

## 4. NOUN-MARKING PARTICLES

There is a class of particles in Casiguran Dumagat, the members of which introduce phrases as noun-like and show their relationship to the verb (J. Headland 1966). We call these particles noun-marking particles. These noun-marking particles occur in eleven different forms: tu, i, no, na, to, ta, ti, ni, du, di, de. The nonpersonal plural particles can occur reduplicated (dudu and didi), making a total of thirteen possibilities. These particles contrast on the syntactic and lexical levels.

TABLE 4. MATRIX OF NOUN-MARKING PARTICLES

			topic	attributive	oblique
singular	nonpersonal	absent present	tu i	no na	to ta
	personal		ti	ni	ni
plural	nonpersonal	absent present	du di	du di	du di
	personal		de	de	de

## 4.1 SYNTACTIC LEVEL

On the syntactic level the noun-marking particles signal noun phrases as topic, attributive, or oblique.

## 4.1.1 Topic

The topic is any focused noun phrase within a clause, as signaled by the verbal affixation in the predicate.

1. Néγκkagi tu anak. *The child spoke.*
2. Néγκkagi i anak.<sup>2</sup> *The children spoke. (or) The particular child spoke (you know the one).*
3. Néγκkagi du anak. *The children spoke.*
4. Néγκkagi dudu anak. *The (many) children spoke.*
5. Néγκkagi di anak.<sup>2</sup> *The particular children spoke (you know the ones).*
6. Néγκkagi didi anak.<sup>2</sup> *The (many) particular children spoke.*
7. Néγκkagi ti Juan. *John spoke.*
8. Néγκkagi de Juan. *John (and his companions) spoke.*
9. Néγκkagi tu Juan se.<sup>3</sup> *John (who is deceased) spoke.*

#### 4.1.2 Attributive

The attributive is any unfocused subjective phrase or any noun possessor phrase.

- |                                     |  |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| 10. Kinagi no anak.                 | <i>The child spoke.</i>  |
| 11. Kinagi na anak. <sup>2</sup>    | <i>The children spoke. (or) The particular child spoke (you know the one).</i> |
| 12. Kinagi du anak.                 | <i>The children spoke.</i>   |
| 13. Kinagi dudu anak.               | <i>The (many) children spoke.</i>  |
| 14. Kinagi di anak. <sup>2</sup>    | <i>The particular children spoke (you know the ones).</i>                      |
| 15. Kinagi didi anak. <sup>2</sup>  | <i>The (many) particular children spoke.</i>                                   |
| 16. Kinagi ni Juan.                 | <i>John spoke.</i>   |
| 17. Kinagi de Juan.                 | <i>John (and his companions) spoke.</i>  |
| 18. Kinagi no Juan se. <sup>3</sup> | <i>John (who is deceased) spoke.</i>   |

#### 4.1.3 Oblique

The oblique is any unfocused noun phrase which is not subject of the clause.

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 19. Kinagi ko to anak.                 | <i>I said it to the child.</i>   |
| 20. Kinagi ko ta anak. <sup>2</sup>    | <i>I said it to the children. (or) I said it to the particular child (you know the one).</i> |
| 21. Kinagi ko du anak.                 | <i>I said it to the children.</i>  |
| 22. Kinagi ko dudu anak.               | <i>I said it to the (many) children.</i>   |
| 23. Kinagi ko di anak. <sup>2</sup>    | <i>I said it to the particular children (you know the ones).</i>                             |
| 24. Kinagi ko didi anak. <sup>2</sup>  | <i>I said it to the (many) particular children.</i>  |
| 25. Kinagi ko ni Juan.                 | <i>I said it to John.</i>  |
| 26. Kinagi ko de Juan.                 | <i>I said it to John (and his companions).</i>   |
| 27. Kinagi ko to Juan se. <sup>2</sup> | <i>I said it to John (who is deceased).</i>  |

### 4.2 LEXICAL LEVEL

On the lexical level the noun-marking particles contrast as to personal versus nonpersonal, plural versus singular, and present versus absent.

#### 4.2.1 Personal Versus Nonpersonal

Particles *ti*, *ni* and *de* mark phrases as personal (a person's name or a kinship term). All other noun-marking particles mark phrases as nonpersonal. See above examples 1, 7, 10, 16, 19 and 25.

#### 4.2.2 Plural Versus Singular

Particles *du*, *di* and *de* mark phrases as plural. All other noun-marking particles mark phrases as singular. See above examples 3, 5, 8, 12, 14, 17, 21, 23 and 26. Often, however, the singular particles are used even when the noun is plural (as in examples 2, 11 and 20).

#### 4.2.3 Present Versus Absent

Nonpersonal particles contrast as to present and absent. *i*, *na*, *ta* and *di* mark phrases as present. *tu*, *no*, *to* and *du* mark phrases as absent. See above examples 1, 2, 10, 11, 19, 20, 21 and 23. By the terms 'present' versus 'absent' we mean several things. For example, the difference between examples numbered 1 and 2 above could be one or more of several, depending on the context under which it is spoken. Though both clauses literally mean, *The child spoke*, the choice of noun-marking particle can reflect one or more several opposite meanings. This can best be shown by Table 5.

TABLE 5. PRESENT VERSUS ABSENT

present <i>i</i> , <i>na</i> , <i>ta</i> , <i>di</i> can mean:	in contrast to	absent <i>tu</i> , <i>no</i> , <i>to</i> , <i>du</i> can mean:
alive	vs.	dead
known	vs.	unknown
general	vs.	specific
actual	vs.	non-actual
in sight	vs.	out of sight
present in time	vs.	past in time
mass nouns	vs.	singular nouns

### 5. PRONOUNS

#### 5.1 PERSONAL PRONOUNS

There are four sets of personal pronouns in Casiguran Dumagat.

5.1.1 The Set I Emphasis pronouns can substitute for any pre-predicate noun phrase marked by one of the Topic set of noun-marking particles (see section 4).

Tu anak, *éy méladu siya*. *As for the child, he is sick.*

Siko, *éy méladu ka*. *As for you, you are sick.*

5.1.2 The Set II Topic pronouns can substitute for any post-predicate noun phrase marked by one of the Topic set of noun-marking particles.

Méglakad tu anak ta banwan. *The child walks to town.*

Méglakad siya ta banwan. *He walks to town.*

5.1.3 The Set III Attributive pronouns can substitute for any noun phrase marked by one of the Attributive set of noun-marking particles.

Ginahoti no lakay tu ulag. *The man hit the snake.*

Ginahoti na tu ulag. *He hit the snake.*

5.1.4 The Set IV Oblique pronouns can substitute for any noun phrase marked by one of the Oblique set of noun-marking particles.

Ibugtong no anak to bébe. *The child sells to the lady.*

Ibugtong no anak dide. *The child sells to them.*

The four sets of personal pronouns are shown in the following table:

TABLE 6. PERSONAL PRONOUNS

SET I Emphasis	SET II Topic	SET III Attributive	SET IV Oblique	
sakén	ék	ko ~ ta	diyékén	Singular
síkita	kita	ta	díkita	<i>I</i>
siko	ka	mo	diko	<i>thou and I</i>
siya	siya	na	diya	<i>thou</i>
				<i>he, she, it</i>
síkame	kame	me	díkame	Plural
síkitam	kitam	tam	díkitam	<i>we-not-you</i>
síkam	kam	moy	díkam	<i>we-all</i>
sidë	sidë	de	dide	<i>you</i>
				<i>they</i>

Whenever two (or three) pronouns occur in a single clause, they occur in an order consistent with the following scheme: Set I preceding the verb; following the verb is ék, Set III (except ék), and Set IV. If a clause contains an auxiliary (such as éwan *not*, diyan *don't*, gustu *want to*, palagi *always*, sabay *at the same time*) it precedes the verb and the pronouns are ordered with respect to the auxiliary rather than with respect to the verb.

Igewat mo diya. *Hand it to him.*

Diyan mo diya igewat. *Don't hand it to him.*

Méiyamut side dikita.      *They are mad at you and me.*  
 Inaguman de ka?              *Did they help you?*  
 Pinabadil ko siya diya.      *I had him shoot her.*

Whenever the first person singular pronoun, ko, of the Set III pronouns occurs in a clause together with a second person pronoun, ka or kam, of the Set II pronouns, the form of the Attributive pronoun changes from ko to ta. Examples: Sinuntut ta ka (never \*Sinuntut ko ka) *I hit you.*

## 5.2 DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

There are two sets of demonstrative pronouns, as shown in the following table:

TABLE 7. DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

I	II	
éye	se	<i>this, here (near speaker)</i>
ina	sina	<i>that, there (near addressee, or in sight of both)</i>
éya	sa	<i>that, there (far from both)</i>

The Set I demonstrative pronouns can substitute for the head word of any noun phrase.

Méglakad ék ta bile.      *I am going to the house.*  
 Méglakad ék ta éya.      *I am going there.*

The Set II demonstrative pronouns can substitute for any oblique noun phrase,<sup>4</sup> except those expressing time.

Niyedton ko san ta lamesa.      *I put it on the table.*  
 Niyedton ko san sa.              *I put it there.*

The Set I demonstrative pronouns, plus the noun-marking particle ta can substitute for any occurrence of the Set II demonstrative pronouns, but the latter are used far more frequently.

Niyedton ko san sa.              *I put it there.*  
 Niyedton ko san ta éya.      *I put it there*

Any demonstrative pronoun may take the demonstrative pronoun suffix -e, which adds a meaning of definiteness or exactness to the thing or place referred to.

Niwahak ko san se.              *I just left it here.*  
 Niwahak ko san see.              *I just left it right here.*  
 Maguhay kam ta éya.              *Wait there.*  
 Maguhay kam ta éyae.              *Wait right there.*

## 6. VERBS

The inflection and use of verbs is the most complex part of the grammar of Casiguran Dumagat. Many different categories are indicated by affixes or affix combinations as may be seen in Tables 8, 9 and 10.

### 6.1 TENSE

All independent forms of the verb show a contrast between past and non-past (present, future and imperative) tense. The past tense is marked by *-in-* or *n-* and the non-past is marked by *m-* except in the cases of *-en*, *-an*, *i-* and *-um-*. (The occurrence and meaning of *-in-* in dependent verbs requires further investigation.)

Umunek siya. *He is climbing./He will climb.*

Inumunek siya. *He climbed.*

In those instances where there are two past tense forms side by side in Tables 8, 9 and 10 (such as *minag-* and *nag-*), there seems to be no difference in their meanings.

If one compares forms vertically in Tables 8, 9 and 10, it will be seen that there are many pairs of forms that are the same except for the vowel, one containing *a* and one containing *é*. In the non-past forms, such as *mag-* and *még-*, the *a* at times indicates future and imperative whereas *é* indicates present continuous and habitual.

Mégman side. *They are chewing betel nut.*

Magman side. *They will chew betel nut.*

However, in other instances, they seem to be the same tense and differ in transitivity or in other ways that are less clear.

Mégdigus ék. *I will bathe (myself).*

Magdigus ék. *I will bathe (the child).*

Mégllogbut ék. *I submerge (myself) in water.*

Magllogbut ék. *I submerge (it) in water.*

### 6.2 FOCUS

Casiguran Dumagat is like other Philippine languages in that it has several grammatical devices for highlighting one element or another in a clause. The best known of these devices is termed 'focus'. The verb in the predicate is affixed to indicate either Subject Focus or Object Focus, and correspondingly the subject or object in the clause is given a preposed topic-marking particle. About half of the verbal affixes are Subject Focus affixes and about half are Object Focus affixes.

Magbuno ék ta manok.  
*kill I oblique chicken*  
*'I will kill the chicken.'*

Bunuén ko tu manok.  
*kill I topic chicken*  
*'The chicken is what I will kill.'*

### 6.3 ORIENTATION

A second device which Casiguran Dumagat uses for giving prominence to one element in the clause is what might be called 'orientation'. In Tables 8, 9 and 10 the horizontal blocks of affixes labelled 1, 2, 3 and 4 each has its own distinctive orientation.

#### 6.3.1 Orientation 1

Orientation 1 is essentially intransitive, and no participant other than the actor or experiencer is considered important enough to be mentioned in the clause.

Inuméwat tu anak to dilod.  
*surface topic child oblique downriver*  
*'The boy came to the surface downriver.'*

Mébuktet dén ti Mensiyan.  
*pregnant already topic Mensiyan*  
*'Mensiyan is pregnant.'*

Umunek tu anak.  
*climb topic child*  
*'The child will climb the tree.'*

On the other hand, orientations 2, 3 and 4 are essentially transitive, and one additional participant in the situation is made explicit and prominent by being expressed as the object. For many, but not all, verb stems a different participant functions as object in each of these three orientations.

#### 6.3.2 Orientation 2

Orientation 2 usually has as its object the participant that is most directly affected by the action. Sometimes the action is reflexive and there is no object. It should be noted that the suffix *-an* has the allomorph *-en* following *b*, *d* or *g* (see section 3.6).

Mangunek tu anak to pitukan.  
*climb topic child oblique honey*  
*'The child will climb up to get the honey.'*

Unekén no anak tu pitukan.

*climb attrib. child topic honey*

*'Honey is what the child will climb up to get.'*

Mégsabun ék ta damit.

*soap I oblique cloth*

*'I am soaping up the clothes.'*

Sabunen ko i damita.

*soap I topic cloth-that*

*'The clothes are what I am soaping up.'*

### 6.3.3 Orientation 3

Orientation 3 may have as its object the location, end point, or recipient of the action, or the participant most affected by the action. The subject focus affixes signify a reciprocal or competitive action.

Méginanan du anak to baybay.

*run topic children oblique beach*

*'The children are racing along the beach.'*

GINANAN no anak tu dada na.

*run-away attrib. child topic aunt his*

*'It is his aunt that the child will run away from.'*

Mégsabunan du anak to tapo.

*soap topic children oblique waterfall*

*'The children soaped each other up at the waterfall.'*

SINABUNAN no anak tu ulu na.

*soap attrib. child topic head his*

*'It was his hair that the child soaped up.'*

### 6.3.4 Orientation 4

Orientation 4 may have as its object an instrument or body part used in the action or the participant most affected by the action.

NANGIGINAN ék to ulés ni Seray.

*ran-away I oblique blanket attrib. Seray*

*'I ran away with Seray's blanket.'*

NIGINAN ko tu ulés ni Seray.

*ran-away I topic blanket attrib. Seray*

*'It was Seray's blanket that I ran away with.'*

NÉNGILUKAG ék to anak.

*woke-up I oblique child*

*'I woke up the child.'*

NILUKAG ko dén tu anak.

*woke-up I already topic child*

*'The child is the one I woke up.'*



6.3.5 In orientation 2, and in orientation 4 of Table 10, there are pairs of affixes such as mag- and mang- that differ by an affix-final g and ng. For those verbs which take both g and ng affixes, the difference in meaning has been difficult to identify. For some verb stems ng forms signify a more intensive action. mégkan *to nibble*, méngan *to eat*. For other verbs the two forms have different objects. mégbuno *to kill (an animal)*, mémuno *to murder (a person)*. On some verbs the two affixes show a difference in tense. magsibak *to chop wood (present)*, mangsibak *to chop wood (future)*. On at least one verb the two affixes differentiate the object as singular or plural. méngakit *to invite one person*, mégakit *to invite several people*.

6.3.6 Not all of the orientations may be used with any given verb stem. A preliminary investigation of verb stem classes (J. Headland 1969) indicates that these restrictions on the occurrence of the orientation blocks of affixes may well prove to be definable in terms of stem classes. Similarly, the various meanings of the orientations, of g versus ng, and of a versus é (section 6.1), may also prove to depend on the class of the verb stem with which they occur.

TABLE 8. BASIC VERBAL AFFIXATION

	SUBJECT FOCUS VERB		OBJECT FOCUS VERB (A)		OBJECT FOCUS VERB (B)		DEPENDENT VERB IN TEMPORAL CLAUSE
	NON-PAST	PAST	NON-PAST	PAST	NON-PAST	PAST	
1	ma- mé- me- -um-	na- mine- miné- -inum-					ka- ké- ke- ké-
	mag- még- mang- méng-	nag- nég- nang- néng-	-én	-in-	ma- mé-	na- mina- miné-	pag- pég- pang- péng-
3	mag- még- mang- méng-	nag- nég- nang- néng-	-an	-in--an	ma--an mé--an	na--an mina--an miné--an	pég--an
	mangi- méngi-	nangi- néngi-	i-	ni-			pangi- péngi-
ABILLITATIVE	maka- méka-	naka- néka-					paka- péka-
PURPOSIVE	méki-	néki-					péki-

NOIIV EINH IAO

Blank spaces within the blocks indicate that the particular affix combination has not been found to occur.

TABLE 9. CAUSATIVE VERBAL AFFIXATION WITH pa-

	SUBJECT FOCUS VERB		OBJECT FOCUS VERB (A)		OBJECT FOCUS VERB (B)	
	NON-PAST	PAST	NON-PAST	PAST	NON-PAST	PAST
1	mapa- mépa-	minapa- napa-				
2	magpa- méga- mangpa- méngpa- magpe-	minagpa- minéga- minangpa- minagpe-	pa--én	pina-	mapa- mépa- mape- mepe-	minapa- napa- minape- nape-
3	magpa--an méga--an	minagpa--an minéga--an nagpa--an néga--an	pa--an	pina--an	mapa--an	minapa--an napa--an
4	mangipa- méngipa- mangiipe- méngiipe-	minéngipa- néngipa- minéngiipe- néngiipe-	(i)pa- (i)pe-	nipa- nipe-	mepa- mepe-	minépa- népa- minépe- népe-

Abilitative aspect does not occur with causative verbal affixation with pa- (see 6.4.1).

Purposive aspect does not occur with causative verbal affixation with pa- (see 6.4.2).

Dependent clauses do not occur with causative verbal affixation with pa-.

Blank spaces within the blocks indicate that the particular affix combination has not been found to occur.

TABLE 10. VERBAL AFFIXATION WITH &lt;pag-&gt;

	SUBJECT FOCUS VERB		OBJECT FOCUS VERB (A)		OBJECT FOCUS VERB (B)		DEPENDENT VERB IN TEMPORAL CLAUSE
	NON-PAST	PAST	NON-PAST	PAST	NON-PAST	PAST	
ORIENTATION 1	mapag- mépég-	minapag- minépég- napag-					
COOPERATIVE VOICE (box A) (box B) CAUSATIVE VOICE	magpag- mégpég-	minagpag- minégpég- nagpag- négpég- nagpang- négpang- A	pag-én pég-én	pinag- pinég- pinang-	minapag- minépég- napag- B	pagpag- péppég- péppéng- A	
ORIENTATION 3			pag--an pég--an	pinag--an pinég--an	minapag--an napag--an		
BENEFACTIVE VOICE	méngipag-	minéngipag- néngipag-	(i)pag- (i)pég-	nipag- nipég- nipang- nipéng-	minepag- minepang- minepéng-	péngipag-	
EXTERNAL ABILITY	makapag- mékapég-	minakapag- minékapég- nakapag- nékapég-				pakapag- pékapég-	
COOPERATIVE PURPOSIVE VOICE	mékikipag- mékikipég- mékikipang- mékikipéng-	minékikipag- minékikipég- minékikipang- minékikipéng-				pékikipag- pékikipég- pékikipéng-	

Blank spaces within the blocks indicate that the particular affix combination has not been found to occur.

## 6.4 ASPECT

## 6.4.1 Abilitative Aspect

The abilitative affixes of Table 8 signify that the actor has within himself the ability to perform the action. This affixation only has subject focus and dependent forms.

Tu kuyéng minalimés da éwan makanangoy.  
topic rat drown because no can-swim

'The rat drowned because he didn't know how to swim.'

Ewan makalakad tu pile.  
no can-walk topic cripple

'The cripple could not walk.'

## 6.4.2 Purposive Aspect

The purposive affixes of Table 8 signify that the actor goes to do something or get something (often the stem is a noun). In some measure the action is intense or deliberate, or has an unstated purpose behind it.

mégaged to beg

butag betel nut

ménuyu to win someone's  
favor

méguhon to converse

dios God

mékiaged to go and beg

mékibutag to go and get betel nut

mékisuyu to make an effort to  
win someone's favor

mékiuhon to plead

mékidios to be religious

## 6.4.3 Continuative Aspect

The continuative aspect is signalled by the combination of certain affixes with a partial reduplication of the first syllable of the stem, as shown in Table 11. This affixation only has subject focus forms, and indicates that the action is continual, repetitive or intensive.

TABLE 11. CONTINUATIVE ASPECT

	non-past	past	
consonant initial stems	mégCé--én	minégCé--én	négCé--én
glottal initial stems	mégé--én	minégé--én	négé--én

mégéasenén keep eating salt

mégéeknudén stay sitting

mégéginanén running on and on

minégsésangitén kept on crying

## 6.4.4 Casual Aspect

The casual aspect is signalled by the combination of certain prefixes with a fully reduplicated stem, as shown in Table 12. This aspect indicates that an action is done casually or slowly, and only has subject focus forms.

TABLE 12. CASUAL ASPECT

non-past	past	
magR-	minagR-	nagR-
mégR-	minégR-	négR-

méglakad-lakad kame san.  
*walk we just*  
*'We're just walking around.'*

## 6.4.5 Playing Aspect

The playing aspect is shown by the combination of these same prefixes with reduplication of the first syllable of the stem (which is often a noun) as shown in Table 13. This aspect only has subject focus and dependent forms, and signifies that the actor (usually a child) is playing at an action or pretending to be something.

TABLE 13. PLAYING ASPECT

	non-past	past	
consonant initial stems	magCV- mégCV-	minagCV- minégCV-	nagCV- négCV-
glottal initial stems	magV- mégV-	minagV- minégV-	nagV- négV-

badil	<i>gun</i>	mégbabadil	<i>to play guns</i>
ikan	<i>fish</i>	mégiikan	<i>to swim, pretending one is a fish</i>
mégliso	<i>to hide something</i>	mégliliso	<i>to play hide and seek</i>
mégogsa	<i>to shoot a deer</i>	mégoogsa	<i>to pretend one is a deer</i>

## 6.4.6 Deceptive Aspect

The deceptive aspect is formed by the combination of certain affixes with the reduplication of the first two syllables of the stem, as shown in Table 14. This aspect only has subject focus forms and signifies that the actor is only pretending to do the action in an attempt to deceive.

TABLE 14. DECEPTIVE ASPECT

	non-past	past	
consonant initial stems	magCVCV(C)--an mégCVCV(C)--an	minagCVCV(C)--an minégCVCV(C)--an	nagCVCV(C)--an négCVCV(C)--an
glottal initial stems	magVCV(C)--an mégVCV(C)--an	minagVCV(C)--an minégVCV(C)--an	nagVCV(C)--an négVCV(C)--an

matidug *be asleep*      mégtidug-tidugan *to pretend to be asleep*  
 purupeta *prophet*      mégpurupurupetaan *to predict something false*

## 6.4.7 Accidental Aspect

The accidental aspect is formed by combining the inner prefix ke- with other affixes. Only a few combinations have been observed and these are listed in Table 15. This aspect has forms for all focuses and also dependent forms. It signifies that the action is done accidentally or unintentionally.

TABLE 15. ACCIDENTAL ASPECT

intentional action			accidental action		
még-	minég-	nég-	{ méke-	minéke-	néke-
			{ mégke-	minégke-	négke-
még--an	minég--an	nég--an	mégke--an	minégke--an	négke--an
méngi-	minéngi-	néngi-	méngike-	minéngike-	néngike-
-én	-in-		ke--an	{ kine--an	
				{ kine-	
-an	-in--an		ke--an	kine--an	
i-	ni-		ike-	nike-	

Mékepana ék dén ta anak.  
*arrow I already oblique child*  
 'I accidentally shot the child.'

Kineinuman na kan tu petrolyo.  
*drink he hearsay topic kerosene*  
 'They say he accidentally swallowed some kerosene.'

## 6.5 CAUSATIVE VOICE WITH PREFIX pa-

The affixial forms in Table 9 consist of most of the basic affixations (Table 8) combined with the inner prefix *pa-*. However, *pa-* does not combine with the Abilitative and Purposive forms, nor with the dependent forms used in temporal clauses. The forms containing *pe-* could be regarded as involving a fusion of *pa-* and *i-*.

The addition of *pa-* signifies that there is an extra participant in the situation who causes the actor to act. The causer is always expressed in the subject and the caused actor is expressed either in the referent or the object, depending on the particular affix.

Inunek no ulito tu pitukan.  
*climb attrib. single-man topic bee*  
 'Honey is what the man climbed up (the tree) to get.'

Nipaunek ko to ulito tu pitukan.  
*climb I oblique single-man topic bee*  
 'Honey is what I had the man climb up (the tree) to get.'

Niunek no ulito tu igut.  
*climb attrib. single-man topic rope*  
 'It was rope that the man took up (the tree).'

Nipeunek ko to ulito tu igut.  
*climb I oblique single-man topic rope*  
 'It was rope that I had the man take up (the tree).'

## 6.6 VOICES OF <pag-> PREFIXES

The affixial forms in Table 10 consist of most of the basic affixations (Table 8) combined with the inner prefixes *pag-*, *pég-*, *pang-* and *péng-*. The general effect of adding this <pag-> group of affixes is to bring an extra participant into the situation which a verb describes. This shows up in the English translation in several different ways.

### 6.6.1 Causative Voice

The object focus affixes of orientation 2 in Table 8, plus <pag-> are causative in meaning. These have some differences (such as transitivity) from the corresponding *pa-* forms (section 6.5).



Inunek no ulito tu pitukan.

*climb attrib. single-man topic bee*

'Honey is what the man climbed up (the tree) to get.'

Pinangunek ko tu ulito ta pitukan.

*climbed I topic single-man oblique bee*

'The man is the one I had climb up to get the honey.'

Pinaunek ko tu ulito.

*climb I topic single-man*

'The man is the one I had climb up the tree (so the bull wouldn't gore him).'

### 6.6.2 Cooperative Voice

The subject focus and dependent affixes of orientation 1 in Table 8, plus <pag-> always take a plural subject and signify a cooperative activity.

Nagpagiskuwela kame to araw ta Kalabgan.

*went-to-school we the past-time oblique Kalabgan*

'We all went to school together at Kalabgan long ago.'

Du bébe me éy mégpégladey ta abék.

*topic-pl. women our link weave oblique mat*

'Our women all weave mats (working) together.'

Mépgépkona kitam san se a mégiknud a mesapal kitam.

*like we only this link sit link starving we*

'We just sit around like this together starving to death.'

### 6.6.3 Cooperative Purposive Voice

The purposive affixes of Table 8, plus <pag-> may take either a singular or plural subject and signify that the actor is making an effort to join others in the activity.

mékipagtarabaho to go and join others in working

mékipaguhon to seek to converse with others

mékipagkasal to go to a wedding

### 6.6.4 External Ability

When <pag-> is added to the abilitative affixes of Table 8 the combination signifies that the actor is given his ability by some outside circumstance or person. This contrasts with the abilitative affixes of Table 8, which without <pag-> signify an internal ability originating within the actor.

Makaantipara dén ti Déngdéng.

*diving-goggles already topic Déngdéng*

'Déngdéng knows how to go spear-fishing.'

Makapagantipara dén ti Dénngéng.

*diving-goggles already topic Dénngéng*

'Dénngéng can now go spear fishing (because the river has become clear).'

### 6.6.5 Benefactive Voice

When <pag-> is combined with the orientation 4 affixes of Table 8, the extra participant brought into the situation is the person (other than the actor) for whom the action is being performed. This beneficiary is expressed in the object, and may or may not be in focus.

Méngipagsikaw ék ni Didog.

*make-field I oblique Didog*

'I am making a field for Didog.'

Ipagsikaw ko ti Didog.

*make-field I topic Didog*

'It is for Didog that I am making a field.'

Minepanggimet mo tu anak ta béték na?

*make you topic child oblique spear his*

'Was it for the child that you made a spear?'

### 6.7 INNER PREFIX ka-

In some instances the inner prefix *ka-* is derivational and changes the meaning of the stem unpredictably. *mégtidug* *to sleep*; *mégkatidug* *to lie down*. However, in most instances, *ka-* is inflectional, and carries various meanings onto the stems on which it occurs. On some verb stems it means 'plural subject', and the sequence *magka-* seems to be the plural equivalent of *me-*, when used to describe a state.

Mesibét siya. *He is strong.*

Magkasibét side. *They are strong.*

On some noun stems *ka-* means *obtain*.

biténg *pig net*

mégbiténg *to set a pig net*

mégkabiténg *to get a pig net*

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