of the particular Pronoun in question immediately following the /.
- (YA) Brackets around the translation of these morphological units
 (YA/it) indicate that the item is not overtly present in the utterance, although it is presupposed by the ligatures used with other items in the sentence and/or the affixes of the Verb.
- actor The abbreviated meanings of the verbal affixes used in the literal translation are listed in the tables in Section 2.3.
- past/ The past tense of a verbal affix is indicated by "past/" before the meaning of the affix. The more frequent present/future tense is unmarked.
- sg, pl Singular and Plural are thus marked.
 Where the meaning of a morpheme is not known, the morpheme is written out in full and underlined in the literal translation.

Morphological complexities in the word base have not been indicated beyond Section 1.

Examples have been arranged in the order: (a) language text, (b) morpheme-by-morpheme literal translation, (c) free translation. Examples commencing with a capital are complete sentences; those commencing with a lower case letter are complete phrases, but not sentences. Since spontaneous utterances by native speakers of Agta have alone been used as examples, there are a few amongst them which deviate slightly from the norm upon which this grammar is based. As in all communities, an occasional speaker has idiolectical idiosyncrasies.

1.0 MORPHOLOGY

The non-affixable roots in Agta are divided into the following classes: Ligatures, Post-Adverbs, Pre-Adverbs, Connectives, and Exclamations. In addition, there are the Pronouns, which may take certain pronominal suffixes. Finally, there are the Word Bases, which include by far the majority of roots in the language, and which may or may not occur with verbal and/or pronominal affixes.

The phonological unit, to which the syntactically significant affixes (verbal, pronominal, and *-n*, allomorph of *na* 'now', 'already') may be joined, may or may not be morphologically minimal. The minimal morphological unit is the root or *simple word base*. But the addition of derivational affixes to the simple word base and various types of word base reduplication occur, and these affect its meaning but not its syntactic function. The *expanded word base* thus formed behaves in the same way as does the simple word base in taking lateral syntactically significant affixes.

In this section, Morphology, the morpheme boundaries within the expanded word base are, of course, indicated for illustrative purposes. In the rest of the grammar, however, these are not shown, the expanded word base being treated as a single unit and shown as such in the literal morpheme-by-morpheme translation.

1.1 Derivational Prefixes

There are two inner layer derivational affixes³ which may be prefixed to word bases, in which case word base plus affix functions as an expanded word base for purposes of reduplication as well as taking other affixes. These are *pa-* 'causative' and *ka-* of obscure meaning. When reduplication occurs on an expanded word base containing *pa-* or *ka-*, the phonemes of the prefix become the initial CV (consonant and vowel) for reduplicative purposes, e.g. *liwát* 'fault', *pa-liwat-an* 'blame', *pal-paliwat-an* 'blame'; *sidug* 'sleep', *ma-sidug* 'sleep', *awe-na maka-kas-kasidug* 'he can't sleep a wink'. Similarly, the phonemes of the prefix become the initial CV for purposes of infixation, e.g. Present/Future tense *pa-* *-an* becomes Past tense *p-in-a-*; and the form *p-um-a-* also occurs.

The following examples illustrate some uses of *pa-*; *mag-tangit* 'he is crying', *pa-tangit-an* 'make (someone) cry'; *mag-susu* 'he is sucking', *pa-susú-n* 'give suck'; *g-um-atang* 'it is burning', *pa-gatang-an* 'light (a fire)'.

When the *pa-* prefix is followed by a root initial *i* or *u*, there is a tendency for the *ai* to become *e*, and the *au* to become *o*. E.g. *mag-pa-idda* becomes *mag-pedda* 'lay (something) down' (from *mag-idda* 'lie down'); *mag-pa-inum* becomes *mag-penum* 'give (someone) a drink' (from *um-inum* 'drink'); *i-pa-ita* becomes *i-peta* 'show (something)' (from *itá-n* 'see'); *ma-pa-ulu* becomes *ma-polu* 'first' (from *ulu* 'head'); *ma-pa-uhet* becomes *ma-pohet* 'bring out' (from *im-uhet* 'come out'); *ma-pa-uyung* becomes *ma-poyung* 'undecided' (from *mag-uyung* 'dizzy').

1.2 Word Base Morphology

The following types of *reduplication* occur:

(a) *Cala-*, 'diminutive'; in which the initial consonant, if any, of the stem followed by *ala* is prefixed to the stem.⁴

ala- This type is very commonly used, and may occur with any known simple word base.

assang	'small'	alaq-assang	'very small'
wer	'creek'	wala-wer	'small creek'
talobag	'beetle'	tala-tálobag	'lady-bird'
bakbákat	'granny'	bala-bakbákat	'little granny'
bág	'g-string'	bala-bág	'small g-string'
kwá-k	'mine'	kwala-kwá-k	'my small thing'
pirák	'money'	pala-pirák	'a little money'
abbing	'child'	alaq-abbing	'a little child'
báhuy	'pig'	bala-báhuy	'a little pig'
pesuk	'peso'	pala-pesuk	'one little peso', 'a mere peso'
kúga	'so' (Pre-Ad- verb)	kala-kúga awán	'so minute it's almost not there'
mag-poray	'angry'	mag-pala-poray	'a bit angry'
mag-simul	'take a mouthful'	mag-sala-simul	'take a nibble'
pan-arelig-án	'some w h e r e t o lean'	pan-ala-tareligan	'a little spot to lean'

(b) *CVC-*, 'plural'; in which the initial three segments (consonant, vowel, consonant), or two segments (vowel, consonant) in the case of vowel initial word bases,

are reduplicated. This is a common type of reduplication, but is not the commonest type of pluraliser. Occasionally it redundantly occurs with the commoner pluraliser *kid*. Under (i) below are listed examples where the meaning of the reduplication is clearly 'plural'. The remainder are not so straightforward. Examples listed under (ii) are intensified rather than pluralised, with the further meaning 'diminutive' in the reduplications *at-átu* and *bal-balatáng*. Under (iii) are listed those forms where it is not possible to tell whether the meaning of the reduplication is 'plural' or 'intensive'—something between the two perhaps. All the examples in (iv) were found in negative expressions, where the meaning of negative plus reduplication is 'not a scrap' or 'not at all'.

(i)			
uffu	'thigh'	uf-uffu	'thighs'
takki	'leg'	tak-takki	'legs'
labáng	'patch'	lab-labáng	'patches'
ulu	'head'	ul-ulu-da	'their heads'
karúba	'neighbour'	kár-karúba kid-en	'the neighbours'
bari	'body'	bar-bari-k kid-in	'my whole body'
hiklam	'night'	ká-hik-hiklam	'every night'
aráw	'day'	k-ár-aráw	'every day'
na-gusát	'split in two'	na-gus-gusát	'split in three or more'
na-wakay	'lost'	na-wak-wakay	'many things lost'
me-saned	'be spread (over one thing)'	me-san-saned	'be spread (over several things)'
mag-saddu	'leak'	mag-sad-saddu	'leak in many places'
d-um-atang	'arrive'	d-um-at-datang	'keep on arriving one after another'
(ii)			
adánuk	'long'	ad-ádanuk	'very long'
addu	'many'	ad-áddu	'very many'
apísi	'small'	ap-ápísi	'very small'
abíkan	'near'	ab-ábíkan	'very near'
atu	'dog'	at-átu	'puppy'
balatáng	'girl'	bal-balatáng	'little girl'
inya	'who?'	Inq-inya ka-n.	'Whoever are you?'

ma-bangí	'delicious-smelling'	ma-bang-bangí	'very delicious-smelling'
ma-bangog	'fragrant'	ma-bang-bangog	'very fragrant'
paliwat-an	'blame'	pal-paliwat-an	'blame'
(iii)			
gafu	'reason'	gaf-gafu	'meaning', 'sense'
t-um-abbág	'answer'	ma-tab-tabbág	'argue'
tulpaw-an	'poke'	tul-tulpaw-an	'poke repeatedly'
maka-bílag	'able to run'	maka-bil-bilag	'keep on running'
(iv)			
tákwán	'another'	Awán ta tak-ták-wán.	'There is no other.'
baggát	'rice'	Awán ta bag-baggát.	'There's not a grain of rice.'
danum	'water'	Awán ta dan-danum.	'There's not a drop of water.'
dulay	'bad'	Awán ta dul-dulay.	'Nothing's wrong.'
maka-sidug	'sleepy'	Awe-na maka-kas-kasidug.	'He couldn't sleep a wink.'
mag-sitang	'make a noise'	Awe-na mag-sit-sitang.	'He isn't making a sound.'
pidwa-n	'do again', 'repeat'	Awe-mi-n san-gaw pid-pidwa-n.	'We'll never do it again.'

(c) CV-, V- 'intensive'; in which the initial two segments (consonant and vowel), or the initial vowel of vowel initial stems, are reduplicated. Cases with straight 'intensive' meaning are listed under (i) below. Two cases where the meaning appears to be 'diminutive' are listed under (ii), and cases with other changes of meaning under (iii).

(i)			
assang	'small'	aq-assang	'very small'
dakal	'big'	da-dagkal	'very big'
dána	'old'	dá-dána	'very old'
ngángay	'a long time' (in months)	ngá-ngángay	'a long time' (in years)
mag-bída	'talk about'	mag-bi-bída	'talk intently'
mag-bílag	'run'	mag-bí-bilag	'run hard and far'
mang-uyoyung	'tease'	mang-uq-uyoyung	'tease him a lot'
ma-poyung	'undecided'	ma-po-poyung	'thoroughly undecided'

(ii)			
mag-arút	'flow swiftly'	mag-aq-árút	'flow slowly'
m-áta	'green', 'unripe'	m-áq-átá-n	'pale green', 'ripening'
(iii)			
fúráb	'afternoon'	fu-fúráb	'late afternoon'
lácwát	'tomorrow'	lá-lácwát	'morning'
mag-kán	'eat'	mag-ká-kán	'keep on eating'
l-um-ammad	'sink' (sun)	la-lammad-án	'west'

(iv) This reduplication regularly occurs with *sinang*-‘likeness’ and *pigá*-‘how often’.

ulu	'head'	sinang-uq-ulu	'the shape of a head'
tolay	'person'	sinang-to-tolay	'like a person'
bilyon	'twenty centavos'	sinang-bi-bilyon	'the size of a twenty centavo piece'
mag-toli	'return'	pigá-to-toli-n	'return often'

(d) *Ca*- ‘plural actor’; in which the initial consonant of the stem followed by *a* constitutes a prefix. The implication of this form of reduplication is that both or all of the actors are actually involved in the action.

mag-dáfung	'meet'	dá-dáfung-an-da	'they all gather round (someone)'
d-um-atang	'arrive'	mag-dá-datang kid	'they all arrive' (e.g. for wedding)
nag-dúma	'different'	nag-da-dúma kid	'they are different from each other'
nag-gitta	'same'	nag-ga-gitta kid	'they are the same as each other'
nag-ken	'be wearing a skirt'	nag-kaq-ken kid	'they were all wearing skirts'
mag-bída	'talk about'	mag-ba-bída kid	'they are talking together'
mag-welwel	'scold'	mag-wa-welwel kid	'they are all telling (him) off'

(e) *CVC(C)V-* This is rare and its meaning is still obscure.

mag-bilag	'run'	bila-bilag-an	'run gently'
mag-tulad	'tell a lie'	mag-tula-tulad	'tell a fib'
mag-fulat	'hold onto'	Mag-fula-fulat ya hitlam.	'The night is pitch dark.'

(f) *Complete Reduplication* 'intensive'. This is rare.

magi-kuyát	'kick' (some- thing)	mag-kuyát-kuyát	'twitch' (in death throes)
mang-úma	'clear planting ground'	mag-úma-úma-n	'slash under- growth'
loko	'stupid'	mag-loko-loko	'behave stupidly'

(g) *-eC-*, *-oC-* The first *-VC-* of some words is reduplicated, if the first vowel is *i* or *u*. The vowel of the reduplication is changed from *i* to *e*, or from *u* to *o*, and the reduplication is infixed after the first syllable, thus: *CiC-eC-VC* or *CuC-oC-VC*. There is a possible element of 'diminutive' meaning in this reduplication, but the meaning of the word is usually very much changed, and the change is not predictable. This type of reduplication is not active in the language, although there are many examples of its occurrence, and may best be regarded as derivational. The *i* involved in this reduplication may belong to an inflectional verbal prefix.

bilág	'sun'	mam-il-el-ág	'bask in the sun'
umuk	'nest'	mag-un-om-uk	'wrap up against wind'
udán	'rain'	ud-od-án	'lot of rain'
mag-uyung	'mad'	mang-uy-oy-ung	'joke', 'fool', 'tease'
mag-itúd	'stay put'	awe-na makaq-it -et-úd	'he can't stay put'
gilát	'barbed steel arrow head'	gil-el-át	'small barbed bamboo arrow head'
ulag	'snake'	ul-ol-ag	'insect'
ulat	'blanket'	ul-ol-at	'cape', 'outer gar- ment'
hutug	'bow'	hut-ot-ug	'small bamboo bow'
lavûn-an	'guess'	maki-l-el-avún	'be ignorant'
talun	'forest'	i-t-et-alun-an	'forest dweller'

1.3 Morphophonemics

The morphophonemics of specific affixes are discussed in the sections in which those affixes are handled. However, there are some general tendencies requiring mention.

Glottal stop (*q*) occurs as a phoneme in Agta, occurring between vowels and as first or second member of a consonant cluster. It also occurs before utterance initial vowel and after utterance final vowel, but it has not been marked in these positions as it disappears in sequences when consonants are contiguous to it. This follows current Philippine usage. However, except in cases of reduction which are specifically mentioned in the grammar, such as after the prefix *pa-* and a few roots beginning with *á*, a glottal stop occurs between two vowels coming together at a morpheme boundary. Such glottals are marked, being written as the final segment of the first of the two morphemes. E.g. *atuq-en* 'the dog', *tabaq-in* 'the fat', *baliq-in* 'the house', *maq-azi* 'dispensed with', *nagaq-intak* 'stopped' (i.e. wind), *magaq-udán* 'it is raining continuously', *maq-ulqulig* 'sleep very deeply', *maq-umug* 'stifle', *maq-ámu* 'know', *maq-álán* 'many'. Among the few exceptional roots beginning with *á*, before which the *a* of the affix is lost, are: *m-áta* 'green', 'unripe', *m-álsut* 'sour', *m-ámit* 'sweet'.

Probably the most common morphophonemic change is the shifting of vowel *length*, which has not been completely analysed.

Word base final *n* usually assimilates to the point of articulation of the initial consonant of a contiguous following suffix, or free word in the same phrase. Similarly, the final *ng* of the prefixes *ing-* and *mameng-* assimilates to the point of articulation of following consonants, except for *r*, *l*, and *h*. E.g. *asin* 'salt', *asing-ku* 'my salt', *asim-mi* 'our salt'; *pana* 'arrow shaft', *mag-im-pána* 'put shaft on (arrow head)'; *pingit* 'edge', *mag-im-pingit* 'be on the edge'; *tallu* 'three', *mamen-tallu* 'three times'; *pitu* 'seven', *mamem-pitu* 'seven times'.

2.0 THE EQUATION

The major sentence-forming construction ⁵ in the Agta language is the *equation*. That is, apart from exclamations, some brief commands and responses, the minimal complete sentence contains two word bases (i.e. roots or stems which may be affixed), or a word base and a pronoun or two pronouns, and these word bases are linked together by the form YA. There are three linking mechanisms of this type in Agta, which have been termed ligatures ⁶ after current Philippine usage, YA being the clause-forming ligature. YA has two simultaneous functions:

- (a) it syntactically and semantically links the two word bases as the two terminals⁷ of an equation,
- (b) it brings into focus the second of the two terminals as the continuing topic⁸ of the paragraph or conversation.

Thus a very literal rendering of the Agta equivalent for 'The man is running.' would be 'The-one-who-is-running is the-man.', while 'The man is red.' could be rendered 'The-red-thing is the-man.', and 'The man is a soldier.' could be rendered 'Soldier is the-man.'

Whereas unaffixable roots belong to a number of small, distinct classes according to their occurrence and syntactic function, word bases behave functionally as one class. All word bases may occur as either first or second terminal of an equation, whether actually affixed in a particular occurrence or not. They include stems and derived forms, which can be affixed in the same way as simple word bases (roots). Basically, then, any equation may be represented by the formula: Word base YA word base. However, for the sake of greater understandability to speakers of English, word bases actually occurring in sentences will be divided into two "classes". That occurring with an inflectional affix or affixes (other than pronouns) will be termed "Verb"; while that occurring without inflectional affixes (apart from pronouns) will be termed "Noun". The terms "Noun" and "Verb", then, are entirely grammatical, referring to particular actualisations of a word base. The word base itself is intrinsically neither a "Noun" nor a "Verb" apart from a specific grammatical environment. This grammatical environment is morphological rather than syntactic, as the basic sen-

tence-forming construction is the same whether its terminals are "Noun" or "Verb".

A *clause* in Agta contains one equation only, that is, one YA construction with one focused item. It is possible, however, for a clause to fill any position normally occupied by a word base, such as terminal of an equation, etc. Except for exclamations, brief commands and responses, a minimal *sentence* contains one equation. Sentences often contain more than one clause, and thus more than one equation.

2.1 Noun YA Noun

There are three possible *forms of the ligature YA* when its following terminal is a Noun:

- (a) *ya* occurs with all word bases except those specified below for *yi* and *yig*.

Imurung ya adet na kalsáda. Imurung YA end NA road. 'Imurung is the end of the road.'

Ká-hikhiklam-in k-áraráw-in ya damdam-k-in. event-pl/night-NA/this event-pl/day-NA/this YA sadness-NA/I-NA/this. 'My sorrow continues night and day.'

- (b) *yi* occurs with all personal names, as well as the following kinship terms.

ábay	'daughter', 'girl'
ábe	'older sibling' (term of address)
aleng	'son', 'boy'
atawa	'spouse'
bábo	'grandparent'
kabirát	'spouse of sibling-in-law'
kaka-	'older sibling' (term of reference)
káyung	'brother-in-law of man'
dama-	'father' (term of reference)
hina-	'mother' (term of reference)
ipág	'sibling-in-law other than <i>káyung</i> '
masina	'aunt' (true or by marriage)
úte	'uncle' (true or by marriage)
wagi	'younger sibling'

All other kinship terms than the above occur with the non-personal ligature *ya*. Among these others are: *manuháng* 'child-in-law', *katuhangán* 'parent-in-law', *afu* 'grandchild', *pangána-kán* 'sibling's child', *kasinsin* 'cousin', *anáak* 'offspring', *kábayán* 'boy's sister', *kalakyán* 'girl's brother'.

Tákwán yi hina-na. another YA mother-NA/he. 'He had a different mother.'

Kaluhung-ku yi Tinoy. relative-NA/I YA Tinoy. 'Tinoy is my relative.'

(c) *yig* occurs with all personal names, and the kinship terms listed above for *yi*. Its use implies that the person named has companions, and often that the companion is a spouse of the person named and that spouse stands in taboo relationship to the speaker and must not be named.

Commonly occurring without verbal affixes and therefore classified as Nouns are a number of word bases corresponding to *numerals*, *adjectives of measurement* and of *colour* in English. They may occur as first terminal in an equation, in which case their behaviour is exactly the same as other Nouns, and they carry such meanings as 'three units', 'the-tall-thing', 'the-black-thing'. However, their usual adjectival semantic equivalents have been given below.

Cardinal Numbers:

1	tátaqday	6	annam
2	dúwa	7	pitu
3	tallu	8	walu
4	appát	9	siyam
5	líma	10	ma-fulu
12	ma-fulu dúwa (etc.)	60	annama-fulu
20	dwa-fulu	70	pitu-fulu
30	tallu-fulu	80	walu-fulu
40	appáta-fulu	90	siyama-fulu
50	lima-fulu	100	ma-gatut
103	ma-gatut á tallu	200	dwa-gatut
133	ma-gatut á tallu-fulu tallu	300	tallu-gatut (etc.)
1000	ma-ribu	2000	dwa-ribu (etc.)

Measurements:

abíkan	'near'	apísi	'short'
adálam	'deep'	assang	'small', 'few'
adánuk	'tall', 'high'	assi	'shallow'
adáyu	'far'	dakal	'big'
addu	'many', 'much'	dappug	'huge'
aláwa	'wide'	ngámin	'all'

Colours:

asul	'blue'	furáw	'white', 'pale'
kiyáw	'lemon yellow'	ngilá	'yellow'
darág	'red', 'brown'	ngisit	'black', 'dark'

Tallu ya barawási-na. three YA dress-NA/she. 'She has three dresses.'
 Assang ya bilág. small YA sun. 'The sun was far down.'
 Dakal na yi ábay. big now YA little/girl. 'Girlie is big now.'

Adáddu ya ganna ta radáng ni ábay. very/much YA phlegm TA chest
 NA daughter. 'There's a lot of phlegm in my daughter's chest.'
 Darág ya mukát-na. red YA face-NA/he. 'His face is red.' or 'He
 has a red face.'
 Abábíkan na ya bali na Agta. very/close now YA house NA Agta. 'The
 Agta houses are very close now.'

Also occurring without verbal affixes and therefore classified
 as Nouns are the following: *ittá* 'there is', *awán* 'there is none',
 and *bakkan* 'it is not'. Although most frequently occurring as
 first terminal, they are distinguishable from Pronouns in that
 they may occur either as first or second terminal of the equa-
 tion without changing class, and when they are in second ter-
 minal position the YA ligature precedes them, whereas the
 ligature is incorporated in the form of Pronouns.

Ittá ya lamán. there/is YA boar. 'There was a wild pig.'
 Ittá ya Ugsin. there/is YA lowlander. 'There was a lowlander there.'
 Ittá ya walawer na assang. there/is YA small/creek NA small. 'There
 was a small creek.'
 Ittá ya dulay teyák. there/is YA bad TA/I. 'There is something wrong
 with me.' or 'I have something to complain about.'
 Ittá paqen sina ya kaluhung-ku kid-en. there/is reply TA/there YA
 relative-NA/I pl-NA/that. 'I have some relatives here.'
 Awán na ya bída na lamán. there/is/none now YA story NA boar.
 'There'll be no more pig stories now.'
 Awán ya lalaki-mi kid-en. there/is/none YA man-NA/we pl-NA/that.
 'Our menfolk aren't here.'

2.2 Equations Involving Pronouns

In any construction in which a Noun may occur, there is a
 corresponding class of *Pronouns* which may substitute for it,
 plus its preceding ligature, if any. A separate class of Pro-
 nouns exists for each ligature as well as a class which substi-
 tutes for a Noun without a preceding ligature. Listed hereunder
 are the *INTU* Class Pronouns which substitute for a Noun
 without a preceding ligature, occurring as the first terminal
 of an equation; and the *YA* Class Pronouns which substitute
 for a Noun with a preceding *YA* ligature, occurring as the
 second terminal of an equation.

PERSONAL PRONOUNS

<i>Singular:</i>	<i>INTU Class:</i>	<i>YA Class:</i>
First Person (1)	iyák	ák, yák
Inclusive Person (1 + 2)*	ikíta	kíta
Second Person (2)	iko	ka
Third Person (3)	intu	—

Plural:

First Person (1)	ikami	kami
Inclusive Person (1 + 2)	ikitám	kitám
Second Person (2)	ikamuy	kám
Third Person (3)	ikid	kid

The allomorph *ák* of the first person singular of the YA Class occurs after stem-final consonant, *yák* after stem-final vowel. There is no overt morpheme for the third person singular of the YA Class, but overt morphemes do occur for third person singular in all other Pronoun series. A zero morpheme is therefore postulated for third person singular, YA Class.¹⁰

The meanings of the above Pronouns are exactly as indicated by the numerals, namely, in order: 'I', 'we' (you and I), 'you', 'he' or 'she' or 'it', 'we' (excluding you), 'we' (all of us, including you), 'you', 'they'. Although it is impossible and unprofitable grammatically to try to draw morphological boundaries within the forms of these Pronouns, yet it is interesting to compare the forms *ka* 'you' (sg) and *kám* 'you' (pl) with the forms *kita* 'we' (you and I) and *kitám* 'we' (all of us, including you). On formal grounds as well as semantic grounds, the Personal Pronouns divide themselves into two groups of four, for Singular and Plural. That *kita* (and its counterparts for ligatures other than YA) patterns as a Singular Pronoun, despite the meaning of its English equivalent, is evidenced by the parallelism of the above forms, and by the fact that there is a separate form for each of the meanings 'I plus you' (*kita*) and 'we plus you' (*kitán*). A further evidence of this is to be found in Section 7.1(a).

Corresponding to both the INTU and YA Class Personal Pronouns above, there is a single series of *Impersonal Pronouns or Demonstratives*. These occur in the same positions as the Personal Pronouns. Their English equivalent would be demonstrative pronouns.

IMPERSONAL PRONOUNS:

INTU and YA Class

this (near me)	yan
that (near you, or referred to by you)	yana
that (in middle distance)	yewan
that (in far distance, out of sight, referred to by me)	yen

These Impersonal Pronouns may be pluralised by the suffixation of *-kid*, e.g. *yeyan^s-kid* 'these', *yana-kid* 'those (near you)', *yewan^s-kid* 'those', *yen^s-kid* 'those'.

The prefix *ye-* may occur with these Impersonal Pronouns, slightly emphasising their demonstrativeness. There may or may not be a glottal stop between the two morphemes in the first two cases, thus:

yeqyan or yeyan
 yeqyana or yeyana
 yeqyewan
 yeqyen

With the two more distant Pronouns, *yo* sometimes occurs, emphasising the great distance.

yo yewan
 yo yen

(a) *Noun YA/Pronoun*

- Tátaqday ák. one YA/I. 'I'm alone.'
 Dappug ka. huge YA/you/sg. 'You're enormous.'
 Bábabáng kid. Very/many YA/they. 'There were lots of them.'
 Tákwan. another (YA/it). 'It was different.'
 Dakal na. big (YA/he) now. 'He's big now.'
 Hitlam na. night (YA/it) now. 'It's already night.'
 Dulay yan. bad YA/this. 'This is no good.'
 Sabadu kami. Saturday YA/we. 'We'll go on Saturday.'
 Balabaqbáqat ák lá. little/old/woman YA/I only. 'I'm just a little old woman.'
 Dúwa kid ay. two YA/they emphatic. 'There are two of them.'
 Tallu kám mantu ay. three YA/you/pl then emphatic. 'Then there are three of you.'
 Mágge abíkan kami-n ta íli. almost near YA/we-now TA town. 'Now we were fairly close to town.'
 Kuman-en kami. likeness-Na/that YA/we. 'We are the same.' or 'We are just like that.'
 Ittá kid na. there/is YA/they now. 'Here they are now.'
 Ittá yák-in. there/is YA/I-NA/this. 'Here I am.'
 Ittá ka-n mantu. there/is YA/you/sg-now then. 'So you're here!'
 Ittá ta talun. there/is (YA/he) TA forest. 'He's in the forest.'
 Awán kid. there/is/none YA/they. 'They aren't here.'
 Awán kid na ta bali. there/is/none YA/they now TA house. 'They aren't home.'
 Awán ák ta barawási. there/is/none YA/I TA dress. 'I have no dress.'
 Awán ka ta nonot. there/is/none YA/you sg TA mind. 'You've got no sense.'
 Awán kami ta bagbaggát. there/is/none YA/we TA pl/rice. 'We haven't a grain of rice.'
 Bakkan ák ta babbay. it/is/not YA/I TA woman. 'I'm not a woman.'
 Bakkan yana ta tarong. it/is/not YA/that TA egg/plant. 'That's not egg-plant.'

(b) *Pronoun YA Noun*

- Intu kán ya dalán. it he/says YA trail. 'He says this is the trail.'
 Yan ya m-apyá na dalán. this YA state-good NA trail. 'This a good trail.'
 Yan ya Agtaq-in yan. this YA Agta-NA/this this. 'This Agta is the one.'
 Yen ya uhohug ni Pedruq-en. that YA/word NA Pedro-NA/that. 'Those were Pedro's words.' or 'That's what Pedro said.'
 Yen ya gafu na ka-paqgang-ku. that YA reason NA event-cautious-NA/I. 'That's the reason for my caution.' or 'That's why I'm being cautious.'

For examples of first and second person Pronouns as the first terminal of an equation see Sections 2.3(d) and 2.4.

Besides Personal and Impersonal Pronouns of the INTU Class, there is a further set of Pronouns which occur in first terminal position in an equation, and nowhere else. These are the *Interrogatives*.

anu	'what?'
kánu	'when?'
umanu	'how? 'what . . . like?'
hád	'where?'
inya	'who?'
píga	'how many?' 'how much?'

Both *kánu* (i.e. *ka-* + *anu*) and *umanu* (i.e. *um-* + *anu*) are morphologically complex. Now *um-* and *ka-* are verbal affixes, sufficient morphological reason for including *umanu* and *kánu* amongst Verbs rather than Pronouns. However, they have not the free distribution of affixed word bases. They share the limited distribution of this small class of Interrogative Pronouns, so have been retained with them.

- Anu pano ya ma-sikan na bída ta ayan-in. what ever YA state-strong NA talk TA time-NA/this. 'Whatever will be good to talk about now?'
- Umanu ya bali-da. what/like YA house-NA/they. 'What are their houses like?'
- Hád ya dalán-in where YA trail-NA/this. 'Where's the trail?'
- Hád ya assang-en láta. where YA small-NA/that tin/can. 'Where's that small tin can?'
- Inya ya tolay, inya ya babbay. who YA person, who YA woman. 'Who are the people, who is the woman?'
- Píga kán ya láqbaq-en. how/many they/say YA basket-NA/that. 'They're asking how many baskets you want.'

(c) *Pronoun YA/Pronoun*

Within the limits of semantic reasonableness, a Pronoun of the INTU Class (including Interrogatives) and a Pronoun of the YA Class may be equated the one to the other.

Intu yeyan. it YA/this. 'This is it. or 'This is the one.'

Intu yen-ina. it YA/that-NA/that/mentioned/by/you. 'That's the one you asked about.'

Anu yen. what YA/that. 'What is that?'

Anu yeyana. what YA/that/near/you. 'What is that?' or 'What have you got there?'

Inya yana. who YA/that/near/you. 'Who is that?'

Kánu ta láqwát. when (YA/it) TA tomorrow. 'What day is it tomorrow?'

Umanu ka lá. how YA/you/sg only. 'How are you?'

2.3 *Equations Involving MAG Class and PAG Class Verbs*

There are several classes of verbal affixes, each class corresponding to the focusing¹¹ of a different item in the clause. If a MAG Class verbal affix occurs, then the actor is focused (marked by YA). If an AN Class verbal affix occurs, then the goal or accessory is correspondingly focused. The focused item (the second terminal as actor, goal or accessory) may in fact itself be the verbal form having the relevant affix. In this section only those equations will be discussed in which the actor is the topic or item in focus.

Semantically, the *actor* is the doer or influence responsible for the action or the experiencer of the state; grammatically, the actor is the word base (or Pronoun) immediately following a word base occurring with verbal affixes. The actor obligatorily occurs with all focus-carrying Verbs.

The *MAG Class* includes the following affixes:

mag-	nag-	'activity', 'progress	actor
mang-	nang-	towards a state'	
-um-	-um-		
maga-	naga-	'continuous activity'	continuous
uma-	uma-	'ability or liability to	ability
maka-	naka-	act', 'responsibility',	
		'continued action'	
maki-	naki-	'corporate action'	corporate
ma- ¹²	na-	'state', 'condition'	state
meka-		'ordinal number'	ordinal
mameng-	mameng-	'number of times'	times
tag-, sag-		'number each',	each
		'number at a time'	

In addition, the following *combinations* occur:

maging-	naging-	'come into or be in position'	position
magsaga-	nagsaga-	'extended activity',	more
nagká-	nagká-	'more'	
magi-	nagi-	'reciprocal activity'	reciprocal
mangi-	nangi-	'activity'	actor
me- (ma- + i-)	ne- (na- + i-)	'state', 'condition'	state
ma- -an	na- -an	'state', 'condition'	state

The inner layer affixes occurring in these combinations are: *ing-* 'position'; *saga-* 'more'; *ká-* 'reciprocal'; *i-* 'accessory focus'; *-an* 'goal focus'. Apart from these combinations, the goal and accessory morphemes occur contrastively to MAG.

With all MAG Class affixes except *-um-* the initial *m-* indicates *Present/Future* tense, that is, the activity will take place in the future, or is beginning in the present and will continue into the future. Occasionally this form is also used for narrative Past tense. The initial *n-* indicates Past tense, that is, the activity has already taken place. Further refinements of time are indicated outside the morphology of the Verb.

The affix *-um-* is prefixed to vowel initial stems, but occurs after the first consonant of consonant initial stems. The form *-im-* occurs interchangeably with *-um-*, although the particular dialect studied tends to favour *-um-*. Stems occurring with *-um-* (as against *mag-*, which occurs with few of the same stems as *-um-*) cannot easily be predicted, so require memorisation. One group of word bases, however, always takes *-um-*, namely the measurements and colours discussed in Section 2.1 above, e.g. *abíkan* 'near', *um-abíkan* 'approach'; *assang* 'small', *um-assang* 'shrink'; *dakal* 'big', *d-um-akal* 'grow big', 'grow up'; *darág* 'red', *d-um-arág* 'redden'; *furáw* 'white', *f-um-uráw* 'become white', 'be bleached', 'fade'.

The following reductions usually occur when the final *ng* of *mang-* (and also the prefixes *ang-* and *pang-*) is contiguous with a stem initial consonant (both when the stem is a simple word base and when an expanded word base contains the prefixes *pa-* or *ka-*);

ng plus *b*, *f*, or *p* becomes *m*,

ng plus *d*, *s*, or *t* becomes *n*,

ng plus *k* becomes *ng*,

but no change occurs before vowels, semi-vowels, *l*, *r*, *h*, or *g*.

The prefixes *mameng-* and *ing-* differ from the above in that although *ng* assimilates to the point of articulation of the following consonant (except *l*, *r*, or *h*), no reduction takes place.

The *PAG Class* of affixes, which occur with word bases in positions usually other than that of first terminal of an equation, is focusless. Past tense is indicated by the prefixing of *ne-* to *pag-*, *pang-*, *paka-*, *paki-*, *ka-* and their combinations. *ag-*, *ang-*, and combinations including them are tenseless. The same morphophonemic rules apply in the cases of *pang-* and *ang-* as apply to *mang-*.

The *PAG Class* includes the following affixes:

	Meaning	Symbol used in literal translation
<i>pag-</i>	'time of, reason for, instrument used for, manner of an activity'	event
<i>pang-</i>		
<i>paka-</i>	'reason for continued activity'	continued/event
<i>paki-</i>	'time of, reason for corporate activity'	corporate/event
<i>ka-</i> ¹³	'time of, reason for, manner of an activity'	event
<i>ang-</i>	'instrument, method used in activity'	instrument
<i>ag-</i>		
<i>-án</i>		

In addition, the following combinations occur:

	Meaning	Symbol used in literal translation
<i>paging-</i>	'time of activity'	event
<i>pagká-</i>	'time of reciprocal activity'	reciprocal/event
<i>ká- -án</i>	'fellow'	fellow
<i>pag- -an</i>	'time of, reason for an activity'	event
<i>pang- -an</i>		
<i>pag- -án</i>	'place of an activity'	place
<i>pang- -án</i>		
<i>ka- -án</i>	'place of an activity'	superlative
	'superlative'	
<i>pagi- -an</i>	'time of, reason for an activity'	event
<i>pangi- -an</i>		
<i>pagi- -án</i>	'place of an activity'	place
<i>pangi- -án</i>		
<i>ag- -án</i>	'instrument used in activity'	instrument
<i>ang- -án</i>		
<i>agi- -án</i>		

The contrastive identification of *-an* and *-án* is difficult where a pronoun is suffixed, with attendant morphophonemic changes in the occurrence of vowel length.

Although 'time' and 'reason' are the usual meanings of the *pag-* group of affixes, and 'instrument' is the usual meaning of the *ag-* group of affixes, as indicated above, many cases have been found in textual data where *pag-* seems to mean 'instrument', and where *ag-* means 'time' or 'reason'.

The use of *ka-án* in the sense of 'superlative' is illustrated by the following: *ma-sikan* 'strong', *ka-sikan-án* 'the strongest one'; *dulay* 'bad', *ka-dulay-án* 'the worst one'.

Ka-kurug-án ya gilát-in yana. superlative-true YA arrow/head-NA/this that/near/you. 'That arrow-head is the real thing.'

(a) Verb YA Noun

In this construction the first terminal is a word base with a MAG Class verbal affix as its outermost layer, the second is a Noun and is in focus, that is, it is the topic of conversation or discourse, the centre of attention. Very literally, the first terminal has the structural meaning of "one who is doing", so that *Mag-bída yi Pedru* (actor-story YA Pedro) is literally 'One-who-is-telling-a-story is Pedro', but the best English equivalent is 'Pedro is telling a story.' Where the prefix *ma-* is used, the structural meaning is "one who is being", so that *Ma-sikan ya udán* (state-strong YA rain) is literally 'What-is-strong is rain', but the best English equivalent is 'The rain is heavy'.

Nag-tugut ya atu. past/actor-walk YA dog. 'The dog walked away.'

Mag-ahút ya igung. actor-flow YA nose. '(My) nose is running.'

Nag-terínap yi ábe. past/actor-dream YA older/sibling. 'Abe was dreaming.'

Mag-dogkong yi Namaradpadán. actor-crawl YA Namaradpadán. 'Namaradpadán is crawling.'

Nag-bannad ya ufuffu-k-in. Past/actor- numb YA thighs-NA/I-NA/this. 'My thighs have gone numb.'

K-im-alkalfug ya gaddang. actor-peel YA skin. 'The skin is peeling (from sunburn).'

I-um-ásáng ya bilág. actor-rise YA sun. 'The sun rose.'

B-im-ilag ya ugtaq-en. actor-run YA deer-NA/that. 'The deer ran away.'

Ma-sikan ya paddád. state-strong YA wind. 'The wind is strong.'

Ma-kuldag ya dalán. state-slippery YA trail. 'The trail was slippery.'

Na-basa ya barawási. past/state-wet YA dress. '(My) dress is wet.'

Na-blin na ya daget-naq-in. past/state-finish now YA sewing-NA/she-NA/this. 'Her sewing is finished already.'

Ne-lipit ya papel. past/state-clamp YA paper. 'The papers are clamped together.'

Ne-kulzát yi ipág ta dalán. past/state-slip YA sibling/in/law TA trail. 'Ipág slipped on the trail.'

Naka-datang ya aráw. past/ability-arrive YA day. 'The day arrived.'

(b) *Verb YA/Pronoun*

A Pronoun of the YA Class may also occur as second terminal of an equation with a Verb as the first.

Mag-talaw ák. actor-fear YA/I. 'I'm scared.'

Mag-ábak kita. actor-race YA/we/two. 'Let's have a race.'

Nag-túnud kami. past/actor-accompany YA/we/(excluding/you). 'We were together.'

Mag-udán. actor-rain (YA/it). 'It is raining.'

Naka-bílag. past/ability-run (YA/he). 'He could run.' or 'He was a good runner.'

K-im-árkaraw ák. actor-start YA/I. 'I started (in fright).'

Maka-bílag ka hapa? ability-run YA/you/sg also. 'Can you run too?'

Mag-tugut kita-n. actor-leave YA/we/two-now. 'Let's go now.'

Mag-sigong kitám bí. actor-shade YA/we/all a/little/bit. 'Let's all sit in the shade for a while.'

Na-hunak kid na hapa. past/state-fall YA/they now also. 'They have fallen down too.'

M-apyá yana. state-good YA/that/referred/to/by/you. 'That's good.'

M-apyá yana na álád. state-good YA/that/near/you NA fence. 'That's a nice fence.'

(c) *Noun YA Verb*

In this construction it is the second terminal which is a word base with verbal affixes. Being the second terminal, it is the verbal form which is focused in this case, and the Noun which is equated to it. Any MAG or PAG Class affix may occur with a word base in this position, but those most commonly used are *mang-* and *maka-*.

Ittá ya mang-pasikkal. there/is YA actor-talk/a/lot. 'There's someone (here) who likes to talk a lot.'

Ittá ya um-ange ta saksi ta bali na kofun-tám. there/is YA past-come TA Jehovah's/Witnesses TA house NA friend-NA/we/all. 'There was an occasion when Jehovah's Witnesses came to our friends' place.'

Takahabi ya awe-na ne-pang-án. yesterday YA not-NA/he past-event-eat. 'It was yesterday he didn't eat.'

Pake dakal ya ag-sitang-na. very big YA instrument-noise-NA/he. 'He has a very loud voice.'

Ili ya pag-gafú-n na ngatngat na Ugsin. town YA place-origin NA tobacco NA lowlander. 'The lowlanders get their tobacco in town.'

Ittá sangaw ya pag-kolan-an-na teyák. there/is later YA event-tire-NA/he TA/I. 'The time will come later on when he'll get tired of me.' or 'He'll get tired of me later on.'

(d) *Pronoun YA Verb*

In place of a Noun, an INTU Class Pronoun may occur as the first terminal of the construction.

Inya ya maka-liqbag. who YA ability-muddy/water. 'Who muddied the water?'

- Inya ya mang-awe. who YA actor-not. 'Who won't?'
 Inya ya naka-liwát kekamuy. who YA past/ability-fault TA/you/pl.
 'Which of you is the guilty one? or 'Who is the guilty one among
 you?'
- Anu ya ka-poray-m-in. what YA event-angry-NA/you/sg-NA/this. 'What
 are you mad about?' or 'Why are you angry?'
- Anu ya mag-hehit-in ta sihat-k-in. what YA actor-move-NA/this TA
 stomach-NA/I-NA/this. 'What's this moving round in my stomach?'
- Kánu pano ya ka-balin-na. when ever YA event-finish-NA/it. 'When-
 ever will it be finished?'
- Umanu ya ka-dakal-na. how YA event-big-NA/it. 'How big is it?'
- Yana ya mag-aláp ta uhohug. that YA actor-collect TA word. 'It's
 the thing that picks up words.' (i.e. tape recorder)
- Iyák lá ya e-m pag-sitang-án. I only YA come-goal/NA/you/sg place-
 noise. 'I'm the only one you come and talk to.'
- Intu ya k-ánge pag-sitang-án. she YA event-go place-noise. 'She's the
 one to go and talk to.'
- Yeqyan ya e-m-mi me-pag-pasyár. this YA go-goal-NA/we past-
 event-visit. 'This is the time we went visiting.' or 'This is when
 we went visiting.'

(e) *Verb YA Verb*

It is possible for any verbal form as first terminal (within the limits of 2.3(a) above) to occur with another verbal form as second terminal (within the limits of section 2.3(c) above).

Awe-na na-paparefu ikid na awe-na nag-gagita ya ne-pang-atad na Namarátu ta panonot. not-NA/it past/state-same they NA not-NA/it past/actor-same YA past-event-give NA God TA mind. 'The mental orientations given by God aren't exactly the same (for everybody).'

2.4 "Understood" YA

Parallel to each of the above types of equation (included under Sections 2.1, 2.2, and 2.3), there are a minority of utterances which contain no overt YA and yet have in all other respects the form of the equation. They occur as complete utterances in isolation, and they do not parallel any of the other constructions in Agta. It would therefore seem that the ligature YA may optionally be omitted from utterances whose structural shape is unambiguous, especially in fast or excited speech. With the examples hereunder the type of equation has been indicated.

- Ittá hilág-na. there/is (YA) light-NA/it. 'It has a light.'
- Ittá sobra-naqin. there/is (YA) more-NA/this. 'There is more of it.'
- Itlá afuy ta umag. there/is (YA) fire TA inside. 'There is a fire inside.'

Babbay lá ittá sin. woman only (YA) there/is TA/here. 'Only the women are here.'

Ittá lá sangaw aráw na paging-bábár-tám. there/is only later (YA) day NA event-talk-NA/we/all. 'Later on there will be a day for us to talk.'

Pronoun YA Noun

Hád kunna. where (YA) likeness. 'How?'

Anu paha serbi na na-labag-ewan álád. what still (YA) use NA past/state-rotten-NA/that fence. 'What's the use of that rotten fence.'

Noun YA Verb

Ittá um-unek ta bali. there/is (YA) actor-go/up TA house. 'Someone had come up into the house.'

Pronoun YA Verb

Ikita kán mag-bída. we/two they/say (YA) actor-story. 'They are asking us to tell a story.'

Intu mantu nang-awáwán ta taddung-en. he then (YA) past/actor-lose TA hat-NA/that. 'Then he's the one who lost the hat.'

Iko hud lá mak-ámu na lalaki mam-alsiquit. you/sg interrogative only (YA) ability-know NA man actor-shoot. 'Do you think you're the only man who knows how to shoot?'

Anu hamampa k-áwán na ta sirbi-na. what *hamámpa* (YA) event-none now TA use-NA/it. 'Why ever is it no use now?'

Inya k-um-ín. who (YA) actor-say. 'Who said so?'

Inya ma-polu tekita m-asi. who (YA) state-first TA/we/two state-die. 'Which of us will be the first to die?'

The omission of the ligature YA does not occur where the second terminal is a Pronoun or a personal name or kinship term.

2.5 *Double YA*

Where the first terminal of an equation is a personal name or kinship term, it is necessary to indicate the fact formally by preceding the name with *yi* or *yig*. Apart from apposition in the second terminal, this is the only case where two YA ligatures occur in the same clause. Otherwise, each YA means a new equation and a new clause. Here, however, the morphemic aspect of *yi* and *yig* takes precedence over the syntactic function of YA as a construction marker or ligature.

Yig kwa ya ange ta iten finugu na bebay. YA thing YA go TA there island NA sea. 'So-and-so and her companions were the ones who went there, to the island of the sea.'

3.0 **ATTRIBUTION**

The non-sentence-forming function of linking an attributive to its head word (or central, or nucleus)¹⁴ that is, the word base it qualifies, is performed by the ligature NA. The head word may be either first or second terminal in an equation, or it may be another attributive (that is, a word base following the ligature NA), or it may be a word base following the ligature TA. It may be a Noun, a Verb, or even occasionally a Pronoun. The attributive itself may also be a Noun, Verb, or Pronoun. The general structural meaning of the attributive relationship is *possession or responsibility*, the former particularly when the head word is a Noun and the latter particularly when the head word is a Verb. In this latter case the attributive is the person or thing responsible for the action of a goal focused Verb, and so is the *actor of a goal focused Verb*. Under possession may be subsumed such relationships as *possessor to possessed*, e.g. *huli na atu* (rump NA dog) 'the dog's rump'; *the whole to the part* which is included in it, e.g. *harsi na kayu* (flower NA tree) 'flower of the tree'; *the substance to the item made of it*, e.g. *lubid na magi* (string NA abaca) 'string'; and *positional referent to location*, e.g. *utum na bebay* (top NA sea) 'over the sea' or 'above the sea'. The latter case of attribution is the equivalent of the English prepositional phrase. In an attributive construction, the first terminal (that is, the word base preceding the ligature NA) is the head word (that is, the action, possessed, part, made item, or location), and the second terminal (the word base following the ligature NA) is the *attributive* (that is, the actor of a goal focused Verb, the possessor, the whole, the substance, or the positional referent). The attributive is therefore lateral syntactically to the word base to which it is linked by NA.

3.1 **An Attributive with Noun as Head Word**

(a) *Noun NA Noun*

There are three forms of the attributive ligature NA parallel to the three forms of YA (Section 2.1 above). *na* occurs with all word bases except personal names and the kinship terms

listed for *yi* in Section 2.1(b), and these two categories take the form *ni*. The form *nig* is used before personal names and the same list of kinship terms if the person specified has companions, and especially if the companion is the spouse of the person named and that spouse stands in taboo relationship to the speaker and must not be named.

- bída na lamán story NA wild/pig 'a story about wild pig'
 zigzig na karayán bank NA river 'the river bank'
 bali ni Isus house NA Isus 'Isus' house'
 bilság na manuk flesh NA chicken 'chicken meat'
 fún na hila base NA tongue 'root of the tongue'
 palád na takki sole NA foot 'sole of the foot'
 píyak na itik chick NA duck 'duckling'
 adug na afuy sound NA fire 'sound of a fire'
 kayu na dupat treḡ NA banana 'banana palm'
 guhu na igung hole NA nose 'nostril'
 uhohug ni Tomi word NA Tomi 'Tomi's word', 'what Tomi said'
 radáng ni ábay chest NA daughter 'my little girl's chest'
 manuháng ni Andres son/in/law NA Andres. 'Andres' son-in-law'
 huli na anwáng-en rump NA water/buffalo-NA/that 'the back of the water-buffalo'
 igupan ni damá-k-en food NA father-NA/I-NA/that 'Father's food'
 bída nig Pedru story NA Pedro/plus 'what Pedro and his companions told'
 siksik na bari na talihut scales NA body NA boa/constrictor 'the body-scales of a boa constrictor'
 nagán na kayu na anyog name NA tree NA coconut 'the name of the coconut palm'
 bali na kofun na Agta na Adawág house NA friend NA Agta NA Adawág 'the house of a friend of the Agtas of Adawág'
 bali na furáw na tolay house NA white NA person 'white man's house'
 Kuman ka na tukák. likeness YA/you/sg NA frog. 'you are like a frog.'
 The following are examples of the attributive being a *substance*:
 hutotug na balláng small/bow NA anahaw/wood 'a small bow made of anahaw wood'
 taletay na hulu bridge NA bamboo 'a bamboo bridge'

The Agta equivalent of the English *preposition* is a Noun, that is, an unaffixed word base which may occur without an attributive, or may be followed by another word base functioning as an attributive to it and having the semantic significance of positional referent. Such Nouns include the following:

abák	'half way along'
ákbán	'bottom', 'down' (of hill, etc.)

adet	'as far as', 'extent'
adún	'underneath', 'below' (house only)
atubáng	'front'
bikat	'near'
dammang	'across', 'the other side' (of river, valley)
fún	'base', 'finish', 'bottom', 'end'
lágum	'inside' (house only)
lekud	'back'
lehut	'around' (also <i>pag-lehut</i>)
lingad	'behind'
liwán	'outside'
pingit	'edge'
rát	'between' (two similar things)
tagad sin	'this side'
tagad ten	'that side'
tangán	'middle', 'between'
taqakub	'the other side' (of house, hill, etc.)
úd	'front', 'top', 'start'
umag	'in', 'inside', 'under (water)'
unán	'beyond'
utun	'top', 'over'

One exceptional case in the above list is that of *bikat*, which always occurs with an attributive, but *abikan* 'nearby' occurs without an attributive. *Adet* and *lehut* also always occur with an attributive.

Im-uhet kami ta bikat na bali na Ugsin. actor-emerge YA/we TA near NA house NA lowlander. 'We came out near a lowlander's house.'

Mag-ibebay ta adún na bali. actor-hang/clothes (YA/she) TA underneath NA house. 'She's hanging clothes under the house.'

Adáddu na bída ta lágum na bali na Ugsin. very/much NA talk (YA/it) TA inside NA house NA lowlander. 'There was a long conversation in the lowlander's house.'

Na-polu yák ta dammang na assang na walawer. past/state-first YA/I TA across NA small NA small/creek. 'I was the first across the little creek.'

Nag-sigong kami ta fún na mangga. past/actor-shade YA/we TA base NA mango. 'We sat in the shade at the foot of a mango tree.'

D-um-atang kami ta pingit na ammay. actor-arrive YA/we TA edge NA rice. 'We reached the edge of the rice field.'

S-im-ahok kami ta umag na ammay. actor-enter YA/we TA in NA rice. 'We went right into the standing rice.'

Ittá ya walawer ta abák na dalán ta utun tambák. there/is YA small/creek TA half/way NA trail TA top dyke. 'There was a small creek half way along the trail on top of the dyke.'

Ittá kid na ta liwán na langit. there/is YA/they now TA outside NA sky. 'They were already outside the sky.'

(b) *Noun NA/Pronoun*

Corresponding to the NA ligature, there is a *NA Class* series of Pronouns. One of these may replace the Noun attributive plus the preceding ligature NA.

PERSONAL PRONOUNS

<i>Singular:</i>	<i>NA Class</i>
First Person (1)	-ku, -k
Inclusive Person (1 + 2)	-ta
Second Person (2)	-mu, -m
Third Person (3)	-na, -n
<i>Plural:</i>	
First Person (1)	-mi
Inclusive Person (1 + 2)	-tám
Second Person (2)	-muy
Third Person (3)	-da

The above series of Pronouns are suffixed to their head word, for they exert a regressive morphophonemic influence upon the head word, and the allomorphs *-k* and *-m* of the first and second persons singular respectively are not of a phonemic shape to be separate words. The allomorphs *-k* and *-m* occur following vowel final stems, and the stem final vowel is lengthened. When the final consonant of the stem is an *n*, it assimilates to the point of articulation of the first consonant of the Pronoun. In the case of the second person singular, the stem final *n* is lost, and the allomorph *-m* of the Pronoun occurs. No change occurs where the stem final consonant is other than an *n*, and the allomorph *-mu* occurs for the second person singular. The allomorph *-ku*, first person singular, occurs except following vowels. The allomorph *-n* of the third person singular *-na* occurs only in a sequence where the YA Class Pronoun *ák* follows. Similarly, *-k* and *-m* occur before a vowel initial suffix.

IMPERSONAL PRONOUNS

	<i>NA Class</i>
of this (near me)	na inín
of that (near you, or referred to by you)	na inína
of that (in middle distance)	na inewan
of that (in far distance, out of sight, referred to by me)	na inen

These NA Class Impersonal Pronouns may be pluralised by the suffixation of *-kid* in the same manner as the YA Class Impersonal Pronouns above (Section 2.2).

Although the ligature *na* occurs before the forms *inín*, *inína*, *inewan*, and *inen* of the Impersonal Pronouns (and the ligature *ta* occurs before the equivalent form *isin*, *isina*, *itewan*, and *iten* in the TA Class), these whole forms have been considered complex Pronouns rather than ligature plus Noun in each case. A Noun may follow any ligature without changing its form, but these Impersonal Pronoun series contain a unique set of forms for each ligature.

kofun-tám friend-NA/we/all 'our mutual friend'
 kofum-mi friend-NA/we 'our friend'
 kofung-k-en friend-NA/I-NA/that 'my friend'
 kaluhung-ku companion-NA/I 'my companion'
 bari-na body-NA/she 'her body'
 hutotug-mu small/bow-NA/you/sg 'your little bow'
 bída-da tale-NA/they 'what they said', 'their account'
 damá-k father-NA/I 'Father', 'my father'
 gadwa-na half-NA/it 'half of it'
 sobra-naq-in more-NA/it-NA/this 'more of it (this)'
 bali-muy-in house-NA/you/pl-NA/this 'these houses of yours'
 damdam na nonot-k-in sadness NA mind-NA/I-NA/this 'the sorrow of my heart'
 atawa na inín spouse NA this 'the husband of this person'
 kuman na inín likeness NA this 'like this fellow'
 kaluhun na inína companion NA that 'that person's companion'
 anák na inewan offspring NA that 'that person's child'

There is in Agta a very versatile word base *kwa*. When used as a Noun (i.e. when it occurs without verbal affixes) its meaning is 'thing'. With verbal affixes it often has the meaning 'do' or 'make'. When, however, the unaffixed form occurs followed by a NA Class Personal Pronoun, the whole has the meaning 'mine', etc., and behaves like any other *Noun NA/Pronoun* construction.

kwá-k	'mine'	kwa-mi	'ours' (excluding you)
kwa-ta	'ours' (we two)	kwa-tám	'ours' (including you)
kwá-m	'yours' (sg)	kwa-muy	'yours' (pl)
kwa-na	'his', 'hers', 'its'	kwa-da	'theirs'

(c) *Noun NA/Impersonal/Pronoun (-in type)*

More closely parallel structurally (though not semantically) to the NA Class Personal Pronouns is the following series of Impersonal Pronouns.

IMPERSONAL PRONOUNS
 this, here (near me)

NA Class
 -in

that, there (near you, or referred to by you)	-ina
that, there (in middle distance)	-ewan
that, there (in far distance, out of sight, referred to by me)	-en

These are suffixed to the word base like the Personal Pronouns, though when both are present the Personal Pronouns take first order suffixial position next to the stem, and the Impersonal Pronouns take second order suffixial position. Demonstrating the suffixial status of these Impersonal Pronouns, when the first order affix is first or second person singular, and an Impersonal Pronoun follows, the Personal Pronoun takes the form *-k* or *-m* respectively, even where the stem is consonant final. E.g. *nonot-k-in* (though-NA/I-NA/this) 'my thought'.

Semantically this *-in* type of Impersonal Pronoun differs from the other NA Class Pronouns in that the element of possession is lacking. It is suffixed to the word base simply to indicate where the thing is in relation to the speaker and the hearer, but its emphasis is very mild, its significance being roughly equivalent to 'the' in English, where its absence would on the whole be roughly equivalent to 'a'. It is almost obligatory where a particular thing is being referred to. It is not equivalent to the 'Demonstrative Adjectives' of English, 'this', 'that', 'these', 'those'; the addition of an INTU Class Impersonal Pronoun following word/base-NA/Impersonal/Pronoun/(-*in* type), and in apposition to it, giving such a significance.

There are a number of examples of the usages of the NA Class Impersonal Pronoun (*-in* type) in Section 3.1(b) above, and elsewhere.

Ma-pátu ya bilág-inn. state-hot YA sun-NA/that. 'The sun (that you've been talking about) is hot.'

Hád ya dalán-in. where YA trail-NA/this. 'Where is the trail?'

Yeyan ya uhohug ni Pedruq-en. this YA word NA Pedro-NA/that. 'This is what Pedro (who is not present) said.'

E yák ta damá-k-ewan. go YA I TA father-NA/I-NA/that. 'I'm going to Father (who is over there).'

Word bases are not intrinsically singular or plural, and usually number is not overtly marked. However, if it is desired to indicate unambiguously that something is plural, the form *kid* may be used in combination with the appropriate *-in* type Impersonal Pronoun. If a NA Class Personal Pronoun is

present, it is suffixed to the word base. The Impersonal Pronoun is suffixed to *kid*.

ngámin kid-in	all pl-NA/this	'everybody here'
kalaba kid-en	bee pl-NA/that	'the bees (in the story),
bali-da kid-en	house-NA/they pl-NA/ that	'their houses'

Ittá paqen sina ya kaluhung-ku kid-en. there/is reply TA/there YA
companion-NA/I pl-NA/that. 'I have some companions here (near
you).'

It is not polite or good form to mention a body part together with a second person NA Class Personal Pronoun. In particular, the genitals and liver used in such a combination constitute swearing. If, therefore, someone's body part must be referred to, the *-in* type NA Class Impersonal Pronoun is the usual euphemism for the Personal Pronoun, and is quite acceptable, e.g. *kamat-ina* (hand-NA/that/near/you) 'your hand'.

(d) *Pronoun NA/Impersonal/Pronoun (-in type)*

A NA Class Impersonal Pronoun of the *-in* type may also occasionally be suffixed to a YA Class Pronoun.

Ittá yák-in. there/is YA/I-NA/this. 'Here I am.'

Intu yen-ina. it YA/that-NA/that. 'It's the one (out of sight) (you asked about).'

In oratorical (*susuma*) texts, singular Pronouns may be pluralised by the addition of *kid* plus the appropriate *-in* type Impersonal Pronoun. This construction replaces the use of the usual plural form of the Pronouns.

E yák kid-in maq-uhohug teko. come YA/I pl-NA/this state-talk TA/
you/sg. 'We've come to talk to you.'

(e) *Noun NA Verb*

A word base with verbal affixes may occur as an attributive where the head word is a Noun.

aráw na paging-bábár-tám day NA event-discuss-NA/we/all 'a day for
us all to talk things over'

palataw na mang-pakannaq-ina knife NA actor-talk/a/lot-NA/that/near
you 'the knife of the talkative person (near you)'

Yen ya gafu na ka-paqqang-ku. that YA reason NA event-cautious-
NA/I. 'That's why I'm cautious.'

3.2 *An Attributive with Verb as Head Word*

When the head word of an attributive construction is a Verb, then the attributive is actor of a goal or accessory focused Verb and its relationship to its head could be described as responsibility. In this case, the head word is marked by an *AN Class* verbal affix, which indicates that the actor is not in focus. The whole construction Verb plus attributive in a non-sentence-forming unit, which may be the first or second terminal of an equation. If it is the first terminal, then the second and focused item is structurally goal or accessory in the situation. Accessory may include such semantic significances as instrument, agent, recipient, or purpose. It is therefore obligatory that the construction Verb plus attributive be followed by an item marked by the ligature YA except where it itself is the second terminal of an equation, and therefore marked by YA and structurally the focused item of the utterance. An attributive is obligatory to a Verb with an *AN Class* affix.

The literal meaning of an *AN Class* Verb plus its attributive is illustrated by the following. *In-azi na abbing ya barawási-na* (past/goal-remove NA child YA dress-NA/she) 'The child took off her dress' is literally 'Taken-off-by-the-child is her-dress'. Similarly, *Iq-e na abbing ya igupan ni dama-na* (accessory-come NA child YA food NA father-NA/she) 'The child is bringing her father's food' is literally 'Being-caused-to-come-by-the-child is her-father's food'. The centre of attention is 'dress' and 'food' respectively, and the verbal head word with its attributive construction in first terminal position is being equated to it in each case.

The *AN Class* includes the following affixes:

-an (Present/Future tense), -in-, -in- -an (Past tense) 'activity', 'progress towards a state' (goal focus). -in- and -in- -an are allomorphs of apparently unpredictable distribution. -an and -án are the only suffixial verbal affixes, but -an is equivalent to the *MAG Class* prefixes in that it determines the focus of the Verb. The presence of the suffix -an causes the loss of vowel length (a, í, ú), if any, in the final syllable of a word base ending in a consonant, and the lengthening of a word base final vowel. In the latter case the suffix has the allomorphic form -n. The final nasal of the suffix assimilates to the point of articulation of a following consonant when a *NA Class* suffixial Pronoun is present, except in the case of the second person singular, where the final n of the suffix -an is replaced by m. The

allomorphs resulting from these processes are set out in the following table:

Word Base Final		Following Pronoun
Consonant	Vowel	
-an	-n	-ta, -tám, -na, -da
-am	-m	-mi, -muy
-ang	-ng	-ku
-a, -á		-m

The basic form *-an* has been ascertained from its occurrence when no Pronoun follows. The Past tense form *-in-* is prefixed to a vowel initial word base, and is infixd after the first consonant of a consonant initial word base. The form *-in-* *-an* behaves morphologically as *-in-* plus *-an*. The suffix *-an* enters into combinations *mag-* *-an*, *mang-* *-an* (with Past forms *nag-* *-an*, *nang-* *-an*), and *pag-* *-an*, all apparently equivalent semantically to *-an*.

- i-* (Present/Future tense), *ne-* (Past tense) 'activity', 'progress towards a state' (accessory focus). This occurs as an inner layer affix, but it also occurs with a word base as the only affix, in which case it often contrasts with *-an* in the item which comes into focus after it. This item is an accessory to the action rather than the direct goal, and may be agent, instrument, recipient, or purpose. This contrast is illustrated by the following. *Atad-a-m ák bit ta bág* (give-goal-NA/you/sg YA/I please TA g/string) 'Please give me a g-string'; or, *Iq-atad-mu bit ya bág teyák* (accessory-give-NA/you/sg please YA g/string TA/I) 'Please give me a g-string'. The following examples, with the focused item in brackets, show the contrast further: *akil-an* 'add to (twine)', *iq-akil* 'add (third component) to twine'; *alap-an* 'get (something)', *iq-aláp* 'get something with (e.g. money)'; *bár-an* 'speak to (someone)', *i-bár* 'tell (something)'; *luglug-an* 'rub off (dirt)', *i-luglug* 'rub with (soap)'; *ummán-an* 'outdistance (someone)', *iq-ummán* 'bring (something) first'; *toli-n* 'return for (something)', 'bring (someone) back', *i-toli* 'return with (something)', 'bring (something) back. There is a gottal stop after the prefixes *i-* and *ne-* when the stem following begins with a vowel.

(a) *Verb NA Noun + YA Noun*

P-in-aligat na abbing-en ya kabáyuq-en. past/goal-hit NA child-NA/
that YA horse-NA/that. 'The child whipped the horse.'

In-ibat-an ni Káryu ya anwáng-naq-en. past/goal-let/go NA Cario YA
water/buffalo-NA/he-NA/that. 'Cario let his water buffalo go.'

Ne-bilag-na-n na ugaw-en ya barawási-m-en. past/accessory-run-NA/it-
now NA monkey-NA/that YA dress-NA/you/sg-NA/that. 'The
monkey has run off with your dress.'

In-aláp-na hapa na baqbáqat-en ya asitay-en. past/goal-take-NA/she also NA old/woman-NA/that YA baby-NA/that. 'And the old woman took the baby.'

Ne-burud-na hapa na abbing-en ya kalaba kid-en. past/accessory-spill-NA/he also NA child-NA/that YA bee pl-NA/that. 'The child also tipped out the bees.'

Whenever any item comes in between the attributive and its head word, as in the last three examples above, the attributive is redundantly indicated by the third person singular suffixed NA Class Pronoun.

(b) *Verb NA Noun + YA/Pronoun*

Where the focused item (goal or accessory) is a YA Class Pronoun, the Pronoun takes precedence over the Noun in its position in relation to the Verb. That means that the normal order of head words, that is, Verb, actor, goal, is changed, the positions of focused goal (or accessory) and actor being reversed. The principle stated in 3.2(a) above then comes into play; the attributive to the Verb is redundantly indicated by the third person singular suffixed NA Class Personal Pronoun, for an AN Verb is obligatorily followed immediately by an attributive with NA or a suffixed NA Class Pronoun. This principle also applies even in cases where TA Class Pronouns occur in the utterance. These also tend to take precedence of position over a Noun actor, in which case the actor is redundantly indicated as above. However, where the goal of the equation is a third person singular YA Class Personal Pronoun, which is represented by zero, no transposing of the order of the head words in the utterance is necessary.

Ne-bílag na ugaw. past/accessory-run (YA/it) NA monkey. 'A monkey ran away with it.'

Awey-an-na de na lalaki. not/like-goal-NA/he (YA/she) maybe NA man. 'Maybe the man didn't like her.'

I-kayát na kaluhú-m-in. accessory-like (YA/it) NA companion-NA/you /sg-NA/this. 'Your companion likes it.'

G-in-afut-n-ák na na sibrung. Past/goal-grab-NA/he-YA/I now NA kidnapper. 'A kidnapper had grabbed hold of me.'

Ne-bár-na teyák na dafu-tám-ewan. past/accessory-tell-NA/he (Ya/it) TA/I NA Lord-NA/we/all-NA/that. 'Our Lord told me something.'

Bágu ita-n-na ka na anitu á balláw-an-na ka-n hapa. newly see-goal-NA/it YA/you/sg NA spirits and curse-goal-NA/it YA/you/sg-now also. 'The spirits have only just seen you and now they're putting a curse on you.'

(c) *Verb NA/Pronoun + YA Noun*

- Ange-n-ta ya utun. go-goal-NA/we/two YA top. 'The top is our destination' or 'Let's go to the top.'
- Iq-aray-na ya tabáko. accessory-arrange/on/bamboos-NA/he YA tobacco. 'He's arranging tobacco between bamboos.'
- In-azi-k ya barawási-k. past/goal-remove-NA/I YA dress-NA/I. 'I took off my dress.'
- D-in-angag-ku yi ábe. Past/goal-goal-hear-NA/I YA older/sibling. 'I heard *Ábe*.'
- Iq-inenat-mu ya kattab. accessory-careful-NA /you /sg YA blade. 'Be careful of (with) the blade.'
- I-doyá-m ya láta. accessory-swing-NA/you /sg YA tin/can. 'Swing the tin can.'
- H-in-ulut-mi ya halsáda. past/goal-follow-NA/we YA road. 'We followed a road.'
- Iq-ated-ku ya ulat. accessory-give-NA/I YA blanket. 'I'll hand over the blanket.'
- I-bár-ku ya báhuy-k-en. accessory-talk-NA/I YA pig-NA/I-NA/that. 'I'm talking about my pig.'
- I-polu-m ya tabaq-ina. accessory-first-NA/you /sg YA fat-NA/that. 'Put the fat in first.'
- Zigut-an-da hapa ya abbing. bath-goal-NA/they also YA child. 'They also bathe the child.'
- Iq-e-k ya igupan ni damá-k-en. accessory-come-NA/I YA food NA father-NA/I-NA/that. 'I'll bring Father's food.'
- I-duqdut-áng-ku ya manuk-in. accessory-feathers-án-NA/I YA chicken-NA/this. 'I'm plucking the chicken.'
- P-in-ohut-ang-ku ya dalán. past/goal-as-NA/I YA trail. 'I inquired about the trail.'
- Ne-lubeg-an-na ya anák na fúgu. past/accessory-squash-an-NA/he YA offspring NA pigeon. 'He trod on the pigeon's child.'
- E-m-mi itá-n ya bali-da. go-goal-NA/we see-goal YA house-NA/they. 'We're going to see their houses.'
- Awe-k na lá i-bár ya báhuy. not-NA/I now only accessory-talk YA pig. 'Well then I won't talk about pigs any more.'
- Iddung-kín-ang-ku ya gafán na lamán. look/down-like/this-goal-NA/I YA tracks NA wild/pig. 'I looked down like this and saw the tracks of wild pig.'

There are a very few word bases in Agta which behave in all their occurrences like AN Class Verbs, yet which often occur without any of the verbal affixes. By definition they should be classed with the Nouns, but they combine with only Verbs in apposition constructions, so have been classed as Verbs. Among these are *ámu*- 'know' and *awe*- 'not', both of which are illustrated above.

(d) *Verb NA/Pronoun + YA/Pronoun*

Where both actor and goal (or accessory) of an AN Class Verb are Pronouns, the actor Pronoun and the goal Pronoun become fused in several persons. The table of *Double Pronouns* below gives all the possible combinations. All are normal and predictable from the forms of NA and YA Class Pronouns respectively and from morphophonemic rules enunciated above, except those with first person singular actor and second person goal (where the Inclusive Singular Pronoun is used in actor position instead of the First Person Singular), and those with second person actor and first person plural goal (where the Third Person Singular and Plural Pronouns are used in actor position instead of the Second Person Singular and Plural respectively).

ACTOR	1 Sg -ku, -k	1+2 Sg -ta	2 Sg -mu, -m	3 Sg -na, -n	1 P1 -mi	1+2 P1 -tam	2 P1 -muy	3 P1 -da, -d
GOAL: 1 Sg ák, yák	—	—	-mak	-nák	—	—	-muy ák	-dák
1×2 Sg kita	—	—	—	-na kita	—	—	—	-da kita
2 Sg ka	-ta ka	—	—	-na ka	-mi ka	—	—	-da ka
3 Sg —	-ku, -k	-ta	-mu, -m	-na	-mi	-tám	-muy	-da
1 P1 kami	—	—	-na kami -ng kami	-na kami	—	—	-da kami	-da kami
1+2 P1 kitam	—	—	—	-na ki- tám	—	—	—	-da kitám
2 P1 kam	-ta kám	—	—	-na kám	-mi kám	—	—	-da kám
3 P1 kid	-ku k id -k kid	-ta kid	-mu kid, -m kid	-na kid	-mi kid	-tám kid	-muy kid	-da kid

I-tuqbang-na kid. accessory-release-NA/he YA they. He releases them.
Bon-an-ta ka. send-goal-NA/we/two YA/you/sg. 'I'm sending you.'

- In-akkaw-ang-ku kid. past/goal-circle/in/front-NA/I YA/they. 'I moved round in front of them.'
- I-kállak-m-ák bit. accessory-pity-NA/you/sg-YA/I please. 'Please take pity on me.'
- I-lillik-mu yeyan. accessory-get/out/of/theway-NA/you/sg YA/this. 'Put this out of the way.'
- Ayag-á-m yan. call-goal-NA/you/sg YA/this. 'Call this (child).' (I don't want him.)
- Lidlid-ang-ku. scratch-goal-NA/I (YA/it). 'I'm scratching it.'
- Paluk-a-m. hit-goal-NA/you/sg (YA/it). 'Hit it.'
- Ibal-án-na. hold-goal-NA/she (YA/it). She's holding it.'
- Iq-arutút-mu. accessory-rub-NA/you/sg (YA/it). 'Rub it.'
- Neq-anup-mi. past/accessory-hunt/with/dogs-NA/we (YA/it). 'We hunted them (i.e. pig) with dogs.'
- Parubá-n-ta. try-goal-NA/we/two (YA/it). 'Let's try it.'
- Neq-ange-da. past/accessory-come-NA/they (YA/it). 'They brought it.'
- I-datang na ineng-kid. accessory-arrive (YA/it) NA that-pl. 'those folks are bringing it.'
- Awe-ta ka gammá-n. not-NA/we/two YA /you /sg stop-goal. 'I won't stop you.'
- Awe-da p-in-agá-n. not-NA/they (YA/it) past/goal-pay. 'They didn't pay for it.'
- Awe-m kid patávwar-an. not-NA/you/sg YA/they send/away-goal. 'Don't send them away.'
- Awe-n-ák igsil-án. not-NA/he-YA/I sit/on-goal. 'He isn't sitting on me.'
- E-m-mi kánan alap-an. come-goal-NA/we YA/you/pl/ now take-goal. 'Now we're going to take you with us.'
- E-m ák bit hulun-an, íbat. come-goal/NA/you/sg YA/I please accompany-goal íbat. 'You come with me please, íbat.'
- E-m ha alap-an yeqyewan. go-goal/NA/you/sg again get-goal YA/that. 'Go and get that again.'

The Agta equivalent of the English *Imperative* is illustrated above in many instances. There is no structural difference between goal or accessory focused sentences in which the actor is a second person NA Class Pronoun and those in which the actor is any other Pronoun, yet the former constitutes a *command* in Agta, while the latter may be any narrative-type sentence. There are a few word bases, however, which are intrinsically incapable of occurring in goal focused constructions, and commands are framed on these word bases as actor focused constructions using a MAG Class affix and a YA Class Pronoun.

- Maga-nonot ka kád na pakwa. continuous-think YA/you/sg properly now do. 'You consider thoroughly what to do.'
- Mang-wa ka ta uhung kung-ku á. actor-make YA/you/sg TA pig/pen say-NA/I á. 'Make a pig-pen, I tell you.'
- Im-unek kám bit lá ta isin. actor-come/up YA/you/pl please only TA here. 'Do just come up here.'

(e) *Verb NA Noun + YA Verb or Verb NA/Pronoun
+ YA Verb*

As is the case with Verbs of the MAG Class, it is possible for AN Class Verbs to occur either as first or as second terminal of an equation, provided always that the AN Class Verb is followed by an obligatory attributive. It is therefore possible for both first and second terminals to be verbal forms, as in Section 2.3(d) above. Where the first terminal is in the AN form, it is possible for the second terminal to be in the MAG form or the AN form although it is more usual for the MAG form to be used as the second terminal is itself the focused item. The AN form only occurs where the Verb has an attributive.

Anu-n-na sangaw ya ang-gantub-ku. why-goal-NA/it soon YA event-cut-NA/I. 'Why should I cut it short?'

E-n-na itá-n n-agyán ta litup na bali-daḡ-in. go-goal-NA/he see-goal (YA) past/state-stay TA door NA house-NA/they-NA/this. 'He's going to see who was at the door of their house.'

Awe-k ámu ya i-datang na takit-ang-ku ta bari-k. not-NA/I know YA accessory-arrive NA sick-goal-NA/I TA body-NA/I. 'I don't know when sickness will overtake my body.'

Pag-pamábat-a-m ya e-m kid-ina ma-sitang teyák. event-enough-NA/you/sḡ YA come-goal/NA/you/sḡ pl-NAthat state-noise TA/. 'You've said enough of what you (all) came to talk to me about.'

(f) *Verb NA Verb + YA Noun or Verb NA Verb
+ YA/Pronoun*

These are theoretical possibilities for which no examples have yet been found. However, the third example in Section 3.2(e) above illustrates how a Verb may be attributive to another Verb as head word in a manner parallel to *Noun NA Verb* in Section 3.1(d) above. *I-datang na takit-ang-ku* means literally 'item of arrival of my getting sick'.

(g) *Noun + YA Verb NA Noun or Pronoun
+ YA Verb NA Noun*

An AN Class Verb may be second terminal of an equation after a Noun or Pronoun as first terminal in the same way as a MAG Class Verb. (See Section 2.3(c) and (d).) The AN Class Verb then becomes the focused item of the equation, and the Noun or Pronoun in first terminal position is equated to it.

Ittá ya ne-bár-na teyák na dafu-tám-ewan. there/is YA past/accessory-tell-NA/he TA/I NA Lord-NA/we/all-NA/that. 'Our Lord did tell me something.'

Hitlam-in yeqyan ya ne-bár na dafu-tám-ewan teyák. night-NA/this this YA past/accessory-tell NA Lord-NA/we/all-NA/that TA/I. 'Tonight is what our Lord told me.'

(h) Noun + YA Verb NA/Pronoun or Pronoun
+ YA Verb NA/Pronoun

Adádayu ya in-ange-mi. very/far YA past/goal-go-NA/we. 'We've come a very long way.'

Appát ya k-in-áng-k-en. four YA past/goal-eat-NA/I-NA/that. 'I ate four of them.'

Kurug de ya kín-ang-k-en. truth maybe YA say-goal-NA/I-NA/that. 'Is what I say true?'

Láqvát kán ya i-datang-an-da. morning they/say YA accessory-arrive-NA-NA/they. 'They said they'd bring it back in the morning.'

Assang lá ange-da sin. small only (YA) come-NA/they TA/here. 'They only came here a little.'

Ittá ya p-in-ohut-ang-ku. there/is YA past/goal-ask-NA/I. 'There's a question I wanted to ask.'

Ittá i-bár-ku teko. there/is (YA) accessory-say-NA/I TA/you/sg. 'I have something to say to you.'

Yen ya i-bár-na. that YA accessory-say-NA/he. 'That's what he's saying.'

Yeyan ya ange-m-muy. this YA go-goal-NA/you/pl. 'This is your way.'

Intu ya b-inon-da sin. he YA past/goal-send-NA/they TA/here. 'They've sent him here.' or 'This is the person they sent.'

Anu ya kín-an-naq-en. what YA say-goal-NA/he-NA/that. 'What's he saying?'

Anu ya ne-datang-mu. what YA past/accessory-arrive-NA/you/sg. 'What did you bring back?'

Kánu ya ne-datang-da. when YA past/accessory-arrive-NA/they. 'When did they arrive?'

Hád ya in-ang-en sin. where YA past/goal-go-NA/you/sg TA/here. 'Where did you go here?'

Hád ey-ám muy. where (YA) go-goal-NA/you/pl. 'Where are you going?'

4.0 THE OBLIQUE

The sentence forming construction with YA, the equation, is essentially binary in character, that is, attention is being drawn to the relationship between two terminals, represented by two word bases. Everything else in the clause or sentence therefore has to be out of focus. When some other item besides the focused item (marked by YA) and the non-focused actor (if there is one, marked by NA) occurs in the sentence, then it is joined to the rest of the sentence by the *oblique ligature* TA. The term "oblique" is taken from current usage in Philippine linguistics, as introduced there by Bloomfield.¹⁵ Very roughly, its English equivalents are Object, Indirect Object, Prepositional phrase, time phrase or Adverb of Time, Adverb of Place, and occasionally Adverb of Manner. The head word of the oblique expression or phrase may be a Noun, Pronoun, or Verb. When reference is made to "the Oblique", then, it is the whole oblique expression that is referred to, including the head word and its laterals, if any, plus the preceding ligature TA.

In an actor focus clause or sentence, that is, one which contains a MAG Class verbal affix, the *goal*, if there is one, is in the Oblique. In any clause or sentence, whatever the focus, if an unfocused agent or instrument, place or direction, or time is mentioned, then it occurs in the Oblique. Where a clause is goal focused, that is, marked by the verbal affix *-an*, the *accessory* (agent or instrument) occurs in the Oblique; however, where the clause is accessory focused, that is, marked by the verbal affix *i-*, then it is the goal which occurs in the Oblique. For example, compare the following:

Atad-á-m bit yi atawá-k ta bág. give-goal-NA/you/sg please YA spouse-NA/I TA g/string. 'Please give the g-string to my wife.'

Iq-atad-mu bit ya bág te atawá-k. accessory-give-NA/you/sg please YA g/string TA wife-NA/I. 'Please give the g-string to my wife.'

See also the comparisons listed in Section 3.2.

There may be more than one oblique item in the same clause, in which case the oblique expressions would normally occur in the following relative order after the two terminals of the equation: (1) the *non-focused goal*, (2) the *accessory* (agent, instrument, etc.), (3) the *place* or *direction*, (4) the *time*.

Each of these expressions would be marked and preceded by the ligature TA. Where any one of these expressions is a Pronoun, there is a tendency for such a Pronoun to occur after the expression which is the first terminal of the equation, that is, most frequently, the Verb plus its attributive Pronoun (plus the focused goal Pronoun, if there is one). However, oblique Pronouns as frequently occur in the relative order listed above after the whole equation. If a time expression is present in a sentence, it most frequently occurs first in the sentence, that is, before the whole equation. As always, it is preceded and marked by the ligature TA. If, however, it occurs after the equation, it is preceded by any other oblique expression present.

4.1 *The Non-Focused Goal in the Oblique*

(a) *With a Noun in the Oblique*

There are *three forms of the oblique ligature TA* parallel to the three forms of YA (Section 2.1 above) and of NA (Section 3.1 above), *ta* occurring with all word bases except personal names and the kinship terms listed for *vi* in Section 2.1(b), and these two categories take the form *te*. The form *teg* is used before personal names and the same list of kinship terms if the person specified has companions, and especially if the companion is the spouse of the person named and that spouse stands in taboo relationship to the speaker and must not be named.

Mang-aláp kid ta uway. actor-get YA/they TA rattan. 'They are getting rattan.'

Mag-azi ta iming. actor-remove (YA/he) TA beard. 'He's shaving.'

D-um-akit kami ta wer. actor-cross YA/we TA creek. 'We crossed a creek.'

Im-unek ák ta kayu. actor-climb YA/I TA tree. 'I climbed a tree.'

Mag-ayág ta datdatay. actor-call (Ya/he) TA spirits/of/dead. 'He's calling the spirits of the dead.'

Im-atubáng ta huli na anwáng-en. actor-face (YA/she) TA rump NA water/buffalo-NA/that. 'She faced the back of the water buffalo.'

Ma-damdam ák na te atawá-k-en. state-sad YA/I now TA spouse-NA/I-NA/that. 'I'm pining for my husband (who is away).'

Nag-unonek ák ta walawer-en. past/actor-go/up YA/I TA small/creek-NA/that. 'I worked my way up the little creek.'

Nag-taletay kami ta taletay na hulu. past/actor-bridge YA/we TA bridge NA bamboo. 'We crossed a bamboo bridge.'

S-um-inap ya danum ta lutak-en. actor-soak/in YA water TA ground-NA/that. 'The water soaks into the ground there.'

Mag-suqkut ya palataw ta alág. actor-withdraw/from YA knife TA sheath. 'The knife is being drawn from a sheath.'

- Na-penám kid ta bapor. past/state-used/to YA/they TA boats. 'They are used to boats.'
- I-káru-na ya bág ta álád. accessory-pay-NA/he YA g/string TA fence. 'He's earning a g-string by fencing.'
- I-tú-m ta banga. accessory-fill/up-NA/you/sg (YA/it) TA pot. 'Put it in the pot.'
- Mag-ita ka ta tákwán na dalán. actor-look YA/you/sg TA another NA way. 'You look for another way.'
- Medyo na-bayág kami mag-apag ta dalán ta pingit na ammay. rather past/state-long/time YA/we actor-search TA trail TA edge NA rice. 'We were rather a long time looking for a trail at the edge of a rice field.'

(b) *With a Pronoun in the Oblique*

Equivalent to the ligature TA plus Noun is the *TA Class Pronoun*, which may occur in any of the above four oblique expressions. The TA Class Impersonal Pronouns may occur in non-focused goal position, but are more usually found in place or direction expressions. There are two sets of TA Class Impersonal Pronouns, and these do not seem to have contrastive functions. Possibly Set II below is an abbreviation of Set I. As has already been discussed in Section 3.1(b), the forms *ta isin*, *ta isina*, *ta itewan*, and *ta iten* have to be considered as complex Pronouns rather than ligature plus Noun, in view of the fact that the forms *isin*, *isina*, *itewan*, and *iten* only occur after the ligature TA, and have equivalent but different counterparts occurring after the ligature NA and incorporating the ligature YA.

PERSONAL PRONOUNS:

<i>Singular</i>	<i>TA Class</i>	<i>TA Class</i>
First Person (1)	teyák	
Inclusive Person (1 + 2)	tekita	
Second Person (2)	teko	
Third Person (3)	tentu	
<i>Plural</i>		
First Person (1)	tekami	
Inclusive Person (1 + 2)	tekitám	
Second Person (2)	tekamuy	
Third Person (3)	tekid	

IMPERSONAL PRONOUNS:

	<i>Set I</i>	<i>Set II</i>
this, here (near me)	ta isin	sin
that, there (near you, referred to by you)	ta isina	sina
that, there (in middle distance)	ta itewan	tewan
that, there (out of sight, referred to by me)	ta iten	ten

Giving added emphasis to TA Class Impersonal Pronouns are *ye* and *yo*, *ye* emphasising nearness and *yo* emphasising distance. They occur with the Set II Pronouns, *ye* only occurring with *sin* and *sina*, and *yo* with *tewan* and *ten*.

Ittá ye sin. there/is (YA/it) near TA/here. 'It's right here.'
Ittá yo ten. there/is (YA/it) far TA/there. 'It's way over there.'

Often a NA Class Impersonal Pronoun acting as an attributive to one of the word bases in the sentence and a TA Class Impersonal Pronoun in the same sentence appear to be semantically incompatible. There is a semantic resolution of this incompatibility, for *-in sin* means 'I know it's here and I can or should be able to see it', while *-en sin* means 'I know it's here but I can't see it for some reason, say, because it's dark'.

Hád ya ma-takit-in sin. where YA state-sore-NA/this TA/here. 'Where is the sore spot (on your back here)?'
Hád-en ya hilág-en sin. where-NA/that YA light-NA/that TA/here. 'Where is the light (I can't see it in the dark)?'

The above four examples, however, illustrate the use of TA Class Pronouns in place or direction expressions. The following examples illustrate the use of both Personal and Impersonal TA Class Pronouns as *non-focused goal*.

Ma-damdam kami-n tekamuy. state-sad YA/we-now TA/you/pl. 'We are missing you.'
Ma-zigman ák teko. state-hate YA/I TA/you/sg. 'I hate you.'
Ittá i-bár-ku teko. there/is (YA) accessory-talk-NA/I TA/you/sg. 'I have something to tell you.'
Inya ya g-um-átáng ta isin. who YA actor-buy TA this. 'Who bought this?'
Hád nang-alap-á-m sin. where (YA) past/goal-get-NA/you/sg TA/this. 'Where did you get this?'

In the last two examples the goal became oblique after the occurrence of another item, namely a verbal form, in focused position. In the three examples to follow, it is the focusing of the accessory (the item involved in the interaction of actor and goal), which causes the goal to become oblique. Several examples in Section 4.1(a) also illustrate this.

Iq-e-m bit sín O palátug-en. accessory-come-NA/you/sg please TA/here O (YA) gun-NA/that. 'Please bring the gun here.' or 'Please bring me the gun.'
E-u-na ne-datang ya palátug teko. come-goal-NA/he past/accessory-arrive YA gun TA/you/sg. 'He has brought you the gun.'

(c) *With a Verb in the Oblique*

Nang-aláp kid ta ne-kayát-da in-aláp. past/actor-take YA/they TA Past/ accessory-want-NA/they past/goal-take. 'They took what they wanted to take.'

Na-paqgang ka ya hapalá ta na-paqgang-á-m. past/state-cautious YA/you/sg emphatic just TA past state-cautious-NA/you/sg. 'You were cautious just for the sake of being cautious.'

4.2 *The Accessory in the Oblique*

The accessory is any third item involved in the interaction of actor and goal. It is grammatically optional except in an equation in which it is in focus, but it is semantically implied in at least some word bases. That is, some word bases have a traditional goal which is in focus when the word base has the verbal affix *-an*, and a traditional accessory which is in focus when the word base has the verbal affix *i-*. The accessory may be an *instrument*, that is, something used in the course of the action by the actor upon the goal, e.g. there are several word bases for each of the English words 'cut' and 'hit' according to what instrument is used for the 'cutting' or 'hitting'. Or, it may be an *agent*, that is, a person whose services are utilised by the actor in respect of the goal, in such semantic contexts as, for example, 'send'. Or again, the accessory may be definable as neither an instrument nor an agent, as in the case of that which is 'sent', 'brought', 'given', etc. by the actor to the goal.

Lattuk-áng-ku ya papel-in ta lansaq-in. hole-goal-NA/I YA paper-NA/this TA nail-NA/this. 'I'm piercing the paper with the nail.'

G-in-using-án ni aleng ya palataw ta batu. past/goal-chip/edge/off NA son YA knife TA stone. 'My little boy chipped the edge of the knife on a stone.'

Ulolat-an-da-n hapa ta dakal na ulat. wrap-goal-NA/they-(YA/it)-now also TA big NA blanket. 'They are also wrapping it up in a big blanket.'

In-atad-án-n-ák ta tallu na ulat. past/goal-give-NA/she-YA/I TA three NA blanket. 'She gave me three blankets.'

Atad-an-ta ka hapa sangaw ta tahu. give-goal-NA/we/two YA/you/sg also soon TA honey. 'I'll give you some honey soon too.'

Pagá-n-da yi anák-k-en ta pirák. pay-goal-NA/they YA offspring-NA/I-NA/that TA money. 'They will pay money for my son.'
(compensation for death)

Anu ya kín-am-muy-en te Pedru. what YA say-goal-NA/you/pl-NA/that TA Pedro. 'What did you tell Pedro?'

Suqkut-ang-ku ya palataw ta alág-naq-in. withdraw-goal-NA/I YA knife TA sheath-NA /it-NA/this. 'I'm taking the knife from its sheath.'

A further type of accessory, which is always in the oblique when present, is the optional *hearer* in an utterance involving direct speech. The linguistic fragment which is being quoted is always in focus, the Verb *kun-* 'say' is always followed by an attributive actor, and thus the optional hearer must be oblique. The usual clause order is changed for direct speech, the quotation occurring first un-marked by the ligature YA, then the predicate terminal (normally first) *kun-*, and this equation is followed by the accessory hearer in the Oblique and other optional oblique expressions in the normal order.¹⁶

'.....,' kung-ku hapa te Upin. '.....' say-NA/I also TA Upin. "“.....,” I added to Upin.'

'.....,' kum-mi ta adáddu na Ugsin ta lágum na tyenda. '.....' say-NA/we TA very/many NA lowlander TA inside NA store. "“.....,” we told the crowd of lowlanders in the store.'

'E-m alap-an ulat-m-en,' kun-na hapa teyák. 'go-goal/NA/you/sg get-goal (YA) blanket-NA/you/sg-NA/that' say-NA/she also TA/I. "“Go and get your blanket,” she said to me.'

Another item occurs in the Oblique after *awán* 'there is none' and *bakkan* 'it is not'. When there are several oblique expressions present in the one clause, this item precedes place or direction and time expressions. However, it cannot be definitely identified as either a non-focused goal or an accessory, in view of the fact that the first terminal of the equation is a Noun, and therefore lacks focus determining verbal affixes.

Awán ka ta nonot. there/is/none YA/you/sg TA mind.
'You have no sense.'

Awán ák ta barawási. there is/is/none YA/I TA dress. 'I have no dress.'

Awán ta fuyak. there/is/none (YA/it) TA mud. 'There wasn't any mud.'

Awán ta mag-sitsitang. there/is/none (YA/it) TA actor-pl/noise.
'There's no one making any noise.'

Awán na mag-alikkád ta bagáw-in. there/is/none (YA/it) TA actor-play
TA yard-NA/this. 'There's no one playing in the yard.'

Awán ta kaluhung-ku ta baliq-ewan ta bagetay. there/is/none (YA/it)
TA companion-NA/I TA house-NA/that TA hill. 'I had no companion in the house up the hill.'

Bakkan ta gaddang. it/is/not (YA/it) TA skin. 'It isn't skin.'

Bakkan ák ta babbay. it/is/not YA/I TA woman. 'I'm not a woman.'

Bakkan yana ta tarong. it/is/not YA/that TA egg/plant. 'That's not egg-plant.'

4.3 Place or Direction in the Oblique

(a) With a Noun in the Oblique

A place or direction expression may have as head word a *place name*, the name of a *geographical location* (such as 'hill', 'island', etc.), a *personal name*, or any other item in reference to which a position may be fixed. This item may be a Noun, a Pronoun, or a Verb with a PAG Class affix. Included among the Nouns commonly occurring in this position are those listed in Section 3.1(a). Occurring in isolation, one of these is equivalent to the English *Adverb of Place*; but when followed by an attributive, the attributive being the referent by which the position is fixed, it is equivalent to the English *Preposition*.

Ittá de ta umag. there/is (YA/it) maybe TA inside. 'Perhaps it's inside.'

Ittá de ta umag na láta. there/is (YA/it) maybe TA inside NA tin/can. 'Perhaps it's in the tin can.'

The above two examples illustrate place expressions in which there is respectively no attributive (equivalent to *Adverb of Place*), and the presence of an attributive (equivalent to a *prepositional phrase*).

Ittá kami-n ta pake ili. there/is YA/we-now TA very town. 'Now we were right in town.'

Dangag-ang-ku kid ta Dalyán. hear-goal-NA/I YA/they TA Dalyán. 'I heard them at Dalyán Creek.'

Um-ange yig Sitong ikid ni ipág ta Tuguegarao. past-go YA Sitong they NA sibling/in/law TA Tuguegarao. 'Sitong and *Ipág* went to Tuguegarao.'

Ittá ta finuguq-en. there/is (YA/she) TA island-NA/that. 'She's at the island (i.e. Tambán).'

Ne-tawag kami ta dalán. past/state-lost YA/we TA trail. 'We got lost on the way.'

Nag-besin ta kayu. past/actor-hang/upside/down (YA/it) TA tree. 'It hangs upside down in a tree.'

N-asi ya ugta ta taqday-en wer. past/state-die YA deer TA another-NA/that creek. 'The deer died at the other creek.'

Mag-gáni ta pagay ta bagetay. actor-harvest (YA/he) TA rice TA hill. 'He's harvesting rice up the hill.'

Nang-aláp yi Sitong ta sili ta álád. past/actor-get YA Sitong TA chili TA fence. 'Sitong brought in some chilis from the fence.'

Ittá ya baggát ta baríl. there/is YA rice TA pail. 'There is rice in a pail.'

Adáddu ya ganna ta radáng ni ábay. very/much YA phlegm TA chest NA daughter. 'There's a lot of congestion in my little girl's chest.' or 'My little girl has a bad cold in the chest.'

- Itá-m ta tuldug-ina. look-goal/NA/you/sg (YA/it) TA floor-NA/that.
 'Have a look for it on the floor there.'
- Pakáddú-m ya inafuy ta banga. make/much-goal/NA/you/sg YA rice
 TA pot. 'Make plenty of rice in the pot!'
- Ittá inafuy ta umag. there/is (YA) rice TA inside. 'There's some
 cooked rice inside.'
- Awe-na naka-dangag ta liwán. not-NA/she past/ability-hear TA outside.
 'She couldn't hear outside.'
- I-sárpát-mu ya pinggán ta utun-ina. accessory-shelf-NA/you/sg YA
 dishes TA up-NA/that. 'Put the dishes on the shelf up there.'
- Ne-kwa-da ta utun na lamesa. past/accessory-do-NA/they (YA/it) TA
 top NA table. 'They put it on the table.'
- Ittá kami ta bikat na Adawág. there/is YA/we TA near NA Adawág.
 'We were near Adawág.'
- Mag-toli kami ha ta dammang na wer. actor-return YA/we again TA
 across NA creek. 'We went back across the creek again.' or
 'We retraced our steps across the creek.'
- In-itá-k ya dalán ta utun na tambák. past/goal-see-NA/I YA trail TA
 top NA dyke. 'I saw a trail along the top of a dyke.'
- Ne-kulzát yi ipág ta dalán ta utun na tambák. past/state-slip YA
 sibling/in/law TA trail TA top NA dyke. 'Ipág slipped on the trail
 along the top of the dyke.'
- Mag-kirkiret ya duyug ta umag na láta. actor-pl/rattle YA bailer TA
 inside NA tin/can. 'The bailer is rattling round inside the tin can.'

Further examples containing place or direction expressions which are equivalent to English prepositional phrases may be found in Section 3.1(a) above.

In the case of *adet* 'extent', 'end', 'as far as', there are two slightly different oblique constructions possible, with slightly different meanings. Where, parallel to the above examples, *ta adet na . . .* occurs, the meaning is 'to (or at) the end of'; where *adet ta* replaces the simple ligature *ta*, the meaning is 'as far as'. Compare: *Um-ange kid ta adet na kalsáda* (past-go YA/they TA end NA road) 'They went to the end of the road' and, *Um-ange kid adet ta kalsáda* (past-go YA/they as/far/as TA road) 'They went as far as the road'. Either a Direction or a Time expression may follow *adet ta*.

Maka-tugtugut kami-n na adet ta pingit na ammay. ability-pl/walk
 YA/we-now again as/far/as TA edge NA rice. 'We kept on hiking again as far as the edge of the rice fields.'

There is one other case in which the ligature is compounded in the manner of *adet ta*, namely where an oblique item is compared to the focused item of an actor focus clause, and the structural link is the form *am ta*. This is the Agta equivalent of *comparative degree*. The first terminal of the equa-

tion is the quality relating to which the second terminal is superior to the item in the Oblique. A rough translation of *am ta* would therefore be 'more than'.

Pake laqláqay na babágu am teyák. very old/man NA young/bachelor (YA/he) than TA/I. 'He's an older bachelor than me.'

Pake ma-singat am ta lamán. very state-delicious (YA/it) than TA wild/pig. 'It's much tastier than wild pig.'

There is also an equivalent for English *superlative degree* in Agta, either within the above construction or apart from it. The verbal affixes *ka-* *-án* occurring with the qualitative item have the meaning 'the most . . .', e.g. *assi* 'shallow', *kaq-assi-n* 'shallowest'; *dulay* 'bad', *ka-dulay-án* 'worst'; *m-apyá* 'good', *k-apyá-n-án* 'best'; *m-ámit* 'sweet', *kaq-ámit-án* 'sweetest'; *kurug* 'true', 'truth', *ka-kurug-án* 'the real thing'.

(b) *With a Pronoun in the Oblique*

Ittá ye sin. there/is (YA/it) intensive TA/here. 'It's right here.'

Sá ittá kid sin. all there/is YA/they TA/here. 'They're all here.'

I-kíng-ku ta isin. accessory-like/this-NA/I (YA/it) TA here. 'I'm putting it here.'

Iq-e-m sin. accessory-come-NA/you/sg (YA /it) TA /here. 'Bring it here.'

Ittá de sina ya báhuy-k-en. there/is maybe TA/there YA pig-NA/I-NA/that. 'Is my pig there?'

Ittá ya dulay teyák. there/is YA bad TA/I. 'There's something wrong with me.'

S-im-ahok ye sin. actor-go/in (YA/it) intensive TA/here. 'It went in right here.'

M-agyán ka sina Loring. state-stay YA/you/sg TA/there Loring. 'You stay right where you are, Loring.'

Ma-sidug ák na ta isin. state-sleep YA/I now TA here. 'I'll sleep here now.'

Ma-pátu ta isin ta Bagunut. state-hot (YA/it) TA here TA Bagunut. 'It is not here in Bagunut.'

Um-ange ya babbay teyák. past-come YA woman TA/I. 'A woman came to me.'

Ayag-á-m kid mantu sin. call-goal-NA/you/sg YA/they then TA/here. 'Well, call them here, then.'

After such verbs as *e*, *ange* 'go', *s-im-ahok* 'go in', *im-uhet* 'go out' occurring in the MAG form or with *i-*, an oblique phrase may be ambiguously a place or direction expression or an oblique goal. Thus *ta wer* in *Um-ange kid ta wer* (past/actor-go YA/they TA creek) 'They went to a creek' may be regarded either as a non-focused goal or a location. The ambiguity is

more obvious with a Verb in the *-an* form, where an item meaning direction or place may occur both as a focused goal (marked by YA) and as a place or direction expression (marked by TA).

Ange-n-ta ya utun. go-goal-NA/we/two YA top. 'Let's go to the top.'
or 'The top is our destination.'

I-n-ta ta bagetay. go-goal-NA/we/two TA hill. 'Let's go up the hill.'

4.4 *Time in the Oblique*

(a) *With a Noun in the Oblique*

When used with time expressions in the Oblique, the suffixes *-in* and *-en* have respectively the meanings 'present/future' versus 'past'.

ta-aháw-in	'today'	ta aháw-en	'today' (said during evening)
ta-hitlam-in	'tonight'	ta hitlam-en	'last night'
ta lunis-in	'next Monday'	ta lunis-en	'last Monday'
ta meka-tallu-in	'three weeks	ta meka-tallu-en	'three weeks ago
lunis	next Monday'	lunis	last Monday'
ta sangaw-in	'soon'	ta sangaw-en	'a little while ago'

Apísi ta ayan-in. short (YA/it) TA time-NA/this. 'It's short now.'
Awe-na pakán-an adet ta ayan-in. not-NA/he (YA/he) eat-goal as/far/as
TA time-NA/this. 'He hasn't been fed till now.'

Awe-tám nag-takay ta láláqwát-en, awe-tám nag-takay ta ayan-in. not-
NA/we/all past/actor-ride TA morning-NA/that not-NA/we/all past/
actor-ride TA time-NA/this. 'We didn't get a ride this morning and
we didn't get one now!'

D-um-atang na yi dama-da-q-en ta fúráb. actor-arrive now YA father-NA/
they-NA/that TA afternoon. 'Their father arrived in the afternoon.'
Yen ya in-uhohug-naq-en teyák ta karabiq-án-en. that YA part/goal-say-
NA/she-NA/that TA/I TA yesterday-án-NA/that. 'That's what she
said to me the day before yesterday.'

(b) *With a Verb in the Oblique*

Awe-k na maka-kasidug ta na-pe-gafu ta naki-pag-kín-ang-k-en. not-NA/
I now ability-sleep TA past/state-pe-origin TA past/corporate-event-
say-NA/I-NA/that. 'I haven't been able to sleep since the beginning
of what I've been telling you.'

Awe-k ámu ta pamozan-án na aráw am ittá sangaw ya pag-kolan-an-na
teyák. not-NA/I know TA ultimate-event NA day if there/is later
YA event-get/tired/of-NA/he TA/I. 'I don't know that he won't get
tired of me eventually.'

4.5 *The Adverbial Phrase in the Oblique*

There is one further oblique construction, which has not been discussed in relation to the above four types of oblique (non-focused goal, accessory, place or direction, and time) because it does not enter into a relative order with these at the end of the utterance. This oblique occurs immediately after the first terminal of the equation plus Pronouns, if any, and before the second terminal, except where the latter is a Pronoun. There is a very limited separate class of unaffixable roots which occur in this position also, and these have been termed "Post-Adverbs" and are discussed in Section 6.1. This expression is structurally lateral to the first terminal of the equation in the same manner as the Post-Adverbs, and the whole phrase, preceded by the ligature TA, occurs in Post-Adverb position. It is semantically equivalent to the English *Adverb of Manner*. The head word of this adverbial phrase may be either unaffixed, and therefore a Noun, or affixed, and so a Verb.

(a) *With a Noun in the Oblique*

Mag-angat ta dakal. actor-breathe (YA/he) TA big. 'He is sighing.'
Ne-tawag kami ta assang. past/state-lose YA/we TA small. 'We got slightly lost.'

Medyo ma-bayág ta assang mag-toli kami ha. rather state-long/time (YA/it) TA small actor-return YA/we again. 'It took us rather a long time to retrace our steps.'

Mag-báli ta dakal ya ulolag ta ag-itá-n. actor-change TA big YA insect TA instrument-see. 'The insect becomes much bigger under the microscope.'

(b) *With a Verb in the Oblique*

Mag-katawa yák ta ma-sikan. actor-laugh YA/I TA state-strong. 'I am laughing loudly.'

Á sangaw pake itá-m-mi bilbig-am-mi ta m-apyá. and then very see-goal-NA/we (YA/it) watch-goal-NA/we (YA/it) TA state-good. 'And then when we could see it well we took a good look at it.'

5.0 APPOSITION

Besides the equation, the sentence-forming construction of Agta, there is a construction which equates two head words (as does the equation) or more to one another without being a sentence-forming construction. Within one terminal of an equation, or the position normally occupied by the head word of a subordinate construction, it is possible for two or more head words to stand together in a relationship of apposition to one another. Nouns, Verbs, and Pronouns may be related to each other in this way—an evidence, incidentally, in favour of the thesis that word bases in Agta do not belong to separate grammatical classes or “parts of speech”. Within this apposition construction in Agta are included the equivalents of English apposition and of English *qualification*. It is impossible in Agta to establish a structural relationship of qualifier to its head word. For example, words having meanings equivalent to the English Adjectives may optionally occur either before or after the head word that they would traditionally “qualify” in position, and their form might be either nominal, that is, unaffixed, or verbal, that is, having verbal affixes. In general, cardinal numerals and words of colour or measurement occur more frequently unaffixed, while the equivalents of most other English Adjectives occur most frequently in verbal form.

balabág-m-ina	asul	small/g/string-NA/you/sg-NA/that	blue	‘your small blue g-string’ or
asul-m-ina	balabág	blue-NA/you/sg-NA/that	small/g/string	‘your small blue g-string’
assang-en	walawer	small-NA/that	small/creek	‘the small creek’, or
walawer-en	assang	small/creek-NA/that	small	‘the small creek’

Where two or more word bases are in apposition, the first only takes NA Class Pronouns as suffixes.

It is common for the Noun Noun relationship to be expressed by *Noun NA Noun*, and the Verb Noun relationship to be expressed by *Verb NA Noun*. In such usage the NA ligature loses any of the structural meanings it has when linking an attributive to its head word. The apparent ambiguity resulting from the use of NA in two very differing constructions is resolved upon expanding the head words on either side of the NA with NA Class pronominal affixes. If the construction signalled

by NA is one of attribution to a head word, then the attributive may be expanded by NA Class Pronouns, but the head word is not so expanded, e. g. *huli na anwáng* (rump NA water/buffalo) 'a water buffalo's rump', *huli na anwáng-en* (rump na water/buffalo-NA/that) 'the water buffalo's rump', *huli na anwáng ni Karyu* (rump NA water/buffalo NA Cario) 'the rump of Cario's water buffalo'. The head word of an attributive must be followed immediately by the attributive itself. If the construction signalled by NA is one of apposition, however, it is the first word base in the series which takes the NA Class affixes, in which case the NA ligature drops out, e. g. *taqday na wer* (another NA creek) 'another creek', *taqday-en wer* (another-NA/that creek) 'the other creek'.

5.1 Nouns in Apposition

(a) Noun Noun

baqbáqat Bilelág old/woman Bilelág 'old lady Bilelág'
 táqday babbay na Ugsin one woman NA lowlander 'an Ilocano woman'
 Upin Agta Upin Agta 'Upin the Agta'

(b) Noun-NA/Impersonal/Pronoun Noun

táqday-en babbay one-NA/that woman 'the one woman'
 dappug-ina lamán huge-NA/that/referred/to/by/you wild/pig 'the huge pig (you were talking about)'
 taqday-in lente another-NA/this lantern 'the other lantern'
 dakal-in parayuk big-NA/this frying/pan 'the big frying pan'
 ngámin kid-in tolay all pl-NA/this person 'everybody (here)'
 atawa-naq-en laqláqay spouse-NA/she-NA/that old/man 'her husband, the old man'
 kánan-k-en kahel food-NA/I-NA/that orange 'my food, the orange' or 'the orange I'm going to eat'
 kwa ten kofun-tám-ewan Upin thing TA/there friend-NA/we/all-NA/that Upin 'what's her name over there, our friend Upin'

(c) Noun NA Noun

táqday na babbay one NA woman 'a (one) woman'
 tanáp na bagetay cleared/field NA hill 'a bare hill'
 taqday na wer another NA creek 'another creek'
 walawer na assang small/creek NA small 'a small creek'
 assang na walawer small NA small/creek 'a small creek'
 dakal na ulat big NA blanket 'a big blanket'
 pake laqláqay na babágu very old/man NA young/unmarried/man 'a very old bachelor'
 dúwa na pesuk two NA peso 'two pesos'
 líma na kaban five NA bag 'five bags (i.e. of rice)'
 ma-fulu na wer one-ten NA creek 'ten creeks'

There are several word bases, mostly of the weights-and-measures variety, which may be qualified in the manner above, that is, be in structural apposition with a cardinal numeral, but which may behave also like the multiple cardinal numerals *-fulu* 'tens', *-gatut* 'hundreds', and *-ribu* 'thousands', which have the numerals prefixed to them. Amongst these are:

appa	'double arm span'
aráw	'day'
bára	'cubit' (finger-tip to elbow)
bilyon	'twenty centavos' (= \$.10)
kaban	'bag' (of rice; = 75 litres)
kilu	'kilo'
kupil	'cooked rice wrapped in a leaf'
dangán	'hand-span'
darún	'year'
dawa	'head (of rice)'
dawit	'share, strung portion (of meat)'
futut	'sheaf (of rice)'
galgal	'cut piece' (by sawing motion)
gallang	'portion, piece (of fish)'
gantub	'chopped piece, portion'
hitlam-án	'night' (spent somewhere)
hukal	'seed', 'piece (of fruit, bamboo—anything round)'
hulán	'mouth'
pesuk	'peso' (= \$.50)
pissáng	'torn piece'
salub	'ganta' (unit of grain measurement = 3 litres)
samuldu	'finger's width'
sipuk	'thumb to knuckle of index finger' (about 5")

As well as *dwa-fulu* 'twenty' *tallu-gatut* 'three hundred', etc. (see Section 2.1 above), then, these occur; *dwa-darún* 'two years', *tá-hukal* 'one piece (e.g. of fruit)', *tá-kaban* 'one bag', *dwa-salub* 'two gantas', *tallu-pesuk* 'three pesos', *appáta-bilyon* 'eighty centavos', etc.

5.2 Nouns and Pronouns in Apposition

(a) Noun-NA/Impersonal/Pronoun Pronoun

In this and the following variants of the apposition construction an INTU Class Impersonal Pronoun may occur in apposition with a Noun or Nouns, regardless of where the whole occurs syntactically. That is, the whole may be either first or second terminal of an equation, or an attributive following NA, or an oblique following TA, but the Pronoun used in the apposition construction remain INTU Class. The INTU Class Pro-

noun is always second in a sequence of items in apposition, and any one of the four INTU Class Impersonal Pronouns (*yan* or *yeyan* or *yeqyan*, *yana*, *yewan*, *yen*) may occur there. However, the suffixed NA Class Pronoun is always *-in* in this type of construction.

- Inya tolay-in yan. who (YA) person-NA/this this. 'Who is this?'
 Anu ya bídaq-in yana. what YA talk-NA/this that. 'What's that you're talking about?'
 Anu ya hitlam-in yeyan. what YA night-NA/this this. 'What night is it tonight?'
 Ka-kurug-án ya gilát-in yana. superlative-true YA arrow/head-NA/this that. 'That arrowhead is the real thing.'

(b) *Noun-NA/Impersonal/Pronoun Pronoun Noun*

- Bakkan lá ta dalán-in yan tátáqday. it/is/not (YA/it) only TA way-NA/this this one. 'This isn't the only way.' or 'This way isn't the only one.'
 Tátáqday-láq-in yan dalán ya e yák ne-gangat-án. one-only-NA/this this way YA come YA/I *ne-* -án-infatuated. 'This is the only way I've become infatuated with.'

(c) *Pronoun Noun*

A Noun may occur as a further definitive in apposition with any Pronoun.

- Á ange pano yen Tomiq-en. and go ever YA/that Tomi-NA/that. 'Wherever is she . . . 'Tomi going?'
 Yig kwa ya ange ta iten finugu na bebay. YA thing YA go TA there island NA sea. 'So-and-so and company are the ones who went there, to the island of the sea.'

5.3 *Pronouns in Apposition*

A Personal and an Impersonal Pronoun of the INTU Class may occur in apposition as first terminal of an equation.

- Intu yeyan O ey ya dalán. it this O friend YA trail. 'This is the trail, friend.'
 Ay intu yen ya bali-muy-in. oh it this YA house-NA/you/pl-NA/this. 'Oh, so these are your houses.'
 Intu yen ya síri na uhohug. it that YA lie NA word. 'That's a lie!'

5.4 *Nouns and Verbs in Apposition*

(a) *Noun Verb*

- Inya ya tolay nangi-tún. who YA person past/actor-put. 'Who put it there?'
 Ange-n na danum ya umag na hulu um-ange ta tuldug. go-goal NA water YA inside NA bamboo past-go TA veranda. 'The hollow of a bamboo going down to the veranda was a water channel.'

(b) *Noun-NA/Impersonal/Pronoun Verb*

ngámin kid-in p-in-arátu na Nam-arátu all pl-NA/this past/goal-create
NA past/actor-create 'all God's creations (creatures)'

'..,' kung-ku ta Ugsin-en in-ita-mi. '...' say-NA/ TA lowlander-NA/
that past/goal-see-NA/we. "'..." I said to the lowlander we'd
seen.'

On ay te ya ngámin kid-in nang-aláp ta ne-kayát-na in-aláp. yes emphatic
because/of YA all pl-NA/this past/actor-take TA past/accessory-like-
NA/he past/goal-take. 'Yes, because of all those who took what they
wanted to take.' (reply)

(c) *Verb-NA/Impersonal/Pronoun Noun*

The majority of verbal forms occurring first in an apposition
sequence are prefixed with a MAG Class prefix, and are seman-
tically equivalent to qualifiers or adjectives in English. A
number of verbal forms only occur in the Past tense in this
usage for semantic reasons, namely, that certain states could
only prevail if they had begun in the past, e.g. *na-labag* 'rotten'.
Ordinal numerals occur as verbal forms first in an apposition
sequence, being prefixed by *meka-*. The cardinal form occurs
as the stem, e.g. *meka-dúwa* 'second', *meka-tallu* 'third', etc.
The one exception is 'first', in which a different word base from
the cardinal is used, namely, *ulu* 'head'. The form is *ma-polu*
(*ma-* + *pa-* + *ulu*) 'first'.

mag-talip-en tolay actor-dance-NA/that person 'the person who's
dancing'

na-labag-ewan álád past/state-rotten-NA/that fence 'the rotten fence
over there'

ne-galut-in anwáng past/state-tie/up-NA/this water/buffalo 'the tethered
water buffalo'

meka-talluq-en ligwán ordinal-three-NA/that week 'three weeks ago'

(d) *Verb NA Noun*

na-bayág na aráw past/state-long/time NA day 'a long time ago'

nag-dúma na abbing past/actor-differ NA child 'a different child'

mak-ámu na lalaki mam-alsiqit ability-know NA man actor-shoot/with/
catapult 'a man who knows how to shoot with a catapult'

M-apyá yana na álád. state-good YA/that NA fence. 'That's a nice
fence.'

The final example involves a first terminal containing two word
bases in apposition with a Pronoun as second terminal in an
equation. In such cases, the Pronoun follows the first of the
word bases in apposition, thus displacing in position the second,
though the latter is part of the first terminal.

5.5 *Pronouns and Verbs in Apposition*

Ittá yák keng-angay teko pang-itá-m ta ka-takit anna ka-damdam na nonot teko. there/is YA/I event/position-all/day TA/you/sg place-see-NA/you/sg TA event-love and event-sad NA mind TA/you/sg. 'I'm with you all day where you can see my love and pining for you.'

5.6 *Verbs in Apposition*

The juxtaposing of word bases with verbal affixes is apposition in the structural sense, that is, the occurrence in sequence of a number of Verbs without ligatures between them. The word bases in the sequence are not necessarily, however, being equated to one another (as in the normally accepted semantic content of apposition), but are rather semantically supplementary to one another. Two or more word bases may be involved, the whole sequence occupying but one syntactic position, such as terminal of an equation, head of an attributive expression, etc.

Except in certain specific conditions discussed hereunder, the focus of the Verbs in a sequence is in agreement, that is, a MAG Class Verb occurs with another MAG Class Verb, and an AN Class Verb occurs with another AN Class Verb, the focus of the whole utterance then obviously being actor focus and goal or accessory focus respectively.

All YA and NA Class Pronouns (including the redundantly marked non-focused Noun actor) and all Post-Adverbs immediately follow the first Verb of an apposition.

Some of the more common word bases that occur as the first of two Verbs are listed below along with the affixes normally occurring with them in such appositions. Structurally they are Verbs, although several of them are the equivalents of English Adverbs. When *awe-* occurs in apposition with *i-kayát*, *e* or *e-n* it precedes them, *i-kayát* precedes *e* or *e-n*, and these always precede the other word bases listed. The majority of these word bases also occur apart from apposition.

alag-	'hurry up'
ámu-	'know how to'
anu-n	'why?'
awe-	'not to'
na-balin	'finish'
ma-bayág	'a long time', 'late'
ma-káfuy	'softly', 'quietly', 'gently'
kapye-	'before'
i-kayát	'want to', 'like to'
mag-dáfun	'at the same time'

e, e-n, ange, ange-n	'go', 'come'
maging-gáfán	'last'
mame-gafu	'start', 'begin'
mag-imáng	'stop'
mag-inennát	'slowly' (of walking only)
mag-indang	'in unison', 'together'
parubá-n	'try'
pidwa-n	'again'
ma-polu, i-polu	'first'
mag-rebing	'together', 'side by side'
ma-sesenuk	'unevenly'
ma-sikan	'vigorously', 'loudly', 'quickly', 'cleverly'
uli-n	'fix'
ma-vít	'quickly', 'a short time'

Similarly occurring as first member of two or more Verbs in sequence are the *Temporal Numerals*. The basic form of the 'times' prefix is *mameng-*, which occurs except before labials and dental stops, in which case regressive assimilation occurs to the point of articulation of the stem initial consonant. However, there is also word base reduction in 'twice' and 'four times'. The Past tense form is *nameng-*.

mittán	'once'
mamidwa	'twice'
mamen-tallu	'three times'
mamempát	'four times'
mameng-lima	'five times'
mameng-annam	'six times'
mamem-pitu	'seven times'
mameng-walu	'eight times'
mameng-siyam	'nine times'
mamem-fulu	'ten times'

(a) *Two MAG Class Verbs*

The following illustrate *agreement* of focus in *actor focus* equations. A few of the cases show tense disagreement.

E yák miná mangi-bár. go YA/I ought actor-speak. 'I ought to go and ask.'

E kami mag-pasyár. go YA/we actor-visit. 'We're going visiting.'

Mag-dáfun kíd d-um-atang. actor-at/the/same/time YA/they actor-arrive. 'They will arrive at same time.'

Nag-sitang na-sidug. past/actor-call/out (YA/she) past/state-sleep. 'She called out in her sleep.'

Na-bayág na-tolay. past/state-long/time (YA/he) past/state-live. 'He lived a long time.'

Ma-lelewát mag-bída. state-intensive/slow (YA/he) actor-story. 'He's very slow telling a story.'

- Mag-inennát kitám mag-paqyát. actor-slowly YA/we/all actor-step. 'Let's all step carefully.'
- Ma-sesenuk na-lutu. state-unevenly (YA/it) past/state-ripe. 'It ripens unevenly.'
- Um-ange kami nag-lente ni Sitong. past-go YA/we past/actor-spot/light/shooting NA Sitong. 'Sitong and I went spot light shooting.'
- Nameng-annam ne-payád ya taddung-k-en. past/times-six past/state-blow YA hat-NA/I-NA/that. 'My hat blew off six times.'
- Iko hud lá mak-ámu na lalaki mam-alsiqit. you/sg interrogative only (YA) ability-know NA man actor-shoot/with/catapult. 'Do you think you're the only man who knows how to shoot with a catapult?'
- Medyo na-bayág kami mag-apag ta dalán. rather past/state-long/time YA/we actor-search TA trail. 'We were rather a long time looking for a trail.'
- Mágge n-agyán kami lá ten nag-lelehut. almost past/state-stay YA/we only TA/there past/actor-intensive/around. 'We almost got stuck there going round in circles.'

(b) *Two AN Class Verbs*

The following illustrate *agreement* of focus in *non-actor focus* equations.

- Uli-m takup-án. fix-goal/NA/you/sg (YA/it) patch-goal. 'Fix it with a patch.' or 'Fix it by patching.'
- I-kayát-mu dangag-an ya bída nig Pedru. accessory-like-NA/you/sg hear-goal YA story NA Pedro/plus. 'You want to hear what Pedro and the others are talking about.'

Whereas the unaffixed form *anu* occurs as an INTU Class Pronoun meaning 'what?' and as a Pre-Adverb meaning 'why?', *anu-n* is an AN Class Verb, and occurs as the first Verb in an apposition sequence meaning 'why?' in a non-actor focus equation.

- Anu-m ák apag-an. why-goal/NA/you/sg YA/I search-goal. 'Why are you looking for me?'
- In-anu-m h-in-usát. past/goal-why-NA/you/sg (YA/it) past/goal-split. 'Why did you split it?'
- In-anu-na-n t-in-ultulfu ya papel-in. past/goal-why-NA/she-now past/goal-pl/edge YA paper-NA/this. 'Why has she arranged the paper edge-to-edge?'

The four word bases *kapye-* 'before', *alag-* 'hurry up', *ámu-* 'know how to', and the very frequent *awe-* 'not' have the form of Nouns, in that they do not take verbal affixes when occurring in apposition with Verbs. However, they have been regarded as AN Class Verbs because an attributive Pronoun actor immediately follows them in such appositions, instead of occurring after the Verb in second position.

Ma-polu bit ya gudáng kapye-m galgal-an ya ulu-naq-en. state-first short/time YA honeycomb before-NA/you/sg cut-goal YA head-NA/it-NA/that. 'You deal with the honeycomb first before you cut the top of the hive.'

Awe-k na datdatang-án. not-NA/I (YA/it) now intensive/reach-goal. 'I can't reach it.' or 'I can't get to it.'

Awe-da mantu i-kaskásu. not-NA/they (YA/she) then accessory-hear. 'Then they won't be letting her know.'

Awe-m ák persá-n pevwat-an. not-NA/you/sg YA/I force-goal get/up-goal. 'Don't make me get up.'

Awe-m paha ámu i-kámat ya bari-m. not-NA/you/sg yet know accessory-modest YA body-NA/you/sg. 'You don't know how to be modest yet.'

More frequent and versatile than any other word base occurring in the first position of a Verb sequence is *e* 'go', 'come'. It most often occurs as the AN form *e-n* (*i-n* with Inclusive Person suffix) in verbal appositions.

Although *ámu-*, *awe-* and *e-n* distinguish between Past and Present/Future tenses by affixation when they occur in other constructions, in verbal appositions they show no such contrast, but retain the Present/Future form irrespective of the tense shown by the Verb in second position. Similarly, *kapye-* and *alag-* are not marked for tense.

E-n-d-ák i-logot. go-goal-NA/they-YA/I accessory-let/down. 'They'll go away and let me down.'

I-n-ta kám i-darúm. go-goal-NA/we/two YA/you/pl accessory-accuse. 'I'm going to accuse you.'

E-m unek-an ya kayu. come-goal/NA/you/sg climb-goal YA tree. 'Come and climb a tree.'

E-n-na miná i-pahulot ni Ayop. go-goal-NA/he (YA/it) ought accessory-carry/through NA Ayop. 'Ayop may go ahead with his plan.'

E-m-mi in-uli w-in-atay ya kayuq-en te ma-dammat. go-goal-NA/we past/goal-fix past/goal-square YA tree-NA/that because state-heavy (YA/it). 'We went and fixed up the tree by squaring it because it was so heavy.'

(c) AN Class Verb with MAG Class Verb

There is a small group of commonly used word bases which only occur in goal or accessory focusing form in verbal appositions. These include: *ámu-* 'know how to', *awe-* 'not to', *kapye-* 'before', *i-kayát* 'like to', *parubá-n* 'try to', *pidwa-n* 'again'. When one of these occurs preceding a MAG Class Verb in an apposition sequence, the actor Pronoun, which immediately follows the first Verb, is in the NA Class. (This, of course, includes the redundantly marked non-focused Noun actor.) The utterance contains no item marked by the focusing ligature

YA, despite the fact that goal and accessory, if present, go into the Oblique. Because of the occurrence of goal and accessory in the Oblique, together of the occurrence of a MAG Class Verb, it has been deduced that the utterance is, in fact, an actor focused equation. It has therefore been concluded that the focus of an equation involving a verbal apposition follows that of the last Verb in the sequence. The last Verb in a sequence may then be regarded as being syntactically the outermost layer, while the first is syntactically innermost. The syntactically innermost Verb determines the Pronoun, while the outermost determines the focus of the equation, resulting in this case in *lack of agreement*.

Ámu-na makaq-apappod. know-NA/she ability-stand/up. 'She (baby) knows how to stand up.'

P-in-aruba-da im-ubar. past/goal-try-NA/they actor-fly. 'They tried to fly.'

Awe-na para ma-pepenám ta talun. not-NA/he yet state-used TA forest. 'He's not yet used to the forest.'

Awe-na makaq-itúd na nonot-ku. not-NA/it ability-concentrate NA mind-NA/I. 'I can't concentrate.'

Awe-k i-kayát mag-pagá. not-NA/I accessory-like actor-pay. 'I don't want to pay.'

E-n-na mag-apag ta pag-pagerger-da. go-goal-NA/he actor-search TA instrument-haul-NA/they. 'He's gone to look for their water buffalo sled.'

Mag-adade ka ay mantu te kapye-k hapa mag-gitára. actor-sing YA/you/sg emphatic then because before-NA/I also actor-play/guitar. 'Well you sing then before I play the guitar.'

Occasionally an actor focused form of *e* 'go', 'come' replaces the form *e-n* in an apposition sequence, and this may occur where the Verb following is in the AN form. This is especially the case in the first person singular, *e yák* being most frequently used. It is therefore possible to get a situation which is the reverse of that discussed above, in which the last Verb is in the AN form, and both actor and goal are in the YA Class.

E yák kid apag-an. go YA/I YA/they search-goal. 'I'm going to look for them.'

Um-ange p-in-aquru yi ábay. past-go (YA/she) past/goal-get/treated YA daughter. 'She's gone to get medical attention for the little girl.'

The form *e-n* occurs in sequences with Verbs in the PAG Class, the whole sequence functioning as does the PAG Class Verb.

Yeqyan ya e-m-mi ne-pag-pasyár. this YA go-goal-NA/we past-event-visit. 'This was when we went visiting.'

5.7 *Apposition of whole terminals including ligatures*

It is possible for an equation to have two terminals, each marked by the ligature YA, in second position. The two terminals, each following YA, may each consist of minimal or expanded Noun or Verb, or one may be a Pronoun. Despite the apposition relationship, the content of the terminals in apposition may differ structurally.

Yen ya ange-m-mi ya tákwán na dalán. that YA go-goal-NA/we YA other NA trail. 'That should be our way, the other trail.'

Ayag-á-m kid mantu sin ya atu ikid na ugta ikid na taggam. call-goal-NA/you/sg YA/they then TA/here YA dog they NA deer they NA ant. 'Then call the dog, deer, and ant here.'

Intu k-ánge pag-sitang-án ya mayor-naq-en. she (YA) event-go place-noise YA guardian-NA/she-NA/that. 'Her guardian, she's the one to go and talk to.'

Similarly, two oblique terminals, each following TA, may occur in apposition, as exemplified by the following:

Awán ta ámu-k ta ne-bár-na teyák. there/is/none (YA/it) TA know-NA/I TA past/accessory-tell-NA/he TA/I. 'I know nothing about it, he hasn't said anything to me.'

I-bár-ku tentu am hád agyán na dalán ta Ugsin. accessory-speak-NA/I TA/he if where (YA) stay NA trail TA lowlander. 'I'll ask him - the lowlander - where the trail is.'

In the first example, either of the two *ta-ámu-k* or *ta-ne-bár-na-teyák* might well have followed *awán* by itself; in either case the sentence would have been complete. That is, the two oblique expressions are structurally mutually substitutable after *awán* just as either of the two YA expressions would have been in the three examples pertaining to the second terminal of the equation. In the second example of apposition of TA expressions, the two items in apposition, *tentu* and *ta Ugsin* are discontinuous, although *tentu* occurs in a position often occupied by oblique Pronouns. It might just as easily have happened that the two oblique expressions occurred side by side at the end of the clause. However, as will be noted from Section 4.0, it is possible for a clause to contain more than one oblique expression, without apposition, as the oblique may signal several structural meanings, namely, goal after a MAG Class Verb, accessory, place or direction, and time, in that preferential order.

6.0 ADVERBS

There are two small word classes that function as qualifying laterals to the first terminal of an equation, one class immediately preceding the first terminal and therefore termed Pre-Adverbs, the other class immediately following the first terminal and any NA and YA Class Pronouns that may occur after it, and therefore termed Post-Adverbs. The first terminal may be a Noun, a Pronoun, or a Verb. (See Sections 2.1, 2.2, and 2.3 respectively.) The term "Adverb" has been used to represent these two word classes for want of a better name, and because they occur in a construction that often corresponds to an English predicate as qualifiers of its head word. Many of the members of the Pre-Adverb and Post-Adverb classes are the semantic equivalents of English Adverbs.

6.1 *Post-Adverbs*

Post-Adverbs are a limited class of about 20 non-affixable roots, occurring immediately after the Noun, Pronoun or Verb which is the first terminal of an equation plus such Pronouns of the NA and YA Classes as may be connected with it. That is, the Post-Adverb follows any NA and/or YA Class Pronouns that happen to be present after the first word base in first terminal position. If there are Nouns present other than that occurring in first terminal position, the Post-Adverb precedes them. In a sequence of Verbs in apposition, the Post-Adverbs, like the Pronouns, follow the first Verb of the sequence. Although many Post-Adverbs correspond to English Adverbs, there is a considerable diversity of meanings in the class as a whole, and the meanings of some are too broad to be readily translated in a few English words.

In the following list of Post-Adverbs, some of the forms are not morphologically minimal. This has been illustrated by marking the possible morpheme boundaries here, although they are not marked elsewhere in the grammar. However, as the meaning of the whole is not the sum of the meanings of the constituent morphemes, further division is not profitable.

bít	'please', 'for a moment' (rare usage)
kád	'properly', 'thoroughly', 'really'
kampon, pon	(marker of frivolity)
kán	'he says that . . .', 'they say that . . .', 'I think

	they feel that . . .', 'supposed to' (indirect report)
daqah	(marker of boredom, reluctance)
de	'maybe', 'perhaps', 'might be', (question indicator expecting affirmative reply)
ha	'again'
hamámpa	Tentative meanings: 'always', 'never' (with negative) 'already', '(not) yet', 'however'. (This is very commonly used, but its meaning is still uncertain. It frequently occurs in clauses after <i>te</i> 'because'.)
ha-lá	'merely', 'just'
ha-pa	'also', 'too'
haq-en	'too'
hud	(question indicator anticipating negative reply; negative in face of positive suggestion)
lá	'only', 'just'
malat	(strong affirmative in face of contrary suggestion)
mantu	'then', 'therefore'; 'indeed' (response of surprise)
miná	'ought', 'should' (but did not)
na, -n	'now', 'already' (<i>na</i> occurring after a final consonant in preceding word, <i>-n</i> after a final vowel)
namán	'at last'
pa	'also'
pa-ha	'still', 'yet'
pano	'-ever' (used after interrogative Pronouns, indicating completeness of ignorance)
paq-en	'of course', 'I told you before that . . .' (reply indicator, often mildly impatient)

Iq-arutút-mu bít ya hitlag-k-in. accessory-rub-NA/you/sg please YA back-NA/I-NA/this. 'Please rub my back.'

E yák bít ma-sidug. go YA/I for/a/little/while state-sleep. 'I'm going to sleep for a bit.'

M-apyá kád ya bagong-en. state-good really YA fish-NA/that. 'The fish was quite good.'

Ámu-na kán. know-NA/he (YA/it) he/says. 'He says he knows.'

E ka kán sin. come YA/you/sg he/says TA/here. 'He says to come here.'

E yák na daqah. go YA/I now boredom. 'I'm going now (because I'm tired of waiting).'

Awán de ta udán. there/is/none (YA/it) maybe TA rain. 'There mightn't be any rain.'

Um-ange kid de ta talun. past-go YA/they maybe TA forest. 'Maybe they went to the forest.' or 'Did they go to the forest?'

Mag-toli ha. actor-return (YA/he) again. 'He's coming back again.'

Assang hamámpa ya anáw-in. small *hamámpa* YA palm/leaf-NA/this. 'There's not much of this palm leaf.'

- . . . am mag-udán ma-sanaw hamámpa. . . when actor-rain (YA/it) state-cold (YA/it) *hamámpa*. ' . . it's cold when it rains.'
- E yák halá. go YA/I just. 'I'll go just the same (though I don't want to).'
- Ma-damdám hapa yi Loring. state-sad also YA Loring. 'Loring is sad too.'
- Bon-an-ta ka haqen. send-goal-NA/we/two YA/you/sg too. 'I'm sending you along too.'
- Mag-tarinap ka hud. actor-dream YA/you/sg interrogative. 'Are you dreaming?'
- Anwáng ák hud. water/buffalo YA/I interrogative. 'I'm not a water buffalo.' or 'Am I a water buffalo?'
- Mag-pátu lá ya bari-na. actor-hot only YA body-NA/she. 'It's just her body that's getting hot.'
- Intu lá yen. he only YA/that. 'It's only him.'
- Ittá malat. there/is (YA/it) certainly. 'It's here all right.'
- Awe-m malat alap-an. not-NA/you/sg (YA/it) certainly take-goal. 'Don't you dare take it!'
- Tallu kám mantu ay. three YA/you/pl then emphatic. 'Then there are three of you.'
- I-bilag-ku miná. accessory-run-NA/I (YA/it) ought. 'I ought to run with it.'
- Na-banta-n ya hitlag-k-in. past/state-stiff-now YA back-NA/I-NA/this. 'My back is already stiff.'
- E yák na ten. go YA/I now TA/there. 'I'm going there now.'
- Anu namán yana. what at/last YA/that. 'What's that you're doing?' (said after forbidding it)
- Awe-mi paha um-ange ta talun. not-NA/we yet past-go TA forest. 'We haven't yet gone to the forest.'
- Ittá paha ta umag. there/is (YA/it) still TA inside. 'It's still inside.'
- In-alap-ku paqen ta talun. past/goal-get-NA/I (YA/it) reply TA forest. 'I got it in the forest.' (answer to 'Where . . .?')
- Kánu pano ya ka-balin-na. whenever YA event-finish-NA/it. 'Whenever will it be finished?'

As in the case of the focused goal Pronouns (see Section 3.2(b)) and Verbs in apposition (see Section 5.6), so also Post-Adverbs displace a non-focused (NA Class) Noun actor. The third person singular Pronoun occurs to satisfy the requirement that goal focus Verb forms be immediately followed by an attributive, and the Noun actor, preceded by the ligature NA, follows the Post-Adverb.

- 'Kurug,' kun-na hapa ni ábe. 'true (YA/it)' say-NA/she also NA older/sibling. "'That's right," *Abe* replied.'
- Lafafun-an-na lá na tolay. guess-goal-NA/he (YA/it) only NA person. 'A person is only guessing.'

Sangaw ne-sabit-na-n na bakbákat-en. then past/accessory-roll/up/in/ clothing-NA/she-(YA/it)-now NA old/woman-NA/that. 'Then the old woman wrapped it up in her clothing.'

D-in-agdag-na hapa na atuq-in. past/goal-follow-NA/it (YA/it) also NA dog-NA/this. 'The dog also followed it.'

Beside the double Pronouns listed in Section 3.2(d), there is another set of combined pronominal forms involving the Post-Adverb *na*, *-n* 'now', 'already', 'then' (in a sequence). Where two alternative forms are shown for a particular Pronoun, either may occur in the same environment.

YA Class		NA Class	
Pronoun	Pronoun + <i>na</i>	Pronoun	Pronoun + <i>na</i>
ák, yák	ák na, yák na	-ku, -k	-ku-n, -k na
kita	kita-n, kitanan	-ta	-ta-n, -tanan
ka	ka-n	-mu, -m	-mu-n, -m na
—	na	-na	-na-n
kami	kami-n	-mi	-mi-n
kitám	kitánan	-tám	-tánan
kám	kánan	-muy	-muy na
kid	kid na	-da	-da-n

Whereas a Verb in the Past tense in Agta is equivalent to the English simple past tense, the addition of the Post-Adverb *na* 'now', 'already' gives the additional sense of completed action, so that Past tense plus *na* is equivalent to the English present-perfect 'have done'. Similarly, whereas the Agta Present/Future tense remains ambiguous, the addition of *na* defines the time as present. The examples immediately above illustrate this, as do the following.

Um-alit ka-n ha. actor-move YA/you/sg-now again. 'You're on the move again.'

Na-bayág kánan mantu lá. past/state-long/time YA/you/pl/now then only. 'You have been a long time.'

Mag-toli kitánan. actor-return YA/we/all/now. 'Let's all go back now.'

E-m-mi kánan alap-an. come-goal-NA/we YA/you/pl/now take-goal. 'We're going to take you with us now.'

Most of the Post-Adverbs may occur in *combinations* with each other. Combinations of two and three Post-Adverbs are commonly used, but the occurrence of larger combinations is doubtful. Since combinations no larger than three occur, then,

it is not possible nor of great significance to construct a detailed diagram of preferential orders of occurrence. A tentative diagram for the twelve most versatile Post-Adverbs is given below.

kád	na	bít	ha	mantu	paha	de	lá	bít
hud			mantu	ha				
			kán	miná				

The following actual combinations have been observed:

na	kád na, hud na, na kán, na miná, na ha, na mantu, na hapa, na paha, na de, na lá, na hamámpa, na pano, na malat, na pa, na paqen, na daqah, na namán <i>or</i> namán na; kád na pa, kád na lá, hud na lá, na hapa lá, na lá mantu, na lá daqah.
lá	na lá, hud lá, lá bít (or rarely, bít lá), kán lá, miná, lá, ha lá, mantu lá, hapa lá, paha lá, de lá, namán lá; kád na lá, hud na lá, kán paha lá, mantu ha lá <i>and</i> ha mantu lá, hapa lá sangaw, na hapa lá, hamámpa ha lá, na lá daqah, na lá mantu, ha lá sangaw.
hapa	na hapa, hapa lá, kád hapa, kán hapa, miná hapa, hapa de; na hapa lá, hapa lá sangaw.
kán	na kán, kán lá, bít kán, kán miná, kán paha, kán haqen, kán hapa; kán paha lá.
paha	na paha, paha lá, hud paha, paha bít, kán paha, mantu paha; kán paha lá.
mantu	na mantu, mantu lá, hud mantu, bít mantu, mantu paha; ha mantu lá <i>or</i> mantu ha lá, na lá mantu.
ha	na ha, ha lá, ha de; ha mantu lá <i>or</i> mantu ha lá, hamámpa ha lá, ha lá sangaw.
hud	hud na, hud lá, hud paha, hud mantu; hud na lá. lá bít (or rarely, bít lá), bít kán, bít mantu, paha bít, bít haqen.
de	na de, de lá, ha de, hapa de.
kád	kád na, kád hapa; kád na lá, kád na pa.
miná	na miná, miná lá, miná hapa, kán miná.
hamámpa	na hamámpa; hamámpa ha lá.

haqen	kán haqen, bít haqen.
pa	na pa; kád na pa.
namán	na namán <i>or</i> namán na, namán lá.
daqah	na dequah, na lá daqah.
paqen	na paqen.
pano	na pano
malat	na malat

Nag-dawa paha lá. past/actor-flower (YA/it) still only. 'It has flowered already.'

Nag-tarínap mantu lá yi ábe. past/actor-dream then only YA older/sister. 'Why, it was just *Ábe* dreaming!'

Pahig-ku ta ittá ya ulag ayá tukák mantu ha lá. mistakenly/thought-NA/I TA there/is YA snake but frog (YA/it) then again only. 'I thought there was a snake but it was only a frog.'

Awe-k na lá i-bár ya báhuy. not-NA/I now only accessory-talk YA pig. 'I won't talk about pigs any more.'

Im-unek kám bít lá ta isin. actor-come/up YA/you/pl please only TA here. 'Won't you just come up for a while.'

E kami-n mantu. go YA/we-now then. 'Then we'll be going now.'

The Post Adverb *lá* 'only', 'just' also enters into the attributive construction. As an attributive, it occurs suffixed to the head word of the phrase, before the *-in* type NA Class Impersonal Pronoun. E.g. *ta sangaw-en* 'a little while ago', *ta sangaw-láq-en* 'just a little while ago'.

Tátaqday-láq-in yan dalán ya e yák ne-gangat-án. one-only-NA/this this way YA come YA/I *ne- -án*-infatuated. 'This is the one way that I've become infatuated with.'

Dalán-láq-in yan ya e yák naq-ita. way-only-NA/this this YA come YA/I past/state-see. 'This is the only way I've come to see.'

The form *sangaw* 'soon', 'later', 'someday', 'then' may behave as a word base, taking affixes and occurring as the head word of a phrase, as in the example *ta sangaw-en* above and its parallels (see Section 4.4(a)). But its more frequent usage is as a Post-Adverb, and in this usage it is not affixable. It enters into combinations with other Post-Adverbs, the following combinations having been observed: *hapa lá sangaw*, *ha lá sangaw*.

Iq-atad-mi ka sangaw. accessory-give-NA/we Ya/you/sg later. 'We'll give you some later.'

Ittá lá sangaw aráw na paging-bábár-tám. there/is only soon (YA) day NA event-discuss-NA/we/all. 'There will be a day for us to talk it over later on.'

Sangaw may also behave like *adet* in time expressions in the Oblique, where it occurs in such phrases as: *sangaw ta ayan-in* (soon TA time-NA/this) 'soon', 'almost at once'; *sangaw ta*

mittán (soon TA once), *sangaw ta pidwa* (soon TA again), *sangaw ta uli* (soon TA again) 'another time', 'some time'. (See Sections 4.3(a), 4.4 (a).) Further, *sangaw* may occur either by itself or in the combination *á sangaw* as a sentence connective, its meaning then being 'then' or 'and then'. This usage is very common in narrative, where many sentences may begin with *sangaw*.

Two other forms enter into combinations in Post-Adverb position like *sangaw*, and, like *sangaw*, they have much wider usages than other Post-Adverbs. These are *ay* and *O*, whose behaviour is partly adverbial (in that they may be lateral to the first terminal of an equation), partly connective (in that they may link successive speeches in conversation), and partly exclamatory.

(a) *ay* 'emphatic'

When it has the meaning of 'emphatic', *ay* occurs either as the last item in the utterance, or in Post-Adverb position. In the latter case it often occurs last after all other Post-Adverbs in combinations, although it may occur elsewhere. In this usage, *ay* functions semantically to reinforce a command, or to reinforce the truth of a reply. The following are very frequent: *on ay te . . .* 'yes, because . . .'; *on ay ammi . . .* 'yes, but . . .'; *On miná ay* (yes ought emphatic) 'It's possible'; *On ay de* (yes emphatic maybe) 'Maybe'.

Ittá ay. there/is (YA/it) emphatic. 'It's here!'

Dúwa kid ay. two YA/they emphatic. 'There are two of them.'

On ay ammi iyák ay. yes emphatic but I (YA/it) emphatic. 'Yes, but I'm the one.'

Á amú ay. oh I/don't/know emphatic. 'Oh, I don't know.'

Á gantub-a-m ay. oh cut-goal-NA/you/sg (YA/it) emphatic. 'Oh, cut it short!'

Itá-m awá paspasikkál-an-na ha ay. see-goal/NA/you/sg whether/not talk/a/lot-goal-NA/she again emphatic. 'See if she isn't on the old theme again.'

(b) *ay* 'corrective'

Occurring in sentence initial position, *ay* indicates that this sentence is to be substituted for the incorrect preceding statement, which may be a full utterance or an interrupted sentence fragment. Or it may mean that the speaker has just understood the significance of what another was saying.

Ay on mantu. corrective yes then. 'Why, yes!'

Ay danum mantu. corrective water (YA/it) then. 'Oh, it's water!'

- Ay intu yan ya bali-muy-in. corrective it this YA house-NA/you/pl-NA/this. 'Oh, so this is your house.'
- Ittá ya . . . ay alap-a-m bít sin Kilság. there/is YA . . . corrective bring-goal-NA/you/sg (YA/it) please TA/here Kilság. 'There's a . . . I mean please bring it here, Kilság.'
- Nag-bílag ya atuq-en . . . ay ugtaq-en. past/actor-runYA dog-NA/that . . . corrective deer-NA/that. 'The dog . . . no, the deer, ran away.'

(c) *O*

Similarly, *O* may occur sentence initially, sentence finally, at the end of the first clause in a multi-clause sentence, or in Post-Adverb position. It follows *ay* when the two occur contiguously. Its basic meaning is mildly honorific, expressing friendship and informality. *O* is normally used in conversation between two men, and may not be used between the sexes. It does not occur in narration or oratory. Initially, it has the added semantic function of drawing the attention of the hearer—'Hey, mate! . . .', 'Say! . . .'

- Awán *O* assang. there/is/none *O* small (YA/it. 'No, No! It's small.'
- Assang *O*. small (YA/it) *O*. 'Yes, it's small.'
- Makaq-inum ák *O*. ability-drink YA/I *O*. 'Say, I could do with a drink!'
- O* itá-m yeyana *O* ey. *O* look-goal/NA/you/sg YA/that *O* friend. 'Say, friend, take a look at that!'
- I-n-tanan *O* te awán ta bála-ta. go-goal-NA/we/two/now *O* because there/is/none (YA/it) TA bullet-NA/we/two. 'Let's go now as our ammunition has run out.'

Personal names used in address often occur in Post-Adverb position, following the first terminal.

- Anu ipág ya kín-a-m-en. what sibling/in/law YA say-goal-NA/you/sg-NA/that. 'What did you say, *Ipág?*'
- Hád-en ipág kín-a-m-en uru. where-NA/that sibling/in/law (YA) say-goal-NA/you/sg-NA/that medicine. 'Where's the medicine you're talking about, *Ipág?*'

6.2 *Pre-Adverbs*

As do the Post-Adverbs, the Pre-Adverbs can accompany any type of word base or word base plus affixes that occurs as first terminal of an equation. The Pre-Adverbs are also non-affixable, and are a very small class. They occur immediately preceding the word base of the first terminal except where there are two Verbs in apposition (see Section 5.6 above), in which case it precedes that Verb to which it is most relevant, even when that Verb is a second or later one. Pre-Adverbs only

occur singly, not in combinations. However, *anu* 'why?' as a Pre-Adverb may be followed by the Post-Adverb *pano* '-ever', the combination preceding the first terminal.

ampade	'I wish', 'ought', 'should'
anu	'why?' (occurring before <i>awe-</i> 'not', actor focus Verbs, Nouns, and Pronouns)
ape	'sham', 'appear'
azo	'each', 'both'
bágu	'just', 'newly'
kúga	'so', 'so much'
dána	'first', 'in the first place'
mágge	'nearly', 'almost'
maski	'that's all right', 'it doesn't matter'
medyo	'more or less', 'rather', 'fairly', 'middling'
pake	'very', 'right', 'real'
sá	'all', 'thoroughly' (refers to focused item in the clause)
sang	'a little (more)' (only precedes affixed word bases)

Of the above list, *kúga* and *maski* occur also as clause connectives. Thus the Pre-Adverb class and the Connective class overlap slightly.

Ampade p-in-aligat-na ya pel ni uté-m. I/wish past/goal-spank-NA/he
YA rump NA uncle-NA/you/sg. 'I wish your uncle had spanked your tail!'

Anu awe-m ák hinghingil-an. why not-NA/you/sg YA/I/obey-goal. 'Why don't you obey me?'

Ape b-um-ilag ák. sham actor-run YA/I. 'I'll pretend I'm running.'

Azo nang-án kami-n. each past/actor-eat YA/we-now. 'Each one of us has eaten.'

Bágu ita-n-na ka na anitu. newly see-goal-NA/it YA/you sg NA spirits.
'The spirits have just seen you.'

Kúga addu kid. so/much many YA/they. 'They are ever so many.'

Anu kúga i-bár na mámánuk-in. what (YA) so/much accessory-speak
NA bird-NA/this. 'What's the bird got so much to say about?'

Mágge ne-lubeg-ku yi Sitong. almost past/accessory tread/on-NA/I YA
Sitong. 'I nearly tripped over Sitong.'

Mágge abikan kami-n ta Ili. almost near YA/we-now TA town. 'We
were now pretty close to town.'

Maski awán kid. it/doesn't/matter there/is/none YA/they. 'It doesn't
matter if they aren't there.'

Medyo assang ya bilág. rather small YA sun. 'The sun was rather far
down.'

Pake ma-sikan ya udán. very state-strong YA rain. 'The rain is very
heavy.'

Pake dakal ya ag-sitang-na. very big YA instrument-noise-NA/he. 'He
has a very loud voice.'

Sá ittá kid ten. all there/is YA/they TA/there. 'They're all there.'

Awe-m sá i-burud. not-NA/you/sg (YA/it) all accessory-spill. 'Don't pour it all out.'

Sang-um-ákban ya kulam. a/little/more actor-bottom ya cloud. 'The clouds are coming down a little bit lower.'

Sang i-tullu-m. a/little/more accessory-raise-NA/you/sg (YA/it). 'Raise it a bit.'

Pake 'very', 'right', 'real' has a wider distribution than other Pre-Adverbs. Although it normally occurs before the word base which is the first terminal of an equation, it can also occur as an attributive of a word base after a ligature, in which case it is a qualifier of the head word of the expression following the ligature, and has the meaning 'real', 'right'. Whereas *wagi*, for example, refers to classificatory brothers, including cousins, *pake wagi* refers only to one's blood brother. *Pake* occurs immediately preceding the head word as elsewhere.

Intu ya pake nagán-na. it YA real name-NA/he. 'It's his real name.'
 Sangaw ittá kami ta pake Ili. then there/is YA/we TA right town.
 'Then we were right in town.'

7.0 CO-ORDINATION

7.1 *Word Bases in Co-ordination*

The construction which links together within one major position (e.g. terminal of an equation, attribution, or oblique construction) two otherwise unrelated word bases is the *pluralisation of the first word base plus the ligature NA* before the second. This construction is the grammatical equivalent of the English co-ordination with 'and'. There are three varieties of this construction according to the nature of the first of the two word bases. (a) If the first word base is a *Pronoun* (of the YA, NA, or TA Class), then the Pronoun will occur in the relevant person in the plural (even where a singular Pronoun would occur in an equivalent construction in English), and will be followed by the ligature NA plus the second word base. Thus, 'Pedro and I', in actor focus position would be: *kami ni Pedru* (YA/we NA Pedro). (b) If the first word base is a Verb, or a Noun other than a personal name or kinship term, it occurs in apposition with the INTU Class Pronoun *ikid* 'they', and word base plus Pronoun is followed by the ligature NA plus the second word base. (c) The first word base may be a *personal name* or one of the kinship terms listed for *yi* in Section 2.1(b) above, in which case the ligature preceding it will be the plural form *yig, nig, or teg*, the INTU Class Pronoun *ikid* 'they' occurs in apposition with it as in 7.1(b) above (although this is sometimes omitted), and the whole will be followed by the ligature NA plus the second word base.

A further evidence for the Inclusive Pronoun *kita, -ta, tekita* being singular is afforded by the co-ordinate construction. This Pronoun does not occur as the first word base in a co-ordinate construction. See Section 2.2.

(a) *Where the first word base is a Pronoun*

- Um-ange kid de ta talun ni Isus? past-go YA/they maybe TA forest NA Isus. 'Did he go to the forest with Isus?'
- Intu yen ya bída-mi ni Bittorina. it that YA conversation-NA/We NA Victorina. 'That's what we were talking about with Victorina.' or 'That's what Victorina and I were talking about.'
- Mag-babida kami hapa na Ugsin kid-en. actor-pl/talk YA/we also NA lowlander pl-NA/that. 'And we talked together with the lowlanders.'
- Um-ange kami nag-lente ni Sitong ta talun ta hitlam. past-go YA/we

past/actor-spot/light/hunting NA Sitong TA forest TA night.
'Sitong and I went spot light hunting in the forest at night.'

(b) *Where the first word base is a Verb or ordinary Noun*

Ittá hapa ya baqbáqat ikid na laqláqay. there/is also YA old/woman they
NA old/man. 'There was an old man and an old woman.'

Nag-adwa ikid na nag-attay. past/actor-vomit (YA/he) they NA past/
actor-defecate (YA/he). 'He vomited and defecated.'

Awe-na na-paparefu ikid na awe-na na-gagita. not-NA/it past/state-
intensive/same they NA not-NA/it past/state-intensive same. 'It
wasn't the same by any means.'

Itá-n-na ya anwáng ikid na báhuy ikid na báka. see-goal-NA/he YA
water/buffalo they NA pig they NA cattle. 'He sees water buffalo,
pigs, and cattle.'

(c) *Where the first word base is a personal name or
kinship term*

Yig Maring ikid ni baqbáqat Bilelág. YA Maring/plus they NA old/
woman Bilelág. 'Maring and family and old lady Bilegág.' (a reply
to a question)

Ittá-n de yig Sitong-en ikid ni ipág. there/is-now maybe YA Sitong/plus-
NA/that they NA sibling/in/law. 'Perhaps that's Sitong and *Ipág*
now.'

Hád-en ya pake ma-sikan ta bída nig Sitong ni Pedru ikid ni Loring.
where-NA/that YA very state-strong TA story NA Sitong/plus NA
Pedro they NA Loring. 'Who is the best story teller out of Sitong,
Pedro, and Loring?'

In the language of oratory, known as *susuma*, which is used in
some story-telling, speech-making, formal conversation such as
that employed in proposing and saying farewell, etc., there are
a number of stylistic differences from ordinary colloquial speech.
There are *susuma* synonyms for vocabulary items in colloquial
speech, standardised circumlocutions, and much more rarely,
grammatical substitutes. One notable grammatical substitute
is the use of *anna* 'and' in place of the above constructions to
link word bases in co-ordination. *Anna* 'and' also occurs as the
linking mechanism between clauses in *susuma* in place of the
colloquial form *á* 'and'.

takit anna damdam na nonot-k-in love and sadness NA mind-NA/I-NA/
this 'the love and pining of my heart'

Ittá lá sangaw aráw anna darún. there/is only later (YA) day and
year. 'There will be a day and year later on.'

Anu sangaw ya ag-pamábat-na anna ag-adet-na. what soon YA event-
say/enough-NA/it and event-end-NA/it. 'When will enough be said
and the end of the matter be reached?'

7.2 Clauses in Co-ordination

There is a small class of words which link clauses together in a single utterance. A clause has been defined as one equation, that is, one structural unit containing YA. A sentence may contain several clauses linked together by members of this small class of *clause connectives*. There is no grammatical criterion for setting up one clause as subordinate to another within this relationship. The link is therefore one of co-ordination as is that between word bases in Section 7.1 above, despite the fact that this construction includes equivalents of the traditional adverbial clauses of reason, condition, time, purpose, etc. in English, and the class of clause connectives includes equivalents of English "subordinate conjunctions", which traditionally "introduce subordinate clauses", as well as equivalents of the traditional co-ordinate conjunctions, such as *á* (or *anna* in *susuma* style) 'and', *o*, *ono* 'or', and *ammi* 'but'.

It has already been shown that *anna* 'and' replaces both the pluralisation plus NA construction between word bases discussed in Section 7.1 above and the equivalent *a* 'and' between clauses in the *susuma* or oratorical style. The following examples illustrate both colloquial *á* 'and' and oratorical *anna* 'and'.

Assang ya bari-na *á* pake ya ag-sitang-na. small YA body-NA/he and very big YA instrument-noise-NA/he. 'His body is small but his voice is very big.'

Nag-sitang ya atu *á* nag-bilag ya ugaw. past/actor-noise YA dog and past/actor-run YA monkeys. 'The dog made a noise and the monkey ran away.'

Awe-k i-padangag anna awe-k away-an. not-NA/I (YA/it) accessory-cause/to/hear and not-NA/I (Ya/it) deny-goal. 'I won't say yes and I won't say no.'

The *clause connective* class includes the following:

<i>á</i>	'and', 'but'
am	'if', 'when' (in future only), 'whether'
am awá	'if not'
am ayá	'but'
am . . . miná	'if' (supposition or analogy)
ammi	'but'
anna	'and' (in oratory style)
awá	'whether', 'not'
baka	'seeing that', 'unless'
bakawá	'seeing that' (followed by negative)
kúga	'so much so that', 'immediately'
maski	'even if'
maski am	'even if'

o, ono	'or'
petta	'so that', 'in order to' (<i>pettam</i> in fast speech)
petta talo	'so that'
talo	'in case'
talo am	
te	'because', 'so'
te am	'because if'
te petta	'so that'

In the analogical or hypothetical use of *am*, the Post-Adverb *miná* 'should' occurs in regular Post-Adverbial position in both clauses. One other Post-Adverb often enters into clause connection (and also sentence connection in a narrative), namely *sangaw* 'soon', 'later'. However it combines with the clause connective, and the whole occurs in connective position between clauses, not in regular Post-Adverb position. A *sangaw* as a connective means 'and then' or 'next'. Similarly, *sangaw am* as a connective means 'as soon as'. The combinations *am . . . sangaw* 'if . . . later' and *am . . . á* 'if . . . and' also occur, with the composite meaning of 'when'. Clauses following *te* very frequently contain *hamámpa* but the exact difference of meaning has not been ascertained. *Kúga* and *maski* occur both as Pre-Adverbs and as clause Connectives.

- Ukad-áng-ku haqen te itá-ng-ku. open-goal-NA/I (YA/it) too because see-goal-NA/I (YA/it). 'I'm opening it up to have a look at it.'
- Lidlid-ang-ku ya mata te ma-katal. scratch-goal-NA/I YA eye because state-itchy (YA/it). 'I'm scratching my eye because it's itchy.'
- Ittá Agta ta iten o awán. there/is (YA) Agta TA there or there/is/none (YA/he). 'Are the Agtas there or not?'
- E yák na hapa lá awá ma-sitang. go YA/I now also only if/not state-noise (YA/it). 'I'll go now if it's not going to be playing.' (i.e. tape recorder)
- Awe-k hud ámu bakawá ámu-k paha lá. not-NA/I (YA/it) interrogative know seeing/that know-NA/I (YA/it) already only 'Do you think I don't know about it when in fact I already know?'
- Paluk-a-m kád na petta igup-an-tám. hit-goal-NA/you/sg (YA/it) properly now so/that eat-goal-NA/we/all (YA/it). 'Hit it (chicken) properly now so that we'll all be able to eat it.'
- Sangaw am d-um-atang kúga mag-tugut lá. later if actor-arrive (YA/he) immediately actor-leave (YA/he) just. 'As soon as he comes here he immediately goes off again.'
- Mattún-a-m ta danum te petta ma-lunág. stir-goal-NA/you/sg (YA/it) TA water so/that state-lather (YA/it). 'Stir it in the water so it'll lather.'
- Nag-tugut kami-n miná ammi nag-udán na. past/actor-leave YA/we-now ought but past/actor-rain (YA/it) now. 'We should have gone but it rained just then.'

- I-kayát-ku ay am iq-atad-mu teyák. accessory-like-NA/I (YA/it) emphatic if accessory-give-NA/you/sg (YA/it) TA/I. 'I'd like it if you'd give it to me.'
- Am ittá lamán iq-atad-mi ka sangaw. when there/is (YA) wild/pig accessory-give-NA/we YA/you/sg later. 'When there's some pork later on we'll give you some.'
- E kami mam-alaybay talo alap-am-mi ya kazzi. go YA/we actor-trap/fowl in/case get-goal-NA/we YA wild/fowl. 'We're going trapping in the hope of taking a wild fowl.'
- Laflafun-an-na lá na tolay ya pag-udán na baka ittá ya senyas-na. pl/guess-goal-NA/he only NA person YA event-rain now unless there/is YA sign-NA/it. 'A person is only guessing when it will rain unless there's some sign of it.'
- Paqey-am-mi ta táqday na babbay na Agta am ayá ittá mantu kaluhun-na. mistakenly/thought-goal-NA/we TA one NA woman NA Agta (YA/she) however there/is then (YA) companion-NA/she. 'We thought there was a lone Agta woman but she turned out to have a companion.'
- Kurug ta kunna ten ta adáddu na dalán am awá dalán-láq-in yan ya e yák naq-ita. true (YA/it) TA likeness TA/that TA very/many (YA/it) NA ways but way-only-NA/this this YA come YA/I past/state-see. 'It's true, as you say, that there are many ways but this is the only way I've come to investigate.'
- Á ámu-na hapa te am iyák lá ya e-m pag-sitang-án á awán ta sirbi-na. and know-NA/she (YA/it) also because if I only YA come-goal-NA/you/sg place-noise and there/is/none (YA/it) TA use-NA/it. 'Oh she knows too, because if I were the only one you were to consult it would be useless.'

8.0 A CLAUSE AS A TERMINAL

A clause (that is, an equation in which two terminals are linked by the ligature YA, the second terminal being focused by the YA) may occur in place of a phrase with a word base as head as the second terminal of an equation, as an attributive of a head word, and as an oblique expression in non-focused goal or time positions.

8.1 A Clause as Second Terminal of an Equation

A clause may occur as second terminal of an equation, in which case it is the focused item of the main clause of which it is a terminal. It may be marked by the ligature YA like any other focused terminal.

(a) A Clause as Second Terminal after YA

As has been mentioned in Section 2.4, the ligature YA may optionally be omitted from equations whose structural shape is unambiguous. This statement holds true before a clause in second terminal position. However, the clause from which YA has optionally been omitted contrasts in several formal features with types 8.1(b) and (c) below. In direct speech the sentence order changes from the normal, and in the case of the focused goal after *itá-n* 'see' and *ámu-* 'know', the goal clause is introduced by *am awá* or *am* plus an interrogative INTU Class Pronoun, and in both these cases YA is always absent.

Hád-en g-in-afut-n-ák na sibrung. where-NA/that (YA) past/goal-grab-NA/he-YA/I NA kidnapper. 'Where is the kidnapper who grabbed hold of me?'

Awe-k i-kayát ya uyoyung-an-n-ák na tolay. not-NA/I accessory-like YA fool-goal-NA/he-YA/I NA person. 'I don't like a person who makes a fool of me.'

(b) Direct Speech

A fragment of speech being directly quoted is always the focused item of the sentence containing it. The Verb *kun-* 'say' is always followed by an attributive actor, and the optional hearer, if mentioned, occurs in the Oblique. Direct speech is not marked by the ligature YA, but its focused status is unambiguous in view of the fact no other item in the clause is marked by YA, whereas the actor is obligatorily marked by the

ligature NA, and the accessory, the hearer, is obligatorily marked by TA if present. The normal sentence order is altered in that the fragment of direct speech always occurs first, followed by the normally first predicate terminal *kun-*, and this equation is followed by the accessory hearer in the Oblique and any other oblique expressions that happen to be present in normal order. If the quoted utterance is of any length, the *kun-* and its attributives are inserted after the first equation of the quote, and another *kun-* often comes after the rest of the quote. The fragment of direct speech may or may not be a clause, but the discussion of the subject is included here in view of the fact that the majority of quotes are clauses.

'E-m alap-an ulat-m-en,' kun-na hapa teyák. 'go-goal/NA/you/sg get-goal (YA) blanket-NA/you/sg-NA/that' say-NA/she also TA/I. "Go and get your blanket," she said to me.'

'E yák ta talun,' kung-ku. 'go YA/I TA forest' say-NA/I. "I'm going to the forest," I said.'

'Ittá sina paqen,' kun-na hapa ni Luhing. 'there/is (YA/it) TA/there reply' say-NA/she also NA Luhing. "It's there near you," replied Luhing.'

'E yák mag-pasyár ta talun,' kun-na hapa na atu. 'go YA/I actor-visit TA forest' say-NA/it also NA dog. "I'll go and visit the forest," said the dog.'

(c) *A Clause as focused goal after itá-n 'see' and ámu- 'know'*

After a very few Verbs, such as *itá-n* 'see' and *ámu-* 'know', the connectives *am* 'if', *awá* 'whether' and *am awá* 'if not' introduce a clause which is the focused goal of the equation, although unmarked by the ligature YA.

Itá-m am awá kurug. see-goal/NA/you/sg if/not true (YA/it). 'You'll see if it isn't true!'

Itá-m awá paspasikkál-an-na ha ay. see-goal/NA/you/sg whether pl/talk/a/lot-goal-NA/she (YA/it) again emphatic. 'See if she isn't holding forth again.'

Awe-k ámu awá Agta lá na Kumaw de. not-NA/I know whether Agta (YA/it) only NA Cumao maybe. 'I don't know whether it's just Agtas from Cumao.'

Also occurring after the above-mentioned Verbs, a clause occurring similarly as a focused goal and second terminal of an equation may be introduced by the connective *am* 'if' plus an interrogative INTU Class Pronoun (see Section 2.2(b) above). The goal clause has the form of a *Pronoun YA Noun* (2.2(b)) or a *Pronoun YA Verb* (2.3(d)) type equation, and is therefore

a question in Agta. The English equivalent of this construction is the "noun clause", and the English equivalent of the interrogative INTU Class Pronouns in this construction is the *relative pronoun*.

Amú am hád um-ey-an-da-q-en. I/don't/know/ (exclamation) if where (YA) past-go-goal-NA/they-NA/that. 'I don't know where they've gone.'

Awe-k ámu am anu aráw pag-toli-da. not-NA/I know if what (YA) day event-return-NA/they. 'I don't know which day they'll return.'

Awe-k k-in-akkap-án am im-anu. not-NA/I past/goal-taste if how (YA/it). 'I didn't taste what it was like.'

I-bár-ku tentu am hád agyan na dalán ta Ugsin. accessory-speak-NA/I TA/he if where (YA) route NA trail TA lowlander. 'I'll ask him-the lowlander-where the trail is.'

8.2 A Clause as Attributive

A clause may occur after the ligature NA as an attributive of a head word. The form of the equation of which the clause consists may be any regular equational structure, and the position it occupies in the sentence is the same as that occupied by an attributive expression. It's head word is usually second terminal of an equation, and may be morphologically a nominal or verbal form, usually having an abstract type of meaning.

Yen ya gafu na ittá yák sin. that YA reason NA there/is YA/I TA/here. 'That's why I'm here.'

Yen ya gafu na gantub-a-m. that YA reason NA cut-goal-NA/you/sg (YA/it). 'That's why you should cut it short.'

Anu hamámpa k-áwán na ta sirbi na e yák kid-in maq-uhohug teko. what never (YA) event-nothing now TA use NA come YA/I pl-NA/this state-talk TA/you/sg. 'Why is it absolutely no use our coming to talk to you?'

Kuman na awán ta hupláno ta uray-k-in. likeness (YA/it) NA there/is/none (YA/it) TA aeroplane TA will-NA/I-NA/this. 'It seems to me that there is no aeroplane (there).' or 'It looks as though there is no aeroplane (there).'

8.3 A Clause in the Oblique

A clause may occur in place of a word base plus its laterals in any one of the types of oblique expression listed in Section 4.0 above. Each of these will be discussed in turn.

(a) A Clause as Non-Focused Goal

A clause may follow the oblique ligature TA as a non-focused goal. This is a special case in that the only word bases which

are followed by an oblique goal clause are *pahig-* 'mistakenly thought', *paqey-an* 'mistakenly thought', and *agu* 'I mistakenly thought.' The first of these, *pahig-* (which resembles *kun-* 'say', *ámu-* 'know', etc. in that it has the form of a Noun but takes an obligatory attributive actor) is the preferred form in Southern Agta, while the other two forms are preferred by Eastern Agta and are in use in Southern Agta. The form *agu* is intrinsically first person singular, and occurs without Pronouns and without affixes. The other two forms occur with the NA Class Personal Pronouns in all persons. This is an exceptional case in which the Verb is intrinsically and unalterably in the AN form and therefore is followed by an attributive actor, and yet the goal is always in the Oblique. There is no alteration for tense, and the form of *paqey-an* remains Present/Future although the semantic content of the word is Past.

Pahig-ku ta m-apyá ya dulay. mistakenly/thought-NA/I TA state-good YA bad. 'I thought what was bad was good.'

Pahig-mi-n hapa ta dulay na tolay. mistakenly/thought-NA/we-now also TA bad (YA/he) NA person. 'We too were just thinking that it was some bad person.'

Pahig-mu hud ta awá na-bisin ák. mistakenly/thought-NA/you/sg interrogative TA whether past/state-hungry YA/I. 'Did you think I wasn't hungry?'

Paqey-ang-ku ta ittá tekamuy ta ayan-in. mistakenly/thought-goal-NA/I TA there/is (YA/he) TA/you/pl TA time-NA/this. 'I thought that he was with you at present.'

Paqey-am-mi ta táqday na babbay na Agta amni . . . mistakenly/thought-goal-NA/we TA one (YA/she) NA woman NA Agta but . . . 'We thought that there was only one Agta woman but . . .'

Agu ta in-aláp-mu ya palátug-en. I/mistakenly/thought TA past/goal-get-NA/you/sg YA gun-NA/that. 'I thought you got the gun.'

Agu ta ka-liwat-an-da hapa. I/mistakenly/thought TA ka-forget-goal-NA/they (YA/it) also. 'I thought they'd forget it too.'

(b) A Clause as Non-Focused Accessory

Awe-k i-padangag anna awe-k away-an ta kuman na e-m kid-ina maq-uhohug teyák. not-NA/I (YA/it) accessory-cause/to/hear and not-NA/I (YA/it) deny-goal TA likeness (YA/it) NA come-goal/NA/you/sg pl-NA/that state-talk TA/I. 'I won't say yes and I won't say no to what you've come to talk to me about.'

Awán na lá ta e-n-na pake tóg-án anna pake bikúk-an-na ta kuman iko ta ngámin kid-in e yák ma-sitang. there/is/none (YA/she) now only TA go-goal-NA/she (YA/it) very thread/beadwork-goal and very knot/beadwork-goal-NA/she (YA/it) TA likeness you TA all pl-NA/this come YA/I state-talk. 'Out of all the people I've been to see, there's no one who can thread and knot beadwork like you.'

(c) *A clause as Place or Direction*

Mang-uyoyung na namán adet ta awá mag-tangit ya taqday. actor-tease
 (YA/he) now at/last as/far/as TA whether actor-cry YA other.
 'He teases to the point where the other person cries.'

(d) *A Clause as Time*

The structural equivalent of the English time clause introduced by 'when' in the future tense is in Agta a clause co-ordinated with other clauses in the utterance by the connective *am* 'if', 'when'. But in the Past tense, the focused actor of the time clause in Agta goes into the TA Class and occurs clause-initially, that is, before the first terminal of the equation (instead of as a YA Class actor following the first terminal). The first terminal, if a Verb, remains in the MAG Class, and this is the evidence for the clause being actor focused despite the alteration in the form of the actor. When it occurs, the Post-Adverb *na* 'now', 'already' as a rule immediately follows the TA Class actor, not the first terminal of the equation.

Assang paha yi ábay tekamuy-en nag-tugut. small still YA daughter
 TA/you/pl/-NA/that past/actor-leave. 'My little girl was still small
 when you left.'

Ittá kami paha lá ta talun tentu nag-udán. there/is YA/we still only
 TA forest TA/it past/actor-rain. 'We were still in the forest when
 it rained.'

Tekami naka-datang ta wer naq-azap ya hilág. TA/we past/ability-arrive
 TA creek past/state-extinguish YA light. 'As we reached the creek
 the light went out.'

Inya ma-polu tekita m-asi. who (YA) state-first TA/we/two state-die.
 'Which of us will be first to die?'

' . . . , ' kung-ku teyák-en na-hukál ta aháw-en. ' . . . ' say-NA/I TA/I-
 NA/that past/state-wake/up TA day-NA/that. "' . . . , " I said
 when I had wakened up today.'

Tentu na-balin nang-hungan á ne-bolsa-na á tentu nangi-bolsa nag-tugut
 na. TA/he past/state-finish past/actor-wrap and past/accessory-
 pocket-NA/he (YA/it) and TA/he past/actor-pocket past/actor-leave
 (YA/he) now. 'When he'd finished wrapping it he pocketed it, and
 having pocketed it he departed.'

The oblique time clause is always actor focused with a MAG Class Verb. This frequently results in exceptions to the principle of focus. The general rule is that the continuing topic of conversation or narrative shall be in focus, but, as can be seen in several of the above examples, the focused actor of the time clause may well be the same person as the attributive actor in

the main clause, and it is the latter which is more likely to be in line with the continuing topic.

The last example above illustrates the possibility of other types of time clause in the Oblique than that to which this section has been primarily devoted. In this case, a further time clause occurs which is introduced by *adet ta* in a similar manner to the time phrase discussed in Section 4.3(a) and illustrated in Section 4.4(a).

The third and the penultimate examples are further evidence for the existence of a zero third person singular YA Class Pronoun, in that the *tentu* of these time clauses is a "transform"¹⁷ of (YA/it) in an independent clause. See Section 2.2.

9.0 NON-EQUATIONAL SENTENCES

The clause in Agta has been defined as one equation, containing two terminals linked together by the ligature YA. A sentence has therefore been said normally to contain at least one clause, and often more. And, in fact, most sentences, however brief, do contain an equation. However non-equational sentences do occur, and these are mostly brief exclamations, commands, responses, and the like.

9.1 Exclamations

Often entering into brief non-equational sentences are the members of a special, limited class of *Exclamations*. These Exclamations are non-affixable roots (except for *ara* 'Hurry up!') and they usually occur in isolation or in the place normally occupied by a whole clause in a sequence. However, they are often punctuated by *ay* or *O* (see Section 6.1 above).

áhú	'Gosh!'
ánay	'Wonderful!'
áqanu	'Yes.' (agreement)
adadí	'You don't say!' (amazement)
agayoy	(expresses disappointment or sorrow)
agí	'Ouch!' (cry of pain)
amá	(expresses distress, annoyance)
amú, ammu	'I don't know!'
anggem	'So that's the reason!'
ara	'Hurry up!' (occasionally heard simply as <i>ara</i> , but more usually in combination with the allomorph <i>-n</i> of <i>na</i> 'now'. A plural form may occur reflecting the second person plural Pronoun plus <i>na</i> combined form <i>kánan</i> , the form being <i>aránan</i> .)
arí	(response to one's own clumsiness, spilling something, etc.)
asakay, asakkay, kay	(strongest expression of disgust or surprise)
attaqi	(expresses amazement, wonder, delight)
atsi, atsiqi, atsi O, tsi O	'Ugh! don't do that, I don't like it' 'Terrible idea!'
awe	(expresses surprise at impending danger)
aqay	'Sorry!' 'Pardon me!' (said after stepping on someone's toe for example)
ey	'Friend!' 'Mate!' 'Pal!' 'Buddy!' (address word for 'friend' only, the usual reference word

	being <i>kofun</i> . Usually occurs, not alone, but in the combination <i>O ey</i> and <i>ey O</i>)
há	'What's that?' 'What did you say?' 'Report that!'
halá	(exclamation of parent to shame child)
hehe	'Wait!'
iddah	'Give me!' (also occurs in politer form <i>idda bit</i>)
inayoy	(expresses amazement)
má	'Shh!' 'Quiet!'
mm	'Oh yeah?' 'I don't believe you!'
mqm	(expresses offended negation)
O	'Hey!' (sometimes in isolation to attract attention, but more often in utterances as shown in Section 6.1 above, and frequently as a Post-Adverb)
on	'Yes.' (This is the basic affirmative. It often occurs alone, but also frequently occurs in such combinations as <i>on O</i> ; <i>on ay</i> — more emphatic; <i>á on</i> , <i>awá on</i> — used as a signal to continue conversation — 'yes . . . yes . . . yes . . .'; <i>ay on</i> 'Oh, yes!' — with connotation of correction or more information in the stimulus; <i>on ay O</i> — emphatic and familiar.)
sit	'Psst!' (to catch attention)
umpal	'True!' 'I agree!' (This is a secondary response after someone else has replied to a stimulus. It is somewhat akin to 'Hear, hear!')
ya bit	'Please keep quiet!' (The Post-Adverb <i>bit</i> 'please' is obligatory after <i>ya</i> which does not occur alone.)
yeee	'Oh yeah?' 'I don't believe you!' (There is a characteristic intonation with this word, a down glide followed by an up glide.)
yeh	'Here, take it!' (a possible response to <i>iddah</i>)

The following examples illustrate the occurrence of Exclamations preceding one or more clauses in a sentence.

- O itá-m yeyana O ey. O see-goal/NA/you/sg YA/that O friend. 'Say, friend, take a look at that!'
- Hehe te mag-aláp kán ta sitang. wait because actor-pick/up (YA/it) they/say TA noises. 'Wait a bit, because they say it picks up noises.' past/accessory-get/up emphatic. 'Horrors, don't let it up any more!'
- Á on ay te i-bár-ku ya báhuy-k-en hapa lá. oh yes emphatic because accessory-talk-NA/I YA pig-NA/that also only. 'Yes, because I'm just telling about my pig.'
- Yeh gapang-a-m bit yan. here cut-goal-NA/you/sg please YA/this. 'Here! Cut this please!'

9.2 Onomatopoeic Words

Onomatopoeisis words may occur once, or repeated several times, in the position normally occupied by a terminal. It often occurs as the goal of *kun-* 'say' in a direct quotation.

karab	sound of animal moving on rubbish in forest
karos	sound of crushing paper, dry tobacco
kireng	sound of bell — 'ring', 'rattle'
kitab	sound of running feet
kitet	creaking sound
kitol	knocking sound, <i>kita-kitol</i> 'clickety-clack'
diláb	'flash' (from shiny surface, for example)
libáng	'Bang!'
keng	'Woof!' (of dog)
dakrás	sound of something rolling
dayong	sound of trotting feet
ngak	sound of laughing — 'ha, ha'
ngúk	sound of pig's grunt
ngwá	sound of pig's squeal
pong	'Bang!'
puro	
rikat	creaking noise
ranget	sound of wood beginning to break
ratek	sound of thunder
ratok	sound of cracking nuts
tuferet	(also <i>alumferet</i>) accompanies an ungraceful spit
wák	
wele	sound of incessant talking—'yak yak'

- 'Puro puro,' *kun-na nagaq-ánup*. '*puro puro*' say-NA past/continuous-hunt/with/dogs. "'*Puro puro*," went the folks out hunting.'
- 'Pita-pitung kita-kitol kita-kitol kita-kitol,' *kun-na-n mantu na ugtaq-en ta karabi*. 'clickety/clack' say-na/it-now then NA deer-NA/that TA yesterday. "'Clickety-clack"' went the (horns of the) deer yesterday.'
- Dangag-ang-ku ya ngwá k-um-in kid-in*. hear-goal-NA/I YA squeal actor-like/this pl/-NA/this. 'I hear them squealing.'
- Dayong dayong dayong yi Maliton*. trot trot trot-YA Maliton. 'Maliton came trot-trotting along.'

9.3 A Word Base Without Ligature

(a) Commands

Most commands are equations, the majority being goal or accessory focused, while some are actor focused.

Lintuk-a-m. swallow-goal-NA/you/sg (YA/it). 'Swallow it.'

I-warad-mu-n. accessory-throw-away-NA/you/sg-(YA/it)-now.
'Throw it away.'

Um-unek ka. actor-come/up YA/you /sg. 'Come on up.'

However, a large number of commands do not contain an equation. Among the Exclamations listed in Section 9.1 above are several which constitute commands, and almost any word base occurring in isolation (except perhaps for attributives) without a ligature may be a command.

(i) Mentioning the name of an object can mean 'Give me the . . . !'
 Apit-mu ay. betel/bag-NA/you/sg emphatic. 'Pass over your betel bag!'
 Lisag. areca/nut. 'Give me an areca nut!'

Palataw-ina. knife-NA/that/near/you. 'Hand me the knife!'

(ii) The naming of a body-part or body-function, usually with a second person NA Class Pronoun, means generally 'Attend to the . . . !', and may specifically mean 'Mind your . . . !' or 'Get your . . . out of the way!'

Ag-sitang-mu. instrument-noise-NA/you/sg. 'Mind your voice!' or
 Lower your voice!'

Takki-m ay. legs-NA/you/sg emphatic. 'Move your legs!' or 'Get your
 legs out of the way!'

Kamat-ina. hand-NA/that/near/you. 'Mind your hand!'

Huli-n. rump-now. 'Next wash his rump!'

(b) *Swearing*

However, naming a body part with a second person NA Class Personal Pronoun also constitutes swearing, especially if the liver or genitals are mentioned. When the single word occurs in isolation, the swearing is exclamatory in character.

Aggal-mu. liver-NA/you/sg. 'Your liver!'

Huli-m. rump-NA/you/sg. 'Your back side!'

Lasag-mu. testicles-NA/you/sg. 'Your testicles!'

9.4 *A Word Base With an Optional Ligature*

(a) *Questions Introduced by á*

A word base preceded by *á* may constitute a question such as 'What about . . .?' or 'Where is . . .?' The ligature YA may optionally occur before the word base and between it and *á*.

Á kasafego-m-en. *á* matches-NA/you/sg-NA that. 'Where are your matches?'

Á yan O. *á* this O. 'Say, what's this?'

Á ya arikavwat-en O ey. *á* YA purse-NA/that O friend. 'Say, friend, what about the purse there?'

(b) *Responses Following te 'because'*

A word base, optionally preceded by YA, may follow an affirmative plus *te* 'because' in a response to a question where some justification is required, and the item represented by the word base is given as justification.

On ay te inafuy-in. yes emphatic because cooked/rice-NA/this. 'Yes, because of the rice here.'

On ay te ya ngámin kid-in. yes emphatic because YA all pl-NA/this yes, because of all the people?

9.5 A Word Base with Ligature

In response to such questions as 'Where is . . .?' a whole Oblique Place or Direction expression, including the preceding ligature, may be given in reply. Similarly, in response to 'When . . .?' or to a command, an Oblique Time expression may be the response.

(a) Oblique Place or Direction Phrase

Á ta isina. oh TA there. 'Oh, over there.'

Te Ute Iton., TA uncle Maliton. 'To Uncle Maliton.'

Ta bali-da. TA house-NA/they. 'At their place.'

Yo ta Pátudwán O. far TA Pátudwán O. 'Way over at Pátudwán Creek.'

(b) Oblique Time Phrase

Sangaw ta pidwa. later TA again. 'Another time.'

On ay, sangaw ta pidwa, sangaw ta uli. yes emphatic later TA again later TA again. 'All right, (we'll do it) again another time.'

9.6 A Single Word Base Clause

It should not be supposed from the above examples that all single word bases occurring in isolation are non-equational utterances. In fact, by far the majority of them are equational in structure, the word base being the first terminal before a zero third person singular YA Class Pronoun.

Ittá ay. there/is (YA/it) emphatic. 'There is some.'

Awán. there/is/none (YA/it). 'There isn't any.'

Bakkan O. it/is/not (YA/it). 'No, that's not right.'

The following may often be responses to 'Who . . .?' or 'What . . .?'

Tomi. Tomi (YA/it). 'It's Tomi.'

Yi Liqdag-en. YA Water/Snail-NA/that (YA/it). 'It was *Liqdag*.'

Goma. rubber (YA/it). 'It's rubber.'

Kwa ni Kora. thing (YA/it) NA Cora. 'It's Cora's.'

Lubbán lá ikid na asin. pomelo (YA/it) only they NA salt. 'It's only pomelo and salt.'

Intu. it (YA/it). 'It's the one.'

Iko ay. you/sg (YA/it) emphatic. 'You do it.' or 'It's you.' or 'You be the one.'

APPENDICES

Because of the very considerable differences between English and Agta grammatical structure, the handling of the equivalents of certain English constructions has been scattered throughout this grammar. In order to make matters clearer for English speaking readers and learners, the scattered threads have been drawn together in these appendices, each of which summarises the various Agta mechanisms which are together equivalent to an English construction. In addition, the Agta pronoun system has been summarised for further clarity, and for purposes of comparing the equivalent forms in the several classes.

APPENDIX 1.—*Summary of Ligatures and Pronouns*

PERSON, ETC.	YA Class	INTU Class	TA Class	
I. LIGATURES				
<i>(a) Personal</i>				
Singular	yi	—	ni	
Plural	yig	—	nig	
<i>(b) Impersonal</i>				
	ya	—	na	
II. PERSONAL PRONOUNS				
<i>(a) Singular</i>				
First (1)	ák, yák	iyák	-ku, -k	teyák
Inclusive (1 + 2)	kita	ikita	-ta	tekita
Second (2)	ka	iko	-mu, -na	teko
Third (3)	—	intu	-na, -n	tentu
<i>(b) Plural</i>				
First (1)	kami	ikami	-mi	tekami
Inclusive (1 + 2)	kitám	ikitám	-tám	tekitám
Second (2)	kám	ikamuy	-muy	tekamuy
Third (3)	kid	ikid	-da, -d	tekid
III. IMPERSONAL PRONOUNS				
<i>(a) Singular</i>				
this, here	yan	yan	-in	ta isin
	yeqyan	yeqyan	-na inín	sin
that, there (near you)	yana	yana	-ina	ta isina
	yeqyana	yeqyana	-na inína	sina
that, there (in sight)	yewan	yewan	-ewan	ta itewan
	yeqyewan	yeqyewan	-na inewan	tewan
that, there (out of sight)	yen	yen	-en	ten
	yeqyen	yeqyen	-na inen	ta iten
<i>(b) Plural</i>				
this, here	yeyan kid	yeyan kid	kid-in	
	yeqyan	yeqyan	-na inín kid	
that, there (near you)	yeyana kid	yeyana kid	kid-ina	
			-na inína kid	
that, there (in sight)	yewan kid	yewan kid	kid-ewan	
			-na inewan kid	
that, there (out of sight)	yen kid	yen kid	kid-en	
			-na inen kid	

APPENDIX 2.—*Negatives*(a) *Negating an Equation with a Verb as First Terminal*

An equation with the shape *Verb YA X* (where X is any of the possibilities for second terminal) is negated by the addition of the verbal form *awe-* to the first terminal, where it occupies the position of first in a verbal apposition sequence.

Mag-udán. actor-rain (YA/it). 'It is raining.'

Awe-na mag-udán. not-NA/it actor-rain. 'It isn't raining.' or 'It won't rain.'

Na-basa ya barawási. past/state-wet YA dress. 'The dress is wet.'

Awe-na na-basa na barawási. not-NA/it past/state-wet NA dress. 'The dress isn't wet.'

Paluk-a-m. hit-goal-NA/you/sg (YA/it). 'Hit it!'

Awe-m paluk-an. not-NA/you/sg (YA/it) hit-goal. 'Don't hit it!'

I-tuqbáng-na kid. accessory-release-NA/he YA/they. 'He will release them.'

Awe-na kid i-tuqbáng. not-NA/he YA/they accessory-release. 'He won't release them.'

(b) *Negating an Equation with ittá as First Terminal*

An equation with the shape *Ittá YA X* (where X is any of the possibilities for second terminal) is negated by the substitution of *ittá* 'there is' by *awán* 'there is none'. The focused second terminal then becomes Oblique.

Ittá de ya udán. there/is maybe YA rain. 'Perhaps there will be some rain.' or 'Will there be any rain?'

Awán de ta udán. there/is/none (YA/it) TA rain. 'Perhaps there won't be any rain.' or 'Won't there be any rain?'

Ittá-n ay. there/is-(YA/it)-now emphatic. 'There is some.'

Awán na ay. there/is/none (YA/it) now emphatic. 'There isn't any.'

Ittá ya barawási-k. there/is YA dress-NA/I. 'I have a dress.'

Awán ák ta barawási. there/is/none YA/I TA dress. 'I have no dress.'

(c) *Negating an Equation with another Noun as First Terminal*

An equation with the shape *Noun YA X* (here the Noun is other than *ittá*, and X is any of the possibilities for second terminal) is negated by means of *bakkan* 'it is not'. *Bakkan* occurs in first terminal position, and the first terminal Noun becomes Oblique.

Gaddáng. skin (YA/it). 'It is skin.'

Bakkan ta gaddáng. it/is/not (YA/it) TA skin. 'It isn't skin.'

Babbay ák. woman YA/I. 'I am a woman.'

Bakkan ák ta babbay. it/is/not YA/I TA woman. 'I'm not a woman!'

Tarong yana. egg/plant YA/that. 'That's egg-plant.'

Bakkan yana ta tarong. it/is/not YA/that TA egg/plant. 'That's not egg-plant.'

Bakkan. it/is/not (YA/it). 'It isn't!' or 'No!'

(d) *The Use of awe- 'not' apart from Verbal Apposition*

The word base *awe-* 'not' occurs unaffixed as first member of a verbal apposition sequence. It may also occur in an affixed form, its meaning then being 'not like'. In the first person singular, the unaffixed form *awe-k* occurs with this meaning as well as the goal focused form *away-ang-ku*.

Awe-k O. not-NA/I (YA/it) O. 'I don't like it!' 'I won't do it!'

Awey-an-na. not/like-goal-NA/he (YA/it). 'He doesn't like it.'

In-awek-k. past/goal-not/like-NA/I (YA/it). 'I didn't like it.' 'I wouldn't do it.' 'I didn't do it.'

Awe-k ya tarong. not-NA/I YA egg/plant. 'I don't like eggplant.'

(e) *The Negative Use of hud*

The Post-Adverb *hud* is basically an interrogative indicator, often used when a negative reply is anticipated. However, it can also be a negation of the utterance that contains it. *Hud* may negate an equation of any shape.

Babbay ák hud. woman YA/I interrogative. 'I'm not a girl!'

Ittá hud dandanum. there/is interrogative (YA) pl/water. 'There's not a drop of water.'

Kunna hud sina. likeness (YA/it) interrogative TA/that. 'Don't do that!' or 'Not like that!'

L-um-itap hud lá. actor-disappear (YA/it) interrogative only. 'It didn't just disappear!'

Gammá-n-ta ka hud. stop-goal-NA/we/two YA/you/sg interrogative. 'I won't stop you!'

APPENDIX 3.—*Interrogatives*

Sometimes there is no segmental question indicator in an Agta sentence, and it is plain that there are contrastive intonational features, though as yet unanalysed, which signal a question. However, most questions are signalled by formal grammatical features, including interrogative INTU Class Pronouns, Post-Adverbs, and Verbs. Sometimes more than one of these are redundantly used.

(a) *Questions using Interrogative Pronouns*

A question may be signalled by one of the following interrogative INTU Class Pronouns in first terminal position.

anu	'what?'
kánu	'when?'
umanu	'how?' 'what . . . like?'
hád	'where?'
inya	'who?'
píga	'how many?'

Anu k-in án-naq-en. what (YA) past/goal-eat-NA/that.
'What did he eat?'

Anu ámu-k tentu. what (YA) know-NA/I TA/it. 'What do I know about it?' 'How should I know?'

Kánu ya ne-pag-tugut-daq-en. when YA past-event-leave-NA/they-NA/that. 'When did they leave?'

Umanu ya k-adálam na karayán-en. how YA event-deep NA river-NA/that. 'How deep is the river?'

Hád nang-alap-á-m ta isina. where (YA) past/goal-get-NA/you/sg TA that. 'Where did you get that?'

Hád sin bali. where TA/here (YA) bali. 'Which house?'

Inya ya g-um-atang ta isin. who YA actor-buy TA this. 'Who bought this?'

Inya ya mang-gátáng ta kayu-in yan. who YA actor-burn TA tree-NA/this this. 'Who burned this tree?'

(b) *Questions using Interrogative Post-Adverbs*

The Post-Adverb *hud* may indicate a negative, as indicated above in Appendix 2, but its more usual usage is as an interrogative indicator, especially where the anticipated reply is negative. The Post-Adverb *de* 'maybe', 'perhaps' is not a question indicator in all its occurrences, but it may have a mild interrogative force where an affirmative reply is probably anticipated.

Ittá hud ya danum. there/is interrogative YA water. 'Is there any water?'

Mag-tarínap ka hud. actor-dream YA/you/sg interrogative. 'Are you dreaming?' or 'You're not dreaming, are you?'

Anu hud kwa-m-muy. what interrogative (YA) do-goal-NA/you/pl. 'What are you doing?'

Hád-en hud. where-NA/that (YA/it) interrogative. 'Where is it?'

Um-ange kid de ta talun ni Isus. past-go YA/they maybe TA forest NA Isus. 'Did he go to the forest with Isus?'

Mang-án kánan de. actor-eat YA/you/pl/now maybe. 'Have you eaten yet?'

Kurug de ya kín-ang-k-en. true maybe YA say-goal-NA/I-NA/that. 'Is what I say true?'

(c) *Questions using anu 'why?' as a Pre-Adverb*

With the meaning 'why?', the form *anu* occurs as a Pre-Adverb before a Noun, Pronoun, actor-focused Verb, and *awe* 'not'.

Anu ittá ka, fúgu. why there/is YA/you/sg pigeon. 'Why are you here pigeon?'

Anu ma-patu. why state-hot (YA/it). 'Why is it hot?'

Anu pano awe-da ne-datang-an ta fúráb-in. why ever not-NA/they (YA/it) accessory-arrive-án TA afternoon-NA/this. 'Why ever don't they bring it this afternoon?'

(d) *Questions using anu-n 'why?' as a Verb*

With the meaning 'why?', the form *anu-n* occurs as a goal focused Verb before another goal or accessory focused Verb in first terminal position.

Anu-m para apag-an ya ag-tolay. why-goal/NA/you/sg still look/for-goal YA instrument-live. 'Why are you still looking for some staple (i.e. rice)?'

In-anu-m p-in-isang ya igaw-en. past/goal-why-NA/you/sg past/goal-tear YA winning/basket-NA/that. 'Why did you break the winning basket?'

With the meaning 'what are . . . doing?', the form *anu-n* also occurs apart from apposition sequences.

Anu-m yana. what/do-goal/NA/you/sg YA/that. 'What are you doing with that?'

Anu-ng-ku hapa ta isina. what/do-goal-NA/I (YA/it) TA that. 'What will I do with that?'

(e) *Questions marked by á and te*

The form *á* occurring first in an utterance indicates a question. Similarly, *te* 'because' at the beginning of an utterance indicates a question. Sometimes *á te* occur together.

Á iko lá. *á* you (YA/it) only. 'Are you the only one?'

Á yig hiná-m. *á* YA mother/plus-NA/you/sg (YA/it). 'Where is your mother and her friends?'

Á te awe-muy um-ange ta boda. *á* because not-NA/you/pl past-go TA wedding. 'Why didn't you go to the wedding?'

APPENDIX 4.—'have'

There is no word base in Agta which corresponds to 'have' in English. There are, however, three structural devices which may be used in equivalent circumstances to the use of 'have' in English. These are the equations *Noun YA Noun*, where the

first Noun is *ittá* 'there is' most often, but other Nouns also occur, and *Noun YA Verb* with a similar first terminal, and *Noun YA/Pronoun*, where the Noun is *awán*, and the possessed item is in the Oblique.

(a) *Noun YA Noun*

In this case, the second terminal always has an attributive, as does the Noun YA Verb equation.

Tallu ya barawási-na. three YA dress-NA/she. 'She has three dresses.'

Tákwán yi hina-na. another YA mother-NA/he. 'He had a different mother.'

Ittá paqen sina ya kaluhung-ku kid-en. there/is reply TA/there/near/you YA companion-NA/I pl-NA/that. 'I have some companions here.'

(b) *Noun YA Verb*

Ittá ey-ang-k-in. there/is (YA) go-goal-NA/I-NA/this. 'I have somewhere to go.'

Ittá i-bár-ku teko. there/is (YA) accessory-say-NA/I TA/you/sg. 'I have something to say to you.'

(c) *Awán YA/Pronoun*

Where the meaning is 'not to have', the Pronoun possessor follows *awán* 'there is none' and is focused. The possessed is in the Oblique.

Awán ák ta barawási. there/is/none YA/I TA dress. 'I have no dress.'

Awán ka ta nonot. there/is/none YA/you/sg TA mind. 'You have no sense.'

Awán kami ta bagbaggát. there/is/none YA/we TA pl/rice. 'We haven't a grain of rice.'

GLOSSARY OF ENGLISH GRAMMATICAL TERMS

Because of its great structural differences from English, it has been found necessary to describe Agta from its own point of view as far as possible, and to divide the description into its own categories rather than those of English. It is therefore now necessary to equate the grammatical categories of English to those of Agta, and to indicate where the equivalents of those English categories are discussed above.

- Adjective, Demonstrative. See *NA Class Impersonal Pronouns*, Section 3.1(c), p.30, Section 5.2(a), p.54.
- , Descriptive. See *Verbs*, Section 5.4(c) and (d), p.56, *Nouns* (especially colours, words of measurement, numerals), Section 2.1, pp.13-14.
- , Distinguishing. (i.e. Articles). See *NA Class Impersonal Pronouns*, Section 3.1(c), p.30.
- , Interrogative. *Pronoun YA Noun Verb*, where the Pronoun is an Interrogative Pronoun, listed in Section 2.2(b) and (c), pp. 18-19, and the second terminal is a Noun Verb apposition, see Section 5.4, p.55. Also, *inya YA maka-. . .*, Section 2.3(d), pp. 23-24. See also Appendix 3(a), p.92.
- , Possessive. See *NA Class Personal Pronouns*, Section 3.1(b), pp.29-30.
- , Relative. See construction using *am* plus *Interrogative Pronoun*, Section 8.1(c), pp.79-80.
- Adjectival Clause. The equivalent of this is usually indicated by the verbal prefixes *mang-* or *maka-* in a construction such as *Noun YA Verb*, Section 2.3(c) and (d), pp.23-24, or *Verb NA Noun*, Section 5.4(b), (c), (d), p.56.
- Adjectival Phrase. A word base with the prefix *ne-* in apposition with another word base, Section 5.4(c) and (d), p.56.
- Adverb, of Degree. See *Pre-Adverbs*, Section 6.2, pp.70 ff., and *Post-Adverbs*, Section 6.1, pp.63 ff.
- , of Manner. See *verbal apposition*, Section 5.6, pp.57 ff., and *Post-Adverbs*, Section 6.1, pp.63 ff.
- , of Place. See *TA Class Impersonal Pronouns*, Section 4.1(b), pp.43-45, and *NA Class Impersonal Pronouns*, Section 3.1(c), p.30.
- , of Time. See *verbal apposition*, Section 5.6 pp.57, ff., *Post-Adverbs*, Section 6.1, pp.63 ff., and *Time in the Oblique*, Section 4.4, p.50.
- Adverbial Clause, of Condition. See *am, awá*, sentence connectives, Section 7.2, pp.75-77.
- , of Degree. *adet ta* 'as far as', *Place or Direction in the Oblique*, Section 4.3, p.47, also 4.4, p.50. Also, *kuman na . . . ya ka- . . . -na* (likeness NA . . . YA event- . . . -NA/it) 'It is as . . . as . . .'
- , of Manner. *kuman na . . . ya . . .*, where the second terminal after YA is a verbal form other than the above.

- Adverbial Clause, of Place. A *Verb* used in the *Oblique*, Section 4.3, pp.47 ff.
- , of Reason. See *te* 'because', Section 7.2, pp.75–77.
- , of Result. See *te*, *te/petta*, *petta*, Section 7.2, pp.75–77.
- , of Time. See A *Clause in the Oblique*, Section 8.3(d), pp.82–83, and *am* 'if', 'when' for future tense, Section 7.2, pp.75–77.
- Adverbial Phrase. Usually an *Oblique* expression with a Noun as head word, see Sections 4.2, 4.4, pp.45 ff.
- Apposition. See Section 5.0, pp.52 ff.
- Article, Definite. See *NA Class Impersonal Pronouns*, Section 3.1(c), p.34.
- , Indefinite. Comparable to the *absence of any NA Class Impersonal Pronoun* suffix. Section 3.1(c), p.30.
- Auxiliary Verb. See Post-Adverbs *de* 'might', 'may', *miná* 'ought', 'should', and Pre-Adverb *ampade* 'should have', Section 6.1, pp.63 ff., Section 6.2, pp.70 ff.
- Case, Nominative. (See Subject.)
- , Accusative. (See Object, Direct.)
- , Genitive. (i.e. Possessive) Indicated by *ligature NA* or *NA Class Pronoun*, Section 3.0, pp.26 ff.
- , Dative. Usually an *Oblique Noun* expression, Sections 4.2, 4.3, pp.45 ff., but may be *focused goal* after a word base with the verbal prefix *i-* or *ne-*, Section 3.2 pp.33 ff.
- , Ablative. *Oblique Noun* expression, Sections 4.2, 4.3, pp.45 ff.
- Clause. See Section 2.0, pp.12 ff. (See also Adverbial Clauses, and Noun Clause, and Adjectival Clause.) See also Section 8.0, pp.78 ff., Section 7.2, pp.75 ff.
- Complement. The equivalent of this is the *second terminal* of the type of equations discussed in Sections 2.1, 2.2, pp.13 ff.
- Conjunction, Co-ordinate. See Section 7.2, pp.75 ff.
- , Subordinate. See Section 7.2, pp.75 ff.
- Degree, Comparative. *am TA*, Section 4.3(a), p.47
- , Superlative. Indicated by the affixes *ka-* *-án*, Section 4.3(a), p.47
- Demonstrative Adjective. (See Adjective.)
- , Pronoun. (See Pronoun, Demonstrative.)
- Exclamation. See Sections 9.1, pp.84–85, and 9.3, p.86.
- Gender. Not definitive in Agta. If definition is required, *babbay* 'female' and *lalaki* 'male' may be used in *apposition* with the word base to be defined, Section 5.0, pp.52 ff.
- "have" See Appendix 4, pp.93–94
- Modification of Verbs. See *Adverbs*, Section 6.0, pp.63 ff.
- Mood, Indicative. All equations are indicative, except commands, Section 2.0, pp.12 ff.
- Mood, Infinitive. Not a useful concept for Agta. However, when a usually affixed word base is talked about in the abstract, the *mag-* form is generally used.
- , Imperative. The usual verbal command form is *verb/base-AN-NA/you/sg* (*YA/it*), Section 3.2, pp.33 ff., but some word bases do not seem to occur in this form, but appear in the *MAG* form as commands—*MAG-word/base YA/you/sg*. There are also single word base commands, Section 9.1, pp.84–85, and 9.3, p.86.

Negatives. *awe-*, *awán*, *bakkan*, *hud*, Appendix 2, pp.90 ff.

Noun, Common. Indicated by ligatures *ya*, *na*, *ta*, Sections 2.1, p.13; 3.1, p.26; 4.1, p.42.

——, Proper. Indicated by ligatures *yi*, *ni*, *te* when one person is involved; *yig*, *nig*, *teg* when others are implicated. They include the major *relationship* terms. Sections 2.1, p.13; 3.1, p.26, 4.1, p.42.

Noun Clause. Equation containing Post-Adverb *kán* 'they say that', 'he says that', Section 6.1, pp.63 ff. Also clauses beginning with *am awá* or *am* plus an Interrogative Pronoun, Section 8.1(c), pp. 79-80.

Number, Singular. Not indicated, or, if very definitive, indicated by *tatáqday* 'one', Section 5.1, pp.53-54.

——, Plural. Indicated by: (1) *Reduplication of the first (C)VC* of the word base, Section 1.2, pp.6 ff.; (2) *kid*, Section 3.1(c), p.30 and Appendix 1, p.89; (3) *yig*, *nig*, or *teg* ligatures in the case of a Proper Noun, Section 7.1, pp.73-74; (4) change of form in the case of Pronouns, Appendix 1, p.89; (5) a few word bases have a different plural form, e.g. *babbay* 'woman' becomes *bábay*.

Numerals, Cardinal. See Section 2.1, p.13.

——, Ordinal. Indicated by the prefix *meka-*, Section 5.4(c), p.56.

——, Temporal. Indicated by prefix *mameng-*, Section 5.6, p.57.

Object, Direct. Occurs as the first *Oblique* expression after MAG Verbs, Section 4.1, p.42. Occurs as the *focused goal* after YA following AN Verbs, Section 3.2, pp.33 ff. The equivalent TA Class (Section 4.1(b), pp.43 ff. and YA Class (Section 2.2, p.15; 3.2(d), p.37). Pronouns may occur in actor-focus and goal-focus clauses respectively.

——, Indirect. Indicated by the ligature *TA* (or a TA Class Pronoun) in both actor-focus and goal-focus clauses, Sections 4.1, 4.2, 4.3, pp.42 ff. May be the *focused* item after YA in an accessory focused clause where *i-* is the verbal affix, Section 3.2, pp.33 ff. It is the *focused goal* after *atad-an* 'give', Section 3.2, p.33.

Participle, Past Active. Equivalent usage is the *tentu* construction with the past tense, Section 8.3(d), pp.82-83.

Participle, Past Passive. The equivalent of this is a word base with the affixes *ne-* or *na-* *-án*, occurring in apposition with another word base, Section 5.4(c) and (d), p.56.

——, Present Active. Equivalent of this used as a qualifier is a word base with a MAG Class affix, Section 5.4(c) and (d), p.56 equivalent of this used as a Noun is sometimes a simple word base, sometimes a word base with MAG or AN Class affix in present tense (in *Noun YA Verb* construction), especially *mang-* or *maka-*, Section 2.3(c) and (d), pp.23-24.

——, Present Passive. Equivalent is a word base with prefix *me-* occurring in apposition with another word base, Section 2.3, pp.19 ff.

Person. See Section 2.2, pp.15-16; Appendix 1, p.89.

Possessive Case. Indicated by the ligature *NA* or a NA Class Pronoun. See Section 3.0, pp.26 ff.

Possessive Pronoun. (See Pronoun)

Predicate. This is the *first terminal* of the equation in Agta, no matter what the form. This is evidenced by the fact that both types of Adverb are lateral to the first terminal. See Section 2.0, pp.12 ff.; Section 6.0, p.63.

Preposition. The structural equivalent is a Noun, Sections 3.1(a), pp. 26-28; 4.3, pp.47-50.

Pronoun, Demonstrative. See Section 2.2, p.16, and Section 3.1(b) and (c), pp.29-32. See also Appendix 1, p.89.

——, Interrogative. *anu* 'what?', *kánu* 'when?', *umanu* 'how?', *hád* 'where?', *inya* 'who?', *píga* 'how many?'. See Section 2.2(b), pp.18-19, Appendix 3(a), p.92.

——, Personal. See Section 2.2, pp.15-16, Appendix 1, p.89.

——, Possessive. These are NA Class Pronouns, or *kwa* plus NA Class Personal Pronouns. Section 3.1(b), pp.29 ff.

——, Reciprocal. The equivalent is the verbal affix *ká-*, Section 2.3, pp.19-24.

——, Reflexive. The equivalent is *bari* 'body' plus a NA Class Pronoun, i.e. '... 's body', occurring in goal position. In many cases it is not indicated at all.

——, Relative. The prefixes *mang-* and *maka-* in the construction *Noun YA Verb* have the significance of 'the person who . . .', Section 2.3(c) and (d), pp.23-24. The interrogative Pronouns when used in a clause following *am* are also equivalent to the English relative pronoun, Section 8.1(c), p.79.

Qualification. Nouns, and Verbs with MAG Class prefixes are the equivalents of Noun qualifiers. Amongst the Nouns are numerals, colours, and words of measurement. The structural equivalent of qualification is apposition in Agta. See Section 5.0, pp.52 ff.

Question. Indicated by *anu* as a Verb or as a Pre-Adverb, by interrogative Pronouns, or by the Post-Adverbs *hud* and *de*. See Appendix 3, pp.91 ff.

Response. See Section 9.0, pp.84 ff.

Sentence. Except for Brief Responses (Section 9.0, pp.84 ff.), Exclamations (Section 9.1, pp.84-85), and some Commands (although most of these are equations, Section 9.3, p.86), a sentence contains at least one *equation*, Section 2.0, pp.12 ff.

Subject. In general, the *actor* of an Agta clause is equivalent to the English Subject. In an actor-focus clause (with a MAG Verb) the actor is marked by the ligature YA, and constitutes the second terminal of the equation, Section 2.3, pp.19 ff. In a goal-focus clause (with an AN Verb), the actor is marked, and joined to the Verb as its attributive, by the ligature NA, Section 3.0, p.26 and 3.2, pp.33 ff.

Tense, Present Punctiliar. Indicated by the affixes *-um-*, *mag-*, *ma-*, *-an-i-*, etc. Section 2.3, pp.19 ff., and Section 3.2, pp.33 ff.

——, Present Continuative. Indicated by the prefix *maga-*, by *maka-* plus (C)VC- reduplication of the word base (Section 1.2, pp.7, 8) or by the affixes *-um-*, *mag-*, *ma-*, *an-*, *i-*, etc. plus the Post-Adverb *na* 'now'. See Section 2.3, p.19, and Section 6.1, p.63.

- , Imperfect (i.e. Simple Past). Indicated by affixes *-um-*, *nag-na-*, *-in-*, etc. See Section 2.3, p.20, and 3.2, pp.33–40.
- , Past Continuative. Indicated by the prefix *naga-*, or by *naka-* plus (C)VC- reduplication of the word base. See Sections 2.3, p.20, and 1.2, pp.7–8.
- , Perfect. This is indicated by one of the affixes listed for the Imperfect Tense plus the Post-Adverb *na* 'now', 'already'. See Section 6.1, p.63.
- , Pluperfect. Indicated by the prefixes *nang-* or *naka-* in a *tentu* construction, Section 8.3(a), pp.80–81.
- , Future. Indicated as for the Present Tense, although a Time expression is often used also, e.g. the Post-Adverb *sangaw* 'soon', 'later', or one of its combinations, Section 6.1, p.63; or a *Time* expression in the *Oblique*, Section 4.4, p.50.
- Verb, Transitive or Intransitive. A Verb in Agta is any word base occurring with a *verbal affix*. The concepts Transitive and Intransitive do not seem to be very pertinent to Agta. The nearest equivalent contrast would be the use of a MAG Class affix for Intransitive, and the affix combination *pa-* *-an* for Transitive.
- Voice, Active. The *Actor Focus* Verb is roughly equivalent to this. See Section 2.3, pp.19 ff.
- , Passive. The *Goal Focus* Verb is roughly equivalent to this, but used far more often than the English Passive. See Section 3.0, p.26, and 3.2, pp.33 ff.

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FOOTNOTE

1. *Section 0.2 Page 2.* Known previous publications on Agta are: Morice Vanoverbergh, "Some Undescribed Languages of Luzon" (1937), which includes a word list; W. J. and L. F. Oates, "The Phonemes of Central Cagayan Negrito" (1958); and Phyllis M. Healey, "An Agta Conversational Text" (1958), which contains a brief preliminary summary of this grammar.
2. *Section 0.5, Page 3.* The alphabet used here is based on, though not identical with, that presented by W. J. and L. F. Oates in "The Phonemes of Central Cagayan Negrito" (1958).
3. *Section 1.1, Page 5.* "Derivational" seems to be the best contrastive term to describe the inner verbal affixes *pa-* and *ka-* as against the outer, clearly inflectional ones. However, *pa-* and *ka-* may not have all the classical attributes of a derivational affix.
4. *Section 1.2, Page 6.* The term "stem" is used synonymously with "expanded word base".
5. *Section 2.0, Page 12.* The term "construction" is used throughout as synonymous with Wells' "constitute" (Rulon S. Wells, "Immediate Constituents" (1947)).
6. *Section 2.0 Page 12.* Although the term "ligature" has been taken from previous writers on Philippine languages, this usage of the term differs from theirs. Whereas Tagalog *at* 'and', *ay* (inversion marker), and *na* (descriptive marker) have often been called "ligatures", *ang*, *nang* and *sa* have most often been called articles. Although Agta YA, NA and TA are syntactically similar to Tagalog *ang*, *nang* and *sa*, their function is that of "construction marker" ("overt valence") rather than "class marker" (Richard S. Pittman, "The Four Minimal Structural Units of Descriptive Grammar" (1954) and "The Priority of Valence over Phonological Attachment and Relative Order in Descriptive Grammar"). The term "ligature", then, is more appropriate than the popular "article".
7. *Section 2.0, Page 12.* The term "terminal" (Richard S. Pittman, *op. cit.*) is synonymous with Bloomfield's "immediate constituent" (Leonard Bloomfield, *Language*, 1933, pp.161 ff.) and Hjelmslev's "functive" (Louis Hjelmslev, "A Prolegomena to a Theory of Language", 1953).
8. *Section 2.0, Page 12.* The term "topic" is taken from Howard McKaughan, who uses it similarly in "The Inflection and Syntax of Maranao Verbs", 1958.
9. *Section 2.2, Page 15.* The term "Inclusive Person" was coined by A. Healey to describe the same phenomenon in Yogad ("Notes on Yogad" (1958)). The concept of a person quite distinct from first person was first presented by David Thomas for Ilocano in "Three Analyses of the Ilocano Pronoun System" (1955). "The Intensive Tagalog Course" gives a similar analysis for the Tagalog Pronoun.

10. *Section 2.2, Page 16.* The case for the use of zero morphemes as a descriptive device has been given by David L. Olmsted, "Covert (or Zero) Morphemes and Morphemic Juncture" (1951), and the case against zeros has been given by Herman Aschmann and William Wonderly, "Affixes and Implicit Categories in Totonac Verb Inflection" (1952).
11. *Section 2.3, Page 19.* The term "focus" is used by A. Healey in "Notes on Yogad" (1958), and here refers to the same phenomenon. Elsewhere in Philippine linguistics this phenomenon has usually been termed "voice", as, for example, in Howard McKaughan's "The Inflection and Syntax of Maranao Verbs" (1958). Because there is no automatic translation equivalent between the two English voices and the three Agta ones, the term "focus" was adopted to emphasise the non-English nature of Agta grammar.
12. *Section 2.3, Page 20.* It is possible to regard *ma-* as a goal focus affix (and *me-* and *ma-* *-an* as accessory focus). Both *ma-* and goal focus *-an* together occur with a few stems, and both affixes bring into focus the same semantic item of the situation described by the stem. These stems include *afút* 'consume', *aláp* 'get', *azap* 'extinguish', *azi* 'dispense with', *kán* 'eat', *láb* 'smell', *tukkaw* 'strike', *uli* 'repair'.
13. *Section 2.3, Page 21.* It is an open question whether the *ka-* introduced here is the same morpheme as that described in Section 1.1, Page 5.
14. *Section 3.0, Page 26.* The terms "central", "nucleus", "lateral" are among those listed for describing the head and subordinate immediate constituents of a construction by Richard S. Pittman in "Nuclear Structures in Linguistics" (1948).
15. *Section 4.0, Page 41.* Leonard Bloomfield, "Outline of Ilocano Syntax" (1942).
16. *Section 4.2, Page 45.* The term "predicate" is used as a convenient name for the first terminal of an equation.
17. *Section 3.3(d), Page 32.* The term is taken from Zellig S. Harris, "Co-occurrence and Transformation in Linguistic Structure", *Language*, Vol.33 (1957), pp.283-340.