

CHAPTER 2

MORPHOLOGY

Three major lexical classes of words in Sambal will be described in this chapter: nominals, adjectives, and verbs. A fourth class, adverbs, is described in sec. 5.2.

2.1 Nominals

2.1.1 Case-marking of nominals

Nominals are either marked for case or unmarked. There are three cases: Nominative, Genitive, and Oblique. The case form of a nominal indicates what its grammatical relation is to the verb which dominates it (see sec. 3.2). The case form of nouns is shown by means of a set of case-marking particles, or case-markers, shown in Chart 4 below. There are three sets of case-markers that are used according to whether the noun being marked is nonpersonal, singular personal, or plural personal. Also, the Nominative case has both a set of full forms and a set of minimal forms; their use is dependent on syntactic position. (On the use of Nominative (full) case, see secs. 3.3(2b), 4.9, and 5.1.4.)

CHART 4 Case-marking particles

	NOMINATIVE		GENITIVE	OBLIQUE
	(full)	(minimal)		
NONPERSONAL	hay	ya	nin	ha
PERSONAL, sg	hi	hi	ni	koni
pl	hili	hili	nili	konli

(The case-marker ya has an optional phonological variant, -y, which attaches to a preceding word ending in the vowels a, e, or o. The case-marker nin has an optional phonological variant, -n, which

attaches to a preceding word ending in any vowel.)
The case-marker precedes the noun it marks:

ya anak	'the child'
NM child	
ni Jose	'of/by Jose'
GM	
ha gahak	'to/from/at the field'
OM field	

2.1.2 Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns are obligatorily marked for case. Their case form is indicated by inflection, rather than marking particles. Chart 5 shows the personal pronouns according to the categories of case, person, and number.

CHART 5 Personal pronouns

NUMBER	PERSON	CASE				
		NOMINATIVE (full) (minimal)		GENITIVE	OBLIQUE	
SINGULAR	1	hiko	-ako, ko	ko	kongko	'I'
	1 + 2	hita	ta	ta	konta	'I and you'
	2	hika	ka	mo	komo	'you'
	3	hiya	ya	na	kona	'he/she'
PLURAL	1	hikayi	kayi	nawen	konnawen	'we'
	1 + 2	hitamo	tamo	tamo	kontamo	'we and you'
	2	hikawo	kawo	moyo, yo	komoyo	'you'
	3	hila	hila	la	konla	'they'

(The first person singular Nominative (minimal) pronoun has two forms: -ako occurs following a word ending in a consonant; ko occurs following a word ending in a vowel.)

In addition to these pronouns, there are two composite pronouns that combine the functions of the first person singular Genitive form with the second person singular and second person plural Nominative (minimal) forms:

kata 'I-you(sg.)', from ko ka
 katawo 'I-you(pl.)', from ko kawo

The forms ko ka and ko kawo are ungrammatical and must be replaced by the appropriate composite pronoun.

2.1.3 Deictic pronouns

The deictic, or demonstrative, pronouns are obligatorily inflected for case; the Genitive forms, however, are realized as the Nominative (full) deictic pronouns marked by the Genitive case-marking particle. The deictic pronouns distinguish three degrees of proximity, as shown in Chart 6. The two forms given for each pronoun are free alternates.

CHART 6 Deictic pronouns

NOMINATIVE (full) (minimal)		GENITIVE	OBLIQUE	
habayti, hati	bayti yati	nin habayti, nin hati	bayri, di	'this' (near speaker)
haba-in, ha-in	ba-in, ya-in	nin haba-in, nin ha-in	bahen, hen	'that' (near hearer)
habayto, hato	bayto, yato	nin habayto, nin hato	bayro, do	'that' (far from both)

When functioning as locative adverbs, the Oblique deictic pronouns are better translated as 'here', 'there', and 'there'.

2.1.4 Interrogative pronouns

Interrogative pronouns substitute for nominal predicates or adverbial phrases:

hino	'who'
ayri	'where'
nakano	'when (past)'
makano	'when (future)'
anya	'what'
antà	'why'
ongno	'how many/much' (quantity, price)
pangno	'how' (manner)
komosta	'how' (quality)

2.1.5 Indefinite pronouns

The indefinite pronouns are formed by the addition of the suffix -man to the interrogative pronouns:

anyaman	'whatever, anything, something'
hinoman	'whoever, anybody, somebody'
ayripaman	'wherever'

2.1.6 Pluralization

Nonpersonal nouns are pluralized by attaching a prefix composed of the first consonant of the noun base plus the form -aw-:

lapis	'pencil'	lawlapis	'pencils'
dowih	'thorn'	dawdowih	'thorns'

If a noun base begins with a vowel, the unwritten initial glottal stop functions as a consonant:

anak	'child'	aw-anak	'children'
otan	'snake'	aw-otan	'snakes'

Personal nouns are pluralized by means of the personal plural case-marking particles:

hili Juan	'John (and the others)'
-----------	-------------------------

2.1.7 Derived nouns

Word bases can form derived nouns by the addition of derivational affixes and/or reduplication of the first CV of the base. The following listing gives some of the most common nominal derivations.

(1) ka- + base + -an forms an abstract noun from the base:

la-et	'evil'	kala-etan	'evil'
irap	'poor'	ka-irapan	'poverty'
loko	'to cheat'	kalokowan	'mischief'
liga	'happy'	kaligawan	'happiness'

(2) base + -an designates a place associated with what is specified in the base:

tanaman	'plant'	tanamanan	'place to plant'
panabon	'burial'	panabonan	'burial place'

(3) ka- + base designates two people associated in a reciprocal relationship suggested by the base:

pariho	'same'	kapariho	'co-equal, peer'
baryo	'barrio'	kabaryo	'barrio co-member'
kahal	'marriage'	kakahal	'bride/groom'

(4) mi- + base or mita- + base designates two people in an intimate kinship or social relationship:

ahawa	'spouse'	mita-ahawa	'husband and wife'
amigo	'friend'	mi-amigo	'friends'
anak	'child'	mita-anak	'parent and child'
tatay	'father'	mitatatay	'father and child'

(5) mi- + dup + base or mitata- + base designates more than two people in an intimate kinship or social relationship:

patel	'sibling'	mipapatel	'siblings'
amigo	'friend'	mi-a-amigo	'friends'
anak	'child'	mitata-anak	'parent and children'
bayaw	'brother-in- law'	mitatabayaw	'brothers-in- law'

(6) mang- + dup + base designates a person who is associated with or performs the action specified by the base. Note that with certain bases the -ng- of the prefix coalesces with the first consonant of the base. The reduplicated syllable is composed of the new consonant produced by coalescence plus the first vowel of the base.

tapon	'to throw'	mananapon	'a thrower'
tikap	'to search'	maninikap	'a searcher'
haliw	'to buy'	mananaliw	'a buyer'
kolam	'to bewitch'	mangkokolam	'a witch'

(7) A fully reduplicated base designates a diminutive or make-believe object:

anak	'child'	anak-anak	'doll'
tawo	'person'	tawotawo	'scarecrow'
bali	'house'	balibali	'playhouse'

2.2 Adjectives

2.2.1 Adjective formation

Some word bases function as adjectives with no affixation:

katowà	'ugly, bad'
bitil	'hungry'
hariwà	'fresh'

The majority of adjectives are formed by prefixing a noun base with ma-. The ma- prefix indicates an abundance of the property designated by the base:

ganda	'beauty'	maganda	'beautiful'
linis	'cleanliness'	malinis	'clean'
yaman	'wealth'	mayaman	'wealthy'

2.2.2 Pluralization

Adjectives can be marked for plural number. With ma- adjectives the form -nga- is infixed between the ma- prefix and the base:

mangaganda	'beautiful'
mangalinis	'clean'
mangayaman	'wealthy'

Unaffixed adjectives are pluralized by adding a prefix composed of the first letter of the base plus the form -aw- (cf. sec. 2.1.6 on pluralization of nouns):

kawkatowà	'ugly, bad'
hawhariwà	'fresh'

2.2.3 Superlative degree

A ma- adjective or unaffixed adjective forms the superlative degree by prefixing the form pinaka-:

mabli 'expensive'	pinakamabli 'most expensive'
hariwà 'fresh'	pinakahariwà 'freshest'

2.2.4 Numerals

Five types of numerals will be described here: **cardinal, ordinal, distributive, restrictive, and grouping.**

(1) The **cardinal** numbers from one to nine are as follows:

miha	'one'	anem	'six'
lowa	'two'	pito	'seven'
tatlo	'three'	walo	'eight'
apat	'four'	siyam	'nine'
lima	'five'		

Multiples of ten are formed by adding -pò 'times ten' to the simple cardinal numbers. A linker (-m,

-n, or -ng- after a vowel; -a- after a consonant) is used to join the numeral base and the multiplier.

mapò (irreg.)	'ten'	anemapò	'sixty'
lowampò	'twenty'	pitompò	'seventy'
tatlopò	'thirty'	walompò	'eighty'
apatapò	'forty'	siyamapò	'ninety'
limampò	'fifty'		

The numerals eleven to nineteen are composed of labi plus linker plus numeral base:

labimmiha	'eleven'	labin-anem	'sixteen'
labinlowa	'twelve'	labimpito	'seventeen'
labintatlo	'thirteen'	labinwalo	'eighteen'
labin-apat	'fourteen'	labinsiyam	'nineteen'
labinlima	'fifteen'		

Multiples of one hundred are expressed by gato 'times one hundred':

magato (irreg.)	'one hundred'
lowanggato	'two hundred'
tatlonggato	'three hundred'

Libo means 'one thousand'.

(2) The **ordinal** numbers are formed by prefixing ika- to the numeral base (except for the ordinal meaning 'first', which is borrowed from Spanish):

primiro/primira	}	'first'
ono/ona		
ikalowa		'second'
ikatatlo		'third'
ika-apat		'fourth'

(3) The **distributive** numerals are formed by prefixing ti- 'each, apiece' to the numeral base:

ti-iha (irreg.)	'one each'
tilowa	'two each'
titatlo	'three each'

(4) The **restrictive** numerals are formed by reduplicating the first CV of the numeral base:

mimiha	'only one'
lolowa	'only two'
tatatlo	'only three'

(5) The **grouping** numerals are formed by fully reduplicating the numeral base:

mihamiha	'one by one'
lowalowa	'two by two'
tatlotatlo	'three by three'

or by prefixing the form mani- to the numeral base:

mani-iha (irreg.)	'one at a time'
manilowa	'two at a time'
manitatlo	'three at a time'

2.3 Verbs

Verbs are morphologically distinguished from other lexical classes by their inflection for **registration** and **aspect**.

2.3.1 Registration

Registration is a system of verb marking by which the initial grammatical relation of the subject nominal is registered in the verb by affixes. By the process of **promotion**, nominals bearing certain non-subject initial grammatical relations can become the final subject (for a fuller description of the promotion to subject process, see sec. 5.1). For example, if an initial direct object is promoted to subject, a particular verbal affix registers the fact that the final subject nominal was an initial direct object. If no promotion to subject process has been applied, then the verbal affix registers that the subject nominal is an initial subject. The initial grammatical relations that can be registered in the verb are the

following: subject, direct object, indirect object, locative, benefactive, and instrumental.

2.3.2 Indicative verbs

The following sections describe the affixes which register initial grammatical relations in Indicative verbs.

(1) Initial **subjects** are registered in the verb by the affixes -om-, ma-, mag-, mang-, and mangi-. The infix -om- is used with intransitive and semitransitive verbs (see sec. 3.2 on verb classes):

lomateng	'to arrive'
pomahok	'to enter'
mowako	'to walk'
mowayo	'to run'

As is illustrated in the last two examples, -om- undergoes a morphophonemic change to become the prefix mo- with bases beginning with ow (phonemically /w/).

The affixes -om- and ma- both form intransitive change of state verbs in which the initial subject is semantically a patient. Some bases can be affixed with either -om- or ma- with no apparent difference in meaning. Most of the bases that form ma- verbs can also be used as unaffixed adjectives. Examples are:

gomanda	'to become beautiful'
bomitol	'to become hungry'
malimo	'to become scared'
magpakil	'to become tired'

The prefix mag- forms intransitive verbs by verbalizing nouns. Examples are:

magbasketbol	'to play basketball'
magpansit	'to make pansit'
magtagalog	'to speak Tagalog'

Mag- can also be interchangeable with the mang- and mangi- affixes:

maglinis } 'to clean'
manlinis }

mag-aboloy } 'to have compassion, give help'
mangi-aboloy }

The prefixes mang- and mangi- are the most productive affixes of this set. Mangi- only occurs with verbs that take the affix i- for its direct object registration (see next section below). Related to this is the fact that mangi- verbs are typically bitransitive (see sec. 3.2), and may be lexically related to transitive verbs with mang- or mag- affixes. For example, mangi-alsa means 'to move something to somewhere', but mangalsa means just 'to move something'.

The final ng consonant of the mang- prefix assimilates to the point of articulation of the following consonant according to these rules:

mang- becomes mam- preceding p, b, and m;
mang- becomes man- preceding t, d, n, s, l,
r, w, y, h, and glottal;
mang- remains mang- preceding k, g, and ng.

Examples are:

mambih 'to give'
manyatò 'to harvest rice'
manggawà 'to do, make'

Alternatively, the final ng of mang- may coalesce with the following consonant according to these rules:

mang- + p or b becomes mam-;
mang- + t, d, s, or h becomes man-;
mang- + k, g, or glottal becomes mang-.

Examples are:

mang- + bayad	→	mamayad	'to pay for'
mang- + tanem	→	mananem	'to plant'
mang- + gatgat	→	mangatgat	'to chew food'

Some vowel initial bases do not take an overt registration affix, but simply prefix the aspect markers, m-, n-, and amp- (see sec. 2.3.9):

minom (from <u>inom</u>)	'to drink'
miknō (from <u>iknō</u>)	'to sit'
mireng (from <u>ireng</u>)	'to stand'

(2) Subjects that are derived from an initial **direct object** are registered by the affixes -en, i- and -an. The suffix -en is typically used with verbs whose initial **direct objects** are directly affected by the action:

inomen	'to drink (x)'
lagari-en	'to saw (x)'
patyen	'to kill (x)'
kanen	'to eat (x)'
haliwen	'to buy (x)'

The prefix i- is primarily used with bitransitive verbs, i.e. verbs that take both an initial direct object and indirect object. Examples are:

ipahok	'to bring in (x)'
ilikal	'to take out (x)'
itapon	'to throw (x)'
itanem	'to plant (x)'

The suffix -an is used with verbs which denote that only the **surface or appearance** of the initial direct object is affected:

oyahan	'to wash (x: dishes)'
tawahan	'to rinse (x)'
linisan	'to clean (x)'

Alternatively, it may be that the direct objects of these verbs are derived from an initial indirect object that has obligatorily been advanced to the direct object relation. This analysis gives the suffix -an, which typically registers subjects derived from initial indirect objects, a more unitary function.

(3) Subjects that are derived from an initial indirect object are registered by the suffix -an. Semantically, indirect objects indicate the source or goal of the action, i.e. the place, person, or thing toward which or from which the action is related:

taponan	'to throw to (x)'
biyan	'to give to (x)'
alihan	'to leave from (x)'

The suffix -an has the related forms pag-...-an, pang-...-an, and pangi-...-an corresponding to the initial subject registration affixes mag-, mang-, and mangi-, respectively. Examples are:

paglako-an	'to peddle to (x)'
pangalihan	'to remove from (x)'
pangipahokan	'to take in to (x)'

(4) Subjects that are derived from an initial locative are registered by the affixes pag-...-an, pang-...-an, and pangi-...-an. Locatives denote a locus or place where the action happens. Locatives are not nuclear to the meaning of the verb, whereas indirect objects that denote locations are always nuclear. Examples are:

pamatyan	'to kill in/at (x)' (base: <u>pati</u>)
panoro-an	'to teach in/at (x)' (base: <u>toro</u>)
paglagari-an	'to saw in/at (x)'

(5) Subjects that are derived from an initial benefactive are registered by the affixes pag-, ipang-/pang-, and ipangi-/pangi-. The affixes separated by a slash are free variants.

Benefactives denote the person for whose benefit the action is performed. Examples are:

ipamati	}	'to kill for (x)'
pagpati		
ipangitapon		'to throw for (x)'

(6) Subjects that are derived from an initial **instrumental** are registered by the affix ipang-/pang-. Instrumentals denote the instrument used to perform an action. Examples are:

ipamati	'to kill with (x)'
ipangalih	'to remove with (x)'
ipanikap	'to earn money with (x)' (base: <u>tikap</u>)

2.3.3 Causative-Indicative verbs

Causative-Indicative verbs are a subclass of Indicative verbs that are formed by affixing the derivational prefix pa- to a verb base. The resulting meaning can be translated as an agent causing or permitting the action denoted by the verb base. The registration affixes are as follows.

(1) Initial **subjects** are registered by the affixes mag-, mang-, and mangi-. All three affixes indicate that the initial subject is the agent causing or permitting the action of the verb. The sequence mang- plus pa- becomes mama-. Examples are:

magpaganda	'to cause/permit to become beautiful'
mamalotò	'to cause/permit to cook'
mangipabiliw	'to cause/permit to look at'

(2) Subjects derived from an initial **direct object** are registered by the affixes -en and i-. The suffix -en is used with transitive verbs and indicates that the derived subject is an affected

object or person, typically involving a change of state. Examples are:

pataba-en	'to cause/permit (x) to become fat'
patobo-en	'to cause/permit (x) to grow'
palak-en	'to cause/permit (x) to increase'

The prefix *i-* is used with bitransitive verbs and indicates that the derived subject is an affected object:

ipapati	'to cause/permit to kill (x)'
ipatapon	'to cause/permit to throw (x)'
ipalinis	'to cause/permit to clean (x)'

(3) Subjects derived from an initial **indirect object** are registered by the affixes *-en* and *i-...-an/-an*. The suffix *-en* indicates that the derived subject is the person being caused or permitted by the agent to perform the action:

paloto-en	'to cause/permit (x) to cook'
pabiliwen	'to cause/permit (x) to look at'
papatyen	'to cause/permit (x) to kill'

The affixes *i-...-an/-an* (free variants) indicate that the derived subject is a source or goal of the action:

ipataponan	'to cause/permit to throw to (x)'
ipa-alihan	'to cause/permit to remove from (x)'

(For a description of the syntax of sentences with Causative-Indicative verbs, see sec. 4.3.)

2.3.4 Aptative verbs

Aptative verbs express the closely related meanings of ability, opportunity, and involuntary action. These three senses may be differentiated as follows.

(1) Aptative verbs can indicate the internal, innate ability of an actor to perform a certain action. For example:

makakanta	'to be able to sing'
makalotò	'to be able to cook'
makapagbasketbol	'to be able to play basketball'

(2) Aptative verbs can indicate that an actor has the opportunity to perform an action, i.e. that external circumstances (not innate ability) permitted the actor to perform the action. This sense is indicated by vowel lengthening in Aptative prefix, to produce /maka:/ and /ma:/. For example:

makáhaliw	'to have opportunity to buy'
má-ekan	'to have opportunity to eat (x)'

(3) Aptative verbs can indicate that an actor involuntarily, unintentionally, or accidentally performs an action. This sense is indicated by vowel lengthening identical with (2); a given form is therefore potentially ambiguous, and can only be disambiguated by reference to the context. Examples are:

makáhaliw	'to unintentionally buy'
má-ekan	'to unintentionally eat (x)'

Initial subjects of Aptative verbs are registered by the affixes maka- and makapag-. They correspond to the registration affixes of Indicative verbs as follows:

Indicative	Aptative
base + -om-	<u>maka-</u> + base
<u>mang-</u> + base	<u>maka-</u> + base
<u>mangi-</u> + base	<u>maka-</u> + base
<u>mag-</u> + base	<u>maka-</u> + base
	<u>makapag-</u> + base

Examples are:

Indicative	Aptative	
pomahok	makapahok	'to be able to enter'
manaliw	makahaliw	'to be able to buy'
mangitapon	makatapon	'to be able to throw'
mag-ilbah	maka-ilbah	'to be able to wash clothes'
magpansit	makapagpansit	'to be able to make pansit'

Derived subjects of Aptative verbs are registered by the affixes ma-, ma-i-, and ma-...-an. They correspond to the registration affixes of Indicative verbs as follows:

Indicative	Aptative
base + <u>-en</u>	<u>ma-</u> + base
<u>i-</u> + base	<u>ma-i-</u> + base
base + <u>-an</u>	<u>ma-</u> + base + <u>-an</u>

Examples are:

Indicative	Aptative	
haliwen	mahaliw	'to be able to buy (x)'
itapon	ma-itapon	'to be able to throw (x)'
ilbahán	ma-ilbahán	'to be able to wash (x: clothes)'
taponan	mataponan	'to be able to throw to (x)'

The ma-...-an affix has the related forms mapag-...-an, mapang-...-an, and mapangi-...-an corresponding to the Indicative forms pag-...-an, pang-...-an, and pangi-...-an, respectively.

2.3.5 Social verbs

Social verbs are used (1) to express a polite request, and (2) to express action that is performed together with another person or persons,

either in the sense of accompaniment or reciprocal action. Examples of (1) are:

maki-alih 'to remove by request' (Ind: mangalih)
makitikap 'to look for by request' (Ind: manikap)

Examples of (2) are:

makilako 'to go with someone' (Ind: maglako)
makipati 'to kill each other' (Ind: magpati)

Initial subjects of Social verbs are registered by the affix maki-. The above examples illustrate this affix.

Derived subjects of Social verbs are registered by the affixes ipaki-/paki- and ipaki-...-an/paki-...-an. Examples are:

Indicative	Social	
alihen	(i)paki-alih	'to remove (x) by request'
itapon	(i)pakitapon	'to throw (x) by request'
pangalihan	(i)paki-alihan	'to remove from (x) by request'
taponan	(i)pakitaponan	'to throw to (x) by request'

2.3.6 Reciprocal verbs

Reciprocal verbs express an action which is performed reciprocally, i.e. the performers do the action to or with each other. Initial subjects of Reciprocal verbs are registered by the affix mi-. If the number of actors involved is three or more, the first CV of the base is reduplicated. Examples are:

mipati	}	'to kill each other'
mipapati		
mitapon	}	'to throw to each other'
mitatapon		
mitambay	}	'to help each other'
mitatambay		

Derived subjects of Reciprocal verbs are registered by the complex affix pi-...-an. The subject can be derived from an initial direct object:

pitaponan 'to throw (x) to each other'

or from an initial referential relation (see sec. 5.2.3(7)):

pi-ilgowan 'to talk to each other about (x)'

2.3.7 Nonagentive verbs

Nonagentive verbs are distinguished by the following characteristics: (1) they typically express actions, i.e. not changes of state; (2) the nominal realizing the semantic role affected object or patient bears the initial subject relation; and (3) no semantic agent role can be expressed within the bounds of the immediate clause. Initial subjects of Nonagentive verbs are registered by the affix mi-:

mitapon 'to be thrown'

mi-alih 'to be removed'

Subjects derived from an initial object are registered by the affix pi-...-an:

pitaponan 'to be thrown to (x)'

pi-alihan 'to be removed from (x)'

Note that since the forms of Reciprocal verbs and Nonagentive verbs are identical, these verbs are ambiguous out of context.

2.3.8 Pluralized verbs

Pluralized verbs indicate that the action of the verb is performed by more than one actor. Only verbs registering initial subjects may be pluralized. The registration affixes of Pluralized

verbs corresponds to those of Indicative verbs as follows:

Indicative		Pluralized
<u>mag-</u> + base	}	<u>mipag-</u> + base
base + <u>-om-</u>		
<u>mang-</u> + base		<u>mipang-</u> + base
<u>mangi-</u> + base		<u>mipangi-</u> + base

Examples of pluralized verbs are:

Indicative	Pluralized	
mog-alih	mipog-alih	'to leave'
manlotò	mipanlotò	'to cook'
mangihakay	mipangihakay	'to load'

2.3.9 Aspect

Verbs are inflected for three aspects: Contemplated, Perfective, and Imperfective.

(1) **Contemplated** aspect denotes action that has not yet begun, such as future events and imperatives. It is regularly translated as English future tense and imperative mood. Contemplated aspect is indicated by the aspect marker m- in the verbal affixes ma-, mag-, mang-, mangi-, maka-, maki-, mi-, and their derivatives. With Indicative verbs affixed with -om-, -en, i-, and -an, Contemplated aspect has no overt morphological marking. All the verbs cited as examples in sections 2.3.1 to 2.3.8 are in Contemplated aspect.

(2) **Perfective** aspect denotes action that has begun and is completed. It is regularly translated as English past tense. Perfective aspect is indicated by the aspect marker n- in the verbal affixes na-, nag-, nang-, nangi-, naka-, naki-, ni-, and their derivatives. Examples are:

Contemplated	Perfective	
mapakil	napakil	'to become tired'
mangalih	nangalih	'to remove'
makalotò	nakalotò	'to be able to cook'
makilako	nakilako	'to go with someone'
mipati	nipati	'to kill each other'

With verbs affixed with any other affix (except i-, described below), Perfective aspect is indicated by the affix -in-. If the verb is consonant initial, -in- is infixed in the first syllable before the vowel. If the verb is vowel initial, in- is simply prefixed. Examples are:

Contemplated	Perfective	
pomahok	pinomahok	'to enter'
hakyan	hinakyan	'to ride on (x)'
oyahan	inoyahan	'to wash (x: dishes)'
alihan	inalihan	'to leave from (x)'

When -in- is affixed to a base beginning with l or y, it metathesizes to ni- and is prefixed:

nilinisan	'to clean (x)'
niyomaman	'to become rich'

The registration affix -en does not co-occur with the Perfective aspect affix -in-. In Perfective aspect the -en affix is dropped, and the -in- affix simultaneously signals direct object registration and Perfective aspect. Examples are:

Contemplated	Perfective	
alihen	inalih	'to remove (x)'
haliwen	hinaliw	'to buy (x)'
gamiten	ginamit	'to use (x)'
layonen	nilayon	'to be an earthquake'

Verbs beginning with the affix i- form the Perfective aspect by infixing the marker -n- directly after the i-. The affix -n- assimilates to the point of articulation of the following consonant: it becomes -m- before bilabial stops and the bilabial nasal, and -ng- before velar stops and the velar nasal; it remains -n- before all other consonants. Examples are:

Contemplated	Perfective	
itanem	intanem	'to plant (x)'
ipahok	impahok	'to bring in (x)'
ikarga	ingkarga	'to load (x)'

(3) **Imperfective aspect** denotes action that has begun but is not yet completed. It is regularly translated as English progressive aspect. Imperfective aspect is indicated by the Imperfective aspect marker an-, which is prefixed to the verb stem. The prefix an- has the alternate forms am- and ang-; they are produced by assimilation to the following consonant in environments identical to those given above for the Perfective aspect marker -n-.

There are two ways of forming the verb stem for Imperfective aspect. First, the verb stem can be derived from the Contemplated aspect by replacing the aspect marker m- with p-, producing the forms pag-, pang-, pangi-, paka-, paki-, and pi-. Other verbs that do not take an m- type affix make no change in the Contemplated aspect verb stem. Examples are:

Contemplated	Imperfective	
maglinis	ampaglinis	'to clean'
manggawa	ampanggawa	'to do, make'
makakanta	ampakakanta	'to be able to sing'
lomateng	anlomateng	'to come, arrive'
itanem	an-itanem	'to plant (x)'

Second, verbs affixed with ma- (i.e. intransitive change state verbs (sec. 2.3.2(1)) and non-subject-registration aptative verbs (sec. 2.3.4)) form the stem for Imperfective aspect by replacing the ma- affix with ka-. Examples are:

Contemplated	Imperfective	
malimo	angkalimo	'to become scared'
mahaliw	angkahaliw	'to be able to buy (x)'
ma-itapon	angka-itapon	'to be able to throw (x)'
mapangitamnan	angkapangitamnan	'to be able to plant in/at (x)'

The following chart is a summary of the basic aspect formations. The letter B in the formulas stands for verb base.

CHART 7 Summary of aspect formation

CONTEMPLATED	PERFECTIVE	IMPERFECTIVE
ma- + B	na- + B	ang- + ka- + B
mag- + B	nag- + B	am- + pag- + B
mang- + B	nang- + B	am- + pang- + B
mangi- + B	nangi- + B	am- + pangi- + B
maka- + B	naka- + B	am- + paka- + B
maki- + B	naki- + B	am- + paki- + B
mi- + B	ni- + B	am- + pi- + B
-om- + B	-in- + -om- + B	an- + -om- + B
B + -en	-in- + B	an- + B + -en
i- + B	i- + -n- + B	an- + i- + B
B + -an	-in- + B + -an	an- + B + -an
pag- + B + -an	-in- + pag- + B + -an	am- + pag- + B + -an

CHAPTER 3

STRUCTURE OF BASIC SENTENCES

3.1 General characteristics

Basic sentences are the simplest, complete sentences from which all more complex sentences are derived. Basic sentences have the following general characteristics:

(1) They are composed of only one clause; there is only one finite verb, and no expansion by conjunction or embedding.

(2) The basic sentence components (i.e. the predicate and its nominals) are minimally specified; they are not modified by adjectives or adverbs.

(3) They are affirmative (i.e. not negative).

(4) They are declarative (i.e. not interrogative, imperative, or exclamatory).

(5) They manifest initial grammatical relations only.

(6) They have normal word order (i.e. no inversion).

All other sentence structures are **derived** from basic sentences. Derived sentences may be related to basic sentences in two ways. (1) They may be related to basic sentences by **syntactic processes**. Some general sentence processes are covered in chapter 4. (2) They may be **expansions** of basic sentences. Strategies of sentence expansion are covered primarily in chapter 5. Chapter 6 describes certain complex sentence types that involve coordination, adverbial clauses, and complement clauses.

The present chapter will describe the structure of basic sentences. Basic sentences are of two types: **verbal** (sec. 3.2) and **nonverbal** (sec. 3.3).

3.2 Verbal basic sentences

The minimal components of a verbal basic sentence are a verbal predicate and its specified nominals.

A small set of verbal sentences is composed of only a predicate; these are **phenomenal** predicates, which express ambient conditions and natural phenomena such as rain, wind, and earthquakes. Examples are:

Ampangoran.
raining
'It's raining.'

Ampangangin.
wind is blowing
'The wind is blowing.'

All other verbal predicates specify from one to three nominals which realize **initial grammatical relations**. The **nuclear** grammatical relations which compose basic sentences are **subject**, **direct object**, and **indirect object**. All other initial grammatical relations, such as **locative**, **benefactive**, and **instrumental**, are nonnuclear and typically form expanded sentences. Initial grammatical relations are established in the following way.

Semantically, the nominals specified by a verb are related to it by realizing semantic roles such as agent, experiencer, patient, source, goal, locative, benefactive, instrumental, and so on. These semantic roles are systematically mapped onto the initial grammatical relations. The details of this mapping process are probably language-specific, but there are certain universal tendencies about which roles typically map onto which grammatical relations. For example, if there is an agent, patient, and goal specified by the predicate, they will typically take the subject, direct object, and indirect object relations, respectively. Or, if there is no agent or experiencer specified by the predicate, the patient will take the subject relation. Thus it happens that the subject realizes several diverse semantic roles. The direct object, however, realizes a narrower range of roles than the subject, and the indirect object in turn has a narrower range than

the direct object. The nonnuclear grammatical relations are quite restricted in their range of semantic roles, and are hence given cover-terms that suggest their typical semantic content, such as locative, benefactive, and instrumental.

The nuclear grammatical relations of subject, direct object, and indirect object are signaled by nominal case-marking, as described below.

(1) The **subject** nominal of a basic sentence is in Nominative (minimal) case. No other component of a basic sentence is marked by Nominative case. The subject may be a nonpersonal noun marked by ya, a personal pronoun marked by hi, or a personal or deictic pronoun inflected for Nominative (minimal) case. Examples are:

Namati ya lalaki nin baboy.
killed NM man GM pig
'The man killed a pig.'

Namati hi Juan nin baboy.
'Juan killed a pig.'

Namati ya nin baboy.
'He killed a pig.'

Namati bayti nin baboy.
'This (one) killed a pig.'

The subject is typically interpreted as definite, i.e. the referent of the subject nominal is identifiable. When the subject is a personal noun, pronoun, or deictic pronoun, it is inherently definite; when the subject is a nonpersonal noun, it is regularly translated by the definite article 'the'.

(2) The **direct object** nominal can be marked by either Genitive case or Oblique case. A Genitive case-marked direct object may be either indefinite or definite, while an Oblique case-marked direct object must be definite. Few verbs, however, accept an Oblique case-marked direct object in a basic

sentence. Oblique case-marked direct objects do regularly occur in certain derived structures such as nominalizations (see sec. 5.1.5). Since personal nouns and personal pronouns are inherently definite, they can only be marked by Oblique case when functioning as direct objects. Nonpersonal nouns and deictic pronouns can be marked by either Genitive or Oblique case when functioning as direct objects. Examples of direct objects in basic sentences are:

Nanaliw hi Maria nin manok.
 bought NM GM chicken
 'Maria bought a chicken.'

Nanaliw hi Maria nin habayti.
 'Maria bought some of this.'

(3) The indirect object nominal is marked by oblique case. It typically has definite reference, but with nonpersonal nouns can be interpreted as indefinite. The indirect object can be a nonpersonal noun marked by ha, a personal noun marked by koni, or a personal or deictic pronoun inflected for Oblique case. Examples are:

Nambi hi Jose nin libro ha anak.
 gave NM GM book OM child
 'Jose gave a book to a/the child.'

Nambi hi Jose nin libro koni Maria.
 'Jose gave a book to Maria.'

Nambi hi Jose nin libro kona.
 'Jose gave a book to him.'

Nambi hi Jose nin libro bayro.
 'Jose gave a book to that place (e.g. to the school).'

The nuclear grammatical relations classify verbs as follows:

- (1) Verbs that specify only a subject are **intransitive**.
- (2) Verbs that specify a subject and a direct object are **transitive**.
- (3) Verbs that specify a subject and an indirect object are **semitransitive**.
- (4) Verbs that specify a subject, a direct object, and an indirect object are **bitransitive**.

3.3 Nonverbal basic sentences

Nonverbal basic sentences are composed of a nonverbal predicate plus a subject nominal (except for a few subjectless phenomenal predicates and existential predicates). Nonverbal predicates include the following types of word structure.

(1) Adjectives.

(a) Descriptive adjectives:

Malhay ya bali.
big NM house.
'The house is big.'

Matamlad hi Juan.
lazy NM
'Juan is lazy.'

(b) Phenomenal adjectives:

Ma-amot.
hot
'It's hot.'

(c) Numerals:

Lima ya aw-anak.
five NM children
'The children are five,' or
'There are five children.'

(d) Locative Adjectives. The locative adjectives anto and anti indicate the spatial location of an object or person. Anto indicates that the located object is distant but in sight. Anti indicates only the presence of an object and not its relative distance. The located object can be near or far, in sight or out of sight. To indicate relative distance, anti must be expanded by an Oblique phrase: either a deictic pronoun or a noun phrase expressing precise location.

Anti bayri ya anak.
 loc here NM child.
 'The child is here.'

Anto hi Jose.
 loc NM
 'Jose is there.'

(2) Nominals.

- (a) In classificatory sentences the nominal predicate is unmarked for case and always has indefinite reference:

Mangongonà hi Pedro.
 fisherman NM
 'Pedro is a fisherman.'

Ayop ya aho.
 animal NM dog
 'The dog is an animal,' or
 'Dogs are animals.'

- (b) In identificational sentences the nominal predicate is marked by Nominative (full) case and has definite reference:

Hi Juan ya kapitan.
 NM NM captain
 'The captain is Juan.'

Hay Amirikano ya doktor.
 NM American NM doctor
 'The doctor is the American.'

Habayto ya bali.
 that NM house
 'The house is that (one)'

(3) Adverbs.

(a) Locative adverbs:

Ha Botolan ya pista.
 OM NM fiesta
 'The fiesta is at Botolan.'

Konli Juan ya bayli.
 OM NM dance
 'The dance is at Juan's.'

(b) Time adverbs:

Nobokah ya parada.
 tomorrow NM parade.
 'The parade is tomorrow.'

(4) **Possessive phrase.** A possessive phrase is composed of the possessive marker (PM) plus a Genitive noun phrase:

Ikon ko ya libro.
 PM my NM book
 'The book is mine.'

Ikon ni Maria ya kowalta.
 PM GM NM money.
 'The money is Maria's.'

(5) Prepositional phrases.

Para koni Jose ya libro.
 for OM NM book
 'The book is for Jose.'

Tongkol ha pag-ong ya kowinto.
 about OM turtle NM story
 'The story is about the turtle.'

(6) **Existential phrase.** An existential phrase is composed of the existential word ma-in plus the linker nin (variants: -n and ∅) plus an indefinite nominal:

Ma-in nin ha-a.
 exist lk banana
 'There are bananas.'

When an existential predicate takes a subject, it denotes possession:

Ma-in nin anak hi Pedro.
 exist lk child NM
 'Pedro has a child.'

3.4 Order of sentence components

When the nominals of a basic sentence are nouns, i.e. not pronouns, the underlying order can be summarized as follows: predicate + subject + direct object + indirect object. In basic sentences the predicate is invariably sentence initial; but the order of the nominals is free, and any possible ordering can generally occur, though not every ordering is equally likely. If, however, the subject is a personal pronoun, it must occur directly after the predicate (except for existential sentences, where it must occur between the existential word and the linker).

CHAPTER 4

SENTENCE PROCESSES

4.1 Derived grammatical relations: promotion to subject

Basic sentences contain only initial grammatical relations. Derived sentences can be formed from basic sentences by processes which change the grammatical relations of the nominals. The major relation-changing process is the promotion of a direct object or indirect object to the subject relation (traditionally called passivization). The grammatical relations of the nominals after any relation-changing processes have been applied are called **final** grammatical relations. For example, in the following sentence the nominals are realizing initial grammatical relations:

- (1) Nanapon hi Juan nin bato ha anak.
 threw NM GM stone OM child
 'Juan threw a stone to the child.'

The initial subject is Juan, the initial direct object is bato and the initial indirect object is anak. Now if the initial direct object nominal is promoted to the subject relation, the following changes take place:

- (2) Intapon ni Juan ya bato ha anak.
 threw GM NM stone OM child
 'The stone was thrown to the child by Juan.'

The nominal bato has become the final subject, and the nominal Juan has been demoted from its initial subject relation to become a **subject chomeur** (French for 'one who is unemployed'). Subject chomeur, like other grammatical relations in Sambal, is signaled by nominal case marking: it is marked by Genitive case. (With respect to case-marking, subject chomeurs are identical to

possessors.) A subject chomeur is a nonnuclear grammatical relation, and is optionally present in the surface form of a sentence. Also note that in the derived sentence (2) there is no final direct object, and the indirect object is unchanged.

In a similar manner, the initial indirect object can be promoted to the subject relation, producing the following sentence:

- (3) Tinaponan ni Juan nin bato ya anak.
 threw GM GM stone NM child
 'The child was thrown a stone by Juan'

In this sentence, the nominal anak has become the final subject, and Juan has again been demoted to subject chomeur status. Also, the direct object relation is unchanged, and there is no final indirect object.

Integrated with the system of nominal case-marking to signal grammatical relations is the system of verb marking called **registration** (see sec. 2.3.1). In the above three sentences the initial grammatical relation of the subject nominal is registered on the verb by a special affix. In sentence (1) the prefix nang- indicates that Juan was an initial subject; in sentence (2) the prefix i- indicates that bato was an initial direct object; and in sentence (3) the suffix -an indicates that anak was an initial indirect object.

Final subjects that result from the promotion of a direct object or indirect object are considered to be **derived** subjects, and the sentences in which they occur are derived sentences, such as (2) and (3) above. Only sentences such as (1) above in which no grammatical relations have been changed are basic sentences.

Derived sentences formed by the promotion of nonnuclear grammatical relations also occur in Sambal. The nonnuclear relations which can be promoted to subject include locative, benefactive, and instrumental. It is not clear whether any other nonnuclear relations can be promoted. The

nonnuclear relations function adverbially in an expanded sentence, and are thus described in sec. 5.2.3.

The **locative** relation is marked by Oblique case. For example:

Nagpati ya lalaki nin damowag ha balah.
 killed NM man GM carabao OM river
 'The man killed a carabao at the river.'

When the locative nominal balah is promoted to subject, the initial subject nominal lalaki becomes the subject chomeur, and the verb takes the affix pag-...-an which registers an initial locative promoted to subject:

Pagpatyan nin lalaki nin damowag ya balah.
 killed GM man GM carabao NM river
 'The river was killed-a-carabao-at by the man.'

The **benefactive** relation is marked by the preposition para 'for' plus an Oblique case-marked nominal. For example:

Mamati ya lalaki nin damowag para ha bisita.
 kill NM man GM carabao for OM visitor
 'The man will kill a carabao for the visitor.'

When the benefactive nominal bisita is promoted to subject, the initial subject nominal lalaki becomes the subject chomeur, and the verb takes the affix pang- which registers an initial benefactive:

Pamati nin lalaki nin damowag ya bisita.
 kill GM man GM carabao NM visitor
 'The visitor will be killed-a-carabao-for
 by the man.'

The **instrumental** relation is marked by Genitive case. For example:

Patyen nin lalaki nin koyà ya damowag.
 kill GM man GM knife NM carabao.
 'The carabao will be killed with a knife by
 the man.'

When the instrumental nominal koyà is promoted to subject, the initial subject nominal lalaki becomes the subject chomeur, and the verb takes the affix ipang- to register an initial instrumental:

Ipamati nin lalaki nin damowag ya koyà.
kill GM man GM carabao NM knife
'The knife will be killed-a-carabao-with by
the man.'

4.2 Order of sentence components

The order of sentence components in derived sentence follows the general rules described for basic sentences (see sec. 3.4) with the following additions. When the subject chomeur of a derived sentence is a noun phrase (i.e. not a pronoun) it regularly precedes any other nominals; i.e. it occurs directly after the verb. Pronouns are subject to certain ordering restrictions. The Nominative (minimal) pronoun and Genitive personal pronouns are enclitic pronouns and must occur directly after the predicate. If both a Nominative (minimal) pronoun and a Genitive pronoun occur in a sentence, the Genitive pronoun must precede the Nominative (minimal) pronoun. For example:

Tinambayan ya ni Juan.
helped he GM
'He was helped by Juan.'

Tinambayan nawen ya.
helped we he.
'He was helped by us.'

The Nominative (full) and Oblique pronouns are not enclitic and are not subject to this ordering restriction.

4.3 Causative constructions

The analysis of causative constructions, i.e. sentences with causative verbs (see sec. 2.3.3), in

Philippine languages is sometimes problematical. For this reason the analysis of grammatical relations that has been developed here will now be applied to causative sentences in Sambal.

In brief, the identification of grammatical relations in causative sentences is identical to the identification of grammatical relations in noncausative sentences. That is, subject, direct object, and indirect object in causative sentences are identified by the same features of nominal case-marking as they are in noncausative sentences (see sec. 3.2). For example:

(1) Nambih hi Juan nin litrato kongko.
 gave NM GM picture I
 'Juan gave a picture to me.'

(2) Nangipakit hi Juan nin litrato kongko.
 showed NM GM picture I
 'Juan showed a picture to me.'

In sentence (1), the verb is Indicative, so the sentence is noncausative. The verb is prefixed with nang- which indicates subject registration. In sentence (2), the verb is Causative-Indicative; the stem pakit is composed of the causative prefix pa- plus the verb base ikit 'to see' (note that vowel deletion has applied in the formation of the stem; see sec. 1.5). The causative stem can be translated 'to cause to see', or more naturally, 'to show'. The stem is prefixed with nangi- which indicates subject registration. Both sentences, noncausative and causative, have the same three nominals bearing the same three grammatical relations: hi Juan, in Nominative case, is the initial subject; nin litrato, in Genitive case, is the initial direct object; and kongko, in Oblique case, is the initial indirect object. Note that the identification of the grammatical relations of the nominals is independent of their semantic roles. This is desirable, since in the causative sentence it is not clear what the semantic roles of the nominals actually are. If sentence (2) is translated

something like 'John caused me to see a picture', then it appears that the nominal kongko is an agent; but if it is translated as 'John showed a picture to me,' it seems that kongko is more like a goal. But whatever its semantic role may be, kongko is clearly the indirect object, just as 'to me' is the indirect object in the English translation.

The relation-changing process of promotion to subject applies in the same manner to causative sentences as it does to noncausative sentences (see sec. 4.1). For example, promotion of the direct object to subject of the causative sentence (2) above produces the following:

- (3) Impakit ni Juan ya litrato kongko.
 showed GM NM picture I
 'The picture was shown to me by John.'

The verb shows direct object registration by the prefix i-; ni Juan, in Genitive case, is the subject chomeur; ya litrato, in Nominative case, is the derived subject; and kongko, in Oblique case, remains the indirect object. Similarly, promotion of the indirect object to subject produces this sentence:

- (4) Pinakitan ako ni Juan nin litrato.
 showed I GM GM picture
 'I was shown a picture by Juan.'

The verb shows indirect object registration by the suffix -an; ako, in Nominative case, is the derived subject; ni Juan, in Genitive case, is the subject chomeur; and nin litrato, in Genitive case, remains the direct object.

Since causative and noncausative verbs are derivationally related, some useful observations can be made by comparing sentences using the same base in both its Indicative and

Causative-Indicative forms. For example:

(5) Tinomabà ya baboy.
got fat NM pig
'The pig got fat.'

(6) Nagpatabà hi Jose nin baboy ta patyen
fattened NM GM pig because kill
'Jose fattened a pig because he will kill
ha pista.
OM fiesta
it for the fiesta.'

The verb base in both these examples is tabà 'fat'. In sentence (5) the base forms an intransitive Indicative verb marked for subject registration by the affix -om-. The nominal ya baboy, in Nominative case, is the initial subject. In sentence (6) the verb base is prefixed with pa- to form a causative stem, which is then prefixed with nag- to form a transitive Causative-Indicative verb in subject registration. The causative verb specifies two nominals: hi Jose, in Nominative case, is the initial subject; and nin baboy, in Genitive case, is the initial direct object. In comparing the causative sentence (6) with the noncausative sentence (5), two observations can be made: the new participant Jose is the initial subject of the causative sentence (6); and the participant baboy, which is the subject of the noncausative sentence (5), is the direct object of the causative sentence (6).

With these observations in mind, consider the following two examples:

(7) Nanggawà hi Pedro nin bali.
built NM GM house
'Pedro built a house'.

(8) Nangipagawà hi Tatay nin bali koni Pedro.
caused to build NM Father GM house OM
'Father had Pedro build a house.'

The verb base in both examples is gawà 'to make, build'. In sentence (7) the verb is Indicative, in subject registration, and transitive. The two nominals in sentence (7) are hi Pedro, the subject, and nin bali, the direct object. In sentence (8), the verb is Causative-Indicative, subject registration, and bitransitive. The three nominals in sentence (8) are hi Tatay, the subject; nin bali, the direct object; koni Pedro, the indirect object. In comparing the grammatical relations of the participants of sentences (7) and (8) these observations can be made: the new participant Tatay in the causative sentence (8) is the initial subject; the participant bali is direct object in both the noncausative and causative sentences; and the participant Pedro, which is the initial subject of the noncausative sentence (7), is the indirect object of the causative sentence (8).

These two pairs of examples demonstrate the relationship between noncausative and causative sentences. This relationship can be generalized as follows. When a causative sentence is derived from a noncausative sentence, a new participant is added as the initial subject of the causative sentence. Semantically, this new participant is the one who causes (or permits) the action denoted by the verb. Because the new participant takes the initial subject relation in the causative sentence, the participant that was the initial subject of the noncausative sentence must take on a different grammatical relation, as there cannot be two subject nominals in a sentence. In examples (5) and (6), the subject of the intransitive noncausative sentence (5) became the direct object of the transitive causative sentence (6). Then, in examples (7) and (8), the subject of the transitive noncausative sentence (7) became the indirect object of the bitransitive causative sentence (8). These patterns give support to the hypothesis that grammatical relations are in an ordered hierarchy. Subject is highest in the hierarchy, followed in order by direct object and indirect object. The nonnuclear relations all rank lower than indirect

object, but the order among them is not yet determined. In terms of this hierarchy then, we can say that when deriving a causative sentence from a noncausative sentence, the nominal bearing the initial subject relation in the noncausative sentence is moved to the next-highest available grammatical relation on the hierarchy. For example, in the noncausative sentence (5) above, there was no direct object, and so the subject nominal of that sentence became the direct object in the causative sentence (6); but in the noncausative sentence (7), there was a direct object already, so the subject nominal had to take the next available relation on the hierarchy and so became the indirect object in the causative sentence (8). (For a more detailed discussion of causatives and the relational hierarchy, see Comrie (1976).)

4.4 Subject selection

The previous sections described the syntactic process of promotion to subject. Subject selection rules state the factors which determine which of a verb's nominals will become the final subject.

(1) **Intransitive** verbs have only one nominal, which therefore must be the final subject:

Nilomateng hi Juan.
 arrived NM
 'Juan arrived.'

(2) **Transitive** verbs have an initial subject and direct object. If the direct object has indefinite reference, the initial grammatical relations of the nominals will remain unchanged.

Nangan ya anak nin kanen.
 ate NM child GM rice
 'The child ate (some) rice.'

But if the direct object is definite, it can be promoted to subject:

Kinan nin anak ya kanen.
 ate GM child NM rice
 'The rice was eaten by the child.'

(3) **Semitransitive** verbs have an initial subject and indirect object. If the referent of the indirect object nominal is a place or thing, and not a person, the initial grammatical relations of the nominals will remain unchanged:

Nako hi Pedro ha gahak.
 went NM OM field
 'Pedro went to the field.'

Niknò hi Pedro ha silya.
 sat NM OM chair
 'Pedro sat (down) on the chair.'

If, however, the indirect object nominal is significantly affected by the action of the verb, it can be promoted to subject. In the first sentence above, the field can hardly be affected by Pedro going to it, so it would not likely be promoted to subject. But in the second sentence, a chair can be significantly affected by someone sitting on it, so it can be promoted to subject:

Inikno-an ni Pedro ya silya.
 sat GM NM chair
 'The chair was sat (down) on by Pedro.'

A sentence like this can be used as a response to the question, 'What happened to the chair?'

If the referent of the initial indirect object nominal is a person, it can optionally be promoted to subject. The choice of subject selection probably depends on which nominal the speaker

wishes to make more prominent. For example:

Nanambay hi Maria ha anak.
 helped NM OM child
 'Maria helped the child.'

Tinambayan ni Maria ya anak.
 helped GM NM child
 'The child was helped by Maria.'

(4) **Bitransitive** verbs have an initial subject, direct object, and indirect object. Their subject selection rules are the same as those given above for transitive and semitransitive verbs. In short, if the initial direct object is definite, it can be promoted to subject; if the indirect object nominal is a significantly affected thing or a person, it can be promoted to subject; otherwise the initial grammatical relations remain unchanged. Examples are as follows.

No change in initial grammatical relations:

Nangilakò hi Jose nin ongot koni Sidra.
 sold NM GM coconut OM
 'Jose sold a coconut to Sidra.'

Initial direct object promoted to subject:

Inlakò ni Jose ya ongot koni Sidra.
 'The coconut was sold by Jose to Sidra.'

Initial indirect object promoted to subject:

Pinaglako-an ni Jose nin ongot hi Sidra.
 'Sidra was sold a coconut by Jose.'

4.5 Questions

There are two major types of questions: **yes-no questions**, and **information questions**.

(1) A **yes-no question** is a question that expects either yes or no as an answer. Basic sentences

(which are all statements) can be converted to yes-no questions by the insertion of a **question particle**: either nayɪ, warɪ, or kali. (the distinction of usage among these three particles has not been fully determined). The question particle is inserted immediately after the verb or nonverbal predicate but after any enclitic pronoun that may be present. For example:

Kilako ka nayɪ konnawen ha banowa?
 go with you QP we OM town
 'Will you go with us to town?'

Pinabitil na warɪ ya anak na?
 starve he QP NM child his
 'Did he starve his child?'

Anti ya kali ha kowarto na?
 loc he QP OM room his
 'He is there in his room, isn't he?'

(2) An **information question** is a question that elicits specific information from its hearer. Information questions are formed by using interrogative pronouns (see sec. 2.1.4) that indicate what type of information is being asked for. Syntactically, they substitute for certain sentence components, and occur initially in the sentence. Interrogative pronouns such as ayri 'where' and nakano 'when' substitute for adverbial phrases:

Ayri ka ampa-iri?
 where you living
 'Where are you living?'

Nakano ka nabitil?
 when you hungry
 'When were you hungry?'

Interrogative pronouns such as anya 'what' and hino 'who' substitute for nominal predicates:

Anya ya labay mo?
 what NM want your
 'What do you want?'

Hino ya nanapon nin demek?
 who NM threw GM trash
 'Who threw away the trash?'

4.6 Imperatives

Imperative sentences are used to express commands, requests, suggestions, etc. There are two major types: a second-person imperative, and a first-person-inclusive imperative. In both types the aspect form of the verb used is the Contemplated aspect. Examples of second-person imperatives are:

Mamati ka nin baboy.
 kill you GM pig
 'Kill a pig.'

Itapon mo ya demek.
 throw you NM trash
 'Throw away the trash.'

Tambayan mo ya anak ha pag-a-aral na.
 help you NM child OM studying his
 'Help the child with his studying.'

Examples of first-person-inclusive imperatives are:

Itanem ta bayti ya hangî nin ha-a.
 plant we this NM sucker GM banana
 'Let's plant this banana sucker.'

Mako ta ha balah.
 go we OM river
 'Let's go to the river.'

4.7 Exclamatory sentences

Exclamatory sentences express an intensified adjectival description of something. They are composed of an adjective word base that is either marked by hay or prefixed with pagka-, plus a described noun phrase marked by Genitive case. This type of exclamatory sentence has no surface subject, but is related by process to a basic sentence with an adjectival predicate. Examples are:

Hay ganda nin babayi!
 NM beauty GM woman
 'How beautiful the woman is!'
 (cf. Maganda ya babayi.)

Hay bitil ko!
 NM hunger I
 'How hungry I am!'
 (cf. Mabitil ako.)

Pagkayaman ni Juan!
 wealthy GM
 'How wealthy Juan is!'
 (cf. Mayaman hi Juan.)

4.8 Negation

There are four negators in Sambal: ahè, ag-, alwa, and ayin. In a negative sentence, the negators occur in sentence-initial position followed immediately by any enclitic pronouns and enclitic adverbs (see sec. 5.2.1 on enclitic adverbs).

(1) The negators ahè and ag- are used to negate verbal sentences. The form ag- is a morphologically determined variant of ahè: ag- occurs whenever an enclitic pronoun or the enclitic adverb -ana is present in the sentence; ahè occurs elsewhere.

Examples are:

Ahè pinati nin tawo ya damowag ko.
not killed GM person NM carabao my
'The person didn't kill my carabao.'

Ahè na-ingalo kona ya ganti.
not pity him NM giant
'The giant didn't pity him.'

Agko nakakatoloy nayabi.
not-I sleep last night
'I couldn't sleep last night.'

Agmo ko itapon ha lanom.
not-you I throw OM water
'Don't throw me into the water.'

(2) The negator alwa is used to negate nonverbal sentences (except the sentence types discussed under (3) below). Alwa is connected to the rest of the sentence it negates by the nasal linker nin (variants: -n and \emptyset). The linker follows directly after alwa except when there are enclitic pronouns or enclitic adverbs present, in which case the linker occurs after the enclitics. Examples are:

Alwan mahipeg ya tatay ko.
not-Ik ambitious NM father my
'My father is not ambitious.'

Alwa yan marereng-eyen.
not he-Ik shy
'He is not shy.'

Alwan hiko ya nanggawà nin habayto.
not-Ik I NM made/did GM that
'I'm not the one who made/did that.'

(3) The negator ayin is used to negate an existential sentence; it is the negative counterpart of the positive existential ma-in and replaces ma-in without altering the rest of the

sentence structure. (see sec. 3.3(6) on existential sentences.) Examples are:

Ayin nin ha-a.
none lk banana
'There are no bananas.'

Ayin et (nin) bonga ha po-on ha-a.
none yet lk fruit OM trunk banana
'There is not yet any fruit on the banana
plant.'

Ayin akon anak.
none I-lk child
'I have no child.'

Ayin is also the negative form of the locative adjectives anti and anto (see sec. 3.3(ld)). Examples of sentences with negative locative predicates are:

Ayin ya hen.
none he there
'He is not there.'

Ayin di ya nanay na.
none here NM mother his
'His mother is not here.'

4.9 Sentence inversion

Basic sentences can be modified by **inversion**, a process by which one sentence component is fronted to sentence-initial position. The denotative meaning of the sentence is unchanged; rather the function of sentence inversion is thematic, indicating that the fronted component is the **sentence topic** (see sec. 7.3.3). The fronted component of an inverted sentence is immediately followed by the inversion marker (IM) ay, or by a nonterminal pause indicated by a comma. The marker ay has a phonological variant, -y, which attaches

to a preceding word ending in the vowels a, e, or o. Statements, commands, yes-no questions and their negative variants can be inverted, but information questions cannot be. The following sections discuss which sentence components can be fronted in an inverted sentence.

(1) The **subject** of either a verbal or nonverbal sentence can be fronted. A fronted subject must be marked by the Nominative (full) case. Examples are:

Hay ta-en ay an-et-eten nin baki.

NM trap IM chewing GM rat

'The rat is chewing the trap.'

(cf. An-et-eten nin baki ya ta-en.)

Hay aw-ali mo ay bantayan mo.

NM younger sibling your IM watch you

'Watch your younger siblings.'

(cf. Bantayan mo hili ali mo.)

Hi Elem ay alwan malhay.

NM IM not-lk large

'Elem is not large.'

(cf. Alwan malhay hi Elem.)

Hiya ay anti ha gahak.

he IM loc OM field

'He's there in the field.'

(cf. Anti ya ha gahak.)

(2) The **subject chomeur** of a verbal sentence can be fronted. A cross-referent pronoun can optionally be present in the main part of the sentence. A fronted subject chomeur is marked by the Nominative (full) case; its cross-referent pronoun is in the Genitive case. Examples are:

Hi Pedro ay hiniyawan na ya kabayo.

NM IM saddled he NM horse

'Pedro saddled the horse.'

(cf. Hiniyawan ni Pedro ya kabayo.)

Hay tawtawo ay nilabi la ya nin masyado.
 NM people IM loved they he lk much
 'The people loved him very much.'
 (cf. Nilabi ya nin tawtawo nin masyado.)

Hi Juan ay inlakò na ya baboy na.
 NM IM sold he NM pig his
 'Juan sold his pig.'
 (cf. Inlakò ni Juan ya baboy na.)

(3) An indirect object can be fronted.

Koni Hostina ay an-itapon ya dalakerek.
 OM IM throwing NM rice seedlings
 'The rice seedlings are being thrown to Hostina.'
 (cf. An-itapon ya dalakerek koni Hostina.)

(4) Adverbials of time and location can be fronted. Examples are:

Ha Lonis ay mog-alih ako.
 OM Monday IM leave I
 'Monday I'll leave.'
 (cf. Mog-alih ako ha Lonis.)

Ha Mindanao ay naka-ireng ya istatwa.
 OM IM stood NM statue
 'In Mindanao stood the statue.'
 (cf. Naka-ireng ya istatwa ha Mindanao.)

(On the fronting of adverbial clauses, see sec. 6.2)

(5) The described noun phrase of an exclamatory sentence (i.e. the underlying subject; see sec. 4.7) can be fronted. The fronted noun phrase is marked by the Nominative (full) case. For example:

Hay dolo nin damowag ay hay kipit.
 NM clothes GM carabao IM NM tight
 'The clothes of the carabao are very tight.'
 (cf. Hay kipit nin dolo nin damowag.)

CHAPTER 5

SENTENCE EXPANSION

The sentence types described thus far can be expanded to form more complex sentence structures. Strategies of sentence expansion include **noun phrase expansion** and **predicate expansion**.

5.1 Noun phrase expansion

There are five types of noun phrase expansion: **modification constructions**, **genitive constructions**, **appositional constructions**, **coordinate constructions**, and **nominalized constructions**.

5.1.1 Modification constructions

Nominal modification constructions consist of a nominal head with various modifiers. Certain modifiers can occur either before or after the head, but in either case modifiers must be attached to the head by the linker *ya* (which may reduce to *-y* after a vowel final word). The pattern, then, of a modification construction is **MODIFIER *ya* HEAD *ya* MODIFIER**. Additional pre-head and post-head modifiers are attached in the same manner. Modification constructions primarily expand nonpersonal nouns, either case-marked or not case-marked. The major types of modifiers to be discussed below are **deictic pronouns**, **quantifiers**, and **relative clauses**.

(1) The **deictic pronouns** (see sec. 2.1.3) used as nominal modifiers typically precede the head if the head is case-marked as Nominative or Genitive, and follow the head if it is Oblique. With a Nominative marked head, the deictic pronoun usually replaces the case-marking particle, so that a Nominative (full) case-marker is replaced by a Nominative (full) deictic, and a Nominative (minimal) case-marker is replaced by a Nominative (minimal)

deictic. The deictic pronoun must be attached to the head by the linker ya. For example:

hay lapis	<u>haba-in</u> ya lapis
NM pencil	that lk pencil
'the pencil'	'that pencil'

ya bangkò	<u>bayti</u> ya bangkò
NM bench	this lk bench
'the bench'	'this' bench

Alternatively, the deictic pronoun, instead of replacing the Nominative (minimal) case-marker, can simply be inserted between the case-marker and the head; in this position the deictic must be in Nominative (full) form:

ya lalaki	ya <u>habayto</u> ya lalaki
NM man	NM that lk man
'the man'	'that man'

Since there is no special form for Genitive deictic pronouns, a Nominal (full) deictic pronoun is inserted between a Genitive case-marker and the head:

nin anak	nin <u>habayti</u> ya anak
GM child	GM this lk child
'of/by the child'	'of/by this child'

With an Oblique marked head, the deictic pronoun follows the head and is in the Nominative (full) form:

ha dogal ya <u>habayti</u>
OM place lk this
'to/at this place'

Whenever a deictic pronoun follows the head, it is in the Nominative (full) form:

ya lalaki ya <u>habayti</u>
NM man lk this
'this man'

(2) **Quantifiers**, including cardinal and ordinal numbers (see sec. 2.2.4) and quantifying words such as malakè 'much, many' typically precede the head word:

tatloy mipapatel
three-lk siblings
'three siblings'

ya onay lalaki
NM first-lk man
'the first man'

malakè ya alahas
much lk jewelry
'much jewelry'

(3) **Relative clauses** are modification structures that are derived from underlying basic sentences. In the typical pattern, a nominal phrase with the structure **head plus relative clause** is derived from an underlying basic sentence from which the subject becomes the head and the remainder of the sentence becomes the modifying relative clause. For example, from the underlying sentence

SUBJECT

Narabò ha damowag ya lalaki.
fell OM carabao NM man
'The man fell from the carabao.'

this nominal phrase can be derived:

HEAD	RELATIVE CLAUSE
<u>ya lalaki</u>	ya narabò ha damowag
NM man	lk fell OM carabao
'the man who fell from the carabao'	

Note that the linker ya has been inserted to show that the relative clause is a nominal modifier. Relative clauses can be verbal, as in the above

example, or they can be adjectival:

ya kabayo ya malhay
 NM horse lk large
 'the horse that is large'

Relative clauses of more than one word typically follow the head, but relative clauses of only one word, such as an adjective or a verb with no nominal complements, can either precede or follow the head. For example:

ya malhay ya kabayo
 NM large lk horse
 'the large horse'

ya lapis ya nikatak
 NM pencil lk lost
 'the pencil that was lost'

ya nikatak ya lapis
 NM lost lk pencil
 'the lost pencil'

5.1.2 Genitive constructions

Genitive constructions either have a **possessive** function or a **specifying** function. They are composed of a **head noun** plus a **genitive phrase**. The genitive phrase immediately follows the head with no linker. The head is typically a **common noun**. In a possessive genitive construction, the genitive phrase indicates the possessor of the head noun, and consists of either a Genitive case-marked personal or deictic pronoun, or a Genitive case-marked nonpersonal or personal noun. Examples are:

ya anak la
 NM child their
 'their child'

ya kabayo nin habayto
 NM horse GM that
 'that one's horse'

ya holat nin patel ko
 NM letter GM sibling my
 'my sibling's letter'

ya bali ni Pedro
 NM house GM
 'Pedro's house'

Note in the third example above that the head of the genitive phrase, patel, is itself expanded by a possessive pronoun. This type of embedding can continue indefinitely.

In a specifying genitive construction, the genitive phrase serves to further specify and delimit the referent of the head noun. The genitive phrase is always a Genitive case-marked nonpersonal noun. Examples are:

karnin baboy
 meat-GM pig
 'meat of pig,' i.e. 'pig meat, pork'

ha babo nin lotà
 OM top GM earth
 'on top of the earth,' i.e. 'on the earth'

allo nin kahal
 day GM wedding
 'day of wedding,' i.e. 'wedding day'

5.1.3 Appositional constructions

An appositional construction is composed of two noun phrases, each with independent internal structure, that both identify the same referent. The second of the two noun phrases is considered to expand the first noun phrase. No linker is used to connect the two noun phrases, although linkers may be present within the noun phrases themselves.

Referring to the two noun phrases as **appositives**, appositional constructions can be classified according to whether the head of the first appositive is a common noun, a proper noun, or a personal pronoun. (Note that the classification of common and proper nouns is independent of the case-marking features nonpersonal and personal.)

(1) When the head of the first appositive is a **common noun**, the second appositive can only be a proper noun. The proper noun of the second appositive must be marked by Nominative case, regardless of the case-marking of the first appositive. Examples are:

ya ahawa ko hi Marita
 NM spouse my NM
 'my spouse Marita'

nin kakà na hi Jose
 GM older sibling is NM
 'of/by his older sibling Jose'

ha nanay na hi Oding
 OM mother his NM
 'to his mother Oding'

koni pinghan ko hi Andres
 OM cousin my NM
 'to my cousin Andres'

(2) When the first appositive is a **proper noun**, the second appositive can be a common noun. This produces a construction roughly the reverse of that above. The second appositive must be marked by Nominative (minimal) case, regardless of the case-marking of the first appositive. Examples are:

hi Pedro ya pinghan mo
 NM NM cousin your
 'Pedro your cousin'

ni Juan ya patel ko
 GM NM sibling my
 'of/by Juan my sibling'

(These examples could also be analyzed as modification constructions composed of a proper noun head with a relative clause modifier. With this analysis, the first example above could be glossed as follows:

hi Pedro ya pinghan mo
 NM lk cousin your
 'Pedro, who is your cousin'

These alternative analyses are possible because of the ambiguity of the particle ya, which functions both as a Nominative case-marker and as a linker.)

(3) When the first appositive is a **personal pronoun**, the second appositive can be either a common noun or a proper noun. Pronouns of any case can occur as the first appositive, but the case-marking of the second appositive is restricted and dependent upon the case of the first appositive, according to the following rules:

(a) If the case of the pronoun is Nominative (full or minimal), the second appositive must be in Nominative (minimal) case. Examples are:

hiya hi Pedro
 he NM
 'he, Pedro'

ya hi Juan
 he NM
 'he, Juan'

ya ya bakè
 he NM monkey
 'he, the monkey'

(b) If the pronoun is in Genitive case, the second appositive must be in Genitive case. The Genitive pronoun can be a part of a possessive construction:

ya ahawa na ni Maria
 NM spouse her GM
 'the spouse of her, Maria'

ya hawhalitã tamo nin Ayta
 NM speech our GM
 'the speech of us Aytas'

(c) If the pronoun is in Oblique case, such as it would be if it were an indirect object, the second appositive must be in Genitive case. Examples are:

kona ni Maria
 she GM
 'to her, Maria'

kona nin patel mo
 he GM sibling your
 'to him, your sibling'

konla nin aw-anak
 they GM children
 'to them, the children'

A personal pronoun can also be expanded by a deictic pronoun in the second appositive:

hiya bayto
 he that
 'he, that one'

There is at least one instance in text of a personal pronoun expanded by a deictic pronoun that is in turn expanded by a proper noun:

hiya bayti hi Dateng
 he this NM
 'he, this one, Dateng'

5.1.4 Coordinate constructions

A coordinate construction consists of two or more conjoined grammatical elements of the same function. While the conjuncts of a coordinate construction can vary in complexity from single words to whole sentences, this section will discuss

only coordinate constructions in which the conjuncts are noun phrases. Coordination in complex sentences is discussed in sec. 6.1. The conjuncts of a coordinate construction are linked by a coordinating conjunction, either boy 'and' or o 'or'. The following discussion is limited to constructions with boy, but constructions with o follow the same pattern.

Coordinate noun phrase constructions can be composed of two or more conjuncts. The final conjunct must be preceded by the conjunction boy, but the other conjuncts can be connected either by boy or by a phonological pause, symbolized by a comma. The following description will be limited to constructions with only two conjuncts, but it is to be noted that all successive conjuncts have the same internal structure with regard to case-marking and deletion as that of the second conjunct.

As an expansion of a simple noun phrase, a coordinate noun phrase construction can function syntactically as any of the nominal basic sentence components. The grammatical relation of the coordinate construction is indicated by the case-marking of the first conjunct (except for nominal predicates which are not case-marked at all; see sec. 3.3(2a)). The case-marking of the second conjunct is subject to the following rules.

(1) When the first conjunct is in Nominative case, the second must also be in Nominative case. Examples are:

Hay nanay ko boy hay patel ko ay
 NM mother my and NM sibling my IM
 'My mother and my sibling are sick.'
 ampagmasakit.
 sick

Hay anak na boy hiko ay ampitagaw.
 NM child his and I IM playing
 'His child and I are playing.'

Tambayan mo ko boy hi Dora.
 help you I and NM
 'Help me and Dora.'

(2) When the first conjunct is in the Genitive case, the second conjunct can be in Genitive case:

Nako hila ha bali ni Pedro boy ni Andres.
 went they OM house GM and GM
 'They went to the house of Pedro and Andres.'

In this last example, the coordinate possessive phrase indicates that Pedro and Andres are considered joint owners of the house; but if Pedro and Andres simply co-inhabit the house with ownership by the family unit, then this is indicated by marking the second conjunct with Nominative case:

Nako hila ha bali ni Pedro boy hi Andres.

(3) When the first conjunct is in Oblique case, the second conjunct must also be in Oblique case:

Igwà mo bayti koni Honoria boy ha anak na.
 give you this OM and OM child her
 'Give this to Honoria and her child.'

Idolot mo ha lalaki boy kongko ya kanen.
 dish out you OM man and I NM food
 'Dish out the food to the man and me.'

Oblique noun phrases can also occur as part of a beneficiary adverbial phrase, composed of the form para 'for' plus an Oblique phrase. When beneficiary phrases are coordinated, the second conjunct can be one of three forms:

(a) para plus an Oblique phrase;

Anggaw-en na bayti para ha ahawa na boy para ha
 doing he this for OM spouse his and for OM
 'He is doing this for his spouse and for
anak na.
 child his
 his child.'

(b) an Oblique phrase;

Anggaw-en na bayti para ha ahawa na boy ha
 doing he this for OM spouse his and OM
 'He is doing this for his spouse and

anak na.
child his
 his child'

(c) a personal noun marked by Nominative case;

Anggaw-en na bayti para ha ahawa na boy hi Jose.
 doing he this for OM spouse his and NM
 'He is doing this for his spouse and Jose.'

When both conjuncts of a coordinate noun phrase construction are nonpersonal nouns, the case-marker of the second conjunct can optionally be deleted. For example:

Bantayan mo ya anak boy to-a.
 watch you NM child and old
 'Watch the child and the old one.'

Hay aho boy baboy ay mabitil.
 NM dog and pig IM hungry
 'The dog and pig are hungry.'

Magsirbi ka ha Diyos boy tawo.
 serve you OM God and man
 'Serve God and man.'

When both conjuncts are personal nouns, a plural personal case-marker (see sec. 2.1.1) on the first conjunct can be used instead of singular case-markers on both conjuncts:

Ampag-aral hili Lolita boy Elena.
 studying NM and
 'Lolita and Elena are studying.'

Note that if a singular case-marker is added to the second conjunct of the above example the plural

reference of the case-marker hili only includes the first conjunct:

Ampag-aral hili Lolita boy hi Elena.

'Lolita and the others and Elena are studying.'

5.1.5 Nominalized constructions

A verbal form functioning as a nominal component of a sentence is a **nominalized construction**, or a **nominalization**. A nominalized construction is composed of a verb plus its associated relation-bearing nominals except the subject nominal. (Compare this structure with relative clauses, which are also subjectless (see sec. 5.1.1(3).) A nominalized construction can function as any of the grammatical relations (i.e. subject, object, etc.) Examples are:

Itapon mo ha bongaw ya tinabas na.

throw you OM bank NM cut he

'Throw what he cut over the bank.'

Ahè inihip ni Andris ya hinalità ni Nanay na.

not thought GM NM said GM Mother his

'Andris didn't think about what his Mother said.'

Ampaghehe ya ha ginawà na koni Nanay na.

repenting he OM did he OM Mother his

'He repented of what he did to his Mother.'

Malhay ana ya intanem nin pag-ong.

big now NM planted GM turtle

'What the turtle planted was big already.'

A nominalized construction can also function as the indefinite nominal of an existential phrase (see sec. 3.3(6)):

Ma-in mangyari kona.

exist happen he

'There is something that will happen to him,' or

'Something will happen to him.'

Ma-in akon gintan komoyo.

exist I-lk brought you

'There is something that I brought to you,' or

'I have something that I brought to you.'

Ayin yan nakit.

none he-lk saw

'There is nothing that he saw,' or

'He saw nothing.'

A nonverbal sentence (see sec. 3.3) that has a nominalized construction functioning as subject can often be related to a corresponding verbal sentence with no nominalization. For example:

Hi Maria ya nanayî.

NM NM sewed

'It was Maria who sewed.'

This sentence is identificational (see sec. 3.3(2b)) and has a nominalized subject. It is clearly relatable to the following sentence which is verbal and has no nominalization:

Nanayî hi Maria.

sewed NM

'Maria sewed.'

The relationship between these two sentences is such that the subject of the verbal sentence corresponds to the nominal predicate of the identificational sentence, and the remainder of the verbal sentence (here only a verb) corresponds to the nominalized subject of the identificational sentence. As is suggested by the English translation of these two sentences, the difference between them is not in their semantic content, but in their information structure. The purpose of using a construction like the first sentence rather than the second sentence is to mark the nominal predicate, i.e. hi Maria, as new or contrastive

information. Another example of this same type of construction is:

Hay koyà ya impamati na kona.

NM knife NM killed he he

'It was a knife that he killed him with.'

cf. Impamati na kona ya koyà.

'He killed him with a knife.'

Sentences with adverbial predicates (see sec. 3.3(3)) can also have a nominalized subject, and are relatable to corresponding verbal sentences:

Ha balah ya pinagpatyan na nin damowag.

OM river NM kill he GM carabao

'It was at the river that he killed the carabao.'

cf. Pinati na ya damowag ha balah.

'He killed the carabao at the river.'

Konli Tatay ya antaponan la nin yabot.

OM Father NM throwing they GM grass

'It was to Father that they were throwing the grass.'

cf. An-itapon la ya yabot konli Tatay.

'They were throwing the grass to Father.'

Note that in these last two examples the nominalized verb in the nonverbal sentences register (see sec. 2.3.1) the underlying grammatical relation of the participant expressed in the adverbial predicate. Specifically, in the second example konli Tatay is the indirect object of the verb in the verbal sentence; consequently, in the corresponding nonverbal sentence where konli Tatay is the predicate, the nominalized verb shows indirect object registration.

5.2 Predicate expansion

The predicate of a basic sentence can be expanded by adverbs. There are three classes of adverbs: **enclitic adverbs**, **modal adverbs**, and **moveable adverbs**.

5.2.1 Enclitic adverbs

Enclitic adverbs are a closed set of uninflectable particles that occur immediately after the predicate of a basic sentence. Any enclitic pronouns that may be present precede the enclitic adverbs (see sec. 4.2 on word order). The most common enclitic adverbs and their meanings are as follows:

ana, -na, -yna, -an	'already, now'
et	'still, yet, more, also'
pon	'first'
pa	'please'
daw, raw	'request'
itaman, itaan, man	'also, anyway'
awod	'then, therefore, so'
kano	'reported speech'
tana	'only, just'
dayi	'unreal, desire'
simpri	'anyway, also'
nayl kall warl	'question' (see sec. 4.5)

(The enclitic adverb -ana 'already, now' has three phonological variants: -yna occurs following words ending in a, e, or o. -na occurs following words ending in i; -an occurs following words ending in a consonant; the basic form -ana freely alternates with both -na and -an.) When more than one enclitic adverb occurs in a sentence, their relative order is fixed. The order of some of the more frequent enclitic adverbs is as follows:

ana	pon	et	awod	pa	daw
1	2	3	4	5	6

Examples of sentences expanded by enclitic adverbs are as follows:

Ampag-aral ana hi Juan
 studying now NM
 'Juan is studying now.'

Ampag-ilbah ka et awod.
 wash (clothes) you still so
 'So you're still washing clothes.'

Ma-in ya et simprin trabaho.
 exist he more anyway-lk work
 'He has more work anyway.'

Labay na itaman nin maliyò.
 want he also CM bathe
 'He also wanted to bathe.'

Mag-aral kayna pon pa raw.
 study you-now first please request
 'Please study first now.'

5.2.2 Modal adverbs

Modal adverbs occur in sentence-initial position. They include the following:

ka-ilangan	necessity:	'need, must'
dapat	obligation:	'ought, must, should'
ma-ari	ability:	'possible, can, may'

Modal adverbs are connected to the following sentence by the linker nin/-n. Any enclitic pronouns or adverbs in the following sentence are placed between the modal adverb and the linker.

Examples are:

Ka-ilangan kan mako ri.
 must you-lk come here
 'You must come here.'

Dapat tamon mog-alih nobokah.
 should we-lk leave tomorrow
 'We should leave tomorrow.'

Ma-arī nan itakel ya damowag ko.
 can he-lk tie NM carabao my
 'He can tie my carabao.'

5.2.3 Moveable adverbs

Moveable adverbs are full words or phrases that do not have a fixed position in the sentence. When they occur after the verb, they are permutable with the other basic sentence components, except that they must follow any enclitics. Most moveable adverbs can be fronted to sentence-initial position; see sec. 4.9 on sentence inversion. Moveable adverbs can be classified according to their semantic function, giving the following types: **manner, time, locative, benefactive, instrumental, causal, referential, and measurement.**

(1) **Manner** adverbs are either unaffixed, or if affixed they are a subclass of ma- adjectives (see sec. 2.2.1). Examples are:

magaling	'skillfully'
maliga	'happily'
mabilis	'quickly'
sigorado	'surely, securely'

Most manner adverbs are introduced by the linker nin/-n. Examples are:

Agya ampaka-hip nin malalè.
 not-he able to think lk deeply
 'He cannot think deeply.'

Itakel mo ya manok nin sigorado.
 tie you NM chicken lk securely
 'Tie the chicken securely.'

Tambalan mo kon mahampat.
 medicate you I-Ik well
 'Medicate me well.'

(2) **Time** adverbs fall into two classes: **unmarked** and **marked**. The unmarked time adverbs include the following:

hapa-eg	'today, now'
nobokah	'tomorrow'
na-apon	'yesterday'
nayabi	'last night'
nakalwa	'day before yesterday'
makalwa	'day after tomorrow'
allo-allo	'every day'
yabiyabi	'every night'
nangon	'earlier'
papa-inghan	'later'
lano	'later'

Examples of unmarked time adverbs in sentences are:

Nilomateng na-apon hi Pedro.
 arrived yesterday NM
 'Pedro arrived yesterday.'

Lomakat ako nobokah ha bakil.
 climb I tomorrow OM mountain
 'I will climb the mountain tomorrow.'

Angkargawen la hapa-eg ya kayo ko.
 loading they now NM logs my
 'They are loading my logs now.'

The marked time adverbs include calendar dates, days of the week, clock time, and phases of the day such as morning, afternoon, and night. Their relation to the moment of speech is indicated by the markers nin, hin, and ha. These marked time adverbs can occur either independently or as part of a complex time expression.

To indicate present time the marker nin is used:

Ma-amot hapa-eg nin allo.
 hot now pres day
 'Today is hot.'

Alas tris nin mahilem ay lomateng hila.
 at three pres afternoon IM arrive they
 'They will arrive at three this afternoon.'

To indicate past time the marker hin is used:

Norong ya hin Lonis.
 went home he past Monday
 'He went home last Monday.'

Agko nakakatoloy na-apon hin yabi.
 not-I sleep yesterday past night
 'I couldn't sleep night before last.'

To indicate future time the marker ha is used:

Mog-alih ako ha Lonis.
 leave I fut Monday
 'I'll leave on Monday.'

Magbira hila nobokah ha mahilem.
 return they tomorrow fut afternoon
 'They'll return tomorrow afternoon.'

(3) **Locative** adverbs denote the place where an action happens. They can be either an Oblique case-marked noun or an Oblique deictic pronoun. Examples are:

Pinati ni Pedro ya damowag ha balah.
 killed GM NM carabao OM river
 'Pedro killed the carabao at the river.'

Ampag-aral hi Juan ha Manila.
 studying NM OM
 'Juan is studying in Manila.'

Antoro-an ni Maria ya aw-anak ha iskowilawan.
 teaching GM NM children OM school
 'Maria is teaching the children in/at the school.'

(4) **Benefactive** adverbs denote the beneficiary of an action. They are composed of the preposition para 'for' plus an Oblique case-marked nominal, either personal or nonpersonal. Examples are:

Mamati kon damowag para ha bisita ko.
kill I-GM carabao for OM visitor my
'I'll kill a carabao for my visitor.'

Anggaw-en na bayti para koni Maria.
doing he this for OM
'He is doing this for Maria.'

Itapon mo pa ya demek para kongko.
throw you please NM trash for I
'Please throw away the trash for me.'

(5) **Instrumental** adverbs denote the instrument used to perform an action. They are expressed as a Genitive case-marked nonpersonal noun or deictic pronoun. Examples are:

Ampatyen ni Pedro ya damowag nin otak.
killing GM NM carabao GM bolo
'Pedro is killing the carabao with a bolo.'

Ampangititen nan tinta ya litrato mo.
blackening he-GM ink NM picture your
'He is blackening your picture with ink.'

Pinalimo na ko nin labintador.
scared he I GM firecracker
'He scared me with a firecracker.'

(6) **Causal** adverbs denote the reason or cause of an action. They are composed of the preposition banà 'because of' plus an Oblique case-marked nominal. Examples are:

Agko nakilako komo banà ha trabaho ko.
not-I go with you because of OM work my
'I didn't go with you because of my work.'

Mipati hila banà ha pamamangan.
 kill they because of OM food
 'They will kill each other because of the food.'

A second type of causal adverb denotes nonconcrete force. It is expressed by a Genitive case-marked nominal:

Nati hi Juan nin malarya.
 died NM GM malaria
 'John died of malaria.'

(7) **Referential** adverbs denote the topic or subject of a locutionary action. They are composed of the preposition tongkol 'about' plus an Oblique case-marked nominal. Examples are:

Nihowawì hila tongkol ha kowinto.
 argued they about OM story
 'They argued about the story.'

Ampi-ilgo kayi tongkol koni Juan.
 talking we about OM
 'We are talking about Juan.'

(8) **Measurement** adverbs denote the extent of a process. They are composed of the Genitive case-marker nin plus an expression of measurement. Examples are:

Tinomag-ay ya anak nin mihay porgada.
 grew NM child GM one-1k inch
 'The child grew an inch.'

Inomopaw hi Jose nin limay kilo.
 lightened NM GM five-1k kilo
 'Jose lost five kilos.'

In-ipek koy yobil nin mihay mitro.
 shortened I-NM rope GM one-1k meter
 'I shortened the rope a meter.'

CHAPTER 6

COMPLEX SENTENCES

Complex sentences are composed of more than one clause. There are two syntactic processes that form complex sentences: **coordination** and **subordination**. When two clauses are related by coordination, neither clause is a constituent of the other; that is, two clauses of equivalent function and rank are simply conjoined. Several types of coordinate complex sentences are described below.

Alternatively, when two clauses are related by subordination, one clause functions as a constituent of the other; the constituent clause is said to be **embedded** in the **main clause**. Two types of subordinate clauses are described below: **adverbial clauses** and **complement clauses**. (Relative clauses are also a type of subordinate clause; but since they are a constituent of noun phrase, they are described in sec. 5.1.1(3) under noun phrase expansion.)

6.1 Coordination

There are five types of coordinate sentences: **conjunctive**, **disjunctive**, **adversative**, **contingent**, and **sequential**.

6.1.1 Conjunctive sentence

The conjunctive sentence is minimally composed of two or more clauses connected by the coordinating conjunction boy 'and'. There is no overt logical or temporal relation between conjoined clauses; it is simply a coupling of equally important statements.

COMPLEX SENTENCES

Examples are:

Nagloksà bayti ya manokmanok boy nangakò yan
mourned this lk bird and promised he-CM
'This bird mourned and he promised that he would

agna ya ibalag.
not-he she leave
not leave her.'

Biyang katan gawgintò boy igwà ko komo ya
give I-you-GM gold and give I you NM
'I will give you gold and I will give you my

anak koy dalaga.
child my-lk girl
unmarried daughter.'

Nangangin nin makhaw boy biglà nangoran.
wind blew lk strong and suddenly rained
'The wind blew strong and it suddenly rained.'

Mag-in kawon bawbakè ya mangatlek boy magkama-in
become you-GM monkeys lk noisy and get
'You will become noisy monkeys and you will get
kawon ikoy boy hay nawini moyo ay tobo-an habot.
you-GM tail and NM body your IM grow hair
tails and your bodies will grow hair.'

6.1.2 Disjunctive sentence

The disjunctive sentence is minimally composed of two or more clauses connected by the conjunction o 'or'. The construction indicates an alternative relation between the statements expressed in the clauses. Examples are:

Mako ko ha banowa nobokah o no agko makalako
go I OM town tomorrow or if not-I can go
'I will go to town tomorrow or if I can't go

nobokah ay mako ko makalwayna.
tomorrow IM go I day after tomorrow
tomorrow I will go the day after tomorrow.'

Mag-aral ka o magpa-inawa ka hapa-eg allo?
 study you or rest you now day
 'Will you study or will you rest today?'

Manaliw kan tinapay, o no ayin tinapay,
 buy you-GM bread or if none bread
 'Buy bread, or if there is no bread,
 manaliw kan boyah.
 buy you-GM rice
 buy rice.'

6.1.3 Adversative sentence

The adversative sentence is minimally composed of two clauses connected by the conjunctions piro or balè ta 'but'. The clause following the conjunction is related by contrast or antithesis to the clause preceding the conjunction. Examples are:

Hi Lawin ay mayaman, piro hi Manok ay ma-irap.
 NM Hawk IM rich but NM Chicken IM poor
 'The Hawk was rich, but the Chicken was poor.'

Ampakalengè ya, piro agya makahalità.
 can hear he but not-he can talk
 'He can hear, but he can't talk.'

Hinagyat la ko balè ta agla ka hinagyat.
 invited they I but not-they you invited
 'They invited me but they didn't invite you.'

Pinanlotò ko ya balè ta nangan yan tinapay.
 cooked for I he but ate he-GM bread
 'I cooked for him but he ate bread.'

6.1.4 Contingent sentence

The contingent sentence is minimally composed of two clauses connected by the conjunction ta 'and, because, so, in order to'. The two clauses are related logically, such that one clause is the

antecedent and the other clause is the consequent. The event of the consequent clause is contingent upon the event of the antecedent clause. For example, when the clause following the conjunction ta is antecedent, it expresses reason:

An-ihipen na ya agya makalako ha bayli ta
 thinking she CM not-she can go OM dance because
 'She thought that she couldn't go to the dance

ayin ya nin alahas.
 none she lk jewelry
 because she had no jewelry.'

Hay pag-ong ay ahè nalimo ha bagyo ta matibay
 NM turtle IM not afraid OM storm because durable
 'The turtle was not afraid of the storm because his

ya bali nay bato.
 NM house his-lk stone
 stone house was durable.'

Ampa-iri yayna ha lo-ong, ta hiya ay
 living she-now OM muddy hole because she IM
 'She was living in a muddy hole, because she had

nag-in anan papwak.
 became now frog
 become a frog.'

When the clause following the conjunction is the consequent, it can express result or purpose, or simply that the event of the antecedent clause was necessary before the event of the consequent clause could take place. Examples are:

Nanoktok yan bolong kayo ta intata na
 picked up he-GM leaf tree and dropped he
 'He picked up a leaf and he dropped it to the

koni Ayà.
 OM Ant
 the Ant.

Pinotoh ni Kan ya pitoy olo nin otan ta
 cut GM NM seven-lk head GM snake and
 'Kan cut off the seven heads of the snake and

inggawà na koni Ari La-on.
 gave he OM King
 he gave them to King La-on.'

Nangwa yan dawdowih ta inggawà na ha mamalibot
 got he-GM thorns and placed he OM around
 'He got some thorns and he placed them around the
 po-on ha-a.
 trunk banana
 banana trunk.'

Hin nakit ni Bakè bayto ya kolon ongot ya
 when saw GM Monkey that lk shell coconut lk
 'When the Monkey saw that upside-down coconut

nakapalokob, niknò ya ta an-alihen nay
 upside down sat he and removing he-NM
 shell, he sat down on it and removed the

dawdowih ha bitih na.
 thorns OM foot his
 thorns from his feet.'

Nako ko ha balah ta bayro ko naliyò.
 went I OM river and there I bathed
 'I went to the river and I bathed there,' or
 'I went to the river to bathe there.'

6.1.5 Sequential sentence

The sequential sentence is minimally composed of two or more clauses connected by the conjunction biha 'and then'. The order of the clauses reflects the temporal sequence of the actions reported. The conjunction biha is pre-enclitic, which means that any enclitic pronouns and enclitic adverbs in the following clause must occur directly after it.

COMPLEX SENTENCES

Examples are:

Kinwa nay latiko na biha na ko pinagbabarog.
fetched he-NM whip his then he I whipped
'He fetched his whip and then he whipped me.'

Inabriyan nay polta nin koral biha intaboy ha
opened he-NM door GM corral then drove OM
'He opened the door of the corral, then drove

likol ya aw-ayop biha na pino-olan
outside NM animals then he burned
outside the animals, and then he burned

baytoy koral.
that-lk corral
that corral.'

Inalal lay kolob la biha tinamnan kalobaha.
fenced they-NM yard their then planted squash
'They fenced their yard then planted squash.'

Hinapwat la ya biha insopo do ha likol
lifted they her then threw there OM outside
'They lifted her up then (they) threw (her)

palasyo.
palace
outside the palace.'

6.2 Adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses expand basic sentences in a manner similar to simple moveable adverbs (see sec. 5.2.3). There are five types of adverbial clauses: **temporal**, **conditional**, **causal**, **purpose**, and **concessive**. The underlying order of clauses is main clause followed by adverbial clause. All adverbial clauses, however, can be permuted to occur before the main clause, in which case the subordinate clause and main clause are separated either by the inversion marker ay (see sec. 4.9) or by a phonological pause.

6.2.1 Temporal clauses

Temporal clauses are marked by the following subordinating conjunctions: hin 'when, after', angga 'until', mintras 'while', bayo 'before', and biha 'before'.

(1) Hin 'when, after' indicates past time action; a verb inflected for either Perfective or Contemplated aspect in the hin clause indicates that the action is at the same time or just prior to the action expressed in the main clause.

Examples are:

Nalimowan ya mangongonà hin nakit na ya
afraid NM fisherman when saw he NM
'The fisherman was afraid when he saw

mihay ganti.
one-lk giant
the giant.'

Hin lomateng ya, pinastang ni Lawin ya
when arrive she asked GM Hawk NM
'When she arrived, the Hawk asked for

aw-alahas na.
jewelry her
her jewelry.'

The verb of the hin clause can also be inflected for Imperfective aspect:

Hin hay arì ay ampiknò ana ha trono na ay
when NM king IM sitting now OM throne his IM
'When the king was sitting on his throne, he

nasita na ya hay ahawa nay rayna ay ayin ha
noticed he CM NM wife his-lk queen IM none OM
noticed that his wife the queen was not near

dani na.
near his
him.'

Mintras ambomoyot ya pamaliyò nin aw=anak
 while taking long time NM bathing GM children
 'While the children were bathing for a long time,
 ay amo-amò hilaynan ampagkama-in
 IM little by little they-now getting
 little by little they were getting
 mayamò ya ikoy.
 small lk tail
 small tails.'

(4) Bayo 'before' is pre-enclitic. It can occur with a Perfective aspect verb:

Bayo hila nakakit nin mahilongan ay natina
 before they saw GM shelter IM died-now
 'Before they saw shelter, two fledglings of the
 pon ya loway a-akayen nin manokmanok.
 first NM two-lk fledglings GM bird
 bird died.'

or a Contemplated aspect verb:

Bayo ko halita-en komo ya labay kon pangamati
 before I tell you NM want I-GM death
 'Before I tell you how I want to die, I have a
 ko ay ma-in akon pastangen ha ngalan nin Diyos.
 my IM exist I-GM question OM name GM God
 question to ask in the name of God.'

(5) Biha 'before' is pre-enclitic. As a subordinating conjunction, biha is homophonous with the coordinating conjunction biha 'and then'. When a biha clause occurs following the main clause, it is frequently ambiguous between the subordinate and coordinate readings of the conjunction. However, only the adverbial biha clause can be permuted to

COMPLEX SENTENCES

occur before the main clause. Examples with a Perfective aspect verb are:

Biha ya in-anak ay nako hi Tatay na ha dogal
before he born IM went NM father his OM place
'Before he was born, his father went to the place
nin Aw-igoroti nin mangaho.
GM Igorots CM hunt
of the Igorots to hunt.'

Biha nog-alih hi Lam-ang ay emen nan angkakit
before left NM IM as if he-lk seeing
'Before Lam-ang left, it was as if he was seeing
ya ma-in katowà ya mangyarì kona.
NM exist bad lk happen he
that there would be bad things happen to him.'

and with a Contemplated aspect verb:

Biha ka mag-ompisan magtrabaho ay pakarani ka
before you start-CM work IM approach you
'Before you start to work, first come near to
pon ha Diyos.
first OM God
God.'

6.2.2 Conditional clauses

Conditional clauses are introduced by the conjunction no'if'. They can occur with either a nonverbal predicate or a Contemplated aspect verb. Examples are:

No patyen mo ya otan ay biyan katan gawgintò.
If kill you NM snake IM give I/you-GM gold
'If you kill the snake, I will give you gold.'

No ma-in kan makit ya pali ya antiro ay
 if exist you-lk see lk rice lk loc-there IM
 'If you see any rice there, then

parosawan mo ko.
 punish you I
 punish me.'

No tadtaren mo ko, sigoradon lomakè ako.
 if chop up you I surely-lk become-many I
 'If you chop me up, I will surely become many.'

When the no clause represents a recurrent event or situation, it can be translated as an English 'when' clause:

No allon Sabado boy no ayin klasi ay
 when day-lk Saturday and when none class IM
 'When it was Saturday and when there were no

ampananaman ya.
 planting he
 classes, he would plant.'

No allo ay ampan-ahok; no yabi ay ampag-apoy.
 when day IM smoking when night IM flaming
 'When it was daytime it was smoking; when it was
 nighttime it was flaming.'

6.2.3 Causal clauses

Causal clauses are introduced by the conjunction banà ta 'because'. A causal clause expresses the reason for the event reported in the main clause. The predicate of a causal clause can be either verbal or nonverbal. Examples are:

Nog-alih yan masyadon lelè banà ta naloko ya
 left he-lk very-lk sad because fooled he
 'He left very sad because he had been fooled by

ni Pag-ong.
 GM Turtle
 the Turtle.'

COMPLEX SENTENCES

Banà ta ampag-aporah ya ay nikatak nay
because hurrying she IM lost she-NM
'Because she was hurrying, she lost the ring
hinghing boy kolinta ni Lawin.
ring and beads GM Hawk
and beads of the Hawk.'

Hatoy intanem ni Bakè ay nalaneh ana banà ta
that-lk planted GM Monkey IM withered now because
'What the Monkey planted withered because there
ayin yamot.
none root
were no roots.'

Hi Kalapati ay ampilopadlopad itaman banà ta
NM Dove IM flying also because
'The Dove was flying around also because he
mabital ya.
hungry he
was hungry.'

6.2.4 Purpose Clauses

Purpose clauses are introduced by the conjunction emen '(in order) to, in order that, so that'. The predicate of a purpose clause can be either nonverbal or a verb in Contemplated aspect. Emen is optionally pre-enclitic. Examples are:

Manolat kan pirmi konnawen emen nawen
write you-lk always we so that we
'Write to us always so that we will know what
matanda-an ya ampangyari bahen komo.
know NM happening there you
is happening to you there.'

Pinalabeg lay lanom emen ahè makapaliyo
made roily they-NM water so that not able to bathe
'They made the water roily so that the old woman
baytoy mato-antawoy babayi.
that-lk old-lk woman
would not be able to bathe.'

Itanem ta bayti ya hangl̄ nin ha=a amēn tā
 plant we this lk sucker GM banana so that we
 'Let's plant this banana sucker so that we will
 ma-in nin ma-ekan no mamonga.
 exist lk eat if bears fruit
 have something to eat if it bears fruit.'

6.2.5 Concessive clauses

Concessive clauses are introduced by the conjunction maski 'although, even though'. A concessive clause expresses a situation which by contrast makes the information of the main clause unexpected or surprising. The predicate of a concessive clause can be either verbal or nonverbal. Examples are:

Maski ahè ampakalpad ya pag-ong ay
 although not able to fly NM turtle IM
 'Although the turtle wasn't able to fly,
 ampakapagdagaw hila ni Manokmanok.
 able to play they GM Bird
 he and the Bird could play together.'

Maski nayarl̄ yan namatanem ay ma-in
 although finished he-lk caused to plant IM exist
 'Although he has finished planting, he still has
 ya et simprin trabaho.
 he still anyway-lk work
 work.'

Maski makhaw ya bawbaraso boy bawbitih ni
 although strong NM arms and feet GM
 'Although Kà Rosa's arms and feet are strong,
 Kà Rosa, hay pangingihip na ay makapey.
 NM mind her IM weak
 her mind is weak.'

6.3 Complement clauses

Complement clauses are embedded clauses that bear grammatical relations to the verb such as direct object, indirect object, etc. As such, they can be viewed as expansions of nominals that bear a grammatical relation. Five types of complement structures will be described under the following headings: **direct quotation, indirect quotation, mental/verbal activity and perception, purpose and result, and phase and manner.**

6.3.1 Direct quotation

Direct quotation sentences are two types: (1) in which the direct quotation clause functions as the initial direct object of the speech verb of the main clause; and (2) in which it is marked by a **quotation tag**.

(1) The verb of the main clause of a direct quotation sentence is a speech verb such as maghalità 'say, tell', magpastang 'ask', tombay 'answer', etc. The direct quotation clause can function as direct object of the main verb; it is not preceded by any grammatical marker. For example:

Naghalità ya ganti ha makhaw ya bosis,
 said NM giant OM loud lk voice
 'The giant said in a loud voice, "Kneel
 "Manalimokod ka ha arapan ko."
 kneel you OM front my
 in front of me."'

A direct quotation clause functioning as direct object can be promoted to the subject relation; as a subject, it is not preceded by any grammatical marker. Examples are:

'Hinalità na konla, "Ma-in akon gintan komoyo."
 said he they exist I-lk brought you
 'He said to them, "I have brought something
 for you."'

'Pinastang na kongko, "Makano kawo morong?"'
 asked he I when you go home
 'He asked me, "When will you go home?"'

(2) A direct quotation clause can be marked by a quotation tag composed of a speech noun followed by a genitive phrase indicating the speaker. The speech nouns are related to corresponding speech verbs, e.g. halità 'word', pastang 'question', tobay 'answer'. Examples of quotation tags are:

"Dapat akon manggawà hatoy tawoy ayin
 should I-1k make that-1k person-1k none
 "I should make a person without any mistakes,"
 mali," halità nin hatoy diyos.
 mistake word GM that-1k god
 said the god.'

"Inhompà mo nayi ha ngalan nin Diyos ya hika ay
 swear you QP OM name GM God you IM
 "Do you swear in the name of God that you are
 talagan ibat bayri ha masitira?" pastang nin
 really-1k from here OM flowerpot question GM
 really from this flowerpot?" asked the
 mangongonà.
 fisherman
 fisherman.'

"An-ihompà ko ya hiko ay talagan ibat bayri ha
 swearing I CM I IM really-1k from here OM
 "I swear that I am really from this flowerpot,"
 masitira," tobay nin ganti.
 flowerpot answer GM giant
 answered the giant.'

There is a specialized quotation tag composed of the form wan- 'to say' plus a genitive phrase indicating the speaker. With personal pronouns and personal and common nouns filling the genitive

phrase, the following set of forms results:

wangko	'I said'	wannawen	'we said'
wanta	'I and you (sg.) said'	wantamo	'we and you said'
wamo	'you (sg.) said'	wamoyo	'you (pl.) said'
wana	'he/she said'	wanla	'they said'
wana ni	} Juan	'Juan said'	
wani			
wana nin	} anak	'the child said'	
wanan			

The quotation tag can occur preceding, following, or internally in the direct quotation clause.

Examples are:

Wana nin ganti, "Agmoyna sayangen ya pana-on."
said-he GM giant not-you-now waste NM time
'Said the giant, "Don't waste time."'

"Ka-ilangan pariho tan mananem," wani Pag-ong.
necessary both we-lk plant said-GM Turtle
'"We must both plant," said the Turtle.'

"Sigoro," wana, "tamà ana bayti."
maybe said-he enough now this
'"Maybe," he said, "this is enough now."'

6.3.2 Indirect quotation

An indirect quotation complement clause functions as the initial direct object of the speech verb of the main clause. An indirect quotation clause may be a statement, in which case it is preceded by the complement marker ya. For example:

Hay mihay mangangaho ay ampagtotal ya nakit na hi
NM one-lk hunter IM telling CM saw he NM
'One hunter told that he saw Maria Makiling bathing
Marian Makiling ya ampaliyò ha matagò ya dogal.
lk bathing OM secluded lk place
at a secluded place.'

An indirect quotation clause can also be a question, either a yes-no or information question (see sec. 4.5), in which case it is preceded by the complement marker no. For example:

Ampipagpastang hila no anyay ngalan nin habaytoy
asking they CM what-NM name GM that-lk
'They were asking what the name of that place was.'
dogal.
place

An indirect quotation clause can be promoted to the subject relation. Examples of indirectly quoted statements functioning as subject are:

Hinalità na ya patyen nay otan ta agya
said he CM kill he-NM snake because not-he
'He said that he would kill the snake because he
angkalimo.
afraid
was not afraid.'

Hinalità na et ya agna ya anlapiyen.
said she also CM not-she he loving
'She also said that she didn't love him.'

And examples of indirectly quoted questions functioning as subject are:

Pinastang na no anya ya dapat nan gaw-en.
asked he CM what NM must he-lk do
'He asked what he must do.'

Halita-en moyo kongko no makano kawo mako ha istit.
tell you I CM when you go OM states
'Tell me when you are going to the States.'

6.3.3 Mental/verbal activity and perception

Verbs expressing mental/verbal activity and perception can take a complement clause that functions as initial direct object. However, due to

COMPLEX SENTENCES

subject selection rules similiar to those stated in sec. 4.4, direct object complement clauses of this type are typically promoted to the subject relation. Unless noted otherwise, the examples below will contain complement clauses that are functioning as derived subjects.

Verbs of mental/verbal activity and perception accept complement clauses that are either statements or questions. Like indirect quotation clauses, statements are marked by ya, and questions by no. Examples of mental/verbal activity verbs with complement clauses are:

An-ihipen na ya agya makalako ha bayli.
thinking she CM not-she able to go OM dance
'She was thinking that she wouldn't be able to go
to the dance.'

Natanda-an nin hatoy prinsipi ya hiya bayto ay
learned GM that-lk prince CM she that IM
'The prince learned that she was Ripolyo.'

hi Ripolyo.

NM

Agnayna inintindi no anyay labay totolen nin
not-he-now understood CM what-NM want say GM
'He didn't understand the meaning of what Marta

habaytoy hinalità kona ni Marta
that-lk said he GM
said to him.'

Examples of perception verbs with complement clauses are:

Natanam nin manokmanok ya amo-amò yan
felt GM bird CM little by little he-lk
'The bird felt that little by little he was

angkalemeh.
drowning
drowning.'

Nakit na ya ma-in anan bonga ya ha-a na.
saw he CM exist now-lk fruit NM banana his
'He saw that his banana plant had fruit now.'

Nanaynep ya no anya ya mangyari ha banowan Igorot.
dreamed he CM what NM happen OM town-GM
'He dreamed about what would happen at the Igorot town.'

(Note that in the last example the complement clause of the verb manaynep 'to dream' is functioning as an initial direct object.)

Under certain conditions, verbs of mental/verbal activity and perception may take a complement clause that is introduced by the complement marker nin. Only embedded statements have been found marked by nin. Although the precise distribution of the complement markers ya and nin is not entirely accounted for, certain generalizations can be made.

When a main clause and its complement clause contain nominals or noun phrases that are coreferential, i.e. referring to the same participant, these noun phrases are said to be equivalent noun phrases. For example:

Na-hipan nin manokmanok ya lakwen na ya pag-ong.
thought GM bird CM go he NM turtle
'The bird thought that he would go to the turtle.'

In this sentence, the noun phrase nin manokmanok of the main clause is coreferential with the pronoun na in the complement clause; they are therefore equivalent noun phrases. If the equivalent noun phrase of the complement clause is either an initial subject or a subject chomeur, and if the corresponding equivalent noun phrase of the main clause is either initial subject, derived subject, or subject chomeur, the equivalent noun phrase in the complement clause can be deleted. This process will be referred to as equivalent noun phrase deletion, or equi-NP-deletion. Whenever

equi-NP-deletion is applied, the complement clause must be introduced by the complement marker nin. (This necessarily means that the complement marker ya never introduces a clause where equi-NP-deletion has been applied.) For example, to compare with the sentence above:

Na-ihipan na nin lakwen ya pag-ong.
 thought he CM go NM turtle
 'He thought to go to the turtle.'

In this sentence the deleted noun phrase is the subject chomeur of the verb lakwen, and is equivalent to the subject chomeur of na-ihipan in the main clause. That the equi-NPs do not have to bear the same final grammatical relation for deletion to apply is shown in the following example in which the equi-NP of the main clause is a subject chomeur and the deleted equi-NP of the complement clause is initial subject:

Na-ihipan na nin mandam ha amigo na.
 thought she CM borrow OM friend her
 'She thought to borrow from her friend.'

In the following example, the equi-NP in the main clause is a derived subject (from an initial indirect object) and the deleted equi-NP of the complement clause is an initial subject:

Tambayan mo ko nin mangihip.
 help you I CM think
 'Help me to think.'

Tinoro-an na hila nin manggawa nin ta-en.
 taught he they CM make GM trap
 'He taught them to make a trap.'

(Note that the complement clause in the last example is functioning as direct object.) Other

examples of complement clauses with equi-NP-deletion are as follows:

Naliwawan na nin bisitawen ya tanaman na.
 forgot he CM visit NM plant his
 'He forgot to visit his plant.'

Hay manokmanok ay natoto nin nanlabi ha mayamò
 NM bird IM learned CM loved OM small
 'The bird learned to love a small shrimp.'

ya olang.
 lk shrimp

Naralà yaynan kinomamat ha tawtrak.
 gave up he-now-CM ran after OM trucks
 'He gave up running after trucks.'

(The complement clauses in the last two examples are functioning as direct object.)

6.3.4 Purpose and result

Certain main clause verbs accept complement clauses that express purpose or result. As such, these complement clauses bear nonnuclear grammatical relations of **purpose** and **result**. Equi-NP-deletion obligatorily applies to all purpose and result complement clauses; they are therefore all introduced by the complement marker nin. Purpose and result clauses are similar semantically, but are grammatically distinguished by the aspect of the verb of the complement clause: the verb of a purpose clause is in Contemplated aspect, and the verb of a result clause is in Perfective aspect. For example, this sentence contains a purpose clause:

Nako ya nin mangonà.
 went he CM fish
 'He went to fish.'

COMPLEX SENTENCES

but the following sentence contains a result clause:

Nako ya nin nangonà.

went he CM fished

'He went fishing,' or 'He went and fished.'

The difference, then, is that in the purpose clause the occurrence of the event of fishing is not indicated; whereas in the result clause the occurrence of the event of fishing is indicated. Examples of purpose complement clauses are as follows:

Inhogò na hila nin bowagen ya mata nin otan.

sent he they CM blind NM eyes GM snake.

'He sent them to blind the eyes of the snake.'

Ampagbalatkayo ya nin manambay ha mato-antawoy
disguising she CM help OM old-lk

'She disguises herself to help the old woman

babayi ya ampanyo.

woman lk gathering firewood

gathering firewood.'

An-igwà nay kaganawan kaya na nin magsirbi

giving he-NM all-lk strength his CM serve

'He gives all his strength to serve all their

ha kaganawan pawpanganga-ilangan la.

OM all-lk needs their

needs.'

Examples of result complement clauses are:

Hi Kalapati ay nako nin nanikap ma-ekan ha ambay

NM Dove IM went CM looked food OM shore

'The Dove went and looked for food at the sea

dagat.

sea

shore.'

Impowayo naynan gintan koni Marta.
 ran he-now-CM took OM
 'He ran and took (it) to Marta.'

Nako ya nin nagtagò ha kolon ongot ya ma-in lobot.
 went he CM hid OM shell coconut lk exist hole
 'He went and hid in a coconut shell with a hole.'

6.3.5 Phase and manner

Certain main clause verbs that express phase and manner accept complement clauses. The complement clauses are initial direct objects, and can be promoted to subject. Equi-NP-deletion obligatorily applies to the complement clause. The following examples are of complement clauses with main verbs that express inceptive phase:

Nag-ompisa ya nin toktoken ya kawayan.
 began he CM peck NM bamboo
 'He began to peck the bamboo.'

Inompisawan nan inolot ya dawdikot.
 began he-CM pull NM grass
 'He began to pull the grass.'

(Note that the verbs of the complement clauses are in Contemplated aspect.) Examples of complement clauses with main verb that express manner are:

Nanandali yan naglako ha pag-ong.
 hurried he-CM went OM turtle
 'Hurrying, he went to the turtle.'

Hi Ikay boy hi Tino ay nilombà nin nako ha polta.
 NM and NM IM raced CM went OM door
 'Racing, Ikay and Tino went to the door.'

(Note that the verbs of the complement clauses are in Perfective aspect.)

6.3.6 Clausal predicates

A clausal predicate is a clause embedded to function as a predicate. A clausal predicate always takes a subject noun phrase, which is typically a nominalized construction (see sec. 5.1.5). The subject noun phrase expresses a generic concept of which the clausal predicate is its specific content. The most common subjects of clausal predicates are pro-verbs like 'do' and 'happen'. Examples are:

Hay ginawà ni Ayà ay kinyat nay bitih nin
 NM did GM Ant IM bit he-NM foot GM
 'What the Ant did was, he bit the foot of
 hatoy mamamaril.
 that-lk hunter
 of that hunter.'

Hay ginawà ni Manok ay nandam yan hinghing
 NM did GM Chicken IM borrowed she-GM ring
 'What the chicken did was, she borrowed a ring
 boy kolinta.
 and beads
 and some beads.'

Hay nangyari ay natinay lalaki.
 NM happened IM died-now-NM man
 'What happened was, the man died.'

Note that whenever a sentence contains a clausal predicate, sentence inversion (see sec. 4.9) obligatorily applies, placing the subject phrase before the clausal predicate. Other examples of clausal predicates are as follows:

Hay na-ihipan la ay mipowayo hila.
 NM thought they IM elope they
 'What they thought was that they would elope.'

Hay tandà na ay ampanggihà yan ma-alagà boy
 Nm know he IM creating he-GM valuable and
 'What he knew was that he was creating a valuable
 importanti ya bagay.
 important lk thing
 and important thing.'

Hay an-ipamahang nan masyado ay no antà pati
 NM making angry he-lk very IM CM why even
 'What was making him very angry was why Juan
 pali ya antomobò ay inolot ni Juan.
 rice lk sprouting IM pulled up GM
 pulled up even rice that was sprouting.'

Note that in the last example the clausal predicate has the form of an embedded question and is preceded by the question complement marker no (see sec. 6.3.2).

TEXTUAL COHESION

CHAPTER 7

TEXTUAL COHESION

Textual cohesion is how events and participants in a text relate to other events and participants already mentioned in the text. The devices that signal cohesive relations generally operate between sentences, rather than within sentences. Three types of textual cohesion will be described here: **temporal cohesion**, **logical cohesion**, and **participant cohesion**.

In Sambal, the two primary cohesive devices used to signal temporal and logical cohesion are **linkage** and **connectives**. **Linkage** is a device that connects sentences by means of a sentence-initial clause or phrase that repeats or refers to information already mentioned in a preceding sentence. In other words, information that is introduced in a sentence is repeated in a grammatically dependent constituent to provide a link or departure point for the next sentence. Temporal, logical, and participant cohesion each use linkage devices.

Connectives are conjunctions and adverbs that make explicit the temporal and logical relations between sentences. Unlike linkage devices, they do not contain redundant information. But like linkage devices, most of them do occur sentence-initially.

Participant cohesion is signaled by coreference and pronominalization. It also uses a type of lexical linkage here called **topicalization**.

Since the corpus used for this study consisted almost entirely of folktales, the following analysis of textual cohesion applies primarily to narrative text.

Whenever an example is given below that comprises two or more successive sentences, they will be labeled A, B, etc. Also, the cohesive device being described will be underlined in the examples.

7.1 Temporal cohesion

7.1.1 Temporal linkage

There are two types of temporal linkage clauses: (1) temporal adverbial clauses (see sec. 6.2), and (2) nonfinite dependent temporal clauses formed by affixing a verb root with pamaka-, panga-, pami-, or pan-...-om-, all of which mean 'when something is done/finished' or 'upon doing something'. All temporal linkage clauses occur in sentence-initial position and are connected to the main clause by the inversion marker ay or a phonological pause (see sec. 4.9).

In its simplest form, a linkage clause exactly repeats the verb and participants of the preceding sentence or clause:

A. Nowayo yaynan nowayo angga ha nibarak ya.
ran he-now-lk ran until fell down he
'He ran and ran until he fell down.'

B. Hin nibarak ya ay na-ihipan na bayto ya
when fell down he IM thought he that lk
'When he had fallen down, he thought of what
 hinalitã kona ni Nanay na.
 told he GM Mother his
 his mother had told him.'

In this example, the temporal linkage clause in sentence B is a subordinate clause beginning with the conjunction hin 'when, after' (see sec. 6.2.1(1)). The function of linkage clauses in examples like the above is to make explicit the temporal relation between two events, thereby effecting a smooth transition between sentences.

In narrative text, a temporal linkage clause uses the subordinating conjunction hin, as in the example above. In procedural text, however, a temporal linkage clause uses the conjunction no 'when, if' (see sec. 6.2.2). The conjunction no indicates that the events are part of a generalized

sequence of events, i.e. a procedure; they are not specific events being reported as in a narrative text. For example:

- A. Primiro nan gaw-en ay manlinis yan
 first he-lk does IM cleans he-GM
 'The first thing he does is, he cleans his
 dalakerekan na biha na ararowen.
 seed bed his then he plows
 seed bed and then he plows it.'
- B. No na-araro nayna ay balhawen na.
 when plowed he-now IM harrows he
 'When he has plowed it, he harrows it.'

In this example, the main verbs are in Contemplated aspect, indicating generalized events: manlinis 'cleans', ararowen 'plow', and balhawen 'harrows'. The verb in the linkage clause, however, is in Perfective aspect, indicating that the action of plowing is completed before the harrowing begins. Also, the enclitic adverb -ana 'now, already' (see sec. 5.2.1) indicates that the action of the linkage clause is completed prior to the action of the main clause.

Linkage is much more frequent in procedural text than in narrative text. Folktale texts in the corpus seldom had more than three or four temporal linkage clauses per text, whereas the procedural text that the above example came from had thirteen linkage clauses in thirty-two sentences.

Two sentences connected by temporal linkage do not have to be contiguous. In the next example, sentence C is connected to sentence A by means of the underlined linkage clause; the intervening sentence B gives descriptive and collateral information that does not advance the sequence of events. The linkage clause, then, functions to

connect the sequence of events started in A and continued in C.

- A. Namapakanawa yan napakarani ta iniwà nay
 slowly he-1k approached and cut he-NM
 'Slowly he approached and cut his Mother's
 nebnèb ni Nanay na biha na kinway posò na.
 chest GM Mother his then he got-NM heart her
 chest and then he got her heart.'
- B. Ampan-angaw hi Nanay nay ampananam hakit
 crying NM Mother his-1k feeling pain
 'His Mother was crying and feeling pain until
 anggan nati ya; piro ahè inintindi
 until died she but not paid attention
 she died but Andres didn't pay attention
 bayto ni Andres.
 that GM
 to that.'
- C. Hin nakwa nayna ya posò nin nanay na ay
 when got he-now NM heart GM mother his IM
 'When he had gotten his Mother's heart, he ran
 impowayo naynan gintan koni Marta.
 ran he-now-CM took OM
 and took it to Marta.'

Besides simple repetition, temporal linkage clauses can express an event that is implied by or expected from the preceding context. In the following example, the action of eloping in sentence A is not reported as having taken place, but is only being contemplated (hence the verb is in Contemplated aspect). Since the implication or expectation is that the elopement will take place, the linkage clause in sentence B refers to the elopement as a completed action that then leads to the main event reported in the main clause of the sentence.

TEXTUAL COHESION

- A. Hay na-hipan la ay mipowayo hila.
NM thought they IM elope they
'What they thought was that they would elope.'
- B. Hin nayari hilan nipowayo ay pinarosawan
When finished they-CM eloped IM punished
'When they had eloped, they were punished.'
hilayna.
they-now

A temporal linkage clause can express the expected result of a previous event by using a different verb:

- A. "Mako tayna," wani Bakè.
go we-now said-GM Monkey
'"Let's go," said the Monkey.'
- B. Panlomateng la do ay nakit layna ya
arriving they there IM saw they-now CM
'Upon arriving there, they saw that the
nawotò anay ha-a.
ripened now-NM banana
bananas had ripened.'
- A. "Anlabiyen kon Ari," wana, "hay rayna ay
beloved my-lk King said-he NM queen IM
'"My beloved King," he said, "the queen is not
ayin do ha kowarto na."
none there OM room her
in her room."
- B. Pamakalengè nin ari ha hinalità nin gowardya
hearing GM king OM said GM guard
'The king, upon hearing what the guard said,
ay naliwawan nayna ya miting la.
IM forgot he-now NM meeting their
forgot their meeting.'

In the two examples just given, the verb go expects arrive, and say expects hear. This relation of

expectancy between a sentence and a subsequent linkage clause can become even more abstract; but the content of the linkage clause must be inferable from either the preceding context or from general cultural knowledge. For example, in a text about growing rice, certain stages of the process such as sprouting, turning yellow, and so on are reported only in linkage clauses; the speaker is assuming that the hearer can infer these things from his knowledge of the real world.

7.1.2 Temporal connectives

Temporal connectives can be time adverbs (see sec. 5.2.3(2)) such as ika-ibokahan 'next day', nalabah ya ongnoy bowan 'after a few months', and so on. They signal the temporal sequence between sentences. For example:

A. Hiniling nay biyan yan bali ya malhay.
wished he-CM give he-GM house lk large
'He wished that he would be given a large house.'

B. Ikabayombokah, nabiglà hila.
next morning surprised they
'The next morning, they were surprised.'

Temporal connectives also function as settings that connect successive episodes in a narrative:

Mihay allo ay biglà dinomeglem ya langit.
one-lk day IM suddenly darkened NM sky
'One day, the sky suddenly darkened.'

Other temporal connectives are sentence conjunctions, such as biha 'then', totongna 'then, immediately', pangayari 'after', then, next', and

hapa-eg 'now, then'. Examples are:

- A. Pinakakokortiyán nan mahampat banà ta hay
shaped he-lk well because NM
'He shaped it well because he knew that he was
tandà na ay ampanggawà yan ma-alagà boy
know he IM making he-GM valuable and
making a valuable and important thing.'

importanti ya bagay.
important lk thing

- B. Biha pinaklang na ha apoy baytoy kinorti
then dried he OM fire that-lk shaped
'Then he dried in the fire what he shaped from
nay pità.
he-lk mud
mud.'

The connective totongna indicates a sequence of events with no lapse of time between them:

- A. Nangihip hi Anggalo.
thought NM
'Anggalo thought.'
- B. Totongna, biglà yan nireng.
then suddenly he-lk stood up
'Then, he suddenly stood up.'
- A. Nangwa yan dawdowih ta inggawà na ha
got he-GM thorns and placed he OM
'He got some thorns and placed them around
mamalibot po-on ha-a.
around trunk banana
the banana trunk.'
- B. Pangayarì, nako yan nagtagò ha kolon ongot
after went he-CM hid OM shell coconut
'After, he went and hid in a coconut shell with
ya ma-in lobot.
lk exist hole
a hole in it.'

The connective hapa-eg, while included here as temporal connective, has a broader function than the other temporal connectives. Like the temporal connectives described above, hapa-eg can be used to indicate temporal sequence between sentences. But there are many occurrences of hapa-eg where it cannot be interpreted as signaling the temporal sequence of events in a narrative. In these instances it is marking a transition in the text, such as between episodes, between plot constituents, between conversation and narrative, and between event and nonevent information. For example:

A. Agya ampangan kanayon ya pamamangan no alwan
 not-she eating other lk food if not-lk
 'She didn't eat any other food except cabbage.'

ripolyo.
 cabbage

B. Hapa-eg, banà ha ka-irapan la ay ayin
 now because OM poverty their IM none
 'Now, because of their poverty, they had no

hilan sintimos ya pirmin panaliw ripolyo.
 they-lk money lk always-lk buying cabbage
 money for always buying cabbage.'

These two sentences do not report any events, only descriptions or states of affairs; the connective hapa-eg, then, cannot be signaling temporal sequence between events. Rather, hapa-eg is marking the transition between plot constituents: the setting, which ends in sentence A, and the complication, which begins in sentence B.

In the next example, the text has related a sequence of events culminating with sentence A. Sentence B starts a new episode with the introduction of a new participant. This transition is signaled by hapa-eg:

A. Nagpatoloy hila et ha pagtrabaho, ta
continued they still OM working and
'They continued working and made a canal.'

nanggawà hila nin kanal.
made they GM canal

B. Hapa-eg, ma-in malhay ya otan ya ampa-iri
now exist large lk snake lk living
'Now, there was a large snake living there on

bayro ha bakil.
there OM mountain
the mountain.'

In the next example, hapa-eg signals the transition from direct quotation to narration:

A. Wana nin ganti, "Mamilì ka no anyay labay
said-he GM giant choose you CM what-NM want
'The giant said, "Choose how you want to die."'

mo nin pangamati."
you GM death

B. Hapa-eg hay mangongonà ay nangihip.
now NM fisherman IM thought
'Now, the fisherman thought.'

In this last example, the connective hapa-eg could be interpreted in a temporal sense, in which case sentence B could be translated, 'Then the fisherman thought.' But even if the temporal interpretation is correct here, it is still true that the hapa-eg is here used at a transition point where other temporal connectives may not be appropriate.

7.2 Logical cohesion

7.2.1 Logical linkage

Sentence-initial nontemporal adverbial clauses frequently function as linkage clauses. Like temporal linkage clauses, logical linkage clauses

contain redundant information, i.e. information that is either repeated or inferable from the preceding context. (Note, however, that not all instances of sentence-initial nontemporal adverbial clauses are linkage clauses.) Causal and concessive (see sec. 6.2.3 and 6.2.5) are the most frequent types of logical linkage clauses. Examples are:

- A. An-ihipen na ya agya makalako ha bayli
 thinking she CM not-she able to go OM dance
 'She was thinking that she couldn't go to the
 ta ayin ya nin alahas.
 because none she lk jewelry
 dance because she had no jewelry.'
- B. Hapa-eg, banà ta ayin yan hinghing ay
 now because none she-lk ring IM
 'Now, because she had no ring, she thought to
 na-ihipan na nin mandam ha amigo na ya ma-in
 thought she CM borrow OM friend her lk exist
 borrow from her friend who had much jewelry.'
 malakè ya alahas.
 much lk jewelry
- A. Maliga ya no mayari matamnan ya paliyan na.
 happy he when finish plant NM paddy his
 'He is happy when he finishes planting his
 paddy.'
- B. Piro maski nayari yan namatanem
 but although finished he-CM caused to plant
 'But although he has finished planting, he
 ay ma-in ya et simprin trabaho.
 IM exist he still anyway-lk work
 still has work.'

7.2.2 Logical connectives

Logical connectives signal the logical relation between sentences. Grammatically, logical connectives can be sentence conjunctions or

enclitic adverbs. In Sambal, logical connectives are used to indicate the relations of **adversative**, **result**, and **inference**.

(1) The **adversative** relation draws a contrast between two situations, frequently accompanied by an element of contraexpectation. The adversative relation is signaled by the connectives piro and balè 'but, however'. These same words are used as coordinating conjunctions that form complex sentences (see sec. 6.1(3)); in their use as connectives, however, they relate one sentence to another, and even units larger than a sentence to each other.

The connective piro occurs sentence-initially. In the following example, piro is connecting two sentences:

- A. Hin nakwa nayna ya posò nin nanay na ay
 when got he-now NM heart GM mother his IM
 'When he had gotten his mother's heart, he ran
 impowayo naynan gintan koni Marta.
 ran he-now-CM took OM
 and took it to Marta.'
- B. Piro panlomateng na ha bali li Marta ay
 but arriving he OM house GM IM
 'But upon arriving at Marta's house, she just
 kina-iliyan na yan bongat.
 laughed she he-lk only
 laughed at him.'

(Note that sentence B also has a temporal linkage clause.)

The connective piro can also connect a sentence with a preceding unit larger than a single sentence. For example, one text in the corpus begins with a description of the good traits of a dog named Tagpi. This takes up the first four

sentences of the text; then the fifth sentence says:

Piro hi Tagpì ay ma-in ogali ya alwan mahampat.
 but NM IM exist habit lk not-lk good
 'But Tagpì had a habit that was not good.'

Clearly, this sentence is in contrast to the first four sentences as a unit, not to any single sentence. Also, in relation to the plot structure of the text, this adversative connective marks the complication of the narrative.

The adversative connective balè functions the same as piro. Grammatically, however, balè differs in that it can occur either sentence-initially or sentence-medially. When sentence-medial, it occurs after the first full word and any enclitics. For example:

A. Natinay lalaki hin anti ya bongat ha
 died-now-NM man when loc he only OM
 'The man died when he was only half-way up
 pigitna-an bakil.
 middle mountain
 the mountain.'

B. Hay babayi balè ay ni-abot ha babo biha
 NM woman however IM arrived OM top before
 'The woman, however, reached the top before
 ya nati.
 she died
 she died.'

(2) The result relation is indicated by the connective kayà 'so, therefore'. Occurring sentence-initially, kayà marks the result of a cause or reason given in the preceding sentence or context. For example:

A. Banà ha ka-irapan la ay ayin hilan
 because OM poverty their IM none they-lk
 'Because of their poverty, they had no money

sintimos ya pirmin panaliw ripolyo.
 money lk always-lk buying cabbage
 for always buying cabbage.'

B. Kayà yabiyabi, hi Nanay na ay ampakon
 so every night NM Mother her IM going-CM
 'So every night her Mother would go steal

manakaw ripolyo.
 steal cabbage
 cabbage.'

A. Hay pahang ni Lawin koni Manok.

NM anger GM Hawk OM Chicken

'How angry the Hawk was at the Chicken.'

B. Kayà hay ginawà na ay inhompà na hi Manok.
 so NM did she IM cursed she NM Chicken
 'So what she did was, she cursed the Chicken.'

Like the adversative connectives described above, the result connective kayà can relate a sentence to a preceding unit of several sentences. For example, in the text 'Why the Turtle has a House' (see the Appendix), sentences eighteen to twenty report the thoughts of the turtle about what would happen if he let the bird and all its companions enter his house. The next sentence, twenty-one, says:

Kayà hinalità na, "Agkatawo ma-arì palo-oben."
 so said he not-I-you able let enter
 'So he said, "I cannot let you enter."'

The content of this sentence is the result of what happened in the preceding three sentences as a whole.

(3) The inference relation is signaled by the enclitic adverb awod 'so, therefore, then' (see sec. 5.2.1). As a sentence connective, awod marks the conclusion that has been inferred from grounds

or premises given in the preceding context. There is no causal relation involved; it is strictly a logical inference. In the text from which the following example is taken, two children have been trying to guess what their father has in his pocket. This sequence then occurs:

- A. Ma-in naggalaw ha lalè bolha nin baro ni
exist moved OM inside pocket GM shirt GM
'Something moved inside their Father's shirt
Tatay la.
Father their
pocket.'

Totongna, intongangaw ya olo ta tinegteg hila.
suddenly raised NM head and looked they
'Suddenly it raised its head and looked at them.'

- B. "Ay!" wanla, "towè awod."
said-they puppy so
'"Ay!" they said, "so it's a puppy."

In other words, based on their observation, they concluded that what was in the pocket was a puppy. In the next example, the Monkey is threatening the Turtle with revenge. The Monkey first says that he will chop up the Turtle; then this exchange occurs:

- A. "No tadtaren mo ko," wani Pag-ong,
if chop up you I said-GM Turtle
'"If you chop me up," said the Turtle,
"sigoradon lomakè ako."
surely-lk multiply I
'"I will surely multiply."

- B. "Bayowen kata awod," wani Bakè.
pound I-you then said-Gm Monkey
'"Then I will pound you," said the Monkey.'

The Monkey concludes that if the Turtle will just multiply himself from being chopped up, he had better pound him instead.

7.2.3 Parallelism

Parallelism is a logical cohesive device that is signaled by the enclitic adverb itaman (see sec. 5.2.1). Itaman indicates that the sentence in which it occurs is syntactically or semantically parallel to another sentence in the preceding context. Two parallel sentences do not have to be contiguous. Types of parallelism relations that can hold between sentences include similarity, contrast, and reciprocity.

When a parallelism of similarity holds between two sentences, itaman can usually be translated 'also'. For example:

- A. Nangihip hi Tinò.
 thought NM
 'Tinò thought.'
- B. Nangihip itaman hi Ikay.
 thought also NM
 'Ikay also thought.'

The next example also expresses similarity, but of a more complex sort than the first example:

- A. Hi Ayà ay napakil banà ha pangakot nan
 NM Ant IM tired because OM gathering his-GM
 'The Ant was tired because of gathering his
 pamamangan na.
 food his
 food.'
- B. Hi Kalapati ay ampilopadlopad itaman banà ta
 NM Dove IM flying also because
 'The Dove was flying around also because he was
 mabital ya.
 hungry he
 hungry.'

In this example, there are no shared lexical items between the sentences; hence the awkwardness of the

English translation with 'also'. The similarity intended here is between the general activities of the Ant and the Dove: they were both looking for food.

When a parallelism of contrast holds between two sentences, itaman can be translated 'in contrast', or 'on the other hand', although these expressions are usually awkward in a free translation. For example:

A. Hay kanayon ay ampaghali^{tà} nin hay bali na ay
 NM others IM saying CM NM house her IM
 'The others were saying that her house was a
 pagkaganday palasyo ya mahawang.
 very beautiful-lk palace lk bright
 very beautiful, bright palace.'

B. Kanayon ay ampaghali^{tà} itaman ya nakakit
 others IM saying In contrast CM saw
 'In contrast, others were saying that they only
 hilan bongat nin hawong.
 they-lk only GM hut
 saw a hut.'

When a reciprocal relation is intended between two sentences, itaman defies consistent translation into English; it simply signals a parallelism. For example:

A. Hay lalaki ay nambin galang ha babayi.
 NM man IM gave respect OM woman
 'The man gave respect to the woman.'

B. Binalay itaman nin babayi bayti ya lalaki.
 recognized GM woman this lk man
 'And the woman recognized the man.'

The next example illustrates a reciprocal relation that is reinforced by the syntactic parallelism of both sentences having clausal predicates preceded by the nominalized form hay ginawà... 'what...did' (see sec. 6.3.6):

TEXTUAL COHESION

- A. Hay ginawà ni Kalapati ay nanoktok yan bolong
NM did GM Dove IM picked up he-GM leaf
'What the Dove did was, he picked up a tree leaf
kayo ta intata na koni Ayà.
tree and dropped he OM Ant
and dropped it to the Ant.'
- B. Hay ginawà itaman ni Ayà ay nagbangkà ya bayro
NM did GM Ant IM rode he there
'And then what the Ant did was, he rode on the
ha bolong kayo.
OM leaf tree
tree leaf.'

7.3 Participant cohesion

The introduction and tracing of participants gives a text participant cohesion. After the participants of a text are introduced, they must be subsequently identified in such a way that it is always clear which participant is being referred to. Participants can be identified either by a coreferential noun phrase or by a pronoun. Topicalization, a type of lexical linkage, also provides participant cohesion.

7.3.1 Introduction of participants

Narrative folktale texts begin with a setting and/or introduction of major participants. In mythical or etiological folktales that start with the Sambal equivalent of 'once upon a time', major participants are introduced by an existential (see sec. 3.3(6)). For example:

Hin onay pana-on ay ma-in mihay mato-antawo
when first-1k time IM exist one-1k old
'Once upon a time, there was an old fisherman.'
ya mangongonà.
1k fisherman

When the major participants of a mythical folktale are well-known animals, they can be introduced by definite noun phrases:

Hin onay pana-on, hi Manok boy hi Lawin ay
 when first-1k time NM Chicken and NM Hawk IM
 'Once upon a time, the Chicken and the Hawk were
 mita-amigo.
 friends
 friends.'

In folktales that have a contemporary setting (i.e. they are not mythical), the major participants can be introduced by their proper names, usually accompanied by a descriptive identification of them:

Hi Lam-ang ya bayani nin Mayanan ay anak ni
 NM 1k hero GM North IM child GM
 'Lam-ang, the hero of the North, was the son of
 Don Juan, Panganiban boy Namongan.
 and
 Don Juan, Panganiban and Namongan.'

After the introduction of the first participants, other participants can be introduced by relating them to the participants already mentioned. For example:

Hay pinakamahene nan amigo ay manokmanok.
 NM closest his-1k friend IM bird
 'His closest friend was a bird.'

In this example, the new participant, the bird, is introduced as the closest friend of the turtle, who has been already mentioned in the story. Often this strategy of introduction relies on an inferential link; for example:

A. Ma-in mipinghan primiro ya ampiparamag.
 exist cousins first 1k courting
 'There were first cousins who were courting
 each other.'

B. Hay mawmato-antawo la ay ahè pomayag ha
 NM parents their NM not permit OM
 'Their parents wouldn't permit their desire.'
 kalabayan la.
 desire their

Although this is the first mention of the parents, they are identified by a definite noun phrase. This is possible only because the hearer is able to infer that the cousins would have parents who would be expected to bear influence on their courtship. Other examples of this inferential strategy include the introduction of entities that are assumed to be universally known, such as God, the sky, the sea, and so on.

Other participants are introduced by an indefinite noun phrase. For example:

Hi Nanay na ay ampakon manakaw ripolyo ha
 NM Mother her IM going-CM steal cabbage OM
 'Her Mother would go to steal cabbage from the
 tanaman nin mihay mangkokolam.
 garden GM one-1k witch
 garden of a witch.'

Nalimowan ya mangongonà hin nakit na ya mihay
 frightened NM fisherman when saw he NM one-1k
 'The fisherman was frightened when he saw a
ganti.
 giant
 giant.'

In the last example, the new participant, the giant, is introduced in a subject noun phrase. Since subjects are typically definite in reference (see sec. 3.2(1)), the determiner miha 'one' must be inserted in order to make this first mention of 'giant' explicitly indefinite. Because the introduction of the giant is a salient point in the story, the noun phrase containing 'giant' is selected as subject in spite of its being

indefinite (see sec. 4.4 on subject selection).

Occasionally a minor participant is introduced by a definite noun phrase, especially a proper name, that is modified by an indefinite appositional noun phrase. For example:

Napati na hi Sumaran, mihay nabigò ya
killed he NM one-lk disappointed lk
'He killed Sumaran, a disappointed suitor.'

amparamag.
courting

7.3.2 Tracing participants

As a general rule, after a participant has been introduced in a text, it can be subsequently identified by a pronoun except where an ambiguity would result, in which case a coreferential noun phrase must be used. Several refinements of this rule can be made.

The second identification of a participant has some special characteristics. (1) If two or more participants are introduced at the same time, the second identification of each participant will use a noun phrase. For example:

A. Mita-amigo ya ayà boy kalapati.
friends NM ant and dove
'The ant and the dove were friends.'

B. Mihay allo, hi Ayà ay napakil banà ha
one-lk day NM Ant IM tired because OM
'One day, the Ant was tired because of
pangakot nan pamamangan na.
gathering his-NM food his
gathering his food.'

A. Ma-in mita-anak.
exist parent and child
'There was a parent and child.'

B. Hay ngalan nin anak ay Andres.

NM name GM child IM

'The name of the child was Andres.'

In the last example, the word mita-anak in sentence A is a derived noun designating two people in a reciprocal relationship (see sec. 2.1.7(4)); in sentence B, then, a specific noun must be used to identify only one of the participants.

(2) The second identification of a participant can be a repetition of the head noun modified by a deictic pronoun (see sec. 2.3.1). For example:

A. Ma-in malhay ya otan ya ampa-iri bayro ha
exist large lk snake lk living there OM
'There was a large snake living there on the

bakil.
mountain
mountain.'

B. Habayti ya otan ay ma-in pitoy oloy
this lk snake IM exist seven-lk head-lk
'This snake had seven, frightening heads.'

kapapalimo.
frightening

The use of the deictic modifier has the effect of reinforcing the identification and drawing attention to that particular participant. Note that this use of the deictic pronoun is not spatial, but linguistic. The example above is not interpreted as 'this snake which is nearby me', but rather 'this snake which I have just mentioned'.

If none of the above situations applies to the second identification of a participant, then the general rule holds that a pronoun is used for identification. For example:

A. Hin onay pana-on, maligan maliga ya
when first-lk time happy-lk happy NM
'Once upon a time, the turtle was very happy.'

pag-ong.
turtle

B. Pirmi yan ampan-imih; alwa yan
always he-lk smiling not he-lk
'He always smiled; he wasn't shy.'

marereng-eyen.
shy

There is a qualification of the first point above: if two or more participants are introduced at the same time, the second identification can be pronominal if it identifies the participants as a group. For example:

A. Ma-in kowinto ya tongkol koni Pag-ong boy koni
exist story lk about OM Turtle and OM
'There is a story about the Turtle and the

Bakè.
Monkey
Monkey.'

B. Mihay allo, nako hilan nagpasyal.
one-lk day went they-CM walked
'One day, they went walking.'

Subsequent identifications of a participant can be done pronominally except where there is a possibility of ambiguity. It is the speaker who must decide whether or not a given instance of a pronoun identification would be ambiguous, and his decision is largely based on his estimation of the hearer's ability to recover the referent of a pronoun from the linguistic context, the situational context, or shared cultural experience.

In some instances, however, a noun phrase is used to identify a participant even though there is no possible chance of ambiguity; for example, in a text with only one participant. It may be that these noun phrase identifications correlate with some larger grammatical constituents such as paragraphs. Or, there may be a pragmatic consideration that the hearer needs to have a unique identification of a participant periodically reintroduced into his consciousness so that he will

not lose track of whom the text is talking about.

But for whatever reason a speaker uses a noun phrase to identify a participant, there are several types of coreferential noun phrase identifications he can use. (1) The head noun can be repeated. If the introduction of a participant included descriptive modifiers, subsequent identifications can be just the head noun without the modifiers. For example, a participant introduced like this:

hi Lam-ang ya bayani nin Mayanan
 NM lk hero GM North
 'Lam-ang, the hero of the North'

will subsequently be identified as just hi Lam-ang 'Lam-ang'.

(2) An identical head noun can be modified by a deictic pronoun. The second identification of a participant is the most common instance of this (see above). The deictic identification is also used when a participant is reintroduced in a story after being off-stage for a while. Otherwise, the deictic is used to make an identification more definite or prominent.

(3) A participant can be identified by a coreferential noun phrase that has a different head noun. For example, in one folktale text there are two participants first identified as a bird and a shrimp, who get married to each other. Besides subsequent identifications of them as 'the bird' and 'the shrimp', they are also both identified as 'her spouse (husband)' and 'his spouse (wife)', depending on the viewpoint of the action. Also, they are identified collectively as 'these newly-weds'.

7.3.3 Topicalization

Topicalization interacts with the system of participant identification to provide thematic cohesion in a text. Topicalization is a process which selects one of the participants of a sentence as the topic of that sentence. Grammatically, this

is done by means of sentence inversion (see sec. 4.9), which takes a noun phrase out of its normal place in the sentence and places it in pre-predicate position. Although several different sentence constituents can be fronted, subjects are by far the most frequent sentence topics.

Thematically, sentence topics represent what is being talked about in a sentence. A sentence topic tends to be given or predictable information; the rest of the sentence asserts relatively new information about the topic. Similar to other types of linkage described earlier in this chapter, sentence topics are a type of lexical linkage that repeat an element from a preceding sentence, thus providing the theme or point of departure for the next sentence.

Sentence topics in Sambal can be found functioning in the following textual environments.

(1) A participant introduced by a definite noun phrase can be topicalized:

Hi Kà Rosa ay pinakamayaman ya bawo ha banowa.
 NM IM richest lk widow OM town
 'Kà Rosa was the richest widow in town.'

(See also sec. 7.3.1)

(2) A participant can be topicalized when it is identified the second time, especially in a descriptive sentence:

A. Ma-in ganti ha probinsyan Ilokos ya hay ngalan
 exist giant OM province-GM lk NM name
 'There was a giant in Ilokos province whose
 ay Anggalo.
 IM
 name was Anggalo.'

B. Hi Anggalo ay pinakamalahay ya ganti.
 NM IM largest lk giant
 'Anggalo was a very large giant.'

(See also sec. 7.3.2)

TEXTUAL COHESION

(3) When the focus of attention in a narrative changes to another participant, that participant can be topicalized. This frequently coincides with temporal and logical connectives:

Piro hi Pag-ong ay ahè na-ingalo ha aw-a-akayen ni
but NM Turtle IM not pitied OM fledglings GM
'But the Turtle did not pity the Bird's

Manokmanok.
Bird
fledglings.'

Hapa-eg, hi Ripolyo ay nag-in katowà ya papwak.
now NM IM became ugly lk frog
'Now, Ripolyo became an ugly frog.'

(4) A series of things being described can be topicalized:

Hay katat na ay kayomanggi; hay gawgamet boy
NM skin her IM brown NM hands and
'Her skin is brown; her hands and feet are small,
bawbitih na ay mangayamò, boy hay lopa na ay
feet her IM small and NM face her IM
and her face is always serious.'

pirmin pormal.
always-lk serious

(5) Sentences connected by parallelism (see sec. 7.2.3) can have sentence topics:

- A. Hay togtogen nin lalaki ay kolibaw.
NM play GM man IM Jew's harp
'What the man was to play was a Jew's harp.'
- B. Hay babayi itaman ay manogtog nin bolongodyong.
NM woman also IM play GM (bamboo wind
instrument)
'And the woman was to play a bolongodyong.'

Closely related to parallelism are adversative sentences which contrast two topicalized participants:

Hi Lawin ay mayaman, piro hi Manok ay ma-irap.
NM Hawk IM rich but NM Chicken IM poor
 'The Hawk was rich, but the Chicken was poor.'

There is at least one use of topicalization that is more pragmatic than thematic. If a sentence has a very long predicate but a short subject, the subject can be topicalized. For example:

Hiya ay malagò ya babayi ya ampa-iri ha
she IM young lk woman lk living OM
 'She is a young woman who lives on a beautiful
 maganday bakil ya piha-etan nin probinsyan
 beautiful-lk mountain lk middle GM province-GM
 mountain between the provinces of Laguna and
 Laguna boy Tayabas.
 and
 Tayabas.'

In this sentence, in order to avoid having the short subject come at end of a long and complex sentence, the subject has been topicalized.

GRAMMATICAL SKETCH OF BOTOLAN SAMBAL

Evan L. Antworth

Summer Institute of Linguistics

Manila: Linguistic Society of the Philippines

EDITORIAL BOARD

- Editor: Andrew B. Gonzales, FSC, De La Salle University
Associate Editors: Fe T. Otones, Philippine Normal College
Bonifacio P. Sibayan, Philippine Normal College
Lawrence A. Reid, University of Hawaii
Review Editor: Gloria Chan-Yap, Ateneo de Manila University
Managing Editor: Teresita C. Rafael, De La Salle University
Business Manager: Ma. Teresita R. Martin-Palo, Ateneo de Manila
University

Copyright 1979 by the Linguistic Society of the Philippines
All rights reserved. Published 1979.

Composed at the Summer Institute of Linguistics

Printed by Marshburn Press (FEBC) Inc.