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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA  
Santa Barbara

**A Reference Grammar of Ilocano**

A Dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the  
requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Linguistics

by

Carl Ralph Galvez Rubino

Committee in charge:

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June 1997

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- Rubino 1995. On the structure of a polysynthetic mental lexicon: a look at language production and internal lexical access via speech errors in Ilocano, Masters thesis, UCSB.
- Rubino 1995. Preferred argument structure in Central Alaskan Yup'ik. *UCSB Working Papers in Linguistics* 7:139-152.
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## ABSTRACT

A Reference Grammar of Ilocano

by

Carl Rubino

This dissertation provides a summary of the morphology and syntax of modern spoken and written Ilocano. It is structured in such a way that it may be of use to those with no formal training in linguistics, and to those involved in Ilocano pedagogy or language study. Unlike previous grammars of the language, this grammar provides interlinearized glosses, discourse data from spoken and written sources, and a general framework of grammatical analysis aimed at explaining the intricate workings of the morphology and syntax specific to the Ilocano language itself. The role of transitivity is central to the analysis, so special attention is given to clear explanations of the terms ergative, absolutive, and oblique.

Clearly, there is a growing need for more linguistic work and analysis in the Philippine archipelago. I hope that this study addresses the needs not only of specialized linguists, but also native speakers of the language and educators involved with its instruction.

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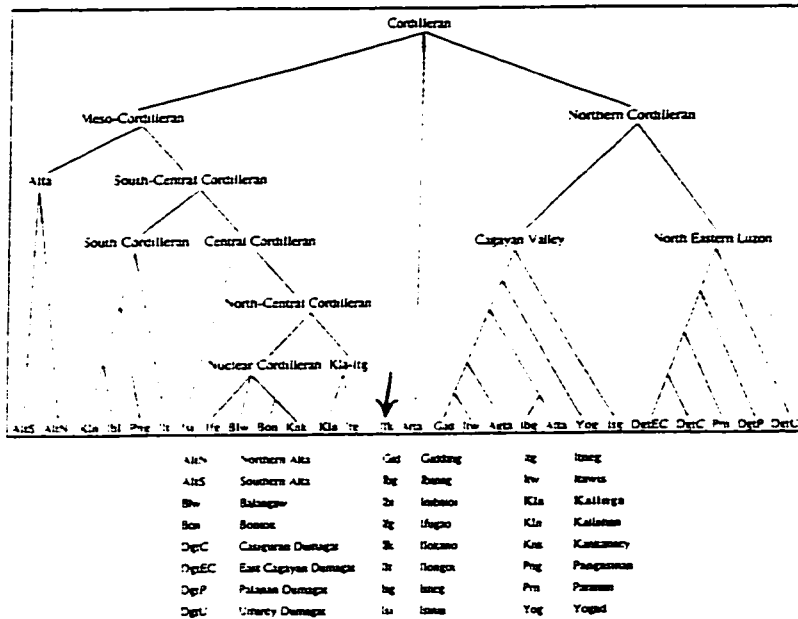


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# 1. Introduction

## 1.1. Background on the Ilocano language

Ilocano is a Western Austronesian language spoken by about nine million people in Northern Luzon, the largest island in the Philippines (See Map Appendix, pp. 514-516). It is the most widely spoken Philippine Cordilleran language, and has therefore served as a lingua franca to the people of Northern Luzon for many centuries. The Philippine Cordilleran languages are spoken in Northern Luzon, along the east and west coasts and in the Cagayan Valley, and the mountainous interior of the island. The genetic relationship of Ilocano to its sister Cordilleran languages is indicated in the following genetic reconstruction by Lawrence Reid (1989:57):



During early Spanish contact, the Ilocano-speaking areas were confined to the provinces of Ilocos Norte, Ilocos Sur, and La Union, but the Ilocano people have populated many other areas of the Philippines. They predominate in the provinces of Abra, Pangasinan, Benguet, and Tarlac, and have sizable communities in many other Philippine provinces and on the islands of Mindoro and Mindanao. As the original Ilocano region borders the mountainous interior of Luzon, where members of linguistic minority groups prevail, Ilocano has been used for centuries as the lingua franca of the region and in legal documents and proceedings of the various

mountain peoples. Many of these ethnic groups still use Ilocano today to communicate among themselves, although Tagalog has been declared the national language of the Philippines.

Due to extensive recent migration from a geographically small homeland, the Ilocano language is relatively uniform with very minor dialectal variations apparent in other major Philippine languages. Minor intonational patterns and lexical differences help to assert the regional affiliation of the speaker, but the major distinguishing difference between the two major dialects is the pronunciation of the orthographic symbol /e/ which comprises two phonemes (contrastive sounds) in the southern dialects (La Union, Abra, Pangasinan, Tarlac, Nueva Ecija) and one phoneme in the northern dialects (Ilocos Norte, Ilocos Sur) (See Phonology).

As Ilocano is not taught past the primary grades in school (in most cases past kindergarten), many Ilocanos are hesitant to read in the language although books, newspapers, and a magazine do exist. Ilocanos writing the language often employ their knowledge of the Tagalog orthographic conventions, or spontaneously create their own phonemic system when the need arises.

The sociolinguistic situation in the Philippines is very complex. Although there are certainly still a large number of monolingual Ilocano speakers, the existence of many neighboring languages, combined with the realities of extensive migration to the Ilocano region and the fact that the media and education are in either English or Tagalog has prompted most literate Ilocanos to learn both English and Tagalog to a considerable degree. Highly educated Ilocanos are often well versed in English, much more so than in their national language, Tagalog.

As the Ilocano people were colonized by Spain for over three hundred years (1571-1898), many Spanish loans have been incorporated into the language. These borrowed terms include numbers, articles of clothing, instruments, certain adjectives, political terms, medical terms and technological terms. Spanish is no longer spoken extensively in any part of the archipelago, although it remains to be the language of a number of families of privilege. Since Spanish is no longer a required subject in schools, many speakers are unaware of the origin of these loans and may argue that they are in fact native terms, as they easily adapt to the native phonology.

As English is the language of instruction, especially in the secondary grades and in college, the modern source for new words come from English. i.e. *isyu* 'issue,' *nars* 'nurse,' *dyip* 'jeep,' *kol-apan* 'to call up,' etc. These loans are slightly different from Spanish loans because, although the majority of them adapt to Ilocano phonological rules, most speakers are aware of their foreign origin. Certain peculiar words have been created in Ilocano reflecting both the Spanish and English influence: *muskulado* 'muscular, from English but with Spanish derivational suffix *-ado*, the Spanish term is *musculoso*', *bentahe* 'advantage, from Spanish *ventaja* + English ending,' *Asiano* 'Asian, from English, but with Spanish gender suffix, the Spanish term is *asiático*.'

Ilocanos are perhaps the most migratory of the Philippine ethnic groups. They have settled in many other parts of the world, forming sizable communities in Brunei, Singapore, Hong Kong, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and most urban centers in the United States and Canada. The largest concentrations of Ilocanos in the United States are in California, Alaska, and especially Hawaii, where one fifth of the total population is composed of Ilocanos (Espiritu 1977, Foronda 1978). In Hawaii, Ilocano has been taught in the schools in bilingual education programs as the medium of instruction, and in the universities as a foreign language.

## 1.2. Literature Review

Since the Ilocano language does not have official status in the Philippines, very few grammars have been written that may serve as adequate or detailed references for Ilocano speakers. A reference grammar that is suitable for the needs of linguists does not exist.

I will briefly outline the history of Ilocano grammar writing in Section 1.2.1, and then review the history of linguistic work on the language in terms of pedagogical materials, 1.2.2, and linguistic articles and dissertations 1.2.3.

### 1.2.1 Ilocano grammar writing (a brief history)

The history of Ilocano grammar writing begins with the Spanish missionaries of the sixteenth century whose work, unfortunately, did not receive much attention outside of the Philippines. Their manuscripts are no longer available outside of a few museums in the Ilocos Area (Agoo, La Union, and Laoag, Ilocos Norte) and Manila. The first few centuries after the arrival of the Spanish, the Ilocano grammarians, many of them missionaries, concentrated on explaining the Austronesian Ilocano language in an Indo-European framework with paradigms based on Latin. Data incorporated into these grammars often included example sentences from Bible translation, many times translated by the missionaries themselves. Among these early grammars available in the U.S. are the Spanish grammar of Naves (1892) published by an orphanage, and Williams (1929). An early Ilocano grammar written in German is available in Williams (1904).

Perhaps the earliest treatment of the language by a linguist is Bloomfield's 1942 'Outline of Ilokano syntax.' In this article, Bloomfield outlines the case system seen in the enclitic pronouns (nominative vs. attributive) and verbal categories that take one of the two sets of pronouns. With this distinction, he divides verbal clauses into passive and non-passive as shown below:

#### a. passive (attributive actor)

Nakita=mi                      ti    balay.  
saw(PASSIVE)=we.ATT    the   house  
'We saw the house'

#### b. non-passive (nominative actor)

Nakakita =kami                      iti    meysa nga    balay.  
saw(NON-PASSIVE)=we.NOM    ART   one    LIG    house  
'We saw a house.'

Under Bloomfield's analysis, the passive sentence (a) consists of an agent (we) and a subject (house). In the non-passive sentence (b), 'house' occurs as an oblique expression termed

'goal.' The subject category, then, according to Bloomfield, occurs as the nominal in nominative case. Although his unfortunate terminology is borrowed from accusative languages, he does recognize the functional distinction between the two in his glosses.

The tradition of imposing a European framework (subject category in nominative case) onto Ilocano persisted for perhaps another thirty years after Bloomfield's work, most notably in the works of Vanoverbergh (1955), and Rosal (1982).

Vanoverbergh (1955) also distinguishes active and passive but with a different approach. He considers non-passive sentences (without an object) to be of an 'adjectival voice.' Bloomfield's passive sentences that stress the object following a subject, belong to a 'substantival voice.' Both voices are defined with the categories subject and object, although no definition is given in the grammar to explain these cover terms. Although the Vanoverbergh grammar provides the greatest insight into Ilocano morphology available to date, it is a prescriptive grammar that does not recognize certain spoken norms, most notably in the pronoun section where 'incorrect' or 'children's speech' should perhaps be reconsidered as standard speech. The grammar is intended for those with some knowledge of Ilocano, as none of the examples are interlinearized. Most of the sentences in the grammar are perhaps invented or elicited.

Vanoverbergh's terms 'substantival voice' and 'adjectival voice' are not generally followed in Philippine linguistics, but one can easily see the process involved in naming them. An adjectival voice construction would involve a verb with a subject in nominative case. The treatment of adjectives and adjectival voice verbs is morphologically equivalent.

Adjectival construction:

Naturedak.  
na-tured = ak  
ADJ-brave = 1sNOM  
'I am brave.'

Adjectival voice verb construction:

Nanganakon.  
nangan = ak = on  
ate. ADJ. VOICE = 1sNOM = already  
'I already ate.'

His substantival voice verbs are morphologically identical to possessed nouns, as the 'genitive' case comprises possessors and actors of substantival voice verbs.

Possessed Substantive:

pusak  
pusa = ko  
cat = 1sGENITIVE  
'my cat'

Substantival voice construction:

Pinatayko	ti	pusam.
patay{in}=ko	ti	pusa=mo
dead{PF.T}.SUBSTANTIVAL.VOICE=1sGENITIVE	ART	cat=2sE

'I killed your cat.'

The Vanoverbergh grammar does not provide interlinear glossing. It is perhaps best suited to its original audience, missionaries learning the language with rudimentary knowledge of the essentials, as the topics covered in it are arranged according to English categories and English translation.

Widdoes (1950) offers a small yet concise outline of Ilocano grammatical paradigms. Although he is not often cited by Philippine linguists, he is perhaps the first to use the notion of transitivity to label the pronoun sets. His treatment of the pronominal system (where subjects of transitives are differentiated from subjects of intransitives or objects of transitives) is perhaps the earliest case of an ergative approach to grammatical analysis, although the language was not described in terms of an ergative/absolutive framework until Gerdtz (1988).

Wimbish (1987) offers a relational account of Ilocano grammar. The analysis presented has perhaps more bearing on the fundamental principles of relational grammar than on the language itself. Unfortunately, many of the sentences used in the grammar violate the morphology, syntax and even phonology of all dialects of Ilocano. The treatments of antipassive demotions and causative constructions in a relational framework do take into account the primacy of transitivity in the language. Wimbish does recognize the similar behavior of subjects of intransitive clauses and objects of transitive clauses and provides an ergative analysis for the case system of the language (Wimbish 1987:137).

Constantino (1971) published a small fifty page grammar, paying little attention to the intricate morphology and syntax of the language. He defines three classes of verbs 1) transitive, 2) intransitive and 3) reciprocal based on the types of complements they may take. The complements in this work are semantic (actor, goal, beneficiary, instrument, directional, associate, antecedent) and not formal (morphological).

Certain Ilocano grammars have been written (as dissertations) to comply with contemporary theoretical frameworks. Unfortunately, they are not easily accessible to people with no knowledge of the particular frameworks. Among these generative grammars are Buell (1960) and Constantino (1959) and the relational grammar of Wimbish (1987).

### 1.2.2 Ilocano pedagogical materials

Because Ilocano is spoken as a lingua franca in Northern Luzon by the ethnic groups in the Cordilleras, its importance to European missionaries is apparent in the published pedagogical materials aimed at helping missionaries with their evangelization. Among these materials are Interchurch language school (1962) and Mc Kaughan (1952).

The Ilocano language is regularly taught at the University of Hawaii where perhaps nearly 20% of the state's residents can claim Ilocano descent. Bernabe et al (1971) and Espiritu (1984) are the two available texts for this purpose.

### 1.2.3 Dissertations and articles on Ilocano linguistics

A few dissertations have been written involving certain aspects of Ilocano grammar and/or phonology. Among these are Woods (1971) dealing with first language interference with English verbs and personal pronouns by Ilocano students, Sibayan (1961) on English and Iloko segmental phonemes, Panganiban (1971) on comparative semantics of synonyms and homonyms in Philippine languages, and Paz Clausen (1995, p.c.) on adverbial clauses.

Among the articles written on Ilocano linguistics are Gerdtz (1988) establishing the first analysis of Ilocano within an ergative/absolutive framework, Gerdtz (1979) explaining the use of morphological devices to specify the actor's control or lack thereof of the verb, Silva-Corvalan (1978) using a UG framework to document the Ilocano causative, Clausen (1990) on semantic complements of verbs, Reid (1992) detailing the development of the aspect systems in Ilocano and Tagalog, and Rubino (1996) on morphological integrity in the language.

### 1.3 This dissertation

The present dissertation offers a new look at the Ilocano language, demonstrating the complexities of the language with discourse-based data taken from the author's corpus of spoken and written Ilocano collected over a period of five years in San Fernando, La Union Philippines. The corpus includes recorded conversation and narrative, personal letters to the author, and excerpts from the weekly *Bannawag* magazine. Examples taken from written contexts are marked (w), while constructed examples are marked (c). Examples from spoken narrative or conversation are unmarked.

The grammar is not explained in terms of European categories (such as subject, object, etc.), but rather in terms based on morphological use (absolutive, ergative, oblique, etc.). The ergative<sup>1</sup> case, therefore, will substitute previous analyses employing genitive case.

Unlike all of the previous grammars, examples are interlinearized in a four-line format to elucidate the morphological structure of the data. The system is summarized below:

- Line 1: data
- Line 2: morphological parsing
- Line 3: glossing by morpheme
- Line 4: Free translation

Napananna ti adingmo?  
na-pan-an=na ti ading=mo  
PF.I-go-NOM=3SE ART younger.sibling=2SE  
'Where did your younger brother go?'

---

<sup>1</sup>The term 'ergativity' is used to describe a grammatical pattern in which the subject of an intransitive clause is treated the same way morphologically as the object of a transitive clause: with absolutive case marking. Absolutive case marking contrasts with ergative case. Ergative case marks only the transitive subject (Silverstein 1976, Dixon 1979, 1994).

## 1.4 Orthography

In orthographic systems that have been used to write Ilocano since the 1600s, two systems have predominated. The older system is based on the orthography of Spanish and the newer system is the standardized alphabet accepted for the Tagalog language, as used in the weekly Ilocano magazine, *Bannawag*. The orthography is mostly phonemically based for the consonants, but not for the vowels. Among the five vowels (a, e, i, o, u) used in Ilocano writing, the letter *e* corresponds to two separate phonemes in the Southern dialects, a mid front vowel, and a high back unrounded vowel. The letters *o* and *u* originally represented one phoneme with alternative pronunciations in specific environments. Due to the large number of foreign loans in the language and high degree of bilingualism, however, these letters now represent two contrastive vowel sounds, i.e. *oso* 'bear' vs. *uso* 'use, in fashion.'

### 1.4.1 The older Spanish system vs. the modern system

Although perhaps most Ilocanos continue to use the older Spanish system, I choose to abide by the conventions accepted in most modern publications. Here, I will briefly outline the two systems:

Vowels are the same in both: a, e, i, o, u; where *e* represents two distinct sounds in the Southern dialects (see Phonology).

Consonantal representation varies as follows. Differences between the systems are highlighted in bold. The starred consonants in the second (Spanish orthography) column are used only in loanwords:

Ilocano sound	Spanish orthography	Standardized orthography
p	p	p
	<b>*f</b>	<b>p</b>
b	b	b
	<b>*v</b>	<b>b</b>
t	t	t
d	d	d
k	c	k
	<b>qu</b>	<b>k</b>
kk	<b>ck</b>	<b>kk</b>
g	g	g
ge, gi	<b>gue, gui</b>	<b>ge, gi</b>
s	s	s
	<b>*z</b>	<b>s</b>
se, si	<b>ce, ci</b>	<b>se, si</b>
č	<b>ch</b>	<b>ts, ti + vowel</b>
j	<b>di + vowel</b>	<b>di + vowel, dy</b>



h	*j	h
he, hi	ge, gi	he, hi
l	l	l
ly + vowel	*ll	li + vowel
r	r	r
	*rr	r
m	m	m
n	n	n
ny + vowel	ñ	ni + vowel
ng	ñg, nḡ, ñḡ	ng
w	w	w
y	y	y

examples of words:

<u>Spanish spelling</u>	<u>Modern Spelling</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
acero	asero	steel
tucac	tukak	frog
dackel	dakkel	big
achara	atsara	pickles
fiesta	piesta	party, fiesta
ginebra	hinebra	gin
daguiti	dagiti	plural article
trabajo	trabaho	work
taller	talier	car repair shop
ñgata	ngata	perhaps
vaca	baka	cow
zapatos	sapatos	shoes

The idiosyncracies of the older Spanish-based system are eliminated in the modern system as follows:

The letters *c* and *g* used in the older Spanish spelling system no longer represent two sounds. In the old system, *c* and *g* before a front vowel (i, e) represented [s] and [h] respectively. In other environments, they represented [k] and [g], respectively:

<u>Old Spanish spelling</u>	<u>Modern Ilocano spelling</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
gelatina	helatina	gelatin
hacendero	asendero	estate owner
acero	asero	steel
tucac	tukak	frog

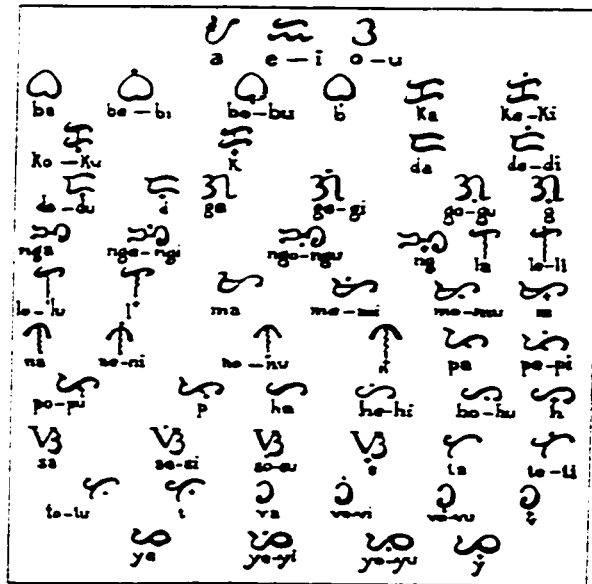
The velar stops [k] and [g] before front vowels used to be represented in Spanish orthography as 'qu' and 'gu,' respectively. They are now represented without the 'u'

<u>Old Spanish spelling</u>	<u>Modern Ilocano spelling</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
daguiti	dagiti	plural article
manggued	mangged	worker
naganaquen	naganaken	gave birth
baquet	baket	old lady

#### 1.4.2 The pre-Hispanic syllabary

Before the arrival of the Spaniards, the Ilocanos employed a syllabary resembling the Vedic scripts of India used in various other languages found throughout the Philippines and Indonesia. It is similar to the scripts used by the Tagalogs and Pangasinenses, although unlike in the former, the Ilocano script was innovated to designate coda consonants. In the Tagalog script, readers were expected to supply the coda consonants from the context, as only consonants in initial syllable position were written, with a diacritic representing the appropriate vowel. Although this script is no longer in use in modern Ilocano, I show it below, taken from the Ilocano *Doctrina Cristiana* of 1621.

The Ilocano Syllabary



## 2. Ilocano Phonology

Phonology refers to the sounds and sound systems of a particular language. This chapter will outline the various sounds of Ilocano, and will then introduce the rules of stress, stress shift, reduplication, and syllabification in the language.

### 2.1. The consonants

Ilocano has fifteen contrastive consonants as seen in the chart below:

Consonant class	Labial	Dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops – voiceless	p	t			k	ʔ
Stops – voiced	b	d			g	
Nasals (voiced)	m	n			ŋ [ŋ]	
Fricative (voiceless)			s			(h)
Affricate (voiceless)			ts [tʃ]			
Lateral (voiced)			l			
Tap, trill (voiced)			r			
Glide (voiced)				y	w	

#### 2.1.1. The stops.

Stops are produced by a complete closure of the oral cavity, followed by an immediate release of air. They are differentiated by *place of articulation* (the exact place in the mouth where the closure takes place), and *voicing* (whether or not the vocal chords vibrate during their articulation).

Ilocano stops are contrastive for voicing and have four places of articulation: bilabial, dental, velar, and glottal. Voiceless stops in Ilocano are not articulated with aspiration (a puff or air) in syllable initial position. As syllable codas (final consonant of the syllable), they are usually unreleased, not articulated with full force.

##### Bilabial stops

The bilabial stops are /p/ (voiceless) and /b/ (voiced), roughly corresponding to their English counterparts without aspiration.

\*Note: In the three columns below, the first column shows segments as they are spelled in Ilocano, and the second column reflects the pronunciation in simplified IPA.. The IPA pronunciation reflects

the dialect spoken in San Fernando, La Union, Philippines. In the northern dialects of Ilocos Norte and Ilocos Sur, the high back unrounded vowel [ɯ] is pronounced as a mid front vowel [ɛ].

apay	[ʔá:.pay]	why
napno	[nap.nó]	full
panglaw	[paŋ.láw]	poor
bala	[bá:.la]	bullet
ubet	[ʔú:.burt]	buttocks
nababa	[na.ba.bá]	short

#### Dental stops

The dental stops are /t/ (voiceless) and /d/ (voiced). They are pronounced with the tip of the tongue touching the teeth. Like all stops in Ilocano, they are unaspirated, and never released in final position.

matá	[ma.tá]	eye
tastásen	[tas.tá:.sɯn]	rip garments
tumáud	[tu.má:.ʔod]	originate
díla	[dí:.la]	tongue
adú	[ʔa.dú]	many
didíng	[di.díŋ]	wall
agbeddabéd	[ʔag.burd.da.búid]	snuffle

Before the glide [y], /t/ and /d/ become [tʃ] and [dʒ], respectively. See Palatalization. Sec. 2.1.7.

idiay	[ʔi.dʒáy]	there
diaket	[dʒá:ket]	jacket
tiempo	[tʃém.po]	time, weather

#### Velar stops

The velar stops in Ilocano are /k/ (voiceless) and /g/ (voiced). They are never aspirated, and in final position are usually unreleased. The voiceless stop /k/ often fricates to /kʰ/ between vowels, or is pronounced as a glottal stop [ʔ] before consonants:

kaka	[ka:kʰa]	elder sibling
Ilokanoka?	[ʔi.lo.kʰá:.no.kʰa]	Are you Ilocano?
arak	[ʔá:.rak]	wine, alcohol

pukray	[puʔ.ráy]	ripened squash
nagaget	[na.ga.guít]	industrious
aggatang	[ʔag.gá:.taŋ]	to shop, purchase
gumatel	[gu.ma.tuít]	to itch
aragáag	[ʔa.ra.gá.ʔag]	transparent

### Glottal stop

The glottal stop /ʔ/ differs from the other consonants in Ilocano, as it does not geminate. Due to the constraints of human anatomy, it may never occur voiced. Vowel-initial words in Ilocano have the glottal stop as their initial consonantal onset. For further discussion of the glottal stop, please see Sec. 2.4.

apró	[ʔap.ró]	bile
agsay-á	[ʔag.say.ʔá]	clear one's throat
masig-átan	[ma.sig.ʔá:.tan]	be dried up

### 2.1.2 The fricatives

Ilocano has one native voiceless alveolar fricative [s], and a non-native glottal fricative [h].

The voiceless alveolar fricative is pronounced like the *s* in 'soda'. Like the stops, it may geminate in certain environments:

málas	[má:.las]	bad luck
súsay	[sú:.say]	species of fish
assawa	[ʔas.sá:.wa]	married couple

Before the glide [y] or its counterpart (vowel *i* followed by another vowel), the fricative /s/ palatalizes to [ʃ]:

siémpre	[ʃém.pre]	of course
siák	[ʃak]	I
ísyu	[ʔí:.ʃu]	issue

The glottal fricative [h] is not native to the Ilocano language. It often appears though via borrowings from languages like Spanish, English, and Tagalog. The only native word with a glottal fricative is *haan* 'no,' a dialectical variant of *saan*.

haán	[ha.ʔán]	no
éhe	[ʔé:.hɛ]	axle (f. Spanish)
húsi	[hú:.si]	pineapple fabric (f. Chinese)

### 2.1.3 The affricates

Although there are no contrastive affricate consonants in Ilocano, affricates do occur in the language as a result of palatalization in certain phonological environments, or in foreign language borrowings.

The voiced alveo-palatal affricate [dʒ], like the English 'j' in 'juice,' is represented in the orthography by 'dy' or 'di + a vowel.'

mandiák	[man.dʒák]	I don't
dióga	[dʒó:.ga]	breast, slang
dyús	[dʒús]	juice (f. English)
diós	[dʒós]	god (f. Spanish)

The voiceless alveo-palatal affricate [tʃ], like the English 'ch' in 'China' is represented in the alphabet by 'ts' or 'ti + vowel' in borrowed words:

tsokolate	[tʃo.ko.lá:.tɛ]	chocolate (f. Spanish)
atsara	[ʔat.tʃá:.ra]	pickles (f. Malay)
itsúra	[ʔit.tʃó:.ra]	figure (f. Spanish)
tianggí	[tʃaŋ.gí]	store (f. Chinese)

In native words, the alveo-palatal affricate [tʃ] results from the palatalization of 'r' occurring before the glide 'y' or its equivalent (vowel *i* followed by another vowel).

tián	[tʃan]	stomach
agtiád	[ʔag.tʃad]	protrude the belly

### 2.1.4. The liquids

Ilocano has two liquid consonants, /r/ and /l/. /l/ is pronounced as a dental lateral in all environments. It does not have a velarized variant like the English 'l' in syllable final position.

lallaki	[lal.lá:ki]	boys
agilo	[ʔa.gí:lo]	wipe the anus
nagadal	[na.gá:dal]	studied

The consonant [r] is pronounced like the Spanish 'r' in 'araña.' In careful speech, it is often trilled like the Spanish 'rr' of 'perro.'

diário	[dʒá:ryo]	newspaper
agrugárog	[ʔag.ru.gá:rog]	grunt
naríri	[na.rí:ri]	noisy; complaining
maripar	[ma.rí:par]	notice, perceive

### 2.1.5. The Glides

Ilocano has two glides, /w/ and /y/. For their use as syllable codas, see Diphthongs.

The labio-velar glide /w/ is formed with rounded lips and some obstruction at the velar part of the mouth.

agbariwengweng	[ʔag.ba.ri.wuŋ.wuŋ]	whirl
waláwal	[wa.lá:wal]	dibble
nawadwad	[na.wad.wád]	abundant, plentiful
silaw	[sí:law]	light

The palatal glide /y/ is similar to the 'y' in English 'yes.' It is the consonantal counterpart of the high front vowel 'i.'

laya	[la.yá]	ginger
nalaylay	[na.lay.láy]	withered
yo	[yó]	shark

### 2.1.6. The nasals

Ilocano has three nasal consonants, differentiated by the place of articulation in which the oral airstream is blocked. The three nasals in Ilocano are /m/, /n/, and /ŋ/.

The bilabial nasal /m/ is formed by closing the airstream at the lips. It is equivalent to the English 'm' in 'mother.'

umay	[ʔu.máy]	to come
amá	[ʔa.má]	father
medmedan	[muɾd.muɾ.dán]	loosen, slacken

The dental nasal [n] is formed by obstructing the airflow in the mouth with the tongue touching the upper teeth, or the alveolar ridge slightly behind the upper teeth. It is equivalent to the Spanish 'n' in 'no.'

iná	[ʔi.ná]	mother
nengneng	[nuŋŋ.nuŋŋ]	simpleton
intan	[in.tán]	let's go (dual)

The velar nasal [ŋ] is formed by obstructing the airflow in the mouth at the velum. It is equivalent to the English 'ng' in 'sing.' The velar nasal may appear in syllable initial position.

ngata	[ŋa.tá]	maybe
singsing	[siŋ.síŋ]	ring
agmangisit	[ʔag.ma.ŋí:.sit]	wear mourning clothes

### 2.1.7. Palatalization

The obstruents /t/, /d/, and /s/ all palatalize before the glide /y/ or its equivalent, i.e. the high vowel /i/ followed by another vowel.

The dental stops /t/ and /d/ form alveo-palatal affricates before the glide /y/. [tʃ] and [dʒ] respectively.

buttiog	[but.tʃóg]	large abdomen
diak	[dʒák]	I don't
diammo	[dʒam.mó]	don't know
idiay	[ʔi.dʒáy]	there
dyip	[dʒíp]	jeep

The alveolar fricative /s/ forms an alveo-palatal fricative [ʃ] before the glide [y] or its equivalent, i.e. the vowel *i* followed by another vowel.

siak	[ʃák]	I
Asia	[ʔá:.ʃa]	Asia
siota	[ʃó:.ta]	girlfriend



## 2.2. The vowels

Ilocano has four native contrastive vowels represented in the native orthography by five vowels /a, e, i, o, u/ based on the borrowed Spanish system. The orthographic vowels are, a, e, i, o, and u.

/a/ The low central vowel is the most common vowel in the language. In unstressed environments, it may be articulated as an upper-low neutral vowel. Of all the vowels, this one is least subjected to variation:

bása	[bá:.sa]	reading
alawági	[ʔa.la.wá:.gi]	carpenter
atsára	[ʔat.tʃá:.ra]	pickles

/e/ The letter 'e' in Ilocano constitutes two separate sounds in Southern speech, and one sound in the northern dialects. In the Northern dialects (Ilocos Norte, Ilocos Sur), it corresponds to a front, central lax vowel [ɛ] similar to the Spanish 'e' in 'en'.

In the Southern dialects, the letter 'e' represents two separate vowel sounds. In Spanish loan words, it is equivalent to the Northern pronunciation. In native words, however, it is pronounced as a high to high-mid back unrounded vowel [ɯ].

### Spanish loanwords

kalésa	[ka.lé:.sa]	horse-drawn carriage
Presidén-te	[pre.si.dén.te]	president
késo	[ké:.so]	cheese

### Native words

suráten	[su.rá:.tɯn]	to write something
tabbéd	[tab.búid]	stupid
nabengbéng	[na.buŋ.búŋ]	thick
met	[mɯt]	also

/i/ The vowel 'i' is pronounced as a high front vowel, not quite as tense as the English 'ee' in 'meet.' In unstressed environments, it has a lax variant a little higher than the English [ɪ] in 'pick.'

itlóg	[ʔit.lóg]	egg
sángit	[sá:.ŋit]	cry
lasí	[la.sí]	dandruff
arína	[ʔa.rí:.na]	flour (from Spanish)

*/o/ and /u/* Historically the vowels 'o' and 'u' did not meaningfully contrast. In the native syllabary, they were both represented by a small dot underneath the syllabic character corresponding to their consonantal onset. After the arrival of the Spaniards and the incorporation of many Spanish loan words in Ilocano vocabulary, native Ilocanos were able to distinguish these vowels, and chose to do so in subsequent orthographic practice. The [o] vowel is a rounded upper mid vowel, similar to the Spanish 'o' in 'no', while the [u] vowel is a rounded high back vowel similar to the Spanish 'u' in 'azul' with a more lax interpretation in unstressed environments.

Word-finally, /o/ is realized as [o], while in word-medial positions and stressed environments, as [u]. In Spanish loan words, the Spanish pronunciation is retained for these vowels.

ulo	[ʔú:.lo]	head
súrat	[sú:.rat]	letter
agtútor	[ʔag.tú:.tor]	be patient

An /o/ vs. /u/ distinction has arisen in a few words of Spanish origin that have native sound correspondences.

bólo	[bó:.lo]	machete (from Spanish)
búlo	[bú:.lo]	bamboo

### 2.2.1. Diphthongs

The glides /w/ and /y/ may combine with certain vowels to form the following diphthongs:

<i>/aw/</i>		
lawláv	[law.láv]	surround, area around
sílav	[sí:.lav]	light
<i>/iw/</i>		
kissív	[kís.sív]	epilepsy
riwrív	[riw.rív]	million
<i>/ay/</i>		
aráy	[ʔa.ráy]	exclamation of pain
únay	[ú:.nay]	very
matáy	[ma.táy]	die
<i>/ey/ (regional variant of /ay/)</i>		
didiey	[di.dʒéy]	that
meysa	[méy.sa]	one

/oy/, /uy/		
sallóy	[sal.lóy]	weak, frail
ditóy	[di.tóy]	here
apúy	[ʔa.póy]	fire

### 2.2.2. Stress and Vowel length

Stress may occur on the open penultimate or antepenultimate syllable in Ilocano. It is contrastive, as it may contribute to a change of meaning in a few words. Stress assigned to an open syllable (syllable ending in a vowel) will entail that the vowel will be long:

ások	[ʔá:.sok]	my dog
asók	[ʔa.súk]	smoke
síka	[sí:.ka]	dysentery
siká	[si.ká]	you (singular, familiar)
ábut	[ʔá:.but]	reach: catch up with
abút	[ʔa.bút]	hole
padáya	[pa.dá:.ya]	go to the east
padayá	[pa.da.yá]	party
sapaén	[sa.pá:.ʔuən]	to do early
sapaén	[sa.pa.ʔuən]	to spit out chewed betel leaf
basáan	[ba.sá:.ʔan]	to read to someone
basaán	[ba.sa.ʔán]	to wet someone

Although the stress must be learned with each root, the following patterns can be observed:

Stress in Ilocano falls on the last syllable if the penultimate syllable is closed, i.e. the last vowel is preceded by two consonants or a consonant followed by a glottal stop (written [-] in Ilocano orthography when in word-medial position):

basnót	[bas.nót]	whip
takkí	[tak.kí]	excrement
kulbét	[kul.búit]	tough, chewy (meat)
kulagtít	[ku.lag.tít]	jerking movement
uksób	[ʔuk.sób]	naked from the waist up
kaw-ít	[kaw.ʔit]	hook
lis-á	[lis.ʔá]	nit, egg of a louse

sam-ít	[sam.ʔít]	sweet
al-alia	[ʔal.ʔalyá]	ghost

Exceptions to this rule include stems where the last vowel is preceded by *ngk*, or words of foreign origin.

lángka	[láj.ka]	jackfruit
bibíngka	[bi.bínj.ka]	rice cake
súngka	[súnj.ka]	kind of native game
karámba	[ka.rám.ba]	jar (from Spanish)
kuárto	[kwár.to]	room (from Spanish)
líbro	[lí.bro]	book (from Spanish)
ókra	[ʔók.ra]	okra vegetable (from Spanish)

Stress also falls on the last syllable if the last vowel is preceded by a consonant and glide (produced by the vowels *i, u, or o*):

sadiá	[sa.dzá]	renowned
isbuán	[ʔis.bwán]	to urinate on
aniá	[ʔa.nyá]	what
al-aliá	[ʔal.ʔal.yá]	ghost
bituén	[bit.wuén]	star
basiluág	[ba.sil.wág]	type of plant used for poison

Exceptions to this rule include borrowed words:

kíkiam	[kí.kyam]	kind of sausage (from Ch.)
hópia	[hó:.pya]	Chinese bean cake (from Ch.)
mília	[míl.ya]	mile (from Sp.)

Orthographic double vowels (aʔa, eʔe, iʔi, uʔo) following two consonants usually take stress on the first vowel, with an intervening glottal stop.

manabtuóg	[ma.nab.tú:.ʔog]	thump
arináar	[ʔa.rin.ná:.ʔar]	moonlight
manatbáag	[ma.nat.bá:.ʔag]	slam; thump
manabsúok	[ma.nab.sú:.ʔok]	splash
rebbáas	[rub.bá:.ʔas]	aftermath of flood

Words that include two identical CVC sequences separated by a vowel usually will carry the stress on the vowel separating them.

arimasámas	[ʔa.ri.ma.sá.mas]	red skies at moonrise
arimokámok	[ʔa.ri.mu.ká.mok]	slight drizzle
basíbas	[ba.sí.bas]	hurl a non-circular object
bugábog	[bu.gá.bog]	to be mixed sorts (rice)
bukíbok	[bu.kí.bok]	overturn; scatter
gusúgos	[gu.sú.gos]	scrub, rub hard
guyúgoy	[gu.yú.goy]	suggestion, convincing
ngurúngor	[ŋu.rú.ŋor]	with cut throat
salísal	[sa.lí.sal]	contest, competition
supúsop	[su.pú.sop]	lengthen: join, add

Exceptions to this rule include:

yakayák	[ya.ka.yák]	sieve
pidipíd	[pi.di.píd]	closely set together: joined

Words that do not fit into the above categories must be learned separately with regard to stress placement, as in the following set of words with an open penultimate syllable:

báles	[bá:.lɪs]	revenge
síkap	[sí:.kap]	sly, cunning
tíkaw	[tí:.kaw]	confuse
turéd	[tu.rúid]	courage
burís	[bu.rís]	diarrhea
pasét	[pa.súit]	part
diró	[di.ró]	honey

### 2.2.2.1. Secondary stress

Aside from underlying stresses assigned to polymorphemic enclitics and affixes (see Sec 2.2.2.4), there are a few different phonetic environments that attract secondary stress.

a. Vowels preceding a geminate consonant receive inherent secondary stress (shown with the grave accent below):

babbái	[bàb.bá:ʔi]	girls
pannakatúrog	[pàn.na.ka.tú:rog]	ability to sleep
kappó	[kàp.pó]	clam
mannániw	[màn.ná:.niw]	poet

aggayyéem	[ʔag.gày.yúim]	mutual friends
dakkél	[dàk.kuí]	big
keggáng	[kùg.gáng]	dried crust of a scab

b. When a reduplicated root results in an open syllable of CV structure, the vowel of the open reduplicated syllable is lengthened with inherent secondary stress:

nakabàbaín	cf. naka- R- baín	shameful
kikiám	root word	kind of native sausage
agbìbiág	cf. ag- R- biág	characters in a script
dàdaíten	cf. R- dáit -en	things to be sewn

### 2.2.2.2. Stress shift

Although each root carries an underlying stress on the penult or antepenultimate syllable, the placement of the stress may shift one syllable under the following morphological conditions:

a. For stems ending in a consonant or the vowel *a*, the stress shifts one syllable to the right with suffixation (the *-en* or *-an* suffixes). The stress does not shift one syllable to the right if the stressed vowel of the root is preceded by two different consonants, a consonant and a glide (vowel *i*, *u*, or *o* + other vowel), or a consonant followed by a glottal stop:

#### Stress shift

kalawáen	cf. ka- láwa + -en	widen
ragawán	cf. ragáw + -an	prune (trees)
basáen	cf. bása + -en	read something
in-inúten	cf. in-ínut + -en	do intermittently

#### No stress shift

amiánan	cf. amián + -an	north
Kainsíkan	cf. ka- insík + -an	China town, China
lat-óngan	cf. lat-óng + -an	toilet hole
pultíngen	cf. pultíng + -en	cut, sever at stem
rabsúten	cf. rabsút + -en	snatch

If the stressed vowel of the root is *e*, the stress shifts with suffixation, regardless of environment:

kasingpetán	cf. ka- singpét + -an	most virtuous
kadakkelán	cf. ka- dakkél + -an	biggest, largest
panggepén	cf. panggép + -en	aim. plan, intend
pangremán	cf. pangrém + -an	pout at
kapangtedán	cf. ka- pangtéd + -an	turn, opportunity
paglangdetán	cf. pag- langdét + -an	scapegoat; accuse wrongly

If the stressed vowel of the root is preceded by a geminate consonant, stress shifts one syllable to the right with suffixation:

ikkatén	cf. ikkát + -en	remove, take away
annadén	cf. annád + -en	beware of
ibbatán	cf. ibbát + -an	let go of, release

The only exceptions to the above rules occur with a few roots beginning with the vowel *i*: *imbág* 'good', *itlóg* 'egg', and *istáy* 'almost.'

nagistayán	cf. nag- istáy + -an	almost
pagitlogán	cf. pag- itlóg + -an	nest
iitlogán	cf. R- itlóg + -an	uterus of birds
pagimbagán	cf. pag- imbág + -an	interest; benefit
kaimbagán	cf. ka- imbág + -an	best
paimbagén	cf. pa- imbág + -en	make better, cure

b. For stems ending in a vowel other than *a*, the suffix will always bear the stress.

punnuén	cf. punnó + -en	fill
kaasián	cf. kaási + -an	have pity on
talién	cf. talí + -en	twist into a rope
sangkaaduán	cf. sangka- adú + -an	majority
kikién	cf. kíkí + -en	tickle
lutuén	cf. lúto + -en	cook something

### 2.2.2.3. Regression of stress

The stress may shift one syllable to the left under the following conditions:

a. Certain kinship terms that refer to specific relatives (related to the speaker or addressee) such as *amá* 'father', *iná* 'mother' and *apó* 'grandparent' shift their stress one syllable to the left following the personal article *ni* or any of its variants (*ken*, *kada* or *da*):

ni áma	cf. ni + amá	father
ken ína	cf. ken + iná	to mother
da ápo	cf. da + apó	grandma and grandpa

b. The infix *-an-* used for onomatopoeic purposes will change a ultimate stress to an penultimate stress provided that the stressed vowel of the derived word is preceded by a single consonant:

rumanípak	cf. ripák + -uman-	slam. break (plate)
tumanául	cf. taúl + -uman-	bark repeatedly
lumanípak	cf. lipák + -uman-	slap repeatly

#### 2.2.2.4. Stress in prefixes and enclitics

Although prefixes and enclitics may not contribute to a stress change in stems, polysyllabic prefixes and enclitics may carry secondary underlying stress (indicated with the grave (‘) accent in the glosses):

paggatángantayó  
 pag-gátang-an=tayò  
 LOC-buy-NOM=1pINCL  
 ‘the place where we buy’

pánnakangíwattayó  
 pánnaka-ngíwat-tayò  
 NOM-mouth-1pINCL  
 ‘our spokesperson’

Pilipínokayó?  
 pilipíno=kayò  
 Filipino=2pA  
 ‘Are you (plural) Filipino?’

### 2.3. Consonant Gemination

Consonant gemination in Ilocano occurs both in root words and as a result of productive derivational affixation. All Ilocano consonants may be geminated (except the glottal stop or fricative). In many roots, consonants are underlyingly geminate.

ittíp	crust of rice that sticks to the bottom of the pot
pittagáw	species of bird
lammín	cold
sammakéd	prop: support



ikkát	remove, take away
ballígi	victory, triumph

Some consonants may geminate as a result of inflectional or derivational affixation.

lalaki	boy	lallaki	boys
babai	girl	babbai	girls
asawa	spouse	assawa	spouses, couple
baro	bachelor	babbaro	bachelors

Geminate consonants (k, t, d, m, or n) may result from encliticization:

agdaitto  
ag-dait=to  
I-sew=FUT  
'She/he will sew.'

Nagragakkan!  
nag-ragak=ka=n  
INTENS-happy=2sA=now  
'How happy you are!'

Tabbedda.  
tabbed=da  
stupid=3p  
'They are stupid.'

Awan	nayonna?
awan	nayon=na
NEG.EXIST	addition=3sE

'Isn't there any additional?'

Gemination may also transcend prefix boundaries, where the coda consonant of the prefix matches the onset consonant of the root or following prefix.

Naggatangam	daydiay?
nag-gatang-an=mo	daydiay
PF.LOC-buy-NOM=2sE	that

'Where did you buy that?'

pagattao a sarming  
 pagat-tao a sarming  
 reaching-person LIG mirror  
 'full-length mirror'

Certain prefixes may trigger consonant gemination such as *aga* + *RC* 'to smell like' or *paga*- + *RC* 'to reach until.'

Pagabbarukongnak.  
 paga+R-barukong=na=ak  
 reach-chest=3sE=1sA  
 'She reaches my chest.'

Agattakkida.  
 aga+R-takki=da  
 smell-excrement=3p  
 'They smell like excrement.'

Geminate nasals may be triggered by fusing a homorganic nasal [N] prefix to certain roots. in which the onset consonant appears as a nasal in the appropriate place of articulation<sup>1</sup>.

taray	run	mannaray	runner
daniw	poem	mannaniw	poet
sugal	gamble	mannugal	gambler
duriken	mollusk	mannuriken	collector of mollusks
dait	sew	mannait	seamstress
bagi	body	pammagi	physique
pati	believe	pammati	faith
uma	clear land	mangnguma	slash and burn farmer
sao	speak	pannao	word

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<sup>1</sup>These words result from the regular loss of an unstressed vowel following affixation of *maN-* + CV-distributive/plural affixation. *Mannaray* < *mananaray* (Lawrence Reid, p.c.).

## 2.4. Glottal stop

The glottal stop may occur in syllable initial position, or in onset position word-medially. As a variant of *k* or *t* before another consonant, the glottal stop may also appear in coda position. Unlike in Tagalog, there is no word-final glottal stop. In the orthography, word-initial glottal stop is never written, and word-medial glottal stop after a consonant is written with a hyphen.

As all syllables in Ilocano must have a consonantal onset, words that orthographically begin with a vowel are actually articulated with an initial glottal stop.

áso	[ʔá:.so]	dog
itá	[ʔi.tá]	now
úken	[ʔú:.kuɯn]	puppy

Orthographic double vowels are articulated with an intervening glottal stop, as all syllables must have a consonantal onset.

mabiít	[ma.bi.ʔít]	short time
naalás	[na.ʔa.lás]	ugly
mapuóran	[ma.pu.ʔú:.ran]	be burned
kées	[kuí:.uís]	crazy
agtaul	[ʔag.tá:.ʔul]	bark
nagsao	[nag.sa.ʔó]	spoke
daiten	[da.ʔi:.tuɯn]	sew something
tao	[tá:.ʔo]	man

Glottal stop may be seen as an underlying consonant as seen in the following reduplications of ʔVC sequences:

ad-adda	[ʔad.ʔad.dá]	more likely
ay-ayam	[ʔay.ʔá:.yam]	toy, game
kaing-ingas	[ka.ʔiŋ.ʔi:.ŋas]	resembling
in-inut	[ʔin.ʔi:.nut]	gradually

Fully reduplicated words or roots that begin with a glottal stop must commence with a glottal stop before the second reduplicated segment:

maulit-ulit	[ma.ʔú:.lit.ʔú:.lit]	done repeatedly
inulit-ulit	[ʔi.nú:.lit.ʔú:.lit]	do repeatedly

Word-medial glottal stop may be underlying. In this instance, it is written with a hyphen.

agug-og	[ʔa.gug.ʔóg]	cry noisely
nasam-it	[na.sam.ʔit]	sweet
agdiram-us	[ʔag.di.ram.ʔús]	wash the face
agbariw-as	[ʔag.ba.riw.ʔás]	roam. wander

The consonants *k* and *r* may be pronounced as glottal stops before another consonant, the only environment where the glottal stop may appear in coda position.

pukray	[puʔ.ráy]	ripening (squash)
poklo	[poʔ.ló]	angle brace
agtakder	[ʔag.taʔ.dúir]	stand up
itlog	[ʔit.lóg]	egg
litnaw	[liʔ.náw]	clear. transparent

Certain prefixes when used before vowels require that the vowel be articulated with an initial glottal stop.

sinan-abogado	[si.nan.ʔa.bo.gá.do]	fake lawyer
akin-uken	[ʔa.kin.ʔur.kum]	owner of the puppy
makin-unek	[ma.kin.ʔu.nuŋg]	in the interior, inner
agin-uulaw	[ʔa.gin.ʔu.ʔú.law]	pretend to be dizzy

## 2.5. Phonological changes with affixation

- a. The infix *-in-* may metathesize to *ni-* before *l* or *r*. Both forms are acceptable.

nirugian	= <i>rinugian</i>	started
niluto	= <i>linuto</i>	cooked
nilukatan	= <i>linukatan</i>	opened

- b. The vowel *e* of many roots is often lost under affixation that causes it to become unstressed.

itdán	cf. itéd + -an	give to someone
ulsán	cf. ulés + -an	cover with blanket
pagablán	cf. pag-abél + -an	loom

c. With certain roots, single vowels may be lost with affixation:

kanén	cf. kaan + -en	eat something
tarimnén	cf. tarimaan + -en	fix
luktán	cf. lukat + -an	open

d. Many roots containing geminate consonants usually undergo two changes under affixation. The geminate consonant becomes single, and a vowel (often *e*) is lost:

maikatlo	cf. maika- tallo	third
lumteg	cf. letteg + -um-	swell
kadaklan	cf. ka- dakkal + -an	largest
pannakatnag	cf. pannaka- tinnag	act of falling
napno	cf. na- punno	full
nalpas	cf. na- leppas	finished
nakalpeng	cf. naka- leppeng	deafening
pannakapnek	cf. pannaka- pennek	satisfaction
burntak	cf. bettak + -um-	crack: explode

e. Certain roots may add epenthetic consonants when affixed:

pastreken	cf. pa- serrek -en	let in, allow to enter
sumbrek	cf. serrek + -um-	enter
bisraden	cf. bisrad + -en	spread open

## 2.6. Syllabification

Every syllable in Ilocano is composed of a consonantal onset and vowel, with an optional consonantal coda [CV(C)]. Geminate consonants cross syllable boundaries in native words.

arak	[ʔá:.rak]	wine, alcohol
agsangit	[ʔag.sá:.ŋit]	to cry
nasam-it	[na.sam.ʔít]	sweet

Each vowel in Ilocano maintains its own syllable, except word-finally with a suffix in which the vowel becomes a glide. This rule holds true for all vowel combinations except *i* followed by *a*, *e*, *o*, *u* or *u* followed by *a*, *e*, or *i*.

babbai	[bab.bá:.ʔi]	girls
agsao	[ʔag.sa.ʔo]	speak
lakien	[la.kyúin]	tomboy
babawien	[ba.baw.yúin]	regret

	agintuturog	[ʔa.gin.tu.tú:.rog]	pretend to sleep
	ruot	[rú.ʔot]	grass
<u>but</u>	siak	[ʃák]	I
	diak	[dʒák]	I don't
	siempre	[ʃém.prɛ]	of course
	dios	[dʒós]	god
	siuman	[ʃú.man]	stepchild
	muak	[mwák]	antlerless deer
	suer	[swuír]	bronze
	suitik	[swí.tik]	cheat

Two non-diphthongal vowels followed by vowel-initial suffixes become glides, but do not lose their consonantal onset, except in the case of the root *sao* which has two pronunciations.

	baien	[ba.ʔyúin]	effeminate male
	katataoan	[ka.ta.ta.ʔwan]	fiend
<u>but</u>	saoen	[sa.ʔwuín]	say
	or sawen	[sa.wuín]	"

### 3. Noun marking: Articles, Demonstratives and Case

#### 3.1. Articles and case

Ilocano has a set of articles (noun markers), uninflectible words that precede nouns, that encode two degrees of number (singular and plural), two cases (core and oblique), and also differentiate personal nouns (names, kinterms, etc.) from non-personal nouns as shown in the following paradigm.

##### Non-Personal (Common noun) Articles

	CORE	OBLIQUE
Singular	ti	iti
Plural	dagiti	kadagiti

##### Personal Articles

	CORE	OBLIQUE
Singular	ni	ken ni (kenni)
Plural	da	kada

The use of the articles (or demonstratives) is obligatory in certain environments. Predicate arguments and possessors, for instance, must be preceded by an article (or demonstrative), and oblique noun phrases are preceded by an oblique article or locative.

Napan *ni* Pepe *idiay* pantalan.  
went PA Pepe DIST.LOC pier  
'Pepe went to the pier.'

Ania't nagan ti manugang ni Carmela.  
what'ART name ART son.in.law PA Carmela.  
'What is the name of Carmela's son in law?'

Nailet *iti* balasang.  
tight OBL young.lady  
'It is tight on the young lady.'

Nasam-it *ti* agibales  
na-sam'it ti ag-i-bales  
ADJ-sweet ART I-THM-revenge  
'Taking revenge is sweet.'

### 3.2. Morphological case: The core/oblique distinction

Since the categories of core and oblique are morphologically encoded most extensively in the article system, this chapter will define and exemplify the distinction. The core and oblique distinction in Ilocano can be summed up in the following way. Core nouns are morphological arguments of verbs or verbless predicates, i.e. if they are not pronominal, they may be replaced by an enclitic pronoun of either the ergative =*ko* or absolutive =*ak* series. Oblique nouns, however, are not morphologically predicate arguments in that they cannot be replaced by enclitic pronouns, although they may play an essential role in the semantic frame of a verb.

Grammatically intransitive verbs or predicates in Ilocano may take, at most, one absolutive enclitic pronoun in the =*ak* series. When this particular argument appears as a full noun phrase, it takes the core article:

i.e Nanganak  
n-maN-kaan=*ak*  
PF-I-eat  
'I ate.'

Nangan ti babai.  
n-maN-kaan ti babai  
PF-I-eat ART girl  
'The girl ate.' (c)

Intransitive verbs take patientive referents in the oblique case.

Nanganak iti suman.  
n-maN-kaan=*ak* iti suman  
PF-I-eat=*1sA* OBL rice.cake  
'I ate rice cake.' (c)

Nangan ti babai iti suman.  
ate ART girl OBL rice.cake  
'The girl ate rice cake.' (c)

Transitive verbs, on the other hand, take two core arguments. When two arguments are encoded by enclitic pronouns, the actor is specified by a member of the =*ko* series (ergative) pronouns. All noun phrases in these cases are given core case marking; all other nouns are encoded in the oblique.

Nakitanak.  
na-kita=*na*=*ak*  
PF.T-see=*3sE*=*1sA*  
'She saw me.'



Nakitanak            ni    Maria.  
na-kita=na=ak        ni    Maria  
PF.T-see=3sE=1sA PA    Maria  
‘Maria saw me.’

Nakita    ti    babai    ti    lalaki    iti    simbaan.  
saw        ART girl        ART boy    OBL church  
‘The girl saw the boy at church.’ (c)

Intedko            ti    kuarta    kenni    Juan.  
i{in}-ted=ko        ti    kuarta    ken-ni    Juan  
T{PF}-give=1sE ART money OBL-PA Juan  
‘I gave the money to Juan.’

Kinnan        dagiti    babbai    ti    suman.  
kaan{in}        dagiti    babai{R}    ti    suman  
eat{PF.T}    PL        girl{PL}    ART rice.cake  
‘The girls ate the rice cake.’ (c)

### 3.3. Other functions of the oblique case

Prepositions such as *para* ‘for’ *maipapan*, *maipanggep* ‘about, concerning’ *manipud* ‘from, since, because’, *malaksid* ‘except’ and *gapu* ‘because’ require their following nominal in the oblique case.

Saan nga isu ti tipo=k a babai para iti kabsat=ko.  
NEG LIG 3s ART type=1sE LIG girl for OBL sibling=1sE  
‘She is not my type of girl for my brother.’

Bulsekak no maipapan iti rugso ken sutil.  
bulsek=ak no maipapan iti rugso ken sutil  
blind=1sA if about OBL passion and joke/teasing  
‘I am blind if it’s concerning passion and teasing.’ (w)

Manipud kadagitoy, saanakan nga agsagaba.  
manipud ka-dagitoy saan=ak=on nga ag-sagaba  
from OBL.PL.PROX NEG=1sA=EMPH LIG I-suffer  
‘Because of these things, I do not suffer any more.’

The preposition *babaen* ‘through’, however, does not take its nouns in the oblique case.

Adda met dagiti saludsod a masungbatan laeng babaen ti panagulimek  
 adda met dagiti saludsod a ma-sungbat-an laeng babaen ti pan-ag-ulimek  
 EXIST also PL question LIG ADJ-answer-T only through ART NOM-I-silence  
 'There are also questions that are answered just through silence.' (w)

Locative nouns appear either in the oblique case, or with a spatial locative *ditoy* 'here', *dita* 'there (medial)' or *idiay* 'there (distal)'. With use of the oblique articles, a generic location of referent is assumed as opposed to a more specific location implied by the demonstratives.

Nakamakamko ni Dong *iti* simbaan.  
 na-kamakam=ko ni Dong iti simbaan  
 PF-catch.up=1sE PA Dong OBL church  
 'I caught up with Dong at church.' (w)

Nakagin-awa idi maisadsad ti rakit *iti* kabatuan.  
 naka-gin'awa idi mai-sadsad ti rakit iti ka-bato-an  
 PF.INVOL-relief PST INVOL-strand ART raft OBL LOC-rock-NOM  
 'He was relieved when the raft stranded on the rocky coastline.' (w)

Napanda *idiay* balayda.  
 na-pan=da idiay balay=da  
 PF-go=3p there house=3p  
 'They went to their house (far away).'

Sairokayo amin *iti* imatangko.  
 sairo=kayo amin iti imatang=ko  
 devil=2pA all OBL opinion=1sE  
 'You are all devils in my opinion.'

Dandani agpatas titimbangda *iti* pusok.  
 dandani ag-patas titimbang=da iti puso=k  
 almost I-equal ART weight=3p OBL heart=1sE  
 'They almost have equal weight in my heart.' (w)

We can compare the oblique article *iti* and its core counterpart *ti* in the following two phrases, where the oblique article represents a locative noun, and the core article represents a possessor.

Siak ti paralako *iti* Malayan.  
 1s ART salesperson OBL Malayan  
 'I am the salesperson in/for Malayan (bookstore).'

Siak ti paralako ti Malayan.  
 1s ART salesperson ART Malayan  
 'I am Malayan's salesperson.' (c)

Causative, temporal or resultative phrases are case marked with the oblique article *iti*.

Ania ti inaramidmo ken ni Estela *iti* kaawanmi?  
 ania ti aramid{in}=mo ken ni Estela iti ka-awan=mi  
 what ART do{PF.T}=2sE OBL PA Estela OBL NOM-absence=1pEXCL.E  
 'What did you do to Estela in our absence (while we were gone.)'

Nakaluaak *iti* binatangmo: 'Naragsakka kadi dita?'  
 naka-lua=ak iti batog{in}=mo na-ragsak=ka kadi dita  
 PF-tear=1sA OBL line{PF}=2sE ADJ-happy=2sA QUES there  
 'I cried (teared) from your line (in the letter): "are you happy there?"' (w)

Diak ammo no agbabawiak *iti* kaaddak ditoy.  
 di=ak ammo no ag-babawi=ak iti ka-adda=k ditoy  
 NEG=1sA know if I-regret=1sA OBL NOM-EXIST=1sE here  
 'I don't know if I regret being here.'

Makababaengak *iti* ingel.  
 maka-R-baeng=ak iti ingel  
 INVOL-R-sneeze=1sA OBL strong.smell  
 'I feel like sneezing from the strong smell.' (w)

Insaganana dagiti kasapulanna *iti* panagbiahena.  
 i{in}-sagana=na dagiti ka-sapul-an=na iti pan-ag-biahe=na  
 T{PF}-prepare=3sE PL NOM-need-NOM=3sE OBL NOM-I-trip=3sE  
 'He prepared the things he needed for his trip.' (w)

Diak nakauni ta nabalud ti dilak  
 di=ak naka-uni ta na-balud ti dila=k  
 NEG-1sA PF.INVOL-sound because ADJ-prisoner ART tongue=1sE

*iti* apges ti riknak.  
 iti apges ti rikna=ko  
 OBL pain ART feeling=1sE  
 'I wasn't able to make a sound as my tongue was tied from the stinging pain I was feeling.' (w)

Agents of intransitive (actor focus) verbs may be encoded with oblique case, similarly to the English passive voice.

Naduayaka *iti* singgit dagiti agsisinnungbat a kundidit.  
 na-duaya=ka iti singgit dagiti ag-R-sungbat{inn} a kundidit  
 ADJ-lullaby=2sA OBL shrill PL I-PL-answer{RECIP} LIG cicada.  
 'You were lulled by the shrills of the conversing cicada.' (w)

With numbers, the oblique articles denote the group to which the numbers refer, i.e. one of + N, two of + N, etc.

Maragsakanak	a	mangipakaammo	a	maysaka	kadagiti
ma-ragsak-an=ak	a	mang-i-pa-ka-ammo	a	maysa=ka	ka-dagiti
ADJ-happy-ADJ=1sA	LIG	I-THM-CAUS-NOM-know	LIG	one=2sA	OBL-PL

nairamanen	iti	petision.
na-i-raman=en	iti	petision
PF-THM-include=EMPH	OBL	petition

'I am pleased to inform you that you are one of those included in the petition.' (w)

Maysaak	kadagiti	nangabak.
maysa=ak	ka-dagiti	nang-abak
one=1sA	OBL-PL	PF.I-won

'I am one of the winners.'

### 3.4. Adjectives with oblique complements

Referents that experience the effect of an adjectival state or condition are encoded in the oblique case. Adjectival complements encoded in the oblique case are not to be confused with the referents to which the state or condition of the adjective is actually referring. These referents are encoded in the absolutive case.

Nalawa	(iti	babai).
na-lawa-0	iti	babai.
ADJ-loose-3sA	OBL	girl

'It is loose (on the girl).'

Nailet	ti	palda	iti	kabsatna.
na-ilet	ti	palda	iti	kabsat=na
ADJ-tight	ART	skirt	OBL	sibling=3sE

'The skirt is tight on his sister.' (c)

### 3.5. The oblique *iti* with adverbials

The oblique article *iti* often precedes adverbials and adverbial clauses.

Nagpanunotka	iti	nauneg.
n-ag-panunot=ka	iti	na-uneg
PF-I-think=2sA	OBL	ADJ-deep

'You thought deeply.' (c)

Nagsaoda            iti        nalapat.  
n-ag-sao =da        iti        na-lapat  
PF-I-speak=3p    OBL    ADJ-frank  
‘They spoke frankly.’

### 3.6. The oblique *iti* with plural nouns

Sometimes a plural locative noun (morphologically indicated as plural by the appropriate reduplication) may be marked with the singular article *iti* in speech. The noun marker suggests non-committal location (as opposed to the demonstratives), and the plural noun intensifies the distribution or plurality of the locative noun.

Addada        lattan        nga    agkulkulmeg    iti    balbalayda.  
adda=da    latta=n        nga    ag-R-kulmeg    iti    R-balay=da  
EXIST=3p    just=EMPH    LIG    I-CONT-hide    OBL    PL-house=3p  
‘They are just hiding in their (scattered) houses.’

### 3.7. The personal articles

The singular personal article *ni* (and its oblique counterpart *ken ni*) mark names (human or other animate). Direct forms of address and kinterms may take either the personal or non-personal article, depending on the familiarity, affinity and empathy that the speaker and addressee have with the referent. The personal article is used, for instance, before referents that both the speaker and addressee can relate to with a direct term of address.

#### Non-personal articles with animate human nouns

Naulpit    ti        balasang.  
na-ulpit    ti        balasang  
ADJ-cruel    ART    young.lady  
‘The young lady is cruel.’ (c)

Kinuna    ti        nanangko.  
kuna{in}    ti        nanang=ko  
say{PF.T}    ART    mother=1sE  
‘My mother said it (you don’t know her).’

Naulpit    ti        lakayko.  
na-ulpit    ti        lakay=ko  
ADJ-cruel    ART    husband=1sE  
‘My husband (you don’t know him) is cruel.’

Ipatpategko met ti anakko.  
 i-R-pateg=ko met ti anak=ko  
 T-CONT-dear=1sE also ART son=1sE  
 'I also cherish my son (you don't know him and I am not specifying which one).'

Personal articles with animate (human or non-human) names, and kinterms

Nalaing ni Blueberry.  
 na-laing ni Blueberry (name of a dog).  
 ADJ-intelligent PA Blueberry  
 'Blueberry (name of a dog) is intelligent.' (c)

Siak ni Carl.  
 1s PA Carl  
 'I am Carl.'

Ayanna ni kabsatmo?  
 ayan=na ni kabsat=mo  
 where=3sE PA sibling=2sE  
 'Where is your sibling (who is my son)?'

Kasinsin ni lakayko.  
 kasinsin ni lakay=ko  
 cousin PA old.man=1sE  
 'He is my husband's cousin (you know my husband).'

Kabaw ni lolo=k.  
 senile PA grandfather=1sE  
 'My grandfather is senile (you are familiar with him).'

With *Dios* 'god,' the common article *ti* is used unless preceded by the respectful title *Apo* 'Sir.'

Kuna ti Dios...  
 say ART god  
 'according to God...'

Kaasi ni Apo Dios.  
 mercy PA Sir God  
 'By the mercy of God.'

Sometimes in literature and flowery speech, the personal article may be used with animate nouns that are not names to designate a generic animate category.

Kasapulan ni mannurat ti ulimek ti pagtaengan.  
ka-sapul-an ni maN-surat ti ulimek ti pag-taeng-an  
COMIT-need-NOM PA NOM-write ART tranquil ART LOC-reside-NOM  
‘The writer (writers in general) needs tranquility in his place of residence.’ (w)

### 3.7.1. The personal article *ni* with inanimate nouns

The personal article *ni* may also be used with abstract concepts to personify them. This use is encountered mostly in literature and songs.

Naalsem *ni* ayat.  
na-alsem PA love  
‘Love is sour.’ (w)

Kanayon a makisugalak ta bareng no umay *ni* gasat.  
kanayon a maki-sugal=ak ta bareng:no um-ay ni gasat  
always LIG COMIT-gamble=1sA LIG hopefully I-come PA luck  
‘I always join in on gambling because hopefully luck will come.’ (w)

Naillet ken nasiit ti desdes *ni* lipat a pinadasko  
na-ilet ken na-siit ti desdes ni lipat a padas{in}=ko  
ADJ-tight and ADJ-thorn ART path PA forget LIG try{PF}=1sE

a lasaten.  
a lasat-en  
LIG cross-T

‘The path of forgetting I tried to cross is tight and thorny.’ (w)

### 3.7.2 Personal plurals

The plural of the personal article *ni* is *da*. The oblique counterpart is *kada*. The personal article *da* is used where two or more names must be qualified by an article. The two names, if mentioned, are conjoined with the conjunction *ken*.

Natayag da Maria ken Gracia.  
na-tayag da Maria ken Gracia.  
ADJ-tall PL Maria and Gracia  
‘Maria and Gracia are tall.’ (c)

As with the article *ni*, direct terms of address take the personal article.

Sinapa da tatang ken nanang ti nagpatalon  
 sapa{in} da tatang ken nanang ti n-ag-pa-R-talon  
 early{PF} PL father and mother ART PF-I-CAUS-R-field

ta agpaanikami kano.  
 ta ag-pa-ani=kami kano  
 cause I-CAUS-harvest=1pEXCL.A HRSY

'Mother and father went to the fields early because we are supposedly having the crops harvested.' (w)

When a plural personal article is used with a singular name, it designates a group of people that are associated with the qualified name.

Ayan da Mario?  
 where PA.PL Mario  
 'Where is Mario and company?'

Makalawas laeng da Erna ditoy Abulug.  
 maka-lawas laeng da Erna ditoy Abulug  
 one-week only PA.PL Erna here Abulug  
 'Erna and company are here in Abulug only one week.'

### 3.8. Use of articles with generic nouns

Generic nouns, those that are not specific or referential, will take articles as opposed to demonstratives. When a speaker wants to indicate the specificity or referentiality of a noun, the demonstratives are more apt to be used.

Natibker ken natangken ti ramay ti lalaki.  
 na-tibker ken na-tangken ti ramay ti lalaki  
 ADJ-firm and ADJ-hard ART finger ART male  
 'Fingers of males are firm and hard.'

Kimmandela dagidiay ramayna.  
 kandela{in-um} dagidiay ramay=na  
 candle{PF-I} those finger=3sE  
 'Those fingers of hers are like candles (long and thin).'

### 3.9. The Contraction of (i)ti to 't

The articles *ti* and *iti* are prone to simplify in speech following vowels to a simple dental tap. Because of this phonological decay with these two articles, the core vs. oblique distinction is often lost with singular nouns in speech:



Ania`t naganmo?  
ania-ti nagan=mo  
what-ART name=2sE  
'What is your name?'

Agpapatangtayo`t nalapat.  
ag-R-patang=tayo-iti na-lapat  
I-PL-talk=1pINCL.A=OBL ADJ-frank  
'Let's speak frankly.'

Agad-adal kano`t parmasia.  
ag-R-adal kano-iti parmasia  
I-CONT-study HRSY-OBL pharmacy  
'He is supposedly studying pharmacy.'

Sika`t makaammo.  
sika=ti maka-ammo  
2s=ART INVOL-know  
'It's up to you: you are responsible.'

### 3.10. Demonstratives

Ilocano demonstratives, like the articles, also inflect for plurality and case. There are no special forms, however, to differentiate personal nouns from non-personal ones. Unlike the articles, demonstratives may be used with the ligature (*ng*)*a* to link them to their noun. Ilocano demonstratives have traditionally been classified with regard to three degrees of space, proximal, medial, and distal (See section 3.10.1), and four degrees of time (See section 3.10.2). Demonstratives have two functions in Ilocano, a 'referential' function where they are used to refer to the position of an object, person, or place in space or time; and an 'anaphoric' function where they refer back to something already introduced in the discourse.

#### 3.10.1 Spatial demonstratives

Ilocano demonstratives mark three degrees of spatial orientation: proximal, medial, and distal. Proximal demonstratives mark entities near the speaker, medial demonstratives mark entities near the addressee, or slightly far from both, while distal demonstratives are used to indicate the distance of the referent to the setting of the speech event. The forms are given in the following paradigm:

**Ilocano demonstratives:**

	<b>PROXIMAL</b>	<b>MEDIAL</b>	<b>DISTAL</b>
<b>CORE</b>			
Singular	daytoy ('toy)	dayta ('ta)	daydiay ('diay)
Plural	dagitoy	dagita	dagidiay
<b>OBLIQUE</b>			
Singular	iti daytoy	iti dayta	iti daydiay
	kadaytoy	kadayta	kadaydiay
Plural	kadagitoy	kadagita	kadagidiay

**3.10.1.1 Proximal space**

As the name implies, proximal demonstratives are usually applied to entities that are situated within the physical or mental realm of the speaker.

Kukuam kadi daytoy igid ti baybay tapno  
 R-kua=m kadi daytoy igid ti baybay tapno  
 R-POSS=2sE QUES this edge ART sea so

iparitmo nga umaykami ditoy?  
 i-parit=mo nga um-ay=kami ditoy  
 T-forbid=2sE LIG I-come=1pEXCL.A here

'Is this beach yours so you can forbid us to come here?'

Daytoyen ti kadakkelan a kanitotayo a tallo.  
 daytoy=(e)n ti ka-dakkel-an a kanito=tayo a tallo  
 this=EMPH ART SUPER-big-NOM LIG moment=1pINCL LIG three  
 'This is the biggest moment for the three of us.'

Proximal demonstratives may also qualify entities that are not actually present in the speech act, but have been previously mentioned or are present in the speaker's mind. Many times, these nouns are introduced by the speaker, and the speaker assumes familiarity or responsibility for them.

Kaanonto nga agtungpal daytoy nga ayan-ayat  
 kaano=nto nga ag-tungpal daytoy nga R-ayat  
 when=FUT LIG I-fulfill this LIG mutual-love  
 'When will this love be fulfilled?' (w)

In literature, the demonstrative *daytoy* is used in a second reference to a thematic noun, often newly introduced.

Insagana ni Maria ti balon ti asawana..  
*i*{in}-sagana ni Maria ti balon ti asawa=na  
 T{PF}-prepare PA Maria ART provision ART spouse=3sE  
 'Mary prepared the provisions of her husband..'

... Agur-urok pay la daytoy idi mapanna riingen.  
 ag-R-urok pay la daytoy idi ma-pan=na riing-en  
 I-CONT-snore still just this when I-go=3sE wake-T

'This (the husband) was still snoring when she went to wake him up.' (w)

Sinirigna a naimbag ti bunga a suksukdalen ti balasang  
 sirig{i}n}=na a na-imbag ti bunga a R-sukdal-en ti balasang  
 peer{PF}=3sE LIG ADJ-well ART fruit LIG CONT-pick-T ART lady

ket natnag daytoy iti uneg ti sarukang.  
 ket na-tinnag daytoy iti uneg ti sarukang  
 and ADJ-fall this OBL inside ART fruit.picking.stick

'He took a good peer at the fruit that the young lady was picking and it (this) fell inside the fruit prod.' (w)

### 3.10.1.2. Medial space

Medial space usually refers to the proximity of the addressee. Many nouns encoded with a medial space demonstrative even show up with possessive marking in second person, showing the close relationship or association of the nominal to the person being addressed.

Pakirdem kuma ta nakemmo a mangsango iti didigra.  
 pa-kired-en=mo kuma ta nakem=mo a mang-sango iti didigra  
 CAUS-strength-T=2sE OPT MEDIAL mind=2sE LIG I-face OBL disaster  
 'You should strengthen your will to face disaster.'

Pasimbengem ta panunotmo.  
 pa-simbeng-en=mo ta panunot=mo  
 CAUS-calm-T=2sE MEDIAL thought=2sE  
 'Calm your thoughts.'

Inkayo ngaruden ta sakayto suktan `ta pagan-anayyo  
in=kayo ngarud=en ta sa=kay=to sukat-an ta pagan'anay=yo  
go=2pA then=EMPH CONJ then=2pA=FUT change-T MEDIAL clothes=2pE  
'Go then and change your clothes.'

Sometimes nouns encoded with a medial demonstrative refer to an entity that is not present at the time of the utterance but is believed to be the responsibility or possession of the addressee. Referents that have been introduced for the first time in a conversation by the addressee may also appear with a medial demonstrative.

Tutulongannaka dayta anak ti taga-bantay?  
R-tulong-an=na=ka dayta anak ti taga-bantay  
CONT-help-T=3sE=2sA MEDIAL child ART from-mountain  
'That mountain child (you talked about) helps you?'

Guraenka iti dayta a banag  
gura-en=ko=ka iti dayta a banag  
anger-T=1sE=2sA OBL MEDIAL LIG thing  
'I am angry with you about that thing (you did).'

Sapay kuma ta matungpal dagita tagainepta.  
sapay kuma ta ma-tungpal dagita tagainep=ta  
OPT OPT CONJ INVOL-fulfill those dream=1dE  
'I hope those dreams of ours will be fulfilled.'

Referents that have been introduced by the speaker as opposed to the addressee, and then are introduced again by the speaker can appear with a medial demonstrative. The medial demonstrative shows that the referent is accessible to the addressee, and not entirely the possession or responsibility of the speaker. Referents encoded with medial demonstratives, however, tend to be more closely controllable by the speaker than nouns encoded with a distal article or demonstrative.

Ay-ayatek ti masakbayak, sisiak laeng ti makapagbalin  
R-ayat-en=ko ti masakbayan=ko R-siak laeng ti maka-pag-balin  
CONT-love-T=1sE ART future=1sE only-1s only ART can-CAUS-become

a nakidser dayta a masakbayan.  
a na-kidser dayta a masakbayan  
LIG ADJ-vigor MEDIAL LIG future  
'I love my future, only I can make my future vigorous.' (w)

### 3.10.1.3. Distal space

Distal space refers to the area outside the realm of the speaker or addressee. Because of this locative specification, many third person nominals, or nominals possessed by a third person party appear with a distal article or demonstrative.

Napintas       `diay       baketna.  
na-pintas       diay       baket=na  
ADJ-beautiful DIST.ART old.woman=3sE  
‘His wife (that wife of his) is beautiful.’

Referents that are activated or accessible in a conversation but not actually present in the speech act will also frequently appear with a distal demonstrative. These nouns correspond to highly salient definite nouns in English.

‘Nia metten       ti       `naramid   `diay       gayyemmo   kaniak?  
ania met=(en)   ti       in-aramid   diay       gayyem=mo   kaniak  
what also=EMPH ART PF-do       DIST.ART friend=2sE   1SOBL  
‘What in the hell did your friend (that friend of yours) do to me?’

Nalakok               `diay       nuangkong                       ngem...  
na-lako=k             diay       nuang=ko=n                     ngem  
ABIL.PF-sell=1sE   DIST.ART water.buffalo=1sE=EMPH but..  
‘I was able to sell that water buffalo of mine but..’

Distal demonstratives may also precede names of people who are relevant to the conversation, accessible, but not present. With names, the ligature (*ng*)*a* is required.

Sinal-it       daydiay   nga   Irma ta       awan   metten       ti  
sal’it{in}     daydiay   nga   Irma ta       awan   met=(e)n     ti  
lightning{PF} that       LIG   Irma because none   also=EMPH   ART

ipaw-itna       kadatayo.  
i-paw’it=na     kadatayo  
T-send=3sE     1PINCL.OBL

‘Goddamn (cursed) that Irma because she didn’t send anything to us.’

### 3.10.2. Temporal (past) demonstratives

Ilocano also has past form demonstratives used to indicate referents that are not visible during the speech event. Although they do not refer specifically to tense, these have been called recent past and remote past demonstratives as seen in the following chart:

	RECENT PAST	REMOTE PAST
<b>CORE</b>		
Singular	daytay ('tay)	daydi ('di)
Plural	dagitay	dagidi
<b>OBLIQUE</b>		
Singular	kadaytay	kadaydi
Common	iti daytay	iti daydi
Proper	ken daytay	ken daydi
Plural	kadagitay	kadagidi

Recent past demonstratives are used when designating entities that are not immediately accessible or not visible during the speech event. They are often used to encode a referent of which the speaker has immediate recollection or feels is relevant and important to the discourse and subsequent interaction:

Ania *daytay* nagan=na?  
 what REC.PST name-3sE  
 'What was her name (again)?'

Ayan *dagitay* tulbek=ko?  
 where REC.PST.PL key=1sE  
 'Where are my keys? (I had them just a while earlier).'

Alaemon	'tay	supot	dita	rabaw	ti	lamisaan	no
ala-en=mo=n	tay	supot	dita	rabaw	ti	lamisaan	no
get-T=2sE=EMPH	REC.PST	bag	there	top	ART	table	when

agawidka.  
 ag-awid=ka  
 I-go.home-2sA

'Get that (non-visible) bag on top of the table when you go home.'

Remote past demonstratives are often used for people who are deceased, or objects that no longer exist. The speaker distances the nouns in time from the present with the remote past demonstratives. The referents introduced with the remote past demonstratives do not necessarily have to be activated in the discourse at their time of utterance. Often, they are just accessible referents mentioned for the first time:

Bayadam *dagidi* ginastok kenka idi ken *dagidi*  
 bayad-an=mo dagidi gastos{in}=k kenka idi ken dagidi  
 pay-T=2sE PL.REM.PST expense{PF.T}=1sE 2SOBL then and REM.PST.PL

impatpatulodko a pinagbasam idiyay Manila.  
 i{in}-pa-R-tulod=ko a pag{in}-basa=m idiyay Manila  
 T{PF}-CAUS-R-send=1sE LIG CAUS{PF}-study=2sE there Manila  
 'Pay for what I spent on you then and (the money) I sent you for your schooling in Manila.' (w)

Sinangitak met idi *dagidi* aldaw a pannakalipatmo kaniak.  
 sangit{in}-an=ko met idi dagidi aldaw a pannaka-lipat=mo kaniak  
 cry{PF}-T=1sE also then REM.PL day LIG NOM-forget=2sE 1SOBL  
 'I also cried those (past) days that you forgot me.' (w)

Diak malipatan *daydi* nagistayanda pananggudas kaniak  
 di=ak ma-lipat-an daydi nagistayan=da panang-gudas kaniak  
 NEG=1sA INVOL-forget-T REM almost=3p NOM-forget 1SOBL

iti naudi a panagawidko.  
 iti na-udi a pan-ag-awid=ko  
 OBL ADJ-last LIG NOM-I-go.home=1sE

'I can't forget their almost forgetting me the last time I went home.' (w)

With humans or animals, remote past demonstratives imply that the animate noun is dead or is no longer seen by the speaker.

Nagparang *daydi* lolom.  
 n-ag-parang daydi lolo=m  
 PF-I-appear REM.PST grandfather=2sE  
 'Your deceased grandfather appeared (in an apparition, etc.).'

Nalipatak ti nagan *daydi* gayyemko.  
 na-lipat-an=ko ti nagan daydi gayyem=ko  
 INVOL.PF-forget-T=1sE ART name REM.PST friend=1sE  
 'I forgot the name of my long lost friend (but perhaps she is not dead).'

Baog *daydi* imbilangmo nga ama.  
 baog daydi i{in}-bilang=mo nga ama  
 infertile REM.PST T{PF}-consider=2sE LIG father  
 'That man you considered as your father is sterile (he is not dead, but is no longer in the life of the addressee).'

Gapu ta maasian iti *daydi* nakuttong a pusa,  
 gapu ta ma-asi-an iti daydi na-kuttong a pusa,  
 because LIG INVOL-mercy-ADJ OBL REM.PST ADJ-thin LIG cat

pinakanna.  
 pa{in}-kaan=na  
 CAUS-PF-eat=3sE

‘Because he had pity on that skinny cat (that was thrown out of the house, but not killed), he fed it.’ (w)

However, the past demonstrative *daydi* may be applied also to humans that are still alive, but whose reference to a certain event is relevant in the remote past.

Siak daydi nangisalikan kenka, malagipmo?  
 siak daydi nang-i-salikan kenka ma-lagip=mo  
 1s REM.PST PF.I-THM-save 2SOBL INVOL-remember=2sE  
 ‘I was the one who saved you (a long time ago). remember?’

Remote past demonstratives may be also used to represent abstract (adjectival, etc.) nouns whose conditions no longer exist, or lost nouns.

Mabalin pay met laeng a pabaruen *daydi* ayanayatta.  
 ma-balin pay met.laeng a pa-baro-en daydi R-ayat=ta  
 ADJ-possible still nevertheless LIG CAUS-new-T REM MUTUAL-love=1d  
 ‘It is still nevertheless possible to renovate our lost love.’ (w)

Na-ragsak *dagidi* nga aldaw.  
 ADJ-happy PL.REM LIG day  
 ‘Those days were happy (these ones aren’t).’

### 3.10.2.1. Past demonstratives with the future enclitic *=(n)to*

Past demonstratives do not encode past time, despite their perhaps unfortunate name. As they encode non-visibility or non-existence at the time of utterance, they do co-occur with the future enclitic *=(n)to* if the noun they refer to will come into existence or be of use later at a future time.

Dagitayto dyip nga agpa-Bacnotan ti pagluganam.  
 dagitay=to dyip nga ag-pa-Bacnotan ti pag-lugan-an=mo  
 PL.PST=FUT jeep LIG I-DIRECT-Bacnotan ART INST-ride-NOM=2sE  
 ‘Those jeeps (they are not here now) that go to Bacnotan (will be the ones) you will ride (on your way back).’



### 3.10.2.3. The future deictic

Ilocano has a future marker used before temporal expressions in the future. The marker usually appears in one of the four forms: *inton*, *intono*, *tono*, or *ton*. Because the future deictic does not behave morphologically similarly to the other demonstratives, i.e. it does not appear in two cases and it does not take the ligature (*nga*) to link it to its referent, it should perhaps be treated as a preposition.

bigat	morning	intono bigat	tomorrow
rabii	night	intono rabii	tonight
malem	afternoon	intono malem	this (coming) afternoon
Abril	April	intono Abril	in May (coming up)

Umaydanto inton bigat.  
 um-ay=da=nto inton bigat  
 I-come=3p=FUT FUT morning  
 'They will come tomorrow.'

The future demonstrative *inton* may also be used as a subordinator to introduce a future or conditional clause (See also the subordinator *no*).

Kayatko ti agpudno kenkuana inton maaddaanak iti kired.  
 kayat=ko ti ag-pudno kenkuana inton ma-adda-an=ak iti kired  
 want=1sE ART I-true 3SOBL FUT ADJ-EXIST-ADJ=1sA OBL strength  
 'I want to confess the truth to him when I have the strength.'

### 3.10.3. Use of the ligature (*nga*) with demonstratives

The ligature (*nga*) is optionally used with core demonstratives. It may only be used with the full demonstratives, not the contracted article forms in Section 3.10.4.

Kumusta daydi balon=mo a daing?  
 how REM.PST provision=2sE LIG dried.fish  
 'How was your dried fish sack lunch?'

Naitanemen dagidi nga aldaw.  
 na-i-tanem=en dagidi nga aldaw  
 PF-THM-grave=already PL.REM.PST LIG day  
 'Those (past) days are already long gone (buried).'

Oblique demonstratives without the prefix *ka-* are linked by the ligature *(ng)a* before the modified nominal.

Pammati ken pannakigasanggasat ti makamuli iti dayta a masakbayan.  
 paN-pati ken pan-naki-R-gasat ti maka-muli iti dayta a masakbayan  
 NOM-believe and NOM-COMIT-R-luck ART can-shape OBL that LIG future  
 'Faith and fortune are what shape that (aforementioned) future.' (w)

Guraenka iti dayta a banag.  
 gura-en=ko=ka iti dayta a banag  
 angry-T=1sE=2sA OBL that LIG thing  
 'I am mad at you about that thing.'

In certain Ilocano dialects, most notably those of Tarlac province, the singular oblique demonstratives *kadaytoy*, *kadayta* and *kadaydiay* are used. These three demonstratives may not take the ligature *(ng)a* before their noun. Most speakers of other Ilocano dialects do not use the prefix *ka-* with singular demonstratives to form oblique case and prefer the oblique article *iti* with the appropriate singular demonstrative with the ligature *(ng)a* linking the demonstrative to the referent:

Namnamaem ti pannakaragpatmo kadayta kalikagumam.  
 R-nama-en=m ti pan-maka-ragpat=mo ka-dayta kalikagum-an=mo  
 R-expect-T=2sE ART NOM-INVOL-achieve=2sE OBL-that desire-NOM=2sE  
 'Expect to achieve your desire.' (Tarlac)

Namnamaem ti pannakaragpatmo iti dayta a kalikagumam.  
 'Expect to achieve your desire.' (standard Ilocano. c)

#### 3.10.4. Contracted forms → Articles

The singular demonstratives *daytoy*, *dayta*, *daydiay*, *daytay*, and *daydi* have abbreviated forms *'toy*, *'ta*, *'diay*, *'tay* and *'di*, respectively which are used in Ilocano discourse like the articles. The full demonstratives may be connected to their nouns with the ligature *(ng)a*, while the abbreviated forms may not. The contracted forms are therefore articles with temporal and spatial features whose origins trace back to the demonstratives.

Nagluto daydiay (a) lalaki.  
 n-ag-luto daydiay (a) lalaki  
 PF-I-cook that LIG boy  
 'That boy cooked.' (c)

Nagluto `diay lalaki.  
 n-ag-luto diay lalaki  
 PF-I-cook that boy  
 'The/That boy cooked.' (c)

These articles occur only in singular form, plural demonstratives, whether in core or oblique case, have never contracted or evolved into determiners.

Intedko ti balay kadagidiay lallakay.  
 i{in}-ted=ko ti balay ka-dagidiay lakay{R}  
 T{PF}-give=1sE ART house OBL-those old.men{PL}  
 'I gave the house to those old men.'

### 3.10.5. Demonstrative pronouns

Demonstratives may stand alone as pronouns in their complete (non-contracted) form, replacing full noun phrases.

Kayatko *dayta*.  
 kayat=ko dayta  
 want=1sE that  
 'I want *that*.'

Ti ammok ket asim kaniakon *dagidi* ta ammom  
 ti ammo=k ket asi=m kaniak=on dagidi ta ammo=m  
 ART know=2sE INV pity=2sE 1sOBL=EMPH those.PST because know=2sE

met ti rigatko idi a kabsatmo.  
 met ti rigat=ko idi a kabsat=mo  
 also ART hardship=1sE then LIG sibling=2sE

'I think *what you did* was out of pity for me because you knew the hardship I was suffering then as your sibling.'

### 3.10.6. Demonstrative possessive pronouns

Full demonstratives may pronominally replace possessors, immediately following the possessed nouns. Unlike their counterparts in Tagalog and other Philippine languages, when used as possessive pronouns, they undergo no morphological change from their regular absolutive forms.

Absolutive use of demonstrative pronoun:

Balayko    dayta.  
balay=ko   dayta  
house=1sE   that  
'That is my house.'

Possessive use of demonstrative pronoun.

Ania ti    numero    daydiay?  
what    ART    number    that  
'What is the number of that (house)?'

Addan	dagiti	agtutubo	a	pasig	nga	agad-adal	iti	sekundaria.
adda=n	dagiti	ag-R-tubo	a	pasig	nga	ag-R-adal	iti	sekundaria
EXIST=now	PL	I-R-grow	LIG	pure	LIG	I-CONT-study	OBL	high.school

innalana	ti	nagan	<i>dagitoy</i>	ken	numeroda.
ala{in}=na	ti	nagan	dagitoy	ken	numero=da
get{PF}=3sE	ART	name	PROX.PL	and	number=3pE

'Those youths that all study in high school were there. he got the names *of these* (youths) and their number.' (w)

## 4. The pronouns

Ilocano has five sets of pronouns: independent absolutes (formerly called nominatives), independent possessives, enclitic absolutes (formerly called nominatives), enclitic ergative forms (formerly called genitives), and obliques. This chapter will introduce the pronominal paradigms and describe pronominal use.

### 4.1 The independent pronouns:

Pronouns in Ilocano encode person, number, and respect. The first person plural pronouns differentiate inclusivity (including addressee) and exclusivity (excluding addressee). The second person pronouns include an element of respect. Pronouns do not mark gender distinctions.

siak	First person singular (I)
sika	Second person singular, informal pronoun (you)
isu(na)	Third person singular (he, she)
data	First person dual inclusive (you and I)
dakami	First person plural exclusive (we not you)
datayo	First person plural inclusive (we and you)
dakayo	Second person plural (you people); second person singular formal (you sir or maam)
isuda	Third person plural (they); second person formal (more formal than <i>dakayo</i> ).

Independent pronouns may stand alone in an utterance:

Sino ti napan?  
who ART went  
'Who went?'

Siak.  
'I (did).'

Independent pronouns may also predicate in identificational constructions:

Siak ti napan idiay Tagudin.  
Is ART went there Tagudin  
'I (was the one who) went to Tagudin.' (c)

- cf. Napanak idiy Tagudin.  
 na-pan=ak idiy Tagudin  
 PF-go=1sA there Tagudin  
 'I went to Tagudin.' (c)

#### 4.2 The indirect first person independent pronoun *datao*

Ilocano has one indirect pronoun *datao* which does not specify an exact referent. However, when the pronoun is used it is assumed to represent the speaker. It has the same distribution as the other independent pronouns.

Mabannog ti tao nga agrabaho sapay la datao ti agluto!  
 ma-bannog ti tao nga ag-trabaho sapay la datao ti ag-luto  
 INVOL-tire ART person LIG I-work then just PRON ART I-cook  
 'A man is tired from working and then has to cook (speaker indirectly speaking about himself).'

No dadduma, kasla bato a kasarsarita. pakpaksiatennansa met  
 no dadduma kasla bato a ka-R-sarita R-paksiat-en=na=nsa met  
 CONJ some like stone LIG COMMIT-R-talk CONT-fire-T=3sE=I.think also

dataon dayta a bakbaketan.  
 datao=n dayta a R-baket-an  
 PRON=EMPH that LIG R-old.lady-NOM

'Sometimes she is like a stone to talk to, I think that old lady is also firing me.'

Bagay met datao a maawagan iti kasta.  
 bagay met datao a ma-awag-an iti kasta  
 suit EMPH PRON LIG INVOL-call-T OBL like.that  
 'It suits me well (is OK with me) to be called like that.'

Narigat no saan datao nga umagawa.  
 na-rigat no saan datao nga um-agawa  
 ADJ-hard if NEG PRON LIG I-diligent  
 'It is difficult if I don't persevere.'

The pronoun *datao* has an oblique form *kadatao*.

Kanayonka la nga adda iti luar a mangpaspasungad kadatao.  
 kanayon=ka la nga adda iti luar a mang-R-pa-sungad ka-datao  
 always=2sA just LIG EXIST OBL out LIG I-R-CAUS-approach OBL-one  
 'You are always outside waiting for me.'

### 4.3 The enclitic absolutive pronouns (=ak series)

The enclitic absolutive pronouns substitute for full noun phrases to represent the argument of an intransitive verb or a non-verbal predicate, or the patientive argument of a transitive verb (See p. 58). They encliticize to the first predicative constituent of the phrase, and are written in Ilocano attached as such. The absolutive (=ak series) paradigm is as follows:

Independent	=ak series pronoun	English gloss
siak	=ak	I
sika	=ka	you
isu(na)	0	he, she, it
data	=ta	you and I
dakami	=kami	we, not you
datayo	=tayo	we (including you)
dakayo	=kayo	you (pl, pol.)
isuda	=da	they

The =ak series pronouns encliticize to the first constituent of a predicative phrase.

Lalakiak.  
lalaki=ak  
boy=1sA  
'I am a boy'

Napigsaka.  
na-pigsa=ka  
ADJ-strong=2sA  
'You are strong.'

Nanganka.  
nang-kaan=ka  
PF.I-eat=2sA  
'You ate.'

Nakitadaka.  
na-kita=da=ka  
PF.INVOL-see=3pE=2sA  
'They saw you.'

Idi        napanda        idiy Bacnotan,        nagsangitkami.  
idi        na-pan=da        idiy Bacnotan,        n-ag-sangit=kami  
PST.CONJ PF-go=3p        there Bacnotan        PF-I-cry=1pEXCL  
'When they went to Bacnotan, we cried.'

Idiyak        mapan.  
idiy=ak        ma-pan  
there=1sA        I-go  
'I'm going there.'

'Ton rabiika nga agdigos?  
 intono rabii=ka nga ag-digos  
 FUT night=2sA LIG I-bath  
 'Are you going to take a bath tonight?'

In negative constructions, the absolutive pronouns attach to the negative particle (*saan* or *di*) in the verb phrase, the first constituent of the verb phrase:

Nanganda.  
 nang-kaan=da  
 PF-eat=3p  
 'They ate.'

Saanda a nangan.  
 saan=da a nang-kaan  
 NEG=3p LIG PF-eat  
 'They did not eat.'

Dida nangan.  
 They did not eat.

Before the enclitic *=(e)n* 'now, already', the *=ak* pronoun becomes *=ako*, as the enclitic *=(e)n* encliticized very early in the history of the language, before the proto first person singular pronoun *ako* reduced to the enclitic *=ak*:

Nanganakon.  
 nang-kaan=ako=n  
 PF.I-eat=1sA=already  
 'I ate already.'

#### 4.4 The ergative enclitic pronouns

The ergative enclitic pronouns (formerly called genitive pronouns) may also be referred to as the *=ko* series pronouns. They attach to the first constituent of the verb phrase, or a possessed nominal.

The *=ko* series paradigm is outlined below:

<u>Independent</u>	<u>=ko series</u>	<u>English gloss</u>
siak	=ko, =k	my
sika	=mo, =m	your
isu(na)	=na	his, her, its



data	=ta	our (dual)
dakami	=mi	our (excl.)
datayo	=tayo	our (incl.)
dakayo	=yo	your (pl.)
isuda	=da	their

These pronouns are used to indicate possession of a nominal (concrete noun or nominalization) and also are used to indicate the actor of a transitive verb (see verb section).

balay=ko  
house=1sE  
'my house'

Ginatangmi            ti    balay.  
gatang{in}=mi        ti    balay  
buy{PF.T}=1pEXCL.E   ART   house  
'We (exclusive) bought the house.'

Intedko            kenkuana.  
i{in}-ted=ko       kenkuana  
T{PF}-give=1sE    3sOBL  
'I gave it to him.'

The first and second person singular pronouns have two forms =*ko*, =*k*; and =*mo*, =*m*, respectively. The forms =*k* and =*m* are used after vowels and after the suffixes *-en* or *-an* where the final *-n* of the suffix is dropped:

pusam  
pusa=mo  
cat =2sE  
'your cat'

Inumem!  
inum-en=mo  
drink-T=2sE  
'Drink it.'

The ergative pronoun =*ko* becomes =*ak* after the negative adverb *di*. This substitution also occurs with the verb stem *in-* 'go' along with gemination of the nasal *n*.

Diak            inggagara            a            saktan    ti            riknayo.  
 di=[ko→ak]    i{in}-gagara    a            sakit-an ti            rikna=yo  
 NEG=1sE        T{PF}-purpose    LIG    hurt-T    ART    feeling=2pE  
 'I didn't mean to hurt your feelings.'

Diak            maibturanen            ti            panagsaraaw            ti            tianko.  
 di=[ko→ak]    ma-ibtur-an=en            ti            pan-ag-saraaw            ti            tian=ko  
 NEG=1sE        ABIL-endure-T=now    ART    NOM-I-hunger.pang    ART    stomach=1sE  
 'I can't stand those hunger pangs in my stomach any more.'

Innak            ida            kitaen.  
 in(n)=[ko→ak]    ida            kita-en  
 go=1sA            3SOBL    see-T  
 'I am going to see them.'

Unlike *di-*, the auxiliary verb *in-* does not take ergative pronouns, but rather absolutive ones.

Inka            man            pakanen            dagidiay    baboy!  
 in=mo→ka        man            pa-kaan-en            dagidiay    baboy  
 go=2sE→2sA    please    CAUS-eat-T            those            pigs  
 'Please go feed those pigs.'

The second person singular enclitic pronoun =*mo* keeps its full form after the negative particle *di-*: it does not abbreviate to =*m*, as it usually does following vowels.

Dimo            nakita?  
 di=mo            na-kita  
 NEG=2sE        PF.T-see  
 'Didn't you see it?'

Before the enclitic =(e)n 'now, already', the pronouns =*ko* and =*mo* always retain their full form, as the enclitic =(e)n encliticized very early in the history of the language, before the first and second person singular enclitics reduced:

Kanem!  
 kaan-en=mo  
 eat-T=2sE  
 'Eat it!'

Kanemon!  
 kaan-en=mo=(e)n  
 eat-T=2sE=now  
 'Eat it now!'

#### 4.4.1 Fused ergative/absolutive pronouns

Ilocano transitive verbs may express both the actor and patient of the action pronominally with enclitics. When this occurs, the =*ko* pronouns express the agent (actor of transitive action) and the =*ak* pronouns, the patient (object of transitive action). The forms, however, have fused together in the history of the language as shown in the following chart:

ACTOR ↓      ← P A T I E N T →

	siak	sika	isu	data	dakami	datayo	dakayo	isuda
siak	0	=ka	=k(o)				=kayo	=k(o) ida
sika	=nak	0	=m(o)		=nakami			=m(o) ida
isu	=nak	=naka	0/ =na	=nata	=nakami	=natayo	=nakayo	=na ida
data			=ta	0				=ta ida
dakami		=daka	=mi		0		=dakayo	=mi ida
datayo			=tayo			0		=tayo ida
dakayo	=dak		=yo	=data	=dakami		0	=yo ida
isuda	=dak	=daka	=da	=data	dakami	=datayo	=dakayo	=da ida

Ay-ayatenka.  
 R-ayat-en=k(o)=ka  
 CONT-love-T=1sE=2sA  
 'I love you.'

Tulongandak      man.  
 tulong-an=yo=ak man  
 help-T-2pE=1sA please  
 'Please help me (you people).'

Nakitadakami      idiy simbaan.  
 na-kita=da=kami      idiy simbaan  
 PF.T-see=3pE=1pEXCL.A there church  
 'They saw us in the church.'

Double pronouns may also cross-reference full noun phrases to express the appropriate relationship with regards to the noun. As this is not mandatory with all noun phrases, a system of full verbal agreement does not exist in the language.

Anak<sup>nak</sup> ti ling-et.  
 anak=na=ak ti ling'et  
 child=3sE=1sA ART sweat  
 'I am a child of sweat (poor).'

Siak ni Paolo, baronak ni Dr. Reyes.  
 siak ni Paolo, baro=na=ak ni Dr. Reyes  
 1s PA Paolo bachelor-3sE=1sA PA Dr. Reyes  
 'I am Paolo, the bachelor son of Dr. Reyes.'

Isu ti amam. Daranaka.  
 isu ti ama=m dara=na=ka  
 3s ART father=2sE blood=3sE=1sA  
 'He is your father, (he is) your blood.'

Ipudnok kenka a kayatka a manugangen.  
 i-pudno=k kenka a kayat=ko=ka a manugang=en  
 T-truth=1sE 2sOBL LIG want=1sE=2sA LIG in.law=EMPH  
 'I will confess to you that I want you as a son in-law.'

Titserka.  
 titser=ko=ka  
 teacher=1sE=2sA  
 'You are my teacher.'

Estudiantenak.  
 estudiante=mo=ak  
 student=2sE=1sA  
 'I am your student.'

Damagko nga ala<sup>en</sup>nakanto kanon ni lakayna  
 damag=ko nga ala-en=na=ka=nto kano=n ni lakay=na  
 news=1sE LIG take-T=3sE=2sA=FUT HRSY=EMPH PA old.man=3sE

idiay Guam.  
 there Guam

'I heard that her husband will supposedly take you to Guam.'

Inanimate referents that appear as agents of transitive verbs may be encoded with a co-referential ergative pronoun, unlike their counterparts in Tagalog.

Dinungparnak            ti    tren.  
 dungpar{in}=na=ak    ti    tren  
 crash{PF.T}=3sE=1sA   ART   train  
 'The train crashed into me.'

Bilbilinennak            ti    panunotko    tapno    arakupek  
 R-bilin-en=na=ak        ti    panunot=ko   tapno    arakup-en=ko  
 CONT-order-T=3sE=1sA   ART   thought=1sE   so        hug-T=1sE

ngem            igawgawidnak                    ti    riknak.  
 ngem            i-R-gawid=na=ak                    ti    rikna=ko  
 but              T-CONT-restrain=3sE=1sA    ART   feeling=1sE

'My thoughts are ordering me to hug her but my feelings are restraining me.' (w)

#### 4.4.2. The pronoun =ida

As seen above in the double pronoun table, the third person patient or object is encoded as =ida with transitive verbs. In fluent speech, it often immediately follows the ergative actor enclitic pronoun, but it may also appear phrase finally, as the phonological bonds have not yet fully evolved for this particular pronoun.

Innak    ida    kitaen.    (or Innak kitaen ida)  
 in=ak    ida    kita-en  
 go=1sA   3sOBL   see-T  
 'I am going to see them.'

Diak    ida    am-ammo.    (or diak am-ammo ida)  
 di=ak    ida    R-ammo  
 NEG-1s   3sOBL   R-know  
 'I don't know them.'

Apay    ngarud    a    naituredyo                    a    binaybay-an        ida?  
 apay    ngarud    a    na-i-tured=yo                    a    R-bay'a{in}-an        ida  
 why    then    LIG   PF-THM-courage=2pE    LIG   R-neglect{PF.T}-T    3sOBL  
 'Why did you dare to neglect them?' (Or ..naituredyo ida..)

Iti    nasuroken            nga    innem    a    bulanko    ditoy.  
 iti    na-surok=en        nga    innem    a    bulan=ko    ditoy  
 OBL   ADJ-over=EMPH   LIG   six        LIG   month=1sE   here

pulos a diak nalipatan ida.  
 pulos a di=ak na-lipat-an ida  
 hardly LIG NEG=1s PF.INVOL-forget-T 3SOBL

'In my over six months here. I can't hardly forget them.'

#### 4.4.3. Multiple possession or actors

Ergative pronouns, when referring to more than one referent usually attach to the second noun. They can refer to possessors of conjoined nouns or to agents of conjoined verbs.

Kinarawana dagiti granada iti barukong ken siketna.  
 karawa{in}=na dagiti granada iti barukong ken siket=na  
 grope{PF.T}=3sE PL grenade OBL chest and waist=3sE  
 'He felt the grenades in his chest and waist.'

Isu kano ti kabaknangan ken kalakayanmi amin.  
 isu kano ti ka-baknang-an ken ka-lakay-an=mi amin  
 3s HRSY ART SUPER-rich-NOM and SUPER-old-NOM=1pEXCL.E all  
 'He is supposedly the richest and oldest of us all.'

Dinanog ken kinugkugaranda.  
 danog{in} ken kugar{in}-R-an=da=(0)  
 punch{PF.T} and kick{PF}-CONT-T=3pE=(3sA)  
 'They punched and repeatedly kicked him.'

#### 4.4.4 Non-prototypical uses of the ergative pronouns

Sometimes the ergative case pronouns may designate a referent which does not seem to fit the prototypical definition of the case assignment (possessive or transitive agent). This may be attributed to many Ilocano verbal expressions that have evolved over time from possessed nominals.

The Ilocano *sadino* questions, for instance, usually call for a nominalized verb, which takes an ergative (possessive) actor.

Sadino ti pagadalanna?  
 sadino ti pag-adal-an=na  
 where ART LOC-study-NOM=3sE  
 'Where does he study? = Where is his place of study?'

Sadino ti nagturogam?  
 sadino ti nag-turog-an=mo  
 where ART PF.LOC-sleep-NOM=3sE  
 'Where did you sleep? = Where was your place of sleep?'

Sadino ti papanam?  
 sadino ti pa-pan-an=mo  
 where ART LOC-go-NOM=2sE  
 'Where are you going?'

As speakers are prone to simplify utterances, the interrogative adverb *sadino* is not mandatory and the possessed locative noun with an ergative enclitic suffices for a seemingly intransitive action.

Pagadalanna?  
 'Where does he study?'

Nagturogam?  
 'Where did you sleep?'

Papanam?  
 'Where are you going?'

However, there are a few instances where the justification for ergative case marking may be more complicated to explain reasonably. They are therefore outlined below:

The prefix *sang(k)a-* is used as a frequentative verbalizer that takes the actor in the ergative case.

Apay a sangkadamagmo lat' oras ti isasangpetko?  
 apay a sanga-damag=mo la-ti oras ti i-R-sangpet=ko  
 why LIG FREQ-worry=2sE just-ART time ART NOM-R-arrive=1sE  
 'Why are you (always) worrying about the time of my arrival?'

Verbs in the recent past (denoted by the morphology *ka-* + R CV/CVC) take the actor in the ergative case.

Kasapsapulinaka.  
 ka-R-sapul=na=ka  
 REC-R-find=3sE=2sA  
 'He has just found you.'

Kasasangpetko.  
 ka-R-sangpet=ko  
 REC-R-arrive=1sE  
 'I just arrived.'

For expressions dealing with age in years, the ergative enclitics follow the numeric expression.

Kinsen<sup>an</sup>.  
 kinse=na=n  
 fifteen=3sE=already  
 'He is fifteen already.'

Uppat<sup>kon</sup>.  
 uppat=ko=n  
 four=1sE=already  
 'I am already four.'

Iti	innem	a	pulo	ket	limana,	adda	pay	laeng	nga	agkarkaradap
iti	innem	a	pulo	ket	lima=na	adda	pay	laeng	nga	ag-R-karadap
OBL	six	LIG	ten	and	five=3sE	EXIST	still	only	LIG	I-CONT-crawl

iti katalalonan.  
 iti ka-R-talon-an  
 OBL LOC-R-field-NOM

'At sixty five years of age, he is still crawling in the fields.'

There are also a few expressions such as *panagkitak* or *panagkunak* 'in my opinion, from what I see or feel..' where the ergative pronoun designates an experiencer. One may be tempted to suggest that these expressions evolved from possessed nominals.

Panagkitak,	nasaysayaat	kuma	no	nangasawakayo.
pan-ag-kita=k	na-R-sayaat	kuma	no	nang-asawa=kayo
NOM-I-see=1sE	ADJ-COMP-good	OPT	if	PF.I-wed-2pA

'In my opinion (from what I see), it would be better if you two got married.'

#### 4.4.5 The enclitic pronoun =na

The third person singular ergative enclitic =na usually encodes animate (human) actors or possessors. This is understandable as in discourse, humans are most likely to act or possess. However, the third person pronoun =na may also encode inanimate nouns that happen to affect another party.



Dinungparnak                    *ti tren.*  
 dungpar{in}=na=ak            ti tren  
 collide{PF.T}=3sE=1sA        ART train  
 ‘The train ran into me.’

The pronoun =na may refer to basic concepts or ideas that are not verbally expressed, but understood from the context. In the following short conversational extract, =na encodes the unhealthy practice of drinking alcohol:

A: Ling. apay ngamin a dimo sardengan ti aginum? Ad-adda la  
 Ling. apay ngamin a di=mo sardeng-an ti ag-inum R-adda la  
 Ling. why SUPPLIC LIG NEG=2sE stop-T ART I-drink R-EXIST just

a madadael `ta salun-atmo.  
 a ma-dadael ta salun`at=mo  
 LIG INVOL-destroy that health=2sE

‘Ling. why don’t you quit drinking (alcohol)? It’s most likely getting to your health.’

B: Ad-adda no matayak no awan.  
 R-adda no ma-tay=ak no awan  
 R-EXIST if I-die=1sA if NEG.EXIST  
 ‘I’ll probably die if there isn’t any (I no longer drink).

A: Ngem dadaelennaka.. Kitaem `ta bagim,  
 ngem R-dael-en=na=ka kita-en=mo ta bagi=mo  
 but CONT-ruin-T=2sE=1sA see-T=2sE that body=2sE  
 ‘But *it* is destroying you. Look at yourself..’

Nakakutkuttongan!  
 naka-R-kuttong=ka=n  
 ADJ-INTEN-skinny=2sA=already  
 ‘You’re so thin!’

#### 4.4.5.1 Non-referentiality of =na

The enclitic pronoun =na does not necessarily have to encode referential actors. In many expressions, the enclitic remains as a fossilized affix with no apparent referential noun being pronominalized.

The root *rebbeng* ‘should, must’, for instance, and its many derivations often take the third person enclitic in its non-referential use.

Rebbengna laeng nga addakan iti dennami.  
 rebbeng=na laeng nga adda=ka=n iti denna=mi  
 should=3sE only LIG EXIST=2sA=EMPH OBL side=1pEXCL.E  
 'You should just be at our side.'

Siak ti adda karbenganna nga agbati.  
 siak ti adda ka-rebbeng-an=na nga ag-bati.  
 1s ART EXIST NOM-should-NOM=3sE LIG I-stay  
 'I am the one who should stay.'

Other expressions (attitudinal or temporal) may also take the enclitic =na as a non-referential pronoun.

Kalpasanna, agsublika idiy pagsinean.  
 kalpasan=na ag-subli=ka idiy pag-sine-an  
 afterwards=3sE I-return=2sA there LOC-movie-NOM  
 'Afterwards, return to the theater.'

Kinaagpaysona ket magustuanmi ti ugalina.  
 kina-ag-payso=na ket ma-gusto-an=mi ti ugali=na  
 NOM-I-true=3sE CONJ INVOL-like-T=1pEXCL.E ART ways=3sE  
 'The truth of the matter is, we like the way he is.'

Dayta ti gapuna a binaliwak metten ti ugalik.  
 dayta ti gapo=na a baliw{in}-an=ko met=en ti ugali=ko  
 that ART reason=3sE LIG change{PF}-T=1sE also=EMPH ART ways=1sE  
 'That's why (the reason) I changed my ways.'

Dispensarem laengen ni nanangmo, kastana a talaga.  
 dispensar-en=mo laeng=en ni nanang=mo kasta=na a talaga  
 excuse-T-2sE just=EMPH PA mother=2sE like.that=3sE LIG really  
 'Just excuse your mother, she is just like that.'

#### 4.4.5.2 Non-third person singular use of =na

In certain similar existential expressions the ergative pronoun =na remains, even though the intended possessor or actor clearly is not a third person singular noun. The enclitic has become a part of certain expressions to which agreement rules no longer hold.

Dagiti adda kuartana.  
 dagiti adda kuarta=na  
 PL EXIST money=3sE  
 'the rich people (people that have money).'

Malagipko	ketdi,	apay nga	agmauyongka
ma-lagip=ko	ketdi	apay nga	ag-ma-uyong=ka
INVOL-remember=1sE	nevertheless	why LIG	I-INVOL-crazy=2sA

kadagiti babbai	nga adda	asawana.
ka-dagiti babai{R}	nga adda	asawa=na.
OBL-PL girl{PL}	LIG EXIST	spouse=3sE

'I nevertheless remember why you are crazy about married women.'

Non-referential =*na* may also appear in utterances where an entire phrase is nominalized, where the referent of the third person enclitic pronoun is referential. Note that in these cases, even when the nominal is seemingly plural, the enclitic pronoun remains singular.

Saan a	padapada	amin a	babai.	Adda	nababa	ti	tayabna...
saan a	R-pada	amin a	babai.	Adda	na-baba	ti	tayab=na
NEG LIG	R-equal	all LIG	girl	EXIST	ADJ-low	ART	flight=3sE

'Not all girls are exactly equal, there are ones who fly low (lit: who have low flight, i.e. prostitutes).'

cf. Nababa ti tayabna.  
'She flies low (lit: Her flight is low).'

Maidalit	iti	malaria dagiti	nakapsut	ti	salun-atna.
ma-i-dalit	iti	malaria dagiti	na-kapsut	ti	salun`at=na
INVOL-THM-bedridden	OBL	malaria PL	ADJ-weak	ART	health=3sE

'Those with weak health become bedridden from malaria.'

cf. Nakapsut ti salun-atna.  
'He has weak health.'

#### 4.5 The oblique pronouns

The oblique pronouns are formed by adding the enclitic ergative pronouns (=ko series pronouns) to the stem *kania-*, although there are also variants, as shown in the following paradigm.

<u>Independent pronoun</u>	<u>Oblique pronoun</u>	<u>English gloss</u>
siak	kaniak	to me
sika	kaniem, kenka	to you
isu(na)	kaniana, kenkuana	to him/her/it
data	kaniata, kadata	to us (dual)
dakami	kianiemi, kadakami	to us (excl.)
datayo	kaniatayo, kadatayo	to us (incl.)
dakayo	kaniayo, kadakayo	to you (pl.)
istuda	kaniada, kadakuada	to them

Oblique pronouns are used to indicate direction towards a person or persons, or transference of an object towards the party specified by the oblique pronoun:

Kinunana          kadakami.  
kuna{in}=na      kadakami  
tell{PF.T}=3sE 1pEXCL  
‘He told it to us.’

Napan      kadakayo.  
went      2pOBL  
He went to you. (c)

Intedna          kaniana.  
i{in}-ted=na      kaniana  
T{PF}-give=3sE 3sOBL  
‘He gave it to him/her.’

Isu ti      immay kaniak.  
3s ART came 1sOBL  
‘He is the one who came to me.’

As oblique articles, oblique pronouns may also express location in terms of person.

Nalawa kaniak.  
loose 1sOBL  
It is loose on me.

Nailetsa kenkuana.  
na-ilet=sa kenkuana  
ADJ-tight=I.think 3sOBL  
'I think it is tight on him.'

With certain expressions, oblique pronouns represent recipient, beneficiary, or patientive pronominal phrases that are not part of the morphological valence of the verb.

Agburburek ti darak kenka.  
ag-R-burek ti dara=k kenka  
I-CONT-boil ART blood=1sE 2sOBL  
'My blood is boiling at you (I am mad at you).'

Kinapudnona. dandaniakon mauma kenka.  
kina-pudno=na dandani=ako=n ma-uma kenka  
NOM-true=3sE almost=1sA=EMPH ADJ-bore 2sOBL  
'The truth of the matter is, I am almost tired of you.'

Daytan ti karagsakan nga aldaw kadakami.  
dayta=n ti ka-ragsak-an nga aldaw kadakami  
that=EMPH ART SUPER-happy-SUPER LIG day 1pEXCL.OBL  
'That was the happiest day for us.'

With existentials such as *adda*, *awan* and *adu*, the oblique pronouns represent a possessor.

Adda kaniak.  
EXIST 1sOBL  
I have it. (It is with me.)

Adu kadakayo.  
much 2pOBL  
'You people have a lot. (There is much with you.)'

#### 4.6 The independent possessive pronouns

There are two sets of independent possessive pronouns formed by attaching the =*ko* series pronouns to either of the stems *kukua-* or *bagi-* as shown in the following paradigm:

<u>Independent</u>	<u>Bagi-</u> possessive	<u>Kukua-</u> possessive	<u>gloss</u>
siak	bagik	kukuak	mine
siak	bagim	kukuam	yours
isu(na)	bagina	kukuana	his. hers, its
data	bagita	kukuata	ours (dual)
dakami	bagimi	kukuami	ours (excl.)
datayo	bagitayo	kukuatayo	ours (incl.)
dakayo	bagiyo	kukuayo	yours (pl. pol.)
isuda	bagida	kukuada	theirs

The independent possessives are used to replace full noun phrases explicitly expressing the possession of the noun phrase, as in the following sentences:

Makimbagi daytoy? Bagik dayta.  
 whose this? mine that  
 'Whose is this? That's mine.'

Bagimon no kayatmo.  
 bagi=mo=n no kayat=mo  
 body=2sE=already if want=2sE  
 'It's yours if you want it.'

Independent possessives, like independent absolutive pronouns may predicate as predicate nominals.

Kukuada ti balay.  
 theirs ART house  
 'The house is theirs.'

Kukuami ti dakkal a nuang.  
 ours ART big LIG water.buffalo  
 'The large water buffalo is ours.'

#### 4.7. Distributive pronouns

Ilocano does not have a separate paradigm of distributive pronouns (used with plural actors) to designate 'each of you, each of us, etc.' To specify distributivity in Ilocano, *tunggal maysa* 'each one' is used.

Saannak nga uliteg ni Beng ngem awagmi dayta iti  
 saan=na=ak nga uliteg ni Beng ngem awag=mi dayta iti  
 NEG=3sE=1sA LIG uncle PA Beng but call=1pEXCL.E that OBL

tunggal maysa.  
 tunggal maysa  
 each one

'Beng is not my uncle but each of us call him that.'

#### 4.8. Plural pronouns with specified full NPs

Plural absolutes in Ilocano may appear either pronominally or as full NPs.

Mabutengda kano a sumrek.  
 ma-buteng=da kano a serrek{um}  
 INVOL-fear=3p HRSY LIG enter{I}  
 'They are supposedly afraid to enter.'

Naulpit dagiti lallakay.  
 na-ulpit dagiti lakay{R}  
 ADJ-cruel PL old.man{PL}  
 'The old men are cruel.'

Sometimes, in order to further specify the reference of plural actors, a speaker may wish to include a full noun phrase. When a full plural noun phrase is used in conjunction with a pronoun, the pronoun must encompass all the persons of the full noun phrase. An Ilocano speaker will say *We and Peter* for 'Peter and I,' or *They and Mary* for 'He and Mary.' This holds true for both full uncliticized pronouns and cliticized ones.

Dakayo ken ni Pepay.  
 2s and PA Pepay  
 'You and Pepay (lit: You guys and Pepay).'

Napankami ken ni Juana.  
 na-pan=kami ken ni Juana  
 PF-go=1pEXCL.A with PA Juana  
 'I went with Juana- lit: We went with Juana.'

Nagbinnitbitanda ken ni Pitang ti maysa a karton.  
 n-ag-bitbit{inn}-an=da ken ni Pitang ti maysa a karton  
 PF-I-hand.carry{RECIP}-T=3p and PA Pitang ART one LIG box  
 'He and Pitang carried between themselves one box- lit: They and Pitang.'

Diak impagarup a salungasingennakami ken Nanangmo.  
 di=ko i{in}-pagarup a salungasing-en=nakami ken Nanang=mo  
 NEG=1sE T{PF}-presume LIG disobey-T=2sE=1pEXCL.A and mother=2sE  
 'I did not expect you would disobey *your mother and me*: lit: disobey us and your mother.'

#### 4.9. Indefinite pronouns

Indefinite pronouns are formed in Ilocano with the particle *man* immediately following an interrogative. In written Ilocano, they may be written either as one or two words. (See also *Adda*).

sadino man wherever, anywhere  
 ania man whatever, anything  
 siasino man whoever, anyone  
 kaano man whenever, anytime  
 kasano man however, anyhow

Diak pakawanen ti siasino man nga agtraidor iti partido.  
 di=ak pakawan-en ti siasino.man nga ag-traidor iti partido  
 NEG=1sA forgive-T ART whoever LIG I-traitor OBL party  
 'I will not forgive anyone who betrays the party.' (w)

Di napintas a panawen a panangirugi iti ania man.  
 di na-pintas a paN-tawen a panang-i-rugi iti ania.man  
 NEG ADJ-good LIG NOM-year LIG NOM-THM-start OBL anything  
 'It is not a good time to start anything.' (w)

These interrogatives followed by the particle *man*, may also function as nominal modifiers.

Marigatan ti asinoman a mannurat nga agindeg iti balay a  
 ma-rigat-an ti asino-man a maN-surat nga ag-indeg iti balay a  
 ADJ-hard-ADJ ART who-ever LIG NOM-write LIG I-dwell OBL house LIG

kanayon nga adda agap-apa nga aso ken pusa.  
 kanayon nga adda ag-R-apa nga aso ken pusa  
 always LIG EXIST I-CONT-fight LIG dog and cat

'Any (lit: whoever) writer that lives in a house where there are always fighting cats and dogs will have a difficult time.' (w)



The adverb *uray* preceding the interrogatives may fulfill the same function as the particle *man* following them.

Uray sadino ti yanko. idawdawatko latta ti  
 uray sadino ti yan=ko i-R-dawat=ko latta ti  
 INDEF where ART place=1sE THM-CONT-ask.for=1sE just ART

pannakaisalakan dagiti soldado.  
 pannaka-i-salakan dagiti soldado  
 NOM-THM-save PL soldier

‘Wherever I am, I just ask for the salvation of the soldiers.’ (w)

Awagandakami latta iti uray ania nga oras  
 awag-an=da=kami latta iti uray ania nga oras  
 call-T=3p=1pEXCL.E just OBL INDEF what LIG hour

no kasapulanyo ti tulongmi.  
 no ka-sapul-an=yo ti tulong=mi  
 if NOM-need-T=2pE ART help=1pEXCL.E

‘Just call us at any time if you need our help.’

When used alone, indefinite pronouns must be formed with the adverb *uray* immediately preceding the interrogative. The particle *man* is not used in this case.

A: Papanam?  
 pa-pan-an=mo  
 LOC-go-NOM=2sE  
 ‘Where are you going?’

B: Uray sadino.  
 ‘Anywhere (It doesn’t matter where.)’

Basta adda makan.  
 as.long.as EXIST food  
 ‘As long as there is food.’

A: Ania ti kayatmo?  
 ania ti kayat=mo  
 what ART want=2sE  
 What do you want?

B: Uray ania.  
 Anything (it doesn’t matter).

## 5. Nouns

Ilocano has a lexical category of nouns used to encode concrete things or abstract entities which can be differentiated from other lexical categories by their referencing role in discourse (as encoding referents, arguments or any abstract entity) or by their morphological patterning (plural formation, position with regards to articles or demonstratives, morphological derivation). This chapter will introduce Ilocano nouns, detailing properties shared by the members of this lexical class such as Number (Section 5.1), Gender (Section 5.2), Morphological formation (Section 5.3), Nominalization (Section 5.4), Compounding (Section 5.5), full reduplication (Section 5.6), and noun possession (Section 5.7). Section 5.8 will list the relator nouns that occur in the language.

### 5.1 Number

One morphological criterion for determining the lexical class of an Ilocano word is plural formation. Nouns are usually pluralized simply by introducing them with the appropriate plural form of the article (*ti* for singular nouns, *dagiti* for plural nouns) or demonstrative without changing the shape of the nominal.

ti balay	house
dagiti balay	houses

To emphasize individuation or distributivity, however, nouns may be pluralized by CVC (consonant vowel consonant) reduplication of the initial sound sequence of the root, forming two identical closed syllables in the reduplicated form:

balay	house
balbalay	'each individual house, several houses'
tugaw	chair
tugtugaw	'each individual chair, several kinds of chairs'
bakes	monkey
bakbakes	'each individual monkey, monkeys from different species.'

Nouns beginning with vowels are articulated with an initial glottal stop, as no Ilocano word may begin phonetically with a vowel. These nouns are pluralized by reduplicating the initial glottal stop, vowel and following consonant of the root. Ilocano orthography does not represent initial glottal stop, but it is represented word internally with a hyphen.

aso	dog (pronounced ?aso)
as-aso	dogs (pronounced ?as.?aso)

Nouns that begin with a CVV (consonant vowel vowel) sequence, where the first vowel is a glide, form their plural by reduplicating the initial consonant and vowel of the root, which is lengthened.

nuang [nwang]	water buffalo
nunuang [nu:.nwaŋg]	water buffalos

Many common animate nouns form their plural simply by reduplicating the initial CV (consonant vowel) of the root, resulting in an open initial syllable.

baknang → babaknang	rich men
dakkel → dadakkel	parents
gayyem → gagayyem	friends
ikit → iikit	aunts (?i.?.i.kit)
ipag → iipag	sisters-in-law (?i.?.i.pag)
kaaruba → kakaaruba	neighbors
kabsat → kakabsat	siblings
kailian → kakailian	townmates
kasinsin → kakasinsin	cousins
kayong → kakayong	brothers-in-law
masirib → mamasirib	wise men
uliteg → uuliteg	uncles (?u.?.u.li.teg)
siuman → sisiuman	stepchildren

Many kin terms form their plural simply by geminating the first consonant of the second syllable of the root<sup>1</sup>:

adi → addi	younger siblings
ama → amma	fathers
anak → annak	children
apo → appo	grandparents; grandchildren; gentlemen, etc.
asawa → assawa	spouses
babai → babbai	girls
ina → inna	mothers
inga → ingnga	girl friends
lalaki → lallaki	boys
ubing → ubbing	children

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<sup>1</sup>Benton (1976) reports that of these kinterms, the vowel initial kinterms have actually two distinct plural forms, the forms cited here, and the CVC- reduplicated forms with or without medial consonant gemination, i.e. *ub-ub(b)ing*, *an-an(n)ak*, *as-as(s)awa*. The CVC reduplicated plurals of these kinterms are used to designate distributive plurality, while the medial geminate consonant plurals reflect neutral plurality. The CVC reduplicated forms are nearly obsolete in speech.

Finally, some animate nouns have irregular plurals that must be learned through practice:

baket → babbaket	old ladies
balasang → babbalasang	young ladies
balo → babbalo	widows; widowers
baro → babbaro	young men
lakay → lallakay	old men
tao → tattao	people

These distributive CVC<sub>REDUP</sub> plurals are different from the neutral plurals (non-morphologically pluralized nouns preceded by a plural article or demonstrative) because they carry an extra semantic component of individuation or distributivity. Nouns pluralized with CVC reduplication specify the component of 'several and separately'. *Dagiti sabong* 'the flowers' refers to more than one flower, possibly of the same variety, whereby *dagiti sabsabong* encodes several different kinds of flowers, or each individual flower (Benton 1976:5).

Articles, demonstratives, and even modifying adjectives may occur with plural morphology when modifying a plural noun in singular (non-reduplicated) form.

Adda dagiti kayo a ka-kasla luppo laeng ti puon=da.  
 EXIST PL tree LIG PL-like thigh only ART trunk=3p  
 'There are trees with trunks that are just like (the size of) thighs.'

## 5.2 Gender of nouns

Native nouns have no grammatical gender. However, many Spanish loanwords have been introduced into the language which typically end in *-a* to indicate feminine gender. The words have been adapted into Ilocano following the rules of the Spanish language. For gender neutral nouns of Spanish origin, the masculine form is preferred:

<u>Masculine form</u>	<u>Feminine form</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
Ilokano	Ilokana	Ilocano person
doktor	doktora	doctor
basurero	basurera	garbage collector
kosinero	kosinera	cook
kartero	kartera	postman, postwoman
emperador	emperatris	emperor, empress
poeta	poetisa	poet
maestro	maestra	teacher
sugalero	sugalera	gambler

Gender in nouns is sometimes expressed in Ilocano by separate lexical items with no morphological affinity:

ama & ina	father and mother
baket & lakay	old woman and old man
baro & balasang	young man and young women
bula & takong	boar and sow
kawitan & upa	rooster and hen
kayong & ipag	brother-in-law and sister-in-law
lalaki & babai	boy and girl
uliteg & ikit	uncle and aunt
tatang & nanang	father and mother

Some corrupted Spanish forms also may indicate gender.

lelong & lelang	grandfather and grandmother (f. <i>abuelo</i> )
lolo & lola	grandfather and grandmother (f. <i>abuelo</i> )
manong & manang	older brother and older sister (f. <i>hermano</i> )

Where gender cannot be differentiated lexically, it may be expressed by apposition of *a lalaki* or *a babai*, to designate masculinity or femininity respectively.

kabsat a lalaki	brother
kabsat a babai	sister
ading a lalaki	younger brother
ading a babai	younger sister
anak a lalaki	son
anak a babai	daughter

Inanimate objects may sometimes be qualified for gender with the apposition of *a lalaki* or *a babai* to designate inherent traits of the object associated with masculine or feminine gender:

basi	sugar cane wine
basi a lalaki	strong sugar cane wine
basi a babai	sweet sugar cane wine

### 2.3 Morphological formation of nouns

Ilocano speakers have two ways of forming nominals, for roots that do not prototypically have nominal characteristics, i.e. time stability. Nominals may be formed simply by a preceding article or demonstrative. This process applies to all types of adjectives and verbs:

immay	came, intransitive verb
dagiti immay	the ones who came, noun

nakita	saw, transitive verb
ti nakitana	what he saw

dakkel	big, adjective
diay dakkel	the big one

Maawatan met la ngata *dagiti nakabasa*.  
 ma-awat-an met la ngata *dagiti naka-basa*  
 INVOL-get-T too just suppose PL ABIL.PF-read  
 'Do you think that *the ones who managed to read (it)* understood (it)?'

Dalusak met *dagiti madiguan*.  
 dalus-an=ko met *dagiti ma-digo-an*  
 clean-T=1sE also PL INVOL-broth-T  
 'And I'll clean the pots (for making the broth).'

There are also very productive derivational affixes that may nominalize a root which is typically not substantival. The following is a treatment of Ilocano nominalizing morphology.

### 5.3.1. The suffix *-an*

The suffix *-an* is a very versatile nominalizer. It is used with certain verbal stems to indicate the instrument used for carrying out the action:

giling	grind	gilingan	grinder
sagat	strain	sagatan	strainer
timbang	weigh	timbang	balance
yubuyob	bellow	yubuyoban	bellows
puon	origin, source	puonan	capital (in business)
balkot	wrap	balkotan	wrapper

The suffix *-an* is also used with a few roots to indicate location.

payat	step	payatan	footstep (to enter a carriage)
gayad	length of a garment	gayadan	hemline

bubóng	ridging, thatch	bubongan	ridging beams of the roof
warnak	publish	warnakan	newspaper, magazine

The suffix *-an* may also lexicalize certain occupations or trades.

baboy	pig	babuyan	dealer in pigs
manok	chicken	manokan	dealer in chickens
panday	forge metals	pandayan	blacksmith
adal	study	adalan	disciple

The suffix *-an* may be used with (C)V reduplication of the stem to form locative or resultative nouns, in many cases lexicalized.

anak	child	aanakan	womb, uterus
angot	smell	aangotan	mucus membrane: nasal cavity
anges	breath	aangsan	windpipe
leggak	rise (sun)	leleggakan	where the sun rises
apal	envy	aapalan	that which is the cause of envy
ariék	tickle	aariekan	ticklish zone of one's body
sakay	ride	sasakyan	ship
kapet	hold, clutch	kakaptan	railing of the stairs
ganting	weigh	gagantingan	scales, balance
liktad	ladder	liliktadan	rope used to hold ladder in place
ledduok	swallow	leledduokan	sternal notch (collar bone depression)
uyos	draw out: pull	uuyosan	drawer
singsing	ring	sisingsingan	ring finger
pangres	blow nose	papangresan	nostril
sang-at	climb: uphill	sasang-atan	disembarking area: footpath of river
ayus	flow	aayusan	gutter for water flow, trail of a flow

The affix *RCV -an* may form nominals denoting a referent that must undergo the action designated by the stem or experience its state or condition.

dalus	clean	dadalusan	things to be cleaned
paragut	harrow	paparagutan	things to be harrowed
apal	envy	aapalan	that which is envied
Awan	a pulos ti	aayatak	kenkuana.
awan	a pulos ti	R-ayat-an=k	kenkuana
NEG.EXIST	LIG at.ali	ART R-love-NOM=1sE	3SOBL
			'I don't like him at all.'

Limmawa ti aangsanna.  
 lawa{in-um} ti R-anges-an=na  
 loose{PF-I} ART R-breath-NOM=3sE  
 'His breathing became easier (lit: loosened).'

With body parts, the suffix *-an* specifies large or abnormal size. It is also a historically productive way of deriving new lexical items for certain species of insects, plants, fish or small animals, named after the unique characteristics of certain parts of their anatomy.

ipus	tail	ipusan	species of long-tailed fish
mata	eye	mataan	species of large-eyed fish
bukot	back	bukotan	kind of shrimp with a black back
sara	horn, antler	sara-saraan	species of mollusk with two horns

With verb stems, *-an* is used as a nominalizer to form aspect gerunds.

Ditoy ti dimmakkelanna.  
 ditoy ti dakkel{in-um}-an=na  
 here ART big{PF-I}=NOM=3sE  
 'This is where he grew up (the place where he grew up).'

Isuna ket kinaubingak.  
 isuna ket ka{in}-ubing-an=ko  
 3s INV COMMIT{PF}-child-NOM=1sE  
 'He is the one I grew up with.'



Adu ti kimmuttongan ken limmakayan ti ulitegna.  
 adu ti kuttong{in-um}-an ken lakay{in-um}-an ti uliteg=na  
 much ART thin{PF-I}-NOM and old.man{PF-I}-NOM ART uncle=3sE  
 'His uncle got very thin and old (much was the thinning and the getting old).' (w)

The suffix *-an* may be reduplicated with a few roots to form the following lexicalized items. In some of the items, the final *-an* suffix serves a locative function.

ulo	head	uluanan	area over the head; headboard of bed
saka	foot	sakaanan	area of the feet, foot of mountain, stairs, etc.
gapu	cause, reason	gapuanan	deed, act. accomplishment
udi	last	kamaudianan	ultimate, last
sango	front	sanguanan	area in front
arsad	bottom, below	arsadanan	foot, base (of stairs, mountain, etc.)

Addadan iti sakaanan ti kakaywan a turod.  
 adda=da=n iti saka-an-an ti ka-kayo-an a turod  
 EXIST=3p=already OBL foot-NOM-LOC ART LOC-tree-NOM LIGHill  
 'They are at the foot of the forested hill.' (w)

### 5.3.2. CV stem reduplication with *-an* and *-en* verbs

Transitive verbs taking the suffixes *-en* or *-an* may be nominalized with initial CV reduplication of their roots to form nouns whose referents are intended or good for receiving the action or entity denoted by the root. These nouns are often used as adjectival appositives, linked with the ligature (*ng*)*a*:

aasinán a mangga (f. root *asin*: salt)  
 'mango good for salting.'

lilitsonén a baboy (f. root *litsón*: roasted pig)  
 'pig suitable for roasting (not too big, etc.).'

gigisaén a nateng (f. root *gisá*: saute)  
 'vegetables good for frying.'

tutunuén a sida (f. root *tuno*: barbecue)  
 ‘fish good for barbecuing.’

lulutuén a saba (f. root *luto*: cook)  
 ‘banana good for cooking.’

Kasla susukaan a singkamas dagiti nawasnay a gurongna.  
 kasla R-suka-an a singkamas dagiti na-wasnay a gurong=na  
 like NOM-vinegar-NOM LIG jicama PL ADJ-long.leg LIG leg=3sE  
 ‘Her long legs are like jicama fruit good for pouring vinegar on (expression).’ (w)

This particular process of CV reduplication is responsible for a few lexicalized items:

kaán	eat	kakaanán	food one is fond of eating
lúkot	roll up	lulukóten	soft coconut meat
súdi	beauty, purity	susudián	touchstone, basanite
káruy	scrape	kakarúyen	very soft, pulpy coconut meat
duog	old	duduogan	decrepit person
dios	god	didiosen	false god
lukis	unknown root	lulukisen	mandarin; variety of rice

Awan a pulos ti kakaanák.  
 awan a pulos ti R-kaan-an=ko  
 NEG.EXIST LIG at.all ART NOM-eat-NOM=1sE  
 ‘I don’t have any appetite at all; there is nothing at all I am craving to eat now’

Kakaanak ti adobo.  
 R-kaan-an=k ti adobo  
 R-eat-NOM=1sE ART adobo  
 ‘I am fond of eating adobo.’

### 5.3.3. Abstract nouns, prefixes *ka-*, *kina-*

Abstract nouns, such as those derived from adjectival roots, may be formed simply by addition of the prefix *ka-* or *kina-* to the root. The prefix *ka-* is preferred when dealing with nouns of measurement or dimension (size, height, speed, volume, etc.), while *kina-* is used to denote more abstract concepts (greed, impatience, envy, etc.).

Nominalizations of measurement (*ka-*)

ngato	high	kangato	height
lawa	wide	kalawa	width
adu	many	kaadu	quantity
tayag	tall	katayag	height
dakkel	big	kadakkel	size (largeness)

Abstract nominalizations (*kina-*)

naulpit	cruel	kinaulpit	cruelty
dakes	bad	kinadakes	evilness
nalaing	intelligent	kinalaing	intelligence
tao	man	kinatao	humanity
nasingpet	virtuous	kinasingpet	virtue

These substantives also may be further elaborated with additional morphology:

ayat	love
managayat	loving
kinamanagayat	loving nature
dakkel	big
pannakel	pride
managpannakel	proud
kinamanagpannakel	arrogance, always being proud
awat	understand
mannakaawat	understanding, adjective
kinamannakaawat	understanding, noun
baliw	change
managbalbaliw	prone to changing things
kinamanagbalbaliw	condition of being prone to changing things

Some abstract nouns are formed by the prefix *ka-* with CV (consonant vowel) reduplication of the root morpheme:

balin	ability	kababalin	habit, custom, culture
bagas	rice	kababagas	meaning, essence
saad	place	kasasaad	condition
tao	man	katatao	human nature
nakem	will, mind	kananakem	idea, opinion

#### 5.3.4. Locative nouns

##### 5.3.4.1 The circumfix *pa(n)g-* *-an*

Locative nouns may be derived with a variant of the circumfix *pa(n)g-* *-an*, in accordance with the locative gerund rules discussed in the verbs chapter.

adal	study	pagadalan	school
turog	sleep	pagturogan	place where one sleeps
langoy	swim	paglangoyan	swimming pool
eskuela	school	pageskuelaan	place where one attends school
pabuya	show	pagpabayaan	theater
sugal	gamble	pag sugalan	casino

Pageskuelaan?

pag-eskuela-an=mo

LOC-school-NOM=2sE

'Where do you go to school?'

Idiay Bacnotan ti *pagadalak*.

idiay Bacnotan ti pag-adal-an=ko

there Bacnotan ART LOC-study-NOM=1sE

'Bacnotan is where I study (the place of my studying).'

Simmapulak iti dakkel a bato a *pagtugawak*  
 sapul{in-um}=ak iti dakkel a bato a pag-tugaw-an=k  
 look.for{PF-I}=1sA OBL big LIG rock LIG LOC-sit-T=1sE

a mangan.

a maN-kaan

LIG I-eat

'I looked for a large stone on which to sit to eat.' (w)

### 5.3.4.2. The circumfix *pa(n)g- -an + RCV*

The circumfix *pa(n)g- -an* may be accompanied by CV reduplication of the root to indicate where a complex action (with many actors) takes place.

bakal	fight	pagbabakalan	battlefield
langoy	swim	paglalangoyan	swimming pool, swimming area
sala	dance	pagsasalaan	dance hall
biliar	pool, billiards	pagbibiliaran	pool hall
gubal	wrestle	paggugubalan	wrestling arena

Dina maliwayan ti mangipasiar kaniak kadagiti *pagsasalaan*.  
 di=na ma-liway-an ti mang-i-pasiar kaniak ka-dagiti pag-R-sala-an  
 NEG=3sE INVOL-neglect-T ART I-THM-stroll ISOBL OBL-PL LOC-R-dance-NOM  
 'He doesn't neglect to take me out to the dance halls.'

Ditoyton ti *paguummongantayo*.  
 ditoy=to=n ti pag-R-ummong-an=tayo  
 here=FUT=EMPH ART LOC-R-gather-NOM=1p  
 'Here will be our meeting place.'

With non-locative type roots, *pag- RCV (-an)* forms source or reason nominalizations. See also *RCV -an*:

apal	envy	pagaapalan	source of envy, reason for envy
biag	life	pagbibiang	source of livelihood
leddaang	sorrow	pagleddaangan	cause of grief

### 5.3.4.3. The circumfix *ka- -an*

The circumfix *ka- -an* is used to form locative nouns, where the referent denoted by the root exists in great quantities.

darat	sand	kadaratan	sandy place
bayabas	guava	kabayabasan	guava orchard

ubas	grape	kaubasan	vineyard
mangga	mango	kamanggaan	mango plantation
pinia	pineapple	kapiniaan	pineapple field

Nagkitada iti kapiniaan.  
n-ag-kita=da iti ka-pinia-an  
PF-I-see=3p OBL LOC-pineapple-NOM  
‘They saw each other in the pineapple field.’ (c)

Inwarasna ti panagkitana iti nalawa a karuotan.  
i{in}waras=na ti pan-ag-kita=na iti na-lawawa a ka-ruot-an  
T{PF}-scatter=3sE ART NOM-I-see=3sE OBL ADJ-wide LIG LOC-grass-NOM  
‘He looked around the spacious grasslands.’ (w)

The circumfix *ka-* *-an* may also be used with roots that have been reduplicated to specify plurality.

bal-balay	house-s	kabalbalayan	place with many houses, residential area
tal-talon	ricefield-s	katalatalonan	place of the ricefields

Sinaritana met dagiti adu a rabii a panagmaymaysananga  
sarita{in}=na met dagiti adu a rabii a pan-ag-R-maysa=nanga  
spoke{PF.T}=3sE also PL many LIG night LIG NOM-I-R-one=3sELIG

agbantay kadagiti pagay iti katalatalonan.  
ag-bantay ka-dagiti pagay iti ka-R-talon-an  
I-guard OBL-PL rice OBL LOC-PL-rice.field-NOM

‘He also spoke of the many nights being alone where he guarded the rice in the rice fields.’ (w)

### 5.3.5. Comitative nouns

The notions of shared participation or possession are denoted by the prefix *ka-*. The past form is *kina-*. (See also comitative verbs.) These affixes are sometimes used with stem reduplication or the nominalizing suffix *-an*:

dua	two	kadua	companion
ama	father	kaama	having the same father
ili	town	kailian	townmate
adal	study	kinaadal	former classmate
balay	house	kabbalay	housemate
rupa	face	karuprupa	one with a similar face
payong	umbrella	kapayong	one with whom an umbrella is shared

Karuprupa ni tatangna, ania?  
ka-R-rupa ni tatang=na, ania  
COMIT-R-face ART father=3sE right  
‘He has the same face as his father, don’t you think?’

Agkailiankami.  
ag-ka-ili-an=kami  
I-COMIT-town-NOM=1pEXCL  
‘We (excl) are townmates.’

### 5.3.6. Reciprocal nouns

#### 5.3.6.1. *-inn-* Reciprocals

The notion of reciprocity or rivalry is indicated by the infix *-inn-* placed before the first vowel of the stem. These forms may be reduplicated or appear with the nominalizing suffix *-an*:

kaan	eat	kinnaan	eating competition
taray	run	tinnaray	racing with one another
pitak	mud	pinnitakan	throwing mud at one another
sirib	wise	sinniriban	competition of wits
pintas	beauty	pinnintas	beauty competition
lemmeng	hide	linnemmengan	hide and seek game

Awan ti innalamanoan dagiti Hapon.  
awan ti alamano{inn}-an dagiti Hapon  
NEG.EXIST ART shake.hands{RECIP}-NOM PL Japanese  
‘There is no handshaking (one another) among the Japanese.’

Reciprocal verbs may be nominalized, according to the rules of nominalization, while maintaining the reciprocal infix *-inn-*:

Daydi la ti panagginnurami bayat ti  
 daydi la ti pan-ag-gura{inn}=mi bayat ti  
 REM.PST only ART NOM-I-hate{RECIP}=1pEXCL.E during ART

panagnobiomi.  
 pan-ag-nobio=mi  
 NOM-I-boyfriend=1pEXCL.E

‘That was the only cause of our mutual disgust (for each other) while we were going steady.’

### 5.3.6.2. *Ag-* reciprocals

The prefix *ag-* is also used with various kin terms to indicate a mutual relationship:

ama	father	agama	father and son
asawa	spouse	agasawa	married couple
ina	mother	agina	mother and child
siüman	stepchild	agsiüman	stepchild and step-parent
uliteg	uncle	aguliteg	uncle and nephew

Inyulina dagiti maletada nga agina.  
 i{in}-uli=na dagiti maleta=da nga ag-ina  
 T-{PF}-climb=3sE PL suitcase=3p LIG MUTUAL-mother  
 ‘He brought up the suitcases of the mother and child.’ (w)

Imballaet ni Myra ti kasasaadda nga agassawa.  
 i{in}-ballaet ni Myra ti ka-R-saad=da nga ag-asawa{R}  
 T{PF}-intersperse ART Myra ART NOM-R-position=3p LIG MUTUAL-spouse{PL}  
 ‘Myra interspersed (in the conversation) their condition as a married couple.’ (w)

### 5.3.6.3. CVCVN reduplication Reciprocals

The notion of reciprocity may also be lexicalized with CVCVN reduplication of the stem.



ayat	love	ayan-ayat	mutual love, love affair
bales	revenge	balambales	mutual vengeance (feud)
ngiwat	mouth	ngiwangngiwat	mouth to mouth
pateg	value, care	patempateg	mutual caring
talek	trust	talentalek	mutual trust, depending on one another
liwa	console	liwanliwa	consoling one another
rupa	face	rupanrupa	face to face
kari	promise	karinkari	mutual promise
gura	hate	guranggura	mutual hatred

Pukawentayo kuman ti guranggura.  
 pukaw-en=tayo kuma=n ti R-gura  
 lose-T=1pINCL.A OPT=EMPH ART mutual-hate  
 'Let's lose our mutual hatred for each other.' (w)

Kasano ngarud ti pannakapaadda ti patempateg  
 kasano ngarud ti paN-maka-pa-adda ti R-pateg  
 how then ART NOM-INVOL-CAUS-EXIST ART mutual-care

iti nagbaetan dagiti dadakkelmo?  
 iti n-ag-baet-an dagiti R-dakkel=mo  
 OBL PF-NOM-between-NOM PL PL-big=2sE

'How then can you have your parents care for each other (lit: how is the creation of mutual love between your parents...)' (w)

Sika ti immuna a nanglikud ti karinkarita.  
 sika ti imm-una a nang-likud ti R-kari=ta  
 2s ART PF.I-first LIG I.PF-back ART mutual-promise=1d  
 'You were the first to break our mutual promise.'

### 5.3.7. *Sinan-*

The prefix *sinan-* is used to add a diminutive or deprecatory quality. With certain roots, *sinan-* may indicate the non-genuineness of the derived word. The glottal stop of vowel initial roots is not lost after this prefix.

tao	man	sinantao	humanoid, like the figure of a man
bilog	(outrigger) boat	sinambilog	toy boat
balitok	gold	sinambalitok	fools gold
balay	house	sinambalay	play house
bituen	star	sinambituen	star figure
abogado	lawyer	sinan-abogado	fake lawyer
	Sinan-allawagika	laeng!	
	sinan-allawagi=ka	laeng	
	like-carpenter=2sA	just	
	'You're just a amateur carpenter!'		

### 5.3.8. The prefix *akin-* Ownership and Relative location

Ownership or responsibility is expressed in Ilocano by the prefix *akin-* or *makin-* attached to the possessed stem:

kua	thing	akinkua	owner
manok	chicken	akimmanok	owner of the chicken
anak	child	makin-anak	parent (of the child)
talon	rice field	akintalon	owner of the ricefield
aramid	act	akin-aramid	person responsible for the act

Kayatmo a sawen a siak ti akimbasol?  
 kayat=mo a sao-en a siak ti akin-basol  
 want=2sE LIG say-T LIG 1s ART owner-fault  
 'Do you mean that I am at fault (I am the guilty one)?'

Siasino ti akinkukua iti imuko?  
 who ART owner OBL knife  
 'Who is the owner of the knife?'

The prefix *akin-* may be used with locational roots to specify relative position:

kanawan	right	akinkanawan	on the right
daya	east	akindaya	easterly, eastern, somewhere in the East

laud	west	akinlaud	western, westerly, somewhere in the West
sango	front	akinsango	in front, as opposed to back
abagatan	south	akin-abagatan	southern, somewhere in the south

akinsango a pilid  
 akin-sango a pilid  
 REL.LOC-front LIG wheel  
 'front wheel (as opposed to other wheels).'

Natakuatak nga ab-ababa ken nakutkuttong gayamti  
 na-takuat-an=k nga R-ababa ken na-R-kuttong gayamti  
 PF-discover-T=1sE LIG more-short and ADJ-more-skinny so ART

akinkanigid a sakana.  
 akin-kanigid a saka=na  
 on.the-left LIG leg=3sE

'I discovered that her left leg was shorter and thinner (than the right one).'

### 5.3.9. Origin

Origin or nationality is expressed by the prefix *taga-* attached to the geographical location of origin. A hyphen is usually used in Ilocano spelling between the prefix and root if the root noun is capitalized. In some Ilocano localities, this prefix has the regional variant *i-*.

bantay	mountain	tagabantay	from the mountains
ili	town	tagaili	from town
amianan	north	tagaamianan	Northerner
abagatan	south	tagaabagatan	Southerner
Ilokos	Ilocos regio	taga-Ilokos	person from the Ilocos
Amerika	America	taga-Amerika	American

Adu ti tagabantay a kakabsatmi.  
 adu ti taga-bantay a R-kabsat=mi  
 many ART from-mountain LIG PL-sibling=1pEXCL.E  
 'We have many siblings from the mountains.'

### 5.3.10. Kinship

The prefix *kapi(n)-* is used with numerical roots over 'one' to indicate the exact degree of kindred. The first degree of kindred is represented by the word *kasinsin* 'first cousin.'

dua	two	kapidua	second cousin
tallo	three	kapitlo	third cousin
uppat	four	kapimpat	fourth cousin
lima	five	kapinlima	fifth cousin

The prefix *ag-*, normally used to form intransitive verbs, can be used with the plural article *dagiti* to indicate members of a given family, specified in the root.

dagiti ag-Galvez  
'the members of the Galvez family, the Galvezes'

dagiti ag-Tadena  
'the Tadenas, members of the Tadena family'

Nakaul-ulimek	dagiti	ag-Fernandez	a	mangmatmatmat	iti
naka-R-ulimek	dagiti	ag-Fernandez	a	mang-R-matmat	iti
ADJ-INTENS-quiet	PL	I-Fernandez	LIG	I-CONT-stare	OBL

idadapo	ti	pimmalasio	a	balayda.
i-R-dapo	ti	palasio{in-um}	a	balay=da
NOM-R-ash	ART	palace{PF-I}	LIG	house=3p

'The Fernandez family members were rather quiet staring at their palatial home turning into dust (from the fire).' (w)

### 5.3.11. Recency

The prefixes *kapag-*, or the prefix *ka-* with CVC reduplication (RCVC) of the root or initial consonant gemination of the root are used to form words that have recently undergone the action specified by the root:

itlog	egg	kait-itlog	freshly laid egg
luto	cook	kalutluto, kalluto	freshly cooked food
asawa	spouse	kapagas-asawa	recent marriage

agassawa	married couple	kapagasawaan	newly wed couple
serrek	enter	kasserrek	newcomer
tiliw	catch	kattiliw	recently caught

### 5.3.12. maN- Nominals

The affix *maN*<sup>2</sup>- + RC attaches to roots to designate a person involved in or associated with the action denoted by the root. This productive prefix is often used for various occupations or professions. In many cases, the first consonant of the base geminates to the homorganic nasal, except for in a few words such as *manarawidwid* 'manager.'

tarawidwid	manage	manarawidwid	manager
daniw	poem	mannaniw	poet
sala	dance	mannala	dancer
talon	rice field	mannalon	farmer
taray	run	mannaray	racer
paltot	deliver child	mammaltot	midwife
bartek	drunk	mammartek	drunkard
pallot	cockfight	mammallot	cockfighting gamblers
tegged	work	mangged	worker
ilot	massage	mangngilot	masseur/se
surat	write	mannurat	writer, author
agas	medicine	mangngagas	doctor
kalap	catch fish	mangngalap	fisherman
subbot	redeem	mannubbot	redeemer, savior
sugal	gamble	mannugal	gambler
suma	antidote	mannuma	antidote maker

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<sup>2</sup>The historical phonological process involved with this morpheme consisted of the prefix *maN*- accompanied by distributive CV reduplication and vowel loss, resulting in a geminate nasal in modern Ilocano.

The *maN-* + RC affix may be used with iterative CV(C) reduplication of the stem to lexicalize certain professions or occupations. The nasal in this case assimilates to the place of articulation of the initial consonant of the reduplicative base; when not directly following the nasal, the underlying consonant maintains its original form.

gamud	witchcraft, black magic	manggagamud	witch
baga	tell, say	mammagbaga	advisor
suro	teach	mannursuro	teacher
palad	palm	mamamalad	palm reader

The following *maN-* derived words are lexicalized:

sapaw	screen, cover; hut	mannapaw	kind of snake found in thatched roofs
darekdek	stake (for fence)	mannarekdek	species of vine
tarog	cool by stirring	mannarog	kind of black beetle
dengdeng	boil vegetables	mannengdeng	species of black and red insect
tukak	frog	mannukak	species of frog eating snake
sukit	pole with hook	mannukit	mole (animal)
kaput	bag-like fishing net	mangngaput	kind of pelican
ubog	unspread palm leaf	mangngubog	black bird that feeds on <i>ubog</i>

### 5.3.13. The *-um-* nominalization for inhabitation

The intransitive infix *-um-* which is placed before the first vowel of the root may be used to form nominals from locative roots. The resulting *-um-* derived word refers to 'the inhabitants' or 'the residents' of the place specified in the root, as seen in the following chart. Due to the pragmatics of this word formation, these nominals usually occur in the plural in discourse.

balay	house	dagiti bumalay	inhabitants of the house
ili	town	umili	inhabitants of the town; citizen
lugar	place	lumugar	inhabitants of the place

Malaksid kadagiti sabsabali a nayasawa, Ilokano aminen  
malaksid ka-dagiti R-sabali a na-i-asawa. Ilokano amin=en  
except OBL-PL PL-differ LIG PF-T-spouse Ilokano all=EMPH

dagiti lumugar.  
dagiti lugar{um}  
PL place{I}

'Except for a few wedded people, all the inhabitants of the place are Ilokano.' (w)

#### 5.3.14. The prefix *para-*

The prefix *para-* borrowed from the Spanish preposition *para* 'for' may be used with verbal roots to indicate the person (or thing) responsible for performing the action denoted by the root. Compare this prefix with *maN-* + RC.

luto	cook	paraluto	the cook
bomba	pump	parabomba	person responsible for pumping the well
usig	trial	parausig	prosecutor
bitbit	hand carry	parabitbit	porter

The prefix *para-* may also be used with verbal roots.

rudo	point	paratudo	pointer
timid	chin	paratimid	chinstrap (of a helmet)
trabaho	work	paratrabaho	work clothes
akkub	cover	paraakkub	cover model (of a magazine)

Nagsukat ití para-trabahona.  
 n-ag-sukat ití para-trabaho=na  
 PF-I-change OBL for-work=3sE  
 'He changed into his work clothes.'

kawitan a para-pallot  
 cock LIG for-cockfighting  
 'cock for cockfighting'

### 5.3.15. *paN-* instrumental nominals

The prefix *paN-* + RC is used with verbal stems to indicate the instrument involved or means in which the action specified by the stem is carried out. This particular prefix may also occur with CV reduplication of the verb base to indicate iterativity. For the full range of instrumental nouns, please refer to Section 5.4.5.

balakad	advise	pammalakad	advice
dakkel	big	pannakkel	pride
sao	speak	pannanao	language
saplit	whip	pannaplit	whipping, thrashing
subok	weigh	pannubok	trial, weight
sulisog	tempt	pannulisog	temptation
suron	tease	pannuron	teasing
pakada	bid farewell	pammakada	farewell gesture
turay	rule	pannuray	dependence
keddeng	desire; judgment	pangngeddeng	decision

Uray baliktadem ti lubong, dimo mapagbaliw ti  
 uray baliktad-en=m ti lubong di=mo ma-pag-baliw ti  
 even reverse-T=2sE ART world NEG=2sE ABIL-CAUS-change ART

pangngeddengko.  
 paN-keddeng=ko  
 NOM-judgement = 1sE

'Even if you turn the world inside out, you cannot change my decision.' (w)



Many *paN-* nominals may be verbalized with a variety of affixes.

Ammona nga *agpannurray* ti kabaelanna ti  
 ammo=na nga ag-paN-turay ti ka-bael-an=na ti  
 know=3sE LIG I-NOM-rule ART NOM-able-NOM=3sE ART

pannakilangenna kadagiti tao.  
 paN-maki-langen=na ka-dagiti tao  
 NOM-COMIT-associate=3sE OBL-PL person

'He knows that his power depends on being able to associate with people.'

With certain temporal roots, the *paN-* affix denotes the meal associated with the time period designated by the root. see also *maN-* verbs.

bigat	morning	panigat	breakfast
aldaw	day, noon	pangngaldaw	lunch
malem	afternoon	pangmalem	afternoon meal
rabii	night	pangrabii	dinner, evening meal

### 5.3.16. *pa-* nominals

The prefix *pa-* is used to form causative nouns. The perfective form of this affix is *pina-*

palemmeng	something caused to be hidden	(f. <i>lemmeng</i> 'hide')
paluto	something caused to be cooked	(f. <i>luto</i> 'cook')
paaramid	something caused to be done	(f. <i>aramid</i> 'do')
pangato	something caused to be elevated	(f. <i>ngato</i> 'high')

Ania ti pinalutona?  
 ania ti pa{in}-luto=na  
 what ART CAUS{PF}=3sE  
 'What did he have cooked?'

Not all nouns taking the prefix *pa-* denote objects of causation or instruments. The following is a list of lexicalized examples:

dapan	sole	padapan	runners of sledge
datar	floor	padatar	woven bamboo piece used in fishing
dila	tongue	padila	end of wooden handle that fits in an iron socket
dulang	table	padulang	pulverizer (for soil)
kikit	little finger	pakikit	jack rafter
mata	eye	pamata	spectacles
suli	corner	pasuli	triangular piece of timber used for a brace
sungo	snout	pasungo	rope fixed to the nose of carabao

### 5.3.17. Spanish derivative suffixes

The derivational Spanish suffixes *-ero* and *-illo* have been borrowed in Ilocano in the following ways. The agentive Spanish suffix *-ero/era*, which specifies gender, is widely used in the language to indicate occupations, as a great majority of Spanish loan nouns terminate in this affix.

basurero	garbage man (Spanish loan)
basurera	garbage woman
mensahero	messenger (male)
mensahera	messenger (female)
sekretario	secretary (male)
sekretaria	secretary (female)
bastonero	orchestra conductor (male)
bastonera	majorette (female)

*-ero* may be employed with Spanish roots that do not take the suffix in the original language.

botika	drugstore (f. Spanish)
botikero	druggist (Ilocano coinage)

Not surprisingly, the suffix *-ero* has become fully productive in modern Ilocano to express gender even with native Ilocano roots.

utogero	lustful man (from Ilocano root <i>utog</i> : sexual excitement)
utogera	lustful woman

The suffix *-ilio* (borrowed from the Spanish diminutive *-illo*) may be used with certain Spanish roots to create deprecatve lexical items.

abogado	(f. Spanish) lawyer
abogadilio	petty lawyer, third rate lawyer
bigote	(f. Spanish) moustache
bigotilio	macho man (coined Ilocano word)

#### 5.4. Nominalization of verbs

Ilocano morphology allows extensive nominalization of verbs through various affixes. The major verb classes and their most frequent nominalization patterns are outlined below. Please refer to section 5.4.2 for further explanations of the various affixes:

Verbal affix	Instrument	Locative (Nominalization)	Gerund (Manner)
<b>ACTOR FOCUS (INTRANSITIVE)</b>			
ag-	pag-	pag- -an	panag-
-um-	-	-um- -an	i- + RCV
maka-	paka-	paka- -an	pannaka-
makapa-	-	pakapa- -an	pakapa-
makapag-	pakapag-	pakapag- -an	pannakapag-
makipag-	pakipag-	pakipag- an	pannakipag-
maki-	paki-	paki- -an	pannaki-
mang-	pang-	pang- -an	panang-
mangpa-	pangpa-	pangpa- -an	panangpa-

**GOAL FOCUS  
(TRANSITIVE)**

-en/-an	pang-	pang- -an	panang-
ma-	paka-	paka- -an	pannaka-
mapa-	pakapa-	pakapa- -an	pannakapa-
i-	pangi-	pangi- -an	panangi-
ma- -an	paka-	paka- -an	pannaka-
mapai-	pakapai-	pakapai- -an	pannakapai-
ipa-	pangipa-	pangipa- -an	panangipa-
maipa-	pakaipa-	pakaipa- -an	pannakaipa-
mapaipa-	pakapaipa-	pakapaipa- -an	pannakapaipa-

**5.4.1. Nominalized verbals, aspectual gerunds**

Ilocano gerunds are used to nominalize an action, or designate the 'way that an action is performed,' 'the fact that an action is performed' or 'the reason why an action is performed.' The actual uses of the aspectual gerunds are, of course, dependent upon the inherent semantics of the verb root. Below are a few examples of nominalizations with their appropriate range of use.

maturog	to sleep
pagturogan	place where someone sleeps
agsarita	to talk
pagsaritaan	to talk about something. reason for speaking. place where one speaks. the way one speaks

Because of numerous instances where these nominalized verbs (aspectual gerunds) designate the location of the action specified by verb root, they have often been referred to as 'locative nominalizations.' This categorization, however, is too simplistic to follow as there are many non-locative uses of aspectual gerunds.

## Locative use

Sadino ti nagturoganna? (may be abbreviated to *Nagturoganna?*)  
sadino ti nag-turog-an=na  
where ART PF-sleep-NOM=3sE  
'Where did he sleep?'

Pagdissaagam?  
pag-dissaag-an=mo  
LOC-get.down-NOM=2sE  
'Where are you getting off (the bus)?'

Daydi nausarmo a kuarta idi umayka dito.  
daydi na-usar=mo a kuarta idi um-ay=ka dito.  
PST.ART ADJ-use=2sE LIG money PST I-come=2sA here.

ni amam ti naggapuanna.  
ni ama=mo ti nag-gapu-an=na  
PA father=2sE ART PF-origin-NOM=3sE

'The money you used when you came here came from your father.'

## Source or Reason use

Ania ti pagsangitam?  
ania ti pagsangit-an=mo  
what ART GER-cry-NOM=2sE  
'What are you crying about? What is the reason for your crying?'

Awan ti rumbeng a pagdanagam.  
awan ti rebbeng{um} a pag-danag-an=mo  
NEG.EXIST ART duty{I} LIG GER-worry-NOM=2sE  
'There is no reason why you should worry.'

Ania kadi't nagbasolak?  
ania kadi-ti nag-basol-an=ko  
what QUES-ART PF-fault-NOM=1sE  
'What did I do wrong? (what is the reason of my fault?)'

Kinapudnona, adu a mannalon ti saan a makapagtalon  
kina-pudno=na adu a maN-talon ti saan a makapag-talon  
NOM-true=3sE many LIG NOM-field ART NEG LIG ABIL-field

no dadduma ta      awan      ti      pagpuonanda.  
no.dadduma ta      awan      ti      pag-puon-an=da  
sometimes    because    NEG.EXIST    ART    GER-source-NOM=3p

'The truth of the matter is, many farmers are not able to farm sometimes because they have no capital (nothing to use to start).' (w)

Nakaammuanyo      a      kasangayko      ita?  
naka-ammo-an=yo      a      kasangay=ko      ita  
PF.GER-know-NOM=2pE    LIG    birthday=1sE    today  
'How did you know that it is my birthday today?'

Unlike aspectless gerunds, nominalized verbals consist of the nominalization pattern of the intransitive verb form, and the nominalizing suffix *-an*. They may occur in perfective aspect as verbs, but due to their distribution in discourse (i.e. usually preceded by noun markers), are better treated as polymorphemic nominalizations. The aspectual gerunds are shown below in their various aspects.

Verbal affix	Nominalization	Perfective gerund	Imperfective Gerund
<b>ACTOR FOCUS</b>			
ag-	pag- -an	nag- -an	panag- + RCVC
-um-	-um- -an	-imm- -an	-
maka-	paka- -an	naka- -an	pannaka- + RCVC
makapa-	pakapa- -an	nakapa- -an	pakapa- + RCVC
makapag-	pakapag- -an	nakapag- -an	pannakapag- + RCVC
makipag-	pakipag- an	nakipag- -an	pannakipag- + RCVC
maki-	paki- -an	naki- -an	pannaki- + RCVC
mang-	pang- -an	nang- -an	panang- + RCVC
mangpa-	pangpa- -an	nangpa- -an	panangpa- + RCVC

## GOAL FOCUS

-en/-an	pang- -an	nang- -an	panang- + RCVC
ma-	paka- -an	naka- -an	pannaka- + RCVC
mapa-	pakapa- -an	nakapa- -an	pannakapa- + RCVC
i-	pangi- -an	nangi- -an	panangi- + RCVC
ma- -an	paka- -an	naka- -an	pannaka- + RCVC
mapai-	pakapai- -an	nakapai- -an	pannakapai- + RCVC
ipa-	pangipa- -an	nangipa- -an	panangipa- + RCVC
maipa-	pakaipa- -an	nakaipa- -an	pannakaipa- + RCVC
mapaipa-	pakapaipa- -an	nakapaipa- -an	pannakapaipa- + RCVC

### 5.4.2. Aspectless Gerunds

Ilocano aspectless gerunds are nominalized verb forms that, unlike nominalized verbs, cannot occur in the perfective aspect. They are formed from the simple intransitive (actor focus) verb stem as in the following table.

All Ilocano verb stems can be nominalized into gerunds, provided that they have an intransitive (actor focus) form from which the gerundial form can be derived. The process of forming gerunds is illustrated in the following table:

Verb form	Actor focus (Intransitive counterpart)	Gerundial form
suraten 'to write something'	mangsurat	pangsurat 'writing'
agbasa 'to read'	agbasa	panagbasa 'reading'
sumangpet 'to arrive'	sumangpet	isasangpet 'arriving, arrival'

kasao 'to speak with'	makisao	pannakisao 'conversing'
madungpar 'to collide into'	makadungpar	pannakadungpar 'colliding'
paturogan 'to put to sleep'	mangpaturog	panangpaturog 'putting to sleep'
ipaw-it 'send'	mangipaw-it	panangipaw-it 'sending'
mailako 'be able to sell'	makailako	pannakailako 'being able to sell'
kakuyog 'accompany'	makikuyog	pannakikuyog 'companionship, act of accompanying'
asawaen 'wed'	mangasawa	panangasawa 'act of marrying'
makipagrikna 'sympathize'	makipagrikna	pannakipagrikna 'sympathy'
mapatulidan 'be run over'	makapatulid	pannakapatulid 'being run over'

Gerundial forms of verbs are used whenever a verbal concept must be nominalized. Ilocano does not, however, require all verbs to be nominalized whenever they appear in a nominal slot (after an existential, demonstrative or article). Sometimes an existential, demonstrative, or article suffices in nominalizing a verb in discourse:

Sino dagiti immay?  
sino dagiti ay{in-um}  
who PL come{PF-I}  
'Who were the ones that came?'

Adda nakadungpar kaniana.  
adda naka-dungpar kaniana  
EXIST PF.INVOL-collide 3SOBL  
'Something happened to bump into her.'

However, aspectless gerund forms of verbs are preferred when the speaker wishes to emphasize the nominal concept (cause, result, means, etc.) of the action while maintaining the verbal aspect of the word (underlying intransitive (actor focus) verb form as opposed to the bare nominal root). The gerund forms are then used to verbalize the entity or concept of the verbal action:

Ania ti makunada iti panagkunniber dagiti politiko?  
ania ti ma-kuna=da iti pan-ag-kunniber dagiti politiko  
what ART T-say=3p OBL NOM-I-corrupt PL politician  
'What do they say about the *corruption* of the politicians?'



Nalukagak           iti   *pannakatapik*   ti   abagak.  
na-lukag=ak       iti   pan-maka-tapik ti   abaga=k  
ADJ-awake=1sA OBL NOM-INVOL-tap ART shoulder=1sE  
‘I was awakened by the *tapping* on my shoulder.’ (w)

Nagilad            manen ket pinagnadnadna           ti   *pannakaulawna*.  
n-ag-ilad        manen ket pag{in}-nadnad=na   ti   pan-maka-ulaw=na  
PF-I-rub.body   again and CAUS{PF}-calm=3sE ART NOM-INVOL-dizzy=3sE  
‘He rubbed his body (against wall, etc.) again and calmed down his *dizziness (being light headed)*.’ (w)

Nariknana        ti   *pannakarektek*           ni Sadiri iti   *panagtakderna*  
na-rikna=na   ti   pan-maka-tektek       ni Sadiri iti   pan-ag-takder=na  
PF-feel=3sE ART NOM-INVOL-nervous PA Sadiri OBL NOM-I-stand=3sE

iti pantalan bayat ti   *panangur-urayna*           iti   *panagluas*  
iti pantalan bayat ti   pan-mang-R-uray=na   iti   pan-ag-luas  
OBL pier       while ART NOM-DISTR-R-wait=3sE OBL NOM-I-depart

ti   bapor  
ti   bapor.  
ART ship

‘He felt the *uneasiness (nervous shaking)* of Sadiri from the way he was *standing* on the pier while *waiting* for the *departure* of the ship.’ (w)

Yur-urayna        laeng ti   *panaglamiis*   ti   ulok.  
i-R-uray=na       laeng ti   pan-ag-lamiis   ti   ulo=k  
T-CONT-wait=3sE just ART NOM-I-cool ART head=1sE  
‘He is just waiting for my head to cool down (for the *cooling* of my head).’

Nariknana        ti   *irarasuk*           ti   darana.  
na-rikna=na       ti   i-R-rasuk           ti   dara=na  
ABIL.PF-feel=3sE ART NOM-R-flare ART blood=3sE  
‘He felt the flaring up of his blood (due to anger).’

Although these gerund forms do not inflect for perfective aspect, they may be accompanied by root CVC reduplication to emphasize the continuity or incompleteness of an action.

Naallingagmi        ti   *panagsarsaritatayo*           kenni Rhea.  
na-allingag=mi       ti   pan-ag-R-sarita=yo       ken-ni Rhea  
PF.INVOL-hear=1pEXCL ART NOM-I-CONT-speak=2pE OBL-PA Rhea  
‘We managed to hear what you and Rhea were talking about.’

... bayat ti *panangur-urayna* iti *panagluas* ti bapor.  
 ... bayat ti pan-mang-R-uray=na iti pan-ag-luas ti bapor  
 ... while ART NOM-DISTR-R-wait=3sE OBL NOM-I-depart ART ship  
 '... while *waiting* for the departure of the ship.' (w)

Gerund forms may be compared to bare nominal root forms. The gerunds, however, encode more information, i.e. whether the action was voluntary, accidental, etc. They are thus used when there is more of a commitment to specifying the nature of the action.

Ania ti subalitda?  
 ania ti subalit=da  
 what ART answer=3p  
 'What is their answer?' (bare nominal root)

In-inut a nabaybay-anna ti *panagsubalima* kadagiti  
 R-inut a na-R-bay'a-an=na ti pan-ag-subalit=na ka-dagiti  
 R-gradual LIG PF-R-neglect-T=3sE ART NOM-I-answer=3sE OBL-PL

suratna.  
 surat=na  
 letter=3sE

'Little by little, he neglected *answering* her letters.' (gerund form for a volitional active verb) (w)

#### 5.4.3. Various properties of gerunds

Unlike aspectless gerunds (Section 5.4.3), nominalized verbs can occur in the perfective aspect.

Naut-ot pay laeng ti kanawan nga imak a *nangalaanda*  
 na-ut'ot pay.laeng ti kanawan nga ima=k a nang-ala-an=da  
 ADJ-pain still ART right LIG hand=1sE LIG PF-take-NOM=3p

iti darak.  
 iti dara=ko  
 OBL blood=1sE

'My right hand from where they took blood still hurts.' (w)

Like verbs, nominalized verbs may undergo CV reduplication of their roots to specify a plural actor. This use is not mandatory and is most often encountered in literature.

Pulitan ken serbesa ti nagsasanguanda iti kalalainganna  
 pulutan ken serbesa ti nag-R-sango-an=da iti ka-R-laing-an=na  
 beer.food and beer ART PF-PL-front-NOM=3p OBL NOM-R-good-NOM=3sE

ti kalawa a sala.  
 ti ka-lawa a sala  
 ART NOM-wide LIG living.room

'They placed (in front of the guests) beer and beer snacks in the living room whose size (capacity) was just right.' (w)

Ammona lattan a pallot ti pagsasaritaanda.  
 ammo=na latta=n a pallot ti pag-R-sarita-an=da  
 know=3sE just=EMPH LIG cockfight ART NOM-PL-talk-NOM=3p  
 'She just knows that they are talking about cockfights.'

Aspectual gerunds, like nouns, may be preceded by plural articles to indicate the plurality of their referent:

Kaniak a biang, nasken a mausar ti ultimo a sipinga  
 kaniak a biang, na-sekken a ma-usar ti ultimo a sipinga  
 lSOBL LIG opinion ADJ-need LIG ABIL-use ART last LIG pennyLIG

pundo ti ili kadagiti nakaisangratanna.  
 pundo ti ili ka-dagiti naka-i-sangrat-an=na  
 fund ART town OBL-PL PF-T-plan-NOM=3sE

'In my opinion, it is necessary to use the last penny of the town's funds for the things they (the funds) are intended for.' (speech)

Like verbs, aspectual gerunds may undergo partial reduplication (initial CVC) to encode imperfective aspect (continual or habitual actions) as the following three sentences demonstrate. (taken from the short story *Pusa* 'Cat' by Benjamin M. Pascual).

Kasla dua a beggang a berde dagiti mata ti pusa iti  
 like two LIG ember LIG green PL eye ART cat OBL

panagsarsarakna iti tedda a kanen.  
 pan-ag-R-sarak=na iti tedda a kaan-en  
 NOM-I-CONT-search=3sE OBL remain LIG eat-T

'The eyes of the cat were like two green embers looking for the leftover food.' (w)

Ngem nupay nagsukisok, napaluksawan ta awan  
 ngem nupay n-ag-sukisok na-pa-luksaw-an ta awan  
 but although PF-I-search PF-CAUS-disgust-T because NEG.EXIST

met nagyan iti sabut a kadawyan a  
 met n-ag-yan iti sabut a ka-dawi-an a  
 also PF-I-place OBL half.coconut.shell LIG COMIT-custom-T LIG

pangpangananna.  
 R-paN-kaan-an=na  
 CONT-NOM-eat-T=3sE

'But although is searched, it was disgusted because there was nothing inside the coconut shell that it usually eats from.' (w)

Nagbaeng ti pusa idi inyasidegna ti agongna iti silulukat  
 n-ag-baeng ti pusa iti i{in}-asideg=na ti agong=na iti si-R-lukat  
 PF-I-sneeze ART cat OBL T{PF}-near=3sE ART nose=3sE OBL ADJ-R-open

a kahon a pagiduldulinan dagiti appona  
 a kahon a pag-i-R-dulin-an dagiti apo{R}=na  
 LIG box LIG LOC-THM-CONT-keep-NOM PL grandchild{PL}=3sE

iti sida.  
 OBL food/fish

'The cat sneezed when it put its nose close to the open box where his grandchildren usually keep the food.' (w)

Incomplete (non-punctual) aspect may also be shown with gerunds with the future enclitic =*nto*, specifying a hypothetical or contemplated progressive action in the future:

Diak kayat nga addanto pakasasawanda kaniak.  
 di=ak kayat nga adda=nto paka-R-sao-an=da kaniak  
 NEG=1sA want LIG EXIST=FUT NOM.ABIL-CONT-speak-NOM=3p 1sOBL  
 'I don't want there to be a reason for them to be saying things about me.'

#### 5.4.4. Properties of various nominalizing prefixes

#### 5.4.4.1. The prefix *pannaka-*

The prefix *pannaka-* forms potential (non-volitional, non-control or abilitative) gerunds of *maka-* verbs (and their transitive counterparts).

matinnag	to fall	pannakatnag	act of falling
makadait	able to sew	pannakadait	act of being able to sew
makabasa	able to read	pannakabasa	being able to read
mabati	to be left behind	pannakabati	act of being abandoned

Ammok a daytoyen ti maudi a pannakaarakupko  
 ammo=k a daytoy=en ti ma-udi a pan-maka-arakup=ko  
 know=1sE LIG this=EMPH ART ADJ-last LIG NOM-ABIL-hug=1sE

kenkuana.  
 3SOBL

'I know that this is the last time I'll get to embrace her.'

The prefix *pannaka-* may also be used with adjectival or nominal roots to indicate a state of being, usually experienced without volition or control.

panglaw	poor	pannakapanglaw	state of poverty
madismaya	upset	pannakadismaya	act of being upset
salun-at	health	pannakasalun-at	being healthy
nabannog	tired	pannakabannog	state of being tired

The prefix *pannaka-* may also be used with nominal roots to indicate being a representative or substitute for the referent expressed by the root.

ama	father	pannakaama	person acting as a father, foster father
bagi	body	pannakabagi	representative
ina	mother	pannakaina	foster mother
ngiwat	mouth	pannakangiwat	spokesperson
ulo	head	pannakaulo	acting head or leader

Sino ti pannakangiwat ti gunglo?  
 sino ti pan-maka-ngiwat ti gunglo  
 who ART NOM-ABIL-mouth ART organization  
 'Who is the spokesperson for the organization?'

#### 5.4.4.2. *Panag-* + *RCV*

The nominalizing affix for *ag-* verbs, *panag-* may occur with initial CV root reduplication to indicate the time where a complex action (involving more than one actor) takes place. For the locative use of this function, please see *pag-RCV-an*.

butos	vote	panagbubutos	election time
apit	harvest	panagaapit	harvest season
kalap	fish	panagkakalap	fishing season
apon	stable, pen	panagaapon	time before dusk when animals return to their pens
gapas	sickle for rice harvest	panaggagapas	rice harvest season

#### 5.4.4.3. *i-* + *RCV*

The gerundial form of *-um-* verbs is formed with the prefix *i-* and initial consonant vowel reduplication of the stem as seen in the following chart.

umay	come	iyaay	act of coming
tumakder	stand	itatakder	act of standing
sumayaat	get well, improve	isasayaat	getting well, improving
pumudno	come true	ipupudno	act of being realized, coming true
kumaro	worsen	ikakaro	act of worsening

Bareng laeng no makatulong iti nadaras a *yimbagmo*.  
 bareng laeng no maka-tulong iti na-daras a i-R-imbag=mo  
 hopefully just if ABIL-help OBL ADJ-fast LIG NOM-GER-good=2sE  
 'Just hopefully (the flowers) can help in your speedy recovery [lit: getting well].'

Inyawisna            ti    *yuulimi*                            ken Sabrina.  
i{in}-awis =na        ti    i-R-uli =mi                            ken Sabrina  
T{PF}-invite = 3sE    ART    NOM-R-climb = 1pEXCL.E and Sabrina  
‘He invited Sabrina and me to come in (the house).’

Segsegaak            ti    sangkakunana    nga    *isasarungkarna*  
R-segga =ak            ti    sangka-kuna =na    nga    i-R-sarungkar =na  
R-anxious = 1sA    ART    FREQ-say = 3sE    LIG    NOM-R-visit = 3sE

iti    balaymi.  
iti    balay =mi  
OBL   house = 1pEXCL.E

‘I am anxious about his constantly saying he will visit our house.’ (w)

#### 5.4.4.4. Reciprocal gerunds with *-inn-*

As verbs, gerunds may take the infix *-inn-* before the first vowel of the root to indicate a reciprocal action.

iliw                    homesick, nostalgia  
aginniliw            to miss each other, long for each other  
panaginniliw        the act of missing each other, missing one another

Nagsangitak        iti    panagpinnakadada.  
n-ag-sangit =ak    iti    pan-ag-pakada{inn} =da  
PF-I-cry = 1sA    OBL    NOM-I-farewell{RECIP} = 3p  
‘I cried when they said goodbye to each other.’

#### 5.4.4.5. Pretentative gerunds, *panagin-* + RCV

Pretentative verbs consisting of the affix *agin-* + RCV may be nominalized with *pagin-* + RCV.

sangit                    cry  
agsangit                to cry  
aginsasangit            to pretend to cry  
panaginsasangit        the act of pretending to cry

panagimbubulsek	act of pretending to be blind	(f. <i>bulsek</i> 'blind')
panagintutuleng	act of pretending not to hear	(f. <i>tuleng</i> 'deaf')
panaginsisingpet	act of pretending to be virtuous	(f. <i>singpet</i> 'virtue')
panagindiammo	act of pretending not to know	(f. <i>diammo</i> 'not know')
panaginsasangit	act of pretending to cry	(f. <i>sangit</i> 'cry')
panaginraragsak	act of pretending to be happy	(f. <i>ragsak</i> 'joy')

Masuyaakon                        iti    panaginsisingpetna.  
 ma-suya =ako =n                iti    pan-ag-in-R-singpet =na  
 INVOL-disgust=1sE=EMPH OBL NOM-I-PRETEND-R-virtue =3sE  
 'I am fed up with her pretending to be virtuous.'

#### 5.4.5. Instrumentals

Intransitive verbs may take instrument nominal morphology to denote the implement involved in the action denoted by the verb root. Like the aspectual gerunds, instrumental nouns may occur in perfective form, making them appear to be verbs, although their use in discourse generally adheres to nominal behavior. The paradigm of instrumental affixation is outlined in the following table.

Verb class	Instrumental	Perfective Instrumental
ag-	pag-	pinag-
-um-	-	-
maka-, ma-, ma- -an	paka-	pinaka-
mapa- -an	pakapa-	pinakapa-
maki-	paki-	pinaki-
makai-, mai-	pakai-	pinakai-
maipa-	pakaipa-	pinakaipa-
mang-, -en, -an	pang-	pinang-
mangi-	pangi-	pinang-
i-	pangi-	pinang-
pag- -en	pangpag-	pinangpag-
pa- -en, pa- -an	pangpa-	pinangpa-



mapai-	pakapai-	pinakapai-
pai-	pangpai-	pinangpai-
paipa-	pangpaipa-	pinangpaipa-
mapaipa-	pakapaipa-	pinakapaipa-

The instrumental form of a verb denotes the instrument involved in carrying out the action, or implement necessary to perform the action as seen in the following table:

agsurat	to write	pagsurat	writing implement, pen
makikuyog	to accompany	pakikuyog	companion
agdait	to sew	pagdait	sewing materials
mangsaksi	to witness	pangsaksi	testimony
tulongan	to help	pangtulong	that used to help
mangiddep	to extinguish	pangiddep	that used to extinguish (water for fire, etc.)
putolan	to decapitate	pamutol	that used to decapitate
awat	to get, catch	pangawat	that used to get or catch
silaw	light	pagsilaw	that used as a light
liwliwan	to trap, bait	pangliwliw	thing used to catch, bait
digos	bathe	pagdigos	thing used to bathe oneself
digos	bathe	pangdigos	thing used to bathe someone else

Adda pagsuratmo?

adda pag-surat=mo

EXIST INST-write=2sE

'Do you have a pen (lit: something with which to write).'

Daydiay ti pinagkalapda.

daydiay ti pag{in}-kalap=da

that ART INST{PF}-fish=3p

'That is what they used to fish with.'

Ania ti pinangdidingda iti balayda?

ania ti pag{in}-diding=da iti balay=da

what ART INST{PF}-wall=3p OBL house=3p

'What did they use for building the walls of their house (what were their walling materials).'

Awan ti pagkapemi.  
 awan ti pag-kape=mi  
 NEG.EXIST ART INST-coffee=1pEXCL.E  
 'We have nothing to make coffee with.'

Nasnasken ti pintas a pangliwliw iti abogado.  
 R-nasken ti pintas a pang-liwliw iti abogado  
 COMP-necessary ART beauty LIG INST-bait OBL lawyer  
 'Beauty is more necessary (than intelligence) to bait a lawyer.' (w)

#### 5.4.5.1. *pag-* + RCV

The instrumental prefix *pag-* + CV reduplication has two different uses. It may be used to indicate exchange:

Pagdodoradok daytoy.  
 pag-R-dorado=k daytoy  
 INST-R-dorado.fish=1sE this  
 'I want to exchange this for dorado fish.' (c)

Pagbabalitokmi dagiti ilakomi.  
 pag-R-balitok=mi dagiti i-lako=mi  
 INST-R-gold=1pEXCL.E PL T-sell=1pEXCL.E  
 'We want to exchange what we are selling for gold.' (c)

*Pag-* + RCV may also indicate that the absolutive argument is used for the referent indicated by the root.

Pagliling-et 'diay tualia.  
 pag-R-ling'et diay tualia  
 INST-R-sweat that towel  
 'That towel is for perspiration.'

Paglalammin ti ulesna.  
 pag-R-lammin ti ules=na  
 INST-R=cold ART blanket=3sE  
 'His blanket is for the cold.' (c)

#### 5.4.5.2. Lexicalized instrumentals

Certain lexical items are formed with instrumental prefixes that are not necessarily immediately comprehensible from their morphological composition and therefore must be learned as whole lexical items:

nakem	mind	pakinakem	will, thought
ammo	know	pakaammo	information
saksi	witness	pangsaksi	testimony
una	first	pakauna	advanced news

The instrumental prefix *pang-*, like many other Ilocano prefixes may sometimes attach to full noun-phrases like a pro-clitic. The following polylexemic noun phrases, for instance, take instrumental prefixes:

Ania ti panganakko iti buniag?  
 ania ti pang-[anak=ko iti buniag]  
 what ART INST-child=1sE OBL baptism  
 'What (money) will I use to be a godfather? (What do I have for my godchild)'

### 5.5. Compound nouns

Unlike many Germanic languages, Ilocano does not employ nominal compounding to form new lexical items. However, in poetry and literature, many authors do not hesitate to compound two nominals to form rather poetic lexical items.

puloy-sardam  
 breeze-evening  
 'evening breeze'

puloy-taaw  
 breeze-ocean  
 'ocean breeze'

angin-talon  
 wind-rice field  
 'rice-field wind'

Certain famous authors have coined new lexemes by nominal compounding, but these are not generally accepted by the Ilocano population, especially since many of these coined terms have widely used and accepted Spanish counterparts such as *koriente* 'electricity' and *monumento* 'monument.' Examples of these are:

<i>batonlagip</i> 'monument'	from <i>bato</i> 'stone'	and <i>lagip</i> 'memory'
<i>sariugma</i> 'ancient tale'	from <i>sarita</i> 'story'	and <i>ugma</i> 'former times'

<i>balandaniw</i> 'theater'	from <i>balay</i> 'house'	and <i>daniw</i> 'poem'
<i>silaw-it</i> 'electricity'	from <i>silaw</i> 'light'	and <i>sal-it</i> 'lightning'
<i>aribai</i> 'queen'	from <i>ari</i> 'king'	and <i>babai</i> 'female'
<i>balailaw</i> 'lighthouse'	from <i>balay</i> 'house'	and <i>silaw</i> 'light'
<i>daniwangaw</i> 'comical poem'	from <i>daniw</i> 'poem'	and <i>angaw</i> 'joke'

There are, however, a few words, many borrowed from Spanish, that may take hyphenated complements, sometimes adjectival, to create compound lexemes. Some of these are:

sobre-seliado  
envelope-stamped  
'stamped envelope'

Names of colors may take the stems *maris* or '*kolor*' 'color' hyphenated to a common object representing the color. This is not a productive means of deriving colors; the few color names produced this way are lexicalized.

kolor-dapo  
color-ash  
'gray'

maris-kudil  
color-skin  
'flesh tone color'

Sometimes, edible leaves take their specific species as a hyphenated complement.

bulong-kalunay  
leaf-spinach.like.plant  
'*kalunay* leaves'

bulong-paria  
leaf-bitter.melon  
'bittermelon leaves'

## 5.6. Fully reduplicated nouns

Certain roots may be reduplicated to form expressive or emphatic stems that encode continuity or perpetuity.

sao	talk	saosao	gossip, constant chatter
pagna	walk	pagnapagna	walking to and fro
pada	equal	padapada	being exactly equivalent
kiwet	twist	kiwetkiwet	zigzag
kuso	messing up	kusokuso	state of disorder or anarchy

Mamatikayo kadi iti *saosao* nga awan ti umno a  
 maN-pati=kayo kadi iti R-sao nga awan ti umno a  
 I-believe=2pA QUES OBL R-talk LIG NEG.EXIST ART proper LIG

pammaneknekkyo?  
 paN-paneknek=yo  
 NOM-proof=2pE

'Do you believe in idle gossip that doesn't have sufficient proof?'

Saan a *padapada* amin a babai.  
 saan a R-pada amin a babai  
 NEG LIG R-equal all LIG girl  
 'All girls aren't exactly the same (in every way).'

The following lexicalized fully reduplicated words are learned as full lexical items, as their meaning is not inherent in their morphology.

banga	pot	bangabanga	skull
tubong	tube	tubongtubong	aorta
tiwan	long oar	tiwantiwan	swordfish
tukák	frog	tukaktúkak	wart
lipay	sp. of plant	lipaylipay	ankle
ubet	buttock	ubet-ubet	kind of worm
dagum	needle	dagumdagum	sting (of a bee, etc.)

Sometimes nouns may be reduplicated with CVC reduplication to express the concept of entirety. This morphological process is common in body parts.

Naut-ot ti bagbagina ken agbibibineg ti laslasagna.  
na-ut'ot ti R-bagi=na ken ag-R-bineg ti R-lasag=na  
ADJ-sore ART R-body=3sE and I-R-numb ART R-muscle=3sE  
'His whole body was sore and (all) his muscles were numb.' (w)

### 5.7. Possession

Ilocano has four ways of signalling possession:

1. possessed noun + NP designating possessor
2. possessed noun + ergative pronominal enclitic
3. *bagi-* or *kukua-* possessive pronoun + ligature (*nga*) + possessed noun
4. The existential *adda* construction (Section 10.1)

Normally, a possessor follows the possessed referent, possessive constructions are done simply by juxtaposing possessum and possessor. A possessor may be encoded with a full noun phrase (the appropriate article introducing the relevant nominal possessor) or an ergative enclitic pronoun.

ti	balay	ni	Maria		ti	balay=na
ART	house	PA	Maria		ART	house=3sE
	'Maria's house'				'her house'	
'diay	tulbek	ti	anak=ko		diay	tulbek=na
that	key	ART	child=1sE		that	key=3sE
	'My child's key'				'his key'	

Additionally, Ilocano has two sets of full possessive pronouns, the *bagi-* series and the *kukua-* series. These possessive pronouns may stand alone as full predicates to indicate the possession of an absolutive argument. (Please refer to Sec. 4.6 for a more thorough treatment of them).

Kukuak 'diay kotse.  
mine that car  
'That car is mine.'

Bagida ti kuarta iti rabaw ti lamisaan.  
theirs ART money OBL top ART table  
'The money on top of the table is theirs.' (c)

The existential *adda* in predicate position may also be used to indicate possession. In the *adda* construction, the possessor appears with ergative case marking if it is a pronoun, or as a full NP following the possessed noun.

Adda aso ni Pedro.	Adda aso=na.
EXIST dog PA Pedro	EXIST dog=3sE
'Pedro has a dog.'	'He has a dog.'

To specify current possession with *adda*, the possessor referent appears as an oblique noun phrase immediately following the possessed noun. For more thorough treatment of the existential *adda*, please refer to existentials.

Adda ti tulbek ken-ni	Gracia. Adda ti tulbek kenkuana.
EXIST ART key OBL-PA	Gracia EXIST ART key 3SOBL
'The key is with Gracia.'	'The key is with her.'

### 5.8. Relator nouns

There is a closed class of nominals that function to indicate the position of an entity or the location of an event. These nouns are generally used relationally. They are preceded by the oblique article *iti* or locative marker (i.e. *ditoy* 'here', *dita* 'there, proximal), or *idiay* 'there, distal') and followed by a full noun phrase indicating the appropriate reference point.

Adda=da iti sanguanan ti simbaan.
EXIST=3p OBL front ART church
'They are in front of the church.'

Inlemmengko iti baba ti agdan.
i{in}-lemmeng=ko iti baba ti agdan
T{PF}-hide=1sE OBL down ART staircase
'I hid it under the staircase.' (c)

Of course, these locational nouns may also be used to indicate specific location without mentioning a specific reference point.

Adda=ak ditoy ngato.
EXIST=1sA here top
'I am here on top.'

Napanda idiy baba.
na-pan=da idiy baba
PF-go=3p there below
'They went below.'

A list of the most common relator nouns, many which are derived from locative nouns, is given below:

<u>NOUN</u>	<u>ENGLISH GLOSS AS NOUN and (AS A RELATOR NOUN)</u>
baba	space below (under, below)
baet	interval (between)
bangir	side (beside)
batug	line (on the same line as)
igid	edge (at the edge of)
las-ud	contain, interior (inside, within)
likud	back (behind)
ngalay	middle (halfway between)
ngato	top (on top of, above)
rabaw	top (on top)
rimirim	edge (at the edge of)
saklang	presence (before, facing, in front of)
sirok	space beneath (under)
surok	surplus (over)
ruar	outside (outside)
tengnga	middle, center (in between)
uneg	interior, inside; depth (in, inside)

iti las-ud ti dua wenno tallo a bulan  
 OBL within ART two or three LIG month  
 'within two or three months.'

Naatalan 'diay kabsatna iti ngalay ti dalan.  
 na-atal-an diay ading=na iti ngalay ti dalan  
 PF-run.over-T that younger.sibling=3sE OBL middle ART road  
 'Her younger brother was run over in the middle of the road.'

Pitakpitak dagiti dapanda agingga iti ngatuen ti lipaylipay.  
 R-pitak dagiti dapan=da agingga iti ngatuen ti R-lipay  
 full.of-mud PL sole=3p until OBL top ART R-ankle  
 'The soles of their feet to the top of their ankles were splattered with mud.'

Certain relator nouns are morphologically complex. The following are the most frequent:

nagbaetan	(from <i>baet</i> : interval)	in between
sanguanan, masanguanan	(from <i>sango</i> : front)	in front
ngatuen	(from <i>ngato</i> : top)	on top
likudan	(from <i>likud</i> : back)	behind
sikigan	(from <i>sikig</i> : side)	at the side of
nasurok	(from <i>surok</i> : surplus)	over: more than



sakaan

(from *saka*: foot)

foot of (stairs, mountain,  
etc.)

Addadan            iti    sakaan            ti    kakaywan    a    turod.  
adda=da=n        iti    saka-an-an        ti    ka-kayo-an    a    turod  
EXIST=3p=now OBL foot-NOM-NOM ART LOC-tree-LOC LIG hill  
'They are already at the foot of the forested hill.' (w)

Adda=kami        dito nagbaetan ti    garahe ken ti    sarusar.  
EXIST=1pEXCL here between ART garage and ART granary  
'We're here between the garage and the granary.' (w)

Awanen        iti    sikigak.  
awan=en        iti    sikig-an=k  
NEG.EXIST OBL side-NOM=1sE  
'He is no longer at my side.'

iti    nasurok a    sangagasut  
iti    na-surok a    sanga-gasut  
OBL ADJ-over LIG one-hundred  
'over (more than) one hundred'

The cardinal reference points in Ilocano are *laud* 'west', *daya* 'east', *amianan* 'north' and *abagatan* 'south.' Ilocano speakers are prone to express location in terms of the cardinal reference points. Different parts of a house, for instance, are sometimes indicated with reference to these points.

Nagatangak            idiy laud.  
n-ag-atang=ak        idiy laud  
PF-I-offer.food.to.dead there west  
'I offered food to the dead spirits in the west (part of the house).'

*Uneg* 'inside' often prefixes to locative nouns to express interior location:

Saanak        a    maturog    iti    uneg-simbaan.  
saan=ak        a    ma-turog    iti    uneg-simbaan  
NEG=1sA LIG INVOL-sleep OBL in-church  
'I don't sleep in church.'

## 6. Adjectives

In Ilocano nominal modifiers can occur as two separate lexical classes. They may occur as fully inflected verbs that appear in apposition to the nominal, linked by the ligature (*ng*)*a*.

Nalmesda gapu iti *agal-allikubeng* a danum ti taaw.  
 na-lemmes=da gapu iti ag-R-allikubeng a danum ti taaw  
 PF-drown=3p because OBL I-CONT-eddy LIG water ART ocean  
 'They drowned because of the whirling water of the ocean.' (w)

Or they may be monomorphemic or derived adjectives that are linked to the modified noun with the ligature (*ng*)*a*.

Kaykayatna ti *dakkel* a botelia.  
 R-kayat=na ti dakkel a botelia  
 R-want=3sE ART big LIG bottle  
 'He prefers the large bottle.' (c)

Nalabsanmi ti maysa a *nalayang* a paset a  
 na-labes-an=mi ti maysa a na-layang a paset a  
 PF-pass-T-1pEXCL.E ART one LIG ADJ-clear LIG part LIG

nakatan-awanmi.  
 naka-tan`aw-an-mi  
 INVOL.PF-look.from-T-1pEXCL.E

'We passed an open expanse that we were able to look down at (from the airplane window).' (w)

Nagparang ti *nabessag* ken *nakutong* a babai a  
 n-ag-parang ti na-bessag ken na-kutong a babai a  
 PF-I-appear ART ADJ-pale and ADJ-thin LIG girl LIG

nagubba iti *nadungrit* nga ubing.  
 n-ag-ubba iti na-dungrit nga ubing  
 PF-I-carry.on.hip OBL ADJ-filthy LIG child

'A pale, thin woman appeared carrying a filthy child on her hip.' (w)

Nominal modifiers in Ilocano can thus be distinguished from verbs only by their use. However, because of inherent qualities of certain nominal modifiers in Ilocano, i.e. comparative and superlative affixation, monomorphemic adjectives whose prototypical use is that of nominal modification or expressing an adjectival concept as a predication, extensive loans from Spanish

that serve as adjectives and take gender as such, etc., there is ample evidence that there is a separate lexical class of adjectives in Ilocano. Members of the adjective class may serve the following distinct functions:

a. as predicates

*Dakkel* ti asawa=na.  
big ART spouse=3sE  
'Her spouse is big.'

b. as modifiers to nouns

Kayat=ko ti na-*labaga* a balay.  
want=1sE ART ADJ-red LIG house  
'I want the red house.' (c)

c. as nouns

Inlakona ti *daan*.  
i{in}-lako=na ti daan  
THM{PF}-sell=2sE ART old  
'She sold the old one.'

Ti *dakkel* ti kasapulak.  
ti dakkel ti ka-sapul-an=ko  
ART big ART NOM-need-NOM=1sE  
'The large one is the one I need.'

Adda *napateg* nga ibagak a diak maibaga iti telepono.  
adda na-pateg nga i-baga=k a di=ak ma-i-baga iti telepono  
EXIST ADJ-dear LIG T-say=1sE LIG NEG=1sE→A ABIL-T-say OBL telephone  
'I have an important thing to say I can't say on the phone.'

d. as verbs (verbalizations)

*Ngimmisida* gapu iti init.  
ngisit{in-um}=da gapu iti init  
black{PF-I}=3p because OBL sun  
'They got darker because of the sun.'

This chapter will introduce the morphological formation of the lexical class of adjectives in Ilocano and will outline their use in context as follows.

6.1-2	Morphological formation of adjectives: 6.1 simple, 6.2 derived.
6.3	Gender
6.4	Placement of adjectives
6.5	Pluralization
6.6	Intensification
6.7-8	Comparatives and Superlatives
6.9	Repetition of roots
6.10	Causative adjectives
6.11	Equalitatives
6.12	Completeness, purity
6.13	Adjectives and their complements
6.14	Phrases of similarity
6.15	Nominalization
6.16	Specific adjectives and their uses

## 6.1 Morphological formation of Adjectives

### 6.1.1 Monomorphemic (simple root) adjectives

A few adjectives are simple roots. Members of this class include basic adjectival concepts and color terms.

baró	new
bassít	small
dáan	old
dakkél	large
puráw	white
kayumanggi	brown

Many adjectives referring to physical attributes are also monomorphemic.

akkang	bowlegged
bakang	bowlegged
ballukot	with swollen eyes
bararo	with blue eyes
bisaklak	bowlegged
bulding	blind in one eye
bullad	with large eyes
bulsek	blind
bungi	toothless
buriri	with protruding buttocks
butubot	with fleshy buttocks

buttiog	with a large stomach (said of men)
buy-ong	with a large stomach (said of women)
diwig	wry-mouthed
dupakpak	bowlegged
duriri	with protruding buttocks
gitiw	with a wound or scar at the edge of mouth
gusing	with a harelip
kabbibaw	wry-mouthed
kiad	with abdomen protruding and back arching inward (pregnant women)
kibol	short-tailed (dogs)
kilat	with eyes stretched downwards
kilit	having one eye smaller than the other
kisap	snub-nosed
kultop	with a small penis
kusipet	with squinty eyes
kuskos	bald
kuspilo	walking with one leg trailing behind
leppap	with flat nose
labbi	with drooping lower lip
liad	with protruding abdomen and back arching inward
libbi	with drooping lower lip
liskabeng	with large eyelids
liskeb	with large eyelids (hence. small eyes)
ludingas	bald
lugpap	with flat nose
lugpi	crippled at birth
luping	with drooping ears
lupisak	crippled, lame
luptak	with chapped lips
mangmang	with inflammations of the lips
ngongo	speaking nasally
ngobngob	with sunken lips (toothless persons)
ongngob	with decayed nose
urideng	with swollen belly (women's disease)
pakaw	bowlegged
pakkang	bowlegged
pallakong	bowlegged
pappap	with flat nose
pawad	with one arm or hand
pangkis	cross-eyed
piddawit	bowlegged
piglus	walking with one leg trailing behind
pilay	crippled, lame
pil-ok	with one leg shorter than the other

pingkit	with small eyes
pingud	having only one ear
piwak	with a large mouth
piwis	with a twisted, contorted mouth
pokol	having only one hand
pugiit	with protruding buttocks
pugod	tailless
pulinangnang	bald
pultak	bald
punangnang	bald
puridasdas	bald
putot	tailless
rapas	with a straight line in the palm of the hand
reppeng	with lame fingers
ringud	having only one ear
ringas	with partly clipped ears
risay	with ears torn
riwis	with a twisted, contorted mouth
rubirob	with flat nose
rukapi	with coupled teeth
rungbeb	with flat nose: with sunken lips
rupeng	with flat nose
sagking	limping
sakang	bowlegged
sallakup	bowlegged
sapiloy	crippled (not by birth)
sarang	with large ears bent forwards
sarangkinud	walking with knees curved and protruding abdomen
siggawing	person whose line between the navel and groin is not straight
sigking	hobbling on one leg (due to paralysis of other)
sikkukong	with forward facing antlers (rare condition)
sillakong	bowlegged
singkol	paralyzed in one hand. with a twisted hand
sippakol	bowlegged
sulpay	paralyzed in one hand
sulpeng	clumsy; hard of hearing
suyep	with small eyes
tabbed	stupid
talungkiad	with curved body (and legs and chest protruding forward)
teppap	with flat nose
tiprong	bowlegged
tubabek	flat headed
tuleng	deaf
tuppol	with missing teeth

### 6.1.2. Prefix *a-*

A few common Ilocano adjectives expressing dimension begin with a fossilized (no longer productive) stative verb prefix *a-* found in Formosan languages. As they form a small class, these should perhaps be considered monomorphemic (simple) adjectives.

ababá	short; brief	akába	broad
abábaw	shallow	akíkid	narrow
adálem	deep	atiddóg	long

### 6.2. Formation of derived adjectives

Ilocano has a few affixes that may be used to form adjectival polymorphemic words whose root may not necessarily express an adjectival-type concept when unaffixed. These adjectives will be called derived adjectives, as their roots are basically verbal or non-abstract nominals.

#### 6.2.1 Prefix *na-*

Many Ilocano adjectives are formed by prefixing *na-* to the stem, usually nominal when occurring alone. This *na-* form is identical to the perfective aspect of the stative *ma-* verb:

laing	intelligence	nalaing	intelligent
alsem	sourness	naalsem	sour
angin	wind	naangin	windy
pigsa	strength	napigsa	strong
kayo	tree	nakayo	with many trees
kalding	goat	nakalding	with many goats
singpet	virtue	nasingpet	virtuous
baknang	wealth	nabaknang	rich

### 6.2.2. Prefix *ma-*

Some adjectives are formed with the prefix *ma-*. Notice the meaning changes when the same adjectives are used with the prefix *na-*:

mabileg	strong, full grown, potent
manakem	reasonable, logical, judicious
masirib	wise, educated
maingel	valiant (naingel: strong (liquor, tobacco)).
masakit	sick (nasakit: sore, aching)
mauyong	crazy, insane (nauyong: cruel, mean)

### 6.2.3 The prefix *naka-*

The prefix *naka-* is used with certain carried possessions or articles of clothing to indicate the possession or wearing of the item named by the stem:

palda	skirt	nakapalda	wearing a skirt
sapin	underwear	nakasapin	wearing underwear
suako	pipe	nakasuako	with a pipe
baag	loincloth	nakabaag	wearing a loincloth
kallugong	hat	nakakallugong	wearing a hat

The prefix *naka-* may also indicate a temporary state of being or position as expressed in the root.

Ginawa-atna	ti	<i>nakasalapay</i>	nga	ules	sana	imputipot
gaw'at{in}=na	ti	naka-salapay	nga	ules	sa=na	i{in}-putipot
reach{PF}=3sE	ART	ADJ-clothesline	LIG	blanket	then=3sE	T{PF}-coil

iti bagina.  
iti bagi=na  
OBL body=3sE

'She reached for the blanket hanging on the clothesline and then wrapped it around her body.' (w)

### 6.2.4. The prefix *apag-*

The prefix *apag-* is used to indicate recent completion of an action before attaining the adjectival state, or immediate fulfillment of the action expressed in the root. With temporal roots, this prefix indicates a very brief duration.



luto	cook	apagluto	just cooked
bumangon	to get up	apagbangon	just up (from bed)
biit	moment	apagbiit	in just a moment
sangpet	arrive	apagsangpetna	as soon as he arrives

#### 6.2.5 Prefix *ka-* + RC

Like the prefix *apag-*, the prefix *ka-* + initial consonant gemination may be used to indicate the recent completion.

tiliw	catch	kattiliw	just caught
sangpet	arrive	kassangpet	just arrived
luto	cook	kalluto	just cooked
digos	bathe	kaddigos	just bathed

#### 6.2.6 Suffix *-an*

The suffix *-an* may be used with certain roots denoting body parts to express inalienable possession. When used with body parts that are not necessarily inherent to the species, or possessed by all its members, the suffix indicates possession of the body part.

barbas 'beard'	barbasan	bearded
sara 'antler'	saraan	with antlers
piglat 'scar'	piglattan	with many scars
ukel 'testicle'	uklan	with large testicles, with testicles
saong 'tusk'	saongan	with tusks

When the suffix *-an* is used with body parts that are inherent to the species or possessed by all its members, it indicates the large size of the corporal root. This morphology is also used for naming species renowned for a certain body part.

ipus	tail	ipusan	with a large tail: sp. of fish
mata	eye	mataan	with large eyes. sp. of fish
ramay	finger	ramayramayan	with long fingers

### 6.2.7 Prefix *de-*

The prefix *de-*, borrowed from Spanish *de* 'of, from,' is used with nominal roots to indicate possession or composition of the referent.

de-arnas	a	lugan	de-sarukod	a	lakay
of-weapon	LIG	vehicle	of-cane	LIG	old.man
'armored vehicle'			'old man with a cane'		

traysikel	a	depedal
tricycle	LIG	of-pedal
'pedaled (non-motorized) tricycle (means of public transportation)'		

Kayatna	a	mangasawakami	kadagiti	detitulo.
kayat=na	a	mang-asawa=kami	ka-dagiti	de-titulo
want=3sE	LIG	I-marry=1pEXCL.A	OBL-PL	with-degree
'He wants us to marry men with degrees.'				

Nagtan-aw	iti	desarming	a	tawa.
n-ag-tan'aw	iti	de-sarming	a	tawa
PF-I-look.down	OBL	of-mirror	LIG	window
'He looked down at the mirrored window.' (w)				

### 6.2.8. The prefix *aga(t/RC)-*

The prefix *agat-* or *aga-* +RC attaches to nominal roots to indicate a smell of the referent of the root. Like the frequentative prefixes *manag-* and *manang-*, this prefix does not inflect for aspect. The prefix occurs in two forms, *agat-* followed by the root, or *aga-* accompanied by the gemination of the initial consonant of the root.

agat-bawang	=	agabbawang
aga(t)-bawang		
smell-garlic		
'smelling of garlic; S/he smells like garlic.'		

agatlaya = agallaya  
 aga(t)-laya  
 smell.like-ginger  
 'smelling of ginger. S/he smells like ginger.'

Agassabongka.  
 aga-R-sabong=ka  
 smell.like-R-flower=2sA  
 'You smell like flowers.'

The prefix may also attach to a full nominal constituent:

Agat-natay a baoka.  
 agat-[natay a bao]=ka  
 smell.like-dead LIG rat=2sA  
 'You smell like a *dead rat*.'

Certain words taking the *aga(R/CV)-* prefix have inherited a lexicalized meaning that does not necessarily correspond inherently to the smell of the root. These are:

agattsiko to smell like sapodilla fruit (fig: to have alcoholic breath)  
 agappugot to smell like a boogeyman (fig: to have strong underarm odor)  
 agabbawang to smell like garlic (fig: to feel as if a wedding is approaching)  
 agabbaraniw to smell like lemon grass (fig: to seem scandalous)

#### 6.2.9. The prefix *paga(t/RC)-*

The prefix *pagat-* occurs with nominal roots to indicate how far the absolute referent reaches. It has two allomorphs, *pagat-* or *paga-* accompanied by gemination of the initial consonant (for roots beginning with consonants). Like *agaC-*, it does not inflect for perfective aspect.

pagat-abaga reaching the shoulders (f. *abaga* 'shoulder')  
 pagabbarukong reaching the chest. (f. *barukong* 'chest')

pagattao a sarming  
 pagat-tao a sarming  
 reaching-human LIG mirror  
 'full length mirror'

Pagabbarukongnak.  
 paga-R-barukong=na=ak  
 reach-R-chest=3sA=1sA  
 'She comes up to my chest.'

Pagat-lapayag ti isemna.  
 pagat-lapayag ti isem=na  
 reaching-ear ART smile=3sE  
 'Her smile is from ear to ear.'

#### 6.2.10. Infestation *-en*, *-in-*

The infix *-in-* placed before the first vowel of the root is often used with agents of infestation to indicate the manner of destruction or infestation.

igges	worm	inigges	worm infested, destroyed by worms
kuton	ant	kinuton	ant infested, eaten by ants
ngilaw	fly	nginilaw	fly infested, attacked by flies
kuto	lice	kinuto	lice infested
gayaman	centipede	ginayaman	infested with centipedes
ipes	cockroach	inipes	cockroach infested
ánay	termite	inanay	infested with termites

Imbellengna ti inigges a balonna.  
 i{in}-belleng=na ti igges{in} a balon=na  
 THM{PF}-throw.away=3sE ART worm{PF.T} LIG provision=3sE  
 'He threw away his worm infested provisions.' (w)

As an adjective, *-in-* infestation adjectives usually occur in completed aspect, indicating that the infestation or destruction has already taken place. However, the infestation may be indicated with the suffix *-en* replacing the infix *-in-* when the infestation is hypothetical, not yet complete or has yet to be realized.

Kutonen ti kaasparagusan no kasdiay nga agbannawag.  
 kuton-en ti ka-asparagus-an no kas-diay nga ag-bannawag  
 ant-infest ART LOC-asparagus-NOM if like-DISTAL LIG I-dawn  
 'The asparagus field gets ant infested in dawns like that.' (w)

Iggesen kuma `ta ngiwatmo. salawasaw.  
 igges-en kuma ta ngiwat=mo salawasaw  
 worm-infested OPT MEDIAL mouth=2sE gossiper  
 'May your mouth become worm infested, you gossiper.'

### 6.2.11. Resemblance with *-um-*

The infix *-imm-* from the perfective form of the *-um-* verb, is used with nominal roots to indicate resemblance. It is used to denote a characteristic quality of the stem such as shape, appearance, size, aptitudes, demeanor, etc.

tigre 'tiger'	timmigre	like a tiger, ferocious
gayaman 'centipede'	gimmayaman	like a centipede
bullalayaw 'rainbow'	bimmulalayaw	like a rainbow, arched
kastila 'Spanish'	kimmastila	with Spanish features
pusa 'cat'	pimmusa	like a cat, catlike
billit 'bird'	bimmilit	like a bird
elepante 'elephant'	immelepante	like an elephant, elephantine

Impakitana ti pimmusa nga isemna.  
*i*{in}-pa-kita=na ti pusa{in-um} nga isem=na  
 T{PF}-CAUS-see=3sE ART cat{PF-I} LIG smile=3sE  
 'He showed his cat-like smile.' (w)

Gimmitara ti pammagina.  
 gitara{in-um} ti paN-bagi=na  
 guitar{PF-I} ART NOM-body=3sE  
 'Her physique is like a guitar (curvaceous).'

### 6.2.12 Prefix *mara-*

The prefix *mara-* may also be used to indicate similarity. It is not commonly used in everyday speech, except for a few lexicalized items. It is, however, frequently used in literature in its original function.

Maragatas ti kudiina.  
 mara-gatas ti kudil=na.  
 like-milk ART skin=3sE  
 'Her skin is like milk (soft and white).'

Nupay lakayen, marakapas pay laeng ti ubetna.  
 nupay lakay=en mara-kapas pay.laeng ti ubet=na  
 although old.man=now like-milk still ART buttocks=3sE  
 'Although he is already an old man, his buttocks are still like cotton (white and soft).'

Maraet-et ti korbatana  
 mara-et'et ti korbata =na  
 like-tight ART necktie =3sE  
 'His necktie is a bit tight.'

Marabettaken ti isemna.  
 mara-bettak=en ti isem =na  
 like-burst=EMPH ART smile =3sE  
 'His smile is about to break out.'

Singgiab ti maraumel a katawana.  
 seggiab{in-um} ti mara-umel a katawa =na  
 flare{PF-I} ART like-mute LIG laughter =3sE  
 'His rather quiet (mute) laughter flared up.' (w)

The prefix *mara-* may undergo CVC reduplication to further fortify the comparison, giving the created lexeme a more verbal aspect. Similarity words can be used as fully inflected verbs with the prefix *agmara-*.

Marmaratubbog dagiti matana.  
 R-mara-tubbog dagiti mata =na  
 R-like-juice PL eye =3sE  
 'His eyes were watery (like juice).'

Agmaratubbog dagiti matana.  
 ag-mara-tubbog dagiti mata =na  
 I-like-juice PL eye =3sE  
 'His eyes were watering (like juice).'

The following lexical items have been created with the similarity prefix *mara-*

marabamban	nealy ripe, from <i>bamban</i> 'strip of bamboo'
marabuteg	young betel nut, from <i>buteg</i> 'snot'
marabutit	small mouse, from <i>butit</i> , 'malnourished child'
maradagum	young cowpea, from <i>dagum</i> , 'needle'
maragampang	frivolous, from <i>gampang</i> , 'loose girl'
maragatas	species of tree whose center has white spots, from <i>gatas</i> , 'milk'
mara-Hapon	pro-Japanese sympathizer (during the war)
marakapas	species of tree; soft like cotton, from <i>kapas</i> , 'cotton'
marapagay	species of grass, from <i>pagay</i> 'rice'
marapegpeg	grain not yet fully developed, from <i>pegpeg</i> 'broken rice kernel'
marasaba	ripe (said of the tamarind), from <i>saba</i> , 'banana'
marasamak	species of tree resembling the <i>samak</i> tree
marasappuyot	species of fresh water alga, from <i>sappuyot</i> 'cuddle'

maraseda	species of banana, from <i>seda</i> , 'silk'
maratampoy	species of tree similar to the <i>tampoy</i> tree
maratangtang	sea urchin, from <i>tangtang</i> 'out of order'
maratubbog	like juice (watery eyes)

Some lexical items using the prefix *mara-* also require additional affixes, such as the infix *-in-* or suffix *-an*:

marabertakan	full of cracks, from <i>bettak</i> , 'burst'
marasagaysayan	down of chickens, from <i>sagaysay</i> , 'comb'
marasiksikan	scaly (legs of chickens), from <i>siksik</i> , scale
marasinadag(an)	leaning, from <i>sadag</i> 'lean'
marasinukaw(an)	fermenting sour, from <i>sukaw</i> 'water lily'

### 6.2.13. ma- -an

The affix combination of *ma-* (stative verb) with *-an* (nominalizing affix) is often used to form stative verbs, expressing adjective-like concepts.

Many verbs taking *ma-* *-an* affixation belong to a class of actions where the agent or performer of the action has little control over the outcome of the action, or does not have to perform great effort in exerting the action.

Madanaganda.

ma-danag-an=da  
 INVOL-worry-T=3pA  
 'They are worried.'

Maawatak	didiay.
ma-awat-an=ko	didiay
INVOL-understand-T=1sE	DIST
'I understand that.'	

*Ma-* *-an* may be used with nominal roots to indicate the cause of suffering or endurance of the root by the absolutive referent:

init	sun
mainitan	to be exposed to the sun
tudo	rain
matuduan	to be caught in the rain
rabii	night
marabiyān	to be overtaken by the night.

Nasilian ti dilak.  
na-sili-an ti dila=ko  
INVOL-pepper-T ART tongue=1sE  
‘My tongue was burned by spicy pepper.’

Many stative verbs taking *ma-* *-an* affixation appear in Ilocano discourse as resultative states without mention of an actor. These would correspond to passive verbs without the expression of an agent:

Naasinan ti adobo.  
na-asin-an ti adobo  
INVOL-salt-T ART adobo  
‘The adobo got salted.’

Naatalan ti gayyemko.  
na-atal-an ti gayyem=ko  
INVOL-run.over-T ART friend=1sE  
‘My friend was run over.’

Naluyaan ket timrem ti luana.  
na-luya-an ket terrem{in-um} ti lua=na  
PF-induced.to.cry-T and flow{PF-I} ART tear=3sE  
‘He was induced to cry and his tears flowed.’ (w)

Roots that take both *na-* (stative verb, adjective) and *ma-* *-an* affixation can be differentiated in terms of the degree of inchoativity or agency expressed in the verb. Simple *na-* adjectives encode a stative adjectival concept, not necessarily referring to the action produced to arrive at the state. *Ma-* *-an* verbs, however, include the necessary verbal action required to arrive at the adjectival state.

Napudotak. ‘I am hot.’  
Mapudotanak. ‘I am getting warmed up.’

Nadalus ti balay.  
na-dalus ti balay  
ADJ-clean ART house  
‘The house is clean.’

Masapul a madalusan ti darana tapno agpaut  
ma-sapul a ma-dalus-an ti dara=na tapno ag-paut  
ADJ-need LIG INVOL-clean-ADJ ART blood=3sE so I-last



ti biagna.  
ti biag=na  
ART life=3sE

'His blood needs to be cleaned so that his life can last.' (w)

#### 6.2.14. paN- Instrumentals

The instrumental prefix *paN-* is used with nominal roots to indicate what the absolutive referent is intended for.

Pambaket ti ginatangmo.  
paN-baket ti gatang{in}=mo  
INST-old.lady ART buy{PF.T}=2sE  
'What you bought is for old ladies.'

Pangkape daytoy.  
paN-kape daytoy  
INST-coffee this  
'This is for coffee.'

With verbal roots, the instrumental prefix *paN-* indicates that the absolutive referent is intended for use in performing the action denoted by the verbal root.

panluto 'for use in cooking'  
pangwalis 'for use in sweeping'

#### 6.2.15. Hyphenated adjectives

A few rare qualifying adjectives may hyphenate to certain nouns forming lexicalized NPs. Unlike prototypical adjectives which require the ligature (*ng)a* to link them to the nominals they qualify, this is not a productive phenomenon in the language. The expressions such as the following lexicalize due to frequency of use.

sili't-sairo  
sili-ti-sairo  
pepper-ART-devil  
'type of very pungent pepper.'

abel-Iloko  
weave-Ilocano  
'kind of Ilocano woven cloth.'

kitikit-Bontok  
engrave-Bontoc (tribe)  
'type of Bontoc engraving.'

Very few lexicalized adjectives have formed by hyphenating two nouns together:

surat-ima  
write-hand  
'handwritten'

abut-palad  
reach-palm  
'within reach'

Certain color terms have also been lexicalized with the hyphenation of a representative nominal of the prototype of the color to the stems *maris* 'color' or *kolór*:

kolor-dapo  
color-ash  
'grey'

kolor-rosas  
color-rose  
'pink'

maris-kape  
color-coffee  
'brown, coffee colored'

#### 6.2.16. Reduplicated adjectives

Nouns may occur with bi-syllabic reduplication (in most cases, full reduplication) to form adjectival words indicating the abundance of the stem (with or without the adjectival prefix *na-*).

tapok	dust	tapoktapok	covered with dust
dara	blood	daradara	bloodstained, smeared with blood
pítak	mud	pitakpitak	mud-stained
pilaw	puddle	pilawpilaw	with puddles everywhere

rutay	torn, tattered	rutayrutay	ragged, full of tears
kibbatol	potholed road	kibbakibbatol	full of potholes
lumot	moss	lumotlumot	mossy, covered with moss

Tapoktapok ti rupada.  
R-tapok ti rupa=da  
R-dust ART face=3pE  
‘Their faces were covered with dust.’

Daradara ti badona.  
R-dara ti bado=na  
R-blood ART dress=3sE  
‘Her dress was all stained in blood.’

### 6.3. Gender of Adjectives

Native Ilocano adjectives do not mark gender morphologically. However, the language has been immensely enriched by extensive Spanish borrowing in the lexicon. As Spanish does in fact signal gender (masculine vs. feminine) in its nouns and adjectives, many adjectives have been imported into the Ilocano lexicon as such. As in Spanish, masculine adjectives generally end in *-o*, and their feminine counterparts in *-a*:

tsismoso gossipy, masculine (f. Sp. *chismoso*)  
tsismosa gossipy, feminine

ambisioso ambitious, masculine  
ambisiosa ambitious, feminine

A few native words, either borrowed from Tagalog or recently coined expressions, end in *-oy* and *-ay* to indicate masculinity and femininity, respectively.

Pinoy Filipino, masculine  
Pinay Filipino, feminine

Tisoy light skinned person, masculine (f. Tagalog)  
Tisay light skinned person, feminine

Many adjectives take masculine or feminine endings, even though they do not necessarily directly originate from Spanish.

Meksikano	Mexican male
Meksikana	Mexican female
Kolombiano	Columbian male
Kolombiana	Columbian female
Kanadiano	Canadian male
Kanadiana	Canadian female

Certain Spanish loanwords, however, do not always inflect for gender. Some adjectives remain in the masculine form even when attributing to females in speech. In literature, writers are often more careful when dealing with Spanish loan adjectives:

Religioso ni Juana.  
 religious.(m) PA Juana.(f)  
 'Juana is religious.'

#### 6.4. Placement of Adjectives

Adjectives may either precede or follow the noun they qualify, linked by the ligature (*nga*). When used to distinguish, they normally follow the noun.

ti nasingpet nga ubing  
 ti na-singpet nga ubing  
 ART ADJ-well.behaved LIG child  
 'the well behaved child'

ti ubing a nasingpet  
 ART child LIG well.behaved  
 'the well behaved child (as opposed to the naughty ones)'

ti aso a nalaing  
 ART dog LIG intelligent  
 'the intelligent dog (as opposed to the stupid one)'

Adjectives indicating the composition or material of the qualified noun also follow:

ti tulbek a balitok  
 ART key LIG gold  
 'the gold key'

ti ruangan a bato  
 ART door LIG stone  
 'the stone door'

ti tugaw a landok  
 ART chair LIG iron  
 'the iron chair'

### 6.5. Pluralization of adjectives

Generally in spoken Ilocano, adjectives do not occur in their plural form unless the speaker wishes to emphasize the plurality or distributivity of the noun to which the adjective is referring.

The plural form of the adjective consists solely of initial CV reduplication of the adjectival stem. Polymorphemic adjectives keep their affixes during the pluralization process:

nalaing	nalalaing
na-laing	na-RCV-laing
'good, singular'	'good, plural'

dakkel	dadakkel
'large, singular'	'large, plural'

As seen below, the CV reduplication in adjectives generally indicates the distributivity or abundance of the nominal referents. Many times, the nominal to which the reduplicated adjective refers will also be reduplicated for plurality.

Warangwarang	latta kadin	dagiti	kakastoy	nga	ubbing?
R-warang	latta kadi=n	dagiti	R-kas-toy	nga	ubing{R}
R-abandon	just	QUES=EMPH PL	PL-like-this	LIG	child{PL}

'Are children such as this just all neglected and abandoned?' (w)

As with pluralized verbs, pluralized adjectives do not necessarily have to correspond to a morphologically marked plural noun with CV reduplication. The noun is marked for number by the appropriate article or demonstrative.

Nangrugin	a	pagbalayan	ti	lawwalawwa	a	di	mauma
nang-rugi=n	a	pag-balay-an	ti	lawwalawwa	a	di	ma-uma
PF-start=now	LIG	LOC-house-NOM	ART	spider	LIG	NEG	INVOL-tire

a	mangmangan	kadagiti	dadakkel	a	lamok.
a	R-mangan	ka-dagiti	R-dakkel	a	lamok
LIG	CONT-eat	OBL-PL	PL-big	LIG	mosquito

'It (the old house) became the dwelling place of the spider that did not tire from eating large mosquitos.' (w)

## 6.6. Intensification of Adjectives

### 6.6.1. *nag-*

The quality of an adjective may be intensified by adding the prefix *nag-* and the enclitic = (*e*)*n* to the stem. This form is used to express surprise, wonder or admiration and is therefore called *admirative* affixation:

nalukmeg	fat	naglukmegen	how fat!
napintas	beautiful	nagpintasen	how beautiful!
adu	much, a lot	nagadun	so many!
nataraki	handsome	nagtarakin	how handsome!

No tiempo ti panagsasabongna ket-- nagbanglon!  
 no tiempo ti pan-ag-R-sabong=na ket nag-banglo=n  
 if time ART NOM-I-R-flower=3sE INV ADMIR-sweet=EMPH  
 'When it is the (tree's) time to flower, it is so fragrant!'

### 6.6.2. *Naka-* + RCVC

Adjectives may also be intensified with the prefix *naka-* and CVC (consonant vowel consonant) reduplication of the stem:

angot 'smell'		nakaang-angot		very smelly	
sakit 'sore'		nakasaksakit		very sore	
ragsak 'happy'		nakaragragsak		quite happy	
ulimek 'quiet'		nakaul-ulimek		rather quiet	
katawa 'laugh'		nakakatkatawa		funny	
Nakaragragsak	ti	babai a	nangagek	kenkuana	iti
naka-R-ragsak	ti	babai a	nang-agek	kenkuana	iti
ADJ-SUPER-happy	ART	girl	LIG PF.I-kiss	3sOBL	OBL

panagpinnakadada.  
 pan-ag-pakada{inn}=da  
 NOM-I-farewell{RECIP}=3p

'The girl was quite happy to kiss him when they bid farewell to each other.' (w)

Nakaul-ulimek ti balayda idi sumangpetda ken Mariana.  
 naka-R-ulimek ti balay=da idi sangpet{um}=da ken Mariana  
 ADJ-SUPER-quiet ART house=3p when arrive{I}=3p and Mariana  
 'Their house was rather quiet when he arrived with Mariana.' (w)

Nakair-irut ti panangpetpetna kadagiti rienda.  
 naka-R-irut ti paN-mang-petpet=na ka-dagiti rienda  
 ADJ-SUPER-tight ART NOM-I-clench=3sE OBL-PL rein  
 'His grasp of the reins was quite tight.' (w)

### 6.6.3. Adjectival moderation with *paN-* - *en*

The degree of the adjective may be moderated by the addition of the prefix *paN-* and the suffix *-en*. The homorganic nasal of the *paN-* prefix assimilates to the place of articulation of the lost initial consonant of the root.

natayag	'tall'	panayagen	'somewhat tall'
kalbo	'bald'	pangalbuen	'a bit bald'
timbukel	'round'	panimbuklen	'roundish'
singkit	'squinty eyes'	paningkiten	'with somewhat squinty eyes'
kulot	'curl'	panguloten	'curly, wavy'
nalukmeg	'fat'	panglukmegen	'rather stout'
narapis	'skinny'	pangrapisen	'quite skinny'
nabistrad	'spread out'	pamistraden	'rather spread out'

Apagisu	a	pagpisipisan	ti	kama	ti	pangiletan	a
apagisu	a	pag-pisipis-an	ti	kama	ti	paN-ilet-en	a
precise	LIG	LOC-confine-LOC	ART	bed	ART	INTENS-tight-INTENS	LIG

siledna.  
 siled=na  
 room=3sE

'The bed exactly took up most of the space in his rather small (confined) room.' (w)

Immuyong	dagiti	pammulladen	a	matana.
uyong{in-um}	dagiti	paN-bullad-en	a	mata=na
mean{PF-I}	PL	INTENS-large.eye-INTENS	LIG	eye=3sE

'His rather large rounded eyes got angry.' (w)

To further indicate the moderate degree of the adjective the *paN-* *-en* affix may occur with CVC reduplication of the root.

Dandani	natinep	ti	pamisbistraden	nga	agongna.
dandani	na-tinep	ti	paN-R-bistrad-en	nga	agong=na
almost	ADJ-flood	ART	MODIF-INTENS-spread-MODIF	LIG	nose=3sE

'His rather spread out nose was almost flooded (with the smell of so many flowers)' (w)

#### 6.6.4. Intensification with adverbs

##### 6.6.4.1. *unay*

The adverb *unay* is used to intensify the quality denoted by the adjective. It follows the pattern of modification in Ilocano head + modifier:

nalukmeg	unay	very	fat
nadalus	unay	very	clean
naraniag	unay	very	bright

When used negatively, the adverb *unay* precedes the adjective it qualifies, linked by the ligature (*ng*)*a*.

Saan	unay	a	na-baneg.
NEG	very	LIG	ADJ-muscular

'He is not very muscular.'

##### 6.6.4.2. *dagup*

The noun *dágup* 'total' may be used to intensify the state or quality denoted by the adjective.

Dagup	ti	sadut=na.
total	ART	lazy=3sE

'He is very lazy.'

##### 6.6.4.3. *napalalo*

*Napalalo* 'excessively' is used to designate intensity.



Napalalo ti pudot ditoy.  
 na-palalo ti pudot ditoy  
 ADJ-excessive ART hot/heat here  
 'It is excessively hot here.'

Napalalo ti sadutna.  
 na-palalo ti sadut=na  
 ADJ-excessive ART lazy=3sE  
 'He is excessively lazy.'

#### 6.6.4.4 *bassit*

*Bassit* 'little, small,' may also be used as an adverb to indicate the quality of the adjective exists to a lesser extent. It always follows the adjective it modifies without the ligature (*nga*).

Adayo bassit.  
 far small  
 'It is a bit far.'

#### 6.6.4.5 *medio*

*Medio*, is a Spanish loanword meaning 'half' in Spanish. Its use in Ilocano is to modify adjectives, diminishing the quality of the adjective. It always immediately precedes the adjectives it modifies without the ligature (*nga*).

medio bassit.	somewhat small
medio natayag.	somewhat tall
medio natangsit	a bit conceited

### 6.7. The comparative adjectives

The comparative degree of the adjective is formed by reduplicating a closed syllable (CVC or CV: reduplication) of the stem. If the first syllable of the stem is open (CV), the first consonant of the second syllable is borrowed in the reduplication:

dakes	bad	dakdakes	worse
naimbag	good	naim-imbag	better
nakuttong	thin	nakutkuttong	thinner
narugit	dirty	narugrugit	dirtier

nasam-it	sweet			nasamsam-it	sweeter			
natured	brave			naturtured	braver			
nalaing	intelligent			nala:laing	more intelligent			
Naim-imbag	no	panawannakon.						
na-R-imbag	no	panaw-an=mo=ak=on						
ADJ-COMPAR-good	if	leave-T=2sE=1sA=now						
		'It is better if you leave me now.'						
Nalaglag-an	ti	riknak	a	sumina	no	adaywannak.		
na-R-lag'an	ti	rikna=k	a	sina{um}	no	adayo-an=mo=ak		
ADJ-COMPAR-light	ART	feel=1sE	LIG	separate{I}	if	far-T=2sE=1sA		
		'I would feel better (lit: have lighter feelings) separating if you leave me.'					(w)	
Dakdakkell	ti	gundawayna	nga	agballigi	no	agwatwat	pay.	
R-dakkell	ti	gundaway=na	nga	ag-balligi	no	ag-warwat	pay	
COMPAR-big	ART	chance=3sE	LIG	I-succeed	if	I-exercise	more	
		'His chances are bigger for him to succeed if he exercises more.'						
Nasamsam-it	ti	ayat iti	maikadua	a		gundaway.		
na-R-sam'it	ti	ayat iti	maika-dua	a		gundaway		
ADJ-COMPAR-sweet	ART	love	OBL	ORD-two	LIG	chance		
		'Love is sweeter during the second chance.'						

Comparative adjective constructions may take either one or two referents. With one referent, they immediately follows the comparative adjective in the absolutive case; the referent to which they are being compared is understood from the discourse context. When two nominals appear in a comparative adjective construction they are joined by *'ngem.'*

Nalalaingak.  
na-R-laing=ak  
ADJ-COMPAR-smart=1sA  
'I am smarter.'

Naluklukmegka ngem ni Sergio.  
na-R-lukmeg=ka ngem ni Sergio  
ADJ-COMPAR-fat=2sA than PA Sergio  
'You are fatter than Sergio.'

Nabakbakang ngem sika.  
na-R-bakang=ak ngem sika  
ADJ-COMPAR-rich=1sA than 2s  
'I am richer than you.' (c)

*Adayo* 'far' may be used to modify a comparative adjective, linking to the adjective with the ligature (*ng*)*a*.

Adayo	a	naim-imas	ti	sadiwa	nga	ikan	ngem	'tay
adayo	a	na-R-imas	ti	sadiwa	nga	ikan	ngem	tay
far	LIG	ADJ-COMPAR-tasty	ART	fresh	LIG	fish	than	REC.PST

magatang	idiay	tiendaan.
ma-gatang	idiay	tiendaan
ABIL-buy	there	market

'Fresh fish is far more delicious than what can be bought at the market.'

Adayo	a	napimpintas	ngem	ni	Irena.
adayo	a	na-R-pintas	ngem	ni	Irena
far	LIG	ADJ-COMPAR-pretty	than	PA	Irena

'She is far prettier than Irena.'

The Ilocano comparative *nasa(y)sayaat* 'better' can be verbalized with the suffix *-en*. to form a command requesting the addressee to ameliorate the performance of an action. In this case, the goal focus verb takes a nominalized complement.

Saysayaatenyo	ti	umisem	tapno	natarakikayo	iti	kamera.
R-sayaat-en=yo	ti	um-isem	tapno	na-taraki=kayo	iti	kamera
COMPAR-good-T=2pE	ART	I-smile	so	ADJ-handsome=2pA	OBL	camera

'Smile better so you will be handsome for the camera.'

### 6.7.1. Conditional superlative *sumangka-*

Ilocano has a conditional superlative formed by adding the prefix *sumangka-* 'even more' to the stem.

No	napudaw	ni	Gloria.	sumangkapudaw	ni	Maria.
no	na-pudaw	ni	Gloria	sumangka-pudaw	ni	Maria
if	ADJ-white	PA	Gloria	even.more-white	ART	Maria

'If Gloria is fair complexioned, Maria is even more so.' (c)

No	tabbed	ti	lakaymo.	sumangkatabbed	ti	baketko.
no	tabbed	ti	lakay=mo	sumangka-tabbed	ti	baket=ko
if	stupid	ART	husband=2sE	even.more-stupid	ART	wife=1sE

'If your husband is stupid, my wife is even stupider.' (c)

### 6.7.2. Comparative adjectives with *pay*

The particle *pay* is used with comparative adjectives to indicate further comparison.

Nasasayaat	pay	no	kasta	tapno	ammom	a	dagus
na-R-sayaat	pay	no	kasta	tapno	ammo=m	a	dagus
ADJ-COMPAR-good	more	if	like.that	so	know=2sE	LIG	immediately

ti ganabem.  
 ti ganab-en=m  
 ART benefit-T=2sE

'It is even better that way so you know immediately what you're getting out of it.'

Nasasayaat	pay	kuman	no	matayak.
na-R-sayaat	pay	kuma=n	no	ma-tay=ak
ADJ-COMPAR-good	more	OPT=EMPH	if	INVOL-die=1sA

'It would be even better if I die.'

### 6.8 The superlative degree

The superlative degree of the adjective is formed by attaching the prefix *ka-* and the suffix *-an* to the root.

nasayaat	good	kasayaátan	best
nasadút	lazy	kasadután	laziest
naimbág	good	kaimbagán	best
dakkél	big	kadak(ke)lán	biggest
nalaíng	intelligent	kalaingán	most intelligent
naguápo	handsome	kaguapuán	most handsome
naalás	ugly	kaalasan	ugliest

Isu ti kasadutan nga ubing.  
 isu ti ka-sadut-an nga ubing  
 3s ART SUPER-lazy-SUPER LIG child  
 'He is the laziest child.'

Sika ti kaimbaganda amin.  
 sika ti ka-imbag-an=da amin  
 2s ART SUPER-good-SUPER=3p all  
 'You are the best of them all.'

Superlative adjectives in Ilocano may take a locative or oblique complement which expresses the domain of the comparison.

Sino ti kapurawan iti piesta?  
 sino ti ka-puraw-an iti piesta  
 who ART SUPER-white-SUPER OBL fiesta  
 'Who is the whitest person in the fiesta?'

Ni Maria ti kalaingan idiy ilina.  
 Ni Maria ti ka-laing-an idiy ili=na  
 PA Maria ART SUPER-smart-SUPER there town=3sE  
 'Maria is the smartest in her town.'

### 6.8.1. Superlative of *asideg*

The adjective *asideg* 'near' has an irregular superlative form, *kaasitgan*.

Napan idiy kaasitgan a pagadalan.  
 na-pan idiy ka-asideg-an a pag-adal-an  
 PF-go there SUPER-near-SUPER LIG LOC-study-NOM  
 'He went to the nearest school.'

Nagap-apura a kimmamang iti kaasitgan a paglinongan.  
 n-ag-R-apura a kamang{in-um} iti ka-asideg-an a pag-linong-an  
 PF-I-R-hurry LIG shelter{PF-I} OBL SUPER-near-SUPER LIG LOC-shade-NOM  
 'He hurried to take shelter in the nearest shady place.' (w)

### 6.8.2. *Nain-* *-an* superlatives

The affix combination *nain-* *-an* is used with adjectival or nominal roots to form lexicalized absolute superlatives as seen in the following table.

Root	<i>nain-</i> <i>-an</i>	gloss
daga 'earth, ground'	naindagaan	wordly, earthly materialistic
dakes 'bad'	naindaksan	very bad, evil

dakkel 'big'	naindaklan	very great, illustrious
dara 'blood'	naindaraan	bloody, involving bloodshed
dawel 'cruel'	naindawelan	very cruel
dayaw 'honor'	naindayawan	very famous
gasat 'luck'	naingasatan	very lucky, blessed
kabsat 'sibling'	nainkabsatan	brotherly
(ka)sigud 'inherent'	nainkasigudan	original
langit 'sky'	nainlangitan	heavenly
lubong 'world'	nainlubongan	worldly
nengneng 'stupid'	nainnengnengan	very stupid
pait 'bitter'	nainpaitan	very bitter
saem 'pain'	nainsaeman	very painful
saguday 'privilege'	nainsagudayan	very privileged
singpet 'virtue'	nainsingpetan	very virtuous
sirib 'wise'	nainsiriban	very wise
talugading 'privilege'	naintalugadingan	very privileged

Nainkalintegán      tí      panangingatok      ití      bayad tí      dagak.  
nain-ka-lingeg-an      tí      paN-mang-i-ngato=k      ití      bayad tí      daga=k  
SUPER-COMIT-law-NOM      ART      NOM-I-THM-high=1sE      OBL      price      ART      land=1sE  
'My raising the price of my land is righteous (within my privilege).'

### 6.9. Repetition of roots: adjective intensification

Ilocano roots may be reduplicated and joined by the ligature (*ng*)*a* to indicate a propensity for the state or action specified by the root. Although most of the roots are verbal in their semantics, the resulting construction is adjectival in nature.

sao      a      sao  
talk      LIG      talk  
'always talking, loquacious'

sangit      a      sangit  
cry      LIG      cry  
'always crying, prone to cry'

Saanka man a sao a sao.  
 saan=ka man a sao a sao  
 NEG=2sA please LIG talk LIG talk  
 'Please don't be so loquacious.'

Certain adjectival roots may be fully reduplicated to intensify the quality of the adjective. The resulting form also reflects the habituality of the quality or characteristic reflected in the reduplicated root.

Dakesdakes ti ispe<sup>l</sup>ingna.  
 R-dakes ti ispe<sup>l</sup>ing=na  
 INTENS-bad ART spelling=3sE  
 'His spelling is quite (always) bad.'

Warawara ti kuar<sup>t</sup>ona.  
 R-wara ti kuar<sup>t</sup>o=na  
 INTENS-scatter ART room=3sE  
 'His room is a complete mess.'

## 6.10. Causative adjectives

### 6.10.1 Prefix *makapa-*

The prefix *makapa-* is used to form causative adjectives, where the quality or state of the adjective is caused by an unspecified force without volition or control.

salun-at	health
makapasalun-at	healthy (causing health)

Makapasalun-at ti panagkatawa.  
 maka-pa-salun'at ti pan-ag-katawa  
 INVOL-CAUS-health ART NOM-I-laugh  
 'Laughter is healthy.'

### 6.10.2 Prefix *napa-*

The prefix *napa-* suggests a state experienced by the absolute referent which is reached without volition or control. Many times the action involved is prompted by a natural force and is instinctively exercised by the absolute referent:

senaay napasennaay	sigh having sighed (unconsciously)
nganga napanganga	agape having opened the mouth (unconsciously)
muttaleng napamuttaleng	gazing at with awe or open-mouthed wonder having gazed at something with awe

Napamulagatda            a    nakadutktal    iti    natayen            nga    aso.  
na-pa-mulagat=da        a    naka-duktal    iti    na-tay=en        nga    aso  
ADJ-CAUS-wide eyed=3p    LIG    PF.I-discover    OBL    PF-die=EMPH        LIG    dog  
‘They were wide eyed (opened their eyes wide) upon discovering the dead dog.’ (w)

Napaumelda                iti    panagpinnerrenda.  
na-pa-umel=da            iti    pan-ag-perreng{inn}=da  
ADJ-CAUS-dumb=3p    OBL    NOM-I-stare{RECIP}=3p  
‘They were speechless staring at each other.’

### 6.10.3 *Napa- -an*

The affix combination *napa- -an* suggests a state experienced by the absolutive referent that has been caused from an unmentioned third party or force:

buteng	fear
napabutngan	afraid (made to fear by something frightful)

Napabutngan            ni    Maria    idi    ngimmisit            ti    langit.  
na-pa-buteng-an        ni    Maria    idi    ngisit{in-um}        ti    langit  
ADJ-CAUS-fear-ADJ    PA    Maria    PST    black{PF-I}        ART    sky  
‘Mary was frightened when the sky darkened.’ (w)

## 6.11 Equalitatives

### 6.11.1 Prefix *agka-*

Equality of an adjectival concept is expressed with the verbal affix *agka-* (perfective form *nagka-*). To emphasize a plurality, *agkaka-* is used.



Agkatableda.  
 ag-ka-tabbed=da  
 I-COMIT-stupid=3p  
 'They are equally stupid.'

Agkatayagkami ken ni Juan.  
 ag-ka-tayag=kami ken ni Juan  
 I-COMIT-tall=1pEXCL OBL PA Juan  
 'Juan and I are equally tall.'

Agkakaingaskayo. agpadakayo a napusaksak.  
 ag-ka-R-ingas=kayo ag-pada=kayo a na-pusaksak  
 I-COMIT-PL-resemble=2pA I-same=2pA LIG ADJ-immaculate  
 'You look the same, you are the same in immaculateness.'

The prefix *agkaka-* may also be used to denote the equal carrying out or possessing of the stem. *Agkaka-* has a stronger plural emphasis than its counterpart *agka-*

dagiti agkaka-lapsat a bastonera  
 dagiti ag-ka-ka-lapsat a bastonera  
 PL I-COMIT-PL-well.endowed LIG majorette  
 'the equally well-endowed majorettes'

Agkakanginada.  
 ag-ka-ka-ngina=da  
 I-COMIT-PL-expensive=3d  
 'They are all of equal worth.'

Agkakapateg dagiti natakaw nga alikamenna.  
 ag-ka-ka-pateg dagiti na-takaw nga alikamen=na  
 I-COMIT-PL-value PL ADJ-steal LIG furniture=3sE  
 'Her stolen furniture was all equally valuable.'

### 6.11.2 *pada* and *patas*

Equality may also be expressed with the noun *pada* or the verbs *agpada*, or *agpatas* which may be fully derived and inflected.

ti padana a puraw  
 ti pada=na a puraw  
 ART same=3sE LIG white  
 'his fellow white man'

Agpadpadada a nadagsen.  
 ag-R-pada=da a na-dagsen  
 I-R-same=3p LIG ADJ-heavy  
 'They are equally heavy.'

Dandani agpatas ti timbangda iti pusok.  
 dandani ag-patas ti timbang=da iti puso=k  
 almost I-equal ART weight=3p OBL heart=1sE  
 'They are almost of equal weight in my heart.'

### 6.11.3 *paris*

The verb *agparis*, from the Spanish loan root *paris* 'pair; even' may also be used to indicate the equality of a state or condition.

Agparis ti kinamalalakida.  
 ag-paris ti kina-ma-lalaki=da  
 I-pair/even ART NOM-ADJ-boy=3pE  
 'They are the same (even) in their masculinity.'

### 6.12. Completeness, purity

The concept of completeness or purity of substance is rendered in Ilocano by the words *pásig*, *biig*, *bin-ig* or *pulos*. All three words require the ligature (*ng*)*a* when associated with nouns. *Pasig* and *biig*, *bin-ig* precede nouns, while *pulos* may either precede or follow.

Pasig a siit.  
 all LIG fish.bone  
 'It is all fishbones.'

bin-ig a pirak.  
 pure LIG silver  
 'pure silver'

Pulos a kapas.  
 pure LIG cotton  
 'It is purely cotton.'

Awan a pulos.  
 NEG.EXIST LIG pure  
 'There is none at all.'

Awan ti nuangmi isu a pasig a  
 awan ti nuang=mi isu.a pasig a  
 NEG.EXIST ART water.buffalo=1p.EXCL.E so all LIG

tinangdan dagiti agsagad.  
 tangged{in}-an dagiti ag-sagad  
 work{PF}-T PL I-sweep

'We have no water buffalo so that everything was worked by the sweepers.'

Pasig a barusngi ti ammom.  
 pasig a barusngi ti ammo=m  
 pure LIG improper ART know=2sE  
 'What you know is pure rubbish (inverted truths).'

### 6.13. Adjective plus complement constructions

Adjectives in Ilocano may take complements of various kinds. Constructions involving adjectives plus their complements consist of the adjective, followed by the adjective complement. The various types of complements are a) adjective plus oblique nominal or phrase b) predicating adjective plus non-transitive complement or c) predicating adjective plus a transitive complement.

#### 6.13.1. Adjective plus nominal oblique

Predicative adjectives may take nominals in the oblique case. The referent in the oblique case receives the characteristic quality or benefit of the adjective.

Naimbag kadakayo.  
 na-imbag kadakayo  
 ADJ-good 2pOBL  
 'It is good for you.'

Maibagay iti anakko.  
 ma-i-bagay iti anak-ko  
 ADJ-AP-suit OBL child-1sE  
 'It suits my child.'

Nailet kenkuana.  
 na-ilet kenkuana  
 ADJ-tight 3sOBL  
 'It is tight on him'

Nalawa kaniak.  
 na-lawa kaniak  
 ADJ-loose 1sOBL  
 'It is loose on me.'

Adjectives may also occur with the preposition *para* 'for' to serve a similar purpose. Nominals following *para* must occur with oblique case marking.

Nangina para iti ubing.  
 na-ngina para iti ubing  
 ADJ-expensive for OBL child  
 'It is expensive for children.'

Nalaka para kenkuana.  
 na-laka para kenkuana  
 ADJ-easy for 3sOBL  
 'It is easy for her.'

### 6.13.2 Adjectives + non-transitive complement

Adjectives that complement actor focus verbal predicates with the ligature (*ng*)*a* behave as adverbs, although their form is identical to adjectives in Ilocano. In this case, they refer solely to the quality or way in which an action is performed.

*Sitarallugod* met ti gimong a nakipagrikna  
 si-R-tallugod met ti gimong a naki-pag-rikna  
 ADJ-R-obey also ART group LIG PF.COMIT-INST-feel

iti napasamak iti lakay  
 iti na-pasamak iti lakay  
 OBL PF-happen OBL old.man

'The group was willing to sympathize with what happened to the old man.' (w)

Kukuada ti taltalonek.  
 kukua=da ti R-talon-en=ko  
 POSS=3p ART CONT-farm-T=1sE

isu ngata a naturedda a mangbugbugkaw kaniak  
 isu ngata a na-tured=da a mang-R-bugkaw kaniak  
 3s maybe LIG ADJ-brave=3p LIG I-CONT-shout 1sOBL

'What I am farming is their land. maybe that's why they are brave in shouting at me (have the courage to yell at me).' (w)

Adjectives may occur with stative verbs or adjective-type clauses, linked to them with the ligature (*nga*) to indicate a causal relationship as to why the adjectival state is realized.

Nasugpet      dagiti    matak      a      napuyatan.  
na-sugpet      dagiti    mata=k     a      na-puyat-an  
ADJ-eye.bag    OBL      eye=1sE    LIG    ADJ-all.night.up-ADJ  
‘My eyes had blueish circles around them for staying up all night.’

### 6.13.3 Adjectives with transitive complements

Adjectives may take transitive (goal focus verb) complements, linked to them with the ligature (*nga*). In this construction, the adjectives indicate the quality or manner in which an action is performed on something.

*Nalaka*      a      daiten.  
na-laka      a      dait-en  
ADJ-easy     LIG    sew-T  
‘It’s easy to sew it.’

Gimmatangak      pay    iti      bulilit    ta                    *naimas*      a      paksiwen.  
gatang{in-um}=ak    pay    iti      bulilit    ta                    na-imas      a      paksiw-en  
buy{PF-I}=1sA      also    OBL    sp.fish    because    ADJ-delicious    LIG    pickle-T  
‘I also bought *bulilit* fish because it is delicious to pickle.’

Narigat      a      panunoten    dayta.  
na-rigat      a      panunot-en    dayta  
ADJ-difficult    LIG    think-T      that  
‘It’s difficult to think about that.’

### 6.13.4 Adjectives with adverbial adjuncts

Adjectives, in predicate position, can complement a wide range of utterances subordinated by a wide variety of conjunctions in Ilocano. These are fully illustrated under Adverbial clauses.

Naulpit      no      awan              ti      sidana.  
na-ulpit      no      awan              ti      sida=na  
ADJ-cruel    if      NEG.EXIST      ART    fish=3sE  
‘He is cruel if he has no food (to offer).’

Nasadut      ta                    nabaknang.  
na-sadut      ta                    na-baknang  
ADJ-lazy      because      ADJ-rich  
‘He is lazy because he is rich.’

Naliday idi ni Anita ngem masapul nga aginnadayoda.  
na-liday idi ni Anita ngem ma-sapul nga ag-inn-adayo=da  
ADJ-sad then PA Anita but INVOL-need LIG I-RECIP-far=3p  
‘Anita was sad then but it was necessary that they separated from each other.’ (w)

#### 6.14. Phrases expressing similarity

Phrases of similarity are expressed in Ilocano by a construction consisting the Ilocano word expressing similarity *kas* or *kasla* ‘like’, followed by a nominal or nominalized verbal in the oblique case.

Kas kaniak ni Nhoe.  
like 1sOBL PA Nhoe  
‘Nhoe is like me.’

Saanda a kas kadagiti kabagianda.  
saan=da a kas ka-dagiti ka-bagi-an=da  
NEG=3p LIG like OBL-PL COMMIT-body-NOM=3p  
‘They are not like their relatives.’

Awan ti sabali a kas kenka.  
NEG.EXIST ART other LIG like 2sOBL  
‘There is no one else like you.’

Diak kayat ti kas kenka a tao.  
di=ak kayat ti kas kenka a tao  
NEG=1sA want ART like 2sOBL LIG man  
‘I don’t like people like you.’ (w)

Kasla tagtagainep dagiti pasamak.  
kasla R-tagainep dagiti pasamak  
like PL-dream PL happenings  
‘The events were like dreams.’

*Kasla* ‘like, seems’ may be used with complete sentences to express similarity. *Kas* may not be used in this manner.

Kasla adda apuy kadagiti mata ti lakay.  
like EXIST fire OBL.PL eyes ART old.man  
‘It is like there is fire in the old man’s eyes.’

*Kas* may fuse with the singular demonstratives to form the following contractions.

kas + daytoy	kastoy	'like this'
kas + dayta	kasta	'like that (MEDIAL)'
kas + daydiay	kasdiay	'like that (DISTAL)'
kas + daytay	kastay	'like that (RECENT PAST)'
kas + daydi	kasdi	'like that (REMOTE PAST)'

The contracted forms of *kas* may be used with nominalized adjectives to further specify the quality of the adjective with respect to two similar objects that are being compared.

Kastoy ti kadakkelna  
kas-daytoy ti ka-dakkel=na  
like-this ART NOM-big=3s  
'It is this big; This is how big it is.'

Kasta ti kangatona.  
kas-dayta ti ka-ngato=na  
like-that ART NOM-high=2sE  
'It is that tall: That is how tall it is.'

Kasdiay ti kapardas ti baro a luganna.  
kas-daydiay ti ka-pardas ti baro a lugan=na  
like-that ART NOM-fast ART new LIG car=3sE  
'That is how fast his new car is (comparing it to a car that just sped by).'

The contracted *kas* demonstratives may also be linked to nouns with the ligature (*nga*) to form phrasal (non-predicating) utterances:

kastoy a tao such a man (a man like this)  
kasta nga aramid such an act (an action like that)

### 6.15. Nominalization of adjectival states

Adjectives in Ilocano may be nominalized two ways. They may appear in nominal position (following an article or demonstrative or existential in existential constructions) without additional nominalizing morphology.

Adda *napateg* nga ibagak.  
adda na-pateg nga i-baga=k  
EXIST ADJ-important LIG T-say=1sE  
'I have an important thing to say.'

Kitaem ti *naulpit* a napasamak kaniak idi daydi a  
kita-en-mo ti na-ulpit a na-pasamak kaniak idi daydi a  
see-T-2sE ART ADJ-cruel LIG PF-happen 1sOBL PST REM.PST LIG

pagbabakalan.  
 pag-R-bakal-an  
 LOC-R-battle-NOM

'Look at the cruel (thing) that happened to me during that battle (speaker showing scars).'

Ketdi.	di	nagbaliw	ti	sudi	ken	pusaksakna	iti
ketdi	di	n-ag-baliw	ti	sudi	ken	pusaksak=na	iti
nevertheless	NEG	PF-I-change	ART	noble	and	pure=3sE	OBL

tawennan	a	beintisingko.
tawen=na=n	a	beinte-singko
year=3sE=EMP	LIG	twenty-five

Nevertheless, his nobility and pure nature did not change at his age of 25. (w)

Or, they may be nominalized morphologically. All adjectives in Ilocano, both *na-* adjectives and monomorphemic adjectives, may be nominalized morphologically to produce abstract adjectival concepts. The prefixes *ka-* and *kina-* are used with the bare adjectival root to create abstract nouns. *Ka-* is preferred when dealing with adjectives of measurement (height, size, speed, etc.), while *kina-* is used for more abstract concepts (greed, sloth, purity, etc.)

adu	much, a lot
kaadu	quantity
tayag	tall
katayag	height
ngato	high
kangato	height
atiddog	long
kaatiddog	length
pardas	fast
kapardas	speed
dakes	bad
kinadakes	evilness, badness
naulpit	cruel
kinaulpit	cruelty



nalagda            durable  
kinalagda         durability

managayat        loving  
kinamanagayat   loving nature

Daytano ti mabati a baton-lagip ti kinatan-okna.  
dayta=nto ti ma-bati a batonlagip ti kina-tan`ok=na  
that=FUT ART INVOL-left LIG monument ART NOM-glory=3sE  
'That will be the remaining monument of his glory.'

Nominalized adjectives may be preceded by the oblique article *iti* to express cause, reason or consequence.

Iti kinapilantropona, natulongan kuma ti sibubukel a purokda.  
iti kina-pilantropo=na na-tulong-an kuma ti si-R-bukel a purok=da  
OBL NOM-philanthropy=3sE PF-help-T OPT ART ADJ-R-whole LIG village=3p  
'Out of his philanthropy, the whole village should be helped.' (w)

Of course, many Ilocano roots alone may function as abstract nominals. The prefix *k(in)a-* serves to emphasize the nominalization of the adjectival state of the root, which may perhaps also appear nominally in discourse.

tured            courage  
natured         courageous  
kinatured        courageousness

Gapu iti anep ken turedyo. naalaw ti biagna.  
gapu iti anep ken tured=yo na-alaw ti biag=na  
because OBL diligence and courage=2pE PF-save ART life=3sE  
'Because of your diligence and courage, his life was saved.' (w)

Adda metten sumagmamano a medaliak a  
adda met=en sag{um}-R-mano a medalia=ko a  
EXIST also=EMPH each{I}-R-many LIG medal=1sE LIG

*mangipanekek*    *iti kinatured*ko            *iti pagbabakalan*.  
*mang-i-paneknek* *iti kina-tured*=ko            *iti pag-R-bakal-an*  
I-THM-prove        OBL NOM-courage=1sE        OBL LOC-R-battle-NOM

'I also have a few medals testifying to my courageousness in battle.'

Adjectives must be nominalized (either morphologically or with the root only preceded by an article or demonstrative) with the interrogative *kasano* to ask 'how + ADJ' questions.

Kasano ti katayagmo?  
kasano ti ka-tayag=mo  
how ART NOM-tall=2sE  
‘How tall are you.’

Kasano ti kapardasna?  
kasano ti ka-pardas=na  
how ART NOM-fast=3sE  
‘How fast is it?’

With *kas-* demonstratives, nominalized adjectives are used to indicate relative comparison.

Kastoy ti kangatona.  
kas-toy ti ka-ngato=na  
like-this ART NOM-high=3sE  
‘This is how high it is.’

Kasta ti kalaingda.  
kas-ta ti ka-laing=da  
like-that ART NOM-intelligent=3p  
‘That is how intelligent they are.’

## 6.16. Specific adjectives and their uses

### 6.16.1. Adu

*Adu* is the Ilocano equivalent of ‘many,’ ‘much,’ or ‘a lot.’ Its syntactic behavior closely resembles the existential *adda* (See Sec. 10). Like the existentials *adda* and *awan*, *adu* functions as a nominal predicate, co-referential with what would be the absolutive argument of the following verb.

independent pronominal absolutive argument of a verb.

Adunto ti agsangpet `ton madamdama.  
adu=nto ti ag-sangpet ton madamdama  
much=FUT ART I-arrive FUT later  
‘Many will arrive later.’

Adu ti nakitana.  
adu ti na-kita=na  
much ART PF.T-see=3pE  
‘He saw a lot (of them).’

Adun ti limmakayan ken bimmaketan dagiti dadakkelna.  
 adu=n ti lakay{in-um} ken baket{in-um} dagiti R-dakkel=na  
 much=EMPH ART old.man{PF-I} and old.woman{PF-I} PL PL-big=3sE  
 'His parents aged a lot (i.e. became an old woman and man).'

When used in possessive constructions, *adu* requires that the possessed nominal be preceded by an article or demonstrative, and the possessor be encoded in the ergative case.

Adu ti kuarta=k.  
 much ART money=1sE  
 'I have a lot of money.'

Adu ti pusa ni Juana.  
 much ART cat PA Juana  
 'Juana has a lot of cats.'

Adun ti kariyo ngem awan met ti itungpalyo.  
 adu=n ti kari=yo ngem awan met ti i-tungpal=yo  
 much=EMPH ART promise=2pE but none also ART THM-fulfill=2pE  
 'You have a lot of promises but you carry out none.'

*Ad-adu*, the CV reduplicated form of *adu*, renders the English 'to have more' or 'more.'

Ad-adun ti padasmi iti biag.  
 R-adu=n ti padas=mi iti biag  
 more-much=EMPH ART experience=1pEXCL.E OBL life  
 'We have more experiences in life (than younger people).'

Ad-adu ti arak ngem ti danum.  
 R-adu ti arak ngem ti danum  
 more-much ART wine than ART water  
 'There is more wine than water.' (c)

Diakon maibturan a buyaen ti panagsayasay pay  
 di=ako=n ma-ibtur-an a buya-en ti pan-ag-sayasay pay  
 NEG=1s=now ABIL-endure-T LIG watch-T ART NOM-I-flow more  
  
 ti ad-adu a dara.  
 ti R-adu a dara  
 ART R-much LIG blood

'I can't stand to see more bloodshed.' (w)

*Adu* can be nominalized with the prefix *ka-*: *kaadu* ‘quantity.’

Apay met a	kastoy	ti	kaadu	dagiti	pannubok	nga
apay met a	kastoy	ti	ka- <i>adu</i>	dagiti	paN-subok	nga
Why too	LIG like.this	ART	NOM-much	PL	NOM-trial	LIG

itedmo kaniak?  
 ited=mo kaniak  
 give=2sE 1SOBL

‘Why do you give me these many trials (trials of this quantity)?’

### 6.16.2. Amin

*Amin* ‘all’ is an Ilocano word expressing totality. It links to nouns with the ligature (*nga*).

Adda karbengan	ti	amin	a	tao	nga	agragsak.
Adda ka-rebbeng-an	ti	amin	a	tao	nga	ag-ragsak
EXIST NOM-should-NOM	ART	all	LIG	man	LIG	I-happy

‘All people have the right to be happy.’

Kasta kadi	ti	pangipagarupanyo	iti	amin	a	babbai?
kas-dayta kadi	ti	pang-i-pagarup-an=yo	iti	amin	a	babai{R}
like-that QUES	ART	NOM-THM-think-NOM=2pE	OBL	all	LIG	girl{PL}

‘Is that what you think about all women.’

*Amin* may also be used as a head of a relative clause. The ligature (*nga*) is used to join *amin* to the clause.

Basolna amin	a	mapasamak	a	di	naimbag	ditoy	balay
basol=na amin	a	ma-pasamak	a	di	na-imbag	ditoy	balay
fault=3sE all	LIG	INVOL-happen	LIG	NEG	ADJ-good	here	house

‘Everything not good that happens in this house is his fault.’

With the existential *adda*, *amin* may be used without an article, modifying the possessed nominal.

Adda amin	kalintegantayo	nga	agragsak.
adda amin	ka-linteg-an=tayo	nga	ag-ragsak
EXIST all	NOM-law-NOM=1pINCL	LIG	I-happy

‘We have all the rights to be happy.’

Adda anak=da amin.  
EXIST child=3p all  
'They all have children.'

*Amin* immediately follows absolutive enclitic pronouns, as a pronominal modifier.

Isu kano ti kabaknangan ken kalakayanmi amin.  
isu kano ti ka-baknang-an ken ka-lakay-an=mi amin  
3s HRSY ART SUPER-rich-SUPER and SUPER-old.man-SUPER=IPEXCL.E all  
'He is supposedly the richest and eldest of all of us.'

Napanda amin.  
na-pan=da amin  
PF-go=3p all  
'They all went.'

When *amin* is followed by a singular article or demonstrative instead of a ligature, it refers to the 'whole' of noun it modifies as opposed to the whole class of nouns. With plural articles, *amin* still designates the entire category of the noun it modifies.

amin a tao  
all LIG man  
'all men'

amin ti tao  
all ART man  
'the whole man'

amin dagiti tao  
all PL man  
'all the men'

When the noun modified by *amin* is preceded with an article instead of the ligature (*nga*), the noun class becomes specific or definite as opposed to general or generic:

amin nga ili  
all LIG town  
'all towns (no matter where they are)'

amin dagiti ili  
all PL town  
'all the towns (we were previously talking about)'

*Amin* may be nominalized with an article or demonstrative without specific nominalizing morphology:

Isu ti amin=ko.  
 3s ART everything=1sE  
 'She is my everything.'

Mangalaka iti amin.  
 mang-ala=ka iti amin  
 I-get=2sA OBL all  
 'Take all (everything).'

To further specify inclusivity of members of a category, *dagup amin* may replace *amin*.

dagup amin nga ili  
 total all LIG town  
 'all the towns'

Unlike with *amin*, when *dagup amin* is used before nouns preceded by the singular article, *dagup amin* pertains to the category of the noun, not just to the totality of the specific noun itself.

dagup amin ti ili  
 total all ART town  
 'all the towns'

amin ti ili  
 all ART town  
 'the whole town'

### 6.16.3. *bukod*

The adjective *bukod* 'own' is used with nouns to indicate exclusive possession. The exclusive possessor is encoded with ergative enclitic pronouns attached to the adjective.

bukodko a balay  
 bukod=ko a balay  
 own=1sE LIG house  
 'my own house'

bukodda a talon  
 bukod=da a talon  
 own=3pE LIG rice.field  
 'their own rice field'

Adda bukodko a rikna ken prinsipio a mangitakder iti  
 adda bukod=ko a rikna ken prinsipio a mang-i-takder iti  
 EXIST own=1sE LIG feeling and principle LIG I-THM-stand OBL

dayawko.  
 dayaw=ko  
 honor=1sE

'I have my own feelings and principles to uphold my honor.' (w)

Adda latta dagiti agkaan iti bukodda a lasag.  
 adda latta dagiti ag-kaan iti bukod=da a lasag  
 EXIST just PL I-eat OBL own=3p LIG flesh  
 'There are actually those that eat their own flesh.' (w)

The noun *kabukbukodan* 'one's own' usually functions like the adjective *bukod*, connecting to its modified nominal with the ligature (*ng*)*a*:

Ammok a dakkal ti paggidiatan ti kabukbukodan nga  
 ammo=ko a dakkal ti pag-gidiat-an ti ka-R-bukod-an nga  
 know=1sE LIG big ART NOM-differ-NOM ART COMMIT-R-own-NOM LIG

anak iti saan nga anak.  
 anak iti saan nga anak  
 child OBL NEG LIG child

'I know that there is a big difference between one's own child and another child (in treatment, etc).

*Bukod* may take the transitive suffix *-an* to form the verb 'to do on one's own'.

Bukodakto nga ibaklay.  
 bukod-an=k=to nga i-baklay  
 own-T=1sE=FUT LIG T-carry.on.shoulder  
 'I alone will assume the responsibility (I will carry it on my shoulder alone).'

*Bukod* may combine with frequentative pretentative prefixes to form *managimbubukod* 'selfish, always pretending to own.' With nominalizing morphology *kina-*, there is *kinamanagimbubukod* 'selfishness, greediness the act of always wanting to own.'

Diak maibtur ti kinamanagimbubukodna.  
 di=ak ma-ibtur ti kina-(m){an}agin-R-bukod=na  
 NEG=1s ABIL-endure ART NOM-{FREQ}-PRET-R-own=3sE  
 'I can't stand his greediness.'

#### 6.16.4. 'Each, every'

##### 6.16.4.1 *tunggal*

'Every' is realized in Ilocano with the adjectives *tunggal* or *tumunggal*. Unlike prototypical adjectives, *tunggal* and *tumunggal* do not require the ligature (*ng*)*a* before the nouns they modify. The modified nouns do not usually appear in their plural form.

*tunggal* lima      every five  
*tunggal* babai    every girl  
*tumunggal* balay every house

Before verb phrases or subordinative clauses, *tunggal* acts as a conjunction meaning 'every time that..'

Bautek      *tunggal*      umay.  
baut-en=ko *tunggal*      um-ay  
whip-T=1sE every.time    I-come  
'I whip him every time he comes.' (c)

*Tunggal maysa* also may be used with nouns to indicate 'every.' However, unlike *tunggal*, the ligature (*ng*)*a* is used before the attributed constituent.

*tunggal* maysa a    tao  
every one    LIG man  
'every man'

Ibagam      iti    *tumunggal*    maysa.  
i-baga=mo    iti    *tunggal*{um} maysa  
T-say=2sE    OBL every{I}      one  
'Tell it to each one.'

##### 6.16.4.2. infix *-in-*

The infix *-in-* placed before the first vowel of the root may be used with time expressions to indicate the concept of 'every + temporal expression'

tawen	year	tinawen	every year
bulan	month	binulan	every month



bigat	morning	binigat	every morning
aldaw	day	inaldaw	every day
rabii	night	rinabii	every night

#### 6.16.4.3. *kada*

The adjective *kada*, borrowed from the Spanish ‘cada’ is also used with temporal expressions to indicate ‘each’ or ‘every.’ It requires no ligature.

kada bigat	each morning
kada rabii	every night

#### 6.16.4.4 Prefix *sag-* + RCV

The prefix *sag-* + RCV ‘each + number’ is used with numeric roots to form distributive numbers. (See Distributives for explanation).

sagdudua	two each
sagpipito	seven each
sagsasangapulo	ten each

#### 6.16.5. Sabali, dadduma, duma

*Sabali* renders the English ‘other, another’ or ‘different’.

Ikkannak	man	iti	sabali	a	gundaway.
ikk-an=mo=ak	man	iti	sabali	a	gundaway
give-T=2sE=1sA	please	OBL	other	LIG	chance

‘Please give me another chance.’

sabali	nga	ili.	sabali	nga	ugali
different	LIG	town	different	LIG	custom

‘Different towns, different customs [expression]’

Sabalika	talaga	kadagiti	naam-ammokon.
sabali=ka	talaga	ka-dagiti	na-R-ammo=ko=n
different=2sA	really	OBL-PL	PF-R-know=1sE=already

‘You are really different from the ones (people) I know.’

*Dadduma* ‘others, various’ has a plural sense not inherent with *sabali* ‘different, other’. It may not be used with singular nouns.

Saanka a kas kadagiti dadduma.  
 saan=ka a kas ka-dagiti dadduma  
 NEG=2sA LIG like OBL-PL others  
 ‘You are not like the others.’

*Naiduma* ‘different’, from the root *duma*, may also be used as a verb. It has a lexicalized meaning when used with CVC reduplication (*naidumduma* ‘stand out, be distinguished’).

Naidumdumaka a babai.  
 nai-R-duma=ka a babai  
 ADJ-R-different=2sA LIG girl  
 ‘You are a distinguished (extraordinary) girl.’

#### 6.16.6. *Dati*

The adjective *dati* ‘former, original’ indicates a previous fact that no longer holds true.

Dati a Langangan ti Sta. Praxedes.  
 former LIG Langangan ART Sta. Praxedes  
 ‘Sta. Praxedes was formerly Langangan (used to be L.)’

Nagbalinen a bayakabak tay dati nga arbis.  
 n-ag-balin=(e)n a bayakabak tay dati nga arbis  
 PF-I-become=already LIG downpour REC.PST former LIG drizzle  
 ‘The former drizzle has already turned into a heavy downpour.’ (w)

Idiay ti dati a taeng=ko.  
 there ART former LIG residence=1sE  
 ‘There is my former residence.’

## 7. Numbers

### 7.1 Cardinal numbers

Ilocano numbers follow a decimal (base ten) system. The cardinal numbers from one to ten are:

1. maysá	6. inném
2. duá	7. pitó
3. talló	8. waló
4. uppát	9. siám
5. limá	10. sangapúlo

Numbers over nine are formed by counting in terms of the following base ten groups:

púlo	group of ten
gasút	group of one hundred
ríbo	group of one thousand
laksá	group of ten thousand
riwriw	group of one million

Decimal groups are counted by the cardinal numbers from one to nine, separated by the ligature (*ng*)*a* if the counting number ends in a consonant. One group of a particular decimal number is represented by the prefix *sanga-* attaching to the unit. The conjunction *ket* 'and' is used to conjoin numbers.

sangapulo	ten (one group of ten)
duapulo	twenty
tallopulo	thirty
uppat a pulo	forty (four groups of ten)
limapulo	fifty
innem a pulo	sixty
siam a pulo ket maysa	ninety one
sangagasut duapulo ket innem	one hundred twenty six

As adjectives, numbers are separated from the nouns they count by the ligature (*ng*)*a*. Count nouns that are modified with a number need not appear in plural form in Ilocano (see Plurality):

innem a riwriw, siam a gasut, tallopullo ket lima a pisos  
six million nine hundred thirty five pesos

Inteddak ti sangapulo a nuang.  
 i{in}-ted=da=ak ti sanga-pulo a nuang  
 T{PF}-give=3sE=1sA ART one-ten LIG water.buffalo  
 'They gave me ten water buffalos.' (w)

The infix *-in-* may be used with group numbers such as *pulo*, *gasut*, *riwriw*. etc. to specify how things are divided or classified in groups.

ginasut in groups of one-hundred, by the hundred  
 rinibo in groups of one-thousand, by the thousand

With the stem *pulo*, the 'l' geminates with the addition of the infix *-in-*:

pinullo in groups of ten, by tens

kalpasan ti pinullo a tawen  
 kalpasan ti pulo{in} a tawen  
 after ART ten{INDEF} LIG year  
 'after a decade.'

Nagdumog dagiti pan-aw ket kasla *riniwriwriw* a nagkuntirad  
 n-ag-dumog dagiti pan'aw ket kasla R-riwriw{in} a n-ag-kuntirad  
 PF-I-bend PL cogon and like PL-million{INDEF} LIG PF-I-point

a ramay dagiti murdong ti bulongna a  
 a ramay dagiti murdong ti bulong=na a  
 LIG finger PL tip ART leaf=3sE LIG

mangitudo ti naikari a daga iti  
 mang-i-tudo ti na-i-kari a daga iti  
 I-THM-point ART PF-THM-promise LIG land OBL

ilalabas ti angin.  
 i-R-labas ti angin  
 NOM-R-pass ART wind

'The cogon grass bent and it was like *millions* of the tips of their pointed leaves pointed to show the promised land in the passing of the wind.' (w)

## 7.2 Ordinal numbers

Ordinal numbers are formed by joining the prefix *maika-* to the cardinal number. ‘First’ is represented by the the word *umuna* (past: *immuna*), from the Spanish loanword *una*. Note the phonological alternations undergone by the roots with geminate consonants, *tallo*, *uppat*, and *innem* with the addition of *maika-*.

first	<i>umuna</i> (past <i>immuna</i> )
second	<i>maikadua</i>
third	<i>maikatlo</i>
fourth	<i>maikapat</i>
fifth	<i>maikalima</i>
sixth	<i>maikanem</i>
seventh	<i>maikapito</i>
eighth	<i>maikawalo</i>
ninth	<i>maikasiam</i>
tenth	<i>maikasangapulo</i>

*Immunaak.*  
*imm-una = ak*  
 PF-first = 1sA  
 ‘I was first; I went first.’

*Maikalimada.*  
*maika-lima = da*  
 ORD-five = 3p  
 ‘They are fifth.’

*Alaem ti maikapat.*  
*ala-en = mo ti maika-uppat*  
 get-T = 2sE ART ORD-four  
 ‘Get the fourth one.’ (c)

*Sika ti maikasangapulo a tao.*  
*sika ti maika-sanga-pulo a tao*  
 2s ART ORD-one-ten LIG person  
 ‘You are the tenth person.’ (c)

## 7.3 The prefix *sanga-* ‘one unit of’

The prefix *sanga-* is used to specify one group of, or one unit of. It is used for all units of length, capacity, time, etc. as well as numbers. When used for units, its variant is *sangka-*:

pulo	ten	sangapulo	group of ten
ribu	thousand	sangaribo	one thousand
igup	swallow	sangkaigup	one draught
deppa	armspan	sangad(ep)pa	one armspan
kaban	25 gantas	sangakaban	one unit of 25 gantas
iwa	slice	sangaiwa	one slice of
lamut	put in mouth	sangalamut	one mouthful
puted	cut, piece	sangkaputed	one piece of (wood)
metro	meter	sangametro	one meter

Ginatangda ti sangakaban a bagas.  
 gatang{in}=da ti sanga-kaban a bagas  
 buy{PF.T}=3pE ART one-cavan LIG rice  
 'They bought one cavan of rice.'

Rinamananna ti sangaiwa a lukban.  
 raman{in}-an=na ti sanga-iwa a lukban  
 taste{PF}-T=3sE ART one-slice LIG pomelo  
 'He tasted a slice of pomelo.'

Uray pay sangabalay a pirak ket saan a magatadan ti  
 uray pay sanga-balay a pirak ket saan a ma-gatad-an ti  
 even more one-house LIG silver SUB NEG LIG ABIL-price-T ART

maysa a biag.  
 one LIG life

'Even a houseful of silver cannot buy one life.'

Agarup sangametro ti kaakabana.  
 agarup sanga-metro ti ka-akaba=na  
 about one-meter ART NOM-wide=3sE  
 'It is about one meter wide.'

The suffix *-an* may be attached to the *sang(k)a-* measurements to nominalize the concept of measurement. The suffix *-an* shifts the stress one syllable to the right. Many of these constructions are lexicalized:

pútot	father a child	sangaputótan	generation
baláy	house	sangkabbalayán	one household
sapátos	shoes	sangasapatósan	one pair of shoes
lúbong	world	sangalubóngan	the whole world
kaarruba	neighbor	sangakaarrubaan	neighborhood
puón	origin	sangapuonán	lineage. ancestry

Agindiidiammoka pay laeng, ammon ti sangapurokan.  
 agin-R-di-ammo=ka pay.laeng ammo=n ti sanga-purok-an  
 pretend-R-NEG-know=2sA still know=now ART whole-village-NOM  
 ‘You are still pretending to be unaware. the whole village already knows.’

Nagtitinnawidanmi a sangapuonan ti panagsuma.  
 n-ag-R-tawid{inn}-an=mi a sanga-puon-an ti pan-ag-suma  
 PF-I-PL-inherit{RECIP}-T=1pEXCL LIG one-origin-NOM ART NOM-I-antidote  
 ‘We passed on as a family from generation to generation the art of antidote making (lit: we inherited from each other as a family...)’

#### 7.4 Indefinite numbers

Indefinite numbers are formed by the prefix *sumag-* with CV reduplication of the root:

Sumagpapatda a nagtalaw.  
 sumag-R-uppat=da a n-ag-talaw  
 INDEF-R-four=3p LIG PF-I-escape  
 ‘About four of them escaped.’

Sumaglimima ti nagawid.  
 sumag-R-lima ti n-ag-awid  
 INDEF-R-five ART PF-I-go.home  
 ‘About five went home.’ (c)

With the root *mano* ‘how many, how much,’ the prefix *sumag-* with CV reduplication expresses the English concept of an indeterminate number, as the English word ‘few.’

Sumagmamano ti agdudungér nga agkatkatay iti kinabartekda.  
 sumag-R-mano ti ag-R-dunger nga ag-R-katay iti kina-bartek=da  
 INDEF-R-how.many ART I-R-nod LIG I-R-saliva OBL NOM-drunken=3p  
 ‘A few of them nodded their heads, drooling from their drunkenness.’ (w)

Sumagmamanoda?  
 sumag-R-mano=da  
 INDEF-R-how.many=3p  
 'About how many are they?'

The infix *-um-* may be applied to numbers also to indicate approximation. The perfective form is *-imm-*

Gumasut ti bayad ti maysa nga uken.  
 gasut{um} ti bayad ti maysa nga uken  
 hundred{I} ART price ART one LIG puppy  
 'The price of a puppy is about one hundred (pesos).'

The adverb *agarup* is similarly used to express approximate number.

Agarup sangapulo ti immay.  
 seem ten ART came  
 'About ten of them came.'

### 7.5 Restrictive numbers

Cardinal numbers may be reduplicated to form restrictive numbers, expressing the concept 'only.' Words beginning with (C)VC reduplicate the initial (C)VC, those beginning with CVV reduplicate only the initial CV: of the word, not the root. The prefixes *sang(k)a-* and *sag-* may also be reduplicated for this purpose:

maymaysa	only one
dudua	only two
pitpito	only seven
sangsangapulo	only ten
sangsangakaban	only one kavan (of rice)
sagdudua	only two each

Duduada ti napan.  
 R-dua=da ti na-pan  
 only-two=3p ART PF-go  
 'Only two of them went.'

Maymaysa ti pusok ket siksika ti agikub.  
 R-maysa ti puso=k ket R-sika ti ag-ikub  
 only-one ART heart=1sE and only-2s ART I-inside  
 'I only have one heart and only you fit inside.' (Ilocano song)



## 7.6 Fractional numbers

The concept of one-half is expressed in Ilocano by the root *gud(d)ua* (from the stem *dua*, two). Various derivations of this stem are as follows:

kagudua	one half
guduaen	to divide into two parts, cut in half
pagguduaen	to cut in two
maigudua	to be half full; to be half
magudua	to be divided into two parts
makigudua	to share half a part of

Other fractional numbers are formed by prefixing the denominator of the fraction with *pagka-*.

maysa a pagkanem	one sixth
lima a pagkawalo	five eights
maysa a pagkagasut	one percent (1/100)

The prefix *agka-* (past: *nagka-*) is used with numerical stems to indicate into how many parts something is divided:

Agkalimanto	ti	kalding.
agka-lima=(n)to	ti	kalding
FRAC-five=FUT	ART	goat
'The goat will be divided into five parts.'		

Agkalima	ti	balonmi.
agka-lima	ti	balon=mi
FRAC-five	ART	provision=1pEXCL.E
'Our provisions will be divided into (will have) five parts.'		

The prefix *apagka-* may also take nominal roots to express the denominator of fractions.

apagkalima	one fifth
apagkapito	one seventh
apagkapullo	one tenth

## 7.7 Multiplicatives

Multiplicative cardinal numbers are formed by adding the prefix *mami(n)-* (past: *nami(n)-*) to the numerical stem. The numerical stem undergoes the same phonological alternations with this prefix as with the prefix *maika-* in 5.2.

maminsan	once
mamindua	twice
mamitlo	three times
maminadu	often

Naminpitoak	a	nangan.
namin-pito=ak	a	n-mang-kaan
PF.MULTIP-seven=1sA	LIG	PF-I-eat

'I ate seven times.' (c)

Naminwaloda	a	nagayab.
namin-walo=da	a	n-ag-ayab
PF.MULTIP-eight=3p	LIG	PF-I-call

'They called eight times.' (c)

*Mami-* and *mamin-* may become *maminpi-* and *maminpin-* respectively to form limiting multiplicatives. The perfective forms are *naminpi-* and *naminpin-*.

Maminpinsan	only once
Naminpinsan	only once (in the past)
Maminpinwalo	only eight times
Maminpinsangapulo	only ten times

Idi aklonek	ni	Fern.	linipatkan	a
idi aklon-en=ko	ni	Fern	lipat{in}=ko=ka=n	a
PST accept-T=1sE	PA	Fern	forget{PF.T}=1sE=2sA=now	LIG

namimpinsan.  
namim-pinsan  
PF.MULTIP-once

'When I accepted Fern. I forgot you once and for all.' (w)

The multiplicative ordinal numbers are formed by the prefix *kapami(n)-*. As these numbers carry the nominalizing affixation with *ka-*, they act as nominals in discourse and thus take the =*ko* series pronouns:

Kapamitlona	ti	mapan.
ka-pami-tallo=na	ti	ma-pan
NOM-ORD-three=3sE	ART	I-go

'This is his third time to go.'

Kapaminlimadansa                    ti    mangan.  
ka-pamin-lima=da=(n)sa            ti    mang-kaan  
NOM-ORD-five=3p=I.think    ART   I-eat  
'I think this is their fifth time to eat.'

A regional variation of the prefix *kapamin-* is *pakamin-*

Pakamitlo                    a    daras    a    sarungkaranna    ti    gayyemna.  
pakamin-tallo                a    daras    a    sarunkar-an=na    ti    gayyem=na  
NOM.ORD-three    LIG    times    LIG    visit-T=3sE        ART    friend=3sE  
'It is the third time that he visited his friend.' (w)

The prefix *nakapamin-* is used with numeric roots like *kapamin-* but the resulting word carries a more adjectival type meaning in the grammar, as the predicate is linked with the ligature (*ng*)*a*, and not nominalized as with *kapamin-*

Nakapaminduan                    ni    Beng   a    napan    nangpasiar    kenkuana  
naka-pamin-dua =n                ni    Beng   a    na-pan    nang-pasiar    kenkuana  
ADJ-NOM.ORD-two=already    PA    Beng   LIG   PF-go    PF-stroll    3SOBL

nga    agmaymaysa.  
nga    ag-R-maysa  
LIG    I-R-one

'Beng went to stroll her around alone two times already.' (w)

The word *dáras* 'times, instances' may be linked to cardinal or multiplicative numbers with the ligature (*ng*)*a* as an appositive:

mamitlo a daras            three times  
mamindua a daras            twice  
mamin-ano a daras            how many times?

## 7.8 Distributives

Distributive cardinal numbers are formed by the prefix *sag-* usually with CV reduplication as shown below:

maysa	one	saggaysa	one each
dua	two	sagdudua	two each
tallo	three	saggatlo	three each

uppat	four	sagpapat	four each
lima	five	saglilima	five each
innem	six	sagninem	six each

Sagwawalo ti inalami.  
sag-R-walo ti ala{in}=mi  
DIST-R-eight ART get{PF.T}=1p.EXCL.E  
‘We took eight each.’

Sagpapatkayo.  
sag-R-uppat=kayo  
DIST-R-four=2pA  
‘Go in groups of four; Take four each.’

Sagpipisos ti saba.  
sag-R-pisos ti saba  
DIST-R-peso ART banana  
‘The bananas are one peso each.’

Distributive cardinal numbers (*sag-* + *RCV*) can be verbalized with the suffix *-en*. The perfective form of these distributive verbs is *sinag-*:

Sinaggaysanakami a dinakulap.  
sag{in}-maysa=na=kami a dakulap{in}  
DIST{PF}-one=3sE=1pEXCL.A LIG palm{PF.T}  
‘He shook our hands one at a time.’

Distributive multiplicatives are formed by the prefix *sagpami(n)-*. The usual phonological alternations of the numerical stems occur as in the distributive cardinal numbers:

Sagpaminlima. each five times  
sagpamindua each twice

Sagpamintallopuloda.  
sag-pamin-tallo-pulo=da  
DIST-MULTIP-three-ten=3p  
‘They did it each thirty times.’

Sagpaminwalonakami a binautan.  
sag-pamin-walo=na=kami a baut{in}-an  
DIST-MULTIP-eight=3sE=1p.EXCL.A LIG beat{PF}-T  
‘He beat us each eight times.’ (c)

## 7.9 *Ka- -an*

The affix *ka- -an* may be used with nominal roots to indicate that the absolutive argument must be increased to the number indicated by the stem. The perfective form is *kina- -an*. The suffix *-an* without the prefix may also suffice for this purpose.

sangapulo	ten	kasangapulan	to increase to ten
lima	five	kalimaan	to increase to five
tallo	three	katluan	to increase to three
walopulo	eighty	kawalopulan	to increase to eighty

Katluanyo.  
 ka-tallo-an=yo  
 increase-three-T=2pE  
 'Increase it to three.'

Kinaduapulanmi	dagiti	kalding.
ka{in}-duapulo-an=mi	dagiti	kalding
increase{PF}-twenty-T=1pEXCL.E	PL	goat

'We increased the number of goats to twenty.' (c)

Kinalimaandakami.  
 ka{in}-lima-an=da=kami  
 increase{PF}-five-T=3pE=1pEXCL.A  
 'They increased our number to five.'

## 7.10 Grouping numbers

Numbers which specify the number of groups a certain action is performed are called grouping numbers, they express the equivalent of the English 'by + plural cardinal number' or 'in groups of + number'. Grouping numbers are formed by reduplication of the first two syllables of the native numbers. As most simple Ilocano numbers are only two syllables long, this process may look like full reduplication, however, native numbers over ten will show otherwise:

maysa-maysa	one by one
dua-dua	two by two, by twos
tallo-tallo	three by three, in groups of three
lima-lima	by fives, in groups of five
dua-duapulo	by twenties, in groups of twenty

Idi	mangankami.	maysa-maysa	ti	mangala	iti	pinggan.
idi	mangan=kami	maysa-maysa	ti	mang-ala	iti	pinggan
when	eat=1pEXCL.A	one-one	ART	I-get	OBL	plate

‘When we ate, we got (our) plates one by one.’

### 7.11. Spanish numbers

Ilocano speakers utilize two separate sets of numbers, Ilocano numbers for basic counting and forming multiplicatives, ordinals, and distributives, and Spanish loan numbers for counting in large numbers, telling time and the date. The following is a list of the Spanish numbers as they appear in Ilocano.

1	uno
2	dos
3	tres
4	kuatro
5	singko
6	sais
7	siete
8	otso
9	nuebe
10	dies
11	onse
12	dose
13	trese
14	katorse
15	kinse
16	diesisais
17	diesisiete
18	diesiotso
19	diesinuebe
20	beinte
25	beintisingko (beinte y singko)
30	trenta
40	kuarenta
50	singkuenta
60	sesenta
70	setenta
80	otsenta
90	nobenta
100	sien
200	dosientos
300	tresientos

400	kuatrosientos
500	kinientos
600	saisientos
700	setesientos
800	otsosientos
900	nobesientos
1000	mil
2000	dos mil
3000	tres mil
1.000.000	mili6n

Spanish numbers are often used in monetary transactions and pricing. As such is the case, distributives formed with the prefix *sag-* + CV reduplication may take Spanish roots as well as native Ilocano ones:

sagdudua <i>or</i> sagdodos	two each
saglilima <i>or</i> sagsisingko	five each

Ordinal numbers in Spanish are rarely used. The only three that are likely to appear in Ilocano conversation are *primero* 'first', *segundo* 'second', and *tersero* 'third.'

*Primero* is used to specify the first day of the month. *Primero ti hulio* = the first of July. As the Spanish language has gender agreement on its adjectives, these ordinal numbers used with Spanish nouns have been borrowed into Ilocano reflecting that agreement, although no such system exists in Ilocano:

segunda mano	second hand
primera komuni6n	first communion
primera klase	first class
segunda klase	second class
tersera klase	third class

#### 7.12. Time

Expressions of time in Ilocano use the Spanish loan numbers. Similarly, the hour is divided using Spanish loan terms:

segundo	second
minuto	minute
oras	hour

In order to tell the time in Ilocano, the appropriate Spanish loan number is preceded by *alas*. Minutes are also expressed with Spanish numbers, optionally separated from the hour number with the Spanish conjunction *y* (pronounced *i*) 'and'. After vowels, the conjunction *y* is written 'y', as the contraction *iy* is pronounced.

2:00	Alas dos.
3:14	Alas tres (y) katorse.
5:20	Alas singko('y) beinte

Further Spanish loanwords used in telling time are. *media* 'half'. *kuarto* 'quarter' and *menos* 'minus.' When using *media* and *kuarto*, the Spanish conjunction *y* is obligatory:

<i>media</i>	half (past the hour)
<i>kuarto</i>	quarter of an hour
<i>menos</i>	minus (less the specified minutes)
7:15	Alas siete('y) kinse. Alas siete y kuarto
8:30	Alas otso('y) trenta, Alas otso y media
7:50	Alas siete('y) singkuenta, Alas otso menos dies

Time expressions may act as adverbial phrases to predicates. simply by use of an appropriate time marker (see temporal adverbial markers).

Nangankamin	idi	alas	sais.
n-maN-kaan=kami=(e)n	idi	alas	sais
PF-I-eat=1pEXCL.A=already	PAST.MARKER	TIME	six
'We (already) ate at six o'clock.'			

Mapandanto	intono	alas	otso.
ma-pan=da=(n)to	intono	alas	otso
I-go=3p=FUT	FUTURE.MARKER	TIME	eight
'They will go at eight o'clock.'			

The enclitic =(e)n is often linked to time expressions to further emphasize the current time.

Alas diesen!	It's ten o'clock already!
Alas otson.	It's eight o'clock already.

To indicate a precise time, the Ilocano adverb *apagisu* precedes the time expression, linked with the ligature (*nga*):

Apagisu nga alas siete.	It is precisely seven.
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### 7.13. Dates

Spanish numbers are also used in dates, whether being the date of the month or specified year. The first of the month is represented with the Spanish loan *primero*, the following days are simply the Spanish borrowings outlined in 7.11.



June 1st	Primero ti Hunio
January 2nd	Dos ti Enero
July 28	Beinte otso ti Hulio
December 16	Diesisais ti Disiembre
May 28, 1997	Beinte otso ti Mayo, mil nobesientos nobenta'y siete

#### 7.14. Percentages

Percentages in Ilocano may be expressed either with Spanish loan numbers or their native equivalents. The Ilocano numbers are linked to the Spanish loan *porsiento* 'percent' with the ligature (*ng*)*a*; when Spanish numbers are used, no ligature is used:

dua a porsiento, dos porsiento	two percent
sangagasut a porsiento, sien porsiento	one hundred percent
Ngimmato ti bagas iti sangapulo a porsiento.	
ngato{in-um} ti bagas iti sanga-pulo a porsiento	
up{PF-I} ART rice OBL one-ten LIG percent	
'Rice went up ten percent.'	

#### 7.15. Prices

Spanish or Ilocano numbers are used in pricing. Ilocano numbers are preferred for round prices or prices under 10 units of currency. The majority of the time, no units of currency are designated when verbalizing a price, especially since the monetary unit is usually clear from the context:

Tres-singkuenta ti atis.  
 three-fifty ART custard.apple  
 'The custard apple is three pesos, fifty centavos.'

Sagpipito ti lukban.  
 sag-R-pito ti lukban  
 DIST-R-seven ART pomelo  
 'Pomelos are seven pesos each.'

When Ilocano numbers are used with monetary units, the ligature (*ng*)*a* is required to connect the two. The ligature is never used with Spanish numbers.

tallo a pisos.	three pesos (Ilocano)
tres pisos	three pesos (Spanish)

### 7.16. Numbers in age expressions

In order to specify age in Ilocano, either the Ilocano numbers or Spanish equivalents are used. Usually for ages over ten, Spanish numbers are preferred in speaking, but Ilocano numbers serve this purpose just as often in literature.

The person whose age is designated always appears in the ergative case. The enclitic *=(e)n* is also used with age expressions to emphasize the current status of the age.

Limanan.

lima = na = (e)n

five = 3sE = now

'He is five years old (already, now).'

Tallopulokon.

tallo-pulo = ko = (e)n

three-ten = 1sE = now

'I am thirty (already, now).'

Diesisais ni Maria = n.

sixteen PA Maria = already

'Maria is already sixteen.' (c)

## 8. Verbs

Verbs in Ilocano can be distinguished from other lexical classes because they are marked for Aspect (Sec. 8.7) and Focus/Transitivity (Sec. 8.1). They may be further subcategorized by mode based on the semantic dimensions of volitionality or control (Sec. 8.3.1; 8.3.8). For the most part, Ilocano verbs consist of a root with verbalizing morphology, i.e. *ag-takder* 'to stand', *g-um-atang* 'to buy', *aramid-en* 'to make/do', *basa-án* 'to wet,' *balsig-en* 'to chop wood,' *maki-sao* 'to converse', *i-leppas* 'to complete,' etc., although there are a few common verbs that are monomorphemic, i.e. *ammo* 'to know', *sida* 'to eat,' *kuna* 'to say.'

This chapter will outline the basic properties of verbs and the extensive system of verbalizing morphology in Ilocano, presented in the following sections:

8.1	Focus and transitivity
8.2-4	Summary of verbal affixes
8.5	Detransitivization
8.6	Causation and direction, prefix <i>pa-</i>
8.7	Aspect
8.8	fossilized prefix <i>tagi-</i>
8.9	Pretense prefix <i>agin</i> + CV-
8.10	Smell prefix <i>agaC-</i>
8.11	Irregular Verbs
8.12	Non-derived transitive verbs
8.13	Hyphenated verbs
8.14	Verbs with full reduplication
8.15	Nominalizations
8.16	Plurality

### 8.1 Focus and transitivity

One notable distinction present in every affixed verb is the encoding of what has been termed 'focus' in Philippine linguistics, referring to the privileged syntactic status of the absolutive noun phrase. Ilocano verbs assign 'focus' to their absolutive nominal (= *ak* pronoun NP), the nominal in the most syntactically privileged position in terms of the semantic and grammatical relationship the nominal has with the verb. Simple intransitive verbs such as *ag-* and *-um-* verbs, for instance, take at most one core nominal as the argument whose relationship to the verb would be 'actor.' Verbs such as these are called 'actor focus' (grammatically intransitive) verbs in Philippine linguistics, even though the absolutive argument is not always a semantic agent.

Naglutokami.	Nagluto dagiti ansisit
n-ag-luto=kami	n-ag-luto dagiti ansisit.
PF-I-cook=1pA.EXCL	PF-I-cook PL dwarf.ABS
'We (without you) cooked.'	'The dwarfs cooked.'

Naglaylay ti sabong.  
 n-ag-laylay ti sabong  
 PF-I-wilt ART flower.ABS  
 'The flower wilted.'

Certain affixes, however, such as *-en* and *-an*, encode transitive frames which may assign two nominals in core case, an actor encoded in the ergative case, and a patient, location, recipient, or theme encoded in the absolutive case. Since the absolutive argument in focus is a non-agent/actor (patient, goal, recipient, benefactive, location, or theme) these verbs are called 'goal focus' and are grammatically transitive.

Nakitanakan.  
 na-kita = na = ka = n  
 PF.T-see = 3sE = 2sA = already  
 'He already saw you.'

Lutuekto ti pansit.  
 Luto-en = ko = to ti pansit.  
 cook = 1sE = FUT ART noodles:ABSOLUTIVE  
 'I will cook the noodles.'

Verbs can be further classified in semantic terms, by the semantic relationship between the role of the referent indicated by the absolutive argument in the action of the verb. Table 8.1 illustrates these classifications with a brief overview of their use. Sec. 8.3-10 will then illustrate the intricate workings of each verbal affix.

Table 8.1. Summary of major focus types

Macro Role	Semantic Role	Focus Affix
Actor (INTRANS)	Actor	<i>ag-</i> <i>-um-</i> <i>mang-</i>
Goal  (TRANSITIVE)	Patient	<i>-en</i>
	Locative	<i>-an</i>
	Benefactive	<i>i- -an</i>
	Instrumental	<i>pag-, pang-</i>
	Comitative	<i>ka-</i>
	Theme	<i>i-</i>

### Actor focus

Actor focus verbs take at most, one core argument in absolutive case whose relationship to the verb is that of 'actor' or 'experiencer.' Actor focus verbs may be formed with the prefixes *ag-* or *mang-*, or the infix *-um-*.

Naglaylayda.  
n-ag-laylay=da  
PF-I-wilt=3pA  
'They wilted.'

Nanganakon.  
nang-kaan=ak(\*o)=n  
PF.I-eat=1sA=already  
'I already ate.'

Ngimmisitkan!  
ngisit{in-um}=ka=n  
black{PF-I}=2sA=already  
'You got dark (from the sun)!'

Of course many verbs denoting natural phenomena do not take formal arguments in Ilocano for clear semantic reasons, but they share the same morphological and syntactic characteristics as other actor focus verbs:

Nagtudo.  
n-ag-tudo  
PF-I-rain  
'It rained.'

Nagkimat.  
n-ag-kimat  
PF-I-lightning  
'Lightning flashed.'

### Goal Focus distinctions:

Goal focus verbs are classified by affix type on the basis of what semantic relationship the argument in absolutive case has with the verb.

### Patient focus

The patient focus takes an argument in the absolutive case whose semantic role with respect to the verb is that of 'patient'. The patient focus suffix is *-en* (perfective *-in-*). The

suffix *-en* typically forms transitive verbs where the absolutive argument is directly affected by a volitional actor.

Root	Patient focus verb	English gloss
surat 'write'	suraten	to write something
kaan 'eat'	kanen	to eat something
kita 'see'	kitaen	to look at something
dait 'sew'	daiten	to sew something
basa 'read'	basaen	to read something

Sinipatna diay ubing.  
 sipat{in}=na diay ubing  
 slap{PF}=3sE DIST child  
 'She slapped that child.' (c)

Ania't kinnanmo?  
 ania=ti kaan{in}=mo  
 what=ART eat{PF}=2sE  
 'What did you eat?'

#### Locative focus

The locative focus is formed by the the suffix *-an*. It indicates that the absolutive argument is a locative of some kind, or some kind of affected patient. The suffix *-an* may also be used with certain verbs to indicate addition or removal. It is used with many roots to indicate a human patient, i.e. *takawen* 'to steal something' vs. *takawan* 'to rob someone.' The term 'locative focus' is reserved for the *-an* verb class, not because of the behavior of all the members of the class, but due to certain semantic changes may indicate the location of the action in a number of roots, i.e. *sagaden* 'to sweep (dirt)' vs. *sagadan* 'to sweep (the floor).'

Root	Locative	English gloss (verb)
adayo 'far'	adaywan	to get away from
tulong 'help'	tulongan	to help someone
aluard 'care'	aluadan	to heed
sagad 'sweep'	sagadan	to sweep (the floor)
basa 'read'	basaan	to read to someone
surat 'write'	suratan	to write to

Sinagadanna	ti	datar.
sagad{in}-an=na	ti	datar
sweep{PF}-LOC=3sE	ART	floor

'He swept the floor.' (c)

### Benefactive focus

The benefactive focus puts a human argument in the absolutive position. The absolutive argument is usually the beneficiary of the action of the verb, but in some cases the person encoded in the absolutive case can be seen as having the action of the verb done in his/her place rather than for his/her benefit. It is formed with the circumfix *i-* *-an* (past: *in* *-an*), morphologically a combination of a theme prefix and locative suffix.

Root	Benefactive verb	English gloss
dait 'sew'	idaitan	to sew for someone
luto 'cook'	ilutuan	to cook for someone
aramid 'do, make'	yaramidan	to do, make for someone
ala	yalaan	to get something for someone

Indaitak	ni	Maria	iti	bado.
i{in}-dait-an=k	ni	Maria	iti	bado
BF{PF}-sew-T=1sE	PA	Maria	OBL	dress

'I sewed a dress for Mary.' (c)

### Instrumental focus

The instrumental focus places the instrument or tool used to carry out the action in the absolutive case. It is formed by the prefix *pag-* (past: *pinag*). Because of the semantic and pragmatic nature of this particular focus, these words with *pag-* are treated most extensively in the noun chapter:

Root	Instrumental verb	English gloss
tugaw 'chair; sit'	pagtugaw	to use as a chair
surat 'write'	pagsurat	to use for writing
dait 'sew'	pagdait	to use for sewing
baut 'thresh'	pagbaut	to use for thrashing

Pinagdaitna ti dagum.  
 pag{in}-dait=na ti dagum  
 INST{PF}-sew=3sE ART needle  
 'He used the needle to sew.' (c)

Awan ti pagbadok.  
 awan ti pag-bado=k  
 NEG.EXIST ART INST-clothes=1sE  
 'I have nothing to wear (use as clothes).'

### Comitative focus

The comitative focus places the party with whom the action is performed in the absolutive case. They are formed by the prefix *ka-* (past: *kina-*). Like verbs in instrumental focus, these *ka-* verbs behave more like nouns, and are thus best illustrated in the noun chapter.:

Root	Comitative verb	English gloss
sao 'speak'	kasao	speak with someone
tugaw 'sit'	katugaw	sit with someone
ay-ayam 'play'	kaay-ayam	play with someone
turog 'sleep'	katurog	sleep with someone

Kinasaok ni Maria.  
 ka{in}-sao=k ni Maria  
 COMIT{PF}-speak=1sE PA Maria  
 'I spoke with Maria.'

Sino ti kinatungtungmo?  
 sino ti ka{in}-tungtung=mo  
 who ART COMIT{PF}-converse=2sE  
 'With whom did you converse?'

Ni Pedro ti kinatugawko.  
 ni Pedro ti ka{in}-tugaw=ko  
 PA Pedro ART COMIT{PF}-sit=1sE  
 'I sat with Pedro.'





Macro-Role		Actor (INTRANSITIVE)		Goal (TRANSITIVE)				
Role		Actor		Patient	Locative	Theme	Benefact	Comit
Mode	Aspect	Durative	Inchoative					
Indicative	Perfective	<i>ag-nag-</i>	<i>-um- -imm-</i>	<i>-en -in-</i>	<i>-an -in- -an</i>	<i>i- in-</i>	<i>i- -an in- -an</i>	<i>ka- kina-</i>
Potentive	Perfective	<i>maka- naka-</i>		<i>ma- na-</i>	<i>ma- -an na- -an</i>	<i>mai- nai-</i>	<i>mai- -an nai- -an</i>	<i>ma- na-</i>
Detransitivizations								
Indicative	Perfective	<i>mang- nang-</i>		<i>mang- nang-</i>	<i>mang- nang-</i>	<i>mangi- nangi-</i>	<i>mangi- nangi-</i>	<i>maki- naki-</i>
Potentive	Perfective	<i>maka- naka-</i>		<i>maka- naka-</i>	<i>maka- naka-</i>	<i>makai- nakai-</i>	<i>makai- nakai-</i>	<i>makika- nakika-</i>
Causatives								
Indicative	Perfective	<i>agpa- nagpa-</i>	<i>puma- pimma-</i>	<i>pa- -en pina-</i>	<i>pa- -an pina- -an</i>	<i>ipa- impa-</i>	<i>ipa- -an impa- -an</i>	-
De-trans	Infinitive	<i>mangpa- nangpa-</i>	<i>mangipa- nangipa-</i>	<i>mangpa- nangpa-</i>	<i>mangpa- nangpa-</i>	<i>mangipa- nangipa-</i>	<i>mangipa- nangipa-</i>	<i>makipa- nakipa-</i>
Potentive	Perfective	CAUSE <i>makapa-</i>	RESULT <i>mapa- mapa- napa-</i>	<i>mapa- -an napa- -an</i>	<i>mapa- -an napa- -an</i>	<i>maipa- naipa-</i>	<i>maipa- naipa-</i>	-

### 8.3. Intransitivizing affixes

Intransitivizing affixes are those that form verbs that take one or fewer formal arguments (nominals that may be cross-referenced by an enclitic pronoun). For intransitive verbs that take an argument, the argument is always encoded with absolutive case if pronominalized.

Intransitive verb with no argument

Nagtudo idi kalman.  
n-ag-tudo idi.kalman  
PF-I-rain yesterday  
'It rained yesterday.'

### Intransitive verb with one argument

Nagsangit dagiti ubbing. (Nagsangitda)  
n-ag-sangit dagiti ubing{R} (N-ag-sangit=da)  
PF-I-cry PL child{PL} (PF-I-cry=3pA)  
'The children cried.' ('They cried.')(c)

The following will acquaint the reader with the major affixes responsible for forming intransitive verbs.

#### 8.3.1 Indicative intransitive affixes

Verbs in Ilocano may be subcategorized by mode, on the basis of volition, control, or the presence or absence of energy or conscious effort involved in carrying out an event. Verbs encoding actions that are inherently non-controlled, i.e. *aglati* 'to rust', *aglaylay* 'to wither', *agbunga* 'to bear fruits', *ngumisit* 'to get dark (by suntan)', or actions that are volitional or kinetic, i.e. *dalapusen* 'to trip', *artapan* 'to surpass', *sipaten* 'to spank', *pespesen* 'to squeeze', *mangan* 'to eat', *say-upen* 'to sniff', are called 'Indicative' verbs. We can contrast the indicative verbs with the potentive verbs, verbs taking the prefixes *ma-* (transitive) or *maka-* (intransitive) that include states of being, ability, physical needs, and involuntary and accidental activity. Sections 8.3.2-7 will illustrate the indicative intransitive affixes in Ilocano, and Section 8.4 will introduce the indicative transitive affixes. Potentive verbs are introduced in Sec. 8.3.9 (intransitive) and Sec. 8.4.2 (transitive).

#### 8.3.2. The prefix *ag-*

The prefix *ag-* (perfective form *nag-*) is the most general of the intransitive affixes. As a very productive verbalizer, it may be used with nominal roots to indicate an action associated with the designated referent of the root:

martilio 'hammer'	agmartilio	to hammer
kawes 'clothes'	agkawes	to dress, put on clothes
tsinelas 'slippers'	agtsinelas	to wear slippers
basketbol 'basketball'	agbasketbol	to play basketball
kutibeng 'guitar'	agkutibeng	to play guitar
sarut 'tuberculosis'	agsarut	to have tuberculosis
walis 'kind of broom'	agwalis	to sweep
abogado 'lawyer'	agabogado	to be a lawyer; study law

Kastila 'Spanish'	ag-Kastila	to speak Spanish
tarong 'eggplant'	agtarong	to gather eggplants
balat 'sea cucumber'	agbalat	to gather sea cucumbers
ubas 'grape'	agubas	to pick grapes
sili 'chili'	agsili	to season with chili
bayag 'long time'	agbayag	to take a long time
gurigor 'fever'	aggurigor	to have a fever
ulbod 'lie, fib'	agulbod	to lie

The prefix *ag-* is used with roots also to indicate an action where the absolutive argument has complete control or volition.

katawa 'laugh'	agkatawa	to laugh
sangit 'cry'	agsangit	to cry
diram-us 'wash the face'	agdiram-us	to wash the face
digos 'bath'	agdigos	to take a bath
ay-ayam 'play'	agay-ayam	to play
langoy 'swim'	aglangoy	to swim

Saanka nga aglangoy idiy ta adalem la unay.  
 saan=ka nga ag-langoy idiy ta adalem la unay  
 NEG=ISA LIG I-swim there because deep just very  
 'Don't swim there because it's very deep.'

With natural phenomena (meteorological roots), the prefix *ag-* is used to express the occurrence of the phenomenon expressed in the root. In this case, the verb may not take an absolutive argument.

ginggined 'earthquake'	agginggined	to quake (earth)
tudo 'rain'	agtudo	to rain
kimat 'lightning'	agkimat	to flash (of lightning)
arbis 'drizzle'	agarbis	to drizzle
gurruod 'thunder'	aggurruod	to thunder

With stative (adjective-type) roots, the prefix *ag-* indicates an action necessary to achieve the state or condition expressed by the root.

Root	Adjective	<i>ag-</i> verb
bayag 'long time'	nabayag 'for a long time'	agbayag 'to take a long time'
pilay 'lame'	pilay 'lame, crippled'	agpilay 'to limp'
singpet 'virtuous'	nasingpet 'well behaved'	agsingpet 'to behave'
labus 'nude'	labus 'nude'	aglabus 'to undress'

Agsingsingpetka!  
 ag-R-singpet=ka  
 I-CONT-virtue=2sA  
 'Behave yourself!'

Naglabusda sakbay ti panaglangoyda.  
 n-ag-labus=da sakbay ti pan-ag-langoy=da  
 PF-I-naked=3p before ART NOM-I-swim=3p  
 'They took off their clothes before swimming.' (w)

Although *ag-* verbs are typically associated with volitional or kinetic actions, certain *ag-* verbs encode events where the absolutive argument experiences an action, but does not exercise any control.

sabong 'flower'	agsabong	to flower (plants)
lati 'rust'	aglati	to rust (metals)
ukrad 'bud'	agukrad	to bud (plants)
bunga 'fruit'	agbunga	to bear fruits

Agsabsabongen ti karabasa.  
 ag-R-sabong=en ti karabasa  
 I-CONT-flower=already ART squash  
 'The squash is already bearing flowers.'

### 8.3.3 Combinations with the prefix *ag-*

The prefix *ag-* may combine with other affixes to derive complex intransitive verbs. This section will illustrate the various permutations possible with *ag-*.

### 8.3.3.1 The prefix *agi-*

The complex prefix *agi-* (perfective form *nagi-*) forms intransitive verbs that carry the transitive meanings of their *i-* counterparts as seen in the table below.

Root	<i>i-</i> verb	<i>agi-</i> verb
surat 'write'	isurat 'to write something down'	agisurat 'to write down'
bales 'revenge'	ibales 'to avenge'	agibales 'take revenge'
ruar 'outside'	iruar 'to take it outside'	agiruar 'to take outside'
lunod 'curse'	ilunod 'to curse, cast a spell on'	agilunod 'curse'
disso 'place'	idisso 'to place'	agidisso 'put, place, offer sacrifice to the dead'
bilag 'dry in the sun'	ibilag 'to dry something under the sun'	agibilag 'perform the action of drying something in the sun'

Nalabit      agisangpetkanto      iti    sinupot    a    pirak.  
na-labit      ag-i-sangpet=ka=nto      iti    supot{in}    a    pirak  
ADJ-maybe    I-THM-arrive=2sA=FUT    OBL    bag{PF}    LIG    silver  
'Maybe you'll bring home silver in bags (you'll be lucky).'

Saanka      kuma nga agilunod      iti    masakbayanna.  
saan=ka      kuma nga ag-i-lunod      iti    ma-sakbay-an=na  
NEG=2sA    OPT    LIG    I-THM-curse    OBL    INVOL-before-NOM=3sE  
'You shouldn't curse her future.'

### 8.3.3.2 The prefix *agka-*

The complex prefix *agka-* (perfective form *nagka-*) is used to denote the sharing of the object or the performing of the action of the stem by the plural actors to an equal degree. *Agka-* may also be used with adjectival roots to form equalitatives.

linong 'shade'	agkalinong	to share shade
payong 'umbrella'	agkapayong	to share an umbrella
lugan 'car, ride'	agkalugan	to ride together, share a ride

dakkel 'big'	agkadakkel	to be of equal size
tayag 'tall'	agkatayag	to be of equal height

No mapanka idiy ilik, agkaluganta la ngaruden.  
 no ma-pan=ka idiy ili=k ag-ka-lugan=ta la ngarud=en  
 if I-go=2sA there town=1sE I-COMIT-ride=1d just then=EMPH  
 'If you are going to my town, let's ride together then.'

Nabayagen a dida nagkanaig.  
 na-bayag=en a di=da n-ag-ka-naig  
 ADJ-long.time=already LIG NEG=3p PF-I-COMIT-lie  
 'They haven't slept together for a long time already.'

With numeric roots, *agka-* may form fractions or denote how many parts the absolutive argument is divided into.

Agkasangagasutda.  
 ag-ka-sanga-gasut=da  
 I-COMIT-one-hundred=3p  
 'They are divided into one hundred parts.'

### 8.3.3.3 The prefix *agkai-*

The complex prefix *agkai-* (perfective *nagkai-*) forms intransitive distributive or frequentative verbs. It is used with *i-* verbs to repetitive or distributive verbs.

Root	<i>i-</i> verb	<i>agkai-</i> verb
wara 'scatter'	iwara 'to scatter'	agkaiwara 'to be scattered everywhere'
sarumbingit 'lie around'	isarumbingit 'to strew'	agkaisarumbingit 'to lie around, be scattered everywhere'
pigis 'tear'	ipigis 'to tear'	agkaipigis 'to get torn repeatedly'
disso 'place'	idisso 'to place'	agkaidisso 'to be placed everywhere'
regreg 'fall'	iregreg 'to drop'	agkairegreg 'to fall or drop everywhere'
waris 'scatter'	iwaris 'to scatter'	agkaiwaris 'to be scattered all around'

Agkaiwara ti mureng.  
 ag-kai-wara ti mureng  
 I-everywhere-scatter ART dirty.clothes  
 'The dirty clothes are scattered all over.'

#### 8.3.3.4 The prefix *agkara-*

The complex prefix *agkara-* (perfective form *nagkara-*) forms intransitive frequentative roots, specifying that the action expressed in the root is performed repeatedly or frequently.

Agkarauyekda.  
 ag-kara-uyek=da  
 I-FREQ-cough=3p  
 'They are always coughing.'

Agkaraapan ti amana.  
 ag-kara-apan ti ama=na  
 I-FREQ-go ART father=3sE  
 'His father is always on the go.' (c)

#### 8.3.3.5 The prefix *agkarai-*

The complex prefix *agkarai-* (perfective form *nagkarai-*) is used with *i-* verbs to form intransitive verbs that denote the repeated occurrence of the action of the verb.

Root	<i>i-</i> verb	<i>agkarai-</i> verb
tupra 'spit'	itupra 'to spit on'	agkaritupra 'to spit on repeatedly'
kugtar 'kick'	ikugar 'kick off, kick away'	agkaraikugtar 'to kick repeatedly'
subli 'return'	isubli 'to bring back'	agkaraisubli 'to bring back repeatedly'
baliktad 'turn over'	ibaliktad 'turn over'	agkaraibaliktad 'to turn over repeatedly'
Agkaraibelleng ag-kara-i-belleng I-FREQ-THM-throw.away	iti nateng. iti nateng OBL vegetable	
'He always throws away vegetables.' (c)		



The difference between *agkara-* and *agkarai-* when used with the same root mirrors the distinction between *ag-* and *i-* verbs. *Agkara-* verbs indicate that the absolutive referent experiences or undergoes the action of the stem repeatedly, while *agkarai-* verbs indicate that the absolutive referent repeatedly performs the action on another referent:

Root	<i>agkara-</i> verb	<i>agkarai-</i> verb
subli 'return'	agkarasubli 'to always come back'	agkaraisubli 'to always bring back something'
kuddot 'pinch'	agkarakuddot 'to always get pinched'	agkaraikuddot 'to always pinch others'

#### 8.3.3.6 The prefix *agsi-*

The complex prefix *agsi-* (perfective form *nagsi-*) is used to indicate the distributive nature of an action or the concomitance of many actors performing an action at the same time. In some districts, the variant *magsi-* is preferred, possibly borrowed from Tagalog.

tulong 'help'	agsitulong	to help out with many people
dalus 'clean'	agsidalus	to clean up with others
wara 'scatter'	agsiwara	to scatter in all directions
waras 'distribute'	agsiwaras	to distribute

Magsidalus      iti      arubayanna.  
 magsi-dalus     iti      arubayan=na  
 COMMIT.PL-clean OBL vicinity=3sE

'Cooperative cleaning of the neighborhood (operation implemented in San Fernando, La Union, titled Operation MIA.)'

#### 8.3.4. The infix *-um-*

The infix *-um-* (perfective form *-imm-*), like *ag-*, is another common affix which forms intransitive (actor focus) verbs. It is commonly used with verbal or adjectival roots to indicate an inceptive (inchoative) action, expressing the initiation of an action or the becoming of a state.

ngisit 'black'	ngumisit	to become dark (from sun); turn black
karo 'serious'	kumaro	to worsen, become serious

sipnget 'dark'	sumipnget	to get dark
rang-ay 'progressive'	rumang-ay	to become progressive
labaga 'red'	lumabaga	to redden, get red, blush
ngayed 'grand'	ngumayed	to become grand
sayaat 'good'	sumayaat	get better
baket 'old lady'	bumaket	become old (ladies)
dakkel 'big'	dumakkel	grow, get big
tayag 'tall'	tumayag	get tall, increase in height

Umaldawen.

um-aldaw=en

I-day=already

'It's getting light already (turning into daybreak).'

Asidegen	ti	itutudona,	sumalsalimuoten	ket.
asideg=en	ti	i-R-tudo=na	R-salimuot{um}=en	ket
near=already	ART	NOM-R-rain=3sE	R-humid/sultry{I}-already	and

'The rain is approaching, it's getting sultry.'

Nagtilmon	ngem	kimmaro	ketdi	ti	sakit.
n-ag-tilmon	ngem	karo{in-um}	ketdi	ti	sakit
PF-I-swallow	but	serious{PF-I}	nevertheless	ART	sick/pain

'He swallowed but the pain (in his throat) worsened anyway.' (w)

The infix *-um-* is also used for motion verbs, which are inherently intransitive. The person or thing moving is encoded in the absolutive case:

uli 'climb'	umuli	to climb
panaw 'leave'	pumanaw	to leave
serrek 'entrance'	sumrek	to enter
ballasiw 'cross'	bumallasiw	to cross
taliaw 'look back'	tumaliaw	to look back
salog 'go down'	sumalog	to go down; descend
salnap 'spread'	sumalnap	to spread; diffuse
asideg 'near'	umasideg	to approach
dateng 'arrive'	dumteng	to arrive

ay 'come'	umay	to come
tugaw 'sit'	tumugaw	to sit down
uneg 'inside'	umuneg	to go inside
seksek 'interior'	sumeksek	to penetrate into
sirok 'underneath'	sumirok	to go under
taldiap 'glance'	tumaldiap	to take a glimpse
ballaet 'interval'	bumallaet	to go in between

Sipapardas a napan simmirok iti kamantiris.  
 si-R-pardas a na-pan sirok{in-um} iti kamantiris  
 ADJ-R-pardas LIG PF-go under{PF-I} OBL type.of.tree  
 'He hurriedly went under the *kamantiris* tree.' (w)

Insakibokna sa pimmanaw.  
 i{in}-sakibok=na sa panaw{in-um}  
 THM{PF}-in.pocket=3sE then leave{PF-I}  
 'He put it in his pocket then left.'

Simmirip laeng ni Tsita iti ridaw.  
 sirip{in-um} laeng ni Tsita iti ridaw  
 peep{PF-I} just PA Tsita OBL door  
 'Tsita just peeped through the door.'

Agwingwingiwing nga immadayo  
 ag-R-wingiwing-0 nga adayo{in-um}  
 I-CONT-shake.head-3sA LIG far{PF-I}  
 'He went away shaking his head.' (w)

As the *-um-* infix is quite productive in Ilocano, it forms common intransitive verbs that cannot be classified effectively into the above categories. The following roots form very common *-um-* verbs.

anges 'breath'	umanges	to breathe
isem 'smile'	umisem	to smile
gatang 'buy'	gumatang	to buy
sungbat 'answer'	sumungbat	to answer
sakay 'ride'	sumakay	to ride

isbu 'urine'	umisbu	to urinate
takki 'feces'	tumakki	to defecate
surot 'follow'	sumurot	to follow
letteg 'boil; abscess'	lumteg	to swell
lettak 'crack'	lumtak	to crack
bettak 'explosion'	bumtak	to explode

Gimmaw-at iti bayabas ket kimmagat. ngem simmeksek  
gaw'at{in-um} iti bayabas ket kagat{in-um} ngem seksek{in-um}  
reach.for{PF-I} OBL guava and bite{PF-I} but insert{PF-I}

dagiti babassit a bukel iti baet dagiti ngipenna.  
dagiti R-bassit a bukel iti baet dagiti ngipen=na  
PL PL-small LIG seed OBL interval PL teeth=3sE

'He reached for the guava and bit into it, but the small seeds got stuck between his teeth.' (w)

Namrayan laeng ni Trisha ti immanges iti dakkal.  
N-pamrayan laeng ni Trisha ti anges{in-um} iti dakkal  
PF-instinctively just PA Trisha ART breath{PF-I} OBL big  
'Trisha instinctively took a deep breath.' (w)

Gimmil-ayab ti bassit nga apuy iti barukongna.  
gil'ayab{in-um} ti bassit nga apuy iti barukong=na  
flame{PF-I} ART small LIG fire OBL chest=3sE  
'A small fire flared up in his chest (from being in love).' (w)

### 8.3.5 -um- vs. ag- distinction

The prefix *-um-* may be differentiated from *ag-* with certain roots in which inception (the starting of the action) plays a role. Verbs that may appear with either affix, signal the inchoative aspect or an action of less duration with the infix *-um-*, i.e. *agtugaw* 'to sit, be seated' vs. *tumugaw* 'to sit down'; *agtakder* 'to stand, be standing' vs. *tumakder* 'to stand up.' Contrast the following sentences with the verb root *taray* 'run':

Timmarayak a rimmuar iti balay.  
taray{in-um}=ak a ruar{in-um} iti balay  
run{PF-I}=1sA LIG out{PF-I} OBL house  
'I got up and ran to get out of the house.'

Nadlawna a nagtaray nga immasideg ni Elding kenkuana  
na-dilaw=na a n-ag-taray nga asideg{in-um} ni Elding kenkuana  
PF.INVOL-notice LIG PF-I-run LIG near{PF-I} PA Elding 3SOBL

ket tinenggel daytoy ti takiagna.  
ket tenggel{in} daytoy ti takiag=na  
and restrain{PF.T} this ART arm=3sE

'She noticed that Elding approached her running and she restrained his arm.' (w)

Certain verbs have lexicalized distinctions between their intransitive *ag-* forms and *-um-* forms:

Root	<i>ag-</i> verb	<i>-um-</i> verb
inum 'drink'	drink (alcohol)	to drink
takki 'feces'	have diarrhea	defecate
ala	to be <i>it</i> in a game; make love	resemble in features, take after
ruar 'out'	issue forth; become fashionable	to go outside
panaw 'leave'	leave for good, evacuate	leave
patay 'die, kill'	to faint; do something till death, die	kill
gatel 'itch'	to itch; lust after	to itch
karo 'worsen'	to recur (sickness)	to worsen
kabil 'hit'	to fight one another; become violent	to hit, beat

Sika ti ag-ala.  
2s ART I-get  
'You are it (in hide and seek).'

Nalungpoda. ad-adda nga immalada iti inada.  
na-lungpo=da R-adda nga ala{in-um} iti ina=da  
ADJ-chubby=3p R-EXIST LIG get{PF-I} OBL mother=3p  
'They are chubby. they most probably took after their mother.'

Some action roots that may appear with either *ag-* or *-um-* with plural actors, require the *-um-* infix to indicate the motion of the action, and the *ag-* prefix (with plural actors) to indicate reciprocal action (done to each other).

<b>Root</b>	<b>-um- verb</b>	<b>ag- verb</b>
sina 'separate'	separate, leave, part company	leave each other
adayo 'far'	go away	leave each other
sango 'front'	face	meet face to face

Simminada      iti      gunglo.  
sina{in-um}-da      iti      gunglo  
separate{PF-I}-3p OBL club  
'They separated from the organization (left the group).'

Nagsinada.  
n-ag-sina=da  
PF-I-separate=3p  
'They separated from each other.'

### 8.3.6 The detransitivizing prefix *mang-*

The prefix *mang-* or *maN-* (perfective form *nang-*), like *ag-* and *-um-* is yet another common Ilocano prefix used to derive grammatically intransitive verbs. Because it is used as to detransitivize the transitive *-en* and *-an* verbs, it is categorized as a 'detransitivizing' prefix, although it also forms rather simplex verbs that can be argued not to have derived from transitive forms. In many cases, the nasal *N-* assimilates to the first consonant of the verbal root, mostly with lexicalized forms. Although the prefix *mang-* forms grammatically intransitive (actor focus) verbs, the semantics involved in the case frames of *mang-* verbs typically include actions involving a patientive referent in the case frame, as seen in the following table where prototypically transitive verbs take the *mang-* prefix.

<b>Root</b>	<b>Transitive -en, -an verb</b>	<b>Intransitive <i>mang-</i> verb</b>
kaan 'eat'	kanen	mangan
balakad 'advise'	balakadan	mamalakad
anup 'hunt'	anupan, anupen	manganup
kayaw 'capture, captivate'	kayawan	mangayaw
ala 'get'	alaen	mangala
pati 'believe'	patien	mamati
lukat 'open'	lukatan	manglukat
tiliw 'catch'	tiliwen	mangtiliw

Sino ti nangala iti walis?  
 sino ti nang-ala iti walis  
 who ART PF.DETR-get OBL broom  
 'Who took the broom?'

Ni Pedro ti nangdalous iti kotsek.  
 ni Pedro ti nang-dalous iti kotse=k  
 PA Pedro ART PF.DETR-clean OBL car=1sE  
 'Pedro is the one who cleaned my car.'

Adda nanungpal kaniana?  
 adda nang-tungpal kaniana  
 EXIST PF.DETR-obey 3sOBL  
 'Did anyone obey him?'

With roots denoting vegetables, fish or animals, the prefix *mang-* indicates gathering, hunting, or purchase:

kapas 'cotton'	mangapas	gather cotton
sungrod 'fuel'	manungrod	to gather fuel
kayo 'wood'	mangayo	gather firewood
baka 'cow'	mamaka	to buy cows
pagay 'rice'	mamagay	to buy rice
kalding 'goat'	mangalding	to buy goats
ipon 'sp. of fish'	mangipon	to catch <i>ipon</i> fish

Napanda nangnuang.  
 na-pan=da nang-nuang  
 PF-go=3p PF.I-water.buffalo  
 'They went to buy water buffalos.' (c)

Intayo mangalogbati.  
 in=tayo mang-alogbati  
 go=1pA I-sp.of.edible.leaf  
 'Let's go get some *alogbati* leaves.'

With monetary unit roots, the prefix *mang-* specifies the price of an article.

salapi 'half peso'	manalapi	be worth/cost 50 centavos
pisos 'peso'	mamisos	be worth one peso
binting '20 centavos'	maminting	be worth 20 centavos

Idi ubingkami, maminting laeng ti santol.  
 idi ubing=kami, mang-binting laeng ti santol  
 PST child=1pEXCL.A I-20.centavos only ART santol.fruit  
 'When we were young, santol fruit was only twenty centavos.'

With the four temporal roots below, the prefix *maN-* is used to indicate the eating of the meal associated with the temporal root. The meal itself is called *paN-* + root.

bigat 'morning'	mamigat	to eat breakfast
aldaw 'day'	mangaldaw	to eat lunch
malem 'afternoon'	mangmalem	eat an afternoon meal
rabii 'night'	mangrabii	eat dinner

Nangrabiiikayon?  
 nang-rabii=kayo=n  
 PF.I-night=2pA=already  
 'Have you eaten dinner yet?'

With CV reduplication of animal roots, *mang-* often indicates stealing.

baboy 'pig'	mamababoy	to steal pigs
baka 'cow'	mamabaka	to steal cows
kalding 'goat'	mangkakalding	to steal goats
nuang 'water buffalo'	mangnunuang	to steal water buffalo
manok 'chicken'	mangmamanok	to steal chickens

Mamababoy diay kasinsinna.  
 mang-R-baboy diay kasinsin=na  
 I-steal-pig DIST cousin=3sE  
 'Her cousin steals pigs.' (c)



### 8.3.6.1. *ag-* verbs vs. *mang-* verbs

The prefixes *ag-* and *mang-* are both grammatically intransitive verbalizing affixes that appear with a wide variety of roots. When both affixes can be used with certain roots, their meanings are usually easily distinguishable. As the *mang-* prefix is commonly used to derive intransitive verbs from the transitive *-en* and *-an* suffixed verbs, it retains the original semantics of the *-en* or *-an* verbs with a patientive referent in its case frame (See 8.3.21). The *ag-* verb, on the other hand, does not.

Root	<i>ag-</i> verb	Transitive <i>-en</i> or <i>-an</i> verb	<i>mang-</i> verb
dait 'sew'	agdait 'to sew'	daiten 'to sew something'	mangdait 'to sew something'
kissay 'decrease'	agkissay 'to decrease in number'	kissayan 'subtract from'	mangkissay 'subtract from'
taray 'run'	agtaray 'run'	tarayen 'run after'	mangtaray 'run after'
digos 'bath'	agdigos 'to take a bath'	digosen 'give a bath to'	mangdigos 'give a bath to'
pukaw 'lose'	agpukaw 'to disappear, lose oneself'	pukawen 'waste, destroy'	mangpukaw 'waste, destroy'
sagaysay 'comb'	agsagaysay 'comb one's hair'	sagaysayen 'to comb the hair of another'	mangsagaysay 'comb the hair of another'
ules 'blanket'	agules 'wear a blanket'	ulsen 'put a blanket on someone'	mangules 'put a blanket on someone'
bastos 'rude'	agbastos 'be rude'	bastosen 'disrespect someone'	mangbastos 'disrespect someone'

Agpukaw a kas asuk ket dumteng a kas iti tudo.  
 ag-pukaw a kas asuk ket dateng{um} a kas iti tudo  
 I-lose LIG like smoke and arrive{I} LIG like OBL rain  
 'It disappears like smoke and comes like the rain.'

Asino't nangpukaw iti balayna?  
 asino-ti nang-pukaw iti balay=na  
 who-ART PF.DETR-lose OBL house=3sE  
 'Who destroyed his house?'

With some roots, the *ag-* prefix may form reciprocal verbs that take plural absolutive referents, while the *mang-* prefix does not.

Nagkitada.  
 n-ag-kita = da  
 PF-I-see = 3p  
 'They saw each other.'

Isuda ti nangkita iti relas.  
 isuda ti nang-kita iti relas  
 3p ART DETR.PF-see OBL clock  
 'They looked at the clock.' (c)

*Ag-* and *mang-* may be differentiated in certain roots (usually lexicalized verbs), by the amount energy performed and involvement associated with the action of the stem. In this case, the *ag-* verb will show more involvement or energy devoted to the performance of the action.

Root	<i>ag-</i> verb	<i>mang-</i> verb
sida 'fish, food'	agsida 'to gobble up, devour'	mangsida 'to eat'
kaan 'eat'	agkaan 'to devour, eat up; feed on (animals, predators)'	mangan 'to eat'
inum 'drink'	aginum 'to drink up; drink alcohol'	manginum 'to drink'

For an explanation of the distinction between *ag-* verbs and *-um-* verbs, please refer to section 8.3.5. Sections 8.3.6.2-3 will illustrate complex prefixes formed with *mang-*.

### 8.3.6.2 The prefix *mangi-*

The complex prefix *mangi-* (perfective form *nangi-*) is used to form intransitive verbs from transitive benefactive *i-* *-an* verbs or transitive theme focus *i-* verbs.

Root	Transitive <i>i-</i> , <i>i-</i> <i>-an</i> verb	Intransitive <i>mangi-</i> verb
awid 'go home'	iyawid 'bring so. home'	mangiyawid 'to bring home'
dait 'sew'	idaitan 'sew for someone'	mangidait 'sew for'
ruar 'outside'	iruar 'take so. outside'	mangiruar 'take outside'
pan 'go, send'	ipan 'to send something'	mangipan 'send'

Simmangpet ti pul'oy a nangiwagat iti agongna  
 sangpet{in-um} ti pul'oy a nang-i-wagat iti agong=na  
 arrive{PF-I} ART breeze LIG PF.DETR-THM-misplace OBL nose=3sE

iti arak.  
 OBL wine

'The breeze arrived that got rid of the wine smell from of his nose.' (w)

Sino ti nangitaray kenkuana?  
 sino ti nang-i-taray kenkuana  
 who ART PF.DETR-THM-run 3sOBL  
 'Who eloped (ran away) with her?'

Siak ti nangidait kenkuana iti barong.  
 siak ti nang-i-dait kenkuana iti barong  
 1s ART PF.DETR-THM-sew 3sOBL OBL barong.shirt  
 'I am the one who sewed for him a barong shirt.' (c)

Mangisangpetakto iti puraw nga asawa.  
 mang-i-sangpet=ak=to iti puraw nga asawa  
 DETR-THM-arrive=1sA=FUT OBL white LIG spouse  
 'I will bring (home) a white wife.'

### 8.3.6.3 The prefix *mangika-*

The complex prefix *mangika-* is used to form intransitive amplificational verbs, mostly used to indicate an increase in size or intensity. Its transitive counterpart is *ika-*.

Root	Transitive <i>ika-</i> verb	Intransitive <i>mangika-</i> verb
lawa 'wide, spacious'	ikalawa 'to widen so.'	mangikalawa 'to widen'
dakkel 'big'	ikadakkel 'to enlarge so.'	mangikadakkel 'enlarge'
rigat 'hardship'	ikarigat 'to cause hardship to'	mangikarigat 'to cause hardship'
atiddog 'long'	ikaatiddog 'to lengthen so.'	mangikaatiddog 'to lengthen'
adu 'many'	ikaadu 'to increase numbers of'	mangikaadu 'increase'

Kasano ngaruden ti panggeptayo a mangikalawa iti kapilia?  
kasano ngarud=en ti panggep=tayo a mang-ika-lawa iti kapilia  
how then=EMPH ART aim=1pINCL LIG DETR-enlarge-wide OBL chapel  
‘How then will our plan be worked out to make the chapel more spacious?’

### 8.3.7. The comitative prefix *maki-*

The prefix *maki-* (perfective form *naki-*) is used to form comitative or social verbs. It is the intransitive counterpart of *ka-* verbs. With action roots, it indicates shared participation of an action (that the action is performed with other people). The person performing the action is encoded in the absolutive case, and the company with whom s/he performs the action, if specified, takes oblique case marking.

Nakisao ni Maria kaniak.  
naki-sao ni Maria kaniak  
PF.COMIT-speak PA Maria 1SOBL  
‘Maria spoke with me.’ (c)

Nakiapa ni Carol ken Murphy.  
naki-apa ni Carol ken Murphy  
PF.COMIT-fight PA Carol and Murphy  
‘Carol fought with Murphy.’ (c)

contrast to with reciprocal *ag-*:  
Nagapa da Carol ken Murphy.  
n-ag-apa da Carol ken Murphy  
PF-I-fight PA.PL Carol and Murphy  
‘Carol and Murphy fought.’

With social functions or events that involve a group of people, the prefix *maki-* indicates participation in the event.

sala ‘dance’	makisala	to participate in a dance
gubat ‘war’	makigubat	to wage (join in) war
apit ‘harvest’	makiapit	to participate in the harvest
buya ‘watch’	makibuya	to go see a performance (with others)
sugal ‘gamble’	makisugal	to gamble with others

Inkayo makiapit.  
 in=kayo maki-apit  
 go=1pA COMIT-harvest  
 'Go participate in the harvest.'

Intan makisala.  
 in=ta=n maki-sala  
 go=1d=already COMIT-dance  
 'Let's go join in on the dance.' (contrast to: *Intan agsala*: let's dance)

With the particle *man* 'please', *maki-* social verbs are used to ask permission to perform an action which is usually comitative.

Makiinumak man.  
 maki-inum=ak man  
 COMIT-drink=1sA please  
 'May I have a drink (with you).'

Makisindikami man.  
 maki-sindi=kami man  
 COMIT-light.fire=1pEXCL.A please  
 'May we borrow some fire (to light our candles).'

*Maki-* is used with kinterms to indicate the way the absolutive argument treats or considers the kinterm expressed in the root.

ama 'father'	makiama	to treat as a father
adi 'younger sibling'	makiadi	to treat as a younger sibling
adipen 'slave'	makiadipen	to treat as a slave
gayyem 'friend'	makigayyem	to treat as a friend, befriend

Makiinatayo kenkuana.  
 maki-ina=tayo kenkuana  
 COMIT-mother=1pINCL.A 3SOBL  
 'We treat her like our mother.'

With names of fruit, vegetables, or commodities, the prefix *maki-* indicates a request for the object specified.

nateng 'vegetable'	makinateng	to ask for vegetables
sida 'fish'	makisida	to ask for fish/food

bagas 'uncooked rice'	makibagas	to ask for rice
sayote 'sayote squash'	makisayote	to ask for <i>sayote</i>

Inkayo makisida.  
in=kayo maki-sida  
go=2pA COMIT-fish/food  
'Go ask for food.'

Like the prefix *ag-*, *maki-* may combine with other prefixes to form other complex comitative (social) verbs as seen in the following table and outlined in the following sections as indicated.

Table 8.3.7 Comitative (Social) *maki-* verbs

Simple comitative	<i>maki-</i>	Sec. 8.3.7
Reciprocal	<i>maki- -inn-</i>	Sec. 8.3.7.1
Desiderative	<i>maki- -um-</i>	Sec. 8.3.7.2
Social	<i>makika-</i>	Sec. 8.3.7.3
Comitative social	<i>makipag-</i> , <i>makipang-</i>	Sec. 8.3.7.4-5
Preterentative	<i>makipagin-</i> + RCV	Sec. 8.3.7.6
Theme	<i>makipagi-</i>	Sec. 8.3.7.7

#### 8.3.7.1 *Maki- -inn-*

The complex affix *maki- -inn-*, composed of the comitative prefix *maki-* and the reciprocal infix *-inn-*, forms reciprocal comitative verbs, specifying the reciprocity of an action performed in companionship with others.

Nakitinnulagda idi kalman.  
naki-tulag{inn}=da idi.kalman  
PF.COMIT-contract{RECIP}=3p yesterday  
'They made a contract with each other yesterday.'

Makiinniliwkami.  
maki-iliw{inn}=kami  
COMIT-nostalgia{RECIP}=1pEXCL.A  
'We miss each other.'

### 8.3.7.2 *Maki- -um-*

With the infix *-um-*, *maki-* is used to form comitative desideratives, specifying the desire to perform an action, usually in a social situation asking for permission. This affix combination is not general to all modern day Ilocano localities, and like many of the derivational prefixes, can be highly restricted to certain roots.

Makiuminumda.  
maki-um-inom = da  
COMIT-I-drink = 3p  
'They want to drink.'

Makidumamagak.  
maki-damag{um} = ak  
COMIT-ask{I} = 1sA  
'I want to ask (for information) (may I ask?).'

### 8.3.7.3 The prefix *makika-*

The complex prefix *makika-* is used to form comitative social verbs, designating actions performed in companionship, or among two or more people.

Nakikaidda dagiti ubbing kenkuana.  
naki-ka-idda dagiti ubing{R} kenkuana  
COMIT-PL-lay PL child{PL} 3sOBL  
'The children lay down with her.' (c)

Mabalin ti makikatugaw?  
ma-balin ti maki-ka-tugaw  
ABIL-possible ART COMIT-PL-sit  
'Is it possible to sit together (May I sit with you?)'

### 8.3.7.4. The prefix *makipag-*

The complex prefix *makipag-* (perfective form *nakipag-*) is used with *ag-* verbs to form comitative social verbs indicating, that an action is performed in the company of other people performing the same action. It may also be used to specify participation in a communal task (i.e. *makisao* 'to converse with others' vs. *makipagsao* 'to join in (with someone) on a talk among other people':

rikna 'feeling'	makipagrikna	to sympathize (share feelings with others)
naed 'dwell'	makipagnaed	to board with others
ili 'town'	makipagili	to become a citizen
tulag 'contract, agreement'	makipagtulag	to make a contract together
maysa 'one'	makipagmaymaysa	to unite with others
tawid 'inheritance'	makipagtawid	to inherit together

Isu ti maysa kadagiti nakipagbangon iti ilimi.  
isu ti maysa ka-dagiti nakipag-bangon iti ili=mi  
3s OBL one OBL-PL PF.COMIT-build OBL town=1pEXCL.E  
'He is one of those that helped build our town.'

Makipagriknaak kadakayo.  
makipag-rikna=ak kadakayo  
COMIT-feel=1sA 2pOBL  
'I sympathize with you (said to bereaved persons).'

Nakipagpuyatak kadakuada.  
nakipag-puyat=ak kadakuada  
PF.COMIT-stay.up.all.night=1sA 3pOBL  
'I stayed up all night with them.'

No makipagiliakton sadiay Amerika, petitionankanto met.  
no makipag-ili=ak=to=n sadiay Amerika, petition-an=ka=nto met  
if COMIT-town=1sA=FUT=EMPH there America petition-T=1/2=FUT also  
'If I become a citizen in America, I will petition you too.'

The prefix *makipag-* may be used with the reciprocal infix *-inn-* placed before the first vowel of the verb root to indicate that the action is performed in the company of other people performing a reciprocal action to each other.

tulong 'help'	makipagtinnulong	to join in on others who are helping each other
sungbat 'answer'	makipagsinnungbat	to join in on a poetry duel (verbal joust)
apa 'fight'	makipaginnapa	to join in on a fight or quarrel



Saanka a makipaginnapa.  
 saan=ka a makipag-apa{inn}  
 NEG=2sA LIG COMMIT-fight{RECIP}  
 'Don't join in on their quarrel.'

### 8.3.7.5 The prefix *makipang-* (*makipaN-*)

The complex prefix *makipang-* (perfective form *nakipang-*) specifies the same comitative social concept indicated by the prefix *makipag-*, but it is used with *mang-* verbs. The rules of phonological fusion with *paN-* affixation (Please see Phonology: homorganic nasal section) apply to this prefix.

kaan 'eat'	makipangan	to join in on others eating
bigat 'morning'	makipamigat	to join others eating breakfast
pumpon 'funeral'	makipamumpon	to attend a funeral
kuyog 'go with'	makipanguyog	to go along with others
aldaw 'day'	makipangaldaw	to join others eating lunch
dalus 'clean'	makipangdalus	to join others in cleaning

Napan nakipangan iti kaanakanna.  
 na-pan nakipaN-kaan iti ka-anak-an=na  
 PF-go COMMIT-eat OBL NOM-child-NOM=3sE  
 'He went to eat with his nephew (already eating with others).' (c)

### 8.3.7.6 The prefix *makipagin* + RCV

The complex prefix *makipagin-* + RCV is used with pretentative *agin-* + RCV verbs to indicate that the action of the stem is feigned in the company of other people.

luto 'cook'	makipaginluluto	to pretend to cook with others
tuleng 'deaf'	makipagintutuleng	to turn a deaf ear to others
baknang 'rich'	makipaginbabaknang	to pretend to be rich together
laing 'smart'	makipaginlalaing	to pretend to be smart together

Saanmo nga armenen. makipaginbabaknang laeng.  
 saan=mo nga arem-en=en makipag-in-R-baknang laeng  
 NEG=2sE LIG court-T=now COMMIT-PRET-R-rich just  
 'Don't court her, she is just pretending to be rich (along with them).'

### 8.3.7.7. The prefix *makipagi-*

The complex prefix *makipagi-* (perfective form *nakipagi-*) is used with *agi-* verbs to indicate that an action, usually involving transference of the absolutive nominal, is performed in the company of others.

ruar 'outside'	makipagiruar	to help bring outside
awid 'go home'	makipagyawid	to bring home with others
pan 'go; send'	makipagipan	to send along with others (also sending)
donar 'donate'	makipagidonar	to donate along with other donators

Innak makipagiruar iti alikamenna.  
 in=ak makipag-i-ruar iti alikamen=na  
 go=1sA COMMIT-THM-outside OBL furniture=3sE  
 'I am going to help (the others) bring out her furniture.'

### 8.3.8 Potentive verbs

Potentive verbs are those that typically lack the element of volition and include the following semantic areas: states of being, ability, need, and involuntary and accidental activity (Ferreirinho 1993:43).<sup>1</sup> In Ilocano, potentive verbs are formed with various permutations with the prefixes *maka-* (intransitive) or *ma-* (transitive). Sections 8.3.9-10 will detail the intransitive verbs in potentive mode.

### 8.3.9 The prefix *maka-*

The prefix *maka-* (perfective form *naka-*) is used to form intransitive potentive verbs involving abilitative, non-volitional (unintentional), or low energy actions. The following table illustrates the nature of infinitival verbs which take *maka-*.

Root	<i>maka-</i> verb	Gloss
dungpar 'bump'	makadungpar	to bump (accidentally)
dillaw 'notice'	makadlaw	to notice
kita 'see'	makakita	to see

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<sup>1</sup>Ferreirinho (1993) uses the term 'inactive' as opposed to 'active' to describe these verbs. I choose not to use those terms to avoid possible misinterpretations by scholars proficient in Native American tradition, and to account for semantic changes involved when these particular verbs appear in the perfective aspect.

bati 'stay behind'	makabati	to stay behind
dait 'sew'	makadait	to be able to sew

Siak ti nakakita iti lakay.  
 siak ti naka-kita iti lakay  
 1s ART PF.I.INVOL-see OBL old.man  
 'I was the one who saw the old man.' (c)

Awan ti nakadlaw kenkuana.  
 awan ti naka-dillaw kenkuana  
 NEG.EXIST ART PF.I-notice 3SOBL  
 'Nobody noticed her.'

Makalagtoda.  
 maka-lagto=da  
 ABIL-jump=3pA  
 'They can jump.'

*Maka-* can be prefixed to action roots to indicate ability. (Compare with *makapag-*).

dait 'sew'	makadait	to be able to sew
pan 'go'	makapan	to be able to go; go
uli 'climb'	makauli	to be able to climb
inum 'drink'	makainum	to be able to drink
taray 'run'	makataray	to be able to run
lagto 'jump'	makalagto	to be able to jump

Saanak a makabasa.  
 saan=ak a maka-basa  
 NEG=1sA LIG ABIL-read  
 'I do not know how to read; I can't read.'

Panaginana laengen ti makapaksiat iti sakitna.  
 pan-ag-inana laeng=en ti maka-paksiat iti sakit=na  
 NOM-I-rest only=EMPH ART ABIL-drive.away OBL sick=3sE  
 'Only rest can drive away his sickness.'

Siguro, makatakderakon a mapan makimisa.  
 siguro maka-takder=ak=(e)n a ma-pan maki-misa  
 maybe ABIL-stand=1sA=now LIG I-go COMMIT-mass  
 'Maybe I can stand up now to attend mass (speaker was sick).'

With roots expressing bodily functions and natural needs, the prefix *maka-* indicates the wish to perform an action, or fulfill a bodily need. The roots are sometimes reduplicated with initial CVC reduplication for this purpose.

baeng 'sneeze'	maka(ba)baeng	to feel like sneezing
isbo 'urine'	makaisbu	to need to urinate
sangit 'cry'	makasangit	to feel like crying
turog 'sleep'	maka(tur)turog	to feel sleepy
takki 'defecate'	makatakki	to want to defecate
inum 'drink'	makainum	to feel thirsty
muray 'get up in morning'	makamurmuray	to be ready to awake
katawa 'laugh'	makakatawa	to feel like laughing

Makababaengak     iti     ingel  
 maka-R-baeng=ak     iti     ingel  
 INVOL-R-sneeze=1sA OBL strength.of.liquor  
 'I feel like sneezing from the strength of the liquor.'

Like expressing bodily functions in which the absolutive argument has no control, the prefix *maka-* may similarly be used to form stative verbs that express states or emotions that are not necessarily under the total control of the person experiencing them.

rurod 'anger'	makarurod	to be angry
unget 'anger'	makaunget	to be angry
uma 'tire'	makauma	to be boring
suya 'nauseate'	makasuya	to be nauseous
basol 'fault'	makabasol	to be guilty

Sika pay ketdin                                     ti     makarurod.     manong.  
 sika pay ketdi=n                                    ti     maka-rurod     manong  
 2s     more     nevertheless=CONTR     ART     INVOL-anger     older.brother  
 'However, you are the one who is angry, older brother.'

With certain action roots, in which the absolutive argument is assumed to know how to perform the action, the prefix *maka-* indicates an accidental action, or a coincidental action which the absolutive argument manages to do (without total control or without exerting too much force). We can contrast these verbs with *ag-* verbs in which an action was done intentionally

(*agdungpar* 'to bump into on purpose vs. *makadungpar* 'to happen to bump into (coincidental)'; to bump into on accident (accidental).')

dungpar 'crash'	makadungpar	to crash into accidentally, happen to crash
danon 'arrive'	makadanon	to reach
lipat 'forget'	makalipat	to happen to forget
paliw 'observe'	makapaliw	to happen to observe
riing 'awake'	makariing	to awake
dillaw 'notice'	makadlaw	to notice

Nakapankan?

naka-pan=ka=n

ABIL-go=2sA=already

'Were you able to go already? Have you been there already?'

Nasakit ni Inang idi makariing iti kabigatanna.

na-sakit ni Inang idi maka-riing iti ka-bigat-an=na

ADJ-sick PA Inang PST INVOL-awake OBL NOM-morning-NOM=3sE

'Inang was sick when she woke up the next morning.'

The prefix *maka-* is sometimes used as a causative. For this purpose, the root usually undergoes initial CV reduplication.

tudo 'rain'	makatutudo	causing rain
aliaw 'fright'	makaaliaw	frightful
asi 'pity'	nakakaasi	pitiful, causing pity
sadut 'lazy'	makasasadut	causing laziness

Simgarak            iti    pannakangegko            iti    makaaliaw    a    taguob  
 seggar{in-um}=ak    iti    pan-maka-dengneg=ko    iti    maka-aliaw    a    taguob  
 bristle{PF-I}=1sA    OBL    NOM-INVOL-hear=1sE    OBL    CAUS-fright    LIG    howl

ti    aso  
 ART dog

'I was scared (bristled) on hearing the frightful howl of the dog.' (w)

maysa a makadayyeg-utek a kugtar  
 maysa a maka-dayyeg-utek a kugtar  
 one LIG CAUS-shake-brain LIG kick  
 'one head-spinning kick.'

With numeric roots, the prefix *maka-* indicates how many items the absolutive referent wants to get or buy, or how many things a place can contain.

Makapito ti luganko.  
 maka-pito ti lugan=ko  
 ABIL-seven ART car=1sE  
 'My car can hold seven people.'

Makalimaak.  
 maka-lima=ak  
 ABIL-five=1sA  
 'I want to buy/get five.' (c)

Sections 8.3.9.1-4 will illustrate complex prefixes formed with *maka-*.

### 8.3.9.1. The prefix *makai-*

The prefix complex *makai-* (perfective form: *nakai-*) is an intransitive verbalizing prefix specifying the non-volitional or abilitative form of *i-* verbs. Its transitive counterpart is *mai-*. Compare the following *makai-* verbs and their *i-* verb counterparts.

Root	<i>i-</i> verb	<i>makai-</i> verb
tured 'brave'	itured 'dare to'	makaitured 'be able to dare to do'
pan 'go'	ipan 'send'	makaipan 'be able to send'
parit 'forbid'	iparit 'forbid'	makaiparit 'be able to forbid'
gawid 'restrain'	igawid 'restrain something'	makaigawid 'hold back, be able to restrain'
taray 'run'	itaray 'run away with'	makaitaray 'be able to run away with'
bati 'leave'	ibati 'abandon'	makaibati 'be able to abandon'

Asino ti makaitured a mangpasardeng iti libut?  
 asino ti maka-i-tured a mang-pa-sardeng iti libut  
 who ART INVOL-THM-brave LIG DETR-CAUS-stop OBL procession  
 'Who dares (can have the courage) to stop the procession?'

Awan ti makaiparit iti aniaman a kayatko nga aramiden.  
 awan ti maka-i-parit iti aniaman a kayat=ko nga aramid-en  
 NEG.EXIST ART ABIL-THM-forbid OBL whatever LIG want=1sE LIG do-T  
 'Nobody can forbid whatever I want to do.'

### 8.3.9.2 The prefix *makapag-*

Like *maka-* verbs, the prefix *makapag-* (perfective form *nakapag-*) forms intransitive verbs that specify a possible or accidental action. However, the affix is used with *ag-* verbs and usually indicates instrumental or current possibility instead of absolute possibility due to physical inability, i.e. *diak makasurat* 'I can't write (because I don't know how) vs. *diak makapagsurat* 'I can't write (because I don't have a pen).'

sao 'speak'	makapagsao	to be able to speak (at a certain moment)
kuyog 'accompany'	makapagkuyog	to be able to accompany
tolua 'help'	makapagtulong	to be able to help
tugaw 'sit'	makapagtugaw	to be able to sit (with a chair)
nungtung 'converse'	makapagtungtung	to be able to converse

Saanaksan a makapagbayag itoy a biag.  
 saan=ak=sa=n a maka-pag-bayag itoy a biag  
 NEG=1sA=I.think=now LIG ABIL-INST-long.time this LIG life  
 'I don't think I can live much longer (I have the means to lengthen my life).'

Saanda a makapagsao. nabatombalani dagiti bibigda.  
 saan=da a maka-pag-sao na-batombalani dagiti bibig=da  
 NEG=3p LIG ABIL-INST-speak ADJ-magnet PL lip=3p  
 'They couldn't speak, their lips were magnetized to each other.' (w)

Saankami a nakapagalad, ta awanen ti semento.  
 saan=kami a naka-pag-alad ta awan=en ti semento  
 NEG=1pEXCL.A LIG PF.ABIL-INST-fence cause NEG.EXIST=now ART cement  
 'We weren't able to make a fence, because there wasn't any more cement.' (c)

Nasayaat ta makapagsasangotayo met laeng  
na-sayaat ta maka-pag-R-sango=tayo met.laeng  
ADJ-good LIG ABIL-INST-PL-face=1pINCL nevertheless  
‘It is good nevertheless that we were able to meet face to face (had this opportunity to..)’

The prefix *makapag-* may be used with the infix *-inn-*, inserted before the first vowel of the verb root, to indicate the ability to perform a reciprocal action.

tulong ‘help’	makapagtinnulong	to be able to help each other
kita ‘see’	makapagkinnita	to be able to see each other
dakulap ‘palm’	makapagdinnakulap	to be able to shake hands with each other
bisong ‘kiss’	makapagbinnisong	to be able to kiss one another

Inawisna ida ketdi a mangrabii iti balayna tapno  
in-awis=na ida ketdi a mang-rabii iti balay=na tapno  
PF.T-invite=3sE 3sOBL anyway LIG I-night OBL house=3sE so

makapagdidinnamagda.  
maka-pag-R-damag{inn}=da  
ABIL-INST-PL-ask{RECIP}=3p

‘He invited them over anyway to dine at his house so they can converse with each other.’  
(w)

### 8.3.9.3. The prefix *makapang-* (*makapaN-*)

The prefix *makapang-* (perfective *nakapang-*) specifies ability to perform an action like the prefix *makapag-* but is used with *mang-* verbs.

kaan ‘eat’	makapangan	to be able to eat
baut ‘beat’	makapamaut	to be able to beat
tiliw ‘catch’	makapangtiliw	to be able to catch
lingay ‘entertain, comfort’	makapanglingay	to be able to entertain

Saanda a makapanusa kenkuana.  
saan=da a maka-paN-dusa kenkuana  
NEG=3p LIG ABIL-INST-punish 3sOBL  
‘They cannot punish him.’



### 8.3.9.4 The prefix *makapagin-* + RCV

The complex prefix *makapagin-* (perfective form *nakapagin-*) accompanied by initial CV reduplication of the verb root, forms intransitive verbs of abilitative pretense.

ruleng 'deaf'	makapaginnutuleng	to be able to pretend to be deaf
bulsek 'blind'	makapagimbubulsek	to be able to feign blindness
pilay 'lame'	makapagimpipilay	to be able to pretend to walk with a limp
laing 'intelligent'	makapaginlalaing	to be able to pretend to be intelligent
baknang 'rich'	makapagimbabaknang	to be able to feign wealth

Diak        makapaginsisingpet.  
 di=ak      makapag-in-R-singpet  
 NEG=1sA ABIL-PRET-R-virtue  
 'I cannot pretend to be virtuous.'

### 8.3.10 Intransitive *ma-*

The prefix *ma-* may be used to form stative or experiential verbs or adjectives (See *na-* Adjective chapter.) These words take absolutive arguments to encode the experiencer of the state or quality expressed by the adjective. Among the few intransitive verbs and adjectives formed with *ma-* are *maallilaw* 'confused,' *maariiek* 'to be disgusted by', *mabayag* 'to be a long time in doing', *mabannog* 'to tire', *mabileg* 'strong, potent, full grown,' *mabisin* 'hungry', *maengkanto* 'to be charmed', *maingel* 'brave', *manakem* 'wise, judicious', *masakit* 'sick', *masdaaw* 'surprised', *masirib* 'wise', *mauyong* 'crazy', and *mawaw* 'thirsty.'

Mabisinkan?  
 ma-bisin=ka=n  
 ADJ-hungry-2sA=already  
 'Are you hungry?'

No diak        maallilaw,    asideg ti    gameng iti    pagkalkalianyo.  
 no di=ak      ma-alliliaw    asideg ti    gameng iti    pag-R-kali-an=yo  
 if    NEG=1sA ADJ-confuse    near    ART    treasure    OBL    LOC-CONT-dig-T=2sE  
 'If I'm not mistaken, the treasure is close to where you are digging.' (w)

No madesgrasiakami, sikanto ti makaammo.  
 no ma-desgrasia=kami sika=nto ti maka-ammo  
 if ADJ-accident=1pEXCL.A 2s=FUT ART INVOL-know  
 'If we have an accident, you will be the one responsible.'

Ta uray karurodko a denggen ket kasla maengkantoak.  
 ta uray ka-rurod=ko a dengngeg-en ket kasla ma-engkanto=ak  
 cause even NOM-anger=1sE LIG listen-T INV like ADJ-charm=1sA  
 'Because even if I get angry listening to it, it seems like I get charmed too (by the music that makes her remember a bad past).'

Imbannayatna tapno saan a nalaka a mabannog.  
 i{in}-bannayat=na tapno saan a na-laka a ma-bannog  
 T{PF}-slow=3sE so.that NEG LIG ADJ-easy LIG ADJ-tire  
 'He did it slowly (rowing) so he wouldn't tire easily.'

Some intransitive *ma-* verbs (or adjectives) used this way may take the agent or cause of the action in the oblique case, similar to the English passive construction.

Nariingak iti pannakaiggem ti pinguapunguak.  
 na-riing=ak iti paN-maka-iggem ti pinguapungan=ko  
 PF-wake=1sA OBL NOM-ABIL-grip ART wrist=1sE  
 'I was awakened by (someone's) grip of my wrist.'

#### 8.4. Transitive Affixes

Transitive affixes derive verbs that may take two arguments in the form of enclitic pronouns, an ergative agent and an absolutive patient or experiencer. They have one extra argument in their case frames (an affected patient or experiencer) than their intransitive counterparts.

Root	Intransitive verb ( <i>ag-</i> , <i>-um-</i> , etc.)	Transitive verb ( <i>-en</i> , <i>-an</i> , <i>i-</i> etc.)
asin 'salt'	agasin 'to use salt'	asinan 'to pour salt on'
gatang 'buy'	aggatang 'buy, go shopping'	gatangan 'to buy something'
takder 'stand'	tumakder 'stand up'	takderan 'stand for something, represent, honor one's word'
taray 'run'	agtaray 'run'	itaray 'to run away with'
isbu 'urine'	umisbu 'to urinate'	isbuan 'to urinate on'

adayo 'far'	umadayo 'go away'	adaywan 'get away from someone'
labus 'nude'	aglabus 'to undress oneself'	labusan 'to undress someone else; denude'
lasat 'cross'	lumasat 'pass over'	lasaten 'cross over'
pan 'go'	mapan 'go'	ipan 'send'

Intransitive verbs from the roots *takder* 'stand' and *takaw* 'steal'

Timmakder dagiti dutdutko.  
 takder{in-um} dagiti dutdut=ko  
 stand{PF-I} PL body.hair=1sE  
 'My body hair bristled (stood up from fright).'

Pumanawkan!  
 panaw{um}=ka=n  
 leave{I}=2sA=now  
 'Leave! (Get out of here!).'

Agtaktakawka payen tapno adda ipalamutmo kenkuana?  
 ag-R-takaw=ka pay=en tapno adda i-pa-lamut=mo kenkuana  
 I-CONT-steal=2sA still=now so EXIST T-CAUS-food=2sE 3SOBL  
 'You are still stealing so you can feed her?' (w)

Transitive verbs of the roots *takder* 'stand', *panaw* 'leave' and *takaw* 'steal'

Itakdermo ti dayawko.  
 i-takder=mo ti dayaw=ko  
 T-stand=2sE ART honor=1sE  
 'Stand up for my honor.'

Ipanawmo ti kotsek ditoy.  
 i-panaw=mo ti kotse=ko ditoy  
 T-leave=2sE ART car=1sE here  
 'Get my car out of here.'

Tinakawandakon!  
 takaw{in}-an=da=ak=en  
 steal{PF}-T=3pE=1sA=already  
 'They robbed me!'

### 8.4.1 Transitive indicative verbs

This section will illustrate the properties of the transitive indicative verbs as shown in Table 8.4.1. For a treatment of the transitive potential affixes, please see Sec. 8.4.2:

Table 8.4.1 Indicative transitive verbs

Semantic role	Affix	Section
Patient	<i>-en</i>	8.4.1.1
Locative	<i>-an</i>	8.4.1.2
Theme	<i>i-</i>	8.4.1.3
Benefactive	<i>i- -an</i>	8.4.1.4
Amplificational	<i>ika-</i>	8.4.1.5

#### 8.4.1.1 The suffix *-en*

The suffix *-en* is used to form transitive verbs where an action is done (intentionally) to someone or something. Since the absolutive argument of *-en* verbs is patientive, this suffix is called a 'patient focus' verbalizer.

Root	<i>-en</i> verb	Gloss
basa 'read'	basaen	to read something
adal 'study'	adalen	to study something
gatang 'buy'	gatangan	to buy something
surat 'write'	suraten	to write something
pati 'believe'	patien	to believe something
sagaysay 'comb'	sagaysayen	to comb someone
tulad 'copy'	tuladen	to copy something
tarimaan 'fix'	tarimnen	to fix something
kaan 'eat'	kanen	to eat something
ulbod 'lie'	ulboden	to lie to someone
sipat 'slap'	sipaten	to slap someone
sipit 'forceps'	sipiten	to pick up with forceps
uli 'climb'	ulien	to climb up something

Saanka a patien.  
 saan=ko=ka a pati-en  
 NEG=1sE=2sA LIG believe-T  
 'I don't believe you.'

Dispensarennak.  
 dispensar-en=mo=ak  
 excuse-T=2sE=1sA  
 'Excuse me.'

Sinirigna a naimbag ti bunga ti atis a suksukdalen ti ~~balsang~~  
 sirig{in}=na a na-imbag ti bunga ti atis a R-sukdal-en ti ~~balsang~~  
 aim{PF.T}=3sE LIG ADJ-good ART fruit ART atis LIG CONT-hook-T ARTlady  
 'He aimed well at the custard apple fruit that the girl was collecting with the *sukdal* hook  
 (used to collect fruits from tall trees).' (w)

The perfective form of the suffix *-en* is the infix *-in-* which is placed before the first vowel of the root. Unlike the perfective forms of *-an* verbs, the suffix *-en* is not retained:

Root	<i>-en</i> verb	Perfective aspect
aramid 'do'	aramiden	inaramid
ragpat 'achieve'	ragpaten	rinagpat
parti 'slaughter'	partien	pinarti
surat 'write'	suraten	sinurat

Pinidutna ti botelia iti datar.  
 pidut{in}=na ti botelia iti datar  
 pick.up{T.PF}=3sE ART bottle OBL floor  
 'He picked up the bottle from the floor.'

Inilutna ti naktangan a teltelna.  
 ilut{in}=na ti na-kettang-an a teltel=na  
 massage{PF.T}=3sE ART ADJ-fatigue-T LIG nape=3sE  
 'She massaged his tired nape.' (w)

With some nominal roots, the suffix *-en* is used to form verbs that indicate that an action results in the making or obtaining of the item designated by the root.

kayo 'wood'	kaywen	to cut into firewood
saya 'skirt'	sayaen	to make into a skirt
kawar 'chain'	kawaren	to make into a chain

bolo 'machete'		boluen	to make into a machete
alad 'fence'		aladen	to make into a fence
Kawarem	'toy	balitok.	
kawar-en=mo	toy	balitok	
chain-T=2sE	this	gold	
'Make a chain (necklace) out of this gold.' (c)			

With certain stative (adjectival) roots, the suffix *-en* may form transitive verbs.

panay	pure: only: all	panayen	to do continuously
bastos	rude	bastosen	to disrespect, treat rudely
ragsak	happy	ragsaken	to be happy about
bassit	small	bassit-bassiten	to do little by little
sayaat	good	sayaaten	to do something well
dakes	bad	daksen	to consider something bad

Ragsakem kadi no pumusay?  
 ragsak-en=mo kadi no pusay{um}  
 happy-T=2sE QUES if die{I}  
 'Will you be happy about it if he dies?'

Singpetek ti ubingko.  
 singpet-en=ko ti ubing=ko  
 well.behaved-T=1sE ART child=1sE  
 'I consider my child well behaved.'

Binastosna ti anakko.  
 bastos{in}=na ti anak=ko  
 rude{PF}=3sE ART child=1sE  
 'He treated my child rudely (disrespected him).'

With some temporal or adverbial roots, *-en* may be used to indicate the temporality or manner of action involved in a nominalized complement.

Sapaemto ti agriing.  
 sapa-en=mo=to ti ag-riing  
 early-T=2sE=FUT ART I-awake  
 'You will wake up early (command).'

Parbangonentayo ti agriing no bigat.  
 parbangon-en=tayo ti ag-riing no bigat  
 dawn-T=1pINCL ART I-wake.up FUT morning  
 'Let's wake up early (at dawn) tomorrow.'

Inin-inut ni Basilio a ginuyod ti ules agingga iti timudna.  
 R-inut{in} ni Basilio a guyod{in} ti ules agingga iti timud=na  
 R-gradual{PF.T} PA Basilio a pull{PF.T} ART blanket until OBL chin=3sE  
 'Basilio gradually pulled his blanket up to his chin.' (w)

Sinaggaysa nga inisipna dagiti kakabagianna.  
 sag{in}-ysa nga isip{in}=na dagiti R-ka-bagi-an=na  
 DIST{PF}-one LIG think{PF.T}=3sE PL PL-COMIT-body-NOM=3sE  
 'He thought about his relatives one by one.' (w)

With parts of the body, the suffix *-en* may be used to form verbs indicating that a certain action is performed with the body part expressed in the root.

Saksakaenyo ti agsukat.  
 R-saka-en=yo ti ag-sukat  
 CONT-feet-T=2pE ART I-measure  
 'Measure it with your feet.' (w)

Matmataem.  
 R-mata-en=mo  
 CONT-eye-T=2sE  
 'Do it by sight (using your eyes).'

Siniko ni Vera kaniak.  
 siko{in} ni Vera kaniak  
 elbow{PF.T} PA Vera ISOBL  
 'Vera elbowed me.'

Im-imaenda ti agpidut iti basura.  
 R-ima-en=da ti ag-pidut iti basura  
 CONT-hand-T=3p ART I-pick.up OBL garbage  
 'They pick up garbage with their hands.'

The suffix *-en* may also take single absolutive arguments, like intransitive verbs. When *-en* is applied to meteorological phenomena or ailments, it indicates that the absolutive referent is experiencing or suffering the condition specified by the root. With agents of infestation (such as insects, birds, etc.), the suffix *-en* forms stems denoting the infestation.

lammin 'cold'	lamminen	to be affected by the cold
lam-ek 'cold'	lam-eken	to be affected by the cold
anges 'breath'	angsen	asthmatic (suffering from breathing)
gurrud	gurruden	to be hit by thunder
kimat 'lightning'	kimaten	to be struck by lightning
aso 'dog'	asuen	to be attacked by dogs
anay 'termite'	anayen	to be infested with termites
igges 'worm'	iggesen	to be infested with worms
pudot 'heat'	pudoten	to feel hot
kuton 'ant'	kutonen	to be attacked by ants
kuto 'louse'	kutuen	to be infested with lice

Iggesen kuma 'ta ngiwatmo!  
 igges-en kuma 'ta ngiwat=mo  
 worm-T OPT that mouth=2sE  
 'May your mouth be infested with worms.'

Kutonen kano ti tianmo no uminomka iti uray ania a  
 kuton-en kano ti tian=mo no um-inom=ka iti uray.ania a  
 ant-T HRSY ART stomach=2sE if I-drink=2sA OBL any LIG

nasam-it a pagpalamiis.  
 na-sam'it a pag-pa-lamiis  
 ADJ-sweet LIG INST-CAUS-cold

'Your stomach will be infested with ants supposedly if you drink any kind of sweet refreshment.'

Kinimatak idi kalman.  
 kimat{in}=ak idi.kalman  
 lightning{PF.T}=1sA yesterday  
 'I was struck by lightning yesterday.' (c)

With body parts, the suffix *-en* may also indicate pain associated with the body part referred to by the root. The person suffering from the pain is encoded in the absolutive case.



bakrang 'back'	bakrangen	to feel pain in the back
siket 'waist'	siketen	to feel pain in the waist
karabukob 'throat'	karabukoben	to have a sore throat

Bakrangenak.  
 bakrang-en=ak  
 back-T=1sA  
 'I'm suffering from back pains.'

The suffix *-en* may also be used in intransitive case frames with certain adjectival roots, a function similar to that of the intransitive (adjectival) prefix *ma-*. The *-en* verbs used this way, however, perhaps differ from the *ma-* verbs in that there is usually an understood cause that is responsible for the state or condition named by the root. The intentional transitive *-en* verb, then, may lexicalize certain concepts that fit this pattern.

Alimbagenak.  
 alimbagen-en=ak  
 insomnia-T=1sA  
 'I have insomnia (am restless).'

Alusiisenak      iti      sumuno      a      rabii.  
 alusiis-en=ak    iti      suno{um}    a      rabii  
 restless-T=1sA    OBL    next{I}      LIG    night  
 'I was restless the next day (due to the understood circumstances of the day before).'

Lamutenen      ti      apuy.  
 lamut-en=en    ti      apuy  
 food-T=already    ART    fire  
 'It is already consumed by the fire (the burned house).'

#### 8.4.1.2 The suffix *-an*

The suffix *-an* (perfective form *-in-* *-an*) forms transitive locative verbs, which specify actions done at a particular location or to a particular thing or person (expressed by the absolutive nominal). Verb roots in Ilocano have lexical restrictions on whether they may transitivize with *-an*, *-en*, or both: no grammatical rule may explicate the distinction of suffix choice for all verbs, but this section will detail verbs that can take both affixes. The following chart depicts the semantics involved with the transitive *-an* suffix:

bay-a 'neglect'	bay-an	to neglect, leave alone
anus 'kind'	anusan	to deal with in a kind manner, tolerate
raman 'flavor'	ramanan	to taste
libas 'slip away unnoticed'	libasan	to slip away from a place unnoticed
matmat 'stare'	matmatan	to stare at someone
ayab 'call'	ayaban	to call someone
bayad 'price'	bayadan	to pay for
sukat 'change'	sukatan	to exchange, change something
tawar 'haggle'	tawaran	to haggle for something

Bay-am            latta.  
 bay'a-an=mo    latta  
 neglect-T=2sE   just  
 'Never mind, just let it be.'

Minatmatanna    ti    nasaem   a   libbi   ti   ubing.  
 matmat{in}-an=na   ti    na-saem   a   libbi   ti   ubing  
 stare{PF}-T=3sE   ART   ADJ-pain   LIG   pout   ART   child  
 'He stared at the painful pout of the child.' (w)

The *-an* verbs frequently take locations or personal (human) absolutive arguments.

pattog 'capsize: pour'	pattogan	to pour into (a glass)
tulong 'help'	tulongan	to help someone
tutop 'equal, agree'	tutupan	to equal, match someone else
takaw 'steal'	takawan	to rob someone
libbi 'pout'	libbian	to pout at someone
kalub 'cover, lid'	kaluban	to cover something
lukas 'uncover'	lukasan	to uncover something
ulsan 'blanket'	ulsan	to put a blanket over
sibug 'water'	sibugan	to water plants

singsing 'ring'	singsingan	to put a ring on someone
labus 'naked'	labusan	to undress someone, denude
isbu 'urine'	isbuan	to urinate on
kaykay 'sweep'	kaykayan	to sweep a place
asin 'salt'	asinan	pour salt on

Labusam        'diay ubing.  
 labus-an=mo    diay ubing  
 naked-T=2sE    DIST child  
 'Take the clothes off that child.'

Kayatko    a    sangitan    ken    dung-awan    ngem    saanak    nga    aglua  
 kayat=ko    a    sangit-an    ken    dung'aw-an    ngem    saan=ak    nga    ag-lua  
 want=1sE    LIG    cry-T        and    lament-T     but    NEG=1sA    LIG    I-tear

ken makatimek.  
 ken maka-timek  
 and INVOL-voice

'I want to cry for her and lament her (speaking of a dead lady), but I don't cry or utter a sound.' (w)

The suffix *-an* is often used with action roots to express the augmentation or subtraction (depletion) of the absolutive nominal in the manner expressed by the root.

tuyag 'pour'	tuyagan	to fill up a glass from a bottle
kissay 'lessen'	kissayan	to diminish, lessen
ikkat 'take away'	ikkatan	to diminish, lessen
ilap 'slice'	ilapan	to cut a slice from
iwa 'slice, carve'	iwaan	to cut from, carve, cut a slice from
silpo 'connect'	silpuan	to join, connect to
nayon 'add'	nayonan	to increase, add to
degdeg 'intensify'	degdegan	to intensify
kartib 'scissors'	kartiban	to cut off with scissors

pukis 'haircut'	pukisan	to cut off one's hair
putol 'decapitate'	putolan	to cut off one's head

Nayonam pay.  
 nayon-an=mo pay  
 add-T=2sE more  
 'Add some more (phrase used at the market to ask for additional food for free).'

Degdegam laeng ti saem ti napalabas a diak pay laeng  
 degdeg-an=mo laeng ti saem ti na-palabas a di=ak pay laeng  
 increase-T=2sE just ART pain ART ADJ-past LIG NEG=1s still only

malipatan agingga ita.  
 ma-lipat-an agingga ita  
 ABIL-forget-T until now

'You are just intensifying the pain of the past that I still am not able to forget until now.'  
 (w)

With numeric roots, the suffix *-an* may designate how much was paid for the absolutive referent. When the absolutive nominal is numeric or a price, the *-an* verb generally refers to how much was earned by performing the action of the verb stem:

Salapi ti tinibbiak.  
 salapi ti tabi{in}-an=ko  
 one.half.peso ART spin.cotton{PF}-T=1sE  
 'I earned half a peso spinning cotton.' (c)

Winaluanmi ti manok.  
 walo{in}-an=mi ti manok  
 eight{PF}-T=1pEXCL.E ART chicken  
 'We paid eight pesos for the chicken.' (c)

Verbs taking the transitive suffix *-an* are not easily distinguishable semantically from those that take *-en*. No clear rules can be given to specify which verbal root will take which transitive suffix. Some roots may take both *-en* and *-an* with the subtle difference of a human vs. non-human patientive argument, or locational vs. non-locational frame.

Root	-en verb	-an verb
surat 'write'	suraten 'to write something'	suratan 'to write to someone'
sagawisiw 'whistle'	sagawisiwen 'to whistle a tune'	sagawisiwan 'to whistle at someone'
tapuak 'jump down'	tapuaken 'throw down something'	tapuakan 'throw down someone'
alad 'fence'	aladen 'make into a fence'	aladan 'build a fence around'
sagad 'broom'	sagaden 'to sweep away dirt'	sagadan 'to sweep the ground'
suro 'learn'	suruen 'to learn something'	suruan 'to teach someone'

The *-an* verbs are not the only transitive verbs that take human patients. Many transitive *-en* verbs may also take human patientive arguments, i.e. *paltogen* 'to shoot something or someone', *bauten* 'to whip someone', *panaen* 'to shoot something/someone with an arrow', etc.

#### 8.4.1.3 The prefix *i-*

The prefix *i-* (perfective form *in-* before consonants and *iny-* before vowels<sup>2</sup>) forms transitive theme focus verbs, in which the absolutive argument is in some way moved or conveyed. Common verbs taking the prefix *i-* include *ibaga* 'to say', *ibilin* 'to order', *ibitin* 'to hang', *idisso* 'to put, place', *iduron* 'to push', *igalut* 'to tie', *ikabil* 'to put, place', *ikali* 'to dig', *ikari* 'to promise', *ikkan* 'to give', *ilemmeng* 'hide', *ipan* 'to send', *ipasnek* 'to do diligently, fervently', *ipattog* 'pour', *iraman* 'to include', *isangpet* 'to bring home', *isubli* 'to return', *itagay* 'to raise', *ited* 'to give', *yalis* 'to move', *itugot* 'to bring with', *yarig* 'to compare', *yawid* 'to bring home', *yeg* 'to bring' and *yuli* 'to bring up.'

Nakakallugong	iti	daydi	daan	a	kallugong	nga	insangpetna.
naka-kallugong	iti	daydi	daan	a	kallugong	nga	i{in}-sangpet=na
ADJ-hat	OBL	PST	old	LIG	hat	LIG	T{PF}-arrive=3sE
'He was wearing that old hat that he brought home.'							

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<sup>2</sup>The perfective form is derived historically from the prefix [ʔi-] and the perfective infix [-in-]. In modern Ilocano, the *i* vowel of the prefix deletes with the infixation before consonant-initial roots. In order to simplify the gloss reading, I will show the perfective segmentation of *i-* verbs as deriving from two prefixes.

Intag-ayna ti imana a panag-Dios-ti-agbati kadakami.  
*i*{in}-tag'ay=na ti ima=na a pan-ag-Dios-ti-ag-bati kadakami  
 T{PF}-raise=3sE ART hand=3sE LIG NOM-I-God-ART-I-remain 1pEXCL.OBL  
 'He raised his hand to say good bye to us.' (w)

The prefix *i-* may appear with locative roots to indicate the transference of the referent expressed in the absolutive case to the place specified by the root. With some action roots, it indicates the transference or movement of the absolutive argument in the manner expressed by the root:

abut 'hole'	yabut	to put it in a hole
adayo 'far'	yadayo	to put far. put away
ampir 'near'	yampir	to place it near
asideg 'near'	yasideg	to put it near
awid 'go home'	yawid	to bring it home
baba 'below, down'	ibaba	to put it down
ditoy 'here'	iditoy	to put it here
ngato 'high, up'	ingato	to put it up
ruar 'outside'	iruar	to take it outside
serrek 'enter, inside'	iserrek	to put inside
sakmol 'in mouth'	isakmol	to put in the mouth
uneg 'inside'	yuneg	to put inside

Insakmolna ti sappupona a mani.  
*i*{in}-sakmol=na ti sappupo=na a mani  
 T{PF}-in.mouth=3sE ART handful=3sE LIG peanut  
 'He put a handful of peanuts in his mouth.'

Imbaw-ingna ti ulona ket kinitana ti dapuen a langit.  
*i*{in}-baw'ing=na ti ulo=na ket kita{in}=na ti dapo-en a langit  
 T{PF}-turn=3sE ART head=3sE and see{PF}=3sE ART ash-ADJ LIGsky  
 'He turned his head and saw the gray sky.' (w)

With adjectival roots, the prefix *i-* forms transitive verbs depicting the manner in which something is done, usually expressed in a complement clause.

Imbannayatna tapno saan a nalaka a mabannog.  
 i{in}-bannayat=na tapno saan a na-laka a ma-bannog  
 T{PF}-slow=3sE so.that NEG LIG ADJ-easy LIG ADJ-tire  
 'He did it slowly (rowing) so he wouldn't tire easily.'

Impasnekko ti nagadal.  
 i{in}-pa-sennek=ko ti n-ag-adal  
 T{PF}-CAUS-penetrate=1sE ART PF-I-study  
 'I studied fervently.'

Ikastoymo.  
 i-kas-toy=mo  
 T-like-this=2sE  
 'Do it like this.'

Apay nga inkasdiayna?  
 apay nga i{in}-kas-diay=na  
 why LIG T{PF}-like-DIST=3sE  
 'Why did she do it like that?'

Sometimes *i-* verbs may be distinguished from *-en* verbs by the semantic relationship of the absolutive argument to the verb. The *i-* verb may take an instrumental absolutive argument while the *-en* verb may take an affected patient, i.e. *gatangen* 'to buy, purchase something' vs. *igatang* 'to purchase with, buy with'; *kuyogen* 'to accompany' vs. *ikuyog* 'to take someone along as one's companion, bring along with.'

Pisos ti inggatangko.  
 pisos ti i{in}-gatang=ko  
 peso ART T{PF}-buy=1sE  
 'I bought it with a peso.'

Daytoy ti ginatangna.  
 daytoy ti gatang{in}=na  
 this ART buy{PF.T}=3sE  
 'This is what she bought.'

Kuyogenkanto no kayatmo.  
 kuyog-en=ko=ka=nto no kayat=mo  
 accompany-T=1sE=2sA=FUT if want=2sE  
 'I'll accompany you if you want.'

Nariknana ti lamiis a pul-oy nga inkuyog ti arbis.  
na-rikna=na ti lamiis a pul'oy nga i{in}-kuyog ti arbis  
INVOL.PF-feel=3sE ART cool LIG breeze LIG T{PF}-accompany ART drizzle  
'She felt the cool breeze that the drizzle brought in.' (w)

Notice in the following two sentences with the stem *patay* 'kill' that the *i-* verb takes an absolutive causer, while the *-en* verb takes a absolutive patient.

Batibat ti impatayna.  
batibat ti i{in}-pa-tay=na  
nightmare ART T{PF}-CAUS-die=3sE  
'Nightmares were the cause of her death.'

Ni Martina ti pinatayna.  
Ni Martina ti pa{in}-tay=na  
PA Martina ART CAUS{PF}-die=3sE  
'Martina is the one she killed.' (c)

Aside from a few verbs that may or may not take instrumental absolutive arguments, there are no definite rules as to which verb roots take *-en* vs. *i-* transitive affixation; the verbs must be learned by rote. Verb roots that may appear with both affixes often have minor semantic distinctions between the forms as shown below:

Root	<i>-en</i> verb	<i>i-</i> verb
kabil 'put'	kabilen 'fight'	ikabil 'put, place'
ragpat 'achieve, acquire'	ragpaten 'obtain, acquire, achieve'	iragpat 'dignify, promote, honor'
abay 'side'	abayen 'to escort, accompany'	yabay 'to compare, place beside'
awid 'go home'	awiden 'convince, win over to one's side'	yawid 'bring home'
subli 'return'	sublien 'to go back for'	isubli 'to give back, return something'

#### 8.4.1.4 *i-* *-an* verbs

The prefix *i-* is used with the suffix *-an* to form benefactive verbs in which the absolutive action is the beneficiary of the action of the verb. The perfective form is *in-* *-an* before consonants and *iny-* *-an* before vowels:



Root	<i>i-</i> <i>-an</i> benefactive verb	Gloss
gatang 'buy'	igatangan	to buy something for someone
luto 'cook'	ilutuan	to cook something for someone
dasar 'set table'	idasaran	to set the table for someone
gasat 'luck'	igasatan	to read the fortune for someone
dawat 'ask for'	idawatan	to ask for something for somebody

No kayatmon ti mangan, ibagam ta idasarankan.  
 no kayat=mo=n ti mang-kaan i-baga=mo ta i-dasar-an=ka=n  
 if want=2sE=now ART DETR-eat T-say=2sE LIG THM-set.table-T=1/2=now  
 'If you want to eat already, say so and I will set the table for you.'

Inggatangannakayo iti kalding.  
 i{in}-gatang-an=na=kayo iti kalding  
 THM{PF}-buy-T=3sE=2pA OBL goat  
 'She bought the goat for you.'

*I-* *-an* derivation also appears with certain roots to form lexicalized verbs such as *igasatan* 'to tell the fortune to' or *ibuksilan* 'to explain, express one's feelings or desires.'

Ibuksilanyon ti gagarayo.  
 i-buksil-an=yo=n ti gagara=yo  
 THM-husk-T=2pE=already ART plan=2pE  
 'Express your intention.'

With some verbs, it indicates the manner in which the ergative argument pays a debt or earns something (Vanoverbergh 1955:169).

Indaitak ti utangko.  
 i{in}-dait-an=ko ti utang=ko  
 THM{PF}-sew-T=1sE ART debt=1sE  
 'I paid my debt by sewing.' (c)

#### 8.4.1.5 The prefix *ika-*

The complex prefix *ika-* (perfective form *inka-*, intransitive form *mangika-*) forms amplificational verbs; it is used mainly with adjectival roots to form transitive verbs that designate increase in size or intensity.

lawa 'wide'	ikalawa	to widen something
dakkel 'big'	ikadakkel	to enlarge something
bassit 'small'	ikabassit	to diminish, lessen, shorten
adu 'many'	ikaadu	to multiply, mass produce
atiddog 'long'	ikaatiddog	to lengthen

Diyo	met	panggep	aya	nga	ikalawa	ken	ikadakkel
di=yo	met	panggep	aya	nga	i-ka-lawa	ken	i-ka-dakkel
NEG=2pE	also	aim	PART	LIG	INST-AMPL-wide	and	INST-COMIT-big

ti kapiliatayo?  
 ti kapilia=tayo  
 ART chapel=1pINCL.A

'Isn't it also your intention to enlarge and widen the chapel?'

The prefix *ika-* may also be used with some manner or temporal roots, with or without the suffix *-an*, to indicate that the action or state expressed has been performed or experienced since the time or in the manner specified in the root.

Inkasigudda	ti	panaglastog.
i{in}-ka-sigud=da	ti	pan-ag-lastog
T{PF}-AMPL-beginning=3pE	ART	NOM-I-deceit

'They have been deceitful since the beginning (inherently).' (w)

Inkarigatak	a	pinaliday	ti	timekko.
i{in}-ka-rigat-an=ko	a	pa{in}-liday	ti	timek=ko
T{PF}-AMPL-hard-T=1sE	LIG	CAUS{PF}-sad	ART	voice=1sE

'I tried hard to make my voice sad.' (w)

Inkaubinganna	ti	panagayatna	kenkuana.
i{in}-ka-ubing-an=na	ti	pan-ag-ayat=na	kenkuana
T{PF}-AMPL-child-T=3sE	ART	NOM-I-love=3sE	3sOBL

'He loved her since he was young (since childhood).'

## 8.4.2 Potentive transitive verbs

Potentive transitive verbs, verbs typically involving states of being, incidental, unintentional or non-controlled actions, are derived in Ilocano with the prefix *ma-*. This section will illustrate the uses of the prefix *ma-* and other complex prefixes derived with *ma-*.

### 8.4.2.1 The prefix *ma-*

The transitive prefix *ma-* (perfective form *na-*) forms transitive potentive (abilitative or non-control) verbs. With transitive action verb roots, it often expresses the ability to perform the action to a specific entity:

dait 'sew'	madait	to be able to sew it
baut 'beat'	mabaut	to be able to beat someone
tiliw 'catch'	matiliw	to be able to catch it
aramid 'do'	maaramid	to be able to do it
tarimaan 'fix'	matarimaan	to be able to fix it

Nadaitko            diay blusana.  
na-dait=ko        diay blusa=na  
PF.ABIL-sew=1sE DIST blouse=3sE  
'I was able to sew her blouse.'

When used with transitive *-en* verbs, the *ma-* prefix does not retain the suffix *-en*. With *-an* verbs, however, the suffix *-an* is preserved:

sabidong 'poison'	sabidongan 'poison someone'	masabidongan 'be able to poison someone'
baut 'whip'	bauten 'whip someone'	mabaut 'be able to whip someone'
pakawan 'forgive'	pakawanen 'forgive'	mapakawan 'be able to forgive'

Ammok    a    saannakto            a    mapakawan.  
ammo=ko a    saan=mo=ak=to    a    ma-pakawan  
know=1sE LIG NEG=2sE=1sA=FUT LIG ABIL-forgive  
'I know you will not be able to forgive me.'

Saanmo    a    masabidongan    ti    panunotko.  
saan=mo    a    ma-sabidong-an    ti    panunot=ko  
NEG=2sE LIG ABIL-poison-T ART thought=1sE  
'You cannot poison my thoughts.'

Many *ma-* verbs of this type may take either ergative or absolutive pronominal arguments, depending on the inherent semantics of the root. Patientive arguments, those that undergo the action of the verb are encoded in the absolutive case, while agentive or actor arguments are in the ergative case:

*Ma-* verb with absolutive pronouns

*matiliw* 'to be caught'  
 Natiliwak 'I was caught'  
 Natiliwka 'you were caught'  
 Natiliw. 's/he was caught'

*mabati* 'to be left, abandoned'  
 Nabatiak. 'I was left behind'

*Ma-* verb with ergative pronouns

*matiliw* 'to be able to catch'  
 Natiliwko. 'I was able to catch him'  
 Natiliwmo. 'you managed to catch him'

*mabati* 'to happen to leave behind'  
 Nabatik kenkuana. 'I left him behind'

*Ma-* verbs that take absolutive arguments or pronouns to refer to the entity that undergoes or receives an action are not truly passives, as the agentive argument is not encoded in the oblique case: the agentive argument takes ergative case marking:

Naallingagko                      laengen              ti      panagbambaningrotma.  
 na-allingag =ko                      laeng =en              ti      pan-ag-R-bingrot{an} =na  
 PF.INVOL-hear.faintly = 1sE      just =EMPH      ART      NOM-I-CONT-suck.up.mucus{CONT} = 3sE  
 'I just faintly heard her sobbing (sucking up nasal mucus).'

Naallingagak.  
 na-allingag =ak  
 PF.INVOL-hear.faintly = 1sA  
 'I was heard faintly.' (c)

Naallingagdak.  
 na-allingag =da =ak  
 PF.INVOL-hear.faintly = 3pE = 1sA  
 'They heard me indistinctly.'

The prefix *ma-* also forms transitive verbs in which the agent has no control, or happens to do an action coincidentally without prior intention. We can contrast this prefix with the *-en* suffix which encodes volition or intention.

Root	<i>ma-</i> verb (unintentional)	<i>-en</i> verb (intentional)
kita 'see'	makita 'to see it'	kitaen 'to look at'
ragpat 'gain, acquire'	maragpat 'achieve, attain'	ragpaten 'obtain, acquire, earn'

panunot 'think'	mapanunot 'come to mind'	panunoten 'think about'
kagat 'bite'	makagat 'bite by accident'	kagaten 'bite on purpose'
batok 'dive'	mabatok 'be able to dive for something'	batoken 'search for by diving'
sirpat 'see, view'	masirpat 'see (at a distance)'	sirpaten 'look at (from a distance).'
allingag 'hear a faint sound'	maallingag 'hear'	allingagen 'listen to'

The following examples illustrate the intentional vs. non-intentional distinction in their proper contexts with four roots, *kita* 'see', *sirpat* 'see (at a distance), discern', *panunot* 'think,' and *kagat* 'bite.'

#### NON-VOLITIONAL *ma-* verbs

*Nakitam* ti inaramidda kaniak?  
na-kita=mo ti aramid{in}=da kaniak  
PF.INVOL-see=2sE ART do{PF}=3p 1SOBL  
'Did you see what they did to me?'

Nagdalagudog ti barukongna idi *masirpatnan* ti  
n-ag-dalagudog ti barukong=na idi ma-sirpat=na=n ti  
PF-I-pound ART chest=3sE PST INVOL-sight=3sE=already ART

likudan ti ayup.  
likud-an ti ayup  
back-NOM ART animal

'His chest pounded heavily when he caught sight of the back of the animal.' (w)

*Napanunotna* ti mapan iti kabayabasan.  
na-panunot=na ti ma-pan iti ka-bayabas-an  
INVOL.PF-think=3sE ART I-go OBL LOC-guava-NOM  
'The thought occurred to him to go to the guava orchard.' (w)

*Nakagatna* dagiti bibigna.  
na-kagat=na dagiti bibig=na  
INVOL.PF-bite=3sE PL lip=3sE  
'He accidentally bit his lip.'

VOLITIONAL *-en* verbs

Imbaw-ingna ti ulona ket *kinitana* ti dapuen  
*i{in}-baw'ing=na* ti ulo=*na* ket *kita{in}=na* ti dapo-en  
*T{PF}-turn.head=3sE* ART head=*3sE* and see{PF.T}=3sE ART gray-ADJ

a langit.  
 LIG sky

'He turned his head and looked at the gray sky.' (w)

*Kitaem* ti inaramidda kaniak.  
*kita-en=mo* ti aramid{in}=da kaniak  
*see-T=2sE* ART do{PF.T}=3p 1sOBL  
 'Look what they did to me.'

Nasayaat no *sirpatem* iti adayo.  
*na-sayyat* no sirpat-en=*mo* iti adayo  
 ADJ-good if view-T=2sE OBL far  
 'It is good if you view it (the painting) from a distance.'

No ania ti *pampanunotem*. agsardengka kuman.  
 no.ania ti R-panunot-en=*mo* ag-sardeng=*ka* kuma=*n*  
 whatever ART CONT-think-T=2sE I-stop=2sA OPT=EMPH  
 'Whatever you are thinking about (doing), you should stop.'

*Kinagatnak* `diay asona.  
*kagat{in}=na=ak* diay aso=*na*  
*bite{PF.T}=3sE=1sA* DIST dog=*3sE*  
 'His dog bit me.' (c)

*Ma-* verbs in the perfective aspect may also indicate the resultative, or a change of state of the absolutive argument, along with the unintentional action of the ergative argument.

Nakunesna ti surat iti sakit ti nakemna.  
*na-kunes=na* ti surat iti sakit ti nakem=*na*  
*PF.INVOL-wrinkle=3sE* ART letter OBL sick ART mind=*3sE*  
 'He ended up crumpling the letter out of his ill feelings.' (w)

Certain stems may substantially change their meaning when taking the *ma-* prefix, as opposed to the *-en* suffix. Compare the semantics of the the following verbs derived from the root *sapul*: *masapul* 'to need' vs. *sapulen* 'to look for.'

Sapsapulenna ti aritos nga intedmo kaniana.  
 R-sapul-en=na ti aritos nga i{in}-ted=mo kaniana  
 CONT-seek-T=3sE ART earring LIG T{PF}-give=2sE 3sOBL  
 'She is looking for the earrings you gave her.'

Masapulko ti mapan.  
 ma-sapul=ko ti ma-pan  
 T-need=1sE ART I-go  
 'I need to go.'

#### 8.4.2.2 The prefix *mai-*

The complex prefix *mai-* (perfective form *nai-*) forms transitive potentive (abilitative or non-volitional) verbs from *i-* verbs. In the perfective aspect, it usually indicates a resultant state.

Root	<i>i-</i> verb	<i>mai-</i> verb
pasdek 'stick in ground'	ipasdek 'to build; organize; stick in the ground'	maipasdek 'to be built, organized, be stuck in the ground'
pan 'go'	ipan 'to bring'	maipan 'to be brought'
lapis 'pencil'	ilapis 'write down in pencil'	mailapis 'to be written down in pencil'
lansa 'nail'	ilansa 'to nail'	mailansa 'to be nailed'
saud 'hitch (to a post)'	isaud 'to hitch'	maisaud 'to be hitched'
temtem 'embers'	itemtem 'burn in embers'	maitemtem 'to be burned in embers'
bilang 'consider'	ibilang 'to consider'	maibilang 'to be considered'

Naipaw-itko ti intedmo kadakuada.  
 na-i-paw'it=ko ti i{in}-ted=mo kadakuada  
 PF-T-send=1sE ART T{PF}-give=2sE 3sOBL  
 'I was able to send what you gave to them.'

Adu dagiti pagan-anay a naibartay kadagiti tawa.  
 adu dagiti pag-R-anay a na-i-bartay ka-dagiti tawa  
 much PL INST-R-add LIG PF-T-line OBL-PL window  
 'There are a lot of clothes hanging from lines in the window.' (w)

Isu ti natiruan iti bala a naisangrat kuma iti adingna.  
 isu ti na-tiro-an iti bala a na-i-sangrat kuma iti ading=na  
 3s ART PF-shoot-T OBL bullet LIG PF-T-intend OPT OBL younger.sibling=3sE  
 'He was the one who was hit by the bullet that was intended for his younger brother.'  
 (w)

Nailasinko dayta nga ama.  
 na-i-lasin=ko dayta nga ama  
 PF-THM-recognize=1sE that LIG father  
 'I was able to recognize that father.' (w)

The prefix *mai-* may be prefixed to the root *panggep* 'aim, intention' or the root *pan* 'go' with initial CV reduplication to form the prepositions *maipanggep* and *maipapan* 'about, concerning.'

Nalap-it ti riknana no maipapan iti gubat.  
 na-lap'it ti rikna=na no maipapan iti gubat  
 ADJ-flexible ART feeling=3sE if about OBL war  
 'He has flexible feelings concerning war.' (w)

Ania ti kinunana a maipanggep kaniak?  
 ania ti kuna{in}=na a maipanggep kaniak  
 what ART say{PF}=3sE LIG about 1SOBL  
 'What did he say about me?'

*I-* *-an* benefactive focus verbs may also take the abilitative affix *ma-* to form abilitative benefactive verbs. The affix combination is *mai-* *-an* (perfective aspect: *nai-* *-an*):

Root	<i>i-</i> <i>-an</i> verb	<i>mai-</i> <i>-an</i> verb
gatang 'buy'	igatangan 'to buy for someone'	maigatangan 'to be able to buy for someone'
luto 'cook'	ilutuan 'to cook for someone'	mailutuan 'to be able to cook for someone'
Nailutuak na-i-luto-an=ko PF-BENEF-cook-T=1sE	ni Beng. ni Beng PA Beng	
	'I was able to cook for Beng.'	
Nailabaak na-i-laba-an=ko PF-BENEF-laundry-T=1sE	isuda. isuda 3p	
	'I was able to do the laundry for them.' (c)	



### 8.4.2.3 *ma-* *-an*

The affix combination *ma-* *-an* (perfective *na-* *-an*) has various functions in Ilocano. As it contains the involuntary prefix *ma-* and the transitive suffix *-an*, it is often used to indicate involuntary, unintentional or abilitative actions. The agent is encoded in the ergative case, if it is expressed. Contrast the following sentences between an *-an* verb and a *ma-* *-an* verb:

*-an* verb (purposive)

Inatalak                      'diay tulisan.  
 in-atal-an=ko              diay tulisan  
 PF-run.over-T=1sE      DIST robber  
 'I ran over that robber (on purpose).' (c)

*ma-* *-an* verb (resultative: accidental; agent expressed)

Naatalak                      diay manok.  
 na-atal-an=ko              diay manok  
 PF.INVOL-run.over-T=1sE    DIST chicken  
 'I ran over that chicken (accidentally).'

*ma-* *-an* verb (resultative, agent not expressed)

Naatalan                      ti      adingna.  
 na-atal-an                      ti      ading=na  
 PF.INVOL-run.over-T    ART    younger.sibling=3sE  
 'Her younger brother was run over (accidentally). (c)

The *ma-* prefix may be used with *-an* verbs to indicate the ability of the ergative argument to perform an action. In this case, it forms transitive abilitative verbs:

Root	<i>-an</i> verb	<i>ma-</i> verb
sabidong 'poison'	sabidongan 'poison someone'	masabidongan 'be able to poison someone'
ikk-	ikkan 'to give'	maikkan 'be able to give to'

Uray ania ti sasawem ket saanmo a masabidongan ti  
 uray ania ti R-sao-en=mo ket saan=mo a ma-sabidong-anti  
 whatever ART CONT-say-T=2sE and NEG=2sE LIG ABIL-poison-T ART

panunotko.  
 panunot=ko  
 thought=1sE

'Whatever you say, you cannot poison my thoughts.'

We can see the semantic change of *ma-* *-an* resultative verbs that take absolutive pronouns when comparing them to their *-an* transitive counterparts in the following table. These verbs are often used without expressed agents. Notice how the affected argument is encoded in the absolutive case, similar to the English passive construction.

Root	<i>-an</i> verb	<i>ma-</i> <i>-an</i> verb
asin 'salt'	asinan 'pour salt on'	maasinan 'to be salted'
baddek 'step'	baddekan 'to step on'	mabaddekan 'to be stepped on'
takaw 'steal'	takawan 'to rob'	matakawan 'to be robbed'
lukat 'open'	lukatan 'to open'	malukatan 'to be opened'
sibug 'water plants'	sibugan 'to water'	masibugan 'to be watered'
nayon 'add'	nayonan 'to add to'	manayonan 'to be increased'

Natakawanak!  
 na-takaw-an=ak  
 PF-steal-T=1sA  
 'I was robbed!'

Naim-imas            met   laeng   ti    karne   no   nabaawan    bassit.  
 na-R-imas            met   laeng   ti    karne   no   na-baaw-an    bassit  
 ADJ-COMPAR-delicious and just ART meat if PF-cool-T little  
 'The meat is nevertheless more delicious if it is cooled a bit.'

Dimmerosasen        ti    langit   ket   ngannganin   makalupkohan    amin  
 derosas{in-um}=en    ti    langit   ket   nganngani=n   ma-kalupko-an    amin  
 pink{PF-I}=already    ART   sky    and   almost=now   INVOL-overlay-T    all

a    natda    nga   asul   ti    rabii.  
 a    na-tidda   nga   asul   ti    rabii  
 LIG   PF-left   LIG   blue   ART   night

'The sky already turned pink and nearly all the blue left in the night sky was almost completely encrusted.' (w)

Masmasdaawan    met   dagiti   dua    idi   mailasindakami.  
 R-ma-siddaaw-an   met   dagiti   dua    idi   ma-i-lasin=da=kami  
 R-INVOL-surprise-T also PL two OBL ABIL-THM-recognize=3p=1pEXCL.A  
 'The two were surprised when they recognized us.' (w)

Unlike the prototypical passive construction where the agent, if expressed, takes oblique case marking, the agentive arguments of *ma-* *-an* verbs take core case marking in the ergative case:

Nasangpetak ni nanang nga agsansaning-i iti kuartona.  
na-sangpet-an=ko ni nanang nga ag-R-saning'i iti kuarto=na  
PF.INVOL-arrive-T=1sE PA mother LIG I-CONT-sob OBL room=3sE  
'I walked in (accidentally) on mother crying in her room; (mother was walked in on by me crying in her room).'

Saanna manen a nabirokan ti tabakona.  
saan=na manen a na-birok-an ti tabako=na  
NEG=3sE again LIG PF.INVOL-find-T ART cigar=3sE  
'She wasn't able to find her cigar again.'

Nagkarasakas dagiti nabaddekanna a nagango a bulong.  
n-ag-karasakas dagiti na-baddek-an=na a na-gango a bulong  
PF-I-rustle PL ADJ-step.on-T=3sE LIG ADJ-dry LIG leaf  
'The dry leaves that he stepped on rustled.' (w)

Non-human or inanimate agents or causes may sometimes be expressed in oblique clauses:

Kasla nasneban iti liday.  
kasla na-senneb-an iti liday  
like PF.INVOL-penetrate-T OBL sad  
'He was drenched in sorrow.'

Nasaprian ti rupana iti nasam-it a danum.  
na-sapri-an ti rupa=na iti na-sam'it a danum  
PF-spray-T ART face=3sE OBL ADJ-sweet LIG water  
'Her face was sprayed with sweet water.' (w)

The *ma-* *-an* affix may be used with natural elements, ailments and physical conditions, or time frames to indicate that the absolutive referent is affected by, suffering or undergoing what is indicated by the root.

rabii 'night'	marabiiyan	to be overtaken by the night
malem 'afternoon'	mamalman	to be overtaken by the afternoon
sakit 'sick, hurt'	masaktan	to suffer from pain, be hurt
pitak 'mud'	mapitakan	to be smeared with mud

anges 'breath'	maangsan	to suffer from breathing, suffocate
rigat 'hardship'	marigatan	to have trouble with
gasang 'pungent'	magasangan	to be suffering from pungency
bannog 'tired'	mabannogan	to be tired out, exhausted
liday 'sad'	malidayan	to be affected by grief
linnaaw 'dew'	malinnaawan	to be wet with dew
tudo 'rain'	matuduan	to be caught in the rain
init 'sun'	mainitan	to be caught in the sun, warmed by the sun

No agsida't sili, isu't magasangan. (expression)  
 no ag-sida-iti sili isu-ti ma-gasang-an  
 if I-eat-OBL chili 3s-ART INVOL-spicy-T  
 'He who eats chili peppers is affected by the spice (the guilty party must pay).'

Naanginan ti ulona. (expression)  
 na-angin-an ti ulo=na  
 PF-wind-T ART head=3sE  
 'His head is affected by the wind: (he is crazy).'

Nagkarasakas dagiti bulong, nasarangsang a karasakas a kas man  
 n-ag-karasakas dagiti bulong, na-sarangsang a karasakas a kas man  
 PF-I-rustle PL leaf ADJ-crispy LIG rustle LIG like PART

di nalinnaawan itay parbangon.  
 di na-linnaaw-an itay parbangon  
 NEG PF.INVOL-dew-T PST dawn

'The leaves (under his feet) rustled, a crispy rustle as if they were not wet with dew at dawn.' (w)

Marigatan unayen a mangbigbig kaniak  
 ma-rigat-an unay=en a mang-bigbig kaniak  
 INVOL-difficult-T very=EMPH LIG DETR-recognize ISOBL  
 'It is really difficult for him to recognize me (is experiencing difficulty).' (w)

Certainly, not all *ma-* *-an* verbs appear in passive-type constructions where the affected patient is encoded in the absolutive case, and the agent is unexpressed. Common *ma-* *-an* verbs

that take expressed agents in the ergative case include *mabirokan* 'to find', *maawatan* 'to understand,' and *malipatan* 'to forget.'

Maawatam                    ti    kunak?  
 ma-awat-an=mo            ti    kuna=ko  
 ABIL-understand-T=2sE    ART   say=1sE  
 'Do you understand what I'm saying?'

Nalipatak                    ti    kinunana.  
 na-lipat-an=ko            ti    kuna{in}=na  
 PF.INVOL-forget-T=1sE    ART   say{PF.T}=3sE  
 'I forgot what he said.'

### 8.5 Detransitivizing affixes

All goal focus (grammatically transitive) verbs in Ilocano can be changed into actor focus (grammatically intransitive) verbs with de-transitivizing affixes. This section provides an easy access table which shows the particular affixes responsible for de-transitivizing verbs. For further information on why verbs are de-transitived, please see Voice and Transitivity.

Table 8.5.1 Affixes of detransitivization

Focus type	Goal focus (transitive) Infinitive	Actor focus (Intransitive) Infinitive
<b>Indicative Mode</b>		
goal	-en	mang-
theme	i-	mangi-
benefactive	i- -an	mangi- -an
instrumental	pag-	mangpag-
locative	-an	mang-
comitative	ka-	maki-
<b>Potentive Mode</b>	ma-	maka-

Kanemon.                    Transitive *-en* verb  
 kaan-en=mo=n  
 eat-T=2sE=now  
 'Eat it!'

Nanganakon. Intransitive *mang-* verb  
 n-aN-kaan=ako=n  
 PF-I-eat=1sA=already  
 'I already ate.'

### 8.6 Causation and direction, the prefix *pa-*

Ilocano verbs have corresponding causative/directional *pa-* forms in which the action is either caused to be done, not directly done by the actor nominal, or done in a certain direction. The causative/directional morpheme in Ilocano is *pa-* (*pag-* for *ag-* verbs, and *pang-* for *mang-* verbs).

The *pa-* prefix has a different morphological status from the rest of the prefixes. It attaches to roots in such a way that it forms a verb stem for additional affixation, taking the case frames and affixes necessary for the discourse. In the imperfective aspect, with initial CVC reduplication, the *pa-* prefix reduplicates as part of the stem. Compare the reduplication of a non-causative verb and a *pa-* verb.

*Ag-* verb, CVC reduplication of noun root only

Agsangsangit ti gayyemko.  
 ag-R-sangit ti gayyem=ko  
 I-CONT-cry ART friend=1sE  
 'My friend is crying.'

(i)*pa-* verb, CVC reduplication of noun root with *pa-*

Bayadam	dagiti	<i>impatpatulodko</i>	a	pinagbasam
bayad-an=mo	dagiti	i{in}-pa-R-tulod=ko	a	pag{in}-read=mo
pay-T=2sE	PL	T{PF}-CAUS-CONT-escort=1sE	LIG	INST{PF}-study=2sE

idiay Manila.  
 there Manila

'Pay for the money I have been sending for your education in Manila.'

*pa-* -an verb, CVC reduplication of noun root with *pa-*

Panggasim	ta	saannak	a	<i>palpalagipan</i>
pang-ka-asi=mo	ta	saan=mo=ak	a	pa-R-lagip-an=mo
NOM-COMIT-mercy=2sE	LIG	NEG=2sE=1sA	LIG	CAUS-CONT-remember-T=2sE

kadagita a banag.  
 ka-dagita a banag  
 OBL-those LIG thing  
 'Please don't remind me of those things.'

*pa-* -en verb, CVC reduplication of noun root with *pa-*

Apay a *parparigatem* pay la 'ta bagim?  
apay a pa-R-rigat-en=mo pay la ta bagi=mo  
why LIG CAUS-CONT-hard-T=2sE still just that body=2sE  
'Why are you still making things hard on yourself?'

The *pa-* prefix is used to specify that the action is caused by either an unspecified or specified agent, or done in a certain direction (with locative roots):

A. Causative use of *pa-* (action verb root)

Nagpapukisak idi kalman.  
n-ag-pa-pukis=ak idi kalman  
PF-I-CAUS-haircut=1sA PST day.before  
'I had my hair cut yesterday.'

Makapasalun-at ti saluyot.  
maka-pa-salun'at ti saluyot  
INVOL-CAUS-health ART saluyot.leaves  
'Saluyot leaves are healthy (cause health).'

Napasaplitmi ti ubing.  
na-pa-saplit=mi ti ubing  
PF-CAUS-whip=1pEXCL.E ART child  
'We had the child whipped.' (c)

Pasimbengam 'ta nakemmo.  
pa-simbeng-an=mo ta nakem=mo  
CAUS-calm-T=2sE that mind=2sE  
'Calm down your thoughts (lit: make your mind calm).'

B. Directional use of *pa-* (locative verb root)

Nagpa-Bauangkami.  
n-ag-pa-Bauang=kami  
PF-I-CAUS-Bauang=1pEXCL.A  
'We went to Bauang (city in *La Union*, Philippines).'

Impaamiananmin.  
i{in}-pa-amianan=mi=n  
T{PF}-CAUS-north=1pEXCL.E=already  
'We already sent it to the north.'





absolutive referent may be the causer and the beneficiary of the causative action of the verb, while the one who actually performs the action is either not encoded or appears in the oblique case:

#### Transitive *pa-* verbs

Pagtalnaem            kuma ti       konsensiana.  
 pag-talna-en=mo    kuma ti       konsensia=na  
 CAUS-calm-T=2sE    OPT    ART    conscience=3sE  
 'You should calm his conscience (make his conscience calm).'

#### Detransitive *mang(i)pa-* type verbs

Isu        ti       nangpadakkel        iti       balay.  
 isu        ti       nang-pa-dakkel        iti       balay  
 3s        ART    PF.DETR-CAUS-big    OBL    house  
 'He is the one who made the house bigger.'

#### Intransitive *agpa-* type verbs

Nagpailutak                                (kenkuana).  
 n-ag-pa-ilut=ak                            kenkuana  
 PF-I-CAUS-massage=1sA    3sOBL  
 'I got a massage (from her).' (c)

The particulars on causative/directional constructions with the prefix *pa-* are outlined below with the most important affixes that may accompany *pa-* causation.

### 8.6.1. Intransitive *pa-* verbs

This section will illustrate the intransitive *pa-* verbs in the following way:

#### Sec. 8.6.1 Intransitive *pa-* verbs

##### INDICATIVE VERBS

Sec. 8.6.1.1 *agpa-* and combinations (*agpagin-*, *agpaka-*, *managpa-*, *agpa-* -*inn-*)

Sec. 8.6.1.2 *agpai-*

Sec. 8.6.1.3 *mangpa-*

Sec. 8.6.1.4 *mangpag-*

Sec. 8.6.1.5 *mangipa-*

##### POTENTIVE VERBS

Sec. 8.6.1.6 *makapa-*

Sec. 8.6.1.7 *makaipa-*

### 8.6.1.1. The prefix *agpa-*

The complex prefix *agpa-* (perfective form *nagpa-*) is the causative counterpart of *ag-*. It forms intransitive verbs in which the absolutive referent has an action done onto him or onto something else.

pukis 'haircut'	agpapakis	to get a haircut
ilut 'massage'	agpailut	to get a massage
kaasi 'pity'	agpakaasi	to beg for pity, plead
gatang 'buy'	agpagatang	to have someone buy, to have something bought
lako 'sell'	agpalako	to have something sold
lualo 'pray'	agpalualo	to ask for prayers, have oneself prayed for
arayat 'help'	agpaarayat	to ask for help
kaan 'eat'	agpakan	to have others eat, host a party

Agpagatangak it i hopia kenkuana.  
 ag-pa-gatang=ak it i hopia kenkuana  
 I-CAUS-buy=1sA OBL bean.cake 3sOBL  
 'I am going to ask him to buy (me) Chinese bean cake.' (c)

Nagpalualo kaniak ta sibabalud ti anakna.  
 n-ag-pa-lualo kaniak ta si-R-balud ti anak=na  
 PF-I-CAUS-pray 1sOBL because ADJ-R-confine ART child=3sE  
 'She asked me to pray for her because her son is in jail.'

Nagsinnallabaykami a nagparetrato.  
 n-ag-sallabay{inn}=kami a n-ag-pa-retrato  
 PF-I-arm.around.shoulder{RECIP}=1pEXCL.A LIG PF-I-CAUS-picture  
 'We got our pictures taken with our arms around each other.'

With locational roots, the prefix *agpa-* serves a directional purpose, indicating that the absolutive referent goes in the direction of the location expressed in the root.

Nagpaamiananda.  
 n-ag-pa-amianan=da  
 PF-I-CAUS-north=3p  
 'They went to the north.'

Nagpa-San Franciscoak.  
 n-ag-pa-San.Francisco=ak  
 PF-I-CAUS-San.Francisco=1sA  
 'I went to San Francisco.'

Agpaidiaykayo.  
 ag-pa-idiay=kayo  
 I-CAUS-there=2pA  
 'Go over there.'

The prefix *agpagin-* + RCV forms intransitive pretentative verbs in which the referent in the absolutive case makes others pretend to do the action of the verb.

Nagpaginuuyek ni Martina.  
 n-ag-pagin-R-uyek ni Martina  
 PF-I-PRET-R-cough PA Martina  
 'Martina made (them) pretend to cough.'

The prefix *agpaka-* (perfective form *nagpaka-*) is used only with certain roots whose combination with this prefix is lexicalized:

tao 'man'	agpakatao	to treat as a human being
rigat 'hardship'	agpakarigat	to cause trouble, put in a difficult situation
lukmeg 'fat'	agpakalukmeg	to get fatten oneself up
asi 'pity'	agpakaasi	to beg for pity, beseech, implore
turog 'sleep'	agpakaturrog	to allow someone to sleep

Dikayo pay agpakatao.  
 di=kayo pay ag-pa-ka-tao  
 NEG=2s still I-CAUS-COMIT-human  
 'You guys still don't know how to deal with your fellow men (behave like a human).'

*Agpa-* verbs have an (*m*)-*an-* frequentative counterpart *managpa-*. As with all (*m*)-*an-* frequentatives, there is no perfective form.

pukis 'haircut'	agpapukis 'to get a haircut'	managpapukis 'frequently getting haircuts'
Ilokos 'Ilocos regions'	agpa-Ilokos 'go to the Ilocos region'	managpa-Ilokos 'frequently going to the Ilocos'

tulong 'help'	agpatulong 'ask for help'	managpatulong 'always asking for help'
luto 'cook'	agpaluto 'have something cooked'	managpaluto 'always having things cooked'
pintas 'beauty'	agpapintas 'make oneself beautiful'	managpapintas 'always beautifying oneself'

*Agpa-* verbs may be used with the reciprocal infix *-inn-*. The infix *-inn-* is placed before the first vowel of the verb root. If the verb root is causative, such as *pabasol* 'blame', the infix is placed in the causative morpheme (*agpinna-*).

Nagpasisinnarangda.  
n-ag-pa-R-sarang{inn}=da  
PF-I-CAUS-PL-face{RECIP}=3p  
'They went to face each other (with intent).'

Agpipinnabasolda            gapu    iti    pannakatayna.  
ag-R-pa{inn}-basol=da    gapu    iti    paN-maka-tay=na  
I-PL-CAUS{RECIP}-guilt=3p    because    OBL    NOM-INVOL-die=3sE  
'They blame each other for his death.'

Nagpapinnabasolda.  
n-ag-pa-pa{inn}-basol=da  
PF-I-CAUS-CAUS{RECIP}-guilt=3p  
'They had put their blame to one another.'

The complex prefix *agpai-* (perfective form *nagpai-*) is used with the same distribution as the prefix *agpa-*. It is used to form intransitive causative verbs from *i-* verbs:

Root	<i>i-</i> verb	<i>agpai-</i> verb
padles 'prophecy'	ipadles 'predict'	agpaipadles 'to have one's fortune told'
surat 'write'	isurat 'to write down'	agpaisurat 'to have something written down'
pan 'go'	ipan 'send'	agpaipan 'to have something sent'
luto 'cook'	iluto 'to cook in with'	agpailuto 'to have something cooked (with other ingredients).'

### 8.6.1.2 *mangpa-* or *mama-*

The complex prefix *mangpa-* forms intransitive causative verbs from *mang-* verbs. The person having the action done is encoded in the absolutive case, while the recipient of the action or experiencer of the causative state is encoded in the oblique case.

Root	<i>mangpa-</i> verb	Gloss
sardeng 'stop'	mangpasardeng	to cause to stop
taina 'calm'	mangpatalna	to calm down something. cause to calm, quiet down
dakkel 'big'	mangpadakkel	enlarge, make bigger
pintas 'beauty'	mangpapintas	beautify, make beautiful

Asino ti makaitured a mangpasardeng iti kasarda?  
 asino ti maka-i-tured a mang-pa-sardeng iti kasar=da  
 who ART INVOL-THM-brave LIG DETR-CAUS-stop OBL wedding=3p  
 'Who dares to stop their wedding (make their wedding stop)?' (w)

Adaywanta dagiti banag a mangpalagip kadagiti napasamak.  
 adayo-an=ta dagiti banag a mang-pa-lagip ka-dagiti na-pasamak  
 far-T=1d PL thing LIG DETR-CAUS-remember OBL-PL PF-event  
 'Let's get away from what reminds (us) of the things that happened.'

Transitive *pa-* *-en* and *pa-* *-an* verbs are detransitivized with the prefix *mangpa-*:

*pakanen* 'to feed, transitive'

*mangpakan* 'to feed, perform the act of feeding'

Saanda a liniwliwatan ti nangpakan kenkuana iti karne.  
 saan=da a R-liwat{in}-an ti nang-pa-kaan kenkuana iti karne  
 NEG=3p LIG CONT-neglect{PF}-T ART PF.DETR-CAUS-eat 3sOBL OBL meat  
 'They didn't neglect to feed him meat.'

The prefix *mangpa-* may contract to *mama-*. The perfective form of *mama-* is *nama-*.

Siak ti namasuka iti karing.  
 siak ti nang-pa-suka iti karing  
 1s ART PF.DETR-CAUS-vinegar OBL dried.fish  
 'I was the one who had the dried fish sprayed with vinegar. (c)

With *i-* verbs, the abilitative causative prefix *is mangpai* or *mamai-* with perfective forms *nangpai-* or *namai-* respectively.

Ni Marisa ti namaipaw-it kadagiti suratda.  
 ni Marisa ti nang-pa-i-paw'it ka-dagiti surat=da  
 PA Marisa ART PF.DETR-CAUS-THM-send OBL-PL letter=3p  
 'Marisa is the one who had their letters sent.'

Sino't namaikabil iti kuartak idiyay?  
 sino-ti nang-pa-i-kabil iti kuarta=ko idiyay  
 who-ART PF.DETR-CAUS-THM-put OBL money=1sE there  
 'Who had my money put there?'

### 8.6.1.3 The prefix *mangpag-* or *mamag-*

The complex prefix *mangpag-* (usually fused to *mamag-*) is composed of the potentive (non-volitional/abilitative) prefix *ma-* and the causative prefix *pag-*. It is used to specify uncontrolled causation. It is the intransitive counterpart of *pag-* *-en* causative verbs. The perfective counterpart of *mamag-* is *namag-*:

sina 'separate'	mamagsina	cause to separate, able to separate
liday 'sad'	mamagliday	cause grief
baliw 'change'	mamagbaliw	able to change, cause to change
talaw 'escape'	mamagtalaw	to drive out, cause to escape

Makaawatka iti damag a mamagliday kenka.  
 maka-awat=ka iti damag a mang-pag-liday kenka  
 ABIL-get=2sA OBL news LIG DETR-CAUS-sad 2sOBL  
 'You can understand the news that makes you sad.'

Sino ti namagbaliw iti nakemna?  
 sino ti nang-pag-baliw iti nakem=na  
 who ART PF.DETR-CAUS-change OBL mind=3sE  
 'Who was able to change her mind?'

With *pagi-* *-en* verbs, the abilitative/non-volitional counterpart is *mamagi-* (perfective form *namagi-*).

Siak ti namagisurat ken ni Martina.  
 siak ti nang-pag-i-surat ken ni Martina.  
 1s ART PF.DETR-CAUS-THM-write OBL PA Martina.  
 'I had Martina write it down.' (c)

#### 8.6.1.4. The prefix *mangipa-*

The complex prefix *mangipa-* (perfective form *nangipa-*) is used to form intransitive causative verbs. The transitive counterpart is *ipa-*.

Root	Intransitive <i>mangipa-</i> verb
tungpal 'outcome'	mangipatungpal 'carry out'
dawat 'ask for'	mangipadawat 'give for free'
pilit 'force'	mangipapilit 'insist'
uneg 'inside'	mangipauneg 'insert'
Bauang 'name of town'	mangipa-Bauang 'bring to Bauang'
ngruna 'primary'	mangipangruna 'prefer'

Pare. no adda pay kilabbanyo. kitaem man ta  
 pare. no adda pay kilabban=yo kita-en=mo man ta  
 friend if EXIST still cold.rice=2pE see-T=2sE please because

mangipaunegak iti uray bassit laeng.  
 DETR-i-pa-uneg=ak iti uray bassit laeng  
 I-THM-CAUS-inside=1sA OBL even little only

'Friend, if you still have cold rice, please check (for me) so I can eat (lit: put inside) even just a little.'

mangipatungpal iti plano  
 mang-i-pa-tungpal iti plano  
 DETR-THM-CAUS-outcome OBL plan  
 'fulfill, carry out, or execute a plan'

Ti gobierno ti nangipadamag kadakuada idi  
 ti gobierno ti nang-i-pa-damag kadakuada idi  
 ART government ART PF.DETR-THM-CAUS-news 3SOBL PST

a nalawa ti Mindanao.  
 a na-lawá ti Mindanao  
 LIG ADJ-wide ART Mindanao

'The government spread the news to them before that Mindanao was wide (had a lot of open land).'

Ayabam man ni Soling ken mangipapudotka iti danum.  
 ayab-an=mo man ni Soling ken mang-i-pa-pudot=ka iti danum  
 call-T=2sE please PA Soling and DETR-THM-CAUS-warm=2sA OBL water  
 'Please call Soling and heat some water.'

#### 8.6.1.5 The prefix *makapa-*

The prefix *makapa-* (perfective form *nakapa-*) is used to form involuntary causative intransitive verbs. The action or state of the stem is caused (indirectly or without volition) by the absolutive referent.

bannog 'tired'	makapabannog	tiring, causing sleep
sadut 'lazy'	makapasadut	causing laziness
salun'at 'health'	makapasalun-at	healthy, causing health
pintas 'beauty'	makapapintas	helping improve beauty
uyek 'cough'	makapauyek	causing cough
ling-et 'sweat'	makapalinget	causing sweat
sangit 'cry'	makapasangit	causing crying

Makapasangit 'diay pelikula.  
 maka-pa-sangit diay pelikula  
 INVOL-CAUS-cry DIST movie  
 'That movie was a tear jerker (caused crying).'

Makapasalun-at ti panagkatawa.  
 maka-pa-salun'at ti pan-ag-katawa  
 INVOL-CAUS-health ART NOM-I-laugh  
 'Laughter is healthy (causes health).'



### 8.6.1.6 The prefix *makaipa-*

The prefix *makaipa-* (perfective form *nakaipa-*) is used with *makai-* verbs to form intransitive potentive (abilitative/non-volitional) causatives. It may also be used with *ipa-* verbs of transference to indicate the ability of the referent in the absolutive case to transfer or move an object (in the oblique case) to the location specified in the root.

bassit 'small'	makaipabassit	to be able to make small; belittle
pilit 'force'	makaipapilit	to be able to enforce, insist on
kita 'see'	makaipakita	to be able to show (make seen)
Laoag 'city name'	makaipa-Laoag	to be able to bring it to Laoag

Makaipabassitka                    'toy dayawko.  
 maka-i-pa-bassit=ka            toy dayaw=ko  
 INVOL-THM-CAUS-small=2sA    this honor=1sE  
 'You are (unknowingly and perhaps without purpose) belittling my honor (making my honor smaller).'

### 8.6.2. Transitive *pa-* verbs

The prefix *pa-* may be used with transitive verbs to form causative verbs that are grammatically transitive (take two morphological arguments). This section will illustrate the transitive *pa-* verbs in the order specified in Table 8.6.2.

Transitive verb	<i>Pa-</i> verb	Section
<b>Indicative Mode</b>		
-en	<i>pa-</i> -en	Sec. 8.6.2.1
-an	<i>pa-</i> -an	Sec. 8.6.2.2
(p)ag-	<i>pag-</i> -en	Sec. 8.6.2.3
i-	<i>ipa-</i>	Sec. 8.6.2.4
<b>Potentive Mode</b>		
ma-	<i>mapa-</i>	Sec. 8.6.2.5
ma- (p)ag-	<i>mapag-</i>	Sec. 8.6.2.6
mai-	<i>maipa-</i>	Sec. 8.6.2.7

### 8.6.2.1 *Pa- -en*

The affix combination *pa- -en* (perfective form *pina-*) forms transitive causative verbs where the action of the verb root is allowed or ordered. When the root is a state or condition, the *pa- -en* affix denotes the enlargement or attainment of something denoted by the root.

Root	<i>pa- -en</i> verb	Gloss
rigat 'hard'	parigaten	to make things hard on: make matters difficult: impose;
liday 'sad'	palidayen	to make sad, sadden
dakkel 'big'	padaklen	to enlarge, make big
tugaw 'sit'	patugawen	to have someone sit down
serrek 'enter'	pastreken	to let someone come in
ragsak 'happy'	paragsaken	to make someone happy
pintas 'beauty'	papintasen	to beautify, make beautiful
-táy 'die'	patayen	to kill
tured 'brave'	patureden	to make brave; encourage someone

Kabaelak a padakkelen ken pagadalen ti ubingko.  
ka-bael-an=ko a pa-dakkel-en ken pag-adal-en ti ubing=ko  
NOM-able-T=1sE LIG CAUS-big-T and CAUS-study-T ART child=1sE  
'I am capable of raising (making big) and putting my child through school (making him study).'

Apay a parparigatem pay la 'ta bagim?  
apay a pa-R-rigat-en pay la ta bagi=mo  
why LIG CAUS-CONT-hard-T still just that body=2sE  
'Why are you still making things hard on yourself?'

Pasimbengem ta nakemmo.  
pa-simbeng-en ta nakem=mo  
CAUS-calm-T that mind=2sE  
'Calm down your thoughts.'

Pastrekem           ida.  
 pa-serrek-en=mo   ida  
 CAUS-enter-T=2sE 3sOBL  
 'Let them come in.'

Inkarigatak           a   pinaliday   ti   timekko.  
 i{in}-ka-rigat-an=ko   a   pa{in}-liday   ti   timek=ko  
 T{PF}-COMIT-hard-T=1sE   LIG   CAUS{PF}-sad   ART   voice=1sE  
 'I tried to make my voice sound sad.'

The *pa-* *-en* affix may also be used with certain verbs to indicate giving.

digos 'bath'	padigusen	give a bath to
inum 'drink'	painumen	give a drink to
kaan 'food'	pakanen	feed, give food to
Pinadigosko	ti   ubing.	
pa{in}-digos=ko	ti   ubing	
CAUS{PF}-bath=1sE	ART   child	
'I gave the child a bath.' (c)		

#### 8.6.2.2 *Pa-* *-an*

Transitive *-an* verbs may be causativized with the *pa-* *-an* affix combination (perfective form *pina-* *-an*).

dalus 'clean'	padalusan	to have something cleaned
turog 'sleep'	paturogan	to put someone to bed
lukat 'open'	palukatan	to have something opened
suka 'vinegar'	pasukaan	to have someone put vinegar on
sibug 'water plants'	pasibugan	to have (the plants) watered
ayab 'call'	paayaban	to have someone called
lagip 'remember'	palagipan	to remind
Paturogam	diay   ubing.	
pa-turog-an=mo	diay   ubing	
CAUS-sleep-T=2sE	DIST   child	
'Put that child to sleep.'		

Pangngasim ta saannak a palpalagipan  
 paN-ka-asi=mo ta saan=mo=ak a pa-R-lagip-an  
 NOM-COMIT-pity=2sE LIG NEG=2sE=1sA LIG CAUS-CONT-remember-T

kadagita a banag.  
 ka-dagita a banag  
 OBL-those LIG thing

'Please don't remind me of those things.'

Pinasiliandak iti digo.  
 pa{in}-sili-an=da=ak iti digo  
 CAUS{PF}-pepper-T=3p=1sA OBL broth  
 'They had me put spicy pepper in the broth.'

Pinattogak ti baso iti arak ken pinatedtedak iti sabidong.  
 pattog{in}-an=ko ti baso iti arak ken pa{in}-tedted-an=ko iti sabidong  
 pour{PF}-T=1sE ART glass OBL wine and CAUS{PF}-drop-T=1sE OBL poison  
 'I poured the glass with wine and put in some drops of poison.' (w)

### 8.6.2.3 *Pag-* *-en* verbs

The causative affixation for *ag-* verbs is *pag-* *-en* (perfective form *pinag-*). The resulting causative verb is similar to causative *pa-* *-en* verbs, but perhaps more effort or force is exerted by the causee (ergative argument). The following are common verbs with *pag-* *-en* causative frames.

ragsak 'happy'	pagragsaken	to make someone happy
leddaang 'sad'	pagleddaangen	to make someone sad
pakada 'farewell'	pagpakadaen	to have people bid farewell
gatang 'buy'	paggatangen	to have someone buy
subli 'return'	pagsublien	to return, have someone go back
awid 'go home'	pagawiden	to make someone go home
uray 'wait'	pagurayen	to make someone wait
inana 'rest'	paginanaen	to make someone rest

Masapul a pagnakemem dayta a lalaki.  
 ma-sapul a pag-nakem-en=mo dayta a lalaki  
 ADJ-need LIG CAUS-mind-T=2sE that LIG boy  
 'You must talk some sense into that boy.'

Ad-adda a pinagleddaangnak.  
 R-adda a pag{in}-leddaang=na=ak  
 R-EXIST LIG CAUS{PF}-sad=3sE=1sA  
 'You are making me even sadder.'

Reciprocal *ag-* *-inn-* verbs may be causativized with *pag-* *-inn-* (perfective form *pinag-* *-inn-*). The causee (in the absolutive case) must be plural due to the semantics of the reciprocal verb.

Pinagtinnulongnakami.  
 pag{in}-tulong{inn}=na=kami  
 CAUS{PF}-help{RECIP}=3sE=1pEXCL.A  
 'He had us help each other.'

Pagpinnintasendakayonto.  
 pag-pintas{inn}-en=da=kayo=nto  
 CAUS-beauty{RECIP}-T=3pE=2pA=FUT  
 'They are going to have you guys compete in a beauty contest.' (c)

*Agi-* verbs may be causativized with the affix combination *pagi-* *-en* (perfective form *pinagi-*):

Pinagipanko ni Maria.  
 pag{in}-i-pan=ko ni Maria  
 CAUS{PF}-THM-go=1sE PA Maria  
 'I had Maria bring it.'

*Agpa-* verbs are causativized with *pagpa-* *-en* (perfective form *pinagpa-*).

Pinagpadigosko ni Akong iti nuang.  
 pag{in}-pa-digos=ko ni Akong iti nuang  
 CAUS{PF}-CAUS-bath=1sE PA Akong OBL water.buffalo  
 'I had Akong bathe the water buffalo.' (c)

Pinagpalutok ni Maria ken Marta.  
 pag{in}-pa-luto=ko ni Maria ken Marta  
 CAUS{PF}-CAUS-cook=1sE PA Maria OBL Marta  
 'I told Maria to have Marta cook it.' (c)

*Agin-* pretentative verbs may be causativized with *pagin-* + *RCV -en* affixation (perfective for *pinagin-* + *RCV -en*):

bulsek 'blind'	pagimbubulseken	to make someone pretend to be blind
pilay 'limp'	pagimpipilayen	to make someone pretend to limp
baknang 'rich'	pagimbabaknangen	to have someone pretend to be rich
katawa 'laugh'	paginkakatawaen	to make someone pretend to laugh

Paginsasangitem          ida.  
 pag-in-R-sangit-en=mo    ida  
 CAUS-PRET-R-cry-T=2sE 3pOBL  
 'Make them pretend to cry.' (w)

Pinagintutulengnak.  
 pag{in}-R-tuleng=na=ak  
 CAUS{PF.T}-R-deaf=3sE=1sA  
 'He had me pretend to be deaf.'

Differences between the causative affixes *pa-* *-en* and *pag-* *-en* must be learned with each root which may allow both affixal frames. With verbs that allow the *pag-* *-en* causative affixation, there seems to be a matter of volition and force that the causer must exert upon the causee or upon performing the action himself; i.e. from the root *tugaw* 'sit' → *pagtugawen* 'to make someone (physically) sit down; vs. *patugawen* 'to have someone sit down, allow someone to sit down (by a gesture).' We can see this distinction in the following phrases.

*pa-* *-en* verbs, less force or effort exerted, less direct actions

Pinadakkelmo          manen    ti    ulok.  
 pa{in}-dakkal=mo    manen    ti    ulo=ko  
 CAUS{PF}-big=2sE    again    ART    head=1sE  
 'You flattered me again (made my head big, perhaps unknowingly).'

Pasimbengem          `ta    nakemmo.  
 pa-simbeng-en=mo    ta    nakem=mo  
 CAUS-calm-T=2sE    that    mind=2sE  
 'Take it easy (calm down your mind).'

*pag-* -en verbs, more force or effort exerted, direct actions

Pagtalnaem kuma ti konsensiana.  
 pag-talna-en=mo kuma ti konsensia=na  
 CAUS-calm-T=2sE OPT ART conscience=3sE  
 'You must calm down his conscience (requires effort on your part).'

Masapul a pagnakemem dayta a lalaki.  
 ma-sapul a pag-nakem-en=mo dayta a lalaki  
 ADJ-need LIG CAUS-mind-T=2sE that LIG boy  
 'You must talk some sense into that boy.'

#### 8.6.2.4 The prefix *ipa-*

The complex prefix *ipa-* (perfective form *impa-*) is used with motional *i-* verbs or locative stems to indicate the manner or place of transference of the referent encoded in the absolutive case:

Root	<i>ipa-</i> verb	Gloss
rabaw 'top'	iparabaw	place on top
suli 'corner'	ipasuli	put in the corner
amianan 'north'	ipaamianan	send to the north
uneg 'inside'	ipauneg	put inside
ngato 'high'	ipangato	put up, raise
baba 'low'	ipababa	lower (v.)
Ipangatom ti ladawan. i-pa-ngato=mo ti ladawan T-CAUS-high=2sE ART picture 'Put the picture higher (raise the picture).'		
Impasulik ti kuarta. i{in}-pa-suli=ko ti kuarta T{PF}-CAUS-corner=1sE ART money 'I put the money in the corner.'		
Impatingigna ti kallugong iti ulona. i{in}-pa-tingig=na ti kallugong iti ulo=na T{PF}-CAUS-lean=3sE ART hat OBL head=3sE 'He put his head slantwise on his head.'		

*Ipa-* may also be prefixed to verb stems to denote the giving of the action of the stem, or the causation of the action of the stem.

Root	<i>ipa-</i> verb	Gloss
kita 'see'	ipakita	show, make seen
basol 'guilt'	ipabasol	blame
suso 'breast'	ipasuso	give milk to suckle from the breast
inum 'drink'	ipainum	give to someone to drink, have someone drink
pudot 'heat'	ipapudot	warm up, make hotter
kuyog 'go with'	ipakuyog	send someone along with
kaan 'eat'	ipakan	feed, give to eat

Ipakitam            kadagiti   tao   a   kabaelam            ti   mapan.  
i-pa-kita=mo    ka-dagiti   tao   a   ka-bael-an=mo    ti   ma-pan  
T-CAUS-see=2sE OBL-PL   person   LIG   NOM-able-NOM=2sE   ART   I-go  
'Show the people that you are able to go.'

Impaarabmi                                    dagiti kalding.  
i{in}-pa-arab=mi                            dagiti kalding  
T{PF}-CAUS-pasture=1pEXCL.E   PL   goat  
'We brought the goats out to pasture (had them eat grass).'

Ipakanmo            ti   dinengneng            kadagiti   ubbing.  
i-pa-kaan=mo    ti   dengdeng{in}            ka-dagiti   ubing{R}  
T-CAUS-eat=2sE   ART   boil.vegetables{PF}   OBL-PL   child{PL}  
'Feed the boiled vegetables to the children.' (c)

With some roots, the prefix *ipa-* indicates attribution of the action or state of affairs to someone else. The person attributing, blaming, or accusing is encoded in the ergative case:

Root	<i>ipa-</i> verb	Gloss
takaw 'steal'	ipatakaw	to attribute the theft to, blame someone for stealing
basol 'blame'	ipabasol	to blame someone
boong 'break'	ipaboong	to accuse someone of breaking



kabsat 'sibling'	ipakabsat	to consider as one's brother, treat as one's brother
anak 'child'	ipaanak	to consider as one's child
gapo 'cause'	ipagapo	to do in consideration for

Impatakawmi                      ti    tulbek    kenkuana.  
 i{in}-pa-takaw=mi              ti    tulbek    kenkuana  
 T{PF}-CAUS-steal=1pEXCL.E    ART   key      3SOBL  
 'We consider him as stealing the key, accuse him of stealing the key.' (c)

Impakabsatnak.  
 i{in}-pa-kabsat=na=ak  
 T{PF}-CAUS-brother=3sE=1sA  
 'He considered/treated me as his brother.'

*Ipa-* may also be used to form instrumental causative verbs.

Ipapingganyo      dagitoy    bulong.  
 i-pa-pinggan=yo    dagitoy    bulong  
 T-CAUS-plate=2pE    these      leaf  
 'Use these leaves as plates.'

Ipadanumna              ti    serbesa.  
 i-pa-danum=na              ti    serbesa  
 T-CAUS-water=3sE    ART    beer  
 'He uses beer as if it were water.'

Impapunganna              ti    susona.  
 i-m-pa-pungan=na              ti    suso=na  
 T-PF-CAUS-pillow=3sE    ART    breast=3sE  
 'He used her breast as a pillow.' (w)

#### 8.6.2.5 The prefix *mapa-*

The complex prefix *mapa-* (perfective form *napa-*) forms resultative verbs where the action encoded in the root is caused to be done or happens to the referent in the absolutive case, either by a referent in the ergative case, or an unspecified force. The prefix *mapa-* is most commonly used in the perfective aspect (*napa-*) to encode a state that the absolutive argument experiences or instinctively does when prompted by a force.

sennaay 'sigh'	mapasennaay	be made to sigh, cause one to sigh
lagto 'jump'	mapalagto	be made to jump
anang-ang 'whimper'	mapaanang-ang	be made to whimper
pudaw 'white'	mapapudaw	be whitened (made white)
bulsek 'blind'	mapabulsek	be made blind, blinded
nganga 'agape'	mapanganga	be amazed, made to open the mouth

Napamulagatda a nakaduktal iti natayen nga aso.  
na-pa-mulagat=da a naka-duktal iti natay=en nga aso  
PF-CAUS-wide.eye=3p LIG PF.INVOL-discover OBL dead=already LIG dog  
'They (instinctively) opened their eyes wide upon discovering the dead dog (the discovery made them open their eyes).' (w)

Napaanang-ang a napalagto ti napanaan nga alingo.  
na-pa-ang'ang{an} a na-pa-lagto ti na-pana-an nga alingo  
PF-CAUS-whine{CONT} LIG PF-CAUS-jump ART PF-arrow-T LIG boar  
'The wild boar shot with an arrow jumped and whimpered in pain (pain from the arrow caused him to instinctively jump, let out a whimper in pain).' (w)

Napasaplitmi ti padi.  
na-pa-saplit=mi ti padi  
PF-CAUS-whip=1pEXCL.E ART priest  
'We managed to have the priest whipped.' (c)

The prefix *mapa-* may also encode a resulting state of the directional use of *pa-*:

Nakakallugong iti silag a napatukayab iti sango.  
naka-kallugong iti silag a na-pa-tukayab iti sango  
ADJ-hat OBL palm LIG PF-CAUS-flap.upwards OBL front  
'He was wearing a palm hat folded upwards in the front.' (w)

#### 8.6.2.6 The prefix *mapag-*

The prefix *mapag-* (perfective form *napag-*) is used with *pag-* *-en* causative verbs to indicate the potential, involuntary or abilitative action or state of the causative stem. The referent responsible for having the action done to the absolutive referent may or may not appear in the discourse. When it does, it is encoded in the ergative case.

<b>Root</b>	<b>mapag- verb</b>	<b>gloss</b>
baliw 'change'	mapagbaliw	be able to change something, be changed
singpet 'well behaved'	mapagsingpet	to be able to make someone behave, be told to behave
sao 'speak'	mapagsao	be made to speak
subli 'return'	mapagsubli	be brought back
pakawan 'forgive'	mapagpakawan	to be able to forgive
babawi 'repent'	mapagbabawi	be made to repent

Dimo mapagbaliw ti pangngeddengko.  
 di=mo ma-pag-baliw ti paN-keddeng=ko  
 NEG=2sE ABIL-CAUS-change ART NOM-decision=1sE  
 'You cannot change my opinion/decision.'

Napagsaokami.  
 na-pag-sao=kami  
 PF-CAUS-speak=1pEXCL.A  
 'We were forced to speak.'

#### 8.6.2.7 The prefix *maipa-*

The complex prefix *maipa-* (perfective form *naipa-*) has two distinct functions. It forms resultative causatives from *ipa-* verbs, encoding an involuntary action.

<b>Root</b>	<b>ipa- verb</b>	<b>maipa- verb</b>
sengngay 'birth'	ipasngay 'to give birth to'	maipasngay 'to be born'
tawid 'inherit'	ipatawid 'to give as inheritance'	maipatawid 'to receive as inheritance'
bulod 'borrow'	ipabulod 'to lend'	maipabulod 'to be lent'
kaan 'eat'	ipakan 'to feed'	maipakan 'to be fed'
suli 'corner'	ipasuli 'to put in the corner'	maipasuli 'to be put in the corner'
atiddog 'long'	ipaattiddog 'to lengthen'	maipaattiddog 'to be lengthened'
Manila 'Manila'	ipa-Manila 'to bring to Manila'	maipa-Manila 'to be brought to Manila'

Naipasngayak            iti    daytoy    a    disso.  
na-i-pa-sengngay=ak    iti    daytoy    a    disso  
PF-T-CAUS-born=1sA    OBL    this            LIG    place  
‘I was born in this place.’

Naipatawid            kenkuana    ti    aringkuloten    a    buok    dagiti    ama  
na-i-pa-tawid            kenkuana    ti    ariN-kulot-en    a    buok    dagiti    ama  
PF-T-CAUS-inherit    3SOBL        ART    SIMIL-curl-SIMIL    LIG    hair    PL        father  
  
ti    pulina.  
ti    puli=na  
ART    race=3sE

‘He inherited curly hair from the fathers of his stock/breed.’

Naipakan            ti    tinapay.  
na-i-pa-kaan        ti    tinapay  
PF-T-CAUS-eat    ART    bread  
‘He is fed with bread.’

Inruarko            ti    naipalamiis    nga    arak.  
i{in}-ruar=ko        ti    na-i-pa-lamiis    nga    arak  
T{PF}-out=1sE    ART    PF-T-CAUS-cold    LIG    wine  
‘I brought the chilled wine outside.’

The prefix *maipa-* may also be used to specify an abilitative causative action, composed of the abilitative prefix *ma-* and the causative prefix *pa-*. The person that is able to perform the action is encoded in the ergative case.

Root	<i>maipa-</i>	gloss
kaan ‘eat’	maipakan	to be able to have something fed
baba ‘lower’	maipababa	to be able to lower; decrease the price
pungan	maipapungan	to be able to use as a pillow
daya ‘uneg’	maipauneg	to be able to put inside
ruar ‘outside’	maiparuar	to be able to bring outside

Naiparuarmo            dagiti    alikamenko?  
na-i-pa-ruar=mo        dagiti    alikamen=ko  
PF-T-CAUS-out=2sE    PL        furniture=1sE  
‘Were you able to put my furniture outside?’

Naipababada ti presio ti bagas?  
na-i-pa-baba=da ti presio ti bagas  
PF-T-CAUS-low=3pE ART price OBL rice  
‘Did they manage to lower the price of rice?’

### 8.7 Aspect

Ilocano verbs inflect for five categories of tense/aspect: The infinitive aspect, in which the action of the verb is not specified as to whether it has been initiated or completed (this aspect is also used for imperatives); the perfective aspect in which the action of the verb has been initiated and completed; the imperfective aspect for non-punctual actions, in which the action of the verb has been initiated, but is still in progress; the future in which the action of the verb has yet to be initiated, and the past imperfective in which a continuous action is framed relative to a past time.

Each Ilocano verbal affix has a perfective and infinitive form. The perfective aspect is formed simply by replacing the infinite affix with its perfective counterpart. The imperfective aspect is formed by CVC reduplication of the root with the particular verbal morphology still in play, and the future is formed by the adverbial clitic =to after consonants, and =nto after vowels as shown in the following chart.

Infinitive/ Command (verb class)	Perfective	Imperfective (incomplete)	Past imperfective	Future, not initiated
<b>ACTOR FOCUS VERBS (INTRANSITIVE)</b>				
agsurat ‘write’	nagsurat	agsursurat	nagsursurat	agsuratto
gumatang ‘buy’	gimmatang	gumatatang	gimmatatang	gumatangto
mangtakaw ‘steal’	nangtakaw	mangtatakaw	nangtatakaw	mangtakawto
<b>GOAL FOCUS VERBS (TRANSITIVE)</b>				
ikabil ‘put’	inkabil	ikabkabil	ingkabkabil	ikabilto
gatangan ‘buy’	ginatang	gatgatangan	ginatgatang	gatangento
idaitan ‘sew for’	indaitan	idadaitan	indadaitan	idaitanto
kasao ‘speak with’	kinasao	kasasao	kinasasao	kasaonto
punasan ‘wipe’	pinunasan	punpunasan	pinunpunasan	punasanto

### 8.7.1. The infinitive (neutral) aspect

Infinitive (neutral) verbs are used to indicate actions that do not specify a certain time or completion. They are used to express simple facts that are true at the time of utterance.

Masapul a mangwaksi iti saem.  
 ma-sapul a mang-waksi iti saem  
 ADJ-need LIG I-get.rid OBL pain  
 'He needs to get rid of the pain.'

Mangngegko laeng ti baresbes ti karayan.  
 ma-denggeg=ko laeng ti baresbes ti karayan  
 INVOL-hear=1sE only ART sound.of.water ART river  
 'I only hear the sound of the river.' (w)

Nasasayaatsa ketdi no saankan nga agtuloy  
 na-R-sayaat=sa ketdi no saan=ka=n nga ag-tuloy  
 ADJ-COMPAR-good=I.think nevertheless if NEG=2sA=now LIG I-continue

nga agbaniaga.  
 nga ag-baniaga  
 LIG I-travel

'I think it would nevertheless be better if you do not continue to travel.'

As infinitive verbs are unmarked for time or tense, they are also used in imperatives.

Kanemon!  
 kaan-en=mo=n  
 eat-T=2sE=now  
 'Eat it!'

Sukimatem ti gasatmo iti daga a nakayanakam.  
 sukimat-en=mo ti gasat=mo iti daga a naka-i-anak-an=mo  
 try-T=2sE ART luck=2sE OBL land LIG PF.INVOL-THM-born-T=2sE  
 'Try your luck in your native land.'

Saanka kuma nga agilunod iti masakbayanna.  
 saan=ka kuma nga ag-i-lunod iti ma-sakbay-an=na  
 NEG=2sA OPT LIG I-THM-curse OBL INVOL-before-NOM=3sE  
 'You should not curse her future.'

Infinitive verbs may be used for actions that have yet to occur. They are usually framed in the future by an adverbial element or future subordinator (see also future particle =*to*).

Agawidak kuma iti mabiit.  
 ag-awid=ak kuma iti ma-biit  
 I-go.home=1sA OPT OBL ADJ-short.time  
 'I should go home shortly.'

No aramidem pay dayta kaniak ket papoliska.  
 no aramid-en=mo pay dayta kaniak ket pa-polis=ko=ka  
 if do-T=2sE still that 1sOBL and CAUS-police=1sE=2sA  
 'If you still do that to me I will call the police on you.'

Ikarik a pasiarek ti tanemmo iti inaldaw.  
 i-kari=ko a pasiar-en=ko ti tanem=mo iti aldaw{in}  
 T-promise=1sE LIG stroll-T=1sE ART grave=2sE OBL day{every}  
 'I promise to stroll by your grave everyday.'

Infinitive verbs also occur as nominalized verbal complements that do not express any time distinction.

Igaedna ti agadal.  
 i-gaed=na ti ag-adal  
 T-eager=3sE ART I-study  
 'He studies eagerly.'

No mabalin kuma ti agsubli...  
 no ma-balin kuma ti ag-subli  
 if ADJ-possible OPT ART I-return  
 'If only it were possible to return...'

They are often used for past actions that are preceded by the past subordinators *idi* or *itay*.

Naganit-it ti luganna idi *agpreno* iti kanto.  
 n-ag-anit'it ti lugan=na idi ag-preno iti kanto  
 PF-I-screech ART car=3sE PST I-brake OBL corner  
 'His car screeched when he braked at the corner.' (w)

Parbangon itay *aggapu* idiy Goleta a pagobraanna.  
 parbangon itay ag-gapu idiy Goleta a pag-obra-an=na  
 dawn REC.PST I-come.from there Goleta LIG LOC-work-NOM=3sE  
 'It was early dawn when he came from Goleta where he works.' (w)

### 8.7.2. The perfective aspect

All Ilocano verbalizing morphemes have perfective counterparts summarized below.

1. For *ag-*, *ma-*, *maka-*, *maki-* and *mang-* verbs the perfective aspect is formed by the addition of the prefix *n-*: *nag-*, *na-*, *naka-*, *naki-* and *nang-*.
2. For *-um-* verbs, the perfective aspect is formed by the infix *-imm-*, historically *-inum-*.
3. For suffixed verbs (*-an* and *-en*), the perfective aspect is formed by the addition of the infix *-in-*, placed before the first vowel of the root. With *-an* verbs the suffix is retained, but with *-en* verbs, it is not.
4. *Ka-* and *pa-* become *kina-* and *pina-*, respectively, when perfective.
5. *i-* becomes *in-* when perfective.

The perfective aspect is used to indicate punctual actions that have been completed prior to the time of utterance. They may be compared to English past tense verbs in this case:

Inrugikon	ti	nagbartek.	nagsugal	ken	nakibarkadaidi
i{in}-rugi=ko=n	ti	n-ag-bartek	n-ag-sugal	ken	naki-barkadaidi
T{PF}-start=1sE=now	ART	PF-I-drunk	PF-I-gamble	and	PF.COMIT-gangPST
naammuak		nga	agayanayatkayo.		
na-ammo-an=ko		nga	ag-R-ayat=kayo		
PF.INVOL-know-T=1sE		LIG	I-MUTUAL-love=2pA		

'I started getting drunk, gambling and hanging around my gang when I found out that you were lovers.' (w)

Nagkuretret	ti	mugingna.
n-ag-kuretret	ti	muging=na
PF-I-wrinkle	ART	forehead=3sE

'His forehead wrinkled.'

With roots taking the involuntary affix *ma-*, the perfective form is preferred to express adjectival states.

Timmakder	ti	baket	tapno ikiwarna	ti	<i>naisaang</i>	nga	adobo.	
takder{in-um}	ti	baket	tapno i-kiwar=na	ti	na-i-saang	nga	adobo	
stand{PF-I}	ART	old.lady	so	T-stir=3sE	ART	PF-THM-on.fire	LIG	adobo

'The old lady got up to stir the *adobo* (marinated meat) on the fire.' (w)

Kasla	<i>nabainan</i>	ni	Salvador.
kasla	na-bain-an	ni	Salvador
like	PF.INVOL-shame-T	PA	Salvador

'Salvador seemed ashamed.'



### 8.7.3. Imperfective (continuative) aspect

#### 8.7.3.1 Formation of the imperfective verb

The imperfective (or continuative) aspect is formed by the initial CVC reduplication of the verb stem:

Verb root	Infinitive verb	Imperfective verb
basa 'read'	basaen 'to read to' agbasa 'to read'	basbasaen agbasbasa
utob 'consider'	utoben 'to consider' mautob 'to be pondered'	ut-utoben maut-utob
anges 'breath'	umanges 'to breathe'	umang-anges

Verb roots with a *pa-* or *ka-* + consonant gemination prefix function as a whole stem, and the *pa-* or *ka-* + RC prefix undergoes the initial CVC reduplication along with the first consonant of the stem.

Verb root + affix	Infinitive	Imperfective form
balay + ka- = kabbalay	agkabbalay 'to live in the same house'	agkabkabbalay
sikal + pa- = pasikal	agpasikal 'to be in labor'	agpaspasikal
bengngeg + pa- = pabengngeg	ipabengngeg 'to refuse to heed'	ipabpabengngeg
kaasi + pa- = pakaasi	ipakaasi 'to ask a favor'	ipakpakaasi
rigat + pa- = parigat	parigaten 'to make matters difficult'	parparigaten
lagip + pa- = palagip	palagipan 'to remind'	palpalagipan
ragsak + pa- = paragsak	agparagsak 'to make happy'	agparparagsak

Uppat a tawenen nga *agkabkabbalayda*.  
 uppat a tawen=en nga ag-ka-balay-R=da  
 four LIG year=already LIG I-COMIT-house-CONT=3p  
 'They have been living together for four years already.'

Marigatan unayen nga *agpaspasikal* iti balayda.  
 ma-rigat-an unay=en nga ag-pa-sika{R} iti balay=da  
 ADJ-difficult-ADJ very=EMPH LIG I-CAUS-labor{CONT} OBL house=3p  
 'It is very difficult for her to be in labor at their house.'

Addaakto met a *mangparparagsak* kenka.  
 adda=ak=to met a mang-pa-ragsak-R kenka  
 EXIST=1sA=FUT also LIG I-CAUS-happy-CONT 2sOBL  
 'I will also be (here) to make you happy.'

Pangngasim ta saannak a *palpalagipan*  
 paN-ka-asi=mo ta saan=mo=ak a pa-lagip-R-an  
 NOM-COMIT-pity=2sE LIG NEG=2sE=1sA LIG CAUS-remember-CONT-T

kadagita a banag.  
 ka-dagita a banag  
 OBL-those LIG thing

'Please don't remind me of those things.'

*Agpatpataaw* pay laeng ti biray.  
 ag-pa-R-taaw pay.laeng ti biray  
 I-DIREC-CONT-ocean still ART boat  
 'The boat is still going off to sea.' (w)

Nasken nga *agpalpaliwaka* tapno madalusan  
 na-sekken nga ag-pa-R-liwa=ka tapno ma-dalus-an  
 ADJ-need LIG I-CAUS-CONT-console=2sA so INVOL-clean-T

ta panunotmo.  
 ta panunot=mo  
 MED thought=2sE

'You need to take a rest so you can clear your thoughts.'

Similarly, verbs that contract with a prefix or infix act as a unit with their contracting prefix or infix, so the reduplicated stem includes the prefix or infix.

Verb stem + prefix	Contracted verb	Imperfective form
kaan + maN-	mangan 'to eat'	mangmangan
dengngeg + maN-	mangngeg 'to hear'	mangmangngeg
tidda + ma-	matda 'to remain'	matmatda

pagna + ma-	magna 'to walk'	magmagna
lettaw + -um-	lumtaw 'to float; emerge'	lumlumtaw
lennek + -um-	lumnek 'to set (sun)'	lumlumnek
seppak + ma-	maspak 'to snap, break'	masmaspak

Mangmangandan.  
R-maN-kaan=da=n  
CONT-I-eat=3p=already  
'They are already eating.'

*MaN-* verbs normally reduplicate the first CVC sequence of the root. Because of the nature of the homorganic nasal of the prefix, the first consonant of the reduplicated syllable often assimilates to the nasal.

Verb stem	<i>maN-</i> verb	Imperfective aspect form			
taraigid 'flow out'	manaraigid	manartaraigid			
kadua 'accompany'	mangadua	mangadkadua			
sarita 'speak'	manarita	manarsarita			
tarawidwid 'manage'	manarawidwid	manartarawidwid			
kayaw 'charm'	mangayaw	mangaykayaw			
Nalaing a	manarsarita	maipapan	kadagiti	adayo a	lugar.
na-laing a	maN-R-sarita	maipapan	ka-dagiti	adayo a	lugar
ADJ-good	LIG	I-CONT-talk	about	OBL-PL	far LIG place
'He is good at talking about faraway places.'					

### 8.7.3.2. Use of the imperfective aspect

The imperfective (continuative) aspect is used for non-punctual actions that are habitual, ongoing, or repeated.

*Ur-urayenkanto*                      idiay Italia.  
R-uray-en=ko=ka=nto              idiay Italia  
CONT-wait=1sE=2sA=FUT          there Italy  
'I will be waiting for you in Italy.'

Awan        ti        *mangiparparit*        kenka a        makisarita        kadakami.  
awan        ti        mang-i-R-parit        kenka a        maki-sarita        kadakami  
NEG.EXIST ART    I-THM-CONT-forbid    2sOBL LIG    COMMIT-talk    1pEXCL.OBL  
'Nobody is forbidding you to speak with us.'

*Agliplipias* kuma ti barukongko iti ragsak. ngem kaslaketdin  
 ag-R-lipias kuma ti barukong=ko iti ragsak ngem kaslaketdi=n  
 I-CONT-overflow OPT ART chest=1sE OBL joy but likeinstead=EMPH

*umil-ilet* ti lubongko.  
 um-R-ilet ti lubong=ko  
 I-CONT-tight ART world=1sE

'My heart (lit: chest) should be overflowing with joy but instead, my world seems to be closing in on me (in sadness).' (w)

Talagansa ket a *maliwliwaka* ditoy, a.  
 talaga=nsa ket a ma-R-liwa=ka ditoy a  
 really=I.think and LIG INVOL-CONT-console=2sA here PART  
 'I really think that you are cheering up here.'

Adverbial phrases that indicate actions that have been taking place over a considerable length of time often require an imperfective verb.

Lima nga orasen nga *agtartaray* iti dalan.  
 lima nga oras=en nga ag-R-taray iti dalan  
 five LIG hours=already LIG I-CONT-run OBL street  
 'He has been running around in the street for five hours already.' (w)

Nabayagen a *birbirokenka*.  
 na-bayag=en a R-birok-en=ko=ka  
 ADJ-long.time=already LIG CONT-look.for-T=1sE=2sA  
 'I have been looking for you for a long time already.'

*Agbarbariwengweng* pay laeng ti ulona.  
 ag-R-bariwengweng pay.laeng ti ulo=na  
 I-CONT-stun still ART head=3sE  
 'His head is still spinning (stunned).'

Continual past actions with the past markers *idi* or *itay*, are often expressed with non-perfective verbs in imperfective aspect.

Kinaasianka idi *agtawatawaka*.  
 ka{in}-asi-an=ko=ka idi ag-R-tawataw=ka  
 COMMIT{PF}-pity-T=1sE=2sA PST I-CONT-wander=2sA  
 'I pitied you when you were wandering (were a drifter).' (w)

Pampanunotek itayen a tukkolek ti tulangna.  
 R-panunot-en=ko itay=en a tukkol-en=ko ti tulang=na  
 CONT-think-T=1sE REC.PST=EMPH LIG break-T=1sE ART bone=3sE  
 'I was thinking just a short while ago to break his bones.'

With certain verbal or adjectival roots, the imperfective aspect is preferred for certain expressions. These must be learned by use.

Agsingsingpetka!  
 ag-R-singpet=ka  
 I-CONT-well.behaved=2sA  
 'Behave yourself.'

Agbambannogka no ituloymo ti agayat kenkuana.  
 ag-R-bannog=ka no i-tuloy=mo ti ag-ayat kenkuana  
 I-CONT-tire=2sE if T-continue=2sE ART I-love 3SOBL  
 'You are wasting your time if you continue to love him.'

No mapanka idiy, laglagipennak, wen?  
 no ma-pan=ka idiy R-lagip-en=mo=ak wen  
 when I-go=2sA there CONT-remember-T=2sE=1sA yes  
 'When you go there, you'll remember me, right?'

Sometimes the imperfective aspect is used with certain states or experiential verbs to call attention to the time involved or effort exerted to achieve the state or feeling, i.e. *agdanag* 'to worry' vs. *agdandanag* 'to trouble oneself, to worry too much', *aggaget* 'to be industrious' vs. *aggaggaget* 'to be working hard (to achieve the quality of being industrious)', *agsingpet* 'to be well behaved' vs. *agsingsingpet* 'to behave oneself (for a period of time).'

Dika agdandanag.  
 di=ka ag-R-danag  
 NEG=2sA I-CONT-worry  
 'Don't worry (be worrying hard).'

Mayat no aggaggagetda.  
 ma-ayat no ag-R-gaget=da  
 INVOL-good if I-CONT-hard.working=3p  
 'It is good if they are working hard.'

#### 8.7.4. Past imperfective

Iterative, habitual or continual actions that occur in the past are often encoded with perfective verbs and initial CVC reduplication to indicate the progressive nature of the action.

*Linalais* ken *kinatkatawaandaka* dagiti am-ammotayo  
 R-lais{in} ken R-katawa{in}-an=da=ka dagiti R-ammo=tayo  
 CONT-scorn{PF} and CONT-laugh{PF}-T=3pE=2sA PL R-know=1pINCL

gapu kenkuana.  
 because 3SOBL

'Our acquaintances scorned and laughed at you (for a long while) because of her.'

Manipud pay idi ubingak, da angkelen ti *nangtartaraken* kaniak.  
 manipud pay idi ubing=ak da angkel=en ti nang-R-taraken kaniak  
 since more PST child=1sA PL uncle=EMPH ART PF.I-CONT-raise 1sOBL  
 'Since the time when I was a child, it was uncle and auntie who raised me.'

Nabayagakon a *nagiartrabaho* itoy a kompania.  
 na-bayag=ako=n a n-ag-R-trabaho itoy a kompania  
 PF-long.time=1sA=already LIG PF-I-CONT-work here LIG company  
 'I have been working in this company for a long time already.'

*Nangnangngegkon* dayta uray idi ubingak.  
 naN-R-dengngeg=ko=n dayta uray idi ubing=ak  
 PF.I-CONT-hear=1sE=already that even PST child=1sA  
 'I have been hearing that even when I was a child.'

*Pinadpadaannaka* manipud idi.  
 pa{in}-R-daan=na=ka manipud idi  
 CAUS{PF}-CONT-wait=3sE=2sA since then  
 'He has been waiting for you since then.'

Sinirigna a naimbag ti bunga a *suksukdalen* ti balasang.  
 sirig{in}=na a na-imbag ti bunga a R-sukdal-en ti balasang  
 peer{PF}=3sE LIG ADJ-well ART fruit LIG CONT-pick-T ART lady  
 'He took a good peer at the fruit that the young lady was picking.' (w)

#### 8.7.5. Future time

Actions or states that have yet to occur may be encoded either with infinitive verbs or infinitive verbs with the adverbial enclitic *=(n)to* which indicates future time. The enclitic *=(n)to* has two allomorphs, *=to* after consonants, and *=nto* after vowels.

Inton bigat. agkasangayak.  
 inton bigat ag-kasangay=ak  
 FUT morning I-birthday=1sA  
 'Tomorrow is my birthday.' (infinitive verb)

Sumipngetron no sumangpetda.  
 sipnget{um}=to=n no sangpet{um}-da  
 dark{I}=FUT=already when arrive{I}=3p  
 'It will already be dark when they arrive.' (verb with =(n)to)

Agpa-Manilakamton inton malem.  
 ag-pa-Manila=kam=to=n inton malem  
 I-DIREC-Manila=1pEXCL.A=FUT=already FUT afternoon  
 'We will go to Manila in the afternoon.'

The future enclitic =(n)to also attaches to verbs in imperfective (progressive) aspect, to frame a continual or habitual event in future time.

Ikitkitadakanto kasta met a tarabayendaka.  
 i-R-kita=da=ka=nto kasta met a tarabay-en=da=ka  
 R-CONT-see=3pE=2sA=FUT like.that also LIG guide-T=3pE=2sA  
 'They will be looking after you as they guide you.'

As with all enclitics, the future enclitic =(n)to may attach to various word classes other than verbs. It is then therefore best analyzed as a future marker of a clause, not an aspectual or tense marker for verbs.

Ammok a saannakto a mapakawan.  
 ammo=ko a saan=mo=ak=to a ma-pakawan  
 know=1sE LIG NEG=2sE=1sA=FUT LIG INVOL-forgive  
 'I know that you won't be able to forgive me.'

Pampanunotek no kasanonto ti panagbayadtayo iti  
 R-panunot-en=ko no kasano=nto ti pan-ag-bayad=tayo iti  
 CONT-think-T=1sE SUB how=FUT ART NOM-I-pay=1pINCL OBL

pagbiagtayo iti inaldaw.  
 pag-biag=tayo iti aldaw{in}  
 INST-life=1pINCL OBL day{every}

'I am thinking of how we will pay for our everyday livelihood.'

No kasaomi. masapul a paminduaenmi ti  
 no ka-sao=mi ma-sapul a pamin-dua-en=mi ti  
 if COMMIT-speak=1pEXCL INVOL-need LIG MULT-two-T=1pEXCL ART

saludsodmi	sananto	sungbatan.
saludsod=mi	sa=na=nto	sungbat-an
question=1pEXCL	then=3sE=FUT	answer-T

‘When we speak to him, we must ask twice, then he will answer us.’ (w)

### 8.7.6 The recent past

Ilocano has a recent past construction for actions occurring immediately prior to the time of the speech event. This recent-perfective construction is formed by the prefix *ka-* and CV reduplication of the initial syllable of the root. The actor of verbs in the recent past is always in the ergative case:

Verb stem		Recent past form	
sangpet	arrive	kasasangpet	just arrived
surat	write	kasurat	just written
anak	child	kaan-anak	just gave birth
aramid	do, make	kaar-aramid	just made
ruar	go outside	karuruar	just gone out

Kasangpetko.  
 ka-R-sangpet=ko  
 REC.PST-R-arrive=1sE  
 ‘I just arrived.’

Katurturposna            iti        kinamaestra.  
 ka-R-turpos=na        iti        kina-maestra  
 REC.PST-R-graduate=3sE OBL    NOM-teacher  
 ‘She just finished (graduated from) her teaching degree.’

Certain high frequency verbs may have recent past variants formed with the prefix *ka-* with gemination of the initial consonant of the root (for all roots not beginning with a glottal stop). As opposed to *ka-* + RCV recent past verbs, these words are used in discourse more like adjectives than verbs, as they usually lack an ergative argument.

luto	cook	kalluto	just cooked
tiliw	catch	kattiliw	just caught
sangpet	arrive	kasangpet	just arrived
digos	take a bath	kaddigos	just bathed



pelles	dress (clothes)	kapp(el)les	just dressed
pusing	detach	kappusing	just stopped breastfeeding
serrek	enter	kasserrek	just entered
pukan	chop	kappukan	just chopped down

In colloquial usage of the recent perfective aspect, some high frequency verbs undergo the initial CVC reduplication without the addition of the prefix *ka-*:

Gapgapuk                      idiay plasa idi    baonennak                      ni nanangidiaybalay.  
R-gapu=ko                      idiay plasa idi    baon-en=na=ak                ni nanangidiaybalay  
REC.PST-come.from=1sE    there plaza PST    send-T=3sE=1sA    PA mothertherehouse  
'I just came from the plaza when mother sent (ordered) me home.'

Sangsangpetna                iti    otelna.  
R-sangpet=na                iti    otel=na  
REC.PST-arrive=3sE    OBL    hotel=3sE  
'He just arrived in his hotel.'

Recent past verbs, like all other verbs, can be easily nominalized. The oblique article *iti* may precede them to form a recent past adverbial clause.

Iti katataliawko,                      nailubuak                      la    ket    ngarud.  
iti ka-R-taliaw=ko                      na-i-lubo-an=ko                la    ket    ngarud  
OBL REC.PST-R-look.back=1sE    PF-THM-mud-T=1sE    just and indeed  
'When I just looked back (as soon as I looked back), I just fell in the mud.' (w)

### 8.7.7 Inchoativity

The concept of 'becoming' or 'entering' a state or condition is expressed by the infix *-um-* in Ilocano, the perfective aspect counterpart is *-imm-*:

Root	Inchoative <i>-um-</i>	Perfective Inchoative <i>-imm-</i>
tayag 'tall'	tumayag 'grow tall'	timmayag 'got tall'
baknang 'rich'	bumaknang 'become wealthy'	bimmaknang 'became wealthy'
bara 'heat'	bumara 'get warm'	bimmara 'heated up'

puraw 'white'	pumuraw 'whiten'	pimmuraw 'whitened'
ngisit 'black'	ngumisit 'become dark (complexion)'	ngimmisit 'got dark (skin)'

The verb *agbalin* may also be used to express inchoativity or 'becoming'. In this case, the inchoative state is expressed as a relative clause, separated from the verb *agbalin* by the ligature (*ng*)*a*. The paraphrasal way of expressing inchoativity with *agbalin* implies that the actor entering a certain state has had some control in achieving the state, more so than if the infix *-imm-* were to be used.

Nagbalinda a nabaknang.  
n-ag-balin=da a na-baknang  
PF-I-become=3p LIG ADJ-rich  
'They became rich.'

Nagbalin a nasinged kadagiti taona.  
n-ag-balin a na-singed ka-dagiti tao=na  
PF-I-become LIG ADJ-close OBL-PL person=3sE  
'He became close to his people.' (w)

#### 8.7.8 *Sangka-* habituals

The prefix *sangka-* attaches to verb roots to indicate the habitual and frequent action of the verb root. Unlike other verb prefixes, this particular one is not altered for the perfective aspect. This prefix takes the actors in the ergative case.

Sangkadamagnaka.  
sangka-damag=na=ka  
HABIT-worry=3sE=2sA  
'She is always (frequently or habitually) worrying about you.'

Idi bassitak pay. sangkakuna ni nanang nga ipannak iti balay  
idi bassit=ak pay. sangka-kuna ni nanang nga i-pan-nak iti balay  
PST little=1sA still HABIT-say PA mother LIG T-go-3/1 OBLhouse

ni Lolo no agsubegsubegak.  
ni Lolo no ag-R-subeg=ak  
PA Grandfather if I-CONT-disobey=1sA

'When I was still young, mother used to always tell me that she would send me to Grandfather's house when I was unruly.'

Apay a sangkadamagmo lat' oras ti isasangpetko?  
 apay a sangka-damag=mo latta-ti oras ti i-R-sangpet=ko  
 why LIG HABIT-worry=2sE just-ART hour ART NOM-R-arrive=1sE  
 'Why do you just keep on worrying about the time I arrive?'

Sangkadagullitna dayta.  
 sangka-dagullit=na dayta  
 HABIT-repeat=3sE that  
 'He keeps on repeating that.'

### 8.7.9 Frequentatives

#### 8.7.9.1 *-an-* frequentatives

Ilocano *-an-* frequentatives are formed in different ways for different verb classes, usually by infixing *-an-* to the appropriate affix. Unlike the more prototypical verbs examined earlier, the Ilocano frequentatives do not have perfective forms and are readily used as nouns. Frequentatives are formed from intransitive (actor focus) verbs only. The frequentative paradigm is shown below:

Affix class	Intransitive counterpart	Frequentative affixation
<b>Basic intransitives</b>		
ag-	ag-	manag-
agkara-	agkara-	managkara-
agi-	agi-	managi-
-um-	-um-	-um- + RCV
maka-	maka-	mannaka-
maki-	maki-	mannaki-
mang-	mang-	manang-
<b>Transitives</b>		
-en, -an	mang-	manang-
i-	mangi-	manangi-
ma-	maka-	mannaka-
mapa-	makapa-	mannakapa-
pag-	mangpag-	manangpag-

pang- -en	mangpang-	manangpang-
ka-	maki-	mannaki-
ma- -an	maka-	mannaka-
pa- -an, pa- -en	mangpa-	manangpa-
mai-	makai-	mannakai-
pai-	mangpai-	manangpai-
mapai-	makapai-	mannakapai-
ipa	mangipa-	manangipa-
maipa-	makaipa-	mannakaipa-
paipa-	mangpaipa-	manangpaipa-
mapaipa-	makapaipa-	mannakapaipa-

managsangit  
(m)ag{an}-sangit  
I{FREQ}-cry  
'to frequently cry; crybaby'

Mannakisaludsodda.  
maki{an}-saludsod = da  
COMIT{FREQ}-ask = 3p  
'They are always asking questions.'

Mannakiapa            ti        anakko.  
maki{an}-apa        ti        anak = ko  
COMIT{FREQ}-fight ART child = 1sE  
'My child is always fighting.'

Managikari            ngem awan        ti        ipadawatna.  
(m)ag{an}-i-kari        ngem awan        ti        i-pa-dawat = na  
I{FREQ}THM-promise but NEG.EXIST ART T-CAUS-ask.for = 3sE  
'He always promises, but he doesn't give away anything.'

Although the *-an-* frequentatives do not have perfective forms as the majority of verbal affixes, they may appear with initial CVC reduplication of the root to specify the continual nature of the action. This process mirrors the verbs in imperfective aspect.

Managkigkigtotka.  
 mag{an}-R-kigtot = ka  
 I{FREQ}-CONT-startle = 2sA  
 'You are always getting startled (you show that you are always afraid).'

### 8.7.9.2 *Kara-* frequentatives

The prefix *kara-* may also be used with action verb stems to indicate the repeated or habitual occurrence of the action of the stem. It most frequently combines with the prefix *ag-* or infix *-um-* to form the frequentative verbs.

Agkarasubli ti kalesa.  
 ag-kara-subli ti kalesa  
 I-FREQ-return ART horse.drawn.cart  
 'The horse drawn cart keeps coming back.' (w)

Agkaraumay diay kabsatna.  
 ag-kara-um-ay diay kabsat = na  
 I-FREQ-I-come DIST sibling = 3sE  
 'Her brother comes all the time.'

Kumarasubli.  
 kara-subli{um}-0  
 FREQ-return{I}-3sA  
 'He keeps coming back.'

### 8.8. The fossilized prefix *tagi-*

The prefix *tagi-* is no longer productive in most urban dialects of Ilocano. It is used in certain cases to form nouns from noun roots, which may take a variety of affixes to form verbs and abstract nominals:

Noun root	<i>tagi-</i> noun	Gloss
kua 'do'	tagikua	possessions
lennek 'set sun'	tagilnekan	sunset
lako 'sell'	tagilako	merchandise
ruot 'grass'	tagiruot	spell, love charm
sima 'barb'	tagisima	hook and sinker
balay 'house'	tagibalay	housekeeper, housewife
lipat 'forget'	tagilipat	oblivion

Tinagiruotnaka ketdin ni Zorayda ket adipennakan  
 tagi{in}-ruot=na=ka ketdi=n ni Zorayda ket adipen=na=ka=n  
 LEX{PF}-grass=3sE=2sA anyway=PART PA Zorayda and slave=3sE=2sA

iti anitoda?  
 iti anito=da  
 OBL spirit=3p

'Zorayda cast a spell on you instead and now you are enslaved by their spirits.' (w)

Masapul a matagikuak.  
 ma-sapul a ma-tagikua=ko  
 ADJ-need LIG INVOL-LEX-do=1sE  
 'It must be mine.'

The prefix *agtagi-* (perfective form *nagtagi-*) may be used to form verbs from the above *tagi-* nominals. With possessible nouns, *agtagi-* is used to indicate current possession or co-existence.

balay 'house'	agtagibalay	to keep house
kua 'do'	agtagikua	to own
palsiit 'slingshot'	agtagipalsiit	to carry a slingshot
buneng 'machete'	agtagibuneng	to carry a machete
sable 'sword'	agtagisable	to carry a sword
kalasag 'shield'	agtagikalasag	to carry a shield
puraw 'white'	agtagipuraw	to be dressed in white
bubong 'thatch'	agtagibubong	to be covered with thatch
linnaaw 'dew'	agtagilinnaaw	to be covered in dew (grass)

Kalpasan	ti	panangisingkawna	iti	nuang	iti
ka-leppas-an	ti	pan-mang-i-singkaw=na	iti	nuang	iti
NOM-finish-NOM	ART	NOM-DETR-THM-hitch=3sE	OBL	buffalo	OBL

nagtagibubong a kariton, nagtugaw iti abay ti baketna.  
 n-ag-tagibubong a kariton n-ag-tugaw iti abay ti baket=na  
 PF-I-LEX-thatch LIG cart PF-I-sit OBL side ART old.lady=3sE  
 'After hitching the water buffalo to the thatched cart, he sat next to his wife.' (w)

Nagtagikalasag dagiti kabusor ti ari.  
 n-ag-tagi-kalasag dagiti ka-busor ti ari  
 PF-I-carry-shield PL COMMIT-oppose ART king  
 'The enemies of the king carried shields.' (w)

With certain roots, the prefixes *agtagi-* or *matagi-* form lexicalized verbs that must be learned as lexical items, not always capable of being morphologically decomposed.

ammo 'know'	agtagtagiammo	be uncertain
lasag 'flesh'	agtagilasag	be realized, come true
tao 'human'	matagtagitao	be inhabited
rupa 'face'	agtagirupa	to put on the face of (happy, sad, etc.), mold one's face
anak 'child'	agtagianak	to consider as one's child
langa 'appearance'	agtagilanga	be realized, come to fruition, take shape (form)

Nakubuar ti danum sa nangin-inut a nagtagilanga  
 na-kubuar ti danum sa naN-R-inut a n-ag-tagi-langa  
 ADJ-gush ART water then PF.DETR-CONT-gradual LIG PF-I-LEX-feature

a kas aso.  
 LIG like dog

'The water gushed then gradually took shape in the form of a dog.' (w)

Ammonan a nagtagilasag ti dayag.  
 ammo=na=n a n-ag-tagi-lasag ti dayag  
 know=3sE=already LIG PF-I-LEX-flesh ART glory  
 'He knows that the glory will come true (be realized).' (w)

Awan matagtagitao.  
 awan ma-R-tagi-tao  
 NEG.EXIST INVOL-R-LEX-human  
 'It is uninhabited.'

Nagtagirupa iti rabak.  
 n-ag-tagi-rupa iti rabak  
 PF-I-LEX-face OBL joke  
 'He put on a joking face.'

*Tagi-* may be used with the transitive suffixes *-an* or *-en* with adjectival roots to form transitive verbs indicating that the ergative referent considers the absolutive referent to be in the condition named by the root. The perfective form of *tagi-* *-en* is *tinagi-*. The verbs may be detransitivized with *mangtagi-* and nominalized with *panangtagi-*:

bassit 'little'	tagibassiten	to consider as small, belittle
dakes 'bad'	tagidaksan	to consider as bad
pateg 'value'	tagipatgen	to treasure, esteem consider valuable
pintas 'beauty'	tagipintasen	to consider something beautiful

Tagipatgenna      unay.  
tagi-pateg-en = na      unay  
LEX-treasure-T = 3sE      very  
'He treasures it very much (the music).'

Napalalo	ti	panangtagibassittayo	kadagiti	taga-bantay
na-palalo	ti	paN-mang-tag-i-bassit = tayo	ka-dagiti	taga-bantay
ADJ-excessive	ART	NOM-DETR-LEX-small = 1pINCL	OBL-PL	from-mountain

a      kakabsattayo.  
a      R-kabsat = tayo  
LIG      PL-sibling = 1pINCL

'Our belittling of our brothers from the mountains is excessive.'

Intransitive *agtagi-* verbs may be transitivized with *-en* or *-an*:

Root	<i>agtagi-</i> verb	<i>-en</i> or <i>-an</i> transitive counterpart
kua 'do'	agtagikua 'to possess'	tagikuaen 'to own something'
tagiruot 'spell'	agtagiruot 'use a charm or spell'	tagiruoten 'to cast a spell on'

Tinagiruotnaka.  
tagi{in}-ruot = na = ka  
LEX{PF.T}-grass = 3sE = 2sA  
'She cast a spell on you.'



### 8.9 *Agin-* RCV Pretense

The prefix *agin-* with CV reduplication (perfective form *nagin-* + RCV) indicates that the verbal action of the stem is feigned by the actor, in the absolutive case:

Root	Pretentative	Gloss
laing 'intelligent'	aginalaing	to pretend to be intelligent
pintas 'beauty'	aginpipintas	to pretend to be beautiful
baknang 'rich'	aginbabaknang	to pretend to be rich
turog 'sleep'	agintuturog	to pretend to sleep
tuleng 'deaf'	agintutuleng	to pretend not to hear

Aginsasangitda.  
 ag-in-R-sangit=da  
 I-PRET-R-cry=3p  
 'They are pretending to cry.'

Aginsisingpet ti lakayna.  
 ag-in-R-singpet ti lakay=na  
 I-PRET-R-virtue ART old.man=3sE  
 'Her husband is pretending to be virtuous.'

Pretentative morphology may be further elaborated with other types of affixation, such as abilitative, comitative, causative, or frequentative affixation as follows.

The frequentative prefix *maN-* with the pretentative prefix *agin-* + RCV combines to form *managin-* + RCV (no perfective form):

managimbabaknang  
 (m)agin{an}-R-baknang  
 PRET{FREQ}-R-rich  
 'always pretending to be rich'

The comitative prefix *maki-* may combine with the pretentative prefix *agin-* + RCV to form *makipagin-* + RCV (perfective form *nakipagin-* + RCV):

makipagimbubulek  
 maki-pagin-R-bulek  
 COMIT-PRET-R-blind  
 'to pretend to be blind with others'

The abilitative prefix *maka-* combines with the pretentative prefix *agin-* + RCV to form *makapagin-* + RCV (perfective form *nakapagin-* + RCV).

makapagintutuleng  
 maka-pagin-R-tuleng  
 ABIL-PRET-R-deaf  
 'to be able to pretend to be deaf'

The causative prefix *pa-* may combine with the pretentative prefix *agin-* + RCV to form *pagin-* + RCV *-en* (perfective form *pinagin-* + RCV):

pagimpipilayen  
 pa-agin-R-pilay-en  
 CAUS-PRET-R-lame-T  
 'to have someone to pretend to limp.'

### 8.10 The prefix *aga(t)-*

The prefix *aga-* with initial consonant gemination or *agat-* is used to indicate the smell of referent denoted by the root. There is no perfective form for this particular prefix.

bawang	garlic	agabbawang, agatbawang	to smell like garlic
laya	ginger	agallaya, agat-laya	to smell like ginger
takki	excrement	agattakki	to smell like excrement

Agatdara ti al-alia.  
 agat-dara ti al'alialia  
 smell-blood ART ghost  
 'The ghost smells like blood.'

Simmuknor manen ti agat-agas iti agongko.  
 suknor{in-um} manen ti agat-agas iti agong=ko  
 penetrate{PF-I} again ART smell-medicine OBL nose=1sE  
 'The medicine smell penetrated my nose again.'

## 8.11 Irregular verbs

Verbs that have idiosyncracies in their morphological formation, i.e. aspect affixation, morphological fusion, etc. will be considered 'irregular,' along with root verbs, verbs that are composed solely of their root without transitive or intransitive affixes. The last part of this section is dedicated to nominal transitives, actual noun roots that may act like transitive verbs in some cases, and as nouns in others. Verbs falling into these categories are detailed below in alphabetical order:

### 8.11.1. The verb *ammo*

The verb *ammo* when used as a transitive (goal focus) verb of knowledge 'to know', does not take any affixation, or inflect for perfective tense.

Ammok    dayta.  
ammo=ko   dayta  
know=1sE   that  
'I know that.'

Ammom    ti    naganko?  
ammo=mo   ti    nagan=ko  
know=2sE   ART   name=1sE  
'Do you know my name?'

No   ammok    la    kuma.  
no   ammo=ko   la    kuma  
if   know=1sE   only   OPT  
'If only I had known.'

It may, however, occur with further derivation, and is one of the most important verbs in the language. Among the most common derivations are the following:

aginaammo	to pretend to know
aginnamo	to become acquainted with (each other)
agpakaammo	to notify
ammuen	to acknowledge; recognize
ipakaammo	to notify, inform, make known
maammuan	to know, find out, come to know
makaammo	to be responsible for
mannakaammo	knowledgeable, literate
pagam-ammo	to introduce
siaammo	aware, cognizant
yammo	to notify, declare, inform, make known
yam-ammo	to introduce someone to

Siak ti makaammo a mangisagana iti padaya.  
 siak ti maka-ammo a mang-i-sagana iti padaya  
 1s ART INVOL-know LIG DETR-THM-prepare OBL party  
 'I will be the one responsible for preparing the party.'

### 8.11.2. The verb (*um*)ay

The verb *ay* is one of the few monosyllabic verb roots in Ilocano. Unlike most verb roots, it is never used without affixation. The infix *-um-* is the most common affix associated with this root, forming the intransitive (actor focus) verb *umay* 'to come.'

Umayka manen.  
 um-ay=ka manen  
 I-come=2sA again  
 'Come again!'

*Umay* may be used as an auxiliary verb like *in(n)-* or *mapan*. In this use it does not require the ligature (*ng*)*a* to connect it to the infinitive verb, and takes the appropriate pronouns as required by the infinitive.

Umayka alaen.  
 um-ay=ko=ka ala-en  
 I-come=1sE=2sA get-T  
 'I am coming to get you.'

Umayda mangrabii ditoy.  
 um-ay=da mang-rabii ditoy  
 I-come=3p I-dinner here  
 'They are coming to eat dinner here.'

Since the root is monosyllabic, the infix *-um-* is often retained in certain affix combinations when it ordinarily would not be.

aginumay (or agin-aay)	to pretend to come
agkaraumay (or agkaraay)	to come repeatedly
iyuumay (or yaay)	coming (gerund)
kakaumay (or kakaay)	to come often
kaum-umay (or ka-ay-ay)	having just come
makaumay (but <u>not</u> makaay)	to be able to come

makiumay (but <u>not</u> makiay)	to join others in coming
paumayen (or paayen)	to make someone come
umay (but <u>not</u> ay)	to come
umayan (but <u>not</u> ayan <sup>3</sup> )	reason for coming

Saanak a nakaumay idiy padayana.  
 saan=ak a naka-(um)ay idiy padaya=na  
 NEG=1sA LIG PF.ABIL-I-come there party=3sE  
 'I was not able to come to her party.'

Inton-ano ti iyuumaymo? (inton-ano ti yaaymo)  
 inton'ano ti i-R-(um)ay=mo  
 when ART NOM-R-come=2sE  
 'When are you coming?'

The verbs *agpaay* or *maipaay* indicate that the absolutive referent is intended for the referent represented in the oblique.

maipaay kadagiti Ilokano  
 mai-pa-ay ka-dagiti Ilokano  
 INVOL-CAUS-come OBL-PL Ilocano  
 'for the Ilocano people'

Agpaay kenka.  
 ag-pa-ay kenka  
 I-CAUS-come 2sOBL  
 'It's for you.'

### 8.11.3. The verb root *dengngég*

As in most verb roots in Ilocano that have geminate consonants or the vowel 'e', considerable morphological alternation goes on when affixing prefixes, infixes, or suffixes. The verb root *dengngeg* is no stranger to this phenomenon. The following table shows the morphological alternation of the root *dengngeg* with various prefixes, infixes and suffixes, along with their appropriate glosses.

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<sup>3</sup>Ayan 'where' has a distinct use as the interrogative adverb expressing location.

from the root *dengngeg*: hear, listen

With the affix	Resulting verb	Gloss
-um-	dumngeg	to listen to
maka-	makangngeg	to happen to hear, able to hear
ma-	mangngeg	to hear
-en	denggen	to listen to
paN-	pangngeg	insinuation, hint
paN- -an	pangngegan	to insinuate, hint
ka- + RCV	kangkangngeg	to have just heard
ipa-	ipangngeg	to give something to be listened to
agipa-	agipangngeg	to insinuate; speak indirectly; let one's opinion be heard

A: Dumngegka!  
 dengngeg{um}=ka  
 hear{I}=1sA  
 'Listen!'

B: Mangngegko laeng ti baresbes ti danum.  
 ma-dengngeg=ko laeng ti baresbes ti danum  
 ABIL-hear=1sE only ART noise.of.water ART water  
 'I can only hear the slushing of the water.'

Karurudko a denggen!  
 ka-rurod=ko a dengngeg-en  
 COMMIT-anger=1sE LIG hear-T  
 'I am fed up listening to it!'

#### 8.11.4. The verb *ikkán*

The verb *ikkan* 'to give, put' is a transitive (goal focus verb) historically formed with two affixes, *i-* and *-an*. The affix *i-*, however, has become part of the root and is never deleted with derivational morphology. It functions morphologically as an *-an* transitive verb with the root *ikk-*. The perfective form is *inikkan*.

Ikkanak man iti gundaway.  
 ikkan=mo=ak man iti gundaway  
 give=2sE=1sA please OBL chance  
 'Please give me a chance.'

Idiay ti nangikkanda.  
 idiay ti nang-ikk-an=da  
 there ART PF.LOC-give-NOM=3p  
 'There is where they put it.'

Asino ti pangikkak?  
 asino ti pang-ikk-an=ko  
 who ART NOM-give-NOM=1sE  
 'Who should I give it to?'

#### 8.11.5. The verb *in(n)-*

The verb *in-* 'to go' is used only as a positive intransitive verb with enclitic pronouns. Before the pronoun =*ak*, the nasal *n* geminates. *In(n)-* may not be inflected for aspect or take prefixes or suffixes.

Inkan!  
 in(n)=ka=n  
 go=2sA=already  
 'Go!'

innak makipakpakaasi nga agpaluto iti kape.  
 in(n)=ak maki-pa-R-ka-asi nga ag-pa-luto iti kape  
 go=1sA COMMIT-CAUS-R-COMIT-pity LIG I-CAUS-cook OBL coffee  
 'I am going to ask for coffee to be made.'

When used as an auxiliary, the verb *in(n)-* takes the pronouns appropriate to the principal verb. The ligature (*ng*)*a* is not used to connect *in(n)-* to the verb in this case.

Intan makisala.  
 in=ta=n maki-sala  
 go=1dA=already COMMIT-dance  
 'Let's go join the dance.'

Inna alaen.  
 in=na ala-en  
 go=3sE get-T  
 'He is going to get it.'

The verb *mapán* 'to go' may be substituted for *in(n)-* in all cases. It may also inflect for aspect, and be used negatively and with full noun phrases.

Napanakon.	//	Napanen	ni	Maria.
na-pan=ak=on	//	na-pan=en	ni	Maria
PF.I-go=1sA=already	//	PF-go=already	PA	Maria
'I went already.'	//	'Maria went already.'	(c)	

Siak ti na-pan idiay tiendaan.  
 1s ART PF.go there market  
 'I'm the one who went to the market.'

#### 8.11.6. The verb *itéd*

The verb *ited* 'to give' (perfective form *inted*) is a transitive (goal focus) verb that takes ergative pronouns.

Intednakon.  
 i{in}-ted=na=ak=on  
 T{PF}-give=3sE=1sA=already  
 'He already gave it to me.'

Although it may appear to be an *i-* class transitive verb, the *i-* prefix is retained with the suffixes *-en* or *-an*. With the prefix *mang-* (and combinations involving *mang-*), the *i-* vowel may or may not be retained:

Itdem kania ti kawarna.  
 ited-en=mo kania ti kawar=na  
 give-T=2sE 3SOBL ART chain=3sE  
 'Give him his necklace.'

Itdannak ti kayatko.  
 ited-an=mo=ak ti kayat=ko  
 give-T=2sE=1sA ART want=1sE  
 'Give me what I want.'

Sino ti nangted kenkuana iti balitok?  
 sino ti nang-ted kenkuana iti balitok  
 who ART PF.DETR-give 3SOBL OBL gold  
 'Who gave him gold?'



### 8.11.7. The verbs *kayát* and *mayát*

The verbs *kayat* 'to want' and *mayat* 'to be willing, good' are formed from the verb stem *ayat* 'love' from the prefixes *ka-* and *ma-* respectively. These high-frequency verbs have undergone the fusion of the prefixes to the stem and treated as monomorphemic verbs now. *Kayat* 'to want' is a transitive (goal focus) verb with the perfective form *kinayat*.

Kayatko a mapanka.  
kayat=ko a ma-pan=ka  
want=1sE LIG I-go=2sA  
'I want you to go.'

Kinayatko ti mapan.  
kayat{in}=ko ti ma-pan  
want={PF}1sE ART I-go  
'I wanted to go.'

The reduplicated form *kaykayat* specifies preference.

Kaykayatko ti mangga ngem ti atis.  
R-kayat=ko ti mangga ngem ti atis  
R-want=1sE ART mango than ART custard.apple  
'I prefer mango to custard apple.' (c)

The verb *mayat* 'to be willing', a contraction of *ma-* and *ayat*, is an intransitive verb of desire that rarely inflects for aspect.

Mayatkayo?  
mayat=kayo  
willing=2pA  
'Are you willing (do you want to?)'

### 8.11.8. The verb *kuná*

The verb *kuna* 'to say, to think' (perfective form *kinuna*) is a root verb. Although it is a transitive (goal focus) verb, in the present, it does not take any affixes. It is often used to report speech.

Ania ti kinunam?  
ania ti kuna{in}=m  
what ART say{PF}=2sE  
'What did you say?'

Ket kunana ket, adda al-alia idiy.  
ket kuna=na ket adda al'alía idiy  
and say=3sE and EXIST ghost there  
'And he said, there's a ghost there.'

Agawidtan manong kunak.  
ag-awid=ta=n manong kuna=ko  
I-go.home=1d=already older.brother say=1sE  
'Let's go home, older brother I say (speaker reporting story).'

Baribari tagtagari kunak.  
baribari R-tagari kuna=ko  
baribari R-talk say=1sE  
'Baribari tagtagari (magical protective words used with spirits) I said.'

Reported speech is used more frequently in Ilocano than in English, perhaps because of the existence of the hearsay particle *kanó* that shows the speaker's reluctance to claim events s/he has not witnessed firsthand. The verb *kuná* also suffices to alert the addressee that the information does not originate with the speaker. A speaker may frame reported speech with the verb *kuna* twice:

Kunana kano kaniana, inka idiy Bauang, kunana.  
kuna=na kano kaniana in=ka idiy Bauang kuna=na  
say=3sE HRSY 3sOBL go=2sA there Bauang say=3sE  
'He supposedly told her, 'go to Bauang,' he told her.'

Ket kunana ket, haanka nga ap-apan idiy, kunana.  
ket kuna=na ket saan=ka nga R-apan idiy kuna=na  
and say=3sE INV NEG=2sA LIG CONT-go there say=3sE  
'And he said, don't go there, he said.'

*Kuna* may be detransitivized with the prefix *ag-*. The prefix *ma-* indicates the non-volitionality involved in thought, not necessarily speaking.

Asino ti nagkuna?  
asino ti n-ag-kuna  
who ART PF-I-say  
'Who said (so)?'

Ania ti makunayo?  
ania ti ma-kuna=yo  
what ART INVOL-say=2pE  
'What do you think? What is your opinion?'

With the pretentative prefix *agin-*, the meaning is lexicalized, not transparent from the semantics of the root:

aginkukuna        to pretend (not to pretend to say)  
 managinkukuna    pretentious; selfish; greedy

The following expressions and idioms use the verb *kuna*:

makuna            'to think; say'

Ania ti     makunayo?  
 ania ti     ma-kuna =yo  
 what ART INVOL-say = 2pE  
 'What do you think? What is your opinion?'

pagkunaan        'something to say (against somebody), remark, criticism'

Adda pagkunaan                    kaniak?  
 adda pag-kuna-an =mo                kaniak  
 EXIST INST-say-NOM = 2sE            1SOBL  
 'Do you have something to say against me?'

Iti panagkunak. 'In my opinion, the way I see it'

Iti panagkunak.                    unaennatayonto                    ti     Hapon.  
 iti pan-ag-kuna =ko                una-en =na =tayo =nto                ti     Hapon  
 OBL NOM-I-say = 1sE                first-T = 3sE = 1pINCL.A =FUT    ART    Japan  
 'In my opinion, Japan will get ahead of us.'

Kunak no.        'I thought that..'

Kunak     no nagawiden.  
 kuna =ko no n-ag-awid =en  
 say = 1sE if PF-I-go.home =already  
 'I thought that he went home already.'

pakpakuna        'to pretend; talk at random'

Pakpakunam     la     dayta.  
 pa-R-kuna =mo    la     dayta  
 CAUS-R-say = 2sE    just    that  
 'You are just kidding.'

### 8.11.9. The verb *madi*

The verb *madi* 'to refuse, not want' is a transitive (goal focus) verb composed of the prefix *ma-* and the root *di*, a negative particle (see Negation). It may not inflect for durative or perfective aspect without the prefix *ag-* in which the prefix *ma-* remains as part of the stem.

Madina kayat.  
madi=na kayat  
not.want=3sE want  
'He doesn't want to.'

Nagmadi.  
n-ag-ma-di  
PF-I-INVOL-NEG  
'He refused.'

With the pretentative prefix *agin-*, the prefix *ma-* may or may not be retained, with all other prefixes, the prefix *ma-* is retained as if it were actually part of the root.

agimmamadi (or <i>agindidi</i> )	to be insincere; to pretend not to like
agmadi	to refuse, dislike, back out on one's word
agmadi-madi	to be undecided, hesitant, indisposed
madmadi	indisposed, ill, not feeling well
makamadmadi	uncertain, irresolute, undecided
pagmadian	refusal

### 8.11.10. The verb root *pagná*

The verb root *pagna* 'walk' is regular in most of its forms, i.e. *agpagpagna* 'to be walking', *agpagnapagna* 'to walk to and fro', *pagpagnaem* 'to make someone walk/go', *makapagna* 'to be able to walk,' etc.

It is irregular in only four forms, the intransitive verb *magna* 'to walk' which is a contraction of *ma-* to the stem and has a perfective aspect form *nagna*; the locative gerund which is *pagnaan*, not *pagpagnaan*, which has a perfective aspect form *nagnaan*; the gerund *pannagna*; and the frequentative *mannagna*:

Nagnakami idiay pageskuelaanna.  
nagna=kami idiay pag-eskuela-an=na  
walk.PF=1pEXCL.A there LOC-school-NOM=3sE  
'We walked to her school.'

Awan ti pagnaan idiy.  
 awan ti pagna-an idiy  
 NEG.EXIST ART walk-NOM there  
 'There is no walkway/sidewalk (place to walk) there.'

Mannagna.  
 maN{an}-pagna  
 I{FREQ}-walk  
 'He is a good walker (usually walks).'

Kasano ti pannagnana?  
 kasano ti pan-pagna=na  
 how ART NOM-walk=3sE  
 'How does he walk?'

### 8.11.11. The verb root *pan*

The verb root *pan* 'go' is one of the few monosyllabic roots in the language. Due to the frequency of use of the various derived forms of *pan*, there are a few morphological idiosyncrasies that must be pointed out here.

The intransitive verb *mapan* 'to go' (perfective form *napan*), like *maturog* 'to sleep' is used only as an actor focus verb, although it contains the prefix *ma-*.

Napanak idiy balayna.  
 na-pan=ak idiy balay=na  
 PF.I-go=1sA there house=3sE  
 'I went to her house.'

*Mapan*, like *in(n)-*, may be used as an auxiliary verb, taking the pronouns appropriate to the principal verb. It does not require the ligature (*nga*) to connect it to the principal verb. *Mapan* has a casual form *apan*, that can only be used in non-perfective aspect.

Mapanka alaen.  
 ma-pan=ko=ka ala-en  
 I-go=1sE=2sA get-T  
 'I'll go get you.'

Napan naglangoy.  
 na-pan n-ag-langoy  
 PF.I-go PF-I-swim  
 'He went swimming.'

Apanna kitaen no addanto pabuya.  
 apan=na kita-en no adda=nto pa-buya  
 go=3sE see-T if EXIST=FUT CAUS-view  
 'He is going to see if there will be a show.'

The locative gerund of *pan* is *papanan* (perfective form *napanan*), not *pakapanan*, following the usual morphological rules of *ma(ka)-* verbs.

Papanam?  
 pa-pan-an=mo  
 LOC-go-NOM-2sE  
 'Where are you going?'

No saan nga makaammo nga mangtaliaw ti naggapuanna.  
 no saan nga maka-ammo nga mang-taliaw ti nag-gapu-an=na  
 if NEG LIG INVOL-know LIG DETR-look.back ART PF.LOC-origin-NOM=3sE

saan a makadanon iti papananna.  
 saan a maka-danon iti pa-pan-an=na  
 NEG LIG ABIL-reach OBL LOC-go-NOM=3sE

'If one does not know how to look back from where he came, he will not be able to arrive at where he is going.' (expression)

The aspectless gerund of *pan* is *ipapan*, following the rules of a *-um-* verb.

Inton-ano ti ipapanna.  
 inton'ano ti i-R-pan=na  
 when.FUT ART NOM-R-go=3sE  
 'When is he going?'

The other forms of the verb root *pan* are regular, regardless of the fact that *pan* is a monosyllabic root.

Ania ti pagay-ayaman ti nangipananda?  
 ania ti pag-R-ayam-an ti nang-i-pan-an=da  
 what ART LOC-CONT-play-NOM ART PF.DETR-THM-go-NOM=3p  
 'What playground did they go to?'

*Apan* may take the prefix *ag-* to form another form of the intransitive verb 'to go.' Although *agapan* is not as frequent as *mapan*, it is entirely regular, following all the morphological rules of *ag-* verbs, i.e.

Managapan        idiy. (*Agkaraapan idiy*)  
 (m)ag{an}-apan idiy  
 I{FREQ}-go        there  
 'He often goes there.'

The following derivations of the root *pan* are lexicalized:

agpapan	until. up to the point that/when
ipan	to send, bring, carry something to a place
ipapan	n. going; v. to suppose, think, believe, assume
kaipapanan	meaning, importance, significance
maipapan	about, concerning
managipapan	to be suspicious
mangipan	to carry to a place, bring
panangipapan	suspicion; idea

### 8.11.12.     *Sidá*

The word *sida* is the generic Ilocano noun for 'fish' or 'food.'

Adu ti    sida ti    baybay.  
 many ART fish ART sea  
 'There are many fish in the sea.'

Ania ti    sidatayo?  
 ania ti    sida=tayo  
 what ART fish/food=1pINCL  
 'What are we having to eat (what is our food)?'

It may be used as a root verb (with no affixation) or with a wide variety of affixes.

sida, sidaen	to eat
ipasida	to feed (give food to)
makisida	to share food with
masida	to be edible, etc.

As a root verb, it has an irregular perfective form *sinda*.

Ania ti    sindam    idiy?  
 ania ti    sida{in}    idiy  
 what ART eat{PF}    there  
 'What did you eat there?'

### 8.11.13. The verb root *teggéd*

The verb root *teggéd* 'work for wages', like most verb roots with geminate consonants, undergoes considerable phonological reduction when affixed, i.e. *tegden* 'wages, pay,' *matgedan* 'work for salary', *makatged* 'able to work for a living,' etc.

Ammona a saan nga umanay ti matgedanna sadiay.  
ammo=na a saan nga um-anay ti ma-tegged-an=na sadiay  
know=3sE LIG NEG LIG I-enough ART INVOL-work-T=3sE there  
'She knows that her salary there is not sufficient.'

With the prefixes *maN-* and *paN-*, however, the initial *t-* of the root assimilates to the nasal, and the unstressed *e* deletes with the anti-gemination of the velar stop (*maN-teggéd* → *man-egged* → *man-ged* → *mang-ged*).

mangged to work for wages  
mangmangged employee, day laborer  
panggedan place of work, source of income

Nabautan dagiti mangmangged.  
na-baut-an dagiti R-maN-teggéd  
PF-whip-T PL CONT-I-work  
'The workers were whipped.' (c)

### 8.11.14 The verb root *yeg*

The verb *yeg* 'to bring' follows all the morphological and syntactic rules of the *i-* transitive instrumental verbs. Its only irregular feature is the monosyllabic nature of its root.

Yegmo ditoy. (may be contracted to *mudtoy*)  
yeg=mo ditoy  
bring=2sE here  
'Bring it here.'

### 8.12 Transitive nouns

Certain bare nouns (nouns without affixation) may act as transitive (goal focus) verbs, taking the relevant ergative enclitic pronouns as agents of the action specified in the noun.

Panggepnak siguro a tulongan, ngem kinsilapak.  
panggep=na=ak siguro a tulong-an ngem kusilap{in}-an=ko  
plan=3sE=1sA maybe LIG help-T but sharp.look{PF}-T=1sE  
'He probably intended to help me, but I gave him an angry look/stare.'



Damagko nga alaennakanto kanon ni lakayna idiay Guam.  
 damag=ko nga ala-en=na=ka=nto kano=n ni lakay=na idiay Guam  
 news=1sE LIG take-T=3sE=2sA=FUT HRSY=EMPH PA old.man=3sEthere Guam  
 'I heard that her husband is supposedly taking you to Guam.'

### 8.13 Hyphenated verbs

Complex actions may be encoded with hyphenated verbs to express a concept involving the two actions. The hyphenated verbs both carry verbal morphology, but share the agents or actors, expressed as full noun phrases or an enclitic pronoun serving to reference the two verbs. Usually verbs employed in this way encode a repeated occurrence of the two actions.

Agsina-ag-sinnubliananda idi ken ni Dina.  
 ag-sina-ag-subli{inn}-an-an=da idi ken ni Dina  
 I-separate-I-return{RECIP}-T-NOM=3p then OBL PA Dina  
 'He and Dina continued to repeatedly break up and return to each other at that time.'

Agpapan-agawid.  
 ag-pa-pan-ag-awid  
 I-DIREC-go-I-go.home  
 'round trip (going and coming back (home)).'

### 8.14 Fully reduplicated verb roots

Many roots in Ilocano may reduplicate fully to indicate the intensity, completeness or the iterative action of the verb. A root that may undergo full reduplication may appear with the same range of morphological affixes as it does in non-reduplicated form:

sala 'dance'	agsalasala	to dance around continuously
danog 'punch'	danogdanogen	to punch repeatedly
kimaw 'swim up for air'	agkimawkimaw	to repeatedly surface to breathe (fish)
pigis 'tear'	pigispigisen	to tear into shreds
kirem 'wink'	agkiremkiirem	to wink repeatedly
kimat 'lightning'	agkimatkimat	to have continuous lightning
killo 'bent'	killokillo	thoroughly bent, warped
bisóng 'hurl'	ibisongbisong	to hurl repeatedly

ammo 'know'	mannakiammoammo	to always make acquaintances
ilap 'slice'	ilapilapen	to cut into thin slices
rakep 'embrace'	rakeprakepen	to embrace repeatedly

Timmayab ket nagsalasala iti karuotan.  
 tayab{in-um} ket n-ag-R-sala iti ka-ruot-an  
 fly{PF-I} and PF-I-CONT-dance OBL LOC-grass-NOM  
 'It flew and danced around in the grass (the *maya* bird).'

Dinanogdanogko ti diding.  
 danog{in}-R=ko ti diding  
 punch{PF.T}-CONT=1sE ART wall  
 'I repeatedly punched the wall (in anger).'

Nadlawna dagiti agkimawkimaw a lames.  
 na-dilaw=na dagiti ag-R-kimaw a lames  
 PF.T-notice=3sE PL I-CONT-come.up.for.air LIG fish  
 'He noticed the fish repeatedly surfacing for air.'

With single actions involving motion in one direction, the fully reduplicated root expresses continuous or back and forth motion. With reduplicated nominal roots, it may express doing something from place to place.

pagna 'walk'	agpagnapagna	to walk from place to place
likig 'lean'	aglikiglikig	to lean from side to side
likaw 'wind'	aglikawlikaw	to go in circles
barrio 'neighborhood'	mangbarriobarrio	to do from barrio to barrio
ili 'town'	ilin-ilien	to do from town to town
pinda 'do exhaustively'	mamindapinda	to go from house to house
labas 'pass'	aglabaslabas	to pass back and forth

Agliglikig ti lantsa ket ad-adda a naulaw ni Sadiri.  
 ag-R-likig ti lantsa ket R-adda a na-ulaw ni Sadiri  
 I-CONT-lean ART boat and R-EXIST LIG ADJ-dizzy PA Sadiri  
 'The boat leaned from side to side and Sadiri most likely got seasick.' (w)

Nagpagnapagna manen ti baro.  
 n-ag-R-pagna manen ti baro  
 PF-I-CONT-walk again ART young.man  
 'The young man paced (walked back and forth) the room again.' (w)

Full reduplication may also suggest imitative actions with certain roots:

balay 'house'	agbalaybalay	to play house
paltog 'gun'	agpaltogpaltog	to play with guns
pallot 'cockfight'	agpallotpallot	to play cockfighting

Some verb stems that contain two closed syllables reduplicate for iterative or continuous aspect, but without the final consonant of the second closed syllable. These include reduplicated stems consisting of two closed syllables, or stems ending in 's', 'l' or a diphthong.

wagwag 'shake'	agwagwawagwag	to shake repeatedly
taliaw 'look back'	taliataliawen	to keep looking back at
keddel 'pinch'	keddekeddelen	to keep pinching, pinch repeatedly
pirgis 'scrap, tear'	pirgipirgisen	to tear to bits, shred
pigsol 'hobble'	agpigsopigsol	to hobble
kibbatol 'potholed'	kibbakibbatol	full of potholes
lag-oy 'skip; hobble'	aglag-olag-oy	to skip repeatedly; walk with a hobble

Ni met la Agon ti taliataliawenna.  
 ni met la Ago=n ti R-taliaw-en=na  
 PA also just Ago=EMPH ART CONT-look.back-T=3sE  
 'He just keeps looking back at Ago.' (w)

### 8.15 Nominalization of verbs

All Ilocano verbs may be turned into nominals either by putting them in a nominal position (after an article or demonstrative), removing their verbal affixation, or adding nominalizing affixation to the existing verb. This section will only briefly outline nominalization strategies and patterns; for a fuller treatment of nominalization, please see Nouns; Nominalization.

A very common strategy in Ilocano discourse is to nominalize verbs by placing them after articles or demonstratives in a position where ordinarily a nominal would fit.

agsangit → ti agsangit  
 'to cry' 'the one who cries'

Imbankona ti sueldona.  
 i{in}-banko=na ti sueldo=na  
 T{PF}-bank=3sE ART salary=3sE  
 'He put his salary in the bank.' (*imbanko* = verb)

Nawadwaden ti imbankona.  
 na-wadwad=en ti i{in}-banko=na  
 ADJ-much=EMPH ART T{PF}-bank=3sE  
 'What he put in the bank was a large sum.' (*imbanko* = noun)

Many unaffixed roots are nouns by nature when used in a nominal slot in a discourse context. Although this may hold true for the majority of cases of morphologically simple roots, not all mono-morphemic roots will necessarily function as nouns. However, it is a common device in discourse to refer to entities or abstract concepts with bare roots, as seen below.

agtubo: to grow

Mayat ti tubo dagiti mula=na  
 good ART grow PL plant=3sE  
 'His plants are growing well (their growth is good).'

Finally, there are morphological means to nominalize verbs. The elaborate morphological system in Ilocano allows speakers to nominalize verbs of all affix types. The following chart will exemplify the nominalizing affixes used with the most important verb classes, but for a more thorough treatment of Ilocano gerunds, please refer to the Noun chapter:

agsurat 'write'	→	panagsurat 'act of writing'	→	pagsuratan 'place where one writes'
agay-ayam 'play'	→	panagay-ayam 'act of playing'	→	pagay-ayaman 'playground'
mapan 'go'	→	pannakapan 'act of going'	→	papanan 'destination'
makastrek 'be able to enter'	→	pannakastrek 'being able to enter'	→	pakastrekan 'where one can enter'
makisao 'to speak with'	→	pannakisao 'act of conversing'	→	pakisaoan 'conversational partner'

Affix	Manner Gerund	Locative	Instrument
ag-	panag-	pag- -an	pag-
-um-	i- + RCV	-um- -an	-
maka-	pannaka-	paka- -an	paka-
maki-	pannaki-	paki- -an	paki-
mang-, -en, -en	panang-	pang- -an	pang-
i-	panangi-	pangi- -an	pangi-
ma-, ma- -an, ka-	pannaka-	paka- -an	paka-
pag-, pag- -en, pag- -an	panangpag-	pangpag- -an	pangpag-
pa- -en, pa- -an	panangpa-	pangpa- -an	pangpa-
mapa-, mapa- -an	pannakapa-	pakapa- -an	pakapa-
mapag-, makapag-	pannakapag-	pakapag- -an	pakapag-
ipa-	panangipa-	pangipa- -an	pangipa-
mai-, makai-	pannakapai-	pakapai- -an	pakapai-
pai-, pai- -an	panangpai-	pangpai- -an	pangpai-
makapai-, mapai-	pannakapai-	pakapai- -an	pakapai-
paipa-	panangpaipa-	pangpaipa- -an	pangpaipa-

For a discussion of the use of each nominalizing affix, please refer to the Noun chapter.

### 8.16. Plurality in verbs

The plurality of the absolutive argument or appositive complement in Ilocano is not mandatorily expressed in the verb, as plural articles, demonstratives or pronouns are responsible for encoding morphological number. When a speaker wishes to use a plural verb to draw attention to the plural status or distributive quality of the absolutive referent, s/he may reduplicate the first CV sequence of the root. Such plural reduplication is optional and is often lost altogether in informal speech.

Nagsasangit dagiti babbai.  
n-ag-R-sangit dagiti babai{R}  
PF-I-PL-cry PL girl{PL}  
'The girls cried.' (c)

Nagsangit dagiti babai.  
 n-ag-sangit dagiti babai  
 PF-I-cry PL girl  
 'The girls cried.'

An appositive referent may also trigger plural CV reduplication, as in the following example where *siglot* 'tie, knot' is not an argument of the verb, but gets a plural interpretation from the verb's pluralizing morphology and adjective *tallo* 'three'. Here, the plural verb *nagdedekket* 'stuck to each other; tight' functions like an adjective.

Inruarna ti linas ket nangaramid iti tallo a nagdedekket  
 i{in}-ruar=na ti linas ket nang-aramid iti tallo a n-ag-R-dekket  
 T{PF}-out=3sE ART string and PF.DETR-make OBL three LIG PF-I-PL-stick  
  
 a siglot.  
 LIG knot

'He took out the sting and made three tight (sticking to each other) knots.' (w)

Plural morphology, however, is still used in speech, although it is not as frequent as in literature. The use of CV reduplication to express plurality helps draw attention to the abundance or distributivity of the absolutive argument that is not generally inferred without the plural morphology:

Natatayagda, a!  
 na-R-tayag=da a  
 ADJ-PL-tall=3pA indeed  
 'They are (both) tall indeed!'

Naungor dagiti *agsasallupang* a lugan ti agsumbangir a ~~kalsada~~  
 na-ungor dagiti ag-R-sallupang a lugan ti ag-sumbangir a kalsada  
 ADJ-roar PL I-PL-different.directions LIG car ART I-both.sides LIG street  
 'The cars going in all directions on both sides of the street roared.' (w)

Pudno a nakullaapan ti panunotna gapu kadagiti  
 pudno a na-kullaap-an ti panunot=na gapu ka-dagiti  
 true LIG ADJ-unclear-ADJ ART thought=3sE because OBL-PL

*agsasamusam* a nalidem a pagteng.  
 ag-R-samusam a na-lidem a pagteng  
 I-PL-mix LIG ADJ-dim LIG event

'It's true that his thoughts were garbled because of the medley (mixing up) of dim (unclear) events.' (w)

It is interesting to note that the absolutive category composed of subjects of intransitives or patients of transitives is the category encoded for plurality by CV root reduplication, not the agentive category.

#### ABSOLUTIVE - SUBJECT OF INTRANSITIVE VERB

Sumagmamano ti agdudunger nga agkatkatay iti kinabartekda.  
 sag{um}-R-mano ti ag-R-dunger nga ag-R-katay iti kina-bartek=da  
 DIST{I}-R-few ART I-PL-shake.head LIG I-CONT-saliva OBL NOM-drunken=3p  
 'A few were shaking their heads and drooling in their drunkenness.' (w)

#### ABSOLUTIVE - PATIENT OF TRANSITIVE VERB

Pinagsisilpona ti dua a lamisaan ta sangapulokami.  
 pag{in}-R-silpo=na ti dua a lamisaan ta sangapulo=kami  
 CAUS{PF}-PL-connect=3sE ART two LIG table because ten=1pEXCL.A  
 'He (the waiter) connected two tables because we were ten (people).'

It may be argued that certain verbs lexicalize in such a way that they most prototypically appear in their CV reduplicated plural form, as plural arguments are usually understood in their case frame. These plural verbs therefore appear in discourse with pluralizing morphology even without a specified plural absolutive argument, due to the inherent nature of their semantics. A few of these verbs include *agsisimparat* 'to be cluttered (thoughts)' and *agsasaruno* 'to come right after the other.'

Agsisimparat ti mapampanunotna bayat ti panaginumna.  
 ag-R-simparat ti ma-R-panunot=na bayat ti pan-ag-inum=na  
 I-PL-differ ART INVOL-CONT-thought=3sE while ART NOM-I-drink=3sE  
 'His thoughts were cluttered while he was drinking.' (w)

Agsasaruno ti panangpaypay ni Nana Toniang kaniak.  
 ag-R-saruno ti pan-mang-paypay ni Nana Toniang kaniak  
 I-PL-next ART NOM-DETR-fan PA Mother Toniang 1sOBL  
 'Nana Toniang fanned me (in consecutive motions).' (w)

Maallingagda ti agsisinungbat a taraok dagiti kawitan.  
 ma-allingag=da ti ag-R-sungbat{inn} a taraok dagiti kawitan  
 INVOL-hear=3p ART I-PL-answer{RECIP} LIG crow PL rooster  
 'They heard the crows of the rooster answering back and forth.' (w)

With CV reduplication to express plurality, the reciprocal stem with the *-inn-* infix acts as one unit, as the reduplicated initial CV sequence involves the first consonant of the root and the *i* vowel of the infix.

Agsisinnaranayda.  
 ag-R-saranay{inn} =da  
 I-PL-support{RECIP} =3p  
 'They support each other.'

Naarimbangaw dagiti ubbing nga nagtitinnalunton iti kalsada.  
 na-arimbangaw dagiti ubing{R} nga n-ag-R-talunton{inn} iti kalsada  
 ADJ-noise PL child{PL} LIG PF-I-PL-follow/ask{RECIP} OBLroad  
 'The children running after each other on the road were noisy.'

Kadagiti tianggi agkikinnampiar dagiti sumukmon ken saan.  
 ka-dagiti tianggi ag-R-kampiar{inn} dagiti sukmon{um} ken saan.  
 OBL-PL store I-PL-pasture{RECIP} PL wine.drink{I} and NEG

umutang ken umud-od.  
 um-utang ken um-ud'od  
 I-debt and I-haggle

'In the stores intermingled (pastured with each other) the wine drinkers and non-wine  
 drinkers, the debtors, and the hagglers.'



## 9. Adverbials

### Introduction and scope

Ilocano has two major classes of adverbials which can be differentiated by their morpho-syntactic behavior: **enclitics** which phonologically fuse to host words, and **movable adverbs and particles**, full words which may occupy various sentence positions.

The three enclitics =*(e)n*, =*(n)to*, and =*(n)sa*, exhibit allomorphy, dependent upon the consonantal status of the last sound of the word. These are written in Ilocano orthography as attached to the words with which they fuse and will henceforth be called **fusional enclitics**. The other adverbial particles, although they normally attach to other constituents semantically and morphologically, occur in discourse more like full-fledged words, as they are written in the standard orthography.

The adverbial particles in Ilocano may be used to register the speaker's responsibility or attitude towards a particular predication, generally following the predicate:

Nagawidda                    *kano*.  
 n-ag-awid=da                kano  
 PF-I-go.home=3pA        HRSY  
 'It is said that they went home.'

Sika *kuma*    ti            mapan.  
 2s    OPT        ART        go  
 'You should be the one to go.'

Tagtagainepek                *pay*        *ketdin*                ti                dakkal    a                kuarta  
 R-tagainep-en=ko            pay        ketdi=(e)n            ti                dakkal    a                kuarta  
 R-dream-T=1sE                still        anyway=CONTR    ART                big        LIG                money

a    maalana.  
 a    ma-ala=na  
 LIG    INVOL-get=3sE

'I still nevertheless dream of the large amount of money he gets.'

They may also be used to modify nominals. When preceding the nouns as in the (a) phrases below, the attributes of the adverb are intensified as opposed to when the adverbs follow the noun phrases as in the (b) phrases.

(a)

Iti *laeng*    pelikula    ti                pakapasamakan    ti                kayatyo.  
 iti    laeng    pelikula    ti                paka-pasamak-an    ti                kayat=yo  
 OBL    only    movie        ART                NOM-happen-NOM    ART                want=2pE  
 'Only in movies do things that you want happen.'

Ti *laengen* surat ti mangdepdep iti iliwko.  
 ti laeng=(e)n surat ti mang-depdep iti iliw=ko  
 ART only=CONTR letter ART I-alleviate OBL nostalgia=1sE  
 'Only letters can alleviate my homesickness.' (w)

Ni *met* Consuelo ti napan.  
 PA also Consuelo ART went  
 'Even Consuelo went.'

Uray sika, ni *pay met* Rhea ti ay-ayatem.  
 even you PA more also Rhea ART you.love  
 'Even you (are the same), you also still love Rhea.' (w)

(b)

Ni Maria *laeng* ti immay.  
 PA Maria only ART came  
 'Only Mary came.'

Nagsangit *laeng* ni Pepa.  
 cried only PA Pepa  
 'Pepa just cried.'

Section 9.1 will outline the properties and uses of the various enclitics in alphabetical order. Section 9.2 will deal with non-fusional adverbial particles, and Section 9.3 will exemplify other formulas of adverbial expression.

## 9.1 Summary of Ilocano adverbial enclitics

### 9.1.1. =(e)n

This is perhaps the most versatile of all of the Ilocano adverbial enclitics. It has maintained its fusional status for quite a while in the history of the Ilocano language, even before the development of the modern enclitic pronoun paradigm. It has two variants, =*en* after consonants and =*n* after vowels. The enclitic pronouns =*ak*, =*k*, and =*m*, maintain their historic (*o* final) forms when preceding =(e)n. This demonstrates nicely the history of the Ilocano enclitic pronouns as evolving respectively from the forms =*ako*, =*ko*, and =*mo*:

Nanganakon. (*Nanganak* + =(e)n)  
 Nang-kaan=ako=n.  
 ate=1s=already  
 'I (already) ate.'

Bagikon. (*Bagik + =(e)n*)  
 bagi=ko=n  
 body=1sE=now  
 It is mine (now: it didn't used to be).

Pinanawamon. (*Pinanawam + =(e)n*)  
 panaw{in}-an=mo=n  
 leave-PST-T=2sE=already  
 'You (already) left him.'

The enclitic *=(e)n* is extensively attached to verb stems immediately following the enclitic pronouns when used to mark aspectual distinctions.

With imperatives, *=(e)n* is used to strengthen commands calling for immediate initiation of the action in question.

Kanemon!  
 kaan-en=mo=(e)n  
 eat-T=2s=now  
 'Eat it now!'

Partienyon!  
 parti-en=yo=(e)n  
 slaughter-T=2p=now  
 'Slaughter it now/already!'

Agsalakan.  
 ag-sala=ka=(e)n  
 I-dance=2s=now  
 'Dance now!'

With verbs in the imperfective aspect or nominal predicates, the enclitic *=(e)n* 'already' is used to denote a predication that is completed, in the mind of the speaker, sooner than the expected.

Nagpakadakamin.  
 n-ag-pakada=kami=(e)n  
 PST-I-farewell=1pEXCL=already  
 'We already said our goodbyes.'

Dimmakkelen	ti	ubing.
dakel{in-um}=(e)n	ti	ubing
big{PST-I}=already	ART	child

'The child has already grown.'

Balasangen            ni Carmel.  
 balasang=(e)n        ni Carmel  
 young.lady=already PA Carmel.  
 'Carmel is already a young lady.'

With verbs in the imperfective (progressive) aspect, the enclitic =(e)n emphasizes the immediate time frame and still encodes a 'sooner than expected' dimension.

Mangmangandan.  
 R-mang-kaan=da=(e)n  
 R-I-eat=3p=now  
 'They are eating now (they are already eating at this point in time).'

The enclitic =(e)n is used extensively as a contrastive marker, marking the importance of the word to which it attaches, while singling it out.

Napan=en            idiy    Laoag.  
 went=already    there    Laoag  
 'He has already gone to Laoag.' (c)

Napan    idiy            Laoag=en.  
 went    there            Laoag=CONTR  
 'It was Laoag he went to.'

Napan    ni            Flor=en.  
 went    PA           Flor=CONTR  
 'Flor went.'

Adda    met    gayamen    asawam.  
 adda    also    gayam=en    asawa=m  
 EXIST    EMPH    so=EMPH    spouse=2sE  
 'So you have a spouse (emphasis on surprise of finding out; counter to speaker's expectation).'

Adda    met    gayam    asawa=mo=n  
 EXIST    also    so spouse=2sE=EMPH  
 'So you have a spouse already (emphasis on the fact that the addressee is already married).'

With the independent pronouns or demonstratives, the enclitic =(e)n is contrastive, singling out the referent with regard to the possible set of referents that may be involved.

Siakon.  
siak=(e)n  
1s=CONTR  
'I'll do it.' (you're taking too long; no one else wants to, etc.)

Sikan!  
sika=(e)n  
2s=CONTR  
'You do it.' (I am getting tired; he is not good at it, etc.)

Daytoyen.  
daytoy=(e)n  
this=CONTR  
'This one.. (not that one or the other one).

As an intensifying enclitic, =(e)n often is used with adjectives to express intensified emotion or admiration on the part of the speaker. A type of admirative adjective is formed with the combination of the prefix *nag-* and enclitic =(e)n on the adjectival root, specifying wonder or surprise on behalf of the speaker.

*Nagdakkelen* ti sueldom.  
n-ag-dakkel=(e)n ti sueldo=m.  
PF-I-big=EMPH ART salary=2sE  
'Your salary is so high (I am surprised).'

With the negative existential *awan*, =(e)n is used to indicate that the item in question no longer exists, but in fact existed before the time of utterance. Compare the use of =(e)n to *pay* 'still, yet'. This is used extensively for noun phrase negation only.

Adda asawamon?  
adda asawa=mo=(e)n  
EXIST spouse=2s=now  
'Do you have a spouse. Are you married?'

Awan=en  
NEG.EXIST=now  
'Not any more (but I had before).'

Awan pay.  
NEG.EXIST yet  
'Not yet (I never was married).'

With the negative *saan*, the enclitic *=(e)n* is often used as a social formula to reduce the forcefulness of the rejection of a plea:

Inka manganen!  
 in=ka mang-kaan=(e)n  
 go=2s I-eat=now  
 'Go eat.'

Saan=en. (nabsugakon)  
 'No thank you. (I am already full).'

When used with future temporal expressions, *=(e)n* indicates the speaker's attitude towards how little time there is between the time of utterance and the temporal expression indicated. Again, the temporal referent expresses a time frame that is sooner than expected.

Intono Domingo=n ti buniag=na.  
 FUT:ART Sunday=already ART baptism=3sE  
 'His baptism is next Sunday (and there is hardly any time to make preparations)'

Contrast this to the adverb *pay* which is used to extend the psychological distance between the time of utterance and the time frame indicated by the temporal adverb.

Intono Domingo pay ti buniagna.  
 'His baptism is next Sunday (there is still a lot of time between now and then).'

With other temporal expressions, *=(e)n* further emphasizes the temporality of the utterance as being longer than expected.

Nabayagen a kayatko ti makiammo kenka.  
 na-bayag=(e)n a kayat=ko ti maki-ammo kenka  
 ADJ-long.time=already LIG want=1sE ART COMMIT-know 2SOBL  
 'I have wanted to get to know you *for a long time already*.' (w)

Tallo a bulanen nga aggayemkami.  
 tallo a bulan=en nga ag-gayem=kami  
 three LIG month=already LIG I-friend=1pEXCL.A  
 'We have been friends for three months already.'

*=(e)n* is often attached to verbal or adjectival predications to declare the truth value with regard to present time.

Mabalinen nga agkallaysata iti mabiit.  
 mabalin=(e)n nga ag-kallaysa=ta iti mabiit  
 possible=now LIG I-marry=1dA OBL short.time  
 'It is now possible that we marry soon.' (w)

Narugiten.  
 na-rugit=(e)n  
 ADJ-dirt=already  
 'It is already dirty.'

### 9.1.2. =(n)sa, Enclitic expressing uncertain opinion of speaker

Like the enclitic =(e)n, =(n)sa exhibits two allomorphs, =sa after consonants, and =nsa after vowels. In Ilocano literature, however, many Ilocano writers prefer to write *sa* as a separate word, even after vowels which demand the epenthetic *-n*. As the fusional enclitic =(n)sa represents psychologically one minimal morpheme, I will not abide by the decision of those writers to write this particular enclitic as a separate word in this grammar. For instance, the word *agtagtagainepkansa* 'I think you are dreaming, you must be dreaming (in my opinion)' consists of the verb *agtagtagainepka* 'you are dreaming' and the enclitic =(n)sa used to express the speaker's opinion towards the truth value of the utterance. The tendency to write the word as *agtagtagainepkan sa*, is undoubtedly counter-intuitive, as the word boundary does not match the morpheme boundary; *agtagtagainepka sa* is not a possible utterance in the language.

The enclitic =(n)sa 'I think' is a second position enclitic, usually attaching to a verb, after enclitic pronouns, if any, but it may also appear in second position after preverbal predicative elements such as locatives or temporals. It is used to express the speaker's uncertain opinion toward the validity of the statement.

Nagawiddansa.  
 n-ag-awid=da=(n)sa  
 PF-I-go.home=2p=I.think  
 'They must have gone home. I think they have gone home.'

Kayatmonsá ti agawiden.  
 kayat=mo=(n)sa ti ag-awid=(e)n  
 want=2sE=I.think ART I-go.home=already  
 'I suppose you want to go home already.'

Idiay Pagdalagan=sa ti padaya=da.  
 LOC place=I.think ART party=3p  
 'I think their party will take place in Pagdalagan.'

Addadansa.  
 adda=da=(n)sa  
 EXIST=3p=I.think  
 'I think they are already (there).'

The enclitic =(n)sa may also be used with *saan* 'no' and *wen* 'yes' to further elaborate the uncertain opinion of the speaker when responding to yes/no questions.

Naawatna ti suratmo?  
 na-awat=na ti surat=mo  
 PF:T-get=3sE ART letter=2sE  
 'Did she receive your letter.'

Wensa / Saansa.  
 'I think so' / 'I don't think so.'

### 9.1.3. =(n)to

The enclitic =(n)to shows the same distribution as =(n)sa; it is usually encliticized to the first constituent of an utterance, and follows the enclitic pronouns, if present. Its two allomorphs are =nto after vowels, and =to after consonants.

This enclitic is used with predicates to indicate future time/modality or contemplated aspect, showing that the action specified in the predicate has yet to commence (in the speaker's mind). Speakers use the enclitic =(n)to to express their commitment to the validity or truth that the action will occur. This enclitic can be loosely translated into English with the future tense.

Mapandanto idiy tindaan.  
 mapan=da=(n)to idiy tindaan  
 go=3p=FUT there market  
 'They will go to the market.'

Kitaekro no kabaalak.  
 kita=en=ko=(n)to no bael-ka/an=ko  
 see-T=1sE=FUT if able-NOM=1sE  
 'I'll see if I can.'

Agbabawikanto.  
 ag-babawi=ka=(n)to  
 I-regret=2sA=FUT  
 'You'll be sorry.'

Adda arapaapko nga addanto panawen nga umayna kitaen.  
 adda arapaap=ko nga adda=(n)to paN-tawen LIG um-ay=na kita-en  
 EXIST dream=1sE LIG EXIST=FUT NOM-year LIG I-come=3sE see-T



ti bunga dagiti aramidna.  
 ti bunga dagiti aramid=na  
 ART fruit PL act=3sE

'I have the dream that there will come a time when he comes to see the fruit of his actions.' (w)

The enclitic *=(n)to* may also be used with future imperatives to reduce the forcefulness of the command that is not expected by the speaker to be immediately realized.

Idagasmonto dagiti dadduma a kappi ken ni  
 i-dagas=mo=nto dagiti dadduma a kappi ken ni  
 THM-drop.by=2sE=FUT PL some LIG crab OBL PA

manangmo a Pansing inton mapanka makiraep.  
 manang=mo a Pansing inton ma-pan=ka maki-raep  
 older.sister=2sE LIG Pansing FUT.SUB I-go=2sA COMMIT-transplant

'Drop by (if you will) some of the crabs at your older sister Pansing's house when you go help with the transplanting.' (w)

The enclitic *=nto* may be used in conjunction with the particle *ketdi*, usually with a sarcastic tone, to denote a negative impression about the utterance.

Ammomto ketdin.  
 ammo=m=to ketdi=(e)n  
 know=2sE=FUT anyway=now  
 'And how are you supposed to know?'

When used with the particle *pay*, the enclitic *=nto* asserts that the predication may certainly take place, although it may not be viewed in a positive light.

Mapukawto pay  
 ma-pukaw=(n)to pay  
 INVOL-lose=FUT more  
 'It might get lost (and that won't be nice)'

## 9.2. Non-fusional adverbial particles

This section will outline the various adverbial particles<sup>1</sup> in Ilocano, independent words that express adverbial concepts such as attitude, temporality, responsibility or modality. Unlike adverbial phrases that link to their appropriate clauses with the ligature (*nga*) or the oblique article *iti*, the particles in this section do not take ligatures or determiners. Many have several possibilities of position to determine their scope.

### 9.2.1 *Bassit*: Brief duration/polite particle

Although the word *bassit* is also used as an adjective or adjectival root meaning ‘small’, it may appear as an adverbial particle expressing the brief duration of the event to which it refers. It is also sometimes used to reduce the forcefulness of commands (see *man*).

Agurayka man *bassit*.  
ag-uray=ka man bassit  
I-wait=2sA POL little.POL  
‘Please wait (a short while).’

Inka *bassit* idiay.  
in=ka bassit idiay  
go=2sA POL there  
‘Go there (please).’

Laglagipennak *bassit* nga ibabaet kadagiti kararagmo.  
R-lagip-en=mo=ak bassit nga i-R-baet ka-dagiti kararag=mo  
CONT-remember-T=2sE please LIG T-PL-interval OBL-PL prayer=2sE  
‘Please remember to include me in your prayers.’

*Bassit* may also be used as a diminutive adverb to qualify adjectives. In this function, it immediately follows the adjective.

adayo *bassit*. a little far, rather far  
nadagsen *bassit*. rather heavy, a bit heavy

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<sup>1</sup>The term ‘particle’ is used here to refer to non-deriving words, words that do not take nominalizing or verbalizing affixation. Aside from *ngata* and *bassit*, which can be used as a verb and adjective, respectively, all the particles in this section are non-deriving.

### 9.2.2 *Gayam*: Surprise particle

The particle *gayam* is a second position particle used to express sudden realization of an unexpected situation. It often also connotes mild surprise.

Nalaingka *gayam*.  
na-laing=ka *gayam*  
ADJ-good=2sA so  
'So you are good (at the piano, etc: I didn't know before).'

Sika *gayam* ti ading=na.  
2s so ART younger.sibling=3sE  
'So you are his younger brother (I thought it was someone else).'

Adda kano *gayam* ag-duyos kenka a balasang.  
EXIST HRSY so I-like 2sOBL LIG young.lady  
There is supposedly a young girl that likes you (I just learned). (w)

Agkaprobinsiaanta *gayam*.  
agka-probinsia-an=ta *gayam*  
RECIP-province-NOM=1dA so  
'So we (you and I) are from the same province.'

Adda *gayam* bisitam, panawankayo pay ngarud.  
adda *gayam* bisita=m. panaw-an=ko=kayo pay ngarud  
EXIST so guest=2sE. leave-T=1sE=2pA more then  
'Oh, so you have a visitor, I will leave you then.'

*Gayam* may also be used to express an afterthought, or a statement or intention that suddenly comes to mind.

Wen. *gayam*.. Siak ni Carlos.  
yes so.. 1s PA Carlos  
'Yes, by the way, I am Carlos (I should have introduced myself before, but it just occurred to me that you do not know me).'

Inka *gayam* idiy.  
in=ka *gayam* idiy  
go=2sA so there  
'(Now that I think of it), go there.'

The expression *kua gayam* is often used in speech to introduce an idea that has just surfaced in the mind of the speaker.

*Kua* *gayam...* Malagipko ketdi.  
*kua* *gayam...* ma-lagip=ko ketdi  
 HESIT so INVOL-remember=1sE anyway  
 'Oh.. (I just remembered what I was going to say)... NOW I remember.'

### 9.2.3 *Kadi*: Interrogative and imperative particle, assertion particle

The particle *kadi* has various uses in Ilocano. Among the most important is an interrogative use in which the particle changes a simple statement into a question. The particle is not obligatory in Ilocano questions, as intonation alone is often used for this purpose. Its presence in the question, however, emphasizes the interrogativity of the remark.

Adda *kadi* gapuna a tinallikudanna ti karina kenka?  
 adda *kadi* gapu=na a tallikud{in}-an=na ti kari=na kenka  
 EXIST Q reason=3sE LIG reject{PF}-T=3sE ART promise=3sE 2SOBL  
 'Is there a reason why he rejected his promise to you?' (w)

Napatpateg *kadi* ti sawen dagiti gayyemyo ngem  
 na-R-pateg *kadi* ti sao-en dagiti gayyem=yo ngem  
 ADJ-R:COMPAR-value Q ART say-T PL friend=2pE than

ti riknak nga anakyo?  
 ti rikna=ko nga anak=yo  
 ART feeling=1sE LIG son=2pE

'Is what your friends will say more important than what your son feels?' (w)

Saanmo *kadi* nga ammo nga addan asawa ni Beng?  
 saan=mo *kadi* nga ammo nga adda=(e)n asawa ni Beng  
 NEG=2sE Q LIG know LIG EXIST=already spouse PA Beng  
 'Don't you know that Beng is already married?'

*Kadi* may also be used in imperatives to soften them. With a sarcastic tone, it may be used to indicate mild frustration.

Agurayka *kadi*.  
 ag-uray=ka *kadi*  
 I-wait=2sA PART  
 'Wait a second.'

Oh, diosko, silawam *kadi* ti panunotna tapno  
 oh dios=ko silaw-an=mo *kadi* ti panunot=na tapno  
 EXCL god=1sE light-T=2sE PART ART thought=3sE so.that

sardengannakamin                    a    burburiboren.  
sardeng-an=na=kami=(e)n    a    R-buribor-en  
stop-T=3sE=1pEXCL=now    LIG   R-bother-T

‘Oh God, illuminate her thoughts so that she stops bothering us.’ (w)

*Kadi* also functions as a countering particle. When used in this sense, it asserts the truth of a previously denied statement:

A: Di    nagawid;            B:        Nagawid    *kadi*.  
di    n-ag-awid                    n-ag-awid    kadi  
NEG PF-I-go.home                PF-I-go.home COUNTER  
‘He didn’t go home.’            ‘Yes he did; He did go home.’

A: Awan    ditoy            B:    Adda    *kadi*.  
NEG.EXIST here                    EXIST    COUNTER  
‘He is not here.’                ‘Yes he is, he is here.’

The combination *wen kadi*, may be used to express concession, usually in giving permission for a previously forbidden act.

Wen kadi.  
yes then  
‘Alright then (you may go, I changed my mind).’

#### 9.2.4 *kanó*: Hearsay particle

The hearsay particle *kano* ‘it is said, (s)he says/said, apparently, or supposedly’ is used to identify reported speech, not claimed to be said by either the speaker or addressee. It may also be used to mark indirect quotations.

Adu *kano*    ti    nagarem    kaniana    ditoy.  
adu    kano    ti    n-ag-arem    kaniana    ditoy  
many    HRSY    ART    PF-I-court    3SOBL    here  
‘It is said that many people have courted her here.’

Imbagana            kaniak    ni    Lola        a    kayatmo    *kano*    nga  
i{in}-baga=na    kaniak    ni    lola        a    kayat=mo    kano    nga  
T{PF}-say=3sE    1SOBL    PA    grandma    LIG    want=2sE    HRSY    LIG

agawen    kaniak.  
agaw-en    kaniak.  
snatch-T    1SOBL  
‘Grandmother told me that you supposedly want to snatch me away.’

Nakitana kano ti nangisit a kulibangbang.  
 n-ma-kita=na kano ti na-ngisit a kulibangbang.  
 PF-T-see=3sE HRSY ART ADJ-black LIG butterfly  
 'He supposedly saw the black butterfly.'

### 9.2.5 *ketdi*: Particle of antithesis or concession

The particle *ketdi* 'anyway, on the other hand, nevertheless, instead' is used to denote antithesis or concession to something previously said or understood. It is used when a speaker wants to counter the expectation of the addressee.

Agsagabaak la *ketdi* no panawannak.  
 ag-sagaba=ak la *ketdi* no panaw-an=mo=ak  
 I-suffer=1sE just anyway if leave-T=2sE=1sA  
 'I will nevertheless suffer if you leave me.' (w)

Sabaliana *ketdi* ti saritaanta.  
 sabali-an=ta *ketdi* ti sarita-an=ta  
 change-T=1dE anyway ART talk-NOM=1dE  
 'Anyway, let's change the subject (of our conversation).'

Nadlawko pay *ketdin*.  
 na-dillaw=ko pay *ketdi*=(e)n  
 PF-notice=1sE still anyway=EMPH  
 'Nevertheless, I still noticed.'

Dinak kuma degdegan iti parikut. Tulongannak kuma *ketdi*.  
 di=mo=ak kuma degdeg-an iti parikut. tulong-an=mo=ak kuma *ketdi*  
 NEG=2sE=1sA OPT increase-T OBL problem help-T=2sE=1sA OPT ~~instead~~  
 'You shouldn't add to my troubles, you should help me instead.'

The particle *ketdi* is used in subordinate clauses introduced by the conjunction *ngem* 'but' to signal that the event of the subordinate phrase is contrary to what the speaker would have wished or expected (as sometimes expressed in the main clause).

Agliplipias kuma ti barukongko iti ragsak gapu iti  
 ag-R-lipias kuma ti barukong-ko iti ragsak gapu iti  
 I-R-overflow OPT ART chest-1sE OBL joy because OBL

balligim, ngem kasla *ketdin* umil-ilet ti lubongko.  
 balligi=m ngem kasla *ketdi*=n um-R-ilet ti lubong=ko  
 success=2sE but like instead=now I-R-tight ART world=1sE

My chest should be overflowing with happiness because of your success, but instead it seems like my world is tightening.’ (w)

The phrase *na(sa)sayaatsa ketdi no* ‘I think it will be good/(better) if ... instead’ precedes conditional clauses that the speaker believes would be beneficial if carried out.

Nasasyaat=sa                      *ketdi*    no    saankan                      nga    agtuloy    nga  
na-R-sayaat=sa                      ketdi    no    saan=ka=n                      nga    ag-tuloy    nga  
ADJ-COMPAR-good=I.think    anyway    if    NEG=2SA=now    LIG    I-continue    LIG

agbaniaga.  
ag-baniaga  
I-travel

‘I think it would be better if you did not continue to travel.’

Nasayaatsa                      *ketdi*    no    maikulong                      tapno    agnakem.  
na-sayaat=sa                      ketdi    no    mai-kulong                      tapno    ag-nakem  
ADJ-good=I.think    anyway    if    INVOL-THM-cage    so.that    I-mind

‘I nevertheless think it will be good if he is imprisoned so he will mature (mentally).’  
(contrary to what you think, or to the fact that he is not imprisoned)

### 9.2.6 *kumá*: Optative particle

The second position particle *kuma* is an optative. It asserts that it is the speaker’s wish that an event be realized.

Patayenda                      *kuma*.  
pa-tay-en=da                      kuma.  
CAUS-die-T=3pE    OPT  
‘They should kill it.’

Isu *kuma*’t pampanunotem.  
isu kuma-ti R-panunot-en=mo  
3s    OPT-ART    R-think-T=2sE  
‘That’s what you should think about.’

Adda *kuma* pay igatangmo    iti    sidam.  
adda kuma pay i-gatang=mo    iti    sida=m  
EXIST OPT    more    T-buy=2sE    OBL    fish=2sE  
‘You should have bought more food.’ (w)

Laglagipem            *kuma*    a    siwayawayakan.  
 R-lagip-en=mo        kuma    a    si-R-way=ka=(e)n  
 R-remember-T=2sE    OPT     LIG   ADJ-R-free=2sA=already  
 ‘You should remember that you are already free.’ (w)

Ti *kuma*    masakbayan        ti    kitaem,        lipatemon        ti  
 ti kuma    ma-sakbay-an      ti    kita-en=m      lipat-en=mo=n    ti  
 ART OPT    INVOL-future-NOM ART    see-T=2sE      forget-T=2sE=now ART  
  
 naggapuam.  
 n-pag-gapu-an=m  
 PF-LOC-come.from-NOM=2sE

‘You should look towards your future, forget where you came from.’

*Kuma* may also be used to reduce the forcefulness of commands, functioning as a marker of polite requests.

Saannak            *kuma*    a    pagtallikudan.  
 saan=mo=ak        kuma    a    pag-tallikud-an  
 NEG=2sE=1sA    OPT     LIG   CAUS-turn.back-T  
 ‘You shouldn’t turn your back on me; Please don’t turn your back on me.’

Palawaem            *kuma*    ti    panagpampanunotmo.  
 pa-lawa-en=mo     kuma    ti    pan-ag-R-panunot=mo  
 CAUS-wide-T=2sE OPT    ART    NOM-I-think=2sE  
 ‘Don’t be so narrow minded; lit: you should widen your perspective.’

Saanmo            *kuma*    nga    iparis        ti    ugalim        iti    ugalina.  
 saan=mo        kuma    nga    i-paris        ti    ugali=mo    iti    ugali=na  
 NEG=2sE    OPT    LIG   T-compare ART    way=2sE    OBL    way=3sE  
 ‘You shouldn’t compare your ways with his ways.’

*Kuma* may be used with the particle *la* to further emphasize the wish of the speaker, especially when singling out a certain desire that may be competing with other possibilities.

Bumirokkanto            la    *kuma*    ditoyen        asideg.  
 birok-um=ka=(n)to        la    kuma    ditoy=(e)n    asideg  
 look.for.work-I=2sA=FUT    just    OPT    here=CONTR    near  
 ‘You should just look for work around here.’

The combination *sapay kuma* is used with the ligature *ta* as a complementizer to express wishes denoted in the complement.



Sapay *kuma* ta makalutoda.  
 sapay kuma ta maka-luto=da  
 OPT OPT LIG ABIL-cook=3p  
 'I hope they can cook.'

Sapay *kuma* ta saan.  
 OPT OPT LIG NEG  
 'I hope not.'

*Kuma* is also used with (*na*)*imbag* to express the speaker's positive attitude toward the predication.

Imbag *kuma* ta makasubadakto.  
 imbag kuma ta maka-subád=ak=(n)to  
 good OPT LIG ABIL-repay=1sA=FUT  
 'It is good that I will be able to reciprocate the favor.'

*Kuma* may also be used with phrases introduced by the conjunction *no* to form a conditional optative phrase.

No umaliwaksayka *kuma* met sagpaminsan.  
 no um-aliwaksay=ka kuma met sagpaminsan  
 if I-go.out.for.fun=2sA OPT also once.in.a.while  
 'If only you would get out more often (to enjoy yourself).'

In certain cases, *kuma* may be used to express a hypothetical predication, not necessarily wished by the speaker.

No adda idiyay Filipinas, marigatan *kuma* ita nga aglaba.  
 no adda idiyay Filipinas, ma-rigat-an kuma ita nga ag-laba  
 if EXIST there Philippines PASS-hard-V OPT now LIG I-wash

aglalo ket masakog.  
 ag-lalo ket ma-sikog  
 I-especially CONJ ADI-pregnant

'If she is in the Philippines, it would be hard for her to do the laundry, especially being pregnant.'

Awan *kuma* unay ti nagbaliwanna no saan a gapu  
 awan kuma unay ti n-pag-baliw-an=na no saan a gapu  
 NEG.EXIST OPT EMPH ART PF-CAUS-change-NOM=3sE if NEG LIG because

iti nasayaat a panagtimon dagiti turayen.  
iti na-sayaat a pan-ag-timon dagiti turay=(e)n  
OBL ADJ-good LIG NOM-I-rudder PL government=CONTR

'There wouldn't be that many changes if it weren't for the good guidance of the government.' (w)

The combination *ania kuma* 'so what' expresses indifference on behalf of the speaker, usually in a sarcastic tone.

*Ania kuma* no agkailiankayo!  
ania kuma no agka-ili-an=kayo  
what OPT if I-COMIT-town-NOM=2pA  
'So what if you are townmates (I don't care).'

### 9.2.7 *La*, Particle of limitation

The particle *la* is a contracted form of *laeng*. It is often used to express limitation.

Di *la* mabalin ti agpatokar, makasalsalaak.  
di *la* mabalin ti ag-pa-tokar, maka-R-sala=ak  
NEG just possible ART I-CAUS-play ABIL-R-dance=1sA  
'Wouldn't it just be possible to request a song, I feel like dancing. (w)

Bay-annak, di *la* mabalin a pumaknika pay laeng  
bay'an=mo=ak, di *la* mabalin a pakni{um}=ka pay laeng  
leave=2sE=1sA NEG just possible LIG go.away-I=2sA still just  
'Leave me alone, can't you just get away from here.'

No kayatmo, saanta *la* a mapan agbuyan.  
no kayat=mo saan=ta *la* a ma-pan ag-buya=(e)n  
if want=2sE NEG=1dA just LIG I-go I-watch=now  
'If you like, we just won't go watch (the movie).'

Saanka a piliten, impagarupko *la* ngamin a  
saan=ka a pilit-en, i{in}-pagarup=ko *la* ngamin a  
NEG=1/2 LIG force-T T{PF}-presume=1sE just PART LIG

matulongannak.  
ma-tulong-an=mo=ak  
ABIL.T-help-T=2sE=1sA

'I am not forcing you, I just thought you could help me.'

The combination *la unay* occurs with stative predicates and adjectives to emphasize the condition expressed therein (See *unay*).

Apay ngamin nga agkonsimisionka *la* unay?  
 apay ngamin nga ag-konsimision=*ka* *la* unay  
 why I.wonder LIG I-upset=2sA just EMPH  
 ‘Why are you so upset?’

Laisem met *la* unayen.  
 lais-en=*mo* met *la* unay=(e)n  
 despise-T=2sE also just much=EMPH  
 ‘You also despise her so much.’

In colloquial speech, the combination *ti la* + verb indicates that an action is not appreciated or condoned by the speaker. It is often used sarcastically or in frustration. With noun phrases, it emphasizes the uniqueness of the noun:

*Ti la* sasawem.  
 ti *la* R-sao-en=*mo*  
 ART just R-speak-T=2sG  
 ‘What are you talking about (it is not positive).’

*Ti la* pakadandanaganyo.  
 ti *la* paka-R-danag-an=*yo*  
 ART just NOM-R-worry-T=2pE  
 ‘You just worry too much.’

*Ti la* pensionko a binulan ti nabati iti naganko.  
 ti *la* pension=*ko* a bulan-{in} ti na-bati iti nagan=*ko*  
 ART just pension=1sE LIG month-every ART ADJ-leave OBL name=1sE  
 ‘Only my monthly pension is left in my name.’

### 9.2.8 *Laeng*, Particle of limitation

The particle *laeng* ‘only, just’ is used to delimit the predicate or noun with which it is associated:

Makiasawaka *laeng* iti basurero.  
 maki-asawa=*ka* *laeng* iti basurero  
 COMMIT-spouse=2pA just OBL garbage.man

anianto laengen ti makuna dagiti kabagiantayo?  
 ania=(n)to laeng=(e)n ti ma-kuna dagiti kabagian=tayo  
 what=FUT just=now ART INVOL-say PL relatives=1pE

‘You are just going to marry a garbage man, just what will our relatives think (say).’ (c)

Iti laeng pelikula ti pakapasamakan ti kayatyo.  
 iti laeng pelikula ti paka-pasamak-an ti kayat=yo  
 OBL only movie ART NOM-happen-NOM ART want=2pE  
 ‘Only in movies do things that you want happen.’

Immayak laeng ditoy Pilipinas tapno makapagpakawanak kenka.  
 in-um-ay=ak laeng ditoy Pilipinas tapno makapag-pakawan=ak kenka  
 PF-I-come=1sA just here Philippines so ABIL-forgive=1sA 2sOBL  
 ‘I only came to the Philippines so that you can forgive me.’ (w)

The combination *pay laeng* ‘still’ expresses the continuation of an event or situation.

Pasetnak pay laeng ‘toy ili.  
 paset=na=ak pay laeng toy ili  
 part=3sE=1sA still just this town  
 ‘This town is still a part of me.’

Agindidiammoka pay laeng!  
 agin-R-di-ammo=ka pay laeng  
 pretend-R-NEG-know=2sA still just  
 ‘You are still pretending not to know!’

Napigsa pay laeng ti kinaagkabannuagna.  
 na-pigsa pay laeng ti kina-ag-ka-bannuag=na  
 ADJ-strong still just ART NOM-I-COMIT-youth=3sE  
 ‘His youthfulness is still strong.’ (w)

The combination *met laeng* ‘anyway or nevertheless’ expresses antithesis or concession.

Pagyamanan laengen ta mabigbigda met laeng dagiti  
 pag-yaman-an laeng=(e)n ta ma-bigbig=da met.laeng dagiti  
 NOM-thank-NOM just=now because ABIL-recognize=3p anyway PL

nanumo a kabaelan dagiti bukodda a kailian.  
 na-numo a ka-bael-an dagiti bukod=da a ka-ili-an  
 ADJ-humble LIG NOM-able-NOM PL own=3pE LIG COMMIT-town-NOM  
 ‘(I) would just like to give thanks because they were able to recognize nevertheless the humble capabilities of their own townmates.’ (w)

Immayda            *met laeng.*  
 in-um-ay=da    met.laeng  
 PF-I-come=3pA anyway  
 'They came anyway.'

Matnagkanto            *met laeng*    kadagiti    dakulapko.  
 ma-tinnag=ka=(n)to    met.laeng    ka-dagiti    dakulap=ko  
 INVOL-fall=2sA=FUT anyway    OBL-PL    palm=1sE  
 'You will nevertheless fall into the palms of my hands.' (w)

### 9.2.9 *Lattá*, Particle of limitation

Like the particle *laeng*, *latta* 'just' also delimits the predicate.

A: Kumusta?  
 'How are you?'

B: Kastoy *latta*.  
 like this just  
 'Just like this.'

Ay-ayatekto            *latta* ni    Flor.  
 R-ayat-en=ko=(n)to    latta ni    Flor.  
 R-love-T=1sE=FUT    just PA    Flor  
 'I will just love Flor (love her, nothing else).' (w)

Dispensarem            kuma ida,    kastada            *latta*.  
 dispensar-en=mo    kuma ida,    kasta=da            *latta*.  
 excuse-T=2sE    OPT    3pOBL, like.that=3pA    just  
 'You should excuse them, that's just the way they are.'

Bay-am    *latta*    nga    ibulosna            ti    ayatna.  
 bay'a=mo    latta    nga    i-bulos=na            ti    ayat=na  
 let=2sE    just    LIG    T-let.lose=3sE    ART    love=3sE  
 'Just let him let loose his love.'

### 9.2.10 *Man*

The particle *man* is used to soften requests, showing respect or politeness, and generally reducing their forcefulness. It immediately follows the second person enclitic pronouns in this case.

Igatangannak            *man*    iti    sida.  
 gatang-i:an=mo=ak    *man*    iti    sida  
 buy-BEN=2sE=1sA    please    OBL    fish  
 ‘Please buy me some food.’

Saanka            *man*    nga    aginlalaing,            dika            *man*    aginsasanto  
 saan=ka    *man*    nga    agin-R-laing,            di=ka            *man*    agin-R-santo  
 NEG=2sA    please    LIG    pretend-R-good,    NEG=2sA    please    pretend-R-saint  
 ‘Please don’t pretend to be good, don’t pretend to be a saint.’

With the predicate *nasayaat* ‘good’, *man* may also be used to express the speaker’s positive opinion towards an unexpected action.

Nasayaat    *man*    ta            nalagipyo,    tatang.  
 na-sayaat    *man*    ta            n-ma-lagip=yo    tatang  
 ADJ-good    PART    CONJ    PF-ABIL-remember=2pE    father  
 ‘It is nice that you remembered, father (you could have forgotten).’

*Man* may also be used to assert that the situation was unexpected.

Napudot *man*.  
 na-pudot *man*  
 ADJ-hot    COUNTER.EXPECT  
 ‘Oh my it’s warm (I wasn’t expecting it to be this hot)?’

Nakaguguapo            *man*    ita    iti    panagkitak.  
 naka-R-guapo            *man*    ita    iti    pan-ag-kita=k  
 ADJ-R-handsome    COUNTER.EXPECT            now    OBL    NOM-I-see=1sE  
 ‘He is actually quite handsome now from what I see (unlike what I thought of him before).’

*Man* is used with interrogatives to form indefinite pronouns equivalent to the English ‘whoever, whatever, wherever, etc.’ In this case, some writers prefer to write *man* connected to the interrogative, i.e. *aniaman, siasinoman, sadinoman*, etc.

No            *aniaman*    ti            nangpatay            kadagiti    dua, saanda    a    tao.  
 no            ania-man    ti            nang-pa-tay            ka-dagiti    dua, saan=da    a    tao  
 INDEF    what-ever    ART    PF-CAUS-die    OBL-PL    two, NEG=3pA    LIG    human  
 ‘Whatever killed the two (victims), they were not human.’ (w)

Awan            ti            *aniamanna*.  
 Awan            ti            ania-man=na  
 NEG.EXIST    ART    what-ever=3sE  
 ‘It is nothing, (don’t mention it)’ (response to thanks).

Unlike in English, which has a separate set of negative indefinite pronouns, Ilocano has no negative counterparts for these indefinites. They may all be negated with the negative existential *awan*.

Awan ti makaiparit iti ania *man* a kayatko nga aramiden.  
 awan ti makai-parit iti ania.*man* a kayat=ko nga aramid-en  
 NEG.EXIST ART I-forbid OBL whatever LIG want=1sE LIG do-T  
 'No one can forbid whatever I want to do.'

Awan ti siasino *man* a parsua a makaagaw kenka kaniak.  
 NEG.EXIST ART who PART LIG creation LIG can.snatch 2SOBL 1SOBL  
 'There is not a single creation that can snatch you away from me (nobody can snatch you away..)' (w)

When used with the negative *saan*, the particle *man* asserts the positive response to a negative question.

Saankayo nga Amerikano?  
 saan=kayo nga Amerikano  
 NEG=2pA LIG American  
 'Aren't you American?'

Saan *man*, Amerikano=kami.  
 NEG indeed American=1p.exclA  
 'Yes indeed we are American.' (c)

*Uray man no* is used to introduce hypothetical conditions.

*Uray man no* nakurapaykami dayawendak kuma.  
 uray.*man* no na-kurapay=kami dayaw-en=dak kuma  
 even.if SUB ADJ-poor=1p.EXCL.A honor-T=3p/1 OPT  
 'Even if we were poor, they should respect us.'

With the particle *met*, *man* contracts to *mammet* in speech and writing.

Saanmi *mammet* a rinanta ti nagkalugan.  
 saan=mi man-met a ranta{in} ti n-ag-ka-lugan  
 NEG=1pEXCL.E PART-EMPH LIG plan{PF.T} ART PF-I-COMIT-ride  
 'We didn't (contrary to what you think) plan to ride together.' (w)

The particle *manén* 'again' is composed most likely of *man* + *=(e)n*.

Ulitek            *manen* ti    agpadispensar    kadakayo.  
 ulit-en=ko    manen ti    ag-pa-dispensar    kada-kayo  
 repeat-T=1sE    again    ART    I-CAUS-excuse    OBL-2pA  
 'I will again repeat my pleas of forgiveness from you.' (w)

Sometimes *manen* is broken up in speech in its constituent parts *man* + *=en*, where the enclitic *=en* attaches to another constituent:

Agpampamarangka    *man*    ngatan            nga    inosente.  
 ag-R-paN-parang=ka    man    ngata=n            nga    inosente  
 I-R-NOM-appear=2sA    again    maybe=EMPH    LIG    innocent  
 'So you are probably pretending again to be innocent.' (w)

### 9.3.11 *Met*, Particle of additional information, emphatic particle

The particle *met* 'also, too' is used in Ilocano to mark additional information, combining with clauses. The final *t* of *met* geminates when combined with the enclitic *=(e)n* (= *metten*), expressing further emphasis.

Ilokanoka    *met*, aya?  
 Ilokano=ka    met, aya  
 Ilokano=2sA    also    TAG  
 'You are Ilocano also, aren't you?'

Ti    problemam            ket    parikutko            *metten*.  
 ti    problema=mo    ket    parikut=ko    met=(e)n  
 ART    problem=2sE    INV    problem=1sE    also=EMPH  
 'Your problem is also my problem.'

Kastanto            *met* ti    anakda    no    dida            makalung-aw.  
 kasta=(n)to    met ti    anak=da    no    di=da            maka-lung'aw  
 like.that=FUT    also    ART    child=3pE    if    NEG=3p    ABIL.I-emerge  
 'Their children will be like that too if they cannot emerge (from their poverty).'

Sinungbatak            *met* ti    managgunday            nga    ayatna.  
 sungbat{in}-an=ko    met ti    (m)ag{an}-gunday    nga    ayat=na  
 answer{PF}-T=1sE    also    ART    I{FREQ}-I-advantage    LIG    love=3sE  
 'I answered his advantageous love too.' (w)

*Met* may also be used to emphasize clauses, usually representing new information.

Napudnoak    a    gayyem ngem    no    maliputannak,  
 na-pudno=ak    a    gayyem ngem    no    ma-liput-an=mo=ak  
 ADJ-true=1sA    LIG    friend    but    if    INVOL.T-betray-T=2sE=1sA





- A: Kumusta?                      B: Mayat *met*.  
     how are you?                      Fairly well.
- B: Napintas ti kabsatna?      B: Napintas *met*.  
     Is her sister pretty.              She is OK, not extremely pretty.

*Met laeng* 'however, anyway, after all, or nevertheless' expresses antithesis.

Nagawidda                      *met laeng*.  
 n-ag-awid=da                      met.laeng  
 PF-I-go.home=3pA anyway  
 'They went home anyway.'

Adda *met la* 'tay                      pitakak.  
 adda met.la    daytay                      pitaka=ko  
 EXIST anyway REC.PST    wallet=1sE  
 'My wallet was there after all.'

Napudno    ngata    *met laeng*    iti    karina?  
 na-pudno    ngata    met.laeng    iti    kari=na  
 ADJ-true    maybe    anyway    OBL    promise=3sE  
 'Do you think he will nevertheless be true to his promise.'

*Sika met* is used informally when the addressee has said something unusual or uncalled for.

- A: Adda    telepono    idiyay    balay=mo?  
     EXIST    telephone    there    house=2sE  
     Do you have a telephone at your house?
- B: *Sika met*!  
     2s    also  
     You're too much!

### 9.2.12 *Ngamin*

The particle *ngamin* is used to indicate a causal relationship, denoting the reason for something previously said or understood from the context of the conversation.

Inta            *ngamin*    iti            uneg    ti            kotsen            (ta            malamminka).  
 in=ta    ngamin    iti            uneg    ti            kotse=(e)n    ta            ma-lammin=ka  
 go=1dA CAUS    OBL    inside    ART    car=CONTR    because    ADJ-cold=2sA  
 'Let's get into the car then (because you are cold).'

Nagbagyo *ngamin* idi kalman.  
 n-ag-bagyo ngamin idi kalman  
 PF-I-storm CAUS PST yesterday  
 'It's because it stormed yesterday (that's why the roof fell).'

Naruam *ngamin* ti nam-ay idiy Pilipinas.  
 accustomed CAUS ART comfort there Philippines  
 'It is because he is accustomed to the comfort in the Philippines.'

Diak *ngamin* kayat nga agladingitka.  
 di=ak ngamin kayat nga ag-ladingit=ka  
 NEG=1sA CAUS want LIG I-sorrow=1sA  
 'It's because I don't want you to be sad.' (w)

*Ngamin* is frequently used in questions and with the negative adverb *di*, to emphasize the interrogativity and further elicit response from the addressee.

Apay *ngamin* a kastaka?  
 apay ngamin a kasta=ka  
 why CAUS LIG like.that=2sA  
 'Why are you like that (then)?'

Di *ngamin* mapunas ti panagsupadi ti nagtaudantayo?  
 di ngamin ma-punas ti pan-ag-supadi ti n-pag-taud-an=tayo  
 NEG CAUS ABIL-wipe ART NOM-I-different ART PF-CAUS-origin=1pINC  
 'Can't we settle the differences in the way we were brought up?' (w)

Sinno *ngamin* ti di mailiw iti anakna?  
 sinno ngamin ti di ma-iliw iti anak=na  
 who CAUS ART NEG ADJ-nostalgia OBL child=3sE  
 'Who (in their right mind) does not miss his/her child?' (w)

*Ngamin* may appear in its own intonation unit to introduce a reason clause, usually with signalled continuing intonation.

*Ngamin*, nakirmetda.  
 ngami:n na-kirmet=da  
 CAUS ADJ-stingy=3pA  
 'Because, you see, they are stingy.'

*Ngamin*, lalaki=da  
 CAUS boy=3pA  
 'Boys will be boys (they are boys, you see; that's why they do what they do).'

The expression *kua ngamin* is used in conversation in a separate intonation unit to indicate that the speaker is about to respond to a question of cause, but must pause and collect his/her thoughts before providing the adequate response.

A: Hoy, Bong, apay nga kaska met la nagminatayen?  
 hoy Bong apay nga kas=ka met la n-ag-matay{in}=en  
 hey Bong why LIG like=2sA also just PF-I-die{PF}=EMPH  
 'Hey, Bong, why do you look like a corpse today?'

B: Kua ngamin,.... Adda problemak idiy pagtrabahuak.  
 kua ngamin.... adda problema=k idiy pag-trabaho-an=ko  
 um because.... EXIST problem=1sE there LOC-work-NOM=1sE  
 'Um, it's because.... I have a problem where I work.'

### 9.2.13 *Ngarud*, Particle of consequence

The second position enclitic *ngarud* 'then' is used to express consequence:

Ne. innak pay *ngarud* amangan no mabisinen ni Nanang.  
 ne. in(n)=ak pay *ngarud* amangan no ma-bisin=(e)n ni nanang  
 hey go=1sA more then as if ADJ-hunger=already PA mother  
 'I better get going *then* as mother is already hungry.'

Ayan *ngaruden* ni Sita?  
 ayan *ngarud*=(e)n ni Sita  
 where then=EMPH PA Sita  
 'Where is Sita *then* (if she is not there)?'

Kasano *ngaruden* ti panggeptayo a mangikalawa iti kapilia?  
 kasano *ngarud*=(e)n ti panggep=tayo a mang-ika-lawa iti kapilia  
 how then=now ART plan=1pE LIG I-increase-wide OBL chapel  
 'What about our plan *then* to make the chapel more spacious?.'

No mapanka idiy ilik. agkaluganta la *ngaruden*.  
 no mapan-ka idiy ili=ko, ag-ka-lugan=ta la *ngarud*=(e)n  
 if go-2sA there town=1sE, I-COMIT-ride=1dA just then=now  
 'If you are going to my town, let's just ride together *then*.'

*Ngarud* may also be used to express a causal relationship in a subordinate clause introduced by the subordinator causal *ta*:

Ay-ayatek pay laeng, ta isu *ngarud* ti amayo.  
 R-ayat-en=ko pay.laeng, ta isu *ngarud* ti ama=yo  
 R-love-T=1sE still because 3s indeed ART father=2pE  
 'I still love him, because he is your father.' (w)

*Ngarud* has an interactional use used in affirmative responses to utterances to agree with previous statements or beliefs and certify their validity.

A: Agparaepkansa...  
 ag-pa-raep = ka = (n)sa  
 I-DIREC-tranplant = 2sA = I.think  
 'I suppose you are going to transplant rice..'

B: Wen, *ngarud*.  
 yes then  
 'Yes, as a matter of fact.'

F: Dida nakabayad.  
 di=da naka-bayad  
 NEG=3p PF:ABIL-pay  
 'They weren't able to pay.'

G: Wen *ngarud*.  
 yes then  
 'Yes indeed (you can say that again!).'

As a particle of consequence, *ngarud* may be used also in simple declarations to fortify statements.

Narigat met *ngarud* ti agsapul iti pagyanan.  
 na-rigat met *ngarud* ti ag-sapul iti pag-yan-an  
 ADJ-difficult EMPH indeed ART I-earn/find.work OBL LOC-place-NOM  
 'It is indeed difficult to earn for a place to live.'

*Ngarud* may sometimes precede entire clauses with the English meaning of 'so then' or 'consequently.' In this case, a continuing intonational contour immediately follows the particle which stands alone in a separate intonation unit.

*Ngarud*, amin a pariküt ken kasapulan dagiti umili ket  
*ngarud* amin a parikut ken ka-sapul-an dagiti um-ili ket  
 then all LIG problem and NOM-need-NOM PL I-town INV

nairaman ití plano.  
 na-i-raman ití plano  
 PF-T-include OBL plan

‘So then, all of the problems and needs of the townsmen are included in the plan.’ (w)

The expression *ala ngarud(en)* is commonly used when taking leave in Ilocano:

*Ala ngaruden,* inkamin.  
 ala ngarud=(e)n in=kami=(e)n  
 OK then=EMPH go=lexclA=now  
 ‘OK then, we are going now.’

#### 9.2.14 *Ngatá*, Particle of probability

The particle *ngata* ‘probably, perhaps or maybe’ expresses uncertainty:

Napanda *ngata* idiy Bacnotan.  
 n-ma-pan=da ngata idiy Bacnotan.  
 PF-I-go=3pA maybe there Bacnotan.  
 ‘They probably went to Bacnotan.’

When used with questions, *ngata* requests the opinion of the addressee.

Napintasda *ngata?*  
 na-pintas=da ngata  
 ADJ-beauty=3pA maybe  
 ‘Do you think they are pretty?’

Napudno *ngata* met laeng ití karina?  
 na-pudno ngata met.laeng ití kari=na  
 ADJ-true maybe nevertheless OBL promise=3sE  
 ‘Do you think he will be true to his promise?’

Unlike most particles in Ilocano, *ngata* may be derived with various affixes: *angatangata* ‘to be uncertain, to be hesitant,’ *ngatangataen* ‘to take lightly’, etc.

#### 9.2.15 *Ngay*, Particle of elicitation

The interrogative particle *ngay* in Ilocano has various uses. It is often used to request elaboration, clarification or acceptance of shared information.

Ti sirena *ngay*..  
 ART mermaid ELICIT  
 'what about the mermaid (are you aware of her; can you say more about her?)'

Sika *ngay*?  
 2s ELICIT  
 'What about you?'

Apay *ngay*?  
 why ELICIT  
 'What is the matter?'

It is not always used in interrogatives. Sometimes a speaker will try to establish the fact that a newly introduced noun is accessible to the addressee by inserting the particle *ngay* directly after the referent. When it is used in this case to elicit recognition of a referent (requesting a backchannel at times), it immediately follows the noun.

Ti kabsat=*na ngay* ti napan.  
 ART brother=3sE ELICIT ART went  
 'His brother (do you know who I mean) is the one who went?'

*Tatta ngayen* may be used as an introductory conjunction to maintain the interest and participation of the addressee.

*Tatta ngayen*, nagparang ti al-alia.  
 tatta ngay=(e)n n-ag-parang ti al'alía  
 now ELICIT=now PF-I-appear ART ghost  
 'and then, you see, the ghost appeared.'

When used with the conditional conjunction *no* preceding a clause, it requests a response for the addressee's opinion or recognition of the given conditional phrase.

No *ngay* makasarakkanto iti puraw idiy?  
 no ngay maka-sarak-ka=(n)to iti puraw idiy  
 if ELICIT ABIL-find=2sA=FUT OBL white there  
 And what if you find a white person over there? (from the context: a white lover to replace me).

### 9.3.16 *Pay*: Particle of addition or intensification

The particle *pay* is used to express the concept of addition, whether it be continuation or resumption of the action of the stem, intensification of a state, or enlargement or addition of an object.

Kayat=mo *pay*?  
 want=2s more  
 'Do you want any more?'

Mangalaka *pay*.  
 mang-ala=ka pay  
 I-get=2sA more  
 'Get some more.'

Adda *pay*.  
 EXIST more  
 'There is still some more.'

Saanak *pay* met a lakay a ti kunak iti trentayunok.  
 saan=ak pay met a lakay a ti kuna=ko iti trentayuno=ko  
 NEG=1sA still also LIG old.man LIG ART say=1sE OBL 31=1sE  
 'I am still not an old man in my estimation as a 31 year old.'

Adayo *pay* ti balay=na.  
 far still ART house=3sE  
 'His house is still far off.'

Dimmakkel *pay* ti misuotna.  
 dakkel{in-um} pay ti misuot=na  
 big{PF-I} still ART pout=3sE  
 'His frown got even bigger.'

Saan a makaanak. managimon *pay*.  
 saan a maka-anak. (m)ag{an}-ag-imon pay  
 NEG LIG able-child I{FREQ}-I-jealous also  
 'She cannot bear children, she is jealous also.'

Kanayonka *pay* a rumrumuar kadagiti rabii.  
 kanayon=ka pay a R-ruar{um} ka-dagiti rabii  
 always=2sA also LIG R-go.out-I OBL-PL night  
 'You are also always going out at night (aside from doing other bad things).'

With temporal adverbs, *pay* indicates additional time beyond that which is specified by the adverb.

Madamdama *pay*, nagrinnayoken ti dung-awda.  
 madamdama pay, n-ag-rayok{inn}=en ti dung'aw=da  
 later still PF-I-circulate{RECIP}=already ART chant=3p  
 'Later still, their mourning chants circulated back and forth.' (w)



When used in imperatives and certain declaratives representing actions that have yet to begin, the particle *pay* adds the meaning 'first (without doing anything else).'

Manganka *pay*.  
 mang-kaan=ka *pay*  
 I-eat=2sA first  
 'Eat first (and then you can go play).'

Mapanak *pay* idiay balayna.  
 ma-pan=ak *pay* idiay balay=na  
 I-go=1sA first there house=3sE  
 'I'll go to her house first (before going to your house).'

With negatives, *pay* 'yet' indicates the negation of absence of a state or action that, from speaker's point of view, should be attained.

Awan *pay* asawa=na.  
 NEG.EXIST yet spouse=3sE  
 'He doesn't have a spouse yet (but soon will: after all these years).'

Saan *pay*.  
 NEG yet  
 'Not yet.'

With comparative adjectives, *pay* is used to intensify the comparison, translatable by the English 'even more..'

Napimpintas *pay* ti adingko (ngem isuna).  
 na-R-pintas *pay* ti ading=ko (ngem isuna)  
 ADJ-COMPAR-pretty more ART younger.sibling=1sE (than 3s)  
 'My younger sister is even prettier (than her).'

Nasasayaat *pay* kuman no matayak.  
 na-R-sayaat *pay* kuma=n no ma-tay=ak  
 ADJ-COMPAR-good more OPT=EMPH if INVOL-die=1sA  
 'It would be even better if I die.' (w)

The combination *pay laeng* is used to indicate continued state of affairs or action.

Mangmanganda *pay laeng*.  
 R-mang-kaan=da *pay*.laeng.  
 R-I-eat=3pA still  
 'They are still eating.'

Napigsa *pay laeng* ti kinaagkabannuagna.  
na-pigsa pay.laeng ti kina-agka-bannuag=na  
ADJ-strong still ART NOM-RECIP-youth=3sE  
‘His youthfulness is still strong.’

Ditaka *pay laeng*.  
dita=ka pay.laeng  
there=2sA still  
‘Stay there (still).’ (expression used when taking leave, when the speaker leaves the addressee)

With the verb *ammo* ‘know’, the adverb *pay* is used in colloquial speech to negate the verb.

Ammok *pay* no nagtulagkayo a nagpaili.  
ammo=ko pay no n-ag-tulag=kayo a n-ag-pa-ili  
know=1sE still if PF-I-agree=2p LIG PF-I-DIRECT-town  
‘I don’t know if you agreed (contracted) to go to town.’

With *uray*, *pay* denotes the addition of an unexpected event or referent.

Pagbibingayanda dagiti gastos uray pay iti agassawa no dadduma.  
pag-R-bingay-an=da dagiti gastos uray pay iti ag-asawa{R} no.dadduma  
NOM-PL-share-T=3p PL expense even more OBL RECIP-spouse{PL} sometimes  
‘They (referring to white people) share their expenses, even married couples do so sometimes.’ (w)

### 9.3 Means of adverbial expression (non-particle)

In addition to the enclitic adverbials and particles, Ilocano has four separate ways of denoting adverbial expressions. From the morphological and syntactic behavior of the lexemes that translate English adverbs, there is no reason to postulate that the non-particle adverbs form a separate lexical class whose members share similar syntactic behavior. However, it is to the advantage of the non-Ilocano reader that I outline the various ways adverbial-type expressions are dealt with in Ilocano. In this section, the most common adverbial expressions are outlined and explained.

The 4 ways of denoting adverbial-type expressions in Ilocano are:

1. use of an adjective with the ligature (*nga*):

*Nadaras* a nagsubli ti nalimbong a panunotna.  
na-daras a n-ag-subli ti na-limbong a panunot=na  
ADJ-fast LIG PF-I-return ART ADJ-at.ease LIG thought=3sE  
‘His peaceful thoughts quickly returned.’

Kinapudnona ket *masansan* met a malaglagipko ida.  
kina-pudno=na ket ma-sansan met a ma-R-lagip=ko =ida  
NOM-true=3sE INV ADJ-often EMPH LIG INVOL-R-remember-1sE 3sOBL  
‘The truth of the matter is. I often think about them.’

Igalutyo a *nasayaat* amangan no makalibas.  
i-galut=yo a na-sayaat amangan-no maka-libas  
T-tie=2pE LIG ADJ-good lest ABIL-escape  
‘Tie it (the goat) well so it doesn’t escape.’

2. Use of an adjective or verb, connected to the predicate as a prepositional phrase with the oblique noun marker *iti*, similar to a prepositional phrase:

Agawidak kuma iti *mabiit*.  
ag-awid=ak kuma iti ma-biit  
I-go.home=1sA OPT OBL ADJ-short.time  
‘I should go home soon.’

Masapul nga agbantaykami iti *agpatnag*.  
ma-sapul nga ag-bantay=kami iti ag-patnag  
ADJ-need LIG I-guard=1pEXCL OBL I-all.night  
‘We need to keep watch all night long.’

Nagminnatmatda iti *napaut*.  
n-ag-matmat{inn}=da iti na-paut  
PF-I-stare{RECIP}=3p OBL ADJ-lasting  
‘They stared at each other for a considerable time.’ (w)

3. use of a transitive verb denoting an adverbial notion:

*Igaedna* ti agadal.  
i-gaed=na ti ag-adal  
T-diligent=3sE ART I-study  
‘He studied diligently.’

*Sapaemto* ti agriing.  
 sapa-en=mo=(n)to ti ag-riing  
 early-T=2sE=FUT ART I-awake  
 'Wake up early.'

*Saysyaatenyo* ti umisem tapno natarakikayo iti kamera.  
 R-sayaat-en=yo ti um-isem tapno na-taraki=kayo iti kamera  
 COMPAR-good-T=2pE ART I-smile so ADJ-handsome=2pA OBL camera  
 'Smile better so you will be handsome for the camera.'

4. Use of an adverb-like lexeme that does not require the ligature (*nga*) when linking to a constituent. These words form a closed class and may also function as adjectives.

*Nagbuteng* ti asona ta *nagistayan* ginetteb  
 n-ag-buteng ti aso=na ta nagistayan getteb{in}  
 PF-I-fear ART dog=3sE because almost tear.off{PF.T}

ti alingo ti tengngedna.  
 ti alingo ti tengnged=na  
 ART wild.boar ART neck=3sE

'His dog was frightened because the wild boar nearly bit off his neck.' (w)

*Dandanidan* nangabak.  
 dandani=da=(e)n n-maN-abak  
 almost=3p=now PF-I-win  
 'They almost won.'

### 9.3.1 Adverbs of manner

In order to relate the manner in which an event is performed or comes into being, speakers of Ilocano may utilize the four separate constructions as summarized in Section 9.3 above.

*Nabiit* a naibus ti sangakustal.  
 na-biit a na-ibus ti sanga-kustal  
 ADJ-fast LIG ADJ-consume ART one-sack  
 'One sackful was quickly consumed.'

*Nagsaoda* iti *nalapat*.  
 n-ag-sao=da iti na-lapat  
 PF-I-speak=3p OBL ADJ-frank  
 'They spoke frankly.'

*Inkarigatan* ni Thelma nga inasut ti kampianna.  
in-ka-rigat-an ni Thelma nga in-asut ti kampilan=na  
PF-COMIT-difficult-PF PA The!ma LIG PF-unsheathe ART sword=3sE  
‘Thelma unsheathed her sword with difficulty (exerting her strength).’ (w)

Although syntactic properties of each adverbial used in Ilocano must be learned with each lexeme, this section will outline the most common adverbials used in discourse and special constructions primarily employed to designate adverbial concepts.

### 9.3.1.1 *si-* + RCV

Adverbial phrases expressing manner may be formed by the prefix *si-* linked to an adjectival root whose first open syllable (consonant/glottal stop + vowel) is reduplicated. Adverbs formed in this way must be linked with the ligature (*ng*)*a*.

*Siaan*osda a nagsao.  
si-R-anos=da a n-ag-sao  
ADJ-R-kind=3p LIG PF-I-speak  
‘They spoke kindly.’

*Sitallugod*da a makipagrikna iti napasamak iti lakay.  
si-R-tallugod=da a maki-pag-rikna iti na-pasamak iti lakay  
ADJ-R-obey=3p LIG COMMIT-INST-feel OBL PF-happen OBL old.man  
‘They willingly sympathized with what happened to the old man.’ (w)

*Sidudungng*o a nangarakup kenkuana.  
si-R-dungngo a nang-arakup kenkuana  
ADJ-R-loving LIG PF.I-embrace 3SOBL  
‘He lovingly embraced her.’ (w)

Iti kasta, maammuanna a silalagipka pay laeng kenkuana.  
iti kas-ta ma-ammo-an=na a si-R-lagip=ka pay.laeng kenkuana  
OBL like-that INVOL-know-T=3sE LIG ADJ-R-remember=2sA still 3SOBL  
‘That way he will know that you are still thinking about him.’ (w)

*Nagtalinae*d a sidudumog, situturong dagiti matana iti baba.  
n-ag-talinaed a si-R-dumog, si-R-turong dagiti mata=na iti baba  
PF-I-remain LIG ADJ-R-stoop ADJ-R-point PL eye=3sE OBL down  
‘He remained in a bowed position, his eyes pointed down.’ (w)

### 9.3.1.2 *Kas* adverbials of similarity

Adverbial phrases of similarity or comparison are expressed in Ilocano *kas* 'like, as: seem(s)' When used with nouns, the noun can follow *kas* in the oblique case, or may immediately follow *kasla* (*kas* + the particle *la*) without any intervening ligature:

*kasla* buaya            like an alligator  
*kas* iti buaya            like an alligator

When linked to action verbs, *kasla* is preferred, joined to the verb with the ligature (*ng)a*. *Kas* may be used with noun phrases or nominalized verb clauses in the oblique case.

*Kasla* billit    nga agpayakpayak    dagiti    gaud  
*kasla* billit    nga ag-R-payak    dagiti    gaud  
 like    bird    LIG I-CONT-wing    PL    oar

nga agdisso iti    danum.  
 nga ag-disso iti    danum  
 LIG I-place    OBL    water

'The oars hit the water like the fluttering wings of a bird.' (w)

*Kasla* nailansa            iti    nagtugawanna.  
*kasla* na-i-lansa            iti    nag-tugaw-an=na  
 like    ADJ-THM-nail    OBL    PF-sit-LOC=3sE  
 'He seemed to be nailed to his seat.'

*Kasla* magsaten            dagiti    urat    ti    tengngedko  
*kasla* ma-gessat=(e)n    dagiti    urat    ti    tengnged=ko  
 like    INVOL-snap-already    PL    vein    ART    neck=1sE

iti    dagsen    ti    inassiwak.  
 iti    dagsen    ti    in-assiw-an=ko  
 OBL weight    ART    PF-carry.on.pole.over.shoulders-T=1sE

'The veins in my neck seem to be pulled from the heavy weight I carried over my shoulders on a pole.' (w)

Awan            ti    sabali    a    kas    iti    in-aramid=mo.  
 NEG.EXIST    ART    other    LIG    like    OBL    PF-do=2sE  
 'There is nothing else like what you did.'

Pronouns occur in the oblique case when used with *kas*.

Awan ti sabali a kas kenka.  
 NEG.EXIST ART other LIG like 2SOBL  
 'There is one like you.'

Nouns following *kas* need not appear with oblique case marking in an appositive relationship. When linked to a predicate, they take the ligature (*ng*)*a*. With non-verbal constituents they usually appear with oblique case marking.

Raemenkayo a kas dadakkelko ngem dayawenyo kuma met  
 raem-en=ko/kayo a kas R-dakkel=ko ngem dayaw-en=yo kuma met  
 respect-T-1s/2p LIG like PL-big=1sE but honor-T=2pE OPT also

no ania ti kayatko.  
 no ania ti kayat=ko  
 CONJ what ART want=1sE

'I respect you as my parents but you should also honor what I want.' (w)

Awan ti sabali a kas iti anak=na.  
 NEG.EXIST ART other LIG like OBL child-3sE  
 'No one else is like his child.'

*Kas* fuses to the singular demonstratives as shown in the following table.

<i>kas</i> +	=	
daytoy	kastoy	like this
dayta	kasta	like that (near addressee)
daydiay	kasdiay	like that (distal)
daytay	kastay	like that (non-present)
daydi	kasdi	like that (remote in time)

Ania kadi ti basolko kadakayo, tata,  
 ania kadi ti basol=ko kadakayo, tata  
 what QUES ART fault=1sE 2pOBL father

ta	kasta	pay	met	ti	panagsasaoyo	kaniak?
ta	kasta	pay	met	ti	pan-ag-R-sao=yo	kaniak
because	like.that	still	EMPH	ART	NOM-I-CONT-speak=2pE	1SOBL

'What did I do wrong to you, father, because you are still speaking to me like that.'

Kastoy latta.  
 like.this just  
 'Just like this?' (Expression commonly used to answer *kumusta* 'how are you?')





The locatives *ditoy*, *dita*, and *idiay* may stand alone, or may introduce nominal locative phrases, elaborating on the location of the nominal phrase they precede.

Nangan=da *ditoy*.  
ate=3p here  
'They ate here.'

Ania ti *damag dita?*  
what ART news there  
'What is the news there?'

Immayda *ditoy* Laoag.  
in-um-ay=da *ditoy* Laoag  
PF-I-come=3p here Laoag  
'They came (here) to Laoag.'

Napanda *idiay* balayna.  
na-pan=da *idiay* balay=na  
PF-go=3p there house=3sE  
'They went to her house.'

The neutral oblique article *iti* may also be used to introduce nominal locative phrases, where the speaker does not want to express commitment to the precise location.

Napanda *iti* kamposanto.  
na-pan=da *iti* kamposanto  
PF-go=3p OBL cemetery  
'They went to a cemetery.'

*Iti yan ti* may be used to designate an exact place with reference to an object located in the place.

Naturogda *iti yan ti* kakawate.  
na-turog=da *iti yan ti* kakawate  
PF-sleep=3p OBL place ART cacao.tree  
'They slept where the cacao tree is.'

Nagiddakami *iti yan ti* kawayan.  
n-ag-idda=kami *iti yan ti* kawayan  
PF-I-lie=1pEXCL OBL place ART bamboo  
'We lay down in the bamboos.'

### 9.3.3 Temporal adverbs

Ilocano has the following temporal adverbial pronouns shown in order from past to future time. They usually follow the predicates they qualify:

idi	a while back
itay	a moment ago
(i)tattay	a short moment ago
ita	now/today
(i)tatta	right now
inton(o) + madamdama	later
inton(o) bigat	tomorrow

Kapampanaw da Nanang ken Tatang *idi*.  
 ka-R-panaw da Nanang ken Tatang idi  
 REC.PST-R-leave PA.PL mother and father PAST.MARKER  
 ‘Mother and father just left a while ago.’

Imbagana *tattay*.  
 i-m-baga=na tattay  
 T-PF-say=3sE REC.PST  
 ‘She said it just a short while ago.’

Nailibayak ngamin *itay* ket nagtagtagainepak.  
 nai-libay=ak ngamin itay ket n-ag-R-tagainep=ak  
 PF.INVOL-doze=1sA because PST and PF-I-CONT-dream=1sA  
 ‘It’s because I dozed off a short while ago and was dreaming.’

The adverbs *itay* or *(i)tattay* may be used with the enclitic =*en* when referring to utterances that are temporarily out of the mind of the speaker. They may also be used in questions where the answer is on the tip of the speaker’s tongue but the speaker does not have immediate access to the information:

Agurayka, asinoka *itayen?*  
 ag-uray=ka asino=ka itay=en  
 I-wait=2sA who=2sA REC.PST=EMPH  
 ‘Wait (a second), who were you (again, I temporarily forgot)?’

Temporal markers such as *idi*, *itay*, *tatta*, etc. may carry the enclitic =(e)*n* to give additional emphasis to the time frame.

Pampanunotek *itayen* a tukkolek ti tulangna.  
 R-panunot-en=ko itay=(e)n a tukkol-en=ko ti tulang=na  
 CONT-think-T=1sE PST=EMPH LIG snap-T=1sE ART bone=3sE  
 'I was thinking *just a moment ago* of breaking his bones.' (w)

*Idi kuan* may be used to frame utterances in past time with reference to a larger text. It is often used to signal the progression of a monolog.

*Idi kuan*, simmipnget.  
 idi-kuan sipnget{in-um}  
 then dark{PF-I}  
 'Then, it got dark.'

*Idi*, *itay*, and *itattay* may precede temporal nouns to specify a more concrete time frame. *Idi* is used for time frames that are earlier than those formed with *itay*, but there are no formal rules to distinguish the use of each.

itay bigat	just this morning
itay malem	this (past) afternoon
itay parbangon	this morning (at dawn)
idi rabii	last night
idi bigat kalman	yesterday morning
idi nabayag	a while back

With the word *kalman* (day before), the temporal *idi* is preferred.

Nagawidda *idi kalman*.  
 n-ag-awid=da idi kalman  
 PF-I-go.home=3p PAST day.before  
 'They went home yesterday.'

The words *idi* and *itay* reflect the subjective opinion of the speaker concerning the remoteness of the time frame in question:

Pimmanawda *idi* napan a bulan.  
 panaw{in-um}=da idi na-pan a bulan  
 leave{PF-I}=3p PAST PF-go LIG month  
 'They left last month.' (a while back)

Pimmanawda *itay* napan a bulan.  
 panaw{in-um}=da itay na-pan a bulan  
 leave{PF-I}=3p PAST PF-go LIG month  
 'They left just last month.' (not too long ago)

*Itoy* or *ita* precede temporal nouns to denote a time frame concurrent with the time of utterance. Unlike *idi* and *itay*, *itoy* is always separated from the temporal noun with the ligature *(ng)a*.

ita nga aldaw	today
ita a rabii	tonight
itoy a bulan	this month
itoy a lawasna	this week
itoy a tawen	this year

The empty root *kua* may indicate an indeterminate amount of time when preceded by a temporal such as *idi*, *itay* or *intono*.

Agkalapdanto	intono	kua.
ag-kapal=da=(n)to	intono	kua
I-fish=3p=FUT	FUT	0

'They will go fishing (at an unspecified time in the future).'

Inaramidna	idi	kua.
in-aramid=na	idi	kua
PF.T-do=3sE	PST	0

'He did it (a while back at an unspecified time in the past).'

For past time frames using temporal nouns, the verb *napan* 'went.' connected to the noun with the ligature *(ng)a* is used to indicate past time frames.

idi napan a bulan	last month
idi napan a dominggo	last week
idi napan a tawen	last year

For future time frames using temporal nouns, the verb *umay* 'come' connected to the noun with the ligature *(ng)a*.

intono umay a bulan	next month
intono umay a lawasna	next week
intono umay a tawen	next year

Temporal nouns may be infixed with *-in-* 'every' to indicate the customariness of the occurrence of the event involved. The same meaning would also hold for the adjective *tunggal* 'every' + noun.

Lunes	Monday	Linunes	every Monday
bigat	morning	binigat	every morning
rabii	night	rinabii	every night
aldaw	day	inaldaw	every day, etc.

The prefix *maka-* may be used with temporal nouns to indicate the extent of one period of time associated with the root.

Agmakabulanda ditoy.  
 ag-maka-bulan=da ditoy  
 I-one-month=3p here  
 'They are spending one month here.'

Makatawen pay ket maiwakananton ti panagadalna ity.  
 maka-tawen pay ket ma-i-wakas=na=nto=n ti pan-ag-adal=na ity  
 one-year more and ABIL-T-end=3sE=FUT=EMPH ART NOM-T-study=3sE there  
 'In one more year he will finish his studies there.' (w)

*Apagisu* 'exactly, precisely' is used to indicate preciseness of time.

Apagisu a tengnga ti rabii idi rumuar ti balasang.  
 precisely LIG middle ART night PAST go.out ART young.lady  
 'It was exactly midnight when the young lady went out.' (w)

*Agdama* may be used to signal the current time. It is connected to both nouns and verbs with the ligature (*ng*)*a*. Its past form is *nagdama*.

Agdamada nga agbasbasa.  
 agdama=da nga ag-R-basa  
 currently=3p LIG I-CONT-read  
 'They are reading currently/right now.' (w)

iti agdama a panawen  
 OBL current LIG time  
 'in the current time; nowadays'

... dagiti nagkauna. dagiti agdama ken dagiti sumarunonto.  
 dagiti n-ag-ka-una dagiti ag-dama ken dagiti saruno{um}=nto  
 PL PF-I-COMIT-first PL I-current and PL next{I}=FUT  
 'The first events, the present events and the next events.'

Nagdamada a nagsangit idi.  
 n-agdama=da a n-ag-sangit idi  
 PF-current=3p LIG PF-I-cry then  
 'They were crying at the time.' (c)

Further adverbial time expressions are listed below:

idi kalman	yesterday
idi kasangaldaw	the day before last
idi kasangatawen	the year before last
idi katimmawen	three years ago
idi rabii	last night, yesterday evening
intono bigat	tomorrow
intono malem	this afternoon
no madamdama	soon
no mumalem	in the late afternoon
tengnga ti aldaw	noon

The circumfix *k(in)a-* *-an* may be used with temporals, sometimes with the enclitic (=na) to express a relative time frame during or subsequent to the discourse context.

bigat	morning	kabigatan(na)	next morning
malem	afternoon	kamalman(na)	the afternoon of,
kalman	yesterday		next day
rabii	night	karabiiyan	the night of

Timmawagak	iti	kabigatanna,	ngem	awan	kanon.
tawag{in-um}=ak	iti	ka-bigat-an=na	ngem	awan	kano=(e)n
call{PF-I}=1sA	OBL	NOM-morning-NOM=3sE	but	NEG.EXIST	HRSY=now

'I called him that morning but he supposedly wasn't in.'

#### 9.3.4 Frequency

The frequency of an event may be expressed with the following adverbs in Ilocano.

agnanayon	always
kadawyan	usually, customarily; normally
kanayon	always
manmano	seldom, rarely
masansan	often, frequently
naynay	often, frequently, repeatedly
no dadduma	once in a while
pasaray	occasionally, sometimes
patinayon	always
sagpaminsan	once in a while

*Pasaray*, *naynay* and *sagpaminsan* do not require the ligature (*ng)a* when linking to a verb. Other frequency adverbs, however, do require the ligature.

*Pasaray* agik-ikkis dagiti agbubuya a pangipakitada iti  
 pasaray ag-R-ikkis dagiti ag-R-buya a paN-i-pa-kita=da iti  
 often I-CONT-scream PL I-CONT-watch LIG NOM-T-CAUS-see=3p OBL

panagdayawda kadagiti kandidata.  
 pan-ag-dayaw=da ka-dagiti kandidata  
 NOM-I-honor=3p OBL-PL female.candidate

‘Now and then the spectators scream to show their support for the candidates.’ (w)

Siak ti *pasaray* mangkadjadua kaniada iti rabii.  
 siak ti pasaray mang-R-kadua kaniada iti rabii  
 1s ART frequently I-CONT-accompany 3sOBL OBL night  
 ‘I usually accompany them at night.’

*Pasaray* mailumlom dagiti dapanda iti kataratan.  
 pasaray ma-i-lumlom dagiti dapan=da iti ka-darat-an  
 occasionally INVOL-THM-stick PL sole=3p OBL LOC-sand-LOC  
 ‘Their feet occasionally get stuck in the sand.’ (w)

*Naynay* a takawan, puoran wenno dadaelen dagiti  
 naynay a takaw-an puor-an wenno dadael-en dagiti  
 often LIG steal-T burn-T or destroy-T PL

tirong dagiti pagtaenganda.  
 tirong dagiti pag-taeng-an=da  
 pirate PL LOC-residence-NOM=3p

‘The pirates often steal, burn or destroy their residences.’ (w)

Ti la kadandanagko. isu ti *masansan* a panagmaymaysak.  
 ti la ka-R-danag=ko isu ti ma-sansan a pan-ag-R-maysa=k  
 ART only COMIT-R-worry=1sE it ART ADJ-frequent LIG NOM-I-R-one=1sE  
 ‘The thing I worry about is my frequently being alone.’ (w)

*Masansan* a kaduanak ni Manang no agudong.  
 ma-sansan a kadua=na=ak ni Manang no ag-udong  
 ADJ-frequent LIG companion=3sE=1sA PA older.sister if I-go.to.town  
 ‘Older sister frequently accompanies me when I go to town.’ (c)

*Agnanayon* ‘always’ is a fully inflectable verb that takes subordinative clauses as its complement, separated by the ligature (*ng*)*a*.

Saan a matay ti biag iti ciudad. Agnanayonto a sibibiag.  
 saan a ma-tay ti biag iti ciudad ag-R-nayon=to a si-R-biag  
 NEG LIG INVOL-die ART life OBL city I-R-always=FUT LIG ADJ-R-life  
 'The life in the city doesn't die. It will always be alive.' (w)

*Kadawyan* precedes constituents to indicate their normal or usual occurrence. It links to its predicates with the ligature *(ng)a*.

Kadawyan nga alas-otso ti luas ti lantsa.  
 usually LIG at-eight ART departure ART ferry  
 'The departure of the ferry is normally at eight.' (w)

Frequency may also be expressed with the prefix *m{an}ag-* or *m{an}ang-*, prefixed to adjectival frames. (See Frequentatives)

panunot think managpanunot always thinking  
 sao talk managsao always talking

Managpanunotka, nalawa ti ammom maipapan ti biag.  
 man-ag-panunot=ka na-lawa ti ammo=m maipapan ti biag  
 FREQ-I-think=2sA ADJ-wide ART know=2sE about ART life  
 'You are always thinking, your knowledge about life is vast.'

To indicate how many times an event has been or will be realized, the prefix *mami(n)-* (perfective form: *nami(n)-*) is used with the appropriate ordinal number. When functioning as adverbs, these multiplicatives are connected to verbs with the ligature *(ng)a*.

maminsan once  
 mamindua twice  
 mamitlo three times  
 maminwalo eight times

Naminpitoak a nagayab.  
 namin-pito=ak a n-ag-ayab  
 PF.MULT-seven=1sA LIG PF-I-call  
 'I called seven times.' (c)

*Maminpinsan* 'only once' can be used as an adverb to signify the completeness of an action.

Patayekto a maminpinsan.  
 pa-tay-en=ko=(n)to a mamin-pi-insan  
 CAUS-kill-T=1sE=FUT LIG FREQ-only-once  
 'I will kill him once and for all.' (c)





The prefix *apag-* may also be used with stative roots to mark states that are not fully achieved.

bingngi            opening  
 apagbingngi    slightly open, slightly ajar

Naitungrarawna    ti    rupana    iti    apagbingngi    a    tawa.  
 na-i-tungraraw=na ti    rupa=na    iti    apag-bingi    a    tawa  
 PF-THM-peer=3sE ART head=3sE OBL slightly-open LIG window  
 'He peered his head out of the slightly ajar window.' (w)

*Pag(am)ammuan* is used to introduce clauses that happen suddenly or unexpectedly.

Pagammmuan, nagtaray    a    nagturong    iti    nakasadsad    a    birayda.  
 pagammuan n-ag-taray    a    n-ag-turong    iti    naka-sadsad    a    biray=da  
 suddenly    PF-I-run    LIG    PF-I-direct    OBL ADJ-strand    LIG    boat=3p  
 'All of a sudden, he ran towards the stranded boat.' (w)

Pagam-ammuan, bintak            ti    riaw    dagiti    agbuybuya.  
 pagam-ammuan bettak{in-um} ti    riaw    dagiti    ag-R-buya  
 suddenly            explode{PF-I} ART shout    PL            I-CONT-watch  
 'All of a sudden the shouts of the spectators erupted.' (w)

### 9.3.6 Simultaneity

The verb *aggiddan* from the root *giddan* 'at the same time' indicates the simultaneity of two events. It may occur only with plural actors and must be linked to verbal clauses with the ligature (*ng*)*a*.

Naggiddankami            a    timmaliaw.  
 n-ag-giddan=kami            a    taliaw{in-um}  
 PF-I-same.time=1pEXCL LIG look.back{PF-I}  
 'We looked back at the same time.'

Aggiddanen    dagiti    takiagna    a    kasla    agwidawid  
 ag-giddan=(e)n dagiti    takiag=na a    kasla    ag-widawid  
 I-same.time-now PL            arm=3sE LIG like/as I-swing.arm  
 'He arms swung back and forth at the same time (while rowing).' (w)

To emphasize the plurality of the actors performing the simultaneous action, the root *giddan* undergoes partial CV reduplication.

Nagistayanda naggigiddan.  
 nagistayan=da n-ag-R-gidda=(e)n  
 almost=3p PF-I-PL-simultaneous-now  
 ‘They almost did it at the same time.’

Intag-aymi dagiti basomi ket naggigiddankami  
 i{in}-tag’ay=mi dagiti baso=mi ket n-ag-R-giddan=kami  
 T{PF}-raise PL glass=1pEXCL.E and PF-I-PL-same.time=1pEXCL.A

a limmidok.  
 a lidok{in-um}  
 LIG swallow{PF-I}

‘We raised our glasses (in a toast) and swallowed at the same time.’ (w)

The transitive verb *igiddan* or the conjunction-like noun *kinagiddan* also may express simultaneity.

Ingiddanda ti agluto.  
 i{in}-giddan=da ti ag-luto  
 T{PF}-same.time=3p ART I-cook  
 ‘They cooked at the same time.’ (c)

Nagwang-it ti nuang a kinagiddan ti  
 n-ag-wang’it ti nuang a kina-giddan ti  
 PF-I-sudden.jerk ART buffalo LIG NOM-same.time ART

panangyaplitna iti ipusna.  
 paN-mang-i-aplit=na iti ipus=na  
 NOM-I-THM-whip=3sE OBL tail=3sE

‘The water buffalo made a sudden jerk the moment he whipped it on the tail (with the aforementioned rope).’ (w)

### 9.3.7 Adverbs of duration

*Nabayág* and *mabiüt* are used respectively to express the long or short duration of a situation. They may precede verbs with the ligature (*ng*)*a*, or follow, preceded by the oblique article *iti*. With *nabayag*, the verb is usually in imperfective (progressive) aspect.

Nabayagakon a nagtartrabaho itoy a kompania.  
 na-bayag=ak=(e)n a n-ag-R-trabaho itoy a kompania  
 ADJ-long=1sA=now LIG PF-I-CONT-work here.OBL LIG company  
 ‘I have been working at this company for a long time now.’

*Nabayagen* a birbirokenka.  
na-bayag=(e)n a R-biok-en=ka  
ADJ-long.time-now LIG CONT-search-T=1/2  
‘I have been looking for you for a long time.’

Agawidak kuma iti *mabiit*.  
ag-awid=ak kuma iti ma-biit  
I-go.home=1sA should OBL ADJ-short.time  
‘I should go home soon.’

*Napáut* ‘lasting, enduring’ is used to express a considerable duration, not as long though as *nabayag* ‘long time’.

Nagminnatmatda iti *napaut*.  
n-ag-matmat{inn}=da iti na-paut  
PF-I-stare{RECIP}=3p OBL ADJ-lasting  
‘They stared at each other for a considerable time.’ (w)

*Napaut* a nagbinnirok dagiti dua a pangulo gapu iti  
na-paut a n-ag-biok{inn} dagiti dua a pangulo gapu iti  
ADJ-lasting LIG PF-I-search{RECIP} PL two LIG chief because OBL

kasamek ti bantay.  
ka-samek ti bantay  
NOM-dense ART mountain

‘The two chiefs searched for each other for a long time because of the denseness (of the forest) of the mountain.’ (w)

### 9.3.8 Equality

Equality may be expressed in Ilocano by *páda* or *agpáda*. *Agpada* is used as a verb with a perfective form *nagpada*, and takes the ligature (*ng)a* with adjectives. *Pada*, on the other hand, is used as a noun.

ti *pada*=na a kayumanggi  
ART equal=3sE LIG brown.skin  
‘his fellow brown skinned man.’

*Agpadpadada* a nadagsen.  
ag-R-pada=da a na-dagsen  
I-CONT-equal=3p LIG ADJ-heavy  
‘They are equally heavy.’

*Agpada* a biktima ti ayat.  
 ag-pada=ta a biktima ti ayat  
 I-equal=1d LIG victim ART love  
 'We are both (equal) victims of love.'

*Agpada* may be used to show equality of nominal concepts that appear in the oblique case.

*Agpadakami* iti katayag ken kadakkel ti bagi.  
 ag-pada=kami iti ka-tayag ken ka-dakkel ti bagi  
 I-equal=1pEXCL OBL NOM-tall and NOM-big ART body  
 'We are equal in height and size.' (w)

*Agpátas* may also be used to signal equality, along with *agpáris*, although the latter is also reserved for things that match up in pairs.

Dandani *agpatas* ti timbangda iti pusok.  
 dandani ag-patas ti timbang=da iti puso=k  
 almost I-equal ART weight=3p OBL heart=1sE  
 'They have almost equal weight in my heart.' (w)

Dandani *agparis* ti kinamalalakiyo.  
 dandani ag-paris ti kina-ma-lalaki=yo  
 almost I-paired ART NOM-ADJ-boy=2pE  
 'Your (pl.) masculinity is about equal (even).'

### 9.3.9 Gradualness

The adverb *in-inut* 'gradually' or 'little by little' is used to express the concept of graduality. It takes the ligature (*ng*)*a* with verbs. It may also be used as a transitive verb, *in-inúten* with nominalized complements.

*In-inutenda* ti mangan.  
 in'inut-en=da ti mangan  
 gradually-T=3p ART eat  
 'They eat little by little.'

*In-inut* a pimmanglawda.  
 in'inut a panglaw{in-um}=da  
 gradually LIG poor{PF-I}=3p  
 'They gradually got poorer.'

*In-inut* may also function as an adjective, taking the ligature (*ng*)*a* before nominals:

Madanagan iti *in-inut* a pannakarba ti nabaneg a  
 ma-danag-an iti in`inut a pannaka-rebba ti na-baneg a  
 ADJ-worry-ADJ OBL gradual LIG NOM-decay ART ADJ-stocky LIG

pammagina.  
 paN-bagi = na  
 NOM-body = 3sE

‘He is worrying about the gradual decay of his stocky physique.’

### 9.3.10 *Dandani, nganngani, nagistayan*

*Dandani, nganngani* and *nagistayan* ‘almost, nearly’ form a unique class among Ilocano adverbials. Unlike most other adjectives, they do not require the ligature (*nga*) to join them to their phrases. As temporal adverbs denoting that something is about to be realized, they are often accompanied by the enclitic *=(e)n* to express momentariness.

Panunotem kuma a *dandaniakon* agpasngay.  
 panunot-en=mo kuma a dandani=ak=(e)n ag-pasngay  
 think-T=2sE should LIG almost=1sA=now I-give.birth  
 ‘You should think that I am about to give birth.’

*Dandani* rinabii nga addaak kadagiti pagpallailangan.  
 dandani rabii{in} nga adda=ak ka-dagiti pag-pallaing-an  
 almost night{every} LIG EXIST=1sA OBL-PL LOC-recreation-NOM  
 ‘I am at places of recreation almost every night.’ (w)

Mariknanan ti bara ti *dandanin* sumingising nga init.  
 ma-rikna=na=n ti bara ti dandani=n singising{um} nga init  
 INVOL-feel=3sE=now ART heat ART almost=now rise{I} LIG sun  
 ‘He can now feel the heat of the almost rising sun.’ (w)

*Nagistayanda* naggigiddan.  
 nagistayan=da n-ag-R-gidda=(e)n  
 almost=3p PF-I-PL-simultaneous=now  
 ‘They almost did it at the same time.’

Idi, *nganngani* saanmi a masango a kudkuden ti  
 idi nganngani saan=mi a ma-sango a kudkud-en ti  
 PST almost NEG=1pEXCL.E LIG ABIL-have.time LIG scratch-T ART

ti nagatel iti kaadu ti trabaho.  
 ti na-gatel iti ka-adu ti trabaho  
 ART ADJ-itch OBL NOM-many ART work

Then (in the past), we almost didn't even have time to scratch our itch from the abundance of work we had.' (w)

Nangngeg ti *dandani* sibubukel a sangapagilian.  
 n-maN-dengngeg ti dandani si-R-bukel a sanga-pag-ili-an  
 PF-I-hear ART almost ADJ-R-whole LIG one-NOM-town-NOM  
 'Almost the whole country heard.'

*Dandanin* alas-dos ti malem idi mairugi ti padayada.  
 dandani=(e)n alasdos ti malem idi ma-i-rugi ti padaya=da  
 almost-now two.o'clock ART afternoon when INVOL-T-start ART party=3p  
 'It was almost two in the afternoon when their party started.' (w)

### 9.3.11 The adverb *pulós*

The adverb *pulos*, a corruption of the Spanish *puro* 'pure' is used to denote the concept of completeness or purity. It may either follow or precede its complement, which is linked with the ligature (*ng)a*.

Pulos a garami.  
 pure LIG rice.stalk  
 It is all (pure) rice stalk (hay).

The adverb *pulos* 'not at all, hardly' is used with negative phrases. It is linked to its phrase with the ligature (*ng)a*.

Iti nasuroken nga innem a bulanko ditoy,  
 iti na-surok=en nga innem a bulan=ko ditoy  
 OBL ADJ-over=already LIG six LIG month=1sE here

*pulos* a diak nalipatan ida.  
 pulos a di=ak na-lipat-an =ida  
 at.all LIG NEG=1s PF-forget-T =3SOBL

'In over six months here, I can hardly forget them.'

Naragsak ta makadominggo a saan a pulos nagpukaw iti  
 na-ragsak ta maka-dominggo a saan a pulos n-ag-pukaw iti  
 ADJ-happy cause one-week LIG NEG LIG at.all PF-I-lose OBL

naglakuanna.  
 nag-lako-an=na  
 PF.LOC-sell-NOM=3sE

'She is happy because in one week she didn't lose anything at all in her store.' (w)

Awan a pulos.  
 NEG.EXIST LIG at.all  
 'There is nothing at all.'

### 9.3.12 The adverb *agarup*

*Agarup* 'seemingly' precedes predicates. It requires no ligature.

*Agarup* na-tured.  
 seemingly ADJ-brave  
 'He seems to be brave.' (c)

*Agarup* na-uyong.  
 seemingly ADJ-mean  
 'He seems to be mean.'

*Agarup* may also be used with phrases or numbers to indicate approximation.

*Agarup* pito a kilometro manipud iti ili.  
 about seven LIG kilometer from OBL town  
 'It is about seven kilometers from town.'

*Agarup* agkatawenda.  
 agarup ag-ka-tawen=da  
 seemingly I-COMIT-year=3p  
 'They seem to be about the same age.'

Kinitana	ti	nakatangad	kenkuana	nga	ub-ubbaenna
kita{in}=na	ti	naka-tangad	kenkuana	nga	R-ubba-en=na
see{PF.T}=3sE	ART	ADJ-look	3SOBL	LIG	CONT-carry.on.hip-T=3sE

nga *agarup* lima a bulanna.  
 nga *agarup* lima a bulan=na  
 LIG about five LIG month=3sE

'He looked at the (baby) staring at him that she was carrying on her hip that is about five months old.' (w)



### 9.3.13 The adverb *básta*

The adverb *basta* ‘just..’ or ‘just as long as + clause’ comes into the Ilocano language from the Spanish *basta* ‘it is enough.’

*Basta* kagurak            ida            nga    agina.  
basta ka-gura=k            =ida            nga    ag-ina  
just COMMIT-anger=1sE =3sOBL    LIG    MUTUAL-mother  
‘I am just angry with that mother and child team.’

*Basta* sika.  
just    2s  
‘Just as long as it is you (it is OK).’

*Basta* adda    makan    ken    inumen.  
just    EXIST    food            and    drink  
‘Just as long as there are food and drinks (I’ll go to the party).’

Uray    tagabuennakto                    iti    agnanayon.    *basta*    aklonennak.  
uray    tagabo-en=na=ak=to            iti    agnanayon    basta    aklon-en=na=ak  
although slave-T=3sE=1sA=FUT    OBL    forever            at.least    accept-T=3sE=1sA  
‘Although he may enslave me forever, at least he accepts me.’ (w)

### 9.3.14 The adverb *médio*

The Spanish loanword *medio* ‘somewhat’ or ‘more or less’ acts as an adjectival moderator. It immediately precedes adjectives without the connecting ligature (*ng*)*a*.

*Medio*    mabisin.  
somewhat    hungry  
‘He is a bit hungry.’

### 9.3.15 The adverb *sigud*

The adverb *sigud* is used with nouns, verbs, or adjectives to express the intrinsic quality of the predication. It connects to its predications with the ligature (*ng*)*a*.

*Sigud*            a    bulsek.  
intrinsically    LIG    blind  
‘He was blind since birth.’

*Sigud* a nakabasa.  
 intrinsically LIG able.to.write  
 'He has always been able to write.'

*Sigud* a maris-gatas ti kudil=da.  
 intrinsically LIG color-milk ART skin=3p  
 'They had milk color skin since birth.' (c)

With perfective verbs, *sigud* may indicate the immediacy of the action, 'from the beginning.'

Awan ti *sigud* a bimmaknang a kasangpet ditoy.  
 awan ti sigud a baknang{in-um} a ka-R-sangpet ditoy  
 NEG.EXIST ART immediately LIG rich{PF-I} LIG REC.PST-R-arrive here  
 'No one immediately becomes wealthy upon arriving here.' (w)

The adverb *sigud* may take the transitive suffix =*en* to express the concept 'to do from the beginning' or 'to do right away.'

*Sigudek* nga ilaba ti murengmi.  
 sigud-en=ko nga i-laba ti mureng=mi  
 right.away-T=1sE LIG T-wash ART dirty.clothes=1pEXCL.E  
 'I will wash our dirty laundry right away.' (w)

### 9.3.16. *Nalábit* and *sigúro*

*Siguro* 'maybe, perhaps', a loanword from the Spanish *seguro* 'sure' and *nalabit* 'it is likely, perhaps' are used to specify the non-committal nature of the speaker to guarantee the truth or possibility of the phrases they attach to. Unlike most adjectives, *siguro* and *nalabit* do not require the ligature (*nga*) to connect them to their clauses:

*Siguro*, adda napananna.  
 siguro adda na-pan-an=na  
 maybe EXIST PF-I-NOM=3sE  
 'Maybe she went somewhere.'

*Nalabit* agisangpetkanto iti sinupot a pirak.  
 na-labit ag-i-sangpet=ka=nto iti supot{in} a pirak  
 ADJ-perhaps I-THM-arrive=2sA=FUT OBL bag{PF} LIG silver  
 'Maybe you will bring home bags of silver.' (w)

*Nalabit* idawdawatanna ti ama ken ti kabsatna iti  
 na-labit i-R-dawat-an=na ti ama ken ti kabsat=na iti  
 ADJ-maybe NOM-R-ask.for-T=3sE ART father and ART sibling=3sE OBL

pammakawan.  
paN-pakawan  
NOM-forgive

'It is likely he will ask his father and brother for forgiveness.' (w)

Adda lablabitna.  
adda R-labit=na  
EXIST R-perhaps = 3sE  
'It is likely.'

### 9.3.17. The intensifying adverbs *unay* and *ingget*

Ilocano has two adverbs used to intensify adjectival concepts, *unay* and *ingget*. The adverb *unay* immediately follows adjectives:

nalaka unay            very cheap  
natangken unay        very hard

*Unay* may also be used to intensify predicates.

Kayat=ko *unay*.  
want = 1sE INTEN  
'I really want it.'

Ay-ayatenka            *unay*.  
R-ayat-en=ka           unay  
CONT-love-T = 1/2 INTEN  
'I really love you.'

Awan            *unay* ti            agrirriaw    kadakuada.  
awan            unay ti            ag-R-riaw    kadakuada  
NEG.EXIST INTEN ART I-R-scream 3pOBL  
'There wasn't much screaming among them.'

Adjectives can be further intensified by the addition of the particle *la* before the adverb *unay*. This combination can also be used to intensify verbal predicates.

nalukneng *la unay*    quite soft  
nalukmeg *la unay*    quite fat

Apay ngamin nga agkonsimisionka la unay?  
 apay ngamin nga ag-konsimision=ka la unay  
 why CAUS LIG I-upset=2sA just EMPH  
 'Why are you so upset?'

*Unay* may precede the adjective it qualifies in negative constructions with *saan*. It must be linked with the ligature (*ng*)*a* in this construction.

Saan unay a na-dalus.  
 NEG very LIG ADJ-clean  
 'It is not very clean.'

*Kasta unay* is often used to intensify nominals. It introduces explanatory clauses with the ligature (*ng*)*a* or *ta*. It may be contracted to *kastonay* in speech.

*Kasta unay* ti sadut=na ta di=na kayat ti mangan.  
 like.that INTEN ART lazy=3sE LIG NEG=3sE want ART eat  
 'He is so lazy that he doesn't want to eat.'

*Kasta unay* ti kaadu ti kinnanna a pimmusay.  
 kasta unay ti ka-adu ti kaan{in}-an=na a pusay{in-um}  
 like.that INTEN ART NOM-much ART eat{PF}-T=3sE LIG die{PF-I}  
 'He ate so much that he died.'

The adverb *ingget* is no longer used in speech, but occurs in literature as an adjectival modifier in noun phrases:

ti *ingget* dalus a babai. the very clean girl  
 ti *ingget* pintas a balay the very beautiful house

### 9.3.18 CVC delimiting reduplication

Ilocano employs initial CVC reduplication to delimit personal pronouns, demonstratives, and certain numerical expressions. The reduplicated phonetic material is always the word initial CVC and not root initial closed syllable in this case. Words that begin with CVV undergo CV reduplication only:

sisiak.	Only I.
is-isu.	Only him. He is alone.
dagdagitoy	only these ones
dagdagidiay	only those ones
sangsangaburnay	only one jarful.
sagsagsasangapulo	only ten each
sagsaglilima	only five each

Words used this way in their reduplicated forms often appear with the adverb *laeng*, to further emphasize their uniqueness.

Imbagam	a	<i>sisiak</i>	<i>laeng</i>	ti	ayatem	uray ania
i{in}-baga=m	a	R-siak	laeng	ti	ayat-en=mo	uray.ania
T{PF}-say=2sE	LIG	only-1s	only	ART	love-T=2sE	no.matter

ti	kinataok.
ti	kina-tao=k
ART	NOM-person=1sE

‘You said that you loved only me no matter what my personality.’ (w)

The demonstratives *daytoy* ‘this’ and *dayta* ‘that’ have two reduplicated forms to serve this function:

daydaytoy, datda(y)toy	only this one
daydayta, datda(y)ta	only that one

#### 9.4. Sentence-final particles

Sentence-final particles are words which appear in sentence-final position that contribute to the interactional component of the discourse. They may be used to indicate the speaker’s attitude towards idea expressed in the phrase to which the particle is attached, or to express the speaker’s commitment to or involvement in the interaction. The intonational pattern of these particles varies as to which particle is being used and will be discussed below with each particle.

These particles are conventionally written with a preceding comma, although only the particle ‘*a*’ generally occurs with a separate intonational contour.

##### 9.4.1 Interrogative sentence-final particles

The two interrogative sentence-final particles in Ilocano are *wen* and *aya*. Both particles appear with rising (interrogative) intonation, as they are used to elicit a non-verbal response or verbal information from the addressee.

*Aya* is used to express a certain degree of wonder or doubt. Its use in discourse generally elicits the appropriate response from the addressee confirming or denying the truth of the utterance in question. As you can see from the following sentences, the particle *aya* may or may not occur after a break in intonation.

Apay aya?
why I.wonder
‘Why, do you suppose?’

Kasta aya?  
 like.that I.wonder  
 'Is that so?'

Ilokano aya?  
 Ilocano I.wonder  
 'Do you suppose he is Ilocano?'

Dika la umapal kaniya. aya?  
 di=ka la um-apal kaniya. aya  
 NEG=2sA just I-envy 3SOBL I.wonder  
 'You do not envy him. (or do you)?'

*Wen* is used as a sentence-final particle following commands, to elicit confirmation from the speaker that the command has been understood. This is a very informal particle and is not used when addressing elders. Unlike in the confirmatory adverb *wen* 'yes,' the mid vowel 'e' is not pronounced as a back unrounded vowel in this case. It is instead pronounced as a high, front, mid vowel, like the vowel 'e' in Spanish loanwords. As a sentence-final particle that elicits an appropriate backchannel, the 'e' vowel is considerably lengthened also (e:):

Agan-annadka la ketdi, we:n?  
 ag-R-annad=ka la ketdi, wen  
 I-R-caution=2sA just anyway yes  
 'You will be careful anyway, won't you?'

Saanka nga agulbod, we:n?  
 saan=ka nga ag-ulbod, wen  
 NEG=2sA LIG I-lie yes  
 'You will not lie, will you?'

#### 9.4.2 Affirmation (non-interrogative) sentence-final particles

The two non-interrogative sentence-final particles are *sika* and *a*. The particle *a* is used to express the speaker's insistence on the truth of the preceding utterance, which is usually contrary to expectation on behalf of the addressee. It is the only sentence-final particle that generally occurs in its own intonational contour.

Napintasda, a!  
 na-pintas=da a  
 ADJ-beauty=3p indeed  
 'They are pretty indeed (contrary to what you may think)!'

When used with imperatives, the particle *a* strengthens the command. Speakers will generally use the particle in this case to encourage the addressee to follow the command immediately.

Manganka pay, a!  
 maN-kaan=ka pay a  
 I-eat=2sA more EMPH  
 'Eat more (don't be shy)!'

Intan, a!  
 in=ta=n a  
 go=1sA=now EMPH  
 'Let's go now, OK?!'

The particle *sika*, the second person singular independent pronoun 'you,' is used colloquially to assert the truth of a doubtful utterance. Speakers generally use this particle with exaggerated amazed intonation to persuade the addressee that an incredible fact is true.

apo ta nakabambanurbor, sika!  
 apo ta naka-R-banurbor sika  
 sir LIG ADJ-INTEN-loud you  
 'Wow, that was a loud (motorcycle) (you better believe it!).'

### 9.7 The polite particle *apo*

The particle *apo*, meaning 'sir' or 'maam,' expresses respect on behalf of the speaker for the addressee.

Wen, apo.  
 'Yes, sir.'

Haan nga maparitan, apo.  
 saan nga ma-parit-an, apo.  
 NEG LIG INVOL-forbid-T, sir  
 'It is not forbidden, sir.'

Although it usually occurs in sentence-final position, it may occur in second position (following the first constituent).

Ti kasapulak, apo, ket--  
 ti ka-sapul-an=ko apo ket  
 ART NOM-need-NOM=1sE sir INV  
 'What I need, sir, is...'

Kayatmi            nga   sawen, apo...  
 kayat=mi            nga   sao-en apo  
 want=1pEXCL.E    LIG   say-T    sir  
 'What we mean, sir...'

*Apo* may also be used colloquially at the beginning of an utterance to express familiarity and amazement. It is normally linked to the predication with the linker *ta* in this case.

Apo ta            nabangsit.  
 apo ta            na-bangsit  
 sir    LIG    ADJ-bad.smell  
 'My, it smells bad!'



## 10. The existentials *adda* and *awan*

Ilocano has two existential particles which are used to express both existential and possessive constructions, the positive existential *adda*, and its negative counterpart *awan*:

EXISTENTIAL:           Adda pusa   idiay atep=mo.  
                          EXIST cat    there roof=2sE  
                          'There is a cat on your roof.' (c)

POSSESSIVE:           Adda pusa   ni   Pacing.  
                          EXIST cat   PA   Pacing  
                          'Pacing has a cat.' (c)

This chapter will differentiate these two types of constructions and outline the syntactic rules for forming various other phrase types with the existentials *adda* and *awan* in Sections 10.1-7.

### 10.1. Possessive use

You may recall that possession in Ilocano can be expressed by simple juxtaposition of the possessed entity and possessor, in that order. When the possessor is encoded pronominally in this case, it appears as an ergative enclitic pronoun.

ti     ugsa   ni Rowena  
ART   deer   PA Rowena  
'Rowena's deer'

ti     tulag=mi  
ART   contract=1pEXCL.E  
'our contract'

There are also two ways to express possession in Ilocano with the existential particles *adda* and *awan*, absolute possession and current possession. With absolute possession, the possessor actually owns the possessed object, but not necessarily has the item on him at the moment of the utterance.

i.e.     *Adda kotsem?*  
          'Do you have a car?' (ABSOLUTE POSSESSION)

*Adda kaniam ti tulbekko?*  
          'Do you have my keys (on you now)?' (CURRENT POSSESSION)



Adda kaniak ti karayo ken bara a birbirokenna.  
 adda kaniak ti karayo ken bara a R-birok-en=na  
 EXIST 1SOBL ART affection and heat LIG CONT-search-T=3sE  
 'I (am the one) who has the affection and warmth she is looking for.' (w)

Current possession phrases are negated simply by replacing *adda* with *awan*.

Awan kuarta kenni Maria.  
 'Maria doesn't have any money on her.'

Awan kaniak ti tulbek.  
 'I don't have the key.'

## 10.2. *Adda* in identificational constructions

Possessed referents can be explicitly identified or contrastive by placing them in initial predicate position with the predicate argument consisting of the existential *adda* + oblique pronoun phrase or prepositional phrase. These referents may be specified to be specific or referential with the use of an article or demonstrative.

Pusa ti adda kaniak.  
 cat ART EXIST 1SOBL  
 'What I have is a cat.' (c)

Ti pusa ti adda kaniak.  
 ART cat ART EXIST 1SOBL  
 'The cat is what I have.' (c)

Repolio ken patatas ti adda iti baba.  
 cabbage and potatoes ART EXIST OBL below  
 'Cabbage and potatoes are (growing) below.' (w)

Possessed nouns can also be contrasted in speech in special constructions requiring two units of intonation. The first unit consists of the possessed noun, followed by a brief pause, and the second intonation unit consists of the possessive phrase.

Ti aso,  
 ART dog  
 'The dog...'

... Adda ken-ni Juana.  
 EXIST OBL-PA Juana  
 'Juana has it.'

### 10.3. Existential use

The existential *adda* is used also to form existential phrases, comparable to the English equivalent *there is/there are*. These constructions are formed by the appropriate existential *adda* or *awan*, followed by the existentialized nominal.

Adda alingo (idiay balay=na).  
EXIST wild.boar (there house=3sE)  
'There is a wild boar (in her house).' (c)

Awan pagsinean idiay Bangued.  
NEG.EXIST cinema there Bangued  
'There is no cinema in Bangued.'

Definite noun phrases in *adda* existential constructions are preceded by an article or demonstrative.

Adda nuang.  
EXIST water.buffalo  
'There is a water buffalo (here).' (c)

Adda ti nuang.  
EXIST ART water.buffalo  
'The water buffalo is here.' (c)

The existentials *adda* and *awan* also may designate location or existence (or lack thereof).

Addadan.  
adda=da=(e)n  
EXIST=3p=already  
'They are here (now).'

Awanda pay.  
awan=da pay  
NEG.EXIST=3p yet  
'They are not here yet.'

Addaakon.  
adda=ak=(e)n  
EXIST-1sA-already  
'I am here already.' (I'm home)

Adda ni Maria idiy simbaan.  
 EXIST PA Maria there church.  
 Mary is at church.

Awan ti ubing idiy tiendaan.  
 NEG.EXIST ART child there market  
 'The child is not at the market.' (c)

Addada lattan nga agkulkulmeg iti balbalayda.  
 adda=da latta=(e)n nga ag-R-kulmeg iti R-balay=da  
 EXIST=3p just=EMPH LIG I-CONT-cower OBL PL-house=3p  
 'They are just covering in their houses.' (w)

Existential phrases with *adda* or *awan* may appear in the oblique case, usually in the plural, in the same way nominals can. They adhere to the same restrictions. The nominalized existential phrases in the oblique case are shown below in brackets.

Awan unay ti ag-ri-riaw ka-dagiti [adda iti taaw].  
 NEG.EXIST much ART I-CONT-scream OBL-PL EXIST OBL ocean  
 'There was not much screaming among those that were at sea.' (w)

Agbubuabon ti lalaki nga agdagdag kadagiti [adda iti bangkag].  
 ag-R-buabo-n ti lalaki nga ag-dagdag ka-dagiti adda iti bangkag  
 I-CONT-trot ART boy LIG I-prompt OBL-PL EXIST OBL field/shore  
 'They boy was trotting, hurrying up those that were ashore.' (w)

#### 10.4. Non-identifiable Existential NPs

*Adda* and *awan* may be used to encode a non-identifiable referent. The referent is co-referential with what would be the absolute argument of the constituent following the existential.

Adda immay.	Awan immay
adda in-um-ay	
EXIST PF-I-come	
'Someone came.'	'Nobody came.'

Adda nagbusina tattay.	
adda n-ag-busina tattay	
EXIST PF-I-horn REC.PAST	
'Someone honked the horn just a second ago.'	

Awan ti makaiparit iti ania man a kayatko nga aramiden.  
 awan ti maka-i-parit iti ania-man a kayat=ko nga aramid-en  
 NEG.EXIST ART can-T-forbid OBL whatever LIG want=1sE LIG do-T  
 'No one can prohibit me from doing whatever I want to do.' (c)

Sitataya ti dayawna no adda sabali a makaammo.  
 si-R-taya ti dayaw=na no adda sabali a maka-ammo  
 ADJ-R-stake ART honor=3sE if EXIST other LIG INVOL-know  
 'Her honor is at stake if another person knows.'

Adda namnamana no adda mangidonar iti puso.  
 adda namnama=na no adda mang-i-donar iti puso  
 EXIST hope=3sE if EXIST I-THM-donate OBL heart  
 'He has hope if someone donates a heart.' (w)

With goal focus verbs, *adda* and *awan* may be used to specify non-identifiable referents which are also co-referential with what would be the absolutive argument in its appropriate focus as shown below:

Adda sinuratko. (= patient focus)  
 adda surat{in}=ko  
 EXIST write{PF.T}=1sE  
 'I wrote something.' (c)

Adda pinagsuratko. (= instrumental focus)  
 adda pag{in}-surat=ko  
 EXIST INST{PF}-write=1sE  
 'I wrote with something.' (c)

Adda insuratak. (= benefactive focus)  
 adda i{in}-surat-an=ko  
 EXIST T{PF}-write-BF=1sE  
 'I wrote for somebody.' (c)

Adda sinuratak. (= locational/directional focus)  
 adda surat{in}-an=ko  
 EXIST write{PF}-DF=1sE  
 'I wrote to someone.' (c)

Adda kinasuratko. (= comitative focus)  
 adda ka{in}-surat=ko  
 EXIST CF{PF}-write=1sE  
 'I wrote with someone.' (c)

The existential construction is thus used to introduce non-identifiable referents. Compare the indefinite existential construction with the definite nominal occurring in absolutive position.

Immay ti tao.  
 in-um-ay ti tao.  
 PF-I-come ART man  
 'The man came.' (c)

Adda tao nga immay.  
 EXIST man LIG came  
 'A man came.' (c)

Abstract nominals may also be introduced with an existential construction.

Adda ragsak a simmalikad iti barukongna idi rummuar.  
 adda ragsak a salikad{in-um} iti barukong=na idi ruar{um}  
 EXIST joy LIG insert{PF-I} OBL chest=3sE PST exit{I}  
 'Happiness crept into his chest when he left (the room).' (w)

### 10.5. Locative contractions with *adda*

The existential *adda* contracts with both the demonstratives and locative adverbs to form fully predicational locative contractions shown below:

Locative adverbs

*adda* + =  
 ditoy adtoy, addadtoy He/she/it is here.  
 dita addadta He/she/it is there (medial)  
 idiy addaydiay He/she/it is there (distal)

Addaydiay ti dinawatna.  
 adda-idiy ti dawat{in}=mo  
 EXIST-there ART request{PF.T}=3sE  
 'There is what he asked for.'

Demonstratives (plural forms less frequent)

daytoy addaytoy, adtoy Here it is.  
 dayta addayta There (medial) it is.  
 daydiay addaydiay There (distal) it is.  
 dagitoy addagitoy Here they are; Here they come.  
 dagita addagita There (medial) they are.  
 dagidiay addagidiay There (distal) they are.

Adtoyen            ti        tulbek.  
 adda-ditoy=(e)n ti        tulbek  
 EXIST-here=now ART    key  
 'Here's the key.'

### 10.6. Further uses of *adda* and *awan*

*Adda* + (absolute argument) may be used followed by a phrase to indicate the reason why the absolute referent is at the certain location to perform the action specified in the phrase.

Addakami            a        mangsaranay    kenka.  
 adda=kami            a        mang-saranay    kenka  
 EXIST=1pEXCL.A    LIG    I-help            2SOBL  
 'We are here to help you.'

*Adda* followed by a nominal in the oblique may be used to signal choice or responsibility:

Adda kenni Gracia.  
 EXIST OBL    Gracia  
 'It's up to Gracia.'

Adda kadakuada.  
 EXIST 3pOBL  
 'It's up to them.'

Adda kenka no ania ti aramidem.  
 adda kenka no-ania ti aramid-en=mo  
 EXIST 2sOBL whatever ART do-T=2sE  
 'It's up to you whatever you do.'

The reduplicated form *ad-adda* 'it is likely' specifies increased probability. It is followed by the ligature *(ng)a* + corresponding phrase:

Ad-adda        a        kumaro        ti        sakitda        no        saanda        nga        aginana.  
 ad-adda        a        karo{um}     ti        sakit=da     no        saan=da     nga        ag-inana  
 more.likely    LIG    worse{I}     ART    sick=3p     if        NEG=3p    LIG    I-rest  
 'It is likely that their sickness will worsen if they don't rest.' (w)

#### 10.6.1. Existentials with the enclitics =(e)n and *pay*

The enclitic =(e)n when used with the existentials denotes the existence or non-existence with regard to the present time frame. With *adda*, the enclitic carries the meaning of 'now' or 'already,' but with *awan*, 'no longer, not any more.'



Addadan.  
adda=da=(e)n  
EXIST=3p=now  
'They are here already.'

Awan=en.  
NEG.EXIST=now  
'There is no more; there is none left (at present).'

Awan=en            ti            gasat=ko.  
NEG.EXIST=now    ART        luck=1sE  
'I have no more luck.'

Nadlawko                    nga    awanen            ti    mayat    nga    agrabaho    kadakuada.  
n-ma-dillaw=ko            nga    awan=(e)n        ti    mayat    nga    ag-trahaho    kadakuada  
PF-INVOL-notice=1sE        LIG    not=now        ART    willing    LIG    I-work        3pOBL  
'I noticed that there was no longer anyone willing to work among them.' (w)

The adverb *pay* denotes the concept of addition with *adda*, but with *awan* it refers to future time. Notice the difference between its use with *awan* and that of the enclitic *=(e)n*.

Adda pay.  
EXIST more  
'There is still more left.'

Adda pay    kayat=ko    nga    i-baga.  
EXIST more    want=1sE    LIG    T-say  
'There is still more I want to say.'

Awan            pay    ti            ammo=k.  
NEG.EXIST        more    ART        know=1sE  
'I don't know anything else.'

Awan            pay    ti            umay.  
NEG.EXIST        more    ART        come  
'No one else is coming.'

Awan            pay.  
NEG.EXIST        more  
'Nothing else.' (nothing more will happen, come, exist, be done, etc.)

Awan=en.  
NEG.EXIST=now  
'There is none left; there is no more.' (at the present time)

### 10.6.2. Use of *adda* with adjectives

The existential *adda* may be used with adjectives to indicate that the referent has to some degree the qualities attributed by the adjective. When the adjectival root is reduplicated (with CVC reduplication), the degree to which the quality of the adjective is possessed is lessened.

Adda bagtit=na.  
 EXIST crazy=3sE  
 'He is (a bit) crazy.'

Adda kekeesna.  
 adda R-kees=na  
 EXIST R-crazy=3sE  
 'He is somewhat crazy.'

Adda bakbaknangmo.  
 adda R-baknang=mo  
 EXIST R-rich=2sE  
 'You are somewhat wealthy.' (c)

### 10.7. Derivational forms of *adda* and *awan*

*Maaddaan* may also be used as a verb to indicate possession. The possessor in this case is encoded in the absolutive case, and the possessed nominal appears in the oblique case.

Kayatko	ti	agpudno	kenkuana	inton	maaddaanak	iti	kired.
kayat=ko	ti	ag-pudno	kenkuana	inton	ma-adda-an=ak	iti	kired
want=1sE	ART	I-true	3SOBL	FUT	ADJ-EXIST-ADJ=1sA	OBL	strength

'I want to confess the truth to him when I have the strength.' (w)

*Adda* and *awan* are nominalized with the prefix *ka-*

Ania	ti	kaaddayo	ita	ditoy	yanmi?
ania	ti	ka-adda=yo	ita	ditoy	yan=mi
what	ART	NOM-EXIST=2pE	now	here	place=1pEXCL.E

'Why are you here now at our place?'

Saanak	nga	agluto	bayat	ti	kaaddana.
saan=ak	nga	ag-luto	bayat	ti	ka-adda=na
NEG=1sA	LIG	I-cook	while	ART	NOM-EXIST=3sE

'I won't cook while he is here.'

Mailiw kano ni Jojo kenka gapu iti kaawan ti  
 ma-iliw kano ni Jojo kenka gapu iti ka-awan ti  
 INVOL-miss HRSY PA Jojo 2sOBL because OBL NOM-NEG.EXIST ART

suratmo kenkuana.  
 surat=mo kenkuana  
 letter=2sE 3sOBL

'Jojo supposedly misses you because of the absence of your letters to him.' (w)

Additional derivations of *adda* and *awan* are shown below:

ad-adda	it is likely, probable
paaddaen	to produce, yield
umad-adda	to increase
addaan	wealthy, rich; having
maaddaan	to possess, have
agawan, umawan	to vanish, disappear
panagawan	loss, disappearance
daydi nagawan a Luis	the late
dagiti nagawan	the dead
agawan-awan	to come and go, vanish, on and off
maaw-awan.	lacking, deficient, absent
mawanan	to lose, be short of
pannakawan	disappearance
maawan	to be deceased, dead, lost, lacking
yaw-awan	to confuse, mislead
kaawan	absence
kinaawan	absence
paawanen	to annihilate; forget, make disappear
mapaawan	be caused to vanish
makapaawan	can cause disappearance or forgiveness
dika paiyaw-awan	don't let yourself be misled

*Awan as-asin* 'having no salt' has been lexicalized to signify something that is meaningless.

Awan as-asin ti saona.  
 Awan R-asin ti sao=na  
 NEG.EXIST R-salt ART speech=3sE  
 'What he says is meaningless.'

## 11. Sentence types

Sentences in Ilocano may be *simple*, *complex*, or *compound*. A simple sentence consists of a single predicative clause. A complex sentence or clause consists of a main clause plus a subordinate clause. A compound sentence consists of two or more clauses in a co-ordinate construction.

### Simple sentences:

Nagsarwa ti ubing.  
 n-ag-sarwa ti ubing  
 PF-I-vomit ART child  
 'The child vomited.' (c)

Dagus a simmangpet ti gayyemna.  
 dagus a sangpet{in-um} ti gayyem=na  
 immediate LIG arrive{PF-I} ART friend=3sE  
 'His friend arrived immediately.'

Siiisem a nangmatmat kaniak.  
 si-R-isem a nang-matmat kaniak  
 ADV-R-smile LIG PF.I-stare 1SOBL  
 'He stared at me smiling.' (w)

### Complex sentences:

Inasitganna ti nalukmeg sana pinungot.  
 i{in}-asideg-an=na ti na-lukmeg sa=na pungot{in}  
 T{PF}-near-T=3sE ART ADJ-fat then=3sE pull.hair{PF.T}  
 'He approached the fat guy then (afterwards) pulled his hair.' (w)

Awan ti aramidentayo no di aguray iti  
 awan ti aramiden=tayo no di ag-uray iti  
 NEG.EXIST ART do=1pINCL.A if NEG I-wait OBL

nasayaat a panawen.  
 na-sayaat a panawen  
 ADJ-good LIG weather  
 'There is nothing we can do now but wait for good weather.'

No nangina, saanmo a gatangen.  
 no na-ngina saan=mo a gatang-en  
 if ADJ-expensive NEG=2sE LIG buy-T  
 'If it's expensive, don't buy it.'

Compound sentences:

Nagkantada	idiay	simbaan	ken	naglualoda.
n-ag-kanta=da	idiay	simbaan	ken	n-ag-lualo=da
PF-I-sing=3p	there	church	and	PF-I-pray=3pA

'They sang in church and they prayed.' (c)

This chapter will outline the various kinds of simple sentences and the modificatory syntax used for various pragmatic purposes. Complex and compound sentences will be discussed further in Chapter 18, Clause combining.

### 11.1. Basic clauses

The basic sentence in Ilocano consists of a predicate with or without a, what has been called in Philippine linguistics, topic (Schachter 1972:60). As Ilocano is a predicate initial language, the action or state is expressed first in the predicate, followed by an optional topic:

Basic sentence =	Predicate	+	(Topic)
	Nangan		(ni Tsita)
	ate		(PA Tsita)

'(Tsita)/She ate.'

<i>Naglagto</i>	daydiay.
n-ag-lagto	daydiay
PF-I-jump	that

'That thing *jumped*.'

<i>Simmangpeten</i>	ti	asawak.
sangpet{in-um}=en	ti	asawa=k
arrive{PF-I}	ART	spouse=1sE

'My husband *arrived already*.'

Predicates in Ilocano do not have to consist of a verb phrase. Predicates may consist of a noun phrase (in sentences often called 'equational' as NP = NP), a prepositional phrase, an adjective, or an existential.

a. Noun phrase predicates (equational):

Abogado	ni	Rhea.
lawyer	PA	Rhea

'Rhea is a lawyer.' (c)

Siak ti maestro.  
1s ART teacher  
'I am (the one who is) a teacher.'

Sika ti nangabak?  
sika ti nang-abak  
2s ART PF.I-win  
'You (were the one who) won?'

b. Prepositional phrase predicate:

Iti yan ti kawayan ti al-alia.  
OBL place ART bamboo ART ghost  
'The ghost is in the (place of the) bamboos.'

c. Adjectival predicate:

Dakkel ti ubing.  
big ART child  
'The child is big.' (c)

d. Existential predicates (one clause each):

Adda tao nga immay.  
EXIST man LIG came  
'A man came.'

Adda agsangsangit a baket. (or Adda baket nga agsangsangit)  
adda ag-R-sangit a baket  
EXIST I-CONT-cry LIG old.lady  
'An old lady is crying (there's a crying old lady).' (c)

As the third person singular absolutive pronoun is not marked morphologically, predicates without a specified topic are understood to involve a third person singular participant, if the addressee cannot assume otherwise from the discourse context.

Wen, nabaknang.  
yes rich  
'Yes, she is rich (referring to Tsona, the topic of the conversation).'

Lalaki ngamin!  
boy:(3sA) CAUSE  
'It's because (he is a) boy (that's why he keeps soiling his clothes).'

Nakapanen.  
 naka-pan-(0)=en  
 PF.ABIL-go-(3sA)=already  
 '(He) went already.'

Certain verbs, such as meteorological verbs, cannot take topics, due to the nature of their semantics.

Nagbagyo idi kalman.  
 n-ag-bagyo idi kalman  
 PF-I-storm PST yesterday  
 'It stormed yesterday.'

The basic sentence in Ilocano may be expanded to include a variety of adverbial complements and/or prepositional phrases (oblique noun phrases). These are more thoroughly discussed in Chapter 9 Adverbs and Adverbial complements, and Chapter 6. Adjectives:

Natulid dagiti kabusor iti danum.  
 na-tulid dagiti ka-busor iti danum  
 ADJ-roll PL COMMIT-enemy OBL water  
 'The enemies rolled (down the hill) into the water.' (w)

Nagdandanagak ta amkek no agsinnarakkayo  
 n-ag-R-danag=ak ta amek-en=ko no ag-sarak{inn}=kayo  
 PF-I-CONT-worry=1sA cause fear-T-1sE if I-meet{RECIP}=2pA

dita dalan.  
 dita dalan  
 there street

'I was worrying because I feared you met each other there in the street.' (w)

## 11.2. Topicless phenomenal sentences

Certain atmospheric and temporal verbs have in their inherent semantics (designated by the root) an understood cause or origin of their action. These particular verbs do not take an argument such as an absolutive NP, but may take adverbial complements. Many of the natural phenomena or temporal verbs of this category are *ag-* class intransitives.

Nagbagyo idi kalman.  
 n-ag-bagyo idi.kalman  
 PF-I-storm yesterday  
 'It stormed yesterday.'

Agrudtudon.  
 ag-R-tudo=en  
 I-CONT-rain=already  
 'It is already raining.'

The prefix *ag-* may also be used with the time expressions borrowed from Spanish:

Agalas-dosen.  
 ag-alas-dos=en  
 I-o'clock-two=already  
 'It's already two o'clock.'

Temporal noun phrases and time expressions may also predicate and function as topicless sentences.

Alas-saisen.  
 alas-sais=en  
 o'clock-six=already  
 'It is already six o'clock.'

Panawen      ti      apiten.  
 panawen      ti      apit=en  
 time              ART      harvest=already  
 'It is already harvest season.'

Mierkoles      intono              bigat  
 Wednesday      FUT              morning  
 'It is Wednesday tomorrow.'

With *rabii* 'night' and *malem* 'afternoon,' the enclitic =*en* is attached to specify the lateness of the time.

Malemen.                      (Mumalemen)  
 malem=en                      (malem{um}=en)  
 afternoon=already              (afternoon{I}=already)  
 'It is already afternoon (i.e. late in the day).'

Rabiin.                      inka              maturogen.  
 rabii=n.                      in=ka              ma-turog=en  
 night=already.              go=2sA              INVOL-sleep=already  
 'It is already late at night, go to sleep.'



### 11.3. Topicalization

Although Ilocano is a highly predicate initial language, there are certain structures where the predicate arguments actually precede their corresponding predicates. These particular structures are instances of 'topicalization'.

Pre-predicational topicalized referents are those that are newsworthy, contrastive, or recognitional (information that may be introduced for the first time, but is accessible to the addressee). Topicalized information is often followed by a short pause, in a separate intonation unit from the following predicate. Topicalized referents do not belong to the nuclear clause that follows them, as can be seen by the enclitic morphology and pause.

Ni	Bernarda,..	naganak	manen.
ni	Bernarda,..	n-ag-anak	manen
PA	Bernarda	PF-I-child	again

'Bernarda... had another child.'

Ni	Grace.....	kayatna	ti	aginum.
ni	Grace....	kayat=na	ti	ag-inum
PA	Grace	want.T=3sE	ART	I-drink

'Grace (by the way), she wants to drink.'

Topicalized information may be newly introduced information, but usually accessible from the discourse context.

Diey	<i>silawko..</i>	natay.
diay	silaw=ko	na-tay
DIST	light=1sE	PF.INVOL-die

'My light, it died (speaker was in the dark in the proximity of a ghost).'

Kabigatanna	ti	<i>father-in-law,..</i>	napan	diey	taltalon
ka-bigan-an=na	ti	father-in-law=ko	na-pan	diey	R-talon
NOM-morning-NOM=3sE	ART	father.in.law=1sE	PF.I-go	there	PL-field

idiay	baet	ti	balaymi...
idiay	baet	ti	balay=mi
there	between	ART	house=1pEXCL.E

'The next morning, my father in law.. he went to the fields between our houses.. (the morning after a neighborhood quarrel).'

Ti	<i>baporda,</i>	managan	ti	benta.
ti	bapor=da	ma-nagan	ti	benta
ART	boat=3p	INVOL-name	ART	vinta

'Their (the Muslim pirate's) boats are called *vinta*.'

Topicalized information is often contrastive, where an argument, or a number of arguments, are chosen from a set of potential referents.

Adu ti damortis kada.. didiey ngay.. kawayan.  
 many ART sp.tree and.PL DIST ELICIT bamboo

Ket didiey *kawayan*. nangangatodan.  
 ket didiey kawayan na-R-ngato=da=n  
 and DIST bamboo. ADJ-PL-tall=3pA=now

‘(At that time) there were a lot of *damortis* trees and bamboo, and the *bamboo* was tall.’

Daydiay *dutdotko*... nakatakder, .. daydiay *ulok*.  
 daydiay dutduk=ko naka-takder daydiay ulo=ko  
 DIST body.hair=1sE STATVE-stand DIST head=1sE

kasla karamba.  
 like jar

‘My body hair bristled, my head.. it was like a jar (afraid) (upon seeing the ghost).’

The inversion ligature *ket* may also be used to separate the predicate from the fronted topicalized information. Ilocano is a strongly predicate-initial language, so when information is fronted with respect to the predicate (in topicalization constructions), it is necessary to have either an intonation break or the ligature *ket* to signal the upcoming the predicate. The vowel ‘e’ of the ligature *ket*, when used in topicalization constructions, is often considerably lengthened and usually appears with continuing intonation, and the rest of the information may be uttered with or without a pause. Referents topicalized in this construction can be either newly introduced, contrastive or newsworthy. Speakers may utilize the inversion with *ket* construction to switch the focal referent at the time of utterance.

Ni Beth ke=t, saan a mamati.  
 PA Beth INV NEG LIG believe

‘Beth.. (by the way) doesn’t believe (in ghosts).’ (contrast: *Saan a mamati ni Beth*: Beth doesn’t believe.)

No tiempo ti panagsasabongna ket-- nagbanglon.  
 no tiempo ti pan-ag-R-sabong=na ket nag-banglo=n  
 if time ART NOM-I-R-flower=3sE INV INTEN-nice.smell=EMPH

‘When it’s the time of flowering-- it’s very fragrant!’ (contrast: *Nagbanglon no tiempo ti panagsasabong*: It is very fragrant when it is the time of flowering.)

Tatta ket.. nalinis.  
 tatta ket na-linis  
 now INV ADJ-clean  
 'Now (as opposed to before), it (the city) is clean.'

Napanka agbuya't sine idi ket... dies sentimos.  
 na-pan=ka ag-buya-iti sine idi ket dies sentimos  
 PF-go=2sA I-watch-OBL movie before INV ten centavos  
 'When you went to watch a movie then (when I was a boy, as opposed to now), it was ten centavos.'

#### 11.4. Interjections

Interjections are words or fixed phrases that convey the attitude or emotion of the speaker. As they are emotive utterances, their intonation is relatively higher than that of a non-interjectional utterance. They are different from other lexical classes, as they occur in their own intonation unit.

Among the most common Ilocano interjections categorized by the different attitudes they express are the following.

##### Assent

Sigé.	OK. (go ahead).
Wen, a!	Yes, of course.
Siémpre.	Of course.
Buénó!	Very well, OK.
Ala wen.	All right.

##### Incitation

Sigé!	Go ahead.
Ariá!	Go ahead.
Ne!	Hey (used to get the addressee's attention).
Oy!	"
Alá(n)!	go on, continue.
Baá!	used to startle or make children laugh.

##### Dismay, sympathy

Sáyang!	It's a shame
Ay!	Oh my!
Kakaási met!	Too bad. Poor thing!
Píman!	Too bad. Poor thing!

## Displeasure

Siká met!	You're too much!
Diósko!	My god!
Assiáy!	disgust and wonder.
Ukinnána!	Excessive disgust or frustration (vulgar)

## Hesitancy

Kua..	um... uh..
éste..	um... uh..

## Pain

Nakú!	Ouch! (Tagalog also, from <i>anakko</i> 'my child')
Aráy!	Ouch!
Annáy!	Ouch!

## Surprise

A!	Oh!
Talagá?!	Really?
Hus!	Gee! Jesus!

## Understanding

Ah!	Oh! (I get it)
A. kastan!	Oh, so that's how it is.

## Warning

Allá! Alláka!	warning and threatening.
Guráy!	Wait! (from <i>aguray</i> 'to wait')
Agannádka!	Watch out!
Kuidádo!	Watch out!
Agsardéngka!	Stop! Shut up!
Hustón!	That's enough!

## Interjections used with animals

siú!	used to drive away animals
tóto!	used to call dogs
Rísay!	used to call pigs.
Urísay!	"

Sá!                      used to drive away cats.  
 sa:...                    used to call cats.

#### 11.4.1. Exclamations with *ania*

The interrogative adverb *ania* 'what' is used in exclamations with the enclitic particle =(*e*)*n* to signal surprise or admiration.

Anian                    a    dungngo!  
 ania=*n*                a    dungngo  
 what=EMPH    LIG   loving  
 'How sweet! How loving!'

Anian                    a    nagkas-ang    a    panunoten.  
 ania=*n*                a    na-kas'ang    a    panunot-en  
 what=EMPH    LIG   ADJ-awful    LIG   think-T  
 'What an awful thing to think about!'

*Ania ket* + noun phrase is often used to signal disapproval or surprise in a sarcastic and sometimes frustrated tone.

Ania ket ni manongen!                    Kababain                    pay kenkuana.  
 ania ket ni manong=*en*                    ka-R-bain                    pay kenkuana  
 what and PA    older.brother=EMPH    NOM-R-shame                    still    3SOBL  
 'What's up with older brother (I can't believe him!). He is still shy towards her (towards his girlfriend).'

*Aniaka metten* is used to express disbelief, disapproval or surprise towards the addressee.

A: Saanak                    a    nakapan    idiy    padayana.  
 saan=*ak*                    a    naka-pan    idiy    padayá=*na*  
 NEG=*1sA*    LIG   ABIL.PF-go there    party=*3sE*  
 'I wasn't able to go to her party.'

B: Aniaka                    metten!  
 ania=*ka*                    met=*en*  
 what=*2sA*    also=EMPH  
 'You're something else! (I can't believe you!).'

*Ania ketdin* is also used with a frustrated tone to show disapproval of a situation:

Ania ketdin a laingyo a mangan!  
 ania ketdi=n a laing=yo a mang-kaan  
 what CONCESSIVE=EMPH LIG good=2pE LIG I-eat  
 ‘What is this! How good you are at eating! (You could have saved me some food, but you didn’t)’

Ania ketdin a kinasiglatna!  
 ania ketdi=n a kina-siglat=na  
 what CONCESSIVE=EMPH LIG NOM-alert=3sE  
 ‘How alert he is (he escaped me)!’

#### 11.4.2. *Ne, ala*

The inciting exclamations *ne* [ni:] and *ala* are the two most common phrase-initial exclamations in Ilocano; they most often project a following utterance. They are uttered with higher pitch and volume, and as other exclamations, generally occur in their own intonation unit. *Ne* is often used to attract the speaker’s immediate attention. It is only used informally with one’s social equals or inferiors. *Ne* is also used with surprised intonation in exclamatory greetings.

Ne. addaka met gayam.  
 ne adda=ka met gayam  
 hey EXIST=2sA also so  
 ‘Hey (expressing surprise), so you are here (I didn’t know you were coming?)’

Ne. alaemon.  
 ne ala-en=mo=n  
 hey get-T=2sE=already  
 ‘Hey, take it already (I’ve been handing you the salt for a long time now).’

Ne. nasayaat ta addakan.  
 ne na-sayaat ta adda=ka=n  
 hey ADJ-good LIG EXIST=2sA=already  
 ‘Hey (expressing surprise) it’s great that you’re here (I wasn’t expecting you).’

Ne. apay. nalpas ti klasem aya?  
 ne apay na-leppas ti klase=m aya  
 hey why ADJ-finish ART class=2sE I.wonder  
 ‘Hey (grabbing attention in a stern voice), why (are you here), is your class already over?’

The phrase-initial exclamatory particle *ala* is used with or without the enclitic particle *=(e)n* as a summation particle. Speakers use this particle when summing up a situation before

expressing themselves with a reason or resultative clause. Like *ne*, *ala* occurs in its own intonation contour.

Ala,           umadayoka     dito   amangan   no   diak       makapagteppel.  
 ala            um-adayo=ka   dito   amangan   no   di=ak     maka-pag-teppel  
 SUMMATION I-far=2sA    here   so       if    NEG=1sA ABIL-INST-control  
 ‘Ok, get away from here just in case I can’t restrain myself (and hit you for what you did).’

Ala,           bareng   no   kaasiannatayo                    met   ni   Apo Dios.  
 ala            bareng   no   ka-asi-an=na=tayo                    met   ni   Apo Dios  
 SUMMATION OPT   if    COMIT-pity-T=3sE=1pINCL   also PA   Sir God  
 ‘OK, (after thinking about your situation and the bad thing that you did), I hope God has pity on you.’

Alan,                    ayabamon                    ni   Manong.  
 ala=n                    ayab-an=mo=n                    ni   Manong  
 SUMMATION=already   call-T=2sE=already PA   Older.brother  
 ‘OK, (since we can’t do anything else by ourselves) call Older brother (to help).’

## 11.5. Social formulas

### 11.5.1 Greetings

The following greetings are widespread in the Ilocos region. They may or may not co-occur with the second person ergative enclitic pronouns corresponding to the addressee.

Naimbag a     malem(mo).  
 na-imbag a   malem=mo  
 ADJ-good LIG   afternoon=2sE  
 ‘Good afternoon (to you (familiar)).’

Naimbag a     rabii(yo).  
 na-imbag a   rabii=yo  
 ADJ-good LIG   night=2pE  
 ‘Good night (to you (polite or plural addressee)).’

Naimbag a bigat.	Good morning.
Naimbag a malem.	Good afternoon.
Naimbag nga aldaw.	Good day.

Naimbag a rabii.	Good night.
Naimbag a kasangay.	Happy birthday.
Naimbag a biahe.	Bon voyage, happy trip.
Naimbag nga isasangpet; Naimbag nga idadateng.	Welcome.
Naimbag a piesta.	Happy fiesta (celebration).
Naimbag a Paskua.	Merry Christmas.
Naimbag a baro a tawen.	Happy New Year.

The conventional response to these greetings (except greetings of welcome) is:

Kasta met kenka.  
like.that also 2sOBL  
'Same to you.'

Kasta met kadakayo.  
like.that also 2pOBL  
'Same to you (plural or polite).'

The Spanish loanword *kumusta* (from ¿cómo está?: how are you) is often used to greet people. It may or may not be accompanied by the appropriate absolutive enclitic pronoun, and does not always merit a response. Appropriate responses may be *kumusta*, 'how are you' or *kastoy latta* 'just like this'.

Kumusta! (kumustaka, kumustakayo)  
how.are.you  
'How are you?' or just simply 'Hi.'

Kastoy latta  
like.this just  
'Just fine.'

Chance encounters on the street may call for a range of different greetings, from *hoy*, *kumusta*, to the following:

Papanam?  
pa-pan-an=mo  
LOC-go-NOM=2sE  
'Where are you going?'



Papananyo?  
pa-pan-an=yo  
LOC-go-NOM=2pE  
'Where are you guys going; Where are you (polite) going?'

Naggapuam?  
nag-gapu-an=mo  
PF.LOC-origin-NOM=2sE  
'Where did you coming from (informal)?'

Naggapuanyo?  
nag-gapu-an=yo  
PF.LOC-origin-NOM=2pE  
'Where did you come from (polite)?'

The conventional response to any of these greetings is *idiay laeng* 'just there.' The appropriate information on the location of where the person is actually going to or where he/she came from is seldom expressed.

### 11.5.2 Leave-takings

Ilocano speakers have the choice of many different leave-takings depending on the special circumstances surrounding their departure and the level of formality they wish to use upon departing.

When leaving a formal occasion, party or informal get-together with many people, speakers may simply state that they are leaving already, using the verb root *in-* 'to go' whose nasal geminates before the first person singular absolutive pronoun =*ak*. The response is usually *O, sige* 'go ahead' or *agsublika(yo) manen* 'come back (formal) again'.

Innakon.  
in=ak=(e)n  
go-1sA=already  
'Good bye. (I am going already).'

Inkamin.  
in-kami=n  
go-2pEXCL.A=already  
'Good bye. (We are going already).'

A very informal way of taking leave consists of using the Spanish loanword *sige* (from *seguir*: to continue), which translates as '(I'm) going ahead.' The response to this taking leave is often the same, or may be the nearest Ilocano equivalent, *Ala ngaruden*.

A: O.           sige.  
ATTENTION go.ahead  
'Bye (I'm going ahead).'

B: Sige. (Ala ngaruden)  
'OK. bye (go ahead).'

Another way of expressing an informal leave-taking is to articulate that the people being left behind will continue (carry on) in the same place (not leave). *Ditakan.* for informal leave takings, and *ditakayon* for taking leave from more than one person.

Ditakan.  
dita=ka=n  
there=2sA=already  
'Good bye (you stay there).'

Ditakayon.  
dita=kayo=n  
there=2pA=already  
'Good bye (you (plural or polite) stay there).'

*Dios ti kumuyog* 'God accompany you' and *Dios ti agbati* 'God stay with you' are also still common expressions for taking leave.

Dios ti kumuyog.  
dios ti kuyog{um}  
God ART accompany{I}  
'God accompany you.'

Dios ti agbati.  
dios ti ag-bati  
God ART I-stay  
'God stay with you.'

### 11.5.3. Asking permission

Ilocanos often ask permission with the verb *mabalin* 'possible, can' before performing certain actions. An Ilocano is often prone to ask for permission before asking a serious question with *Mabalin ti agsaludsod* 'Is it possible to ask a question?'

Mabalin ti makikatugaw?  
ma-balin ti maki-ka-tugaw  
ABIL-possible ART COMMIT-NOM-sit  
'May (I) sit with you?'

Mabalin ti agsaludsod?  
 ma-balin ti ag-saludsod  
 ABIL-possible ART I-ask  
 'May I ask a question?'

Mabalin ti agsigarilio ditoy?  
 ma-balin ti ag-sigarilio ditoy  
 ABIL-possible ART I-smoke here  
 'May I smoke? (Is smoking allowed here?)'

The comitative prefix *maki-* is often used in requests of permission for the speaker to perform an action in the company of the addressee. To further specify politeness, the particle *man* 'please' may also be used.

Makisindiak man.  
 maki-sindi=ak man  
 COMMIT-light=1sA please  
 'May I please borrow your fire (for my candle, etc.)?'

Makiinumak man.  
 maki-inum=ak man  
 COMMIT-drink=1sA please  
 'May I have a drink with you (please)?'

#### 11.5.4. Expressing sympathy to bereaved people

Bereaved people are consoled in Ilocano either by the speaker expressing his/her desire for God to help comfort, or by declaring that the speaker shares in the bereavement of the lost person.

Makipagriknaak (kadakayo).  
 maki-pag-rikna=ak (kadakayo)  
 COMMIT-INST-feel=1sA 2pOBL  
 'I sympathize (with you).'

Dios ti mangliwliwa.  
 dios ti mang-R-liwa  
 God ART I-R-console  
 'May God console you.'

### 11.5.5 Thanks

Appreciation and gratefulness is expressed in Ilocano by the expression *Dios ti agngina* 'may God repay you,' *Dios ti bumales* 'may God return the favor' or certain constructions with the root *yaman* 'thanks.' A person receiving thanks responds with the formula *Awan ti aniamanna* 'it is nothing, don't mention it.'

Agyamanak. (also *yaman pay*)  
ag-yaman=ak  
I-thank=1sA  
'Thanks, (lit: I am thankful).'

Agyamanak iti pannakatulongyo.  
ag-yaman=ak iti pan-maka-tulong=yo  
I-thank=1sA OBL NOM-ABIL-help=2sE  
'I am thankful for your (being able) to help.'

Awan ti aniamanna.  
awan ti ania-man=na  
NEG.EXIST ART what-ever=3sE  
'You're welcome (lit: it is nothing, don't mention it).'

Awan ti rumbeng a pagyamanam.  
awan ti rebbeng{um} a pag-yaman-an=mo  
NEG.EXIST ART duty{I} LIG INST-thank-NOM=2sE  
'There's no need to thank me.'

## 12. Imperatives

### 12.1. Positive imperatives

Imperatives (commands) are formed with infinitival verbs. They cannot be distinguished formally from simple declarative sentences in written language. There is no change in word order, and the regular second person pronouns are still used. The only cue that a certain utterance is an imperative, aside from the context of the situation, is the intonation. Imperatives, however, may include the enclitic particle *=(e)n* which is used to stimulate the addressee to act immediately.

Agtrabahokayon!  
ag-trabaho=kayo=n  
I-work=2pA=already  
'Work!'

Ayabam            ni    adingmo!  
ayab-an=mo    ni    ading=mo  
call-T=2sE    PA    younger.sibling=2sE  
'Call your younger sibling!'

### 12.2 Negative imperatives

Negative imperatives are formed with the negative particles *saan* or *di*, followed by the enclitic pronouns and then the verb, similar to a simple declarative negative construction. With *saan*, the ligature *(ng)a* is used before the verb phrase, with *di*, however, it is not. Unlike in Tagalog, there is no separate morpheme for negative commands.

Dika            agsao!  
di=ka           ag-sao  
NEG=2sA    I-speak  
'Don't speak!'

Didak           likudan!  
di=da=ak       likud-an  
NEG=3p=1sA    back-T  
'Don't turn your back on me.'

Saanka        nga    agay-ayam    idiy simbaan.  
saan=ka       nga    ag-R-ayam    idiy simbaan  
NEG=2sA    LIG    I-CONT-play    there church  
'Don't play in church!'

### 12.3 Optative imperatives

Optative imperatives are those that express the speaker's wish that an action be performed. They are composed of the imperative verb followed by the optative particle *kuma*. Optative imperatives may either be addressed to a third party (indirectly), or to the addressee. The particle *kuma* softens the degree of the imperative when compared to a straightforward command.

Agballigi kuma ti Pangulo!  
ag-balligi kuma ti pangulo  
I-triumph OPT ART President  
'May the President triumph!' (c)

Agbiag kuma ti Ari!  
ag-biag kuma ti ari  
I-live OPT ART king  
'Long live the King!'

Mapanka kuma idiy ayanda.  
ma-pan=ka kuma idiy ayan=da  
I-go=2sA OPT there place=3p  
'You should go to their place.'

### 12.4 Politeness

Politeness in imperatives may be expressed in three ways. The native Ilocano polite imperative contains the particle *man* (or *man bassit* to further express politeness) immediately after the appropriate enclitic pronoun.

Tulongannak man.  
nulong-an=mo=ak man  
help-T=2sE=1sA please  
'Please help me.'

Agurayka man bassit.  
ag-uray=ka man bassit  
I-wait=2sA please little  
'Please wait (for me).'

The prefix *paki-* (perhaps borrowed from Tagalog) may also be used to form polite imperative goal focus verbs with the ergative enclitic pronouns to specify their addressee.

Pakiyawatmo diay asin.  
 paki-awat=mo diay asin  
 please-pass=2sE that salt  
 'Please pass the salt.'

The word *pangngaasi*=*m/yo* 'your (fam/polite) pity' is used to form polite imperatives or requests. The ligature *ta* introduces the request.

Pangngaasim	ta	saannak	a	palpalagipan
paN-ka-asi=mo	ta	saan=mo=ak	a	pa-R-lagip-an
NOM-COMIT-pity=2sE	LIG	NEG=2sE=1sA	LIG	CAUS-CONT-remember-T

kadagita a banag.  
 ka-dagita a banag  
 OBL-those LIG thing

'Please don't remind me of those things.'

### 12.5 Hortative imperatives

Hortative imperatives are those that are addressed to a group that includes the speaker. They are formally identical to simple declarative sentences consisting of an infinitival verb, and the appropriate first person inclusive plural pronoun. They differ from simple declaratives only in their intonation.

Mangantayon.	Mangantan.
maN-kaan=tayo=n	maN-kaan=ta=n
I-eat=1pINCL.A=already	I-eat=1d.A=already
'Let's eat.'	'Let's (you and I) eat.'

Intayon.	Intan.
in=tayo=n	in=ta=n
go=1pINCL.A=already	go=1d.A=already
'Let's go.'	'Let's (you and I) go.'

### 12.6 Contracted imperatives

Three rather common informal imperatives have contracted due to their frequent use. *maykadtoy*, *kadta* and *mudtoy*. Their derivations are shown below:

Kadta!  
 um-alis=ka dita  
 I-go=2sA there  
 'Get out of there, go there.'

**Maykadtoy!**  
um-ay=ka ditoy  
I-come=2sA here  
'Come here.'

**Mudtoy!**  
iyeg=mo ditoy  
bring=2sE here  
'Bring it here.'



### 13. NEGATION

Predications in Ilocano may be classified into affirmative and negative types. An affirmative predication asserts the occurrence of an action, state, or event, while a negative predication denies such occurrence.

This chapter will deal with the multiple ways in which negative predications are constructed in Ilocano, divided into the following categories.

1. Predicate negation
2. Negation of Existentials
3. Negation in responses
4. Negative counterparts of specific verbs *mandiak*, *indiak*, *madi*
5. Specific formulas used with negative propositions

#### 13.1. Predicate negation

As you may recall, basic predicates consist of a verb, adjective (stative verb), noun phrase, or prepositional phrase in clause-initial position.

Napintas. (+ diay balasang).  
na-pintas diay balasang  
ADJ-pretty DIST young.lady  
She is pretty. (That young lady is pretty).

Nagsangitda.  
n-ag-sangit=da  
PF-I-cry=3pA  
'They cried.'

Sabong daytoy.  
flower this  
'This is a flower.'

Iti rabaw ti lamisaan ti tulbek.  
OBL top ART table ART key  
'They key is on the table.' (c)

Ilocano has two negative adverbs used to negate these types of declarative sentences, *saan* (dialectal variant: *haan*), and *di*.

With declarative sentences lacking enclitic pronouns, the negative counterparts are formed by the negative adverb *saan* or *di* preceding the full declaration. With the adverb *saan*, the declaration must be joined with the ligature (*nga*); *di* requires no ligature. The adverb *saan* is preferred to *di* for negating noun phrases in speaking. Prepositional phrases must be negated with *saan*.

- (a) Nagallikubeng ti angin.  
 n-ag-allikubeng ti angin  
 PF-I-fly.round.about ART wind.  
 'The wind blew around.' (c)

Saan a nagallikubeng ti angin. = Di nagallikubeng ti angin.  
 NEG LIG NEG  
 'The wind did not blow around.' (w)

- (b) Sumsumiagen ti lampitaw nga agpataaw.  
 R-siag{um}=(e)n ti lampitaw nga ag-pa-taaw  
 R-swerve{I}=now ART outrigger.canoe LIG I-DIRECTIONAL-ocean  
 'The outrigger canoe swerved as it went out to sea.' (w)

Di sumsumiagen ti lampitaw nga agpataaw.  
 Saan a sumsumiagen ti lampitaw nga agpataaw.  
 'The outrigger canoe did not swerve out to sea.' (c)

- (c) Siruhano ni Jose.  
 surgeon PA Jose  
 'Jose is a surgeon.'

Saan a siruhano ni Jose.  
 Di siruhano ni Jose.  
 'Jose is not a surgeon.' (c)

- (d) Idiy Pransia dagiti ag-Mallare.  
 there France PL COLLECTIVE-Mallare  
 'The Mallare family is in France.' (c)

Saan nga idiy Pransia dagiti ag-Mallare.  
 'The Mallare family is not in France.' (c)

Noun phrases are not negated with the adverb *di*. *Saan* is preferred for this purpose.

Diay kabsatna.  
 diay kabsat=na  
 DIST sibling=3sE  
 'His/her sibling.'

Saan a diay kabsat=na.  
 NEG LIG DIST sibling=3sE  
 'Not his/her sibling.' (c)

With declaratives containing second position enclitic pronouns, the pronouns are attached to the negative adverbs *saan* or *di*. *Saan* requires the ligature (*nga*) before the negated constituent, while *di* does not:

- (a) Tabbed=da.  
 stupid=2pA  
 'They are stupid.'

Saan=da a tabbed. = Dida tabbed.  
 NEG=3pA LIG stupid di=da tabbed  
 'They are not stupid.' NEG=3pA stupid (c)

- (b) Ay-ayatenka.  
 R-ayat-en=ka  
 R-love-T=1/2  
 'I love you.'

Saanka nga ay-ayaten. = Dika ay-ayaten.  
 saan=ko=ka nga R-ayat-en  
 NEG=1sE=2sA LIG R-love-T  
 'I do not love you.'

- (c) Napankami idiy balayna.  
 na-pan=kami idiy balay=na  
 PF-go=1sEXCL there house=3sE  
 'We went to his house.'

Saankami a napan idiy balayna. = Dikami napan idiy balayna.  
 saan=kami a na-pan idiy balay=na  
 NEG=1pEXCL LIG PF-go there house=3sE  
 'We didn't go to his house.'

As with enclitic pronouns, second position particles also immediately follow the negatives *saan* or *di*.

- (a) Nagawidda kano.  
 n-ag-awid=da kano  
 PF-I-go.home=3pA HRSY  
 'They supposedly went home.'

Saanda kano a nagawid. = Dida kano nagawid.  
 saan=da kano a n-ag-awid  
 NEG=3pA HRSY LIG PF-I-go home  
 'They didn't go home supposedly (according to a third party).'

- (b) Barkadak ti pangrabii a bantay.  
 barkada=*ko* ti pang-rabii a bantay  
 friend=*1sE* ART for-night LIG guard  
 'The night guard is my friend.'

Saanko a barkada ti pangrabii a bantay. = Diak barkada ti pangrabii a bantay.  
 saan=*ko* a barkada ti pang-rabii a bantay  
 NEG=*1E* LIG friend ART for-night LIG guard  
 'The night guard is not my friend.'

The enclitic pronoun =*k(o)* changes to =*ak* after the negative adverb *di*. This change does not occur with *saan*.

- (a) Kayatko.  
 kayat=*ko*  
 want=*1sE*  
 'I want it.'

Diak kayat = Saanko a kayat.  
 di=(*ko*) kayat saan=*ko* a kayat  
 NEG=*1sE* want NEG=*1sE* LIG want  
 'I don't want it.' 'I don't want it.'

- (b) Inggalutko ti murdong ti kinawikawko a tali ti sinipete.  
*i{in}*-galut=*ko* ti murdong ti kawikaw{*in*}=*ko* a tali ti sinipete  
 T{PF}-tie=*1sE* ART end ART coil{PF.T}=*1sE* LIG rope ART anchor  
 'I tied the end of the anchor rope I coiled.' (w)

Saanko nga inggalut ti tali = Diak inggalut ti tali.  
 saan=*ko* nga *i{in}*-galut ti tali  
 NEG=*1sE* LIG T{PF}-tie ART rope  
 'I did not tie the rope.' (c)

Imperative commands are formed identically to declarative predications. Unlike Tagalog, there is no separate negative adverb for this purpose:

- (a) Agawidkan!  
 ag-awid=*ka*=(*e*)n  
 I-go.home=*2sA*=already  
 'Go home (now)!'

Saanka nga agawid. (Dika agawid.)  
 'Don't go home.'

- (b) Adaywannak!  
 adayo-an=mo=ak  
 far-T=2sE=1sA  
 'Get away from me.'

Saannak nga adaywan. (Dinak adaywan.)  
 'Don't leave me.'

- (c) Ibagam kenkuana nga yuraymonto iti ruar ti ruangan.  
 i-baga=mo kenkuana nga i-uray=mo=(n)to iti ruar ti ruangan  
 T-tell=2sE 3sOBL LIG T-wait=2sE=FUT OBL outside ART door  
 'Tell him you'll wait for him outside the door.' (w)

Saanmo nga ibaga kenkuana nga yuraymonto iti ruar ti ruangan.  
 = Dimo ibaga kenkuana nga yuraymonto iti ruar ti ruangan.  
 'Don't tell him you'll wait for him outside the door.' (c)

Although when negating noun phrases, *saan* is preferred to *di* in spoken Ilocano, after the conjunction *no* 'if', both negative adverbs may be used.

Asino kuma pay ti sabali nga ag-tawid no saan nga isuda?  
 who OPT more ART other LIG I-inherit if NEG LIG 3p  
 'Who else should get the inheritance if not them?' (w)

or: Asino kuma pay ti sabali nga agtawid no di isuda?

### 13.2. Negation of Existentials

Ilocano has a lexeme *adda*, used to express existence or possession (see Chapter 10 existentials). These types of phrases are called existential phrases.

Adda=da idiy Pagdalagán.  
 EXIST=3pA there Pagdalagan.  
 'They are in Pagdalagan.'

Adda áso=k.  
 EXIST dog=1sE  
 'I have a dog.'

Adda na-kita=k.  
 EXIST PF.T-see=1sE  
 'I saw something.'

Adda immay.  
EXIST came  
'Somebody came.'

Existential phrases are negated simply by replacing *adda* with its negative counterpart, *awan*.

Awanda idiy Pagdalagan.  
awan=da idiy Pagdalagan  
NEG.EXIST there Pagdalagan  
'They are not in Pagdalagan.'

Awan asok.  
awan aso=ko  
NEG.EXIST dog=1sE  
'I do not have a dog.'

Awan nakitak.  
awan na-kita=ko  
NEG.EXIST PF.T-see=1sE  
'I didn't see anything.'

Awan immay.  
awan ay{in-um}  
NEG.EXIST come{PF-I}  
'No one came.'

### 13.3. Negation in responses

A negative response to a yes/no question or imperative is formed with the negative adverb *saan*, never with *di*.

A: Nalaing?  
smart  
'Is he smart?'

B: Saan.  
NEG  
'No.'

A: Agawidkan!  
ag-awid=ka=(e)n  
I-go.home=2sA=now

B: Saan.  
saan  
NEG  
'No.'

To soften a response to a negative imperative, *saanen* is often used:

A: Mapanka latta. B: Saanen.  
 ma-pan=ka latta saan=(e)n  
 I-go=2SA just NEG=now  
 'Just go.' 'No (not now, it may not be a good idea).'

A: Mangankan. B: Saanen.  
 mang-kaan=ka=(e)n saan=(e)n  
 I-eat=2SA=now NEG=now  
 'Eat.' 'No (not now, don't mind me)'

*Saan pay* and *di pay* 'not yet' are used to negate an assertion that, in the speaker's mind, is likely to occur in the future. When responding to yes/no questions, *saan pay* is used, but when stating a negative declarative, either *saan pay* or *di pay* may be used:

A: Nangankan? B: Saan pay.  
 nang-kaan=ka=(e)n saan pay  
 I-eat=2SA=already NEG yet  
 'Did you eat?' not yet.

Saan pay a nangan. = Di pay nangan.  
 NEG yet LIG ate  
 'He didn't eat yet.'

*Saan pay* is often contracted in speech to *sampay* or *hampay*.

*Saan man* is used to negate a negative question, to affirm the realization of an action. It may be contracted in speech to *samman*.

A: Dimo kayat no addakamin?  
 di=mo kayat no adda=kami=n  
 NEG=2SE want if EXIST=1pEXCL.A=now  
 'Don't you want us to be here.' (c)

B: Samman. a.  
 saan-man a  
 NEG-PART indeed  
 'On the contrary. (I do want you to be here).' (c)

#### 13.4. Negative verbs

The negative adverb *di* in Ilocano takes certain derivational affixes to form lexicalized negative verbs in Ilocano.

The negation of *kayat* 'want' may be expressed in Ilocano by the verb *ma-di*, the prefix

*ma-* and negative *di*. Although it negates desire corresponding to the English phrases 'don't like/want,' or 'to refuse', it is often used in Ilocano in conjunction with its positive counterpart, *kayat*.

Madina kayat ti umay.  
 ma-di=na kayat ti um-ay  
 T-NEG=3sE want ART I-come  
 'She doesn't want to come.'

Kunana a madi.  
 kuna=na a ma-di  
 say=3sE LIG T-NEG  
 'He says he refuses.' (c)

*Madi* 'bad' may also be used as an adjective.

Madi ti pa-buya=da.  
 bad ART CAUS-watch=3pE  
 'Their show was bad.'

Nagmadin!  
 n-ag-madi=(e)n  
 ADJ-INTENS-bad=EMPH  
 'How awful!'

Not all Ilocano verbs appear with enclitic actors in all persons. The negative verbs *mandiak* and *indiak*, for instance represent the negation of desire or knowledge but are used only with first person actors, as they end with the first person enclitic =*ak*:

Indiak ammo no ania ti kinunada.  
 indiak ammo no ania ti kuna{in}=da  
 NEG.1s know CONJ what ART say{PF.T}=3pE  
 'I don't know what they said.'

Indiak kayat.  
 NEG.1s want  
 'I don't want (it).'



Unlike Tagalog, Ilocano does not have a word for the negation of knowledge or desire<sup>1</sup>. To negate knowledge (with the verb *ammo*) or desire (with the verb *kayat*) using enclitic pronouns other than the first person singular absolutive enclitic =*ak*, the negative adverbs *saan* or *di* are used.

Saannaka        nga    am-ammo    ni    Keanu.  
 saan=na=ka    nga    R-ammo    ni    Keanu  
 NEG=3sE=2sA    LIG    R-know    PA    Keanu  
 'Keanu doesn't know you.' (c)

Ditay            ammo    no        ania    pay    ti        alaenda        kadayo.  
 di=tayo        ammo    no        ania    pay    ti        ala-en=da     kada-tayo  
 NEG=1pINCL    know    CONJ    what    else    ART    get-T=3pE    OBL-1pINCL  
 'We don't know what else they are getting from us.'

The negative adverb *di* may prefix to the verb *ammo* 'to know' to form a negative verb of knowledge that may not inflect for person with enclitic pronominal endings. It may then serve as a stem for additional affixes.

Diammo.  
 di-ammo  
 NEG-know  
 'Don't know.' (cf. *indiak ammo*)

Agindidiammoka            pay    laeng.  
 agin-R-di-ammo=ka        pay    .laeng  
 pretend-R-NEG-know=2sA    still  
 'You are still pretending not to know.'

### 13.5. Specific formulas used with negative propositions

*No di ket* 'but rather' introduces replacive phrases which provide contrast to a previously specified or understood thought or articulation.

Kanayon    a        maiperiodiko        ti        Senado.  
 kanayon    a        ma-i-periodiko     ti        Senado  
 always     LIG    PASS-THM-newspaper    ART    Senate

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<sup>1</sup>The verb *madi* may be recognized as a negative verb of desire, the negative counterpart of *kayat*. However, its distribution is not equivalent to its positive counterpart and it often appears with the positive verb of desire in negative utterances: *Madina kayat*: 'He doesn't want to.../any.' The negative adverbs *saan* or *di* are usually preferred to negate desire.

saan a	gapu	iti	kaadu	dagiti	napandayna	a	linteg	
saan a	gapu	iti	ka-adu	dagiti	na-panday=na	a	linteg	
NEG	LIG	because	OBL	NOM-many	PL	PF-forge=3sE	LIG	law

no di ket	iti	kaadu	dagiti	oras	a	dadaelen	dagiti
no.di.ket	iti	ka-adu	dagiti	oras	a	dadael-en	dagiti
but.rather	OBL	NOM-many	PL	hours	LIG	destroy-T	PL

kamengna.  
kameng=na  
member=3sE

The Senate is always in the paper, not because of the many laws created, but rather because of the many hours wasted by its members. (w)

The Ilocano oppositional particle *ketdi*, perhaps historically derived from the Ilocano additive particle *ket* and negative adverb *di*, is used to introduce an anti-thetical or concessive clause, a contrastive or positive predication to a previous negative thought or comment. Its closest English translations range from 'instead' to 'anyway' or 'nevertheless.'

Agsagabaak	la	ketdi	no	panawannak.
ag-sagaba=ak	la	ketdi	no	panaw-an=mo=ak
I-suffer=1sA	just	nevertheless	if	leave-T=2sE=1sA

'I will nevertheless (contrary to what you think or may have said) suffer if you leave me.' (w)

Dikayo	agsangsangit,	ikararagyo	ketdi	a	nakaradkadak	laeng
di=kayo	ag-R-sangit	i-kararag=yo	ketdi	a	na-karadkad=ak	laeng
NEG=2pA	I-CONT-cry	T-pray=2sE	instead	LIG	ADJ-health=1sA	just

uray sadino	ti	yanko.
uray.sadino	ti	yan=ko
wherever	ART	place=1sE

'(said upon taking leave) Don't cry (about my leaving), pray instead that I will be healthy no matter where I am.' (w)

A few constructions with *ammo* 'know' have acquired negative meaning without actually containing a negative word. Many times, the negative meaning is construed from the ironic rising intonation of the phrases such as the following idiomatic expressions.

Ammok pay.  
ammo=ko pay  
know=1sE still  
'I don't know.'

Ammok ketdi.  
ammo=ko ketdi  
know=1sE anyway  
'I don't know (how am I supposed to know).'

Ammok pay no nagtulagkayo a nagpaili.  
ammo=ko pay no n-ag-tulag=kayo a n-ag-pa-ili  
know=1sE still if PF-I-contract=2pA LIG PF-I-DIRECT-town  
'I don't know if you agreed (contracted) to go to town.'

## 14. Interrogativity

Ilocano questions may be divided into four types, according to the kinds of answers they elicit: yes/no questions, alternative questions, confirmation questions, and information questions. The four types of questions followed by the specifics of Ilocano interrogative adverbs and uses of interrogative enclitic particles are detailed in this chapter.

### 14.1. Yes/no questions

Yes/no questions in Ilocano are those that may be answered with *wen* 'yes' or *saan* 'no.' They do not require a special interrogative word order. Frequently the only way for an addressee to interpret an utterance as a yes/no question is the rising intonation pattern.

Nalaing ni Maria.      Mary is intelligent.  
Nalaing ni Maria?      Is Mary intelligent? (with rising intonation to signal interrogativity)

There is an optional particle *kadi* that appears in questions as a second position enclitic, after the first constituent of the utterance.

Amerikanoka      (kadi)?  
amerikano = ka      kadi  
American = 2sA      QUES  
'Are you American?'

Nalukmeg      (kadi)      ni      Jose?  
na-lukmeg      kadi      ni      Jose  
ADJ-fat      QUES      PA      Jose  
'Is Jose fat?'

#### 14.1.1 Answering yes/no questions

Most yes/no questions are answered with *wen* 'yes' or *saan* 'no', except when the predicate is a possessive or existential phrase with the existentials *adda* or *awan*. In this case, the existentials *adda* or *awan* are normally used when answering.

Adda      aso = m?  
EXIST      dog = 2sE  
'Do you have a dog?'

Adda.  
EXIST  
'Yes, I do.'

Awan  
NEG.EXIST  
'No, I don't.'

Adda pagsuratmo?  
 adda pag-surat=mo  
 EXIST INST-write=2sE  
 'Do you have something to write with?'

Adda.  
 EXIST  
 'Yes, I do.'

Awan.  
 NEG.EXIST  
 'No, I don't.'

#### 14.1.2. Answering yes/no negative questions

When negative questions are asked in Ilocano, the responses are quite different than in English. A negative question such as: *Saanda a napan?* 'Didn't they go?' may be answered two ways if in fact they did not go. The answer may either affirm the negation or the act of the predicate, and must be understood from the context in which it used, not from the formal syntax of the response.

A: Saan=da a na-pan?  
 NEG=3p LIG PF-go  
 'Didn't they go?'

B<sub>1</sub>: Wen, saan=da a na-pan  
 yes NEG=3p LIG PF-go  
 'Yes, they didn't go.'

B<sub>2</sub>: Saan, saanda a napan.  
 'No, they didn't go.'

However, if the addressee of the question *Saanda a napan?* wants to affirm that the people actually did go, *saan man* is used in the response. *Saan man* is used to contradict negated utterances.

A<sub>1</sub>: Saanda a napan?  
 'Didn't they go?'

B<sub>2</sub>: Saan man. Na-pan=da=n.  
 NEG PART PF-go=3p=already  
 'Yes, they actually did go.' (c)

#### 14.2. Alternative questions

Alternative questions are those whose possible answers are given in the question, i.e. *Do you like pears or oranges?* They are produced in Ilocano in two constituents joined by *wenno* 'or'.

A: Kaykayat=mo ti bayabas wenno tsiko?  
prefer=2sE ART guava or sapodilla  
'Do you prefer guava or sapodilla?'

B: Tsiko  
'Sapodilla fruit.'

A: Siruhano ni Bong wenno inheniero?  
surgeon PA Bong or engineer  
'Is Bong a surgeon or engineer?' (c)

B: Inhenieronsa.  
inheniero=nsa  
engineer=I.think  
'I think he's an engineer.'

Napanda idiy Pagdalagan wenno Pagdaraoan?  
na-pan=da idiy Pagdalagan wenno Pagdaraoan  
PF-go=3p there Pagdalagan or Pagdaraoan  
'Did they go to Pagdalagan or Pagdaraoan?' (c)

If more alternatives are given in the question, the interrogative intonation is repeated as a list for each alternative, except the last which is uttered with statement intonation.

Kayatna ti agpasiar, agdigos wenno maturog?  
kayat=na ti ag-pasiar ag-digos wenno ma-turog  
want=3sE ART I-stroll I-bathe or INVOL-sleep  
'Does he want to take a walk, take a bath, or sleep?'

### 14.3. Confirmation questions

Confirmation questions (tag questions) are those where the expected answer confirms the proposition of the question. In Ilocano, confirmation questions are formed in two ways. Tag questions are formed with the statement to be confirmed, followed by a tag particle (*saan (kadi)* or *ania*). The tag *ania* is always pronounced with falling intonation.

Doktor ni Jorge, saan kadi?  
doctor ART Jorge, NEG QUES  
'Jorge is a doctor, isn't he?' (c)

Napandan. ania?  
na-pan=da=(e)n ania  
PF-go=3p=already what  
'They went already, right?'

Negative confirmation questions are asked with the negative *saan*. In these questions, the speaker assumes that the proposition given will be confirmed by the addressee.

Saan a Mehikano ni Berto?  
NEG LIG Mexican PA Berto  
'Isn't Berto a Mexican.' (c)

Of course, confirmation questions can be formulated as negative questions with a tag particle:

Saan a nalaka daytoy, ania?  
NEG LIG cheap this what  
'This isn't cheap, is it?'

#### 14.4. Information questions

Questions that elicit a response of new information are called information questions. Ilocano has a wealth of interrogative words used to fulfill this function, that generally appear as the first word of the question. The following will introduce the interrogative words used in Ilocano and explain their use, form and distribution.

##### 14.4.1. *Ania* 'what' questions

'What' questions are asked with the interrogative *ania*. When substituting for a noun, *ania* appears as the predicate of an equational sentence:

Ania daytoy?  
what this  
'What is this?'

Ania ti ginatangmo?  
ania ti gatang{in}=mo  
what ART buy{PF.T}=2sE  
'What did you buy?'

*Ania* always appears in an absolutive role with respect to the verb used.

Ania ti nang-dungpar kenkuana?  
what.ABS ART PF.I-collide 3SOBL  
'What hit (bumped into) him?' (c)

Ania dayta sasawem?  
 ania dayta R-sao-en=mo  
 what.ABS MEDIAL CONT-say-T=2sE  
 ‘What are you saying?’

Ania ti inaramidda idiyay?  
 ania ti aramid{in}=da idiyay  
 what.ABS ART do{PF.T}=3pE there  
 ‘What did they do there?’

*Ania laeng* ‘just what’ is used to ask limiting ‘what’ questions.

Anianto laengen ti kuna dagiti kaarrubami no  
 ania=(n)to laeng=(e)n ti kuna dagiti kaarruba=mi no  
 what=FUT just=EMPH ART say PL neighbor=1pEXCL.E if  
  
 makitadak nga agtalon?  
 ma-kita=dak nga ag-talon  
 INVOL-see=3/1 LIG I-farm

‘Just what will our neighbors say if they see me farming?’ (w)

Commonly asked *ania* questions include *ania ti basol* questions, appealing for the reason one is at fault, and *ania ti dakes* questions, asking why something is wrong:

Ania ti dakesna no umay?  
 ania ti dakes=na no um-ay  
 what ART bad=3sE if I-come  
 ‘What’s wrong if she comes?’

Ania ti dakesmo?  
 ania ti dakes=mo  
 what ART bad=2sE  
 ‘What’s wrong with you?’

Ania ti basol daytoy anak kenka?  
 what ART fault this child 2SOBL  
 ‘What is the fault of this child to you? (what did he do wrong to you)?’ (w)

Ania ti basol=ko kenka?  
 what ART fault=1sE 2SOBL  
 ‘What did I do wrong to you?’



With certain nominalizations, *ania* is used to ask reason questions, see *apay* ‘why.’

Ania ti pagsangitam? (Apay nga agsangsangitka?)  
ania ti pag-sangit-an=mo  
what ART NOM-cry-NOM=2sE  
‘Why are you crying, what is the reason for your crying?’

Ania ti kaaddam ditoy? (Apay nga addaka ditoy?)  
ania ti ka-adda=m ditoy  
what ART NOM-EXIST=2sE here  
‘Why are you here?’

Ania ti pagkunaam?  
ania ti pag-kuna-an=mo  
what ART NOM-say-T=2sE  
‘What are you talking about (what do you mean).’

*Ania ti damag dita?* ‘What’s the news there?’ is a common salutatory question equivalent to the English ‘What’s up?’ or ‘What’s new?’ It is often a common greeting on the phone.

*Ania metten* is a commonly used phrase (not usually an actual question) which expresses the speaker’s frustration or impatience with a situation or utterance.

A: Nalipatak ti tulbekmo.  
na-lipat-an=ko ti tulbek=mo  
PF.INVOL-forget-T=1sE ART key=2sE  
‘I forgot your key.’

B: Ania metten.  
‘My gosh!’

#### 14.4.2. *Apay* ‘why’ questions

The interrogative *apay* ‘why’ is used to ask questions that elicit a reason response. It precedes its clause with the ligature (*nga*).

Apay nga inaramidmo dayta?  
apay nga aramid{in}=mo dayta  
why LIG do{PF.T}=2sE that  
‘Why did you do that?’

Apay pay la ngarud a parparigatem dayta bagim?  
 apay pay la ngarud a R-pa-rigat-en=mo dayta bagi=mo  
 why more just then LIG CONT-CAUS-hard-T=2sE that body=2sE  
 'So then why are you making things hard on yourself?'

*Apay* is also used when responding to verbal summons.

A: Marlon!! (Calling to Marlon)  
 B: *Apay?* (What? What do you want?)

*Apay aya* is used to further specify wonder on the part of the speaker, and *apay ngay* further elicits the response of the addressee:

A: Nagsangit ni Thelma  
    n-ag-sangit ni Thelma  
    PF-I-cry PA Thelma  
    'Thelma cried.'  
  
 B: *Apay aya?*  
    'Why oh why? (I wonder)' (c)

*Apay ngay?*  
 'Why (do you think she cried)?' (c)

#### 14.4.3. *Ayan* 'where located' versus *sadino* 'where' questions

In order to ask the location of an entity, the interrogative *ayan* is used, which is frequently abbreviated in speech to *'yan*, identical to the Ilocano word *yan* for 'place.'

*Ayan* may not be used to ask where an action is taking place, as *sadino* is used for this purpose. *Ayan* questions only take nominals:

*Ayan ti balay=na?*  
 where ART house=3sE  
 'Where is her house?'

*Sadino ti pagay-ayamanda?*  
*sadino ti pag-R-ayam-an=da*  
 where ART LOC-R-play-NOM=3p  
 'Where do they play?'

*Ayan* questions may optionally take third person enclitic pronouns that co-reference a full NP.

Ayan=(na) ni Juan?  
where=3sE PA Juan  
'Where is Juan?' (c)

Ayan=(da) dagiti ubing?  
where=3pE PL child  
'Where are the children?' (c)

*Sadino* questions ask the location of an event, where the action of a verb root takes place. *Sadino* is used with locative gerunds (See section 5.3.4).

Sadino ti pageskuelaanda?  
sadino ti pag-eskuela-an=da  
Where ART LOC-school-NOM=3p  
'Where do they go to school.'

Sadino ti pagturoganyo?  
sadino ti pag-turog-an=yo  
where ART LOC-sleep-NOM=2pE  
'Where do you go to sleep?'

For questions in the past the locative nominal may be inflected in perfective aspect (*nag-*  
*-an*)

Sadino ti nagadalan ni Maria?  
sadino ti nag-adal-an ni Maria  
where ART PF.LOC-study-NOM PA Maria  
'Where did Mary study.'

*Sadino* may also take nominal complements, linked to the interrogative with the ligature (*nga*).

Sadino a sulì ti lubong ti naggapuam?  
sadino a sulì ti lubong ti nag-gapu-an=mo  
where LIG corner ART world ART PF.LOC-origin-LOC=2sE  
'What corner of the world did you come from?' (w)

In casual speech, *sadino* is often omitted, as the verb in locative orientation with interrogative intonation usually suffices for the addressee.

Nagturoganyo idi rabii?  
nag-turog-an=yo idi rabii  
PF.LOC-sleep-NOM=2pE PST night  
'Where did you guys sleep last night?'

Pageskuelaam?  
pag-eskuela-an=m  
LOC-school-NOM=2sE  
'Where do you go to school?'

#### 14.4.4. Siasino, sin(n)o who questions

The interrogative *siasino* or *sin(n)o* is used for asking 'who' questions in Ilocano. Like *ania* 'what,' *sino* appears as an interrogative noun in predicate position.

Sino ti ama=m?  
who ART father=2sE  
'Who is your father?'

Sino daydiay ubing?  
who DISTAL child  
'Who is that child?'

Like *ania* 'what', *sino* appears in an absolutive role with respect to the verb:

Sino ti naka-kita kenka?  
who ART PF.INVOL.I-see 2SOBL  
'Who saw you?'

Sino ti na-kita=m?  
who ART PF.T-see=2sE  
'Who did you see?'

Regional variants of *sino* include *siasino*, *sinno* and *asino*.

Asino ti nagkuna?  
asino ti n-ag-kuna  
who ART PF-I-say  
'Who said so?'

#### 14.4.5. Kaano and inton-ano 'when' questions

Ilocano has two interrogatives that may be used for asking 'when' questions, *kaano* and *inton-ano*. As the interrogative *inton-ano* derives from the future article *intono* and the fossilized interrogative suffix *-ano*, it is used only to ask questions about the future. *Kaano*, on the other hand, has no time restrictions on its use.

Kaano ti buniag=na?  
when ART baptism=3sE  
'When is/was his baptism?'

Inton-ano ti buniag=na?  
when.FUT ART baptism=3sE  
'When will his baptism be?'

Kaano ti panaglutoda?  
kaano ti pan-ag-luto=da  
when ART NOM-I-cook=3p  
'When will they cook?'

Inton-ano ti iyaayna?  
inton'ano ti i-R-ay=na  
when.FUT ART NOM-R-come=3sE  
'When will he come?'

*Kaanonto*, composed of the interrogative *kaano* and the future enclitic *=(n)to*, like *inton-ano*, may be used as a future interrogative.

Kaanonto?  
kaano=nto  
when=FUT  
'When will it be? How soon?'

*Kaano pay* questions translate the English 'since when?'

Kaano pay ti isasangpetna?  
kaano pay ti i-R-sangpet=na  
when PART ART NOM-R-arrive=3sE  
'Since when did he arrive?'

*Kaano* may be used with verb phrases or nominals marked with past demonstratives to indicate the past time frame.

Kaano daydi naudi a suratna?  
kaano daydi na-udi a surat=na  
when REM.PST ADJ-last LIG letter=3sE  
'When was his last letter (to you)?'

*Kaanonto* may take verbs separated from the interrogative with the ligature *(ng)a* to ask hypothetical questions about the future.

Kaanonto a sarungkarak manen ti nakurapay nga awayko?  
 kaano=nto a sarungkar-an=k manen ti na-kurapay nga away=ko  
 when=FUT LIG visit-T=1sE again ART ADJ-poor LIG boondocks=1sE  
 ‘When will I visit again my poor (town in the) boondocks?’ (w)

Kaanonto a maimutektekak manen ti disso a nakairuamak.  
 kaano=nto a mai-mutektek=ak manen ti disso a naka-i-ruam-an=ko  
 when=FUT LIG INVOL-observe-1sA again ART place LIG PF-APP-accustom-NOM-1sE  
 ‘When will I observe again the place I am accustomed to?’ (w)

#### 14.4.6. *kasano* ‘how’

The interrogative *kasano* derives from *kas* ‘like’ and the fossilized interrogative suffix *-ano*. Like its English counterpart, ‘how’, it replaces verbal, adverbial or adjectival phrases.

Kasano daytoy?  
 how this  
 ‘How will this be (what are we going to do about this)?’

Kasanon ti panagbiagmi?  
 kasano=(e)n ti pan-ag-biag=mi  
 how=EMPH ART NOM-I-life=1pEXCL.E  
 ‘How will our life be (how will we survive)?’

Kasano ngaruden no dika makatrabaho?  
 kasano ngarud=(e)n no di=ka maka-trabaho  
 how then=EMPH if NEG=2sA ABIL-work  
 ‘How will it be then if you can’t work?’

Kasano ti panagdaitda?  
 kasano ti pan-ag-dait=da  
 how ART NOM-I-sew=3p  
 ‘How do they sew?’ (c)

To ask how long, short, wide, etc. an object is, the adjectival stem must be nominalized, or appear in nominal form (bare root preceded by an article or demonstrative).

Kasano ti kapaut ti pannakaipupokna?  
 kasano ti ka-paut ti paN-maka-i-pupok=na  
 how ART NOM-long.time ART NOM-INVOL-THM-jail=3sE  
 ‘How long will he be in jail?’ (w)

Kasano ti kangatona?  
kasano ti ka-ngato=na  
how ART NOM-high=3sE  
‘How high is it?’

Kasano ti kapardas ti luganmo?  
kasano ti ka-pardas ti lugan=mo  
how ART NOM-speed ART car=2sE  
‘How fast is your car?’

*Kasanottan* derives from the interrogative *kasano* ‘how’ and the adverb *ita* ‘now,’ followed by the emphatic enclitic =(*e*)*n*. Its closest English translation will be ‘What now?’ or ‘how will it be now?/What happens now?’

#### 14.4.7 *Kumusta* questions

*Kumusta* is derived from the Spanish *cómo está* ‘how is’ and is used as the interrogative substitute for an adjective of quality.

Kumusta ti anak=da?  
how.is ART child=3p  
‘How is their child?’

Kumustakayo?  
kumusta=kayo  
how.are=2pA  
‘How are you guys?: How are you, sir?’

*Kumusta* is often used as an informal greeting where the speaker does not actually expect a verbal response.

Kumusta.  
Hi! (How are you?)

#### 14.4.8. *Mano* ‘how many, how much’ questions

The interrogative *mano* replaces count nominals and corresponds to the English ‘how many?’ or ‘how much?’

Mano ti tao idiy balay=na?  
how.many ART people there house=3sE  
‘How many people are in his house?’

Mano ti inggangmo?  
 mano ti i{in}-gatang=mo  
 how.many ART THM{PF}-buy=2sE  
 'How much did you buy it for?'

Mano ti nakaumay?  
 mano ti naka-um-ay  
 how.many ART INVOL.PF-I-come  
 'How many were able to come?'

*Sagmamano* 'how much each' derives from the interrogative *mano* and the distributive prefix *sag-* + RCV.

Sagmamano ti saba?  
 sag-R-mano ti saba  
 DIST-R-how.much ART banana  
 'How much is each banana?'

#### 14.4.9. Other morphologically complex interrogatives

The Ilocano language also has morphologically complex interrogatives, sometimes specifying concepts we cannot express lexically in English. The fossilized (not freely productive) suffix *-ano* attaches to certain prefixes to form these interrogative particles:

agpaano in what direction?

Nagpaanoda?  
 n-ag-pa-ano=da  
 PF-I-DIREC-QUES=3p  
 'Which way did they go?'

kapin-ano how related (in kin terms)?

Kapin-ano ni Berto?  
 how.related PA Berto  
 'How is Berto related (to us)?'

maikamano in what ordinal number? (first, second, third, etc.)

Maikamanoka?  
 maika-mano=ka?  
 ORD-how.many=2sA  
 'What grade are you in?. What year are you?. In what order are you?'



makamano            How many days?

Makamano=ka            ditoy?  
how.many.days=2sA here  
'How many days are you spending here?'

makasagmamano    How many times each?

Makasagmamanokayo            ti    aldaw    nga    panagtrabahoyo            idiyay?  
maka-sag-R-mano=kayo            ti    aldaw    nga    pan-ag-trabaho=yo            idiyay  
INVOL-DIST-R-how.many=2p    ART    day            LIG    NOM-I-work=2pE            there  
'How many days (each) did (each of you) work there?' (c)

mamin-ano            how many times?

Namin-anoda?  
namin'ano=da  
PF.how.many.times=3p  
'How many times did they do it?' (c)

sagmamano            how many each?. how much each

Sagmamano            ti    atis?  
sag-R-mano            ti    atis  
DIST-R-how.many    ART    custard.apple  
'How much each are the custard apples?'

sagpamin-ano        how many times each?

Sagpamin-anoda        a    napan    idiyay?  
sag-pamin-ano=da        a    na-pan    idiyay  
DIST-MULT-QUES=3p    LIG    PF-go    there  
'How many times each did they go there?' (c)

taga-ano            where from?

Taga-ano            ti    ulitegna?  
taga-ano            ti    uliteg=na  
from-QUES    ART    uncle=3sE  
'Where is his uncle from?'

Taga-anoka?  
'Where are you from?'

## 14.5 Social formulas

### 14.5.1. *papanan*

*Papanan* is a nominalized form of the verb root *pan* 'to go'. When used as a noun it may be translated as 'destination (where one is headed)'. It may also be used as an interrogative to ask where someone is going. Its past tense form is *napanan*. In casual Ilocano speech, the question *Papanam?* 'Where are you going?' is a common social formula for greeting a friend or close acquaintance.

Papanam?  
R-pan-an=mo  
R-go-NOM=2sE  
'Where are you going? What's up?'

Napananda?  
na-pan-an=da  
PF-go-NOM=3p  
'Where did they go?'

### 14.5.2 *Naggapuan*

The interrogative *naggapuan* asks where someone has come from. It is the perfective form of *paggapuan*, the locational nominalization of *gapu* 'reason, source, origin.'

Naggapuam?  
nag-gapu-an=mo  
PF-come.from-NOM=2sE  
'Where have you been? Where are you coming from?'

### 14.5.3 Misc. social formulas

A few other common interrogative expressions include the following:

Ania ti madamag?: Ania ti damag (dita)?	What is the news (there)?'
Ania ngay?	What's up?
Ania ti makuna=m/yo?	What do you mean? What are you saying?
Ania ti kayat=m/yo a sawen?	What do you mean?

Ania ti panggeddeng=mo/yo?	What is your opinion? What is your decision?
Ania ti dakesna?	What is wrong with it? What's the problem?
Ania ti basol=ko/=mo/=na?	What is my/your/his fault? What did I/you/he do wrong?
Ania ti napasamak?	What happened?
Pagaw-awidam?	Where do you live? (lit: where do you go home to?)

#### 14.6. Interrogative subordinators

Most interrogative particles can function as subordinating conjunctions simply by preceding the second clause. They must be preceded by the complementizer *no* in this case:

Ammok no sinno ti nagturpos.  
 ammo=ko no sinno ti n-ag-turpos  
 know=1sE CONJ who ART PF-I-graduate  
 'I know who graduated.'

Agbabawin no apay a naisawangna a nalaing.  
 ag-babawi=(e)n no apay a na-i-sawang=na a na-laing  
 I-regret=EMPH CONJ why LIG PF-THM-express=3sE LIG ADJ-well  
 'She regrets having to express it well.' (w)

Dina ammo no ania ti katatao ti lakay.  
 di-na ammo no ania ti ka-R-tao ti lakay  
 NEG-3sE know CONJ what ART NOM-R-man ART old.man  
 'She doesn't know what the old man's personality is like.'

Dina ammo no kasano ti kapaut ti pannakaipupokna.  
 di-na ammo no kasano ti ka-paut ti pannaka-i-pupok=na  
 NEG-3sE know CONJ how ART NOM-long ART NOM-THM-jail=3sE  
 'She doesn't know how long he will be in jail.' (w)

Ti laengen pabuniag ti planuentayo. no kaano ken no scin  
 ti laeng=(e)n pa-buniag ti plano-en=tayo no kaano ken no scin  
 ART only=EMPH CAUS-baptism ART plan-T=1pINCL CONJ when and CONJ where  
 'Just the baptism party we will plan, when and where.' (w)

#### 14.7. Interrogative particles

There are three important interrogative particles in the language which directly follow the predicate: *kadi*, *aya*, and *ngay*. *Kadi* is used to form simple interrogatives and to soften commands, *aya* is used to express wonder, surprise, or doubt in the interrogative, and *ngay* is used to verbally elicit response in any statement. Please refer to the Adverbial chapter for further explanation of these three particles:

Sika ngay?  
2s ELICITATION  
'What about you?'

Nauyong aya?  
na-uyong aya  
ADJ-cruel WONDER  
'Is he really cruel?'

Napanda aya?  
na-pan=da aya  
PF-go=3p WONDER  
'Did they go?'

Sinno kadi?  
who QUES  
'Who is it?'

## 15. Transitivity and Voice

Transitivity plays a very important role in the syntax of Ilocano, as it does in all ergative languages. This chapter will outline the role transitivity plays in the major clause types, while Chapter 11 deals with all types of clause constructions.

The central defining characteristic of a clause is the predicate, which may be realized in a variety of ways. Section 1 will outline clauses with a non-transitive predicate, Section 2 will illustrate the canonical transitive clause (the clause composed minimally of a morphologically transitive verb), and Section 3 will outline syntactic motivations for detransitivization. As transitivity plays an important role in voice, Antipassives will be introduced in this chapter (Sec. 15.3.2).

For further explanation of the various morphological affixes that encode transitivity in verbs, please see Verbs: Detransitivization.

### 15.1 The non-transitive clause

The non-transitive clause may be defined as a clause devoid of a morphologically transitive verb. These include the following clause types:

Non-verbal predicates, where the predicate consists of a noun phrase, prepositional phrase or adjective phrase:

Sirujano ni Josefa.  
surgeon PA Josefa  
'Josefa is a surgeon.' (c)

Isu ti abogado=k  
3s OBL lawyer=1sE  
'He is my lawyer.'

Idiay Pagdalagan ti balay=da.  
there Pagdalagan ART house=3pE  
'Their house is in Pagdalagan.'

Dakkel ti pasdek=na  
big ART building=3sE  
'His building is big.' (c)

Existential clauses, where the predicate is composed of an existential (*adda*, *awan*, *adu*), (See Existentials, Chapter 10).

*Adda* bagas idiay sarusar.  
EXIST rice there granary  
'There is rice in the granary.' (c)

*Adu ti tao idiay.*  
 many ART people there  
 'There are a lot of people there.'

*Awan pay ti gundawaymi a nagsao.*  
 awan pay ti gundaway=mi a n-ag-sao  
 NEG.EXIST yet ART chance=1pEXCL.E LIG PF-I-speak  
 'We didn't have a chance to speak yet.'

Ambient clauses, where the predicate consists of a temporal or intransitive verb that may take no morphological argument (enclitic pronoun).

*Rabiin.*  
 rabii=n  
 night=already  
 'It's night already.'

*Agitududon.*  
 ag-R-tudo=n  
 I-CONT-rain=already  
 'It's raining already.'

Intransitive clauses, where the predicate consists of an intransitive verb (See Verbs):

*Pimmanawdan.*  
 panaw{in-um}=da=n  
 leave{PF-I}=3sA=already  
 'They already left.'

*Mangrugin nga agbuy-ong.*  
 mang-rugi=n nga ag-buy'ong  
 I-start=already LIG I-large.tummy  
 'She is already starting to have a large tummy.'

## 15.2 The canonical transitive

As Section 15.1 outlined the non-transitive clauses, this section will introduce the remaining clause types, those whose predicate consists of a transitive verb. These will be called canonical transitives, as they are the clause types that are considered to be the highest in transitivity.

A transitive verb in Ilocano is one that may take an ergative pronoun to encode the actor argument of the verb and an absolutive enclitic pronoun to encode the patient or one who undergoes an action. These clauses may include verbs that are morphologically encoded for transitivity.

Panawandakto.  
 panaw-an=da=ak=to  
 leave-T=3pE=1sA=FUT  
 'They will leave me.'

Linutona            ti    tukak   a    naalana.  
 luto{in}=na        ti    tukak   a    na-ala=na  
 cook{PF.T}=3sE    ART   frog    LIG   PF.ABIL.T-get=3sE  
 'She cooked the frogs she was able to catch.'

They may also include clauses whose predicate consists of a root transitive verb, one that is not marked morphologically for transitivity, but functions as a regular transitive verb.

Am-ammodak.  
 R-ammo=da=ak  
 R-know=3pE=1sA  
 'They know me.'

Sindami            daydiay.  
 sida{in}=mi        daydiay  
 eat{PF}=1pEXCL.E that  
 'We ate that.'

Complement clauses may take the place of the absolutive argument, functioning as arguments of transitive verbs.

Kayatna    ti    agawid    idiyay    Pilipinas.  
 kayat=na   ti    ag-awid    idiyay    Pilipinas  
 want=3sE   ART   I-go.home   there    Philippines  
 'He wants to go home to the Philippines.'

### 15.3 Detransitivizing Strategies

Any preliminary investigation of Philippine languages will immediately show that certain semantically transitive actions, those which prototypically consist of an actor and undergoer, are not always encoded with a transitive verb. This is because of various syntactic restrictions that Ilocano places on the use of transitive verbs. This section will outline the cases in which a semantically transitive action is encoded with a morphologically intransitive verb, showing the detransitivizing strategies.

### 15.3.1 Nominal predicates - Identificational constructions

Verbs in Ilocano may be detransitivized for a variety of reasons. One such reason deals with identificational fronting of the actor (agentive) noun phrase.

Simple transitive sentences such as the following examples specify a transitive action with an agent (or actor) in the ergative case, and a patient or goal in the absolutive case.

Nakita ni Jhoe dagiti dakkel a dalluyon.  
na-kita ni Jhoe dagiti dakkel a dalluyon  
PF.T-see PA Jhoe:ERG PL big LIG wave:ABSOLUTIVE  
‘Jhoe saw the large waves.’ (w)

Intaraynak.  
i{in}taray = na = ak  
T{PF}-run = 3sE = 1sA  
‘He eloped with me.’

Noun phrases may be fronted (placed in front of the verb) in which they appear in predicate position. This is done for identificational or contrastive purposes, i.e. such as singling out a referent with respect to other possible referents. The referent which is identified in predicate position must be in absolutive position to the following verb (nominalized by the article *ti*).

Ni Jhoe ti nakakita kadagiti dakkel a dalluyon.  
ni Jhoe ti naka-kita ka-dagiti dakkel a dalluyon  
PA Jhoe ART PF-see OBL-PL big LIG waves  
‘Jhoe is the one who saw the big waves.’ (c)

Isu ti nangitaray kaniak.  
isu ti nang-i-taray kaniak  
3s ART PF.DETR-THM-run 1SOBL  
‘He is the one who eloped with me.’ (c)

The transitive/intransitive distinction of the verb used with these predicate nominals is determined by the syntax of the language, not the pragmatics. The transitive/intransitive alternation is conditioned by the role of the identified constituent, and not its identifiability. The identified noun phrase in predicate position triggers the syntax of the verb in such a way that it must be in absolutive position to the verb in the following noun phrase.

Ni Kumar ti nangted iti kuarta.  
ni Kumar ti nang-ted iti kuarta  
PA Kumar ART PF.I-give OBL money  
‘Kumar was the one who gave the money.’ (w)



Dagiti dakkel a dalluyon ti nakita ni Jhoe.  
 dagiti dakkel a dalluyon ti na-kita ni Jhoe  
 PL big LIG wave ART PF-see PA Jhoe  
 'The big waves are what Jhoe saw.' (c)

Siak ti intarayna.  
 siak ti i{in}taray=na  
 1s ART T{PF}-run=3sE  
 'I am the one he eloped with.' (c)

Therefore, when agent or actor nominals are fronted in these identificational constructions, it is necessary to detransitivize the verb. As all transitive verbs in Ilocano may be detransitivized morphologically, this poses no particular problem for identifying referents with this construction.

### 15.3.2 Antipassives - Two argument clauses an intransitive verb

Another reason why some actions involving transference or a cause/effect relationship between two referents are encoded with morphologically intransitive verbs has to do with the pragmatic status of the patientive referent. In Ilocano all referents in absolutive position must be identifiable by the addressee. Non-identifiable referents do not appear as core arguments of the verb; they appear with oblique case marking (are grammatically outside the valence of the verb).

Ilocano has an antipassive construction which allows speakers to code non-identifiable referents in oblique position, by morphologically de-transitivizing the verb. Patients of intransitive verbs appear with oblique case marking, not as morphological arguments of the verbs. We can see this by comparing a canonical transitive sentence (with a transitive verb) and its antipassive counterpart.

CANONICAL TRANSITIVE, Transitive verb, Patient = identifiable in the absolutive position

Kinnanko dagiti saba.  
 kaan{in}=ko dagiti saba  
 eat{PF.T}=1sE ART banana  
 'I ate *the* bananas (that he gave me, etc.)'

Dinutdutna ti sangapulo a doliar nga intedmo.  
 dutdut{in}=na ti sanga-pulo a doliar nga i{in}-ted=mo  
 extract{PF.T}=3sE ART one-ten LIG dollar LIG T{PF}-give=2sE  
 'He took out *the* ten dollars that you gave.'

ANTIPASSIVE, Intransitive verb, patient = non-identifiable in the oblique position

Nanganak kadagiti saba.  
 nang-kaan=ak ka-dagiti saba  
 PF.DETR-eat=1sA OBL-PL banana  
 'I ate bananas (non-specific or identifiable).'

Dimmutdut iti sangapulo a doliar iti petakana.  
 dutdut{in-um} iti sanga-pulo a doliar iti petaka=na  
 extract{PF-I} OBL one-ten LIG dollar OBL wallet=3sE  
 'He took out ten dollars from his wallet.' (Ta:107)

Certain syntactic requirements may override pragmatic ones when determining the transitivity and valence of the verb phrase. Identifiable patientive referents may be encoded with oblique case marking when they appear with nominal predicates in identificational constructions (See 15.3.1) or in relative clauses (See 18.1).

Transitive verb

Alaennakanto kano idiay Guam.  
 ala-en=na=ka=nto kano idiay Guam  
 take-T=3sE=2sA=FUT HRSY there Guam  
 'He will supposedly take you to Guam.'

Ikalawaminto ti kapilia.  
 i-ka-lawa=mi=nto ti kapilia  
 T-AUGMENT-wide=1pEXCL.E=FUT ART chapel  
 'We will make the chapel wider.' (c)

De-transitivized verb in identificational construction

Isu kano ti mang-ala kenka idiay Guam.  
 3s HRSY ART DETR-take 2SOBL there Guam  
 'He supposedly will be the one to take you to Guam.' (c)

Isuda ti nangika-lawa iti kapilia.  
 3s ART PF.DETR-wide OBL chapel  
 'They are the ones who made the chapel wider.' (c)

De-transitivized verb in relative clause construction

Ania ti nagan ti tao a nang-ala kenka idiay Guam?  
 what ART name ART person LIG DETR.PF-take 2SOBL there Guam  
 'What is the name of the person who took you to Guam?' (c)

Kasano ngaruden ti panggeptayo a mangikalawa iti kapilia?  
kasano ngarud=en ti panggep=tayo a mangika-lawa iti kapilia  
how then=now ART plan=1pINCL.A LIG DETR-wide OBL chapel  
‘What about our plan then to make the chapel wider?’

#### 15.4 Agentless transitives

Not all transitive verbs in Ilocano always specify an agentive argument. Ilocano does have a means to demote the status of an agentive argument, simply by leaving it out of the utterance. Like many ergative languages, Ilocano does not have a passive construction to suit this purpose. The closest Ilocano clause that may be analyzed as a quasi-passive is that consisting of a transitive verb in the predicate with an undergoer of the action expressed in the absolutive case. Contrast a canonical transitive sentence with its agentless counterpart.

Canonical transitive (Transitive verb, 2 arguments)

Maawatannak?  
ma-awat-an=mo=ak  
ABIL-understand-T=2sE=1sA  
‘Do you understand me?’

Passive (Transitive verb, 1 argument)

Maawatanak.  
ma-awat-an=ak  
ABIL-understand-T=1sA  
‘I am understood.’

The suffix *-en* (perfective form *-in-*) or the circumfix *ma-* *-an* sometimes may form passive type verbs in which the agent is expressed in the root.

Iggesen kuma ‘ta ngiwatmo!  
igges-en kuma ta ngiwat=mo  
worm-T OPT that mouth=2sE  
‘May your mouth be infested by worms (lit: be wormed).’

Inipes ti biko.  
ipes{in} ti biko  
cockroach{PF.T} ART rice.cake  
‘The rice cake was infested by cockroaches.’ (c)

Nanudianak.  
na-tudo-an=ak  
PF-rain-T=1sA  
‘I got rained on.’

In very few instances with *ma-* stative verbs, however, an agent may be expressed in the oblique case, mirroring the passive prototype.

Naduayaak        iti    singgit    dagiti    andidit.  
na-duaya=ak    iti    singgit    dagiti    andidit  
PF-lullaby=1sA OBL shrill    PL        cicada  
'I was lulled to sleep by the shrills of the cicadas.' (w)

## 16. Reciprocals, the infix *-inn-* and prefix *ag-*

Reciprocal verbs in Ilocano may be 'inherent' or 'morphological'. Inherent reciprocals have a reciprocal meaning in their semantics with no reciprocal morphology. These include verb roots such as *saliwasiw* 'to separate and meet again', and *siliwasiw* 'to miss each other when coming from different directions'

'Morphological reciprocals' are verbs that take an affix to encode the reciprocal relationship of the plural actors in their semantics. The infix *-inn-*, usually accompanied by the prefix *ag-* is used for this purpose. The infix *-inn-*, like all other infixes in the language, is placed before the first vowel of the root.

Ammok nga aginniliwdanto.  
 ammo=k nga ag-iliw{inn}=da=nto  
 know=1sE LIG I-nostalgia{RECIP}=3p=FUT  
 'I know that they will miss each other.'

Nagpinnadasda iti pigsa.  
 n-ag-padas{inn}=da iti pigsa  
 PF-I-compete{RECIP}=3p OBL strength  
 'They competed with each other in a feat of strength.' (w)

To further specify the plurality of the absolutive actors of the reciprocal *-inn-* verb, CV root reduplication may be employed.

Agpipinnabasoldan no sinno ti pimmaltog.  
 ag-R-pa{inn}-basol=da=n no sinno ti paltog{in-um}  
 I-PL-CAUS{RECIP}-blame=3p=now SUB who ART gun{PF-I}  
 'They are blaming each other for firing the shot.' (w)

Agsisinnaranayda.  
 ag-PL-saranay{inn}=da  
 I-PL-take.care{RECIP}=3p  
 'They look after (take care of) each other.'

Many *ag-* verbs have a reciprocal nature, requiring their absolutive arguments to be plural. These are called multiple reciprocal verbs. This is, of course, a feature of the semantics of the given verbs and not necessarily encoded with the special morphology.

Agkitatanto.  
 ag-kita=ta=nto  
 I-see=1dA=FUT  
 'We'll see each other.'



## 17. Reflexives

Ilocano has no special verbal morphology to indicate reflexives. The pronouns used in reflexive constructions are identical to the *bagi*-possessives: *bagik* 'myself', *bagim* 'yourself', *bagina* 'himself/herself/itself', *bagita* 'ourselves (dual)', *bagimi* 'ourselves (exclusive)', *bagitayo* 'ourselves (inclusive)', and *bagida* 'themselves.' The plural pronouns may occur reduplicated with *bagbagi*-. The root *bagi* meaning 'body' is normally used in the absolutive case, as a focused argument of a transitive verb.

Nakitana ti bagina iti sarming.  
na-kita=na ti bagi=na iti sarming  
PF.T-see=3sE ART body=3sE OBL mirror  
'He saw himself in the mirror.' (c)

Naikarikon ti bagik nga agserbiak a  
na-i-kari=ko=n ti bagi=k nga ag=serbi=ak a  
PF-T-promise=1sE=already ART body=1sE LIG I-serve=1sA LIG

sipupudno iti ili.  
si-R-pudno iti ili  
ADJ-R-true OBL town

'I promised myself to serve the town truthfully.'

Ibilangmo ti bagim a nagasat.  
i-bilang=mo ti bagi=m a na-gasat  
T-consider=2sE ART body=2sE LIG ADJ-luck  
'Consider yourself lucky.'

Bag-utem 'ta gayang ken salaknibam ta bagim!  
bag'ut-en=mo ta gayang ken salaknib-an=mo ta bagi=mo  
unsheathe-T=2sE MEDIAL spear and save-T=2sE MEDIAL body=2sE  
'Unsheathe that spear and save yourself!' (w)

Not all reflexive pronouns must occur in the absolutive case with transitive verbs. In constructions where the co-referential nominal precedes an intransitive verb in an identificational construction, the reflexive pronoun must occur with oblique case marking, as it no longer is a part of the valence of the verb.

Isuna ti nakangeg iti bagina iti radio.  
isuna ti naka-dengneg iti bagi=na iti radio  
3s ART PF.INVOL-hear OBL himself OBL radio  
'He is the one who heard himself on the radio.' (c)

Reflexive pronouns may also occur with noun phrases:

Datayo ti timek ti bagbagitayo.  
we ART voice ART ourselves  
'We are our own voice (the voice of ourselves).'

In rare cases, reflexive pronouns may actually precede their specified referents.

Awan sabali a makalinglingay iti bagbagitayo no saan a datayo.  
awan sabali a maka-R-lingay iti R-bagi=tayo no saan a datayo  
NEG.EXIST other LIG ABIL-R-amuse OBL PL-body=1pINCL if NEG LIG 1pINCL  
'Nobody else can amuse ourselves but us.' (w)



## 18. CLAUSE COMBINING

This chapter outlines various processes involved when clauses are combined. In certain combinations, one clause becomes a well-integrated (dependent) constituent of another. These particular cases include relative clauses and complement clauses. Clauses may also combine where neither is the superordinate construction; both may function independently. Such is the case with coordinate clauses.

This chapter will illustrate the following types:

- 18.1 Relative clauses
- 18.2 Complement clauses
- 18.3 Adverbial Clauses
- 18.4 Coordination

### 18.1 Relative clauses

A relative clause is a subordinate clause that modifies the head of a noun phrase to which it is a part; it 'relates' a piece of information to its head noun.

NP with a relative clause = head noun + relative clause ((*ng*)*a* + predicate of clause)

ti tao a manakem  
ART man LIG wise  
'the man that is wise (the wise man)'

ti balasang nga agur-uray kaniak  
ti balasang nga ag-R-uray kaniak  
ART lady LIG I-CONT-wait ISOBL  
'the young lady who is waiting for me'

ti al-alia a nakitana  
ti al'alialia a na-kita=na  
ART ghost LIG PF-see=3sE  
'the ghost that she saw'

All clause types may appear as relative clauses, except ambient (meteorological) clauses which, for clear semantic reasons, lack a noun phrase topic that may be relativized. The following examples will show (in order) stative, intransitive, transitive, existential, and nominal clauses occurring as relative clauses.

Ayanna ti balasang a napudaw?  
ayan=na ti balasang a na-pudaw  
where=3sE ART lady LIG ADJ-fair.complexion  
'Where is the light skinned girl (girl that is light skinned).'

Sinabatmi ti paseros nga aggapu't Manila.  
 sabat{in}=mi ti paseros nga ag-gapu-iti Manila  
 fetch{PF.T}=1pEXCL.E ART passengers LIG I-come.from-OBL Manila  
 'We fetched the passengers coming from Manila.'

Linutomi dagidiay tukak a naalami.  
 luto{in}=mi dagidiay tukak a na-ala=mi  
 cook{PF.T}=1pEXCL.E those frog LIG PF.ABIL.T-get=1pEXCL.E  
 'We cooked the frogs that we got.'

Isu ti Tagalog nga adda idi kalman.  
 he ART Tagalog LIG EXIST PST yesterday  
 'He's the Tagalog person who was here yesterday.'

Para iti anakko a mangngagas.  
 para iti anak=ko a maN-agas  
 for OBL child=1sE LIG NOM-cure  
 'It's for my child who is a doctor.'

Dagiti bugbugian a paltat ken maysa a dalag.  
 dagiti R-bugi-an a paltat ken maysa a dalag  
 PL PL-roe-NOM LIG catfish and one LIG mudfish  
 'The roe of catfish and one mudfish (is what we'll eat).'

The verbal morphology of Ilocano reflects the absolutive status of the relativized head noun. Ilocano syntax requires the head noun to be in absolutive position with respect to the verb of the relative clause.

Ti ubing a nagsangit..  
 ti ubing a n-ag-sangit  
 ART child LIG PF-I-cry  
 'The child that cried..'

diay balasang a na-kita=k.  
 that lady LIG INVOL.PF.T-see=1sE  
 'the lady that I saw.'

Isu ti balud a naka-kita iti uliteg=ko.  
 3s ART prisoner LIG PF.INVOL-see OBL uncle=1sE  
 'He is the prisoner who saw my uncle.' (c)

Ayan=na ti balasang a nang-templa iti kape=k?  
 where=3sE ART lady LIG I-mix.flavor OBL coffee=1sE  
 'Where is the girl who prepared my coffee?'

Para kadagidiay tao a saan pay a nangan.  
 para ka-dagidiay tao a saan pay a nang-kaan  
 for OBL-those people LIG NEG yet LIG PF.I-eat  
 'It's for those people who haven't eaten yet.'

Kayatko ti balasang a nagkanta idi kalman.  
 kayat=ko ti balasang a n-ag-kanta idi.kalman  
 want=1sE ART girl LIG PF-I-sing yesterday  
 'I want the girl who sang yesterday.'

Silulukat ti barukong ken takkiagda nga umawat kenka.  
 si-R-lukat ti barukong ken takkiag=da nga um-awat kenka  
 ADJ-R-open ART chest and arm=3p LIG I-receive 2sOBL  
 'Their chest (heart) and arms are open to receive you (lit: they are open that receive you).' (w)

Isu ti katulong a naatalak.  
 isu ti ka-tulong a na-atal-an=k  
 3s ART COMMIT-help LIG PF.INVOL-run.over-T=1sE  
 'She is the maid that I (accidentally) ran over.' (c)

Two (or more) relative clauses may occur sequentially as descriptive phrases provided that each one is preceded by the relativizing ligature (*nga*).

Ayanna ti babai a taga-San Diego nga inayabak?  
 Ayan=na ti babai a taga-San Diego nga ayab{in}-an=ko  
 where=3sE ART girl LIG from-San Diego LIG call{PF}-T=1sE  
 'Who is the girl from San Diego that I called?'

## 18.2 Complement clauses

Complement clauses are those which can be considered as embedded nuclear constituents of another clause. They are internally structured identically to independent clauses in Ilocano; there is no special complementizing morphology, and complement clauses have the potential to stand alone as a complete phrase. However, some clauses may be reduced if they contain an argument co-referential with that of the main verb. Complement clauses function as 'arguments' of their main clauses as seen in the following examples below (complement clauses are shown in italics):

Kayatna *nga agawidka.*  
 kayat=na *nga ag-awid=ka*  
 want=3sE LIG I-go.home=2sA  
 'He wants [you to go home].'

Kayatna *ti* *agawid*.  
 kayat=na *ti* *ag-awid*  
 want=3sE ART I-go.home  
 'He wants [to go home].'

This description of complementation in this chapter will be arranged around the various types of complement taking predicators according to their syntactic characteristics as follows:

- 18.2.1 Nominal *ti* complementation
- 18.2.2 *Ta* complementation
- 18.2.3 *Nga* complementation

### 18.2.1 Type 1: Nominal *ti* complementation

The first type of complement clause to be discussed involves a transitive verb in the main clause, and a nominalized complement clause as its argument. This type of clause requires that the argument of the nominalized complement clause be co-referential with the ergative argument of the main transitive clause. With *ti* complementation, the pivot is the ergative actor.

These complement clauses are formed with intransitive verbs preceded by the article/complementizer *ti*, which suggests a nominalized interpretation:

Masapulko *ti* *mapan*.  
 ma-sapul=ko *ti* *ma-pan*  
 INVOL-need=1sE ART I-go  
 'I need to go.'

Kayatmo *ti* *agdigos?*  
 kayat=mo *ti* *ag-digos*  
 want=2sE ART I-bath  
 'Do you want to take a bath?'

Insardengnan *ti* *mapan idia* *talon*.  
 i{in}-sardeng=na=n *ti* *ma-pan idia* *talon*  
 T{PF}-stop=3sE=already ART I-go there rice.field  
 'He stopped going to the rice fields.'

Apaman a nalpaskami a nangaldaw rinugianmi  
 apaman a na-leppas=kami a nang-aldaw rugi{in}-an=mi  
 as.soon LIG PF-finish=1pEXCL.A LIG PF.I-day start{PF}-T=1pEXCL.E

manen *ti* *agkali*.  
 manen *ti* *ag-kali*  
 again ART I-dig  
 'As soon as we finished eating lunch, we started digging again.' (w)

Diakon                    natuloy                    *ti*                    *nangan.*  
 di=ak=on                    na-tuloy                    ti                    nang-kaan  
 NEG=1sA=already PF.T-continue                    ART                    PF.I-eat  
 'I could no longer continue eating.'

No    intuloyna                    kuma    *ti*                    *nagsapul.*                    nakitana                    kuma  
 no    in-T-tuloy=na                    kuma    ti                    n-ag-sapul.                    na-kita=na                    kuma  
 if    PF-T-continue=3sE                    OPT                    ART                    PF-I-look                    PF.T-see=3sE                    OPT

*ti*    kotse    idiyay  
 ti    kotse    idiyay.  
 ART    car    there

'If he had continued to search, he would have seen the car there.'

We can compare these constructions to similar cases where the argument of the transitive main verb has additional nominalizing morphology. In these cases, the argument functions more as a noun phrase than an actual complement clause.

Dina                    intuloy                    *ti*                    *yuulogna.*  
 di=na                    i{in}-tuloy                    ti                    i-R-ulog=na  
 NEG=3sE    T{PF}-contine                    ART                    T-NOM-descend=3sE  
 'He didn't continue his descent.'

As the complement clause functions as an argument of the transitive verb in the main clause, double pronoun enclitics that specify the ergative and absolutive argument may not be used with the main clause verb. The complement clause takes the place of the absolutive argument.

\*Kayatnak                    *ti*                    agdigos?  
 kayat=mo=ak                    ti                    ag-digos  
 want=2sE=1sA                    ART                    I-bath  
 \*'Do you want to bathe me?' (\*c) (\* = ungrammatical/nonsense phrase)

### 18.2.3                    Type 2 Complementation: *Ta*

The second type of complement clause to be outlined here will be called *ta* complement clauses, as the complement clauses involved with this system of complementation are preceded by the complementizer *ta*. *Ta* complement clauses must be finite: co-referential arguments are not deleted in the complement clause.

Predicators that take *ta* complement clauses can be considered lexicalized expressions that require the complementizer *ta* in their case frames:

(na)imbag ta it's good that..  
 sapay kuma ta I hope that..  
 Pagammuan ta Suddenly...  
 Pangngaasi-m/yo ta Please  
 sayang ta it's a shame that..  
 bay-an ta let; allow...

Sapay kuma ta agballigika.  
 sapay kuma ta ag-balligi=ka  
 OPT OPT SUB I-succeed=2sA  
 'I hope you succeed.'

Naimbag kenka ta adda nabati a liwliwam.  
 na-imbag kenka ta adda na-bati a R-liwa=mo  
 ADJ-good 2SOBL SUB EXIST ADJ-left LIG R-console=2sE  
 'It's good for you that you have consolation left.'

Imbag ta nakapanka.  
 imbag ta naka-pan=ka  
 good SUB ABIL.PF.I-go=2sA  
 'It's good that you were able to go.'

Pagammuan ta nagsardeng  
 pag-ammo-an ta n-ag-sardeng.  
 NOM-know-NOM SUB PF-I-stop  
 'All of a sudden he stopped.'

Pangngaasim ta saanmo a rakraken ti dayawko.  
 paN-R-asi=mo ta saan=mo a rakrak-en ti dayaw=ko  
 NOM-R-pity=2sE SUB NEG=2sE LIG destroy-T ART honor=1sE  
 'Please do not destroy my honor.' (w)

Sayang ta dika nakaumay.  
 sayang ta di=ka naka-umay.  
 shame SUB NEG=2sA PF.can-come  
 'It's a shame you weren't able to come.'

The conjunction *ta* is often used to introduce complement clauses with certain imperative verbs, i.e. *aguray* 'wait', *ibaga* 'tell', *umay* 'come', *bay-an* 'allow', etc.

Ibagam ta umay.  
 i-baga=mo ta um-ay  
 T-say=2sE SUB I-come  
 'Tell him to come.'

Bay-am ta padasek a kasarita ni Jill.  
 bay-a-an=mo a padas-en=ko a ka-sarita ni Jill  
 allow-T=2sE SUB try-T=1sE LIG COMMIT.T-talk PA Jill  
 'Let me try to speak with Jill.'

Umayka ketdi ta ramanam ti pudot.  
 um-ay=ka ketdi ta raman-an=mo ti pudot  
 I-come=2sA anyway SUB taste-T=2sE ART heat  
 'Come anyway to feel the warmth.'

Agsardengkan ta inka aginanan.  
 ag-sardeng=ka=n ta in=ka ag-inana=n  
 I-stop=2sA=now SUB go=2sA I-rest=now  
 'Stop now and take a rest.'

Agurayka ta idasaranka iti meriendam.  
 ag-uray=ka ta i-dasar-an=ko=ka iti merienda=m  
 I-wait=2sA SUB THM-set-T=1sE=2sA OBL snack=2sE  
 'Wait and I'll prepare for you your afternoon snack.'

Aguraykayo ta sapulek.  
 ag-uray=kayo ta sapul-en=ko  
 I-wait=2pA SUB search-T=1sE  
 'Wait and I'll look for it.'

Agtanangka ta dikanto ket madismaya.  
 ag-tanang=ka ta di=ka=(n)to ket ma-dismaya  
 I-calm=2sA so NEG=2sA=FUT SUB INVOL-faint  
 'Calm down so you don't faint.'

### 18.2.3 Type 3 Complementation, ligature (*nga*)

All other complement clauses in Ilocano must be preceded by the ligature (*nga*), so for practical purposes, we will refer to these particular clauses as *nga complement clauses*.

*Nga* complement clauses are not uniform in their semantics and syntactic behavior, and therefore must be segregated into the following categories according to their morpho-syntax:

- a. Impersonal predicates with complement clauses
- b. Personal predicates with co-referential complement clauses
- c. Personal predicates with non-co-referential complement clauses

### 18.2.3.1 Impersonal predicates with complement clauses

The first type of *nga* complement clauses to be discussed are those which accompany an impersonal predicate. These impersonal predicates are clauses that do not take personal clitic pronouns or full noun phrase arguments along with their complement clauses. Among the impersonal predicates that may take complement clauses are:

a. Evaluative clauses

<i>mayat</i>	good
<i>naimbag</i>	good
<i>nasayaat</i>	good
<i>nasaysayaat</i>	better
<i>nagasat</i>	lucky
<i>nalaka</i>	easy
<i>narigar</i>	difficult
<i>madi</i>	bad

b. Aspectual

<i>mangrugi</i>	begin
<i>agtuloy</i>	continue
<i>agsardeng</i>	stop
<i>aggiddan</i>	do simultaneously
<i>agtalinaed</i>	remain; persist
<i>agridam</i>	to do vigilantly
<i>saan pay</i>	not yet
<i>agbanag</i>	end up, result in
<i>nabayag</i>	long time
<i>malpas</i>	finish

c. Modal

<i>rumbeng</i>	must
<i>masapol</i>	need, must
<i>maibagay</i>	appropriate, proper
<i>nasken</i>	necessary

d. Epistemic and desiderative

<i>napudno</i>	true, correct
<i>agpayso</i>	true, correct
<i>nalatak</i>	evident
<i>nalawag</i>	clear



These complement clauses function as arguments of impersonal main clauses that do not specify an agent or actor. The complement clause, therefore specifies the appropriate referent. The complement clauses are shown throughout this section in italics.

Nasken *nga aginanakayo.*  
 na-sekken *nga ag-inana=kayo*  
 ADJ-need LIG I-rest=2pA  
 'It is necessary that you rest.'

Masapul *a mabuniaganka itan.*  
 ma-sapul *a ma-buniag-an=ka ita=n*  
 ADJ-need LIG INVOL-baptism-T=2sA today=now  
 'You need to be baptized today.'

Nagtuloy *a rimmang-ay ti negosiona.*  
 n-ag-tuloy *a rang'ay{in-um} ti negosio=na*  
 PF-I-continue LIG prosper{PF-I} ART business=3sE  
 'His business continued to prosper.' (w)

Masapul *nga ipaspasnekmi ti agadal itan.*  
 ma-sapul *nga i-pa-R-sennek=mi ti ag-adal ita=n*  
 ADJ-need LIG T-CAUS-CONT-fervent=1pEXCL.E ART I-study today=now  
 'It is necessary that we strive to study now.' (w)

Pudno *nga ay-ayatennaka.*  
 pudno *nga R-ayat-en=na=ka*  
 true LIG CONT-love-T=3sE=2sA  
 'It is true that he loves you.'

Nabayagen *a birbirokenka.*  
 na-bayag=en *a R-birok-en=ko=ka*  
 ADJ-long.time=already LIG CONT-search-T=1sE=2sA  
 'It has been a long time already that I have been looking for you.'

Not all complement clauses of this type will specify an argument. Such is the case with meteorological verbs:

Mangrugi *nga agarbis.*  
 mang-rugi *nga ag-arbis*  
 I=start LIG I-drizzle  
 'It is starting to drizzle.'

### 18.2.3.2 Personal predicates with co-referential complement clauses

Personal predicates that take complement clauses are those that take a pronominal or noun phrase argument as their actor. They may be either transitive or non-transitive. Among the many personal predicates that may take complement clauses are the following, arranged below by semantic category for quick reference.

#### a. Perception verbs

<i>makita</i>	see
<i>mangngeg</i>	hear
<i>maallingag</i>	hear indistinctly

#### b. Knowledge verbs

<i>ammo</i>	know
<i>natakuatan</i>	discover
<i>maawatan</i>	understand
<i>malagip</i>	remember

#### c. Propositional attitude verbs

<i>kayat</i>	want
<i>patien</i>	believe
<i>pagarupen</i>	guess, suspect
<i>namnamaen</i>	hope
<i>anamongan</i>	agree
<i>talken</i>	trust
<i>ikeddeng</i>	decide

#### d. Phasal verbs

<i>rugian, irugi</i>	begin
<i>mangrugi</i>	begin
<i>urayen</i>	wait
<i>ibturan</i>	endure
<i>leppasen</i>	finish
<i>agtuloy</i>	continue
<i>ituloy</i>	continue
<i>igagara</i>	do on purpose
<i>maitured</i>	dare to do, have courage to
<i>aggiddan</i>	do simultaneously
<i>agsardeng</i>	stop

e. Manipulative verbs

<i>iparit, pariten</i>	forbid
<i>bay-an</i>	allow, permit
<i>ipalubos</i>	allow
<i>ibaga</i>	tell
<i>piliten</i>	force
<i>palugodan</i>	permit, allow
<i>itulok</i>	let go; give up; permit
<i>pangtaan</i>	threaten
<i>layatan</i>	threaten
<i>tulongan</i>	help
<i>padasen</i>	try

f. declarative/utterance verbs

<i>sapataen</i>	swear; declare
<i>ikari</i>	promise
<i>palagipen</i>	remind
<i>ipalawag</i>	explain
<i>isingasing</i>	recommend, propose, suggest
<i>ipakita</i>	show
<i>pakdaaran</i>	notify, inform; warn
<i>ipalgak</i>	reveal; make known
<i>iwaragawag</i>	announce
<i>saritaen</i>	tell; relate
<i>ipadyakyak</i>	disclose; reveal
<i>bukodan</i>	do on one's own

If a predicate taking a complement clause has a specified agent or actor referent which is co-referential with that of the complement clause, the actor need not be expressed in the complement clause. The non-expressed co-referential actor of the semantic clauses may encode either an ergative or absolutive argument. It is the semantic role of actor, not syntactic role that allows deletion of the co-referential argument of the complement clause.

Addakami	<i>a mangsarabo</i>	<i>kenka.</i>
adda = kami	a mang-sarabo	kenka
EXIST = 1pEXCL.A	LIG I-welcome	2SOBL

'We are here to welcome you.'

No	adda	wayada	<i>a manglib-at, dida</i>	<i>agtaktak.</i>
no	adda	waya = da	a mang-lib`at di = da	ag-taktak
if	EXIST	free = 3p	LIG I-attack	NEG = 3p

I-delay

'It they are free to attack, they don't delay.' (w)

Naggiddankami met a nangsunbat kadakuada.  
 n-ag-giddan=kami met a nang-sunbat kadakuada  
 PF-I-same.time=1pEXCL.A also LIG PF.I-answer 3sOBL  
 'We answered them at the same time.'

Nagsardengda nga agwayat.  
 n-ag-sardeng=da nga ag-wayat  
 PF-I-stop=3p LIG I-cast.net  
 'They stopped casting their fishing nets.'

Idi malpasak a mamigat...  
 idi ma-leppas=ak a maN-bigat  
 PST INVOL-finish=1sA LIG DERIV:meal-morning  
 'When I finished eating breakfast..'

Agridamkayo nga agbantay ita a rabii.  
 ag-ridam=kayo nga ag-bantay ita a rabii  
 I-vigilant=2pA LIG I-guard today LIG night  
 'Stand guard vigilantly tonight.' (w)

Kayatda a basakbasaken ti kalinteganna.  
 kayat=da a basakbasak-en ti ka-linteg-an=na  
 want=3p LIG trespass-T ART NOM-law-NOM=3sE  
 'They want to trespass on his rights.' (w)

Ingagarak nga inlimed kenka ti nasakitko...  
 i{in}-gagara=ko nga i{in}-limed kenka ti na-sakit=ko  
 T{PF}-on.purpose=1sE LIG T{PF}-hide 2sOBL ART ADJ-sick=1sE  
 'I purposely hid from you my sickness.'

Anianto man ti pagbanagan daytoy, bukodakto nga  
 ania=nto man ti pag-banag-an daytoy bukod-an=ko=to nga  
 what=FUT ever ART NOM-result-NOM this own-T=1sE=FUT LIG

ibaklay.  
 i-baklay  
 T-carry.on.shoulder

'Whatever will come out of this, I alone will assume responsibility.'

Dina intuloy a kinalbit ti gatilio.  
 di=na in-T-tuloy a kalbit{in} ti gatilio  
 NEG=3sE PF-T-continue LIG pull{PF.T} ART trigger  
 'He didn't proceed to pull the trigger.' (w)

Diak mabalin nga ibaga kadakayo.  
 di=ko ma-balin nga i-baga kadakayo  
 NEG=1sE INVOL-can LIG T-tell 2pOBL  
 'I can't tell you.'

Padasekto a kasarita ni Susanna.  
 padas-en=ko=to a ka-sarita ni Susanna  
 try-T-T=1sE=FUT LIG COMMIT.T-talk PA Susanna  
 'I'll try to talk to Susanna.'

Kayatko a kasaritakayo iti nalapat.  
 kayat=ko a ka-sarita=(ko)=kayo iti na-lapat  
 want=1sE LIG COMMIT.T-talk=(1sE)=2pA OBL ADJ-frank  
 'I want to speak with you frankly.'

Co-referential arguments may be expressed twice, once in the main clause, and again in the complement clause for clarity (to avoid any ambiguous interpretations).

Impambarko a mapanak manen agrabaho idiy Manila.  
 i{in}-pambar=ko a ma-pan=ak manen ag-trabaho idiy Manila  
 T{PF}-excuse=1sE LIG I-go=1sA again I-work there Manila  
 'I made the excuse to go work again in Manila.' (w)

Inkeddengko a kasaritak ni Beng.  
 i{in}-keddeng=ko a ka-sarita=ko ni Beng  
 T{PF}-decide=1sE LIG COMMIT-talk=1sE PA Beng  
 'I decided to speak with Beng.'

Pampanunotek itayen a tukkolek ti tulangna.  
 R-panunot-en=ko itay=en a tukkol-en=ko ti tulang=na  
 CONT-think-T=1sE PST=EMPH LIG break-T=1sE ART bone=3sE  
 'I was just thinking a moment ago of breaking his bones.'

Ikarik a pasiarek ti tanemmo iti inaldaw.  
 i-kari=ko a pasiar-en=ko ti tanem=mo iti aldaw{in}  
 T-promise=1sE LIG stroll-T=1sE ART tomb=2sE OBL day{every}  
 'I promise to pass by your tomb everyday.'

If the transitive verb in the main clause encodes both the ergative and absolutive argument (as in a double pronoun construction), the non-transitive complement clause will normally refer to the absolutive argument:

Bay-annak                    *nga*    *agsangit.*  
 bay'a-an=mo=ak            *nga*    *ag-sangit*  
 allow-T=2sE=1sA        *LIG*    *I-cry*  
 'Let me cry.'

Aw-awisendak                *nga*    *agahedres.*  
 R-awis-en=da=ak            *nga*    *ag-ahedres*  
 CONT-invite-T=3pE=1sA    *LIG*    *I-chess*  
 'They are inviting me to play chess.'

Kayatka                    *a*    *manugangen.*  
 kayat=ko=ka                *a*    *manugang=en*  
 want=1sE=2sA        *LIG*    *son.in.law=now*  
 'I want you as a son in law.'

If the complement clause is negative and the agent or actor of it is not lexical, the pronoun is required in both the main clause and the complement clause.

Diak        impalgak                    *a*    *diak*        *ammo*    *ti*        *aglangoy.*  
 di=ko        i{in}-pa-leggak                *a*    *di=ko*        *ammo*    *ti*        *ag-langoy*  
 NEG=1sE    T{PF}-CAUS-appear        *LIG*    *NEG=1sE*    *know*    *ART*    *I-swim*  
 'I didn't reveal that I didn't know how to swim.' (w)

### 18.2.3.3 Personal predicates with non-co-referential complement clauses

Complement clauses that are non-co-referential with their main clauses must include a finite verb. The arguments of the verb of the complement clause are expressed either pronominally or lexically.

Umanamongka                *nga*    *agsinakayo?*  
 um-anamong=ka            *nga*    *ag-sina=kayo*  
 I-agree=2sA                *LIG*    *I-separate=2pA*  
 'Did you agree to separate (that you two will separate)?'

Itulokyo                    *ngarud*    *nga*    *agkakallautangtayo.*  
 i-tulok=yo                *ngarud*    *nga*    *ag-ka-kallautang=tayo*  
 T-let=2pE                *then*    *LIG*    *I-COMIT-float.adrift=1pINCL.A*  
 'You let us drift aimlessly then.' (w)

Pagarupek                    *a*    *saantanton*                    *nga*    *agkita.*  
 pagarup-en=ko            *a*    *saan=ta=nto=n*                *nga*    *ag-kita*  
 presume-T=1sE            *LIG*    *NEG=1dINCL=FUT=now*        *LIG*    *I-see*  
 'I guess we won't be seeing each other now.'

Kayatko a patayem ni Juan.  
 kayat=ko a pa-tay-en=mo ni Juan  
 want=1sE LIG CAUS-die-T=2sE PA Juan  
 'I want you to kill Juan.' (c)

Dimo ipalubos a maadaywannaka.  
 di=mo i-palubos a ma-adayo-an=na=ka  
 NEG=2sE T-permit LIG ABIL-far-T=3sE=2sA  
 'Don't let her get away from you.'

### 18.3 Adverbial Clauses

Adverbial clauses are sentential or phrasal adjuncts. Adjuncts, which modify a lexical head, are not required or 'subcategorized' by the syntax of the language. Thus, adverbial clauses are clauses that provide modificatory information that relate to their main clauses. The semantic relations between the adverbial clauses and the main clauses they modify encompass the same range of semantic relations that are shared between adverbs and the verbs they modify, i.e. time, manner, place, instrument, circumstance, concession, purpose, result, cause, or condition (Thompson and Longacre 1985).

This chapter will outline adverbial clauses, categorized by semantic links to the main clauses, incorporating the schemas of Givón (1990) and Thompson and Longacre (1985):

1. temporal
2. locational
3. manner
4. purpose
5. reason, cause
6. circumstantial
7. simultaneous
8. conditional
9. concessive
10. substitutive
11. additive
12. result

The rest of the chapter will address the classification above, illustrating Ilocano adverbial clauses as they fit in each category. For a discussion of the morpho-syntactic behavior of particular adverbs, please refer to 'Adverbs.'

### 18.3.1. Temporal clauses

There are four temporal connectives in Ilocano used to frame adverbial clauses in time with relationship to each other, among other functions.

The temporal connectives are:

<i>idi</i>	past 'when (in the past)'
<i>idinto</i>	past 'when, while (in the past) (temporal); whereas, since (reason)'
<i>no</i>	future, 'when (temporal); if (conditional)'
<i>inton(o)</i>	'when (in the future)'

*Idi* frames utterances in past time. Clauses introduced by *idi* do not necessarily have to be encoded with perfective aspect.

Naluton	ti	adobona	idi	sumangpet	ti	asawana.
na-luto=(e)n	ti	adobo=na	idi	sangpet{um}	ti	asawa=na
PF-cook=already	ART	adobo=3sE	when	arrive-I	ART	husband=3sE

'Her adobo was already cooked when her husband arrived.' (w)

Inrugik	ti	nagbartek	ken	nagsugal	idi	naammuak
i{in}-rugi=ko	ti	n-ag-bartek	ken	n-ag-sugal	idi	na-ammo-an=ko
T{PF}-start=1sE	ART	PF-I-drunk	and	PF-I-gamble	when	PF-know-T=1sE

nga agayan-ayatkayo.  
 nga ag-R<sub>CVCVN</sub>-ayat=kayo  
 LIG I-MUTUAL-love=2pA

'I started to drink and gamble when I found out that you two were lovers.' (w)

*Idi* may also be used as an adverbial temporal marker, unlike the connective *no*:

Naammuak	idi.
na-ammo-an=ko	idi
PF-know-T=1sE	PAST

'I knew a while back; I found that out before.'

*Idinto* also serves to frame clauses in past time, but emphasizes the co-occurrence of two actions. In many clauses, *idinto* also specifies the reason for the action specified in the second clause, similar to the English conjunction '*as, whereas or since*' Before nominal phrases, *idinto* is followed by *ta*, and before verbal phrases, the ligature is required.

Nagellek	ti	lakay	idinto	ta	bimmara	ti	pingping
n-ag-ellek	ti	lakay	idinto	ta	bara{in-um}	ti	pingping
PF-I-chuckle	ART	old.man	as	SUB	heat{PF-I}	ART	cheek



ti     baketna.  
ti     baket=na  
ART  wife=3sE

'The old man chuckled as the cheek of his wife flared up.' (w)

Nagtugawkami     iti     sirok     ti     niog     idinto     a     nagay-ayam  
n-ag-tugaw=kami   iti     sirok     ti     niog     idinto     a     n-ag-R-ayam  
PF-I-sit=1pEXCL  OBL   under   ART   coconut as     LIG PF-I-CONT-play

ti     ubing.  
ti     ubing  
ART  child

'We sat under the coconut tree as the child played.' (w)

Apay     a     kasla     masadsadutka     a     makisarsarita,  
apay     a     kasla     ma-R-sadut=ka     a     maki-R-sarita  
why     LIG like     INVOL-R-lazy=2sA     LIG COMIT-R-speak

idinto   ta   sika     ti     kalaingan     a     sumarita     idi.  
idinto   ta   sika     ti     ka-laing-an     a     sarita{um}   idi  
since    LIG 2s     ART     SUPER-smart-SUPER   LIG speak{I}   PST

'Why do you seem to be at a loss for words (lazy to join in), since before you used to be the best speaker.'

The temporal connective *inton(o)* serves as a temporal subordinator for adverbial clauses which denote future situations:

Inton           aginaw     ni   Marta, pangngasim     ta   yadayom kenni Ando.  
inton           ag-inaw    ni   Marta, pang-R-asi=m     ta   y-adayo=m kenni A.  
when           I-conceive   PA M.     NOM-R-pity=2sE   LIG T-far=2sE OBL A.  
'When Marta is about to conceive, please get her away from Ando.' (W)

Awagankanto                   ngarud   inton   asideg   ti     padayami.  
awag-an=ko=ka=(n)to       ngarud   inton   asideg   ti     padaya=mi  
call-T=1sE=2sA=FUT       then   when   near     ART   party=1pEXCL.E  
'I'll call you then when our party draws near.'

The temporal connective *no* 'when (future); if' is used not only to frame future time, but also to indicate possibility that the action may not occur (see conditional clauses).

Padigosakto                    no            umayda.  
 pa-digos-an=ko=(n)to        no            um-ay=da  
 CAUS-bathe-T=1sE=FUT    FUT        I-come=3pA  
 'I will bathe him when they come.'

Parbangonto    ngatan            no            makaiwakaskami.  
 parbangon=to   ngata=n            no            maka-i-wakas=kami  
 dawn=FUT        perhaps=now        FUT        ABIL-THM-finish.work=1pEXCL.A  
 'It will probably be dawn when we finish our task.'

Aramidekto                    no            kayatmo.  
 aramid-en=ko=(n)to        no            kayat=mo  
 do-T=1sE=FUT            COND        want=2sE  
 'I'll do it if you want.'

*Sakbay* 'before' is the Ilocano temporal which frames clauses in earlier time. It may precede either nominal or verbal phrases. When preceding verbal phrases, the ligature (*ng)a* is required.

Sakbay    a    nagsisinakami.                    inawisnakami                    nga agpulutan.  
 sakbay    a    n-ag-R-sina=kami                    in-awis=na=kami                    nga ag-pulutan  
 before    LIG PF-I-PL-separate=1pEXCL        PF-invite=3sE=1pEXCL    LIG I-beer.snacks  
 'Before we separated, he invited us to have beer and snacks.'

Inaramidko    sakbay    ti            panagawidda.  
 in-aramid=ko   sakbay    ti            pan-ag-awid=da  
 PF.T-do=1sE    before    ART        NOM-I-go.home=3p  
 'I did it before they went home (before their going home).'

*Kalpasan* 'after' is formed from the root *leppas* 'finish.' It is ordinarily followed by nominal clauses.

Kalpasan    ti            panagawidko.                    nadlawko                    nga agsangsangit.  
 kalpasan    ti            pan-ag-awid=ko                    na-dillaw=ko                    nga ag-R-sangit  
 after        ART        NOM-I-go.home=1sE                    PF-notice=1sE                    LIG I-CONT-cry  
 'After going home, I noticed she was crying.' (w)

Simmang-atda    iti            laud    kalpasan    ti            ibaballasiwda    iti    waig.  
 sang'at{in-um}=da    iti            laud    kalpasan    ti            i-R-ballasiw=da    iti    waig  
 climb{PF-I}=3p    OBL        west    after        ART        T-NOM-cross=3pE OBL creek  
 'They ascended to the west after they crossed the creek.' (w)

*Sa* 'then' is used to frame clauses in time to each other in temporal sequence. It precedes clauses whose event takes place after the event of the main clause. When there are enclitic pronouns in the following clause, they attach to the conjunction *sa*.

Intinnagko            ti    angkla    sako            inukarkar            ti    tali.  
*i*{in}-tinnag=ko    ti    angkla    sa=ko    *i*{in}ukarkar    ti    tali  
 T{PF}-drop=1sE    ART    anchor    then=1sE    T{PF}-unravel    ART    rope  
 'I dropped the anchor, then unravelled the rope.' (w)

Nagpalpa            pay.    sa    nagawid.  
 n-ag-pa-leppa        pay    sa    n-ag-awid  
 PF-I-CAUS-digest    then    PF-I-go.home  
 'He rested after eating first, then went home.'

Nagtarukoy            sa    nagdapla            ti    soldado.  
 n-ag-tarukoy        sa    n-ag-dapla            ti    soldado  
 PF-I-walk.with.crouch    then    PF-I-fall.proned    ART    soldier  
 'The soldier crouched his way forward and then fell prone.' (w)

*Agingga* or *aginggana* 'until' designate the endpoint of a state or action. Clauses following *agingga(na)* occur as nominals:

Saanak    nga    agsardeng    agingga    iti    diak            makabirok.  
 saan=ak    nga    ag-sardeng    agingga    iti    di=ak            maka-birok  
 NEG=1sE    LIG    I-stop            until    OBL    NEG=1sE            can-earn.living  
 'I will not stop until I can't earn a living any longer.'

Simmang-atda        pay    iti    abagatan    agingga    iti    matamdaganda  
 sang`at{i-in-um}=da    pay    iti    abagatan    agingga    iti    ma-tamdag-an=da  
 ascent{PF-I}=3p    still    OBL    south            until    OBL    can-look.down-T=3p

ti    ili.  
 ART    town

'They still ascended to the south until they could look down at the city.' (w)

*Agpapan* 'until' is used like *agingga(na)*, but requires temporals to follow it. With the particle *pay*, it designates 'although' or 'despite.'

Agpapan    ita,    saan    pay    a    nakaluto.  
 agpapan    ita    saan    pay    a    naka-luto  
 until        now    NEG    still    LIG    PF.ABIL-cook  
 'Until now, he still hasn't been able to cook.'

Agpapan pay naladawak. agballigiakto.  
 agpapan pay na-ladaw=ak ag-balligi=ak=to  
 until still ADJ-late=1sA I-triumph=1sA=FUT  
 'In spite of the fact that I'm late, I will be victorious.'

*Apaman* 'as soon as, immediately when' is used to express immediacy. It connects to clauses with the ligature (*nga*):

Apaman a nalpaskami a nangaldaw. rinugianmi  
 apaman a na-leppas=kami a nang-aldaw rugi{in}-an=mi  
 as.soon.as LIG PF-finish=1pEXCL LIG PF-lunch start{PF}-T=1pEXCL.E

manen ti agkali.  
 manen ti ag-kali  
 again ART I-dig

'As soon as we were finished having lunch, we started digging again.' (w)

Agsubliakto a dagus apaman a malpas ti kontratak.  
 ag-subli=ak=to a dagus apaman a ma-leppas ti kontrata=k  
 I-return=1sA=FUT LIG immediate as.soon.as LIG INVOL-finish ART contract=1sE  
 'I'll come back as soon as my contract is finished.'

*Tunggal* 'every' introduces clauses to specify the perpetuality of their occurrence. As a subordinator, it precedes clauses without an intervening ligature.

Agsangit tunggal umayda.  
 ag-sangit tunggal um-ay=da  
 I-cry whenever I-come=3pA  
 'He cries whenever they come.'

Tunggal matmatanna ti balasang, makarikna iti saém.  
 tunggal matmat-an=na ti balasang maka-rikna iti saem  
 each.time stare-T=3sE ART lady ABIL.I-feel OBL pain  
 'Every time she stares at the lady, she can feel pain.' (w)

Kasla agsullat ti karabukobna tunggal gandatenna nga ibaga.  
 kasla ag-sullat ti karabukob=na tunggal gandat-en=na nga i-baga  
 like I-plug ART throat=3sE every plan-T=3sE LIG T-say  
 'His throat seems to clog every time he plans to tell it.' (w)

*Sipud idi* and *manipud idi* 'from the time when' are also subordinators which immediately precede temporal clauses. *Manipud* is preferred in speaking, but *sipud* is also frequent in literature. *Manipud pay* or *sipud pay* are best translated into English as 'ever since + clause.'

Sisiimekon ti lakay sipud idi immakarak ditoy.  
 R-siim-en=ko=n ti lakay sipud idi in-um-akar=ak ditoy  
 CONT-spy-T=1sE=now ART old.man from PST PF-I-move=1sA here  
 'I have been spying on the old man from the time I moved here.' (w)

Manipud pay idi ubingak. da angkelen ti nangtartaraken kaniak  
 manipud-pay idi ubing=ak da angkel=en ti n-maN-R-taraken kaniak  
 ever.since PST child=1sA PL uncle=EMP ART PF-I-CONT-raise 1sOBL  
 'Ever since I was a child, Uncle (and Auntie) raised me.'

### 18.3.2. Location adverbials

To describe the location where the event of the main clause takes place, the locative adverbs *ditoy* 'here', *dita* 'there, proximal', and *idiay* 'there, distal' are used. They precede nominal clauses, or verbs in their locative gerund form:

Limmukmegak ditoy Amerika.  
 Lukmeg{in-um}=ak ditoy America  
 fat{PF-I} here America  
 'I got fat here in America.'

Mapanak idiay paggatangan ti sapatos.  
 ma-pan-ak idiay pag-gatang-an ti sapatos  
 I-go=1sA there LOC-buy-NOM ART shoes  
 'I am going to the shoe place (where one buys shoes).'

The oblique *iti* may also precede nominalized locative clauses whose deictic relevance to the speaker is not expressed.

Natay iti pagbabakalan.  
 na-tay iti pag-R-bakal-an  
 PF-die OBL LOC-R-battle-NOM  
 'He died on the battlefield.'

Agdigdigos iti sanguananda.  
 ag-R-digos iti sango-an-an=da  
 I-CONT-bath OBL front-NOM-NOM=3p  
 'She is bathing in front of them.' (c)

### 18.3.3. Manner adverbials

The manner or method by which an activity expressed in the main clause is carried out is expressed by a manner adverbial clause. These clauses in Ilocano are introduced with the adverb *kas* 'like' followed by a nominal complement in oblique case.

Saanmo nga aramiden a kas iti inaramidna.  
 saan=mo nga aramid-en a kas iti aramid{in}=na  
 NEG=2sE LIG do-T LIG like OBL do{PF.T}=3sE  
 'Don't do it like she did.'

Manner may also be expressed by the lexical frames of certain verbs, which appear in their finite form in apposition to their main clauses, linked by the ligature (*ng*)*a*.

Agbatatiwerwer a nagpatnga iti salas.  
 ag-R-batiwerwer a n-ag-pa-tengnga iti salas  
 I-CONT-whirl LIG PF-I-DIREC-center OBL living.room  
 'She went to the center of the living room spinning.' (w)

### 18.3.4. Reason and purpose adverbials

Adverbial phrases that provide an explanation for the occurrence of the action in the main clause are called 'reason' or 'purpose' adverbials. These are formed a subordinator, i.e. *tapno* 'so that'. (*gapu*) *ta* 'because'. *isu nga* 'that's why' followed by a finite reason clause.

The connective *gapu ta*, often shortened to *ta*, is from the Ilocano root meaning 'cause' or 'origin.' It may be used as a conjunction specifying cause. Nominals following *gapu* appear in oblique case. With clauses specifying reason, the conjunction *ta* is obligatory.

Agsangsangitda ta nabautda.  
 ag-R-sangit=da ta na-baut=da  
 I-R-cry=3pA because PF-beat=3p  
 'They are crying because they were beaten.' (c)

Nagtalinaed iti likudan ta masadut nga agparintumeng.  
 n-ag-talinaed iti likud-an ta ma-sadut nga ag-parintumeng  
 PF-I-stay OBL back-NOM because ADJ-lazy LIG I-kneel  
 'He stayed in the back because he felt lazy to kneel.' (w)

Saan a makaturog gapu kadagiti agrurutap a mapampanunotna.  
 saan a maka-turog gapu ka-dagiti ag-R-rutap a ma-R-panunot=na  
 NEG LIG can-sleep because OBL-PL I-R-layer LIG INVOL-R-thought=3sE  
 'He can't sleep because of his muddled thoughts.'

Gapu ta nangabakka, sika koma ti agbayad.  
 gapu ta n-maN-abak=ka sika koma ti ag-bayad  
 because LNK PF-I-win=2sA 2s OPT ART I-pay  
 'Because you won, you should pay.'

Inaramidko ta kinayatko.  
 in-aramid=ko ta kayat{in}=ko  
 PF.T-do=1sE because want{PF.T}=1sE  
 'I did it because I wanted to.'

The expression *dayta ti gapuna* or *isu't gapuna* 'that's why' precedes reason clauses with the ligature (*nga*). See *isu nga*.

Dayta ti gapuna a masapul nga igaedko ti agadal.  
 dayta ti gapu=na a ma-sapul nga i-gaed=ko ti ag-adal  
 that ART cause=3sE LIG INVOL-need LIG T-fervent=1sE ART I-study  
 'That's why I need to study diligently.'

The connective *isu nga* 'so' precedes resultative or summative clauses. It is commonly used in speech to start a separate intonational clause.

Naulpit ti asawana, isu nga agannadka.  
 na-ulpit ti asawa=na isu-nga ag-annad=ka.  
 ADJ-cruel ART spouse=3sE so I-careful=2sA  
 'Her husband is cruel, so be careful.'

Adu ti inapitmi. isu nga nasalun-arkami pay laeng.  
 adu ti in-apit=mi isu-nga na-salun'at=kami pay-laeng  
 much ART PF-harvest=1pEXCL so ADJ-health=1pEXCL still  
 'We had a big harvest, so we are still healthy.'

*Tapno* and *gapu (ta)* clauses may precede their main clauses without a change of meaning. *Isu nga* clauses, however, must follow the main clause.

Inaramidna tapno makaawid.  
 in-aramid=na tapno maka-awid  
 PF.T-do=3sE so.that can-go.home  
 'She did it so that she could go home.'

Tapno di masayang ti aldawko, napanunotko ti agrabaho.  
 tapno di ma-sayang ti aldaw=ko na-panunot=ko ti ag-trabaho  
 so.that NEG ADJ-waste ART day=1sE PF-think=1sE ART I-work  
 'So that my days would not be wasted, I decided to work.'

Gapu ta nabaknang, natangsit.  
 gapu ta na-baknang, na-tangsit  
 because SUB ADJ-rich ADJ-conceited  
 'Because he is rich, he is conceited.'

Tapno agballigika, tulungankanto.  
 tapno ag-balligi=ka tulong-an=ko=ka=nto  
 so I-succeed=2sA help-T=1sE=2sA=FUT  
 'So you will succeed, I will help you.'

Naloko ngamin. isu nga pinatayko.  
 na-loko ngamin, isu nga pa-tay{in}=ko  
 ADJ-bad REASON so CAUS-die{PF}=1sE  
 'He was bad, you see. so I killed him.' (c)

Inlakona tapno adda luganko nga agpaili iti binigat.  
 i{in}-lako=na tapno adda lugan=ko nga ag-pa-ili iti bigat{in}  
 T{PF}-sell=3sE so EXIST car=1sE LIG I-DIREC-town OBL morning{each}  
 'He sold it (the store) so I could have a car to go to town every morning.' (w)

The conjunction *ta* is often used with certain imperative verbs, i.e. *aguray* 'wait', *ibaga* 'tell', *umay* 'come', etc., to denote the reason for performing the command.

Agurayka ta idasaranka iti meriendam.  
 ag-uray=ka ta i-dasar-an=ko=ka iti merienda=m  
 I-wait=2sA and THM-set-T=1sE=2sA OBL snack=2sE  
 'Wait and I'll prepare for you your afternoon snack.'

Aguraykayo ta sapulek.  
 ag-uray=kayo ta sapul-en=ko  
 I-wait=2pA and search-T=1sE  
 'Wait and I'll look for it.'

Agtanangka ta dikanto ket madismaya.  
 ag-tanang=ka ta di=ka=(n)to ket ma-dismaya  
 I-calm=2sA so NEG=2sA=FUT SUB INVOL-faint  
 'Calm down so you don't faint.'

Ibagam ta umay.  
 i-baga=mo ta um-ay  
 T-say=2sE SUB I-come  
 'Tell him to come.'



Umayka ketdi ta ramanam ti pudot.  
 um-ay=ka ketdi ta raman-an=mo ti pudot  
 I-come=2sA anyway SUB taste-T=2sE ART heat  
 'Come anyway so you can feel the warmth.'

*Agsipud ta* 'since, because' is also used to introduce purpose clauses, specifying reason.

Ngem agsipud ngarud ta nakairuaman ti tao ti baybay  
 ngem agsipud ngarud ta naka-i-ruam-an ti tao ti baybay  
 but since then LIG PF-THM-custom-NOM ART man ART ocean

ken panagkalap kasla di metten mabaybay-an dagita  
 ken pan-ag-kalap kasla di met=en ma-R-bay'a=n dagita  
 and NOM-I-fish like NEG also=EMPH INVOL-R-neglect=EMPH those

a nakairuaman.  
 a naka-i-ruam-an  
 LIG PF-THM-custom-NOM

'But because man is familiar with the sea and fishing, he doesn't abandon those habits.'  
 (w)

Saanko nga intaltalkek ti naduktalak a panagrakaya  
 saan=ko nga i{in}-R-talek ti na-duktal-an=k a pan-ag-rakaya  
 NEG=1sE LIG T{PF}-R-trust ART PF-discover-T=1sE LIG NOM-I-deteriorate

agsipud iti kinakawaw ti lubongko.  
 agsipud iti kina-kawaw ti lubong=ko  
 cause OBL NOM-thirst ART world=1sE

'I do not look after the weakening of my body I discovered because of the emptiness of my world.' (w)

*Banag nga* may also introduce adverbial clauses to specify the reason, factor or result of the main clause, or clarify the truth with appropriate evidence of the main clause.

Isu ti maysa kadagiti nakipagbangon iti ilimi,  
 isu ti maysa ka-dagiti naki-pag-bangon iti ili=mi  
 3s OBL one OBL-PL PF.COMIT-PL-build OBL town=1pEXCL.E

banag nga ammo ti amin nga umili.  
 banag nga ammo ti amin nga um-ili  
 thing LIG know ART all LIG I-town

'He is one of those that help build up our town, a thing that all the townsmen know.'

The connective *amangan no* precedes a clause which, in the speakers mind, is doubtful to occur as long as the main clause is fulfilled, but if it does, will have negative consequences.

Dika            la    mapmapanen    amangan no    ikkatendaka  
 di=ka        la    R-mapan=(e)n    amangan:no    ikkat-en=da=ka  
 NEG=2sA     just   R-go=INTEN    lest            fire-T=3pE=1sA

iti    pangisuroam.  
 iti    pangi-suro-an=mo  
 OBL   NOM-teach-LOC=2sE

‘Just don’t go so that they don’t fire you from your teaching position.’

Sapaentayo        ti    aggunay,    amangan no    maipustayo.  
 sapa-en=tayo      ti    ag-gunay    amangan no    ma-ipus=tayo  
 early-T=1pINCL    ART   I-move        lest        if    INVOL-tail=1pINCL  
 ‘Let’s move early so we don’t lag behind.’

Inkayo    sumalan,        a,    amangan no    lugitannakyo        pay    ti  
 in=kayo    sala{um}=n      a    amangan.no    lugit-an=na=kayo    pay    ti  
 go=2pA    dance{I}=now    LIG    lest            guano-T=3sE=2pA    first    ART

billit ditoy.  
 bird here

‘Do dance now lest the birds here shit on you first.’

Nagsaganaak        nga    aganawa        amangan no    agdinnuklapda.  
 n-ag-sagana=ak     nga    ag-anawa        amangan.no    ag-duklap{inn}=da  
 PF-I-prepare=1sA    LIG    I-mediate.fight    lest            I-attack{RECIP}=3p  
 ‘I prepared myself to mediate (a possible fight) just in case they (started to) attack one another.’ (w)

*Numona ta* and *(yan)tangay* ‘because, since’ are yet other connectives that express the reason for the action or situation expressed in the following clause.

Numona ta dua ti trabahona ket awan ti panawenna nga agrepaso.  
 numona-ta    dua    ti    trabaho=na    ket    awan    ti    panawen=na    nga    ag-repaso  
 because    two    ART    work=3sE    SUB    NEG.EXIST    ART    time=3sE    LIG    I-review  
 ‘Since he has two jobs, he has no time to review (for exams).’

Kasano	ngaruden	no	dika	makabirok	iti	pagtrabahoam.
kasano	ngarud=(e)n	no	di=ka	maka-birok	iti	pag-trabaho-an=mo
how	then=EMPH	if	NEG=2sA	can-earn.living	OBL	LOC-work-NOM=2sE

numona ta	nganngani	maibusen	ti	naudi	a	sueldom.
numona:ta	nganngani	ma-ibus=(e)n	ti	na-udi	a	sueldo=mo
since	almost	INVOL-consume=now	ART	ADJ-last	LIG	salary=2sE

‘How are you going to get along then if you cannot earn a living from your work, since your last salary is already almost used up?’ (w)

Kaasi	met,	numona ta	kagapgapuna	iti	biahe.
ka-asi	met	numona ta	ka-R-gapu=na	iti	biahe
COMIT-pity	also	since	SUB	REC.PST-R-come.from=3sE	OBL trip

‘Poor thing (the teacher). since she just came from a trip (let her sleep).’

Yantangay	diak	met	la	makastrek	iti	trabaho ditoy.
yantangay	di=ak	met	la	maka-serrek	iti	trabaho ditoy
since	NEG=1sA	EMPH	just	can-enter	OBL	work here

agawidtayon	idiay	Pamplona.
ag-awid=tayo=(e)n	idiay	Pamplona
I-go.home=1pINCL=EMPH	there	Pamplona

‘Since I just can’t get a job here, let’s go home to Pamplona.’

Tangay	dimo	impangag	dagiti	balakadko.	panawankanto.
tangay	di=mo	i{in}-pangag	dagiti	balakad=ko	panaw-an=ka=nto
since	NEG=2sE	T{PF}-heed	PL	advice=1sE	leave-T=2sA=FUT

‘Since you didn’t heed my advice, I will leave you.’ (w)

The connector *ta di ket* ‘lest, so that (a bad outcome will not take place)’ is used with subordinating reason clauses that contradict a possibly negative outcome.

Imbag ketdi	ta	napanak	ta	di ket	kuman
imbag ketdi	ta	na-pan=ak	ta	di-ket	kuma=n
good nevertheless	SUB	PF-go=1sA	CAUSE	lest	OPT=EMPH

kimraang	ti	raepanmi.
kerraang{in-um}	ti	raep-an=mi
dry{PF-I}	ART	transplant-T=1pEXCL.E

‘It is nevertheless good that I went so what we transplanted would not dry up.’

Naimbag laeng ta awan ti anakmi ta di ket kuma adda  
na-imbag laeng ta awan ti anak=mi ta di-ket kuma adda  
ADJ-good just SUB NEG.EXIST ART child=1pEXCL.E LIG lest OPT EXST

sabali nga agsagaba iti saem.  
sabali nga ag-sagaba iti saem  
other LIG I-suffer OBL pain

'It's just good that we have no children so that others will not suffer the pain.' (w)

Finally, the subordinator *ket* may also precede clauses that specify reason.

Pagtalnaem ti riknam ket masikogka!  
pag-talna-en=mo ti rikna=mo ket ma-sikog=ka  
CAUS-calm-T=2sE ART feel=2sE SUB ADJ-pregnant=2sA  
'Calm down (since) are pregnant!'

Ditaka pay laeng ket adda papanak.  
dita=ka pay.laeng ket adda R-pan-an=ko  
there=2sA still SUB EXIST LOC-go-NOM=1sE  
'Just stay there for I am going somewhere.'

#### 18.3.5. Circumstantial adverbials

Circumstantial adverbials are those that express the circumstances by which the state of affairs in the main clause comes to be. These clauses are generally nominalized phrases following *babaen* 'by means of' or the oblique article *iti*.

Naduayaka iti panagkantana.  
na-duaya=ka iti pan-ag-kanta=na  
PF-lullaby=2sA OBL NOM-I-sing=3sE  
'You were lulled to sleep by her singing.' (w)

Nakapanda babaen ti pannakatulong dagiti kakabagianda.  
naka-pan=da babaen ti pan-maka-tulong dagiti R-ka-bagi-an=da  
PF.I.go=3p via ART NOM-INVOL-help PL PL-COMIT-body-NOM=3p  
'They were able to go with the help of their relatives.'

#### 18.3.6. Simultaneous adverbials

A simultaneous adverbial clause is one that expresses an event that occurs at the same time as the event of the main clause. The subordinating morphemes *bulon* and *bayat* are used

to introduce simultaneous adverbial clauses. *Bayat* clauses occur as nominals and may precede their main clauses.

Saanak a nakaturog bayat ti kaaddada.  
 saan=ak a naka-turog bayat ti ka-adda=da  
 NEG=1sA LIG PF.I-sleep while ART NOM-EXIST=3p  
 'I wasn't able to sleep while they were here.'

Nagkankantada bayat ti panaglutoda.  
 n-ag-R-kanta=da bayat ti pan-ag-luto=da  
 PF-I-CONT-sing=3p while ART NOM-I-cook=3pE  
 'They were singing while cooking.' (c)

Bayat ti panagmeriendami, sinaludsodna no sino ti amak.  
 bayat ti pan-ag-merienda=mi saludsod{in}=na no sino ti ama=k  
 while ART NOM-I-snack=1pEXCL.E ask-PF=3sE SUB who ART  
 father=1sE  
 'While we ate our snack, she asked who my father was.'

Kasla maitaytayok bayat ti iruruarna iti embahada.  
 kasla mai-R-tayok bayat ti i-R-ruar=na iti embahada  
 like INVOL-CONT-soar while ART T-NOM-exit=3sE OBL embassy  
 'It was like he soared while leaving the embassy.' (w)

Sinangitak met idi dagidi aldaw a pannakalipatmo kaniak  
 sangit{in}-an=ko met idi dagidi aldaw a pannaka-lipat=mo kaniak  
 cry{PF}-T=1sE also then PST.PL days LIG NOM-forget=2sE 1SOBL  
 kabayatan ti kaaddam idiy Mindanao.  
 ka-bayat-an ti ka-adda=mo idiy Mindanao  
 NOM-while-NOM ART NOM-EXIST=2sE there Mindanao

'I also cried those days that you forgot about me while you were in Mindanao.' (w)

*Bulon* 'while, as' may also be used to connect clauses that occur simultaneously in time. It may take nominal clauses, or verbal clauses. With verbal clauses *bulon* is often followed by an ergative pronoun *a bulon(=na/da) a*:

Nagsakuntip ni Aldong a bulonna a bimmangon.  
 n-ag-sakuntip ni Aldong a bulon=na a bangon{in-um}  
 PF-I-smack.lip PA Aldong LIG as=3sE LIG awake{PF-I}  
 'Aldong smacked his lips as he awoke.' (w)

Nakitana ti panagtung-ed ti gayyemna a bulon ti yiisemna.  
na-kita=na ti pan-ag-tung'ed ti gayyem=na a bulon ti i-R-isem=na  
PF-see=3sE ART NOM-I-nod ART friend=3sE LIG as ART I-NOM-smile=3sE  
'He saw his friend nod as he smiled.' (w)

Linuktak ti ridaw, bulonna a rimmuar.  
lukat{in}-an=ko ti ridaw bulon=na a ruar{in-um}  
open{PF}-T=1sE ART door as=3sE LIG exit{PF-I}  
'I opened the door as she went out.' (w)

Simultaneity can also be expressed by two finite clauses in imperfective aspect, joined by a temporal subordinator or the ligature (*ng*)a.

Nagbasbasketbolkami idi agur-uraykami kenkuana.  
n-ag-R-basketbol=kami idi ag-R-uray=kami kenkuana  
PF-I-basketball=1pEXCL.A PST I-CONT-wait=1pEXCL.A 3sOBL  
'We played basketball while waiting for him.' (c)

Nagkuyogkami kenkuana a napan iti balayda.  
n-ag-kuyog=kami kenkuana a na-pan iti balay=da  
PF-I-go.with=1pEXCL.A 3sOBL LIG PF-go OBL house=3p  
'We accompanied her going to their house.'

Nagawidda nga agkatkatawa.  
n-ag-awid=da nga ag-R-katawa  
PF-I-go.home=3p LIG I-CONT-laugh  
'They went home laughing.'

### 18.3.7. Conditional adverbial clauses

Conditional adverbial clauses express a state or action necessary for the event in the main clause to happen. Hypothetical conditionals are introduced by the conditional subordinator *no* 'if'. Conditional adverbial clauses may precede the main clause with no change in meaning.

No umayka ditoy, agpartikaminto iti kalding.  
no um-ay=ka ditoy ag-parti=kami=nto iti kalding  
if I-come=2sA here I-slaughter=1pEXCL.A=FUT OBL goat  
'If you come here, we'll slaughter a goat.'

Agpeligro ti puonanyo no agsakit ti tarakenyo.  
ag-peligro ti puon-an=yo no ag-sakit ti taraken=yo  
I-danger ART start-NOM=2pE if I-sick ART animals=2pE  
'Your capital investment will be jeopardized if your animals get sick.'

*No la* 'if only' is also used before limitational conditional clauses.

Uray kuggangi ta rupam no la ket nalaingka ket adda  
 uray kuggangi ta rupa=m no la ket na-laing=ka ket adda  
 even ugly that face=2sE if only LIG ADJ-smart=2sA and EXIST

bassit mabalinmo.  
 bassit ma-balin=mo  
 little ADJ-can=2sE

'Even if your face is ugly, if only you were smart you would be able to do a few things.'

Counter-fact conditionals are introduced with the subordinator *no*, but have an additional optative particle, *kuma* (see Particles).

No nabaknangak kuma. mangasawakami.  
 no na-baknang=ak kuma mang-asawa=kami  
 if ADJ-rich=1sA OPT I-spouse=1pEXCL.A  
 'If I were only rich, we would get married.'

Negative conditions, those that indicate that the proposition of the main clause will occur if that of the adverbial clause does not, are preceded by *malaksid no* 'except if; unless'.

Agawidakto malaksid no agbagio.  
 ag-awid=ak=to malaksid no ag-bagio  
 I-go.home=1sA=FUT except if I-storm  
 'I will go home unless it storms.'

Kayatko ti mapan malaksid no nangina ti biahe.  
 kayat=ko ti ma-pan malaksid no na-ngina ti biahe  
 want=1sE ART I-go except if ADJ-expensive ART trip  
 'I want to go except if the trip is expensive.'

*Amangan no* may be used to introduce conditional clauses with strong negative connotations.

Makapungtotak kadakuada amangan no diak makapan.  
 maka-pungtot=ak kadakuada amangan:no di=ak maka-pan  
 ADJ-mad=1sA 3pOBL if NEG=1sA can-go  
 'I will be mad at them if I can't go.'

The connective *aglalo no* 'especially if' introduces particular conditions:

Nalaka	a	maitanem	ti	kari	aglalo no	adda
na-laka	a	ma-i-tanem	ti	kari	aglalo-no	adda
ADJ-easy	LIG	T-THM-grave	ART	promise	especially.if	EXIST

nakaigawidan	iti	rikna	ken	pusona	iti	napananna.
naka-i-gawid-an	iti	rikna	ken	puso=na	iti	na-pan-an=na
ADJ-THM-restrain-T	OBL	feeling	and	heart=3sE	OBL	PF-go-NOM=3sE

'It is easy to bury promises, especially if there is restraint in the feelings and heart.' (w)

### 18.3.8. Concessive adverbials

Concessive adverbials make a concession against which the proposition in the main clause is contrasted. Concessive clauses in Ilocano are introduced by the concessive subordinators *nupay* or *uray* (*no*) 'although.'

Maawatanka	uray	dimon	balisken.
ma-awat-an=ko=ka	uray	di=mo=n	balikas-en
ABIL-understand-T=1sE=2sA	even	NEG=2sE=now	word-T

'I understand you although you do not verbalize (it).'

Uray	kuggangi	ta	rupam	ket	addanto	masakbayam	ta
uray	kuggangi	ta	rupa-m	ket	adda=nto	masakbayan=m	ta
even	ugly	that	face=2sE	and	EXIST=FUT	future=2sE	cause

nalaingka.
na-laing=ka
ADJ-smart=2sA

'Even with an ugly face, you will have a future because you are smart.' (w)

Uray no	aglanganak	iti	makatawen,	agsueldoakto	latta.
uray-no	ag-langan=ak	iti	maka-tawen	ag-sueldo=ak=to	latta
although	I-absent=1sA	OBL	one-year	I-salary=1sA=FUT	just

'Although I am absent for one year, I will receive my salary anyway.'

The conjunction *numan pay* 'although' consists of the future subordinator *no* fused to the particle *man* to introduce hypothetical concessive clauses. *Numan pay* may only precede two clauses, unlike *nupay*.

Pagdaksanna	kadakayo	ta	numan pay	agasinusokayo	iti
pag-dakes-an=na	kada=kayo	ta	numan.pay	ag-asinuso=kayo	iti
NOM-bad-NOM=3sE	OBL=2pA	SUB	although	I-immature=2pA	OBL



biag ket nakatangtangkanen ti uloyo.  
 biag ket naka-R-tangken=en ti ulo=yo  
 life LIG ADJ-R-hard=EMPH ART head=2pE

'It is bad for you because although you are young and inexperienced in life, you are still stubborn (hard headed).'

*Nupay* 'even though, although' introduces concessive clauses that express a hypothetical action or situation. Unlike many other connectives, it does not require a ligature, and appears only before predicative clauses. See also *uray no* and *numan pay*, an equivalent conjunction.

Nupay narusepkami, saan a nabasa ti makina ti lampitawmi.  
 nupay na-rusep=kami saan a na-basa ti makina ti lampitaw=mi  
 although ADJ-drench=1pEXCL NEG LIG ADJ-wet ART engine ART boat=1pEXCL.E  
 'Although we were drenched, the machine of our outrigger did not get wet.' (w)

Nupay nasipnget ken agtutudo, sipapardasda a nagpalaud.  
 nupay na-sipnget ken ag-R-tudo si-R-pardas=da a n-ag-pa-laud  
 although ADJ-dark and I-CONT-rain ADJ-R-fast=3p LIG PF-I-DIREC-west  
 'Even though it was dark and raining, they travelled fast towards the west.' (w)

### 18.3.9. Substitutive adverbials

Substitutive adverbial clauses offer an alternative to what is expressed in the main clause. They are introduced by the subordinator *imbes* 'instead'.

Isu ti maanupan imbes nga isu ti aganup.  
 isu ti ma-anup-an imbes nga isu ti ag-anup  
 3s ART INVOL-hunt-T instead LIG 3s ART I-hunt  
 'He will be the one hunted instead (of being) the one to hunt.'

Imbes nga agmano, dinakulapna ketdi ti amana  
 imbes nga ag-mano dakulap{in}=na ketdi ti ama=na  
 instead LIG I-hand.bow palm{PF.T}=3sE instead ART father=3sE

sana inarakup ti inana.  
 sa=na in-arakup ti ina=na  
 then=3sE PF.T-embrace ART mother=3sE

'Instead of bowing to the hand of his elders, he shook his father's hand and embraced his mother.' (w)

### 18.3.10. Additive adverbials

Additive adverbial clauses express a state of affairs in addition to what is expressed in the main clause. These clauses are introduced by *no di ket* 'but also..'. The particle of limitation *la* is usually present in the main clause when followed by additive adverbial clauses. Additive adverbial clauses cannot be preposed.

Saan la nga agluto no di ket agdait.  
 saan la nga ag-luto no di ket ag-dait  
 NEG only LIG I-cook COND NEG and I-sew  
 'She not only sews, she also cooks.'

Awanen ti maaramidna no di agulimek.  
 awan=en ti ma-aramid=na no di ag-ulimek  
 NEG.EXIST=EMPH ART ABIL-do=3sE if NEG I-quiet  
 'There was nothing she could do aside from remaining quiet.'

Awan ti makasinga iti ulimek no saan a ti  
 awan ti maka-singa iti ulimek no saan a ti  
 NEG.EXIST ART ABIL-disturb ART quiet if NEG LIG ART

natinggaw a pukkawna.  
 na-tinggaw a pukkaw=na  
 ADJ-loud LIG scream=3sE

'Nothing can disturb the peace except his loud screaming.' (w)

The conjunction *abus ta* 'besides, while' precedes adverbial clauses specifying additional information, which is usually negative. *Abus man pay ta* is also used to specify additional negative information.

Abus ta sadut, nauyong kadagiti babbai.  
 abus.ta sadut, na-uyong ka-dagiti babai{R}  
 besides lazy ADJ-mean OBL-PL girl{PL}  
 'Besides being lazy, he is mean towards women.'

\* Abus man pay ta tuleng, umel pay.  
 besides PART more SUB deaf dumb too  
 'Besides being deaf, he is also dumb.' (c)

Abus man pay ta siak ti kanayon a parparigatenna.  
 abus man pay ta siak ti kanayon a pa-R-rigat-en=na  
 besides PART more SUB 1s ART always LIG CAUS-HABIT-hard-T=3sE  
 'Asides from (everything else), I am the one he always makes life difficult for.'

*Maysa*, the Ilocano number 'one,' or *maysa pay* may be used as a subordinator to designate additional information, translatable to the English 'furthermore, moreover or besides'. It is normally followed by a brief pause in speech to separate it from the main clause.

Maysa.	manmanon	kadagitoy	a	tiempo	ti	makaitured	nga
maysa	manmano=n	ka-dagitoy	a	tiempo	ti	makai-tured	nga
besides	few=EMPH	OBL-these	LIG	time	ART	ABIL.I-brave	LIG

agidonar	uray no	ammodan	a	saanda	a
ag-i-donar	uray.no	ammo=da=n	a	saan=da	a
I-THM-donate	although	know=3p=now	LIG	NEG=3p	LIG

malasat	ti	aksidente.
ma-lasat	ti	aksidente
ABIL-survive	ART	accident

'Besides, very few people these days have the courage to donate (their organs) although they know that they will not survive the accident.' (w)

Maysa,	awan	pay	ammok	iti	dayta.
maysa,	awan	pay	ammo=k	iti	dayta
furthermore.	NEG.EXIST	more	know=1sE	OBL	that

'Furthermore, I don't know anything else about that.'

Maysa pay, natangsitda.  
 maysa pay na-tangsit=da  
 one more ADJ-conceited=3p  
 'Besides (aside from everything else I said), they are conceited.'

### 18.3.11. Resultative adverbials

Resultative adverbials are those that express the result of the state or event expressed in the main clause. They are often introduced by the subordinator *isu nga* which is also used to express cause.

Natuduan	ngamin,	isu nga	natay.
na-tudo-an	ngamin	isu.nga	na-tay
PF-rain-T	REASON	so	PF-die

'It got rained on, so it died.'

*Ket* may also precede resultative adverbial clauses:

Agngiwatka ket matayda a dua!  
 ag-ngiwat=ka ket ma-tay=da a dua  
 I-mouth=2sA SUB I-die=3p LIG two  
 'You breathe a word, and the two of them will die.' (w)

Umasidegka ket papoliska!  
 asideg{um}=ka ket pa-polis=ko=ka  
 near{I}=2sA and CAUS-police=1sE=2sA  
 'You come near and I'll call the police on you.'

### 18.3.12 Optatives

Optative adverbial clauses are those that express the speaker's wish for an event to occur. They are preceded by the conjunction *bareng* 'hoping'.

Bareng no umay.  
 OPT COND come  
 'Hopefully he will come.'

Kayatko a makita ni apong bareng maallukoyko  
 kayat=ko a ma-kita ni apong bareng ma-allukoy=ko  
 want=1sE LIG INVOL-see PA sir OPT ABIL-convince=1sE

nga agawid idiy Pilipinas.  
 nga ag-awid idiy Pilipinas  
 LIG I-go.home there Philippines

'I want to see the gentleman in the hopes that I can convince him to go home to the Philippines.'

### 18.4 Coordination

In coordination, constituents of equivalent syntactic function are linked together. This section will outline the coordinating conjunctions responsible for linking structures together that are not structurally dependent on each other.

The coordinating conjunctions that will be discussed in this chapter are as follows:

<i>ken</i>	and
<i>ket</i>	and
<i>ngem</i>	but
<i>wenno</i>	or

### 18.4.1 *Ken*

*Ken* 'and' is used to connect items which can be freely arranged, stated in either order without affecting the intended semantics of the utterance. It may connect words, clauses, or entire sentences:

ti aso ken pusa = ti pusa ken aso  
 ART dog and cat  
 'The dog and the cat' = 'the cat and the dog'

Nalinis ken nalawa ti kuartona.  
 na-linis ken na-lawa ti kuarto=na  
 ADJ-clean and ADJ-spacious ART room=3sE  
 'His room is clean and spacious.'

Naragsak ken mannakigayyem dagiti umili ken saanda nga  
 na-ragsak ken maN-maki-gayyem dagiti um-ili ken saan=da nga  
 ADJ-happy and FREQ-COMIT-friend PL NOM-town and NEG=3p LIG

agkurkurang iti taraon.  
 ag-R-kurang iti taraon  
 I-R-shortage OBL food

'The inhabitants are happy and friendly and they are not in short supply of food.' (w)

Silulukat ti barukong ken takiagda nga umawat  
 si-R-lukat ti barukong ken takiag=da nga um-awat  
 ADJ-R-open ART chest and arm=3p LIG I-receive

ken sumarabo kenka.  
 ken sarabo{um} kenka  
 and welcome{I} 2SOBL.

Their chest and arms are open to receive and welcome you.' (w)

*Ken* is often used as a comitative 'with' to indicate the participation of an additional person. When used in this way, the personal article *ni* is not necessary.

Napankami ken Marta.  
 na-pan=kami ken Marta  
 PF-go=1pEXCL and Marta  
 'Marta and I went.'

Addakaminto            ken    tatangna        idiy    padaya.  
 adda=kami=(n)to        ken    tatang=na        idiy    padaya  
 EXIST=1pEXCL=FUT    and    father=3sE    there   party  
 'I/We will be with his father at the party.'

The conjunction *ken* has a plural form, *kada*, which is used to coordinate plural nouns and introduce plural personal noun phrases in the oblique.

dagiti    lallakay    kada        babbaket  
 PL        old.men    and.PL    old.women  
 'the old men and women (husbands and wives).' (c)

Na-anos        kada                Gracia    ken    Dexina.  
 ADJ-nice        PERS.OBL.PL    Gracia    and    Dexina  
 'He is nice to Gracia and Dexina.'

#### 18.4.2    *ket*

Although *ket* should not be considered a bona-fide coordinating conjunction because of its syntactic behavior, it will be illustrated in this chapter in order to contrast its use with that of *ken*.

*Ket* is used to link numbers. its most prototypical coordinating function. Many speakers, however, prefer the use of *ken* in this case, although *ken* is rarely documented in the literature for this purpose.

sangapulo *ket* lima.  
 ten and five  
 '25'

*Ket* 'and, and then', however, is mostly used to introduce successive nominal concepts or clauses. Unlike phrases or words that may be connected with *ken*, the order of constituents connected by *ket* may not be interchanged. Unlike *ken*, *ket* may not be used to conjoin parallel events.

Naglualokami            *\*ket/ken*    nagkantakami            idiy    simbaan.  
 n-ag-lualo=kami        ken        n-ag-kanta=kami        idiy    simbaan  
 PF-I-pray=1pEXCL.A    and        PF-I-sing=1pEXCL.A    there   church  
 'We prayed and sang in church.'

*Ket*, therefore, is used to introduce resultative or reason clauses, clauses that are dependent on a preceding clause, utterance, or understood thought:

No agngiwatka ket matayda a dua.  
 no ag-ngiwat=ka ket ma-tay=da a dua  
 if I-mouth=2sA then INVOL-die=3p LIG two  
 'If you breathe a word, (then) the two of them die.' (w)

No talaga nga ay-ayatennak ket rebbengna ngarud a  
 no talaga nga R-ayat-en=mo=ak ket rebbeng=na ngarud a  
 if really LIG R-love-T=2sE=1sA then should=3sE then LIG

dayawennak.  
 dayaw-en=mo=ak  
 honor-T=2sE=1sA

'If you really love me, you should honor me then.'

Ti ammona ket matayakon.  
 ti ammo=na ket ma-tay=ak=(e)n  
 ART know=3sE and INVOL-die=1sA=PART  
 'As far as she is concerned, I am dead.'

Kinaagpaysona ket magustuanmi ti ugalina.  
 kina-ag-payso=na ket ma-gusto-an=mi ti ugali=na  
 NOM-I-true=3sE and INVOL-like-T=1pEXCL ART custom=3sE  
 'The truth of the matter is we like the way he acts.'

Ditaka pay laeng ket adda papanak.  
 dita=ka pay laeng ket adda R-pan-an=ko.  
 there=2sA PART PART and EXIST R-go-NOM=1sE  
 'Stay there for I am going somewhere.'

Agannadkayo ket simmangpeten ti bagtit.  
 ag-annad=kayo ket sangpet{in-um}=(e)n ti bagtit  
 I-careful=2pA and arrive{PF-I}=already ART crazy  
 'Watch out for the crazy man has already arrived.'

*Ker* is often used by an addressee to stimulate the speaker to elaborate on something he or she previously said.

A: Napankami idiy Bauang.  
 na-pan=kami idiy Bauang  
 PF-go=1pEXCL there Bauang  
 'We went to Bauang.'

B: Ket--  
and  
'so--- (what did you do there: elaborate).

### 18.4.3 *Ngem*

*Ngem* 'but' is a coordinating conjunction which is used to introduce a contrastive coordinate clause:

Nagawiddan                      ngem nalipatanda                      ti      tulbek.  
n-ag-awid=da=(e)n              ngem n-ma-lipat-an=da                      ti      tulbek  
PF-I-go.home=3pA=PF      but      PF-INVOL-forget-T=3pE      ART      key  
'They went home already but forgot the key.'

Bulanen      ti      naglabas      ngem awan metten ti      pakaammuak.  
bulan=en      ti      n-ag-labas      ngem awan met-en ti      paka-ammo-an=ko  
month=now      ART      PF-I-pass      but      none      also-now      ART      NOM-know-NOM=1sE  
'A month has passed already but I (still) don't know anything (of him).'

When used with comparative adjectives *ngem* contrasts the two compared entities. Such is also the case with the verb *kaykayat* 'to prefer,' morphologically equivalent to the comparative adjectives.

Nataytayagka                      ngem siak.  
na-R-tayag=ka                      ngem siak  
ADJ-COMPAR-tall=2sA      than      1s  
'You are taller than I.'

Kaykayatko      daytoy      ngem dayta.  
R-kayat=ko      daytoy      ngem dayta  
R-want=1sE      this              than      that  
'I prefer this one to that one.'

*Ngem* has a negative form, *no di ket*.

Saan      a      gapu      iti      pintasna      no di ket      iti      baknangna.  
saan      a      gapu      iti      pintas=na      no-di-ket      iti      baknang=na  
NEG      LIG      because      OBL      beauty=3sE      but.rather      OBL      wealth=3sE  
'It's not because of her beauty, but rather her wealth.'



#### 18.4.4 *Wenno*

*Wenno* 'or' conjoins alternatives. It is placed between its connecting constituents:

Ania	ti	kaykayatmo?	Danum	wenno	tsa?
ania	ti	R-kayat=mo	danum	wenno	tsa
what	ART	COMPAR-want=2sE	water	or	tea

'What do you want, water or tea?'

Nalipatak	no	nalabbaga	wenno	asul.
na-lipatak=ko	no	na-labbaga	wenno	asul
PF-forget-t=1sE	if	ADJ-red	or	blue

'I forgot if it is red or blue.'

*Wenno* or *uray* may be repeated with two options to indicate alternatives.

wenno	naimbag	wenno	dakes
or	good	or	bad

'either good or bad.'

*Man wenno* 'either' may also be used between constituents to imply the alternatives.

Nabangsitda	amin,	nabangsit	man wenno	napanglaw.
na-bangsit=da	amin,	na-baknang	man.wenno	na-panglaw
ADJ-smelly=3p	all	ADJ-rich	or	ADJ-poor

'They are all smelly, rich or poor.'

Saan	a	maibus	dagiti	alimatek	iti	lubong,	iti	danum	man wenno
saan	a	ma-ibus	dagiti	alimatek	iti	lubong,	iti	danum	man.wenno
NEG	LIG	ABIL-consume	PL	leech	OBL	world,	OBL	water	or

iti	takdang--	idiay	ili,	iti	gobierno,	uray	sadino!
iti	takdang	idiay	ili,	iti	gobierno	uray	sadino
OBL	shore	there	town,	OBL	government	no.matter	where

'The leeches of the world cannot be finished off, either in the water or the shore, in town, in the government, anywhere!' (w)

*Man wenno saan* 'whether or not' is used after a constituent whose negative alternant is also an option.

Nasayaatsa	no	kitaentayo	dagiti rason.	balido	man wenno saan.
na-sayaat=sa	no	kita-en=tayo	dagiti rason.	balido	man-wenno-saan
ADJ-good=I.think	if	see-T=1pINCL	PL reason,	valid	or.not

'I think it's good if we look at the reasons, valid or not.'

When giving options, *wenno saan* may be used to express an alternative second option, provided that the first option is not carried out. This construction is mostly used across intonational clauses.

Nasays'yaat	no	agmulaka	la't	kamote...
na-R-sayaat	no	ag-mula=ka	la-ti	kamote
ADJ-COMPAR-good	if	I-plant=2sA	just-ART	sweet.potato

wenno saan,	masterem	ti	agtarimaan	iti	bisikleta..
wenno saan	master-en=mo	ti	ag-tarimaan	iti	bisikleta
or	NEG	master-T=2sE	ART	I-fix	OBL bicycle

'It's better if you just plant sweet potatoes, or (if you don't), master the art of fixing bicycles.'

## Glossary of Linguistic terms

<b>absolutive</b>	the grammatical category that includes subjects of intransitive verbs and objects of transitive verbs. The = <i>ak</i> pronouns in Ilocano are absolutive. (See also <i>ergative</i> )
<b>abstract noun</b>	a noun whose meaning is an abstract concept, <i>truth</i> , <i>patience</i> , <i>virtue</i> or a noun denoting an event, <i>departure</i> , <i>realization</i> . contrast <i>concrete noun</i> .
<b>active voice</b>	grammatical construction with an active verb where the argument performing the action is in the ergative case (with transitive verbs) or the absolutive case (with intransitive verbs). Contrast with <i>passive</i> .
<b>actor</b>	extension of the semantic notion of <i>agent</i> , referring to the performer or experiencer of the action or state of a verb (See Schachter 1976); argument of a predicate which performs, effects, instigates or controls the situation of a predicate (Foley and Van Valin 1984:29).
<b>adjective</b>	a lexical class of words that expresses permanent or temporary attributes of nouns, <i>dakkel</i> 'big', <i>bassit</i> 'small', and <i>naulpit</i> 'cruel' are adjectives.
<b>adverb</b>	a lexical category whose members are usually grammatical adjuncts of verbs and typically express such semantic notions as time, manner, place, instrument or circumstance.
<b>adverbial</b>	any category with function and distribution similar to that of a lexical adverb.
<b>adverbial clause</b>	a subordinate clause which bears to its main clause any of a range of semantic relations similar to those shared by adverbs, such as time, manner, place, instrument, circumstance, concession, purpose, result, cause, or condition, i.e. <i>idiay padaya</i> 'at the party', <i>intono rabii</i> 'this evening' are adverbial phrases (See Thompson and Longacre 1985).
<b>affirmative</b>	an utterance in which no negative element is present.
<b>affix</b>	a type of bound morpheme that is attached to a stem. The four affix types in Ilocano are prefix, infix, suffix, and reduplication.

<b>affixation</b>	the process of attaching an <i>affix</i> to a stem.
<b>affricate</b>	a type of consonant which consists of a stop and a fricative, i.e. <i>ts</i> .
<b>agent</b>	the semantic role of a noun which is perceived as the conscious instigator of an action.
<b>agglutinating language</b>	a language whose morphology is characterized predominantly by agglutination.
<b>agglutination</b>	a type of morphological structure in which words can be readily divided into a sequence of distinct morphemes of fairly consistent shapes and readily identifiable functions.
<b>allomorph</b>	a variant of a morpheme which occurs in a specific environment, i.e. the future enclitic <i>=(n)to</i> has two allomorphs, <i>=to</i> after consonants, and <i>=nto</i> after vowels.
<b>allophone</b>	a variant sound of a phoneme, which is not contrastive with other variant sounds of the phoneme.
<b>alveolar</b>	pertaining to the inner gum ridge just above the upper teeth, the <i>s</i> is an alveolar fricative.
<b>alveo-palatal</b>	pertaining to the region of the gum ridge and the hard palate behind the inner gum ridge. The <i>ts</i> and <i>y</i> are alveo-palatal consonants in Ilocano.
<b>animate</b>	referring to a living being.
<b>antipassive</b>	an intransitive construction whose absolutive argument is an agent and which contains an oblique argument representing a patientive argument or object. Antipassives commonly appear in <i>ergative</i> languages.
<b>argument</b>	a noun bearing a specific grammatical relationship to a verb.
<b>article</b>	a determiner used to mark nouns. The distinctions that an article may provide vary from language to language.
<b>aspect</b>	A grammatical category of verbs which indicates the duration or nature of the verbal action.
<b>Austronesian</b>	the language family to which all Philippine languages belong.

<b>benefactive</b>	the semantic relation indicating for whom the action of the verb is performed.
<b>bilabial</b>	a sound produced with both lips, the <i>b</i> and <i>p</i> are bilabial stops.
<b>bound morpheme</b>	a morpheme that must be attached to another morpheme: it may not occur separately.
<b>canonical</b>	denoting a pattern or structure that is most typical, most frequent, or least marked among competing possibilities.
<b>case</b>	the grammatical relationship of a nominal referent to its verb. Ilocano has three cases, <i>ergative</i> , <i>absolutive</i> , and <i>oblique</i> .
<b>causative</b>	a transitive construction in which the action of a verb is indirectly caused or performed. Ilocano has a causative prefix <i>pa-</i> .
<b>circumfix</b>	an affix combination of a prefix and suffix.
<b>clitic</b>	an item that exhibits behavior intermediate between that of a word and that of an affix. Typically, clitics attach phonologically to constituents, whereas affixes attach to words.
<b>clause</b>	a construction containing a predicative element.
<b>closed syllable</b>	a syllable that ends in a consonant.
<b>comparative</b>	a construction in which two entities are compared. <i>Nataytayagak ngem sika</i> 'I am taller than you' is a comparative construction.
<b>complement clause</b>	a type of subordinate clause which functions as a noun phrase. The syntactic situation that arises when a notional sentence or predication is an argument of a predicate. See Noonan 1985.
<b>complementizer</b>	grammatical morpheme which marks a complement clause.
<b>complex sentence</b>	any sentence that contains one or more subordinate clauses.
<b>compound sentence</b>	a sentence that contains two or more main clauses.
<b>concessive clause</b>	a type of adverbial clause which implies that the proposition it expresses might have been expected to exclude the proposition expressed in the main clause, but in fact does not, <i>uray no</i> 'although' and <i>nupay</i> 'although' introduce concessive clauses in

Ilocano.

<b>concrete noun</b>	a noun whose meaning is perceived as a physical entity, i.e. <i>tree, ladder, jar, flower</i> . Contrast <i>abstract noun</i> .
<b>conditional clause</b>	a type of adverbial clause which expresses a condition upon whose fulfillment the proposition of the main clause depends. <i>No</i> 'if' usually marks conditional clauses in Ilocano.
<b>conjunct</b>	any one of the constituents which are conjoined in a coordinate structure.
<b>conjunction</b>	a closed lexical category or item of the category, whose members serve to construct coordinate structures, <i>ken</i> 'and', <i>wenno</i> 'or' and <i>ngem</i> 'but' are conjunctions in Ilocano.
<b>consonant cluster</b>	two or more consonants that occur together without an intervening vowel.
<b>constituent</b>	any part of an utterance which forms a distinct syntactic unit (in terms of its behavior and semantics).
<b>context</b>	the linguistic environment; linguistic situation in which an utterance is made.
<b>contraction</b>	a single phonological word representing a sequence or two or more separate word forms, i.e. <i>maykadtoy</i> is a contraction for <i>umayka ditoy</i> 'come here.'
<b>contrastive sounds</b>	sounds that contrast (may change meaning) in a given language. In Ilocano, <i>p</i> and <i>b</i> are contrastive because <i>pala</i> 'shovel' $\neq$ <i>bala</i> 'bullet'.
<b>coordination</b>	the linking of two or more elements as conjuncts.
<b>core case</b>	the cases which represent required arguments of the verb. In Ilocano, the ergative and the absolutive are core cases.
<b>declarative</b>	a statement which the speaker believes to be true.
<b>defective verbs</b>	verbs that do not conform to the general rules of other verbs in the language.
<b>deictic</b>	anything which serves to express a distinction in terms of

orientation within the immediate context of an utterance. Among the deictic categories in Ilocano are person, tense, and position.

<b>demonstrative</b>	a determiner with a clear deictic function.
<b>derivational affix</b>	an affix whose primary function is to change the word class or meaning of the stem to which it attaches, <i>ag-</i> is a derivational prefix because with <i>tugaw</i> 'chair' it forms a verb <i>agtugaw</i> 'to sit.'
<b>determiner</b>	a lexical category consisting of words that introduce noun phrases. In Ilocano <i>daytoy</i> 'this' and <i>ti</i> 'article' are among the many determiners.
<b>dialect</b>	a variety of a language spoken by a particular speech community. Dialects of a given language are mutually intelligible.
<b>diphthong</b>	a vowel-like sound consisting of a vowel followed by a glide: <i>aw</i> , <i>ay</i> , <i>iw</i> , <i>ey</i> , etc.
<b>distribution</b>	the set of environments in which a particular linguistic form occurs.
<b>dual number</b>	category used to express two of a particular entity. In Ilocano the dual inclusive pronoun 'you and I' is <i>data</i> .
<b>enclitic</b>	a clitic which is phonologically bound after a host. The Ilocano ergative pronouns are enclitics.
<b>equational sentence</b>	a sentence in which one noun phrase is identified with another without a copula. <i>Lalaki ni Andoy</i> . 'Andoy is a boy' is an equational sentence.
<b>ergative</b>	the grammatical category that distinguishes the agents of transitive verbs from the <i>absolutive</i> category. In Ilocano, the = <i>ko</i> pronouns are ergative.
<b>etymology</b>	the history and derivation of a word.
<b>exclamation</b>	an utterance serving to express emotion.
<b>exclusive pronoun</b>	a form of the first person plural that excludes the person being spoken to. <i>Dakami</i> is an exclusive pronoun.
<b>existential</b>	a type of word class that expresses existence of an entity. In

	Ilocano the existentials may denote existence, location, or possession. The existential in Ilocano is <i>adda</i> , with a negative counterpart <i>awan</i> .
<b>experiencer</b>	the semantic role of an animate referent who is the passive recipient of a sensation or mental experience.
<b>expletive</b>	an exclamatory word or interjection.
<b>feminine</b>	a traditional label in gender languages which shows some correlation with female sex. In Ilocano, certain Spanish adjective and noun borrowings may express feminine gender.
<b>focus</b>	a system characteristic of Philippine languages whereby a verbal affix designates the semantic and grammatical relationship between the verb and the absolutive category.
<b>fossilized prefix</b>	a prefix that is no longer productive and has become an inseparable part of a word.
<b>free morpheme</b>	a morpheme that may form a word.
<b>frequentative</b>	aspect which expresses the frequent repetition of an action.
<b>fricative</b>	a type of consonant formed by a continuing release of air through a partial obstruction in the mouth, <i>s</i> is a fricative.
<b>future</b>	tense correlated with future time.
<b>geminate</b>	a sequence of identical consonants. In Ilocano orthography, they are written as double consonants, i.e. <i>lallaki</i> 'boys.'
<b>gender</b>	grammatical category found in certain Spanish loanwords that indicates the sex (masculine or feminine) of the referent.
<b>genitive</b>	the possessive case.
<b>gerund</b>	verbal noun, verb with nominal morphology.
<b>glide</b>	a vowel that takes on consonantal properties when in contact with another vowel or the consonants <i>y</i> and <i>w</i> .
<b>gloss</b>	translation.



<b>glottal</b>	referring to the glottis (lower region of the vocal tract near the vocal cords), <i>h</i> is a glottal fricative.
<b>habitual</b>	aspect category which expresses an action which is regularly or consistently performed.
<b>head word</b>	word that is at the center of a phrase and is modified by another constituent.
<b>homonym</b>	a word that sounds identical to another word, but contrasts in meaning.
<b>host</b>	a stem to which an affix attaches.
<b>idiom</b>	an expression consisting of two or more words whose meanings cannot be predicted from the meanings of its constituent parts.
<b>imperfective</b>	aspectual category which contrasts with perfective.
<b>inanimate</b>	denoting a noun which is lifeless, not animate.
<b>inchoative</b>	an aspectual form which expresses the beginning of a state or the becoming of a state.
<b>inclusive pronoun</b>	a pronoun that includes the addressee, i.e. <i>datayo</i> , <i>data</i> are inclusive pronouns.
<b>infix</b>	an affix that is attached internally within another morpheme, i.e. <i>surat</i> 'write' → <i>sinurat</i> 'wrote'.
<b>inflectional affix</b>	an affix whose primary function is grammatical, rather than semantic. It has no independent meaning by itself and does not change the lexical category of its host.
<b>initial position</b>	the beginning of a linguistic unit, such as a syllable, word, or utterance.
<b>instrumental</b>	the case form which expresses the means by which something is done.
<b>interrogative</b>	pertaining to questions.
<b>intonation</b>	the rise and fall in pitch and the differing degrees of loudness in a speaker's articulation.

<b>intransitive verb</b>	a verb that takes one argument at the most. Ilocano intransitive verbs may take an absolutive argument.
<b>involuntary</b>	action not done on purpose, in which the performer generally does not exhibit control or volition.
<b>irregular</b>	not conforming to the general rule of a language.
<b>iterative</b>	aspectual form which expresses the repetition of an action, a subclass of the imperfective aspect.
<b>labial</b>	sounds produced with the lips, i.e. <i>p, b, m</i> .
<b>lexical category</b>	a class which contains certain items that share morphological and syntactic behavior. Lexical classes may include: noun, verb, adjective, determiner, etc.
<b>ligature</b>	a certain word, common in Austronesian languages, that is used to link constituents. <i>Nga</i> is the Ilocano ligature. Also called linker.
<b>linker</b>	see <i>ligature</i> .
<b>liquid</b>	a type of sound made with partial closure but without friction. i.e. <i>l, r</i> .
<b>loan</b>	word or morpheme borrowed from another language, i.e. <i>kalesa</i> 'horse drawn carriage' is borrowed from Spanish.
<b>locative</b>	case or word which expresses where something exists or occurs.
<b>main clause</b>	a clause that may stand alone.
<b>masculine</b>	a traditional label in gender languages which shows some correlation with male sex. In Ilocano, certain borrowed nouns and adjectives indicate gender.
<b>medial position</b>	in the middle of a linguistic unit. i.e. in the middle of a word.
<b>metathesis</b>	the transposition of sounds, i.e. <i>in-</i> often becomes <i>ni-</i> before <i>l</i> .
<b>minimal pair</b>	two words that are distinguished by a single contrast, i.e. <i>dugi</i> 'large sewing needle' vs. <i>duri</i> 'spine'.
<b>modifier</b>	a word, phrase, or clause that qualifies another word, phrase or

clause. Modifiers provide additional semantic information about the constituents they modify.

<b>morpheme</b>	the smallest unit of speech that has meaning, <i>basa</i> 'reading' consists of one morpheme, while <i>agbasa</i> 'to read' consists of two, the stem <i>basa</i> , and the verbalizing prefix <i>ag-</i> .
<b>morphological</b>	pertaining to the morphology.
<b>morphology</b>	the study of morphemes and their combination in word formation.
<b>noun phrase (NP)</b>	a noun phrase which minimally consists of a head noun, but may contain modifiers. Noun phrases in Ilocano include <i>aso</i> 'dog', <i>ti aso</i> 'the dog', and <i>ti aso nga nagtaul</i> 'the dog that barked.'
<b>nasal</b>	a sound produced with a lowered uvula, forcing the air to escape through the nose, <i>m</i> , <i>n</i> , <i>ng</i> are nasal sounds.
<b>nominalization</b>	the process in which a word or phrase is converted into a noun-like unit. In Ilocano the verb <i>agsurat</i> 'to write' may be nominalized to <i>panagsurat</i> 'writing.'
<b>noun</b>	a lexical category whose members denote physical entities and other words that behave grammatically equivalently to the physical entities. Examples of Ilocano nouns are <i>kalding</i> 'goat', <i>ima</i> 'hand', and <i>ayar</i> 'love.'
<b>oblique</b>	denoting a non-core case in a language. Oblique phrases or nouns are typically marked with prepositions in Ilocano.
<b>open syllable</b>	a syllable that ends in a vowel.
<b>optative</b>	the mood category which expresses wishes or hopes. The particle <i>kuma</i> in Ilocano expresses the optative.
<b>orthography</b>	a system of spelling in a given language.
<b>particle</b>	a lexical item that is invariant in form. It does not exhibit lexical or derivational morphology.
<b>passive voice</b>	a term used to describe a verb form in which the absolutive argument receives or undergoes the action, and the actor is not specified, i.e. <i>Tinawaganak</i> . I was called.

<b>patient</b>	the semantic role of a noun which expresses the entity undergoing an action.
<b>penultimate</b>	second to last. In the word <i>súrat</i> the stress is on the penultimate syllable.
<b>perfective</b>	an aspect category which expresses an action or state which is confined to a single instant in time.
<b>person</b>	the deictic category which distinguishes the entities in a speech context. First person refers to the speaker, second person refers to the addressee, and third person refers to everyone or everything else.
<b>phoneme</b>	a significant or contrastive sound in a given language. In Ilocano <i>p</i> and <i>b</i> are separate phonemes because they contrast as in the following minimal pair <i>apay</i> 'why' vs. <i>abay</i> 'beside.'
<b>phonology</b>	the study of sounds and their distributions, the study of the nature of phonemes.
<b>pitch</b>	the highness or lowness of the tone in an individual's speech.
<b>point of articulation</b>	the point where the speech articulators (such as the tongue and lips) meet the immovable speech organs (teeth, alveolar ridge, palate).
<b>potential</b>	mood category expressing ability or possibility.
<b>prefix</b>	an affix that is attached to the beginning of a stem.
<b>preposition</b>	a term used in grammatical classification of words to refer to a set of items which precede noun phrases to form a single constituent structure.
<b>presentative</b>	a construction that is used to introduce a new referent in the discourse.
<b>productive</b>	referring a grammatical or morphological pattern which can be freely applied to any item meeting its requirements. An affix that may be added to new words recently adopted by a language is still productive. (compare <i>fossilized</i> )
<b>progressive</b>	the aspect category which refers to an action or event which is in

	progress at the moment of time serving as a reference point for the utterance.
<b>pronoun</b>	a morpheme class whose members may substitute full noun phrases. <i>Isu</i> 'he/she' may substitute <i>Ni Cristy</i> 'Cristy'.
<b>recipient</b>	the referent which receives an object. In the sentence <i>Intedko ti kuarta kenni Maria</i> 'I gave the money to Maria', <i>Maria</i> is the recipient.
<b>reciprocal</b>	construction in which two entities perform an action onto each other.
<b>reduplication</b>	the repetition of all or part of a syllable or word, <i>agbasa</i> 'read' may reduplicate to <i>agbasbasa</i> 'reading'.
<b>referent</b>	entity in the real or conceptual world which is associated with a noun phrase.
<b>reflexive</b>	construction in which two noun phrases are understood as being co-referential (having the same referent), i.e. <i>Nakitak ti bagik</i> 'I saw myself.'
<b>relative clause</b>	type of subordinate clause which functions as a modifier to a noun. (See Keenan 1985).
<b>relativizer</b>	morpheme that introduces a relative clause, or links a relative clause to the noun it modifies.
<b>resultative</b>	an aspectual form representing a state resulting from an earlier event.
<b>root</b>	a word which cannot be reduced any further in terms of its morpheme structure. It may take other affixes.
<b>semantics</b>	the study of meaning.
<b>semelfactive</b>	aspectual category which expresses actions that happen exactly once.
<b>sentence</b>	utterance which may stand alone to express a coherent thought.
<b>simple sentence</b>	sentence which minimally contains one verb phrase or non-verbal predicate.

<b>singular</b>	in languages with a number distinction, the category of number which expresses a single entity. (contrast with <i>plural</i> )
<b>stative verb</b>	a verb which expresses a state of affairs rather than an event, i.e. <i>ammo</i> 'know', <i>maawatan</i> 'understand', <i>kayat</i> 'like.'
<b>stem</b>	any word to which another morpheme may attach. Stems, unlike roots, may be poly-morphemic.
<b>stop</b>	a type of consonant produced by creating an instantaneous release of air immediately following a complete obstruction of the vocal tract, <i>p, b, t, d, k, g</i> are stops.
<b>stress</b>	the degree of loudness of a syllable. An alternate term is accent.
<b>subordinate clause</b>	a clause that cannot stand alone and is dependent upon a main clause.
<b>subordinator</b>	a word used to introduce a subordinate clause.
<b>suffix</b>	any affix that is attached to the end of a stem.
<b>superlative</b>	form used with adjectives to indicate the highest degree of comparison, i.e. <i>kabassitan</i> 'smallest' is the superlative of <i>bassit</i> 'small.'
<b>syllable</b>	a unit in the sound system of a language that has a vowel as its peak.
<b>syntax</b>	the study of the relationship of words and phrases in grammatical constructions.
<b>tag question</b>	a question which immediately follows a statement and serves to request confirmation.
<b>tense</b>	a grammatical category which indicates the location of an event or action in time.
<b>topicalization</b>	the phenomenon in which some element is singled out as the most prominent element by use of a marked construction.
<b>transitive verb</b>	a verb that takes two or more core arguments.
<b>typology</b>	the classification of languages in terms of their structural features.

<b>undergoer</b>	argument which expresses the participant which does not perform, initiate or control the situation of the predicate, but is affected by it (Foley and Van Valin 1984:29).
<b>unproductive</b>	denoting an affix which may not be used with new words introduced in the language.
<b>velar</b>	referring to the velum, the back part of the roof of the mouth, <i>k</i> , <i>g</i> , and <i>ng</i> are velar sounds.
<b>velum</b>	the back of the roof of the mouth.
<b>verb</b>	a member of the lexical class of verbs which generally refer to 'actions' and sometimes states. Verbs may generally display morphological contrasts of tense, aspect, voice, mood, person, and number. They may be the minimal predicates in a sentence. Verbs in Ilocano include <i>agbasa</i> 'read', <i>maawatan</i> 'understand', <i>ibelleng</i> 'throw out', and <i>mapan</i> 'go'
<b>verb phrase</b>	a phrase consisting of a verb and its modifiers.
<b>verbalizing affix</b>	an affix that may change a non-verb into a word that functions like a verb.
<b>voice</b>	the grammatical category which expresses the relationship between participant roles of the NP and their grammatical relations.
<b>voiced</b>	sounds produced while the vocal chords are vibrating, i.e. vowels, <i>b</i> , <i>d</i> , <i>g</i> , <i>m</i> , <i>n</i> , <i>ng</i> are voiced sounds.
<b>voiceless</b>	sounds produced without the vibration of the vocal chords, <i>p</i> , <i>t</i> , <i>k</i> , <i>s</i> are voiceless sounds.
<b>volitional</b>	mood category which expresses wish or desire.
<b>Wackernagel's position</b>	The second position in an utterance or sentence in which many clitics tend to occur.

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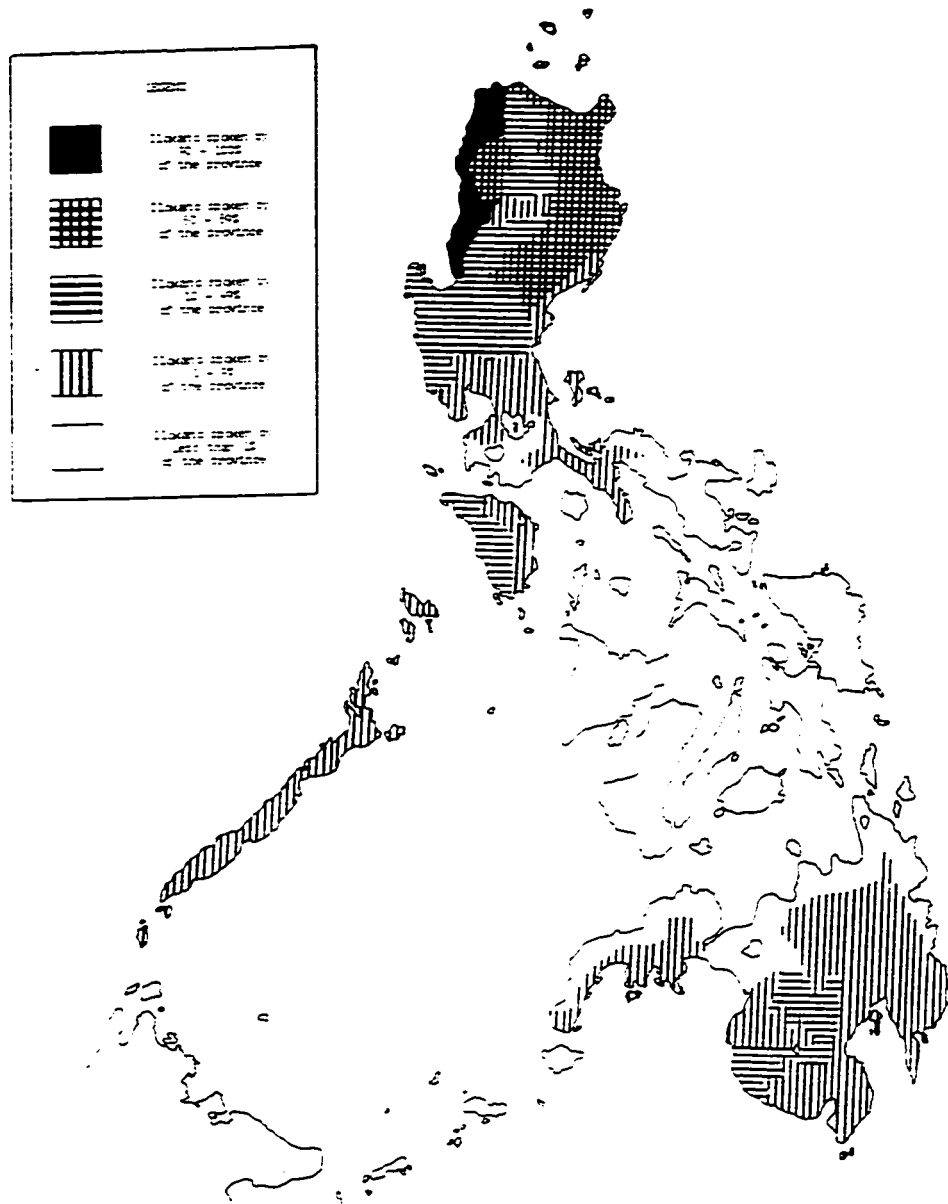
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# MAP APPENDIX

The following maps are taken from Curtis D. McFarland's 'A Linguistic Atlas of the Philippines', 1980. Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, Monograph Series No. 15, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies.

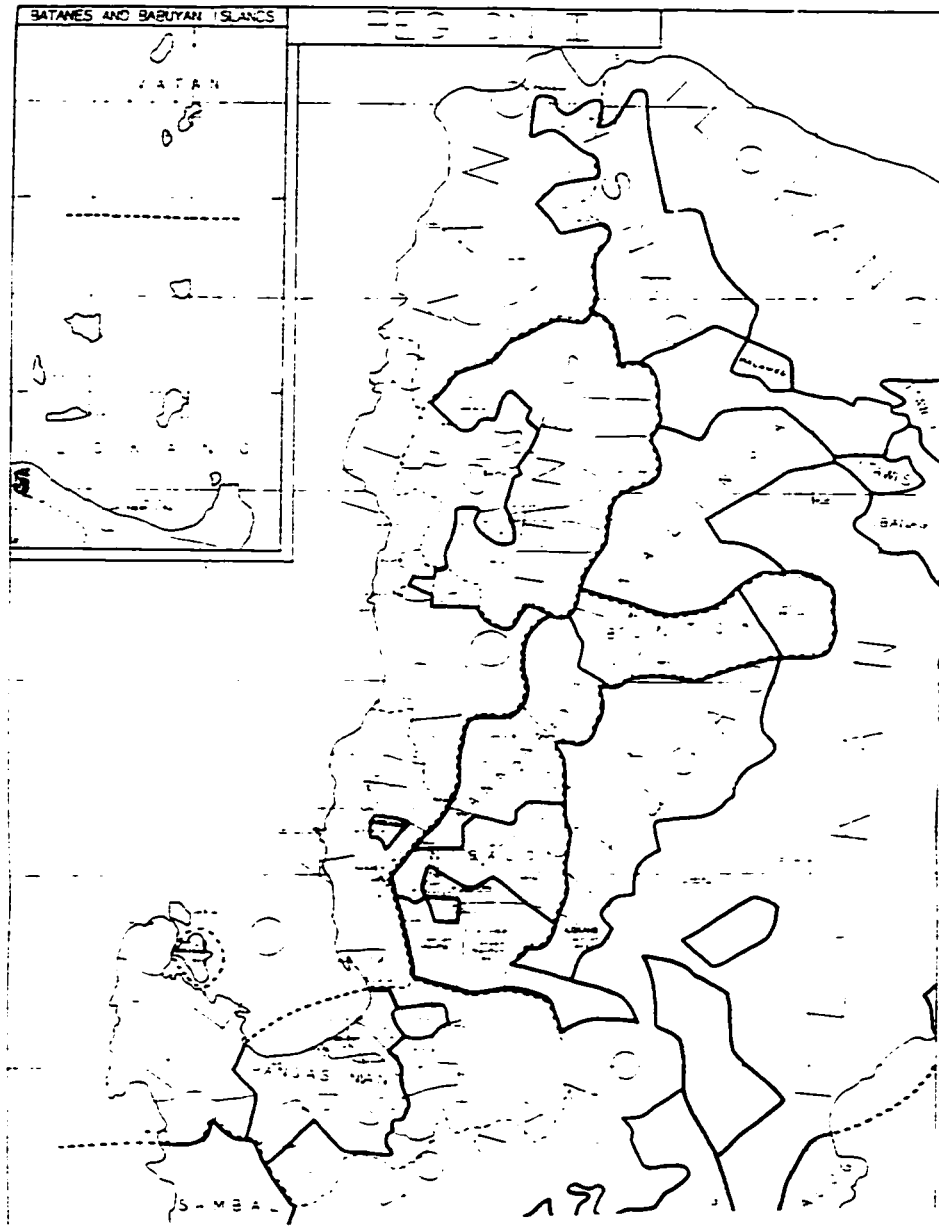
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# Ilocano Speakers in the Philippines<sup>1</sup>



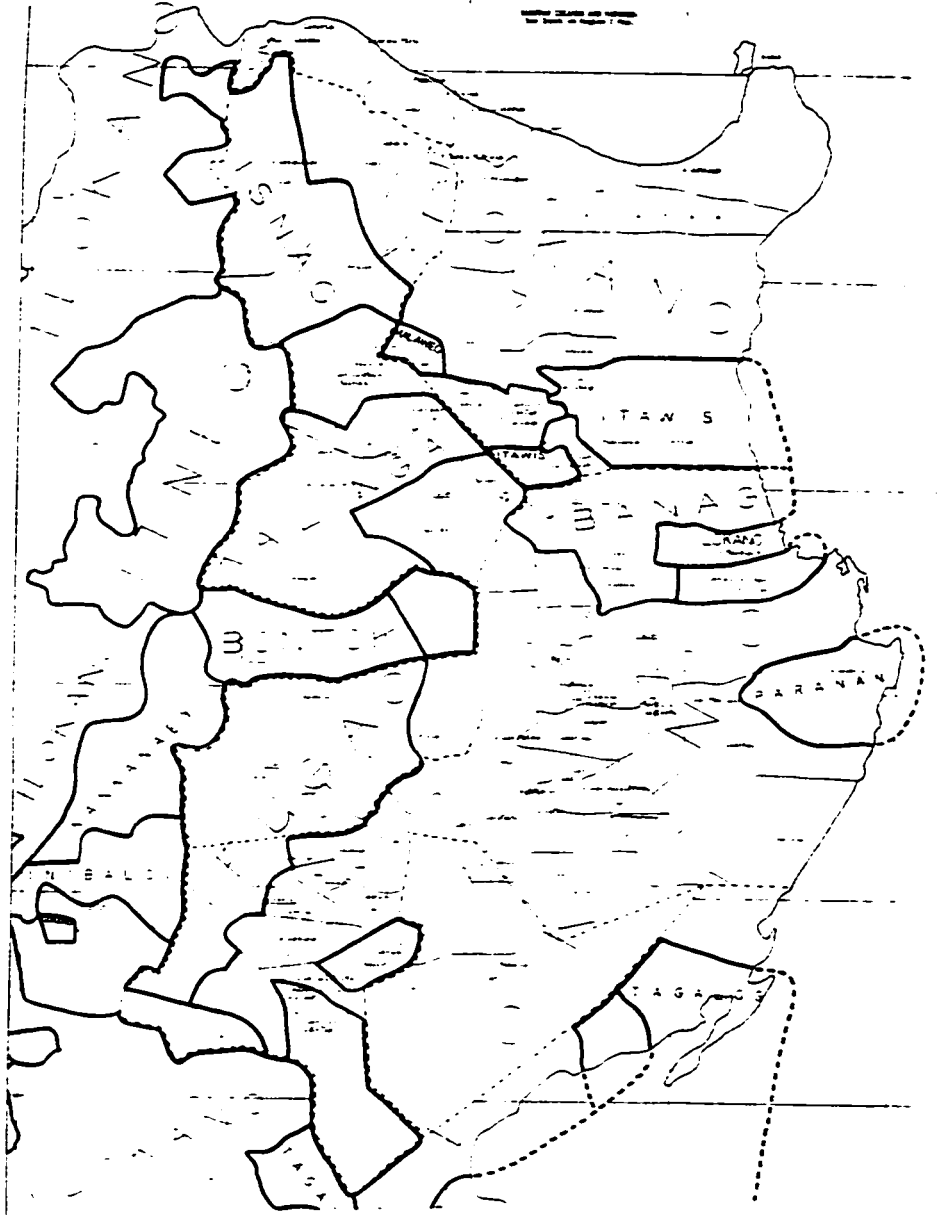
<sup>1</sup>Curtis D. Mc Farland. 1980. A Linguistic Atlas of the Philippines. Tokyo University of Foreign Studies: Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, p. 22.

## Region F



<sup>2</sup>Curtis D. Mc Farland. 1980. A Linguistic Atlas of the Philippines. Tokyo University of Foreign Studies: Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa.

## Region II<sup>3</sup>



<sup>3</sup>Curtis D. Mc Farland. 1980. A Linguistic Atlas of the Philippines. Tokyo University of Foreign Studies: Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa.

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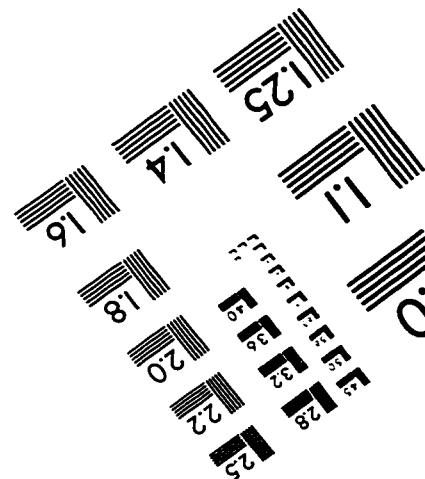
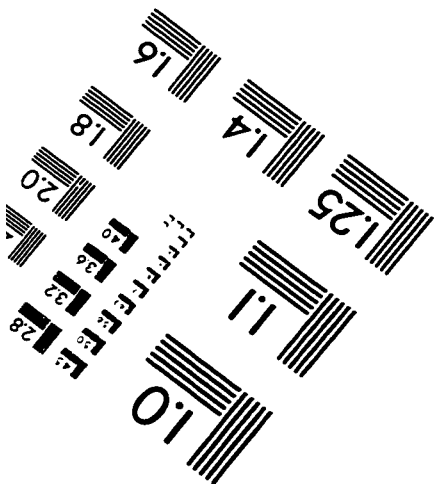
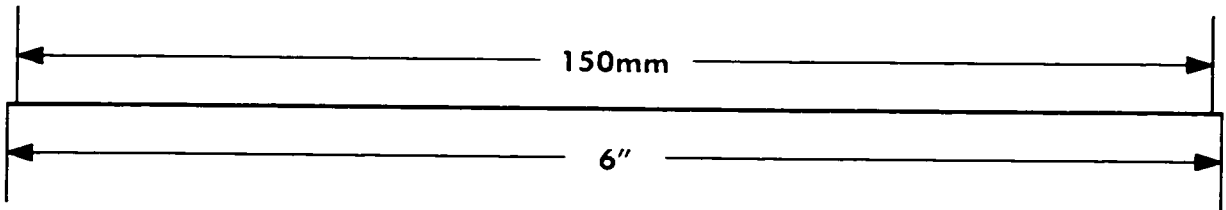
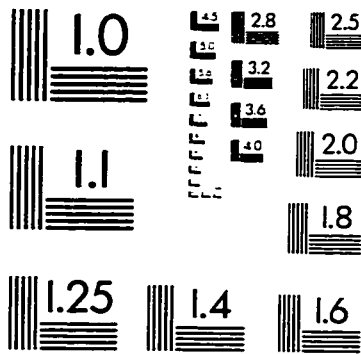
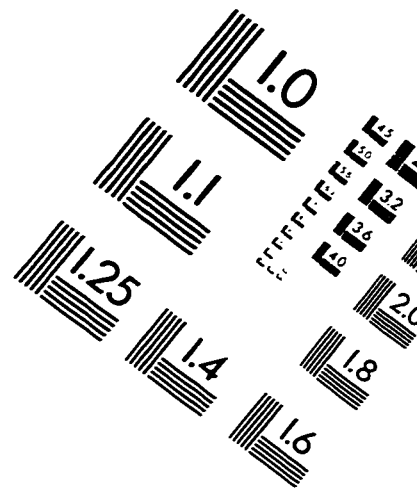
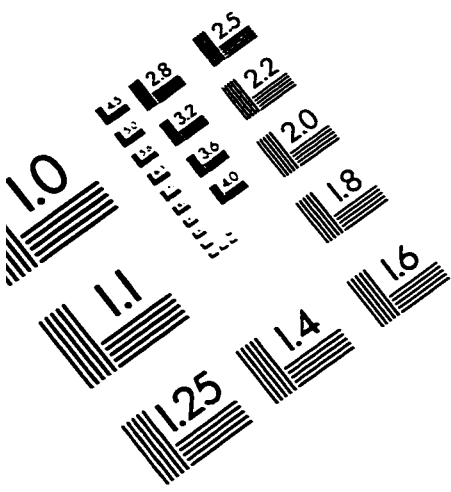
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# IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (QA-3)



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