

A Brief Overview of Agutaynen Grammar

J. Stephen Quakenbush
SIL International

Gail R. Hendrickson
SIL International

and Josenita L. Edep
Agutaynen Language Consultant



Photographer Brian Graham



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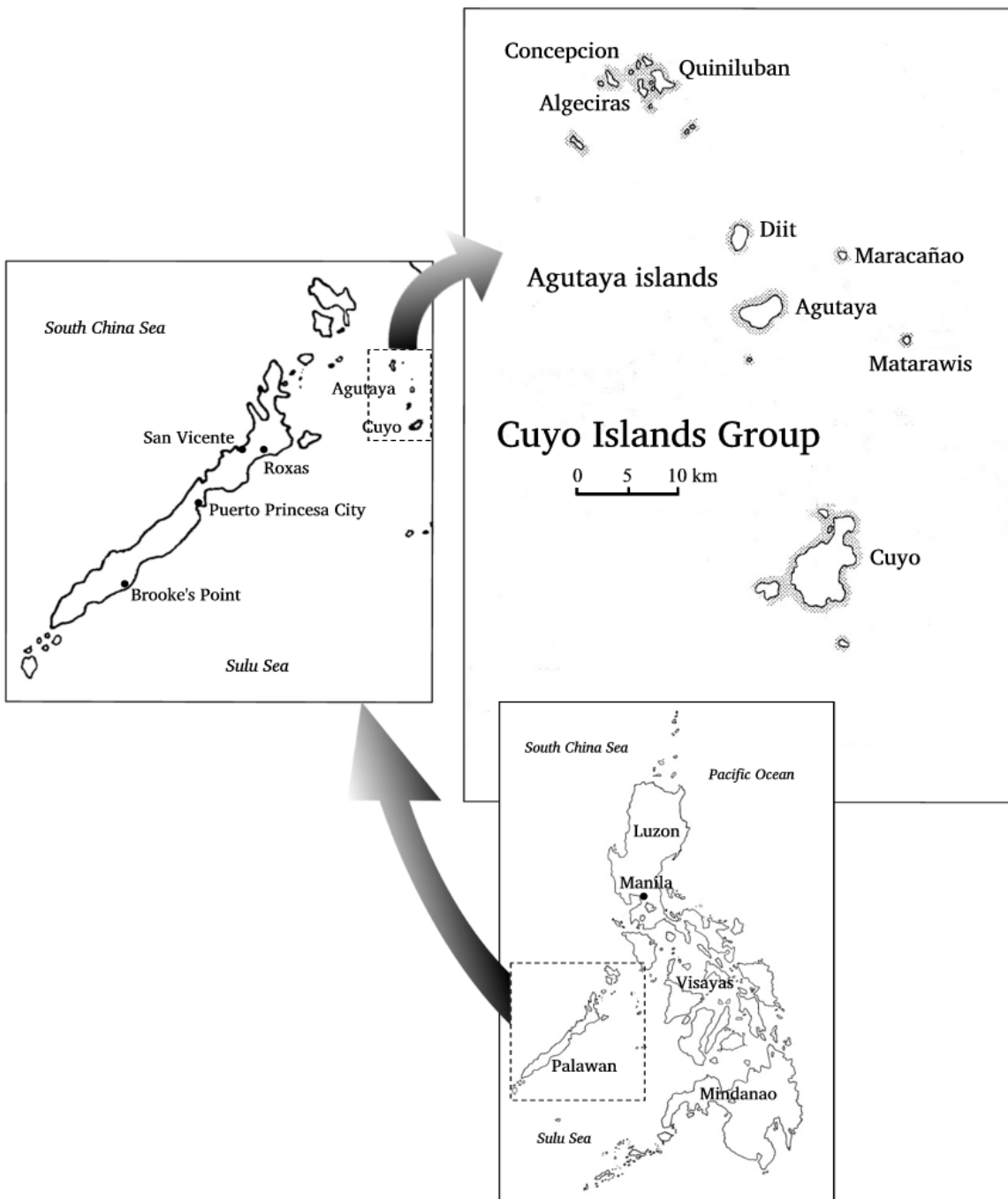
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Maps of the Agutaynen islands in relation to Cuyo, the Agutaynen communities on the island of Palawan, and the Philippines



Preface

This brief overview of the grammar of the Agutaynen language is written with an Agutaynen audience in mind. It is aimed at speakers of Agutaynen who also understand English well, and who wish to explore on a more conscious level the grammatical patterns of their own language. It is written to accompany an Agutaynen-English dictionary, which has been in process over the past two decades.¹ The dictionary is meant to capture something of the wealth of the Agutaynen lexicon—its individual words and their meanings. This grammatical overview is meant to give a better idea of how those words fit together to form sentences. Even a large book could not fully document the beauty and complexity of the Agutaynen language. This overview is offered as a small window through which one can glimpse some of its main contours.

Sometimes people believe that the only “real languages” are those with an extensive written literature and a history of use on a national or international scale. Other people, they say, just speak “dialects” that do not have any “real grammar” at all. Such is not the case. Even unwritten languages spoken by small populations have their own patterns and regularities—their own unique grammars—the intricacies of which are waiting to be discovered by those who care to investigate. This brief overview is offered in the hopes that it will both illuminate and inspire—illuminate a small part of what every Agutaynen already knows, and inspire Agutaynen speakers to take even greater pride in what is most beautifully and uniquely theirs.

1. Agutaynen in relation to other languages

The Agutaynen language is most closely related to language varieties spoken in the Calamian Islands, including those known locally as Tinagbanwa (or Kalamian Tagbanwa), Kinalamiananen, and Binusuanganen. This small group of languages shares features that distinguish them from other languages of Palawan or the Philippines. Still, it is clear from many basic similarities that all Philippine languages, including Agutaynen, form part of a larger family called Austronesian. The Austronesian language family is the most widespread language family on earth, and includes all of the indigenous languages of Taiwan and the Philippines, along with most of the languages of Malaysia and Indonesia, as well as the languages of many islands throughout the Pacific Ocean—from Hawaii to Easter Island to New Zealand. Even the languages of Madagascar off the coast of Africa belong to the Austronesian language family.

¹ The Agutaynen-English dictionary is currently being edited for publication. The first two authors of this overview wish to express their debt of gratitude to our many Agutaynen neighbors and coworkers who patiently taught us their language over the past decades, most particularly Pedrito Z. Labrador, Josenita L. Edep and, Marilyn A. Caabay. The third author provided countless insights and examples as a native speaker, and served as judge of grammaticality and acceptability for all sample sentences.

2. The sounds and spelling of Agutaynen

The Agutaynen language has 20 distinct sounds: 16 consonant sounds and 4 vowel sounds. The consonants are written with 15 different letters (p, t, k, b, d, g, m, n, ng, s, l, r, w, y, h) and with the hyphen “-”. These 16 symbols are organized in table 1 according to how and where they are pronounced in the mouth.

Table 1. Letters representing Agutaynen consonant sounds

p	t	k
b	d	g
m	n	ng
	s	
	l	
	r	
w	y	h, -

The “h” sound occurs only in a few words that are borrowed from other languages. The hyphen represents a GLOTTAL STOP—the brief absence of sound that sometimes happens in the middle of a word before another consonant, as in *ma-kal* ‘snake’ or *da-tal* ‘floor’. Since the hyphen sound only occurs in the middle of words, it does not head a section of its own in the dictionary. A hyphen can also be used as an aid for the reader, to separate similar or identical parts of a word that would otherwise be extra long, as in *balay-balay* ‘little house’ or *mamagbaragat-bagatan* ‘they will meet together with each other’.

The four vowel sounds of Agutaynen are symbolized by the letters a, e, i, and o, as shown in table 2. The “i” and “a” represent much the same vowels as those spelled with the same letters in Filipino or Spanish.

Table 2. Letters representing Agutaynen vowel sounds

i	e	o
	a	

The Agutaynen “o” represents a sound somewhere between the “u” and “o” of standard Filipino. Since Agutaynen does not distinguish between the i/e or u/o sounds heard in Filipino, it is not necessary to write these distinctions in Agutaynen. Agutaynen does, however, have a distinctive fourth sound of its own, symbolized by the letter “e.” Linguists call this a high central vowel, and symbolize it with the letter “i” with a bar through it, as in “ī”. This sound occurs in many Agutaynen words, such as *letem* ‘hunger’ and *elen* ‘full’.

An Agutaynen syllable consists of a vowel with a possible preceding and/or following consonant. Consonant clusters are generally not allowed inside a syllable apart from in a few borrowed words such as *trabaho* ‘work’ or *traidor* ‘dishonest person’. It is not the purpose of this overview to give a detailed analysis of sound patterns in the Agutaynen language. However, a few specific examples of possible sound sequences and how sounds affect one another are given in appendix 1.

The 19 regular letters of the Agutaynen alphabet come in the following order in the dictionary: a, b, d, e, g, h, i, k, l, m, n, ng, o, p, r, s, t, w, y. Additional letters may also be used for writing borrowed words or proper nouns in Agutaynen, such as the “F” in “Filipino”, the “Q” in the surname “Quimay”, or the “u” in “Agutaya”. Agutaynen uses standard punctuation markers found in Filipino and English writing, including the parentheses, comma, period, semicolon, colon, question mark, exclamation mark, and quotation marks (, . ; : ? ! “ ”). In addition to these, there is a special symbol that can be used to indicate that two identical vowels (a, e, i, o, u) occur together. For example, *mal* ‘expensive’ or *teb* ‘high tide’ may also be written as *māl* or *tēb* to show that their vowel sounds are longer than usual. Sometimes this symbol for a long vowel will help to distinguish different meanings of similar words, as in *maboa* ‘can be done’ and *māboat* ‘long’ or *tolok* ‘torch’ and *tolōk* ‘crow of a rooster’.

There are special rules for writing short pronouns consisting of a single *o* or *a*. (See table 5 in section 3.2.8 for the complete set of Agutaynen pronouns.) If the preceding word ends in the same letter as the pronoun, its presence is hidden unless indicated by the symbol for the long vowel, as in *magkantā* ‘you will sing’ or *manorō* ‘I will fetch water’. If the preceding word ends in a different vowel from the pronoun, the pronoun is simply joined to that word, as in *magkanta* ‘I will sing’ or *manoroa* ‘you will fetch water’. If the preceding word ends in a consonant, the pronoun may either be written as part of that word or separate from it. For instance, *tomabido* and *tomabid do* are both acceptable ways of writing ‘I will come along’. Note that when the pronoun is separated off, it copies the final consonant of the preceding word. Thus, *-o* becomes *do* after *tomabid*. Likewise, it becomes *lo* after a word ending in *l* (*magadal lo* ‘I will study’), *no* after a word ending in *n* (*agle-men no* ‘I am hungry’), and so on. In some cases, choosing a particular way of writing the pronoun can help to clarify the meaning. For instance, *tomabida* can only mean ‘you will come along’. But the *da* in *tomabid da* has two possible meanings in isolation: ‘you’ or ‘already’. So *tomabid da* might mean either ‘you will come along’ or ‘he will come along already’. It is usually clear from the context which particular meaning is intended.

3. The grammar of Agutaynen

This grammatical overview of Agutaynen first outlines the structure of simple sentences. Section 3.1 introduces the terms PREDICATE, PARTICIPANT, and TOPIC, and briefly considers different kinds of predicates and participants. Section 3.2 gives an overview of NOUN PHRASES and their parts. Section 3.3 discusses various qualities of Agutaynen VERBS. Section 3.4 concludes

with a sampling of other word classes, including NEGATIVES, EXISTENTIALS, INTERROGATIVES, ADVERBS, PARTICLES, and CONJUNCTIONS.

3.1. *Simple sentences*

There are two basic parts to a simple sentence in Agutaynen. The first is the PREDICATE, which typically tells about something that is happening or something that can be observed. The second basic part of a simple sentence consists of the PARTICIPANTS—the people, places, or things involved in or described by the predicate.

The only necessary part of a simple sentence in Agutaynen is the predicate. Example (1) is a simple sentence consisting of just a predicate. In this case, the identity of the participant is understood from the context.

Predicate

- (1) Nanikad.
'(He/She) ran.'

Often one or more participants are also given as part of a simple sentence. Example (2) shows a predicate with one participant, 'the child'. Example (3), on the other hand, has three participants: 'he', 'the bolo', and 'his companion'.

Predicate/Participant

- (2) Nanikad tang mola.
'The child ran.'

Predicate/Participants

- (3) Dinawat na tang ged ong aroman na.
'He handed the bolo to his companion.'

Almost every Agutaynen sentence has one participant that is uniquely related to the predicate.² This special participant can be called the TOPIC of the sentence. The topic in Agutaynen is similar to what is called the SUBJECT in English, in that it has a special relationship to the predicate, and is in some ways what that particular sentence is about. The topic is typically introduced by the NOUN MARKER *tang*, or comes from of a special set of NOMINATIVE PRONOUNS. (These terms are explained more fully later, in section 3.2.) Sentences may have several participants, but only one topic. The topics in (2) and (3) are *tang mola* 'the child' and *tang ged* 'the bolo'. The special relationship between the topic and predicate is explored more fully in section 3.3, in the discussion on types of FOCUS.

² An exception would be certain verbs that deal with weather or time, such as *kiminoran* 'it rained' or *galikarem da* 'it is dusk already'. These verbs do not take overt participants.

Simple sentences may be expanded in various ways to give additional information about the participants, or information as to when, where, how, or why something happens, as illustrated in (4).

- (4) Ang mga agmalen ang mga ginikanan ta, indi ra poiding magobra, tenged malolobay da tanira, ig bibilang da lamang tang oras nira.
 ‘As for our beloved parents, they can no longer work, because they have grown weak, and they don’t have much time left.’

3.1.1. Kinds of predicates

Predicates are often VERBS or ‘action words’, as in (1)–(3), but they do not have to be verbs. Predicates can also be ADJECTIVES or ‘describing words,’ phrases that specify a time or location, or even NOUNS that specify a person, place, or thing. See (5)–(8) for some predicates that are not verbs. Each of these sentences has one participant, which also serves as the topic of that sentence.

Adjective

- (5) Masinggi tang emet na.
 ‘His face is red.’

Time phrase

- (6) Ong bolan ta Hunyo tang pista.
 ‘The fiesta is in the month of June.’

Location phrase

- (7) Don ong Puerto tang anao.
 ‘My child is in Puerto.’

Noun

- (8) Doktor tanandia.
 ‘She’s a doctor.’

3.1.2. Kinds of participants

Participants all play some special role in relationship to a predicate. The three main roles a participant can take are ACTOR, UNDERGOER, and GOAL. Each of these roles covers a range of situations. An actor is typically a person consciously engaged in some activity, as in (9). Animals and even things can be actors, as in (10) and (11).

Actor

- (9) Nanikad tang mola.
 ‘The child ran.’

Actor

- (10) Kiminayaw tang kiro.
 ‘The dog barked.’

Actor

- (11) Kakaliek tang layag.
‘The sail is moving.’

An undergoer is typically the participant most directly affected by something an actor does, or by some other condition or state of affairs, as in (12)–(14).

Undergoer

- (12) Inated na tang mola ong iskoilan.
‘She escorted the child to school.’

Undergoer

- (13) Sindol na tang koarta ong tindira.
‘She gave the money to the vendor.’

Undergoer

- (14) Agkoawen da tanirang tanan, tenged anday ekel nirang wi.
‘They all were thirsty, because they hadn’t brought any water.’

A goal is typically the participant toward whom or which an action is carried out. The participant can be a person, as in (15), a thing, as in (16), or a place, as in (17).

Goal

- (15) Sindolan ami ta tag tale-ta amen.
‘We were given one each.’

Goal

- (16) Bintangan nira tang lamisan ta ba-long mantil.
‘They put the new tablecloth on the table.’

Goal

- (17) Lindoakan nira tang koma ta lomabeng.
‘They planted the field with lomabeng beans.’

It is sometimes helpful to distinguish four other kinds of participants—location, referent, instrument, and beneficiary. Location refers to the place where something happens, as in (18). Referent often refers to a logical cause or concept, as in (19). Instrument refers to something that is being put to use for a specific purpose, as in (20). And beneficiary is a participant on whose behalf or for whose benefit something is done, as in (21).

Location

- (18) Pamagkayam tang mga mola don ong plasa.
‘The children are playing in the plaza.’

Referent

- (19) Pinagampang nira ta mo-ya tang mga plano nira.
‘They discussed their plans in detail.’

Instrument

- (20) Ikatap na ra lamang tang paod ang nabo-wan.
‘He’ll just use the remaining nipa shingles for roofing.’

Beneficiary

- (21) Binakalano si Dodoy ta sapatos na.
‘I bought Dodoy some shoes.’

It is possible to have a number of participants with different roles in one sentence, as in (22), where ‘she’ is the actor, ‘sleeping mats’ the undergoer, ‘Diit’ the location, and ‘their guests’ the beneficiary.

Actor Undergoer Location Beneficiary

- (22) Mamakal tanandia ta amek ong Diit para ong mga bisita nira.
‘She will buy sleeping mats on Diit Island for their guests.’

It is also possible for a participant to be assumed, especially if it has already been identified in the broader context, as in (23), which assumes the hearer or reader already knows what will be returned.

- (23) Ibalik na ono ong damal.
‘He says he will return it tomorrow.’

When participants appear as actual words in a sentence, they take the form of either NOUN PHRASES or PRONOUNS, which are discussed in section 3.2.

3.2. Nouns, noun phrases, and pronouns

A noun typically names a person, place, or thing, as in *maistra* ‘teacher’, *Agutayan* ‘Agutaya Island’, or *bato* ‘rock’. Nouns may consist of simple noun roots without any affixes like the three examples just given, or they may be derived from verb roots by adding certain affixes, such as the prefix *manig-* in *maniglotok* ‘one who cooks’ or the combination of the prefix *palag-* and the suffix *-an* in *palagsolatan* ‘something to write on’.

Nouns may appear by themselves in the predicate of a sentence, as in (24)–(26).

- (24) Maistra tanandia.
‘He’s a teacher.’
- (25) Agutayan tang pinagalinano.
‘Agutaya Island is where I come from.’

- (26) Bato tang binanggih na.
‘A stone is what he threw.’

When nouns occur as participants of a sentence, however, they require a fuller NOUN PHRASE, a group of words that occur together with a noun. The elements of the noun phrase give the reader or hearer additional information about the participant and the role it plays in the sentence. A full noun phrase contains at least a noun marker and the main noun. It may also contain other descriptive words or phrases that tell about the quality or quantity of the noun, or help identify it in some other way. Pronouns may substitute for full noun phrases. The major elements of a noun phrase, as well as the pronouns that may function in their place, are discussed below.

3.2.1. Noun markers

A common noun phrase is introduced by one of three noun markers: *tang* (or *ang*), *ta*, and *ong*. *Tang* is the most common noun marker. It is used to introduce actors in sentences that focus in a special way on what the actor does, as in (27), and to introduce undergoers in sentences that focus in a special way on what happens to the undergoer, as in (28). The idea of FOCUS is discussed more fully in section 3.3 on Verbs.

- (27) Nanikad tang mola.
‘The child ran.’
- (28) Inated na tang mola ong iskoilan.
‘She escorted the child to school.’

The form *ang* is more likely to be used when the noun phrase occurs first in the sentence, as in (29).

- (29) Ang kiro nira pirming kakayaw ong yen.
‘Their dog is always barking at me.’

Tang also introduces other definite noun phrases (where a specific person or thing is involved), as in (30) and (31). If *tang* introduces a noun in the predicate of a sentence, it has the meaning of the numeral ‘one’, as in (32).

- (30) Magpekelo tang solat ong ni nanay.
‘I will send the letter to mother.’
- (31) Inalato tang kiro.
‘The dog bit me.’
- (32) Tang silio lamang tang kaministiran.
‘Only one stamp is needed.’

The marker *ta* is used to introduce non-specific participants, that is, when the speaker or writer doesn’t have any one specific person or thing in mind, as in (33) and (34). Comparing

these two examples with (30) and (31) shows that the distinction between *tang* and *ta* in Agutaynen is much like the distinction between ‘the’ and ‘a’ in English.

(33) Magpekelo ta solat ong ni nanay.
‘I will send a letter to mother.’

(34) Inalato ta kiro.
‘A dog bit me.’

The marker *ong* is used to introduce participants toward or for which an action is done, as in (35). It is also used to introduce location or time phrases, as in (36) and (37).

(35) Magtorolo ta rigalo ong mola.
‘I will give a gift to the child.’

(36) Mamakalo ta sardinas ong tianggi.
‘I will buy sardines at the little neighborhood store.’

(37) Mamakasiono don ong teled ta tang bolan.
‘I will vacation there for one month.’

If the noun is the name (or sometimes title) of a person, then a personal noun marker like *si* or *ni* is used, as in (38)–(41). *Ni* can occur as the sole noun marker in a noun phrase, as in (39). It can also occur after an *ong*, as in (40), or inside a noun phrase to show possession, as in (41). *Da* is the plural form for *si* or *ni*, as in (42) and (43).

(38) Nagekel si Juan ta wi ong bokid.
‘Juan took water to the field.’

(39) Ingkelan ni Juan tang yan ong lansangan.
‘Juan took the fish to town.’

(40) Sindol na ong ni Maria.
‘He gave it to Maria.’

(41) Ang solat ni Maria, sindol ni Juan ong ni Mayor.
‘(As for) Maria’s letter, Juan gave it to (the) Mayor.’

(42) Da Maria, indi namansipaning ong kasal.
‘(As for) Maria and companions, they didn’t go to the wedding.’

(43) Sindol na tang koarta ong da Maria.
‘He gave the money to Maria and companions.’

Full noun phrases may also contain a variety of other elements such as numbers, the plural marker, adjectives, relative clauses, and even verbs. Each of these elements is illustrated in turn below.

3.2.2. Numbers

Cardinal numbers are words used for counting such as *tolo* ‘three’. They typically occur before the noun, as in (44)–(46). When used to count specific nouns, either the classifier *bilog* or the forms *nga* and *-an* are used, as in (45) and (46).

(44) Mamakalo ta tolong kilong karni.

‘I will buy three kilos of meat.’

(45) Mamakalo ta tolong bilog ang ki-yoy.

‘I will buy three eggs.’

(46) Mamakalo ta tolo nga bakan.

‘I will buy three cows.’

Some sample cardinal numbers are displayed in table 3. *Tata* is the word for ‘one’ when counting in series. When referring to something in isolation, the form *tambilog* is preferred.

Table 3. Sample Agutaynen cardinal numbers

<i>tata/tambilog</i>	1	<i>tampolok may tata</i>	11
<i>doroa</i>	2	<i>tamplok may doroa</i>	12
<i>tolo</i>	3	...	
<i>epat</i>	4	<i>doroampolok</i>	20
<i>lima</i>	5	<i>doroampolok may tata</i>	21
<i>enem</i>	6	...	
<i>pito</i>	7	<i>tolopolok</i>	30
<i>walo</i>	8	...	
<i>siam</i>	9	<i>tang gatos</i>	100
<i>tampolok</i>	10	<i>tang ribo</i>	1000

Ordinal numbers refer to the order of something in a sequence, as in (47) and (48).

(47) Si Gaudencio Abordo tang primirong gobirador tang Palawan.

‘Gaudencio Abordo was the first governor of Palawan.’

(48) Tanandia tang ya-long ana nirang nagadal ong Manila.

‘She is the third child of theirs who studied in Manila.’

Apart from *primiro* ‘first’ and *yadoa* ‘second’, the standard way for forming an ordinal number is simply by adding *ya-* to the beginning of the corresponding cardinal number. Some sample ordinal numbers are displayed in table 4.³

Table 4. Sample Agutaynen ordinal numbers

<i>primiro</i>	first
<i>yadoa</i>	second
<i>ya-lo</i>	third
<i>yapat</i>	fourth
<i>yalima</i>	fifth
<i>yanem</i>	sixth
<i>yapito</i>	seventh
<i>yawalo</i>	eighth
<i>yasiam</i>	ninth
<i>yatapolok/yapolok</i>	tenth

3.2.3. Plural marker

The plural marker, *mga*, is used before a noun to indicate an unspecified number of more than one, as in (49). A related but distinct use for the form *mga* is to mean ‘approximately’, as in (50) and (51).

(49) Mamakalo ta mga baldi.
‘I will buy some buckets.’

(50) Pirapay komiten mo? — Mga tolo, sigoro.
‘How many will you take?’ ‘Maybe about three.’

(51) Tanoapa kiminabot? — Mga alas otso.
‘When did you arrive?’ ‘At about 8 o’clock.’

3.2.4. Adjectives

Other descriptive words, or adjectives, may also occur before the noun, as in (52), or after it, as in (53). Many adjectives have a *ma-* prefix, as in *matambek* ‘fat’.

³ Sometimes the initial vowel of the number is lost, as in the initial *e* in the words for ‘fourth’ and ‘sixth’ (compare *epat* ‘four’ and *enem* ‘six’). In such cases there is a compensatory lengthening of the *a* in *ya-*.

(52) Magdilem ita ta matambek ang baboy.
‘Let’s look for a fat pig.’

(53) Pagdilemo ta manong bokay.
‘I’m looking for a white chicken.’

The first syllable of an adjective root may be repeated in order to indicate plural, as illustrated by the extra *ta* in *matatambek* in (54) and the extra *ge* in *gege-ley* in (55).

(54) Poros matatambek tang mga baboy amen.
‘All our pigs are fat.’

(55) Gege-ley pa lamang tang mga baboy nira.
‘Their pigs are all just little.’

Adjectives may be intensified by the modifiers *mas* ‘more’, as in (56), and *masiado* ‘very’, as in (57). An exclamation is formed by prefixing the adjective root with *ka-*, as in (58). The form *dorog*⁴ can be used before this same *ka-* form as a means of intensification, as in (59). The superlative may be formed by adding the affixes *ka-* *-an* to the adjective root, as in (60).

(56) Bakalen ta tang baboy ang mas matambek.
‘Let’s buy the pig that is fatter.’

(57) Masiadong matambek tang baboy mo.
‘Your pig is very fat.’

(58) Katambek tang baboy mo!
‘Your pig is so fat!’

(59) Dorog katambek tang baboy mo!
‘Your pig is really fat!’

(60) Ang baboy mo tang katambekan ong tanan.
‘Your pig is the fattest one of all.’

3.2.5. Linker *ang*

Elements within a phrase are joined together with the linker *ang*, as in (61). If the *ang* happens to follow a word ending in a vowel, it is added onto that word in its contracted form *-ng*, as in the two instances in (62).

(61) mabael ang balay
‘big house’

⁴ Possible variants to *dorog* are *doro* (with a final glottal stop) and *dorong* (with the linker *-ng*).

- (62) tolong molang gege-ley
‘three little children’

3.2.6. Relative clauses

Partial sentences that help identify or describe the noun, called relative clauses, may also be introduced into noun phrases by the *ang* linker, as in (63) and (64). Relative clauses typically follow the noun they modify.

- (63) Natoman da tang baboy ang nalipat.
‘The pig that got lost has been found.’
- (64) Telekan mo tang ba-long rilong binakalo ong Manila.
‘Look at the new watch I bought in Manila.’

Each of the noun phrase elements described so far is demonstrated in the long noun phrase in (65).

- (65) Bakaleno ra tang tolong bilog ang bakang matatambek ang initao ong Villa Sol nongapon.
‘I will buy the three fat cows (that) I saw in Villa Sol yesterday.’

3.2.7. Verbs inside noun phrases

It is also common for a verb to follow a noun marker inside a noun phrase, where we might otherwise expect a noun. Sometimes these verbs work the same way as verbs in relative clauses, because they refer to an actual participant that is understood and the verbs are fully marked for tense and focus, as in (66)–(68). (See section 3.4 for different ways that verbs can be marked.)

- (66) Natoman da tang nalipat.
‘The one that got lost has been found.’
- (67) Opon mo kay tang mga bine-lad.
‘Please bring in the things that were laid out to dry.’
- (68) Tomabang amo ong mga pamagobra ong koma.
‘Help those who are working in the field.’

In other cases the verb acts more like a noun, in that it refers to an activity in the ‘abstract’ without reference to any specific time, as in (69) and (70).

- (69) Mambeng ang magpalayog ta boradol.
‘It’s fun to fly a kite.’
- (70) Mambeng tang pagpalayog ta boradol.
‘Flying kites is fun.’

3.2.8. Pronouns

Pronouns are words that substitute for full noun phrases. There are four sets of PERSONAL PRONOUNS in Agutaynen, each one with typical roles that they play in a sentence. Table 5 shows the complete list.

Table 5. Agutaynen personal pronouns

	Nominative	Genitive	Oblique	Neutral
1sg	<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>yen</i>	<i>yo</i>
2sg	<i>a</i>	<i>mo</i>	<i>nio</i>	<i>yawa</i>
3sg	<i>(tanandia)</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>nandia</i>	<i>tanandia</i>
1inc	<i>ita</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>yaten</i>	<i>ita</i>
1exc	<i>ami</i>	<i>amen</i>	<i>yamen</i>	<i>yami</i>
2pl	<i>amo</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>nindio</i>	<i>yamo</i>
3pl	<i>(tanira)</i>	<i>nira</i>	<i>nira</i>	<i>tanira</i>

In table 5, the rows of pronouns are classified according to PERSON and NUMBER. Person (1,2,3) refers to whether the pronoun refers to the speaker or writer (1st person), to the listener or reader (2nd person), or to another party (3rd person). Number indicates whether the one referred to is only one (singular ‘sg’) or more than one (plural ‘pl’). In the case of 1st person, there is a further distinction as to whether the listener or hearer is included ‘inc’ versus excluded ‘exc’. The columns of pronouns are grouped according to what role they can play in a sentence. Pronouns in the *Nominative* column are used for actors in sentences that focus on what the actor does, as in (71), and for undergoers in sentences that focus on what happens to the undergoer, as in (72). (See section 3.3.2 on verbs for a fuller discussion of focus.) The nominative pronouns *tanandia* and *tanira* are listed in parentheses above because they are commonly omitted in actual sentences, as in (73).

Nominative (actor)

- (71) Nanikad ami.
‘We ran.’

Nominative (Undergoer)

- (72) Inated ami tang maistra ong opisina tang prinsipal.
‘The teacher escorted us to the principal’s office.’
- (73) Nanikad.
‘(He/she/they) ran.’

Pronouns in the *Genitive* column are typically used for actors in sentences that focus on what happens to the undergoer, as in (74). They are also commonly used for possessors inside noun phrases when they follow the noun, as in (75).

Genitive (actor)

- (74) Inated amen tang mola ong iskoilan.
‘We escorted the child to school.’

Genitive (possessor)

- (75) Molik ami ong balay amen.
‘We will go home to our house.’

Pronouns in the *Oblique* column are typically used for goal, as in (76). They can also be used for possessors that precede a noun, as in (77).

Oblique (goal)

- (76) Sindol nira tang koarta ong yamen.
‘They gave the money to us.’

Oblique (possessor)

- (77) Sirbien ta tang yaten ang mga kasimanoa!
‘Let’s serve our fellow townmates!’

Pronouns in the *Neutral* column can be used to introduce a sentence or in isolation, as in (78) and (79). Oblique pronouns may also occur in isolation with a possessive meaning, as in (80).

Neutral

- (78) Yami, molik ami ra lamang.
‘(As for) us, we’ll just go home.’

Neutral

- (79) “Sinopay galiliag ang paning?”—“Yami!”
‘Who wants to go?’ ‘We (do)!’

Oblique

- (80) “Ninopa tang balay ang na?” – “Yamen.”
‘Whose house is this?’ ‘(It’s) ours.’

DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS typically give an idea of how near or far a participant is, either literally or figuratively. Table 6 lists the primary demonstrative pronouns.

Table 6. Agutaynen demonstrative pronouns

	Nominative	Oblique
close to speaker	<i>na/nani/narin</i>	<i>ta/tani/tarin</i>
close to hearer	<i>sia/asia</i>	<i>atan</i>
far from speaker and hearer	<i>si/asi</i>	<i>don</i>

The exact rules for when each of these forms is preferred have not been fully determined, but the following generalizations can be made. The forms *na*, *ta*, *sia*, and *si* function as shorter alternatives for the longer forms associated with them in table 6. The *Nominative* set of demonstratives usually occur in a noun phrase after the main noun, as in (81), or substitute for an entire noun phrase, as in (82). They can also occur before and after the main noun with an intensifying effect, as in (83).

(81) Kasinlo tang balay ang na!
'This house is so beautiful!'

(82) Narin tang galiliagano.
'This is the one I like.'

(83) Nang balay ang na tang galiliagano.
'This house here is the one I like.'

The *Oblique* set of demonstratives typically refers to a location or direction, as in (84) and (85). They are also used after certain words that otherwise require an oblique marker, as illustrated in (86) and (87), with the conjunction *tenged* 'because'.

(84) Anda tarin tang anao.
'My child is not here.'

(85) Paningo ra lamang atan.
'I'll just go there (where you are).'

(86) Tenged ong problimang asi, indi nadayon tang mga plano nira.
'Because of that problem, their plans did not succeed.'

(87) Tenged don, indi nadayon tang mga plano nira.
'Because of that, their plans did not succeed.'

For illustrative purposes, a number of common idiomatic uses of demonstratives are given in (88)–(97).

(88) Tania!
'Come here!'

- (89) Nanio.
'Here I am.'
- (90) Nani ra.
'Here it is.' (as in handing something to someone)
- (91) Narin da tanira.
'They're already here (in this general location).'
- (92) Anda tani.
'He's not here (where I am).'
- (93) Anda tarin.
'He's not here (where you and I are).'
- (94) Anda atan.
'He's not there (where you are).'
- (95) Anda don.
'He's not there (away from both of us).'
- (96) Asia ra.
'He's arrived.' (back in this general location, as in after a trip)
- (97) Si ra.
'They've left./They're on their way.'

In addition to the demonstratives of table 6, which usually bear some relation to physical distance, there is also a 'discourse' demonstrative *ya*, which refers to something that has just been specified or identified in the immediate context, as in (98) and (99).

- (98) Ya ray ang agganingeno.
'That's just what I'm talking about.'
- (99) Sia yay ang kironng nangalat ong yen.
'That one is the dog that bit me.'

3.3. Verbs

Agutaynen verbs are both intricate and complex, especially in the way they are affixed. This section defines some basic categories of verbs and illustrates the types of information that verb affixes carry.

Verbs are typically 'action words' that tell about something an actor does, as in *pagbasa* 'she is reading' or *pagini-yak* 'she is crying'. Verbs can also tell about something an undergoer experiences, as in *agkoawen* 'he is thirsty' or *napatay* 'he died'. A few verbs tell about things that simply happen in nature without any explicit actor or undergoer, as in *kokoran* 'it is raining'. Verbs that require an actor are called ACTIVE VERBS. Active verbs can be either transitive (taking

an undergoer as well as an actor), as in (100), or intransitive (taking only an actor), as in (101). Verbs that describe a condition or change of state of an undergoer but do not allow an actor are called *STATIVE VERBS*, as illustrated in (102) and (103).

Active transitive verb

- (100) Kino-kod na tang nioy.
‘He grated the coconut.’

Active intransitive verb

- (101) Nanikad tang mola.
‘The child ran.’

Stative verb

- (102) Agkoawen da tang kirong ge-ley.
‘The puppy is thirsty.’

Stative verb

- (103) Napatay tang baboy nira.
‘Their pig died.’

The literal meaning of the verb is carried primarily by the verb root, that basic part of the word to which affixes may be added. Verb roots are forms like *basa* ‘read’ or *i-yak* ‘cry’. It is possible to make a verb from almost any root by adding the proper affix. For example, the nouns *bisiklita* ‘bicycle’ and *baboy* ‘pig’ become verbs by adding the prefix *mag-*, as in *magbisiklita* ‘to ride a bicycle’ and *magbaboy* ‘to raise pigs’.

There are two main kinds of information that a verb carries in addition to its literal meaning. The first kind of information has to do with time. Linguists may classify these distinctions in terms of *ASPECT* or *MOOD*, but it is easier to use the three commonly understood categories of *TENSE*—*PAST*, *PRESENT*, and *FUTURE*. The second kind of information that an Agutaynen verb carries can be called *VOICE* or *FOCUS*, having to do with the role a selected participant (the *TOPIC*) plays in relationship to that verb. The most common roles are those of actor, undergoer, and goal. Other possible roles include location, referent, instrument, and beneficiary. Each of these roles has a corresponding focus signaled by affixes on the verb.

Two other kinds of information Agutaynen verbs carry have to do with plurality and intentionality. A verb can show ‘more than one’ in three different ways—through *PLURAL*, *SOCIAL*, and *RECIPROCAL* forms. Agutaynen verbs also typically indicate whether something happens naturally or intentionally (*INDICATIVE*) versus potentially or accidentally (*ABILITATIVE*).

Whether a verb is active or stative, transitive or intransitive, affects which sets of affixes the verb root can take. Tense, focus, plurality, and intentionality are all directly reflected through these affix sets. Sometimes Agutaynen verb roots are also used for special effect without any affixes at all. Each of these characteristics of Agutaynen verbs is discussed in turn below.

3.3.1. Past, present, and future tense

While no particular set of terms completely captures how the affixes of Agutaynen verbs work, it is easy to think of them working with respect to time in the three basic tenses—past, present, and future. Past tense is used to indicate that something has occurred in the past, and is already finished, as in (104) and (105).

(104) Kiminoran talabi.

‘It rained last night.’

(105) Nagalin tang mola.

‘The child left.’

Present tense is used to indicate that something is or was ongoing. It may have happened over a period of time in the past, as in (106). Or it may be something that happens regularly or periodically, as in (107). Or it may be something ongoing in the actual present, as in (108).

(106) Asing ge-ley ami pa, pirmi aming pamagkayam ong baybay.

‘Back when we were small, we were always playing on the beach.’

(107) Pamagsimba tang mga taw mga Biyernes Santo.

‘People go to church on Good Friday.’

(108) Ba-lo kay lagi, pamangano pa.

‘Just a minute, I’m still eating.’

Future tense is used to indicate something that has not yet happened. It can be used to make a statement about something expected to happen, as in (109), or to issue a command, request, or invitation, as in (110).

(109) Komabot tanandia lagat-lagat.

‘He will arrive later.’

(110) Mamangan ita ra!

‘Let’s eat!’

The future form of a verb can also be used in a timeless or ‘infinitive’ sense, as in (111)–(113). The infinitive sometimes functions in the place of a noun phrase, as in (111)–(112).

(111) Mambeng ang manikad.

‘It’s fun to run.’ or ‘Running is fun.’

(112) Mapilay ang mangayeg.

‘It’s tiring to work in the harvest.’ or ‘Harvesting is tiring.’

(113) Toldokana yen ang magbedbed.

‘I’ll teach you to sew.’

The infinitive also occurs in constructions with certain other verbs such as *galiliag* ‘he wants’, as in (114), or with verb-like words such as *poidi* ‘can’, as in (115).

(114) *Indi galiliag ang tomabid.*

‘He doesn’t want to come along.’

(115) *Poiding mangayeg mandian.*

‘He can work in the harvest today.’ or ‘It’s possible to harvest today.’

Sometimes two verbs occur together in a ‘serial’ construction, in which case both verbs take the same tense. For example, the verbs for both ‘help’ and ‘harvest’ take the past form in (116), and the future form in (117).

(116) *Namagtarabangan tanirang nangayeg.*

‘They helped one another to harvest.’

(117) *Mamagtarabangan tanirang mangayeg.*

‘They will help one another to harvest.’

3.3.2. Focus

The second kind of information that Agutaynen verbs convey has often been called VOICE or FOCUS. It is similar to the ACTIVE and PASSIVE voice distinction found in English. Example (118) is of an active sentence in English, while (119) is passive. Both (118) and (119) describe the same situation, though they do so from different perspectives. One might say that (118) focuses more on what the dog did, while (119) focuses more on what happened to the cat.

(118) The dog bit the cat. (Active)

(119) The cat was bitten by the dog. (Passive)

The main difference between Agutaynen and English is that Agutaynen has more possibilities than just active and passive. There is a possible focus for each kind of participant, as introduced earlier: actor, undergoer, goal, location, referent, instrument, and beneficiary. The focus is indicated by affixes on the verb, which signal what role the topic of that sentence plays in relation to the verb. Actor focus signals that the topic is an actor, undergoer focus indicates that the topic is an undergoer, and so on. An overt topic (as opposed to one that is simply assumed and does not appear overtly) is identified by a nominative pronoun, as in (120), or by the noun marker *tang* (or its variant *ang*), as in (121).

Topic (nominative pronoun)

(120) *Nanikad ami.*

‘We ran.’

Topic (marked by tang)

(121) Sindol na tang ba-long rilo ong logod na.

‘She gave the new watch to her sister.’

The topic of a sentence can be shifted depending on which participant is in focus. Compare sentences (122)–(124). Example (122) focuses on the goal ‘the younger brother’, and (123) focuses on the actor ‘who gave candy’, while (124) focuses on the undergoer ‘what was given’.

Goal focus

(122) Indi oldan mo tang ari mo ta kindi, taben matelkak.

‘Don’t give your younger brother candy, he might choke.’

Actor focus

(123) Aroy! Sinopay nagtorol ta kindi ong ni Dodoy?

‘Oh my! Who gave candy to Dodoy?’

Undergoer focus

(124) Ang sindolo ong nandia ay biskoit lamang, belag ta kindi.

‘I only gave him a cracker, not candy.’

Actor, undergoer, and goal focus are the most common focus types. Actor focus is most often marked with prefixes such as *mag-*, *mang-*, *m-*, or with the infix *-om-*, as illustrated in (125)–(128). (See section 3.3.8 for a more complete treatment of these and other affix sets.)

Actor focus sentences

(125) Magdilem ita ta mano.

‘Let’s look for a chicken.’

(126) Sigoradong mangi-yoy da tang manong asi.

‘That hen is surely going to lay an egg.’

(127) Molik ita ra.

‘Let’s go home.’

(128) Tomabid si Juan ong moman ang biahi.

‘Juan will go along on the next trip.’

Undergoer focus is most often marked by affixes such as the prefix *i-* or the suffixes *-en* or *-on*, as in (129)–(131).

Undergoer focus sentences

(129) I-dol mo kay tang solato ong ni Maria.

‘Please give my letter to Maria.’

(130) Komiten mo kay tang martilio ong ni Juan.

‘Please get the hammer from Juan.’

(131) Lotokon mo kay tang karning mano.

‘Please cook the chicken.’

Goal focus is typically marked with the suffix *-an*, as in (132) and (133).

Goal focus sentences

(132) Oldano tang mola ta biskoit.

‘I’ll give the child a cookie.’

(133) Laygayan mo kay ta masinlo tang soltiros.

‘Please advise the young man well.’

While actor, undergoer, and goal focus are the three most common focus types, there are an additional four less common focus types, namely: referent, beneficiary, instrument, and location.

Referent focus typically indicates that a topic is a matter of consideration or conversation. It may be a logical concept, as in (134), or a logical cause, as in (135). Referent focus is marked by affixation that includes the prefix *pag-* together with the suffix *-an*.

Referent focus

(134) Pinagampangan nira tang mga plano nira.

‘They talked over their plans.’

Referent focus

(135) Pinagsoayan nira tang tanek.

‘They fought over the land.’

Beneficiary focus indicates that the topic is the one for whom or on whose behalf something is being done, as in (136) and (137). Beneficiary focus does not have a unique set of affixes with which it is associated, but it often takes the same *-an* affixation as goal focus.

Beneficiary focus

(136) Bedbedano tang angkeno ta ba-long lambong na.

‘I will sew my niece some new clothes.’

Beneficiary focus

(137) Geret-geretano tang baboy ta papa ta ponsi.

‘I will slice up some banana stalks for the pig.’

Instrument focus indicates that the topic is being put to some specific use, as in (138) and (139). Instrument focus typically uses the *i-* set of affixes associated with undergoer focus. (In (139) it is spelled with ‘Y’ because it precedes a vowel.)

Instrument focus

(138) Ikatapo ra lamang tang ba-long paod.

I will use the new shingles for roofing.

Instrument focus

(139) Yalio tang teged ta agonan.

‘I will use the digging tool for digging up agonan root.’

Location focus indicates that the verb is referring to a place. Location focus verbs typically occur inside noun phrases, as in (140) and (141), as opposed to in the main predicate of a sentence. (See section 3.2.7 for a more general discussion of verbs occurring inside noun phrases.)

Location focus

(140) Nalikedo ta bantol-bantol ong pinagkayaman amen.

‘I stepped on a thorn in the place where we played.’

(141) Naning kaldirong mabael tang pinagdongkolano.

‘This big pot is the one I cooked rice in.’

3.3.3. Plural, social, and reciprocal marking

Agutaynen verbs can indicate that a topic consists of more than one member in one of three ways. The first is by the (SIMPLE) PLURAL. Example (142) shows a plural actor occurring with an actor focus verb marked for plurality. Example (143) shows a plural undergoer with an undergoer focus verb marked for plurality. It is not necessary to mark verbs for plurality in this way, but it is common to do so, especially for actor focus verbs.

(142) Pamagkanta ra tang mga mola.

‘The children are already singing.’

(143) Pinanimet nira tang mga istoria nira.

‘They collected their stories.’

Two other kinds of plural marking can occur on actor focus verbs—SOCIAL and RECIPROCAL. Example (144) illustrates the social marking, indicating that something is done together as a group. Example (145) shows reciprocal marking, indicating that an action is carried out by the actors toward one other.

(144) Magigkayamo ong nira.

‘I will join in playing with them.’

(145) Pamagsoroayan tanirang tanan.

‘They are all fighting with one other.’

3.3.4. Indicative versus abilitative

Agutaynen verbs also indicate whether something is done intentionally or occurs naturally, versus whether it has the potential to happen either through capability or by chance. In (146) and (147) the verbs are INDICATIVE, meaning that the action is either intentional on the part of the actor, as in (146), or occurs naturally, as in (147). Examples (148)–(150), on the

other hand, have ABILITATIVE VERBS that indicate either that the action can (or cannot) be carried out, as in (148) and (149), or that the action happened unintentionally, as in (150) and (151).

(146) Magbayado tang otango ong tsianggi.

‘I’ll pay my debt at the little store.’

(147) Pamansitolpot da tang mga iloloak.

‘The plants are already sprouting.’

(148) Mapagbayado ra tang otango.

‘I will be able to pay off my debt now.’

(149) Indio matabid ong nira.

‘I won’t be able to go along with them.’

(150) Nabagato tang logod mo ong Puerto.

‘I happened to meet your sister in Puerto.’

(151) Aroy! Napotol mo ra tang toldoko!

‘Oh no! You’ve cut my finger cut off!’

3.3.5. Verb affix sets

Verb affix sets convey a combination of information about focus (actor, undergoer, goal, location, referent, beneficiary, instrument), tense (past, present, ufture), intentionality (indicative, abilitative), and number (unmarked, plural, social, reciprocal). Verbs can also be affixed to indicate causation. The affixes themselves can take three forms: prefixes precede the verb root, infixes occur inside the root, and suffixes follow the root. Examples (152)–(154) demonstrate the three types of affixes on the same verb root *kanta* ‘to sing’. In (152) the prefix *mag-* indicates future tense and actor focus. In (153) the infix *-in-* indicates past tense and undergoer Focus. The suffix *-en* in (154) indicates future tense and undergoer focus. The combination of the *ag-* prefix and *-en* suffix in (155) indicates present tense and undergoer focus. Each of these examples are indicative (as opposed to abilitative), indicating intentional action, and unmarked for plurality.

(152) Magkanta ra tanandia.

‘She will sing now.’

(153) Kinanta na tang yen ang paborito.

‘She sang my favorite.’

(154) Kantaen mong moman patigayon.

‘Please sing it again.’

(155) Salamat, agkantaen na si mandian.

‘Oh good, she’s singing it again now.’

The following charts show the affix sets for future, present, and past forms of indicative, singular verbs according to the focus types they may signal. (A more complete listing of affix sets is given in appendix 2.)

Actor focus sets

	Set 1	Set 2	Set 3	Set 4
Future	<i>mag-</i>	<i>mang-</i>	<i>-om-</i>	<i>m-</i>
Present	<i>pag-</i>	<i>pang-</i>	<i>CV-*</i>	<i>g-</i>
Past	<i>nag-</i>	<i>nang-</i>	<i>-imin-</i>	<i>min-</i>

(*CV stands for a copy of the first consonant and vowel of the verb root.)

Sample verbs: *magadal* ‘to study’, *mangoma* ‘to farm’, *komoran* ‘to rain’, *molik* ‘to go home’.

Undergoer focus sets

	Set 1	Set 2
Future	<i>i-</i>	<i>-en, -on</i>
Present	<i>agCV-*</i>	<i>ag- -en, ag- -on</i>
Past	<i>-in-</i>	<i>-in-</i>

(*CV stands for a copy of the first consonant and vowel of the verb root.)

Sample verbs: *itabid* ‘to include’, *komiten* ‘to get/take’, *lotokon* ‘to cook’.

Other Focus Sets

	Goal/Beneficiary	Beneficiary/Location/Referent	Instrument
Future	<i>-an</i>	<i>pag- -an</i>	<i>i-</i>
Present	<i>ag- -an</i>	<i>agpag- -an</i>	<i>agCV-</i>
Past	<i>-in- -an</i>	<i>pinag- -an</i>	<i>-in-</i>

Sample verbs: *telekan* ‘to look at’, *pagampangan* ‘to talk about’, *ikatep* ‘to use for roofing’.

3.3.6. Causative *pa-*

An additional affix that may occur before a verb root is the causative prefix *pa-*. This prefix is frequently used to indicate the presence of an ‘indirect’ actor who causes someone else to perform an action. In (156), for instance, the indirect actor ‘us’ causes Maria to sing. Likewise, in (157), ‘Ana’ is the one who actually does the sewing, but the speaker or writer is the one indirectly causing it to happen. The causative prefix may not always involve an additional actor, as illustrated in (158). It may also indicate that something is “allowed” to happen rather than “caused,” as in (159).

(156) *Pakantaen ta si Maria.*

‘Let’s make Maria sing!’

(157) *Ipabedbedo tang tilang na ong ni Ana.*

‘I will have Ana sew this fabric.’

(158) Pinabael na tang bosis na.

‘He spoke loudly. (Literally, He made his voice big.)’

(159) Magpapoaso kang lagi tang koran ba-lo molik.

‘I will first let the rain stop before heading home.’

3.3.7. Special uses of unaffixed verbs

Sometimes verb roots appear without any affixation for special effect, as in (160). This sentence would be appropriate at the height of a story, where the use of the bare root *sikad* ‘run’ adds a feeling of intensity or immediacy.

(160) Aroy! Sikad tanirang tanan! Todo-todo!

‘Oh my! They all took off running! Fast as can be!’

More commonly, unaffixed roots are used together with the completive particle *da* or *ra* ‘already’ in an adjectival sense. Although they are unaffixed, these can also be referred to as *STATIVE VERBS*, because they indicate that the participant has undergone some kind of change due to an event and now is in the state described by the verb. (161) and (162) are examples of this kind of stative verb.

(161) Langga ra tang bisiklita.

‘The bicycle is broken.’

(162) Lotok da tang yan. Mamangan ita ra!

‘The fish is done (cooked). Let’s eat!’

3.3.8. Nominalized verbs

It was explained in section 3.2 on nouns that certain affixes can be used to form nouns from verb roots. For example, the prefix *manig-* functions much the same as the *-er* suffix in English, turning a verb into a noun meaning ‘one who does that verb’. Another strategy for forming a noun from a verb is by adding the prefix *palag-* together with the suffix *-an*, to mean ‘a place the verb is done.’ Samples of both these nominalizing strategies are given in table 7.

Table 7. Two nominalization strategies

<i>manig-</i> + <i>kanta</i> ‘sing’	<i>manigkanta</i> ‘singer’
<i>manig-</i> + <i>lotok</i> ‘cook’	<i>maniglotok</i> ‘cook’
<i>manig-</i> + <i>toldok</i> ‘teach’	<i>manigtoldok</i> ‘teacher’
<i>manig-</i> + <i>dongkol</i> ‘cook rice’	<i>manigdongkol</i> ‘one in charge of cooking rice’
<i>palag-</i> <i>-an</i> + <i>solat</i> ‘write’	<i>palagsolatan</i> ‘desk’ (for writing on)
<i>palag-</i> <i>-an</i> + <i>pid</i> ‘wipe’	<i>palamidan</i> ‘rug’ (for wiping feet on)

A third way of forming a noun from a verb is by adding the prefix *pag-*, which turns the verb into what is called a GERUND in English. So *pagkanta* is ‘singing’, as in (163), and *pamanaw* is ‘walking’, as in (164).

(163) Masinlo tang pagkanta na.

‘Her singing is nice.’ or ‘She sings nicely.’

(164) Madasig tang pamanaw nira.

‘Their walking is fast.’ or ‘They walk fast.’

There are several ways to change words from one word class to another, in addition to the verb to noun examples given above. Adjective roots can be used to form verbs, noun roots can be used to form adjectives, a kind of noun that can be counted can be changed to an abstract or generic noun, etc. Some examples of these and other kinds of derivation are given in appendix 3.

3.4. Some additional word classes

A few additional word classes are considered in this final section. They are NEGATIVES, EXISTENTIALS, INTERROGATIVES, ADVERBS, PARTICLES, and CONJUNCTIONS. Each word class is explained and illustrated below.

3.4.1. Negatives

There are three kinds of commonly occurring negatives in Agutaynen statements and questions. The negative *anda* expresses the absence of something, as in (165) and (166). A second negative, *belag*, typically negates a quality, as in (167), or identity, as in (168). As illustrated in (168), when *belag* is followed by another full word or phrase, it becomes *belag ta*. A third negative, *indi*, typically negates an action, as in (169). It can also be used to express a lack of desire or intention, especially when used without an explicit verb, as in (170).

- | | | |
|--|---|--|
| (165) Anda ray koarta mo atan?
‘Don’t you have any money there?’ | — | <u>Anda</u> rang pisan!
‘None at all!’ |
| (166) Kiminabot da tanira?
‘Have they arrived?’ | — | <u>Anda</u> pa.
‘Not yet.’ |
| (167) Grabi tang masit na?
‘Is his illness serious?’ | — | <u>Belag</u> ka.
‘Not really.’ |
| (168) Si Pedro tang nandeg?
‘Was Pedro the one who won?’ | — | <u>Belag. Belag ta</u> si Pedro. Si Juan!
‘No. It wasn’t Pedro. It was Juan!’ |
| (169) <u>Indi</u> namangan tang mola.
‘The child didn’t eat.’ | | |
| (170) <u>India</u> ra galiliag ang tomabid?
‘Don’t you want to come along?’ | — | <u>Indio</u> !
‘No, I don’t (want to)!’ |

A fourth negative, *ayaw* ‘don’t’, usually occurs by itself in order to issue a prohibition, as in (171) and (172). Example (171) would occur in an environment where a parent was telling a child not to do something. The presence of *ayaw* in (172) communicates an added note of urgency.

(171) *Ayaw!*

‘Don’t!’

(172) *Ayaw! India ra tenled atan!*

‘No! Don’t go in there!’

The same form can also be used to express a strong wish that something not happen, as in (173).

(173) *Tomabido rin ong nindio ong damal. Ayaw lamang komoran.*

‘I would like to accompany you tomorrow. Just don’t let it rain/I sure hope it won’t rain.’

3.4.2. Existentials

The presence of something or someone is typically expressed by the existential word *may*, as in (174). A word for ‘many’ can be used in place of *may*, as in (175) and (176).

(174) May taw ong balay mandian.

‘There’s somebody at home now.’

(175) Dorong taw ong balay.

‘There are a lot of people at home now.’

(176) Yading taw ong balay mandian.

‘There are many people at home now.’

The word *may* does not occur by itself. If the Pparticipant is left implicit, then a location word such as *tani* ‘here’, *atan* ‘there (near)’ or *don* ‘there’ (far) is used, as in (177). The words for ‘many’, on the other hand, can occur in isolation, as in (178).

(177) *May taw ong balay mi mandian?*

‘Is there anybody at your house now?’

– May atan.

‘There is.’

(178) *May taw ong balay mi mandian?*

‘Is there anybody at your house now?’

– Yadi!

‘Lots!’

3.4.3. Interrogatives

Words used to ask questions are called interrogatives. Agutaynen interrogative words are listed in table 8. Note that most end with the form *-pa*.

Table 8. Interrogatives in Agutaynen

<i>onopa</i>	what
<i>tanopa</i>	when
<i>aripa</i>	where
<i>monopa</i>	how
<i>pirapa</i>	how much/many
<i>sinopa</i>	who
<i>ninopa</i>	whose
<i>ong ninopa</i>	to whom
<i>angay</i>	why
<i>komosta</i>	how is

Sample questions using each word are given in (179)–(192). Note that while *monopa* is a generic term for ‘how’ as in (182)–(183), *komosta* ‘how is’ is used for asking about the general well-being or quality of a participant, as in (191) and (192). *Pirapa* ‘how much/many’ is commonly used to ask the price of something as in (185) or the amount or number of something, as in (186).

(179) *Onopa tang bindoat na?/Onopay bindoat na?*

‘What did he do?’

(180) *Tanopa tanandia komabot?*

‘When will s/he arrive?’

(181) *Ong aripa napaning si Juan?*

‘Where did Juan go?’

(182) *Monopa tang pagpa-deng ta balay?*

‘How does one build a house?’

(183) *Monopa nata-wanan na?*

‘How did s/he find out?’

(184) *Monopag kabaal tang balay nira?*

‘How big is their house?’

(185) *Pirapa tang bayad mo ong nandia?*

‘How much did you pay him?’

(186) *Pirapang kilo tang nakomit mi?*

‘How many kilos did you get?’

- (187) Sinopa tang kandidato mo?
‘Who is your candidate? (Which one do you favor?)’
- (188) Ninopa tang manong narin?
‘Whose chicken is this?’
- (189) Ong ninopa sindol?
‘To whom was it given?’
- (190) Angay bato indi tanandia napaning?
‘Why do you suppose s/he didn’t come?’
- (191) Komosta tanira?
‘How are they?’
- (192) Komosta tang pa-bat nira?
‘What kind of harvest did they have?’

The questions in (179)–(192) are all called *CONTENT QUESTIONS*, because they ask for a response that requires substantive content, such as the amount, state, quality, time, location, or owner of something. Another kind of question is the *YES-NO QUESTION*, which expects a positive or negative response. Yes-No questions may be formed by using a rising intonation (indicated by a question mark) on what would otherwise be a statement, as in (193). Any of the three options in (194) are possible positive responses. Similarly, any of the three responses in (195) are possible negative responses.

Yes-No question by rising intonation

- (193) Siminabid tanandia ong Villa Fria?
‘Did he go along to Villa Fria?’

Possible positive responses

- | | | | | |
|-----------------------|---|--------|---|------------------|
| (194) Ee, siminabid. | — | Ee. | — | Siminabid. |
| ‘Yes, he went along.’ | | ‘Yes.’ | | ‘He went along.’ |

Possible negative responses

- | | | | | |
|-----------------------------|---|-------|---|-----------------|
| (195) Anda, indi siminabid. | — | Anda. | — | Indi siminabid. |
| ‘No, he didn’t go along.’ | | ‘No.’ | | ‘He didn’t go.’ |

It is also possible to use the word *onopa* ‘what’ to introduce a question as in (196)–(198).

Yes-No questions with onopa as explicit question marker

- (196) Onopa, siminabid tanandia ong Villa Fria?
‘Did he go along to Villa Fria?’
- (197) Onopa, indi pa gakabot tang paray ang nagalin ong San Vicente?
‘Hasn’t the rice arrived yet from San Vicente?’

- (198) Mga komabot tang logod mo magalin ong Manila onopa, ong balay mi tanira koma-yat?
 ‘When your brother arrives from Manila what (will happen), will they stay at your house?’

The word *onopa* is also noteworthy in that it can be affixed and used as a verb. It takes the meaning ‘do’ as in (199), or ‘happen’, as in (200). It can also mean ‘say’, as in (201).

- (199) Mandopa tanandia?
 ‘What will he do?’

- (200) Indi tanandia naonopa.
 ‘Nothing happened to him/her. (No harm came to him/her.)’

- (201) Gonopa si Mayor?
 ‘What does the Mayor say?’

Pronouns may come between an interrogative root and its final *-pa*. When the pronoun consists of a single vowel, the interrogative is still usually written as one word, as in (202)–(204).

- (202) Sinoapa?
 ‘Who are you?’

- (203) Ariapa paning?
 ‘Where are you going?’

- (204) Tanoapa kiminabot?
 ‘When did you arrive?’

In other cases, *-pa* may be written separately, as in (205)–(207).

- (205) Ondion mo pa?
 ‘What will you do with it?’

- (206) Inono na pa?
 ‘What did she do to it?’

- (207) Ari amo pa?
 ‘Where are you (plural)?’

This *-pa* may be replaced by the particle *ra* ‘already’, as in (208) and (209).

- (208) Onora lamang tang boaten mo mandian?
 ‘What in the world will you do now?’

- (209) Pirarang bisis tanandia nandeg?
 ‘How many times has he won already?’

3.4.4. Adverbs and adverbial phrases

Adverbs typically modify or give information about how, when or where something occurs. These ADVERBS OF MANNER, TIME, or LOCATION are closely linked with the predicate.

ADVERBS OF SPEAKER ATTITUDE, on the other hand, give information about whether the speaker or writer desires that something happen. Each of these types of adverbs is discussed in this section.

Adverbs of manner are words like *golpi* ‘suddenly’ or *pirmi* ‘always’, which come before the verb and are linked to it by the linker *ang*, as in (210) and (211).

(210) Golping kiminabot tang maistra.

‘The teacher suddenly arrived.’

(211) Pirming pamangan tang baboy.

‘The pig is always eating.’

It is also possible to have adverbial phrases of manner consisting of an adjective introduced by the marker *ta*, as in (212) and (213). These adverbial phrases usually occur at the end of a sentence.

(212) Nagkanta tanandia ta masinlo.

‘She sang nicely.’

(213) Napanaw tang mola ta madasig.

‘The child walked quickly.’

Adverbial phrases are used less frequently than simple adjectives in nonverbal sentences. More common than (212) and (213), for instance, would be (214) and (215).

(214) Masinlo tang pagkanta na.

‘She sang nicely.’ (Literally, ‘Her singing was nice.’)

(215) Madasig tang pamanaw nira.

‘They walked quickly.’ (Literally, ‘Their walking was quick.’)

Adverbs of time are words that tell something about when an event takes place. Specific examples are *nongaina* ‘earlier (same day)’ or *lagat-lagat* ‘later (same day)’, as in (216) and (217). Adverbs of time do not take the linker *ang* or the marker *ta*.

(216) Nongaina lamang kiminabot tang maistra.

‘The teacher arrived just a little while ago.’

(217) Mamasiaro ong nindio lagat-lagat.

‘I will visit you later (today).’

Adverbs of location tell about where something happens. The primary adverbs of location are *tani* ‘here close to speaker’, *atan* ‘there close to hearer’, and *don* ‘there farther removed’. These words may be used by themselves, as in (218)–(220), or together with an *ong* phrase to specify a particular location, as in (221)–(223).

(218) Paninga tani!

‘Come here!’

(219) Pandoapa atan?

‘What are you doing there?’

(220) Loma-tedo don.

‘I will transfer there (away from speaker and hearer).’

(221) Pakaronga tani ong tepado!

‘Sit here beside me!’

(222) I-tang mo lamang atan ong lamisan.

‘Just put it there on the table.’

(223) Mamasiaro don ong balay nira.

‘I will take a stroll over to their house.’

Adverbs of speaker attitude indicate whether the speaker or writer desires that something favorable happen, or rather is warning that something undesirable might happen. The two main adverbs of speaker attitude are *balampa* (favorable), as in (224) and (225), versus *itaben* (unfavorable), as in (226) and (227).

(224) Balampa masinlo tang pagkabetang mi atan.

‘I hope that you are doing well.’ (Literally, ‘I hope that your situation is good there.’)

(225) Balampa komabot ka tanandia.

‘I do hope that he will arrive.’

(226) Pandama atan, itaben mabo-loga.

‘Take care there, you might fall.’

(227) Pirming kokoran. Itaben mamā.

‘It’s always raining. It might flood.’

3.4.5. Particles

Particles are a small group of commonly occurring, unaffixed, one or two-syllable words that are neither nouns nor verbs. They typically give information about the timing, completion, or intensity of a predicate, or the speaker or writer’s attitude toward the content of the sentence. Two very common Agutaynen particles related to timing and completion are *pa* ‘still/yet’ and *da* ‘now/already’, as in (228)–(231). The particle *da* is often used with past tense verbs in a way that emphasizes completion, as in (230). It is also commonly used with verb roots with a stative meaning, as in (231). The particle *pa* can also be used to mean ‘additionally’ or ‘what’s more’, as in (232).

(228) Pagini-yak pa tang molang ge-ley.

‘The baby is still crying.’

(229) Indi pa gata-wanan na.

‘He doesn’t know yet.’

(230) Nakabot da tang padi.
‘The priest has (already) arrived.’

(231) Lotok da tang yan.
‘The fish is cooked (now).’

(232) Masabor tang pamangan don. Barato pa.
‘The food there is delicious. And it’s cheap, too.’

The time related particle *lagi* ‘immediately’ is illustrated in (233)–(235). It is frequently used in conjunction with the particle *ka* (in its forms *kay* or *kang*), which diminishes its intensity.

(233) Nataposong lagi.
‘I finished it right away.’

(234) Taposono kay lagi naning mga gobraeno.
‘I’ll just finish up these things I’m working on first.’

(235) Boaten mo kang lagi patigayon.
‘Please do it now.’

Some particles indicate the degree of intensity to which something is true. For instance, the particle *lamang* ‘just/only’ diminishes intensity, as in (236) and (237), while *pisan* ‘extremely’ increases it, as in (238). The particle *enged* ‘really’ makes a statement more emphatic, as in (239).

(236) Ge-ley lamang tang balayo.
‘My house is just small.’

(237) Bakalen mo ra lamang. Barato lamang sia!
‘Just buy it. That’s (just) cheap!’

(238) Matambek ang pisan tang baboy nira!
‘Their pig is really fat!’

(239) Palona enged ni Tatay mo!
‘Your Father is going to spank you for sure!’

Some particles indicate that the speaker is making a response in agreement or disagreement. Particles of agreement include *ka*, *kaman*, *ka kaman*, and *ngani*, as in (240)–(242). The form *ngani* indicates strong agreement in (242). The form *ka* can diminish the intensity of a statement in such a way that it indicates otherwise unexpressed reservations on the part of the speaker, as in (243). The particle *baya*, in contrast, indicates strong insistence in the face of possible disagreement, as in (244).

(240) Masinlo tang balay ang na! — Masinlo kaman.
‘This house is nice!’ ‘(Yes), it is nice.’

- (241) Mo-yang damal-damal! — Mo-ya ka!/ Mo-ya ka kaman!
 ‘Good morning!’ ‘Good morning to you, too!’
- (242) Masinlo tang balay ang na. — Masinlo ngani!
 ‘This house is nice.’ ‘It really is very nice!’
- (243) Masinlo tang balay? — Masinlo ka.
 ‘Is the house nice?’ ‘(Yes), it’s (acceptably) nice.’
- (244) Masinlo tang balay? — Masinlo baya!
 ‘Is the house nice?’ ‘(You better believe) it’s nice!’

The particle *din* (or *ka rin*) indicates a desire on the part of the speaker or writer, as in (245)–(247).

- (245) Mamakalo rin ta baboy.
 ‘I would like to buy a pig.’
- (246) Nagigampango rin ong nandia piro indi kinabotano!
 ‘I wanted to talk with her but I didn’t reach her (before she left).’
- (247) Sirigoilas ka rin!
 ‘Oh, for some Java plums!’

Some particles indicate that the speaker or writer is either uncertain or surprised about something, as with *bato* ‘do you suppose’ in (248) and (249), and *pala* ‘so!./after all!’ in (250).

- (248) Angay bato indi pa golik si Tatay?
 ‘Why do you suppose Father has not yet come home?’
- (249) Masabor bato tang pamangan ang na?
 ‘Do you suppose this food is good?’
- (250) Masabor pala!
 ‘Oh, it IS good!’

The particle *man* indicates that even if one thing holds true, something else will be the case, as in (251) and (252).

- (251) Mambael man, ge-ley pa ka enged.
 ‘Even if it grows up, it will still be little.’
- (252) Paninga man don, india pa-leden nira.
 ‘Even if you go there, they won’t let you in.’

A different kind of grammatical particle *ay* is sometimes used to indicate that the topic of a sentence comes first for special effect, instead of the usual order of the predicate appearing first, as in (253) and (254). The topic comes first especially when the speaker or writer is

introducing it for the first time, or offering a description of it. The use of *ay* under these circumstances is optional.

(253) ‘Ang baboy amen ay napatay nongapon.’

‘Our pig died yesterday.’ or ‘As for our pig, it died yesterday.’

(254) Ang balay nira ay nalangga ra.

‘Their house has been destroyed.’ or ‘As for their house, it’s been destroyed.’

Sometimes the particle *ay* is also used at the end of a phrase formed by an interrogative and a content word, as in (255) and (256). In these cases, the *ay* is written joined onto the word it follows.

(255) Onopang klasiay ta protas tang bakalen mo?

‘What kind of fruit will you buy?’

(256) Onopang bolanay tang adalem tang talsi?

‘Which month is the ocean the deepest?’

3.4.6. Simple conjunctions

Conjunctions are words that connect sentences or similar parts of a sentence with each other. Simple coordinating conjunctions are *may* and *ig*, both meaning ‘and’. The conjunction *may* is less common, and usually connects a pair of similar nouns, as in (257) and (258). *Ig* is the more common word for ‘and’, as in (259) and (260). *Asta* ‘and (also)’ is similar to *ig*, and is typically used at the end of a list, as in (261).

(257) Kosi may kiro tang pirming agkayamen tang mga mola.

‘Cats and dogs are what children always play with.’

(258) Mangomita kay ta kotsara may tinidor.

‘Please get a spoon and a fork.’

(259) Dinapan na tang pamangan ig bintang na ong aparador.

‘He covered the food and put it in the cupboard.’

(260) Pinalabi na si manong ig belag ta yo.

‘She favored (my) elder brother and not me.’

(261) Mamakalo ta protas, golay, karni asta gatas.

‘I will buy fruit, vegetables, meat and milk.’

The conjunction *obin* ‘or’ indicates an alternative, as in (262) and (263).

(262) Ong aypa tang mas masinlo—ang masinggi obin ang kolit?

‘Which one is prettier—the red one or the white one?’

(263) Magmotora obin magpanawa ra lamang?

‘Will you go by motorcycle or will you just walk?’

3.4.7. Conjunctions in complex sentences

Some Agutaynen conjunctions that commonly join sentences are illustrated in this section. These conjunctions indicate how one event or idea in the sentence is temporally or logically related to another event or idea. Although they usually occur in the middle of a sentence, they can also occur at the beginning. The conjunction *ba-lo* ‘before’ marks a sequence, as in (264), as do *oman* and *tapos*, both meaning ‘then’ in (265) and (266). The conjunctions *mintras* ‘while’ and *asta* ‘until’ indicate a duration of time, as in (267) and (268).

(264) Oगतano mo kay tang daing ba-lo priton.

‘Please rinse the dried fish before frying it.’

(265) Kiminabot tanira ong Cuyo oman namagdiritso ong Agutaya.

‘They arrived on Cuyo and then went directly to Agutaya.’

(266) Mango-koda ta nioy tapos lameten mo kay.

‘Grate a coconut, and then squeeze it to get out the milk.’

(267) Pagbasa tang mola mintras pamangan.

‘The child is reading while eating.’

(268) Nagbantay tang kiro asta naramal.

‘The dog stood guard until dawn.’

Other conjunctions mark logical relations. The conjunction *mga* ‘if’ marks a condition, as in (269). In (270) and (271) *tenged* ‘because’ marks a reason. In (272) *piro* ‘but’ marks a contrast. In (273) *kondi* ‘but rather’ marks a contrast that specifies an alternative. In (274) and (275) *agod* and *para* ‘so’ mark a purpose, and in (276) *animan* ‘therefore’ marks a result.

(269) Mga india magderep ong nigosio mo, malogia lamang.

‘If you don’t work hard in your business, you will just lose money.’

(270) Indio napaning tenged dorong obrao.

‘I wasn’t able to go because I had so much work to do.’

(271) Tenged korang tang koarta na, indi mapamakal ta sapatos na.

‘Because his money is lacking, he won’t be able to buy shoes.’

(272) Si Tatay boi pa, piro si Nanay patay da.

‘Father is still living, but Mother has already passed away.’

(273) Indio siminabid ong bokid, kondi nanilawo ra lamang.

‘I didn’t go along to the field, but rather I just went fishing.’

(274) Magadal ita ta mo-ya agod mapasar ita.

‘Let’s study hard so we will pass.’

(275) Mamangana ta mo-ya para manambeka.

‘Eat well so you will grow fat/healthy.’

(276) Nagadal tanandia ta mo-ya, animan napasas ka.

‘He studied hard, therefore he passed.’

4. Conclusion

This overview of the grammatical structure of the Agutaynen language briefly considered the place of Agutaynen as a Philippine language and as part of the Austronesian language family. After outlining the sounds and spelling of the language, it concentrated on specific grammatical structures. Agutaynen simple sentences consist of a predicate and one or more Pparticipants. Predicates typically consist of verbs, but can also be nouns, adjectives, or other phrases that specify such information as time or location. Participants may be simply assumed, or appear overtly as noun phrases or pronouns. The three most basic types of participants are actor, undergoer, and goal. Other possible participant types include referent, location, beneficiary, and instrument. The most complex part of Agutaynen grammar has to do with verb affixation. Sets of verbal affixes indicate whether something is done intentionally (indicative) or happens accidentally or potentially (abilitative). The same set of affixes also mark tense (past, present, future), and most particularly focus (which indicates the role of that sentence’s selected topic—a specially marked participant closely associated with the verb). Each type of participant has a possible corresponding focus of its own: actor focus is more focused on what the actor does, undergoer focus is more focused on what happens to the undergoer, etc. Verb affixes may also specify if the topic is plural, or if an action is reflexive (two or more participants doing the same thing to each other) or social (done in reference to a larger group). Sometimes verb roots are used without affixation for special effect. It is also possible to form nouns from verbs by various means. Finally, this overview briefly considered various other word classes—namely, negatives, existentials, interrogatives, adverbials, particles, and conjunctions.

Much more remains to be described of the rich grammatical system of the Agutaynen language. Particles, relative clauses, adverbials, processes for deriving one word class from another, variation in the use of the noun marker *tang/ang*, the use of expressions or interjections, and verb classes and their affixes are some of the topics that deserve further analysis by future Agutaynen linguists. Meanwhile, this overview—prepared especially for inclusion in the Agutaynen-English Dictionary (yet to appear)—is offered as a current resource to all who wish to learn more about the Agutaynen language.

Appendix 1: Some Agutaynen sound patterns

Syllable patterns

There are four basic syllable patterns in Agutaynen: V, VC, CV and CVC, with the latter two being the most frequent patterns. The majority of roots are bisyllabic, although some have three or four syllables. Following are examples of each syllable type written in standard orthography. (The sequence *ng* stands for the velar nasal /ŋ/, and the letter *e* represents the high central vowel /i/.)

CV

<i>pa</i>	‘still, yet’
<i>da</i>	‘already’
<i>si</i>	Personal Nominative Marker

CV.V (no intervening glottal)

<i>wī</i>	‘water’
<i>bā</i>	‘flood’

CV.VC (no intervening glottal)

<i>dōn</i>	‘there’
<i>māl</i>	‘expensive’
<i>tēb</i>	‘high tide’

CV.CVC

<i>Langit</i>	‘sky’
<i>koran</i>	‘rain’
<i>tanek</i>	‘land’

CVC.CVC

<i>ki-lep</i>	‘dark’
<i>doldol</i>	‘thunder’
<i>belkag</i>	‘molar’

V.CVC (optional initial glottal if utterance-initial)

<i>onom</i>	‘cloud’
<i>eyep</i>	‘blow’
<i>abel</i>	‘cloth’

VC.CVC (optional initial glottal if utterance-initial)

<i>ambon</i>	‘fog, mist’
<i>anloy</i>	‘comb’
<i>almang</i>	‘kind of sea snake’

CV.CV.CV(C)

kanino 'shadow'*bitokon* 'star'*palangat* 'fly (insect)'

(C)V.CV.CV.CV(C)

alibotod 'seed'*alimango* 'crab'*kalipapa* 'wing'*dalomasig* 'cockroach'**Permissible sequences**

As demonstrated in the above words, consonant clusters are generally not allowed within a syllable. Some borrowed words break this rule, however, to allow the sequence *Cr* as in *brait* 'intelligent', *traidor* 'dishonest person' and *kriminal* 'criminal'. The sequence *ts* (pronounced much as English 'ch') is also allowed in borrowings such, as in *tsopa* 'cup measure' and *tsismis* 'gossip'.

Consonant sequences across syllable boundaries are restricted by the following general rule: Only the glottal stop, the voiced velar stop *g*, or a sonorant *l*, *r*, *m*, *n*, *ng* is permissible before another consonant. The *g* segment occurs especially frequently due to its presence in two common verbal prefixes, *mag-* and *ag-*. Some speakers substitute glottal stops for these occurrences of *g*. Reduplicated stems may break the above generalization, as in *lebleb* 'wall' and *bedbed* 'sew'.

Stress

Stress falls predictably on the penultimate syllable of words in isolated elicitation. Although it has not been formally investigated, it seems that placement of stress occurs more on a sentence or phrase level rather than on the word level. Stress on individual words loses importance in an extended utterance.

Some ways sounds affect each other

The following examples illustrate various common phonological processes, or ways in which certain sounds influence neighboring sounds.

NASAL ASSIMILATION

<i>mang-</i>	<i>alap</i>	‘pick’	<i>mangalap</i>	‘to pick’
	<i>bakal</i>	‘buy’	<i>mamakal</i>	‘to buy’
	<i>Puerto</i>	‘city name’	<i>mamuerto</i>	‘to travel to Puerto’
	<i>sikad</i>	‘run’	<i>manikad</i>	‘to run’
	<i>delep</i>	‘swim’	<i>mandelep</i>	‘to swim’
	<i>ko-kod</i>	‘grate’	<i>mango-kod</i>	‘to grate’
<i>-imin-</i>	<i>koran</i>	‘rain’	<i>kiminoran</i>	‘rained’
	<i>lobog</i>	‘lie’	<i>limimbog</i>	‘lay down’
	<i>lopok</i>	‘explode’	<i>limimpok</i>	‘exploded’
	<i>teled</i>	‘enter’	<i>siminled</i>	‘entered’
	<i>tokaw</i>	‘go first’	<i>simingkaw</i>	‘went first’
<i>-om-/-em-</i>	<i>koran</i>	‘rain’	<i>komoran</i>	‘to rain’
	<i>lobog</i>	‘lie’	<i>lombog</i>	‘to lie down’
	<i>lopok</i>	‘explode’	<i>lompok</i>	‘to explode’
	<i>teled</i>	‘enter’	<i>tenled</i>	‘to enter’
	<i>tokaw</i>	‘go first’	<i>tongkaw</i>	‘to go first’

A syllable-final nasal assimilates to the point of articulation of a following consonant. (In the case of *-ng* assimilation, a following *b*, *p*, *s* or *k* drops out completely).

Vowel deletion

<i>Balet</i>	+ <i>-en</i>	→	<i>balten</i>	‘to respond to/pay back’
<i>Telet</i>	+ <i>-an</i>	→	<i>teltan</i>	‘to replace/substitute’
<i>Betang</i>	+ <i>-in-</i>	→	<i>bintang</i>	‘put/placed’
<i>Lo</i>	+ <i>lobog</i>	→	<i>lolbog</i>	‘is lying down’

A word-medial *e* or *o* drops out when a verb affix would otherwise create a three-syllable word.

Vowel deletion and metathesis

<i>pa-</i>	+ <i>belag</i>	→	<i>palbag</i>	‘to separate’
<i>pa-</i>	+ <i>belet</i>	→	<i>palbet</i>	‘to loan’

The sequence *bel* becomes *lb* after Vowel Deletion.

Vowel deletion and consonant cluster simplification

<i>i-</i>	+ <u>p</u> elek	→	<i>i-</i> lek	‘to throw out’
<i>na-</i>	+ <u>p</u> etek	→	<i>na-</i> tek	‘was shattered’
<i>te-</i>	+ <u>t</u> eled	→	<i>te-</i> led	‘is entering’
<i>lobot</i>	+ <u>-on</u>	→	<i>lo-</i> ton	‘to use up completely’
<i>to-</i>	+ <u>t</u> okaw	→	<i>to-</i> kaw	‘is going first’

A *b*, *p*, or *t* becomes a glottal stop before another consonant after vowel deletion.

*Strengthening***r → d**

<i>torol</i>	‘give’	<i>mandol</i>	‘to distribute’ actor focus
		<i>i-dol</i>	‘to give’ Undergoer focus
		<i>pa-dolon</i>	‘to ask for’ undergoer focus
<i>kereng</i>	‘stand’	<i>ke-deng</i>	‘standing’
		<i>kimindeng</i>	‘stood’

l → d

<i>telek</i>	‘watch’	<i>pa-dek</i>	‘look at’
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An *r* or *l* becomes *d* after a consonant. (Note: *i-dol*, *pa-dolon* and *pa-dek* also illustrate vowel deletion and consonant cluster simplification.)

*Spirantization***t → s**

<i>torol</i>	‘give’	<i>sindol</i>	‘gave’ undergoer focus
<i>tabid</i>	‘go with’	<i>siminabid</i> ~ <i>timinabid</i>	‘went along with’
<i>takaw</i>	‘steal’	<i>sinakaw</i> ~ <i>tinakaw</i>	‘stole’

A *t* optionally spirantizes to *s* before a high front vowel.

Appendix 2: Some Agutaynen verb affix sets**Actor focus sets**

Actor Focus	Set 1	Set 2	Set 3	Set 4
Future	<i>mag-</i>	<i>mang-</i>	<i>-om-</i>	<i>m-</i>
Present	<i>pag-</i>	<i>pang-</i>	<i>CV-</i>	<i>g-</i>
Past	<i>nag-</i>	<i>nang-</i>	<i>-imin-</i>	<i>min-</i>

(A final velar nasal in a prefix assimilates to the point of articulation of a following consonant, which then deletes. For example: /*mang-potol*/ → /*mamotol*/.)

Actor Focus Abilitative	Set 1	Set 2	Sets 3 and 4
Future	<i>mapag-</i>	<i>mapang-</i>	<i>ma-</i>
Present	<i>gapag-</i>	<i>gapang-</i>	<i>ga-</i>
Past	<i>napag-</i>	<i>napang-</i>	<i>na-</i>

(Abilitative prefixes for Sets 3 and 4 have long [aa], with no intervening glottal.)

Actor Focus Plural	Set 1	Set 2	Sets 3 and 4
Future	<i>mamag-</i>	<i>mamang-</i>	<i>mamansi-</i>
Present	<i>pamag-</i>	<i>pamang-</i>	<i>pamansi-</i>
Past	<i>namag-</i>	<i>namang-</i>	<i>namansi-</i>

(Plural forms are optional, although fairly common in Actor Focus.)

Actor Focus Plural Abilitative	Set 1	Set 2	Sets 3 and 4
Future	<i>mapamag-</i>	<i>mapamang-</i>	<i>manga-</i>
Present	<i>gapamag-</i>	<i>gapamang-</i>	<i>ganga-</i>
Past	<i>napamag-</i>	<i>napamang-</i>	<i>nanga-</i>

Other Actor Focus	Social	Reciprocal
Future	<i>magig-</i>	<i>ma(ma)g- (-Vr-)* -an</i>
Present	<i>pagig-</i>	<i>pa(ma)g- (-Vr-) -an</i>
Past	<i>nagig-</i>	<i>na(ma)g- (-Vr-) -an</i>

(*-Vr- is a copy of the first vowel of the verb root, followed by an /r/. This infix is optional, as is the *ma* sequence in the prefix. Both add further to the sense of plurality. Examples: *magsoayan*, *mamagsoayan*, *magsoroayan*, and *mamagsoroayan* are all possible ways of saying ‘they will fight each other’. The first option is more likely to be used for two people or for a small group. The last option is more likely to be used for a larger group.)

Other Actor Focus Abilitative	Social	Reciprocal
Future	<i>mapagig-</i>	<i>mapa(ma)g- (-Vr-) -an</i>
Present	<i>gapagig-</i>	<i>gapa(ma)g- (-Vr-) -an</i>
Past	<i>napagig-</i>	<i>napa(ma)g- (-Vr-) -an</i>

Future forms of sample actor focus verbs

Actor Focus	Set 1	Set 2	Set 3	Set 4
Root	<i>adal</i> 'study'	<i>koma</i> 'farm'	<i>tabid</i> 'accompany'	<i>olik</i> 'go home'
Simple	<i>magadal</i>	<i>mangoma</i>	<i>tomabid</i>	<i>molik</i>
Abilitative	<i>mapagadal</i>	<i>mapangoma</i>	<i>matabid</i>	<i>maolik</i>
Plural	<i>mamagadal</i>	<i>mamangoma</i>	<i>mamansitabid</i>	<i>mamansiolik</i>
Pl. Abil.	<i>mapamagadal</i>	<i>mapamangoma</i>	<i>mangatabid</i>	<i>mangaolik</i>

Root	Social 'join in with'	Social Abilitative
<i>tabid</i> 'accompany'	<i>magigtabid</i>	<i>mapagigtabid</i>

Root	Reciprocal 'go together'	Reciprocal Abilitative
<i>tabid</i> 'accompany'	<i>magtabidan</i>	<i>mapagtabidan</i>
	<i>magtarabidan</i>	<i>mapagtarabidan</i>
	<i>mamagtabidan</i>	<i>mapamagtabidan</i>
	<i>mamagtarabidan</i>	<i>mapamagtarabidan</i>

Undergoer focus sets

Indicative	Set 1	Set 2
Future	<i>i-</i>	<i>-en, -on*</i>
Present	<i>agCV- **</i>	<i>ag- -en, ag- -on</i>
Past	<i>-in-</i>	<i>-in-</i>

(*The choice between *-en* and *-on* seems largely to be one of vowel harmony, for instance *petek-en* 'shatter' but *lotok-on* 'cook'. **CV stands for the first consonant and vowel of the verb root, which are copied as part of the affix to indicate present tense.)

Abilitative	Sets 1 and 2
Future	<i>ma-</i>
Present	<i>ga-</i>
Past	<i>na-</i>

(Abilitative prefixes for undergoer focus verbs have short [a] in future and past, long [aa] in present.)

Plural Indicative	Set 1	Set 2
Future	<i>ipang-</i>	<i>pang- -en, pang- -on</i>
Present	<i>agpang-</i>	<i>agpang- -en, agpang- -on</i>
Past	<i>pinang-</i>	<i>pinang-</i>

Plural Abilitative	Sets 1 and 2
Future	<i>mapang-</i>
Present	<i>gapang-</i>
Past	<i>napang-</i>

(Plural forms are optional, and only rarely used in nonactor focus verbs.)

Affix sets for other focus types

Indicative

Goal/Beneficiary	Beneficiary/Location/Referent	Instrument
<i>-an</i>	<i>-an, pag- -an</i>	<i>i-</i>
<i>ag- -an</i>	<i>ag- -an, agpag- -an</i>	<i>agCV-</i>
<i>-in- -an</i>	<i>-in- -an, pinag- -an</i>	<i>-in-</i>

Abilitative

Goal/Beneficiary	Beneficiary/Location/Referent	Instrument
ma- -an	ma- -an, mapag- -an	ma-, mapang-
ga- -an	ga- -an, gapag- -an	ga-, gapang-
na- -an	na- -an, napag- -an	na-, napang-

Plural indicative

Goal/Beneficiary	Beneficiary/Location/Referent	Instrument
pang- -an	pang- -an, pag- -Vr- -an	ipang-
agpang- -an	agpang- -an, agpag- -Vr- -an	agpang-
pinang- -an	pinang- -an, pinag- -Vr- -an	pinang-

Plural abilitative

Goal/Beneficiary	Beneficiary/Location/Referent	Instrument
mapang- -an	mapang- -an, mapag- -Vr- -an	mapang-
gapang- -an	gapang- -an, gapag- -Vr- -an	gapang-
napang- -an	napang- -an, napag- -Vr- -an	napang-

Future forms of sample non-actor focus verbs

	Undergoer1	Undergoer2	Goal	Referent
Gloss	'include'	'shatter'	'look at'	'fight over'
Simple	itabid	peteken	telekan	pagsoayan
Abil	matabid	mapetek	matelekan	mapagsoayan
Plural	ipanabid	pameteken	panelekan	pagsoroayan
Pl Abil	mapanabid	mapametek	mapanelekan	mapagsoroayan

Appendix 3: Some examples of derivational morphology

The following are illustrative examples of roots from one word class being changed to another through affixation.

Count nouns changed to collective nouns by adding ka- -an

NOUN		COLLECTIVE NOUNS	
<i>nioy</i>	coconut	<i>kanioyan</i>	coconut grove
<i>kamosi</i>	kamote	<i>kakamosian</i>	kamote patch
<i>mepet</i>	old person	<i>kamepetan</i>	the elderly
<i>mola</i>	young person	<i>mamola/ kamamolan</i>	children

N₁→N₂: Noun roots changed into related nouns

NOUN1		NOUN2	
<i>yan</i>	fish	<i>manigyan</i>	fisherman
<i>taw</i>	personhood	<i>pagkataw</i>	personhood/character
<i>bolong</i>	medicine	<i>kamomolong</i>	healer
<i>adi</i>	king	<i>inadian</i>	kingdom

N→Adj: Noun roots changed into adjectives

NOUN		ADJECTIVE	
<i>nem</i>	inner being	<i>neman</i>	kind, thoughtful
<i>tambek</i>	fat	<i>matambek</i>	fat/healthy
<i>Dios</i>	God	<i>madinioson</i>	godly

Adj→Noun: Adjective roots changed into nouns

ADJECTIVE		NOUN	
<i>mambeng</i>	happy	<i>kambengan</i>	happiness
<i>masinlo</i>	pretty	<i>kasinloan</i>	beauty
<i>mo-ya</i>	good	<i>kao-yan</i>	goodness
<i>adalem</i>	deep	<i>kadadalman</i>	the depths
<i>mabanglo</i>	fragrant	<i>pabanglo</i>	perfume

N→V: Noun roots changed to verbs

NOUN		VERB	
<i>kodal</i>	fence	<i>magkodal</i>	make/build a fence
<i>dogo</i>	blood	<i>pagdogo</i>	bleed/is bleeding
<i>paod</i>	leaf roofing shingle	<i>mamaod</i>	make leaf roofing shingles
<i>bolong</i>	medicine	<i>bolongon</i>	treat (medically)
<i>asokar</i>	sugar	<i>asokaran</i>	add sugar to
<i>langgaw</i>	vinegar	<i>langgawen (teba)</i>	make (<i>tuba</i>) into vinegar

V→N: Verb roots changed to nouns

VERB		NOUN	
<i>ondiot</i>	climb up	<i>manigondiot</i>	climber
<i>daya</i>	cheat/trick	<i>dayador</i>	cheater/trickster
<i>ko-kod</i>	grate	<i>ko-kodan</i>	instrument for grating
<i>babak</i>	descend	<i>babakan</i>	bottom/downstairs
<i>tampet</i>	dock	<i>tarampetan</i>	docking place
<i>tāy</i>	ride	<i>tarayan</i>	vehicle
<i>betang</i>	place/put	<i>beretangan</i>	container
<i>boat</i>	do/make	<i>boroaten</i>	deeds
<i>sikad</i>	run	<i>palagsinikadan</i>	race track
<i>lotok</i>	cook	<i>paraglotokan</i>	something to cook in/on
		<i>paglotok</i>	cooking
		<i>paraglotokon</i>	way of cooking
<i>tayaw</i>	dance	<i>manigtayaw</i>	dancer
		<i>pagtayaw</i>	dancing
		<i>paragtayawen</i>	style of dancing
<i>loak</i>	plant	<i>iloloak</i>	plants
		<i>loloakan</i>	(rice) field
<i>abri</i>	open	<i>pangabri</i>	opener
<i>sagang</i>	block/hinder	<i>panagang</i>	shield/amulet
<i>bedbed</i>	sew	<i>manigbedbed</i>	one who sews
		<i>beredbeden</i>	things to sew
<i>inem</i>	drink	<i>irinemen</i>	drinks
<i>bakal</i>	buy	<i>barakalen</i>	merchandise
		<i>manigpabakal</i>	salesperson
<i>talpo</i>	wash clothes	<i>taralpoan</i>	laundry (to be done)
		<i>tinalpoan/sinalpoan</i>	laundry (already done)
		<i>paranalpoan</i>	sth to wash clothes in

<i>panaw</i>	walk	<i>pamanaw</i>	manner of walking
		<i>paranawan</i>	way, path
<i>penay</i>	rest	<i>igperenay</i>	rest time
<i>olik</i>	go home	<i>igorolik/orolikan</i>	going home time
<i>ayeg</i>	harvest	<i>pangangayeg</i>	harvest time
<i>bagat</i>	meet	<i>pagbaragatan</i>	the time/event of meeting
		<i>paragabatan</i>	meeting place
<i>patay</i>	die	<i>kamatayen</i>	death
		<i>kinamatay</i>	cause of death

V→Adj: Verb roots changed into adjectives

VERB		ADJECTIVE	
<i>i-yak</i>	cry	<i>palai-yak</i>	cries easily
<i>inem</i>	drink	<i>palainem</i>	fond of drinking
<i>bakal</i>	buy	<i>mabakal</i>	easy to sell
<i>talig</i>	trust	<i>matataligan</i>	trustworthy
<i>silag</i>	be angry	<i>masisilagen</i>	grouchy/easily angered
<i>pasinsia</i>	forgive	<i>mapinasinsiaen</i>	patient/forgiving
<i>pababak</i>	bring down	<i>mapinababaken</i>	humble
		<i>ta nem</i>	
<i>ayeg</i>	harvest	<i>arayegen</i>	ready to be harvested
<i>panaw</i>	walk	<i>paranawen</i>	can be walked
<i>kabot</i>	arrive	<i>parakaboton</i>	expected to arrive

Adj→V: Adjective roots changed to verbs

ADJECTIVE		VERB	
<i>mabael</i>	big	<i>mambael</i>	grow bigger
		<i>pabaelen</i>	make bigger
<i>mo-ya</i>	good	<i>mago-ya</i>	get better
		<i>pao-yaen</i>	fix/make better
<i>malemek</i>	soft	<i>palemeken</i>	make soft/soften
<i>neman</i>	well-behaved	<i>magpanem-nem</i>	be good

Adv→V: Adverb roots changed to verbs**ADVERB***golpi**madasig**loay-loay**oman*

suddenly

quickly

slowly

then

VERB*nagolpian**padasigen**loay-loayan**omanen*

startled

make faster

make slower

do over

Appendix 4: Publications

4.1. Some Agutaynen-related publications

- Hendrickson, Gail R. and Melissa S. Melvin. 1999. Child-giving and child-receiving in a lowland Philippine society. *Studies in Agutaynen, Part II. Studies in Philippine Languages and Cultures* 11(1):91–113. Available for download at:
http://www.sil.org/asia/philippines/plb_download.html#agn
- Quakenbush, J. Stephen. 1989. *Language use and proficiency in a multilingual setting: A sociolinguistic survey of Agutaynen speakers in Palawan, Philippines*. LSP Special Monograph 28. Manila: Linguistic Society of the Philippines. Available for download at:
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- Quakenbush, J. Stephen. 1991. Agutaynen glottal stop. *Work Papers of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, University of North Dakota* 35:119–131.
- Quakenbush, J. Stephen. 1992. Word order and discourse type: An Austronesian example. In Doris L. Payne (ed.), *Pragmatics of word order flexibility*, 279–303. *Typological Studies in Language* 22. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Quakenbush, J. Stephen. 1997. Writing Agutaynen pronouns: Making the most of a mixed-up world. In Cecilia Odé and Wim Stokhof (eds.), *Proceedings of the Seventh International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics, Leiden, 22-27 August 1994*, 685–694. Amsterdam and Atlanta: Editions Rodopi B.V.
- Quakenbush, J. Stephen, comp. 1999. Agutaynen texts. *Studies in Agutaynen, Part I. Studies in Philippine Languages and Cultures* 11(1):7–88. Available for download at:
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- Quakenbush, J. Stephen. 2005. Some Agutaynen grammatical details: Personal pronouns, nominal markers, and tense/aspect/mode. In Danilo T. Dayag and J. Stephen Quakenbush (eds.), *Linguistics and language education in the Philippines and beyond: A festschrift in honor of Maria Lourdes S. Bautista*, 437–477. Manila: De La Salle University. Also presented at the Taiwan-Japan Joint Workshop on Austronesian Languages, 23-24 June 2005, Taipei. Department of Linguistics of National Taiwan University, National Science Council of Taiwan, Linguistic Society of Taiwan. Available for download at:
<http://homepage.ntu.edu.tw/~gilntu/data/workshop%20on%20Austronesian/9%20quakenbush.pdf>
- Quakenbush, Steve. 1987. Agutaynen grammar essentials statement. Manila: Summer Institute of

Linguistics. MS.

Quakenbush, Steve, and James Maxey. 1987. Agutaynen phonemic statement. Manila: Summer Institute of Linguistics. MS.

4.2. Some publications in the Agutaynen language

Abejo, Gualberto A., Cedronio C. Pacho, Rolando Z. Edep, Victoria M. Nangit, et al. 1997. *Magistoria ita! Mga pinanimet ang mga istoria—Agutaynen-Filipino-English*. [Let's tell a story! A collection of stories]. Manila: Agutaynen Translation Advisory Committee. 157 pp.

Baluyot, Ruth C., Marilyn A. Caabay, Josenita L. Edep, Pedrito Z. Labrador, et al. 1996. *Kantang padengeg ong Dios*. Manila: Agutaynen Translation Advisory Committee. [85 pp].

Caabay, Marilyn A., Josenita L. Edep, Gail R. Hendrickson, and Melissa S. Melvin, comps. (to appear). Agutaynen-English dictionary.

Llavan, Peregrina A. Rauto. 2000. *Ginotay-gotay: A collection of poems in Agutaynen, Filipino and English, with illustrations by Joseph Z. Llavan*. Manila: Agutaynen Translation Advisory Committee. 143 pp.

1989. *Mga bitalang pangaldaw-kaldaw/ Mga salitang pang-araw-araw/ Everyday words and expressions: An Agutaynen-Filipino-English phrasebook*. Manila: Summer Institute of Linguistics. 193 pp.

1997. *Si David ang Bantog*. [David the Great]. The Story of David, 2. Bible Society Comics. Manila: Philippine Bible Society. 32 pp.

1997. *Si David ang Maiteg*. [David the Brave]. The Story of David, 1. Bible Society Comics. Manila: Philippine Bible Society. 32 pp.

1998. *Bolong ang herbal*. [Herbal medicine]. 45 pp.

1998. *Onopay boaten ta mga may taw ang agrangkason?* [What to do when someone has the flu]. Health booklet. 12 pp.

1998. *Onopay boaten ta mga may taw ang galo-tan ta wi tang sinangoni na?* [What to do when someone gets dehydrated]. Health booklet. 10 pp.

1999. *Onopay boaten ta mga may taw ang napaso?* [What to do when a person gets burned]. Health booklet. 17 pp.

2004. *Ang Bitala tang Dios: Ba-long Inigoan/ Ang Bagong Magandang Balita: Bagong Tipan*. [The

Word of God: New Testament (Agutaynen)/ The New Good News: New Testament (Tagalog)]. Manila: WPS/Philippine Bible Society.