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THE ARCHIVE

Vol. 2 Nos. 1-2 (2021)

Jem R. Javier

Editor-in-Chief

Department of Linguistics

College of Social Sciences and Philosophy

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The Archive is the official journal of the Department of Linguistics, College of Social Sciences and Philosophy, University of the Philippines Diliman. The Regular Series of the journal serves as a peer-reviewed publication for original works dealing primarily but not exclusively with Philippine languages and dialects.

- full-length articles
- squibs
- linguistic data sets
- field notes and linguistic ethnographies
- interviews
- reviews and commentaries

Single, extensive works on the grammars of Philippine languages and dialects may also be published in the Special Publications Series of the journal. All submissions are subject to double-blind peer review with the exception of interviews, review articles, and commentaries.

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COMMENTARY

**Beyond Linguistic Empowerment: Language
Revitalization Through Social Justice**

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Maria Kristina Gallego & Jesus Federico Hernandez

Editor's Notes

This regular issue of *The Archive* features current and relevant Philippine linguistic research projects, representing the current institutional agenda and mandate of the Department of Linguistics, University of the Philippines (UP), during its first century of existence. This issue contains three original research articles titled “The Aspect Systems of Some Philippine Languages—Developments from Proto-Austronesian” by Honeylet Dumoran, “Multiple Motivations for Preposing in Selected Philippine Languages” by Michael Wilson Rosero, and “Nominalization in Surigaonon: Beyond Forming Noun Phrases” by Ava A. Villareal. It also archives the Itneg Inlaud Wordlist elicited by Ryn Jean Fe V. Gonzales, Nick B. Bringas, Jhony C. Azada, and Marites F. Remos. Also featured is a commentary titled “Beyond Linguistic Empowerment: Language Revitalization Through Social Justice” written by Maria Kristina Gallego and Jesus Federico Hernandez.

Dumoran's paper is a reexamination of the aspect system found in Philippine languages as compared with the putative ancestral morphology in Proto-Austronesian and Proto-Extra-Formosan. Tracing the historical development of this morphological feature, the author was able

to engage in the scholarly discourse with Philippine historical linguists and Austronesianists, capitalizing on the morphosyntactic behaviors of aspectual systems observed among selected Philippine languages. Dumoran infers, based on the data collected and analyzed, that there may be three ways by which the aspect systems developed from Proto-Austronesian, undergoing innovative and retentive developments resulting in their current forms as observed in the Philippine languages under study. Finally, using the methods of historical linguistics, this paper is able to explain how the forms of aspectual system have developed similarly or differently among these Philippine languages that represent disparate microgroups and are located in various geographic locations in the country.

By showcasing how a Cebuano dialect called Kana fares in comparison with select Philippine languages such as Chavacano, Ilokano, Tagalog, and Waray, Rosero's paper offers a fresh look at the analysis of word order in Philippine-type languages. He takes particular look at preposing, a pragmatically marked construction where non-predicate arguments are placed in front of the sentence for pragmatic reasons, thereby altering the canonical word order widely considered to be common among Philippine-type languages. The paper arrives at several inferences by employing statistical frequency analysis and scaffolded by concepts used in functional linguistics and pragmatics. Whereas Chavacano, Ilokano, and Tagalog represent the canonical predicate-initial word order among Philippine-type languages, Kana and Waray, on the other hand, favor pronominal preposing as evidenced by the high frequency of occurrence of preposed constructions, which is found to be even higher than the basic postposed construction.

Meanwhile, Villareal’s article describes a grammatical process called nominalization and how this forms certain derived grammatical structures in Surigaonon. Using the generative grammar approach, she enumerates the syntactic processes and semantic/lexical bases of Surigaonon nominalization and how it contributes to the modification of basic sentences and the formation of complex sentences. By relating the nominalization processes vis-à-vis the formation of complex sentences observed in the said language, the author is able to contribute to the ongoing dialogue on the syntax of complex sentences among Bisayan languages—to where Surigaonon belongs—in particular, and among Philippine languages in general. Finally, the paper aims to utilize this linguistic theoretical knowledge to more applied uses such as pedagogy, community-based language documentation and description, and Philippine comparative linguistic research.

This issue of *The Archive* also includes a valuable wordlist of Itneg Inlaud, prepared by Gonzales, Bringas, Azada, and Remos, based on their extensive field work for language and culture documentation of the said language, spoken in the valleys of northern Luzon. This data set, which encapsulates the cultural and societal realities of the speech community, is also notable because of its use of latest technological advancements available to the researchers, as a response to the limitations of current linguistic field research brought about by the COVID-19 pandemic. This wordlist is all the more important not only because it documents the core vocabulary of Itneg Inlaud, a critically endangered language, but also because it offers various alternative and effective methods in eliciting linguistic data that remain within the context of the current situation and sociocultural experiences in the Philippines.

The commentary written by Gallego and Hernandez puts forward a more engaged and militant approach to the agenda relating to language documentation and, more importantly, revitalization—an approach that is aware of and guided by a wider social justice framework, resulting in a more proper way to address the issue of language endangerment. Their commentary is a call to conducting linguistic research that is conscientious about the current plight especially of the minority and minoritized ethnolinguistic groups, by citing their own experiences in and observations on language revitalization efforts of Ibatan, spoken in the island of Babuyan Claro. They argue that languages need not be pit against each other and furthermore, multilingualism is never a hindrance to maintaining the rich linguistic repertoires of speakers. Finally, they cite the importance of looking at extra-linguistic factors that contribute to the collective experience of the marginalized community and, by addressing them, true empowerment and hence a more effective language revitalization will be achieved.

Since its founding in 1922, the Department of Linguistics at UP has endeavored to conduct linguistic research on Philippine languages and disseminate the results of these research projects through various means such as this journal. The essays and data set featured in this issue are a reflection of the mandate and research agenda of the institution: Philippine diachronic, comparative, and structural linguistics; Philippine language documentation and description; and application of theoretical linguistic knowledge to contributing to solving various linguistic issues in the country.

To the editorial team, authors, contributors, and reviewers of this second revival issue of *The Archive*, I wish to express my deepest gratitude. We hope that the articles, data set, and commentary featured in this regular issue serve as a continuation or takeoff point for further scholarly discussions on Philippine linguistics in the years to come.

Jem R. Javier
Editor-in-Chief

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The Aspect Systems of Some Philippine Languages—Developments From Proto-Austronesian

Honeylet Dumoran

Abstract

This paper describes the development of the aspect systems of seven Philippine languages from the ancestral aspect system of Proto-Extra-Formosan (Reid 1992), and ultimately from the aspect system of the earlier protolanguage PAN (Ross 2009, 2015). This analysis finds (a) that there may be three ways by which the aspect systems developed from PAN (and from PEF) which resulted in the aspect systems of the seven languages examined for this paper—one is largely retentive, and the others are innovative, resulting in two distinct aspect systems;

(b) that one of these two aspect systems (i.e., languages spoken in southern Philippines) has undergone a simplification, having lost the marking for the distinction in the realis aspect, as well as the marking for the irrealis aspect; (c) that this innovation might have been a shared historical development by the southern PLs Talaandig and Salug-Subanen; (d) that the other aspect system (i.e., central) innovated in such a way that resulted in the prefixation of the realis verb instead of the reduplication that is characteristic of the morphology of this aspect; (e) that this prefixation proceeded from the <in> infixation that eventually syncopated, leaving only the prefix in Cebuano (*gi-*), and the remnant of the vowel syncopation in Waray (*gin-*); and (f) that the retentive development is observed in the languages spoken in northern Philippines, which retain most of the morphological behavior of the ancestral PAN.

Ross (2009, 2015) reconstructed the verbal morphology of ancestral Proto-Austronesian (PAN). In these papers, Ross identifies the morphology in four verbal aspects: what he calls the AV realis (infinitive), realis imperfective, realis perfective, and irrealis. Out of these reconstructions, the aspect system of PAN may be readily derived, and compared with the aspect systems of Philippine languages (PLs). Such a work as the latter has been done by Reid (1992), who reconstructed the aspect system of Proto-Extra-Formosan (PEF) from his analysis of the aspect systems of PLs. In this work, Reid traced the development of Ilokano and Tagalog from PEF; Ilokano and Tagalog being

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the two PLs representative of the two main classifications of languages in the Philippines as regards aspect systems: one that distinguishes between [+BEGUN] and [-BEGUN]; and the other, that distinguishes between [+COMPLETED] and [-COMPLETED]. Reid demonstrates how such a comparison may be done, and shows the pertinent parameters that may be identified in PLs in order to analyze their development from the aspect system of the ancestral PEF.

Based on these works, this paper attempts to describe the development of the aspect systems of some PLs from the ancestral aspect system of PEF, and ultimately from the aspect system of the earlier protolanguage PAN. The paper begins by showing the geographic location and the linguistic subgroups in which the seven languages studied for this paper belong. Section 2 aims to disperse the ambiguity that arises in the use of the many labels pertaining to verbal morphology through a summary of the most-used terminologies. The paper then proceeds to show four things: (a) the reflexes of the ancestral Proto-Austronesian affixes in the seven Philippine languages, namely, Kapampangan, Tawali, Northern Catanduanes Bikol, Cebuano, Waray, Talaandig, and Salug-Subanen; (b) a description of the voice and aspect morphology of verbs from these seven PLs; (c) a description of the development of the verbal morphology of the seven PLs from the ancestral PAN morphology; and (d) a discussion of the development of the aspect systems of these languages from the ancestral aspect system of PAN, which will be derived based on Ross's reconstructions (in Ross 2009, 2015).

1 Geographic and Genetic Positions

The seven PLs that are examined in this paper are subgrouped by various references as follows: Tuwali Ifugao belongs with the Cordilleran microgroup; Kapampangan subgroups with the Central Luzon microgroup; Cebuano belongs to the Central Philippine supgroup spoken in Cebu, Negros Oriental, eastern Visayas, and the coastal areas of northern and eastern Mindanao. The Cebuano which is studied in this paper is subgrouped by the Ethnologue under Mindanao Visayan. Also belonging with Cebuano in the Central Philippine Subgroup are Northern Catanduanes-Bikol (NC-Bikol) and Waray. The map in Figure 1 summarizes these languages and where they are spoken.

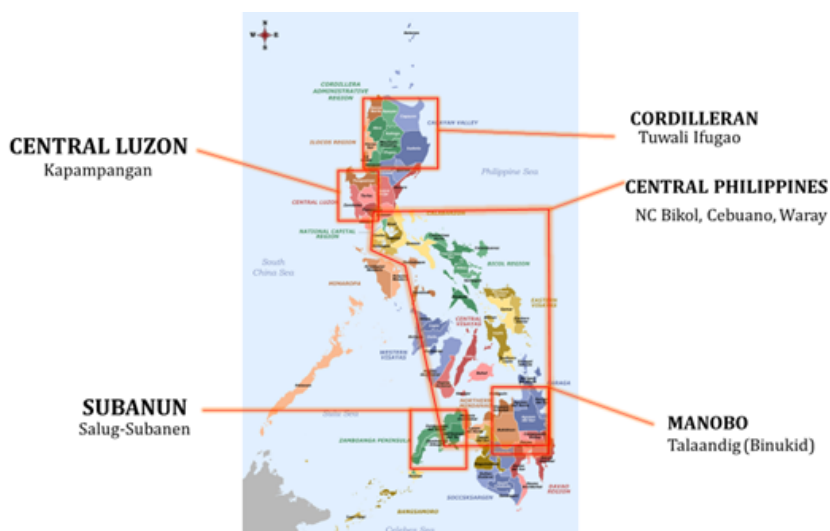


Figure 1. The Seven PLs and Their Location

Talaandig is spoken in the mountains of Bukidnon in Mindanao. It belongs with other Binukid languages, under the Manobo sub-

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group. Salug-Subanen belongs to the Subanen group of languages spoken in the Zamboanga Peninsula, also in Mindanao. Subanen has eight known members (Lobel 2013): Kolibugan, Western Subanon, Tawlet-Kalibugan, Salug-Godod Subanen, Southern Subanen, Central Subanen, Northern Subanen, and Eastern Subanen.

2 Nomenclature

There have been varying terminologies that are used across the literature on Philippine verbal morphology. Pertinent among linguists are the terminologies used by Schachter & Otanes (1983), De Guzman (in Reid 1992), Reid (1992), and Ross (2009, 2015). In order to minimize ambiguity in the use of these terms, I present Table 1, where I summarize the terminologies; additionally, I map each term onto its respective counterpart in each of the other studies.

Traditional Label	Ross 1995; 2009; 2015	De Guzman in Reid 1992		Schachter & Otanes, 1972
infinitive form	AV realis	[-FINITE]		nonfinite
past form	perfective realis	[+FINITE]	[-BEGUN]	completed aspect [+BEGUN, +COMP]
progressive form	imperfective realis			incompleted aspect [+BEGUN, -COMP]
future form	irrealis	[-BEGUN]		contemplated

Table 1. Nomenclature in the Literature on Verbal Morphology

Traditionally, we distinguish among the infinitive form of the verb, the past form, the progressive form, and the future form (see column

1 of Table 1). In the same way, Schachter & Otnes (in Reid 1992) distinguishes between the nonfinite form of the verb, and three finite forms: perfective, imperfective, and contemplated.

De Guzman uses the labels [-FINITE] and [+FINITE]. For finite verbs, De Guzman distinguishes between [+BEGUN] and [-BEGUN], which is the invariant future or irrealis/contemplated form. For [+BEGUN] verbs, she distinguishes between two aspects: *completed* and *incompleted*. De Guzman's terminology is especially helpful in describing Philippine aspect systems which differ in paradigmatic forms, such as what Reid shows for Ilokano and Tagalog in his 1992 paper. In this paper, he shows (using De Guzman's terminology) the aspect system of Ilokano as essentially differing from that of Tagalog. Reid (1992) notes that Central PLs behave like Tagalog in that they distinguish between begun (present and past) and not-begun (future); Ilokano and the other PLs distinguish between completed (past) and not completed (present and present progressive).

Finally, Ross (2015) distinguishes between the realis forms and the irrealis form, which de Guzman (in Reid 1992) calls the [-BEGUN]. Ross makes a distinction among three realis forms: (a) what he calls the *AV realis* in his earlier paper (Ross 1995), which is equivalent to what we know as the nonfinite form; (b) the *perfective realis*, which is what de Guzman (in Reid 1992) calls the completed aspect [+BEGUN, +COMP] and what we know as the past form; and (c) *imperfective realis*, which is what de Guzman calls the incompleted aspect [+BEGUN, -COMP] and what we know as the progressive form.

In this paper, I use Ross's terms for in-text descriptions, but I use the distinctions [+/-BEGUN] and [+/-COMPLETED] in the maps I derive for the aspect systems of the PLs, in order to enable comparison with the maps used in Reid (1992).

3 Reflexes of the PAN Verbal Affixes

The Philippine languages, like other Austronesian languages, have a system of marking the agentive voice with two sets of affixes (called the *M-forms for PAN by Ross [2009, 2015]): the infix <um> and its variants, and the prefix *mag-* and its variants. According to Reid & Liao (2004: 457), “*mag-* historically developed by attaching UM to a word that had been previously derived with the prefix PEF *paR-. Reflexes of PEF *maR- verbs typically appear as either *ag-*, *mag-*, or *may-* in languages in which the expected reflex of *R is *g* or *y*.” Reid & Liao (2004) further adds that in contrast to UM verbs, which are either punctual or inchoative, MAG verbs have been described as being durative.

Reid (1992) distinguishes between these two agentive voices: the <um>-form and the *mag-*-form. Additionally, he identifies three non-agentive voices: objective, locative and instrumental voices. Ross (2009, 2015), on the other hand, presents four voices in his morphological reconstruction of PAN. These include the (a) actor voice, and three undergoer voices: (b) patient, (c) location, and circumstance, under which he identifies and exemplifies only the (d) instrumental voice.

	PAn *M-	PAn *-en	PAn *-an	PAn *Si- /*Sa-	PAn *Si- /*Sa-
PEF	*-um-/*mu- /*m-	*-ən	*-an	*ʔi-	*ʔi-/*-an/ *ʔi- -an
Kapampangan	-um- mag-	-an	-an	i-	i- or -an
Tuwali	-um- mag-	-on	-an	i-	i- -an
NC Bikol	mag-	-on	-an	i-	-an
Cebuano	mu- mag-	-on	-an	i-	-an
Waray	-um- mag-	-on	-an	i-	-an
Talaandig	<um><in> mag-	-on	-an	i-	i-
Salug-Subanen	-um- mæg-	-ən	-an	pe-	-an

Table 2. Verbal Affixes of the Seven PLs

Data for this paper includes one additional circumstance voice, which is the benefactive voice, for which Reid & Liao (2004) reconstructs the affixes in PEF. The reflexes of this affix (and the morphology of this voice) are discussed in Section 4.2.3. Presented in Table 2 is the summary of the reflexes of the various voice affixes; the table compares the affixes of the seven PLs with the affixes in ancestral PAN and PEF.

The reflexes of PAN *M in PEF are PEF *-um-, PEF *mu-, and PEF *m. There are four reflexes of the ancestral agentive affixes that emerged from the seven PLs: (a) the infix <um>, as in Kapampangan, Tuwali, Waray, Talaandig and Salug-Subanen; (b) the prefix mu-, as in Cebuano; (c) the prefix mag- in addition to the <um> infix; and (d) the variant mæg- in Salug-Subanen. NC Bikol only has the mag-form and does not employ the um-form.

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For patientive voice, there are three reflexes of the patientive *-en: it is *-on* in most PLs, but *-an* in Kapampangan. In Salug-Subanen, the PEF form is retained: *-ən. For the locative voice paradigm for PAN *-an, a retention is observed in all seven PLs.

Reid & Liao (2004) reconstructs PEF *ʔi- for the ancestral PAN *Si-. This Proto-Extra-Formosan affix that is used for instrumental voice is retained in all seven PLs, except in Salug-Subanen where its reflex is *pe-*. Finally, for the benefactive voice affix which this paper includes, the reflexes of the PEF *ʔi-/*-an/*ʔi- -an, are found dispersed (and retained) in the seven PLs. Reid & Liao (2004) observes that PLs generally fall under any of five types as regards their preference in the use of the benefactive affix. The table summarizes which of these five types each of the seven languages uses; these are discussed in Section 4.2.3.

In summary, the seven PLs examined in this paper are observed to have largely retained the ancestral voice affixes that are believed to have existed in Proto-Austronesian (i.e., it is retention rather than innovation that occurred in the development of the affixes to their present forms). Innovation, on the other hand, is observed more often in the aspectual morphology in which these affixes are employed. Ross (2009, 2015) reconstructs the morphology involving each of these affixes in PAN, as they are used in four aspects: the actor voice (AV) realis (infinitive or nonfinite form), realis perfective, realis imperfective, and irrealis.

4 The Development of the PL Verbal Morphology from PAN

Ross (2009, 2015) reconstructs three sets of realis forms: “a set unmarked for aspect and labelled ‘realis’ (formerly ‘neutral’), a perfective aspect set encoding completed events, and an imperfective aspect set encoding incomplete, ongoing events or changes of state.”

ROSS’s Proto-Affixes						
ASPECT	ACTOR VOICE		UNDERGOER VOICE			
	<i>mag-</i> form	<i>um-</i> form	Patient	Location	Circumstance	
					Instrument	Benefactive
AV REALIS	*M-STEM		*STEM-en	*STEM-an	*Sa-/Si-STEM	
REALIS PERF	*M-<in>STEM		*<in>STEM	*<in>STEM-an	*<in>Si-STEM	
REALIS IMPERF	*M-Ca-STEM		*Ca-STEM-en	*Ca-STEM-an	*Sa-/Si-Ca-STEM	
IRREALIS	*Ca-STEM		*Ca-STEM-en	Ca-STEM-an	*Ca-STEM	

Table 3. Proto-Austronesian Verbal Morphology

In the paradigm in Table 3, what is evident is the reduplication labeled *Ca-STEM in the imperfective and the irrealis aspects. Ross (2009, 2015) reconstructs this reduplication as “reduplication of the initial syllable and replacement of its vowel by -a-.” However, in 2015, Ross explores the argument offered by Reid in a talk in 2007, where he “argues on phonological grounds that *Ca- reduplication must be derived from earlier *CV- reduplication.” About this, Ross resolves that this could be correct, but that this *CV-reduplication occurred earlier than PAN (i.e., in a stage Ross calls PNAN or Proto-Nuclear-Austronesian), and that this morphology is reflected in Proto-Malayo-

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Polynesian (from which, of course, the PLs are descended). Ross (2009: 298) says (emphasis mine):

I infer that PAN *Ca- imperfective reduplication reflects a *CV reduplication which occurred at a pre-PAN stage for which we have no witnesses, whereas PNaN *CVCV-/*CV- durative reduplication reflects a later innovation, one which took place after the earlier *CV- had become PAN *Ca-. ***Ca-reduplication was replaced by CV- reduplication in Saisiyat, Pazih, Bunun, Paiwan and Proto Malayo-Polynesian because of its formal and functional similarity to CVCV-/CV- durative reduplication.**

In Philippine languages, this reduplicative morphology is not always retained, but when it is, the reduplicating segment is reflected as CVC as in (1), or CV as in (2).

- (1) CVC-reduplication in the imperfective (Tuwali)

Tumtummadog nan unga.
<um>~**tadog** nan=unga
<AV>REAL.IMPERF~**stand** SUBJ=child
'The child is standing.'

- (2) CV-reduplication in the imperfective (Kapampangan)

Ing anak **kakanan** ne ing mangga.
ing=anak ~**kan-an** =ne ing=mangga
CORE=child REAL.IMPERF~**eat-PV** =3S.CORE SUBJ=mango
'It is the child who is eating the mango.'

4.1 Agentive *M: um-form vs. mag-form

Reid & Liao (2004) reconstructs the PAN *M affix in Proto-Extra-Formosan as having three reflexes: PEF *-um-, PEF *mu-, and PEF *m. The verbal morphology containing this affix in the seven languages is summarized in Table 4.

	AV REALIS		REALIS PERF	
PAN	*M-STEM		*M-<in>STEM	
Kapampangan	0-STEM	mag-STEM	<in>-STEM	meg-STEM
Tuwali	<um>STEM	mag-STEM	<in>-STEM	nuN-STEM
NC Bikol	mag-STEM	mag-STEM	nag-STEM	nag-STEM
Cebuano	mu-STEM	mag-STEM	ni-STEM	nag-STEM
Waray	<um>STEM	mag-STEM	<um>STEM	nag-STEM
Talaandig	<um><in>STEM	ag-STEM	<um><in>STEM	ag-<in>STEM
Salug	<um>-STEM	meg-STEM	<um><in>STEM	mig-STEM

	REALIS IMPERF		IRREALIS	
PAN	*M-Ca-STEM		*Ca-STEM	
Kapampangan	CV-STEM	ma-CV-STEM	<um>-STEM; 0-STEM	ma-STEM
Tuwali	<um>-CVC-STEM	muN-CVC-STEM	<um>-STEM	muN-STEM
NC Bikol	ga-STEM	ga-STEM	ma-STEM	ma-STEM
Cebuano	nag-a-STEM	nag-a-STEM	mu-STEM	mag-STEM
Waray	na-STEM	nag-CV-STEM	ma-STEM	mag-CV-STEM
Talaandig	<um><in>STEM	ag-<in>STEM	<um><in>STEM	ag-STEM
Salug	<um><in>STEM	mig-STEM	me-STEM	meg(k)-STEM

Table 4. Verbal Morphology of the Seven PLs (Agentive Voice)

Cross-linguistically, this behavior of the agentive forms is expected, as M-stems (stems marked with the Austronesian agentive affix [Ross 1995, 2009]) usually will have one class taking an *um*-reflex (Ross 2009), and another taking a *maR*-reflex (Reid 1992). The reasons for this subcategorization are language-specific, ranging from phonologi-

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cal motivations, to syntactic ones, such as marking distinctiveness of the roots (as in southeast Sulawesi [Blust in Wouk & Ross 2002]) or marking transitivity (as in Kelabit [Blust in Wouk & Ross 2002]).

The Central Philippine language Waray makes a full distinction between the *um*-form and the *mag*-form. This means that the *um*-form takes one set of morphology, and the *mag*-form takes another. Note below how Waray employs reduplication only with *mag*-stems and not with *um*-stems in the agentive voice. In Waray, reduplication is employed in both irrealis and the realis imperfective aspects.

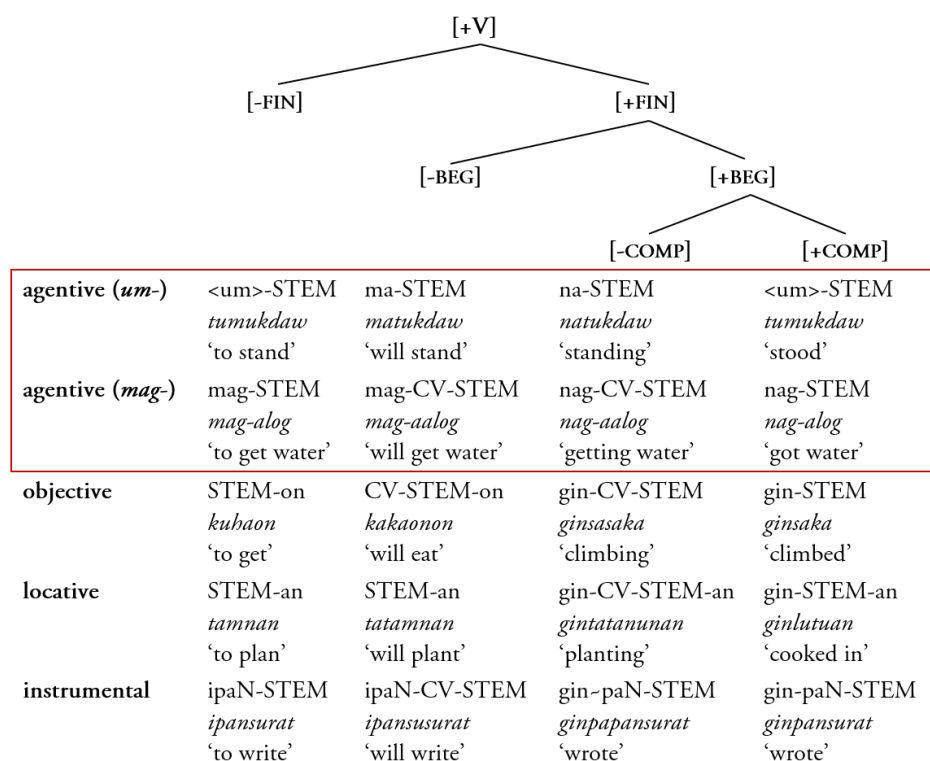


Figure 2. The Aspect System of Waray

This reduplication in Waray, as can be seen in Figure 2, is a CV reduplication. In other PLs, reflexes of the *CV-reduplication also includes CVC-reduplication, like Tuwali (1). Kapampangan also reflects CV-reduplication. Of these three languages that reduplicate for the agentive voice, only Waray reduplicates also in the irrealis aspect. In ancestral PAN, this behavior is reconstructed, and of the seven PLs, only Waray retains the behavior, but only in its *mag*-form.

(3) reduplication in irrealis (Waray)

Magtatanom an parag-uma hin kamote.

mag~tanom an=parag-uma hin=kamote

IRR.AV~plant SUBJ=NOM-field OBL=kamote

‘The farmer will plant kamote.’

Realis perfective. In the realis perfective aspect, the Philippine languages employ the replacive *n-* in the *mag*-stem. This replacive affix is analyzed as a portmanteau affix that encodes both agentive voice and realis modality. In all these languages, only the Mindanao languages Talaandig and Salug-Subanen retain the ancestral morphology *M<in>STEM. All others have innovated in such a way that the two affixes have coalesced into the portmanteau infix <*in*> which carry both information for agentive voice and realis modality.

(4) <um><in> realis form (Talaandig)

a. **Lumenatun** ta buntud sa malake.

<um><in>latun ta=buntud sa=malake

<AV><REAL>climb OBL=mountain SUBJ=man

‘The young man climbed the mountain.’

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- b. **Kumenaun** sa bata hu mangga.
<um><in>**kaon** sa=bata hu=mangga
<AV><REAL>**eat** SUBJ=child OBL=mango
'The child ate the mango.'

(5) <um><in> realis form (Salug-Subanen)

- a. **Mineneek** tug buwid sug glitaw.
<um><in>**neneek** tug=buwid sug=glitaw
<AV><REAL>**climb** CORE=mountain SUBJ=man
'The young man climbed a mountain.'
- b. **Mimula** sug mingumbal gubi.
<um><in>(p)**ula** sug=ming-(g)umbal gubi
<AV><REAL>**plant** SUBJ=NOM-till CORE=camote
'The farmer planted some camote.'

This is also true in NC Bikol. In NC Bikol, the affixed realis form exists only in old speech, and is only seldom heard used by the general population. It is reportedly used in pragmatically marked constructions, when two past events are referenced in a construction, and one of the past events has happened more relevantly. In these constructions the <um><in> morphology is used for the more relevant action in realis form. In the Mindanao languages Talaandig and Salug-Subanen, the <um><in> morphology continues to be used today.

4.2 Non-agentive Voice

4.2.1 Patientive PAN *STEM-en

Reid & Liao (2004) reconstructs the patientive PAN *en as PEF *ən in Proto-Extra-Formosan. In the PLs, this affix is realized with the reflex of *ə that the specific language has. As such, this is *-an* in Kapampangan, and *-on* in Tuwali, NC Bikol, Cebuano, Waray and Talaandig. In Salug-Subanen, the PEF *ən is retained.

	AV REALIS	REALIS PERF	REALIS IMPERF	IRREALIS
PAN	*STEM-en	*<in>STEM	*Ca-STEM-en	*Ca-STEM-en
Kapampangan	STEM-an	<in>-STEM	CV-STEM-an	STEM-an
Tuwali	STEM-on	<in>-STEM	CVC-STEM-on	STEM-on
NC Bikol	STEM-on	<in>-STEM	pig-a-STEM	CV-STEM-on
Cebuano	STEM-on	gi-STEM	gi-na-STEM	STEM-on
Waray	STEM-on	gin-STEM	gin-CV-STEM	CV-STEM-on
Talaandig	STEM-on	<in>-STEM	<in>-STEM	STEM-on
Salug-Subanen	STEM-ən	<in>-STEM	<in>-STEM	STEM-ən

Table 5. Verbal Morphology of the Seven PLs (Patientive Voice)

Of all the PLs studied for this paper, it is Salug-Subanen that retains the ancestral PEF affix *en that marks the patientive voice in verbs. It also retains the morphology of the ancestral PAN infinitive form and the ancestral realis perfective form *STEM-en.

Irrealis. While all of the other seven PLs (except Salug-Subanen) have the reflex *-on* for the patientive *an affix, Kapampangan has the reflex *-an*. Like Tuwali, Kapampangan has retained the PAN morphology for all aspects except the irrealis aspect, where both Tuwali and

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Kapampangan do not reduplicate. This is interesting because like PAN, both do reduplicate for the imperfective aspect; in PAN, the imperfective and the irrealis share the same morphology.

- (6) realis imperfective and irrealis verbal morphology
(Kapampangan)

- a. Ing anak **kakanan** ne ing mangga.
 ing=anak ~**kan-an** =ne ing=mangga
 CORE=child **REAL.IMPERF~eat-PV** =3S.CORE SUBJ=mango
 ‘The child is eating the mango.’
- b. Ing anak **kanan** ne ing mangga.
 ing=anak **kan-an** =ne ing=mangga
 CORE=child **eat-IRR.PV** =3S.CORE SUBJ=mango
 ‘The child will eat the mango.’

- (7) realis imperfective and irrealis verbal morphology (Tuwali)

- a. **It-itanom** nan manalun nan gatuk hidi.
 ~**tanom** nan=manalun nan=gatuk hidi
REAL.IMPERF.PV~plant CORE=farmer SUBJ=gatuk OBL.DIST
 ‘It is camote that the farmer is planting there.’
- b. **Kanon** nan unga nan mangga.
kan-on nan=unga hu=mangga
eat-IRR.PV CORE=child SUBJ=mango
 ‘It is the mango that the child will eat.’

The reduplication that occurs in the PAN irrealis form is retained in NC Bikol and Waray. All the other five PLs have innovated in such a way that this reduplication is lost, resulting in the present unmarked irrealis form in these languages.

(8) reduplication in the irrealis aspect (NC Bikol)

Sasakaton man niya yung Bundok Apo.

~**sakat-on** man niya yung=Bundok Apo

IRR~climb-PV PRT 3S.CORE SUBJ=Mt. Apo

‘It is Mt. Apo that he will also climb.’

Realis Perfective. One other feature that distinguishes the Mindanao languages from the rest of the languages in this paper is the loss of the distinction in the realis. Salug-Subanen does not distinguish between imperfective and perfective; the same is true with Talaandig. Both also do not mark their irrealis form, which is unlike the ancestral PAN morphology. These two innovations resulted in a two-aspect system for both Mindanao languages. It can be seen, then, that both the Mindanao languages Talaandig and Salug-Subanen innovated their two-aspect system, having undergone simplification by retaining the morphology of the PAN infinitive also for their irrealis, and by retaining the realis PAN morphology for both their perfective and imperfective forms. In all other languages, the morphology of the realis perfective for the patientive voice in PAN which is reconstructed as <in>-STEM is retained.

The exceptions to this are the Central PLs Waray and Cebuano, where the infixation does not occur. In these two languages, the prefix *gi-/gin-* is employed. How did this prefixation develop from the infixation that is characteristic of the morphology of this aspect?

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(9) *gi*-affixation (Cebuano)

Gikawras siya ug iring.
gi-kawras siya ug=iring
REAL.PV-scratch 3S.SUBJ CORE=cat
'He got scratched by a cat.'

(10) patientive *gin-* (Waray)

Ginkamras hiya hin misay.
gin-kamras hiya hin=misay
REAL.PV-scratch 3S.SUBJ CORE=cat
'He got scratched by a cat.'

The Waray prefix *gin-* gives us a hint at the possible development of the *gi-/gin-* prefixation from the PAN infixation. It would appear that the prefix did develop from the affixation of a *g*-bearing affix to a stem that has previously been affixed with <*in*>, resulting in a ?*g<in>*STEM. Over time, the initial segment of the *g*-bearing affix syncopated in Waray, giving us the present form *gin-*; this further syncopated into just *gi-* in Cebuano.

Additionally, the Cebuano imperfective infix <*na*> is suggestive of this development. In my previous work where a larger cross-linguistic data is available, a comparison of this affix in languages where this kind of infixation occurs reveals that the imperfective affix is, in fact, <*a*>. This vowel may be a remnant of the *Ca*-reduplication that is the ancestral PAN morphology for imperfective aspect. The imperfective <*na*> infix in Cebuano is evidence of the ?*g<in>*STEM > *gi-/gin-*STEM development, which left a trace: the nasal in <*na*>.

(11) imperfective (Cebuano)

Ginasaka sa mga bata ang punuan sa akasya.
gi-na-saka sa=mga=bata ang=punuan sa=akasya
REAL.PV-IMPERF-climb CORE=PL=child SUBJ=tree GEN=acacia
‘The children climb the acacia tree.’

Realis Imperfective. NC Bikol also employs this infixation for the imperfective aspect. Like Cebuano, NC Bikol differs from all the others in the realis imperfective aspect because they employ an <a> infix instead of reduplication in their imperfective forms. Waray uses a peculiar morphological process in that it employs both reduplication and the prefixation observed to co-occur only with <a> infixation, as in (12).

(12) prefixation and reduplication (Waray)

Gintatanom han parag-uma an kamote ngadto.
gin~tanom han=parag-uma an=kamote ngadto
REAL.PV~IMPERF-plant CORE=farmer SUBJ=camote OBL.DIST
‘The camote is being planted there by the farmer.’

Comparing the morphologies of the seven PLs with that of the ancestral PAN morphology for realis imperfective in (13), it can be seen that any of three developments has occurred in the languages: (a) the language has retained the original morphology (i.e., with reduplication), but reflected its own reflex of the PAN *en; (b) the language has employed a voice prefix and an aspect infix, such as <a>; and (c) the language has simplified its aspect system by retaining the realis perfective system, resulting in a loss of distinction between the two aspects.

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(13) realis imperfective morphology (cf. PAN *Ca-STEM-en)

	REALIS IMPERF
PAN	*Ca-STEM-en
Kapampangan	CV-STEM-an
Tuwali	CVC-STEM-on
NC Bikol	pig-a-STEM
Cebuano	gi-na-STEM
Waray	gin-CV-STEM
Talaandig	<in>-STEM
Salug-Subanen	<in>-STEM

This variation is clear in the data: the languages spoken in northern Philippines retained the ancestral morphology as in (a); the Central PLs behave like (b); and the languages spoken in southern Philippines simplified their systems, as in (c).

4.2.2 Locative PAN *STEM-an

Ross (1995, 2009) reconstructed the ancestral affix that carries locative affect as PAN *an. Reid & Liao (2004) has reconstructed the same for Proto-Extra-Formosan as PEF *an. All seven languages studied for this paper are observed to have retained this affix in all four aspects. Ross's reconstructed PAN morphology across all aspects are observed to have developed in various ways in the seven PLs.

Realis Perfective. Table 6 shows that the infinitive (AV realis) morphology is retained in all seven PLs. The PAN realis perfective morphology *<in>-STEM-an is retained in the Luzon languages Tuwali and NC Bikol, and in the Mindanao languages Talaandig and Salug-Subanen. The languages that innovated are Kapampangan and both the

	AV REALIS	REALIS PERF	REALIS IMPERF	IRREALIS
PAN	*STEM-an	*<in>STEM-an	*Ca-STEM-an	*Ca-STEM-an
Kapampangan	STEM-an	STEM-an	CV-STEM-an	STEM-an
Tuwali	STEM-an	<in>-STEM-an	CVC-STEM-an	STEM-an
NC Bikol	STEM-an	<in>-STEM-an	pig-a-STEM-an	CV-STEM-an
Cebuano	STEM-an	gi-STEM-an	gi-na-STEM-an	STEM-an
Waray	STEM-an	gin-STEM-an	gin-CV-STEM-an	CV-STEM-an
Talaandig	STEM-an	<in>-STEM-an	<in>-STEM-an	STEM-an
Salug-Subanen	STEM-an	<in>-STEM-an	<in>-STEM-an	STEM-an

Table 6. Verbal Morphology of the Seven PLs (Locative Voice)

Central PLs. The case of Kapampangan is a case of losing the aspectual marking in the perfective aspect. Kapampangan distinguishes between the perfective and imperfective aspects in its realis verb, and it does so by retaining the PAN marking on the imperfective aspect (14a), but at the same time keeping its perfective form unmarked (14b), which is unlike PAN.

(14) locative voice marking on realis verbs (Kapampangan)

- a. **Tatamnan** deng mais ing asikan
 ~**tanam-an** deng=mais ing=asikan
REAL.IMPERF~**plant-LV** OBL=corn SUBJ=field
 da.
 =da
 =3 PL.GEN.POST
 ‘They planted their field with corn.’
- b. **Liklukan** ne ing ulun.
likluk-an ne ing=ulun
sit-REAL.LV 3S.CORE SUBJ=pillow
 ‘He sat on the pillow.’

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Realis Imperfective. Consistent with their behavior in forming their realis imperfective forms in the patientive voice, the PLs spoken in northern Philippines (i.e., Kapampangan and Tuwali) retain the ancestral morphology which is PAN *Ca-STEM-an. Both lose the reduplication in the irrealis aspect that is in the original morphology of the proto-language.

Irrealis. The PAN irrealis morphology *Ca-STEM-an is retained in NC Bikol and in Waray. There are two classes into which the languages may be grouped as regards the formation of the irrealis form: (a) those that retained the PAN morphology such as NC Bikol and Waray; and (b) those that innovated in such a way that the marking is lost, such as all the other five PLs (i.e., the non-Central PLs).

(15) loss of PAN *Ca- locative voice marking in irrealis verbs

a. Tuwali

Higidan nan unga nan kwartu.

higid-an nan=unga nan=kwartu

sweep-IRR.LV CODE=child SUBJ=room

‘The child will sweep the room.’

b. Talaandig

Pamulaan e hu malagbasuk sa kamute.

pamula-an e hu=malagbasuk sa=kamute

plant-IRR.LV PROX.OBL CORE=farmer SUBJ=camote

‘The farmer will plant camote here.’

In summary, the PAN locative voice marking is largely retained in the seven PLs. This is seen in two ways. First, the morphology of the

infinitive form is retained in all seven PLs. Second, with the exception of Kapampangan, which has lost the marking, all other PLs have retained the morphology of the realis perfective aspect. On the other hand, the innovation of certain languages from the PAN aspect system is seen in (a) the loss of the distinction between the perfective and the imperfective aspects in the Mindanao PLs Talaandig and Salug-Subanen; and (b) the loss of the marking in the irrealis aspect in all but the two Central PLs NC Bikol and Waray.

4.2.3 Circumstance Voice *Sa/Si-STEM

Ross (2009, 2015) reconstructs one circumstance voice. The data for this paper includes two circumstance voices: instrumental and benefactive. Reid & Liao (2004) reconstructs for PEF both affixes for these circumstance voices.

	AV REALIS	REALIS PERF	REALIS IMPERF	IRREALIS
PAN	*Sa-/Si-STEM	*<in>Si-STEM	*Sa-/Si-Ca-STEM	*Ca-STEM
Kapampangan	paN-STEM	peN-STEM	paN-STEM	i-paN-STEM
Tuwali	pun-STEM	nuN-STEM	puN-CVC-STEM	puN-STEM
NC Bikol	i-pang-STEM	<in>-i-paN-STEM	i-<in>-paN-STEM	i-pang-STEM
Cebuano	i-paN-STEM	gi-i-paN-STEM	gi-na-paN-STEM	i-paN-STEM
Waray	i-paN-STEM	gin-STEM-an; gin-STEM; gin-paN-STEM	gin-paN-STEM	CV-STEM-an; i-paN-CV-STEM
Talaandig	i-STEM	i-paN-STEM	i-paN-STEM	i-paN-STEM
Salug-Subanen	STEM-en	pe-STEM-an	pe-STEM-an	STEM-en

Table 7. Verbal Morphology of the Seven PLs (Instrumental Voice)

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The reflex of PAN *Si- is PEF *ʔi-, which is the reflex that is retained in most of the PLs. However, in addition to the ancestral instrumental affix, the Philippine language morphology for instrumental voice also bears the affix *-paN-*. Table 7 shows that with the exception of the southern PLs, the PLs bear some form of this affix. In Tuwali, this is *pun-*, and in the other four languages (all the Central PLs and Kapampangan), this is *-paN-*. Interestingly, Talaandig retains the ancestral PAN morphology for the infinitive form, but it does also employ the affix *-paN-* in its other aspects.

This can be summarized in the infinitive form: *i-<paN>-STEM*, which is to say that the PLs innovated in such a way that they employed an infixation of the affix *paN-* for the instrumental voice. This *paN-* infixation is observed across most of the aspect forms of the seven PLs, as in (16). In Waray, the reduplication in realis imperfective is in the *-paN-* affix, as in (17). In the annotation below, I use NOM for the *-paN-* affix; Reid & Liao (2004) does not discuss what this affix is, but their paper hints at the *p-*initial forms in derived verbs as gerundive or nominalizations. Seen from this perspective, *-paN-* does carry a nominalizing affect, as the ‘thing used for VERB-ing.’ Additionally affixed with the instrument affix *i-*, the verb now carries the morphology which directly translates to ‘instrument used for VERB-ing.’

(16) instrumental voice *<paN>* in realis perfective (NC Bikol)

Ipinangputos	niya	yung dyaryo	sa tinapa.
i-<in>-pang-putos	niya	yung=dyaryo	sa=tinapa
IV-<REAL>-NOM-wrap	3S.CORE SUBJ=newspaper OBL=smoked		
‘He used the newspaper to wrap the smoked fish with.’			

(17) reduplication for instrumental voice (Waray)

Ginpapansurat han bata
gin~pan-surat han=bata
REAL.IV~IMPERF-NOM-write CORE=child
 an akon lapis.
 an=akon=lapis
 SUBJ= I.S.GEN.PREP=pencil
 ‘The child used my pencil to write.’

The other circumstance voice that this paper examines is the benefactive voice. In typologizing the languages in the Philippines, Reid & Liao (2004) groups the PLs according to the languages’ reflexes of the reconstructed PEF *ʔi-/*-an/*i- -an. These are the reflexes of the benefactive voice affix PAN *Si-/*Sa.

	AV REALIS	REALIS PERF	REALIS IMPERF	IRREALIS
PAN	*Sa-/Si-STEM	*<in>Si-STEM	*Sa-/Si-Ca-STEM	*Ca-STEM
Kapampangan	pa-STEM-an	0-STEM; pe-STEM-an	Ca-STEM; pa-STEM-an	i-STEM
Tuwali	i-STEM-an	<in>-STEM-an	i-Ca-STEM-an	i-STEM-an
NC Bikol	STEM-an	<in>-STEM-an	pig-a-STEM-an	Ca-STEM-an
Cebuano	STEM-an	gi-STEM-an	gi-na-STEM-an	STEM-an
Waray	STEM-an	gin-STEM-an	gin-Ca-STEM-an	Ca-STEM-an
Talaandig	pa-STEM	i-pa-STEM	i-pa-STEM	i-pa-STEM
Salug-Subanen	STEM-an	<in>-STEM-an	<in>-STEM-an	STEM-an

Table 8. Verbal Morphology of the Seven PLs (Benefactive Voice)

According to Reid & Liao (2004), the PLs may fall under any of five types of benefactive voice marking: “(1) those that use an *i-* verb and no other for this purpose; (2) those that use an *-an* verb and no other for this purpose; (3) those that use a ‘circumfix’ *i- -an* on such verbs; (4) those that use either an *i-* verb or *-an* verb; and (5) those

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that use either an *i-* *-an* verb or an *-an* verb, depending on the verb.” The table in (18) summarizes the affix(es) that each of the seven PLs take. NC Bikol, Cebuano, Waray, and Salug-Subanen employ the *-an* suffix; Talaandig employs only the *i-* prefix; Kapampangan uses either *i-* or *-an*; and Tuwali uses the circumfix *i-* *-an*. Of these, it is Tuwali that retains the morphology of ancestral PAN, across three out of four aspects.

(18) types of benefactive voice marking in the seven PLs

	PAN *Si-/*Sa-
PEF	*ʔi-/*-an/*ʔi- -an
Kapampangan	i- or -an
Tuwali	i- -an
NC Bikol	-an
Cebuano	-an
Waray	-an
Talaandig	i-
Salug-Subanen	-an

Recurring in this verbal paradigm is the use of the causative affix *pa-*. It is employed in Kapampangan and Talaandig. The *pa-* affixation in the benefactive verb morphologically communicates ‘to cause someone to receive the benefit of an action’. In these three languages, this information is coded morphologically by the causative *pa-*.

- (19) the causative *pa-* in benefactive verb (Talaandig)

Igpapalit din gayud hu bata
ig-pa-palit din=gayud hu=bata
REAL.IMPERF.BF-CAUS-buy OBL=candy CORE=child
sa laga.
sa=laga
SUBJ=maiden
'The child bought candy for the young woman.'

If we exclude the *pa*-affixation in the analysis of the benefactive voice morphology, it is revealed that all languages except Tuwali have innovated in such a way that they have adapted the locative voice morphology for expressing benefactive affect. This is bound to make sense because in Philippine languages, the benefactor is the entity towards which the benefit of the action denoted by the verb is directed, and is, thus, a location. In fact, all aspectual forms in the benefactive voice in all the languages bear the locative affix *-an*, except in the *pa*-bearing languages Kapampangan and Tuwali. This is to say that all seven languages of this study innovated from the verbal morphology of the PAN benefactive verb form.

In summary, aside from the four (out of five) benefactive verb types that Reid & Liao (2004) typologizes for the Philippine languages, PLs may further be grouped into two types according to benefactive voice morphology: (a) those that employ the causative *pa-*; and (b) those that do not.

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	Patient	Location	Circumstance	
			Instrument	Benefactive
AV REALIS	*STEM-en	*STEM-an	*Sa-/Si-STEM	*Sa-/Si-STEM
Kapampangan	STEM-an	STEM-an	paN-STEM	pa-STEM-an
Tuwali	STEM-on	STEM-an	pun-STEM	i-STEM-an
NC Bikol	STEM-on	STEM-an	i-pang-STEM	STEM-an
Cebuano	STEM-on	STEM-an	ipaN-STEM	STEM-an
Waray	STEM-on	STEM-an	ipaN-STEM	STEM-an
Talaandig	STEM-on	STEM-an	i-STEM	pa-STEM
Salug-Subanen	STEM-ən	STEM-an	STEM-en	STEM-an
REALIS PERF	*<in>STEM	*<in>STEM-an	*<in>Si-STEM	*<in>Si-STEM
Kapampangan	<in>-STEM	STEM-an	peN-STEM	0-STEM; pe-STEM-an
Tuwali	<in>-STEM	<in>-STEM-an	nuN-STEM	<in>-STEM-an
NC Bikol	<in>-STEM	<in>-STEM-an	<in>-ipaN-STEM	<in>-STEM-an
Cebuano	gi-STEM	gi-STEM-an	gi-ipaN-STEM	gi-STEM-an
Waray	gin-STEM	gin-STEM-an	gin-paN-STEM	gin-STEM-an
Talaandig	<in>-STEM	<in>-STEM-an	ipaN-STEM	i-pa-STEM
Salug-Subanen	<in>-STEM	<in>-STEM-an	pe-STEM-an	<in>-STEM-an; pe-<in>-STEM-an
REALIS IMPERF	*Ca-STEM-en	*Ca-STEM-an	*Sa-/Si-Ca-STEM	*Sa-/Si-Ca-STEM
Kapampangan	CV-STEM-an	CV-STEM-an	paN-STEM	CV-STEM; pa-STEM-an
Tuwali	CVC-STEM-on	CVC-STEM-an	puN-Ca-STEM	i-CVC-STEM-an
NC Bikol	pig-a-STEM	pig-a-STEM-an	i-<in>-paN-STEM	pig-a-STEM-an
Cebuano	gi-na-STEM	gi-na-STEM-an	gi-na-paN-STEM	gi-na-STEM-an
Waray	gin-CV-STEM	gin-CV-STEM-an	gin-paN-STEM	gin-CV-STEM-an
Talaandig	<in>-STEM	<in>-STEM-an	ipaN-STEM; <in>-paN-STEM	i-pa-STEM
Salug-Subanen	<in>-STEM	<in>-STEM-an	pe-STEM-an	<in>-STEM-an
IRREALIS	*Ca-STEM-en	Ca-STEM-an	*Ca-STEM	*Ca-STEM
Kapampangan	STEM-an	STEM-an	ipaN-STEM	i-STEM
Tuwali	STEM-on	STEM-an	puN-STEM	i-STEM-an
NC Bikol	CV-STEM-on	CV-STEM-an	ipang-STEM	CV-STEM-an
Cebuano	STEM-on	STEM-an	ipaN-STEM	STEM-an
Waray	CV-STEM-on	CV-STEM-an	CV-STEM-an; ipaN-CV-STEM	CV-STEM-an
Talaandig	STEM-on	STEM-an	<in>-paN-STEM	i-pa-STEM
Salug-Subanen	STEM-ən	STEM-an	STEM-en	pe-STEM-an

Table 9. Non-agentive Voice Verbal Morphology of the Seven PLs

Compared against the verbal morphology that Ross (2009, 2015) reconstructed for PAN, I summarize in Table 9 the verbal morphology for all the undergoer voice types across all seven PLs.

5 Summary and Future Directions

The findings that are drawn from the comparison of the seven PLs with the ancestral morphology in Proto-Austronesian (and Proto-Extra-Formosan) enables the inference that the PAN aspect system is a three-aspect system that distinguishes between [+COMPLETED] and [-COMPLETED] aspects. This distinction is expressed in reduplication. Likewise, the PAN aspect system marks its irrealis verbs, and this marking uses reduplicative morphology. This behavior is retained in NC Bikol and Waray, the only two PLs that do so. I summarize these and other features in Table 10.

PAN Aspect System	Kap	Tuw	NC Bik	Ceb	War	Tal	S-Sub
Three-aspect system							
Distinction in realis							
Distinction is by reduplication							
Irrealis form is marked							
Marking in irrealis is by reduplication							
Realis is marked by <in>							

Table 10. Inventory of Features of the Ancestral PAN Aspect System

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Table 10 shows that the two most similar with the PAN aspect system based on these six features are the Central PLs NC Bikol and Waray; but the caveat is this: these two central PLs underwent a more difficult development in their realis morphologies, shifting from the ancestral reduplicative marking to what we might now perceive as prefixation. Further analysis needs to be done on these languages to confirm what is suspected to be a syncope of the ancestral infix *<in>* with a previously affixed *g*-bearing affix.

The PLs spoken in northern Philippines (Kapampangan and Tawali), on the other hand, underwent only one innovation and this is the loss of the reduplicative marking in their irrealis forms. It can be said, then, that these group has undergone a retentive development.

The languages that exhibit the most innovation according to these features are the Mindanao languages Talaandig and Salug-Subanen. This means that the aspect systems of these south PLs are the most different from PAN, when compared with how the other Philippine languages compare. On the other hand, these two retain the ancestral realis morphology exhibited by Proto-Extra-Formosan, involving *<um><in>*, which have coalesced into a portmanteau in many Philippine languages.

Based on these observations stipulated above, the following inferences may be made: (a) that there may be three ways by which the aspect systems developed from PAN (and from PEF) which resulted in the aspect systems of the seven languages examined for this paper: one is largely retentive, and the others are innovative, resulting in two distinct aspect systems; (b) that one of these two aspect systems (i.e., PLs

spoken in southern Philippines) has undergone a simplification, having lost the marking for the distinction in the realis aspect, as well as the loss of the marking for the irrealis aspect; (c) that this innovation might have been a shared historical development by the southern PLs Talaandig and Salug-Subanen; (d) that the other aspect system (i.e., central) innovated in such a way that resulted in the prefixation of the realis verb instead of the reduplication that is characteristic of the morphology of these aspects; (e) that this prefixation proceeded from the <in>-infixation that eventually syncopated, leaving only the prefix *gi-* in Cebuano and the prefix *gin-* in Waray; and (f) that the retentive development is observed in languages spoken in northern Philippines, which retain most of the morphological behavior of the ancestral PAN.

Symbols and Abbreviations Used in This Description

~	reduplication	DISJ	disjunctive
=	clitic	DIST	distal
-	morpheme boundary	EXIST	existence
0	zeroed	FOCUS	
	morpheme/segment	GEN	genitive
1	first person	IMP	imperative
2	second person	INT	intransitive
3	third person	IRR	irrealis
()	deleted/replaced	LKR	linker
	segment	NEXIST	non-existence
ABS	absolutive	NEG	negative
CAUS	causative	NOM	nominalization
CONJ	conjunction	OBL	oblique

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PL	plural	REAL	realis
PREP	prepositive	STAT	stative
PROX	proximal	STEM	stem affix
PRT	particle	TR	transitive

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Multiple Motivations for Preposing in Selected Philippine Languages

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Abstract

When we speak of the word order of a given language, we look at transitive clauses with two lexical noun arguments, the A and the O (Thompson n.d.). Philippine languages¹ have been analyzed to have predicate-initial basic word order in which a clause is typically verb-initial, followed by nominal or pronominal arguments. However, while a predicate-initial construction is seen as the typical pattern in any Philippine-type language, there are in-

¹‘Philippine-type’ or ‘Philippine languages’ as used in this study refers to the languages in the Philippines that exhibit similar morphological and syntactic structures. Nolasco (2003) identifies ergativity as one universal feature of Philippine languages that gives evidence to a Philippine-typology.

stances where arguments are placed in pre-predicate position. This movement is called preposing.

A preliminary study of Kana, a Cebuano dialect, has shown that it favors preposed constructions to fulfill certain functions which include but are not limited to: (a) clitic position and movement; (b) setting the scene in a discourse narrative; (c) listing of information; and (d) exclusive contrast. Moreover, the data show preference for the preposing of A-pronominals and predicate-medial word order tendencies. In this paper, we will examine this further, and demonstrate the implications of this preference in the word order of four (4) other Philippine languages namely; Chavacano, Ilokano, Tagalog, and Waray.

1 Introduction

A clause is the basic unit of discourse for accomplishing the ends in communication (Nolasco 2010, Givón 1983 as cited in Du Bois 1987). Phonetically, a clause is characterized by intonation units, “a stretch of utterance under a single coherent intonation contour” (Du Bois 1987). These units, as Chafe (1980a) hypothesized, represent “linguistic expressions of focuses of consciousness.” On the other hand, a clause defined grammatically, consists of at least of a predicate (usually a verb but can also be nominal or adjectival) and referential expressions (Payne 1997, Nolasco 2010) as seen below in (1) and (2).

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(1) Kana

[May_{PRED} usa ka=táu]_{EXIST CL}

EXIST NUM LKR=N

‘May isang tao.’

‘There was a man.’

(2) Kana

íya=ng_A gi-dala_{PRED} ang usa ka bukag_O

3_{OBL=LKR} PST-carry-TR(-on) ABS NUM LKR basket

‘Kanyang dinala ang isang basket.’

‘He took the basket.’

Clauses in Philippine languages express the interaction of two kinds of ideas: ideas of states and activities and ideas of entities or referents that participate in those states and activities (Nolasco 2010). Entities that we want to talk about are expressed by nouns while those that refer to states and activities are expressed by verbs. Nouns and verbs make up the basic predication while other word classes, like determiners, numerals, and clitic particles, enhance the basic predication (Nolasco 2010).

Philippine languages are assumed to be predicate-initial, which means that in a sentence or a clause, predicates can be found at the beginning, followed by referential expressions. Predicate-initial languages normally follow the PAO/POA (P = predicate; A = agent/source of action; O = most affected entity) order for transitive clauses.

In describing languages, Dixon (1968) used the letters S, A, and O as heuristics for identifying core grammatical relations. Mithun & Chafe (1999) used them to distinguish certain privileged participants

in events and states. The S is defined as the only core nominal argument of a single-argument (also called ‘intransitive’) clause while A is defined as the most agentive argument of a multi-argument (also referred to as ‘transitive’). The O, on the other hand, is the most patientive argument of a multi-argument clause. A referent which is not an S, A or O is referred to as oblique (OBL).

Nolasco (2003, 2006, 2011) adopted this schema for his analysis of Philippine languages. He used S to refer to the sole core argument of the intransitive constructions. In transitive constructions, A refers to the source of action, while the O refers to referential expressions that are acted upon or undergo the action and treated as the most affected entity. Although a predicate-initial construction is the most common order of constituents in Philippine-type languages, there are instances where this basic word order is altered due to pragmatic factors. There are special circumstances in which arguments are placed in a pre-predicate position. This movement is called preposing.

This paper examines the preposing phenomenon in Philippine languages as initially observed in Kana, a Cebuano dialect spoken in Southern Leyte. The data have shown that Kana, which is assumed to be predicate-initial being a variety of Cebuano, a Philippine language, favors preposed constructions under certain conditions to fulfill certain functions. These conditions functions include but are not limited to: (a) clitic position and movement; (b) setting the scene in a discourse narrative; (c) listing of information; and (d) exclusive contrast. Moreover, it this study will investigate the aforementioned pragmatic motivations for preposing in other Philippine languages

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and show the implications of this preference to the basic word order analysis of Philippine languages in general. It will also explore the different forms of preposed constructions. Lastly, it will look into the preposed arguments and examine how they affect the word order analysis of the language.

This paper is subdivided into five parts. Section 1 comprises this introduction which includes the scope of this study and methodology. Section 2 will discuss the related works on clause formation and word order analysis and its application in Philippine languages. Section 3 will examine the functions and pragmatic motivations for preposing in the said Philippine languages. Section 4 will deal with the implications of preposing in the word order analysis of Philippine languages. Section 5 will conclude the study.

1.1 Languages Used

The languages that will be used in this study are Cebuano-Kana, Tagalog, Ilokano, Chavacano, and Waray. Kana is spoken in parts of Southern Leyte, particularly in the City of Maasin. The dialect is said to be a combination of Cebuano (ISO 639-3: ceb) and Boholano, characterized by the frequent use of the expression *kana* ‘that,’ and by the presence of the [dʒ] sound. As observed by Zorc (1977), while Bisayan varieties are commonly identified as binisaya, local names are used, often derived from the “idiosyncrasy of the grammar, vocabulary, or locale.”

Ilokano (ISO 639-3: ilo) is a member of the Cordilleran group of languages and is spoken as lingua franca in the northern region of the Philippines. Tagalog (ISO 639-3: tgl) is the basis for the national language and is the most widely spoken language. Waray (ISO 639-3: war), like Cebuano and Kana belongs to the Bisayan subgroup and is spoken in the Samar-Leyte region. Chavacano-Caviteño (ISO 639-3: cbk) is a dialect of Chavacano spoken in the Cavite area.

Nolasco (2011) identifies predicate-initial word order and ergative morphosyntax among others, as the prototypical characteristics of Philippine languages. All these languages are typically predicate-initial and follow the ergative pattern, with the exception of Chavacano-Caviteño. Chavacano is argued to be neither a Philippine-type language nor an entirely non-Philippine type. It inherited its accusative phenotype from “its Iberian father and its pragmatic and semantic genotype from its Philippine mother language” (Nolasco 2005: 432–433).

1.2 Data and Methodology

The data used in this study are recordings of (a) pear stories; (b) experience/personal stories; and (c) retelling of famous folk stories from the languages. In getting the pear story data, the informants were shown the pear film (Chafe 1980b) and then asked to narrate what they have seen in their own language. The narrations were then audio recorded. For the personal and folk stories, the participants were asked to narrate some of their life experiences and famous or known native stories that

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they are familiar with and these were also audio recorded. The data were transcribed and classified into clauses. These clauses were analyzed and counted for preposed and basic postposed transitive constructions.

1.3 Scope and Delimitations

This study will explore the phenomenon of preposing and its implications for Philippine basic word order. This research is instigated by and mostly an application of the analysis done in Kana. The author will attempt to show whether or not this analysis is applicable to other Philippine-type languages.

We will limit our discussion to core clauses. A clause is to be understood here as a construction that consists of a predicate and one or more arguments. The predicate can be verbal, nominal or adjectival; arguments can be core arguments or obliques. We will look at transitive clauses with overt lexical arguments. Those clauses with zero arguments are not included in the frequency count.

It is not the intention of the researcher to present a complete analysis of the word order structure of Philippine-type languages, but only to provide another view on one of its aspects.

2 The Clause Structure and Basic Word Order of Philippine Languages

Clauses are composed of expressions of two kinds of ideas: ideas of states and activities and ideas of entities or referents that participate in those states and activities. Nouns expressed the entities that we want to talk about while verbs express states and activities in which nouns participate. These word classes make up the basic predication of a language. Other word classes, like determiners, numerals, and clitic particles, enhance this basic predication (Nolasco 2010).

Clauses may be unmarked or pragmatically marked. Unmarked or simple clauses are simple declarative clauses. They do not perform any specialized function other than to state an idea or transmit information (Nolasco 2010). Sentence (3) is an example of an unmarked clause. Pragmatically marked clauses are used in specialized contexts. They may exhibit variant intonation (as in questions; see example 4), word order (as in focus constructions in 5) or clause structure (as in relative clauses; see example 6).

(3) Chavacano (Santiago 2006)

Ya come el gato enantes.

Ya come Ø_S el gato enantes

PST eat NOM PRT DET cat a while ago

‘Kumain ang pusa kanina.’

‘The cat ate a while ago.’

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(4) Kana

Kinsay nagkuha inadto ijang gikuha?

Kinsa=y nag-kuha_{PRED} Ø_S inadto ija=ng
Q=OBL INTR.PFV.n(p)ag-kuha DIST.OBL 3 OBL=LKR
gi-kuha Ø_O
IPST-kuha-TR(-on)

‘Sino ang kumuha ng kanyang kinuhang (peras)?’

‘Who took the (pears) that he harvested?’

(5) Waray

An iya kunsuylu nakadtu han luyu nga baryu.

[An iya kunsúylu]_{S/FOC} ná-kádtu_{PRED} han luyu
ABS 3SG.OBL N INT.IPFV.n(p)a-kadtu OBL faraway
nga báryu_{OBL}
LKR barrio

‘Ang kanyang nililigawan, andoon sa malayong baryo.’

‘The one he is courting is in faraway barrio.’

(6) Kana

Nakahinagbu sijag bata nga nagbike.

Naka-hinagbu_{PRED} sija=g bata [nga
INTR.PFV.n(p)aka-hinagbu 3SG.ABS=OBL child LKR
nag-bike Ø_S]_{REL}
INTR.PFV.n(p)ag-bike

‘Nakasalubong siya ng bata na nakabike.’

‘He met a girl riding a bicycle.’

2.1 Strategies for Identifying Basic Word Order

Mithun (1992) presented various strategies used by linguists in identifying the basic order of a language. This includes: (a) statistical frequency (Hawkins 1983); (b) simplest overall syntactic description (McCawley 1970); (c) least morphological marking (Hawkins 1983); and (d) least pragmatically marked or neutral order (Mithun 1992), with the discourse-initial sentences considered being the most neutral because they have no presupposed context (Pullum 1977 as cited in Mithun 1992). For others, “simple, declarative, active clauses with no complex verb or noun phrases” are assumed to exhibit neutral order (Chomsky 1957: 107; Greenberg 1993: 74, Pullum 1981 as cited in Mithun 1992: 16).

Hawkins (1983 as cited in Mithun 1992) identified that simple statistical frequency yields sufficient basis for the identification of basic order. Statistical frequency is the frequently cited common diagnostic of basic order (Dryer 1983 as cited in Mithun 1992: 20), which means “whichever order appear the most often might be considered basic.” Mithun (1992) also presented other methods, such as identifying the order preferred in potentially ambiguous sentences (Chomsky 1957 as cited in Mithun 1992) and determining the relative order between pairs of constituents.

Mithun (1992) further examined the notion of pragmatic order in terms of definiteness and the order of old and new information. In Cayuga, an Iroquoian language spoken in Ontario, indefinite nominals precede definite nominals; there is a tendency for indefinite nominals to appear in the beginning of the clauses, while definite nomi-

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nals tend to appear near the end (Mithun 1992). This is also found in other languages observed by Mithun (1992), such as Ngandi and Coos. The reverse is observed, however, in Chinese, Russian, Czech and other Indo-European languages (Mithun 1992).

Mithun (1992) also observed that in Cayuga, Ngandi, and Coos, new information tends to precede old information. She correlated this with the indefinite-definite distinction as new entities are most often indefinite, and old information are most often definite (Mithun 1992). Mithun (1992) came up with another observation related to the newsworthiness of the information; new information, which is usually more important than old information, precedes old information. Another reason for pragmatic ordering is topic shift; new topic, or a new point of view warrants its appearance early in a clause or sentence.

Lastly, Mithun (1992) proposed the necessity to recognize pragmatically based languages as existing word order universals are defined over rigid word orders. She argued that in a number of languages, “the order of constituents does not reflect syntactic functions, but rather their pragmatic functions” Mithun (1992: 58).

2.2 Basic Word Order of Philippine Languages

In Tagalog, Nolasco (2010) claimed that simple declarative clauses are unmarked clauses that do not perform any specialized function and are considered pragmatically neutral. Unmarked clauses include (a) proper inclusion clauses, (b) equative clauses, (c) attributive clauses, (d) locative clauses, (e) existential clauses, and (f) possessive clauses. These con-

structions are simple clauses whose predicates are not verbs (Nolasco 2010).

Constantino (1965), on the other hand, claimed that the sentences in ten major Philippine languages he studied can be classified as (a) simple, (b) complex, and (c) compound. Simple sentences are further categorized based on their structural and transformational relation to each other, which include situational, equational, and identifying clauses or sentences. Situational sentences are classified into predicative and non-predicative; predicative sentences have a predicate constituent followed by a nominal constituent. The reverse order, in which the nominal constituent precedes the predicate constituent, is marked by *ay* or a sustained terminal contour (Constantino 1965).

Other alternative orders, in other words, those that are predicate-initial constructions can be considered pragmatically marked. Kaufman (2005) mentioned that Tagalog declarative sentences that are not predicate-initial are pragmatically marked because the fronted part of the sentence is focused or is topicalized. While the order of post-verbal constituents is considered basic and much more flexible, Kroeger (1993) claimed that in Tagalog, other alternative orders such as the order of pre-verbal constituent is “quite strictly determined.”

In determining the basic order, it is also important to consider the arguments present in a clause. Thompson (n.d.) suggested that the word order for a given language is easiest to figure out if we have lexical Noun Phrases for both ‘A’ and ‘O’. That is, we have to look at the transitive clauses with two lexical noun arguments.

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Philippine languages are assumed as predicate-initial as shown in the previous examples (1, 4, 6). Predicate-initial languages normally have a PAO/POA order for transitive clauses. Take a look at the following examples (7–11).

(7) Chavacano² (Santiago 2006)

Ta busca pa rin aquel pandesal.

Ta busca_{PRED} pa rin \emptyset _A aquel pandesal_S
NPST search PRT PRT DIST.ACC bread

‘Hinahanap ko pa rin iyong pandesal.’

‘I am still looking for your *pandesal*.’

(8) Cebuano-Kana

Gipamunit niya kini.

Gi-pam-(p)únit niya_A kini_O
TR.PFV-MOD-pick 3SG.ERG PROX.ABS

‘Pinagpupulot niya ito.’

‘He picked it up.’

(9) Ilokano

Inkabil na diay bisikleta na.

In-kabil=_{na}PRED=_A \emptyset _O diay bisikleta=_{na}
PST-put-TR(i-)=3SG.ERG PROX.ABS bicycle=3SG.GEN

‘Inilagay niya (ang basket) sa bisikleta niya.’

‘He placed (it) in his bike.’

²We will follow the analysis that Chavacano exhibits a nominative-accusative morphosyntax. We will mark S and A arguments as NOM and O as ACC.

(10) Tagalog

...inilalagay niya ito sa isang basket.

ini<la>lagay_{PRED} niya_A ito_O sa isa=ng basket_{OBL}
TR.IPFV<RED>put 3SG.ERG PROX.ABS OBL NUM=LKR basket

‘Inilalagay niya ito sa isang basket.’

‘He places it in a basket.’

(11) Waray

Ginbuligan hiya han pagkarga han iya mga prutas.

Gin-bulig-an_{PRED} hiya_O Ø_A han pag-karga han
PFV-help-TR(-an) 3SG.ABS OBL.DEF NOM-carry OBL.DEF

iya mga prutas

3SG.GEN PL fruit

‘Tinulungan siya (ng mga bata) sa pagkarga ng kanyang mga prutas.’

‘Someone helped carry his fruits.’

However, there are instances that arguments are placed in a pre-predicate position as seen in (2), (4), and (5). These sentences are examples of preposing, question, and focus constructions, respectively. These constructions belong to the pragmatically marked clause types. The word order in these construction types is usually altered due to pragmatic factors.

It has also been pointed out that analysis of the word order of pronominals in a given language may be different from the order of the lexical NPs. In considering the word order, we have to take into account whether the arguments are lexical NPs or pronouns. In Kana, as was mentioned previously, pronominal arguments tend to follow

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the predicate-medial word order. We will discuss this in the following sections.

It is also worth mentioning that while we assume that all languages have some basic, syntactically defined constituent order, this may not be universally valid. Mithun (1992) argued against this fundamental assumption and demonstrated that the order of constituents does not really reflect their syntactic functions but rather their pragmatic functions, that is, their relative newsworthiness within the discourse. We will examine this claim in this study.

3 Multiple Motivations for Preposing in Philippine Languages

Verb-initial languages tend to allow more flexibility of constituent orders than do verb-final and verb-medial. Verb-initial languages are also often less sensitive to grammatical relations (Payne 1997). Philippine languages seem to belong to this type. They have flexible word order, which is not grammatically fixed but varies according to pragmatic factors. For instance, new, indefinite, or otherwise “newsworthy” information is usually placed early in the clause.

One phenomenon that alters the basic order of constituent is preposing. Preposing may be observed in cleft, focus, and contrastive constructions and topicalization are examples of this. As observed in Kana, preposing is motivated by the following conditions: (a) clitic position and movement; (b) setting the scene in a discourse narrative; (c) listing of information; and (d) exclusive contrast.

The rest of this section will examine the abovementioned motivations employing the data from the languages used in this study. We will discuss whether the analysis of Kana word order holds true for other Philippine languages.

3.1 Scene Setting Function

Perhaps one of the most useful motivations for preposing in Kana is the scene setting function.

In Kana, one of the functions of preposing is setting the scene in a discourse narrative. This usually happens at the beginning of the discourse. In (12) and (13), the preposed arguments situate the time and the state of the speech act. They present the background of the action as it takes place in the discourse.

(12) Kana

Usa ka adlaw, upat ka mga baryohanon, nagkasinabot nga magluto ug lugaw.

[Usa ka adlaw]_{OBL/PREP} [upat ka mga baryohanon]_S
NUM LKR day NUM LKR PL barrio people
nagka-sinabot_{PRED} [nga magluto ug lugaw]_{RELCL}
INTR.PFV-MOD-agree.on LKR INTR.NEUT-cook OBL porridge

‘Isang araw, apat na lalaki ang nagkasundo na magluto ng lugaw.’

‘One day, four men decided to cook porridge.’

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(13) Kana

Ug samtang siya namunit niini, gitabangan siya sa tulu nga mga bata nga milabay sa iyang tungod.

[Ug samtang siya na-munit niini]_{OBL/PREP}
 CONJ CONJ.SIMUL 3SG.ABS INTR.PFV-pick 3OBL.PROX
 [gi-tabáng-an]_{PRED} siya_S sa tulu nga mga báta_O [nga
 PST-help-TR(-an) 3SG.ABS ERG NUM LKR PL child LKR
 mi-labay]_{PRED} sa íya=ng tungod_{OBL}]_{REL CL}]_{MAIN CL}
 INTR.PFV-pass.by OBL 3SG.GEN=LKR front

‘At habang pinupulot niya ang mga ito, tinulungan siya ng tatlong bata na dumaan sa kanyang harapan.’

‘And while he was picking these/them up, three children, who passed by in front of him, helped him.’

They also introduce a change of scene or new themes as seen in (14). This example talks about the story of a carabao and the animal friends he met while he was traveling. In (14), he met a lizard. The preposed clause situates the location of the scene and introduces a new character in the story.

(14) Kana

Pag-abot sa unahan, iyang nataghon ang ilaga.

Pag-abot Ø_S sa unahan íya=ng na-taghon
 INTR.NEUT-reach OBL front 3SG.ERG=LKR INTR.PFV-meet
 ang ilaga
 ABS lizard

‘Pagdating sa harapan, kanyang nakasalubong ang butiki.’

‘When (he) got in front, he ran into the lizard.’

- (15) Chavacano (Santiago 2006)

Por la mañana, el hombre ya desperta duespes ya anda elle na pono de peras.

[Por la mañana]_{OBL/PREP} el hombre_S ya desperta_{PRED}
PRT DET N.TIME DET man PST wake.up
duespes ya anda_{PRED} elle_S na pono de peras
CONJ.after PST go 3SG.NOM LKR tree POSS pear

‘Sa umaga, nagising ang lalaki, pagkatapos umakyat siya sa puno ng peras.’

‘In the morning, the man woke up, and climbed the pear tree afterwards.’

- (16) Ilokano

Maysa nga aldaw, adda maysa nga lalaki nga agburburas ti peras.

[Maysa nga aldaw]_{OBL/PREP} adda_{PRED} maysa nga lalaki_S [nga
one.day LKR day EXIST NUM LKR man LKR
ag-bur~buras_{PRED} ti peras_{OBL}]_{REL CL}
INTR.IPFV-RED~harvest OBL pear

‘Isang araw, may isang lalaking namimitas ng peras.’

‘One day, there was a man harvesting pears.’

- (17) Tagalog

Sa simula nung pelikula, may isang magsasaka na kumukuha ng prutas sa isang puno.

Her analysis also shows that there is strong correlation between new episode and the use of *ay*-inversion (Fox 1985).

In *ay*-inversion clauses or contrastive focus constructions, preposed arguments are set off from the rest of the clause by the linker *ay* or a pause (Schachter & Otones 1972, Nolasco 2011), as seen in (17). This is the same in Ilokano, Chavacano, and Waray as seen in (15–18).

3.2 Listing of Information

Listing ideas or information in a discourse narrative also alters the word order in a clause.

(19) Kana

Ang usa, Political Science, **ang usa pud** hingproceed sa
Philosophy. Unja nagteacher na pud.

[Ang usa]_S Political Science_{OBL} [ang usa]_S pud
ABS NUM political science ABS NUM PRT
hing-proceed_{PRED} sa Philosophy_{OBL} unja nagteacher
INTR.PFV-proceed OBL N CONJ INTR.PFV-teacher
na pud
PRT PRT

‘Ang isa Political Science, ang isa naman nagpatuloy sa
Philosophy pagkatapos nagteacher na.’

‘One (took up) Political Science, the other one continued on to
Philosophy, and became a teacher afterwards.’

In listing information, the speaker prefers to use constructions in which argument are preposed, occupying the first slot in the clause.

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The arguments are marked by *ang*. These arguments are being focused or given emphasis.

(20) Waray

An usa ha ira, batan-on pa. **An usa nga lalaki** an nagkukuha hin mga prutas. Ngan **an usa** naman nahalin hin ira hayop nga kanding. Ngan **an usa** liwat an bata an nakuha hin prutas para ibaraligya.

[An usa ha ira]_S batan-on pa [an usa nga lalaki]_S an
ABS NUM OBL 3PL.OBL bata-STAT PRT ABS NUM LKR man ABS
nag<ku>kuha hin mga prutas_{OBL} ngan [an usa]_S
INTR.IPFV<RED>take OBL.INDEF PL fruit LKR ABS NUM
naman na-halin_{PRED} hin ira hayop nga
PRT INT.IPFV-leave OBL.INDEF 3PL.GEN animal LKR
kanding_{OBL} ngan [an usa]_S liwat an bata an na-kuha_{PRED}
goat LKR ABS NUM PRT ABS child ABS INTR.PFV-take
hin prutas_{OBL} nga para i-b<ar>aligya
OBL.INDEF fruit LKR PURP TR<CONT>sell

‘Ang isa sa kanila, bata pa. Ang isang lalaki ang kumukuha ng mga prutas at ang isa naman ay humihila ng kanilang hayop na kambing. At ang isa pa, ang bata ang kumuha ng prutas para ibenta.’

‘One of them was still young. The other man is picking the fruits while other is tending to their animal, a goat. And yet another, the child took away the fruits to sell them.’

(21) Tagalog

Yung isang friend ko, nagboyfriend. Nagkaanak lang.
Tinakbuan. **Yung isa pa**, dadalawang taon pa lang na
nakakasal, hiwalay na.

[Yun=g isa=ng friend ko]_S nag-boyfriend_{PRED}
DIST.ABS=LKR NUM=LKR friend ISG.GEN INTR.PFV-boyfriend
nagka-anak_{PRED} lang t<in>akbu-han_{PRED} yun=g
INTR.PFV-have.a.child PRT <PFV>run-TR(-an) DIST.ABS=LKR
isa pa da<da>lawa=ng taon pa lang na
NUM PRT MOD~RED-TWO=LKR year PRT PRT PRT
na-ka-kasal hiwalay na
INTR.PFV-MOD-wedding separated PRT

‘Yung isang friend ko, nagboyfriend. Nagkaanak lang.
Tinakbuan. Yung isa pa, dadalawang taon pa lang na
nakakasal, hiwalay na.’

‘That friend of mine got a boyfriend. (She) just ended up
pregnant. (She) got ran away. The other one, after being
married for just two years, already got separated.’

(22) Ilokano

Ada tallo a basket. **Ti maysa** napunon. **Ti maikadwa**,
kakargaan na pay laeng ken **ti makatlo**, awan pay karga na.

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Ada tallo a basket ti maysa na-puno-n ti
EXIST NUM LKR basket ABS NUM INTR.PFV-puno-PRT ABS
maikadwa ka<ka>rga-an na pay laeng ken ti
NUM IPFV.RED-put-TR(-an) 3SG.ERG PRT PRT CONJ ABS
makatlo awan pay karga na
NUM NEG PRT content PRT

‘May tatlong basket. Ang isa, puno na. Ang ikalawa, nilalagyan pa lang niya. At ang ikatlo, wala pang laman.’

‘There were three baskets. One (of them) was already full. The second is still being filled up. And the third was still empty.’

Based on the data, Waray, Tagalog, and Ilokano follow the same pattern. Arguments being enumerated are placed before the predicate. These arguments are marked by the absolutive case marker in ergative languages; *ang* in Kana (19), *an* in Waray (20), *ang* or *yung* in Tagalog (21), and *ti* in Ilokano (22). The Chavacano data, however, show otherwise. Its syntax does not allow this construction. There is no example to support this type of preposing.

3.3 Exclusive Contrast

Preposing also signals exclusivity or expresses contrast. In these types of clauses, the focused participants of a state or an activity are placed in the pre-predicate position, deviating from the predicate-initial basic word order. Constituents that being focused or contrasted is generally “sufficiently important to occur early in the clause, whether it is indefinite or definite, new or old, a topic or not” (Mithun 1992).

Inversion constructions, such as *ang*-inversion, *ay*-inversion (Schachter & Otnes 1972), and oblique/adjunction inversion are examples of this.

(23) Kana

An lalaki, namupu ug piras.

[An lalaki]_{S/FOC} na-mupu ug piras
ABS man INT.PST(m-)pang-pupu OBL pear
'Ang lalaki, namitas ng peras.'
'The man picked pears'.

(24) Chavacano (Santiago 2006)

si akel viejo na ponu ta mira

si akel viejos na ponu ta mira
PRT DIST.ACC old.man OBL puno NPST look
'kung ang matandang lalaki sa puno ay nakatingin'
'if the old man on the tree was looking''

(25) Ilokano

Dagitoy tallo nga ubing tinulungan na isuda.

[Dagitoy tallo nga ubing]_{A/FOC} [t<in>ulung-an na
3PL.OBL NUM LKR child <PFV>help-TR(-an) 3SG.ERG
isuda]_{MAIN CL}
3PL.ABS
'Ang tatlong batang ito, tinulungan siya nito.'
'These three children, they helped him.'

(26) Tagalog

Siya ay nadistrak.

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[[Siya]_{S/FOC} ay nadistrak_{PRED}]_{IND CL}
3 SG.ABS LKR INTR.PFV-distract
'Siya ay nadistrak.'
'He was distracted.'

As we have discussed so far, the conditions that prompt preposing of arguments in these languages allow either full absolutive NPs, full NP obliques, or subordinate clauses to be preposed. The languages tend to place these items first in the clause and are considered newsworthy. They are newsworthy because they (a) represent significant new information, (b) introduce a new topic, and (c) point out a significant contrast.

3.4 Clitic Position and Movement

Clitic particles constitute a rather mixed group with respect to the meanings they can add to the predicate or parts of the sentence. They usually follow the first full word in the sentence. In Philippine languages, clitics can either be adverbial or pronominal.

The position and movement of pronouns define the word order in a clause. In a predicate-initial language, pronouns normally occupy the second position in the clause and occur to the right of the verb or some other head of the clause. The following examples illustrate this.

- (27) Kana
ug igisakay **niya** iyang igidalang bisiklita

ug i-gi-sakay niya iya=ng i-gi-dala=ng
CONJ TR(i-)-PST-load 3SG.ERG 3SG.GEN=LKR TR-PFV-bring=LKR

bisiklita

bicycle

‘at isinakay niya sa kanyang dinalang bisikleta’

‘and he loaded (it) onto his bike that he brought’

(28) Cebuano-Kana

Gipamunit **niya kini**.

Gi-pam-(p)únit niya_A kini_O

TR.PFV-MOD-pick 3SG.ERG PROX.ABS

‘Pinagpupulot niya ito.’

‘He picked it up.’

(29) Chavacano (Santiago 2006)

Ya rangka **ele** akel bayabas.

Ya rangka_{PRED} ele_A akel bayabas_O

PST harvest 3SG.NOM DIST.ACC guava

‘Inani niya ang bayabas.’

‘He harvested the guavas.’

(30) Ilokano

Innala **na** ti maysa nga basket.

In-nala na ti maysa nga basket

<PST>take-TR(-en) 3SG.ERG ABS NUM LKR basket

‘Kinuha niya ang isang basket.’

‘He took a basket.’

(31) Tagalog

Ibinalik **nila** ang sumbrero.

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[I-b<in>alik_{PREP} nila_A ang sumbrero_O]_{IND CL}
TR(i-)<PST>return 3PL.ERG ABS hat
'Ibinalik nila ang sumbrelo.'
'They returned the hat.'

(32) Waray

Ginbuligan **hiya** han pagkarga han iya mga prutas.
Gin-bulig-an_{PREP} hiya_O han pag-karga han
INT.PFV-bulig-an 3SG.ABS OBL.DEF NOM-load OBL.DEF
iya mga prutas
3SG.OBL N fruit
'Tinulungan siya sa pagkarga ng kanyang mga prutas.'
'(They) helped him in loading his fruits.'

However, there are several pragmatic factors affecting and altering the position of clitic pronouns. See the following examples.

(33) Kana

kay wa na **ja** mahimo
kay wa_{PREP} na (si)ja ma-himo
PURP NEG PRT 3SG.ABS INTR.NEUT(ma-)-do
'Wala na siyang magawa.'
'There was nothing he could do.'

(34) Ilokano

Gapota haan **na** nakita diay bato.
Gapota haan=na_A na-kita diay bato_O
REAS NEG=3SG.ERG INTR.PFV-see DIST.ABS stone
'Dahil hindi niya nakita yung bato.'

‘Because he did not see the rock.’

(35) Tagalog

Hindi **nila** pinansin ang isa’t isa.

Hindi nila_A p<in>ansin_{PRED} ang isa’t isa_O
NEG 3PL.ERG <PFV>notice-TR(-in) ABS each.other

‘Hindi nila pinansin ang isa’t isa.’

‘They ignored each other.’

(36) Waray

kay diri **hiya** nakita han iya gindadrivan

kay diri_{PRED} hiya_A na-kita han iya_{OBL}
REAS NEG 3SG.ERG INTR.PFV-see ABS 3SG.GEN

gin<da>driv-an

IPFV<RED>drive-TR(-an)

‘dahil hindi niya nakita ang kanyang pinagdadrivan’

‘because he did not see his way’

(37) Chavacano (Santiago 2006)

Modo no akel vieho no ta mira.

Modo no akel vieho_S no ta mira
REAS NEG DIST.ABS old.man NEG NPST look

‘Just because that old man is not looking, (he) is looking at the back.’

In (33–37), negation can alter the ordering of pronouns in a clause. Clitics automatically follow the first full word, which in the case of negation clauses is the negator.

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Preposing also allows pronominals to move in a clause. So far, we have only seen full NPs being preposed. However, in the case of Kana, it is the pronominals that are frequently preposed.

In this section, we have presented the different functions and motivations for preposing in Chavacano, Ilokano, Tagalog, Kana, and Waray, namely: (a) setting the scene; (b) information listing; (c) exclusive contrast; and (d) clitic position and movement. The next section will deal with the preposing of pronominal arguments and its implications on the word order analysis as shown in Kana.

4 Preposing in Kana and Its Implication in the Word Order Analysis

A preliminary analysis of Kana preposing shows that while lexical NPs follow the predicate-initial word order, pronominals prefer predicate-medial. While we could speculate that postposed³ constructions (i.e., POA/PAO) would occur more frequently than preposed constructions (i.e., AOP/APO), the data have shown otherwise.

In determining the basic order in Kana, we employed the simplest method: statistical frequency. As shown in Table 1, preposed constructions are by no means the rare alternative order in Kana constructions. Preposed constructions outnumber basic postposed constructions. This is true for both transitive and intransitive clauses.

³As opposed to preposed constructions, postposed constructions are the basic transitive constructions in which pronouns occur post-verbally.

	Postposed	Preposed	Zero Anaphora	Total
Intransitive	113 (36.5%)	125 (40.3%)	72 (23.2%)	310 (81.8%)
Transitive	18 (26.1%)	33 (47.8%)	18 (26.1%)	69 (18.2%)
Total	131 (34.5%)	158 (41.7%)	90 (23.7%)	379 (100%)

Table 1. Counts of Postposed, Preposed, and Zero Anaphoric Constructions

	Postposed	Preposed	Total
Intransitive	113 (47.5%)	125 (53.5%)	238 (82.4%)
Transitive	18 (35.2%)	33 (64.7%)	51 (17.6%)
Total	131 (45.3%)	158 (54.7%)	289 (100%)

Table 2. Counts of Postposed and Preposed Constructions

We limited our count to those clauses with overt arguments, thus the zero anaphoric constructions were eliminated. The results in Table 2 have shown likewise.

Table 3 illustrates that in intransitive clauses, a variety of arguments can be preposed. Preposed noun phrases and oblique clauses outnumber their postposed counterparts. Oblique clauses are usually preposed because of their scene-setting function, as discussed in Section 3.1. They function to introduce new participants or new information in the discourse. Pronouns are also preposed but have lower frequency than postposed ones. However, it can be observed that pronominal arguments are most often employed to track reference of topical arguments across clauses.

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Intransitive	Noun Phrases	Pronouns	Oblique Clauses	Total
Preposed	46 (36.5%)	44 (34.9%)	36 (28.6%)	126 (52.5%)
Postposed	43 (37.7%)	69 (60.5%)	2 (1.8%)	114 (47.5%)
Total	89 (37.1%)	113 (47.1%)	38 (15.8%)	240 (100%)

Table 3. Comparison of Counts of Preposed and Postposed Arguments in Intransitive Clauses

Transitive	Noun Phrases		Pronouns		Total
	A	O	A	O	
Preposed	0 (0.0%)	1 (2.6%)	32 (82.1%)	6 (15.3%)	39 (49.3%)
Postposed	9 (22.5%)	20 (50.0%)	8 (20.0%)	3 (7.5%)	40 (50.6%)
Total	9 (11.4%)	21 (26.6%)	40 (50.6%)	9 (11.4%)	79 (100%)

Table 4. Comparison of Counts of Preposed and Postposed Arguments in Transitive Clauses

Table 4 shows the counts of A and O arguments in transitive clauses in Kana. A-arguments are often referred to by pronouns. O-arguments, on the other hand, are referred to by noun phrases. Topical arguments are also pronominalized which is evident in the frequency of A-pronominals. Moreover, A-pronominals are the ones usually preposed.

It is also important to discuss the forms of preposed pronominal arguments in Kana. See the following examples.

(38) Kana

Gipalingkod sa tigulang nga baje ang estranghero ug gipakaon
nija.

Gi-pa-lingkod sa ti-gulang nga baje ang estranghero
TR.PFV-MOD-sit ERG STAT-gulang LKR woman ABS stranger
ug gi-pa-kaon nija
CONJ TR.PFV-MOD-eat 3SG.ERG

‘Pinaupo ng matandang babae ang estranghero at pinakain
niya (ang estranghero).’

‘The old woman made the stranger sit and gave him something
to eat.’

(39) Kana

Iyang gibutang sa mga bukag ang iyang pinupu nga mga piras.

Íya=ng_A gi-butang sa mga bukag ang
3SG.OBL=LKR PFV-put-TR(-an) OBL PL basket ABS
íya=ng p<in>ùpù nga mga píras
3SG.OBL=LKR <PFV>pick-TR(-on) LKR PL pear

‘Tapos inilagay niya sa mga basket ang kanyang kinuha na mga
peras.’

‘Afterwards, he placed the pears he placed in the basket.’

Example (38) is the basic transitive construction in a predicate-initial language, such as Kana. Example (39) is the preposed equivalent. Notice that in a preposed construction, the ergative pronoun *nija/niya* takes the form *iyang*, which is morphologically identical to oblique form *ijaliya* when preposed. Zorc (1977) observed that Bisayan pronouns, specifically third genitive and oblique pronouns share the same root *-ja*.

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We maintain that Kana is an ergative language in which S and O are marked the same (absolutive) and A is marked differently (ergative). However, with the occurrence of the preposed construction, the A takes two forms, the ergative and genitive/oblique. S-pronominals, however, have only one form for preposed and postposed constructions.

Person	Ergative (Postposed)	Ergative (Preposed)
Singular		
1 st	nako	ako
2 nd	nimo	imo
3 rd	niya/nija	iya/ija
Plural		
1 st	namo	amo
2 nd inclusive	nato	ato
2 nd exclusive	ninyo	inyo
3 rd	nila	ila

Table 5. Pronominal Forms in Preposed and Postposed Constructions

In this section, we looked at the counts of preposed and postposed constructions in Kana. Both construction types have the preference for preposing. We also looked at the forms of preposed arguments. In intransitive clauses, noun phrases, pronominals, and oblique clauses are usually preposed. This illustrates the “newsworthiness principle”; the element that introduces a new topic or that points out a significant contrast is often preposed and placed in the pre-predicate position. S-noun phrases and pronominals are often used to signal exclusive contrast and single out the topical arguments, while oblique clauses are utilized for the scene-setting function in discourse.

Looking at the transitive clauses, the data have shown that Kana favors preposing of A-pronominals over postposing. This preference has certain implications. It appears that the analysis of Kana word order must no longer assume a strictly predicate-initial pattern. Preposed constructions show that Kana has a predicate-medial tendency, with A-pronominals occupying the leftmost position of a clause followed by a verb. The APO word order seems to have already been grammaticalized in Kana.

Pronouns correspond to old information in discourse. They take the place of the full noun phrases previously mentioned in discourse. New information, on the other hand, is referred to by noun phrases. The preposing of pronominals implies that old information is more significant and newsworthy.

Based on the discourse data, pronominalization is the most useful way to track reference. The counts have shown significantly that, compared to noun phrases, pronouns are often used to monitor arguments across clauses. Traditionally, noun phrases are the types of constituents considered when analyzing the basic word order of a language. This may tell us one thing: we may have to re-consider the word order analysis in Philippine languages since analyses that have been made only discussed word order in terms of full NPs. This paper presents a new point of view in the analysis of basic order, particularly in Philippine languages.

4.1 Pronominal Preposing in Other Philippine Languages

We have discussed that preposing also occurs in Ilokano, Tagalog, Chavacano, and Waray under certain conditions. We have demonstrated that while these languages allow preposing, the preposed arguments are usually oblique NPs and clauses which are of no importance in considering the word order of a language. This time, we will further examine the phenomenon of preposing in terms of pronominal arguments and determine whether the analysis of preposing in Kana also applies to these languages.

4.1.1 Ilokano

Ilokano is essentially predicate-initial (Rubino 2000, Rafal 2009). It also has an ergative morphosyntax, like Kana (Gerdtz 1988, Nolasco & Saclot 2005, Rubino 1997, 2000). Although it allows preposing, the frequency is very much lower (27.6%) than the basic postposed construction (72.4%). Table 6 illustrates this.

	Preposed	Postposed	Total
Intransitive	33 (31.7%)	71 (68.2%)	104 (77.6%)
Transitive	4 (13.3%)	26 (86.7%)	30 (22.4%)
Total	37 (27.6%)	97 (72.4%)	134 (100%)

Table 6. Ilokano Preposed and Postposed Constructions

Among the preposed constituents, oblique clauses tend to move to the pre-predicate position. Further, there were no instances of preposing of pronominals.

Preposed	Pronouns	Noun Phrases	Oblique Clauses	Total
Intransitive	0 (0.0%)	11 (33.3%)	22 (66.7%)	33 (89.2%)
Transitive	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	4 (100.0%)	4 (10.8%)
Total	0 (0.0%)	11 (29.7%)	26 (70.3%)	37 (100%)

Table 7. Frequency Count of Preposed Arguments in Ilokano

Also, unlike Kana, Ilokano does not (or rarely) allows preposing of pronominals. Preposed arguments are usually oblique nominal phrases and subordinate clauses whose function is to set or signal a change of themes or scenes in a stretch of discourse. Table 7 and 8 demonstrate this.

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	Intransitive		Transitive			Total
	S	OBL	A	O	OBL	
Pronominals	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)
Lexical NPs	6 (54.5%)	5 (45.5%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	11 (29.7%)
Clause	0 (0.0%)	22 (84.6%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	4 (15.4%)	26 (70.3%)
Total	6 (16.2%)	27 (72.9%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	4 (10.8%)	37 (100%)

Table 8. Frequency Count of Preposed Arguments in Ilokano

4.1.2 Tagalog

Tagalog is generally held to be a verb-first language (Schachter & Otanes 1972, Naylor 2005, Nolasco 2010), and for the most part it is true that nominal arguments must follow the verb, with pronouns occurring as second-position enclitics. However, there are some exceptions, as the language also allows a clause type where pronouns occur to the left of the verb.

Culwell-Kanarek (2005) discussed the different pronominal forms that pre-verbal and post-verbal pronouns take as they occur in a clause. Like Kana, the Tagalog ergative pronoun takes a different form, which is morphologically identical to the oblique, having the same pronoun root.

- (40) Tagalog
 Tinawag **niya** ang bata.
 T<in>awag niya ang bata
 <PST>call-TR(-in) 3SG.ERG ABS child
 ‘Tinawag niya ang bata.’
 ‘He called the child.’

- (41) Tagalog
Kanyang tinawag ang bata.
 Kanya=ng t<in>awag ang bata
 3SG.ERG=LKR <PST>call-TR(-in) ABS child
 ‘Kanyang tinawag ang bata.’
 ‘He called the child.’

Although Tagalog allows preverbal pronouns to occur, the percentage of its occurrence is not that significant. Based on the data, pronominals are rarely preposed. Table 9 shows that in transitive clauses, preposed arguments are usually noun phrases or subordinate clauses. Unlike Kana, however, Tagalog constructions prefer the basic (postposed) constructions over preposed.

	Preposed	Postposed	Total
Intransitive	36 (23.4%)	118 (76.4%)	154 (71.3%)
Transitive	16 (25.8%)	46 (74.2%)	62 (28.7%)
Total	52 (24.1%)	164 (75.9%)	216 (100%)

Table 9. Tagalog Preposed and Postposed Constructions

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Oblique clauses (57.1%) tend to be preposed among the constituent types, followed by noun phrases (36.7%). Pronouns are rarely preposed in Tagalog, and they only occur in intransitive constructions.

Preposed	Pronouns	Noun Phrases	Oblique Clauses	Total
Intransitive	3 (8.8%)	8 (23.5%)	23 (67.6%)	34 (69.4%)
Transitive	0 (0.0%)	10 (66.7%)	5 (33.3%)	15 (30.6%)
Total	3 (6.1%)	18 (36.7%)	28 (57.1%)	49 (100%)

Table 10. Frequency Count of Preposed Arguments in Tagalog

	Intransitive		Transitive		Total	
	S	OBL	A	O		OBL
Pronominals	3 (100%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	3 (6.1%)
Lexical NPs	5 (27.7%)	3 (16.7%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	10 (55.6%)	18 (36.7%)
Clause	0 (0.0%)	23 (82.1%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	5 (17.9%)	28 (57.1%)
Total	8 (16.3%)	26 (53.1%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	15 (30.6%)	49 (100%)

Table 11. Frequency Count of Preposed Arguments in Tagalog

It can also be observed from the data that *ay*-inversion is employed when an argument is preposed.

(42) Tagalog

Ang isa sa kanila ay naglalaro ng paddle ball.

Ang isa sa kanila ay nag-la~laro ng
ABS NUM OBL 3PL.OBL LKR INTR.IPFV-RED~laro OBL
paddle ball
paddle ball

‘Ang isa sa kanila ay naglalaro ng paddle ball.’

‘One of them is playing the paddle ball.’

(43) Tagalog

Bilang pasasalamat ay binigyan ng bata ang tatlo ng tig-iisang prutas.

Bilang pasasalamat ay b<in>ig(a)y-an ng bata ang tatlo
CONJ thank.you LKR <PFV>give-TR(-an) ERG child ABS NUM
ng tig-isa=ng prutas
OBL NOM-NUM=LKR fruit

‘Bilang pasasalamat ay binigyan ng bata ang tatlo ng tig-isang prutas.’

‘As token of gratitude, the three children were given one pear each by the child.’

4.1.3 Chavacano

Transitive constructions in Chavacano show rare instances of preposed constructions. Even though it is a creole borne from the contact between accusative and ergative languages, Chavacano strictly follows the accusative morphosyntax of its Iberian superstrate. It is strictly predicate-initial and only allows noun phrases and subordinate clauses

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to be preposed. No example of pronominal preposing has been obtained from the data.

	Preposed	Postposed	Total
Intransitive	32 (25.6%)	93 (74.4%)	125 (75.3%)
Transitive	7 (17.1%)	34 (82.9%)	41 (24.7%)
Total	39 (34.5%)	127 (76.5%)	166 (100%)

Table 12. Chavacano Preposed and Postposed Constructions

Preposed	Pronouns	Noun Phrases	Oblique Clauses	Total
Intransitive	0 (0.0%)	18 (56.3%)	14 (43.7%)	32 (82.1%)
Transitive	0 (0.0%)	3 (42.9%)	4 (57.1%)	7 (17.9%)
Total	0 (0.0%)	21 (53.8%)	18 (46.1%)	39 (100%)

Table 13. Frequency Count of Preposed Arguments in Chavacano

	Intransitive		Transitive			Total
	S	OBL	A	O	OBL	
Pronominals	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)
Lexical NPs	5 (23.8%)	13 (61.9%)	2 (9.5%)	0 (0.0%)	1 (4.8%)	21 (53.8%)
Clause	0 (0.0%)	14 (77.8%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	4 (22.2%)	18 (46.1%)
Total	5 (12.8%)	27 (69.2%)	2 (5.1%)	0 (0.0%)	5 (12.8%)	39 (100%)

Table 14. Frequency Count of Preposed Arguments in Chavacano

4.1.4 Waray

Waray is closest structurally and genetically to Kana, among the languages used in this study. They both belong to the same language subgroup, which is the Bisayan subgroup of languages.

An analysis of Waray transitive clauses shows that preposed constructions outnumber over postposed. 54.5% percent of transitive clauses are preposed constructions.

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	Preposed	Postposed	Total
Intransitive	48 (38.4%)	77 (61.6%)	125 (79.1%)
Transitive	18 (54.5%)	15 (45.5%)	33 (20.9%)
Total	66 (41.7%)	92 (58.2%)	158 (100%)

Table 15. Waray Preposed and Postposed Constructions

Preposed arguments consist of noun phrases (57.6%), which occur more frequently than oblique cases (31.8%) and pronominals (10.6%). Preposed tend to occur in intransitive clauses (72.7%) compared to transitive clauses.

Preposed	Pronouns	Noun Phrases	Oblique Clauses	Total
Intransitive	0 (0.0%)	34 (70.8%)	14 (29.2%)	48 (72.7%)
Transitive	7 (38.9%)	4 (22.2%)	7 (38.9%)	18 (27.3%)
Total	7 (10.6%)	38 (57.6%)	21 (31.8%)	66 (100%)

Table 16. Frequency Count of Preposed Arguments in Waray

Lexical NPs are also preposed more frequently than the other types of constituents. It is noteworthy than in Waray, there were no instances of preposing in pronominals in both transitive and intransitive clauses.

	Intransitive		Transitive			Total
	S	OBL	A	O	OBL	
Pronominals	0 (100%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)
Lexical NPs	19 (43.2%)	15 (34.1%)	7 (15.9%)	0 (0.0%)	3 (6.8%)	44 (66.7%)
Clause	0 (0.0%)	14 (63.6%)	1 (4.5%)	0 (0.0%)	7 (31.8%)	22 (33.3%)
Total	19 (28.8%)	29 (43.9%)	8 (12.1%)	0 (0.0%)	10 (15.2%)	66 (100%)

Table 17. Frequency Count of Preposed Arguments in Waray

5 Summary and Conclusion

Philippine languages have been analyzed to be predicate-initial. Simple and pragmatically neutral clauses which exhibit the basic order of constituents are expected to follow the PAO/POA pattern. Other alternative orders where the nominal arguments and other constituents are placed before the predicate are considered pragmatically marked. These instances are referred to as preposing.

Employing statistical frequency, one of the most common diagnostic strategies to determine the basic order of languages (Hawkins 1983; Dryer 1993 as cited in Mithun 1992), the data have shown that preposed constructions, specifically involving pronominals, have higher frequency of occurrence in Kana. It was also observed that prepos-

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ing phenomena in Kana are prompted by pragmatic functions. For instance, topical and newsworthy elements are usually preposed in a clause. In intransitive clauses, noun phrases and pronominal arguments are preposed because they usually introduce new topic or signal contrast. Oblique phrases are preposed for their scene-setting function in discourse. In transitive clauses, ergative pronouns are usually preposed. These pronouns referred to topical arguments in discourse.

In this study, it was shown that preposed constructions in selected Philippine languages are influenced by the following conditions: (a) setting the scene and introducing new themes in a discourse narrative; (b) listing ideas or information; (c) expressing exclusivity or contrast; and (d) clitic movement and position.

In other Philippine languages, the data have shown that while Ilokano, Tagalog, and Chavacano allow preposing, the preposed arguments are usually oblique NPs and subordinate clauses. These languages prefer post-verbal pronoun constructions and tend to prepose full NPs. The data have shown that only Kana and Waray show preference to pronominal preposing. This is evident in the percentage of occurrence of preposed constructions, which is higher than the basic postposed construction.

Ilokano, Tagalog, and Chavacano are basically predicate-initial. This holds true in terms of both nominal and pronominal arguments. Kana and Waray have predicate-medial tendencies, with the ergative pronominal occupying the leftmost of the clause in the pre-predicate position. They favor the APO constructions over the PAO/POA constructions.

Word order generalizations traditionally consider lexical noun phrases in determining the basic order of constituents in a clause. However, recent studies (Nagaya 2006, Nagaya & Santiago 2006) have shown that pronominalization is most often used in tracking reference across clauses in Philippine languages. It is also the most unmarked and most useful way to monitor reference in Kana discourse. This may tell us one thing: we may have to re-consider the word order analysis in Philippine languages since analyses that have been made only discussed word order in terms of full NPs. This paper offers a new point of view in the analysis of word order in Philippine-type languages.

We also agree with Mithun (1992) in her claim that the order of constituents can be reflective of pragmatic functions rather than syntactic functions. The phenomenon of preposing illustrates the “newsworthiness principle.” “Newsworthy” information or items are preposed and placed before the predicate or early in the clause, or in the beginning of discourse. It usually (a) represents significant new information, (b) introduces new topic, and (c) points out a significant contrast. Philippine-type languages allow topical arguments to move in a clause depending on their relative significance in the discourse.

This study is not meant to provide a conclusive analysis on the pronominal word order of Philippine languages. However, it is hoped that it provided a good starting point for further studies on the basic order of Philippine languages, particularly in terms of pragmatic ordering and on the basis of pronominal arguments.

List of Terms and Abbreviations

∅	zero-marked	INTSV	intensive
1	first person	IMP	imperative
12	dual person	IPFV	imperfective
2	second person	LKR	linker
3	third person	LOC	locative
ʼ	glottal stop	MED	medial
=	cliticization	MOD	modifier
-	morpheme boundary	MODE	mode
.	morpheme with several metalanguage elements	NEG	negator
< >	infixation	NEUT	neutral tense-aspect
A	agent or source of action	NOM	nominalization
ABS	absolutive	NONSPEC	non-specific
AGENT	semantic agent	NUM	numeral
APT	aptative	O	patient or most affected entity
BEN	beneficiary/recipient	OBL	oblique
CAUS	causative	PAT	semantic patient
CONJ	conjunction	PFV	perfective
COMPR	comparative	PL	plural
C ₁ V ₁	first syllable reduplication	POSS	possessive
DIST	distal	PR	personal
DISTR	distributive	PROX	proximal
ERG	ergative	PRSP	prospective
FOC	focus	PRT	particle
GEN	genitive	QW	question word
INCP	inceptive future	RED	reduplication
IND	indicative	RCP	reciprocal
INTR	intransitive	RPFV	recent perfective
		S	only argument of an intransitive construction

STAT	stative verb	TR	transitive
STEM	stem	Vlr	first vowel + <i>r</i>
TA	tense-aspect		reduplication

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Nominalization in Surigaonon: Beyond Forming Noun Phrases

Ava A. Villareal

Abstract

Multiple processes and transformations take place for a complex sentence in Surigaonon to be formed. One of these is the process called nominalization. In Surigaonon, various methods of nominalization were observed using the transformational generative framework as a guide for analysis along with semantic grammar and rule writing as used in the analysis of *Grammar ng Filipino* (Malicsi 2013). These include nominalization through *na* + S, nominalization by using the complementizer *kun* and *kun* + interrogatives, as well as nominalization of non-nominal predicates. Nominalization can be lexical or grammatical and also verbal-based and nominal-based in some languages.

The study exhibited both lexical and morphosyntactic levels of analysis for nominalization. The elements found in the environment where each type of nominalization occurs are also described. In such environments, restrictions can be deduced which paved the way for rule formation. In addition, studies of complex sentence formations in various languages particularly the Bisayan languages have evolved over the years.

In this study, appropriate data collection procedure is significant for the analysis and formation of the stated grammatical rules in compound and complex sentences. The procedure included collating and browsing previous printed literature and other data sources both in the traditional and online platforms. Data sources include homilies, transcription of native-speaker informant interviews, Surigaonon word lists and other materials online, and sentences I formed on my own. A team of validators who are native speakers was tasked to ensure the grammaticality and accuracy of the data collected.

Keywords: nominalization in Bisayan languages, Surigaonon syntax, nominalization in Philippine languages, complex sentence constructions

1 Introduction

Nominalization, known in previous studies as complementation, is seen as a process that occurs in both compound and complex sentences (Villanueva 1978). The process of nominalization and its pivotal role in the formation of complex sentences in Surigaonon and Surigaonon syntax in general warrants a full-fledged analysis and structural description for numerous significant reasons. For one, a study on nominalization expounds on the basic sentence analysis provided by Liwanag in her Surigaonon grammar sketch (2015) and facilitates a comprehensive analysis of compound and complex sentence constructions in Surigaonon. Furthermore, this study contributes in myriad ways from pedagogy particularly under the Mother Tongue Based Multilingual Education (MTB-MLE) program of the government, a thorough understanding of the language on the part of the community of speakers, to fostering nationalistic pride, support for language revitalization and documentation efforts, and spawning further studies in Surigaonon and even in the neighboring languages.

Studies on nominalization both in the western and eastern traditions of grammar have been focused on the lexical level (Shibatani 2019). Some linguists conducted studies that compare the nominalization processes in Austronesian languages (e.g., Foley 2014, Kaufman 2011) which focus on both lexical and syntactic levels. Additionally, Nagaya (2014) focused on the uses of nominalizing morpheme *yung* in Tagalog while Shibatani (2019) discussed the fundamental issues in nominalization (e.g., the prevalence of verb-based nominalization studies when languages around the globe show noun-based nominalization).

Grammatical nominalization which has more impact on the description process and theoretical application has been significantly ignored (Shibatani 2019). Lexical nominalization has set clear parameters being that nouns as a lexical category has a distinct status. This is not to be said of grammatical nominalization.

According to Shibatani (2018), nominalization in the lexical level can be noun-based and verb-based, the latter being more prevalent. In other languages, the morphology of nominalization applies to lexical units that are larger than words.

In the case of Philippine languages, nominalization has gone through several changes. Nominalization in previous studies was known as complementation in Tanangkingsing (2009), among other nomenclature.¹ This was in adherence to the context that it is a process of forming a complement of a sentence, and this complement is a noun phrase. It must be noted that there is no perceived difference between complementation and nominalization. The use of either nomenclature is solely based on the linguist's preference.

In Surigaonon, nominalization can be lexical and grammatical. It can be noun- and verb-based. Grammatical analysis of nominalization requires it to be analyzed in the morphosyntactic level, considering the transformations that appear in a complement that is nominalized. This study adheres to the morpho-syntactic level of analysis and aims to address the following research questions:

1. How does nominalization occur in a Surigaonon sentence?

¹See Section 2 Previous Studies on Nominalization.

2. What are grammatical features (e.g., verbal affixes) that enable the formation of nominalization in Surigaonon?

2 Previous Studies on Nominalization

The analysis of nominalization flourishes vis-a-vis the changes in the way compound and complex sentence formations are analyzed. Studies on compound and complex sentences in Philippine languages have gone through changes over the years. During the 1960s until the early 1970s, studies delved solely on the structure of compound and complex sentences. Compounding as a process of sentence construction was considered part of a complex sentence construction instead of an independent sentence formation process. It was during this time when nominalization was known as complementation (e.g., Tanangkingsing 2009) while another study called it pronominalization (i.e., Cubar 1974). On the other hand, studies on complex sentences in during the 1960s and 1970s, aside from being analyzed as belonging to the same category as compound sentences, are described as individual transformations instead of providing a comprehensive description of all transformations and processes that occur in a complex sentence construction.

In the recent years, the transformation processes involved in complex sentence constructions have been analyzed and described more comprehensively and through specific types of transformations, such as nominalization using *na* + S. The following are some studies that

include a discussion on complex sentence construction, particularly on nominalization.

The first study that includes a discussion of nominalization is Cubar's *Complex Sentences in Tagalog, Cebuano and Hiligaynon* (1974), where she fully described nominalization which she called pronominalization. For Cubar, any sentence structure that is not basic is considered a complex sentence structure. She also postulated that the term 'complex sentences' must be taken in the broadest sense. On the other hand, in Waray, nominalization was analyzed particularly with the prefix *pagpa-* while complementation was analyzed together with a noun phrase (NP) (Villanueva 1978). Another study that contributed in the analysis of nominalization in Cebuano was authored by Michael Tanangkingsing. In his study "A Functional Reference Grammar of Cebuano" (2009), Tanangkingsing referred to nominalization as complementation, being one of the three basic means to combine clauses, the other two being coordination and subordination, and relativization.

Several studies in Filipino grammar also aided the analysis of nominalization in Surigaonon. In his book *Sintaks ng Filipino* (2012), Resty Cena analyzed the nominalized clause as a noun. Cena described the nominalization process in several ways, for example, removing the affixes of the head of the sentence (verbal predicate) and removing the affixes of the predicate and replacing it with the nominalizing affix *pag-*. For Cena, nominal, adverbial, and existential verb predicates may also undergo nominalization. Meanwhile, Nagaya (2014) described the recently used *yung* nominalizations in Tagalog, where the entire sentence is nominalized and the result form is used as a main clause.

According to Nagaya, *yung*-nominalizations are undocumented but are commonly used in social media sites like Facebook and Twitter.

Moreover, Malicsi in his book *Grammar ng Filipino* (2013) analyzed nominalization as one of the transformations that occur in a complex sentence construction. This study used Malicsi's analysis as the primary reference. *Grammar ng Filipino* uses the transformational generative grammar combined with semantic grammar as its framework for analysis.

3 Current Situation of the Surigaonon Language

Surigaonon is a language spoken in Surigao Del Norte, the northern part of Agusan Del Norte, and the northern areas of Surigao Del Sur. The Ethnologue statistics stated that the language is spoken by 501,000 speakers (Eberhard, Simons & Fennig 2021). Surigaonon falls under the larger group of languages called Greater Central Philippines. More particularly, it belongs to the South Bisayan group which is part of the Bisayan subgroup (Zorc 1977: 179). Surigaonon has been established to possess a high cognacy with the following languages: Dibabawon Manobo, Agusan Manobo, Cebuano, Tandaganon, and Butuanon.

A dialectology has not been conducted in the areas where the language is used, particularly in Surigao Del Norte and Surigao Del Sur areas. Because of this, Surigaonon dialects have not been determined yet, but native speakers including myself have considered the following as varieties of Surigaonon: Gigaquitnon, Siargaonon, Cantilangnon, Mainitnon, Dinagatnon, and the Surigao City variety.

The Surigao City variety of Surigaonon is perceived by the community of speakers as the more dominant variety. This is because Surigao City is the capital of Surigao Del Norte. The city has a population of 154,137. This is based on the latest census of the Philippine Statistics Office in 2015 (Provincial Government of Surigao Del Norte n.d.).

In the study titled “The Maintenance and Preservation of the Surigaonon Language in Cyberspace” (2012), Dumanig & David stated that Surigaonon is only used in homes and other informal domains of communication. Surigaonon is also perceived by native speakers are fast declining in terms of usage due to the prevalent use of major languages namely English, Cebuano, and Tagalog (Dumanig & David 2012: 19).

The Surigaonon City variety of Surigaonon has been included in the Department of Education’s Mother Tongue-Based Multilingual Education (MTB-MLE) program. The language is now used as a medium of instruction from grade levels 1 to 3 in public schools. However, the implementation of the program is hampered with issues of inaccuracy in instructional materials and lack of ground level preparation.

This study addresses the dearth of linguistic studies in Surigaonon, particularly in grammar and syntax. Moreover, this will provide reference materials to be used for pedagogy. Consequently, this will contribute to the documentation of the language and encourage language use.

4 Data Collection Procedure

This study is part of a research conducted to describe the compound and complex sentence constructions in Surigaonon whose main data collection method used included collating and browsing previous printed literature and other data sources both in the traditional and online platforms. These data sources include homilies, Facebook posts and comments from Surigaonon online groups of which I am a member, transcribed interviews of native speakers, online Surigaonon materials, and sentences formed by myself.

A team of informant and validators was also responsible to ensure accuracy and grammaticality of the data gathered. Five informants were tasked to provide data while another six validators were responsible for providing data and ensuring grammaticality. The first five who served as informants are between 50 to 80 years old. They are all native speakers and residents of Surigao City, except for one who resides in Manila due to his occupation. Because of the nature of their occupations, they possess a particular social and cultural influence in both Surigao City and Surigao Del Norte.

The informant-validators were in between 40 and 70 years old. All of them are native speakers and current residents of Surigao City except for one who resides in Manila to work. These informant and informant-validators represent the following sectors: education, media, arts, literature, government, and tourism.

5 Nominalization in Surigaonon

In this study, nominalization in Surigaonon is analyzed both in the lexical and grammatical levels. It is one of the embedding processes involved in forming a complex sentence structure. This is a transformation process that is characterized by the insertion or embedding of a sentence into the matrix sentence or the original sentence as its complement.

Nominalization can be formed in various means, namely, nominalization using *kun* and using *kun* + interrogatives, nominalization through the process *na* + S, and nominalization of non-nominal predicates.

In this process, a declarative sentence can be made into a complement of another sentence functioning as a noun (Malicsi 2013). The sentence can be predicative or non-predicative. Moreover, the sentence can be compound or complex (Villanueva 1978).

Similar to other processes in forming a complex sentence, nominalization includes deletion of co-referential elements or elements that pertain to the same referent, and one of them can be removed. This is called equi-NP deletion (Cubar 1974), pronominalization (Villanueva 1978), reduction (Perez 2013), and deletion (Malicsi 2013).

In his book *Grammar ng Filipino* (2013), Malicsi also considered sentences that contain modal verbs and higher predicates as having the same transformation process as nominalization or complementation in constructing complex sentences.

5.1 Nominalization through the Process Na + S

Nominalization can be formed by adding the complementizer *na* in front of a declarative sentence. The complement formed is added to a knowing verb (e.g., *hibayo* ‘to know’), a feeling verb (e.g., *lagot* ‘to be angry’), a saying verb (e.g., *laong* ‘to say’), or a perceiving verb (e.g., *bantay* ‘to notice’).

(1) a. Matrix Sentence

Naghuna-huna si Krista X
PERF.AF-think FM Krista X

b. Insert Sentence

Sugdan na an proposal nan dayan
CONT.AF-start ADV FM proposal PREP-of street

c. addition of complementizer *na*

na sugdan na an proposal nan dayan
COMP CONT.AF-start ADV FM proposal PREP-of street

d. Result Sentence

Naghuna-huna si Krista na sugdan na an
PERF.AF-think FM Krista COMP CONT.AF-start ADV FM
 proposal nan dayan.
proposal PREP-of street

Naghuna-huna si Krista na sugdan na an proposal nan
 dayan.

‘Nag-iisip si Krista na umpisahan na ang proposal ng
 kalsada.’

‘Krista is thinking of starting the road proposal.’

In (1), the insert sentence is turned into a complement *na sugdan na an proposal nan dayan* of the matrix sentence by adding the complementizer *na* in front of it. This takes the subject position of the matrix sentence with the knowing verb *naghuna-huna* ‘to think.’

5.2 Nominalization of Non-nominative Predicates

According to (Malicsi 2013), a verbal or adjectival predicate of any basic sentence can be turned into a complement of a matrix sentence. This can be done in Surigaonon by nominalizing the root of the adjective or verb by adding the Surigaonon nominalizing affix *pag-* and its other forms. The nominalized verb or adjective can be made into a complement with the help of a knowing, saying, feeling, or perceiving verb. As a complement, it may function as the subject or object of the matrix sentence (Baker 1978: 442). The nominalized root of the verbal or adjectival predicate is now marked by *an*, and it occupies the subject position of the matrix sentence. The original subject of the insert sentence undergoes change in its marker from *si* or *an* to *ni* or *nan*.

The nominalizing affix *pag-* can be turned into other nominalizing affixes by combining with affixes or modal morphemes. These affixes are as follows: *pagka-*, *panag-*, *pagpa-*, and *pakig-*.

- *Pagpa-* signifies an actor who is causing an act to be performed by another actor, as in *magpakaon* ‘to feed’ in *pagpakaon nan mga Manobo* ‘feeding the Manobos.’
- *Pagka-* signifies the manner in which an action is performed, as in *magsuyat* ‘to write’ in *pagkasuyat* ‘the manner of writing.’

- *Pakig-* signifies an action or deed performed with another person or persons or entities; this further signifies that one person initiates the action and reciprocated by another person, as in *makigminyo* ‘to marry (someone)’ in *pakigminyo* ‘being married to (someone),’ *makighiusa* ‘to unite (with someone)’ in *pakighiusa* ‘being united (with someone),’ *makig-away* ‘to fight (with someone)’ in *pakig-away* ‘being in a fight (with someone),’ and *makighigaya* ‘to befriend (someone)’ in *pakighigaya* ‘being friends with (someone).’
- *Panag-* signifies the collective effort of actors in performing an action or deed, as in *magkitaay* ‘to meet’ in *panagkitaay* ‘meeting together as a group,’ *mag-iban* ‘to be with someone’ in *panag-iban* ‘being together as a pair or group,’ and *maglalis* ‘to argue’ in *panaglalis* ‘arguing together as a pair or group.’

5.2.1 Nominalization of Adjectival Predicates

In Surigaonon, an adjectival predicate of an insert sentence can be transformed into a complement of a matrix sentence by nominalizing the root of the adjective. This can be done by adding a nominalizing affix *pag-* or any of its other forms to the root (Malicsi 2013). The nominalized form triggers a change in the marker of the focused element. The whole nominalized complement is then added to the matrix sentence as the subject.

- (2) a. Matrix Sentence
Nasabtan ni Nancy X
PERF.PF-understand NFM Nancy X
- b. Insert Sentence
Tinuoray an kabuotan ni Elam
genuine DET goodness NFM Elam
- c. nominalization of *tinuoray* through the affix *pagka-*; *an*
marking of the nominalized root; *nan* marking of the
original subject of the insert sentence
an pagkatinuod nan kabuotan ni Elam
FM truthfulness NFM goodness NFM Elam
- d. Result Sentence
Nasabtan ni Nancy an pagkatinuod nan
PERF.PF-understand NFM Nancy FM truthfulness NFM
kabuotan ni Elam
goodness NFM Elam
Nasabtan ni Nancy an pagkatinuod nan kabuotan ni Elam.
'Naintindihan ni Nancy ang pagkamatotohanan ng
kabaitan ni Elam.'
'Nancy understands the truthfulness of Elam's goodness.'

In (2), the root of the adjectival predicate *tinuoray* is *tinuod*. The nominalizing affix *pagka-* is added to signify the manner in which an action is performed. This results in the nominalized form *pagkatinuod* which causes the marker change from *an kabuotan* to *nan kabuotan*. The full nominalized form *an pagkatinuod nan kabuotan ni Elam* is added as a complement to the matrix sentence as its subject.

5.2.2 Nominalization of Verbal Predicates

A verbal predicate in Surigaonon may also be nominalized by adding the nominalizing affix *pag-* or one of its other forms to the root of the verb. The nominalized form would trigger a change in the marker of the original subject. The entire nominalized form is then added to the matrix sentence as a complement, occupying the position of subject.

- (3) a. Matrix Sentence
 Nakita nako X
 PERF.AF-see IS.GEN X
- b. Insert Sentence
 Nangawat si Aram nan bugas
 PERF.AF-rob FM Aram NFM rice
- c. nominalization of *nangawat* through the affix *pagpa-*; *an* marking of the nominalized root; *ni* marking of the original subject of the insert sentence
 an pagpangawat ni Aram nan bugas
 FM NOML-rob NFM Aram NFM rice
- d. Result Sentence
 Nakita nako an pagpangawat ni Aram nan bugas
 PERF.AF-see IS.GEN FM NOML-rob NFM Aram NFM rice
 Nakita nako an pagpangawat ni Aram nan bugas.
 ‘Nakita ko ang pagnanakaw ni Aram ng bigas.’
 ‘I saw Aram’s stealing of rice.’

In (3), the insert sentence has the predicate *nangawat*. With the addition of the affix *pagpa-* which signifies the manner in which the act

or deed is conducted, the predicate is nominalized. This nominalized form resulted in the marker change from *si Aram* to *ni Aram*. The whole nominalized form is then added as a complement to the matrix sentence as its subject.

Nominalization of a verbal predicate may also be done by changing the verb into its infinitive form. The nominalized verb is preceded by the marker *an*. It now functions as the subject of the matrix sentence. The original subject of the insert sentence does not change its focus marking. This type of nominalization puts emphasis on the action depicted by the verb, which makes it different from the *pag-* nominalization.

(4) a. Matrix Sentence

Tagsumpa ni Domi X
PERF.PF-CURSE NFM Domi X

b. Insert Sentence

Nangawat si Aram nan bugas
PERF.AF-rob FM Aram NFM rice

c. nominalization of *nangawat* using the infinitive form; *an* marking of the nominalized root

an mangawat si Aram nan bugas
FM INF-rob FM Aram NFM rice

d. Result Sentence

Tagsumpa ni Domi an mangawat si Aram nan
PERF.PF-CURSE NFM Domi FM INF-rob FM Aram NFM
bugas
rice

Tagsumpa ni Domi an mangawat si Aram nan bugas.
'Isinumpa ni Domi ang magnakaw si Aram ng bigas.'
'Domi cursed Aram's stealing of rice.'

In (4), the verbal predicate *nangawat* is in the perfective form. This is changed to its infinitive form *mangawat* to nominalize it. Take note that no change appears in the focus marking of the insert sentence. The full nominalized complement *mangawat si Aram nan bugas* is added into the matrix sentence, occupying the subject position.

5.2.3 Nominalization Using Pakig-

In (5), the insert sentence has the predicate *nakighigaya* which is nominalized by the affix *pakig-*. The affix signifies the act of being with another person or persons or entities for the completion of an act or purpose. The nominalized form *pakighigaya* resulted in a change of the marker from *si Sandy* to *ni Sandy*. The complete nominalized form *an pakighigaya ni Sandy kan Dennis* is now added as a complement to the matrix sentence as its subject.

(5) a. Matrix Sentence

Nakit-an ni Ronel X
PERF.PF-see NFM Ronel X

b. Insert Sentence

Nakighigaya si Sandy kan Dennis
PERF.AF-befriend FM Sandy PREP-with Dennis

- c. nominalization of *nakighigaya* through the affix *pakig-*; *an* marking of the nominalized root; *ni* marking of the original subject of the insert sentence

an pakighigaya ni Sandy kan Dennis
FM NOML-befriend DET Sandy PREP-with Dennis

- d. Result Sentence

Nakit-an ni Ronel an pakighigaya ni Sandy
PERF.PF-see NFM Ronel FM NOML-befriend DET Sandy
kan Dennis
PREP-with Dennis

Nakit-an ni Ronel an pakighigaya ni Sandy kan Dennis.

‘Nakita ni Ronel ang pakikipagkaibigan ni Sandy kay
Dennis.’

‘Ronel saw Sandy being friends with Dennis.’

5.2.4 Nominalization Using Panag-

In (6), the insert sentence has the verbal predicate *nag-iban*. The affix *panag-* is added to nominalize it. The nominalizing affix *panag-* signifies the collective effort of actors to perform an act. This results in the nominalized form *panag-iban* which prompted the change in the focus marker from *nila ni Elam sanan Aram* to *nila ni Elam sanan Aram*. The full nominalized complement *an panag-iban nila ni Elam sanan Aram* is then added to the matrix sentence as its subject.

- (6) a. Matrix Sentence

Nahuna-hunaan ni Domilyn X
PERF.PF-mull over NFM Domilyn X

b. Insert Sentence

Nag-iban sila ni Elam sanan Aram
 PERF.AF-go together 3PL.NOM NFM Elam SCONJ Aram

c. nominalization of *nag-iban* through the affix *panag-*; *an* marking of the nominalized root; *nila* marking of the original subject of the insert sentence

an panag-iban nila ni Elam sanan Aram
 FM NOML-accompany 3PL.GEN DET Elam SCONJ Aram

d. Result Sentence

Nahuna-hunaan ni Domilyn an panag-iban
 PERF.PF-mull over NFM Domilyn FM NOML-accompany
 nila ni Elam sanan Aram
 3PL.GEN DET Elam SCONJ Aram

Nahuna-hunaan ni Domilyn an panag-iban nila ni Elam
 sanan Aram.

‘Naisip ni Domilyn ang samahan nila ni Elam at Aram.’

‘Domilyn thinks about Elam and Aram’s companionship.’

5.3 Nominalization using Kun

The function of *kun* here is similar to that of *na* in the *na* + S process. It must not be confused with the subordinating conjunction *kun*, which is used in compound sentence constructions. In this nominalization process, the insert sentence becomes a complement of the matrix sentence that has a predicate which is a knowing, feeling, thinking, saying, or perceiving verb. The complement formed functions as the subject of the matrix sentence. Nominalization using *kun* can be formed in two

different ways: *kun* + declarative sentence and *kun* + WH interrogative sentence.

A declarative sentence that is preceded by *kun* carries the meaning that the proposition of the complement may or may not take place. This varies with *na* preceding a declarative sentence that gives the complement the meaning that the proposition rendered by the complement has a high tendency to occur or is simply truthful.

(7) a. Matrix Sentence

Mahibaw-an ni Eric silom X
CONT.AF-know FM Eric tomorrow X

b. Insert Sentence

Natukod an bag-o na tyanggihan
PERF.PF-build FM new ADV market

c. addition of complementizer *kun*

kun natukod an bag-o na tyanggihan
COMP PERF.PF-build FM new ADV market

d. Result Sentence

Mahibaw-an ni Eric silom kun natukod an
CONT.AF-know FM Eric tomorrow COMP PERF.PF-build FM
bag-o na tyanggihan
new ADV market

Mahibaw-an ni Eric silom kun natukod an bag-o na
tyanggihan.

‘Malalaman ni Eric bukas kung naitayo ang bagong
palengke.’

‘Eric will know tomorrow if the new market was built.’

The sentence in (7) showed that the insert sentence *Natukod an bag-o na tyanggih* when added with the complementizer *kun* is transformed into a complement of the matrix sentence, taking the subject position. With the addition of *kun*, it is now signified that the complement may or may not happen. The complement is added to the predicate of the matrix sentence which is a knowing verb *mahibaw-an* ‘to know.’

5.4 Nominalization using Kun + WH Interrogative Sentence

A WH-interrogative sentence in Surigaonon can be turned into a complement by adding the complementizer *kun* in front of it. The interrogatives in Surigaonon are the following: *diin* ‘where-PERF and IMPERF,’ *hain* ‘where-CONT,’ *kagan-o* ‘when-PERF and IMPERF,’ *kanus-a* ‘when-CONT,’ and *sin-o* ‘who.’

The resulting complement functions as a subject or oblique or an adjunct of the matrix sentence.

5.4.1 Using the Interrogative Sin-o (Who)

In (8), the insert sentence is the WH-interrogative sentence that uses the word *sin-o* ‘who.’ The insert sentence is nominalized by adding the complementizer *kun*. This is added as the subject to the matrix sentence that has the knowing verb *mahibay-an* which means ‘(to be able) to know.’

- (8) a. Matrix Sentence
Mahibay-an ni Bert X
CONT.PF-know FM Bert X
- b. Insert Sentence
Sin-o an nagpayangga kan Ernie?
INT-who DET IMPERF.AF-love PREP-kan Ernie
- c. addition of complementizer *kun*
kun sin-o an nagpayangga kan Ernie
COMP INT-who DET IMPERF.AF-love PREP-kan Ernie
- d. Result Sentence
Mahibay-an ni Bert X kun sin-o
CONT.PF-know FM Bert COMP INT-who DET
an nagpayangga kan Ernie
IMPERF.AF-love PREP-kan Ernie
Mahibay-an ni Bert kun sin-o an nagpayangga kan Ernie.
'Malalaman ni Bert kung sino ang nagmamahal kay Ernie.'
'Bert will know who loves Ernie.'

5.4.2 Using the Interrogative Hain (Where)

In (9), the same process took hold, except that nominalization appeared in a compound sentence conjoined by a coordinating conjunction.

- (9) a. Matrix Sentence 1
Tagtagna ni Karen X
PERF.PF-predict NFM Karen X
- b. Insert Sentence 1
Hain an Babilonya?
INT-where DET Babilonya

- c. addition of complementizer *kun*
 kun hain an Babilonya?
 COMP INT-where DET Babilonya
- d. Result Sentence 1
 Tagtagna ni Karen kun hain an
 PERF.PF-predict NFM Karen COMP INT-where DET
 Babilonya
 Babilonya
- e. Matrix Sentence 2
 Tagtagna ni Karen X
 PERF.PF-predict NFM Karen X
- f. Insert Sentence 2
 Sin-o an lider nan mga musulong?
 INT-who DET leader PREP-of PLNM CONT.AF-attack
- g. addition of complementizer *kun*
 kun sin-o an lider nan mga musulong
 COMP INT-who DET leader PREP-of PLNM CONT.AF-attack
- h. Result Sentence 2
 Tagtagna ni Karen kun sin-o an lider
 PERF.PF-predict NFM Karen COMP INT-who DET leader
 nan mga musulong
 PREP-of PLNM CONT.AF-attack
- i. compounding of Result Sentence 1 and Result Sentence 2
 using *sanan* ‘and’
 Tatagna ... kun hain ... sanan
 PERF.PF-predict ... COMP INT-where ... CCONJ
 tatagna ... kun sin-o ...
 PERF.PF-predict ... COMP INT-who ...

j. equi-NP deletion of *tatagna ni Karen*

Tagtagna ni Karen kun hain an
PERF.PF-predict NFM Karen COMP INT-where DET
Babilonya sanan kun sin-o an lider nan mga
Babilonya CCONJ COMP INT-who DET leader PREP-of PLNM
musulong
CONT.AF-attack

Tagtagna ni Karen kun hain an Babilonya sanan kun sin-o
an lider nan mga musulong.

‘Hinulaan ni Karen kung saan ang Babilonya at kung sino
ang lider ng mga susulong.’

‘Karen predicted where Babylon is and who the leader is of
those who will attack.’

The first sentence inserted into the matrix sentence is a WH-interrogative sentence that has interrogative word *hain* ‘where.’ The insert sentence is nominalized by adding the complementizer *kun* in front. The nominalized form now functions as a complement of the matrix sentence taking the subject position. The matrix sentence has the knowing verb *tagtagna* ‘to predict’ as predicate.

The second WH-interrogative sentence inserted to the matrix sentence contains the interrogative *sin-o* ‘who.’ This is nominalized by adding the complementizer *kun* in front. The nominalized form of the second sentence is added as a complement to the matrix sentence, occupying the subject position. The predicate of the matrix sentence is the knowing verb *tagtagna* ‘to predict.’

The two result sentences are combined using a coordinating conjunction *sanan*. A co-referential element *Tagtagna ni Karen* is eliminated.

Nominalization through <i>Na</i> + S	S1 (with Knowing, Thinking, Feeling, Perceiving Verb) + <i>Na</i> + S2
Nominalization of Verbal Predicate	S1 (with Knowing, Thinking, Feeling, Perceiving Verb) + S2 with <i>Pag-</i> Affixed (Verb)
Nominalization of Adjectival Predicate	S1 (with Knowing, Thinking, Feeling, Perceiving Verb) + S2 with <i>Pag-</i> Affixed (Adjective)
Nominalization through <i>Kun</i> + Declarative Sentence	S1 (with Knowing, Thinking, Feeling, Perceiving Verb) + <i>Kun</i> + S2
Nominalization through <i>Kun</i> + WH-Interrogative Sentence	S1 (with Knowing, Thinking, Feeling, Perceiving Verb) + <i>Kun</i> + S2 (Int)

Table 1. Grammatical Rules in Surigaonon Nominalization

6 Summary and Conclusions

Nominalization in Surigaonon is one of the transformations that occur in a complex sentence construction. This occurs by transforming an insert sentence into a complement of the matrix sentence as its subject.

There are several ways of nominalization which are as follows: nominalization using *kun*, nominalization using *kun* + interrogatives, nom-

inalization through the process *na* + S, and nominalization of non-nominal predicates.

Nominalization can be formed by adding the complementizer *na* in front of a declarative sentence. The full nominalized complement is added to the matrix sentence that has a knowing, perceiving, saying, thinking, and feeling verb.

Nominalization is also possible by adding the complementizer *kun* in front of the insert sentence. The entire nominalized form with *kun* in front is then added as a complement of the matrix sentence functioning as its subject. There are two types of nominalization using *kun*. These are nominalization using *kun* + declarative sentence and nominalization using *kun* + WH interrogative sentence.

Nominalization may also occur in an interrogative sentence. This can be done by adding the complementizer *kun* in front of an interrogative sentence. The full nominalized form is then added to the matrix sentence as a complement in the subject or oblique position or as an adjunct.

Nominalization may also occur in a non-nominal predicate. A sentence that has a verbal or adjectival predicate can be transformed into a complement of a matrix sentence by adding the nominalizing affix *pag-* or its other forms in front of its root form. The entire nominalized form is added into the matrix sentence that has a knowing, saying, perceiving, thinking, and feeling verb as predicate. *Pag-* can be combined with affixes or modal morphemes allowing other nominalizing affixes to be formed, namely *pagka-*, *panag-*, *pagpa-*, and *pakig-*.

Nominalization in Surigaonon is both lexical and grammatical, requiring an analysis of both form and meaning. Taking into consideration the process and transformation that occur, nominalization has to be considered as part of compound complex constructions rather than to construe the process as merely forming noun phrases.

Certain transformations occur in other elements of the sentence during the process of nominalization. An example of this is the addition of the complementizer *pag-* that triggers a transformation in the marker of the original subject of the insert sentence. This transformation does not appear when a verbal predicate in the insert sentence is transformed into the infinitive form to nominalize it.

There may be other forms that nominalization can be applied to which are not included in the analysis of this paper (e.g., adjectives). This analysis may be possible through the use of other frameworks such as lexical-functional grammar used by Foley (2014) in his study. Additionally, it is possible that there may be more processes of forming nominalization both in the lexical and morphosyntactic levels, for example, a more in-depth analysis of the object or subject position of the nominalized form when embedded as a complement of the matrix sentence. Further studies are required to explore these.

Abbreviations Used in the Study

()	optional	>	transformation
*	ungrammatical	#	sentence boundary
-	affix separator	+	conjoining
.	morpheme separator	1	first person

2	second person	INV	inversion
3	third person	LF	locative focus
ADV	adverb/adverbial particle	LNK	linker
AF	agent focus	MED	medial
ATTR	attribution	MOD	modal
BF	beneficiary focus	NEG	negation/negative marker
COMP	complementizer	NFM	non-focused marker
CONJ	conjunction	NOM	nominative
CONJADV	conjunctive adverb	NOML	nominalized
CONT	contemplative	PERF	perfective
DEI	deixis	PF	patient focus
DIST	distal	PL	plural
EXIST	existential	PLNM	plural noun marker
FM	focus marker	POSS	possessive
GEN	genitive	PREP	preposition
HPRED	higher predicate	PROX	proximal
IMP	imperative	QM	question marker
IMPERF	imperfective	REL	relativized/relativizer
INF	infinitive	S	singular
INT	interrogative	X	unidentified morpheme

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Itneg Inlaud Wordlist

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1 The Itneg Inlaud

The Itneg Inlaud (ISO code: iti) is a language spoken in the provinces of Abra, Ilocos Norte, and Ilocos Sur in northern Luzon. It is also known by various names such as those listed in the Ethnologue (Eberhard, Simons & Fennig 2022). The more recent names includes Illaud used by the NCIP-CAR¹ and DepEd² Abra, and Tingian Inlaud (*Ta Nabalo Nga Damag Biblia* 2022). Itneg Inlaud is also known as the variety of Itneg spoken in the western lowlands (valleys) as opposed to other Itneg ethnolinguistic groups in the eastern highlands of Abra (Maranan & Consing 2020; O. Alunday, personal communication, January 6, 2023). The Itneg Inlaud speakers in Ilocos provinces trace their roots to Abra.

¹National Commission on Indigenous Peoples–Cordillera Administrative Region

²Department of Education

In 2013, SIL³ estimated a speaker population of 9,000 (Eberhard, Simons & Fennig 2022) while NCIP-CAR listed an ethnolinguistic population of 20,690 (Cariño 2012: 36). Both these population count exclude the Itneg Inlaud speaker population in Region 1. Nevertheless, it has been observed that the language is losing speakers. Based on our interviews of Itneg Inlaud Indigenous People Officers (IPOs) and elders from various municipalities in Ilocos Sur and Ilocos Norte⁴, 10 of 15 barangays and/or sitio where there are or are identified as Itneg Inlaud communities have a language vitality between EGIDS⁵ level 8A (Moribund) and 9 (Extinct). The rest are between EGIDS level 6b (Threatened) and 7 (Shifting). This report shows the critical endangerment of the language in Ilocos even while the majority of the Itneg Inlaud speech communities in Abra are at EGIDS level 6b. Most ethnic Itneg Inlaud have already shifted to Ilokano—the language of wider communication (LWC) in the region (Eberhard, Simons & Fennig 2022).

³SIL International (formerly known as Summer Institute of Linguistics)

⁴Data came from personal and group interviews of IPOs, elders, and other members of the community during community assemblies conducted by the research team in the municipalities of Nagbukel, San Juan (Brgy. Asilang), Magsingal (Brgy. Cadanglaan), and Cabugao (Brgys. Nagsingcaoan, Sisim, and Maradudon) in Ilocos Sur; and Nueva Era, Ilocos Norte.

⁵EGIDS stands for Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (Lewis & Simons 2016). A description of the EGIDS levels can also be found in the Ethnologue <<https://www.ethnologue.com/about/language-status>>.

2 The Itneg Inlaud Wordlist

2.1 Presentation

This 601-item Itneg Inlaud wordlist is based on the UP Department of Linguistics wordlist template composed of 615 words (UP Department of Linguistics n.d.). It was collected under the Itneg Inlaud Language and Culture Documentation Project⁶ being implemented by the authors. This list was extracted from a longer list of 2,000+ items. The wordlist data is transcribed orthographically following the orthography developed by the Region 1 IPED⁷ program (*Pangibasalan ta Panangisulu ta Itneg Illaud [Resource Guide for Teaching the Itneg Illaud Language]* 2021). The Itneg Inlaud orthography has 19 phonemic symbols composed of 15 consonants (t, l, k, d, g, m, s, b, n, w, ng, p, y, and -) and four vowels (a, e, i, and u). The consonant symbols represent the same phonemes in Filipino. The hyphen (-) symbolizes the glottal stop in between a consonant and a vowel. The word-initial and intervocalic glottal stop is not marked. The vowels /a/ and /i/ also correspond to the /a/ and /i/ in Filipino while /u/ represents the variations of the back vowel sounds in the language. On the other hand, the symbol /e/ stands for the central and higher central vowel sounds in the language.

⁶The Itneg Inlaud Language and Culture Documentation Project is led by Ryn Jean Fe Gonzales, SIL and funded by the Pike Center for Integrative Scholarship and the Local Government Unit (LGU) of Cabugao, Ilocos Sur. It is implemented in partnership with SIL Philippines, the LGU of Cabugao, Ilocos Sur, and the Itneg Inlaud ICCs in Ilocos Sur, Ilocos Norte, and Abra.

⁷Indigenous Peoples Education Program

2.2 Methodology

Using an open-ended 2,000+-item wordlist, data was collected from proficient speakers (Grenoble 2021) of Itneg Inlaud within Ilocos Sur and Ilocos Norte. Because there are no reported dialects of Itneg Inlaud in Ilocos Region, we only worked on one list. To ensure the correctness of the data, we consulted with a group of elders from different locations for triangulation. We note any lexical variation if present.

Considering the realities of the pandemic, the latest technological advancement now available to the community, and the speakers' capacity and multilingualism, the collection of this wordlist pushed the boundaries of traditional data collection. The researchers combined traditional face-to-face and remote data collection while ensuring the high reliability of data. Specifically, elicitation was carried out either face-to-face in the field, virtually (via Facebook Messenger), or by asking somebody to answer the wordlist by themselves. All of which involved either single or multiple participants. Given that the core members of the research team are native speakers of the language, and the lead researcher, although a non-native speaker, is in the company of native speaker/s, the challenges posed by the multimodal data collection are minimal.

2.3 Consent and Restrictions

The conduct of the Itneg Inlaud Language and Culture Documentation Project and use of data collected, which includes this wordlist are governed by the Resolutions issued by the Itneg Inlaud Indigenous

Cultural Communities (ICCs) in Ilocos Sur and Ilocos Norte, and individual informed consent given by language consultants to the researchers. This data set may only be used with written consent⁸ from the authors within the project period (2022–2027).

2.4 Language Consultants

Name	Address
Amelia Labasay	Asilang, San Juan, Ilocos Sur
Kathleen Umoquit	Asilang, San Juan, Ilocos Sur
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Ptr. Elorde Watson	Nagsincaoan, Cabugao, Ilocos Sur
Lauri Lyn Pecante	Nagsincaoan, Cabugao, Ilocos Sur
Joshua Dave B. Valencia	Nagsincaoan, Cabugao, Ilocos Sur
Adriano Panabang	Naguilian, Nueva Era, Ilocos Norte
ICC Elders and Leaders of Nagsincaoan (Cabugao), Asilang (San Juan), and Cadanglaan (Magsingal), and Nagbukel in Ilocos Sur; Naguilian, Nueva Era, Ilocos Norte	

⁸Send inquiries to rynj_gonzales@sil.org.

3 Wordlist

	English	Filipino	Itneg Inlaud
A. People, Social Structure, and Relations			
1	person	tao	tau
2	male	lalaki	lalaki
3	female, woman	babae	babai
4	boy, young male	batang lalaki	anak a lalaki
5	girl, young female	batang babae	anak a babai
6	chief	pinuno	mangidaulu
7	servant	katulong; utusan	babaunen, katulungan
8	slave	alila	babaunen
9	doctor (traditional healer)	manggagamot; hilot	mangngagas, baglan; mangngakuy
10	spiritual leader	babaylan	—
11	warrior	mandirigma	mannakilanget
12	old person	matanda	nataengan
13	young person, child	bata	anak
14	family	mag-anak	pamilya
15	father	tatay, ama, itay	ama
16	mother	nanay, ina, inay	ina
17	husband	asawa, tao	asawa, kapungan (FIG)
18	wife	asawa, maybahay	asawa, kapungan (FIG)
19	grandfather	lolo	apu a babai
20	grandmother	lola	apu a lalaki
21	uncle	tito, tiyo	uliteg
22	aunt	tita, tiya	ikit
23	child	anak	anak
24	son	anak na lalaki	anak a lalaki
25	daughter	anak na babae	anak a babai
26	adopted child	ampon	ampun

Itneg Inlaud Wordlist

	English	Filipino	Itneg Inlaud
27	firstborn	panganay	kainunaan, kainauna
28	youngest	bunso	kinaudi
29	twin/s	kambal	singin
30	orphan	ulila	ulila
31	sibling	kapatid	wagi
32	father-in-law	biyenan	katugangan
33	mother-in-law	biyenan	katugangan
34	brother-in-law	bayaw	kayung
35	sister-in-law	hipag	ipag
36	cousin	pinsan	kasinsin
37	sibling's child	pamangkin	kaanakan
38	friend	kaibigan	gayyem, bulun
39	older sibling	nakatatandang kapatid	inun-una/inanauna a wagi
40	younger sibling	nakababatang kapatid	adi
41	baby	sanggol	abing
42	friend	kaibigan	gayyem
43	enemy	kaaway	kasuway
44	name	pangalan	ngalan
45	lie, falsehood	kasinungalingan	buwag
46	war	digma, digmaan	gubat
47	debt	utang	utang
48	agreement	kasunduan	katulagan
B. Body Parts, Excretions, and Bodily Functions			
49	top of the head	bumbunan	luluwanan
50	cowlick	puyo	aligusgus
51	head	ulo	ulu
52	face	mukha	lupa
53	forehead	noo	muging
54	eyebrow	kilay	kiday
55	eye	mata	mata

	English	Filipino	Itneg Inlaud
56	eyelash	pilik-mata	kulimatmat
57	ear	tainga	inga
58	cheek	pisngi	pasngig, pispis
59	nose	ilong	engel
60	mouth	bibig	ngiwat
61	lip	labi	bibil
62	tooth	ngipin	ngipen
63	wisdom tooth	bagang	pasengseng
64	tongue	dila	dila
65	throat	lalamunan	kalabukub
66	chin	baba	timid
67	jaw	panga	sangi
68	neck	leeg	tenged
69	nape	batok	teltel
70	shoulder	balikat	abaga
71	armpit	kilikili	kili-kili
72	arm (upper, lower)	braso	lamay
73	elbow	siko	siku
74	hand	kamay	lima
75	palm of hand	palad	dakuwap
76	finger	daliri	lamay
77	fingernail	kuko	kuku ta lima
78	toenail	kuko	kuku
79	body	katawan	bagi
80	chest	dibdib	balukung
81	breast	suso	susu, pukal
82	stomach	tiyan	daem
83	belly	bilbil	—
84	navel	pusod	puseg
85	back	likod	dutug
86	front	harap	sangu

Itneg Inlaud Wordlist

	English	Filipino	Itneg Inlaud
87	penis	ari ng lalaki, utin, titi, buto	lusi
89	vagina	ari ng babae, pekpek, puki, pipi	uki
90	buttocks	puwit, puwitan	ubet
91	thigh	hita	ulpu
92	leg	binti	butuy
93	knee	tuhod	puweg
94	ankle	bukung-bukong	tikling
95	heel	sakong	mukud
96	foot	paa	saka
97	sole	talampakan	dapan
98	toe	daliri sa paa	lamay ta saka
99	hair	buhok	buuk
100	fine hair	balahibo	dutdut
101	mustache	bigote	iming
102	beard	balbas	iming
103	pubic hair	bulbol	ulmut
104	gray hair	uban	uban
105	curly hair	kulot	kulut
106	skin	balat	kudil
107	bone	buto	tul-ang
108	skull	bungo	lulug
109	rib	tadyang	baklang
110	brain	utak	utek
111	heart	puso	pusu
112	lungs	baga	bala
113	intestines	bituka	bagis
114	guts	laman-loob	nanguneg
115	liver	atay	agtey
116	blood	dugo	dala

	English	Filipino	Itneg Inlaud
117	bile	apdu	aplu
118	tear	luha	luwa
119	sweat	pawis	linget
120	nasal mucus	sipon	anged
121	saliva	laway	ibeg
122	spittle	dura	tupla
123	earwax	tutuli	panittalak
124	burp	dighay	tilaeb
125	flatulence, fart	utot	utut
126	urine	ihi	isbu
127	excrement, feces	tae, dumi, bawas	takki, eseg
128	pus	nana	anu
129	erection	latug	indel
130	voice	tinig	tebag
131	corpse	bangkay	bangkay
132	skeleton	kalansay	lulug
133	pain	sakit	sigab
134	sickness	sakit	sigab
135	to bite	kagat, kumagat	keteb, kumteb
136	to breathe	hinga, huminga	anges, aganges
137	to copulate (human)	talik, magtalik (tao)	dakep, agdakep
138	to cough	ubo, umubo	uk-uk, aguk-uk
139	to sneeze	bahing, bumahing	baen, agbaen
140	to vomit	suka, sumuka	uta, aguta
141	to wink	kindat, kumindat	kid-ay, agkid-ay
142	to yawn	hikab, humikab	uwab, aguwab
143	to kiss	halik, humalik	bisung, agbisung
144	to blow one's nose	singa	sang-et, agsang-et
145	to snore	hilik	uluk, aguluk
C. Flora, Fauna, and Food			
146	rice grain	bigas	begas

Itneg Inlaud Wordlist

	English	Filipino	Itneg Inlaud
147	cooked rice	kanin	inutu, isna
148	cooked rice (leftover)	bahaw	buda
149	rice plant	palay	pagey
150	seed (for planting), seedling	binhi	bin-i
151	seedling	punla	bunubun
152	animal	hayop	ayam
153	bird	ibon	balbalay
154	ant	langgam	litem
155	butterfly	paruparo	kulibangbang
156	cockroach	ipis	angkikimi
157	fly (small)	langaw	ngilaw
158	louse	kuto	kutu
159	mosquito	lamok	namuk
160	firefly	alitaptap	kamkamti, kulalamti
161	spider	gagamba	lawwa-lawwa
162	termite	anay	anay
163	worm	uod, bulate	eges
164	bat	paniki	paniki
165	chick	sisiw	piyek
166	chicken	manok	manuk
167	egg	itlog	iplug
168	hen	inahin	upa
169	rooster	tandang	kawitan
170	crow	uwak	uwak
171	crocodile	buwaya	—
172	frog	palaka	tukak
173	turtle	pagong	pag-ung
174	snake	ahas	uweg
175	fish	isda	lames
176	shark	pating	—

	English	Filipino	Itneg Inlaud
177	eel (freshwater)	igat	igat
178	octopus	pugita	—
179	squid	pusit	—
180	shrimp	hipon	udang
181	pig	baboy	belek
182	dog	aso	asu
183	rat	daga	bau
184	deer	usa	ugsa
185	water buffalo	kalabaw	nuwang
186	plant	halaman, tanim	masetas, muwa
187	tree	puno, punong-kahoy	kayu
188	flower	bulaklak	sabbak
189	fruit	bunga; bungang-kahoy	bunga, bunga ta kayu
190	harvest	ani	laani
191	grass	damo	luut
192	moss	lumot	lumut
193	vegetables	gulay	nateng
194	garden	halamanan	kamasetasan
195	woods, forest	gubat, kagubatan, kakahuyan	kakaykaywan, kabakilan
196	sugarcane	tubo	unas
197	bamboo	kawayan	kawayan
198	coconut	niyog	niyug
199	eggplant	talong	talung
200	ginger	luya	laya
201	garlic	bawang	bawang
202	edible, climbing plant from fleshy root stock	ube	ubi
204	coconut milk	gata	geta
205	milk	gatas	gatas

Itneg Inlaud Wordlist

English	Filipino	Itneg Inlaud
206 wine	alak	mainum
207 meat, flesh	karne, laman	kalni, lasag
208 feather, fur	balahibo	dutdut
209 wing	pakpak	payak
210 tail	buntot	ipus
211 fin	palaypay, palikpik	pigal
212 gills	hasang	asang
213 fishbone	tinik	sait
214 thorn	tinik	sait
215 leaf	dahon	tubu
216 medicine	gamot	agas
217 root	ugat	lamut
218 vein	ugat	ulat
219 branch	sanga	sanga
220 stick of wood	patpat	saginit
221 tree trunk	puno, katawan	—
222 tree bark	balat ng kahoy	ukis
223 seed	buto	bukel
224 bird's nest	pugad	umuk ta balbalay
225 spider web	bahay ng gagamba; sapot	saput ta lawwa-lawwa
D. Nature, Climate, and Weather		
226 heaven, sky	langit, himpapawid	langit, tangatang
227 ground, earth, soil	lupa	luta
228 cloud	ulap	uwep
229 sun	araw	init
230 day	araw	wakas
231 star	bituin, tala	bittuwen
232 moon	buwan	bulan
233 wind	hangin	angin
234 northeast wind	amihan	—

	English	Filipino	Itneg Inlaud
235	southwest wind	habagat	—
236	rain	ulan	degés
237	rain shower	ambon	almiis
238	thunder	kulog	kuduul
239	lightning	kidlat	kimat
240	typhoon	bagyo	bagyu
241	dew	hamog	linaaw
242	fog	ulop, abuabo	angep
243	water	tubig	danum
244	foam	bula	bula
245	flood	baha	layus
246	wave	alon	allun
247	flow	agos	ayus
248	high tide	taog	—
249	low tide	kati	—
250	sea, ocean	dagat	baybay
251	lake	lawa	ban-aw
252	river	ilog	wangal
253	stream	batis	waig
254	waterfall	talon	pikkan
255	shore	tabing-dagat, dalampasigan, katihan	kapanagan
256	sand	buhangin	dalat
257	salt	asin	asin
258	gold	ginto	gameng
259	silver	pilak	plata
260	island	pulo	tagipulu/isla
261	mountain	bundok	tulud
262	rock	bato	batu
263	road	daan	dadanan
264	earthquake	lindol	gingined

English	Filipino	Itneg Inlaud
265 mud	putik	pitak
266 hole in the ground	butas, hukay	lubut
267 dust	alikalok, alabok	tapuk
268 ember, hot coal	baga	beggang
269 fire	apoy	apuy
270 smoke	usok	asuk
271 singe	paso	delnak
272 shadow	anino	aninniwan
E. Spiritual and Religious Beliefs		
273 god	bathala	diyos/kabunian
274 soul, spirit	kaluluwa	kalkalna
276 curse	kulam	gamud
F. Parts of the House		
277 house	bahay	abung
278 fence	bakod	alad, bakud
279 roof	bubong	atep
280 pillar	haligi	taldek
281 door	pinto	eneb, luwangan
282 storehouse for food	kamalig	salusal
283 shade	silong	salug
284 stairs	hagdan	aldan
285 floor	sahig, lapag	datal
286 ceiling	kisame	—
287 window	bintana	littuung
288 wall	pader	taleb
G. Clothing, Weapons, and Tools		
289 mat	banig	abek
290 pillow	unan	pungan
291 blanket	kumot	uwes
292 torch, light	sulo	—
293 wheel	gulong	ligay

	English	Filipino	Itneg Inlaud
294	adze	daras, piko	wasay
295	arrow	palaso, pana	pana
296	spear	sibat	pika/gayang
297	blade	talim	tadem
298	bolo knife	itak, bolo	gaman
299	pot	palayok	palyuk
300	ladle	sandok	sangkul
301	needle	karayom	dagum
302	thread	sinulid	tembey
303	fishing net	lambat	batbateng
304	rope	lubid, tali	lubid/tali
305	bundle, belt	bigkis	balikes
306	outrigger canoe	bangka	bilug
307	outrigger float	katig	—
308	paddle	sagwan	gaud
309	love charm/potion	gayuma	pagpaamu
310	clothes	baro, damit	lugak
311	necklace	kuwintas	ukkul/kwintas
312	ash	abo	dapu
313	charcoal	uling	uling
314	coconut grater	kudkuran	igadan
315	image	larawan	litlatu
H. Time			
316	day	araw	wakas
317	night	gabi	labi
318	daytime	umaga	agsapa
320	noon	tanghali	matuun
321	afternoon	hapon	gidam
322	midnight	hating gabi	tengnga ta labi
323	now	ngayon	ita
324	later	mamaya	nadi

	English	Filipino	Itneg Inlaud
325	earlier	kanina	kanadi
326	today	ngayong araw	ita a wakas
327	tomorrow, the following day	bukas, kinabukasan	mugma
328	yesterday	kahapon	kaman
	last night	kagabi	kalabyan
329	sunrise	pagsikat ng araw	lungak tan init
330	sunset	paglubog ng araw; dapit-hapon	tumnek din init
331	month	buwan	bulan
332	year	taon	tawen
333	long time ago	noong unang panahon; dating panahon	nikkad un-unana
334	not often	madalang	manmanu
335	sometimes	paminsan-minsan	pasalay
336	often	madalas, malimit	wayan
337	always	lagi, palagi	kanayun
I. Numerals			
338	one	isa	maysa
339	two	dalawa	duwa/dwa
340	three	tatlo	talú
341	four	apat	upat
342	five	lima	lima
343	six	anim	enem
344	seven	pito	pitu
345	eight	walo	walu
346	nine	siyam	siyam/syam
347	ten	sampu	sangapu
348	eleven	labing-isa	sangapu ket maysa
349	twelve	labindalawa	sangapu ket dwa

	English	Filipino	Itneg Inlaud
350	thirteen	labintatlo	sangapu ket talu
351	fourteen	labing-apat	sangapu ket upat
352	fifteen	labinlima	sangapu ket lima
353	sixteen	labing-anim	sangapu ket enem
354	seventeen	labimpito	sangapu ket pitu
355	eighteen	labing-walo	sangapu ket walu
356	nineteen	labinsiyam	sangapu ket syam
357	twenty	dalawampu	dwangapu
358	twenty-one	dalawampu't isa	dwangapu ket maysa
359	twenty-two	dalawanpu't dalawa	dwangapu ket dwa
360	thirty	tatlumpu	taluwapu
361	forty	apatnapu	upatapu
362	fifty	limampu	limangapu
363	sixty	anim na pu	enemapu
364	seventy	pitumpu	pituwapu
365	eighty	walumpu	waluwapu
366	ninety	siyam na pu	syamapu
367	one hundred	isandaan	sangagasut
368	one hundred and one	isandaan at isa	sangagasut ket maysa
369	one hundred and two	isandaan at dalawa	sangagasut ket dwa
370	two hundred	dalawandaan	dwa a gasut
371	three hundred	tatlundaan	talua gasut
372	four hundred	apat na raan	upat a gasut
373	five hundred	limandaan	lima a gasut
374	one thousand	isanlibo	sangalibu
375	one thousand and one	isanlibo't isa	sangalibu ket maysa
376	one thousand and two	isanlibo't dalawa	sangalibu ket dwa
377	ten thousand	sampunlibo	sangapu a libu
378	one hundred thousand	isandaan libo	sangagasut a libu
379	one million	isang milyon	masya a milyon
380	none	wala	awan

Itneg Inlaud Wordlist

	English	Filipino	Itneg Inlaud
381	to have	mayroon, meron	wad
382	a few	kaunti, iilan	ettey
383	some	ilan	udum
384	many	marami	adu
385	all	lahat	lisan
386	half	kalahati	pisay/gudwa
387	first	una	umuna
388	second	pangalawa, ikalawa	mikadwa
389	third	pangatlo, ikatlo	mikatlu
390	fourth	pang-apat, ikaapat	mikapat
391	fifth	panlima, ikalima	mikalima
392	tenth	pansampu, ikasampu	mikasangapu
393	eleventh	panlabing-isa, ikalabing-isa	mika sangapu ket maysa
394	twelfth	panlabindalawa, ikalabindalawa	mikasangapu ket dua
395	middle	gitna	tenga/baet
396	last	huli	naudidi
397	each	bawat isa	tunggal maysa
398	one each	tig-isa	saggaysa
399	two each	tig-dalawa	sagduduwa
400	three each	tig-tatlo	saggatlu
401	only one	iisa	maymaysa
402	only two	dadalawa	duddudwa
403	only three	tatatlo	taltalu
404	only four	aapat	upupat
405	only five	lilima	limlima
406	only ten	sasampu	sangsangapu
407	one at a time	isa-isa	maysa-maysa
408	two at a time	dala-dalawa	dwa-dwa
409	three at a time	tatlo-tatlo	talutalu

	English	Filipino	Itneg Inlaud
410	four at a time	apat-apat	upat-upat
411	five at a time	lima-lima	lima-lima
412	ten at a time	sampu-sampu	sangapu-sangapu
413	once	minsan	maminsan
414	twice	makalawa	mamindwa
415	thrice	makatatlo	mamitlu
416	four times	makaapat	mamin-upat
417	five times	makalima	maminlima
418	ten times	makasampu	maminsangapu
J. States and Attributes			
419	alive, live	buhay, mabuhay	sibibyag, agbyag
420	dead, die	patay, mamatay	patay/matay
421	awake, wake up	gising, gumising	liin, agliin
422	angry, be angry	galit, magalit	unget, agunget
423	happy	masaya, maligaya	nalagsak
424	same	tulad, katulad	pada, kapada
425	other, different	iba	udum, anduma
426	bald	kalbo	kugaw
427	blind	bulag	bulding
428	deaf	bingi	pal-eng/tulpak
429	dumb, mute	pipi	umel
430	bad	masama	nadakes
431	good	mabuti	nabalu
432	right	tama	ustu
433	wrong	mali	adi umumnu
434	beautiful	maganda	nabasang
435	ugly	pangit	naalas
436	clean	malinis	nadawes
437	dirty	madumi	naiseg
438	big	malaki	dakkel
439	small	maliit	battit

Itneg Inlaud Wordlist

English	Filipino	Itneg Inlaud
440 new	bago	balu
441 old	luma	daan
442 sharp	matalas, matalim	natadem
443 dull	purol, mapurol	namudel
444 hard	matigas	nakelsang
445 soft	malambot	nalumamek
446 healthy	malusog	nasalun-at
447 strong	malakas	napigsa
448 weak	mahina	nakapsut
449 heavy	mabigat	nadagsen
450 light	magaan	nalag-an
451 long	mahaba	ataddul
452 tall	matangkad	nalampayug (PERS), atayag
453 short	maiksi, pandak, mababa	pukek/pandek, atupak
454 loose	maluwang	nalawa
455 tight	masikip	naelet
456 wide	malawak	nalawa
457 narrow	makitid, makipot	naelet
458 think	makapal	napuskul
459 thin	manipis	naingpis
460 fat	mataba	dulla, lukmeg
461 thin	payat	kullapit
462 fast	mabilis	naalibtak, naalistu, napaltak
463 slow	mabagal	namayamay
464 black	itim, maitim	nangisit
465 white	puti, maputi	pulaw
466 red	pula	nalabagsit
467 yellow	dilaw	iyaw

	English	Filipino	Itneg Inlaud
468	bright	maliwanag	nalanyag
469	dim, dark	madilim	nagitbet
470	deep	malalim	nauneg
471	shallow	mababaw	naababaw
472	cold (objects)	malamig	nalam-ek
473	cold (weather)	maginaw	nalammin
474	hot (objects, weather)	mainit	naanem-em
475	hot and humid	maalinsangan	nabala, napudut
476	dry	tuyo	namaga
477	wet	basa	nabasa
478	bitter	mapait	napait
479	sweet	matamis	nalamiis
480	sour	maasim	naasem
481	salty	maalat	naapgad
482	spicy	maanghang	nagasang
483	foul-smelling	mabaho	nabuyuk
484	fragrant	mabango	nabangu
485	rotten	sira, bulok	ayma
486	fresh	sariwa	plisku
487	raw	hilaw	naata
488	ripe	hinog	naluum
489	rough	magaspang	nakelsang
490	smooth	makinis	nalamuyus
491	round	bilog	nagbukel
492	itchy	makati	nagatel
493	painful	masakit	nasigab
494	straight	tuwid, matuwid	dilitsu, unnat
495	bent	baluktot, baliko	killu
496	full (after eating)	busog	nabsug
497	full (not empty)	puno	napnu
498	hungry	gutom	nabitil

Itneg Inlaud Wordlist

	English	Filipino	Itneg Inlaud
499	thirsty	uhaw	madapu
500	sleepy	inaantok	makaugip
501	far	malayo	adayu
502	near	malapit	adani
503	left	kanan	kannawan
504	right	kaliwa	kannigid
505	downward	pababa	tumabuba
506	upward	pataas, paakyat	tumangatu
507	upside down, stooping with the head forward	tuwad	pugiit
508	difficult	mahirap	naligat
509	delicious	masarap	naimas
510	bland	matabang	natamnay
511	elastic	nababanat	mabennat
512	hardworking	masipag	nagaget
513	lazy	tamad	sadut
514	long time	matagal	nabayag
K. Actions			
515	wake up	gising, bangon	liin
516	sleep	tulog	maugip
517	dream	panaginip	in-inep
518	eat	kain	mangan
519	drink	inom	liduk
520	do	gawa	wangel
521	go	punta	mapan
522	come	dating	sumangpet
523	return	balik	uli
524	go in	pasok	selek
525	go out	labas	letaw
526	see tingin,	kita	seng
527	smell	amoy	seep

	English	Filipino	Itneg Inlaud
528	hear	kinig	naag
529	taste	lasa	palman
530	swallow	lunok	lukmun
531	suck	sipsip	nutnut
532	say, speak	sabi, salita	patang, baag, ginga, tebag
533	ask	tanong	damag
534	moan	ungol	asug
535	shout	sigaw	pukaw
536	stand up, stature	tayo, tindig	tendek
537	walk	lakad	manan
538	run	takbo	tagtag
539	jump	talon	lagtu
540	swim	langoy	sayyutuk
541	sit down	upo	tigaw
542	lie down	higa	emeg
543	stretch	unat	unnat
544	sing	kanta, awit	kansyun
545	dance	sayaw	gaynek
546	carve	ukit	kitikit
547	play	laro	banga
548	sew	tahi	dait
549	weave	habi	laga
550	string	tuhog	lubid
551	hold	hawak	iden
552	bring, carry	dala	awit, bitbit
553	hang, hook	sabit	sabit
554	wrap	balot	nabungun
555	buy, sell	bili	ngina
556	give	bigay	ited
557	choose	pili	pili

Itneg Inlaud Wordlist

English	Filipino	Itneg Inlaud
558 count	bilang	bilang
559 call	tawag	kelaw
560 put	lagay	ipan
561 steal	nakaw	takaw
562 open	bukas	lukat
563 bear a child	anak, silang	aganak
564 bear, suffer, endure	tiis	anus
565 pound	dikdik, bayo, pukpok	bayu
566 beat, strike	palo	pang-ul
567 hit	tama	ustu
568 break a stick	bali	kit-ul
569 cut	putol	peted
570 press	diin	talmeg
571 prick, pierce	tusok	ubun
572 stab	saksak	bagkung
573 scratch	kalmot	kidus
574 rub	kuskos	kalus
575 swell	maga	bumtu
576 drag	kaladkad	guyud
577 fall, drop	hulog, laglag	teknag
578 throw	tapon, hagsis	ibeng
579 kill	patay	angul
580 bury	baon, libing	liben
581 demolish	giba	lippuug, laklak
582 dig	hukay	kali
583 sink	lubog	lemes, lunned
584 float	lutang	tapaw
585 drown	lunod	lemes
586 flow	agos	ayus
587 blow	hip	pul-uy
588 clean	linis	dawes

	English	Filipino	Itneg Inlaud
589	wash	hugas	ulas
590	rinse	banlaw	belnaw
591	wipe	pahid, punas	nasnas
592	leak, drip	tulo	ubu, tedted
593	melt	tunaw	lunaw
594	boil	kulo	bulek
595	fly	lipad	tayab
596	fight	laban	suway
597	quarrel	away	suway
598	catch, apprehend	dakip	tiliw, sippaw
599	pull	hila	igen
600	push	tulak	dulun
601	think	isip	panunut
602	find	hanap	biluk
603	hunt	aso	asu
605	forget	limot	lidu
606	know	alam	ammu
607	laugh	tawa	elep
608	cry	iyak	ibil
609	love	ibig, mahal	dungngu, laylayden
610	desire	nais	amang, kalayad
611	fear	takot	ames
612	faint	mahimatay	agkuldud
613	take	kuha	demet
614	pinch	kurot	kidut
615	burn	sunog	puul

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Beyond Linguistic Empowerment: Language Revitalization Through Social Justice

Maria Kristina Gallego & Jesus Federico Hernandez

It is estimated that at least 43% of the world's languages are considered endangered (Moseley 2010). To address this problem, language revitalization efforts are being carried out across the globe, which include language documentation, development of literacy materials in community language(s), and the use of the mother tongue in basic education, among others. Despite these efforts, however, success stories are few and far between. What does it take for a language to be revital-

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Maria Kristina Gallego. 2020. Ibatan of Babuyan Claro (Philippines) — Language contexts. *Language Documentation and Description* 17. 87–110. <https://doi.org/10.25894/ldd100>

Jesus Federico Hernandez. In press. Vernacular interrupted: Investigating the causes of language endangerment in the Philippines. Foundation for Endangered Languages. Brill Publishers.

ized? We argue that language revitalization efforts are merely palliative measures, and instead, we need to reframe our approach within a wider social justice framework in order to properly address the issue of language endangerment.

The Philippines is one of the most linguistically diverse countries in the world with a linguistic diversity index of 0.842. Of its 186 languages, 41 are considered endangered, and 2 are reported to be extinct (Eberhard, Simons & Fennig 2020).

Language revitalization efforts in the country started in the early 1990s but these projects have not successfully resolved the problem of language endangerment. This is because there are multiple (extra-linguistic) factors which cause language endangerment, such as neoliberal education policies and the ongoing militarization in the countryside, all of which lead to the minoritization of small indigenous languages and communities. Thus, language endangerment will persist so long as these underlying causes remain.

The island community of Babuyan Claro is a concrete example of how language revitalization goes hand in hand with addressing larger social issues in the community. The island of Babuyan Claro is part of the Babuyan group of islands, and is a barangay 'village' under the administrative region of Calayan, Cagayan. Ilokano is used as the main language in the whole region, except on Babuyan Claro.

The people of Babuyan Claro are multilingual in at least three languages:

Beyond Linguistic Empowerment

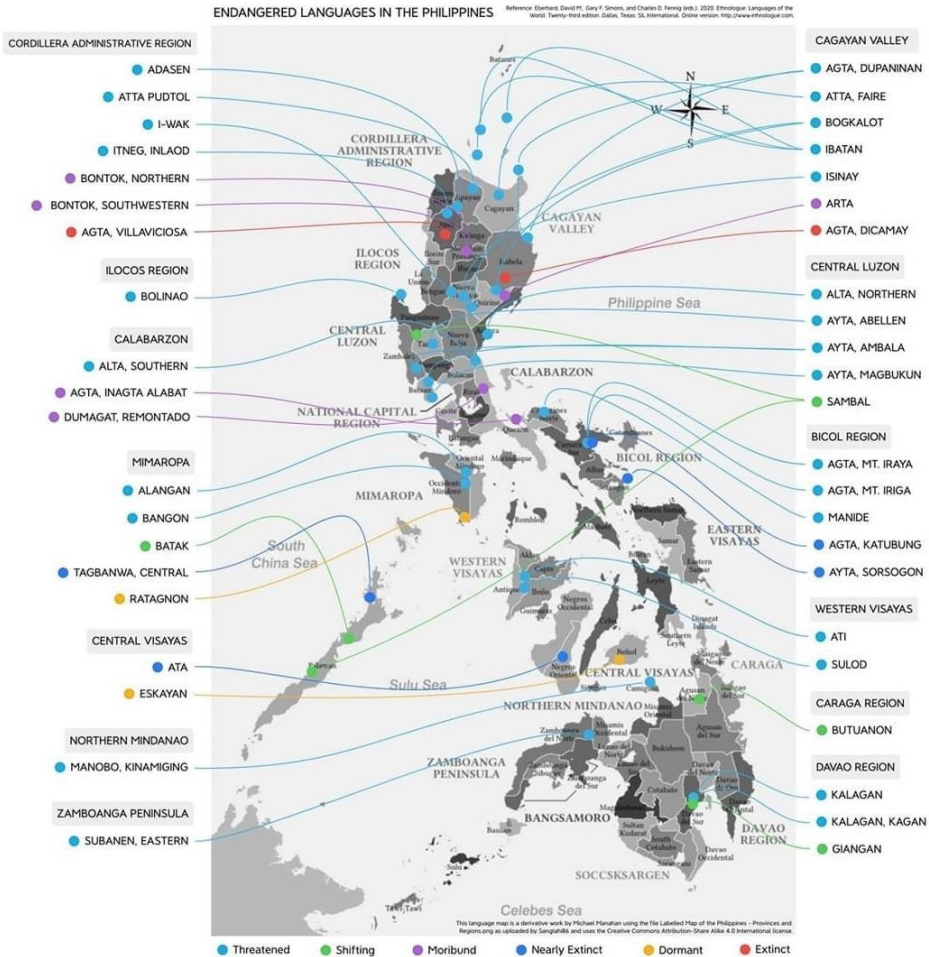


Figure 1. Endangered Languages in the Philippines

- Ibatan, the local language and the smallest of the three, which is a Batanic language related to Ivasay, Isamorong, Itbayaten, and Yami/Tao;
- Ilokano, the trade language and regional lingua franca of northern Luzon; and

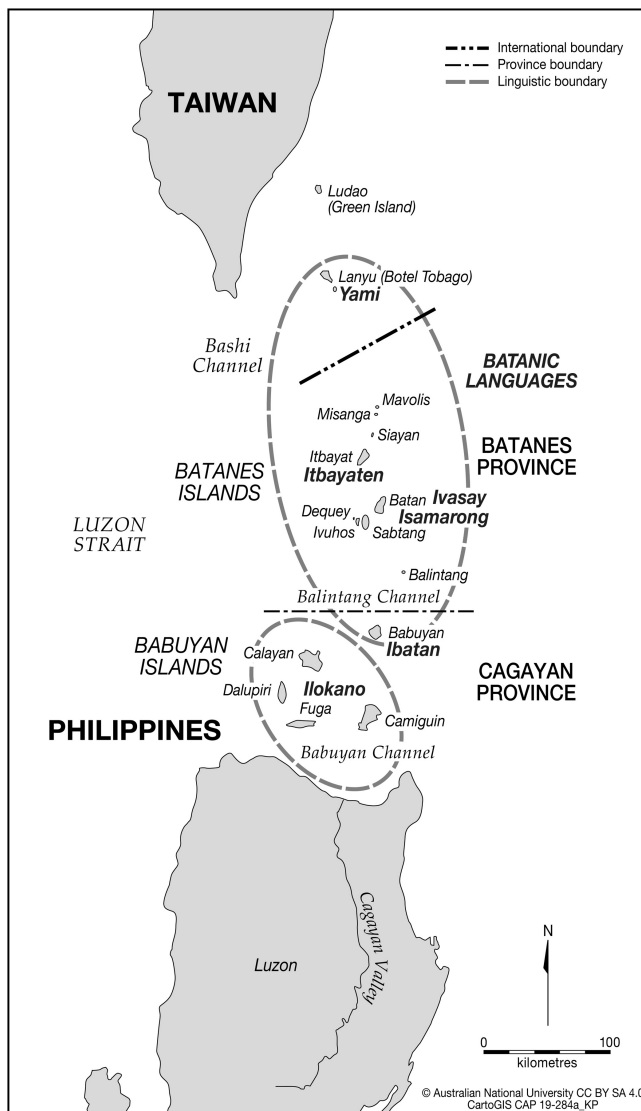


Figure 2. The Location of Ibatan

- Filipino, the national language of the country, which is also the lingua franca of the capital city Manila, and is the language used in print and broadcast media.

Ibatan occupies a less privileged position vis-à-vis the two bigger languages, and while the language is still being used as the main language in Babuyan Claro, a decreasing number of children are learning it, making it a threatened language on the Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS) (Eberhard, Simons & Fennig 2020).



Figure 3. Babuyan Claro

Babuyan Claro remains relatively isolated, with neither commercial vessels going to and from the island nor stable mobile and telephone communication. The tough conditions on the island, especially during the long monsoon season from October to February, mean periods of hunger and sickness for the Ibatans. There are still very limited medical

facilities on Babuyan Claro, and in times of natural calamities, there has been little to no external support, leaving the Ibatans to recover and rebuild by themselves.

As Babuyan Claro has become further integrated into the larger nation state, the sociolinguistic contexts which supported the use of its languages became more and more fragile. Ilokano is the socially dominant language in the larger municipal region of Calayan, and so it was the main language for religion, education, and politics in Babuyan Claro until around the 1970s to 1980s. The shrinking domains in which Ibatan was used reflect the social status of Ibatan as the minority group in the region, and this is also seen in how the people experience discrimination based on their ethnicity. These overall experiences contributed to the endangerment of Ibatan at that time.

It was only when Rundell and Judith Maree of the Summer Institute of Linguistics came to the island in the 1980s that Ibatan saw the start of its revitalization (cf. Quakenbush 2007: 54–55). With their help, the Ibatans were able to establish a church, a school, the first local store, and a rural health unit in Kabaroan, where majority of the Ibatan speakers reside, and this expanded the domains of use of their language. More importantly, the revitalization of the language is diametrically connected to concrete steps that addressed the marginalization of the Ibatan community. On the 1st of June 2007, the Ibatans were granted their Certificate of Ancestral Domain Title (CADT) through the Indigenous Peoples Rights Act of 1997. This gives them collective rights to natural resources on Babuyan Claro as well as five kilometers of the surrounding ocean (Eberhard, Simons & Fennig 2020). The

Ibatans were also able to officialize their indigenous political structure through the formation of Kakpekpeh no Mangalkem ‘council of elders’ and the Ibatan CADT Holders’ Organization, both of which deal with matters internal to the Ibatan community.

These social, political, and cultural changes enabled the empowerment of the Ibatans, allowing its younger generations to be proud of their ethnicity, where they see the use of their language as an advantage, even outside Babuyan Claro. Such extra-linguistic factors have created and/or strengthened social networks that are strongly tied to the Ibatan language. As for Ilokano, it maintains its strong presence on the island, where other small but significant social networks are more strongly associated with the use of Ilokano as their everyday language. The community-level socio-political changes outlined here provide support for individual patterns of language choice and use, thereby allowing for the maintenance of multilingualism on the island at present.

The case of Babuyan Claro, and the Philippines more broadly, demonstrate that revitalization efforts which focus solely on linguistic empowerment can only do so much. It is imperative to address the larger extra-linguistic issues that surround the minority community. Cases of land grabbing, militarization, and abuse in these small indigenous communities of the country are commonplace, which contribute to the languages becoming endangered. It is by strongly pushing for social justice that we can see the empowerment of these communities, and only then, true revitalization of their languages.

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