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Topics in the Morpho-Syntax of Ibaloy, Northern Philippines

ROBERTA RUFFOLO

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A Thesis
Submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
of the Australian National University
Declaration

Except where otherwise noted in the text, this thesis represents the original research of the author.

[Signature]

Roberta Ruffolo
Acknowledgements

It was Dr Carl Rubino who first suggested that I study the Ibaloy language. I thank him for tricking me into believing that it would be an easy language to describe. Once in the field I realised the truth, but luckily I stumbled across Prof Lawrence Reid in the middle of Ibaloyland. I thank him for encouraging me not to give up.

I must thank both my supervisors, Dr John Bowden and Prof Malcolm Ross, whom I slowly drove either bananas, or away from the ANU. We had many constructive discussions and arguments about the more difficult aspects of Ibaloy. I thank them for their time, support, advice, encouragement, patience and cracking the whip. Certainly I wasn’t the easiest student to supervise. I would also like to thank Prof Andrew Pawley and Dr Bethwyn Evans for patiently reading large swathes of draft, and especially for improving my free English translations, which had sometimes been reached via Italian.

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My long suffering partner, Zoltán, now knows “epsilon” about Linguistics. He convinced me to use \LaTeX for typesetting, and then became my resident technical support and table formatting consultant.

Finally to my Father, who thought I would never finish this Divina Tragedia, thank you for waiting.
Abstract

This study describes selected aspects of the grammar of Ibaloy, a member of the Northern Philippines subgroup of Austronesian, spoken on the island of Luzon in the Philippines.

A sketch of the phonology is provided, as focusing on processes that interact with morphology. Phonological words in Ibaloy carry final or penultimate primary stress. The basic syllable structure is cv(c). Several morpho-phonemic processes apply to words when they take part in particular word-derivational processes. Only the major morpho-phonemic processes are here described.

Ibaloy has an elaborate derivational system. Nouns typically occur underived as monomorphemic words. Verbs are typically derived with a system of affixes (also known as “focus”). Different categories of verbs and nouns are identified on morpho-syntactic criteria.

Ibaloy is a head-initial (or right-branching) language. In a noun phrase, modifiers (e.g. relative clause) typically follow the noun they modify. In a clause, verbal complements, adjuncts, and modifiers of the predicate typically occur after the predicate.

Three types of phrases are identified here: the noun phrase, the determiner phrase, and the prepositional phrase. The main functions of these phrase-types are described together with their internal structure.

Clauses are classified according to their predicate, as verbal and non-verbal. Verbal clauses include clauses headed by various subcategories of verbs. Extension verbs require a sentential complement, and complement clauses are of two types, namely finite and non-finite.

Verbal clauses are also classified depending on the number and type of verbal complements present in the clause. Ibaloy distinguishes between core and extension-to-core complements. Intransitive clauses all have a single core complement, the Nominative. Transitive clauses have two core complements, the Agent and the Nominative.
Ibaloy uses ergative case marking for its core complements. In addition, clauses may contain one or more extension-to-core complements and adjuncts.

Clauses are typically linked by an overt constituent. Relative clauses are introduced by a subordinator, the linker. Only the Nominative complement of a clause can be relativised. For this, a “gap” strategy is used. However, Ibaloy has an extensive system of verbal derivation which allows a non-Nominative complement to be repositioned as Nominative, and thereby to be eligible for processes which refer to Nominative (e.g. relativisation).

Other phenomena treated in this work include pronominal agreement marking and topicalisation. Ibaloy allows agreement marking of a third person Agent or Nominative depending on the transitivity and type of the construction. A personal bound pronoun occurs with and agrees in number and case with a complement of the construction.

It is generally possible to topicalise a core complement, an adjunct, the possessor of a Nominative phrase of an intransitive construction, or, rarely, an extension-to-core complement expressing a location. However, two different topicalisation strategies are employed. The resumptive pronoun strategy is used to topicalise core complements, while no resumptive pronoun is used for the other constituents.
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>HAB</td>
<td>Habitual marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i.e.</td>
<td>Id est, that is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>Imperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ind</td>
<td>Independent pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDEFNum</td>
<td>Indefinite numeral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IndPrn</td>
<td>Independent pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INSTIGN</td>
<td>Instigator noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPF</td>
<td>Imperfective aspect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPF-</td>
<td>Imperfective reduplication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iter/pl-</td>
<td>Iterative/plural reduplication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LK</td>
<td>Linker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIMTNum</td>
<td>Limitative numeral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lit.</td>
<td>Literally</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>Locative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOCGer</td>
<td>Locative gerund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LCN</td>
<td>Locative noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOCPhr</td>
<td>Locative phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>locv</td>
<td>Locative(-oriented) verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>med</td>
<td>Medial demonstrative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>min</td>
<td>Minimal pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MnrGer</td>
<td>Manner gerund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mult-</td>
<td>Multiplicative reduplication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Full Form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MULTNum</td>
<td>multiplicative numeral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neg</td>
<td>negative auxiliary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NECNDTN</td>
<td>subordinating conjunction marking a negative condition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom</td>
<td>Nominative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOMAspPrn</td>
<td>Nominative aspectual pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOMDeictDet</td>
<td>Nominative deictic determiner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOMDirPrn</td>
<td>Nominative directional pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOMDet</td>
<td>Nominative determiner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOMPphr</td>
<td>Nominative phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOUNPhr</td>
<td>noun phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obl</td>
<td>Oblique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBLPhr</td>
<td>Oblique phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ONEUnit</td>
<td>single unit of time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OrdNum</td>
<td>ordinal numeral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ORIGN</td>
<td>origin noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>own</td>
<td>stative verb marking ownership</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>Nominative complement of a transitive verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PATV</td>
<td>Patient(-oriented) verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pers</td>
<td>form used with personal nouns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFT</td>
<td>perfective aspect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>plural marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL-</td>
<td>plural reduplication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POTACTV</td>
<td>potentive Actor(-oriented) verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POTBNFV</td>
<td>potentive Beneficiary(-oriented) verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POTLOCV</td>
<td>potentive Locative(-oriented) verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POTPATV</td>
<td>potentive Patient(-oriented) verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POTTHMV</td>
<td>potentive Theme(-oriented) verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pred, pred</td>
<td>predicate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PREPPhr</td>
<td>prepositional phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prhb</td>
<td>prohibitive auxiliary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prn</td>
<td>pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pro</td>
<td>pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prog</td>
<td>progressive aspect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prox</td>
<td>proximal demonstrative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRTND-</td>
<td>pretend, fake activity reduplication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PWSC</td>
<td>Proto-West Southern Cordilleran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QUASI-</td>
<td>limitative reduplication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REC</td>
<td>recognitional demonstrative; reciprocal marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RecN</td>
<td>reciprocal noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RecPast</td>
<td>Recent Past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RELCls</td>
<td>relative clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RSMBLN</td>
<td>resemblance noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>Nominative complement of an intransitive verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-AGR</td>
<td>pronominal agreement marking of S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sp.</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SupN</td>
<td>superlative noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tag.</td>
<td>Tagalog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TagQuest</td>
<td>tag question</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THMV</td>
<td>Theme(-oriented) verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Top</td>
<td>Topic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TopPhr</td>
<td>Topic phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TpLk</td>
<td>topic linker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trns</td>
<td>transitive predicate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UnivN</td>
<td>universal noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v</td>
<td>vowel in syllable structure or pattern of reduplication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v.</td>
<td><em>versus</em>, against</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whole</td>
<td>entire, whole measurement unit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xtns</td>
<td>extension predicate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&amp;</td>
<td>and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>first person minimal pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>second person minimal pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>third person minimal pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+</td>
<td>first person augmented pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2+</td>
<td>second person augmented pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3+</td>
<td>third person augmented pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1&amp;2</td>
<td>first and second person minimal (I and you sg.) pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1&amp;2+</td>
<td>first and second person augmented (I and you pl.) pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Symbol</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;&gt;</td>
<td>infix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X-</td>
<td>prefix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-X</td>
<td>suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X=</td>
<td>proclitic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=X</td>
<td>enclitic</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Introduction
Figure 1: Map of the Philippines
In this work the term “Ibaloy” (also spelled “Ibaloi”) refers to an ethnic group as well as its language. In the literature, this language has been alternatively named “Nabaloi” (“Nabaloy”) and “Inibaloi” (“Inibaloy”). Ibaloy is spoken in Northern Luzon, in the Philippines (see Figure 1).

Ibaloy belongs to the Cordilleran subgroup of the Malayo-Polynesian branch of the Austronesian family. The Cordilleran languages are spoken mostly in the mountains of Northern Luzon (see Figure 3), and comprise three main subgroups: Northern Cordilleran, Central Cordilleran and Southern Cordilleran. Reid (1974, 1989) and more recently Himes (1998) place Ibaloy in the Southern Cordilleran group. The Southern Cordilleran group reconstructed by Himes (1998) also includes Ilongot, Pangasinan, Karaw (Karao), Kalanguya, as summarised in Figure 2.

![Figure 2: Internal Relationships of Southern Cordilleran Languages (Himes 1998:121)](image-url)
Figure 3: Map of the Cordilleran Administrative Region
Ibaloyland and Its People

Ibaloyland and Its People

The Ibaloy people mainly inhabit Benguet Province which includes thirteen municipalities: Tuba, Itogon, La Trinidad (the capital), Sablan, Tublay, Kapangan, Atok, Bokod, Kabayan, Kibungan, Bakun, Mankayan, and Buguias. However, the great majority live in the municipality of Kabayan. See Figure 4.

Figure 4: Map of the Benguet Province
Kabayan municipality is politically subdivided into thirteen barangays (also referred to as barrios): namely Adaoay (also Achaway), Anchokey (also Enchokey), Ballay, Bashoy, Batan, Duacan, Eddit, Gusaran, Kabayan Barrio, Lusod, Pacso, Poblacion (also called Kabayan Central or simply Kabayan) and Tawangan. See Figure 5.

According to records in the Census and Statistics Office in Baguio, the population of Kabayan municipality in 1995 was 10,510. There are two other major ethnic groups living amongst the Ibaloys in Kabayan. These are the Kalanguya (also Kalanguya) and the Kankanay (also Kankanay) who speak Kalanguya and Kankanay respectively.

Finally, several varieties of Ibaloy are spoken even within the same municipality. This work describes the dialect of Poblacion (Kabayan Central).
Previous Publications

Very little descriptive work has been previously published on the Ibaloy language. It includes a grammatical sketch with a small word list of Scheerer (1905), a short list of words and pronominal forms in McFarland (1977), and the works of Ballard (1974, 1977) on the semantics of some Ibaloy verbal affixes and on the semantic component of realization in Philippine languages. Ibaloy data have also been used for a more theory-oriented analysis by Ballard, Conrad and Longacre (1971a, 1971b) on the deep and surface grammar of interclausal relations.


Data Collection

The author began working on the Ibaloy language in December 1998, collecting preliminary data with Manang Elvira Sinong, a native speaker of Ibaloy living in Canberra.

A first field-trip of three months was carried out between March and June 1999. Data were mainly collected in Poblacion (or Kabayan Central), the place of origin of Mrs Sinong.

From October 1999 to March 2000, a native Ibaloy speaker from Poblacion visited Australia on holiday. During this six month period further data were collected from sessions with her.

On April, a second field-trip was conducted for five weeks. By the end of this trip, substantial data had been collected which included some direct elicitation, though preference was given to data collected from conversations and narrative texts.

The examples in this work are drawn from a variety of sources. Many come from the author’s own observations of conversations, and from recorded texts. Some simple sentences have been derived from the author’s knowledge of Ibaloy. Only a few are drawn from direct elicitation.
Organisation of This Study

The overall aim of this work is to describe simply some of the most salient features of the language in as clear and explicit a manner as possible. This has been primarily achieved analyzing data in a largely “theory-neutral” approach.

This work comprises six main parts, each corresponding to a salient aspect of the language. These are as follows.

**Part I** introduces the sound system of the Ibaloy variety spoken in Poblacion and the major phonological processes.

**Part II** describes lexical nouns and quantification terms which mainly include nouns, but also a few verbs and adverbs.

**Part III** describes determiners, personal pronouns and demonstratives which comprise demonstrative determiners and pronouns.

**Part IV** describes lexical verbs. It provides a quite detailed description of the controlled-type of verbs, and only a small sketch of the uncontrolled ones and some other verbal forms found in the language.

**Part V** describes the structure of three types of phrases: the noun phrase, determiner phrase and prepositional phrase. It also deals with ways of coordinating and modifying noun phrases and nominal constituents, and provides a brief discussion of deixis and referentiality of demonstrative phrases.

**Part VI** identifies the grammatical relations of Ibaloy. It describes the structure of basic clauses (verbal and non-verbal) and complex constructions involving sentential complements. It also treats phenomena like pronominal agreement marking and pragmatically marked constructions, and provides a description of subordination, coordination, and predicate and clausal modification.

The Appendix provides examples of texts from four major genres: narrative of traditional and modern stories, procedural, dialogue, and description).

While this work covers the fundamentals of Ibaloy there are of course certain areas in which much remains to be done. For example, Ibaloy has a highly elaborate derivational system and several morpho-phonemic processes. The basic elements of Ibaloy (e.g. noun phrase, basic clause types) are treated in considerable detail, but some less frequently occurring features are omitted. Further research is also required to unravel certain sociolinguistic and discourse oriented issues, which could easily constitute a PhD topic on their own.
Part I

Phonology and Morphology
Overview of Part I

Part I consists of seven short chapters which together sketch the main phonological characteristics of Ibaloy, as spoken in Poblacion, Kabayan Central. Further investigation is required in order to provide a fully comprehensive description of the phonology. A major concern here is to describe the main morpho-phonemic alternations of the language, in preparation for the analysis of morpho-syntax which follows.

A discussion of syllable structure and stress precedes the account of the phonemic inventory (Chapter 2). A short overview of Ibaloy morphology is provided in Chapter 3 preceding the description of major phonological processes in Chapter 4, Chapter 5, Chapter 6 and Chapter 7. This order is preferred because phonological processes apply at different levels (e.g. lexical-level, post-lexical level).
The phonetic realisation of phonemes is conditioned by their distribution within the word and by stress. Hence, syllable structure and stress are discussed before introducing the phoneme inventory of the language.

The following three conventions are adopted in this work:

- customary spelling (in italics, see §2.3);
- phonetic transcription (within square brackets); and
- phonemic transcription (within slanted brackets).

1.1 The Syllable

The canonical syllable shape in Ibaloy is cv(c). All syllables have an obligatory onset which must be filled by a consonant. When necessary, syllable division is represented by a dot.

A syllable that lacks a coda (cv) is referred to as an open syllable. A syllable with a coda (cvc) is referred to as a “closed syllable”.

These two syllable types combine to form larger units of sound. It is convenient to divide Ibaloy roots (i.e. monomorphemic words) into two main types, monosyllabic and polysyllabic. The latter may be disyllabic (e.g. cv.cv), or trisyllabic (e.g. cv.cv.cv).

The number and type of syllables in a root have consequences for the way stress is assigned and for other phonological processes.
1.2 Stress

At least two types of stress can be distinguished in Ibaloy: primary and secondary. A phonological word can only carry one primary stress. The following rule applies in the large majority of cases.

The rightmost stress in a word is primary (indicated by '). All other stresses (if any) are secondary (indicated by .).

Rules that assign primary stress can have either phonological or morphological conditioning; those that assign secondary stress usually have phonological and pragmatic conditioning. However, due to the complexity of stress in general, except in the case of roots, only primary stress is analysed here. Further studies are required in order to provide a complete picture of this elaborate phenomenon.

A further complication in Ibaloy comes from derivation. A derived lexical word does not necessarily carry the same stress pattern as the unaffixed or unreduplicated root.

For example, the root /'loto/ 'cook' bears penultimate stress, but when prefixed by /,man/- ‘ACTV/IPF’, the derived verb /,manlo'to/ [,mando'to] carries final stress. The final stress of the derived word results from stress-shift, discussed with other stress related phenomena in Chapter 6.

1.2.1 Root Stress

A phonological word in Ibaloy can only have one primary stress which is either penultimate or final. Since stress assignment takes into account the shape of the root syllable template and its phonemic content, it is best described in relation to the various root types. The term “root” refers to a lexical morpheme which has not undergone any derivational process such as affixation or reduplication, i.e. a monomorphemic word.

Root stress in Ibaloy is predictable\(^1\). The following generalisation can be made about stress placement.

With roots of one syllable, stress automatically falls on that syllable.

With roots of two or more syllables, stress is placed on the first syllable

\(^1\)The predictability of root stress is a Nuclear Southern Cordilleran (NuSC) feature (Himes, 1998) that Ibaloy retains. For a further discussion on Philippine word accent refer to Zorc (1978, 1986).
1.2 Stress

of the root, if is open and if it does not contain the vowel /a/. When the first syllable is closed or contains the vowel /a/, the second syllable receives stress. Then every second syllable from the first one stressed also receives stress. Since a phonological word can only have one primary stress, it follows that the rightmost stress is primary, and the other is secondary.

Cases where the default rule does not apply are treated as distinct subclasses of roots or as exceptions (see §1.2.2).

The default rule translates into the following description of stress, arranged according to root types.

**Monosyllabic roots**: these roots receive primary stress on the single syllable.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root (with stress)</th>
<th>Phonetic realisation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/'law/</td>
<td>['daw]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'go, move'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/'kan/</td>
<td>['kan]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'eat'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Disyllabic roots**: these roots receive penultimate primary stress when the first syllable is open and does not contain the vowel /a/.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root (with penult. stress)</th>
<th>Phonetic realisation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/'mata/</td>
<td>['mara]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/'salaw/</td>
<td>['salaw]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'eye'</td>
<td>'jar'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is a type of disyllabic root carrying penultimate primary stress that has a variable syllabic template. This type contains an intervocalic glide, /j/ or /w/ and it can also be realised as monosyllabic.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Disyllabic Root</th>
<th>Phonetic realisation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/'nowaŋ/</td>
<td>['nuwaŋ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/'powäk/</td>
<td>['puwäk']</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/'sijam/</td>
<td>['sijam]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/'nijog/</td>
<td>['nijog']</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Monosyllabic Root</th>
<th>Phonetic realisation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/'nwaŋ/</td>
<td>['nwaŋ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/'pwäk/</td>
<td>['pwäk']</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/'sjam/</td>
<td>['sjam]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/'nijog/</td>
<td>['nijog']</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

|                          |                      |
| 'water'                 | 'storm'              |
| 'nine'                  | 'coconut'            |
| 'buffalo'               |                      |
Disyllabic roots receive final primary stress when the initial syllable is closed or contains the vowel /a/.

Root (with final stress) /sə'li/ /tak'laʃ/
Phonetic realisation [sə'di] [tak'-daj]
‘foot, leg’ ‘hand, arm’

Trisyllabic roots: the majority of these roots begins with an open syllable which does not contain the vowel /a/. They receive stress on the first and last syllables. The rightmost stress is primary while the other is secondary.

Root (with final stress) /ʔasə'wa/ /ʔada'wi/
Phonetic realisation [ʔasə'bwa] [ʔara'bi]
‘spouse’ ‘far’

When they begin in a closed syllable or an open syllable containing the vowel /a/, then they receive penultimate primary stress.

Root (with penult. stress) /kə'jak(an)/ /siʔ'gada/
Phonetic realisation [kəd'ka:xan] [siʔ'kara]
‘armpit’ ‘3+/IND’

1.2.2 Exceptions

There are two categories of root that differ from the types described above. The first type consists of some borrowed roots. They are usually borrowed with their original (source language) stress pattern. Stress placement in these roots needs to be learnt case by case. This is particularly true for recent borrowings which do not conform to the native syllable structure. However, older borrowings that have a syllable structure similar to Ibaloy native roots tend to follow Ibaloy stress patterns.

A second type consists of native roots that synchronically form a separate subcategory. Some Ibaloy roots whose shape is now CVx.CV(C) (where Vx is not /a/) receive final stress despite their syllable structure. These roots can be historically reconstructed as being originally of CV?.CV(C) syllable type (Himes, 1998). Although, they have lost /ʔ/ word-medially they have retained the original stress pattern. Examples of roots of this type are:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root (with final stress)</th>
<th>/ba'lo/</th>
<th>/ba'lag/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Phonetic realisation</td>
<td>[ɸʷa'dəɡ̊']</td>
<td>[ɸʷa'do]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PWSC reconstruction</td>
<td>/ba'lo/</td>
<td>/ba'lag/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'big'</td>
<td>'new'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 2

Segmental Phonemes

This chapter outlines the segmental phonemes\(^1\) of Ibaloy; consonants in §2.1 and vowels in §2.2.

There is a certain amount of variation among the dialects of Ibaloy. This description is based on the variety spoken in Poblacion (or Kabayan Central) in the Kabayan municipality.

### 2.1 Consonants

Consonants are shown in Table 2.1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Voiceless Stops</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Voiced Stops</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Voiceless Fricative</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nasals</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<td>m</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Lateral</strong></td>
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<td>m</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Glides</strong></td>
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<td>m</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All consonants show the allophonic variations summarised in Table 2.2. Allophonic variations are mainly conditioned by two factors: presence or absence of stress (§1.2) and phoneme distribution within a syllable (§1.1).

\(^1\)This work does not describe borrowed words. The distribution and allophonic variations of phonemes found in borrowed words may vary remarkably from their counterparts in native words.
2.1 Consonants

Table 2.2: Consonants' Allophonic Variation and Distribution

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phoneme</th>
<th>#_V, VC._V, CV.'_V</th>
<th>'CV._V</th>
<th>V_.CV</th>
<th>V._#</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/p/</td>
<td>[p], [pp]^†</td>
<td>[b]</td>
<td>[ป']</td>
<td>[ป']</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/t/</td>
<td>[t], [tt]^†</td>
<td>[r]</td>
<td>[t']</td>
<td>[t']</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/k/</td>
<td>[k], [kk]^†</td>
<td>[x]</td>
<td>[k']</td>
<td>[k']</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʔ/</td>
<td>[ʔ]</td>
<td>[ʔ]</td>
<td>[ʔ]</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/b/</td>
<td>[ɓ], [ɓ^<em>^†, [ɓɸ]^</em>, [ɓɸ^*^†]</td>
<td>[b]</td>
<td>[b']</td>
<td>[b']</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/d/</td>
<td>[ɗ], [ɗɗ]^†</td>
<td>[r]</td>
<td>[d']</td>
<td>[d']</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/g/</td>
<td>[ƙ], [ƙƙ]^†</td>
<td>[g]</td>
<td>[g']</td>
<td>[g']</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/l/</td>
<td>[ɗ], [ɗɗ]^†</td>
<td>[l]</td>
<td>[l]</td>
<td>[l]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/w/</td>
<td>[ɓ], [ɓ^<em>^†, [ɓɓ]^†, [ɓɓ^</em>^†]</td>
<td>[w]</td>
<td>[w]</td>
<td>[w]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/j/</td>
<td>[ɓʃ], [ɓɸɓʃ]^†</td>
<td>[j]</td>
<td>[j]</td>
<td>[j]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/s/</td>
<td>[s], [ss]^†</td>
<td>[s]</td>
<td>[s]</td>
<td>[s]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/m/</td>
<td>[m], [mm]^†</td>
<td>[m]</td>
<td>[m]</td>
<td>[m]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/n/</td>
<td>[n], [nn]^†</td>
<td>[n]</td>
<td>[n]</td>
<td>[n]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>[u], [uu]^†</td>
<td>[u]</td>
<td>[u]</td>
<td>[u]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Also optionally intervocally before /a/ regardless of stress.
†Only after /a/.
‡Only before /a/.

Stops  Except for the glottal stop, the following generalizations about allophones can be made for all stops. They all have a minimum of four allophones^2:  

Allophone 1: An unaspirated voiceless allophone which occurs in onset position word-initially (#_V) or intervocally in the onset of a stressed syllable (CV.'_V) which is not preceded by the vowel [s].

Allophone 2: A geminated allophone which occurs intervocally in the onset of a stressed syllable after the vowel [a] (CV.'_V).

Allophone 3: A more sonorant allophone (voiced or/and fricative) which occurs intervocally in the onset of an unstressed syllable, usually preceded by a stressed syllable ('CV._V).

Allophone 4: An unreleased allophone which occurs in a syllable coda position when followed by another consonant (CV_.CV) or word-finally (C._#).

^2Karao is phonologically very close to the Ibaloy dialect spoken in Poblacion. For Karao, Brainard (1994:4) claims that stops have also a slightly aspirated allophone which occurs only in word-final position where it varies freely with the unreleased allophone.
The following description deals with voiceless stops first as they are subject to one set of generalizations, then with voiced stops as they share somewhat a different set.

**Voiceless Stops** These phonemes are 'underlyingly' voiceless, but their phonetic forms include voiced allophones. Except for the glottal stop, each voiceless stop has four allophones. These have the distribution indicated above except that the voiceless allophone (1) is much preferred over the more sonorant allophone (3) if the following vowel is [a]; see Table 2.2.

/p/ is a bilabial obstruent with the following allophones: unaspirated voiceless [p], voiced fricative [b], unreleased voiceless [p'], and geminated voiceless [pp].

Unaspirated voiceless [p] is found word-initially, word-internally when preceded by another consonant, and intervocically in the onset of a stressed syllable. It also usually occurs intervocically when followed by the vowel [a].

/pokol/ ['pokɔl] 'bone'  
/toŋpal/ [tɔŋpɔl] 'end'  
/saḷapi/ [saḷapɛ] 'fifty centavos'  
/tapaj/ ['tapajo] 'rice wine'

Voiced fricative [b] is found intervocically in the onset of an unstressed syllable when preceded by a stressed one, unless the following vowel is [a] where the unaspirated allophone is preferred as discussed above.

/ʔapoj/ [ʔaʔoŋ] 'fire'  
/ʔapag/ [ʔaʔag] 'meat'  
/ŋapol/ [ŋaʔoŋl] 'puppy'

Unreleased [p'] occurs in a syllable coda when followed by another consonant and word-finally.

/ʔap'ko/ [ʔap'ko] 'gall-bladder'  
/təp/ ['tɔŋp] 'because'  
/ʔogip/ [ʔoʔoŋp] 'sleep'

Geminated [pp] is found only intervocically in the onset of a stressed syllable after the vowel [a].

/dəpol/ [tɔŋpɔl] 'ashes'
2.1 Consonants

/t/ is a voiceless alveolar obstruent with the following allophones: unaspirated voiceless [t], flap [r], unreleased [t'], and geminated voiceless [tt].

Unaspirated voiceless [t] occurs word-initially, word-internally when preceded by another consonant, or intervocally in the onset of a stressed syllable. It also usually occurs intervocally before the vowel [a].

/ˈtæpaj/ [ˈtæpaj] ‘rice wine’
/ˌmantoˈlæg/ [ˌmantoˈdæɡ] ‘to agree with each other’
/ˌoʊoˈtɪk/ [ˌoʊoˈteɪk] ‘small, little, few’
/ˈbatək/ [ˈbatək] ‘tattoo’

Flap [r] is found intervocally in the onset of an unstressed syllable preceded by a stressed one, unless followed by the vowel [a] where the allophone [t] is preferred as discussed above.

/ˈrætəl/ [ˈrærol] ‘fence’
/ˈmotok/ [ˈmoɾoʊk] ‘arrival’

Unreleased [t'] is found in a syllable coda when followed by a consonant and word-finally.

/kɔtˈkɔtli/ [kɔtˈkɔtˈdi] ‘lizard’
/ʔəˈdæt/ [ʔəˈdæt] ‘grass’
/ʔəˈbot/ [ʔəˈbot] ‘hole’
/ʔɔtɔt/ [ʔɔrɔt] ‘mouse’

Geminated [tt] occurs intervocally in the onset of a stressed syllable preceded by the vowel [a].

/bɔˈtɪk/ [bɒˈtɪk] ‘run’

/k/ is a voiceless back velar obstruent with the following allophones: unaspirated voiceless [k], voiceless back velar fricative [x], unreleased voiceless [k'], and geminated voiceless [kk].

Unaspirated voiceless [k] occurs word-initially, word-internally when preceded by a consonant, or intervocally in the onset of a stressed syllable. It also usually occurs intervocally before the vowel [a].

/ˈkəbal/ [ˈkəbal] ‘g-string’
Fricative [x] occurs intervocically in an unstressed syllable when preceded by a stressed one, unless the following vowel is [a] in which case the allophone [k] is preferred as discussed above.

/ʔakad/ ['ʔaxad'] ‘walk’
/ʔlako/ ['dəxo] ‘selling’
/'bakal/ ['ϕwaKal] ‘fight’

Unreleased [k'] is found in coda position when followed by another consonant and word-finally.

/ʔik'log/ ['ʔek”dɔg] ‘egg’
/batɔk/ ['ϕwaKɔk] ‘tattoo’
/ʔoʔo'тик/ ['ʔoʔo'tɛk'] ‘small, few’
/ʔasok/ ['ʔasɔk] ‘smoke’

Geminated [kk] occurs intervocally in the onset of a stressed syllable after the vowel [a].

/lo'kab/ ['dɔk'kab'] ‘freckle’

/ʔ/ is a glottal stop always realised as [ʔ]. It never occurs after the vowel /ə/ or word-finally. It also never occurs geminated\(^3\). The sequence [əʔ] is prohibited in Ibaloy and where it is created (e.g. through a derivational process), then the vowel /ə/ is realised as [a] (§2.2).

/tawʔan/ [tawʔan] ‘year, age’
/gaʔjem/ ['kə’fiom] ‘friend, companion’
/ʔonbalʔat/ ['ʔɔmfiʔat'] ‘be heavy’
/ʔoləg/ ['ʔoləɡ] ‘snake’
/ʔagi/ ['ʔagi] ‘sibling’
/ʔikol/ ['ʔiKɔl] ‘tail’

\(^3\)In Ilokano some consonants become glottal stops in certain positions, e.g. /ʔagatʔarak/ [ʔagaʔarak]. This also occurs in Ibaloy, e.g. /sagpat/ [saʔpat], however more investigation is required for a proper description of this phenomenon.
2.1 Consonants

There is also an epenthetic glottal stop. This occurs intervocally (when glide epenthesis does not apply) as the result of derivation or liaison, i.e. when two vowels are identical, or the first vowel is /a/ (see §4.1.1).

Voiced Stops These phonemes are ‘underlyingly’ voiced, but their phonetic forms include voiceless allophones. Each voiced stop has also a minimum of four allophones whose distribution is summarised in Table 2.2.

/b/ is a voiced bilabial obstruent with the following allophones: voiceless fricative [ɸ] and labialised voiceless fricative [ѱ], geminated voiceless fricative [ϕϕ] and geminated labialised voiceless fricative [ϕϕʷ], unaspirated voiced [b], and unreleased [b'].

Voiceless fricative [ɸ] is found word-initially, word-internally when preceded by another consonant, or intervocally in the onset of a stressed syllable, unless the following vowel is /a/ in which case the labialised allophone [ѱ] occurs.

/bijag/ [' pijag'] ‘life’
/biʔi/ [' pii] ‘woman, female’
/?an, bolipat/ [' am, pulipat'] ‘dark’

Voiceless labialised fricative [ѱ] occurs only before the vowel /a/ in the same environments as the allophone [ɸ].

/bato/ ['p wato] ‘stone’
/balaj/ ['p walaj] ‘house, home’
/bak'naŋ/ [p'ak"naŋ] ‘rich person’
/baʔ'kol/ [p'aʔ'kol] ‘old woman’
/bak'laŋ/ [p'ak"laŋ] ‘body’
/soŋ'bat/ [soŋ'p wat] ‘answer’
/baj'baj/ [p'waj'p waj] ‘sea’

Geminated [ϕϕ] occurs intervocally in the onset of a stressed syllable after the vowel [o], unless followed by /a/ where the geminated labialised [ϕϕʷ] occurs.

/?o'bot/ ['ϕϕ'put'] ‘hole’
Unaspirated voiced [b] is only found intervocally in the onset of an unstressed syllable when preceded by a stressed one.

\[ /'kobal/ \quad [\text{kobal}] \quad 'g-string' \]
\[ /'taba/ \quad [\text{taba}] \quad 'fat' \]

Unreleased [b'] occurs in a syllable coda position when followed by another consonant and word-finally.

\[ /\text{tob'kan}/ \quad [\text{tob'kan}] \quad 'mosquito' \]
\[ /\text{lanәb}/ \quad [\text{danәb}] \quad 'lard' \]
\[ /\text{job'job}/ \quad [\text{gәb'gәb}] \quad 'fresh, cool temperature' \]

/d/ is a voiced alveolar obstruent with the following allophones: voiceless affricate [f], geminated voiceless affricate [ff], trill/tap [r], and unreleased [d'].

Voiceless affricate [f] occurs word-initially; word-internally when preceded by another consonant, or intervocally in a stressed syllable, unless the preceding vowel is [a].

\[ /\text{dob'la}/ \quad [\text{fub'da}] \quad 'tobacco smoke' \]
\[ /\text{dot'dot}/ \quad [\text{fut'fut}] \quad 'feather' \]
\[ /?ә,ман?о'dан}/ \quad [?әм,ман?у'фан] \quad 'it's raining' \]

Geminated [ff] occurs intervocally in the onset of a stressed syllable after the vowel [a].

\[ /?ә'дом}/ \quad [?ә'ф'ум] \quad 'some, other' \]

Trill/tap [r] occurs intervocally in the onset of an unstressed syllable when preceded by a stressed one, usually regardless of the quality of the adjacent vowels.

\[ /?әдан}/ \quad [?әрән] \quad 'rain' \]
\[ /'дадал}/ \quad [\text{'faral}] \quad 'destroy' \]
\[ /\text{ged'gedәn}/ \quad [\text{kәд''әрән}] \quad 'cut, slice st.' \]

Unreleased [d'] is found word-internally when followed by another consonant and word-finally.
2.1 Consonants

The allophone [d] of /l/ shows a close phonetic resemblance to the allophone [d'] of /d/. However, it has a different distribution. The allophone of /d/ occurs only in coda position while the allophone of /l/ occurs only in an onset position. Consider, for instance, the root /dob'la/ [tj"ub"da] ‘tobacco smoke’. This contains the [tʃ] allophone of the /d/ phoneme in word-initial position and the [d] allophone of /l/ word-internally in the onset of a syllable that is preceded by a consonant.

Allophonic variations become particularly clear when this root takes part in certain derivational processes. For instance, the initial consonant of /dob'la/ ‘tobacco smoke’ when prefixed with /,ma/- ‘STA V/MA-’ is no longer in word-initial position, but in intervocalic position preceded by a (secondary) stressed syllable, as in /,madob'la/ [,marub”da] ‘be a tobacco smoker’. It follows that the /d/ phoneme is not realised as [tʃ], but as [r].

/g/ is voiced velar obstruent with the following allophones: voiceless velar stop [k], geminated voiceless velar [kk], unaspirated voiced [g], and unreleased [g'].

Voiceless [k] occurs in word-initial position, word-internally in the onset of a syllable that is preceded by a consonant, or intervocally in a stressed syllable, unless the preceding vowel is [a].

/ga?it/ [’ka?et'] ‘friend, companion’
/tonj’gal/ [ton’kal] ‘buy’
/si?’gam/ [si’kam] ‘2/IND’
/,ma?o’gip/ [,ma?o’kip] ‘to sleep’

Geminated [kk] occurs intervocally in the onset of a stressed syllable preceded by [a].

/’o’gas/ [’ok’kas] ‘belly’
/bo’gas/ [’ok’kas] ‘uncooked rice’

Unaspirated voiced [g] occurs intervocally in the onset of an unstressed syllable when preceded by a stressed one, usually regardless of the quality of the adjacent vowels.
Segmental Phonemes

Unreleased /g/ occurs word-internally in the onset of a syllable that is preceded by a consonant and word-finally.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phoneme</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/'ag/</td>
<td>['ag]</td>
<td>medicine, cure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/'aga/</td>
<td>['aga]</td>
<td>hunger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/'a/</td>
<td>['a]</td>
<td>sibling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/'og/</td>
<td>['og]</td>
<td>ugly, ugliness</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Liquids and Glides  Ibaloy has only one liquid phoneme, /l/, and two glides, /w/ and /j/. These three phonemes are treated together as they are subject to the following set of generalisations.

Allophone 1: A voiced stop or affricate occurs in onset position word-initially (#_V) or intervocically in the onset of a stressed syllable (CV_'V), unless preceded by the vowel [a].

Allophone 2: A geminated voiced stop or affricate occurs intervocically in the onset of stressed syllable after the vowel [a] (C Cosby _V).

Allophone 3: A voiced continuant occurs elsewhere.

/l/ is a lateral approximant with the following allophones: unaspirated voiced [d], geminated voiced [dd], and lateral [l].

Unaspirated voiced [d] is found word-initially, word-internally in the onset of a syllable that is preceded by a consonant, or intervocically when in the onset of a stressed syllable, unless preceded by the vowel [a].

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phoneme</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/'loto/</td>
<td>['doro]</td>
<td>cooking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/maŋ'la/</td>
<td>[maŋ'da]</td>
<td>to get</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ˌmanso'lat/</td>
<td>[mansuˈdat]</td>
<td>to write</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.1 Consonants

Geminated [dd] occurs intervocally in the onset of a stressed syllable after the vowel [a].

/boˈlat/ [ˈboʊˌdat] 'skin'

Lateral [l] occurs word-internally in the coda of a syllable that is followed by a consonant; intervocally in the onset of an unstressed syllable, usually regardless of the quality of the adjacent vowels; and word-finally.

/kolˈpot/ [kɔlˈpɔt] 'cloud'
/kalab/ [kələb] 'climb'
/bakal/ [ˈbəkəl] 'fight'
/pokal/ [ˈpɔkal] 'bone'

/w/ is a labio-velar glide with the following allophones: unaspirated voiced bilabial stop [b] and labialised unaspirated voiced stop [bw], geminated voiced bilabial [bb], geminated labialised unaspirated voiced stop [bbw] and glide [w].

Unaspirated voiced [b] is found word-initially before any vowel other than /a/, and intervocally in the onset of a stressed syllable not containing the vowel /a/ nor preceded by the vowel [a]. It is possible that [b] may also occur word-internally in the onset of a syllable that is preceded by a consonant, although no overt examples have been attested.

/wiˈgo/ [ˈbiɡo] 'dye'
/ʔaˈwa/ [ʔaˈba] 'far'

Labialised unaspirated voiced [bw] occurs only before the vowel /a/ in the same environments as the allophone [b].

/walo/ [ˈbəlo] 'eight'
/wada/ [ˈbəra] 'exist'

Geminated [bb] occurs intervocally in the onset of a stressed syllable after the vowel [a]. Geminated labialised [bbw] occurs in the same environment when followed by /a/.

/maˈnəwid/ [maˈnəbˈbid] 'to inherit'
/ʔaˈwa/ [ʔaˈba] 'spouse'
Glide \[w\] occurs word-internally in the coda of a syllable that is followed by a consonant, intervocically in the onset of an unstressed syllable preceded by a stressed syllable usually not containing the vowel [a], and word-finally where it may follow the vowel [a].

\[
/\text{paw'it}/ \quad [\text{paw'it}] \quad \text{‘send’}
\]

\[
/\text{taw'ən}/ \quad [\text{taw'ən}] \quad \text{‘year, age’}
\]

\[
/\text{taw'taw}/ \quad [\text{taw'taw}] \quad \text{‘mix, dissolve’}
\]

\[
/\text{'awas}/ \quad [\text{'awas}] \quad \text{‘outside’}
\]

\[
/\text{kawil}/ \quad [\text{kawil}] \quad \text{‘coconut-shell’}
\]

\[
/\text{tawal}/ \quad [\text{tawal}] \quad \text{‘inheritance’}
\]

\[
/\text{'on'toŋaw}/ \quad [\text{'on'toŋaw}] \quad \text{‘to sit down’}
\]

\[
/\text{kiŋaw}/ \quad [\text{kiŋaw}] \quad \text{‘tree, wood’}
\]

\[
/\text{nowaŋ}/ \quad [\text{nowaŋ}] \quad \text{‘carabao, buffalo’}
\]

\[
/\text{powak}/ \quad [\text{powak}] \quad \text{‘storm’}
\]

Note that the phoneme \[b\] also has an allophone [b]. However, it differs from that of \[w\] in one main respect. It is only found intervocically in the onset of an unstressed syllable usually preceded by a stressed one while [b] of \[w\] is found in the onset of a stressed syllable.

\[
/\text{labi}/ \quad [\text{dabi}] \quad \text{‘night’} \quad [\text{b}] \text{ of } /\text{b}/
\]

\[
/\text{?ada'wi}/ \quad [\text{?ara'bi}] \quad \text{‘far’} \quad [\text{b}] \text{ of } /\text{w}/
\]

Labialisation also occurs with the phoneme \[b\]. As in the case of \[w\], it is conditioned by the presence of the vowel /a/ and stress. However, the labialised allophones of both \[w\] and \[b\] do not overlap. This is due to the fact that when in onset position before the vowel /a/ (either word-initially or intervocically as part of an unstressed syllable usually preceded by a stressed one) they are realised as \[\text{[f\textsuperscript{w}] or [b\textsuperscript{w}] if after [a] in the case of the phoneme /b/ and as [b\textsuperscript{w}] or [bb\textsuperscript{w}] in the case of /w/}. Hence, no indeterminacy is present between the two labial phonemes.

\[
/\text{matə'ba}/ \quad [\text{marəf'f\textsuperscript{w}a}] \quad \text{‘be fat’} \quad [\text{f\textsuperscript{w}}] \text{ of } /\text{b}/
\]

\[
/\text{?asə'wa}/ \quad [\text{?asə'b\textsuperscript{w}a}] \quad \text{‘spouse’} \quad [\text{b\textsuperscript{w}}] \text{ of } /\text{w}/
\]

There is an epenthetic labio-velar glide as described in §4.1.2. The epenthetic labio-velar glide is only found after its homorganic vowel, that is /o/ as the result of suffixation or liaison.
2.1 Consonants

/j/ is a palatal glide with the following allophones: voiced palatal affricate [ʂ],
geminated voiced palatal affricate [ʂʂʂ], and palatal glide [j].

Voiced [ʂ] is found word-initially, in the onset of a syllable that is preceded by
a consonant, and intervocically in the onset of a stressed syllable which is not
preceded by the vowel [a].

/vs'jas/ [ʂs'jas] 'breathing'
/vga'jem/ [ka'ʂɑm] 'friend, companion'
/ˌmanbo'ja/ [ˌmamfu'ʂa] 'to watch'

Geminated [ʂʂʂ] occurs intervocically in the onset of a stressed syllable after the
vowel [a].

/ˌmantə'jab/ [ˌmantəʂ'ʂab] 'to perform a traditional dance'

Glide [j] is found word-internally in the coda of a syllable that is followed by a
consonant, intervocically in the onset of an unstressed syllable usually preceded
by a stressed syllable not containing the vowel [a], and word-finally where it can
occur after the vowel [a]. It also occurs intervocically between the vowel /i/ and a
non-identical vowel which can be [a].

/ˈtajaw/ ['tajaw] 'traditional dance'
/ˈtajtaj/ [taj’taj] 'ladder'
/ˈtal’taj/ [ˈtal’taj] 'liver'
/ˈtijəd/ ['tijəd] 'climb'
/ˈnijog/ ['nijug] 'coconut'

There are a few exceptions. The conjunctions /jat/ [ʂat], /ja/ [ʂə], and /ji/ [ʂi]
can all be realized as [ʃət], [ja] and [je] when unstressed.

There is also an epenthetic palatal glide which occurs only when preceded by its
homorganic vowel, that is /i/ as the result of derivation or liaison as discussed in
§4.1.2.

Fricatives Ibaloy has only one fricative, the voiceless alveolar fricative /s/.

/s/ is a voiceless alveolar fricative with the following allophones: [s] and geminated
[ss].

Geminated [ss] is found intervocically after the vowel [a].
/ʔa'sop/ [ʔas'sop] 'near'

The allophone [s] is found elsewhere.

/salod'sod/ ['salod''sod'] 'question'
/pas'pas/ [pas'pas] 'eyebrow'
/ʔosal/ ['ʔosal] 'use'

**Nasals**  Ibaloy has the three nasal phonemes /m, n/ and /ŋ/, plus a nasal consonant that is unspecified for its place of articulation. This is represented by the capital 'N' and is only found as part of a prefix (e.g. /meN/). Peculiar to this nasal phoneme is that it triggers a process called "nasal substitution" (§5.2).

/m/ is a bilabial nasal with the following allophones: [m] and geminated [mm].

Geminated [mm] occurs intervocalically after the vowel [a].

/ʔa'min/ [ʔam'min] 'all'

The allophone [m] occurs elsewhere.

/ˈmata/ ['mara] 'eye'
/ˈtanam/ ['tanam] 'plant'
/ʔamˈta/ [ʔamˈta] 'knowledge, know'
/ˈlamot/ ['damot] 'root'

/n/ is an alveolar nasal with the following allophones: [n] and geminated [nn]. It also participates in nasal assimilation (see §5.1).

Geminated [nn] occurs intervocalically after the vowel [a].

/paˈno/ [pənˈnu] 'full'

The allophone [n] occurs elsewhere.

/ˈniman/ ['niman] 'now, today'
/donˈtug/ [donˈtug] 'mountain'
/ʔono/ ['ʔono] 'necklace'

/ŋ/ is a velar nasal with the following allophones: [ŋ] and geminated [ŋŋ].
2.1 Consonants

Geminated [θθ] occurs intervocalically after the vowel [ə].

/boθət/ [boθət] ‘only’

The allophone [θ] occurs elsewhere.

/θnapol/ [θabol] ‘puppy’
/θaboŋ/ [θabuŋ] ‘hut’
/toŋ’gal/ [toŋ’kal] ‘buy’

2.1.1 Consonants: Minimal Pairs

The following list of minimal pairs or near minimal pairs is here included in order to show phonemic contrast amongst the consonants listed in Table 2.1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/p/</th>
<th>/w/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[p]</td>
<td>[bʷ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>['para'] ‘for’</td>
<td>['bʷara'] ‘exist’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[p]</td>
<td>[b]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[,sala’pe] ‘fifty centavos’</td>
<td>[,?ara’bi] ‘far’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[β]</td>
<td>[w]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>['?aβag'] ‘meat’</td>
<td>['?awas] ‘outside’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>['?aβil] ‘different, other’</td>
<td>['kawil] ‘coconut-shell’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/p/</th>
<th>/m/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[p]</td>
<td>[m]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>['paro'] ‘duck’</td>
<td>['mara'] ‘eye’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[β]</td>
<td>[m]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>['?aβag'] ‘meat’</td>
<td>['?amag'] ‘assemble’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/p/</th>
<th>/b/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[p']</td>
<td>[b']</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>['uwap'] ‘lie’</td>
<td>['uwab'] ‘yawn’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[p]</td>
<td>[φ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>['pili] ‘choose’</td>
<td>['φilin] ‘order’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[p]</td>
<td>[φʷ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>['palaj] ‘rice seedling’</td>
<td>[φʷalaj] ‘house’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>['paro] ‘duck’</td>
<td>[φʷaro] ‘stone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/b/</td>
<td>/w/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[b]</td>
<td>[w]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ˈdabas]</td>
<td>‘pass by’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ˈʔawas]</td>
<td>‘outside’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/b/</th>
<th>/w/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[ɸʷ]</td>
<td>[bʷ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ɸʷaloˈdaxe]</td>
<td>‘bachelor’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[bʷalo]</td>
<td>‘eight’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ɸʷadˀˈɸʷadˀ]</td>
<td>‘gaze’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[bʷatˀˈbʷatˀ]</td>
<td>‘meat share’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/b/</th>
<th>/m/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[ɸʷ]</td>
<td>[m]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ˈphiro]</td>
<td>‘stone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[mara]</td>
<td>‘eye’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[b]</td>
<td>[m]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ˈkobal]</td>
<td>‘g-string’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[koma]</td>
<td>‘wish’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/d/</th>
<th>/t/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[d]</td>
<td>[t]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ˈdabaw]</td>
<td>‘surface’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ˈtabaw]</td>
<td>‘wild cat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[dˀ]</td>
<td>[tˀ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ɸʷadˀˈɸʷadˀ]</td>
<td>‘gaze’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[bʷatˀˈbʷatˀ]</td>
<td>‘meat share’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/d/</th>
<th>/l/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[ʃ]</td>
<td>[d]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ˈʃaga]</td>
<td>‘earth, soil’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ˈdaga]</td>
<td>‘deed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ˈʃima]</td>
<td>‘LOC/DIST’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[dima]</td>
<td>‘five’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/d/</th>
<th>/i/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[ɾ]</td>
<td>[ʃ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ˈʃaga]</td>
<td>‘clothing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ɾ]</td>
<td>[ˈʃaga]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ʔara]</td>
<td>‘interjection’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ˈʔala]</td>
<td>‘get’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ˈdaraw]</td>
<td>‘late’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ˈtala]</td>
<td>‘star’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/d/</th>
<th>/i/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[ʃasˈʃas]</td>
<td>‘peeling’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ʃasˈʃas]</td>
<td>‘breathe’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ʃakˈʃakˀ]</td>
<td>‘boiling’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ʃagˀˈʃagˀ]</td>
<td>‘leave’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ʃa]</td>
<td>‘3+/GEN’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ʃa]</td>
<td>‘LK’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.1 Consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/k/</th>
<th>/g/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[k]</td>
<td>[k]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>['kajab']</td>
<td>['kajad']</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ˌkajəfˈʔəwaj]</td>
<td>[ˌkajəj]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘fly’</td>
<td>‘drag’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘basket’</td>
<td>‘spear’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/k/</th>
<th>/ʔ/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[x]</td>
<td>[ʔ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ʔaxi]</td>
<td>[ʔagi]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘monkey’</td>
<td>‘sibling’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ʔaxad]</td>
<td>[ʔagas]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘walk’</td>
<td>‘medicine’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/k/</th>
<th>/ʔ/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[ʔakdaj]</td>
<td>[saʔda]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘arm, hand’</td>
<td>‘dance’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.1.2 Consonant Clusters

There are two types of consonant clusters: phonemic and phonetic. Both are described below.

**Phonemic Consonant Clusters** Phonemically, two kinds of consonant cluster are identified on the basis of whether or not the consonants occur within a single syllable.

**Cross-Syllable Clusters** The first kind of consonant cluster consists of two consonants belonging to two separate syllable, i.e. a coda and a following onset.

Depending on the nature of the two consonants, the following two subtypes of cross-syllable clusters are distinguished. A first kind consists of two non-identical consonants. This type is the most common one and is found at the lexical level in roots and stems, and at a more surface/syntactic level in words resulting from a syntacto-phonological process called liaison (§3.2).

Native roots containing this cluster kind include the following.

/taklay/ [tak’daj] ‘hand, arm’
/tawʔan/ [tawʔan] ‘year, age’
/toktok/ [tok’tok] ‘head, summit’
/toŋgal/ [toŋˈkal] ‘buy’

Borrowed roots may also contain this cluster type as exemplified below.
Stems containing this type of cluster include roots beginning with a consonant derived through a prefix ending in the nasal /n/, such as /nan/- ‘ACTV/PFT’ or /?on/- ‘ACTV/IPF’ as in /nan’mimi/ [nan’meme] ‘to have urinated’ derived from /’mimi/ ‘urine’ or /?on’tolag/ [?on’tolag] ‘to reach an agreement’ from /’tolag/ ‘agree, agreement’.

This cluster may also result from a process known as liaison (§3.2). For instance, when a word ending with a consonant receives an enclitic beginning with a non-identical consonant such as /’balaj’ko/ [’balajko] ‘my house’ which is made out of the noun /balaj/ ‘house’ and the enclitic pronoun =/ko/ ‘1/GEN’.

A second kind of cross-syllable cluster consists of two identical consonants. This cluster type is not found in native roots, but rather in stems where nasal assimilation (§5.1) occurred, or from liaison (§3.2) when the clitic begins in a consonant and attaches to a word which ends with the same consonant.

For instance, the root /’qii?’qii/ ‘laugh’ begins in a nasal other than /m/. Hence, when prefixed by /nan/- ‘ACTV/PFT’, the final nasal of the prefix undergoes nasal assimilation with the following consonant resulting in a sequence of two identical nasals, /nan’qii?’qii/ [nan’qe’qe] ‘laughed’.

When the enclitic pronoun =/ko/ ‘1/GEN’ attaches at the end of a word ending with the same consonant such as /’o’tak/ [’ot’ak] ‘bolo knife’, then a sequence of two identical consonants is created as in /’o’takko/ [’ot’akko] ‘my bolo knife’.

**Single-Syllable Clusters** The second type of consonant cluster consists of two non-identical consonants occurring within a single syllable. Except for one case, this cluster type is found exclusively in borrowings.

Examples of borrowed roots include the following.

/’plano/ [’plano] ‘plan (Sp.)’
/’kla�e/ [’kla�e] ‘class (Sp.)’
/’kristi’jano/ [’kristi’jano] ‘christian (Sp.)’
/’tres/ [’tres] ‘three (Sp.)’
/’tin’grato/ [’tin’grato] ‘ungrateful (Sp.)’
/’deku’brir/ [’deku’brir] ‘discover (Sp.)’

Some speakers insert a schwa between the two consonant in order to break up the cluster.
2.2 Vowels

The only native example, /?il'spag/ [?il'spag] 'put something down', results from derivation. When the root /das'pag/ 'below' receives the prefix /,?i/- 'THMV/IMP' it loses the first root-vowel (see §7.1). In this case, the sequence [sp] is associated with a single position: the onset of the second syllable.

Phonetic Consonant Clusters  This cluster type result from gemination which is discussed in §4.2. One class of geminate cluster is found after the vowel [a]. An intervocalic consonant in the onset of a stressed syllable preceded by [a] always surfaces as a geminate. This geminate cluster may be present in a root or result from derivation when a process, usually triggered by stress-shift, called “vowel raising” applies (§7.2.1). For instance, the root /?a'sop/ ‘near’ surfaces as [?as'sop], and the verb /,man?a'sawa/ ‘marry each other’, made out of the stress-shift prefix /,man/- and the root /,?asa'wa/ ‘spouse, surfaces as [man?as'sawa].

A second class of geminate cluster results from derivation and stress-shift. In certain cases, derivation may cause the first intervocalic consonant of a root to occur geminated. For instance, the root /?o'gip/ ['?ogip] ‘sleep’ when derived with the stress-shift prefix /ma/- 'UNPATV/IPF' becomes /ma?o'gip/ ‘to sleep’ and optionally surfaces as [ma?ok'kap].

2.2 Vowels

Ibaloy has the four-vowel system shown in Table 2.3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Low</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Vowels show great variation in their pronunciation amongst speakers even from the same community. However, the following generalisations can be made.

/i/ is a front vowel which has the following allophones: [i], [e] and [ɛ].

The allophone [e] is usually present in open syllables following /k/.

/laki/ [daxe] ‘male, man’

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4This is a feature inherited from Proto-South Central Cordilleran (PSCC) (Himes, 1998). However, there is no phonemic vowel-length distinction in Ibaloy.
Segmental Phonemes

/ʔaki/  [ʔaxe]  'monkey'
/kibot/  [kebot]  'stealing'

The allophone [ɛ] is present in closed syllables contiguous to /k/.

/sakit/  [saʃet]  'illness, pain'
/kip'kip/  [kipkip]  'chick'
/ʔoʔo'tik/  [ʔoʔo'tek]  'small, few'
/bətik/  [baʔtek]  'run'

The allophone [i] occurs elsewhere.

/biʔi/  [ʔiʔi]  'woman, female'
/ʔogip/  [ʔogip]  'sleep'
/niman/  [ʔiman]  'now, today'
/ʔapił/  [ʔapi]  'different'
/kos'pig/  [kos'pig]  'throwing'
/baʔliw/  [baʔdiw]  'ritual chant'

/o/ is a back vowel which has the following allophones: [o], [u] and open [ɔ]. The vowel /o/ and its allophones show the greatest variation amongst speakers.

The allophone [o] is mainly found in open syllables, or preceded by /ʔ/ or a voiceless stop, or in unstressed syllables.

/ʔaso/  [ʔaso]  'dog'
/toʔo/  [ʔoʔo]  'person'
/ʔoʔo'tik/  [ʔoʔo'tek]  'small, few'
/lako/  [daʔo]  'selling'
/ʔanop/  [ʔanop]  'hunting'
/ʔonod/  [ʔonod]  'following'
/ʔonaw/  [ʔonaw]  'sitting down'
/sop'sop/  [sop'sop]  'licking'
/soʔbat/  [soʔbat]  'answer'

The allophone [u] often occurs in stressed syllables, or when preceded by the phonemes /d/ (especially when realised as [ʧ] or [ʧʧ]) or /b/, or when followed by the intervocalic glide /w/.

/dob'la/  [ʧub'da]  'tobacco smoking'
/ʔoʔdom/  [ʔoʧʧum]  'other, some'
/don'tog/  [ʧun'tug]  'mountain'
/lota/  [dura]  'earth'
2.2 Vowels

The allophone [a] usually occurs in closed syllables contiguous to the phoneme /k/.

\(/'bono/\) \([\acute{\phi}{\text{uno}}]\) \('\text{killing}'

\(/bo?'daj/\) \([\acute{\phi}u?'daj]\) \('\text{outside}'

\(/l'bojo/\) \([\acute{d}u{\text{bunj}}]\) \('\text{planet earth}'

\(/'dowa/\) \([\acute{t}\text{uwa}]\) \('\text{two}'

\(/'powak/\) \([\acute{p}\text{uwak}]\) \('\text{storm}'

\(/'takot/\) \([\acute{t}\text{axot}]\) \('\text{fear}'

\(/kol'pot/\) \([\acute{k}\text{ol'}pot]\) \('\text{cloud}'

\(/'?iko/\) \([\acute{?}\text{i\text{col}}]\) \('\text{tail}'

\(/'tok'tok/\) \([t\text{ok}'t\text{ok}]\) \('\text{head, summit}'

\(/\text{o}/\) in most contexts is a central vowel realised as [ə] or [a]. It also has the allophones [i], [e] and [o] which result from assimilation with a contiguous consonant.

Some restrictions apply in the distribution of the vowel /a/. This vowel can neither occur in an open syllable nor be followed by a glottal stop. Hence, no roots end in /a/ or contain the sequence [a?].

However, when such a sequence is created through derivation, then the vowel /a/ surfaces as [a] blocking gemination of the following glottal stop. This occurs, for instance, when the root "/'?ogip/ \('\text{sleep}'\) receives the prefix /ma/- ‘UNPATV/IPF’, resulting in /ma?'o'gip/ \([ma?ok'kip]\) ‘to sleep’.

The allophone [o] is in free variation with the allophone [a] when it occurs unstressed as part of the first open syllable of a root. Except for the glottal stop, intervocalic consonants geminate after [a], but only optionally after the [a] allophone. Stress is not altered. Note that when gemination does not occur, the vowel /a/ occurs in an open syllable. This is only possible when the vowel /a/ surfaces as [a].

\(/l'akab/\) \([dak'kab']\) \('\text{door}'

\([dak'kab']\)

\([dak'kab']\)

\(/ta'mok/\) \([\acute{t}\text{om'uk}]\) \('\text{forehead}'

\([ta'muk']\)

\([tam'uk']\)
'/?o'nam/ [?ən'nam] ‘six’
[?ə'nem]
[?ən'hem]

'/?o'tak/ [?ə'tak'] ‘bolo’
[?ə'tak']
[?ət'tak']

'/?o'sop/ [?əs'sop'] ‘near’
[?ə'sop']
[?əs'sop']

'/?o'mas/ [?əm'mas] ‘bathe’
[?ə'mas]
[?əm'mas]

'/?o'sal/ [?əs'sal] ‘word’
[?ə'sal]
[?əs'sal]

However, the allophone [a] does not usually occur when preceded by /b/, or followed by /g/, or in a reduplicated syllable.

'/bo'tik/ [φο'tiκ'] ‘run’

'/so'gad/ [sək'kɔd'] ‘wait’

'/so'git/ [sək'kit] ‘sun’

'/?ə'gos/ [?o'kəs] ‘belly’

'/nəm'nəm/ [nəm'nəm] ‘thinking’

'/jəg'jəg/ [fəg'fəg] ‘earthquake’

The allophone [a] may also occur in a second closed syllable of a root when unstressed. This seems to be very common when preceded by a glottal stop, or by a syllable containing the vowel /a/. Similarly, when it surfaces as [a], then gemination of a following intervocalic consonant is optional. This results in an open syllable as in /,?asə'wa/ ‘spouse’.

'/kakəb/ [kəkəb] ‘turtle’

='/?a'səwa/ [?əsə'bʷa] ‘spouse’
[?əsa'bʷa]
[?əsəb'bʷa]
Finally, the vowel /ə/ may surface as [a] in certain environments when some deriva­
tional processes apply. This process is referred to as “vowel lowering” and is dis­
cussed in §7.2.2. Some examples include the following.

\[ /ˈman?əˈsəwə/ \quad [ˌman?əˈsəwə] \quad \text{‘marry each other’ from } /ˈʔasəwə/ \]
\[ /ˌman?əˈloɡəj/ \quad [ˌˌman?ədˈdəɡəj] \quad \text{‘stand up’ from } /ʔ,ələˈɡəj/ \]

The following allophones result from assimilation in point of articulation with a
neighboring consonant.

The allophone [i] is found in an unstressed syllable preceded by the phoneme /d/,
realised as [if], where it is in free variation with [ə]. In this case, gemination of the
following intervocalic consonant is optional (see §4.2).

\[ /ˈdəˈdalən/ \quad [ˌfəfˈталən] \quad \text{‘destroy st.’} \]
\[ [fɨtˈталən] \]
\[ [fɨtˈталən] \]

The allophone [e] is found in an unstressed closed syllable containing the glide /j/
in coda position, where it is in free variation with [ə].

\[ /ˈabaləj/ \quad [ˈφəˈabaləj] \quad \text{‘house’} \]
\[ [ˈφəˈalej] \]
The allophone [o] is found in an unstressed closed syllable containing the glide /w/ in coda position, where it is in free variation with [a].

/a/ is a central vowel with the following allophones: [a] and [o].

The allophone [a] occurs in certain environments as the result of derivation or liaison. This is a process, discussed in §7.2.1, referred to as “vowel raising”. Some examples include the following.

2.3 Orthography

Different orthographic conventions are used for native words (see Table 2.3 and Table 2.3) and borrowed words. Recently borrowings, usually English (American) ones, retain their original spelling.

Some of the orthography used in this work is well established in the existing literature on the Ibaloy language (e.g. Ballard, 1974) and in the literature on some neighboring languages (e.g. Karao).
2.3 Orthography

In the case of the glottal stop, two conventions are used in this thesis. The glottal stop is not written when word-initial (as in *aso* [ʔaso] ‘dog’) or between vowels (as in *too* [toʔo] ‘person’ and *taed* [taʔəd] ‘knife’). In all other occurrences, it is marked by an apostrophe as in *taw’en* [tawʔən] ‘year, age’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>Allophone(s)</th>
<th>Orthography</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>[i], [e], [ɛ]</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o/</td>
<td>[o], [u], [ɔ]</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ə/</td>
<td>[ə], [ʌ]</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[a]</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[ɛ]</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[ɔ]</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/</td>
<td>[a]</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[ə]</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 2.4: Vowel Orthography**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonant</th>
<th>Allophone(s)</th>
<th>Orthography</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/p/</td>
<td>[p], [p'], [pp]</td>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[b]</td>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/t/</td>
<td>[t], [t'], [tt]</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[r]</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/k/</td>
<td>[k], [k'], [kk]</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[x]</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʔ/</td>
<td>[ʔ]</td>
<td>, or zero</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/b/</td>
<td>[b], [b']</td>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[β], [ββ], [βw], [βw]</td>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/d/</td>
<td>[d], [d']</td>
<td>ch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[r]</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/g/</td>
<td>[g], [g']</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[k], [kk]</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/l/</td>
<td>[d], [dd]</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[l]</td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/w/</td>
<td>[b], [bb], [b'], [bb']</td>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[w]</td>
<td>w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/j/</td>
<td>[ʃ], [ʃʃ]</td>
<td>j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[j]</td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/s/</td>
<td>[s], [ss]</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*continued on next page*
In the orthography gemination is not represented. Except for the glottal stop, intervocalic consonants occur geminated when after the vowel /a/. This type of gemination is obligatory and predictable. Gemination may also result from derivation. The latter type is optional (see §4.2).

Some problems have been encountered in distinguishing certain pairs of phonemes. Specifically, the voiceless velar stops ([k] of /k/ and [k] of /g/) and the voiced bilabial stops ([b] or /b/ and [b] of /w/). Unfortunately, when I became aware of such distinctions it was too late to check all the data, hence some of the transcriptions provided here may have these particular phonemes incorrectly recorded.

This work does not describe phonemes only found in borrowed words. For words which do not comply with the phonology of Ibaloy provided here the phonemic transcription is omitted. In the phonemic line of interlinear glosses such words are written in italics.

In phonemic transcriptions the symbol /N/ stands for the nasal of certain prefixes which has no place feature specification (see §5.2).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonant</th>
<th>Allophone(s)</th>
<th>Orthography</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/m/</td>
<td>[m], [mm]</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/n/</td>
<td>[n], [nn]</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ŋ/</td>
<td>[ŋ], [ŋŋ]</td>
<td>ng</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 3

Introduction to Morphology

This chapter is an overview of the morphology of Ibaloy. Two components of morphological structure are distinguished, morpheme and word, and their basic characteristics are described here. In the final section of this chapter an overview of the parts of speech is given.

3.1 The Word

In this work the term “word” is used to refer to one of two things: a lexeme (Lyons, 1968:197) or a phonological word.

Phonological words in Ibaloy carry either final or penultimate stress. The phonological word and the lexeme do not always coincide. For instance, matato /mata'to/ [mara'to] ‘his/her eye(s)’ is a single phonological word, but is composed of two lexemes, mata ‘eye(s)’ and =to ‘3/GEN’.

Words may be morphologically simple (monomorphemic words) or complex. Ibaloy has no inflectional morphology\(^1\), but it does have derivational morphology, using prefixation, infixation, suffixation, and reduplication or a combination of these, to form words from other words. Morphologically complex words are not always easily segmentable into their component derivational morphemes. There are several morpho-phonemic process that result from derivation. It follows that the underlying form of a morpheme cannot always be easily inferred from its surface allomorph.

\(^1\)Aspectual forms of the derivational verb class affixes are regarded by some scholars (e.g. Rubino, 2001:333) as inflectional. However, there is no clear evidence that this is also true for Ibaloy. Even the existence of certain aspectual verb forms in Ibaloy is unpredictable.
3.2 Clitics and Liaison

Clitics are words that are phonologically bound to their host. Depending on the direction of attachment, two kinds of clitic are distinguished. Proclitics are attached to a following word and enclitics are attached to a preceding word. For example in (1) eg = ‘neg’ is a proclitic and =d ‘LOC’ is an enclitic.

(1) $\text{egdimaw sota dakid Bokod}$
$\text{?eg=<im>law sota laki=d bokod}$
$\text{neg=<ACTV/PFT>go NOM/REC man=LOC Bokod}$

‘the man did not go to Bokod’

Clitics do not need to form a grammatical constituent (e.g. phrase) with their host. For instance, in (1) the determiner =d attaches to the preceding word, not to the noun phrase that it introduces.

Clitics are a closed set. They include a variety of parts of speech like pronouns, determiners, verbs, adverbs and conjunctions.

In this work the term “liaison” (Klavans, 1985 and Nevis, 1988) refers to a phonological operation that occurs post-lexically and creates a phonological word. A common term for this process is “cliticisation”. Nevis (1988:79) describes it as follows.

What I have in mind for liaison as a formal operation is merely phonological concatenation. It is not similar to affixation insofar as liaison is not processual – it cannot, for example, be a stem change, reduplication or infixal. Liaison subordinates one syntactic word to another.

Liaison in Ibaloy applies to clitics including second-order clitics discussed in §3.3. Each clitic carries the feature [+liaison] together with the direction of attachment, which is indicated in this work by the equals sign.

Most clitic concatenation is semantically compositional, in that the meanings of the clitics can usually be predicted from their individual meanings. However, there are a few clitic combinations that are not compositional. The forms mango /maŋo/ ‘belittle, form of modesty’ and mala /mala/ ‘already’ are non-compositional, though they apparently originated from two separate morphemes (e.g. ma=ngo possibly ‘distal deitic=only/also’ and ma=la possibly ‘realisation marker or distal deitic=away’).

A few phonological processes may occur as the result of liaison. These are stress re-assignment (§6.2) and vowel raising (§7.2.1), and, in one exceptional case, stress-shift (§6.1). These processes are not exclusive to liaison and may also occur as the
result of affixation. However, there is an important difference between a derivational process like affixation and liaison. Liaison does not cause further morphophonemic changes to its host, it can only affect the phonetic realisation of the boundary between host and clitic.

3.3 Second-Position Words

Ibaloy has words that must directly follow a selected constituent (the syntactic head). These are here called “second-position” or “second-order”. This position is also known as Wackernagel’s position.

Second-position words may be either phonologically independent or enclitics. In (2) =to ‘3/GEN’ is an enclitic and kono ‘hearsay’ is a free word.

(2) inon’anto kono i ebadeg ya oleg
<in>?onaj-an=to kono i a-balag ja ?olog
<LocV/PFT>see-LocV=3/GEN hearsay NOM STA V/PFT-big LK snake

‘it is said that he saw the big snake’

3.4 Morphemes

Although there is no inflectional morphology in Ibaloy, there is derivational morphology. It is useful in describing this to distinguish roots from affixes. For example the verb onsekep /?onsɔgɔp/[?onsɔk’kap] ‘to enter’ can be analysed as a combination of an affix on- plus a root sekep [sɔk’kap] ‘enter’. A dash is used to indicate a morpheme boundary. Roots in Ibaloy usually also exist as independent words. However, sometimes a root may not exist as an independent word, like tey /’taj/ in me-tey /’ma-taj/ ‘die’. Ibaloy has several affixes, comprising prefixes, infixes and suffixes, which are described alongside their derived words.

Sometimes it is also necessary to distinguish stems from roots. Certain roots form a stem which may participate in further derivation. For instance, initial CVC(C)-reduplication applies to the stem mata’ba /’mata’ba/ [’marɔφ ɔwa] ‘fat’ made out of the prefix ma- and the root taboo [’taba] ‘fat’. The derived word matemata’ba /’mata,mata’ba/ [’marɔm,marɔφ ɔwa] means ‘very fat’.
3.5 Word-Formation Processes

Words in Ibaloy are either simple or derived. Aside from using a root in its monomorphemic form, there are three derivational processes. These are:

- affixation (§3.5.1);
- reduplication (§3.5.2); and
- compounding (§3.5.3).

Derivation creates new words, and forms ‘families of words’, i.e. groups of lexical items that partially share form and meaning. Derivational processes are not fully productive in that typically they do not apply to all members of a word class, and the meaning and distribution of the derived word are not entirely predictable. Moreover, morpho-phonological rules resulting from derivation apply optionally and sporadically when coining or interpreting new words.

3.5.1 Affixation

Ibaloy has prefixes, infixes and suffixes. A root may take one or more affixes. For instance, the root *badeg* /ba'lag/ [φˈwaˈdagˈ] ‘big (in size)’ has several derivations. In one derivation, it takes the prefix *man-* ‘ACTV/IPF’, *manbadeg* /manba'lag/ [mamφˈwaˈdagˈ] ‘to grow up’. In another, it takes the infix <in> ‘PATV/PFT’, *binadeg* /biˈnaˈlag/ [φˈwaˈdagˈ] ‘to have enlarged something’; and in another it takes the infix plus suffix <in> -an ‘LocV/PFT’, *binadekan* /biˌnalaˈgan/ [φˈiˌnadakˈkan] ‘to have grown out of something (e.g. clothes)

Affixation may cause different processes to occur to a root (e.g. stress-shift, vowel alternation, etc.). These are discussed in Chapter 4, Chapter 6, Chapter 5 and Chapter 7 alongside the type of affixation that triggers such particular processes.

3.5.2 Reduplication

There are four separate patterns of reduplication. Three are discussed here: initial CVC(V)- reduplication, CV- reduplication and CA- reduplication. There is a further type of reduplication, imperfective reduplication, which occurs with affixation and is discussed in (§4.3) alongside other morpho-phonemic processes resulting from derivation.
### 3.5 Word-Formation Processes

**Initial cvc(\(v\))-Reduplication**  
This reduplication pattern is very common. As for all reduplication types, the meaning associated with it depends upon the semantics of the root participating in the process. This may take a durative, distributive, or iterative meaning when applied to a verbal root; or intensive (‘very’) meaning when applied to a root with a property-like meaning; or plural, multiplicative, or abundant meaning when applied to a root with a non-human referent.

This type of reduplication does not cause stress-shift and the amount of material to be reduplicated depends on the root syllable template.

The initial cvcv- pattern of reduplication applies to roots beginning in an open syllable. This is illustrated for the root *marikit* /ˌmadiˈkɪt/ [ˌmareˈkɪt] ‘pretty woman’. *Marimarikit* /ˌmadi.madiˈkɪt/ [ˌmare,mareˈkɪt] means ‘very pretty woman’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Phonemic output</th>
<th>Phonetic realisation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ˌmadiˈkɪt/</td>
<td>/ˌmadi.madiˈkɪt/</td>
<td>[ˌmare,mareˈkɪt]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With roots where the second vowel is an unstressed /ə/, two outputs are available. In the first the vowel is maintained, and in the other the vowel is either not part of the reduplication pattern resulting in initial cvc- reduplication or it is lost. Consider the root *chakel* /ˈdakəl/ ['tfakəl] ‘many, much’. *Chakechakel* /ˌdakaˈdakəl/ [ˌtfakəfˌtfakəl] or *chakchakel* /ˌdakəˈdakəl/ [ˌtfakˌtfakəl] mean ‘very many, very much’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Phonemic output 1</th>
<th>Phonetic realisation 1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ˈdakəl/</td>
<td>/ˌdakaˈdakəl/</td>
<td>[ˌtfakəfˌtfakəl]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Phonemic output 2</th>
<th>Phonetic realisation 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ˈdakəl/</td>
<td>/ˌdakəˈdakəl/</td>
<td>[ˌtfakˌtfakəl]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Roots beginning with the open syllable type C\(\overline{a}\)- which surfaces with a following geminated consonant also undergo initial cvcv- reduplication. That these roots undergo the pattern of reduplication found elsewhere with open syllables provides evidence that such a syllable is underlingly open, although it surfaces as a closed syllable after gemination of the intervocalic consonant. This is illustrated for the root *betik* /ˈboˈtɪk/ ['fɒtˈtek] ‘run’. *Betibetik* /ˌbo,tɪboˈtɪk/ [ˌfɒt,tebɒˈtek] means ‘continuously run’.

---

**Root** /ˈdakəl/

**CVCV- reduplication** /ˌdakaˈdakəl/  
**Phonemic output** /ˌdakaˈdakəl/  
**Phonetic realisation** [ˌtfakəfˌtfakəl]  
**Phonemic output** /ˌdakəˈdakəl/  
**Phonetic realisation** [ˌtfakˌtfakəl]
Introduction to Morphology

Root  
CVCV- reduplication  
Phonemic output  
Phonetic realisation  

Initial CVC- reduplication applies to roots that begin with a closed syllable (not resulting from gemination), like chontog /don'tog/ [tifun tug] 'mountain'. The reduplicated word chonchontog /dndon'tog/ [tifuntun tug] means 'mountains, mountainous (place)'.

Root  
CVC- reduplication  
Phonemic output  
Phonetic realisation  

Initial CVC(V)- reduplication also occurs with affixed stems when one of the following conditions applies.

- With a stem prefixed with ma- 'STAV/MA-' like mateba /,mata'ba/ [marøf fwa] 'be fat' made up of the root taba. Matemateba /,mata,mata'ba/ [marøm,marøf fwa] means 'very fat'.

Stem  
CVCV- reduplication  
Phonemic output  
Phonetic realisation  

- With a stem derived from a monosyllabic root through a prefix ending in /N/ like mengan /mə'jan/ [møŋ'jan] 'to eat', from the root kan /'kan/ ['kan] 'eat' plus the prefix meN- 'ACTV/IPF'. Mengamengan /møŋ,maøŋ'jan/ [møŋ,ømøŋ'jan] means 'to eat a lot'.

Stem  
CVCV- reduplication  
Phonemic output  
Phonetic realisation  

- With a stem derived through an affix that causes vowel loss (either of the first or the last vowel of the root), like dibkan /lib'gan/ [dib'kan] 'to forget something', made up of the root dibag /'libag/ ['dibag] 'forget' plus the suffix -an 'LOCV/IPF' which causes the loss of the final vowel of the root. Dibdibkan /,liblib gan/ [dib'dib'kan] means 'to keep forgetting something'.
3.5 Word-Formation Processes

Another example is the stem *mengda* /maŋ'la/ [maŋ'da] ‘to get (something)’ made out of the root *ala* /'?ala/ ['?ala] ‘get’ plus the prefix *meN*- ‘ActV/IPF’ which causes the loss of the first vowel of the root. *Mengmengda* /mɔŋmɔŋ'la/ [mɔŋmɔŋ'da] means ‘to continuously get (something)’.

**Initial cv- reduplication** This type of reduplication is also very common. Its meaning again depends on the semantics of the root. It carries mainly a limitative meaning with property-like roots or quantifying roots, a plural meaning with roots referring to human entities, or conveys iterativity or the participation of more than one actor with action roots.

This type of reduplication causes the following processes to occur to the root.

- Stress-shift in roots beginning with a stressed open syllable. This is illustrated for the root *bii* /'bi?i/ ['çi'i] ‘woman, female’. *Bibii* /,bibi'?i/ [,çi'i] means ‘women, females’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>CV- reduplication</th>
<th>Phonemic output</th>
<th>Phonetic realisation (with stress-shift)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CV- reduplication</td>
<td>/bi?i/</td>
<td>/bi-'bi?i/</td>
<td>[çi'i]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Optional syllable reduction with stems three or four syllables long. This is exemplified for the stem *balodaki* /,balo'laki/ [,çi'alo'da:xe] ‘bachelor’. The words *babedolaki* /,baba,lola'ki/ [,çi'abbad,dola'ke] and *bedolaki* /ba,lola'ki/ [çi,dola'ke] mean ‘bachelors’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>CV- reduplication</th>
<th>Phonemic output</th>
<th>Phonetic realisation (with syllable reduc.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CV- reduplication</td>
<td>/ba-'bada'ke/</td>
<td>/baba,dola'ki/</td>
<td>[çi,dola'ke]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Initial ca- reduplication  This type of reduplication is probably the least frequent of the three types probably because of its meaning of 'fake, pretence, or resemblance' which is not often needed, and to the fact that it does not co-occur with an initial glottal stop, where it is replaced by cv- reduplication, as explained below.

This type of reduplication usually causes stress-shift. This is illustrated for the root too /ˈtoʔo/ ['toʔo] 'person'. Tetoo /təʔoʔo/ [təʔoʔo] means 'doll'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>/ˈtoʔo/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ca- reduplication</td>
<td>/təʔoʔo/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonemic output</td>
<td>/təʔoʔo/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonetic realisation (with stress-shift, and gemination)</td>
<td>[təʔoʔo]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When the root begins with a glottal stop, then this reduplication pattern is realised as cv- reduplication. This is illustrated for the root ogip /ʔogip/ [ʔogip] 'sleep'. Ookip /ʔoʔoʔogip/ [ʔoʔoʔogip] means 'fake sleep'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>/ʔogip/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cv- reduplication</td>
<td>/ʔoʔoʔogip/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonemic output</td>
<td>/ʔoʔoʔogip/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonetic realisation (with stress-shift)</td>
<td>[ʔoʔoʔoʔik]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.5.3 Compounding

Compounds in Ibaloy can be of two main types: lexical and syntactic (or grammatical). Ibaloy lexical compounds constitute a single word phonologically as well as grammatically. They are formed by a combination of two roots. For instance, the noun balodaki /ˈbaloʔaˈdake/ ['balodaki] 'bachelor' is formed from bado [ˈbawad] 'new, unmarried' and daki [ˈdake] 'man, male'. However, as a compound, its meaning is non-compositional. Phonologically, it forms a single unit with penultimate stress. Grammatically, it is also a single word. Although its components are in a modifying relationship, it does not form a modifier construction (relative-clause) where the linker ja (or one of its allomorphs) must occur between the two elements. Finally, evidence that balodaki constitutes a single word comes from its reduplication pattern. When cv- reduplication occurs to indicate plurality, then only the first part of the stem is reduplicated as in babedolaki /ˈbabaʔolaˈki/ [ˈbawadab,daˈlak] 'bachelors'.

Syntactic compounding is a productive process. Syntactic compounds are made up of a sequence of words which act as a single constituent. The following nominal compounds have been attested.
Compounds with numerals higher than ten include native numbers, borrowed numerals, and clock time units; see §11.1. For instance, the numeral expression *tedompolotan chowa* /təlonpolotan dowa/ ‘thirty two’ is made up of the number *tedo* ‘three’ plus the linker *=n* and the decimal unit *polo* ‘tens’ which form an indivisible unit with a single meaning ‘thirty’. The digit ‘two’ is linked by the coordinating conjunction *tan* to the decimal unit. The whole numeral expression forms a syntactic compound meaning ‘thirty two’. The same is true of numerals formed with the decimal unit *sawal* ‘in the tens’ and a digit introduced by the Genitive determiner *ni* like *sawal ni chowa* /sawal ni dowa/ ‘twelve’.

Quantifier expressions made up of a borrowed numeral and a mensural term are all types of grammatical compounds such as *dos pisos* ‘two pesos’. Others include school grades like *first grade*; and age like *trese taw’en* /trese tawʔan/ ‘thirteen years of age’. See §11.1.8.

Compounds made up of two proper names such as the first name and the last name of a person, *Julia Bucaycay*, or a sequence of title term and proper name(s) of person. Title terms always precede the entity they refer to. They are usually used to show respect. Some are borrowed from kinship terms, others are derived from some prestigious professions, and others from English title terms. For instance, *Manong Kim* /manon kim/ is made up of the title *Manong* ‘elder brother’ and the proper name *Kim*. See Chapter 8.

Certain kinds of productive nominal compound are possibly a calque of constructions in English or Spanish. For instance, a proper name of location followed by a common noun (usually a borrowed term) that specifies the type of location involved, like *Tabio lake*. The proper name of the location usually occurs first except when the common noun is *Mount* in which case it precedes the proper name as in *Mount Pulag*.

Other compounds include food items like *pangsit kanton* /paŋsit kanton/ ‘Chinese noodles’, *pangsit bikon* /paŋsit bikon/ ‘rice noodles’ and *pangsit gisadu* /paŋsit gisadu/ ‘sautéed noodles’. In this case the general term is *pangsit* ‘noodles’ and is followed by a specific type of noodles (either *kanton, bikon* or *gisadu*).

Finally, several phrasal expressions have been clearly borrowed especially from English into Ibaloy as a block alongside their mini-grammar like *underground river*, *till death do us part*, *June first nineteen thirty four* and several others of different complexities.
3.6 Word Categories

For every language it is perhaps possible to recognise word categories on internal grammatical (morphological and/or syntactic) criteria. There are two sorts of word categories—major and minor, sometimes referred to as open and closed classes respectively.

According to Dixon (1977, pp2-3)

"It seems that they [languages] all have Noun and Verb—at least, I know of no convincing counter-examples of this assertion. However, not all languages have the major word class Adjective. Either they have no Adjective class at all, or else there is a small non-productive minor class that can be called Adjective. In either of these cases it is interesting to ask how the language gets along without a full Adjective class. ... Some adjective-deficient languages express all adjectival concepts through intransitive verbs (as in the case of Chinese), others express some through nouns and some through verbs (for example, Hausa), and others invoke further means (Chinook renders adjectival concepts through the major classes Noun and Verb and the minor class Particle)."

For Ibaloy, the two major categories of nouns and verbs can be distinguished on morpho-syntactic grounds. However, there is no separate category of adjectives for Ibaloy. Concepts that are denoted by adjectives in other languages are expressed by nouns and verbs in Ibaloy. The following lexical categories are identified for Ibaloy.

**Nouns** These have several subcategories. The main division is between pronouns and lexical nouns. Lexical nouns are further subdivided into personal nouns and common nouns. Personal nouns include proper names of people and title terms. Common nouns include human nouns, non-human nouns, quantification nouns, and gerunds. Nouns are typically monomorphemic word forms, or bare roots, though derived nouns also occur.

**Verbs** The great majority of verbs are morphologically complex. They are derived through an extensive set of affixes which are often portmanteau morphemes and also carry information about aspect and mode. Verbs can be classified in a variety of ways. One way takes into account their syntactic requirements. This leads to a division between verbs requiring a sentential complement (extension verbs) and verbs that do not (non-extension verbs or ‘main’ verbs). Verbs may also be classified according to their transitivity into intransitive verbs and transitive verbs, and according to the presence or absence of the
feature [dynamic] into dynamic verbs and stative verbs respectively. Further subdivisions can be made for each of the above sub-classes of verbs.

**Adverbs** These are generally second-position constituents used to modify other words, phrases and clauses.

**Determiners** These are used to head determiner phrases. Such phrases usually (though not exclusively, depending on the determiner) introduce the complements of the clause predicate.

**Prepositions** These are used to head prepositional phrases. Such phrases introduce adjunct constituents, that is constituents that are not complements of the clause predicate.

**Conjunctions** These are divided into coordinating conjunctions and subordinating conjunctions. Their main function is to link various constituents together. The so-called linker is also part of the conjunctions.

**Exclamations, Interjections and Responses** These do not require a full clause to support their occurrence. They include words like ‘yes’, ‘oh’, and ‘OK’.
Chapter 4

Major Phonological Processes

Some phonological processes in Ibaloy result from factors other than derivation. They may apply at the lexical (or derivational) level, post-lexical level, and even at a more surface level across word boundaries. This the case, for instance, for nasal assimilation. Nasal assimilation applies lexically as the result of derivation, post-lexically as the result of liaison and across word boundaries within a larger grammatical unit such as the phrase. This is the reason why these processes are arranged by type rather than according to their level of application.

Phonological processes described here include:

- epenthesis (§4.1);
- gemination (§4.2);
- imperfective reduplication (§4.3);
- nasal processes (Chapter 5);
- stress alteration (Chapter 6); and
- vowel processes (Chapter 7).

Note that processes resulting from derivation cannot be completely described in terms of strict and precise rule, since some of the derived items have unpredictable phonological forms and meanings. Instead, the rule states a general pattern of derivation which may be followed more or less exactly by the speaker; and since the form and meaning of the newly created word are not entirely predictable from the form and meaning of the source word, both words must be recorded separately.
4.1 Epenthesis

Ephenthesis is a process that supplies a consonant to an empty onset. All Ibaloy syllables require an onset filled by a consonant and a nucleus filled by a vowel (CV). Hence when a sequence of two contiguous vowels is created either as the result of derivation or liaison, a glottal stop [?] or a glide, [j] or [w], is inserted between them.

4.1.1 Glottal Stop Epenthesis

Glottal stop epenthesis occurs between two vowels when they are identical or the first one is /a/ or usually an unstressed /i/ or /o/.

At the lexical level, it applies when a suffix beginning with a vowel (especially when /a/) is added to a root/stem ending with a vowel. This is illustrated for the root /'loto/ 'cook' plus the suffix -/an/ 'PATV/IPF'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>/'loto/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Suffixion</td>
<td>/'loto/ + -/an/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonemic output</td>
<td>/lo'toan/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonetic realisation (with [?] epenthesis)</td>
<td>[do'to?an]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Post-lexically, it applies as the result of liaison. There is only one clitic that begins with a vowel and occurs at the end of a selected host regardless of the shape and content of its final syllable. This is the nominative bound pronoun =/ak/ '1/NOM'. This is exemplified for the host word /,manla'ga/ [,mandak'ka] 'to make (something)' plus the bound pronoun =/ak/.

| Host word         | /,manla'ga/ |
| Liaison           | /,manla'ga/ + =/ak/ |
| Phonemic output   | /,manla'gaak/ |
| Phonetic realisation (with [?] epenthesis) | [,mandak'ka?ak'] |

4.1.2 Glide Epenthesis

A glide ([j] or [w]) is regarded as epenthetic when it supplies a consonant in an onset position between two non-identical vowels where the first one is /i/ /o/ and usually stressed. The inserted glide is homorganic with the preceding vowel. If it is /i/, [j] is inserted. If it is /o/, [w] is inserted.
At the lexical level, epenthesis occurs when a suffix (usually other than -/an/ ‘PATV/IPF’, where glottal stop epenthesis is preferred) is added to a root/stem ending with a vowel which carries stress. This is illustrated for the root /loto/ ‘cook’ plus the suffix -/a/ ‘PATV/CNTV’.

Root /loto/
Suffixation /loto/ + /a/
Phonemic output /lo'toa/
Phonetic realisation (with stress-shift, and [w] epenthesis) [do'tuwa]

Post-lexically, glide epenthesis may optionally result from liaison. This is illustrated for the nominative bound pronoun =/ak/ ‘1/NOM’ when attached to the end of the word /,manlo'to/ [,mando'to] ‘to cook’.

Host word /,manlo'to/
Liaison /,manlo'to/ + =/ak/
Phonemic output /,manlo'toak/
Phonetic realisation (with [w] epenthesis) [mando'towak’]

### 4.2 Gemination

Intervocalic consonants other than /ʔ/ may be geminated. Gemination usually occurs in the following three situations.

- When the consonant is preceded by [a] gemination is obligatory.
- When the consonant is preceded by an underlying /a/ surfacing as [a] occurring in word-initial position (§2.2) gemination is optional.
- As the result of derivation. When stress-shift occurs in a root beginning in an open stressed syllable, then the first intervocalic consonant of the root may optionally be realised as a geminate.

In all cases, a geminated intervocalic consonant fills the coda and the onset positions of contiguous syllables.

a. The presence of [a] before an intervocalic consonant always causes gemination of that consonant. The vowel [a] may be present in the root underlying form or
result from the process of vowel lowering (§7.2.2) caused by stress-shift. The first case is illustrated for the root /bo’tik/ ‘run’. Such a root when used as a monomorphemic word surfaces as [ʃat’ték], with a geminated intervocalic consonant. This is summarised as follows.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>/bo’тик/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Phonetic realisation (with gemination)</td>
<td>[ʃat’ték’]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The second case is illustrated for the root /’ʔakad/ ‘walk’. When it undergoes stress-shift due to derivation, then the first root vowel /a/ is lowered to [a]. Finally, the presence of the vowel [a] before the intervocalic consonant /k/ triggers gemination of that consonant. This is exemplified for the root /’ʔakad/ when prefixed with /’man/- ‘ACTV/IPF’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root (with penult. stress)</th>
<th>/’ʔakad/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prefixation</td>
<td>/’man/- + /’ʔakad/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonemic output</td>
<td>/’manʔa’kad/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonetic realisation (with stress-shift, vowel-lowering and gemination)</td>
<td>[ʃanʔa’k’ad’]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. The first intervocalic consonant of a root beginning with an open syllable containing /a/ may optionally occur geminated only when /a/ surfaces as [a].

This is illustrated for the root /’ʔot’ak/ ‘bolo knife’. This has three possible realisations. In the first, the first root-vowel surfaces as [a]. In this case gemination is obligatory as discussed above, [ʔat’tak’]. In the second, underlying /a/ surfaces as [a] and gemination occurs, [ʔat’tak’]. In the third, underlying /a/ surfaces as [a] but gemination does not occur, [ʔa’tak’].

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>/’ʔot’ak/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Phonetic realisation(_1) (with /a/ as [a] and gemination)</td>
<td>[ʔat’tak’]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonetic realisation(_2) (with /a/ as [a] and gemination)</td>
<td>[ʔat’tak’]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonetic realisation(_3) (with /a/ as [a], no gemination)</td>
<td>[ʔa’tak’]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

c. Gemination of the first root intervocalic consonant occurs optionally when such a root undergoes stress-shift as a result of derivation and the consonant is preceded by a vowel other than [a].

This is illustrated for the root /’loto/ ‘cook’. When the root is prefixed with the stress-shift affix /’man/-, then stress-shift occurs and the derived word bears final stress. The derived word has two possible realisations, one with gemination, [mandot’to], and another without, [mando’to].
Imperfective reduplication (IPF red.) is a process that applies to verb roots beginning with an unstressed open syllable containing the vowel /a/ before they are affixed by a non-perfective stress-shift prefix or suffix (§6.1).

As part of this type of reduplication, the root undergoes initial CV reduplication and loss of the second-stem vowel /a/, which is unstressed. This process produces a stem which begins with a closed syllable.

This is exemplified for the root /sa'gap/'enter' when prefixed by /?a,man/- 'ACTV/CNTV', a non-perfective stress-shift affix.

The same process applies under the same circumstances, when the first consonant of these roots is a glottal stop. This is illustrated for the root /?a'mas/ 'bathe' when prefixed by /,man/- 'ACTV/IPF'.

In the above case, the vowel /a/ is realised as [a] when followed by the glottal stop (§2.2).
Finally, imperfective reduplication occurs before suffixation. This is exemplified for
the root /bəˈtik/ ‘run’ when suffixed by -/an/ ‘LOC V/IPF’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Step</th>
<th>Phonetics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Root</td>
<td>/bəˈtik/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPF red.</td>
<td>/bəbəˈtik/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unstress vowel loss</td>
<td>/bəbˈtik/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suffixation</td>
<td>/bəbˈtik/ + -/an/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonemic output</td>
<td>/bəbtiˈkan/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonetic realisation (with stress-shift)</td>
<td>[φəbˈteˈkan]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 5

Nasal Processes

Two main ‘nasal’ processes have been identified. One applies to the nasal /n/ and is referred to as “nasal assimilation”. The other applies to the nasal /N/ and is referred to as “nasal substitution”.

5.1 Nasal Assimilation

Nasal assimilation occurs when a coda nasal /n/ in either a prefix, a root, or a word becomes adjacent with a following consonant having a different point of articulation as the result of one of the following processes:

- prefixation;
- liaison;
- infixation plus loss of the first root-vowel; or
- suffixation plus loss of the second root-vowel.

Although rare, nasal assimilation may occur across word boundaries as discussed below. In all cases the nasal assimilates to the place of articulation of the following consonant as summarised below.

\[
\begin{align*}
/n/ & \rightarrow \ [m] \text{ before } /p/, /b/ \text{ and } /w/ \\
[\mathit{n}] & \text{ before } /k/, /g/ \text{ and } /\mathit{n}/
\end{align*}
\]

Assimilation does not occur when the following consonant is either the glottal stop /ʔ/ or the labial nasal /m/. In both cases, the nasal /n/ surfaces as [n]. Although the above patterns of assimilation occur in prefixation, infixation, suffixation, liaison, and across word boundaries, some of these processes show different restrictions. Hence, they are treated separately.
5.1 Nasal Assimilation

5.1.1 Prefixation, Liaison and Across Word Boundaries

**Prefixation** Nasal assimilation occurs when a prefix ending with the nasal /n/ is added to a root. This is exemplified for the root /bo?laj/ ‘outside’ when prefixed with /?on/- ‘ACTV/IPF’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>/bo?laj/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prefix</td>
<td>/?on/- + /bo?laj/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonemic output</td>
<td>/?onbo?laj/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonetic realisation (with nasal assim.)</td>
<td>[?omfu?daj]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, nasal assimilation does not occur when the final prefix /n/ is followed by the labial nasal /m/, as with the root /’mimi/ ‘urine’ when prefixed by /nan/- ‘ACTV/PFT’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>/’mimi/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prefix</td>
<td>/nan/- + /’mimi/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonemic output</td>
<td>/nan’mimi/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonetic realisation</td>
<td>[nan’meme]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Liaison** When an enclitic is added to a word ending in /n/ nasal assimilation also occurs. Consider the following example in which the word /’dalan/ [’tj’alan] ‘path way, route’ is followed by the genitive bound pronoun =/ko/ ‘1/GEN’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Host word</th>
<th>/’dalan/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Liaison</td>
<td>/’dalan/ + =/ko/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonemic output</td>
<td>/’dalan’ko/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonetic realisation (with nasal assim., and stress re-assignment)</td>
<td>[’falaŋ’ko]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Again, nasal assimilation does not occur when the nasal /n/ is followed by the labial nasal /m/. This is illustrated for the word /’dalan/ [’tj’alan] ‘path way, route’ when encliticised by the genitive bound pronoun =/mo/ ‘2/GEN’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Host word</th>
<th>/’dalan/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Liaison</td>
<td>/’dalan/ + =/mo/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonemic output</td>
<td>/’dalan’mo/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonetic realisation (with stress re-assignment and no nasal assim.)</td>
<td>[’falaŋ’mo]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Across Word Boundaries Nasal assimilation optionally occurs across word boundaries, usually within larger grammatical units such as phrases. Consider the following example which contains a genitive phrase.

\[(1) \] 

\begin{align*}
\text{jet} & \quad \text{bineg'astoy} & \quad \text{edeng nen} & \quad \text{Batil} \\
& \quad \text{\textit{jat} <in> \text{bag'as=to=j}} & \quad \text{\textit{?alaj nan} batil} \\
\text{and then} & \quad \text{\textit{<PATV/PFT>hit with stick=3/GEN=NOM nose} GEN/PERS Batil} \\
& \quad \text{\textit{'then he hit (with a stick) Batil's nose'}}
\end{align*}

Assimilation optionally occurs and yields the sequence [nəm'Φwaril] in the genitive phrase.

5.1.2 Infixation

Nasal assimilation may occur when infixation causes the loss of the first root vowel (see §7.1.1). In this case, not only the sequence *[mm]* is prohibited, but also sequences involving two identical nasals such as *[nn]* and *[ŋŋ]*.

When a root undergoes loss of the first vowel (see §7.1.1) due to infixation and stress-shift, then nasal assimilation may occur between the final nasal of the infix <!--\text{\textit{<,in/> 'PATV/PFT'}}--> and the following consonant. This is illustrated for the root <!--\text{\textit{/'lag a/}}--> ‘make, deed’.

\[
\begin{array}{lcl}
\text{Root} & \quad /'laga/ \\
\text{Infixation} & \quad <\text{,in/>} + /'laga/ \\
\text{Phonemic output} & \quad /\text{lin'ga/} \\
\text{Phonetic realisation (with stress-shift,} & \\
\phantom{\text{Phonetic realisation (with stress-shift,}} & \phantom{\text{vowel loss, and nasal assim.)}} & \phantom{\text{vowel loss, and nasal assim.)}} \\
\text{vowel loss, and nasal assim.)}} & \quad [\text{diŋ'ka}] \\
\end{array}
\]

As the result of this process the final /n/ of the infix is contiguous with the consonant /g/, and nasal assimilation occurs, the nasal /n/ of the infix surfacing as [ŋ].

When the final nasal of the infix is contiguous to /n/ only nasal deletion occurs. This is illustrated for the root <!--\text{\textit{/ʔanap/}}--> ‘search’ when infixed by <!--\text{\textit{<,in/> 'PATV/PFT'}}-->.

\[
\begin{array}{lcl}
\text{Root} & \quad /'\text{ʔanap/} \\
\text{Infixation} & \quad <\text{,in/>} + /'\text{ʔanap/} \\
\text{Phonemic output} & \quad /\text{ʔi'nap/} \\
\text{Phonetic realisation (with stress-shift,} & \\
\phantom{\text{Phonetic realisation (with stress-shift,}} & \phantom{\text{vowel loss, no nasal assim., and nasal deletion)}} & \phantom{\text{vowel loss, no nasal assim., and nasal deletion)}} \\
\text{vowel loss, no nasal assim., and nasal deletion)}} & \quad [\text{ʔi'nap}] \\
\end{array}
\]
5.2 Nasal Substitution

However, nasal assimilation between the infix and the contiguous consonant does not occur when the latter is /m/ or /ŋ/. This is illustrated for the root /ʔə'məs/ ‘bathe’ when infixed with /<,in>/ ‘PATV/PFT’, and for the root /taŋəd/ ‘control’ when infixed by /<,in>/ ‘PATV/PFT’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>/ʔə'məs/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Infix</td>
<td>/&lt;,in&gt;/ + /ʔə'məs/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonetic output</td>
<td>/ʔin'əməs/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonetic realisation (with vowel loss, and no nasal assim.)</td>
<td>[ʔin'məs]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>/taŋəd/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Infix</td>
<td>/&lt;,in&gt;/ + /taŋəd/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonetic output</td>
<td>/tin'əd/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonetic realisation (with vowel loss, and no nasal assim.)</td>
<td>[tin'əd']</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 5.1.3 Suffixation

Nasal assimilation also occurs when the root loses its second vowel as the result of suffixation (see §7.1.2), and the deleted vowel is preceded by the nasal /n/. This is illustrated for the root /ʔanəp/ ‘search’ when suffixed with -/an/ ‘LOCV/IPF’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>/ʔanəp/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Suffix</td>
<td>/ʔanəp/ + -/an/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonetic output</td>
<td>/ʔan'pan/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonetic realisation (with stress re-assignment, vowel loss, and nasal assim.)</td>
<td>[ʔam'pan]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Available examples in which loss of the second root vowel triggers nasal assimilation never result in a sequence of two identical nasals ([mn] or [ŋŋ]). Hence, one cannot know whether or not deletion of one of the nasals would occur.

5.2 Nasal Substitution

Nasal substitution occurs when a prefix ending in /N/ is added to a root. The nasal /N/ stands for the nasal of certain prefixes which has no place feature specification.
In this case, two distinct processes occur. First, the nasal /N/ assimilates to the place of articulation of the following consonant. Then in some cases the initial root consonant is deleted. Following are the environments where nasal substitution takes place.

/N/ → [m] before /p/ and b/  
[n] before /t/ and /s/  
[n] before /k/, /g/ and /ʔ/

Deletion of the initial root-consonant does not occur with /l, j/ or /m/. There are no examples in the present data showing a root beginning in /n, η/ or /w/ occurring in the environment of nasal substitution. With roots that begin with either the labial nasal /m/, the liquid /l/ or the glide /j/, neutralisation between a prefix ending in /N/ and that ending in /n/ occurs.

Nasal substitution and consonant deletion is illustrated for the root /toŋ’gal/ ‘buy, purchase’ when prefixed by /moN/- ‘ACTV/IPF’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>/toŋ’gal/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prefixation</td>
<td>/moN/- + /toŋ’gal/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonemic output</td>
<td>/moŋnoŋ’gal/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonetic realisation (with nasal subst.)</td>
<td>[mɔnɔnɔŋ’kal]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Due to the presence of the vowel /o/, the nasal /n/ of the prefix occurs geminated, [nn].
Stress assignment at the root level is usually predictable. Roots bear either final or penultimate primary stress. Furthermore, roots longer than two syllables may bear secondary stress (see §1.2.1. The most common root-types include disyllabic roots with penultimate stress, ‘cv.cv(c), or final stress, cvc.’cv(c) and co.’cv(c); and trisyllabic roots with final stress, ,cv.cv.’cv(c).

Root stress may be altered by one of the following processes.

- Stress-shift (§6.1); or
- stress re-assignment (§6.2).

Stress-alteration requires further investigation. However, the following generalisation can be made.

### 6.1 Stress-Shift

Stress-shift causes stress borne by the first stressed syllable of the root to shift one syllable to the right. Whether that syllable bears primary or secondary stress is irrelevant to this process. Stress-shift may cause further morpho-phonemic processes to apply to the root taking part in the derivational process. These are gemination (§4.2), vowel loss (§7.1), vowel raising (§7.2.1) and vowel lowering (§7.2.2).

Stress-shift is primarily caused by derivational processes such as affixation and reduplication. In this section, only affixation is used to illustrate this phenomenon.

Ibaloy affixes are classified according to whether or not they may trigger root stress-shift. Some affixes can be analysed as being inherently stressed. Stress-shift prefixes and infixes usually bear stress (marked as secondary in their phonemic transcription)
on the final syllable, unless containing the vowel \(/a/\). Suffixes tend to cause primary stress to shift one syllable to the right. However, whether an affix is stressed or not in the final realisation of the derived word depends on the combination of root and affix(es) and whether other processes, like vowel loss, occur. Moreover, there is a fair amount of variation. This is especially true with less frequently used derivations and newly created words where phonological processes apply irregularly.

The following tables include only stress-shift affixes that occur rather frequently and that are described in some detail within this work. Those marked with a star (\(\ast\)) show some variation in their ability to cause stress-shift. Amongst affixes occurring on verbs and gerunds, there is a tendency for imperfective affixes to cause stress-shift. However, this is just a tendency rather than a hard and fast rule.

Derived nouns and quantification terms (which include numerals) are discussed in Part II while ‘main’ verbs are described in Part IV.

### Table 6.1: Nouns & Numerals' Stress-Shift Affixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Affix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>si- -an</td>
<td>'SEASONN'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka-</td>
<td>'COMITN'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka-</td>
<td>'ABSTN'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka- -an</td>
<td>'SUPN'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mayka-</td>
<td>'ORDNum'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka-</td>
<td>'FRACTNum'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;in&gt;</td>
<td>'FREQ'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 6.2: Controlled Actor Verbs’ Stress-Shift Affixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>IPF</th>
<th>PFT</th>
<th>CNTV/PROG</th>
<th>IMP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>on-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>eman-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man-</td>
<td>man-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>eman-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meN-</td>
<td>meN-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>emeN-</td>
<td>paN-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mengi-</td>
<td>mengi-</td>
<td>egi*</td>
<td>emengi-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meki-</td>
<td>meki-</td>
<td>eki*</td>
<td>emeki-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(\ast\) means variation in causing stress-shift.

### Table 6.3: Controlled Undergoer Verbs’ Stress-Shift Affixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>IPF</th>
<th>PFT</th>
<th>CNTV/PROG</th>
<th>IMP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-en</td>
<td>-en</td>
<td>&lt;in&gt;</td>
<td>(epan-) -a</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-an</td>
<td>-an</td>
<td>&lt;in&gt;</td>
<td>-an (epan-) -i</td>
<td>-i*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-an*</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>i-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i- -an</td>
<td>i- -an*</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(\ast\) means variation in causing stress-shift.
This section treats stress-shift in words consisting of a root with affix(es).

**Disyllabic Roots with Penultimate Stress** Stress-shift is exemplified for the root /'loto/ 'cook' when it is combined with a stress-shift affix such as the prefix /ˌman/- or the suffix /-/an/ 'PATV/IPF'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Undergoer</th>
<th>IPF</th>
<th>PFT</th>
<th>PROG</th>
<th>IMP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>me-</td>
<td>me-</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>ka-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>me- -an</td>
<td>me- -an</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>may-</td>
<td>may-</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>emankay-</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>may- -an</td>
<td>may- -an</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-</td>
<td>ma-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Root (with penult. stress) /'loto/
Prefixation /ˌman/- + /'loto/
Phonemic output /ˌmanlo'to/
Phonetic realisation\(_1\) (with stress-shift) [ˌmando'to]
Phonetic realisation\(_2\) (with stress-shift, and gemination) [ˌmandot'o]

Root (with penult. stress) /'loto/
Suffixation /'loto/ + /-/an/
Phonemic output /lo'toan/
Phonetic realisation\(_1\) (with stress-shift, and [?] epenthesis) [do'to?an]
Phonetic realisation\(_2\) (with stress-shift, gemination, and [?] epenthesis) [dot'o?an]

Stress-shift resulting from suffixation does not usually occur with 'c\(_1\)V\(_x\).C\(_2\)V\(_x\) roots where both V\(_x\) are /o/ or /a/ and 'c\(_1\)V\(_x\).C\(_2\)V\(_y\) roots where V\(_x\) is not /a/ and V\(_y\) is /a/, and C\(_2\) is usually a voiced consonant. Stress re-assignment (§6.2) and final root-vowel loss (§7.1.2) tend to occur instead.

**Disyllabic Roots with Final Stress** Separate patterns are seen for disyllabic roots with final stress. Stress-shift only affects CVC.'c\(_a\)C roots.
It occurs when such a root receives a suffix like 
\(-/a/ 'PATV/CNTV'\), and only optionally when the suffix is 
\(-/an/ 'PATV/IPF'\). Stress shifts to the newly created syllable 
containing part of the suffix. It is illustrated below for the root 
\(/gəd'gəd/ 'slice'\).

| Root (with final stress) | /gəd'gəd/ | Suffixation | /gəd'gəd/ + 
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Phonemic output</td>
<td>/gedge'da/</td>
<td>Phonetic realisation</td>
<td>[kəd'kəf'ʃa]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When a CVC.'CAC root is suffixed by 
\(-/an/ 'PATV/IPF'\) then stress-shift is optional.

| Root (with final stress) | /gəd'gəd/ | Suffixation | /gəd'gəd/ + 
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Phonemic output</td>
<td>/gəd'gədan/</td>
<td>Phonetic realisation</td>
<td>[kəd'kəf'ʃa1]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonetic realisation1</td>
<td>[kəd'kəf'ʃa1]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonetic realisation2</td>
<td>[kəd'kəf'ʃa1]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With CVC.'CAC roots, a stress-shift suffix causes first root 
consonant reduplication (§4.3) plus stress-shift. However, when the suffix is 
\(-/an/ stress-shift is optional.

Stress-shift is exemplified for the root 
\(/ba'tik/ 'run' when suffixed by 
\(-/an/ 'LOCV/IPF'.

| Root (with final stress) | /ba'tik/ | Suffixation | /ba'tik/ + 
|--------------------------|-----------|-------------|--------|
| Phonemic output          | /babti'kan/ | Phonetic realisation (with stress-shift, 
and C₁ red.) | [ʃəb'te'kən] |

When CV₁C₂.'C₃V₂(C) roots, where V₂, is not 
\(/a/ are affixed stress-shift does not 
apply.

Finally, prefixation or infixation never cause stress-shift to any disyllabic root with 
final stress.

**Trisyllabic Roots with Final Stress** The great majority of trisyllabic roots in 
Ibaloy bear final primary stress, plus secondary stress on the first syllable. Two 
patterns are seen with these roots depending on whether or not the stress-shift affix 
or set of affixes) contains a suffix.
6.1 Stress-Shift

When a stress-shift affix not containing a suffix is applied, then the secondary stress on the first root syllable shifts one syllable to the right and becomes primary, and final primary stress is lost. This is illustrated for the root /ʔasə'wa/ ‘spouse, marry’ when prefixed by /ˌman/- ‘ACTV/IPF’ and infixed by ⟨/ˌin/> ‘PATV/PFT’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root (with final stress)</th>
<th>/ʔasə'wa/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prefixation</td>
<td>/ˌman/- + /ʔasə'wa/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonemic output</td>
<td>/ˌmanʔə'səwa/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonetic realisation (with ‘stress-shift’)</td>
<td>[ˌmanʔə'səwa]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When a stress-shift affix involving a suffix is applied then secondary stress shifts one syllable to the right while primary stress shifts on the newly formed syllable containing the suffix. This is exemplified for the root /ʔase'wa/ ‘spouse, marry’ when suffixed by -/ən/ ‘PATV/CNTV’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root (with final stress)</th>
<th>/ʔasə'wa/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Suffixification</td>
<td>/ʔasə'wa/ + -/ən/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonemic output</td>
<td>/ʔəsəwəʔən/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonetic realisation (with ‘stress-shift’)</td>
<td>[ʔəsəwəʔən]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that other morphophonemic processes also affect the first two vowels of the root. These are (first root) vowel raising and (second root) vowel lowering, both discussed in Chapter 7.

Post-Lexical Stress-Shift  Post-lexically, stress-shift may occur as the result of liaison (§3.2). However, it only appears to occur when a root bearing final stress and ending in a closed syllable containing the vowel /ə/ receives an enclitic which begins with a vowel such as =/ə/, allomorph of /ja/ ‘LK’. It is optional in this context. Consider the word /ʔəba'lag/ [ʔəɸəˈdadəɡ] ‘be big’. When such a word is cliticised by =/ə/ then the resulting phonological word has two possible realizations, [ʔəɸə'dadəɡɡa] and [ʔəɸə'adək'ka]. Post-lexical stress-shift requires further investigation.
6.2 Stress Re-Assignment

Stress re-assignment occurs when an extra syllable is added to a root or a word carrying underlyingly ante-penultimate primary stress. The effect of this process is that stress is assigned to the final syllable of the resulting phonological word. The rightmost stress is regarded as primary while the other(s) as secondary as discussed in §1.2.

Stress re-assignment applies at the lexical level as the result of derivation when stress-shift does not occur and post-lexically as the result of liaison.

Lexically, the process is illustrated below for the root /'ogip/ ‘sleep’. When a set of non-stress-shift affixes which includes a suffix occurs on the root, e.g. /na/- -/an/ ‘UnLocV/pft’, then stress re-assignment applies.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root (with penult. stress)</th>
<th>/'ogip/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Multiple affixation</td>
<td>/na/- +/'ogip/+ -/an/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonemic output</td>
<td>/na,ogip'an/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonetic realisation (with stress re-assignment)</td>
<td>[na,ogip'an]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Post-lexically, it is illustrated for the verb /nan'akad/ [nan'axad] ‘to have walked’ plus the enclitic =/ak/.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Host word (with penult. stress)</th>
<th>/nan'akad/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Liaison</td>
<td>/nan'akad/ =/ak/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonemic output</td>
<td>/nan,aka'dak/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonetic realisation (with stress re-assignment)</td>
<td>[nan,axa'jak']</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Two main types of process involving a vowel may occur as the result of derivation or, in a few cases, liaison. These are the following.

- Vowel loss (§7.1)
- Vowel alteration (§7.2)

7.1 Vowel Loss

Vowel loss is sometimes caused by stress-shift resulting from derivation. Vowel loss primarily occurs in disyllabic roots, the most common root type in Ibaloy. Word frequency is also a factor. More frequently used words are more likely to undergo vowel loss.

Depending on which vowel is deleted the following two processes are identified.

- Loss of the first root-vowel (§7.1.1)
- Loss of the final root-vowel (§7.1.2)

7.1.1 First Root-Vowel Loss

Loss of the first root-vowel occurs in roots beginning with an open syllable containing the vowel /a/ or /a/, and only rarely /i/ or /o/, when affixation results in stress-shift away from that vowel or when the affixed root’s first vowel is /a/. Some exceptional cases which are treated separately at the end of this subsection.
'ca.cv(c) Roots  Loss of the first vowel occurs with these roots only when the root is infixed with </in/> 'PATV/PFT'. This infix usually causes stress-shift. This is illustrated for the roots /'dalan/ ‘route, path, way’ and /'laga/ ‘make, deed’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>/'dalan/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Infixation</td>
<td>&lt;/in/&gt;+ /'dalan/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonemic output</td>
<td>/din'lan/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonetic realised (with stress-shift, vowel loss, and nasal assim.)</td>
<td>[fıından]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Once the vowel is lost, then nasal assimilation occurs between the nasal consonant of the prefix and the following consonant (§5.1).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>/'laga/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Infixation</td>
<td>&lt;/in/&gt;+ /'laga/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonemic output</td>
<td>/lin'ga/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonetic realised (with stress-shift, vowel loss, and nasal assim.)</td>
<td>[diı'ka]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'ʔa.cv(c) Roots  Loss of the first vowel occurs with these roots when the infix </in/> ‘PATV/PFT’ or a prefix ending in /N/ is applied. These roots optionally lose their first vowel when prefixed by /¿i/- ‘THMV/IMP’ or a prefix ending in /¿i/- such as /ma¿i/- ‘ACTV/IPF’. In the last cases, only roots that occur often with these prefixes tend to undergo vowel loss. This type of vowel loss is illustrated for the root /'ʔala/ when first infixed by </in/> ‘PATV/IPF’, and then when prefixed by /maN/- ‘ACTV/IPF’, both stress-shift affixes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>/'ʔala/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Infixation</td>
<td>&lt;/in/&gt;+ /'ʔala/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonemic output</td>
<td>/ʔin'la/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonetic realised (with stress-shift, vowel loss, and nasal assim.)</td>
<td>[ʔin'da]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>/'ʔala/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prefixation</td>
<td>/maN/-+ /'ʔala/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonemic output</td>
<td>/ma¿ıla/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonetic realised (with nasal subst., stress-shift, and vowel loss)</td>
<td>[ma¿ıda]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
7.1 Vowel Loss

The root /'akan/‘give’ when prefixed by /?i/- ‘THMV/IMP’ almost always undergoes vowel loss. This is also a stress-shift affix.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>/'akan/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prefixation</td>
<td>/?i/- + /'akan/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonemic output</td>
<td>/?i'kan/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonetic realisation (with stress-shift, and vowel loss)</td>
<td>[?i?kan]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, when the same root is prefixed by /ma?i/- ‘ACTV/IPF’ (a derivation that occurs less frequently in my data), vowel loss is less frequent, although /ma?i/- is also a stress-shift affix. This is exemplified as follows.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>/'akan/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prefixation</td>
<td>/ma?i/- + /'akan/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonemic output</td>
<td>/ma?i'akan/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonetic realisation₁ (with stress-shift, and vowel-raising)</td>
<td>[ma?i'akkan]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonemic output₂</td>
<td>/ma?i'kan/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonetic realisation₂ (with stress-shift, and vowel loss)</td>
<td>[ma?i'kan]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Gemination of the prefix nasal /ŋ/ as well as that of the intervocalic consonant /k/ is caused by the presence of the preceding vowel [a] (§4.2).

‘cvₓ.cv(c) Roots where vₓ is a vowel other than /a/ or /a/’ Loss of the first vowel with these roots occurs only when they receive a prefix ending in /N/ and nasal substitution applies. This is illustrated for the root /'pilit/ ‘force’ when prefixed by /maN/- ‘ACTV/IPF’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>/'pilit/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prefixation</td>
<td>/maN/- + /'pilit/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonemic output</td>
<td>/mam'lit/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonetic realisation (with nasal subst., stress-shift, and vowel loss)</td>
<td>[mam'dit']</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹The root /'akan/ ‘give’ has the same phonemic representation in Karao (Brainard, 1994:9).
**cə.'cv(c) Roots and ʔə.'cv(c) Roots**  Loss of the first vowel /ə/ always occurs with these roots when infixed by /<,in/> ‘PATV/PFT’; when prefixed by a prefix ending in /N/ where nasal substitution applies; when prefixed by /,ʔi/- ‘THMV/IMP’, /,ma/- ‘STAV/MA’; /ma/- ‘POT/STAV/IPF’, or /na/- ‘POT/STAV/PFT’; or when prefixed by a prefix ending in /ŋ/ such as /məŋ/- ‘ACTV/IPF’.

This is illustrated with the root /bəˈtik/ ‘run’ plus /,naN/- ‘ACTV/PFT’; the root /soˈgəp/ ‘enter’ plus /<,in/> ‘PATV/PFT’ and then /,ʔi/- ‘THMV/IMP’; the root /pəˈkəs/ ‘loud’ plus /,ma/- ‘STAV/MA’; and the root /boˈlaj/ ‘tired’ plus /na/- ‘STAPATV/PFT’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Prefixation</th>
<th>Phonemic output</th>
<th>Phonetic realisation (with nasal subst., and vowel loss)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/bəˈtik/</td>
<td>/,naN/- + /bəˈtik/</td>
<td>/namˈtik/</td>
<td>[namˈtek̚]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/soˈgəp/</td>
<td>/&lt;,in/&gt; + /soˈgəp/</td>
<td>/sinˈgəp/</td>
<td>[sinˈgəp]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pəˈkəs/</td>
<td>/,ma/- + /pəˈkəs/</td>
<td>/mapˈkəs/</td>
<td>[mapˈkəs]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/boˈlaj/</td>
<td>/na/- + /boˈlaj/</td>
<td>/nabˈlaj/</td>
<td>[nabˈdaj]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
7.1 Vowel Loss

**Special Case: despag ‘below, down’** Only one root of the type c\-c\_x\-c\_y\_V(c) in the entire corpus undergoes this type of vowel deletion. This is /\~las\'pag/: ‘below, down’. Deletion is optional when this root is derived with the stress-shift prefix /\~i/- ‘THMV/IMP’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>/~las'pag/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prefixation</td>
<td>/~i/- + /~las'pag/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonemic output _1</td>
<td>/~il~as'pag/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonetic realisation _1 (without vowel loss)</td>
<td>[~il~as'pag]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonemic output _2</td>
<td>/~il'spag/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonetic realisation _2 (with vowel loss)</td>
<td>[~il'spag]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The derived word /\~il\'spag/ contains the only case of a consonant cluster occurring within one syllable. Consonant clusters are discussed in §2.1.2.

7.1.2 Final Root-Vowel Loss

Loss of the final root vowel only applies to roots with penultimate stress when suffixation occurs. This process applies to roots of the following types.

- Disyllabic roots ending in an open syllable:
  - ‘cv\_x.cv\_x’ where both v\_x are /o/ or /a/;
  - ‘cv\_x.cv\_y’ where v\_x is not /a/ and v\_y is /a/;

- Roots ending in a closed syllable containing either /a/ or /a/.

**’cv\_x.cv\_x Roots where both v\_x are /o/ or /a/** Final root vowel loss commonly occurs with disyllabic roots having /a/ as both vowels. However, these roots also show the following characteristic. When the intervocalic consonant is a stop, it is usually ‘underlyingly’ voiced. This is illustrated for the roots /\~laga/ and /\~?ala/, beginning respectively in a consonant and a vowel, when suffixed with the stress-shift suffix -/\~en/ ‘PATV/IPF’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>/~laga/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Suffixation</td>
<td>/~laga/ + -/~en/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonemic output</td>
<td>/lag~~en/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonetic realisation (with stress re-assignment, [?] epenthesis, and vowel loss)</td>
<td>[dag~~en]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Vowel Processes

Root /ʔala/
Suffixation /ʔala/ + -/ən/
Phonemic output /ʔalʔən/

Phonetic realisation (with stress re-assignment, [ʔ] epenthesis, and vowel loss) [ʔalʔən]

In these cases stress re-assignment applies and the final unstressed root-vowel is lost. However, prior to vowel loss, a glottal stop is inserted between the final vowel of the root and the suffix. When the final root-vowel is lost the glottal stop remains as shown in the phonetic realisations [dagʔən] and [ʔalʔən].

Examples of vowel loss with stops other than /g/ have not been attested in the present data set, hence no further generalization can be made.

Final root-vowel loss also occurs with this root type when both vowels are /o/, like /ˈtodo/ ‘teach, show’. However, in most cases vowel loss is optional, as for the root /ˈbono/ ‘kill’.

Root /ˈtodo/
Multiple affixation /ʔi/- + /ˈtodo/ + -/ən/
Phonemic output /ʔitodʔən/

Phonetic realisation (with stress-shift, [ʔ] epenthesis and vowel loss) [ʔirodʔən]

Root: /ˈbono/
Suffixation /ˈbono/ + -/ən/
Phonemic output₁ /boˈnoʔən/

Phonetic realisation₁ (with stress-shift, [ʔ] epenthesis, and no vowel loss) [ʔuˈnoʔən]

Phonetic realisation₂ (with [ʔ] epenthesis, and vowel loss) [ʔunʔən]

Roots where Vₓ is not /a/ and Vᵧ is /a/ In a few cases, final vowel loss occurs in this root type as the result of suffixation. This is illustrated below for the root /ˈsida/ ‘viand’.

ˈcvₓ.cvᵧ Roots where Vₓ is not /a/ and Vᵧ is /a/
7.1 Vowel Loss

Root /'sida/
Suffixation /'sida/ + -/an/
Phonemic output /sid'?an/

Phonetic realisation (stress re-assignment, [?]
epenthesis
and vowel loss) [sid'?an]

Root ending with a closed syllable containing either /a/ or /æ/ These roots are primarily disyllabic. Final vowel loss with such disyllabic roots results from suffixation, as illustrated below for the roots /'dalan/ ‘route, path way’ and /'balaj/ ‘house, inhabit’ when suffixed with the stress-shift suffix -/an/ ‘LOCV/IPF’, and the root /ba'læg/ ‘big’ when affixed with the stress-shift set /,ka/- -/an/ ‘AbsN’.

Root /'dalan/
Suffixation /'dalan/ + -/an/
Phonemic output /dal'nan/

Phonetic realisation (with stress re-assignment, and vowel loss) [tfal'nan]

Root /'balaj/
Suffixation /'balaj/ + -/an/
Phonemic output /bal'jan/

Phonetic realisation (with stress re-assignment, and vowel loss) [æw'æl'dæn]

Root /ba'læg/
Multiple affixation /,ka/- +/ba'læg/+ -/an/
Phonemic output /,kabal'gan/

Phonetic realisation (with stress-shift, and vowel loss): [,kabal'kan]

A trisyllabic root showing similar characteristics may also undergo this type of vowel loss when suffixed, as for the root /,?ali'baj/ ‘entertain’.

Root /,?ali'baj/
Suffixation /,?ali'baj/ + -/an/
Phonemic output /?a'libjan/

Phonetic realisation (with stress-shift, vowel-raising, and vowel loss) [?æd'dibjan]
Special Case: *tanem* ‘plant’ There is only one case, /'tanəm/ ‘plant’, in which the disyllabic root not only loses its final vowel when suffixed, but also metathesizes the two resultant contiguous consonants. However, this is the same metathesis that occurs in Cebuano and Tagalog, so it’s more likely that this one example of metathesis is actually just a borrowing.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root:</th>
<th>/'tanəm/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Suffixation</td>
<td>/'tanəm/ + -/an/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonemic output</td>
<td>/tam'nan/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonetic realisation (with stress re-assignment, vowel loss, and metathesis)</td>
<td>[tam’nan]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 7.2 Vowel Alteration

When certain derivational processes affect stress, the vowels /a/ and /ə/ undergo one of the following two vowel alteration processes.

- Vowel Raising (§7.2.1)
- Vowel Lowering (§7.2.2)

#### 7.2.1 Vowel Raising

In vowel raising /a/ is raised to [ə] as the result of derivation and stress-shift. It occurs in roots which begin with a stressed open syllable containing /a/, whether disyllabic, like /'laga/ ‘make, deed’, or trisyllabic, like /,sala.mat/ ‘thank’, when prefixed by /,man/- ‘ActV/IPF’, a stress-shift affix. The intervocalic consonant is geminated due to the presence of the preceding [ə].

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>/'laga/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prefixation</td>
<td>/,man/- + /'laga/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonemic output</td>
<td>/,manla'ga/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonetic realisation (with stress-shift, and vowel raising)</td>
<td>[,mandak'ka]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
7.2 Vowel Alteration

Vowel raising also occurs as the result of liaison when a word ending with an open, unstressed syllable containing /a/ receives an enclitic causing the final syllable to become a closed syllable. This is exemplified for the word /wada/ ['bəara] ‘exist’ plus the enclitic =/j/ ‘NOM’ (allomorph of /ʔi/).

| Host word | /wada/ |
| Liaison   | /wada/ + =/j/ |
| Phonemic output | /wadaj/ |
| Phonetic realisation (with vowel raising) | [bəroj] |

Similarly, vowel raising occurs when the enclitic =/n/ ‘LK’ (allomorph of /ja/) is attached to a word ending with /a/, such as /’dowa/ ['1;fuwa] ‘two’.

| Host word | /’dowa/ |
| Liaison   | /’dowa/ + =/n/ |
| Phonemic output | /’dowan/ |
| Phonetic realisation (with vowel raising) | [fuwan] |

7.2.2 Vowel Lowering

In vowel lowering /a/ is lowered to [a] as the result of derivation and stress-shift. This mainly occurs in trisyllabic roots with a Ca.Ca.CV(C) pattern, and particularly where raising of the first vowel also applies (§7.2.1). This is illustrated for the root /,?ala’gaj/ ‘stand up’ when prefixed by the stress-shift affix /,man/- ‘ACTV/IPF’.

| Root         | /,?ala’gaj/ |
| Prefixation  | /,man/- + /,?ala’gaj/ |
| Phonemic output | /,man?ala’gaj/ |
| Phonetic realisation (with stress-shift, vowel raising and vowel lowering) | [man?ad’dagaj] |
Part II

Nouns and Quantification Terms
Overview of Part II

This part classifies the nouns of Ibaloy. Quantification terms are mainly nouns, but a few are verbs and adverbs. All quantification terms are described in Chapter 11.

Ibaloy makes the following partition amongst nouns:

- lexical nouns, and
- pronouns.

Lexical nouns are subdivided into personal nouns (Chapter 8) and common nouns (Chapter 9). A personal noun is a noun that refers to an individual by name. It is always definite and human (or treated as such). Personal nouns include proper names of people (§8.1) and title terms (§8.2). Common nouns include human nouns (§9.1), non-human nouns (§9.2), gerunds (§10.12), and quantification nouns (Chapter 11). However, these divisions are not strict ones, and there is a fair amount overlapping between some of these subclasses of nouns.

Moreover, the division between personal and common nouns can also be marked at the phrase level through the use of the appropriate determiner. Ibaloy distinguishes between personal phrases and common phrases, typically defined by the determiner that introduces the phrase. Determiners are divided between personal and common determiners (Chapter 13). In principle, any noun can occur as part of such phrases and be treated as a personal or a common nominal. See Chapter 30 for details.

Morphologically, nouns are subdivided into underived (or monomorphemic) nouns and derived nouns. Derived nouns include reduplicated nouns, affixed nouns and gerunds which are all common nouns. Except for reduplicated nouns which are treated alongside their unreduplicated forms, affixed nouns and gerunds are discussed separately in Chapter 10.

Finally, pronouns are divided into personal pronouns (Chapter 16) and demonstrative pronouns (Chapter 14).
Chapter 8

Personal Nouns

Personal nouns head a personal noun phrase (§30.2), and unless used vocatively or, less commonly, as predicate nominals, they are introduced by a personal determiner (§31.2). Note that, in this case, the absence of such a determiner is perceived as lack of respect and politeness. In (1), the proper name of person Batmak is the head of the personal determiner phrase introduced by the personal determiner si ‘NOM/PERS’.

(1) inakbow si Batmak
    ina-kabow si batmak
    STAPATV/PFT-thirst NOM/PERS Batmak

‘Batmak was thirsty’

Personal nouns are used to address and name particular individuals both speaker and hearer can identify, and so they tend not to appear with modifiers, possessors, or other devices that render nouns more identifiable, nor do they usually occur reduplicated.

Personal nouns include the following two subclasses.

- Proper names of people (§8.1)
- Title terms (§8.2)

8.1 Proper Names of People

Proper names of people are sex specific. Some are of Spanish origin. Others, especially nowadays, are of English (American) origin.

1Amongst these names, those ending in -a denote a female referent, while those ending in -o have a male referent. Some of these names have a diminutive, affectionate form which usually involves the formative -ing. However, this is not a productive process and seems to involve primarily female names of Spanish origin. For instance, Teresita has Tering as its diminutive/affectionate form.
Although proper names of people refer to human entities, they differ from human nouns in that they are unmarked for plural number. This is because a proper name is by definition a unique individual. It follows that they never occur reduplicated (a device that with some nouns indicate plurality) and when modified by the plural marker *ira* /ʔida/ (§33.3), then the whole phrase involves at least two participants one of which is referred to by its proper name. Consider the following example.

\[(2) \quad \text{say kaitko ket si Manang Melba ira} \]
\[\text{saj gaʔit=ko kat si manaŋ melba }\text{ʔida} \]

\[\text{TOP friend, companion=1/GEN TPLK NOM/PERS Title/elder siter Melba PL} \]

'as for my companions, they were Melba and her family'

Kinship terms may be treated as proper names of people. When regarded as such, they occur possessed and are preceded by a personal determiner (Chapter 13).

\[(3) \quad \text{inaspoltос asebaton bii chi} \]
\[<\text{in}>\text{ʔaspol=to=s }\text{ʔasawa=to=n biʔi di} \]
\[<\text{PATV/PFT}>\text{meet=3/GEN=NOM/PERS spouse=3/GEN=LK female, woman LOC} \]

\[\text{simbaan nonta agsapa} \]
\[\text{simbaʔan nonta }\text{ʔagsapa} \]

\[\text{church when-past morning} \]

'he met his wife at church in the morning'

Peculiar to proper names of people is that they can form a compound with a title term (§8.2) as *Manang Melba* in the above example. A sequence of two proper names such as the first name and the last name of a person also forms a nominal compound (§3.5.3) such as *Julia Bucaycay*.

## 8.2 Title Terms

Title terms are primarily used to show respect and politeness. Peculiar to this subclass of nouns is the ability to occur before the noun they refer to without the linker *ja* (usually used in relative clauses). The title term together with the following noun (usually a proper name) constitutes a nominal compound (§3.5.3).

Title terms may also be used as vocatives. In this case they are not preceded by a personal determiner. However, they may be optionally followed by a proper name as for *Lolang Elisa* ‘Grandmother Elisa’.

Title terms usually precede proper names of people, except for a few cases such as when the common nouns *pari* /padi/ ‘priest’ and *diyos* ‘god’ are used as part of a personal noun phrase.
8.2 Title Terms

Title terms include kinship terms, names of prestigious professions, and English titles. Some example follows.

\begin{verbatim}
Apo  /?apo/  ‘sir, madam; religious person’
Lolong  ‘grandfather’
Lolang  ‘grandmother’
Manong  /manong/  ‘elder brother’
Manang  /manang/  ‘elder sister’
Uncle  ‘uncle’
Auntie  ‘aunt’
Mr  ‘Mister’
Miss  ‘Miss’
Mayor  ‘major’
President  ‘president’
\end{verbatim}
Chapter 9

Common Nouns

9.1 Human Nouns

Human nouns differ from non-human nouns in one important respect. Plurality is conveyed through initial cv- reduplication (§9.1.1) rather than initial cvc(v)-reduplication as for non-human nouns (§9.2.1).

Gender in Ibaloy nouns is not grammaticalised. For some nouns there exist two separate sex-specific forms. This is often the case with kinship terms and Spanish loan words.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>female</th>
<th>male</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lolang</td>
<td>‘grandmother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nanang /nanaŋ/</td>
<td>‘mother, mum’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ina /ʔina/</td>
<td>‘mother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maystara</td>
<td>‘teacher (Sp.)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>doktor</td>
<td>‘doctor (Sp.)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For all other nouns the sex of a referent can be specified with a relative clause introduced by the linker ja and followed by either daki /laki/ ‘male, man’ for a male referent as in (1) or bii /biʔi/ ‘female, woman’ for a female referent as in (2). This is not grammatical gender since it has no consequences elsewhere in the grammar of Ibaloy.

(1) baknanga doki
    baknaŋ=a laki
    rich person=LK male, man
    ‘rich man’
Some of the most frequently used human nouns include the following.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>anak</td>
<td>/ʔanak/</td>
<td>'child'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baknang</td>
<td>/baknaŋ/</td>
<td>'rich person'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>balasang</td>
<td>/balasaŋ/</td>
<td>'maiden'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>balodaki</td>
<td>/balolaki/</td>
<td>'bachelor'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bii</td>
<td>/biʔi/</td>
<td>'female, woman'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daki</td>
<td>/laki/</td>
<td>'male, man'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marikit</td>
<td>/madikit/</td>
<td>'pretty woman'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>too</td>
<td>/toʔo/</td>
<td>'person'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nouns referring to human professions and nationalities are also part of this sub-class. Some of these nouns are borrowed from Spanish, while others are from English.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>amerikano</td>
<td></td>
<td>'American person, foreigner (Sp.)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>italian</td>
<td></td>
<td>'Italian person (Eng.)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ispanjol</td>
<td>/ʔispanjol/</td>
<td>'Spanish person (Sp.)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pilipino</td>
<td>/pilipino/</td>
<td>'Philippine person (Sp.)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abokado, abokaro</td>
<td></td>
<td>'lawyer (Sp.)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mayor</td>
<td></td>
<td>'major (Sp.)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pari</td>
<td>/padi/</td>
<td>'priest'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>president</td>
<td></td>
<td>'president (Eng.)'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Finally, kinship terms are also members of the subclass of human-nouns. Moreover, they usually occur possessed as in (3). Some English kinship terms may also be used.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>apo</td>
<td>/ʔapo/</td>
<td>'grandchild, ancestor'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lolang</td>
<td></td>
<td>'grandmother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lolong</td>
<td></td>
<td>'grandfather'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nanang</td>
<td>/nananŋ/</td>
<td>'mother, mum'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tatang</td>
<td>/taʔaŋ/</td>
<td>'father, dad'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ina</td>
<td>/ʔina/</td>
<td>'mother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ama</td>
<td>/ʔama/</td>
<td>'father'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aseba</td>
<td>/ʔasowa/</td>
<td>'spouse'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agi</td>
<td>/ʔagi/</td>
<td>'sibling'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ading</td>
<td>/ʔaliŋ/</td>
<td>'younger sibling'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manang</td>
<td>/manaŋ/</td>
<td>'older sister'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Kinship terms can be used as proper names of people, as discussed in (§8.1), and a few of these terms can also be used as title terms, as discussed in §8.2.

### 9.1.1 Reduplication with Human Nouns

Human nouns are distinguished from non-human nouns in that plurality may be marked through initial CV-reduplication. This is exemplified below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CV-reduplicated form</th>
<th>base</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aama /ʔaʔama/</td>
<td>ama /ʔama/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aanak /ʔaʔanak/</td>
<td>anak /ʔanak/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aaki /ʔaʔagi/</td>
<td>agi /ʔagi/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bibii /ʔibiʔi/</td>
<td>bii /ʔiʔi/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bebaknang /babaknaʔ/</td>
<td>baknang /ɓaʔknaʔ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dedaki /lalaki/</td>
<td>daki /laki/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>totoo /totoʔo/</td>
<td>too /ʔoʔo/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bebedasang /babalasaʔ/</td>
<td>balasang /ɓaʔlaʔaʔ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bebdasang /babalasaʔ/</td>
<td>balasang /ɓaʔlaʔaʔ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bedasang /balasaʔ/</td>
<td>balasang /ɓaʔlaʔaʔ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bebedolaki /babalolaki/</td>
<td>balolaki /ɓaʔlaʔaʔ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bebdolaki /babalolaki/</td>
<td>balolaki /ɓaʔlaʔaʔ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bedolaki /balolaki/</td>
<td>balolaki /ɓaʔlaʔaʔ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>memachikit /məmadikit/</td>
<td>marikit /maʔdiʔiʔ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mechikit /maʔdiʔiʔ/</td>
<td>marikit /maʔdiʔiʔ/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
9.2 Non-Human Nouns

Initial CV- reduplication causes stress shift and various morpho-phonemic alternations discussed in §3.5.2.

(4) *sota bíti, *irakaemanje *nodta
   sota CV-bi?i *taka=*amaN-tajaw *nodta
   NOM/REC PL-woman 3+/NOM/ASP=ACTV/CNTV-traditional dance LOC/REC

*maykedban abolekengkeng
majka-dowa=n ?a-bolaka?baj
ORDNUM-two=LK STA/PATV/PFT-round shape

‘as for the women, they usually dance in the second circle’

Particular to human nouns is the fact that when they are marked for plurality, they are optionally referred to by a third person plural pronominal form as in (4), whereas non-human plural nouns are referred to by a singular pronoun §9.2.1.

9.2 Non-Human Nouns

Non-human nouns include nouns denoting animals, insects, plants, and inanimate entities as well as abstract entities or concepts.

Apart from their meaning, non-human nouns differ from human nouns in their pattern of reduplication. They mainly receive initial cvc(v)- reduplication to indicate multiplication which with some nouns may be associated with plurality of some kind. However, other reduplication patterns may also apply to gradable nouns. Reduplication with non-human nouns is treated in §9.2.1.

Concrete Inanimate Nouns Non-human nouns denoting concrete inanimate entities include landscape terms, instruments, items of wear and others. These may be count nouns (e.g. *taed /taʔəd/ ‘knife’) or mass nouns (e.g. *chagem /dagəm/ ‘wind’). The list below includes just a few, arranged alphabetically.

- *apoy /ʔapoj/ ‘fire’
- *arina /ʔasın/ ‘flour’
- *asin /ʔaʔın/ ‘salt’
- *asok /ʔaʔək/ ‘smoke’
- *asokal /ʔaʔəkal/ ‘sugar’
- *atep /ʔatəp/ ‘roof’
- *baybaj /bajbaj/ ‘sea’
- *baley /baleʔ/ ‘house’
- *banet /ʔaʔən/ ‘rope’
- *balo /ʔado/ ‘clothes’
Common Nouns

- chagem /dagom/ 'wind'
- chalan /dalan/ 'path'
- chanom /danom/ 'water'
- chontog /dontog/ 'mountain'
- kalsara 'road'
- kanchiro /kandido/ 'cooking pot'
- kayebang /kaجاب/ 'basket'
- kolpot /kolpot/ 'cloud'
- damisaan /lamisa؟an/ 'table'
- danti /lanti/ 'hail'
- dekeb /lakab/ 'door'
- dogan /logan/ 'vehicle'
- dota /lota/ 'earth'
- oran /؟odan/ 'rain'
- pa’dok /pa?lok/ 'creek'
- powek /powak/ 'storm'
- sekit /sagit/ 'sky, sun'
- sepatos /sapatos/ 'shoe'
- sira /sida/ 'viand'
- taed /ta？ad/ 'knife'
- talaw /talaw/ 'star'
- tawa /tawa/ 'window'

Body-Part Nouns  Body-part nouns often occur possessed to express a part-whole relationship (§33.2). They include the following.

- abada /؟ابالا/ 'shoulder'
- adeng /؟الاى/ 'nose'
- altay /؟التاى/ 'liver'
- apko /؟اپکو/ 'gall bladder'
- bakas /bakas/ 'waist'
- bala /bala/ 'lung'
- beneg /؟بنچ/ 'back'
- bongot /بوجت/ 'mouth'
- bowek /bowek/ 'hair'
- chapan /؟اداى/ 'sole of foot'
- chila /ديل/ 'tongue'
- ekes /？يگوى/ 'stomach'
- iming /؟ييمى/ 'moustache'
- kajekan /کاچکان/ 'arm pit'
- kalomot /كارامو/ 'finger, toe'
- keray /کرکو/ 'eyelash'
- koko /كوكو/ 'nail'
9.2 Non-Human Nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dopa</td>
<td>/lopə/</td>
<td>‘face’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mata</td>
<td>/maʈə/</td>
<td>‘eye’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>olpo</td>
<td>/ʔoʔlpə/</td>
<td>‘thigh’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pagow</td>
<td>/paŋəw/</td>
<td>‘chest’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palad</td>
<td>/paʃəl/</td>
<td>‘palm of hand’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pangal</td>
<td>/paŋəl/</td>
<td>‘jaw’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paspas</td>
<td>/paʃpəs/</td>
<td>‘eyebrow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pokel</td>
<td>/poʔkəl/</td>
<td>‘bone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poso</td>
<td>/poʔso/</td>
<td>‘heart’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poweg</td>
<td>/poʔweŋ/</td>
<td>‘knee’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sabingig</td>
<td>/saʔbiŋiʔ/</td>
<td>‘beard’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sangi</td>
<td>/saŋi/</td>
<td>‘tooth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sedi</td>
<td>/sədi/</td>
<td>‘leg, foot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sobil</td>
<td>/səbiʔ/</td>
<td>‘lip’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soso</td>
<td>/soʔso/</td>
<td>‘breast’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sosot</td>
<td>/soʔsoʔ/</td>
<td>‘intestine’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>takday</td>
<td>/taʔklaj/</td>
<td>‘arm, hand’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>talinga</td>
<td>/taʔliŋa/</td>
<td>‘ear’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tamil</td>
<td>/taʔmiʔ/</td>
<td>‘cheek’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tekding</td>
<td>/teʔkiŋ/</td>
<td>‘ankle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>timid</td>
<td>/tiʔmiʔd/</td>
<td>‘chin’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toktok</td>
<td>/toʔtok/</td>
<td>‘head’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tologtog</td>
<td>/toʔloʔtoʔ/</td>
<td>‘spine’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tomok</td>
<td>/toʔmoʔk/</td>
<td>‘forehead’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Locational Nouns  Locational nouns also belong to the non-human subclass. Like body parts, they tend to occur in a part-whole relationship. Some of these nouns are also body part terms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>arabi</td>
<td>/ʔaʔdawi/</td>
<td>‘far’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>esop</td>
<td>/ʔeʔsoʔp/</td>
<td>‘near’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>askang</td>
<td>/ʔaʔskɑŋ/</td>
<td>‘next’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daem</td>
<td>/laʔom/</td>
<td>‘inside’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>despag</td>
<td>/laʔ.espag/</td>
<td>‘down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>doong</td>
<td>/loʔoŋ/</td>
<td>‘under’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tapew</td>
<td>/taʔpəʔw/</td>
<td>‘top’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saʔpat</td>
<td>/saʔpaʔt/</td>
<td>‘up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pesaw</td>
<td>/ʔeʔsaw/</td>
<td>‘downstream’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sedong</td>
<td>/ʔeʔdong/</td>
<td>‘upstream’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>awidi</td>
<td>/ʔaʔwiʔi/</td>
<td>‘left side, hand’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kawanang</td>
<td>/kawanaʔn/</td>
<td>‘right side, hand’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beneg</td>
<td>/bənəɡ/</td>
<td>‘back’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toktok</td>
<td>/toʔtoʔk/</td>
<td>‘head, summit’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Temporal Nouns  A few nouns denoting time periods are treated as non-human nouns. Some of these nouns are also treated as time units discussed in §11.2 as part of quantification terms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>akew</td>
<td>/ʔakow/</td>
<td>'day'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apo</td>
<td>/ʔapo/</td>
<td>'generation'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bolan</td>
<td>/bolan/</td>
<td>'month, moon'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taw’en</td>
<td>/tawʔen/</td>
<td>'year'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Plant Nouns  Another sub-type of non-human nouns includes nouns denoting plants and other related entities such as vegetables.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bolong</td>
<td>/bolɔŋ/</td>
<td>'leaf'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karot</td>
<td></td>
<td>'carrots'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kiyew</td>
<td>/kijɔw/</td>
<td>'wood, tree'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>damot</td>
<td>/lamot/</td>
<td>'root'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dokto</td>
<td>/lokto/</td>
<td>'root crop'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mais</td>
<td></td>
<td>'corn'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nateng</td>
<td>/nataŋ/</td>
<td>'vegetable'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>panga</td>
<td>/paŋa/</td>
<td>'branch'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pising</td>
<td>/piŋiŋ/</td>
<td>'taro'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>salching</td>
<td>/saldiŋ/</td>
<td>'pine tree'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Animate Non-human Nouns  Also non-human nouns are nouns denoting animate entities. These include animals and insects. Like human nouns, sex is not grammaticalized. In some cases, two separate sex-specific nouns are available.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>baka</td>
<td>/baka/</td>
<td>'cow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kilaw</td>
<td>/kilaw/</td>
<td>'calf'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nowang</td>
<td>/nowaŋ/</td>
<td>'buffalo'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kabajə</td>
<td>/kabajo/</td>
<td>'horse'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kanching</td>
<td>/kandiq/</td>
<td>'goat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>olsa</td>
<td>/ʔolsa/</td>
<td>'deer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bomadasang</td>
<td>/bomalasəŋ/</td>
<td>'big female four-legged vegetarian animal (e.g. cow)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bomalo</td>
<td>/bomalo/</td>
<td>'male four-legged vegetarian big animal (e.g. cow)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baboy</td>
<td>/baboŋ/</td>
<td>'pig'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaong</td>
<td>/kaʔoŋ/</td>
<td>'female pig'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>onengal</td>
<td>/ʔonagəl/</td>
<td>'male pig'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kechil</td>
<td>/kadil/</td>
<td>'castrated pig'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kotkoti</td>
<td>/kotkoti/</td>
<td>'young pig'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
9.2 Non-Human Nouns

Abstract Nouns  Nouns denoting some abstract concepts or less concrete entities also form a subtype of non-human noun.

- agang  /ʔagag/  'hunger'
- alisto  /ʔalistɔ/  'fast thing'
- amta  /ʔatamta/  'knowledge'
Some of these nouns are particularly interesting, having adjectival characteristics. Due to the presence of some gradable components in their semantic structure, reduplication often carries a meaning other than simple plurality. Moreover, different patterns of reduplication are available to emphasise different degrees of intensity of their gradable component/s. See §9.2.1 for more details.

It is possible for some of these nouns to be polysemous with human nouns. For instance, *marikit /madikit/ ‘female beauty’ and *marikit /madikit/ ‘beautiful woman, pretty female, usually unmarried’. However, when treated as a non-human noun, then it is its abstract property-like feature that is perceived as central to its meaning. Abstract nouns may also occur possessed as shown in the following example.

(5) *kakamaepal ni *marikitto?
  kakama-epal ni marikit=to
  2/NOM/ASP=STAPATV/1PP=jealous GEN female beauty=3/GEN

  ‘are you feeling jealous of her beauty?’

Abstract nouns also occur as nominal predicate (Chapter 38) as in (6) or as modifiers (§33.1), as in (7).
9.2 Non-Human Nouns

(6) **palit iyay**

palit ?ijay
expensive NOM/PROX/PRO

‘this is expensive (this is an expensive item)’

(7) **dimawda sota daki ja baknang**

<im>law=da sota laki ja baknaq
<ACTV/PFT>go=away NOM/REC man LK rich

‘the rich man went away (the man who is rich went away)’

**Action Nouns** Finally, there are nouns that refer to events. Peculiar to these nouns is the fact that initial CVC(V) reduplication derives durative nouns, as discussed in §9.2.1. They include the following.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Reduplication</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>akad</td>
<td>/?akad/</td>
<td>‘walk, walking’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>betik</td>
<td>/botik/</td>
<td>‘run, running’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ekal</td>
<td>/?akal/</td>
<td>‘removal’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daga</td>
<td>/laga/</td>
<td>‘deed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>doto</td>
<td>/loto/</td>
<td>‘cooking’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ogip</td>
<td>/?ogip/</td>
<td>‘sleep’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(8) **paspas i akadto**

paspas ?i ?akad=to
fast NOM walk, walking=3/GEN

‘his walking is fast’

**Proper Names of Places** Proper names of places include names of cities, villages, provinces, and countries. Proper names of places usually occur in Locative-marked phrases. Moreover, some of these nouns may participate in a derivational process which derives an origin noun (§10.2) denoting a person who originated from that place. Like proper names of people, place names do not occur reduplicated.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cities</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bagiw</td>
<td>/bagiw/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bokod</td>
<td>/bokod/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kabejan</td>
<td>/kabajan/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manida</td>
<td>/manila/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘Baguio’   ‘Bokod’   ‘Kabayan’   ‘Manila’
Peculiar to some of these names is that they may form a grammatical compound together with a noun (usually a borrowed term) that specifies the type of location involved. The specifying noun usually follows the place name. For instance, the Spanish loan barrio ‘district, barrio’ in Kabayan barrio. The only exception involves the term M aunt which precedes the place name as in M aunt Pulag. These compounds are examples of code-switching.

Such compounds are rather productive and are evidently a calque of foreign constructions such as English. See §3.5.3.

9.2.1 Reduplication with Non-Human Nouns

Two different types of reduplication can be identified for Ibaloy nouns. One applies to human nouns as discussed in §9.1.1, the other to non-human nouns. Generally, both types of reduplication indicate plurality, multiplication or abundance of some kind. However, the notion of plurality proper is really only applicable to human nouns. In other cases, reduplicated nouns behave more as mass nouns rather than plural nouns.

Plurality, in fact, is not obligatory in Ibaloy noun phrases. The notion may be optionally conveyed by a variety of devices including reduplication. Other ways of marking plurality include a relative clause construction involving a quantification term (e.g. numeral) or the use of the plural marker ira /ʔida/. See Chapter 33 for details.

There is a subclass of non-human nouns for which several patterns of reduplication
9.2 Non-Human Nouns

are available. These nouns have in their semantic structure a property-like com-
ponent which is gradable. In this case, reduplication is employed as an intensifier
device mainly for comparative purposes. These nouns are labelled “gradable” or
“adjectival” nouns.

Since reduplication carries different meanings depending on the type of reduplication
and the semantics of the noun involved in the reduplication, it is described below in
relation to noun semantics. Reduplication is a derivational process, and its result
may be unpredictable.

Nouns which receive initial CVC(V)- reduplication usually refer to a concrete entity.
This pattern indicates multiplication of that entity. The English translation is indeed
misleading. Depending on the template of the word either initial CVC- or CVCV-
reduplication applies (§3.5.2).

Nouns of this type include the following.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CVC-reduplicated form</th>
<th>base</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>chonchontog /dondontog/</td>
<td>&quot;mountains&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mangmangka /manjangga/</td>
<td>&quot;mangoes,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mango trees&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>natnateng /natnatah/</td>
<td>&quot;vegetables&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa'pa'dok /pa?pa?lok/</td>
<td>&quot;creeks&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tawtaw'en /tawta?ton/</td>
<td>&quot;years&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CVCV-reduplicated form</th>
<th>base</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>akeakew /?aka?akow/</td>
<td>&quot;days&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biyebiyag /bijabijag/</td>
<td>&quot;lives&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>balebalay /balabala?/</td>
<td>&quot;houses&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kiyekiyew /kijakijaw/</td>
<td>&quot;trees&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>payepayew /pajapajaw/</td>
<td>&quot;rice-fields&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>talatalaw /talatalaw/</td>
<td>&quot;stars&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When applied to nouns that may refer to a landscape feature, initial CVC(V)- redup-
plication derives distributive nouns. The derived noun refers to a territory character-
ized by the abundant presence of the entity reduplicated. For instance, chonchontog
/dondontog/ ‘mountains’ may refer to a ‘mountainous place’. Similarly, balebalay
/balsabalaj/ ‘houses’ may refer to a ‘village’, that is a collection of houses over a
territory. Consider the following example.

(9) tcp say edapoanchango        ali ket
    tap saj ?a-lapo-an=da=yo    ?ali ket
    because TOP POTLocV/PFT-come-LocV=3+/GEN=also toward TPLk
**chonchontog** ya dogad
CVC-dontog ja logad
MULT-mountain LK place

‘because as for where they came from, it is a mountainous place’

When a mass noun undergoes CVC(v)-reduplication it generally indicates the abundant presence of that entity.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CVC(v)-reduplicated form</th>
<th>base</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>characharat /dadadadat/</td>
<td>‘lot of sand’ charat /dadat/ ‘sand’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>edeedet /?al?alat/</td>
<td>‘lot of grass’ edet /?alat/ ‘grass’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, when the reduplicated mass noun refers to a location, then it is a distributive noun. For instance, edeedet /?al?alat/ ‘grassy place’ derived from edet /?alat/ ‘grass, weed’ or characharat /dadadadat/ ‘sandy place’ derived from charat /dadat/ ‘sand’.

When initial CVC(v)-reduplication occurs on a noun referring to an activity, then it usually indicates that the activity is “durative”, namely repeated or extending over a period of time. For instance, the reduplicated noun betibetik /betibetik/ derived from betik /betik/ ‘run’ means ‘continuously running’ (or alternatively ‘lot of running over a period of time’). Consider the following example.

(10) nabdeyak ni betibetik nem
na-balaj=ak ni CVCV-botik nem
STAPATV/PFT-tired=1/NOM GEN MULT-run when/if
tebalentoak
tawal-an=to=ak
call out-PATV/IPF=3/GEN=1/NOM

‘I am tired of continuously running whenever he calls me’

Nouns referring to an abstract entity which is characterized by the presence of a gradable property-like component may receive different patterns of reduplication. Three main patterns of reduplication can be identified, namely CV-, CVC(v)- and CVC(v)CV-. As a general tendency, the more of the word is reduplicated the more strongly the gradable element is present in the meaning of the derived noun.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CV-</th>
<th>CVC-</th>
<th>CVCCV-</th>
<th>base</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bebaknang</td>
<td>bakkabaknang</td>
<td>baknabaknang</td>
<td>baknang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/babakanaj/</td>
<td>/bakkabanaj/</td>
<td>/bakanabanaj/</td>
<td>/bakanaj/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘little rich’</td>
<td>‘very rich’</td>
<td>‘extremely rich’</td>
<td>‘rich’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, two main types of reduplication can be identified for these nouns, plus a
third one only available to nouns with three syllables or two syllables where both syllables are usually heavy (CVC). In all cases, patterns of reduplication are primarily constrained by the template of the word.

Initial CV- reduplication usually indicates the presence in small quantity of the gradable element which characterizes the noun that undergoes reduplication, except for a few cases.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CV-reduplicated form</th>
<th>base</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>bebaknang</em> /babaknaŋ/</td>
<td>'little rich'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>didinis</em> /linis/</td>
<td>'little clean'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pepedit</em> /papalit/</td>
<td>'little expensive'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pepetang</em> /popaŋ/</td>
<td>'little warm'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>teteg'in</em> /tataŋin/</td>
<td>'little cold'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This pattern of reduplication causes stress-shift and other morpho-phonemic processes to occur to the root/stem; see §3.5.2.

(11) *pepedit* *iya* *apaq, niya?*

CV-palit ?ija ?apag nija
QUASI-expensive NOM/PROX meat TAG

'it is a little expensive this meat, isn’t it?'

There are a few nouns that occur already partially reduplicated in their basic form. These include *ootik* /ʔoʔotik/ ‘small, young thing’ and *kokonting* /kokontiŋ/ ‘small, cute thing’.

A final remark refers to homophonous pairs of words. Limitative reduplication (abbreviated as QUASI) is not usually used with human nouns like *baknang* /baknaŋ/ ‘rich person’ that have a homophonous form *bebaknang* /babaknaŋ/ ‘rich people’ to indicate plurality. However, if a limitative noun is derived from a human noun, then context will generally disambiguate it from its homophonous plural form.

Depending on the phonological make up of the word involved in the reduplication, initial CVC- or CVCV- reduplication applies. This type of reduplication for gradable nouns indicates the presence in abundance of the property-like characteristic in the derived noun.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CVC-reduplicated form</th>
<th>base</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>bakkabnang</em> /bakbkaŋŋ/</td>
<td>'very rich'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tegteg'in</em> /taŋtaŋin/</td>
<td>'very cold'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are, however, a few exceptions. These are mostly nouns that have some initial reduplication in their basic form, for instance, ootik /ʔoʔotik/ ‘small, young thing’ and kokonting /kokontiŋ/ ‘cute and small thing’. When intensified through reduplication the noun ootik /ʔoʔotik/ becomes ootikotik /ʔoʔotikotik/ ‘very small, young thing’, and the noun kokonting /kokontiŋ/ ‘cute and small entity’ becomes konkontiling /konkontiliŋ/ ‘very cute and small thing’.

Finally, CVCCV- or CVCCVC- reduplication is only available for nouns with three syllables or two syllables where usually both syllables are CVC (heavy). This type of reduplication pattern contrasts with initial CVC(V)- reduplication in that the property-like component is present in much more abundance.
Ibaloy has a rich derivational system. Below are some of the most common noun derivations. The base of the derivation may be a common noun (e.g. human noun, non-human noun) or a verb. Nouns derived from verbs include gerunds, discussed in §10.12.

10.1 Locative Nouns

The suffix -an /-an/ derives locative nouns from action roots. The derived noun refers to the place associated with the state-of-affairs described by the root.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>derived form</th>
<th>base</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>chokolan /dokolan/</td>
<td>‘bed, floor’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iskoydaan /?iskoja?an/</td>
<td>‘school’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dotoon /loto?an/</td>
<td>‘cooking place (e.g. kitchen)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ogipan /?ogipan/</td>
<td>‘sleeping place’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tongawan /tongawan/</td>
<td>‘chair’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tongkalan /tonggalan/</td>
<td>‘shop’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) jet sota tongawan mongo, inon’an nen Peter
   jat sota towag-an=m0=no <in>tonaj-an nan p peter
   and then NOM/REC sit-LOCN=2/GEN=also <LOCV/PFT>see-LOCV GEN/PERS Peter
   ‘as for your chair, Peter saw (it)’
In addition to -an suffixation, Ibaloy has a much more productive process which applies to verbs in order to derive gerunds indicating a location associated with the state-of-affair described by that verb. Some of these gerunds are listed in §10.12.

### 10.2 Origin Nouns

When the prefix *i-*/?i/- is affixed to a noun referring to a geographical location (e.g. a cardinal noun or a proper name of place) it signals origin of the person/people it denotes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>derived form</th>
<th>base</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>iBokod</em> /?ibokod/ `person from Bokod'</td>
<td><em>Bokod</em> /bokod/ `Bokod'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>iKabayan</em> /?ikabajan/ `person from Kabayan’</td>
<td><em>Kabayan</em> /kabajan/ `Kabayan’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>iManida</em> /?imanila/ `person from Manila’</td>
<td><em>Manida</em> /manila/ `Manila’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>iPepsaw</em> /?ipapsaw/ `person from the North’</td>
<td><em>Pesaw</em> /pasaw/ `North’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(3) *si’kato* ?i *apo ni iKabayan*  
  *si?gato* ?i *?apo ni ?i-kabajan*  
  3/IND NOM master GEN ORIGN-Kabayan  

‘he is the master of the people from Kabayan’

The prefix *taga-* /taga-/* may also be used in place of the native equivalent, as in *tagaAmerica* ‘person from America’.

### 10.3 Season Nouns

The prefix *si-*/si/- is usually affixed to agricultural terms to indicate the season associated with it. The prefix *si-* may also co-occur with the suffix -an, and typically causes stress-shift (§6.1).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>derived form</th>
<th>base</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>siani</em> /si?ani/ `rice harvest season’</td>
<td><em>ani</em> /?ani/ `harvest rice’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sibochas</em> /sibodas/ `harvest season’</td>
<td><em>boras</em> /bodas/ `harvest’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹The prefix *taga-* is an Ilokano borrowing.
10.4 Instigator Nouns

The prefix *para-* /pada-/ is usually added to verbal roots to derive nouns referring to a person responsible for carrying out the action described by the root. However, these nouns are not usually used to indicate a regular occupation (the continuative form of the Actor verb is used for this). This derivation is probably of Spanish origin. In Spanish the marker *para* means ‘for’ and is used to indicate a recipient or purpose. However, in Ibaloy it is lexicalised.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>derived form</th>
<th>base</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sitamnan /sitamnan/</td>
<td>‘planting season’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sitenam /sitanam/</td>
<td>‘planting season’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10.5 Reciprocal Nouns

The prefix *san-*/san-/* performs two semantic types of derivation. One is best regarded as a form of quantification and is described in §11.3.3. In the other, described
here, \textit{san-} derives reciprocal nouns from human root, most of them kinship terms.

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|}
\hline
\textit{derived form} & \textit{base} \\
\hline
\textit{san’agi} /\textit{san’agi/} & \‘pair of siblings’ \textit{agi} /\textit{agi/} ‘sibling’ \\
\textit{san’aama} /\textit{san’aama/} & \‘father and son’ \textit{ama} /\textit{ama/} ‘father’ \\
\textit{san’aseba} /\textit{san’aseba/} & \‘married couple’ \textit{aseba} /\textit{aseba/} ‘spouse’ \\
\textit{sanka’jem} /\textit{sanka’jem/} & \‘pair of friends’ \textit{ka’jem} /\textit{ka’jem/} ‘friend’ \\
\textit{san’ina} /\textit{san’ina/} & \‘mother and daughter’ \textit{ina} /\textit{ina/} ‘mother’ \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

When the relationship involves more than two people, a \textit{cv-} reduplicated form of the root is used (§9.1.1).

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|}
\hline
\textit{derived form} & \textit{reduplicated base} \\
\hline
\textit{san’aaki} /\textit{san’aaki/} & \‘reciprocal siblings’ \textit{aaki} /\textit{aaki/} ‘siblings’ \\
\textit{san’aama} /\textit{san’aama/} & \‘father and sons’ \textit{aama} /\textit{aama/} ‘fathers’ \\
\textit{san’asawa} /\textit{san’asawa/} & \‘married couples’ \textit{asawa} /\textit{asawa/} ‘spouses’ \\
\textit{san’ina} /\textit{san’ina/} & \‘mother and daughters’ \textit{ina} /\textit{ina/} ‘mothers’ \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

The prefix \textit{san-} can also derive a noun denoting a reciprocal relationship from comitative nouns derived with \textit{ka-} (-an) (see below).

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|}
\hline
\textit{derived form} & \textit{affixed base} \\
\hline
\textit{sankabedey} /\textit{sankabedey/} & \‘pair of housemates’ \textit{kabedey} ‘housemate’ \\
\textit{sankasedian} /\textit{sankasedian/} & \‘pair of people sharing same foot size’ \textit{kasedian} ‘same foot size’ \\
\textit{sankataw’enan} /\textit{sankataw’enan/} & \‘pair of people sharing the same age’ \textit{kataw’enan} ‘same age’ \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

\section*{10.6 Comitative Nouns}

The notion of shared possession is usually conveyed by affixing the prefix \textit{ka-} /\textit{ka-}/ to a noun referring to the shared entity. \textit{Ka-} may also co-occur with the suffix \textit{-an} /\textit{-an/}, and usually causes stress-shift (§6.1).

The following nouns denote a person who shares the location denoted by the root.
### 10.7 Abstract-State Nouns

Abstract-state nouns can be derived with the prefix *ka-*/ˈkɑ-/ from roots which have some state-like component in their semantic structure. The prefix *ka-* typically causes stress-shift (§6.1).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>derived form</th>
<th>base</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>kabolanan</em> /ˈkɑbələnɑ/</td>
<td><em>bolan</em> /ˈbələn/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kasedian</em> /ˈkɑsəliən/</td>
<td><em>sedi</em> /ˈsaˌli/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>katawˈenən</em> /ˈkɑtəwəˈnən/</td>
<td><em>tawˈen</em> /ˈtawən/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With the following nouns the same quantity or size is shared.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>derived form</th>
<th>base</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>kaaneng</em> /ˈkɑnəŋ/</td>
<td><em>aneng</em> /ˈənəŋ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kaootik</em> /ˈkɑoˈtitik/</td>
<td><em>ootik</em> /ˈətik/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kakejjang</em> /ˈkɑkəjʃɑŋ/</td>
<td><em>kayang</em> /ˈkɑjəŋ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kamachikit</em> /ˈkɑməʃikɪt/</td>
<td><em>marikit</em> /ˈmaˌrikɪt/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kapodno</em> /ˈkɑpodno/</td>
<td><em>podno</em> /ˈpodno/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kasmek</em> /ˈkɑsmək/</td>
<td><em>semek</em> /ˈsəmək/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are a few abstract-state nouns that occur possessed. These include *kaootik* /ˈkɑoˈtitik/ ‘childhood’ and *kaaneng* /ˈkɑnəŋ/ ‘youth’.

> (7) nem nontanda *kaootikmi, nayparit ja*
> nam nontan=la ka-ʔoʔotik=mi naj-padit ja
> but time-past=away ABSTN-small=1+/GEN POTPATV/PFT-prohibit, forbid LK
> meonˈan i meking
> moʔonəj-an ?i məkiŋ
> POTLOCV/IPF-see-LOCV NOM mummy

‘but a long time ago in our childhood, to see the mummies was prohibited’
10.8 Universal Nouns

When the prefix *ka- /ka-/* is added to a plural reduplicated noun the derived noun indicates the entire species, race or class of entities designated by that noun. Two separate types of plural reduplication apply to human nouns and non-human nouns, respectively initial *cv-* reduplication and initial *cvc(v)-* reduplication. The first example in the following table is a human noun with *cv-* reduplication, and the rest are non-human nouns with initial *cvc(v)-* reduplication.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>derived form</th>
<th>reduplicated base</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>katotoo</em> /katotoʔo/</td>
<td><em>totoo</em> /totoʔo/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'human race'</td>
<td>'people'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kaasoaso</em> /kaʔasoʔaso/</td>
<td><em>asoaso</em> /asoʔaso/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'dogs in general'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kabarobaro</em> /kabadobado/</td>
<td><em>barobaro</em> /badobado/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'clothes in general'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kakankanchiro</em> /kakankandido/</td>
<td><em>kankanchiro</em> /kankandido/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'pots in general'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kapayepayew</em> /kapajopajaw/</td>
<td><em>payepayew</em> /pajopajow/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'rice-fields in general'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>katalatalaw</em> /katalatalaw/</td>
<td><em>talatalaw</em> /talatalaw/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'stars in general'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10.9 Superlative Nouns

The circumfix *ka- -an /ka- -an/* derives superlative nouns from any root containing a gradable component. This circumfix indicates the prominence of this gradable element in the derived noun. However, the intensity of its presence can be varied through reduplication. The circumfix *ka- -an* typically causes stress-shift (§6.1).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>derived form</th>
<th>base</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>kabaknangan</em> /kabaknajan/</td>
<td><em>baknang</em> /baknaʔ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'richest'</td>
<td>'rich'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kabalkan</em> /kabalgan/</td>
<td><em>badeŋ</em> /balog/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'biggest'</td>
<td>'big'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kabitekan</em> /kabitogan/</td>
<td><em>biteg</em> /bitog/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'poorest'</td>
<td>'poor'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kamechikitan</em> /kamadikitani/</td>
<td><em>marikit</em> /madikit/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'prettiest'</td>
<td>'pretty woman's'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kapeditan</em> /kapalitan/</td>
<td><em>palit</em> /palit/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'most expensive'</td>
<td>'expensive'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kaptengan</em> /kaptəjan/</td>
<td><em>petang</em> /pataŋ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'warmest'</td>
<td>'warm'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Different types of reduplication pattern apply to gradable nouns, as discussed in
§9.2.1. Nouns marked for intensive reduplication (either initial CVC(V)- reduplication, CVC(V)CV- reduplication) can participate in this derivation type.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>derived form</th>
<th>reduplicated base</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kabakbaknangan</td>
<td>‘the very richest’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kabakbaknaʔan/</td>
<td>/bakbaknaʔ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kabaknabaknangan</td>
<td>‘the most extremely</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kabaknaʔaʔaʔan/</td>
<td>/baknaʔaʔaʔ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kamachimachikitan</td>
<td>‘the very pretty’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kamadimadikitan/</td>
<td>/madimadikit/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kamachimachikitan</td>
<td>‘the most extremely</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kamadimadikitan/</td>
<td>‘extremely pretty’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kamadimadikitan/</td>
<td>/madimadikit/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Finally, the circumfix ka- -an also occurs on time units. See §11.2 for details.

10.10 Pretense Nouns

Initial Ce- /Ca- reduplication is used to derive pretense nouns, i.e. nouns that refer to diminutive imitations of the real thing (often for play). Consider the following examples.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>derived form</th>
<th>base</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aaso</td>
<td>/ʔaʔoso/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʔaʔaso/</td>
<td>‘toy dog’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʔaso/</td>
<td>‘dog’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bebedey</td>
<td>/bobalaj/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/bobalaj/</td>
<td>‘play house’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/baley/</td>
<td>/balej/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/baley/</td>
<td>‘house’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bebecho</td>
<td>/bəʔaðo/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/bəʔaðo/</td>
<td>‘toy clothes’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/baro/</td>
<td>/bəʔo/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/baro/</td>
<td>‘clothes’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kekebajo</td>
<td>/kakabajo/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kakabajo/</td>
<td>‘horse figurine’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kabajo/</td>
<td>/kabajo/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kabajo/</td>
<td>‘horse’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dedamisaʔan</td>
<td>/ləlamisaʔaʔan/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ləlamisaʔaʔan/</td>
<td>‘toy table’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/damisaʔan/</td>
<td>/lamisaʔaʔan/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/table/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tetoo</td>
<td>/təʔoʔaʔo/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/təʔoʔaʔo/</td>
<td>‘doll’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tooʔo/</td>
<td>/təʔo/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/‘person’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10.11 Resemblance Nouns

The prefix sinan- /sinan-/ is used to indicate an entity which resembles (usually physically as in shape) the noun used in the derivation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>derived form</th>
<th>base</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sinamposo /sinanposo/</td>
<td>‘heart shaped entity’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sinantoo /sinantoʔo/</td>
<td>‘human looking entity’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/poso /poso/</td>
<td>‘heart’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/too /toʔo/</td>
<td>‘person’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, the prefix sinan- occurs most of the times on Ce- reduplicated nouns. Ce-
reduplication typically causes stress-shift and various morpho-phonemic alternations discussed in §3.5.2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>derived form</th>
<th>co-reduplicated base</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sinan’aaso</td>
<td>aaso /ʔaʔaso/ ‘toy dog’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sinambebadey</td>
<td>bebadey /bəbaləj/ ‘toy house’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sinambebii</td>
<td>bebii /bəbiiʔi/ ‘female doll’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sinandedaki</td>
<td>dedaki /lalək/i/ ‘male doll’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sinampeposa</td>
<td>peposa /pəpəsaʔi/ ‘toy cat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sinantetoo</td>
<td>tetoʔo /tətoʔo/ ‘doll’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10.12 Gerunds

Gerunds are nouns derived from verbs that retain some verb-like features such as aspect. Their formation is rather regular. The most common gerunds are derived from intransitive dynamic verbs. Those derived from the Actor verbs have /m/ of the imperfective actor affix replaced by /p/. Those derived from the potentielle Undergoer set of verbs, then have /m/ of the imperfective potentielle affix replaced by /k/. The perfective form is achieved by adding the prefix in- /ʔin-/ to the imperfective form, except that in- entirely replaces i- /ʔi-/.

Three types of gerunds are identified: manner, instrument and location/reason. Gerunds are mainly used to refer to the way an action is performed, the fact that an action is performed and the reason why an action is performed.

The manner and the instrumental forms are identical except that no instrumental form is derived from the dynamic Actor on- /ʔon-/ set. In Table 10.1 and Table 10.2, these forms are combined into one column.
Table 10.1: Gerunds Derived from Intransitive Actor Verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Manner/ Instrumental</th>
<th>Location/ Reason</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Actor</td>
<td>IPF</td>
<td>PFT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on-</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>in-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/?i-/</td>
<td>/?in-/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man-</td>
<td>pan-</td>
<td>inpan-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/pan-/</td>
<td>/?inpan-/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meN-</td>
<td>peN-</td>
<td>inpaN-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/poN-/</td>
<td>/?inpaN-/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mengi-</td>
<td>pengi-</td>
<td>inpengi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/poji-/</td>
<td>/?inpoji-/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peki-</td>
<td>peki-</td>
<td>inpeki-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/poki-/</td>
<td>/?inpoki-/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mampa-</td>
<td>pampa-</td>
<td>inpampa-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/pampa-/</td>
<td>/?inpampa-/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maka-</td>
<td>paka-</td>
<td>inpaka-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/paka-/</td>
<td>/?inpaka-/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All participants involved in the state-of-affairs denoted by the gerunds are expressed as non-Nominative arguments, that is either as Genitive or Oblique. However, the fact that these forms are nominals of some sort does not imply that they cannot be used as a predicate. Like all nouns, they can function as predicates (§38.1).

Gerunds are often used in questions and cleft constructions. Instrument/manner gerunds usually denote a type of activity or the way an action is done. They are most commonly used in temporal constructions to refer to specific instances of an...
action denoted by the root. Some examples include (8), (9), (10), and (11). Locative gerunds are instead used to denote reason, source or location, as shown in (11), (12) and (13), (14) and (15).

(8) *nem eman’ochan nonta indawmi*
nom ?sman-?oden nonta ?in-law=mi
but ACTV/PROG-rain when-past MnRGER/PFT-go=1+/GEN

‘but it was raining during our departure’

(9) *sota itayebancha so nontan, nontan,*
NOM/REC LOCV/IPF-traditional dance-LocV=3+/GEN OBL/PRO time-past

*satan i panbindiyancha*
NOM/REC pan-binlijan=da

‘as for the reason to dance for the dead, that is the way of celebrating their *bindiyan* feast’

(10) *tep sota bindiyancha, singa pandedsakcha*
NOM/REC bindiyan=da

*because NOM/REC bindiyan feast=3+/GEN like, as MnRGER/IPF-happy=3+/GEN*

‘because as for their *bindiyan* feast, it is as if it were their way of feeling happy’

(11) *idi imoli i iBontoc,*
when-past <ACTV/PFT>return NOM FROM-Bontoc

*inpanbalincha ni panpidakan i*
CAUSINSTR/PFT-transform=3+/GEN GEN LOCGER/IPF-money-Loc/GER NOM

*pantattoo*
pan-tattoo
MnRGER/IPF-tattoo

‘when the people from Bontoc returned, they transformed (made) the way of tattooing into a source of money’

(12) *tep si’kamin Ibaloy, egmi ninemnem ji*
tap si’gami=n ibaloy ?og=mi <in>nemnem jì
because 1+/IND=LK Ibaloy NEG=1+/GEN <PATV/PFT>think LK/jì

*panpidakan gayam i tattoo*
pan-pilak-an gayam ?i tattoo
LOCGER/IPF-money-LOCGER indeed NOM tattoo

‘because we Ibaloy people, we did not think of the tattoo as a source of money (business)’
10.12 Gerunds

(13) **inkowantoday**

\[?in-kowan=to=djaj\] ya wada kono \[?i sakaj ja\]

THMV/PFT-say=3/GEN=LOC/PROX/PRO LK exist hearsay NOM one LK

**panganan**

\[paN-kan-an\] LOCGER/IPF-eat-LOCGER

‘he said that here it is said that there is an eating place (restaurant)’

(14) **tan bara iray engkokonting ya karton ya pengijanan**

\[tan wada ?idaj ?an-cv-konti\] ja \[karton ja paN-tijan-an\]

and exist PL/NOM STAV/EN-tiny LK box \[LK LOCGER/IPF-put, stay-LOCGER\]

\[ni kompormi\]

\[ni kompormi\]

GEN anything

‘and there are tiny boxes which are the containers of anything’

(15) **sajay ya parte sota kowancha yi ‘camping site’ ono dogad**

\[sajaj ja parte sota kowan=da ji \] camping site \[?ono logad\]

TOP/PROX/PRO LK part NOM/REC say=3+/GEN LK camping site or place

\[ja panchokolan\]

\[tan pangitowenan ni\]

ja \[pan-dokol-an\] tan \[panj-i-towan-an\]

LK LOCGER/IPF-lie down-LOCGER and LOCGER/IPF-erect-LOCGER GEN

**kaokipan**

\[ka-?ogip-an\]

LOCGER/IPF-sleep-LOCGER

‘this part here is what they say ‘camping site’ or an area for lying down and erecting a sleeping place (tent)’
Chapter 11

Quantification Terms

Ibaloy quantification terms include the following three major semantic subcategories.

- Numerals (§11.1)
- Non-Numeral Time Units (§11.2)
- Measurement Units (§11.3)

These subcategories comprise different word classes. They include nouns, stative verbs and adverbs.

Quantification nouns behave distinctly from common nouns (Chapter 9) in that reduplication and affixation carry certain meanings which differ from other subcategories of nouns. For instance, when initial cv- reduplication occurs on human nouns it indicates plurality of some kind as in bibii /bibiʔi/ 'women', derived from bii /biʔi/ 'woman' (see §9.1.1), but when applied to numerals, it indicates limitative meaning, as in didima /likima/ ‘only five’ derived from dima /lima/ ‘five’. The prefix san- /san-/ also has a different meaning when attached to a quantification form. With animate nouns (especially human nouns), it produces a reciprocal meaning (as in san’agi /sanʔagi/ ‘reciprocal siblings’; see Chapter 10). However, when it occurs with quantification units such as time units, it means ‘whole’, as in san’akew /sanʔakew/ ‘whole day’, derived from akew /ʔakew/ ‘day’.

Some quantification terms are stative verbs and carry stative morphology (see Chapter 17). However, many of these verbs have what seems to be a complex prefix. For instance, the ordinal numeral maykadima /majkalima/ ‘fifth’ is derived from the cardinal dima /lima/ ‘five’. Two analyses are available for ordinals. One is to analyse them as containing the single prefix mayka- /majka-. The other is to analyse mayka- as the prefix sequence may-ka-. When my language consultants were asked to identify the prefix in these derivations, they consistently identified it as mayka-. Hence, mayka- is treated as a single form.
11.1 Numerals

Ibaloy numerals follow a decimal system. Ibaloy distinguishes several classes of numerals, each with its own forms and function(s). Most classes are nouns but a few are stative verbs. The classes of numerals can be summarized as follows.

**Cardinals** are used in counting or expressing quantity: one, two, etc.

**Ordinals** express order, rank or time: first (time), second (time), etc. Ordinals are a type of stative verb.

**Multiplicatives** express a multiple: twice, thrice, etc.

**Frequentatives** express time or degree of kinship: once, two times, first degree, second degree, etc.

**Distributives** indicate an amount distributed to a single entity: one each, two each, etc.

**Limitatives** indicate only the quantity expressed by the numeral: only one, only two, etc.

**Fractions** indicate a part of a whole: half, one-third, two-thirds, etc.

**Clock Time** refer to clock time: one o’clock, half past three, etc.

Aside from native Ibaloy numerals, Ibaloy speakers make use of two further sets of numerals; one borrowed from English and the other from Spanish. Generally, both Spanish and English numerals are used in situations arising from assimilation of Western practices such as telling dates, and time in hours, quoting prices, and other measurements. The three sets are by no means mutually exclusive. For instance, with reference to money or age, numerals from any of the three sets may be used. However, they occur in different constructions, suggesting that borrowed numerals have been borrowed along with the grammatical structure found in their language of origin (see §11.1.8). Moreover, with borrowed words pronunciation is not always consistent amongst speakers, even of the same geographical area and family.

11.1.1 Cardinals

Cardinals are used in counting or expressing quantities. Ibaloy cardinals from 1 to 9 are monomorphemic word forms.
sakey /sakaj/ 'one'
chowa /dowa/ 'two'
tedo /talo/ 'three'
empat /?ampat/ 'four'
dima /lima/ 'five'
enem /?anam/ 'six'
pito /pito/ 'seven'
balo /balo/ 'eight'
siyam /sijam/ 'nine'

Numerals over 9 are morphologically complex, formed by counting in terms of base ten groups. Each power of ten is associated with a particular stem.

polo /polo/ 'tens'
dibo /libo/ 'thousands'
dasos /lasos/ 'hundreds'

The cardinal numeral itself is formed by prefixing san- /san-/ to a power of ten stem, with the exception of the borrowed numeral milion. Nasal assimilation occurs between the -n of the prefix and the following consonant (§5.1).

sampolo /sanpolo/ 'ten'
sandasos /sanlasos/ 'one hundred'
sandibo /sanlibo/ 'one thousand'

The cardinal for 'one million' is constructed by the numeral sakey 'one', followed by the cliticised form of the ligature (=a 'LK') followed by the borrowed numeral milion. The whole construction is regarded as a single grammatical unit; see §3.5.3.

sakeya milion
sakaj=a milion
one=LK million

'one million'

Numerals between eleven and nineteen can be formed in two separate ways. One way makes use of the stem polo in the fashion described above. A second way uses the base sawal /sawal/ 'teen' linked to the cardinals from one to nine by the Genitive determiner ni /ni/ 'GEN'. Both sets are equally in use. In both cases the whole construction expressing the numeral constitutes a single and unbreakable grammatical unit.

sawal ni sakey /sawal ni sakaj/ 'eleven'
sampolo tan sakey /sanpolo tan sakaj/ 'eleven'
sawal ni chowa /sawal ni dowa/ 'twelve'
A multiple (between two and nine) of a power of ten is formed by the root for the multiple and the stem for the power of ten linked by one of the cliticised forms of the ligature /ja/ (either /=n/ or /=a/). However, the resulting form constitutes a single word. Homorganic assimilation occurs between the -n of the ligature and the following consonant (see §3.2 and §5.1).

Cardinals are added together using the conjunction /tan/ ‘and’. Although the resultant numeral expression is constituted by phonologically independent words, grammatically as well as semantically they form a single unit.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>dimandibo tan tedompolo tan siyam</th>
<th>dimandibo tan tedompolo tan siyam</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/limanlibo tan talonpolo tan sijam/</td>
<td>/sanpolo tan sakaja libo/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘five thousand and thirty nine’</td>
<td>‘eleven thousand’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 11.1.2 Multiplicative Numerals

Multiplicative numerals indicate how many times something is done. They are formed by adding the prefix /pin-/ to the cardinal numeral, except for ‘one’, for which the abbreviated form /pinsak/ is used.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>pinsak</th>
<th>pinsak/</th>
<th>‘once’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pinchowa</td>
<td>/pindowa/</td>
<td>‘twice’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Quantification Terms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pintedo</td>
<td>/pintalo/</td>
<td>'three times'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pin'epat</td>
<td>/pin?apat/</td>
<td>'four times'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) \[ \text{maetchaseban} \quad \text{i} \quad \text{chiket} \quad \text{ni} \quad \text{pinchowa} \]
\[
\text{ma-?atdasab-an} \quad \text{?i} \quad \text{dikat} \quad \text{ni} \quad \text{pin-dowa} \\
\text{PotLocV/IMP-wash LocV Nom sticky rice GEN MultNum-two} \\
\]

‘the sticky rice will be washed twice’

The prefix \text{pin-} also occurs in the quantification term \text{pinchakal} /pindakal/ ‘many times’, derived from \text{chakel} /dakal/ ‘many, lot’. See §11.3.2.

Multiplicative numerals are nouns which often occur in adverbial phrases introduced by the Genitive determiner \text{ni} as in the above example. However, they may participate in further derivational processes. For instance, Theme verbs can be derived from them with the prefix \text{i-} ‘THMV/IPF’ to mean ‘repeat something the number of times expressed by the stem’, as in the following example.

(2) \[ \text{i} \quad \text{pinchowamoga} \quad \text{i} \quad \text{ngarancha} \quad \text{son} \quad \text{si’kak} \]
\[
\text{?i-pindowa=mo=ga} \quad \text{?i} \quad \text{gadan=da} \quad \text{so=n} \quad \text{si?qak} \\
\text{THMV/IPF-twice=2/GEN=polite Nom name=3+/GEN OBL=GEN/PERS 1/IND} \\
\]

‘repeat please twice their names to me’

### 11.1.3 Ordinals

Ordinals refer to a member of a list arranged in a sequential or logical order. Two main sets of ordinal numerals can be identified. Both make use of the derivational prefix \text{mayka-} /majka-/ and are a subclass of stative verbs. A first set is derived from cardinal numerals, a second set is derived from multiplicative numerals.

Ibaloy also makes use of a third set of ordinal numerals, based on Spanish ordinals. However, it is a limited set, usually up to seven, of which only the first three are in everyday use.

All three sets share the first ordinal numeral, as the Spanish word \text{pilmero} is commonly used to refer to the numeral ‘first’, although there exists an Ibaloy native counterpart \text{kapangdoan} /kadolo?an/ which is rarely used. The term \text{kapangdoan} is derived from \text{pangdo} /kpajo/ ‘first’ with the superlative circumfix \text{ka- -an} /ka- -an/ (see Chapter 10).

Two forms are also available to refer to the last member. One is the Spanish word \text{ultimo} ‘last’, and the other is the superlative noun \text{kaonoran} /ka?onodan/ which is derived from the verbal root \text{onod} /?onod/ ‘follow’ with the circumfix \text{ka- -an} (see Chapter 10).
11.1 Numerals

Ordinals Derived from Cardinal Numerals  The most commonly used ordinals are formed by prefixing *mayka-* to the cardinal numeral. This prefix usually causes stress-shift and various morpho-phonemic alternations to occur to the root involved in the derivation(§6.1).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ordinal</th>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pilmero</td>
<td>/kmplrm/</td>
<td>'first'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapangdoan</td>
<td>/kapqndn/</td>
<td>'first'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maykedbo</td>
<td>/mjkdbw/</td>
<td>'second'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mayketdo</td>
<td>/mjktdw/</td>
<td>'third'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mayka'pat</td>
<td>/mjkpat/</td>
<td>'fourth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maykadima</td>
<td>/mjkdlm/</td>
<td>'fifth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mayka'nem</td>
<td>/mjknam/</td>
<td>'sixth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maykapito</td>
<td>/mjkpdto/</td>
<td>'seventh'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maykabedo</td>
<td>/mjkbdw/</td>
<td>'eighth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maykasiyam</td>
<td>/mjkdsj/</td>
<td>'ninth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maykasampolo</td>
<td>/mjksplo/</td>
<td>'tenth'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(3) mapteng, sikak i pilmeron ondaw
ma-pataq si?gak ?i pilmero=n on-law
STAV/MA-good, well, fine 1/IND NOM first=LK ACTV/IPF-go

'fine, I am the first to go'

(4) jet no maykadiman akow bara sota kaondarag
jat no mjkadima=n ?akow wada sota kn=?on-ladag
and then if/when ORDNUM-five=LK day exist NOM/REC HAB=ACTV/IPF-swallow

'then on the fifth day there is the habitual swallowing (of the skin)'

Ordinals Derived from Multiplicative Numerals  The second set of ordinals is derived by prefixing *mayka-*/majka-/ to the multiplicative numerals. The ordinal 'first' is again the Spanish word *pilmero*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ordinal</th>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pilmero</td>
<td>/kmplrm/</td>
<td>'first'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maykapintedo</td>
<td>/mjkpintalo/</td>
<td>'third'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maykapinchowa</td>
<td>/majkpinwlo/</td>
<td>'second'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Like ordinals derived from cardinal numerals, this set indicates sequential order with reference to time. There also seems to be a relationship between the members of the list. They often belong to a single entity as shown in the following examples.

(5) say “love” ket epat ya letter-word
saj love kot ?apat ja letter-word
TOP love TPLK four LK letter-word

'“love” is a four letter word'
Spanish Ordinals  The Spanish ordinals are listed below. Their use is mainly confined to speakers of the old generation who have either learnt Spanish at school or had a Spanish influence in their upbringing.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ordinal</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pilmero</td>
<td>‘first’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>segundo</td>
<td>‘second’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tertsero</td>
<td>‘third’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwarto</td>
<td>‘fourth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwinto, kinto</td>
<td>‘fifth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sesto</td>
<td>‘sixth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>septimo</td>
<td>‘seventh’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ultimo</td>
<td>‘last’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11.1.4 Frequentative Numerals

Frequentative numerals are formed by adding the prefix kapi- /kapin- to the cardinal numerals, with the exception of ‘one’.

They serve two separate functions. The first is in reference to time: ‘first time’, ‘second time’, etc. The number one is an exception. The numeral pinsak /pinsak/ ‘fist time’ is used instead. Alternatively, the phrase pilmeron tempo ‘first time’ can be used.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequentative</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pinsak</td>
<td>‘first time’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapinchowa</td>
<td>/kapindowa/ ‘second time; next time’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapintedo</td>
<td>/kapintalo/ ‘third time’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Frequentatives are nouns that often fulfill an adverbial function. They usually occur in temporal phrases preceded by the temporal preposition no /no/ ‘if/when (nonpast)’ or nonta /nonta/ ‘when-past’.
11.1 Numerals

(8) no kapinchowa, piyanenmon man’iyen chi
no kapin-dowa piyan-an=mo=n man-?ijan di
if/when FREQNUM-two like-PATV/IPF=2/GEN=LK ACTV/IPF-stay LOC

kad’anmon dota, ah ah ah!
kad?an=mo=n Iota ?ah ?ah ?ah
place=2/GEN=LK earth, ground ah ah ah

‘the second (next) time, you’ll wish to stay on your earthly place, ah ah ah!’

(9) nonta pinsak, nanbakal iray babaknang
nonta pinsak nan-bakal ?ida=j cv-bakna!
when-past first time ACTV/PFT-fight PL=NOM PL-rich person

‘the first time, the rich people fought each other’

They may also occur possessed, as in the following example.

(10) sajayma i kapinchowa nen Manang chi Australia,
sajaj=ma ?i kapin-dowa nan manau di australia
TOP/PROX=then NOM FREQNUM-two GEN/PERS Title/elder sister LOC Australia

niya?
nija
TAGQUEST

‘your second time in Australia is this one here, isn’t it?’

Pinsak /pinsak/ may also occur reduplicated. Limitative CV- reduplication gives pipinsak /pipinsak/ ‘only once’(§11.1.6). Distributive CVC(V)- reduplication gives pinpinsak /pinpinsak/ ‘once in a while’. A third term, san’ipinsak /san?ipinsak/ ‘once in a (usually longer) while’ seems to contain the numeral pinsak /pinsak/ as part of its form (although its derivation is not clear). These derived forms are primarily used in adverbial phrases introduced by the Genitive determiner ni /ni/ ‘GEN’.

(11) nansangailiak ni pipinsak
nan-saja?ili=ak ni cv-pinsak
ACTV/PFT-menstruate=1/NOM GEN LIMTNUM-1/GEN

‘I menstruated only once’

The second function of frequentatives is to indicate the degree of relation between kinship members. The Spanish word pilmero is used for the first degree. For the eldest or first member in the family, the kinship term pangodoan /paJolo?an/ is instead used (see §9.1).

Two different constructions are available to express degree of kinship. One makes use of the linker ja /ja/ (or its allomorph =n /=n/) between the frequentative numeral and the kinship term.
### Quantification Terms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pilmeron kasinsin</td>
<td>cousin of first degree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapinchowan apo</td>
<td>great grandchild</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapin-dowa n</td>
<td>cousin of second degree</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Example Sentence:

(12) *nonta aagsapa chi market, inon’anko sota*

when-past morning <in>LOC see-LocV=1/GEN NOM/REC

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kapintedon kasinsin nen lolita</td>
<td>this morning at the market, I saw Lolita's cousin of third degree</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The other construction makes use of the Genitive determiner *ni* between the kinship term and the frequentantive numeral.

#### 11.1.5 Distributive Numerals

Distributive numerals are used to express the amount distributed to a single entity. They are formed by prefixing *san-* to a cardinal numeral. Initial CV-reduplication is optional with certain numerals.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numerals</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sanseskey</td>
<td>one each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sansesakey</td>
<td>one each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sancheda</td>
<td>two each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sanchechedba</td>
<td>two each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>santedo</td>
<td>three each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>santetedo</td>
<td>three each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>san’a’pat</td>
<td>four each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>san’a’epat</td>
<td>four each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sandima</td>
<td>five each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sandidima</td>
<td>five each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>san’a’inem</td>
<td>six each</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
11.1 Numerals

Distributive numerals are nouns and primarily function as nominal predicates as in (13). They may also occur as complements, but with non-specific reference, so they are usually encoded as Genitive-marked undergoer complements as in (14). They are also found as the Nominative complement of an existential construction, as in (15).

(13) \textit{santedo} \quad i \quad \textit{indami} \\
\text{san-talo} \quad ?i \quad \text{<in>?ala=mi} \\
DISTRNum-three \quad NOM \quad <\text{PatV/PFT}> \text{get}=2+/\text{GEN} \\
\text{‘three each is what we got’}

(14) \textit{inaknantakejo} \quad ni \quad \textit{sanchedba} \\
\text{<in>?akan-an=takajo} \quad ni \quad \text{san-cv-dowa} \\
<\text{LocV/PFT}> \text{give-LocV}=1/\text{GEN&2+}/\text{NOM GEN DISTRNum-two} \\
\text{‘I gave you two each’}

(15) \textit{baray} \quad \textit{sanpipito} \\
\text{wada=j} \quad \text{san-cv-pito} \\
exist=\text{NOM DISTRNum-seven} \\
\text{‘there are seven each’}

11.1.6 Limitative Numerals

Limitative numerals are derived from cardinals through initial \textit{cv-} reduplication. They are used to indicate ‘only’ the quantity expressed by the cardinal numeral.

\begin{align*}
\textit{sesakey} & \quad /\text{sasakoj}/ \quad \text{‘only one’} \\
\textit{chechedba} & \quad /\text{dododwa}/ \quad \text{‘only two’} \\
\textit{teteto} & \quad /\text{totalo}/ \quad \text{‘only three’} \\
\textit{aepat} & \quad /\text{?a?apat}/ \quad \text{‘only four’} \\
\textit{didima} & \quad /\text{lilima}/ \quad \text{‘only five’} \\
\textit{aenem} & \quad /\text{?a?anam}/ \quad \text{‘only six’} \\
\textit{pipito} & \quad /\text{pipito}/ \quad \text{‘only seven’} \\
\textit{bebedo} & \quad /\text{wawalo}/ \quad \text{‘only eight’} \\
\textit{sisiyam} & \quad /\text{sisijam}/ \quad \text{‘only nine’} \\
\textit{sesampolo} & \quad /\text{sasanpolo}/ \quad \text{‘only nine’}
\end{align*}
Like distributive numerals, limitative numerals mainly function as predicates of nominal clauses as shown in (16) and (17). However, they may also occur as a Genitive complement as in (18).

(16) **didima** i kaitmo  
    cv-lima ?i ga?it=mo  
    LIMITNUM-five NOM friend=2/GEN  
    'your friends are only five'

(17) **pipitokami** ja san'agi  
    cv-pito=kami ja san-?agi  
    LIMITNUM-seven=2/NOM LK RECN-sibling  
    'we are only seven (set of/reciprocal) siblings'

(18) **itongkalantaka** ni **sesakey**  
    ?i-tongal-an=taka ni cv-sakaj  
    BNFV/IPF-buy-BNFV=1/GEN&2/NOM GEN LIMITNUM-one  
    'I will buy you only one'

Limitative meaning can alternatively be achieved through the use of the adverbial phrase *ni abos* /ni ?abos/ 'only' or the adverb *bengat* /baJJat/, as follows.

\[
\begin{align*}
  \text{sakeya bengat} & \quad \text{chowa ni abos} \\
  \text{sakaj=a bajat} & \quad \text{dowa ni abos} \\
  \text{one=LK only} & \quad \text{two GEN only} \\
  \text{‘only one’} & \quad \text{‘only two’}
\end{align*}
\]

### 11.1.7 Fractions

Ibaloy simple fractions (when the numerator is one) are formed by prefixing the denominator of the fraction with *ka-*/ka-/, except for ‘half’ which is formed by the prefix *kaga-*/kaga-/ attached to the cardinal numeral *chowa*/dowa/ ‘two’. The prefix *ka- usually causes stress-shift (§6.1).

\[
\begin{align*}
  \text{katdo} & \quad /katlo/ \quad \text{‘one third’} \\
  \text{ka’pat} & \quad /ka?pat/ \quad \text{‘one fourth’} \\
  \text{kalima} & \quad /kalima/ \quad \text{‘one fifth’} \\
  \text{ka’ nem} & \quad /ka?nem/ \quad \text{‘one sixth’} \\
  \text{kapito} & \quad /kapito/ \quad \text{‘one seventh’} \\
  \text{kabedo} & \quad /kawalo/ \quad \text{‘one eighth’} \\
  \text{kasiyam} & \quad /kasiyam/ \quad \text{‘one ninth’}
\end{align*}
\]
Fractions where the numerator is more than one are formed as follows. The numerator is expressed by a cardinal numeral, which precedes the denominator and is connected to it by the linker ja (or one of its allomorphs).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{chowen kalima} & \quad \text{tedon ka'pat} \\
dowa=n \text{ ka-lima} & \quad \text{talo=n ka-apat} \\
two=\text{LK FRACTNUM-five} & \quad \text{three=\text{LK FRACTNUM-four}} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘two fifths’ \quad ‘three fourths’

Fractions can also be used as partitives. In this case, they refer to a part of a whole.

\[
\begin{align*}
kacheba & /\text{kadowa/} & \text{‘second one/part’} \\
katdo & /\text{katlo/} & \text{‘third one/part’} \\
ka'pat & /\text{ka?pat/} & \text{‘fourth one/part’} \\
kalima & /\text{kalima/} & \text{‘fifth one/part’} \\
ka'nem & /\text{ka?nam/} & \text{‘sixth one/part’} \\
kapito & /\text{kapito/} & \text{‘seventh one/part’} \\
kabedo & /\text{kawalo/} & \text{‘eighth one/part’} \\
kasiyam & /\text{kasijam/} & \text{‘ninth one/part’} \\
\end{align*}
\]

(19) \text{baray} \quad \text{katdo} \\
wada=j \quad \text{ka-talo} \\
exist=NOM \text{FRACTNUM-three}

‘there is a third one’

### 11.1.8 Borrowed Numerals

In addition to the native Ibaloy numerals, Ibaloy speakers use numerals borrowed from Spanish and English, especially in certain semantic contexts. Spanish numerals are spelled to reflect the Ibaloy pronunciation; English spelling is instead retained for English numerals. The Ibaloy spelling of Spanish numerals is illustrated below.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{uno} & \quad \text{‘one’} & \text{onse} & \quad \text{‘eleven’} & \text{trenta} & \quad \text{‘thirty’} \\
\text{dos} & \quad \text{‘two’} & \text{dose} & \quad \text{‘twelve’} & \text{kwarrenta} & \quad \text{‘forty’} \\
\text{tres} & \quad \text{‘three’} & \text{trese} & \quad \text{‘thirteen’} & \text{singkwaenta} & \quad \text{‘fifty’} \\
\text{kwatro} & \quad \text{‘four’} & \text{katorse} & \quad \text{‘fourteen’} & \text{saisenta} & \quad \text{‘sixty’} \\
\text{singko} & \quad \text{‘five’} & \text{kinse} & \quad \text{‘fifteen’} & \text{setenta} & \quad \text{‘seventy’} \\
\text{sais} & \quad \text{‘six’} & \text{desisais} & \quad \text{‘sixteen’} & \text{ochenta} & \quad \text{‘eighty’} \\
\text{siete} & \quad \text{‘seven’} & \text{desisiete} & \quad \text{‘seventeen’} & \text{nobenta} & \quad \text{‘ninety’} \\
\text{ochko} & \quad \text{‘eight’} & \text{desiocho} & \quad \text{‘eighteen’} & \text{siento} & \quad \text{‘hundred’} \\
\text{nwebe} & \quad \text{‘nine’} & \text{desinwebe} & \quad \text{‘nineteen’} & \text{mil} & \quad \text{‘thousand’} \\
\text{dies} & \quad \text{‘ten’} & \text{beinte} & \quad \text{‘twenty’} & \text{milion} & \quad \text{‘million’} \\
\end{align*}
\]
Some of the more common semantic contexts in which borrowed numerals are used include dates, addresses, school grade levels, high amounts (of money or other measurement units such weight and distance). Amongst speakers of the younger generations or people competent in English, English is preferred to Spanish. Not everyone shows the same consistency of usage of borrowings. Where a choice is available, each speaker draws on whichever set he or she is more familiar with.

Unlike native numerals, the linker does not occur between the borrowed numeral and the following item that it quantifies. The two form a syntactic unit, as these numerals have been borrowed alongside their syntactic environment and phrasal expressions (see §3.5.3).

(20)   edabas  twenty taw'en  
       ?a-labas  twenty taw?on  
       POTPATV/PFT-pass by NOM twenty year

   'twenty years have passed by'

However, all numerals may act as pronominal forms, as in (21). This is, however, quite rare, especially for Spanish numerals. Instead, numerals tend to occur as nominal predicates, as in (22).

(21)   nontanda, kinse ono beinte bengat  
       nontan=la wada=j kinse ?ono beinte ba:uat  
       time-past=away exist=NOM fifteen or twenty only

   'a long time ago, there were fifteen or twenty (houses) only'

(22)   say barangay ni Kabayan niman ket trese  
       saj badaqaj ni kabajan niman kat trese  
       TOP district GEN Kabayan time/PRES TPLK thirteen

   'as for the district of Kabayan now, thirteen'

Addresses  In big cities, addresses may have the number of house mentioned. If Spanish cardinals are used, then they are usually preceded by the word numero ‘number’ as in numero uno ‘number one’ or numero dies ‘number ten’. In the case of English cardinals, the English equivalent word number is not required.

1In small villages, addresses with number and name of the street do not exist. People know where everyone’s house is. Moreover, some villages have internal subdivisions. For instance, Kabayan Central is divided in smaller subsection, each having a specific name sometime recalling a land feature such as chontog /dontog/ ‘mountain, hill’. In this case, it is sufficient to mention the name of the area to indicate the address, but the name of the house owner will do as well.
11.1 Numerals

**Dates**  Spanish ordinals for ‘first’, ‘second’ and occasionally ‘third’ may be used with Spanish names of months to indicate the days of the month. The ordinal numeral is followed by the Genitive determiner *ni* ‘GEN’.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{primero ni abril} & \quad \text{tercero ni agosto} \\
\text{primero ni abril} & \quad \text{tercero ni agosto} \\
\text{first GEN April} & \quad \text{third GEN August} \\
\text{‘first of April’} & \quad \text{‘third of August’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{segundo ni julio} & \quad \text{tercero ni agosto} \\
\text{segundo ni julio} & \quad \text{tercero ni agosto} \\
\text{second GEN July} & \quad \text{third GEN August} \\
\text{‘second of July’} & \quad \text{‘third of August’}
\end{align*}
\]

Otherwise Ibaloy cardinals are preferred for the days of the month. In the case of ‘teen’ numerals, however, only the set formed with *polo* /polo/ can be used (§11.1.1). Those formed with *sawal* and *ni* are not used, probably due to the presence of the Genitive determiner *ni* in the date expression as well as in the *sawal* derived numeral.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{dima ni agosto} & \quad \text{chowampolo ni julio} \\
\text{lima ni agosto} & \quad \text{dowampolo ni julio} \\
\text{five GEN August} & \quad \text{twenty GEN July} \\
\text{‘fifth of August’} & \quad \text{‘twenty of July’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sampolo tan chowa ni septiembre} & \\
\text{sanpolo tan dowa ni septiembre} \\
\text{twelve GEN September} \\
\text{‘twelve of September’}
\end{align*}
\]

Dates referring to years or centuries are usually expressed through English expressions such as *seventeenth century*, or *October nineteen thirty seven*. In this case, the entire temporal expression has been borrowed into Ibaloy.

As for all time units, such dates often constitute the complement of a prepositional phrase as in the following example.

(23)  *nonta*  **eighteen ninety eight**,  *inebak*  *ni*  *amerikano*

\[
\begin{align*}
nonta & \quad \text{eighteen} \\
\text{when-past} & \quad \text{nineteen} \\
\text{eight} & \quad \text{<in>?abak} \\
\text{<PATV/PFT>defeat} & \quad \text{GEN American person}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
i & \quad \text{ispanjol} \\
\text{NOM Spanish person}
\end{align*}
\]

‘in 1898, the Americans defeated the Spanish’
School Grades  Usually English ordinals are used followed by the English word grade as in first grade or second grade. These also constitute syntactic units.

Age  Although in principle, numerals from all three sets are available to express age, in general practice only Ibaloy and English cardinals are commonly used. Spanish numerals are used by older speakers.

With Ibaloy numerals, age is expressed by the possessed Ibaloy word taw’en /taw’an/ ‘year’. Note the presence of the linker ja (or one of its allomorphs) between the numeral and taw’en and the fact that the age phrase is a possessed noun phrase.

(24) saja mekingmi chiyay ket sandibon taw’ento
saja mokin=mi dijaj kat sanlibo=n taw’an=to
TOP/PROX mummy=1+/GEN LOC/PROX/PRO TPLK one thousand=1/LK year=1/GEN
‘as for this mummy of ours here, it is one thousand years old’

With Spanish numerals, the possessed Ibaloy word taw’en ‘year, age’ follows the Spanish numeral without the use of the linker. The sequence of numeral plus taw’en forms a syntactic unit. The whole age expression can then occur as part of a noun phrase as in the following example.

(25) nonta trese taw’enko, kami enganop chi chonchontog
nonta trese taw?an=ko kami ?anop di cvc-dontog
when-past thirteen year=1/GEN 1+/NOM/DIR ACTV/PFT-hunt LOC MULT-mountain
‘when I was thirteen, we went and hunted in the mountains’

When expressing age with English numerals, the whole expression including year-old is used, as in the following example.

(26) two year-old si’kato
two year-old si?gato
two year-old 1/IND
‘he is two year old’

Numerals with Mensural Terms  When referring to amounts specified in a certain measurement unit (mensural term), such as the currency unit pisos /pisos/, the measure of weight kilo /kilo/, or the measure of distance kilometro, the construction differs depending on the set of numerals. With both English and Spanish numerals the numeral precedes the mensural term, but when Ibaloy numerals are used, they are linked to the measurement unit by the linker ja (or one of its allomorphs).
11.1 Numerals

tres pisos

tres pisos

three pesos

‘three pesos (Ibaloy)’

With respect to money, numerals from all three sets can be used. However, English is preferred, especially when the amount is high. The unit is usually pisos or sentabos for Philippine money, but the same choice is available with foreign currency such as dolar ‘dollar’.

chowen pisos
dowa=n pisos
two=LK pesos

‘two pesos (Ibaloy)’

dos pisos
dos pisos
two pesos

‘two pesos (Spanish)’

11.1.9 Clock Time Numerals

Spanish borrowings are normally used for expressing clock time. The Spanish preposition a and the article la or las are retained as an indivisible part of the word specifying the hour.

alauna ‘one o’clock’

alasdos ‘two o’clock’
alastres ‘three o’clock’

alaschose ‘twelve o’clock’

(27)   alauna i pan’aanaspoltayo

alauna ?i pan-CV-?aspol=tajo

one o’clock NOM GER/IPF-ITER/PL-meet=1&2+/GEN

‘our meeting is at o’clock’

(28) chanchanimay alaschose
dandani=ma=j alaschose

almost=then=NOM twelve o’clock

‘it is almost twelve o’clock’

Minutes after the hours are expressed by using i /?i/ (Spanish ‘and’) plus a numeral.
alauna  i  singko  
alastres  i  beinte
one o'clock and/clock five
three o'clock and/clock twenty

'five (minutes) past one o'clock'
'twenty (min.) past three o'clock'

Minutes before the hour are expressed by using menos (Spanish 'minus') plus a numeral after the hour expression.

alauna  menos  singko
alastres  menos  singko
three o'clock less/clock five

'five (minutes) to three o'clock'
'ten (minutes) to one o'clock'

Spanish media is used to express the half hour and kwarto the quarter of an hour.

alasdos  i  media
alas’ocho  menos  kvarto
two o'clock and/clock half
eight o'clock less/clock quarter

'half past two o'clock'
'quarter to eight o'clock'

alas’onse  i  kvarto
alassingko  ni  dabì

eleven o'clock and/clock quarter
five o'clock GEN night

'quarter past eleven o'clock'
'five o'clock in the night'

When there is ambiguity as to whether the clock time refers to the morning or the evening, the clock time expression is followed by a disambiguating phrase introduced by ni 'GEN'.

alauna  ni  agsapā
alastres  ni  ?agsapa
three o'clock GEN morning

'three o'clock in the morning'
'five o'clock in the night'

The expression alaschose (or alasdose for some speakers) usually refers to midday. There is, however, another term that refers to the middle of the day, and this is kakawan /kakawan/ 'middle of the day'. Otherwise, Ibaloy uses indigenous terms to refer to different parts of the day (see §11.2).
11.2 Non-Numeral Time Units

Ibaloy units other than clock time denote parts of the day or year. Some are nouns, others are stative verbs. Nouns include the following.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{agsapa} & /\text{agsapa}/ & \text{‘morning’} \\
\text{akew} & /\text{akew}/ & \text{‘day’} \\
\text{ba’ba} & /\text{ba’ba}/ & \text{‘tomorrow’} \\
\text{bolan} & /\text{bolan}/ & \text{‘moon, month’} \\
\text{dabi} & /\text{dabi}/ & \text{‘night’} \\
\text{domingko} & /\text{dami}/ & \text{‘week, Sunday’} \\
\text{ekay} & /\text{ekay}/ & \text{‘short while’} \\
\text{omsian} & /\text{omsian}/ & \text{‘dawn’} \\
\text{taw’en} & /\text{taw’en}/ & \text{‘year’}
\end{align*}
\]

Verbs usually carry the formative ma- ‘STAV’, e.g. ma’chem /ma’dam/ ‘be evening time’ (from echem /?adam/), malabi /malabi/ ‘be night time’ (from dabi /labi/) or the prefix e- ‘STAPATV/PFT’ (also me- ‘STAPATV/IPF’) like edabi /?olabi/ ‘be night’ (from dabi).

Certain other time expressions have in common the derivational circumfix ka- -an /ka- -an/ otherwise used to derive superlative nouns (see Chapter 10). They include the following.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kabasan} & /\text{kabasan}/ & \text{‘tomorrow’} \\
\text{ka’cheman} & /\text{ka’daman}/ & \text{‘yesterday’} \\
\text{kalebian} & /\text{kalebian}/ & \text{‘night time, midnight’} \\
\text{kakawan} & /\text{kakawan}/ & \text{‘day time, midday’}
\end{align*}
\]

It is not always possible to clearly identify the roots of these forms, but kalebian /kalabi?an/ is clearly derived from dabi /labi/ ‘night’ and ka’cheman /ka’daman/ is derived from echem /?adam/ ‘evening’.

Finally, there are some time terms that may occur possessed. This is the case of boasto /bo’asto/ ‘day after tomorrow’ from boas /bo’as/ ‘morning’. The time unit inkaba’bato /?inkawa’wato/ ‘next morning’ also occurs possessed.

\[
(29) \text{nakaonnanginangis nontan ya malabi ingkatod} \\
\text{naka=on-CVCV-na} \text{nontan ja malabi } \text{?ingkatod} \\
1/\text{ASP=ACTV/IPF-DISTR-cry time-past LK night until}
\]

\text{inkaba’bato} \\
\text{?inkawa’wato=to} \\
\text{next morning after=3/GEN}

‘I kept crying that night until the morning after’
As previously noted, clock hour terms are Spanish words. Such borrowings include _oras_ 'hour' and _minutos_ 'minute'. The general term _tempo_ 'time' is also a Spanish borrowing. However, there is also an Ibaloy term _ekay_ /ʔəkaj/ ‘short while’ for a small unit of time.

(30)  

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{menganak} & \text{nem} & \text{ekay} \\
\text{maN-kan=ak} & \text{nam} & \text{ʔəkaj} \\
\text{AktV/IPF-eat=1/NOM if/when short while} \\
\end{array}
\]

'I will eat later (in a short while)'

Days of the week together with the term for ‘week, Sunday’ _domingko_ are also Spanish words.

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{donis} /\text{lonis/} \quad \text{‘Monday’} \\
\text{madtis} \quad \text{‘Tuesday’} \\
\text{midkoles} \quad \text{‘Wednesday’} \\
\text{kuwibis, kwibis} \quad \text{‘Thursday’} \\
\text{biednes} \quad \text{‘Friday’} \\
\text{sabado, sabaro} \quad \text{‘Saturday’} \\
\end{array}
\]

(31)  

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{baray} & \text{misa nem} & \text{sabado} \\
\text{wada=j misa nam sabado} \quad \text{exist=NOM mass if/when Saturday} \\
\end{array}
\]

'there will be a mass on Saturday'

Finally, names of the months are also Spanish borrowings. However, English names of the months with nativised phonology are commonly used by younger speakers.

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{enero} \quad \text{‘January’} \\
\text{pebrero} \quad \text{‘February’} \\
\text{marso} \quad \text{‘March’} \\
\text{abril} \quad \text{‘April’} \\
\text{mayo} \quad \text{‘May’} \\
\text{hunio} \quad \text{‘June’} \\
\text{hulio} \quad \text{‘July’} \\
\text{agosto} \quad \text{‘August’} \\
\text{septiembre} \quad \text{‘September’} \\
\text{oktubre} \quad \text{‘October’} \\
\text{nobiembre} \quad \text{‘November’} \\
\text{disiembre} \quad \text{‘December’} \\
\end{array}
\]
11.3 Measurement Units

Measurement units are generally non-numeral terms which may be monomorphemic word forms or affixed forms. They include the following major subclasses.

- Mensural terms (§11.3.1);
- General quantification terms (§11.3.2); and
- Derived measurement terms (§11.3.3).

11.3.1 Mensural Terms

Ibaloy has several measurement terms specific to the entity that requires measurement such as for money, weight, height and distance. They include native terms as well as borrowed words. These mensural terms include the following.

- $\text{bedbed} /\text{badbad}/$ ‘one bundle unit’
- $\text{betek} /\text{botak}/$ ‘four bundle unit’
- $\text{dawas} /\text{lawas}/$ ‘one bamboo internode’
- $\text{ditsi}$ ‘unit for liquids like water’
- $\text{dolar}$ ‘dollar (Eng.)’
- $\text{gram}$ ‘gram’
- $\text{kabwan} /\text{kabowan}/$ ‘sack’
- $\text{kilo} /\text{kilo}/$ ‘kilo’
- $\text{kilometro}$ ‘kilometre (Sp.)’
kilometer  'kilometre (Eng.)'
liter 'litre (Eng.)'
litro 'litre (Sp.)'
lote 'piece of land'
metro 'metre (Sp.)'
meter 'metre (Eng.)'
pisos /pisos/ 'pesos' (Philippine currency unit)
sako /sako/ 'sack'
sais /saʔis/ 'ten centavos'

sentabos 'centavos (Philippine currency unit)'
sentimos 'centavos (Philippine currency unit)'

When English or Spanish numerals are used to quantify some of the above units, then they precede the counted unit without the linker, but Ibaloy numerals are linked to the measurement of unit by the linker (see §11.1.8).

(34)  **indatoy** chowan dawasa tapey tan etak
        <in>?ala=to=j  dowa=n  lawas=a  tapaj  tan  ?otak
        <PATV/PFT>-get=3/GEN=NOM  two=LK  bamboo internode=LK  rice  wine  and  bolo

'he took two bamboo internodes of rice wine and the (traditional type of) sword'

For the measurement unit **sais** 'ten centavos', quantification is part of its meaning.

(35)  **tinongkalcha** i mangka ni **sais**
        <in>toggal=da  ?i  manga  ni  sais
        <PATV/PFT>buy=3+/GEN NOM mango  GEN  ten  centavos

'they bought the mango for ten centavos'

### 11.3.2 General Quantification Terms

Ibaloy has several general quantifiers. Some are nouns, others are verbs. The most common verbal quantifier is **echakel** /ʔadakdl/ 'many' (from **chakel** /dakel/) for which a noun counterpart exists without the stative prefix e- **STAPATV/PFT**. Nominal quantifiers include the following.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quantifier</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>chakel</td>
<td>/dakel/</td>
<td>'many, lot'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>echom</td>
<td>/ʔedom/</td>
<td>'some, other'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>emin</td>
<td>/ʔomin/</td>
<td>'all, everything, everyone'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ootik</td>
<td>/ʔoʔotik/</td>
<td>'few, little (in quantity)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>piga</td>
<td>/piga/</td>
<td>'some, several'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
All nominal quantifiers seem to be able to function as predicates and as content expressions of noun phrases. In the following example, the general quantifier *emin* /?amin/ ‘all, everything, everyone’ is the content expression of the Nominative phrase introduced by the common article =y /=j/ (allomorph of i /?i/).

(36)  
\[\text{piniyankoy} \quad \text{emin} \]
\[<\text{in}>\text{pajan}=ko=j \quad ?\text{amin} \]
\[<\text{PatV/PFT}>\text{like}=1/\text{GEN}=\text{NOM} \text{all} \]

‘I liked everything (with reference to food)’

In (37) it is the head of a relative clause occurring in a possessive construction (§33.2).

(37)  
\[\text{ka’jem} \quad \text{ni} \quad \text{emina} \quad \text{too} \quad \text{sota} \quad \text{oleg} \]
\[\text{ga’jem} \quad \text{ni} \quad ?\text{amin}=?\text{to} \quad \text{sota} \quad \text{?olog} \]
friend, companion GEN all=LK person NOM/REC snake

‘the snake is a friend of all the people’

In the following example, the general quantifiers *chakel ‘many, lot’* and *ootik ‘few, little (in quantity)’* are the head of a relative clause as well as the content expression of the Genitive undergoer complement of an intransitive Actor verb.

(38)  
\[\text{nampadti} \quad \text{ni} \quad \text{chakela} \quad \text{kechil, baka} \quad \text{tan} \quad \text{manok} \]
\[\text{nampadti} \quad \text{ni} \quad \text{dakol}=a \quad \text{kodil} \quad \text{baka} \quad \text{tan} \quad \text{manok} \]
\[\text{ACTV/PFT-butcher} \quad \text{GEN} \quad \text{many, lot} \quad \text{pig} \quad \text{cow} \quad \text{and} \quad \text{chicken} \]

‘he butchered many pigs, cows and chickens’

(39)  
\[\text{engan} \quad \text{ni} \quad \text{ootika} \quad \text{inapoy} \]
\[?\text{oN-kan} \quad \text{ni} \quad ?\text{otik}=a \quad ?\text{inapoj} \]
\[\text{ACTV/PFT-eat} \quad \text{GEN} \quad \text{few, little=LK} \quad \text{cooked rice} \]

‘he ate little rice’

Note that *ootik* may also refer to an entity small in size or young. To be interpreted as a general quantifier term it must refer to a plural or mass entity. Context usually helps differentiate the two meanings.

The noun *piga /piga/also carries several meanings. When used as a question word, it means ‘how much, how many’. When used as a general quantifier, it means ‘some, several’ and is usually modified by a relative clause. Consider the following examples.

(40)  
\[\text{say} \quad \text{adibjencha} \quad \text{ni} \quad \text{olay} \quad \text{ni} \quad \text{pigan} \quad \text{bolan} \quad \text{ono} \]
\[\text{saj} \quad ?\text{alibaj-an}=da \quad \text{ni} \quad ?\text{olaj} \quad \text{ni} \quad \text{piga}=n \quad \text{bolan} \quad ?\text{ono} \]
\[\text{so that enjoy-PatV/IPF}=3+/\text{GEN} \quad \text{GEN} \quad \text{always} \quad \text{GEN} \quad \text{some=LK} \quad \text{month} \quad \text{OR} \]
makataw’en pay
maka-taw’an paj
ONE-year more, still

’so that they enjoy (them) always for several months or one more year’

(41) nanbiyabiyyag ni pigan taw’en si Maodi
nan-cvcv-biyyag ni piga=n taw’=an si ma?odi
ACTV/PFT-DISTR-live GEN several=LK year NOM/PERS Maodi

‘Maodi lived for several years’

11.3.3 Derived Measurement Terms

Some quantification terms can be transformed into measurement units by affixation. The following are the most common.

Entire Units The prefix san- /san-/ is very productive. It occurs on human roots to derive reciprocal nouns (see Chapter 10) and on numerals to derive distributive numerals (§11.1.5). It can apply to other nouns to derive a measurement term meaning ‘one group of’.

When san- is prefixed to a root referring to a time unit, it means ‘whole, the entire period designated by the root as a whole’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>derived form</th>
<th>base</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>san’akew /san?akew/</td>
<td>akew /?akow/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sanbolan /sanbolan/</td>
<td>bolan /bolan/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sandomingko /sandomingko/</td>
<td>domingko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>santaw’en /santaw’=an/</td>
<td>taw’en /taw’=an/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>san’oras /sanoras/</td>
<td>oras</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘he followed it the whole day’

San can also occur on stems with initial CV- reduplication. In this case, it carries a distributional meaning.

| santataw’en /santataw’=an/ | ‘one of these years’ |
| san’aakew /san’a?akow/ | ‘one of these days’ |
Similarly, when *san-* applies to roots referring to general items of consumption such as *inom* /ʔinom/ ‘drink’ or *sira* /sida/ ‘viand’, it denotes ‘a whole unit of the item’. Consider the following examples.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>derived form</th>
<th>base</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>san’inom</em> /sanʔinom/</td>
<td>‘one whole drink’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sansira</em> /sansida/</td>
<td>‘one whole meal’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(44) **sansiratoy** sakeya kechil tan *san’inomtoy*

san-sida=to=j sakaj=a kadil tan sanʔinom=to=j

WHOLE-viand=3/GEN=NOM one=ŁK male pig and WHOLE-drink=3/GEN=NOM

*sampolon salawa tapey*

sanpolo=n salaw=a tapaj
ten=ŁK jar=ŁK rice wine

‘his whole portion of food is a male (castrated) pig and his whole portion of drink is ten jars of rice wine’

When *san-* is prefixed to an item that is usually used as a container such as *kanchiro* /kandido/ ‘pot’ or to certain mensural terms such as *dawas* /lawas/ ‘one bamboo internode’, it refers to all of its content. Note that the content can be specified through a relative clause as shown below and in (45).

**sankanchiron inapoy**

san-kandido=n ʔinapoj

WHOLE-pot=ŁK cooked rice

‘whole pot of cooked rice’

**sansalawa tapey**

san-salaw=a tapaj

WHOLE-jar=ŁK rice wine

‘whole jar of rice wine’

(45) **inaknanto** ni *sankabana* bekas

<in>ʔakan-an=to ni san-kaban=a bagas

<LocV/PFT>-give-ŁC=3/GEN GEN WHOLE-sack=ŁK husked rice

‘he gave (her) a whole sack of husked rice’

**Single Units of Time** The prefix *maka-* /maka-/ can apply to some terms denoting units of time to mean ‘one’ or ‘one whole unit of time’. The resultant forms are
a subclass of stative verbs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>derived form</th>
<th>base</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>makataw'en</td>
<td>taw'en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>makabolan</td>
<td>bolan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>makadomingko</td>
<td>domingko</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Like time units, terms for single units of time often fulfill an adverbial function. They may occur as part of a Genitive phrase.

(46) say adibjencha ni olay ni pigan bolan ono
saj ?alibaj-an=da ni ?olaj ni piga=n bolan ?ono
so that amuse-PATV/IPF=3+/GEN GEN always GEN some=LK months or

makataw'en pay
makataw?an paj
ONE-year more

‘sO that they will amuse (the dead) always for some months or a year’

They may act as ‘adverbial’ (non-auxiliary) extension predicates requiring a sentential complement introduced by the linker ja (or one of its allomorphs) or ji (or one of its allomorphs) (see Chapter 41).

(47) no makataw'en ji ekak ali on'oli,
no makataw?an ji ?ogak ?ali ?on?-?oli
if/when ONE-year LK/ji neg+1/NOM toward ACTV/IPF-return

amtamma yi meteyka
?aunta=m=ma ji ma-taj=ka
know=2/GEN=then LK/ji PotPATV/IPF-die=2/NOM

‘if it is one year during which I won’t return, you know then that you will be dead’

They may also function as complements.

(48) aychi pay i makabolan
?ajdi paj ?i maka-bolan
not-exist more NOM ONE-month

‘(there is) not even a month’

**Frequentative Nouns** The frequentative infix <in> /<in>/ is quite productive. It occurs with terms for time units or other measurement units, denoting a frequentative noun. The infix <in> typically causes stress-shift (§6.1).

The following are some cases where <in> derives a frequentative temporal noun.
11.3 Measurement Units

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>derived form</th>
<th>base</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>inagsapa</td>
<td>agsapa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tinaw'en</td>
<td>taw'en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>binodan</td>
<td>bolan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dinabi</td>
<td>labi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inakew</td>
<td>akew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dinomingko</td>
<td>domingo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When it occurs on a partially reduplicated noun it means 'every single (unit of time)' as in tinaw'en /tina'wən/ 'every single year' derived from taw'en /tawa'wən/ 'each year'.

These nouns typically occur in adverbial phrases preceded by the Genitive determiner ni 'GEN'.

(49) kamikamandoado ni inagsapa tan dinabi
    kamikə=man-lo?alo ni <in>ʔagsapa tan <in>ʔabi
    1+/NOM/ASP=ACTV/IPF-pray GEN <FREQ>morning and <FREQ>night

'we usually pray every morning and every night'

However, they may also act as predicate of nominal clauses. These clauses often involve a gerund as content expression of the Nominative phrase.

(50) sinabaro i indawtòd Bagiw
    <in>si'baro ?iʔin-law=to=d bagiw
    <FREQ>Saturday NOM MNRGER/PFT-go=3/GEN=LOC Baguio

'his departure to Baguio is every Saturday'

When <in> applies to mensural terms such as kilo /kilo/ 'kilo' or sako /sako/ 'sack' it indicates that the measurement is done by the unit indicated by the root or stem used in the derivation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>derived form</th>
<th>base</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sinako</td>
<td>sako</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kinido</td>
<td>kilo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It also applies to the native ordinals discussed in §11.1.3. As with mensural terms, it indicates that the measurement is done by the unit indicated by the number.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>derived form</th>
<th>base</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sinakey</td>
<td>sakey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chineba</td>
<td>chowa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
These nouns also occur in adverbial phrases as in (51) or as predicate nominals as in (52).

(51) mengileko ni asokal ni sinako
maği-lako ni ?asokal ni <in>sako
ACTV/IPF-sell GEN sugar GEN <FREQ>sack

‘he sells sugar by the kilo’

(52) dinibo son si’kayo i maybechas
<in>libo so=n si?gajo ?i maj-badas
<FREQ>thousand OBL=GEN/PERS 2+/IND NOM PotTHMV/IPF-whip

‘thousands of you at one time will be whipped’

**Indefinite Quantifiers** The prefix manga- /mağa-/ or its variant manka- /manka-/ derives an indefinite quantifier from a numeral. The numeral may be a cardinal (§11.1.1) or a clock time numeral (§11.1.9).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>derived form</th>
<th>base</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mangatedo /maʃatolo/</td>
<td>‘be about three’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mankatedo /mankatalo/</td>
<td>‘be about three’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mangaalaschose /maʃaalaschose/</td>
<td>‘be about twelve o’clock’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mankaalaschose /mankaalaschose/</td>
<td>‘be about twelve o’clock’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Part III

Determiners, Demonstratives, and Personal Pronouns
Overview of Part III

This part is concerned with the description of determiners, demonstratives, and personal pronouns. Both determiners and demonstratives enter into paradigms which distinguish Nominative, Genitive, Oblique and Locative case forms. In addition, they may have a special form to mark topics. The latter is conventionally referred to as the "Topic" form. The only exception is the demonstrative identifiers, as discussed below. The main uses of case forms and Topic forms are described in Chapter 12.

Determiners occur at the beginning of a determiner phrase (Chapter 31) and are obligatory in some grammatical contexts. All complements of a predicate must be introduced by the appropriate determiner. It follows that determiners are high frequency items. Determiners are divided into the following two main sub-categories.

- Basic Determiners (see Chapter 13)
- Demonstrative Determiners (see Chapter 14)

Determiners may carry information pertaining to the nature of the referent. For instance, whether or not the entity referred to is specific, or whether it is a personal or a common noun. Although there is not always a one-to-one correspondence between this type of information and the determiner there are some general tendencies that will be discussed.

Demonstrative determiners all have corresponding pronominal forms. Generally, demonstratives involve some deictic reference. However, deixis does not need to be spatial; it can be mental or temporal. Ibaloy distinguishes the following two sub-categories of demonstratives:

- deictic demonstratives (§14.1); and
• recognitional demonstratives (§14.2).

On the one hand, deictic demonstratives (or simply deictics) are primarily used exophorically to locate an entity with respect to distance. Ibaloy makes a three-way distinction between proximal, medial and distal distance. Recognitional demonstratives (or simply recognitionals), on the other hand, involve mental deixis rather than spatial and are primarily used to refer to familiar or shared knowledge.

Determiners and demonstratives can also be analysed according to their morphological shape and phonological characteristics. Some are basic forms, while others are more complex forms. For instance, the deictic determiners are all made up of a basic determiner plus a deictic form (e.g. \textit{i}=ma /\textit{?i}=ma/ NOM=DISTAL ‘NOM/DIST’).

Phonologically, they may have two forms: a free form and a bound form. Bound forms are generally enclitics. That is, they attach to a preceding constituent ending in a vowel. Although phonologically they are part of the preceding word, grammatically they form a constituent with the following one. These features are described alongside their forms.

Ibaloy has also a set of demonstrative identifiers that like the demonstratives carry a deictic component. They differ from the latter in that they function as predicates of presentational clauses (§38.3). Demonstrative identifiers are discussed separately in Chapter 15.

Aside from case (Nominative vs. Genitive), personal pronouns also carry information about number and person, although plural pronouns do not usually occur with inanimate referents. Similarly, the third person singular pronouns may be used to refer to inanimate as well as animate entities, as briefly discussed in §16.3.2. Amongst the personal pronouns, Ibaloy distinguishes two further subsets: the directional pronouns and the aspectual pronouns. Although partially made up of the bound pronouns, these two subsets carry a different meaning, and more importantly, they have a different distribution, and so will be discussed separately in §16.2.1 and §16.2.2 respectively. The Oblique pronominal form so, which has a restricted distribution, will be discussed in §16.2.3.
Chapter 12

Case Forms and Topic Forms

Ibaloy determiners and demonstratives (determiners and pronouns) are morphologically marked for Nominative, Genitive, Oblique and Locative cases, and Topic. Personal pronouns are marked for Nominative and Genitive cases. In addition, Ibaloy has a special Oblique pronominal form, so, whose distribution will be briefly discussed in §12.3. This chapter addresses the main uses of case and Topic forms. The morpho-phonological and semantic characteristics of determiners and demonstratives will be discussed in Chapter 13 and Chapter 14 respectively while those of the personal pronouns in Chapter 16.

Finally, Ibaloy follows an ergative system for the encoding of its core complements, see §36.1.1 for details.

12.1 Nominative

The Nominative case is used to mark the only required complement of an intransitive construction (verbal or non-verbal). In a verbal clause, the Nominative participant may carry the Actor or the Undergoer macrorole depending on the verb. See Part IV for a classification of main verbs. In (1) the predicate is an Actor intransitive verb, hence the Nominative complement bears the Actor macrorole (Chapter 18).

(1) nanmola  i  bii  ni  pagey
    nan-mola  i  bii  ni  pagaj
    ACTV/PFT-plant NOM woman GEN raw rice
    ‘the woman planted some rice’

In (2) the predicate is a stative intransitive verb, and the Nominative complement bears the Undergoer macrorole (Chapter 17).
12.1 Nominative

(2) etoled  
?a-to?ad  
STA?ATV/PFT-brave NOM man  

'he is brave'

In (3) the main predicate is a transitive Patient verb, a subtype of controlled Undergoer verb (Chapter 18). Transitive verbs take an agent and an undergoer participant. The agent receives the Genitive case and the undergoer receives the Nominative case. With Patient verbs the Nominative is typically a directly affected entity, a patient.

(3) binonotoy  
<in>bono=to=j  
<STAPATV/PFT>kill=3/GEN=NOM snake  

'he killed the snake'

In (4) the predicate is a transitive Beneficiary verb. The Nominative complement of this class of verbs is typically a beneficiary (Chapter 27).

(4) intongkalanto  
?in-to?gal-?ar=to=j  
BNFV/PFT-buy-BNFV=3/GEN 3+/NOM GEN meat  

'he bought them some meat'

Except in a few particular cases, reference to the Nominative in an independent clause is always understood as definite. An indefinite participant which is the only complement requires an existential construction to introduce it, with the event presented by a relative clause, as in the following example.

(5) baray  
bii  
ja egmakapiyana  
on'aseba  
exist=NOM woman LK neg=POTAC?TV/IPF-like, want=LK AC?TV/IPF-marry  

'there is a woman who does not want to get married'

It may also have indefinite reference when the Nominative complement contains the numeral sakey /sakaj/ 'one' regardless of whether or not it is part of an existential construction. This, however, does not often occur in transitive clauses. Example (6) contains an intransitive clause and (7) contains a transitive clause.

(6) no  
metey  
?i  
sakeya  
?o  
if/when POT?ATV/IPF-die NOM one=LK person  

'when a person died'
Both the personal determiners (Chapter 13) and the recognitionals (determiners and pronouns, see §14.2) lack a separate topic form. In these cases, the Nominative form can be used to introduce a topic, as in (8)–(9).

(8) nem si Balaw, intongkalanto ali sota nam si balaw ?in-tongal-an=to ?ali sota but NOM/PERS Balaw BNFV/PFT-buy-BNFV=3/GEN toward NOM/REC agito ni baro ?agi=to ni bado sibling=3/GEN GEN dress ‘but the man, he bought his sister a dress’

(9) sotan i on’anmo, no onsekepka sotan ?i ?onaj-an=mo no ?on-sagap=ka NOM/REC NOM see-LOCV/IPF=2/GEN if/when AcTV/IPF-enter=2/NOM chiman diman LOC/DIST/PRO ‘that is what you see, if/when you enter there’

Among personal pronouns, the independent personal pronouns (§16.1) may occur as Nominative complements, as in (10), or as topics, as in (11).

(10) yet ondawda si’kara yat on-law=la si?gada and then ACTV/IPF-go=away 3+/IND ‘then they will go away’

(11) si’kato ket eman’iyan chi baley ja mengan si?gato kot ?oman-?ijan di balaj ja maN-kan 3/IND TpLK AcTV/CNTV-stay LOC house LK AcTV/IPF-eat ‘as for him, he usually stays at home and eats’

The Nominative forms si ‘NOM/PERS’ and sota(n) ‘NOM/REC’, and the independent personal pronouns can also function as predicates of identificational nominal clauses (§38.1.3), as in (12)–(14).
12.1 Nominative

(12) si Kim i agik
     si kim ?i ?agi=k
     NOM/PERS Kim NOM sibling=1/GEN

‘my brother is Kim’

(13) sota totood Kapangan i maowang
     sota CV-to?o=d kapangan ?i ma?owaŋ
     NOM/REC PL-person=LOC Kapangan NOM STA/V/MA-field work

‘the field workers are the people in Kapangan’

(14) mai, si’kam gayam si Iwit ja nan’iskoydad Bagiw?
     ma?i si?gam gayam si ?iwit ja nan?-iskoa?la=d bagiw
     ehm 2/IND surprise NOM/PERS Iwit LK ACT/V/PFT-study=LOC Baguio

‘ehm, are you Iwit who studied in Baguio?’

The Nominative determiners si and sota can be used after the coordinate conjunction tan ‘and’ or the coordinate disjunction ono ‘or’ (see Chapter 32).

(15) barus Norman tan si JipJip
     wada=s norman tan si jipjip
     exist=NOM/PERS Norman and NOM/PERS Jipjip

‘there is Norman and Jipjip’

(16) sota enganak tan sota nankaama, menginom
     sota ?aN-?anak tan sota nanka-?ama maN-?inom
     NOM/REC ACT/V/PFT-sponsor and NOM/REC STA/PAT/V/PL-old man ACT/V/PFT-drink

ira ni tapey
     ?ida ni tapej
     3+/NOM GEN rice wine

‘as for the sponsors and the old men, they drink rice wine’

The personal Nominative determiner si may occur in a complex phrase introduced by the Nominative recognitional sota to refer to a personal noun. See §31.2.2.

(17) timened sota si Mark
     <im>tona?d sota si mark
     <ACT/V/PFT>follow NOM/REC NOM/PERS Mark

‘Mark followed’

The Nominative forms of the deictic demonstratives (usually the deictic determiners, but also the deictic pronouns) may function as predicates of presentational clauses (§38.3). In this function, they are referred to as demonstrative identifiers (Chapter 15) as shown below.
Nominative deictic forms (determiners and pronouns; §14.1) may occur as part of a complex phrase introduced by a personal determiner (e.g. si 'NOM/PERS'; Chapter 13) to refer to a personal noun. See §31.2.1.

Finally, the Nominative deictic pronoun iman 'NOM/DIST/PRO' may occur as part of a temporal prepositional phrase. The deictic iman has a strong anaphoric reference to a referent which immediately precedes it. The temporal prepositions in these constructions are usually idi, as in (21), and no, as in (22).

Example (20) denotes an event which immediately precedes (21). The deictic iman in (21) refers back to that event.
12.2 Genitive

The Genitive case is used to encode possession, hence the label “Genitive”. Example (23) exemplifies a possessive noun phrase. For more information about this construction see §33.2.

(23) *chowa i aanak **nonta** bii
dowa ʔi CV-ʔanak nonta biʔi
two NOM PL-child GEN/REC woman

‘the children of the woman are two (the woman has two children)’

The Genitive case performs several other functions. It is used for the Genitive Agent of a transitive construction. This complement typically occurs right after the verb. Only second-order constituents (e.g. =ma ‘then, realisation marker’) may occur between the predicate and the Genitive phrase when this is expressed as a full phrase as in the following example.

(24) *indama nen tatangtoy tapey*
<in>?ala=ma non tataj=to=j tapaj
<PATV/PFT(get)=then GEN/PERS father=3/GEN=NOM rice wine

‘his father took the rice wine’

The Genitive case is also used to mark an indefinite verbal complement bearing an undergoer role of either an intransitive or a transitive construction as in (25) and (26) respectively.

(25) *emandoto si ’kato **ni** timol*
ʔaman-loto siʔgato ni timol
<ACTV/CNTV-cook 3/IND GEN pig food

‘she is cooking some pig food’
However, these Genitive undergoer complements have a restricted interpretation in independent clauses. They are usually understood as indefinite, as in (27) and (28) containing respectively an intransitive and a transitive verb.

(27)  
iaknandalaka  ni pipip  
?i-?akan-an=taka ni pipip  
BNFV/IPF=give-BNFV=1/GEN&2/NOM GEN whistle, horn  
'I will give you a whistle'

(28)  
ontolong  ira  ni babanskang  
?on-toloq ?ida ni cv-baknaq  
AcTV/IPF-help 3+/NOM GEN PL-rich  
'they will help some rich people'

In an intransitive clause, when this undergoer participant is a definite animate (possibly human) entity, it is encoded as an Oblique complement, as in (29).

(29)  
ontolong  iray  nankabiteg  son  si'kara  
?on-toloq ?idaj nanka-bitag so=n si?gada  
AcTV/IPF-help NOM/PL STAPATV/PL-poor OBL=GEN/PERS 3+/IND  
'the poor people will help them'

In a transitive clause, when the undergoer is definite (but not necessarily animate) it is encoded as the Nominative.

(30)  
saknitandoy  onas  
saknit-an=to=j  
peel-LOCV/IPF=3/GEN=NOM sugar cane  
'he will peel the sugar case'

The restriction on the definiteness of the Genitive undergoer complement is not present for dependent clauses. In (31) the verb engidaw occurs as part of a relative clause (§33.1) introduced by the linker =n (allomorph of ja and takes an undergoer participant encoded into a demonstrative phrase introduced by the recognitional determiner nonta which always carries definite reference.
12.2 Genitive

Similarly, in example (32) the potentive Actor intransitive verb makaamta occurs as part of the Nominative phrase introduced by the common determiner i. Its Genitive-marked complement is definite.

(32) karakdan ni toon iKabayan i makaamta ni
ka-dakal-an ni to?o=n ?i-kabajan ?i maka-?amta ni
SUPN-many-SUPN gen person=LK ORIG-kabayan nom potAcTV/ipf-know GEN
bindiyan
bindijan dance
‘a great many of the people from Kabayan are the ones who know the bindiyan dance’

Verbs following an auxiliary are also dependents and may take a definite undergoer participant. In (33) the pronoun ira acts as auxiliary in a directional construction (§40.1.3). The following dependent verb is an Actor intransitive verb which takes a definite undergoer participant expressed by a Genitive phrase introduced by the recognitional determiner nonta.

(33) ira mekiasewa nonta ma’kowes ira
?ida maki-?aswa nonta ma?kowas ?ida
3+/NOM/DIR acTV/ipf-marry gen/rec wild pig PL
‘they go and get married with the wild pigs’

The Genitive determiner also introduces adverbial phrases of time and manner. When introducing an adverb of time, it occurs with time words such as agsapa /?agsapa/ ‘morning’, clock time units such as alavna ‘one o’clock’, and frequentative numerals such as pinchowa /pindowa/ ‘twice’ or kapintedo /kapintalo/ ‘three times’ as well as the frequentative term olay /?olaj/ ‘often’, or frequentative units derived with the infix <in> such as binodan /binolan/ ‘monthly’ (from bolan /bolan/ ‘month, moon’).

(34) kamikamandoado ni olay ni malabi tan agsapa
kamika=man-?alalo ni ?olaj ni ma-labi tan ?agsapa
1+/NOM/ASP=AcTV/ipf-pray gen always gen StAV/MA-night and morning
‘we always prayed in the evenings and mornings’
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(35) ekak pay laeng edokon. \(\text{nì}\) chowen taw’en ja
?ogak paj laeng ?a-lokon ni dowa=n taw?an ja
neg+1 still StaPat/V/PFT-pregnant GEN two=LK year LK

\text{inpan’arolmi}
?inpan’-adol=mi
MNRGER/PFT/PAN-copulate=1/GEN

‘I was not yet pregnant (during) the two years we slept together’

(36) mengiekanma ira ni chowen a’anak \(\text{nì}\) binodan
ma1-J?akan=ma ?ida ni dowa=n cv-a’anak ni <in>bolan
ACT/V/IPF-give=then 3+/NOM GEN two=LK PL-child GEN <FREQ>month

‘they will give away two children monthly’

When introducing an adverb of manner, the Genitive determiner often occurs with nouns or stative verbs with quality-like properties such as mapteng /maptan/ ‘good, well’ (ma-peteng) or mapkes /mapkos/ ‘loud sound’ (ma-pekes), enchokeyang /en-dokeja/ ‘lengthwise’ (/?en-dokoja/), the limitative term abos /?abos/ ‘only’, or a frequentative term like kinido /kinilo/ ‘by the kilo’ derived with <in> from a mensural unit, in this case kilo /kilo/ ‘kilo(gram)’.

(37) manbiyag ira \(\text{nì}\) mapteng
man-bijag ?ida ni ma-patq
ACT/V/IPF-live 3+/NOM GEN StaV/MA-good, well

‘they will live well’

(38) prutas tan paydeng \(\text{nì}\) abos i kinancha
prutas tan pajlag ni ?abos ?i <in>-kan=da
fruit and fish GEN only NOM <PATV/PFT>eat=3+/GEN

‘fruit and fish only was what they ate’

(39) metadtad sota apag \(\text{nì}\) engkokonting
ma-tadtad sota ?apag ni ?an-CV-kontiq
POTPat/V/IPF-ITER/PL-slice NOM/REC meat GEN StaV/EN-ITER/PL-small size

‘let’s cut the meat in small sizes’

(40) mankansiyonka \(\text{nì}\) mapkes
man-kansijon=ka ni ma-pakos
ACT/V/IPF-sing=2/NOM GEN StaV/MA-loud

‘you sing loudly’

Finally, a phrase introduced by the Genitive determiner may be used to encode a nominal modifier other than a possessor (see §33.4). In this case the noun it modifies typically occurs possessed by a Genitive bound pronoun, as in the following example.
12.3 Oblique

Any Oblique determiner phrase is a complex construction made of the Oblique form *so* plus a Genitive-marked phrase. The Oblique case is usually employed in one of the following circumstances.

It is used to refer to an animate, preferably human, goal.

\[(42)\]  
olika  \( soirani \)  \( aanakmo! \)  
\( ?oli-\theta=ka \)  \( so=?ida=ni \)  \( CV-?anak=mo \)  
return-ACT\( V/\text{IMP}=2/\text{NOM} \) OBL=PL=GEN PL-child=2/GEN  
'go to your children!'

When the goal is inanimate the Locative determiner is used as in (44).

\[(44)\]  
\( \text{dimaw} \)  \( \text{sonen} \)  \( \text{tatangto} \)  
\( <\text{im}>\text{law} \)  \( so=\text{non} \)  \( tataj=\text{to} \)  
\( <\text{ACT}V/\text{PFT}>\text{go OBL=GEN/PERS father}=3/\text{GEN} \)  
'he went back to his father'

The Oblique case is also used to introduce an animate recipient as in (45) and (46), or an animate source as in (47). Its exact interpretation depends on the predicate.

\[(45)\]  
mengileko  \( \text{son} \)  \( si'kato \)  \( \text{ni botbotog} \)  
\( \text{maji-lako} \)  \( so=n \)  \( si'?gato \)  \( \text{ni CVC-botog} \)  
\( \text{ACT}V/\text{IPF-sell OBL=GEN/PERS 3/IND GEN MULT-hog} \)  
'he will sell some hogs to him'

\[(46)\]  
\( \text{isepak} \)  \( i \)  \( \text{pictureko} \)  \( \text{son} \)  \( \text{orichiyano} \)  
\( ?i-sopa=k \)  \( ?i \)  \( \text{picture}=\text{ko} \)  \( so=n \)  \( ?\text{odidijan}=\text{mo} \)  
\( \text{THMV/\text{IPF-leave}=1/\text{GEN NOM} \) picture=1/\text{GEN OBL=GEN/PERS younger sibling}=2/\text{GEN} \)  
'I will leave my pictures to your younger sibling'
When the predicate is a speech verb, the recipient is the addressee and it is usually encoded in an Oblique phrase.

(48) sotan ket insongbatcha soni naama
sotan kat ?in-soqbat=da so=n ni na-ama
TOP/PRO/REC TPLK THMV/pft-answer=3+/GEN OBL=GEN StamPatV/pft-old man

'that is what they answered to the old man'

With Actor intransitive verbs, the Oblique case is also used to encode a definite undergoer participant with animate (preferably human) reference.

(49) on’a seba son si’kato
?on-aasawa so=n si?gato
ACTV/IFP-marry OBL=GEN/PERS 3/IND

'she will get married to him'

With an Actor collective verb (i.e. one prefixed with meki- ‘ACTV/IPF’), the Oblique case is used to mark another human entity performing the same activity described by the predicate of the Nominative participant, typically an animate companion, as in (50).

(50) mekidawak chi Toding son si’kara
maki-law=ak di tuding so=n si?gada
ACTV/IPF-go=1/NOM LOC Tuding OBL=GEN/PERS 3+/IND

'I will go to Tuding with them (I will join them to go to Tuding)'

In a morphologically marked causative verb, the Oblique case may be used to mark the causee.

(51) egmebedin ja petakbab ni talaw soni dedaki i kwadton
?ag=mabalja po-takwab ni talaw so=n cv-laki ‘i kowadto=n
neg=can LK CausV/IPF-open GEN star OBL=GEN PL-man NOM room=LK

kad’an ni barocha
kad?an ni bado=da
place GEN cloth=3+/GEN

'the stars couldn’t make the men open the room containing their (the stars’) clothes'

The Oblique case is also used in non-finite or dependent clauses (e.g. relative clause) to mark a specific undergoer participant. In these clauses the pronominal form so
Oblique

may be used in place of the full Oblique phrase. If the referent is non-specific or generic the Genitive case is used instead. Peculiarly to this use of the Oblique case, the Oblique phrase can refer to both animate and inanimate entities as long as they are specific.

In (52) the Oblique phrase occurs as part of a relative clause, introduced by the linker *ja* and containing a Locative verb.

(52) to ali imbo’day sota sako ja

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{to} & \text{?ali} & \text{?in-bo?laj} & \text{sota} & \text{sako} & \text{ja} \\
\text{3/DIR toward} & \text{THMV/PFT-outside} & \text{NOM/REC} & \text{sack} & \text{LK} \\
\text{engejananto} & \text{sonanta} & \text{pokel} \\
?aN-?ijan-an=to & \text{so=nonta} & \text{pokel} \\
\text{LOCV/PFT/peng-put, stay-LOCV} & \text{OBL=GEN/REC} & \text{bone} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘he went and took back outside the sack where he put the bones’

In (53) and (54) the Oblique phrase or pronoun occurs within a determiner phrase containing a non-linked relative clause (see Chapter 31).

(53) aneng i ibonocha soni baka

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
?anaj & ?i & \text{?i-bono=da} \\
\text{unripe} & \text{NOM} & \text{MNRGER/IPF-kill=3+/GEN} \\
\text{OBL=GEN} & \text{baka} & \text{cow} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘the killing of the cow has not occurred (lit. ‘is unripe’)’

(54) say kabol ya tokakemag’i

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{saj} & \text{kabol ja} & \text{toka=ka-maga-i} & \text{ket} & \text{sota} \\
\text{TOP} & \text{reason} & \text{LK} & \text{3/ASP=POT} & \text{LOCV/CNTV-dry-LOCV/CNTV} \\
\text{TPLK NOM/REC} & \text{chakaso} & \text{tapoy} \\
\text{daka=so} & \text{?i-?apoj} \\
\text{3+/ASP=OBL/PRO} & \text{THMV/CNTV-fire} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘as for the reason why it usually dries out, it is that they put it on a fire (to dry)’

Examples (55) and (56) are cleft constructions (see §43.2). The Oblique phrase occurs within the Nominative phrase.

(55) pigan kari i inchogim so?

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
pigan & \text{kadi} & ?i \text{?in-dogi=m} \\
\text{when} & \text{REQ} & \text{NOM} & \text{MNRGER/PFT-start=2/GEN} \\
\text{OBL/PRO} & \text{so} & \text{?} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘when did you start it?’

(56) toy minodaanto soni mani?

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
towna=j & \text{?in>mola-an=to} & \text{so=ni} & \text{mani} \\
\text{where=NOM} & \text{<LOCV/PFT>plant-LOCV=3/GEN} & \text{OBL=GEN} & \text{peanut} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘where will he plant the peanuts?’
Example (57) contains a non-finite clause headed by a transitive predicate marked for recent aspect with *ekay*- The Oblique phrase marks a specific undergoer participant.

(57) \( \text{ekay’alak} \quad \text{so} \)
\( ?\text{akaj-alak}=\text{k} \quad \text{so} \)
RecPast-get=1/GEN obl/pro

‘I have just got it’

Finally, the Oblique case may be used to express the two following main meanings. It may mean ‘amongst, of’, as in (58), or ‘according to, as for’, as in (59) and (60).

(58) \( \text{nem sipa son} \quad \text{si’kata i edaing ja mankansiyon?} \)
\( \text{nam sipa so=n si’gata } \text{?i } \text{?a-la?iq} \quad \text{ja man-kansijon} \)
but who obl=gen/pers 1&2/ind nom Stapatv/pft-clever lk actv/ipf-sing

‘but who amongst/of us two is the one who is good at singing?’

(59) \( \text{son} \quad \text{si’kak, edigat} \quad \text{i asel} \quad \text{ni Ibaloy} \)
\( \text{so=non} \quad \text{si’gak } \text{?a-ligat } \text{?i } \text{?assal} \quad \text{ni Ibaloj} \)
obl=gen/pers 1/ind Stapatv/pft-difficult nom voice, language gen Ibaloy

‘according to me, the Ibaloy language is difficult’

(60) \( \text{yet bara son} \quad \text{si’kayo ja manpidi} \quad \text{ni} \)
\( \text{jot } \text{wada so=n} \quad \text{si’gajo ja man-pili} \quad \text{ni} \)
and then exist obl=gen/pers 2+/ind lk actv/ipf-choose gen

\( \text{piyanjo } \quad \text{ya chalnen} \)
\( \text{pijan=jo} \quad \text{ja dalan-an} \)
like, want=2+/gen lk path, route-patv/ipf

‘it is up to you to choose whatever pathway you like to take’

12.4 Locative

The Locative case is used to encode an inanimate location. When the referent is an animate source or goal, then the Oblique case must be used. The exact spatial orientation of the referent depends on the predicate. It may refer to a static location ‘in, at, on, etc.’ as in (61), a source ‘from’ as in (62), or a goal ‘to’ as in (63), or it may even mean ‘through’ as in (64).

(61) \( \text{man’iyan} \quad \text{iraq} \quad \text{Bagiw} \)
\( \text{man’ijan} \quad \text{?ida=d} \quad \text{bagiw} \)
actv/ipf-stay 3+/nom=loc Baguio

‘they will remain in Baguio city’
12.4 Locative

(62) **edapod** Dutab
   ?a-lapo=d
dutab
POTPATV/PFT-come=LOC Dutab

‘he came from Dutab’

(63) **dimaw** chi simbaan
   <im>law
di simba?an
   <ACTV/PFT>go LOC church

‘she went to church’

(64) **dimabas** chi so’kek
   <im>labas
di so?kok
   <ACTV/PFT>pass LOC forest

‘he passed through/by the forest’

The status of the Locative phrase is not always that of a complement of the predicate. In may be a Locative adjunct, as in (65) and (66). For a discussion of verbal complements versus adjuncts see Chapter 37.

(65) nagogip sota bii chi baleycha
   na-?ogip sota bi?i
di baleycha
   POTPATV/PFT-sleep NOM/REC woman LOC house=3+/GEN

‘the woman slept at their house’

(66) engankami chi market
   ?aN-kan=kami
di market
   ACTV/PFT-eat=1+/NOM LOC market

‘we ate at the market’

A Locative marked constituent can be the predicate of a locational clause (see §38.4), as in (67) and (68).

(67) yet chima Digow i pilmeron dinabancha
   jat dima digow ?i pilmero=n
   and then LOC/DIST Digow NOM first=LK <LOCV/PFT>go-LOCV=3+/GEN

‘the first place where they went to is Digow’

(68) chiyakayonin ni sandomingko
   di?aj=ka?n nin ni sando?ingko
   LOC/PROX/PRO=2+/NOM=first GEN whole-week

‘you are here a whole week first’

A Locative phrase may also occur inside a complex phrase. Complex phrases are introduced by any determiner (including demonstrative determiners) other than a Locative-marked one (see §31.1).
A Locative phrase can be used to modify a nominal, as in (70) (see §33.4).

(70) say totoo chi Kabayan ket egcha amta i istoriyato
    saj cv-to?o di kabajan kat ?ag=da ?amta ?i istoriya=to
    TOP PL-person LOC Kabayan TPLK neg=3+/GEN know NOM story=3/GEN

'as for the people in Kabayan, they do not know his story'

Finally, it may occur after the coordinating conjunction tan or the coordinating disjunction ono 'or' (see Chapter 32).

(71) chima Zambales, Mindoro tan chi Bilanse, echakel i
    dima zambales mindoro tan di bilanse ?a-dakal ?i
    LOC/DIST Zambales Mindoro and LOC Bilanse STAPATV/PFT-many NOM
    aetas
    ?a?etas
    Negritos

'in Zambales, Mindoro and in Bilanse, the Negritos are many'

12.5 Topic

Topic forms usually mark a pragmatic topic. However, a few other uses are available for constituents introduced by a Topic form, as discussed below.

When marking a pragmatic topic the topic phrase occurs in pre-clausal position (see Chapter 43).

(72) say apo diyos ni Ibadoy ket Kabigan tan Kaboniyan
    saj ?apo diyos ni ?ibaloj kat kabigan tan kabonijan
    TOP Title god GEN Ibaloy TPLK Kabigan and Kaboniyan

'as for the gods of the Ibaloy people, they are Kabigan and Kaboniyan'

(73) saja Ibaloy ali ket migrants alidma South Pacific
    saja ?ibaloj ?ali kot migrants ?ali=dma south pacific
    TOP/PROX Ibaloy toward TPLK migrants toward=LOC/DIST South Pacific
    islands
    islands

'as for the Ibaloy people here they were immigrants from the South Pacific islands'
A phrase introduced by a Topic determiner can be the predicate of an identificational nominal clause (§38.1.3), as in the following examples.

(74) \textit{saman} \ i \ \textit{iskoydaanmi} \\
\textsc{top/dist/pro nom study-locN=1+/gen} \\
‘our school (study place) is that one there’

(75) \textit{sajay} \ i \ \textit{chindanko} \\
\textsc{top/pro/prox nom <patv/pft>path way, route=1/gen} \\
‘what I used as the route is this one here’

Finally, Topic forms may be used after the coordinate conjunction \textit{tan} ‘and’ or the coordinate disjunction \textit{ono} ‘or’ (see Chapter 32).

(76) \textit{jet} \ \textit{saja} \ \textit{iakankon} \ \textit{animal} \ \textit{tan} \ \textit{saja} \ \textit{pilak} \\
\textsc{top/prox thmv/ipf-give=1/gen=lk animal and top/prox money} \\
and then \textsc{tplk payment gen/prox/pro} \\
‘then as for what I give that is animal and money, it is the payment of this’
Basic determiners (henceforth simply determiners) are arranged according to the following morphological forms: Nominative, Genitive, Oblique, Locative and Topic. When a bound or suppletive form is available, it is given beside its full form. The equal sign before or after the form means that it is a clitic.

### Table 13.1: Basic Determiners

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>NOM</th>
<th>GEN</th>
<th>OBL</th>
<th>LOC</th>
<th>TOP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Common</td>
<td>i  =y</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>so=ni</td>
<td>chi  =d</td>
<td>say</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/?i/ /=j/</td>
<td>/ni/</td>
<td>/so=ni/</td>
<td>/=di/ /=d/</td>
<td>/=saj/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal</td>
<td>si =s</td>
<td>nen =n</td>
<td>so=nen so=n</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/si/ /=s/</td>
<td>/nen/ /=n/</td>
<td>/so=nen/ /so=n/</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 13.1 Main Features of Determiners

Determiners are analysed according to their morphological and phonological characteristics as well as their semantics as described below.

**Morpho-Phonological Characteristics** The common Topic determiner say /saj/ is perhaps made up historically of the Topic component sa /sa/ plus =y /=j/, which was probably the encliticised form of the Nominative common determiner i /?i/. The component sa does not occur independently, but it does occur as part of the deictic demonstratives (§14.1), and so say is regarded as an indivisible unit.

The Oblique determiners are morphologically complex. The determiner is so /so/ and takes a Genitive complement. So is a phonological word and can have forms cliticised to it, such as the Genitive determiners. Because it forms a phonological unit
with the following Genitive form, it is provided alongside with it in the Table 13.1. The equal sign between the two forms is to suggest that they are two separate morphemes.

Most determiners may have two forms; a free form and a bound form. For instance, the bound form of the personal Nominative determiner si /si/ is =s /=s/, and the bound form of the Locative determiner chi /di/ is =d /=d/. In (1), the Nominative determiner for personal nouns si is realised as the bound form =s, which is attached to a preceding word ending in a vowel, in this case, the verb ngimi'ngi 'someone laughed'.

(1) ngimi’ngi
<im>gi?gi=s
<ACTV/PFT>laugh=NOM/PERS Kaootikan

‘Kaootikan (the dwarf) laughed’

Similarly, in (2) the Locative determiner chi is realised as =d and attaches to a preceding word ending in a vowel. In this case, the Nominative pronoun ira ‘3+/NOM’.

(2) dimaw irad simbaan
<im>law ?ida=d simba?an
<ACTV/PFT>go 3+/NOM=LOC church

‘they went to church’

The personal Genitive determiner nen /nәn/ is realised as =n /=n/ which attaches to a preceding constituent ending in a vowel like the Oblique determiner so, as in the following examples.

(3) inpaoneytoy adiya nonta bii son
?inpa-?onaj=to=j ?alija nonta bi?i so=n
CAUSV/PFT-see=3+/GEN=NOM soul GEN/REC woman OBL=GEN/PERS

asebato
?asәwa=to
spouse=3+/GEN

‘he showed the soul of that woman to her husband’

(4) chakaidoado son Matono
daka=?i-lo?alo so=n matono
3+/GEN/ASP=THMV/CNTV-pray OBL=GEN/PERS Matono

‘they habitually pray to Matono’

The common Topic determiner say lacks a bound form. It is always a phonologically independent word, as exemplified in (5).
There is an asymmetry between common and personal determiners. Common determiners distinguish between Nominative and Topic forms, whereas personal determiners do not make this distinction. Instead the personal Nominative determiner *si* is used to mark both Nominative case and pragmatic topics (see Chapter 43).

**Semantics**  Determiners convey information about the nature of the referent. When the referent is a person the personal form of the determiner must be used. Furthermore, personal determiners may also be used to convey the speaker's attitude towards the referent, e.g. to show respect or politeness. This is often the case with kinship terms (Chapter 9) when they are possessed.

In (6), the Nominative phrase refers to an animate entity, *bii* 'woman', which is a common noun. Hence, the common form of the Nominative determiner *i* is used.

\[(6)\]  \( \text{simakit} \quad i \quad \text{bii} \quad \text{ni sakeya domingko} \)  
\(<\text{im}>\text{sakit} \quad \text{?i} \quad \text{bii} \quad \text{ni} \quad \text{sakaj=a domingko} \)  
\(<\text{ACTV/PFT}>\text{sick NOM woman GEN one=LK week} \)  
‘the woman got sick for a week’

Body parts are also common nouns and must be introduced by the common form of the determiners.

\[(7)\]  \( \text{isonga} \quad \text{bimadogot} \quad i \quad \text{ekeston} \quad \text{pasiya} \)  
\(<\text{im}>\text{balogot} \quad \text{?i} \quad \text{tagos=to=n} \quad \text{pasiya} \)  
\text{hence=LK}<\text{ACTV/PFT}>\text{huge NOM stomach=3/GEN=LK very}  
‘therefore his stomach became very huge’

Conversely, proper names of people and title terms (Chapter 8) are personal nouns, and receive the personal form of the determiner. In Nominative case the form is *si* (or its allomorph =*s*), as exemplified below.

\[(8)\]  \( \text{eg’on’akad} \quad \text{si} \quad \text{Maodi nem pinatitos} \)  
\(<\text{neg=ACTV/IPF-walk NOM/PERS Maodi but}<\text{PATV/PFT}>\text{obey=3/GEN=NOM/PERS} \)  
\( \text{tatangto} \quad \)  
\( \text{tataŋ=to} \quad \)  
\( \text{father=3/GEN} \)  
‘Maodi did not go home but obeyed his father’
However, such a semantic distinction is not marked for the Locative determiner. Two separate forms performing similar semantic functions are found in Ibaloy. One is the Locative form *chi* 'LOC' which is used for inanimate locations, the other is the Oblique determiner *so* (followed by its Genitive-marked complement) which is used to refer to animate locations, usually human goals and sources. (It has also other functions; see §12.3 for more details.) For instance, when a motion verb, like *dimaw* in the following example, takes an inanimate goal the Locative determiner *chi* is used.

(9) \[ \begin{array}{llllll}
\text{jet} & \text{dimaw} & \text{sota} & \text{naama} & \text{chi} & \text{baleycha} \\
\text{jat} & \langle \text{im}\rangle \text{law} & \text{sota} & \text{na-?ama} & \text{di} & \text{babj}=\text{da} \\
\text{and then} & \langle \text{ActV/pft}\rangle \text{go nom/rec StaPatV/pft-old man loc house}=3+/\text{gen} \\
\end{array} \]

‘and then the old man went to their house’

On the other hand, when such complement refers to an animate goal with a common referent the Oblique determiner followed by a common Genitive phrase is used.

(10) \[ \begin{array}{llllll}
\text{jet} & \text{dimaw} & \text{sota} & \text{naama} & \text{soni} & \text{aanak} \text{to} \\
\text{jat} & \langle \text{im}\rangle \text{law} & \text{sota} & \text{na-?ama} & \text{so}=\text{ni} & \text{cv-?anak} \text{to} \\
\text{aanak} & \text{to} \\
\text{aanak} \text{to} & \text{pl-child}=3/\text{gen} \\
\text{aanak} & \text{to} \\
\text{aanak} & \text{to} \\
\end{array} \]

‘and then the old man went to his children’

Although the main split here is between animate and inanimate entities, the distinction between personal and common nominals is still maintained amongst animate entities. The Oblique determiner *so* takes a Genitive-marked complement introduced by the common determiner *ni* for a common referent, or the personal determiner *nen* (or *=n*) for a personal referent.

Finally, it is difficult to establish whether determiners carry information about definiteness or whether definiteness is instead inferred from other information in the context. However, the following generalizations can be made.

All entities referred to by the personal determiners must be definite. Topics are also typically definite and so are Nominative complements. Although Nominative complements are usually old information (hence well identified), it is possible for the common Nominative determiner to be used to refer to an indefinite entity. This usually occurs in an existential construction (see §38.5).

In an independent clause, a Genitive-marked complement bearing an undergoer role is generally interpreted as indefinite.
However, this does not hold true for a Genitive-marked undergoer complement in a non-finite or dependent clause (e.g. a complement clause or a relative clause). In the following example the Genitive undergoer complement of the non-finite clause containing the same predicate *engoney* is introduced by the recognitional Genitive demonstrative *nonta*, which is a definite determiner as discussed in §14.2.

(12) *inaschaw ja pasiya sota aki ja engoney nonta na-sadaw ja pasija sota ?aki ja ?aN-tonaj nonta*  

    *otchot ja imoli*  
    *mouse LK <ACTV/PFT>return*  

    ‘the monkey was very surprised to see the mouse that came back’
Demonstratives all have a deictic component in common. However, deixis does not need to refer to spatial distance. Ibaloy distinguishes two types of demonstratives:

- deictic demonstratives (§14.1); and
- recognitional demonstratives (§14.2).

The two sub-types of demonstratives are morphologically distinct and have a determiner form as well as a pronominal form.

**14.1 Deictic Demonstratives**

Deictic demonstratives form the paradigm in Table 14.1. For each deictic determiner there exists a pronominal form which is morphologically more complex and includes the consonant within parentheses. When a bound or suppletive form is available it is given beside its full form.
Table 14.1: Deictic Demonstratives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>NOM</th>
<th>GEN</th>
<th>OBL</th>
<th>LOC</th>
<th>TOP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Proximal</td>
<td>iya(y)</td>
<td>=yja(y)</td>
<td>niya(y)</td>
<td>=nja(y)</td>
<td>so=nja(y)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/?ija(j)/</td>
<td>/=jjja(j)/</td>
<td>/nija(j)/</td>
<td>/=nja(j)/</td>
<td>/so=nija(j)/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medial</td>
<td>ita(n)</td>
<td>=yta(n)</td>
<td>nita(n)</td>
<td>=nta(n)</td>
<td>so=nita(n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/?ita(n)/</td>
<td>/=jita(n)/</td>
<td>/nita(n)/</td>
<td>/=nta(n)/</td>
<td>/so=nita(n)/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distal</td>
<td>ima(n)</td>
<td>=yma(n)</td>
<td>nima(n)</td>
<td>=nma(n)</td>
<td>so=nima(n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/?ima(n)/</td>
<td>/=jima(n)/</td>
<td>/nima(n)/</td>
<td>/=nma(n)/</td>
<td>/so=nima(n)/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
14.1 Deictic Demonstratives

### 14.1.1 Main Features of Deictics

The following account analyses deictics according to their morphological and phonological characteristics as well as their semantics.

**Morpho-Phonological Characteristics** Morphologically, deictic demonstratives are all complex forms. They are made up of one of the common determiners shown in Table 13.1 plus a deictic component. Ibaloy distinguishes three deictic forms reflecting three separate degrees of distance. The first is used to refer to entities located near the speaker, here named “proximal”. The second refers to entities located near the addressee or not too far away, here named “medial”. These entities are usually visible. The third refers to entities located away from both the speaker and the addressee, here named “distal”. These entities are usually located further away than the medial ones and are usually not visible.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deixis</th>
<th>Deictic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>proximal</td>
<td>ya/ja /ja/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>medial</td>
<td>ta /ta/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>distal</td>
<td>ma /ma/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Nominative deictic determiners consist of the Nominative common determiner *i* /ʔi/ followed by a deictic component, as in *i*-ma /ʔi-ma/ in (1).

(1) yet iasalcha
    jat ʔi-ʔasal=da ima too
    and then THMV/IPF-death chair=3+/GEN NOM/DIST person
    ‘then they will put that person on the death chair’

The Genitive deictic determiners are made up of the Genitive common determiner *ni* /ni/ plus a deictic component, as in *ni*-ya /ni-ja/ in (2).

(2) sipay enongkal *niya* apag?
sipa=j ?aN-tongal nija ?apag
    who=NOM ACTV/PFT-buy GEN/PROX meat
    ‘who bought this meat?’

As explained in §13.1, the Oblique case always consists of the Oblique determiner *so* /so/ plus a Genitive complement. In this case, the complement is introduced by a Genitive deictic determiner.
The Locative deictic determiners are made up of the determiner chi /di/ plus a deictic component, as in chi-ta /di-ta/ in (4).

Finally, Topic deictic determiners are formed by the initial component of the common Topic determiner sa- /sa-/ plus one of the deictic components, as in sa-ja /sa-ja/ in (5).

Deictic pronouns are all made up of the deictic determiners plus a final consonant which is -y /-j/ for the proximal deictics and -n /-n/ for all the others.

Deictics may have two forms: a free one and a bound one. As explained above, deictics are complex forms made of a determiner component and a deictic component plus a final consonant for the pronominal forms. There is a formal correspondence between determiners and deictics. When a determiner has a bound form its corresponding deictic forms have also a bound form. There is only one exception, and this concerns the Genitive component ni. In the deictics ni may be realised as =n. For example, the Genitive distal determiner =nta. In (8) the Genitive deictic =nta occurs encliticised to the Oblique determiner so.
14.1 Deictic Demonstratives

(8) \textit{si'kam ket manbantayka sonta}\n\textit{si?gam kot man-bantaj=ka so=nta}\n2/IND TpLk ActV/IPF-guard, look after=2/NOM OBL=GEN/MED

\textit{naama}\n\textit{na-?ama}\nSTAPatV/PFT-old man

‘as for you, you will look after that old man’

When the proximal deictic component \textit{ya [ja]} is stressed it is realised as \textit{ja ['təa]}, as in the following example.

(9) \textit{idi ondaw iradja sa 'pat}\n\textit{?i?i on-law ?ida=dja sagpat}\nwhen-past ActV/IPF-go 3+/NOM=LOC/PROX down

‘when they went down here’

Finally, the Genitive distal pronoun \textit{niman} has a homophonous temporal counterpart referring to present time, discussed in §46.2.2.

**Semantics** Deictic demonstratives are used exophorically or anaphorically. When used exophorically, they locate the entity they refer to on a distance scale: proximal, medial and distal with respect to a selected point of reference (or deictic center) that may or may not coincide with the speaker. These two uses are not mutually exclusive. For a description of some uses of deixis and referentiality of the demonstratives see Chapter 34.

In the following example, the Nominative deictic pronoun \textit{itan} points to an entity whose reference is found in the immediately preceding context.

(10) \textit{ara! sisiked i bokdewmon embalanga!}\n\textit{?i?ada cv-sigod ?i boklaw=mo=n ?an-balaqa}\nExpr/surprise QUASI-nice NOM neck=2/GEN=LK STAV/EN-red

\textit{ikowanmogan}\n\textit{si'kak nem toy}\n?i-kowan=mo=ga=n si?gak nom to=j\nTHMV/IPF-say, tell=2/GEN=please=OBL/PERS 1/IND if/when what=NOM

\textit{impesingmo}\n\textit{tep piyankongo itan!}\n?in-pasi:u=mo tap pijan=ko=jo ?itan\nGER/PFT-do, make=2/GEN because want, like=1/GEN=also NOM/MED/PRO

‘oh! your red neck is cute! tell me please how you made it because I want that too!’

Spatial reference is here simply illustrated for the Nominative deictic determiners. In (11) the Nominative proximal deictic determiner \textit{iya} points to the place where the conversation is taking place.
(11) \textit{taynantayo} \textit{iya} \textit{dogad!}
tajan-an=tajo \textit{?ija} logad
leave-LocV/IPF=1&2+/GEN NOM/PROX place

'let us leave this place!'

In (12) the Nominative medial deictic determiner \textit{ita} points to an entity (the two dogs) that are near to the addressee.

(12) \textit{olopmo} \textit{ita} \textit{chowan aso!}
?olop-0=mo \textit{?ita} dowan \textit{?aso}
take along-PATV/IMP=2/GEN NOM/MED two=LK dog

'take along those two dogs!'

Finally, in (13) the Nominative distal deictic determiner \textit{ima} points to an entity that is either not visible or far away from the speaker.

(13) \textit{no} \textit{ma'enchi} \textit{ima} \textit{sediton} \textit{sakey,}
no ma-?andi \textit{?ima} sali=to=n \textit{?sakej}
if/when STA PAT PATV/IPF-not exist NOM/DIST leg, foot=3/GEN=LK one

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{mebedinman a'chidenkon} \textit{totoba}
  \item mabalin=ma=n ?adal-an=ko=n \textit{totoba}
  \item can=then=LK catch-PATV/IPF=1/GEN=LK really, truly
\end{itemize}

'if that one foot of hers will not be there, it is possible then that I will truly catch her'

Although deictics lack a form used for personal nouns, a deictic personal phrase may be achieved in a different way through a complex construction. This construction consists of a personal determiner (e.g. \textit{si} or \textit{nen}) followed by either a phrase introduced by a deictic determiner in Nominative form or a deictic pronoun also in Nominative form (see §31.2.1). These phrases are used anaphorically and their referent immediately precedes them, as in (14); see Chapter 34.

(14) \textit{baray manbirthday, nanbirthday \textit{si} Tita}
wada=\textit{j} man-birthday nan-birthday \textit{si} tita
exist=NOM AcTV/IPF-birthday, AcTV/PFT-birthday NOM/PERS Tita

'there was someone celebrating his/her birthday, Tita celebrated her birthday'

(15) \textit{nakol niman, edabiankamid baley \textit{nen}}
nakol niman ?a-labi-an=kami=d balaj nan
reason GEN/DIST/PRO PotLocV/PFT-night-LOCV=1+/NOM=LOC house GEN/PERS

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{iya Tita, tep engankamidman}
  \item ?ija tita tap ?aN-kan=kami-dman
  \item PROX Tita because AcTV/PFT-eat=1+/NOM=LOC/DIST/PRO
\end{itemize}

'this is why we got overtaken by the night at Tita's house, because we ate there'
14.2 Recognitional Demonstratives

Recognitional demonstratives are used to refer to shared and familiar knowledge. The term “recognitional” is borrowed from Diessel (Diessel, 1999) and Himmelmann (1996); for an explanation see §14.2.1. These demonstratives also form a basic paradigm, as shown in Table 14.2. For each recognitional determiner there exists a pronominal form which is morphologically more complex and includes the consonant within parentheses.

Table 14.2: Recognitional Demonstratives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NOM</th>
<th>GEN</th>
<th>OBL</th>
<th>LOC</th>
<th>TOP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sota(n)</td>
<td>nonta(n)</td>
<td>so=nanta(n)</td>
<td>nodta(n)</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/sota(n)/</td>
<td>/nonta(n)/</td>
<td>/so=nonta(n)/</td>
<td>/nodta(n)/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

14.2.1 Main Features of Recognitionals

Recognitional demonstratives are analysed below according to their morphological and phonological characteristics as well as their semantics.

Morpho-Phonological Characteristics  Diachronically, recognitionals are clearly complex forms. However, they are now morphologically indivisible units.

Pronominal recognitionals all end in -n, and the Oblique case is made up of the Oblique determiner so plus a Genitive-marked recognitional phrase.

Recognitionals lack a bound form or a personal form although the latter may be achieved in a different way through a complex construction as shown later on and also discussed in §31.2.2.

Finally, recognitionals also lack a topic form. The Nominative sota(n) is used to introduce a pragmatic topic, as in (16), as well as a Nominative complement, as in (17).

(16)  sota  bedatcha  ket  etattooan  
sota  bolat=da  kot  ?o-tattoo-an  
NOM/REC  skin=3+/GEN  TPLK  POTLOCV/PFT-tattoo-LocV  
‘their skin, it was tattooed’
The Genitive recognitions are never used in an independent clause to encode a Genitive undergoer complement since the latter requires a generic interpretation and this is not compatible with the functions of recognitional demonstratives. However, in a dependent construction, a recognitional demonstrative can mark such a complement in the same way as the determiners and the deictic demonstratives. For some other discourse functions of the recognitions see Chapter 34.

Finally, the Genitive recognitional pronoun *nontan* has a homophonous temporal counterpart referring to past time to be discussed in §46.2.2. Ibaloy has also a preposition and a subordinating conjunction that are homophonous with the Genitive form *nonta*. These will be discussed separately alongside their constructions in Chapter 35 and §44.1 respectively. The Genitive recognitional pronoun *nontan* has a homophonous temporal counterpart referring to past time like 'ago, time-past' discussed in §46.2.2.

**Semantics**  
Himmelmann (1996) describes the use of the recognitional demonstratives in the following way.

In the recognitional use, the intended referent is to be identified via specific, shared knowledge rather than through situational clues or reference to preceding segments of the ongoing discourse. (Himmelmann 1996:230)

Diessel (1999) writes:

Recognitional demonstratives mark information that is *discourse new* and *hearer old*. Prince (1992) introduces the terms *hearer new/discourse old* and *hearer new/hearer old* in order to distinguish information that has been evoked by the preceding discourse from information that is already in the hearer’s knowledge store (i.e. old with respect to the speaker’s beliefs). Discourse old information is also hearer old information, but hearer old information might be discourse new: the hearer might know something although it was previously not mentioned. Such information is *unactivated* (cf. Chafe 1987; 1994), but *pragmatically presupposed* (cf. Dryer 1996). Recognitional demonstratives are specifically
used to mark information that is discourse new (i.e. unactivated) and hearer old (i.e. pragmatically presupposed). More precisely, recognitional demonstratives mark information that is (i) discourse new, (ii) hearer old, and (iii) private (Himmelmann uses the term specific rather than private). Private information is information that speaker and hearer share due to common experience in the past. It is distinguished from general cultural information shared by all members of the speech community. (Diessel 1999:106)

Although they contain the medial deictic component ta, distance is irrelevant to the semantics of the recognitionals. Rather, they indicate mental deixis. They are used to refer to shared or familiar knowledge. Although used in anaphoric contexts, the type of familiarity or shared knowledge represented in recognitional demonstratives is somewhat different from that of the determiners or the deictic demonstratives. Himmelmann (1996) attempts to explain this difference as follows.

The difference pertains to the fact that the kind of knowledge involved in the familiar uses of the definite marker is considered to be generally shared among the members of a given community. It does not involve a specific interactional history common to the communicating parties in a given communicative event. Recognitional use of demonstratives, on the other hand, draws a specific, ‘personalised’ knowledge that is assumed to be shared by the communicating parties due to a common interactional history or to supposedly shared experiences. (Himmelmann 1996:233)

There is no special recognitional form for personal nouns. However, like the deictic demonstratives, a complex construction is available for entities in Nominative or Topic function. This construction consists of the recognitional sota followed by a personal noun preceded by the personal form si as exemplified below.

\[
\text{(18) } \begin{array}{llllllll}
\text{id} & \text{baraak} & \text{chi simbaan timened} & \text{sota} & \text{si} \\
?i'li & \text{wada=ak} & \text{di simba?an} & <\text{im}>\text{tanad} & \text{sota} & \text{si} \\
\text{when-past} & \text{exist=1/NOM LOC church} & <\text{ACTV/PFT}>\text{follow NOM/REC NOM/PERS} \\
\end{array}
\]

\begin{align*}
\text{Mark} & \text{ ja kaanakanko} \\
\text{mark} & \text{ ja ka?anak-an=ko} \\
\text{Mark} & \text{1K nephew=1/GEN} \\
\end{align*}

‘while I was at church that Mark who is my nephew followed’
Chapter 15

Demonstrative Identifiers

The term “demonstrative identifier” has been borrowed from Diessel (1999), who writes:

Demonstrative identifiers are similar to deictic representatives such as French *voila*, Latin *ecce*, and Russian *vot*. Fillmore (1982:47) calls such presentatives “sentential demonstratives”. Both demonstrative identifiers and sentential demonstratives are commonly used to introduce new discourse topics, but they have different syntactic properties. Demonstrative identifiers are embedded in a specific grammatical construction, a copular or non-verbal clause, while sentential demonstratives are syntactically more independent. Although they might occur in sentences that are functionally equivalent to copular and non-verbal clauses (e.g. *Voila un taxi*. ‘Here is a taxi.’), they are more commonly used as one word utterance, which may be loosely adjoined to a neighboring constituent. I assume therefore that demonstrative identifiers are distinguished from sentential demonstratives, but the distinction is not clear-cut. (Diessel 1999:79)

Table 15.1 summarises the demonstrative identifiers of Ibaloy.

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>yango</em> /jaŋo/</td>
<td>‘DEMDNTF/PROX’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mango</em> /maŋo/</td>
<td>‘DEMDNTF/DIST’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>iya(y)</em> /ʔija(j)/</td>
<td>‘DEMDNTF/PROX’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ita(n)</em> /ʔita(n)/</td>
<td>‘DEMDNTF/MED’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ima(n)</em> /ʔima(n)/</td>
<td>‘DEMDNTF/DIST’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All demonstrative identifiers are morphologically complex and contain one of the deictic components (*ja/y* ‘DE1/PROX’, *ta* ‘DE1/MED’ and *ma* ‘DE1/DIST’).
The forms *iya(y), ita(n) and ima(n)* each have a short form without the final consonant and a long form with it. All correspond to the Nominative forms of the deictic demonstratives, and are made up of a basic determiner and a dectic component (see §14.1). The long deictic forms are less frequent than their shorter counterparts.

Similarly, the forms *yango* and *mango* are made up of a deictic component (*ja/ya ‘DEI/PROX’* and *ma DEI/DIST*) plus the second-order enclitic *=ngo/*=y/o* ‘also, too, only, just; emphatic marker’ (see §46.2.2). Their meaning is also composite. At least the form *mango* shares some meaning with its second-order adverb homophonous counterpart. Both convey a sort of ‘sign of modesty’.

However, regardless of their similarity with the Nominative deictic demonstratives or adverbial forms, the distribution and functions of demonstrative identifiers are very different. They are always the predicate of a presentational clause (see §38.3).

1. **imas**

   (1)
   
   *imas*
   
   ?ima=s
   
   DEM/DIST=NOM/PERS Lilit
   
   ‘there is Lilit!’

2. **iman**

   (2)
   
   *iman*
   
   ?i bakante=d teachers’ quarter no pijan=mo
   
   DEM/DIST NOM vacant=LOC teachers’ quarter if/when like, want=2/GEN
   
   *pan’etankayo!*
   
   pan-?atan=kajo
   
   ACTV/IMP-transfer=2+/NOM
   
   ‘there is a vacant place at the teachers’ quarter, if you like, transfer yourselves (move there)!”

3. **iyaykami!**

   (3)
   
   *iyaykami!*
   
   ?ijaj=kami
   
   DEM/DIST=1+/NOM
   
   ‘here we are!’

4. **yangoy**

   (4)
   
   *yangoy*
   
   jajo=j balaj=ko
   
   DEM/DIST=nom house=1/GEN
   
   ‘here it is my house!’
Chapter 16

Personal Pronouns

Personal pronouns in Ibaloy are usually used to refer to animate and typically human entities, except for third person pronouns. For inanimate reference, it is necessary to use a third person pronoun (see §16.3.2).

Personal pronouns mainly encode information about case, number and person. Ibaloy distinguishes between singular and plural forms. Amongst first person pronouns distinctions between dual, inclusive and exclusive are available. All personal pronouns are best described in terms of number (singular v. plural) and four “minimal” personal categories as adopted by Thomas (1961) for Ilokano and Dixon (1980) for some Australian Aboriginal languages. The four minimal personal categories are ‘I’, ‘you’, ‘I and you’ and ‘he/she’ respectively. When such a system is represented by the presence or absence of the speaker or the addressee, the minimal categories can be represented in Table 16.1. Except for ‘I and you’, all minimal pronouns are singular.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speaker</th>
<th>Addressee</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Category</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1&amp;2</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Aside from the above minimal forms, there are four other pronominal forms which are here referred to as “augmented” since they involve at least an extra entity. Ibaloy augmented pronouns are compositional in meaning and at least for the ‘you’ and ‘I & you’ augmented pronouns also in form. Augmented categories are glossed with a + sign.

The augmented counterparts of the Nominative pronoun =ka ‘2/NOM’ and the Genitive pronoun =ta ‘1&2/GEN’ are respectively =kayo ‘2+/NOM’ and =tayo
‘1&2+/GEN’. Both are morphologically complex and are made up of the component \(=Yo\) which in the language is independently available as a Genitive plural pronoun meaning ‘2+/GEN’. Clearly, the augmented meanings of \(=kayo\) and \(=tayo\) are achieved through their compositional make up. In the following sections, personal pronouns are described in terms of minimal and augmented categories.

The personal pronouns are divided into two main sets. One consists of the independent pronouns which are phonologically free words. The other comprises the bound pronouns which are typically phonologically bound and may occur combined (see Table 16.4). Bound pronouns are, in turn, divided on the basis of their case into Nominative and Genitive. Bound pronouns include the directional pronouns (§16.2.1) and the aspectual pronouns (§16.2.2). Although made up of the bound pronouns, these two subsets of pronouns are not identical in form, they carry different meanings, and more importantly, they have a different distribution, and so they are discussed separately. So is the special Oblique pronoun so which has a restricted distribution, discussed in §16.2.3.

### 16.1 Independent Personal Pronouns

Table 16.2 summarizes the independent pronominal forms according to the minimal-augmented system.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>MIN</th>
<th>AUG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>si’kak /si?gak/</td>
<td>si’kami /si?gami/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1&amp;2</td>
<td>si’kata /si?gata/</td>
<td>si’katejo /si?gatajo/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>si’kam /si?gam/</td>
<td>si’kayo /si?gajo/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>si’kato /si?gato/</td>
<td>si’kara /si?gada/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These pronouns are morphologically complex. They are made of a common stem si’ka /si?ga/ that consists of the Nominative personal determiner si /si/, plus the encliticised Genitive form of the personal pronouns (§16.2).

Independent pronouns are mostly used as topics. In this function, they occur in a pre-predicate position, as discussed in Chapter 43.

(1) **nem si’kak, inkowankoy:** aychi!

nom si’gak ?in-kowan=ko=j ?ajdi
but 1/IND THMV/PFT-say=1/GEN=NOM no

‘but as for me, I said: no!’
They can also function as predicates of identificational nominal clauses (§38.1.3) as shown below.

(2) **nontanda, si’kak i pangodoan**
    
    nontan=la si?qak ʔi papoloʔan
    time-past=away 1/IND NOM eldest sibling

    ‘a long time ago, the eldest sibling was me’

Independent pronouns may occur as Nominative complements. However, although in principle all forms of the independent pronouns can function as Nominative complements, in practice only the third person pronouns commonly do so. In particular the third person singular independent pronoun **si’kato** is frequently used as a Nominative because Ibaloy lacks an overt Nominative bound third singular pronominal form. However, in other cases the choice of an independent pronoun in place of a Nominative bound pronoun carries a more emphatic or contrastive meaning.

(3) **yet mandotopay si’kato**
    
    jet man-loto=paj si?qato
    and then ACTV/IPF-cook=still, yet 3/IND

    ‘then she will still cook’

(4) **tep ebatekan si’kato**
    
    top ?o-batok-an si?qato
    because PotLocV/PFT-tattoo-LOCV 3/IND

    ‘because he was tattooed’

(5) **inchelngarod iranonta dedaki si’kara**
    
    <in>?adal=nagarod ʔda=nonta CV-laki si?qada
    <PATV/PFT>catch=indeed PL=GEN/REC PL-man 3+/IND

    ‘the men caught them indeed’

Finally, independent pronouns may occur as part of an Oblique phrase, as illustrated in (6). These phrases are personal and encode a human complement. Oblique phrases of this type consist of the Oblique determiner **so** plus a Genitive phrase introduced by the personal Genitive determiner **nen** or its allomorph =n followed by an independent pronoun.

(6) **jet eg’ekiokip son si’kara**
    
    jet ʔog=ʔakiʔogip so=ʔa si?qada
    and then neg=SOC/PFT-sleep OBL=GEN/PERS 3+/IND

    ‘then she did not sleep with them’

(7) **kaontakot i aki son si’kam**
    
    ka=ʔon-takot ʔi ʔaki so=ʔa si?qam
    HAB=ACTV/IPF-afraid NOM monkey OBL=GEN/PERS 2/IND

    ‘the monkey is afraid of you’
16.2 Bound Personal Pronouns

Bound personal pronouns include the Nominative and the Genitive forms of the pronouns as shown in Table 16.3. The term "bound" comes from the fact that these pronouns are all second-order enclitics (§3.3), indicated by the "=" sign. That is, they occur after their syntactic heads in second position and they attach at the end of the latter. The only exceptions are the second-order Nominative third person plural pronoun ima /?ida/ and its non-second order homophonous form which are free pronouns as discussed below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Genitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MIN</td>
<td>AUG</td>
<td>MIN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>=ak</td>
<td>=kami</td>
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<tr>
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<td>=ak/</td>
<td>=kami/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1&amp;2</td>
<td>=kita</td>
<td>=kito</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>=kita/</td>
<td>=kito/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>=ka</td>
<td>=kayo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>=ka/</td>
<td>=kajo/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>ira</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/?ida/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The main uses of the bound pronouns are as the Nominative complement of an intransitive clause, and as the Genitive Agent and the Nominative complement of a transitive clause (see Chapter 36). Another function is that of pronominal agreement marking within a clause (see Chapter 42).

The Nominative form of the bound pronouns may replace the Nominative complement of an intransitive clause, as in (8) or of a transitive clause, as in (9).

(8) imakad<i> kami ali
    <im>?akad=kami ?ali
    <ACTV/PFT>go=1+/NOM toward

    'we went back home'

In a transitive clause, the Nominative bound pronoun can only occur when the Genitive Agent is also expressed as a bound pronoun. The sequence is Genitive before Nominative, as discussed in Chapter 39.

(9) ensemektok<i> ka
    ?on-samak=to=ka
    POTPATV/en-love=3/GEN=2/NOM

    'he loves you'
For a Nominative third person entity one option is to leave it unexpressed. The lack of an overt pronoun (or Ø) marks a Nominative third person singular referent (number agreement in Ibaloy is not obligatory, especially for non-humans). Other options include the use of a Nominative demonstrative pronoun (Chapter 14) or an independent pronoun (§16.1).

The Genitive forms of the bound pronouns mark the Genitive Agent of a transitive construction, as in (10), or the possessor in an existential construction, as in (11). Possession is discussed in §33.2.

(10) **isepata**

\[ ?i-sopa=ta \]

\[ ?ija \]

\[ balitok \]

\[ THMV/IPF-put down=1&2/GEN NOM/PROX gold \]

’we (two) will put down this gold’

(11) **baray anakta**

\[ wada=j \]

\[ ?anak=ta \]

\[ exist=NOM child=1&2/GEN \]

’we (two) have a child’

Some pronouns have two allomorphs. The Nominative pronoun =*kayo* [’kajo] ‘2+/NOM’ has an allomorph =*kejo* [ka_k̚t̚'] (or =*kajo* [ka_k̚t̚']). The two forms differ in their stress pattern. The form =*kejo* carries ultimate stress and so far has only been found encliticised to a Genitive bound pronoun. Combined pronouns are discussed below, see Table 16.4 for other forms.

(12) **inaknantokejo**

\[ ?in-?akan-an=to=kajo \]

\[ BNFV/PFT-give-BNFV=3/GEN=2+/NOM \]

’he will give you (pl) some’

The Genitive pronoun =*tayo* [’tajo] ‘1&2+/GEN’ has =*tejo* [t̚k̚t̚’] (or =*tajo* [t̚k̚t̚’]) as its allomorph. They also differ in stress. The form =*tejo* carries ultimate stress, as in the following example where it is used to mark nominal possession.

(13) **kanento i mangkatejo**

\[ kan-an=to \]

\[ ?i \]

\[ manga=tajo \]

\[ eat-PATV/IPF=3/GEN NOM mango=1&2+/GEN \]

’he will eat our mangoes’

The pronoun =*cha* [’fa] ‘3+/GEN’ has the variant =*ra* [ra]. When the preceding syllable ends with a consonant =*cha* is always used regardless of stress, as in (14). When the preceding syllable ends with a vowel =*cha* is used when the pronoun is stressed, as in (15) and =*ra* is used when the pronoun is unstressed, as in (16). The same applies to =*jo* [jo] ‘2+/GEN’ and its allomorph =*yo* [jo].
16.2 Bound Personal Pronouns

(14) \textit{jet} \textit{in’iyanchad} \textit{chindi}
\textit{jet} \textit{?in-?ijan=da=d} \textit{dinli}
and then THMV/PFT-place=3+/GEN=LOC death cloth

‘then they will place him on the death cloth’

(15) \textit{intorocha} \textit{i} \textit{chalan son} \textit{si’kato}
\textit{?in-todo=da} \textit{?i dalan so=n} \textit{si?qato}
THMV/PFT-show=3+/GEN NOM path way OBL=GEN/PERS 3/IND

‘they showed the way to him’

(16) \textit{say} \textit{amtaran} \textit{mansekana}

\textit{sa}j \textit{?amta=da=n} \textit{man-sagana}

so that know=3+/GEN=LK AcTV/IPF-prepare

‘so that they know to get ready’

The choice between \textit{=mo} ‘2/GEN’ and its allomorph \textit{=m} is also conditioned by the preceding syllable. When this ends with a consonant \textit{=mo} is used. When it ends with a vowel \textit{=m} is used. The same applies to the pronoun \textit{=ko} ‘1/GEN’ and its allomorph \textit{=k}.

(17) \textit{indakoma} \textit{emin i} \textit{botbotogmo}
\textit{?in-lako=m=a} \textit{?amin ?i cvc-botog=mo}
THMV/PFT-sell=2/GEN=LK all NOM MULT-hog=2/GEN

‘you sold all your hogs’

The Nominative third plural pronoun \textit{ira} constitutes an exception in that it is not enclitic, but a free form. The form \textit{ira} occurs in two different contexts. In one context it is used as a second-order constituent. As a second-order constituent it occurs after the verb or auxiliary preceded only by other second-order adverbs but not a full phrase. The order of \textit{ira} with respect to other second-order items varies. When the clause contains a second-order adverbial phrase such as \textit{ni olay}, then the second-order form \textit{ira} may occur before it, as in (18) or after it, as in (19).

(18) \textit{mansinmek} \textit{ira} \textit{ni olay}
\textit{man-<in>samak} \textit{?ida ni ?olaj}
ACTV/IPF-<REC>love 3+/NOM GEN always

‘they will always love each other’

(19) \textit{isonga imonong} \textit{ni olay} \textit{ira}
\textit{?iso=nga <im> ?onorJ ni ?olaj ?ida}
hence=LK <ACT/PFT>remain GEN always 3+/NOM

‘therefore they always remained’

In (20) \textit{ira} precedes the second-order directional adverb \textit{ali} ‘?ali/ (which has a variant \textit{=di} ‘=li/. In (21) \textit{ira} follows the directional.
(20) no onmotok iradi
no ?on-motok ?ida=li
if/when AcTV/IPF-arrive 3+/NOM=toward
‘when if/they will arrive back’

(21) yet imoli ali ira
jot <im>?oli ?ali ?ida
and then <AcTV/PFT>return toward 3+/NOM
‘then they returned back’

When an auxiliary is present, the second-order pronoun ira follows it, but precedes
the main verb (see Chapter 40). For instance, in (22) the pronoun ira occurs en­
cliticised to the negative auxiliary eg=.

(22) eg’ira ondaw chima pa’dok
neg=3+/NOM AcTV/IPF-go LOC/DIST creek
‘they will not go to that creek’

The form ira can also be used as a full Nominative phrase. In the following example
it follows the Genitive phrase expressing the agent. However, ira cannot occur as a
full noun phrase when the immediately preceding constituent is interpreted as plural
and so is modifiable by the homophonous plural marker ira (§33.3).

(23) pinekan nonta eba’kol ira
<in>pakan nonta ?o-ba?kol ?ida
<PATV/PFT>feed GEN/REC STAPATV/PFT-old woman 3+/NOM
‘the old woman fed them’

When an auxiliary is present in the clause, ira as a full noun phrase occurs after
the main verb. In (24), ira occurs after the verb kedaten which follows the negative
auxiliary. The verb kedaten is transitive and also requires a Genitive Agent expressed
by the Genitive pronoun =cha which being a second-order bound pronoun occurs
encliticised to the auxiliary.

(24) eg=cha kedaten ira
?ag=da kalat-on ?ida
neg=3+/GEN bite-PATV/IPF 3+/NOM
‘they did not bite them’

When both the Genitive Agent and the Nominative are represented by bound pro­
nouns, one of the combined pronouns listed in Table 16.4 is used. Combined pro­
nouns are made up of a Genitive bound pronoun plus one of the encliticised forms
of the Nominative bound pronouns.
16.2 Bound Personal Pronouns

(25) *en’ogaogeschakami*

?an-CVCV-?ogas=da=kami

UNV/EN-INTNS-hate=3+/GEN=1+/NOM

‘they really hate us’

Third person Nominative pronouns are excluded from these combinations because they are not bound. Being a free form, the Nominative third person plural pronoun occurs after the encliticised verb. Second-order adverbs may occur between the verb and the Nominative pronoun, as in (27).

(26) *nem kedatenmo*  

*ira*

nam kalat-an=mo  

but bite-PATV/IPF=2/GEN 3+/NOM

‘but you will bite them’

(27) *adibjencha*  

*ni olay*  

*ira*

?alibaj-an=da  

enjoy, amuse-PATV/IPF=3+/GEN GEN always 3+/NOM

‘they will always enjoy them’

When the pronouns are the first Genitive and the Nominative second singular or plural, Ibaloy has two portmanteau forms. One is =*taka /=taka/ ‘1/GEN&2/NOM’, and the other is =*takejo /=takajo/ ‘1/GEN&2+/NOM’.

(28) *inakantaka*  

*ni paydeng*  

<in>?akan-an=taka  

<LocV/PFT>give-LocV=1/GEN&2/NOM GEN GEN fish

‘I gave you some fish’

When an auxiliary is present, the combined pronominal forms encliticise to the auxiliary. In the following example, the Genitive plus Nominative pronominal combination =*to=ka* encliticises to the negative auxiliary *eg=*

(29) *egtoka*  

*keginan*  

?ag=to=ka  

gatin-an  

neg=3/GEN=2/NOM IPF-step-LocV/IPF

‘he will not step on you’
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1/NOM</th>
<th>1+/NOM</th>
<th>2/NOM</th>
<th>2+/NOM</th>
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<th>1&amp;2+/NOM</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>1/GEN</strong></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td><strong>1&amp;2/GEN</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>1&amp;2+/GEN</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>3+/GEN</strong></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 16.4: Combined Bound Pronouns
16.2 Bound Personal Pronouns

16.2.1 Directional Pronouns

Directional pronouns mark the referent as going to perform the action denoted by the following verb. Directional constructions of this kind will be discussed in Chapter 40. Although very similar to their bound counterparts, they differ in two important respects. Phonologically, they are free forms. Syntactically, they are auxiliary heads requiring a following verb.

Table 16.5: Directional Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Genitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>MIN</td>
<td>AUG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>nak</td>
<td>kami</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/nak/</td>
<td>/kami/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1&amp;2</td>
<td>kita</td>
<td>kito</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/kita/</td>
<td>/kito/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>kayo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/ka/</td>
<td>/kajo/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>ira</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/?ida/</td>
<td>/to/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Since they act as auxiliaries, directional pronouns attract any second-order item that would otherwise be part of the following predicate (see Chapter 40). In (30) the second-order directional adverb ali occurs between the directional pronoun cha acting as auxiliary and the following verb.

(30) cha ali inda sota toktok
da ?ali <in>?ala sota toktok 3+/GEN/DIR toward <PATV/PFT>-get NOM/REC head

‘they will go and get the head’

The form nak /nak/ most likely originates from the sequence an=ak /?an=ak/, where an is the directional auxiliary verb and =ak the first singular Nominative bound pronoun. The Nominative and the Genitive first person singular directional forms are homophonous. The case of the pronoun depends on the transitivity of the following verb. In (31) the verb is intransitive and nak functions as a Nominative.

(31) nak ekimisa
nak ?oki-misa
1/NOM/DIR ACTV/PFT-mass

‘I went to attend the mass’

In (32) the verb is transitive and nak marks the agent using the Genitive form.
When the Genitive and the Nominative are bound pronouns, one of the combined forms listed in Table 16.6 is used. The Genitive form of the pronoun is the same as the one listed in §16.2.1. However, the Nominative form of the pronouns corresponds to the bound pronouns in Table 16.3. Thus the first person Nominative pronoun is no longer nak, but =ak, as in (33) and Table 16.6.

(33) $joak$ ali samad

$jo=ak$ ?ali samad

2+/GEN=1/NOM/DIR toward fetch

‘come and fetch me’

There are the two portmanteau bound pronouns: $taka$ ‘1 GEN&2 NOM’ and $takejo$ (or $takajo$) ‘1 GEN&2+/NOM’.

(34) $taka$ ali iakanan ni kanenmo

$taka$ ?ali ?i-akan-an ni kan-on=mo

1/GEN&2/DIR toward BNFV/IPF-give-BNFV GEN eat-PATV/IPF=2/GEN

‘I go and take you back what you will eat’

Once more, the Nominative third person pronoun is not part of the combined forms. As a second-order Nominative pronoun $ira$ occurs after the directional pronoun, as in (35). As a full phrase $ira$ occurs after the main predicate, as in (36).

Only second-order adverbs may occur between the directional pronoun and $ira$ or the following verb.

(35) $mola$ $ira$ akni ni chanom!

$mola$=la ?ida ?akan-i ni danom

2/GEN/DIR=away 3+/NOM give-LOCV/IMP GEN water

‘go (away there) and give them water!’

(36) $mo$ $ngola$ pakan $ira$  

$mo$ yo=la pakan-0 ?ida

2/GEN/DIR also=away feed-PATV/IMP 3+/NOM

‘go (away there) and also feed them!’
### Table 16.6: Combined Directional Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1/NOM</th>
<th>1+/NOM</th>
<th>2/NOM</th>
<th>2+/NOM</th>
<th>1&amp;2/NOM</th>
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<td>1/GEN</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>taka</td>
<td>takejo</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+/GEN</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>mi=ka</td>
<td>mi=kejo</td>
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<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>2/GEN</td>
<td>mo=ak</td>
<td>mo=kami</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
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<td>-</td>
</tr>
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<td>2+/GEN</td>
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<td>jo=kami</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>cha=kitajo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
16.2.2 Aspectual Pronouns

Aspectual pronouns are proclitics that act as an auxiliary marking continuative, habitual or progressive aspect. They occur in pre-predicate position and attach to the following main verb unless second-order constituents intervene between them and the dependent verb. This is because they attract any second-order item that would otherwise be a constituent of the following verb. For further information on such aspectual constructions see Chapter 40.

Aspectual pronouns, shown in Table 16.7, are composite. They are formed by a pronominal component similar (if not identical) to that of the directional ones plus the continuative marker \( ka= /ka= / \) (see §16.2.1). There is, again, homophony between the first person singular pronouns in Nominative and Genitive case.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Genitive</th>
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<tr>
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<td>/idaka=/</td>
<td>/toka=/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the following examples, second-order adverbs (e.g. \( ali=/di \) ‘toward’, \( ni olay \) ‘often, always’, \( =ngo \) ‘also, too, emph’) occur between the aspectual auxiliary pronoun and the following main verb.

\( (37) \)  
\( \text{idaka-li ?on-law} \)  
\( 3+/\text{NOM}/\text{ASP=} \text{toward} \text{AcTV}/\text{IPF-go} \)  
‘they were going back’

\( (38) \)  
\( \text{naka=90 man'obda dima pajaw} \)  
\( 1/\text{ASP=} \text{also} \text{AcTV}/\text{IPF-work LOC/DIST field} \)  
‘I usually work in that field’
Because Ibaloy lacks an overt pronominal form for third person singular Nominative, there is no aspectual auxiliary form available for this person. Different possibilities to express continuative, habitual or progressive aspect are available, as described in §40.1.4.

There are also aspectual combined pronouns, consisting of Genitive plus Nominative and $ka=$, shown in Table 16.8. These have the same form as the directional combined pronouns in Table 16.6 except for the presence of the aspectual component $ka=$ at the end of the combined pronoun. When followed by the aspectual component $ka=$, the Nominative first singular pronoun $=ak$ becomes $=aka=$ (and not $*=akka$), as shown in (41).

(41) `because he usually whips me'
binodan
<in>bolan
<FREQ>month
‘I keep giving you raw rice monthly’

Once more, Nominative third person pronouns are not part of the combined forms. When a second-order Nominative pronoun is present, the auxiliary pronoun attaches to *ira*, as in (45) and (46).

(45) **chakaira**  **iechom**
     daka=?ida  ?i-?adom
     3+/GEN/ASP=3+/NOM THMV/CNTV-add

‘they usually add them’

(46) **chakaira**  **pa’tan**  **chi sangowan-an**
     daka=?ida  po-?atan  di  sagowan-an
     3+/GEN/ASP=3+/NOM CAUSV/IPF-stand LOC front-LOCN

‘they usually make them stand in the front’

When *ira* occurs as a full Nominative phrase it follows the main verb.

(47) **idi**  **chakai Baliw**  **irad**  **chanom**
     ?i’li  daka=?i-baliw  ?ida=d  danom
     when-past  3+/GEN/ASP=THMV/CNTV-cross water 3+/NOM=LOC water

‘when they were carrying them across the water,’
Table 16.8: Combined Aspectual Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1/NOM</th>
<th>1+/NOM</th>
<th>2/NOM</th>
<th>2+/NOM</th>
<th>1&amp;2/NOM</th>
<th>1&amp;2+/NOM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1/GEN</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>takaka=</td>
<td>takejoka=</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+/GEN</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>mi=kaka=</td>
<td>mi=kejoka=</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2/GEN</td>
<td>mo=aka=</td>
<td>mo=kamika=</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2+/GEN</td>
<td>jo=aka=</td>
<td>jo=kamika=</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1&amp;2/GEN</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1&amp;2+/GEN</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3/GEN</td>
<td>to=aka=</td>
<td>to=kamika=</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>to=kaka=</td>
<td>to=kejoka=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3+/GEN</td>
<td>cha=aka=</td>
<td>cha=kamika=</td>
<td>cha=kaka=</td>
<td>cha=kejoka=</td>
<td>cha=kitaka=</td>
<td>cha=kitoka=</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
16.2.3 Special Oblique Pronoun

Peculiar to the pronoun so /so/ is that it can replace an Oblique phrase in certain constructions. It mainly encodes the undergoer participant in two contexts: (a) with gerunds derived from transitive verbs and (b) in non-finite clauses (which obligatorily lack the Nominative complement) containing a potentially transitive verb. In all these cases, the undergoer participant is old information. If it weren’t for the fact that the verbs are either nominal-like (in the case of the gerunds) or occur in dependent constructions (for non-finite clauses), this undergoer participant would be encoded as the Nominative. As a second-order constituent, the special Oblique pronoun occurs in second position after the predicate or auxiliary.

Questions often are expressed by a cleft construction (§43.2) in which the question word is in predicate function followed by a non-finite clause obligatorily lacking the Nominative complement. Clauses of this type often contain the gerund or nominal-like form of the verb, as in (48) and (49).

(48) pigan i ibekara so?  
    pigan ?i ?i-boka=da so  
    when NOM MNRGER/IPF-bury=3+/GEN OBL/PRO  
    'when will they bury it?'

(49) toy imulaanto so?  
    to=j ?i-mola-an=to so  
    what=NOM LOCGER/IPF-plant-LOCGER=3/GEN OBL/PRO  
    'which is the place where he will plant it?'

This Oblique pronoun can be modified by the second-order plural marker ira (homophonous with the third person plural Nominative pronoun) which occurs in second position right after the constituent it modifies, as in (50) and (51).

(50) satan i sakey ya inpanngaranancha so ira  
    satan ?i sakaj ja ?inpan-qadan-an=da so ?ida  
    TOP/PRO/DIST NOM one LK LOCGER/PFT-name-LOCGER=3+/GEN OBL/PRO PL  
    'that is one way they called them'

(51) ekay tongkalmo so ira  
    ?akaj-toggal=mo so ?ida  
    RECPIAST-buy=2/GEN OBL/PRO PL  
    'you just bought them'

Finally, peculiar to this Oblique undergoer participant is the fact that it can be referred to twice in a clause. The first occurrence is pronominal, while the second one is an Oblique phrase, as in (52). This may be regarded as an instance of pronominal agreement marking, discussed in Chapter 42.
16.3 Particular Usage of Some Personal Pronouns

16.3.1 Second Person Plural Pronouns

The second person plural form of the pronouns may be used instead of the second singular pronoun as a means of conveying politeness and respect. Polite forms are usually used to address older people, strangers or even persons sharing the same age when the addressee holds a high position in society such as mayor, teacher, or police officer. They are often used in questions and requests to individuals, as exemplified below.

(53) ngantoy mesepoljo?
\[\text{ŋanto}=j \quad \text{mesap}=jо\]
what=NOM need=2+/GEN

‘what do you(s) need?’

(54) a\text{i}jogadiy asokal
\[?a\text{li}=jо=li=j \quad ?a\text{asok}=jо\]
take, pass=2+/GEN=please=toward=NOM sugar

‘could you(s) pass (me) the sugar?’

(55) on’\text{i}yo kari itan!
\[?\text{onaj}=jо \quad \text{kadi} \quad ?\text{itan}\]
look-LOC/V/IMP=2+/GEN please NOM/PRO/MED

‘please, see that!’
16.3.2 Third Person Pronouns

**Inanimate Reference**  Personal pronouns are primarily used to refer to animate, preferably human, entities. However, it is possible for third person singular pronouns to be used for inanimate entities, as in (56)–(59).

(56)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sota} & \quad \text{cañoa} & \quad \text{ono} & \quad \text{kedot}, & \quad \text{tokaal'\,a} & \quad i & \quad \text{tedon} \\
\text{nominative/reciprocal} & \quad \text{eater} & \quad \text{reflexive} & \quad \text{feast} & \quad \text{fly} & \quad \text{he} & \quad \text{fly} \\
\text{NOM/REC cañoa} & \quad \text{feast or} & \quad \text{kedot} & \quad \text{feast} & \quad \text{ASP=get-PATV/CNTV} & \quad \text{NOM} & \quad \text{three=LK} \\
\text{akow} & \quad \text{?akow} & \quad \text{day} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘the cañoa or kedot feast, it takes three days’

(57)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{isonga} & \quad \text{saja} & \quad \text{kobocha} & \quad \text{ket} & \quad \text{ingestoy} & \quad \text{kobo ni} \\
\text{hence=LK} & \quad \text{TOP/PROX} & \quad \text{coffin=3+/GEN=TPLK} & \quad \text{same as=3/GEN=NOM} & \quad \text{coffin GEN} \\
i & \quad \text{Kabayan} & \quad \text{from-Kabayan} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘hence their coffin (here), it is the same as the coffin of the people from Kabayan’

(58)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yet} & \quad \text{sota} & \quad \text{chanomto, si'katoy} & \quad \text{idaokcha} & \quad \text{nodta} \\
\text{and then} & \quad \text{NOM/REC} & \quad \text{water=3/GEN} & \quad \text{3/IND=NOM} & \quad \text{THMV/IPF-mix=3+/GEN LOC/REC} \\
\text{biyog} & \quad \text{nonta} & \quad \text{kanchiro} \\
\text{black burnt part GEN/REC} & \quad \text{pot} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘then its juice, it is what they mix with the black burnt part of the pot’

(59)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sama} & \quad \text{Tawangan, si'katoy} & \quad \text{eastern part ni Kabayan} \\
\text{that Tawangan, it is the eastern part of Kabayan} \\
\end{align*}
\]

A singular third person pronoun is also used to refer to a plural entity. Number agreement in Ibaloy is not obligatory, especially for inanimate referents. In the following examples, the third person singular independent pronoun *si'kato* is used to refer to plural inanimate entities.
16.3 Particular Usage of Some Personal Pronouns

(60) bara iray chonchontog ket si’kato i mi
wada ?ida=j CVC-dontog kat si?gato ?i mi
exist 3+/NOM=NOM MULT-mountain TPLK 3/IND NOM 1+/GEN/DIR

nanpicnican
nan-picnic-an
LOCV/PAN/IPF-picnic-LOCV

‘as for the mountains, it is where we went to picnic’

(61) sama ira diyang ket si’kato bekaancha nontan
sama ?ida lijaq kot si?gato=j baka-an=da nontan
TOP /DIST PL cave TPLK 3/IND=NOM bury-LOCV/IPF=3+/GEN time-past

‘as for the caves, it is where they buried (the dead) back then’

Impersonal Use Pronouns have usually a definite reference. However, it is possible for the third person plural Genitive pronoun =cha (or its allomorph =ra) to be used in an impersonal way (or as a generic). In the following two examples, no previous reference exists prior to the mentioning of the pronoun =cha encoding the Genitive Agent of the predicate kowan ‘say’, and no specific reference is intended.

(62) sajay i kowancha yi Tinongchol, Burial Rock
sajaj ?i kowan=da ji tinongchol burial rock
TOP/PROX/PRO NOM say=3+/GEN LK/ji Tinongchol Burial Rock

‘This is what they call Tinongchol, Burial Rock’

(63) yet saja istoriya niya bindiyan, sota kowancha yi
jat saja istoriya nija binlijan sota kowan=da ji
and then TOP/PROX story GEN/PROX bindiyan NOM/REC say=3+/GEN LK/ji

head hunting

‘as for the story of the bindiyan, it is what they call head hunting’
Part IV

Non-Extension or Main Verbs
Ibaloy verbs are divided between extension verbs and non-extension verbs. Extension verbs are those that require a sentential complement. These are further subdivided into auxiliary and non-auxiliary. Auxiliary verbs require a following verb with which they share transitivity and complements, and also attract any second-order item that would otherwise be a constituent of the following verb. Non-auxiliary extension verbs do not need to share transitivity nor complements with their dependent verbs. Non-extension verbs include all other verbs. Verbs of the latter type are also referred to as main verbs. This part describes main verbs. Auxiliary and non-auxiliary extension verbs are treated alongside their constructions in Chapter 40 and Chapter 41 respectively.

Ibaloy verbs constitute one of the most elaborate parts of the language. The great majority of verbs are derived with a system of affixes (infixes, prefixes and suffixes, or a combination of those). In much of the literature on Philippine languages, one of the major subsystems of verbal affixation, usually referred to as “focus” or “voice”, has been often described as inflectional (e.g. De Guzman, 1997, 1991, 1978; Manning, 1996; McKaughan, 1958; Ramos and Bautista, 1986; Wolff, 1973). However, the corresponding Ibaloy affixational system is derivational, and terms that may suggest otherwise have not been adopted in this work. Ibaloy affixes do not freely commute with one another as in inflectional voice marking systems. It is, in fact, the case that one has to learn each verb with all its derivational potentials and meanings. The view that what is called “focus” in Philippine languages is derivational is argued by scholars like Starosta (1986), Reid (1992, 2004), and Rubino (1998, 2001).

Ibaloy verbs are also marked for tense, aspect and mode. Affixes marking tense, aspect and mode are derivational1 and so are a number of other classes of affixes

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1Some scholars (e.g. Rubino, 2001:333) treat the so-called “focus” as derivational, but aspect as inflectional. Hence, verbs derive for focus and inflect for aspect. However, in my view there is no clear evidence that this is true for Ibaloy. Even the existence of certain aspetual forms is unpredictable, and thus I claim Ibaloy has no inflectional morphology.
like the causatives and processes like reduplication, which is used to mark various features including progressive aspect and iterativity.

Useful concepts for the description of verbs are semantic roles, semantic macroroles, and verbal complements. Semantic roles are conceptual (semantic) notions, and are not primarily morphosyntactic categories. Payne (1999) defines them as follows:

Ideally, semantic roles are the roles that participants play in message world situations, quite apart from the linguistic encoding of those situations. (Payne 1999:47)

Relevant semantic roles include: agent, force, instrument, experiencer, recipient, patient, theme, location, and beneficiary (Comrie, 1989; Wilkins, 1988; Filmore, 1968).

Semantic macroroles are syntactico-semantic notions. Van Valin and LaPolla (1999) write:

Macroroles are generalisations across the argument-types found with particular verbs which have significant grammatical consequences; it is they, rather than specific arguments in logical structure, that grammatical rules refer to primarily. (Van Valin and LaPolla 1999:139)

Ibaloy has an Actor macrorole and an Undergoer macrorole.

The term “verbal complement” is used here as synonym for “argument”, and refers to a constituent which bears a grammatical or semantic relation to a verb. Ibaloy distinguishes between core complements and “extension-to-core complements” (Dixon and Aikhenvald, 2000). Core complements include the Nominative of an intransitive verb (S), the Genitive Agent (A) and the Nominative of a transitive verb (P); see Chapter 36. All other verbal complements are extension-to-core arguments (abbreviated as E complements); see Chapter 37.

Affixes are often believed to mark the transitivity of the verb. This is not true, although there are some correspondences between affix type and transitivity. It is useful to distinguish between (syntactic) transitivity and valence. Valence refers to the number of verbal complements associated with a given verb. Verbs are classified into one-complement verbs, two-complement verbs, etc. The transitivity of any given verb can only be determined when the verb is accompanied by its panoply of complements and in the context of other sentential elements. It is not simply the number of complements that determines the transitivity of a verb, but rather the
Overview of Part IV

type of complements that a verb takes. Generally, intransitive verbs take only one core complement, that is S, also referred to as the Nominative. Transitive verbs take both core complements, namely the Genitive Agent (A) and the Nominative (P). Ibaloy is an ergative language in that the S of an intransitive verb is treated the same as the P of a transitive verb. Both receive the Nominative case. On the other hand, A is treated differently and is marked for Genitive case; see §36.1.1.

A verb is also classified on the basis of the macrorole borne by the Nominative. This is referred to as the “orientation” of a verb. Intransitive verbs are split between those whose Nominative complement bears an Actor macrorole and those whose Nominative complement bears an Undergoer macrorole. Transitive verbs, on the other hand, have a Nominative Undergoer.

Amongst Undergoer verbs Ibaloy makes a further distinction. The affix that usually appears on these verbs typically affects the interpretation of the semantic role of the Undergoer. The following four major subclasses of Undergoer verbs are identified for Ibaloy.

**Patient Verbs:** these verbs typically imply a potentially, directly and entirely affected Undergoer expressed as the Nominative complement.

**Locative Verbs:** these verbs usually imply that the Nominative Undergoer is (a) only partly, not entirely affected, or (b) whose surface is alone affected, or (c) the endpoint of the action, the place to or from which some other entity is directed.

**Theme Verbs:** these verbs typically imply that the Nominative Undergoer is moved in space, directed towards, or brought into association with some entity.

**Beneficiary Verbs:** these verbs typically imply that the Nominative Undergoer is a beneficiary. That is, an entity that somehow benefits from the action or for whom the action described by the verb is performed.

In the absence of an affix, a verb is usually interpreted as carrying the same features as Patient verbs. However, the exact interpretation of the participants’ roles depends on the semantics of the root/stem to which the above Undergoer features are added, and since this is a derivational process, the result is not fully predictable.

Ibaloy verbs can also be classified according to the distinctions in Aktionsart (German for ‘type of action’) proposed by Vendler (1957) and presented by Van Valin and LaPolla (1999). Verbs can be classified on the basis of their inherent temporal properties into the following four basic Aktionsart categories.

**States:** non-dynamic and temporally unbounded verbs.
Activities: dynamic and temporally unbounded verbs.

Accomplishments: temporally extended (non instantaneous) changes of states leading to a terminal point.

Achievements: instantaneous changes of states as well as changes in activities with an inherent terminal point.

The four basic Aktionsart classes of verbs can be identified in terms of the following three binary features: [dynamic], [punctual], and [telic].

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>state</th>
<th>activity</th>
<th>accomplishment</th>
<th>achievement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dynamic</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>telic</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>punctual</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"Dynamic" distinguishes happening situations from non-happening ones. "Telic" refers to whether the verb has an inherent terminal point or not. "Punctual" distinguishes telic events with internal duration from those which lack it.

The Aktionsart classification has particular relevance for controlled Actor verbs. Amongst these, punctual events are usually derived with the Actor on- affixes while durative (non-punctual) events are typically derived with the Actor man- affixes. See Chapter 19 and Chapter 20 respectively.

However, in the context of a particular sentence verbs may have a different Aktionsart interpretation from their basic or lexical Aktionsart interpretation. For instance, the addition and the nature of the complements and adjuncts often affects the Aktionsart interpretation of the verb.

The Aktionsart classification also leads to the distinction between two major classes of verbs: dynamic versus stative verbs. Such a distinction is based on the presence or absence of the feature [dynamic]. Further subdivisions may be made within each of the above two major classes. The major categories of dynamic verb are discussed at length in this part. Stative verbs are described briefly in Chapter 17.
Ibaloy stative verbs lack an Actor macrorole. They are all oriented towards an Undergoer and are intransitive. Verbs of this type may be divided according to their morphological make-up into different subclasses as discussed in the following sections.

17.1 Stative me- Verbs

Stative verbs are derived with one of the affixes provided in Table 17.1. No imperative form has been attested for these verbs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Affix</th>
<th>imperfective</th>
<th>continuative</th>
<th>perfective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Patient</td>
<td>me- /mə-/</td>
<td>eme- /ʔəmə-/</td>
<td>e-/ (i) na- /ʔə- / (ʔi) na- /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>me- -an /mə- -an/</td>
<td>eme- -i /ʔəmə- -i/</td>
<td>e-/ (i) na- -an /ʔə- / (ʔi) na- -an/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theme</td>
<td>may- /maj- /</td>
<td>emay- /ʔəmaj- /</td>
<td>nay- /maj- /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beneficiary</td>
<td>emay- -i /ʔəmaj- -i/</td>
<td>emay- -i /ʔəmaj- -i/</td>
<td>(i) nay- -an /ʔi) naj- -an/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The prefix (i) na- replaces e- on roots beginning with a glottal stop (left unmarked at the beginning of a word) or undergoing loss of the first root-vowel (see §7.1.1).

The great majority of stative verbs are derived with the Patient affixes. Their meanings are often adjective-like. Perfective-marked stative verbs occur more frequently than imperfective ones. Inchoativity with stative roots is marked with a different
17.1 Stative me- Verbs

derivation involving the dynamic Actor on- affixes; see §19.3. The following list includes some common stative verbs marked for perfective aspect.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>derived form</th>
<th>base</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>naama</td>
<td>ama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naanos</td>
<td>anos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ebadeg</td>
<td>badeg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eba'kol</td>
<td>ba'kol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ebong'og</td>
<td>bong'og</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>chakel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>kapsot</td>
</tr>
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<td>ekolot</td>
<td>kolot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ekebol</td>
<td>kebol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ekelot</td>
<td>kelot</td>
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<tr>
<td>edakay</td>
<td>dakay</td>
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<tr>
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<td>edsak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>edibeng</td>
<td>dibeng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>edigat</td>
<td>digat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>enam'ay</td>
<td>nam'ay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>epetnak</td>
<td>petnak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>epigot</td>
<td>pigot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>esarot</td>
<td>sarot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>esikchal</td>
<td>sikchal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etangsit</td>
<td>tangsit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etoling</td>
<td>toling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na'detan</td>
<td>edet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nay'imingan</td>
<td>iming</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naobanan</td>
<td>oban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naskitan</td>
<td>sekit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) si'kato i naaman naobanan
si'tgato ?i na-?ama=n na-?oban-an
3/IND NOM STAPATV/PFT-old man=LK STALOCV/PFT-grey hair-LOCV

'he is the one who is an old man and has grey hair'

(2) etangsit tan esarot tep anak ni baknang
?a-ta:usit tan ?a-sadot tap ?anak ni bakna:u
STAPATV/PFT-proud and STAPATV/PFT-lazy because child GEN rich person

'he is proud and lazy because (he is) a child of a rich man'

Stative verbs indicating a location derived from a spatial reference term carry the formative nay- marked for perfective aspect.
### 200 Stative Verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>derived form</th>
<th>base</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nay'arabi</td>
<td>arabi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nay'askang</td>
<td>askang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nay'esop</td>
<td>esop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naykayang</td>
<td>kayang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naydaem</td>
<td>daem</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(3) *jet na'kes sota tabaw chi abadogot ja bato ja*

and then *POTPatV/PFT-fall NOM/REC wild cat LOC STAPatV/PFT-huge LK stone LK*

*nay'askang* **chi chanom**

naj?-askaj di danom

STAStTMV/PFT-next LOC water

and then the wild cat fell on a huge stone which was next to the water’

In (4), the stative verb *naydaem* occurs inside a locative phrase introduced by the recognitional determiner *nodta*; see Chapter 31 for details.

(4) *yet no onmotok sota engaseban daki nodta*

and then if/when *AcTV/IPF-arrive NOM/REC AcTV/PFT-marry=LK man LOC/REC*

*naydaem,*

naj-la?am

STAStTMV/PFT-inside

‘when the married man arrived (in the) inside (of the house), ...’

Other stative verbs include some ambient verbs referring to a temporal state such as *edabi* /?alabi/ ‘be night’, derived from *dabi* /labi/, *na'chem* /na?dam/ ‘be evening’ derived from *echem* /?odem/ and *ebayag* /?abajag/ ‘be a long time’ from *bayag* /bajag/ (as well as their imperfective forms: *medabi* /malabi/, *ma'chem* /ma?dom/ and *mebejag* /mobajag/). Ambient verbs head an ambient clause which lacks an overt Nominative complement, see §39.1.1.

(5) *jet say ontokalak nem medabi*

and then so that *AcTV/IPF-stay alert, awake=1/NOM if/when STAStTMV/IPF-night*

‘so that I will stay alert when it will be night time’

### 17.2 Stative ma- Verbs

The stative prefix *ma-*/ma-/ applies to a large number of verb roots including state-denoting roots as well as activity-denoting roots. In both cases, the derived verb indicates a durative state.
In (6), Lidia is habitually or inherently forgetful. The Nominative participant of *ma*-verbs is habitually/inherently associated with the state or activity described by the verb.

(6) malibag si Lidia
ma-libag si lidia
STA/MA-forget NOM/PERS Lidia

‘Lidia is habitually forgetful’

Stative *ma*-verbs derived from an activity-denoting verb root include the following.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>derived form</th>
<th>base</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>marobda</td>
<td>/madobla/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>malibag</td>
<td>/malibag/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>makansiyon</td>
<td>/makansijon/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>makibot</td>
<td>/makibot/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mainom</td>
<td>/ma?inom/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manotnot</td>
<td>/manotnot/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masokal</td>
<td>/masogal/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marobda</td>
<td>/madobla/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>malibag</td>
<td>/malibag/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>makansiyon</td>
<td>/makansijon/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>makibot</td>
<td>/makibot/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mainom</td>
<td>/ma?inom/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manotnot</td>
<td>/manotnot/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masokal</td>
<td>/masogal/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(7) makibotka tan masokalka!
ma-kibot=ka tan ma-sogal=ka
STA/MA-steal=2/NOM and STA/MA-gamble=2/NOM

‘you are a thief and a gambler’

Stative *ma*-verbs derived from a state-denoting verb root include the following. The glosses are a shorthand for ‘be habitually/inherently fat’, etc.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>derived form</th>
<th>base</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>maboing</td>
<td>/maba?iŋ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mabonget</td>
<td>/maboŋ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maboteng</td>
<td>/mabotŋ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma’chem</td>
<td>/maʔdəm/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>makedsang</td>
<td>/makəsəŋ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>makedsel</td>
<td>/makəsəl/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>makneg</td>
<td>/maknəg/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>malabi</td>
<td>/malabi/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>malidamsis</td>
<td>/malilamsis/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>malonas</td>
<td>/malonas/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mapkes</td>
<td>/mapkos/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mapteng</td>
<td>/maptŋ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masakit</td>
<td>/masakit/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maboing</td>
<td>/maba?iŋ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mabonget</td>
<td>/maboŋ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maboteng</td>
<td>/mabotŋ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma’chem</td>
<td>/maʔdəm/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>makedsang</td>
<td>/makəsəŋ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>makedsel</td>
<td>/makəsəl/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>makneg</td>
<td>/maknəg/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>malabi</td>
<td>/malabi/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>malidamsis</td>
<td>/malilamsis/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>malonas</td>
<td>/malonas/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mapkes</td>
<td>/mapkos/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mapteng</td>
<td>/maptŋ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masakit</td>
<td>/masakit/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Stative Verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>derived form</th>
<th>base</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>maschel /masdol/</td>
<td>'be thick'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masdo /maslo/</td>
<td>'be industrious'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>matachem /matadem/</td>
<td>'be sharp (usually of blade)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>matakot /matakot/</td>
<td>'be scared'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mateba /mataba/</td>
<td>'be fat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>matekal /matakal/</td>
<td>'be clever'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note the difference in meaning between mebonget /mabonget/ ‘be angry’ involving the stative me- /ma-/ prefix and mabonget /mabo:u8t/ ‘be habitually angry’ carrying the stative ma- prefix. Similarly, mesakit /mosakit/ (me-sakit) ‘be sick’ and masakit /masakit/ (ma-sakit) ‘be a sickly person’.

(8) tep mabaing ngarod i Ibadoy
tap ma-ba?iu ngarod ?i ?ibaloj
because STA V/MA-shy indeed NOM Ibaloj

‘because the Ibaloys are indeed shy’

(9) mapkesngo mowan
ma-pakas=uo mowan
STA V/MA-loud=emph again

‘it was again loud’

(10) malonas i chanom chima pa’dok
ma-lonas ?i danom dima pa?lok
STA V/MA-clear NOM water LOC/DIST creek

‘the water in that creek is clear’

Ma- verbs include ambient verbs like malabi /malabi/ ‘(be) night time’, derived from dabi /labi/, and ma’chem /ma?d8m/ ‘(be) evening time’, derived from echem /?8dem/, also discussed alongside non-numeral time units in §11.2.

17.3 Stative en- Verbs

The stative prefix en- /?on-/ is no longer productive, occurring on a few stative verbs only. Verbs carrying the formative en- indicate a durative state. Roots that receive the ma- prefix and the en- prefix usually differ in meaning. Contrast the meanings of ensakit /?ansakit/ ‘be painful’ with that of masakit /masakit/ ‘be a sickly person’, derived from sakit /sakit/ ‘pain, illness, sickness’.

Stative en- verbs carry the Patient feature. Examples include the following.
17.4 Stative meN- Verbs

There is a class of stative verbs which are derived with the meN- prefixes listed in Table 17.2.

\[\text{Table 17.2: Derived forms and bases of stative meN- verbs.}\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Derived form</th>
<th>Base</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>embalanga</td>
<td>/bala(\text{a})/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>embanao</td>
<td>/bana(\text{a})/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>embel'at</td>
<td>/bo(\text{l})/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>embolinget</td>
<td>/bo(\text{l})/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>enchokey</td>
<td>/dokaj/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>engketet</td>
<td>/kotaj/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>engkokonting</td>
<td>/kontij/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>engkontiling</td>
<td>/kontij/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>endayot</td>
<td>/lajot/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>empetang</td>
<td>/pataj/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>empoti</td>
<td>/poti/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ensakit</td>
<td>/sakit/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ensekig</td>
<td>/sakig/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ensepit</td>
<td>/sapit/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ensikchal</td>
<td>/sikdal/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>entikey</td>
<td>/tikaj/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(11) isonga empoti tan etoling i nowang
\[\text{hence=LK STA} \text{V/EN-white and STA} \text{PATV/PFT-dark NOM water buffalo.}\]
‘hence the water buffalos are white and dark (in colour)’

(12) embalanga i matato
\[\text{STA} \text{V/EN-red NOM eye=3/GEN}\]
‘his eyes are red’

(13) engketet niman
\[\text{STA} \text{V/EN-cool weather time-present}\]
‘it is cool now’

17.4 Stative meN- Verbs

There is a class of stative verbs which are derived with the meN- prefixes listed in Table 17.2.

\[\text{1These prefixes are homophonous with the prefixes of the Actor meN- verbs discussed in Chapter 21. However, stative meN- verbs clearly have a stative meaning, and so are treated alongside other stative verbs.}\]
**Table 17.2: Stative meN- Verb Affixes**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>imperfective</th>
<th>perfective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>meN-/man-</td>
<td>eN-/naN-/nan-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/man-/man-/</td>
<td>/nan-/nan-/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Man-* and *nan-* occur with roots beginning with /l/, /j/ and /m/ and nasal substitution does not apply (§5.2). *NaN-* occurs with roots that undergo first root-vowel loss (§7.1.1) as the result of prefixation.

Most *meN-* verbs are usually derived from entity-denoting roots, and indicate that the Nominative participant carries that entity in abundance. Moreover, they often have a negative connotation.

When used in description they tend to occur in the perfective form (though an imperfective form is also available). Examples are *enakday* /?esaklaJ/ ‘S has long arms or hands’, derived from *takday* /taklaJ/ ‘arm, hand’, *nandi* /nanli/ ‘S has big legs or feet’, derived from *sedi* /sali/ ‘leg, foot’, *nangkes* /nanges/ ‘S has a big stomach’ from *ekes* /?agae/ ‘stomach’, and *engobang* /?esoban/ ‘S has grey hair’, derived from *oban* /?oban/ ‘grey hair’.

(14) **engoban** sota naama
    ?oN-?oban sota na-?ama
    STAPATV/PFT-grey hair NOM/REC STAPATV/PFT-old man

    ‘the old man has grey hair’

Some *meN-* verbs do not involve a human entity, but rather a location which, when overtly expressed, is either encoded in a Nominative phrase as in (15) or, more commonly, a Locative phrase as in (16). These verbs include *engotot* /?esotot/ ‘place infested with mice’ derived from *otot* /?otot/ ‘mouse’, and *emangat* /?esmataJ/ ‘place infested with flies’ derived from *pangat* /paJat/ ‘fly (insect)’.

(15) **engotot** i baleycha
    ?oN-?otot ?i balaj=da
    STAPATV/PFT-mouse NOM house=3+/GEN

    ‘their house is infested with mice’

(16) **emangat** chiyay
    ?oN-paJat dijaJ
    STAPATV/PFT-fly insect LOC/PROX/PRO

    ‘it is infested with flies here’

Finally, there is at least one weather expression that belongs to this subcategory of meN- verbs: *engolpot* /?esolpot/ ‘(place, usually sky) covered with clouds’, derived
from the noun _kolpot_/kolpot/ ‘cloud’. The Nominative complement of this verb refers to a location.

\[\text{(17) \textit{engolpot} (i \textit{akew})}\]
\[\text{?aN-kolpot} \quad \text{?i \textit{Takow}}\]
\[\text{STAPATV/PFT-cloud NOM sky}\]
\[‘(the sky) is cloudy’\]

There is also an Actor _man- _ derivation from the same root, _kolpot_. The stative _meN_-verb describes a state whereas the Actor _man- _ verb describes a durative/distributive dynamic phenomenon.

\[\text{(18) \textit{nankolpot} (i \textit{akew})}\]
\[\text{nan-kolpot} \quad \text{?i \textit{Takow}}\]
\[\text{ACTV/PFT-overcast NOM sky}\]
\[‘(the sky) is overcast’\]

17.5 Stative _nanka- _ Verbs

The prefix _nanka-_/nanka-/ (probably originally a complex prefix made up of _nan-ka-/nan-ka-/ but no longer indivisible) is very productive. Verbs derived with this prefix indicate that a plural number of participants are involved.


\[\text{(19) \textit{nankaboteng} \textit{iray} \textit{sistigo}}\]
\[\text{nanka-botaq} \quad \text{?ida=j \textit{sistigo}}\]
\[\text{STAPATV/PL-drunk 3+/NOM=NOM witness}\]
\[‘the witnesses are drunk’\]

The prefix _ma- _ is retained with those verbs that lose their first root-vowel (§7.1.1) when _nanka- _ is prefixed to them like \textit{nankamapteng} /nankamaptaq/ ‘all well, good’ from \textit{mapteng} /maptaq/ (ma-peteng) or \textit{nankamasdo} /nankamaslo/ ‘all industrious’ from \textit{masdo} /maslo/ (ma-sedo).

_Nanka- _ also forms statives from potentive Undergoer verbs discussed in Chapter 29. These include _nankatey /nanka:q/ ‘all dead’, _nankaogip /nanka:qigip/ ‘all asleep’ and _nankadoto /nankaloto/ ‘all cooked’ among many others.
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Stative Verbs

(20)  `jet  nankatey  ira
jot  nanka-`taj  `?ida
and then STAPATV/PL-die 3+/NOM

‘and then they are all dead’

17.6 Other Stative Verbs

There are a few monomorphemic stative verbs. For example mesepol /masapol/ ‘be necessary, need’ which originally carried the prefix me- /ma-/; now an indivisible part of the verb. Agpayso /?agpajso/ ‘be real, true’ is borrowed from Ilokano. In Ilokano it originally carried the verbal prefix ag- /?ag-/ but this is now an indivisible part of the verb. In addition there is the aspectual verb marama /madama/ ‘be in progress, during’. Note that many of these monomorphemic stative verbs have homophonous extension counterparts (see Chapter 40 and Chapter 41).

(21)  mesepol  i  apag
masapol  ?i  ?apag
need   NOM  meat

‘the meat is necessary’

(22)  agpayso  i  ilawto
?agpajso  ?i  ?i-law=to
true   NOM  GER/IPF-go=3/GEN

‘his departure is true’

(23)  maramay  pechit
madama=  p?edit
during=NOM  pechit  feast

‘the pechit feast is in progress’

The complex prefix maka- /maka-/ (made out of ma-ka- /ma-ka-) is used to indicate ownership. When affixed to a noun, it indicates the owner of that noun.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>derived form</th>
<th>base</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>makaanak</td>
<td>anak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>makako’jen</td>
<td>ko’jen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>makamanok</td>
<td>manok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>makasepatos</td>
<td>sepatos</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These verbs are typically used in interrogative constructions. The item possessed is expressed in a Genitive phrase which must follow its owner.
17.6 Other Stative Verbs

(24) *makako'jen* niya saba?
    maka-ko'jan niya saba
    **StAV**/own-thing gen/prox banana

    ‘who is the owner of this/these banana/s?’

(25) *makamanok* niyay?
    maka-manok nijay
    **StAV**/own-chicken gen/prox/pro

    ‘whose chicken is this?’

The prefix *makin-*/makin-/, borrowed from Ilokano, may substitute for the Ibaloy equivalent *maka-*, as in *makinpajd8JJ*/makinpajd8JJ/ ‘fish owner’ from *paydeng*/pajd8JJ/ ‘fish’.

Finally, some quantification terms are stative verbs. They include ordinals derived with the prefix *mayka-*(§11.1.3), non-numeral time units derived with *ma-*, *e*- or *me-*(§11.2), measurement terms derived with *maka-* and indefinite quantifiers derived with *manga-* or *manka-*(§11.3.3). All are discussed alongside other quantification terms in Chapter 11.
Dynamic verbs are divided into controlled and potentiVe verbs. Controlled verbs generally refer to the volitional and controlled doing of an action. Conversely, potentiVe verbs refer to events or situations which do not involve any kind of agent (in the sense of a force which at least potentially may control an action or be the voluntary instigator of an action). There exists a derivational relationship between controlled verbs and potentiVe verbs which is shown in Chapter 29.

Dynamic verbs are further subdivided into Actor and Undergoer verbs depending on the macrorole borne by the Nominative. This orientation (Actor v. Undergoer) is usually morphologically marked on the verb by sets of affixes.

Controlled Actor verbs include the following subclasses. In this work, the imperfec­tive form of the prefixes is used as a label to refer to the whole class of affixes.

- Actor on- verbs (Chapter 19)
- Actor man- verbs (Chapter 20)
- Actor meN- verbs (Chapter 21)
- Actor mengi- verbs (Chapter 22)
- Actor meki- verbs (Chapter 23)
- Actor indirect causatives (Chapter 28)

Controlled Undergoer verbs include the following subclasses.

- Patient -en verbs (Chapter 24)
- Locative -an verbs (Chapter 25)
Dynamic Verbs

- Theme $i$- verbs (Chapter 26)
- Beneficiary $i$- $an$ verbs (Chapter 27)
- Monomorphemic verbs, Undergoer $en$- verbs, Locative $pan$- $an$ verbs, Instrument $pan$- verbs, and Undergoer indirect causatives (Chapter 28)

Potentive verbs are discussed briefly after controlled verbs.

Verbs are also classed on the basis of their transitivity in the following groups.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of verbal complements</th>
<th>Core complement(s)</th>
<th>Number of E complement(s)</th>
<th>Verb type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>one-complement intransitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>two-complement intransitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>A &amp; P</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>two-complement transitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>three-complement intransitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>A &amp; P</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>three-complement transitive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A verb in a particular clause may take more than just its core complement(s). It may take an extra one or two E complements. E complements also play a relevant role in verb classification. They usually receive the Genitive, Oblique or Locative case depending on the semantic role borne by the complement and pragmatic factors such as definiteness. Generally, patients and themes receive the Genitive case and, at least in independent clauses, are interpreted as indefinite. Non-human goals, sources and static locations receive the Locative case. Finally, human sources and goals, and recipients receive the Oblique case. Other possibilities are available; see Chapter 37.

Transitivity is transparent for controlled verbs. All Actor verbs (controlled and potentive) are intransitive. They expect at least a core complement, S, which carries the Actor macrorole, and may also expect other complements. Controlled Undergoer verbs are, instead, transitive. They take a Genitive Agent (A) and a Nominative complement (P) which carries the Undergoer macrorole, in addition some may also take an extra complement. These verbs are also morphologically distinct from one another. However, this does not hold true for potentive Undergoer verbs, discussed in Chapter 29.

The elaborate verbal derivational system also allows the transitivity of a given verb to be altered. Since control and relativisation constructions make crucial reference to the Nominative participant, one needs to be able to place a non-Nominative participant (complement) in the Nominative slot in order to allow it to qualify for these constructions. In an ergative language such as Ibaloy, this is achieved
through a mechanism referred to as anti-passivisation (Dixon, 1994), or centralisation (Starosta, 1986, 1988). This mechanism has the effect of replacing a transitive Undergoer verb by a corresponding intransitive Actor verb with a consequent reorganisation of participants, macroroles and case-marking.

Anti-passivisation in Ibaloy can be viewed as a mechanism for reinterpretting the Genitive Agent of a transitive verb as the Nominative Actor of an intransitive verb. Such a mechanism may be triggered by certain syntactic processes that apply across clause boundaries (e.g. control and relativisation), or definiteness of the non-Actor participant (Nominatives are typically definite). Moreover, in independent clauses the undergoer participant encoded as a non-Nominal complement is typically interpreted as indefinite or partitive. This is illustrated by the following pairs of examples.

Example (1) contains a transitive Undergoer (Patient) verb which takes a Genitive Agent and a definite Nominative Undergoer. Example (2) shows its anti-passive counterpart derived with the Actor meN-affix. The verb is intransitive and the agent is expressed as the Nominative while the undergoer participant is a Genitive complement and is interpreted as indefinite or partitive.

1. \( \text{inomen} \)  \( \text{ni} \)  \( \text{daki} \)  \( \text{i} \)  \( \text{tapey} \)
   \( \text{?inom-on} \)  \( \text{ni} \)  \( \text{laki} \)  \( \text{?i} \)  \( \text{tapaj} \)
   drink-PATV/IPF GEN man NOM rice wine
   ‘the man will drink the rice wine’

2. \( \text{menginom} \)  \( \text{i} \)  \( \text{daki} \)  \( \text{ni} \)  \( \text{tapey} \)
   \( \text{maN-?inom} \)  \( \text{?i} \)  \( \text{laki} \)  \( \text{ni} \)  \( \text{tapaj} \)
   ACTV/IPF-drink NOM man GEN rice wine
   ‘the man will drink (some) rice wine’

Similarly, example (3) contains a transitive Undergoer (Locative) verb which takes a Genitive Agent and a Nominative Undergoer. The Nominative is a location. With its anti-passive counterpart in (4), derived with the Actor meN-affix, the agent is encoded as the Nominative while the location is expressed as a Locative complement. Note that the location is not entirely affected and has a partitive interpretation. A similar contrast is achieved in English with pairs of verbs like ‘spray’ v. ‘spray on’ and ‘load’ v. ‘load on’.

3. \( \text{tamnan} \)  \( \text{ni} \)  \( \text{totoo} \)  \( \text{ima} \)  \( \text{payew} \)
   \( \text{tanam-an} \)  \( \text{ni} \)  \( \text{cv-to?o} \)  \( \text{?ima} \)  \( \text{pajaw} \)
   plant-LOCV/IPF GEN PL-person NOM/DIST field
   ‘the people will plant that field’
(4) *mantenam* i *totoo chima payew*

man-tanam ?i cv-to?o dima pajaw

ACTV/IPF-plant NOM PL-person LOC/DIST field

'the people will do some planting in that field'
Chapter 19

Actor on- Verbs

The label on- is used to refer to the whole class of affixes. I will then cite the on- form (imperfective) as representative of the full range of forms exhibited by a particular verb root. Actor on- verbs are derived with the following affixes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 19.1: Actor on- Verb Affixes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>imperfective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on-/?on-/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The infix <inm> replaces <im> amongst a few speakers, especially those in contact with neighboring ethnic groups like the Kalangoya.

Actor on- verbs are dynamic verbs that are typically perceived as denoting punctual or telic events. Affixes belonging to the on- class may also signal inchoativity, and non-instigative cause. The absence of an affix on these verbs, indicates imperative mode. Clauses containing an Actor verb marked for imperative mode must have the Nominative expressed as a second person (plural or singular) bound pronoun.

(1) dawkadi!
    law-∅=ka=li
    go-ACTV/IMP=2/NOM=toward
    'go back!'

Peculiar to on- verbs is the fact that the agent expressed as the Nominative complement does not need to be animate, but may be an inanimate force. Finally, verbs involving two participants typically describe accomplishments or achievements and have a transitive Patient-oriented (Chapter 24) or Locative-oriented (Chapter 25) counterpart.

¹The infix <inm> is the Pangasinan counterpart of the Ibaloy <im>.
Verbs derived with the *on-* affixes can be subdivided into several major subclasses each of which shares similar aspectual features or semantic configurations. However, these subclasses are not closed categories. There is a fair amount of overlap amongst them. Each major subclass may be further split into smaller and more specific subclasses, as discussed in the following sections.

19.1 One-Participant *on-* Verbs

One-participant *on-* verbs require one core complement (S), usually encoded in a Nominative phrase. In addition, some of these verbs may require an E complement expressing a location. These verbs mainly describe punctual and telic events. They can be subdivided into the following subclasses.

Motion Verbs
The affix *on-* typically derives motion verbs along a path or in a fixed position. Motion verbs refer to actions involving motion of an entity, usually animate, under its own power through space. This entity usually bears the role of theme or effector (Van Valin and Wilkins, 1996). All motion verbs involve a change in location of the whole body along a path. The location expressing the goal when overtly expressed is generally encoded as a Locative phrase as in (2). Alternatively, when the location is a human entity it is encoded as an Oblique phrase as in (3).

Motion verbs along a path include *ondaw* /?onlaw/ 'S move, go somewhere', *ontiyed* /?ontijad/ 'S climb up mountains', *onsekep* /?onsagap/ 'S enter somewhere', *onmotok* /?onmotok/ 'S arrive somewhere', *on'akad* /?onakad/ 'S walk somewhere', *onbetik* /?onbatik/ 'S run somewhere', and many others.

(2) nem sota embalangan aso, *timiyed* chi toktok ni
nam sota ?on-balaga=n ?aso <im>tijad di toktok ni
but NOM/REC STA V/EN-red=LK dog <ACTV/PFT>climb LOC summit, head GEN

chantog
dontog
mountain

‘but as for the red dog, he climbed up to the top of the mountain’

(3) *olika* soni *aanakmo!
?oli-θ=ka so=ni cv-?anak=mo
return-ActV/Imp=2/Nom Obl=Gen Pl-child=2/Gen

‘return to your children’

Note that when the location is not expressed and no prior reference exists, then in most cases the location is understood as being one’s own home. This is espe-
cially true for the following three verbs, *ondaw* /?onlaw/ ‘S go (home)’, *on’akad* /?on’akad/ ‘S walk (home)’, and *onbetik* /?onbetik/ ‘S run (home)’.

*On-* may also derive motion verbs from spatial reference terms such as *bo’day* /bo?laj/ ‘outside, yard’, *esop* /?esop/ ‘near’, *arabi* /?adawi/ ‘far’, and *askang* /?askan/ ‘next’, amongst the most common.

(4) **bimo’day** sota naama
   <im>bo?laj sota na-?ama
   <ACTV/PFT>outside NOM/REC STAPATV/PFT-old man

   ‘the old man went outside’

With motion verbs along a path the emphasis is on moving to get from one place to another. The location represents the endpoint of the action volitionally initiated by the instigator of the motion. It is sufficient here to mention that this instigating entity, namely an effector/theme, is expressed as the Nominative complement.

Motion in a fixed position verbs include change in body posture verbs and change of configuration verbs. Change in body posture verbs usually involve an animate participant which voluntarily carries out the action described by the verb. However, full control of the action is not always required from the side of the initiator. Part of these actions could be performed as an involuntary response.

Change in body posture verbs include *on’adagey* /?on?alag8j/ ‘S stand up’, *on’etan* /?on?8tan/ ‘S come to standing position’, *onchokol* /?ondokol/ ‘S lie down’, *onja’key* /?onja?k8j/ ‘S stand on tip-toes’, *ontongaw* /?ontoTjaw/ ‘S sit down’, *on’onchoy* /?on?ondoj/ ‘S lie down in a stretched manner’, and several others.

(5) **akayang** si’kato nem *on’etan*
   ?o-?a?aj si?gato nom ?on-?atan
   STAPATV/PFT-tall, high 3/IND if/when ACTV/IPF-stand

   ‘he is tall when he stands’

With change in body posture verbs the emphasis is only partially on the shape of the body. They also require a change in position of the body with respect to a location. In other words, it is not simply the body which is the ultimate endpoint of the action, but rather the position of the whole body with respect to a location. This can be clearly seen by the presence of a Locative phrase which indicates the location or final endpoint of the action.

(6) **timongaw** ira chi bokdew ni bowaja
   <im>to?gaw ?ida di boklaw ni bowaja
   <ACT/PFT>sit down 3+/NOM LOC neck GEN crocodile

   ‘they sat down on the neck of the crocodile’
Change of configuration verbs refer to actions denoting a change in the configuration of the body or part of the body. These kinds of actions are manipulations of the body’s physical shape or orientation, without any particular change of location of the body. They also involve motion, but contained motion rather than motion of an entity along a path. With change of configuration actions it is generally the body which functions as the endpoint. This can be clearly seen by the absence of an external location encoded into a Locative phrase.

The affix on- generally derives verbs denoting actions of motor manipulation of a body part only, instead of the whole body. They include verbs such as onjemeg /?onjamag/ ‘S bow head’, onja’nged /?onja?nd/ ‘S nod’, and onbingi /?onbini/ ‘S look back’.

(7) bingika karidi!
    biji=k=ka kadi=li
    turn around-AcTV/IMP=2/NOM please=toward

‘look back please!’

Change of configuration actions differ from change in body posture actions in the following important respect. With the change in body posture verbs, the action results not only in a new configuration of the body, but also in a new location, as exemplified in (6). Conversely, with change of configuration verbs derived through the affix on- the endpoint of the action is internal to the body. That is, the final shape of the body represents the endpoint of these actions. Hence, it is not distinguishable and no reference to it is required.

Processes with Inanimate Initiators In the absence of an animate participant, affixation with on- indicates that the entity carrying out the action is either an inanimate force or an instrument. Consider for instance verbs like ontayab /?ontajab/ ‘S fly’, onpolig /?onpolig/ ‘S roll’ and onchemang /?ondama/ ‘S see’ in cases where the Nominative complement is inanimate. A location expressing the goal of the action is part of the semantics of the motion verb.

(8) ontayab i aeropiano
    ?on-tajab ?i aeropiano
    ACTV/IPF-fly NOM airplane

‘the airplane flies (airplanes fly)’

(9) onpolig i bola
    ?on-polig ?i bola
    ACTV/IPF-roll NOM ball

‘the ball rolls (balls roll)’
(10) onchemang i matato
?on-damaD ?i mata=to
ACTV/IPF-see NOM eye=3/GEN
'his eyes see (one's own eyes see)'

Natural Phenomena Process Verbs The prefix on- derives natural phenomena process verbs. With these verbs, the entity performing the action is inanimate, usually a force, and must show some intrinsic/inherent capacity or property which is perceived as essential for carrying out the action of the verb.

Natural phenomena processes include verbs like onchakchak /?ondakdak/ ‘S come to the boil’, onchala /?ondala/ ‘S bleed’, ondarag /?onladag/ ‘S swell’, and onchalang /?ondalal/ ‘S ignite’.

(11) onchakchak i chanom
?on-dakdak ?i danom
ACTV/IPF-boil NOM water
'the water will boil'

(12) ondarag i sogat
?on-ladag ?i sogat
ACTV/IPF-swollen NOM wound
'the wound will swell'

Bodily Process Verbs With bodily process verbs the initiator is animate. As in natural phenomena processes, the entity performing the process must have some inherent quality or capacity perceived as necessary to carry out the action of the verb. With these verbs, the initiator is mostly an effector/experiencer. These actions are generally conceived as punctual events.


(13) bimigat iya ateya too
<im>bigat ?ija ?o-taj=a to?o
<ACTV/PFT>open, blink eyes NOM/PROX POTPATV/PFT-die=1k person
'this dead person opened/blinked his eyes'
Other verbs that pattern like bodily processes verbs include the cognition verb on'awat /?on?awat/ ‘S understand’, vision verbs like onchemang /?ondamaŋ/ ‘S see’, olfactory verbs like onsongsong /?onsoŋsoŋ/ ‘S sniff’ for a dog, or auditory verbs like onkeydeng /?onkaŋjaŋ/ ‘S hear’.

(14) onsongsong i aso
?on-soŋsoŋ ti ?aso
ACTV/IPF-sniff NOM dog
‘the dog sniffs (dogs sniff)’

Alternatively any other bodily action that is perceived as involuntary or natural can be derived through the affix on- into a process verb. This is the case, for instance, for the verb onkalat /?onkalat/ ‘bite’ when it refers to the actions of a dog or a snake.

(15) onkalat i oleg no etakot
?on-kalat ?i ?olag no ?a-takot
ACTV/IPF-bite NOM snake if/when PotPATV/PFT-scare
‘snakes bite when scared’

The emphasis is here on the innate tendency and predisposition of the initiator to perform the action.

Ambient/Weather Verbs Another function of the affix on- is to derive weather verbs from roots denoting weather phenomena. These verbs head an ambient clause which lacks an overt Nominative complement (see §39.1.1). Weather verbs include on’oran /?on?odan/ ‘(S) rain’, onpowek /?onpowak/ ‘(S) storm’, onchagem /?ondagam/ ‘for the wind to blow’, onsekit /?onsagit/ ‘for the sun to shine’, and onjegjeg /?onjagjag/ ‘for the earth to quake’.

(16) jimegjeg nonta taw’en
<im>jagjag nonta taw?an
<ACTV/PFT>earthquake when-past year
‘there was an earthquake that year (lit. ‘it earthquaked that year’)’

Other One-Participant on- Verbs Actor on- verbs express dynamic actions simply perceived as punctual events. Examples include verbs of speech such as on’esel /?on?asal/ ‘S speak’, ontabal /?ontabal/ ‘S call out’, onsongbat /?onsoŋbat/ ‘S answer’, on’owen /?on?owan/ ‘S say yes’.

(17) imowen i bii
<im>?owan ?i bi?i
<ACTV/PFT>yes NOM woman
‘the woman said yes’
Another example is the aspectual verb *onsalcheng* /?onsaldaŋ/ ‘S stop’ which can also be regarded as a change in body posture or a change of configuration verb.

(18) \[ jẹ́t \quad \textit{simalcheng} \]
\[ jẹ́t \quad <\text{im}>saldap \]
\[ \text{and then} \quad <\text{ACTV/PFT}>\text{stop} \]

‘then he stopped’

### 19.2 Two-Participant *on*- Verbs

The affix *on-* may derive a verb from a root which refers to an action that requires at least two distinct participants one of which is an agent. In this case, the agent participant receives the Nominative case, whereas the other participant, typically a patient, is usually expressed as an E complement in a Genitive phrase, and only rarely in an Oblique phrase. These verbs often describe accomplishment or achievement actions and have a transitive Patient-oriented (Chapter 24) or Locative-oriented (Chapter 25) counterpart. For these verbs, the *on*- derivation is the default (i.e. unmarked) Actor verb form, and it owes its interpretation to context.

Like all Actor verbs, the non-agent participant is interpreted as indefinite or partitive, at least in independent clauses. ‘Partitive’ refers to cases where the patient participant is perceived as being only partially affected by the action of the verb, as in (19). It implies that when the agent has reached the expressed or implied limit to the action s/he have only completed part of the possible or potential goal implied by the action.

(19) \[ \textit{chimaral} \quad \textit{iraj} \quad \textit{talaw ni} \quad \textit{pising} \]
\[ <\text{im}>\text{dadal} \quad ?\text{idaj} \quad \text{talaw ni} \quad \text{pising} \]
\[ <\text{ACTV/PFT}>\text{destroy PL/NOM star GEN sweet potato leaf} \]

‘the stars destroyed some of the sweet potato leaves’

The patient in (20) has an indefinite interpretation.

(20) \[ \textit{onbono} \quad \textit{sota} \quad \textit{too ni} \quad \textit{oleg} \]
\[ ?\text{on-bono} \quad \text{tota} \quad \text{to}\text{o ni} \quad \text{?olag} \]
\[ \text{ACTV/IPF-kill NOM/REC person GEN snake} \]

‘the person will kill a snake (or snakes)’

It is possible for some otherwise typical bodily process events to involve an indefinite patient participant.
19.3 Inchoativity

When the affix *on-* occurs on state-denoting roots it indicates inchoative aspect, i.e. the inception of the state. These state-denoting roots often correspond to English adjectives. However, Ibaloy lacks a separate category of adjectives. Concepts encoded as adjectives in other languages are encoded as gradable (or adjectival) nouns or verbs in Ibaloy. When verbal, they are usually stative verbs.

Gradable nouns (see abstract nouns in §9.2) include *marikit /madikit/ ‘female beauty, pretty woman’, *ootik /?o?otik/ ‘smallness, small entity’ and *baknang /bakna:u/ ‘richness, rich person’. The *on-* affix set derives from these nouns (Actor) inchoative verbs such as *onmarikit /?onmadikit/ ‘S become a pretty young woman’, *on’ootik /?on?o?otik/ ‘S become few, little, small’, and *onbaknang /?onbakna:u/ ‘S become a rich person’.

Gradable stative verbs (Chapter 17) include *mateba /mataba/ ‘S is fat’, *embalanga /?onbalaj:u/ ‘S is red (colour)’, and *epigot /?apigot/ ‘S is thin’. Similarly, the *on-affix set derives (Actor) inchoative verbs such as *ontaba /?onta:ba/ ‘S become fat’, *onbalanga /?onbalaj:u/ ‘S become red (colour)’, and *onpigot /?onpigot/ ‘S become thin’. Contrast, for instance, the following examples.

(23) *baknang* sota daki
    bakna:u sota laki
    rich person NOM/REC man

    ‘the man is rich (a rich person)’

(24) *onbaknang* sota daki no man’obdan pasiya
    ?on-bakna:u ?i laki no man-?obla=n pasija
    ACTV/IPF-rich person NOM/REC man if/when ACTV/IPF-work=LK very

    ‘the man will become rich (a rich person) if he works a lot’
(25) *mataba* iya aba'kol  
ma-taba ?ija ?o-ba?kol  
STAV/MA-fat NOM/PROX STAPATV/PFT-old woman

'this old woman is fat'

(26) *ontaba* iya aba'kol no echakel  
ACTV/IPF-fat NOM/PROX STAPATV/PFT-old woman if/when STAPATV/PFT-many

i kanento  
?i kan-an=to  
NOM eat-PATV/IPF=3/GEN

'this old woman will become fat if she eats a lot'

### 19.4 Non-Instigative Cause

When *on-* occurs on roots referring to non-volitional or spontaneous events it typically indicates that the Nominative participant is a non-instigative cause. In this case, the non-instigative cause is usually inanimate and it has some intrinsic quality necessary to imply effect on a patient which although never expressed is implicitly present and part of the semantics of the verb.

For instance, *[ondaraw]* /?onladaw/ ‘S make (someone) late’ and *[onbedey]* /?onbal8j/ ‘S make (someone) tired’ as exemplified below.

(27) *onbedey* i tiyed  
?on-balaj ?i tijad  
ACTV/IPF-late NOM steep climb

'climbing (usually up mountains) makes (others, people) tired'

(28) *ondaraw* i trapik  
?on-ladaw ?i trapik  
ACTV/IPF-late NOM traffic

'the traffic will make (people) late'

Note that the roots referring to non-volitional, uncontrolled or spontaneous events become potentive verbs (Chapter 29) when they take *on-*, as exemplified below.

(29) *nabdey* i daki tep timiyed chi chontog  
na-balaj ?i laki tap <im>tijad di dontog  
PotPatV/PFT-tired NOM man because <ACTV/PFT>climb LOC mountain

'the man was tired because he climbed up the mountain'
(30) *edaraw*  
\(i\) *daki tep*  
*echakel*  
\(i\) *trapik*  

*?a-ladaw*  
\(?i\) *laki tap*  
*?o-dakol*  
\(?i\) *trapik*  

**PoTPat/V/Pft-late** NOM man  
**StaPat/V/Pft-many** NOM traffic

‘the man was late because the traffic was heavy’
Chapter 20

Actor $man$- Verbs

Actor $man$- verbs are derived with the following affixes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>imperfective</th>
<th>continuative/progressive</th>
<th>perfective</th>
<th>imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$man$/man-</td>
<td>$eman$/eman-</td>
<td>(i)$nan$/(!i)nan-</td>
<td>$pan$/pan-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Typically, these Actor verbs describe an activity which is carried out intentionally and in a controlled manner by the agent. Such activities often involve more than one participant and are perceived as temporally or spatially unbounded, i.e. they lack an inherent terminal point. Hence, they are referred to as “durative/distributive”. Aside from marking aspectual duration or spatial distribution another important function of the affix $man$- is to derive lexically reflexive and reciprocal verbs.

Verbs where the actor plays two roles such as lexically reflexive or reciprocal verbs usually have a transitive counterpart derived with one of the Patient (Chapter 24) or Locative (Chapter 25) affixes. The choice of derivation depends on the verb. In controlled Undergoer verbs the non-agent participant, usually a patient, is definite and is expressed as a separate entity in a Nominative phrase.

20.1 Durative/Distributive $man$- Verbs

A prototypical Actor $man$- verb is characterized by the presence of a controlled and intentional agent and by having a durative meaning. Such verbs can be further subdivided on the basis of the meaning associated with the root.

Stay Verbs When the prefix $man$- derives a verb from a state root, it indicates durative action, e.g. $man'iyən$ /$man'ijən$/ ‘stay/be at a location’ and $manbedey$
/manbalaj/ ‘S reside, have a house at a location’, and /man?ibla/ /man?ibla/ ‘S rest (due to fatigue) at a location’.

(1) nanbaley i ra chi chonchontog
nan-balaj ʔida di CVC-dontog
AcTV/PFT-reside 3+/NOM LOC DISTR-mountain

‘they resided in the mountains’

Motion Verbs As opposed to motion verbs derived with the Actor on- affixes, /man- motion verbs are characterised by a lack of telicity or punctuality. Instead, they describe distributive and durative actions. Verbs of this kind include actions which are perceived as naturally distributive such as /manpasijal/ /manpasijal/ ‘S stroll, promenade’.

(2) nanpasijal i otot nonta sakeya akew
nan-pasijal ʔi ʔotot nonta sakaj=a ʔakaw
AcTV/PFT-stroll NOM mouse when-past one=LK day

‘the mouse went for a stroll that day’

Both /man- and on- motion verbs denote a motion by a usually animate entity under its own power through space. However, with /man- motion verbs the emphasis is not on reaching a location, but on the distribution of the action through time and space.

It is possible for an Actor on- motion verb and an Actor /man- motion verb to be derived from the same root. However, the two derivations result in verbs with different aspecual configurations of the event. These include verbs like /man'?ekad/ /man?akad/ ‘S walk (about)’ (v. /on'?akad/ /?on?akad/ ‘S walk home/somewhere’), and /manbebtik/ /manb8btik/ (man-cv-betik) ‘S run (around)’ (v. /onbetik/ /?onb8tik/ ‘S run home/somewhere’).

(3) man?ekadkita!
man-?akad=kita
AcTV/IPF-walk=1&2/NOM

‘let us walk!’

Some motion verbs describe the way the motion is carried out. The manner is lexically specified in the root. For example, /man'?ekad/ /man?akad/ ‘S walk (about)’ is derived from /akad/ /ʔakad/ ‘walk’ and /manbebtik/ /manb8btik/ ‘S run’ is derived from /betik/ /botik/ ‘run’.

The /man- affixes also derive manner-of-motion verbs from roots which simply describe a manner such as speed. A location may or may not be expressed. Such verbs include /manpaspas/ /manpaspas/ ‘S go fast’ and /man?adoney/ /man?alonaj/ ‘S go slowly’.
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(4) **man'adoneykita!**
    man-?alonaj=kita
    ACTV/IPF-slow=1&2/NOM

    ‘let us go slowly!’

A different interpretation is also available for these manner-of-motion verbs. This is described in §20.4 for manner-type actions.

Ambient/Weather Verbs There are two (perhaps the only) exponents of this closed subclass. One is **mandanti /manlanti/ ‘(S) hail’, derived from the root danti /lanti/ ‘hail’.** Ibaloy has also an on- verb with a similar meaning **ondanti /?onlanti/ ‘(S) hail’.** Their difference pertains to their aspectual interpretation. When man- is used more emphasis is put on the duration of the event. Compare the following examples.

(5) **nandanti** nona agsapa
    nan-lanti nona ?agsapa
    ACTV/PFT-hail when-past morning

    ‘it kept hailing this morning’ (or ‘it hailed for some time this morning’)

(6) **dimanti** nona agsapa
    <im>lanti nona ?agsapa
    <ACTV/PFT>hail when-past morning

    ‘it hailed this morning’

The other man- weather verb is **mankolpot /mankolpot/ ‘it/sky become overcast’ derived from the root kolpot /kolpot/ ‘cloud’.** In this case, this weather phenomenon is a durative or distributive event.

Unlike other weather verbs derived through the affix on- as well as the other man- verb mentioned above, the clause containing the verb **mankolpot** may have a Nominative full noun phrase expressed. This usually refers to the ‘sky’. There is no agent involved as the Nominative participant is a location.

(7) **mankolpot** i akew
    man-kolpot ?i ?akaw
    ACTV/IPF-cloud NOM sky

    ‘the sky will become overcast’

20.2 Lexically Reflexive and Reciprocal Verbs

Lexically reflexive and reciprocal verbs are both derived through the same man-affixes. This fact should not be surprising since both represent situations in which each participant is an agent and also an undergoer (usually a patient or a goal).
When there is potential ambiguity, Ibaloy has a mechanism which allows reciprocal situations to be distinguished from non-reciprocal situations. An extra derivational marker is used with the reciprocal, namely the suffix -an or the iterative infix <in>, added to the man- prefixed form.

### 20.2.1 Lexically Reflexive man- Verbs

Lexically reflexive man- verbs are semantically and not syntactically reflexive. They typically have a single participant, the actor, encoded as a Nominative phrase, which plays two roles, an agent and a patient or, less frequently, a goal.

A great number of roots used in this type of derivation have a non-reflexive Actor counterpart where the agent performs the action on a separate entity, usually expressed as a Genitive phrase. However, two different derivations are used. For instance, from the root emes /?amas/ 'bathe' man- derives a lexically reflexive verb, man'a'mes /man?o?mas/ 'S bathe (oneself)' and meN- derives a non-reflexive verb, menga'mes /m?o?mas/ 'S bathe someone'.

Reflexive actions can be subdivided into two main kinds: naturally reflexive actions and derived reflexive actions. The former type mainly include grooming actions, while the latter all the others.

**Grooming Verbs** All grooming verbs have an animate agent, usually human. These divide into actions which involve a specific body part and those which do not.

With the former type, the action on a particular part of the body is already specified in the semantics of the verb, e.g. manchedop /mandalop/ 'S wash face' and manpodo /manpolo/ 'S wash hands'. Being lexically specified in the verb, the body part never needs to surface.

\[(8)\] nanpoloak
nan-polo=ak  
ACTV/PFT-wash hands=1/NOM

'I washed my hands'

There are other grooming verbs where the body part is not part of the lexical meaning of the verb but its participation is usually implicit and unmistakable, the body part is almost never named with such verbs, e.g. manbras /manbras/ 'S brush (usually teeth)' and mansa'kay /mansa?kaj/ 'S comb (usually hair)'. However, when expressed it is encoded as a Genitive phrase, as in (10).
With grooming verbs involving the whole body, the agent intentionally performs the action on himself/herself, e.g. *manbecho* /manbado/ ‘S dress (oneself)’, *man’a’mes* /man?ames/ (man-CV -em es) ‘S bathe (oneself)’, and *manponchoy* /manpondoj/ ‘S undress (oneself)’. There is usually no specific body part involved.

**Man- verbs of wearing may be analysed as lexically reflexive as well as durative.** Such verbs involve a particular item of wearing which is lexically expressed by the root, e.g. *mansepatos* /mansapatos/ ‘Swear shoes’ (or ‘put shoes on oneself’) from *sepatos* /sapatos/ ‘shoes’, *man’antokos* /man?antokos/ ‘S wear eye glasses’ from *antokos* /?antokos/ ‘eye-glasses’, *mankalson* /mankalson/ ‘S wear trousers’ from *kalson* ‘trousers’, and *manjacket* /manjacket/ ‘S wear jacket’ from *jacket* ‘jacket’. Alternatively, *manbecho* /manbado/ can be analyzed as being derived from the root *baro* /bado/ ‘dress, garment, clothes’. Hence, it can also be treated as part of the item of wearing verbs meaning ‘S wear clothes/a dress’. As initially mentioned, the division between subclasses of verbs derived through the same affix is not a rigid one. A non-reflexive interpretation of these verbs is obtained though the mengi-Actor prefixes (see Chapter 22).

**Lexically Reflexive Motion Verbs** Lexically reflexive motion verbs are mainly derived from spatial reference terms, e.g. *man’a’asop* /man?o?asop/ ‘S approach a location (or someone)’ derived from *esop* /?asop/ ‘near’, and *man’askang* /man?askaj/ ‘S move next to a location (or someone)’ derived from *askang* /?askaj/ ‘next’. In such cases, the *man-* affixed verb describes a situation in which the agent volitionally move himself/herself towards a location.
20.2 Lexically Reflexive and Reciprocal Verbs

(13) *nan’askang i daki chi baleycha*

\[\text{nan’askaŋ} \quad \text{i} \quad \text{daki di baleycha}\]

\[\text{AcTV/PFT-near NOM man LOC house=3+/GEN}\]

‘the man moved (himself) towards their houses’

When the agent is plural and no external location is expressed these actions are interpreted as reciprocal (§20.2.2). This interpretation is not generally available for the motion verbs described in §20.1.

Lexically Reflexive Change of Configuration Verbs. Change of configuration verbs refer to manipulations of the body’s physical shape. With *man-* verbs the agent participant usually performs the action intentionally and in a controlled manner. Moreover, they are not perceived as punctual. A certain amount of time is required to achieve the configuration of the body referred to by the verb. Hence, duration is part of the semantics of these verb. This type of action often involves the whole body, as opposed to a body part only as for Actor *on-* verbs of the same semantic class.

Change of configuration verbs derived with *man-* include *manposipos* /manposipos/ ‘S turn/spin (oneself)’, *manpotipot* /manpotipot/ ‘S twist (oneself)’, and *man’inat* /man’inat/ ‘S stretch (one’s own limbs)’.

(14) *nanpotipot i oleg chi takdayto*

\[\text{nan-potipot} \quad \text{i} \quad \text{olag di taklaj=to}\]

\[\text{AcTV/PFT-twist NOM snake LOC hand, arm=3+/GEN}\]

‘the snake twisted (itself) around his arm’

(15) *nan’inat nonta bimangon*

\[\text{nan’ina\text{t} t\text{nonta <im>bap}\text{on}}\]

\[\text{AcTV/PFT-stretch when-past <AcTV/PFT>wake up}\]

‘he stretched (his limbs) when he woke up’

Lexically Reflexive Change in Body Posture Verbs For this class of verbs, I only have one token, *mantedimokod* /mantalimokod/ ‘S kneel’. Like change in body posture verbs derived with *on-* this verb involves a change in the configuration of the body. However, it differs from the *on-* verbs of the same semantic category in that the *man-* verbs is perceived as durative.

(16) *nantalimokod i bii*

\[\text{nantalimokod} \quad \text{i} \quad \text{bii}\]

\[\text{AcTV/PFT-knee NOM woman}\]

‘the woman kneeled’
Lexically Reflexive Exposure to Ambient/Weather Verbs When \textit{man-} derives a verb from a root designating a weather event, it describes a lexically reflexive action. This action involves an agent who intentionally exposes himself/herself to the weather phenomenon described by the root, e.g. \textit{man’ochan} /\textit{man’odan/} ‘S expose (oneself) to the rain’, \textit{manchekem} /\textit{mandagom/} ‘S expose (oneself) to the wind’, \textit{manseskit} /\textit{mansosgic/} (\textit{man-CV-sekit}) ‘S expose (oneself) to the sun’. Duration is also part of the semantics of these verbs.

(17) \textit{panseskitka!}
\begin{verbatim}
pan-sagit=ka
ACTV/IMP-sun=2/NOM
\end{verbatim}

‘expose (yourself) to the sun!’ or ‘put (yourself) under the sun!’

Lexically Reflexive Experiential/Emotional Verbs \textit{Man-} may occur on a few roots designating an emotional state. In this case, the derived verb describes a situation-type in which the agent/experiencer intentionally tries to manipulate or endure his/her own feelings over a period of time. These verbs are also durative. They include \textit{man’enos} /\textit{man’anos/} ‘S be patient (with oneself)’, \textit{mandedsak} /\textit{manladsak/} ‘S be happy/content (with oneself)’, and \textit{manjokew} /\textit{manjokaw/} ‘S feel tired’.

(18) \textit{man’enosak}
\begin{verbatim}
man-?anos=ak
ACTV/IPF-patient=1/NOM GEN some=LK year
\end{verbatim}

‘I will be patient (with myself) for some years’

Note that the majority of these verbs also have a stative counterpart as shown below for the root \textit{anos} /\textit{?anos/} ‘patience, patient’.

(19) \textit{naanosak}
\begin{verbatim}
a-?anos=ak
STAPATV/PFT-patient=1/NOM
\end{verbatim}

‘I am patient’

Lexically Reflexive Patient Affecting Verbs When the affix \textit{man-} occurs on a lexically causative root which typically describes a situation type in which both an agent and an affected patient are involved it derives a lexically reflexive verb. That is a situation where the agent intentionally performs the action towards oneself. These verbs usually have a single participant. They include \textit{manposos} /\textit{manposos/} ‘S hang (oneself)’, \textit{manbono} /\textit{manbono/} ‘S kill (oneself)’, \textit{mankedked} /\textit{mangadgad/} ‘S cut (oneself) (unspecified part)’ or ‘S cut one’s own body part’.

(20) \textit{nanposos}
\begin{verbatim}
nan-posos di kalasan
ACTV/PFT-hang LOC tree
\end{verbatim}

‘he hanged (himself) from the tree’
20.2 Lexically Reflexive and Reciprocal Verbs

Although rare it is possible for the affected patient to be expressed with these verbs. When the action is performed towards the whole self, then the patient argument usually consists of the possessed term for bakdang /bakla/ ‘body’ or angel /?aŋal/ ‘spirit, soul’. When the action is performed on a specific body part, then the possessed body part involved is specified. The possessor must be coreferential with the agent.

(21) $\text{manbono} sota naama ni bakdangto$

\begin{align*}
\text{man-bono} & \quad \text{sota} \quad \text{na-ama} \quad \text{ni} \quad \text{bakla:u=to} \\
\text{AcTV/IPF-kill} \quad \text{NOM/REC} \quad \text{StaPatV/PFT-old} \quad \text{man GEN body=3/GEN}
\end{align*}

‘the old man will kill himself (his own body)’

(22) $\text{nankedked} si’kato ni takdayto$

\begin{align*}
\text{nan-gødgd} & \quad \text{si?gato} \quad \text{ni} \quad \text{taklaj=to} \\
\text{AcTV/PFT-cut 3/IND} \quad \text{GEN hand, arm=3/GEN}
\end{align*}

‘he cut his own arms/hands’

Finally, when the affix man- occurs with a cardinal number root it derives a lexically reflexive verb in which the agent metaphorically divides himself/herself into the number expressed by the root in order to achieve something else, e.g. manchedba /mandodwa/ ‘S make oneself into two in order to do something else’.

(23) $\text{manchedbaak} \quad ni \quad obda$

\begin{align*}
\text{man-cv-dowa=ak} & \quad \text{ni} \quad \text{?obla} \\
\text{AcTV/IPF-LIMTNUM-two=1/NOM} \quad \text{GEN work, job}
\end{align*}

‘I will make myself into two at work’

20.2.2 Lexically Reciprocal man- Verbs

The prototypical reciprocal situation involves two participants and two relations. Each participant serves in the role of agent in one of those relations and patient in the other. For these actions to be interpreted as reciprocals a minimum of two actors must be involved. All reciprocal man- verbs are intransitive. They usually have a single plural participant expressed as a Nominative phrase.

Reciprocal actions are subdivided into two main kinds: natural reciprocal verbs and derived reciprocal verbs. Another subdivision which often parallels those two classes is that between light reciprocals and heavy reciprocals. The subdivision between light and heavy reciprocals is morphological. Light reciprocals are simply derived through the affix man-. Heavy reciprocals are derived through the affix man- plus the suffix -an /-an/ or the iterative infix <in>\(^1\) /<in>/.

\(^1\)In Ibaloy the iterative infix is the same as the reciprocal infix. In Ilokano two distinct forms are available, <inn> for reciprocal and <an> for iterative.
Lexically Natural Reciprocal Verbs

Lexically natural reciprocal verbs refer to events that are necessarily reciprocal, e.g. ‘meet’, ‘quarrel’, ‘fight’.

Light marking/derivation appears with those events that recur again and again as natural reciprocals in the language. These include verbs like man’esawa /man?asawa/ ‘S marry (one another)’, manbekal /manbakal/ ‘S argue, fight (one another)’, man’echol /man?adol/ ‘S sleep with (one another)’, man’iyot /man?ijot/ ‘S copulate’, and man’aspol /man?aspol/ ‘S meet (one another)’.

(24)  
jet  
nan’aseba  
ira  

jot  
nan-?asawa  
?ida  

and then ACTV/PFT-spouse 3+/NOM

‘then, they got married (to each other)’

When an Actor man- verb derived from a spatial reference term (e.g. esop /?esop/ ‘near’) has a plural number of actors, that verb is interpreted as a reciprocal action only if no external location is (implicitly or explicitly) mentioned. Consider the following example involving the verb man’a’sop /man?a?sop/ ‘S go near (to each other)’.

(25)  
man’a’sop  
ira  

man-cv-?asop  
?ida  

ACTV/IPF-IPF-near 3+/NOM

‘they will get near (to each other)’

Spatial reference terms may also occur with one of the Actor on- affixes. However these on- verbs differ from their man- counterparts in that the on- verb is a motion verb directed towards a location usually expressed as a Locative phrase (§19.1).

The suffix -an is not required with naturally reciprocal actions. However, when it does occur then its function is generally emphatic/contrastive.

If more than two people participate in the reciprocal action, then initial CV- replication of the root (indicating plurality or iterativity of the action) usually occurs.

(26)  
eminchakel  
ja  manbebakal  
ira  

?amindakal  
ja  nan-cv-bakal  
?ida  

often times, many times LK ACTV/PFT-ITER/PL-fight 3+/NOM

‘many times they fought (each other)’

Derived Lexically Reciprocal Verbs

A lexically reciprocal verb can in principle be derived from a verb, the meaning of which typically involves two participants, one of whom carries out the action towards the other.
Some lexically reciprocal verbs may be simply derived through the affix *man-*. However, their reciprocal interpretation is partially due to the presence of a number of plural actors and partially to the context. In order to make the situation clearly reciprocal, the suffix *-an* is added to the *man-* prefixed root. This double-affixation is referred to as “heavy marking”.

Another way of deriving a lexical reciprocal verb is to add the iterative infix *<in>* to *man-* verbs. This means that the action is repeated through time. However, for a reciprocal interpretation the number of participants must be plural, e.g. *manbinono* /manbinono/ ‘S kill (each other)’ and *mansinmek* /mansinmek/ (man-*<in>*semek) ‘S love (each other)

(27) *mansinmek*  
man-*<in>*samak  
ACTV/IPF-*<ITER>*love 3+/NOM  
‘they will love (each other)’

Contrast the verbs *mantocho* /mantodo/*S teach’ and *manbejad* /manbajad/*S pay’ with their *<in>* infixed counterparts, *mantinoro* /mantinodo/*S teach (each other)’ or ‘S teach repeatedly’ and *manbinayad* /manbinajad/*S pay (each other)’ or ‘S teach repeatedly’. Once more, a plural actor is required for a reciprocal interpretation.

(28) *mantocho*  
man-todo  
ACTV/IPF-teach, show 3+/NOM  
‘they will teach’

(29) *mantinoro*  
man-*<in>*todo  
ACTV/IPF-*<ITER>*teach, show 3+/NOM  
‘they will teach (each other)’

(30) *mantinoroak*  
man-*<in>*todo=ak  
ACTV/IPF-*<ITER>*teach, show=1/NOM  
‘I will teach repeatedly’ (or ‘I will keep on teaching’)

(31) *manbejarak*  
man-bajad=ak  
ACTV/IPF-charge=1/NOM  
‘I will pay’
(32) \textit{manbinayadkita} \\
man-<in>bajad=kita \\
ACTV/IPF-<ITER>teach, show=1&2/NOM \\
‘we will pay (each other)’

(33) \textit{manbinayadka} \\
man-<in>bajad=ka \\
ACTV/IPF-<ITER>pay=2/NOM \\
‘you will pay repeatedly’ (or ‘you will keep on paying’)

The infixed <\textit{in}> may co-occur with the suffix -\textit{an}. In this case, it clearly indicates a reciprocal, \textit{manbinoan} /\textit{manbino?an}/ \textit{(man-<in>bono-an) ‘S kill (each other)’}, \textit{mansinmekan} /\textit{mansinmekan}/ \textit{(man-<in>semek-an) ‘S love (each other)’}. It also carries an emphatic function.

(34) \textit{mansinmekan} \textit{iru} \\
man-<in>samak-an ?ida \\
ACTV/IPF-<ITER>love-rec 3+/NOM \\
‘they will love (each other)’

20.3 Activity \textit{man-} Verbs

\textit{Man-} derives verbs denoting activities. Verbs of this kind are usually derived from roots which denote situations in which two distinct participants are involved: a controlled agent participant usually performs the action on an undergoer. However, the undergoer is often a non-affected or partially-affected patient. These actions are usually perceived as durative.

Another important characteristic of these action-types is that there is usually no need for the undergoer to be expressed. It is often understood by the context. However, when expressed it is usually indefinite, and only occasionally specific.

These activity verbs include \textit{mantanem} /\textit{mantanom}/ ‘S plant plants’, \textit{mantocho} /\textit{mantodo}/ ‘S teach something (usually a lesson)’, \textit{mansi?jop} /\textit{mansi?jop}/ ‘S drink warm drinks (usually tea or coffee)’, \textit{mansodat} /\textit{mansolat}/ ‘S write something (usually a letter)’, \textit{manboja} /\textit{manboja}/ ‘S watch something (usually a program)’, \textit{manbassa} /\textit{manbassa}/ ‘S read something (usually reading materials)’, \textit{man’inom} /\textit{man?inom}/ ‘S drink something (beverage)’, \textit{mandinis} /\textit{manlinis}/ ‘S clean something’, \textit{manponas} /\textit{manponas}/ ‘S wipe something’, \textit{mansa’da} /\textit{mansa’da}/ ‘S dance a dance’ among the many others. Duration is also part of the semantic configuration of these verbs.
20.3 Activity man- Verbs  

(35) mansi'jopkita  
man-si?jop=kita ni kapi  
AcTV/IPF-warm drink=1&2/NOM GEN coffee  
‘let us drink something warm (some coffee)’

When the affix man- occurs on a bodily process verb (i.e. some bodily process verbs are not derived this way) the verb describes a controlled type of activity which is carried out by an intentional agent. It may also include an indefinite undergoer participant. However, as for all man- activity verbs it does not need to be expressed. These verbs are also durative.

(36) manchedmang sota bii  
man-cv-damaŋ sota biʔi  
AcTV/IPF-IPF-see NOM/REC woman  
‘the woman will see ghosts/spirits’

(37) man’a’sel ni Ibadoy  
man-cv-ʔasəl ni ʔabaloj  
AcTV/IPF-IPF-speak GEN Ibaloy  
‘she will speak some Ibaloy (language)’

When the verb manchedmang /mandādmanj/ ‘S see something or ghosts/spirits’ occurs without an expressed undergoer, it does not simply refer to the ability to see but rather to a specific activity type, that of a medium, as in (36).

The verb man’a’sel /manʔaʔsoʔl/ ‘S speak, say something’ refers to a controlled and durative action. Like manchedmang, an indefinite patient may be expressed with it, for instance to specify the type of language spoken as in (37).

Borrowed Words Man- can derive activity verbs from borrowed words such as kansiyon ‘song (Sp.)’, teacher ‘teacher (Eng.)’, basketball ‘basketball (Eng.)’, guitar ‘guitar (Eng.)’, tattoo ‘tattoo (Eng.)’, and garden ‘garden (Eng.)’. Duration is usually part of the semantics of these verbs. These verbs typically have a single participant, the agent, and are durative.

(38) manbasketball ira nem ma’chem  
man-basketball ?ida nom maʔdam  
AcTV/IPF-basketball 3+/NOM if/when evening  
‘they will play basketball this evening’

Time Activity Verbs When man- occurs on a state root designating a time unit, it derives an action-type in which the agent intentionally spends the time specified by the root somewhere. These verbs include mandabi /manlabi/ ‘S spend the night out (somewhere)’ or ‘S stay until late at night somewhere’, derived from dabi /labi/
‘night’. and *man’akew /manʔakow/ ‘S spend the day out (somewhere)’, derived from *akew /ʔakow/ ‘day’. These verbs are perceived as durative.

(39) *mandabiak chi baleyto
man-labi=ak di balaj=to
ACTV/IPF-night=1/NOM LOC house=3/GEN

‘I will stay the night at her house’ or ‘I stay until late at night at her house’

Note that when the event is unvolitional or unintentional, then a derived potentive verb such as *medabian /malabiʔan/ ‘S be overtaken by the night (somewhere)’ or its perfective form *edabian /ʔalabiʔan/ is used as in the following example. Potentive verbs are briefly discussed in Chapter 29.

(40) nem *edabiyankamidman tep
nom ?a-labi-an=kami=dman tep
but POTLOCV/PFT-night-LOCV=1+/NOM=LOC/DIST/PRO because

engankami
?aN-kan=kami
ACTV/PFT-eat=1+/NOM

‘but we were overtaken by the night there because we ate’

Faked Activity Verbs When the affix *man- occurs on stems which have undergone initial Ce- reduplication, it derives an activity verb describing an intentional and controlled action. Initial Ce- reduplication indicates that the action is faked.

These verbs include *man’aagang /manʔaʔagaj/ ‘S pretend to be/feel hungry’, *man’ookip /manʔoʔogip/ ‘S pretend to sleep’, *mansesemak /mansesəmək/ ‘S pretend to love’, *mansesodat /mansesolat/ ‘S pretend to write’.

(41) *man’ookipkita!
man-CAʔoʔogip=kita
ACTV/IPF-PRTNDRED-sleep=1&2/NOM

‘let us pretend to sleep!’

20.4 Other *man- Verbs

*Man- verbs so far discussed typically have a single participant. Other one-participant *man- verbs can be derived from roots designating a concrete entity. These verbs denote the process of becoming that entity, e.g. *manSinong /mansınonəj/ ‘S become a member of the Sinong family’, *manteacher /manteacher/ ‘S become a teacher’, and *mandoktor /mandoktor/ ‘S become a doctor’. Professions often involve borrowed terms like *teacher or *doktor.
20.4 Other *man-* Verbs

(42) **mandoktor** sota anakko

*man-doktor* sota *?anak=ko*

ACTV/IPF-doctor NOM/REC child=1/GEN

‘my child will become a doctor’

*Man-* may derive an ambient verb from a clock time numeral (§11.1.9). In this case, its meaning is ‘it become the clock time numeral’ as in *man’alaschose* /manalaschose/ ‘it become twelve o’clock’ or *man’alauna* /manalauna/ ‘it become one o’clock’.

(43) **chanchanin** **man’alaschose**

dandani=n man-alaschose

almost=LK ACTV/IPF-twelve o’clock

‘it is almost twelve o’clock’

*Man-* occurs on a few bodily function verbs, namely *mannimi* /mammimi/ or *man’isbo* /man?isbo/ ‘S urinate’, *mantai* /manta?i/ ‘S defecate’, and *mansangaili* /mansa?a?ili/ or *manbadiyang* /manbalija?i/ ‘S menstruate’.

(44) **nansangailiak** ni pintedo

*nan-sa?a?ili=ak* ni pin-talo

ACTV/PFT-menstruate=1/NOM GEN ORD/TIME-three

‘I menstruated three times’

There are a few *man-* verbs that require two separate participants, an agent and a generic undergoer. Such verbs include *manbedin* /manbalin/ ‘S transform oneself into something’ or ‘S become something’. The agent is expressed as a Nominative phrase and the goal is in a Genitive phrase.

(45) **nanbalin** ni tilay

*nan-bal in* ni *tilaj*

ACTV/PFT-transform GEN lizard

‘he transformed himself into a lizard’

When *man-* occurs on a root which designates a manner (e.g. *paspas* /paspas/ ‘fast’, *alon ey* /?alonaj/ ‘slow’) it derives a (manner-type) verb in which the agent intentionally carries out an action in the manner described by the root, e.g. *man’adoney* /man?alonaj/ ‘S do something slowly’ and *manpaspas* /manpaspas/ ‘S do something fast’ as exemplified below. The activity performed is expressed as a Genitive phrase, as exemplified below.

(46) **man’adoney** ni obda

*man?alonaj* ni *?obla*

ACTV/IPF-slow GEN work, job

‘he will do (some) work slowly’
(47) \textit{manpaspas ni betik}
\text{man-paspas ni batik}
\text{ACTV/IPF-fast GEN run}

‘he will do some running fast’

Finally, there is at least one \textit{man-} verb which does not involve an agent, but rather a recipient and a theme which are coreferential. This verb is \textit{manngaran} /man\texttt{adj}adan/

‘S be named a name’. The name is expressed as a Genitive phrase.

(48) \textit{nanngaran ni Batil}
\text{nan-\texttt{adj}adan ni batil}
\text{ACTV/PFT-name GEN Batil}

‘he is called Batil’
Chapter 21

Actor *meN*- Verbs

Actor *meN*- verbs are derived with the following affixes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>imperfective</th>
<th>continuative/ progressive</th>
<th>perfective</th>
<th>imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>meN-</em>/<em>man-</em></td>
<td><em>emeN-</em>/<em>eman-</em></td>
<td><em>eN-</em>/(i)naN-*/(i)nan-</td>
<td><em>paN-</em>/paN-/*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>maN-</em>/man-/*</td>
<td><em>?amaN-</em>/?aman-/*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>?aN-</em>/(i)nan-<em>/(i)nan-/</em></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The prefixes *man-* and *(i)nan-* occur on roots beginning with */l, j/ and */m/ where nasal substitution does not apply (§5.2). The prefix *(i)naN-* occurs with roots that undergo first root-vowel loss as the result of prefixation (§7.1.1).

The *meN-* verbs comprise two main types of verb. The most representative type consists of verbs with two participants, an agent and an undergoer (§21.1). The other type consists of verbs with only one participant, the agent (§21.2). These verbs usually describe iterative, distributive events often implying multiple activities, actions or actors over time and space.

Verbs with two participants usually have a transitive counterpart derived with one of the Patient (Chapter 24) or Locative (Chapter 25) affixes. The exact choice depends on the verb.

### 21.1 Two-Participant *meN*- Verbs

Two-participant *meN*- verbs involve at least two distinct participants one of which is the agent. In this case, the agent receives the Nominative case, whereas the other participant, typically a patient, is usually expressed by a Genitive phrase and is typically indefinite. A partitive interpretation is possible for some verbs.
(1) jet engabot ni damot
   jet ?aN-kabot ni lamot
and then ActV/Pft-harvest root crops gen root
   ‘then he harvested some roots’

When such a reading is not possible due to the nature of the action or the undergoer participant, then it simply indicates that the agent carries out the action described by the verb in a controlled manner and the undergoer is indefinite.

(2) enegni ni kals
   ?aN-?agni ni kalsa
ActV/Pft-hold by hand gen gong
   ‘he carried by hand a gong’

(3) engoney i aki ni otot
ActV/Pft-see nom monkey gen mouse
   ‘the monkey saw a mouse’

It is generally the case that actors of meN- verbs are well-identified entities in the discourse. When the verb describes a situation which involves a plurality of actions or of actors an iterative or distributive interpretation through time or space is possible. Consider the verb emenejaw ‘S perform a traditional dance’, as exemplified below.

(4) idi emenejaw ira ni bindiyen, ...
when-past ActV/CntV-traditional dance 3+/nom gen bindiyen
   ‘when they were performing the bindiyen dance, …’

Note that the performance of the bindiyen dance involves a sequence of usually well defined movements which are executed by the agent in a precise and controlled fashion.

Finally, some two-participant meN- verbs may have an on- or a man- marked counterpart. However, the different verb forms contrast in several respects. Consider, for instance, the Actor meN- marked body-care verb menga’mes ‘S bathe someone’.

(5) menga’mes i bii ni nga’nga
   maN-tomas ?I bii ni qa’nga
ActV/Pff-bathe nom woman gen child
   ‘the woman will bathe a child/some children’

The man- counterpart of the above verb has clearly a reflexive interpretation.
21.1 Two-Participant *meN*-Verbs

(6) *man’a’mes*  
i  nga’nga

*man-CV-*?omas ?i  ya?ya

ACTV/IPF-IPF-bathe NOM child

‘the child will bathe (him/herself)’

Its *on-* counterpart, instead, may have one of the following two interpretations. On the one hand, a generic truth reading as in (7), and, on the other hand, a punctual or inchoative reading as in (8).

(7) *on’emes*  
i  bii  ni  nga’nga

?on-?omas ?i  bi?i  ni  ya?ya

ACTV/IPF-bathe NOM woman GEN child

‘women bathe children’

(8) *on’emes*  
i  nga’nga

?on-?omas ?i  ya?ya

ACTV/IPF-bathe NOM child

‘the children will have a bath’ or ‘the child has a bath’

It is clear that different derivations affect the whole configuration of the event together with the role and referentiality of the generic undergoer. The *meN*-verb in (5) has two separate participants. The entity in Nominative case is the agent, who performs volitionally and in a controlled manner the action towards a separate participant, a generic patient. The *on*-verb in (7) also has two separate participants. However, neither is well identified. This situation refers to a generic truth that women are expected to bathe children. Although volition and intention are not at issue, the whole event from a semantic viewpoint is clearly less transitive than its two-participant *meN*-counterpart. The *man*-verb in (6) describes a reflexive situation where the single participant is both agent and patient. Finally, the *on*-verb in (8) has also one participant. Whether this entity does the action him/herself or the action is done to it is not specified. What matters in this case is that the child become clean. Once more, from a semantic perspective, the *on*-marked verb is less transitive than the *meN*-counterpart.

Two-participant verbs mainly include patient affecting verbs that often have a transitive Patient-oriented counterpart (Chapter 24). These verbs can be further divided into several semantic subtypes. Their subclassification is not a rigid one. There is considerable overlap between the following subtypes.

Extinguishment/damage/destroy verbs such as *mengchep* /məŋdəp/ (*meN*-echep) ‘S extinguish something (usually fire)’, *memono* /məmono/ (*meN*-bono) ‘S kill someone’, and *menechal* /mənadal/ (*meN*-charal) ‘S destroy something’
Actor meN- Verbs

(9) **nangchep**  
i daki ni apoy  
naN-?adap ?i laki ni ?apoj  
ACTV/PFT-extinguish NOM man GEN fire  
‘the man extinguished/put out a fire’

(10) **enaral**  
sota daki ni dibcho  
?aN-dadal sota laki ni libdo  
ACTV/PFT-destroy NOM/REC man GEN book  
‘the man destroyed a/some book/s’

Divide/separate/cut verbs like **memodak /məmolak/ (meN-bolak)** ‘S scatter messily something’, and **mengetdi /məŋadti/ (meN-ketdi)** ‘S slice something’.

(11) **emolak**  
ni kiyew  
?aN-bolak ni kijaw  
ACT/PFT-scatter GEN wood  
‘he scattered wood messily’

(12) **mengetdiak**  
ni tinapay  
maN-katli=ak ni tinapaj  
ACTV/IPF-slice=1/NOM GEN bread  
‘I will cut (some) bread’

Create/make verbs like **mengemag /məŋamag/ (meN-amag)** ‘S make/assemble something by putting together’.

(13) **mengemag**  
si Carlos ni tawa  
maN-?amag si carlos ni tawa  
ACTV/IPF-assemble NOM/PERS Carlos GEN window  
‘Carlos will assemble windows’

Puncture verbs such as **menochok /məŋodok/ (meN-torok)** ‘S string something together’.

(14) **menochokkita**  
ni sabsabong  
maN-todok=kita ni cvc-sabong  
ACTV/IPF-string=1&2/NOM GEN DISTR-flower  
‘let us string some flowers together’

Shake/squeeze verbs like **memespes /məməspəs/ (meN-pespes)** ‘S squeeze something’.

(15) **memespesak**  
ni kalamansi  
maN-pespas=ak ni kalamansi  
ACTV/IPF-squeeze=1/NOM GEN kalamansi  
‘I will squeeze (some) kalamansi’
Bend/order/arrange verbs like menopi /mənopi/ (meN-topi) ‘S fold something’ and mengolnos /məŋolnos/ (meN-olnos) ‘S put something in order’.

(16) menopíaak ni baro nem ekay
    maN-topi=ak ni bado nom ?akaj
    ACTV/IPF-fold=1/NOM GEN clothes if/when while
    ‘I will fold (some) clothes later’

Closure verbs like menangeb /mənəŋəb/ (meN-tangeb) ‘S cover something with a lid’.

(17) menangkeb ni kanchiro
    maN-taŋəb ni kandido
    ACTV/IPF-lid GEN pot
    ‘he will cover a pot with a lid’

Process verbs such as menekchak /mənədkə/ (meN-chakchak) ‘S boil something’.

(18) menekchak i bii ni chanom
    maN-dakdak ?i bii ni danom
    ACTV/IPF-boil NOM woman GEN water
    ‘the woman will boil some water’

Hit verbs such as memechas /məmədas/ (meN-baras) ‘S hit someone with a stick’ or ‘S whip someone’.

(19) emechas i maystara ni nga'nga
    ?aN-badas ?i maystara ni nga'nga
    ACTV/PFT-whip NOM female teacher GEN child
    ‘the teacher whipped a/some child/ren’


(20) menginom i naama ni tapey
    maN-?inom ?i na-?ama ni tapaj
    ACTV/IPF-drink NOM STAPATV/PFT-old man GEN rice wine
    ‘the old man will drink (some) rice wine’

(21) engalat sota oleg ni totoo
    ?aN-kalat sota ?olog ni CV-to?o
    ACTV/PFT-bite NOM/REC snake GEN PL-person
    ‘the snake bit people’
Use verbs such as *mengosal /mọọsal/ (meN-osal) ‘S use something’.

(22) **engosal** ni daneb  
    ?ọN-ọosal ni lanab  
    ACTV/PFT-use GEN lard  
    ‘he used some lard’

Control/force verbs such as *memidit /mamilit/ or *memdit /mamilit/ (meN-pilit) ‘S force something (to someone)’.

(23) **memdit** i daki ni ondaw  
    maN-pilit  ?i laki ni ?onlaw  
    ACTV/IPF-force NOM man GEN ACTV/IPF-go-home  
    ‘the man will force (someone) to go home’

Two-participant verbs also include activity verbs like the get/obtain verbs *mengda /mọọla/ (meN-ala) ‘S get something’ and *memodod /mọọlod/ (meN-bolod) ‘S borrow something’, *mengodi /mọọli/ (meN-oli) ‘S return something’, the ask/request verb *memeka /mamaga/ (meN-baga) ‘S send someone on an errand’; and the carry/hold verb *menegni /mọọni/ (meN-egni) ‘S carry/hold something with hands’.

(24) **nangda** ni onas  
    naN-ʔala ni ʔonas  
    ACTV/PFT-get GEN sugar cane  
    ‘he got some sugar cane’

Verbs that have two participants and a lexically reciprocal counterpart derived with the *man-* affixes no longer indicate that the situation is reciprocal when derived with *meN*, e.g. *mengesawa /mọọsəwa/ (meN-aseba) ‘S marry someone’ (v. *man’esawa /manʔasəwa/ ‘S marry (each other)’)

(25) **mengesawa** si’kato ni pilipino  
    maN-ʔasəwa siʔguto ni pilipino  
    ACTV/IPF-marry 3/IND GEN Philippine  
    ‘he will marry a Philippine person’

Other two-participant verbs include the perception verb *menengkak /mọọnangak/ (meN-tangkak) ‘S look up at something’, the experiential/emotional verb *memiyan /mamijan/ (meN-piyan) ‘S like someone’, and the responsibility verb *mengetiw /mọọtiw/ (meN-atiw) ‘S lose something’.

(26) **engatiw** ni pilak  
    ?aN-ʔatiw ni pilak  
    ACTV/PFF-lose GEN money  
    ‘he lost some money’
21.2 One-Participant meN- Verbs

With responsibility verbs the agent is regarded as responsible for the outcome. These verbs have a transitive Patient-oriented counterpart (Chapter 24).

21.2 One-Participant meN- Verbs

There is a subclass of meN- verbs that have a single participant, encoded as the agent in a Nominative phrase. Such verbs have an iterative or distributive component.

Celebration verbs include verbs like memchit /mamādit/ ‘S celebrate/have a pechit’ derived from pechit /padit/ ‘feast’, mematbat /mamatwat/ ‘S celebrate/have a batbat /watwat/’ derived from batbat /watwat/ ‘feast (usually for sickness)’, mengdot /mālot/ ‘S celebrate/have a kedot’ derived from kedot /kalot/ ‘feast’. These verbs are derived from a root designating the type of feast.

(27) jet idi sakeya akew, nangdot si Balaw
    jat ?i’lī sakaj=a ?akaw naN-kalot si balaw
and then when-past one=LK day ACTV/PFT-kedot NOM/PERS Balaw

‘then one day, Balaw celebrated the kedot feast’

Although the person organizing or sponsoring the feast may be a single entity, a feast comprises a multitude of participants and activities.

Another verb is menejaw /mānajaw/ ‘S dance a traditional dance’ derived from tayaw /tajaw/ ‘traditional dance’. This verb has also a two-participant counterpart. However, the latter is less common.

(28) menejawak chi baleycha
    maN-tajaw=ak di balaj=da
    ACTV/IPF-traditional dance=1/GEN LOC house=3+/GEN

‘I will perform the traditional dance at their home’

A durative derivation of this verb is also available through man-. The man- derivation is much more rare than its meN- counterpart. It usually has a plurality of actors and indicates that the action is durative.

(29) mantejaw iɾa ni pigen akew
    man-tajaw ?ida ni piga=n ?akaw
    ACTV/IPF-traditional dance 3+/NOM GEN several=LK day

‘they will dance for several days’

The motion verb memtik /mamātik/ ‘S escape’, derived from betik /batik/ ‘run’. A source is usually implied, though is never expressed. When a location is expressed in a Locative or Oblique (when human) phrase, then it is a goal.
(30) namtik  chi so'kek
    naN-botik  di la'laq
    ACTV/PFT-run LOC forest

    'he run away to the forest'

Note that an on- or a man- verb can also be derived from the same root betik 'run'. The on- derivation indicates a movement directed towards a goal which represents the Endpoint of the action as in (31) while the man- derivation indicates a durative/distributive activity with no specific endpoint as in (32).

(31) bimetik  i  dedaki chi so'kek
    <im>batik  ?i  cv-laki di so?kak
    <ACTV/PFT>run NOM PL-man LOC forest

    'the men run to the forest'

(32) nanbetik  i  bii
    nan-botik  ?i  bi?i
    ACTV/PFT-run NOM woman

    'the woman ran around'
Chapter 22

Actor mengi- Verbs

Actor mengi- verbs are derived with the following affixes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>imperfective</th>
<th>continuative/progressive</th>
<th>perfective</th>
<th>imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mengi-/maŋi-/</td>
<td>emengi-/?aŋi-/</td>
<td>engi-/?aŋi-/</td>
<td>pangi-/paŋi-/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above prefixes are complex, and consist of one of the meN-/maN-/ affixes plus the prefix i-/?i-/ which is found with Theme verbs and Beneficiary verbs. Like all Actor verbs, mengi- verbs are intransitive.

Mengi- verbs have at least two participants. A location of some sort (animate or inanimate) may also be present. The most prototypical of mengi- verbs implies the presence of a generic undergoer which bears the role of theme, instrument or accompaniment, and for a few verbs that of patient, beneficiary, source or recipient. These verbs are intransitive counterparts of Theme i- verbs (Chapter 26) and Beneficiary i- -an verbs (Chapter 27).

22.1 Theme-Oriented mengi- Verbs

Theme-oriented mengi- verbs have at least two distinct participants one of which is the agent. The agent participant receives the Nominative case. The other participant is usually encoded in a Genitive phrase and is interpreted as indefinite. The role of the undergoer depends upon the semantics of the verb. Such verbs are intransitive counterparts of Theme i- verbs (Chapter 26).

Like their transitive counterparts, theme-oriented mengi- verbs are divided into
broad subclasses of verbs partially on the basis of the semantics of the derived verb and partially on the role borne by the undergoer participant.

With conveyance mengi- verbs, the Genitive undergoer (usually a theme) is moved in space, directed towards, or brought into association with some entity. These verbs denote placement/transference actions which can be subdivided into more specific subtypes of verbs. A location expressing the goal is often present with these verbs.

Placement/transference verbs include mengispa /məŋispa/ (mengi-sepa) ‘S put down something (usually somewhere)’, mengibidag /məŋibilag/ ‘S spread something’, and mengimoda /məŋimola/ ‘S plant something’.

(1) engispa
i bii ni kalka chi chet'al
?aji-sapa ?i bii ni kalka di dat'at
ACTV/PFT-put down NOM woman GEN luggage LOC floor
‘the woman put down some luggage on the floor’

Contrast the above verb with its on- derived counterpart in (2). The mengi- verb has two participants while the on- verb is a change in body posture verb with only one participant.

(2) onsepa
i titit chima panga
?on-sapa ?i titit dima paŋa
ACTV/IPF-land NOM bird LOC/DIST branch
‘the bird will land on the branch’

Location-oriented verbs like mengidespag /məŋiḷaspag/ ‘S put down something (somewhere)’ or ‘S take down something (somewhere)’ derived from the spatial term despag /laspag/ ‘down, below’. With these verbs the location is at issue, hence it is usually expressed in a Locative phrase or Oblique phrase when human.

(3) pangidespagka
ni balat chi baley nen Bob
paŋi-ḷaspag=ka ni balat di balaj nan bob
ACTV/IMP-down, below=2/NOM GEN banana LOC house GEN/PERS Bob
‘take down some bananas to Bob’s house!’

Give/return/offer verbs like mengiodi /məŋiʔoli/ ‘S return something (usually to a location)’, mengibodod /məŋiبولود/ ‘S lend something (usually to someone)’. With these verbs the agent is also the source.

(4) mengibodod
ni kotsara son si’kato
məŋi-볼od ni kotsara s=on siʔgato
ACTV/IPF-lend, borrow GEN spoon OBL=GEN/PERS 3/IND
‘he will lend a spoon to him’
Some verbs in this subclass contrast with *meN*-verbs derived from the same verb root in the orientation of the action in the same way as Theme verbs contrast with Patient verbs. This is illustrated below for the Actor *meN*-verb only. Compare it with the *mengi*-counterpart of (4).

(5) \textit{memo\-modod} \textit{ni kotsara}
\textit{moN-bolod} \textit{ni kotsara}
\textit{ACTV/IPF-borrow, lend GEN spoon}

‘he will borrow a spoon’

Carry verbs like \textit{mengi\-sakchad} \textit{/m\-qisakdad/} ‘S carry something on shoulders’. With these verbs the location is usually lexically specified by the verb, hence it does not need to be expressed.

(6) \textit{emengi\-sakchad} \textit{i daki ni jacket}
\textit{?ama\-qi-sakdad} \textit{?i laki ni jacket}
\textit{ACTV/CNTV-carry on shoulders NOM man GEN jacket}

‘the woman is carrying a jacket on her shoulders’

Conversely, with shake/squeeze verbs like \textit{mengi\-pespes} \textit{/m\-qip\-gps\-ps/} ‘S squeeze something somewhere’ and \textit{mangijakjak} \textit{/ma\-qijakjak/} ‘S shake something somewhere’ a location is usually expressed as for their transitive counterparts.

(7) \textit{mengi\-jakjak} \textit{ni katas chi botilja}
\textit{ma\-qi\-jakjak} \textit{ni katas di botilja}
\textit{ACTV/IPF-shake GEN milk LOC bottle}

‘she will shake some milk in the bottle’

\textit{Mengi-} motion verbs denote accompanied movement. Accompanied motion verbs include \textit{mengi\-daw} \textit{/ma\-qilaw/} ‘S go with something to a location’ and \textit{mengi\-motok} \textit{/ma\-qimotok/} ‘S arrive with something to a location’. These verbs typically involve a change of position of the entire self and a non-human (usually inanimate) entity which accompanies the agent in its motion. The (moving) agent is encoded in a Nominative phrase, whereas the entity accompanying the agent is optionally expressed in a Genitive phrase and more importantly is typically understood as indefinite.

(8) \textit{mengi\-motok} \textit{ira ni bigo}
\textit{ma\-qi\-motok} \textit{?ida ni wigo}
\textit{ACTV/IPF-arrive 3+/NOM GEN dye}

‘they will arrive with some dye’

Accompanied motion verbs also include change in body posture verbs like \textit{mengi\-rokol} \textit{/ma\-qidokol/} ‘S lie down with something’, and verbs like \textit{mengi\-badeg} \textit{/ma\-qibal\-q/} ‘S grow up with something (e.g. bad character)’.
Intentional *mengi-* verbs describe actions intentionally performed by the agent towards an entity (usually a patient) that may or may not be affected as the result of it. They include *mengiloto* /mægi-lyə/ 'S cook something', bodily process verbs like *mengibangon* /mægi-bəŋoŋ/ 'S wake up someone (usually somewhere)', and control/force verbs like *mengipidit* /mægi-pi-di/ 'S force something to someone'.

(9) *mengiloto* ak ni karot

maŋi-lo=ak ni karot

ACTV/IPF-cook=1/NOM GEN carrot

'I will cook some carrots'

Activity *mengi-* verbs often have as undergoer an instrument which is encoded in a Genitive phrase and understood as indefinite. They include instrument-oriented verbs like *mengiponas* /mægi-po-nas/ 'S use something to wipe', *mengitaol* /mægi-təol/ 'S use something to scoop out' derived from *taol* /təol/ 'bucket', and *mengitongkal* /mægi-tʊŋkəl/ 'S use something to buy'. The latter also has a homophonous Beneficiary counterpart, as discussed in §22.2,

(10) *mengiponas* ni dopot

maŋi-ponas ni lopot

ACTV/IPF-wipe GEN piece of cloth

'she will use a piece of cloth to wipe'

The above derivation contrasts with other Actor verbs occurring with the same root *ponas* /ponas/ 'wipe, act of wiping', like the *meN-* verb *memonas* /məmənas/ 'S wipe something' and the *man-* verb *manponas* /manponas/ 'S wipe (usually somewhere)'.

(11) *memonas* ni damisaan

maN-ponas ni lamisaʔan

ACTV/IPF-wipe GEN table

'she will wipe a table'

(12) *manponas* chi damisaan

man-ponas di lamisaʔan

ACTV/IPF-wipe LOC table

'she will wipe off the table'

Other *mengi-* verbs include use/wear verbs like *mengiosal* /mægi-ʔo-səl/ 'S use/wear something' and *mengibecho* /mægi-bəʔo/ 'S wear something as clothing'.

(13) *mengiosal* kita ni ono!

maŋi-ʔosəl-kita ni ʔono

ACTV/IPF-use=1&2/NOM GEN necklace

'let us wear some necklaces!'
22.2 Beneficiary-Oriented mengi- Verbs

(14) engibaro
?agi-bado
ni katat ni aki
ACTV/PFT-clothe, dress GEN leather GEN monkey

‘he wore some monkey’s leather as clothing’

The mengi- verb mengibecho /majibado/ contrasts with the man- verb manbecho /manbado/ ‘S dress oneself’ and the meN- verb memecho /mamado/ ‘S dress someone’, all derived from the root baro\(^1\) /bado/ ‘clothe, dress’. The man- verb carries a reflexive reading while both the meN- and the mengi- verbs have two participants. However, the role of the undergoer participant differs. It is a patient in the meN- derivation and an instrument in the mengi- derivation.

22.2 Beneficiary-Oriented mengi- Verbs

Beneficiary-oriented verbs are the intransitive counterpart of Beneficiary i- -an verbs (Chapter 27). With beneficiary-oriented mengi- verbs the undergoer is a beneficiary, who is human and almost always expressed as an Oblique phrase. This is especially the case when a homophonous verb form exists, e.g. mengitongkal /majitonga/ ‘S use something to buy’ (where the undergoer participant is an instrument) and mengitongkal /majitonga/ ‘S buy for someone’ (where the undergoer is a beneficiary) are both derived from the root tongkal /tonga/ ‘buy’. Such homophonous verbs are distinguished at the clause level mainly on the basis of the type of complement expressed. If the undergoer is not expressed, then the distinction relies on previous knowledge and context.

(15) mengitongkalak
maji-tonga=ak
ni pilak=to
ACTV/IPF-buy=1/NOM GEN money=3/GEN

‘I will use some of his money to buy’

(16) mengitongkalak
son si’kato
maji-tonga
so=n si?gato
ACTV/IPF-buy=1/NOM OBL=GEN/PERS 3/IND

‘I will buy for him’ or ‘I buy in his place’

Beneficiary-oriented verbs usually denote activities like mengiesol /majisol/ ‘S fetch water for someone’, mengitongaw /majitojaw/ ‘S sit down for someone’ or ‘S sit down in place of someone’. With these verbs the actions are not just performed

\(^1\)As the result of stress-shift, the root baro /bado/ [baˈro] surfaces as becho [beʃo] in these two derivations, see §6.1.
for the beneficiary participant. They are often done in place of the entity which ultimately benefits from it.

(17) \textit{mengitongawak} \quad \textit{sonen} \quad \textit{agik}

\begin{verbatim}
maq-tongaw=ak so=nan ?agi=k
ACTV/IPF-sit down=1/NOM OBL=GEN/PERS sibling=1/GEN
\end{verbatim}

‘I will sit down in place of my sibling’

The root \textit{tongaw} ‘sit down’ when derived with an \textit{on-} affix is a change in body posture verb; e.g. \textit{ontongaw} /ontongaw/ ‘S sit down’ (see §19.1).
Chapter 23

Actor meki- Verbs

Actor meki- verbs are derived with the following affixes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>imperfective</th>
<th>continuative/progressive</th>
<th>perfective</th>
<th>imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>meki-</td>
<td>emeki-</td>
<td>eki-</td>
<td>paki-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/māki-/</td>
<td>/ʔemāki-/</td>
<td>/ʔeki-/</td>
<td>/ʔaki-/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ibaloy distinguishes reciprocal situations from collective situations. The latter are derived through the meki- affixes and are here referred to as “collective”.

Collective situations are typically carried out by two or more participants who bear identical roles. The two participants are both actors but they are also companions.

Meki- verbs share with all other Actor verbs the fact that they are intransitive. The non-Actor participant/s may be optionally expressed, usually in an Oblique phrase, as exemplified below.

(1) tap mekidawka son si’kak
    because ACTV/IPF-go=2/NOM OBL=GEN/PERS 1/IND
    ‘because you will go with me’

Collective verbs mainly denote activities, e.g. mekidaw /mākilaw/ ‘S join (other/s) to go somewhere’, mekitodong /makitolong/ ‘S help with someone else’, mekitongkal /makitonggal/ ‘S buy jointly with someone else; S share the costs with someone else involve in the purchase’, mekitabtabal /makitabtabal/ ‘S join someone else in conversation’, mekiadibay /makīʔalibaj/ ‘S join someone else in leisure activities’, mekilaban /makilaban/ ‘S join someone else in the fight’, mekibekal /makibakal/ ‘S join someone else in the fight/quarrel’, mekiokip /makīʔogip/ ‘S join someone in sleeping’.
(2) \textit{irakamekilaban} \quad \textit{chi} \quad \textit{echoma} \quad \textit{ili}
\begin{align*}
idaka=maki-laban & \quad \text{di} \quad \text{idom}=a \quad \text{ili} \\
\text{3+/NOM/ASP}\text{=ACTV/IPF-fight LOC other, some=LK village, settlement}
\end{align*}

'\textit{they usually join others in a fight in other settlements}''

(3) \textit{kala!} \quad \textit{pakitolongka!}
\begin{align*}
kala & \quad \text{paki-tolo}:u=ka \\
\text{come on ACTV/IPM-help}=2/\text{NOM}
\end{align*}

'\textit{come on! join in to help}''

Contrast (3) with (4) containing a \textit{mengi-} verb derived from the same root.

(4) \textit{pangitolongka} \quad \textit{ni} \quad \textit{pilak!}
\begin{align*}
papi-tolo:u=ka & \quad \text{ni} \quad \text{pilak} \\
\text{ACTV/IPM-help}=2/\text{NOM} \quad \text{GEN money}
\end{align*}

'\textit{help with some money}''

The situation described by the \textit{mengi-} verb has an extra participant bearing the role of instrument.

Other collective verbs denote culturally specific activities such as \textit{mekikan} /\textit{makikan}/

'S join someone else in a feast (where food is usually involved)', \textit{mekimisa} /\textit{makimisa}/

'S attend the mass' or 'S join others in a mass' and to a certain extent \textit{mekiaseba} /\textit{maki?as8wa}/ 'S join with his partner in matrimony'.

(5) \textit{jet} \quad \textit{mekimisasakita}
\begin{align*}
jot & \quad \text{maki-misa}=kita \\
\text{AND THEN ACTV/IPF-mass}=1\&2/\text{NOM}
\end{align*}

'\textit{then we will attend the mass}''

Another function of \textit{meki-} verbs is to formulate a request or ask for permission. In this case, the collective verb is used to ask whether the actor participant may join others in the action described by the verb or to ask permission to perform an action which is usually comitative.

(6) \textit{mekidawakka} \quad \textit{son} \quad \textit{si’kayo}
\begin{align*}
maki-law=ak=ka & \quad \text{so}=n \quad \text{si\textgajo} \\
\text{ACTV/IPF-go}=1/\text{NOM}=\text{please OBL=GEN/PERS 2+}/\text{IND}
\end{align*}

'may I please go with you?''

(7) \textit{mekitodongkami}
\begin{align*}
maki-tolo=ka=mi & \\
\text{ACTV/IPF-help}=1+/\text{NOM}
\end{align*}

'may we help?' or 'can we give an hand?'
Meki- verbs usually have a transitive counterpart where the ‘companion’ is the Nominative complement and carries the Undergoer macrorole. The following example contains the transitive Undergoer collective verb ekienop /?aki?anop/ ‘A hunted with P:someone’ or ‘A took P:someone along hunting’ derived from the root anop /?anop/ ‘hunt’ with eki-.

(8) ekienoptoy asoto
    ?aki-?anop=to=j     ?as=to
    COLV/PFT-hunt=3/GEN=NOM dog=3/GEN

‘he hunted with his dog’

No complete description is available for Undergoer collective verbs. They will not be treated further in this work.
Chapter 24

Patient -en Verbs

Patient verbs are derived with the following affixes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>imperfective</th>
<th>perfective</th>
<th>continuative</th>
<th>progressive</th>
<th>imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-en</td>
<td>&lt;in&gt;</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>(e)pan- -a</td>
<td>-0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/-an/</td>
<td>/&lt;in&gt;/</td>
<td>/-a/</td>
<td>/(ʔ)pan- -a/</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The absence of an affix (suffix) on Patient verbs together with intonation signal imperative mode. Clauses containing a Patient verb marked for imperative mode must have the Genitive Agent expressed as a second person (plural or singular) bound pronoun. The participant bearing the Undergoer macrorole is in the Nominative case.

(1) \textit{kanmo \ i \ apag!} \\ 
kan-0=mo \ ʔi \ ʔapag \ \\ 
eat-PATV/IMP=2/GEN NOM meat \ 
\text{‘eat the meat!’}

Patient -en verbs typically have a Nominative Undergoer which is either a potentially, a directly or an entirely affected (physically, mentally or psychologically) entity. The most prototypical undergoer role borne by the Nominative complement is that of patient, hence the label “Patient verbs” (abbreviated as PATV or as -en verbs). However, the exact interpretation of the verb and the roles of its participants depends to a great extent on the semantics of the root/stem to which the Patient feature is added, and since it is a derivational process, the result can be unpredictable.

Many Patient verbs have intransitive Actor counterparts derived with the Actor meN- affixes (Chapter 21), or man- affixes when describing a reflexive or reciprocal situation or less frequently a durative/distributive action (Chapter 20). Finally, due
to the presence of punctuality in many Patient verbs, an Actor on-counterpart is also generally available (Chapter 19).

Patient verbs cover a very wide range of semantic types. The following sections divide them into broad subclasses on the basis of a combination of the the semantics of the derived verb and the orientation of the action.

### 24.1 Patient Affecting -en Verbs

Patient affecting -en verbs describe actions which have an affected patient. However, the patient does not need to be completely affected.

Patient affecting verbs are discussed under a number of sub-headings which classify these verbs into partially overlapping semantic groups.


\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(2) } & \textit{ketdoentoy} & \textit{dagidab} \\
& \text{katlo-?en=to=j} & \text{lagilab} \\
& \text{break-PATV/IPF=3/GEN=NOM reed, stick} \\
& \text{’he will break the reed’}
\end{align*}
\]


\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(3) } & \textit{binoto} & \textit{iya} & \textit{empotin} & \textit{oleg} \\
& <\text{in}>bono=to & ?i? & 1n-poti=n & ?o?ag \\
& <\text{PATV/PFT}>kill=3/GEN NOM/PROX STA V/EN-white=LK snake \\
& \text{’he killed this white snake’}
\end{align*}
\]
(4) binodaktoy emanbabakal ja aanak
\(<\text{PATV/PFT}>\text{separate}=3/\text{GEN}=\text{NOM}\text{ ACTV/CNTV-ITER/PL-fight LK PL-child}\)

‘he divided up the fighting children’

(5) kinedkedtoy takdayto
\(<\text{PATV/PFT}>\text{cut}=3/\text{GEN}=\text{NOM}\text{ arm, hand}=3/\text{GEN}\)

‘he cut his wrists’

Similar types of verbs can be derived from cardinal numbers such as chowa /dowa/ ‘two’ for chowaen /dowa?an/ ‘A half P’ or ‘A divide P into two’.

(6) chinowatoy tinapay
\(<\text{PATV/PFT}>\text{half}=3/\text{GEN}=\text{NOM}\text{ bread}\)

‘he halved the bread’


(7) pinarsowa nen Apo Chiyos i dobon
\(<\text{PATV/PFT}>\text{create GEN/PERS Title/religious God NOM world}\)

‘God made the world’

Consume/ingest/bite verbs, e.g. kanen /kan8n/ ‘A eat P’, bagisen /bagisen/ or bekisen /?ake8n/ ‘A eat P raw’, inomen /?imin8n/ ‘A drink P’, si?jopen /si8jopen/ ‘A drink P warm (e.g. tea or coffee)’, sopsopen /sopsop8n/ ‘A suck P’, tetdenen /?at8l8n/ ‘A swallow P’, kedaten /kalat8n/ ‘A bite P and kotaben /?akat8n/ ‘A bite P:something crunchy (e.g. apple)’ as well as koneten /?aketen/ ‘A bite P off’ and imdaten /?imit8n/ ‘A gnaw P:meat from bone’.

(8) ininomtoy tapey
\(<\text{PATV/PFT}>\text{drink}=3/\text{GEN}=\text{NOM}\text{ rice wine}\)

‘he drank the rice wine’

(9) kindat ni aso i nga nga
\(<\text{PATV/PFT}>\text{bite GEN dog NOM child}\)

‘the dog bit the child’

(10) *tinoroktoy sabsabong ni panawal*<in>todok=to=j<PATV/PFT>string=3/GEN=NOM DISTR-flower GEN sunflower

‘he strung together the sunflowers’


(11) *binechastoak nen tatangko*<in>badas=to=ak<PATV/PFT>whip=3/GEN=l/NOM GEN/PERS father=l/GEN

‘my father whipped me’

Shake/squeeze verbs, e.g. *jakjaken /jakjakən/* ‘A shake P’, *jegjegen /jæɡjæɡən/* ‘A rock P (like a child)’ as well as *pespesen /pæspəsən/* ‘A squeeze P’.

(12) *pespesentoy kalamansi paspəson=to=j kalamansi squeeze-PATV/IPF=3/GEN=NOM kalamansi

‘he will squeeze the kalamansi fruits’

Some of these roots have also a Theme-oriented counterpart (§26.2).


(13) *tinikongtoy baroto*<in>tikoŋ=to=j<PATV/PFT>bend=3/GEN=NOM wire

‘he bent the wire’

Use verbs like *osalen /ʔosələn/* ‘A use P (e.g. soap, sugar)’ or less frequently ‘A make use of P:implement (e.g. knife)’.

(14) *inosaltoy daneb*<in>ʔosal=to=j<PATV/PFT>use=3/GEN=NOM lard

‘he used the lard (e.g. to cook something)’

This particular root has also a Theme-oriented counterpart as a use/wear verb (§26.1).
Punishment verbs like *bongeten* /*boŋtən*/ ‘A scold P’ which also has a Theme-oriented counterpart as an experiential/emotional verb (§26.4).

(15) *binongettaka*  
<in>*boŋ*<s/>taka  
<StAV/PFT>*scold*=1/GEN&2/NOM because STAV/MA-naughty=2/NOM

‘I scolded you because you are naughty’

Gather/order/arrange verbs, e.g. *ekomen* /*agoman*/ ‘A gather P’ *apdosen* /*aplosen*/ ‘A put P in order by stroking’, *bedatbaten* /*balatbaten*/ ‘A line up P’, and *olnosen* /*olnoson*/ ‘A put P in order’.

(16) *ekomentoy*  
<StAV>PATV  
kiyw chi bo’day

‘he will gather the wood outside’

The focus with these verbs is in the result obtained. Some of these roots have a Theme-oriented counterpart (§26.1).


(17) *tetpepenchay*  
<StAV>PATV  
kolokol

‘they will block the irrigation’

A Theme-oriented counterpart is available for some of these roots as closure verbs (§26.2), instrument-oriented verbs (§26.3), or add/mix verbs (§26.1).

Process verbs typically refer to natural processes such as *chakchaken* /*dakdakən*/ ‘A boil P’ and *si’boken* /*siʔbokən*/ ‘A blow P’ or to bodily processes such as *bangonen* /*baŋonən*/ ‘A wake up P’ and *badegen* /*baləgən*/ ‘A grow P up’.

Note that for these processes which are often perceived as punctual events an intransitive Actor on-counterpart is available (Chapter 19). However, when Patient -en verbs, they have a volitional agent which performs the action described by the verb towards a separate definite entity.

(18) *chinakchaktoy*  
<StAV>PATV  
chanom

‘he boiled the water’
Control/force verbs include *a`deken* /ʔoʔiʔaʔa`n/ 'A forbid P to do something', *piditen* /ʔiʔiʔaʔa`n/ 'A force P to do something', as well as verbs which denote a physical control of someone or something like *tetngeden* /tattaʔaʔa`n/ 'A control P by holding it' or 'hold a title' and *pepchenen* /ʔoʔoʔaʔa`n/ 'A hold P firmly'. The latter verb can be also analysed as carry/hold verb (§24.2).

(19)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\textit{a`deken}} & \quad \text{\textit{inomen}} & \quad \text{\textit{ni} nga`n\textit{a i} a\textit{dek}} \\
\text{\textit{ʔa\textit{lag-an=to=n}} } & \quad \text{\textit{ʔinom-\textit{on}} } & \quad \text{\textit{ni} \textit{ʔaʔa \?i} \textit{ʔa\textit{sk}} } \\
\text{IPF-forbid-PATV/IPF=3/GEN=LK drink-PATV/IPF GEN child NOM wine}
\end{align*}
\]

'he will forbid to drink wine to the child'

The aspectual verb *kekchengen* /ʔaʔaʔaʔaʔa`n/ 'A finish P'. Once more, the emphasis with Patient verbs is on the final realisation of the action. Hence, it is not surprising that this specific aspectual verb is a Patient verb. Conversely, aspectual verbs referring to the beginning or continuation of an action are usually derived as Theme verbs (§26.3).

(20)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\textit{kinchengo}} & \quad \text{\textit{obdato}} \\
<\text{i\textit{n}>\text{ka\textit{da=to=j}} } & \quad \text{\textit{ʔo\textit{bla=to}}} \\
<\text{PATV/PFT>finish=3/GEN=NOM job=3/GEN}
\end{align*}
\]

'he finished his job'

Finally, with events or states which are generally perceived as non-volitional or uncontrolled and do not have an external agent, the Patient suffix -en derives a patient affecting verb. These verbs include *okipen* /ʔoʔiʔaʔa`n/ 'A cause P to sleep', *ootiken* /ʔoʔoʔiʔaʔa`n/ 'A make P small', *badegen* /ʔaʔaʔaʔaʔa`n/ 'A make P big', *ekangen* /ʔaʔaʔaʔaʔa`n/ 'A make P starve', and *sakiten* /sakitaʔaʔa`n/ 'A hurt P', *odayen* /ʔoʔaʔaʔa`n/ 'A melt P'.

(21)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\textit{okipen}} & \quad \text{\textit{nga`n\textit{a}} } \\
\text{\textit{ʔo\textit{gip-\textit{on}=to=j}} } & \quad \text{\textit{ʔaʔa \?i} } \\
\text{sleep-PATV/IPF=3/GEN=NOM child}
\end{align*}
\]

'she will make him sleep'

Note that their potentive or stative derivations are intransitive, as in (22).

(22)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\textit{meokip}} & \quad \text{\textit{ni} nga`n\textit{a}} \\
\text{\textit{mo-\textit{ʔo\textit{gip}}} } & \quad \text{\textit{ʔi} \textit{ʔaʔa \?i} } \\
\text{UN/PATV/IPF-sleep NOM child}
\end{align*}
\]

'the child will sleep'
24.2 Activity -en Verbs

Activity -en verbs denote a variety of actions which do not necessarily have a wholly affected Undergoer. They include dabaen /labaʔan/ ‘A wash P’, dotoen /lotoʔan/ ‘A cook P’, sokdayen /soklajan/ ‘A shovel P (e.g. garden)’, bassaen /bassaʔan/ ‘A read P’, pechasen /padasan/ ‘A try/attempt/experience P’, seskeren /səsgədan/ ‘A wait P’ and bisitaen ‘A visit P’.

(23) **bisitaenkos**
    
    **anakko**
    bisha-ʔon=ko=s ?anak=ko
    visit-PATV/IPF=1/GEN/PERS child=l/GEN

    ‘I will visit my child’

Others include body care verbs like a’mesen /ʔəmasən/ ‘A bathe P’ and sa’kayen /saʔkaʔan/ ‘A comb P’.

(24) **a’masentoy**
    nga’nga nem ekay
    ?amas=to=j yaʔya nom ?akaj
    bathe=3/GEN=NOM child TI/non-Past short while

    ‘she will bathe the child later’

With Patient body care verbs the agent and the patient usually refer to two separate entities. However, it is possible for the agents’ own body part to appear as the patient argument. In this case, it needs to be possessed.

(25) **a’masenko**
    iya sedik ni abos
    cv-ʔamas-ʔon=ko ?ʔja soli=k ni ?ʔabos
    IPF-bathe-PATV/IPF=1/GEN NOM/PROX leg/foot=l/GEN GEN only

    ‘I will bathe my foot only’

However, the use of a Patient body care verb with a reflexive interpretation is employed in contrastive/emphatic situations. For instance, one washes the foot only as opposed to the whole body as in (25). In all other cases where a contrastive reading is not required and the two arguments refer to the same entity, the Actor man- reflexive derivation is preferred (§20.2.1).

Actions that have at least two people and that are usually rendered into reciprocal verbs through the Actor man- affixes (§20.2.2) are also usually -en verbs. They include asebaen /ʔasəwaʔon/ ‘A marry P’, bekalen /bakalan/ ‘A fight/quarrel P’, espolen /ʔaspəlan/ ‘A meet P’, odopen /ʔolopən/ ‘A follow/accompany P’, echolen /ʔadəlan/ ‘A sleep with P’, and iyoten /ʔiʔotən/ ‘A copulate with P’.
(26) *inaspoltoy*  
<in>?aspol=to=j  
<PatV>PFT>meet=3/GEN=NOM snake

‘he met the snake’

Manner *-en* verbs describe a way in which something is done. They include *adonejen* /?alonajon/ ‘A do P slowly’ or ‘A do/pay P by installments’, *topogen* /topogon/ ‘A do P invariably the same’ or ‘A stick to P all the way through’, and *singpeten* /sinpaton/ ‘A do P well (with care)’.

(27) *tinopogtoy*  
<in>topog=to=j  
<PatV>PFT>do the same=3/GEN=NOM path, way=3/GEN=LK ACTV/IPF-go towards

*chalanton*  
*dalan=to=n?on-law ?ali=d*

*ondaw*  
*chiyay*

*dijaj*  
*LOC/PROX/PRO*

‘he stuck to his pathway to go back here’

Get/obtain verbs usually describe a transference of some entity towards the agent. In fact, peculiar to these verbs is the fact that the agent also bears the role of goal. These verbs can be divided in the following two subtypes on the basis of the derivational potential of the root.

The first subtype consists of roots that also have a Theme-oriented derivation as give/return/offer verbs (§26.1). However, the orientation of the transference is affected. With Patient verbs, it is directed towards the agent, while with Theme verbs it is directed away from the agent. With these verbs, the Nominative complement is usually the item being conveyed, namely a theme. They include *ebaten* /?øbaton/ ‘A receive P’ (v. *iawat* /?i?awat/ ‘A offer P’), *bebtangen* /?øbtangan/ ‘A receive P (usually one’s share)’ (v. *ibetang* /?ibøtan/ ‘A give P (usually one’s share)’), *ebaken* /?øbakoŋ/ ‘A win/gain P in a game/winning’ (v. *iabak* /?i?abak/ ‘A defeat P’), *tawiren* /?tawidon/ ‘A inherit P’ (v. *itawid* /?i?tawid/ ‘A bequeath P’), and *bodoren* /?bolodon/ ‘A borrow P’ (v. *ibolod* /?ibolod/ ‘A lend P’).

(28) *ebatentoy*  
?awat=to=j  
receive, offer-PatV/IPF=3/GEN=NOM money

‘he will receive the money’

The second subtype shares with the previous one the fact that the agent plays two roles at once, agent and goal. However, they differ from the above type in that it is not possible to encode a different orientation of the action through a different derivation. These verbs include *tongkalen* /tongolun/ ‘A buy P’, *kiboten* /kiboton/

(29) al’entoy
take, get-PATV/IPF=3/GEN=NOM gong
kalasilla
‘he will take the gong’

Get/obtain verbs may be extended to include requesting verbs. Requesting verbs typically describe a situation in which the agent also receives something when the act of request is accomplished. Hence, they also have some common traits with get/obtain verbs of the second subtype (where no other direction is possible to be directly derived from these verbs). They include kekchewen /kokd8w8n/ ‘A ask to receive P’, kedonen /kalon8n/ ‘A ask P’s hand in marriage’, pechengen /pad8uan/ ‘A ask P:permission’, and bag’en /bag?on/ ‘A send P:someone on an errand’ or ‘A ask P to do something’. The verb sedodsoren /salodsodan/ ‘A ask, inquire P’ is also a requesting verb though it does not conform to the above generalisation.

(30) kekchewentoy
ask to receive-PATV/IPF=3/GEN=NOM watch
dilos
‘he will ask for the watch’

(31) bag’entakan
send on an errand-PATV/IPF=1/GEN&2/NOM=LK ACTV/IPF-buy GEN milk
menongkal ni katas
‘I will ask you to buy the milk’

With carry/hold verbs the emphasis is partially on having obtained the item carried or held through a previous action and partially on the ability (usually physical) to carry or hold it. They include pepchenen /papdonan/ ‘A hold P firmly’, a’balen /?akwal8n/ or akbalen /?akwal8n/ ‘A hold P on one’s lap’, agtoen /?agto?an/ ‘A carry/hold P on one’s head’, a’baen /?a?ba?8n/ ‘A carry/hold P on one’s back with a blanket (like a child)’, sakbaten /sakbat8n/ ‘A carry/hold P on one’s back’, sakcharen /sakdad;m/ ‘A carry/hold P on one’s shoulder’, egchien /?egdi?an/ or egnien /?egni?an/ ‘A carry/hold P with hands’, and ojonen /?ojon8n/ ‘A carry/hold P (usually basket with strap on one’s forehead)’.
24.2 Activity -en Verbs

(32) **ojonentoy**                        **kayebang**
    ʔojon-ʔuʔ=to=j                        kajebəŋ

    carry in the traditional way-PATV/IPF=3/GEN=NOM basket

    'he will carry the basket in the traditional way (that is with the strap resting on
    one’s own forehead)'

Some of these roots have a Theme-oriented counterpart. However, those counterparts differ in the way the event is construed; see carry verbs in §26.1.

**Motion verbs** can be subdivided into two main types on the basis of the direction of the motion and the semantic role borne by the Nominative complement. However, in all cases it is the agent which is the moving entity.

A first type of goal-motion verbs are directed towards a goal and the Nominative complement represents the endpoint of the action. They include *motoken* /motokan/ ‘A return P:goal’, *seskepen* /sasgapən/ ‘A enter P’, *bebtiken* /batbikan/ ‘A run towards P’, *chibasen* /dibasan/ ‘A stop first P in a journey’ *sebien* /sabɨʔən/ ‘A reach P’, and *esbiren* /ʔaswidən/ ‘A go and return P:somewhere the same day’.

(33) **singkeptoy**                                **baleycha**
    <in>ʔasgəp=to=j          balaj=da
    <PATV/PFT>enter=3/GEN=NOM house=3+/GEN

    'he entered their house'

Some of these goal-motion verbs may be derived from certain spatial reference terms. These verbs have an agent which moves towards an entity, the goal, and whose spatial relation to the goal is specified by the root. They include verbs like *askangen* /ʔaskaʔən/ ‘A go aside/next to P’ derived from *askan* /ʔaskan/ ‘aside, next (distance-wise), aside’ and *despagen* /laspagən/ ‘A go down P’ derived from *despag* /laspag/ ‘down, below’.

(34) **inaskangtoy**                                **aso**
    <in>ʔaskan=to=j            ?aso
    <PATV/PFT>next, aside=3/GEN=NOM dog

    'he went next to the dog'

A second type consists of path/route motion verbs. With these verbs the Nominative complement bears the role of path or route. They include *ekaren* /ʔakadən/ ‘A walk P (usually a route)’ *chalnen* /dalanən/ ‘A take P (usually a route)’ and also verbs like *bediwen* /baliwan/ ‘A cross P (usually stream/river)’ *chedongen* /daləŋən/ ‘A descend, climb down P (usually mountain path)’, *kedaben* /kəlabən/ ‘A climb up P (usually stairs or trees)’, and *jabtoken* /jabtokən/ ‘A jump P’.
(35)  

\begin{verbatim}
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(35) bediwenchay  pa'dok
       baliw-on=da=j  pa'lok

cross a stream-PATV/IPF=3+/GEN=NOM creek, brook

'they will cross the creek'
\end{verbatim}

\section*{24.3 Other -en Verbs}

There are some other small groups of Patient -en verbs. These include the following.

With responsibility verbs the agent is regarded as responsible for the outcome. These verbs usually describe unintentional actions, such as \textit{a'kasen} /?a?kason/ ‘A make P fall’ and \textit{etiwen} /?atiw?an/ ‘A lose P’.

(36)  

\begin{verbatim}
(36) etiwentoy  pilakto  chi chalan
       ?atiw-on=to=j  pilak=to  di dalan

lose-PATV/IPF=3/GEN=NOM money=3/GEN LOC path, way, route

'he will lose his money on the route'
\end{verbatim}

Use of appropriate separate derivational affixes can indicate intentional action. See Theme intentional verbs in \S 26.4.

The ability verb \textit{posien} /posi?an/ ‘A be able (usually physically) to do something’.

(37)  

\begin{verbatim}
(37) pinositoy  embel’at  ja sako
       <in>posi=to=j  ?on-bol?at  ja sako

<PATV/PFT>be able=3/GEN=NOM STAY/EN-heavy LK sack

'he was (physically) able to carry the heavy sack'
\end{verbatim}

This verb has also a Theme-oriented counterpart; see \S 26.4.


(38)  

\begin{verbatim}
(38) inamtatoy  ngarancha
       <in>?amta=to=j  qadan=da

<PATV/PFT>know=3/GEN=NOM name=3+/GEN

'he knew their names'
\end{verbatim}

(39)  

\begin{verbatim}
(39) nemnemementejo  no  chi Australia
       nammam-an=takajo  no  di australia

think-PAT/IPF=1/GEN&2+/NOM if/when LOC Australia

'I will think of you (pl) when in Australia'
\end{verbatim}
Cognitive verbs also include the following two subtypes.


(40) **tangkakentoy** payew chi chontog
tɑŋkəŋ-tɔŋ=to=j pɛjɛw ði ðɔŋtɔŋ
look up-PATV/IPF=3/GEN=NOM rice field LOC mountain

‘he will look up at the rice fields on the mountain’


(41) **tapiento** iya singsing
tapiʔən=tɔʔiʔ siŋsiŋ
value-PATV/IPF NOM/PROX ring

‘she will value this ring’
Chapter 25

Locative -an Verbs

Locative verbs are derived with the following affixes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>imperfective</th>
<th>perfective</th>
<th>continuative</th>
<th>progressive</th>
<th>imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-an</td>
<td>&lt;in&gt; -an</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>(e)pan- -i</td>
<td>-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/-an/</td>
<td>/&lt;in&gt; -an/</td>
<td>/-i/</td>
<td>/(e)pan- -i/</td>
<td>/-i/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Locative -an verbs typically have a Nominative Undergoer which is only partly, not entirely affected, or that only has its surface affected, or is the endpoint of the action, the place to or from which some other entity is directed. The exact interpretation of the verb and the roles of its participants depends on the semantics of the root/stem to which the affixes are added, and it is not uniform for the whole class. These verbs are labeled Locative (abbreviated as LocV) or -an verbs.

Locative -an verbs usually describe events which require a certain amount of time in order to be accomplished. Hence, their corresponding intransitive Actor counterparts are usually man- activity verbs (§20.4).

Locative -an verbs can be subdivided into different subclasses on the basis of a combination of the the semantics of the derived verb and the orientation of the action, as described in the following sections.

25.1 Activity -an Verbs

Activity -an verbs are characterised by the presence of a partially (not entirely) affected undergoer or lack of punctuality. These constitute a very broad subclass which can be further divided, on the basis of the semantics of the derived verb and the role played by the Nominative Undergoer, into the following subclasses.

Catch/snaring verbs. Examples are ejomaan /?ajoma?an/ ‘A catch P with a trap’, enapan /?anapan/ ‘A find P one is seeking’ and enopan /?anopan/ ‘A get P hunting’ where P is the caught or ensnared entity. These verbs are oriented towards obtaining something in a very particular way like for ejomaan /?ajoma?an/ through the means of a trap.

Some verbs of catching and snaring have a Patient-oriented counterpart as get/obtain verbs (§24.2). However, their meanings are different. For instance, enopen /?anopen/ (anop-en) ‘A hunt P’ v. enopan /?anopan/ (anap-an) ‘A get P hunting’. The emphasis in the Locative -an verb is more on getting something and on the way the action is carried out, whereas in the Patient -en verb it is on the affectedness of the prey.

‘why, you got no deer when you went hunting?’

‘he hunted the deer’
Catch/snaring verbs also include *bebkaan* /bebka?an/ ‘A unearth P’ and *kotkotan* /kotkotan/ ‘A dig up P by scratching’. With these verbs, the meaning consists partly of obtaining something and partly of removing that something. Hence, the agent is also the goal, while the Nominative argument is the item removed, namely a theme.

(5) *kinotkotan* ni aso i pokel
<in>kotkot-an ni ?aso ?i pokol
<LOC/PFT>scratch earth-LOCV GEN dog NOM bone

‘the dog dug up (by scratching the earth) the bone’

These roots each have a Theme-oriented counterpart, *ibeka* /?ibeka/ ‘A bury P’ and *ikotkot* /?ikotkot/ ‘A bury P by scratching the surface of the earth’, with the opposite orientation, where the agent is also the source. See burying verbs in §26.1.

(6) *inkotkot* ni aso i pokel
?in-kotkot ni ?aso ?i pokal
THMV/PFT-scratch earth GEN dog NOM bone

‘the dog buried (by scratching the earth) the bone’

Burning verbs, e.g. *epoyan* /?apojan/ ‘A put a fire to P (e.g. to cook)’, *poolan* /po?olan/ ‘A burn P’, *pongpongan* /poqpojan/ ‘A put a fire to cook P’, and *changopan* /da:aopan/ ‘A put/sit Pon fire’.

(7) *poolantoy* baleycha
po?ol-an=to=j bakaj=da
burn-LOCV/IPF=3/GEN=NOM house=3/GEN

‘he will burn their house’

Some burning verbs have a Theme-oriented counterpart (§26.1), which depicts the event in a different way. For instance, the verbs *epoyan* /?apojan/ (apoy-an) ‘A put a fire to P’ and *iapoy* /?i?apoj/ (i-apoy) ‘A put P on a fire’ are both derived from the root *apoy* /?apoj/ ‘fire’, but they describe rather different events. With the -an verb, the fire is applied to something which is encoded as the Nominative, while with the i- verb, there is an entity (the theme) that is placed on a fire.

(8) *inepoyanchay* chontog
<in>?apoj-an=da=j dontog
<LOCV/PFT-fire-LOCV=3+/GEN=NOM mountain

‘they applied fire to the mountain’

(9) *in'apoychay* bolong ni kapani
?in-?apoj=da=j boloj ni kapani
THMV/PFT-fire=3+/GEN=NOM leaf GEN kapani plant

‘they put the kapani leaves on the fire’
25.1 **Activity -an Verbs**


(10) *kowajaan ni aso i baleycha*

kowaja-an ni ?aso ?i balaj=da

guard-LocV/IPF GEN dog NOM house=3/GEN

‘the dog will guard the house’

Change in body posture verbs have a final location which is usually achieved through the body of the entity performing the action. They include *tongawan /toJJawan/ ‘A sit down, sit on P:somewhere’, *sepaan /s8pa?an/ ‘A land P:somewhere’, *chokolan /dokolan/ ‘A lie down P:somewhere’, *echalan /?adalan/ ‘A lean against P’.

(11) *tinongawantoy ensekig*

<in>toJJaw-an=to=j ?an-sakig

<Loc/PFT>sit-LocV=3/GEN=NOM STAV/EN-dirt

‘he sat on the dirty (thing)’

Bodily process verbs typically denote bodily processes. However, Locative verbs derived from these roots describe an action directed towards a location or goal of some sort. These include verbs like *ngi’ngiyan /ji?JJijan/ ‘A laugh at P’, *mimiyan /mimijan/ ‘A urinate P:somewhere’, and *ba’kisan /ba?kisan/ ‘A sneeze P:somewhere’.

(12) *nginingiantoy ka ‘jemto*

<in>ji?ji-an=to=j ga?jam=to

<Loc/PFT>laugh-LocV=3/GEN=NOM friend=3/GEN

‘he laughed at his friend’

Source-oriented verbs include two main types of verbs, namely verbs of removal and source-motion verbs. With these verbs the Nominative entity bears the role of source.

Removal verbs can be separated into two main subgroups on the basis of the meaning of the root. The first subgroup consists of verbs of removal derived from roots that when used as nominals describe a part of something. The Nominative entity plays the role of source. Verbs of this type include *sotsotan /sotsotan/ ‘A remove intestines from P’ derived from *sotsot /sotsot/ ‘intestines’, *apkoan /apko?an/ ‘A remove the gall bladder from P’ derived from *apko /apko/ ‘gall bladder’, *chotchotan /dotdotan/ ‘A remove feathers from P’ derived from *chotchot /dotdot/ ‘feather’, *epchotan /?epdotan/ or *apchitan /?apditan/ ‘A remove part of feathers or hair from P’ derived from *epchit /?apdit/, *apchit /?apdit/ ‘feather’ *botigen /botigen/
'A castrate P' derived from botig /botig/ 'testicles', and okisan /?okisan/ 'A peel, remove skin from P (e.g. banana)' derived from okis /?okis/ 'peel, skin (extended also to refer to the wrapping of a candy)'.

(13)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Meanings</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>chotchotantoy</td>
<td>remove feathers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dot-dot-an=to=j</td>
<td>manok</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>remove feathers-LocV/IPP=3/GEN=NOM chicken</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'he will remove feathers from the chicken'</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The second subgroup also describes the removal of a particular part of something. However, this subgroup differs from the preceding one in that the root used in the derivation does not represent the item removed, but the activity of removal. They include saknitan /saknitan/ 'A peel, strip P:sugar cane' derived from saknit /saknit/ 'peel, strip; act of peeling, stripping', esapan /?asapan/ 'A remove stalks from P:field', and koskosan /koskosan/ 'A shave (remove hair from) P (e.g. a dead person or a sheep)'. Verbs of opening like tak baban /takwaban/ 'A open P' and dokatan /lokatan/ 'A open P (usually with a lid)' also belong to this subgroup.

(14)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Meanings</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>esapantoy</td>
<td>remove stalks</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?asap-an=to=j</td>
<td>payew</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>remove stalks-LocV/IPP=3/GEN=NOM field</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'he will remove stalks from the field'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(15)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Meanings</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tinakbabantoy</td>
<td>open</td>
<td>kanchiro</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;in&gt; takwab-an=to=j</td>
<td>kandido</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;Loc/PFT&gt;open-LocV=3/GEN=NOM pot</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'he opened the pot'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This second subgroup of removal verbs includes actions which only partially affect the Nominative Undergoer. These verbs can be further subdivided into two kinds. The first kind contains a root from which a Patient -en verb can alternatively be derived in order to express the fact that the action fully affects the Undergoer. For examples, kotetan /kotatan/ 'A bite off part of P', kotaban /kotaban/ 'A bite off part of P', sopsopan /sopsopan/ 'A suck part of P', inoman /?inoman/ 'A drink part of P', agap /?agap/ 'A slice part of P', patpatan /patpatan/ 'A slash through P removing only part of it', tet pepan /tapatpan/ 'A block part of P', ekopan /?akopan/ 'A scoop out part of P', a'kalan /?a?kalan/ 'A get, remove part of P', taolan /ta?olan/ 'A scoop out part of P (usually with a scoop or large cup utensil) all have counterparts where the Undergoer is fully affected. This is exemplified for the root ekal /?akal/ 'remove; act of removal'.

(16)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Meanings</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ingkalantoy</td>
<td>remove part</td>
<td>bekas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;in&gt; ?kal-an=to=j</td>
<td>bagas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;Loc/PFT&gt;remove part=3/GEN=NOM raw rice</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'he removed part of the raw (uncooked) rice'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
25.1 Activity -an Verbs

(17) \textit{ingkaltoy} \hspace{1cm} \textit{bekas} \\
\textit{in} \textit{kal=to=j} \hspace{1cm} \textit{bagas} \\
\textit{PATV/PFT}remove=3/GEN=NOM raw rice \\
‘he removed all the (uncooked) rice’

The second kind consists of verbs which have no such alternative derivations. These mostly consist of verbs of cutting like \textit{pokisan} /pokisan/ ‘A cut P’s hair (usually at the barber)’, \textit{kegtengan} /gkt\textgreek{\textasciitilde}\textgreek{\textasciitilde}tan/ ‘A cut P’s hair (not too short)’ and \textit{tengpepen} /t\textgreek{\textasciitilde}p\textgreek{\textasciitilde}p\textgreek{\textasciitilde}p\textgreek{\textasciitilde}p/ ‘A cut ends off P’ or ‘A trim P with edges’. However, it is not necessarily the case that Ibaloy cannot express similar events which result in wholly affected entities. This may well be achieved through a separate lexical item. For instance, the verb \textit{bodkingan} /bod\textgreek{\textasciitilde}k\textgreek{\textasciitilde}n/ ‘A partially blind P:someone (e.g. one eye only)’ has a counterpart, \textit{koraben} /kod\textgreek{\textasciitilde}b\textgreek{\textasciitilde}n/ ‘A blind P:someone’, with a different root.

(18) \textit{binodkingan} \hspace{1cm} \textit{ni nga’nga i aso} \\
\textit{in} \textit{bodki\textgreek{\textasciitilde}n} \textit{ni \textgreek{\textasciitilde}a\textgreek{\textasciitilde}a \textgreek{\textasciitilde}i \textgreek{\textasciitilde}aso} \\
\textit{LOC/PFT}partially blind-LocV GEN child NOM dog \\
‘the child partially blinded the dog (e.g. with a stick)’

Source-motion verbs describe a motion away from the Nominative entity, that is the source. These verbs mainly describe acts of leaving something or someone behind, usually at a location. Examples are \textit{tagnan} /taj\textgreek{\textasciitilde}n/ ‘A leave P (usually someone) behind’, \textit{bebtikan} /bob\textgreek{\textasciitilde}tikan/ ‘A run away from P (usually someone)’, \textit{begnaran} /b\textgreek{\textasciitilde}gndan/ ‘A leave P behind’, and \textit{echawian} /\textgreek{\textasciitilde}d\textgreek{\textasciitilde}w\textgreek{\textasciitilde}i\textgreek{\textasciitilde}n/ ‘A go far from P’ which is derived from the spatial reference term \textit{arabi} /\textgreek{\textasciitilde}d\textgreek{\textasciitilde}w\textgreek{\textasciitilde}i/ ‘far’.

(19) \textit{tinaynantoy} \hspace{1cm} \textit{asod baley} \\
\textit{in} \textit{ta\textgreek{\textasciitilde}j\textgreek{\textasciitilde}n=to=j} \hspace{1cm} \textit{?aso=d b\textgreek{\textasciitilde}l\textgreek{\textasciitilde}j} \\
\textit{LOC/PFT}leave-LocV=3/GEN=NOM dog=LOC house \\
‘he left the dog at home’

When the source is a living entity or a thing rather than a proper location, then an additional Locative-marked phrase may occur in the clause as shown in the above example.

Goal-oriented verbs denote activities of addition, application or putting of an item into something or somewhere and goal-motion verbs. In both cases, the Nominative bears the role of goal, and with a few verbs that of recipient. Several of these verbs have a Theme-oriented counterpart. However, the kinds of event described in these counterparts are different; see discussion of add/mix verbs in §26.1.

Two main subgroups of goal-oriented verbs can be identified on the basis of the type of root used in the derivational process. In the first subgroup the root itself refers to

(20) *inasokalan*toy <in> ?asokal-an=to=j tasa <LOC/PFT>add sugar-LocV=3/GEN=NOM cup ‘he added sugar in the cup’

This subgroup also includes the recipient-oriented verb *ekasan* /?agasan/ ‘A cure P (usually someone)’ from *agas* /?agas/ ‘medicine, cure’, and verbs like *balangan* /balauan/ ‘A apply red on P’ from *balanga* /balanja/ ‘red’ and *badoan* /balo?an/ ‘A renovate P’ from *bado* /balo/ ‘new’. It may also be extended to include verbs previously described as activities directed to a location of some kind such as *taneman* /tan8man/ ‘A plant P:somewhere (e.g. garden)’ derived from *tanem* /tan8m/ ‘plant’, *modaan* /mola?an/ ‘A plant P:somewhere (e.g. garden)’ derived from *mola* /mola/ ‘plant’, *dagitan* /lagitan/ ‘A put dirt on P’ derived form *dagit* /lagit/ ‘dirt’ as well as *baljan* /baljan/ ‘A build a house P:somewhere’ derived from *baley* /balaj/ ‘house, home’.

(21) *binadoan*toy <in> balo-an=to=j baleyto <LOC/PFT>renovate-LocV=3/GEN=NOM house=3/GEN ‘he renovated his house’

(22) *binaljan*toy <in> balaj-an=to=j lotid Bagiw <LOC/PFT>build house-LocV=3/GEN=NOM lot=LOC Baguio ‘he built a house on the lot in Baguio’

In the second subgroup the root simply describes the type of addition or application involved. With such verbs the item added or applied is not part of the lexical meaning of the verb and it may be expressed as a Genitive complement. Examples are *isag’an* /?isag?an/ ‘A add/mix something into/with P’, *a’choman* /?o?doman/ ‘A add something into P’, *esolan* /?asolan/ ‘A put water into P’, *apdechan* /?apl8dan/

(23) *achomantoy  
akapi ni katas  
\textit{?adom-an=to=j kapi ni katas}  
\textit{add-LocV/IPF=3/GEN=NOM coffee GEN milk}  
‘he will add (some) milk into the coffee’

This second subgroup also includes verbs where the Nominative entity is the recipient of the action like *aknan /?aknan/ ‘A give P:someone (something)’, *atnangan /?atnangan/ ‘A help P:someone’, and *kespigan /kaspigan/ ‘A throw at P (usually someone) something’ which has been previously regarded as a subtype of activity verb.

(24) **kespigan**  
\textit{kaspiga=to=ak titit ni bato}  
\textit{throw-LocV/IPF=3/GEN=NOM bird GEN stone}  
‘he will throw a/the stone at the bird’

Verbs like *atnangan /?atnangan/ and *aknan /?aknan/ also have a Beneficiary-oriented counterpart, in which the action is usually construed in a different way. When the Locative verb is used, the Nominative entity is the recipient. When the Beneficiary verb is used, the Nominative entity is the beneficiary as well as the recipient; see recipient-oriented verbs in §27.1.

(25) **atnangantoak**  
\textit{?ataq-an=to=ak ni loto}  
\textit{help-LocV/IPF=3/GEN=1/NOM GEN cooking}  
‘she will help me with cooking (I receive help with cooking from her)’

(26) **iatnangantoak**  
\textit{?i-?ataq-an=to=ak ni loto}  
\textit{BNFV/IPF-help-BNFV=3/GEN=1/NOM GEN cooking}  
‘she will help me with cooking’ (she helps me by cooking for me, possibly instead of me)

Goal-motion verbs refer to a motion towards a location. Motion verbs of this type are rarer than the previously described subgroup of source-motion verbs. Goal-motion verbs include *daban /lawan/ ‘A go P:somewhere’, and *a’sopan /?a’sopan/ ‘A approach P:somewhere’ which is derived from the spatial reference term *esop /?esop/ ‘near’.

(27) **dinabantoay**  

\textit{<in>law=to=j kabajan}  
\textit{<LOC/PFT>go-LOCV=3/GEN=NOM Kabayan}  
‘he went to Kabayan’
Path-motion verbs refer to a motion which is neither from nor towards an entity, but rather through or by a path. This subclass includes verbs like *dabsan* /*labsan*/ ‘A pass by P’.

(28) *dinabsantoy* diyang
    <LOC/PFT>pass by=3/GEN=NOM cave

‘he passed by the cave’

Finally, manner of speed verbs usually refer to doing something rapidly, such as *paspasan* /*paspasan*/ ‘A do P fast’ and *kagosan* /*kagosan*/ ‘A do P:something quickly’ and *agagan* /*agagan*/ or *ekagan* /*agagan*/ ‘A hurry with P:something’. Others are verbs like *enaran* /*anadan*/ ‘A be careful in doing P’.

(29) *pinaspasantoy* obdad payew
    <LOC/PFT>do fast-LOCV=3/GEN=NOM job=LOC field

‘he quickly did the job in the field’ or ‘he was fast at the job in the field’

25.2 Other *-an Verbs

There are some other small groups of *-an* verbs. These include the following.

The ability verb *baalan*1 /*ba?alan*/ ‘A be able, can do something’ forms a subclass by itself. The other two ability-type verbs found in my data are the Patient verb *posien* /*posi?an*/ ‘A be able to do P (usually physical ability)’ and its Theme counterpart *iposi* /?iposi/ ‘A be able to do P (physical and not physical)’. However, these two verbs often refer to the physical ability to carry or do something. The verb *baalan* carries a more general meaning.

(30) *binaalanton* impaiskoyda i anakto
    <LOC/PFT>can-LOCV=3/GEN=LK CAUS/PFT-study NOM child=3/GEN

‘he was able to put his child through school’

Cognition/perception verbs. These include the cognitive verbs *ebatan* /?awatan/ ‘A understand P’, *amtaan* /?amta?an/ ‘A get to know P’ and *dibkan* /libgan/ ‘A forget P’, and the perception verbs *on’an* /?onajan/ ‘A look at P’ and *jongjongan* /jongjojan/ ‘A look down at P’.

1This verb is probably borrowed from Ilokano *babaelan*, where it carries the same meaning.
(31) *dinibkan*moak?
<in>*libag-an=mo=ak<br/>
<LOC/PFT>*forget-LOCV=2/GEN=1/GEN

‘did you forget me?’

(32) *inon’antoy*
<in>*onaj-an=to=j<br/>
<LOC/PFT>*see-LOCV=3/GEN=NOM bird LOC tree

‘he saw the bird on the tree’

Note that the action of looking up at something is instead expressed through the Patient verb *tangkaken* /taŋkakən/ ‘A look up at P’ and involves a different lexical item.


(33) *tinakotanchay* kastos ni aramag
<in>*takot-an=da=j kastos ni ?adamag<br/>
<LOC/PFT>*fear-LOCV=3/GEN=NOM expenses GEN aramag

‘they feared the expenses of the aramag (feast for the dead)’

Other Locative *-an* verbs include *aspolan* /̣aspolən/ ‘A equate P:something (e.g. in bride-wealth)’, *onoran* /̣onodan/ ‘A imitate P:someone’, and *badegan* /̣bədəŋən/ ‘A grow out of P:something’ as well as the activity *bayachan* /bajadan/ ‘A pay P’.

(34) *inonoran* ni nga’nga i esel nen tatangto
<in>*?onod-an ni ?aŋaŋa ?i ?asal nan tatatŋ=to<br/>
<LOC/PFT>*imitate-LOCV GEN child NOM voice GEN/PERS grandmother=3/GEN

‘the child imitated the voice of his grandmother’

The fact that these verbs are derived with one of the Locative affixes is not surprising, since the majority refer to events which result in only partially affected entities, and there is often a strong directional component in their meanings. Consider, for instance, the verb *bayachan* /bajadan/ ‘A pay P’.

(35) *binayachantoy* otango
<in>*bajad-an=to=j<br/>
<LOC/PFT>*charge-LOCV=3/GEN=NOM debt=3/GEN

‘he paid his debt’

With this verb, it is clear that the emphasis is on the transfer of money in order to obtain something. In this case, the agent is also the source. This seems to fit with the overall event schema of some of the verbs carrying the *-an* affixes.
Other verbs that refer to a specific orientation of the action are *songbatan* /soŋbatan/ ‘A answer (back) P’ and *balsan* /balsan/ ‘A fight back P:someone for revenge’.

(36) **balsanto**

*balsan=to iray emengokdo*

fight back for revenge-LOCV/IPF=3/GEN PL=NOM PROG/AV-head hunt

‘he will fight back for revenge the head-hunters’

Finally, another -an verb is *dekeban* /lakaban/ ‘A enclose P:someone (usually somewhere)’.

(37) **dinkeban**

*ni aba’kol i asod baley*

<in>lakaban ni ?a-ba’kol i ?aso=d balaj

<LOC/PFT>enclose-LOCV GEN STA/PATV/PFT-old woman NOM dog=LOC house

‘the old woman enclosed the dog in the house’
Chapter 26

Theme **i-** Verbs

Theme verbs are derived with the following affixes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 26.1: Theme i- Verb Affixes</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>imperfective</td>
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<tr>
<td>i- /?i/-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Theme **i-** verbs typically have a Nominative Undergoer which is moved in space, directed towards, or brought into association with some entity. The most prototypical role borne by the Nominative complement is a theme, hence the label “Theme verbs” (abbreviated as THMV or as **i-** verbs).

Several Theme verbs contrast with their corresponding Patient verbs, in ways that will be discussed later. Furthermore, all Theme verbs have intransitive Actor counterparts derived with the Actor mengi- affixes (Chapter 22).

Theme verbs can be roughly subdivided into different subclasses which are described in the following sections. This classification is primarily semantic.

### 26.1 Conveyance **i-** Verbs

There is a large class of proto-typical **i-** verbs, whose members denote conveyance of an entity (the theme), by placing it or moving it somewhere. This class can be divided into a number of subclasses.

Some placement/transference verbs are derived from roots which designate part of
the final location of the entity conveyed such as

\[ \text{isekit} \ / \text{sagit} / \ 'A put P under the sun to dry' \]

derived from \[ \text{sekit} \ / \text{sagit} / \ 'sun' \], \[ \text{isijkot} \ / \text{sijkot} / \ 'A secure P in a knot' \]

derived from \[ \text{siykot} \ / \text{sijkot} / \ 'knot' \], and \[ \text{ibotong} \ / \text{botoŋ} / \ 'A secure P in a waist-pouch' \]

derived from \[ \text{botong} \ / \text{botoŋ} / \ 'waist-pouch' \). However, although the
location is partially specified by the root itself, it is possible for a further location
to be expressed. This is, for instance, the case in the following example.

\[ \text{insiykottoy} \ / \text{pilak chi panjom} \]

\( \text{ThMV/PFT-secure in a knot=3/GEN=NOM money LOC handkerchief} \)

\( \text{he secured the money (in a knot) in the handkerchief} \)

This subclass may also be extended to include the verb \[ \text{isingpet} \ / \text{isipnep} / \ 'A keep P well (usually putting it somewhere safe)' \]

'A take good care of P', 'A secure safely P' or 'A save up P (usually money)'.
26.1 Conveyance i-Verbs

(6) *isingpettoy* pilakmo
\[?i-singpat=to=j \quad \text{pilak}=\text{mo} \]
THMV/IPF-take good care=3/GEN=NOM money=2/GEN

'he will take good care of your money (implying he will put it somewhere safe)'

Placement/transference verbs also include the following subtypes of verbs.

Burning verbs like *ipool* /?ipo?ol/ 'A burn P by putting it on a heat source' and *iapoy* /?i?apoj/ 'A put P on fire' derived from *apoy* /?apo?/ 'fire'.

(7) *inpool* ni bii i solat nonta ka'jento
\[?i-n-pool ni bi?i ?i solat nonta ga?jom=to \]
THMV/PFT-burn GEN woman NOM letter GEN/REC friend=3/GEN

'the woman burnt the letter of her friend'

Burying verbs like *iponpon* /?iponpon/ 'A bury the dead:P', *ibeka* /?ib8ka/ 'A bury P', and *ikotkot* /?ikotkot/ 'A bury P by scratching the surface of the earth or digging'.

(8) *inponponchay* atey nonta ma'chem
\[?in-poonpon=da=j ?a-taj nonta ma?chem \]
THMV/PFT-bury the dead=3+/GEN=NOM PotPatV/PFT-die when-past evening

'they buried the dead last night'

Peculiar to some of these burying verbs is the fact that they have a Locative antonym which denotes a corresponding mode of unearthing. For instance, *ibeka* /?ib8ka/ (i-beka) 'A bury P' contrasts with *bebkaan* /?bebka?an/ (CV-beka-an) /?bebka?an/ 'A unearth P', and *ikotkot* /?ikotkot/ (i-kotkot) 'A bury P by scratching or digging' contrasts with *kotkotan* /?kotkotan/ (kotkot-an) 'A unearth P by scratching or digging'. See Locative catch/snaring verbs in §25.1 for details.

In Give/return/offer verbs the agent is also the source, and the Nominative participant is the entity conveyed. Examples are *ibetang* /?ib8ta?/ 'A give P:one’s share' or 'A divide P (e.g. one’s share)', *iawat* /?i?awat/ 'A offer P', and *iakan* /?i?akan/ 'A give P', *ioli* /?i?oli/ 'A return P', *itawid* /?itawid/ 'A bequeath P', and *ibolod* /?ibolod/ 'A lend P'.

(9) *inbetangchay* baka son si'kato
\[?in-betang=da=j \quad \text{baka} \quad \text{so}=-n \quad \text{si}gato \]
THMV/PFT-give one’s share, divide=3+/GEN=NOM cow OBL=GEN/PERS 3/IND

'he gave the share of the cow to him'

Gather/order/arrange verbs have two semantic components: collecting or arranging things and moving or positioning them. With these verbs a location is often
expressed. They include *i?olnos* /*i?olnos*/ ‘A put P in order (usually rearranging it) somewhere’, *ibalatbat* /*ibalatbat*/ ‘A arrange P somewhere’, *iapdos* /*iaplos*/ ‘A pile up P somewhere’, and *iponpon* /*iponpon*/ ‘A pile up P which is plenty somewhere’.

\[\begin{align*}
\text{(10)} & \quad \text{*inponpontoy*} & \text{kiyew chitan} \\
& \quad \text{?in-ponpon=to=j} & \text{kijaw ditan} \\
& \quad \text{THMV/PFT-pile up plenty=3/GEN=NOM wood LOC/MED/PRO} \\
& \quad \text{‘he piled up (plenty of) the wood there’}
\end{align*}\]

Some gathering verbs have a Patient-oriented counterpart. However, the latter differ from the Theme verbs in that they are oriented towards the final result of the action (§24.1). Moreover, with the Patient counterpart a location is not required. Conversely, Theme verbs describe the action from the point of view of the repositioned item and usually have a location expressed. Consider the pair (11) and (12):

\[\begin{align*}
\text{(11)} & \quad \text{\textit{inapdostoy} kiyew} \\
& \quad \text{?in-?aplos=to=j} & \text{kijaw} \\
& \quad \text{<PatV/PFT>pile up=3/GEN=NOM wood} \\
& \quad \text{‘he piled up the wood (implying the result was a pile of wood)’}
\end{align*}\]

\[\begin{align*}
\text{(12)} & \quad \text{\textit{in’apdostoy} kiyew chi bo’day} \\
& \quad \text{?in-?aplos=to=j} & \text{kijaw di bo?laj} \\
& \quad \text{THMV/PFT-pile up=3/GEN=NOM wood LOC outside} \\
& \quad \text{‘he piled up the wood outside (emphasising that the wood was moved and placed in a pile)’}
\end{align*}\]

Add/mix verbs describe the adding or mixing of an item into something else. With these verbs the final location is often expressed. Two subgroups may be identified on the basis of the semantics of root used in the derivation. Verbs of the first subgroup are derived from a root which either describes the action involved or otherwise a very general type of item like *iisag* /*iisag*/ ‘A mix P somewhere’ derived from *iisag* /*iisag*/ ‘mixing’, *iechom* /*iechom*/ ‘A add P somewhere’ derived from *iechom* /*iechom*/ ‘other’ or ‘adding’, *tobtob* /*tobtob*/ ‘A add, put P extra somewhere’ from *tobtob* /*tobtob*/ ‘extra’ or ‘extra adding’, and *idaok* /*idaok*/ ‘A mix P somewhere’ from *daok* /*daok*/ ‘ingredient’ or ‘mixing’.

\[\begin{align*}
\text{(13)} & \quad \text{\textit{indaoktoy} apag chi pitsay} \\
& \quad \text{?in-la?ok=to=j} & \text{?apag di pitsaj} \\
& \quad \text{THMV/PFT-mix=3/GEN=NOM meat LOC Chinese cabbage} \\
& \quad \text{‘she mixed the meat into the Chinese cabbage’ or ‘she added as ingredient the meat in the Chinese cabbage’}
\end{align*}\]
Verbs of the second subgroup are generally derived from a root which designates the kind of item added or mixed. This is, for instance, the case, for verbs like \( \text{i} \text{asokal} \) /\( \text{t} \text{i} \text{i} \text{asokal} / \) ‘A add sugar into something’ derived from \( \text{asokal} \) /\( \text{t} \text{asokal} / \) ‘sugar’, \( \text{iasin} \) /\( \text{t} \text{i} \text{asin} / \) ‘A add salt into something’ derived from \( \text{asin} \) /\( \text{t} \text{asin} / \) ‘salt’, and \( \text{i} \text{tangeb} \) /\( \text{t} \text{ita:uab} / \) ‘A use as lid P somewhere’ derived from \( \text{tangeb} \) /\( \text{t} \text{a:uab} / \) ‘lid’.

(14) \text{in’asokaltod} \quad \begin{array}{l} \text{tasa} \\ \text{THMV/PFT-sugar=3/GEN=LOC cup} \end{array} \\
‘she added the sugar in the cup’

(15) \text{i} \text{tangeb} \text{to} \quad \begin{array}{ll} \text{iya} \quad \text{pingkan chi kanchiro} \\ \text{THMV/IPF-lid=3/GEN NOM/PROX plate LOC pot} \end{array} \\
‘she will use as lid this plate on the pot’

When the item used to either salt or sugar something is no different from the normal salt or sugar the Nominative complement which encodes such item is usually not expressed. However, when a particular item (e.g. marine salt or honey) is used it is explicitly expressed as the Nominative complement. Consider the following example, where the addressee is told to use honey as sugar.

(16) \text{iasokalmo} \quad \begin{array}{l} \text{i} \quad \text{dinowan!} \\ \text{THMV/IMP-sugar=2/GEN NOM honey} \end{array} \\
‘use the honey as sweetening’

Some add/mix verbs have a Locative-oriented counterpart. With Locative verbs the whole event is described from a very different perspective. In that case, the Nominative complement is a location, rather than the element to be added. For instance, \( \text{iasokal} \) ‘A add sugar into something’ contrasts with \( \text{esokalan} \) /\( \text{t} \text{asokalan} / \) (\( \text{asokal-an} / \) ‘A sugar P:location’, both derived from \( \text{asokal} / \) ‘sugar’. See Locative goal-oriented verbs in §25.1 for detail.

(17) \text{inasokalantoy} \quad \begin{array}{l} \text{tasa} \\ \text{THMV/PFT-sugar=3/GEN=NOM cup} \end{array} \\
‘he sugared the cup’

With accompanied motion verbs the agent moves in possession of or accompanied by a non-human (usually non-living) entity which is encoded as the Nominative complement. Accompanied motion verbs include \( \text{i} \text{esbid} \) /\( \text{t} \text{i} \text{wswid} / \) ‘A go and return with P the same day’, \( \text{ikalab} \) /\( \text{t} \text{ikalab} / \) ‘A climb with P’, \( \text{imotok} \) /\( \text{t} \text{imotok} / \) ‘A arrive

(18) iesbidmoy songbat ni solat nem
    ?i-?aswid=mo=j soJJbat THMV/PP-go and return the same day=2/GEN=NOM answer GEN letter if/when
    ma’chem ma?dam evening

    ‘you go and return with the answer of the letter tonight’

Verbs describing a change in body posture also behave like accompanied motion verbs. An item may accompany such motion. This item appears in Nominative case and bears the role of theme. Verbs of this type include ichokol /?idokol/ ‘A lie down with P’ and itongaw /?ito:uaw/ ‘A sit down with P’.

(19) inchokoltoy maptenga baroto
    ?in-dokol=to=j ma-potap=a bado=to THMV/PFT-lie down with=3/GEN STAV/MA-nice=LK dress=3/GEN

    ‘she lay down with her nice dress’

The bodily process verb ibadeg /?ibal8g/ ‘A grow up with P (e.g. a bad character)’ or ‘A grow up on P (e.g. type of food habitually eaten)’ is also treated as an accompanied motion verb, and the goal is encoded in the verb like ‘adulthood’ or similar. When the Nominative entity refers to a type of food, rather than a type of character which accompanies the growing up process, it might be interpreted as an instrument.

(20) inbadegtoy inapoy
    ?in-balag=to=j ?inapoj THMV/PFT-grow up on=3/GEN=NOM cooked rice

    ‘he grew up on rice’

(21) inbadegtoy kadsel
    ?in-balag=to=j kadsel THMV/PFT-grow up with=3/GEN=NOM naughty character

    ‘he grew up with a naughty character’

Accompanied motion verbs may be derived from a spatial reference term, e.g. isa’pat /?isagpat/ ‘A put down P’ derived from sa’pat /sagpat/ ‘down’, iaskang /?i?askaŋ/ ‘A put P near somewhere’ derived from askang /?askaŋ/ ‘near’, idespag /?ilsapag/ ‘A put down P’ derived from despag /lapsag/ ‘down, below’, iesop /?i?asop/ ‘A take,
put P near somewhere' derived from *esop* ‘near’, and *iarabi* ‘far’. With these verbs the location of the theme is usually at issue, and so it is usually expressed.

\[(22)\] \texttt{n} \texttt{indespagtoy}\texttt{kalkad}\texttt{chet'al} \\texttt{THMV/PFT-put down=3/GEN=NOM luggage=LOC floor}  

'he put the luggage down on the floor'

Carry verbs are oriented towards the entity which is carried. This entity is clearly a theme. Ibaloy, like other Austronesian languages, has many different verbs that express different kinds of carrying. A few of these are *iagto* ‘A carry P on head’, *ioyon* ‘A carry P in a basket’, *isakchad* ‘A carry P on shoulders’, and *isakbat* ‘A carry P on the back’.

\[(23)\] \texttt{n} \texttt{insakbattoy}\texttt{chagi} \\texttt{THMV/PFT-carry on back=3/GEN=NOM rattan backpack}  

'he carried (on his back) the backpack made out of rattan'

For some of these carry/hold verbs there are Patient-oriented verbs (§24.2) which differ only slightly in meaning from the Theme verbs. It seems that the Patient verbs are directed partially towards the physical ability to carry such items and partially to the fact that the item has been obtained by the agent from a previous event.

\section{26.2 Patient Affecting \textit{i}- Verbs}

This subclass consists of verbs which describe actions intentionally caused by the agent towards an entity that may or may not be wholly affected as the result of it. Most of these verbs have a Patient-oriented counterpart. However, with the latter derivation the emphasis is more towards the result of the action and its impact on the patient.

The subclass of patient affecting \textit{i}- verbs is fairly sizable and broad. Hence, the need to subdivide its members into more defined subgroups of verbs as follows.

Create/make verbs include *idaga* ‘A make P (usually somewhere)’, and *iamag* ‘A build P by assembling it’. But, they can also be extended to include verbs like *idoto* ‘A cook P’ and *isolat* ‘A write P’ which may be regarded as involving a sort of creation!
(24)  idagachay  baleyched  chontog
?=laga=da=j  balaj=da=d  dontog
THMV/IPF-make=3+/GEN=NOM house=3+/GEN=LOC mountain
‘they will make their house on the mountain’

Note, however, the presence of a location.

Shake/squeeze verbs include ijakjak /ʔijakjak/ ‘A shake P somewhere’, ipespes /ʔipespes/ ‘A squeeze P somewhere’, and ijegjeg /ʔijegjeg/ ‘A rock P (e.g. baby)’.

(25)  ijakjaktoy  katas chi botilja
ʔi-jakjak=to=j  katas di botilja
THMV/IPF-shake=3/GEN=NOM milk LOC bottle
‘she will shake the milk in the bottle’

These verbs require a location. Conversely, their Patient-oriented counterparts (where available), such as jakjakon /jakjakon/ ‘A shake P’, do not refer to a location; see §24.1.

(26)  jakjakentoy  botilja ni katas
jakjak-an=to=j  botilja ni katas
shake-PATV/IPF=3/GEN=NOM bottle GEN milk
‘she will shake the bottle of milk’

Closure verbs include idakeb /ʔilak8b/ ‘A close P (usually doors)’ derived from dekeb /lak8b/ ‘door’, and itolbak /ʔitolbak/ ‘A lock P’ derived from tolbak /tolbak/ ‘lock’.

(27)  karam  itolbak  ita  sabijen
kada=m ʔi-tolbak ʔita sabijan
prhb=2/GEN THMV/CNTV-lock NOM/MED door
‘do not lock that door’

Bodily process verbs like ibangon /ʔibaJJon/ ‘A wake P:someone up (usually somewhere)’.

With this verb, a location is often present, as exemplified in (28).

(28)  ibangontod  tan  i nga nga
ʔi-baJJon=to=d  tan ʔi nga nga
THMV/IPF-wake up=3/GEN=LOC DEI/MED NOM child
‘he will wake up the child over there’

Control/force verbs include ipilit /ʔipilit/ ‘A force P to someone’ and itolok /ʔitolok/ ‘A allow, consent, agree P’.

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Theme i- Verbs

(24) idagachay  baleyched  chontog
?=laga=da=j  balaj=da=d  dontog
THMV/IPF-make=3+/GEN=NOM house=3+/GEN=LOC mountain
‘they will make their house on the mountain’

Note, however, the presence of a location.

Shake/squeeze verbs include ijakjak /ʔijakjak/ ‘A shake P somewhere’, ipespes /ʔipespes/ ‘A squeeze P somewhere’, and ijegjeg /ʔijegjeg/ ‘A rock P (e.g. baby)’.

(25) ijakjaktoy  katas chi botilja
ʔi-jakjak=to=j  katas di botilja
THMV/IPF-shake=3/GEN=NOM milk LOC bottle
‘she will shake the milk in the bottle’

These verbs require a location. Conversely, their Patient-oriented counterparts (where available), such as jakjakon /jakjakon/ ‘A shake P’, do not refer to a location; see §24.1.

(26) jakjakentoy  botilja ni katas
jakjak-an=to=j  botilja ni katas
shake-PATV/IPF=3/GEN=NOM bottle GEN milk
‘she will shake the bottle of milk’

Closure verbs include idakeb /ʔilak8b/ ‘A close P (usually doors)’ derived from dekeb /lak8b/ ‘door’, and itolbak /ʔitolbak/ ‘A lock P’ derived from tolbak /tolbak/ ‘lock’.

(27) karam  itolbak  ita  sabijen
kada=m ʔi-tolbak ʔita sabijan
prhb=2/GEN THMV/CNTV-lock NOM/MED door
‘do not lock that door’

Bodily process verbs like ibangon /ʔibaJJon/ ‘A wake P:someone up (usually somewhere)’.

With this verb, a location is often present, as exemplified in (28).

(28) ibangontod  tan  i nga nga
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‘he will wake up the child over there’

Control/force verbs include ipilit /ʔipilit/ ‘A force P to someone’ and itolok /ʔitolok/ ‘A allow, consent, agree P’. 
26.3 Activity *i*-Verbs

(29)  inpilitchaka  
in-pilit=da=ka  
THMV/PFT-force=3+/GEN=2/NOM OBL=GEN/PERS 2/IND  
’she forced you to me’

There is a Patient-oriented version for the verb *ipilit* /?ipilit/. This is *piditen* /pilitan/ ‘A force P:someone something’. However, its meaning is different; see §24.1.

(30)  piditentoj  
pilit=to=j  
force-PATV/IPF=3/GEN=NOM child  
’she will force the child (to take) some medicine’

Some patient affecting *i*-verbs can be derived from state roots. These verbs all involve a volitional agent. Verbs of this kind include *ibanao* /?ibana?o/ ‘A make P large’, *ipekes* /?ip8k8s/ ‘A make P loud’, and *isakit* /?isakit/ ‘A hurt P’.

(31)  inpekestojo  
in-pakas=to=j  
THMV/PFT-make loud=3/GEN=NOM voice  
‘he made the voice of the radio louder’

(32)  isakittoj  
i-sakit=to=j  
THMV/IPF-hurt=3/GEN=NOM sibling  
‘he will hurt his sibling’

Roots designating an ordinal number can also be the base of an *i*-verb, e.g. *chowa* /dowa/ ‘two’ yields *ipinchowa* /?ipindowa/ ‘A repeat P twice’ as exemplified below.

(33)  inpinchowatoj  
in-pin-dowa=to=j  
THMV/PFT-0RDNUM-two=3/GEN=NOM question  
‘he repeated the question twice’

Both verbs *ipekes* /?ip8k8s/ and *ipinchowa* /?ipindowa/ generally have the voice as means of transmission, hence they can also be analysed as ask/voice verbs (§26.3).

26.3 Activity *i*-Verbs

Activity *i*-verbs can be further subdivided into the following subgroups.
Verbs denoting planting and some related agricultural activities are often Theme verbs. With plant/harvest verbs the planted or harvested item is the Nominative complement. Two typical plant verbs are *itanem /?itanem/ ‘A plant P’ and *imola /?imola/ ‘A plant P’.

(34) **inmolatoy**                  **mani (chiyay)**  
?in-mola=to=j                  mani dijaj  
THMV/PFT-plant=3/GEN=NOM peanut LOC/PROX/PRO  
‘he planted the peanuts (in here)’

These two plant verbs have a Locative-oriented counterpart as Location in, at, on oriented verbs or goal-oriented verbs (§25.1). In these cases the Nominative entity is the location of the planting, whereas with their Theme derivation the Nominative entity is the item planted.

(35) **minodaantoy**                  **payew (ni mani)**  
<in>mola-an=to=j                  pajaw ni peanut  
<LocV/PFT>plant-LocV=3/GEN=NOM field  
‘he planted the field (with peanuts)’

Harvest verbs include *ikabot /?ikabot/ ‘A harvest:root crops’ and *idokto /?ilokto/ ‘A get P:camotes’ from *dokto /lokto/ ‘camote, sweet potato’.

(36) **inkabottoy**                  **karot**  
?in-kabot=to=j                  karot  
THMV/PFT-harvest root crop=3/GEN=NOM carrots  
‘he harvested the carrots’

The emphasis is here on digging something out from a location or unearthing something. That something clearly bears the role of theme.

However, if one compares the above harvesting verbs with other Patient verbs describing similar activities, it is soon obvious that the role-configurations are constructed in quite different ways. In short, with Patient derived verbs of this kind, the agent is also the source. The emphasis is indeed on obtaining something; see get/obtain verbs (§24.2).

Plant verbs also include *isi’bog /?isi?bog/ ‘A pour P (e.g. fertiliser) on plants or field’ and *ibolak /?ibolak/ ‘A transplant P’.

(37) **isi’bogtoy**                  **asikod**      **mola**  
?i-si?bog=to=j                  ?asiko=d mola  
THMV/IPF-pour=3/GEN=NOM fertiliser=LOC plant  
‘he will pour the fertilizer on the plants’
### 26.3 Activity i-Verbs

(38) *ibolaktoj*  
?i-bolak=to=j  
*THMV/IPF-transplant=3/GEN=NOM* Chinese cabbage  
‘he will transplant the Chinese cabbage’

The Theme verb *isi‘bog* /isi?bog/ also has a Locative-oriented counterpart whereby the Nominative entity is the goal; see goal-oriented verbs (§25.1). On the other hand, for the Theme verb *ibolak* /?ibolak/ there is also a Patient counterpart. However, its meaning is rather different. The Patient verb is a divide/separate/cut verb where the Nominative entity is clearly affected; see §24.1.

Instrument-oriented verbs describe activities where an instrument or implement is encoded as the Nominative. These verbs can be divided into two main kinds depending on the semantics of the root used in the derivation. The first type consists mainly of verbs derived from roots designating the activity type. The second type instead consists mainly of verbs derived from roots which designate the type of instrument.


(39) *inponaasto*  
?in-ponas=to  
*THMV/PFT-wipe=3/GEN=NOM/PROX* cloth LOC table  
‘she used this cloth to wipe the table’

With verbs of the second kind the Nominative entity refers to a more specific type of instrument, e.g. *ibaro* /?ibado/ ‘wear P as clothing’ derived from *baro* /bado/ ‘dress, garment, clothes’ and *ikobal* /?ikobal/ ‘use P as kobal /kobal/’ derived from *kobal* /kobal/ ‘G-string’.

(40) *ibarotoj*  
?i-bado=to=j  
*THMV/IPF-wear as clothing=3/GEN=NOM=GEN* leather GEN monkey  
‘he will use the leather of the monkey as clothing’

Other instrument-oriented verbs include *isilew* /?isilaw/ ‘use P to light (e.g. candle)’ derived from *silew* /silaw/ ‘light’, *itaol* /?ita?ol/ ‘use P to scoop out’ derived from *taol* /ta?ol/ ‘bucket’ and *itangeb* /?ita?ab/ ‘use something lid-like to close’ derived from *tangeb* /ta?ab/ ‘lid’, *iketap* /?ikatap/ ‘use P as blanket’ derived from *ketap* /katap/ ‘blanket’.
In ask/voice verbs speech is the mean of transmission. The thing said is the Nom­native entity. They include verbs of asking or answering such as ibaga /?ibaga/ ‘A ask P’, isalodsod /?isalodsod/ ‘A ask, enquire P’ and isongbat /?isongbat/ ‘A answer P’, as well as verbs like ikaljaw /?ikaljaw/ ‘A shout P’ and ikowan /?ikowan/ ‘A say P’.


The verb ibakal /?ibakal/ ‘A quarrel over P’ or ‘A mention P during a quarrel’ may also be treated as part of this subclass of verbs.

Use/wear verbs usually denote activities of wearing like iosal /?i?osal/ ‘A use P (usually as garment or body ornament such as necklace)’ as well as iparas /?ipadas/ ‘A try to do P’ but especially ‘A try P to wear’. With these verbs it is possible to regard the item of wearing as something conveyed, namely a theme.
The preceding verb has a Patient-oriented counterpart (§24.1) which is mainly used when the Nominative Undergoer is somehow affected, as in the following example where the soap is used.

(46) \[ \text{inosaltoy} \text{ sabon} \]
\[ <\text{in}>\text{osal}=\text{to}=\text{j} \text{ sabon} \]
\[ <\text{PAT}/\text{PFT}>\text{use}=3/\text{GEN}=\text{NOM} \text{ soap} \]

‘he used the soap’

Manner verbs mainly describe a way of doing something. They include \( \text{iagpayso} \) /\( ?\text{iagpajso} / \)‘A really do P’, \( \text{itopog} \) /\( ?\text{itopog} / \)‘A do P invariably the same way’, \( \text{itepel} \) /\( ?\text{itapal} / \)‘A do P bravely (usually by hiding feelings)’, and \( \text{itoba} \) /\( ?\text{itoba} / \)or \( \text{itotoba} \) /\( ?\text{itotoba} / \)‘A truly do P’.

(47) \[ \text{itepeltoy} \text{ baington} \text{ manchow ni} \]
\[ ?\text{t-apal}=\text{to}=\text{j} \text{ ba?i}=\text{to}=\text{n} \text{ man-kadaw} \text{ ni} \]
\[ \text{THMV}/\text{IPF-do} \text{ bravely}=3/\text{GEN}=\text{NOM} \text{ shame}=3/\text{GEN}=\text{LK} \text{ AV}/\text{IPF-ask} \text{ GEN} \]
\[ \text{pilakcha} \]
\[ \text{pilak}=\text{da} \]
\[ \text{money}=3+/\text{GEN} \]

‘he will hide his shame in asking for (some of) their money’

Aspectual verbs include \( \text{ikapo} \) /\( ?\text{ikapo} / \)‘A begin P’ and \( \text{ijo’tog} \) /\( ?\text{ijo’tog} / \)‘A keep on doing P’ or ‘A continue P’.

(48) \[ \text{injo’togtoy} \text{ pasiyal} \]
\[ ?\text{injo’tog}=\text{to}=\text{j} \text{ pasijal} \]
\[ \text{THMV}/\text{PFT-continue}=3/\text{GEN}=\text{NOM} \text{ strolling} \]

‘he continued the strolling’

### 26.4 Other \( i- \) Verbs

There are some other small groups of Theme \( i- \) verbs. These include the following.

Intentional verbs describe actions that are intentionally performed by the agent, but where the activity is one that would normally be thought of as occurring unintentionally. These verbs often have Patient counterparts which are neutral or non-committal with respect to intention; see responsibility verbs in §24.3. Intentional verbs include \( \text{iekas} \) /\( ?\text{ikakas} / \)‘A make fall P intentionally’ or ‘A drop P intentionally (eg. letter in letter box)’ as well \( \text{iatiw} \) /\( ?\text{iatiw} / \)‘A lose P intentionally’.
Theme /- Verbs

When an event is perceived as being unintentional or uncontrolled, it is encoded as an potentiive verb. For instance, *ma'kas* /maʔkas/ (me-ekas) ‘A fall’ and *maetiw* /maʔatiw/ (me-atiw) ‘A get lost’. The transitivity of these potentiive verbs is also changed. They are intransitive; see Chapter 29.

Like its Patient-oriented counterpart (§24.3), the ability verb *iposi* /ʔiposi/ generally refers to the physical ability to do something, but it can also mean ‘A be able/can do P’ or ‘A afford P’.

Cognitive verbs include the following two subtypes.

Vision verbs like *ichemang* /ʔidamaʔ/ ‘see P’ and *itekel* /ʔitaʔkal/ ‘stare at P’.


The verb *ibonget* /ʔiboʔat/ has a Patient-oriented counterpart, *bongeten* /boʔatʔan/ ‘A scold P’. However its meaning is different. See punishment verbs in §24.1.
Cognitive verbs may be extended to include the verbs *inemnem* /?inəməm/ ‘A mention P (in order to remind) to someone’ and *itoro* /?itodo/ ‘A teach, show P to someone’. These two verbs have a recipient, typically encoded in an Oblique phrase.

(53) *inemnemtoy* otang soni bii
?in-əməm=to=j bajad/?otaj so=ni bi?i
THMV/PFT-mention=3/GEN=NOM debt OBL=GEN woman

‘he reminded the woman of the debt’

(54) *itorotoy* chalan son si’kara
?i-todo=to=j dalan so=n si?gada
THMV/IPF-show=3/GEN=NOM way OBL=GEN/PERS 3+/IND

‘he will show the way to them’

The Theme verb *inemnem* /?inəməm/ has a Patient-oriented counterpart, *nemnemen* /nəməmən/ ‘A think P’ or ‘A remember P’. However, its meaning is different and it does not refer to a recipient. See Patient cognitive verbs in §24.3. For the Theme verb *itoro* /?itodo/ there is a Beneficiary-oriented counterpart, *itod’an* /?itod’ən/ ‘A show, teach P:someone something’, where the recipient is the Nominative. See Beneficiary recipient-oriented verbs in §27.1.
Beneficiary verbs are derived with the following affixes.

Table 27.1: Beneficiary i- -an Verb Affixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>imperfective</th>
<th>perfective</th>
<th>continuative</th>
<th>progressive</th>
<th>imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i- -an</td>
<td>in- -an</td>
<td>i- -i</td>
<td>(e)pan'i- -i</td>
<td>i- -i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/?i- -an/</td>
<td>/?in- -an/</td>
<td>/?i- -i/</td>
<td>/(?e)pan?i- -i/</td>
<td>/?i- -i/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Beneficiary i- -an verbs typically have a Nominative Undergoer which is a beneficiary, an entity that somehow benefits from the action or for whom the action is performed, hence the label “Beneficiary verbs” (abbreviated as BNFV or as i- -an verbs). However, sometimes the Nominative participant is the person in whose place the action is done.

Beneficiary verbs have intransitive Actor counterparts derived with the mengi- affixes (Chapter 22). They can be subdivided into different subclasses of verbs on the basis of a combinations of the semantics of the derived verb and the role borne by the Nominative, as described in the following sections.

### 27.1 Activity i- -an Verbs

In recipient-oriented verbs the Nominative Undergoer is the recipient. These verbs may be subdivided into two subgroups depending on the derivational possibilities of their members. A first kind consists of verbs that have a Locative-oriented counterpart where the Nominative is also a recipient (§25.1). A second kind consists of verbs that do not allow such derivation.

Verbs of the first subgroup include *iaknan* /iʔaʔkan/ ‘A give P:someone something’ and *iatnangan* /iʔaʔtaʔjan/ ‘A help P:someone with something’.


Some of these verbs have a Theme counterpart where the Nominative is the entity conveyed rather than the recipient. In example (3) the Theme verb *itoro* /iʔtodore/ ‘A show, teach P to someone’ may be contrasted with its Beneficiary version in (4).

Source-oriented verbs form a small subgroup that includes *iemotan* /iʔiʔamotan/ ‘A hide from P:someone’ and *ibag’an* /iʔibaʔjan/ ‘A ask P:someone’ where the Nominative entity is a source.
For the verb *ibag’an* /?ibag?an/ ‘A ask P:someone’ there is a Locative counterpart which has a different meaning, *bag’an* /bag?an/ (baga-an) ‘A answer (back) P’. Contrast (6) with (7) and (8).

(7) **songbatanmoy** test
    songbat-an=mo=j test
    songbat-LOCV/IPF=2/GEN=NOM test, test question
    ‘you will answer the test questions’

(8) **songbatanmoy** maystaro
    songbat-an=mo=j maystaro
    songbat-LOCV/IPF=2/GEN=NOM teacher
    ‘you will answer the teacher’

### 27.2 Other *i-* -an Verbs

Beneficiary verbs include a small class of hearing verbs. With these verbs the Nom­inative entity is the thing heard. They are *ikeydengan* /?ik8jhnJan/ ‘A hear P’ and *itenengan* /?itan8jnan/ ‘A hear P’.

(9) **inkeydengantoy** nangis ni nga’nga
    ?in-kajlaJJ-an=to=j nangis ni nga’nga
    BNFV/PFT-hear-BNFV=3/GEN=NOM cry GEN child
    ‘she heard the child’s cry’
Chapter 28

Other Controlled Verbs

Other dynamic controlled verbs include monomorphemic verb forms, *en-* verbs, Locative *pan-* verbs, Instrument *pan-* verbs, and indirect (morphologically) causative verbs. All of these types require further investigation but I will briefly discuss several of the main ones here.

28.1 Monomorphemic Verbs

Ibaloy has monomorphemic verb forms, so called because they lack derivational morphology. These verbs are transitive and are treated as carrying the same features as Patient verbs. They include *amta /?amta/ ‘A know P:something’, *nemnem /namnam/ ‘A think, remember P:something/someone’, *piyan /pijan/ ‘A like, want P:something/someone’, *ngaaw /?Ja?aw /Ja?aw/ ‘A dislike P:something/someone’, and *kowan /kowan/ ‘A say, tell P:something’. These verbs are unmarked for aspect. Their interpretation (whether perfective or imperfective) depends on the context. They are often translated as carrying imperfective aspect or present tense.

(1)  
\[ \text{piyankoy} \quad \text{chanom tep} \quad \text{na'bawak} \]
\[ \text{pijan}=\text{ko}=\text{j} \quad \text{danom} \quad \text{top} \quad \text{na'-}\text{abaw}=\text{ak} \]
like, want=1/GEN=NOM water because STAPATV/PFT-thirsty=1/NOM

‘I like the water because I am thirsty’

(2)  
\[ \text{amtaray} \quad \text{dinabanto} \]
\[ \text{?amta}=\text{da}=\text{j} \quad \text{<in}>\text{law-an}=\text{to} \]
know=3+/GEN=NOM <LocV/PFT>go-LocV=3/GEN

‘they know where he went’

Like all transitive verbs, the agent is encoded in a Genitive phrase (pronominal or not). However, the presence of a Genitive Agent does not tell us whether these forms are verbal, since the Genitive case is also used to encode possessors. Evidence that
these forms are verbal comes from the fact that they may occur as the dependent of a non-linked auxiliary verb such as the negative auxiliary \( eg = \). Non-linked auxiliary verbs can only be followed by a lexical verb (rather than simply a predicate that may or may not be a lexical verb); see Chapter 40.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(3)} & \quad eg \_ piyan \_ i \_ kansiyonmo \\
\overline{eg} = \_ & \_ piyan \_ \_ ?i \_ \_ kansijon=mo \\
\text{neg} = 3/\text{GEN} & \text{like} \quad \text{NOM} \_ \text{song} = 2/\text{GEN}
\end{align*}
\]

'he does not like my song'

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(4)} & \quad eg \_ amta \_ ni \_ totoo \_ sota \_ daki \\
\overline{eg} = \_ & \_ amta \_ \_ \_ cv \_ to\?o \_ sota \_ laki \\
\text{neg} = \_ & \text{know} \quad \text{GEN} \_ \text{PL-person} \_ \text{NOM}/\text{REC} \_ \text{man}
\end{align*}
\]

'the people do not know the man'

## 28.2 Undergoer en- Verbs

There are also a few Undergoer verbs which carry the formative \( \text{en-} /?\text{an}-/ \) ‘POTPATV’. These verbs mainly denote emotions and are regarded as carrying the Patient feature. They are transitive and require a Genitive Agent as well as a Nominative Undergoer. They include \( \text{ensemek} /?\text{ansmak}/ ‘A love P:someone’, \text{en’oges} /?\text{an?ogas}/ ‘A hate P:someone’ and \( \text{entakot} /?\text{ontakot}/ ‘A fear P:someone’. The same formative is found on some stative verbs (§17.3).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(5)} & \quad \text{ensemektaka} \\
\overline{en-} & \text{samak} = \text{taka} \\
\text{POTPATV}/\text{en-love} = 1/\text{GEN}\&2/\text{NOM}
\end{align*}
\]

'I love you'

## 28.3 Locative pan- -an Verbs

These verbs are derived from controlled Actor verbs whose prefix begins with the nasal /m/ such as \( \text{man-}, \text{meN-} \) and \( \text{meki-}. \) The initial bilabial nasal /m/ is replaced by the bilabial stop /p/, at least in the imperfective form. In addition, they have the suffix \(-an\) or \(-i\) carrying the Locative feature. The Nominative is usually a location (including recipients). Although Locative \( \text{pan-} -\text{an} \) verbs refer to activities similar to those of their Actor verb counterparts, they are transitive and require a Genitive Agent.
28.3 Locative pan- -an Verbs

These verbs usually have a restricted distribution. They tend to occur in dependent clauses such as relative clauses (§33.1), or as part of a common determiner phrase (§31.1) and cleft constructions (§43.2). Imperfective-marked Locative verbs derived with the pan- -an affixes are homophonous with gerund Locative-marked forms which are verbal nominalizations (§10.12). Further investigation is required to disambiguate the two derivations.

Table 28.1: Locative pan- -an Verb Affixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>imperfective</th>
<th>perfective</th>
<th>continuative/ progressive</th>
<th>imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pan- -an/</td>
<td>(i)nan- -an</td>
<td>(e)pan- -i</td>
<td>pan- -i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pan- -an/</td>
<td>/(?)nan- -an/</td>
<td>/(?)pan- -i/</td>
<td>/pan- -i/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peN- -an/</td>
<td>(i)naN- -an/</td>
<td>(e)peN- -i</td>
<td>paN- -i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/paN- -an/</td>
<td>/(?)naN- -an/</td>
<td>/(?)paN- -i/</td>
<td>/paN- -i/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pengi- -an/</td>
<td>engi- -an/</td>
<td>(e)pengi- -i</td>
<td>pangi- -i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pangi- -an/</td>
<td>/(?)pangi- -an/</td>
<td>/(?)pangi- -i/</td>
<td>/pangi- -i/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peki- -an/</td>
<td>eki- -an/</td>
<td>(e)peki- -i</td>
<td>paki- -i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/paki- -an/</td>
<td>/(?)paki- -an/</td>
<td>/(?)paki- -i/</td>
<td>/paki- -i/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(6) chi Kalinga i to pantochoan nonta
di kalija ?i to pan-todo-an nonta
LOC Kalinga NOM 3/GEN/DIR LOCV/IPF/pan-teach-LOCV GEN/REC

nanggraduate chima Trinidad
nan-graduate dima trinidad
ACTV/IPF-graduate LOC/DIST Trinidad

‘in Kalinga is where those who graduated in Trinidad go and teach’

(7) baray emag’an ya diyang chima toktok ni chontog
wada=j Ta-maga-an ja lijaq dima toktok ni dontog
exist=NOM PotLOCV/PFT-dry-LOCV LK cave LOC/DIST top, head GEN mountain

ya chaka pengitdoi ni meking
ja daka=paji-talo-i ni makiJ
LK 3+/GEN/ASP=LOCV/CNTV-store-LOCV/CNTV GEN mummy

‘there is a dry cave on top of that mountain where they usually store in the mummies’

(8) sipay panbejanjo?
sipa=j pan-bajad-an=jo
who=NOM LOCV/IMP/pan-pay-LOCV=2+/GEN

‘whom will you pay?’
Like Locative pan- -an verbs, Instrument pan- verbs are derived from dynamic Actor verbs whose prefix begins with the nasal /m/ such as man-, meN- and meki-. The initial bilabial nasal /m/ is replaced by the bilabial stop /p/ at least in the imperfective form. Perfective aspect is marked by the additional prefix in-. These verbs are also transitive, and the Nominative is usually interpreted as an instrument or a causee depending on the animacy of the participant.

### Table 28.2: Instrument pan- Verb Affixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>imperfect</th>
<th>perfective</th>
<th>continuative/progressive</th>
<th>imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pan- /pan/-</td>
<td>inpan-</td>
<td>(e)pan-</td>
<td>(?e)pan-</td>
<td>pan-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peN- /poN/-</td>
<td>inpeN-</td>
<td>(e)peN-</td>
<td>(?e)peN-</td>
<td>paN-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pengi-/pogi-/</td>
<td>inpengi-</td>
<td>(e)pengi-</td>
<td>(?e)pengi-</td>
<td>pangi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peki-/pøki-/</td>
<td>inpeki</td>
<td>(e)peki</td>
<td>(?e)pøki-</td>
<td>paki-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(10) pantongkalkoy pilakko  
pan-tøngal=ko=j pilak=ko  
INSTR/IPF-buy=1/GEN=NOM money=1/GEN  
‘I will use my money to buy’

(11) panbejadchakami ni pilak  
pan-bajad=da=kami ni pilak  
INSTR/IPF-pay=3+/GEN=1+/NOM GEN money  
‘they will make us pay money’
28.5 Indirect Causatives

Morphologically causative verbs are used to indicate indirect causation. They are usually derived from dynamic and stative verbs, adding a causer to their semantics. They are either oriented towards the Actor or an Undergoer. However, like all Actor verbs, Actor causative verbs are intransitive. The Nominative is the causer while all the other participants are marked as E complements. Causative Undergoer verbs are transitive. They take both core complements, the Genitive Agent and the Nominative. In addition, they may take other complements expressed as E complements. So far the causative affixes in Table 28.3 have been attested.

Example (14) contains the Actor causative verb mampatongkal/mampatonggal/‘S cause something to be bought’. The Nominative is the agent and causer. The causee is not expressed while the theme is encoded as a Genitive phrase and is interpreted as generic. When the causee is expressed, it is then encoded as an Oblique phrase as in (15). The fact that the Oblique case is used for the causee is not surprising since causees are animate and typically human entities.
(14) **manpatongkal si'kato ni tinapay**  
manpa-tongal si?gato ni tinapaj  
CAUSActV/IPF-buy 3/IND GEN bread  
‘he will have someone buy bread (s/he will ask to buy bread)’

(15) **mampatongkal si'kato ni tinapay sonen agito**  
mampa-toJJgal si?gato ni tinapaj so=nan  
CAUSActV/IPF-buy 3/IND GEN bread OBL=GEN/PERS sibling=3/GEN  
‘he will have his brother to buy bread’

In the following example the causative verb is part of the complement clause introduced by the linker *ja*. The Genitive Agent is the causer, the Nominative is the patient while the causee is expressed in an Oblique phrase.

(16) **egmebedin ja petakbab ni talaw soni dedaki i kwadton**  
?ag=mabalin ja pa-takwab ni talaw so=ni CV-laki ?i kowadto=n  
eg=can LK CAUSPatV/IPF-open GEN star OBL=GEN PL-man NOM room=LK  
kawad'an ni barocha  
kawad?an ni bado=da  
place GEN clothe=3+/GEN  
‘it is not possible for the stars to have the men open the room (for the stars) which is the place of their clothes’

With a morphologically causative verb the participant encoded as the agent is a causer and may or may not coincide with the actual agent of the action described by the verb. Those actions that normally have at least two participants like ‘buy’ have a causer and usually a causee when expressed by indirect causative verbs. Two options are usually available with respect to the causee in a clause headed by a Patient causative verb. One possibility is to express the causee by an Oblique phrase. When this is the case, then the agent is a causer. Consider the following example.

(17) **petongkalkoy tinapay soni agito**  
pa-tongal=ko=j tinapaj so=ni  
CAUSPatV/IPF-buy=1/GEN=NOM bread OBL=GEN sibling=3/GEN  
‘I will have the bread bought by his sibling’

Another possibility is to have the causee expressed as the Nominative. The causer is the Genitive Agent, and the other participant, in this case the entity bought, when expressed is encoded into a Genitive phrase and in independent clauses is interpreted as generic.
28.5 Indirect Causatives

(18) *petongkalkos agito ni tinapay*
\[\text{pa-to\-ggal=ko=s \, ?agi=to \, ni \, tinapaj} \]
\text{CAUS\-PATV/IPF-buy=1/GEN=NOM/PERS sibling=3/GEN GEN bread}

‘I will have his sibling buy (some) bread’

When the event is oriented towards a final state or goal of the action such as having a person seated, a cave widened, a house enlarged, a door open, or some liquid brought to the boil, in the absence of an explicit causee the causer may be interpreted as being also the agent.

(19) *pechakchaktoy chanom*
\[\text{pa-dakdak=to=j danom} \]
\text{CAUS\-PATV/IPF-boil=3/GEN=NOM water}

‘he will have the water boiled (for his own benefit)’

(20) *yet petongawcha ira*
\[\text{jot pa-topaw=da \, ?ida} \]
\text{CAUS\-PATV/IPF-sit=3+/GEN 3+/NOM}

‘they had them sit down (they will tell them to sit down)’

(21) *nakapanpebenao ima diyang*
\[\text{naka=panp-bana?o \, ?ima \, lijaD} \]
\text{1/GEN/ASP=CAUS\-PATV/PROG-wide NOM/DIST cave}

‘I am having the cave widened (I am widening the cave)’

(22) *inpabadegtoy baleyto nonta sakeya taw’en*
\[\text{?inpa-balag=to=j balaj=to \, nonta \, sakaj=a \, taw?an} \]
\text{CAUSTHMV/PFT-big=3/GEN=NOM \, house=3/GEN when-past one=LK \, year}

‘he had his house enlarged last year (he enlarged his house for himself, his own benefit)’

In cases where a component of causation may also be involved a transitive Undergoer verb can be derived from many of these verbs. Although the final effect on a possible undergoer is similar if not identical in both derivations, the way the event is construed is rather different. Consider the following examples.

(23) *binadekantoy baley*
\[\text{<in>balag-an=to=j balaj} \]
\text{<LOCV/PFT>big-DIR=3/GEN=NOM house}

‘he enlarged the house’

(24) *inpabadegtoy baley*
\[\text{?inpa-balag=to=j balaj} \]
\text{CAUSTHMV/PFT-big=3/GEN=NOM house}

‘he had the house enlarged (for his own benefit)’
When a transitive (but not causative) Undergoer verb is used the Genitive Agent is always the agent of the action. These verbs are oriented towards the fact that the agent intentionally/volitionally performs the action described by the verb and has a definite undergoer entity. On the other hand, when a morphologically causative verb is used, then the emphasis is not on the fact that the participant encoded as the Genitive Agent is or is not the actual doer of the action, but rather on the fact that by so doing it somehow benefits from the action. For instance, the Locative verb in (23) is neutral as to whether or not the agent did the action for his own benefit. But, with the morphologically causative verb in (24), the agent/causer had the house enlarged whether or not he did it himself because he somehow benefits from it. This contrast is even clearer with the following pair of examples.

(25) $\text{iptangmoy}$ $\text{kapi}$
    $\text{?i-pota}=\text{mo}=\text{j}$ $\text{kapi}$
    $\text{THMV/IMP-heat}=2/\text{GEN=NOM coffee}$
    'heat up the coffee!'

(26) $\text{ipeptangmoy}$ $\text{kapi}$
    $\text{?ipa-pota}=\text{mo}=\text{j}$ $\text{kapi}$
    $\text{CAUSTHMV/IMP-heat}=2/\text{GEN=NOM coffee}$
    'heat up the coffee (for me giving the order)!'

Both examples are imperative forms. Example (25) describes a situation where the Genitive Agent carries out the action of the verb as ordered. The orientation is towards the undergoer and its final state, i.e. reaching a high temperature. Example (26) describes, instead, a situation where the actor is asked to do something about the coffee, specifically, to heat it up. At the end of the action, the undergoer (the coffee) will be similarly affected, but there is a further component involved in (26): the person ordering the action may directly or indirectly benefit from it. For instance, he may be in the company of some friends and ask his helper to heat up the coffee for them. He may or may not drink it himself, but this is not the point. The point is that the action is indirectly done for him.
Potentive verbs (Rubino, 1997) typically refer to actions which are brought about accidentally or unintentionally. However, there is not always a perfect correlation between semantic and grammatical categories, as shown later. Potentive verbs are split between Actor and Undergoer verbs and carry one of the following affixes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 29.1: Potentive Verb Affixes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>imperfective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Actor</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Patient</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Locative</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Theme</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Beneficiary</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The prefix *na-* replaces *e-* on roots that begin with a glottal stop (left unmarked at the beginning of a word; e.g. *naogip* /na?ogip/, derived from *ogip* /?ogip/ ‘sleep’) or lose the first vowel of the root as the result of prefixation (e.g. *nasked* /nasgad/ derived from *seked* /sagad/ ‘wait’; see §7.1.1).

Like all Actor verbs, potentive Actor verbs are intransitive and the Nominative bears the Actor macrorole. These verbs have an abilitative (or potentive) interpretation, e.g. *makaogip* /maka?ogip/ ‘S able to sleep’, *makaobda* /maka?obla/ ‘S able to work’, *makaleban* /makalaban/ ‘S able to fight’ and *makachemang* /makadamaq/ ‘S able to see’, as exemplified below.
(1) say makaogipka
   saj maka-?ogip=ka
   so that PotActV/IPF-sleep=2/NOM
   'so that you can sleep'

(2) ekak makaobda
   ?agak maka-?obra
   neg+1/NOM PotActV/IPF-work
   'I cannot work'

(3) tep kimapsotakman makaleban
   tap <im>kapsot=ak=ma=n maka-laban
   because <ActV/PFT>weak=1/NOM=then=LK PotActV/IPF-fight
   'because I became too weak to be able to fight'

(4) jet ekorabman egmakachemang
    jot ?a-kodab=ma=n ?ag=maka-damaq
    and then StaPatV/PFT-blind=then=LK neg=PotActV/IPF-see
    'he is blind and cannot see'

Events of liking and thinking are often encoded as potentive verbs when oriented
towards the Actor, e.g. makapiyan /makapijan/ 'S like something', as shown in
(5)–(6).

(5) sota totoo ya makapiyan son si'kara, manlinia
    sota cv-to?o ja maka-pijan so=n si?qada man-linia
    nom/rec pl-person lk PotActV/IPF-like obl=gen/pers 3+/ind AcTV/IPF-line
    iru chi sangowanancha
    ?ida di saqowan-an=da
    3+/nom loc front-locN=3+/gen
    'as for the people who like them, they form a line on their front side (in front of
    them)'

(6) no baray makapiyan ja onbaliw,
    no wada=j maka-pijan ja ?on-baliw
    if/when exist=nom PotActV/IPF-want, like lk AcTV/IPF-cross water
    'if there is someone who wants to cross the river,)

Potentive Undergoer verbs are divided into two kinds. One kind consists of
intransitive verbs which lack an agent that is perceived as a volitional or intentional
instigator of the action. This non-volitional, unintentional participant is expressed
as the Nominative and bears the Undergoer macrorole. Verbs of this kind include
the following.
### Potentive Verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>derived form</th>
<th>base</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>maatiw /maʔatiw/</td>
<td>atiw /ʔatiw/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma'kes /maʔkos/</td>
<td>ekes /ʔkos/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maykechos /maʔkas/</td>
<td>karos /ʔkas/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>medapo /maʔala/</td>
<td>daypo /ʔala/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>medoem /maʔoem/</td>
<td>doem /ʔoem/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maokip /maʔogip/</td>
<td>ogip /ʔogip/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mepiday /maʔilaj/</td>
<td>pilay /ʔilaj/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>metey /maʔtaj/</td>
<td>tey /ʔtaj/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>metobang /maʔtoʔan/</td>
<td>towang /ʔtoʔan/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>metokan /maʔtoʔan/</td>
<td>tokan /ʔtoʔan/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A second kind is derived from controlled transitive Undergoer verbs (e.g. Patient -en verbs, Theme i- verbs). Both these potentive verbs and their controlled counterparts have the same undergoer participant expressed as the Nominative complement. Compare the pairs in (9) and (10):

(9) **inbeka** ni totoo i etey ira
?in-beka ni cv-toʔo ?i ?a-taj ?ida
THMV/pft-bury GEN PL-person NOM PotPatV/pft-die PL

‘the people buried the dead ones’

(10) **naybeka** i etey ira
naj-beka ?i ?a-taj ?ida
PotTHMV/pft-bury NOM PotPatV/pft-die PL

‘the dead ones were buried’

Peculiar to this type of potentive Undergoer verbs is that they can be used intransitively or transitively without any change in their morphological make up. However, when transitive they take the Genitive Agent as well as the Nominative Undergoer. Their meanings are also different. Contrast the transitive potentive verb in (11) with its homophonous intransitive counterpart in (12).
(11) **naon’an**  
ni  
dedaki sota  
bibiid  
Batan  
nat¿onaj-an  
ni  
cv-laki sota  
cv-bi¿i=d  
batan  
POTLOCV/PFT-see-LOCV  
GEN  
PL-man  
NOM/REC  
PL-woman=LOC  
Batan  

‘the men happen to see the women of Batan’

(12) **naon’an**  
i  
bawaja chi  
Crocodile Farm  
nat¿onaj-an  
¿i  
bawaja  
di  
crocodile  
farm  
POTLOCV/PFT-see-LOCV  
NOM  
crocodile  
LOC  
Crocodile Farm  

‘the crocodiles were visible at the Crocodile Farm’

Potentive Undergoer verbs have several interpretations. An abilitative or poten­tive interpretation is usually available for intransitive verbs. However, their most common interpretation is that oriented towards the resulting state.

(13) **chima**  
Ride Park,  
say  
**emaon’i**  
iradman  
dima  
ride  
park  
saj  
¿ama-¿onaj-i  
¿ida=dman  
LOC/DIST  
Ride  
Park  
TOP  
POTLOCV/CNTV-see-LOCV/CNTV  
PL=LOC/DIST/PRO  
ket  
poro  
kabajo  
kat  
podo  
kabajo  
TPLK  
pure  
horse  

‘at that Ride Park, as for those visible there, they are all/pure horses’

(14) **jet**  
no  
kakawan,  
cha  
isekit  
sota  
too  
jat  
no  
kakawan  
da  
¿i-sagit  
sota  
to?o  
and then  
if/when  
midday  
3+/GEN/DIR  
THMV/IPF-sun  
dry  
NOM/REC  
person  

say  
**memag’an**  
saj  
ma-maga-an  
so that  
POTLOCV/IPF-dry-LOCV  

‘when it is midday, they go and put the person under the sun to dry so that s/he dries out (it can dry out)’

(15) **egma’kal**  
iya  
sakitko  
no  
egka  
ali  
¿ag=ma-¿akal  
¿ija  
sakit=ko  
no  
¿ag=ka  
¿ali  
neg=POTPATV/IPF-remove  
NOM/PROX  
ilness=1 GEN  
if/when  
neg=2/NOM  
toward  

mengda  
ni  
toktok!  
maN-¿ala  
ni  
toktok  
ACTV/IPF-get  
GEN  
head  

‘my illness won’t go away if you won’t get back a head (from head-hunting for the healing ceremony)’

(16) **baray**  
dakin  
**naogowan**  
i  
bokdewto  
wada=j  
laki=n  
na¿ogow-an  
¿i  
boklaw=to  
exist=NOM  
man=LK  
POTLOCV/PFT-cut  
throat-LOCV  
NOM  
neck=3/GEN  

‘there is a man whose neck was cut through’
Intransitive potentive verbs derived from controlled Undergoer verbs may be used to express exhortative mode. Intonation plays an important role for this type of reading.

(17) **metegteg**  
mo-togteg  
POTPATV/IPF=pound, flatten NOM/REC  
'set us pound the black pepper and the garlic!'  

A non-volitional, accidental interpretation is typically available when the non-volitional actor participant is expressed as the Genitive Agent, making the verb transitive, as in (18)–(20).

(18) **maamtaankoy**  
ma-?amta-an=to=j  
POTLOCV/IPF-know-LOCV=1/GEN=NOM name=3/GEN  
'I happen to know his name'

(19) **naimonkoy**  
nai-?inom=ko=j  
POTPATV/PFT-drink=1/GEN=NOM water=2/GEN  
'I accidentally drank your water'

(20) **naon’antoy**  
na-?onaj-an=to=j maN-kibot  
POTLOCV/PFT-see-LOCV=3/GEN=NOM ACTV/IPF=steal  
'he accidentally saw the thief'

The complex formative (**e**)man-**ke**- is to derive potentive Undergoer progressive verbs. These verbs describe an action that is in progress.

(21) **emanka’kas**  
?amanka-?akas  
POTPATV/FROG-fall  
'it is falling'

(22) **nakaeeman kaykechos**  
naka=amankaj-kados  
1/NOM/ASP=POTTHMV/IPF-slide  
'I am sliding'

(23) **emankeamag**  
?amanka-?amag  
POTPATV/FROG-building by assembling NOM  
'he house is getting/being built'
(24) *emankaysodat* i *kansiyon*
?amankaj-solat ʔi kansijon
POTTHMV/PROG-write NOM song
‘the song is getting/being written’

This formative is also used with stative roots, adding an inchoative component to them.

(25) *emankedabi*
ʔamanka-labi
POTPATV/PROG-night
‘it is getting night’

(26) *emankedakay* i *tatangko*
ʔamankajaʔi tataŋ=ko
POTPATV/PROG-old male NOM father=1/GEN
‘my father is getting old’

(27) *emankeboteboteng* i *daki*
ʔamankocvcv-botaj ʔi laki
POTPATV/PROG-INTNS-drunk NOM man
‘the man is getting very drunk’

(28) *emankepoltaki* si *Juan tep mankaama*
ʔamanko-poltak-i si juan tap manka-ʔama
POTLOCV/PROG-bold-LOCV NOM/PERS Juan because POTPATV/PROG-old man
‘Juan is getting bold because he is becoming old’

**Other Potentive Verbs** The present data show a few verb forms that may constitute a separate class of potentive verbs which carry the Locative feature (-an or -i) and are oriented towards a location (goal, source, etc.), as exemplified in (29)–(31).

(29) *nem say edapoan* ni *apocha ket chi Dutab*
nem saj ʔa-lapo-an ni ?apo=da ket di dutab
but TOP POTLOCV/PFT-come-LOCV GEN leader=3+/GEN TPLK LOC Dutab
‘but as for where their leader came from, it is from Dutab’

(30) *toy* *kaokipanko?*
to=ʔ j kaʔogip-an=ko
what=NOM POTLOCV/IPF/ke-sleep-LOCV=1/GEN
‘where will I sleep?’
Potentive Verbs

(31) toy naykerosanmo?
to=j naj-kados-an=mo
what=NOM PotLocV/PFT/nay-slide-LocV=2 GEN

‘where did you slide on?’

However, there are insufficient data to provide a complete description of these verbs including all possible derivations. They appear to be derived from intransitive potentive verbs oriented towards an Undergoer where the Nominative is a non-volitional, uncontrolled participant. The derived potentive Locative verbs have the non-volitional participant encoded as the Genitive Agent. An imperfective potentive Locative verb is derived by replacing the initial bilabial /m/ of an imperfective potentive verb with /k/ and adding the suffix -an or -i. An imperfective potentive Locative verb is derived by only adding the Locative feature.

The function of these verb forms is not entirely clear. They seem to occur as part of a common determiner phrase (§31.1), a relative clause (§33.1), or a cleft construction (§43.2). Furthermore, the imperfective forms are homophonous with the gerund forms of potentive Undergoer verbs (see §10.12). Further investigation is required to disambiguate the two derivations.

A similar type of derivation is also available to other potentive verbs derived from controlled Undergoer verbs. However, with these verbs the Locative orientation is used to indicate a location as well as the reason for something to happen, as in (32)–(34).

(32) chakakangi‘ngi‘ngii
    iranma tingey

‘the frogs happen to keep laughing at her’

(33) say kabol ya tokakemag‘i
    ket sota
    saj kabol ja toka=ka-maga-i kat sota
    chakaso iapoy
    daka=so ?i-?apoj
    3+/GEN/ASP=OBL/PRO THMV/IPF-fire

‘as for the reason why he usually dries out, it is that they usually place it on fire’

(34) say kabol ya asa’nopantayo
    ket pangkep ni
    saj kabol ja ?a-sa=nop-an=tajo kat pangkap ni
    TOP reason LK PotLocV/PFT-gather-LocV=1&2+/GEN TPLK about GEN
    semek
    samak
    love

‘as for the reason why we are gathered, it is about love’
Part V

Phrases
Overview of Part V

The following three types of phrase are identified for Ibaloy:

• noun phrase (Chapter 30);
• determiner phrase (Chapter 31); and
• prepositional phrase (Chapter 35).

This part also describes ways to coordinate nominal constituents (Chapter 32) and modify them (Chapter 33). It also provides a brief description of deixis and referentiality of demonstrative phrases (Chapter 34).
A noun phrase is headed by a lexical noun, and may contain any dependent normally allowed by such a constituent (e.g. possessor). Lexical nouns are divided into personal nouns and common nouns, and so noun phrases are also classified into common noun phrases (§30.1) and personal noun phrases (§30.2).

A noun phrase may function as predicate in non-verbal clauses (§38.1) and as pragmatic topic (Chapter 43). It may also occur as complement in a determiner phrase (Chapter 31) and a prepositional phrase (Chapter 35).

### 30.1 Common Noun Phrases

A common noun phrase is headed by a common noun (Chapter 9).

**Table 30.1: Common Noun Phrase**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Common Noun Phrase</th>
<th>Common Noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Common nouns include human nouns, as in (1) and (2), and non-human nouns, like the place name *Tuding* in (3).

(1) **bakanang** ni  abos nontan  iray  emengedot

```
baknaq ni ?abos nontan ?ida=j ?amaN-kalot
rich person GEN only time-past 3+/NOM=NOM ACTV/CNTV-kedot feast
```

‘the ones who celebrated the *kedot* feast then were only rich people’

(2) **asebacha**  ket  masdo  ja pasiya

```
?aswa=da kat ma-salo ja pasija
spouse=3+/GEN TpLk STAV/MA-industrious LK very
```

‘as for their spouses, they are very industrious’
Nominal compounds have the same distribution as other nouns. For instance, place names may form a compound with a preceding or following noun which specifies the type of location involved like *Mount Pulag* in (4); see §3.5.3 for details.

Quantification nouns (Chapter 11) are also a type of common noun. Numerals made up of more than one word also form a nominal compound, like the cardinal *chowampolo tan tedo* in (5). So do borrowed numerals (§11.1.8) when followed by a mensural term (§11.3.1), as in (6).

### 30.2 Personal Noun Phrases

A personal noun phrase is headed by a personal noun (Chapter 8). These phrases refer to an individual (personal, animal, etc.) by name or as if by name.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 30.2: Personal Noun Phrase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Personal Noun Phrase = Personal Noun</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Personal nouns include proper names of people (§8.1) and titles (§8.2). Peculiar to titles is that they may form a nominal compound with a following proper name, as in (7).
30.2 Personal Noun Phrases

(7) **Uncle Silino** ket inaknantoak

uncle silino kot <in>?akan-an=to=ak ni
Title/uncle Silino TpLK <LocV/pft>give-LocV=3/Gen=1/Nom Gen

natnateng
CVC-nataj
MULT-vegetable

‘as for Uncle Silino, he gave you some vegetables’

Personal nouns are often used as vocatives, e.g. to call someone, as in (8).

(8) **Lolang,** kalajo chiyay!

lolang kala=jo dijaj
Title/grandmother come=2+/Gen Loc/Prox/Pro

‘Grandmother, come here!’

Unless used vocatively or preceded by a title, a personal name is usually preceded by a personal determiner. The absence of such a determiner is considered disrespectful or impolite.
Chapter 31

Determiner Phrases

A determiner phrase has two forms depending on whether it is headed by a determiner or a pronoun.

\[
\text{Determiner Phrase} = \begin{cases} 
\text{Determiner + Complement} \\
\text{Pronoun}
\end{cases}
\]

This chapter describes phrases headed by a determiner. Pronouns include demonstrative pronouns (Chapter 14) and personal pronouns (Chapter 16) and are discussed elsewhere.

Determiners are divided into common and personal, and so are determiner phrases. Ibaloy distinguishes the following forms: Nominative, Genitive, Oblique, Locative, and Topic, as discussed in Chapter 12.

In Ibaloy, the complement of a common determiner phrase is not necessarily a lexical noun. This may seem anomalous at first. However, it is a rather common phenomenon amongst Philippine languages and many of the Austronesian languages of Taiwan.

These structures find an explanation in the origin of (some of) the determiners as suggested by Reid (2002). Some determiners (whether or not this applies to all is still a matter of investigation) probably have a nominal origin as “extension nouns”, that is nouns that require a following dependent predicate.

31.1 Common Determiner Phrases

Common determiner phrases are headed by a common determiner. Common determiners consist of the common forms of the basic determiners (Chapter 13) and demonstrative determiners (Chapter 14). Demonstrative determiners are divided
into deictic determiners (§14.1) and recognitional determiners (§14.2), and lack a common-personal distinction, and so are classified as common. However, such a distinction can be made in a complex demonstrative phrase as discussed in §31.2.

The complement in a common determiner phrase is either a noun phrase (usually a common one) or a non-linked relative clause (abbreviated as “Non-Linked RelCls”).

Table 31.1: Common Determiner Phrase

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Common Determiner Phrase</th>
<th>Common Determiner</th>
<th>Noun Phrase</th>
<th>Non-Linked RelCls</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

A demonstrative phrase is a type of common determiner phrase introduced by a demonstrative determiner (deictic or recognitional). Deixis and referentiality of demonstrative phrases as briefly discussed in Chapter 34.

Depending on the form of the determiner, one has a Nominative, Genitive, Locative, Oblique, or Topic common phrase. Oblique phrases are all complex constructions. They are made of the Oblique determiner so plus a Genitive-marked complement. In order for the Oblique phrase to be classified as common, the Genitive complement must be introduced by either a common determiner (e.g. ni ‘GEN’) or a demonstrative (determiner or pronoun).

**Determiner Phrase With a Noun Phrase**  Common determiner phrases containing a noun phrase are exemplified as follows.

In (1) the common Nominative determiner i is followed by the common human noun daki ‘man’.

(1) mimotok  
<im>motok  
<i>laki=d daklan

<ACTV/PFT>return LOC man=LOC Daklan

‘the man returned to Daklan’

In (2) the deictic determiner iya is followed by a common noun, and forms a deictic (demonstrative) phrase.

(2) taynantayo  
<IPF=1&2+/GEN NOM/PROX place

‘we will leave this place’
In (3) the recognitional determiner sota is followed by the origin noun iBontoc derived by i- from the place name Bontoc, and forms a recognitional (demonstrative) phrase.

\[
\text{(3) } \text{imoli sota iBontoc} \\
\text{<im> ?oli sota ?i-bontoc} \\
\text{<ACTV/PFT>return NOM/REC ORIGN-Bontoc}
\]

‘the person from Bontoc returned’

In (4) the Oblique determiner so takes a Genitive common phrase introduced by the recognitional determiner nonta.

\[
\text{(4) yet inaknantoy altey tan tapey sononta} \\
\text{ jot <in> ?akan-an=to=j ?altaj tan tapaj so=nonta} \\
\text{AND THEN LOCV/PFT-give-LOCV=3/GEN=NOM liver and rice wine OBL=GEN/REC}
\]

\[
\text{oleg ?olag snake}
\]

‘then he gave the liver and the rice wine to the snake’

Possessed kinship terms when not referring to a person as if by name are common human nouns and receive a common determiner like i in (5).

\[
\text{(5) jokaisi’jan i asebajo} \\
\text{joka=?i-si?jan ?i ?asawa=jo} \\
\text{2+/ASP=THMV/CNTV-divorce NOM spouse=2+/GEN}
\]

‘you usually divorce your own spouses’

Proper names of people may be treated as common nouns by preposing a common determiner, as in the following example.

\[
\text{(6) baray matakal tan atoled ja bi’in nanngaran} \\
\text{wada=j ma-takal tan ?a-tolod ja bi?i=n nan-?adan} \\
\text{exist=NOM STAV/MA-clever and STAV/PFT-clever LK woman=LK ACTV/PFT-name}
\]

\[
\text{ni Matono} \\
\text{ni matono} \\
\text{GEN Matono}
\]

‘there is a clever and brave woman who is called Matono’

Nominal compounds (§3.5.3) have the same distribution as other nouns, and may occur as part of a determiner phrase. In (7) the Locative phrase contains the nominal compound Baguio City.

\[
\text{(7) ondawkita chi Bagiw city nem kabasan!} \\
\text{?on-law=kita di bagiw city nem kabasan} \\
\text{ACTV/IPF-go=1&2/NOM LOC Baguio city if/when tomorrow}
\]

‘let us go to Baguio city tomorrow!’
Determiner Phrase With a Non-Linked Relative Clause  Ibaloy can relativise on the Nominative complement of a clause (verbal or non-verbal); and, in certain circumstances, on the possessor of a possessed nominal expression. The non-linked relative clause\(^1\) found within the determiner phrase is not introduced by the linker *ja* (or one of its allomorphs) as for other relative clauses, hence the name “non-linked relative clause”, often abbreviated to “relative clause”. See §33.1 for details.

A common determiner phrase containing a (non-linked) verbal relative clause (§33.1.1) refers to the Nominative complement of the predicate in the relative clause, which is obligatorily omitted. The common determiner is either a Topic determiner, or a Nominative determiner, or in a fewer cases a Locative determiner. Only rarely is it a common Genitive determiner as in (8) and (9).

The relative clause may consist of an intransitive verb as in (8), a transitive verb as in (9), or an auxiliary as in (10), plus the dependent(s) usually allowed by such constituents except for the Nominative. For instance, in (9) the Genitive Agent is expressed as a bound pronoun, and in (11) the Genitive Agent plus the Genitive complement are expressed.

(8) *kitajo mengenap *ni *emanbonong*

\[\text{kitajo} \quad \text{man-yanap} \quad \text{ni} \quad \text{amanbonong} \]

1&2+/NOM/DIR ACTV/IPF-search GEN ACTV/CNTV-quack medicine

‘we go and search for a quack doctor’

(9) *no manbidinka *ni *kanenmo, *

\[\text{no} \quad \text{man-bilin=ka} \quad \text{ni} \quad \text{kan-an=mo} \]

if/when ACTV/IPF-order=2/NOM GEN eat-PATV/IPF=2/GEN

\[\text{eg’edoto} \quad \text{neg=POTPATV/PFT-cook} \]

‘if/when you order what you will eat, it is not cooked’

(10) *si’kak i egman’iskoyda *

\[\text{si’gak} \quad \text{neg=nan-iskojla} \]

1/IND NOM neg=ACTV/PFT-study

‘I am the only one who did not study’

(11) *yet sota pandaancha *ni *toktok *ni *too, chima *

\[\text{jat} \quad \text{sota} \quad \text{pan=tak-an=da} \quad \text{ni} \quad \text{toktok} \quad \text{ni} \quad \text{to?o dima} \]

and then NOM/REC LOCV/IPF-get-LOCV=3+/GEN GEN head GEN person LOC/DIST

\(^1\)Such a construction is regarded as a headless relative clause by some linguists. In this work, the head of the phrase is also the head of the relative clause contained in that phrase.
Locative determiners also can take a (non-linked) verbal relative clause as their complement, as shown below for the Locative determiner *chi*. These phrases usually involve a Locative -an verb (Chapter 25) or a Locative *pan*-an verb (§28.3).

(12) nanpasipasiyal *ira* *chi* naybeaanto

\[\text{ActV/PFT-distr-stroll 3+/NOM LOC STAlocV/PFT-bury-LOCV=3/GEN}\]

‘they kept strolling where he was buried’

(13) say iakadmi, \(\text{mancok}i\) \(\text{chima}\)

\[\text{TOP GER/IPF-walk=1+/GEN ACTV/IPF-start, begin LOC/DIST}\]

\[\text{nan-dokol-an=mi} \quad \text{ingkatod chima toktok ni mount}\]

\[\text{LOCV/PFT-lie down-LOCV=1+/GEN as far as LOC/DIST head, summit GEN mount}\]

‘as for our walk, it starts where we slept (and it goes) as far as the top of Mount Pulag’

Similarly, when the determiner phrase contains a non-verbal relative clause (§33.1.2), the Nominative complement in the relative clause is obligatorily missing, and the whole phrase refers to it. This is exemplified in (14)–(18) below.

In (14) the Nominative phrase consists of the deictic determiner *ima* ‘NOM/DIST’ plus a locational relative clause made up of \(=d\) (allomorph of *chi* /di/ ‘LOC’) and the common noun *awas* ‘outside’. Determiner phrases containing a locational relative clause are usually introduced by a demonstrative determiner.

(14) \(\text{indabak} \quad \text{gayam *imad} \quad \text{awas}\)

\[\text{THMV/PFT-wash garments=1/GEN so NOM/DIST=LOC outside}\]

‘I washed the one (which is) outside’

In (15) the Nominative phrase consists of the common determiner *i* ‘NOM’ plus a prepositional relative clause made up of the preposition *para* ‘for’ plus an Oblique-marked complement. Note that the meaning of the preposition clearly may affect its compatibility with the determiner.
31.2 Personal Determiner Phrases

(15) *pinidiwmo*  *mowan i pari son si’kak*

\[<\text{in}>\text{piliw}=\text{mo} \quad \text{mowan} \quad \text{i} \quad \text{pada} \quad \text{so} = \text{n} \quad \text{si’gak}\]

'you grabbed again what is for me'

An existential relative clause occurring as part of a common phrase always has the location expressed, usually in a Locative phrase.

(16) *tep*  *kapankena*  *ni barad*

\[\text{tap} \quad \text{ka-pan-kan-a} \quad \text{ni} \quad \text{wada=} \text{d}\]

'because HAB=PATV/PROG-eat-PATV/PROG GEN exist=LOC'

(17) *marikit*  *ja bii*  *ima*  *bara chi kawan-an*  *nen*  *Pedro*

\[\text{madikit} \quad \text{ja} \quad \text{bi} \text{?i} \quad \text{?ima} \quad \text{wada} \quad \text{di} \quad \text{kawan-an} \quad \text{nan} \quad \text{pedro}\]

'because the people of the under-world kept eating (their food)'

Finally, a common determiner phrase may contain an existential possessive clause (§38.5.1), as in (18). In this case, the Nominative complement in the existential clause receives a Genitive resumptive pronoun in place of the possessor, and the whole phrase refers to that possessor. These phrases tend to be introduced by a demonstrative determiner and usually occur at the end of the clause.

(18) *kinibotcha*  *sota*  *baray*  *artito*

\[<\text{in}>\text{kibot}=\text{da} \quad \text{sota} \quad \text{wada=} \text{j} \quad \text{art}=\text{to}\]

' they stole the one that has the decorations'

31.2 Personal Determiner Phrases

There are two types of personal determiner phrase, shown in Table 31.2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 31.2: Personal Determiner Phrase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Personal Determiner Phrase =</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{ Personal Determiner + Noun Phrase }</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal Pronoun</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Common and personal noun phrases are discussed in §30.1 and §30.2 respectively, and personal pronouns are discussed in Chapter 16.

Personal determiners include si ‘NOM/PERS’ and nen ‘GEN/PERS’. Oblique phrases are classified as personal only when they take a Genitive personal phrase as complement, as in (19).

(19) ikowanmo i dasonmo nen Manang Tering
    ?i-kowan=mo ?i lason=mo so=non manaq tering
    THMV/IMP-say=2/GEN NOM reason=2/GEN OBL=GEN/PERS Title/older sister Tering

    ‘tell your reason to Miss Tering!’

Phrases headed by a personal determiner are exemplified by (20)–(24).

All personal determiner phrases also convey respect and politeness from the side of the speaker towards the referent.

(20) idi on’olidis Sangao chi Tawangan
    ?i’li ?on-?oli=li=s sai:ia:o di tawagan
    when-past AcTV/IPF-return=toward=NOM/PERS Sangao LOC Tawangan

    ‘when Sangao returned back to Tawangan’

(21) no onbo’day si asebam
    no ?on-bo?laj si ?asawa=m
    if/when AcTV/IPF-outside NOM/PERS spouse=2/GEN

    ‘if/when your spouse goes out’

(22) inaspolkos Lolang chi kantina
    <in>?aspol=ko=s lolang di kantina
    <PATV/PFT>-meet=1/GEN=nom/pers Title/grandmother LOC store

    ‘I met Grandmother at the store’

(23) si Manang Taynan i head-teacher chi Diboong
    si manaq tajanan ?i head-teacher di libo?q
    NOM/PERS Title/older sister Taynan NOM head-teacher LOC Diboong

    ‘the head-teacher in Diboong is Miss Taynan’

However, any noun can be derived as a personal noun by the use of the appropriate determiner. For instance, as part of a joke, the noun choyo ‘wooden bowl’ was used as a personal name to refer to a person whose body-shape was very much like that of a wooden bowl.

(24) bara ngata si Choyo?
    wada gata si dojo
    exist wonder NOM/PERS Wooden-Bowl

    ‘I wonder, is Wooden-Bowl there?’
31.2 Personal Determiner Phrases

31.2.1 Personal Deictic Phrases

Demonstratives (determiners or pronouns) lack a common versus personal distinction. However, such a distinction is made in a complex construction, as described below.

For the deictic demonstratives, this is done in the following way. First, using a personal determiner (e.g. \textit{si}) followed by a phrase introduced by one of the following deictic determiners: \textit{iya} /\textit{?ija}/ ‘NOM/PROX’, \textit{ita} /\textit{?ita}/ ‘NOM/MED’ or \textit{ima} /\textit{?ima}/ ‘NOM/DIST’. These deictic determiners are always in Nominative form regardless of the personal determiner. A deictic pronoun, also in Nominative form, may replace the deictic phrase as in (28). In Table 31.3 “NomDeictDet” stands for ‘Nominative deictic determiner’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 31.3: Personal Deictic Phrase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Personal Deictic Phrase = Personal Determiner + { \begin{align*} &amp; \text{NomDeictDet} + \text{Noun Phrase} \ &amp; \text{Nominative Deictic Pronoun} \end{align*} }</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The referent of these phrases must be immediately accessible from the preceding context to which the anaphoric as well as exophoric deictic \textit{iya} points as in (25). See Chapter 34 for details.

(25) \textit{say ngaranto si Gadate. si \textit{iya Gadate, si’kato}}
\begin{align*} 
\text{saj \quad \text{\textit{gadate} si \quad \textit{\textit{?ija gadate} si \quad \textit{?gato}}}} \\
\text{TOP name=3/GEN NOM/PERS Gadate NOM/PERS NOM/PROX Gadate 3/IND} \\
\text{\textit{i sakeya emummified}} \\
\text{\textit{?i sakoj=a \text{\textit{\textit{a-mummified}}}}} \\
\text{\text{NOM one=LK POT PATV/PFT-mummified}} \\
\text{‘his name is Gadate. This Gadate, he was the one who was mummified’} \\
\end{align*}

Similarly, the complex construction \textit{si iya Balaw} in (27) functions as the Topic and its referent immediately precedes it in (26).

(26) \textit{si Balaw, anak kono ni ebiteg}
\begin{align*} 
\text{\textit{si balaw \quad \text{\textit{?anak kono ni \textit{\textit{?a-bitag}}}}} \\
\text{\text{NOM/PERS Balaw child hearsay GEN STA PATV/PFT-poor}} \\
\text{‘as for Balaw, it is said that he is a child of a poor person’} \\
\end{align*}

(27) \textit{si \textit{iya Balaw, bara i agito ya bii}}
\begin{align*} 
\text{\textit{si \quad \text{\textit{\textit{?ija balaw wada \textit{?i \textit{\textit{agi=to ja \textit{\textit{bi?i}}}}}}}} \\
\text{\text{NOM/PERS NOM/PROX Balaw exist NOM sibling=3/GEN LK woman}} \\
\text{‘This Balaw, he has a sister’} \\
\end{align*}
For the recognitionals, such complex constructions are less common. Unlike the deictic demonstratives, which are mainly used to refer to non-human referents, recognitionals are often employed to refer to animate referents including humans. However, a complex construction containing a personal determiner is available for referents usually encoded in either a Nominative or a Topic phrase. In these instances, the recognitional determiner *sota* is followed by a personal phrase introduced by the personal determiner *si*. Perhaps this is also available for the Genitive determiner *nonta*, although there is no evidence in the data to support this. No pronominal forms have been attested for these phrases.

**Table 31.4: Personal Recognitional Phrase**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Personal Recognitional Phrase</th>
<th>= sota + si Noun Phrase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

(29) *idi baraak chi simbaan timened sota si*

| ?'li wada=ak di simba?an <im>tanad sota si |
| when-past exist=1/NOM church <ACTV/PFT>follow NOM/REC NOM/PERS |

Mark ja kaanakanko

mark ja ka-yanak-an=ko

Mark LK nephew=1/GEN

'while I was at church Mark who is my nephew followed'
Nominal coordination is usually achieved by an overt coordinating constituent. There are two main coordinating conjunctions: tan 'and' and ono 'or', plus a third which is nen or its allomorph =n.

32.1 Coordination with tan ‘and’ and ono ‘or’

The coordinators tan /tan/ and ono /ono/ may link two noun phrases or a determiner phrase to a following noun phrase. The two phrases tend to be of the same type (common or personal). Exceptions usually involve noun phrases not introduced by a determiner as in (2). In a determiner phrase it is the semantic nature (e.g. whether common versus personal; familiar or not) of the complement in the first phrase that determines the type of determiner.

The coordinator tan marks a conjoint (addition) relation, as in (1)-(6).

(1) Lolang \( \text{tan} \) Manang, on’ijo i yay!  
\( \text{Lolang} \) \( \text{Manang} \) \( \text{on’ijo} \) \( \text{i yay!} \)  
Title/grandmother and Title/older sister see-LOCV/IMP=2+/GEN NOM/PROX/PRO  
‘Grandmother and Big Sister, look at this!’

(2) Manong Carlos \( \text{tan} \) kaitto i dimaw chi  
\( \text{Manong} \) \( \text{Carlos} \) \( \text{tan} \) \( \text{kaitto} \) \( \text{i} \) \( \text{dimaw} \) \( \text{chi} \)  
Title/older brother Carlos and friend=3/GEN NOM <ACTV/PFT>go LOC  
Tinongchol  
Tinongchol  
‘Carlos and his friend are the ones who went to Tinongchol’
Nominal Coordination

(3) sajay i ditarato nen Kim tan Alexia
   sajay ?i ditarato nan kim tan aleria
   TOP/PROX/PRO NOM picture GEN/PERS Kim and Alexia

   ‘this one here is the picture of Kim and Alexia’

(4) jet inbag’ancaha sota daki tan bii
    jet ?in-baga-an=da sota laki tan bi?i
    and then BNFV/PFT-ask-BNFV=3+/GEN NOM/REC man and woman

   ‘they asked the man and the woman’

(5) tep chiman i binadekancha tan
    tep diman ?i <in>balag-an=da tan
    because LOC/DIST/PRO NOM <LocV/PFT>grow-LocV=3+/GEN and

    edapoancha
    ?a-lapo-an=da
    PotLocV/PFT-come-LocV=3+/GEN

   ‘because it is there where they grew up and they came from’

(6) manba’diw ya emin sota nangkaama tan daki
    man-ba?liw ja ?amin sota nagka?ama tan laki
    ACTV/IPF-ba’diw LK all NOM/REC STA PatV/PL-old man and man

   ‘all the old men and men perform the traditional singing, ba’diw’

The coordinator ono marks a disjunct (alternative) relation, as in (7).

(7)mekikan ni kedot ono cañao
    maki-kan ni kalot ?ono cañao
    ACTV/IPF-eat GEN kedot or cañao

   ‘he will join a kedot feast or a cañao feast’

Two determiner phrases headed by two different determiners may occur coordinated
as long as the second phrase is introduced by si ‘NOM/PERS’ or sota ‘NOM/REC’.
This type of coordination is particularly common when the coordinate constituents
are of different semantic nature. That is, one is personal while the other is common.
However, the syntactic role of the coordinate construction is determined by its dis­
tribution and the form of the first determiner. For instance, in (8) the coordinate
construction functions as the Genitive complement of the Oblique determiner so,
and in (9), it is a possessor.

(8) chi Achaway, emaykaikait
    di ?adawaj ?omaj-CVCV-ga?it
    LOC Achaway POTTHMV/CNTV-DISTR-companion OBL=GEN/PERS Mister

    senen
    so=non
    Mister

    mister
32.1 Coordination with *tan* 'and' and *ono* 'or'  

*Cosalan* **tan sī**  
*Mister Baniesal*  

*cosalan* tan sī  
mister baniesal  

Cosalan and NOM/PERS Mister Baniesal  

‘in Achaway, he was usually companion with Mister Cosalan and Mister Baniesal’  

(9)  

*yet*  
nansesakey  
i  
*poso* nen  
*Philip* **tan sī**  

jat  
nan-CV-sakaj  
?i  
*poso* nan  
philip tan sī  

and then ACTV/PFT-LIMTNUM-one NOM heart GEN/PERS Philip and NOM/PERS  

Angelita  

angélita  

Angelita  

‘and then the hearts of Philip and Angelita will become one’  

The presence of the personal determiner *si* in the disjunct phrase carries the meaning of ‘either a or b’. In its absence the following example would mean ‘are you Choyo also known as Akdo?’.

(10)  

*si’kam sī*  
Chooyo **ono sī**  
*Akdo?*  

si?gam sī  
dojo  
?ono sī  
?aklo  
2/IND NOM/PERS Choyo or NOM/PERS Akdo  

‘are you Choyo or Akdo?’  

In (11) and (12) a common Nominative phrase is coordinate with a personal phrase introduced by the personal Nominative determiner *si*.

(11)  

*dimaw*  
i  
*naama*  
**tan sī**  
*Balaw* chi  

<im>law  
?i  
na-?ama  
tan sī  
balaw di  

<ACTV/PFT>go NOM StaPatV/PFT-old man and NOM/PERS Balaw LOC  

ilicha  

†ili=da  
town=3+/GEN  

‘the old man and Balaw went to their town’  

(12)  

*jet*  
sinongbatanchay  
tatangko **tan sī**  

jat  
<in>soqbat-an=di=j  
tataq=ko  
tan sī  

and then <LOCV/PFT>reply-LOCV=3+/GEN=NOM father=1/GEN and NOM/PERS  

Magno  
magno  

Magno  

‘then they replied to my father and Magno’  

In the following examples the reverse sequence occurs. A personal Nominative phrase is coordinate with a common phrase introduced by the Nominative recognitional determiner *sota*. 
Finally, two determiner phrases introduced by the same determiner can occur coordinated as long as they are both introduced by a Locative determiner, as in (16)–(17), a Topic determiner, as in (18), the Nominative recognitional determiner *sota*, or the Nominative personal determiner *si*, as in (19).

(13) **nanposta si Kaboniyan tan sota ira nankadakay**

Kaboniyan and the old man

(14) **enginom si Panang tan sota nankaama ni tapej**

Panang and the old men drank some rice wine

(15) **nonta sakeya akew an engokdo ni toktok ni toos Panang tan sota kaitto iran dedaki**

one day, Panang and his male friends went and head hunted for some human heads

(16) **too kono ali irad Daklan tan chi Tamak**

it is said that people came from Daklan and from Tamak

(17) **chiya Kabayan ono chiya Poblacion,**

here in Kabayan or here in Poblacion, they usually dance for one day

(18) **jet saja jakankon animal tan saja pilak**

and then TOP/PROX THMV/IPF-give=l/GEN=LK animal and TOP/PROX money
32.2 Personal Coordination with nen ‘and’

The coordinating conjunction nen /nən/ (or its allomorph =n /=n/) ‘and/PERS’ is homophonous with the Genitive personal form nen /nən/ ‘GEN/PERS’. However, it differs from the latter in that it is used to link two personal nouns and is found in one of the following two circumstances.

First, when the coordinate construction consists of two personal nouns. Hence, the whole construction must be part of a personal phrase and the two coordinate constituents share a rather close relationship like that between a couple, parents, or siblings.

This type of coordination is usually found in a personal phrase introduced by si ‘NOM/PERS’, as in (20) and (21).

(20) nem si tatangko nen nanangko,
but NOM/PERS father=1/GEN and/PERS mother=1/GEN

‘but my father and my mother, they forced us (to get married)’

(21) sipas Roberta nen Zoltan?
who=NOM/PERS Roberta and/PERS Zoltan
‘who are Roberta and Zoltan?’

Only rarely, it is found as part of a personal Genitive phrase introduced by nen ‘GEN/PERS’. 
(22)  tep  chakamikabechasa
      top  da=kamika=badas-a

    nen  nanangmi
    nan  nanaŋ=mi

because 3+/GEN=1+/NOM/ASP=whip-PATV/CNTV GEN/PERS mother=1+/GEN

nen  tatangmi
nan  tataŋ=mi
and/PERS father=1+/GEN

'because they usually whipped us, our mother and our father'

To avoid confusion with the Genitive personal form nen 'GEN/PERS', the first personal noun in a pair of nominals conjoined by nen must be either a possessed kinship term or a proper name of person. Furthermore, the possessor must be expressed as a bound Genitive pronoun. In all other circumstances, the phrase introduced by nen is interpreted as a possessive construction as in the following example.

(23)  inatngantos  tatang nen  Elvira ni mola
      <in>  tataŋ-an=to=s  elvira  ni mola
      <LocV/PFT>=help-LocV=3/GEN=NOM/PERS father  GEN/PERS Elvira  GEN plant

ni  dasona
ni  lasona
GEN green onion

'he helped the father of Elvira with the planting of green onions'

The personal coordinator nen is also found when a personal plural pronoun is linked to a personal noun, regardless of the case form of the personal pronoun. For instance, in (24) the pronoun is a Nominative, in (25) it is an independent (Nominative) form, and in (26) it is a Genitive. In this case, the conjoined personal noun is included in the pronominal form.

(24)  nonta  trese  taw'enko,  nan'olopkami  nen
      nonta  trese  taw?an=ko  nan-?olop=kami  nan
      when-past  thirteen year=1/GEN AcTV/PFT-go along=1+/NOM and/PERS

tatangko  ya  an  engenop  chima  Singa-Kalsa  ya  chontog
      tataŋ=ko  ja  ?an  ?aŋ-?anop  dima  siŋa-kalsa  ja  dontog
father=1/GEN LK DIR AcTV/PFT-hunt LOC/DIST Singa-Kalsa  LK mountain

'when I was thirteen year old, my father and us went along to go and hunt on the mountain Singa-Kalsa (Like-a-Gong)'

(25)  si'kami nen  Kaira  chima  doongan  chima  teytet
      si?gami  nan  kaira  dima  lo?ŋ-an  dima  tajtaj
      1+/IND and/PERS Kaira  LOC/DIST under-LocN LOC/DIST stairs

'it is Kaira and us underneath the stairs'

(26)  odopenjo  nen  Bob  chima  diyang
      ?olop-an=jo  nan  bob  dima  lijaŋ
      take along-PATV/IPF=2+/GEN and/PERS Bob  LOC/DIST cave

'you and Bob will take him along to the cave'
Like its homophonous Genitive form, the coordinating conjunction *nen* /nən/ has =n /=n/ as its allomorph, as in (27). Nothing can occur between the plural pronoun and the personal coordinating conjunction *nen*. Second-order constituents must occur at the end of the coordinate construction, as for the directional marker *ali* 'toward' in the following example.

(27) *yet* *idi* *on'a kadkamin*  
*Elvira* *ali*  
and then when-past ACTV/IPF-walk=1+/NOM=and/PERS Elvira toward

‘then when Elvira and us went back home’
Chapter 33

Nominal Modification

Any of the four following constructions or elements may modify a nominal.

- Relative clause (§33.1)
- Possessive construction (§33.2)
- Plural marker (§33.3)
- Attributive phrase (§33.4)

33.1 Relative Clauses

The presence of a relative clause is typically signaled by the linker *ja* (or one of its allomorphs), unless it is a non-liked relative clause in a determiner phrase (see Chapter 31). The relative clause in Ibaloy follows its head, and may be of various types. The rest of this section is organised according to the types of relative clause.

The linker *ja* has the following realisations: *ja* [dɡa] is used in stressed contexts and *ya* [ja] in non-stressed contexts; =a is used when the preceding constituent ends with a consonant, usually in a non-stressed syllable; and, finally, =n is used when the preceding constituent ends with a vowel.

33.1.1 Verbal Relative Clauses

The main strategy for forming a relative clause is to relativise upon the Nominative phrase of the relative clause and to replace it with a gap.
In the following examples the verbal relative clause contains an intransitive verb, with a gap in place of the Nominative which is co-referential with the head of the relative clause.

(1) *inon'ancha*  *irasota*  *totoo*  *ya*

\[
\text{<in>} \text{?onaj-an=da} \quad \text{?ida=sota} \quad \text{cv-to\'o} \quad \text{ja} \\
\text{<LOCV/PFT>see-LOCV=3+/GEN 3+/NOM=Nom/REC PL-person LK}
\]

*eeman'iyan*  *chima*  *chonchontog*

\[
\text{?aman-tijan} \quad \text{dima} \quad \text{CVC-dontog}
\]

ACTV/CNTV-stay LOC/DIST MULT-mountain

‘they saw the people who stay in the mountains’

(2) *baray*  *sakeya toon*  *edapod*  *Tawangan*

\[
\text{wada=j} \quad \text{sakaj=a to\'o=\text{n}} \quad \text{?a-lapo=d} \quad \text{Tawangan}
\]

‘there is one man who comes from Tawangan’

In the following examples the relative clause contains a transitive verb. It is the Nominative phrase in the relative clause which is gapped and is co-referential with the head of the relative clause.

(3) *bara kono*  *i*  *titit*  *ya*  *chakaichemang*  *ya*

\[
\text{wada kono} \quad \text{?i} \quad \text{titit ja} \quad \text{dak\=ni-\text{damaj}} \quad \text{ja}
\]

*emeboteng*

\[
\text{?ama-botaJJ} \quad \text{STAPATV/CNTV-drunk}
\]

‘it is said that there are birds that they used to see that are usually drunk’

(4) *sota toktok*  *ya*  *dingkato*

\[
\text{sota toktok ja} \quad \text{<in>laga=to} \quad \text{sota toktok ya} \quad \text{<PATV/PFT>make=3/GEN}
\]

‘the head that he made’

Relativisation upon a nominal constituent other than the Nominative results in an ungrammatical construction. Consider, for instance, (7) where the head of the relative clause is the Genitive-marked constituent of an intransitive Actor verb. Such an example is ungrammatical. Examples (5) and (6) show the same verbs heading two independent clauses.

(5) *enongkal*  *si*  *agik*  *ni*  *apag*

\[
\text{?aN-tonggal} \quad \text{si} \quad \text{?agi=k} \quad \text{ni} \quad \text{?apag}
\]

*ActV/PFT-buy NOM/PERS sibling=1/GEN GEN meat*

‘my brother bought some meat’
Nominal Modification

(6)  
\[
\text{kinankoy} \quad \text{apag} \\
<\text{in}>\text{kan}=\text{ko}=j \quad ?\text{apag} \\
<\text{PATV/PFT}>\text{eat}=1/\text{GEN}=\text{NOM} \quad \text{meat}
\]

'he ate the meat'

(7)  
\[
\text{*kinankoy} \quad \text{apag} \quad \text{ja} \quad \text{enongkal} \quad \text{si} \\
<\text{in}>\text{kan}=\text{ko}=j \quad ?\text{apag} \quad ?\text{aN-tongal} \quad \text{si} \\
<\text{PATV/PFT}>\text{eat}=1/\text{GEN}=\text{NOM} \quad \text{meat} \quad \text{LK} \quad \text{ACTV/PFT-buy} \quad \text{NOM/PERS}
\]

\[
\text{agik} \\
?\text{agi}=k \\
sibling=1/\text{GEN}
\]

* 'I ate the meat that my brother bought'

Relativisation of the Genitive Agent also results in an ungrammatical construction regardless of whether the relativisation strategy is that of deletion, as in (9), or a resumptive pronoun, as in (10). Both ungrammatical examples have the Genitive Agent as the head of the relative clause.

(8)  
\[
\text{tinongkal} \quad \text{ni} \quad \text{daki} \quad \text{i} \quad \text{baro} \\
<\text{in}>\text{tongal} \quad \text{ni} \quad \text{laki} \quad ?\text{i} \quad \text{bado} \\
<\text{PATV/PFT}>\text{buy} \quad \text{GEN} \quad \text{man} \quad \text{NOM} \quad \text{dress, garment}
\]

'the man bought the dress'

(9)  
\[
\text{*in'ankoy} \quad \text{daki} \quad \text{ja} \quad \text{tinongkal} \quad \emptyset \quad \text{i} \\
<\text{in}>\text{onaj-an}=\text{ko}=j \quad \text{laki} \quad \text{ja} \quad <\text{in}>\text{tongal} \quad ?\text{i} \\
<\text{LOCV/PFT}>\text{see-LOCV}=1/\text{GEN}=\text{NOM} \quad \text{man} \quad \text{LK} \quad <\text{PATV/PFT}>\text{buy} \quad \text{NOM}
\]

\[
\text{baro} \\
bado \\
dress, garment
\]

* 'I saw the man who bought the dress'

(10)  
\[
\text{*in'ankoy} \quad \text{daki} \quad \text{ja} \quad \text{tinongkaltoy} \\
<\text{in}>\text{onaj-an}=\text{ko}=j \quad \text{laki} \quad \text{ja} \quad <\text{in}>\text{tongal}=\text{to}=j \\
<\text{LOCV/PFT}>\text{see-LOCV}=1/\text{GEN}=\text{NOM} \quad \text{man} \quad \text{LK} \quad <\text{PATV/PFT}>\text{buy}=3/\text{GEN}=\text{NOM}
\]

\[
\text{baro} \\
bado \\
dress, garment
\]

* 'I saw the man who bought the dress'

Finally, in (12) we see that it is ungrammatical to have as the head of the relative clause a Genitive-marked constituent of a transitive verb.

(11)  
\[
\text{intongkalan} \quad \text{ni} \quad \text{daki} \quad \text{si} \quad \text{asebato} \quad \text{ni} \quad \text{baro} \quad \emptyset \\
\text{?in-tongal-an} \quad \text{ni} \quad \text{laki} \quad \text{si} \quad ?\text{asawa}=\text{to} \quad \text{ni} \quad \text{bado} \\
\text{BNFV/PFT-buy-BNFV} \quad \text{GEN} \quad \text{man} \quad \text{NOM/PERS} \quad \text{spouse}=3/\text{GEN} \quad \text{GEN} \quad \text{dress, garment}
\]

'the man bought his wife a dress'
33.1 Relative Clauses

(12) * in’an’koy baro ja intongkalan
     <in>jonaj-an=ko=j bado ja ?in-toggal-an
     <LOCV/PFT>see-LOCV=1/GEN=NOM dress, garment LK BNFV/PFT-buy-BNFV

\[ \text{ni daki si asebato} \]
\[ \text{ni laki si ?asawa=to} \]
GEN man NOM/PERS spouse=3/GEN

* ‘I saw the dress that the man bought his wife’

33.1.2 Non-Verbal Relative Clauses

In a non-verbal (or nominal) relative clause, the strategy is again to relativise upon
the Nominative phrase by replacing it with a gap. The head of the construction
typically occurs before the relative clause introduced by the linker \( ja \) (or one of its
allomorphs).

Non-Verbal Relative Clause  This construction has a nominal predicate. It is
possible to relativise upon the Nominative complement of such relative clause and
to replace it with a gap.

(13) baray matekal tan etoled ya bii
     wada=j matakal tan ?a-tobd ja bi?i
     exist=NOM clever and STAPATV/PFT-brave LK woman

‘there is a clever and brave woman’ (lit. ‘there is a clever and brave person who
is a woman’)

(14) nem egto amta sota imadageya daki chi sabiyen
     nam ?ag=to ?amta sota <im>?alagaj=a laki di sabijan
     but neg=3/GEN know NOM/REC <ACTV/IPF>stand=LK man LOC door

‘but he does not know the man standing at the door’ (lit. ‘but he does not know
the one standing at the door who is a man’)

(15) no pilmeron akew
     no pilmero=n ?akaw
     when first=LK day

‘on the first day’ (lit. ‘on the first one which is a day’)

(16) dimaw chi echoma dogad
     <im>law di ?adom=a logad
     <ACTV/PFT>go LOC other=LK place

‘he went to another place’ (lit. ‘he went to another one which is a place’)


Note that the construction may be recursive as shown below. In this case, both linkers are marked in bold to indicate the two consecutive non-verbal relative clauses.

(17) \textit{baray} \textit{etoled} \textit{ja dakin iKabayan} \textit{wada}=j \textit{?a-tolad} \textit{ja laki}=n \textit{?i-kabajan} \textit{exist=NOM StaPatV/PFT-brave LK man=LK FROM-Kabayan} \\
‘there is a brave man from Kabayan’ (lit. ‘there is a brave person who is a man who is from Kabayan’)

**Locational Relative Clause** In this construction a Locative phrase is again relativised by replacing the Nominative with a gap. However, this type of relative clause is very rare. There is an alternative in which a Locative phrase simply acts as a modifier, without resorting to a relative clause construction. Example (18) is a non-restrictive relative clause.

(18) \textit{idi dimaw irad} \textit{Puerta Princessa ya chi Palawan}, \textit{?i'li <im>law ?ida=d puerta princessa ja di palawan} \textit{when-past <ACTV/PFT>go 3+/NOM=LOC Puerta Princessa LK LOC Palawan} \\
‘when they went to Puerta Princessa which is in Palawan,’

**Existential Relative Clause** This type of relative clause contains an existential predicate and it is relativised on its Nominative complement.

(19) \textit{ikanmo sotan} \textit{ya bara chi bo’day} \textit{?i-?akan=mo sotan ja wada di bo?laj} \textit{THMV/IMP-take=2/GEN NOM/REC/PRO LK exist LOC outside} \\
‘take the one that there is outside’

**Prepositional Relative Clause** This type of relative clause contains a prepositional phrase.

(20) \textit{simbiray} \textit{chakela olsan para sonen} \textit{<in>sabi=da=j dakol=a ?olsa=n pada so=nan} \textit{<PatV/PFT>meet=3+/GEN=NOM many=LK deer=LK for OBLS=GEN/PERS} \textit{nanangto} \textit{nanaq=to mother=3/GEN} \\
‘they met many deer that were for his mother’
Relativisation of Possessor It is also possible to relativise upon the possessor of a possessed noun, but only when the possessed noun is part of the Nominative phrase of an intransitive construction, verbal or non-verbal. This is achieved by the use of a resumptive Genitive pronoun left in the position where the possessor would occur in a non-relativised construction. The possession is not clearly inalienable.

(21) **bara chiyay**  
*walda dija*  
?i kamatis  
?ja ?an-kontiling  
?i *damesto*  
exist  
LOC/PROX/PRO NOM tomato plant LK  
STA/V/EN-tiny NOM fruit=3/GEN

‘there is here a tomato plant whose fruit is small’

(22) **yet in’anto**  
*jat*  
<in>?onaj-an=to  
?ida=j  
nanka-toliq  
tan  
and then  
<LOC/V/PFT>see-LOC=V=3/GEN  
3+/NOM=NOM STA/PAT/V/PL-dark and

**kakambalega toon abadeg**  
i **matacha, sangicha**  
<CV-kambalag=a> to?=n  
?o-balag  
?i mata=da  
<saqi=da>  
ITER/PL-huge=LK person=LK

**tan tangidara**

tan  
<in>taqila=da  
and ear=3+/GEN

‘then he saw the dark and huge people whose eyes, teeth and ears are big’

(23) **kimedsangma tan timaba sota biin**

<im>kodsaq=ma  
tan  
<im>taba  
sota  
bi?i=n  
<ACT/V/PFT>strong=then and  
<ACT/V/PFT>fat NOM/REC woman=LK

**tinabalchay adiyato**

<in>tabal=da=j  
?alija=to  
<PAT/V/PFT>call out=3+/GEN=NOM soul=3/GEN

‘the woman whose soul they called out became strong and fat’

(24) **medan sota baley ni ka’jemkon mimotok**

ma-dalan  
sota  
ba’ajei ni  
ka’jemkon  
mimotok  
POT/PAT/V/PPF-route NOM/REC house GEN friend=1/GEN=LK  
<ACT/V/PFT>arrive

**i inapoto**

?i  
?imaqo=to  
NOM in law=3/GEN

‘let’s pass the house of my friend whose in-law arrived’

33.2 Possessive Constructions

In Ibaloy, attributive possession involves a Genitive phrase. The Genitive phrase may be a full phrase or a pronominal form. The latter may be a bound personal pronoun or a demonstrative pronoun.
When the possessor is expressed by a full Genitive phrase it is preceded by a Genitive determiner. In the following examples, the head of the construction is marked in bold and so is the Genitive determiner introducing the possessor.

(25) sajay i bingoan, saja club ja kad’an ni
sajaj ?i bingo-an saja club ja kad?an ni
TOP/PROX/PRO NOM bingo-LocN TOP/PROX club LK place GEN
emanbingon nangkaama tan nangkaba’kol
?oman-bingo=n nanka-?ama tan nanka-ba?kol
ACTV/CNTV-bingo=LK STAPATV/PL-old man and STAPATV/PL-old woman
‘this is the bingo place, the club that is the place of the ones that play bingo who are old men and old women’

(26) yet inon’antoy apko ni manok chi kilig ni
jot <in>?onaj-an=to=j ?apko ni manok di kilig ni
and then <LocV/PFT>see-LocV=3/GEN=NOM liver GEN chicken LOC edge GEN
chalan
dalan
pathway
‘then he saw the liver of the chicken on the edge of the pathway’

When the possessor is a personal noun the personal Genitive determiner nen must be used.

(27) satana pesew, inaypermanentente chi bakas nen
satan=a posaw ?inaj-permanentente di bakas nen
TOP/PRO/MED=LK woven rattan STAPATV/PFT-permanent LOC waist-line GEN/PERS
Gadate
gadate
Gadate
‘as for that one that is the woven rattan, it is left permanently on the waist line of Gadate’

Alternatively, the possessor may be expressed by a pronominal form which consists of either a bound Genitive pronoun or, less frequently, a Genitive demonstrative pronoun. The latter may be a deictic pronoun or a recognitional pronoun. In the case of a personal pronoun, the Genitive bound pronoun encliticises to the possessed noun.

(28) echakal pay i salodsoto
?a-dakal paj ?i salodsod=to
STAV/PFT-many more NOM question=3/GEN
‘his questions were many’
Example (29) contains a sequence of two possessive constructions. The first one is expressed by a full Genitive phrase while the second one is expressed by a pronominal form. Complex constructions of this type may also contain a sequence of two Genitive full phrases, as in (30).

(29)  
\[ \text{ah, kanin! medan sota baley ni ka'jemko} \]
\[ \text{?ah kanin ma-dalan sota balaj ni ga?jam=ko} \]
\[ \text{ah wait POTPATV/IPF-route NOM/REC house GEN friend=1/GEN} \]

‘ah, wait! let us pass by the house of my friend’

(30)  
\[ \text{sota baley ket baley nen anak nen Tita} \]
\[ \text{sota balaj kat balaj nan ?anak nan tita} \]
\[ \text{NOM/REC house TPLK house GEN/PERS child GEN/PERS Tita} \]

‘as for that house, it is the house of Tita’s child’

The possessor may be expressed by a Genitive-marked demonstrative pronoun. This is, however, less common. The demonstrative pronoun referring to the possessor is generally followed by a relative clause whose function is to specify the identity of the possessor, as in (32). This is especially true when the pronoun is either niman /niman/ ‘GEN/DIST/PRO’ or nontan /nontan/ ‘GEN/REC/PRO’ which are homophonous with the temporal forms niman /niman/ ‘now, today; time-present’ and nontan /nontan/ ‘ago; time-past’.

(31)  
\[ \text{si’kato i bayad niyay} \]
\[ \text{si?gato ?i bajad nijaj} \]
\[ \text{3/IND NOM payment GEN/PROX/PRO} \]

‘it is the payment of this one here’

(32)  
\[ \text{chakaisa’chang sotana toktok nontan ya} \]
\[ \text{daka=?i=sakdag sotan=a toktok nontan ja} \]
\[ \text{3+/GEN/ASP=THMV/CNTV-hang NOM/REC/PRO=LK head GEN/REC/PRO LK} \]

\[ \text{too ya chadi inda} \]
\[ \text{to?o ja da=li <in>?ala} \]
\[ \text{person LK 3+/GEN/DIR=toward <PATV/PFT>take} \]

‘they usually hang that one that is the head of that one who is the person they go and take back’

When two coordinated nominals are possessed by the same entity several options are usually available. Coordination within a phrase is commonly expressed by tan ‘and’ or ono ‘or’, as discussed in Chapter 32.

When two linked nouns have a single possessor, then the following possibilities exist. If the possessor is expressed by a Genitive bound pronoun, the pronoun may occur on each coordinated noun, as in (33). Alternatively, it may occur on the last noun, as in (34).
(33) \textit{kamikaman’iyan} chi baley \textit{nen} nanangko tan

kamika=man-?ijan di balaj nan nanaq=ko tan

1/+NOM/ASP=ACTV/IPF-stay LOC house GEN/PERS mother=1/GEN and

\textit{tatangko}

tataq=ko

father=1/GEN

‘we usually stay the house of my mother and my father’

(34) \textit{inkowan} \textit{nonta} tatang tan nanangto

?in-kowan nonta tataq tan nanaq=to

THMV/PFT-say GEN/REC father and mother=3/GEN

‘his father and mother said’

When the possessor is expressed by a full Genitive phrase it tends to occur only once after the last noun, as in (35) and (36).

(35) \textit{jet} ibag’ancha sota nanang tan tatang nonta

jet ?i-baga-an=da sota nanaj tan tatag nanta

and then BNFV/IPF-ask-BNFV=3+/GEN NOM/REC mother and father GEN/REC

\textit{bii}

ti?i

woman

‘then they ask the mother and father of the woman’

(36) \textit{saJay} i \textit{baro tan ono nonta bii}

saJay ?i bado tan ?ono nonta bi?i

TOP/PRO/PROX NOM dress and necklace GEN/REC woman

‘these are the dress and the necklace of the woman’

When a single item is owned by two separate entities the following possibilities are available. If both are expressed as non-pronominal forms they may occur as coordinated nominals, as in (37).

(37) \textit{saJay} i \textit{ditarato nonta bii} tan anakto

sajaj ?i ditarato nonta bi?i tan ?anak=to

TOP/PROX/PRO NOM picture GEN/REC woman and child=3/GEN

‘this one here is the picture of the woman and her child’

If they are both personal names the second possessor occurs in a separate conjoined phrase introduced by the personal determiner \textit{si}, as in (38). Note that it is the Genitive determiner \textit{nen} which signals that the whole conjoined phrase is a possessive construction.
Finally, if the second possessor for pragmatic or discourse reasons needs to be addressed differently, it may be encoded in a conjoined phrase introduced by a Topic demonstrative determiner as in (39). In all cases, it is the nature of the first possessor (e.g. whether or not it is a personal noun, or specific) which determines the choice of the whole possessive construction.

\[(39)\quad \text{barangoy} \quad \text{anak nonta bij} \quad \text{tan sota} \quad \text{emengenop} \\
\quad \text{wada}=\text{go}=\text{j} \quad \text{?anak nonta} \quad \text{bi}?i \quad \text{tan sota} \quad \text{?amaN}?\text{anop} \\
\quad \text{exist}=\text{also, too, emph}=\text{NOM} \text{child} \quad \text{GEN/REC woman} \quad \text{and} \quad \text{NOM/REC ACTV/CNTV-hunt} \\
\quad \text{‘there was also the child of the woman and the hunter’} \]

### 33.3 Plural Marker

The plural marker *ira* /ʔida/ is used to modify a nominal constituent. However, the term “plural” is here used in a general sense and is not strictly related to number or a quantifiable quantity. Except for human nouns where it can be argued to mark (numeral) plurality, it indicates multiplication, distribution, abundance or intensity. Its particular interpretation depends on the referent, as indicated in the discussion of common nouns in Chapter 9.

In Ibaloy a modifier typically follows the head. This is true of the plural marker *ira* which is a second-order item, and immediately follows the constituent it modifies.

In a determiner phrase different possibilities are usually available depending upon the type of phrase involved. The plural marker *ira* may occur in one of the following positions.

The most common position is right after the head noun of the noun phrase contained in the determiner phrase.

\[(40)\quad \text{idi} \quad \text{in’ancha} \quad \text{sota} \quad \text{dokto} \quad \text{ira} \\
\quad ?i?i \quad <\text{in}>?\text{onaj-an}=\text{da} \quad \text{sota} \quad \text{loko} \quad ?\text{ida} \\
\quad \text{when-past} \quad <\text{LOCV/PFT}>\text{see-dir}=3+/\text{GEN} \quad \text{NOM/REC sweet potato PL} \\
\quad \text{‘when they saw the sweet potatoes’} \]
In a possessive construction where the possessor is expressed as a bound pronoun the occurrence of the plural marker \textit{ira} right after the possessed nominal indicates plurality of the possessed entity and not of the possessor. For a plural possessor, a plural form of the bound pronoun must be chosen.

Another common position of the modifier \textit{ira} is right after the determiner (which is the head of the determiner phrase), especially when the latter is a Topic determiner, the Nominative personal determiner \textit{si} ‘NOM/PERS’, or the Nominative recognitional determiner \textit{sota} ‘NOM/REC’.

The modifier \textit{ira} may also immediately follow a personal Genitive determiner, although less commonly.
No examples of the modifier *ira* occurring after the common determiners *i* ‘NOM’ or *ni* ‘GEN’ have been encountered in the present data.

Ibaloy has a suppletive plural form, *sod* /sod/, used in place of a personal determiner. In (48) and (49) it replaces the Genitive personal determiner *nen*, in (50) the Nominative personal determiner *si* (used to mark a pragmatic topic), and in (51) also the Nominative personal determiner *si* (used to mark a Nominative complement). In this case, there is neutralisation of the case forms. However, the case and function of the personal phrase is still recoverable on distributional grounds, and so its case is marked in the gloss.

(47) *sajay*  

\[ \text{TOP/PROX/PRO NOM} \]  

\[ \begin{array}{ccc}  
\text{house} & \text{GEN/PERS PL} & \text{Carlos}  
\end{array} \]

\[ \text{’the house of Carlos and his family is this one here’} \]

(48) *sota barad Guay ket nanang sod Miss Taynan*  

\[ \begin{array}{ccc}  
\text{NOM/REC exist=LOC} \]  

\[ \begin{array}{ccc}  
\text{Guay TPLK mother GEN/PERS/PL Miss Taynan}  
\end{array} \]

\[ \text{’as for the one who is in Guay, she is the mother of Miss Taynan and her siblings’} \]

(49) *tinongkal sod Carlos i doganko*  

\[ \begin{array}{ccc}  
\text{<PATV/PFT>buy GEN/PERS/PL Carlos NOM car=1/GEN}  
\end{array} \]

\[ \text{’Carlos and his family bought my car’} \]

(50) *say kaitto ket sod Melba*  

\[ \begin{array}{ccc}  
\text{TOP friend=3/GEN TPLK NOM/PERS/PL Melba}  
\end{array} \]

\[ \text{’as for his friends, they are Melba and her family’} \]

In the following example the plural form *sod* has scope over the entire conjoined phrase while the plural marker *ira* occurring after *anak=to* (child=3/GEN) ‘her child’ modifies the possessed entity only.

(51) *jet inodopto sod Manang Melba tan*  

\[ \begin{array}{ccc}  
\text{<in>?olop=to} \]  

\[ \begin{array}{ccc}  
\text{fetch=3/GEN NOM/PERS/PL Title/older sister Melba and}  
\end{array} \]

\[ \begin{array}{ccc}  
\text{TOP/PROX/PRO NOM} \]  

\[ \begin{array}{ccc}  
\text{child=3/GEN PL}  
\end{array} \]

\[ \text{’and he fetched Melba and her children’} \]
Finally, the plural marker *ira* may occur before a Genitive phrase. This is only possible when the Genitive phrase is either a possessor, the Genitive Agent (Chapter 36), a Genitive E complement (Chapter 37), or the complement of the Oblique determiner *so*. In these cases, the Genitive determiner or demonstrative (determiner or pronoun) occurs encliticised to the plural marker *ira*. Generally, only second-order adverbs, like *mango* in (52), may occur between the preceding constituent and the sequence “*ira* plus Genitive phrase”. This neatly shows that these Genitive phrases are immediate dependents of the constituents that immediately precede them (excluding the second-order adverbs which are themselves dependents). The plural marker *ira* is still a second-order constituent. In these cases, it occurs in second position after the head of the whole construction, i.e. the possessed item in a possessive construction, the verb in a clause, and the Oblique determiner *so* in an Oblique phrase.

In (52) and (53) the Genitive determiners *ni* and *=nja*, introducing a phrase expressing possession, phonologically attach to the plural marker *ira*.

(52) *say kad’an mango irani Igorot ket chonchontog*

> saj kad?an mango ?ida=ni igorot jat CVC-dontog
> TOP place just PL=GEN igorot TPLK MULT-mountain

‘as for the place of the Igorot people, it is a mountainous place’

(53) *aychi pay laeng met i nanang iranja a’anak*

> ?ajdi paj laeng mat ?i nanag ?ida=nja cv-?anak
> not-exist still, yet emph NOM mother PL=GEN/PROX PL-child

‘there isn’t yet the mother of these children’

In (54) and (55) the Genitive determiner, introducing a phrase expressing the Agent of a transitive verb, occurs encliticised to the plural marker *ira*. The Genitive Agent has strict positional requirements, and must occur right after the verb (Chapter 39).

(54) *an pinoolan iranonta totoo sota aki*

> DIR <LOCV/PFT>burn-LocV PL=GEN/REC PL-person NOM/REC monkey

‘the people went and burnt the monkey’

(55) *eg’ampa irani dedaki i dinabanto*

> ?aq=’ampa ?ida=ni cv-laki ?i <in>law-an=to
> neg=know PL=GEN PL-man NOM <LOCV/PFT>go-LocV=3/GEN

‘the men did not know where he went’

A Genitive determiner (or demonstrative), introducing a phrase encoding an E complement, also occurs encliticised to the plural marker *ira*. It does so as long as the
Genitive complement immediately follows the verb. This usually occurs in dependent intransitive clauses (e.g. relative clauses) that have the Nominative omitted, as in (56), and in impersonal transitive clauses which take a complement clause, as in (57) (Chapter 41).

(56) \textit{amtato} ji aychiy echom ja toon engidaw
\begin{verbatim}
?amt=to ji ?ajdi=j ?adom ja to?o=n ?agi-law
\end{verbatim}
\textit{iranonta palata tan balitok}
\begin{verbatim}
?ida=nonta palata tan balitok
\end{verbatim}
\textit{PL=GEN/REC silver and gold}

‘he knows that there is no other person who brought the silver and gold’

(57) \textit{say to ikowan irani totoo ji cha}
\begin{verbatim}
saj to \textit{?i-kowan} ?ida=ni CV-to?o ji da
\end{verbatim}
\textit{so that 3/GEN/DIR THMV/IPF-say PL=GEN PL-person LK/ji 3+/GEN/DIR}
\textit{aspolen i iBuguias}
\begin{verbatim}
?aspol-on \textit{?i} \textit{?i-buguias}
\end{verbatim}
\textit{meet-PATV/IPF NOM ORIGIN-Buguias}

‘so that he go and tell the people that they will go and meet the people from Buguias’

Finally, in (58) and (59) the plural marker \textit{ira} occurs in second position right after the Oblique determiner \textit{so} (which is the head of the Oblique phrase) but before the Genitive complement. In this case, the Genitive determiner occurs encliticised to \textit{ira}, which in turns encliticises to the Oblique determiner \textit{so} forming a single phonological unit.

(58) \textit{yet ekikaasi soirani aanak ja aki}
\begin{verbatim}
jat \textit{?aki-ka?asi} so=\textit{?ida=ni} CV-\textit{?anak ja \textit{?aki}}
\end{verbatim}
and then \textit{ACTV/PFT-pity OBL=PL=GEN PL-child LK monkey}

‘he pleaded to the young monkeys’

(59) \textit{kaontakot i kakeb soirani kamkamti}
\begin{verbatim}
ka=?on-takot \textit{?i} \textit{kakab} so=\textit{?ida=ni} \textit{kamkamti}
\end{verbatim}
\textit{HAB=ACTV/IPF-fear NOM turtle OBL=PL=GEN firefly}

‘the turtle fears the fireflies’

33.4 Attributive Phrases

It is possible for a determiner phrase or a prepositional phrase to function attributively to a nominal. Except for the Nominative and Topic phrases, all other determiner phrases may be used in this function. The most common determiner phrase
to function attributively is the Locative. Note that in most cases, it modifies a
nominal in Topic position.

(60) *eminatoochiya*Kabayanketegchaamta i
?amin=a to?o dija kabajankat ?ag=da ?amta ?i
all=LK person LOC/PROX Kabayan TPLK neg=know NOM story=3/GEN

istoriyyato
istoriya=to

‘as for all the people of/in Kabayan, they did not know his story’

(61) *sajamekingmi chiyaKetbaka sandibon*
saja makiD=mi dija ket baka sandibo=n
TOP/PROX mummy=1+/GEN LOC/PROX/PRO TPLK probably one thousand=LK

taw’ento
taw?an=to
year=3/gen

‘as for our mummies here, they probably have one thousand years’

In the following example, the Locative phrase *chima Ambakdet* ‘in Ambakdet’ may
be interpreted as modifying the phrase referring to the mummies which are found
in that location. Alternatively, it may refer to the entire clause, namely the act of
eating happened in that place. The context disambiguates the two interpretations.

(62) *isonga kinan ni otot sota echom ya parte nonta*
?iso=nga <in>kan ni ?otot sota ?adom ja parte nonta
hence=LK <PATV/PFT>eat GEN mouse NOM/REC other LK part GEN/REC

meking *chima Ambakdet*
makiD dima ?ambaklat
mummy LOC/DIST Ambakdet

‘hence the mice ate the other parts of the mummy in Ambakdet’

Attributive Genitive phrases are usually possessive constructions or adverbial
expressions. However, it is possible for a Genitive phrase to provide an addition to a
nominal (other than possession), as in the following example.

(63) *sa’nomalaikelasejo ni Ibadoy?*
sa’?mala ?i kelase=jo ni ?Ibaloy?
how already NOM class=2+/GEN GEN Ibaloy

‘how is your Ibaloy class’

When a Genitive phrase is used as an additional nominal modifier the nominal it
refers to must occur either possessed by a Genitive bound pronoun, as in (63), or
be a proper name, or somehow have a rather unique reference in order not to be interpreted as part of a possessive or part-whole relationship.

Oblique phrases rarely occur attributively. When they do so, then they usually carry the meaning ‘amongst’ and modify an interrogative pronoun, as in (64). Note that the question word *sipa* functions as the predicate here.

(64) \[ \textit{sipa sonta bii i nanangto?} \]
\[ \text{sipa so=nta bi?i ?i nanaq=to} \]
\[ \text{who OBL=GEN/MED woman NOM mother=3/GEN} \]

‘who amongst those women is his mother? (his mother is who amongst those women?)’

Finally, a prepositional phrase may also function attributively. It usually modifies a Topic.

(65) \[ \textit{sota regalo para sonen asebam ket} \]
\[ \text{sota regalo pada so=nan ?asowa=m kat} \]
\[ \text{NOM/REC gift for OBL=GEN/PERS spouse=2/GEN TPLK} \]

*epalita* \[ \textit{pasiya} \]
\[ ?a-palit=a \]
\[ \text{StaPatV/PFT-expensive=LK very} \]

‘as for the gift for your spouse, it is very expensive’

Alternatively, the prepositional phrase may occur in a relative clause construction, as in (66). The meaning of the two examples are rather similar.

(66) \[ \textit{sota regalo ya para sonen asebam ket} \]
\[ \text{sota regalo } ?a \text{ pada so=nan ?asowa=m kat} \]
\[ \text{NOM/REC gift LK for OBL=GEN/PERS spouse=2/GEN TPLK} \]

*epalita* \[ \textit{pasiya} \]
\[ ?a-palit=a \]
\[ \text{StaPatV/PFT-expensive=LK very} \]

‘as for the gift that is for your spouse, it is very expensive’
Chapter 34

Deixis and Referentiality of Demonstrative Phrases

This chapter briefly looks at the main referential uses of demonstrative phrases, i.e. phrases that are introduced by a demonstrative determiner or consist of a demonstrative pronoun.

Demonstratives in Ibaloy are of two types: deictic demonstratives and recognitional demonstratives. Both types have a determiner and a pronominal counterpart (Chapter 14). Demonstratives in general are highly anaphoric and carry some form of deixis. The two types, however, differ in one main respect.

Deictic demonstratives are marked for three degrees of distance. The proximal forms refer to an entity located near to the speaker. The medial forms refer to an entity located near to the addressee or not too far away. The distal forms refer to an entity located far away from both speaker and addressee and usually not visible. Deictic demonstratives are mainly used exophorically to locate an entity on a distance scale (proximal, medial, and distal) from a selected point of reference that may or may not coincide with the speaker. They may also be used anaphorically to refer to a previously mentioned referent. In fact, these two uses are not mutually exclusive.

Recognitional demonstratives are a sort of mental deictic. They often refer to specific entities which result from shared or familiar knowledge.

34.1 Main Uses of Deictic Demonstratives

Deictic (demonstrative) determiners and pronouns are mainly used exophorically.

In (1) the Nominative deictic pronoun *iman* refers to an entity that is far from both the speaker and the addressee. Similarly, in (2) the Nominative deictic determiner
34.1 Main Uses of Deictic Demonstratives

inya is used to point at something that is near to the speaker.

(1) on'im kari iman!
?onaj-i=m kadi ?iman
look-LocV/IMP=2/GEN please NOM/PRO/DIST

‘please, look at that one!’

(2) inomjoga iya agas!
?inom=jo=ga ?ija ?agas
drink-PATV/IMP=2+/GEN=polite NOM/PROX medicine

‘please, drink this medicine’

In (3) the Locative deictic pronoun chiyay refers to the place where the speech act takes place. A phrase introduced by a Locative deictic may be used instead.

(3) chakal gayam i chalan chiyay!
dakal gayam ?i dalan dijaj
many so, indeed NOM path LOC/PRO/PROX

‘many are indeed the ways here!’

Although primarily used exophorically, deictic demonstratives may also be used anaphorically. Once more, the two uses often overlap. Proximal deictic demonstratives in particular may be used to refer to an entity whose identity is accessible from the immediate preceding context, as in the following examples.

(4) imapoapo nanbiyag sota oleg
<im>CVCV-?apo nan-bijag sota ?olog
<ActV/Pft>DISTR-generation ActV/Pft-live NOM/REC snake

‘the snake lived for many generations’

(5) binonoto iya empotin oleg
<in>bono=to ja ?on-poti=n ?olog
<PatV/Pft>kill=3/Gen NOM/PROX StaV/en-white=Lk snake

‘he killed this white snake’

Distal demonstratives instead may have reference further back in the discourse.

(6) no makcheng ya a’kalencha sota
no ma-kadaq ja ?akal-an=da sota
when PotPatV/IPF-finish Lk remove-PatV/IPF=3+/Gen Nom/Rec

naytapew ya bedat, a’mesencha mowan sota
naj-tapaw ja balat CV-?omos-an=da mowan sota
Stathmv/Pft-top Lk skin IPF-bathe-PatV/IPF=3+/Gen again Nom/Rec

eteya too
?a-taj=a to?o
PotPatV/Pft-die=Lk person

‘when they finish removing the top skin, they bathe the dead man again’
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(7) no makcheng ya a'mesencha,
no ma-kadaI ja cv-?amas-an=da  
when POTPatV/IPF-finish LK IPF-bathe-PATV/IPF=3+/GEN
chakaiasal chima bo'day ni baley
daka=?-asal dima bo?laj ni balaj  
3+/GEN/ASP=THMV/CNTV-death chair LOC/DIST outside GEN house

‘when they finish bathing (the dead) they sit (him) on the death chair outside the house’

(8) irakamandeka ni palangka chima bo'day ni baley
?idaka=man-laga ni palaI.Jka dima bo?laj ni balaj  
3+/NOM/ASP=ACTV/IPF-make GEN bench, chair LOC/DIST outside GEN house

‘they usually make a chair outside the house’

(9) yet iasalcha ima too
jat ?i-?asal=da ?ima to?o  
and then THMV/IPF-death chair=3+/GEN NOM/DIST person

‘and then they sit that man on the death chair’

The anaphoric use is particularly common for personal deictic phrases. For example, the personal deictic phrase in (11) refers to an entity whose identity is found in the immediate preceding context in (10). Personal deictic phrases are complex constructions made of the personal determiner si plus a following deictic phrase, see §31.2.1.

(10) say ngaranto si Gadate  
saj qadan=to si gadata  
TOP name=3/GEN NOM/PERS Gadate

‘his name is Gadate’

(11) si iya Gadate, si’kato i sakeya emummified
si ?ija gadata si?gato ?i sakaj=a ?3-mummified  
NOM/PERS NOM/PROX Gadate 3/IND NOM one=LK POTPatV/PFT-mummified

‘this Gadate, he was the one who was mummified’

Particular uses of the deictic pronouns include the following. They are used to indicate distance, height measures, or ways of doing something which are not actual locations. In Ibaloy, such utterances are usually accompanied by gestures. Consider the following example.

(12) no embel’at sota inegchianton pagey,
no tan-bol?at sota <in>fagdi-an=to=n pageaj  
They may also be used to refer to a part of the speaker’s body in order to show where something happened to either the speaker or the protagonist. In Ibaloy, this is usually achieved by using a demonstrative pronoun together with a gesture.

In (13) the speaker pointed at her abdomen to indicate her weak bladder which is the cause of her incontinence problem. Prior to her utterance, someone suggested she should go to one of the major cities in the area. Part of her response is as follows.

(13) ensakit iyay no arabi
?an-sakit ?i?jaj no ?adawi
STAV/EN-painful NOM/PRO/PROX if/when far away

‘this (pointing at her lower abdomen) is painful if far away’

In (14) another speaker, talking about tattooing, mentioned his father (referred to by the independent pronoun si'kato) because he also was tattooed from the elbow to the wrist. While uttering the deictic pronoun chiyay, the speaker pointed at his wrist.

(14) tep ebatekan si'kato chima sikew ingatod
tap ?a-batak-an si?gato dima sikow ?i?katod
because POTLOCV/PFT-tattoo-LOCV 3/IND LOC/DIST elbow as far as

chiyay
dijaj
LOC/PRO/PROX

‘because he (my father) was tattooed from the elbow as far as here (pointing at his wrist)’

The deictic pronouns may be used to refer to an adjacent discourse segment which may be either a whole proposition, an event or a sequence of these. This is usually achieved by using a Topic pronoun, mainly saman /saman/ or satan /sat'an/. These two Topic deictic pronouns are also used to end a narrative or a story.

(15) satan i mikadegdeg’a nonta
satan ?i mika=CVC-laga-a nonta
TOP/PRO/MED NOM 1+/GEN/ASP=DISTR-do-PATV/CNTV TI/PASY

kaanengmi
ka-?anan=mi
ABSTN-young, unripe=1+/GEN

‘that is what we used to do in our childhood’
Finally, deictic pronouns may be used as part of a temporal expression, usually introduced by a temporal preposition like *idi* /?i'li/ ‘when-past’, as in (16). In this case, the deictic pronoun refers to a past event.

(16) *idi* satan, nakchengmay baley ni 1996

?i'li satan na-kodaŋ=ma=j balaj ni 1996

when-past TOP/PRO/MED POTPATV/PFT-finish=then=NOM house GEN 1996

‘when all that happened, the house was then finished in 1996’

### 34.2 Main Uses of Recognitional Demonstratives

As mentioned earlier, recognitions are used to refer to specific information assumed to be familiar and known to the hearer due to shared or personal knowledge or to previous mention.

Examples (17)–(23) well exemplify the main uses of the recognitions. The setting is a suburb in North Canberra where my language consultant, Manang Julia, stayed during her brief visit to Australia where her sister, Manang Elvira, used to live with her family. They all used to go to mass regularly, more than once a week.

(17) *nonta* domingko, kami ekimisad San Michael chi

nonta domingko kami ʔoki-misa=d san michael di

when-past Sunday 1+/NOM/DIR ACTV/PFT-mass=LOC St Michael LOC

*Kaleen*

kaleen

*Kaleen*

‘last Sunday, we went to join the mass at St Michael’s in Kaleen’

The first instance of the recognitional determiner *nonta* in (17) has no antecedent, but the referent is assumed to be familiar to the listener, while the recognitional *sotan* in (18) has *nobember first* has its antecedent. Recognitions are used anaphorically to refer to an entity mentioned in a previous context as well as to familiar or personal information usually shared by both the speaker and the listener(s).

(18) *jet* inkwovan *nonta* Apo pari ji baray misa nem *nobember*

jat ?in-kowan nonta ʔapo padi ji wada=j misa nam nobember

and then THMV/PFT-say GEN/REC Title priest LK exist=NOM mass when November

*first, donis sotan*

*first* lonis sotan

*first* Monday NOM/PRO/REC

‘then the priest said that there was a mass on November the first, it was Monday’
In (20) Manang Elvira speaks to her sister (Manang Julia), suggesting that they pass by the house of a friend of hers on their way back home. The house, however, is very close to where they used to live and was familiar to Manang Julia, if not by sight then by previous conversations with her sister. The house *baley* is preceded by the recognitional determiner *sota*.

(19) *yet* *idi* *on’akadkamin* *Elvira ali,*
    *jat* *?i’ili* *?on-?akad=kami=nan* *elvira ?ali*
and then when-past ACTV/IPF-walk=2+/NOM=and/PERS Elvira toward

*baley* preceded by *sota*

    *inn-baga’anko* *nem sipay* *kaitankon* *an*
    *?in-baga-an=ko* *nam sipa=j* *ga?it-an=ko=n* *?an*
    BNFV/PFT-ask-BNFV=1/GEN if who=NOM friend-LocV/IPF=1/GEN=LK DIR

*mekimisa*

    maki-misa
    ACTV/IPF-mass

‘then when Elvira and us went back home, I asked her who will accompany her to mass’

(20) *yet* *inkowanto* *yi: ah, kanin! medan* *sota*
    *jat* *?in-kowan=to* *ji ?ah kanin ma-dalan* *sota*
and then THMV/PFT-say=3/GEN LK ah wait PotPATV/IPF-route NOM/REC

*baley* *ni* *ka’jemkon* *mimotok* *i* *inapoto!*

    *balaj ni* *ga?jam=ko=n* *<ACTV/PFT>arrive* *in-law=3/GEN*
    house GEN friend=2/GEN=LK <ACTV/PFT>arrive NOM in-law=3/GEN

‘then she said: ah, wait! let’s pass by the house of a friend of mine whose (mother) in-law has arrived!’

(21) *yet* *chindanmi,* *simamadkami*
    *jat* *<in>dalan=mi* *<im>samad=kami*
and then <PATV/PFT>route=2+/GEN <ACTV/PFT>enter=2+/NOM

‘then we passed by, we entered’

Finally, the recognitional Nominative pronoun *sotan* in (22) refers to a previously mentioned referent, though the identity of the referent is revealed as an after-thought in the following environment.

(22) *jet* *tinabtabalmi* *sotan,* *inapoto*
    *jat* *<in>tahtabalmi=mi* *sotan* *?inapolo=to*
and then <PATV/PFT>talk=2+/GEN NOM/PRO/REC in-law=3/GEN

‘then we talked to her, her in-law’

Being clearly established, the same participant (*inapoto*) is now simply referred to by the recognitional determiner *sota* in (23).
Deixis and Referentiality of Demonstrative Phrases

(23)  
\[ \text{yet simbimi sota aba'kol} \]
\[ \text{jat } \langle \text{in} \rangle \text{sabi=mi sota } ?a-ba?kol \]
and then \( \text{<PATV/PFT>fetch=2+/GEN NOM/REC STAV/PFT-old woman} \)

‘then we fetched the old woman’

34.3 Restricted Usage of Some Genitive Forms

The Genitive case performs several functions. Amongst these are the marking of a possessor, a Genitive Agent, or another verbal complement. However, some Genitive forms of the demonstrative have only a limited use in some of these functions. This is particularly true for the Genitive distal pronoun \( \text{niman/niman/ ‘GEN/DIST/PRO} \) and the Genitive recognitional pronoun \( \text{nontan/nontan/ ‘GEN/REC/PRO}. \) These two are homophonous with the temporal adverbs \( \text{niman/niman/, used to refer to present time ‘now, today; time-present’}, \) and \( \text{nontan/nontan/, used to refer to past time ‘long ago; time-past’.} \) These temporal adverbs often act as second-order constituents occurring right after the predicate, as in (24).

(24)  
\[ \text{bara nontan i bii } \]
\[ \text{wada nontan } ?i \text{ bii NOM woman} \]

‘there was a woman ...’

However, in a transitive construction the Genitive Agent must occur in second-position, right after the head predicate. Only second-order adverbials may intervene between predicate and Agent such as \( =\text{ma} \) in (25).

(25)  
\[ \text{kinanma nontan oleg i altay} \]
\[ \langle \text{in} \rangle \text{kan=ma nontan } ?\text{olag } ?i \text{ NOM liver} \]

‘the snake ate the liver’

The presence in the same clause of both a second-order temporal adverb \( \text{niman or nontan} \) and a Genitive Agent expressed by a homophonous form is not acceptable because it is ambiguous. Hence, Genitive Agents tend not to be expressed by these two Genitive pronouns alone.

Similarly, a noun may be modified by a possessive construction. Because of the homophony of the Genitive forms \( \text{niman and nontan} \) with the temporal adverbs \( \text{niman} \) and \( \text{nontan} \) these Genitive forms alone are rarely used to encode possessors. However, they may be used if followed by a relative clause construction which specifies the type of referent involved. In (26), the Genitive Agent is expressed by the
restricted usage of some genitive forms

recognitional pronoun nontan ‘GEN/REC/PRO’ plus a modifier construction. Similarly, in (27) the possessor is expressed by the deictic demonstrative pronoun niman ‘GEN/DIST/PRO’ followed by a modifier construction.

(26) jet isepa nontana daki sota kiyew
    jat Yi-sapa nontan=a laki sota kijaw

and then THMV/IPP-put down GEN/PRO/REC=LK man NOM/REC wood

‘then the man will put down the wood’

(27) yet chima kad’an niman ya diyang, in’anto
    jat dima kad?an niman ja lijaQ <in>naj-an=to

and then LOC/DIST place GEN/PRO/DIST LK cave <LOCV/PFT>see-LOCV

sota abadega oleg
sota ?a-balag=a ?olag
NOM/REC STAPATV/PFT-big=LK snake

‘then in that place in that cave, he saw the big snake’

The homophony of pronouns and temporal adverbs can be disambiguated by the presence of a second-order adverb such as =da /=la/ ‘away’ or =ma /=ma/ ‘then’ which often modifies temporal expressions, as in (28), or a relative clause specifying the type of referent involved, or both, as in (29).

(28) timolok sota bii nontanda
    <im>tolok sota biQi nontan=la
    <ACTV/PFT>agree NOM/REC woman time-past=away

‘the woman agreed, a long time ago (back then)’

(29) echakel i obda nimanma ja akew
    ?a-dakol ?i ?obla niman=ma ja ?akaw
    STAV/PFT-many NOM job time-present=then LK day

‘the jobs are many nowadays’

Context and distribution also help to disambiguate the two homophonous forms. For instance, general terms like too /to?o/ ‘person’ or proper names of places usually do not occur possessed, hence the forms nontan and niman in (30) and (31) respectively are clearly temporal adverbs.

(30) baray eteya too nontan
    wada=j ?a-taj=a to?o nontan
    exist=NOM PotPATV/ PFT-die=LK person time-past

‘there was a dead person back then’

(31) say barangay ni Kabayan niman ket trese
    saj badajaj ni kabajan niman ket trese
    TOP district GEN Kabayan time-presentTPLK thirteen

‘the districts of Kabayan today are thirteen’
The Genitive demonstrative pronouns *niman* and *nontan* never occur without their heads in a pre-clausal position or topic position. Hence, the form *niman* in (32) can only be a temporal adverb.

(32) *nem niman*, *eman’iyan* iradman
    nom niman ?om-an-tijan ?ida-dman
    but time-present ACTV/CNTV-stay 3+/NOM=LOC/PRO/DIST

    ‘but now, they stay there’

For the other forms of Genitive pronouns the presence of a specifying modifier is not required, though is still very common. It is absent in (33) and present in (34).

(33) *si’kato* i   *bayad* *niyay*
    si?gato ?i bajad nijaj
    3/IND NOM payment GEN/PRO/PROX

    ‘it is the payment of this’

(34) *toy* *pesingkon*   onchokon   *nitang*   *animal?*
    ?anto=ji pasip=ko=n ?on-don?on nitan=a animal
    what=NOM method, way=1/GEN=LK ACTV/IPF-gather GEN/PRO/MED=LK animal

    ‘how will I gather these (near you) animals? (what is my method to gather these animals?)’

While deictic forms are mainly used for non-human and possibly inanimate referents, recognitional forms commonly have inanimate or animate referents, as in (35) and (36).

(35) *sota* *ngoro* *nontan*   *ja* *mola*, *bara* *sota* kowancha *yi*
    sota ?odo nontan ja mola wada sota kowan=da ji
    NOM/REC top GEN/PRO/REC LK plant exist NOM/REC say=3+/GEN LK/ji

    tagapolot
    tagapolot
    sugar-cane-top

    ‘as for the top of that plant, there is what they call *tagapolot* (sugar-cane-top)’

(36) *chakaisa’chang*   *sotan*   *ya toktok* *nontang*   *too*
    daka=?i-sukda?j sotan ja toktok nontan=a to?o
    3+/GEN/ASP=THMV/IPF-hang NOM/PRO/REC LK head GEN/PRO/REC=LK person

    *ya chadi*   *inda*
    ja da=li <in>?ala
    LK 3+/GEN/DIR=toward <PATV/PFT>get

    ‘they usually hang the head of the man that they went and got back’
Finally, in independent clauses a Genitive-marked complement bearing an undergoer role is interpreted as indefinite or generic. Demonstratives are not used as generics since they are definite. However, Genitive complements in non-finite or dependent clauses may be definite. In (37) the head verb *imparas* takes a complement clause introduced by the linker *ja*. The verb *nangda* in the complement clause is non-finite (and dependent) and takes a definite Genitive complement referred to by the demonstrative *nontan*.

(37) \( \text{jet imparasma ni Igodot ja nangda nontan ya} \)

\( \text{jot ?in-padas=ma ni ?igolot ja naN-?ala nontan ja} \)

and then THMV/PFT-try=then GEN Igorot LK ACTV/PFT-get GEN/PRO/REC LK

\( \text{angbat} \)

\( \text{?anwat} \)

\( \text{angbat herb} \)

‘then the Igorot people tried to get the *angbat* herb’

Similarly, in (38) the verb, *engoney*, in the dependent clause, introduced by the linker *ja*, takes a definite Genitive complement referred to by the demonstrative *nontan*.

(38) \( \text{inaschaw ja pasiya sota aki ja engoney nontana} \)

\( \text{na-sodaw ja pasija sota ?aki ja ?aN-?onaj nonta} \)

STAPATV/PFT-surprised LK very NOM/REC monkey LK ACTV/PFT-see GEN/REC

\( \text{otot ja imoli} \)

\( \text{?otot ja <im>?oli} \)

mouse LK <ACTV/PFT>return

‘the monkey was very surprised to see the mouse that returned’
Chapter 35

Prepositional Phrases

Ibaloy prepositions head prepositional phrases. Such phrases may act as adjuncts, predicates of non-verbal clauses, modifiers in prepositional relative clauses, or attributes to a nominal constituent. Another distinctive feature of prepositions is the fact that they are phonologically independent words and that they often carry an independent meaning. Prepositions may be divided into the following two main types:

- proper prepositions; and
- prepositions also used as subordinating conjunctions.

The former function exclusively as prepositions, hence the term “proper”. The latter also function as subordinating conjunctions. The immediate constituents of prepositional phrases are outlined below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 35.1: Prepositional Phrase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Preposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 35.1 Proper Prepositions

There are only a few proper prepositions\(^1\) listed below. In most contexts they take a determiner phrase (Chapter 31) as complement.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>preposition</th>
<th>phoneme</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>para</td>
<td>/pada/</td>
<td>‘for’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>malaksid</td>
<td>/malaksid/</td>
<td>‘excluding’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\)It is interesting to note that all proper prepositions in Ibaloy are Ilokano borrowings.
35.1 Proper Prepositions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preposition</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pati</td>
<td>/pati/</td>
<td>'including'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kas</td>
<td>/kas/</td>
<td>'as, like'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Para ‘for’ is of Spanish origin. When referring to a beneficiary it takes an Oblique complement.

(1) \textit{enongkalak} \textit{ni apag para son si'katajo}  
\textit{?aN-toggal=ak ni ?apag pada so=n si?gatajo}  
\text{ACTV/PFT-buy=1/NOM GEN meat for OBL=GEN/PERS 2+/IND}  
'I bought some meat for you'

However, when it indicates the purpose or goal of an implied activity, as in (2), it takes a noun phrase (Chapter 30).

(2) \textit{olnongenkoy sowilcho niman ja bolan para barok}  
\textit{?ohnoq-an=k=ja sowildo niman ja bolan pada bado=k}  
\text{save-PATV/IPF=1/GEN=NOM salary now, today LK month for dress=1/GEN}  
'I will save up my salary this month for (buying) my dress'

Malaksid ‘excluding, except’ takes a Genitive complement, as in (3).

(3) \textit{baray ka'jem irani emina bibii malaksid ni sakey}  
\textit{wada=j ga?jam ?idani ?amin=a cv-bi?i malaksid ni sakaj}  
\text{exist=NOM companion GEN=PL all=LK PL-woman except GEN one}  
'there were the companions of all the women except for one'

Pati ‘including, with’ takes a determiner phrase as complement. This may be a Nominative, as in (4), or a Locative, as in (5).

(4) \textit{sotan ira banig ya ispirito pati sota bakdang nonta}  
\textit{sotan ?ida banig ja ispirito pati sota baku?aj nonta}  
\text{NOM/REC PL ghost LK spirit with NOM/REC body GEN/REC}  
\textit{atey, engketet ira}  
\textit{?a-taj ?an-katat ?ida}  
\text{POTPatV/PFT-die STA/V/EN-cold 3+/NOM}  
'the ghosts and spirits with the bodies of the dead people, they were cold'

(5) \textit{enchiy mo on'on'an chi Bogiyas pati chi}  
\textit{?ondi=j mo cvc-?onaj-an di bogijas pati di}  
\text{not-exist=NOM 2/GEN/DIR DISTR-see-LOCV/IPF LOC Bugias including, with LOC}  
\textit{Achaway ya nay'asop pay}  
\textit{?adawaj ja nai-?asop paj}  
\text{Adaway LK STA/V/PFT-near also,too}  
'there is nothing (of that \textit{kintoman} type of rice) you will ever go and see in Bugias including in Adaway that is also near'
Kas ‘like, as’ usually takes a noun phrase, like the single noun in (6) or the possessed noun in (7).

(6) si Philip kas aseban daki, dag’entoy obdato
   si philip kas ?asawa=n laki laga-an=to=j ?obla=to
   NOM/PERS Philip as spouse=LK male do-PATV/IPF=3/GEN=NOM job=3/GEN

‘Philip as husband, he will do his job’

(7) kas agito, mesepolkon todongan si’kato
   kas ?agi=to masapol=ko=n tolo=an si’gato
   as sibling=3/GEN need=1/GEN=LK help-LOCV/IPF 3/IND

‘as his brother, I need to help him’

35.2 Prepositions which are also Conjunctions

There is a class of prepositions that may function as subordinating conjunctions. When these morphemes function as prepositions, they take a noun phrase or a determiner phrase, and in a few cases another prepositional phrase as complement. In this section, only their use as prepositions is discussed. They include the following. Both glosses, as prepositions and conjunctions, are provided below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preposition</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>no</td>
<td>/no/</td>
<td>‘if/when (non-past)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nem</td>
<td>/nem/</td>
<td>‘if/when (non-past)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>idi</td>
<td>/’i’li/</td>
<td>‘when-past’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nonta</td>
<td>/nonta/</td>
<td>‘when-past’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ingkatod</td>
<td>/’i’jkatod/</td>
<td>‘until, as far as’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asan</td>
<td>/’asan/</td>
<td>‘after, then’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>singa</td>
<td>/’inja/</td>
<td>‘like’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No and nem are used to introduce a non-past temporal adjunct. The complement they take is a nominal expression with temporal reference rather than a verbal clause.

(8) mekimisa nem kabasan
    maki-misa nam kabasan
    ACTV/IPF-mass if/when tomorrow

‘she will go to mass tomorrow’

(9) no kapinchowa, piyanenmon man’iyen chi
    no kapin-dowa pijan-an=mo=n man-?ijan di
    if/when ORD/FREQ/NUM-two like-PATV/IPF=2/GEN=LK ACTV/IPF-stay LOC
35.2 Prepositions which are also Conjunctions

The preposition *nonta* is homophonous with the Genitive recognitional determiner. As a preposition, it can occur in topic position before the predicate (§43.1), and it can also function as a subordinating conjunction (§44.1). When in topic position, a phrase normally introduced by a Genitive determiner loses the Genitive determiner. This occurs regardless of the syntactic function of the phrase, e.g. whether the Agent of a transitive construction or an adverb of time or manner.

In (11), the Agent is introduced by the Genitive recognitional determiner *nonta*. When topicalised, as in (12), the Genitive determiner is obligatorily omitted and is usually replaced by a Topic determiner or the Nominative determiners *sota* ‘NOM/REC’ or *si* ‘NOM/PERS’.

Similarly, a temporal adverbial expression introduced by the Genitive determiner *ni* loses the determiner when in topic position, as shown below.

---

2 The preposition *idi* /ʔiːdi/ [ʔiːdi] is an Ilokano borrowing, which might explain why it has a limited distribution compared with its Ibaloy counterpart *nonta*.
(14) domingko ket nakamekimisa  
domingko kat naka=maki-misa  
Sunday, week TpLk 1/ASP=ACTV/IPF-mass

'Sunday, I usually attend mass'

However, a temporal phrase introduced by nonta retains the form nonta when in topic position, as in (16).

(15) ekimisaak nonta domingko  
?aki-misa=ak nonta domingko  
ACTV/PFT-mass=1/NOM when-past Sunday, week

'I attended mass last Sunday'

(16) nonta domingko ket ekimisaak  
nonta domingko ket ?aki-misa=ak  
when-past Sunday, week TpLk ACTV/PFT-mass=1/NOM

'last Sunday, I attended mass'

In (17) and (18) nonta occurs in pre-clausal position and introduces a temporal phrase. A brief intonation break may intervene between the temporal expression and the following clause. This is here represented by a comma.

(17) nonta pinsak, nanbakal ira  
nonta pinsak nan-bakal ?ida  
when-past first time ACTV/PFT-fight 3+/NOM

'last time, they fought each other'

(18) nonta 1989, inebak ni amerikano i ispanjol  
nonta 1898 <in> ?abak ni amerikano ?i ?ispanjol  
when-past 1898 <PATV/PFT>win GEN American NOM Spanish

'back in 1898, the Americans defeated the Spanish'

This is taken as evidence that, although it probably originates from a Genitive determiner, nonta 'when-past' functions as a preposition.

Ingkatod 'until, as far as' can have a temporal as well as a spatial reference. It may take a temporal noun, as in (19), or a Locative phrase as complement, as in (20).

(19) ingkatod 1946, inantoray i amerikano  
?inkatod 1946 nan-todaj ?i amerikano  
until 1946 ACTV/PFT-lead NOM American

'until 1946, the Americans were the leaders'
35.2 Prepositions which are also Conjunctions

(20) nanbatek chiya apalad ingkatod chiya abada
nan-batak dija ?apalad ?ingkatod dija ?abala
ACTV/PFT-tattoo LOC/PROX upper arm as far as LOC/PROX shoulder

‘he was tattooed from the upper arm here as far as the shoulder here’

Similarly, asan ‘after, then’ may have a temporal or a spatial reference. When referring to time, it usually takes a temporal phrase as complement, as in (21). When used in its spatial sense, it takes a Locative phrase, as complement as in (22).

(21) ondawkitod Pulag asan nem kabasan
?on-law=kito=d polag ?asan nam kabasan
ACTV/IPF-go=1&2/NOM=LOC Pulag then if/when tomorrow

‘we will go to Mt. Pulag tomorrow’

(22) nanpolig chi taytay asan chi chanom
nan-polig di tajtaj ?asan di danom
ACTV/PFT-roll LOC bridge then LOC water

‘she rolled on the bridge then into the water’

Singa ‘like’ can take as its complement a noun, as in (23), an independent pronoun, as in (24), or a phrase introduced by a determiner, as in (25).

(23) nem chima Kebajan chakel kono i baay singa bakal
nam dima kabajan dakel kono ?i ba?aj si?a bakal
but LOC/DIST Kabayan many hearsay NOM vine like fight, wild

‘but in Kabayan, it is said that the vines are many like wild (vine)’

(24) ngantoy egmo panbaljan chi kiyew singa si’kak?
?anto=j ?ag=mo pan-balaj-an di kijaw si?a si?gak
what=NOM neg=2/GEN LOCV/PAN/IPF-live-LocV LOC tree like 1/IND

‘what is the reason why you don’t live in a/the tree like me?’

(25) mapteng chiya singa chi Kabayan
ma-pataj dija? si?a di kabajan
STAV/MA-good LOC/PRO/PROX like LOC Kabayan

‘it is nice here like in Kabayan’
Part VI

Clauses
Overview of Part VI

Ibaloy clause structure is right branching, that is the head of a clause usually occurs in the initial position. This is a feature of many Philippine languages. The predicate occurs first, with nominal complements, adjuncts and modifiers of the predicate occurring after the predicate.

Clausal predicates may be formed by a variety of constituents, such as a lexical noun or a lexical verb, an existential predicate or a preposition, each being modifiable by the dependents normally allowed by these constituents.

On the basis of predicate type, clauses are distinguished into non-verbal clauses (Chapter 38) and main verb clauses (Chapter 39). The former have a constituent other than a lexical verb as predicate while the latter are headed by a main verb.

Two further types of clause are identified for Ibaloy. Both have extension verbs (as opposed to main verbs) and require a sentential complement. As part of complex sentences, they are dealt with separately in Chapter 40 (auxiliary extension verbs) and Chapter 41 (non-auxiliary extension verbs).

Ibaloy clauses are classified according to the number and type of verbal complements present in the clause. A verbal complement is a constituent which bears a specific grammatical or semantic relation to a verb. Its overt or implied presence is required for well-formedness in structures containing that verb. Ibaloy distinguishes between two main types of verbal complement. On the one hand, there are core complements which control certain syntactic processes. They coincide with the notions of S, A and P, as discussed in Chapter 36. On the other hand, there are extension-to-core complements which do not control any syntactic processes, as described in Chapter 37.

This part is also concerned with the description of pronominal agreement marking (Chapter 42), pragmatically marked constructions (Chapter 43), subordinate clauses (Chapter 44), coordination (Chapter 45) and predicate and clausal modification (Chapter 46).
Grammatical relations are conveniently associated with the semantico-syntactic roles called S, A and P (Comrie, 1978). S refers to the sole complement of an intransitive construction (verbal or non-verbal). In a verbal clause, S bears either the Actor macrorole or the Undergoer macrorole depending on the verb. A refers to the complement of a transitive verb that bears the Actor macrorole, also referred to as the (Genitive) Agent. P refers to the complement of a transitive verb that bears the Undergoer macrorole, also referred to as the Nominative (complement). S, A and P are core complements.

The notion of grammatical relations has long played a central role in grammatical theory. However, grammatical relations are often thought of as crosslinguistic notions. The assumption that grammatical relations are universal causes several problems.

Following are some questions which often arise while identifying the grammatical relations in a language, and especially from assuming that grammatical relations are universals.

- What are the grammatical relations in a particular language?
- Does this language have subject and object, or else how should its grammatical relations be named?

However, grammatical relations are best described as language-specific notions. The view that grammatical relations are language specific is discussed by Dryer (1997). He writes:

Under the view that grammatical relations are crosslinguistic notions, these two questions are difficult to distinguish, because identifying the grammatical relations in a language under such a view involves choosing...
how to describe the language in crosslinguistic terms. Under the view that grammatical relations are fundamentally language-particular, the first of these questions is a substantive question identifying to what extent clausal arguments in the language fall into different classes, and in so far as they do, what these classes are and what criteria define these classes. Under this view the question of what to call grammatical relations, whether to choose new terms or to use terms that have been used in description of other languages, is simply a matter of terminology, and has a status little different from deciding whether to write an academic paper in English or French. (Dryer 1997:124)

In other words, if one examines grammatical relations in these languages from a purely language-internal point of view, there is no problem identifying the grammatical relations and no need to describe the system in non-discrete terms. It is only when we examine grammatical relations in these languages from the perspective of what we generally find in other languages that a problem arises and that the temptation to describe these languages in non-discrete terms arises. (Dryer 1997:133)

The descriptive linguist's first step is to work out the grammatical relations. The next step is to give them a name. The choice of name will be influenced by what linguists have done for other languages. One looks for a near match, but the match is never exact.

Ibaloy distinguishes two separate grammatical relations, namely the “Nominative” (or “Subject”) and the “Genitive Agent” (or “Ergative”). These two grammatical relations differ from one another in one important respect. As the term suggests, the Genitive Agent grammatical relation is associated with the semantic role of actor. Conversely, neutralization of semantic roles occurs for the Nominative.

Ibaloy follows an ergative case-marking pattern. That is, S and P are treated the same way, but A differently. Both S and P receive the Nominative case while A receives the Genitive case, as exemplified below.

(1)  dimawda               ira
     <im>law=da   ?ida
     <ACTV/PFT>go=away 3+/NOM

     'they went away'

(2)  dingkato               ira
     <in>laga=to  ?ida
     <PATV/PFT>make=3/GEN 3+/NOM

     'he made them'
36.1 Overt Coding Properties

The Nominative or Subject relation encoded as the Nominative constituent is referred to here simply as the “Nominative”. The term “Agent” (suggesting a semantic association with the general role of actor) is reserved for the other grammatical relation found in Ibaloy, that of the Genitive Agent or Ergative. This is summarised in Table 36.1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grammatical Relation</th>
<th>S/A/P</th>
<th>Constituent Type</th>
<th>Label</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative (Subject)</td>
<td>S or P</td>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>Nominative (Complement)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive Agent (Ergative)</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>Genitive Agent</td>
<td>(Genitive) Agent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An important fact follows from the identification of grammatical relations in Ibaloy. Recall that Ibaloy makes a distinction between dynamic verbs and stative verbs, and that amongst dynamic verbs it distinguishes between controlled verbs and potentiive verbs, as discussed in Part IV. Independent clauses headed by a controlled Actor verb are intransitive whereas clauses headed by a controlled Undergoer verb are transitive. Transitivity is typically transparent for controlled verbs and it is usually associated with an affix on the verb. Conversely, transitivity for potentiive verbs cannot be easily determined on the basis of the morphological form of the verb. Because grammatical relations are best identified for controlled clauses, the following sections primarily focus on controlled verbs.

Evidence for identifying grammatical relations comes from two different kinds of properties usually associated with verbal complements. The first consists of overt coding properties, and the latter consists of behavioral and control properties (Keenan, 1976).

### 36.1 Overt Coding Properties

Overt coding properties which are relevant to the identification of grammatical relations in Ibaloy include the following.

- Constituent order and case marking (§36.1.1)
- Obligatory occurrence (§36.1.2)

Each of the above coding properties is discussed in turn.
36.1.1 Constituent Order and Case Marking

Of the three coding strategies, constituent order appears to be most important for the identification of grammatical relations in Ibaloy, followed by case marking and semantics. Ibaloy distinguishes four cases: Nominative, Genitive, Oblique and Locative (Chapter 12).

**The Nominative Case** Ibaloy is a predicate-initial language. In a clausal construction the head predicate comes first, while nominal constituents and modifiers follow the head predicate. The Nominative case is used to introduce the Nominative complement. However, Nominative determiners and demonstratives also have other functions. It follows that the Nominative complement is mainly marked by constituent order. It is the configuration of this phrase in relation to the head predicate, in conjunction to its semantic role that marks it as Nominative.

Each independent clause may only contain one Nominative complement. This Nominative complement bears either the Actor or the Undergoer macrorole. When it is a full phrase it has a relatively free order with respect to other nominal complements. This is illustrated in the examples below.

The following clause, for instance, contains as predicate the intransitive Actor verb *dimaw* which is followed by the only Nominative phrase, whose macrorole is that of Actor. The clause also contains a Locative phrase introduced by *chi* ‘LOC’ which refers to the goal of the motion. The Nominative may precede or follow the Locative complement.

(3)  dimaw  i  daki  chi  Kabayan
     <im>law  ?i  laki  di  kabajan
     <ACTV/PFT>go  NOM  man  LOC  Kabayan

‘the man went to Kabayan’

(4)  *dimaw*  *chi*  Kabayan  i  *daki*
     <im>law  di  kabajan  ?i  laki
     <ACTV/PFT>go  LOC  Kabayan  NOM  man

‘the man went to Kabayan’

The following clause, instead, contains the transitive Patient verb *kinan* in predicate function. The agent participant is encoded by the enclitic third person singular Genitive pronoun =to ‘3/GEN’, while the participant bearing the Undergoer macrorole is expressed by the Nominative phrase. The clause also contains a temporal expression introduced by the past temporal preposition *nonta* ‘when-past’.
36.1 Overt Coding Properties

(5) \( \text{kinanto'j} \) \( \text{echakela} \) \( \text{apag nonta} \)
\(<\text{in}>\text{kan}=\text{to}=\text{j}\) \(\overline{\text{Ta-dakal}=\text{a}}\) \(\overline{\text{Tapag nonta}}\)
\(<\text{PATV/PFT}>=\text{eat}=3/\text{GEN}=\text{NOM} \text{STAPATV/PFT}=\text{many}=\text{LK} \text{meat when-past}\)

\(\text{ma'chem}\)
\(\text{ma-}\overline{\text{?adom}}\)
\(\text{STAV/MA-evening}\)

'he ate a lot of the meat last evening'

In a transitive clause, the Nominative complement always occurs after the 'verb plus agent' sequence. When a full phrase, its position with respect to non-agent nominal constituents is relatively free, as shown in (6) and (7).

(6) \( \text{ineknanto}\) \( \text{Balaw ni bekas} \)
\(<\text{in}>\text{akan-an}=\text{to}=\text{s}\) \(\text{balaw ni bogas}\)
\(<\text{LocV/PFT}=\text{give-LOCV}=3/\text{GEN}=\text{NOM}/\text{PERS}\) \(\text{Balaw GEN unhusked rice}\)

'he gave Balaw some rice'

(7) \( \text{ineknanto}\) \( \text{ni bekas si Balaw} \)
\(<\text{in}>\text{akan-an}=\text{to}\) \(\text{ni bogas si balaw}\)
\(<\text{LocV/PFT}=\text{give-LOCV}=3/\text{GEN GEN unhusked rice NOM/PERS}\) \(\text{Balaw}\)

'he gave Balaw some rice'

The Genitive Case The Genitive case is also used to introduce a variety of constituents. It can be used to introduce:

- the agent participant of a transitive construction;
- an undergoer participant; or
- an adverbial expression.

Only the first of these three functions is of central interest in this chapter. The other two functions are briefly discussed in Chapter 37.

The Genitive Agent of a Transitive Clause In an independent dynamic clause containing a transitive Undergoer verb as head predicate, the Genitive determiner is used to introduce the agent participant. The Genitive Agent is obligatory.

(8) \( \text{kinan} \) \( \text{ni nga'nga i inapoy} \)
\(<\text{in}>\text{kan} \) \(\text{ni} \) \(\overline{\text{pa?na}} \) \(\text{?i} \) \(\text{?inapoj}\)
\(<\text{PATV/PFT}=\text{eat GEN child NOM rice}\)

'the child ate the rice'
Moreover, its position is constrained. Both full phrase and bound pronoun Genitive Agents always occur right after the head predicate.

**Bound Pronouns and Case Marking** Ibaloy possesses case-marked bound personal pronouns that can only be used to encode certain kinds of participants in a clause. In an independent clause containing an intransitive verb in predicate function only the Nominative participant can be expressed with a bound pronoun.

\[(9)\] \[\text{ondawak} \quad \text{chi iskoydaan nem kabasan}\]
\[\text{AcTV/IPF-go=l/NOM LOC school-LOCN if/when tomorrow}\]

'I will go to school tomorrow'

In a transitive clause both the Genitive Agent and the Nominative participant can be expressed by bound pronouns. In the following example, for instance, the agent is expressed by the Genitive bound pronoun =to ‘3/GEN’ and the Nominative participant, whose role is that of beneficiary, is expressed by the Nominative bound pronoun =ak ‘1/NOM’.

\[(10)\] \[\text{intongkalantoak} \quad \text{ni baro}\]
\[\text{BNFV/PFT-buy-BNFV=3/GEN=l/NOM GEN dress, garment}\]

'he bought me a dress'

Bound pronouns usually bind directly to the head verb (like those in the previous example), except for the third person Nominative pronoun \(\text{ira} /\text{iida}/ ‘3+/NOM’\) which is a free form. Moreover, bound pronouns are primarily used to encode participants which are animate, except for third person pronouns. Ibaloy has no bound pronominal forms to encode extension-to-core complements marked for Genitive, Locative or Oblique case, except for the special Oblique pronominal form so which has a restricted distribution and usually occurs in nominal-like constructions; see §16.2.3 for further details.

**Pronominal Agreement Marking** In an independent clause headed by a transitive verb, when the Nominative complement is expressed by a bound pronoun the Genitive Agent must also be expressed by a bound pronoun. The exception is when the Nominative is either a third person singular entity for which no overt bound pronoun is available or a third person plural entity expressed by the non-second order Nominative pronoun \(\text{ira} /\text{iida}/ ‘3+/NOM’\) (see §16.2). The Genitive pronoun always precedes the Nominative one. In this case only, when the identity of the Genitive Agent is not entirely clear from the context, the speaker has the option of expressing it again with a full Genitive phrase which must occur right after the "verb + bound pronouns" sequence.
However, no other nominal constituent may occur between the "verb + bound pronouns" sequence and the full Genitive Agent phrase. Consider, for instance, the following example. The temporal expression *nonta ma'chem* 'yesterday' must occur in final clause position in order not to break that sequence.

(11) **binarastowak**

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{nen} \\
\text{tatangko} \\
\text{nonta}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{nan} \\
\text{tataq=ko} \\
\text{nonta}
\end{array}
\]

*ma'chem*

*ma-?adam*

*STAV/MA-evening*

'my father whipped me yesterday'

Other occurrences of this phenomenon are found in the language and are discussed in Chapter 42.

**Ergative Case Marking System** Ibalo has an ergative case marking system for organizing its core complements. An intransitive clause is a clause that has only one core complement which may bear the Actor or the Undergoer macrorole depending on the head predicate. A transitive clause is a clause that has two core complements. One bearing the Actor macrorole and the other bearing the Undergoer macrorole. The single core complement of an intransitive clause and the complement bearing the Undergoer macrorole of a transitive clause receive the same case marking, the Nominative, while the agent complement of a transitive clause receives the Genitive case.

Example (12) contains an intransitive Actor verb and the Nominative case is used to encode the actor participant.

(12) **nangday**

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{daki} \\
\text{ni} \\
\text{pating}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{naN-?ala=j} \\
\text{laki ni patiŋ}
\end{array}
\]

*ACTV/PFT-get=NOM man GEN stick*

'the man took a stick'

Example (13) contains a transitive Patient verb and the Nominative case marks the Undergoer participant while the Genitive case marks the agent participant.

(13) **dag'en**

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{ni} \\
\text{totooy}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{kolong}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
laga-an \\
i \\
cv-to ţo=j
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{kolq}
\end{array}
\]

*do-PATV/IPF GEN PL-person=NOM coffin*

'the people will make the coffin'
36.1.2 Obligatory Occurrence

An intransitive verb requires a Nominative complement. The only time the Nominative is not overtly expressed is when it refers to a third person singular entity for which Ibaloy lacks an overt Nominative bound pronominal form. Its presence is here marked with a zero, although it is usually left unmarked.

(14) $imoli$ i $daki$
    $<$ACTV/PFT$>$return NOM man
    ‘the man returned home’

(15) $imoliak$
    $<$ACTV/PFT$>$return=1/NOM
    ‘I returned home’

(16) $imoli$
    _@_ $<$ACTV/PFT$>$return 3/NOM
    ‘s/he returned home’

In an independent clause headed by a transitive verb both the Genitive Agent and the Nominative complement are obligatory. The absence of the Genitive Agent from (17) results in an ungrammatical construction, as shown in (18).

(17) $inda$ ni $naama$ i $tapey$
    $<$PATV/PFT$>$get GEN STAPATV/PFT-old man NOM rice wine
    ‘the old man took the rice wine’

(18) * $inda$ _@_ $i$ $tapey$

As for intransitive independent clauses, the absence of an overt Nominative complement, instead, means that the clause involves a third person (singular) entity.

(19) $inda$ ni $naama$ _@_
    $<$PATV/PFT$>$get GEN STAPATV/PFT-old man 3/NOM
    ‘the old man took it (the rice wine)’
36.1.3 Summary of Overt Coding Properties

The above discussion of overt coding properties provides some evidence for treating the Nominative and the Genitive Agent of a transitive Undergoer verb as core complements. This is summarised as follows.

Ibaloy allows only one Nominative complement per clause. This Nominative complement bears either the Actor or the Undergoer macrorole, depending on the verb. It is also the constituent that may receive pronominal agreement marking.

The agent of a transitive verb receives the Genitive case. This complement always bears the Actor macrorole. The Genitive Agent has strict positional requirements. It must occur right after the head verb (before all the other nominal constituents in the clause). In an independent clause, it must be always overtly expressed, and it may receive pronominal agreement marking.

Ibaloy has a mechanism to express its core complements through the use of bound pronouns. In an intransitive clause the only constituent that may be encoded as a bound pronoun is the Nominative one. In a transitive clause both the Agent and the Nominative complement may be encoded as bound pronouns. Overt coding properties are summarized in Table 36.2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case-Marking</th>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Agent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Constituent-Order</td>
<td>relatively free</td>
<td>rigid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macrorole</td>
<td>Actor/Undergoer</td>
<td>Actor</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Further evidence for treating the above constituents as core complements come from the following section on behavioral and control properties.

36.2 Behavioral and Control Properties

Behavioral and control properties relevant to Ibaloy are of two main types: syntactic and pragmatic. Each main type comprises a number of specific constructions as illustrated below.

- Syntactic:
  - complement reduction (§36.2.1);
- relativization (§36.2.2);
- cleft construction (§36.2.3).

- Pragmatic:
  - co-reference in reflexives (§36.2.4);
  - co-reference in imperative, prohibitive and exhortative constructions (§36.2.5);
  - anaphora in multi-clausal constructions (§36.2.6).

It will soon be clear that only syntactic criteria are relevant to identify grammatical relations in Ibaloy.

### 36.2.1 Complement Reduction

Complement reduction refers to the process whereby one (or more) of the complements of a clause is obligatorily deleted when co-referential with that of a linked clause as discussed below. Complement reduction occurs in several constructions. Only complement reduction in the following two constructions is of interest here.

**In a Linked Complement Clause** These constructions are all headed by a non-auxiliary extension verb which requires a sentential complement referred to as the “complement clause”. The only constructions that are relevant here are those headed by an extension verb requiring a Genitive Agent plus a complement clause introduced by the linker *ja* (or one of its allomorphs). For a more detailed description on constructions involving non-auxiliary extension verbs see Chapter 41.

When a complement clause with an intransitive verb lacks an overtly expressed Nominative complement, the Genitive Agent of the main clause is co-referential with the missing Nominative complement. These complement clauses typically contain a dynamic controlled verb carrying Actor morphology (e.g. *on-*, *man-*).

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{piyankon} & \text{on’aseba} & \emptyset \\
\text{pijan=k=ko=n} & \text{?on’asawa} & \text{like, want=1/GEN=LK ACTV/IPF-marry}
\end{array}
\]

‘I want to get married’

When a complement clause with a transitive verb lacks an overtly expressed Genitive Agent, the Genitive Agent of the main clause is co-referential with that of the missing complement clause. The transitive verb of the complement clause is usually a dynamic controlled verb carrying Undergoer morphology (e.g. *-en*, *-an*).
The following set of examples clearly shows that complement reduction only occurs when the Genitive Agent of the head verb in the main clause is co-referential with the Genitive Agent of the following verb in the complement clause, and not when it is co-referential with the Nominative of the complement clause containing a transitive verb.

\[
\begin{align*}
(21) & \quad \text{piyankon} \quad \text{tongkaten} \quad \emptyset \quad \text{iya} \quad \text{baro} \\
& \quad \text{pijan} = \text{ko} = \text{n} \quad \text{tongal} = \text{an} \quad \emptyset \quad \text{ija} \quad \text{bado} \\
& \quad \text{like} = \text{1/GEN} = \text{LK} \quad \text{buy-PATV/IPF} \quad \text{NOM/PROX} \quad \text{dress, garment} \\
\end{align*}
\]

'I'd like to buy this dress'

It follows that complement reduction in the above type of construction targets the agent role. Further evidence comes from the absence of stative verbs in the complement clauses of this type of construction. This is mainly due to the fact that stative verbs lack an agent or, more generally, an actor macrorole. However, it is possible for a few potentive verbs to occur in such constructions. This is, for instance, the case of the potentive verb \text{maokip} /\text{ma?ogip}/ 'sleep'. The reason for this is presumably semantic; one can choose to sleep.

\[
\begin{align*}
(22) & \quad \text{piyankon} \quad \text{todonganmoak} \\
& \quad \text{pijan} = \text{ko} = \text{n} \quad \text{tolon} = \text{an} = \text{mo} = \text{ak} \\
& \quad \text{like, want} = \text{1/GEN} = \text{LK} \quad \text{help-LOCV/IPF=2/GEN=1/NOM} \\
\end{align*}
\]

'I'd like you to help me'

\[
\begin{align*}
(23) & \quad * \quad \text{piyankon} \quad \text{todonganmo} \quad \emptyset \\
& \quad \text{pijan} = \text{ko} = \text{n} \quad \text{tolon} = \text{an} = \text{mo} \\
& \quad \text{like, want} = \text{1/GEN} = \text{LK} \quad \text{help-LOCV/IPF=2/GEN} \\
\end{align*}
\]

* 'I'd like you to help me'

In a Linked Purpose Clause These constructions consist of two clauses. The second clause, introduced by the linker \text{ja} (or one of its allomorphs) expressing the purpose, is dependent on the predicate of the first one but does not constitute one of its complements. The first clause must have all its complements expressed while the dependent clause lacks those complements co-referential with the ones of the first or main clause. See §44.3 for details.

When both clauses contain an intransitive verb and share the Nominative complement, then this is only overtly expressed in the main clause.
Similarly, when the verb in the main clause is transitive while that in the dependent clause is intransitive and both clauses share the same Nominative, then the latter is only expressed in the main clause.

Similarly, when the Nominative of the main clause is co-referential with the Genitive Agent in the dependent clause, no complement reduction occurs. The Genitive Agent must be overtly expressed, usually as a bound pronoun, in the dependent clause.

It is clear that complement reduction in a linked purpose clause targets the Nominative complement.
36.2 Behavioral and Control Properties

36.2.2 Relativization

It is possible to relativize on the Nominative complement and the possessor of a possessed noun. However, two different strategies are employed (§33.1). The resumptive pronoun strategy is used to relativize on the possessor, while the deletion strategy is used to relativize upon the Nominative. Only the latter type of relativization is of interest here.

The deletion strategy is used when the head noun is the Nominative complement of the relative clause.

In the following example the relative clause contains an intransitive Actor verb as predicate. Note that its Nominative participant is not expressed because it is the head noun of the relative clause introduced by the linker *ja* (or one of its allomorphs).

(28) *baray bii ja enongkal ∅ ni apag*
    wada=j bii ja ?aN-tonggal ni ?apag
    exist=NOM woman LK ACTV/PFT-buy GEN meat

    ‘there is a woman who bought some meat’

The following example contains a transitive Patient verb as the predicate of the relative clause. The head of the relative clause is the Nominative complement, hence it is not expressed in the relative clause.

(29) *sajay i apag ja tinongkalto ∅ nonta*
    sajaj ?i ?apag ja <in>tonggal=to nonta
    TOP/PROX/PRO NOM meat LK <PATV/PFT>buy=3/GEN when-past

    *ma’chem*
    ma-?adam
    STA?V/MA-evening

    ‘this (here) is the meat that she bought yesterday’

Relativization upon a nominal constituent other than the Nominative results in an ungrammatical construction. See §33.1 for details.

36.2.3 Clefting

Clefting applies only to Nominative complements (see §43.2). Clefting is often employed with certain question words. The question word (e.g. *nganto* /ŋanto/ or *ngaran* /ŋadan/ ‘what’, *sipa* /sipā/ ‘who, whom’) occurs in predicate position followed by the non-finite clause introduced by a Nominative determiner (e.g. *i* ‘NOM’).
In the following example the non-finite clause contains an Actor verb. The inde­pendent pronoun *si*’*kato* ‘3/IND’ corresponds to the Nominative complement of that clause.

(30) *si*’*kato*  *dimaw*  *chi Bagiw*

> *si?gato=j  <im>law  di bagiw*
> 3/IND=NOM <ACTV/PFT>go LOC Bagiw

‘who went to Baguio?’

The following non-finite clause contains a transitive Patient verb. The predicating question word *nganto* ‘what’ corresponds to the Nominative complement of that clause.

(31) *nganto*  *dingkato?*

> *ganto=j  <in>laga=to*
>  what=NOM <PATV/PFT>do=3/GEN

‘what did he do?’

The following examples show that it is ungrammatical to cleft the Locative expres­sion of an Actor verb or to cleft the Genitive constituent of either an Actor verb or a transitive Undergoer verb, if it bears an undergoer role.

(32) *dimaw*  *i*  *daki chi Kabayan*

> *<im>law  ?i laki di kabajan*
>  <ACTV/PFT>go NOM man LOC Kabayan

‘the man went to Kabayan’

(33) *towa*  *i*  *dimaw*  *i*  *daki?*

> *towa ?i  <im>law  ?i laki*
>  where NOM <ACTV/PFT>go NOM man

* ‘where did the man go?’

(34) *nangda*  *i*  *daki ni bigo*

> *naN?-yala  ?i laki ni wigo*
>  ACTV/PFT-get NOM man GEN dye

‘the man got some dye’

(35) *nganto*  *nangda*  *i*  *daki?*

> *ganto=j  naN?-yala  ?i laki*
>  what=NOM ACTV/PFT-get NOM man

* ‘what did the man get?’

(36) *inaknantoy*  *nga’nga ni inapoy*

> *<in>?akan-an=to=j  nga nga  ni ?inapoj*
>  <LOCV/PFT>give-LOCV=3/GEN=NOM child GEN rice

‘he gave the child some rice’
36.2 Behavioral and Control Properties

(37) * ngaran i inaknantoy nga'nga?
    ṣadan i <in>ʔakan-an=to=ʒ ngaʔja
what NOM <LocV/PFT>give-LocV=3/GEN=NOM child

* ‘what did he gave the child?’

36.2.4 Co-Reference in Reflexives

Reflexivization in Ibaloy is not grammaticalized. Ibaloy has two main constructions for expressing a reflexive action. One makes use of an intransitive controlled Actor verb, the other of a transitive controlled Undergoer verb. Ibaloy lacks a proper reflexive pronoun. The nearest to it is the possessed noun *bakdang* /bakla:/ ‘body’ (or less frequently the possessed noun *angel* /ʔaːal/ ‘soul’) where the possessor is co-referential with the actor/agent.

The *man-* Actor prefix set is used with some verbs to indicate reflexivization (see Chapter 20). In this case the actor is interpreted as being also the patient. It follows that the Nominative participant plays two roles at once giving rise to a reflexive reading. Consider, for instance, the verb *manbono* ‘to kill oneself’.

(38) manbono i daki
    man-bono ?i laki
    AcTV/IPF-kill NOM man

‘the man will kill himself’

In the above example, the verb *manbono* is interpreted as reflexive without the need to mention the possessed noun *bakdang*. However, not all *man-* marked verbs have a reflexive reading. Those that do include grooming verbs such as *man’a’mes* /manʔoʔmos/ ‘to wash oneself’ and *mandopa* /manlopa/ ‘to wash ones own face’ amongst the others. See §20.2.

In order to be interpreted as reflexives Actor verbs which do not carry the *man-* affix set require the presence of the noun *bakdang* ‘body’, which must occur possessed. In this case the possessor is interpreted as being co-referential with the actor participant in Nominative case.

(39) engiba’jat i daki ni bakdangtod sabijan
    ?aŋi-baʔjat ?i laki ni baklaʔ=to=d sabijan
    AcTV/PFT-hang NOM man GEN body=3/GEN=LOC door

‘the man hanged himself at the door’
When a reflexive action is expressed through a (controlled) transitive verb such as the Patient verb *bonoen* ‘to kill someone’, the possessed noun *bakdang* ‘body’ is the Nominative complement and its possessor must agree in person and number with the Genitive Agent. This is exemplified as follows.

(41) *bonoen* *ni* *daki* *i* *bakdang*to
    *bono-en* *ni* *laki* ?i *baklaq*=to
    kill-PATV/IPF GEN man NOM body=3/GEN

‘the man will kill himself’

With a Theme verb the possessed noun *bakdang* ‘body’ is marked by the Genitive case and its possessor is understood as being co-referential with the Genitive Agent.

(42) *inkowanto* *ni* *bakdang*: ...
    *in-kowan*=to *ni* *baklaq*=to
    THMV/PFT-say=3/GEN GEN body=3/GEN

‘he said to himself: …’

### 36.2.5 Co-Reference in Imperatives, Prohibitives and Exhortatives

Ibaloy has three command-type constructions: imperative, prohibitive and exhortative. Each construction has a unique structure, but in each one participant is co-referential with the addressee. In this case, pragmatics primarily determine which participant is the co-referential one regardless of case-marking or whether or not overtly expressed.

**Imperative**  Ibaloy verbs have a specific imperative form. In an imperative construction a second person pronoun is co-referential with the addressee. Regardless of its case marking, the agent/actor is interpreted as co-referential.

In an intransitive clause headed by an imperative-marked Actor verb it is the Nominative participant, whose macrorole is that of Actor, that is interpreted as co-referential with the addressee.
In a transitive clause headed by an imperative-marked Undergoer verb it is the Genitive Agent that is interpreted as co-referential with the addressee.

(44) idotom  
    ?i-loto=im  
    ?ija  
    ?apag  
    THMV/IMP-cook=2/GEN NOM/PROX meat

‘cook meat!’

**Prohibitive**  The prohibitive construction is formed with the negative auxiliary *kara* /kada/ (or its allomorph *ara=*/?ada=/), which must precede the main verb. See §40.1.2 for details.

In a prohibitive construction, like the imperative construction, a second-person pronoun is co-referential with the addressee. Regardless of its case marking, the agent/actor is interpreted as co-referential.

With an intransitive main verb, the Nominative bound pronoun occurring right after the prohibitive auxiliary is interpreted as co-referential.

(45) karaka  
    mengan  
    niman!  
    kada=m  
    maN-kan  
    niman  
    prhb=2/NOM ACTV/IPF-eat time-present

‘don’t eat now!’

With a transitive main verb, the Genitive Agent bound pronoun encliticised to the prohibitive auxiliary is interpreted as co-referential.

(46) karam  
    ibo’day  
    i  
    baro!  
    kada=m  
    ?i-bo?laj  
    ?i  
    bado  
    prhb=2/GEN THMV/CNTV-outside NOM dress, garment

‘don’t take out the clothes’

**Exhortative**  Ibaloy has two separate exhortative constructions; one for dynamic Actor verbs and the other for dynamic Undergoer verbs.

With dynamic Actor verbs the imperfective form of the verb is followed by a Nominative first person plural bound pronoun (e.g. =kita ‘1&2/NOM’). The pronoun is co-referential with the speaker and the addressee(s). Intonation and context will determine the construction as exhortative from a declarative one.
With dynamic Undergoer verbs the potentiival form of the verb in imperfective aspect is instead used. In this case neither the speaker nor the addressee are overtly expressed, but they are inferred from the context.

With respect to all the above command-type constructions (especially, the exhortative one) it is pragmatics that plays the most relevant role. Whether expressed or not, and regardless of its case, one participant is understood as being co-referential with the addressee.

### 36.2.6 Anaphora in Multi-Clausal Constructions

Discourse and pragmatics play a role in identifying the co-referential participant in multi-clausal constructions. The phenomenon of anaphora in Ibaloy might easily constitute the topic for a whole PhD thesis but will be given only brief mention here.

Multi-clausal constructions are roughly subdivided into subordinate and co-ordinate constructions. Both types may make use of an explicit lexical conjunction, as discussed in Chapter 44 and Chapter 45.

In Ibaloy multi-clausal constructions the co-referential constituent does not need to be the Nominative one. However, elision of the Nominative complement occurs more frequently with the conjunction *jet* ‘and then’.

In (49) and (50) the third person singular Nominative entity (referred to by a bound pronoun which in that case has zero-realisation) is understood as co-referential with the Nominative participant of the previous clause.
36.2 Behavioral and Control Properties

In the following example the subordinating conjunction *isonga* ‘hence, therefore’ is used to link the two clauses. In this case, the Nominative complement of the subordinate clause is co-referential with the Genitive Agent =to ‘3/GEN’ of the main clause.

(51) \( \text{sinékítantos, agito, isonga egto} \)

\[ \text{ágito=to} \quad \text{?iso=nga} \quad \text{?ag=to} \]

\[ \text{hurt-LocV=3/GEN=NOM/PERS sibling=3/GEN hence=LK neg=3/GEN} \]

\( \text{tabtabal-an} \quad \emptyset \)

\( \text{talk-PATV/IPF} \quad \emptyset \)

‘he hurt his brother, therefore he (the brother) does not talk to him’

36.2.7 Summary of Behavior and Control Properties

Two main types of behavior and control processes can be identified in Ibaloy. Processes of the first kind are governed by the syntax of the language, while processes of the second kind result from a more pragmatic and discourse oriented interpretation.

Syntactic processes apply to complement reduction, clefting, and relativization. Pragmatic processes, instead, apply to co-referential constructions which include the reflexive, imperative, prohibitive, and exhortative and anaphora in multi-clausal constructions. This is summarized in Table 36.3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syntax</th>
<th>Pragmatics/Discourse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Complement-Reduction</td>
<td>Reflexive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clefting</td>
<td>Imperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relativization</td>
<td>Prohibitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Exhortative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Anaphora</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Since this chapter is about identifying the grammatical relations of Ibaloy, only those processes triggered by grammatical relations are considered.

However, Ibaloy syntactic processes do not all target the same complement. In fact, Ibaloy syntactic processes can be further subdivided into two main kinds: those which are triggered by the Nominative, and those which are triggered by the Genitive Agent. These processes provide further evidence for treating both the Nominative and the Genitive Agent as the core complements of the language.

Each syntactic construction is controlled by one or both of the core complements. With regard to the syntactic processes listed above, those controlled by the Nominative are clefting, relativization, and complement reduction in linked purpose clauses. Conversely, complement reduction in linked complement clauses is mainly triggered by the Genitive Agent. This is represented in Table 36.4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Controller</th>
<th>Syntactic Process</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>Clefting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Relativization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Complement Reduction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agent</td>
<td>Complement Reduction</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 37

Extension-to-Core Complements

Versus Adjuncts

This chapter deals with the distinction between “extension-to-core complements” (Dixon and Aikhenvald, 2000) and adjuncts. Extension-to-core complements (abbreviated as E complement or E) are usually optional and receive the Genitive, Oblique or Locative case. Furthermore, they do not have strict placement requirements, though Ibaloy shows certain preferences. In these respects, they are similar to adjuncts. Some adjuncts are case-marked and receive the Genitive, Oblique or Locative case. However, adjuncts differ from E complements in that they are not subcategorised for by the verb, and tend to carry more adverbial meanings such as that of time, manner, and place.

Both clauses in (1) and (2) are intransitive and contain a core complement plus E. In (1), the Actor verb *inanngaran* ‘someone is called a name’ takes the Nominative (S) bearing the Actor macrorole plus a Genitive-marked complement expressing a goal. In (2), the Actor verb *nan’iyan* ‘someone lives at a location’ takes the Nominative (S) bearing the Actor macrorole plus a Locative-marked complement expressing a location.

(1)  

*inanngaran*  

si’kato ni  

*Bakan*  

?inan-?adan  

si?gato ni bokan  

AcTV/PFT-name 3/IND  

GEN Bokan  

‘his name was Bokan’

(2)  

*nan’iyan*  

si  

*Bakan chima*  

*East*  

nan-?ijan  

si  

bokan dima  

east  

AcTV/PFT-live NOM/PERS Bokan  

LOC/DIST East  

‘Bokan lived in the East’
The clauses in (3) and (4) are transitive and contain two core complements plus E. In (3) the Theme verb *itaked* ‘someone will tie someone with something’ takes the Genitive Agent (A) and the Nominative (P) bearing the Undergoer macrorole plus a Genitive-marked complement expressing an instrument.

(3)  
\[ \text{itakedcha ira ni banet} \]  
\[ ?i-takad=da \quad ?ida \quad ni \quad banat \]  
\[ \text{THMV/IPF-tie=3+/GEN 3+/NOM GEN rope} \]  
‘they will tie them with a rope’

Similarly, in (4) the Theme verb *iiyan* ‘someone will put something/someone somewhere’ takes the Agent (A) and the Undergoer Nominative (P) plus a Locative-marked complement expressing a location.

(4)  
\[ \text{iiyancha ira chi sakeya kolong} \]  
\[ ?i-?ijan=da \quad ?ida \quad di \quad sakoj=a \quad kolon \]  
\[ \text{THMV/IPF-put=3+/GEN 3+/NOM LOC one=LK coffin} \]  
‘they will put them in one coffin’

Amongst E complements, further subdivisions may be made showing a cline from more complement-like to more adjunct-like. The Genitive-marked complement has a restricted interpretation. In independent clauses, it is interpreted as indefinite or generic, though it may be specific. Moreover, this complement often bears an undergoer-like role like that of patient or theme. The Oblique-marked complement often encodes an animate (usually human) recipient, goal, or source. In this sense, it involves an additional participant, though not usually bearing a prototypical undergoer role. Finally, the Locative-marked complement is certainly no less important than the previous complements, but it does not involve a further participant but rather a location of some sort. This continuum amongst the E complements is illustrated in Figure 37.1.

In the following sections E complements are discussed according to their case-marking. They are also compared with their adjunct counterparts.

![Continuum of Extension-to-Core Complements](image)

Figure 37.1: Continuum of Extension-to-Core Complements
37.1 Genitive-Marked Non-Agent Complements

The Genitive case is used to mark a participant bearing an undergoer role in an intransitive clause, as in (5) or a transitive clause, as in (6).

(5) \( \text{nangchel} \ ni \ \text{paydeng} \)
    \( \text{naN-} ?\text{adal} \ ni \ \text{pajlaj} \)
    \text{ACTV/PFT-catch GEN fish}

'he caught some fish'

(6) \( \text{inaknancha} \ \text{totoo} \ ni \ \text{obda} \)
    \( \text{<in> ?akan-an=da} \ ?ida=j \ \text{CV-to?o} \ ni \ ?obla} \)
    \text{<LOCV/PFT>give-LOCV=3+/GEN 3+/NOM=NOM PL-person GEN job, work}

‘they gave the people work’

The particular role borne by the Genitive-marked participant depends on the verb. For instance, in (7) it is a patient; in (8) it is a theme; and in (9) it is an instrument.

(7) \( \text{mandeka} \ ni \ \text{palangka} \)
    \( \text{man-laga} \ ni \ \text{palagka} \)
    \text{ACTV/IPF-make, do GEN bench, chair}

‘he will make a chair’

(8) \( \text{engimotok} \ ni \ \text{chakela} \ \text{paydeng} \)
    \( \text{?a?i-motok} \ ni \ \text{dakal=a} \ \text{pajlaj} \)
    \text{ACTV/PFT-arrive GEN many, lot=LK fish}

‘he arrived with lots of fish’

(9) \( \text{itakedcha} \ \text{ni} \ \text{banet} \)
    \( \text{?i-takad=da} \ \text{ni} \ \text{banat} \)
    \text{THMV/IPF-tie=3+/GEN GEN rope}

‘they will tie him with a rope’

Although the Genitive-marked non-Agent complement may be specific, in independent clauses it is generally understood as generic or indefinite. Being indefinite it never occurs topicalised. Unlike the Genitive Agent of a transitive construction, no bound personal pronoun is available for Genitive-marked non-Agents.

The Genitive case is also used to introduce some adjuncts. These Genitive-marked adjuncts mainly carry adverbial meanings such as that of time, as in (10), amongst others.

(10) \( \text{kamikamandoado} \ \text{ni} \ \text{olay} \ \text{ni} \ \text{agsapa} \)
    \( \text{kamika=man-lo?alo} \ \text{ni} \ ?olaj \ \text{ni} \ ?agsapa} \)
    \text{1+/NOM/ASP=ACTV/IPF-pray GEN always GEN morning}

‘we always pray in the morning’
Furthermore, Genitive-marked adjuncts differ from their complement counterpart in that adjuncts may occur topicalised. However, when they do so, they lose the Genitive determiner *ni*. Topicalisation of an adjunct never involves a resumptive pronoun. See topicalisation §43.1 for further details.

(11) \[ \begin{align*} \text{agsapa} & \text{ ket} \quad \text{irakaondaw} \quad \text{chi} \quad \text{Batan} \\ \text{ʔagsapa} & \text{ kat} \quad \text{ʔidaka=ʔon-law} \quad \text{di} \quad \text{batan} \\ \text{morning} & \text{ TPLK 3+/NOM/ASP=<ACTV/PFT>-go LOC Batan} \end{align*} \]

‘as for the morning, they usually go to Batan’

Finally, the interpretation of Genitive-marked adjuncts is the same regardless of the predicate while that of Genitive complements is conditioned by the predicate.

### 37.2 Oblique-Marked Complements

In a clause headed by an intransitive Actor verb (Chapter 18), the Oblique case is used in place of the Genitive case to encode an undergoer participant which refers to a definite animate (usually human) entity. This typically occurs in dependent clauses (e.g. relative clauses), though in a few cases it also occurs in independent clauses.

Compare the following examples. In (12) the Genitive-marked complement is generic (though it might be specific) while in (13) it is definite.

(12) \[ \begin{align*} \text{on’aseba} & \quad \text{ni} \quad \text{pilipino} \\ \text{ʔon-ʔasawa} & \quad \text{ni} \quad \text{pilipino} \\ \text{AcTV/IPF-marry, spouse GEN Philippine person} \end{align*} \]

‘he will get married to a Philippine person’

(13) \[ \begin{align*} \text{on’aseba} & \quad \text{soni} \quad \text{pilipino} \\ \text{ʔon-ʔasawa} & \quad \text{so=ni} \quad \text{pilipino} \\ \text{AcTV/IPF-spouse OBL=GEN Philippine person} \end{align*} \]

‘he will get married to the Philippine person’

In a clause headed by an intransitive Actor collective verb (Chapter 23), the Oblique case is used to mark a participant as accompanying the Nominative actor, as in (14).

(14) \[ \begin{align*} \text{mekidawka} & \quad \text{son} \quad \text{si’kak} \\ \text{maki-law=ka} & \quad \text{so=n} \quad \text{siʔgak} \\ \text{AcTV/IPF-go=2/NOM OBL=GEN/PERS 1/IND} \end{align*} \]

‘you will go with me’
In both intransitive and transitive clauses, the Oblique case may be used with an animate (possibly human) recipient, goal or source. The specific semantic role borne by the complement depends on the verb and its semantics. For instance, in (15) and (16) it is a human recipient.

(15) \textit{mengikan ni pilak soni abalo}
\textit{maj-takan ni pilak so=ni ?a-balo}
\textit{ACTV/IPF-give GEN money OBL=GEN StaPatV/PFT-widower}

‘he will give some money to the widower’

(16) \textit{inkaspigtoy baro son asebato}
\textit{?in-kaspig=to=j bado so=n ?asawa=to}
\textit{THMV/PFT-throw=3/GEN=NOM dress, garment OBL=GEN/PERS spouse=3/GEN}
\textit{nodta naydaem ni baley}
\textit{nodta najla=tom ni balaj}
\textit{LOC/REC STA\textit{THMV}/PFT-inside GEN house}

‘he threw the dress to his wife inside the house’

Although these constituents are understood as being definite, they never occur topicalised. This is probably connected with the fact that Ibaloy lacks a bound pronominal form to refer to these complements. Bound pronouns are used to rescue the identity of the topicalised constituent and its relation to the verb. Without a resumptive pronoun, Oblique-marked constituents would be interpreted as adjuncts, and as adjuncts they carry their own meanings as discussed below.

The Oblique case is also used to introduce an adjunct constituent. However, in this function it always carries the meaning of ‘according to, for’. There are no examples in my corpus of Oblique-marked adjuncts referring to an animate source or recipient.

(17) \textit{no importante sonen si’kam,}
\textit{no importante so=nam si?gam}
\textit{if/when important OBL=GEN/PERS 2/IND}
\textit{odopentaka}
\textit{?olop-an=taka}
\textit{accompany, invite-PATV/IPF=1/GEN&2/NOM}

‘if it is important for you, I will accompany you’

Moreover, Oblique-marked adjuncts may occur in topic position, as in the following example.

(18) \textit{son si’kak, edigat i esel ni}
\textit{so=n si?gak ?a-ligat ?i ?asol ni}
\textit{OBL=GEN/PERS 1/IND StaPatV/PFT-difficult NOM voice, word, language GEN}
Ibadoy
?ibaloj
Ibaloy

‘as for me, the Ibaloy language is difficult’

For other uses of the Oblique case see Chapter 12.

## 37.3 Locative-Marked Complements

Locative-marked complements are difficult to distinguish from Locative-marked adjuncts, being at one extreme of the cline illustrated in Table 37.1. The Locative case is used to mark an inanimate location of some kind (e.g. goal, source, a static/motionless location). However, when it is a complement its specific interpretation depends on the verb.

For instance, in (19) and (20) it is a goal.

(19) \texttt{mimotok} \texttt{ira} \texttt{chiya} \texttt{Benguet} \\
\texttt{<im>motok} \texttt{?ida} \texttt{dija} \texttt{benguet} \\
\texttt{<ACTV/PFT>arrive 3+/NOM LOC/PROX Benguet province} \\

‘they arrived here to the Benguet province’

(20) \texttt{italocha} \texttt{i} \texttt{meking chima diyang} \\
\texttt{?i-talo=da} \texttt{?i mokiq dima lijaq} \\
\texttt{THMV/IPF-store=3+/GEN NOM mummy LOC/DIST cave} \\

‘they will store the mummy in that cave’

In (21) it is a static location.

(21) \texttt{manbedey} \texttt{ira} \texttt{chi} \texttt{chonchontog} \\
\texttt{man-balaj} \texttt{?ida} \texttt{di CVC-dontog} \\
\texttt{ACTV/IPF-reside 3+/NOM LOC MULT-mountain} \\

‘they will reside in the mountains’

In (22) it is a source.

(22) \texttt{chakaal’a} \texttt{i} \texttt{chanom chi bedat} \\
\texttt{daka=?ala-a} \texttt{?i danom di balat} \\
\texttt{3+/GEN/ASP=get-PATV/CNTV NOM water LOC skin} \\

‘they usually get the water from the skin’
Locative complements may occur in topic position (without a resumptive bound pronoun) where they usually provide a general setting for the following discourse. However, this mainly occurs for locations that are interpreted as static, as in (23), and only rarely when the location is a goal. When the latter occurs as a pragmatic topic in a pre-predicate position, then the clause is usually headed by an intransitive verb (taking that location as complement) and contains a directional adverb \((ali/=di \text{ ‘toward’ or } =da/=la \text{ ‘away’})\) that points towards that location specifying its directionality.

In (23) the perfective-marked Actor verb \(nan’iyan \text{ ‘someone lived/stayed at a location’}\) takes the Locative-marked complement occurring in pre-predicate position. Such a complement refers to a static location.

\[(23) \text{chi ili ja nay’askang ni so’kek, nan’iyan i di ?ili ja naj’-askaj ni so?kak nan-?ijan ?i LOC town, village LK STA THMV /PFT-next GEN forest ACTV /PFT-stay, live NOM} \]

\[ \text{daki ja nanngaran ni Batil} \]
\[ \text{laki ja nan-?adan ni batil} \]
\[ \text{man LK ACTV /PFT-name GEN Batil} \]

‘in the village near the forest lived a man called Batil’

In (24) the Actor verb \(onsekep \text{ ‘someone will enter somewhere’}\) takes a Locative complement which occurs topicalised. The clause contains the second-order directional adverb \(=la \text{ ‘toward’}\) which points towards the topicalised location.

\[(24) \text{chima kad’an ni crocodile farm, no onsekepkala} \]
\[ \text{dima kad?an ni crocodile farm no ?on-sagap=ka=la LOC/DIST place GEN crocodile farm if/when ACTV /IPF-enter=2/NOM=toward} \]

‘in that crocodile farm, if you enter (there) ...’

On the other hand, Locative adjuncts denote a narrower range of locations. They mainly refer to static (motionless) locations (e.g. in, at, on), and often occur in topic position without a resumptive pronoun, as shown in (25).

\[(25) \text{nem chima Kebajan, chakel kono i baay ya singa bakal} \]
\[ \text{nom dima kabajan dakal kono ?i ba?aj ja si?a bakal but LOC/DIST Kabayan many hearsay NOM vine LK like wild} \]

‘but in Kabayan, it is said that there are many vines like wild’
Chapter 38

Non-Verbal Simple Clauses

Non-verbal simple clauses in Ibaloy are headed by a constituent that is not classified as a lexical verb. On the basis of predicate type, the following main types of non-verbal simple clauses are identified.

- Nominal Predicate Clauses (§38.1)
- Prepositional Predicate Clauses (§38.2)
- Presentational Clauses (§38.3)
- Locational Clauses (§38.4)
- Existential Clauses including Possessive Existential Clauses (§38.5)

Ibaloy has also more complex clauses where a constituent other than a lexical verb acts as an auxiliary or a non-auxiliary extension predicate. These constructions are discussed alongside their verbal counterparts in Chapter 40 and Chapter 41.

38.1 Nominal Predicate Clauses

Ibaloy lacks a copula verb. Nominals function as predicates of nominal clauses. The predicate nominal occurs first followed by the Nominative complement which can be expressed as a full phrase or a pronoun. The nature of the predicate nominal depends on the type of predication. The constituent structure of a nominal clause is represented in Table 38.1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NOUNPHR</th>
<th>TOPPHR</th>
<th>[+pred]</th>
<th>NOMPHR</th>
<th>S</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Table 38.1: Nominal Clauses
The following main types of nominal clauses are distinguished.

- Classificational Nominal Clauses (§38.1.1)
- Qualificational Nominal Clauses (§38.1.2)
- Identificational Nominal Clauses (§38.1.3)
- Quantificational Nominal Clauses (§38.1.4)

### 38.1.1 Classificational Nominal Clauses

Classificational clauses are those in which the predicate classifies the entity expressed in the Nominative phrase of the clause. The predicate nominal is usually a generic common noun (derived or underived) occurring without modifiers.

In this case, the predicate nominal represents a class of entities of which the Nominative is an instance.

(1) \textit{abokado} i \textit{anakto}  \\
\textit{abokado} Ti \textit{?anak=to}  \\
lawyer NOM child=3/GEN  \\
‘her child is a lawyer’

(2) \textit{salaw} iyay  \\
salaw \textit{?ijaj}  \\
jar NOM/PROX/PRO  \\
‘this is a jar’

(3) \textit{maystara} si \textit{Tering}  \\
\textit{maystara} si tering  \\
teacher NOM/PERS Tering  \\
‘Tering is a teacher’

The Nominative complement may be expressed by a personal pronoun — either a bound Nominative pronoun or an independent pronoun. Except for the Nominative third person plural pronouns \textit{ira} /?ida/, bound pronouns are second-order constituents that encliticise at the end of the predicate, as in (4). Nothing can occur between the predicate and the bound pronoun(s). See §16.2 for details.

(4) \textit{Itogonak}  \\
?itogon=ak  \\
Itogon person=1/NOM  \\
‘I am an Itogon (person)’
The Nominative second-order third person plural pronoun *ira* is a free pronoun and does not encliticise to the predicate. Second-order adverbs (e.g. *mala* ‘already’) may occur between the predicate and *ira*.

(5) san’aseba mala *ira*  
    san-asawa mala *?ida*  
    RECN-spouse already 3+/NOM

‘they are already husband and wife’

An Independent pronoun may also function as Nominative complement (see §16.1).

(6) *aanak* bengat *si’kara*  
    cv-?anak baqat *si?gada*  
    PL-child only 3+/IND

‘they are only children’

### 38.1.2 Qualificational Nominal Clauses

Qualificational nominal clauses are a subtype of classificational clause. They differ only in that their predicate is a property-like nominal (derived or underived). Ibaloy lacks a separate class of adjectives.

(7) *kostoka*  
    kosto=ka  
    right=2/NOM

‘you are right (you are a right person)’

These predicate nominals are usually gradable and can be modified by *pasiya* ‘very’, as in (8). The intensifier *pasiya* ‘very’ is always introduced by the linker *ja* or one of its allomorphs (*ya*, *=a*, or *=n*), see §46.2.1 for details on this construction.

(8) *marikita*  
    pasiya *i*  
    agito  
    madikit=a pasija *?i*  
    ?agi=to  
    beautiful woman=LK very NOM sibling=3/GEN

‘his sister is very pretty (a very pretty woman)’

(9) nem *apilka*  
    nom *?apil=ka*  
    but different=2/NOM

‘but you are different (a different one)’

(10) *bakbknang* sota too  
    CVC-baknaq sota to?o  
    INTNS-rich NOM/REC person

‘the person is very rich (a very rich person)’
### 38.1.3 Identificational Nominal Clauses

Identificational nominal clauses are those in which the predicate provides specific identification of the entity expressed in the Nominative phrase of the clause. Whereas classificational predicates are typically generic common nouns, an identificational predicate usually consists of a specific nominal construction. A cleft construction is also a subtype of identificational clause. However, because of its function it is treated separately in §43.2.

The predicate nominal is often a personal phrase. In (11) the sequence 'title term plus proper name' acts as the predicate. See §30.2 for a description of personal noun phrases.

(11) Manang Melba i nanangto

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{manan} & \quad \text{melba} \quad ?i \quad \text{nanang=to} \\
\text{Title/elder sister Melba} & \quad \text{NOM} \quad \text{mother=3/GEN}
\end{align*}
\]

'his mother is Melba'

In (12), the predicate is a personal phrase introduced by the personal determiner *si*; see §31.2 for details of personal determiner phrases.

(12) si Apinan i apocha

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{si} & \quad \text{apinan} \quad ?i \quad \text{apo=da} \\
\text{NOM/PERS Apinan} & \quad \text{NOM} \quad \text{leader, ancestor=3/GEN}
\end{align*}
\]

'their leader is Apinan'

In (13) it is an independent personal pronoun; see §16.1.

(13) si'kato si Carlos

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{si'kato} & \quad \text{si} \quad \text{carlos} \\
\text{3/IND} & \quad \text{NOM/PERS Carlos}
\end{align*}
\]

'he is Carlos'

Place names may also act as predicate nominals in an identification nominal clause, as in (14).

(14) Kabayan i ilicha

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kabajan} & \quad ?i \quad \text{bila=da} \\
\text{Kabayan} & \quad \text{NOM} \quad \text{town=3+/GEN}
\end{align*}
\]

'their town is Kabayan'

In (15) the place name is the nominal compound *Mount Pulag*. 
Non-Verbal Simple Clauses

(15) Mount Pulag i kategteg'inana dogad chi

mount polag ?i ka-cvc-tag?in-an=a logad di
Mount Pulag NOM ABSN-INTNS-cold temperature-ABSN=LK place LOC

interon Benguet Province
intero=n benguet province
entire Benguet Province

‘the coldest place in the entire Benguet Province is Mount Pulag’

Alternatively, the predicate may be a demonstrative phrase. In this case, the demonstrative is a Topic deictic (determiner or pronoun), as in (16), or the Nominative recognitional sota, as in (17). See Chapter 14 for a description of the demonstratives.

(16) sajay i istoriya ni kabedi nontanda

sajaj ?i istoriya ni kabali nontan=la
TOP/PROX/PRO NOM story GEN traditional marriage time-past=away

‘this is the story of the traditional marriage a long time ago’

(17) sotan i on’amno, no onsekepka

sotan ?i ?onaj-an=no no ?on-sagap=ka
NOM/REC NOM see-LOCV/IPF=2/GEN if/when AcTV/IPF-enter=2/NOM

chiman
diman
LOC/DIST/PRO

‘that is what you see, if/when you enter there’

It was noted in Chapter 31 that common determiner phrases may contain a noun phrase or a non-linked relative clause as complement. However, when the determiner phrase acts as the predicate of a nominal clause it usually contains a noun phrase. This is especially true for the Topic determiner say /saj/, which is homophonous with the subordinating conjunction say /saj/ meaning ‘so that’. The subordinating conjunction say (see Chapter 44) is instead followed by a finite clause, as shown in (21).

(18) sota chanomto i daokcha

sota danom=to ?i la?ok=da
NOM/REC water=3/GEN NOM ingredient=3+/GEN

‘their ingredient is its juice’

(19) sama maykedba i istoriya ni pangkep sonen Apinan

sama majka-dowa ?i istoriya ni paŋkəp so=nan ?apinan
TOP/DIST ORDN-two NOM story GEN about OBL=GEN/PERS Apinan

‘the story about Apinan is that second one’
Finally, any common noun made specific through a relative clause (§33.1) or a possessive construction (§33.2) may act as the predicate of an identificational nominal clause.

(22) **chalan** ja mapteng iyay
    dalan ja ma-pataŋ ?ijaj
    path way, route lk stA/V/MA-good nom/prox/pro
    ‘this is the good way’

(23) **anak** nen Carmela si Calvin
    ?anak nan carmela si calvin
    child gen/pers Carmela nom/pers Calvin
    ‘Calvin is Carmela’s child’

(24) **ko’jenko** itan
    ko?jon=ko ?ijaj
    property=1/gen nom/med/pro
    ‘That is mine (my property)’

Modified numerals, such as **pilmero** ‘first’, or superlative nouns, such as **kakejangan** ‘tallest’, may also function as the predicate.

(25) **pilmeron** paras nen Manang Julia chi Australia
    pilmero=n paras nan manaŋ julia di australia
    first=1lk experience, try gen/pers title/elder sister julia loc australia
    iyay ?ijaj
    nom/prox/pro
    ‘this is Julia’s first experience in Australia’

(26) **kakejangana** chontog chi Benguet i Mount Pulag
    ka-kajaJJ-an=a dontog di benguet ?i mount polag
    SuPN-tall-SuPN=1lk mountain loc benguet nom mount pulag
    ‘Mount Pulag is the tallest mountain in Benguet’
38.1.4 Quantificational Nominal Clauses

In quantificational nominal clauses the predicate is a quantification noun (derived or underived, see Chapter 11), usually a numeral, whose function is to quantify the entity expressed by the Nominative complement.

(27) *dimay anakko*
lima=j ?anak=ko
five=NOM child=1/GEN

'my children are five'

(28) *tetedokami*
cv-talo=kami
LIMITNUM-three=1+/NOM

'we are only three'

Measurement expressions may also occur as predicates.

(29) *diman pisos i inbayadto*
lima=n pisos ?i ?in-bajad=to
five=LK pesos NOM THMV/PFT-pay=3/GEN

'he paid five pesos'

(30) *dos pisos iyay*
dos pisos ?ijaj
two pesos NOM/PROX/PRO

'this is two pesos'

(31) *sansiratoy sakeya kechil*
san-sida=to=j sakaj=a kadil
WHOLE-viand=3/GEN=NOM one=LK pig

'one pig is his whole viand'

(32) *dinibo son si'kayoy maybechas ni pinsaka*
<in>libo son si?gajo=j maj-badas ni pinsak=a
<FREQ>thousand ONL/PERS 2+/IND=NOM POTTHMV/IPF-whip GEN one time=LK

si'bok ni tabako
si?bok ni tabako
blow GEN tobacco

'many thousands of you will be whipped in the time it takes to blow a puff of tobacco'

The quantification term may have a temporal reference; e.g. frequentative numerals (§11.1.4) and clock time numerals (§11.1.9).
38.2 Prepositional Predicate Clauses

In a prepositional predicate clause the entire prepositional phrase functions as the predicate. A whole range of prepositions can constitute a clausal predicate together with their dependent(s). See Chapter 35 for a description of prepositions and their
constructions. The constituent order of prepositional clauses is shown in Table 38.2 and exemplified below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 38.2: Prepositional Clauses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>PREPPhr</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+pred] S</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(38) \(\text{para} \ sonen \) \(\text{nanangko} \ iya \ solat\)

pada \(\text{so-nan}\) \(\text{nan=ko}\) ?ija solat

for \ OBL=GEN/PERS \(\text{mother}=1/\text{GEN}\) \(\text{NOM/PROX}\) letter

‘this letter is for my mother’

(39) \(\text{para} \ dota \ iya \) \(\text{taed}\)

pada \(\text{lota} \ ?ija \) ta?d

for \ earth \(\text{NOM/PROX}\) \(\text{knife}\)

‘this knife is for (working) the earth’

(40) \(\text{no} \ \text{kabasan} \ i \) \(\text{kasalcha}\)

no \(\text{kabasan} \ ?i \) kasal=da

if/when \(\text{tomorrow}\) \(\text{NOM}\) \(\text{wedding}=3+/\text{GEN}\)

‘their wedding is tomorrow’

(41) \(\text{pangkep} \ ni \ \text{semek} \ iya \) \(\text{akew}\)

pangkop \(\text{ni} \ ?omak \ ?ija \) ?akaw

about \(\text{GEN}\) \(\text{love}\) \(\text{NOM/PROX}\) \(\text{day}\)

‘this day is about love’

(42) \(\text{singa} \ \text{akika}\)

siŋa \(\text{aki}=\text{ka}\)

like \(\text{monkey}=2/\text{NOM}\)

‘you are like a monkey’

38.3 Presentational Clauses

Presentational clauses are headed by one of the following demonstrative identifiers: \textit{yango} /jaŋo/ ‘DEMIDNTF/PROX’ and less frequently \textit{mango} /maŋo/ ‘DEMIDNTF/DIST’, \textit{iya} /ʔija/ or \textit{iay} /ʔiaj/ ‘DEMIDNTF/PROX’ and less commonly \textit{ima} /ʔima/ or \textit{iman} /ʔiman/ ‘DEMIDNTF/DIST’ and \textit{ita} /ʔita/ or \textit{itan} /ʔitan/ ‘DEMIDNTF/MED’. Demonstrative identifiers are described in Chapter 15.
Some of the demonstrative identifiers are homophonous with the Nominative deictic demonstratives (determiners and pronouns). However, as demonstrative identifiers they always function as predicates of non-verbal clauses, as in (46)-(47).

(43) \textit{mangoy} \quad \textit{baley nen} \quad \textit{Agata}

\text{ma}jo=\text{j} \quad \text{balaj \ nan} \quad \text{agata}

\text{DEMIDNTF/DIST=nom} \quad \text{house} \quad \text{GEN/PERS} \quad \text{Agata}

‘there is Agata’s house’

(44) \textit{yango} \quad \textit{sota} \quad \textit{jokaiakaakan} \quad \textit{son}

\text{jajo} \quad \text{sota} \quad \text{joka=?-cvc-?akan} \quad \text{so=\text{n}}

\text{DEMIDNTF/PROX} \quad \text{GEN} \quad \text{ASP=THMV} \quad \text{CNTV-DISTR=give} \quad \text{OBL=GEN/PERS}

\text{si’}\text{kak}

\text{si’}\text{gak}

1/\text{IND}

‘here is what you kept giving me’

(45) \textit{bara iray} \quad \textit{kaitko,} \quad \textit{isonga} \quad \textit{yangokamin}

\text{wada }\text{?}\text{ida=j} \quad \text{ga?kt=ko} \quad \text{?iso=nga} \quad \text{ja}jo=\text{kami=n}

\text{exist} \quad 3+/\text{NOM=NOM} \quad \text{friend=l/GEN} \quad \text{hence=LK} \quad \text{DEMIDNTF/PROX=1+/NOM=LK}

\text{emannangoy}

?\text{aman-na}joj

\text{ACTV/CNTV-swing}

‘here are my friends and we are swimming (indicating a picture)’

(46) \textit{imas} \quad \textit{lolang!}

?\text{ima=s} \quad \textit{lolang}

\text{DEMIDNTF/DIST=NOM/PERS} \quad \text{grandmother}

‘there is grandmother!’

(47) \textit{iyaak} \quad \textit{chi sangowanamno!}

?\text{i}ja=\text{ak} \quad \text{di} \quad \text{sajowon-an=mo}

\text{DEMIDNTF/PROX=1/NOM} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{front-LOCN=2/GEN}

‘here I am in front of you!’

Second-order modifiers such as =\textit{pay} /\textit{=paj} ‘more, too, first’ may occur after the predicate, as in the following example.
(48)  **yet**  **iyapay**  **si**  **Jade nen**  **Manang**  
**jot**  **?ija=paj**  **si**  **jade**  **nun**  **manaj**  
and then **DemIDNTF/PROX=too NOM/PERS Jade COOR/PERS Title/elder sister**  

*Melba ya irakamangan!*  
**melba**  **ja ?idaka=maN-kan**  
Melba  **LK 3+/NOM/ASP=ACTV/IPF-eat**  

'here too are Jade and Melba eating!'  

The full deictic forms *iyay, iman*, and less frequently *itan*, may also act as demonstrative identifiers. However, they do so less commonly than their shorter counterparts.

(49)  **iyay**  **ali**  **ira!**  
**?ijaj**  **?ali**  **?ida**  
**DEMIDNTF/PROX toward 3+/NOM**  

'here they are back'  

(50)  **iyayak!**  
**?ijaj=ak**  
**DEMIDNTF/PROX=1/NOM**  

'here I am!'

### 38.4 Locational Clauses

The predicate of a locational clause is either a full Locative phrase or a Locative deictic pronoun (e.g. *chiyay /dijaj* /‘LOC/PRO/PROX’); see §31.1. Unlike existential clauses headed by an existential predicate, the Nominative complement is usually specific, and only rarely generic.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 38.4: Locational Clauses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LOCPhR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+pred]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Second-order modifiers may occur after the predicate or the ‘predicate plus Nominative bound pronoun’ sequence, as in (51)–(52).

(51)  **chiyaykayo**  **nin ni sandomingko**  
**dijaj=kajo**  **nin ni san-domingko**  
**LOC/PRO/PROX=2+/NOM first GEN WHOLE-week**  

'we stay first here a whole week'
38.5 Existential Clauses

In place of a deictic pronoun, the predicate may consist of a Locative phrase introduced by a Locative determiner.

(54) **chit**a Bagiw i baleycha
   di bagiw ?i balaj=da
   LOC Baguio NOM house=3+/GEN
   ‘their house is in Baguio city’

When the Locative phrase contains a proper name of place and the Nominative is a personal pronoun referring to a human entity it usually means that the Nominative entity comes from or is originally from that place. A similar meaning may be achieved through a classificational nominal clause where the predicate is an origin noun (Chapter 10) derived from a location through the prefix i-/?i-/ which indicates ‘a person originated from that place’, as shown in (56).

(55) **chit** Itogonak mango
    di ?ito-ak manjo
    LOC Itogon=1/NOM modesty
    ‘I am from Itogon’

(56) **iKabayanak**
    ?i-kabajan=ak
    ORIGN-Kabayan=1/NOM
    ‘I am (a person) from Kabayan’

38.5 Existential Clauses

Ibaloy has two existential predicates: **bara** /wada/ ‘exist’ and **aychi** /?ajdi/ or **enchi** /?andi/ ‘not-exist’. These existential predicates also head an existential possessive clause, discussed in §38.5.1.
In (57)–(59), the Nominative complement refers to a definite entity and a location is expressed. The Nominative is either a personal phrase or a demonstrative phrase.

(57) *nem aychi sota imadagey chi sabiyen*

= *but there was no one who stood at the door*

(58) *ngantoy barakadjay?*

= *why are you here?*

(59) *baraakngod kantina*

= *I am also in the shop*

Peculiar to existential clauses is that the Nominative complement can be indefinite (though it may be specific). It is generally indefinite when the Nominative phrase is introduced by the common determiner *i* and does not contain a modified or definite referent. A Locative phrase does not need to be overtly expressed, especially when its reference is understood from the context or is generic, as in (61).

(60) *baray kalsa chimana chontog*

= *there is a gong in that mountain*

(61) *tep enchi i chalan*

= *there is no pathway (around here)*

However, it is very common for an existential clause to perform the main task of introducing new characters or entities in the discourse domain. In this case, the Nominative entity is usually indefinite. Two types of existential construction are rather common. One type involves a cleft construction (§43.2) where the predicate is an existential.
(62) **baray mepasemak nem kabasan**

wada=j ma-pasamak nom kabasan
eexist=NOM POTPATV/IPF-happen if/when tomorrow

‘something will happen tomorrow’

(63) **aychi i amtak chiyay**

?a?di ?i ?amtak=k dijaj

not-exist NOM know=1/GEN LOC/PROX/PRO

‘there is nobody/thing I know here’

(64) **baray emag’ana diyang chima toktok ni**

wada=j ?a-maga-an=a lijaq dima toktok ni

eexist=NOM POTLOCV/PFT-dry-LOCV=LK cave LOC/DIST head, summit GEN

chontog
dontog
mountain

‘there is a dry cave on top of that mountain’

A second type contains a Nominative entity modified by a relative clause construction.

(65) **bara kono i titit ya chakaichemang ya**

wada kono ?i titit ja daka=?i-damaq ja

eexist hearsay NOM bird LK 3+/GEN/ASP=THMV/CNTV-see LK

emeboteng

?a=ma-botay

STAPATV/CNTV-drunk

‘it is said that they keep seeing drunken birds’

(66) **bara kono i sakeya too ya edapod Tawangan**

wada kono ?i sakeya=a to?o ja ?a-lapo=d tawauan

eexist hearsay NOM one=LK person LK POTPATV/PFT-come=LOC Tawangan

‘it is said that there is a man who comes from Tawangan’

Both the above devices are very common in narratives.

### 38.5.1 Existential Possessive Clauses

An existential clause may be used to predicate possession\(^1\). In this case, the Nominative complement occurs possessed. Usually no reference to a location is made, but such a reference is still possible, as in (69).

\(^1\)It is quite common for Philippine languages (e.g. Ilokano) to have a clause headed by an existential predicate where the possessor is encoded in Oblique case (existential Predicate + Oblique pronoun). The present data do not show such construction, more investigation is required.
(67) \textit{baray} \textit{baleyto} \\
\hspace{1em} \text{wada}=j \text{ balaj}=to \\
\hspace{1em} \text{exist}=\text{NOM} \text{ house}=3/\text{GEN} \\
's/he has a house'

(68) \textit{aychi} \textit{i} \textit{aanakcha} \\
\hspace{1em} \text{?ajdi} \text{ ?i} \text{ cv-\textit{-fanak}=da} \\
\hspace{1em} \text{not-exist} \text{ NOM} \text{ PL-child}=3+/\text{GEN} \\
'they have no children'

(69) \textit{baray} \textit{tattooto} \textit{chi} \textit{interon} \textit{bakdangto} \\
\hspace{1em} \text{wada}=j \text{ tattoo}=to \text{ di} \text{ intero}=n \text{ bakla}=to \\
\hspace{1em} \text{exist}=\text{NOM} \text{ tattoo}=3/\text{GEN} \text{ LOC} \text{ entire}=\text{LK} \text{ body}=3/\text{GEN} \\
'he has tattoos on his entire body'
Chapter 39

Main Verb Clauses

The verbal clauses described here are headed by a lexical (non-extension) verb also referred to as a main verb (Part IV). Ibaloy main verb clauses are classified according to the transitivity of their head.

Complements determine the transitivity of a verb. Ibaloy distinguishes between core complements (Chapter 36) and extension-to-core complements (Chapter 37). An intransitive verb takes only one core complement, S. A transitive verb takes two core complements, A and P. In addition, verbs may take one or more extension-to-core complements (abbreviated as E or E complement). Main verbs are classed as follows.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Type</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>One-complement intransitive verb</td>
<td>verbs that take only S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two-complement intransitive verb</td>
<td>verbs that take S plus an E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three-complement intransitive verb</td>
<td>verbs that take S plus two Es</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two-complement transitive verb</td>
<td>verbs that take A and P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three-complement transitive verb</td>
<td>verbs that take A, P plus an E</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Independent main clauses are classified on the basis of their verb and its transitivity as summarised below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive Verb Type</th>
<th>Intransitive Clause Type</th>
<th>Clause Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>One-complement intransitive verb</td>
<td>One-complement intransitive clause</td>
<td>§39.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two-complement intransitive verb</td>
<td>Two-complement intransitive clause</td>
<td>§39.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three-complement intransitive verb</td>
<td>Three-complement intransitive clause</td>
<td>§39.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitive Verb Type</td>
<td>Transitive Clause Type</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two-complement transitive verb</td>
<td>Two-complement transitive clause</td>
<td>§39.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three-complement transitive verb</td>
<td>Three-complement transitive clause</td>
<td>§39.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Finally, in order to illustrate the different constructions and their predicate type, binary lexical features like [±trns] for transitive are used in tables throughout this description.
39.1 One-Complement Intransitive Clauses

A verb which expects only a single core complement is intransitive. This complement is the Nominative complement. The typical constituent order requires the Nominative complement to follow the predicate whether it is a pronoun or a full phrase.

Table 39.1: One-Complement Intransitive Clauses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V</th>
<th>NOMPhR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[-trns]</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Nominative may bear the Actor or the Undergoer macrorole depending on the verb. When the Actor or Undergoer is third person singular, it is usually left unmarked.

(1) *engaseba*  
?aN-?asawa  
AcTV/PFT-marry, spouse 3/NOM  
‘s/he married’

The independent third person singular pronoun *si’kato /si?gato/ ‘3/IND’ is only used in emphatic contexts.

(2) *engaseba*  
?aN-?asawa  
AcTV/PFT-marry, spouse 3/IND  
‘s/he married (as opposed to somebody else)’

Ibaloy has several types of intransitive verbs. They comprise controlled Actor verbs (Chapter 18), as in (3)–(7), potentive Actor verbs (Chapter 29), as in (8), potentive Undergoer verbs (Chapter 29), as in (9)–(11), and stative (Undergoer) verbs (Chapter 17), as in (12)–(13).

(3) *onbiteg*  
?on-bitag  
AcTV/IPF-poor NOM/REC PL-person  
‘those people will become poor’

(4) *nanpasiyal*  
?i  
AcTV/PFT-stroll NOM woman  
‘the woman went for a stroll’

(5) *man’a’mes*  
man-CV-?amas  
AcTV/IPF/IPF-bathe NOM child  
‘the child will have a bath (will bathe herself)’
(6) **engan** i nga'nga
?an-kan ?i ga?ja
ACTV/PFT-eat NOM child

‘the child ate’

(7) **namchit** i bebaknang
naN-podit ?i cv-baknaŋ
ACTV/PFT-pechit feast NOM PL-rich

‘the rich people celebrated the pechit feast’

(8) **say makaogipak**
saj maka-?ogip=ak
so that POTACTV/IPF-sleep=1/NOM

‘so that I will be able to sleep’

(9) **naogip** i ra
na-?ogip ?ida
POTPatV/PFT-sleep 3+/NOM

‘they are asleep’

(10) **yet naysokbab** i ra
jat naj-sokbab ?ida
and then POTTHMV/PFT-stumble 3+/NOM

‘then they stumbled’

(11) **memag’an** sota bakdang nonta too
ma-maga-an sota baklaŋ nonta to?o
POTLocV/IPF-dry-LocV NOM/REC body GEN/REC person

‘the body of the man will dry out’

(12) **enkokey** iya chalan
?an-dokaj ?ija dalan
STAV/EN-long NOM/PROX path way, route

‘this way is long’

(13) **mataba** sota aba’kol
ma-taba sota ?a-ba’kol
STAV/MA-fat NOM/REC STAPatV/PFT-old woman

‘the old woman is fat’
39.1.1 Ambient Clauses

Ambient clauses are a sub-type of single complement intransitive clause. Peculiar to this type is that the predicate expressing an ambient or a meteorological phenomenon takes a Nominative complement which is never expressed as a full phrase. This is represented as follows.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 39.2: Ambient Clauses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+ambient]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The reason why these clauses look Nominative-less is as follows. These verbs take a single complement which is always marked as a Nominative third person singular bound pronoun. Such a pronominal form is zero in Ibaloy, hence it does not surface in the clause.

However, this complement does surface in another construction which involves a recently marked predicate. A recently-marked verb is derived with ekay- /?ekaj-/ and when this derivation involves an intransitive verb, then the complement that would be expressed as the Nominative is encoded as a Genitive phrase. For instance, the verb ondaw /?onlaw/ ‘will go’ is derived through the Actor-oriented prefix on- /?on-/ marking imperfective aspect from daw /law/ ‘go’. Such a verb is intransitive and takes only the Nominative as core complement.

(14)  
ondawkda  
?on-law=ak=la  
AcTV/IPF-go=1/NOM=toward  
‘I went away’

When the same verb is marked for recent aspect, then the actor participant must be expressed as a Genitive phrase (pronominal or not) as illustrated below.

(15)  
ekaydawkol  
?okaj-law=ko=la  
RECAsp-go=1/GEN=toward  
‘I just went away’

Now, consider the meteorological verb onchagem ‘for the wind to blow’ in the following clause where no Nominative complement surfaces. The lack of the Nominative complement is here signaled by zero.

(16)  
onchagem  
?on-dagom  
AcTV/IPF-wind 3/NOM  
‘it will be windy’
The same verb when marked for recent aspect obligatory receives a third person Genitive pronoun, as in (17). This is taken as evidence that ambient verbs underlyingly have a single complement.

(17) \textit{ekaychagem\textit{to}}

\begin{verbatim}
?akaj-dagom=to
RecASP-wind=3.Gen
\end{verbatim}

‘it was just windy’

Ambient verbs carry either the (dynamic) controlled Actor verb morphology (e.g. \textit{on-}/?on-/, \textit{<im> /<im>/}) or the stative verb morphology (e.g. \textit{me- /ma-/}, \textit{e- /e-/}) which is typical of intransitive verbs.

(18) \textit{yet nimanma no eman’a’sop i emangenop,}

\textit{jat niman=ma no ?aman-?asop ?i ?amaN-?anop}

and then time-present=then when/if HAB=ACTV/IPF-near NOM ACTV/CNTV-hunt

\textit{kaonchagem}

\begin{verbatim}
ka=?on-dagom
ACTV/CNTV-wind
\end{verbatim}

‘now when the hunter (usually) approaches, the wind blows’

(19) \textit{imoran tan pimowek}

\begin{verbatim}
<im>?odan tan <im>powak
<ACTV/PFT>rain and <ACTV/PFT>storm
\end{verbatim}

‘it rained and stormed’

(20) \textit{edabi}

\begin{verbatim}
?a-labi
StAPATV/PFT-night
\end{verbatim}

‘it is night’

### 39.2 Two-Complement Intransitive Clauses

Clauses of this type have a Nominative complement and also a Genitive, Oblique or Locative phrase. The preferred constituent order is for the Nominative to follow the verb and precede the E complements. However, when the complements are all expressed as full phrases other arrangements are also possible as shown in Table 39.3.
The choice of E complement depends on the verb, the type of complement and pragmatic factors such as the definiteness of the referent. While Oblique and Locative phrases may be definite, Genitive phrases are usually interpreted as indefinite or partitive.

Typically two-complement intransitive clauses have a (dynamic) controlled verb as their predicate. However, some are headed by a (dynamic) potentive verb, as in (25), (29), and (32).

In two-complement intransitive clauses, only the Nominative can be expressed as a bound pronoun (§16.2). Except for the third person Nominative pronoun, bound pronouns are endclitics that attach at the end of the verb. As already mentioned, Ibaloy lacks an overt third person pronoun and the Nominative third person plural pronoun *ira* /ʔida/ is a free form. *Ira* occurs in two different positions within the clause. When it acts as a second-order constituent it occurs right after the verb, as in (21). When it does not act as a second-order item it has the same distribution of a full Nominative phrase, as in (22), where it occurs after the Genitive-marked complement.

(21) *nanmola*  *ira*  *ni*  *pagaj*

\[
\text{ActV/PFT-plant}  \ 3+/\text{NOM GEN rice}
\]

‘they planted rice’

(22) *enginom*  *ni*  *chanom*  *ira*

\[
\text{ActV/PFT-drink}  \ \text{GEN water}  \ 3+/\text{NOM}
\]

‘they drank water’

(23) *mengenopak*  *ni*  *olsa*

\[
\text{ActV/IPF-hunt=1/NOM GEN deer}
\]

‘I will hunt a deer’
(24) ondawka chi baleycha
?on-law=ak di balaj=da
ACTV/IPF-go LOC house=3+/GEN
‘I will go to their house’

(25) makainomak ni chanom
mak-a ?inom=ak ni danom
POTACTV/IPF-drink=1/NOM GEN water
‘I will be then able to drink water

When all complements are expressed by a full phrase the preferred constituent order is for the Nominative complement to occur immediately after the verb with the other complement following. E complements are underlined.

(26) engosal i bii ni daneb
?aN-?osal ?i bi?i ni lanab
AcTV/PFT-use NOM woman GEN lard
‘the woman used some lard’

(27) on’aseba sota bii son si’kato
?on-?asawa sota bi?i so=non si?gato
AcTV/IPF-spouse, marry NOM/REC woman OBL=GEN/PERS 3/IND
‘that woman will get married to him’

(28) nimangoy sota tilay chi abadega bato
<im>na,uoj sota tilaj di a-balag=a bato
<AcTV/IPF>swim NOM/REC lizard LOC STAPATV/PFT-big=LK stone
‘that lizard swam to the/a big stone’

(29) epoket i edeng ni dopot
?a-pokat ?i ?a-balaj ni lopot
PotPatTV/PFT-block NOM nose GEN cloth
‘the nose is blocked with a cloth’

However, the E complements may precede the Nominative.

(30) mimotok chi Kabayan sota daki
<im>motok di kabajan sota laki
<AcTV/IPF>return LOC Kabayan NOM/REC man
‘that man returned to Kabayan’

(31) nanpatdi ni botbotog sota naama
nan-padi ni botbotog sota na-?ama
AcTV/PFT-butcher GEN pig NOM/REC StaPatTV/PFT-old man
‘that old man butchered a pig’
39.3 Three-Complement Intransitive Clauses

Clauses of this type are headed by a three-complement intransitive verb, which takes a Nominative complement and two E complements. One E complement is typically a theme and is marked as a Genitive phrase. This Genitive complement is usually interpreted as generic or partitive. The other E complement is a location of some kind which includes a source, goal, or a recipient and is marked as a Locative or Oblique phrase.

Three-complement intransitive clauses are not very common. Their typical constituent order is shown in Table 39.4.

Table 39.4: Three-Complement Intransitive Clauses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V</th>
<th>NOMPHR</th>
<th>GENPHR</th>
<th>LOCPHR</th>
<th>OBLPHR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[-trns]</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>E</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The only complement that can be expressed as a bound pronoun is the Nominative. Moreover, the constituent order of these clauses may vary depending on whether or not the Nominative is expressed as a full noun phrase. The second most common constituent order is for the Locative or the Oblique complement to precede the Genitive. However, both typically follow the Nominative.

Three-complement intransitive clauses contain an Actor verb. With these verbs, the Nominative complement plays an actor role. In addition, they take a generic theme and a location. The theme is encoded as a Genitive complement. When the location is inanimate it is a Locative complement.

(33) *mengilekoak* son *si’kato ni botbotog*

`Actv/IPF-sell=1/Nom OBL=Gen/Pers 3/Ind Gen Multi-pig`

'I will sell some pigs to him'

(34) *engibetik* *ni kamengtod* *arabin* *dogad*

`Actv/Pft-run Gen wealth=3/Gen=Loc far=Lk Place`

'he ran with some of his wealth to a far away place'
39.4 Two-Complement Transitive Clauses

When it is animate it is an Oblique complement.

(35) on’oli ni kamengmo soni a’anakmo
    ?on-?oli ni kamaŋ=mo so=ni cv-?anak=mo
    ACTV/IPF-return GEN wealth=2/GEN OBL=GEN PL-child=2/GEN

‘he will return some of your wealth to your children’

39.4 Two-Complement Transitive Clauses

Two-complement transitive clauses are headed by a two-complement transitive verb, which takes an Agent and a Nominative complement. The Agent in Ibaloy receives the Genitive case. The Genitive Agent normally precedes the Nominative complement. Both can be encoded as personal bound pronouns. However, the Nominative can be expressed as a bound pronoun only when the Genitive is also a bound pronoun. The exception is when the Nominative is either a third person singular entity for which no overt bound pronoun is available or a third person plural entity expressed by the non-second order Nominative pronoun \( \textit{ira}/?ida/ ‘3+/NOM’, \) as discussed below.

Table 39.5: Two-Complement Transitive Clauses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V</th>
<th>GENPhR</th>
<th>NOMPhR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[+trns]</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>P</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following clauses have both complements expressed as full phrases. Ibaloy has a wide range of two-complement transitive verbs. The majority are controlled Undergoer verbs (Chapter 18), as in (36)-(38) and (41)-(47).

(36) kinibot nonta too i pilakcha
    <in>kinibot nonta to?o ?i pilak=da
    <LOCV/IPF>steal GEN/REC person NOM money=3+/GEN

‘that person stole their money’

(37) poolan ni daki i baleyko
    po?ol-an ni laki ?i balaj=ko
    burn-LOCV/IPF GEN male NOM house=1/GEN

‘the man will burn my house’

(38) inkeydengan ni bii i nga’nga
    ?in-kajloj-an ni bi?i ?i ?anak
    BNFV/PFT-hear-BV GEN woman NOM child

‘the woman heard the child’
Others include potentive Undergoer verbs (Chapter 29), as in (39)-(40).

(39) **echaral** \( \text{ni nga'nga i amayok} \)  
\( \text{?a-dadal ni ya?ya ?i ?amajo=k} \)  
POT-PATV/PFT-destroy GEN child NOM toy=1/GEN  
‘the child accidentally had my toy destroyed’

(40) **na’kas** \( \text{ni bi?i i nga’nga} \)  
\( \text{na-?kas ni bi?i ?i ya?ya} \)  
POT-PATV/IPF-fall GEN woman NOM child  
‘the woman accidentally had the child fall’

In the following examples both complements are expressed by bound pronouns.

(41) **tinodonganchaka**  
\(<\text{in}>\text{tolon-an=da}=ka \)  
\(<\text{LocV/PFT}>\text{help-LocV=3+/GEN=2/NOM} \)  
‘they helped you’

(42) **ensemaki\(\text{taka} \)**  
\( ?\text{an-samak=taka} \)  
POT-PATV/EN-love=1/GEN&2/NOM  
‘I am in love with you’

(43) **bonoento**  
\( \text{bono-an=to } ?\text{ida} \)  
POT-PATV/IPF-kill=3/GEN 3+/NOM  
‘he will kill them’

In the following examples the Genitive Agent is expressed by a bound pronoun, while the Nominative is a full phrase.

(44) **al’ench\(\text{a} \)**  
\( ?\text{ala-an=da } \)  
\( \text{sota bolong nonta kamatis} \)  
get-PATV/IPF=3+/GEN NOM/REC leaf GEN/REC tomato plant  
‘they will get the leaf of that tomato plant’

(45) **inon’an\(\text{toy} \)**  
\( <\text{in}>?\text{onaj-an}=to=j \)  
\( ?\text{a-balag=a } ?\text{olag} \)  
\( <\text{LocV/PFT}>\text{see-LocV=3/GEN=NOM StaPatV/PFT-big=LK} \)  
‘he saw the big snake’

(46) **ibetikch\(\text{a} \)**  
\( ?i-batik=da \)  
\( \text{sota toktok} \)  
THMV/IPF-run=3+/GEN NOM/REC head  
‘they will run (home) with that head’
When the Genitive Agent is a full phrase the Nominative must also be a full phrase. There are only two exceptions. One is when the Nominative is third person singular for which no overt bound pronoun is available. The other is when it is encoded as the non second-order pronoun *ira* ‘3+/NOM’, as in (47). Such a phrase may consist of an independent pronominal form, as in (48).

\[(47)\]  
\[\text{pinekan } nen \text{ lolang } \text{ira}\]  
\[<\text{PatV/PFT}>\text{feed} \text{ Gen/Pers} \text{ grandmother 3+/NOM}\]  

‘grandmother fed them’

\[(48)\]  
\[\text{amta } ni \text{ daki } \text{si’kato}\]  
\[?\text{amta } ni \text{ laki } \text{si’gato}\]  
\[\text{know} \text{ Gen man 3/IND}\]  

‘the man knows her/him’

### 39.5 Three-Complement Transitive Clauses

Three-complement transitive clauses are headed by a three-complement transitive verb, which takes an Agent and a Nominative complement plus an E complement. The latter receives either the Genitive, Locative or Oblique case depending on the verb. Genitive E complements are typically interpreted either indefinite or partitive.

The ordering of complements is Genitive Agent before the others. The order of the Nominative and the E complement may vary, as shown in Table 39.6 and discussed below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>V</th>
<th>GENPHR</th>
<th>NOMPHR</th>
<th>E</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>[+trns]</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>{GENPHR }</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>[+trns]</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>{GENPHR }</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Agent and the Nominative can be expressed as bound pronouns.

In (49) the Genitive Agent is a bound pronoun and occurs attached to the verb. The other two complements (Nominative and E) are full phrases and occur after the “verb + Agent” sequence.
When the Agent and the Nominative are bound pronouns the E complement must follow.

\[ (50) \quad \text{yet iaknantaka} \quad \text{ali ni pilak} \]
\[ \text{jat ?i-akan-an=taka ?ali ni pilak} \]
\[ \text{and then BNFV/IPF-give-BNFV=1/GEN&2/NOM toward GEN money} \]
\[ \text{‘then I will give you back some money’} \]

The E complement may occur before the Nominative only when the latter is a full phrase, as in (51) and (52), or the non second-order pronoun ira ‘3+/NOM’, as in (53).

\[ (51) \quad \text{inbaychekto} \quad \text{son si’karay sowanto} \]
\[ ?i-n-bajdak=to \quad so=n \quad si?gada=j \quad \text{sowan=to} \]
\[ \text{THMV/PFT-stab=3/GEN OBL=GEN/PERS 3+/IND=NOM reed=3/GEN} \]
\[ \text{‘he used his walking stick to stab them’} \]

\[ (52) \quad \text{pineg’ascha} \quad \text{ni kiyew sota agito} \]
\[ <\text{in}>\text{pag?as=da ni kijaw sota ?agi=to} \]
\[ <\text{PATV/PFT}>\text{whip=3+/GEN GEN wood; tree NOM/REC sibling=3/GEN} \]
\[ \text{‘they whipped his brother with a stick’} \]

\[ (53) \quad \text{ineknanto} \quad \text{ni bekas ira} \]
\[ <\text{in}>\text{akan-an=to} \quad \text{ni bogas ?ida} \]
\[ <\text{give-LOCV=3/GEN GEN unhusked rice 3+/NOM} \]
\[ \text{‘he gave them some unhusked rice’} \]
Auxiliary Verb Constructions

Auxiliary verb constructions are headed by an auxiliary verb. Auxiliary verbs require a following dependent verb with which they share transitivity and complements. Auxiliary verbs also attract any bound personal pronoun (§16.2) or second-order adverb (§46.2.2) that would otherwise be constituents of the following predicate. Auxiliary verbs include clitics and aspectually marked words.

Ibaloy distinguishes two types of auxiliary verbs: those that do not require any intervening bridging constituent (e.g. linker) between them and their dependent, and those that do. The former are referred to as “non-linked auxiliary verbs”, while the latter are referred to as “linked auxiliary verbs”.

40.1 Non-Linked Auxiliary Verb Constructions

Ibaloy has four non-linked auxiliaries: the negative eg=, the prohibitive kara= or its variant ara=, the directional an or a directional pronoun, and an aspectual pronoun, which occur, respectively, in the following four types of constructions.

- Negative Auxiliary Constructions (§40.1.1)
- Prohibitive Auxiliary Constructions (§40.1.2)
- Directional Auxiliary Constructions (§40.1.3)
- Aspectual Auxiliary Constructions (§40.1.4)

40.1.1 Negative Auxiliary Constructions

The negative auxiliary eg= /ʔeg=/ is a proclitic that is used to negate a declarative clause. The auxiliary requires a following (dependent) main verb with which it shares transitivity
and aspectuality. The auxiliary also attracts any second-order item that would otherwise be a constituent of the following main verb.

If the clause contains an intransitive main verb and the Nominative complement is a full phrase, as in (1), the negative auxiliary behaves as a proclitic to the main verb, unless second-order adverbs co-occur in the clause, as in (2) where the adverbs koma ‘hopefully’ and =di ‘toward’ occur between the auxiliary and the main verb.

(1)  
\[\text{egnakaogip} \quad i \quad \text{nankaama}\]  
\[?ag=naka-?ogip \quad ?i \quad \text{nanka-?ama}\]  
\[\text{neg=POTACTV/PFT-sleep NOM StaPatV/PL-old man}\]  
‘the old men could not sleep’

(2)  
\[\text{egkomadi} \quad \text{on’oli} \quad i \quad \text{daki}\]  
\[?ag=koma=?i \quad ?on-?oli \quad ?i \quad \text{laki}\]  
\[\text{neg=hopefully=toward AcTV/IPF-return NOM man}\]  
‘hopefully the man won’t return’

Similarly, when the main verb is transitive and both the Genitive Agent and the Nominative complement are full phrases the negative auxiliary attaches to the main verb, unless second-order adverbs co-occur in the clause, as in (4) where the adverb =da ‘away’ occurs between the auxiliary and the main verb.

(3)  
\[\text{egkinan} \quad \text{n'en} \quad \text{Labangan sota inapoy}\]  
\[?ag=<in>kan \quad ?n'\quad \text{labangan} \quad ?\text{sota} \quad ?\text{inapoj}\]  
\[\text{neg=<PATV/PFT>eat GEN/PERS Labangan NOM/REC cooked rice}\]  
‘Labangan did not eat the rice’

(4)  
\[\text{egda} \quad \text{inda} \quad \text{ni} \quad \text{daki} \quad \text{i} \quad \text{tapey}\]  
\[?ag=la \quad <\text{in}>\text{?ala} \quad \text{ni} \quad \text{laki} \quad ?i \quad \text{tapaj}\]  
\[\text{neg=away <PATV/PFT>get GEN man NOM rice wine}\]  
‘the man did not take away the rice wine’

These conventions are summarised in Table 40.1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 40.1: Negative Auxiliary Constructions with Full Phrase(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. (\text{eg=}) V NOMPHR [+[xhry], [-trns] \quad [-trns] \quad S]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. (\text{eg=}) V GENPHR NOMPHR [+[xhry], [+trns] \quad [+trns] \quad A \quad P]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When the main verb is intransitive and the Nominative complement is a second-order bound pronoun, the bound pronoun attaches to the auxiliary, as in (5)–(6). Recall that
Non-Linked Auxiliary Verb Constructions

in the case of a third person singular referent no overt pronoun is available. This is represented in Table 40.2 by round brackets around the Nominative. In this case and also when the Nominative third person pronoun ira acts as a non second-order constituent the auxiliary attaches to the main verb, as in (7).

(5) \textit{egkami} naangang
\[ \text{?ag=kami} \quad \text{nu-?agaq} \]
\[ \text{neg}=1+/\text{NOM POT PAT TV/PFT-hunger} \]
‘we are not hungry’

(6) \textit{eg’ira} ekimisa
\[ \text{?ag=?ida} \quad \text{?oki-misa} \]
\[ \text{neg}=3+/\text{NOM ACT V/PFT-mess} \]
‘they did not join the mess’

(7) \textit{eg’ondaw} irad Dutab
\[ \text{?ag=?on-law} \quad \text{?ida=d} \quad \text{dutab} \]
\[ \text{neg}=\text{ACT V/IPF-go} \quad 3+/\text{NOM=LOC Dutab} \]
‘they will not go to Dutab’

When the main verb is transitive two possibilities are available. If the Genitive Agent is a bound pronoun the pronoun attaches to the auxiliary while the full Nominative phrase follows the main verb, as in (8)-(9). This is also the case when the Nominative pronoun ira acts as a non second-order constituent, as in (10).

(8) nem \textit{egto} inchel sota olsa
\[ \text{neg}=3/\text{GEN <PAT V/PFT>catch NOM/REC deer} \]
‘but he did not catch the deer’

(9) egto ikowan i podno
\[ \text{neg}=3/\text{GEN THMV/IPF-tell NOM truth} \]
‘he did not tell the truth’

(10) egchadi inoli iradjia Kabayan
\[ \text{neg}=3+/\text{GEN=toward <PAT V/PFT>-return 3+/NOM=LOC/PROX Kabayan} \]
‘they did not return them to Kabayan’

If both Agent and Nominative are bound pronouns they attach to the auxiliary. The Genitive pronoun occurs first followed by the Nominative, as in (11)-(13).

(11) egchaka binechas
\[ \text{neg}=3+/\text{GEN=2/NOM <PAT V/PFT>whip} \]
‘they did not whip you’
When the bound pronoun is either the first person Nominative \(=ak/\) or the first person Genitive \(=ko/\) Ibaloy uses the suppletive form \(ekak/?agak/\). It follows that the (morphological) distinction between Nominative and Genitive case is neutralised and it is only recoverable on the basis of the transitivity of the following verb. However, in glosses I mark the case of the pronoun.

(12) \(ekak\) makaogip

\[?agak\] maka-?ogip

\(neg+1/NOM\) POT\(\text{ACTV}/\text{IPF-sleep}\)

‘I cannot sleep’

(13) \(ekak\) dingka itan

\[?agak\] <in> laga ?itan

\(neg+1/\text{GEN}\) <\(\text{PATV}/\text{PFT}\)> do \(\text{NOM}/\text{MED}/\text{PRO}\)

‘I did not do that’

The above conventions are summarised in Table 40.2. E complements cannot be expressed through bound pronouns and so they must occur after the main verb.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 40.2: Negative Auxiliary Constructions with Bound Pronoun(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. (eg=) (NomPRN) [+xlry], [-trns] (\text{V}) ([-\text{trns}])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. (eg=) (\text{V}) (ira) ([+xlry], [-trns] ([-\text{trns}] \text{S})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| c. \(eg=\) GenPRN \(\text{V}\) \{\text{NOUNPHR} \(\text{ira}\) \}
| \([+xlry], [+trns] \text{A} \ [+trns] \text{P}\) |
| d. \(eg=\) GenPRN (NomPRN) \(\text{V}\) \(\text{V}\) \(\text{P}\) \([+trns]\) |

Finally, when the following verb is a non-auxiliary extension verb which requires a complement clause the auxiliary attracts only those second-order items that are part of the following main verb and not those found in its embedded complement clause such as the bound pronoun \(=kami\).

(14) \(eg\) mebedin \(ya\) mengibong \(kami\) ni dogit

\[?ag=\text{mabalin} ja \text{maN}-?ibo=q=kami \ni \text{logit}\]

\(\text{neg}=\text{can}, \text{able} \text{Lk} \text{ACTV}/\text{IPF-throw away}=1+/\text{NOM} \text{GEN} \text{rubbish}\)

‘it is not possible that we throw away rubbish’
40.1.2 Prohibitive Auxiliary Constructions

The prohibitive auxiliary kara= /kada=/ (with variant ara= /?ada=/) is a proclitic that requires its dependent verb to be marked for imperfective aspect if intransitive or for continuative aspect if transitive.

When intransitive the Nominative must be a second person bound pronoun and occur encliticised to the auxiliary, as in (15). Such an example also contains the second-order adverb ali ‘toward’, which occurs between the auxiliary plus bound pronoun and the following main verb.

(15) araka ali onsekep
    ?ada=ka ?ali ?on-sagap
    prhb=2/NOM toward ACTV/IPF-enter

‘do not enter’

When transitive there are two possibilities. In both cases the Genitive Agent complement must be a second person bound pronoun encliticised to the auxiliary. If the Nominative is a full phrase, as in (16), or the Nominative pronoun ira ‘3+/NOM’ acting as a non second-order constituent, it occurs after the main verb.

In (16) the main verb is transitive. The Agent is expressed by the second person Genitive pronoun =m which obligatorily encliticises to the auxiliary. The Nominative is a full phrase and must occur after the main verb.

(16) karam ibo’day i baro
    kada=mk’bo’ilaj ?i bado
    prhb=2/GEN THMV/IMP-outside NOM dress, garment

‘do not take outside the dress’

If the Nominative complement is a bound pronoun it occurs after the auxiliary plus Genitive bound pronoun, as in (17). This is because the prohibitive auxiliary attracts second-order constituents of the following verb. These include bound personal pronouns as well as second-order adverbs.

(17) karamak kalti
    kada=mkalat-i
    prhb=2/GEN=1/NOM bite-LOCV/CNTV

‘do not bite me’

However, when the Nominative referent is third person singular no overt pronoun is available and only the Agent occurs encliticised to the auxiliary.

(18) karajo kena
    kada=jo kan-a
    prhb=2+/GEN eat-PATV/CNTV

‘do not eat (it)’
These possibilities are summarised in Table 40.3.

Table 40.3: Prohibitive Auxiliary Constructions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a.</th>
<th>(k)ara=</th>
<th>2(+)/NOMPRN</th>
<th>V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[+xlry], [-trns]</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>[-trns]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>b.</th>
<th>(k)ara=</th>
<th>2(+)/GENPRN</th>
<th>V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[+xlry], [+trns]</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>[+trns]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>c.</th>
<th>(k)ara=</th>
<th>2(+)/GENPRN</th>
<th>(NOMPRN)</th>
<th>V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[+xlry], [+trns]</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>P</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Finally, when the prohibitive auxiliary is followed by a (non-auxiliary) extension verb which requires a complement clause (Chapter 41) it attracts only those second-order or bound constituents that are part of the immediate verb and not those found in its embedded complement clause.

(19) \textit{karam} dibki ya \textit{man'sawakani} nem kada=m libag-i ja man-\textit{asawa=kami} nam prohib=2/GEN forget-LOC\textit{V/CNTV} LK \textit{ACTV/IFP-marry}, spouse=1+/NOM if/when

\textit{sakeya bolan ali}
\textit{sakaj=a bolan ?ali}
\textit{one=LK month toward}

‘don’t forget that we will get married in a month’

40.1.3 Directional Auxiliary Constructions

A directional auxiliary construction is used to express ‘go and do’ the action of the main verb. Two directional constructions are identified. The choice depends on the main verb and whether its core complements are expressed by a full phrase or a bound pronoun. The directional auxiliary \textit{an} /?an/ occurs with full phrases and a directional pronoun occurs otherwise.

The directional construction with \textit{an} occurs in one of the following circumstances.

When the main verb is intransitive and the Nominative complement is either a full phrase, not overtly expressed (as in the case of a third person singular entity), or the Nominative pronoun \textit{ira} ‘3+/NOM’, when a non second-order constituent, the directional auxiliary \textit{an} occurs before the main verb, while the complement follows the latter.

In (20) an intransitive main verb takes a full Nominative phrase, hence the directional auxiliary \textit{an} is used.
(20) jet an man’a’mot i makowes chi diyang
jet ?an man-CV-?omot ?idaj makowos di lija
and then go&do ACTV/IPF-IPF-hide NOM wild pig LOC cave

'then the pigs went to hide in the cave'

The auxiliary an is also used when the Nominative complement is not overtly expressed, as in (21), or is the non second-order pronoun \textit{ira}, as in (22).

(21) an mengenop
?an maN-?anop
go&do ACTV/IPF-hunt

'he will go and hunt'

(22) idi sakeya akew an mandokto \textit{ira}
?i’li sakaj=\textit{a?akow }?an man-lokto ?ida
when-past one=\textit{LK day} go&do ACTV/IPF-get sweet potatoes 3+/NOM

'one day they went and got sweet potatoes'

Similarly, when the main verb is transitive and the Agent is a full phrase while the Nominative is either a full phrase, not overtly expressed, or \textit{ira} (when a non second-order pronoun) the auxiliary an occurs before the main verb, while the complements follow the latter in the usual order, that is Genitive before Nominative. Second-order adverbs may intervene between the auxiliary and the following verb.

In (23) the Agent and the Nominative complement are full phrases.

(23) an simbi ni aki sota kakeb
?an <in>sabi ni ?aki sota kakeb
go&do <PATV/PFT>reach GEN monkey NOM/REC turtle

'the monkey went to reach the turtle'

In (24) the Agent is a full phrase and the Nominative is not expressed.

(24) an inda nen nanangko
?an <in>?ala nen nanangko=ko
go&do <PATV/PFT>get GEN/PERS mother=1/GEN

‘my mother went and got (it)’

These possibilities are summarised in Table 40.4.
The second type of directional construction contains a directional pronoun (§16.2.1) which acts as auxiliary.

When the main verb is intransitive and the Nominative complement is expressed as a pronominal form the directional Nominative pronoun is used. The (auxiliary) directional pronoun occurs first followed by the main verb. If the clause contains other full phrases these must follow the main verb.

In (25) the directional pronoun *ira* acts as auxiliary.

(25)  
\[
\text{*ira* mandeka ni kolong}  
\text{?ida man-laga ni kolon}  
\text{3+/NOM/DIR AcTV/IPF-make GEN coffin}  
\]

‘they go and make a coffin’

Similarly, when the verb is transitive and the Genitive Agent is expressed as a bound pronoun a directional Genitive pronoun is used. The latter acts as auxiliary and occurs before the main verb, while the other complements if expressed follow the verb.

In (26) the Genitive directional pronoun *mo* acts as auxiliary.

(26)  
\[
\text{jet mo on’an ima ebadega diyang}  
\text{jot mo ?onaj-an ?ima ?a-balag=a lijaq}  
\text{and then 2/GEN/DIR see-LOCV/IPF NOM/DIST STAPATV/PFT-big=LK cave}  
\]

\text{chiman}  
\text{diman}  
\text{LOC/DIST/PRO}  

‘then you go and see that big cave there’

In (27) the Nominative pronoun *ira* has the same distribution as a full noun phrase and occurs after the main verb.

(27)  
\[
\text{nak doktan *ira}  
\text{nak lokat-an ?ida}  
\text{1/GEN/DIR open-LOCV/IPF 3+/NOM}  
\]

‘I will go and open them’

---

**Table 40.4: Auxiliary Constructions with Directional an**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>an</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>(NomPhr)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>ira</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[+xlry], [-trns]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>an</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>GenPhr</th>
<th>(NomPhr)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>ira</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[+xlry], [+trns]</td>
<td>[+trns]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
When both the Agent and the Nominative are expressed as bound pronouns a directional combined pronoun acts as the auxiliary attracting any second-order item that would otherwise be part of the following main verb. Non-second order constituents must occur after the main verb.

In (28) the combined pronominal form mo=ak acts as auxiliary.

(28) mo=ak ial’an ni inapoy

to GEN=l/NOM/DIR BNFV/IPF-get-BNFV GEN cooked rice

‘you go and get me some cooked rice’

Note that the second-order Nominative third person plural pronoun ira does not bind to the Genitive Agent, and so it is not analysed as acting as an auxiliary. It simply occurs after the directional auxiliary because it is a second-order constituent.

In (29) the Genitive directional pronoun to acts as auxiliary and attracts the second-order Nominative pronoun ira.

(29) jet to ira inaknan ni palay

and then 3/GEN/DIR 3+/PL <LocV/PFT>give-LocV GEN rice seedling

‘then he went to give them some rice seedlings’

These possibilities are summarised in Table 40.5.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 40.5: Auxiliary Constructions with Directional Pronoun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. NomDirPrn V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+xrlr], [-trns], S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[-trns]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. GenDirPrn V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(+NomPhr)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+xrlr], [+trns], A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+trns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. GenPrn&amp;NomDirPrn V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+xrlr], [+trns], A&amp;P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+trns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. GenDirPrn ira V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+xrlr], [+trns], A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is clear that originally an auxiliary occurred before the main verb attracting a second-order bound pronoun. The auxiliary then got lost leaving the pronoun alone in a pre-verbal position. Some evidence comes from the suppletive directional pronoun nak.
Nak /nak/ is made out of the pronoun =ak /=ak/ ‘1/NOM’ plus an initial nasal consonant which is probably a residue of the lost auxiliary (possibly an /?an/). No free words in Ibaloy begin with a vowel, so the presence of this initial consonant is a necessary condition for the pronoun to be an independent word.

The suppletive form nak is used for a first person singular pronoun acting as directional auxiliary in Nominative or Genitive case, as in (30) and (31) respectively.

(30) sajay gayam i chalanko nem nak man’iskoyda
sajaj gayam ?i dalan=ko nam nak man-?'iskojla
TOP/PROX indeed NOM path way=1/GEN when 1/DIR ACTV/IPF-study
‘this is indeed my way when I go to study’

(31) nak inodop si Lolang chi simbaan
nak <in> ?olop si lolang di simba?an
1/GEN/DIR <PATV/PFT>accompany NOM/PERS grandmother LOC church
‘I went and accompanied grandmother to church’

40.1.4 Aspectual Auxiliary Constructions

An aspectual auxiliary construction contains an aspectual pronoun that acts as auxiliary and requires a following verb. All aspectual pronouns are complex in form, as described in §16.2.2. Except for the Nominative first person singular pronoun =ak /=ak/ or the Genitive first person singular pronoun =ko /=ko/ for which the suppletive form naka= /naka=/ is used, aspectual pronouns are made of a bound pronoun plus the clitic ka= /ka=/ which carries an aspectual meaning.

Like all auxiliaries, the aspectual pronoun has the same transitivity as its dependent main verb. However, the latter must carry imperfective, continuative, or progressive aspect. The aspectual auxiliary attracts any second-order constituent part of the following verb.

When the main verb is intransitive a Nominative aspectual auxiliary pronoun is chosen. The aspectual pronoun attaches to the following main verb, as in (32)–(33). If second-order adverbs co-occur in the clause they occur between the aspectual pronoun and the main verb, as in (34). The main verb is marked for imperfective, continuative or/and progressive aspect.

(32) irakamekilaban chi echoma ili
?idaka=naki-laban di ?adom=a ?ili
3+/NOM/ASP=ACTV/IPF-fight LOC other=LK town
‘they usually fight in other settlements’

(33) nakaeman’a ‘mes
naka=?aman-cv=?mas
1/NOM/ASP=ACTV/CNTV/IPF-bathe
‘I am bathing’ or ‘I am having a bath’
In aspectual auxiliary constructions, CVC(c)- reduplication of the main verb is often used to indicate distribution in time or/and space of the action, emphasising its durative aspect.

The above possibilities are summarised in Table 40.6.

Table 40.6: Intransitive Auxiliary Constructions with Aspectual Pronoun

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NOMAsPPRN=</th>
<th>V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[+xlr], [-trns], S [-trns]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No aspectual auxiliary pronoun is available for a third person singular Nominative referent or when the Nominative entity is expressed as a full phrase. In these cases, two options are available as discussed below.

When the Nominative complement is a full phrase, the non second-order pronoun ina ‘3+/NOM’, or a third person singular entity (for which no aspectual pronoun exists), then the following two possibilities are available depending on the verb.

The marker ka= attaches to an on- verb marked for imperfective aspect. In this case, the aspectual marker alone behaves simply as a pro-clitic to the verb and not as an auxiliary. In this function it usually carries an habitual meaning, hence it is referred to as an "habitual marker".

For all other intransitive verbs a continuative and/or progressive verb form is used without the habitual marker ka=. These verbs all begin with the vowel /e/ which may have
resulted from initial CV- reduplication of the prefixed verb form (e.g. eman- /ʔaman-/ ‘AcTV/CNTV’, emeki- /ʔamaki-/ ‘AcTV/CNTV’, eme- /ʔama-/ ‘POTPatV/CNTV’).

(38) eman’ochan
ʔamanʔodan
ACTV/CNTV-rain
‘it is raining’

(39) eman’obda
ʔamanʔobla
ACTV/CNTV-work
‘he works’, ‘he is working’, or ‘he works regularly’

(40) eman’ekaakad  i  daki
ʔaman-cvcvʔakad ʔi laki
ACTV/CNTV-DISTR-walk NOM man
‘the man keeps walking around’

When the main verb is transitive a range of different constructions are available as outlined in Table 40.7 and discussed below. In all cases, the main verb is marked for continuative or progressive aspect (usually without the optional initial vowel /ə/).

When the Genitive Agent is expressed as a bound pronoun the Genitive aspectual pronoun occurs in the auxiliary position before the main verb, as in (41)–(45). If the Nominative complement is expressed as a full phrase or the non second-order pronoun ira, as in (44), it occurs after the “auxiliary + main verb” sequence.

(41) jokaisi’jan
joka=ʔi-siʔjan
2+/GEN/ASP=ThMV/CNTV-divorce NOM spouse=2+/GEN
‘you usually divorce your spouses’
40.1 Non-Linked Auxiliary Verb Constructions

(42) \( jet \) chakakeskesi sota bedat

\( jet \) daka=gasgas-i sota balat

and then 3+/GEN/DIR=peel-LOCV/CNTV NOM/REC skin

‘then they usually peel off the skin’

(43) tokaal’a ira

toka=?ala-a ?ida

3+/GEN/ASP=get-PATV/CNTV 3+/NOM

‘he usually gets them’

(44) tokabonoa ira

toka=bono-a ?ida

3+/GEN/ASP=kill-PATV/CNTV 3+/NOM

‘he usually kills them’

Second-order adverbs, like ngo ‘also’ and ni olay ‘always, often’, may occur between the auxiliary aspectual pronoun and the following main verb, as in (45).

(45) chakango ni olay pojoki ni bolong ni kapani

daka=IJO ni ?olaj pojok-i ni bolo!J ni kapani

3+/GEN/ASP=also GEN always, often rub-LOCV/CNTV GEN leaf GEN kapani plant

‘they also always rub on (the dead’s skin) some kapani (plant) leaves’

When both Agent and Nominative are expressed as bound pronouns a combined pronominal form is used and this acts as the auxiliary. The order of the pronouns is: Genitive before Nominative. As described in §16.2.2, the aspectual marker ka= occurs only once at the end of the compound aspectual pronominal form. The only exception is the Nominative pronoun ira, which is not analysed as being part of the aspectual auxiliary pronominal form.

(46) tokamikapantabtabada

to=kamika=pan-tabtabal-a

3+/GEN=1+/NOM/ASP=PatV/PROG-talk-PatV/PROG

‘he is talking to us’

When the Nominative complement is a third person plural referent and is expressed as the second-order Nominative pronoun ira the aspectual auxiliary cliticises to it.

(47) chakaira iechom

daka=?ida Ti=?edom

3+/GEN/ASP=3+/NOM THMV/CNTV-add

‘they usually add them’

If the aspectual auxiliary construction contains the second-order Nominative pronoun ira and also a second-order adverb the latter normally occurs between the aspectual pronoun and ira. In (48) the adverb =di is attached to the aspectual pronoun and ira occurs after “aspectual pronoun + adverb”.

---

(48) chakaja=ri

daka=?ida

3+/GEN/ASP=3+/NOM THMV/CNTV-add

‘they usually add them’
There is no aspectual pronominal form when the Agent and the Nominative complement are full phrases. As for intransitive verbs, two possibilities are available to express aspect.

The habitual marker $ka=$ occurs on transitive verbs marked for continuative aspect or progressive aspect, but without the optional initial vowel /e/.

Alternatively, a transitive verb marked for progressive aspect is employed with no habitual marker.
40.2 Linked Auxiliary Verb Constructions

Auxiliaries that require a linker between themselves and their dependent main verb are called “linked auxiliaries”. Like their non-linked counterparts they share transitivity with the main verb, but not necessarily aspect. They attract any second-order pronoun or adverb that would otherwise be complements of the following verb.

Table 40.8: Linked Auxiliary Verb Constructions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a.</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>NOMPRN</th>
<th>ja</th>
<th>V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[+xlr], [-trns]</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>LK</td>
<td>[-trns]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>b.</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>GENPRN</th>
<th>NOMPRN</th>
<th>ja</th>
<th>V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[+xlr], [+trns]</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>LK</td>
<td>[+trns]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Linked auxiliaries may also function as non-auxiliary extension verbs (e.g. mebedin /məbalin/ ‘can, able, be possible'; piyan /pijan/ ‘like, want’); see Chapter 41. However, they are regarded as auxiliaries only when they attract second-order pronouns or adverbs that would otherwise be part of the following verb. This means that whether a particular verb acts as a linked auxiliary can only be determined if second-order pronouns or adverbs are present.

The most common auxiliary verb of this class is mebedin /məbalin/ ‘can’. Mebedin is unmarked for aspect; its aspect is determined by that of the main verb.

(54) no egka mandokan, mebedinkan man’ekad
no ?ag=ka man-logan məbalin=ka=ə man-ʔakad
if, when neg=2/NOM ACTV/IPF-ride vehicle can=2/NOM=LK ACTV/IPF-walk

‘if you don’t ride a vehicle, you can walk’

Conversely, when the linked auxiliary is marked for aspect the main verb usually carries imperfective or continuative aspect.

(55) dimawak ja mengda ni namit
<im>law=ak ja maNʔala ni namit
<ACTV/PFT>go=1/NOM LK ACTV/IPF-get GEN lard

‘I went to get some lard’
Auxiliary Verb Constructions

(56) idi  
  si mal cheng  
  ira  
  ja  
  men gan,  
  kenan  
  nonta  
  ?i’li  
  <im>saldon  
  ?ida  
  ja  
  maN-kan  
  <in>kan  
  nonta  

when-past  
<ACTV/PFT>stop  
3+/NOM LK  
ACTV/IPF-eat  
<PATV/PFT>eat  
GEN/REC

daki  
 i  
 inapoy,  
 kaka kanch ero  
 tan  
 kachooyoch oy o

laki  
 ?i  
inapoj  
 k-a-cvc-kando  
 tan  
 k-a-cvcv-dojo

man  
 NOM  
 cooked rice  
 UNIVN-MULT-pot  
 and  
 UNIVN-MULT-spoon

‘when they stopped to eat, the man ate the rice, all the pots and spoons’

The following example contains a transitive main verb, hence a transitive linked auxiliary and construction.

(57) pi yan takango  
  ja  
  tod ongan  

pijan=taka=no  
ja  
 toloq-an

like, want=1/GEN&2/NOM=also, emph  
LK  
help-LOCV/IPF

‘I wish to help you’

Finally, constituents other than lexical verbs may act as linked auxiliaries, for instance, the temporal expressions in (58) and (59). To do this, the constituents must occur in the auxiliary position before the main verb and attract second-order constituents like the bound pronouns. These non-verbal linked auxiliaries can also act as non-auxiliary extension predicates; see Chapter 41. Their function is adverbial.

(58) nonta  
  chan chan i  
  i ron  
  met ey  

nonta  
 dandani  
 ?ida=n  
 ma-taj

when-past  
almost  
3+/NOM=LK  
PotPATV/IPF-die

‘when they were almost dead’

(59) no  
  domingko min  
  al’en  
  sota  
  kalson  

no  
 domingko=mi=n  
 ?ala-an  
 sota  
 kals on

if, when  
Sunday=l+/NOM=LK  
get-PATV/IPF  
NOM/REC trousers

‘on Sunday we will get the trousers’

40.3 Constructions with Two Auxiliary Verbs

A construction may contain two auxiliaries. The first one is usually the negative eg= /?ag=/ and the following one is a linked auxiliary such as mebedin /mabalin/ ‘can, able’.

(60) egkami  
  mebedin  
  ya  
  mengibong  
  ni  
  do g it  

?ag=kami  
 mabalin  
 ja  
 maN-?ibong  
 ni  
 logit

neg=1+/NOM  
can  
LK  
ACTV/IPF-throw  
GEN  
rubbish

‘we cannot throw rubbish’

(61) egtoo k  
  mebedin  
  ya  
  dibkan  

?ag=to=ak  
 mabalin  
 ja  
 libag-an

neg=3/GEN=1/NOM  
can  
LK  
forget-LOCV/IPF

‘he cannot forget me’
Non-auxiliary extension verb constructions are multi-clausal constructions headed by a non-auxiliary extension verb simply referred to as an “extension verb”. These verbs differ from auxiliary verbs in that they do not need to share transitivity or complements with the following verb in the complement clause.

On morphosyntactic grounds, Ibaloy complement clauses can be subdivided into two main types: finite complement clauses, and non-finite complement clauses. A finite complement clause, as in (1), is like an independent clause, as in (2), in that it carries its own aspect and, more importantly, in that it expresses its own complements directly.

(1) \textit{piyankanon} \textit{man’iskoydaka}  \textit{pijan=ko=n man-?iskojlka=ka}  \\
like=1/GEN=LK ACTV/PFT-study=2/NOM  \\
'I'd like you to study'

(2) \textit{man’iskoydaka}  \\
\textit{man-?iskojlka=ka}  \\
ACTV/IPF-study=2/NOM  \\
'you study'

Except for the linker \textit{ja} (functioning as a complementizer) the above complement clause could stand alone as a complete utterance as shown in (2). It is independently marked for aspect and has its only complement (the Nominative) expressed. Amongst finite complement clauses, two further subtypes are identified; namely indirect questions and direct and indirect speech, discussed respectively in §41.2.3 and §41.2.4.

A non-finite complement clause is less independent (or less like a separate clause) than a finite complement clause. It is basically a reduced clause in that the main clause shares its arguments with the complement clause. The aspect of the predicate in the non-finite clause is also usually constrained, though that is not a requirement.
(3)  piyankon  mengan
    pijan=ko=n  maN-kan
    like=1/GEN=LK  ACTV/IPF-eat

    ‘I’d like to eat’

In the above example, the identity of the complement referring to the agent is identical to that of the predicate *mengan* of the complement clause where it is not expressed. This clearly makes the complement clause dependent on the main clause.

Complement clauses are introduced by an overt complementizer. Ibaloy has two main complementizers which are both linkers: *ja* and *ji*. Some predicates select either one or the other, while others may take both. The complementizer *ja* can be used to introduce both finite and non-finite types of complement clauses. The complementizer *ji* is only used to introduce finite complement clauses and direct or indirect speech. The subordinating conjunctions *no* and *nem* may also function as complementizers. They are primarily used to introduce an indirect question. Moreover, the subordinating conjunction *nem* occurs with the predicate *kowan /kowan/ ‘think’ to introduce a finite clause.

The rest of this section describes the kinds of predicate that take a complement clause and the two main types of complement clauses available in the language: finite and non-finite.

### 41.1 Extension Verbs and Their Constructions

Ibaloy has a wide range of extension predicates. These predicates are arranged into subclasses according to their semantics. They all require a linker of some sort between them and the following complement clause. The linker used depends partially on the predicate type and partially on the type of complement clause involved. Some may take either a finite or a non-finite complement clause. Others take only one or the other type of complement clause.

Like main verbs, extension verbs are classed on the basis of the type and number of complements required. So are their constructions. The main division is between “impersonal” and “personal” extension verbs and clauses. An impersonal extension verb does not take a Nominative complement, so its clause is Nominative-less. A personal extension verb takes a Nominative complement, and its clause contains such a complement whether or not overtly expressed. This correspondence between extension verbs and their clauses is summarised as follows.
Some extension verbs are presented below. Only their root form is listed.

Speech verbs which may take a finite complement, namely an indirect question or direct or indirect speech, include:

- **kowan** /kowan/ ‘say’
- **baga** /baga/ ‘ask’
- **salodsod** /salodsod/ ‘inquire, ask’
- **songbat** /soŋbat/ ‘answer’

They also include verbs of order and force or advice.

- **bilin** /bilin/ ‘order’
- **pilit** /pilit/ ‘force/advice’

Perception or attention extension predicates usually take a finite complement clause.

- **oney** /?onaj/ ‘see, look’
- **chemang** /damaŋ/ ‘see, look’
- **keydeng** /kajlaŋ/ ‘hear, listen’

Mental/thinking extension predicates may take either a non-finite or a finite complement clause. The most common ones include the following.

- **kowan** /kowan/ ‘think’
- **amta** /?amta/ ‘know’
- **nemnem** /nɔmnom/ ‘think, remember’
- **dibag** /libag/ ‘forget’
- **pati** /pati/ ‘believe’
- **oney** /?onaj/ ‘realize’

Desire extension predicates may take either a finite or a non-finite complement clause.

- **piyan** /pijan/ ‘like, want’
- **kosto** /kosto/ ‘like’
- **ngaaw** /ŋaʔaw/ ‘dislike’

Predicates with some aspectual meaning that may take either a finite or a non-finite
complement clause include the following.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>kecheng</em></td>
<td>/kəɗəŋ/</td>
<td>‘finish’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kapo</em></td>
<td>/kəpo/</td>
<td>‘start’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>toloy</em></td>
<td>/tolɔj/</td>
<td>‘continue’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following aspectual predicates take a finite complement clause only, unless acting as linked auxiliary verbs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>marama</em></td>
<td>/madama/</td>
<td>‘during’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>chanchani</em></td>
<td>/dandani/</td>
<td>‘almost’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When manner predicates act as (non-auxiliary) extension verbs they take a non-finite complement clause.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>paspas</em></td>
<td>/paspas/</td>
<td>‘do fast’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>alisto</em></td>
<td>/ʔalisto/</td>
<td>‘do quickly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>alonj</em></td>
<td>/ʔalomj/</td>
<td>‘do slowly’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Modal predicates include the following. They can also act as linked auxiliary verbs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>mebedin</em></td>
<td>/məbalin/</td>
<td>‘can, able, possible’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mesepo</em></td>
<td>/masapo/</td>
<td>‘need’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other extension predicates include the causative/perception verb *toro* /todo/ ‘show, teach’ which may take a finite or a non-finite clause, the verb *paras* /padas/ ‘try’ which takes a non-finite clause, and the negative *aliba* /ʔaliwa/ ‘not’ which takes a finite clause unless acting as a linked auxiliary.

Other constituents that may act as extension predicates include some question words (or interrogative forms) like *ngantoy* /ʔantoj/ ‘why’ (§43.3), and some temporal expressions. Finally, Ibaloy has some subordinating conjunctions that may be regarded as grammaticalised extension predicates (Chapter 44).

### 41.2 Impersonal Constructions with Finite Complement Clauses

A construction which does not have a Nominative complement is called an impersonal construction. One which has a finite complement is called an “impersonal (extension verb) construction with a finite complement clause”.

Finite complement clauses are those clauses that can stand alone and form a complete utterance. They neither share complements with the main clause nor are usually required
41.2 Impersonal Constructions with Finite Complement Clauses

to be marked for a particular tense/aspect. The great majority of finite complement clauses are introduced by a constituent acting as a complementizer, namely *ja*, *ji*, *nem* or *no*.

The constituent order of these impersonal constructions containing a finite complement clause is summarised in Table 41.1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 41.1: Impersonal Constructions with Finite Complement Clauses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. V LK  COMPCLS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+xnt],[-trns] [+finite]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. V GENPHR LK  COMPCLS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+xnt],[+trns] A [+finite]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following sections treat the various types of finite complement clause together with the major types of extension predicate requiring such complement clauses.

### 41.2.1 Finite Complement Clauses Introduced by *ja*

As a complementizer the linker *ja* (with allomorphs: *ja* ['§a], *ya* [ja], =a and =n) introduces a finite complement clause, and more commonly a non-finite complement clause. Only finite complement clauses are described here. Non-finite complement clauses are discussed in §41.3.

Constructions headed by an impersonal intransitive extension verb only require a complement clause. Predicates of this type include the modal verbs *mebedin* 'can' in (4) and *mesepol* 'need' in (5) which are grammaticalised forms which originally carried the stative prefix *me*- ‘STAPATV/IPF’.

(4) *mabalin ja on’olikita alin chagos*

mbabalin ja ?on-?oli=kita ?ali=n chagos can LK ACTV/IPF-return=1&2+/NOM toward=LK immediately

‘it is possible that we (two) will be back immediately’

(5) *mosapol ja si’kamingoy mengiloto nodta kad’an ni damisaan*

mosapol ja si’gami=no=j magi-loto nodta kad?an ni lamisa?an need LK 1+/IND=also=NOM ACTV/IPF-cook LOC/REC place GEN table

‘it is necessary that you only are the ones to cook at the table’

Qualitative evaluation predicates such as *mapteng* ‘be good’ in (6) and *edigat* ‘be difficult’ in (7). These predicates usually carry stative morphology, though some ‘property’ nouns may also act as extension predicates. Their function is adverbial.

(6) *mabalin ja on’olikita alin chagos*

mbabalin ja ?on-?oli=kita ?ali=n chagos can LK ACTV/IPF-return=1&2+/NOM toward=LK immediately

‘it is possible that we (two) will be back immediately’

(7) *mosapol ja si’kamingoy mengiloto nodta kad’an ni damisaan*

mosapol ja si’gami=no=j magi-loto nodta kad?an ni lamisa?an need LK 1+/IND=also=NOM ACTV/IPF-cook LOC/REC place GEN table

‘it is necessary that you only are the ones to cook at the table’

Qualitative evaluation predicates such as *mapteng* ‘be good’ in (6) and *edigat* ‘be difficult’ in (7). These predicates usually carry stative morphology, though some ‘property’ nouns may also act as extension predicates. Their function is adverbial.
(6) maptenq ja mimotok
ma-potaj ja <im>motok Øi Øapo padi
STAV/MA-good LK <ACTV/PFT>arrive NOM Title/religious priest

‘the priest arrived well’

(7) edigat ja ondaw chi Manida
Øa-ligat ja Øon-law di manila
STAPATV/PFT-difficult LK ACTV/IPF-go LOC Manila

‘it is difficult to go to Manila’

Aliba /Øaliwa/ ‘not’ negates non-declarative clauses, an entire proposition, or a nominal. It is always linked to the constituent it negates by the linker ja. It can also function in isolation as in an answer to mean ‘(it is) not’. Occasionally, it may act as a linked auxiliary. It is used to negate verbs marked for continuative or progressive aspect as in (8), or an aspectual construction (§40.1.4) as in (9).

(8) aliban eman’iskoyda
Øaliwa=n Øoman-Øiskojla
not=LK ACTV/CNTV-study

‘he is not studying’

(9) aliban nakaman’owaowap
Øaliwa=n naka=man-CVCV-Øowap
not=LK 1/NOM/ASP=ACTV/IPF-DISTR-lie

‘I am not lying’

Clauses containing stative verbs derived through the formatives en-/Øen-/, ma-/ma-/ or nanka-/nanka-/ (Chapter 17) are always negated through aliba. This is because these verbs indicate that the state designated by the root is a constant characteristic of the entity referred to by the predicate.

(10) aliban makedsang
Øaliwa=n ma-kadsaq
not=LK STAV/MA-strong

‘he is not strong’

(11) aliban empait
Øaliwa=n Øan-pa?it
not=LK STAV/EN-bitter

‘it is not bitter’

(12) aliban nankaama ira
Øaliwa=n nanka-Øama Øida
not=LK STAPATV/PL-old man 3+/NOM

‘they are not old men’
The negative *aliba* is also used to negate a whole proposition (verbal or non verbal).

(13) *aliban* doktoraak

\[?aliwa=n doktoru=ak\]
\[not=LK female doctor=1/NOM\]

'I am not a female doctor'

(14) *aliban* si’kak i chimeral ni ngoro ni pising

\[?aliwa=n si?qak ?i <im>dadal ni qodo ni pisiq\]
\[not=LK 1/IND NOM <Actv/Pft>destroy GEN top GEN sweet potato\]

'I am not the one who destroyed some of the tops of the sweet potato plants'

The aspectual verbs *makcheng* /*makdaŋ*/, marked for imperfective aspect, and *nakcheng* /*nakdaŋ*/, marked for perfective aspect, are derived from *kecheng* /*kødaŋ*/ ‘finish’. The predicate in the complement clause usually agrees in tense/aspect with the extension predicate in the main clause. In (15), the main extension predicate is marked for imperfective aspect and so is the predicate of the complement clause. In (16), the main extension predicate carries perfective aspect and so is the predicate of the complement clause. However, this correlation between head and dependent predicate is not a strict rule, as (17) shows.

(15) ondawkami chi baley nen Taltine no makcheng ja

\[?on-law=kami di balaj nan taltine no ma-kadaŋ ja\]
\[Actv/IPF-go=1/NOM LOC house GEN/Pers Taltine if/when PotPatV/IPF-finish LK\]

man’a’meska

\[man-cv-?amos=ka\]
\[Actv/IPF-IPF-bathe=2/NOM\]

'we will go to Taltine’s house when you will have finished bathing'

(16) jet nakcheng ja enganak

\[jat na-kadaŋ ja ?aN-kan=ak\]

and then PotPatV/Pft-finish LK Actv/Pft-eat=1/NOM

'then I finished eating'

(17) nakcheng ja man’obda iра

\[na-kadaŋ ja man-?obla ?ida\]
\[PotPatV/Pft-finish LK Actv/IPF-work 3+/Nom\]

'they finished to work'

Note that the extension predicate and the predicate in the complement clause do not need to share transitivity. In (18), *makcheng* is an impersonal intransitive extension verb while *a’mesen* is a transitive verb.
Non-Auxiliary Extension Verb Constructions

(18) *no makcheng ja a’mesencha, no ma-kadau ja cv-?amas-an=da*

if/when POTPatV/PFT-finish LK IPF-bathe-PatV/IPF=3+/GEN

chakaisal chima bo’day ni baley

daka=?i-?asal dima bo?laj ni balaj
3+/GEN/ASP=THMV/CNTV-death chair LOC/DIST outside GEN house

‘when they finish bathing him, they sit him on the death chair outside of the house’

Aspectual predicates include *marama* /madama/ ‘be in the state of, during’ in (19) and (20).

(19) *maraman emengan si’kara madama=n ?amaN-kan si?gada*

during=LK ActV/CNTV-eat 3+/IND

‘they are eating’

(20) *nem maraman naogip si’kato nam madama=n na-?ogip si?qato*

when during=LK POTPatV/PFT-sleep 3/IND

‘when he is asleep’

Once more the two predicates do not need to share transitivity. In the following example the verb *panbediwa* is transitive.

(21) *idi maraman tokapanbediwa ?i’li madama=n toka=pan-baliw-a ?i pa’dok,?

when-past during=LK 3/GEN/ASP=PAT/PROG=cross water-PatV/PROG NOM creek

‘when he was crossing the creek’

Some aspectual predicates, like *chanchani* /dandani/ ‘almost’ in (22), and temporal expressions, as in (23), may also function as impersonal extension predicates as well as linked auxiliaries, as discussed in §40.2. In this case, they must occur in the predicate position followed by a finite clause introduced by the linker *ja* (or one of its allomorphs).

(22) *chanchanin onmotokak chi baleyto dandani=n ?on-motok=ak di balaj=to almost=LK ActV/IPF-arrive=1/NOM LOC house=3/GEN*

‘I am almost arriving at his house’

(23) *epata bolan ya nay’asal ni olay sota too ?apat=a bolan ja naj-?asal ni ?olaj sota to?o four=LK month LK POTThMV/PFT-death chair GEN always NOM/REC person*

‘for four months the man always sat on the death chair’
41.2 Impersonal Constructions with Finite Complement Clauses

Finally, interrogative forms, like ngantoy /ŋantɔj/ ‘why’ in (24), can also be analysed as impersonal extension predicates. Second-order adverbs (§46.2.2) like ngata ‘wonder’ may occur after the interrogative form, but before the linked clause.

(24) ngantoy ngatan nandangan ira?
    ŋantɔj ŋata=n nan-laŋan ?ida
    why wonder=LK ACTV/PFT-absent 3+/NOM

‘why are they absent (I wonder)’?

Impersonal extension predicates taking a Genitive Agent plus a finite complement clause also form an impersonal clause. These verbs usually carry controlled Undergoer morphology (e.g. -en ‘PATV/IPF’, -an ‘LocV/IPF’), except for monomorphemic verbs which lack any derivational morphology.

This type of predicate includes desire verbs like piyan /pijan/ ‘like, want’, mental/thinking verbs like anta /ʔamta/ ‘know’, attention/perception verbs like oney /ʔonaj/ ‘see’, and the modal verb mesepol /mašapolo/ ‘need’.

In (25) the verb piyan ‘like, want’ takes the Agent =to ‘3/NOM’ plus a clause introduced by the linker =n (allomorph of ja), but no Nominative complement. The complement clause is finite and contains a full set of complements including the Nominative, iya chanom.

(25) piyanton idotom iya chanom
    pijan=to=n ?i-loṭo=m ?iʔa danom
    like=3/GEN=LK THMV/IPF-cook=2/GEN NOM/PROX water

‘he’d like you to cook this water’

(26) inamtaraman baray meking chima diyang
    <PATV/PFT>know=3+/GEN=then=LK exist=NOM mummy LOC/DIST cave

‘they knew that there were the mummies there’

(27) in’ankon egka makajabtok
    <LOCV/PFT>see-LocV=1/GEN=LK neg=2/NOM POTACTV/IPF-jump

‘I saw that you cannot jump’

(28) mesepolmin man’obdaka
    mašapolo=mi=n man-ʔobla=ka
    need=1+/GEN=LK ACTV/IPF-work=2/NOM

‘we need you to work’

When the extension verb is negated through the negative auxiliary eg= /ʔeg= the auxiliary attracts any second-order constituent present in the main clause, and not in the embedded complement clause.
Non-Auxiliary Extension Verb Constructions

(29)  

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{egmo piyan ja dag'enko} & \quad i \quad \text{piyanko} \\
?\text{og}=\text{mo} & \quad \text{pijan ja laga-on}=\text{ko} & \quad ?i \quad \text{pijan}=\text{ko} \\
\text{neg}=\text{2/GEN like, want} & \quad \text{LK do-PATV/IPF}=\text{1/GEN NOM like}=\text{1/GEN} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘you don’t like that I do what I like’

41.2.2 Finite Complement Clauses Introduced by \textit{ji}

The linker \textit{ji} (with allomorphs: \textit{ji} ['dži], \textit{yi} [je], and rarely, \textit{=n}) is only used to introduce a finite complement clause. The complement clause does not share any complement(s) with the main clause and usually carries its own tense/aspect. However, not all predicates can take \textit{ji} as a complementizer.

\textit{Ji} commonly occurs with speech verbs to introduce either direct or indirect speech. The following examples represent indirect speech only. For a further description of direct and indirect speech see §41.2.4.

Speech verbs take a Genitive Agent plus a complement clause (indirect or direct speech). The great majority also carry controlled Undergoer morphology. The verb \textit{kowan} /\textit{kowan}/ ‘say’ is an exception in that it may be used in its root (or monomorphemic) form, as in (31).

(30)  

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yet ikowanchama yi baray ikol ni Igodot} \\
jot & \quad ?i-kowan=\text{da}=\text{ma} & \quad ji & \quad \text{wada}=\text{j} & \quad \text{?ikol ni} & \quad \text{igorot} \\
\text{and then THMv/IPF=say}=\text{3+}/\text{GEN}=\text{then LK}/ji & \quad \text{exist}=\text{NOM} & \quad \text{talk GEN} & \quad \text{igorot} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘then they say that the Igorot people have tails’

(31)  

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nem kowancha yi emin ja totood chonchontog ket Igodot} \\
\text{nam} & \quad \text{kowan=da} & \quad \text{ji} & \quad ?\text{omin ja} & \quad \text{CV-to}=\text{d} & \quad \text{CVC-dontog} & \quad \text{kat} & \quad \text{igorot} \\
\text{but} & \quad \text{say}=\text{3+}/\text{GEN LK/ji all} & \quad \text{LK PL-person=LOC MULT mountain TPLK} & \quad \text{igorot} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘but they say that as for all the people in the mountains, they are Igorot people’

The linker \textit{ji} also occurs with mental verbs. Its main function with these verbs is to ensure that the identity of the experiencer is not understood as being co-referential with that of the actor of the predicate in the complement clause. Remember that verbs of thinking (or mental verbs) are often used with the complementizer \textit{ja} and take a non-finite complement clause (§41.3). With the complementizer \textit{ji}, instead, the complement clause is finite.

(32)  

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{jet ninemnemto ji sota otot iray engispa} \\
jot & \quad <\text{in}>\text{ninemnem}=\text{to} & \quad \text{ji} & \quad \text{sota} & \quad ?\text{otot} & \quad ?\text{ida}=\text{j} & \quad ?\text{agi-sapa} \\
\text{and then <PATV/PFT>think LK/ji NOM/REC mouse 3+}/\text{NOM=NOM ActV/PFT-place} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ja panbejadcha} \\
\text{ja} & \quad \text{pan-bajad}=\text{da} & \quad \text{LK GER/IPF-pay}=\text{3+}/\text{GEN} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘then he thought that the mice were the ones that placed (silver and gold) as a mean of their payment’
41.2 Impersonal Constructions with Finite Complement Clauses

(33) idi  inamtaan nonta abalo ji
?i'li  <in>?amta-an nonta ?o-balo ji
when-past <LocV>PFT>know-LOCV GEN/REC STA/PATV/PFT-widower LK/ji

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kinakinan</th>
<th>nonta</th>
<th>overt</th>
<th>ira</th>
<th>i</th>
<th>bekas</th>
<th>tan</th>
<th>dokto</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;in&gt;CVCV-kan</td>
<td>nonta</td>
<td>?otot</td>
<td>?a-bag</td>
<td>tan</td>
<td>lokto</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;PatV&gt;PFT&gt;DISTR-eat GEN/REC mouse PL NOM uncooked rice and sweet potato</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘when the widower realized that the mice kept eating the rice and sweet potatoes’

(34) amtak  ji  egto  piyan  i  kansiyonmo
?a?amta=ji  ji  ?og=to  pijan  ?i  kansjon=mo
know=1/GEN LK/ji neg=3/GEN like NOM song=2/GEN

‘I know that he does not like your song’

(35) amtato  ji  aychi  i  echoma  toon  engidaw
know=3/GEN LK/ji not-exist NOM other, some=LK person=LK ACTV/PFT-bring

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>nonta</th>
<th>palata  tan  balitok</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nonta</td>
<td>palata  tan  balitok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN/REC silver  and  gold</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘he knew that there was no other person who brought (some of the) silver and gold’

When the verb amta /?amta/ is a Locative verb, as shown in (33) it means ‘realize’, while when it is a monomorphemic verb, as shown in (34)–(35), it means ‘know’.

Other mental verbs include pati /pati/ ‘believe’.

(36) tokapatiya  yi  baray  satan  ja
| toka=pati-a  ji  wada=ja  satan  ja |
| 3GEN/ASP=believe-PATV/CNTV LK/ji exist=NOM TOP/MED/PRO LK |

emepasamak
?a?ama=pasamak
POT/PATV/CNTV-happen

‘he keeps believing that that is happening’

(37) pinatima  ni  too  yi  sakeya  akew  dimespag
| <in>pati=ma  ni  to?o  ji  sakaj=a  ?akaw  <im>laspag |
| <PatV>PFT>believe=then GEN person LK/ji one=LK day  <ACTV>PFT-descend |

| si  Kaboniyan  alid  naykayang |
| si  kabonijan  ?a?ali=d  naj-kajaq |
| NOM/PERS Kaboniyan toward=LOC STA/THMV/PFT-high |

‘the people believed that one day (the god) Kaboniyan descended from the sky’

When it takes the complementizer ji the verb oney /?onaj/ ‘see’ means ‘realize’.
41.2.3 Indirect Questions

The subordinating conjunctions nem /nam/ or no/no/ may function as complementizers introducing an indirect question. In this case no or nem are often, though not always, followed by a question word. The most common question words include the following; see §43.3 for other forms.

- *pig a /piga/ ‘how many, how much’*
- *pig an /pigan/ ‘when; whenever’*
- *sipa /sipa/ ‘who; whoever’*
- *nganto /uanto/ ‘what, which; whatever, whichever’*
- *to /to/ ‘what, which; whatever, whichever’*
- *ngaran /uadan/ ‘what; whatever’*
- *towa /towa/ ‘where; wherever’*

Indirect questions mainly occur with verbs of speech and enquiry.

- *imbag’anto nem sipay kaitkon an*
  - ?in-baga-an=to nam sipa=j gai?it=ko=n ?an
  - BNFV/PFT-ask-BNFV=3/GEN if/when who=NOM companion=l/GEN=LK go&do
  - mekimisa
  - maki-misa
  - ACTV/IPF-mass
  - ‘she asked who will be my companion to go to mass’

- *ikowanmogan si’kak nem toy*
  - ?i-kowan=mo=ga=n si’gak nam to=j
  - THMV/IMP-say=2/GEN=polite=OBL/PERS 1/IND if/when what=NOM
Impersonal Constructions with Finite Complement Clauses

41.2 Impersonal Constructions with Finite Complement Clauses

\[\text{inpasingmo} \quad ?\text{in-pasi}=\text{mo} \quad \text{GER/PFT-way}=2/\text{GEN}\]

'tell me please how you did it (what is your way)'

(42) \[\text{sinadodsodto} \quad \text{nem} \quad \text{pigan i iakadto} \quad \text{<in>salodsod}=\text{to} \quad \text{nem} \quad \text{pigan} \quad ?i \quad ?i-?akad=\text{to} \quad \text{<PatV/PFT>ask}=3/\text{GEN} \text{if/when} \quad \text{NOM} \quad \text{GER/IPF-go}=3/\text{GEN}\]

'he asked when he will go home'

(43) \[\text{imbag'anchara} \quad \text{no} \quad \text{ngaran i kenakenanto} \quad \text{?in-baga-an}=\text{da} \quad \text{no} \quad \text{?adan} \quad ?i \quad \text{<in>CVCV-kan}=\text{to} \quad \text{BNFV/PFT-ask-BNFV}=3+/\text{GEN} \text{if/when} \quad \text{what} \quad \text{NOM} \quad \text{<PatV/PFT>DISTR-eat}=3/\text{GEN}\]

'they asked what he kept eating'

Aside from speech verbs other verbs which may take an indirect question include \textit{anap} /\textit{?anap}/ ‘search, look for’, \textit{oney} /\textit{?onaj}/ ‘see, look’, and \textit{amta} /\textit{?amta}/ ‘know’, as in the following examples.

(44) \[\text{inenapcha} \quad \text{no} \quad \text{toy} \quad \text{pesingchan} \quad \text{<in>?anap}=\text{da} \quad \text{no} \quad \text{to}=\text{j} \quad \text{pasip}=\text{da}=\text{n} \quad \text{<PatV/PFT>search}=3+/\text{GEN} \text{if/when} \quad \text{what}=\text{NOM} \quad \text{way}=3+/\text{GEN} \text{=LK}\]

\textit{mengip} preserve \textit{ni apocha}
\textit{maji-preserve} \textit{ni} \textit{?apo}=\text{da}
\textit{ACTV/IPF-preserve GEN ancestor}=3+/\text{GEN}

'they looked for a way to preserve their ancestors’

(45) \[\text{jet} \quad \text{cha} \quad \text{inon'an} \quad \text{no} \quad \text{toy} \quad \text{jat da} \quad \text{<in>?onaj-an} \quad \text{no} \quad \text{to}=\text{j} \quad \text{and then} \quad 3+/\text{GEN} \quad \text{<LocV/PFT>see-LocV if/when} \quad \text{what}=\text{NOM}\]

\textit{tokakena} \quad \textit{ya bolong} \textit{ono} \textit{herbs} \textit{ya}
\textit{toka=}\textit{kan-a} \quad \textit{ja} \textit{bolon} \quad \textit{?ono herbs} \textit{ja}
\textit{3/GEN/ASP=eat-PATV/CNTV LK leaf or herbs LK}
\textit{tokakabotengi}
\textit{toka=}\textit{ka-botaq-i}
\textit{3/GEN/ASP=POTLOCV/CNTV-drunk-LocV/CNTV}

'then they went to see which leaves or herbs were making it (the bird) drunk’

(46) \[\text{say} \quad \text{amtaencha} \quad \text{no} \quad \text{sipa i kaondagadaga} \quad \text{saj} \quad \text{?amta-an}=\text{da} \quad \text{no} \quad \text{sipa} \quad ?i \quad \text{ka=?on-CVCV-laga}\]

'so that know-PATV/IPF=3+/GEN if/when who NOM HAB=ACTV/IPF-DISTR-do

'so that they will know who is the one that keeps doing it’

(47) \[\text{yet} \quad \text{on'anta} \quad \text{nem} \quad \text{sipay} \quad \text{makansiyon} \quad \text{jat} \quad \text{?onaj-an}=\text{ta} \quad \text{nem} \quad \text{sipa}=\text{j} \quad \text{ma-kansijon}\]

'and then see-LocV/IPF=1\&2/GEN if/when who=NOM \textit{STAV/MA-sing}

'then let us (two) see who is a singer’
The complementizer nem also occurs with the predicate kowan /kowan/ to mean ‘think’.

The following examples illustrate indirect speech introduced by ji.

(52)  *kowanko* yi  egto  baychan  itan
kowan=ko  ji  ?ag=to  bajad-an  ?itan
say=1/GEN LK/ji neg=3/GEN pay-LocV/IPF NOM/MED/PRO
‘I say that he does not pay that’

(53)  tep  *kowanto* ngarod  yi  ikasaltos
tap  kowan=to  ngarod  ji  ?i-kasal=to=s  agata
because  say=3/GEN indeed  LK/ji ThmV/IPF-marry=3/GEN=NOM/PERS Agata
‘because he says indeed that he will marry Agata’
41.2 Impersonal Constructions with Finite Complement Clauses

The following examples illustrate direct speech. In (54) the quote is introduced by the Nominative determiner i. The determiner i is used more commonly to introduce direct speech. However, with both direct and indirect speech i only occurs when the quote replaces the Nominative complement.

(54) nem si’kak, kowankoy “aychi, no mebedin, aychi!”
    nam si’gak kowan=ko=j ?ajdi no mabalin ?ajdi
    but 1/IND say=1/GEN=NOM no if/when can no
    ’but as for me, I say “no, if it were possible, no!”’

However, in most cases it is ji that introduces direct speech.

(55) piyan nen asebak nem kowanto yi “ekak piyan i
    pijan nan ?asawa=k nam kowan=to ji ?ogak pijan ?i
    like GEN/PERS spouse=l/GEN but say=3/GEN LK/ji neg+1/GEN like NOM
    amerikanon mengesawa ni anakko”
    americano=n maN-?asawa ni ?anak=ko
    white person=LK ACTV/IPF-marry, spouse GEN child=l/GEN
    ’my husband likes it, but he says “I don’t like a white person marrying one of my children”’

(56) kowanto kono nonta agito ji “angken ekak
    kowan=to kono nonta ?agi=to ji ?aŋkan ?ogak
    say=3/GEN hearsay GEN/REC sibling=3/GEN LK/ji although neg+1/NOM
    mekikan nak mannikay chi chanom.”
    maki-kan nak man-nigaj di danom
    ACTV/IPF-eat 1/NOM/DIR ACTV/IPF-fish, hunt for food LOC water
    ’it is said that her brother says “even though I won’t join the feast I will go and fish in the water”’

Direct speech can also occur juxtaposed to the main clause. In the latter case, a short intonation break usually occurs between it and the main clause. Note that the quoted speech does not need to follow the main clause, it can also precede it.

In the following examples the direct speech occurs after the main clause.

(57) yet kowanto “no kabasan ondawak chima
    jat kowan=to no kabasan ?on-law=ak dima
    and then say=3/GEN if/when tomorrow ACTV/IPF-go=1/NOM LOC/DIST
    kad’ancha”
    kad’aN=da
    place=3+/GEN
    ‘then he says “tomorrow I will go to their place”’
Non-Auxiliary Extension Verb Constructions

(58) \textit{yet inkowan nonta aki "egmesepol ja}
\textit{jat ?in-kowan nonta ?aki ?ag=masapol ja}
and then \textit{THMV/PFT-say GEN/REC monkey neg=need LK}

\textit{mantabtabalkita}”
\textit{man-tahtabal=kita}
\textit{ACTV/IPF-talk=1&2/NOM}

‘then the monkey said “it is not necessary that we (two) talk” ’

Conversely, in the following examples the direct speech occurs before the main clause.

(59) \textit{"ekak piyan itan", kowanto}
\textit{?agak pijan ?itan kowan=to}
\textit{neg+l/GEN like NOM/MED/PRO say=l/GEN}

‘“I don’t like that”, I say’

(60) \textit{“toy dabanno?”, inkowan ni otot}
\textit{to=j law-an=mo ?in-kowan ni ?otot}
\textit{what, where=NOM go=LOCV/IPF=2/GEN THMV/PFT-say GEN mouse}

‘“where do you go?”, said the mouse’

41.3 Impersonal Constructions with Non-finite Complement Clauses

Unlike its finite counterpart, a non-finite complement clause construction cannot stand without the main clause. Ibaloy non-finite complement clauses are reduced in that they lack one or both of the core complements, as described below. Non-finite complement clauses are all introduced by the linker \textit{ja} (or one of its allomorphs).

Impersonal constructions containing a non-finite complement clause are headed by an impersonal transitive extension verb which takes a Genitive Agent plus a non-finite complement clause. Two constructions are available depending on whether the Genitive Agent is co-referential with the Nominative or the Genitive Agent of the complement clause. These two possibilities are summarised in Table 41.2 and discussed below.

| Table 41.2: Impersonal Transitive Constructions with Non-Finite Clauses |
|-------------------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---|
| a. \textit{V GENPHR ja V } \emptyset |
| \textit{[+xtns], [+trns]} A LK \textit{[+xtns], [+trns]} S |
| b. \textit{V GENPHR ja V } \emptyset \textit{NOMPHR} |
| \textit{[+xtns], [+trns]} A LK \textit{[+xtns], [+trns]} A P |
Ibaloy has a wide range of impersonal transitive extension verbs. They include the modal verbs *mebedin* /mabalin/ ‘can, able’ and *mesepol* /masapol/ ‘need’, the desire verbs *piyan* /pijan/ ‘like, want’, *ngaaw* /ua?aw/ ‘dislike’, and the mental verb *amta* /?amta/ ‘know’. Many verbs describing a manner or way of doing can also be used as extension verbs taking a non-finite clause, including *paspas* /paspas/ ‘do quickly’ and *kano* /gano/ ‘do fast’. Other commonly used impersonal transitive extension verbs are the verb *paras* /padas/ ‘try’ and aspectual verbs like *toloy* /toloj/ ‘continue’.

When the Genitive Agent of the extension predicate is co-referential with the only complement of the following intransitive verb, then the embedded clause has no overt Nominative complement. The Nominative is overtly expressed only in the main clause. Its position is relatively free with respect to other phrases found in the embedded clause. The absence of the Nominative from the embedded clause is here shown by a zero.

(61)  *mebedinchan mansodat*  
*mebedin* da=n  *mabalin*=da=n  man-solat  
(can=3+/GEN=LK  AcTV/IPF-write)  
‘they can write’

(62)  *mesepolkon ondaw*  
*mesepol* ko=n  *ton-law*  
*need=1+GEN=LK  AcTV/IPF-go*  
‘I need to go home’

(63)  *piyanmon makdot*  
*piyan* mo=n  *makdot*  
(if/when like, want=2+GEN=LK PotPatV/IPF-roast  AcTV/Imp-put on fire=2/Nom)  
‘if you want to be roasted, then put yourself on the fire!’

(64)  *piyankon maokip*  
*piyan* ko=n  *maokip*  
(like, want=1+GEN=LK PotPatV/IPF-sleep  time-present)  
‘I want to sleep now’

(65)  *pinaspasanton nan'obdad payew*  
*paspas-an* to=n  nan'obla=d  pajaw  
(<LocV/PFT>fast-LocV=3+GEN=LK AcTV/PFT-work=Loc field)  
‘he worked quickly in the fields’

(66)  *kanoanta ja mengan*  
*gano-an* ta  ja  maN-kan  
(fast-LocV/IPF=1&2+GEN LK AcTV/IPF-eat)  
‘you and I will eat quickly’
When the Genitive Agent of the extension verb is co-referential with that of the following transitive dependent verb the embedded clause is a dependent construction which has no overt Genitive Agent. This is here indicated by a zero.

(68) \( \text{piyanto} \) \( \text{idoto} \) \( \emptyset \) \( \text{iya} \) \( \text{chanom} \)

\( \text{pijan=to=n} \) \( \text{?i-loto} \) \( \text{?ija} \) \( \text{danom} \)

like, want=3/GEN=NOM THMV/IPF-cook NOM/PROX water

‘she wants to cook this water’

It is not possible for the Genitive Agent of the extension verb to be co-referential with the Nominative complement of the following main transitive verb. When such a complement is not overtly expressed in the embedded clause it is usually understood as a third person singular entity.

(69) \( \text{piyankon} \) \( \text{todagenmo} \) \( \emptyset \)

\( \text{pijan=ko=n} \) \( \text{tolag-an=mo} \)

like=1/GEN=LK help-PATV/IPF=2/GEN

‘I want you to help (him/her)’

(70) \( \text{amtaton} \) \( \text{bonoen} \) \( \emptyset \) \( \text{i} \) \( \text{oleg} \)

\( \text{?amta=to=n} \) \( \text{bono-an} \) \( \text{?i} \) \( \text{?olag} \)

know=3/GEN=LK kill-PATV/IPF NOM snake

‘he knows how to kill a snake’

(71) \( \text{iparaskon} \) \( \text{bonoen} \) \( \emptyset \) \( \text{i} \) \( \text{oleg} \)

\( \text{?i-padas=ko=n} \) \( \text{bono-an} \) \( \text{?i} \) \( \text{?olag} \)

THMV/IPF-try=1/GEN=LK kill-PATV/IPF NOM snake

‘I will try to kill the snake’

### 41.4 Personal Extension Verbs

The properties of personal intransitive extension verbs and personal transitive extension verbs that take a Nominative as well as a complement clause require further investigation. They will be discussed briefly here.
Personal Extension Verbs

Personal intransitive extension verbs are typically oriented towards the actor and carry Actor verb morphology. These verbs take a Nominative complement bearing the Actor macrorole plus a complement clause which may be finite or non-finite depending on the predicate.

Clauses containing such verbs typically occur as part of a cleft construction (§43.2) or a relative clause (§33.1). In other words, they occur in dependent constructions which have no overt Nominative complement. Although not overtly expressed for syntactic reasons, the Nominative complement in these clauses is understood.

Speech and enquiry Actor extension verbs take an indirect question introduced by no or nem (§41.2.3) or a direct or indirect speech introduced by ja, ji, but never i (§41.2.4). These clauses may have the addressee expressed as an Oblique or, rarely, as a Genitive phrase. This complement must occur before the complement clause.

In (72) and (73) the Nominative complement of a cleft construction occurs in predicate position (clefted) while the following clause is part of a common phrase introduced by the Nominative determiner i NOM.

(72) sama bii i engibeka no dimaw si’kato
sama bii?i ?i ?ogi-baga no <im>law si?gato
TOP/DIST woman NOM AcTV/PFT-ask if/when <ACT/PFT>go 3/IND

‘that woman is the one who asked whether he went home’

(73) nem enchiy engikowan son si’kato ji sisiked i
nam ?andi=j ?ogi-kowan so=n si?gato ji cv-sigad ?i
but not-exist=NOM AcTV/PFT-say OBL=PERS 3/IND LK/ji QUASI-nice NOM

bokdewto
boklaw=to
neck=3/GEN

‘but no one said to him that his neck is cute’

Non-speech intransitive extension verbs that take a finite clause include ontakot /?ontakot/ ‘to be afraid that something happens’ as in (74). The verb ontakot follows the aspectual auxiliary pronoun iraka= (§40.1.4) and so is a dependent verb.

(74) tep irakaontakot ja mebojok i bokdangcha
tap ?idaka=?on-takot ja ma-bojok ?i baka=n=da
because 3+/NO/ASP=AcTV/IFP-afraid LK POT/PATV/IFP-decay NOM body=3+/GEN

‘because they are usually afraid that their body will decay’

However, the great majority of intransitive extension verbs take a non-finite clause. Non-finite clauses can only be introduced by the linker ja (or one of its allomorphs) and must be intransitive. The two clauses always share the Nominative complement. Being part of a cleft construction or a relative clause, the Nominative complement is never overtly
expressed and is co-referential with the predicate of a cleft construction or the head of a relative clause.

In (75) the intransitive extension predicate *makapiyan* is part of a relative clause introduced by the linker *ja*. Ibaloy can only relativise on the Nominative complement of an intransitive or transitive clause. In this case, the identity of the Nominative complement is expressed by the head of the relative clause, *bii* ‘woman’.

(75)  
\[
\text{baray bii ja makapiyan} \quad \text{ja on'aeba} \quad \emptyset \\
\text{wada=j bii ja maka-pijan} \quad \text{ja on-asawa}
\]

exist=NOM woman LK POTACTV/IPF-like, want LK ACTV/IPF-marry

‘there is a woman who wishes to get married’

Occasionally, an intransitive extension verb occurs in what looks to be an independent clause, as in (76). However, these clauses are usually marked for continuative aspect by the marker *ka= /ka=/* which is used in certain circumstances in place of an aspectual auxiliary pronoun. See §40.1.4 for details. The missing complement\(^1\) in the complement clause is co-referential with the Nominative of the main clause which is not overtly expressed because the referent is third person singular.

(76)  
\[
\text{tep kaontakot ja todiranmo} \quad \emptyset \\
\text{tap ka=on-takot ja tolid-an=mo}
\]

because CNTV=ACTV/IPF-afraid LK sting-LOCV/IPF=2/GEN

‘because he is afraid that you will sting (him)’

**Personal Transitive Extension Verbs** A (personal) transitive extension verb requires a Genitive Agent, a Nominative and a complement clause. Speech and inquiry verbs are the only type of transitive extension verbs that take a finite clause. With these verbs the addressee is the Nominative.

(77)  
\[
\text{bingkaray sakeya dakin to on'an nem} \\
<\text{in}>\text{baga=da=j sakaj=a laki=n to onaj-an nam} \\
<\text{PATV/PFT}>\text{ask=3+/GEN=NOM one=k man=LK 3/GEN/DIR see-LOCV/IPF if/when}
\]

\[
\text{naogip iray oleg} \\
\text{na-ogip ?ida=j ?oleg}
\]

POTPATV/PFT-sleep 3+/NOM=NOM snake

‘they asked the man to go and look whether the snakes are asleep’

All other transitive extension verbs take a non-finite clause. Different forms of constructions are available depending on whether or not the two clauses (the main and the non-finite complement clause) share one of both of the core complements. These constructions are summarised in Table 41.3 and discussed below.

\(^1\)The missing complement in the complement clause doesn’t have to be co-referential, it can be another person. In such case, the complement clause is finite. However, the complementizer *ji* is generally preferred to introduce finite complement clauses of this type, see §41.2.2.
Table 41.3: Transitive Extension Verb Constructions with Non-Finite Clauses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>V</th>
<th>GENPHR</th>
<th>NOMPHR</th>
<th>ja</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>Ø</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>LK</td>
<td>[-trns]</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[+xnts], [+trns]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>LK</td>
<td>[+trns]</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[+xnts], [+trns]</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>LK</td>
<td>[+trns]</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[+xnts], [+trns]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When the non-finite complement clause introduced by the linker ja (or one of its allomorphs) contains an intransitive verb the two clauses share the Nominative complement, which is only expressed in the main clause.

(78) *binidin* nen *Apinan* i emina totoo ja
<in>bilin nan ?apinan ?i ?omin=a cv-to?o ja
<PATV/PFT>order, force GEN/PERS Apinan NOM all=LK PL-person LK

mengaot Ø ni bitod naykawan ni da’sang
mA-N-K.ot ni bito=d naj-kawan ni la?saq
ACTV/IPF-dig hole GEN pit=LOC STATHMV/PFT-middle GEN forest

‘Apinan ordered all the people to dig a pit in the middle of the forest’

(79) *tokapidita* i totoo ja mengiekan Ø ni balitok
toka=plit-a ?i cv-to?o ja maqi-?akan ni balitok
3/GEN/ASP=force-PATV/CNTV NOM PL-person LK ACTV/IPF-give GEN gold

‘he kept forcing the people to give some gold’

(80) *tinodongantoak*
<in>toloq-an=to=ak
<LOCV/PFT>-help-LOCV=3/GEN=1/NOM LK ACTV/PFT-buy GEN/REC/PRO=LK

*nontana* lote
lote
piece of land

‘she helped me to buy the piece of land’

When the non-finite clause contains a transitive verb and the two clauses have the Nominative participant as co-referential the latter is only expressed in the main clause. Conversely, each clause contains its own Genitive Agent.

(81) *piyantoy* baro ja tongkalen nen asebato Ø
pijant=to=j bado ja toggal-an nan ?asawa=to
like, want=3/GEN=NOM dress, garment LK buy-PATV/IPF GEN/PERS spouse=3/GEN

‘he wants that his wife buy the dress’
When the non-finite clause contains a transitive verb and the two clauses share the Agent as well as the Nominative participant these are only expressed in the main clause.

(82)  \[ \text{piyanto} \quad \text{i} \quad \text{tapey} \quad \text{ja inomen} \quad \emptyset \emptyset \]

\[ \text{pijan} = \text{to} \quad ?i \quad \text{tapej} \quad \text{ja} \quad ?\text{inom-an} \]

like, want=3/GEN NOM rice wine LK drink-PATV/IPF

'he wants to drink the rice wine'

However, in constructions where both verbs (in the main clause and in the complement clause) are transitive at least one of the co-referential participants must be a full phrase. If both were expressed as bound pronouns one would have a different construction involving a linked auxiliary verb, as discussed in §40.2.
Ibaloy allows the agreement marking of a third person Genitive Agent or Nominative depending on the transitivity and type of the construction. A personal bound pronoun co-occurs with and agrees in number and case with a complement of the construction. Ibaloy lacks an overt form for the third person singular Nominative pronoun, so that agreement marking only appears when the Nominative phrase is a third person plural entity. Furthermore, when the Nominative third person plural pronoun *ira* /*?ida/* is used as an agreement marker and is followed by the full Nominative phrase, then it behaves as a pro-clitic to the phrase. Suppletive forms may occur when the phrase begins with a Nominative deictic determiner (the short form) or a deictic pronoun (the long form) as listed below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proximal</th>
<th><em>iraja</em>(y) /<em>?idaja</em>(j)/*</th>
<th><em>irata</em>(n) /<em>?idata</em>(n)/*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Medial</td>
<td><em>irama</em>(n) /<em>?idama</em>(n)/*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Aside from the bound personal pronouns (§16.2), Ibaloy has two further sets of pronouns that act as auxiliaries. One is the directional set (§16.2.1), the other is the aspectual set (§16.2.2). Third person pronouns of both those sets can be used as agreement markers. Finally, there is another pronominal form that may be regarded as functioning as a pronominal agreement marker. It contains the special Oblique pronoun *so* as discussed in §16.2.3.

Pronominal agreement marking is commonly used when the identity of the complement is not entirely clear from the context. I have conducted no pragmatic or discourse analysis of Ibaloy texts. More investigation is required to determine the reasons for this phenomenon.
42.1 Pronominal Agreement in Intransitive Constructions

Intransitive constructions with agreement marking are plentiful in the data. They include clauses headed by a main verb and clauses headed by a non-linked auxiliary verb. In these constructions, the only complement that can be encoded by a bound pronoun is the Nominative.

Apart from the Nominative third person plural pronoun *ira*, a Nominative third person plural pronoun of the directional or aspectual sets of auxiliary pronouns can be used as agreement marker.

42.1.1 In Intransitive Main Verb Clauses

In an intransitive clause headed by a main verb, the Nominative pronoun *ira* occurs after the verb, but before the full Nominative phrase. If nothing occurs between them (e.g. second-order adverbs), then the pronoun *ira* forms a phonological unit with the Nominative phrase.

(1)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ondaw</th>
<th><em>ira</em></th>
<th><em>dedak</em></th>
<th>chi Bokod</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>?on-law</td>
<td>?ida=j</td>
<td>CV-laki di bokod</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACTV/IPF-go 3+/NOM=NOM PL-man LOC Bokod</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘the men will go to Bokod’

(2)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>simongbat</th>
<th>mowan <em>irasota</em></th>
<th><em>bii</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;im&gt;soubat</td>
<td>mowan ?ida=sota</td>
<td>bi?i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;ACTV/PFT&gt;-answer again</td>
<td>3+/NOM=NOM/REC woman</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘the women answered again’

A second-order adverbial (e.g. *mowan* /mowan/) may occur between the Nominative pronoun *ira* and the full Nominative phrase as exemplified below.

(3)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>namtik</th>
<th><em>ira</em></th>
<th>mowan <em>sota</em></th>
<th><em>totood</em></th>
<th><em>badon</em></th>
<th>baley</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>naN-botik</td>
<td>?ida</td>
<td>mowan sota</td>
<td>CV-to?o=d balo=n balaj</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACTV/PFT-run 3+/NOM again</td>
<td>NOM/REC PL-person=LOC new=LK house</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘the men run away into the new house’

Table 42.1 summarises the constituent order in the above constructions. However, it does not include the presence of second-order adverbs or extra constituents (E complements or adjuncts).
42.1 Pronominal Agreement in Intransitive Constructions

Table 42.1: Nominative Agreement in Intransitive Main Verb Clauses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V</th>
<th>inya</th>
<th>NomPhrase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[-trns]</td>
<td>S-AGR</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

42.1.2 In Non-Linked Auxiliary Constructions

Auxiliary constructions discussed here all contain a non-linked auxiliary verb which acts as the head of the construction and takes a main intransitive verb as its dependent; see Chapter 40 for details.

In a non-linked auxiliary construction not containing an auxiliary pronoun, the second-order Nominative pronoun *inya* occurs in second position after the auxiliary while the Nominative phrase follows the main verb.

(4) *etey i tood Daklan*

The non second-order pronoun *inya* occurs after the main verb, but before the Nominative phrase.

(5) *irasota too*

When the auxiliary is either the directional pronoun *inya /?ida/ ‘3+/NOM/DIR’ or the aspectual pronoun *iraka= /?idaka= ‘3+/NOM/ASP’* the Nominative phrase always follows the main verb. In this case, the pronoun acting as auxiliary also functions as agreement marker.

(6) *

(7) *irakamansekanay totoo ni makan tan inom*

‘the people in Daklan did not die’

‘the people will not die’

‘the people in Daklan did not die’

‘the people will not die’

‘the people went to buy things in that place below’

‘they usually prepare food and drinks’
Table 42.2 summarises the order of constituents in these auxiliary constructions.

Table 42.2: Nominative Agreement in Intransitive Non-Linked Auxiliary Clauses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ag=</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>NOMPHR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>eg=</td>
<td>ira</td>
<td>V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[+xlry], [-trns]</td>
<td>S-AGR [-trns]</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>ira</td>
<td>NOMPHR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[+xlry], [-trns]</td>
<td>[-trns] S-AGR</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td>ira</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>NOMPHR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[+xlry], [-trns], S-AGR</td>
<td>[-trns] S-AGR</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.</td>
<td>iraka=</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>NOMPHR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[+xlry], [-trns], S-AGR</td>
<td>[-trns] S-AGR</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

42.2 Pronominal Agreement in Transitive Clauses

Transitive constructions with agreement marking again have either a transitive main verb or a non-linked auxiliary verb taking a transitive verb as its dependent. These constructions contain two complements that can be bound: the Genitive Agent and the Nominative.

So far, there are no examples where agreement marking occurs for both complements at once. Hence, each pronominal agreement marking is treated separately alongside its construction(s).

42.2.1 Nominative Agreement in Transitive Main Verb Clauses

When agreement marking of the Nominative occurs in a transitive construction headed by a main verb, the Genitive Agent is always expressed as a bound pronoun which acts as an enclitic to the verb. The Nominative agreement pronoun ira /ʔida/ occurs after the sequence “verb + Genitive pronoun” and is followed by the full Nominative phrase.

(8) say on’anmo irasota meking

saj ?onaj-an=mo ʔida=sota makiŋ
so that see-LOCV/IPF=2/GEN 3+/NOM=NOM/REC mummy

‘so that you will see the mummies’

(9) inchokonto irasota pokel

ʔin-dokon=to ʔida=sota pokal
THMV/PFT-gather=3/GEN 3+/NOM=NOM/REC bone

‘he gathered the bones’
Table 42.3 states the order of constituents in these transitive clauses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V</th>
<th>GENPrn</th>
<th>ira</th>
<th>NOMPhr</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[+trns]</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>P-AGR</td>
<td>P</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 42.2.2 Nominative Agreement in Transitive Non-Linked Auxiliary Constructions

As already mentioned, pronominal agreement of the Nominative occurs in a transitive clause only when the Genitive Agent is expressed with a bound pronoun. When the clause is headed by a non-linked auxiliary verb, then any second-order item that would otherwise be a constituent of the following main verb occurs after the auxiliary. In this case, both the Genitive and the Nominative bound pronouns follow the auxiliary while the full Nominative phrase occurs after the main verb. The Genitive pronoun occurs before the Nominative.

(10) say egto ira kegitan i timel
saj ?ag=to ?ida gotin-an ?i timal
so that neg=3/GEN 3+/NOM IPF-step on-LOCV/IPF NOM flea

’so that he will never step on the fleas’

(11) egto ira sinongsongbatan sota dedaki
?ag=to ?ida <in>cvc-so:ubat-an sota cv-laki
neg=3/GEN 3+/NOM <LOCV/PFT>DISTR-answer-LOCV NOM/REC PL-man

’he never answered the men’

When a Genitive Agent acts as auxiliary (an aspectual or a directional auxiliary) the second-order form ira occurs after the auxiliary while the full Nominative phrase occurs after the main verb as exemplified below.

(12) chakra ira isa’chang sota toktok nonta toto
daka=?ida ?i-sa?dag sota toktok nonta cv-to?o
3+/GEN/ASP=3+/NOM THMV/IPF-hang NOM/REC head GEN/REC PL-person

‘they usually hang the people’s heads’

When these constructions include an extra complement this occurs after the full Nominative phrase.

(13) egto ira inaknan sota too ni bigo
?ag=to ?ida <in>?akan-an sota to?o ni wigo
neg=3/GEN 3+/NOM <LOCV/PFT>give-LOCV NOM/REC person GEN dye

‘he did not give the people the dye’
Exceptions involve the non second-order pronoun *ira* which occurs after the main verb, but before the Nominative phrase.

(14)  
\[ \text{eg} = \text{to} \quad \text{piyan} \quad \text{ira} \quad \text{dedaki} \]  
\[ \neg = 3 / \text{GEN} \quad \text{like, want 3+/NOM=NOM PL-man} \]  
'she doesn’t like the men’

(15)  
\[ \text{to} \quad \text{simbi} \quad \text{ira} \quad \text{kaittod} \quad \text{da’sang} \]  
\[ \text{to} \quad < \text{sabi} \quad \text{?ida=j} \quad \text{ga?it=to=d} \quad \text{la?saq} \]  
3 / GEN/DIR <PATV/PFT> meet 3+/NOM=NOM friend=3/GEN=LOC forest  
'he went and met his friends in the forest’

(16)  
\[ \text{chakaal’a} \quad \text{ira} \quad \text{toktok ni totoo} \]  
\[ \text{daka=?ala-a} \quad \text{?ida=j} \quad \text{toktok ni cv-to?o} \]  
3+/GEN/ASP=GET-PATV/CNTV 3+/NOM=NOM head GEN PL-person  
'they usually get the people’s heads’

Table 42.4 summarises the order of constituents in these transitive non-linked auxiliary constructions, without taking into account the presence of further verbal complements or adjuncts.

| Table 42.4: Nominative Agreement in Transitive Non-Linked Auxiliary Constructions |
|---------------------------------|--------|---------|-------|---------|
| a. \[ \text{eg=} \text{GENPRN} \quad \text{ira} \quad \text{V} \quad \text{NOMPHR} \] | A | P-AGR | [+trns] | P |
| \[ [+xlr], [+trns] \] & \[ A \] & \[ P-AGR \] & \[ [+trns] \] & \[ P \] |
| b. \[ \text{eg=} \text{GENPRN} \quad \text{V} \quad \text{ira} \quad \text{NOMPHR} \] | A | [+trns] | P-AGR | P |
| \[ [+xlr], [+trns] \] & \[ A \] & \[ [+trns] \] & \[ P-AGR \] & \[ P \] |
| c. \[ \text{GENPRN} \quad \text{ira} \quad \text{V} \quad \text{NOMPHR} \] | A | P-AGR | [+trns] | P |
| \[ [+xlr], [+trns], A \] & \[ A \] & \[ P-AGR \] & \[ [+trns] \] & \[ P \] |
| d. \[ \text{GENPRN} \quad \text{V} \quad \text{ira} \quad \text{NOMPHR} \] | A | [+trns] | P-AGR | P |
| \[ [+xlr], [+trns], A \] & \[ A \] & \[ [+trns] \] & \[ P-AGR \] & \[ P \] |

### 42.2.3 Agent Agreement in Transitive Main Verb Clauses

When pronominal agreement with the Genitive Agent occurs in a transitive construction the Agent as well as the Nominative are expressed as bound pronouns whose order is strictly Genitive preceding Nominative.

In a clause headed by a main transitive verb the full Genitive phrase expressing the agent immediately follows the agreement sequence. Usually nothing (e.g. clausal modifiers) occurs between them.
42.2 Pronominal Agreement in Transitive Clauses

(17) dechawentoak
ladaw-an=to=ak
delate-PATV/IPF=3/GEN=1/NOM GEN traffic

'\text{the traffic will make me late}'

(18) imbongettoak
?in-bop=to=ak
?in-bol)at=to=ak
nan=ko
THMV/PFT-angry=3/GEN=1/NOM GEN/PERS mother=1/GEN

'\text{my mother got angry with me}'

(19) indekdekawtoak
?in-CVCV-lakaw=to=ak
THMV/PFT-DISTR-detour=3/GEN=1/NOM GEN/PERS Mark

'Mark took me for a long detour'

(20) nem kedatenchaak
nam kalat-an=da=ak
but bite-PATV/IPF=3+/GEN=1/NOM GEN friend=2/GEN

'\text{but your friends will bite me}'

Table 42.5 summarises the order of constituents in these transitive clauses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V</th>
<th>GenPrn</th>
<th>NomPrn</th>
<th>GenPhr</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[(+\text{trns})]</td>
<td>A-AGR</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

42.2.4 Agent Agreement in Transitive Non-Linked Auxiliary Constructions

Pronominal agreement with the Genitive Agent has been found in the following two non-linked auxiliary constructions, whether it may occur in a directional construction as well is still yet to be seen. In these constructions, the full Genitive phrase immediately follows the main verb and is co-referential with the Genitive bound pronoun.

(21) egcha
ira
in'obdaan
?ag=da
?ida
?in-?obla-an
ni
nankobiteg
neg=3+/GEN 3+/NOM BNFV/PFT-work-BNFV GEN STAPATV/PL-poor

'\text{the poor people did not work for them}'
(22) `tep chakamikabechasa nanangmi
tap da=kamika=badas-a nan nana:g=mi
tap=GEN=2+/NOM/ASP=whip/PATV/CNTV GEN/PERS mother=2+/GEN

nepatangmi
nan tataq=mi
AND/PERS father=2+/GEN

'because our(ex) mother and father would whip us'

(23) `egto inesawa nonta bii
?ag=to <in>?asawa nonta bi?i
eg=3/GEN <PATV/PFT>-marry GEN/REC woman

'the woman did not marry (him)'

Note that in the following example the form `ira /?ida/ is a plural marker and has nothing to do with pronominal agreement marking. For details see §33.3.

(24) `chakapan’osila irani aso
daka=pan-tosil=a ?ida=ni ?aso
3+/GEN/ASP=PATV/PROG-chase-PATV/PROG PL=GEN dog

'the dogs were chasing it (the deer)'

Table 42.6 summarises the order of constituents in these transitive non-linked auxiliary constructions.

| Table 42.6: Agent Agreement in Transitive Non-Linked Auxiliary Constructions |
|---------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| a.                               | eg=             | GenPrn          | NomPrn          | V               | GenPhr          |
|                                  | [+xtry], [+trans] | A-AGR           | P               | [+trans]        | A               |
| b.                               | GenPrn          | NomPrn          | V               | GenPhr          |
|                                  | [+xtry], [+trans], A-AGR | P | [+trans] | A               |
Chapter 43

Pragmatically-Marked Constructions

Ibaloy has two main kinds of pragmatically-marked constructions: topicalised constructions (§43.1) and clefts (§43.2). Pragmatically marked constructions also include questions, discussed in §43.3.

43.1 Topicalisation

Topicalised constructions contain an initial definite nominal constituent which acts as the topic of the construction and is co-referential with one of the nominal constituents of the main clause.

Ibaloy uses two strategies depending on whether the topicalised constituent corresponds with one of its grammatical relations or not. In the former case, Ibaloy makes use of a resumptive pronoun to rescue the identity of the topicalised complement. The resumptive pronoun is a bound pronoun (§16.2). In the latter case, no resumptive bound pronoun is used.

However, not all verbal complements may be topicalised in Ibaloy. Only the Genitive Agent and the Nominative complement of a main clause can occur as topics. Locative-marked complements may also occur topicalised. No non-Agent Genitive or Oblique-marked complements are topicalised. Adjuncts of various types are also topicalised as discussed in §43.1.6. Finally, Ibaloy allows the possessor of the Nominative phrase of an intransitive construction to be topicalised. A Genitive resumptive bound pronoun is used in this type of topicalisation, as described in §43.1.7.

Typically, topics are separated from the following clause by an intonation break, although this may be accompanied by a bridging constituent, that is the topic linker ket1 /kat/.

1Ket is most likely borrowed from Ilokano. Rubino (1997) calls it a “predicate marker”, it signals an upcoming predicate displaced by highly topical fronted material.
‘TpLk’. Constructions in other languages which involve an intonational break and a resumptive pronoun are often referred to in the literature as “left-dislocation”. However, these constructions are not different in function from those involving the topic linker ket. Hence, they are both referred to as “topicalisation”.

### 43.1.1 Non-Verbal Clauses with Topicalised Nominative

In non-verbal clauses the topic occurs prior to the constituent acting as the predicate of the clause. The topicalised constituent in these clauses is usually a third person singular entity, and usually no overt resumptive pronoun occurs in the main clause. This pattern is summarised in Table 43.1. The label PRED stands for predicate.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 43.1: Non-verbal Clauses with Topicalised Nominative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOPIC</strong> (TpLK)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3/person</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Topicalisation of the Nominative complement is exemplified for each of the main non-verbal clause types (§38.1).

In a classificational nominal clause (§38.1.1), the topic precedes the indefinite predicate which is usually a bare noun.

(1) _tep si Elvira, maystarad High School_  
   top si elvira maystara=d high school  
   because NOM/PERS Elvira teacher=LOC High School  
   ‘because as for Elvira, she is a teacher at High School’

(2) _say emaosal ni abos ya dogan ya ondaw chima_  
   saj ?amo-osal ni ?abos ja logan ja ?on-law dima  
   TOP POTPATV/CNTV-use GEN only LK vehicle LK ACTV/IPF-go LOC/DIST  
   _naydaem ket bangka_  
   nay-da?am ket bangka  
   STATHMV/PFT-inside TpLK boat  
   ‘as for what is usually used as a vehicle to go inside, it is a boat’

In a qualificational nominal clause (§38.1.2), the predicate nominal attributes a quality to the Nominative entity, and the topic precedes such predicate.
43.1 Topicalisation

(3) *sota bii, marikita pasiya*

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{sota} & \quad \text{bii} & \quad \text{marikita} & \quad \text{pasiya} \\
\text{NOM/REC} & \quad \text{woman} & \quad \text{beautiful woman} & \quad \text{LK very}
\end{align*} \]

‘as for the woman, she is very beautiful’ (lit. ‘she is a very beautiful woman’)

In an identificational nominal clause (§38.1.3) the topic precedes the definite predicate nominal.

(4) *say apocha ket si Apinan*

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{saj} & \quad \text{apocha} & \quad \text{kset} & \quad \text{si} & \quad \text{Apinan} \\
\text{TOP} & \quad \text{leader} & \quad \text{TPLK} & \quad \text{NOM/PERS} & \quad \text{Apinan}
\end{align*} \]

‘as for their leader, it is Apinan’

(5) *Manang Tering ket anakko*

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{manap} & \quad \text{tering} & \quad \text{kat} & \quad \text{anakko} \\
\text{Title/elder sister} & \quad \text{TPLK} & \quad \text{child} & \quad \text{1/GEN}
\end{align*} \]

‘as for Tering, she is my child’

In a quantificational nominal clause (§38.1.4) the predicate nominal quantifies the Nominate entity and the topic precedes such predicate.

(6) *say agik ket dima*

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{saj} & \quad \text{agik} & \quad \text{kset} & \quad \text{dima} \\
\text{TOP} & \quad \text{sibling} & \quad \text{TPLK} & \quad \text{five}
\end{align*} \]

‘as for my siblings, they are five’

In a prepositional predicate clause (§38.2) the topic precedes the prepositional predicate.

(7) *saja sabsabong ket para sonen nanangko*

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{saja} & \quad \text{sabsabong} & \quad \text{kset} & \quad \text{para} & \quad \text{sonen} & \quad \text{nanangko} \\
\text{TOP/PROX} & \quad \text{MULT-flower} & \quad \text{TPLK} & \quad \text{for} & \quad \text{OBL=GEN/PERS} & \quad \text{mother} & \quad \text{1/GEN}
\end{align*} \]

‘as for these flowers, they are for my mother’

In a locational clause (§38.4) the topic precedes the Locative-marked predicate.

(8) *sota pandaancha ni toktok ni too, chima*

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{sota} & \quad \text{pandaancha} & \quad \text{ni} & \quad \text{toktok} & \quad \text{ni} & \quad \text{too}, & \quad \text{chima} \\
\text{NOM/REC} & \quad \text{LOCV/IPF/PAN-get-LOCV=3+/GEN} & \quad \text{GEN} & \quad \text{head} & \quad \text{GEN} & \quad \text{person} & \quad \text{LOC/DIST}
\end{align*} \]

‘that place where they get people’s heads is there outside the place’
(9) yet sotan ya minotokton dogad ket chi
jat sotan jà <in>motok=to=n logad kot di
and then NOM/REC/PRO LK <LOCV/PFT>return=3/GEN=LK place TPLK LOC

Kabayan Barrio
kabajan barrio
Kabayan Barrio

‘that one that is the place where he returned, it is Kabayan Barrio’

(10) say pilmeron kad’an ni payew ket chiya Kabayan
saj pilmero=n kad?an ni pajaw kat dija kabajan
TOP first=LK place GEN field TPLK LOC/PROX Kabayan

‘the first field location, it is here in Kabayan’

In an existential clause (§38.5) the topic precedes one of the existential predicates, namely bara /wada/ ‘exist’ or its negative counterpart aychi /?ajdi/ (or enchi /?endi/) ‘not-exist’.

(11) nem sota echoma partito ket bara pay laeng
nam sota ?adom=a parte=to kat wada paj laeng
but NOM/REC other=LK part=3/GEN TPLK exist still

‘but as for its other part, it still exists’

43.1.2 Intransitive Verb Clauses with Topicalised Nominative

When the topicalised constituent corresponds to the Nominative complement of a verb the clause usually contains a resumptive Nominative pronoun which is co-referential with the topic. The pronoun is a bound form.

When the topic refers to a third person singular entity no resumptive pronoun surfaces in the clause. Moreover, number agreement is not grammaticalised in Ibaloy. It follows that a third person plural entity may be referred to by a singular pronoun. When this is the case no overt resumptive pronoun is present in the clause. However, this is more frequently the case when the topic is not human. The constituent structure of three main types of intransitive clause containing a topicalised Nominative is summarised in Table 43.2. Complements other than core are omitted.
### 43.1 Topicalisation

Table 43.2: Main Types of Intransitive Verb Clause with Topicalised Nominative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>TYPE</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>NomPrn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>TOPIC</td>
<td>V [-trns]</td>
<td>S [trns]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>TOPIC</td>
<td>V eg= [-trns]</td>
<td>S [trns]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td>TOPIC</td>
<td>NomPrn V</td>
<td>S [trns]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the following examples the third person Nominative pronoun *ira* occurs as a resumptive pronoun.

(12)  
\[sota \text{ totoo, inankobal } \mathbf{ira}\]
\[\text{sota CV-to} \text{to nan-kobal } \text{?ida}\]
\[\text{NOM/REC PL-person ACTV/IPF-g-string 3+/NOM}\]

‘as for the people, they wore a g-string’

(13)  
\[sota \text{ enganak tan sota nankaama, menginom}\]
\[\text{sota } \text{TaN-?anak tan sota nanka-?ama maN-?inom}\]
\[\text{NOM/REC ACTV/PFT-sponsor and NOM/REC STA/PATV/PL-old man ACTV/IPF-drink}\]
\[\mathbf{ira} \text{ ni tapey}\]
\[\text{?ida ni tapaj}\]
\[\text{3+/NOM GEN rice wine}\]

‘as for the sponsors and the old men, they drink rice wine’

When the topic denotes a singular third person entity, then no resumptive pronoun is present in the clause.

(14)  
\[\text{nem sota embalangan aso, timiyed chi totokt toktok ni}\]
\[\text{nam sota } \text{?on-balanga=?aso <im>tijad di toktok ni}\]
\[\text{but NOM/REC STA/V/EN-red=LK dog } \text{<ACTV/PFT>climb LOC head, summit GEN}\]
\[\text{chontog}\]
\[\text{dountog}\]
\[\text{mountain}\]

‘but as for the red dog, it climbed to the top of the mountain’

In the following example the topic is a plural entity, but no Nominative resumptive pronoun is found in the clause. Number agreement is not obligatory, especially for non-human entities, and third plural non-human entities are often marked as singular entities.
Pragmatically-Marked Constructions

(15) nem say takday tan sedito ket kimotika
nām saj taklaj tan soli=to kat <im>kotik=a
but TOP arm, hand and leg, foot=3/GEN TPLK <ACTV/PFT>shrink=LK

kimotik
<im>kotik
<ACTV/PFT>shrink

‘but as for his arms and legs, they shrank and shrank’

Note that when the clause has an auxiliary predicate (Chapter 40) the Nominative pronoun co-referential with the topic occurs after the auxiliary, as exemplified below.

(16) sota bibii, eg’ira na’agaang tan
sota CV-biʔi ?ag=ʔida na-cvcv-ʔagaŋ tan
NOM/REC PL-woman neg=3+/NOM StaPatV/PFT-distr-hungry and

na’na’baw
CVC-na-ʔabaw
distr-StaPatV/PFT-thirsty

‘as for those woman, they are never hungry and thirsty’

It is possible for the Nominative pronoun to act as auxiliary. In this case it occurs before the main verb as the head of the clause.

(17) sota bibii, irakaemaniejaw nodta
sota CV-biʔi ?idaka=ʔamaN-tajaw nodta
NOM/REC PL-woman 3+/NOM/ASP=ACTV/CNTV-traditional dance LOC/REC

maykedban abolekengkeng
majka-down=n ?abolokoŋkəŋ
ORDNUM-two=LK circle

‘as for those women, they dance in the second circle’

43.1.3 Transitive Verb Clauses with Topicalised Nominative

The constituent structure of three main types of transitive clause with a topicalised Nominative is summarised in Table 43.3 and discussed below.

| Table 43.3: Main Types of Transitive Verb Clause with Topicalised Nominative |
|-----------------------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| a. TOPIC (TPLK) V GENPrn NomPrn                | A               | P               |
| [+trns]                                       |                 |                 |
| b. TOPIC (TPLK) eg= GENPrn NomPrn V            | A               | P               |
| [+xtr], [+trns]                               |                 |                 |
| c. TOPIC (TPLK) GENPrn NomPrn V                | A               | P               |
| [+xtr], [+trns], A                            |                 |                 |
When an overt resumptive Nominative pronoun is used in the main clause the Genitive Agent is also a bound pronoun.

(18) \[ \text{say bebaknang ket in'obdaanto ira} \]
Top pl-rich TPLK BnFV/IPF-wok-BnFV=3/gen 3+/nom

‘as for the rich people, he works for them’

In the following examples the topic corresponds to the Nominative complement of a transitive clause, and refers to a third person entity, and so no overt pronominal form is found in the main clause.

(19) \[ \text{emin ya kanenmi ket kanento} \]
all LK eat-PATV/IPF=1+/gen TPLK eat-PATV/IPF=3/gen

‘all our food, he eats’

(20) \[ \text{nem sama kolong ket kinan ni diyek} \]
but TOP/dist coffin TPLK PATV/PFT eat gen white ant, termite

‘but as for that coffin, the termites ate it’

In the following construction the resumptive pronoun occurs after the directional pronoun acting as auxiliary (§40.1.3).

(21) \[ \text{sota nangkaama ket to ira inbeka chi} \]
nom/rec STAPATV/pl-old man TPLK 3/gen/dir 3+/nom THMV/IPF-bury loc

‘as for the old men, he went and buried them under the house’

43.1.4 Transitive Verb Clauses with Topicalised Agent

In a transitive construction, the Genitive Agent may also be topicalised. In this case a Genitive bound pronoun is obligatorily present in the main clause. The structure of five main types of transitive clause containing a topicalised Agent is summarised in Table 43.4 and discussed below.
Table 43.4: Main Types of Transitive Verb Clause with Topicalised Agent

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a.</th>
<th>TOPIC  (TPLK)</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>GenPrn</th>
<th>NomPhr</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[+trns]</td>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
<td>P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>TOPIC  (TPLK)</td>
<td>eg=</td>
<td>GenPrn</td>
<td>NomPrn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[+xlry], [+trs]</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>[+trns]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td>TOPIC  (TPLK)</td>
<td>eg=</td>
<td>GenPrn</td>
<td>V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.</td>
<td>TOPIC  (TPLK)</td>
<td>GenPrn</td>
<td>NomPrn</td>
<td>V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[+xlry], [+trns], A</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>[+trns]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.</td>
<td>TOPIC  (TPLK)</td>
<td>GenPrn</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>NomPhr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[+xlry], [+trns], A</td>
<td>[+trns]</td>
<td>P</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(22) nem si tatangko nen nanagko,
but NOM/PERS father=1/GEN AND/PERS mother=1/GEN

intoriyanchakami
?in-todi-an=da=kami
BNFV/PFT-decide-BNFV=3+/GEN=2+/NOM

‘but as for my father and mother, they decided for us’

(23) nem si ‘kak, kowankoy aychi!
but 1/IND say=1/GEN=NOM no

‘but as for me, I said no!’

The Nominative complement may be expressed as a full phrase.

(24) nem si Balaw, intongkalanto ali sota
but NOM/PERS Balaw BNFV/PFT-buy-BNFV=3/GEN toward NOM/REC

agito ni baro
sibling=3/GEN GEN dress, garment

‘but as for Balaw, he bought his sister a dress’

When the clause has an auxiliary predicate the Genitive pronoun co-referential with the topic occurs with the auxiliary, as in the following examples.
43.1 Topicalisation

(25) tep si'kamin Ibadoy, egmi ninemnom i
top si'gami=n Ibaloy tag=mi <in>nomnom ?i
because 1+/IND=LK Ibaloy neg=1+/GEN <PATV/PFT>think NOM

panpidakan gayam i tattoo
pan-pilak-an gayam ?i tattoo
LOCGER/IPF-money-LOCGER surprise NOM tattoo

‘because as for us Ibaloy, we did not think of making money out of the tattooing’

The Genitive resumptive pronoun may also act as the auxiliary, as in the following example.

(26) emina too ket cha inodop sota
amin=a to?o kat da <in>?olop sota
all=LK person TPLK 3+/GEN/DIR <PATV/PFT>accompany, take along NOM/REC

kaitcha
gai=da
friend=3+/GEN

‘as for all the people, they went and accompanied their friends’

43.1.5 Intransitive Verb Clauses with a Topicalised Locative Complement

It is possible for a Locative-marked complement to occur topicalised. However, it is very rare. Two different types of construction are used, the choice depending on the semantic role of the location. So far, only intransitive verbs have been found in these constructions.

When the location refers to a static place the Locative-marked complement simply occurs before the verb in topic position.

(27) chi ili ja nay’askang ni so’kek, nan’iyan i daki
di ?ili ja maj-?askaŋ ni so’kek nan-?ijan ?i laki
LOC town, village LK STAThMV/PFT-next GEN forest ACTV/PFT-stay, live NOM man

ja nanngaran ni Batil
ja nan-?qadan ni batil
LK ACTV/PFT-name GEN Batil

‘in the village near the forest lived a man called Batil’

When the location refers to a goal the clause apparently contains a directional adverb which points towards that location establishing its directionality. The only example found in the entire corpus contains the directional marker =la /=la/, as shown below.

(28) chima kad’an ni crocodile farm, no onsekepkala,
dima kad’an ni crocodile farm no ?on-sagap=ka=la
LOC/DIST place GEN crocodile farm if/when ACTV/IPF-enter=2/NOM=toward
Pragmatically-Marked Constructions

baray on’anmo iru nodtan ya singa pokel ni
wada=j ?onaj-an=mo ?ida nodtan ja siqa pokol ni
exist=NOM see-LOCV/IPF=2/GEN PL LOC/REC/PRO LK like bone GEN

ebadeg ja crocodile
?a-balag ja crocodile
STAPATV/PFT-big LK crocodile

‘in that crocodile farm, if you enter, what you see there are like bones of a big crocodile’

However, further investigation is required to establish whether topicalisation of a Locative complement is possible in transitive constructions and whether or not a Locative demonstrative pronoun or a directional adverb is required in the main clause. The constituent structure of the two constructions discussed above is summarised in Table 43.5.

Table 43.5: Intransitive Verb Clauses with Topicalised Locative Complement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TOPIC LOCPHR (TPLK)</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>NOMPHR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[+static] [-trns]</td>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[-static] [-trns]</td>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

43.1.6 Clauses with a Topicalised Adjunct

When the constituent topicalised is an adjunct no resumptive pronoun is used. Adjuncts are mainly adverbial phrases such as temporal, locational and manner expressions. When one of these adverbial expressions is the topic the topic linker ket /kat/ is often present between them and their following clauses. Table 43.6 summarises the constituent structure of clauses with a topicalised adjunct but does not deal with variants among subtypes of adjuncts and clauses.

Table 43.6: Clauses with Topicalised Adjunct

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TOPIC ADJUNCT (TPLK)</th>
<th>CLAUSE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Temporal expressions, more commonly than locative expressions, occur before the clause providing a temporal setting for what follows. In this case they are simply separated from the clause by a short intonation break. It is possible, however, to make them more prominent. This is usually achieved through the use of the topic linker ket between them and the following clause or by intonation.
43.1 Topicalisation

(29) niman ket thirty seven i ofisiyalis chiya Kabayan
time-present TPLK thirty seven NOM officials LOC/PROX Kabayan

‘nowadays, the officials here in Kabayan are thirty seven’

(30) tep nontan ket barrio
tap nontan ket barrio
because time-past TPLK community, province

‘because at that time, it was a province/community/district’

Locative adjuncts typically refer to static (or motionless) locations, hence no directional adverb is required.

(31) chi Pilipinas ket doktoy mikakena ni abos
di pilipinas ket lokto=j mika=kan-a ni ?abos
LOC Philippines TPLK sweet potatoes=NOM 1+/GEN/ASP=eat-PATV/CNTV GEN only

‘in the Philippines, what we usually eat is sweet potatoes’

(32) chiya kantina ket mesepol ya baychanko pay
dija kantina kat masapol ja bajad-an=ko paj
LOC/PROX store TPLK need LK pay-Locv /IPF=l/GEN too

‘as for this store, it is necessary that I pay too’

(33) chiya Central ono chiya Poblacion,
dija centml ?ono dija poblacion
LOC/PROX Central or LOC/PROX Poblacion

chakaitayebi ni sakeya akew
daka=t-tajaw-i ni sakaj=a ?akow
3+/GEN/ASP=BNFV/CNTV-dance-BNFV/CNTV GEN one=LK day

‘here in Central or here in Poblacion, they usually dance (for them) for a day’

Other adverbs may be topicalised as shown in the following example. Once more, the linker ket occurs between the topic and its following clause.

(34) anongosto ketnanbalin ni bakal
?anogosto ket nan-balinni bakal
consequently TPLK ACTV/PFT-become GEN enemy

‘consequently, he became an enemy’

43.1.7 Topicalised Possessor

It is possible for a possessor of a possessed noun to be topicalised. Topicalisation of such nouns only occurs when the possessed noun occurs in the Nominative phrase of an
intransitive construction. In this case, a resumptive Genitive pronoun is left where the possessor would have normally occurred in a non-topicalised construction. In Ibaloy, the possession that is involved does not need to be inalienable. The topic linker *ket* may occur between the topic and its following clause or else an intonation break may occur there.

Table 43.7: Topicalised Possessor

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TOPIC (TPLK)</th>
<th>PRED [−trns]</th>
<th>NOMMRK NOUN=GenPrn</th>
<th>S</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>si</td>
<td>iya</td>
<td>Balaw, baray agito</td>
<td>ya bii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>si</td>
<td>Tiya</td>
<td>Balaw exist=NOM</td>
<td>sibling=3/GEN LK female</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘this Balaw, he has a sister’

(36) *emmin ya me’king chiya* Kabayan ket baray tattoo*to* chi

?omin ja makin dija kabajan kot wada=j tattoo=to di all LK mummy LOC/PROX Kabayan TPLK exist=NOM tattoo=3/GEN LOC

*interon bakdangto*

*intero=n baklaq=j* to whole=LK body=3/GEN

‘all the mummies here in Kabayan, they have tattoos all over their bodies’

(37) *sotan iran emenongkal ket baray pilakcha*

sotan ?ida=n YamaN-tongal kot wada=j pilak=da NOM/REC/PRO PL=LK ACTV/CNTV-buy TPLK exist=NOM money=3+/GEN

‘as for those who usually buy, they have money’

43.2 Cleft Construction

The cleft construction is used to signal constrastive focus. The clefted phrase can only correspond to the Nominative complement of a clause, verbal or non-verbal, and constitutes the predicate of the construction. The cleft construction is a sub-type of identification clause, as discussed in §38.1.3.

Table 43.8: Cleft Constructions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>{ NOUNPHR }</th>
<th>NOMMRK RELCLS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TOPPHR [−pred]</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In a cleft construction, the Nominative complement consists of a headless relative clause preceded by a common Nominative determiner, usually *i* ‘NOM’. See §31.1 for a description of this type of common phrase.
43.2 Cleft Construction

(38) \( si'\text{kak ni abos } \overset{1}{i} \text{ egnan'skoyda} \)
\( si?\text{gak ni } \overset{2}{?}\text{abos } \overset{3}{?}\text{i } \overset{4}{?}\text{ag=nan?-iskojla} \)
\( 1/\text{IND GEN only } \text{NOM neg=ACTV/PFT-study} \)

'I am the only one not to have studied'

(39) \( \text{nanagko } \overset{1}{\text{tan tatangko } } \overset{2}{\text{ngarod } i} \overset{3}{\text{ekiytdag}} \)
\( \text{nanaj=ko } \overset{1}{\text{tan tatajo=ko } } \overset{2}{\text{ngarod } } \overset{3}{?}\text{i } \overset{4}{?}\text{oki-tolag} \)
\( \text{mother=1/GEN and father=1/GEN indeed } \text{NOM ACTV/PFT-agree} \)

'it was my mother and my father who agreed indeed'

(40) \( \text{sota chanomto } \overset{1}{i} \overset{2}{\text{idaokcha} } \overset{3}{\text{nodta kanchiro}} \)
\( \text{sota danom=to } \overset{1}{?}\text{i } \overset{2}{?}\text{i-la?ok=da } \overset{3}{\text{nodta kandido}} \)
\( \text{NOM/REC water=3/GEN NOM THMV/IPF-mix=3+/GEN LOC/REC pot} \)

'its juice is what they mixed in the pot'

43.2.1 Topicalisation with Cleft Constructions

The Nominative complement of a cleft construction can be topicalised. The topic occurs in the usual topic position before the predicate, separated from it by either an intonation break or the topic linker \( \text{ket } /\text{kot}/ \). In these constructions the topic is co-referential with the predicate of the cleft construction which must be expressed as an independent pronoun (§16.1).

Table 43.9: Topicalisation with Cleft Constructions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TOPIC (TPLK)</th>
<th>IndPrn</th>
<th>NOMPhr [+pred]</th>
<th>S</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sama Tawangan, si'katoy Eastern Part ni Kabayan</td>
<td>sama tawagan si?gato=j eastern part ni kabajan</td>
<td>TOP/DIST Tawangan 3/IND=NOM Eastern Part GEN Kabayan</td>
<td>'as for Tawangan, it is the Eastern part of Kabayan'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>samen iran iTawangan, si'karay kait ya kowan ni Ibadoy</td>
<td>samen ?ida=n ?i-tawagan si?gada=j ga?it ya kowan ni ?ibaloj</td>
<td>TOP/DIST/PRO PL=LK FROM-Tawangan 3+/IND=NOM friend LK say GEN Ibaloy</td>
<td>'as for those ones that are from Tawangan, they are the (ones who are) friends that the Ibaloy call the mountain forest people'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ya ekadasan
ja ?a-kalasan
LK STAPTV/PFT-mountain forest
43.3 Interrogative Constructions

Ibaloy has two ways of forming a question. One type uses a cleft construction §43.2. A second type requires the linker *ja* (or one of its allomorphs) between the question word and the following constituent.

Ibaloy has several words that are used for unknown quantities, entities or times in either interrogative or indefinite contexts. They include the following.

- **sipa** /*sipa*/ ‘who, whom’
- **towa** /*towa*/ ‘where’
- **ngan(=to)** /*ŋan(=to)/ ‘what, which(=3/GEN)’
- **ngaran(=to)** /*ŋadan(=to)/ ‘what, which(=3/GEN)’
Clearly this class of interrogatives crosses word class boundaries. For instance, the term *piga* /piga/ is also a non-numeral quantifier while the term *ngaran* /ŋadan/ is a noun meaning ‘name’. Some interrogative forms may occur encliticised by the genitive bound pronoun =to ‘3/GEN’. Since no reference to a third person entity is made, such a pronoun is analysed as being an indivisible part of the interrogative. The form *apaynga* /ʔapajŋa/ is an Ilokano borrowing made up of *apay* /ʔapaj/ plus *ŋa* /ŋa/; *ŋa* is the linker in Ilokano. The linker *ŋa* is only found in Ibaloy as a separate form unless part of some borrowed words, hence it is mentioned with the question word.

The first set of interrogatives listed above is always a cleft, unless used by themselves. The only one that cannot be used alone is *to=y* which already includes the Nominative determiner =y. In these constructions the interrogative acts as the predicate. Hence, second-order adverbials may occur after the predicate before the Nominative complement. Again, the only exception is the form *to=y*.

(47) \[ \text{nganto}=? \text{mo idako} \text{chi Pangasinan?} \]
\[ \text{what}=\text{NOM 2/GEN/DIR} \text{ ThMV/IPF-sell} \text{ LOC Pangasinan} \]

‘what do you go and sell in Pangasinan?’

(48) \[ \text{ngaran} \text{ i mokaso adadnti} \text{ sonta bato?} \]
\[ \text{what} \text{ NOM 2/GEN/ASP=OBL/PRO} \text{ hold-LocV/CNTV OBL=GEN/MED stone} \]

‘what is the stone that you are holding?’

(49) \[ \text{to}=? \text{in-motokmo?} \]
\[ \text{what=NOM} \text{ ThMV/PFT-arrive=2/GEN} \]

‘what did you arrive with?’

The interrogative term may occur modified by a relative clause. In this case its reference is more specific, as in the following example.

(50) \[ \text{nganton} \text{ ili ni Benguet i panbaljanmo?} \]
\[ \text{what=LK} \text{ town GEN Benguet NOM LOCV/IPF/PAN-live-LocV=2/GEN} \]

‘which town of Benguet Province will you live in?’
The following question is often used as a greeting.

(51) *toy edapoanmo?*
    to=j ?a-lapo-an=mo
    what=NOM PotLocV/PFF-come-LocV=2/GEN
    ‘where do you come from?’

When the cleft construction contains a Locative verb or gerund the interrogative *towa* ‘where’ may be used in its place meaning ‘what’. Alternatively, these verbs can stand alone as simple questions, as in (54).

(52) *toy pankansionanmo?*
    to=j pan-kansijon-an=mo
    what=NOM LocV/IPF/PAN-sing-LocV=2/GEN
    ‘what is your singing place’

(53) *toway pankansionanmo?*
    towa=j pan-kansijon-an=mo
    where=NOM LocV/IPF/PAN-sing-LocV=2/GEN
    ‘where is your singing place’

(54) *pan’iskoydaanmo?*
    pan-?iskoja-an=mo
    LocV/IPF/PAN-study-LocV=2/GEN
    ‘where do you go to school?’

The interrogative *towa* ‘where’ is used with a locational (non-verbal) clause (§38.4).

(55) *toway baleymo?*
    towa=j balaj=mo
    where=NOM house=2/GEN
    ‘where is your house?’

(56) *nanang, towala iray sapatosko?*
    nanang towa=la ?ida=j sapatos=ko
    mother where=away 3+/NOM=NOM shoe=1/GEN
    ‘mother, where are my shoes?’

(57) *towada emos Balaw?*
    towa=la ?amo=s balaw
    where=away maybe=NOM/PERS Balaw
    ‘where might Balaw be?’

When the questioned entity is human the interrogative *sipa* ‘who, whom’ is used.
(58) *sipay* mokapani’iigaji?
   sipa=j moka=pa=n?i-nigaj=i
   who NOM 2/GEN/ASP=BNFV/PROG-fish-BNFV/PROG

   'whom are you fishing for?'

(59) tatang! *sipi* iya daki?
   tataq sipa ?ija laki
   father who NOM/PROX man

   'father! who is this man?'

To inquire about a quantity (either an amount or number) *piga* ‘how many, how much’ is used.

(60) *pigada* i anakmo?
   piga=la ?i ?anak=mo
   how many=away NOM child=2/GEN

   'how many children do you have?'

(61) *pigay* taw’enmo niman?
   piga=j taw?an=mo niman
   how many=NOM year=2/GEN time-present

   'how old are you now? (how many are your years now?)'

To inquire about manner *sa’no* or *kasa’no* ‘how’ is used.

(62) *sa’no* i oran chi Bagiw?
   sa?no ?i ?odan di bagiw
   how NOM rain LOC Bagiw

   'how is the rain in Baguio'

(63) *kasa’no* i tempo?
   kasa?no ?i tempo
   how NOM weather

   'how is the weather like?'

The interrogative *pigan (=to)* ‘when’ of the interrogatives in the second set may occur clefted when the Nominative complement contains a gerund or a nominal.

(64) *piganto* mala i pangraduatemo
   piganto mala ?i pan-graduate=mo
   when already NOM GER/IPF-graduate=2/GEN

   'When is your graduation?'

(65) *piganto* mangola i kasalto?
   piganto mapo=la ?i kasal=to
   when modesty=away NOM wedding=3/GEN

   'When is his wedding?'
(66) *pigan* i *ipaw’itmo* so?

*pigan* ?i ?i-paw?it=mo so

when NOM THMGER-send=2/GEN OBL/PRO

'when will you send it?'

However, when followed by a verbal clause, then it is linked to the following clause by the linker *ja* (or one of its allomorphs). The linker is sometimes omitted, but only when the clause has all its complements overtly expressed.

(67) *pigan* (*ja*) *onmotok* si *Etek?*

*pigan* ja ?on-motok si ?atak

when LK ACTV/IPF-arrive NOM/PERS Etek

'when will Etek arrive?'

When the interrogative *ngantoy* 'why' may be interpreted as *nganto=y* 'what=NOM', then the interrogative *apay=nga* 'why=LK' is preferred.

(68) *ngantoy* *a dimawkadman?*

*ŋantoj=a* <im>*law=ka=dman*

why=LK <ACTV/PFT>go=2/NOM=LOC/DIST/PRO

'why did you go there?'

(69) *ngantoy* *ngimingika?*

*ŋantoj* <im>*ŋi?ŋi=ka*

why <ACTV/PFT>laugh=2/NOM

'why did you laugh?'

The interrogative *apay=nga* 'why=LK' already includes a linker as part of the interrogative form.

(70) *apay nga* *emekitabtabal* si *Pedro son* si’*kam?*

?a*ŋaŋ* yamaki-tabtabal si pedro so=ŋ si?gan

why=LK ACTV/CNTV-talk NOM/PERS Pedro OBL=GEN/PERS 2/IND

'why is Pedro talking to you?'
Chapter 44

Subordinate Clauses

Subordinate clauses all contain a subordinate conjunction which is used to link two clauses in such a way that one of the two clauses (the subordinate clause) occurs as a constituent of the other (main) clause. While morphosyntactic evidence for a distinction between subordination and co-ordination is weak, semantic evidence does provide some grounds for making a distinction between the two categories. Subordinating conjunctions encode a variety of different meanings which make explicit the nature of the connection between the two conjoined events or states. The following are some of the most common subordinating conjunctions.

- **nonta, idi** /nonta, ?i/li/ ‘when-past, past time’
- **ji/yi, =n** /ji, =n/ ‘while, linker (LK/JT)’
- **ingkatod** /?iŋkatod/ ‘until’
- **sakbay** /sakbaj/ ‘before’
- **no, nem** /no, nem/ ‘if/when’
- **intono** /?intono/ ‘if/when’
- **kamo ni** /kamo ni/ ‘negative condition plus regret (NEGCONDNT)’
- **ampet** /?ampet/ ‘unless’
- **no kitdi** /no kitli/ ‘only if’
- **basta** /basta/ ‘as long as’
- **say** /saj/ ‘so that, in order to’
- **ja/ya, =a, =n** /ja, =a, =n/ ‘linker (LK)’
- **tep** /tap/ ‘because’
- **gapo ta** /gapo ta/ ‘because, reason why’
- **nakol ni** /nakol ni/ ‘reason why’
- **iso=nga** /?iso=nga/ ‘hence, therefore’
- **ambo et** /?ambo ?ot/ ‘no wonder’
- **angken** /?aŋken/ ‘even, although’
- **pa?ja ni** /pa?ja ni/ ‘despite (the fact), although’
- **imbis=nga** /?imbis=pa/ ‘instead, on the contrary’
- **singa** /siŋa/ ‘as if, like’
Some subordinating conjunctions may be regarded as grammaticalised extension predicates (Chapter 41) in that they require a sentential complement usually introduced by a bridging constituent, such as iso=nga and imbis=nga where nga is the linker. In a few cases, the sentential complement is Genitive-marked, as for karno ni, nakol ni and pa'ja ni where ni is the Genitive determiner, and in even fewer cases it is a Nominative-marked complement introduced by the Nominative determiner i, as for ambo et ‘no wonder’. Finally, a subordinating conjunction may only optionally require the linker, as for angken. As for all predicates, they may be modified by second-order adverbs or adverbial expressions which occur after the predicate (in this case the subordinating conjunction) and its complement.

### 44.1 Temporal Clauses

There are a number of subordinating conjunctions that introduce a subordinate clause with a temporal meaning, including nonta ‘when/past’ and idi ‘when/past’. Subordinate clauses introduced by nem ‘if/when’ or no ‘if/when’ (and possibly intono, which can convey a temporal meaning, are discussed in §44.2 as they primarily have a conditioning meaning.

**nonta, idi** Both nonta /nonta/ and idi [ʔiɗi] /ʔili/ are used to refer to the past. The relationship between the two clauses can be of temporal succession or simultaneity.

The predicate of the subordinate clause may be marked for perfective aspect, as in (1)–(3).

1. **tep nonta mimotok ira chi Pangasinan,**
   tap nonta <im>motok ?ida di pasayan
   because when-past <AcTV/PFT>arrive 3+/NOM LOC Pangasinan
   
in’ancha  
i  chonchontog
   <im>?onaj-an=da  
   ?i  CVC-dontog
   <LocV/PFT>see-LocV=3+/GEN NOM MULT-mountain
   ‘because when they arrived in Pangasinan, they saw the mountains’

2. **jet idi imoli ali, engimotok ni chakela**
   jot ?i’li <im>?oli  
   ?ali  ?agi-motok ni dakal=a
   and then when-past <AcTV/PFT>return toward AcTV/PFT-arrive GEN many=LK
   
paydeng
   pajlag
   fish
   ‘then when they returned back, they arrived with a lot of fish’

3. **idi ega pay simongbat, inkeydengantodi**
   ?i’li  
   ?ag=paj <im>sogbat  
   ?in-kajlag-an=to=li
   when-past neg=first <AcTV/PFT>reply BNFV/PFT-hear-BNFV=3/GEN=toward
Although referring to the past, the predicate in the subordinate clause does not need to be marked for perfective aspect. For instance, the predicate may be marked for imperfective aspect, as in (4)–(5), or continuative aspect, as in (6).

(4) **jet idi on’anaanak ira, enchima i**

and then when-past ActV/IPF-DISTR-give birth 3+/NOM not-exist=then NOM

‘when they keep having children, there is no place where they can go and get food (to eat)’

(5) **jet idi metey irasota dimaw**

and then when-past PotPatV/IPF-die 3+/NOM=REC <ActV/PFT>go

‘then when those who went there die, they return them back here, Kabayan’

(6) **nem idi emanbediw sota asebato chi chanom,**

but when-past ActV/CNTV-cross Nom/REC spouse=3/Gen Loc water

‘but while her husband was crossing the water, he fell down’

Typically the subordinate clause occurs before the independent clause, however the reverse order is also possible, as in (7).

(7) **say eg’onsekep i pangat nonta maraman**

so that neg=ActV/IPF-enter Nom fly when-past during=Loc
chakapanmummifya
daka=pan-mummify-a
3+/GEN/ASP=PATV/PROG-mummify-PATV/PROG

‘so that the flies do not enter (the body) when they (the people) are mummifying (it)’

ji The linker ji (with allomorphs: ji [‘çi], yi [je], and occasionally =n) can be used to indicate that the two clauses are simultaneous, in this case the subordinate clause always follows the independent clause.

(8) tep irakaemanchakel ji kitoka=eman’otik
top Tidak=aman-dakol ji kito=ka=aman-otik
because 3+/NOM/ASP=ACTV/CNTV-many LK/ji 1&2/NOM/ASP=ACTV/CNTV-few

‘because they are becoming many (multiplying) when we (two) are getting fewer’

(9) ngantoya adokonka ji egmo koston mekiesawa
ŋantoj=a =a-lokon=ka ji ñag=mo kosto=n maki-ʔasawa
why=LK PotPatV/PFT-pregnant LK/ji neg=2/GEN like=LK ACTV/IPF-marry

‘why are youpregnant when you don’t like to joins in marriage’

ingkatod The subordinating conjunction ingkatod /ʔiŋkatod/ ‘until’ is used to indicate the endpoint for the duration of the event, state or action expressed in the independent clause. It is also used to introduce a prepositional phrase (Chapter 35). The subordinate clause usually follows the independent clause.

(10) meskedma ingkatod medoto
ma-sagad=ma ?iŋkatod ma-loto
PotPatV/PFT-wait=then until PotPatV/IPF-cook

‘let’s wait until it is cooked’

(11) jet inapoyancha ingkatod atey ira
jot <in>?apoj-an=da ?iŋkatod ?a-taj ñida
and then <LocV/PFT>fire-LocV=3+/GEN until PotPatV/PFT-die 3+/GEN

‘then they apply fire until they are dead’

(12) te’! ichemanmoakma ni mebejag ingkatod
ti ?i-domaŋ=mo=ak=ma ni ma-bajag ?iŋkatod
ok THMv/IMP-look=2/GEN=1/NOM=then GEN STaPatV/IPF-long time until

bara i nemnemenmo
wada ?i nānnâm-ou=mo exist NOM think-PatV/IPF=2/GEN

‘ok! you look at me longer until there is something/someone you think of’
Conditional Clauses

Ibaloy has several subordinating conjunctions that are used to introduce a conditional clause.

**no, nem** There is no formal distinction between the English meanings of ‘if, when, whenever’, all of which are conveyed by the subordinating conjunction *no* /no/ glossed as ‘if/when; whenever’. A second subordinating conjunction *nem* /nem/ also conveys the meanings of ‘if, when, whenever’. These meanings are also sometimes conveyed by *intono*\(^1\) /intono/.

The main difference between the clauses introduced by *no* and *nem* is their distribution. While a *no* subordinate clause can occur either before or after the independent clause, a *nem* subordinate clause tends to occur after the independent clause.

\(^1\) *Intono* is most probably borrowed from Ilokano. However, in Ilokano it cannot convey the meaning ‘if’.

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(13) *eminan animalmo, kanen ni too ingkatod ma'bos,*

\[^{1}\text{all=}\text{LK animal=2/GEN eat-PATV/IPF GEN person until POTPATV/IPF-finish}\]

\[^{2}\text{ono ingkatod memag'an sota meking}\]

\[^{3}\text{ono} \text{?i\text{ngkatod ma\text{-}maga-an sota mki\text{\-}g}\text{\text{-}u}\text{\text{-}g}\text{\text{-}i}\text{\text{-}g}}\]

‘as for all your animals, the people eat them until they (the animals) are finished, or until the mummy is dry’

**sakbay** The subordinating conjunction *sakbay* /sakbaj/ ‘before’ requires the linker *ja* (or one of its allomorphs) before the subordinate clause it introduces. The subordinate clause may precede or follow the independent clause.

(14) *sakbaya ondawak chi Manida, ondawak nin chi*

\[^{4}\text{sakbaj=a ?on\text{-law}=ak di manila} \text{?on-law}=ak \text{n}\text{in di market} \text{market} \text{market}\]

‘before I go to Manila, I will go first to the market’

(15) *on’oli kitadi sakbaya man’alaschose*

\[^{5}\text{?on-?oli kita=li sakbaj=a man-alaschose}\]

\[^{6}\text{ACTV/IPF-return 1&2/NOM=toward before=LK ACTV/IPF-twelve o’clock}\]

‘we will be back before it is twelve o’clock’

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44.2 Conditional Clauses
The predicates in both types of conditional clause are usually marked with imperfective aspect. However, it is possible for the predicate to carry other aspects, as in (21) where the predicate is marked for perfective aspect, but this is rather rare.

Finally, both subordinating conjunctions *no* and *nem* (and probably also *intono* as a variant of *no*) may be used as prepositions to introduce a non-past temporal phrase (Chapter 35). Furthermore, Ibaloy has a homophonous form *nem* which is used as a coordinator to mean ‘but’ (§44.7).

In (16)–(21) the subordinate clause introduced by *no* containing an imperfective marked verb occurs before the independent clause. The condition does not need to be hypothetical, it can be real.

(16)  
*no* manhidinka  
*ni* kanenmo,  
*no* man-bilin=ka  
*ni* kan-on=mo  
*if/when ACTV/IPF-order=2/NOM  
*eat-PATV/IPF=2/GEN*  

*ege’doto*  
?on=tag=la-lo  
*neg=POTPATV/PFT-cook*  

‘when you order what you will eat it is not cooked’

(17)  
*nem* *no* on’akarak,  
*nakadibki*  
*nem* *no* ?on-?akad=ak  
*naka=libag-i*  
*but if/when ACTV/IPF-go home=1/NOM 1/GEN/ASP=forget-LOCV/CNTV*  

‘but when I go home, I usually forget’

(18)  
*no* al’en  
*irunonta* talaw i barocha,  
*no* ?ala-on  
*?ida=nonta talaw ?i bado=da*  
*if/when get-PATV/IPF PL=GEN/REC star NOM dress, garment=3+/GEN*  

*ontayab*  
*ira*  
mowanda  
?on-tajab  
*?ida mowan=la*  
*ACTV/IPF-fly 3+/NOM again=away*  

‘if/when the stars get their clothes they will fly away again’

(19)  
*no* baray  
*metey,*  
*sota adiyato ono karachowato,*  
*no* wada=j  
*ma-taj  
sota ?alija=to ?ono kadadowa=to*  
*if/when exist=NOM POTPATV/IPF-die TOP soul=3/GEN or spirit=3/GEN*  

*kaondaw*  
*chi* Mt Pulag  
*ka=on-law*  
*di mt polag*  
*HAB=ACTV/PFT-go LOC Mount Pulag*  

‘if/when someone dies, as for his soul or his spirit, it goes to Mt Pulag’

When the predicate carries an aspectual meaning such as ‘finish’, a temporal interpretation is more common. In (21) the predicate is marked for perfective aspect.
(20) no makcheng, bechowancha mowan
no mo-kọdọ bado-an=da mowan
if/when POTPatV-finish dress-THMV/IPF=3+/GEN again

‘when finished, they dress him again’

(21) yet no nakchengma sotan, enchima i too
jat no nakdaŋ=ma sotan ?andi=ma ?i to?o
and then if/when UNPat/PFT-finish=then NOM/REC not-exist=then NOM person

‘then when it is finished, there is nobody’

The subordinating conjunction intono can be used in place of no with no apparent change in meaning.

(22) yet intono makchen sotan ya bindiyancha,
jat intono mo-kọdọ sotan ja biilijan=da
and then if/when POTPatV/IPF-finish NOM/REC LK bindiyan=3+/GEN

chakaisa’chang sotan ya toktok nonta too ya
daka=3i-sakdaŋ sotan ja toktok nonta to?o ja
3+/GEN/ASP=THMV/CNTV-hang NOM/REC LK head GEN/REC person LK

chadi inda
da=li <in>ʔala
3+/GEN/DIR=toward <PatV/PFT>get

‘then when their bindiyan feast is finished, they usually hang the head of the man they brought back’

In (23) the subordinate clause, instead, follows the independent clause.

(23) sotan i on’anmo, no onsekepka
sotan ?i ?onaj-ŋ=mo no ?on-sorg=ka
NOM/REC/PRO NOM see-LOCV/IPF=2/GEN if/when ACTV/IPF-enter=2/NOM

chiman
diman
LOC/DIST/PRO

‘that is what you see, if/when you enter there’

In (24) the interpretation of the subordinate clause is strongly conditional.

(24) egmaka’kal i sakitto, no egka ali
?og=mo-ʔaikal ?i sakit=to no ?og=ka ?ali
neg=POTPatV/IPF-remove NOM illness=3/GEN if/when neg=2/NOM toward

mengda ni toktok
moNʔala ni toktok
ACTV/IPF-get GEN head

‘his illness will not go away, if you do not take back a head’
Finally, (25)–(27) contain the subordinating conjunction *nem* ‘if, when’ which often carries the meaning ‘whenever’. In this case the subordinate clause occurs after the independent clause.

(25) *ema’okin* *nem* *mandoto* *ni timol*  
*?ama-?ogip* *nam* *man-loto* *ni timol*  
*POT/PATV/CNTV*-sleep *if/when ACTV/IPF-cook GEN pig food*  
’she usually sleeps whenever she cooks pig food’

(26) *sajay* *i* *chalanko* *nem* *nak* *man’iskoyda*  
*sajaj* *?i dalan=ko* *nam* *nak* *man-?iskojla*  
*TOP/PROX/PRO NOM path way=1/GEN if/when 1/NOM/DIR ACTV/IPF-study*  
‘this is my way whenever I go and study’

(27) *jet* *si’kam* *i* *ontened* *nem* *oni’iak*  
*jot* *si?gam* *?i* *?on-tanad* *nam* *?on-?oli=ak*  
*and then 2/IND NOM ACTV/IPF-follow if/when ACTV/IPF-return=1/NOM*  
‘then you are the one who will follow whenever I return’

*kamo ni* The subordinate clause introduced by *kamo ni* /kamo ni/, consisting of *kamo* /kamo/ plus the Genitive determiner *ni* /ni/, expresses a regret or hope for something that did not or will not take place. The independent clause must follow the subordinate clause, and, although not obligatory, as in (28), it is often introduced by *istay* /?istaj/ or *at/et* /?at/ ‘instead’ which is used to indicate a contrast.

(28) *kamo ni* *ondawak* *chi Bagiw, aychiy kaitmo*  
*kamo ni* *?on-law=ak* *di bagiw* *?ajdi=j* *ga?it=mo*  
*NEGCNDTN GEN ACTV/IPF-go=1/NOM LOC Baguio non-exist=NOM friend=2/GEN*  
*chiyay!*  
*dijaj*  
*LOC/PROX/PRO*  
‘if ever I go to Baguio, you will have no friend here!’

(29) *kamo ni* *mimotok* *chagos i solatmo at*  
*kamo ni* *<im>motok* *dagos* *?i solat=mo* *?at*  
*NEGCNDTN GEN <ACTV/PFT>arrive immediately NOM letter=2/GEN instead*  
*nansolatakda*  
*nan-solat=ak=da*  
*ACTV/IPF-write=1/NOM=away*  
‘if your letter had arrived immediately, then I would have written back’

(30) *kamo ni* *nan’achalak et* *siged i* *biyaqko*  
*kamo ni* *nan-?adal=ak* *?ot* *siged* *?i bijag=ko*  
*NEGCNDTN GEN ACTV/PFT-learn instead nice NOM life=1/GEN*  
‘if I had studied, my life would (now) be nice’
(31)  \( \text{kamo ni nan'asebakita at baray} \)
\( \text{kamo ni nan-?asowa=kita ?ot wada=j} \)
\( \text{NegCndtn gen ActV/Pft-marry, spouse=1&2/NOM instead exist=NOM} \)
\( \text{anakta} \)
\( \text{?anak=ta} \)
\( \text{child=1&2/NOM} \)

'if we had got married, we would (now) have child/ren'

(32)  \( \text{kamo ni aychi i gobiyerno ni Australia, istay ekak} \)
\( \text{kamo ni ?ajdi ?i gobiyerno ni australia ?istaj ?agak} \)
\( \text{NegCndtn gen not-exist nom government gen Australia instead neg+1/NOM} \)
\( \text{dimaw chi Pilipinas} \)
\( \text{<im>law di pilipinas} \)
\( \text{<ActV/Pft>go loc Philippines} \)

'if it were not for the Australian government, I would not have gone to the Philippines'

(33)  \( \text{kamo ni inesawak si'kato, istay} \)
\( \text{kamo ni <in>?asawa=k si?gato ?istaj} \)
\( \text{NegCndtn gen <PatV/Pft>marry, spouse=1/gen 3/ind instead} \)
\( \text{aychiak chiyay} \)
\( \text{?ajdi=ak dijaj} \)
\( \text{not-exist=1/nom loc/prox/pro} \)

'had I married him, I would not be here'

The sentences in (32) and (33) can be alternatively expressed with a no/nem conditional clause, which follows the independent clause, as shown in (34)–(35).

(34)  \( \text{istay ekak dimaw chi Pilipinas, no/nem aychi i} \)
\( \text{?istaj ?agak <im>law di pilipinas no/nam ?ajdi ?i} \)
\( \text{instead neg+1/NOM <ActV/Pft>go loc Philippines if/when not-exist nom} \)
\( \text{gobiyerno ni Australia} \)
\( \text{gobiyerno ni australia} \)
\( \text{government gen Australia} \)

'I would not have gone to the Philippines, if there were no Australian government'

(35)  \( \text{istay aychiak chiyay, no/nem} \)
\( \text{?istaj ?ajdi=ak dijaj no/nam} \)
\( \text{instead not-exist=1/nom loc/prox/pro if/when} \)
\( \text{inesawak si'kato} \)
\( \text{<in>?asawa=k si?gato} \)
\( \text{<PatV/Pft>marry, spouse=1/gen 3/ind} \)

'I would not be here, if I had married him'
**ampet**  The subordinating conjunction *ampet* /ʔampat/ ‘unless’ is used to introduce the condition under which the dependent clause is realised. The subordinate clause may occur before or after the dependent clause.

(36) *ondawak* chi Pacso, *ampet* ekak mengan ni apag
ACTV/IPF-go=1/NOM LOC Pacso unless neg+1/NOM ACTV/IPF-eat GEN meat

‘I will go to Pacso, unless I don’t need to eat meat’

(37) *eg’on Daw* chiman, *ampet* si’kam i kaitto
?og=ʔon-law diman ?ampat si?gan ?i ga?it=to
neg=ACTV/IPF-go LOC/DIST/PRO unless 2/IND NOM companion=3/GEN

‘she won’t go there, unless you are her companion’

(38) *isonga*, *ampet* baknang, say onbaknang ira
hence=LK unless rich so that ACTV/IPF-rich 3+/NOM

‘therefore, unless already rich, they will become rich’

The subordinating conjunction *ampet* may take the linker *ja* (or one of its allomorphs). In this case, it functions as an extension predicate (Chapter 41) and may be modified by a second-order adverb (§46.2.2), such as *emo* ‘maybe’ in (40).

(39) *ampeta* onkimitka nin
?ampet=a ?on-kimit=ka nin
unless=LK ACTV/IPF-open eyes=2/NOM first

‘unless you open the eyes first’

(40) *aychi* met i kaonpiyan son si’kak *ampet* enon
?ajdi mat ?i ka=ʔon-pijan so=n si?gak ?ampat ?omo=n
not-exist emph NOM HAB=ACTV/IPF-like OBL=GEN/PERS 1/IND unless maybe=LK

onpigotak
?on-pigot=ak
ACTV/IPF-thin=1/NOM

‘there is no one who likes me unless maybe I become thin’

**no kitdi**  The subordinating conjunction *no kitdi* /no kitli/ ‘only if’ comprises the conditional subordinating conjunction *no* /no/ ‘if/when’ and the second-order adverb *kitdi* /kitli/ ‘anyway, on the other hand’. However, they here function as a single item to mean ‘only if’.
44.3 Purpose Clauses

(41) \textit{iakanko iya barok no kitdi} \[?i-?akan=ko \text{ ija bado=k no kitli} \]
\text{THMV/IPF-give=1/GEN NOM/PROX dress, garment=1/GEN} \text{ only if}
\textit{iaknanmoak ni pilak} \[?i-?akan-an=mo=ak ni pilak \]
\text{BNFV/IPF-give-BNFY=2/GEN=l/NOM GEN} \text{ money}
\text{‘I will give my dress only if you give me money’}

(42) \textit{ontolokak no kitdi mankasalkita chi simbaan} \[?on-tolok=ak no kitli man-kasal=kita di simba?an \]
\text{AcTY/IPF-agree only if AcTY/IPF-wed=l&2/NOM LOC church}
\text{‘I will agree only if we (two) wed in the church’}

\textbf{basta} The subordinating conjunction \textit{basta} /\textit{basta}/ ‘as long as’ indicates that, providing the condition expressed in the subordinate clause is true, then the situation expressed in the main clause is also true.

(43) \textit{en’amis Ja pasiya, basta egmedoton pasiya} \[?an-?amis ja pasija basta \text{ eg=ma-loto=n pasija} \]
\text{STAY/EN-tasty LK very as long as neg=POTPATY/IPF-cook=LK very}
\text{‘it is very tasty as long as it is not overcooked’}

44.3 Purpose Clauses

Purpose clauses are typically introduced by the subordinating conjunction \textit{say} ‘so that, in order to’. Sometimes a clause conjoined by the linker \textit{ja} may have a purpose reading, as discussed below.

\textbf{say} The purpose clause introduced by \textit{say} /\textit{saj}/ occurs after the independent clause.

(44) \textit{yet chima toktok ni Mount Pulag tegteg’in, isonga} \[jat \text{ dima toktok ni mount polag CVC-tag?in \text{ ?iso nga}} \]
\text{and then LOC/DIST head, summit GEN Mount Pulag INTNS-cold weather hence=LK}
\textit{mesepol ya maschel i barom say egka} \[masapol ja ma-sodal \text{ ?i bado=m saj \text{ ?ag=ka}} \]
\text{need LK STAV/MA-thick NOM garment=2/GEN so that neg=2/NOM}
\textit{maktel} \[ma-gatal \]
\text{STAPATV/PFT-cold}
\text{‘on top of Mount Pulag it is very cold, that’s why it is necessary that your clothes are thick so that you won’t be cold’}
(45) *nem medoton* pasiya, *say* onkeneg
*nem ma-loto=n* pasija *saj on-kanag*
but *POTPATV/PFT-cook=LK very* so that *ActV/IPF-harden*

'but (let's) cook it a lot, so that it will harden'

(46) *nem mas maymayat no mebebejag, * *say* mas
*nem mas cvc-majat no ma-cv-bajag saj mas*
but more *INTNS-good if/when UNSTATV/IPF-QUASI-long time so that more*

en'amis
*?an-?amis*
*STAV/EN-tasty*

'but it is better if it is left a little bit longer, so that it is more tasty'

(47) *jet no kakawan, cha isekit sota too,* *say*
*jat no kakawan da ?i-sagit sota to?o saj*
and then when midday *3+/GEN/DIR THMV/IPF-sun NOM/REC person so that*

*memag'an*
*ma-maga-an*
*POTLOCV/IPF-dry-LOCV*

'then at midday they go and put the person under the sun, so that it (the body) dries'

(48) *jet pojokancha ni bolong ni kapani, * *say*
*jat pojok-an=da ni bolon ni kapani saj*
and then rub-LOCV/IPF=3+/GEN GEN leaf GEN kapani plant so that

*egmebikis* *tan say eg'onekep i insikto chi*
*?ag=ma-bigis* *tan saj ?ag=?on-sagap ?i ?insikto di*
*neg=UNPAT/IPF-worm and so that neg=ActV/IPF-enter NOM insect LOC*

*bakdangto*
*baklag=to*
*body=3/GEN*

'then they rub it (the dead person) with kapani leaves, so that it doesn’t get worms and so that the insects do not enter his (her) body'

**ja** Another function of the linker *ja* (with allomorphs: *ja* [ freshmen ], *ya* [ ja ], =a and =n) is to introduce a purpose clause. This is a form of subordination. The linked clause expressing the purpose is dependent on the verb of the main clause.

The main verb typically carries aspectual information while the dependent verb is usually marked for imperfective or continuative aspect. A dependent clause headed by an intransitive verb may share its Nominative complement with that of the main clause. In this case the Nominative is expressed only in the main clause.
44.3 Purpose Clauses

(49) an et ekitongaw chi serom ja to tinatabal sota
?an ?ot ?aki-toqaw di sodom ja to <in>tabtabal sota
gok&do instead ActV/PFT-sit LOC shade LK 3/GEN/DIR <PATV/PFT>talk NOM/REC

biin aseba ni tilay
bi?i=n ?asawa ni tilaj
woman=LK spouse GEN lizard

'in instead he went and joined the others sitting in the shade in order to go and talk
to the wife of the lizard'

(50) an simbi mowan ni aki i imok ya to
?an <in>sabi mowan ni ?aki ?i ?imok ja to
go&do <PATV/PFT>reach again GEN monkey NOM mosquito LK 3/GEN/DIR

ikowan yi...
?i-kowan ji
THMV/IPF-say LK/ji

'the monkey went to reach again the mosquito in order to go and ask...'

(51) jet in'anton mebedina bonoencha
jat <in>?onaj-an=to=n mabalin=a bono-an=da
and then <LOCV/PFT>see-LocV=3/GEN=LK can=LK killPATV/IPF=3+/GEN

sota olega egcha kedaten iray iBuguias
sota ?olag=a ?eg=da kalat-an ?ida=j ?i-buguias
NOM/REC snake=LK neg=3+/GEN bitePATV/IPF 3+/NOM=NOM FROM-Buguias

's then he saw/realised that it was possible that they kill the snakes so that they
will not bite those from Buguias'

(52) idi mayketdon akew, epata dedaki, nan'oli
?i'li majka-talo=n ?akaw ?apat=a cv-laki nan-?oli
when-past OrdNum-three=LK day four=LK Pl-man ActV/PFT-return

irad Kabayan ja kowancha yi kaontakot iray
?ida=d kabajan ja kowan=da ji ka=?on-takot ?ida=j

totoon onbono ni chowan oleg
cv-to?o=n ?on-bono ni dowa=n ?olog
PL-person=LK ActV/IPF-kill GEN two=LK snake

'on the third day, four men returned to Kabayan (in order) to say that the people
were afraid to kill two snakes'

(53) sakeya akew, dimespag si Kaboniyan alid
sakaj=a ?akaw <im>lapag si kaboniyan fali=d
one=LK day <ActV/PFT>descend Nom/Pers Kaboniyan toward=LOC

naykayang ja an mengenop ni olsa
naj-kayang ja ?an maN-anop ni ?olsa
STA/THMV/PFT-high LK go&do ActV/IPF-hunt GEN deer

'one day Kaboniyan (native god) descended from the sky (in order) to go and hunt
a deer'
Subordinate Clauses

(54) jet tinayanchay aanakchan
jet <in>tajan-an=da=j CV-?anak=da=n and then <LOCV/PFT>leave behind-LOCV=3+/GEN=NOM PL-child=3+/GEN=LK
akin manbatay sononta naama
?aki=n man-bantaj so=nonta na-?ama
monkey=LK ACTV/IPF-guard OBL=GEN/REC StAPATV/PFT-old man
‘and then they left behind their monkey children (in order) to guard the old man’

(55) kaondaw iray talaw chi pa’dok ni Batan ja
?aman-CV-?amas ACTV/CNTV-IPF-bathe
‘the stars usually go to the creek of Batan (in order) to bathe’

44.4 Reason Clauses

Reason clauses can be introduced by a number of different subordinating conjunctions, such as tep ‘because’, gapo ta ‘because, reason why’, nakol ni ‘reason why’, and isonga ‘therefore, hence’. Each subordinating conjunction is discussed separately below.

tep The clause introduced by the subordinating conjunction tep /top/ ‘because’ follows the independent clause and provides the reason for the event/state.

(56) nem nimanda, sampolo ni abos i abay’an
nem niman=la sanpolo ni ?abos ?i ?a-baja-an but time-present=toward ten GEN only NOM PotLocV/PFT-leave-LOCV tep kinibotcha i echom
tap <in>kibot=da ?i ?adom because <PATV/PFT>steal=3+/GEN NOM some, other
‘but now, only ten are left because they stole the others’

(57) ensemekcha tep ootik ira
‘they love them because they are few’

(58) nem kowancha yi si’kam tep oorichiyanka
nom kowan=da ji si?gam tap CV-odidijan=ka but say=3+/GEN LK/ji 2/IND because quasi-young sibling=2/NOM
‘but they say “you because you are a little bit younger” ’
(59) jet inonodcha ali iya Agno River tep
jot <in>tonod=da ?ali ?ija agno riever tap
and then <PATV/PFT>follow=3+/GEN toward NOM/PROX Agno River because
piyancha ya manbedey ija chi chonchontog
pajan=da ja man-balaj ?ida di CVC-dontog
like, want=3+/GEN LK ACTV/IPF-live 3+/NOM LOC MULTI-mountain
‘then they followed the Agno River (towards here) because they like to live in the
mountains’

(60) ikowanmo i dasonmo sonen Manang Tering
?i-kowan=mo ?i lason=mo so=non manaj tering
THMV/IPF-say=2/GEN NOM reason=2/GEN OBL=GEN/PERS Title/elder sister Tering
ni egmo pakidawan son si’kato chi Pacso
ni ?ag=mo paki-law=an so=n si?gato di pacso
GEN neg=2/GEN LOCV/IPF/PAKI-go-LOCV OBL=GEN 3/IND LOC Pacso
tep mekidawka son si’kak ja ta
tap maki-law=ka so=n si?gak ja ta
because ACTV/IPF-go=2/NOM OBL=GEN 1/IND LK 1&2/GEN/DIR
on’an i diyang
?onaj=an ?i lijaq
see-THMV/IPF NOM cave
‘(you will) tell your reason to Manang Tering, that the reason why you cannot go
with her to Pacso is because you go with me and we (two) go and see the cave’

(61) jet chindanmi ali iya so’kek tep
jot <in>dalan=mi ?ali ?ija so?kek tap
and then <PATV/PFT>route=1+/GEN toward NOM/PROX jungle because
enchiy chalan
?andi=j dalan
not-exist=NOM path way
‘we took this jungle route because there was no path’

gapo ta The subordinating conjunction gapo ta [ga’po ta] /gapo ta/ is probably bor­
rowed from Ilokano where it means ‘because, reason why’. In Ibaloy, however, it can
also be used to mean ‘it is the reason why’, as in (62)–(63), a meaning similar to that of
nakol ni ‘reason why’, discussed later below.

(62) nontanda ya koootik pay laeng iya Ibadoy chiya Kabayan, nontan=la ja ka- Yöotik pej laeng ?ija ?ibaloj dijo kabahan
time-past=away LK ABSTN-few still NOM/PROX Ibaloy LOC/PROX Kabayan
gapo ta ensemekcha ya pasiya i tootoo
gapo ta fan-somak=da ja pasija ?ji CV-to?o
because PotPATV/EN-love=3+/GEN LK very NOM PL-person
‘a long time ago the Ibaloy people in Kabayan were few, it is why they love their
people very much (and they want to mummify them)’
**Subordinate Clauses**

(63) *niman* ni *abos ja tempo yi* inamtara ya baray
*niman* ni *?abos ja tempo ji* <in>ʔamta=da ja wada=j
time-present GEN only LK time LK/ji <PATV/PFT>know=3+/GEN LK exist=NOM

*meking, gapo ta* barama ali iray turista
makiŋ *gapo ta* wada=ma ?ali ?ida=j turista
mummy because exist=then toward 3+/NOM=NOM tourist

‘it is only nowadays that they know there are the mummies, it is why tourists come here’

(64) *si* Meklay, *gapo ta* singa bolgang, dinmaw chi Atok
*si* meklay *gapo ta* siŋa bolgaŋ <im>law di ?atok
NOM/PERS Meklay because like bandit <ACTV/PFT>go LOC Atok

‘as for Meklay, because he is like a bandit, he went to Atok’

(65) *inaschaw* sota abalo ja engoney ni
ʔina-sodaw sota ?a-balo ja ?aN-ʔonaj ni
STAPATV/PFT-surprise NOM/rec STAPATV/PFT-widow LK ACTV/PFT-see GEN

palata tan balitok chi chet’al ja nag’asop si’kato *gapo ta*
palata tan balitok di dat’al ja naj-ʔasop si’gato *gapo ta*
silver and gold LOC floor LK STA THMV /PFT-near 3/IND because

*naybagat* pay laeng i dekeb
naj-bagat paj laeng ?i lakab
POT THMV/PFT-lock still NOM door

‘the widow was surprised to see silver and gold on the floor near him because the door was still locked’

**nakol ni** The subordinating conjunction *nakol /nakol/ means ‘it is the reason why’, and takes a Genitive-marked complement clause. The complement clause is usually introduced by the common Genitive determiner *ni /ni/. However, a demonstrative determiner is also possible, like *nima /nima/ ‘GEN/DIST’ in (67).

(66) *nakol* ni *ema’kes* i nakapankena!
*nakol* ni ?ama-ʔakas ?i naka=pan-kan-a
reason why GEN/UnSTATV/CNTV-fall NOM 1/GEN/ASP=PATV/PROG-eat-PATV/PROG

‘that is why what you are eating falls down!’

When the complement clause is introduced by a Genitive demonstrative determiner, the entire subordinate clause introduced by *nakol* must follow the independent clause expressing the reason.

(67) echakel i trapik, *nakol* nima edaruwak
ʔa-dakal ?i trapik nakol nima ?a-ladaw=ak
STAPATV/PFT-many NOM traffic reason why GEN/DIST STAPATV/PFT-late=1/NOM

‘there was a lot of traffic, that is why I am late’
A Genitive demonstrative pronoun, like niman /niman/, can stand for the entire comple­ment clause, which in turn follows it separated by a short intonation break. In this case, the subordinate clause is pragmatically marked.

\[(68) \quad \text{kimalabka} \quad \text{chi atol, nakol niman,} \quad \text{na'kes} \quad i \quad \text{tangeb ni camera} \quad \text{na-?akas} \quad ?i \quad \text{ta?ab ni camera} \quad \text{POTPatV/PFT-fall} \quad \text{NOM lid GEN camera} \]

‘you climbed on the stone wall, that is why the camera’s lid fell’

**isonga** The subordinating conjunction isonga [ʔiʔoŋa] /ʔisoŋa/ ‘therefore, hence’ consists of two parts; iso /ʔiso/ and nga /ʔja/. In Ilokano, nga is a linker, and the combination iso=nga also means ‘therefore, hence’. The form iso functions as an extension predicate taking a linked complement clause. Although Ibaloy does not have nga as its linker, there is evidence that nga behaves like one, in that iso can occur without nga when followed by a second-order adverb, like ngarod ‘resultative; then, indeed’. In this case, the sequence “iso + adverb” is followed by the Ibaloy linker ja (or one of its allomorphs), as shown in (69). Finally, the subordinate clause follows the independent clause.

\[(69) \quad \text{say ngaawko son si'kayo ya amerikano, baka} \quad \text{say ja?aw=ko so=n si?ga?o ja amerikano baka} \quad \text{TOP dislike=1/GEN OBL=GEN/PERS 2+/IND LK white people might} \quad \text{jokaisi 'jan} \quad i \quad \text{asebayo, isongarod ya} \quad \text{jok=i 'jan ?i ?asawa=jo ?iso=ngarod ja} \quad 2+/GEN/ASP=THMV/CONTV-divorce NOM spouse=2+/GEN hence=indeed LK} \]

\[(70) \quad \text{nan'obda ni katekist ni four years, isonga barangoy} \quad \text{nan'obla ni katekist ni four years ?iso=nga wada=ŋo=j} \quad \text{ACTV/PFT-work GEN catechist GEN four years hence=LK exist=also=NOM} \quad \text{ootik ja pamatimi} \quad \text{chi simbaan} \quad \text{small, little LK GER/IPF-believe=1+/GEN LOC church} \quad \text{?o?tik ja paN-pati=mi di simba?an} \quad \text{small, little LK GEN-paternity=also NOM divorce} \quad \text{small, little LK GER/IPF-believe=1+/GEN LOC church} \quad \text{opa?i} \quad \text{ja} \quad \text{pamatimi} \quad \text{chi} \quad \text{simbaan} \quad \text{small, little LK GEN paternity=also NOM divorce} \quad \text{\textit{he worked as a catechist for four years, hence we have some belief in the church}} \]

\[(71) \quad \text{naagangak} \quad \text{isonga naolawak} \quad \text{na-?aga=ak} \quad \text{?iso=nga na-?olaw=ak} \quad \text{STAPatV/PFT-hungry=1/NOM hence=LK STAPatV/PFT-dizzy=1/NOM} \quad \text{\textit{I was hungry therefore I felt dizzy}} \]
(72) *tep nonta mimotok ira chi Pangasinan*
top nonta <im>motok ?ida di pangasinan
because when-past <ACTV/PFT>arrive 3+/NOM LOC Pangasinan

*in'ancha i chonchontog, isonga si'kato i*
<in> ?onaj-an=da ?i CVC-dontog ?iso=nga si'gato ?i
<LOCV/PFT>see-LOCV=3+/GEN NOM MULT-mountain hence=lk 3/IND NOM

*inonodcha ingkatod mimotok ira chiya*
<in> ?onod=da ?iŋkatod <im>motok ?ida dija
<PATV/PFT>follow=3+/GEN until <ACTV/PFT>arrive 3+/NOM LOC/PROX

Benguet
benguet
Benguet

‘because when they arrived in Pangasinan they saw the mountains, they followed
them until they arrived here in Benguet’

(73) *nem baray echom ja kolong ya ina’kal i tangebto,*
nom wada=j ?adom ja kolog ja ?ina-lokal ?i tagob=to
but exist=NOM other lk coffin lk PotPATV/PFT-remove NOM lid=3/GEN

*isonga kinan ni otot sota echom ya parte nonta meking*
?iso=nga <in>kan ni ?otot sota ?adom ja parte nonta makiŋ
hence=lk <PATV/PFT>eat GEN mouse NOM/REC other lk part GEN/REC mummy

chima Ambakdet
dima ?ambaklot
LOC/DIST Ambakdet

‘but there are other coffins whose lids have been removed, and so the mice ate the
parts of the mummies in Ambakdet’

(74) *nem sama kolongcha ket kinan i diyek, isonga pokel*
nom sama kolog=da kat <in>kan ?i lijkok ?iso=nga pokal
but top/DIST coffin=3+/GEN TPLK <PATV/PFT>eat NOM termite hence=lk bone

ni abos i abay’an
ni ?abos ?i ?a-baja-an
GEN only NOM PotLOCV/PFT-leave-LOCV

‘but as for their coffins there, the termites ate them, therefore what is left is only
the bones’

44.5 “No Wonder” Clauses

The subordinating conjunction *ambo et /?ambo ?at/ ‘no wonder’ comprises the second-
order adverb *et /?at/ ‘instead’. Since *ambo* never occurs without *et* with that meaning, the
sequence “ambo + et” is analysed as a single unit. *Ambo et* is best translated into English
as ‘no wonder’. It shows some surprise from the side of the speaker. The subordinating
conjunction *ambo et* takes a complement clause introduced by *i*, as in (75), or *ja* or *ji* (or
one of their allomorphs), as in (76)–(77).
44.6 Concessive Clauses

Concessive clauses are introduced by the subordinating conjunction angken ‘even though, although, never mind if’ or pa’ja ni ‘despite the fact’.

angken Angken /ʔaŋken/ is commonly used to introduce a concessive clause. It only optionally takes the linker ja (or one of its allomorphs), as in (80)–(81). The concessive clause may precede or follow the independent clause.

(75) ambo et i baraka chi piyesta, ka’jemmo gayam si’kato
Tambo ?at ?i wada=ka di piyesta ga?jam=no gayam si?gato
ambo et_i no wonder NOM exist=2/NOM LOC party friend=2/GEN so 3/IND

‘no wonder that you are at the party, she is your friend’

(76) ambo eta enongkal ni dogan, chimamba ni
?ambo ?at=a ?aN-togal ni logan <im>d?amwa ni
ambo eta no wonder=LK ACTV/PFT-buy GEN car, vehicle <ACTV/PFT>success, progress GEN

gardento

‘no wonder that he bought a car, he became successful with his garden’

In (77), the second-order adverb gayam ‘so, sudden realization’ occurs before the complement clause, which is introduced by the linker ji. Here the subordinating conjunction ambo et functions as an extension predicate.

(77) ambo et gayam ji enongkalka ni candy, ?ambo ?at gayam ji ?aN-togal ni candy
no wonder so LK/ji ACTV/PFT-buy=2/NOM GEN candy

in’aknantoka nen agim ni pilak
?in-?akan-an=to=ka nen ?agi=m ni pilak
BNFV/PFT-give-BNFV=3/GEN=2/NOM PERS sibling=2/GEN GEN money

‘no wonder you bought some candys, your brother gave you money’

(78) dimawkami chi ba’ba, angken ekak amta ja
<im>law=kami di wa?wa ?aŋkon ?ogak ?amta ja
<ACTV/PFT>go=1+/NOM LOC low-lands even neg+1/GEN know LK

mannangoy
man-naJJoj
ACTV/IPF-swim

‘we went to the low-lands even though I do not know how to swim’
angken ekak mekikan, nak mannikay
?aqkan ?agak moki-kan nak man-nigaj
even neg+1/NOM ACTV/IPF-eat 1/NOM/DIR ACTV/IPF-fish, hunt for food

‘even though I won’t join the feast, I will go and fish’

kaitcha met laeng, angkena napnoan ni
gait=da mat laeng ?aqkon=a na-pano-an ni
friend=3+/GEN still even=LK STALOCV/PFT-full-LOCV GEN

bebadawu tan dedarmsis
cabalaw tan ca-lamsis
RSMLN-prejudice and RSMLN-foolish

‘he is still their friend, never mind if full of prejudice and foolishness’

sota bedatcha ket etattooan, isongna
sota balat=da kat ?a-tatoo-an ?iso=nga
NOM/REC skin=3+/GEN TP-LK POTLOCV/PFT-tattoo-LOCV hence=LK

makaoney, angkena a’kalencha sota bedatto,
maka-?onaj ?aqkon=a ?akal-an=da sota balat=to
POTACTIONV/IPF-see even=LK remove-PATV/IPF=3+/GEN NOM/REC skin=3/GEN

kaon’onong sota tattoo tep inaydechek
ka=?on-?ono!J sota
HAB=ACTV/IPF-remain NOM/REC tattoo because POTTHMV/PFT-deep

‘as for their skin, it is tattooed, and it (the tattoo) is visible, even if they remove
his skin, the tattoo remains because it is (made) deep’

pa’ja ni Pa’ja ni /pa’?ja ni/ ‘despite (the fact), although’ consists of pa’ja /pa’?ja/ and
the Genitive determiner ni /ni/. Thus, it takes a Genitive complement. It is possible for
some second-order adverbs, such as =ngo /=IJo/ ‘too, also’, to occur between pa’ja and
ni, as in (84)–(85).

The whole construction expresses some regret and unhappiness on the part of the speaker.
The subordinate clause usually expresses something which is true and has some negative
outcome.

pa’ja ni dimawak chi payew, nandigatak
pa’ja ni <im>law di pajaw nan-ligat=ak
despite GEN <ACTV/PFT>go=1/NOM LOC field ACTV/PFT-suffer, difficult=1/NOM

ni anap ni tangeb ni camera
ni ?anap ni tapb ni camera
GEN find GEN lid GEN camera

‘although I went to the field, I found it difficult to find the lid of the camera’

pa’ja ni pinidik si’kato, chakal i ngaavuto
pa’ja ni <in>pili=k si?gato dakal ?i pa?aw=to
despite GEN <PATV/PFT>choose=1/GEN 3/IND many NOM dislike=3/GEN

‘although I chose him, he has many faults’
44.7 Substitutive Clauses

The subordinating conjunction *imbisnga* /?imbisJga/ 'instead, on the contrary' comprises two parts; *imbis* /?imbis/ 'instead' and *nga* /ua/ 'linker', both probably borrowed from Ilokano *embes nga*. The linker *nga* may also be realised as *=a* (one of the allomorphs of *ja*), as in (88)–(89).

(84) *pa?jango ni dimawak chi Ba’choy,*

 (*pa?ja=go ni <im>law=ak di ba?doj*

despite=also GEN <ACTV/PFT>go=l/NOM LOC Ba’choy

*nabnabdeyak* tep tiyed i chalan

INTNS-STAPATV/PFT-tired=l/NOM because steep NOM path way

‘although I only went to Ba’choy, I am very tired because the way was steep’

(85) *pa?jango ni napsedak, simaket i*

 (*pa?ja=go ni na-pasal=ak <im>sakit ?i*

despite=also GEN STAPATV/PFT-sated=l/NOM <AcTV /PFT>-sick NOM

*ekesko*

*tagas=ko*

*stomach=1/GEN*

‘although I am sated, my stomach got sick’

44.7 Substitutive Clauses

The subordinating conjunction *imbisnga* /?imbisJga/ ‘instead, on the contrary’ comprises two parts; *imbis* /?imbis/ ‘instead’ and *nga* /ua/ ‘linker’, both probably borrowed from Ilokano *embes nga*. The linker *nga* may also be realised as *=a* (one of the allomorphs of *ja*), as in (88)–(89).

(86) *nimana twentieth century, kowan irani iBontoc yi si’kara*

*niman=a twentieth century kowan ?ida=ni ?i-bontoc ji si?gada timePRESENT=LK twentieth century say PL=GEN FROM-Bontoc LK/ji 3+/IND

*i engipangdo ni tattoo yi *imbisnga sota

*?i ?aqi-pajlo ni tattoo ji ?imbis=ya sota*

*NOM ACTV/PFT-first GEN tattoo LK/ji instead=LK NOM/REC

cpangdoan ni totoo, chiya Kabayan

*?a-pajlo-an=a CV-to?o dija kabajan*

STALocV/PFT-first-LOCV GEN PL-person LOC/PROX Kabayan

‘now in the 20th century, the people from Bontoc say that they are the ones who were the first to tattoo, but instead, as for the first place, it is here, in Kabayan’

(87) *imbisnga chiyaak, ondawak chi Bagiw*

*?imbis=ya dija=ak ?on-law=ak di bagiw*

*instead=LK LOC/PROX=1/NOM ACTV/IPF-go=1/NOM LOC Baguio*

‘instead of being here, I will go to Baguio City’

(88) *imbisna menganan, menginomak*

*?imbis=a maN-kan=ak maN-?inom=ak*

*instead=Lk ACTV/IPF-eat=1/NOM ACTV/IPF-drink=1/NOM*

‘instead of eating, I will drink’
A manner clause is usually introduced by *singa* /siŋa/ ‘as if’. *Singa* also has prepositional uses (Chapter 35).

(90) nontanda, say chakapesing, baray
nontan=la saj daka=posiq wada=j
time-past=away TOP 3+/GEN/ASP=way, method exist=NOM

chakadaga ya kedot ono cañao ja man-kapi, *singa*
daka=daga-a ja kalot ?ono cañao ja man-kapi siŋa
3+/GEN/ASP=do-PATV/CNTV LK kedot or cañao LK ACTV/IPF-feast as if

si'katoy pangchowmo mowan ni kasat, ni palad ono bendision ya
si?gato=j poN-kodaw=mo mowan ni kasat ni palad ?ono bendision ja
3/IND=NOM GEN/IPF-beg=2/GEN again GEN fortune GEN luck or benediction LK

i'akan nonta atiy ya too sononta
Ti-?akan nonta ?a-taj ja to?o so=nonta
THMV/IPF-give GEN/REC PotPatV/PFT-die LK person OBL=GEN/REC

mabiday
ma-bilaj
STA/V/MA-alive

'a long time ago, as for what they did, they celebrated a *kedot* or *cañao* feast, as if that was the way you beg for fortune, luck or benediction that the dead people give to those alive’

(91) si'katoy paraala ni toktok, *singa* si'katoy apocha
si?gato=j pada-?ala ni toktok siŋa si?gato=j ?apo=da
3/IND=NOM INSTIGN-get GEN head as if 3/IND=NOM leader=3+/GEN

nodtana dogad
nodtan=a logad
LOC/REC=LK place

‘he is the one for getting heads as if he is their leader in the place’

(92) jet *singa* mimapteng si Cambubu
jat siŋa <im>mapatŋ si cambubu
and then as if <ACTV/PFT>good NOM/PERS Cambubu

‘then as if Cambubu got better’
(93) *singa intapitapicha i kaitcha no matey*

*siqá ?i?-CVCV-tapi=da ?i ga?it=da no ma-taj*

as if  THMv/Pft-Distr-store NOM friend=3+/GEN if/when UnStatV/IpF-die

'as if they kept their friends when dead'
Chapter 45

Coordination

There are two main strategies for conjoining clauses in Ibaloy. One way is the simple juxtaposition of the clause, sometimes referred to as a “zero strategy” or a “paratactic construction”. The other way uses an overt lexical connector.

45.1 Paratactic Coordination

The most simple way to conjoin two clauses is a paratactic construction without an overt marker of co-ordination. The relationship between the two clauses is determined pragmatically.

In many cases, the implied meaning is one of temporal sequence. What is described in the first clause occurs first, and what is described in subsequent clauses occurs at a later time. Often a causal relationship is also implied. What is reported in (usually) the first clause or clauses can be viewed as the cause for what is reported in subsequent clauses.

(1) sakeya akew dimaw chi cañao si’kato, inapsel si’kato,
sakaj=a ?ak̪aw <lm>law di cañao si?gato na-posal si?gato
one=LK day <ACTV/PFT>go LOC feast 3/IND StaPatV/PFT-sated 3/IND

egmaka’akad si’kato chi baleyto
?og=maka-?akad si?gato di balaj=to
neg=POTACTV/IPF-walk 3/IND LOC house=3/GEN

‘one day he went to a feast, he was sated, he could not walk home’

(2) engankami nontana ma’chem,
?aN-kan=kami nontan=a ma-?adam
ACTV/PFT-eat=1+/NOM time-past=łK StaV/MA-evening

edabiankamidman
?a-labi-an=kami=dman
POTLocV/PFT-night-LocV=1+/NOM=Loc/Dist/PRO

‘we ate that evening, we were overcome by the night’
Paratactic Coordination

(3) sota panga ja tinongawan nonta aki ket
sota paja ja <in>toyaw-an nonta ?aki kat
NOM/REC branch LK <LOCV/PFT>sit-LOCV GEN/REC monkey TpLK

akatdo, na'kas i aki chi dota
?o-katlo na-tkas ?i ?aki di lota
POTPatV/PFT-break POTPatV/PFT-fall NOM monkey LOC ground

‘as for the branch the monkey sat on, it broke, the monkey fell on the ground’

(4)  ingad sota daki ni posa, atakotakot
?inaN-tala sota laki ni posa ?a-cv-cv-takot
ActV/PFT-get NOM/REC man GEN cat STA PatV/PFT-INTNS-afraid

irasota otot
?ida=sota ?otot
3+/NOM=NOM/REC mouse

‘the man got a cat, the mice were very afraid/scared’

Temporal succession is very common when one is giving instructions, as in a recipe.

(5) metadtad sota apag ni enkokontiling, metadtad sota
ma-tadtad sota ?apag ni ?an-cv-kontili:u ma-tadtad sota
POTPatV/IPF-cut NOM/REC meat GEN STA/EN-tiny POTPatV/IPF-cut NOM/REC

doriyas tan chipoljo tan karot ni enkokontiling, maoksan
lorijas tan dipoljo tan karot ni ?an-cv-kontili:u ma-?oksan
green beans and onion and carrot GEN STA/EN-ITER/PL-tiny POTPatV/IPF-rinse

sota pangsit bikon ni chanom, ...
sota pausit bikon ni danom
NOM/REC Chinese noodle GEN water

‘let’s cut the meat in tiny pieces, let’s cut the green-beans and onion and carrots in small pieces, let’s rinse the Chinese noodles with water, …’

The two clauses may also denote temporal simultaneity.

(6)  barakamid simbaan, baras Elvira,
  wada=kami=d simba?an wada=s elvira
  exist=1+/NOM=LOC church exist=NOM/PERS Elvira

nan'aspol kamid man
nan?aspol=kami=dman
ActV/PFT-meet=1+/NOM=LOC/DIST/PRO

‘we were in the church, Elvira was in the church, we met there’

Sometimes a contrast may be implied.

(7)  nonta ebayagda chi Kabejan, say bedolaki ja
nonta ?a-bajag=da di kabajan saj CV-balolaki ja
when-past STA PatV/PFT-long time=away LOC Kabayan TOP PL-bachelor LK

aychi i asebato irakamaokip chi sakeya baley,
?a:jdi 2i ?asisa=to ?idaka=ma-?ogip di sakaj=a balaj
not-exist NOM spouse=3/GEN 3+/NOM/ASP=POTPatV/IPF-sleep LOC one=LK house
Another strategy for conjoining clauses is with an overt lexical connector between the clauses. Ibaloy has the following main connectors.

- jet/yet /jat/ ‘and then’
- tan /tan/ ‘and’
- ono /ono/ ‘or’
- asan /asan/ ‘then’
- nem /nem/ ‘but’
- ja/ya, =a, =n /ja, =a, =n/ ‘and (COOR)’

The logical relationship between the clauses tends to change according to the type of connector used. It can involve conjunction (a and b, neither a nor b), disjunction (a or b) or exclusion (a and not b).

**jet** The conjunction jet /jat/ (realised as [‘dəat’] when stressed and as [jat’] when un-stressed) is used to conjoin clauses in temporal sequence and can be translated into English as ‘and then’.

(8) **inankotkot** sota otot chi dota, jet
?inan-soksok sota ?otot di lota jat
ACTV/PFT-bury by scratching NOM/REC mouse LOC earth and then

eq’esogat
?øg=?ø-sogat
neg=POTPATV/PFT-wound
‘the mouse buried himself in the earth, and then he was not hurt’
45.2 Overt Coordination

(9) nansoksok i aki chi kaybowan, jet
nan-soksok ?i ?aki di kajbowan jat
ACTV/PFT-go inside NOM monkey LOC cogon grass and then
pinoolan nonta otot, jet nanpolipolig
<in>porol-an nonta ?otot jat nan-CVCV-polig
<LocV/PFT>apply fire-LocV GEN/REC mouse and then ACTV/PFT-distr-roll
‘the monkey went inside the cogon grass, and then the mouse applied fire to it, and then the monkey kept rolling itself’

(10) sota panga ja tinongawan nonta aki ket
sota papa ja <in>tojaw-an nonta ?aki kat
NOM/REC branch LK <LocV/PFT>-sit-Locv GEN/REC monkey TPLK
ekatdo, jet na’kes i aki chi dota,
?a-katlo jat na-akas ?i ?aki di lota
POTPATV/PFT-break and then POTPATV/PFT-fell NOM monkey LOC earth, ground
jet etey
jat ?a-toj
and then POTPATV/PFT-die
‘as for the branch on which the monkey sat, it broke and then the monkey fell on the ground and then it died’

(11) ondawkito nem medabi no mamman
?on-law=kito nam m?labi no madama=n
ActV/IPF-go=1&2+/NOM if/when STAPATV/IPF-night if/when during=LK
naogip si’kato, jet tayo al’en i pilakto,
na-?ogip si’gato jat tajo ?ala-an ?i pilak=to
POTPATV/PFT-sleep 3/IND and then 1&2+/GEN get-PATV/IPF NOM money=3/GEN
jet iakantayo soni abalo
jat ?i-akan=tajo so=ni ?a-balo
and then THMV/IPF-get=1&2+/GEN OBL=GEN STAPATV/PFT-widower
‘let’s go at night when he is sleeping, and then we go and get his money, and then we give it to the widower’

tan The conjunction *tan* /tan/ ‘and’ is primarily used to conjoin phrases (Chapter 32). However, it is also used to conjoin clauses. It occurs between two clauses that may act as a single constituent and share complements and modifiers. The constituents are often simultaneous, and rarely sequential.

(12) imoran tan pimowek
<im>?odan tan <im>powak
<ACTV/PFT>rain and <ACTV/PFT>storm
‘it rained and stormed’
(13) \( \textit{jet pojokancha ni bolong ni kapani say} \)  
and then rub-LOC/IPF=3+/GEN GEN leaf GEN kapani plant so that

\( \textit{egmabikis tan say eg'onsekep i insikto chi} \)  

\( \textit{?a=kapsot=tan na-?ama=ak} \)  
STAPATV/PFT-weak=1/NOM and STAPATV/PFT-old man=1/NOM

'then they rub on (the dead person) with kapani leaves so that it won't get worms and so that the insects will not enter his/her body'

(14) \( \textit{ekapsotak tan naamaak} \)  

\( \textit{ma-kadsan=ak tan ?a-tolad=ak} \)  
STAV/MA-strong=1/NOM and STAPATV/PFT-brave=1/NOM

'I am weak and I am an old man'

(15) \( \textit{manka'jemkita tan mantinolongkita!} \)  

\( \textit{man-ga?jam=kita tan man<-REC>help=1&2/NOM} \)  
ACTV/IPF-friend=1&2/NOM and ACTV/IPF<-REC>help=1&2/NOM

'let’s be friends and help each other'

(16) \( \textit{nodta kiligto ira, baray engkakambaleg ja bato,} \)  

\( \textit {?a-laga ni kelasi=n porma, tan baray diyangto} \)  
POTPatv/PFT-do GEN variety=LK shape, form, size and exist=NOM cave=3/GEN

'at its sides there are huge rocks made of a variety of shapes, and it had a cave'

(18) \( \textit{etoling i bedatcha tan ekolot i bowekcha} \)  

\( \textit{?a-tolig ?i balat=da tan ?a-kolot ?i bowak=da} \)  
STAPATV/PFT-dark NOM skin=3+/GEN and STAPATV/PFT-curl NOM hair=3+/GEN

'their skin is dark and their hair is curly'

(19) \( \textit{ootik ira tan baray ikolcha!} \)  

\( \textit{?o?otik ?ida tan wada=j ?ikol=da} \)  
small 3+/NOM and exist=NOM tail=3+/GEN

'they are small and they have tails'
That conjoined verbs may function as a single constituent can be exemplified in a number of ways.

First, the negative auxiliary eg= together with the Nominative pronoun ira 3+/NOM have scope over the two conjoined verbs.

\[
\text{(21) sota bibii, eg'ira na'agaagang tan NOM/REC PL-woman neg=3+/NOM POTPATV/PFT-DISTR-hungry and na'na'babaw cvc-na-?8baw POTPATV/PFT-DISTR-thirsty 'as for those woman, they are never hungry and never thirsty'}
\]

The subordinating conjunction no ‘if/when’ applies to both the conjoined verbs.

\[
\text{(22) nem no ondames i kalombasato tan medoem nam no ?on-lamas ?i kalombasa=to tan ma-lo?am but if/when ACTV/IPF-fruit NOM squash=3/GEN and UNSTATV/IPF-ripen 'but when his squash will fruit and ripe'}
\]

Both conjoined verbs are the head of a nominal relative clause introduced by the linker =a (allomorph of ja) and act as predicate.

\[
\text{(23) matekal tan etoleda bii i asebato matakal tan ?a-tolad=a bi?i ?i ?asowa=to clever and STAV/MA-brave=LK woman NOM spouse=3/GEN 'it is the clever and brave woman who is his wife'}
\]

**ono** The connector ono /?ono/ ‘or’ is used to coordinate phrases (Chapter 32) as well as clauses. It has the following main functions.

It commonly indicates a or/and b.

\[
\text{(24) yet menginom ono ipoyokcha chi timok ono jat maN-?inom ?ono ?i-pojok=da di timok ?ono and then ACTV/IPF-drink or THMV/IPF-rub=3+/GEN LOC forehead or}
\]
It is also commonly used to provide an alternative expression, as in the following examples.

(25) jet mengirakchak ono mengidoto ira ni bolong ni bayabas
jat mañi-dakdak ?ono mañi-loto ?ida ni bolon ni bajabas
and then ActV/IPF-boil or ActV/IPF-cook 3+/NOM GEN leaf GEN guava

‘then they boil or cook some guava leaves’

(26) chakaira pa’tan ono chakaira
3+/GEN/ASP=3+/NOM CAUSPat/IPF-stand, be at or 3+/GEN/ASP=3+/NOM

paedagey chi sangowan-an
pa-?alagaj di saapowan-an
CAUSPat/IPF-stand up LOC front-LOCN

‘they make them stand or they make them stand up at the front’

Finally, it is used to indicate either a or b. This use is less frequent.

(27) isonga chima echom ya dogad, chakaatrasi ono
?iso=nga dima ?odom ja logad daka=atras-i ?ono
hence=Lk LOC/DIST other Lk place 3+/GEN/ASP=attract-LocV/CntV or

chakatakoti i kastos ni aramag ni Ibaloy ingkatod
daka=takot-i ?i kastos ni ?adamag ni ?ibaloy ?ipkatod
3+/GEN/ASP=Scare-LocV/CntV Nom expense GEN aramag GEN Ibaloy until

niman
niman
time-present

‘therefore in other places, the Ibaloy have been either attracted or scared by the expenses of the aramag until now’

asan The conjunction asan /?asan/ indicates temporal succession. The second-order adverb nin /nin/ ‘first’ usually occurs in the clause which temporally precedes that introduced by asan.

(28) katekist nin i obdato, asan emanmayor
catekist nin ?i ?obla=to ?asan ?eman-mayor
catechist first Nom job=3/Gen then ActV/CntV-mayor

‘his job was first a catechist before he became a mayor’
45.2 Overt Coordination

(29) pankasalkayo \( \text{nìn, asan koyokamankadba} \)

\text{pan=kasal=kajo nin 'asan kajoka=man-kadowa}

\text{ACTV/IMP-wed=2+/NOM first then 2+/NOM/ASP=ACTV/IPF-companion}

'get married first, then we live together'

(30) mesket \( \text{nìn ni sakeya akew asan emay'iyan chi salaw} \)

\text{ma-sogad nin ni sakaj=a ?akaw 'asan ?amaj-?ijan di salaw}

\text{UNSTATV/IPF-wait first GEN one=LK day then POTTHMV/CNTV-put LOC jar}

'let us wait first a day, then it is put in the jar'

(31) mesepol ya asalon'at \( \text{tan mapteng i itsura ni} \)

\text{mosapol ja ?a-salon?at tan ma-potaj ?i itsura ni need}

\text{Lk STAPATV/PFT-health and STAV/MA-good NOM way, picture GEN}

\text{biyagto, naanos tan maekan, asan baray}

\text{bijag=to na-?anos tan ma-?akan 'asan wada=j life=3/GEN STAPATV/PFT-patient and STAV/MA-give then exist=NOM}

\text{kasatto}

\text{kasat=to luck, fortune=3/GEN}

'it is necessary that the way of his life is healthy and good, patient and generous, then he will have fortune'

\text{nem} The connector nem /nem/ is best translated into English as 'but', and links clauses where the second is contrary to an expectation created in the first.

(32) jet \( \text{dimeteg sota aki chi naychalem ni} \)

\text{jat <im>latag sota ?aki di naj-dalam ni and then <ACTV/PFT>dive NOM/REC monkey LOC STATMVM/PFT-under GEN}

\text{chanom, nem eg'alima didimaw}

\text{danom nam ?og=?ali=ma <im>CV-law}

\text{water but neg=toward=then <ACTV/PFT>ITER/PL-go}

'then the monkey dove under the water, but it never came back'

(33) isonga \( \text{bimadogot i ekeston pasiya, nem say takday} \)

\text{?iso=nga <im>balogot ?i ?ogos=to=n pasija nam saj taklaj hence=Lk <ACTV/PFT>huge NOM stomach=3/GEN=Lk very but TOP arm, hand}

\text{tan sedito ket kimotika kimotik}

\text{tan sul=to kot <im>kotik=a <im>kotik}

\text{and leg, foot=3/GEN TPLK <ACTV/PFT>shrink=Lk <ACTV/PFT>shrink}

'therefore his stomach became huge, but as for his arms and legs, they shrank and shrank'
(34) *inaknanto* sonen *pangamaanto, nem* egto <in>*?akan-an=to* so=nan *pajama?an=to nam* ?ag=to <LOCV/PFT>*give-LOCV=3/GEN OBL=GEN/PERS uncle=3/GEN but neg=3/GEN*

*sinaknitan*<in>*saknit-an* <LOCV/PFT>*peel-LOCV* 'he gave it to his uncle, but he did not peel it'

(35) *yet* say *piyancha* koma *ket* *bonoencha* sota jat saj pijan=da koma kat bono-an=da sota and then TOP like, want=3+/GEN wish TP/LK kill-PATV/IPF=3+/GEN NOM/REC *oleg, nem* aychiy kaonposi ya onbono ?olag nam ?ajdi=ja=on-posi ja ?on-bono snake but not-exist=NOM HAB=ACTV/IPF-afford, physically able LK ACTV/IPF-kill 'then as for what they wished, they would kill the snake, but there was no one who was physically able to do it'

(36) *tep* nontan ket *barrio, nem* sina’datan nen top nontan kat *barrio* nem <in>*sa?dat-an* nan because time/past TPLK district but <LOCV/PFT>*change-LOCV GEN/PERS* *Marcos ni barangay marcos* ni badaqaj Marcos GEN barangay 'because back then the district was the barrio, but Marcos changed it into barangay'

(37) *baray* sabiyen nodta dotowan, *nem* aychiy *teyteyto* wada=j sabijon nodta loto-an nam ?ajdi=j tajtaj=to exist=NOM door LOC/REC cook-LOCN but not-exist=NOM stair=3/GEN 'there is a door in the kitchen, but it had no stairs'
45.2 Overt Coordination

(39) **kamon** kakamansowilcho, **nem**
kamo=n kaka=man-sowildo nom  
NEGCNDTN=LK 2/NOM/ASP=ACTV/IPF=salary but

impan’iskoydataka
Impan-iskojia=taka  
CAUSThmV/Pft-study=1/GEN&2/NOM

‘you would not be receiving your salary (now), but for the fact that they sent you to school’

(40) **kamon** mimotokka **ali**, **nem** nansolatak
kamo=n <im>motok=ka ?ali nam nan-solat=ak  
NEGCNDTN=LK <ACTV/PFT>arrive=2/NOM toward but ACTV/PFT-write=1/NOM

son si’kak
so=n si?gak  
OBL=GEN/PERS 1/IND

‘you would not have arrived, except that I wrote to you’

(41) **kamon** nan’asebakita, **nem**
kamo=n nan-asa=wa=kita nam  
NEGCNDTN=LK ACTV/PFT-marry=2+/NOM but

impilitchaka son si’kak
?in-pilit=da=ka so=n si?gak  
TMV/PFT-force=3+/GEN=2/NOM OBL=GEN/PERS 1/IND

‘we would not be married (now), except that they forced me onto you’

(42) **kamon** nansepatoska, **nem** tinongkalko
kamo=n nan-sapatos=ka nam <in>tonggal=ko  
NEGCNDTN=LK ACTV/PFT-shoe=2/NOM but <PATV/PFT>buy=1/GEN

‘you would not be wearing shoes, but for the fact that I bought them’

Another way to express (42) is the following.

(43) nansepatoska tep tinongkalko
nan-sapatos=ka tap <in>tonggal=ko  
ACTV/PFT-shoe=2/NOM because <PATV/PFT>buy=1/GEN

‘you wear shoes because I bought them’

Like **kamon**, **ambon** /?ambon/ consists of **ambo** /?ambo/ plus the linker =n /=n/. It functions as a linked extension predicate and is used to introduce a negative situation which is counteracted by the dependent clause. The dependent clause follows the main clause with **ambo=n** and may take **nem** ‘but’.
(44) **ambon** kimedsangka,  
chakal i agas ja  
?ambo=n  
<im>kodsaj=ka  
dakal ?i ?agas ja  
NEG CNDTN=LK <ACTV/PFT>=strong=2/NOM many NOM medicine LK  

*kinanmo*  
<in>kan=mo  
<PATV/PFT>=eat=2/GEN  

‘you would have not become strong, (but) you ate many medicines’

(45) **ambon** nan’iskoydaka nem  
?ambo=n nan-?iskojla=ka  
NOM medicine LK  

*inatngantoka*  
<in>?ataq-an=to=ka  
<LOCV/PFT>=help-LocV=3/GEN=2/NOM GEN government  

‘you would have not studied, but the government helped you’

(46) **ambon** dimawak chiman nem  
?ambo=n  
<im>law=ak  
diman nem  

*inimbitarchaak*  
<in>imbitar=da=ak  
<PATV/PFT>=invite=3+/GEN=1/NOM  

‘I would have not gone there, but they invited me’

**ja** The coordinating conjunction **ja** (with allomorphs: **ja** [ɭːa], **ya** [ya], =a and =n) is homophonous with the linker **ja** whose function is to mark the beginning of subordinate constructions, such as relative clauses (§33.1) or complement clauses (§40.2 and Chapter 41).

As a coordinator, **ja** conjoins two finite clauses, as shown in the following examples.

(47) **yet** simbiray **abaodega** baley ja  
jot  
<in>sabi=da=j  
To-balag=a  
balaj ja  
and then <LOCV/PFT>=reach, join=3/GEN=NOM StaPatV/PFT-big=LK house COOR  

kowan nen tatangto yi...  
kowan nen tatang=to ji  
say GEN/PERS father=3/GEN LK/ji  

‘and then they reached a big house and his father said that...’

(48) **idi** eman’a’mes, **nanpotipot** i **oleg** chi takdayto  
?i’li ?aman-cv-?ames nanpotipot  
?i ?olag di taklaj=to  
when ACTV/CNTV-IPF-bathe ACTV/PFT-climb twisting NOM snake LOC arm=3/GEN  

**ya** imbag’anto  
sota daki...  
ja ?in-baga-an=to  
sota laki  
COOR BNFV/PFT-ask-BNFV=3/GEN NOM/REC male  

‘when he was bathing the snake climbed up his arm and asked to that man...’
Sometimes the use of *ja* is deceptive in that it looks as if it marks a relative clause, as in (49)–(52). However, in such cases the coordinating conjunction simply conjoins two clauses. Relativization in Ibaloy is only possible on the Nominative complement, as discussed in §33.1.

(49)  

\[
\text{emengan sota kabang ni kikip ja inchepto yi}  
\text{?amaN-kan sota kabang ni kikip ja <in>?adap=to ji}  
\text{ACTV/CNTV-eat NOM/REC hawk GEN chick LK <PATV/PFT>catch LK/ji}  
\text{dabsan ni bokaw ja jinongjonganted}  
\text{labas-an ni bokaw ja <in>jonjoq-an=to=d}  
\text{pass-THMV/IPF GEN crow COOR <LOCV/PFT>look up-LOCV=3/GEN=LOC}  
\text{naykayang tep emantejab}  
\text{naj-kajaq tap ?aman-tajab}  
\text{STATHMV/PFT-high because ACTV/CNTV-fly}  
\]

‘the hawk was eating a chick that he caught while the crow passed by him and looked up at him because he was flying’

(51)  

\[
\text{nem sota ira echom, no kaspangarigana agicha ya}  
\text{nam sota ?ida ?edom no kaspangaran=a ?agi=da ja}  
\text{but NOM/REC PL other if/when example=LK sibling=3+/GEN COOR}  
\text{piyanton manbatek; dibchi}  
\text{pijan=to=n man-batak libdi}  
\text{like, want=3/GEN=LK ACTV/IPF-tattoo free of charge}  
\]

‘but as for the others, if for example it is their sibling and he wants to get tattooed, it is free of charge’

(52)  

\[
\text{baray marikita biin egto piniyan}  
\text{wada=j madikit=a bi?i=n ?ag=to <in>pijan}  
\text{exist=NOM beautiful woman=LK woman=COOR neg=3/GEN <PATV/PFT>like, want}  
\text{ja mekiasewa}  
\text{ja maki-?asawa}  
\text{LK ACTV/IPF-marry, spouse}  
\]

‘there was an unmarried young woman and she did not want to join in marriage’

The conjunction *ja* is commonly used to link a temporal setting to a following event.
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(53) samanmay tempo ya nangisancha sota
taman=ma=j tempo ja najs=an=da sota
top/dist/pro=then=nom time coor cry-thmV/ipf=3+/gen nom/rec

atey
ʔa-taj
PotPatV/Pft-die

‘it was (during) that time and they cried for the dead’

(54) idi edabas i chowen akew ja nanbiyake
ʔi'liʔa-labasʔi dowa=nʔak=aw ja nan-biyake
when-past PotPatV/Pft-pass nom two=Lk day coor ActV/Pft-make a trip

‘two days have passed and he made a trip’

45.2.1 Verbal Coordinated Syntactic Compounds

Clauses conjoined with tan /tan/ or ono /ʔono/ may show different degrees of syntactic cohesion. When both conjoined clauses are intransitive and share the Nominative complement the latter is only expressed in the second conjoined clause. This occurs more frequently when the Nominative is a full noun phrase and only rarely when a bound pronoun, as in (56). No verb phrase is posited in this work, and clauses are defined as constructions which are headed by a predicate.

(55) nabdey ∅ tan naagang sota daki
na-balaj tan naʔagang sota laki
PotPatV/Pft-tired and PotPatV/Pft-hungry nom/rec man

‘the man was tired and hungry’

(56) mengan ∅ tan menginomkita!
maN-kan tan maN-thnom=kita
ActV/ipf-eat and ActV/ipf-drink=1&2/nom

‘let us eat and drink’

When both conjoined clauses are transitive the following possibilities are available depending on the nature of the complements.

If the two conjoined clauses share both the Genitive Agent and the Nominative complement these complements are only expressed in the second clause. Both complements must be expressed as full noun phrases.

(57) inosil ∅ ∅ tan kinespigan ni echoma aki
<in>ʔosil tan <in>kospig-an ni ?adom=aʔaki
<PatV/Pft>chase and <LocV/Pft>throw-LocV gen some=Lk monkey

iray totoot
ʔida=j cv-toʔo
3+/nom=nom pl-person

‘some monkeys chased and threw the people’
However, if the Genitive Agent is expressed by a bound pronoun, then it must be overtly expressed in both clauses. The full Nominative phrase is instead expressed in the second clause only.

(58)  

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{yet} & \underline{dingkato} & \emptyset \underline{tan \ pinsito} & \underline{sota} \\
\text{jat} & \text{<in>} \text{laga} = \text{to} & \text{tan} & \text{<in>} \text{pati} = \text{to} & \underline{sota} \\
\text{and then} & \text{<PATV/PFT>do} = 3/\text{GEN} & \text{and} & \text{<PATV/PFT>believe} = 3/\text{GEN} & \text{NOM/REC} \\
\text{inbilin} & \text{ni} & \text{oleg} \\
?\text{in-bilin} & \text{ni} & \text{?olag} \\
\text{THM/V/PFT-order} & \text{GEN} & \text{snake} \\
\end{array}
\]

'and then he did and believed what the snake ordered'
Chapter 46

Predicate and Clausal Modification

Ibaloy has several ways to modify predicates and clauses. Negation is one of these. This is mainly with the negative auxiliary "eg= /ʔaq=\), used to negate a declarative verb (§40.1.1), the negative auxiliary "kara= /kada=/ (with variant "ara= /ʔada/), used to form a prohibitive construction (§40.1.2), and the negative extension predicate "aliba /ʔaliwa/ (Chapter 41).

This chapter examines other types of predicate and clausal modifiers and is arranged according to the position of the modifier as before or after the predicate.

46.1 Pre-Modifiers

Modifiers or constituents that act as modifiers can be classified on the basis of the construction they occur in and the function they play in that construction. They include

- topicalised modifiers discussed in §43.1;
- linked auxiliary extension predicates discussed in §40.2;
- linked extension predicates discussed in Chapter 41; and
- adverbs.

Two subtypes of adverbs are identified here. Adverbs of the first type occur right before the predicate they modify and form a syntactic compound with it. These are called "pre-predicate adverbs". Adverbs of the second type occur before the predicate without forming a syntactic compound. These have scope over the entire clause and are called "pre-clausal adverbs".
46.1.1 Pre-Predicate Adverbs

A way to modify predicates is through the use of pre-predicate adverbs, such as mas\textsuperscript{1} /mas/ ‘more’, medjo\textsuperscript{1} ‘somewhat’ and poro\textsuperscript{1} /podo/ ‘whole, entirely, purely’. Nothing can occur between these adverbs and the predicate. Pre-predicate adverbs can be used to modify any predicate (nominal or verbal) as long as its semantics are compatible with that of the adverb. The adverbs mas ‘more’ and medjo ‘somewhat’ are mainly used to modify predicates with some gradable property, while the adverb poro ‘whole, entirely, purely’ is used with predicates that refer to states or concrete entities.

(1) \begin{align*}
say \text{ mas } & \text{ en’amis } \quad i \quad \text{ tapey} \\
saj \text{ mas } & \text{ ?an’amis} \quad \text{ ?i tapaj} \\
\text{so that more STA\textsubscript{V}/EN-tasty} \quad \text{NOM} \quad \text{rice wine} \\
\text{‘so that the rice wine is more tasty’}\end{align*}

(2) \begin{align*}
\text{no \text{ medjo} } & \text{ kimeneng } sota \quad sotsot, \quad \text{edotoma} \\
\text{no \text{ medjo} } & <\text{im}>\text{kanaj} \\
\text{if \text{ somewhat} <\text{ACTV/PFT}>hard} \quad \text{NOM/REC}\quad \text{intestine POTPAT\textsubscript{V}/PFT-cook=then} \\
\text{‘if the intestines/guts somewhat hardened, they are then cooked’}\end{align*}

(3) \begin{align*}
nimana \quad tempo, \quad say \quad emina \quad eman’obda \quad \text{chi} \quad \text{ Municipio tan} \\
niman=a \quad tempo \quad saj \quad ?amin=a \quad ?aman’obla \quad \text{di} \quad \text{ municipio} \\
\text{time-present=LK time} \quad \text{TOP all=LK} \quad \text{ACTV/CNTV-work} \quad \text{LOC Town Hall} \quad \text{and} \\
\text{maystara} \quad \text{ket} \quad \text{ poro } \quad \text{Igodot} \\
\text{female teacher TP LK whole Igorot} \\
\text{‘nowadays, as for all those who work at the Town Hall and female teachers, they are all Igorot’}\end{align*}

46.1.2 Pre-Clausal Adverbs

Adverbs whose semantic scope is relevant to the entire clause, or larger units include baka\textsuperscript{2} /baka/ ‘might’ and sigocho\textsuperscript{3} /sigodo/ ‘maybe’. These adverbs precede the clause to which they refer. No bridging constituent is required between such an adverb and the following clause.

\textsuperscript{1}The adverbs mas, medjo and poro are of Spanish origin.
\textsuperscript{2}The adverb baka is most likely from Tagalog, probably borrowed via Ilokano.
\textsuperscript{3}The adverb sigocho is most likely an Ilokano borrowing. Originally from Spanish, it is sigoro ‘perhaps’ in Ilokano.
46.2 Post-Modifiers

Modifiers and modifying constructions may also occur after the predicate. These mainly include linked post-predicate modifiers and second-order adverbial expressions, as discussed in the following sections. Adverbial phrases of time, manner or place also function as verbal modifiers. They are discussed in Chapter 37.

46.2.1 Linked Post-Predicate Modifiers

Linked post-predicate modifiers are introduced by the linker ja and modify the predicate. Gradable or adjectival nouns and verbs often function as post-predicate modifiers.

The position of the linked post-predicate modifier is usually right after the predicate. However, it is possible for it to occur at the end of a clause which does not contain too many complements or adjuncts, as in (10).

(7) nem ateya agpayso si Kabadekan
    nam ?a-taj=a ?agpajso si kabalagan
    but POTPATV/PFT-die=LK true NOM/PERS Kabadekan
    ‘but the giant (Kabadekan) is truly dead’
The adverbial intensifier *pasiya* /pasiya/ ‘very’ is only used in a post-predicate position when introduced by the linker. Although it usually follows the predicate it refers to, it does not need to immediately follow it. Second-order pronouns and adverbs may occur between the predicate and the intensifier, as in (14)–(15), or at times even a full noun phrase, as in (16)–(18). However, it does so as long as the preceding constituent is not gradable, and hence modifiable by the intensifier *pasiya*. The predicate and the intensifier cannot be separated by too many constituents.

In (14) *pasiya* occurs after the predicate plus the bound pronoun =cha.
In (15) *pasiya* occurs after the predicate and the second-order adverb =*ma*.

(15) *ingkatod aba’kolman*  
    ?ingkatod ?a-ba?kol=ma=n  
    until STAIIV/PFT-old woman=then=LK very NOM/REC woman  
    *pasiya* sota  
    sota sota  
    bii  
    bi?i  
    ‘until the woman is very old’

Finally, *pasiya* may occur after a full noun phrase.

(16) *timakotakot si’katon pasiya*  
    <im>CVCV-takot  
    <ACTV/PFT>INTNS-scared 3/IND=LK very  
    sota  
    sota  
    ‘he got very much scared’

(17) *isonga bimadogot i ekeston pasiya*  
    ?iso=nga <im>balogot  
    hence=LK <ACTV/PFT>huge NOM stomach=3/GEN=LK very  
    ?agas=to=n pasija  
    ‘hence his stomach became very huge’

(18) *mapteng itana pasiya*  
    ma-pataJJ  
    STAV/MA-good NOM/MED/PRO=LK very  
    ?itan=a pasija  
    ‘that is very good’

### 46.2.2 Second-Order Adverbs

Adverbial expressions that occur in second position with respect to a selected constituent are called “second-order” or “second-position” (§3.3). In a clause, the chosen constituent is usually the head of that clause. Expressions of this type mainly include second-order adverbs, but some phrasal adverbial expressions may also behave as second-order constituents. This is the case, for instance, with the temporal expression *ni olay* ‘always, often’, which is discussed separately in §46.2.3. Second-order adverbs include the following.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ngata</th>
<th>/ŋata/</th>
<th>‘possibility, maybe, wonder, do you think?’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>chechan/=rechan</td>
<td>/dɔdan/</td>
<td>‘indeed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngarod</td>
<td>/dɔdan/</td>
<td>‘then, indeed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gayam</td>
<td>/maŋo/</td>
<td>‘sudden realisation, so’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mango</td>
<td>/maŋo/</td>
<td>‘just, only, simply, sign of modesty’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kono</td>
<td>/kono/</td>
<td>‘hearsay’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noman</td>
<td>/noman/</td>
<td>‘known, sighted, heard, witnessed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kari</td>
<td>/kadi/</td>
<td>‘request, question’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=ka/=ga</td>
<td>/=ga/</td>
<td>‘please’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=da/=la</td>
<td>/=ln/</td>
<td>‘away’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Post-Modifiers

- ali, =di /?ali, =li/ ‘toward’
- pay laeng /paj laeng/ ‘still, yet’
- met laeng /mat laeng/ ‘still, also’
- mala /mala/ ‘already’
- =ma /=ma/ ‘then, realisation marker’
- nin /nin/ ‘first’
- mowan /mowan/ ‘again’
- chagos /dagos/ ‘immediately, right away’
- niman /niman/ ‘now, today, present time’
- nontan /nontan/ ‘past time’
- et /?et/ ‘instead’
- =ngo /=uo/ ‘also, too, emphatic marker’
- pay /paj/ ‘more, too, first’
- met /mat/ ‘emphatic marker’
- bengat /bogat/ ‘only’

The phonological status of many of these adverbs requires further investigation. Except for the adverb chechan which has an enclitic allomorph, =rechan, only those adverbs consisting of a single open syllable consistently act as enclitics. It is also interesting to notice that some of these adverbs are phonologically anomalous in that they do not follow Ibaloy phonological rules. For instance, the adverbs laeng and gayam. The Ibaloy sound /l/ when word-initially or in a stressed syllable is realised as [d]. Similarly, the Ibaloy sound /g/ when word-initially or in a stressed syllable is realised as [k]. These rules do not apply to laeng, gayam or many other words, probably because they are Ilokano borrowings.

When more than one adverb of this type is present within a clause their order is not usually fixed, although there are some preferred sequences. In every case, bound pronouns enclitise to the head before any other second-order constituent. The only exception is the free Nominative third person plural pronoun ira /?ida/; see §16.2 for details.

In the following description the head is underlined and second-order adverbs are marked in bold.

The clause in (19) is headed by the negative existential predicate aychi. The second-order adverbs pay laeng and met occur after the predicate, but before the Nominative full noun phrase.

(19) aychi pay laeng met i nanang iranja aanak

‘the mother of these children is still not here’

In a complex construction involving an auxiliary predicate, second-order adverbs tend to occur after the auxiliary which acts as the head.
However, there seems to be a limit on the number of second-order adverbs that can actually occur in second position. A construction may contain up to three (usually no more than three) adverbs, excluding bound pronouns (maximum two per predicate).

That the order amongst adverbs is not fixed is shown by (23)–(24) where the directional =da/=la ‘away’ and emo ‘maybe’ occur in different orders.

There are, however, some preferred sequential tendencies, which are discussed later for each individual adverb. Finally, their semantics and interpretation vary depending on the overall context. Following is a description of the most common adverbs found in the language and their most common meanings. These are broadly divided into larger subcategories on the basis of their semantics.

**Epistemics**  The adverb *ngata*⁴ [ŋaˈta] /ŋata/ ‘possibly, maybe, wonder, do you think?’ is mainly used in questions to indicate either a possibility, curiosity or wonder from the part of the speaker.

⁴The adverb *ngata* is most likely from Ilokano.
46.2 Post-Modifiers

(25) edaraw kita ngata?
?o-ladaw=kita ngata
PotPatV/PFT-late=1&2/NOM wonder

'are we (two) possibly late? (or 'I wonder whether we are late')'

The adverb emo /?amo/ ‘might, maybe’ expresses possibility.

(26) dingka emo nonta aso
<in>laga ?amo nonta ?aso
<PatV/PFT>do maybe gen/rec dog

'the dog maybe did it'

(27) si'kam emo i kaenosan
si?gam ?amo ?i ka-?anos-an
2/IND maybe nom absN-patient-absN

'you are probably the most patient'

(28) kinanyo emo i sabak?
<in>kan=mo ?amo ?i saba=k
<PatV/PFT>eat=2/gen maybe nom banana=1/gen

'maybe have you eaten my banana?'

The adverb koma5 /ko'ma/ /koma/ ‘must, should, hopefully’ expresses optative mood.

(29) piyanko koma ja makakalabak chi kiyew
pijan=ko koma ja maka-kalab=ak di kijaw
like, want=1/gen hopefully lk potactv/ipf-climb=1/nom loc tree

'I wish to be able to climb up the tree'

(30) nandanganak koma
nan-lajan=ak koma
ActV/PFT-absent=1/nom hopefully

'I should have been absent'

(31) chakel koma i agik
dakel koma ?i ?agi=k
many hopefully nom sibling=1/gen

'I wish to have many siblings'

The adverb chechan/=rechan /dɔdɔn/ best translates into English as ‘indeed’. This adverb has two allomorphs: the free form chechan, and the enclitic =rechan. The enclitic tends to occur when the preceding constituent ends in a stressed open syllable.

5The adverb koma is most likely borrowed from Ilokano.
(32) ooneytongorechan  chi Bagiw
?o?onaj=to=yo=dadan  di bagiw
better=3/GEN=too=indeed LOC Baguio

‘it is indeed better in Baguio city’

The adverb ngarod\(^6\) [ya’rod] ‘then, indeed’ has a resultative effect.

(33) nanangko  tan  tatanko  ngarod  i  ekitodag
nana=q=ko  tan  tatag=q  ko  ngarod  ?i  ?aki-tolag
mother=1/GEN  and  father=1/GEN  indeed  NOM  ACTV/PFT-agree

‘they were my father and my mother who agreed’

(34) mabaing  ngarod  i  Ibaloy
ma-ba?i=q  ngarod  ?i  ibaloj
STA/V  /MA-shy  indeed  NOM  Ibaloy

‘Ibaloy people are indeed shy’

(35) inchel  ngarod  iranonta  dedaki  si’kara
<in>  ?adal  ngarod  ?i=na=nanta  CV-laki  si?qada
<PATV/PFT>catch  indeed  PL=GEN/REC  PL-man  3+/IND

‘the men indeed caught them’

The adverb gayam\(^6\) [’gajam] ‘sudden realisation, so’ is used to indicate that something was not expected but has suddenly occurred.

(36) naanos  gayam  ja  talaka  i  iBokod
na-?anos  gayam  ja  talaka  ?i  ?i-bokod
STA/PATV/PFT-patient  so  LK  true  NOM  FROM-Bokod

‘so the people from Bokod are patient’

(37) piyanko  gayam  ya  mengasewa  ni  Pilipino
pijan=q=ko  gayam  ja  maN-?asawa  ni  pilipino
like,  want=1/GEN  so  LK  ACTV/IPF-married  GEN  Philippine  person

‘so I want to marry a Philippine person’

Example (38) contains two second-order adverbs, gayam ‘so, realisation marker’ and noman ‘evidential marker’.

(38) echakel  gayam  noman  i  animal  chinan
?a-dakal  gayam  noman  ?i  animal  diman
STA/PATV/PFT-many  so  EVID  NOM  animal  LOC/DIST/PRO

‘so I see there are many animals there’

The adverb mango /ma?o/ is rather difficult to translate into English. It is often used as a sign of modesty and might be translated into English as ‘just, only, simply’.

\(^6\)The adverbs ngarod and gayam are most likely borrowed from Ilokano.
46.2 Post-Modifiers

(39) **dimakami mango**
lima=kami maŋo
five=1+/NOM just, modesty

‘we are just five’

(40) **nak mango ekimisa**
nak maŋo ?aki-misa
1/NOM/DIR just, modesty ACTV/PFT-mass

‘I only went to attend the mass’

(41) **kamikamango mandikat ni daga ni dinowan**
kamika=maŋo man-ligat ni laga ni linowan
1+/NOM/ASP=just, modesty ACTV/IPF-difficult GEN deed GEN honey

‘we just work hard to make honey’

Evidentials There are two adverbs that function as evidentials, kono and noman.

With the adverb kono⁷ /kono/ ‘hearsay’ the information is not primary, in that the speaker has not witnessed or received it personally but just heard of it.

(42) **say egkono onkorong**
saj ?ag=kono ?on-kodoi;i
so that neg=hearsay ACTV/IPF-bend

‘sos that it is said it won’t bend’

(43) **inosilto kono sota olsa**
<in>?osil=to kono sota ?olsa
<PATV/PFT>chase=3/GEN hearsay NOM/REC deer

‘it is said he chased the deer’

(44) **no an kono mekikan si Balaw**
no ?an kono maki-kan si balaw
if go&do hearsay ACTV/IPF-eat NOM/PERS Balaw

‘it is said that if Balaw goes and joins the feast’

(45) **idi to kono on’an sota diyang**
?i’li to kono ?onaj-an sota lijai;i
when-past 3/GEN/DIR hearsay see-LocV/IPF NOM/REC cave

‘it is said that when he went to see the cave’

(46) **bara konoy sakeya palmija**
wada kono=j sakaj=a palmija
exist hearsay=NOM one=LK family

‘it is said there is a family’

---

⁷The adverb kono is most likely an Ilokano borrowing. In Ilokano it is kano ‘hearsay particle: it is said; they say, supposedly’.
The meaning of the adverb *noman* /noman/ is not entirely clear at this stage. It seems to refer to something which one (usually the speaker) has personally received or witnessed. Hence, the meaning ‘known, sighted, heard, witnessed’. It is simply glossed as EVID ‘evidential marker’.

\[(47) \text{isitsitijo} \quad \text{noman ni tapey!} \]
\[
\begin{array}{c}
?i\text{-sit}\text{-sit-jo=jo} \\
\text{BNFV\text{-roll liquid out-BNFV/IMP=2+/GEN EVID GEN rice wine}}
\end{array}
\]

‘serve him some rice wine!’

\[(48) \text{jakniyo} \quad \text{noman ni tabol si} \]
\[
\begin{array}{c}
?i\text{-?akan-jo=jo} \\
\text{BNFV\text{-give-BNFV/IMP=2+/GEN EVID GEN first juice of rice wine NOM/PERS}}
\end{array}
\]

‘give Balaw some of the first juice of rice wine’

\[(49) \text{naomakita} \quad \text{emo nomanma} \]
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{na-?ama=kita} \\
\text{STAPATV/PFT-old male=1&2/NOM maybe EVID=then}
\end{array}
\]

‘we (two) are probably already old men’

**Requestative** The adverb *kari* /kadi/ ‘request, question’ is mainly used in questions, requests and to counter a claim.

\[(50) \text{on’im} \quad \text{kari} \quad \text{iman!} \]
\[
\begin{array}{c}
?onaj-i=m \text{ kadi } ?i\text{iman} \\
\text{see-LOCV/IMP=2/GEN request NOM/DIST}
\end{array}
\]

‘(I ask you to) look at that’

\[(51) \text{sipa kari i tatangmo?} \]
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{sipa kadi } ?i\text{tataj=mo} \\
\text{who request NOM father=2/GEN}
\end{array}
\]

‘who is your father?’

\[(52) \text{bingika} \quad \text{karidi} \]
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{biji=ka} \\
\text{turn around=2/NOM request=toward}
\end{array}
\]

‘turn back around’

---

8 *Noman* is mostly used as an evidential marker. However, in a few contexts it means ‘anyway’. More data would be required to determine all its meanings.

9 The adverb *kari* is most likely an Ilokano borrowing. In Ilokano it is *kadi* ‘interrogative particle; counters a claim’.
46.2 Post-Modifiers

(53) **sekedmo**  
**kari** i  
**eketet**  
ni  
**toktokmo**  
sagad-Ø=mo  
kadi ?i  
?a-katat  
ni  
toktok=mo  
wait-PATV/IMP=2/GEN  
request  
NOM  
STA PatV/PFT-cool  
GEN  
head=2/GEN

'wait till you cool off/down'

Polite The adverb =*ga* /=ga/ 'please' is used in questions or requests as a sign of politeness. This adverb has two surface realizations depending on whether it is stressed; on the one hand the stressed =*ka* ['ka], and on the other hand the unstressed =*ga* [ga]. Ibaloy has a free word carrying a similar meaning, *tiga* /tiga/ 'please'. However, the latter is not a second-order adverb.

(54) **moga**  
on-i  
**chima**  
**askang ni**  
**sepatos nen**  
Pedro  
mo=ga  
?onaj-i  
dima  
?askaj ni  
sapatos nan  
pedro  
2/GEN/DIR=please  
LOCV/IMPLOC/DIST  
near  
GEN  
shoe  
GEN/PERS  
Pedro

'please go and see near Pedro’s shoes'

(55) **idescribemoga**  
son  
**si’kak i**  
**pesingto**  
?i-describe=mo=ga  
so=n  
si?gak ?i  
pasig=to  
THMV/IMP-describe=2/GEN=please  
OBL=GEN/PERS  
1/IND  
NOM  
method, way=3/GEN

'please describe its method to me'

Directionals There are two directionals, =*la*/=da/ ‘away’ and =*ali*/=di ‘toward’. Both have a spatial as well as a temporal usage. The point of reference used is not always constant. Sometimes it is the real location or time of the speech act. At other times, especially in narrative, it might express the direction from the point of view of one of the characters involved.

The directional =*la* /=la/ is an enclitic which has two realizations; =*da* ['da] occurs when stressed or after a consonant, and =*la* [la] only occurs when unstressed after a vowel.

In the following examples the directional =*da*/=la indicates a direction away from a selected standpoint. The predicate does not need to be a motion verb, although motion of some sort is usually implied. The directional occurs in second-position after the predicate and any second-order pronouns.

(56) **pesingkola**  
i  
**Session Road**  
pasig=ko=la  
?i  
session road  
way=1/GEN=away  
NOM  
Session Road

'Session Road is my way'

(57) **ondawkamida**  
?on-law=kami=la  
ACTV/IPF-go=1+/NOM=away

'we go away'
In the following examples the directional enclitises to the verb before the Nominative third person plural pronoun *ira*. Moreover, when the clause contains a directional adverb as well as a phrase expressing a location, the directional adverb points towards that location away from a chosen reference point.

(58) *yet ondawda* *ira nodta naydaen ni baley jot ?on-law=la ?ida nodta naj-la?om ni babaj and then ActV/IPF-go=away 3+/NOM LOC/REC STAThMV/IPF-inside GEN house ‘then they go away inside the house’

(59) *atolotolda* *ira nodta pa’dok ?a-tolotol=da ?ida nodta pa?lok* POTPatV/PFT-roll=away 3+/NOM LOC/REC creek ‘they rolled away to the river’

The directional may have pronominal reference and stand for a whole phrase.

(60) *ondawak niman chi iskoydaan, boroda i kelasek ?on-law=ak niman di ?iskoja-an wada=la ?i kelase=k* ActV/IPF-go=1/NOM time-present LOC study-LOCN exist=away NOM class=1/GEN ‘I go to school now, I have a class (there)’

The directional =*da/=la can have temporal reference rather than spatial. This interpretation mainly depends on the context and more specifically on the type of predicate. When a spatial interpretation is not possible =*da/=la has a temporal meaning. However, similar to its spatial usage =*da/=la indicates time away from a chosen reference point. When the predicate is marked for imperfective aspect it usually indicates future time, and when it is marked for perfective aspect it refers to a past event.

(61) *medechawakda ma-ladaw=ak=da* PoTPatV/IPF-late=l/NOM=away ‘I will be late’

However, a temporal interpretation is much more likely when the directional is used to modify a past temporal phrase usually introduced by the past prepositions *nonta/*nonta/ or *idi/*?ili/, as illustrated below (see also Chapter 35).


It is possible for the directional =*da/=la to have a mental reference or a more abstract spatial reference. For instance, in (63) it refers to the fact that the information requested might have been previously known to the speaker, but it slipped “away” from his/her memory.
Finally, when the directional =da/=la occurs together with other second-order adverbs it tends to occur last.

(64) ontagab ira mowanda
ontayab ira mowanda
ActV/IPF-fly 3+/NOM again=away
‘they will fly away again’

(65) nadmet emola pilakko
ndmet emola pilakko
PotPatV/PFT-pick up maybe=away NOM money=1 GEN
‘my money might have been picked up (away)’

The other directional is ali /?ali/ (or its encliticised allomorph =di /=li/) ‘toward’. Like =da/=la, it has a spatial as well as a temporal interpretation. When used spatially, it indicates a motion towards a selected reference point.

(66) imoli ali ira
<im>oli ali ira
<ActV/PFT>return toward 3+/NOM
‘they returned’

(67) on’olikita alin chagos
?on-woli=kita alin dagos
ActV/IPF-return=1&2/NOM toward=LK immediately
‘we (two) will return here immediately’

(68) mengibot ali itana too
moN-kibot ali itan=a to?o
ActV/IPF-steal toward NOM/MED/PRO=LK person
‘that person will steal (from me/us)’

(69) ipaw’itantaka ali ni pilakmo
?i-paw’itan=a taka ali ni pilak=mo
BNFV/IPF-send-BNFV=1/GEN&2/NOM toward GEN money=2 GEN
‘I will send you back your money’

(70) ondawak ali
?on-law=ak ali
ActV/IPF-go=1/NOM toward
‘I go back’
When a location is overtly expressed in the clause the directional usually indicates that it is a source.

In an auxiliary construction the adverb ali/=di occurs after the auxiliary. In (74) it occurs after the directional auxiliary an, while in (75) and (76) it occurs after the pronominal form(s) acting as auxiliary.

When other second-order adverbs are present ali/=di tends to occur last.

'it is the reason why there are tourists here'
(78) to mowan ali al’en
to mowan ?ali ?ala-an
3/GEN/DIR again toward get-PATV/IPF

‘he will go and get it again’

This directional does not always follow second-order adverbs, as shown in (79) where it precedes the second-order adverb =ma ‘then’.

(79) nem eg’alima dimaw
nam ?ag=?ali=ma <im>law
but neg=toward=then <ACTV/PFT>go

‘but he did not came back’

In the following set of examples the polite adverb =ka /=ga/ and ali may swap position without affecting the overall meaning of the clause.

(80) alamka ali itan
?ala-θ=m=ka ?ali ?itan
get-PATV/IMP=2/GEN=please toward NOM/MED/PRO

‘please, get that towards here’

(81) alam alika i asin
?ala-θ=m ?ali=ga ?i ?asin
get-PATV/IMP=2/GEN toward=please NOM salt

‘please, get the salt towards here’

Like =da/=la, ali/=di may carry pronominal reference.

(82) angken amtak ya borad Bokod i kaikton emin, ekak
even know=1/GEN LK exist=LOC Bokod NOM friend=1/GEN=LK all neg+1/NOM

ali ondaw
?ali ?on-law
toward ACTV/IPF-go

‘event though I know that all my friends are in Bokod, I won’t go back’

The directional ali/=di can be used in a great range of situations. In (83) it is used to refer to the direction of the hearing.

(83) inkeydengantodi irasota dedaki
?in-kajlaq-an=to=li ?da=sota CV-laki
BNFV/PFT-hear=BNFV=3/GEN=toward 3+/NOM=NOM/REC PL-man

‘he heard from the men’

In (84), instead, it is used metaphorically. The non-overtly expressed theme, the frog’s voice, will reach the state which results from the completion of the event expressed by the predicate. In this case the state of being loud is regarded as a metaphorical location.
Finally, a temporal interpretation is much more common with a phrasal usage (Chapter 35), but nonetheless possible at a clausal level. When the directional adverb carries a temporal meaning it refers to the future. In (85) ali carries both a spatial as well as a temporal connotation.

(85) baru ali i powek
wada ?ali ?i powak
exist toward NOM storm
‘a storm is approaching, it will be soon here’

Aspectuals The adverb laeng ['la?ay] ‘only, just’ has not been found alone in the present data. It is always preceded by another adverb. Hence, it is treated as forming a unit with it. Moreover, the meanings of these units are not always compositional. Laeng was probably only borrowed from Ilokano in collocations (pay laeng, met laeng), so it does not appear alone, because bengat /bəŋat/ ‘only’ and =ngo /=ŋo/ ‘also, too, emphatic marker’ serve the same function.

The adverb pay laeng /paj laeng/ is used to mean ‘yet, still’.

(86) ekak pay laeng nansangaii
?agak paj laeng nan-saŋa?ili
neg+1/NOM yet, still ACTV/PFT-menstruate
‘I did not yet menstruate’

(87) ekak pay laeng edokon ni chowan taw’en ja
?agak paj laeng ?a-lokon ni dowa=n tawʔan ja
neg+1/NOM yet, still POTPATV/PFT-pregnant GEN two=LK year LK
inpanʔarolmi
?inpanʔadol=mi
GER/PFT-copulate=1+/GEN
‘I wasn’t yet pregnant in two years that we slept together’

(88) egpay laeng etiktikchon
?ag=paj laeng ?a-CVC-tikdon
neg=yet, still POTPATV/PFT-DISTR-touch
‘it was still untouched’

The adverb met laeng /mat laeng/ is also used in a similar way to mean ‘still, also’, but it can also mean ‘anyway’.
46.2 Post-Modifiers

(89)  **bara met laeng si**  **Randy tan si**  **Rene**  
  wada met laeng si  **randy tan si**  **rene**  
  exist still NOM/PERS Randy and NOM/PERS Rene  

‘there are still Randy and Rene’

(90)  **sajay met laeng nonta**  **birthday to**  
  saJaj mat laeng nonta **birthday=to**  
  TOP/PROX still when-past **birthday=3/GEN**  

‘here, it is still at his birthday’

(91)  **yet man’ekaekad met laeng**  
  jat man-CVCV-?akad mat laeng  
  and then ACTV/IPF-DISTR-walk still  

‘then he (always) walks anyway’

(92)  **ekak met laeng dimaw**  
  ?agak mat laeng <im>law  
  neg+1/NOM still <ACTV/PFT>go  

‘I did not go anyway’

The adverb **mala** /mala/ is used to mean ‘already’. This adverb may also be analysed as comprising two separate morphemes; possibly the resultative adverb **=ma** /=ma/ and the directional **=la** /=la/ with past temporal meaning. However, it is here treated as a single morpheme carrying the meaning ‘already’. The two parts cannot be separated from each other and maintain the same meaning of **mala**.

(93)  **echakel mala i istoriyak**  
  ?a-dakol mala ?i istoriya=k  
  STAPATV/PFT-many already NOM story=1/GEN  

‘your stories are already many’

(94)  **dimabas malay olsa**  
  <im>labas mala=j ?olsa  
  <ACTV/PFT>pass already=NOM deer  

‘the deer already passed by’

The adverb **=ma** /=ma/ ‘then’ is mainly used to indicate accomplishment or resultative effect.

(95)  **yet nandotookma**  
  jat nan-loto=ak=ma  
  and then ACTV/PFT-cook=1/NOM=then  

‘and then I cooked’
(96) \(eba\text{ kolakma}\)
\(?a-ba?kol=ak=ma\)
STAPATV/PFT-old female=1/NOM=then

'I am an old woman'

(97) \(yet\ eteyma\ sota\ oleg\)
jot \(?o-toj=ma\) sota \(?olog\)
and then POTPATV/PFT-dead=then NOM/REC snake

then the snake was dead (already)

(98) \(no\ makchengma\ sotan,\ enchima\ i\ too\)
no \(ma-kadaq=ma\) sotan \(?andi=ma\ ?i\ to?o\)
if/when POTPATV/IPF-finish=then NOM/REC not-exist=then NOM person

'when that will be finished, the person won’t be there'

(99) \(eg\’alima\ dimaw\)
\(?og=?ali=ma\ <im>law\)
neg=toward=then <ACTV/PFT>go

'he already went back'

The adverb \(nin\ /nin/\ 'first' refers to a state, event or action that precedes something else.

(100) \(ondawkami\ nin\)
\(?on-law=kami\ nin\)
ACTV/IPF-go=1+/NOM first

'we go (home) first'

(101) \(man’ibdeykami\ nin\)
man-?iblaj=kami \(nin\)
ACTV/IPF-rest=1+/NOM first

'we rest first'

(102) \(mandoadokami\ nin\)
man-lo?alo=kami \(nin\)
ACTV/IPF-pray=1+/NOM first

'we pray first'

(103) \(ipalawko\ nin\ i\ daneb\)
\(?i-palaw=ko\ nin\ ?i\ lanab\)
THMV/IPF-add=1/GEN first NOM lard

'I add the lard first'

The adverb \(mowan\ /mowan/\ 'again' indicates repetition of the action, state or event.
46.2 Post-Modifiers

(104) *jet cha mowan isa’pey chi sekit*

jet da mowan ?i-sa?pa? di sogit

and then 3+/GEN/DIR again THMV/IPF-dry LOC sun

‘then they go and dry it again in the sun’

(105) *baka cha mowan kiboten*

baka da mowan kibot-an

‘they might go and steal it again’

(106) *to mowan ali al’en*

to mowan ?ali ?ala-an

‘he goes and gets it back again’

(107) *inbag’an mowan nonta bii sota aki*

?in-baga-an mowan nonta bi?i sota ?aki

‘the woman asked the monkey again’

The adverb *chagos /dagos* ‘immediately, right away’ describes the manner in which something takes place.

(108) *atey chagos si Panang*

?a-taj dagos si panaq

POTPATV/PFT-die immediately NOM/PERS Panang

‘Panang was dead immediately’

(109) *mimotok chagos i solatto*

<im>motok dagos ?i solat=to

<ACTV/PFT>arrive immediately NOM letter=3/GEN

‘his letter arrived immediately’

However, it is not always a second-order adverb, and can occur separated by a very short pause and pronounced with greater emphasis.

(110) *dingka ni kakeb, chagos*

<in>laga ni kakab dagos

<PATV/PFT>do GEN turtle immediately

‘the monkey did it, immediately’

*Chagos* can also occur as part of a modifier construction introduced by the linker *ja*, as shown in (111).
(111) on'olikita alin chagos
?on-?oli=kita ?ali=n dagos
ACTV/IPF-return=1&2/NOM toward=LK immediately

'we (two) will return back here immediately'

The temporal adverb niman /niman/ indicates present time roughly meaning 'now, today, present time'. In (112) it occurs in second position after the prohibitive auxiliary kara= plus the pronoun =ka '2/NOM' (see §40.1.2). However, niman does not always act as a second-order adverb.

(112) karyka niman maokip
kada=ka niman ma-?ogip
prohb=2/NOM time/PRES POTPATV/IPF-sleep

'do not sleep now'

The temporal adverb nontan /nontan/ carries a past temporal reference, 'past time'. Like its present time counterpart niman, it does not always act as a second-order adverb.

In (113) nontan occurs after the aspectual auxiliary naka=, which is a suppletive form incorporating the first person bound pronoun (see §40.1.4).

(113) nakanontan onbangon ni alassingko
naka=nontan ?on-bajon ni alassingko
1/NOM/ASP=time-past ACTV/IPF-wake up GEN five o'clock

'back then I used to wake up at five o'clock'

In (114) not only does nontan occur after the existential predicate bara 'exist' but before the Nominative complement, it is also modified by the second-order adverb =da. The combination nontan=da is very common and carries a remote temporal reference.

(114) bara nontanda i sakeya bii
wada nontan=la ?i sakaj=a bi?i
exist time-past=away NOM one=LK woman

'a long time ago there was a woman'

Adversative The adverb at/et /?at/ is used to mean 'instead'.

(115) olik da et chi Daklan
?oli-?o=ka ?at di daklan
return-ACTV/IPF=2/NOM instead LOC Daklan

'return to Daklan instead'

(116) mandekawkita et mango
man-lakaw=kita ?at ma?o
ACTV/IPF-detour=1&2/NOM instead just, modesty

'let us (two) detour instead'
Additives The adverbs =ngo /=yo/ and pay /paj/ are often used to indicate addition of some kind and tend to occur before other second-order adverbs, although not always. The adverb met /mat/ can also be used in this sense.

The adverb =ngo is used to mean ‘also, too’.

(117)  tep piyankongo  itan
tap pijan=ko=yo  ?itan
because like, want=1/GEN=also NOM/MED/PRO
‘because I also like it’

(118)  owen, ateyak  nem ateykongo
?owan ?a-taj=ak  nam ?a-taj=ka=yo
yes POTPATV/PFT-die=1/NOM but POTPATV/PFT-die=2/NOM=also
‘yes, I am dead but you are also dead’

(119)  jet mapkesngo  mowan
jat ma-pakas=yo mowan
jet STA/MA-loud sound=also again
‘and then it was loud again too’

The adverb pay ‘more, too, first’ is also used to indicate addition of some kind.

(120)  makaoney  pay i  sangito
maka-?onaj paj ?i saji=to
POTACTV/IPF-see too NOM tooth=3/GEN
‘his teeth are visible too’

(121)  kinan  pay ni otot i  bowekcha
<hin>kan paj ni ?otot ?i bowak=da
<PATV/PFT>eat too GEN mouse NOM hair=3+/GEN
‘the mice ate their hair too’

(122)  mebedin pay ya al’enmo  i  tape
mobalin paj ja ?ala-on=mo ?i tape
can too LK get-PATV/IPF=2/GEN NOM tape recorder
‘it is also possible that you will get the tape recorder’

(123)  aychi  pay i  mandiskolso
?ajdi paj ?i man-diskolso
not-exist too NOM ACTV/IPF-speech
‘there is no-one else who makes the speech’

The adverb met ‘emphasis’ is primarily used as an emphatic marker, although it may also indicate addition (‘too, also’).
(124) **ekak** met nan’iskoyda  
?ogak mat nan-?iskoja  
neg+1/NOM emph ACTV/PFT-study  
‘I did not study’

(125) **ekak** met naagaagang  
?ogak mat na-cvcv-?agaŋ  
neg+1/NOM emph POTPATV/PFT-DISTR-hungry  
‘I never got hungry’

(126) **egmet** maysa’dat i edapoantayo  
?ag=mat maj-ss?dat ?i ?a-lapo-an=tajo  
neg=emph UNTHMV/PFT-change NOM POTLOCV/PFT-come-LOCV=1&2+/GEN  
‘we will not change where we came from’

**Limitative**  The adverb *bengat* /bəŋat/ is used to mean ‘only’.

(127) **si’kak bengat** i makaamta  
si?gak baŋat ?i maka-ʔamta  
1/IND only NOM POTACTV/IPF-know  
‘I am the only one who knows’

(128) **kowan**o *bengat* itan  
kowan=to baŋat ?i tan  
say=3/GEN only NOM/MED/PRO  
‘he only says that’

(129) **ootik** bengat i amtak  
ʔoʔotik baŋat ?i ʔamta=k  
little, small only NOM know=1/GEN  
‘what you know is only little’

### 46.2.3 Second-Order Adverbial Phrases

There are two common adverbial phrases introduced by the Genitive determiner *ni* that may act as second-order adverbial expressions.

**ni abos**  The adverbial phrase *ni abos* /ni ʔabos/ ‘GEN only’ carries a limitative meaning and can occur in second position.

(130) **pokel ni abos** i chakaiakan son si’kato  
pokal ni ʔabos ?i daka=ʔi-ʔakan so=n siʔgato  
bone GEN only NOM 3+/GEN/ASP=THMV/IPF-give OBL=GEN/PERS 3/IND  
‘bones only is what they give to him’
(131) nan’askang ni abos ira
    nan-?ask?y ni ?abos ?ida
    AcTV/PFT-near GEN only 3+/NOM

    ‘they only approach each other’

**ni olay**  The adverbial phrase *ni olay* /ni ?olaj/ may also act as a second-order adverb and means ‘always, often’. It is possible to apply initial CVCV- reduplication to the adverbial form *olay* in order to add extra-continuity ‘very often, always’, as in (134).

(132) chakango ni olay pojoki ni bolong ni kapani
    daka=yo ni ?olaj pojok-i ni bolong ni kapani
    3+/GEN/ASP=too GEN always rub-LOCV/CNTV GEN leaf GEN kapani plant

    ‘they also always rub on it some kapani leaves’

(133) isonga imonong ni olay iradman
    ?iso=nga <im>?onoj ni ?olaj ?ida=dman
    hence=LK <AcTV/PFT>remain GEN always 3+/NOM=LOC/DIST/PRO

    ‘therefore they always remained there’

(134) timonmgaw ni olayalay iradma kantina
    <im>tojaw ni CVCV-?olaj ?ida=dma kantina
    <AcTV/PFT>sit GEN INTNS-always 3+/NOM=LOC/DIST store

    ‘they (really) always sat in that store’

However, the phrase *ni olay* does not always act as a second-order adverb, as in (135).

(135) sigocho makanpengankito ni chakel ja dokto ni olay
    sigodo maka-pa?an=kito ni dakol ja lokto ni ?olaj
    maybe POTAcTV/IPF-feed=1&2+/NOM GEN many LK sweet potato GEN always

    ‘maybe we are always able to feed on lots of sweet potatoes’
Appendix
A.1 Narrative Texts

A.1.1 The wise mice

"There were some mice that lived in the house of a rich man."

"They kept eating lots of rice."

"One day, the man got a cat."

"The mice were very scared."

"Then the old mouse said: “We will leave this place.”"
Jet ondawkito chi baley ni abalo chi piig.

Then we will go nearby to the house of the widower.

Sigocho makapangankito ni chakel ja dokto ni olay

Maybe we will be able to always eat lots of sweet potatoes and maybe we will be thin.

Mapmapteng pay laeng i mepikot ja otot ja

A live thin mouse is still better than a fat dead mouse.

Tep no ontabtabakito, mapteng ja kanen

Because the fatter we become, the better the cat will eat.

Jet dimaw ira chi baley ni abiteg ja

Then they went to the house of the poor widower.

Idi inamtaan nonta abalo ji

The widower knew that the mice kept eating his rice and sweet potatoes.
Inkowanto: “Epankena irani otot i pagey tan
THMV/PFT-say=3/GEN PatV/PROG-eat-PatV/PROG Pl=Gen mouse Nom rice and
doktok.
lokto=k
sweet potato=1/Gen

‘He said: “The mice are eating my rice and sweet potatoes.’

“Jet aychi mala i mebay’an para son
jot ?adj mala ?i ma-baja-an pada so=n
and then not-exist already Nom PotLOCV/IPF-leave-LOCV for Obl=Gen/Pers
si’kak!
si?gak
1/Ind

‘There is no more left over for me!’

“Mesepol ja mengdaak ni posa.”
masapal ja man-Nala=ak ni posa
need Lk ACTV/IPF-get=1/Nom Gen mouse

‘I need to get a cat.”

Inkeydengan iranonta otot iyay.
BNFV/PFT-hear-BNFV Pl=Gen/Rec mouse Nom/Prox/Pro
‘The mice heard this.’

Jet inkowan nonta na’aman otot: “Mesepol ja
jot ?in-kowan nonta na’ama=n ?otot masapol ja
and then THMV/PFT-say Gen/Rec StaPatV/PFT-old man=Lk mouse need Lk
manbejadkito ni bekas tan dokto iran
man-baja=kito ni bagas tan lokto ?ida=n
ACTV/IPF-pay=1&2+/Nom Gen rice and sweet potato Pl=Lk
tayokapankena, say egmengda i
tajoka=pan-kan-a saj ?og=man-N-ala ?i
1&2+/Gen/ASP=PatV/PROG-eat-PatV/PROG so that neg=ACTV/IPF-get Nom

abalo ni posa.
?a-balo ni posa
StaPatV/IPF-widower Gen cat

‘Then the old mouse said: “We need to pay for the rice and sweet potatoes that we are eating so that the widower will not get a cat.’

“Amtayo met i pangitdoi ni baknang ja daki
?amt=jo mat ?i pagi-talo-i ni baknaa ja laki
know=2+/Gen emph Nom LocTHMV/IPF-store-LOCV/CNTV Gen rich Lk man

ni pilakto.
ni pilak=to
Gen money=3/Gen

‘You know the place where the rich man stores his money.’
“Ondawkito nem medabi no maraman?on-law=kito ncim mci-labi no madama=n ACTV/IPF-go=1&2+/NOM if/when STAPATV/IPF-night if/when during=LK

naogip si’kato!
na-?ogip si?gato
POTPATV/PFT-sleep 3/IND

i “Let us go tonight while he is asleep!’

“Jet tayo al’en i pilakto.
jat tajo ?ala-on ?i pilak=to
and then 1&2+/GEN/DIR get-PATV/IPF NOM money=3/GEN

i “We go and take his money.’

“Jet iakantayo soni abalo.”
jat ?i-?akan=tajo so=ni ?a-balo
and then THMV/IPF-give=2+/GEN OBL=GEN STAPATV/PFT-widower

i “Then we give it to the widower.’

Jet nontana edabi dimaw ira chi baley
jat nontan=a ?a-labi <im>law ?ida di balaj
and then time-past=LK STAPATV/PFT-night <ACTV/PFT> go 3+/NOM LOC house

ni baknang ja daki.
ni baknaaj ja laki GEN rich LK man

‘That night they went to the house of the rich man.’

Jet binotbotancha i baol ja tjanan
jat <in>botbot-an=da ?i ba?ol ja ?ijan-an
and then <LOCV/PFT>-hole with teeth-LOCV=3+/GEN NOM trunk LK stay, be-LOCN

ni pilak.
ni pilak GEN money

‘They gnawed a hole into the trunk which was the place of the money (where the money was).’

Indara i pilakto.
<in> ?ala=da ?i pilak=to
<PatV/PFT> get=3+/GEN NOM money=3/GEN

‘They took his money.’

Jet idi kaba’baento ni aqsapa, inaschaw sota
and then when-past day after GEN morning STAPATV/PFT-surprise NOM/REC

abalos ja engoney ni palata tan balitok chi chet’al ja
?a-balo ja ?a?onoaj ni palata tan balitok di dat’al ja
STAPATV/PFT-widower LK ACTV/PFT-see GEN silver and gold LOC floor LK
nay’asop si’kato.
naj-?asop si?qato
STATHMV/PFT-near 3/IND

‘The day after in the morning, the widower was surprised to see silver and gold on
the floor near him.’

Amtato ji aychi echom ja to’on engidaw iranonta palata
know=3/GEN LK/ji not-exist some LK person=LK ACTV/PFT-go PL=GEN/REC silver
tan balitok.
tan balitok and gold

‘He knew that no person brought the silver and gold.’

Naybagat pay la’eng i dakeb.
naj-bagat paj laeng ?i lakob
POTTHMV/PFT-lock still NOM door

‘The door was still locked.’

Jet nimemnemto ji sota otot ira i engispa
jat <in>nammam=to ji sota ?otot ?ida ?i ?agi-sopa
and then <PATV/PFT>think LK/ji NOM/REC mouse PL NOM ACTV/PFT-put down
ja panbejadcha ni chakapankena.
ja pan-bajad=da ni daka=pan-kan-a
LK GER/IPF-pay=3+/GEN GEN 3+/GEN/ASP=PATV/PROG-eat-PATV/PROG

‘Then he thought that the mice (were the ones who) put down (silver and gold)
as their way to pay for what they are eating.’

A.1.2 Origin of the name Kabayan

Baray emengenop ja edapo alid Tawangan.
wada=j ?amaN-?anop ja ?a-lapo ?ali=d tawangan
exist=NOM ACTV/CNTV-hunt LK POTPATV/PFT-come toward=LOC Tawangan

‘There was a hunter who came from Tawangan.’

Sama Tawangan, si’katoj eastern part ni Kabayan.
sama tawangan si?qato=j eastern part ni kabajan
TOP/DIST Tawangan 3/IND=NOM eastern part GEN Kabayan

‘Tawangan, it is the eastern part of Kabayan.’

---
'Those who are from Tawangan, they are friends and the Ibaloy called them forest people.'

'Now, what we call them, it is Kalangoya.'

'As for the deer hunter, it is said that Sangao was his name.'

'And then he arrived down here.'

'When he arrived down here, he lost sight of the deer.'
Yet sotan ya minotokton dogad ket chi
jot sotan ja <in> motok=to=n logad kat di
and then NOM/REC/PRO LK <PATV/PFT> arrive=3/GEN=LK place TPLK LOC

Kabayan Barrio.
kabajan barrio
Kabayan Barrio

'The place he arrived at is in Kabayan Barrio.'

Nem chima Kabejan, chakel kono i baay singa bakal.
om dima kabajan dakol kono ?i ba?aj si?a bakal
but LOC/DIST Kabayan many hearsay NOM vine like wild

'But in Kabayan, it is said that there were many wild vines.'

Idi on'olidis Sangao chi Tawangan,
when-past ACTV/IPF-return=toward=NOM/PERS Sangao LOC Tawangan

kowan to ji <in> ?atiw=ko sota
say=3/GEN LK/ji <PATV/PFT> lose=1/GEN NOM/REC

nakapan'enopi chima kabaayan.
naka=pan?anop-i dima ka-ba?aj-an
1/NOM/ASP=LocV/PROG=hunt-LOCV/PROG LOC/DIST SUPN-vine-SUPN

'When Sangao returned back to Tawangan, he said that he lost what he was hunting
in the place of the many vines.'

Sotan ya dogad ya kad'an ni echakel ya baay,
sotan ja logad ja kad?an ni ?a-dakal ja ba?aj
NOM/REC/PRO LK place LK location GEN STAV/PFT-many LK vine

inkowanto ?i kabaayan.
?in-kowan=to ji ka-ba?aj-an
THMV/PFT-say=3/GEN LK/ji SUPN-vine-SUPN

'That place, which is the location of many vines, he called it kabaayan (the place
of many vines).'

Jet idi ondaw aliy amerikano, kowan'chay
and then when-past ACTV/IPF-go toward=NOM American say=3+/GEN=NOM

ngaran ni ngaran niya dogad, kowan'chay Kabayan.
?adan ni ?adan niya logad kowan=da=j kabajan
name GEN name GEN/PROX place say=3+/GEN=NOM Kabayan

'When the Americans came here, they said that the name of this place, they said,
it was Kabayan.'
But when the American wrote it, he said Kabayan, he dropped one “a”.

Yet isonga Kabayan.

And so it is Kabayan.

This is the reason why this place is called Kabayan.

As for the way they used to make mummies, what they called mummies back then was meking.

A long time ago, there were few Ibaloy people in Kabayan, this is why they loved very much the people.

And so they used to mummify their siblings who died.
No metey i sakeya too, chakapenginom
no ma-taj ?i sakaj=a to?o daka=poN-?inom
if/when POTPATV/IPF-die NOM one=LK person 3+/GEN/ASP=INSTRV/CNTV-drink

ni echakela asin.
i ?a-dakal=a ?asin
GEN STAV/PFT-many=LK salt

‘When one person died, they made him drink a lot of salt.’

menawtaw ira ni chakela asin nem kostokoston
maN-tawtaw ?ida ni dakal=a ?asin nom cvcv-kost=n
ACTV/IPF-dissolve 3+//NOM GEN many=LK salt if/when INTNS-right=LK

inkatey ni too.
?inka-taj ni to?o
UNPATGER/PFT-die GEN person

‘They dissolved a lot of salt at the time of the person’s death.’

Jet painomcha sota ateey.
jat po-?inom=da sota ?a-taj
and then CAUSPATV/IPF-drink=3+/GEN NOM/REC POTPATV/PFT-die-

‘Then they made him drink some.’

Jet no penginomcha ni achakela asin,
jat no poN-?inom=da ni ?a-dakal=a ?asin
and then if/when INSTRV/IPF-drink=3+/GEN GEN STAV/PFT-many=LK salt

pachokolcha chi chet’al.
po-dokol=da di dat?al
CAUSPATV/IPF-lie down=3+/GEN LOC floor

‘When they had given him some salt to drink, they lay him down on the floor.’

Jet a’mesencha sota emetey.
jat cv-?ames-an=da sota ?ama-taj
and then IPF-bathe-PATV/IPF=3+/GEN NOM/REC POTPATV/CNTV-die

‘Then they bathed the dead.’

Nem no makcheng, bechowancha mowan.
nom no ma-kada~ bado-an=da mowan
but if/when POTPATV/IPF-finish dress-LOCV/IPF=3+/GEN again

‘But when (this) was finished, they dressed (him) again.’

Jet no maykediman akew, bara sota kaondarag ono
jat no majka-lima=n ?akow wada sota ka=?on-ladag ?ono
and then if/when ORDN-five=LK day exist NOM/REC HAB=ACTV/IPF-swell or
sota naytapew ya bedat ket kaondarag.
sota naj-tapow ja balat kot ka=?on-ladag
NOM/REC STATHMV-top LK skin TPLK HAB=ACTV/IPF-swell

‘On the fifth day, there was the swelling (of the skin) or as for the top (layer of the skin, it became swollen.’
Yet  

\begin{verbatim}
emaini  ni  chanom.
\end{verbatim}

jat  \begin{verbatim}
?oma-?ijan-i  ni  danom
\end{verbatim}

and then \begin{verbatim}
POtLocV/CNTV-put-LOCV/CNTV GEN water
\end{verbatim}

‘He was put (to soak) in water.’

\begin{verbatim}
Jet  

chakakeskesi  sota  bedat.
\end{verbatim}

jat  \begin{verbatim}
daka=gasgas-i  sota  balat
\end{verbatim}

and then \begin{verbatim}
3+/GEN=ASP=peel-LOCV/CNTV NOM/REC skin
\end{verbatim}

‘Then they peeled off the skin.’

\begin{verbatim}
No  makcheng  ya  a'kalencha  sota
no  mo-kodaq  ja  ?okal-on=da  sota
\end{verbatim}

if/when \begin{verbatim}
POtPatV/IPF-finish LK remove-PatV/IPF=3+/GEN NOM/REC
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
naytapes  ya  bedat,  a'mesencha  mowan  sota
naj-tapow  ja  balat  cv-?amas-an=da  mowan  sota
\end{verbatim}

STA/ThMV/PFT-upper LK skin IPF-bathe-PatV/IPF=3+/GEN again NOM/REC

\begin{verbatim}
ateya  too.
?a-taj=a  to?o
POtPatV/PFT-die=LK person
\end{verbatim}

‘When they finished removing the top skin, they bathed the dead person again.’

\begin{verbatim}
No  makcheng  ja  a'mesencha,
no  ma-kodaq  ja  cv-?amas-an=da
\end{verbatim}

if/when \begin{verbatim}
POtPatV/IPF-finish LK IPF-bathe-PatV/IPF=3+/GEN
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
chakaiasal  chima  bo'day  ni  baley.
daka=?i-?asal  dima  bo?laj  ni  balaj
\end{verbatim}

3+/GEN=Asp=ThMV/CNTV-death chair LOC/DIST outside GEN house

‘When they finished bathing him, they sat him on the death chair outside the house.’

\begin{verbatim}
Irakamandeka  ni  palangka  chima  bo'day  ni  baley.
?idaka=man-laga  ni  palajka  dima  bo?laj  ni  balaj
\end{verbatim}

3+/Nom=Asp=ActV/IPF-do GEN chair LOC/DIST outside GEN house

‘They usually made a chair outside the house.’

\begin{verbatim}
Yet  

isasalcha  ima  too.
\end{verbatim}

jat  \begin{verbatim}
?i-?asal=da  ?ima  to?o
\end{verbatim}

and then \begin{verbatim}
ThMV/IPF-death chair Nom/Dist person
\end{verbatim}

‘Then they sat that man on the death chair.’

\begin{verbatim}
Jet  

chakaitaked  i  too  chima  palangka  ya
\end{verbatim}

jat  \begin{verbatim}
daka=?i-takad  ?i  to?o  dima  palajka  ja
\end{verbatim}

and then \begin{verbatim}
3+/GEN=ThMV/CNTV-tie Nom/Dist person LOC/DIST chair LK
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
dingkara.
<in>laga=da
<PatV/PFT>do=3+/Gen
\end{verbatim}

‘Then they tied the man onto that chair they had made.’
They tied him with a rope including his head.'

'It was always like that.'

'At midday, they went and put the person in the sun so that he dried out.'

'But at midnight, they applied fire underneath the man on the death chair.'

'So that he would become hot or so that he would be darkened.'

'And so that the person's body would dry out.'

'At midday, they went and put him out to dry again.'

'And after some time, the person dried out.'
Jet bara mowan sota sakeya agas ja bolong ni kapani ya
and then exist again NOM/REC one=LK medicine LK leaf GEN kapani plant LK
chakaipoyok chi bakdang nonta etey.
daka=?i-pojok di baklaŋ nonta ?a-taj
3+/GEN/ASP=THMV/CNTV-rub LOC body GEN/REC PotPatV/PFT-die

'Then there was again a medicine that is the kapani leaf that they used to rub on
the body of the dead person.'

Iepascha sota too.
?i-?apas=da sota to?o
THMV/IPF-take down NOM/REC person

'They took the person down (from the death chair).'

Jet pojokancha ni bolong ni kapani say
and then rub-LocV/IPF=3+/GEN GEN leaf GEN kapani plant so that
egmebikis tan say eg'onsekep i insikto chi
neg=PotPatV/IPF-worm and so that neg=ActV/IPF-enter NOM insect LOC
bakdangto.
baklaŋ=to
body=3/GEN

'Then they rubbed him with some kapani leaves so that it wouldn't become worm-
eaten and so that insects wouldn't enter into his body.'

Jet dinadabin chakaepoi.
jat <in>cv-labi=n daka=?apoj-i
and then <FREQ>Distr-night=LK 3+/GEN/ASP=fire-LocV/CNTV

'Then every night they applied fire to him.'

Jet emankehamag'ima sota too.
jat ?amanka-maga-i=ma sota to?o
and then PotLocV/Prog-dry-LocV/Prog=then Nom/Rec person

'Then the person was drying out.'

Epata bolan ya nay'asal ni olay sota too.
?apat=a bolan ja naj-?asal ni ?olaj sota to?o
four=LK month coor PotThMV/Pft-death chair GEN always Nom/Rec person

'For four months the person was always on the death chair.'

Chakaibilag ni olay chi sekit.
daka=?i-bilag ni ?olaj di sagit
3+/GEN/ASP=THMV/CNTV-lie down GEN always LOC sun

'They always lay him down in the sun.'
Chakango ni olay pojoki ni bolong ni kapani.
daka=po ni ?olaj pojok-i ni bolong ni kapani
3+/GEN/ASP=also GEN always rub-LocV/CNTV GEN leaf GEN kapani plant

‘They also always rubbed him with some kapani leaves.’

Jet mengirakchak ira ni bolong ni bayabas.
jat manji-dakdak ?ida ni bolong ni bajabas
and then ACTV/IPF-boil 3+/NOM GEN leaf GEN guava

‘Then they boiled some guava leaves.’

Jet ipoyokcha chi bakdangto say onkeneg i
jat ?i-pojok=da di bakla=to saj ton-konog ?i
and then THMV/IPF-rub=3+/GEN LOC body=3/GEN so that ACTV/IPF-hard NOM bedatto.
bolat=to
skin=3/GEN

‘Then they tubbed them on his body so that his skin would become hard.’

Jet cha mowan isa’pey chi sekit.
jat da mowan ?i-sa?paj di sagit
and then 3+/GEN/DIR again THMV/IPF-dry LOC sun

‘Then they went and put him again to dry in the sun.’

Jet no makchengman memeg’an sota
jat no ma-kadaJJ=ma=n ma-maga-an sota
and then if/when PoTPATV/IPF-finish=then=LK PoTLocV/IPF-dry-LocV NOM/REC
too, chakananginangisi tan chakaadibaja.
to?o daka=CVCV-naJJis-i tan daka=?alibaj-a

‘When the person had finished drying out, they kept on crying and they entertained him.’

Samanna i tempo ya nangisancha sota atey.
saman-ma ?i tempo ja na?is-an=da sota ?a-taj
top/dist/pro nom time LK cry-LocV/IPF=3+/GEN nom PoTPatV/PFT-die

‘That is the time they cried for the dead.’

Singa ebiyag sota too ya
sija ?a-bi?ag sota to?o ja
as if STAV/PFT-alive nom/rec person LK

chakapan’adibaja.
daka=pan?alibaj-a
3+/GEN/ASP=LocV/PROG-entertain-LocV/PROG

‘It is as if the person they were entertaining were alive.’
A.1 Narrative Texts

Nontanda ya kaootikcha ya dimaw ali
nontan=la ja ka-?otik=da ja <im>law ?ali
time-past=away COOR ABSTN-few=3+/GEN LK <ActV>PFT>go toward

chiyay.
dijaj
LOC/PROX/PRO

'A long time ago, few were the ones who came here.'

Singa intapitapicha sota kaitcha no
si?a ?in-CVCV-tapi=da sota ga?it=da no
as if THMV/PFT-INTNS-teasure=3+/GEN NOM/REC friend=3+/GEN if/when

metey.
mo-taj
POTPATV/IPF-die

'It is as if they treasured their friends when they die.'

Ensemekcha tep ootikcha.
?an-samak=da tep ?o?otik=da
POTPATV/EN-love=3=/GEN because few=3+GEN

'They loved them because they were few.'

Saman i chakapesing ni meking.
saman ?i daka=pasilJ ni meking
TOP/DIST/PRO NOM 3+/GEN/ASP=way GEN mummy

'That is the way they made mummies.'

A.1.4 Our childhood

Nonta kaanengmi, echakel i
nonta ka-CV-?ana?q=mi ?a-dakel ?i
when-past ABSTN-quasi-young, unripen=1+/GEN STAPATV/PFT-many NOM

amayomi.
?amajo=mi
toy, game=1+/GEN

'When we were younger, many were our games.'

Kamikaman’asil, kamikamanpatalonton,
kamika=man-?asil kamika=man-patalonton
1+/NOM/ASP=ActV/IPF-play vigorously 1+/NOM/ASP=ActV/IPF-hop-scotch

kankamanbintiki nem saman ja bolan
kamika=man-<in>botik-i nom saman ja bolan
1+/NOM/ASP=ActV/IPF-<REC>-run-RECV/CNTV if/when TOP/DIST/PRO LK month
'We played vigorously, we played hop-scotch, ran around each other when it was the month to play hop-scotch.'

'When it was the rainy season, as for our game, we went and swam.'

'Because Paltingan which was the swimming place was indeed far, back then.'

'At that time, if it rained, we went and dammed the creek.'

'We went and got some sunflower leaves and a knife.'

'We got a knife.'

'Then we went and dammed it (the creek).'

'We cut off some sunflower leaves.'

'We used them to make a dam in the creek.'
No onkayangmay chanoma debeng, debengma sota
no ?on-kajaq=ma=j danom=a labq? labq=ma sota
if/when ACTV/IPP-high=then= NOM water= LK deep deep=then NOM/REC
chanom, imananmi pay ni bato sota bolong ni
danom ?iman-an=mi paj ni bato sota bo?o ni
water add-LocV/IPP=1+/GEN also GEN stone NOM/REC leaf GEN
iman, bolong ni penawel.
?iman bo?o ni panawal
DEM/DIST/PRO leaf GEN sunflower
’If the water became high and was deep, the water was by then deep, we added
some stones to the leaves of that one, sunflower leaves.’

Mendepkami.
maN-salap=kami
ACTV/IPP-dam=1+/NOM
’We made a dam.’

Tedtechananmi sota bolong ni penawel.
tadtad-an=mi sota bo?o ni panawal
pile-LocV/IPP=1+/GEN NOM/REC leaf GEN sunflower
’We piled the sunflower leaves.’

No debengma ket manbo’daykami.
no labq=ma kat man-bo?haj=kami
if/when deep=then TPLK ACTV/IPP-outside=1+/NOM
’If by then it (the water) was deep, we went out.’

Yet kami mannangoy, man’inosilankami
jat kami man-naqoj man<-in>qosil-an=kami
and then 1+/NOM/DIR ACTV/IPP-swim ACTV/IPP-<REC>catch-REC=1+/NOM

nodta pa’dok
nodta pa?lok
LOC/REC creek
’Then we went and swam, we caught each other in the creek.’

Say deg’enmi, man’inosilkami.
saj laga-an=mi man<-in>qosil=kami
TOP do-PATV/IPP=1+/GEN ACTV/IPP-<REC>catch=1+/NOM
’What we did, we caught each other.’

No sina’chom pay, mengdakami ni empotin bato.
no sina?dom paj maN-ala=kami ni ?an-poti=n bato
when sometimes also ACTV/IPP-get=1+/NOM GEN STA V/EN-white=LK stone
’Sometimes too, we got a white stone’
Yet idetepmidma palegpeg.

jat ?i-lisop=mi=dlma palegpeg

and then THMV/IPF-dive=LOC/DIST dam

‘Then we dove with it into the dam.’

Yet mankokontiskami.

jat man-kokontis=kami

and then ACTV/IPF-contest, compete=1+/NOM

‘And then we competed.’

Ikowanmi yi no sipay pilmeron menepol nonta

?i-kowan=mi ji no sipa=j pilmero=n maN-sapol nonta

THMV/IPF-say=1+/GEN LK/ji if/when who=NOM first=LK ACTV/IPF-find GEN/REC

empotin bato, si’katongoy menga’mot.

?an-pot=ni=bato si=gato=qo=j maN-cv-amot

STAV/EN-white=LK stone 3/IND=also, emph=NOM ACTV/IPF-hide

‘We said that whoever was the first to find the white stone, he was the one who would hide it.’

Yet mankokontiskami.

jat man-kokontis=kami

and then ACTV/IPF-contest, compete=1+/NOM

‘And then we competed.’

Yet idi pinsak, kamikaemenedep nodta sesa’pat

jat ?i’li pinsak kamika=moN-salap nodta cv-sagpat

and then when-past once 1+/NOM/ASP=ACTV/CNTV-dam LOC/REC QUASI-up

tep binagbagchala sota

tap <in>bagbag=da=la sota

because <PATV/PFT>destroy=3+/GEN=away NOM/REC

sinedepmid dedespag.

<in>salap=mi=d cv-lospag

<PATV/PFT>dam=1+/GEN=LOC QUASI-below

‘Then once, we were making a dam in the upper part (of the creek), because they destroyed what we dammed in the lower part.’

Kamikaemendep nodta sesa’pat, inegnik

kamika=moN-salap nodta cv-sagpat <in>-?agni=k

1+/NOM/ASP=ACTV/CNTV-dam LOC/REC QUASI-up <PATV/PFT>hold=1/GEN

sota taed.
sota ta?ad
LOC/REC knife

‘We were making a dam in the upper part, I held the knife.’
A.1 Narrative Texts

Nakaemematpat ni bolong ni penawel, idi
naka=omaN-patpat ni bolong ni penawel i’li
1/NOM/ASP=ACTV/CNTV-cut off vegetation GEN leaf GEN sunflower when-past

ingkasko.

‘I was cutting off some sunflower leaves, when I dropped it (the knife).’

Jet naypa’chek chi sedik ket
jat naj-pa?dak di sali=k ket
and then POTTHMV/PFT-get stuck LOC foot, leg=l/GEN TP/LK

esogatak.

‘And it stuck in my foot and I was wounded.’

Idi iman, ekakma ekinangonangoy nontana tempo
when-past NOM/DIST/PRO neg&l/NOM=then ACTV/PFT-swim time-past=LK time

tep esogat i sedik.
tap ?a-sogat ?i sali=k
because POTPatV/PFT-wound NOM foot, leg=l/GEN

‘When that happened, I no longer joined the others to go swimming back then because my foot was wounded.’

Imbongettowak nen nanangko.
?in-bapat=to=ak non nanaj=ko
THMV/PFT-angry=3/GEN=1/NOM GEN/PERS mother=1/GEN

‘My mother was angry with me.’

Binechastowak pay tep kowanto yi “kostoy
<in>badas=to=ak paj tap kowan=to ji kosto=j
<PatV/PFT>whip=3/GEN=1/NOM also because say=3/GEN LK/ji enough=NOM

saleslep nima pa’dok!
cV/.CV-salp nima pa?lok
MULT-dam GEN/DIST creek

‘She also whipped me because she said that “the damming of that creek is enough!’

“On’im itan! Esogat i sedim!”
?onaj-i=m ?itan ?a-sogat ?i sali=m
see-LOCV/IMP=2/GEN NOM/MED/PRO POTPatV/PFT-wound NOM foot, leg=2/GEN

‘ “Look at that! Your foot is wounded.” ’
Yet egkamima nontan mannanangoy tep jat ?ag=kami=ma nontan man-naap? tap
and then neg=1+/NOM=then time-past ACTV/IPF-swim because

chakamikabechasa nen nanangmi tan da=kamika=badas-a non nanaq=mi tan
3+/GEN=1+/NOM/ASP=whip=PATV/CNTV GEN/PERS mother=1+/GEN and
tatangmi tep say obdak nontan, manbantaj ni nga’nga.
tataq=mi top saj ?obla=k nontan man-bantaj ni ya?ga
father=1+/GEN because TOP job=1/GEN time-past ACTV/IPF-look after GEN child

‘We didn’t swim any more because our mother and our father would whip us because my job back then was to look after the children.’

Yet no iman, manbebadeykami,
jat no ?iman man-ca-balaj=kami
and then if/when NOM/DIST/PRO ACTV/IPF-PRTND-house=1+/NOM

mantetookamidma doongan ni baley.
man-ca-ta?o=kami=dma lo?on-an ni balaj
ACTV/IPF-PRTND-person=1+/NOM=LOC/DIST under-LocN GEN house

‘When that happened, we played house, we played dolls in the basement of the house.’

Satan i mikadegdeg’a nontan
satanj ?i mika=CVC-laga-a nontan
TOP/DIST/PRO NOM 1+/GEN/ASP=DISTR-do-PATV/CNTV when-past

ka’a’anengmi.
ka-cv-?anaq=mi
ABSTN-QUASI-young=1+/GEN

‘That was what we kept doing during our youth.’

A.2 Procedural Text

A.2.1 Sautéed noodles

Daok ni pagsit gisado: pagsit bikon, doriyas, karot, chipoljo, apag,
la?ok ni pagsit gisado pañsaite bikon lorijas karot dipoljo ?apag
ingredient GEN sautéed noodle rice noodle string beans carrot cabbage meat

siboyas, bawang, soy.
sibojas bawaj soj
bull onion garlic soy sauce

‘Ingredients of sautéed noodles: rice noodles, string beans, carrots, cabbage, meat, bull onion, garlic and soy sauce.’
A.2 Procedural Text

Let's slice the meat in small pieces.

Let's slice the string beans, cabbage, carrots and bull onion in small pieces.

Let's rinse the rice noodles with water.

First, let us get a vat.

Then let's put it over there with the meat.

Then let's put the lard in it until it is hot.

Then let's add into the water the sliced meat.

Then when the meat is cooking, let's add into the water the string beans, cabbage, carrots, bull onion and garlic.
Jet maykebal ingkatod chanchanin medoto.
jet maj-kabal ?iŋkatod dandani=n ma-loto
and then PotTHMV/IPF-stir until almost=LK PotPatV/IPF-cook

‘Then let’s stir it until it is almost cooked.’

No makcheng, mechojagan ni chanom.
no ma-kadaj ma-dojag-an ni danom
if/when PotPatV/PFT-finish PotLocV/IPF-pour-LOCv GEN water

‘When finished, let’s pour some water.’

Jet pechekchekan.
jet pə-dakdak-an
and then UnCausLocV/IPF-boil-LOCv

‘Then let’s make it come to the boil.’

Jet maydaok sota soy tan ootik ja asin tan
jet maj-laʔok sota soj tan ?oʔotik ja ?asin tan
and then PotTHMV/IPF-mix NOM/REC soy sauce and little LK salt and
bitsin.
bitsin
vegetable stock

‘Then let’s mix the soy sauce and little salt and vegetable stock.’

Jet mayteb’okma sota pangsit bikon.
jet maj-tabʔok=ma sota paŋsit bikon
and then PotTHMV/IPF-add into water=then NOM/REC rice noodle

‘Then let’s add into the water the rice noodles.’

Maykebal ingkatod medoto.
maj-kabal ?iŋkatod ma-loto
PotTHMV/IPF-stir until PotPatV/IPF-cook

‘Let’s stir it until it will be cooked.’

A.3 Dialogues

A.3.1 Short Dialogue 1

lkol: Wey, si’kam gayam! Kowan ko ne m apilka!
wij siʔgam gayam kowan=ko nam ?apil=ka
hey, excuse me 2/IND so, surprise think=2/GEN CMPLZ different=2/NOM

‘Hey, excuse me, it’s you! I thought you were someone else!’
Botjog: *Eh, Ikol! Si'kam si Ikol, enia? Towa i dabanmo?* 

\( \text{Eh } \text{i} \text{kol } \text{s} \text{i'} \text{kam } \text{s} \text{i } \text{i} \text{kol, } \text{e} \text{n} \text{i} \text{a? } \text{t} \text{ow} \text{a } \text{i } \text{d} \text{a} \text{b} \text{a} \text{n} \text{m} \text{o?} \)  

‘Eh, Ikol! You are Ikol, aren’t you? Where are you going?’

Ikol: *Chitan bengat, piig ni simbaan.* 

\( \text{chitan } \text{b} \text{e} \text{ngat, } \text{p} \text{i} \text{i} \text{g } \text{n} \text{i } \text{s} \text{i} \text{m} \text{b} \text{a} \text{n} \text{a} \text{n} \)  

‘Only there, near the church.’

Botjog: *Ngantoy aya?* 

\( \text{n} \text{g} \text{a} \text{n} \text{t} \text{o} \text{y } \text{a} \text{y} \text{a?} \)  

‘Why so?’

Ikol: *Bara bengat i aspolenko chiman.* 

\( \text{b} \text{a} \text{r} \text{a } \text{b} \text{e} \text{ngat } \text{i } \text{a} \text{s} \text{p} \text{e} \text{l} \text{e} \text{n} \text{k} \text{o} \text{c} \text{h} \text{i} \text{m} \text{a} \text{n} \text{e} \text{r} \text{n} \)  

‘There is just someone I will meet there.’

Botjog: *Aa, nganto kari, engasebaka mala?* 

\( \text{a} \text{a}, \text{n} \text{g} \text{a} \text{n} \text{t} \text{o} \text{y } \text{k} \text{a} \text{r} \text{i}, \text{e} \text{n} \text{g} \text{a} \text{s} \text{e} \text{b} \text{a} \text{k} \text{a} \text{m} \text{a} \text{l} \text{a}? \)  

‘I see, what please, are you already married?’

Ikol: *Owenngo! Si Maria, sota classmateta, si’kam ngay?* 

\( \text{o} \text{w} \text{e} \text{n} \text{n} \text{g} \text{o}, \text{si } \text{m} \text{a} \text{r} \text{i}, \text{s} \text{o} \text{ta } \text{c} \text{l} \text{a} \text{s} \text{s} \text{m} \text{a} \text{t} \text{e} \text{t} \text{a}, \text{si’kam } \text{n} \text{g} \text{a} \text{y}? \)  

‘Yes (don’t you know?)! Maria, our classmate, and what about you?’

Botjog: *Aychi mango! Aychi met i kaonpiyan son si’kak,?ajdi ma?o ?ajdi mat ?i ka=ton-pijan so=n si?gak no just not exist EMPH NOM HAB=ACTV/IPF-like OBL=GEN/PERS 1/IND empem eemon onpigotak.* 

\( \text{a} \text{y} \text{c} \text{h} \text{i } \text{m} \text{a} \text{n} \text{g} \text{o}, \text{a} \text{y} \text{c} \text{h} \text{i } \text{m} \text{e} \text{t } \text{i } \text{k} \text{a} \text{o} \text{n} \text{p} \text{i} \text{y} \text{a} \text{n } \text{s} \text{o} \text{n } \text{s} \text{i’kak,} \)  

‘No (with modesty)! There is no one who likes me unless maybe I will become thin.’

**A.3.2 Short Dialogue 2**

Carlos: *Si’kak gayam si Carlos. Nganto karida i ngaranmo?* 

\( \text{s} \text{i’kak } \text{g} \text{a} \text{y} \text{a} \text{m } \text{s} \text{i } \text{C} \text{a} \text{r} \text{l} \text{o} \text{s} \text{. } \text{n} \text{g} \text{a} \text{n} \text{t} \text{o} \text{y } \text{k} \text{a} \text{r} \text{i} \text{d} \text{a} \text{i } \text{i } \text{n} \text{g} \text{a} \text{r} \text{a} \text{n} \text{m} \text{o}? \)  

‘I am Carlos. What is your name? (I may have forgotten)’
Jean:  
*Si’kakngo si Jean.*
1/IND=also, just, emph NOM/PERS Jean

‘I am Jean.’

Carlos:  
*Ibadoyka?*

‘Are you Ibaloy?’

Jean:  
*Owen chi Tubaak, si’kam ngay?*

‘Yes, I am from Tuba, and what about you?’

Carlos:  
*Chi Itogonak mango.*

‘I am from Itogon.’

Jean:  
*Pigakayo ngay ja san’aaki?*

‘How many brothers and sisters are you?’

Carlos:  
*Tatedokami. Dakikamin emin, si’kayo ngay?*

‘We are only three. We are all males, what about you?’

Jean:  
*Dimakami mango, echakel; tedon bii tan chowan daki.*

‘We are five, many; three females and two males.’

Carlos:  
*Ara! Time gayamda!*

‘Oh! It’s time to go!’
### A.3.3 Short Dialogue 3

**Sipjan:** Mai, baraka i bagak no mebedin. ma?i wada=ka ?i baga=k no mabalin
ehm exist=polite NOM question=1/GEN if/when can

'... well (while thinking), I have a question if possible.'

**Klara:** *Owen chechan! Nganto iman aya?* ?owan danan ganto ?iman ?aja
yes of course what NOM/DIST/PRO so, then

'Yes of course! What is that then?'

**Sipjan:** Mai, si’kam gayam si !wit ja nan’iskoydad Bagiw?
ma?i si?gam gayam si ?iwit ja nan-?iskojla=d bagiw
ehm 2/IND surprise NOM/PERS Iwit LK ACTV/PFT-study=LOC Baguio

'... are you Iwit who studied in Baguio?'

**Klara:** *Owenngo! Malibkanka nem?* ?owan=yo ma-libag-an=ka nam
yes=also, emph STALOCV-forget-LOCV=2/NOM adversative

'Yes! Are you forgetful?'

**Sipjan:** *Aychi! Egtaka dinibkan. Kaagpaysoanto,*
?ajdi ?ag=taka <in>libag-an ka-?agpajso-an=to
no neg=1/GEN&2/NOM LocV /PFT-forget-LocV ABsN-true-ABSN=3/GEN

'mimarimarikitka ngarod! Ara!
<im>cvcv-madikit=ka ngarod ?ada
<ActV/pft>-INTNS-beautiful=2/NOM indeed oh, surprise

'No! I did not forget you. Truly, you have become very beautiful indeed! Oh!'

**Klara:** *Wey, dedamsis mango itan!* wij blamsis ma=uo ?itan
hey, excuse me joke just NOM/MED/PRO

'Hey, excuse me joke, that is just a joke!'

**Sipjan:** *Podno, kaasimak! Aliban nakaman’owaowap!*
podno ka?asi=m=ak ?aliwa=n naka=man-CVCV-/owap
true pity=2/GEN=1/NOM not=LK 1/NOM/ASP=ACTV/IPF-DISTR-lie

'It is true, have pity on me! I am not lying!'

**Klara:** *Ti, toga medechawakda!*
ti toga ma-ladaw=ak=da
ok really POTPatV/IPF-late=1/NOM=away

'OK, really I am late!'

**Sipjan:** *Owen, Owen, mekiodopak?* ?owan ?owan maki-?olop=ak
yes yes ACTV/IPF-accompany=1/NOM

'Yes, yes, can I accompany (you)?
A.4 Descriptions

A.4.1 Pictures of a trip to Aurora Province

'Stay saotapoon issa pictureko nonta indawmid Aurora Province.

'This is my picture of when we went to Aurora Province.'

Yet chiyay, timongawak chi sakey ya bato ya and then LOC/PROX/PRO <i>to:uaw=ak</i> di sakaj ja bato ja baradma naykilig ni bajbay. wada=dma naj-kilig ni bajbay exist=LOC/DIST STATHMV/PFT-edge GEN sea 'Here, I sat on a rock that was on that edge of the sea.'

Makaoney chiyay ya mapteng i view. maka-?onaj dijaj ja ma-pata:u ?i view POTACTV/IPF-see LOC/PROX/PRO LK STAV/MA-good NOM view 'A nice view is visible from here.'

Yet chima kilig ni bajbay, baray sakey ya swimming pool. jat dima kilig ni bajbay wada=] sakaj ja swimming po?ol and then LOC/DIST edge GEN sea exist=NOM one LK swimming pool 'At that edge of the sea, there is a swimming pool.'

Bara iray kaitko isonga yangokamin wada ?ida=] ga?it=ko ?iso=nga jajo=kami=n exist 3+/NOM=NOM friend=1/GEN hence=LK DEMIDNTF/PROX=1+/NOM=LK emanannangoy. ?aaman-naqoj ACTV/CNTV-swim 'There are my friends, and so here we are swimming.'
A.4.2 Pictures of a trip to Mount Pulag

Sajay  nonta  indawmid  Mount Pulag nonta
sajaj  nonta  ?in-law=mi=d  mount  polag  nonta
TOP/PROX/PRO  when-past  GER/PFT-go=1+/GEN=LOC  Mount  Pulag  when-past
	nineteen ninety seven.
nineteen ninety seven
nineteen ninety seven

'This one here (pointing at the picture) is when we went to Mount Pulag in 1997.'

Yet  si'kak i  sakey ya indara  ya paraagas  tan
jat  si?qak ?i  sakaj ja  <in>?ala=da  ja  pada-?agas  tan
and then 1/IND  NOM  one  LK  <PATV/PFT>take=3+/GEN  LK  INSTIGN-medicine  and
parabalnay  ya ondaw  chi  Mount Pulag.
pada-balnaj  ja  ?on-law  di  mount  polag
INSTIGN-guard  LK  ACTV/IPF-go  LOC  Mount  Pulag

'I was the one they took as nurse and babysitter to go to Mount Pulag.'

Sajay  ya parte sota  kowancha  yi  camping site  ono  dogad ja
sajaj  ja  parte  sota  kowan=da  ji  camping  site  ?ono  logad  ja
TOP/PROX/PRO  LK  part  NOM/REC  say=3+/GEN  LK/ji  camping  site  or  place  LK
panchokolan  tan  pangitowenan  ni  kaokipan.
pan-dokol-an  tan  pangi-towan-an  ni  ka-?ogip-an
GERLoc/IPF-lie  down-LOC  and  GERLoc/IPF-erect-LOC  GEN  GERLoc/IPF-sleep-LOC

'This part here is what they call 'camping site' or place where to lie down and
erect the sleeping place.'

Jet  bimangonkami  ni  alastres  ni  daem.
jat  <im>bajo?=kami  ni  alastres  ni  la?om
and then  <ACTV/PFT>wake  up=1+/NOM  GEN  three  o'clock  GEN  dawn

'Then we woke up at three o'clock at dawn.'

Yet  timiyedkami  chima  pinakatoktok  ni  Mount
jat  <im>tijad=kami  dima  pinaka-toktok  ni  mount
and then  <ACTV/PFT>climb=1+/NOM  LOC/DIST  top-head,  summit  GEN  Mount
Pulag.
polag
Pulag

'Then we climbed up to the highest summit of Mount Pulag.'

Indami  ni  thirty  to  forty  five  ya  minutos.
<in>?ula=mi  ni  thirty  to  forty  five  ja  minutos
<PATV/PFT>take=1+/GEN  GEN  thirty  to  forty  five  LK  minute

'It took us thirty to forty five minutes.'
‘The walk, it starts at the place where we lie down as far as the top of Mount Pulag.’

‘At the very top of Mount Pulag, it is very cold.’

‘Hence it is necessary that your clothes are thick, so that you won’t be cold.’
References
References


