



# UNIVERSITAT DE BARCELONA

## Documentation of Northern Alta: grammar, texts and glossary

Alexandro-Xavier García Laguía

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BARCELONA

# Documentation of Northern Alta: grammar, texts and glossary

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*Para ti, mamá...*

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## Resumen

Northern Alta (código iso: aqn) es una lengua ‘Negrito’ hablada por menos de 300 personas en la zona oeste de la isla de Luzón, en las Filipinas. Sus hablantes son negritos, un grupo étnico perteneciente a las poblaciones austroloides-melanesias consideradas como las primeras en habitar las islas, habiendo llegado al territorio hace al menos 50.000 años. Como muchas otras lenguas del archipiélago Filipino, la lengua no se está transmitiendo a la generación de niños y por tanto necesita ser documentada y descrita con urgencia. El presente estudio trata de responder a esta necesidad.

Esta tesis doctoral es uno de los resultados del proyecto de documentación de la lengua Northern Alta, en el cual hemos producido un total de 19 horas de grabaciones de video y audio, de la cuales hemos transcrito y traducido 13 horas. El corpus de grabaciones transcritas ha proporcionado los datos que aparecen en este trabajo, que consiste en una descripción de la gramática de la lengua, un texto de 25 minutos glosado (grabación 103) y un glosario de 2400 entradas (alta – inglés, inglés, alta).

## Abstract

Northern Alta (iso code: aqn) is a Negrito language spoken by fewer than 300 people in the Eastern side of Luzon Island in the Philippines. Northern Alta is spoken by Negritos, who are part of the Australoid-Melanesian populations considered as the first inhabitants of the Philippines, arriving to the territory at least 50,000 years ago. Like many other languages in the Philippines, Northern Alta is currently not being transmitted to the next generation and thus requires urgent documentation and description. We attempt to address these needs in the present work.

This PhD dissertation is one of the descriptive outputs of a language documentation project in which we have recorded a total of 19 hours of video and audio, and we have transcribed and translated 13 hours. The corpus of annotated recordings provides the data for this dissertation, which consists of a description of the grammar of the language, a 25-minute text with interlinear morpheme glossing (recording 103), and a glossary of 2,400 items (Alta – English, English-Alta).

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# 1. Introduction

## 1.1 Aims of this study

The archipelago of the Philippines is home to over a hundred and sixty languages, thirty of which are spoken by Negritos. Yet, relatively few documentation projects have been conducted on the Negrito languages of the Philippines. Liao (2009) records four dictionaries of Negrito languages out of a total of ninety two dictionaries of local languages. She also identifies ninety grammars, among which eight describe languages spoken by Negrito groups. Finally, she reports the existence of two out of twenty four collected of texts dedicated to Negrito languages.

The present study addresses this issue of lack of documentation by documenting and describing one of the thirty Negrito languages of the Philippines, the Northern Alta language. Two reasons motivated this choice. First, the current generation of adult speakers of Northern Alta does not generally transmit the language to their children. Furthermore, prior to this project, only a limited number of wordlists and elicited sentences of the language had been produced (see §1.3), putting the language at risk of disappearing. This dissertation has the following two main goals: document the language and produce a description of it.

- The documentation goal consists in the video and audio recording of speakers of Northern Alta, with translation into Tagalog and English, in order to compile a documentary collection.
- The description goal consists in making a corpus-based grammatical analysis of the language, and writing a description of its grammar and lexicon.

The following chapters contain the results of the analysis, based on the data collected in the field during several field trips to the Northern Alta communities in the last five years

## 1.2 Background of the Alta language

Northern Alta (aqn) is an Austronesian language spoken by several communities of Negrito people in the eastern part of Luzon, in the northern Philippines. The language is estimated to have 200 speakers, out of an ethnic population of 400 (Wurm, 2002). Other sources, such as

the National Commission of Indigenous Peoples (NCIP) stated (personal communication, January 2014) that the number of speakers is actually 106 out of an ethnic population of 1,038. Alternative names for the language are Edimala, Baler Negrito, Ditaylin Alta, Ditaylin Dumagat and Baler.

Most of the Northern Alta communities are located in the municipalities of Aurora Province. These include Diteki and Ditaylin (Municipality of San Luis), Decoliat, Dianawan and Villa Aurora (Municipality of Maria Aurora) and Dianed (Municipality of Dipaculao). Figure 1.1 is a map of Aurora municipalities.

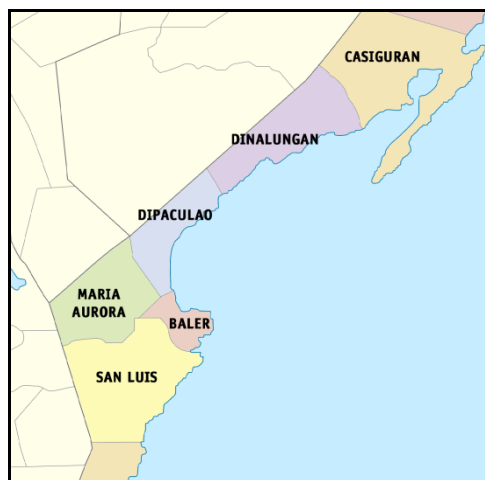


Figure 1.1 Map of Aurora Municipalities

Northern Alta is spoken in an area where Tagalog is the dominant language. Neighboring linguistic communities include Umiray Dumagat, spoken in the south of Baler (Dibut and southwards), Casiguran Dumagat (Casiguran area), and Ilongot (Maria Aurora, Barangay Bayanihan). Another Alta language, Southern Alta, is spoken in the adjacent provinces of Quezon and Nueva Ecija.

### 1.3 Previous research on Northern Alta

Early references to the language include Blumentritt (1884) and Worcester (1906). The first data about the language is Vanoverbergh's *Some Undescribed Languages of Luzon* (1937) which includes a 313-item word list collected from two men in Ditailin. A reference to a 206-item wordlist collected by Robert B. Fox (1956) appears in Reid (1991), which is the first article providing data for both Alta languages: Southern and Northern Alta. This article

establishes the degree of lexical relationship of these two languages, as well as genetic relationships with other languages of Luzon.

Reid (1987a) includes about 539 lexical elements using the (Mc Farland) wordlist, and about 400 sentences (elicited on the basis of the structures provided in Yamada and Tsuchida, 1983). The data was also used in research related to the “Language Switch Hypotheses” (Reid 1987b, 2007), where different scenarios of when Negrito people learned Austronesian languages in relation to other events in the language family are explored. Certain patterns observed in the Alta languages point to a scenario whereby the Altas learned their first Austronesian language at some remote date, and then lost contact with their neighbors and finally re-established contact with another group (a hypothesis that was coined “the relatively-remote-with-cyclic-contact-with-a-different-language hypothesis”).

Reid (1994) also includes some of the data in a presentation of a body of unique terms that constitutes possible evidence of a non-Austronesian substratum. For instance, of the 539 lexical elements, 17% appear to be unique (forms for which no cognate has been found in any other language) and some of them could be pre-Austronesian, constituting a Negrito language substratum.

Liao (2004, p.119) also quotes the data collected by Reid (1987a), and provides a couple of sentences in the section dedicated to the reflexes of PMP \*maR- in Philippine languages.

Finally, Laura Robinson and Jason Lobel have also done fieldwork on Northern Alta (Robinson, Lobel, Bembelida, Lasan, 2006), and have referred to the language in some of their work. In addition, Robinson (2008, p.57) provides three lexical items that are exclusively shared by Northern Alta and the languages belonging to the Northern Luzon Group. Lobel (2013) also refers to the language on several occasions.

At an early stage of the current documentation project, I introduced the lexical data provided in Vanoverbergh (1937) and Reid (1987a) in the Flex lexical database, which is one of the documentary outputs of the project (§1.7.4.6). Each of these entries received the tags *v* (Vanoverbergh) or *lar* (Lawrence Reid) in order to easily locate them in the future. The adequacy and quality of the data has not been checked systematically. However, whenever we introduced a lexical item that had already been provided by one of the two authors, we removed the tag, because we had confirmation that the data was correct. The entries that



still have the tag need further verification. As for the data collected by other authors such as Fox (1956) and Robinson et al. (2006), I have not yet checked their adequacy or quality.

## 1.4 Genetic classification

On the basis of an /l/ reflex of \*R, both Alta languages are currently subgrouped with South-Central Cordilleran languages (Reid, 1991), which alone among languages in Luzon also have the same reflex of \*R. South Cordilleran languages include Kallahan, Inibaloy, Pangasinan and Ilongot, while Central Cordilleran languages include Isinay, Kalinga, Bontok, Kankanay, Balangao and Ifugao. The two Alta languages and the South-Central Cordilleran group also share an innovation in the voice system, their irregular \*man- reflex of the Proto-Austronesian prefix \*maR-. Alta, however, does not reflect a set of innovations in the Personal Pronouns and in the voice morphology that have occurred in Southern or Central Cordilleran languages. These innovations are considered evidence that the Alta languages are coordinate with the South-Central Cordilleran subgroup, as reflected in the classification of Northern Luzon languages (Reid, 2006, p.4) in Figure 1.2 below.

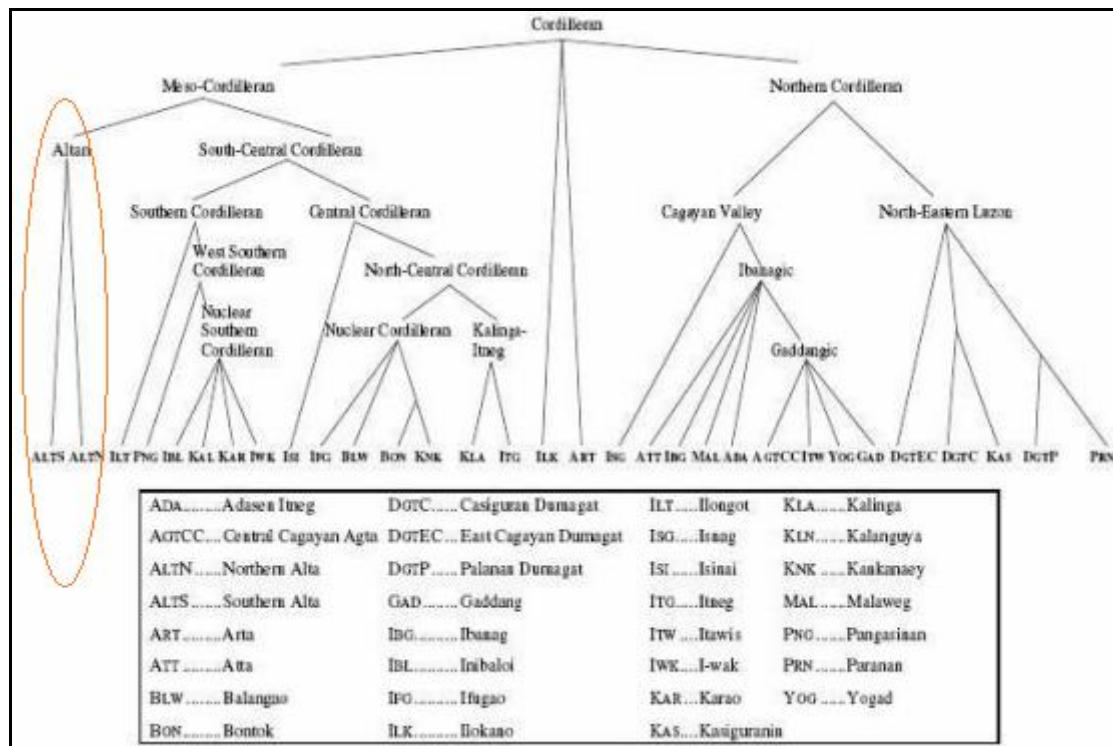


Figure 1.2 Alta languages and subgrouping of Northern Luzon languages (Reid, 2006)

### 1.4.1 Relationship with Southern Alta

Northern Alta and Southern Alta live in geographically proximate areas. On the basis of their reflexes and a set of 10 uniquely shared innovations, the two languages are grouped together. However, Reid (1991, p.4) explains that the two languages only share 34% of a 530-item word list, which suggests that the languages are only distantly related

## 1.5 History of the Alta tribe

Very little is known about the history of the Alta. Linguistic data shows that Southern and Northern Alta have not always lived in nearby areas. Reid (1991) includes lexical evidence suggesting that both languages must have had little contact with each other for extended periods of time.

Reid (1991, p.16) refers to Blumentritt, “Perhaps Blumentritt was right after all and that northwestern Nueva Vizcaya, along the Agno River valley and close to what today is the homeland of the Isinay and the Ifugao, was really where the Northern Alta used to live”.

A footnote in the same article includes a reference to the Alta in an Amganad Ifugao narrative text (Madrid 1980, p.117): “there was a person whose name was Puddunan (...) the person went, it is said, walking to find something in the forest (...) later he was going there to the Village of the Negritoos. Those negrito lived there on the mountain top, between Hingyon and Ubwag. There is where they lived, which was stone caves”.

In one of the recordings I made in Diteki, Elena Maximino (the oldest speaker of Alta to my knowledge, who is 96 years old) and Violeta Fernandez claim that their relatives originally lived in Palanan (Isabela province). Violeta mentions the story of a conflict between the Ilongot and Alta tribes, a conflict that was resolved thanks to the fact that their ancestor, *Ma’eg’eg*, married an Ilongot woman. Later, the recording says that *Ma’eg’eg* took his siblings with him and left the area. Violeta adds “that’s why we have a relative in Casiguran, the engineer Mark (...) and Ric and your father (...) they are from Maddela”. Violeta also explains how her mother was “left at Ditailin with the Ilocanos at the age of seven”. See Figure 1.3 for a map of past locations of the Alta.

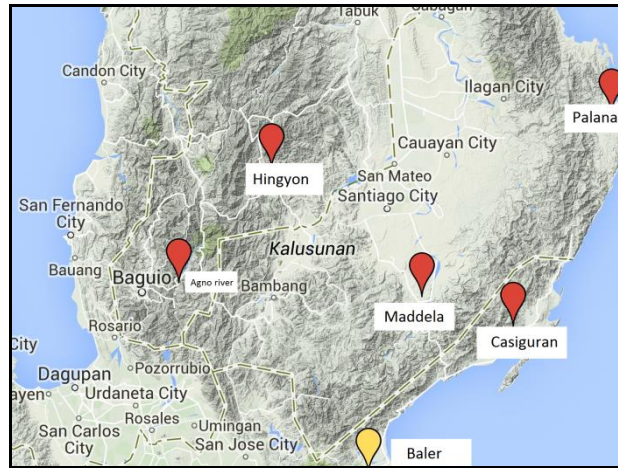


Figure 1.3 Map of past locations of the Alta.

## 1.6 Vitality of the language

The data provided in this section was collected in January 2013, using the UNESCO Linguistic Vitality and Diversity Survey, see Table 1.1. The survey was undertaken in the following *barangays*<sup>1</sup>: Diteki, Dianed and Decoliat. The data will be presented following the Major Evaluative Factors of Language Vitality (UNESCO, 2003). Each factor is assessed using a scale from 1 to 5, where 5 is the most positive state in relation to language vitality and 0 the most endangered:

Table 1.1 UNESCO Linguistic Vitality Survey for Northern Alta

Factor	Score
1. Intergenerational language transmission	3 (definitely endangered)
2. Absolute numbers of speakers	(100-200)
3. Proportion of speakers within the total population	2 (severely endangered)
4. Domains of language use	3 (dwindling domains)
5. Response to new domains and media	1 (minimal)
6. Availability of materials for language education and literacy	2
7. Governmental and institutional language attitudes and policies	3 (passive assimilation)

<sup>1</sup> The Tagalog term *barangay* is used for the smallest administrative division in the Philippines

8. Community members' attitudes towards their own language	4
9. Type and quality of documentation.	2 - 3

### 1.6.1 Intergenerational language transmission

The youngest speakers of Northern Alta are typically over 40 years old. Thus, the language is no longer being learned as the mother tongue by children at home. When we visited three of the schools attended by Alta children, we collected figures on the number of Alta children in relation to the total number students, see Table 1.2. None of these children were able to speak the language, although some of them could understand it. For instance, the data collected at Dianed *barangay* revealed that some parents speak to their children in Alta while the children respond in Tagalog. These features correspond to grade 3 in the scale of endangerment.

**Table 1.2 Number of Alta children per school (January 2014)**

Location of the school	Number of Alta children (total children)
Diteki	25 (311)
Dianed	42 (136)
Decoliat	12 (76)

### 1.6.2 Absolute number of speakers and proportion within the total population

The absolute number of speakers of the language was estimated at 106 by the National Commission on Indigenous Peoples (NCIP), out of an ethnic population of 1,038 members. This estimation represents a minority of the total population, which corresponds to grade 2 in the correspondent scale. We have not conducted a survey in order to determine the exact number of speakers.

### 1.6.3 Domains of language use

The main domain is home, however Tagalog (in this case, the dominant language) has already penetrated the home domain. In the communities we have visited, Alta is usually spoken at home if the father is a speaker of the language. In this case, the mother learns the language, and they both speak it to their children. However, the most frequent scenario is one where the Alta speaker is the mother, since most of the Alta male members move to other provinces in search of better job opportunities. In a case such as this, the language spoken at home tends to be the father's (Tagalog, Ilocano or another local language) and the children only understand a few phrases of Alta.

I have only learned about one household where the parents are both speakers of Alta. The fact that the Alta consider themselves as all related has led the community to an obligatory intermarriage pattern for at least one generation. The cases where a speaker of the language is referred to as "pure" are rare. The obligatory nature of intermarriage has a direct impact on the domain of language use, since instances where the father is the speaker of the language are rare and those where both parents are Alta are almost nonexistent.

### 1.6.4 Response to new domains and media

The language is not used in any new domain with the exception of text messaging. Given that in the Philippines text messaging is often much cheaper than phone calls, texts are the most important means of communication in rural communities (as opposed to phone calls or emails), see Figure 1.4:

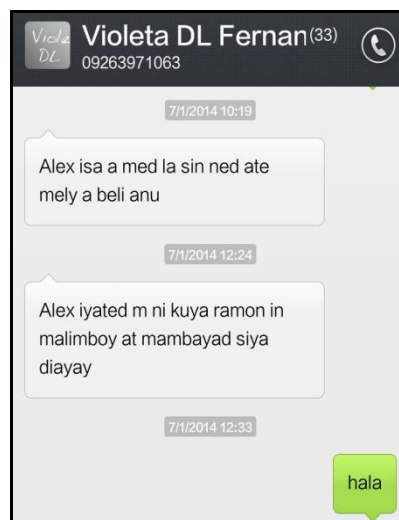


Figure 1.4 Example of a text message in Northern Alta

### **1.6.5 Availability of materials for language education and literacy**

In the case of availability of materials, the language has been given grade 2. Written material exists, including the present dissertation and the ELAR Northern Alta collection, and a first printed version of the glossary, which was given to the community in July 2018. A practical orthography has been prepared and appears in this grammatical sketch although it is not yet known to the community. Literacy education in the language is not a part of the school curriculum.

### **1.6.6 Governmental and institutional language attitudes and policies**

The Department of Education (DepED) has recently started implementing the framework of Mother Tongue-Based Multilingual Education (MTB-MLE) representing a timely opportunity for the project. The principles of the framework are reflected in the Republic Act 10533 (2012), which states: “for kindergarten and the first three (3) years of elementary education, instruction, teaching materials and assessment shall be in the regional or native language of the learner”. Gallego & Zubiri (2011) point out that MTB-MLE is at an initial stage in the Philippines, where Filipino and English are the main languages at school as a consequence of the former Bilingual Education Program. It is not sure yet whether literacy materials will be created for the Northern Alta language in the future, and whether or not an orthography would be developed in collaboration with the Alta community for this purpose.

### **1.6.7 Community members’ attitudes towards their own language**

When conducting the questionnaires in a community, several speakers were unaware of the situation of the language, but admitted that there has been a significant decrease in the number of speakers. Since the beginning of the documentation project we have not encountered any speaker of the language who supports language loss.

### **1.6.8 Type and quality of documentation**

At this point the documentation of the language corresponds to the value 2-3 on the scale. The value of this category is increasing now, as we are uploading a number of documentary materials in the ELAR archive.

Below is a summarized list of the language materials:

- Vanoverbergh’s Ditaalin 313-item wordlist (1937)
- Fox 206-item wordlist (1956)
- Lawrence Reid’s collected data (1987a) and publications (1991,1994 and posterior)
- Alta Elicitations archived at Paradisec (Robinson et al., 2006)
- Northern Alta Collection in the ELAR archive (Garcia-Laguia, 2017)

## 1.7 Research, field methods and outputs

### 1.7.1 Field trips to the Alta communities

Since our first contact with the Alta in September 2013, I have been 6 times in the field, with an approximate total of 6 months of fieldwork. Table 1.3 below summarizes each field trip, providing the dates, the main activities that were carried out and the documentation outcomes:

**Table 1.3 Summary of fieldtrips with main activities and related outputs**

<b>Date and duration</b>	<b>Main Activities</b>	<b>Fieldtrip outcomes</b>
September 2013 (3 days)	<b>First contact with the Alta</b> First contact with the Alta communities at Diteki, Malabida and Diculiat	- Obtained informed consent from the community elders (Diteki, Malabida and Diculiat) - First word list and basic sentences
January 2014 (10 days)	<b>Collecting texts in the Alta language</b> - First contact with the Dianed community - First batch of language recordings in Diteki and Dianed - First transcription sessions - Unesco Vitality questionnaire (Diteki, Decoliat and Dianed) - Visit to the elementary schools of Diteki and Dianed	- Recorded sessions 14, 18, 19, 21, 38, 41, 42, 43, 45, 46, 47, 48, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 61, 63, 60 - Written transcription of recorded session 14
July 2014 (21 days)	<b>Expansion of grammatical data</b> - Monolingual elicitation sessions with Ate Reni - More transcription sessions - 120-item recorded wordlist with 4 different speakers - First decisions about transcription orthography	- Recorded Elicitation sessions 1-13 - Recorded wordlists (sessions 26-.37) - Written transcription of sessions (x) - 3 notebooks with field

		notes taken during elicitation
February 2015 (10 days)	<b>Annotation of recordings with ELAN</b> - Development of annotation workflow (recorded transcription and translation sessions) - Development of transcription orthography	- Elan transcription of sessions 19, 20, 39, 44, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 55, 58, 60, 62
April 2016- July 2016 (3 months)	<b>Video recordings, annotation and training of young community members</b> - Filmed and recorded monologues, interviews and dialogues at Diteki community - Collected speakers' personal information (metadata) - Transcribed and translated 6 hours of recordings at Diteki Elementary School - Recorded all annotation sessions - First training period of young community member Maebell Fernandez	- New video recordings, sessions 70-110 (16 hours in total) - Photo collection - 6 hours of transcription, and translation to Tagalog (ELAN) - Collection and organization of metadata (Arbil)
May 2017- July 2017 (2 months)	<b>First contact with Villa community, videos in Dianed and documentation training at Diteki</b> - Made first contact with the Altas from Villa with the assistance of Tikkay, an Alta from Diteki - Made recordings with speakers from Villa - Made recordings with speakers from Dianed - Documented the marine fishing technique at Dianed - Trained two young community members: Maebell Fernandez and Jennifer Marques	- New video recordings, sessions 119-132 (3 hours) - Photo collection - 6 hours of transcription (ELAN) - 8 hours of translation - Trainees collection of recordings (documentation of Alta crops) - Creation of a language documentation manual for trainees

## 1.7.2 Documentation team

### 1.7.2.1 Collectors

#### 1.7.2.1.1 Alex García

I have participated in the documentation project as a linguist/researcher, collector (filming and audio-recording), annotator, photographer and depositor. I have created the ELAN corpus of annotations, the lexical database (with FLEx), the metadata structure (with Arbil), and the Northern Alta collection in the ELAR archive. I have trained two community members on language documentation, and have created a language documentation manual for them



(see below). I am also the author of this dissertation, which includes a grammatical sketch of Northern Alta, a glossed text and a glossary.

#### **1.7.2.1.2 Marilyn Gallego**

Collector and annotator, translator and interviewer, Marilyn Gallego is a teacher of Tagalog in Manila who has provided invaluable help throughout the project, both from human and linguistic perspectives. She has participated in the setting of most of the recording sessions, and has achieved a number of transcriptions and translations in ELAN. Among many other things, Marilyn has helped a woman from Diteki to find a relative that she had not seen in 30 years.

#### **1.7.2.2 Trainees**

##### **1.7.2.2.1 Maebell Fernandez**

Maebell Fernandez is the young community member with the most extensive experience in language documentation. Maebell has completed more than 40 actor participations. Since her first collaboration in 2014, she has participated as a filmer, annotator, photographer, interviewer and trainee, and more recently as a collector. Her work documenting *salago*, the plant that provides material for the traditional Alta clothing or *baal*, is promising.

##### **1.7.2.2.2 Jennifer Marques**

Jennifer Marques is the daughter of Perlita Marques, the Diteki community chieftain. Jennifer was trained in May 2017, and has learned to segment and annotate (transcription, translation) recordings with ELAN. She was also trained in recording techniques, with a Zoom H4n microphone, and knows how to search and introduce words in the FLEx lexical database.

#### **1.7.2.3 Language consultants**

We consider as language consultants the participants who, in addition to speaking in recordings, have collaborated in tasks such as assistance in transcription or elicitation sessions. For reasons of space we cannot provide a description of all the informants, and hence we decide to present here some of the informants who have provided a significant number of contributions.

#### **1.7.2.3.1 Violeta Fernandez**

Violeta Fernandez is the first Alta person we met in the NCIP regional office in Baler and the person with whom we identified the language. She is the person who brought us to Diteki for our first contact with the community. Violeta also introduced us to the community chieftains of Dianed, Malabida and Decoliat, and to the school teachers of Diteki and Dianed. Violeta participated as speaker and interviewer in the first recording sessions of the language and also as an informant in transcription sessions. As an informant, Violeta pointed out many of the Tagalog words that are used currently in Alta and provided the Alta equivalent term whenever she could.

#### **1.7.2.3.2 Renita Santos**

We met Renita Santos during the third field trip (July 2015) and worked with her on a daily basis over two to three weeks, during which we carried out monolingual elicitation sessions, recorded basic wordlists and transcribed some previously recorded sessions. Renita Santos is the person to whom I uttered my first sentences in Alta.

#### **1.7.2.3.3 Genalyn Garcia**

Genalyn Garcia (not a relative of the author of this work) has participated as speaker in a number of recording sessions, and also as an informant in several transcription sessions. She is the person who collaborated as an informant during the language documentation training with Maebell and Jennifer. Genalyn Garcia is the speaker who appears in recording 103, which is presented as a glossed text below (§8), a 25-minute monologue describing the land where the Alta lived before settling in the lowlands.

#### **1.7.2.3.4 Nelita Cristobal**

Nelita Cristobal, also known as “Ate Tikkay”, has participated in a number of sessions as a speaker, interviewer and informant. She is the person who travelled with us to the remote community of Villa, and who introduced us to the Alta families that live there. During our stay in Barangay Villa, Ate Tikkay participated actively as an interviewer and speaker, and also agreed to build a replica of a traditional Alta house, in order to document this housing technique.

### 1.7.2.4 Recorded speakers

We have recorded a total of 43 speakers in 6 different villages. Table 1.4 below provides the names of the speakers and the villages or *barangay* where they currently live.

**Table 1.4 Native Alta speakers recorded during the current documentation project**

<b>Barangay Diteki</b>	<b>Barangay Dianed</b>
Violeta de Leon Fernandez Renita Santos Nelita Cristobal Coralyn Manzano Genalyn Garcia Elena Maximino Tolentino Alvin Mariano Conchita Genes Elisabeth Querijero Renato Genes Inelda Andon Antonio Andon Arturo Priginal Perlita Marques Ate Ligaya Regino Sindak Carmelita Balansio Anita Priginal Belen Priginal Rebeca Huego Emelda Puheda Grabiel Lasam	Mila Lasam Pelicito Marques Lazam Juanito Villaflor Carmelita Muhar Diet Lasam Analita Caniesa Antonio Priginal Padua Emily Villaflor Padua Concepcion Amarillo Rubena Villaflor Blasco
	<b>Barangay Villa</b>
	Pepito Dandan Sarmiento Dominga Priginal Sarmiento Jovito Campos Puno Lusviminda Campos Sarmiento Lorenzo Delacruz Sarmiento
<b>Barangay Dicoliat</b>	<b>Barangay Malabida</b>
Prodencio Galvan Erlinda Ganarial Emelita Wangid Rogelio Ganarial Rose Domingo	Violeta Andon Mariano

### 1.7.3 Fieldwork locations

Most of the Alta communities we are aware of are located in Aurora province, at distances of 10 to 50 km from the capital of the province, Baler. Of the seven locations where Alta families are said to live, we have conducted fieldwork in five. It is possible that other Alta communities exist, for example, we were told that some Alta live in the mountains nearby Barangay Dicoliat, but they refused to come down to the *barangay* to meet with us.

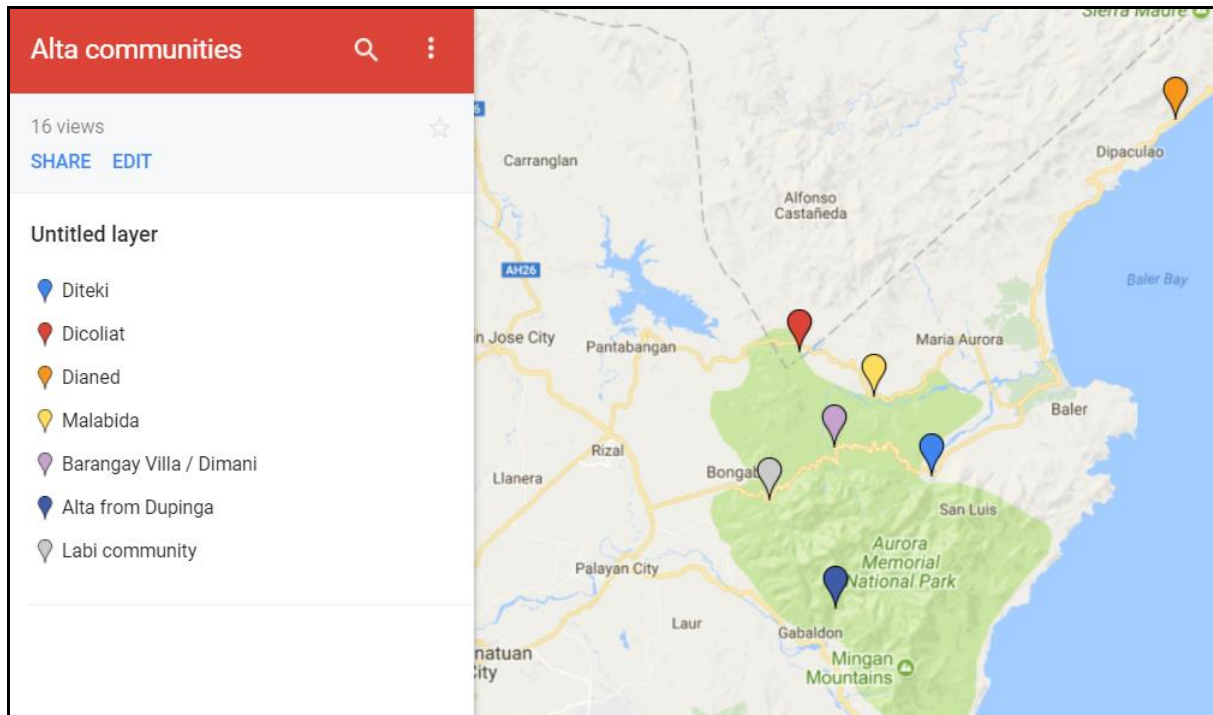


Figure 1.5 Map of the Northern Alta communities

#### 1.7.3.1 Barangay Diteki

Diteki is a village located 10 kilometers west of Baler, on the old Bongabon route to Cabanatuan. Since Diteki is the place with the highest number of Alta, we have conducted fieldwork there since our first field trip. We have recorded and filmed at the houses of the Alta in two different neighborhoods, as well as in the surrounding areas of the village, including the riversheds Diyabobo and Dimanangla, and also in Minero, which is considered to be the center of the Alta ancestral domain. We have also worked on annotation tasks at the Diteki Elementary School for two periods of fieldwork (2016 and 2017).

### 1.7.3.2 Barangay Dicoliat

Dicoliat is located at the boundary between Aurora and Nueva Vizcaya provinces, 50 km west of Baler, on the Pantabangan route that goes to Manila. We have visited the Alta from Dicoliat four times, and made a number of audio recordings and transcriptions there.

### 1.7.3.3 Barangay Dianed

Dianed is the only village where the Alta live next to the sea and use marine resources. It is located about 40 kilometers north of Baler, on the route that goes to the town of Casiguran. We visited Dianed three times and have made a number of video and audio recordings there, including the ones that attempt to document their marine spearfishing technique. The Alta from Villa have mentioned that they originate from Ditaillen but had to leave their land after it was taken from them by non-Alta lowlanders

### 1.7.3.4 Barangay Villa

Barangay Villa is a remote *barangay* located in the heart of the Aurora National Memorial Park, on the old Baler-Bongabon road. It is 50 kilometers from Baler and 40 from Diteki. We visited Villa one time in May 2018 and met a number of Alta families living here, some of which still live in the old single-pillar huts.

## 1.7.4 Fieldwork methods

### 1.7.4.1 Equipment

The recording equipment I have used to this point includes a video camera and two solid state recorders, which I use in combination with one of the microphones (shotgun or cardioid), a digital camera and two laptops, see Table 1.5.

Table 1.5 Basic list of recording material

Device	Model
Solid state recorder	Zoom H4n
Shotgun microphone	Rode NTG-2
Cardioid microphone	Rode NT4

Video camera	Canon Legria HF G25
Digital camera	Canon Powershot SX400
Laptop	Toshiba Z30 Toshiba Satellite C55

#### **1.7.4.2 Elicitation: starting to speak the language**

At the initial stage of the project (field trips 1 to 3) I used Target Language Interrogation techniques to obtain lexical data by pointing at objects and asking questions. This gave me the opportunity to start interacting with Renita Santos in the Alta language, and to develop some basic communicative skills. As I became familiar with basic sentence structures, I started using Target Language Manipulation techniques in order to learn new phrase or sentence patterns and become more familiar with some of the grammatical systems (Pronouns, aspect inflection, Articles and Demonstratives).

Since Target Language techniques proved to be exhausting both for me and Renita, we combined them with other tasks such as wordlist collection, and transcriptions of some of the recordings I had made in an earlier field trip. These sessions helped me become more familiar with the sounds of the language and detect some of the recurrent morpho-phonological alternations occurring in Alta (§3.2). This process helped me with decisions on how to write the language in order to develop a practical orthography for transcription. All the elicitation and transcription sessions we conducted with Ate Reni have been recorded and archived, together with scans of my field notes (sessions 1-13 and 26-37) respectively.

During these sessions a number of local Alta (both adults and children) visited the house we were working at, and became interested in our work. Consequently, the Alta started to see me as an outsider who could communicate in their language, and would come and talk to me in the house or wave at me wherever we met in the village. After these elicitation sessions I had developed sufficient command of Alta language to agree on a time or topic for a recording, and to give some simple instructions or ask basic questions during a recording session.

### 1.7.4.3 Recording sessions

When planning a recording session, we first talked to a speaker and proposed that they participate in an audio or video recording. If the person accepted, we then scheduled the session and tried to agree on the optimal location of the recording.

Once we had scheduled an appointment, we discussed possible topics for the recording, considering the expertise or interest of the native speaker to talk about a particular subject. For example, some speakers felt comfortable describing the plants in their garden and nearby areas and had a wide knowledge of their possible uses, while other speakers would prefer topics related to hunting, fishing, crafts or past stories.

On certain occasions, we only worked with one speaker, while on others there were two speakers. Some speakers were very talkative and enjoyed telling a story or speaking freely about a particular topic in front of the camera. These kinds of situations resulted in the recordings of monologues such as the one presented in §8, where Genalyn Garcia speaks for over 25 minutes with only one interruption. Other speakers are more at ease when talking to another Alta person. In cases such as these, we asked another person to participate in the recording. In these types of recordings, one speaker acts as the interviewer and the other one as the interviewee (sessions 76, 86, 87 or 97 are examples of interviews). Alternatively, both speakers interacted freely while discussing one or more topics (sessions 88, 91, 92, 99,100). Recordings with two speakers resulted in either interviews or dialogues.

When recording with one person we have used the Stimulus-driven elicitation technique as a reference, providing the speaker with a particular stimulus to perform the recording. The stimuli consisted of instructions on what to talk about, for example when describing plants the speaker was asked to provide the name, planting techniques and possible uses of each plant, as in sessions 93, 94 and 95. Other stimulus elicitation techniques included providing photographs. For example, cooking recipes were first photographed, then a selection of photos was shown to a native speaker who was asked to describe each of the photos, as in sessions 106, 107 and 108. On other occasions, a speaker would show us a particular device or object, such as a fishing rod, fishing spear, rattan strands or broom, and describe how to build or use them, as in sessions 104, 110, 119, 120, 124 and 128. Finally, sometimes a speaker was asked to imagine a situation and to perform a role play. This method made some speakers feel comfortable and also provided positive results, as in sessions 21, 38 and 96.

The topics we have documented so far include plants, planting techniques, fishing and hunting tools and techniques, lifestyle in the past, food and cooking, working with rattan, charcoal production, songs, religious beliefs, personal stories, love stories and some role plays. A more extensive list of topics can be browsed in the ELAR page of the Northern Alta collection.

Given that video recordings provide much more information than audio, I tried to record videos whenever possible. The Canon Legria has two SD card slots and allows one to record simultaneously on both cards. I used this feature to assign one of the cards as a backup. At the end of a recording day, I extracted one of the SD cards, stored the recorded files in my laptop and renamed them with the corresponding session number. Once this was done, I created a backup of the renamed file and stored it on my external hard drive. After cropping the new file, converting it to mp4 and extracting the audio from it, we were ready to open the recording with ELAN and begin with the annotation workflow.

#### **1.7.4.4 Annotation: transcribing and translating with ELAN**

Prior to scheduling an annotation session we chose which files we wanted to work on and segmented them with ELAN. The segmentation process allows one to divide a recording in segments of a few seconds of duration, and to label them with a reference number. For example the reference number 103.76 means that the example is located in recording 103, line 76. Each of the examples provided in this dissertation carries a reference number and can be located and listened to. The reader can also open the transcription file and listen to the native speaker's repetition of the segment, as will be explained below. Once all segments of a recording have been created and labelled, additional transcription tiers can be added and divided following the original segmentation. This allows one to add transcriptions and annotations that are time-aligned with the recording. At this point, we were ready to start with the annotation session.

Most of the annotation sessions were carried out at Diteki Elementary school. The school provides a quiet environment with electricity and water supply. This was done in the company with one or more native speakers. For this task, we used a laptop (or two if one of the trainees was present), a loudspeaker or headphones and one of the recording devices.

During a session, we played all the segments of a recording twice in front of a native speaker. In the course of the first round, the native speaker repeated slowly each segment while I transcribed his repetition into the ELAN tier. During the second round, the native speaker



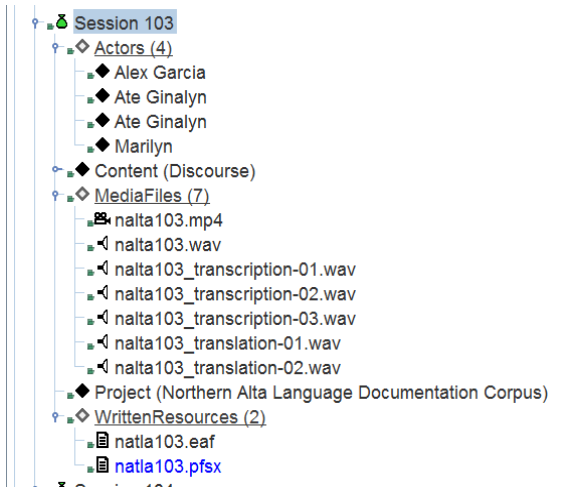
translated each Alta segment to Tagalog. I always tried to record the speaker’s repetitions and and translations, so that at the end of a session we had produced two new .wav files – the transcription and the translation file – which we included in the corresponding session folder. In this way, the data obtained in an annotation session can be retrieved if necessary.

**1.7.4.5 Metadata with Arbil and ELAR Archive collection**

All new files produced during a recording or an annotation session are attached to the folder that carries the corresponding session number and are subsequently linked to their corresponding bundle in the metadata database.

I used Arbil software to store the project’s metadata and organize the recording sessions and related files into bundles (sessions 1, 2, 3, etc). Each session bundle includes information about the date and location of the recording, the topic (with a basic description of the content), the actors involved (roles, basic personal information, language skills), the content (genre, degree of interactivity, degree of planning, event structure), and also the recording video and sound files, and all the annotation audio and written files. Table 1.6 summarizes the data per bundle and shows an example of a bundle in the Northern Alta collection:

**Table 1.6 Elements of a session bundle in the Northern Alta corpus**

Elements of a session bundle in the Northern Alta corpus	Screenshot of session bundle 103 (The history of Minero) in the Arbil metadata structure
<p>- <b>actor information:</b> names of the collector, speaker/s recorder, transcriber, language consultant, translator (Tagalog and English) and basic information for each participant</p> <p>- <b>content:</b> genre, subject, interactivity, degree of planning, event structure, channel, topic, keywords</p> <p>- <b>media files:</b> video files, audio files, wav files of the recorded transcription, wav files of the recorded translation, photos</p> <p>- <b>project basic information:</b> project ID, contact name, organization</p>	

<p><b>- written resources:</b> ELAN annotated files, .pdf or .doc files</p>	
-----------------------------------------------------------------------------	--

Once the bundles had been created and filed with the metadata and related files, we uploaded them to the ELAR archive through the Lamus system (Language Archive Management and Upload System). ELAR will display part of the metadata in the session page, in which all files that have been set with U access are available upon registration, <https://elar.soas.ac.uk/Record/MPI1056850>. See figure 1.6 for a screenshot of one of the sessions in the ELAR collection:

**The History of Minero, a place in the Alta ancestral domain**

**Title:** The History of Minero, a place in the Alta ancestral domain  
**ID:** Session 103  
**Level:** Bundle  
**Genre:** Discourse  
**Description:** Ate Ginalyn explains the history and past stories about Minero, including the time when the Alta were living there or when a Japanese fighter crashed in the area due to the magnetism of the rocks.  
**Date created:** 2016-04-22  
**Location:** Asia, Philippines, Aurora, Diteki, Minero  
**Participants:** Alexandro-Xavier Garcia Laguia (filmer), Ginalyn Garcia (speaker/signer, consultant (translation,transcription)), Marilyn Gallego (filmer)  
**Languages:** English (may contain notes or translations in english), Northern Alta , Tagalog (working language, tagalog code-switches may appear in this session)

[View deposit \(Documentation of Northern Alta, a Philippine Negrito language\)](#)

Show 5 entries

Access	Name	Type	Resource
O U S	natla103.eaf	elan	<a href="#">Download</a>
O U S	natla103.pfsx	settings	<a href="#">Download</a>
O U S	nalta103_transcription-01.wav	audio	▶ 00:00 <a href="#">Download</a>
O U S	nalta103.wav	audio	▶ 00:00 <a href="#">Download</a>

**Figure 1.6 Screenshot of session 103 in the ELAR Northern Alta collection**

### 1.7.4.6 Language documentation outputs

The documentation of Northern Alta contains a number of outputs that are presented and summarized in the table below:

**Table 1.7 Summary of documentary outputs**

Documentary Output	Short description

<b>Multimedia collection of Northern Alta</b>	Collection of 19 hours of video, 2 hours of audio, and 1,900 photographs and scans of fieldnotes. The collection is located in the ELAR archive: <a href="https://elar.soas.ac.uk/Collection/MPI1032028">https://elar.soas.ac.uk/Collection/MPI1032028</a> . A complete list of recorded sessions is provided in Appendix 1 of this dissertation.
<b>Corpus of ELAN annotations</b>	<p>Corpus of ELAN transcribed and translated video and audio files. The corpus allows for searches using regular expressions. The transcribed .eaf files are located in the ELAR archive and include</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 13h 45min of transcription</li> <li>• 12h 40min of translation to Tagalog</li> <li>• 9h 5min of translation to English</li> </ul> <p>Except for the trainees' transcription sessions, most ELAN annotated sessions include, in addition to the written annotation, a recorded sound file of the annotated session (see transcription and translation files in Table 1.6 above).</p>
<b>Metadata database</b>	All of the project's data, including the multimedia collection and the corpus of annotations are linked together with Arbil software, forming a flat structure of bundles. The metadata structure is located in the ELAR archive.
<b>Grammatical Sketch</b>	Description of grammatical patterns, with labelled examples extracted from the ELAN corpus of annotations. The grammatical sketch constitutes a part of this dissertation (see Chapters 2 to 7).
<b>Lexical Database</b>	A lexical database with 2,500 lexical items, created with FLEx software, which allows for the extraction of the data in the form of a printed glossary provided in §9 below,
<b>Collection of glossed Texts</b>	A total of 90 minutes of annotated recordings (transcription, translation) are enriched with annotation at a deeper level (interlinear morpheme glossing) with FLEx, which allows for the exportation of the glossing to a printed glossed text. The glossing for recording 103 is provided in §8 below.
<b>Language documentation manual</b>	A 30-page language documentation manual describing the workflows that are followed in this documentation project was created in order to train young community members. The .pdf of the manual can be retrieved by clicking this <a href="#">dropbox link</a> .

## 1.8 Presentation of the data in the current dissertation

Most of the linguistic data in this dissertation is presented in the form of glossed examples that are extracted from the corpus of ELAN annotated recordings. Glossed examples carry an example number between parentheses on the top left of the example. Example numbering restarts at the beginning of each chapter. We may sometimes refer to a glossed

example by its number such as (4.21), which means that the example is the 21st example of Chapter 4. Given, that glossed examples contain a considerable number of elements, our glossing conventions are further explained in §1.8.1 below.

Another method of arranging data in this dissertation consists of tables. Tables are used to represent paradigms of grammatical elements (e.g., the paradigm of Personal Pronouns<sup>2</sup> in Table 5.3), or, in order to represent different types and subtypes of a certain category (e.g., basic clause types, Table 4.10). If the reference to a table is made by its reference number, such as 4.10, it means that the table is located in Chapter 4, Table 10. The table may be followed by a series of glossed examples where the elements described in the table are shown in context.

Finally, some of the data obtained during field work are represented in figures, such as Figure 1.5, which is the fifth figure of Chapter 1 and which shows a map of the different settlements of speakers of Northern Alta.

### 1.8.1 Glossed examples

Consider the glossed example appearing in Chapter 3, and shown in Table 1.8:

**Table 1.8** Parts of a glossed example in this dissertation

Glossed example	Content per tier
(1) menbelon e' namud [məmbə'lonəʔ,namud] mən-belun=əʔ=namud AV-provision=1s.ABS=just 'I just pack food (for the field)' (19.07)	→ practical orthography → phonetic transcription → phonological transcription → morpheme glossing → free translation (+ reference number)

The first line of the glossed example above, *menbelon e' namud*, represents the practical orthography discussed in §2. The second line, which appears between square brackets [məmbə'lonəʔ,namud], shows the phonetic transcription of the utterance, where primary stress, secondary stress and vowel length may also be represented. This type of phonetic

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<sup>2</sup> In this dissertation, parts of speech, phrase types and grammatical cases are spelled with capital letters to indicate that these categories are specific to the Northern Alta language.

transcription only appears in §3, and has the purpose of representing morphological and morpho-phonological properties.

The third line of the example, *mən-belun=əʔ=namud*, corresponds to the phonological transcription of the utterance. As for the fourth line, *AV-provision=1s.ABS=just*, it is aligned with the phonological transcription, and provides morpheme-by-morpheme glossing.

Finally, the fifth line, '*I just pack food (for the field)*' (19.07), includes a free translation, which appears between single quotation marks. The part of the line that is between parentheses provides the corpus reference number. For example, (19.07) indicates that the example is located in recording 19, segment 08. Examples obtained through elicitation are not provided in this dissertation unless necessary. In these cases the examples carry a capital E (for elicited) in the reference number. In cases in which the free translation differs too much from the structure of the original example in Alta, we have also added a literal translation below. The literal translation appears between parentheses and is preceded by the abbreviation (lit.).

We have attempted to follow the conventions provided in the Leipzig Glossing Rules (Bickel, Comrie, Haspelmath, 2008), with a few exceptions, which are listed below:

- The example in practical orthography (line 1) is written without additional spaces and is thus not aligned with the other tiers. (Rule 1)
- As stated in Rule 3, grammatical morphemes are represented by abbreviated category labels, which are represented, typically by small capitals. However, our abbreviated labels are not represented with small capitals but by capital letters.
- Not all of the abbreviations provided in the Leipzig Glossing Rules are followed, a complete list of abbreviations is attached in the Appendix A of this dissertation (Rule 3)
- Reduplication (Rule 10) is represented by a hyphen instead of a tilde.

A more detailed description of the glossing method for parts of speech in this dissertation is provided in the Appendix B.

In addition, the following methods are used to highlight parts of a glossed example.

### 1.8.1.1 Square brackets

Square brackets appear sometimes in the phonological transcription tier in order to represent clausal constituent boundaries:

- (1.2) lumelbut nen in kaldero  
l<um>l-but=nən                    [ʔin kaldiru]  
<AV> RDP-boil=already    ABS    pot  
'the (content of the) pot is now boiling' (106.089)

Square brackets may also represent phrasal constituent boundaries. In the example below, the outer pair of brackets shows the Genitive argument, while the inner pair represents the Genitive modifier:

- (1.3) para mensoli in linaw ni mata mi  
para mən-suli    ʔin    linaw [ni    mata[=mi]]  
for    AV-return    ABS    clarity GEN    eye=1pe.GEN  
'so we can see clearly again' (94.138) (lit. so the clarity of our eyes returns)

### 1.8.1.2 Elements in bold

Bold font is used to highlight parts of a glossed example that are related to the topic of a specific section. For example, in Chapter 4 (which describes the types of phrases), the different phrase types appear between square brackets. In addition, the specific phrase that we want to distinguish is represented in bold. Since we also refer to the case of the phrase in the grammatical explanation, the abbreviation of the case is also highlighted:

- (1.4) aydi, ginuyod nen ni Lettaw  
ʔajdi    g<in>ujud=nən                    [**ni    littaw**]  
INTJ    <PRF.PV>pull=already            **GEN**    Lettaw  
'aidi, Lettaw pulled it' (100.723)

Bold font is also used in sections where a paradigm followed by glossed examples is provided. For example, §5.2.1 provides a table with the paradigm of Personal Pronouns organized by person and case, which is followed by a subsection for each of the cases, containing one glossed example per person. In these examples, the Pronoun (in the phonological tier) and the gloss are both highlighted:

(1.5) tebagen miyu ti polung tam-i  
təbag-ən=**miju**      ti      puluŋ=tam=i  
reply-PV=**2p.GEN**    OBL    word=1pi.GEN=SPEC  
'reply (you all) to our questions' (91.240)

### 1.8.1.3 Underlined segments

In some parts of this dissertation, we consider that it is helpful to show the position and boundaries of the predicate. In these cases, we have chosen to underline it. In Example 1.6, which appears in §4, each of the clausal constituents (predicate, arguments), appear between square brackets. In addition, the predicate is underlined.

(1.6) menla'ad ami ti papa'as-i  
[mən-laʔad][=ʔami]    [ti      papaʔas=i]  
AV-walk=1pe.ABS    OBL    morning=SPEC  
'we walk in the morning' (nalta60.10)

## 2. Phonology

### 2.1 Introduction

In the following sections, vowel (§2.2.1) and consonant (§2.2.2) inventories are provided. The inventories are followed by sections on minimal pairs and allophones. Section 2.3 discusses syllable structure. This chapter ends with a short description of the practical orthography and a table showing the correspondence between the practical orthography and the phoneme inventory.

The data in this chapter is from the corpus of recordings of the language. Minimal pairs have been detected using regular expressions in ELAN. Examples in this chapter are provided by using the practical orthography, a phonemic transcription, or a phonetic representation. In addition, periods are used in the phonemic transcription to indicate syllable boundaries, and colons appear in the phonetic representation to indicate vowel length. Finally, stress is indicated in the practical orthography by an acute accent on the syllable nucleus, and by an apostrophe preceding the stressed syllable in the phonemic and phonetic transcriptions.

### 2.2 Phonemic inventory

#### 2.2.1 Vowels

There are four contrastive vowels in Northern Alta /i/ /ə/ /u/ and /a/. In addition, there are two borrowed vowels, /ɛ/ and /ɔ/, which are represented between parentheses in the table below:

Table 2.1 Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	(ɛ)	ə	(ɔ)
Low		a	

/a/ is a central unrounded vowel, e.g., /ta'liŋa/ 'ear'

/i/ is a high front unrounded vowel, e.g., /'kilai/ 'eyebrow'



/ə/ is a mid central unrounded phoneme, e.g., /mə'lanis/ 'sweet'

/u/ is a high back rounded vowel, e.g., /ʔa lub/ 'kiss'

/ɛ/ is a mid front unrounded lax vowel, e.g., /mi'nɛru/ 'Minero area'

/ɔ/ is a mid back rounded lax vowel, e.g., /kɔ'dradu/ 'square'

### 2.2.1.1 Minimal pairs

#### (2.1) /a/

/a/ vs /u/	/'pira/	'money'	/'piru/	'but'
/a/ vs /u/	/ta'liŋa/	'ear'	/ta'liŋu/	'wound'
/a/ vs /i/	/ʔa'ma/	'father'	/ʔa'mi/	'us'
/a/ vs /i/	/ʔi'ʔan/	'fruit'	/ʔi'ʔin/	'that'
/a/ vs /ə/	/ba'li/	'so'	/bə'li/	'house'
/a/ vs /ə/	/da/	'since'	/də/	'3p.GEN Pronoun'

#### (2.2) /i/

/i/ vs /a/	/ti/	'OBL Article'	/ta/	'LOC Article'
/i/ vs /a/	/mə'linis/	'clean'	/mə'lanis/	'sweet'
/i/ vs /a/	/ni/	'Genitive Article'	/na/	'3s.GEN Pronoun'
/i/ vs /ə/	/di/	'then'	/də/	'3p.GEN Pronoun'
/i/ vs /u/	/bu'til/	'lie'	/bu'tul/	'seed'
/i/ vs /u/	/ʔig'dət/	'eel'	/ʔug'dət/	'root'
/i/ vs /u/	/'kilai/	'eyebrow'	/'kulai/	'colour'

#### (2.3) /ə/

/ə/ vs /u/	/ʔa'nən/	'cooked rice'	/ʔa'nun/	'why?'
/ə/ vs /i/	/ʔə'but/	'hole'	/ʔi'but/	'throw away'
/ə/ vs /u/	/ma'puləd/	'sleep'	/ma'pulud/	'place in Diteki'
/ə/ vs /a/	/mətəp'də/	'low'	/mətab'də/	'fat'
/ə/ vs /a/	/də'mət/	'fight'	/da'mət/	'hand'

#### (2.4) /u/

/u/ vs /a/	/bu'li/	'rectum'	/ba'li/	'so'
/u/ vs /ə/	/bu'li/	'rectum'	/bə'li/	'house'
/u/ vs /a/	/sa'pul/	'beginning'	/sa'pal/	'residue'
/u/ vs /a/	/la'mun/	'grass'	/la'man/	'wild pig'
/u/ vs /i/	/'silu/	'snare'	/'sili/	'chili'

/u/ vs /ə/      /ʔi'taʔbun/    'to cover something'    /ʔi'taʔben/    'to bring someone'

### 2.2.1.2 The vowel /i/

The phoneme /i/ is generally realized as [i], except for the following environments, in which it is realized as [ɪ], or as a long vowel [i:]

1. In the following words belonging to closed classes:

(2.5)	aheno	[ʔa'hɪ:no]	'what'
	papeno	[pa'pɪ:no]	'how'
	ti aheno	[tija'hɪ:no]	'who'
	ina	[='ʔɪ:na]	'MED.DEM.ABS'
	in	[='ʔɪ:n]	'PROX.DEM.ABS'
	ti'sen	[tiʔ'sɪn]	'in here'
	sen	[sɪn]	'here'
	sip	[sɪp]	'still'

2. In certain words, reflecting PAN \*i as [ɪ:] or [ɪ]<sup>3</sup>:

(2.6)	tiddena	[tid'dɪ:na]	'mother' (3p.ABS)	<PAN *ina
	niddena	[nid'dɪ:na]	'mother' (3p.GEN)	<PAN *ina
	talenga	[ta'lɪ:ŋa]	'ear'	<PMP *taliŋa
	ulila	[ʔu'lɪ:la]	'orphan'	<PWMP *ulila
	ulitan	[ʔu'lɪ:tan]	'peel'	<PWMP *kulit-an
	ulitaw	[ʔu'lɪ:taw]	'young man'	<PPh *ulitaw
	manipis	[ma'nɪ:pis]	'thin'	<PMP *nipis
	talinep	[ta'lɪnəp]	'dream'	<PPh *taRa-qinep
	debbelew	[dəbbə'lɪw]	'opposite side'	<PMP *baliw

3. In cases of vowel lowering related to affixation or liaison (see §3.2.7.3.2)

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<sup>3</sup> The reconstructions are extracted from the Austronesian Comparative Dictionary (Blust & Trussel, 2010) and copied here, unchanged.

### 2.2.1.3 The vowel /u/

The phoneme /u/ is a high back rounded vowel which ranges from [u] to [o]. It is not clear at this point which factors explain this alternation, but one of them appears to be a consequence of affixation, as described in §3.2.7.3.1.

### 2.2.1.4 The vowel /ə/

The mid central unrounded phoneme /ə/ ranges from [ə] to [ɪ]. It is optionally pronounced as /a/ in certain prefixes such as the Actor voice prefixes /mən-/ , /məŋ-/ or the Stative /mə-/. This might be a consequence of the influence of neighboring languages such as Tagalog or Ilokano, which show /a/ in their equivalent prefixes. The reconstructed forms of these prefixes also show a vowel /a/: \*maR-, \*maŋ-, \*ma- (Blust, 2013, p.376).

### 2.2.1.5 Borrowed vowels

#### 2.2.1.5.1 The vowel /ɛ/

/ɛ/ is a mid front unrounded lax vowel e.g., /mi'nɛro/ 'Minero area'. It appears mostly in loanwords from Spanish (2.7) or English (2.8) (probably via Tagalog or Ilokano) and in some Alta words (2.9) and may be a borrowed phoneme. Since we currently do not have examples of minimal pairs in which this vowel is distinctive, its phonological status is unclear.

(2.7)	palengke	[pa'lɛŋkɪ]	'market, city'
	sentro	[sɛntro]	'center'
	semento	[sɛ'mɛnto]	'cement'
	puwede	[pʷɛdɪ]	'can, be able'
	kareta	[ka'rɛta]	'small cart'
	bentilador	[bɛntila'dɔr]	'fan'
	Minero	[mi'nɛro]	'Minero' (place near Diteki)
	kape	[ka'pɛ]	'coffee'

(2.8)	elikopter	[ʔɛli'kɔptɛr]	'helicopter'
	bolpen	[bɔlpɛn]	'ball pen'
	selpon	[sɛlpon]	'cell phone'

(2.9)	sela	[sɛla]	'also'
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yelgit            [jɛl'git]            'eye'

The vowel /ɛ/ is phonemically transcribed as /i/ in this dissertation.

### 2.2.1.5.2 The vowel /ɔ/

/ɔ/ is a mid back rounded lax vowel e.g., /kɔ'drado/ 'square'. It appears mostly in Spanish borrowings (via Tagalog or Ilokano) (2.10), and in a small number of Alta words (2.11) and may also be a borrowed phoneme. As with the vowel /ɛ/, there are no minimal pairs distinguished with this vowel.

#### (2.10) Spanish borrowings

dios	[djos]	'god'
dose	['dɔsi]	'twelve'
puesto	['pwɛstɔ]	'place'
kodrado	[kɔ'drado]	'square'
tenedor	[tini'dɔr]	'fork'
kompleto	[kɔm'pleto]	'complete'
ospital	[ʔɔspi'tal]	'hospital'
bentilador	[bɛntila'dɔr]	'fan'
eroplano	[ʔɛrɔ'plano]	'airplane'
apelido	[ʔape'lido]/	'family name'
repolyo	[rɛ'pɔljo]	'cabbage'

#### (2.11) Alta words containing /ɔ/

ngo'	[ŋɔʔ]	'name'
ngo'an	['ŋɔʔan]	'to name something'
tobil	['tɔbil]	'mouth'
meputi	[mɛ'pɔ:ti]	'white'

The vowel /ɔ/ is phonemically transcribed as /u/ in the rest of this dissertation.

### 2.2.1.6 Diphthongs

On the basis of the examples below, the following vowel sequences are considered diphthongs:

(2.12)	[ai]	bilay	/bi'laj/	'life'
	[au]	linaw	/li'naw/	'clarity'
	[əi]	piningey	/pini'ŋəj/	'bundle'
	[ui]	malimbui	/malim'buj/	'money'

These diphthongs are transcribed phonemically as /aj/, /aw/, /əj/ and /uj/ in the rest of this dissertation.

## 2.2.2 Accent and vowel length

Lexical accent is phonemic, as it may contribute to a change of meaning in the following terms, (though some of the contrasts can be explained through lexical borrowing):

(2.13)	/ˈmata/	'ripe'	/ma'ta/	'eye' <sup>4</sup>
	/ˈkaja/	'able' <sup>5</sup>	/ka'ja/	'thus'
	/ˈwadi/	'younger sibling'	/wa'di/	'younger sibling (voc)'
	/ˈbagaʔ/	'ember'	/ba'gaʔ/	'lungs'

Stress can occur in the following contexts within a word, as shown in Table 2.2.

**Table 2.2 Stress positions in Northern Alta**

Syllable	Example
Last, open	/ʔa'pu/ 'grandparent / grandchild'
Last, closed	/pəl'tag/ 'spear'
Penult, open	/ʔinit/ 'heat'
Penult, closed	----
Prepenultimate, open	/ˈbanuwan/ 'market, town'
Prepenultimate, closed	----

Accented penultimate syllables tend to be lengthened (as with other Cordilleran languages such as Casiguran and Dupanangan Agta). The vowels /i/, /a/ and /o/ can be long, but not /ə/ as in (2.14):

<sup>4</sup> The form /ma'ta/ 'eye' is probably a Tagalog borrowing. The Alta equivalent is the form /jil'git/.

<sup>5</sup> /kaja/ is possibly a borrowing from Tagalog or Ilokano.

(2.14)	/ˈmata/	[ˈma:ta]	‘ripe’
	/ˈkaja/	[ˈka:ja]	‘able’
	/ˈwadi/	[ˈwa:di]	‘younger sibling’
	/tiˈjama/	[tiˈja:ma]	‘father’
	/məˈdiʔit/	[məˈdi:ʔit]	‘unmarried girl’
	/ʔuˈlitaw/	[ʔuˈli:taw]	‘unmarried male’
	/ˈtubil/	[ˈtɔ:bil]	‘mouth’
	/ˈgulaj/	[ˈgu:lai]	‘vegetables’

The data collected to this point seems to indicate that, in terms of Zorc (1978, p.243), Alta does not reflect Proto-Philippine (PPH) accent, since most of the Alta forms corresponding to the provided PPH reconstructions<sup>6</sup>, do not agree in reflecting penultimate length (similar to the case of Pangasinan language):

(2.15)	/bəˈlu/	‘widow’	<PPH *ba:lu
	/dəˈlan/	‘path’	<PPH *da:lan
	/diˈla/	‘tongue’	<PPH *di:laŋ
	/ʔuˈtuh/	‘louse’	<PPH *ku:tuh
	/ŋiˈpən/	‘tooth’	<PPH *ŋi:pən
	/puˈsəd/	‘navel’	<PPH *pu:səd
	/siˈʔuh/	‘elbow’	<PPH *si:ku
	/tuˈbu/	‘plant’	<PPH *tu:buŋ
	/ʔaˈŋəs/	‘breathe’	<PPH *ha:ŋəs

However, forms that have a short penult do agree as well:

(2.16)	/ʔaˈnaʔ/	‘child’	<PPH* anak
	/ʔaˈpo/	‘grandchild’	<PPH* apu[h]
	/ʔaˈsin/	‘salt’	<PPH* qasin
	/baˈgaʔ/	‘lungs’	<PPH* baraq <sup>7</sup>
	/bəˈgas/	‘husked rice’	<PPH* bəRas
	/laˈŋuy/	‘to swim’	<PPH* laŋuy
	/maˈta/	‘eye’	<PPH* mata

<sup>6</sup> The reconstructed forms provided in this section are extracted from Zorc (1978, p.41), where they are labelled as PPH.

<sup>7</sup> For this form, Zorc (1978: 42) provides the doublet \*ba:gaŋ ‘lungs’

This implies that Northern Alta has also lost its inherited contrastive lexical accent and redeveloped it subsequently via borrowing. However, more data is needed in order to assert this claim.

## 2.2.3 Consonants

Table 2.3 lists the consonants of Northern Alta.

Table 2.3 Consonants

	Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
<b>Stop</b>	p b	t d		k g		ʔ
<b>Fricative</b>			s			h
<b>Affricate</b>			(dʒ)			
<b>Nasal</b>	m	n			ŋ	
<b>Lateral Approximant</b>			l			
<b>Tap or Flap</b>			r			
<b>Glide</b>	w			j		

### 2.2.3.1 Minimal pairs

#### (2.17) /p/

/p/ vs /t/	/sip/	‘still’	/sit/	‘thorn’
/p/ vs /l/	/pa’ti/	‘including’	/la’ti/	‘rattan’
/p/ vs /m/	/pa’ti/	‘including’	/ma’ti/	‘die’
/p/ vs /s/	/ka’pi/	‘coffee’	/ka’si/	‘thus’
/p/ vs /ʃ/	/’palad/	‘palm’	/’salad/	‘salad’

#### (2.18) /b/

/b/ vs /p/	/ʔa’bu/	‘ashes’	/ʔa’pu/	‘grandfather’
/b/ vs /ʔ/	/’balak/	‘plan, idea’	/’ʔalak/	‘wine’
/b/ vs /m/	/ba’li/	‘maybe, so’	/ma’li/	‘incorrect’
/b/ vs /l/	/’balu/	‘new’	/’lalu/	‘specially’

#### (2.19) /t/

/t/ vs /k/	/’titi/	‘penis’	/’kiki/	‘vagina’
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/t/ vs /d/	/tam/	1pi.GEN Pronoun	/dam/	'dam'
/t/ vs /ʔ/	/tu'lag/	'spear'	/ʔu'lag/	'snake'
/t/ vs /l/	/ʔu'tuh/	'lice'	/ʔu'luh/	'head'

**(2.20) /d/**

/d/ vs /ŋ/	/ta'lud/	'true'	/ta'luŋ/	'eggplant'
/d/ vs /t/	/did'də/	3p.LOC Pronoun	/tid'də/	'with'
/d/ vs /s/	/di'ʔən/	1s.LOC Pronoun	/si'ʔən/	1s.ABS Pronoun
/d/ vs /s/	/ban'da/	'side'	/ban'sa/	'country'

**(2.21) /k/**

/k/ vs /ʔ/	/ʔa'suk/	'smoke'	/ʔa'suʔ/	'my dog'
/k/ vs /t/	/'kama/	'bed'	/'tama/	'correct'
/k/ vs /n/	/ʔa'kaʔ/	'my older sibling'	/ʔa'naʔ/	'child'

**(2.22) /g/**

/g/ vs /k/	/'gulaj/	'vegetable'	/'kulaj/	'color'
/g/ vs /t/	/'gulaj/	'vegetable'	/'tulaj/	'bridge'
/g/ vs /ʔ/	/tag'pu/	'waterfall'	/taʔ'pu/	'summit'
/g/ vs /s/	/'bagu/	'before'	/'basu/	'glass'

**(2.23) /ʔ/**

/ʔ/ vs /d/	/si'ʔən/	1s.ABS Pronoun	/si'dən/	3p Pronoun
/ʔ/ vs /g/	/tag'pu/	'summit'	/tag'pu/	'waterfalls'
/ʔ/ vs /j/	/ʔi'ʔan/	'fish'	/ʔi'jan/	'fruit'
/ʔ/ vs /l/	/buʔ/	'hair'	/bul/	'knee'
/ʔ/ vs /l/	/di'ʔaw/	2s.LOC Pronoun	/di'lau/	'yellow'

**(2.24) /m/**

/m vs /s/	/maj/	'there is'	/saj/	'to be'
/m/ vs /k/	/ʔa'ma/	'father'	/ʔa'ka/	'older sibling'
/m/ vs /t/	/da'lam/	'evening'	/da'lat/	'sea'
/m/ vs /l/	/'mata/	'ripe'	/'lata/	'can'

**(2.25) /n/**

/n/ vs /t/	/bu'lan/	'moon'	/bu'lat/	'blind'
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/n/ vs /l/	/ʔunaj/	‘pure’	/ʔulaj/	‘bridge’
/n/ vs /ŋ/	/taʔlun/	‘forest’	/taʔluŋ/	‘eggplant’
/n/ vs /m/	/ʔiʔtan/	‘look’	/ʔiʔtam/	‘1pi.ABS Pronoun’

**(2.26) /ŋ/**

/ŋ/ vs /n/	/ŋi/	‘indeed’	/ni/	‘GEN Article’
/ŋ/ vs /g/	/diŋʔdiŋ/	‘wall’	/digʔdig/	‘next to’
/ŋ/ vs /p/	/ʔiʔnalŋ/	‘came from’	/ʔiʔnalap/	‘caught’
/ŋ/ vs /aj/	/ʔkulaŋ/	‘insufficient’	/ʔkulaj/	‘color’

**(2.27) /r/**

/r/ vs /l/	/penʔʔarap/	‘ambition’	/penʔʔalap/	‘taking’
/r/ vs /s/	/rip/	‘fridge’	/sip/	‘still’

**(2.28) /s/**

/s/ vs /h/	/laʔsat/	‘breast’	/laʔhat/	‘all’
/s/ vs /l/	/ʔbasu/	‘glass’	/ʔbalu/	‘new’
/s/ vs /d/	/ʔbasu/	‘glass’	/ʔbadu/	‘t-shirt’
/s/ vs /n/	/taʔʔus/	‘sincere’	/taʔʔun/	‘year’

**(2.29) /h/**

/h/ vs /d/	/ʔhati/	‘split’	/ʔdati/	‘originally’
/h/ vs /t/	/hid/	‘3p pronoun’	/tid/	‘with’
/h/ vs /g/	/hinʔtu/	‘stop’	/ginʔtu/	‘gold’
/h/ vs /s/	/hipag/	‘sister-in-law’	/ʔsipag/	‘industriousness’

**(2.30) /j/**

/j/ vs /s/	/jaj/	DIST.DEM.ABS	/saj/	‘to be at’
/j/ vs /n/	/siʔja/	3s Pronoun	/siʔna/	MED.DEM.LOC
/j/ vs /ʔ/	/siʔjam/	‘nine’	/siʔʔam/	2p Pronoun’

**(2.31) /l/**

/l/ vs /d/	/ʔbalu/	‘new’	/ʔbadu/	‘t-shirt’
/l/ vs /b/	/lanʔka/	‘jackfruit’	/banʔka/	‘boat’
/l/ vs /n/	/taʔlud/	‘true’	/taʔnud/	‘wait’
/l/ vs /n/	/taʔluŋ/	‘eggplant’	/taʔnuŋ/	‘question’

/l/ vs /ʔ/	/ta'lun/	'forest'	/ta'ʔun/	'year'
/l/ vs /m/	/gəl'gəl/	'chop'	/gəm'gəm/	'grab'

**(2.32) /w/**

/w/ vs /s/	/ʔu'wah/	'what you may call it'	/ʔu'sah/	'deer'
/w/ vs /m/	/si'ʔaw/	'1s Pronoun'	/si'ʔam/	'2p Pronoun'
/w/ vs /k/	/'bawal/	'forbidden'	/'bakal/	'iron'
/w/ vs /n/	/ʔu'litaw/	'bachelor'	/ʔu'litan/	'peel'
/w/ vs /y/	/la'ʔaw/	'length'	/la'ʔaj/	'old'

### 2.2.3.2 The phoneme /ʔ/

As it was illustrated in Example (2.23) above, glottal stops are phonemic in medial and final positions. Since we do not have any phonemic contrast in initial position, the phonemic status of initial glottal stops is not observable directly, but some indirect evidence suggests that initial glottal stops are phonemic.

Some morpho-phonological alternations suggest that all words apparently starting with a vowel have a glottal stop preceding the initial vowel. For example, when attaching prefixes *mən-* or *pən-* to roots that seemingly start with a vowel, the resulting forms show geminated glottal stops, as a consequence of regressive assimilation. Thus, forms like /mən-ʔudiŋ/ are realized as [məʔ-ʔudiŋ], (see Example 3.4, §3.2.1.1).

There are instances of liaison providing the same type of evidence, for example with a number of enclitic Personal Pronouns, all of which may trigger assimilation of the last consonant of a host if this consonant is /n/. (see Examples 3.5 – 3.7, §3.2.1.2).

Thus, words starting with vowel are phonemically transcribed with an initial glottal stop in this dissertation.

### 2.2.3.3 The phoneme /r/

The phoneme /r/ is an alveolar flap [r] appearing mostly in borrowings. But it has phonemic status in Alta, as shown by the minimal pairs in Example (2.27). The Examples (2.33) to (2.35) below contain this allophonic variant:

**(2.33) Tagalog borrowings**

daliri	[da'liɾi]	'finger'
pera	[ˈpiɾa]	'money'
hirap	[ˈhiɾap]	'hardship'
sariwa	[sa'riwa]	'fresh'
barkada	[baɾ'kada]	'friend'
sira	[ˈsiɾa]	'damage'
sikmura	[ˈsikmura]	'stomach'
kariton	[kaɾitun]	'kart'
turo	[ˈtuɾu]	'teach'

**(2.34) Spanish borrowings**

para	[ˈpaɾa]	'for'
turista	[tu'ɾista]	'tourist'
obra	[ˈʔubɾa]	'can, is able'
lugar	[lu'gaɾ]	'place'
kaldero	[kaɫ'diɾu]	'cooking pot'
amarilyo	[ama'ɾilju]	'yellow'
prutas	[ˈpuɾtas]	'fruit'
korona	[ku'ɾuna]	'crown'
puro	[ˈpuɾu]	'pure'
tigre	[ˈtiɡɾi]	'tiger'
proseso	[pro'siso]	'process'
oras	[ˈʔoɾas]	'time, hour'
sobra	[ˈsoβɾa]	'in excess of'
sorpresa	[soɾ'pɾisa]	'surprise'

**(2.35) English borrowings**

garden	[ˈɡaɾdin]	'garden'
inirecord	[ˈʔi'nirikuɾd]	'was recorded by'
ininterview	[ˈʔi'nintɪɾvju]	'was interviewed by'
harbest	[ˈhaɾbɪst]	'to harvest'

However, there are a number of Tagalog, Spanish and English borrowed words that contain the alveolar trill [r], Examples (2.36) to (2.38). As we currently do not have contrasts that include an alveolar trill, we consider this to be an allophone of /r/ on the basis of phonetic similarity.

**(2.36) Tagalog borrowings**

yari	[ˈja:ri]	‘happen’
aral	[ˈʔa:ral]	‘to study’
mahirap	[maˈhirap]	‘hard’
kurimaong	[kurimaˈʔung]	‘mountain rat’
marahil	[məˈra:hil]	‘maybe’
karamdaman	[karamˈda:man]	‘disease’
maranasan	[maraˈhasan]	‘to experience’

**(2.37) Spanish borrowings**

barrio	[ˈbarjo]	‘neighborhood’
guerra	[ˈgɪ:ra]	‘war’
guitarra	[giˈta:ra]	‘guitar’
koriente	[koˈrijente]	‘electricity’
kumare	[kuˈmari]	‘godmother’

**(2.38) English borrowings**

surrender	[suˈrɪndɪr]	‘to surrender’
okra	[ʔoˈkra]	‘okra’

Thus, both the alveolar flap [r] and the alveolar trill [r̄] are represented as /r/ in phonemic representation in the current dissertation.

**2.2.3.4 The phoneme /d̄ʒ/**

The phoneme d̄ʒ appears mostly in loan words such as the following:

(2.39)	/d̄ʒun/	‘June’
	/prad̄ʒik/	‘project’

In addition, the sequence /dij/ + vowel is sometimes palatalized, and realized as d̄ʒ in fast speech:

(2.40)	/tidijapu/	[tid̄ʒapu]	‘grandparents’
	/addiju/	[add̄ʒu]	‘far’
	/dijaˈjaj/	[d̄ʒaˈjai]	‘now’

Similar examples of palatalization have been described for Ilokano in Rubino (1997, p.11)

### 2.2.3.5 Geminates

All the consonants except /r/ can be geminated, mostly as a result of derivational and inflectional processes:

(2.41)	/p/	/ʔəp-pəltag-ən/ <sup>8</sup>	[ʔəp'pəltagən]	'will fish with spear'
	/b/	/ʔəb-bətuh-an/	[ʔəbbə'tuʔan]	'stony ground'
	/t/	/ʔət-tanuŋ-en/	[ʔətta'noŋən]	'will ask someone'
	/d/	/majwaddə/	[maiwad'də]	'there is'
	/k/	/tikkaj/	[tik'kai]	'name of person'
	/g/	/ʔəg-gujud-ən/	[ʔəggu'jodən]	'will pull from'
	/ʔ/	/mən-ʔuma/	[məʔ'ʔoma]	'to farm'
	/m/	/limma/	[lim'ma]	'five'
	/n/	/mənnaʔəm/	[mənna'ʔəm]	'parents, elders'
	/s/	/ʔitassi/	[ʔitas'se]	'one'
	/h/	/ʔəh-haplus-an/	[ʔəh'haplusan]	'will stroke (the dog)'
	/l/	/ləllaʔi/	[ləlla'ʔi]	'male'
	/w/	/ʔi-wala/	[ʔiwwa'la]	'lose, separate'
	/j/	/ʔi-jasə/	[ʔij'jasə]	'to place'

### 2.2.3.6 Alternations between [s] and [h]

As shown above, the phonemes /h/ and /s/ are phonemic, with minimal pairs:

(2.42)	/s/ vs /h/	/hipag/	'sister-in-law'	/sipag/	'industriousness'
	/s/ vs /h/	/la'sat/	'breast'	/la'hat/	'all'

However, [s] seems to be in free variation with [h] in certain grammatical particles, in which they are usually followed by one of the allophones of /i/, or the diphthong /aj/:

(2.43)	/ʔa'sino/	[ʔa'seno]	[ʔa'heno]	'what'
	/saj/	[sai]	[hai]	'here'
	/sila/	[sila]	[hila]	'also'
	/sid/	[sid]	[hid]	'they'

<sup>8</sup> Hyphen marks a morpheme boundary

/si'den/	[si'dən]	[hi'dən]	'these'
/siddi'na/	[siddi'na]	[hiddi'na]	'those'
/sin/	[se:n]	[he:n]	'here'
/si'na/	[si'na]	[hi'na]	'there'
/sip/	[sɪp]	[hɪp]	'still, yet'
/ʔumansi'na/	[ʔumansi'na]	[ʔumanhi'na]	'like that'
/ʔuman'saj/	[ʔuman'sai]	[ʔuman'hai]	'take that'

Relevant to this point can be the reconstructions of the third-person plural Pronoun as for example the one provided in Blust (2013, p.314), PAN \***si-ida**, from which the Alta form **/sid/** is reflected. This suggests that, in addition to the Alta third-person plural Pronoun, other forms might also show a reflex of the proto-phoneme \*/s/.

The speakers have stated several times that there is no variation in meaning between the two pronunciations. In the case of the free Personal Pronouns, all of which start with the sequence /si/, only the third-person plural was found to show this variation. This issue needs more in-depth research.

### 2.2.3.7 Phonotactics

Table 2.4 shows the distribution of Alta consonants within a word.

Table 2.4 Phonotactics

<u>Phoneme</u>	<u>Initial</u>	<u>Medial</u>	<u>Final</u>
<b>p</b>	/pa'gud/ 'wind'	/a'puj/ 'fire'	/ʔalap/ 'catch'
<b>b</b>	/ba'ʔik/ 'small'	/ʔi'bid/ 'say'	/təmpu'lab/ 'yesterday'
<b>t</b>	/taʔ'pu/ 'summit'	/bi'til/ 'hunger'	/wa'gət/ 'water'
<b>d</b>	/dəb'di/ 'girl'	/ʔə'duŋ/ 'nose'	/pələd/ 'sleep'
<b>k</b>	/kilaj/ 'eyebrow'	/ʔa'ka/ 'older sibling'	/sun'tuk/ 'fight'
<b>g</b>	/gulaj/ 'vegetable'	/ʔə'gəm/ 'ant'	/ʔa'nig/ 'be like'
<b>ʔ</b>	/ʔa'wajan/ 'bamboo'	/si'ʔaw/ 'you'	/ʔa'suʔ/ 'my dog'
<b>m</b>	/mu'duŋ/ 'mountain'	/ga'mut/ 'medicine'	/ʔulam/ 'viand'
<b>n</b>	/na'muʔ/ 'mosquito'	/ʔa'nən/ 'cooked rice'	/mə'biʔən/ 'near'
<b>ŋ</b>	/ŋi'pən/ 'teeth'	/bu'ŋaw/ 'testicle'	/mu'duŋ/ 'mountain'

<b>r</b>	/ri'poljo/ 'cabbage'	/pə'nara/ 'door'	/das'tir/ 'dress'
<b>s</b>	/'sila/ 'also'	/ʔa'su/ 'dog'	/bə'gas/ 'husked rice'
<b>h</b>	/'hakud/ 'chop'	/ʔu'haw/ 'thirst'	/bə'tuh/ 'stone'
<b>l</b>	/la'ŋit/ 'sky'	/pi'las/ 'meat'	/ʔə'tul/ 'chop'
<b>w</b>	/wak'wak/ 'crow'	/ʔa'wun/ 'no'	/si'ʔaw/ 'you'
<b>j</b>	/jil'git/ 'eye'	/ʔa'juh/ 'wood'	/'bilai/ life

## 2.3 Syllable structure

Before looking at the canonical syllable structure, let us look at possible consonant sequences. The examples in (2.44) show that consonant sequences only appear across syllable boundaries:

- (2.44)
- |                        |              |
|------------------------|--------------|
| /ʔəp.'nu/ <sup>9</sup> | 'fill'       |
| /mə. ʔap.sut/          | 'sour'       |
| /ŋad.'dɛn/             | 'name'       |
| /pa.jɛg.'pɛg/          | 'small hut'  |
| /lin.'dul/             | 'earthquake' |
| /təm.pu.'lab/          | 'yesterday'  |
| /mə.dəl.'mɛt/          | 'heavy'      |
| /buʔ.'san/             | 'open'       |
| /mas.'lid/             | 'red'        |
| /ʔit.'nu.dan/          | 'chair'      |

Considering that in Northern Alta glottal stops are phonemic in onset position (see the explanation in §2.2.3.2), the canonical Northern Alta syllable is CV(C), where C stands for consonant and V for vowel:

- (2.45)
- |           |             |           |
|-----------|-------------|-----------|
| <b>CV</b> | /ʔu.ma/     | 'swidden' |
|           | /ʔi.nit/    | 'heat'    |
|           | /mə.'pi.ja/ | 'good'    |

<sup>9</sup> In this section, a dot indicates a syllable boundary

(2.46) **CVC** /mә.'pu.lәd/ 'sleep'

However, if borrowings are taken into consideration, consonant sequences are allowed within the same syllable, and the structure should consequently be extended to C(C)V(C)C. Not all segments are allowed in the second position of a syllable onset, as the examples below indicate only /r/ /l/, /w/ and /j/ are allowed.

(2.47) **CCV**

/ku.'dra.du/	'square'
/grin/	'green'
/'ʔu.bra/	'can, be possible'
/'sin.tru/	'center'
/kum.'pli.tu/	'complete'
/ʔim.pu.'si.bli/	'impossible'
/'kwin.tas/	'necklace'
/'pwi.di/	'can, be possible'
/sa.kri.'pi.sju/	'sacrifice'
/ʔa.'ka.sja/	'acacia'
/re.'pu.lju/	'cabbage'

As for the syllable coda with two consonants, only /n/ is allowed in the first position:

(2.48) **CVCC** /'ʔu.rins/ 'orange'

## 2.4 Practical orthography

One of the earliest written representations of Northern Alta appears in Vanoverberg's work *Some undescribed languages of Luzon* (1937). The book contains a section titled Fifteen Luzon Languages in Juxtaposition, in which the author provides a comparative 313-item wordlist of 15 languages, including Northern Alta (under the name of Baler Negrito). Vanoverberg acknowledges that some of the compared languages have a literature of their own (and hence an orthographic tradition) but considers that it is necessary to make a few additions, arguing that "in a comparative study like this, the same symbols must be used for all of them...to preserve unity and avoid confusion" (1937, p.92).



Other materials containing written representations of the language include Robert Fox's unpublished word list (1956), and Lawrence Reid's publications (1991, 1994 and posterior). Reid (1991, p.9) states "a careful phonemic analysis has not been completed, and so the phonemic status of [o] and [u], also of [i] and [e] is at present uncertain. All transcriptions are phonetic, and the quality of some vowels is somewhat uncertain. There is uncertainty also about the occurrence of final glottal stop in the two languages" (Southern Alta and Northern Alta).

The practical orthography used in the present work originates from the phonetic transcription system I used when I started transcribing recordings in Northern Alta, and, in fact, its main purpose is still the transcription of recordings. For this reason, a practical orthography was not developed in collaboration with native speakers, although during the last years, the native speaker Violeta Fernandez as well as the young community members Maebell and Jennifer have transcribed recorded sessions in Alta. On these occasions I asked them to transcribe without providing them with orthographic rules. Given that ELAN allows for searches of words that are spelt differently in the corpus (by using regular expressions), I considered that reaching a consensus with native speakers on how to write Alta was less urgent than transcribing the recordings.

Thus, when carrying out the first transcriptions of the language in July 2014 (see Figure 2.1), I was transcribing by hand and was using a phonetic transcription in which most sounds were represented using IPA symbols (except for glottal stops, which were represented with an apostrophe). Vowel length was also represented. See the first tier in Figure 2.1 below:

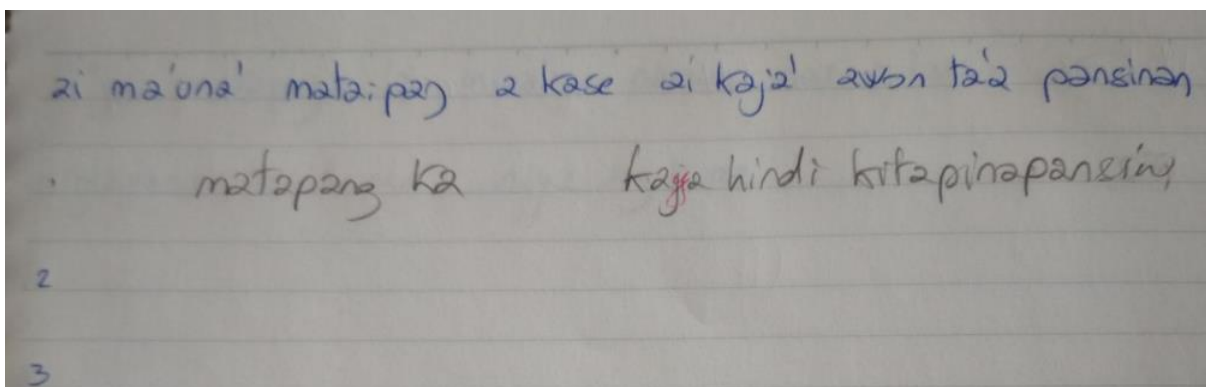


Figure 2.1 Example of a hand-written transcription of Northern Alta (June 2014)

Later on, I decided to use the software ELAN for the transcription of recordings (February 2015). I started using Roman letters, although continued using certain IPA symbols, such as ə for the coding of schwa, but I stopped representing vowel length (see Figure 2.2).

	id	transcription	tag	eng
1	n_alta039.01	umalang tən si'ən ay maging ana'	simula ng ako ay naging bata	since i became a child
2	n_alta039.02	annolən mo bilay mi i si'ami apət aman	alam mo naging buhay namin, kaming mag-aama	you know what our life became, us father and children

Figure 2.2 Example of an ELAN transcription of Northern Alta (February 2015)

Subsequently, I came to the conclusion that it was less time-consuming to annotate using alphabetic letters, rather than IPA symbols. This made things easier not only when transcribing, but also when using regular expressions in order to make searches in the corpus. For example, I decided to simply code schwa with the letter e, even though the letter was already used for [ɪ:] and [ɛ].

At this point the practical orthography does not use IPA symbols anymore, as all sounds are represented by Roman characters. The practical orthography is far from being unproblematic and is sometimes inconsistent but it provides a representation of the language in the transcriptions and also in the lexical database. Table 2.5 below shows the letters currently used in the practical orthography, in relation to the corresponding phoneme and allophones. In addition, the right column provides earlier ways of transcribing certain sounds. Note that a phonemically distinctive accent (see §2.2.2) is not represented, and that the apostrophe that codes glottal stops only appears in medial and final positions.

Table 2.5 Practical orthography

Phoneme	Allophones	Current Practical Orthography	Older spelling
/a/		a	
/ə/		e	è, ə, a
/i/	[i]	i	

	[ɪ:]	e	
/u/	[u]	u	o
	[o]	o	
(ɔ)		o	
(ɛ)		e	
/p/		p	
/b/		b	
/m/		m	
/j/		y	j
/w/		w	
/t/		t	
/d/		d	
/dʒ/		j	
/n/		n	
/r/		r	rr
/s/		s	
/l/		l	
/k/		k	
/g/		g	
/ŋ/		ng	ŋ
/ʔ/		‘	ʔ
/h/		h	x
/aj/		ay	ai, ae
/aw/		aw	
/əj/		ey	
/uj/		uy	

## 2.4.1 The orthography and the phonetic and phonemic representations

Example (2.49) below shows the contrast between the orthographic, phonetic and phonemic representations of an utterance (tiers 1, 2 and 3 respectively):

(2.49)	inebided man yay ni Lulia di'en			
	[ʔiɪ:biddədmanjai	ni	lulja	diʔən]
	ʔ<in>i-biddə=d=man=jaj	[ni	lulja]	[diʔən]
	CV<PRF>-say=d=CNTR=	GEN	Lulia	1s.LOC
	'Lulia told me that again' (nalta83.007)			

During the first stages of this project, we were not aware of some of the morpho-phonological processes described in §3.2 and were unsure of the phonemic status of certain sounds. In consequence, in certain aspects, the practical orthography is closer to a phonetic representation (tier 2), than to a phonemic one (tier 3). For example, the Conveyance voice prefix is represented as /ʔi-/ in the phonemic tier, but since it undergoes vowel lowering and lengthening as result of the perfective infix <in> (as described in §3.2.7.3.1), it is represented as [ɪ:] in the phonetic tier. On the basis of our knowledge of the language at that point in time, we represented this prefix as *e* in the practical orthography, which matches the phonetic realization [ɪ:] rather than the underlying phoneme /ʔi/ (see Table 2.5 above)

Another example of this difference is the fact that, although we knew that there is an Actor voice prefix *men-* in Northern Alta (as in *men'aral* 'to study'), we had originally not understood the rules of assimilation it undergoes when it is attached to a root (see §3.2.1.1). Consequently, this form is sometimes represented as *me"aral* in the practical orthography (matching its phonetic realization), but it is always represented as /mən-ʔaral/ in the phonemic representation. In addition, at that point in time we were unable to discriminate geminated glottal stops in the language and sometimes transcribed forms like these as having a single glottal stop (as in *me'aral*).

A second important difference between the practical orthography and the phonemic representation is related to the representation of enclitic particles (§3.1.3). The practical orthography treats most of these particles as separate words (except for some clitics listed below), and thus writes them separated by a blank space. However, in the phonemic tier, they are linked to it with an equal sign. As we can see in the practical orthography tier of Example (2.49), the particle =*d* is written next to the host (*inebided*, 'he said it'), while the

Adverb =*man* and the Demonstrative =*yay* are separated by blank spaces in the practical orthography. The three enclitics are however represented as part of a single phonological word in the phonemic representation, in which they are preceded by an equal sign. The list below shows the rules followed in the representation of these enclitics:

- 1) enclitic particles that are represented using more than one character in the practical orthography are written as separate words
- 2) the first person singular Absolutive Pronoun *e' / =eʔ/* is written as a separate word
- 3) the / =m/ allomorph of the second person singular Genitive Pronoun is written next to the host or preceding enclitic without any space
- 4) the Adverb / =d/ is written next to the host or preceding enclitic without any space
- 5) the specificity particle / =i/ is represented as *–i* (preceded by a hyphen) and is written next to the host or preceding enclitic without any space
- 6) the Adverb / =Ce/ 'already' is written next to the host or preceding enclitic without any space.

#### 2.4.2 Some inconsistencies in the orthography

The practical orthography shows a number of inconsistencies which are listed below, and which should be taken into consideration by future users of the corpus of annotated recordings when running searches in ELAN.

- a) the specificity particle =*i*. is most frequently represented as *–i* (linked to its host or to the preceding enclitic with a hyphen), but in some occasions we also represented it as *'i* (thus preceded by an apostrophe), or wrote it directly after its host or preceding enclitic, without any space. For example, it is possible to find three different representations of the phonological word *pulab=i* 'the afternoon', these are *pulabi*, *pulab'i* and *pulab-i*
- b) the first person singular Absolutive Pronoun *e' / =eʔ/* is generally written as a separate word, but in some examples it is written next to the host or preceding enclitic without any spaces
- c) the Adverb *dla / =dla/* 'just' is sometimes treated as two separate enclitics and in these cases, it is represented as *d la*
- d) the geminating consonant in the Adverb / =Cə/ is sometimes not represented
- e) although the practical orthography is generally closer to a phonetic representation, some transcriptions are closer to a phonemic representation. Thus, the form

*inebbided* appearing in (2.49) above is sometimes represented as *inibided* reflecting the underlying phoneme /i/, instead of the surface realization

- f) the /ə/ in prefixes /mən-/ , /məŋ-/ , /məŋi-/ , /mə-/ , /pən-/ , /pəŋ-/ and /pəŋi-/ is sometimes freely realized as /a/ (see §2.2.1.4). Thus, these prefixes are sometimes represented as *man-*, *mang-*, *mangi-*, *ma-*, *pan-*, *pang-* and *pangi-* in the ELAN corpus of annotations
- g) some recordings were transcribed by the young trainee Maebell Fernandez in ELAN. As mentioned in §2.4, we did not provide the trainee with any orthographic rules. Due to this fact, recordings (500 - 515) show her own transcription method with its respective inconsistencies.



## 3. Morphology

Section 3.1 introduces to the morphological units, roots, affixes and clitics and their relation to word classes.

Section 3.2 deals with the most frequent morpho-phonological processes that appear when attaching affixes and clitics to roots or stems. Some of these changes are the result of derivational processes, as in the case of voice-aspect affixes, others occur across word boundaries (Specificity Marker =*i*, enclitic Adverbs, question particle =*bat*) and some across constituent boundaries (enclitic Personal Pronouns). Finally Section 3.2.8 provides a table of the different reduplication patterns that can be observed in the language.

### 3.1 Introduction: Morphological units

Northern Alta is an agglutinative language in the sense that words are formed by concatenation of morphemes (roots, affixes and clitics) which remain mostly unchanged after concatenation.

In the following example, the utterance *menbelon e' namud* comprises the following morphemes: the lexical root *belon* 'provision', the active voice prefix *men-* and two enclitics, the first person singular Absolutive Pronoun =*e'*, and the Adverb =*namud* 'just':

- (3.1)      **menbelon e' namud**  
              [məmbə'lonəʔ.namud]  
              /mən-bəlun=eʔ=namud/  
              AV-provision=1s.ABS=just  
              'I just pack food (for the field)' (19.07)

The morphemes *belon*, *e'* and *namud* remain unchanged, allowing us to segment the word by using hyphens to mark affix boundaries and equal signs for clitics. Only one morpheme, the prefix *men-*, undergoes a change in its shape, being realized as *mem-*, a change triggered by the first consonant of the root *belon*. Finally, the meaning of the form *menbelone' namud* can be deduced by adding the meaning of its components, which keep a relationship of one to one between meaning and form.



Northern Alta, can also be characterized as synthetic, given that it includes a large number of morphemes per word.

### 3.1.1 Roots and stems

Free roots include words such as *gandá* 'beauty', *hirap* 'hardship' and *polung* 'word, language'. Free roots can also receive voice affixes to derive forms such as *megandá* 'be beautiful', *mahirap* 'be hard' or *menpolung* 'to speak'.

Bound roots like *eg'ang* /ʔəgʔaŋ/ 'go' or *sdep* /sdəp/ 'enter' only appear in combination with other affixes resulting in forms like the ones presented in (3.2):

- (3.2)      **mə-** /ʔəgʔaŋ/                      → /məʔəgʔaŋ/                      'to be able to leave'  
               **<um>** /sdəp/                        → /sumdəp/                        'to enter, to start working'

A stem can also act as a base and combine with other affixes to form new words. In the examples below, the stems /məʔəgʔaŋ/ and /sumdəp/ combine with the perfective <in> infix:

- <in>** /məʔəgʔaŋ/                      → /minəʔəgʔaŋ/ 'to have been able to leave'  
**<in>** /sumdəp/                         → /sinumdəp/ 'entered, started working'

Thus, both roots and stems can be used as bases for word formation.

### 3.1.2 Affixes

As shown in Table 3.1, Northern Alta has the following four types of affixes:

Table 3.1 Types of affixes

Type of affix	Affix	Base	Derived form
Prefix	/mə-/	<b>ganda</b> /ganda/ 'beauty'	<b>maganda</b> /məganda/ 'beautiful'
Suffix	-əŋ/	<b>alap</b> /ʔalap/ 'act of taking'	<b>alapən</b> /ʔalapən/ 'to be caught'
Infix	/ <b>&lt;um&gt;</b> /	<b>eg'ang</b> /ʔəgʔaŋ/ 'act of going'	<b>umeg'ang</b> /ʔuməgʔaŋ/ 'to go'
Circumfix	/mə-....-an/	<b>tanod</b> /tanud/ 'act of waiting'	<b>metanodan</b> /mətanudan 'be able to wait for'

			something'
--	--	--	------------

### 3.1.3 Clitics

Clitics are a common phenomenon in Philippine languages (see Schachter & Otones, 1972 p.183, Himmelmann, 2005, p355 or Rubino, 2005, p.330). Due to time constraints it has been impossible to present a comprehensive and systematic description of Northern Alta clitics that would consider all typologically relevant features as outlined in Spencer & Luis (2012).

Northern Alta clitics belong to closed classes and include elements that precede their host (proclitics) and those which follow their host (enclitics).

**Table 3.2 Northern Alta clitics**

<b>Proclitics</b>	<b>Enclitics</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Articles (§5.3.1)</li> <li>• Linker (§5.3.5)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Personal Pronouns (only Absolutive and Genitive sets) (§5.2.1)</li> <li>• Demonstratives (only Absolutive and Locative sets) (§5.2.2)</li> <li>• Enclitic Adverbs (§5.4.5.3)</li> <li>• Specificity Marker =<i>i</i> (§5.3.3)</li> <li>• Plural Marker =<i>sid</i> (§5.3.2)</li> </ul>

When attached to their hosts, the enclitics may trigger some of the morpho-phonological alternations described in the subsections below. For example, a number of Personal Pronouns or enclitic Adverbs may trigger regressive and progressive assimilation, as described in (§3.2.1.2). The Personal Pronouns 1s.ABS and 3s.GEN, the Enclitic Adverbs =*bat* or =*gul* or the Specificity Marker =*i* may trigger the gemination of the last consonant of the host (§3.2.1.3.1). The Enclitic Adverb =*d* causes the deletion of the final nasal consonant or diphthong in some Personal Pronouns and Demonstratives (§3.2.2). Finally, the Specificity Marker and certain Personal Pronouns sometimes trigger stress change (§3.2.6) and subsequent vowel lengthening and lowering (§3.2.7.3.2).

Several enclitics may occur attached to a same host, the following example shows a sequence of clitics attached to the preceding voice-marked word. These include the

aspectual particle=*d*, the contrast Enclitic Adverb =*man* and the Absolutive distal Demonstrative =*jaj*:

- (3.3)      inibidded man yay ni Lulia di'en  
               [inibiddədmanjai                                  ni        lulja                  diʔən]  
               ʔ<in>i-biddə=**d=man=jaj**                                  [ni        lulja]                  [diʔən]  
               CV<PRF>-say=**d=CNTR=****DIST.DEM.ABS** GEN Lulia                  1s.LOC  
               'Lulia told me that again' (nalta83.007)

The example illustrates that contrary to Absolutive and Genitive Pronouns, Locative Pronouns are not clitics (see Table 5.3, §5.2.1), since they appear after Determiner Phrases. Note that the set of Absolutive Demonstratives do not always behave as clitics, see Examples (4.32) and (5.203).

## 3.2 Morpho-phonological processes

### 3.2.1 Assimilation and gemination

Assimilation may occur at the lexical level, as a result of the affixation of certain prefixes and also as a consequence of liaison. Personal Pronouns may trigger regressive assimilation on the last consonant of their host. Conversely, some Enclitic Adverbs may undergo progressive assimilation when attached to certain hosts. Geminated consonants may appear in boundaries in which the assimilation is total.

#### 3.2.1.1 Assimilation as a result of prefixation

Prefixes such as Active voice /*mən-*/, Gerundive /*pən-*/, Potentive /*məʔə-*/ and Progressive /*ʔeC-*/ undergo regressive assimilation with the first consonant of the root they are prefixed to. The following examples with the prefixes /*mən-*/ and /*pən-*/ illustrate this phenomenon:

- (3.4)      /*mən-pəltag*/                  [məm-pəltag] 'to fish underwater'  
               /*pən-pəltag*/                  [pəm-pəltag] 'fishing underwater'  
  
               /*mən-tanəm*/                  [mən-tanəm] 'to plant'  
               /*pən-tanəm*/                  [pən-tanəm] 'planting'

/mən-lati/	[məl-lati] 'to search for and cut rattan'
/pən-lati/	[pəl-lati] 'searching for and cutting rattan'
/mən-gəttəl/	[mæg-gəttəl] 'to itch'
/mən-ʔudiŋ/	[məʔ-ʔudiŋ] 'to burn coal'
/pən-ʔudiŋ/	[pəʔ-ʔudiŋ] 'burning coal'

### 3.2.1.2 Assimilation as a consequence of liaison

#### 3.2.1.2.1 Regressive assimilation

Hosts ending with /n/ may undergo total regressive assimilation when enclitic Personal Pronouns starting with glottal stop are attached to them. Words that often show this type of assimilation include the negative Existential *awon*, as well as Patient voice *-ən* words and Locative voice *-an* words. The enclitics that trigger this type of change include:

- 1s.GEN                    =ʔu
- 2s.ABS                    =ʔa
- 1pe.ABS                  =ʔami
- 1pi.ABS                  =ʔitam
- 2p.ABS                    =ʔam

The following examples illustrate this change:

(3.5)      awon 'o budi  
           [ʔawuʔʔu            budi]  
           ʔawun=ʔu            budi  
           not.exist=1s.GEN    want  
           'I don't want' (E5.02.52)

(3.6)      awon 'ad te malimbuy  
           [ʔawuʔʔa=d            tə    malimbui]  
           ʔawun=ʔa=d            tə    malimbuj  
           not.exist=1s.ABS=already    NSP    money  
           'you don't have any money left' (38.29)

- (3.7) annolen 'o siddina  
 [ʔannuləʔʔu siddina]  
 ʔannul-ən=ʔu siddina  
 know-PV=1s.GEN MED.DEM.PL  
 'I know them' (52.81)

### 3.2.1.2.2 Progressive assimilation

This change concerns two different Enclitic Adverbs: /=Cə/ and *bat* /=bat/. The Adverb /=Cə/, which assimilates in articulation to the last consonant of the root to which it is attached:

- (3.8) awon ne 'en te malimbuy  
 [ʔawunnəʔi:n tə malimbui]  
 ʔawun=Cə=ʔin tə malimbuj  
 not.exist=already=PROX.DEM.ABS NSP money  
 'there is no money anymore' (06.02.268)

- (3.9) menpulutan am ne  
 [mənpulutaʔʔammə]  
 mən-pulutan=ʔam=Cə  
 AV-snack=2p.ABS=already  
 'let you guys eat' (46.26)

- (3.10) pag umoli amid mannen, pulabbe  
 [pag ʔ<um>uli=ʔami=d mannən pulabbə]  
 pag ʔ<AV>uli=ʔami=d mannen pulab=Cə  
 when return=1pe.ABS=d again evening=already  
 'when we came back again, it was dark already' (60.11)

The interrogative *bat* may undergo total assimilation when attached to hosts that end with /m/:

- (3.11) budim bat wadi?  
 [budimmat wadi]  
 budi=m=bat wadi  
 want=1s.GEN=Q younger.sibling  
 'do you agree (to quit smoking), brother?' (21.08)

In addition, the Existential *awon* and the enclitic *bat* may mutually assimilate in fast spontaneous speech:

- (3.12) ay awon bat?  
 [ʔai ʔawummat]  
 ʔaj ʔawun=bat  
 INTJ not.exist=Q  
 'oh, is it not?' (63.79)

### 3.2.1.3 Gemination

Gemination of the last consonant of a root may occur as a result of affixation or liaison, in morpheme boundaries in which the last syllable of a root or host is a closed syllable containing schwa as its nucleus.

On the other side, liaison processes involving Personal Pronouns and Enclitic Adverbs may result in the gemination of their first consonant, as shown in §3.2.1.3.2 below.

#### 3.2.1.3.1 Final consonant gemination

Geminated consonants may appear when adding the affixes *-an* and *-ən* to monosyllabic roots that have schwa as their nucleus or disyllabic roots in which the last syllable contains schwa as its nucleus:

- |        |     |          |       |                 |                                 |
|--------|-----|----------|-------|-----------------|---------------------------------|
| (3.13) | /p/ | /sdəp/   | /-an/ | [sədəp'pən]     | 'to enter somewhere'            |
|        | /d/ | /ti'ʔəd/ | /-an/ | [pənti'ʔəd'dən] | 'to be placed at the bottom of' |
|        | /s/ | /gaməs/  | /-ən/ | [gaməs'sən]     | 'to pick something'             |
|        | /ʔ/ | /gi'təʔ/ | /-ən/ | [gitəʔ'ʔən]     | 'to tickle someone'             |

Consonant gemination after schwa has been reported for other languages of the family such as Inibaloy (Ruffolo, 2004, p.54), and is said to occur in many languages of insular Southeast Asia (Blust, 2013, p.228). However, it does not always occur in Northern Alta. As the table below shows, the root *sdep* 'ac of entering' does not geminate when adding the suffix *-an* when the base form carries the perfective infix *<in>*. This is true for all bases in the corpus of the form CVC.CVC, none of which geminate:

**Table 3.3 Examples showing no gemination after affixation**

base	meaning	derived form	meaning
/sin'dəp/	entered	/sində'pan/	entered somewhere
/təg'təg/	act of crushing	/təgtə'gən/	to crush something
/gəm'gəm/	act of grabbing	/gəmgə'man/	to grab something

Note that in all cases, stress is attracted to the ultima as a result of the affixation.

Geminates also occur when adding the enclitic Specificity Marker /=i/ to hosts containing a schwa as the nucleus of the last syllable:

(3.14)	/p/	/pənsa'gəp/	/=i/	→ [pənsagəp'pi]	'the fishing at the river'
	/t/	/wa'gət/	/=i/	→ [wagət'ti]	'the water'
	/d/	/ti'ʔəd/	/=i/	→ [tiʔəd'di]	'the foot'
	/ʔ/	/ba'təʔ/	/=i/	→ [batəʔ'ʔi]	'the writing'
	/s/	/bə'ʔəs/	/=i/	→ [bəʔəs'si]	'the old woman'
	/m/	/ʔə'gəm/	/=i/	→ [ʔəgəm'mi]	'the ant'
	/n/	/ʔa'nən/	/=i/	→ [ʔanən'ni]	'the rice'
	/ŋ/	/bə'nəŋ/	/=i/	→ [bənəŋ'ŋi]	'the river'
	/l/	/ti'ʔəl/	/=i/	→ [tiʔəl'li]	'the wild sugarcane'
	/ʔ/	/ba'təʔ/	/=i/	→ [batəʔ'ʔi]	'the writing'

As we can see, in all of the examples above stress is also attracted to the last syllable.

Gemination may be also triggered before schwa, if it occurs with the Personal Pronoun 1s.ABS /=əʔ/, which may trigger a gemination of the root, when the root ends with a consonant.

(3.15)	ten	araw	a	baik	e'
	[tən	ʔaraw	ʔa	baʔikkəʔ]	
	tən	ʔaraw	ʔa	baʔik=əʔ	
	OBL	day	LK	small=1s.ABS	
	'when I was a child' (44.04)				

(3.16)	menna'em	e'	nen
--------	----------	----	-----

[mənnaʔəmməʔ nən]  
 mənnaʔəm=əʔ=nən  
 old=1s.ABS=already  
 'I am old now' (38.44)

### 3.2.1.3.2 Enclitic-initial-consonant gemination

This type of change concerns certain Personal Pronouns as well as Enclitic Adverbs, and consists of the gemination of the first consonant of the enclitic when being attached to a host ending with vowel. The following two examples show how the 3p.GEN Pronoun geminates its initial /d/:

(3.17) siya sepla budi de'i a mengyari, i'yay  
 [sija=sipla bu,diddə'ʔi ʔa mən-ʔari ʔiʔjai]  
 sija=sipla budi=də=i ʔa mən-ʔari ʔiʔjaj  
 3s=still want=3p.GEN=SPEC LK AV-happen DIST.DEM  
 'it is still what they want to happen, that (thing)' (103.313)

(3.18) kayadla, inikarga de ti elikopteri  
 [kajadla ʔinikargad'də ti ʔilikuptiri]  
 kajadla ʔ<in>i-karga=də ti ʔilikuptir=i  
 however CV<PRF>-load=3p.GEN OBL helicopter=SPEC  
 'but, they loaded (it) on the helicopter' (103.239)

The same thing happens with the interrogative clitic *bat*, when it is attached to another element containing a vowel, the initial /b/ may optionally be geminated:

(3.19) meiwadde 'a bat a tanong di'en?  
 [maiwad,dəʔab'bat ʔa tanuŋ diʔən]  
 majwaddə=ʔa=bat ʔa tanuŋ diʔən  
 have=2s.ABS=Q LK question 1s.LOC  
 'do you have a question for me?' (E.06.02.05)

(3.20) annolen miyu bat?  
 [ʔan,nolənmijub'bat]  
 ʔannulən=miju=bat  
 know=2p.GEN=Q



'do you (pl) know?' (052.111)

Finally, the Enclitic Adverb particle *gul*, shows the same type of gemination:

- (3.21) ay siya gul nen ay, ehhakoten  
 [ʔai sijaggul nən ʔai ʔəhhakutən]  
 ʔaj sija=gul=nən ʔaj ʔəC-hakut-ən  
 INTJ 3s=emphasis=already PM PRG-carry-PV  
 'and he will be the one carrying (it)' (100.582)

### 3.2.2 Final consonant deletion

When followed by the Enclitic Adverb =*d*, the proximal forms of some Demonstratives, which end with the nasal /*n*/ undergo final consonant. In addition, the first person plural inclusive forms of the Absolutive and Locative Personal Pronouns, both of which end with /*m*/, also undergo consonant deletion when followed by =*d*. Finally, the distal forms of Locative and Similitive Demonstratives, both of which end with the diphthong /*aj*/, have it realized as [*a=d*].

- (3.22) /=sin/ /=d/ → [=si=d] 'PROX.DEM.LOC'  
 /=ʔin/ /=d/ → [=ʔi=d] 'PROX.DEM.ABS'  
 /ʔumansin/ /=d/ → [ʔumansi=d] 'PROX.DEM.SML'  
 /=ʔitam/ /=d/ → [=ʔita=d] '1pi.ABS'  
 /diʔitam/ /=d/ → [diʔita=d] '1pi.LOC'  
 /=saj/ /=d/ → [=sa=d] 'DIST.DEM.LOC'  
 /ʔumansaj/ /=d/ → [ʔumansa=d] 'DIST.DEM.SML'

### 3.2.3 Epenthesis

#### 3.2.3.1 Consonant epenthesis

Consonant epenthesis occurs at morpheme boundaries, as for instance, between a root and a suffix such as the Patient, Locative and Conveyance voice suffixes *-an*, *-ən* and *i-*

respectively, or also between a word and an enclitic particle, such as for example the Specificity Marker /=i/, or the enclitic first person Absolutive Pronoun /=əʔ/. The different combinations of vowels may trigger the insertion of a glottal stop following /a/ and /ə/, or a glide: /j/ following /i/, and /w/ following /u/, as shown in Table 3.4.

**Table 3.4 Types of epenthesis by morpheme boundary**

Inserted consonant	Morpheme Boundary
Glottal stop	/a/ + /-an/ /a/ + /=i/ /a/ + /=əʔ/ /ə/ + /=i/
/j/ glide	/i/ + /-an/ /i/ + /-ən/ /i/ + /=i/ /ʔi-/ +/əʔ/
/w/ glide	/u/ + /-an/ /u/ + /-ən/ /u/ + /=əʔ/ /u/ + /=i/

### 3.2.3.1.1 Glottal stop

As Table 3.6 shows, a glottal stop is inserted between a root that ends with /a/ and the suffix -an:

**Table 3.5 Examples of an epenthetic glottal stop as a result of derivation**

base	meaning	derived form	meaning
/mətan'da/	'to be able to remember'	/mə-tanda-an/ [mətanda'ʔan]	be able to remember something
/ʔa'laga/	raise	/ʔalaga-an/ [ʔalaga'ʔan]	to raise someone

As a result of liaison, a glottal stop is inserted between a word ending with the vowels /a/ or /ə/ and the enclitic Specificity Marker /=i/:

**Table 3.6 Examples of an epenthetic glottal stop at boundaries between /a/ and /=i/**

host	Meaning	host and clitic	meaning
/na/	3s.GEN	/na=i/ [na'ʔi]	his
/ʔal'ta/	Alta	/ʔalta=i/ [ʔalta'ʔi]	the Alta
/pət'ʔama/	father and son	/pətʔama=i/ [pətʔama'ʔi]	the father and son
/planu=də/	a plan of them	/planu=də=i/ [planoddə'ʔi]	their plan

A glottal stop is also inserted between words ending with the vowel /i/ and the Specificity Marker /=i/<sup>10</sup>:

**Table 3.7 Examples of an epenthetic glottal stop at boundaries between /i/ and /=i/**

host	meaning	host and clitic	meaning
/wa'di/	younger sibling	/wa'di=i/ [wadi'ʔi]	my younger sibling
/bu'di/	want	/bu'di=i/ [bud'ʔi]	what I want

Finally, one instance of a glottal stop inserted between a word ending with /uh/ and the clitic /=i/ was found:

**Table 3.8 Examples of an epenthetic glottal stop at boundaries between /uh/ and /=i/**

host	meaning	host and clitic	meaning
/ʔuluh/	head	/ʔuluh=i/ [ʔu'luʔi]	the head

<sup>10</sup> The expected epenthesis in this context is /j/ glide

### 3.2.3.1.2 /j/ glide

A /j/ glide is inserted between roots that end with /i/ and the suffix /-an/:

**Table 3.9 Examples of an epenthetic /j/ glide at boundaries between /i/ and /-an**

base	meaning	derived form	meaning
/ʔgagawi/	do	/gagawi-an/ [ , gagaʔwijan]	to do somewhere
/ʔsuli/	return	/suli-an/ [ʔsulijan]	to return somewhere

The /j/ glide is also inserted between words ending with the vowel /i/ and the Specificity Marker =i:

**Table 3.10 Examples of an epenthetic /j/ glide at boundaries between /i/ and /=i/**

host	meaning	host and clitic	meaning
/aʔnaʔ=mi/	our child	/anaʔ=mi=i/ [anaʔmiʔji]	that child of ours
/ʔkindi/	candy	/kindi=i/ [kɛndiʔji]	the candy
/kaʔpi/	coffee	/kaʔpi=i/ [kapsʔji]	the coffee

### 3.2.3.1.3 /w/ glide

A /w/ glide appears when adding the Patient voice suffix /-ən/ or the Locative voice suffix /-an/ to a base that ends with the vowel /u/:

**Table 3.11 Examples of an epenthetic /w/ glide at boundaries between /u/ and /a/ or /ə/**

base	meaning	derived form	Meaning
/ʔhalu/	mix	/ʔəC-halu-ən/ [əhʔhalu wən]	to be mixing something

/sil'batu/	whistle	/silbatu-an/ [sil'batu ,wan]	to whistle somewhere
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A /w/ glide is also inserted between hosts that end with the vowel /u/ and the enclitic Specificity Marker /=i/:

**Table 3.12** Examples of an epenthetic /w/ glide at boundaries between /u/ and /i/

host	meaning	host and clitic	Meaning
/ʔanaʔ='mu/	your child	/ʔanaʔ=mu'=i/ [ʔanaʔmu'wi]	that child of yours
/taʔ'pu/	summit	/taʔpu'=i/ [taʔpu'wi]	the summit
/ʔabu'kadu/	lawyer	[ʔabu'kadu,=i/ [ʔabu'kadu,wi]	the lawyer
/babuira'mu/	wild pig	/ba,bujra'mu=i/ [ba,bujra'muwi]	the wild pig

Finally, /w/ glides are also inserted between a word that ends in /u/ and the 1s.ABS Pronoun /=əʔ/:

**Table 3.13** Examples of an epenthetic /w/ glide at boundaries between /u/ and /ə/

host	meaning	host and clitic	Meaning
/may tatlu/	there are four	/may tatlu=əʔ/ [may tatluwəʔ]	I have four
/mentudu/	to teach	/mentudu=əʔ/ [məntuduwəʔ]	I teach

### 3.2.3.2 Vowel epenthesis

Actor voice <um> words that are derived from certain monosyllabic roots having two consonants in onset position, as for example the root *sdep* 'act of entering', show an

epenthetic /ə/ when inserting the reduplicated consonant of initial C reduplication (indicating progressive aspect, see §7.2.7) in the <um> word.

(3.23)	Root:	/sdəp/	‘act of entering’
	Affixation:	/ <i>&lt;um&gt;</i> /	Actor voice infix
	Phonemic form:	/sumdəp/	‘to enter’
	C reduplication:	/sumsdəp/	‘to be entering’
	Phonetic realization:	<b>[suməsdəp]</b>	

The epenthetical schwa appears in order satisfy the syllabic template (see §2.3), which otherwise would be violated by having a sequence of three consonants: the bilabial nasal of the <um> infix and the initial consonants of the root. Other roots undergoing the same kind of alternation include *lbut* ‘act of boiling’ (as in Example 6.5) and *lteg* ‘act of swelling’ (as in Example 5.197).

A similar process occurs when attaching the prefix *men-* to the root *lbut* ‘act of boil’. In the example below, the nasal of prefix *men-* is assimilated to the first consonant of the root (as explained in §3.2.1.1), and in this case, an epenthetic schwa is placed between the initial consonant of the root and the second consonant:

(3.24)	Root:	/lbut/	‘act of boiling’
	Affixation:	/ <i>&lt;men&gt;</i> /	Actor voice infix
	Phonemic form:	/mən but/	‘to boil’
	Phonetic realization:	<b>[məlləbut]</b>	

### 3.2.4 Nasal substitution

Some examples of nasal substitution can be observed in the corpus. When adding the prefixes /məŋ-/ or /pəŋ-/ to certain roots starting with a stop, the stop is deleted. As shown in the examples below, nasal substitution happens with b, p, k, g and ʔ. Thus, Northern Alta would belong to a group of languages in which both voiceless and voiced obstruents may undergo this change (Blust, 2013, p.243). In the case of b, p, g and k, the prefixal coda assimilates to the place of articulation of the following sound and replaces it:

(3.25)	Root:	/buddə/	‘blossom’
	Affixation:	/məŋ/	Actor voice prefix
	Phonemic form:	/məŋbuddə/	‘to blossom’

	Phonetic realization with substitution:	<b>[məmud'də]</b>	
(3.26)	Root:	/peltag/	'spear'
	Affixation:	/məŋ/	Actor voice prefix
	Phonemic form:	/məŋpeltag/	'to spear'
	Phonetic realization with substitution:	<b>[məməl'taŋ]:</b>	
(3.27)	Root:	/gastus/	'expenses'
	Affixation:	/pəŋ/	Instrumental prefix
	Phonemic form:	/pəŋgastos/	'used for expenses'
	Phonetic realization with substitution:	<b>[pəŋastos]</b>	
(3.28)	Root:	/kurinti/	'electricity'
	Affixation:	/pəŋ-/	Instrumental prefix
	Phonemic form:	/pəŋkurinti/	'electric tool'
	Phonetic realization with substitution:	<b>[pəŋu'rinti]</b>	

Roots starting with a glottal stop undergo deletion of the initial consonant as shown below with subsequent assimilation:

(3.29)	Root:	/ʔatəd/	'action of giving'
	Affixation:	/məŋ-/	Actor voice prefix
	Phonemic form:	/məŋʔatəd/	to give someone
	Phonetic realization with substitution:	<b>[mə'ŋatəd]</b>	
(3.30)	Root:	/ʔulas/	'action of washing'
	Affixation:	/pəŋ-/	Instrumental prefix
	Phonemic form:	/pəŋʔulas/	used for washing
	Phonetic realization with substitution:	<b>[pə'ŋulas]</b>	

However not all roots starting with glottal stop undergo this process. In the following examples, the glottal stop is not deleted:

(3.31)	/ʔinum/ 'act of drinking'	<	<b>[pəŋʔinum]</b> 'tool for drinking'
	/ʔutʔut/ 'act of digging'	<	<b>[pəŋʔutʔut]</b> 'tool for digging'

### 3.2.5 Aphaeresis

A sequence containing voice and aspect prefixes can undergo aphaeresis, which is the loss of one or more sounds at the beginning of a word. For example, the active voice affix <um> and the root *alap* ‘to get’:

(3.32)	Root:	/ʔalap/	‘action of getting’
	Affixation:	/ <i>&lt;um&gt;</i> /	Active voice infix
	Phonemic form:	/ʔu'malap/	‘to get’
	Phonetic realization with aphaeresis:	<b>[ʔmalap]</b>	

Other examples include:

(3.33)	/ʔumansin/ ‘like this’	<	<b>[man'sin]</b>
	/ʔumansaj/ ‘like that’	<	<b>[man'sai]</b>

The Conveyance voice (CV) prefix *i-* and the perfective aspect infix <*in*> undergo aphaeresis:

(3.34)	Root:	/ʔapus/	‘action of embracing’
	Affixation:	/ʔi-/	CV
	Affixation:	/ <i>&lt;in&gt;</i> /	Perfective infix
	Phonemic form:	/ʔ<in>-i-apus/	‘embraced someone’
	Phonetic realization with aphaeresis:	<b>[ni'japus]</b>	

Other examples of this include:

(3.35)	lawan ‘leave behind’	<	/ʔ<in>-i-lawan/	<b>[ni'lawan]</b>	‘left someone behind’
	laga ‘boil’	<	/ʔ<in>-i-laga/	<b>[ni'laga]</b>	‘boiled something’

### 3.2.6 Stress change

As discussed in Section 2.2.2, stress may fall on both open and closed ultima syllables, and on open penult and antepenult syllables. If stress falls on an open penult, the syllable nucleus is lengthened.

The position of stress can change as a consequence of affixation or liaison processes. For example, the following affixes and clitics may trigger stress shift:



**Table 3.14 Examples of affixes and clitics than can trigger stress shift**

Type of unit		Example number
Affixes	Patient voice <b>-ən</b>	3.13
	Conveyance voice <b>ʔi-</b>	3.39 ( <i>tanem</i> )
	Perfective <b>&lt;in&gt;</b>	3.39 ( <i>bilay</i> )
	Stative <b>mə-</b>	3.38
Clitics	Specificity particle <b>=i</b>	3.14
	(enclitic) Personal Pronouns	3.41

The resulting words may undergo certain morpho-phonological changes, which include vowel syncope, and vowel lengthening. Both changes are explored in the section below.

### 3.2.7 Vowel changes

#### 3.2.7.1 Schwa syncope

Syncope occurs when adding the suffix *-an* to a disyllabic root in which the second syllable is closed and has /ə/ as its nucleus. As a result of the affixation, the derived word undergoes resyllabification (where the original final syllable coda, /t/ in the example below, becomes the onset of the last syllable) and stress shifts to the ultimate syllable. Consequently, the second root-vowel /ə/ is lost:

(3.36)	Root:	/gə'pət/	'knot'
	Affixation:	/-an/	PV suffix
	Phonemic form:	/gəpət-an/	'to tie somewhere'
	Phonetic realization with substitution:	<b>[gəp'tan]</b>	

Roots undergoing syncope after affixation of *-an* include the following:

**Table 3.15 Examples of syncope**

root	meaning	derived form	meaning

/ʔatəd/ <sup>11</sup>	act of giving	/ʔatədan/ [ʔat'dan]	to give someone
/biʔən/	proximity	/biʔən-an/ [biʔ'nan]	to approach
/ŋad'dən/	name	/ŋaddən-an/ [ŋad'nan]	to call someone
/pu'ləd/	action of sleeping	/puləd-an/ [pul'dan]	to sleep somewhere

Schachter and Otones (1972, p.286) claim that this phenomenon happens in Tagalog bases that lack penultimate vowel length (Tagalog does not reflect PMP \*e as schwa). Blust (2013, p.304) states that unstressed Tagalog vowels can drop between consonants “flanked by vowels (VC\_CV)”. Syncope is also attested in Arta, where bases having a long penultimate vowel may not undergo this change, because syncope would result in “superheavy syllables that would violate the eligible syllable structure” (Kimoto 2017, p.128).

In addition to final root-vowels, the first root-vowel (if a schwa) may also undergo syncope in certain words, when affixed with the active voice infix <um>:

(3.37)	Root:	/də'ʔəl/
	Affixation:	/-um-/
	Phonemic form:	/duməʔəl/
	Phonetic realization with substitution:	[dum'ʔəl]

Ruffolo (2004, p.69) identifies syncope in Inibaloy, in both the first and the final vowels of certain roots and provides a number of different factors triggering this change, including frequency of use, syllable structure and stress shift among other things

### 3.2.7.2 Vowel lengthening

Words carrying stress on the ultima may undergo vowel lengthening after affixation or liaison. If the suffix or enclitic involved does not cause stress shift, the resulting derived word (affixation) or phonological word (liaison) carries stress on the penult (originally the ultima). If the resulting penult is open, the syllable undergoes vowel lengthening:

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<sup>11</sup> There are no examples of the unfixed root /ʔatəd/ in the corpus. Thus, although it is a valid example of schwa syncope, it is not clear if it undergoes stress shift.

Table 3.16 Examples of vowel lengthening

Process	root/host	meaning	derived form/ host and clitic	meaning
<b>Affixation</b> (-an suffix)	/tan'ŋap/	accept	/tan'ŋap-an/ <b>[tan'ŋa:p-an]</b>	agreement
<b>Liaison</b>  (specificity enclitic =i)	/si'nag/	day, sun	/si'nagi/ <b>[si'na:g=i]</b>	the sun
	/məs'lub/	flagrant	/məs'lubi/ <b>[məs'lo:b=i]</b>	the good perfume
	/la'ŋit/	sky	/la'ŋit=i/ <b>[la'ŋɪ:t=i]</b>	the sky

### 3.2.7.3 Vowel lowering

As a result of affixation or liaison processes, the resulting lengthened /i:/ and /u:/ vowels (see above) are lowered to [ɪ:] and [o:] respectively, if occurring in a position other than ultima.

#### 3.2.7.3.1 Vowel lowering related to affixation

In the example below, the Stative voice prefix *me-* /mə-/, causes stress shift, moving it one syllable to the left. The resulting form shows an open syllable with /i/ as its nucleus, which is lengthened to [i:] and lowered to [ɪ:]

(3.38)	/si'pəl/	[si'pəl]	'gratitude'
	/mə'sipəl/	[mə'sɪ:pəl]	'be grateful' <sup>12</sup>
	/mi'nasipəl/	[mi'nə:sipəl]	'was grateful' <sup>13</sup>

The instances of infixation of perfective <in> below result in stress shift, causing the lengthening and subsequent lowering of the /i/ and /u/ vowels respectively:

(3.39)	/ʔibilaj/	[ʔibi'lai]	'to be raised'
	/ʔ<in>ibilaj/	[ʔi'nɪ:bilaj]	'was raised'

<sup>12</sup> Another analysis is that the verb 'be grateful' has the basic stress, and nominalization moves it one syllable to the right... like in Tagalog. (Lawrence Reid, personal communication, September 2018)

<sup>13</sup> The perfective is given here in order to illustrate how the vowel lowering phenomenon does not apply in this context

	/tanəm/	[ta'nəm]	'plant'
	/ʔitanəm/	[ʔi'ta:nəm]	'to be planted'
	/ʔ<in>itanəm/	[ʔinɪ:tanəm]	was planted
	/ʔi-walaʔ/	[ʔi-'wa:laʔ]	'to be left behind'
	/ʔ<in>i-walaʔ/	[ʔi'nɪ:walaʔ]	'was left behind'
(3.40)	/bu'di/	[bu'di]	'want'
	/b<in>udi/	[bi'no:di]	'wanted'
	/ʔaj/	[ʔai]	'act of going'
	/ʔ<um>aj/	[ʔu'mai]	'to go'
	/ʔ<in><um>aj/	[ʔi'no:mai]	'to have gone'
	/tira/	[tira]	'act of living'
	/t<um>ira/	[tumi'ra]	'to live'
	/t<in><um>ira/	[ti'no:mira]	'to have been living'

Note that lengthened /u/ are not always lowered to [o], as happens with /ʔu'bulan/ in Table 3.16 above.

### 3.2.7.3.2 Vowel lowering related to liaison

In the following example the 1pe.ABS Pronoun =ʔami, attracts stress to the ultima but secondary stress remains on the original ultima syllable, which is now antepenult, triggering lengthening and lowering of /i/:

(3.41)	/mənla'ti/	[mənla'ti]	'to work with rattan'
	/mənlati=ʔa'mi/	[mənla,tɪ:=ʔa'mi]	'we work with rattan'

### 3.2.7.3.3 Other instances of vowel lowering

The form *ina* /ʔi'na/ 'mother' shows the same vowel change when preceded by an Article such as the Genitive /ni/ or the Absolutive /ti/:

(3.42)	/ʔi'na/	[ʔi'na]	'mother' (VOC)
--------	---------	---------	----------------

/ni='ʔina/	[ni'ɪ:na]	'mother' (GEN)
/'tina/	['tɪ:na]	'mother' (REF)

The homophonous medial Absolutive Demonstrative *ina* /='ʔina/ shows the same change, although the alternation has not been investigated in context.

(3.43)	/='ʔina/	[='ʔina]	'that'
	/'ʔina/	['ʔɪ:na]	'that'

Although this is not an example of liaison, the 1pi Pronouns (Absolutive and free forms) show a similar change, where the vowel is lowered although not lengthened.

(3.44)	/='ʔitam/	[='ʔitam]	'us' (1pi.ABS)'
	/si'ʔitam/	[si'ʔitam]	'us' (1pi, unmarked)

### 3.2.8 Reduplication

Table 3.17 Lexicalized reduplication

Reduplication pattern	Meaning	Example base	Example reduplicated form	Number of different roots per pattern
Lexicalized Reduplication	naming (plants)	--	<b>suk-suk</b> /suksuk/ 'sweet potato'	4
	naming (animals)	--	<b>wak-wak</b> /wakwak/ 'crow'	4
	repeated use of instrument	--	<b>gel-gel</b> /gəlgəl/ 'act of chopping'	6
	repeated use of body part	--	<b>ngal-ngal</b> /ŋalŋal/ 'to masticate'	9
	body part	--	<b>kile-kileh</b> /kilikilih/ 'armpit'	3

	sound	--	<b>buy-buy</b> /bujbuj/ 'broom'	2
	space	--	<b>dig-dig</b> /digdig/ 'next to'	2
	other	--	<b>mon-mon</b> /munmun/ 'complete'	13

**Table 3.18 Reduplication patterns**

Reduplication pattern	Meaning	Example base	Example reduplicated form	Number of different roots per pattern
<b>Full reduplication</b>	plurality	<b>damet</b> /damət/ 'hand'	<b>damet-damet</b> /damət-damət/ 'hands'	4
	plurality (grouping quantifiers)	<b>salob</b> /salub/ 'three liters'	<b>salob-salob</b> /salub-salub/ 'three by three liters'	3
	plurality (frequency)	<b>sinag</b> 'day'	<b>sinag-sinag</b> /sinag-sinag/ 'every day'	5
	repeated use of instrument	<b>sikwat</b> 'raise something with a lever'	<b>sikwat-sikwaten</b> /sikwat-sikwatən/ 'to repeatedly raise'	2
	attenuation	<b>tanem</b> 'act of planting'	<b>men-tanem-tanem</b> /mən-tanəm-tanəm/ 'to do a little planting'	8
	intensification	<b>budi</b> 'want'	<b>budi-budi</b> /budi-budi/ 'really want'	3
	other	<b>sidde</b> 'them'	<b>sidde-sidde=d</b> /siddə-siddə=d/ 'among them'	7

<b>CVCV-</b>	plurality	<b>mudung</b> 'mountain'	<b>mudu-mudung</b> /mudu-mudun/ 'mountains'	<b>7</b>
	repeated use of instrument	<b>palang</b> 'type of knife'	<b>pala-palang-en</b> /pala-palaŋ-ən/ 'to chop something'	<b>2</b>
	limitation	<b>si'ami</b> 'us'	<b>si'a-si'ami</b> /si?a-si?ami/ 'us only'	<b>4</b>
<b>CV-reduplication</b>	intensification	<b>de'el</b> 'big'	<b>de-de'el</b> /də-dəʔəl/ 'very big'	<b>4</b>
	plurality	<b>'aná'</b> 'child'	<b>'a-'ana'</b> /ʔa-ʔana?/ 'children'	<b>2</b>
	plurality (distributive)	<b>piso</b> 'Philippine peso'	<b>pi-piso</b> /pi-pisu/ 'one by one'	<b>2</b>
	limitation	<b>duwa</b> 'two'	<b>du-duwa</b> /du-duwa/ 'only two'	<b>1</b>
	attenuation	<b>nanih</b> 'later'	<b>me-na-nanih</b> /mə-na-nanih/ 'very soon'	<b>1</b>
	progressive	<b>ledep</b> 'swim underwater'	<b>men-le-ledep</b> /mən-li-lidəp/ 'be swimming underwater'	<b>52<sup>15</sup></b>

<sup>15</sup> This figure does not represent the total number of different examples but the total number of occurrences of the pattern in the corpus

## 4. Basic clauses

The content of this chapter is related to the analysis of word classes and case relations appearing in Chapters 5 and 6 respectively. In order to provide the reader with an overview of the basic structures that can be identified in the language, we present this chapter before the study of word classes and case relations.

Section 4.2 presents the types of phrases that form clauses, and describes their constituent structures and syntactic functions.

Section 4.3 provides a classification of clause types according to the type of phrase that forms the predicate. Clause types are divided into three main types, depending on whether it is a U-word, a V word or an Existential that forms the predicate.

### 4.1 Introduction

Northern Alta content words can be subclassified depending on whether or not they carry voice marking, a division resulting in two main classes of content words: classes V and U respectively. Although the two classes have different morphosyntactic properties (§5.4.2), both V and U-words may form phrases appearing in predicate function, forming accordingly voice-marked and voice-unmarked predicates.

Since the presence or absence of voice marking determines the semantic role of each case-marked constituent (§6), a first distinction of clause type should be taken into consideration:

1. Clauses with voice-marked predicates
2. Clauses with predicates that are not voice marked

A clause minimally contains a predicate, and one or more arguments. The predicate appears in initial position, and is followed by the arguments. If an element of the clause is topicalized, the predicate does not appear in clause initial position and will be marked, either by the Predicate Marker (PM) *ay* or by an intonation break:

1. Predicate initial:                   **[predicate + arguments]**
2. With topic predicate:           **[topic + [PM/pause + predicate]]+ arguments]**



In addition to predicate and argument/s, a clause may contain other elements, such as clausal adjuncts, modifiers, complements and topics. The next section deals with the types of constituents that may be found in Northern Alta.

## 4.2 Types of Phrases

A phrase is a group of words that function as a unit, filling one of the clausal slots (predicate, argument, adjunct, modifier, complement, topic). Phrases minimally contain a content word as a lexical head, a Pronoun or a Demonstrative. They may also contain one or more function words. The table below summarizes the main types of phrases in Northern Alta:

**Table 4.1 Phrase types**

Name		Definition	Section
<b>DP</b>	Determiner Phrase	Phrase introduced by a determiner (Article or Demonstrative) that is marked for case. DPs may be headed by U-words, V-words, Existentials or Locative Pronouns	§4.2.1
<b>VP</b>	Voice-marked Phrase	Phrase headed by a V-word and not introduced by any Determiner	§4.2.2
<b>UP</b>	Unmarked Phrase	Phrase headed by a content U-word and not marked by an Article, nor a Preposition, Predicate Marker or Linker.	§4.2.3
<b>AdvP</b>	Adverbial Phrase	Phrase headed by a Temporal Adverb	§4.2.4
<b>DemP</b>	Demonstrative Phrase	Phrase formed by a Demonstrative and a modifier	§4.2.5
<b>Prp</b>	Pronoun Phrase	Phrase formed by a Personal Pronoun and a modifier	§4.2.6
<b>PP</b>	Prepositional Phrase	Phrase formed by a Preposition governing a DP	§4.2.7
<b>AyP</b>	Ay Phrase	Phrase that always appears in predicate function, and which is formed by the Predicate Marker <i>ay</i> and another constituent	§4.2.8
<b>LP</b>	Linker Phrase	Phrase formed by a Linker particle and another constituent	§4.2.9

### 4.2.1 Determiner Phrases (DPs)

Determiner Phrases are phrases that carry a determiner in the leftmost position of the phrase. The determiner, which may either be an Article (§5.3.1) or a Demonstrative (§5.2.2), marks the DP for case. The determiner is followed by either a U-word (§5.4.3), a V-word (§5.4.4), an Existential (§5.4.6) or a Locative Pronoun (§5.2.1.4). The most basic DP is formed by a determiner and a content word.

In addition, DPs may carry other modifiers at the right boundary of the phrase, such as Specificity Markers (§5.3.3) or Plural Markers (§5.3.4), as well as Personal Pronouns (§5.2.1) and Demonstratives (§5.2.2). These modifiers are dependent on the head the DP, as it can be observed in the examples given in Table 4.5, which shows the constituent structure of Unmarked Phrases (phrases that do not carry an Article), and where the content words that head these UPs carry the same type of modifiers.

The following table summarizes the possible constituent structures of DPs and provides example numbers for each type:

**Table 4.2 Determiner Phrases**

<b>Constituent structure of DP</b>	<b>Examples</b>
ART + U-word	4.1, 4.2
ART + U-word + SPEC	3.18
ART + U-word + PL	5.67
ART + U-word + SPEC + PL	4.3
ART + U-word + DEM	7.25
ART + U-word + GEN.Pronoun	5.140
ART + U-word + GEN.Pronoun + PL	5.103
ART + U-word + GEN.Pronoun + SPEC + PL	5.102
ART + U-word + LP	6.1
ART + U-word + DP	4.79
ART + LOC.Pronoun	5.69
ART + V-word	4.4
ART + V-word + DP	4.5
ART + V-word + DP + DP	5.160
ART + Existential + LP complement	6.120
DEM + U-word + SPEC	5.46
DEM + U-word + DP	5.58
DEM + U-word + SPEC + DEM	5.60, 5.199
DEM + U-word + GEN.Pronoun + SPEC + LP	5.15

The following examples (4.1 – 4.2) show two DPs headed by U-words, each of them showing different case marking (Absolutive and Genitive cases respectively):

(4.1) lumelbut nen in kaldero  
 l<um>l-but=nən                    [ʔin kaldiru]  
 <AV>RDP-boil=already        ABS pot  
 ‘the (content of the) pot is now boiling’ (106.089)

(4.2) aydi, ginuyod nen ni Lettaw  
 ʔaidi g<in>ujud=nən                [ni littaw]  
 INTJ <PRF.PV>pull=already        GEN Lettaw  
 ‘aidi, Lettaw pulled it’ (100.723)

The next example shows a DP marked in the Oblique case by the Article *ti*. The DP is headed by the U-word *depug* ‘carabao’, and is followed by additional function words, such as the Specificity Marker =*i* or the Plural Marker =*sid*:

(4.3) isakay e’ nad ti depog-i sid  
 ʔi-sakaj=əʔ=na=d                    [ti dəpug=i=sid]  
 CV-load=1s.ABS=3sGEN=d            OBL carabao=SPEC=PL  
 ‘he gave me a ride on the carabaos’ (83.238)

DPs may be also headed by V-words, as in Examples (4.4) and (4.5) below. In addition, Example (4.5) shows that V-words functioning as the head of a DP may govern other arguments:

(4.4) siyad yay in mensoli  
 sija=d=jaj                              [ʔin [mən-suli]]  
 3s=d=DIST.DEM.ABS                ABS AV-return  
 ‘that is the part that grows again’ (95.140) (lit. that is the one that returns)

(4.5) sasa’ano namud a talaga in mennol ti polung mi-i  
 sa-saʔanu=namud ʔa talaga  
 RDP-few=just LK surely  
  
 [ʔin [mən-nul [ti puluŋ=mi=i]]]  
 ABS AV-know OBL language=1p.GEN=SPEC  
 ‘clearly, there are just a few who know how to speak our language’ (91.1149)

(lit. clearly just very few are the ones how know our language)

The preceding examples can be analyzed as DPs headed by a V-word, from the perspective of the *syntactic uniformity hypothesis for content words* (Himmelman, 2008, p.267), which considers that the type of phrase is independent of the word class of the content word (V or U). The author refers to an alternative analysis in which ACTION-words are nominalized when appearing in this position and states that “there is no principled reason to exclude the same analysis for OBJECT-words”, (Himmelman, 2008, p.268). In this view, the (object-word-headed) DP in (1) could be equally analyzed as [*ʔin [kaldiru]*] and translated as ‘the one/thing that is a pot’, but this analysis would be “less economical...(as it posits)... an additional (and invisible) layer of structure”. In addition to these two possible analyses, other interpretations of this problem can be found in Kroeger (1998, p.12) or in Reid (2002, p.304).

As several examples show, certain Demonstratives can occupy the same slot as the Article, in the leftmost of the phrase, in which case they function as determiners (see §5.2.2).

As for the possible syntactic functions, Determiner Phrases may appear in argument function as well as in adjunct, predicate, modifier of DP, and, as the next example shows, in topic function:

- (4.6) pagka in matam ay may diplet  
 pagka [*ʔin mata=m*] ʔaj maj diplet  
 if ABS eye=2s.GEN PM have dirt  
 ‘If your eyes have dirt’ (95.263)

The table below summarizes the possible functions of DP’s and provides example numbers for each syntactic function:

**Table 4.3 Functions of Determiner Phrases**

Syntactic function	Examples
argument	4.1, 4.2, 4.5
topic	4.6
adjunct	4.3, 4.8
predicate	4.72, 6.21
modifier of DP	6.42
complement	6.124



modifying function. Table 4.5 provides an overview of the constituent structure of Unmarked Phrases, Table 4.6 below lists the possible syntactic functions of UPs.

**Table 4.5 Unmarked Phrases**

<b>Constituent structure of UP</b>	<b>Examples</b>
single U-word	4.9, 4.13
U-word + SPEC	5.132, 5.134, 5.147
U-word + GEN.pron + DEM	5.217
U-word + GEN.pron + SPEC	4.9, 5.81
U-word + GEN.pron + SPEC + PL	4.11
U-word + PL	5.105
U-word + PL + LP	5.104
U-word + SPEC + PL	4.10
U-word + LP	4.66
U-word + SPEC + LP	5.32
U-word + DP	4.12
U-word + SPEC + DP	5.175
V-word + SPEC	5.108, 5.117, 5.149

**Table 4.6 Functions of Unmarked Phrases**

<b>Syntactic function</b>	<b>Examples</b>
predicate	4.9
topic	4.9
argument	4.10, 4.11
complement	4.12, 4.13
apposition	4.14

The example below shows an example of a UP in topic function, followed by another UP, *alobasa* ‘pumpkin’, which is in predicate function

- (4.9)      ngadden na’i alobasa  
              [ŋaddən=na=i]                      [ʔalubasa]  
              name=3s.GEN=SPEC              pumpkin  
              ‘Its name is *alobasa* (pumpkin)’ (94.329)

The two following examples show UPs in argument function, followed by modifiers such as the specificity particle, the Plural Marker or a Genitive Pronoun.

- (4.10) hangan Baler matid uldin-i sid  
 hanŋan balir me-ʔatih=d **[uldin=i=sid]**  
 until Baler ST-die=d non.alta=SPEC=PL  
 ‘up until Baler, the Tagalogs would die as well’ (due to the explosions)  
 (103.465)

- (4.11) ten araw kasi me'hilig magulang miyi sid a men'aliyo  
 tən ʔaraw kasi mə-hilig  
 OBL day because ST-interest
- [magulaŋ=mi=i=sid]** ʔa mən-aliju  
 parents=1pe.GEN=SPEC=PL LK AV-search
- ti gi-ginto=i  
 OBL RDP-gold=SPEC  
 ‘because back in these days our parents were interested in searching for gold  
 (pieces)’ (103.090)

The following example shows the Unmarked Phrase *batug ni asoh-i* ‘dog barking’ that functions as a complement and is governed by the V-word *ittibeng*:

- (4.12) awo'od ittibeng batog ni asoh-i  
 ʔawun=ʔu=d ʔi-tibəŋ **[batug [ni ʔasuh=i]]**  
 not.exist=1s.GEN=d CV-hear barking GEN dog=SPEC  
 ‘I did not hear the barking of a dog’ (63.119)

Unmarked Phrases may also function as the complement of an Existential predicate. In the next example the Unmarked Phrase *apoy* ‘fire’, functions as the complement of *may*:

- (4.13) pag may apoy, aydi ta'bowan mi namud  
 pag [maj **[ʔapu]]** ʔajdi taʔbu-an=mi=namud  
 If have fire INTJ pour-LV=1pe.GEN=just

'If there is a fire, we just pour water on it' (100.640)

UPs can be analyzed as functioning as appositions of other phrases. In the example below, the UP *barangay miyi* 'our barangay' is modifying the Demonstrative Phrase *i'en*.

- (4.14)      *essa'paten nad i'en, barangay mi-i*  
 ʔəC-saʔpat-ən=na=d      [[ʔiʔin]      **[baraŋai=mi=i]**  
 PRG-climb-PV=3s.GEN=d      PROX.DEM      barangay=1pe.GEN=SPEC  
 'it (the water) will reach our village' (85.02)  
 (lit. it would reach this, our barangay)

Alternatively, the constituent formed by the Demonstrative and the UP in the preceding example could also be analyzed as a DP where the Demonstrative occupies the Article slot (see Table 4.2). As explained in §5.2.2, the main reason for analyzing the UP as appositive is the fact that an intonational break appears between the Demonstrative and the UP.

#### 4.2.4 Adverbial Phrases (AdvPs)

Adverbial Phrases are phrases headed by a Temporal Adverb (§5.4.5.1). AdvPs may function as adjuncts or as predicates:

Table 4.7 Adverbial Phrases

Form of phrase	Syntactic function	Examples
single Adv	adjunct	4.15, 4.16
	predicate	4.76
Adv + LP	adjunct	4.17, 4.55

- (4.15)      *inomuli hela tempulab*  
 ʔ<in><um>uli=hila      **[təmpulab]**  
 <PRF><AV>return=too      yesterday  
 'She went home yesterday' (97.147)

- (4.16)      *nanih ipa'inta' di'aw in salago*  
**[nanih]**      ʔi-pa-ʔinta=?      diʔaw      ʔin      salagu  
 later      CV-CAU-see=1s.GEN      2s.LOC      ABS      Salago.plant



'later, I'll show you the Salago plant' (86.368)

- (4.17) ududma o kaya nanih a pulab umay itam  
 [ʔududma] ʔu kaja [nanih [ʔa pulab]] ʔ<um>aj=ʔitam  
 tomorrow or thus later LK evening <AV>go=1pi.ABS  
 'so we will go tomorrow or later this evening' (69.089)

## 4.2.5 Demonstratives and Demonstrative Phrases (DemPs)

Demonstratives inflect for case (§5.2.2) and share certain syntactic functions with case-marked DPs (see Table 5.6). They are free words (as in 4.18 – 4.21) or enclitics (4.22). When they are modified by a Linked Phrase (as in 4.26 – 4.27) we consider them Demonstrative Phrases (DemPs). The table below summarizes the possible forms and functions of Dems and DemPs:

Table 4.8 Demonstratives and Demonstrative Phrases

Form	Syntactic function	Example
single Dem	argument	4.22
	predicate	4.18, 4.19, 4.23
	modifier of DP	4.24
	adjunct	4.21
	topic	4.25
Dem + LP	argument of prepositional predicate	4.35
	adjunct	4.27, 5.227
	topic	4.26

- (4.18) ti'say itam, aka  
 [tiʔsaj]=ʔitam ʔaka=ʔ  
 DIST.DEM.LOC =1pi.ABS older.sibling=1s.GEN  
 'let's go there, my brother' (94.487)

- (4.19) umansina in tanem mo-i  
 [ʔumansina] ʔin tanəm=mu=i  
 MED.DEM.SML ABS plant=2s.GEN=SPEC

'your plant is this big' (93.436) (lit.your plant is like this)

- (4.20) pag inikabit 'o 'en ti'sen  
pag    ʔ<in>i-kabit=ʔu=ʔin                           **[tiʔsin]**  
if       CV<PRF>-tie=1s.GEN=PROX.DEM.ABS   PROX.DEM.LOC  
'when I tied it here' (104.045)

- (4.21) ti'sen mapoled ti Alex  
**[tiʔsin]**                   mə-puləd    ti       ʔaliks  
PROX.DEM.LOC   ST-sleep    ABS   Alex  
'Alex sleeps here' (72.03)

- (4.22) ten ginagawi ina, men'aral e' sepla  
tən     g<in>agawi**[=ʔina]**                   mən-ʔaral=əʔ=sipla  
when   <PRF>do=MED.DEM.ABS   AV-study=1s.ABS=still  
'when (they) built that, I was still studying' (100.1039)

- (4.23) i'yay in annolen 'o  
**[ʔiʔja]**       ʔin    ʔannul-ən=ʔu  
MED.DEM    ABS   know-PV=1s.GEN  
'what I know is this' (52.169)

- (4.24) in sanga ni'nay ay puro sela alta  
[ʔin   saŋa           **[niʔnaj]]**                   ʔaj   puru=sila   ʔa   ʔalta  
ABS   spouse        MED.DEM.GEN    PM   pure=also   LK   alta  
'as for his wife, (she) is also pure Alta' (49.82)

- (4.25) i'ina ay ti Lut  
**[ʔiʔina]**       ʔaj    ti       lut  
DIST.DEM   PM    ABS   lut  
'as for that one, he is Lut' (85.628)

- (4.26) i'ina a lugar, isay sid menhuli ti usah-i  
**[ʔiʔina]**       [ʔa   lugar]]                   ʔisaj=sid=sina  
DIST.DEM   LK   place                   be.at=3p.ABS=MED.DEM.LOC

mən-huli ti ʔusah=i  
 AV-hunt OBL deer=SPEC  
 ‘about that place, they hunt the deer there’ (85.036)

(4.27) awon mi minalap ti’sen a parte  
 ʔawun=mi m<in>ə-ʔalap [tiʔsin] [ʔa parti]  
 not.exist=1pe.GEN POT.PV<PRF>get PROX.DEM.LOC LK side  
 ‘we were not able to find it, here on this side’ (103.034)

## 4.2.6 Pronouns and Pronoun Phrases (PrPs)

Pronouns inflect for case (§5.2.1) and share certain syntactic functions with case-marked DPs (see Table 5.2). They are free words (4.29, 4.31, 4.32, 4.33, 4.34) or enclitics (4.28, 4.30). When they are modified, we analyze them as Pronoun Phrases. The table below summarizes the forms and functions of Pronouns and PrPs:

**Table 4.9 Pronouns and Pronoun Phrases**

Form	Syntactic function	Example
free Pronoun	predicate	4.29, 4.78
	argument	6.109
	adjunct	4.31
	complement of <i>isay</i> Existential	4.32
	topic	4.33, 4.69
free Pronoun + LP	topic	4.34
enclitic Pronoun	argument	4.28
	modifier of DP	4.30

(4.28) ikkabit mo sela sen  
 ʔi-kabit[=mu]=sila=sin  
 CV-tie=2s.GEN=also=PROX.DEM.LOC  
 ‘you also tie it here’ (104.490)

(4.29) siya in penhulian de ti usah’i  
 [sija] ʔin pənhulijan=də ti ʔusah=i  
 3s ABS hunting.ground=3p.GEN OBL deer=SPEC

'this is their hunting ground for deer' (85.034)

- (4.30) magandad in pengarap mo ti ana'-i  
 mə-ganda<sup>16</sup>=d [ʔin peŋarap[=**mu**]] ti ʔanaʔ=ɪ  
 ST-beauty=d ABS aspiration=2s.GEN OBL child=SPEC  
 'your aspirations for the children are great' (76.223)

- (4.31) mensosoli dla sen di'en  
 mən-su-suli=dla=sin [**diʔən**]  
 AV-RDP-return=just=PROX.DEM.LOC 1s.LOC  
 'he keeps coming back here, to me' (77.222)

- (4.32) kaya isay di'en ina  
 kaja [ʔisaj [**diʔən**]=ʔina  
 so be.at 1s.LOC=MED.DEM.ABS  
 'so he (Alex) stays at my place (when he comes to Baler)' (77.067)

- (4.33) siya ay Alta  
 [**sija**] ʔaj ʔalta  
 3s PM alta  
 'as for him, he is an Alta' (100.012)

- (4.34) si'etam a Alta isay itam namud ti wagewaget-i  
 [**siʔitam**] [ʔa ʔalta] ʔisaj=ʔitam=namud ti wage-wagət=i  
 1pe LK alta be.at=1pi.ABS=just OBL RDP-water=SPEC  
 'us, the Alta, we just stay by the rivers' (91.479)

## 4.2.7 Prepositional Phrases (PPs)

Prepositional Phrases are formed by a Preposition that governs a DP (4.37), or a Pronoun in the Locative case (4.35, 4.36), or a complement clause (4.38). Table 4.10 below summarizes the syntactic functions of Prepositional Phrases.

Table 4.10 Functions of Prepositional Phrases

Form of phrase	Syntactic function	Example
----------------	--------------------	---------

<sup>16</sup> *ganda* is a Tagalog root, the Alta equivalent is *piya* /'pija/

PREP + DP/Pronoun	predicate	4.35
	modifier of DP	4.36
	topic	4.37
	complement of LK	4.38

(4.35) para di'etam i'ina a mudung

**[para [diʔitam]]** ʔiʔina a muduŋ  
 for 1pi.LOC DIST.DEM LK mountain  
 'that mountain is for us' (88.371)

(4.36) in plano de para di'ami

ʔin planu=də **[para [diʔami]]**  
 ABS plan=3p.GEN for 1pe.LOC  
 'their plan for us' (103.230)

(4.37) hangan aseno, anig ti anen=i

hangan ʔasinu **[ʔanig [ti ʔanən=i]]**  
 until what like OBL rice=SPEC  
 'anything, like (for example) rice' (85.546)

(4.38) bisad a anig ten mabilay sepla tidyapo tam

bisa=d [ʔa **[ʔanig [tən mə-bilaj=sipla**  
 NEG=d LK like when ST-life=still

**tidijapu=tam]]]**

parents[ABS]=1pi.GEN

'It (the fact that most animals are gone due to the logging operations) is not like when our parents were still alive' (99.564)

#### 4.2.8 Ay Phrases (AyPs)

Ay Phrases (AyPs) are distinguished by the Predicate Marker (PM) *ay*, a particle that always occurs in the leftmost position of the phrase, which marks the predicate when another element is fronted. The PM is not obligatory in Alta, as an intonational break may appear instead (see Example 4.43).

AyPs always appear in predicate function. The particule *ay* may be followed by any type of phrase that can appear in predicate function (this includes all phrases types except LPs). The examples below show *Ay* Phrases headed by a VP (4.39) a UP (4.40), a DP (4.41, 4.42) and a Pronoun (4.43):

**Table 4.11 *Ay* Phrases**

<b>Form of phrase</b>	<b>Example</b>
ay + VP	4.39
ay + U-word	4.40
ay + ABS.DP	4.41
ay + GEN.DP	4.42
ay + LOC.Pronoun	4.43

As the following examples show, *AyPs* are always preceded by a constituent in topic position:

(4.39) pag si'en ay menla'ad  
 pag siʔən [ʔaj [mən-laʔad]]  
 when 1s PM AV-walk  
 'when I am the one walking' (100.908)

(4.40) ien ay Gumamela  
 ʔiʔin [ʔaj [gumamela]]  
 PROX.DEM PM gumamela  
 'this is the gumamela plant' (94.010)

(4.41) si'en man ay ti Ino  
 siʔən=man [ʔaj [ti ʔinu]]  
 1s=CNTR PM ABS Ino  
 'as for me, my name is Ino' (98.417)

(4.42) i'en ay ni Nene  
 ʔiʔin [ʔaj [ni nini]]  
 PROX.DEM PM GEN Nene  
 'this belongs to Nene' (88.615) (lit. this is of Nene)

The following example, extracted from the last verse of a love song (session 45), shows two juxtaposed clauses, ‘you are mine, I am yours’, with similar constituent structures. A notable difference between the two clauses is that in the first clause there is no *ay* particle marking the predicate *di'en*, suggesting that the use of *ay* is optional

- (4.43)      si'aw di'en, si'en ay di'aw  
               siʔaw [diʔən]            siʔən [ʔaj] [diʔaw]  
               2s    1s.LOC            1s    PM    2s.LOC  
               ‘You are mine, I am yours’ (45.01.11)

### 4.2.9 Linker Phrases (LPs)

Linker Phrases are characterized by the presence of the Linker particle *a*, which occurs at the left boundary of the phrase. LPs may appear in modifying and complement functions. Table 4.1 below summarizes the different forms and functions of LPs. The table is followed by some examples of LPs.

Table 4.12 Linker Phrases

Form of phrase	Syntactic function	Example
LK + U-word	complement of quantifier	4.44
	modifier of U-word	4.45, 5.198
	complement of Existential <i>meiwadde</i>	4.46
	modifier of Pronoun	4.47, 5.16
	modifier of Demonstrative	4.27
	modifier of Adverb	4.17
LK + proper name	modifier of kinship term	5.84, 5.196
LK + PP	modifier of DP	4.48
	complement of <i>bisa</i> Negator	4.38
LK + complement clause with V-marked predicate	complement of stative predicate	4.49
	modifier of U-word heading a UP	5.15
LK + DEM	modifier of U-word heading a DP	5.32, 5.65
LK + Adv	modifier of predicate	4.5, 6.65
LK + VP	modifier of U-word	5.155
	complement of V-word	5.4

	complement of irregular content word	5.229
	complement of Existential meiwadde	5.18
	complement of stative predicate	5.28
	modifier of predicate	5.146
LK + Existential	modifier of DP	5.100
	complement of irregular content word	5.228

(4.44) in e'lan a set na

ʔin ʔəʔlan [ʔa sit=na]  
 ABS all LK thorn=3s.GEN  
 'all the thorns' (100.544)

(4.45) in wadi tam a bunso'

ʔin wadi=tam [ʔa bunsuʔ]  
 ABS younger.sibling=1pi.GEN LK youngest.son  
 'our youngest sibling' (100.060) (lit. our brother the youngest)

(4.46) maiwadde a antipara sid

majwaddə [ʔa antipara][=sid]  
 have LK goggles=3p.ABS  
 'They have goggles' (69.163)

(4.47) ellebe'en mi a ti Rose

ʔəC-ləbəʔ-ən=[mi ʔa [ti rus]]  
 PRG-pound-PV=1pe.GEN LK ABS Rose  
 'We were pounding (rice) with Rose' (76.390)

(4.48) menhuli ti i'an-i a anig nidden

mən-huli [ti ʔiʔan=i [ʔa [ʔanig [niddən]]]  
 AV-catch OBL fish=SPEC LK like MED.DEM.GEN.PL  
 'They catch fish like these ones' (69.181)

(4.49) saka mebi'et sid a mengagawi ti delan ni lati-i ti'sina waget-i

saka mə-biʔət=sid [ʔa [mən-gagawi ti  
 also ST-laziness=-3p.ABS LK AV-do OBL



**delan ni lati=i ti?sina [wagət]=i]**  
 path GEN rattan=SP MED.DEM.LOC water=SPEC  
 and they were lazy to clear the way to the rattan (camp) there, by the river'  
 (86.105) (lit. and they were lazy to make a path to the rattan, there by the river)

### 4.3 Types of clauses

As described in §4.2, each of the different phrase types may be used in a different range of syntactic functions, but not all constituent types may form predicates. Table 4.13 below lists the constituents that may appear in predicate function. These constituents can be organized in two main groups, depending on whether they carry voice marking or not.

An additional group of words can be distinguished, a group including words like: *meiwadde* 'to have, to exist', *may* 'to have, to exist', *awon* 'to not exist' and *isay* 'to be at'. All these U-words belong to a word class of Existentials, which is classified as a subclass of content words. As shown in §4.3.3, clauses with predicates headed by these elements are characterized by the presence of a complement of the Existential appearing inside the predicate, and for this reason they are grouped together.

This classification results in three main clause types: clauses with voice-marked predicates, clauses with predicates that are not marked for voice, and clauses with predicates headed by an Existential:

**Table 4.13 Basic clause types**

Clause type	Constituent functioning as predicate	Section
Clauses with voice-marked predicates	VP	§4.3.1
Clauses with voice-unmarked predicates	UP, DP, PP, AdvP, Pron, Dem	§4.3.2
Clauses with a predicate headed by an Existential	Existential + complement	§4.3.3

The sections below explore each clause type and their subtypes, providing examples for each subtype.

### 4.3.1 Clauses with voice-marked predicates

All voice marked clauses minimally have one argument. Although this argument may be realized by both an Absolutive Phrase or an Unmarked Phrase, we refer to this argument as the Absolutive argument.

Voice-marked predicates assign a particular semantic role to the arguments. Depending on the role assigned to the Absolutive argument, clauses with voice-marked predicates may be divided into two major groups. In general terms, Actor voice clauses assign the actor role to the Absolutive, while undergoer-voice clauses map the Absolutive onto an undergoer macrorole.<sup>17</sup>

Table 4.14 Voice-marked clauses

Voice	Subtypes	Form of the Predicate	Gloss	Argument/s
Actor voice clauses		MEN- Predicate	AV-	Absolutive
		MENG- Predicate	AV-	Absolutive + Oblique
		<UM> Predicate	<AV>	Absolutive
Undergoer voice clauses	Patient voice	-EN Predicate	-PV	Genitive + Absolutive
	Locative voice	-AN Predicate	-LV	
	Conveyance voice	I- Predicate	CV-	

#### 4.3.1.1 Actor voice clauses

Actor voice (AV) clauses have a predicate headed by an Actor voice V-word (affixed with either *men-*, *meng-* or *<um>*). Except for clauses headed by an *<um>* word, AV clauses minimally have one argument. We follow the tradition of referring to this type of clause as an AV clause, since this argument expresses an Actor role.

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<sup>17</sup> The usage of terms *actor* and *undergoer* in this dissertation are defined in §6.1.1

#### 4.3.1.1.1 Clauses with *men-* predicates

Clauses of this type have a predicate headed by a MEN- V-word, and one Absolutive Absolutive argument:

- (4.50) mengalaw in duwa a aso  
[mən-galaw] [ʔin duwa ʔa ʔasu]  
**AV**-play **ABS** two LK dog  
'the two dogs are playing' (E05.01.110)

These clauses may also have adjuncts, as the example, which shows a clause with a temporal adjunct marked in the Oblique case.

- (4.51) menla'ad ami ti papa'as-i  
[mən-laʔad][=ʔami] [ti papaʔas=i]  
**AV**-walk=1pe.**ABS** OBL morning=SPEC  
'we walk in the morning' (nalta60.10)

#### 4.3.1.1.2 Clauses with *meng-* predicates

This type of clause has a MENG- headed predicate and two arguments: one argument marked in Absolutive and the other in Oblique case.

- (4.52) ten araw, mengalap in lella'ay, bebbe'es ti maskada de-i  
tən ʔaraw [mən-ʔalap] [ʔin la-laʔaj bə-bəʔəs]  
OBL day **AV**-get **ABS** RDP-old.man RDP-old.lady  
  
[ti maskada=də=i]  
**OBL** chew=3p.GEN=SPEC  
'back in these days, our old men and women would get their chew' (95.304)

- (4.53) mengalap 'a ti apoy  
[mən-ʔalap][=ʔa] [ti ʔapuj]  
**AV**-get=1s.**ABS** **OBL** firewood  
'get some firewood' (38.22)

However, as the following example shows, there are examples of clauses with MENG- predicates in which there is no Oblique case-marked argument. The corpus includes

examples of clauses with the MENG- words *mengaludu* ‘hunt’, *mengasawa* ‘to get married’ and *mengotan* ‘to borrow’.

- (4.54) menlidep ‘am na, tapos mengaludu  
 mən-lidep=?am=na                    tapus   mən-ʔaludu  
 AV-swim=2p.**ABS**=already   then   AV-hunt  
 ‘you dive (and fish) now and then hunt’ (wild animals, pig, deer, etc.) (97.80)

#### 4.3.1.1.3 Clauses with <um> predicates

Clauses with <UM> headed predicates may be without any argument, in which case they are used to describe weather events. The following example shows a clause with the predicate headed by the V-word *umudden* ‘to rain’, preceded by a temporal adjunct:

- (4.55)        nanih a dalam um’udden  
 [nanih ʔa        dalam]                    [ʔ<um>ʔ-udden]  
 later   LK        evening                    <**AV**>RDP-rain  
 ‘it (will) rain later this evening’ (E06.01.11)

<UM> headed clauses may have one argument. The argument may either represent an Actor that is controlling (as in Example 4.56), or not-controlling (as in Example 4.57):

- (4.56)        baka dumateng nen in uldin hid  
 baka   [d<um>atəŋ=nən]                    [ʔin    ʔuldin=hid]  
 If       <**AV**>arrive=already                    **ABS**   non.alta=PL  
 ‘If the Tagalog show up’ (100.530)

- (4.57)        lumelteg pati in mukha’  
 [l<um>l-təg=pati]                    [ʔin    mukha=?]  
 <**AV**>RDP-swell=even                    **ABS**   face=1s.ABS  
 ‘my face was even getting swollen’ (100.365)

#### 4.3.1.2 Undergoer voice clauses

Undergoer-voice clauses have a minimum of two arguments: a Genitive case-marked Actor and an Absolutive undergoer. Each of the subtypes below represents one different kind of voice in that the range of semantic roles expressed by each voice alternation is different. The

possible semantic roles of Absolutive arguments in Undergoer voice clauses are explored in more detail in §6.2.2.

#### 4.3.1.2.1 Patient voice clauses

Patient voice (PV) clauses have a predicate headed by an -EN V-word (a V-word marked by the PV suffix *-en*):

- (4.58) edpen-en'en ni waget-i ni delat  
 [ʔedpən-en][=ʔin] [ni waget=i ni dɛlat]  
 reach=**PV**=PROX.DEM.**ABS** **GEN** water=**SPEC** GEN sea  
 'the water of the sea reaches it' (the mountain)' (109.230)

- (4.59) eg'angen mi in set na  
 [ʔəgʔaŋ-en][=mi] [ʔin sit=na]  
 remove=**PV**=1pe.**GEN** **ABS** thorn=3s.**GEN**  
 'we remove its thorns (of the rattan) (100.530)

The possible semantic roles of the Absolutive argument include stimulus, theme and patient. These are explored in Section 6.2.2.1.

#### 4.3.1.2.2 Locative voice clauses

Locative voice (LV) clauses have a predicate headed by a V-word marked with the LV suffix *-an*:

- (4.60) Belen! ma'unad say, tolongan e' mo wadi!  
 bilin maʔuna=d=saj [tulun-an][=əʔ][=mu]  
 Belen say=d=DIST.DEM.LOC help=**LV**=1s.**ABS**=2s.**GEN**

wadi  
 younger.sibling  
 'Belen, I said to her, help me sister' (100.826)

- (4.61) atdan de itam ti oma tami  
 [ʔatəd-an][=də][=ʔitam] ti ʔuma=tam=i  
 give=**LV**=3p.**GEN**=1pi.**ABS** OBL farm=1pi.**GEN**=**SPEC**

'they gave us our farm' (91.823)

LV clauses may assign a number of different semantic roles to the Absolutive argument, in addition to the recipient role (as in the two examples above). Section 6.2.2.2, describes the possible semantic roles expressed by the Absolutive argument.

#### 4.3.1.2.3 Conveyance voice clauses

Conveyance voice (CV) clauses have a predicate headed by an I- V-word:

(4.62) kayadla, inikarga de ti elikopteri  
 kajadla [ʔ<in>i-karga][=də] [ti ʔilikuptir=i]  
 however CV<PRF>-load=3p.GEN OBL helicopter=SPEC  
 'but, they loaded (it) on a helicopter' (103.239)

(4.63) obra hela a igulay in talbos ni'nina  
 ʔobra=hila ʔa [ʔi-gulai] [ʔin talbus niʔnina]  
 can=too LK CV-vegetable ABS leaf MED.DEM.GEN  
 '(we) can also use its leaves as vegetables (for our meals)' (94.914)

In this type of clause the Absolutive argument may express the theme role or the instrument role. Examples of the possible semantic roles of Absolutive argument in Conveyance voice clauses are provided in §6.2.2.3.

#### 4.3.2 Clauses with voice-unmarked predicates

This type of clause has a voice-unmarked predicate, which may be formed by one of the constituents shown in Table 4.15 below. All clauses have one argument, which can either be an Absolutive Phrase, or an Unmarked Phrase:

Table 4.15 Voice-unmarked clauses in Northern Alta

Form of the predicate	Example
UP (Unmarked Phrase)	4.64 - 4.71
DP (Determiner Phrase)	4.72, 4.73
PP (Prepositional Phrase)	4.74, 4.75
AdvP (Adverbial Phrase)	4.76
PrP (Pronoun)	4.77, 4.78

Dem (Demonstrative)	4.79 - 4.82
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#### 4.3.2.1 Clauses with an Unmarked Phrase as predicate

Predicates formed by a UP typically predicate a property (4.64 – 4.68) or a quantity (4.69 – 4.71). The examples below have one argument, realized by an Absolutive Phrase (4.64 – 4.70), or by an Unmarked Phrase (4.71):

(4.64) alta' man  
 [ʔalta][=ʔ]=man  
 Alta=1s.**ABS**=CNTR  
 'I am Alta, too' (98.367)

(4.65) aydi, madi'it e' mannen  
 ʔaidi [madiʔit][=əʔ]=mannən  
 INTJ unmarried.girl=1s.**ABS**=again  
 'look at that, I am single again' (96.029)

(4.66) Decoliat yay a aper  
 [dikuliat]=[aj]                      ʔa      ʔapər]  
 Decoliat=DIST.DEM.**ABS** LK      upper  
 'that (place) is upper Decoliat' (75.16)

(4.67) de'el in tama na  
 [deʔəl]              [ʔin tama=na]  
 big                      **ABS** wound=3s.GEN  
 'his wound is big' (85.080)

(4.68) o'o, talod ina  
 uʔu [talud][=ʔina]  
 yes true=MED.DEM.**ABS**  
 'yes, that (the fact that fishing was so nice back in the days) is true' (76.309)

(4.69) si'ami a limma sela, limma sela in laman  
 siʔami ʔa      limma=sila      [limma=sila]      [ʔin laman]  
 1pe LK      five=also      five=also      **ABS** wild.boar

'and also the five of us, and the wild boars were also five' (92.364)

(4.70) hangan sina a'ado 'en a prutas

hangan=sina                      [ʔa -ʔadu=[ʔin]                      ʔa  
 until=MED.DEM.LOC              RDP-many=PROX.DEM.**ABS**              LK

prutas]

fruits

'over here too, there are so many fruits' (93.859)

(lit. these are the many of the fruit)

(4.71) lima a pulo at walo ta'on 'o-i

[limaʔapulu    ʔat    walu]                      [taʔun=ʔu=i]  
 fifty                      and    eight                      year=1s.GEN=SPEC

'I am 58 years old' (lit. my years are 58)

#### 4.3.2.2 Clauses with a Determiner Phrase as predicate

The following two examples show Determiner Phrases functioning as predicates, in which the DP is marked in the Absolutive case by the *in* Article.

(4.72) i'en ay in uwah, Katakataka

[ʔiʔin]                      [ʔaj    [ʔin    ʔuwah                      katakataka]]  
 PROX.DEM                      PM    **ABS**    thing                      katakataka

'this one is the whatchamacallit, the Katakataka plant' (nalta94.0097)

(4.73) in e'agdeden ten nanih ay in eggagawin miyo ten araw

[ʔin    ʔəC-ʔagdəd-ən                      tən    nanih]  
**ABS**    PRG-request-PV                      OBL    later

[ʔaj    [ʔin    ʔəg-gagawi-ən=miju                      tən    ʔaraw]]  
 PM    ABS    eC-do-PV=2p.GEN                      OBL    days

'what (you) were requested then is what you would do back in these days'

(63.040)

In addition, as Example (4.42) above shows, Genitive case-marked DPs may also appear in predicate function.



#### 4.3.2.3 Clauses with a Prepositional Phrase as predicate

As shown in §4.2.7, Prepositional Phrases may also appear in predicate function. The following two examples show the Preposition *para* followed by a Pronoun in Locative case. In (4.74) the Preposition is simply followed by the Locative Pronoun, while in (4.75) it is a Pronoun Phrase that follows the Preposition *para*. In (4.75) the Prepositional Phrase is preceded by the Predicate Marker *ay*. Prepositions are presented in Section 5.3.7.

- (4.74) para di'etam i'ina a mudung  
[para di?itam] [?i?ina ?a mudun]  
for 1pi.LOC MED.DEM LK mountain  
'that mountain is for us' (88.371)

- (4.75) in tulong a eggagawin na ay para di etam a Alta  
?in tuluŋ ?a ?əC-gagawi=ən=na  
ABS help LK PRG-do=PV=3s.GEN  
  
?aj [para di?itam ?a ?alta]  
PM for 1pi.LOC LK alta  
'he is helping us, the Alta'  
(lit. the help he is doing is for us the Alta) (502.22)

#### 4.3.2.4 Clauses with an Adverbial Phrase as predicate

- (4.76) tempulab ina sigudo  
[təmpulab][=?ina] sigudu  
yesterday=MED.DEM.ABS maybe  
'that (the fact that many fish were caught) was probably yesterday' (108.52)

#### 4.3.2.5 Clauses with a Personal Pronoun as predicate

- (4.77) ay di'en 'en, ma'una siya  
?aj [di?ən][=?in] ma?una=sija  
INTJ 1s.LOC=PROX.DEM.ABS say=3s.ABS  
'“this is mine”, she said' (88.616)

- (4.78) siyad ina in Mapolud  
[sija=d=?ina] [?in mapulud]  
100

**3s=d=MED.DEM.ABS      ABS    Mapolud**  
 'Mapolud is that (place) there' (103.555)

#### 4.3.2.6 Clauses with a Demonstrative as predicate

- (4.79)    i'en in gamot ti malaria=i  
 [ʔiʔin]            [ʔin    gamut            ti        malaria=i]  
 PROX.**DEM**    **ABS**    medicine        OBL    malaria=SPEC  
 'the medicine for Malaria is this' (94.347)
- (4.80)    i'ina in tarabaho mi a pətsasawa  
 [ʔiʔina]            [ʔin    tarabahu=mi            ʔa        pətsasawa]  
 MED.**DEM**    **ABS**    work=1pe.GEN        LK        husband.and.wife  
 'me and my wife's job is this' (49.36)
- (4.81)    ay pag ti'say, ay awon 'o budi, addiyo  
 ʔaj    pag    [tiʔsaj]                            ʔaj    ʔawun=ʔu            budi  
 INTJ    if        DIST.**DEM**.LOC        PM        not.exist=1s.GEN        want  
  
 ʔaddiju  
 far  
 'if it is there, I don't want (to go), it's (too) far' (86.525)
- (4.82)    umansen in pengagawi mid sen  
 [ʔumansin]            [ʔin    pəngagawi=mi=d=sin]  
 PROX.**DEM**.SML    **ABS**    task=1pe.GEN=d=PROX.**DEM**.LOC]  
 'our work here (with rattan) is like this' (119.60) (lit. our task here is like this)

#### 4.3.3 Clauses with an Existential-headed predicate

Clauses with a predicate headed by an Existential are grouped together on the basis of a common characteristic: the fact that these clauses may show a complement of the Existential within the predicate, which is realized by a specific type of the constituent for each Existential. The constituents forming the complements are shown in the following table:

Table 4.16 Existential clauses

Head of the	Gloss	Predicative complement	Example
<i>Meiwadde</i>	have	Linker Phrase (LP)	4.83, 4.84
<i>May</i>	have	Unmarked Phrase (UP)	4.85, 4.86
<i>Awon</i>	not.exist	Determiner Phrase (DP)	4.87, 4.88, 4.90
		U-word	5.10
		Complement clause	4.91, 5.3, 5.4
		-	4.89
<i>Isay</i>	be.at	Locative DP	4.92, 4.93
		Locative PrP	4.95, 4.96
		Oblique locative phrase	4.94

#### 4.3.3.1 Clauses with *meiwadde* as predicate

Clauses with predicates headed by *meiwadde* have a Linked Phrase functioning as a complement of the Existential. The complement may be omitted if it can be understood from the context. In clauses having zero arguments, the complement expresses an existing entity as in Example (4.83). In clauses having one argument, this argument expresses a possessor and the complement expresses the possessee (4.84).

- (4.83)      *meiwadde sep a matapang a sundalo*  
               [**majwadde**=sip      [ʔa    matapan]      ʔa    sundalu]]  
               have=still              LK    brave              LK    soldier  
               ‘there still is a brave soldier’ (46.73)

- (4.84)      *meiwadde a antipara sid*  
               [**majwadde**    [ʔa    ʔantipara]]=sid  
               have              LK    goggle=3p.ABS  
               ‘they have goggles’ (69.163)

#### 4.3.3.2 Clauses with *may* as predicate

Clauses with predicates headed by *may* have the complement of the Existential realized by an Unmarked Phrase (UP). As opposed to *meiwadde*, the complement is obligatory. Similar to *meiwadde*, the complement of *may* expresses an existing entity in clauses having zero

arguments, (Example 4.85). In clauses with one argument, the complement expresses a possessee and the argument expresses the possessor as in (4.86):

(4.85) ma'in may apoy nen ta beli?  
 maʔin [maj ʔapuj=nən] ta bəli  
 why have fire=already LOC home  
 'why is there a fire again at home?' (97.392)

(4.86) at may sundang 'ad man  
 ʔat [maj sundan][=ʔa]=d=man  
 and have bolo=2s.ABS=d=contrast  
 'and you have also a knife' (52.23)

#### 4.3.3.3 Clauses with *awon* as predicate

Clauses with predicates headed by *awon* may have a complement realized by a non-specific DP (i.e., a DP marked by the non-specific *tə* Article). If the clause does not contain any (Absolutive) argument, the complement represents a non-existing entity (4.87). If the clause contains an Absolutive argument, the argument expresses a possessor, and the complement expresses a non-existing possessee (4.88):

(4.87) ten araw sen kasi, awon te koriente  
 tən ʔaraw=sin kasi [ʔawun  
 OBL day=PROX.DEM.LOC because not.exist  
  
 [tə kurjinti]  
 NSP electricity  
 'because back in these days there was no electricity here' (99.1221)

(4.88) saka awon sid te interes ti tape'i  
 saka [ʔawun[=sid] [tə ʔintiris ti tapəʔ=i]  
 and not.exist=3p.ABS NSP profit OBL land=SPEC  
 'and they do not have any profit on the land' (86.200)  
 (lit. they do not exist (having) any profit on the land)

Clauses with a predicate headed by *awon* may not contain any complement. In Example (4.89) below, the clause shows one argument, which represents a non-existing entity:

(4.89) kase awon nen in ninuno mi  
 kasi [ʔawun=nən] [ʔin ninunu=mi]  
 thus not.exist=already ABS ancestor=1pe.GEN  
 ‘thus, our ancestors are not with us anymore’ (56.64)  
 (lit. thus, our ancestors do not exist anymore)

(4.90) pag awon te antipara, awon me’e’inta  
 pag [ʔawun [tə ʔantipara]] ʔawun məʔə-ʔinta  
 if not.exist NSP goggle not.exist POT.AV-see  
 ‘if you don’t have goggles you can’t see anything’ (85.205)

Finally, as Example (4.91) below shows, the complement of *awon* may be formed by a complement clause. In this example, in which pronominal enclitic arguments of the predicate of the complement clause are hosted by *awon*, the complement of the Existential is the complement clause *ettuduwan ti pulung ni alta-i sid* ‘teaching the language of the Alta’:

(4.91) awon ‘o sep sid ettuduwan ti pulung ni alta-i sid  
 [ʔawun]=[ʔu=sip=sid ʔəC-tudu-an ti pulung  
 not.exist=1s.GEN=still=3p.ABS PRG-teach-LV OBL language  
  
 ni ʔalta=i=sid]  
 GEN alta=SPEC=PL  
 ‘I am not teaching them the language of the Altas yet’ (60.46)

#### 4.3.3.4 Clauses with *isay* as predicate

Clauses with predicates headed by *isay* show a complement realized by a constituent with locative meaning. This constituent can be a Locative DP, as in Examples (4.92, 4.93), an Oblique case-marked DP with locational meaning (4.94), or a Locative case-marked Pronoun (Examples 4.95, 4.96). As all the examples below show, clauses with a predicate headed by *isay*, are different from the rest of the Existential clauses, in that they have one obligatory argument (encoded in the Absolutive case):

(4.92) isay ami ta Dibbuluwan  
 [ʔisaj]=[ʔami] [ta dibbuluwan]]  
 be.at=1pe.ABS LOC Dibbuluwan

'we are/were in Dibbuluwan' (100.387)

(4.93) in alapowan na dla, isay ta Cagayan

[ʔin ʔalapuwan=na=dla] [ʔisaj [ta kagajan]]

ABS grandparent=3s.GEN=only be.at LOC Cagayan

'as for his only grandparent, he is in Cagayan' (54.36)

(4.94) in de'el kasi, isay ti disaladi ni'nen

[ʔin dəʔəl] kasi [ʔisaj [ti disalad=i niʔnin]]

ABS big thus be.at OBL inside=SPEC PROX.DEM.GEN

'as for the big one, it is located in the inside of this' (104.129)

(4.95) halimbawa, isay say in ebut

halimbawa [ʔisaj=[saj]] [ʔin ʔəbut]

for.example be.at=REM.DEM.LOC ABS hole

'for example, the hole is there' (100.0573)

(4.96) isay sina ti Loro

[ʔisaj=[sina]] [ti luru]

be.at=MED.LOC ABS Loro

'Loro is/was there' (83.247)



## 5. Word classes

This chapter addresses the issue of the classification and definition of the different types of words. After an introductory table of the current classification (Table 5.1), the different classes of proforms are described in §5.2. Function words are explored in §5.3 and finally, §5.4 deals with the classification of content words and related problems.

### 5.1 Introduction

In the current classification of words in Northern Alta, we distinguish macro-classes and word classes:

**Table 5.1 Northern Alta word classes**

<b>Macro-class</b>	<b>Word class</b>	<b>Section</b>
Proforms	Personal Pronouns	§5.2.1
	Demonstratives	§5.2.2
	Interrogative Pronouns	§5.2.3
Function words	Articles	§5.3.1
	Plural Marker	§5.3.2
	Specificity Marker	§5.3.3
	Predicate Marker	§5.3.4
	Linker	§5.3.5
	Negator	§5.3.6
	Prepositions	§5.3.7
	Coordinate Conjunctions	§5.3.8
	Subordinate Conjunctions	§5.3.9
Content words	V-words	§5.4.3
	U-words	§5.4.4
	Adverbs	§5.4.5
	Existentials	§5.4.6
	Irregular content words	§5.4.7
	Derived content words	§5.4.8
Interjections		§5.5



## 5.2 Proforms

Proforms are words that may fill a constituent slot in a clause without being marked by any Article. Proforms include the following three closed classes: Personal Pronouns, Demonstrative Pronouns and Interrogative Pronouns. Personal Pronouns and Demonstratives share a second property, which is that they inflect for case.

### 5.2.1 Personal Pronouns

Personal Pronouns are a closed class of words that inflect for case, person and number. They distinguish four cases: Unmarked, Absolutive, Genitive and Locative. While the Unmarked Pronouns function as the topic and the predicate, the three case-marked Pronouns function as arguments in a clause. The Pronouns are not marked by an Article.

As there is no set of Oblique Pronouns, the distribution of Personal Pronouns is not fully aligned with the distribution of case-marked DPs. The table below summarizes the possible functions of Personal Pronouns, and shows the case-marked DPs they may share the same syntactic environment with:

**Table 5.2 Syntactic functions of Personal Pronouns and related phrase-types**

Case of Pronouns	Syntactic function of the Pronoun	Examples	Related Phrase-type
Unmarked	topic	5.1 – 5.7	-
	predicate	5.45, 6.23	Absolutive DP
Absolutive	argument	5.8 – 5.14	Absolutive DP
Genitive	argument	5.15 – 5.21	Genitive DP
	modifier	5.22	
Locative	argument	5.23 – 5.29	Locative DP
	adjunct	4.31	Oblique DP
	predicate	4.43	Genitive DP
	complement	4.32	Locative DP

Personal Pronouns show a three-way distinction for both singular and plural numbers. The first person plural further distinguishes between an exclusive and an inclusive Pronoun (see Table 5.3 below). Finally, there are certain fused Pronouns in the language that are exemplified in §5.2.1.5.

**Table 5.3 Personal Pronouns**

	<b>Unmarked (free)</b>	<b>Absolutive (clitic)</b>	<b>Genitive (clitic)</b>	<b>Locative (free)</b>
<b>1s</b>	<b>si'en</b> /si'ʔən/	<b>e'</b> /ʔəʔ/	<b>'o / '</b> /ʔu/, /ʔ/	<b>di'en</b> /di'ʔən/
<b>2s</b>	<b>si'aw</b> /si'ʔaw/	<b>'a</b> /ʔa/	<b>mo, m</b> /ʔmu/, /ʔm/	<b>di'aw</b> /di'ʔaw/
<b>3s</b>	<b>siya</b> /si'ja/	<b>siya</b> /ʔsi'ja/	<b>na</b> /ʔna/	<b>diya</b> /di'ja/
<b>1pe</b>	<b>si'ami</b> /si'ʔami/	<b>ami</b> /ʔa'mi/	<b>mi</b> /ʔmi/	<b>di'ami</b> /di'ʔami/
<b>1pi</b>	<b>si'etam</b> /si'ʔitam/	<b>itam</b> /ʔi'tam/	<b>tam</b> /ʔtam/	<b>di'etam</b> /di'ʔitam/
<b>2p</b>	<b>si'am</b> /si'ʔam/	<b>am, amy</b> /ʔam/ /ʔam'ju/	<b>miyu</b> /ʔmiju/	<b>di'am, di'amiyu</b> /di'ʔam/ /di'ʔamiju/
<b>3p</b>	<b>sidde</b> /sid'də/	<b>sid, hid</b> /ʔsid/, /ʔhid/	<b>de</b> /ʔdə/	<b>didde</b> /did'də/

### 5.2.1.1 Unmarked Personal Pronouns

The unmarked Personal Pronouns appear in topic function, and as the examples below show, they are followed by an ay Phrase (or alternatively by an intonational break followed by an Unmarked Phrase, as in Example (4.43)). Unmarked Personal Pronouns may also appear in predicate function (Example 6.23).

- (5.1) si'en ay papa'as minensanga  
**si'ʔən** ʔaj papaʔas m<in>ən-saŋa  
**1s** PM early AV<PRF>-spouse  
 'as for me, I got married early' (39.17)

- (5.2) bisa bat si'aw ay Maximino  
 bisa=bat **si'aw** ʔaj maksiminu

NEG=Q     **2s**     PM     Maximino  
 ‘you are a (member of the family) Maximino, aren’t you?’ (52.70)

(5.3)     siya ay awon sen dinum’el  
**sija**    ʔaj     ʔawun=sin                    d<in><um>-əʔəl  
**3s**    PM     not.exist=PROX.DEM.LOC       <PRF><AV>-big  
 ‘as for her, she did not grow up here’ (98.61)

(5.4)     dahil si’am ay awon ami mennol a menbasa  
 dahil            **siʔami**            ʔaj    ʔawun=ʔami            mən-nul  
 because       **1pe**               PM    not.exist=1pi.ABS    AV-know  
  
 ʔa     mən-basa  
 LK     AV-read  
 ‘because as for use, we don’t know how to write’ (58.11)

(5.5)     kung si’etam ay mesipag  
 kuŋ    **siʔitam**        ʔaj    mə-sipag  
 if      **1pi**               PM    ST-industriousness  
 ‘if we are the ones that work hard’ (103.498)

(5.6)     ten si’am ay ba’ik sepla  
 tən    **siʔam**           ʔaj    baʔik=sipla  
 when **2p**               PM    small=still  
 ‘when you(pl) were still small’ (63.41)

(5.7)     pag sidde ay minengaso sid  
 pag    **sidde**           ʔaj    m<in>əŋ-ʔasu=sid  
 if      **3p**               PM    AV<PRF>-dog=3p.ABS  
 ‘if they hunted with dogs’ (69.155)

### 5.2.1.2 Absolutive Personal Pronouns

Absolutive Personal Pronouns function as arguments in all clause types. Phonologically, they behave as enclitics (as explained in §3.1.3):

(5.8)     menbelon e’ namud menla’ad nen ta tarabaho

mən-bəlon=**əʔ**=namud      mən-laʔad=nən      ta      tarabahu  
 AV-provision=**1s.ABS**=just    AV-walk=already      LOC    work  
 'I just pack the food and go back to work' (19.17)

(5.9)      umoli 'a agad  
 ʔ<um>uli=**ʔa**                      ʔagad  
 AV-go.back.home=**2s.ABS**    immediately  
 'come back home right away' (52.16)

(5.10)    awon, ma'una siya, awon titi, kung awon kiki  
 ʔawun              maʔuna=**sija**    ʔawun              titi  
 not.exist           say=**3s.ABS**    not.exist           penis  
  
 kuŋ    ʔawun              kiki  
 if       not.exist        vagina  
 'no, he said, it is neither penis nor vagina' (14.13)

(5.11)    ten baba'ik ami, polung mi-i ay talaga a Alta  
 ten    ba-baʔik=**ʔami**                      puluŋ=mi=i  
 when   RDP-small=**1pe.ABS**            language=1pe.GEN=i  
  
 ʔaj    talaga ʔa        ʔalta  
 PM    surely LK        Alta  
 'when we were very young, our language was indeed Alta' (44.32)

(5.12)    dahil dinum'el itam ti kahirapan-i  
 dahil              d<in><um>-ʔəl=**ʔitam**              ti      kahirapan=i  
 because          <PRF><AV>big=**1pi.ABS**    LOC    hardship=i  
 'because we grew up with hardship' (103.488)

(5.13)    aheno kuwenta-i a maging'ana ta'am amyū  
 ʔahino              kuwinta=i              ʔa      magiŋ-ʔanaʔ=taʔam=**ʔamju**  
 what                account=SPEC        LK      become-childd=1s+2p=**2p.ABS**  
 'what is the worth of raising you (pl)?' (38.45)

(5.14)    awon sid mensawa a ume'ay ti'sen di'ami

ʔawun=**sid**                    mən-sawa    ʔa        ʔ<um>əʔʔaj    tiʔsin  
 not.exist=**3p.ABS**    AV-get.tired    LK        AV-go                PROX.DEM.LOC

diʔami

1pe.LOC

'they will not get tired of coming here, with us' (58.07)

### 5.2.1.3 Genitive Personal Pronouns

Genitive Personal Pronouns may appear as the Actor argument in Undergoer voice clauses (Examples 5.15 – 5.21) and may also function as the modifier of a DP in any clause type (Example 22). Phonologically, Genitive Pronouns behave as enclitics (§3.1.3). As in Ilokano (Rubino, 1997, p.56) or Inibaloy (Ruffolo, 2004, p.175), the first and second singular Genitive Pronouns /=**ʔu**/ and /=**mu**/ have the allomorphs /=**ʔ**/ and /=**m**/, which are used when the preceding syllable ends with a vowel. The first and second person allomorphs appearing after a consonant are shown in Examples (5.15) and (5.16) below, while the post-vocalic allomorphs can be seen in Examples (4.16) and (4.18), and Examples (3.11) and (4.6) respectively.

- (5.15)    kasi siya dla yay plano de-i a annolen'o  
           kasi                    sija=dla=jaj  
           because                3s=only=DIST.DEM.ABS

planu=də=i                    ʔa        ʔannul-ən=**ʔu**  
 plan=3p.GEN=SPEC LK        know-PV=**1s.GEN**  
 'because this is the only of their plans I know about' (103.419)

- (5.16)    annolen mo bilay mi-i, si'ami a pet'aman  
           ʔannul-ən=**mu**            bilaj=mi=i                    siʔami ʔa        pətʔaman  
           know-PV=**2s.GEN**    life=1pe.GEN=SPEC 1pe    LK        parents.and.sons  
           'you know, our life, of my parents and brothers...' (39.02)

- (5.17)    alapen na siden gogo  
           ʔalap-ən=**na**                sidən                    gugu  
           get-PV=**3s.GEN**        PL.ABS                native.shampoo  
           'he takes the native shampoos' (63.200)

- (5.18) meiwadded man sid a me'alap a laman, siya yay ibenta mi sela  
 majwaddə=d=man=sid      ʔa      mə-ʔalap      ʔa      laman  
 have=d=CNTR=3p.ABS      LK      ST-get      LK      wild pig
- sija=jaj                      ʔi-binta=**mi**=sila  
 3s=DIST.DEM.ABS      CV-sell=**1pe.GEN**=also  
 'if they have managed to catch a wild pig, that is what we also would sell'  
 (61.63)

- (5.19) iyated tam man ti aduwani  
 ʔi-atəd=**tam**=man                      ti              ʔaduwani  
 CV-give=**1pi.GEN**=CNTR      OBL      other=i  
 'and we share with the others' (99.1261)

- (5.20) tebagen miyu ti polung tam-i  
 tɛbag-ən=**miju**              ti              puluŋ=tam=i  
 reply-PV=**2p.GEN**      OBL      word=1pi.GEN=SPEC  
 'reply (you all) to our questions' (91.240)

- (5.21) inibenta de dya'yay ni dila'i a Puling  
 ʔ<in>i-binta=**də**                      dijaʔjaj              ni              dilaʔi      ʔa              puliŋ  
 CV<PRF>- sell=3p.GEN      now                      LOC      uncle      LK              Puling  
 'they just sold (it) to uncle Puling' (103.503)

- (5.22) ten baba'ik ami, polung mi-i talaga a Alta  
 tɛn      ba-baʔik=ʔami                      puluŋ=**mi**=i  
 when      RDP-small=1pe.ABS                      language=**1pe.GEN**=i
- ʔaj      talaga              ʔa              ʔalta  
 PM      surely              LK              Alta
- 'when we were very young, our language was indeed Alta' (44.32)

#### 5.2.1.4 Locative Personal Pronouns

The Locative set of Personal Pronouns may function as arguments in clauses with bivalent or trivalent predicates (Examples 5.23 – 5.29). In addition they may function as adjuncts that indicate spatial locations (see Example 4.31) and also as predicates in equational clauses, in

which they indicate the possessor (Example 4.43). Finally, they may also function as complements of the Existential *isay* (Example 5.115). Phonologically, and in contrast to the Absolutive and Genitive sets, Locative Pronouns do not behave as clitics:

- (5.23) ma'unad yay di'en: "awon 'ad mannen menpa'adalam"  
 maʔuna=d=jaj                      **diʔən**  
 say=d=DIST.DEM.ABS            **1s.LOC**
- ʔawun=ʔa=d=mannən            mən-pa-ʔa-dalam  
 not.exist=1s.ABS=d=again    AV-CAU-ʔ-evening  
 '(he) said to me, do not make (us) wait until the evening again' (52.14)
- (5.24) de'el ina a pa-salamat 'o di'aw Alex  
 dəʔəl=ʔina                      ʔa            pa-salamat=ʔu            **diʔaw**            ʔaliks  
 big=MED.DEM.ABS    LK            CAU-thank=1s.GEN    **2s.LOC**            Alex  
 'I am very thankful to you, Alex' (20.12)  
 (lit. big is that of making me thank you Alex)
- (5.25) ma'una diya: "umoli itam nen!"  
 maʔuna            **dija**                      ʔum-uli=ʔitam=nən  
 say                      **3s.LOC**                      AV-go.home=1pi.ABS=already  
 'I told him "let's go back home now"' (53.80)
- (5.26) sigudo may isip sid a medu'es di'ami  
 sigudu            maj            ʔisip=sid                      ʔa            mə-duʔəs            **diʔami**  
 maybe            have            thought=3p.ABS            LK            ST-meanness **1pe.LOC**  
 'maybe they have bad plans for us' (103.25)
- (5.27) umansay minengyari di'etam  
 ʔumansaj                      m<in>əŋ-jari                      **diʔitam**  
 DIST.DEM.SML            AV<PRF>-happen            **1pi.LOC**  
 'that is how it happened to us' (88.1148)
- (5.28) si'ami ay masaya a tinumangap di'am  
 siʔami ʔaj            mə-saja                      ʔa            t<in>-um-anap            **diʔam**  
 1pe    PM            ST-happiness                      LK            <PRF-AV-agree            **2p.LOC**

'as for us, we are happy of having accepted you' (58.06)

- (5.29) aheno in pengarap mo didde?  
 ʔahinu ʔin peŋarap=mu **didde**  
 what ABS ambition=2s.GEN **3p.LOC**  
 'what is your ambition for them' (76.56)

### 5.2.1.5 Fused Pronouns

Fused Pronouns combine a Genitive Pronoun, and the second person singular (5.30), or plural Absolutive (5.31), and also behave as enclitics (§3.1.3). The two Pronouns are shown in Table 5.4 below, and appear in clauses with Patient voice predicates, in which the Genitive Pronoun expresses the actor and the Absolutive Pronoun expresses the undergoer. Alternative forms of Fused Pronouns have not been yet investigated.

Table 5.4 Composite Pronouns

Person and case	Form
1pi.GEN + 2s.ABS	<b>=ta'a</b> /taʔa/
1pi.GEN + 2p.ABS	<b>=ta'am</b> /taʔam/

- (5.30) ma'una siya di'en: "ebbuden ta'a"  
 maʔuna sija diʔən ʔəb-bud-ən=**taʔa**  
 say 3s.ABS 1s.LOC eC-want-PV=**1pi.GEN+2s.ABS**  
 'he told me "I love you"' (88.64)

- (5.31) ettangapen ta'am a monmon  
 ʔeC-tangap-ən=**taʔam** ʔa monmon  
 PRF-agree-PV=**1p.GEN+2p.ABS** LK entire  
 'we definitely accept you (your documentation project)' (54.07)  
 (lit. we accept you entirely)



## 5.2.2 Demonstratives

Demonstratives are a closed class of proforms that inflect for case and distinguish distance. The semantic differences of this distance distinction require further investigation. Demonstratives are glossed in the following way: for all members, the first part of the gloss consists of the degree of distance (PROX, LPROX...), the second part is the word class (DEM), and the third part shows the case (ABS, GEN...). When one of the sets distinguishes number, the gloss PL is added to the plural subset.

Table 5.5 Demonstratives

	Unmarked		Absolutive (ABS)	Genitive (GEN)		Locative (LOC)		Similitive (SML)
	Singular	Plural (PL)		Singular	Plural (PL)	Free	Clitic	
<b>Proximal (PROX)</b>	<b>i'en</b> /ʔi'ʔin/ 'this'	<b>siddin</b> /sid'din/ 'these'	<b>=en</b> /=ʔin/ 'this'	<b>ni'nen</b> /ni'ʔnin/ 'this'	<b>niddin</b> /nid'din/ 'these'	<b>ti'sen</b> /ti'ʔsin/ 'here'	<b>=sen</b> /=sin/ 'here'	<b>umansen</b> /ʔuman'sin/ 'like this'
<b>Less Proximal (LPROX)</b>	<b>i'i'e</b> /ʔi'ʔi'ʔi/ 'this'	<b>siddi'e</b> /siddi'ʔi/ 'these'	<b>=i'e</b> /=ʔi'ʔi/ 'this'	<b>ni'ni'e</b> /ni'ʔni'ʔi/ 'this'	<b>niddi'e</b> /niddi'ʔi/ 'these'	<b>ti'si'e</b> /ti'ʔsi'ʔi/ 'here'	<b>=si'e</b> /=si'ʔi/ 'here'	<b>umansi'e</b> /ʔumansi'ʔi/ 'like this'
<b>Medial (MED)</b>	<b>i'ina</b> /ʔi'ʔi'na/ 'that'	<b>siddina</b> /sid'dina/ 'those'	<b>=ina</b> /=ʔi'na/ 'that'	<b>ni'nina</b> /ni'ʔni'na/ 'that'	<b>niddina</b> /nid'dina/ 'those'	<b>ti'sina</b> /ti'ʔsi'na/ 'there'	<b>=sina</b> /=si'na/ 'there'	<b>umansina</b> /ʔumansi'na/ 'like that'
<b>Distal (DIST)</b>	<b>i'yay</b> /ʔi'ʔjaj/ 'that'	<b>sidyay</b> /sid'jaj/ 'those'	<b>=yay</b> /=jaj/ 'that'	<b>ni'nay</b> /ni'ʔnaj/ 'that'	<b>nidyay</b> /nid'jaj/ 'those'	<b>ti'say</b> /ti'ʔsaj/ 'there'	<b>=say</b> /=saj/ 'there'	<b>umansay</b> /ʔuman'saj/ 'like that'
<b>Far Distal (FDIST)</b>	<b>i'ya'i</b> /ʔi'ʔja'ʔi/ 'that'	--	<b>=ya'i</b> /=ja'ʔi/ 'that'	<b>ni'na'i</b> /ni'ʔna'ʔi/ 'that'	--	<b>ti'sa'i</b> /ti'ʔsa'ʔi/ 'there'	<b>=sa'i</b> /=sa'ʔi/ 'there'	<b>umansa'i</b> /ʔumansa'ʔi/ 'like that'

All Demonstratives may function as Pronouns, and most sets except the Absolutive and Similitive may also function as determiners, appearing in the same position as Articles within a DP (§4.2.1).

There are a number of cases in which it is not clear whether the Demonstrative is functioning as a Pronoun or as a determiner. Example 5.34, which shows a short intonation break between the Demonstrative *i'ina* and the next element (*mudung*) may have two possible interpretations: in the first one, the Demonstrative *i'ina* functions as a Pronoun and is followed by the Unmarked Phrase *mudung=i'ina* which functions as an appositive modifier of the Demonstrative Pronoun (see Table 4.6). A second possible analysis considers the unit [*i'ina mudung=i'ina*], as a Determiner Phrase in which the Demonstrative functions as

determiner, and occupies the same slot as an Article. From a historical perspective, it is possible that the appositional structure [[DEM] + [UP]] is being reanalyzed into a Determiner Phrase [DEM + U-word], causing the grammaticalization of Demonstratives to determiners. From a synchronic perspective, we chose to analyze most of these structures as Determiner Phrases, though we also keep in mind the alternative analysis, as shown in Example (4.14).

In the same way as it happens with Personal Pronouns, the distribution of case-marked Demonstratives is not fully aligned with case-marked DPs. The table below summarizes the syntactic functions of the different case-marked Demonstratives, and shows the Determiner Phrases that may appear in the same syntactic environments:

**Table 5.6 Syntactic functions of Demonstratives and related phrase types**

<b>Case of Demonstratives</b>	<b>Syntactic Function</b>	<b>Example</b>	<b>Related Phrase-type</b>
Unmarked	topic	5.33, 5.34, 5.37	-
	predicate	5.35, 5.36, 5.40	Absolutive DP
	argument	5.38, 5.39	Absolutive DP
	modifier of DP	5.32	--
Absolutive	argument	5.41 – 5.45	Absolutive DP
	modifier of DP	5.34	
Genitive	argument	5.47	Genitive DP
	modifier of DP	5.46, 5.48, 5.49	
	topic	5.51	--
	(complement of the Preposition <i>uman</i> 'like, as')	5.52	Oblique DP
Locative (free)	adjunct	5.55, 5.56, 5.58	Locative DP
	predicate	5.57	
Locative (enclitics)	adjunct	5.61, 5.63	Locative DP
	complement (of <i>isay</i> )	5.59, 5.60	
	argument (distal locative)	5.62	Oblique DP
Similative	modifier (manner)	5.64, 5.65, 5.68	Oblique DP
	predicate	5.66, 5.67, 4.19	

### 5.2.2.1 Unmarked Demonstratives

Unmarked Demonstratives distinguish between singular and plural. Unmarked Demonstratives function as topics (Examples 5.33, 5.34, 5.37 below), as predicates (5.35, 5.36, 5.40), as arguments (5.38, 5.39) and as complements of Linkers (5.32).

#### 5.2.2.1.1 Singular Unmarked Demonstratives

In the example below (5.32) the Demonstrative *i'en* is modifying the DP headed by *mudung* but it is linked to in a Linked Phrase. This example with a Demonstrative is in contrast with (5.34), in which an enclitic Absolutive Demonstrative is modifying another DP headed by *mudung* without any Linker.

- (5.32)      ti'sen dipaning-i ni'nen mudung-i a i'en  
               tiʔsin                      dipaniŋ=i                      niʔnin  
               PROX.DEM.LOC      other.side=SPEC      PROX.DEM.GEN
- muduŋ=i                      ʔa      ʔiʔin  
               mountain=SPEC      LK      **PROX.DEM**  
               'here, at the other side of that mountain' (85.48)

In the next example (5.33), the Unmarked Demonstrative appears in topic function, preceding the predicate headed by the V-word *inalap*. In this case, no Predicate Marker appears between the Demonstrative and the predicate.

- (5.33)      i'i'e inalap 'o siden kong adidino  
               ʔiʔiʔi                      ʔ<in>alap=ʔu=sidən                      kuŋ      adidinu  
               **LPROX.DEM**                      <PRF.PV>get=1s.GEN=ABS.PL      if      wherever  
               'as for these, I collect them wherever (nearby the water)' (94.470)

- (5.34)      i'ina mudungi ina, isay sina minate'nag in eroplano  
               ʔiʔina                      muduŋ=i=ʔina  
               **MED.DEM**      mountain=SPEC=**MED.DEM.ABS**
- isai=sina                      m<in>ə-təʔnag                      in      ʔiruplanu  
               be.at=MED.DEM.ABS                      ST<PRF>fall                      ABS      plane  
               'that mountain there, there is where the plane crashed' (103.102)'

In the next two examples (5.35, 5.36), the Unmarked Demonstratives function as predicates, and are followed by DPs.

- (5.35) i'yay in engo'an mi a Banur  
 ?i?jaj            ?in    ?əC-ŋu?-an=mi            ?a    banur  
**DIST.DEM**    ABS    PRG-name-LV=1pe.GEN    LK    Banur  
 'the one we are calling Banur is that one' (94.500)

- (5.36) i'ya'i in gamot man sa-i, aka  
 ?i?ja?i            ?in    gamut=man=sai  
**FDIST.DEM**    ABS    medicine=CNTR=LOC

?aka=?  
 older.sibling=1s.GEN  
 'the one that is a medicine is that one, my brother' (93.614)

### 5.2.2.1.2 Plural Unmarked Demonstratives

Example (5.37) shows an anaphoric Unmarked Demonstrative in topic function.

- (5.37) adino sidden inomalang?  
 ?adinu            **siddin**            ?<in><um>alan  
 Where            **PROX.DEM.PL**    <PRF><AV>come-from  
 'where are these (children) from?' (109.259)

As Examples (5.38, 5.39) show, the Unmarked Demonstratives can be modified by a Linker phrase and function as an argument in this form.

- (5.38) mengalaw siddi'e a uwah=i lella'ay  
 mən-galaw    **siddi?i**            ?a    ?uwah=i    la-la?aj  
 AV-play        **LPROX.DEM.PL**    LK    thing=SPEC    RDP-old.man  
 'these old men are playing' (109.192)

- (5.39) sa'ano dla siddina a beli  
 sa?anu=dla    **siddina**            ?a    beli  
 few=only        **MED.DEM.PL**        LK    house

'there are just a few of these houses' (100.1107) (lit.these houses are just a few)

- (5.40) inomalang'an ta ibang bansa, sidyay in itanem mi say  
 ?<in><um>alaŋ=an ta ?iba=ŋ<sup>18</sup> bansa  
 <PRF><AV>come.from=QUOT LOC other=LK country

**sidjaj** ?in ?i-tanəm=mi=sai  
**DIST.DEM.PL** ABS CV-plant=1pe.GEN=DIST.DEM.LOC  
 'they are said to come from another country, these (bamboos) are the ones we plant here' (75.68)

### 5.2.2.2 Absolutive Demonstratives

As Examples (5.41 – 5.45) below show, Absolutive Demonstratives always appear in argument function. Absolutive Demonstratives share the argument function with Unmarked Demonstratives. Absolutive Demonstratives behave as enclitics (§3.1.3).

- (5.41) i'en ay alapen mi 'en  
 ?i?in ?aj ?alap-ən=mi=?in  
 PROX.DEM PM get-PV=1pe.GEN=**PROX.DEM.ABS**  
 'this is what we get' (103.347)

- (5.42) gumamelad man i'e  
 gumamela=d=man=?i?i  
 Gumamela=d=CNTR=**LPROX.DEM.ABS**  
 'and that there is the Gumamela (plant)' (94.101)

- (5.43) pag minalap ded ina  
 pag m<in>ə-?alap=də=d=?ina  
 If POT.PV<PRF>get=3p.GEN=d=**MED.DEM.ABS**  
 'If they catch it' (103.441)

As shown in some examples in this dissertation, the analysis of the medial Demonstrative =*'ina* as an enclitic is not always clear. In Example (4.32), it would be expected to be

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<sup>18</sup> The word *iba* and the =*ŋ* linker here are Tagalog borrowings

attached to the Existential *isay* but instead it follows the Locative Pronoun *di'en*. In Example (5.118) we have represented it as an enclitic but this analysis is problematic since it appears attached to the Linker particle *a*. Finally, in Example (5.203) it would be expected to be attached to the Existential *awon*, but it is placed again behind the Locative Pronoun *di'en*.

- (5.44) akkaw ay melasad yay a baye'  
 ?akkaw        ?aj    mə-lasa=d=**jaj**                                ?a    bajə?  
 INTJ            INTJ   ST-taste=d=**DIST.DEM.ABS**                LK    fish  
 'wow, what a tasty baye fish' (100.132)

- (5.45) siyad ya'i in pengas'an mi bagay ume'ay ami ta omah  
 sija=d=**ja?i**                                ?in    pejas?an=mi  
 3s=d=**FDIST.DEM.ABS**                ABS    vehicle?=1pe.GEN  
  
 bagaj ?<um>ə?aj=?ami    ta    ?uma  
 when <AV>go=1pe.ABS    LOC    farm  
 'that is our vehicle when we go to our farm' (72.22)

### 5.2.2.3 Genitive Demonstratives

Genitive Demonstratives distinguish between singular and plural. They may function as determiners (Examples 5.47, 5.48, 5.50, 5.51), modifiers (5.46, 5.49, 5.53, 5.54), or as the complement of the Preposition *uman* 'like 'as' (5.52).

#### 5.2.2.3.1 Singular Genitive Demonstratives

- (5.46) i'en iyan-i ni'nen obra hela 'en a pen'apsut  
 ?i?in                ?ijan=i                **ni?nin**  
 PROX.DEM    fruit=SPEC                **PROX.DEM.GEN**  
  
 ?ubra=hila=?in                                ?a    peŋ-?apsut  
 can=also=PROX.DEM.ABS    LK    INST-sour  
 'this fruit of it can also be used to make the food sour' (93.820)

- (5.47) inalap e' ni'ni'e, kuyog o'i  
 ?<in>alap=ə?                **ni?ni?i**                                kujug=?u=i

<PRF>get=1s.ABS **LPROX.DEM.GEN** friend=1s.GEN=SPEC  
 'that friend of mine took me' (98.346)

- (5.48) pero ten dingato ni'nina waget ni Dyabubu-i  
 piru tən diŋatu **niʔnina** wagət  
 but OBL upstream **MED.DEM.GEN** water  
  
 ni dijabubu=i maj salampat=sip  
 LOC Dyabubu=SPEC have salampat=still  
 'but upstream from that water of Dyabubu, there is still Salampat' (85.267)

- (5.49) e''alapen na in karga ni'nay  
 ʔəC-ʔalap-ən=na ʔin karga **niʔnaj**  
 PRF-get-PV=3s.GEN ABS charge **DIST.DEM.GEN**  
 'he is getting the power from there' (104.159) (lit. he is getting the power of that)

- (5.50) ahenō in kulay ni'na'i trey-i  
 ʔahinu ʔin kulaj **niʔnaʔi** trej=i  
 what ABS color **FDIST.DEM.GEN** tray=SPEC  
 'what is the color of that tray there'? (E06.02.44)

### 5.2.2.3.2 Plural Genitive Demonstratives

- (5.51) kung baga nidden tagalogi, budi de'i 'a'api ami namud  
 kuŋbaga **niddin** tagalog=i  
 if.say **PROX.DEM.GEN.PL** tagalog=SPEC  
  
 budi=də=i ʔa ʔapi=ami=namud  
 want=3p.GEN=SPEC LK oppress=1pe.ABS=just  
 'actually these who are Tagalogs, what they just want is to oppress us'  
 (103.327)

- (5.52) maiwadde a duwa a minahuli, uman niddi'e  
 majwadde ʔa duwa ʔa m<in>ə-huli  
 have LK two LK POT.PV<PRF>hunt

ʔuman            **niddiʔi**  
 like                **LPROX.DEM.GEN.PL**  
 'I have two (*papan* animals) that I caught, like these' (99.715)

(5.53)      dahil in ninuno niddina ay Maximino  
 dahil   ʔin      ninunu            **niddina**                      ʔaj      maksiminu  
 thus   ABS   ancestor            **MED.DEM.GEN.PL**    PM      Maximino  
 'thus the ancestor of those is Maximino' (52.140)

(5.54)      agosto pe"iyan-i nidyay  
 ʔagustu        pənʔijan=i                      **nidjaj**  
 august         flowering=SPEC            **DIST.DEM.GEN.PL**  
 'the flowering of those ones is in August' (86.343)

### 5.2.2.4 Locative Demonstratives

Locative Demonstratives form two subsets, each having different phonological status: a free set and a set of enclitics. The functions of each set are different except for the adjunct function, for which both sets can be used. The semantic distinctions of using the free or the clitic forms in adjunct function require further investigation.

#### 5.2.2.4.1 Free Locative Demonstratives

This subset of Locative Demonstratives may appear in adjunct function (Example 5.55, 5.56, 5.58), or in predicate function (5.57):

(5.55)      pag mine'ana' 'en ti'sen o ti'sina  
 pag      m<in>ən-ʔanaʔ=ʔin                      **tiʔsin**                      ʔu  
 if        AV<PRF>-child=PROX.DEM.ABS            **PROX.DEM.LOC**      or

**tiʔsina**  
**MED.DEM.LOC**  
 'if it is able to breed here or there' (94.26)

(5.56)      ti'si'e, saka ti'si'e, li'od mo-i  
**tiʔsiʔi**                      saka    **tiʔsiʔi**                      liʔud=mu=i  
**LPROX.DEM.LOC**    and    **LPROX.DEM.LOC**    back=2s.GEN=SPEC



'there, and there, behind you' (94.355)

- (5.57) ti'say itam, aka  
[tiʔsaj]=ʔitam                      ʔaka=ʔ  
**DIST.DEM.LOC**=1pi.ABS    older.sibling=1s.GEN  
'let's go there, my brother' (94.487)

- (5.58) addiyo'ena, ti'sa'i, ta'po ni mudung-i  
ʔaddiju=ʔina                      **tiʔsaʔi**                      taʔpu  
far=MED.DEM.ABS    **FDIST.DEM.LOC**                      summit  
  
ni                      muduŋ=i  
GEN    mountain=SPEC  
'It (the rattan) is very far, there, on that mountain top' (119.32)

#### 5.2.2.4.2 Enclitic Locative Demonstratives

Locative Demonstratives may appear in adjunct function (Examples 5.61, 5.63), and in complement function, as a complement governed by the Existential *isay* 'be at' (5.59, 5.60). Finally, the distal Locative form =say may also appear in argument function (sharing this function with an Oblique DP), in clauses with a predicate headed by the bivalent word *me'una* 'to say', as in Example (5.62). Phonologically, Locative Demonstratives behave as enclitics.

- (5.59) isay sen siya mapoled, ti'sa'i  
ʔisaj=**sin**=sija                      mə-puləd                      tiʔsaʔi  
be.at=**PROX.DEM.LOC**=3s.ABS    ST-sleep                      DIST.LOC  
'here is where he sleeps, and also there (far)' (72.14)

- (5.60) pag isay sina mudung-i ina  
pag    ʔisaj=**sina**                      muduŋ=i=ʔina  
if                      be.at=**MED.DEM.LOC**                      mountain=SPEC=MED.DEM.ABS  
'if he is there, on that mountain' (103.541)

- (5.61) may delan si'e, may delan sina  
maj    dəlan=**siʔi**                      maj    dəlan=sina  
have    path=**LPROX.DEM.LOC**                      have    path=MED.DEM.LOC

'there is a way there, (and also) a way there' (100.268)

- (5.62) Belen! ma'unad say, tolongan e' mo wadi!  
bilin maʔuna=d=**saj** tulun-an=əʔ=mu  
Belen say=d=**DIST.DEM.LOC** help-LV=1s.ABS=2.GEN

wadi

younger.sibling

'Belen, (I) said to her, help me sister' (100.826)

- (5.63) sa'ut yay ininta sa'i dibut-i  
saʔut=jaj ʔ<in>inta=ʔ=**saʔi**  
first=DIST.DEM.ABS <PRF.PV>see=1s.GEN=**FDIST.DEM.LOC**

dibut=i

dibut=SPEC

'I first saw him there, in Dibut' (99.610)

### 5.2.2.5 Similitive Demonstratives

The set of Similitive Demonstratives may appear as complements in Linked Phrases functioning as modifier of predicates (Examples 5.65, 5.68), or in predicate function (5.64, 5.66, 5.67).

The set of Similitive Demonstratives might be also analyzed as Prepositional Phrases (PPs) where 'the Preposition *uman* 'like, as'<sup>19</sup> is governing a Locative Phrase realized by the set of enclitic Locative Demonstratives (ex: *uman=say* 'like this'). There is some morpho-phonological evidence suggesting that these PPs are currently undergoing lexicalization, namely the aphaeresis process described in §3.2.5 where forms like /ʔumansin/ 'like this' and /ʔumansaj/ 'like that' are realized as [man'sin] and [man'sai], most likely as a consequence of a rightward stress shift (originally located on the last syllable of *uman* /ʔu'man/). However, the fact that a number of other clitics may be placed between the two (Specificity Marker =*i*, enclitic Adverbs =*gul*, =*sela*, =*man*, =*na*, =*namud*, =*nen*) suggests that the lexicalization process is not complete.

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<sup>19</sup> The form *uman* /ʔuman/ is probably related to Alta hearsay particle /ʔan/, to which an <um> infix was added. The form /ʔan/ has cognates in a number of Luzon languages including Bontok (Lawrence Reid, personal communication, August 21, 2017), Casiguran Agta, Dupanangan Agta or Ilokano.

(5.64) pag umansen a minakayasan nen  
 pag **?umansin** ?a m<in>ə-kajas-an=nən  
 if **PROX.DEM.SML** LK POT.PV <PRF>-shave=already  
 'if (you) can shave (the rattan) like this' (119.007)

(5.65) pag may tinomubo a umansi'e  
 pag maj t<in><um>-ubu ?a **?umansi?i**  
 If have <PRF><AV>-grow LK **LPROX.DEM.SML**  
 'If it has grown this big' (93.490) (lit. if it has grown like this)

(5.66) umansina in tanem mo-i  
**?umansina** ?in tanəm=mu=i  
**MED.DEM.SML** ABS plant=2s.GEN=SPEC  
 'your plant is this big' (93.436) (lit. your plant is like this)

(5.67) umansay polung ni Alta-i dya'yay  
**?umansaj** puluŋ ni ?alta=i dija?jaj  
**DIST.DEM.SML** language GEN alta=SPEC now  
 'this is how the language of the Alta is now' (49.20)

(5.68) mendasal nen a umansa'i  
 mən-dasal=nən ?a **?umansa?i**  
 AV-pray=already LK **FDIST.DEM.SML**  
 '(he) prayed like that' (99.616)

### 5.2.2.6 *Tad-* Demonstratives

From a pragmatic perspective *tad-* Demonstratives are used when the speaker is looking for something and eventually finds it. This set of Demonstratives might have developed from a lexicalization of the Locative Article, the =*d* particle, and the set of Absolutive Demonstratives (=i'e, =ina, =yay). Semantically, the set also shows the distance distinction in the same way as the other Demonstratives.

The syntactic functions of *tad-* Demonstratives have not been investigated in depth. The examples below suggest that they mostly appear in predicate function, and thus seem to correspond with what Diessel (1999, p.9) describes as identificational demonstratives.

Table 5.7 *Tad-* Demonstratives

Distance	Form	Example
Proximal	<b>taden</b> /ta'din/	5.69
Less Proximal	<b>tadi'e</b> /tadi'ʔi/	5.70
Medial	<b>tadina</b> /ta'dina/	5.71
Distal	<b>tadyay</b> /tad'jaj/	5.72
Far Distal	<b>tadya'i</b> /tadja'ʔi/	5.73

(5.69) tadin in di'amiyu

**tadin**            ʔin    diʔamiju  
**PROX.DEM**    ABS    2p.LOC  
 'here is what is yours' (92.57)

(5.70) tadi'e butol na-i bebba'ik

**tadiʔi**            butul=na=i                            ba-baʔik  
**LPROX.DEM**    seed=3s.GEN=SPEC                RDP-small-  
 'there, the little seed of it' (93.425)

(5.71) adip man inalap? tadina-i

adinu=d=man            ʔ<in>alap  
 where=d=CNTR        <PRF>get

**tadina=i**  
**MED.DEM=SPEC**  
 'where did you get (it)? it was there' (95.092)

(5.72) tad yay inesabit nad in kardero na

**tadjaj**            ʔ<in>i-sabit=na=d                    ʔin    kardiru=na  
**DIST.DEM**    CV<PRF>-hang=3s.GEN=d    ABS    pot=3s.GEN  
 'there, she hung her pot' (106.7)

(5.73) tadya'i

**tadjaʔi**

## FDIST.DEM

'there it is!' (119.61)

### 5.2.3 Interrogative Pronouns

Interrogative Pronouns are a closed class of words occurring in clause initial position in content questions, unless they are preceded by vocatives (5.81) or topicalized elements (5.82). Some Interrogative Pronouns function as hosts of enclitics (5.74, 5.79, 5.80). Finally, as Examples (5.76, 5.80) show, some Interrogatives combine with a Linker Phrase.

Table 5.8 Interrogative Pronouns

Interrogative	Meaning	Example
<b>adino</b> /ʔa'dinu/	'where'	5.74
<b>aheno</b> /ʔa'hinu/	'what'	5.75
<b>anon</b> /ʔanun/	'why'	5.162
<b>anompan</b> /ʔa'numpan/	'why'	5.76
<b>kumusta</b> /kumus'ta/	'how is'	5.77
<b>ma'in</b> /'maʔin/	'why'	5.78
<b>nu'ano</b> /nu'ʔanu/	'when'	5.79
<b>papeno</b> /pa'pinu/	'how'	5.80
<b>sa'ano</b> /sa'ʔanu/	'how many/ much'	5.81
<b>tiyaheno</b> /tija'hinu/	'who'	5.82

(5.74) adino 'ad minenginad?

**ʔadinu**=ʔa=d            m<in>ən-gina=d  
where=2s.ABS=d        <PRF>AV-run=d  
'where did you run?' (99.1006)

(5.75) aheno eggagawin miyo bagay si'am ay may ritual?

**ʔahinu**            ʔəC-gagawi-ən=miju bagaj siʔam ʔaj    maj    rituwal  
what            PRG-do-PV=2p.GEN when 2p    PM    have    ritual  
'what do you do when you have a ritual?' (63.48)

(5.76) anompan a tinongaw nen

**ʔanumpan** ʔa t<in>uŋaw=nən  
 why LK <PRF.PV>mite=already  
 'why did it get (infested with) mites?' (92.470)

(5.77) **kumusta** 'ad?  
 kumusta=ʔa=d  
 how.are=2s.ABS=d  
 'how are you?' (507.06)

(5.78) ma'in minelined hid?  
**maʔin** m<in>ə-linəd=hid  
 why ST<PRF>-surprise=3s.ABS  
 'why were they surprised' (70.1.14)

(5.79) nu'ano 'a dinumateng  
**nuʔanu**=ʔa d<in><um>atəŋ  
 when=2s.ABS <PRF><AV>arrive  
 'when did you arrive? (08.37)

(5.80) papeno' sina a ume'ay Di'apinesan saka Gabaldon?  
**papinu**=ʔ= sina ʔa ʔ<um>əʔaj diʔapinisan  
 how=1s.GEN=MED.DEM.LOC LK <AV>go Dikapinisan  
 saka gabaldun  
 and Gabaldon  
 'how can I go there, to Dikapinisan and Gabaldon?' (82.037)

(5.81) si'aw man kumari, sa'ano ana' mo-i?  
 siʔaw=man kumari **saʔanu** ʔanaʔ=mu=i  
 2s=CNTR godmother<sup>20</sup> how.many child=2s.GEN=SPEC  
 'and you my dear, how many children do you have?' (88.201)  
 (lit. and you my dear, how many children of yours?)

(5.82) ana' ni Akin, in bunsu, ti ahenogul yad? Ti Lut  
 ʔanaʔ ni ʔakin ʔin bunsu **tiʔahinu**=gul=jaj=d

---

<sup>20</sup> The term *kumari* 'godmother' is also to address a female friend.

child GEN Akin ABS youngest.son who=emphasis=DIST.DEM.ABS=d

ti lut

ABS Lut

'the youngest son of Akin, who was it again, (ah) Lut!' (85.640)

## 5.3 Function words

The sections below explore the different classes of function words. A number of these classes consist of only a single member, including the Plural Marker, the Specificity Marker, the Predicate Marker, the Linker and the Negator.

### 5.3.1 Articles

Articles occur in the leftmost position of a DP. They mark case, specify number and distinguish between person and common words (§5.4.4). The distribution of Articles on the basis of the case they mark is explored in Chapter 6.

Table 5.9 Articles

Case /specificity	Person words		Common words		Deictic
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	
<b>Absolutive</b>	<b>ti</b>	<b>tid</b>	<b>in</b>	<b>siden</b>	-
<b>Genitive</b>	<b>ni</b>	<b>nid</b>	<b>ni</b>	<b>niden</b>	<b>nen</b>
<b>Locative</b>	<b>ni</b>	-	<b>ta</b>	<b>niden</b>	-
<b>Oblique</b>	-	-	<b>ti</b>	-	<b>ten</b>
<b>Non-specific</b>			<b>te</b> /tə/		

#### 5.3.1.1 Person word Articles

##### 5.3.1.1.1 Singular

(5.83) ti'sen mapoled ti Alex  
 tiʔsin mə-puled [ti ʔaliks]

PROX.DEM.LOC ST-sleep **ABS Alex**  
 'here is where Alex sleeps' (72.03)

(5.84) ama ni dila-i a Ramon  
 ʔama [ni dilaʔi [ʔa ramun]]  
 father **GEN** uncle LK **Ramon**  
 '(the) father of uncle Ramon' (103.504)

(5.85) awon 'ami mengotan ni Maricel  
 ʔawun=ʔami mən-ʔutan [ni marisil]  
 not.exist=1pe.ABS AV-borrow **LOC Maricel**  
 'we do not borrow (money) from Maricel' (86.425)

### 5.3.1.1.2 Plural

(5.86) imangən mo tid wadim  
 ʔimaŋ-ən=mu [tid wadi=m]  
 protect-PV=1s.GEN **PL.ABS** younger.sibling=2s.GEN  
 'take care of your siblings' (61.03)

(5.87) siyad in limoy nid Lulia ten kinasal sid  
 sija=d ʔin limuj [nid lulja]  
 3s=d ABS piece.of.cloth **PL.GEN** Lulia  
  
 tən k<in>asal=sid  
 when <PRF>marry=3s.ABS  
 'this (salago) is the piece of cloth of Lulia (and her fiancée) when they were married' (99.393)

### 5.3.1.2 Common word Articles

#### 5.3.1.2.1 Singular

(5.88) isay sina minate'nag in eroplano  
 ʔisaj=sina m<in>ə-təʔnag [ʔin ʔiruplanu]  
 be.at=MED.DEM.LOC ST<PRF>-fall **ABS airplane**  
 'there is where the airplane crashed' (103.103)



(5.89) pag may aso, eddamolagen ni aso-i  
 pag maj ʔasu ʔəC-damulag-ən [ni ʔasu=i]  
 if have dog PRG-chase-PV **GEN dog=SPEC**  
 'if there is a dog, the dog hunts' (61.71)

(5.90) Lin, mengolas 'a ti pingan-i  
 lin məŋ-ʔulas=ʔa [ti piŋan=i]  
 Lin AV-wash=2s.ABS **OBL dish=SPEC**  
 'Lin, wash the dishes' (38.05)

(5.91) panga awon nen mengan ta beli  
 paŋa ʔawun=nən məŋ-ʔan [ta bæli]  
 when not.exist=already AV-eat **LOC house**  
 'once there is nothing left to eat at home' (19.06)

(5.92) awo' sepla te asawa  
 ʔawun=sipla [tə ʔasawa]  
 not.exist=still **NSP spouse**  
 'I was not married yet' (76.015)

### 5.3.1.2.2 Plural

(5.93) annolen 'o siden tatlo a pemet'akad  
 ʔannul-ən=ʔu [sidən tatlu [ʔa pəmətʔaka=d]]  
 know-PV=1s.GEN **PL.ABS** three LK **sibling=d**  
 'I know them, the three brothers' (52.154)

(5.94) kaya annolen niden ana' 'o a apat  
 kaja ʔannul-ən [nidən ʔanaʔ=ʔu [ʔa ʔapat]]  
 thus know-PV **PL.GEN** **child=1s.GEN** LK four  
 'so my four children know (the Alta language)' (49.67)

(5.95) sidded man in mengated hela ti malimbuj niden altan-i sid  
 siddə=d=man ʔin məŋ-ʔatəd=hila ti malimbuj  
 3p=d=CNTR ABS AV-give=also OBL money

[nidən           ʔaʔaltan=i=sid]  
**PL.LOC       alta.tribe=SPEC=PL**

'they are also the ones who give some money to the Alta tribe' (75.71)

### 5.3.1.3 The Articles *nen* and *ten*

The Articles *nen* and *ten* mark DPs for the Genitive and Oblique case respectively (see §6 for a description of case relations) and in addition, they add a deictic meaning to the DP they mark. However, as opposed to Demonstratives (which may also function as determiners §5.2.2) *nen* and *ten* do not distinguish distance, and may not stand as Pronouns. The examples below show that their syntactic distribution is similar to case-marking Articles and for this reason we consider them to belong to the word class of Articles. On the basis of their semantics they could be subcategorized as deictic Articles.

#### 5.3.1.3.1 The Article *nen*

*Nen* marks a DP for the Genitive case, thus, constituents marked by *nen* may appear in modifier function in which they carry the possessor role (Example 5.96, 5.97). They can also function as arguments, in which they express the actor role (5.97):

- (5.96)     palitan nad man nen in beli nen aparato  
           palit-an=na=d=mannən                   ʔin    bəli    [nən           ʔaparatu]  
           change-LV=3s.GEN=d=again       ABS   house **D.GEN**       device  
           'he is changing again the frame of this device' (104.567)

- (5.97)     aliyo'en nen halapowan na in huli nen aso na  
           ʔaliju-ən       [nən           halapowan=na]       ʔin    huli  
           search-PV     **D.GEN**        ancestor=3s.GEN   ABS   hunt

[nən           ʔasu=na]  
**D.GEN**       dog=3s.GEN

'these ancestors of him would look for the game of his dog' (54.17)

#### 5.3.1.3.2 The Article *ten*

The Article *ten* marks a DP for the Oblique case. Therefore, as the examples below show, DPs marked by *ten* appear in argument function, carrying an undergoer role in clauses with bivalent and trivalent predicates (5.98 and 5.99 respectively).

- (5.98) kaya me'una=' gul ten apo ay me''aral 'am a mapiya  
 kaja məʔuna=ʔ=gul [tən ʔapu]  
 thus say=1s.ABS=EMPH **OBL** grandson
- ʔaj mən-ʔaral=ʔam ʔa mə-pija  
 PM AV-study=2s.ABS LK ST-beauty  
 'so I say to these grandsons of mine: "study hard"' (97.763)

- (5.99) ibbide' ten ana' 'o  
 ʔi-biddə=ʔ [tən ʔanaʔ=ʔu]  
 CV-say=1s.GEN **OBL** child=1s.GEN  
 'I told (it) to that child of mine' (82.053)

The Article *ten* may also form Oblique temporal DPs (as in Examples 4.11 and 4.52) and Oblique locative DPs (see Examples 6.92 and 6.93) in adjunct function.

Finally, *ten* is also classified as a Subordinate Conjunction, which introduces Subordinate clauses with temporal meaning (see Table 5.12 in §5.3.9). It is likely that the Conjunction *ten* may have developed from the Article *ten*, through a grammaticalization process, and is on its way to being stripped of its case marking properties and deictic meaning.

#### 5.3.1.4 The non-specific Article *te*

The non-specific Article *te* appears in clauses with predicates headed by the negative Existential *awon* (§4.3.3.3), and precedes referents that cannot be identified.

- (5.100) duwa namud in ana' mi a awon te sanga  
 duwa=namud ʔin ʔanaʔ=mi ʔa ʔawun [tə saŋa]  
 two=just ABS children=1pe.GEN LK not.exist NSP wife  
 'only two of our children are single' (69.12) (lit. two only are the children of  
 ours who have no wife)

- (5.101) kaya awon nen te waget  
 kaja ʔawun=nən [tə waget]  
 because not.exist=already NSP water  
 'because there is no water anymore' (103.573)

### 5.3.2 Plural Marker =*sid*

The Plural Marker *sid* /=*sid*/ is a function word that occurs in the rightmost position of DPs and UPs, and marks a phrase for plurality. The marker *sid* is probably a development of the homophonous Absolutive third person plural Pronoun. However, the Plural Marker is not marked for case and is thus compatible with DPs marked with any case. The examples below include instances of *sid* marking an Oblique DP (5.102), and a Genitive DP (5.103). The Plural Marker may also mark the lexical head of a UP (Examples 5.104 and 5.105).

The Plural Marker *sid* is an enclitic, and usually appears at the very end of a clitic sequence, behind other enclitics such as Personal Pronouns or the Specificier particle. From a phonetic perspective the marker *sid* has two possible realizations: [=*sid*] and [=hid].

- (5.102) kaya meiwadde a elan a mengated ti ana'o-i-sid  
 kaja majwaddə ʔa ʔilan ʔa məŋ-ʔatəd  
 so have LK companion LK AV-give  
 ti ʔanaʔ=ʔu=i=**sid**  
 OBL child=1s.GEN=SPEC=**PL**  
 'so I have a companion who provides for my children' (61.44)

- (5.103) kasi, istoria ni ninuno mi sid  
 kasi ʔistoria ni ninunu=mi=**sid**  
 because story GEN ancestors=1pe.GEN=**PL**  
 'because the story of our ancestors' (103.889)

- (5.104) kung baga, proyecto sid a iye'alo'  
 kuŋbaga prujiktu=**sid** ʔa ʔi-ʔəC-ʔaluʔ  
 if.say project=**PL** LK CV-PRG-offer  
 'actually the projects that were being offered' (91.582)

- (5.105) aliyo'e 'od balobu sid  
 ʔalijuʔ-ən=ʔu=d balobu=**sid**  
 search-PV=1s.GEN=d balobo.tree=**PL**  
 'I search for the Balobo trees (because the orchids grow next to them)'  
 (97.723)

### 5.3.3 Specificity Marker =i

The Specificity Marker =i marks the head of a phrase as specific. Possible heads of phrases include U-words (5.106), V-words (5.108) and certain Demonstratives (5.71). It can also be attached to place nouns (see Examples 5.48, 5.63, 5.107), which is interesting considering the fact that place nouns are inherently specific. As the examples below show, the Specificity Marker appears in DPs and UPs with different functions, such as argument (5.108), modifier (5.106), adjunct (5.107) or topic (5.109).

The Specificity Marker is an enclitic particle, and thus it is phonologically attached to its host, which is the head of the phrase. As for its position in relation to other enclitics, Examples (5.106, 5.107) show that the Specificity Marker is placed right after the host, unless there are enclitic Personal Pronouns, which would be then placed before it (5.109). The only enclitic particle that appears after the specifier is the Plural Marker =sid (5.102).

(5.106) tapos, siden gamit ni hapon-i  
 tapus [sidən gamit ni [hapun=i]]  
 then ABS.PL tool GEN Japanese=**SPEC**  
 'and (they buried) also the tools that belonged to the Japanese' (103.54)

(5.107) panga aliyo 'o ti Somili  
 paŋa ʔaliju=ʔu [ti [sumil=i]]  
 when hunt=1s.GEN OBL Somil=**SPEC**  
 'when I hunt in Somil' (53.59)

(5.108) kaya ado sen sumesdep-i  
 kaja ʔadu=sin [s<um>s-dəp=i]  
 thus many=PROX.DEM.LOC <AV>RDP-enter=**SPEC**  
 'because many are the ones that are coming in here' (103.153)

(5.109) ngadden na'i Alobasa  
 [[ŋaddən=na]=i] ʔalubasa  
 name=3s.GEN=**SPEC** pumpkin  
 'its name is Alobasa (pumpkin)' (94.329)

In the following example, the specificity particle appears in the rightmost of a DP in which a Demonstrative occupies the Article slot. The phrase is headed by the U-word *kujug* 'friend'

and is modified by a Genitive Pronoun. Although the specifier is placed behind the Genitive Pronoun, it is not marking the Pronoun alone, but the whole DP [*niʔniʔi kuyug=ʔu*] ‘that friend of mine’. The bracketing of the following example attempts to illustrate the structure.

- (5.110)    inalap e' ni'ni'e, kuyog o'i  
           ʔ<in>alap=əʔ            [[niʔniʔi            [kuyug=ʔu]]=i]  
           <PRF>get=1s.ABS    LPROX.DEM.GEN    friend=1s.GEN=**SPEC**  
           ‘that friend of mine took me’ (98.346)

From a morphophonological perspective, the Specificity Marker triggers a number of morphophonological alternations depending on the form of the preceding element, including gemination, epenthesis or stress change (§3.2).

Specificity Markers are also identified in neighboring Philippine languages such as Arta or Dupaninan Agta. Kimoto (2017, p.193) considers that the Arta specific marker =*i* “signals that the referent is specific, known to the speaker, and a concrete entity”. For Dupaninan Agta, Robinson (2008, p.93) distinguishes specificity from definiteness: “specificity, in contrast, implies only that the entity being referred to is specific, not necessarily that it is known to the listener”. As for Northern Alta, the semantic properties of the specificity particle have not yet been investigated in depth.

### 5.3.4 Predicate Marker *ay*

The Predicate Marker introduces the predicate phrase in clauses with a fronted topic (see §4.2.8). The use of the PM is optional, and an intonational break may appear alternatively (see Example 4.43).

- (5.111)    i'en ay tanodan mo ti tatlo-i a bulan  
           ʔiʔin            [**ʔaj**    [tanud-an]]=mu            ti            tatlu=i            ʔa bulan  
           PROX.DEM    PM            wait-LV=2s.GEN            OBL    three=SPEC    LK month  
           ‘as for this, you wait three months’ (95.215)

Other terms for this type of function word in Philippine literature include “topic linker” (Liao, 2004, p.221, Ruffolo, 2004, p.468), “inversion ligature” (Rubino, 1997, p.492) and “topical particle” (Kimoto, 2017, p.173).

### 5.3.5 The *a* Linker

The Linker particle *a* /ʔa/ (LK) is a function word that is used to form Linker Phrases (§4.2.9), which are phrases that function as modifiers (of arguments, predicates and adjuncts) or as complements of Existentials. The LK is placed in the leftmost position of the Linker Phrase (LP), and follows directly the constituent that it modifies.

In the example below, the LK forms the Linker Phrase [*a Bulldozer*], which functions as a modifier of the argument *tena* ‘mother’:

- (5.112) adino 'am nenʔ, ma'unad tena a Bulldozer  
 ʔadinu=ʔam=nən                      maʔuna=d    [tina            **[ʔa**    buldusir]]  
 where=2p.ABS=already              say=d              ABS.mother    LK            bulldozer  
 ‘where are you now? mother “bulldozer” said’ (100.342)

### 5.3.6 The Negator *bisa*

*Bisa* forms negative predicates together with Linker Phrases or Determiner Phrases. The structure [*bisa* + LP] forms the predicate in (5.113, 5.115, 5.116, 5.117, 5.118, 5.120). The complement of the Linker may be a U-word (5.113), a DP (5.115), a PP (5.116), a Demonstrative (5.117 – 5.118) or a V-word (5.120). Example (5.114) shows the Negator *bisa* forming a predicate together with a DP. *Bisa* is also used in confirmation-questions (5.119).

- (5.113) bisa'e a Alta  
**bisa**=əʔ                      ʔa      ʔalta  
 NEG=1s.ABS              LK      alta  
 ‘I am not an Alta’ (069.15)
- (5.114) bisa'en in tunay a ginto  
**bisa**=ʔin                      ʔin      tunaj    ʔa      gintu  
 NEG=PROX.DEM.ABS      ABS    pure    LK      gold  
 ‘this is not pure gold’ (103.351)
- (5.115) isay di'ami iye'ated ni mahali a panginoon bisa a ti aduwani  
 ʔisai    diʔami              ʔi-ʔəC-ʔatəd    ni      mahal=i      ʔa      paninuʔun  
 be.at    1pi.LOC              CV-PRG-give GEN    dear=SPEC    LK      lord

bisa ?a ti ?aduwan=i

NEG LK OBL other=SPEC

'it was given to us by the dear Lord, not to the others' (103.263)

(5.116) bisa a anig ten demo

bisa ?a ?anig tən dəmu

NEG LK like OBL first

'it is not like in the beginning' (65.04)

(5.117) ay bisa a umansina menlaba-i

?aj bisa ?a ?umansina mən-laba=i

PM NEG LK MED.DEM.SML AV-wash=SPEC

'this is not the (right) way to wash clothes' (88.543)

(5.118) di'etam ina a waget, bisad a ina a didde

di?itam=?ina ?a wagət

1pi.LOC=MED.DEM.ABS LK water

bisa=d ?a=?ina ?a diddə

NEG=d LK=MED.DEM.ABS LK 3s.LOC

'this river is ours, it is not theirs' (88.389)

(5.119) Bisa bat tena tam sela minenganop

bisa=bat tina=tam=sila m<in>əŋ-?anup

NEG=Q ABS.mother=1pi.GEN=also AV<PRF>-hunt

'our mum was also a hunter, wasn't she?' (100.952)

(5.120) ten arraw ay bisad a binaldi, piningey

ten ?araw ?aj bisa=d ?a b<in>aldi

when day PM NEG=d LK <PRF>bucket

p<in>inəj

<PRF>bundle

'back in these days rice was not measured by bucket but by bundle' (76.298)



### 5.3.7 Prepositions

Prepositions are words that may precede a phrasal constituent, for example a DP, UP, Personal Pronoun or Demonstrative, forming a single constituent called a Prepositional Phrase (§4.2.7). Table 5.10 presents the elements that may function as Prepositions, as well as the kinds of complements they may govern, and some examples.

Table 5.10 Prepositions

Preposition	Meaning	Kind of complement	Number
<b>anig</b> /ʔanig/	like	GEN DP	5.121
		OBL DP	5.122
<b>hangan</b> /hanʔgan/	until	LOC DP	5.123
		UP (location)	5.123
		LOC DEM	5.124
<b>para</b> /'para/	for, in order to	OBL DP	5.125
		LOC Pronoun	5.125
<b>uman</b> /ʔu'man/	like	OBL DP	5.126
		GEN DEM	5.52

(5.121) anig ni barangay Diteki, inalokan hid ti hidro-i

**[ʔanig** [ni barangaj ditiki]]  
like GEN barangay Diteki

ʔ<in>aluku-an=hid ti hajdru=i  
<PRF>fool-LV=3s.ABS OBL hydro=SPEC

'like the barangay Diteki, they were fooled with the hydro (project)' (91.738)

(5.122) anig ti mano' ni talon-i

**[ʔanig** [ti manuʔ ni talun=i]]  
like OBL chicken GEN forest=SPEC

'(I use the gun to hunt animals) like chicken of the forest' (92.457)

(5.123) duwa a buwan a um'ikot, hangan ta Dianed, hangan ta Dicoliat, hangan Dibut

duwa ʔa buwan ʔa ʔ<um>ʔikut

two LK month LK <AV>travel

**[hangan** [ta dijanid]]

until LOC Dianed

**[hangan** [ta dikulijat]] **[hangan** [dibut]]

until LOC Dicoliat until Dibut

'we travelled for two months, until Dianed, until Dicoliat, until Dibut' (77.10)

(5.124) hangan ti'sen egguyoden mi

**[hangan** [ti'sen]]  $\text{?eC-gujud-en=mi}$

until PROX.DEM.LOC PRG-pull-PV=1pe.GEN

'we pull (the rattan) until here' (119.082)

(5.125) i'yay ay awon para di'ami, para ti gobierno-i

$\text{?i?aj}$   $\text{?aj}$   $\text{?awun}$  **[para** [di?ami]]

MED.DEM PM not.exist for 1pi.LOC

**[para** [ti gubjirnu=i]]

for OBL government=SPEC

'his is not for us, it is for the government' (103.166)

(5.126) pero ittibeng 'od uman ti uni ni kalaw-i

piru  $\text{?i-tibəŋ=?u=d}$  **[?uman** [ti ?uni

but CV-hear=1s.GEN=d like OBL sound

ni kalaw=i]]

GEN kalaw=SPEC

'but I heard (something) like the sound of a *kalaw* bird' (100.786)

### 5.3.8 Coordinate Conjunctions

Coordinate Conjunctions are function words that link two constituents of equal rank. Table 5.11 below shows the Coordinate Conjunction with the types of coordinated unit and one example number. The table is followed by some glossed examples.

Table 5.11 Coordinate Conjunctions

Coordinate Conjunction	Meaning	Kind of coordinated linguistic units	Example
<b>at</b> /ʔat/	and	Ups	5.127
		DPs	5.128
		Dems	5.129
		Clauses	5.191
<b>at saka</b> /ʔatsa'ka/	and	DPs, Pronouns	5.130
		Clauses	5.131
<b>kesa</b> /'kisa/	than	AdvPs	5.132
<b>kesara</b> /kisa'ra/	than	DPs, Pronouns	5.133
		AdvPs	5.134
<b>o</b> /ʔu/	or	DPs	5.135
		Dems	5.136
		AdvPs	4.17
		Clauses	5.137
<b>pero</b> /'piru/	but	Clauses	5.138
<b>saka</b> /saka/	and	Ups	5.80
		Dems	5.56
		AdvPs	5.139
		Clauses	5.140

(5.127) isay sina tidyama at tiddena  
 ʔisaj=sina                                      [tidijama]        ʔat        [tiddina]  
 be.at=MED.DEM.LOC                      fathers                      and                      mothers  
 '(our) fathers and mothers stayed there (by that river)' (88.022)

(5.128) isay sen sinoma'lan ni sir at ni mum  
 ʔisaj=sin                                              s<in><um>aʔlang  
 be.at=PROX.DEM.LOC                      <PRF><AV>front  
  
 [ni    sir]        ʔat        [ni    madam]  
 GEN    sir                      and                      GEN    madam  
 'he is here, front of Sir (Alex) and Madam (Marilyn)' (58.50)

(5.129) ay addiyo i'en at i'yay dianawan-i  
 ʔaj ʔaddiju [ʔiʔin] ʔat [ʔiʔaj dijanawan=i]  
 INTJ far PROX.DEM and DIST.DEM Dianawan=SPEC  
 'this (place) and that Dianawan place are far away' (76.467)

(5.130) tapos ti Alex at saka si'en  
 tapus [ti ʔaliks] ʔatsaka [siʔən]  
 then ABS Alex and 1s  
 'and then Alex and also me' (70.42)

(5.131) umay'am tuma'yong ti wageti at saka me'ayuh, men walis  
 [ʔ<um>aj=ʔam t<um>aʔjuŋ ti wagət=i]  
 <AV>go=2p.ABS <AV>fetch OBL water=SPEC

ʔatsaka [mən-ʔayuh] [mən-walis]  
 and AV-wood AV-sweep  
 'you (pl) go to fetch water and collect wood, and sweep' (61.11)

(5.132) pero mas melo'ag tarabaho'i ten araw kesa dya'yay  
 piru mas mə-luʔag tarabahu=i  
 but more ST-easiness work=SPEC

[tən ʔaraw] kisa [dijaʔaj]  
 OBL day than now  
 'but working (for a living) was easier back in these days than now' (91.338)

(5.133) meganda in sinelas 'o kesara diya  
 mə-ganda [ʔin sinilas=ʔu] kisa [dija]  
 ST-beauty ABS flip.flops=1s.ABS than 3s.LOC  
 'my flip-flops are nicer than his ones' (76.165)

(5.134) mesmaganda hep buhay-i ten araw kesara dya'yay  
 məs mə-ganda=sip buhaj=i  
 more ST-beauty=still life=SPEC

[tən ʔaraw]            **kisara**            [dijaʔjaj]  
 OBL day            than            now  
 'life back in these days was better than now' (91.678)

(5.135) pag isay sinad in laman o in usah  
 pag isaj=sina=d            [ʔin laman]  
 if be.at=MED.DEM.LOC=d    ABS wild.pig  
  
**ʔu** [ʔin ʔusah]  
 or ABS deer  
 'if the wild big or the deer gets there (what would you do)' (92.531)

(5.136) pag minen'ana' en ti'sen o ti'sina  
 pag m<in>ən-ʔana=ʔin            [tiʔsin]            **ʔu**  
 if AV<PRF>-child=PROX.DEM.ABS    PROX.DEM.LOC    or  
  
 [tiʔsina]  
 MED.DEM.LOC  
 'If that reproduces here or there' (94.026)

(5.137) bahalad sid kung e" a'dan de 'ami o awon  
 bahala=d=sid            kunj  
 depending=d=3s.ABS            if  
  
 [ʔəC-ʔatəd-an=də =ʔami]            **ʔu**    [ʔawun]  
 PRG-give-LV=3pGEN=1pe.ABS    or    not.exist  
 'it depends on them, whether they give us (some gold) or not' (103.173)

(5.138) me'itnud ami say a duwa pero aloben 'o in sarili  
 [mə-ʔitnud=ʔami=saj]            ʔa    duwa] **piru**  
 ST-sit=1pe.ABS=DIST.DEM.LOC    LK    two    but  
  
 [ʔalub-ən=ʔu            ʔin    sarili]  
 smell-PV=1s.ABS    ABS    self  
 'the two of us were sitting there, but I smelled myself' (100.844)

- (5.139) kumparam in buhay tam ten ana' 'itam saka dya'yay  
 kumpara=m                    ?in    buhaj=tam  
 compare=2s.GEN    ABS    life=1pi.GEN
- [ten ana?=?itam]                    **saka** [dija?jaj]  
 when child=1pe.ABS                    and    now  
 'compare our life when we were children and nowadays' (98.004)
- (5.140) igisa na in upu saka na sahogan ten udang  
 [?i-gisa=na                    ?in    ?upu] **saka**[=na  
 CV-cook=3s.GEN    ABS    gourd and=3s.GEN
- sahug-an            ten    ?udan]  
 mix-LV            OBL    shrimp  
 'she cooks the gourd and then mixes it with the shrimps' (107.69)

### 5.3.9 Subordinate Conjunctions

Subordinating Conjunctions are function words that link a dependent clause to a main clause. Table 5.12 below shows the Subordinate Conjunctions, with the meaning denoted and an example number. The table is followed by glossed examples.

Table 5.12 Subordinate Conjunctions

Form	Meaning	Example
<b>bagay</b> /'bagai/	when, then	5.141
<b>balu</b> /'balu/	before	5.142, 5.143
<b>da</b> /da/	since, because	5.144
<b>dahil</b> /'dahil/	because	5.145
<b>habang</b> /'haban/	while	5.146
<b>hangan</b> /ha'ngan/	even if	5.147
<b>kasi</b> /ka'si/	because	5.148
<b>kaya</b> /ka'ja/	thus	5.149
<b>kayadla</b> /kaja'dla/	but, however	5.150
<b>kung</b> /kun/	if	5.151
<b>pag</b> /pag/	if, when	5.152

<b>pagka/pag'ka/</b>	if, when	5.153
<b>pero /'piru/</b>	but	5.154
<b>ten /tən/</b>	when	5.155

(5.141) ay aheno eggagawin miyo bagay si'am ay may ritual

ʔaj ʔahinu ʔəC-gagawi=ən=miju

INTJ what PRG-do=PV=2p.GEN

**[bagaj** si'am ʔaj maj rituwal]

when 2p PM have ritual

'what would you do when performing a ritual?' (63.48)

(5.142) dapat limma sep a ta'on balo mengiyan

dapat limma=sip ʔa taʔun **[balu** mən-ʔijan]

should five=still LK year before AV-fruit

'there should still be five years before (it) bears fruit' (94.709)

(5.143) tanodan tam sa'ano a sinag, sa'ano a bulan, balo mən'huli

tanud-an=tam saʔanu ʔa sinag

wait-LV=1pi.GEN few LK day

saʔanu ʔa bulan **[balu** mən-huli]

few LK month before AV-hunt

'we wait (for the snare) for a few days or months before we catch anything'  
(92.326)

(5.144) awon 'o man te magagawi da awon 'o man te sasakyan

ʔawun=ʔu=man tə mə-gagawi

not.exist=1s.GEN=CNTR NSP POT.PV-do

**[da** ʔawun=ʔu=man tə sasakijan]

because not.exist=1s.GEN=CONTR NSP vehicle

'there is nothing I can do because I don't have a vehicle' (58.35)

(5.145) ngo'an mi 'en ay Coronang Tinik dahil ado te set





'it can be used as a pillar of a house, if you chop the blongay tree, because it's hard' (515.39)

(5.149) epat sep minedagdag-i kaya limma a ana' owi

?əpat=sip      m<in>ə-dagdag=i  
four=still      POT.PV<PRF>add=SPEC

**[kaja**      limma      ?a      ?ana?=?u=i]  
thus      five      LK      child=1s.GEN=SPEC

'we still had four more so I have five children' (69.38)

(lit. four were the ones I could still add, thus five are my children)

(5.150) maiwadded man sepla kayadla awon nen mesyado

majwaddə=man=sipla      **[kajadla**      ?awun=nən      məsijadu]  
have=CNTR=still      but      not.exist=already      much

'there is still (some of our culture) but not much anymore' (99.382)

(5.151) tumbag 'a kung budim a eg'angen in taba'om

t<um>bag=?a      **[kuŋ**      budi=m  
<AV>reply=2s.ABS      if      want=2s.GEN

?a      ?əg?aŋ-ən      ?in      taba?u=m]  
LK      remove-PV      ABS      tobacco=2s.GEN

'tell me, do you agree to quit smoking?' (21.10)

(lit. you reply, if you want to quit the tobacco of yours)

(5.152) melanislanis pag inelutom ti asin at bitsin-i

mə-lanis-lanis      **[pag**      ?<in>i-lutu=m  
ST-RDP-sweetness      if      CV<PRF> -cook=2s.GEN

ti      ?asin      ?at      bitsin=i]  
OBL      salt      and      MSG=SPEC

'it is very sweet, if you cook it with salt and MSG<sup>22</sup>' (94.300)

(5.153) mensiya mensiya pagka awon na'a ininta

---

<sup>22</sup> MSG is an acronym of Monosodium Glutamate

mən-sija      mən-sija      [pagka  
 AV-cry      AV-cry      when

ʔawun=na=ʔa      ʔ<in>inta]  
 not.exist=3s.GEN=2s.ABS <PRF>see  
 'he cries and cries when he does not see you' (94.300)

(5.154) puwede siya a ulam pero in doon na awon te pa'enabang  
 pwidi=sija    ʔa    ʔulam [piru    ʔin    dun=na  
 can=3s.ABS LK    viand but    ABS    leave=3s.GEN

ʔawun      tə      paʔinabaŋ]  
 not.exist      NSP    profit  
 'it can be a viand but its leaves are not nutritious' (95.200)  
 (lit. It can be a viand but its leaves, it does not exist any profit)

(5.155) sidde in elan mi a mineng'ut'ut, ten essimolan mid a ut'utan yay  
 sidde ʔin    ʔilan=mi      ʔa    m<in>əŋ-ʔutʔut  
 3s    ABS    companion=1pe.GEN      LK    AV<PRF> -dig

[tən    ʔəC-simul-an=mi=d      ʔa    ʔutʔut-an=jaj]  
 when PRG-start-LV=1pe.GEN=d LK    dig-LV=DIST.DEM.ABS  
 'they were the ones that were digging with us, when we started digging that'  
 (103.09)

## 5.4 Content words

### 5.4.1 Introduction: syntactic distribution of content words

In order to address the problem of the classification of content words, let us consider the following V-words: *mengan* 'to eat', *mensuli* 'to return' and *men'aral* 'to study', all of which denote actions. Consider as well the U-word *alta* 'person', the U-word referring to the animal *baye* 'baye fish', and the U-word *de'el* 'largeness', which denotes a property. Consider now the following examples:

(5.156) **Predicate function**

- a     mengan e' sela  
mən-ʔan=əʔ=sila  
 AV-eat=1s.ABS=also  
 'I also eat (ate)' (92.487)
- b     alta e' sela  
ʔalta=əʔ=sila  
 person=1s.ABS=also  
 'I am also a (Alta) person' (98.368)
- c     kayadla baye' namud mahuli-i sina  
 kajadla         **bajəʔ**=namud         mə-huli=i=sina  
 however         baye.fish=just         POT.PV-hunt=SPEC=MED.DEM.LOC  
 'however, the one (fish) that is possible to catch there is just the baye' (85.161)
- d     de'el in tama na  
dəʔəl         ʔin     tama=na  
 big             ABS     wound=3s.GEN  
 'his wound is big' (85.80)

**(5.157) Argument function**

- a     siyad yay in mensoli  
 sija=d=jaj                             [ʔin   **mən-suli**]  
 3s=d=DIST.DEM.ABS             ABS    AV-return  
 'that (the nail) is the one that grows again' (95.140)
- b     minasipel nen in Alta  
 m<in>ə-sipəl=nən                     [ʔin   **ʔalta**]  
 ST<PRF>-happiness=already         ABS    alta  
 '(when peace was made with the Ilongot tribe) the Alta got happy' (506.31)
- c     siyad yay in baye  
 sija=d=jaj                             [ʔin   **bajəʔ**]  
 3s=d=DIST.DEM.ABS             ABS    baye.fish

'that one is the *baye*' fish' (85.477)

- c in de'el, kasi, isay ti disalad-i ni'nən  
[ʔin **dəʔəl**] kasi ʔisaj ti disalad=i niʔnən  
ABS big thus be.at OBL under=SPEC PROX.DEM.GEN  
'because the big one (component) is located under that (part)' (104.129)

**(5.158) Modification function**

- a eddedden de sep ana'-i a me''aral  
ʔəC-əddən=də=sip [ʔanaʔ=i [ʔa **mənʔaral**]]  
PRG-load=3p.GEN=stil child=SPEC LK AV-study  
'they even carry the children who study' (109.253)

- b si'ami a Alta  
[siʔami [ʔa **ʔalta**]]  
1pe LK alta  
'us, the Alta' (68.23)

- c ado 'en a baye  
ʔadu=[ʔin [ʔa **bajəʔ**]]  
many=PROX.DEM.ABS LK *baye*.fish  
'there are many of these (fishes), that are baye' (85.160)

- d tapos may pon ni uwah=i Santol a de'el  
tapus maj [pun ni ʔuwah=i santul [ʔa **dəʔəl**]]  
then have tree GEN thing=SPEC santol LK largeness  
'then there was also the tree of, the big *santol* tree' (103.43)

The preceding examples show that words with different kinds of denotations and forms can perform the same syntactic functions. The examples provided in (5.156) show that the predicative function can not only be realized by the V-word *mengan*, but also by the U-word *alta* 'alta person', the U-word *baye*, and by the U-word *de'el*. In the same way, the sentences in Examples (5.157) and (5.158) show that these forms can also function as the argument and the complement in modifying Linker Phrases respectively. Moreover, none of the words require additional coding when performing different syntactic functions.

The fact that content words with different kinds of denotations and forms may perform the same syntactic function without additional coding suggests that these content words may not form distinct syntactic categories. This situation is reminiscent of the one described for Tagalog by Himmelmann (2008), who states that “almost all Tagalog content words may occur in exactly the same number and kinds of terminal positions in a phrase structure tree” and, in consequence, “content words are categorially indistinct with regard to syntactic categories” This analysis is referred to as the *syntactic uniformity hypothesis for content words*, and describes a situation where “all content words may occur, without further derivation or conversion, in the same kind of phrase-structural positions” (2008, p.14). If this hypothesis is also valid for Northern Alta there would be no syntactic categories such as noun, verb or adjective.

#### 5.4.1.1 V-words and Existentials as lexical heads of Determiner Phrases

As exemplified in (§4.2.1), V-words may stand alone as the head of a DP, or may also govern complements. In addition, Existentials and their complements may also appear in this position. This section provides some additional examples of DPs headed by V-words and some examples of DPs headed by Existentials.

Example (5.159) shows a DP headed by the action-word *mendiskarga*, which governs an Oblique complement, which is itself modified by a Genitive DP:

- (5.159) siya in mendiskarga ti karga-i ni baterija-i (104.458)  
 sija    [ʔin    [mən-diskarga            ti    karga=i  
 3s    **ABS**   AV-discharge            OBL   load=SPEC  
  
 ni    batirija=i]]  
 GEN   battery=SPEC  
 ‘that is the part that discharges the energy of the battery’ (104.458)

Enclitic Adverbs may be hosted by V-words in this position. The following example shows the V-word *mengated*, followed by the Enclitic Adverb =*man*, and by two DPs, (one Oblique and one Locative).

- (5.160) sidded man in mengated hela ti malimbuy niden altan-i sid (75-71)  
 siddə=d=man            [ʔin    [mən-ʔatəd=hila            ti    malimbuy

3s=d=CNTR                    **ABS** AV-give=also                    OBL    money

nidən                    ʔaʔaltan=i=sid]]

LOC.PL                    alta.tribe=SPEC=PL

'they are the ones who give money to the Alta' (75.71)

The following example shows the conveyance V-word *ini'ated* 'gave to' functioning as the lexical head of a DP. As we can see, words appearing in this position may also carry aspect affixes, such as the perfective infix <in>:

(5.161)    siya 'en in in'iated 'o di'aw

sija=ʔin                                            **[ʔin**    [ʔ<in>i-ʔatəd=ʔu                                            diʔaw]]

3s=PROX.DEM.ABS                                            **ABS** CV<PRF>-give=1s.GEN                                            2s.LOC

'that one is the one I gave you'

As mentioned above, DPs may also be headed by Existentials, which can also be followed by their complement. The next example shows a DP containing the Existential *awon* and its complement *te tarabaho*.

(5.162)    anon'a a binomudi ti awon te tarrabaho? ma'unad ti Don Pepe

ʔanun=ʔa                    ʔa                    b<in><um>udi

why=2s.ABS    LK                    <PRF><AV>-want

**[ti**    [ʔawun                    te                    tarabahu]]    maʔuna=d                    ti                    dunpipi

**ABS** not.exist                    NSP    work                    say=d                    ABS    Don.Pepe

'why did you love the one that does not have a job?, Don Pepe said' (53.55)

Finally, also Oblique DPs may have elements other than U-word as their head. In the next example the Oblique DP contains the Existential *isay* with its complement, which is another Oblique DP:

(5.163)    kung si'aw ay minpa'an ti isay ti mudung-i

kuŋ    siʔaw    ʔaj    mən-pa-ʔan    **[ti**    [ʔisaj    ti    muduŋ=i]]

if                    2s                    PM                    AV-CAU-eat    **OBL**    be.at    OBL    mountain=SPEC

'if you feed the ones (rebels) that stay in the mountains' (82.046)

## 5.4.2 Lexical classification of content words

When proposing a lexical classification of Tagalog content words, Himmelmann (2008, p.26) mentions that “all voice-marked words in Tagalog, regardless of their base, are members of a single morpho-lexical class, and that this class is different from other morpho-lexical classes”. In his view, only words that carry voice affixes belong to this class, which he calls V-class. We think that it is useful to adopt a similar way of classifying Northern Alta content words and also use the term V-words for words that carry voice affixes, and which are thus voice-marked. In contrast, we use the term U-words for those content words that do not carry voice affixation. V-words and U-words can be further distinguished on the basis of their subclasses and distribution. Table 5.13 below summarizes these properties:

Table 5.13 Properties of lexical classes V and U

	V-words	U-words
<b>Subclasses</b>	- Actor voice vs Undergoer voice - Dynamic vs Stative	Members of this class can be divided into person words and common words as each of the two classes uses a different set of Articles
<b>Inflection</b>	Aspect inflection	No inflection
<b>Co-occurrence with Genitive Personal Pronouns</b>	Only undergoer-voice marked members can be followed by Genitive Personal Pronouns, which function as argument, and play the actor role (clause level)	Members of this class can be modified by Genitive Personal Pronouns, which function as modifiers, expressing the possessor role (phrase level)
<b>Co-occurrence with the homophonous enclitic =<i>sid</i></b>	When = <i>sid</i> follows a member of this class, it is a third person plural Absolutive Personal Pronoun §5.2.1.2 (clause level)	When = <i>sid</i> follows a member of this class it functions as a Plural Marker §5.3.2 (phrase level)

### 5.4.2.1 Co-occurrence with Genitive Personal Pronouns

As we can see in the next two examples, the V-word *eg'ang-ən* and the U-word *la'ay* are both followed by the second person singular Personal Pronoun =*mu*. Although this Pronoun, which is enclitic, is attached to both content words, it bears a different function and a different interpretation in each case. When attached to the (undergoer voice) V-word, it functions as a

clausal argument and expresses the actor role, but when attached to a U-word, it functions as phrasal modifier (of the DP *in la'ay*), and carries the possessor role:

- (5.164) eg'angen mo in taba'o  
 ʔəgʔaŋ-ən[=**mu**] ʔin tabaʔu  
 remove-PV=2s.GEN ABS tobacco  
 'you (should) quit smoking' (21.05)

- (5.165) adinod in la'ay mo?  
 ʔadinu=d [ʔin laʔaj[=**mu**]]  
 where=d ABS old.man=2s.GEN  
 'where is your husband'? (100.199)

#### 5.4.2.2 Co-occurrence with the Pronoun =*sid* and the Plural Marker =*sid*

A similar situation occurs with the enclitic =*sid*: when it attaches to any kind of V-word it functions as a clausal argument, but when attached to a U-word, it functions as a phrasal modifier, marking the DP as plural:

- (5.166) minenla'ad sid ti mudung-i  
 m<in>ən-laʔad[=**sid**] ti muduŋ=i  
 AV<PRF>-walk=3p.ABS OBL mountain=SPEC  
 'they walked on the mountain' (100.286)

- (5.167) eg'angen de in karajum sid  
 ʔəgʔaŋ-ən=də [ʔin karajum[=**sid**]]  
 leave-PV=3s.GEN ABS needle=PL  
 'they remove the needles' (100.382)

#### 5.4.3 V-words

V-words form a subclass of content words that is morphologically distinguished by carrying a voice-affix and by the capacity of inflecting for aspect. They can be subcategorized formally on the basis of the affix they carry. Table 5.14 presents the main classes of V-words and provides some examples. V-words are further explored in §7.



Table 5.14 Subclasses of V-words

Class	Examples of Subclasses	Example of V-word	Meaning
Non derived	<b>UM</b> words	<um>e'ay /ʔ<um>əʔ'ʔaj/	to go
	<b>MEN</b> words	menla'ad /mən'laʔad/	to walk
	<b>MENG</b> words	meng-alap /mə'ŋalap/	to catch (something)
	<b>EN</b> words	alap-en /ʔa'lapən/	to get something
	<b>AN</b> words	ngo-'an /'ŋuʔan/	to name someone
	<b>I</b> words	i-dton /ʔid'tun/	to place something
Potentive	<b>ME</b> words <sup>23</sup>	me-'alap /mə'ʔalap/	to be able to catch
Stative	<b>ME</b> words	me-piya /mə'pija/	to be good, beautiful
Causative	<b>PA</b> words	men-pa-'an /mənpa'ʔan/	to feed
		ipa'inta /ʔipaʔin'ta/	to show something to someone

#### 5.4.4 U-words

U-words are subdivided in two main categories, which are marked by different forms of Articles, these are person words (proper names of persons, including kinship terms of address) and common words. However, the two classes can form the same types of phrases. Examples of the two subclasses with their corresponding Article sets are provided in the Articles section (§5.3.1). Table 5.17 below presents the semantic types belonging to each subcategory. As the table shows, the kinship terms of address are marked with person word Articles, belonging thus to the subclass of person words, while kinship terms of reference take common word Articles and thus belong to the subclass of common words.

Table 5.15 Subclasses of U-words

Subclass	Example	Meaning	Semantic type
Person words	Akin /'ʔakin/	name of a person	name
	Buldozer /bul'dusir/	nickname of Elena M.T.	nickname
	a'a /ʔa'ʔa/	older sibling	kinship (address)

<sup>23</sup> Note that Potentive and Stative words have more than one subclass. See §7.3 and §7.4 for a more detailed presentation of the subclasses of potentive and stative words respectively.

<b>Common words</b>	<b>alta</b> /'ʔalta/	alta person	human
	<b>sanga</b> /sa'ŋa/	spouse, companion	kinship (reference)
	<b>baye'</b> /ba'jəʔ/	type of fish	animal
	<b>salago</b> /sa'lagu/	type of plant	plant
	<b>peltag</b> /pəl'tag/	fishing spear	artifact
	<b>ngadden</b> /ŋad'dən/	name	abstract
	<b>lasat</b> /la'sat/	breast	body-part
	<b>de'el</b> /də'ʔəl/	largeness	property
	<b>dalam</b> /da'lam/	evening	time
	<b>digdig</b> /dig'dig/	edge	spatial relation

### 5.4.5 Adverbs

Adverbs are subclassified on the basis of their scope, syntactic function and position into Temporal Adverbs, Modal Adverbs and Enclitic Adverbs. While temporal Adverbs have a scope over the whole clause and function as adjuncts (although they may also form predicates), Modal and Enclitic Adverbs have scope over the predicate and function as modifiers of the predicate. In addition Modal Adverbs are distinct from Enclitic Adverbs on their placement, since the former precede the head of the predicate while the latter appear behind the head predicate and are phonologically attached to it. The following subsections explore the three subclasses of Adverbs, providing tables and examples.

#### 5.4.5.1 Temporal Adverbs

Temporal Adverbs are content words that form Adverbial Phrases (AdvPs, §4.2), a type of phrase which may function as adjunct, having scope over the whole clause. Temporal Adverbs may appear at the beginning of a clause or at the end.

**Table 5.16 Temporal Adverbs**

<b>Form</b>	<b>Meaning</b>	<b>Example</b>
<b>dya'yay</b> /'djaʔjaj/	'now'	5.168
<b>dati</b> /'dati/	originally	5.169
<b>menananih</b> /mə'nananih/	'soon'	5.170
<b>nanih</b> /'nanih/	'later'	5.171

<b>tempulab</b> /təmpu'lab/	'yesterday'	5.172
<b>ududma</b> /ʔudud'ma/	'tomorrow'	5.173

- (5.168) dya'yay ekkalasen 'o 'en  
**dijaʔjaj** ʔəC-kalas-ən=ʔu=ʔin  
now PRG-separate-PV=1s. GEN=PROX.DEM.ABS  
'now I am separating it' (104'210)
- (5.169) dati metapde e' na  
**dati** mə-tapdə=əʔ=na  
originally ST-fat=1s.ABS=already  
'originally I was fat' (76.092)
- (5.170) bagay inomuli amid ta San Luis, menananih menvertime 'ami  
bagaj ʔ<in><um>uli=ʔami=d ta sanluwis  
when <PRF><AV>-return=1pe.ABS LOC San.Luis  
  
**mənananih** mən-ʔubertajm=ʔami  
soon AV-extra.hours=1pi.ABS  
'when we go home to San Luis, we immediately get back to work' (77.70)
- (5.171) ududma ami wadi namud mentrabaho at mendilus ami nanih  
ʔududma=ʔami wadi=namud mən-tarabahu  
tomorrow=1pe.ABS younger.sibling=just AV-work  
  
ʔat mən-dilus=ami **nanih**  
and AV-bathe=1pe.ABS later  
'my brother, tomorrow we just work and later we have a bath' (76.490)
- (5.172) inomuli hila tempulab  
ʔ<in><um>uli=hila **təmpulab**  
<PRF><AV>-return=also yesterday  
'he went back home yesterday' (97.147)
- (5.173) kong baga awon amid te pagka'in ududma

kunɓaga      ʔawun=ʔami=d      tɛ      pagkaʔin      ʔududma  
 if.say      not.exist=1pe.ABS=d      NSP      food      tomorrow  
 'for example if we have no food tomorrow' (76.025)

### 5.4.5.2 Modal Adverbs

Modal Adverbs function as modifiers of the predicate and precede the head of the predicate:

Table 5.17 Predicate Adverbs

Form	Meaning	Example
<b>baka</b> /baka/	maybe	5.174
<b>basta</b> /basta/	just, as long as	5.175
<b>bihira</b> /bihira/	rarely	5.176
<b>halos</b> /halus/	almost	5.177
<b>mas</b> /mas/	more	5.178
<b>medio</b> /midju/	rather	5.179
<b>talaga</b> /talaga/	surely	5.180

(5.174) baka te'nag e' itad sen ni betuh-i  
**baka**      tɛʔnag=ɛʔ=ʔitam=d=sin  
 maybe      fall=1s.ABS=1pi.ABS=d=PROX.DEM.LOC

ni      bətuh=i  
 GEN      stone=SPEC  
 'maybe a rock will fall on me or us' (nalta100. 0817)

(5.175) ay menginging sepla abde'-i ni'a, bastad tumeldep 'am  
 ʔaj      mə-ŋiŋiŋ=sipla      ʔabdɛʔ=i      ni      ʔaʔa  
 PM      ST-shivering=still      body=SPEC      GEN      older.sibling

**basta**=d      t<um>əldɛp=ʔam  
 just=d      <AV>lift=2p.ABS  
 'my sister's body is still shivering, just lift (her) up' (76.463)

(5.176) dya'yay bihira='ad menginta

diʒaʒaj      **bihira**=ʔa=d      məŋ-ʔinta  
 now          rarely=2s.ABS=d      AV-see  
 'and now you rarely see (any animal)' (92.314)

(5.177) halos awon'a sep te mehuli  
**halos**          ʔawun=ʔa=sip          te      mə-huli  
 almost          not.exist=2s.ABS=still      NSP    POT.PV-hunt  
 'there is almost nothing for you to hunt yet' (99.552)

(5.178) mas bunsu hep in ama nena  
**mas**    bunsu=sip    ʔin    ʔama    nina  
 more    young=still    ABS    father    GEN.mother  
 'my mother's father is even younger' (52.83)

(5.179) medio mapet 'en  
**midju**    mapit=ʔin  
 rather    bitter=PROX.DEM.ABS  
 'that is somewhat bitter' (93.659)

(5.180) ay talaga me'iddemolag ami ta palengke  
 ʔaj    **talaga**          məʔi-dəmulag=ʔami          ta      paŋki  
 PM    surely          REC-chase=1pe.ABS          LOC    market  
 'we would of course chase each other at the market' (76.163)

### 5.4.5.3 Enclitic Adverbs

Enclitic Adverbs function as modifiers of the predicate and are attached to the head of the predicate. If the head of the predicate is preceded by a Negator or Existential, enclitic Adverbs attach to the form preceding the predicate. These particles convey meanings related to to speaker's attitude towards the state or action described in the predicate. At this stage of research the meanings of the enclitic Adverbs have not been thoroughly investigated yet.

Table 5.18 Enclitic Adverbs

Adverb	Gloss	Meaning	Example
= <b>'an</b> /= <b>ʔan</b> /	QUOT	hearsay	5.181
= <b>bali</b> /= <b>ba'li</b> /	surprise	surprise of a discovery	5.182

<b>=bat</b> /=bat/	Q	polar question	5.183
<b>=Ce</b> /=Cə/	already	already	5.184
<b>=d</b> /=d/	=d	?	5.185
<b>=dla</b> /=la/	only	only	5.186
<b>=gul</b> /=gul/	emphasis	emphasis	5.187
<b>=man</b> /=man/	CNTR	contrast	5.188
<b>=mannen</b> /=man'nən/	again	again	5.189
<b>=na</b> /=na/	already	already	5.190
<b>=nen</b> /=nən/	already	already	5.191, 5.192
<b>=namud</b> /='namud/	just	just	5.193
<b>=ngarod</b> <sup>24</sup> /=ŋa'rud/	then	consequence	5.194
<b>=ngay</b> /=ŋaj/	emphasis	emphasis	5.195
<b>=pa</b> /=pa/	still	still	5.196
<b>=pati</b> /=pa'ti/	even	even, including	5.197
<b>=sela</b> /='sila/	also	also	5.198
<b>=sep</b> /=sip/	still	still	5.199
<b>=sepla</b> /=sipla/	still	still	5.200
<b>=wada</b> /=wa'da/	perhaps	possibility	5.201

(5.181) meiwadde 'an sad a ininta siya  
 majwaddə=**?an**=saj=d                      ?a      ?<in>inta=sija  
 have=QUOT=DIST.DEM.LOC =d    LK      <PRF>-see=3s.ABS  
 'I have heard that there is someone who saw him' (52.105)

(5.182) 'a'a'adod mamatlem bali 'ina  
 ?a?a-?adu=d                      ma-matləm=**bali**=?ina  
 RDP-much=d                      RDP-blood=surprise=MED.DEM.ABS  
 'that is so much blood!' (100.706)

(5.183) budim bat, wadi?  
 budi=m=**bat**                      wadi  
 want=2s.GEN=Q                      younger.sibling

<sup>24</sup> There is only one occurrence of *ngarod* in the corpus, and is most likely a borrowing from Ilokano

'will you, brother?' (21.08) (lit. do you want brother)

- (5.184) menbutag itamme  
mən-butag=?itam=**Cə**  
AV-areca.nut=1pi.ABS=already  
'let us chew betel nut' (86.508)
- (5.185) adinod in la'ay mo? ma'una say  
ʔadinu=**d** ʔin laʔaj=mu maʔuna=saj  
where=d ABS old.man=2s.GEN say=DIST.DEM.LOC  
'where is your husband?' he said to her (100.0199)
- (5.186) mapiya kong ettase dla esyan mi-i  
mapija kuŋ ʔəttasi=**dla** ʔəsijan=mi=i  
beautiful if one=only place=1pe.GEN=SPEC  
'It would be great if we all lived in the same place' (56.22)  
(lit. it is great if our place is only one)
- (5.187) dinumateng gul sen ti a'  
d<in><um>atəng=**gul**=sin ti aʔa  
<PRF><AV>arrive=emphasis=PROX.DEM.LOC ABS older.sibling  
'my brother has arrived here indeed' (100.188)
- (5.188) in elikopter de yay ibbide na a mensoli, awon man mensoli  
ʔin ʔilikopter=də=jaj  
ABS helicopter=3p.GEN=DIST.DEM.ABS  
  
ʔi-biddə=na ʔa mən-suli ʔawun=**man** mən-suli  
CV-say=3s.GEN LK AV-return not.exist.CNTR AV-return  
'their helicopter there, he said he (would) return, but he has not returned'  
(103.241)
- (5.189) bagay minengane', mapoləde', malamyə'e ti papa'as-i, mensana'ə mannen  
bagaj m<in>əŋ-ʔan=əʔ mə-puləd=əʔ  
when AV<PRF>-eat=1s.ABS ST-sleep=1s.ABS

mə-ləmja=ʔə            ti            papaʔas=i            mən-sana=ʔə=**mannən**  
 ST-wake=1s.ABS    OBL    morning=SPEC            AV-cook=1s.ABS=again  
 'when I have eaten I sleep, I wake up in the morning, I cook again' (19.05)

- (5.190)    habang dumed'el siya, me'iyān na a me'iyān  
 [habaŋ            d<um>d-ʔəl=sija]  
 while            <AV>RDP-big=3s.ABS

mən-ʔijan=**na**            a            mən-ʔijan  
 AV-fruit=already    LK    AV-fruit  
 'while it is growing, it continuously bears fruit' (93.488)

- (5.191)    apodan mo at dumed'el nen in apoy  
 ʔapudan=mo            ʔat            d<um>d-ʔəl=**nən**            ʔin    ʔapuj  
 hurry=2s.GEN            and    <AV>RDP-big=already            ABS    fire  
 'hurry up, the fire got bigger again' (100.625)

- (5.192)    ay awon nen in delan 'o  
 ʔaj    ʔawun=**nən**            ʔin    dəlān=ʔu  
 INTJ    not.exist=already            ABS    way=1s.GEN  
 'I am lost' (100.921) (lit. my path is not there anymore)

- (5.193)    pagka may apoy, ta'bowan mi namud yay  
 pagka            maj    ʔapuj    taʔbu-an=mi=**namud**=jaj  
 if            have    fire    pour-LV=1pi.GEN=just=DIST.DEM.ABS  
 'If there is a fire, we just pour (water) on it' (100.640)

- (5.194)    baka umeg'ang e' nen ngarod  
 baka            ʔ<um>əgʔaŋ=əʔ=**nən=ŋarud**  
 maybe            <AV>leave=1s.ABS=already=then  
 'maybe I just leave then' (83.58)

- (5.195)    ten ana' itam, hangan ana' itam, membal itam na ngay  
 tən    ʔanaʔ=ʔitam            hangan            ʔanaʔ=ʔitam  
 when    child=1pi.ABS            even            child=1pi.ABS



mən-bal=ʔitam=na=**ɲaj**

AV-g-string=1pi.ABS=already=emphasis

'when we were children, even as children, we would already wear a g-string'  
(99.386)

- (5.196) mabilay pa be'es a llay at ti la'ay a Nador  
mə-bilaj=**pa** bəʔəs ʔa ilaj  
ST-life=still old.woman LK llay

ʔat ti laʔaj ʔa nadur  
and ABS old.man LK Nadur

'the old woman llay and the old man Nador are still alive' (76.153)

- (5.197) lumelteg pati in mukha'  
l<um>l-təg=**pati** ʔin mukha=?  
<AV>RDP -swell=even ABS face=1s.ABS  
'my face was even getting swollen' (100.365)

- (5.198) budi sela a ettolongan adanayan 'o sid a ka'altahan  
budi=**sila** ʔa ʔəC-tulung-an ʔadanajan=?u=sid  
want=also LK PRG-help-LV relative=1s.GEN=PL

ʔa kaʔaltahan  
LK alta

'I also want to help my Alta relatives' (60.19)

- (5.199) ti'sen ta'po-i ina maiwadde sep  
tiʔsin taʔpu=i=ʔina majwadde=**sip**  
PROX.DEM.LOC summit=SPEC=MED.DEM.ABS have=still  
'there on that summit, there is still (some gold)' (103.095)

- (5.200) ten araw mabilay sepla magulang o'i  
tən ʔaraw mə-bilaj=**sipla** magulaŋ=?u=i  
OBL day ST-life=still parent=1s.GEN=SPEC  
'back in these days, my parents were still alive' (103.005)

(5.201) tapos mengayat sep ti uwah-i, luya wada yay  
 tapus mən-gajat=sip ti ʔuwah=i  
 then AV-slice=still ABS thing=SPEC

luja=**wada**=jaj

ginger=perhaps=DIST.DEM.ABS

'then she also slices the thing... it seems to be ginger perhaps' (106.114)

### 5.4.5.3.1 The Enclitic Adverb =d

The Enclitic Adverb =d is a particle that occurs frequently in Northern Alta. At this stage of research its meaning is not yet clear. For this reason, it is simply glossed as =d. As shown in (§3.2.2), =d may cause the deletion of the final nasal or glide of the host or enclitic that precedes it. Table 5.19 presents the hosts to which it may be attached, the function of these hosts, and some examples. As shown in Table 5.19, =d occurs most often attached to hosts that function has the head of the predicate, though it may also be attached to words functioning as heads of Absolutive DPs in argument function. It is not clear at this point whether =d may appear in DPs other than Absolutive. In addition =d may also be attached to words that function as adjuncts, or as modifiers of the predicate. Finally, as the table below shows, =d may also be attached to Interrogative Pronouns.

Table 5.19 Possible positions of the Enclitic Adverb =d

Word class of the host	Example	Function of the host
Non-derived V-word	3.3, 7.4, 7.11	predicate
Stative word	5.43	
Potentive word	5.43	
U-word (UP)	5.42	
Personal Pronoun	4.4, 6.24	
Demonstrative	6.51	
Existential <i>awon</i>	4.12	
Existential <i>meiwadde</i>	5.18	
Existential <i>isay</i>	6.36	
Negator <i>bisa</i>	4.38	
Existential (but separated by complement)	4.86	
U-word (but separated by Demonstrative)	6.126	

U-word (ABS DP)	6.20	head of DP in argument function
Content word derived by affix (ABS DP)	4.82	
Modal Adverb	5.175, 5.176	modifier of predicate
U-word	5.93	complement of Linker
Temporal Adverb	7.5	Adjunct
Interrogative Pronoun	5.74, 5.77, 5.82	

### 5.4.6 Existentials

Existentials are words that may function as heads of predicates in Existential clauses (see §4.3.4 and §6.2.3.2.). Table 5.20 shows the different Existentials, and their possible event schemas and glosses:

Table 5.20 Existentials

Existential	Gloss	Event schema	Example
<b>awon</b> /ʔa'wun/	not.exist	not X	5.202
		X has no Y	5.206
		there is no X (at Y)	5.207
<b>maiwadde</b> /majwad'də/	have	there is X (at Y)	4.83
		X has Y	4.84
<b>may</b> /maj/	have	there is X (at Y)	4.85
		X has Y	4.86
<b>isay</b> /ʔi'sai/	be.at	X is at Y	4.92 - 4.96

#### 5.4.6.1 The Existential *awon*

The word *awon* /ʔawun/ is an Existential that denotes non-existence and functions as a predicate that governs a complement clause (5.202 - 5.205), a non-specific phrase (5.206), an Absolutive DP (5.207) or a Prepositional Phrase (5.208). In isolation, *awon* can be used as a negative answer to a polar question (5.209). *Awon* is also used in negative commands (5.205).

- (5.202) are, ay awon inad talod  
 ?ari ?aj ?awun=?ina=d talud  
 INTJ PM not.exist=MED.DEM.ABS=d true  
 'oh, this is not true' (98.184)  
 (lit. oh it does not exist this (is) true)
- (5.203) pero awon di'etam ina  
 piru ?awun di?itam=?ina  
 but not.exist 1pi.LOC=MED.DEM.ABS  
 'but that is not ours' (88.1067)  
 (lit. but it does not exist that (is) ours)
- (5.204) hangan ti doctor-i ay awon yay annolen ni doctor-i  
 hangan ti duktur=i  
 until OBL doctor=SPEC  
 ?aj ?awun=jaj ?annul-ən ni duktur=i  
 PM not.exist=DIST.DEM.ABS know-PV GEN doctor=SPEC  
 'even the doctor, he does not know it' (100.1096)
- (5.205) awon miyu ali'sapan  
 ?awun=miju ?ali?sap-an  
 not.exist=2p.GEN forget-LV  
 'do not forget it' (100.1223)
- (5.206) awon te kutsilio  
 ?awun tɛ kutsiliu  
 not.exist NSP knife '  
 '(she) does not have a knife' (106.19)
- (5.207) umalang ten awon in ina mi  
 ?umalaŋ tɛn ?awun ?in ?ina=mi  
 since when not.exist ABS mother=1pe.GEN  
 'ever since our mother is not there anymore' (39.15)
- (5.208) dahil annolen mi a i'yay ay awon para di'ami

dahil    ʔannul-ən=mi            ʔa        ʔiʔaj  
 thus    know-PV=1pe.GEN    LK        DIST.DEM

ʔaj        ʔawun            para    diʔami  
 PM        not.exist        for     1pe.LOC  
 ‘so we knew that, that (it) wasn’t for us’ (nalta103.166)

(5.209)    awon, ma’una siya, awon titi, kung awon kiki  
 ʔawun            maʔuna=sija    ʔawun            titi  
 not.exist        say=3s.ABS    not.exist        penis

kuŋ        ʔawun            kiki  
 if         not.exist        vagina  
 ‘No, he said, it is neither penis nor vagina’ (14.13)

### 5.4.7 Content words derived by affixes

Affixed content words are content words carrying affixes that do not mark the word for voice. Although these content words are classified for other Philippine languages as nominalizations or nominals (Rubino, 2005, p.346, Robinson, 2008, p.106, Dita, 2010, p.132), we have labelled these words as ‘content words derived by affixes’ given that our current analysis of content words does not include the syntactic categories ‘noun’ and ‘verb’.

Some of these content words show perfective aspect inflection (§5.6.3 – §5.6.7). Thus, their classification as U-words is problematic due to the fact that aspect inflection is one of the defining properties of V-words (§5.4.3). For this reason, those content words which may inflect for perfect aspect can be regarded as being at the intersection of the classes V and U. A similar situation occurs with comitative and instrumental forms in the Ilokano language, for which Rubino (2005, p.337) considers that they “should be classified midway between bona-fide verbs for taking aspectual morphology, and nominals for appearing in speech quite frequently in nonpredicative position”.

Table 5.21 shows the affixes forming the content words described in this section, as well as their meanings and their subsection number.

Table 5.21 Content word affixes

Section	Affix	Meaning	Gloss
§5.4.8.1	<b>a- -an</b> /ʔa- -an/	Various	CWA1- -LC
	<b>a-</b> /ʔa-/	?	CWA1
§5.4.8.2	<b>-an</b> /-an/	Locative, Instrumental Resultative	LC
§5.4.8.3	<b>pen-</b> /pən-/	Gerundive	GER
§5.4.8.4	<b>pen- -an</b> /pən- -an/	Locative	GER- -LC
§5.4.8.5	<b>peng-</b> /pəŋ-/	Instrumental	INST
§5.4.8.6	<b>peng- -an</b> /pəŋ- -an/	Locative	INST- -LC
§5.4.8.7	<b>pengi,</b> /pəŋi-/	Instrumental	CWA2
	<b>pengi- -an</b> /pəŋi- -an/	Locative	CWA2- -LC
§5.4.8.8	<b>pet-</b> /pət-/	Kinship reciprocal	DYAD

The formation of the words is not clear at this point. For Tagalog, Schachter and Otnes (1972, p.159) state that gerunds are formed “by replacing certain affixes found in the basic forms of actor-focus verbs with other affixes”. In a more recent article, Schachter (2008, p.847) explains that “in intransitive verbs, the initial /p/ of pag- and paN- is assimilated to the intransitive prefix m-, historically a reflex of Proto- Austronesian \*-um-” providing the “resultant forms mag- and maN-”. Himmelmann (2005, p.372) explains that gerunds are “regularly derived from actor voice forms” by replacing the voice affix with *pag-* or *paN-*.

The formation of these words in Alta requires further investigation. For the time being, the subsections below provide the derived words and the corresponding roots that they carry, rather than providing the corresponding Actor voice forms from which they may be derived.

### 5.4.7.1 The affixes *a-* *-an* and *a-*

As the first three examples of Table 5.22 show, the circumfix *a-* *-an* is used to form words with locative meanings, where the referent exists in large quantities. As for the prefix *a*<sup>25</sup>, it is used to form words with abstract meaning, but its meaning requires further investigation. Both prefixes have low productivity in Alta. Table 5.22 provides some examples of words carrying these affixes.

Table 5.22 Examples of *a-* *-an* and *-a* content words

Derived form	Meaning	Root	Gloss
<b>abetuwan</b> /ʔa-bətuh-an/	place full of stones	<b>betuh</b> /bətuh/	stone
<b>abuwedan</b> /ʔa-buwəd-an/	place with sand	<b>buwed</b> /buwəd/	sand
<b>aniyolan</b> /ʔa-nijul-an/	place with many coconuts	<b>niyol</b> /nijul/	coconut
<b>aduwan</b> /ʔa-duwa-n/	the others	<b>duwa</b> /duwa/	two
<b>apalit</b> /ʔa-palit/	Trade	<b>palit</b> /palit/	trade
<b>atulong</b> /ʔa-tulun/	helper	<b>tulong</b> /tulun/	help

- (5.210) mapoled itam sina ti ebbetuwan-i  
 mə-puləd=ʔitam=sina ti **ʔa-bətuh-an=i**  
 ST-sleep=1pe.ABS=MED.DEM.LOC OBL CWA1-stone-LC=SPEC  
 'we sleep there in the stony place' (100.246)

- (5.211) pero in apalit na ay tarabahu  
 piru ʔin **ʔa-palit=na** ʔaj tarabahu  
 but ABS CWA1-trade=3s.GEN PM work  
 'but his trade is work' (91.0877)

<sup>25</sup> The prefix *a-* /ʔa-/ is a reflex of the PAN prefix \*ka-

### 5.4.7.2 The suffix *-an*

Words carrying the suffix *-an* can be used to denote locational meaning.

(5.212) i'ina ay pintuan ina, in sa'langan ni museo de Baler

ʔiʔina            ʔaj    pintuʔan=ʔina

MED.DEM    PM    door=MED.DEM.ABS

ʔin    **saʔlaŋ-an**    ni    musijudibalir

ABS    facade-LC    GEN    Baler.museum

'that is a door, the facade of the Museo de Baler' (70.46)

Table 5.23 Examples of *-an* content words

Derived form	Meaning	Root	Gloss
<b>sa'langan</b> /saʔlaŋ-an/	front side	<b>sa'lang</b> /saʔlaŋ/	face
<b>ubulan</b> /ʔubul-an/	place of sharpening	<b>ubul</b> /ʔubul/	act of sharpening
<b>etlenan</b> /ʔətlən-an/	place of swallowing	<b>etlen</b> /ʔətlən/	swallow
<b>edsangan</b> /ʔədsan-an/	place of lying down	<b>edsang</b> /ʔədsan/	lie down
<b>banuwan</b> /banu-an/	village, market	-	-

The suffix *-an* also also appears in place nouns that are located in the surroundings of the Alta ancestral domain, which is located in Aurora province, near barangay Diteki:

(5.213) Nedi'di'an    /nidiʔdiʔan/

Singnan    /siŋnan/

Umingan    /ʔumiŋan/

Dibbuluwan    /dibbuluwan/

### 5.4.7.3 Gerundive prefix *pen-*

Words carrying the prefix *pen-* have a gerundive meaning and may govern case-marked arguments.



(5.214) me'intindi e' sela ti pengagawi-i ti beli-i  
 mə-ʔintindi=əʔ=sila  
 ST-understand=1s.ABS=also

ti      **pən-gagawi=i**      ti      bəli=i  
 OBL GER-do=SPEC      OBL house=SPEC  
 'I also understand the making of a house' (69.63)

As the following example shows, *pen-* words may inflect for aspect and may govern a Genitive and Absolutive argument, like a V-word marked for Undergoer voice:

(5.215) pinenmumuda na ami  
**p<in>ən-mumuda**=na=ʔami  
 GER<PRF>-scold=3s.GEN=1pe.ABS  
 'having (he) scolded us' (76.518)

Table 5.24 below provides a number of examples of *pen-* words.

Table 5.24 Examples of *pen-* content words

Derived form	Meaning	Root	Gloss
<b>pən'uding</b> /pən-ʔudin/	burning coal	<b>uding</b> /ʔudin/	coal
<b>pənlati</b> /pən-lati/	working on rattan	<b>lati</b> /lati/	rattan
<b>pəntanem</b> /pən-tanəm/	planting	<b>tanem</b> /tanəm/	plant
<b>pənpeltag</b> /pən-pəltag/	spear fishing	<b>peltag</b> /pəltag/	spear
<b>pənsilu</b> /pən-silu/	catching with a snare	<b>silu</b> /silu/	snare
<b>pənsigarilyo</b> /pən-sigarilju/	smoking	<b>sigarilyo</b> /sigarilju/	cigarette
<b>pən'aral</b> /pən-ʔaral/	studying, study	<b>aral</b> /ʔaral/	act of studying

#### 5.4.7.4 The circumfix *pen-* *-an*

The circumfix *pen-* *-an* forms words with locative meaning.

- (5.216) siya in penhuliyān de ti usāh-i  
 sija ʔin **pən-huli-an**=də ti ʔusāh=i  
 3s ABS GER-hunt-LC=3p.GEN OBL deer=SPEC  
 ‘that is their hunting ground for deer’ (85.034)

- (5.217) pengamasan de yay 'en  
**pən-gamas-an**=də=jaj=ʔin  
 GER-weed-LC=3s.GEN=DIST.DEM.ABS=PROX.DEM.ABS  
 ‘this is where they weed that’ (109.144)  
 (lit. this is their place to weed that)

As the next example shows, words formed with *pen-* *-an* may inflect for perfective aspect:

- (5.218) in silo ay pinengalawan yay  
 ʔin silu ʔaj **p<in>ən-galaw-an**=jaj  
 ABS snare PM GER<PRF>-play-LC=DIST.DEM.ABS  
 ‘the snare, that is what they played with’ (86.433)

Table 5.25 presents examples of words affixed with *pen-* *-an*.

Table 5.25 Examples of *pen-* *-an* content words

Derived Form	Meaning	Root	Gloss
<b>pentiedan</b> /pən-tiʔəd-an/	bottom, foot of a structure	<b>ti'ed</b> /tiʔəd/	foot
<b>pen'huliyān</b> /pən-huli-an/	hunting ground	<b>huli</b> /huli/	catch, hunt
<b>pen'ulu'an</b> /pən-ʔuluh-an/	place to lie down	<b>uluh</b> /ʔuluh/	head
<b>pensiluan</b> /pən-silu-an/	place for hunting traps	<b>silo</b> /silu/	trap
<b>pendu'utan</b> /pən-duʔut-an/	place to make a fire	<b>du'ut</b> /duʔut/	fire
<b>pengamasan</b>	weeding place	<b>gamas</b>	weed a land

/pən-gamas-an/		/gamas/	
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#### 5.4.7.5 The prefix *peng-*

The prefix *peng-* is used to form words with instrumental meaning.

(5.219) siya yay pengaludo na-i ti mudung-i

sija=jaj

**pəŋ-ʔaludu**=na=i

3s=DIST.DEM.ABS INST-hunt=3s.GEN=SPEC

ti muduŋ=i

OBL mountain=SPEC

'that (bow and arrow) is what he uses for hunting in the mountains' (76.334)

(5.220) puwedem sela 'en a pengtanem (94.1010)

puwidi=m=sila=ʔin

ʔa

**pəŋ-tanəm**

can=2s.GEN=also=PROX.DEM.ABS

LK

INST-plant

'you can also use it (this tool) to plant' (94.1010)

Table 5.26 Examples of *peng-* content words

Derived form	Meaning	Root	Gloss
<b>penghawi</b> /pəŋ-hawi/	tool for slashing underbrush	<b>hawi</b> /hawi/	slash underbrush
<b>penghuli</b> /pəŋ -huli/	means for catching game	<b>huli</b> /huli/	catch, hunt
<b>peng'inum</b> /pəŋ -ʔinum/	used for drinking	<b>inom</b> /ʔinum/	drink
<b>pengkusina</b> /pəŋ-kusina/	kitchen accessories	<b>kusina</b> /kusina/	kitchen
<b>penglusaw</b> /pəŋ-lusaw/	melting tool/ dissolvent	<b>lusaw</b> /lusaw/	melt
<b>pengtanem</b> /pəŋ-tanəm/	tool for planting	<b>tanem</b> /tanəm/	plant
<b>peng'ut'ut</b> /pəŋ-ʔutʔut/	digging tool	<b>ut'ut</b> /ʔutʔut/	dig

#### 5.4.7.6 The circumfix *peng-* *-an*

Words carrying the circumfix *peng-* *-an* denote a locative meaning, which we translate as “a place used for...”.

- (5.221) kong adino pengalapan de ti ‘a’anen de-i  
 kuŋ ʔadinu **pəŋ-ʔalap-an=də**  
 if where INST-get-LC=3s.GEN
- ti ʔa-ʔanən=də=i  
 OBL RDP-food=3s.GEN=SPEC  
 ‘wherever their place to get food is’ (70.38)

As the next example shows, words carrying the circumfix *peng-* *-an* may show perfective aspect inflection:

- (5.222) pinenganopan ‘o yay  
**p<in>əŋ-ʔanup-an=ʔu=jaj**  
 INST<PRF>-hunt-LC=1s.GEN=DIST.DEM.LOC  
 ‘that was my hunting place’ (82.124)

Table 5.27 Examples of *peng-* *-an* content words

Derived form	Meaning	Root	Gloss
<b>pengalapan</b> /pəŋ-ʔalap-an/	place for getting money or food	<b>alap</b> /ʔalap/	get
<b>pengaludu’an</b> /pəŋ-ʔaludu-an/	place for hunting	<b>aludu</b> /ʔaludu/	hunt
<b>penganupan</b> /pəŋ-ʔanup-an/	place for hunting	<b>anup</b> /ʔanup/	hunt
<b>pengiyanan</b> /pəŋ-ʔijan-an/	location for producing fruit	<b>iyān</b> /ʔijan/	fruit
<b>pengintan</b> /pəŋ-ʔinta-an/	place for observing	<b>inta</b> /ʔinta/	seei
<b>pengalaga’an</b> /pəŋ-ʔalaga-an/	protected place	<b>alaga</b> /ʔalaga/	protect

#### 5.4.7.7 The affixes *pengi-* and *pengi- -an*

Words carrying the prefix *pengi-* take a Genitive actor and an undergoer marked with the Oblique or Locative case.

- (5.223) dahil in pengitudu na di'etam ay kabutihan tam sela a alta  
 dahil           ʔin       **pəŋi-tudu**=na                   diʔitam  
 because       ABS   CWA2-teach=3s.GEN       1pi.LOC

ʔaj   kabutihan=tam=sila                   ʔa   ʔalta  
 PM   goodness=1pi.GEN=also   LK   alta

'because what he taught us is also a goodness to us Alta' (502.19)

(lit. because his teaching us (is) also a goodness to us Alta)

As the next example shows, words carrying *pengi-* may also show perfective aspect inflection:

- (5.224) sakami iye''init mi ti apoyi, in pinengimalan ti laman-i  
 saka=mi                   ʔi-ʔəC-ʔinit                   ti                   ʔapuj=i  
 and=1pe.GEN       CV-PRG-heat                   OBL                   fire=SPEC

ʔin   **p<in>əŋi-malan**       ti   laman=i  
 ABS   CWA2<PRF>-burn   OBL   pig=SPEC

'and we heat it with fire, the roasting of the pig' (92.565)

Words carrying the circumfix *pengi- -an* may express locations, and may also refer to an addressee or a recipient (see Table 5.28).

- (5.225) siya ina pengesalangan miyi ti kadero-i  
 sija=ʔina                                   **pəŋi-salaŋ-an**=mi=i  
 3s=MED.DEM.ABS                   CWA2-cookin-LOC=1pe.GEN=SPEC

ti   kardiru=i  
 OBL   pot=SPEC

'that there is the place we use to cook with a pot' (106.138)

Table 5.28 Examples of *pengi-* and *pengi- -an* content words

Derived form	Meaning	Root	Gloss
<b>pengiluto</b> /pəŋi-lutu/	thing used for cooking something	<b>luto</b> /lutu/	cook
<b>pengipapayong</b> /pəŋi-pa-pajuŋ/	thing used to fund something	<b>payong</b> /pajuŋ/	establish
<b>pengisalahan</b> /pəŋi-salaŋan/	place used for cooking	<b>salang</b> /salaŋ/	cook
<b>pengikabitan</b> /pəŋi-kabit-an/	place used to tie something to	<b>kabit</b> /kabit/	tie
<b>pengibiddan</b> /pəŋi-bidd-an/	person to say something to	<b>bidd</b> /biddə/	say
<b>pengisurrenderan</b> /pəŋi-surindər-an/	person to surrender something to	<b>surrender</b> /surindər/	surrender

#### 5.4.7.8 Dyadic kinship prefix *pet-*

This prefix is used with kinship terms and expresses a dyadic relation. Table 5.29 provides examples of words carrying the prefix *pet-*.

Table 5.29 Examples of *pet-* kinship content words

Derived form	Meaning	Root	Meaning
<b>pet'adanayan</b> /pət-ʔadanajan/	relatives	<b>adanayan</b> /ʔadanajan/	relative
<b>pet'ama</b> /pət-ʔama/	father and child	<b>ama</b> /ʔama/	father
<b>pet'aka</b> /pət-ʔaka/	siblings	<b>aka</b> /ʔaka/	elder sibling
<b>pet'apesa</b> /pət-ʔapisa/	cousins	<b>apesa</b> /ʔapisa/	cousin
<b>pet'apo</b> /pət-ʔapu/	grandfather and grandchild	<b>apo</b> /ʔapu/	grandfather
<b>petbarkada</b> /pət-barkada/	friends	<b>barkada</b> /barkada/	friend
<b>pethipag</b> /pət-hipag/	brother and sister in law	<b>hipag</b> /hipag/	sister in law
<b>pet'elan</b>	couple, pair of	<b>elan</b>	companion

/pət-ʔilan/	companions	/ʔilan/	
<b>pet'ina</b> /pət-ʔina/	mother and son	<b>ina</b> /ʔina/	mother
<b>petka'ibigan</b> /pət-kaʔibigan/	friends	<b>ka'ibigan</b> /kaʔibigan/	friend
<b>petsasawa</b> /pət-s-asawa/ <sup>26</sup>	husband and wife / several couples	<b>asawa</b> /ʔasawa/	spouse

### 5.4.8 Irregular content words

A number of words show irregularities from the morphological or syntactic perspective, but it is not yet clear whether these forms constitute a word class, nor if they should be subcategorized as function words. For example, the words *budi* 'want' and *kaʔilangan* 'need' below, are formally U-words (as they do not carry voice-affixes), but behave as Undergoer voice V-words given that they when they function as predicates, they require their actors to be marked with Genitive case.

Another irregularity involves elements such as *kaʔilangan* 'need', *ubra* 'can', *dapat* 'should' and *pwidi* 'can', none of which inflect for aspect. In addition, only *budi* 'want' and *ubra* 'can' show derivations with the AV infix <um>, while *kaʔilangan* 'need', *dapat* 'should' and *pwidi* 'can' do not show any voice derivation.

From a syntactic point of view, these forms may function as heads of predicates, and require a complement realized by a Linker Phrase (§4.2.9). As for their meanings, most of these forms carry modal meanings (volition, ability, necessity, obligation). A number of forms in this table coincide with what Schachter and Otnes (1972, p.61) call 'pseudo-verbs' (including *pwidi* 'can', *dapat* 'should' and *kaʔilangan* 'need', (of which the latter was identified by an Alta person as a Tagalog borrowing). Finally, Rubino (1997, p.299) identifies verbs with idiosyncrasies in their morphological formation in Ilokano and calls them 'irregular verbs'. It is in this sense that we refer to these forms as irregular content words. Table 5.30 below presents these forms.

**Table 5.30 Irregular content words**

Form	Meaning	Voice	Aspect	Marking	Example
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<sup>26</sup> I have no explanation for the reduplicated /s/ here.

		marking	marking	of the actor	
<b>budi</b> /bu'di/	want	<um>	yes	<b>GEN</b>	5.226
<b>ka'ilangan</b> /kaʔi'lanʒan/	need	-	-		5.227
<b>dapat</b> /'dapat/	must, should	-	-	<b>ABS</b>	5.228
<b>obra</b> /ʔu'bra/	can, be able	<um>	-		5.229
<b>pwede</b> /pwidi/	can, be able	-	-		5.230

The examples below show each of these irregular forms in bold, followed by the complement (between square brackets):

(5.226) kaya budi nad a lumledep

kaja **budi**=na=d                    [ʔa    l<um>l-idəp]  
so    want=3s.GEN=d            LK    <AV>RDP-dive  
'so he wants to dive' (85.169)

(5.227) ka'ilangan miyu sela a me''inta kung aseno kalalagayan miyi ti'sen a lugar

**kaʔilangan**=miju=sila            [ʔa    mə-ʔinta]  
need=2p.GEN=also            LK    POT.PV-see

kunʒ    ʔasinu                    kalalagajan=mi=i  
if        what                        situation=1pe.GEN=SPEC

tiʔsin                            ʔa    lugar  
PROX.DEM.LOC    LK    place

'you also need to be able to see what our situation is, here in this place' (57.18)

(5.228) kaya dapat a meiwadde sela a tribal hall

kaja **dapat**                    [ʔa    majwaddə=sila            ʔa    trajbal hul]  
so    should                    LK    have=also                    LK    tribal hall  
'so there should also be a tribal hall' (91.1102)

(5.229) awon sid obra a me'isahog

ʔawun=sid                    **ʔubra**                    [ʔa    məʔi-sahug]  
not.exist=3s.ABS            can                        LK    POT.CV-grill



'they (the fishes) can not be grilled' (108.24)

- (5.230) okra 'en ay puwede a iggamot  
 ʔukra=ʔin ʔaj **pwidi** [ʔa ʔi-gamut]  
 okra=PROX.DEM.ABS PM can LK CV-medicine  
 'as for this okra, it can be used as medicine' (94.116)

## 5.5 Interjections

Interjections are words occurring at the beginning or at the end of clauses, and indicate the speaker's emotional response to an event.

Table 5.31 Interjections

Form	Meaning	Example
<b>aba!</b> /ʔa'ba/	surprise	5.231
<b>ade!</b> /ʔa'di/	admiration, surprise, disbelief	5.232
<b>aded nen di!</b> /ʔa'didnendi/	admiration, surprise, disbelief	5.233
<b>adoy!</b> /ʔa'duj/	pain	5.234
<b>adoya!</b> /ʔa'duja/	pain	5.235
<b>addiyos!</b> /ʔaddi'jus/	vexation, disappointment, fear	5.236
<b>ai!</b> /ʔaj/	dismay	5.242
<b>aidi!</b> /ʔaj'di/	dismay	5.237
<b>atse!</b> /ʔat'si/	overwhelm, anger	5.238
<b>atse di!</b> /ʔat'sidi/	astonishment	5.239
<b>are!</b> /ʔa'ri/	command, imperative, opposition	5.240
<b>ay'o</b> /ʔaj'u/	yes	5.241
<b>hala/hala/</b>	ok	5.242

- (5.231) aba! ay ten inomay ta Dicoliat ina  
**ʔaba** ʔaj tən ʔ<in><um>aj=ʔitam  
 INTJ PM when <PRF><AV>go=1pi.ABS  
 ta dikulijat=ina

LOC Dicoliat=MED.DEM.ABS

'aba! that (picture) is when we went to Dicoliat' (75.02)

(5.232) adi meganda 'an say

**?adi** mə-ganda=?an=saj

INTJ ST-beauty=QUOT=DIST.DEM.LOC

'adi!, they say it's nice there' (96.150)

(5.233) aded nen di! nu'ano'a dinumateng?

**?adidnəndi** nu?anu=?a d<in><um>atəŋ?

INTJ when=2s.ABS <PRF><AV>arrive

'aded nen di! When did you arrive?' (08.37)

(5.234) adoy, ma'una' say!

**?adui** ma?una=saj

INTJ say=1s.DIST.LOC

'adoy! I said there' (100.683)

(5.235) adoya, masa'it nen ulo i

**?aduja** mə-sa?it=nən ?uluh= i

INTJ ST-pain=already head=SPEC

'adoya! (my) head hurts' (08.27)

(5.236) addios! papa'as nen

**?addijus** papa?as=nən

INTJ morning=already

'addios, it is morning' (63.108)

(5.237) ay di salamat me'una siya

**?ajdi** salamat mə?una=sija

INTJ thank you say=3s.ABS

'aidi, thank you, he said' (507.09)

(5.238) atse! me'una nen um'anig 'ad ti uldin-i

**?atsi** mə?una=nən ?<um>?anig=?a=d

INTJ say=already <AV>like=2s.ABS=d ABS

ti       ʔuldin=i  
 ABS non.alta=SPEC  
 'Atse! I said, "you are like the Tagalog"' (88.486)

(5.239) -madi'it e' sepla.  
 mə-diʔit=əʔ=sipla  
 ST-single=1s.ABS=still  
 'I am still single!

-atsedi!  
**ʔatsidi**  
 INTJ  
 'Wow!' (96.19)

(5.240) ari! umali 'ad, me'una e'  
**ʔari**   ʔ<um>ali=ʔa=d                    məʔuna=əʔ  
 INTJ   <AV>come=2s.ABS=d            say=1s.ABS  
 'ari! come here! I said' (97.542)

(5.241) bisa bat bimbi? ay'o uwah  
 bisa=bat        bimbi  
 NEG=Q         aunt  
 'isn't it auntie?'

**ʔajʔu** ʔuwah  
 INTJ thing  
 'yes, it is' (97.329)

(5.242) ay me'una di'en ay "təmo'e 'o 'en a beli".

**aj**       məʔuna        diʔən        ʔaj  
 INTJ   say            1s.LOC       PM

təmu-ən=ʔu=ʔin                               ʔa    bəli  
 burn-PV=1s.GEN=PROX.DEM.ABS        LK   house  
 -'and he said to me "I will burn that house"' (88.1050)

-hala gagawin mo gul!

**hala** gagawi-ən=mu=gul

INTJ do-PV=2s.GEN=emphasis

-‘ok, you do that’ (88.1051)



## 6. Case

While Chapter 4 describes the form of distinct phrase types (§4.2) and the form of clauses with voice-marked and voice-unmarked predicates (§4.3), this chapter provides an overview of the different syntactic functions and semantic roles of case-marked constituents functioning as arguments, adjuncts and modifiers of DPs.

As was shown in §4.2, clauses can be classified depending on the form of their predicate. A first division appears depending on whether the predicate carries voice-marking or not. Voice-marked predicates may have four main subtypes of clauses (Actor, Patient, Locative and Conveyance voice clauses). As for clauses where the predicate does not carry voice marking, they can be divided depending on whether the predicate is headed by an Existential or not. This classification results in 6 main subtypes of clauses.

Section 6.2 explores the syntactic functions and semantic roles of Absolutive constituents for each subtype of clause. Section 6.3 deals with the syntactic functions and semantic roles of Genitive constituents. Finally, Sections 6.4 and 6.5 provide an overview of the functions and roles of Oblique and Locative constituents.

### 6.1 Introduction

On the basis of the possible syntactic functions of the different case-marked constituents, we currently distinguish four cases in Northern Alta: Absolutive, Genitive, Oblique and Locative.

The following grammatical categories in the Alta grammar are case marked: Articles (§5.3.1), Personal Pronouns (§5.2.1) and Demonstratives (§5.2.2). However, the case relations are not completely aligned throughout these different categories; as shown in tables §5.1 and §5.4, a case-marked Demonstrative (or DemP), or Pronoun (or PrP), does not always share the same syntactic functions with the corresponding Determiner Phrase (DP). This chapter focuses on functions of case-marked DPs, which are phrases that are characterized by carrying an Article in the leftmost position of the phrase (§4.2.1). Examples of Dem / DemPs or Pron / PrPs are provided when these share the same function as the case-marked DP.

Absolutive case-marked constituents can function as arguments in all types of clauses and we consider them to function as the syntactic subject of a clause. Genitive case-marked

constituents may function as modifiers in any type of clause, and also, as an argument in Undergoer voice-marked clauses, in which they carry the actor role.

Oblique case-marked constituents may function as arguments in clauses with bivalent and trivalent predicates, in which they express the undergoer role. In addition, they may function as adjuncts in any type of clause, conveying adverbial meanings, and also as modifiers and complements.

Locative case-marked constituents may function as adjuncts with locational meaning, as arguments encoding definite undergoers in clauses with bivalent and trivalent predicates, and finally, they may also function as complements. It is not clear at this point if Locative should be distinguished as a different case from Oblique, given that Locative-marked phrases share similar syntactic functions as Obliques (oblique argument, adjunct, complement). A difference between the two is the fact that Locative constituents refer to definite locations and undergoers (Locative Demonstratives, Personal Pronouns), and are incompatible with the Specificity particle =*i*.

### 6.1.1 A note about the semantic roles in this dissertation

Following Van Valin (2004, p.1), we assume at least two levels of generality when discussing semantic roles: the first level represents the so-called thematic relations, such as agent, experiencer, theme, patient, which are considered “generalizations across the verb-specific roles”. In a second level there is “a more general type of semantic role, of which there are only two, termed actor and undergoer”, which are referred to as ‘semantic macroroles’ by the author. In this dissertation we use the term ‘semantic role’ to refer to both levels of generalization. Our use of the terms actor and undergoer in this dissertation are described in Table 6.1 below.

**Table 6.1 Definitions of the terms *actor* and *undergoer* in this dissertation**

<b>Semantic Roles</b>	<b>Definition and characteristics of macrorole in this dissertation</b>	<b>Related specific semantic roles</b>
<b>Actor</b>	<p>Actor is the role of the argument in clauses with one single argument. In clauses with two arguments, the actor is the more agent-like argument.</p> <p>Actors are the main participants in the state of affairs irrespective of their role in terms of activity and affectedness. Actors may be persons or animals doing something voluntarily or involuntarily, experiencers, or any</p>	<p>agent, inanimate effector, performer, causer,</p>

	<p>kind of animate or inanimate participant being in a particular situation or undergoing a change.</p> <p>The actor role as a generalization across semantic roles (see column on the right) which can be ordered by degree of agency (control /intentionality). The agent is the role with the highest degree of agency (control/intentionality).</p>	<p>experiencer, ...</p>
<b>Undergoer</b>	<p>Undergoer is the role of the more patient-like argument of a clause with two arguments.</p> <p>The undergoer role is a generalization across semantic roles (see column on the right) which can be ordered by degree of affectedness. The patient is the semantic role with the highest degree of affectedness</p>	<p>goal / source stimulus, instrument, theme, patient, ....</p>

## 6.2 Absolute Case

Absolute constituents can be formed by Determiner Phrases carrying Absolute case marking on the Article that appears in the leftmost position of the phrase. Depending on the lexical head, Absolute DPs show a different Article (§5.3.1). If the head of the phrase is a common noun, the DP is marked with the Article *in* /ʔin/. Plural Absolute DPs carry the plural Absolute Article *siddə* /siddə/. If the lexical head is a proper name, the phrase is marked with the Article *ti* /ti/. In addition, Absolute Pronouns (§5.2.1.2) and Absolute Demonstratives (§5.2.2.2) are case-marked, and can also form Absolute arguments.

Absolute arguments may function as the single argument of clauses with Actor voice or non-voice-marked predicates, or, as one of the two arguments in clauses with Undergoer voice-marked predicates. The following table summarizes the syntactic functions and roles of Absolute arguments:

**Table 6.2 Syntactic functions and roles of Absolute arguments**

Clause type	Function	Role
Actor voice	argument	actor
Undergoer voice clauses	argument (one of the two arguments)	undergoer
Non-Existential voice-unmarked	argument	attributant
Existential	argument (argument + Existential complement)	possessor, existing entity

The following sections explore the functions and roles of Absolute arguments, in relation to the marking of the predicates.



## 6.2.1 Clauses with Actor voice-marked predicates

In clauses with predicates headed by a MEN-, MENG- or an <UM> V-word, the Absolutive argument carries the semantic role actor. The examples (6.1 – 6.5) below show clauses with Actor voice-marked predicates. Tables 7.3 to 7.5 (see §7.2) provide additional examples of the different subtypes of Actor voice-marked words

### 6.2.1.1 Clauses with a *men-* predicate

- (6.1) mengalaw in duwa a aso'  
mən-galaw [ʔin duwa ʔa ʔasu]  
AV-play ABS two LK dog  
'the two dogs are playing' (05.01.110)

### 6.2.1.2 Clauses with a *meng-* predicate

- (6.2) mengaliyo sep in wadi na  
məŋ-ʔaliju=sip [ʔin wadi=na]  
AV-search=still ABS younger.sibling=3s.GEN  
'his younger sibling is still searching' (85.372)

- (6.3) papeno mengaludo tiyamam?  
papinu məŋ-ʔaludu [tijama=m]  
how AV-hunt ABS.father=2s.GEN  
'how does your father hunt?' (54.01)

### 6.2.1.3 Clauses with an <um> predicate

- (6.4) ududma 'an hep la dumdateng in ana' 'o  
ʔududma=ʔan=sipla d<um>d-aten [ʔin ʔanaʔ=ʔu]  
tomorrow=QUOT=still <AV>RDP-arrive ABS child=1s.GEN  
'I heard that my child is only arriving tomorrow' (97.356)

- (6.5) lumelbut nen in kaldero  
l<um>l-but=nən [ʔin kaldiru]  
<AV>RDP-boil=already ABS pot  
'the (content of the) pot is now boiling' (106.089)

In Examples (6.1 - 6.4) above, the Absolutive arguments represent actors that are willful, controlling and instigating participants in states of affairs. Example (6.5) however, shows an actor that lacks volition and control.

## 6.2.2 Clauses with Undergoer voice-marked predicates

In Undergoer voice marked clauses, Absolutive constituents (Absolutive case-marked DPs, Pronouns and Demonstratives) appear as affected objects and thus express an undergoer. For each of the voices (Patient, Locative, Conveyance), the Absolutive argument may express a different range of semantic roles:

**Table 6.3 Semantic roles of Absolutive arguments in Undergoer voice clauses**

Macrorole of Absolutive constituent	Syntactic Function	Voice	Role of Absolutive	Example
undergoer	argument	Patient voice	stimulus	6.6
			theme	6.7
			patient	6.8
		Locative voice	goal	6.9
			recipient	6.10
			stimulus	6.11
			addressee	6.12
			theme	6.13
			patient	6.14
			Conveyance voice	theme
		instrument		6.17

The subsections below illustrate the possible semantic roles of the arguments in clauses with Undergoer voice-marked predicates. In addition, tables 7-6 to 7-8 (see §7.2) provide examples of the different subtypes of Undergoer voice-marked words.

### 6.2.2.1 Patient voice

In Patient voice clauses, Absolutive arguments may express a stimulus (6.6), a theme (6.7) or a patient (6.8):

(6.6)      pero aloben 'o in sarili

piru    ʔalub-ən=ʔu                    [ʔin    sarili]  
 but    smell-PV=1s.GEN    **ABS**    self  
 'but I smelled myself' (100.845)

(6.7)    eg'angen mi in set na  
          ʔəgʔaŋ-ən=mi                    [ʔin    sit=na]  
          remove-PV=1pe.GEN            ABS    thorn=3s.GEN  
          'we remove his thorn' (100.530)

(6.8)    eppeltagen na sinad in baye  
          ʔəC-pəltag-ən=na=sina=d                    [ʔin    bajəʔ]  
          PRG -spear-PV=3s.GEN=MED.DEM.LOC=d            ABS    fish  
          'he will spear the baye fish there (where he saw it)' (85.474)

### 6.2.2.2 Locative voice

In Locative voice clauses, the Absolutive argument may indicate the goal of some action, (6.9). It can also indicate a recipient (6.10), a stimulus (6.11), an addressee (6.12), a theme (6.13) or a patient (6.14).

(6.9)    aydi, bini'nan e' ded  
          ʔajdi    b<in>iʔən-an[=əʔ]=də=d  
          INTJ    <PRF>proximity-LV=1s.**ABS**=3p.GEN=d  
          'aydi, they approached me' (100.709)

(6.10)    atdan e' nena ti sinko sintimos  
          ʔatəd-an[=əʔ]                    nina                    ti            sinku    sintimos  
          give-LV=1s.ABS            GEN.mother                    OBL    five    cents  
          'mother gave me five cents' (88.769)

(6.11)    para itan mo in i'an  
          para    ʔinta-an=mu                    [ʔin    ʔiʔan]  
          for    see-LV=2s.GEN            **ABS**    fish  
          'so you can see the fish' (104.430)

(6.12)    ngo'an mo in la'ay mo  
          ŋuʔ-an=mu                    [ʔin    laʔaj=mu]

name-LV=2s.GEN **ABS** husband=2s.GEN

'call your husband' (100.199)

(6.13) awon mod ut'utan in pon na

ʔawun=mu=d            ʔutʔut-an            [ʔin    pun=na]

not.exist=2s.GEN=d dig-LV            **ABS** root=3s.GEN

'do not dig out its root' (93.268) (lit. do not root it out from the roots)

(6.14) e'ulasan na in sitaw

ʔəC-ʔulas-an=na            [ʔin    sitaw]

PRG-wash-LV=3s.GEN            **ABS** bean

'she is washing the beans' (106.167)

Other authors may consider Examples (6.10 - 6.14) locations or goals of the action in a broader sense than understood here. For Dupaningan Agta, Robinson (2008, p.157), considers the Absolutive argument of the verb 'to call' (as in 6.12) as a semantic goal of the action. For Arta, Kimoto (2017, p.285) considers the cognate Arta form of Example (6.10) *atdinan* 'give' as an example of a category defined as 'causing an object to move to a location'. As for (6.14), washing verbs belong to a category Kimoto defines as 'Action oriented to something'. For Tagalog, Himmelmann (2005, p.366) states "in locative voice the subject expresses a locative argument understood in a very broad sense".

### 6.2.2.3 Conveyance voice

In Conveyance voice clauses, the Absolutive argument may be a theme (6.15, 6.16) or an instrument (6.17):

(6.15) saka mi illebsang in waget

saka=mi            ʔi-ləbsaŋ            [ʔin    waget]

and=1pe.GEN            CV-escape            ABS    water

'and we let the water go' (85.179)

(6.16) iye'ated mo di'en in waget

ʔi-ʔəC-ʔatəd=mu            diʔən            [ʔin    waget]

CV-PRG-give=2s.GEN            1s.LOC            ABS    water

'you are passing me the water' (05.01.183)

- (6.17) tapos mengalap ‘a ten uwah sid, in lamun  
 tapus məŋ-ʔalap=ʔa      tən    ʔuwah=sid    [ʔin lamun]  
 then AV-get=2s.ABS      OBL thing=PL      ABS grass
- ita’bon mo ti’say  
 ʔi-taʔbun=mu      tiʔsaj  
 CV-cover=2s.GEN    DIST.DEM.LOC  
 ‘then you get the things, the grass and use it to cover (the hole)’ (55.08)

### 6.2.3 Clauses with predicates that are not voice-marked

As shown in §4, there are several types of clauses that do not have a voice-marked predicate. These can be divided into two groups, depending on the semantic role of the Absolutive:

- Clauses with a voice-unmarked, non-Existential predicate
- Clauses with an Existential as head of predicate

#### 6.2.3.1 Clauses with voice-unmarked non-Existential predicates

This group includes a number of different types of clauses, all of which contain one of the following elements as head of the predicate (a UP, a DP, a Prepositional Phrase an Adverb or a Pronoun), and an Absolutive argument. For all types, the Absolutive argument plays the role attributant.

##### 6.2.3.1.1 Clauses with an Unmarked Phrase as predicate

- (6.18) upper in ngo’ de  
ʔapə      [ʔin    ŋuʔ=də]  
 upper      **ABS** name=3p.GEN  
 ‘they call it Upper’ (this place) (75.18) (lit. ‘upper’ is their name for it)

- (6.19) ba’ik sepla in beli mi  
baʔik=sipla    [ʔin    bəli=mi]  
 small=still    **ABS** house=1pe.GEN]  
 ‘our house is still small’ (72.38)

- (6.20) portipor in edad o'd  
portipor        [ʔin ʔidad=ʔu=d]  
 forty-four        **ABS** age=1s.GEN=d  
 'I am forty-four years old' (69.09) (lit. my age is forty four)

#### 6.2.3.1.2 Clauses with a Determiner Phrase as predicate

- (6.21) asawa na ay ti Piro  
 ʔasawa=na        [aj [ti piru]]  
 spouse=3s.GEN    **PM ABS** Piro  
 'her husband is Piro' (90.106)
- (6.22) i'en ay in uwah, Katakataka  
 [ʔiʔin]        [ʔaj [ʔin ʔuwah katakataka]]  
 PROX.DEM    **PM ABS** thing        katakataka  
 'this one is the whatchamacallit, the Katakataka plant' (94.097)

#### 6.2.3.1.3 Clauses with a Personal Pronoun as predicate

- (6.23) siya in cultura ni alta-i  
sija    [ʔin kultura        ni        ʔalta-i]  
 3s        **ABS** culture        GEN Alta=i  
 'that is the culture of the Alta' (100.1233) (lit. the culture of the Alta is it)
- (6.24) aydi, didded yay!  
 aydi    didde=d=jaj  
 INTJ    3p.LOC=d=DIST.DEM.ABS  
 'aydi, this is theirs now' (100.661)

#### 6.2.3.1.4 Clauses with a Prepositional Phrase as predicate

- (6.25) para deretso in ginan nen peltag  
para diritsu        [ʔin ginan nən        pəltag]  
 for    straight        **ABS** run    D.GEN        spear  
 'so the arrow goes straight' (65.425) (lit. so straight is the run of the spear)

- (6.26) ay awon me'tog in uloh kase para di'aw sela ina  
 ʔaj    ʔawun        mə-ʔtug        ʔin    ʔuluh

INTJ not.exist ST-hardness ABS head

kase para diʔaw=sila=[ʔina]

because for 2s.LOC=also=MED.DEM.ABS

'do not be hardheaded, this (quitting smoking) is also for you (for your well-being)' (21.36)

### 6.2.3.1.5 Clauses with an Adverb as predicate

(6.27) tempulab ina sigudo

tempulab=[ʔina] sigudu

yesterday=MED.DEM.ABS maybe

'that (the fact that many fish were caught) was probably yesterday' (108.52)

### 6.2.3.2 Clauses with a predicate headed by an Existential

Predicates headed by an Existential may also include a complement. The table below provides the role of the Absolutive arguments as well as the role of the complement of the Existential for each clause type:

Table 6.4 Semantic roles of Absolutive arguments in clauses with Existential predicates

Type of Existential-headed predicate clause	Role of Absolutive	Semantic role of the complement	Syntactic function of Absolutive
<i>maiwadde</i> headed predicate	Possessor	Possessee	argument
	--	Existing entity	
<i>may</i> headed predicate	Possessor	Possessee	
<i>awon</i> headed predicate	Possessor	Possessee	
	--	Existing entity	
<i>isay</i> headed predicate	Theme	Location	

#### 6.2.3.2.1 Clauses with *meiwadde* and its complement as predicate

(6.28) pagka maiwadde a bisita in alapowan tam

pagka [majwadde ʔa bisita]<sup>27</sup> [ʔin ʔalapuwan=tam]

<sup>27</sup> In this section, non-bold brackets contain the existential and its complement.

when have LK visitor **ABS** grandparent=1pi.GEN  
 'when our grandparent had a visitor' (99.654)

- (6.29) maiwaddde e' a para'an, wadi  
 [maiwaddə[=əʔ]      ʔa      paraʔan]      wadi  
 have=1s.ABS      LK      idea      younger.sibling  
 'I have an idea, my brother' (74.416)

As Example (6.29) shows, in this type of clause, if the Absolutive argument is an Absolutive enclitic Pronoun, it is placed right after the head of the predicate and before the complement.

### 6.2.3.2.2 Clauses with *may* and its complement as predicate

- (6.30) may hikaw in igdet  
 [mai hikaw]      [ʔin ʔigdet]  
 have earring      **ABS** eel  
 'the eel has earrings' (88.312)
- (6.31) kungbaga may tarabaho in issa  
 kungbaga      [mai tarabahu]      [ʔin ʔissa]  
 if.say      have work      ABS one  
 'if one of us has a job' (91.443) (lit. if the one has a job)
- (6.32) may asawa e'  
 [mai ʔasawa][=əʔ]  
 have spouse=1s.ABS  
 'I am married' (100.156) (lit. I have a spouse)

As opposed to the Existential *meiwadde* (Example 6.29), Example (6.32) shows that, if the predicate contains the Existential *may* and a complement, the Absolutive enclitic Pronouns are attached after the complement.

### 6.2.3.2.3 Clauses with *awon* as predicate

- (6.33) kase awon nen in ninuno mi  
 kasi      ʔawun=nən      [ʔin ninunu=mi]



thus not.exist=already **ABS** ancestor=1pe.GEN  
 'thus, our ancestors are not with us anymore' (56.64)

- (6.34) umalang tən awon nen in ina mi  
 ʔumalaŋ tən ʔawun=nən [**ʔin ʔina=mi**]  
 since when not.exist=again **ABS** mother=1pe.GEN  
 'since the moment our mother passed away' (39.15)

- (6.35) saka awon sid te interes ti tape'i  
 saka [**ʔawun[=sid]**] tə ʔintiris ti tapəʔ=i]  
 and not.exist=3s.**ABS** NSP profit OBL land=SPEC  
 'and they do not have any profit on the land' (86.200)

Example (6.35) shows that Absolutive pronominal enclitics are attached to the head of the predicate and thus precede the Existential complement, in the same way as it happens with the Existential *maiwaddə*.

#### 6.2.3.2.4 Clauses with *isay* and its complement as predicate

- (6.36) bagay isay sinad in udden  
 bagai [**ʔisaj=sina=d**] [**ʔin ʔuddən**]  
 when be.at=MED.DEM.LOC=d **ABS** rain  
 'when the rain gets there' (63.02)

- (6.37) adino isay in tulay?  
 ʔadinu ʔisaj [**ʔin tulai**]  
 where be.at ABS bridge  
 'where is the bridge?' (06.02.159)

- (6.38) ten isay itam sep ta pradjek  
 tən ʔisaj[=itam]=sip ta pradjik  
 when be.at=1pi.**ABS** LOC project  
 'when we were still (working) at the project (site) (81.214)

## 6.3 Genitive case

Genitive constituents are formed by DPs marked by the Genitive Articles *ni* or *nen* (§5.3.1) which appear in the leftmost position of the phrase. If the head of the DP is a plural noun, it is the plural Genitive Article *niden* that is used. Genitive constituents in modifier and argument functions can be also formed by Genitive enclitic Personal Pronouns (§5.2.1.3) and Genitive Demonstratives (§5.2.2.3).

Genitive constituents can function as modifiers of a DP in any type of clause, or as arguments, in clauses having an Undergoer voice-marked predicate. When Genitive constituents function as modifiers they take the possessor role, and when functioning as an argument, they express the actor role.

**Table 6.5 Syntactic functions and roles of Genitive constituents**

Clause Type	Syntactic Function	Semantic Role
All types	modifier	possessor
Undergoer voice clauses	argument	actor
Clauses with voice-unmarked predicate	predicate	possessor

### 6.3.1 Modifier function

#### 6.3.1.1 Modifier of Determiner Phrases

##### 6.3.1.1.1 Modifier of Absolutive DPs

- (6.39) pagka maiwadde a bisita in alapowan tam  
 pagka majwaddə ʔa bisita [ʔin ʔalapuwan[=**tam**]]  
 when have LK visitor **ABS** grandparent=1pi.**GEN**  
 ‘when our grandparent had a visitor’ (99.654)

- (6.40) eʔalapen na in karga niʔnay  
 ʔəC-ʔalap-ən=na [ʔin karga [niʔnaj]]  
 PRG-get-PV=3s.**GEN** **ABS** charge DIST.DEM.**GEN**

'he is getting the power from there' (104.159) (lit. he is getting the power of that)

- (6.41) siya in tanggapan ni uldini  
 sija [ʔin taŋapan [ni [ʔuldin]=i]]  
 3s **ABS** agreement GEN non.alta=SPEC  
 'this is the agreement of the Tagalog' (72.16) (lit. the agreement of the Tagalog is it)

- (6.42) tapos inebu'ut nad in bito'an nen tilapia  
 tapus ʔ<in>i-buʔut=na=d [ʔin bituʔan  
 then CV<PRF>-throw=3s.GEN=d ABS intestine  
  
**[nən tilapja]**  
 D.GEN tilapia  
 'then she gets rid of the intestines of this *tilapia*' (106.037)

#### 6.3.1.1.2 Modifier of Genitive DPs

- (6.43) para mensoli in linaw ni mata mi  
 para mən-suli ʔin linaw [ni mata[=mi]]  
 for AV-return ABS clarity **GEN** eye=1pe.**GEN**  
 'so we can see clearly again' (94,138) (lit. so the clarity of our eyes returns)

- (6.44) edpen-en'en ni waget-i ni delat  
 ʔədpən-ən=ʔin [ni waget=i [ni dəlat]]  
 reach=PV=PROX.DEM.ABS **GEN** water=SPEC **GEN** sea  
 'the water of the sea reaches it (the mountain)' (109.230)

#### 6.3.1.1.3 Modifier of Oblique DPs

- (6.45) awon te mengyari ti buhay o'i  
 ʔawun tə məŋ-jari [ti [buhaj[=ʔu]]=i]  
 not.exist NSP AV-happen **OBL** life=1s.GEN=SPEC  
 'I had nothing to do (then)' (69.91) (lit. nothing was happening to my life)

(6.46) mentipid sed ti karga ni Bateria-i  
 mən-tipid=sin=d [ti karga [ni bateria=i]]  
 AV-save=PROX.DEM.LOC=d OBL load GEN battery=SPEC  
 ‘you save some (charge of the) battery here’ (104.367)

(6.47) budi ‘o wadi a mengyari ti buhay ni Alta-i  
 budi=?u wadi ?a mən-jari  
 want=1s.GEN younger.sibling LK AV-happen  
  
 [ti buhaj [ni ?alta=i]]  
 OBL life GEN Alta=SPEC  
 ‘I want, brother, (to be reunited) to happen to the life of the Alta’ (18.15)

(6.48) isay ina ti digdig ni wageti  
 [?isaj]=?ina [ti digdig [ni wagət=i]]  
 be.at=PROX.DEM.ABS OBL next.to GEN water=SPEC  
 ‘that (person) is by the river’ (85.503)

(6.49) maiwadde a tumtawag ti selpon ni ana' 'o-i  
 majwadde ?a t<um>t-awag [ti silpun  
 there.is LK <AV>RDP-call OBL phone  
  
 [ni ?ana?=?u=i]]  
 GEN child=1s.GEN=SPEC  
 ‘there is someone calling to my son’s cellphone’ (91.0569)

### 6.3.1.2 Modifier of Unmarked Phrases

#### 6.3.1.2.1 Modifier of UPs in argument function

(6.50) awo’od ittibeng batog ni asoh-i  
 ?awun[=?u]=d ?i-tibəŋ [batug [ni ?asuh=i]]  
 not.exist=1s.GEN=d CV-hear barking GEN dog=SPEC  
 ‘I did not hear the barking of the dog’ (63.119)

- (6.51) umansinad bilay ni alta-i  
 ?umansina=d [bilaj [ni ?alta=i]]  
 like.that=d life GEN alta=SPEC  
 'the life of the Alta is like that now' (109.129)

The example below shows a clause with predicates that are not marked for voice, and where the Unmarked Phrase is the only argument of the clause, taking the role of attributant. The UP is modified by a Genitive constituent:

- (6.52) ngadden na'i Alobasa  
 [ŋaddən[=na]=i] ?alubasa  
 name=3s.GEN=SPEC Alobasa<sup>28</sup>  
 'its name is *Alobasa*' (94.329)

### 6.3.1.2.2 Modifier of UPs in topic function

- (6.53) delan mi'i ay in uwah tulay a bakal na  
 [dələn[=mi]=i] ?aj ?in ?uwah  
 way=1pe.GEN=SPEC PM ABS thing  
  
 tulaj ?a bakal=na  
 bridge LK iron=just  
 'our way is the iron bridge' (76.357)

### 6.3.1.2.3 Modifier of UPs in predicate function

- (6.54) tangkay na 'en ni payong'i  
 [təŋkaj[=na]=?in] [ni pajun=i]  
 stem=just=PROX.DEM.ABS GEN umbrella=SPEC  
 'this is the pole of an umbrella' (104.227)

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<sup>28</sup> Most likely borrowed from Spanish *calabaza* 'pumpkin' via Tagalog or Ilokano  
 200

#### 6.3.1.2.4 Modifier of UPs in complement function

The following example shows a Genitive constituent that is modifying the complement of the Existential *may*. In addition, the only clausal argument, the Locative Demonstrative =*sen*, appears attached to the head of the Existential complement, splitting the complement from the Existential:

- (6.55)    *may pon sen ni kamaragi*  
            [maj    pun=*sin*                                 [ni    *kamarag=i*]]  
            have   tree=PROX.DEM.LOC                GEN   narra=SPEC  
            ‘there was a narra tree here’ (103.006) (lit. there is a narra tree here)

### 6.3.2 Argument function

Genitive constituents can also function as arguments in Undergoer voice clauses, expressing an actor role. Genitive actors can be both animate (Examples 6.56, 6.57, 6.59, 6.61, 6.62) or inanimate (Examples 6.58, 6.60). As some examples show (6.56, 6.57), Absolutive arguments may be omitted.

#### 6.3.2.1 Patient voice clauses

- (6.56)    *aydi, ginuyod nen ni Lettaw*  
            ʔajdi    g<*in*>ujud=*nən*                         [ni    *littaw*]  
            INTJ   <PRF.*PV*>pull=*already*                GEN   Lettaw  
            ‘ay di, Lettaw pulled it’ (100.723)

- (6.57)    *sinalubong ami nen amo mi*  
            s<*in*>alubun=ʔami                                 [nən                         ʔamu=*mi*]  
            <PRF.*PV*>greet=*1pe.ABS*                D.GEN                         boss=*1pe.GEN*  
            ‘our boss received us’ (76.370)

- (6.58)    *edpen-en'en ni waget-i ni delat*  
            ʔədpən-ən=*?in*                                        [ni    *waget=i*                [ni    *dəlat*]]  
            reach=*PV*=PROX.DEM.ABS                GEN   water=*SPEC*    GEN   sea  
            ‘the water of the sea reaches it (the mountain)’ (109.230)

### 6.3.2.2 Locative voice clauses

- (6.59) i'en man ay Atettut, kong ngo'an ni Alta-i  
 ?i?in=man                    ?aj    ?atəttut  
 PROX.DEM=CNTR PM    Atettut  
  
 kuŋ    ŋu?-an            [ni    ?alta=i]  
 if      name-LV          GEN Alta=SPEC  
 'and as for this one, it is the Attetut plant, that is how the Alta call it' (95.113)

- (6.60) dahil pagka dimmanan ni bagiyo-i a minsan  
 dahil pagka d<in>man-an            [ni    bagiju=i      ?a    minsan]  
 thus when <PRF>pass-LV          GEN storm=SPEC LK    once  
 'thus, when one of these occasional typhoons passed through (the area)  
 (103.467)

- (6.61) ngo'an ded in Anito ni uwah-i, Anito ni Dite'i-i  
 ŋu?-an=[də]=d            ?in    ?anitu ni      ?uwah=i  
 call=LV=3s.GEN=d ABS god GEN thing=SPEC  
  
 ?anitu ni      diti?i=i  
 deity GEN Diteki=SPEC  
 'they call the Anito of the whatchamacallit, the Anito of Diteki' (99.284)

### 6.3.2.3 Conveyance voice clauses

- (6.62) inibidded man yay ni Lulia di'en  
 ?<in>i-biddə=d=man=jaj                    [ni    lulia] di?ən  
 CV<PRF>-say=d=CNTR=DIST.DEM.ABS GEN Lulia 1s.LOC  
 'Lulia told me that' (83.007)

- (6.63) ikkabit na in ginelat na  
 ?i-kabit[=na]            in      ginilat=na  
 CV-attach=3s.GEN ABS arrow=3s.GEN  
 'he attaches his arrow' (85.360)

### 6.3.3 Other uses of Genitive arguments

#### 6.3.3.1 Argument in clauses with predicates containing certain content words

Genitive arguments may function as arguments in clauses where the predicate contains or is headed by an irregular content word (§5.4.7). In this type of clause, the Genitive argument also expresses an actor role:

- (6.64) budim bat wadi?  
budi[=**m**]=bat wadi  
want=2s.**GEN**=Q younger.sibling  
'do you want (to quit smoking), my brother?' (21.08)

- (6.65) pero in katribu sid, budi de-i a talaga  
piru ?in katribu[=?]=sid budi=**də**=i  
but ABS tribe=1s.**GEN**=PL want=3p.**GEN**=SPEC  
  
?a talaga  
LK surely  
'but the other members of my tribe, they surely want' (103.479)

- (6.66) awon'od ka'ilangan mengalap ti gatas-i  
awon[=?**u**]=d ka'ilangan mən-?alap ti gatas=i  
not.exist=1s.**GEN**=d need AV-get OBL milk=SPEC  
'I don't need to get milk anymore' (76.102)

- (6.67) ka'ilangan e' mo sela bali  
ka'ilangan=ə?**mu**=sila=bali  
need=1s.ABS=2s.**GEN**=also=surprise  
'it turns out you also need me' (46.83)

#### 6.3.3.2 Adjunct in phrases headed by the V-word *abuten* 'to reach something'

Genitive arguments can also be found in the adjunct function, in phrases headed by the Patient voice V-word *abuten* 'to last, to reach something'.

- (6.68) e''abuten [ni lima-i a ta'on]



ʔəC-ʔabut-ən      [ni    limma      ʔa    taʔun]  
 PRG-reach-PV      GEN five                    LK    years  
 '(it) will last for five years' (104.219)

(6.69) e"abuten ni twelve pesos-i  
 ʔəC-ʔabut-ən      [ni    twilf    pisus=i]  
 PRG-reach-PV      GEN twelve pesos=SPEC  
 '(it) will reach twelve pesos (per piece)' (95.293)

## 6.4 Oblique Case

Oblique constituents are formed by DPs marked by the Oblique Articles *ti* or *ten* (§5.3.1) and may function as arguments, adjuncts and modifiers.

Oblique DPs share the argument function with Locative Personal Pronouns (§5.2.1.4) and with the clitic set of Locative Demonstratives (§5.2.2.4.2).

Oblique DPs share the adjunct function with certain Demonstratives. For example the set of Similitive Demonstratives (§5.5.2.5) may function as adjuncts with manner meaning. In the same way, the free set of Locative Demonstratives (§5.2.2.4.1) can form adjuncts with locative meanings.

**Table 6.6 Syntactic functions and roles of Oblique constituents**

Clause type	Syntactic Function	Role
Voice-marked clause (with bivalent or trivalent predicate)	argument	undergoer
All types	adjunct	instrument, manner, time, location, duration
	modifier	beneficiary, patient, duration, location
Existential clause ( <i>isay</i> )	complement	location

The functions and semantic roles of Oblique constituents are explored in more detail in the sections below.

## 6.4.1 Argument function

Oblique constituents can function as arguments in clauses having bivalent or trivalent V-words as head of the predicate.

### 6.4.1.1 Clauses with bivalent V-words as predicate

In clauses with bivalent V-words as predicate, the Absolutive argument carries the actor role and the Oblique argument expresses an undergoer role.

- (6.70) ay bumili itam nen ti sundangi sid  
ʔaj b<um>ili=ʔitam=nən [ti **sundaŋ=i=sid]**  
INTJ <AV>buy=1pi.ABS=already **OBL** knife=SPEC=PL  
'we have bought some knives again' (88.650)

- (6.71) mentanem itam ti pagi  
mən-tanəm=ʔitam [ti **pagi]**  
AV-plant=1pi.ABS **OBL** rice  
'we plant some rice' (81.80)

- (6.72) mēngalap itam ti bulangeni  
mēŋ-ʔalap=ʔitam [ti **bulanəŋ=i]**  
AV-get=1pi.ABS **OBL** monkey=SPEC  
'we catch monkeys' (99.113)

### 6.4.1.2 Clauses with trivalent V-words as predicate

Clauses with trivalent V-words as predicate may have three arguments: a Genitive actor, an Oblique and an Absolutive argument. The semantic roles of the Oblique and Absolutive arguments depend on the voice of the V-word. If the predicate is in Locative voice, the Oblique argument may express a theme (as in 6.73). If the predicate is in Conveyance voice, the Oblique may express an addressee (as in 6.74).

- (6.73) atdan de itam ti puhunan  
ʔatəd-an=də=ʔitam [ti puhunan]  
give-LV=3p.GEN=1pi.ABS **OBL** capital  
'they gave us some capital' (91.876)

(6.74) ibidde' ten ana' 'o  
 ?i-biddə=? [tən ?ana?=?u]  
 CV-say=1s.GEN OBL child=1s.GEN  
 'I told my child' (82.053)

(6.75) awon 'o sep sid ettoduwan ti polung ni alta i sid  
 ?awun=?u=sip=sid ?əC-tudu-an  
 not.exist=1s.GEN=still=3p.ABS PRG-teach-LV

[ti puluŋ ni ?alta=i=sid]  
 OBL language GEN alta=SPEC=PL  
 'I am not teaching them the language of the Alta yet' (60.46)

The following example shows a clause with a predicate headed by a Causative word in Conveyance voice. In this clause, the Oblique argument expresses a causee.

(6.76) obram siya a ipa'inom ti ana'-i  
 ?ubra=m sija ?a ?i-pa-?inum [ti ?ana?=?i]  
 can=2s.GEN 3s.ABS LK CV-CAU-drink OBL child=SPC  
 'you can make your child drink it' (93.649)

## 6.4.2 Adjunct function

When functioning as adjuncts, Oblique constituents have a number of meanings, including instrumental, manner, temporal or locational. The interpretation of the Oblique adjunct depends on the predicate. The following subsections below explore the different meanings of Oblique case-marked constituents in adjunct function.

### 6.4.2.1 Oblique phrases with instrumental meaning

Oblique phrases with instrumental meaning specify the instrument used to accomplish an action.

(6.77) mensuklay ti damet miyo-i ten buh miyo  
 mən-sukləj [ti damət=miju=i] tən buh=miju  
 AV-comb OBL hand=2p.GEN=SPEC OBL hair=2p.GEN  
 'you comb your (pl) hair with your hand' (63.58)

(6.78) ulasan mo ti waget-i  
 ʔulas-an=mu [ti wagət=i]  
 wash-LV=1s.GEN OBL water=SPEC  
 'you wash it with water' (94.141)

(6.79) melanislani pag inilutom ti asin at bitsin-i  
 mē-lani-lani pag ʔ<in>i-lutu=m  
 ST-RDP-tasty if CV<PRF>-cook=2s.GEN

[ti ʔasin ʔat bitsin=i]  
 OBL salt and vetsin=SPEC  
 'it is tasty, if you cook it with salt and sodium glutamate' (94.300)

(6.80) tegtegen mo ti betuh  
 tegtəg-ən=mu [ti betuh]  
 crush=PV=2s.GEN OBL stone  
 'you crush it (the plant) with a stone' (95.209)

#### 6.4.2.2 Oblique manner phrases

This subtype of phrase specifies the manner in which the event takes place.

(6.81) kaya awon obra menla'ad ti deretso-i  
 kaja ʔawun ʔobra mən-laʔad [ti diritsu=i]  
 thus not.exist can AV-walk OBL straight=SPEC  
 'so you cannot walk straight' (99.1191)

(6.82) ettangapen de am ti de'el a puso ti'sen di'ami  
 ʔəC-taŋgap-ən=də=ʔam [ti dəʔəl ʔa pusu]  
 PRG-agree-PV=3p.GEN=2p.ABS OBL big LK heart

tiʔsin diʔami  
 PROX.DEM.LOC 1pe.LOC  
 'they accept you wholeheartedly here, among us' (57.10)

(6.83) guyoden mod yay ti melakasi



3s=DIST.DEM.ABS PRG-hunt-PV=3p.GEN **OBL** day  
 'this is what they would hunt back in these days' (69.108)

(6.89) umabot ti duwa-i a lingo  
 ?<um>abut [ti duwa=i ?a lingu]  
 <AV>reach **OBL** two=SPEC LK week  
 'it takes two weeks' (104.330) (lit. it reaches two weeks)

(6.90) i'en ay tanodan mo ti tatlo-i a bulan  
 ?i?in ?aj tanud-an=mu  
 PROX.DEM PM wait-LV=2s.GEN

[ti tatlu=i ?a bulan]  
**OBL** three=SPEC LK month  
 'as for this, you wait three months' (95.215)

#### 6.4.2.4 Oblique locative phrases

Oblique locative phrases denote the location or source of a state of affairs.

(6.91) mensome amid ti de'el-i a betuh  
 mən-sumə=?ami=d [ti də?əl=i ?a bətuḥ]  
 AV-hide=1pe.ABS=d **OBL** big=SPEC LK stone  
 'we hide on a big stone' (83.250)

(6.92) sumtokan sid ten abuwedan  
 sumtuk-an=sid [tən ?abuwədan]  
 fight-LV=3p.ABS **OBL** sandy.place  
 'they fight in that sand' (83.276)

(6.93) etulen mi yay ten pon na  
 ?ətul-ən=mi=jaj [tən pun=na]  
 cut-PV=1pe.GEN=DIST.DEM.ABS **OBL** trunk=3s.GEN  
 'we cut off the trunk' (100.529) (lit. we cut it by this trunk of it)

(6.94) inomalang sela ti me'ena'em a lella'ay  
 ?<in><um>alaŋ=sila [ti mə??ənnə?əm]

<PRF><AV>come=also      **OBL** very.old

**ʔa    la-laʔaj]**

LK    RDP-old.man

‘(this medicine treatment) also comes from the oldest (Alta) men’ (92.02)

### 6.4.3 Modifier function

Oblique constituents can also function as modifiers of others DPs. These modified DPs can appear in argument and predicate functions.

#### 6.4.3.1 Modifier of other arguments

In the following example, the Absolutive DP, headed by the U-word *badʒit* ‘budget’, is modified by an Oblique DP:

(6.95)    minamin mid in budget mi ti penlati-i  
          m<in>amin=mi=d  
          <PRF>consume=1pe.GEN=d

[ʔin    badʒit=mi                    [ti    pən-lati=i]]  
ABS    budget=1pe.GEN      **OBL** GER-rattan=SPEC  
          ‘we spent all our money (earned) with rattan’ (86.129)

In the following example the modified phrase is headed by the Gerundive form of the word *betlay* ‘carry’ that is modified:

(6.96)    mahirap na ngi say in pembetlay ti ayuh-i  
          mə-hirap=na=ŋi=saj  
          ST-hardship=already=emphasis=DIST.DEM.LOC

[ʔin    pən-bətlaj            [ti    ʔajuh=i]]  
ABS    GER-carry      **OBL** wood=SPEC  
          ‘the process of carrying wood there is quite hard’ (100.580)

In the two following examples the modified Absolutive DP is headed by the V-words *mentarabaho* ‘to work’ and *mengyari* ‘to happen’.

(6.97)   bawal in mentrabaho ti kusina-i  
 bawal           [ʔin   mən-tarabahu           **[ti   kusina=i]]**  
 forbidden   ABS   AV-work                   **OBL** kitchen=SPEC  
 'it is forbidden to work in the kitchen' (99.79)

(6.98)   umannasay in minengyari ti buhay o-i  
 ʔuman=na=saj                                   [[ʔin   m<in>əŋ-jari  
 like=already=DIST.DEM.LOC           ABS   AV<PRF>-happen  
  
**[ti   buhaj=ʔu]]=i]**  
 OBL   life=1s.GEN=SPEC  
 'that is how it happened to my life' (46.67)

#### 6.4.3.2 Modifier of non-voice marked predicates

Oblique constituents may also function as modifiers of heads of predicates. In the following example the Unmarked Phrase headed by the U-word *gamot* 'medicine' functions as a predicate and is modified by the Oblique constituent. The unit [predicate + modifier] is split as the Absolutive Demonstrative =ʔin is attached to the head of the predicate:

(6.99)   gamot'en ti ug'ug ni ana'  
**[gamut]=ʔin                                   [ti   ʔugʔug           ni   ʔanaʔ]]**  
 medicine=PROX.DEM.ABS           **OBL** cough           GEN   child  
 'this is medicine for children's cough' (93.70)

The following example shows the U-word *importante* 'important' modified by an Oblique constituent. As in the preceding example, the Absolutive DP is placed between head of the predicate and the Oblique modifier:

(6.100)   ma'in importante in blongay ti alta-i?  
 maʔin [ʔimpurtanti] ʔin   bluŋaj           **[ti   ʔalta=i]]**  
 why   important   ABS   Balobo           **OBL** Alta=SPEC  
 'Why is the Balobo plant important to the Alta?' (515.06)



### 6.4.4 Complement function

Oblique DPs may also function as complements of the Existential *isay*. They share this function with Locative DPs, Pron / PrPs and Dem / DemPs (see §6.5.3 below).

- (6.101)    pero isay ti penti'edan ni lanslide=i  
           piru   ʔisaj [ti    pəntiʔədan [ni    lanlajd=i]]  
           but    be.at **OBL** bottom            GEN landslide=SPEC  
           'but (the big stone) is at the bottom of a landslide' (103.199)

### 6.5 Locative case

Locative constituents may be formed by DPs marked with the Locative Article *ta* (§5.3.1). If the lexical head of a DP is a person noun, the Article used is *ni*. If the lexical head of the DP is plural, the plural Locative Article *niden* is used.

Locative DPs can function as oblique arguments, encoding a definite undergoer in clauses with bivalent and trivalent predicates, and they may also function as adjuncts with locational meaning in any type of clause. In addition, Locative DPs can function as complements of the Existential *isay*, a function in which they express a location. Finally, Locative DPs can also function as a complement of the predicates, expressing a partitive meaning.

Locative Personal Pronouns (§5.2.1.4) and Locative Demonstratives (§5.2.2.4) may also form Locative constituents, sharing all functions with Locative DPs, except for the complement of the predicate function.

**Table 6.7 Syntactic functions and semantic roles of Locative constituents**

Clause type	Syntactic Function	Role
Voice-marked clauses (with bivalent or trivalent predicate)	argument	undergoer
All types	Adjunct	location
	complement (of the predicate)	partitive
Existential clause ( <i>isay</i> )	complement (of the Existential)	location

## 6.5.1 Argument function

Locative constituents may function as arguments in voice-marked clauses headed by bivalent and trivalent V-words, in which they express an undergoer.

### 6.5.1.1 Clauses with bivalent V-words as predicate

- (6.102) awon mi mengotang ni Maricel  
 ʔawun=mi                      mən-ʔutaŋ      [ni      marisil]  
 not.exist=1pe.ABS      AV-borrow      **LOC**      Maricel  
 ‘we do not borrow money from Maricel’ (86.425)
- (6.103) meiwadde linumemya di’ami  
 majwaddə      |<in><um>əmja      [diʔami]  
 exist                      <PRF><AV>wake      1pe.**LOC**  
 ‘there is someone who woke us up’ (68.12)
- (6.104) awon nen te mensoportā di’aw, ay!  
 ʔawun=nən                      tə      mən-supurta      [diʔaw]                      aj  
 not.exist=already      NSP      AV-support      2s.**LOC**                      INTJ  
 ‘there is no one that supports you anymore’ (99.246)
- (6.105) ma’in awon mod a apolungen, Bok? ma’una di’en  
 maʔin ʔawun=mu=d                      ʔəC-ʔapulŋ-ən                      buk  
 why      not.exist=2s.GEN=d      PRG-speak-PV                      Buk  
  
 maʔuna                      [diʔən]  
 say                      1s.LOC  
 ‘“why are you not talking to me, Bok?” he said to me’ (83.036)
- (6.106) ngo’an mo in la’ay mo, adinod in la’ay mo ma’una say  
 nguʔ-an=mu                      ʔin      laʔaj=mu  
 name-LV=2s.GEN      ABS      old.man=2s.GEN  
  
 ʔadinu=d      ʔin      laʔaj=mu                      maʔuna[=**saj**]  
 where=d      ABS      husband=2s.GEN      say=DIST.DEM.**LOC**  
 ‘“call your husband, where is he now”, he said to her’ (100.0199)

### 6.5.1.2 Clauses with trivalent V-words as predicate

- (6.107) inebenta de diya'yay ni dila-i a Puling  
 ?<in>i-binta=də                      dijaʔjaj                      **[ni dilaʔi ʔa puliŋ]**  
 CV<PRF>-sell=3p.GEN              now                      **LOC**    uncle    LK    Puling  
 'they have sold (the land) to uncle Puling' (103.503)
- (6.108) e''iponen mi iye'ated mi ni Sipten  
 ʔəC-ʔipun-ən=mi                      ʔi-ʔəC-ʔatəd=mi                      **[ni siptin]**  
 PRG-collect-PV=1pe.GEN    CV-PRG-give=1pe.GEN              **LOC**    chiefain  
 'we collect them and we give them to the chieftain' (89.252)
- (6.109) initudu ded man di'etam ay  
 ʔ<in>i-tudu=də=d=man                      **[diʔitam]**                      ʔaj  
 CV<PRF> -teach=3p.GEN=d=CNTR              1pi.**LOC**                      INTJ  
 'they taught it (the culture) to us' (99.45)
- (6.110) ippabasa de di'en in mapa  
 ʔi-pa-basa=də                      **[diʔən]**                      ʔin    mapa  
 CV-CAU-read=3p.GEN                      1s.**LOC**                      ABS    map  
 'he read the map to me' (82.32)
- (6.111) nanih ipa'inta' di'aw in salago  
 nanih    ʔi-pa-inta=?                      **[diʔaw]**                      ʔin    salagu  
 later    CV-CAU-see=1s.GEN                      2s.**LOC**                      ABS    salago  
 'later, I will show you the salago plant' (86.368):

### 6.5.2 Adjunct function

When functioning as adjuncts, Locative constituents denote the location or source of a state of affairs.

- (6.112) dati isay'e minentira ta Malabida  
 dati                      ʔisaj=əʔ                      m<in>ən-tira                      **[ta malabida]**  
 originally              be.at=1s.ABS                      AV<PRF>-live                      **LOC**    Malabida  
 'first I lived in Malabida' (76.07)

- (6.113) ay ten inomay itam ta Dicoliat 'ina  
 ai tən ʔ<in><um>aj=ʔitam [ta dikulijat]=ʔina  
 INTJ when <PRF><AV>go=1pi.ABS LOC Dicoliat=MED.DEM.ABS  
 'that (picture) is when we all went to Dicoliat' (75.02)
- (6.114) mensoli itam ta pinsal  
 mən-suli=ʔitam [ta pinsal]  
 AV-return=1pi.ABS LOC cousin  
 'let's go back to (the house of) our cousin' (88.630)
- (6.115) mensosoli dla sen, di'en  
 mən-su-suli=dla[=sin] [diʔən]  
 AV-RDP-return=just=PROX.DEM.LOC 1s.LOC  
 'he just keeps coming back here, at my (house)' (77.222)
- (6.116) ay unoden mod si say ma'una'  
 aj ʔunud-ən=mu=d=sid[=saj] maʔuna  
 INTJ follow-PV=1s.GEN=d=3p.ABS=DIST.DEM.LOC say  
 'follow them there, (he) said' (100.887)
- (6.117) ettiran de say a tape  
 ʔəC-tira-an=də[=saj] ʔa tapəʔ]  
 PRG-live-LV=3s.GEN=DIST.DEM.LOC LK land  
 'they are living on that land there' (88.50)
- (6.118) i'en, i-tanem mi sen in tangkay na  
 ʔiʔin ʔi-tanəm=mi[=sin]  
 PROX.DEM CV-plant=1pe.GEN=PROX.DEM.LOC  
  
 ʔin tanʔkaj=na  
 ABS stem=3s.GEN  
 'and this one, we plant its stem here' (93.247)

### 6.5.3 Complement function

#### 6.5.3.1 Complement of *isay*

As the examples below show, Locative constituents may function as complements of the Existential *isay*, a function in which they express the location of the existing entity:

- (6.119) ten isay tam sep ta project  
tən ʔisaj=itam=sip [ta prajik]  
when be.at=1pi.ABS=still LOC project  
'when we were still living at the project' (81.214)

- (6.120) in isay ni Bianing, ti Dyendyen 'o  
ʔin ʔisaj [ni bijaniŋ] ti djindjin=ʔu  
ABS be.at LOC Bianing ABS Dyendyen=1s.GEN  
'the one who stays at Bianing's, my (daughter) Dyendyen' (100.1237)

#### 6.5.3.2 Complement of the predicate

When appearing in this function, Locative case-marked DPs sometimes show a weak form of the *ta* Article, realized as [tə]. However, as the corpus contains some examples in which the Article is realized as [ta], we assume that it is the same Article. The question of whether this realization of the Locative Article is related to the non-specific Article *tə* (§5.3.1.4) requires further investigation.

For the time being, we will analyze [tə] as a variant of *ta*, but represent it as *tə* in the phonological transcription tier of the glosses, so that the examples of this form can be easily located in the future.

##### 6.5.3.2.1 Clauses with voice-marked predicates

- (6.121) ay si'en man ay me'tog e' te uluh  
ʔaj siʔən=man ʔaj mə-ʔtug=əʔ [tə ʔuluh]  
INTJ 1s=CNTR PM ST-hardness=1s.ABS LOC head  
'as for me, I am hard headed' (88.170) (lit. I am hard on the head)

- (6.122) melasa 'en te iyan, melanis

mə-lasa[=?in]                      [tə    ?ijan]                      mə-lanis  
 ST-taste=PROX.DEM.ABS    **LOC**    leaf                      ST-sweetness  
 ‘the leaves of this one are tasty, and sweet’ (94.774) (lit. that one is tasty on  
 the leaves)

(6.123) obra hela siya illaga, eggate’an te iyan  
 ?ubra=hila[=sija]    ?i-laga                      ?əC-gatə?-an                      [tə    ?ijan]  
 can=too=3s.ABS    CV-boil                      PRG-milk-LV                      **LOC**    leaf  
 ‘it is also possible to boil it, or extract the milk of its leaves’ (93.378)

### 6.5.3.2.2 Clauses with voice-unmarked predicates

(6.124) dedde’el siya te iyan  
 də-də?ə[=sija]                      [tə    ?ijan]  
 RDP-big=3s.ABS    **LOC**    leaf  
 ‘it has very big leaves’ (94.701) (lit. it is very big on the leaves)

(6.125) Adat ’en te ngadden  
 ?adat[=?in]                                      [tə    ηaddən]  
 adat=PROX.DEM.ABS    **LOC**    name  
 ‘its name is *adat*’ (95.163)    (lit. this is *adat* on the name)

(6.126) Artur yad te ngadden ’o  
 ?artur[=jaj]=d                                      [tə    ηaddən=?u]  
 artur=DIST.DEM.ABS=d    **LOC**    name=1s.GEN  
 ‘Artur is my name’ (88.06) (lit. that is Artur on my name)

(6.127) kung ngo’an mi ’en ay Koronang tinik dahil ado te set  
 kuŋ    ŋu?-an=mi=[?in]                                      ?aj    kurunaŋtinik  
 if    name-LV=1pe=GEN.DEM.ABS    PM    kurunang.tinik  
  
 dahil                      ?adu    [tə    sit]  
 because                      many    **LOC**    thorns  
 ‘the way we name it (this plant) *kurunang tinik* because (it) has many thorns’  
 (94.018) (lit. because it is many on the thorns)



## 7. Voice-marked words

This chapter provides an overview of the different voice-marked words and explores the type of participants they require as well as their aspect inflection. Section 7.2 explores non-derived V-words, §7.3 deals with Potentive words and §7.4 presents Stative words. Finally §7.5 explores Causative words.

### 7.1 Introduction

As was presented in §5.4.3 V-words are a subclass of content words distinguished by carrying a voice affix and by the capacity of inflecting for aspect. Northern Alta words show a voice system characteristic of Philippine languages, in which the affix appearing on the predicative word determines which semantic roles are assigned to the case-marked arguments in a clause. It was shown in Sections §4.2.1 and §5.4 that V-words may also function as the lexical head of a DP or LP, appearing in argument and modifier functions respectively, without additional coding. However, it is only V-words functioning as predicates that we are concerned with in this chapter.

On the basis of the fact that other content words may also appear in predicate, argument and modifier functions, it was suggested in §5.4.1 that the *syntactic uniformity hypothesis for content words* is also justified for Northern Alta: since all content words may appear in the same positions, they are not classified into different syntactic categories. However, we saw in §5.4.2 that content words may be divided by morphological criteria. On the basis of the two following properties, we defined V-words as distinct from other content words:

1. V-words carry a voice affix
2. V-words may inflect for aspect

Thus, V-words form a major (morphological) class of content words, distinct from the second major class which we named U-words.

V-words can be further subclassified on the basis of the set of affixes they take. We distinguish four main types of V-words: non-derived words, Potentive words, Stative words and Causatives. For Tagalog, Himmelmann (2004, p.9) distinguishes stative words from dynamic words on the basis of morphological criteria: “Stative is a marked category in two regards. On the one hand, it is marked in the superficial morphological sense of involving



more morphological marking than nonstatives, at least in Locative and Conveyance voice. On the other hand, it is marked in the functional sense of being the marked member in a binary opposition.” Considering his first criterion, and on the basis of the morphology of Northern Alta Locative voice words and Conveyance voice words, we assume that non-derived words are the most basic category, given that in the Locative and Conveyance voices, Potentive, Stative and Causative words involve more morphological marking than the forms classified as non derived.

## 7.2 Non-derived V-words

Non-derived V-words are characterized by carrying one of the affixes appearing in Table 7.1 below. As shown in Table 7.9 they may inflect for perfective and progressive aspect. Non-derived words involve the expression of an actor that is volitional and in control of the event. Certain <um> words (see §7.2.1) constitute an exception in that they may also take no participant at all or in that they may take an actor that is not in full control (see example 6.5).

Actor voice non-derived V-words take an Absolutive actor and may take an Oblique undergoer. In the Undergoer voices, non-derived V-words take a Genitive actor, an Absolutive undergoer, and they may also take an Oblique argument, expressing an undergoer role.

Table 7.1 shows the main types of non-derived V-words, and provides one example per voice. Each voice is further explored in the subsections below. The aspectual inflection of non-derived V-words is explored in §7.2.7

**Table 7.1 Voice affixation of non-derived V-words**

Voice	Affix	Example	Section
Actor voice (AV)	<b>&lt;um&gt;</b> / <um> /	<b>&lt;um&gt;e’ay</b> /ʔ<um>əʔʔaj/ ‘to go’	§7.2.1
	<b>men-</b> /mən-/	<b>men-tanem</b> /mən-tanəm/ ‘to plant’	§7.2.2
	<b>meng-</b> /məŋ-/	<b>meng-alap</b> /məŋ-ʔalap/ ‘to catch something’	§7.2.3
Patient voice (PV)	<b>-en</b> /-ən/	<b>alap-en</b> /ʔalap-ən/ ‘to get something’	§7.2.4

Locative voice (LV)	<b>-an</b> /-an/	<b>ngo-'an</b> /ŋuʔ-an/ 'to give someone'	§7.2.5
Conveyance voice (CV)	<b>i-</b> /ʔi/	<b>i-dton</b> /ʔi-dton/ 'to place something'	§7.2.6

One and the same root does not necessarily occur in distinct voice categories, with the different voice affixes listed in Table 7.1. Some roots may occur in several categories, as for example the root *alap* 'get, catch'. The corpus mostly contains occurrences of the Patient voice form *alapan*, a small number of occurrences of the Actor voice form *mengalap*, three occurrences of the Conveyance voice form *ialap* and one single occurrence of the Actor voice *umalap*. Other roots however occur in more limited voice categories. For example the root *ngo* 'name' most often occurs in Locative voice form *ngo'an*.

### 7.2.1 Actor voice <um> words

Actor voice <um> /<um>/ words may form clauses in which they take no argument at all. They may also form clauses in which they take one or two arguments. Table 7.2 summarizes the possible valency patterns of <um> words.

**Table 7.2 Valency patterns of <um> words**

Valency	Case and role of Argument/s	Example
0	--	7.1
1	Absolutive (actor)	7.2, 7.4, 7.5, 7.6
	Unmarked Phrase (actor)	7.3
2	Absolutive (actor)	6.70, 5.238
	Oblique (undergoer)	

Actor <um> words may form clauses in which there are no arguments. In these clauses they refer to meteorological events:

(7.1) pag awon um'udden, awon siya pwede a ilipat

pag ʔawun ʔ<um>ʔ-uddən

if not exist <AV>RDP-rain

ʔawun=sija pwidi ʔa ʔi-lipad

not.exist=3s.ABS    can                    LK    CV-transfer  
 'if it is not raining it is not possible to transplant it' (94.256)

Actor <um> words may form clauses in which they take one argument, which is either an Absolutive argument (as in 7.2) or an Unmarked Phrase (7.3). In both examples the Actor <um> word expresses a change of state:

(7.2)        dinom'el nen in ana'  
**d<in><um>əʔəl**=nən            ʔin    ʔanaʔ  
 <PRF><AV>**big**=already    ABS    child  
 'the child grew up' (76.094)

(7.3)        binoma'ik nen waget-i  
**b<in><um>aʔik**=nən            waget=i  
 <PRF><AV>small=already    water=SPEC  
 'water got scarce/smaller' (100.515)

In clauses with one argument, Actor voice <um> words may express motion (as in examples 7.4 and 7.5), in which case the single argument expresses the actor role.

(7.4)        'umali 'ad, wadi, ma'unad say, menginad itad  
**ʔ<um>ali**=ʔa=d                    wadi                    maʔuna=d=saj  
**<AV>come**=2s.ABS=d            younger.sibling        say=d=DIST.DEM.LOC  
  
 mən-ginan=d=ʔitam=d  
 AV-run=d=1pi.ABS=d  
 'come, brother, I said to them, let's run' (100.310)

(7.5)        bagay, tanghalid dumateng tiyama miyu at mengan  
 bagaj tanhali=d        **d<um>atəŋ**    tijama=miju            ʔat    mən-ʔan  
 then    noon=d            **<AV>arrive**    ABS.father=2p.Gen    and    AV-eat  
 'then, at noon, your father comes and eats' (61.39)

As the Examples (7.4) and (7.6) show, <um> words can be used to express commands.

(7.6)        ha, tumbag 'a!

ha t<um>bag=?a  
 INTJ <AV>reply=2s.ABS  
 'hey, answer (my question)!' (21.09)

Actor voice <um> words may also take two arguments: an Absolutive actor and an undergoer marked in the Oblique case. Examples of this type are words like *bumili* 'to buy' (see Example 6.70) or the word *lumemya* 'to wake' (Example 6.103).

Finally, the infix <um> may also be used with the irregular content word *budi* 'want', which in its unaffixed form takes a Genitive actor and an Absolutive undergoer and thus behaves like an Undergoer voice form. In contrast with the unaffixed form, the word *bumudi* takes an Absolutive actor and an Oblique-marked undergoer:

(7.7) anon'a a binomudi ti awon te tarrabaho? ma'unad ti Don Pepe  
 ?anun=?a                      ?a      b<in><um>udi  
 why=2s.ABS                      LK      <PRF><AV>want

ti      ?awun              tə      tarabahu              ma?una=d      ti      dunpipi  
 OBL not.exist              NSP work              say=d              ABS Don.Pepe  
 'why did you love the one who does not have a job? said Don Pepe' (53.55)

Table 7.3 provides a number of examples of Actor voice <um> words:

Table 7.3 Examples of Actor voice <um> words

Semantic Type	Examples	Translation
meteorological	<b>um'udden</b> /ʔ<um>-ʔ-uddən/	to be raining <sup>29</sup>
	<b>dumdalam</b> /d<um>-d-alam/	to be getting dark
change of state	<b>dum'eI</b> /dumʔel/	to become big, to grow
	<b>buma'ik</b> /bumaiʔk/	to become small/scarce
	<b>umingel</b> /ʔ<um>injəl/	to get angry
	<b>lumemya</b> /l<um>əmja/	to wake
	<b>pumoti</b> /p<um>uti/	to become white

<sup>29</sup> Some forms in this table show progressive aspect C reduplication (§7.2.7.3) and for this reason, they are translated with English gerundives.

action	<b>umali</b> /ʔ<um>ali/	to come
	<b>dumateng</b> /d<um>atəŋ/	to arrive
	<b>tumbag</b> /t<um>bag/	to reply
	<b>bumili</b> /b<um>ili/	to buy
other	<b>bumudi</b> /b<um>udi/	to want

## 7.2.2 Actor voice *men-* words

Actor *men-* /mən-/ words express an action related to the root, which is durative and lacks an inherent terminal point. Actor *men-* words take one argument, marked in the Absoutive case. The prefix *men-* undergoes regressive assimilation with the first consonant of the root it is attached to (see §3.2.1.1).

- (7.8) menla'ad ami ti papa'asi  
**mən-laʔad**=ʔami ti papaʔas=i  
**AV-walk**=1pe.ABS LOC morning=SPEC  
 'we walk in the morning' (60.10)

- (7.9) mengamas sid, oma de 'in sigudo  
**mən-gamas**=sid ʔuma=də=ʔin sigudu  
**AV-weed**=3p.ABS farm=3p.GEN=PROX.DEM.LOC maybe  
 'they weed, that is probably their land' (109.142)

- (7.10) mengalaw sid ti bola-i  
**mən-galaw**=sid ti bula=i  
**AV-play**=3s.ABS OBL ball=SPEC  
 'they play with a ball' (109.189)

In contrast with the preceding examples, in which the actors are human, in the next example the actor of the *men*-word is a plant.

- (7.11) menbudde' siya, tapos mengiyan inad a 'elan  
**mən-buddə**'=sija tapus mənʔ-ʔijan=ʔina=d ʔa ʔəlan  
**AV-flower**=3s.ABS then **AV-fruit**=MED.DEM.ABS=d LK all  
 'it flowers, then it starts bearing all the fruits' (94.173)

Actor *men-* words can take a second argument, which is marked in Oblique or Locative case (see §6.4.1.1 and §6.5.1) and carries an undergoer role. In the example below, the second argument is marked with the Locative case and expresses definite undergoer.

- (7.12)     mentanod ami ni Emel  
           **mən-tanud**=ʔami=d         ni     ʔimil  
           **AV**-wait=1pe.ABS=d        LOC   Emel  
           ‘we wait for Emel’ (86.133)

Table 7.4 provides additional examples of Actor voice *men-* words:

**Table 7.4 Examples of Actor voice *men-* words**

Examples	Translation
<b>men’oma</b> /mən-ʔuma/	to farm
<b>menla’ad</b> /mən-laʔad/	to walk
<b>mentanod</b> /mən-tanud/	to wait
<b>menbilay</b> /mən-bilaj/	to live
<b>menpolung</b> /mən-pulun/	to talk
<b>menlati</b> /mən-lati/	to collect rattan
<b>mendilus</b> /mən-dilus/	to swim
<b>menledep</b> /mən-lidep/	to dive
<b>mengigi</b> /mən-gigi/	to grind teeth
<b>menbudde</b> /mən-buddə/	to bloom

### 7.2.3 Actor voice *meng-* words

Actor *meng-* /məŋ/ words express distributive or repeated actions. Words carrying the prefix *meng-* take an Absolutive case-marked actor and also take an argument marked in the Oblique case. The actor of *meng-* words may be human (7.13), or non-human, as in (7.14). The prefix *meng-* triggers nasal substitution when attached to roots starting with the obstruents b, p, k, g and ʔ (see §3.2.4).

- (7.13)     tiyama, isay ta mudung, mengaludu, mengalap ti laman

tijama            ʔisaj ta        muduŋ        **məŋ-ʔaludu**  
 ABS.father      be.at LOC    mountain    **AV-hunt**

**məŋ-ʔalap**    ti        laman  
**AV-get**        OBL    wild.pig

‘my father, he was on the mountain, hunting, catching wild pigs’ (39.07)

(7.14)    tanodan mo ti tatlo-i a bulan mengiyan nen siya ti ado-i  
 tanud-an=mu            ti        tatlu=i        ʔa        bulan  
 wait-LV=2s.GEN        OBL    four=SPEC    LK        month

**məŋ-ʔijan**=nən        sija                    ti        ʔadu=i  
**AV-fruit**=already    3s.ABS                OBL    many=SPEC

‘you wait for three months and it already bears a lot (of fruits)’ (94.390)

Table 7.5 provides examples of Actor voice *meng-* words.

**Table 7.5 Examples of Actor voice *meng-* words**

Example	Translation
<b>mengaludu</b> /məŋ-ʔaludu/	to hunt
<b>mengaso</b> /məŋ-ʔasu/	to hunt (with dogs)
<b>mengoriente</b> /məŋ-kurjinti/	to fish (with iron rod)
<b>menpeltag</b> /məŋ-pətag/	to spear
<b>mengotan</b> /məŋ-ʔutan/	to borrow from
<b>menginta</b> /məŋ-ʔinta/	to see something
<b>mengaliyo</b> /məŋ-ʔaliju/	to search something
<b>mengated</b> /məŋ-ʔatəd/	to give someone
<b>mengan</b> /məŋ-ʔan/	to eat
<b>mengalap</b> /məŋ-ʔalap/	to catch something
<b>mengolas</b> /məŋ-ʔulas/	to wash something
<b>mengut'ut</b> /məŋ-ʔutʔut/	to dig
<b>mengyari</b> /məŋ-jari/	to happen
<b>mengiyan</b> /məŋ-ʔijan/	to bear fruit

## 7.2.4 Patient voice *-en* words

Patient *-en* /-ən/ words take two arguments, a Genitive actor and an Absolutive undergoer. As explained in §6.2.2.1, the undergoer may be more or less affected and express various semantic roles such as patient, theme or stimulus.

- (7.15)    pero alapen e' ni Don Pepe  
           piru    **?alap-ən=ə?**            ni        dunpipi  
           but     **get-PV=1s.ABS**        GEN    Mr.Pepe  
           'but Mr. Pepe held me' (53.54)

More examples of clauses containing Patient *-en* words are provided in Sections §4.3.1.2.1 and §6.2.2.1. In addition, Table 7.6 provides examples of Patient voice *-en* words, and indicates the semantic categories they belong to.

**Table 7.6 Examples of Patient voice *-en* words**

Semantic Type	Examples	Translation
Perception	<b>aloben</b> /ʔalub-ən/	to smell something
	<b>tangalen</b> /taŋal-ən/	to look at something
	<b>pansinen</b> /pansin-ən/	to pay attention to something
Cognition	<b>isipen</b> /ʔisip-ən/	to think about something
	<b>annolen</b> /ʔannul-ən/	to know something/someone
	<b>buden</b> /budi-ən/	to want something
Communication	<b>tanggapen</b> /taŋgap-ən/	to accept someone
	<b>libangen</b> /libaŋ-ən/	to entertain someone
	<b>uyogen</b> /ʔujug-ən/	to mock someone
Transfer	<b>unoden</b> /ʔunud-ən/	to follow someone
	<b>damolagen</b> /damulag-ən/	to chase something/someone
	<b>lokmaten</b> /lukmat-ən/	to remove something
	<b>eg'angen</b> /ʔəgʔaŋ-ən/	to remove something
	<b>guyoden</b> /gujud-ən/	to pull something



	<b>gamiten</b> /gamit-ən/	to use something
	<b>haplusen</b> /haplus-ən/	to caress someone
Affect	<b>alapen</b> /ʔalap-ən/	to catch something
	<b>linisen</b> /linis-ən/	to clean something/someone
	<b>magnetan</b> /magnit-ən/	to magnetize something
	<b>etulen</b> /ʔətul-ən/	to cut something
	<b>hakoten</b> /hakut-ən/	to chop something (wood)
	<b>tistisen</b> /tistis-ən/	to cut something in pieces
	<b>tegtegen</b> /təgtəg-ən/	to crush something
	<b>badilen</b> /badil-ən/	to shoot something/someone
	<b>peltagen</b> /pəltag-ən/	to spear something/someone

### 7.2.5 Locative voice *-an* words

Locative *-an* /-an/ words take two arguments: a Genitive actor and an Absolutive undergoer. In clauses with predicates headed by Locative *-an* words, the Absolutive argument may express various semantic roles, which are described and exemplified in §6.2.2.2.

- (7.16) sa'latan de dla yay ti begas-i  
**saʔlat-an**=də=dla=jaj                      ti      bəgas=i  
**barter-LV**=3p.GEN=just=DIST.DEM.ABS   OBL   rice=i  
'they just traded for some rice' (88.362)

As shown in §6.4.1.2, some *-an* words may take three arguments. Examples (6.73, 6.75) show *-an* words taking a Genitive actor, an Absolutive recipient and an Oblique case-marked theme. Additional examples of clauses containing Locative *-an* words are provided in §4.3.1.2.2. Finally, Table 7.7 below provides examples of Locative voice *-an* words.

**Table 7.7 Examples of Locative voice *-an* words**

Example	Translation
<b>soliyan</b> /suli-an/	to return somewhere

<b>puledan</b> /puləd-an/	to sleep somewhere
<b>bi'nan</b> /biʔen-an/	to approach someone
<b>kabitan</b> /kabit-an/	to attach somewhere
<b>ta'bonan</b> /taʔbun-an/	to cover something
<b>puluputan</b> /puluput-an/	to roll a string around something
<b>atdan</b> /ʔated-an/	to give someone
<b>payongan</b> /pajuŋ-an/	to build for someone
<b>palitan</b> /palit-an/	to exchange with someone
<b>sa'latan</b> /saʔlat-an/	to exchange with someone
<b>tolongan</b> /tuluj-an/	to help someone
<b>itan</b> /ʔinta-an/	to look at something/someone
<b>ali'sapan</b> /aliʔsap-an/	to forget something
<b>tanda'an</b> /tanda-an/	to remember something
<b>bantayan</b> /bantaj-an/	to guard something
<b>tanodan</b> /tanud-an/	to wait for something
<b>ngo'an</b> /ŋuʔ-an/	to call someone
<b>biddan</b> /bidde-an/	to scold someone
<b>baybayan</b> /baibaj-an/	to guide someone
<b>ut'utan</b> /ʔutʔut-an/	to excavate something
<b>linisan</b> /linis-an/	to clean something
<b>ulasan</b> /ʔulas-an/	to wash something
<b>sabdulan</b> /sabdul-an/	to sprinkle water on something
<b>ta'buwan</b> /taʔbu-an/	to pour water on something

### 7.2.6 Conveyance voice *i*- words

Conveyance *i*- words take a Genitive agent, and an Absolutive argument expressing an entity that is moved through space, given to someone, said to someone, or undergoing a change of state (theme), or an entity that is used for something (instrumental).

- (7.17)      meiwadded man sid a me'alap a lama, siya yay ibenta mi sela  
                  majwaddə=d=man=sid      a      mə-ʔalap      ʔa      laman

have=d=CNTR=3.ABS      LK      ST-get      LK      wild pig

sija=jaj                      **?i-binta**=mi=sila  
 3s=DIST.DEM              **CV-sell**=1pe.GEN=also  
 'if they have caught a wild pig, that also is what we sell' (61.62)

(7.18)      itanem mod siya ta'bunan mod  
**?i-tanəm**=mu=d=sija                      ta?bun-an=mu=d  
**CV-plant**=2s.GEN=d=3s.ABS              cover-AN=2s.GEN=d  
 'you plant it, you cover it' (94.215)

As shown in §6.4.1.2, some Conveyance voice *i-* words can take three arguments. Examples (6.74) and (6.109) show examples of *i-* words with a Genitive agent, an Absolutive theme and an Oblique case-marked recipient. Additional examples of clauses containing Conveyance voice *i-* words are provided in Sections §4.3.1.2.3 and §6.2.2.3. Table 7.8 below provides examples of Conveyance voice words

**Table 7.8 Examples of Conveyance voice *i-* words**

Semantic Type	Example	Meaning
Transfer	<b>ilipad</b> /ʔi-lipad/	to transfer something
	<b>isome</b> /ʔi-sumə/	to hide something
	<b>itanem</b> /ʔi-tanəm/	to plant something
	<b>ihakot</b> /ʔi-hakut/	to collect something
	<b>isako</b> /ʔi-saku/	to put something in a sack
	<b>iyelwas</b> /ʔi-əlwas/	to take something across
	<b>itinda</b> /ʔi-tinda/	to sell something
	<b>ibenta</b> /ʔi-binta/	to sell something
	<b>isurrender</b> /ʔi-surindir/	to surrender
	<b>ikarga</b> /ʔi-karga/	to load something
	<b>isakay</b> /ʔi-sakaj/	to ride something on a vehicle
	<b>ipalit</b> /ʔi-palit/	to trade something
	<b>ikabit</b> /ʔi-kabit/	to attach something
<b>iyedpen</b> /ʔi-ədpən/	to place something	

	<b>isabit</b> /ʔi-sabit/	to hang something
	<b>igaya'</b> /ʔi-gajaʔ/	to prepare something
Benefaction	<b>iyated</b> /ʔi-atəd/	to give something
	<b>ida'ut</b> /ʔi-daʔut/	to share something
	<b>ibilay</b> /ʔi-bilaj/	to provide food
Communication	<b>ipolung</b> /ʔi-puluŋ/	to tell something
	<b>ibidde</b> /ʔi-biddə/	to say something
	<b>ibawal</b> /ʔi-bawal/	to prohibit something
Cause a change of state	<b>igisa</b> /ʔi-gisa/	to cook something
	<b>ipirito</b> /ʔi-piritu/	to fry something
	<b>ipaksiw</b> /ʔi-paksiw/	to vinegar-fry something
	<b>ilaga</b> /ʔi-laga/	to boil something
	<b>ita'bon</b> /ʔi-ta'bun/	to use as cover
	<b>igamot</b> /ʔi-gamut/	to use as medicine
	<b>igulay</b> /ʔi-gulaj/	to use as food

### 7.2.7 Aspect inflection of non-derived V-words

Table 7.19 below summarizes the aspectual inflection non-derived V-words. The column Basic form provides the affixes for the Actor and Undergoer voices. The Perfective and Progressive columns show the position of the affixes or reduplicated segments in relation to each voice affix. Tables 7.10 and 7.11 provide words inflected for perfective and progressive aspects and are followed by examples.

Table 7.9 Aspect inflection of non-derived V-words

Voice	Basic form	Perfective	Progressive
AV	<b>&lt;um&gt;</b> / <um> /	<b>&lt;in&gt;&lt;um&gt;</b> / <ʔinum> /	<b>C&lt;um&gt;</b> / C<um> /
AV	<b>men-</b> / mən- /	<b>m&lt;in&gt;en-</b> / m<in>ən- /	<b>men-CV</b> / mən-CV /
AV	<b>meng-</b> / mənɣ- /	<b>m&lt;in&gt;eng-</b> / m<in>əŋ- /	-

AV	<b>mengi-</b> /məŋi-/	<b>m&lt;in&gt;eng-</b> /m<in>əŋi-/	-
PV	<b>-en</b> /-ən/	<b>&lt;in&gt;</b> /<in>/	<b>eC-...-en</b> /ʔəC....-ən/
LV	<b>-an</b> /-an/	<b>&lt;in&gt;...-an</b> /<in>...-an/	<b>eC-....-an</b> /ʔəC....-an/
CV	<b>i-</b> /ʔi-/	<b>&lt;in&gt;i</b> /ʔ<in>i-/	<b>i-eC-</b> /ʔi-əC-/

### 7.2.7.1 Basic forms

Aspect unmarked forms are formed by adding a voice affix to the root. The meanings of the aspect-unmarked forms are described in Sections §7.2.1 - §7.2.6

### 7.2.7.2 Perfective aspect

Perfective aspect is marked by adding the perfective infix <in> to the voice-marked forms presented in the preceding section. As Table 7.10 shows, perfective Patient voice forms are unmarked for voice, and thus do not carry the PV suffix *-en*. The table provides one perfective example per voice form, and indicates the placement of the perfective infix <in> in relation to the voice affix.

**Table 7.10 Perfective aspect of non-derived V-words**

Voice	Stem	Perfective Affixation	Perfective form	Perfective meaning
AV	dumateng /d<um>atəŋ/	<b>&lt;in&gt;&lt;um&gt;</b> /<inum>/	<b>dinumateng</b> /d<in><um>atəŋ/	arrived
AV	mensanga /mən-saŋa/	<b>m&lt;in&gt;en-</b> /m<in>ən-/	<b>minensanga</b> /m<in>ən-saŋa/	married
AV	menginta /məŋ-ʔinta/	<b>m&lt;in&gt;eng-</b> /m<in>əŋ-/	<b>minenginta</b> /m<in>əŋ-ʔinta/	saw someone
AV	mengitudu /məŋ-ʔitudu/	<b>m&lt;in&gt;engi-</b> /m<in>əŋi-/	<b>minengitudu</b> /m<in>əŋi-tudu/	taught someone
PV	alapen /ʔalap-ən/	<b>&lt;in&gt;</b> /<in>/	<b>inalap</b> /ʔ<in>alap/	got something
LV	tanda'an /tanda-an/	<b>&lt;in&gt;...-an</b> /<in>...-an/	<b>tinanda'an</b> /t<in>anda-an/	remembered something

CV	inibilay /ʔi-bilaj/	<in>i- /ʔ<in>i-/	inibilay /ʔ<in>i-bilaj/	sustained with
----	------------------------	---------------------	----------------------------	----------------

(7.19) umalang ten si'aw ay dinumateng ti'sen  
 ʔumalaŋ tən siʔaw ʔaj **d<in><um>atəŋ** tiʔsin  
 since when 2s PM <PRF><AV>arrive PROX.DEM.LOC  
 'since the moment you arrived here' (20.02)

(7.20) si'en ay papa'as a minensanga  
 siʔən ʔaj papaʔas ʔa **m<in>ən-saŋa**  
 1s PM early LK AV<PRF>-spouse  
 'as for me, I got married early' (39.17)

(7.21) minenginta e' man ti ettase a debdi  
**m<in>əŋ-ʔinta=əʔ=man** ti ʔəttassi ʔa dəbdi  
 AV<PRF>-see=1s.ABS.CNTR OBL one LK girl  
 'I saw again a girl' (68.28)

(7.22) bagay inalap de in hanbang  
 bagaj **ʔ<in>alap=də** ʔin hanbag  
 then <PRF>get=3p.GEN ABS handbag  
 'then, they took the handbag' (61.26)

(7.23) kaya tinanda-an mi i'yay a istoria  
 kaja **t<in>anda-an=mi** ʔiʔaj ʔa ʔistoria  
 so <PRF>remember-LV=1pe.GEN DIST.DEM LK story  
 'so we remembered that story' (52.167)

(7.24) mengalap in laman, siya yay inibilay na di'ami  
 məŋ-ʔalap ʔin laman sija=jaj  
 AV-get ABS wild.pig 3s=DIST.DEM  
  
**ʔ<in>i-bilaj=na** diʔami  
 CV<PRF>-live=3s.GEN 1pe.LOC  
 'hunting the wild pig, that is what he did to sustain us with' (39.08)

### 7.2.7.3 Progressive aspect

The encoding of the progressive aspect is different throughout the voice alternations and may involve reduplication and affixation. In Actor voice <um> words, the progressive aspect is encoded with the initial C reduplication of the root. The reduplicated consonant is placed between the <um> infix and the root. As shown by forms like *um'udden* /ʔumʔudden/ (Example 7.1) a glottal onset participates in C reduplication. Actor voice *men-* words indicate the progressive aspect with initial CV reduplication of the root. The reduplicated segment is placed between the *men-* prefix and the root. The expression of the progressive aspect with Actor voice *meng-* words requires further research.

In both Patient and Locative voices, the progressive aspect is indicated by the affix *eC-* /ʔəC-/ , in which C indicates the reduplication of the initial consonant of the root. Conveyance voice forms indicate reduplication by inserting the infix <*eC*> /<ʔəC>/ between the CV prefix *i-* and the root<sup>30</sup>. As indicated in Table 7.12 below, the sequence /ʔi<ʔəC>-, which contains the CV prefix *i-* and progressive infix /<ʔəC>/ is phonetically realized as [ʔijəC-]. In the case of the Undergoer voices a glottal onset also participates in the C reduplication.

Table 7.11 Progressive aspect of non-derived V-words

Voice	Stem	Progressive	Progressive form	Progressive meaning
AV	dumateng /dumatəŋ/	<um>C /<um>C/	dumdateng /d<um>d-atəŋ/	arriving
AV	mensiya /mensija/	men-CV /mən-CV/	mensisiya /mən-si-sija/	regretting
PV	alapen /ʔalapən/	eC-...-en /ʔəC-...-ən/	e''alapen /ʔeʔ-ʔalap-en/	getting
LV	tuduwan /tuduwan/	eC-...-an /ʔəC-...-an/	ettuduwan /ʔet-tudu-an/	teaching
CV	tanem /ʔitanəm/	i-ʔeC- /ʔi-ʔəC-/ [ʔijəC-]	iyettanem /ʔi-ʔet-tanəm/	planting

(7.25) ti lingo'an yay a dumdateng

ti liŋu=ʔan=jaj

ʔa d<um>-datəŋ

<sup>30</sup> An alternative analysis is one where the CV prefix is added to a stem that is already reduplicated with progressive aspect, so that infixation always occurs after the initial consonant (Lawrence Reid, personal communication, September 2018)

OBL Sunday=quotative=DIST.DEM.ABS LK <um>RDP-arrive  
 'she is supposed to be coming this Sunday' (88.59)

(7.26) kaya mensisiya' man, awon te megagawi  
 kaja mən-si-sija=?=man ?awun tə mə-gagawi  
 thus AV-RDP-cry=1s.ABS=CNTR not.exist NSP POT.PV-do  
 'so I am regretting that I don't have anything to do' (15.17)

(7.27) e'alapen na in karga ni'nay  
 ?əC-?alap-en=na ?in karga ni?nai  
 PRG-get-PV=3s.GEN ABS current DIST.DEM.GEN  
 'he is getting the electricity from that one' (104.459)

(7.28) et-todu-an 'o sela sid  
 ?əC-tudu-an=?u=sila sid  
 PRG-teach-LV=1s.GEN=also 3s.ABS  
 'I am also teaching them (the Alta language)' (49.61)

(7.29) diya'yay ay i'en ay iyettanem/ ittanem mi ti oma-i  
 dija?aj ?aj ?i?i?n ?aj ?i-?əC-tanəm=mi  
 now INTJ PROX.DEM PM CV-PRG-plant=1pe.GEN  
  
 ti ?uma=i  
 OBL swidden=SPEC  
 'and now, this one is the one we are planting in the farm' (94.188)

### 7.3 Potentive V-words

Potentive V-words carry one of the affixes appearing in Table 7.12 below. In addition, as shown in Table 7.13, Potentive words may inflect for perfective aspect. Potentive words indicate that the actor is not volitional or not in full control of the action. Another possible reading of Potentive words is that the actor has the ability to perform an action.

In the same way as non-derived words, Actor voice Potentive words may take an Absolutive actor and an Oblique undergoer. Potentive words in Undergoer voices take a Genitive actor,



an Absolutive undergoer, and they may also take an Oblique argument, expressing an undergoer role.

Table 7.12 below shows the possible voice formations of Potentive words and provides one example per voice. The table is followed by a number of example sentences containing Potentive words in the different voices, as well as the forms inflected for perfective aspect. The expression of progressive aspect in Potentive words requires further investigation.

**Table 7.12 Voice affixation of Potentive words**

Voice	Affix	Example	Meaning	Section
AV	<b>me'e-</b> /məʔə/	<b>me'e-inom</b> /məʔə-ʔinum/	to be able to drink	§7.4.1
PV	<b>me-</b> /mə-/	<b>me'-alap</b> /mə-'ʔalap/	to be able to catch something	§7.4.2
LV	<b>me...-an</b> /mə-..-an/	<b>me'aliyu'an</b> /mə-ʔaliju-an /	to be able to look for something	§7.4.3
CV	<b>me'i-</b> /məʔi-/	<b>me'ibut</b> /məʔi-but/	to be able to transfer	§7.4.4

### 7.3.1 Potentive Actor voice *me'e-* words

- (7.30) hangan me'epidot nen sid ti ginto-i, paletan ded yay ti syoktong-i  
 hangan **məʔə-pidut**=nən=sid ti gintu=i  
 even POT.AV-collect=already=3p.ABS OBL gold=SPEC  
 palit-an=də=d=jaj ti sijuktun=i  
 trade-LV=3p.GEN=d=DIST.DEM.ABS OBK rice.wine=SPEC  
 'even if they manage to get some gold, they trade it for rice wine' (103.308)

- (7.31) me'e'intindi e' sela ti pengagawi-i ti beli-i  
**məʔə-ʔintindi**=əʔ=sila ti pən-gagawi=i  
 POT.AV-understand=1s.ABS=also OBL GER-make=SPEC  
 ti bəli=i  
 OBL house=SPEC

'I also understand the making (process) of a house' (69.63)

- (7.32) bagaj awon me'e'inom ti gamot-i, ay pumptati  
bagaj ?awun            **məʔə-ʔinum**            ti            gamut=i            ?aj  
when not.exist            POT.AV-drink            OBL    medicine=SPEC            PM

p<um>p-ati

<AV>RDP-faint

'when (he) does not have the chance to drink his medicine (he) faints' (39.56)

### 7.3.2 Potentive Patient voice *me-* words

- (7.33) metanda 'o gul ina ay  
**mə-tanda**=ʔu=gul=ʔina            ?aj  
POT.PV-remember=1s.GEN=emphasis=PROX.DEM.ABS            INTJ  
'I can remember that (the fact that the Alta would share their food' (92.133)

- (7.34) elan a ma'alap aam ti kalikasan-i  
?elan ?a            **mə-ʔalap**=tam            ti            kalikasan=i  
all    LK    POT.PV-get=1pi.GEN            OBL    nature=SPEC  
'all the things we are able to get from nature' (99.208)

### 7.3.3 Potentive Locative voice *me-* *-an* words

- (7.35) hangan dya'yay awon de sepla me'aliyo'an  
hangnan            dijaʔaj            ?awun=də=sipla  
until            now            not.exist=3p.GEN=still

**mə-ʔaliju-an**

POT-search-LV

'until now they have not been able to look for it' (103.114)

- (7.36) in damet 'o, awon 'od me'olasan  
?in    damet=ʔu            awun=ʔu=d            **mə-ʔulas-an**  
ABS    hand=1s.GEN            not.exist=1s.GEN=d    POT-wash-LV  
'my hands, I haven't been able to wash them' (76.386)

- (7.37) awon sep me'ebu'san 'en  
 ?awun=sip    **məʔə-buʔas-an**=?in  
 not.exist=still    POT-open-LV=PROX.DEM.ABS  
 'this is not yet ready to be opened' (92.262)

### 7.3.4 Potentive Conveyance voice *me'i-* words

- (7.38) dapat na ma'esoli tam sela in umansay a kultura tam  
 dapat=na                    **məʔi-suli**=tam=sila  
 should=already            POT.CV-return=1pi.GEN=also

?in    ?umansaj                    ?a    kultura=tam  
 ABS    PROX.DEM.SML    LK    culture=1pi.GEN

'we too should now be able to transfer such a culture of ours (to the children)'  
 (100.121)

- (7.39) awon de budi in ma'etudu sid  
 ?awun=də                    budi    ?in    **məʔi-tudu**=sid  
 not.exist=3p.GEN    want    ABS    POT.CV-teach=3s.ABS  
 'they do not want the one who can teach them' (58.54)

### 7.3.5 Perfective aspect of Potentive words

The perfective aspect is marked by adding the perfective infix <in> to the different Potentive voice-marked forms presented in the preceding section.

Table 7.13 Perfective aspect of Potentive words

Voice	Basic form	Perfective	Example	Meaning
AV	<b>me'e-</b> /məʔə/	<b>m&lt;in&gt;e'e-</b> /m<in>əʔə/	<b>mine'edpen</b> /m<in>əʔə-dpen/	was able to reach
PV	<b>me-</b> /mə-/	<b>m&lt;in&gt;e-</b> /m<in>ə-/	<b>mine'ulay</b> /m<in>ə-ʔulaj/	abandoned
LV	<b>me'e-...-an</b> /məʔə-...-an/	<b>m&lt;in&gt;e'e- -an</b> /m<in>əʔə-...-	<b>mine'e'itan</b> /m<in>əʔə-ʔinta-an/	was able to see
CV	<b>me'i-</b> /məʔi-/	<b>mine'i</b> /m<in>əʔi-/	<b>mine'ibidde</b> /m<in>əʔi-biddə/	was able to say

- (7.40) kaya ami mina'adpen sed, uwah-i, dite'i  
 kaja=?ami                    **m<in>əʔə-dpən**=sin=d  
 thus=1pe.ABS                POT.AV<PRF>reach=PROX.DEM.LOC
- ʔuwah=i                        ditiʔi  
 thing=SPEC                    Diteki  
 'so we were able to reach that place here, Diteki' (100.419)

- (7.41) in 'elan a initamen mi say, mina'ulay mid say  
 ʔin    ʔəlan    ʔa    ʔ<in>i-tanəm=mi=saj  
 ABS   all    LK    CV<PRF>-plant=1pe.GEN=DIST.DEM.ABS

**m<in>ə-ʔulaj**=mi=d=saj  
 POT.PV<PRF>-abandon=1pe.GEN=d=DIST.DEM.ABS  
 'all the things we had planted there, we abandoned them there' (100.441)

- (7.42) pero mine'e'itan nen sid ni kuya Eppeng  
 piru    **m<in>əʔə-ʔinta-an**=nən=sid  
 but    POT<PRF>-see-LV=already=3s.ABS

ni        kuja            ʔippəŋ  
 GEN   brother            Eppeng  
 'but kuya Eppeng was able to see them' (77.114)

- (7.43) bisa bat awon də mina'ibbide di'am?  
 bisa=bat        ʔawun=də                    **m<in>ə-ʔi-bidde**    diʔam  
 NEG=Q        not.exist=3p.GEN        POT.CV<PRF>-say    2p.LOC  
 'isn't it that they did not say it to you?' (52.78)

## 7.4 Stative V-words

Stative words are V-words that are characterized by one the affixes appearing in Table 7.15 below. As shown in examples (7.47), (7.53) and (7.56), Stative words may inflect for

perfective aspect by taking the perfective infix <in>. Stative words denote a state of being (as in examples below), or a property (as in examples 4.30, 5.26 or 5.44).

Stative words carrying the prefixes *me-* and *me'e-* take one argument marked in the Absolutive case, which expresses the experiencer role and may also take an Oblique argument. In Locative and Conveyance voices Stative words may take two arguments: a Genitive experiencer and an Absolutive argument.

Table 7.14 below shows the possible voice formations of Stative words and provides one example per voice. The table is followed by a number of example sentences containing Stative words in the different voices.

**Table 7.14 Voice affixation of Stative words**

<b>Affix</b>	<b>Gloss</b>	<b>Example</b>	<b>Meaning</b>	<b>Section</b>
<b>me-</b> /mə-/	ST	<b>me'anting</b> /mə-ʔantiŋ/	to be scared	§7.5.1
<b>me'e</b> /məʔə-/	ST.AV	<b>me'elbeng</b> /məʔə-lbəŋ/	to be buried	§7.5.2
<b>a...-an</b> /ʔa...-an/	ST.LV	<b>a'ingelan</b> /ʔa-ʔiŋəl-an/	to be angry at someone	§7.5.3
<b>i'a-</b> /iʔa-/	ST.CV	<b>i'abilaj/</b> /iʔa-bilaj/	to be living out of something	§7.5.4

### 7.4.1 Stative *me-* words

Stative *me-* /mə-/ words take an argument to which the experiencer role is assigned. As the examples below show, the argument is marked in the Absolutive case. However, examples (4.10), (4.11) or (5.147), show clauses with predicates headed by Stative *me-* words in which the single argument is an Unmarked Phrase. Stative *me-* words may also take a second argument, marked in the Oblique case, as shown in (7.46 – 7.47).

- (7.44) me'anting e' baka may ulag sinad  
**mə-ʔantiŋ=əʔ**      baka      maj      ʔulag=sina=d  
 ST-fear=1s.ABS      maybe      have      snake=MED.DEM.LOC=d  
 'I am scared, maybe there are snakes there' (100.264)

- (7.45) me'itnud ami ten pon ni alagyan=i  
**mə-ʔitnud**=ʔami tən pun ni ʔalagjan=i  
 ST-sit=1pe.ABS OBL tree GEN katmon=SPEC  
 'we are sitting on a Katmon tree' (100.843)

The two following examples are extracted from recording 103 in which an Alta speaker tells a story in which some Alta were digging a hole but at some point, water came out and filled the hole. In (7.46) the hole gets full of water, but the water is unexpressed in the stative predication. Later on, in the recording, the speaker repeats that the hole was filled by water. As Example (7.47) shows, the argument *water* is marked in the Oblique case:

- (7.46) ginomsa waget-i, minetno in ebut, awon mi minalap  
 g<in><um>sa waget=i, **m<in>ə-tnu** ʔin ʔəbut  
 <PRF><AV>flow water=SPEC ST<PRF>-full ABS hole  
  
 ʔawun=mi m<in>ə-ʔalap  
 not.exist=1pe.GEN POT.PV<PRF>-get  
 'the water started to flow, the hole got full, we couldn't get (what we were looking for)' (103.30)

- (7.47) minetnu ti waget-i  
**m<in>ə-tnu** ti waget=i  
 ST<PRF>-full **OBL** water=SPEC  
 'the hole got filled by water' (103.040)

## 7.4.2 Stative Actor voice *me'e-* words

Stative *me'e-* /məʔə -/ words take an Absolutive argument to which the experiencer role is assigned. The semantic differences with *me-* words require further investigation.

- (7.48) sidde me'ennol-i ten me'elbeng sid sen  
 siddə məʔə-nnul=i tən **məʔə-lbəŋ**=sid=sin  
 3s ST.AV-know=SPEC when ST.AV-bury=3s.ABS=PROX.DEM.LOC  
 'they are the ones who know about the ones who are buried here' (103.095)

- (7.49) me'ebbiting na in kardero

**məʔə-bitɪŋ**=na      ʔin      kaldiru  
 ST.AV-hang=already ABS      pot  
 'the pot is already hanging' (106.140)

- (7.50)      me'ebi'et am gul man'a'ana!  
**məʔə-biʔət**=ʔam=gul=man      ʔa-ʔanaʔ  
 ST.AV-lazyness=2p.ABS=emphasis=contrast      RDP-child  
 'and you my children are indeed lazy!'

### 7.4.3 Stative Locative voice *a-* *-an* words

Locative *a-* *-an* /ʔa- *-an*/ words take a Genitive argument to which the experiencer role is assigned. As Examples (7.51) and (7.54) show, if the Absolutive argument is expressed it carries the stimulus role.

- (7.51)      ay awon 'od man kaya kasi a'inglan e' niyama  
 ʔaj      ʔawun=ʔu=d=man      kaja  
 PM      not.exist=1s.GEN=d=contrast      capable

kasi      **ʔa-ʔiŋel-an**=əʔ      nijama  
 thus      ST-angry-LV=1s.**ABS**      **GEN**.father  
 'I was not capable (to hunt) so father was angry at me'  
 (100.173)

- (7.52)      saka bi'et sid a mengagawi ti delan ni lati-i, ti'sina waget ni Alongo'ongan-i,  
 abi'tan de

saka      biʔət=sid      ʔa      mən-gagawi      ti      dəlan      ni  
 and      lazyness=3s.ABS      LK      AV-do      OBL      way      GEN

lati=li      tiʔsina      wagət  
 rattan=SPEC      MED.DEM.LOC      water

ni      ʔaluŋuʔuŋan=l      **ʔa-biʔət-an**=də  
 GEN      alungoongan=SPEC      ST-lazyness-LV=3p.**GEN**

'and they were lazy to build a path for the rattan camp, there by the Aloongan river, it made them lazy' (86.106)

(7.53) umingan yay kong engo'an mi a mudunɔ sela, inate'nagan ni eroplano-i  
 ʔumingan=jaj kuj ʔəC-ŋu-an=mi ʔa mudun  
 umingan=DIST.DEM.ABS if PRG-name-LV= LK mountain

sela ʔ<in>a-təʔnag-an ni ʔiruplanu=i  
 also ST<PRF>-fall-LV GEN plane=SPEC  
 'Umingan is how we call the mountain there, where the crashed plane lies'  
 (103.126)

(7.54) siyad yay 'a"apuyatan de-i  
 sija=d=jaj ʔəC-ʔa-pujat-an=de=i  
 3s.ABS=d=DIST.DEM.ABS PRG-ST-insomnia-LV=3s.GEN=SP  
 'that (the tv) is what makes them have insomnia' (91.551)

#### 7.4.4 Stative Conveyance voice *i'a*- words

Stative Conveyance voice *i'a* /ʔiʔa/ words take a Genitive argument to which the experiencer role is assigned. As Example (7.60) shows, the argument marked in the Absolutive case expresses the semantic role source.

(7.55) i'abilay mid la ngi, menledep ami, ippalit mi ti begas-i  
 ʔiʔa-bilaj=mi=dla=ŋi mən-lidəp=ʔami  
 ST.CV-life=1pe.GEN=only=emphasis AV-dive=1pe.ABS

ʔi-palit=mi ti bəgas=i  
 CV-trade=1p.GEN OBL rice=SPEC  
 'what we only live from, we fish and trade for rice' (76.013)

(7.56) ten ana' e' sepla ay ay ini'abilay mi sela in penlidep nen alapowan 'o a debdi  
 tən ʔana=əʔ=sipla ʔaj ʔ<in>iʔa-bilaj=mi=sila  
 when child=1s.ABS=still PM ST.CV<PRF>-life=1pe.GEN=also

ʔin pən-lidəp nən ʔalapowan=ʔu ʔa dəbdi  
 ABS GER-dive D.GEN grandparent=1s.GEN LK girl  
 'when I was still a child we were also sustained by the fishing of my feminine grandparents'



- (7.57) pagka minahuli e', ibilango e', ti dahil na ngi, ti penhanapbuhay mo-i, ti  
 iye'abilay ni pamilya-i  
 pagka m<in>ə-huli=ə?                                                    ?i-bilangu=ə?  
 if        POT.PV<PRF>-hunt=1s.ABS                                      CV-prisoner=1s.ABS
- ti        dahil=na=ŋi  
 OBL    because=already=emphasis
- ti        pən-hanapbuhaj=mu=i  
 OBL    GER-source.of.income=2s.GEN=SPEC
- ti        ?i<?əC>?a-bilaj        ni        pamilija  
 OBL    ST.CV<PRF>-life        **GEN**    family  
 'if I hunt, I get arrested, just because you look for an income, for the family to  
 be sustained' (91.666)

Some words in our corpus show a Stative *ika-* prefix, which is most likely borrowed from a neighboring language, given that the Alta reflex of PAn \*k is a glottal stop and that Alta already has a Stative Conveyance voice prefix *i?a-* (which contains the expected reflex of PAn \*k). The prefix *ika-* may have been borrowed from Tagalog. Example (7.59) shows how the prefix *ika-* is followed by the Tagalog root *buhay* 'life', instead of the Alta equivalent *bilay*. Both examples below show that the argument marked in the Genitive case expresses the experiencer role. Example (7.59) also shows that the argument marked in the Absolutive case expresses the semantic role source.

- (7.58) i'ina penuwah ni halaman i, i'ina dla in ikabilay mi  
 ?i?ina            pən-?uwah        ni        halaman=i  
 PROX.DEM    GER-thing        GEN    plant=SPEC
- ?i?ina=dla                            ?in        ?ika-bilaj=mi  
 PROX.DEM=only        ABS    ST-life=1pe.**GEN**  
 'the what's-it of plants, it was the only thing that we were living on' (49.31)
- (7.59) ay minatanda'an'owi inekabuhay ni magulang owi, diami, ay in pengaludu  
 ?aj        m<in>ə-tanda-an=?u=i                                                                            ?<in>ika-buhaj  
 PM        POT.PV<PRF>-remember-LV=1s.GEN=SPEC                                      ST<PRF>-life

ni magulang=ʔu=i diʔami,  
 GEN parents=1s.GEN=SPEC 1pe.LOC

ʔaj ʔin pəng-ʔaludu  
 PM **ABS** INSTR-hunt

'I was able to remember that my parents, our parents, were living of (their) hunting tools' (69.84)

## 7.5 Causative V-words

Words are derived by the Causative prefix *pa-* /pa-/, which can co-occur with the the voice affixes provided in Table 7.15 below. Like other V-words, Causative words may also inflect for perfective aspect (see Table 7.16).

Words carrying the prefix *pa-* denote causation. Causative words co-occurring with the prefix *men-* take an Absolutive argument expressing the causer of the action and an Oblique argument expressing the causee. In Undergoer voices, Causative words take a Genitive causer, and a Oblique causee. Some Causative words may take a third argument, which is marked in the Absolutive case, and which may express the theme role (see examples 7.64, 7.65 and 7.69).

Table 7.15 shows the possible formation of Causative words and provides one example per voice. The table is followed by examples containing Causative words in different voices.

**Table 7.15 Voice affixation of Causative words**

	Basic form	Example	Meaning
<b>AV</b>	<b>menpa-</b> /mən-pa-/	<b>menpa'an</b> /mən-pa-ʔan/	to feed (to have someone eat)
<b>PV</b>	<b>pa-</b> /pa-/	<b>palusaw</b> /pa-lusaw/	make something melt
<b>LV</b>	<b>pe...-an</b> /pa-...-an/	<b>pasdepan</b> /pa-sdəp-an/	make someone enter somewhere
<b>CV</b>	<b>ipa-</b> /ʔipa-/	<b>ipa'inum</b> /ipa-ʔinum/	make someone drink

- (7.60) me'amames 'an siya menpa'an ti awon ni melinis a luto  
 mē-ʔamaməs=ʔan=sija                    **mən-pa-ʔan** ti            ʔawun  
 ST-shame=QUOT=3s.ABS                    **AV-CAU-eat** OBL not.exist
- ni            mē-linis            ʔa            lutu  
 GEN ST-clean            LK            food  
 'she appears to be ashamed of feeding someone with food that isn't clean'  
 (106.052)
- (7.61) pagka may menpagamas, mengamas tena  
 pagka maj            **mən-pa-gamas**            mən-gamas            tina  
 if            have            **AV-CAU-weeding**            AV-weeding            ABS.mother  
 'if there is someone hiring to weed, mother goes to weed' (76.317)
- (7.62) i'en, pwedem 'en a pelusaw  
 ʔiʔin                                    pwidi=m=ʔin                                    a            **pa-lusaw**  
 PROX.DEM            can=1s.GEN=PROX.DEM.ABS                                    LK            **CAU.PV-melt**  
 'as for this, you can have someone melting it' (103.158)
- (7.63) in aduwan di'ami a Alta, budi ded a pasdepan  
 ʔin            ʔaduwān            diʔami            ʔa            ʔalta            budi=də=d  
 ABS            other                                    1pe.LOC            LK            Alta            want=3p.GEN=d
- ʔa            **pa-sədəp-an**  
 LK            **CAU-enter-LV**  
 'some other members of our Alta tribe want to let them (the outsiders) come in'  
 (103.421)
- (7.64) obram siya a ipa'inom ti ana'-i  
 ʔubra=m=sija                                    ʔa            **ʔi-pa-ʔinum**                                    ti            ʔanaʔ=ī  
 can=2s.GEN=3s.ABS                                    LK            **CV-CAU-drink**                                    OBL            child=SPC  
 'you can make the child drink it' (93.649)
- (7.65) ipa'inta de di'en in mapa ni Gabaldon at Dikapinisan  
**ʔi-pa-ʔinta=də**                                    diʔən                                    ʔin            mapa

CV-CAU-see=3p.GEN 1s.LOC ABS mapa

ni gabaldun ?at dikapinisan

GEN Gabaldon and Dikapinisan

'they showed me the map of Gabaldon and Dikapinisan' (82.029)

## 7.5.1 Perfective aspect of Causative words

Perfective aspect is indicated with the infix <in>, as shown in Table 16:

Table 7.16 Perfective aspect of Causative words

	Unmarked for aspect	Perfective
<b>Actor voice</b>	<b>menpa-</b> /mən-pa-/	<b>minenpa-</b> /m<in>ən-pa-/
<b>Undergoer voices</b>	<b>pa-</b> /pa-/	<b>pina-</b> /p<in>a-/
	<b>pa...-en</b> /pa...-ən/	<b>pina...-en</b> /p<in>a...-ən/
	<b>pa...-an</b> /pa...-an/	<b>pina...-an</b> /p<in>a...-an/
	<b>ipa-</b> /?ipa-/	<b>inipa-</b> /?<in>i-pa-/

- (7.66) si'en in minempad'el diya na  
 si?en ?in **m<in>ən-pa-d?əl** dija=na  
 1s ABS **AV<PRF>-CAU**-big 3s.LOC=already  
 'I was the one who raised her' (73.20)

- (7.67) inumay ami say pina'ay na ami ni Madam Fe  
 ?<in>-um-aj=?ami=saj  
 <PRF>AV-go=1pe.ABS=DIST.DEM.LOC

**p<in>a-?aj**=na=?ami ni madam pi  
**CAU<PRF>-go**=already=1pe.ABS GEN Madam Fe  
 'we went there, as we were sent by Madam Fe' (77.128)

(7.68) entetten na sip a pinapati in ama de  
 ?əntətən=na=sip                      ?a      **p<in>a-pati-en**                      ?in  
 almost=3s.GEN=still                      LK      **CAU<PRF>-die-PV**                      ABS

?ama=də

father=3p.GEN

'he almost caused the death of their father' (76.89)

(7.69) inipa'inta na di'en  
 ?<in>i-pa-?inta=na                      di'en  
**CV<PRF>-CAUS-see=3s.GEN**                      1s.LOC  
 'he showed (it) to me' (97.636)7

## 7.6 Other derived V-words

### 7.6.1 Words carrying the prefix *mengi-*

Actor *mengi-* /məŋi-/ words take an Absolutive actor and may also take an undergoer marked with the Oblique case. The Oblique-marked argument expresses the theme role, or the addressee.

(7.70) in me"ena'em mengipatod ti ana-i sid  
 ?in      mə??əna?əm                      **məŋi-patud**      ti                      ?ana?i=sid  
 ABS      elder                      **AV-order**                      OBL      child=SPEC=PL  
 'the elders correct the children' (99.31)

(7.71) mengibu'ud ami ti ulam mi  
**məŋi-bu?ud=?**ami                      ti                      ?ulam=mi  
**AV-separate=1pe.ABS**                      OBL      food=1pe.GEN  
 'we separate our (part of) food (from the game)' (92.504)

(7.72) mengisalang nen sid ti uwah de-i  
**məŋi-salaŋ=nən=sid**                      ti                      ?uwah=də=i  
**AV-cook=already=3s.ABS**      OBL      thing=3p.GEN=SPEC  
 'they cook their stuff (food)' (109.1117)

- (7.73) sidden minengitudu ti'sen di'etam  
 siddə-sidde **m<in>əŋi**-tudu tiʔsin diʔitam  
 RDP-3s **AV<PRF>**-teach PROX.DEM.LOC 1pi.LOC  
 'they (our parents) are the ones who taught us (what we know) (99.454)

Table 7.17 provides examples of Actor voice *mengi*- words.

**Table 7.17 Examples of *mengi*- words**

Examples	Translation
<b>mengipatod</b> /məŋi-patud/	to correct someone
<b>mengitudu</b> /məŋi-tudu/	to teach someone
<b>mengipalit</b> /məŋi-palit/	to trade something
<b>mengibenta</b> /məŋi-binta/	to sell something
<b>mengi'ated</b> /məŋi-ʔatəd/	to give something
<b>mengi'unud</b> /məŋi-ʔunud/	to follow someone
<b>mengibu'ud</b> /məŋi-buʔud/	to separate something
<b>mengisalang</b> /məŋi-salan/	to cook something
<b>mengi'anod</b> /məŋi-ʔanud/	to flood something



## 8. Glossed text: “The story of Minero”

ten araw

ten áraw

OBL day

### Back in the days (103.01)

mabilay sepla magulang owi

ma- biláy =sepla magulang =o =i

ST life =still parents =1s.GEN =SPEC

### when my parents were still alive (103.02)

may pon ni kamaragui

may pon ni kamarág =i

have tree GEN narra tree =SPEC

### there was a Narra tree here (103.03)

inay ami ni haponesa'i a duwa ad saka hapon

-in- ay =amí ni haponesa =i a duwa atsaka hapon

PRF go =1pe.ABS GEN japanese woman =SPEC LK two and also japanese male

### and two Japanese women and one man came to us. (103.04)

a uwah

a uwah

LK thing

### (lit.) who were...(103.05)

sidde in elan miyi a minangut'ut

siddé in elan =mi =i a meng- -in- ut'ut

3p ABS accompany =1pe.GEN =SPEC LK AV PRF dig a hole



**They were the ones that dug a hole with us. (103.06)**

ten   essimolan           mid                   a   uwah  
ten   eC-   simul   -an =mi                =d a   uwah  
OBL PRG   start   LV =1pe.GEN   ==d LK thing

**(lit. when we started digging) (103.07)**

essimolan           mid                   a   ut'utan           yay  
eC-   simul   -an =mi                =d a   ut'ut           -an =yay  
PRG   start   LV =1pe.GEN   ==d LK dig a hole   LV =DIST.DEM.ABS

**When we started digging,**

**(lit. we started digging that) (103.08)**

aaaa

aaaa

**ummmm (103.09)**

tatlo a   sinag o   apat mi                a   inut'utan  
tatló a   sinag o   apát =mi                a   -in-   ut'ut           -an  
three LK sun   or four =1pe.GEN LK PRF   dig a hole   LV

**it took us three to four days**

**we dug it for three or four days (103.10)**

hangan ti   dinompen-i                           ti   hangan-i           si'e  
hangán ti   -in-   -um-   dpen   =i   ti   hangán   =i   =si'e  
even   OBL PRF   AV   reach   =SPEC OBL even   =SPEC =LPROX.LOC.DEM

**to reach this depth**

**(lit. until a reaching of this point) (103.11)**

ay           dya'yay

ay           dya'yay

interjection now

**and then, (103.12)**

ma'una in issa in hapon  
ma'uná' in issa in hapon  
say ABS one ABS Japan

**one of the japanese said (103.13)**

me'una siya dí'ami  
me'una =siyá dí'ami  
say =3s.ABS 1pe.LOC

**he said to us (103.14)**

mebi'en nen a ma'alap  
me- bí'en =nen a me- 'alap  
ST proximity LK ST get

**we will be able to find (it) soon (103.15)**

aidi  
aidi  
interjection

**yay! (103.16)**

me'una siya  
me'una =siyá  
say =3s.ABS

**He said (103.17)**

me'una ami  
me'una =amí  
say =1pe.ABS

**he said to us (103.18)**

aidi mapiya kong malap tamme'  
ay dí! me- píya kung me- álap =tam =Ce  
interjection ST good when POT get =1p.GEN =already

**yay! It would be good, if we manage to find, (it) (103.19)**

piyad la a pemenhatiyan tam  
piya =dla a pe- men- háti -an =tam  
good =only LK CAU AV split LV =1p.GEN

**it would be good to split it. (103.20)**

ibig sabihin  
ibig sabihin  
in other words

**But actually,  
(lit. in other words) (103.21)**

sigudo may isip sid a medu'es di'ami  
sigúdo may ísip =sid a medú'es dí'ámi  
maybe have thought =3p.ABS LK bad 1pe.LOC

**they were probably planning to fool us.  
(lit. they probably had bad thoughts for us) (103.22)**

kaya  
kayá  
so

**So (103.23)**

ten mebi'en nen a uwah ( me'alap )  
ten me- bi'en =nen a uwah me- álap  
OBL ST proximity LK thing POT get

**when we were closer to our goal  
(lit. when we were close again to catch) (103.24)**

dahil betu' namud a kodrado in e'itan mi ten  
dáhil betu' namud a kodrádo in eC- itán =mi ten  
because stone just LK square ABS PRG look at something =1pe.GEN OBL  
ebut  
ebút  
hole

**we saw that only a square-shaped stone (was left to remove) in the hole  
(lit. as only a square-shaped stone is what we were seeing in the hole) (103.25)**

ibig sabihin siya namud yay in puwede a me'eg'ang para  
ibig sabihin =siyá namud =yay in pwéde a me- 'eg'ang para  
in other words =3s.ABS just =DIST.DEM.ABS ABS can LK POT leave for  
itan mid  
itán =mi =d  
look at something =1pe.GEN ==d

**thus, that was what we needed to remove in order to see (what was underneath).  
(103.26)**

dya'yay  
dya'yay  
then

**and then (103.27)**

ten i'yay a betuh  
ten i'yáy a betuh  
OBL DIST.DEM LK stone

**when that stone (103.28)**

ay ellokmaten ded  
ay eC- lokmat -en =de =d  
PM PRG remove PV =3p.GEN ==d

**was removed by them, (103.29)**

ginomsa                waget-i                minatno                in        ebut awon        mi  
 -in-    -um-    gsa    waget    =i        -in-    matnó in        ebút awón        =mi  
 PRF   AV    flow   water   =SPEC PRF   fill        ABS hole not.exist =1pe.GEN

minalap  
 m-    -in-    álap  
 POT   PRF   get

**the water came out and filled the hole, so we could not get anything. (103.30)**

tí'sen                a    parte  
 tí'sen                a    parte  
 PROX.LOC.DEM LK side

**This happened here, on this side,  
 here, on this side (103.31)**

kaya  
 kayá  
 so

**so (103.32)**

me'unad        in    magulang 'o  
 me'una        =d in    magúlang =o  
 say        ==d ABS parents        =1s.GEN

**my parents said that (103.33)**

sigudo may eden    sid        'o  
 sigúdo        edden =sid        o  
 maybe exist load        =3p.ABS or

**they probably had plans  
 (lit. hey were maybe carrying) (103.34)**

medu'es a isip kaya ami  
medú'es a ísip kayá =amí  
bad LK thought so =1pe.ABS

**to fool us, in order to to make us  
(lit. bad thoughts, so we) (103.35)**

sigudo umansay a  
sigúdo umansay a  
maybe DIST.SML.DEM LK

**(lit. maybe like this we would) (103.36)**

minatno ti waget-i  
-in- matnó ti waget =i  
PRF fill OBL water =SPEC

**fill the hole with water  
(lit. fill the hole with water) (103.37)**

kaya awon mi minalap in isay sen  
kayá awón =mi m- -in- álap in isay sen  
so not.exist =1pe.GEN ST PRF get ABS be.at PROX.LOC.DEM

**so we would not able to get whatever was there.  
(lit.so we would not able to get whatever was there) (103.38)**

tapos , may pon ni uwah-i sena-i  
tapos may pon ni uwah =i sina =i  
then have tree GEN thing =SPEC MED.LOC.DEM =SPEC

**Also, there was another tree there,  
also, there was another tree there (103.39)**

santol a de'el  
santól a de'el  
kind of tree LK big

**a big Santol tree, (103.40)**

pang di trenta o  
trenta o  
thirty or

**not more than thirty (103.41)**

di kwarenta te pon  
di kwarénta te pon  
interjection forty NS tree

**or forty years old,  
(lit. forty on the tree) (103.42)**

in ango'an de a  
in eC- ngo' -an =de a  
ABS PRG call LV =3p.GEN LK

**the one they call (103.43)**

in  
in  
ABS

**the (103.44)**

in dedde'el a santol , bangkok  
in de- de'el a santól bankuk  
ABS RDP big LK kind of tree Bangkok tree

**the Bangkok.**

**the very big Santol tree...Bangkok (103.45)**

kong engo'an de sela ten araw  
kung eC- ngo -an =de =séla ten áraw  
if PRG name LV =3p.GEN =also OBL day

**That is what they would call it in the past. (103.46)**

pero isay de sen a istoria ni menna'em mi sid a  
 péro isay de sen a istoria ni menna'em =mi =sid a  
 but be.at since PROX.LOC.DEM LK story GEN old =1pe.GEN =3p.ABS LK

ninuno  
 ninuno  
 ancestor

**There are stories from our ancestors,  
 but there are stories of our ancestors (103.47)**

a lella'ay isay an sen inelbeng in  
 a le la'ay isay =an sen -in- ilbeng in  
 LK RDP old man be.at =is said to PROX.LOC.DEM PRF bury something ABS

**the oldest men, saying that they burried here a (103.48)**

in five tons a pennepno ti  
 in five tons a pen- eC- penuh ti  
 ABS five ton LK GER PRG full OBL

**a 5-ton truck full of (103.49)**

ti uwah-i sid badil  
 ti uwah =i =sid badil  
 OBL thing =SPEC =3p.ABS gun

**guns  
 (lit. full of umm guns) (103.50)**

tapos sidden gamit ni hapon-i  
 tapos sidden gamit ni hapon =i  
 then PROX.DEM.PL tool GEN japanese male =SPEC

**as well as things that belonged to the japanese.  
 (lit. then these things of the japanese) (103.51)**



salokut sid  
salókut =sid  
bulrush =3p.ABS

**And bulrush canes. (103.52)**

ti'sen a banda  
ti'sen a bandá  
PROX.LOC.DEM LK side

**They said it was on this side, (103.53)**

digdig-i en  
digdíg =i =en  
next.to =SPEC =PROX.DEM.ABS

**just next to us. (103.54)**

tapos  
tapos  
then

**Also, (103.55)**

ti'sen kasi, ten araw  
ti'sen kasi, ten áraw  
PROX.LOC.DEM because OBL day

**and here, back in the days (103.56)**

ay binalebbeli ni alta-i  
ay binalebbelí ni alta =i  
PM group of houses GEN Alta language =SPEC

**lived the communiy of the Alta,  
(lit. was the settlement of the Alta) (103.57)**

ti'sina            suluk-i            i'e  
 ti'sina            súluk    =i            i'e  
 MED.LOC.DEM corner    =SPEC PROX.DEM

**there on that area. (103.58)**

tapos  
 tapos  
 then

**And also, (103.59)**

ado    sela    sid            sen                            a    tanem    a    gugulay            amoti  
 ado    =séla    =sid            sen                            a    taném    a    gu-    gulay            amoti  
 many =also =3p.ABS PROX.LOC.DEM LK plant    LK RDP    vegetable sweet potato

**there were many plants here, vegetables, sweet potatoes... (103.60)**

a  
 a  
 LK

**ummmm (103.61)**

kayad la    sid            minabuwag            sen                            gagawi            ni  
 kayad la    =sid            ma-    -in-    buwag    =sen                            gagawi            ni  
 however =3p.ABS ST    PRF    leave    =PROX.LOC.DEM do something GEN

waget-i  
 waget    =i  
 water    =SPEC

**but they demolished this place because of the water,  
 (lit. but they demolished here because of the water) (103.62)**

kasi    awon    sid            te    elsotan            a    papunta    ta    bario  
 kasi    awón    =sid            te    elsotan            a    papuntá    ta    báryo  
 because not.exist =3p.ABS NS way through LK bound for LOC village

**because they did not have a way through (the water) to go to the village. (103.63)**

kaya inomeg'ang                    sid            sen  
 kayá -in-    -um-    eg'ang =sid            =sen  
 so    PRF    AV    leave    =3p.ABS    =PROX.LOC.DEM

**So they left this place**

**(lit. so they left this place) (103.64)**

oma        'en                                    ten    araw  
 oma        =en                                    ten    áraw  
 swidden =PROX.DEM.ABS OBL day

**which was a swidden back in the days. (103.65)**

ĩina            a    me'iddipaning                    oma    siddina  
 ĩina            a    me'i-    dipaning                    oma    siddĩna  
 MED.DEM LK CMTV    the other side    swidden    MED.DEM.PL

**There on both sides, these were also swiddens (103.66)**

pero ti    gagawi            ni    waget-i  
 péro ti    gágawin            ni    waget    =i  
 but    OBL do something    GEN water    =SPEC

**but because of the water, (103.67)**

dahil    awon    sid            te    elsotan            a    bumbili                    ti    a    anen  
 dáhil    awón    =sid            te    elsotan            a    b-    -um-    bili    ti    a    anen  
 because    not.exist    =3p.ABS    NS    way through    LK    RDP    AV    buy    OBL    LK    rice  
 miyi  
 =mi                    =i  
 =1pe.GEN    =SPEC

**they would not be able to go through and buy food.**

**(lit. because they did not have a way through, to buy our food) (103.68)**

tinomepde                    ami            ta  
 -in-    -um-    tepde    =amí            ta  
 PRF    AV    bottom =1pe.ABS    LOC

**So we moved down to the (103.69)**

barrio  
báryo  
village

**village. (103.70)**

umalang say  
umálang =say  
come from =DIST.LOC.DEM

**Since then, (103.71)**

hangan dya'yay  
hangán dya'yay  
even now

**and until now, (103.72)**

awon nen ta linomuway a tinomira  
awón =nen ta -in- -um- luway a -in- -um- tira  
not.exist =already LOC PRF AV repeate LK PRF AV reside  
sen kase  
sen kasé  
PROX.LOC.DEM because

**there is no one who came back to to live here because (103.73)**

awon nen te me'elsot a papunta ta bario  
awón =nen te me'e- elsot a papuntá ta báryo  
not.exist =already NS POT.AV way through LK bound for LOC village

**it is not possible to pass through and reach the village (103.74)**

mangalap ti bagas-i  
meng- álap ti bagas =i  
AV get OBL rice =SPEC

**to get some rice. (103.75)**

isay ami sen dinom'el  
isay =amí =sen -in- -um- d'el  
be.at =1pe.ABS =PROX.LOC.DEM PRF AV big

**We grew up here. (103.76)**

isay ami sen dinom'el, minegka'isip  
isay =amí sen -in- -om- d'el, men- -in- a- ísip  
be.at =1pe.ABS PROX.LOC.DEM PRF AV big AV PRF CWA1 thought

**We grew up and matured here (103.77)**

hangan mine'atid in magulang mi  
hangán me- -in- atí =d in magúlang =mi  
even ST PRF die ==d ABS parents =1pe.GEN

**until our parents passed away. (103.78)**

ibig sabihin, awon mi inolay  
ibig sabihin, awón =mi -in- olay  
in other words not.exist =1pe.GEN PRF leave

**In other words, we would not have left this land (103.79)**

hangan dya'yay mebilang sep la  
hangán dya'yay me- biláy =sep =la  
even now ST life =still =just

**until now, if they were still alive. (103.80)**

ad saka pati  
at saka =patí  
and and =including

**And also, (103.81)**

aaaa  
aaaa

**mmmm (103.82)**

inanting mi-i sen a talaga waget  
in anting =mi =i =sen a talága waget  
ABS fear =1pe.GEN =SPEC =PROX.LOC.DEM LK naturally water

**water is what we are really afraid of here. (103.83)**

awon ami wadi sen um'eg'ang  
awón =amí wadi =sen -um- eg'ang  
not.exist =1pe.ABS younger sibling =PROX.LOC.DEM AV leave

**We should not have left this place,  
(lit. we did not leave this place) (103.84)**

dahilan nangi ti hirap sela ngi ni bilay  
dahilan =na =ngi ti hirap =séla =ngi ni biláy  
because =already =emphasis OBL difficulty =also =pragmatic particle GEN life  
miyi  
=mi =i  
=1pe.GEN =SPEC

**but because of the difficulties (103.85)**

inumosol amid  
-in- -um- osol =amí =d  
PRF AV bring down =1pe.ABS ==d

**we went down (to the barangay). (103.86)**

ten araw kasi me'hilig magulang miyi sid a  
ten áraw kasi me- hilig magúlang =mi =i =sid a  
OBL day because ST inclination parents =1pe.GEN =SPEC =3p.ABS LK  
me'aliyo  
me- aliyo  
ST look for

**Back in the days, our parents used to (103.87)**

ti giginto-i  
ti giginto =i  
OBL iron pyrite =SPEC

**collect iron pyrite (103.88)**

ti'sen  
ti'sen  
PROX.LOC.DEM

**in this area,  
(lit. here) (103.89)**

pero mine'ati kasi siden ninonod de  
péro -in- metih kasi sidén ninuno =d =de  
but PRF dead because PL.ABS ancestor ==d =3p.GEN

**but their parents and grandparents passed away (103.90)**

ama de ina de  
ama =de iná =de  
father =3p.GEN mother =3p.GEN

**their father and mother, (103.91)**

a sidde me'ennol-i ten me'elbeng  
a siddé me- ennol =i ten me- ilbeng  
LK 3p ST know someone or something =SPEC OBL ST bury something

sid  
=sid  
=3p.ABS

sen  
=sen  
=PROX.LOC.DEM

**who were the ones who knew where these things are buried (103.92)**

a puwesto

a pwésto

LK place

**around here. (103.93)**

pero bisad la sen

péro bisa =dla =sen

but not =only =PROX.LOC.DEM

**But it's not just around here, (103.94)**

tí'sina sep dingato-i ina ado sep

tí'sina =sep dingáto =i =iná ado =sep

MED.LOC.DEM =still upstream =SPEC =MED.DEM.ABS many =still

**up there in that direction, there is still plenty of it, (103.95)**

tí'sen ta'po-i ina maiwadde sep

tí'sen ta'pó =i =iná maiwaddé =sep

PROX.LOC.DEM summit =SPEC =MED.DEM.ABS exist =still

**here on this mountain top there is still some of it, (103.96)**

tí'sina parte-i ina

tí'sina parte =i

MED.LOC.DEM side =SPEC MED.DEM

**and there on that side (103.97)**

a inate'nagan ni eroplano-i ten araw

a -in-a te'nag -an ni eropláno =i ten áraw

LK PRF-ST fall LV GEN airplane =SPEC OBL day

**where a plane crashed back in the days. (103.98)**

ĩ'ina mudung-i ina

ĩ'ina mudúng =i =iná

MED.DEM mountain =SPEC =MED.DEM.ABS



**That mountain there, (103.99)**

isay sina minate'nag in  
isay sina -in- ma- te'nag in  
be.at MED.LOC.DEM PRF ST fall ABS

**that is where a plane crashed (103.100)**

eroplano  
eropláno  
airplane

**(lit. an airplane) (103.101)**

ten araw  
ten áraw  
OBL day

**back in the days, (103.102)**

a service ni hapon-i sid  
a service ni hapón =i =sid  
LK GEN Japan =SPEC =3p.ABS

**which was a service of the Japanese (103.103)**

ten panahon ni guerra-i  
ten panahon ni gerra =i  
OBL time GEN war =SPEC

**during World War II. (103.104)**

**(lit. at the time of the war)**

ti'sen ta'po-i ina  
ti'sen ta'pó =i =iná  
PROX.LOC.DEM summit =SPEC =MED.DEM.ABS

**Here, on this peak, (103.105)**

isay sinad minate'nag  
 isay sina =d ma- -in- te'nag  
 be.at MED.LOC.DEM ==d ST PRF fall

**is where it crashed. (103.106)**

kaya ti'sina  
 kayá ti'sina  
 so MED.LOC.DEM

**So in that area (103.107)**

**(lit. so there)**

pe'aliyo'en ded in  
 pe- aliyo -en =de =d in  
 CAU look for PV =3p.GEN ==d ABS

**people are searching for the**

**(lit. they are having people searching for the plane) (103.108)**

eroplano in tambutso na  
 eropláno in tambótso =na  
 airplane ABS exhaust pipe =3s.GEN

**plane, especially for its muffler, (103.109)**

dahil ginto'an yay  
 dáhil ginto =an =yay  
 because gold =is said to =DIST.DEM.ABS

**because that part is said to be made of gold. (103.110)**

hangan dya'yay awon de sep la me'aliyo'an  
 hangán dya'yay awón =de =sepla me- aliyo -an  
 even now not.exist =3p.GEN =still POT look for LV

**So far they have not been able to find it (103.111)**

sina            ta'po-i            ina  
sina            ta'pó        =i            =iná  
MED.LOC.DEM summit    =SPEC =MED.DEM.ABS

**over there, on the plains**  
**(lit. over there, on the top) (103.112)**

a kapatagan  
a kapatágan  
LK plain

**at the top of the mountain**  
**(lit. which is a plain) (103.113)**

tapos  
tapos  
then

**Also, (103.114)**

bisa dla    a    ti'sina  
bisa =dla    a    ti'sina  
not    =only LK MED.LOC.DEM

**it is not only there, (that a plane crashed) (103.115)**

kase  
kasé  
because

**because (103.116)**

ti'sina            dipaning-i            ina  
ti'sina            dipáning            =i            =iná  
MED.LOC.DEM the other side    =SPEC =MED.DEM.ABS

**there on that side (103.117)**

a papunta sen                      a dupinga-i  
 a papuntá =sen                      a Dupínga                      =i  
 LK bound for =PROX.LOC.DEM LK Dupinga river                      =SPEC

**on the way to Dupinga,**

**(lit. the way from here to Dupinga) (103.118)**

maiwadded                      sina                      a  
 maiwaddé =d                      sina                      a  
 exist                      ==d MED.LOC.DEM LK

**there is (103.119)**

in engo'an                      de                      a uwah  
 in eC- ngo                      -an =de                      a uwah  
 ABS PRG call someone                      LV =3p.GEN LK thing

what they call (103.120)

in a  
 in a  
 ABS LK

**(lit.mmmm) (103.121)**

umingan yay                      kong engo'an                      mi                      a mudung  
 umingan =yay                      kung ngo                      -an =mi                      a mudúng  
 Diteki =DIST.DEM.ABS if                      call someone                      LV =1pe.GEN LK mountain

**Umingan. That is what we call that mountain. (103.122)**

sela, inate'nagan                      ni                      eroplano-i                      kasi  
 sela, -in- te'nag                      -an ni                      eropláno                      =i                      kasi  
 also PRF fall                      LV GEN airplane                      =SPEC because

**A plane crashed there too. (103.123)**

melakas                      in                      magnet na  
 me- lakás                      in                      magnet =na  
 ST strength ABS magnet =3s.GEN

**There is a strong magnetic force (103.124)**

dī'aw a la mesa a betuh  
dī'aw a lamesa a betuh  
similar LK table LK stone

**in a round stone, (103.125)**

de'el a betuh  
de'el a betuh  
big LK stone

**a huge rock**

**(lit. a big rock) (103.126)**

melapad siya  
me- lapad =siyá  
ST width =3s.ABS

**which is quite wide, (103.127)**

pero dī'aw a ubulan  
péro dī'aw a ubúlan  
but similar LK grindstone

**but which looks like the ones used for sharpening knives. (103.128)**

de'el la mesa  
de'el lamesa  
big table

**It is as high as a table (103.129)**

pero mekapal siya / pero kapal na'i  
péro me- kápal =siyá péro kápal =na =i  
but ST thickness =3s.ABS but thickness =3s.GEN =SPEC

**but rather deep,**

**(lit. but rather thick, its thickness is) (103.130)**

mga kwatro pie  
mangá kwatro pie  
approximately four foot

**about four feet,  
(lit. like about four feet) (103.131)**

kapal na'i nen betuh  
kápal =na =i =nen betuh  
thickness =3s.GEN =SPEC =already stone

**that was the thickness of that stone. (103.132)**

dya'yay  
dya'yay  
now

**Then, (103.133)**

i'yay kasi tinomapat say in eroplanod  
i'yáy kasi -in- -um- tápat =say in eropláno =d  
DIST.DEM because PRF AV direct =DIST.LOC.DEM ABS airplane ==d

mannen  
=mannen  
=again

**because that (stone) was in the direction of the airplane, (103.134)**

kaya minate'nag  
kayá ma- -in- te'nag  
so ST PRF fall

**it crashed. (103.135)**

minate'nag siya  
me- -in- te'nag =siyá  
ST PRF fall =3s.ABS

**It crashed because it was**

**(lit. it crashed) (103.136)**

inegop                    nen magnetic    nen    butuh  
-in- i            igop            nen magnetic    nen    butuh  
PRF-CV    attraction GEN magnetism GEN stone

**attracted by the magnetism of that rock.**

**(lit. attracted by that magnetism of that rock) (103.137)**

aaaa

aaaa

**mmmmm (103.138)**

me'unad        man        in        ninuno    mi        sid        a    sidden  
me'una    =d    =man        in        ninuno    =mi        =sid        a    sidden  
say        ==d    =contrast ABS ancestor =1pe.GEN =3p.ABS LK PROX.DEM.PL

mangaso

meng- aso

AV        dog

**Our ancestors who used to hunt with dogs, (103.139)**

me'aliyo        ti        laman-i                    ni        uwah-i  
me- aliyo        ti        laman        =i        ni        uwah        =i  
ST    look for OBL wild boar    =SPEC GEN thing    =SPEC

mudumudungi

mudu- mudúng    =i

RDP    mountain    =SPEC

**they used to search for the wild pig of the mountains, (103.140)**

me'una sid        ay    i'yay        an        ay  
me'una =sid        ay    i'yáy        =an        ay  
say        =3p.ABS PM DIST.DEM =is said to PM

**they said that that thing (rock) was said to be (103.141)**

in engo'an de a  
in eC- ngo -an =de a  
ABS PRG call someone LV =3p.GEN LK

**what they would call, (103.142)**

engo'an de a, asenod en  
eC- ngo -an =de a, aséno =d =en  
PRG call someone LV =3p.GEN LK what ==d =PROX.DEM.ABS

**they would call it...how was it again (103.143)**

aaaa

aaaa

**mmmm (103.144)**

marmol a betuh

marmol a betuh

marble LK stone

**a marble rock. (103.145)**

kaya yay isay say  
kayá =yay isay =say  
so =DIST.DEM.ABS be.at =DIST.LOC.DEM

**So that (rock) lies there, (103.146)**

pero i'yay

péro i'yáy

but DIST.DEM

**but it (103.147)**

gagawi'an sela sid ni hapon ad kastila-i  
gágawin =an =séla =sid ni hapon at kastila =i  
do something =is said to =also =3p.ABS GEN Japan and spaniard =SPEC

**is said to have been made by the Japanese and the Spaniards (103.148)**



ten araw

ten áraw

OBL day

**back in the days. (103.149)**

kaya ado sen sumesdep-i

kayá ado =sen sdep =i

so many =PROX.LOC.DEM enter =SPEC

**This is why many people have penetrated (this domain) (103.150)**

a aseseno a

a aseséno a

LK whatever LK

**with all sorts (103.151)**

bumbalak kayad la

b- -um- bálak kayad la

RDP AV plan however

**with all sorts of intentions, however (103.152)**

awon pendingen mi sid kasi

awón pendingen =mi =sid kasi

not.exist enter a place =1pe.GEN =3p.ABS because

**we refused to let them in. (103.153)**

awon mi budi a me'awen yay sid d'ami

awón =mi budi a men'awon =yay =sid d'ámi

not.exist =1pe.GEN want LK abandon =DIST.DEM.ABS =3p.ABS 1pe.LOC

**We don't want them to take what belongs to our domain, (103.154)**

budimi-i                                          si'ami mekenabang-i                          a    awon  
budi    =mi                                          =i                                          si'ámi me'inabang    =i                          a    awón  
want    =1pe.GEN    =SPEC 1pe    make profit    =SPEC LK not.exist

**we want to be the ones who benefit from it (103.155)**

iba        a    ta'o  
ibá        a    tá'o  
another LK person

**and not other people. (103.156)**

si'ami a    mismo in    me'e'inta  
si'ámi a    mismo in    me'e-    intá  
1pe    LK actual ABS POT.AV    see

**We should be the ones who find (something), (103.157)**

ad    si'ami a    mismo in    mengisurrender  
at    si'ámi a    mismo in    mengi-    surrender  
and 1pe    LK actual ABS AV                          surrender

**we should be the ones ourselves to deliver (it to the government). (103.158)**

si'amid                          bahalad                                          in    pengisurrenderan                          mi  
si'ámi    =d    bahála                                          =d    in    pengi-    surrender    -an    =mi  
1pe        ==d responsibility    ==d ABS CWA2    surrender    LV    =1pe.GEN

**We are responsible for delivering, (103.159)**

kong    a'a'dan                                          de                          ami                          o    awon  
kung    eC-    atdán                                          =de                          =amí                          o    awón  
whether PRG    give someone    =3p.GEN    =1pe.ABS    or not.exist

**whether or not they give us something in return. (103.160)**

basta in    ta'os    puso ami                          a  
básta in    ta'ós    puso    =amí                          a  
just    ABS sincere heart    =1pe.ABS LK

**As long as we wholeheartedly (103.160)**

mangisurrender di'de pag minalap mi  
 mengi- surrender di'de pag me- -in- álap =mi  
 AV surrender 3p.LOC if POT PRF get =1pe.GEN

**hand over to them whatever we find, (103.162)**

dahil annolen mi a i'yay ay awon para di'ami  
 dáhil annol -en =mi a i'yáy ay awón para di'ámi  
 because know PV =1pe.GEN LK DIST.DEM PM not.exist for 1pe.LOC

**because we know that this thing does not belong us (103.163)**

para ti gobierno-i  
 para ti gobierno =i  
 for OBL government =SPEC

**but to the government. (103.164)**

kaya kong malap mi man bilang i'yay a  
 kayá kung me- álap =mi =man bílang i'yáy a  
 so if POT get =1pe.GEN =contrast by way of DIST.DEM LK

**So if we are able to find something that was**

**(lit. so if we are able to find something that is counted as of these things) (103.165)**

inetanem ni hapon-i sid  
 -in- i- taném ni hapón =i =sid  
 PRF CV plant GEN Japan =SPEC =3p.ABS

**buried by the Japanese (103.166)**

a inomay sen ten araw  
 a -in- -um- ay =sen ten áraw  
 LK PRF AV go =PROX.LOC.DEM OBL day

**who came here in the past, (103.167)**

baka puwede a  
baká pwéde a  
maybe can LK

**maybe we can (103.168)**

isurrender mi  
i- surrender =mi  
CV surrender =1pe.GEN

**give it to them. (103.169)**

bahalad sid kong a'a'dan de ami o  
bahála =d =sid kung eC- atdán =de =amí o  
responsability ==d =3p.ABS if PRG give someone =3p.GEN =1pe.ABS or  
awon  
awón  
not.exist

**Whether or not they give it to us, this will depend on the government. (103.170)**

importante si'ami a mismo in me'e'inta  
importante si'ámi a mismo in me'e- intá  
important 1pe LK actual ABS POT.AV see

**It is important that we are the ones who find it. (103.171)**

tapos  
tapos  
then

**And (103.172)**

ti'sen , ti'sen sela a parte ti'sina-i  
ti'sen ti'sen =séla a parte ti'sina =i  
PROX.LOC.DEM PROX.LOC.DEM =also LK side MED.LOC.DEM =SPEC

**here, also on that side (103.173)**

landslide-i            a    de'el  
lanslaid    =i        a    de'el  
landslide    =SPEC LK big

**where there was a big landslide, (103.174)**

maiwadde sena a  
maiwaddé sena a  
exist        also LK

**there is is also a (103.175)**

simento siya  
siménto =siyá  
cement =3s.ABS

**cemented thing (103.176)**

a melapad    pero may kandado siya    a    de'el  
a me- lapad péro        kandado =siyá    a    de'el  
LK ST    width but    exist padlock =3s.ABS LK big

**which is quite large but it has a very big lock, (103.177)**

a padlak na  
a padlak =na  
LK padlock =3s.GEN

**a padlock (103.178)**

a de'el, ti'sina  
a de'el, ti'sina  
LK big    MED.LOC.DEM

**that is quite big, over there. (103.179)**

dya'yay  
dya'yay  
now

**(lit.then) (103.180)**

dahilan sela ti landslide-i minata'bo nen siya  
dahilan =séla ti lanslaid =i ma- -in- ta'bón -en =siyá  
because =also OBL landslide =SPEC ST PRF cover PV =3s.ABS

**It got burried because of the landslide. (103.181)**

di'omano  
di'omano  
it is said

**It is said that (103.182)**

me'edton ti pon ni katmoni  
me'e- dton ti pon ni Alangyán =i  
ST.AV place OBL tree GEN Katmon =SPEC

**a Katmon tree lies there, (103.183)**

katmon a de'el  
Alangyán a de'el  
Katmon LK big

**a big (103.184)**

a ayuh  
a ayuh  
LK tree

**Katmon tree (103.185)**

me'edton yay, dya'yay  
me'e- dton yay, dya'yay  
ST.AV place DIST.DEM.ABS now

**lies there, and (103.186)**

ine'itan                                  yay                                  nena      a      niyama  
-in-      i-      itán                                  =yay                                  nena      a      niyama  
PRF      CV      look at something      =DIST.DEM.ABS      mother      LK      father

**it (the cemented object) was seen by my parents (103.187)**

ten      menlatih                  sid                  sina  
ten      men-      latih      =sid                  sina  
OBL      AV                  rattan      =3p.ABS      MED.LOC.DEM

**when they were collecting rattan there. (103.188)**

ine'itan                                  de                  yay  
-in-      i-      itán                                  =de                  =yay  
PRF      CV      look at something      =3p.GEN      =DIST.DEM.ABS

**They saw that thing, (103.189)**

a      kandado  
a      kandado  
LK      padlock

**a padlock, (103.190)**

peros      in      kandado      na  
péros      in      kandado      =na  
but      ABS      padlock      =3s.GEN

**but this padlock (103.191)**

ay      de'el      a      talaga  
ay      de'el      a      talága  
PM      big      LK      naturally

**is actually quite big (103.192)**

de'el      kodrado      sela  
de'el      kodrádo      =séla  
big      square      =also

**and also it is shaped like a square, (103.193)**

pero in semento na  
péro in semento =na  
but ABS cement =3s.GEN

**but the cemented part (103.194)**

de'el sela  
de'el =séla  
big =also

**is also rather big. (103.195)**

pero isay ti  
péro isay ti  
but be.at OBL

**It is located**

**(lit. but it is located) (103.196)**

penti'edan ni landslide-i a umansay  
penti'eddán ni lanslaid =i a umansay  
base GEN landslide =SPEC LK DIST.SML.DEM

**at the bottom of the landslide, like this. (103.197)**

isay sela say a ine'itan de  
isay =séla =say a -in- i- itán =de  
be.at =also =DIST.LOC.DEM LK PRF CV look at something =3p.GEN

**It is there that they saw it. (103.198)**



ti tinagaltagali dahil minatid in magulang  
 ti -in- tagal tagal =i dáhil -in- metih =d in magúlang  
 OBL PRF time time =SPEC because PRF dead ==d ABS parents  
 'o  
 =o  
 =1s.GEN

**During the long period since my parents passed away (103.199)**

a tatlo epat a bagiyod dinommani  
 a tatló epát a bagiyó =d dman =i  
 LK three four LK storm ==d pass =SPEC

**three or four typhoons hit (the area) (103.200)**

minata'bonan siya  
 me- -in- ta'bón -an =siyá  
 POT PRF cover LV =3s.ABS

**and it (the cemented object) got covered. (103.201)**

kaya awon nen dya'yay etan  
 kayá awón =nen dya'yay itan  
 so not.exist =already now look at something

**That is why it is not visible anymore. (103.202)**

pero may etan ami sina a di'aw salamin  
 péro may itan =amí sina a di'aw salamin  
 but have look at something =1pe.ABS MED.LOC.DEM LK similar glasses

**But we have seen something there like a mirror, (103.203)**

pag isay ami say dilod-i  
 pag isay =amí =say dilód =i  
 if be.at =1pe.ABS =DIST.LOC.DEM downstream =SPEC

**when we were downstream. (103.204)**

at lumelseng a sena  
at -um- -l- elseng =a sela  
and AV RDP look =2s.ABS also

**If you look in this direction (103.205)**  
**(lit. and you look in this direction) (103.205)**

talaga a mesilaw 'a awon mo  
talága a mesilaw =a awón =mo  
naturally LK dazzled =2s.ABS not.exist =2s.GEN

**you just get dazzled, and you would not be (103.206)**

kaya a elsengan  
kayá a elseng -an  
so LK look LV

**able to look at it, (103.207)**

messilaw 'a a talaga  
mesilaw =a a talága  
dazzled =2s.ABS LK naturally

**you would just get dazzled. (103.208)**

itan mo siya duwa  
itán =mo =siyá duwa  
look at something =2s.GEN =3s.ABS two

**You look at it, and there are two (103.209)**

me'i'unod sid yay duwa sid  
me'i- sunód =sid =yay duwa =sid  
CMTV follow =3p.ABS =DIST.DEM.ABS two =3p.ABS

**consecutive dazzles, (103.210)**

issa ten ta'po, issa ten tepde  
issa ten ta'po, issa ten tepde  
one OBL summit one OBL bottom

**one on the top and one at the bottom. (103.211)**

kaya  
kayá  
so

**So (103.212)**

budi-i a mangyari niden ume'ay sen  
budi =i a meng- niden -um- sen  
want =SPEC LK AV happen PL.GEN AV go PROX.LOC.DEM

**what I want to happen to those who come here (103.213)**

a  
a  
LK

**who (103.214)**

gumgagawi ti many dam-i  
-g- -um- gágawi ti many dam =i  
RDP AV do OBL dam =SPEC

**intend to build a dam, (103.215)**

essdepen de 'en  
eC- sdep -en =de 'en  
PRG enter PV =3p.GEN PROX.DEM.ABS

**they will come in here (103.216)**

eggagawiyán de ti dam-i sen  
eC- gágawi -an =de ti dam =i =sen  
PRG do LV =3p.GEN OBL dam =SPEC =PROX.LOC.DEM

**they will build a dam here (103.217)**

eggagawiyán          de          sela    tí'sina          diyabobo-i  
eC-    gágawi    -an =de          =séla tí'sina          Dyábobo    =i  
PRG    do          LV =3p.GEN =also MED.LOC.DEM Dyabobo    =SPEC

**and will build another dam there in Dyabubu. (103.218)**

diya'yay

diya'yay

now

**Now, (103.219)**

me'una sid

me'una =sid

say      =3p.ABS

**they say that (103.220)**

pagka'an          halimbawa minalap          de          yay  
pagká    =an          halimbáwa me-    -in-    álap =de          =yay  
when    =is said to example    POT    PRF    get    =3p.GEN =DIST.DEM.ABS

**if they happen to find something (103.220)**

payongan          de          ami          ti          eskwelahan-i  
páyong    -an =de          =amí          ti          eskwelahan    =i  
stand up    LV =3p.GEN =1pe.ABS OBL school          =SPEC

**they will build us a school, (103.222)**

ialapan          de          ami          ti          aaa  
i-    álap    -an =de          =amí          ti          aaa  
CV    get    LV =3p.GEN =1pe.ABS OBL

**they will get us (103.223)**

pa'aralan ni ana'-i  
pa'aralan ni ana' =i  
school GEN child =SPEC

**a place for our children to study, (103.224)**

hangan ti awon na sid mentapos sidded  
hangán ti awón =na =sid men- tapos siddé =d  
even OBL not.exist =3s.GEN =3p.ABS AV finish 3p ==d

bahala-i  
bahála =i  
responsability =SPEC

**even if they do not acheive their plans, they would still build the school.  
(lit. even if they did not finish, it would be their responsibility) (103.225)**

ibig sabihin  
ibig sabihin  
in other words

**In other words, (103.226)**

siya dla yay in plano de para di'ami  
siyá =dla =yay in pláno =de para di'ámi  
3s =only =DIST.DEM.ABS ABS plan =3p.GEN for 1pe.LOC

**these were just things they said.  
(lit. these were just their plans for us) (103.227)**

in uwah  
in uwah  
ABS thing

**About the dazzling thing,  
(lit. the thing) (103.228)**

in i'ina  
in i'ina  
ABS MED.DEM

**that one (103.229)**

isay-i            sen  
isay    =i        sen  
be.at    =SPEC PROX.LOC.DEM

**is there, (103.230)**

tapos kasi        sina                    dipaning-i                    maiwadde sela  
tapos kasi        sina                    dipáning                    =i        maiwaddé =séla  
then    because MED.LOC.DEM the other side    =SPEC exist        =also  
  
sina  
sina  
MED.LOC.DEM

**but there is another one on the other side,  
(lit. and then, because the there on the other side, there is also) (103.231)**

peros  
péros  
but

**but (103.232)**

isay ten alteia falls  
isay ten Alteia falls  
be.at OBL Altea fall

**it is located in these Alteia falls (103.233)**

i'yay,        pero awon        mi        say  
i'yáy        péro awón        =mi        =say  
DIST.DEM but    not.exist =1pe.GEN =DIST.LOC.DEM  
  
annolen                                    kong adino  
annol                                        -en kung adino  
know someone or something    PV if        where

say a parte  
=say a parte  
=DIST.LOC.DEM LK side

**there, but we don't know the exact location. (103.234)**

in issa minalap ded, inalap ni nana Inga  
in issa me- -in- álap =de =d -in- álap ni nana Inga  
ABS one POT PRF get =3p.GEN ==d PRF get GEN mother Dominga

**One of them was found by Nana Inga (103.235)**

kayadla  
kayadlá  
however

**but (103.236)**

inikarga de ti elikopter-i  
-in- i- kárga =de ti elikopter =i  
PRF CV load =3p.GEN OBL helicopter =SPEC

**they loaded it into a helicopter (103.237)**

in elikopter de yay ibbide na a mensoli  
in elikopter =de =yay ibbide =na a men- soli  
ABS helicopter =3p.GEN =DIST.DEM.ABS tell something =3s.GEN LK AV return

**that helicopter of theirs, they told us he would come back (103.238)**

awon man minensoli, dahil minalap ded  
awón =man men- -in- soli, dáhil me- -in- álap =de =d  
not.exist =contrast AV PRF return because POT PRF get =3p.GEN ==d

in budi  
in budi  
ABS want

de a alapen  
 =de a álap -en  
 =3p.GEN LK get PV

**but he has not returned yet because they got what they wanted.**

**(lit. and he has not returned because they managed to get what they wanted to get)**

**(103.239)**

kaya medla amid a  
 kayá medla =amí =d a  
 so =1pe.ABS ==d LK

**So we have learned our lesson (103.240)**

menpapasok ti uman-i say kasi  
 men- pa- pasok ti uman =i =say kasi  
 AV CAU enter OBL DIST.SML.DEM =SPEC =DIST.LOC.DEM because

**about letting people in (our ancestral domain) like that, because (103.241)**

kong baga eggamiten de ami dla  
 kong baga eC- gamit -en =de =amí =dla  
 actually PRG tool PV =3p.GEN =1pe.ABS =only

**they are actually just using us (103.241)**

a bilang a elan de a me'aliyo  
 a bílang a elan =de a me- aliyo  
 LK by way of LK accompany =3p.GEN LK POT look for

**in order to help them search. (103.243)**

pero pag mina'a'aliyo' nen didde namud  
 péro pag me'e- -in- aliyo =nen diddé namud  
 but when POT.AV PRF look for =already 3p.LOC just

**But if we found something it would be only theirs, (103.244)**



awon de amid a a'dan  
awón =de =amí =d a atdán  
not.exist =3p.GEN =1pe.ABS ==d LK give someone

**they wouldn't give us anything. (103.245)**

aaaa

aaaa

**mmm (103.246)**

minsan

minsan

occasion

**ever (103.247)**

siyad yay uwah miyi  
siyá =d =yay uwah =mi =i  
3s =d =DIST.DEM.ABS thing =1pe.GEN =SPEC

**This is (103.248)**

karanasan mi ti bilay miyi a  
karanasan =mi ti biláy =mi =i a  
experience =1pe.GEN OBL life =1pe.GEN =SPEC LK

**what we have experienced in our life and (103.250)**

awon mid a budi a  
awón =mi =d a budi a  
not.exist =1pe.GEN ==d LK want LK

**we don't want them (103.249)**

essoliyan

eC- soli -an

PRG return LV

**to return (103.250)**

kasi adod menloko di'ami  
kasi ado =d men- loko di'ami  
because many ==d AV fool 1pe.LOC

**because many people have fooled us, (103.251)**

kaya awon mid budi a maiwadde sen a sumesdep  
kayá awón =mi =d budi a maiwaddé sen a sdep  
so not.exist =1pe.GEN ==d want LK exist PROX.LOC.DEM LK enter

**so we do not want anyone to penetrate (our ancestral domain). (103.253)**

a aduwan a ta'o  
a áduwan a tá'o  
LK other LK person

**Not the ones who are not Alta. (103.254)**

masbudi in si'amid me'e'inta-i  
mas budi in si'ámi =d me'e- inta =i  
more want ABS 1pe ==d POT.AV see =SPEC

**It is better if we are the ones that find something (103.255)**

para mesolo mi kong  
para me- solo =mi kung  
for ST alone =1pe.GEN if

**in order to have it for ourselves, if (103.256)**

aaaa  
aaaa

**aaa (103.257)**

para di'ami a talaga  
para di'ámi a talága  
for 1pe.LOC LK naturally

**it is really for us, (103.258)**

isay di'ami ye'ated ni mahali a panginoon  
isay di'ámi i- eC- ated ni mahal -i a pangino'on  
be.at 1pe.LOC CV PRG give GEN expensive SPEC LK god

**if it is to us that our dear Lord granted it (103.259)**

bisa a ti aduwani  
bisa a ti áduwan -i  
not LK OBL other SPEC

**not to the others (103.260)**

tapos  
tapos  
then

**then (103.261)**

aaa  
aaa

**aaa (103.262)**

dapat  
dápat  
must

**we should (103.263)**

awon mi 'en puwede a papasokan ti  
awón =mi 'en pwéde a pa- pasok -an ti  
not.exist =1pe.GEN PROX.DEM.ABS can LK OBL

aduwani  
áduwan -i  
other SPEC

**not let the others in.**

**(lit. we should not let the others in) (103.264)**

anig ni'nina-i  
aníg ni'niná =i  
similarity LPROX.DEM.GEN =SPEC

**Just like it happened with the other (golden bar), (103.265)**

wadi  
wadi  
younger sibling

**my friend,  
(lit. my brother) (103.266)**

uwah-i  
uwah =i  
thing =SPEC

**(lit. and...)(103.267)**

dapat ina di'ami a alta  
dápat =iná d'ámi a alta  
must =MED.DEM.ABS 1pe.LOC LK Alta people

**that thing should belong to us, the Alta (103.268)**

bisa a si'ami  
bisa a si'ámi  
not LK 1pe

**but it is not ours.  
(lit. but it is not us) (103.269)**

diya'yay  
diya'yay  
now

**And now (103.270)**

a me'una'e  
a me'una =e'  
LK say =1s.ABS

**I say (103.271)**

me'una sid awon an dapat a  
me'una =sid awón =an dápat a  
say =3p.ABS not.exist =is said to must LK

**they (some other Alta) say (103.272)**

awon an dapat a  
awón =an dápat a  
not.exist =is said to must LK

**we should not (103.273)**

ipegbawal mi 'en dahil  
ipeg- báwal =mi 'en dáhil  
CAU forbid =1pe.GEN PROX.DEM.ABS because

**forbid them because (103.274)**

a  
a  
LK

**a (103.275)**

para an ti lahat-i  
para =an ti lahát =i  
for =is said to OBL all =SPEC

**this is said to be for everyone, (103.276)**

awon puwede dahil kasi  
awón pwéde dáhil kasi  
not.exist can because because

but (I think) this is not possible because (103.277)

Alta            dla  
alta            =dla  
Alta people =only

**only the Alta (103.278)**

Alta-i                    ten   araw  
alta                    =i        ten   áraw  
Alta people    =SPEC OBL day

**the Alta people in the past (103.279)**

ti    kapatagan-i            mina'awon            na        ami  
ti    kapatágan    =i        me-   -in-    awón   =na        =amí  
OBL plain            =SPEC ST    PRF   PRF   =already =1pe.ABS

**were robbed of our lands (103.280)**

kaya  
kayá  
so

**so (103.281)**

diya'yay man  
diya'yay =man  
now        =contrast

**now (103.282)**

a    si'ami ay  
a    si'ámi ay  
LK 1pe    PM

**we are the ones that (103.283)**

si'amid ay minegka'isip  
si'ámi =d ay men- -in- a- ísip  
1pe ==d PM AV PRF CWA1 thought

**realized**

**(lit. we are the ones who realized that) (103.284)**

o uwah  
o uwah  
or thing

**or, how to put it, (103.285)**

hangan ti mudumudung-i  
hangán ti mudu- mudúng =i  
even OBL RDP mountain =SPEC

**even in the mountains (103.286)**

pinomayag ami namud a minegkaroon hangan addiyo  
-in- -om- payag =amí namud a -in- menkaro'on hangán addiyo  
PRF AV agreement =1pe.ABS just LK PRF possess even far

**we agreed to live there, even if it is far (103.287)**

ibig sabihin maiwadde ami sela a  
ibig sabihin maiwaddé =amí =séla a  
in other words exist =1pe.ABS =also LK

**in order to also have (103.288)**

karonroonan hangan ba'ik na  
karo'onro'onan hangán ba'ik =na  
property even small =already

**a property, even a small one. (103.289)**

ti'sina kasi ten araw  
ti'sina kasi ten áraw  
MED.LOC.DEM because OBL day

**Because there, back in the days, (103.290)**

ti'sina            kapatagan-i  
ti'sina            kapatágan    =i  
MED.LOC.DEM plain        =SPEC

**there in the plateaus (103.291)**

wadi  
wadi  
younger sibling

**my friend,  
(lit. brother) (103.292)**

ten   mebilay    sepla   ninuno   miyi                    sid  
ten   me-    biláy   =sepla   ninuno   =mi                =i        =sid  
OBL ST    life    =still    ancestor =1pe.GEN   =SPEC =3p.ABS

**when our ancestors were still alive (103.293)**

a   magulang ni    magulang miyi  
a   magúlang ni    magúlang =mi                =i  
LK parents    GEN parents    =1pe.GEN    =SPEC

**the parents of our parents (103.294)**

dapat sidde wadi                    in  
dápat siddé wadi                    in  
must 3p    younger sibling    ABS

**they had to (103.295)**

sidde wadi                    in  
siddé wadi                    in  
3p    younger sibling    ABS

**they, my friend, where the ones (103.296)**



didde wadi 'ena, kapatagan-i  
 diddé wadi =éna kapatágan =i  
 3p.LOC younger sibling =MED.DEM.ABS plain =SPEC

**these plains belonged to them, my friend (103.297)**

pero minengyari-i  
 péro meng- -in- yari =i  
 but AV PRF happen =SPEC

**but what happened was that (103.298)**

a  
 a  
 LK

**that (103.299)**

inalap ni uldin-i sid  
 -in- álap ni uldín =i =sid  
 PRF get GEN non-Alta person =SPEC =3p.ABS

**they (they lands) were taken by the Tagalog. (103.300)**

pinalitan de dla ti alak-i  
 -in- palit -an =de =dla ti alak =i  
 PRF barter LV =3p.GEN =only OBL wine =SPEC

**They exchanged it for some wine, (103.301)**

siyoktong  
 syoktóng  
 rice wine

**rice wine. (103.302)**

ti lolo lola miyi  
 ti lolo lola =mi =i  
 OBL grandfather grandmother =1pe.GEN =SPEC

**Our grandparents (103.303)**

pinomayag                      nen      sid  
-in-    -om-    payag    =nen    =sid  
PRF   AV    agreement =already =3p.ABS

**agreed with it, (103.304)**

o hangan me'epidot            nen      sid      ti      ginto-i  
o hangán me'e-      pidot    =nen      =sid      ti      ginto    =i  
or even    POT.AV    collect =already =3p.ABS OBL gold    =SPEC

**even when they were able to get some gold, (103.305)**

paletan      de      dla      ti      siyoktong-i            ye'ated            nen  
palit    -an =de      =dla    ti      syoktóng    =i      i-      eC-    ated =nen  
barter    LV =3p.GEN =only OBL rice wine    =SPEC CV    PRG    give =already

ninuno    mi  
ninuno    =mi  
ancestor =1pe.GEN

sid  
=sid  
=3p.ABS

**they just traded it for rice wine, thus our ancestors were given wine (103.306)**

kasi,      awon      sid      te      pinég'aralan  
kasi,      awón      =sid      te      pinég'aralan  
because not.exist =3p.ABS NS education

**because they were not educated. (103.307)**

uman na say in budi de a mangyari  
 uman =na =say in budi =de a meng-  
 DIST.SML.DEM =already =DIST.LOC.DEM ABS want =3p.GEN LK AV happen

ti

ti

OBL

Alta-i

alta =i

Alta people =SPEC

**That is what they (the outsiders) want to do to the Alta, (103.308)**

hangan diya'yay

hangán diya'yay

even now

**even nowadays (103.309)**

siya sep la budi de-i a mangyari i'yay  
 siyá =sep =la budi =de =i a meng- i'yáy  
 3s =still =just want =3p.GEN =SPEC LK AV happen DIST.DEM

**this is still what they want to happen.**

**(lit. this is still what they want to happen, this) (103.310)**

kaya me'una'e

kayá me'una =e'

so say =1s.ABS

**So I say (103.310)**

kasi, mina'ape'arale' sela  
 kasi, ma- -in- pe- aral =e' =séla  
 because ST PRF CAU study =1s.ABS =also

**since I have been educated, (103.311)**

mina'atungunge' ti hangan grade four-i  
 me'e- -in- tungtung =e' ti hangán grade four =i  
 POT.AV PRF cover =1s.ABS OBL even

**I managed to reach grade four, (103.313)**

a  
 a  
 LK

**(lit. a) (103.314)**

budi-i a mangyari  
 budi =i a meng-  
 want =SPEC LK AV happen

**(lit. I would like that) (103.315)**

in bilay niden ni ninuno mi ten araw  
 in biláy niden ni ninuno =mi ten áraw  
 ABS life PL.GEN GEN ancestor =1pe.GEN OBL day

**what happend to our ancestors in the past (103.316)**

awon ded eggagawin di'ami  
 awón =de =d eC- gágawin -en di'ámi  
 not.exist =3p.GEN ==d PRG do something PV 1pe.LOC

**I don't want them to do the same to us. (103.317)**

si'essiami namud sela in mangepayong  
 si'a- si'ámi namud =séla in mengi páyong  
 1pe 1pe just =also ABS AV stand up

**We should be the ones who decide**

**(lit. we are the ones who decide) (103.318)**

ti sarili miyi a ti'ed  
 ti sarili =mi =i a ti'ed  
 OBL self =1pe.GEN =SPEC LK foot

**by ourselves. (103.319)**

pagkatapos  
 pagkatapos  
 afterwards

**So (103.320)**

budi de-i a mangyari di'ami  
 budi =de =i a meng- di'ami  
 want =3p.GEN =SPEC LK AV happen 1pe.LOC

**what they want to happen to us, (103.321)**

kung baga  
 kung baga  
 actually

**actually (103.322)**

nidden tagalog-i  
 nidden tagalog =i  
 PROX.GEN.DEM.PL tagalog people =SPEC

**these Tagalog people, (103.323)**

budi de-i a'api ami namud  
 budi =de =i eC- api =ami namud  
 want =3p.GEN =SPEC PRG oppress =1pe.ABS just

**what they want is to oppress us. (103.324)**

sidde namud budi a mabilay  
 siddé namud budi a ma- biláy  
 3p just want LK ST life

**They want to be the only ones who have a good life (103.325)**

ad si'ami apiapihan  
at si'ámi api'apihan  
and 1pe oppressed

**while we are oppressed. (103.326)**

kung baga  
kung baga  
actually

**Actually, (103.327)**

iyowahi                    de            ami            namud pag    maiwadded  
i-    uwah    =i            =de            =amí          namud pag    maiwaddé    =d  
CV    thing    =SPEC =3p.GEN =1pe.ABS just    when exist        ==d

ye'abilayan  
i-    eC-    bilay    -an  
CV    PRG    life    LV

**they just keep on pushing us out of our lands.(103.328)**

tapos  
tapos  
then

**Also (103.329)**

ti'sen                    sela  
ti'sen                    =séla  
PROX.LOC.DEM =also

**here is also (103.330)**

budi sep    ume'aye                    sina  
budi =sep    ume'ay    =i            sina  
want =still go                    =SPEC MED.LOC.DEM

**I still want to come here.**

**(lit. I still want to go that way) (103.331)**

sata ni bilay owi  
ni biláy =o =i  
GEN life =1s.GEN =SPEC

**During my whole life, (103.332)**

umalang a 16 yearse'  
umálang a 16 years =e'  
come from LK

**since the age of 16 (103.333)**

diya'yaye' mannen  
diya'yay =e' =mannen  
now =1s.ABS =again

**now is the only time (103.334)**

time mannen a diya'yaye' na a  
time =mannen a diya'yay =e' =na a  
=again LK now =1s.ABS =already LK

**when**

**the time when (103.335)**

inomay sen  
-in- -um- ay =sen  
PRF AV go =PROX.LOC.DEM

**I came back here. (103.336)**

diya'yay 'od mannen a minadateng 'en a lugar  
diya'yay =o =d =mannen a me- -in- daténg 'en a lugar  
now =1s.GEN ==d =again LK POT PRF arrive PROX.DEM.ABS LK place

**It's only now that I am able again to reach this place, (103.337)**

pero isaye'                    sen                    dinom'el  
péro isay   =e'            sen                    -in-    -um-    d'el  
but   be.at   =1s.ABS PROX.LOC.DEM PRF   AV    big

**but I grew up here. (103.338)**

explain mo ba yan ( instructions )  
mo

**Can you explain about the gold colour on these rocks? (instructions in Tagalog)  
(103.340)**

a  
a  
LK

**ummm (103.41)**

i'en  
i'én  
PROX.DEM

**About this, (103.342)**

dí'ami    a    uwah 'en  
dí'ámi    a    uwah 'en  
1pe.LOC LK thing PROX.DEM.ABS

**(lit. in our place this whatchamacallit( (103.343)**

i'en            ay    alapen    mi            'en  
i'én            ay    álap    -en =mi            'en  
PROX.DEM PM get    PV =1pe.GEN PROX.DEM.ABS

**We collect it (103.344)**



puwede 'en a ibbenta  
pwéde 'en a i- -b- benta  
can PROX.DEM.ABS LK CV RDP sell

**and it can be sold (103.345)**

kayad la awon 'en in tunay a gold  
kayad la awón 'en in túnay a gold  
however not.exist PROX.DEM.ABS ABS pure LK

**but it is not pure gold. (103.346)**

a ginto  
a ginto  
LK gold

**gold (103.347)**

bisa 'en in tunay a ginto  
bisa 'en in túnay a ginto  
not PROX.DEM.ABS ABS pure LK gold

**This is not pure gold (103.348)**

etay na 'en ni ginto-i sid a  
etay =na 'en ni ginto =i =sid a  
excrement =already PROX.DEM.ABS GEN gold =SPEC =3p.ABS LK

inomapet ti  
-in- -om- ip'èt (lar) ti  
PRF AV stick OBL

betuh-i  
betuh =i  
stone =SPEC

**this is some gold residue that got stuck on the rock. (103.349)**

kung baga in mineta'peg ten inetanem ni hapon-i  
kung baga in me- -in- ta'pég ten -in- -e- taném ni hapón =i  
actually ABS ST PRF cover OBL PRF plant GEN Japan =SPEC

sid

=sid

=3p.ABS

**This is actually one of the stones that was covering the things that the Japanese buried here (103.350)**

siyad sid 'en in inomapet  
siyá =d =sid 'en in -in- -om- ip'èt (lar)  
3s =d =3p.ABS PROX.DEM.ABS ABS PRF AV stick

**and this is what got stuck on these rocks. (103.351)**

in kulay de  
in kulay =de  
ABS colour =3p.GEN

**Their colour (103.352)**

inomay sen betuh-i  
-in- -um- ay =sen betuh =i  
PRF AV go =PROX.LOC.DEM stone =SPEC

**got stuck on the rock, (103.353)**

diya'yay  
diya'yay  
now

**so (103.354)**

i'en puwedem 'en a pelusaw  
i'én pwéde =m 'en a pe- lusaw  
PROX.DEM can =2s.GEN PROX.DEM.ABS LK CAU melt

**you can melt it, (103.355)**

eggamiten mo 'en ti penglusaw-i  
 eC- gamit -en =mo 'en ti penglúsaw =i  
 PRG tool PV =2s.GEN PROX.DEM.ABS OBL dissolvent =SPEC

**you can use some tool for melting(103.356)**

tapos malap mo 'en a monmon  
 tapos me- álap =mo 'en a monmon  
 then POT get =2s.GEN PROX.DEM.ABS LK complete

**and you can extract it completely. (103.357)**

puwede a pengbetuh ni singsing-i sid ad kwentas  
 pwéde a pengbetuh ni singsing =i =sid at kwentas  
 can LK ornament GEN ring =SPEC =3p.ABS and necklace

**You can use it as material for rings and necklaces (103.358)**

a pegagawim a bracelet ni relo-i  
 a pe- gágawi =m a bracelet ni relóh =i  
 LK CAU do =2s.GEN LK GEN watch =SPEC

**and also for the watchbands. (103.359)**

hikaw puwede sid 'en  
 hikaw pwéde =sid 'en  
 earring can =3p.ABS PROX.DEM.ABS

**Earrings can also be made. (103.360)**

kasi sidden  
 kasi siddé -n  
 because ? ?

**These (rocks), (103.361)**

uman-i                                    sen  
uman                                    =i        sen  
DIST.SML.DEM    =SPEC PROX.LOC.DEM

**like this one, (103.362)**

kung baga in    ineta'bon                    de            ti    ebuti                    sid  
kung baga in    -in-    i-    ta'bón =de            ti    ebút    =i            =sid  
actually    ABS PRF    CV    cover =3p.GEN OBL hole    =SPEC =3p.ABS

**like the ones that they (the Japanese) used to cover the holes (103.363)**

diya'yay inalap                    ni    waget-i  
diya'yay -in-    álap ni    waget    =i  
now    PRF    get    GEN water    =SPEC

**were brought by the water. (103.364)**

ino'tutan                                    , mine'anod  
-in-    ut'ut                    -an    me-    -in-    anod  
PRF    dig a hole    LV    ST    PRF    current of water

**They drifted with the current of the water (103.65)**

siyad        siden    minekalat                    nen  
siyá    =d sidén    me-    -in-    kalat    =nen  
3s    =d PL.ABS ST    PRF    spread =already

**and these were the ones that spread. (103.366)**

awon    tam        annolen                                    kong adinod                    siden    a  
awón    =tam        annol                                    -en kung adino    =d sidén    a  
not.exist =1p.GEN know someone or something    PV if        where    ==d PL.ABS LK

banda  
bandá  
side

inomalang

-in- -um- alang

PRF AV come

**We don't know where they came from (103.367)**

**(lit. we don't know from which directions they came from)**

peros ta'peg sidina ni ginto-i sid

péros ta'pég siddiná ni ginto =i =sid

but cover MED.DEM.PL GEN gold =SPEC =3p.ABS

**but these were used to cover the pieces of gold (103.368)**

**(lit. but these were a cover of the pieces of gold)**

siyad la 'en in etay de

siyá =d =la 'en in etay =de

3s =d =just PROX.DEM.ABS ABS excrement =3p.GEN

**and this is just the residue. (103.369)**

kong ango'an ay etay

kung ngo -an ay etay

if call someone LV PM excrement

**They call it "etay". (103.370)**

kasi

kasi

because

**because**

ado gul a uwah sen inelbeng ni hapon-i

ado =gul a uwah sen -in- ilbeng ni hapón =i

many =indeed LK thing PROX.LOC.DEM PRF bury something GEN Japan =SPEC

**Many things were indeed buried here by the Japanese, (103.372)**

awon tam annolen baka mebine' tam aduwan-i  
awón =tam annol -en baká me- bine' =tam áduwan =i  
not.exist =1p.GEN know PV maybe ST step =1p.GEN other =SPEC

**we don't know if we are stepping over them (103.373)**

kasi

kasi

because

**because (103.374)**

ten araw

ten áraw

OBL day

**in the past (103.375)**

usuh guerra-i

usuh gerra =i

vogue war =SPEC

**wars were frequent (103.376)**

basta iyedton de namud ina

básta i- -eC dton =de namud =iná

just CV PRG place =3p.GEN just =MED.DEM.ABS

**and they just buried their things (103.377)**

**(lit. they just place these)**

kong adidino

kung adidino

anywhere

**anywhere (they wanted) (103.78)**

dahil awon ded man me'denan a 'elan  
dáhil awón =de =d =man me- eddén -an a 'elan  
because not.exist =3p.GEN ==d =contrast POT load LV LK all

**because they were not able to carry their (103.379)**

in kayamanan a adedden de  
in kayamanan a eC- edden =de  
ABS wealth LK PRG load =3p.GEN

**valuable objects. (103.380)**

awon tam annolen kong i'en a mudung ay minatno  
awón =tam annol -en kung i'én a mudúng ay -in- matnó  
not.exist =1p.GEN know PV if PROX.DEM LK mountain PM PRF fill

**We don't know if this is the mountain that contains (these objects) (103.381)**

i'en, sina, ti'sina  
i'én sina ti'sina  
PROX.DEM MED.LOC.DEM MED.LOC.DEM

**this one, there, or there (103.382)**

hangan ti'sen  
hangán ti'sen  
even PROX.LOC.DEM

**or even here. (103.383)**

awon tam annolen kong talaga a maiwadde kasi  
awón =tam annol -en kung talága a maiwaddé kasi  
not.exist =1p.GEN know PV if naturally LK exist because

**We don't know if there actually are (buried objects) because (103.384)**

istoria ni ninuno-i sid  
istoria ni ninuno =i =sid  
story GEN ancestor =SPEC =3p.ABS

**our ancestors said that (103.385)**

**(lit. the story of our ancestors)**

ten araw talaga a isay de sen, ado sen  
ten áraw talága a isay =de = sen ado sen  
OBL day naturally LK be.at =3p.GEN PROX.LOC.DEM many PROX.LOC.DEM  
minelbeng-i  
me- -in- ilbeng =i  
ST PRF bury something =SPEC

**back in the days, many things were buried here (103.386)**

hapon-i  
hapón =i  
Japan =SPEC

**by the Japanese. (103.387)**

ten araw  
ten áraw  
OBL day

**back in the days (103.388)**

kaya  
kayá  
so

**so (103.389)**

menewala e' sela kong minsan  
menewala =e' =séla kung minsan  
believe =1s.ABS =also if occasion

**I sometimes believe (in these stories) (103.390)**



kasi    ado    sen                    menbalak-i  
 kasi    ado    sen                    men-   bálak   =i  
 because many PROX.LOC.DEM AV    plan    =SPEC

**because there are many people who have plans (of excavating) here (103.391)**

dahil    uman                    sigudo say                    ado    sid    a  
 dáhil    uman                    sigúdo =say                    ado    =sid    a  
 because DIST.SML.DEM maybe =DIST.LOC.DEM many =3p.ABS LK

ittibeng

i-    -t-    tibeng  
 CV   RDP   hear

**because many people have heard (103.392)**

a    a'ado                    mineuwah  
 a    -a-    'ado    me-   -in-   uwah  
 LK   RDP   many   ST    PRF   thing

**that many things (103.393)**

inetamen                    ni    hapon-i                    ad    kastila  
 -in-    i-    tanem ni    hapón   =i    at    kastila  
 PRF   CV   plant   GEN   Japan   =SPEC and spaniard

**were buried by the Japanese and by the Spaniards (103.394)**

kaya sid                    budi a   sumesdep  
 kayá =sid                    budi a   sdep  
 so    =3p.ABS want LK enter

**and that is why they want to penetrate (this land). (103.395)**

ad    diya'yay awon    mi                    budi a   pesdepen                    sid  
 at    diya'yay awón    =mi                    budi a   pe-   esdep   -en =sid  
 and now    not.exist =1pe.GEN want LK CAU    enter    PV =3p.ABS

**Now we don't want to let them in (103.396)**

kasi gul  
kasi =gul  
because =indeed

**because (103.397)**

budi mi in si'ami sela makenabang-i  
budi =mi in si'ámi =séla me'inabang =i  
want =1pe.GEN ABS 1pe =also make profit =SPEC

**we want to benefit (from these things) as well. (103.398)**

in ngadden na o gul nen  
in ngadden =na =o =gul =nen  
ABS =already =1s.GEN =indeed =already

**As I said (103.399)**

ad ti nana Inga, mina'a'alap ta Diyabobo  
at ti nana Inga me'e- -in- álap ta Diyabobo  
and OBL mother Dominga POT.AV PRF get LOC Dyabobo

**Nana Inga was able to find (some gold) in Diyabobo, (103.400)**

mesmo a elan de  
mesmo a elan =de  
actual LK accompany =3p.GEN

**she was with them (103.401)**

pero ginagawid de-i  
péro -in- gágawi =d =de =i  
but PRF do ==d =3p.GEN =SPEC

**but what they did, (103.402)**

hapon sela yay  
hapon =séla =yay  
Japan =also =DIST.DEM.ABS

**these Japanese, (103.403)**

mina'a'inta            sid  
me'e-    -in-    inta =sid  
POT.AV   PRF   see =3p.ABS

**they found (some gold) (103.404)**

inesakay            de            ti    elikopter-i  
-in-    -e-    sakay =de            ti    elikopter    =i  
PRF   CV   load   =3p.GEN OBL helicopter   =SPEC

**and they loaded it onto a helicopter. (103.405)**

ine'uli                            de  
-in-    -e-    uli                            =de  
PRF   CV   going home =3p.GEN

**They took it home, (103.406)**

hangan diya'yay awon    ded                            ina'tdan                            ti    nana    Inga  
hangán diya'yay awón    =de                            =d -in-    atdán                            ti    nana    Inga  
even    now    not.exist =3p.GEN    ==d PRF   give someone    OBL mother Dominga

**and until now they haven't given it back to Nana Inga. (103.407)**

mina'a'alap                            sid            ti    duwa-i                            a    bar  
me'e-    -in-    álap =sid            ti    duwa    =i                            a    bar  
POT.AV   PRF   get   =3p.ABS OBL two                            =SPEC LK

**They found two bars (103.408)**

a    ginto  
a    ginto  
LK gold

**of gold, (103.409)**

pero awon ded ina'tdan in be'es a elan  
 péro awón =de =d -in- atdán in be'es a elan  
 but not.exist =3p.GEN ==d PRF give someone ABS old woman LK accompany  
 de  
 =de  
 =3p.GEN

**but they did not give anything to the old lady that was with them (103.410)**

ten ti'sina Diyabobo-i  
 ten ti'sina Dyábobo =i  
 OBL MED.LOC.DEM Dyabobo =SPEC

**when they were there in Diyabobo. (103.411)**

kaya ti'sen  
 kayá ti'sen  
 so PROX.LOC.DEM

**Now, (103.412)**

siya 'en edmon de-i  
 siyá 'en demó n =de =i  
 3s PROX.DEM.ABS first ? =3p.GEN =SPEC

**one of their priorities is (103.413)**

**(lit. this is one of their priorities)**

e'eppayongan ti many dam-i  
 e'e- -p- páyong -an ti many dam =i  
 OBL dam =SPEC

**to build a dam (103.414)**

**(lit. they are building a dam)**

pero si'ami awon mi talaga a budi  
 péro si'ámi awón =mi talága a budi  
 but 1pe not.exist =1pe.GEN naturally LK want

**but we don't want it, of course. (103.415)**

kasi siyad la yay plano de-i a  
kasi =siyá =d =la =yay pláno =de =i a  
because =3s.ABS ==d =just =DIST.DEM.ABS plan =3p.GEN =SPEC LK  
annolen 'o  
annol -en =o  
know someone or something PV =1s.GEN

**This is one of their plans that I know of. (103.416)**

in aduwan di'ami a Alta budi ded  
in áduwan di'ámi a alta budi =de =d  
ABS other 1pe.LOC LK Alta people want =3p.GEN ==d

**Some of our fellow Alta have already agreed (103.417)**

budi ded a pasdepan  
budi =de =d a pa- sdep -an  
want =3p.GEN =d LK

**to let them in (103.418)**

para magkatrabaho sid  
para magka- trabaho =sid  
for =3p.ABS

**in order to have a job. (103.419)**

me'una  
me'una  
say

**I said (103.420)**

si'en hinomad langi  
si'én -in- homad =la =ngi  
1s PRF obstacle =just =emphasis

**I am against it, (103.421)**

kong budi miyo  
kung budi =miyú  
if want =2p.GEN

**if you want it (103.422)**

hangan i'issa' ipaglaba 'o  
hangán i'issá ipaglaba =o  
even alone fight =1s.GEN

**I will be the one to stop it (103.423)**

kasi  
kasi  
because

**because (103.424)**

may karapatan  
may karápatan  
have right

**we have the right (103.425)**

may karapatan itam ti mudumudung-i  
may karápatan =itám ti mudu- mudúng =i  
have right =1pi.ABS OBL RDP mountain =SPEC

**to decide what happens to our land, (103.426)**

pareparehas itam a may karapatan  
pare- paréhas =itám a may karápatan  
=1pi.ABS LK have right

**and my right is the same as everyone else's. (103.427)**

o sige, payagan miyo sid me'una  
 o sige, payag -an =miyú =sid me'una  
 or agreement LV =2p.GEN =3p.ABS say

**Do as you please (103.428)**

pero si'en awon 'o budi  
 péro si'én awón =o budi  
 but 1s not.exist =1s.GEN want

**but as for me, I don't want it. (103.429)**

kasi  
 kasi  
 because

**because (103.430)**

awon miyod la annolen  
 awón =miyú =d =la annol -en  
 not.exist =2p.GEN ==d =just know someone or something PV

**you don't know (103.431)**

pangyayari-i yay  
 peng- -ya- yari =i =yay  
 ? RDP happen =SPEC =DIST.DEM.ABS

**what is actually happening. (103.432)**

kasi in uwah sid  
 kasi in uwah =sid  
 because ABS thing =3p.ABS

**Because (103.433)**

siddina  
 siddína  
 MED.DEM.PL

**those (103.434)**

a budina sena a sumesdep-i  
a budi =na sena a sdep =i  
LK want =3s.GEN also LK enter =SPEC

**who want to come in (103.435)**

me'una  
me'una  
say

**I say (103.436)**

awon miyod la annolen in budi de  
awón =miyú =d =la annol -en in budi =de  
not.exist =2p.GEN ==d =just know someone or something PV ABS want =3p.GEN

a  
a  
LK

mangyari  
meng-  
AV happen

**you don't know what they want to happen, (103.437)**

pag minalap ded ina  
pag m- -in- álap =de =d =iná  
if ST PRF get =3p.GEN ==d =MED.DEM.ABS

**once they manage to get what they want (103.438)**

lawan de itam e' iwala a dí'aw a etay  
láwan =de =itám =e' iwala a dí'aw a etay  
abandon =3p.GEN =1pi.ABS =1s.ABS lose someone LK similar LK excrement

**they will abandon us like shit. (103.439)**



ma'una pag minalapded in kagustuhan de a  
 ma'uná' pag ma- -in- álap =de =d in kagustuhan =de a  
 say if ST PRF get =3p.GEN ==d ABS =3p.GEN LK

alapen

álap -en

get PV

**I say, once they get what they want to get. (103.440)**

o diya'yay

o diya'yay

or now

**(lit. then) (103.441)**

si'etam

si'étam

1pi

**we will be the ones (103.442)**

magmukhang kawawa itam mannen  
 magmukhang kawawa =itám =mannen  
 =1pi.ABS =again

**who suffer the consequences again (103.443)**

kasi minalap ded in budi ded a alapen  
 kasi m- -in- álap =de =d in budi =de =d a álap -en  
 because ST PRF get =3p.GEN ==d ABS want =3p.GEN ==d LK get PV

**if they get what they want. (103.444)**

magmukhang kawawa itam mannen  
 magmukhang kawawa =itám =mannen  
 =1pi.ABS =again

**We will suffer (103.445)**

sidde me'una, masarap mannen te bilay  
siddé me'una masarap =mannen te biláy  
3p say tasty =again NS life

**while they are the ones who have a nice life. (103.446)**

a  
a  
LK

**(103.447)**

ti Antoniod mannen  
ti Antonio =d =mannen  
OBL =again

**For example Antonio (103.448)**

esdepen nad mannen wadid 'en  
esdep -en =na =d =mannen wadi =d 'en  
enter PV =already ==d =again PROX.DEM.ABS

**wanted to come to (103.449)**

a lugar  
a lugar  
LK place

**this place again (103.450)**

pero si'amid mannen inomadlang-i didde  
péro si'ámi =d =mannen -in- -om- adlang =i diddé  
but 1pe ==d =again PRF AV impede =SPEC 3p.LOC

**but we stopped them (103.451)**

kasi

kasi

because

**because (103.452)**

siyad      man      yad                              in      balak na  
siyá   =d   =man   =yay                              =d   in   bálak   =na  
3s   ==d =contrast =DIST.DEM.ABS   ==d ABS plan   =3s.GEN

**he had the same plan. (103.453)**

ad   saka awon      mid                              budi a talaga  
at   saka awón      =mi                              =d   budi a talága  
and   and   not.exist =1pe.GEN   ==d want LK naturally

**And of course we did not want it. (103.454)**

kasi      mati      ami  
kasi      metih =amí  
because dead =1pe.ABS

**Even if we die, (103.455)**

a   tiga   tí'sen  
a   tiga   tí'sen  
LK from PROX.LOC.DEM

**the ones who are from here, (103.456)**

a  
a  
LK

**a (103.457)**

pagkasi ginamitan ded 'en ti  
 pag kasi -in- gamit -an =de =d 'en ti  
 if because PRF use LV =3p.GEN ==d PROX.DEM.ABS OBL

dilamita-i  
 dilámita =i  
 dynamite =SPEC

**for example if they used dynamite (103.458)**

in pempapdo' sid a pangwasak ti mudung-i  
 in pempapdo' =sid a peng- wasa' ti mudúng =i  
 ABS detonation =3p.ABS LK INST destruction OBL mountain =SPEC

**or other devices to blow up the mountains (103.459)**

bisad la a  
 bisa =d =la a  
 not ==d =just LK

**it would not only be (103.460)**

si'amid dla mati-i lahat  
 si'ámi =d =dla metih =i lahát  
 1pe ==d =only dead =SPEC all

**all of us here who would die (103.460)**

hangan Baler matid uldin-i sid  
 hangán Baléd metih =d uldín =i =sid  
 even Baler town dead ==d non-Alta person =SPEC =3p.ABS

**but also up until Baler, the Tagalogs there would die as well (103.462)**

awon te mabuway di'ami  
 awón te ma- buway di'ámi  
 not.exist NS ST remain 1pe.LOC

**and nothing would be left. (103.463)**

dahil pagka dimmanan ni baguiyo-i a minsan  
dâhil pagká dinmanan ni bagiyó =i a minsan  
because when have passed through something GEN storm =SPEC LK occasion

o'udden

o 'udden

or rain

melakas

me- lakás

ST strength

**Because when the occasional typhoons pass through (103.464)**

wasak 'ed a 'elan  
wasa' =en =d a 'elan  
destruction =PROX.DEM.ABS ==d LK all

**they destroy everything. (103.465)**

annolen miyo  
annol -en =miyú  
know PV =2p.GEN

**You know (103.466)**

bisa' man a  
bisa' =man a  
not =contrast LK

**that I am not (103.467)**

bisa' man a ibbide metapang e'  
bisa' =man a i- bidd -en me- tápang =e'  
not =contrast LK CV say PV ST courage =1s.ABS

**saying that I am brave,**

**(lit. I am not saying that I am brave) (103.468)**

bisa' man a ibbide a  
 bisa' =man a i- bidd -en a  
 not =contrast LK CV say PV LK

**I am not saying that (103.469)**

meba'it e'  
 me- ba'it =e'  
 ST kindness =1s.ABS

**I am kind either, (103.470)**

awon 'od man budi a ibbide a  
 awón =o =d =man budi a i- bidd -en a  
 not.exist =1s.GEN ==d =contrast want LK CV say PV LK

**I don't want to say that I (103.471)**

ipe'ibut 'o  
 ipe- ibut =o  
 ? CAU.CV =1s.GEN

**own (103.472)**

mudung-i  
 mudúng =i  
 mountain =SPEC

**the mountain, (103.473)**

pero talaga a ipeglaba 'od la in Karapatan  
 péro talága a ipeg- laban =o =d =la in karápatan  
 but naturally LK CAU fight =1s.GEN ==d =just ABS right

**but of course I want to fight for our rights, (103.474)**

Karapatan mi a Alta  
 karápatan =mi a alta  
 right =1pe.GEN LK Alta people

**the rights of the Alta people.**  
**(lit. the rights of us, the Alta.) (103.475)**

pero in katribu sid  
péro in ka- tribu =sid  
but ABS =3p.ABS

**But the other members of my tribe, (103.476)**

budi de-i a talaga  
budi =de =i a talága  
want =3p.GEN =SPEC LK naturally

**they want**  
**what they want is (103.477)**

maiwadded a sumesdep para magkaroon ti trabaho-i  
maiwaddé -d a sdep para magkaro'on ti trabaho =i  
have =d LK enter for own OBL work =SPEC

**the outsiders to come in, so they can get a job. (103.478)**

me'una  
me'una  
say

**I say (103.479)**

normal na ina  
normal =na =iná  
normal =already =MED.DEM.ABS

**that it is normal (103.480)**

ti issa-i a ta'o meghirap-i  
ti issa =i a tá'o mahirap =i  
OBL one =SPEC LK person poor =SPEC

**for a poor person. (103.481)**

isay na ina di'etam peghihirap tami  
 isay =na =iná di'étam peghihirap =tam =i  
 be.at =already =MED.DEM.ABS 1pi.LOC suffering =1p.GEN =SPEC

**It is up to us (103.482)**

may kanyakanya etam a principio  
 may kanyakanya étam a prinsipyo  
 have 1pi.ABS LK principle

**to stick to our principles (103.483)**

ipayong tam sarili tam-i a abde  
 i- páyong =tam sarili =tam =i a abde  
 CV stand up =1p.GEN self =1p.GEN =SPEC LK body

**and to stand on our own two feet (103.484)**

dahil dinom'el itam ti kahirapan-i  
 dáhil -in- -um- d'el =itám ti kahirapan =i  
 because PRF AV big =1pi.ABS OBL adversity =SPEC

**because we grew up with adversity (103.485)**

a hangan diya'yay ma'una mebilay itam sep la  
 a hangán diya'yay ma'uná' me- biláy =itám =sep =la  
 LK even now say ST life =1pi.ABS =still =just

**and so far we are still alive. (103.485)**

pansinen miyo  
 pansin -en =miyú  
 notice PV =2p.GEN

**Remember that (103.486)**

ti  
 ti  
 OBL



(103.488)

la'aw ni panahon-i  
la'aw ni panahon =i  
length GEN time =SPEC

**through the years (103.489)**

hangan diya'yay mebilay itam sep la  
hangán diya'yay me- biláy =itám =sep =la  
even now ST life =1pi.ABS =still =just

**until now we are still alive, (103.490)**

bakit dahilan ti uwah-i  
bakit dahilan ti uwah =i  
because OBL thing =SPEC

**why have we been through so much? Because of our (103.491)**

katangahan tami me'una e'  
katangahan =tam =i me'una =e'  
stupidity =1p.GEN =SPEC say =1s.ABS

**our stupidity, I said (103.492)**

didde  
diddé  
3p.LOC

**to them. (103.493)**

kasi awon itam wadi meghirap  
kasi awón =itám wadi meghirap  
because not.exist =1pi.ABS younger sibling difficult

**We will not be poor (103.494)**

kong si'etam ay mesipag  
kung si'etam ay me- sipag  
if 1pi PM ST industriousness

**if we are hardworking. (103.495)**

a  
a  
INTJ

**aaaa (103.496)**

anig ti tape'-i sid a ipembenta de  
anig ti tape' =i =sid a ipe- m- benta =de  
similarity OBL land =SPEC =3p.ABS LK CAU.CV ? sell =3p.GEN

**Like those lands that they have sold, (103.497)**

anig ti'sina  
anig ti'sina  
similarity MED.LOC.DEM

**like the ones there (103.498)**

pag mamay'arid man inad ni Alta-i  
pag mamay'ari =d =man =iná =d ni alta =i  
if possessions ==d =contrast =MED.DEM.ABS ==d GEN Alta people =SPEC

**were property of the Alta. (103.499)**

inebentad de diya'yay ni dila'i a Roberto  
-in- i- benta =d =de diya'yay ni dila'i a  
PRF CV sell ==d =3p.GEN now GEN uncle LK

**They sold them to uncle Robert, (103.500)**

a ama ni dila'i a Marc  
a ama ni dila'i a  
LK father GEN uncle LK

**the father of uncle Marc. (103.501)**

i'en            a    tape'  
i'én            a    tape'  
PROX.DEM LK land

**This land here. (103.501)**

pero  
péro  
but

**But (103.503)**

pag    mamay'ari    'en                            ni    Alta-i                            a    ninuno  
pag    mamay'ari    'en                            ni    alta                            =i    a    ninuno  
when possessions PROX.DEM.ABS GEN Alta people    =SPEC LK ancestor

**that was a property of our Alta ancestors (103.504)**

i'ina            a    tape'  
i'ina            a    tape'  
MED.DEM LK land

**that land there (103.505)**

diya'yay  
diya'yay  
now

**but now, (103.506)**

ti    kagustuhan    man-i                            ni    uldin-i                            sid  
ti    kagustuhan    =man                            =i    ni    uldín                            =i    =sid  
OBL                            =contrast    =SPEC GEN non-Alta person    =SPEC =3p.ABS

**because the Tagalog people wanted (103.507)**  
**(lit. because of the will of the Tagalog people)**

a sidde megkaroon ti mebi'en-i  
 a siddé megkaroon ti mebi'en =i  
 LK 3p OBL near =SPEC

**to be the ones to own the surrounding areas, (103.508)**

pinalitan ded man inad ti begas  
 -in- palit -an =de =d =man =iná =d ti begas  
 PRF barter LV =3p.GEN ==d =contrast =MED.DEM.ABS ==d OBL rice

nangi  
 =na =ngi  
 =already =emphasis

**they traded the Alta land for rice (103.509)**  
**(lit. they traded that for rice)**

siyoktong  
 syoktóng  
 rice wine

**and rice wine (103.510)**

kong asesenod la in inepalit de ten be'es  
 kung aseséno =d =la in -in- - palit =de ten be'es  
 whether whatever ==d =just ABS PRF CV barter =3p.GEN OBL old woman

**and whatever else they traded it for with the old ladies (103.511)**

minangibenta  
 mengi -in- benta  
 AV PRF sell

**who sold the land. (103.512)**

kayad diya'yay isay nen didde  
 kayá =d diya'yay isay =nen diddé  
 so ==d now be.at =already 3p.LOC

**So now it is their property (103.513)**

awon na ina te libo  
awón =na =iná te libo  
not.exist =already =MED.DEM.ABS NS thousand

**for less than a thousand (pesos) (103.514)**

a bayad na  
a báyad =na  
LK payment =3s.GEN

**in total.**

**(lit. as a payment for it) (103.515)**

kong baga ina ay parsial  
kong baga =iná ay parsial  
actually =MED.DEM.ABS PM

**Basically, that was not a fair trade. (103.516)**

diya  
diyá  
3s.LOC

**(lit. to it) (503.517)**

ina'dan ded la ti tatlo-i a boti a  
-in- atdán =de =d =la ti tatló =i a boti a  
PRF give someone =3p.GEN ==d =just OBL three =SPEC LK bottle LK

siyoktong  
syoktóng  
rice wine

**They just gave three bottles of rice wine, (103.518)**

ina'dan ded ti begas-i a epat a kilo o  
 -in- atdán =de =d ti begas =i a epát a kilo o  
 PRF give someone =3p.GEN ==d OBL rice =SPEC LK four LK kilogram or

limma

limmá

five

**five or six kilos of rice (103.519)**  
**(lit. they gave five or six kilos of rice)**

asin, kape, asucal

asin, kape, asúkal

salt coffee sugar

**salt, coffee, sugar (103.520)**

o siyad la yay palit na-i  
 o =siyá =d =la =yay palit =na =i  
 or 3s ==d =just =DIST.DEM.ABS barter =3s.GEN =SPEC

**and that was the deal. (103.521)**  
**(lit. that was the deal for it)**

minaging ti uldin nen-i  
 -in- maging- ti uldín =nen =i  
 PRF become OBL non-Alta person =already =SPEC

**It became property of the Tagalog (103.522)**

awon nen ti Alta-i  
 awón =nen ti alta =i  
 not.exist =already OBL Alta people =SPEC

**and not anymore to the Alta. (103.523)**

ten uldin inad  
 ten uldín =iná =d  
 OBL non-Alta person =MED.DEM.ABS ==d

**Now the Tagalog own (103.524)**  
**(lit. that now belongs to the Tagalog)**

a oma  
a oma  
LK swidden

**these farms (103.525)**

a  
a  
LK

**which are (103.526)**

ti'sinad                      man      parte-i              ina  
ti'sina                      =d =man      parte =i              =iná  
MED.LOC.DEM    ==d =contrast side      =SPEC =MED.DEM.ABS

**there, on that side. (103.527)**

ado    sen                      a    may    pegmamay'ari-i  
ado    =sen                      a    may    peg-    mamay'ari    -i  
many =PROX.LOC.DEM LK have

**Many used to own lands here, (103.528)**

a    Alta              sela  
a    alta              =séla  
LK Alta people =also

**Alta people too, (103.529)**

pero  
péro  
but

**But (103.530)**

ĩina ay eppayongan mi tu nursery-i  
 ĩina ay eC- páyong -an =mi ti nursery =i  
 MED.DEM PM PRG stand up LV =1pe.GEN OBL

**that is where we are going to build a nursery. (103.531)**

siyad ina in engaddenan mi a  
 siyá =d =iná in eC- ngadden -an =mi a  
 3s ==d =MED.DEM.ABS ABS PRG name LV =1pe.GEN LK

**That is what we call (103.532)**

papunta ta Magdalenas  
 papuntá ta Magdalenas  
 bound for LOC Magadelnas

**the way to Magadelenas, (103.533)**

um'ahon 'a uman-i  
 um'ahon =a uman =i  
 go up =2s.ABS DIST.SML.DEM =SPEC

**you go up this way (103.534)**

tapos sumsaidkad 'a  
 tapos s- -um- saidkad =a  
 then =2s.ABS

**then continue straight (103.535)**

siyad yay in nedi di'an  
 siyá =d =yay in Nedi'di'an  
 3s ==d =DIST.DEM.ABS ABS Nedi'di'an

**and you will reach Nedi'di'an (103.536)**  
**(lit. and that is Nedi'di'an)**



ina-i  
=iná =i  
=MED.DEM.ABS =SPEC

**(lit. that) (103.537)**

pag isay sina mudung-i ina  
pag isay sina mudúng =i =iná  
if be.at MED.LOC.DEM mountain =SPEC =MED.DEM.ABS

**on that montain there (103.538)**

**(lit. once you are on that mountain there)**

a pinenti'dan ni'nina duwa-i ( a mudung)  
a pinenti'dan ni'niná duwa =i a mudúng  
LK bottom LPROX.DEM.GEN two =SPEC LK mountain

**at the lower part of the two mountains.(103.539)**

tapos  
tapos  
then

**Then (103.540)**

um'ikod 'a  
-um- ikod =a  
AV turn =2s.ABS

**you turn, (103.541)**

tumtelde a um'ikod a Magdalenas selad  
t- -um- telde a -um- ikod a Magdalenas =séla =d  
2s.ABS AV turn 2s.ABS Magadelnas =also ==d

yay  
=yay  
=DIST.DEM.ABS

**you keep going up and you will reach Magdalenas (103.542)**

tapos

tapos

then

**then (103.542)**

um'aho'ad				mannen
-um-	áhon	a	=d	=mannen
AV	ascend	2s.ABS	==d	=again

**you go up again, (103.544)**

menel de	a	siyad	yay	in	angadenan				
men-	elde	= 'a	=siyá	=d	=yay	in	e-	ngadden	-an
AV	ascension	=2s.ABS	=3s.ABS	==d	=DIST.DEM.ABS	ABS			

mi	a
=mi	a
=1pe.GEN	LK

**you ascend, and that is what we call (103.545)**

Magdalenas ad Lanaw  
 Magdalenas at Lanaw  
 Magadelnas and place nearby Diteki

**Magdalenas and Lanaw. (103.546)**

ti'sina	ta'po-i	ina	
ti'sina	ta'pó	=i	=iná
MED.LOC.DEM	summit	=SPEC	=MED.DEM.ABS

**There, on that summit, (103.547)**

siyad	gul	inad	in	sengnan-i			
siyá	=d	=gul	=iná	=d	in	Singnan	=i
3s	==d	=indeed	=MED.DEM.ABS	==d	ABS	Singnan	=SPEC

**that is indeed Singnan (103.548)**

siyad        man        'en                in  
 siyá    =d    =man        ='en                in  
 3s        ==d =contrast PROX.DEM.ABS ABS

**and that one there is (103.549)**

mapolud  
 mapolud  
 Mapolud

**Mapolud. (103.550)**

i'íe                parte-i                i'e  
 i'íé                parte    =i                i'e  
 LPROX.DEM side    =SPEC PROX.DEM

**There, in that part (103.551)**

papunta    i'íe                a    may    tibag        a    de'el  
 papuntá    i'íé                a    may    tibag        a    de'el  
 bound for LPROX.DEM LK have landslide LK big

**over that way, where there is a big landslide (103.552)**

siyad        ina                in    mapolud  
 siyá    =d    =iná                in    mapolud  
 3s        ==d =MED.DEM.ABS ABS Mapolud

**that there is Mapulud (103.553)**

siyad        'en                in    Minero    a    mesmo  
 siyá    =d    'en                in    Minero    a    mesmo  
 3s        ==d PROX.DEM.ABS ABS Minero LK actual

**that is the proper Minero. (103.554)**

mapolud

mapolud

Mapolud

**Mapolud (103.555)**

tapos

tapos

then

**then (103.556)**

Singnan Nedi'di'an

singnan Nedi'di'an

Singnan Nedi'di'an

**Singnan, Nedi'di'an (103.557)**

Magdalenas Lanaw

Magdalenas Lanaw

Magadelnas place nearby Diteki

**Magdalenas, Lanaw, (103.558)**

siyad sidina a mudung

siyá =d siddiná a mudúng

3s ==d MED.DEM.PL LK mountain

**those are the names of these mountains. (103.559)**

**(lit. that is what these mountains are)**

siyad man 'en in pe'ay sina project-i

siyá =d =man ='en in pe- ay sina project =i

3s ==d =contrast PROX.DEM.ABS ABS CAU go MED.LOC.DEM

**And this is the way to the project site. (103.560)**

i'en a mudung  
i'én a mudúng  
PROX.DEM LK mountain

**This mountain, (103.561)**

papunta sen a project-i  
papuntá sen a project =i  
bound for PROX.LOC.DEM LK

**that is the way to the projet site, (103.562)**

i'ina  
i'ina  
MED.DEM

**(lit. that one) (103.563)**

pero i'en mebi'en na 'en  
péro i'én mebi'en =na 'en  
but PROX.DEM near =already PROX.DEM.ABS

**but this one is quite close. (103.564)**

kong ella'aden mo mebi'en  
kung eC- la'ad -en =mo mebi'en  
if PRG walk PV =2s.GEN near

**If you walk there, it is close. (103.565)**

kayadla mine'siyan gul nen gagawi ni  
kayadlá me- -in- siyan =gul =nen gágawi ni  
however ST PRF drought =indeed =already do GEN

**However, the place got dry because of the actions of the (103.566)**

mentitistis-i sid  
mentitistis =sid  
logger =3p.ABS

**loggers. (103.567)**

minamin                      nen      ta      ado      a      ayuh  
ma- -in-    memin    =nen    ta      ado      a      ayuh  
ST    PRF    consumed =already LOC many LK tree

**Many trees have disappeared, (103.568)**

kaya mina'siyan                      nen      in      waget na  
kayá ma- -in-    siyan    =nen      in      waget =na  
so    ST    PRF    drought =already ABS water =already

**so the water dried up (103.569)**

kaya uwad              awon      nen      te      waget  
kayá uwah    =d    awón    =nen      te      waget  
so    thing    ==d not.exist =already NS water

**and there is no more water. (103.570)**

in bis      a      may    waget 'en                      ten      araw  
imbes      a      may    waget =en                      ten      áraw  
instead    LK have water =PROX.DEM.ABS OBL day

**As opposed to the times when there was water (103.571)**

diya'yay awon      nen  
diya'yay awón      =nen  
now      not.exist =already

**now there is no water anymore (103.572)**

kasi      minamin                      nen      in      dedde'el              a      ayuh sid  
kasi      ma- -in-    memin    =nen      in      de- -d-    de'el a      ayuh =sid  
because ST    PRF    consumed =already ABS                      LK tree =3p.ABS

**because the big trees were removed, (103.573)**

a menbilay ti uwah-i  
a men- biláy ti uwah =i  
LK AV life OBL thing =SPEC

**the ones that provide (103.574)**

waget

waget

water

**water. (103.575)**

# 9. Glossary

## 9.1 Introduction

### 9.1.1 Sources of the words in this glossary

The present glossary contains approximately 2,400 entries, of which 1,300 are roots. The words listed come from different sources. As explained in §1.3, a first layer of words comes from two sets of previously collected materials: Vanoverbergh (1937) and Reid (1987a). Both sets of data were collected by the authors by using prefabricated word lists and, to this point, I have only revised a part of them. The words that I have not yet verified carry the tags *[v]* and *[lar]* respectively, in order to be located and revised in the future. Currently, the glossary currently contains 42 words tagged as *[v]* and 242 as *[lar]*. A second layer of words comes from a 150-item wordlist that I collected during my third fieldtrip by asking the Alta to translate Tagalog words to Northern Alta. The translation of this wordlist was recorded with four different speakers and can be retrieved in sessions 22 – 25 (see Appendix C).

The most extensive layer of words is the one we extracted from the corpus of texts that we annotated with ELAN, and more specifically from those we imported and glossed with FLE<sub>x</sub>. The process of interlinear morpheme glossing of a text in FLE<sub>x</sub> involves the addition of morpheme boundaries and provides the possibility of adding each glossed morpheme into the lexicon. Once these morphemes are incorporated, the software FLE<sub>x</sub> can recognize them automatically in new texts. Currently there are more than 100 minutes of glossed texts in FLE<sub>x</sub>, including sessions 76, 99 and 103, and also a part of session 93. Finally, an additional layer of words was introduced into the lexicon manually, and comes from the glossed examples appearing in Chapters 2 to 7. This layer also includes new words I came across when I watched the videos I had recorded or reviewed older elicited materials.

As Mosel (2011, p.6) points out, the method of translating wordlists has its flaws and should be complemented with the Active Eliciting method, a method in which “indigenous assistants are asked to create their own set of data without translating words or sentences”. However, since this glossary is the result of a short-term documentation project, in which text collection and grammatical description were pressing concerns, it was only in August 2018 that we extracted the plant entries and asked the members of the speech community to add plant



names. This task is currently being carried out with the assistance of the trainees (Maebell and Jenniffer, §1.7.2.2) and is not yet complete.

### 9.1.2 Structure of the glossary

The glossary is subdivided in two main parts, the Alta-English glossary, and the reversal English-Alta index. All the elements in both parts are organized alphabetically.

The Alta-English glossary is organized using FLEX's hybrid mode, which is a combination of the root-oriented and the lexeme-oriented approaches. In this mode, both roots and derived lexemes are displayed as main entries, and in addition, derived lexemes are also displayed as subentries. Thus, if the reader wants to know the meaning of the word *mengated*, he can find the word listed under the letter *M*. In this case, the word entry shows the glossing translation 'to give' and also provides the form which it is derived (with the abbreviation *der. of áted*). In addition, a reader may directly recognize that *mengated* is a derived lexeme carrying a *meng-* prefix and the root *ated*, and thus could also find *mengated* listed as a subentry under the headword *ated* 'give'. We consider the hybrid mode of representing the lexical data as practical for the speech community, and can also be interesting for linguists as it provides an idea of the possible voice derivations of each root.

The reversal index was created by copying the English gloss of each Northern Alta word into the field Reversal form. The glosses were subsequently modified in order to have a more user friendly reversal index. For example the glossing the V-word *mengated* is 'to give'. But since most V-words have their English glossing starting with the particle "to", we decided to remove them. Thus if the user wants to know how to say *give* in Alta, it is possible to go directly to the letter G and find the Alta equivalents of *give*.

### 9.1.3 Content of an entry

Each entry contains a headword, which, as we have seen, may either be a root of a derived stem. The headword is followed by an abbreviation of the word class it belongs to. The classification of word classes in the glossary follows the one provided in Chapter 5 of this dissertation. A table of abbreviations of word classes is presented in the glossary in §9.1.7, and also appears in the full list of abbreviations of this dissertation (§11.1).

The next part of the entry is the English translation. When extracting a glossary from the lexical database FLEX displays the gloss of a word as the translation by default, unless a

definition is introduced in the definition field, in which case it is the definition that is displayed in the printed glossary. We have tried to keep the glosses as short as possible because glosses are used when carrying out interlinear glossing. Whenever we needed more words to express the meaning of an Alta word, we decided to introduce a longer translation in the 'definition' field, but kept an orienting English word in the field gloss. As an example of this issue, we have glossed the action-denoting root *an* with the single gloss *eat*, but in the definition field we translate it as the *act of eating*, which is what appears in the glossary as a translation. We have tried to be consistent in following this and other conventions, all of which are listed on Table 9.1 below.

**Table 9.1 Some conventions followed when adding English translations to the entries**

<b>Type of word</b>	<b>Word class abbreviation</b>	<b>Translation (Gloss / Definition)</b>
action denoting root	n	<b>act of +</b> meaning of the root in gerundive form. (ex: <i>the act of eating</i> )
V-word	v	<b>to + infinitive</b> (ex: <i>to eat</i> )
Stative V-word	st	<b>English adjective</b>
place name	n	<b><i>Alta place name</i></b>
plant or animal name	n	<b><i>kind of plant / kind of animal</i></b>
Alta person word	n	<b><i>name of Alta person</i></b>
personal Pronoun	pron	<b>gloss</b> (see Appendix B)
Demonstrative	dem	<b>gloss</b> (see Appendix B)
Article	art	<b>gloss</b> (see Appendix B)
Interjection	intj	<b>gloss</b> (see Appendix B)

An entry also indicates the donor language in the case of items borrowed from other languages. The glossary contains about 230 words that are most likely borrowed from Tagalog, 150 Spanish words and 22 English words. The way in which Alta has borrowed from Spanish and English is unclear, but it is most likely that these words were borrowed through Tagalog or Ilokano. An entry may also indicate the source of the word (or the name of the person who collected it, as we have seen in §9.1.1), and in the case of roots, it also includes the words that are derived from the root (as explained in §9.1.2).

Finally, the entries belonging to the semantic field of plants contain additional information due to the fact that we recently became aware that the Alta have a wide knowledge of plants, and therefore considered the option of compiling a plant mini-dictionary. For this reason, some plant entries in this glossary include an English translation of a recorded description of the plant in Alta (sessions 93, 94, 95), and may also include the Alta original text and the reference number of the description in the corpus of recording. Some plant names also include the scientific name, which requires further verification with a plant specialist. As other semantic fields of the lexical database, the plants have semantic field tagging (with the code 1.5 – Plant). In the future, the entries carrying this tag can be selected and exported in order to compile a thematic mini-dictionary. However, as pointed in §9.1.1, this is still an ongoing task.

As for the entries in the reversal index, each entry is headed by the reversal form in English, and it is followed by the translation to Northern Alta and the word class to which the Northern Alta form belongs to.

#### **9.1.4 The FLEx lexical database and the printed glossary**

This printed glossary was extracted from the Northern Alta lexical database that we have built up with the software Fieldwork Language Explorer (FLEx), developed by the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL). The data in the FLEx lexical database can be configured in order to be exported as a Word document (in XHTML format), or as a dictionary document (through Pathway software). The configuration options allow the user to select which information from the lexical database will be extracted to the glossary and under which formats. Thus, although this glossary is a printed version of the lexical database, it does not contain all of the information included in the database.

In addition to the information provided in the glossary, the FLEx lexical database includes photos for a number of plant entries, semantic domains for 760 words, and reconstructed forms for 200 words, which were extracted from Blust and Trussel's Austronesian Comparative Dictionary (2010 - ongoing). Although neither the glossary nor the lexical database contains example sentences, examples can be found through searches in the corpus of ELAN texts.

## **9.1.5 Problems and limitations of this glossary**

### **9.1.5.1 The glosses in the lexicon and in the grammar**

A minor difference between the abbreviations of the lexicon and the grammar is the fact that the abbreviations of word classes appear as lower cases in the lexicon, while in the grammar they appear in capital letters. For example, Stative words (§7.5) are glossed with the abbreviation *ST* in the grammar but as *st* in the lexicon. As a solution to this problem, both glosses appear on the same line in the table of abbreviations (Table 10.1), separated by a slash: *ST/st*

### **9.1.5.2 Orthography**

The orthography used in this glossary follows the practical orthography described in §2.4 and used in the corpus of ELAN annotated recordings. In addition to these rules, and given that the position of the stress syllable in a word cannot be predicted, we considered that it would be useful for the readers to know the location of the stressed syllable in an Alta word. For this reason we decided to add an acute accent over the syllable nucleus. The problem here is a matter of consistency, given that not all words show this information.

On the other hand, the words that come from previously collected materials (see §9.1.1) use different spelling systems. Since we were not sure of how to adapt them to the current orthography, we decided to leave them as they appear in the source.

Finally, a number of words are spelled with capital letters, these include two main subtypes of U-words, place names and person names.

## **9.1.6 Future plans for the glossary and lexical database**

At this point, the vocabulary appearing in this glossary is limited to collected wordlists and to the words that I imported from FLEx texts during the process of adding interlinear morpheme glossing. However, as we have seen, these methods have not been complemented with other methods such as Active Eliciting. In the future, if the host university provides computers to the trainees of this documentation project, the community will have the opportunity to expand the vocabulary autonomously with the collaboration of the trainees, who have been trained to add words to the glossary. As explained in §9.1.1, the trainees are currently working on the expansion of plant names, but they will be working on paper until I receive

permission to donate part of the documentation material (including the trainees' laptops) to the community.

In order to give priority to text collection and grammatical analysis, in-depth semantic analysis has not yet been carried out as part of this documentation project and was left for the future. For this reason, the reader may find in the reversal index that a number of words such as *chop*, *boil* or *dirt* show two or three Alta counterparts, each of them with a different root. To this point the semantic contrasts between these different counterparts has not been investigated and thus require future research.

Similarly, other relations between words need further research in the future. To this point point, the glossary only treats a limited number of forms as homonyms (for example the Predicate Marker *ay* and the Interjection *ay*, or the 3s.GEN *na* and the Adverb *na* 'already') and treats most words with the same shape and different meaning as cases of polysemy). This can be observed in entries in which multiple word classes and senses are listed under the same headword. In addition, the current glossary only contains limited information on semantic relations between words. These relations can be introduced in the future, since FLEEx allows to indicate synonymy, antonymy, hyponymy or hypernymy and even customized relations by using the field "Lexical Relations".

Finally, a better version of this glossary would contain example sentences, showing the reader how to use a specific word in context. The entries of the glossary and the lexical database do not contain such examples. However, FLEEx allows to check words in context by rightclicking in a specific word and choosing the option "show entry in concordance". Another possibility of finding words in context is by running searches in the ELAN corpus of annotated texts. It is by using these methods that we have detected most of the examples presented in this grammar.

### **9.1.7 List of Abbreviations in the glossary**

Table 9.2 presents the abbreviations used in the glossary. A number of these abbreviations are specific to the software FLEEx and do not appear elsewhere in this dissertation. For the sake of clarity, we present these abbreviations in isolation in the table below. In addition, a complete table of abbreviations in this dissertation is provided in Appendix A.

**Table 9.2 Table of abbreviations of the glossary**

<b>Abbreviation</b>	<b>Meaning</b>
<b>acw</b>	affixed content word
<b>adv</b>	Adverb
<b>art</b>	Article
<b>coordconn</b>	Coordinate Conjunction
<b>dem</b>	Demonstrative
<b>der. of</b>	derivative of
<b>disconn</b>	discourse connective
<b>exist</b>	Existential
<b>fr.var of</b>	free variant of
<b>ifx</b>	infix
<b>[ilk]</b>	Ilokano borrowing
<b>int</b>	Interrogative Pronoun
<b>intj</b>	Interjection
<b>[jen]</b>	word collected by trainee Jennifer Marques
<b>[lar]</b>	word extracted from Reid (1991b)
<b>lk</b>	Linker
<b>MP</b>	minimal pair
<b>n</b>	noun / U-word
<b>neg</b>	Negator
<b>px</b>	prefix
<b>pl</b>	plural
<b>pl.m</b>	Plural Marker
<b>pm</b>	Predicate Marker
<b>prep</b>	Preposition
<b>pron</b>	personal Pronoun
<b>say. of</b>	saying of
<b>sfx</b>	suffix
<b>[sp]</b>	Spanish borrowing

<b>st</b>	Stative word
<b>subordconn</b>	Subordinate Conjunction
<b>[tag]</b>	Tagalog borrowing
<b>v</b>	verb / V-word
<b>[v]</b>	word extracted from Vanoverbergh (1937)

## 9.2 Northern Alta Glossary

### 9.2.1 Northern Alta – English Glossary

#### A a

**a1** lk linker particle  
**a3** intj interjection  
**a-** pfx content word prefix  
**-a-** ifx RDP  
**=a** pron 2s.ABS  
 fr. var. **a2**  
**a'a'** {fr. var. of **aká'**}  
**a'ána'** u children  
 (der. of **ána'**)  
**a'ángas** u boyfriend, girlfriend  
**a'áyuwan** u grove, forest  
 (der. of **ayúh**)  
**aba!** intj interjection  
**ababáyo** u wound on hands  
**abágan** u barking of a dog  
**abanatú'an** u Cabanatuan  
**a'báng** u act of climbing  
**•a'bangen** v to climb something  
**•uma'báng** v to climb  
**a'bangen** v to climb something  
 (der. of **a'báng**)  
**abantáyan** v to guard something  
 (der. of **bantáy**)  
**abdé'** u body  
**abdét** u footprint  
**•abdetán** v to mark somewhere

**abdetán** v to mark somewhere  
 (der. of **abdét**)  
**abé** u mat  
 [v]  
**abó** u 1. hearth 2. ashes  
 [lar]  
**abogádo** u lawyer [sp]  
**ábut** u act of reaching  
**•umábut** v to reach  
**abuwedán** u sandy place  
 (der. of **buwéd**)  
**aC-** {fr. var. of **eC-**} pfx PRG  
**ada'at** u act of standing up  
**a'dan** {fr. var. of **atdán**}  
**adánayan** u relative  
 fr. var. **wáyay**  
**•pet'adánayan** u relatives  
**ádat** u thistle of the mountains "We call  
 this plant the Thistle of the Mountains.  
 We sometimes plant and harvest it,  
 since it is quite easy to grow. Its roots  
 can survive. As it is sharp, it can cause  
 wounds on the ankles."  
**addan** u poor  
**addyó** u far  
**addyos!** intj interjection [sp]

**adé!** intj interjection  
**aded nen di!** intj interjection  
**adidíno** adv wherever  
**adíno** int where  
**adlang** u act of impeding  
**ádo** u much, many  
**adóy!** intj interjection  
**adoya!** intj interjection  
**adútay** u abaca  
 [lar]  
**áduwan** u other, different  
**adyan** u location, position  
**agád** adv immediately [tag]  
 •**ka'ágad** adv right away  
**ágap** u promptness, quickness  
 •**me'ágap** st quick  
**age-** pfx RDP  
**agél** u kind of plant  
**ágep** u act of rescuing  
 •**manágep** v to be rescued  
 •**penágep** u rescue  
**agtáy** u liver  
**ahéno** int what  
 fr. var. **aséno**  
**áhon** u act of ascending [tag]  
 •**um'ahon** v to go up  
**aidí** intj interjection  
**aká'** u older sibling  
 fr. var. **a'a'**  
 •**pet'ákan** u siblings  
**akála** v to believe  
**akásya** u acacia tree [tag]  
 [lar]  
**akkáw** intj interjection  
**akógunan** u hideout  
**akúyog** u friend  
 [v]  
**ala'ala** u act of remembering  
 •**ipa'ála'ala** v to remind  
**alabingat** u kind of fish  
**alága** u care [tag]  
**álak** u wine [tag]  
**alalakán** u back of the knee [tag]  
**álang** u act of coming from somewhere  
 •**umálang** v to come from  
**álangan** u abnormal, uncertain [tag]

**Alangyán** u Katmon [*Dillenia philippinensis*]  
**álap** u act of getting  
 •**alápen** v to get something  
 •**ma'álap** v to be able to obtain  
 •**mengálap** v to get  
 •**pengálap** acw source of income  
**alápen** v to get something  
 ( **álap** )  
**alapnít** u bat  
**alápowan** u 1. grandson 2. grandfather  
**álat** u act of biting  
 •**aláten** v to bite something  
**aláten** v to bite something  
 (der. of **álat** )  
**albí** u mercy, compassion  
 [lar]  
 •**me'albí** st compassionate  
**albógan** u west  
 [lar]  
**aldèn** u stairway, ladder  
 [lar]  
**alébangbang** u butterfly  
**alé'en** u wild cat  
**alekabuk** u dust  
 [lar]  
**alénuh; anínuh** u shadow  
 [lar]  
**aléwi** u left  
 fr. var. **awili**  
**ali** u act of coming  
 •**umáli** v to come  
**alibaba'** u drivel, drool  
 [lar]  
**alí'sap** u act of forgetting  
**alíyo'** u act of looking for, searching  
 •**aliyo'én** v to search something  
 •**men'alíyo** v to search  
 •**mengáliyo'** v to seek  
 •**penmangaliyo** acw making a living  
**aliyo'én** v to search something  
 (der. of **alíyo'** )  
**alloh** u pestle for rice  
 [lar]  
**aló'** u act of offering  
 fr. var. **alok**  
 •**alo'an** v to make an offer to someone



**•ialo'** v to offer something  
**alo'an** v to make an offer to someone  
 (der. of **aló'**)  
**alób** u 1. odor 2. kiss  
**•aloban** v to kiss someone  
**•áloben** v to smell something  
**aloban** v to kiss someone  
 (der. of **alób**)  
**alóban** u sheath for bolo  
 [lar]  
**alóbasa** u pumpkin [sp]  
**áloben** v to smell something  
 (der. of **alób**)  
**alok** {fr. var. of **aló'**}  
**alta** u 1. person 2. Alta language 3. Alta  
 people  
**Alteia** u falls nearby Diteki  
**áludu'** u act of hunting  
**•mengáludu** v to hunt  
**•pengáludu'** acw hunting material  
**álun** u wave  
 [lar]  
**=am** {fr. var. of **=amyú**}  
**amá** u father  
**•pet'áma** u father and children  
**ama'u** u fist  
**aménen** v to consume something  
 (der. of **amin**)  
**=amí** pron 1pe.ABS  
**amin** act of consuming  
**•aménen** v to consume something  
**•memin** st consumed  
**•minámin** v to have run out  
**•mináminèn** st consumed  
**ámo** u boss [sp]  
**amóti** u sweet potato [sp]  
**ampalayá** u wild cucumber  
**amúl** u gnat  
**amúti a ayúh** u sweet potato [Ipomoea  
 Batatas] "If you wait for four months it  
 will bear many fruits. Sometimes we  
 plant it. Its leaves are also edible. You  
 can cook the leaves or eat them raw.  
 The fruits are also edible, if you peel  
 them and boil them in a pot with water.  
 The fruit is called Amúti."  
**=amyú** pron 2p.ABS

fr. var. **=am**  
**an** u act of eating  
**•anén** u cooked rice, food  
**•e"anén** u food  
**•mengán** v to eat  
**•menpa"an** v to feed  
**-an** ??? > v sfx LV  
**=an** adv is said to  
**ána'** u child  
**•a'ána'** u children  
**•anna'** u children  
**•apapa"ana'** u infant  
**•iyaná'** v to be born  
**•men'aná'** v to breed  
**aná' a ba'ík** u baby  
**anáy** u termite  
**anén** u cooked rice, food  
 (der. of **an**)  
**anén ni kuníhu** u rabbit's foot fern  
*[Davallia Solida]* "The leaves of this  
 plant can be used to feed the rabbits. If  
 you chop them with a knife, and place  
 them in a sack, you can feed the rabbits  
 in your farm."  
**angán** {fr. var. of **hangán**} *coordconn*  
 even  
**angán papéno** adv no matter how  
**anges** u act of breathing  
**anggú** u kind of berry fruit  
 [jen]  
**ángin** v to go somewhere  
**áni** u act of harvesting  
**aníg** 1. u similarity 2. *subordconn* like  
**•anígen** v to imitate someone  
**•umanig** v to be like  
**anígen** v to imitate someone  
 (der. of **aníg**)  
**ánim** u six [tag]  
**anito** u spirit, ghost  
**aniyúlan** u coconut plantation  
 (der. of **niyúl**)  
**ánkop** u moral lecture  
**anna'** u children  
 (der. of **ána'**) [lar]  
**annólen** v to know someone or something  
 (der. of **nnol**)  
**anod** u current of water

•**me'anód** st flooded  
 •**mini'anúd** st carried by current  
**anompan** int why  
**anón** int why  
**ánop** u act of hunting  
 •**mengánup** v to hunt  
**antíng** u fear  
 •**me'antíng** st affraid  
**antipára** u goggles [sp]  
**apa'asan** u next morning  
**apálya** u kind of plant  
**apapa'ana'** u infant  
 (der. of **ána'**)  
**apárate** u device  
**apát** u four  
 fr. var. **epát**  
**apat'ákan** u sibling  
**apduh** u gall  
 [lar]  
**apelído** u family name [sp]  
**apésa** u cousin  
 •**pet'apésa** u cousins  
**apet** u act of sticking  
 •**mepét** st stuck, glued  
**api** u act of oppressing [tag]  
 •**api'apíhan** u oppressed  
 •**ka'apíhan** u oppression  
**api'apíhan** u oppressed  
 (der. of **api**)  
**apíd** u plant louse  
**apítiti** u short  
**aplušèn** v to rob  
 [lar]  
**Apó** u Alta deity  
**apó** u 1. grandson 2. grandparent  
 •**nidyapo** u grandparents (GEN.pl)  
 •**niyápo** u grandparent (GEN)  
 •**tidyápo** u grandparents (ABS.pl)  
 •**tiyápo** u grandfather (ABS)  
**apódan** v to hurry up  
**apongo'** u act of putting [sp]  
**apos** u act of embracing  
**apóy** u 1. fire 2. wood  
**apúl** u lime  
 [lar]  
**ara'an** u hundred  
**áral** u act of studying  
 •**men'áral** v to learn, to study  
 •**pen'aral** u study, studying  
**aranásan** u experience  
 fr. var. **karanasan**  
**áraw** u day [tag]  
**aré!** intj interjection  
**arína** u flour [sp]  
**ása** u dependent  
**aságan** u floor  
 [lar]  
**asáhan** v to rely on [tag]  
**asáinment** u homework [eng]  
**asáng** u gills  
**asáwa** u husband, wife [tag]  
 •**petsásawa** u couple  
**áse** u act of placing  
 •**iyáse** v to place something  
**aséno** {fr. var. of **ahéno**}  
**aseséno** pro-form whatever  
**asín** u salt [tag]  
**asó** u dog  
 •**pengasuhan** acw hunting ground  
**asó'** u smoke  
 •**me'ásu'** v to smoke  
 •**um'asu'** v to be smoking  
**assinúken** u hiccough  
 [lar]  
**asúkal** u sugar [sp]  
**asúl** u blue [sp]  
**at** coordconn and  
**átang** u offering to the gods [tag]  
**atát** u bark, skin  
**atdán** v to give, provide, pay, add to  
 someone or something  
 (der. of **áted**) fr. var. **a'dan**  
**áted** u act of giving  
 •**atdán** v to give, provide, pay, add to  
 someone or something  
 •**mengáted** v to give  
 •**pa'atdan** u loan  
**atép** u roof  
 [lar]  
**ati** u act of dying  
 •**metíh** st dead  
 •**papati** v to kill  
**atólangan** u son-in-law  
**atsaka** coordconn and also

**atse di** intj interjection  
**attetút** u farting plant [*Lantana Camara*] "If you smell this plant, it can be quite malodorous. It smells like a fart, but it can be used as medicine for cough. If you have sore throat or phlegm, you can make a necklace with the stem and leaves, wrap it around your neck and wear it."  
**a'tul** u half  
 (der. of **etúl**)  
**atulong** u slave  
 [lar]  
**áwad** u act of reaching  
 •**awádan** v to give something  
**awádan** v to give something  
 (der. of **áwad**)  
**awáyan** u bamboo  
**awili** {fr. var. of **aléwi**} u left hand  
**awón** exist not.exist  
 •**men'awon** v to to abandon  
**ay1** pm predicate marker  
**ay2** intj interjection  
**ay3** u act of going  
 •**i'ay** v to bring someone somewhere  
 •**inay** v to have gone  
 •**ináyan** v to go somewhere  
 •**ume'áy** v to go  
**ay di!** intj interjection  
**ay nakó** intj interjection [tag]  
**ayán** v to live, dwell  
 [lar]  
**aydi** intj interjection  
**ay'ó** intj interjection  
**áyud** u hammock  
**ayúh** u 1. tree 2. wood  
 •**a'áyuwan** u grove, forest  
 •**me'i'ayuh** v to collect firewood  
 •**men'ayúh** v to cut trees, to log  
**ayús** u order  
 •**ayúsen** v to arrange something  
**ayúsen** v to arrange something  
 (der. of **ayús**)

## B b

-b- ifx RDP  
**ba'ba'** u frog  
**bába** u lowness [tag]

**babág** u quarrel  
**baba'ík** u very little, small  
 (der. of **ba'ík**)  
**badíl** u gun [eng]  
 •**badílen** v to gun something down  
**badílen** v to gun something down  
 (der. of **badíl**)  
**bádo** u t-shirt  
 •**menbádo** v to wear  
**bága'** u ember  
 [lar] MP **bagá'**.  
**bagá'** u lungs  
 [lar]  
**bagal** u slow  
 [lar]  
**bag'ang** u molar tooth  
 [lar]  
**bágay** 1. *subordconn* when , in order to, during, thus 2. *u* thing [tag]  
**bagíyo** u storm, typhoon [tag]  
**bágo** u new, fresh [tag]  
 •**menbágo** v to change  
 •**pembabágo** u change  
**bago'óng** u shrimp or fish paste [tag]  
**Bagyá** u name of Alta elder  
**bahaghári** u rainbow [tag]  
 [lar]  
**bahála** u responsibility, charge [tag]  
**bahin** u act of sneezing [tag]  
 [lar]  
**ba'ík** u small, few, young  
 •**baba'ík** u very little, small  
 •**bebba'ík** u young  
**ba'it** u kindness  
 •**mebá'it** st kind  
**baká** adv maybe, if [tag]  
**bákal** u iron [tag]  
**bakbak** u down  
**baklás** u act of uprooting, detaching  
**bákud** u fence [tag]  
 •**pengbákud** acw material used to build a fence  
**bal** u loincloth, g-string  
 •**me'ebál** v to wear the G-string 'bal'  
 •**menbál** v to wear G-string  
**bálak** u plan, idea [tag]  
**baldé** u bucket [sp]

**Baléd** u Baler town  
**balegbég** u kind of lizard  
**=balí** 1. *adv* expresses discovery 2. so  
**balíkat** u shoulder  
**Balíti** u Balete tree  
**bálo** 1. *u* new 2. *subordconn* before  
**balsah** u raft [sp]  
 [lar]  
**banagán** u lobster  
**bandá** u side, direction [sp]  
**bangká** u boat, canoe [sp]  
**bangkó** u bench, chair [sp]  
**bangkók** u Bangkok tree  
**bantáy** u act of guarding  
 •**abantáyan** v to guard something  
 •**menbantáy** v to guard  
**bánuwan** u 1. market 2. town  
**bao'o'úl** u turtle  
**barangáy** u barangay  
**báryo** u village [sp]  
**bása** u act of reading [tag]  
 •**menbása** v to read  
**basáw** u outside  
**basé'ot** u monitor lezard  
**bási** u kind of wine  
**basi'lang** u word related with a ritual  
**báso** u glass [sp]  
**básta** *adv* just, simply [sp]  
**bastós** u rude [sp]  
**=bat** *adv* interrogative particle  
**batá'an** u slave  
 [lar]  
**batangal** u kind of berry fruit  
 [jen]  
**bátay** u base  
**baté'** u act of writing  
 •**menbate'** v to write  
**bati** u greeting [tag]  
**batóg** u barking of a dog  
**ba'úl** u coconut shell [tag]  
**báwad** u every  
**báwal** u act of forbidding  
**báwang** u garlic [tag]  
**bayábas** u guava tree  
**báyad** u payment [tag]  
**báyaw** u brother-in-law [tag]  
**baybáy** u sea

**bayé'** u species of tiny fish  
**báyolet** u violet [eng]  
**bayúh** u act of crushing with a mortar  
 •**menbayúh** v to crush, to pound  
**be'a'** u bow  
**bebba'ík** u young  
 (der. of **ba'ík**)  
**be'és** u 1. old woman 2. wife  
**begás** u husked rice  
**bele-** pfx RDP  
**belí** u house  
 •**binalebbelí** u group of houses  
 •**menbeli** v to build a house  
**beló** u widow, widower  
 [v]  
**belón** u provisions  
 •**menbelón** v to take provisions on a trip  
 •**pengbelón** *acw* food used as provision  
**bélúh** u widow, widower  
 [lar]  
**bèngèg** u buttocks  
 [lar]  
**benéng** u river  
**bèngáh** u water jar  
 [lar]  
**benglé** u 1. middle 2. deep sea  
**benta** u act of selling [sp]  
**bentiladór** u fan [sp]  
**beráso** u arm [sp]  
**bérde** u green [sp]  
**besbes** u kind of Alta food  
**béses** u time, occasion [sp]  
**beta'an** v to split  
 [lar]  
**betláy** u act of carrying  
 •**betláyen** v to carry on shoulder  
**betláyen** v to carry on shoulder  
 (der. of **betláy**)  
**bètu'** u nape of neck  
 [lar]  
**betúh** u stone, rock  
 •**ebbetú'an** u river, place full of stonesn  
**bid** u act of saying  
 •**biddán** v to scold someone  
 •**bidden** v to tell someone  
 •**ibbide** v to tell something  
 •**me'ibidde** v to be able to say something

**•penbiddán** acw advice, reprimand  
**biddán** v to scold someone  
 (der. of **bid**)  
**bidden** v to tell someone  
 (der. of **bid**)  
**bí'en** u proximity  
**•bi'nán** v to approach something  
**•mebi'en** st near  
**bí'et** u lazyness  
**•mebí'et** st lazy  
**bigkisen** v to tie in a bundle  
 [lar]  
**biglá** adv suddenly [tag]  
**bihíra** adv rarely [tag]  
**bílang** u 1. act of counting 2. as, by way of  
**bi'lat** boa  
**bila'uh** u winnowing basket  
 [lar]  
**biláy** u life  
**•ibilay** v to raise someone  
**•ikabilay** u source of income  
**•mebilay** st alive  
**bíli** u act of buying  
**bilóg** u circle  
**bilut** u act of rolling into a cylindrical  
 shape  
**bimbí'** u aunt  
**binalebbelí** u group of houses  
 (der. of **belí**)  
**bi'nán** v to approach something  
 (der. of **bí'en**)  
**bine'** u step  
**bingáw** u harelip  
 [lar]  
**binhí** u seed for planting  
**bísa** neg no, not  
**bisa bat?** isn't it?  
**bisíta** u visitor, guest [sp]  
**biskál** u string, rope  
**bitélen** u hungry  
 (der. of **bitíl**)  
**bithay** u sieve, sift  
 [lar]  
**bitíl** u hunger  
**•bitélen** u hungry  
**bit'ing** u ankle  
**bitón** u star

[lar]  
**bitsín** u vetsin [tag]  
**bitú'an** u intestines  
**biyáhe** u trip, travel [sp]  
**bla'** u act of dividing  
**•bla'éñ** v to divide something  
**bla'éñ** v to divide something  
 (der. of **bla'**)  
**blóngay** u balobo  
 [jen]  
**blu** u blue [eng]  
**bo'** u hair feather  
**bobóng** u backside  
**bol** u knee  
**bóla** u ball [sp]  
**bólpen** u ball pen [eng]  
**bónes** u act of wrestling  
**•menbones** v to wrestle  
**bósis** u voice [sp]  
 [lar]  
**bóte** u bottle [sp]  
**botones** u button [sp]  
**brawn** u brown [eng]  
**bu'ás** u act of clearing  
**•bu'sán** v to open something  
**bubúng** u household  
**buddé'** u blossom  
**•memuddé** v to blossom  
**•menbuddé'** v to blossom  
**budí** v to want, to like  
**•budí ta'a** I love you  
**•budin** u love  
**•penbudí** acw love  
**budí ta'a** I love you  
 (der. of **budí**)  
**budin** u love  
 (der. of **budí**) [lar]  
**bugáwen** v to drive away  
 [lar]  
**búhay** u life [tag]  
**bú'ig** u bunch  
**buklat** u act of opening  
**buklul** u tumor  
 [lar]  
**buksán** v to open something [tag]  
**bukungbukung** u ankle  
 [lar]

**búlak** u cotton  
 [lar]  
**bulaklák** u flower  
 •**bulaklakan** u flowered  
**bulaklakan** u flowered  
 (der. of **bulaklák**) [lar]  
**bulallá** u kind of fruit similar to rambutan  
 [jen]  
**bulán** u 1. moon 2. month  
**bulángen** u monkey  
**bulát** u blind  
**bulí** u 1. buttocks 2. anus  
 [v]  
**bulíting** u sty in one's eye  
 [lar]  
**búlto** u pack, bundle [sp]  
**Buluy** u place within the Alta world  
**bumbula** u bubble  
 [lar]  
**bumbulús** v to flow  
 [lar]  
**bumbu'u** v to constitute  
**bunáy** u egg, roe  
**bunbunan** u fontanelle  
 [lar]  
**bungaw** u testicle  
**bungótung** u wild pig  
**bunsó** u youngest child  
**bus** u lezard  
**busádih** u tumor  
**bu'sán** v to open something  
 ( **bu'ás**)  
**but** u act of throwing  
 •**ibút** v to throw something away  
 •**minébut** st lost  
**butág** u areca nut  
**butíl** u lie  
 •**mebútil** st lie, false  
 •**menbutíl** v to lie  
**butíng** u kind of marine fish  
**butlíg** u cyst  
 •**butligbutlig** u covered with cysts  
**butligbutlig** u covered with cysts  
 (der. of **butlíg**)  
**butól** u seed of fruit  
**butu'** u kidney  
 [lar]

**bu'ut** u act of separating  
 •**ibu'út** v to set something aside  
**buwag** u act of leaving  
**buwáy** u remain, leftover  
**buwáyah** u crocodile  
**buwéd** u sand  
 [v]  
 •**abuwedán** u sandy place  
**buybúy** u broom

**C c**

**C-** v pfx RDP  
**=Ce** adv already  
**CVCV-** pfx RDP

**D d**

**-d-** ifx RDP  
**=d** adv aspectual particle  
**da** subordconn since  
**da'ep** u act of catching  
 •**meda'ép** v to be able to cactch  
 •**menda'ép** v to catch  
**dagdag** u act of adding [tag]  
 •**dagdagán** v to add to something  
**dagdagán** v to add to something  
 (der. of **dagdag**)  
**dagís** u moutain rat  
**dagmáng** u act of stumbling  
 •**mendagmáng** v to stumble  
**dagté'** u sap of a tree  
 [lar]  
**dáhil** subordconn because, thus [tag]  
 •**dahilan** prep because  
**dahilan** prep because [tag]  
 (der. of **dáhil**)  
**Dakyapin** u Alta person noun  
**dalám** u night, evening, late  
 •**dalamdalam** adv every night  
**dalamdalam** adv every night  
 (der. of **dalám**)  
**dalampasígan** u shore, seashore  
 [lar]  
**dalát** u sea  
**dalíri** u finger [tag]  
**dalmèt** u weight  
 [lar]  
**dam1** u dam [eng]  
**dam2** u act of borrowing  
**damét** u hand

**•dametdamét** u hands  
**dametdamét** u hands  
 (der. of **damét**)  
**dammanol** v to study  
 [lar]  
**damó** u grass  
**damólag** u act of chasing [tag]  
**•damólagen** v to chase something  
**damólagen** v to chase something  
 (der. of **damólag**) [lar]  
**damóng makahiyá** u kind of plant  
 [*Mimosa Pudica*] "This plant is used  
 during All saint's Day. Some people  
 paint the leaves and give them the  
 appearance of a flower, then they place  
 them on the graves. The decorated  
 plant can be sold for 10 pesos a piece.  
 The root can be used as medicine to  
 treat the bleeding caused by a  
 miscarriage."  
**dangkal** u span of 8 inches  
**dápat** v must, should [tag]  
**dapdap** u indian coral tree  
**dastér** u dress  
**dat** u 1. act of reaching 2. act of  
 experiencing 3. act of guiding  
**•madat** v to be able to reach  
**daténg** u act of arriving  
**•dumaténg** v to arrive  
**•pangadaténg** u arrival  
**dáti** adv originally, previously [tag]  
**da'út** u act of sharing  
**•da'útan** u share with someone  
**•menda'út** v to share  
**da'útan** u share with someone  
 (der. of **da'út**)  
**dáya'** u act of cheating  
 [lar]  
**dayámih** u rice straw  
 [lar]  
**dáyaper** u diaper [eng]  
**dayó** u act of visiting [tag]  
**•dayúhan** u outsider, foreigner  
**•dumáyo** v to visit  
**dayúhan** u outsider, foreigner [tag]  
 (der. of **dayó**)  
**de-** pfx RDP

**=de** pron 3p.GEN  
**debbelew** u opposite side  
**debdí** u girl  
**debúy** u pig  
**dedde'len** v to enlarge  
 (der. of **de'él**)  
**deddiyán** u 1. old object 2. previous  
**de'él** u big  
**•dedde'len** v to enlarge  
**•de'len** v to grow  
**de'ép** u act of hunting  
**delán** u road, way  
**delawá** u two  
**de'len** v to grow  
 ( **de'él**)  
**delikádo** u critical, delicate  
**demét** u contest  
**demó** u 1. first 2. eldest child  
**•medemo** st be first  
**•pa'idemówan** acw first, primary  
**demót** u greedy, glutton  
**dengét** u dirt  
**depóg** u carabao  
**di** intj interjection  
**di'ám** pron 2p.LOC  
**di'ámi** pron 1pe.LOC  
**di'amiyú** pron 1p.LOC  
**Dianawan** u name of a Barangay  
**di'aw** u similar  
**di'áw** pron 2s.LOC  
**dibáyder** u divider  
**Dibbanawan** u Alta place name  
**Dibbulúwan** u Alta place name  
**Dibut** u Dibut barangay  
**diddé** pron 3p.LOC  
 fr. var. **didde'**; **di'de**  
**di'en** pron 1s.LOC  
**di'étam** pron 1pi.LOC  
**digdíg** u next to  
**Dikíldit** u Alta place name  
**diláh** u tongue  
**dilá'i** u uncle  
**dilámita** u dynamite [sp]  
**diláw** u yellow  
**Dildil** u name of Alta elder  
**dilig** u act of watering plants  
**•pendiligen** acw watering of the plants

**dilód** u downstream  
**dilus** u act of bathing  
 •**mendílus** v to bathe  
**Dimananglá** u Alta place name  
**Dimáni** u Alta place name  
**Dimasalan** u Alta place name  
**Dimasingay** u Alta place name  
**Dimaya'an** u Alta place name  
**dinát** v 1. to reach 2. to see  
**dingáto** u upstream  
**dingding** u wall  
**dinmanan** v to have passed through something  
 (der. of **dman**)  
**di'omano** it is said  
**dipá'** u phantom  
**Dipacúlao** u Alta place name  
**dipáning** u the other side  
**diplét** u dirt  
 •**dípleten** v to make dirty  
 •**mediplét** st dirty  
**dípleten** v to make dirty  
 (der. of **diplét**)  
**disálad** u 1. inside 2. under  
 •**ipadísala** v to put something under something else  
 •**medísala** st deep  
**diskárga** u unload  
**ditáh** u devil Tree [*Ditáh Alstonia Scholaris*] "*I'in man Ditáh, kung a ngo'an mi 'in, dahil kumkatas siya mapoti-i. Obra siya ti talengo-i o kaya in melukmat a kukúh ipateg doon na siya a umansay, in kukú ah ma'eg'ang, siyad yay in mensoli. Soliyan na in uwah ha.*" (95.134) "Ditáh is how we call this plant, as its juice is white. It can be used for wounds or for example if a fingernail is removed, you can cure the remaining part with the juice that is released by the stem, and the nail will grow again. "  
*"Obra siya ti Malaria-i in katas na. In ulit na sepsepen mo siya, obra siya a inomen hela, pag inilagam ti waget-i. Palboten mo in waget, obrad siya a inomen. Herbal hela siya."* (95.142) "It's juice can also be used for Malaria. You

can suck the bark, and you can also drink it, after boiling it with water. It is also a medicinal herb."  
**Ditá'ilin** u name of a Barangay where the Alta lived in the past (Maria Aurora)  
**Dite'i** u Alta place name  
**Ditólág** u Alta place name  
**Ditumabo** u Alta place name  
**diwánan** u right  
**diyá** pron 3s.LOC  
**=dla** adv only  
**dman** u act of passing  
 •**dinmanan** v to have passed through something  
 •**dumman** v to pass  
**doktór** u physician [sp]  
**doon** u leaf  
**dóse** u twelve  
**dpen** u act of reaching  
 •**edpenén** v to reach something  
**dton** u act of placing  
 •**idtón** v to place something  
**du-** pfx RDP  
**dugsún** u act of linking  
**duma'el** v to flood  
**dumaténg** v to arrive  
 (der. of **daténg**)  
**dumáyo** v to visit  
 (der. of **dayó**)  
**dumman** v to pass  
 (der. of **dman**)  
**dumu'el** u birch  
 [lar]  
**Dupínga** u Dupinga river  
**du'ut** u firewood  
 •**du'útan** v to feed the fire  
**du'útan** v to feed the fire  
 (der. of **du'ut**)  
**dúwa** u two  
 •**pengadwá** adv secondly  
**dúyan** {fr. var. of **indáyon**}  
**Dyábobo** u place in Diteki, by the river  
**Dyáned** u Alta place name  
**dya'yay** 1. *adv* now 2. *adv* today  
 3. *disconn* then  
 fr. var. **ya'yay**  
**dyós** u god [sp]



## E e

**e-** v pfx allomorph of i-  
**=e'** pron 1s.ABS  
**e''anén** u food  
 (der. of **an**)  
**ebbetú'an** u river, place full of stones  
 (der. of **betúh**)  
**ebut** u act of losing  
 •**me'ébut** v to disappear  
**ebút** u hole  
 fr. var. **ubut**  
**eC-** pfx progressive aspect prefix  
 fr. var. **aC-**  
**edád** u age [sp]  
**eddén** u load  
 •**eddenán** v to carry something  
**eddenán** v to carry something  
 (der. of **eddén**)  
**edét** u 1. garbage 2. underbrush  
**edpenén** v to reach something  
 (der. of **dpen**)  
**edsáng** u act of lying down  
 •**edsangán** u place for lying down  
 •**ipa'edsang** v to lay something down  
 •**umedsáng** v to lie down  
**edsangán** u place for lying down  
 (der. of **edsáng**)  
**edúng** u nose  
**e'élan** u group, union  
**eg'ang** u act of leaving  
 •**eg'ángen** v 1. to remove something 2. to  
 quit or leave something  
 •**ma'eg'ang** v to be able to quit  
 •**pa'eg'áng** v to have (some definite thing)  
 removed (by somebody)  
 •**umeg'áng** v to depart, to leave  
**eg'ángen** v 1. to remove something 2. to  
 quit or leave something  
 (der. of **eg'ang**)  
**egém** u ant  
**egét** u intestines  
 [lar]  
**egúng** u roaring  
**élan** u 1. act of accompanying 2. spouse  
 •**pet'élan** u couple of companions  
**elán** u all  
**elikopter** u helicopter [eng]

**elseng** u act of looking  
 •**elsengán** v to look at something  
**elsengán** v to look at something  
 (der. of **elseng**)  
**elsotan** u way through  
 (der. of **Isot**)  
**elwás** u act of crossing  
 •**iyelwás** v to take something across  
 •**umelwás** v to cross  
**emán** u betel chew  
 [lar]  
 •**pen'eman** acw betel chew practice  
**émanguh** u crab  
 [lar]  
**émit** u kind of fruit  
 [jen]  
**-en** ??? > v sfx PV  
**=en** dem PROX.DEM.ABS  
**=éna** {fr. var. of **=iná**} dem  
 MED.DEM.ABS  
**èná** u pus  
 [lar]  
**epát** {fr. var. of **apát**}  
**eropláno** u airplane [sp]  
**eskwélahan** u school [sp]  
**essyán** u place  
**et-** pfx RDP  
**étaleng** u ilongot tribe  
**etay** u excrement, residue  
**etlén** u act of swallowing  
 •**etlenán** u throat  
 •**iyetlén** v to swallow something  
**etlenán** u throat  
 (der. of **etlén**)  
**etteng** {fr. var. of **tetteng**}  
**ettút** u act of farting  
**etugèn** v to escort  
**etúl** u cut, chop  
 •**a'tul** u half  
**ewwádi** u siblings  
 (der. of **wádi'**)

## F f

**falls** u fall  
**five** u five

## G g

**-g-** ifx RDP  
**-ga-** ifx RDP

**gágawi** 1. *u* act of doing 2. caused by 3. *u* effect

•**gágawin** *v* to do something

•**megagawi** *v* to be able to do something

•**pengágawi** *acw* task, making

**gágawin** *v* to do something

(der. of **gágawi**)

**gagsa** include

**galámay** *u* finger

[*v*]

**galang** *u* respect

•**igalang** *v* to respect someone

**galáw** *u* game, contest

•**mengálaw** *v* to play

**galís** *u* ringworm

**gamas** *u* act of weeding plants

•**gamasan** *v* to weed a land

•**mengamás** *v* to weed

•**pengamás** *acw* tool for weeding

**gamasan** *v* to weed a land

(der. of **gamas**)

**gambul** *u* act of loosen the soil

**gámít** *u* tool, personal things [*tag*]

•**gamítan** *v* to use something

**gamítan** *v* to use something

(der. of **gámít**)

**gamót** *u* medicine [*tag*]

•**menpagamot** *v* to cure

**gandá** *u* beauty

•**meganda** *st* beautiful

**ganít** *u* taro

**gapang** *u* act of crawling

•**gapangan** *v* to crawl somewhere

•**gumápang** *v* to crawl

**gapangan** *v* to crawl somewhere

(der. of **gapang**)

**gapúèn** *u* bind

[*lar*]

**gárden** *u* act of gardening, garden [*eng*]

**gátas** *u* milk

**gaté'** *u* coconut milk

•**gate'an** *v* to cook with coconut milk

**gate'an** *v* to cook with coconut milk

(der. of **gaté'**)

**gaya'** *u* act of preparing

•**igayá** *v* to prepare something

•**mengayá'** *u* prepare

**gayat** *u* act of chopping

•**gayáten** *u* chop

•**gayatgayaten** *v* to slice

**gayáten** *u* chop

(der. of **gayat**)

**gayatgayaten** *v* to slice

(der. of **gayat**)

**gded** *u* act of requesting

•**gdeden** *v* to request something

•**umagded** *v* to request

**gdeden** *v* to request something

(der. of **gded**)

**gegámbah** *u* spider

**gelgél** *u* slice

•**gelgelén** *v* to slice something

•**mengelgél** *v* to slice

**gelgelén** *v* to slice something

(der. of **gelgél**)

**gemgém** *u* 1. act of holding 2. assistant

•**gemgeman** *v* to hold something

•**mengemgem** *v* to hold

**gemgeman** *v* to hold something

(der. of **gemgém**)

**gepét** *u* 1. knot 2. bunch

•**gepettán** *v* to tie somewhere

•**menggeppét** *u* soldier

**gepettán** *v* to tie somewhere

(der. of **gepét**)

**gerra** *u* war [*sp*]

**getél** *u* itch

•**mengetél** *v* to itch

**gèyèt** {*fr.* var. of **útin**}

**giginto** *u* iron pyrite

(der. of **ginto**)

**gíling** *u* act of grinding

[*lar*]

**ginan** *u* act of running

•**mengínan** *v* to run away

**ginébra** *u* gin [*sp*]

**ginílat** *u* spearfishing arrow

**ginto** *u* gold

•**giginto** *u* iron pyrite

•**magiginto** *u* gold seeker

**gísa** *u* act of cooking [*sp*]

•**igísa** *v* to cook something

**gitè"èn** *v* to tickle someone

[*lar*]

**gobyérno** u government [sp]  
**gong** u thinness  
**grin** u green [eng]  
**grípo** u faucet [sp]  
**gsa'** u act of flowing  
 •**gsa'an** v to flow somewhere  
 •**gumsá** v to flow  
**gsa'an** v to flow somewhere  
 (der. of **gsa'**)  
**gu-** pfx RDP  
**=gul** adv indeed  
**gúlay** u vegetable  
**gulugud** u spine  
 [lar]  
**gulugud ni pagu-i** u clavicle  
 [lar]  
**gumápang** v to crawl  
 (der. of **gapang**) [lar]  
**gumsá** v to flow  
 (der. of **gsa'**)  
**gurámut ni ti'éd-i** u toe  
 (der. of **ti'éd**) [lar]  
**gusgus** u act of scratching  
 [lar]  
**guyod** u act of pulling  
 •**guyóden** v to pull something  
**guyóden** v to pull something  
 (der. of **guyod**)

## H h

**hábang** subordconn while  
**haiwey** u road [eng]  
**hakot** u act of chopping  
 •**hakóten** v to chop something  
 •**manhákot** v to chop  
**hakóten** v to chop something  
 (der. of **hakot**)  
**halá** intj ok  
**haláman** u plant [tag]  
**halígi** u pillar [tag]  
**halimbáwa** u example [tag]  
**halo** u mix  
 •**haluwan** u mix something  
**hálus** adv nearly, almost  
**haluwan** u mix something  
 (der. of **halo**)  
**hámug** u dew  
 [lar]

**hanap-búhay** u source of income [tag]  
**hánbag** u handbag [eng]  
**handá** ready [tag]  
**hangán** 1. *subordconn* even 2. *prep* until  
 [tag]  
 fr. var. **angán**  
**hangan papéno** adv no whater what  
**hánip** u lice, flea [tag]  
**haplus** u act of caressing  
 •**háplusen** v to carress or stroke  
 something  
**háplusen** v to carress or stroke something  
 (der. of **haplus**)  
**hapón** u 1. Japan [sp] 2. japanese male  
**haponesa** u japanse woman  
**hárap** u front, aspect, presence  
 •**me'ehárap** v to meet  
**hasík** u act of sowing  
 •**menhasík** v to sow  
**hati-** pfx RDP  
**hátí** u act of splitting  
**háwi** u act of parting underbrush  
 •**pengháwi** acw tool for parting  
 underbrush  
**háyup** u animal  
**hela** {fr. var. of **=séla**}  
**hen** {fr. var. of **=sen**}  
**hep** {fr. var. of **=sep**}  
**hibás** u low tide [tag]  
**hidap** u difficulty, poverty  
**hidwá'an** u disagreement, conflict [tag]  
**híkaw** u earring [tag]  
**hilig** u inclination, interest [tag]  
 •**mehilig** st prone  
**hilod** u massage [tag]  
**Himena** u name of Alta elder  
**hina** {fr. var. of **=siná**}  
**hindada'él** u thumb  
 [lar]  
**hípag** u sister-in-law [tag]  
 •**pethípag** u siblings in law  
**hirap** u difficulty, poverty [tag]  
 •**kahirapan** u adversity, suffering  
 •**mehírap** st 1. poor 2. difficult  
 •**peghíhirap** acw suffering  
**homad** u obstacle  
**hubád** u naked

•**hubaden** u to take of a piece of cloth  
 •**me'ehúbad** st naked  
**hubaden** u to take of a piece of cloth  
 (der. of **hubád**)  
**hugpungan ni dameti** u wrist  
**húli** u hunt [tag]  
 •**mehúli** v to catch, to hunt  
 •**menhúli** v to hunt  
 •**penghúli** acw tool for hunting  
 •**penhúli** acw hunting  
**hulí** adv last  
**hunós** u share of crop  
 •**mehonusan** u source of income

### I i

**i- ???** > v pfx conveyance voice prefix  
**=i** spec specificity particle  
**i'a-** pfx ST  
**ialo'** v to offer something  
 (der. of **aló'**)  
**i'án** u fish  
 [v]  
**i'at** u act of get up, standing up  
 •**i'i'at** v to overcome something  
 •**umi'at** v to stand up  
**i'ay** v to bring someone somewhere  
 (der. of **ay3**)  
**i'ayep** v to bring someone/something  
**ibá** u another [tag]  
 •**iba'ibá** u different  
 •**ka'ibá** u different  
 •**káka'ibá** u odd  
**ibábaw** u surface, top, tip [tag]  
**iba'ibá** u different  
 (der. of **ibá**)  
**ibbide** v to tell something  
 (der. of **bid**)  
**ibensih** v to kick  
 [lar]  
**ibig sabihin** disconn in other words [tag]  
**ibilay** v to raise someone  
 (der. of **biláy**)  
**ibítu** v to bury  
 [v]  
**ibudbud** v to sprinkle  
**ibút** v to throw something away  
 (der. of **but**)  
**ibu'út** v to set something aside

(der. of **bu'ut**)  
**idép** u forehead  
**idtón** v to place something  
 (der. of **dton**)  
**idúl** u thunder  
 [lar]  
**idu'út** v to share something  
**idúwa** adv day after tomorrow  
**=i'é** dem LPROX.DEM.ABS  
**i'én** dem PROX.DEM  
**igalang** v to respect someone  
 (der. of **galang**)  
**igayá** v to prepare something  
 (der. of **gaya'**)  
**igdebí** u kind of crop (irabi in Tagalog)  
 [jen]  
**igdet** u eel  
 [v]  
**igísa** v to cook something  
 (der. of **gísa**)  
**igop** u attraction [tag]  
**igórot** u Igorot people  
**i'i'at** v to overcome something  
 (der. of **i'at**)  
**i'i'é** dem LPROX.DEM  
**i'iná** dem MED.DEM  
**i'issá** u alone  
**ikabilay** u source of income  
 (der. of **biláy**)  
**ikésap** v to blink one's eyes  
 [lar]  
**ikkabít** v to tie something  
 (der. of **kabít**)  
**ikod** u act of turning  
 fr. var. **ikot**  
 •**um'ikod** v to go around  
**ikot** {fr. var. of **ikod**}  
**ilaga** v to boil [tag]  
**ilát** u lightning  
 [lar]  
**iláway** v to look down  
 [lar]  
**ilbéng** v to bury something  
 (der. of **lbeng**)  
**ilebsáng** v to let go, to release  
 (der. of **lebsang**)  
**ile'bung** v to mix something to something

(der. of **le'bung**)  
**iledep** v to plunge something  
 (der. of **ledep**)  
**ilege' mo pata'poh** look forward!  
 [lar]  
**ilipát** v to transfer something  
 (der. of **lípat**)  
**ilokáno** u ilokano people and language  
**ilús** u kind of plant  
 [jen]  
**ilúto** v to cook something  
 (der. of **luto**)  
**imálan** v to burn, to scorch  
 •**ma'imálan** v to burn  
**imáng** u act of taking care  
 •**men'imáng** v to take care  
**imbes** adv instead, rather  
**imbís** adv instead [sp]  
**impluwensia** u influence  
**importante** u important [sp]  
**imposible** u impossible [sp]  
**in** art 1. ABS 2. the  
**-in-** v ifx PRF  
**iná** u mother (vocative)  
 •**pet'éna** u mother and son  
 •**téna** u mother (reference)  
 •**tiddena** u mothers  
 =**iná** dem MED.DEM.ABS  
 fr. var. =**éna**  
**inábat** v to be cursed by the anito spirit  
**inámag** u mold  
 [lar]  
**in'apát** u fourth  
**inay** v to have gone  
 (der. of **ay3**)  
**ináyan** v to go somewhere  
 (der. of **ay3**)  
**indáyon** u hammock [ilk]  
 fr. var. **dúyan**  
**indúwa** u second  
**iném** u six  
**inés** u movement  
**Inga** u name of Alta lady  
**ingél** u anger, bravery  
 •**méngèl** st brave  
 •**um'ingel** v to get angry  
**inginer** u engineer [eng]

**in'inném** u sixth  
**ínit** u heat  
 •**me'ínit** st hot  
**inkantáda** u enchanted [sp]  
**inlabindúwa** u twelfth  
**inlabinissá** u eleventh  
**inlimmá** u fifth  
**innam** u taste  
 •**innaman** v to taste something  
 •**me'e'innám** v to taste  
**innaman** v to taste something  
 (der. of **innam**) [lar]  
**inom** u act of drinking  
 •**inomen** v to drink something  
 •**ipa'inom** v to make someone drink  
 •**me'e'inom** v to be able to drink  
 •**umínom** v to drink  
**inomen** v to drink something  
 (der. of **inom**)  
**inomulí** v to return, to go home  
**inómunid a bulán** adv next month  
**inpitó** u seventh  
**insáppulo** u tenth  
**insiyám** u ninth  
**intá** u act of seeing  
 •**ipa'intá** v to show something to someone  
 •**itán** v to look at something  
 •**me'intá** v to find  
**intátlo** u third  
**interés** u profit [sp]  
**interesádo** u interested, enthusiastic [sp]  
**intutúdu** u index  
**inumbèl** v to fly  
**inwaló** u eighth  
**ipa'ála'ala** v to remind  
 (der. of **ala'ala**)  
**ipa'dang** u healing ritual  
**ipadialad** v to put something under  
 something else  
 (der. of **disálad**)  
**ipa'edsang** v to lay something down  
 (der. of **edsáng**)  
**ipaglaban** v to fight [tag]  
**ipah** u husk of rice  
 [lar]  
**ipa'inom** v to make someone drink  
 (der. of **inom**)

**ipa'intá** v to show something to someone

(der. of **intá**)

**ipalít** v to trade something

(der. of **palit**)

**ipamúlat** v to let someone know

**ipáyong** v to raise something

(der. of **páyong**)

**ipe-** pfx causative prefix

**ipeg-** pfx causative prefix

**ipès** u cockroach

**ipgés** v to drip something

(der. of **pgés**)

**ipolung** v to speak a language

(der. of **pólung**)

**ipus** u 1. hairy end of plants 2. tail

**iral** u prevalence [tag]

**isabít** v to hang something

(der. of **sabít**)

**isábug** v to plant by scattering

**isáda** v to close

**isahóg** v to mix something

(der. of **sahóg**)

**isa'lang** v to face

(der. of **sa'lang**)

**ísalang** v to cook something by using a fire

(der. of **salang**)

**isá'lat** v to trade

(der. of **sa'lat**)

**isalnag** v to fry rice

[lar]

**isángèp** v to boil something

[lar]

**isáy** exist to be at

**isbú** u urine

•**umisbú** v to urinate

**isdép** 1. v to use 2. u start of school or work

(der. of **sdep**)

**isénag** v to dry on the sun

(der. of **sinág**) [lar]

**isep** u act of closing eyes

•**iyésep** v to close one's eyes

•**men'isép** v to close the eyes

**ísip** u thought [tag]

•**isípen** v to think about something

**isípen** v to think about something

(der. of **ísip**) [lar]

**isitsit** v to gossip

**isi'yan** v to to abandon someone

(der. of **si'yán**)

**isoli** v to recover something

(der. of **solí**)

**issa** u one [tag]

**istórya** u story [sp]

**ita'bon** v to cover something

(der. of **ta'bón**)

=**itám** pron 1pi.ABS

**itamme!** let's go

**itán** v to look at something

(der. of **intá**)

**itanem** v to plant something

(der. of **taném**)

**itang'ál** v to raise something

(der. of **tang'al**)

**ita'pèg** v to close

(der. of **ta'pég**) [lar]

**ita'puh** above

(der. of **ta'pó**) [lar]

**itassé** u one

**itasse a ta'ón** last year

**itáw** u act of fighting

•**me'i'itaw** v to fight someone

•**men'itáw** v to fight

**itég** u abundance

**ite'nag** v to throw something

(der. of **te'nag**)

**itidia'** v to kick

[lar]

**itinda** v to sell something

(der. of **tínda**)

**itnud** u act of sitting

•**itnúdan** u chair

•**men'itnúd** v to squat

**itnúdan** u chair

(der. of **itnud**)

**itódu** v 1. to teach something

(der. of **tódu**)

**ittugen** v to bring

(der. of **tugen**)

**itúlag** v to push something

(der. of **túlag**)

**itulús** v to continue something

(der. of **tulús**)

**iut** u sexual intercourse  
[lar]  
**iwala** v to lose someone, to separate  
someone [tag]  
**i'ya'í** dem FDIST.DEM  
**iyán** u fruit, kernel  
•**mengíyan** v to produce fruit  
•**men'iyán** v to produce fruit  
•**pen'iyán** acw flowering  
**iyaná'** v to be born  
(der. of **ána'**)  
**iyáse** v to place something  
(der. of **áse**)  
**i'yáy** dem DIST.DEM  
**iyelwás** v to take something across  
(der. of **elwás**)  
**iyésep** v to close one's eyes  
(der. of **isep**)  
**iyetlén** v to swallow something  
(der. of **etlén**)  
**iyubul** v to sharpen something  
(der. of **ubul**)

#### K k

**ka'ágad** adv right away [tag]  
(der. of **agád**)  
**ka'altahan** u Alta people  
**ka'apíhan** u oppression  
(der. of **api**)  
**ka'asawa** u act of getting married  
**kábag** u gas pain [tag]  
**kabán** u sack of 75 liters [tag]  
•**kabankaban** adv sold by kaban  
**kabankaban** adv sold by kaban  
(der. of **kabán**)  
**kabít** u 1. act of tying 2. installation,  
connection [tag]  
•**ikkabít** v to tie something  
•**kabítan** v to tie somewhere  
**kabítan** v to tie somewhere [tag]  
(der. of **kabít**)  
**kabuháyan** u life, existence [tag]  
**kada-** pfx each, every  
**kadasedep** u entering  
(der. of **sdep**)  
**kadebdí** u woman  
[v]  
**kagamotan** u usage as medicine

**kahirapan** u adversity, suffering [tag]  
(der. of **hirap**)  
**ka'ibá** u different [tag]  
(der. of **ibá**)  
**ka'ibígan** u friend [tag]  
**ka'iláangan** v to need [tag]  
**kaisa** coordconn than [tag]  
**káka'ibá** u odd [tag]  
(der. of **ibá**)  
**kalagayan** u social position [tag]  
**kalaháti** u half [tag]  
**kalan** u stove [tag]  
[v]  
**kalas** u act of separating  
•**kalásen** v to separate something from  
something  
**kalásen** v to separate something from  
something  
(der. of **kalas**)  
**kalat** u act of spreading  
•**mekalat** st spread  
**kaláw** u hornbill  
**kalikasan** u nature, world [tag]  
**kalimítan** adv usually  
**kaliskis** u scales of a fish  
•**kalískisan** v to scale a fish  
**kalískisan** v to scale a fish  
(der. of **kaliskis**)  
**kaluluah** u spirit of death person  
[lar]  
**káma** u bed [sp]  
**kamarág** u narra tree [ibn]  
**kamátis** u tomato [sp]  
**kambál** u twin [tag]  
**kambíng** u goat [tag]  
**kampo** u field [sp]  
**kamudúngan** u mountainous area  
(der. of **mudúng**)  
**kamún de'él** u thumb  
**kanáni a papa'ás** adv this morning  
(der. of **pa'as**)  
**kandado** u padlock [sp]  
**kantá** u song [sp]  
•**menkantá** v to sing  
**kápal** u thickness [tag]  
•**mekápal** st thick  
**kapamílya** u family [tag]

(der. of **pamílya**)  
**kaparusáhan** u punishment [tag]  
 (der. of **parúsa**)  
 **kapatágan** u plain [tag]  
 (der. of **pátátag**)  
 **kapatíd** u sibling [tag]  
 **kapé** u coffee [sp]  
 **kaputód** u shorts  
 **karanasan** {fr. var. of **aranásan**}  
 **karápattan** u authority, right, claim [tag]  
 **karayum** u needle [tag]  
 [lar]  
 **kareta** u small cart [sp]  
 **kárga** u act of loading [sp]  
 **karo'on** v to hold, to have, to take [tag]  
 •**karo'onro'onan** u property  
 •**menkaro'on** v to possess  
 **karo'onro'onan** u property [tag]  
 (der. of **karo'on**)  
 **karsada** u road [sp]  
 **kartón** u cardboard [sp]  
 **kasábay** u colleague [tag]  
 (der. of **sábay**)  
 **kasal** u wedding [sp]  
 [lar]  
 **kasaysáyan** u story [tag]  
 **kasé** subordconn because [tag]  
 **kaseróla** u pot  
 **Kasigúran** u Casiguran, people from  
 Casiguran  
 **kasipágan** u industriousness  
 (der. of **sipag**)  
 **kastíla** u spaniard [sp]  
 **kasukasú'an** u joint  
 **katangahan** u stupidity [tag]  
 **katás** u juice, leak [tag]  
 [lar]  
 **katotúbo** u native  
 **Katúday** u kind of plant [*Sesbania grandiflora*]  
 **katulad** u similar  
 **katúlong** u helper [tag]  
 (der. of **túlong**)  
 **ka'ugali'an** u custom  
 (der. of **ugáli**)  
 **ka'ugnáy** u connection [tag]  
 **kawálih** u cooking pot, frying pan [tag]

[lar]  
 **kawáwa** u pitiful [tag]  
 **káwit** u hook [ilk]  
 **káya** u capable [tag]  
 **kayá** subordconn so, therefore [tag]  
 **kaya gúl** adv exactly  
 **kayabang** u basket  
 **kayadlá** subordconn however  
 **kayamanan** u wealth, treasure  
 **kayas** u act of shaving off  
 •**kayasen** v to shave something off  
 **kayasen** v to shave something off  
 (der. of **kayas**)  
 **kayudèn** v to grate  
 [lar]  
 **kendi** u candy  
 **késa** coordconn than  
 **kesara** coordconn than  
 **kíkí** u vagina  
 **kilála** u act of knowing someone [tag]  
 **kilaw** u act of eating raw meat  
 •**kilawen** v to eat something raw or  
 soaked in vinegar  
 **kilawen** v to eat something raw or soaked  
 in vinegar  
 (der. of **kilaw**)  
 **kílay** u eyebrow [tag]  
 **kilekileh** u armpit  
 [lar]  
 **kílo** u kilogram [sp]  
 **kilometro** u kilometer [sp]  
 **kinumbèt** u wrinkled person  
 **kita** u income, earnings [tag]  
 •**menkita** v to make money  
 **kodrádo** u square [sp]  
 **kolu** u act of boiling  
 [lar]  
 **kompleto** u complete [sp]  
 **komunidad** u community [sp]  
 **konóhan** u rice mill  
 **koryénte** u electricity  
 **kubéta** u toilet [sp]  
 **kúgun** u cogon grass "The root of this  
 plant can be used as medicine for  
 kidney or UTI (urinary tract infection).  
 You cut the tips of the root, wash them,  
 boil them in water, and drink it."



**kukóh** u fingernail  
**kúlang** u lacking, insufficient [tag]  
 [lar]  
**kúlay** u colour  
**kultúra** u culture [sp]  
**kúlut** u curly  
 [lar]  
**kumustá** int how are  
**kuného** u rabbit [sp]  
**kung** subordconn 1. if [tag] 2. whether  
 3. nor 4. when  
 •**kung adidino** adv anywhere  
 •**kung ahéno** u whatever  
 •**kung бага** disconn actually, for  
 example, if say  
**kung adidino** adv anywhere  
 (der. of **kung**)  
**kung ahéno** u whatever  
 (der. of **kung**)  
**kung бага** disconn actually, for example,  
 if say  
 (der. of **kung**)  
**kurimá'mat** u eyelash  
**kurúnang tinik** u crown of thorns  
*[Euphorbia mili]* "I'in ngo mi-i Koronang  
 Tinik 'en, dahil ado te set.  
*Mensangasanga sina ti ado-i, tapos  
 memudde sila ti uman-i sin. Kulay-i  
 ni'nin dilaw, dilaw hila 'in a doon na-i,  
 kulay na-i green hela. (94.18)"* We call  
 this plant Koronang Tinik because it  
 has many thorns. It produces many  
 branches and then produces many  
 flowers too. Their colour is yellow, and  
 the leaves are also yellow or green.  
**kusína** u kitchen [sp]  
 •**pengkusína** acw kitchen accessories  
**kutsára** u spoon [sp]  
**kutsílyo** u knife [sp]  
**kwarénta** u fourty [sp]  
**kwatro** u four  
**kwéntas** u necklace [sp]

## L I

-I- ifx RDP  
 =la adv just  
**lá'ad** u act of walking

•**la'áden** v to walk a certain time or  
 distance  
 •**menlá'ad** v to walk  
 •**penlaádam** acw way, path  
**la'áden** v to walk a certain time or  
 distance  
 (der. of **lá'ad**)  
**la'angaw** u fly, housefly [tag]  
 [lar]  
**la'aw** u length  
 •**luma'aw** v to stretch out  
 •**melá'aw** st long  
**la'áy** u 1. old man 2. husband  
 •**menla'áy** v to marry a man  
**labá** u act of washing clothes [sp]  
 •**menlaba** v to wash clothes  
 •**penlabá** acw laundry  
**labáda** u washed clothes [sp]  
 •**penlabáda** acw laundry  
**laban** u fight, conflict  
**lábi** u lips [sp]  
**labin issá** u eleven  
**labintanús** u "This plant is the Labintanus.  
 The leaves are like.... but it is a  
 Labintanus plant. This is another kind of  
 thistle that grows around here and also  
 in the mountains"  
**laddé** u act of weaving  
 •**menladdé** v to weave cloth  
**lagárih** u saw  
 [lar]  
**lagitík** u kind of plant [*Illigera Luzonensis*]  
 "We call this plant Lagitik. It can be  
 used to treat ulcers, if you pound its  
 leaves and drink them"  
**lagwát** u act of jumping/diving in the water  
 •**lumagwat** v to jump, to dive  
**lahát** u all, total, everyone [tag]  
**lakás** u strength  
 •**melakas** st strong  
**lakot** u act of removing  
**lalla'í** u boy, male  
**lálo** adv especially  
**lamán** u wild boar  
**lamésa** u table [sp]  
 [v]  
**lamesíta** u small table [sp]

**lamón** u grass  
**lámipas** u excessive [tag]  
**lamút** u root  
 [lar]  
**lanáw** u 1. lake 2. place nearby Diteki  
**landok** u iron  
 [lar]  
**langís** u oil [tag]  
**langít** u sky  
**langka** {fr. var. of **nangká**}  
**languy** u act of swimming  
 •**lumangúy** v to swim  
**lanslaid** u landslide  
**lapad** u width [tag]  
 •**melápad** st wide  
**lapastangan** u disrespectful [tag]  
**lápis** u pencil [sp]  
**lasá** u taste  
 •**melása** st tasty  
**lasát** u 1. breast 2. milk for feeding a baby  
**láta** u tin, can [sp]  
**latag** u act of laying on the ground  
 •**menlatag** v to lay down  
**latih** u rattan  
 •**menlatih** v to search for and cut rattan  
 •**penlatih** acw rattan production  
**lawad** u vastness  
**láwan** v to to abandon someone  
**lawís** u end, extremity  
**láyag** u sail  
 [lar]  
**láyunin** u purpose [tag]  
**lbeng** u act of burying  
 •**ilbéng** v to bury something  
**lbut** u act of boiling  
 •**lumelbút** v to be boiling  
 •**mellebút** st 1. boiling 2. crazy, insane  
**ldeb** u act of burning  
 •**lumeldép** v to be burning  
**le** RDP  
**lebé'** u act of pounding, crushing  
 •**menlebé'** v to pound rice  
 •**penlebé'** acw crushing, pounding  
**lebsang** u act of escaping  
 •**ilebsáng** v to let go, to release  
 •**me'elebsang** v to be able to escape  
**le'bung** u act of mixing

•**ile'bung** v to mix something to something  
**ledep** u act of swimming under water  
 •**iledep** v to plunge something  
 •**lumedep** v to dive in the water  
 •**menlédep** v to fish with goggles and spear  
 •**penledep** acw diving  
**ledom** u shade  
**legúg** u river bank  
**lemyá** u act of waking  
 •**lumemyá** v to wake up  
 •**melemyá** v to be awake  
**le'ned** u suprise  
 •**mele'néd** st suprised  
**lepét** u humidity  
 •**melpét** st soaked  
 •**nalpét** st wet  
**lepwá** u act of chopping  
**lesúng** u mortar for rice  
**letráto** u portrait [sp]  
**le'udan** v to reject  
**libang** u act of entertaining  
 •**libángen** v to entertain someone  
 •**melibang** st entertained  
**libángen** v to entertain someone  
 (der. of **libang**)  
**libro** u book [sp]  
**libu** u thousand  
**líbut** u surroundings [tag]  
**li'ég** u neck [tag]  
**likot** u act of moving  
 •**likóten** v to move something  
**likóten** v to move something  
 (der. of **likot**)  
**limáte'** u kind of leech  
**limmá** u five  
**limuy** u skirt  
**lináw** u clarity  
 •**melínaw** st clear  
**lindól** u earthquake  
**lingáh** u sesame  
 [lar]  
**língét** u sweat  
**lingo** u 1. week [sp] 2. Sunday  
**linis** u cleanliness  
 •**linísan** u clean something

**•melínis** st clean  
**•menlínis** v to clean  
**linísan** u clean something  
 (der. of **linis**)  
**linta** u kind of leech  
**linúg** u drunk  
**•melinúg** st drunk  
**li'ód** u back  
**•palli'ódan** u behind  
**lípat** u act of transferring  
**•ilipat** v to transfer something  
**•lumipat** v to migrate  
**•palípat-lípat** u wandering around  
**lipdés** u hit  
**•lipdesén** v to hit someone  
**lipdesén** v to hit someone  
 (der. of **lipdés**)  
**lipóngen** v to turn around something  
**lisá'** u nit of louse  
**lítid** u vein  
 [lar]  
**litlit** u betel leaf, piper betel  
**lokmat** u act of removing [tag]  
**•lokmaten** v to remove something  
**lokmaten** v to remove something  
 (der. of **lokmat**)  
**loko** u fool [sp]  
**•menlóko** v to fool  
**lola** u grandmother [tag]  
**lolo** u grandfather [tag]  
**lóna** u tarp [sp]  
**longkut** u sadness  
**•melongkut** st sad, lonely  
**lo'ob** {fr. var. of **lu'ub**}  
**lsot** u act of passing through  
**•elsotan** u way through  
**ltaw** u act of floating  
**•lumèltaw** v to te be floating  
**•lumtaw** v to surface  
**lteg** u act of swelling  
**•lumelteg** v to be swelling  
**luah** u tear in eye  
 [lar]  
**lubíd** u string, rope  
**lubóng** u earth  
**lu'duyèn** v to block, as a hole  
 [lar]

**lugár** u place [sp]  
**luhúd** u act of kneeling  
 [lar]  
**lukbán** u pomelo  
**luma'aw** v to stretch out  
 (der. of **la'aw**)  
**lumagwat** v to jump, to dive  
 (der. of **lagwát**)  
**lumangúy** v to swim  
 (der. of **languy**)  
**lumedep** v to dive in the water  
 (der. of **ledep**)  
**lumékoh** v to turn  
 [lar]  
**lumelbút** v to be boiling  
 (der. of **lbut**)  
**lumeldép** v to be burning  
 (der. of **ldeb**)  
**lumèltaw** v to te be floating  
 (der. of **ltaw**) [lar]  
**lumelteg** v to be swelling  
 (der. of **lteg**)  
**lumemyá** v to wake up  
 (der. of **lemyá**)  
**lumipat** v to migrate  
 (der. of **lípat**)  
**lumípung** v to revolve  
 [lar]  
**lúmot** u moss  
 [lar]  
**lumtaw** v to surface  
 (der. of **ltaw**)  
**lúpa** u face [tag]  
 [v]  
**lusaw** u act of melting, dissolving  
**•penglúsaw** acw dissolvent  
**•penlúsaw** acw process of dissolving  
**lusút** u barging a way through  
**lu'tab** u saliva  
 [lar]  
**lutít** u mud  
**luto** u act of cooking [tag]  
**•ilúto** v to cook something  
**•menluto** v to cook  
**lu'ub** u during, within  
 fr. var. **lo'ob**  
**luway** u act of repeating

•**luwáyèn** v to repeat something

**luwáyèn** v to repeat something

(der. of **luway**) [lar]

**luwe'** u ghost

**lúyah** u ginger [tag]

## M m

**m** {fr. var. of =**mo**}

**m-** {fr. var. of **ma-1**}

=**m** pron 2s.GEN

**ma-1** ??? > v pfx 1. Stative prefix

2. Potentive AV prefix

fr. var. **m-**; **me-**

**ma-2** pfx RDP

**ma'a-** {fr. var. of **me'e-**}

**ma'agásan** u miscarriage [tag]

**ma'álap** v to be able to obtain

(der. of **álap**)

**ma'apdès** u stinging pain

[lar]

**mabalítan** v to hear about something

**madalang** adv rarely

**madaling-araw** adv early dawn [tag]

**madat** v to be able to reach

(der. of **dat**)

**madí'tit** u unmarried girl

**madre kakaw** u kind of plant

**madrí kakáw** u kind of plant [*Gliricidia*

*Sepium*] "The leaves of this plant are edible (like the ones of the Katuday (Sesbania Grandiflora), but these leaves need to be processed before. It can also be used to make a fence. It can also be used for skin irritation, if you take the leaves and scrub them on your skin it will remove the stinging. You can also pound the leaves with a stone, extract their juice and wash yourself with it."

**ma'eg'ang** v to be able to quit

(der. of **eg'ang**)

**Ma'eg'eg** u name of Alta elder

**ma'épè'itaw** v to oppose

[lar]

**Magdalenas** u sacred place within the

Alta ancestral domain

**magiginto** u gold seeker

(der. of **ginto**)

**maging-** v pfx to become [tag]

**magka-** pfx [tag]

[lar] fr. var. **megka-**

**magkaro'on** v to have, to own [tag]

**magnet** u magnet

**magnetik** u magnetism

**magúlang** u parents, ancestors [tag]

**maháli a áraw** all saint's day

**ma'imálan** v to burn

(der. of **imálan**)

**má'in** int why

**maiwaddé** v to be, exist, have

**Makadipá** u god Alta deity

**makina** u motor, device [sp]

**Malabida** u Area or Barangay in Aurora

province where Alta is spoken

**malagkít** u sticky rice

**malakáya** u 1. to trawl 2. to hun

**malápasi** u kind of berry fruit

[jen]

**malí** st incorrect [tag]

**malimbúy** u money

**mamay'ari** u possessions

**mames** u act of being shameful

•**me'amámes** st shy

•**meka'amámes** st shameful

=**man** adv particle that expresses a

contrast

**manágep** v to be rescued

(der. of **ágep**)

**mánaili** v to continue [tag]

**mangá** approximately [tag]

**mangadlít** u kind of fish [tag]

**mangga** u mango

[lar]

**mangko'** u bowl

**manhákot** v to chop

(der. of **hakot**)

**maní** u peanut [sp]

=**mannen** adv again [ilk]

**mannolangan** u children's inlaws

**manó'** u chicken

**manólangan** u parent-in-law

**mantíka** u oil [sp]

**manú'** u 1. bird 2. wildchicken

**mapa-** pfx ?

**mapóled** v to sleep

(der. of **póled**)

**Mapolud** u Alta place name  
**maranasan** v to experience  
**marmol** u marble [sp]  
**marsial law** u kind of plant "This plant can be used to treat wounds, if you take the leaves, extract the juice, and then pour it on a wound. This is a herbal medicine of the Alta."  
**mas** adv more [sp]  
**mátah** st unripe, raw  
**matáh** u eye [tag]  
**matáng hípong** u chicken food [*Breynia rhamnoides*] "This plant is used as food by wild chicken in the mountains, even humans can eat the leaves as they are sweet. When it's unripe, it is red but when ripe it turns violet."  
fr. var. **matang udang**  
**matang udang** {fr. var. of **matáng hípong**}  
**mate'nag** v to fall  
(der. of **te'nag**)  
**matlém** u blood  
**matmó** v to burn, to be on fire  
(der. of **temó**)  
**matnó** v to fill  
**ma'ulila** v to become orphaned  
**ma'uná'** v to say  
(der. of **uná'**) fr. var. **me'una**  
**may** exist have  
**máya** u sparrow [tag]  
**Maynilá** u Manila  
**Máyo** u May  
**me-** {fr. var. of **ma-1**}  
**me'a-** {fr. var. of **me'e-**}  
**me'ágap** st quick  
(der. of **ágap**)  
**me'álat** st salty  
**me'albí** st compassionate  
(der. of **albí**)  
**me'amámes** st shy  
(der. of **mames**)  
**me'anító** st superstitious  
**me'anód** st flooded  
(der. of **anod**)  
**me'antíng** st affraid  
(der. of **antíng**)

**me'apsút** st sour  
**me'ásu'** v to smoke  
(der. of **asó'**) [lar]  
**mebá'it** st kind  
(der. of **ba'it**)  
**meba'síd** st strong  
[v]  
**meba'sig** st fast  
[lar]  
**mebi'en** st near  
(der. of **bí'en**)  
**mebí'et** st lazy  
(der. of **bí'et**)  
**mebíkong** st crooked  
[v]  
**mebilay** st alive  
(der. of **biláy**)  
**mebílís** st fast [tag]  
**mebílug** st round  
[lar]  
**mebínat** st have a relapse  
**mebútil** st lie, false  
( **butíl**)  
**mebúyu** st 1. rotten 2. stinky  
**meda'ép** v to be able to catch  
(der. of **da'ep**)  
**medálas** st quick  
[v]  
**medáli** st easy  
[v]  
**medangín** st cold  
**meddi** u lady  
[lar]  
**medelmét** st heavy  
**medemo** st be first  
(der. of **demó**)  
**mediplét** st dirty  
(der. of **diplét**) [v]  
**medísalad** st deep  
(der. of **disálad**) [lar]  
**medlá** v to have learned a lesson  
**medú'es** st 1. bad 2. ugly  
**medyo** adv somewhat [sp]  
**me'e-** pfx potentive prefix  
fr. var. **ma'a-**; **me'a-**  
**me'ebál** v to wear the G-string 'bal'  
(der. of **bal**)

**me'ebut** st mean  
**me'ébut** v to disappear  
 (der. of **ebut**)  
**me'ehárap** v to meet  
 (der. of **hárap**)  
**me'ehúbad** st naked  
 (der. of **hubád**) [lar]  
**me'e'innám** v to taste  
 (der. of **innam**)  
**me'e'inom** v to be able to drink  
 (der. of **inom**)  
**me'ekatsá** v to wear the katsa clothing  
**me'eldén** st strong  
 [v]  
**me'elebsang** v to be able to escape  
 (der. of **lebsang**)  
**me'ena'ém** u elder  
 (der. of **menna'ém**)  
**mè'èppulèd** v to sleep  
 (der. of **póled**) [lar]  
**me'epsul** v to be full, satiated  
 (der. of **psúl**)  
**me'essabít** v to hang  
 (der. of **sabít**)  
**me'etabdé** st very fat  
 (der. of **tabdé**)  
**me'ettirá** v to live  
 (der. of **tira**)  
**megagawi** v to be able to do something  
 (der. of **gágawi**)  
**megalíng** st skillful, ingenious [tag]  
**meganda** st beautifull [tag]  
 (der. of **gandá**)  
**meghápon** u all day long [tag]  
**megka-** {fr. var. of **magka-**}  
**mehál** st expensive  
**mehámog** st cool, chilly  
**mehégít** st excessive, more  
**mehidap** st difficult, poor  
**mehígpít** st tight  
**mehilig** st prone  
 (der. of **hilig**)  
**mehína** st 1. weak 2. slow  
**mehírap** st 1. poor [tag] 2. difficult  
 (der. of **hirap**)  
**mehonusan** u source of income  
 (der. of **hunos**)

**mehúli** v to catch, to hunt  
 (der. of **húli**)  
**me'i-** pfx comitative prefix  
**me'i'ayuh** v to collect firewood  
 (der. of **ayúh**)  
**me'ibidde** v to be able to say something  
 (der. of **bid**)  
**me'i'itaw** v to fight someone  
 (der. of **itáw**) [lar]  
**me'inabang** v to make profit [tag]  
**•pa'inabang** acw profit  
**•pa'inabangan** acw source of income  
**me'íngít** st envious [tag]  
**me'ínit** st hot  
 (der. of **ínit**)  
**me'intá** v to find  
 (der. of **intá**)  
**mè'ipagkilálah** v to know [tag]  
 [lar]  
**me'isuntu'** v to hit, strike  
 (der. of **suntók**)  
**me'itagbo** v to converge  
**me'i'utuh** v to delouse  
 (der. of **utúh**) [lar]  
**meka'amámes** st shameful  
 (der. of **mames**) [v]  
**mekalat** st spread  
 (der. of **kalat**)  
**mekápal** st thick  
 (der. of **kápal**)  
**mekípot** st narrow  
**mèkisláp** st smooth  
 [lar]  
**melá'aw** st long  
 (der. of **la'aw**)  
**meladdén** st light, not heavy in weight  
**melahdín** st cheap  
 [v]  
**melakas** st strong  
 (der. of **lakás**)  
**mèlamsít** st tasteless, lacking salt  
 [lar]  
**melánis** st sweet  
**melápad** st wide i'en a beli ay mèlápàd  
 this house is wide  
 (der. of **lapad**)  
**melapyát** st flat

**melása** st tasty  
 (der. of **lasá**)  
**meláya** v to free  
**me'leb** v to fall down  
**melebang** st entertained  
**mèlégayah** st happy  
 [lar]  
**melékot** st naughty  
**melemnín** st soft  
**melemyá** v to be awake  
 (der. of **lemyá**)  
**mele'néd** st suprised  
 (der. of **le'ned**)  
**melíbang** st entertained  
 (der. of **libang**)  
**melikbet** blurred  
**melínaw** st clear  
 (der. of **lináw**)  
**melínis** st clean  
 (der. of **linis**)  
**melinúg** st drunk  
 (der. of **linúg**)  
**mellebút** st 1. boiling 2. crazy, insane  
 (der. of **lbut**)  
**meló'ag** st loose  
**melongkut** st sad, lonely  
 (der. of **longkut**)  
**melpét** st soaked  
 (der. of **lepét**)  
**mema'us** st hoarse  
 [lar]  
**memin** st consumed  
 (der. of **amin**)  
**mempa- ???** > v pfx ?  
**memuddé** v to blossom  
 (der. of **buddé'**)  
**men-2 ???** > v pfx sfx actor voice prefix  
**men'alíyo** v to search  
 (der. of **alíyo'**)  
**men'aná** v to be born  
 [v]  
**men'aná'** v to breed  
 (der. of **ána'**)  
**menánanih** adv very soon  
 (der. of **nánih**)  
**men'áral** v to learn, to study  
 (der. of **áral**)

**mèn'armusal** v to breakfast [sp]  
 [lar]  
**men'awon** v to to abandon  
 (der. of **awón**)  
**men'ayúh** v to cut trees, to log  
 (der. of **ayúh**)  
**menbádo** v to wear  
 (der. of **bádo**)  
**menbágo** v to change  
 (der. of **bágo**)  
**menbál** v to wear G-string  
 (der. of **bal**)  
**menbantáy** v to guard  
 (der. of **bantáy**)  
**menbása** v to read  
 (der. of **bása**)  
**menbate'** v to write  
 (der. of **baté'**)  
**menbayúh** v to crush, to pound  
 (der. of **bayúh**)  
**menbeli** v to build a house  
 (der. of **belí**)  
**menbelón** v to take provisions on a trip  
 (der. of **belón**)  
**menbíhis** v to change clothes  
 [lar]  
**menbítu** v to dig  
 [v]  
**menbones** v to wrestle  
 (der. of **bónes**)  
**menbuddé'** v to blossom  
 (der. of **buddé'**)  
**menbutag** v to chew areca nut  
**menbutíl** v to lie  
 (der. of **butíl**)  
**menda'ép** v to catch  
 (der. of **da'ep**)  
**mendagmáng** v to stumble  
 (der. of **dagmáng**)  
**mèndalúp** v to sew  
 [lar]  
**menda'út** v to share  
 (der. of **da'út**)  
**mendengdéng** v to warm by fire  
**mendílus** v to bathe  
 (der. of **dílus**)  
**me'nèg** st thick

[lar]  
**menépis** st thin  
**menewala** v to believe  
**meng-1** {fr. var. of **meng-2**}  
**meng-2** ??? > v pfx AV  
fr. var. **meng-1**  
**mengálap** v to get  
( **álap**)  
**mengálaw** v to play  
(der. of **galáw**)  
**mengáliyo'** v to seek  
(der. of **alíyo'**) [lar]  
**mengáludu** v to hunt  
(der. of **áludu'**)  
**mengamás** v to weed  
(der. of **gamas**)  
**mengán** v to eat  
(der. of **an**)  
**mengánup** v to hunt  
(der. of **ánop**)  
**mengáted** v to give  
(der. of **áted**)  
**mengáwngaw** st noisy  
**mengayá'** u prepare  
(der. of **gaya'**)  
**méngèl** st brave  
(der. of **ingél**) [lar]  
**mengelgél** v to slice  
(der. of **gelgél**)  
**mengemgem** v to hold  
(der. of **gemgém**)  
**mengetél** v to itch  
(der. of **getél**)  
**mengétid** st black  
**mengétugen** v to escort  
(der. of **tugen**)  
**menggeppét** u soldier  
(der. of **gepét**)  
**menghali** v to take lunch  
**mengi-** pfx actor voice prefix  
**mengigí** v to grit the teeth  
**mengínan** v to run away  
(der. of **ginan**)  
**mengingíng** v to tremble  
(der. of **ngingín**)  
**mengisalang** v to cook  
(der. of **salang**)

**mengíyan** v to produce fruit  
(der. of **iyán**)  
**mèngódèl** st dull (knife)  
[lar]  
**mengólas** v to wash  
(der. of **ulas**)  
**mengótan** v to borrow  
(der. of **útan**)  
**meng'uno** v to lead  
**menguyód** v to pull  
**mengyári** v to happen  
(der. of **yari**)  
**menhasík** v to sow  
(der. of **hasík**)  
**menhilámos** v to wash face  
**menhúli** v to hunt  
(der. of **húli**)  
**meni'aná** v to bear a child  
[v]  
**men'imáng** v to take care  
(der. of **imáng**)  
**men'isép** v to close the eyes  
(der. of **isep**)  
**menisid** v to dive [tag]  
**men'isoli** v to recover  
(der. of **solí**)  
**men'itáw** v to fight  
(der. of **itáw**)  
**men'itnúd** v to squat  
(der. of **itnúd**)  
**men'iyán** v to produce fruit  
(der. of **iyán**)  
**menkantá** v to sing  
(der. of **kantá**)  
**menkaro'on** v to possess  
(der. of **karo'on**)  
**menkasala** v to do wrong [tag]  
(der. of **sala**)  
**menkasanga** v to get married  
(der. of **sangá**)  
**menkita** v to make money  
(der. of **kita**)  
**menlá'ad** v to walk  
(der. of **lá'ad**)  
**menla'áy** v to marry a man  
(der. of **la'áy**)  
**menlaba** v to wash clothes [sp]



(der. of **labá**)  
**menladdé** v to weave cloth  
 (der. of **laddé**)  
**menlatag** v to lay down  
 (der. of **latag**)  
**menlatíh** v to search for and cut rattan  
 (der. of **latíh**)  
**menlebé'** v to pound rice  
 (der. of **lebé'**)  
**menlédep** v to fish with goggles and spear  
 (der. of **ledep**)  
**menlínis** v to clean  
 (der. of **linis**)  
**menlóko** v to fool  
 (der. of **loko**)  
**menlólo** v to twist  
**menluto** v to cook [tag]  
 (der. of **luto**)  
**menmumuda** v to scold  
 (der. of **mumuda**)  
**menna'ém** st old  
 •**me"ena'ém** u elder  
**menngadden** v to name  
 (der. of **ngaddén**)  
**menngó** v to call  
 (der. of **ngo'**)  
**mennólan** v to be able to know something  
 (der. of **nnol**)  
**mèn'óluh** v to snoar  
**menpa-** pfx ?  
**menpa"an** v to feed  
 (der. of **an**)  
**menpagamot** v to cure  
 (der. of **gamót**)  
**menpahínga** v to rest  
**menpangap** v to pretend, to disguise as  
**menpánti** v to wear panties or string  
**menpapiya** v to heal  
 (der. of **piya**)  
**menpasalámat** v to express gratitude  
 (der. of **salámat**)  
**menpeltág** v to spear fish  
 (der. of **peltág**)  
**menpólung** v to speak  
 (der. of **pólung**)  
**mensabay** v to do simultaneously  
 (der. of **sábay**)

**messagep** v to fetch water  
 (der. of **sagep**)  
**mensambá** v to pray  
**mensangá** v to branch out  
 (der. of **sangá**)  
**mensangasangá** v to ramify, to spread  
 out  
 (der. of **sangá**)  
**mensapul** v to start  
 (der. of **sapúl**)  
**mensayaw** v to dance  
 (der. of **sayaw**)  
**mensená** v to cook  
 (der. of **sená**)  
**mensiba** v to split  
 [lar]  
**mensigarílio** v to smoke  
 (der. of **sigarílio**)  
**mensíkap** v to persevere, to try  
 (der. of **sikap**)  
**mensílo** v to catch with a trap  
 (der. of **sílo**)  
**mensimbá** v to go to church  
 (der. of **simba**)  
**mensiyá** v to cry  
 (der. of **siya1**)  
**mensóli** v to come back  
 (der. of **solí**)  
**mensóme'** v to hide  
 (der. of **some'**)  
**mensuklay** v to comb  
**mensúsu** v to be breast-feed  
 •**susu** u breast  
**mentabás** v to cut  
 (der. of **tábas**)  
**mèntagi'lid** v to spill  
 [lar]  
**mentagpó** v to meet  
**mentaném** v to plant  
 (der. of **taném**)  
**mentangál** v to look  
 (der. of **tangal**)  
**mentanod** v to wait  
 (der. of **tanód**)  
**mentanóng** v to ask  
 (der. of **tanóng**)  
**mentap** v to clean rice

**mèntáp** v to winnow  
 [lar]  
**mentarábaho** v to work  
 (der. of **tarabáho**)  
**menta'yuh** v to fetch water  
**menteged** v to pass time  
 (der. of **tegéd**)  
**mentegtég** v to crush with a stick  
 (der. of **tegteg**)  
**mentindá** v to sell  
 (der. of **tínda**)  
**mentípid** v to save up, to economise  
**mentitistis** logger  
**mentiyága** v to persevere  
**mentódu** v to teach  
 (der. of **tódu**)  
**mentúlag** v to push  
 (der. of **túlag**)  
**mentulús** v to continue  
 (der. of **tulús**)  
**men'udíng** v to make coal  
 (der. of **úding**)  
**men'úg** v to inaugurate, to build  
**men'úma** v to cultivate land  
 (der. of **óma**)  
**menwalís** v to sweep, broom  
 (der. of **walís**)  
**menwata'watá'** v to spread out  
 (der. of **wata'wata'**)  
**me'odut** st makulit  
**mepágálgal** st tired  
**mèpáháng** st pungent, spicy  
 [lar]  
**mepangánib** st dangerous  
**mepatód** st good, nice  
 (der. of **patód**)  
**mepenáng** st feverish  
 (der. of **penáng**)  
**mepét** st stuck, glued  
 (der. of **apet**)  
**mepilay** st lame  
**mepít** st bitter  
**mepíya** st good  
 (der. of **piya**)  
**mepóti** st white  
 (der. of **poti**)  
**mesa'ít** st sick, painful  
 (der. of **sa'it**)  
**mesalamuha** v to mingle with others  
**mesárap** st 1. pleasant [tag] 2. tasty  
**mesayá** st happy  
**mesdém** st dark  
 (der. of **sdem**)  
**mesiglát** st bright  
**mesílaw** st dazzled  
**mesípálg** st hard working, diligent [tag]  
 (der. of **sipálg**)  
**mesípélg** st happy  
**mesiyán** st dry  
 (der. of **siyan2**)  
**meslét** st red  
**meslób** st flagrant  
**mesyádo** adv excessive, much [sp]  
**mètab'áng** st lacking salt  
 [lar]  
**metabdé** st 1. fat 2. fertile  
 (der. of **tabdé**)  
**metádem** st sharp  
 (der. of **tadem**)  
**metágal** st long lasting [tag]  
**metalengowan** v to be wounded  
 (der. of **taléngog**)  
**metan'al** st high, tall  
 [v]  
**metanda'án** v to be able to remember  
 something  
 (der. of **tandá**)  
**metang'ál** st high, tall  
 (der. of **tang'al**)  
**metápang** st brave  
 (der. of **tápang**)  
**meta'pó** st high, tall  
 (der. of **ta'pó**)  
**metebdé** st short  
**metepdé** st 1. low 2. cheap  
**metgéd** st lasting  
 (der. of **tegéd**)  
**metíh** st dead  
 (der. of **ati**)  
**me'tóg** st hard  
**metóyud** st pregnant  
**metuldóg** st straight  
 [v]  
**metúpok** st burned [tag]

**metútu** st able to learn  
(der. of **tutu**)  
**metúyu** st dry  
(der. of **túyu**)  
**me'úhaw** st thirsty  
(der. of **uháw**) [*lar*]  
**me'úlap** u cloud  
[*lar*]  
**me'una** {fr. var. of **ma'uná'**}  
**mewasá** st burned to ashes  
**=mi** pron 1pe.GEN  
**minabsag** st broken in pieces  
[*lar*]  
**minabta'** v to crack  
[*lar*]  
**minágóng** st skinny  
[*lar*]  
**minagpung** v to fracture  
[*lar*]  
**minále'ned** st surprised  
**minálimês** st drown  
[*lar*]  
**mináлом** st ripe  
**minálúgih** v to have lost  
**minámin** v to have run out  
(der. of **amin**)  
**mináminèn** st consumed  
(der. of **amin**) [*lar*]  
**minapsul** v to get satiated  
(der. of **psúl**)  
**minásidah** st out of order  
[*lar*]  
**minátáluh** v to lose, to be surpassed  
[*lar*]  
**minébut** st lost  
(der. of **but**)  
**minébwèl** v to have collapsed  
[*lar*]  
**minennolan** v to have learned something  
(der. of **nnol**)  
**Minero** u Alta place name [sp]  
**miní'anúd** st carried by current  
(der. of **anod**) [*lar*]  
**minsán** u occasion [tag]  
**mísmo** u actual, self [sp]  
**mitjat** u kind of fish  
**=miyú** pron 2p.GEN

fr. var. **miyu**  
**=mo** pron 2s.GEN  
fr. var. **m**  
**mon** u act of becoming found of someone  
**monmon** u complete  
**modu-** pfx CVCV reduplication mudung  
**mudúng** u mountain  
**•kamudúngan** u mountainous area  
**mukhá** u face [tag]  
**mumuda** u act of scolding  
**•menmumuda** v to scold  
**•penmumúda** acw scolding  
**mumulat** v to open eyes  
[*lar*]  
**Muntingsili** u name of Alta elder  
**múra** u 1. cheap 2. unripe (coconut) [tag]  
**mutá** u eyedirt [tag]  

**N n**

**=na1** pron 3s.GEN  
**=na2** adv already  
**nabtá** st broken (jars)  
**nalpét** st wet  
(der. of **lepét**) [*v*]  
**namaddé** st dry  
[*v*]  
**namí** u species of plant with edible root  
[*jen*]  
**namú'** u mosquito  
**=námud** adv just, only  
**nanay** u mother [tag]  
**nangá** u roof  
[*v*]  
**nangká** u jackfruit  
fr. var. **langka**  
**nánih** adv later  
**•menánanih** adv very soon  
**napegsát** st broken (ropes)  
[*v*]  
**napês** u bran, rice  
[*lar*]  
**nára** u rosewood [*Pterocarpus Indicus,*]  
"This plant grows in the area and spreads its seeds around in order to reproduce. It grows pretty much anywhere around here. We call this plant Narra. If you wait thirty years, you can chop the tree down and use the

wood to make tables, chairs or beams for the walls of a house."  
**nayunan** v to increase  
 [lar]  
**Nedi'di'an** u Alta place name  
**negosiante** u businessman  
**nen** art GEN  
**=nen** adv already  
**nena** u mother (GEN)  
**new word** u new meaning  
**ngaddén** 1. u name 2. u hundred 3. *pro-* form thing  
 •**menngadden** v to name  
 •**ngadnan** u to name, to say something  
**ngadnan** u to name, to say something (der. of **ngaddén**)  
**ngalangalah** u gums, palate (der. of **ngalangal**) [lar]  
**ngalangal** u act of masticating  
 •**ngalangalah** u gums, palate  
**ngangaw** u noise  
**=ngaród** adv indeed  
**=ngay** adv interjection  
**ngayan** v to feast  
**ngenge** u laughter  
**=ngi** adv pragmatic particle  
**ngingin** u trembling  
 •**mengingíng** v to tremble  
**ngipén** u tooth  
**ngo'** u act of calling  
 •**menngó** v to call  
 •**ngo'an** v to call someone, to name someone  
 •**pengo'** u summons  
**ngo'an** v to call someone, to name someone (der. of **ngo'**)  
**ngodus** u lips  
**ngúmo'** u act of shouting loudly  
**ni1** art GEN  
**ni2** art LOC  
**nid** art PL.GEN  
**nidden** dem PROX.GEN.DEM.PL  
**niddena** u mothers (GEN)  
**niddi'e** dem LPROX.GEN.DEM.PL  
**niddiná** dem MED.DEM.GEN.PL  
**niden** art PL.GEN

**nidén** art PL.LOC  
**nidyapo** u grandparents (GEN.pl) (der. of **apó**)  
**nidyay** dem MED.DEM.GEN.PL  
**ni'na'í** dem FDIST.DEM.GEN  
**ni'náy** dem DIST.DEM.GEN  
**ni'nén** dem PROX.DEM.GEN  
**ni'ni'é** dem MED.DEM.GEN  
**ni'niná** dem LPROX.DEM.GEN  
**ninúno** u ancestor [tag]  
**niyama** u father (GEN)  
**niyápo** u grandparent (GEN) (der. of **apó**)  
**niyúl** u coconut [*Cocos Nucifera*] "This is the Coconut tree. We usually plant it when the tree is small, and wait for five years, until it bears new fruits. When it does, it bears many of them. One of it's rounded fruits can be sold for 12 pesos. The unripe fruit (*búku*) which has not fallen yet from the tree can be sold for 10 pesos/piece."  
 •**aniyúlan** u coconut plantation  
**nnol** u act of knowing  
 •**annólen** v to know someone or something  
 •**mennólan** v to be able to know something  
 •**minennolan** v to have learned something  
**normal** u normal [sp]  
**nu'ánu** 1. *int* when 2. *conn* if [lar]

## O o

**o** coordconn or  
**=o** pron 1s.GEN  
**oblás** u naked  
**obligádo** u obliged, forced  
**obra** v can [sp]  
**olay** u act of leaving, abandoning  
 •**ulayen** v to let something  
**oli** u act of coming  
**óma** u swidden, field  
 •**men'úma** v to cultivate land  
**óna** u sugar cane plantation  
**órens** u orange  
**osèn** v to chew sugarcane

[lar]  
**ospitál** u hospital [sp]  
**P p**  
**-p-** ifx RDP  
**pa-** {fr. var. of **pe-**}  
**=pa** adv still [tag]  
**pa'aralan** u school  
**pa'as** morning  
 •**kanáni a papa'ás** adv this morning  
 •**pa'asan** u next day  
 •**papa'ás** 1. *u* morning 2. *adv* early  
**pa'asan** u next day  
 (der. of **pa'as**)  
**pa'atdan** u loan  
 (der. of **áted**)  
**paboríto** u favorite [sp]  
**pa'dáng** u Alta traditional medicine  
**padángas** u lobster  
**padíngil** u cheek  
**padlak** u padlock  
**pa'eg'áng** v to have (some definite thing)  
 removed (by somebody)  
 (der. of **eg'ang**)  
**pag** subordconn 1. if 2. when  
**pagê'** u hoarse  
 [lar]  
**paghárin-uri** u superiors  
**pagí** u rice  
**pagká** subordconn when, at any time that,  
 if  
**pagka'in** acw food [tag]  
**pagkakásundo** acw reconciliation [tag]  
**pagkatapos** acw afterwards [tag]  
**pagka'uldin** acw person  
**pagód** u wind  
**pagpág** u act of shaking  
**pagúh** u chest  
**pahídan** v to wipe  
 [lar]  
**páhidèn** v to rub  
 [lar]  
**pa'idemówan** acw first, primary  
 (der. of **demó**)  
**pa'inabang** acw profit [tag]  
 (der. of **me'inabang**)  
**pa'inabangan** acw source of income [tag]  
 (der. of **me'inabang**)

**pa'ínan** u bait  
 [lar]  
**pakáway** u outrigger  
 [lar]  
**pakikitungo** u behaviour [tag]  
**paklan** u stem  
**pakó** u edible wild fern [*Athyrium  
 esculentum*]  
**paksiw** u act of cooking with vinegar  
**pálad** u palm of the hand  
**palagi** adv often  
**palaman** u 1. stuffing 2. jam  
**palang** u kind of knife  
**palénke** u market [sp]  
**palikpík** u fin  
**palípat-lípat** u wandering around  
 (der. of **lípat**)  
**palit** u barter, exchange [tag]  
 •**ipalít** v to trade something  
 •**palitan** v to trade with someone  
**palitan** v to trade with someone  
 (der. of **palit**)  
**palli'ódan** u behind  
 (der. of **li'ód**) [lar]  
**pam-** { **pen-** } pfx ?  
**pamamagítan** u through the means of [tag]  
**pamílya** u family [sp]  
 •**kapamílya** u family  
**paná** u bow  
**panáhon** u time [tag]  
**panáy** u pure, uniform, all  
**panga-** pfx once finished  
**pangadaténg** u arrival  
 (der. of **daténg**)  
**pangánay** u eldest child  
**pangarap** u ambition [tag]  
**pángil** u canine tooth  
**pangimlás** u viand  
**pangino'on** u god  
**pangókad** u ladle of coconut shell  
 [lar]  
**pangonáhin** u leader [tag]  
**pangónakan** u nephew  
**pansin** u act of noticing, observing  
**pantalón** u trousers [sp]  
**pantiyon** u cementery [sp]  
**pantug** u bladder

[lar]  
**pan'ukbé'** u wedge  
 [lar]  
**papa'ás** 1. *u* morning 2. *adv* early  
 (der. of **pa'as**)  
**pápan** u kind of animal  
**papati** v to kill  
 (der. of **ati**) [lar]  
**papéno** int how  
 •**papeppapeno** *adv* anyhow, however  
**papeppapeno** *adv* anyhow, however  
 (der. of **papéno**)  
**papólden** v to get somebody to sleep  
 (der. of **póled**)  
**papuntá** u bound for [tag]  
**para** 1. *prep* for 2. *subordconn* in order to  
 [sp]  
**para'an** u method, manner  
**paréhas** u same, identical, equal [sp]  
**paréhos** u same, identical, equal [sp]  
**paroparó** u butterfly [tag]  
**parte** u side [sp]  
**parúsa** u punishment  
 •**kaparusáhan** u punishment  
**pasdepán** u entrance  
 (der. of **sdep**)  
**pasok** u enter [tag]  
**patabá** u fertilizer  
**pátag** u flatness  
 •**kapatágan** u plain  
**patakaran** u rule [tag]  
**patí** *prep* even  
 =**patí** *adv* including, also, likewise [tag]  
**patód** u order, quality  
 •**mepatód** st good, nice  
**patong** u layer  
**payá** u wing  
**payag** u agreement  
 •**payagan** v to accept  
**payagan** v to accept  
 (der. of **payag**)  
**payegpég** u small hut  
**páyong** u 1. umbrella [tag] 2. act of  
 standing up, act of establishing  
 •**ipáyong** v to raise something  
 •**payóngan** v to build for someone  
**payóngan** v to build for someone

( **páyong**)  
**pe-** 1. *px* causative prefix 2. *px*  
*fr.* var. **pa-**  
**pedpéd** u spurge [*Euphorbiaceae*] "This  
 plant was collected by our ancestors  
 back in the days, as was chewed by  
 them. They would process it and wait  
 until it got dry and then chop it as thin as  
 possible and mix it with tobacco. Then  
 they would roll a cigar with it, and would  
 not even need to buy a filter for it. It is  
 quite flagrant."  
**pedú'** u gun  
**pegessén** v to squeeze  
**peghihirap** *acw* suffering [tag]  
 (der. of **hirap**)  
**peho** u sure  
**pekas** u freckle  
**pellé** u meat of the pig [sp]  
**pelpél** u kind of edible river fish  
**peltág** u small spear used for fishing  
 •**menpeltág** v to spear fish  
 •**peltagen** v to spear something  
 •**penpeltág** *acw* process of spearfishing  
**peltagen** v to spear something  
 (der. of **peltág**)  
**pembabágo** u change  
 (der. of **bágo**)  
**pemet-** u *px* KIN.PL  
**pempapdo'** u detonation, explosion  
**pen-** *px* gerundive prefix  
**penágep** u rescue  
 (der. of **ágep**)  
**pen'agíh** *acw* threshing  
**penáng** u fever  
 •**mepenáng** st feverish  
**pen'aral** u study, studying  
 (der. of **áral**)  
**penárra** u door  
**penbiddán** *acw* advice, reprimand  
 (der. of **bid**)  
**penbilutan** *acw* thing used for rolling  
 cigarettes  
**penbudí** *acw* love  
 (der. of **budí**)  
**pendiligen** *acw* watering of the plants  
 (der. of **dilig**)

**pending** u act of entering  
**•pendingen** v to enter a place  
**pendingen** v to enter a place  
 (der. of **pending**)  
**pen'eman** acw betel chew practice  
 (der. of **emán**)  
**peng-** pfx instrumental prefix  
**pengadwá** adv secondly  
 (der. of **dúwa**)  
**pengágawi** acw task, making  
 (der. of **gágawi**)  
**pengálapan** acw source of income  
 (der. of **álap**)  
**pengáludu'** acw hunting material  
 (der. of **áludu'**)  
**pengalwá** u second  
**pengamás** acw tool for weeding  
 (der. of **gamas**)  
**pengasuhan** acw hunting ground  
 (der. of **asó**)  
**pengbákud** acw material used to build a fence  
 (der. of **bákud**)  
**pengbelón** acw food used as provision  
 (der. of **belón**)  
**pengbetuh** acw ornament, jewel  
**pengháwi** acw tool for parting underbrush  
 (der. of **háwi**)  
**penghúli** acw tool for hunting  
 (der. of **húli**)  
**pengi-** pfx content word prefix  
**pengisalangan** acw place for cooking with a pot  
 (der. of **salang**)  
**pengkusína** acw kitchen accessories  
 (der. of **kusína**)  
**penglúsaw** acw dissolvent  
 (der. of **lusaw**)  
**pengo'** u summons  
 (der. of **ngo'**)  
**peng'ut'út** acw tool for digging  
 (der. of **ut'ut**)  
**pengwasak** acw tool used for destruction, bomb  
**penhúli** acw hunting  
 (der. of **húli**)  
**pen'iyán** acw flowering  
 (der. of **iyán**)  
**penlaádam** acw way, path  
 (der. of **lá'ad**) [v]  
**penlabá** acw laundry  
 (der. of **labá**)  
**penlabáda** acw laundry  
 (der. of **labáda**)  
**penlatih** acw rattan production  
 (der. of **latih**)  
**penlebé'** acw crushing, pounding  
 (der. of **lebé'**)  
**penledep** acw diving  
 (der. of **ledep**)  
**penlúsaw** acw process of dissolving  
 (der. of **lusaw**)  
**penmangaliyo** acw making a living  
 (der. of **alíyo'**)  
**penmumúda** acw scolding  
 (der. of **mumuda**)  
**pénnet** u kind of fruit  
 [jen]  
**penpeltág** acw process of spearfishing  
 (der. of **peltág**)  
**pensagép** acw fetching water  
 (der. of **sagep**)  
**pensáwan** u loss of interest  
 (der. of **sawa**)  
**pensená** acw cooking  
 (der. of **sená**)  
**pensigarílyo** acw smoking  
 (der. of **sigarílio**)  
**pensikapan** acw attempt  
**pentabás** acw tool for cutting  
**pentaném** acw process of planting  
 (der. of **taném**)  
**penti'eddán** acw base, bottom  
 (der. of **ti'éd**)  
**pen'udíng** acw charcoal production  
**penúh** u full  
**pen'unan** u what is said by others  
**pepiyan** v to improve something  
 (der. of **piya**)  
**peppos** u kind of fruit  
 [jen]  
**péra** u money [tag]  
**péro** coordconn but [sp]  
 fr. var. **péros**

**péros** {fr. var. of **péro**}

**pèssal** u locust  
[lar]

**pet-** pfx reciprocal relationship prefix

**pet'adánayan** u relatives  
(der. of **adánayan**)

**pet'ákan** u siblings  
(der. of **aká'**)

**pet'áma** u father and children  
(der. of **amá**)

**pet'apésa** u cousins  
(der. of **apésa**)

**pet'apo** u grandparents and grandsons

**pet'élan** u couple of companions  
(der. of **élan**)

**pet'éna** u mother and son  
(der. of **iná**)

**pethípag** u siblings in law  
(der. of **hípag**)

**petsásawa** u couple  
(der. of **asáwa**)

**pe"uná** v to have someone say  
(der. of **uná**)

**pgés** u act of squeezing  
•**ipgés** v to drip something

**pi-** pfx RDP

**pidot** u act of collecting

**pie** u foot [sp]

**pilás** u flesh, meat

**pílat** u scar  
[lar]

**pilaway** u job's tears  
[lar]

**pilay** u lame, cripple  
[lar]

**pilén** v to choose  
[lar]

**pilikmatah** u eyelash [tag]  
[lar]

**pilíngan** u species of fresh water fish

**pilipit** u twist

**pinaka-** pfx superlative prefix [tag]

**pi'nat** u tear  
[lar]

**pine-** pfx causative perfective prefix

**pineg'aralan** u education, studies

**pinen-** pfx causative perfective prefix

**pinenti'dan** u bottom  
(der. of **ti'éd**)

**pingán** u dish

**pingey** u sheaf of rice

**pinúngus** v to tie

**pínya** u pineapple [sp]

**piráso** u piece [sp]

**piríto** u act of frying [sp]

**pirmi** u permanent [sp]

**piso** u peso (Philippine currency) [sp]

**pisopiso** adv peso by peso

**pít** u act of clipping [tag]

**pitú** u seven

**piya** u good  
•**menpapiya** v to heal  
•**mepíya** st good  
•**pepiyan** v to improve something

**pláno** u plan [sp]

**po'étpo'et** u curly

**pokpók** u act of hammering

**póled** u be sleepy  
•**mapóled** v to sleep  
•**mè'èppulèd** v to sleep  
•**papólden** v to get somebody to sleep

**polowan** u handle for knives or daggers

**pólung** u 1. language, word 2. act of speaking  
•**ipolung** v to speak a language  
•**menpólung** v to speak  
•**pólungen** v to tell someone

**pólungen** v to tell someone  
(der. of **pólung**)

**pon** u 1. tree 2. trunk 3. leader

**pósa** u cat

**poti** u white  
•**mepóti** st white  
•**pumóti** v to whiten

**presyo** u price [sp]

**prinsipyo** u principle [sp]

**probléma** u problem [sp]

**proteksyón** u protection [sp]

**proyékto** u project [sp]

**psúl** u act of getting full, satiated  
•**me'epsul** v to be full, satiated  
•**minapsul** v to get satiated

**pu'él** u thigh

**pugarán** u nest [tag]



**pugitáh** u octopus  
**pugúh** u island  
**puhunan** u capital, investment [tag]  
**puláb** u afternoon  
 •**pumólaban** u dinner  
 •**tempuláb** adv yesterday  
**pulak** u act of chopping  
 •**puláken** v to chop down  
**puláken** v to chop down  
 (der. of **pulak**)  
**pulís** u policeman [tag]  
 [lar]  
**pulúput** u act of entwining [tag]  
**pumólaban** u dinner  
 (der. of **puláb**)  
**pumóti** v to whiten  
 (der. of **poti**)  
**pumpatí** v to faint  
**pu'nah** v to hit, strike  
 [lar]  
**púngan** u pillow  
**puriket** u [*Bidens Pilosa*] "This plant can make stains on your clothes, and it also causes itch. If a leaf (or seeds) falls somewhere, the plant will grow and reproduce easily."  
**púro** adv whole [sp]  
**puséd** u navel  
**pusó** u heart  
**pussónan** u lower abdomen  
 [lar]  
**pusu-pusuwan** u kind of fruit (pelisyoken)  
 [jen]  
**pusútan** v to wrap  
 [lar]  
**puyat** u insomnia  
**púyeng** u kind of plant [*Rubus Benguetensis*] "The Púyeng plant is solid, and it can stand strong rains. This is medicine we use for high blood pressure. Its juice, can be extracted and fermented like coconut wine, and can be used to cure children or babies' cough."  
**puyoh** u hair whirl  
 [lar]  
**pwéde** u can, be possible [sp]  
**pwésto** u place [sp]

## R r

**rekádo** u ingredients for seasoning [sp]  
**relóh** u watch [sp]  
**rep** u fridge [eng]  
**repólyo** u cabbage [sp]  
**rímas** u breadfruit

## S s

-s- ifx RDP  
**sá'ano** 1. *int* how many 2. *u* few  
 •**sasa'ano** pro-form a few  
**sabáw** u soup [tag]  
**sábay** u simultaneity  
 •**kasábay** u colleague  
 •**mensabay** v to do simultaneously  
 •**sabáyan** v to accompany someone  
**sabáyan** v to accompany someone  
 (der. of **sábay**)  
**sabdulan** v to splash water on someone  
**sabít** u act of hanging  
 •**isabít** v to hang something  
 •**me'essabít** v to hang  
 •**sabítan** v to hang somewhere  
**sabítan** v to hang somewhere  
 (der. of **sabít**)  
**sablé** u act of missing someone  
**sabug** u act of scattering [tag]  
**sábung** u rooster  
**sabút** u pubic hair  
 [lar]  
**sad** {fr. var. of =say} *dem* there  
**sa'det** u act of fetching, carrying  
 •**sa'deten** v to collect something  
**sa'deten** v to collect something  
 (der. of **sa'det**)  
**sádu** u horn  
**sa'ep** u act of lying down  
**sagep** u act of fetching water  
 •**mensagep** v to fetch water  
 •**pensagép** acw fetching water  
 •**sagepen** v to fetch something  
 •**sumagep** v to fetch water  
**sagepen** v to fetch something  
 (der. of **sagep**)  
**ságing** u banana [tag]  
**saglít** u moment, second  
**sagoten** v to reply  
**sagrádo** u sacred [sp]

**sagwan** u paddle of canoe  
[lar]  
**sahóg** u mixture  
•**isahóg** v to mix something  
**=sa'í** dem FDIST.LOC  
**sa'it** u pain, disease  
•**mesa'ít** st sick, painful  
**saka** coordconn and, also  
**sakay** u load  
•**sumákay** v to ride a vehicle  
**sáko** u sack [sp]  
**sakóp** u included  
**sakripísyo** u sacrifice [sp]  
**sakúna** u accident  
**sala** u error, mistake, fault  
•**menkasala** v to do wrong  
**salágu** u kind of plant  
[jen]  
**salámat** u thanks  
•**menpasalámat** v to express gratitude  
**salámin** u glasses  
**salang** u act of cooking  
•**isalang** v to cook something by using a fire  
•**mengisalang** v to cook  
•**pengisalang** acw place for cooking with a pot  
**sa'lang** u act of facing  
•**isa'lang** v to face  
•**sa'langan** u front  
**sa'langan** u front  
(der. of **sa'lang**)  
**sálap** u arm  
**salapáng** u harpoon  
**sa'lat** u act of changing  
•**isá'lat** v to trade  
•**sá'latan** v to change something  
**sá'latan** v to change something  
(der. of **sa'lat**)  
**salémat** u mocus in one's eye  
[lar]  
**salétah** u word, language [tag]  
[lar]  
**salíbi** u carry a baby  
**salímat** u dirt in eye  
[lar]  
**salob-** pfx RDP

**salób** u (measure of volume)  
•**salobsalób** adv salob  
**salobsalób** adv salob  
(der. of **salób**)  
**salókut** u bulrush  
**sa'lóng** u small hut  
**salubong** u reception, meeting  
**sampú** u ten  
**Samson** u name of Alta elder  
**sanáy** u efficient, used to  
**sandú** u ladle  
**sangá** u 1. branch 2. spouse  
•**menkasanga** v to get married  
•**mensangá** v to branch out  
•**mensangasangá** v to ramify, to spread out  
**sangep** u act of grilling  
**sánget** u act of sneezing  
**sanggíl** u act of leaning  
**santól** u kind of tree [*Sandoricum koetjape*]  
**sapat** u sufficient, enough  
**sa'pat** u act of climbing  
**sapátos** u shoes [sp]  
**sapsap** {fr. var. of **sepsep**}  
**sapúl** u beginning, start  
•**mensapul** v to start  
**sápulo** u ten  
[v]  
**sari** u kind [tag]  
**saríli** u self, oneself [tag]  
**sarisari** u assorted [tag]  
**saríwa** u fresh  
**sasa'ano** pro-form a few  
(der. of **sá'ano**)  
**sasáh** u nipa  
[lar]  
**sasálap** u arms  
**sa'út** adv first  
**sawa** u act of getting tired of  
•**pensáwan** u loss of interest  
**=say** dem 1. DIST.LOC.DEM  
fr. var. **sad**  
**sayaw** u act of dancing  
•**mensayaw** v to dance  
•**sayawan** v to dance for someone  
**sayawan** v to dance for someone  
(der. of **sayaw**)

**sdem** u darkness  
 •**mesdém** st dark  
 •**sumdem** v to get dark  
**sdep** u 1. act of entering 2. act of getting hired  
 •**isdép** 1. v to use 2. u start of school or work  
 •**kadasedep** u entering  
 •**pasdepán** u entrance  
 •**sdepen** v to go in  
 •**sumdép** v to enter  
**sdepen** v to go in  
 (der. of **sdep**)  
**-se-** ifx RDP  
**sebcál** u bracelet  
**sèddit** u act of crushing lice  
 [lar]  
**sèdèm** u rain cloud  
 [lar]  
**sedúl** u bumblebee  
**=séla** adv also, too, as well  
 fr. var. **hela**  
**sèlang** u jaw  
 [lar]  
**seleslúng** u streams  
 (der. of **selúng**)  
**sélpon** u cell phone [eng]  
**selúng** u stream  
 •**seleslúng** u streams  
**sélupin** u cellophane  
**=sen** dem PROX.LOC.DEM  
 fr. var. **hen**  
**sená** u act of cooking  
 •**mensená** v to cook  
 •**pensená** acw cooking  
**senias** u signal  
**séntro** u center [sp]  
**=sep** adv still  
 fr. var. **hep**  
**sèpang** u waist  
 [lar]  
**=sepla** adv still  
**sepsep** u act of sucking  
 fr. var. **sapsap**  
**se'se'an** v to put a stopper into a hole  
**set** u thorn  
 [lar]

**si'a-** pron pfx 1pe  
**si'ág** u kind of plant  
**si'ám** pron 2p  
**si'ámi** pron 1pe  
**si'áw** pron 2s  
**sibúh** u act of blowing  
**sibúyas** u onion [sp]  
**=sid1** pron 3p.ABS  
**=sid2** pl.m plural marker  
**siddé** pron 3p  
**sidden** dem PROX.DEM.PL  
**siddi'é** dem LPROX.DEM.PL  
**siddína** dem MED.DEM.PL  
**sidén** art PL.ABS  
**sídong** u space under the house  
 [v]  
**sidyay** dem DIST.DEM.PL  
**=si'e** dem LPROX.LOC.DEM  
**si'én** pron 1s  
**si'étam** pron 1pi  
**sigarílio** u cigarette [tag]  
 •**mensigarílio** v to smoke  
 •**pensigarílyo** acw smoking  
**sigém** u kind of salt  
**sigúdo** adv maybe  
**sigurádo** u sure, certain [sp]  
**sikap** u zeal, dilligence [tag]  
 •**mensikap** v to persevere, to try  
**sikwat** u act of raising with a lever  
**sikwatsikwaten** v to repeatedly raise something with a lever  
**silángan** u east  
 [lar]  
**silaw** u dazzle  
**sílo** u trap, snare  
 •**mensílo** v to catch with a trap  
**si'lu** u act of ?  
**simba** u act of going to church  
 •**mensimbá** v to go to church  
 •**simbáhan** u church  
**simbáhan** u church [tag]  
 (der. of **simba**)  
**siménto** u cement [sp]  
**simula** u act of starting [tag]  
 •**simúlan** v to start something  
**simúlan** v to start something [tag]  
 (der. of **simula**)

**=siná** dem MED.LOC.DEM  
 fr. var. **hina**  
**sínag** u sun  
 [v]  
**sinág** u 1. sun 2. day  
 •**isénag** v to dry on the sun  
 •**sinagsinág** adv everyday  
 •**tagesénag** u day  
**sinagsinág** adv everyday  
 ( **sinág**)  
**sinélas** u flipflops [sp]  
**síngko** u five [sp]  
**Singnan** u 1. place in Diteki  
**singsing** u ring  
**sipag** u industriousness  
 •**kasipágan** u industriousness  
 •**mesípag** st hard working, diligent  
**sipél** u gratitude  
**sípit** u crab pincers  
**sipón** u headcold [tag]  
 [lar]  
**sipún** u mocus from one's nose  
 [lar]  
**sísín** u act of regretting  
 [lar]  
**sistéma** u system, policy  
**sítaw** u string bean [tag]  
**situasyon** u situation  
**si'uh** u elbow  
**siya1** u act of crying  
 •**mensiyá** v to cry  
**siya2** pron 3s  
**=siyá** pron 3s.ABS  
**siyám** u nine  
**siyan1** u drought  
**siyan2** u siyán  
 •**mesiyán** st dry  
**si'yán** u act of separating  
 •**isi'yan** v to to abandon someone  
**so'ep** {fr. var. of **su'ep**}  
**soli** u act of returning  
 •**isoli** v to recover something  
 •**men'isoli** v to recover  
 •**mensóli** v to come back  
 •**sóliyan** v to return somewhere  
**sóliyan** v to return somewhere  
 (der. of **soli**)

**solo** u alone [sp]  
**some'** u act of hiding  
 •**mensóme'** v to hide  
**Sómil** u Alta place name  
**subisubi** u epilepsia  
**subuk** u act of trying  
**su'ep** u 1. barter, exchange 2. dress  
 fr. var. **so'ep**  
**sugsug** u act of examining closely  
**suksúk** u kind of sweet potato  
**súlat** u act of writing [tag]  
**sulpút** u infection  
**sulu** u torch  
 [lar]  
**súluk** u corner  
**sumagep** v to fetch water  
 (der. of **sagep**)  
**sumákay** v to ride a vehicle  
 (der. of **sakay**)  
**sumdem** v to get dark  
 (der. of **sdem**)  
**sumdép** v to enter  
 (der. of **sdep**)  
**sumíbul i pagúd-i** v to blow (the wind)  
 [lar]  
**sumpung** u whim, caprice [tag]  
**sundálo** u soldier [sp]  
**sundan** v to follow someone [tag]  
 (der. of **sunód**)  
**sundáng** u machete  
**sundo** u act of fetching [tag]  
**sunód** u act of following [tag]  
 •**sundan** v to follow someone  
**suntók** u fight  
 •**me'isuntu'** v to hit, strike  
**surrender** v to surrender, to hand over  
 [eng]  
**súrut** u bedbug  
**susu** u breast [tag]  
 (der. of **mensúsu**)  
**swéldo** u salary, wage [sp]  
**syel** u shell  
**syoktóng** u rice wine  
**T t**  
**-t-** ifx RDP  
**ta** art LOC  
**ta'á** pron 1pi+2s

**ta'am** pron 1pi+2p  
**ta'áw** u steal  
 [lar]  
**tábas** u act of cutting down [tag]  
 •**mentabás** v to cut  
**tabdé** u fatness, fertility  
 •**me'etabdé** st very fat  
 •**metabdé** st 1. fat 2. fertile  
**ta'bén** u act of going away  
**tablá** u board, plank [sp]  
**ta'bón** u act of covering  
 •**ita'bon** v to cover something  
 •**ta'bonan** v to cover something  
**ta'bonan** v to cover something  
 (der. of **ta'bón**)  
**ta'buwan** v to pour water on something  
**tadem** u blade  
 •**metádem** st sharp  
 •**tadem ni paná-i** u arrow  
**tadem ni paná-i** u arrow  
 (der. of **tadem**)  
**tadén** dem PROX.DEM  
**tadi'é** dem LPROX.DEM  
**tadína** dem MED.DEM  
**tadya'í** dem FDIST.DEM  
**tadyáy** dem DIST.DEM  
**taga-** u pfx from [tag]  
**tagal** u time (reference to length or duration) [tag]  
**tagalog** u tagalog people  
**tagèsa'** outside  
 [lar]  
**tagesénag** u day  
 (der. of **sinág**) [lar]  
**taglang** u rib  
 [lar]  
**tagpó** u waterfall  
**takípan** u act of covering up another one's fault [tag]  
 [lar]  
**takták** u (house)  
**talága** 1. *adv* of course, naturally 2. *u* sure  
**talampákan** u sole of foot  
**talangká** u crayfish  
**talbak** u kind of fruit (tagbak)  
 [jen]  
**talbós** u edible leaf [tag]

**talegagot** u stomach  
 [lar]  
**talénèp** u dream  
 [lar]  
**talénga** u ear  
**talengangág** u earwax  
 [lar]  
**taléngo** u wound  
 •**metalengowan** v to be wounded  
**taling** u wart, mole  
 [lar]  
**talód** u truth  
**talóman** u scream  
**talón** u forest  
**talóng** u eggplant  
**=tam** pron 1p.GEN  
**táma1** u correct  
**táma2** u wound [tag]  
**tambaba'ik** u little finger  
 [lar]  
**tambong-tambóng** u kind of plant  
**tambótso** u exhaust pipe [sp]  
**tandá** u act of remembering  
 •**metanda'án** v to be able to remember something  
 •**tanda'an** v to remember something  
**tanda'an** v to remember something [tag]  
 (der. of **tandá**)  
**tanem-** pfx RDP  
**taném** u plant  
 •**itanem** v to plant something  
 •**mentaném** v to plant  
 •**pentaném** acw process of planting  
**tangal** u act of looking  
 •**mentangál** v to look  
 •**tangálen** v to look at something  
**tang'al** u height, altitude  
 •**itang'ál** v to raise something  
 •**metang'ál** st high, tall  
 •**tum'angal** v to grow up  
**tangálen** v to look at something  
 (der. of **tangal**)  
**tanggap** u act of accepting  
 •**tangápan** u agreement, acceptance  
 •**tanggapen** v to to accept or welcome someone  
**tangápan** u agreement, acceptance

(der. of **tanggap**)  
**tanggapen** v to to accept or welcome someone  
 (der. of **tanggap**)  
**tangháli** u noon [tag]  
**tangkáy** u stem  
**tánod** u guard, warder  
**tanód** u act of waiting  
 •**mentanod** v to wait  
 •**tanódan** v to wait for something  
**tanódan** v to wait for something  
 (der. of **tanód**)  
**tanóng** u question  
 •**mentanóng** v to ask  
**tantyádo** v to estimate [sp]  
**tanúduh** u finger  
 [lar]  
**tá'o** u person [tag]  
**ta'ón** u year  
**ta'ós** u sincere  
**tapálang** u kind of seafood  
**tápang** u courage  
 •**metápang** st brave  
**tápat** u direct, in front of  
**tapde** u act of using  
 [lar]  
**tape'** u land, soil  
 •**tappé** u earth, ground, land, soil  
**tapé** u dirt  
**ta'pég** u act of covering  
 •**ita'pèg** v to close  
 •**tá'pegan** v to cover something  
**tá'pegan** v to cover something  
 (der. of **ta'pég**)  
**tápis** u traditional Alta corset for girls  
**ta'pó** u summit  
 •**ita'puh** above  
 •**meta'pó** st high, tall  
**tápos** 1. u act of finishing 2. *disconn* then  
**tappé** u earth, ground, land, soil  
 (der. of **tape'**) [v]  
**tarabáho** u work [sp]  
 •**mentarábaho** v to work  
**tása** u cup  
**ta'sa'í** dem there  
**tatló** u three  
**táwa** u act of laughing [tag]

**tayóg** u coconut wine  
**ta'yúng** u act of fetching water  
**te** art non-specific article  
**tebág** u answer  
 •**tebágen** v to reply to a question  
**tebágen** v to reply to a question  
 (der. of **tebág**)  
**tegdu** u act of dripping  
 •**tumtègdu** v to be dripping  
**teged** u time (reference to length or duration)  
 •**menteged** v to pass time  
 •**metged** st lasting  
**tegteg** u act of crushing with a stick  
 •**mentegtég** v to crush with a stick  
 •**tegtegén** v to crush something with a stick  
**tegtegén** v to crush something with a stick  
 (der. of **tegteg**)  
**teg'ud** u act of throwing  
 •**tèg'udèn** v to throw something  
**tèg'udèn** v to throw something  
 (der. of **teg'ud**)  
**teiwadde** exist there is  
 (der. of **tey**)  
**telde** u ascension  
 •**tumelde** v to lift  
**temó** u act of burning  
 •**matmó** v to burn, to be on fire  
 •**temó'en** v to burn something  
**temó'en** v to burn something  
 (der. of **temó**)  
**templa** u act of blending  
**tempuláb** adv yesterday  
 (der. of **puláb**)  
**ten** 1. *art* OBL 2. *adv* when 3. *art* OBL  
**ten demó** adv at first  
**ten eddamo a panáhon** adv a long time ago  
**ten makálawa** adv day before yesterday  
**ten nánih** adv earlier  
 [v]  
**ten sinag** adv in the past, back in the days  
**téna** u mother (reference)  
 (der. of **iná**)  
**te'nag** u fall  
 •**ite'nag** v to throw something

**•mate'nag** v to fall  
**tepde** u bottom  
**•tumepde** v to go down, to move down  
**tetteng** adv almost, nearly  
 fr. var. **etteng**  
**tey** exist there is  
**•teiwadde** exist there is  
**ti1** art OBL  
**ti2** art ABS  
**ti ahéno** int who  
**tián** u belly  
 [lar]  
**tibag** slope  
**tibeng** u act of hearing  
**tibi** u tuberculosis  
**tibi** u television  
**tid** art PL.ABS  
**tidde'** with  
**tiddena** u mothers  
 (der. of **iná**)  
**tidyama** u fathers  
**tidyápo** u grandparents (ABS.pl)  
 (der. of **apó**)  
**ti'éd** u (leg and foot, LAR)  
**•gurámut ni ti'éd-i** u toe  
**•penti'eddán** acw base, bottom  
**•pinenti'dan** u bottom  
**•ti'édti'éd** u feet  
**ti'édti'éd** u feet  
 (der. of **ti'éd**)  
**ti'él** u wild sugarcane [*Saccharum spontaneum*]  
**tiga** prep from tiga Dite'i from Diteki  
**tik** u sticker (showing price)  
**tíkin** u boat pole  
 [lar]  
**timid** u chin  
 [lar]  
**tinápay** u bread [tag]  
**tínda** u act of selling [sp]  
**•itinda** v to sell something  
**•mentindá** v to sell  
**•tindáhan** u shop  
**tindáhan** u shop [sp]  
 (der. of **tínda**)  
**tingting** u midrib of palm leaves, broom  
 made of midribs [tag]

**tinidór** u fork [sp]  
**tinúbus** v to redeem  
 [lar]  
**tipák** u act of chopping rattan  
**tira** u act of residing  
**•me'ettirá** v to live  
**•tirán** v to live somewhere  
**•tumira** v to live  
**tirán** v to live somewhere  
 (der. of **tira**)  
**tisa'bab** u act of scumbling  
 [lar]  
**ti'sa'í** dem DIST.LOC.DEM  
**ti'say** dem DIST.LOC.DEM  
**ti'sén** dem PROX.LOC.DEM  
**ti'si'e** dem LPROX.LOC.DEM  
**ti'sina** dem MED.LOC.DEM  
**tistis** u act of logging  
**•tístisen** v to log something  
**tístisen** v to log something  
 (der. of **tistis**)  
**títi** u penis 14.10 [tag]  
**tiyáma** u father  
**tiyápo** u grandfather (ABS)  
 (der. of **apó**)  
**tobígan** u rice paddy [tag]  
**tóbil** u mouth  
**tódu** u act of teaching  
**•itódu** v 1. to teach something  
**•mentódu** v to teach  
**•todúwan** v to teach someone  
**todúwan** v to teach someone  
 (der. of **tódu**)  
**toka** u turn [sp]  
**tokóy** u know  
**tólang** u bone  
 [lar]  
**tons** u ton  
**tópik** u topic [eng]  
**tráysikel** u rickshaw [eng]  
**trenta** u thirty [sp]  
**trey** u plate [eng]  
**tribu** u tribe [sp]  
**tubblí** u poison wine [*Derris Eliptica Benth*]  
 "This plant can be used as a piscicide.  
 You can crush the plant, with a stone

then u place it into the water, and it kills the baye fishes."

**tu'be** u act of poking

**tubo** u act of planting

**tubung** u water container  
[lar]

**tudtud** u heel

**tudú** u skewer

**tugen** u act of escorting

•**ittugen** v to bring

•**mengétugen** v to escort

**tugí** u kind of yam

**tul** u act of cutting

•**tulen** v to cut something

**túlag** u act of pushing

•**itúlag** v to push something

•**mentúlag** v to push

**tulág** u spear [tag]

**túlay** u bridge

**tulen** v to cut something  
(der. of **tul**)

**tulèng** u deaf

**túlong** u help

•**katúlong** u helper

**tulús** u continuance

•**itulús** v to continue something

•**mentulús** v to continue

**tulúy** u continuation [tag]

•**tulúy-tulúy** adv progressively

**tulúy-tulúy** adv progressively [tag]  
(der. of **tulúy**)

**tum'angal** v to grow up  
(der. of **tang'al**)

**tumelde** v to lift  
(der. of **telde**)

**tumepde** v to go down, to move down  
(der. of **tepde**)

**tumira** v to live  
(der. of **tira**)

**tumtègdu** v to be dripping  
(der. of **tegdu**) [lar]

**tu'nang** u remember

**túnay** u pure

**tungkud** u walking stick, cane  
[lar]

**tungtung** u cover

**tungúwan** v to ignite something

**turuturumbúng** u kind of plant "The juice of this plant can be use for your eyes. If you have something on your eye, some dirt, you can put some drops of the juice directly on your eyes and it will remove the eyedirt. Even in some cases if you can't see anymore, you just need to proceed like we say and you will get better"

**tutu** u act of learning

•**metútu** st able to learn

**Tutuy** u name of Alta elder

**túyu** u drought

•**metúyu** st dry

**twálya** u towel [sp]

## U u

**uban** u hair gray  
[lar]

**ubêt** u vagina  
[lar]

**úbì** u kind of yam

**ubúd** u upper stalk

**ubul** u act of sharpening

•**iyubul** v to sharpen something

•**ubúlan** u grindstone

**ubúlan** u grindstone  
(der. of **ubul**)

**ubut** {fr. var. of **ebút**} u hole

**udáng** u shrimp

**uddén** u rain

•**um'uddén** v to rain

**úding** u 1. charcoal 2. shoot  
[lar]

•**men'udíng** v to make coal

**ududmá** adv tomorrow

**ugáli** u manners, tradition

•**ka'ugali'an** u custom

**ugdèng** u dandruff  
[lar]

**ugdét** u root, origin

**ugsad** u descent

**ug'úg** u cough

**uháw** u be thirsty

•**me'úhaw** st thirsty

**ulág** u snake  
[v]

**úlam** u viand [tag]



**•ulámen** v to lunch something  
**ulámen** v to lunch something  
 (der. of **úlam**)  
**ulas** u act of washing  
**•mengólas** v to wash  
**•ulásan** v to wash something  
**ulásan** v to wash something  
 (der. of **ulas**)  
**ulayen** v to let something  
 (der. of **olay**)  
**uldín** u non-Alta person  
**ulêd** u worm  
**ulés** u blanket  
**ulet** u peelings of cooked tubers  
 [lar]  
**ulétaw** u youn man  
 [v] fr. var. **ulitáw**  
**uli** u act of going back home  
**•umóli** v to come  
**ulila** u orphan  
**ulít** u bark, skin  
**•ulítan** v to peel something  
**ulítan** v to peel something  
 (der. of **ulít**)  
**ulitáw** {fr. var. of **ulétaw**} u bachelor,  
 unmarried boy  
**ulté'** u sprout  
**ulu ni lasat** u nipple  
 [lar]  
**ulúh** u head  
**-um-** ??? > v ifx AV  
**uma'ban** v to chop  
**uma'báng** v to climb  
 (der. of **a'báng**)  
**umábut** v to reach  
 (der. of **ábut**)  
**umagded** v to request  
 (der. of **gded**) [lar]  
**um'ahon** v to go up  
 (der. of **áhon**)  
**umálang** v to come from  
 (der. of **álang**)  
**umáli** v to come  
 (der. of **ali**)  
**umán** 1. *prep* like 2. *adv* seemingly  
**umanhay** {fr. var. of **umansáy**}  
**umanig** v to be like  
 (der. of **aníg**)  
**umansa'í** dem FDIST.SML.DEM  
**umansáy** dem DIST.SML.DEM  
 fr. var. **umanhay**  
**umansén** dem PROX.SML.DEM  
**umansi'é** dem LPROX.SML.DEM  
**umansiná** dem MED.SML.DEM  
**um'asu'** v to be smoking  
 (der. of **asó'**)  
**ume'áy** v to go  
 (der. of **ay3**)  
**umedsáng** v to lie down  
 (der. of **edsáng**)  
**umeg'áng** v to depart, to leave  
 (der. of **eg'ang**)  
**umelwás** v to cross  
 (der. of **elwás**)  
**umgèn** v bear down, exert oneself  
 [lar]  
**umi'at** v to stand up  
 (der. of **i'at**)  
**um'ikod** v to go around  
 (der. of **ikod**)  
**um'inés** v to move  
**umíng** u beard  
**Umíngan** u Alta place name  
**um'ingel** v to get angry  
 (der. of **ingél**)  
**umínom** v to drink  
 (der. of **inom**)  
**Umiray** u Umiray river  
**umisbú** v to urinate  
 (der. of **isbú**)  
**umkab** v to yawn  
 [lar]  
**umóli** v to come  
 (der. of **uli**)  
**umtá'ih** v to defecate  
 [lar]  
**um'uddén** v to rain  
 (der. of **uddén**)  
**umunod** v to follow  
 (der. of **unod**)  
**um'unód=i** u the following, the next  
 (der. of **unod**)  
**umútan** v to borrow money  
**uná** u act of saying

**•ma'uná'** v to say  
**•pe'uná'** v to have someone say  
**unás** u sugarcane  
 [lar]  
**unát** u straight (hair)  
**ungút** u coconut  
**unih** u sound  
**unod** u act of following  
**•umunod** v to follow  
**•um'unód=i** u the following, the next  
**•unoden** v to follow something  
**unoden** v to follow something  
 (der. of **unod**)  
**unómen** u word, speech  
 [v]  
**upa** u wage, rent [tag]  
**•upáhan** v to rent something  
**upáhan** v to rent something [tag]  
 (der. of **upa**)  
**upoh** u gourd  
 [lar]  
**upu'upúhan** u Its leaves are edible, you  
 can eat them raw in a salad, or boil  
 them and prepare them with bagoong,  
 onions and tomatoes. It is quite tasty  
 and it's good for high blood pressure  
**usáh** u deer  
**usol** u act of bringing down (to bring rattan  
 plants down)  
**usu** u vogue  
**utában** v to stab  
 [lar]  
**útah** u vomit  
**útan** u debt  
**•mengótan** v to borrow  
**utay'utay** adv gradually  
**uté'** u brain  
**útin** u penis  
 fr. var. **gèyèt**

**utúh** u lice, louse  
**•me'i'utuh** v to delouse  
**utúsan** v to send on an errand  
 [lar]  
**ut'ut** u act of digging a hole  
**•peng'ut'út** acw tool for digging  
**•ut'után** v to excavate  
**ut'után** v to excavate  
 (der. of **ut'ut**)  
**uwáh** u thing  
**uyéng** u rat, mountain rat  
**uyógen** u mock something  
**W w**  
**=wadá** adv perhaps  
**wádi'** u younger sibling **ewwádi** u siblings  
 [v]  
**wadí'** u younger sibling (vocative)  
**wagét** u 1. water 2. river  
**wakwák** u crow  
**walís** u sweep  
**•menwalís** v to sweep, broom  
**waló=** u eight  
**wasá'** u destruction, ruin  
**wasingmasín** u washing machine [eng]  
**wata'wata'** u act of scattering  
**•menwata'watá'** v to spread out  
**Y y**  
**-ya-** ifx RDP  
**=ya'í** dem FDIST.DEM.ABS  
**yapyáp** u kind of small fish  
**yari** u act of happening  
**•mengyári** v to happen  
**=yay** dem DIST.DEM.ABS  
**ya'yay** {fr. var. of **dya'yay**}  
**yègyèg** u earthquake  
 [lar]  
**yelgít** u eye  
**yún** u June [eng]

## 9.2.2 English – Northern Alta Reversal Index

## A a

abaca -- adútay u  
 abandon -- láwan v; men'awon v  
 abandon someone -- isi'yan v  
 able to learn -- metútu st  
 able to obtain -- ma'álap v  
 abnormal, uncertain -- álangan u  
 above -- ita'puh  
 acacia tree -- akásya u  
 accept -- tanggap u  
 accident -- sakúna u  
 accompany -- élan 1 u  
 accompany someone -- sabáyan v  
 actual -- mísimo u  
 actually -- kung baga disconn  
 add -- dagdag u  
 add to something -- dagdagán v  
 adversity, suffering -- kahirapan u  
 advice -- penbiddán acw  
 affraid -- me'anting st  
 afternoon -- puláb u  
 afterwards -- pagkatapos acw  
 age -- edád u  
 agree -- payagan v  
 agreement -- payag u  
 agreement, acceptance -- tangápan u  
 airplane -- eropláno u  
 alive -- mebilang st  
 all -- lahát u  
 all -- elán u  
 all day long -- meghápon u  
 all saint's day -- maháli a áraw  
 almost -- hálus adv  
 almost -- tetteng adv  
 alone -- solo u  
 alone -- i'issá u  
 already -- =Ce adv; =na2 adv; =nen adv  
 also -- =séla adv  
 Alta language -- alta 2 u  
 alta people -- ka'altahan u  
 ambition -- pangarap u  
 ancestor -- ninúno u  
 and -- saka coordconn  
 and -- atsaka coordconn  
 and -- at coordconn  
 anger -- ingél u  
 angry -- um'ingel v

animal -- háyup u  
 ankle -- bit'ing u; bukungbukung u  
 another -- ibá u  
 answer -- tebág u  
 ant -- egém u  
 anus -- bulí 2 u  
 anyhow -- papeppapeno adv  
 anywhere -- kung adidino adv  
 approach something -- bi'nán v  
 aproximately -- mangá  
 areca nut -- butág u  
 arm -- beráso u; sálap u  
 armpit -- kilekileh u  
 arms -- sasálap u  
 arrange -- ayúsen v  
 arrival -- pangadaténg u  
 arrove -- daténg u; dumaténg v  
 arrow -- tadem ni paná-i u  
 arrow (spearfishing) -- ginílat u  
 as, by way of -- bílang 2 u  
 ascension -- telde u  
 ashes -- abó 2 u  
 ask -- mentanóng v  
 aspect, presence -- hárap u  
 assistant -- gemgém 2 u  
 assorted -- sarisari u  
 at first -- ten demó adv  
 attempt -- pensikapan acw  
 attraction -- igop u  
 aunt -- bimbí' u  
 authority, right, claim --  
 awake -- melemyá v

## B b

baby -- aná' a ba'ík u  
 bachelor, unmarried boy -- ulitáw u  
 back -- li'ód u  
 back in the days -- ten sinaq adv  
 back of the knee -- alalakakán u  
 backside -- bobóng u  
 bad -- medú'es 1 st  
 bait -- pa'ínan u  
 Baler town -- Baléd u  
 Balete tree -- Balíti u  
 ball -- bóla u  
 ballpen -- bólpen u  
 balobo -- blóngay u

bamboo -- awáyan u  
 banana -- ságing u  
 Bangkok tree -- bangkók u  
 barangay -- barangáy u  
 bark -- atát u; ulít u  
 barking of a dog -- abágan u; batóg u  
 barter, exchange -- palit u; su'ep 1 u  
 base -- bátay u  
 base, bottom -- penti'eddán acw  
 basket -- kayabang u  
 bat -- alapnít u  
 bathe -- dilus u  
 bathe -- mendílus v  
 be able to entertain -- melíbang st  
 be able to quit -- ma'eg'ang v  
 be at -- isáy exist  
 be born -- men'aná v  
 be born -- iyaná' v  
 be found of someone -- mon u  
 be like -- umanig v  
 be quick -- me'ágap st  
 be rescued -- manágep v  
 be thirsty -- uháw u  
 bean -- sítaw u  
 bear (fruit) -- mengíyan v  
 bear (fruit) -- men'iyán v  
 bear a child -- meni'aná v  
 bear down -- umgèn v  
 beard -- umíng u  
 beautiful -- meganda st  
 beauty -- gandá u  
 because -- dáhil subordconn; dahilan  
 prep; kasé subordconn  
 because -- kasé subordconn  
 become -- maging- v  
 become orphaned -- ma'ulila v  
 bed -- káma u  
 bedbug -- súrut u  
 before -- bálo 2 subordconn  
 beginning -- sapúl u  
 behaviour -- pakikitungo u  
 behind -- palli'ódan u  
 believe -- menewala v  
 believe, think -- akála v  
 belly -- tián u  
 bench, chair -- bangkó u  
 berch -- dumu'el u

betel chew -- emán u  
 betel chew practice -- pen'eman acw  
 betel leaf, piper betel -- litlit u  
 big -- de'él u  
 bind -- gapùen u  
 bird -- manú' 1 u  
 bite something -- aláten v  
 bitter -- mepít st  
 black -- mengétid st  
 bladder -- pantug u  
 blade -- tadem u  
 blanket -- ulés u  
 blind -- bulát u  
 blink one's eyes -- ikésap v  
 block, as a hole -- lu'duyèn v  
 blood -- matlém u  
 blossom -- buddé' u; memuddé v;  
menbuddé' v  
 blow (wind) -- sumíbul i pagúd-i v  
 blue -- asúl u; blu u  
 board, plank -- tablá u  
 boat pole -- tíkin u  
 boat, canoe -- bangká u  
 body -- abdé' u  
 boil -- ilaga v; isángèp v; lumelbút v  
 boiling -- mellebút 1 st  
 bomb -- pengwasak acw  
 bone -- tólang u  
 book -- libro u  
 born -- lumeldép v  
 borrow -- dam2 u; mengótan v; umútan  
 v  
 boss -- ámo u  
 bottle -- bóte u  
 bottom -- pinenti'dan u; tepde u  
 bound for -- papuntá u  
 bow -- paná u  
 bowl -- mangko' u  
 boy -- lalla'í u  
 boyfriend, girlfriend -- a'ángas u  
 bracelet -- sebcál u  
 brain -- uté' u  
 bran -- napès u  
 branch -- sangá 1 u  
 branch out -- mensangá v  
 brave -- méngèl st; metápang st  
 bread -- tinápay u

breadfruit -- rímas u  
 breakfast -- mèn'armusal v  
 breast -- lasát 1 u; susu u  
 breast-fed -- mensúsu v  
 breathe -- anges u  
 breed -- men'aná' v  
 bridge -- túlay u  
 bright -- mesiglát st  
 bring -- ittugen v  
 bring someone/something -- i'ayep v  
 broken -- minabsag st; minásídah st  
 broken (jars) -- nabtá st  
 broken (ropes) -- napeqsát st  
 broom -- buybúy u  
 broom made of midribs -- tingting u  
 brother-in-law -- báyaw u  
 brothers or sisters in law -- pethípag u  
 brown -- brawn u  
 bubble -- bumbula u  
 bucket -- baldé u  
 build -- men'úg v  
 build a house -- menbeli v  
 build something -- payóngan v  
 bulrush -- salókut u  
 bumblebee -- sedúl u  
 bunch -- gepét 2 u  
 bunch of bananas -- bú'ig u  
 burn something -- temó'en v  
 burn, be on fire -- matmó v  
 burn, scorch -- imálan v  
 burned -- ma'imálan v; metúpok st  
 burned to ashes -- mewasá st  
 bury -- ibítu v; ilbéng v  
 businessman -- negosiante u  
 but -- péro coordconn  
 butterfly -- alébangbang u; paroparó u  
 buttocks -- bènèg u; bulí 1 u  
 button -- botones u  
 buy -- bíli u

### C c

Cabanatuan -- abanatú'an u  
 cabbage -- repólyo u  
 call -- menngó v  
 call someone -- ngo'an v  
 can, be possible -- obra v; pwéde u  
 candy -- kendi u  
 cane -- tungkud u

canine tooth -- pángil u  
 canine tooth, tusk --  
 capable -- káya u  
 capital, investment -- puhunan u  
 carabao -- depóg u  
 cardboard -- kartón u  
 carress or stroke something --  
háplusen v  
 carried by current -- miní'anúd st  
 carru -- betláy u; eddén u  
 carry a baby -- salíbi u  
 carry on shoulder -- betláyen v  
 carry something -- eddenán v  
 Casiguran -- Kasigúran u  
 cat -- pósa u  
 catch -- da'ep u; meda'ép v; menda'ép v  
 catch (hunting) -- malakáya 2 u  
 catch with a trap -- mensílo v  
 caused by -- gágawi 2  
 cell phone -- sélpon u  
 cellophane -- sélupin u  
 cement -- siménto u  
 cemetery -- pantiyon u  
 center -- séntro u  
 chair -- itnúdan u  
 change -- menbágo v; pembabágo u  
 change clothes -- menbíhis v  
 change something -- sá'latan v  
 charcoal -- úding 1 u  
 charcoal production -- pen'udíng acw  
 chase -- damólag u  
 chase something -- damólagen v  
 cheap -- melahdín st; metepdé 2 st;  
múra 1 u  
 cheat -- dáya' u  
 cheek -- padíngil u  
 chest -- pagúh u  
 chew areca nut -- menbutag v  
 chew sugarcane -- osèn v  
 chicken -- manó' u  
 chicken food -- matáng hípong u  
 child -- anna' u  
 child, offspring -- ána' u  
 children -- a'ána' u  
 children's inlaws -- mannolangan u  
 chin -- timid u  
 choose -- pilén v

chop -- gayáten u; manhákot v; uma'ban  
     v  
 chop down -- puláken v  
 chop something -- hakóten v  
 church -- simbáhan u  
 cigarette -- sigarílio u  
 circle -- bilóg u  
 clarity -- lináw u  
 clavicle -- gulugud ni pagu-i u  
 clean -- melínis st; menlínis v  
 clean rice -- mentap v  
 clean something -- linísan u  
 cleanliness -- linis u  
 clear -- bu'ás u  
 clear -- melínaw st  
 climb -- uma'báng v  
 climb something -- a'bangen v  
 close -- isáda v; ita'pèg v  
 close (eyes) -- men'isép v  
 close one's eyes -- iyésep v  
 cloud -- me'úlap u  
 cockroach -- ipès u  
 coconut -- niyúl u; ungút u  
 coconut milk -- gaté' u  
 coconut plantation -- aniyúlan u  
 coconut shell -- ba'úl u  
 coconut wine -- tayóg u  
 coffee -- kapé u  
 cogon grass -- kúgun u  
 cold -- medangín st  
 collapse -- minébwèl v  
 colleague -- kasábay u  
 collect firewood -- me'i'ayuh v  
 collect something -- sa'deten v  
 colour -- kúlay u  
 comb -- mensuklay v  
 come -- álang u; umálang v  
 come -- umáli v; umóli v  
 come back -- mensóli v  
 come out -- gsa' u  
 community -- komunidad u  
 compassionate -- me'albí st  
 complete -- kompleto u; monmon u  
 connection -- kabít 2 u  
 connection -- ka'ugnáy u  
 constitute -- bumbu'u v  
 consumed -- memin st

consumed -- mináminèn st  
 contest -- demét u  
 continuance -- tulús u  
 continuation -- tulúy u  
 continue -- mánaili v; mentulús v  
 continue something -- itulús v  
 converge -- me'itagbo v  
 cook -- mengisalang v; menluto v  
 cook rice -- mensená v  
 cook something -- igísa v; ilúto v  
 cook something by using a fire --  
     ísalang v  
 cook with coconut milk -- gate'an v  
 cooking place -- pengisalangan acw  
 cooking pot -- kawálih u  
 cool -- mehámog st  
 corner -- súluk u  
 correct -- táma1 u  
 corset -- tápis u  
 cot -- edsangán u  
 cotton -- búlak u  
 cough -- uq'úg u  
 count -- bílang 1 u  
 couple -- petsásawa u  
 couple of companions -- pet'élan u  
 courage -- tápang u  
 cousin -- apésa u  
 cousins -- pet'apésa u  
 cover -- takípan u; tungtung u  
 cover something -- ita'bon v; ta'bonan v;  
     tá'pegan v  
 covered with cysts -- butliqbutliq u  
 crab -- émanguh u  
 crack -- minabta' v  
 crawl -- gumápang v  
 crayfish -- talangká u  
 crazy -- mellebút 2 st  
 critical -- delikádo u  
 crocodile -- buwáyah u  
 crooked -- mebíkong st  
 cross -- umelwás v  
 crow -- wakwák u  
 cowl -- gapangan v  
 crown of thorns -- kurúnang tinik u  
 crush -- bayúh u  
 crush --  
 crush lice -- sèddit u

crush something with a stick --  
tegtegén v  
 crush with a stick -- mentegteg v  
 crush, pound -- menbayúh v  
 crushing -- penlebé' acw  
 cry -- mensiyá v  
 cultivate land -- men'úma v  
 culture -- kultúra u  
 cup -- tása u  
 cure -- menpagamot v  
 curly -- kúlut u; po'étpo'et u  
 current of water -- anod u  
 cursed -- inábat v  
 custom -- ka'ugali'an u  
 cut -- etúl u  
 cut -- mentabás v; tulen v  
 cut into many slices -- gayatgayaten v  
 cyst -- butlíq u

#### D d

dam -- dam1 u  
 dance -- mensayaw v  
 dance for someone -- sayawan v  
 dandruff -- ugdèng u  
 dangerous -- mepangánib st  
 dark -- mesdém st  
 darkness -- sdem u  
 day -- áraw u; sinág 2 u; tagesénag u  
 day after tomorrow -- idúwa adv  
 day before yesterday -- ten makálawa  
 adv  
 dazzle -- silaw u  
 dazzled -- mesílaw st  
 deaf -- tulèng u  
 dear -- u  
 debt -- útan u  
 deep -- medísalad st  
 deep sea -- benglé 2 u  
 deer -- usáh u  
 defecate -- umtá'ih v  
 denlouse -- me'i'utuh v  
 dependent -- ása u  
 descent -- bába u; ugsad u  
 destruction -- wasa' u  
 detonation -- pempapdo' u  
 device -- apárate u  
 dew -- hámug u  
 diaper -- dáyaper u

die -- metíh st  
 different -- iba'ibá u; ka'ibá u  
 difficult -- mehírap 2 st  
 dig -- menbítu v  
 dilligence -- sipag u  
 dilligent -- mesípag st  
 dinner -- pumólaban u  
 direct -- tápat u  
 dirt -- dengét u; diplét u; tapé u  
 dirt in eye -- salímat u  
 dirty -- mediplét st  
 disagreement -- hidwá'an u  
 disappear -- me'ébut v  
 disguise as -- menpangap v  
 dish -- pingán u  
 disrespectful -- lapastangan u  
 dissolvent -- penglúsaw acw  
 dissolving -- penlúsaw acw  
 dive -- lumedep v; menisid v  
 dive -- ati u  
 divide -- bla' u  
 divide something -- bla'én v  
 divider -- dibáyder u  
 diving -- penledep acw  
 do -- gágawin v  
 do at the same time -- mensabay v  
 do something -- megagawi v  
 do wrong -- menkasala v  
 dog -- asó u  
 door -- penárra u  
 down -- bakbak u  
 downstream -- dilód u  
 dream -- talénèp u  
 dress -- dastér u; su'ep 2 u  
 drink -- umínom v  
 drink soemthing -- inomen v  
 drip -- ipgés v; tegdu u; tumtègdu v  
 drive away -- bugáwen v  
 drivel, drool -- alibaba' u  
 drought -- siyan1 u; siyan2 u; túyu u  
 drown -- minálimês st  
 drunk -- linúg u  
 dry -- mesiyán st; metúyu st; namaddé  
 st  
 dry on the sun -- isénag v  
 dull -- mèngódèl st  
 Dupinga river -- Dupínga u

during --  
during -- lu'ub u  
dust -- alekabuk u  
dwell -- ayán v  
dynamite -- dilámita u  
E e  
each -- kada-  
ear -- talénqa u  
earlier -- ten nánih adv  
early -- papa'ás 2 adv  
early dawn -- madaling-araw adv  
earring -- híkaw u  
earth -- lubóng u; tappé u  
earthquake -- lindól u; yègyèg u  
earwax -- talengangág u  
east -- silangan u  
easy -- medáli st  
eat -- an u; mengán v  
education -- pineg'aralan u  
eel -- iqdét u  
effect -- gágawi 3 u  
efficient -- sanáy u  
egg -- bunáy u  
eggplant -- talóng u  
eight -- waló= u  
eighth -- inwaló u  
elbow -- si'uh u  
elder -- me"ena'ém u  
eldest child -- demó 2 u; pangánay u  
electricity -- koryénte u  
eleven -- labin issá u  
eleventh -- inlabinissá u  
ember -- bága' u  
embrace -- apos u  
enchanted -- inkantáda u  
engineer -- inginer u  
enlarge -- dedde'len v  
enter -- pasok u; sumdép v  
enter a place -- pendingen v  
entertain someone -- libángen v  
entertained -- melebang st  
enthusiastic -- interesádo u  
entrance -- isdép 2 u; kadasedep u;  
pasdepán u  
envious -- me'ingit st  
epilepsia -- subisubi u  
error -- sala u

escape -- me'elebsang v  
escort -- etugèn v; mengétugen v  
especially -- láló adv  
estimate -- tantyádo v  
even -- angán coordconn; hangán 1  
subordconn; patí prep  
evenin -- dalám u  
evening --  
every -- báwad u  
every night -- dalamdalam adv  
everyday -- sinagsinág adv  
exactly -- kaya gúl adv  
example -- halimbáwa u  
excavate -- ut'után v  
excessive -- lámpas u  
excessive -- mehégit st  
excessive -- mesyádo adv  
excrement -- etay u  
exhaust pipe -- tambótso u  
exist -- maiwaddé v  
expensive -- mehál st  
experience -- aranásan u; dat 2 u;  
maranasan v  
experience difficulty --  
express gratitude -- menpasalámat v  
extremity -- lawís u  
eye -- matáh u; yelqít u  
eyebrow -- kílay u  
eyedirt -- mutá u  
eyelash -- kurimá'mat u; pilikmatah u  
F f  
face -- isa'lang v; lúpa u; mukhá u  
faint -- pumpatí v  
fall -- falls u; mate'naq v; te'naq u  
fall down -- me'leb v  
family -- kapamílya u; pamílya u  
family name -- apelído u  
fan -- bentiladór u  
far -- addyó u  
farting plant -- attetút u  
fast -- apódan v; meba'siq st; mebílís st  
fasten --  
fat -- metabdé 1 st  
father -- amá u; tiyáma u  
father and child -- pet'áma u  
fathers -- tidyama u  
father's -- niyama u



fatness, fertility -- tabdé u  
 faucet -- grípo u  
 favorite -- paboríto u  
 fear -- antíng u  
 feast -- ngayan v  
 fetch water -- messagep v  
 feed -- menpa'an v  
 feed the fire -- du'útan v  
 feet -- ti'édti'éd u  
 fence -- bákud u  
 fertile -- metabdé 2 st  
 fertilizer -- patabá u  
 fetch -- sundo u  
 fetch something -- sagepen v  
 fetch water -- menta'yuh v; sumagep v  
 fetching water -- pensagép acw  
 fever -- penáng u  
 feverish -- mepenáng st  
 few -- sá'ano 2 u; sasa'ano pro-form  
 field -- kampo u  
 fifth -- inlimmá u  
 fight -- me'i'itaw v  
 fight -- laban u  
 fight -- ipaglaban v; men'itaw v; suntók  
 u  
 fill -- matnó v  
 fin -- palikpík u  
 find -- me'intá v  
 finger -- dalíri u; galámay u; tanúduh u  
 fingernail -- kukóh u  
 fire -- apóy 1 u  
 first -- demó 1 u; medemo st;  
pa'idemówan acw; sa'út adv  
 fish -- i'án u  
 fish with goggles and spear --  
menlédep v  
 fist -- ama'u u  
 five -- five u; limmá u; síngko u  
 flagrant -- meslób st  
 flat -- melapyát st  
 flatness -- pátag u  
 flesh -- pilás u  
 flipflops -- sinélas u  
 float -- ltaw u; lumèltaw v  
 flood -- duma'el v  
 flooded -- me'anód st  
 floor -- aságan u

flour -- arína u  
 flow -- bumbulús v; gumsá v  
 flow somewhere -- gsa'an v  
 flower -- bulaklák u  
 flowered -- bulaklakan u  
 flowering -- pen'iyán acw  
 fly -- inumbèl v  
 fly -- la'angaw u  
 follow -- sundan v; umunod v  
 follow something -- unoden v  
 following -- um'unód=i u  
 fontanelle -- bunbunan u  
 food -- e'anén u; pagka'in acw  
 food used as provision -- pengbelón  
 acw  
 fool -- loko u; menlóko v  
 foot -- pie u; ti'éd u  
 footprint -- abdét u  
 for -- para 1 prep  
 for example --  
 forehead -- idép u  
 foreigner --  
 forest -- a'áyuwan u  
 forest -- talón u  
 forget -- alí'sap u  
 fork -- tinidór u  
 four -- apát u; kwatro u  
 fourth -- in'apát u  
 forty -- kwarénta u  
 fracture -- minagpung v  
 freckle -- pekas u  
 free -- meláya v  
 fresh -- bágo u  
 fresh -- sariwa u  
 fridge -- rep u  
 friend -- akúyog u; ka'ibigan u  
 frog -- ba'ba' u  
 from -- taga- u; tiga prep  
 fry rice -- isalnag v  
 frying pan --  
 full -- penúh u

## G g

gall -- apduh u  
 game -- galaw u  
 garbage -- edét 1 u  
 garden --  
 gardening -- gárdén u

garlic -- báwang u  
 gas pain -- kábag u  
 get -- álap u  
 get -- mengálap v  
 get dark -- sumdem v  
 get drunk -- melinúg st  
 get married -- menkasanga v  
 get satiated -- minapsul v  
 get somebody to sleep -- papólden v  
 get something -- alápen v  
 ghost -- luwe' u  
 gills -- asáng u  
 gin -- ginébra u  
 ginger -- lúyah u  
 girl -- debdí u  
 give -- atdán v  
 give -- áted u; da'út u; mengáted v  
 give something -- awádan v  
 glass -- báso u  
 glasses -- salámin u  
 glued -- mepét st  
 gnat -- amúl u  
 go -- inay v; ume'áy v  
 go around -- um'ikod v  
 go down -- tumepde v  
 go home -- uli u  
 go in -- sdepen v  
 go somewhere -- ángin v; ináyan v  
 go to church -- mensimbá v; simba u  
 go up -- um'ahon v  
 goat -- kambíng u  
 god -- Apó u; dyós u; Makadipá u;  
pangino'on u  
 goggles -- antipára u  
 gold -- ginto u  
 gold seeker -- magiginto u  
 good -- mepatód st; mepíya st; piya u  
 gossip -- isitsit v  
 gourd -- upoh u  
 government -- gobyérno u  
 gradually -- utay'utay adv  
 grandfather -- alápowan 2 u; lolo u  
 grandmother -- lola u  
 grandparent -- niyápo u  
 grandparent -- apó 2 u  
 grandparent -- tiyápo u  
 grandparents -- tidyápo u

grandparents -- nidyapo u  
 grandparents and grandsons -- pet'apo  
 u  
 grandson -- alápowan 1 u; apó 1 u  
 grass -- damó u; lamón u  
 grate -- kayudèn v  
 gratitude -- sipél u  
 greedy -- demót u  
 green -- bérde u; grin u  
 greeting -- bati u  
 grill -- sangep u  
 grind -- giling u  
 grindstone -- ubúlan u  
 grit the teeth -- mengiqí v  
 group -- e'élan u  
 group of houses -- binalebbelí u  
 grow -- de'len v  
 grow up -- tum'angal v  
 g-string -- bal u  
 guard -- tánod u  
 guard something -- abantáyan v  
 guava tree -- bayábas u  
 guide -- dat 3 u  
 gun -- badíl u; pedú' u  
 gun something down -- badílen v  
 guuard -- bantáy u; menbantáy v

#### H h

hair -- bo' u  
 hair gray -- uban u  
 hair whirl -- puyoh u  
 hairy end of plants -- ipus 1 u  
 half -- a'tul u; kalaháti u  
 hammer -- pokpók u  
 hammock -- áyud u; indáyon u  
 hand -- damét u  
 handbag -- hánbag u  
 handle -- polowan u  
 hands -- dametdamét u  
 hang -- me'essabít v; sabít u  
 hang something -- isabít v  
 hang somewhere -- sabítan v  
 happen -- mengyári v; yari u  
 happy -- mèlégayah st; mesayá st;  
mesípel st  
 hard -- me'tóg st  
 hard working --  
 harelip -- bingáw u

harpoon -- salapáng u  
 harvest -- áni u  
 have -- may exist  
 have -- karo'on v  
 have a relapse -- mebínat st  
 he -- =siyá pron; siya2 pron  
 head -- ulúh u  
 headcold -- sipón u  
 heal -- menpapiya v  
 heal someone -- ipa'dang u  
 hear -- tibeng u  
 hear about something -- mabalítan v  
 heart -- pusó u  
 hearth -- abó 1 u  
 heat -- ínit u  
 heavy -- medelmét st  
 heel -- tudtud u  
 height -- tang'al u  
 helicopter -- elikopter u  
 help -- túlong u  
 helper -- katúlong u  
 here -- =sen dem; =si'e dem; ti'sén dem  
 hiccup -- assinúken u  
 hide -- mensóme' v; some' u  
 hideout -- akógunan u  
 high -- metang'ál st  
 high, tall -- metan'al st; meta'pó st  
 higher part of a village --  
 hire someone --  
 his -- =na1 pron; diyá pron  
 hit -- lipdés u; me'isuntu' v  
 hit someone -- lipdesén v  
 hoarse -- mema'us st; pagé' u  
 hold -- gemgém 1 u; mengemgem v  
 hold something -- gemgeman v  
 hole -- ebút u; ubut u  
 homework -- asáinment u  
 hook -- káwit u  
 horn -- sádu u  
 hornbill -- kaláw u  
 hospital -- ospítal u  
 hot -- me'ínit st  
 house -- belí u  
 household -- bubúng u  
 how -- papéno int  
 how are -- kumustá int  
 how many -- sá'ano 1 int

however -- kayadlá subordconn  
 hundred -- ara'an u; ngaddén 2 u  
 hunger -- bitíl u  
 hungry -- bitélen u  
 hunt -- áludu' u; de'ép u; húli u; mehúli v;  
mengáludu v; menhúli v  
 hunt -- ánop u  
 hunt for game -- mengánup v  
 hunting -- penhúli acw  
 hunting ground -- pengasuhan acw  
 hunting material -- pengáludu' acw  
 hunting tool --  
 husband -- la'áy 2 u  
 husk of rice -- ipah u  
 hut -- payeqpég u; sa'lóng u

## I i

I -- =e' pron  
 I love you -- budí ta'a  
 if -- kung 1 subordconn; nu'ánu 2 conn;  
pag 1 subordconn  
 if -- pagká subordconn  
 ignite something -- tungúwan v  
 ilongot tribe -- étaleng u  
 imitate someone -- anígen v  
 impede -- adlang u  
 important -- importante u  
 impossible -- imposible u  
 improve something -- pepiyan v  
 in front -- sa'langan u  
 in order to --  
 in order to -- para 2 subordconn  
 in other words -- ibig sabihin disconn  
 include -- gagsa  
 included -- sakóp u  
 including -- =patí adv  
 income -- kita u  
 incorrect -- malí st  
 increase -- nayunan v  
 indeed -- =qul adv; =ngaród adv; akkáw  
 intj  
 index -- intutúdu u  
 indian coral tree -- dapdap u  
 industriousness -- kasipágan u  
 infant -- apapa'ana' u  
 infection -- sulpút u  
 influence -- impluwensia u  
 ingredient -- pensená acw

ingredients for seasoning -- rekádo u  
immediately -- agád adv  
inside -- disálad 1 u  
insomnia -- puyat u  
instead -- imbís adv  
intestines -- bitú'an u; egét u  
iron -- bákal u; landok u  
iron pyrite -- giginto u  
island -- pugúh u  
it is said -- di'omano  
itch -- getél u  
itchy -- mengetél v

### J j

jackfruit -- nangká u  
jam -- palaman 2 u  
Japan -- hapón 1 u  
japanese male -- hapón 2 u  
japanese woman -- haponesa u  
jaw -- sèlang u  
Jeez! -- addyos! intj  
joint -- kasukasú'an u  
juice -- katás u  
jump -- lumagwat v  
jump in the water -- lagwát u  
June -- yún u  
just -- namud adv

### K k

kernel -- iyán u  
kick -- ibensih v; itidia' v  
kidney -- butu' u  
kill -- papati v  
kilogram -- kílo u  
kilometer -- kilometro u  
kind -- mebá'it st; sari u  
kind of salt -- sigém u  
kindness -- ba'it u  
kiss -- alób 2 u  
kiss someone -- aloban v  
kitchen -- kusína u  
kitchen accessories -- pengkusína acw  
knee -- bol u  
kneel -- luhúd u  
knife -- kutsílyo u  
knot -- gepét 1 u  
know -- kilála u  
know -- annólen v; mè'ipagkilálah v;  
nnol u; tokóy u

knowledge -- mennólan v

### L l

lacking -- kulang u  
lacking, insufficient --  
ladder -- aldèn u  
ladle -- sandú u  
ladle of coconut shell -- pangókad u  
lady -- meddi u  
lake -- lanáw 1 u  
lame -- mepilay st  
lame -- pilay u  
land -- tape' u  
landslide -- lanslaid u  
language -- pólung 1 u  
last -- hulí adv  
last year -- itasse a ta'ón  
late --  
later -- nánih adv  
laugh -- ngenge u; táwa u  
laundry -- penlabá acw; penlabáda acw  
lawyer -- abogádo u  
lay down -- menlatag v  
lay something down -- ipa'edsang v  
layer -- patong u  
lazy -- mebí'et st  
lazyness -- bí'et u  
leader -- pangonáhin u; pon 3 u  
leady -- meng'uno v  
leaf -- doon u  
lean -- sanggíl u  
learn -- men'áral v; tutu u  
learned something -- minennolan v  
leave -- olay u  
leave -- eg'ang u  
leave -- umeg'áng v  
leave -- buwag u  
leech -- limáte' u; linta u  
left -- aléwi u  
left hand -- awili u  
leftover --  
length -- la'aw u  
let -- ulayen v  
let go -- ilebsáng v  
let someone know -- ipamúlat v  
let's go -- itamme!  
lezard -- bus u  
lice -- hánip u

lice -- utúh u  
 lie -- butíl u; menbutíl v  
 lie down -- edsáng u; sa'ep u;  
umedsáng v  
 lie, false -- mebútil st  
 life -- biláy u; búhay u  
 life, existence -- kabuháyan u  
 lift -- tumelde v  
 light -- meladdén st  
 lightning -- ilát u  
 like -- aníg 2 subordconn; umán 1 prep  
 like that -- umansáy dem; umansiná  
 dem  
 like this -- umansén dem  
 lime -- apúl u  
 link -- dugsún u  
 lips -- lábí u  
 lit a fire -- du'ut u  
 little finger -- tambaba'ik u  
 live -- me'ettirá v; tira u; tumira v  
 live somewhere -- tirán v  
 liver -- agtáy u  
 lizard -- takták u  
 load -- kárga u; sakay u  
 loan -- pa'atdan u  
 lobster -- banagán u; padángas u  
 location, position -- adyan u  
 locust -- pèssal u  
 log -- men'ayúh v  
 log -- tistis u  
 log something -- tístisen v  
 long -- melá'aw st  
 long time -- metgéd st  
 long time ago -- ten eddamo a panáhon  
 adv  
 look -- elseng u; mentangál v; tangal u  
 look at something -- elsengán v;  
tangálen v  
 look down -- iláway v  
 look forward -- ilege' mo pata'poh  
 loose -- meló'ag st  
 loosen soil -- gambul u  
 lose -- iwala v  
 lose -- ebut u; minátáluh v  
 lose interest -- pensáwan u  
 loss -- minálúgih v  
 lost -- minébut st

love -- budin u  
 loving -- penbudí acw  
 low -- metepdé 1 st  
 low tide -- hibás u  
 lower abdomen -- pussónan u  
 lunch something -- ulámen v  
 lungs -- baqá' u  
 M m  
 machete -- sundáng u  
 magnet -- magnet u  
 magnetism -- magnetik u  
 make an offer to someone -- alo'an v  
 make coal -- men'udíng v  
 make dirty -- dípleten v  
 make money -- menkita v  
 make profit -- me'inabang v  
 make someone drink -- ipa'inom v  
 making a living -- penmangaliyo acw  
 makulit -- me'odut st  
 mangadlit fish -- mangadlít u  
 mango -- mangga u  
 manners -- ugáli u  
 marble -- marmol u  
 mark -- abdetán v  
 market -- bánuwan 1 u; palénke u  
 marry a man -- menla'áy v  
 massage -- hilod u  
 mat -- abé u  
 May -- Máyo u  
 mayb -- baká adv  
 maybe -- balí 1 adv; sigúdo adv  
 Maynila -- Maynilá u  
 me -- si'én pron  
 mean -- me'ebut st  
 meat of a pagi -- pellé u  
 medicine -- gamót u  
 meet -- me'ehárap v; mentagpó v  
 melt -- lusaw u  
 mercy -- albí u  
 method -- para'an u  
 middle -- benqlé 1 u  
 migrate -- lumipat v  
 milk -- gátas u  
 milk for feeding a baby -- lasát 2 u  
 mine -- di'en pron  
 mingle with others -- mesalamuha v  
 miscarriage -- ma'agásan u

miss someone -- sablé u  
mix -- le'bung u  
mix something -- isahóg v  
mix something to something -- ile'bung

v

mixture -- sahóg u  
mock something -- uyógen u  
moccus from one's nose -- sipún u  
moccus in one's eye -- salémat u  
molar tooth -- baq'ang u  
mold -- inámag u  
moment -- saqlít u  
money -- malimbúy u; péra u  
monitor lizard -- basé'ot u  
monkey -- bulángen u  
month -- bulán 2 u  
moon -- bulán 1 u  
moral lecture -- ánkop u  
more -- mas adv  
morning -- papa'ás 1 u  
mortar (rice) -- lesúng u  
mosquito -- namú' u  
moss -- lúmot u  
mother -- nanay u; téna u  
mother (vocative) -- iná u  
mother and son -- pet'éna u  
mothers -- tiddena u  
motor, device -- makina u  
mountain -- mudúng u  
mountain rat -- uyéng u  
mountain rat -- daqis u  
mountainous area -- kamudúnqan u  
mouth -- tóbil u  
move -- likot u; um'inés v  
move something -- likóten v  
movement -- inés u  
much, many -- ádo u  
mud -- lutít u  
my -- =o pron

#### N n

naked -- hubád u; me'ehúbad st; oblás u  
name -- menngadden v; ngaddén 1 u;  
ngadnan u  
nape of neck -- bétu' u  
narra tree -- kamarág u  
narrow -- mekípot st  
native -- katotúbo u

naturally -- talága 1 adv  
nature -- kalikasan u  
naughty -- melékot st  
navel -- puséd u  
near -- mebi'en st  
neck -- li'éq u  
necklace -- kwéntas u  
need -- ka'ilángen v  
needle -- karayum u  
nephew -- panqónakan u  
nest -- pugarán u  
new -- bálo 1 u  
next day -- pa'asan u  
next month -- inómunid a bulán adv  
next to -- digdíg u  
nice --  
nine -- siyám u  
ninth -- insiyám u  
nipa -- sasáh u  
nipple -- ulu ni lasat u  
nit of louse -- lisá' u  
no matter how -- angán papéno adv  
no whater what -- hangan papéno adv  
noise -- ngangaw u  
noisy -- mengáwnqaw st  
Nominal affix -- a-  
non-Alta person -- uldín u  
noon -- tangháli u  
nor -- kung 3 subordconn  
nose -- edúng u  
not -- bísa neg  
not exist -- awón exist  
notice -- pansin u  
now -- dya'yay 1 adv

O o

obliged -- obligádo u  
obstacle -- homad u  
ocasion -- minsán u  
occasional --  
octopus -- pugitáh u  
odd -- káka'ibá u  
odor -- alób 1 u  
offer -- aló' u  
offer something -- ialo' v  
offer to the gods -- átang u  
often -- palaqi adv  
oil -- langís u; mantíka u

ok -- halá intj  
 old -- menna'ém st  
 old man -- la'áy 1 u  
 old object -- deddiyán 1 u  
 old woman -- be'és 1 u  
 older sibling -- aká' u  
 once finished -- panqa-  
 one -- issa u; itassé u  
 one thing placed over another --  
 onion -- sibúyas u  
 only -- =dla adv  
 open -- buksán v  
 open -- buklat u  
 open eyes -- mumulat v  
 open something -- bu'sán v  
 oppose -- ma'épè'itaw v  
 opposite side -- debbelew u  
 oppressed -- api'apíhan u  
 oppression -- ka'apíhan u  
 oppress -- api u  
 or -- o coordconn  
 orange -- órens u  
 order -- ayús u; patód u  
 originally -- dáti adv  
 ornament -- pengbetuh acw  
 orphan -- ulila u  
 other -- áduwan u  
 other side -- dipáning u  
 outrigger -- pakáway u  
 outside -- basáw u; tagèsa'  
 outsider -- dayúhan u  
 overcome something -- i'i'at v  
 own -- saríli u  
 own -- maqkaro'on v

P p

pack -- búlto u  
 paddle -- sagwan u  
 padlock -- kandado u; padlak u  
 pain, disease -- sa'it u  
 painful --  
 palate -- ngalangalah u  
 palm of the hand -- pálad u  
 parent-in-law -- manólangan u  
 parents -- maqúlang u  
 part underbrush -- háwi u  
 pass -- dman u; dumman v  
 pass through -- dinmanan v

pass time -- menteged v  
 payment -- báyad u  
 peanut -- maní u  
 peel -- ulítan v  
 peelings of cooked tubers -- ulet u  
 pencil -- lápís u  
 penis -- títi u; útin u  
 perhaps -- =wadá adv  
 permanent -- pirmi u  
 persevere -- mentiyága v  
 persevere -- mensíkap v  
 person -- alta 1 u; pagka'uldin acw; tá'o  
 u  
 personal things --  
 peso -- piso u  
 peso by peso -- pisopiso adv  
 pestle -- aloh u  
 phantom -- dipá' u  
 physician -- doktór u  
 piece -- piráso u  
 pig -- debúy u  
 pile --  
 pillar -- halígi u  
 pillow -- púngan u  
 pincers of crab -- sípít u  
 pineapple -- pínya u  
 pitiful -- kawáwa u  
 place -- lugár u; pwésto u  
 place something -- idtón v  
 plain -- kapatágan u  
 plan -- bálak u  
 plan -- pláno u  
 plant -- tubo u  
 plant -- haláman u; mentaném v; taném  
 u  
 plant by scattering -- isábuq v  
 plant louse -- apíd u  
 plant something -- itanem v  
 planting -- pentaném acw  
 plate -- trey u  
 play -- mengálaw v  
 pleasant -- mesárap 1 st  
 plunge -- iledep v  
 poke -- tu'be u  
 policeman -- pulís u  
 pomelo -- lukbán u  
 poor -- addan u; mehidap st

portrait -- letráto u  
 possess -- menkaro'on v  
 possessions -- mamay'ari u  
 pot -- kaseróla u  
 pound -- lebé' u  
 pound rice -- menlebé' v  
 pour water on something -- ta'buwan v  
 poverty -- hidap u; hirap u  
 pray -- mensambá v  
 pregnant -- metóyud st  
 prepare -- mengayá' u  
 prepare something -- igayá v  
 prevalence -- iral u  
 previous -- deddiyán 2 u  
 price -- presyo u  
 principle -- prinsipyo u  
 problem -- probléma u  
 profit -- interés u; pa'inabang acw;  
     pa'inabangan acw  
 progressively -- tulúy-tulúy adv  
 project -- proyéкто u  
 promptness -- ágap u  
 prone -- hilig u  
 prone -- mehilig st  
 property -- karo'onro'onan u  
 protection -- proteksyón u  
 provisions -- belón u  
 proximity -- bi'en u  
 pubic hair -- sabút u  
 pull -- menquyód v  
 pull something -- guyóden v  
 pumpkin -- alóbasa u  
 punishment -- kaparusáhan u; parúsa u  
 pure -- túnay u  
 pure -- panáy u  
 purpose -- láyunin u  
 pus -- èná u  
 push -- itúlag v; mentúlag v  
 put -- aponqo' u  
 put a stopper into a hole -- se'se'an v  
 put something under -- ipadisalad v

#### Q q

quality --  
 quarrel -- babág u  
 question -- tanóng u  
 quick -- medálas st  
 quit -- eg'ángen 2 v

#### R r

rabbit -- kuného u  
 raft -- balsah u  
 rain -- uddén u; um'uddén v  
 rain cloud -- sèdèm u  
 rainbow -- bahaghári u  
 raise -- sikwat u  
 raise someone -- ibilay v  
 raise something -- ipáyong v; itang'ál v  
 ramify -- mensangasangá v  
 rarely -- bihíra adv; madalang adv  
 rather --  
 rattan -- latih u  
 rattan production -- penlatih acw  
 raw -- mátah st  
 reach -- dínát 1 v; edpenén v; madat v;  
     umábut v  
 read -- menbása v  
 ready -- handá  
 reception -- salubong u  
 reconciliation -- pagkakásundo acw  
 recover -- men'isoli v  
 recover something -- isoli v  
 red -- meslét st  
 redeem -- tinúbus v  
 regret -- sísín u  
 reject -- le'udan v  
 relative -- adánayan u  
 relatives -- pet'adánayan u  
 rely on -- asáhan v  
 remain -- buwáy u  
 remember -- metanda'án v; tanda'an v;  
     tu'nang u  
 remind -- ipa'ála'ala v  
 remove -- pa'eg'áng v  
 remove something -- eg'ángen 1 v;  
     hubaden u; lokmaten v  
 rent -- upa u  
 rent something -- upáhan v  
 repeat -- =mannen adv; luway u  
 repeat -- luwáyèn v  
 repeatedly raise something with a lever  
     -- sikwatsikwaten v  
 reply -- sagoten v; tebágen v  
 request -- umagded v  
 request something -- gdeden v  
 rescue -- penágep u



respect -- galang u  
 respect someone -- igalang v  
 responsibility -- bahála u  
 rest -- menpahínga v  
 return -- solí u  
 return -- inomulí v  
 return somewhere -- sóliyan v  
 revolve -- lumípong v  
 rib -- taglang u  
 rice -- pagí u  
 rice (cooked) -- anén u  
 rice (husked) -- begás u  
 rice mill -- konóhan u  
 rice paddy -- tobígan u  
 rice straw -- dayámih u  
 rice wine -- syoktóng u  
 rickshaw -- tráysikel u  
 ride -- sumákay v  
 right -- diwánan u; karápatan u  
 right away -- ka'ágad adv  
 ring -- singsing u  
 ringworm -- galís u  
 river -- benéng u; wagét 2 u  
 river bank -- legúg u  
 road -- haiwey u; karsada u  
 road, way -- delán u  
 roaring -- egúng u  
 rob someone -- aplusèn v  
 roll a string around something --  
     pulúput u  
 roof -- atép u; nangá u  
 rooster -- sábung u  
 root -- ugdét u  
 root -- lamút u  
 rotten -- mebúyu 1 st  
 round -- mebíluq st  
 rub -- páhidèn v  
 rude -- bastós u  
 rule -- patakaran u  
 run -- gínan u; mengínan v  
 run out -- minámin v  
 run out of something -- aménen v  
                             S s  
 satiated -- me'epsul v  
 sack -- sáko u  
 sack of 75 liters -- kabán u  
 sacred -- sagrádo u

sacrifice -- sakripísyo u  
 sad -- melongkut st  
 sadness -- longkut u  
 sail -- láyag u  
 salary -- swéldo u  
 saliva -- lu'tab u  
 salt -- asín u  
 salty -- me'álat st  
 same -- paréhas u; paréhos u  
 sand -- buwéd u  
 sandy place -- abuwedán u  
 sap of a tree -- daqté' u  
 save up -- mentípid v  
 saw -- lagárih u  
 say -- ma'uná' v; ngadnan u  
 scale a fish -- kalískisan v  
 scale of a fish -- kaliskis u  
 scar -- pílat u  
 scatter -- wata'wata' u  
 school -- eskwélahan u; pa'aralan u  
 scold -- menmumuda v; mumuda u  
 scold someone -- biddán v  
 scolding -- penmumúda acw  
 scratch -- gusqus u  
 scream -- talóman u  
 sea -- baybáy u; dalát u  
 search -- alíyo' u  
 search -- men'alíyo v  
 search for and cut rattan -- menlatih v  
 search something -- aliyo'én v  
 seashore -- dalampasígan u  
 second -- indúwa u  
 secondly -- pengadwá adv; pengalwá u  
 see -- itán v  
 seed for planting -- binhí u  
 seed of fruit -- butól u  
 seek -- mengáliyo' v  
 seemingly -- umán 2 adv  
 sell -- mentindá v  
 sell something -- itinda v  
 send on an errand -- utúsan v  
 separate -- si'yán u  
 separate -- bu'ut u  
 separate something from something --  
     kalásen v  
 sesame -- lingáh u  
 set something aside -- ibu'út v

seven -- pitú u  
 seventh -- inpitó u  
 sew -- mèndalúp v  
 sexual intercourse -- iut u  
 shadow -- alénuh; anínuh u  
 shake -- pagpág u  
 shameful -- mek'amámes st  
 share -- menda'út v  
 share of a crop -- hunós u  
 share something -- idu'út v  
 share with someone -- da'útan u  
 sharp -- metádem st  
 sharpen something -- iyubul v  
 shave something off -- kayasen v  
 sheaf of rice -- pingey u  
 sheath for bolo -- alóban u  
 shell -- syel u  
 shiver -- mengingíng v  
 shoes -- sapátos u  
 shoot -- úding 2 u  
 shop -- tindáhan u  
 short -- apítí u; metebdé st  
 shorts -- kaputód u  
 should -- dápat v  
 shoulder -- balíkat u  
 shout -- ngúmo' u  
 show something to someone -- ipa'intá  
 v  
 shrimp -- udáng u  
 shrimp or fish paste -- bago'óng u  
 shy -- me'amámes st  
 sibling -- apat'ákan u; kapatíd u  
 siblings -- ewwádi u  
 siblings -- pet'ákan u  
 sick -- mesa'ít st  
 side -- parte u  
 side -- bandá u  
 sieve -- bithay u  
 signal -- ngadnan u; senias u  
 similar -- di'aw u; katulad u  
 similar to -- aníg 1 u  
 simply -- básta adv  
 simultaneity -- sabay u  
 since -- da subordconn  
 sincere -- ta'ós u  
 sing -- menkantá v  
 sister-in-law -- hípag u

sit -- itnud u  
 situation -- situasyon u  
 six -- iném u  
 sixth -- in'inném u  
 skewer -- tudú u  
 skillful -- megalíng st  
 skin --  
 skinny -- minágóng st  
 skirt -- limuy u  
 sky -- langít u  
 slave -- batá'an u  
 sleep -- mapóled v; mè'èppulèd v; póled  
 u  
 slice -- mengelgél v  
 slice something -- gelgelén v  
 slow -- bagal u; mehína 2 st  
 small -- ba'ík u  
 small cart -- kareta u  
 small table -- lamesíta u  
 smell something -- áloben v  
 smoke -- pensigarílyo acw  
 smoke -- asó' u; me'ásu' v  
 smoke -- mensigarílio v  
 smooth -- mèkisláp st  
 snake -- ulág u  
 snare -- sílo u  
 snore -- mèn'óluh v  
 so -- =balí 2; kayá subordconn  
 soaked -- melpét st  
 social position -- kalagayan u  
 soft -- melemnín st  
 sold by kaban -- kabankaban adv  
 sold by salob -- salobsalób adv  
 soldier -- menggeppét u; sundálo u  
 sole of foot -- talampákan u  
 somewhat -- medyo adv  
 song -- kantá u  
 son-in-law -- atólangan u  
 sound -- uníh u  
 soup -- sabáw u  
 sour -- me'apsút st  
 source of income -- hanap-búhay u;  
ikabilay u; mehonusan u; pengálapán  
 acw  
 sow -- hasík u; menhasík v  
 space under the house -- sídong u  
 span of 8 inches -- dangkal u

spaniard -- kastíla u  
sparrow -- máya u  
spacious -- lawad u  
speak -- menpólung v  
speak a language -- ipolung v  
spear -- peltág u; tulág u  
spear fish -- menpeltág v  
spear something -- peltagen v  
spearfishing -- penpeltág acw  
species of fresh water fish -- pilíngan u  
species of tiny fish -- bayé' u  
speech -- unómen u  
spicy -- mèpáhang st  
spider -- gegámbah u  
spill -- mèntagi'lid v  
spine -- gulugud u  
spirit of death person -- kaluluah u  
spirit, ghost -- anito u  
splash water on someone -- sabdulan v  
spoon -- kutsára u  
spouse -- asáwa u  
spouse -- élan 2 u; sangá 2 u  
spread -- kalat u; mekalat st  
spread out -- menwata'watá' v  
sprinkle -- ibudbud v  
sprout -- talbós u; ulté' u  
square -- kodrádo u  
squat -- men'itnúd v  
squeeze -- pegessén v  
stab -- utában v  
stand up -- páyong 2 u; umi'at v  
star -- bitón u  
start -- mensapul v; simula u; simúlan v  
steal -- ta'áw u  
stem -- paklan u; tangkáy u  
step -- bine' u  
stick -- apet u  
sticker -- tik u  
sticky rice -- malaqkít u  
still -- =pa adv; =sepla adv  
still -- =sep adv  
stinging pain -- ma'apdès u  
stinky -- mebúyu 2 st  
stomach -- talegagot u  
stone -- betúh u  
stony or rocky place -- ebbetú'an u  
stony place --

storm -- baquíyo u  
story -- istórya u; kasaysáyan u  
stove -- kalan u  
straight (hair) -- unát u  
straight -- metuldóg st  
stream -- selúng u  
streams -- seleslúng u  
stretch out -- luma'aw v  
strenght -- lakás u  
string -- biskál u; lubíd u  
strong -- meba'síd st; me'eldén st;  
melakas st  
study -- dammanol v  
study -- pen'aral u  
stuffing -- palaman 1 u  
stumble -- dagmáng u; mendagmáng v;  
tisa'bab u  
stupidity -- katangahan u  
sty in one's eye -- bulítng u  
suck -- sepsep u  
suddenly -- biglá adv  
surface -- lumtaw v  
suffering -- peghihirap acw  
sufficient -- sapat u  
sugar -- asúkal u  
sugar cane plantation -- óna u  
sugarcane -- unás u  
summit -- ta'pó u  
summon -- pengo' u  
sun -- sinág 1 u  
Sunday -- lingo 2 u  
superiors -- paghárin-uri u  
supersticious -- me'aníto st  
suprise -- le'ned u  
suprised -- mele'ned st  
sure -- sigurádo u  
sure -- talága 2 u  
surface -- ibábaw u  
surprised -- minále'ned st  
surrender -- surrender v  
surroundings -- libut u  
swallow -- iyetlén v  
sweat -- língat u  
sweep -- menwalís v  
sweet -- melánis st  
sweet potato -- amóti u; amúti a ayúh u  
swell -- lumelteg v

swidden -- óma u  
 swim -- lumangúy v  
 swim -- ledep u  
 system -- sistéma u  
                                           T t  
 table -- lamésa u  
 tail -- ipus 2 u  
 take care -- men'imáng v  
 take food somewhere -- menbelón v  
 take lunch -- menghali v  
 take something across -- iyelwás v  
 taro -- ganít u  
 tarp -- lóna u  
 task -- pengágawi acw  
 taste -- innam u; innaman v; lasá u;  
           me'e'innám v  
 tasteless -- mèlamsit st; mètab'ang st  
 tasty -- melása st; mesárap 2 st  
 teach -- mentódu v  
 teach someone -- todúwan v  
 teach something -- itódu 1 v  
 tear -- pi'nat u  
 tear in eye -- luah u  
 television -- tíbi u  
 tell -- ibbide v  
 tell someone -- bidden v; pólungen v  
 ten -- sampú u; sápulo u  
 tenth -- insáppulo u  
 termite -- anáy u  
 testicle -- bungaw u  
 than -- késa coordconn; kesara  
           coordconn  
 thanks -- salámat u  
 that -- éna dem; yay dem; i'yáy dem  
 the -- in 1 art; in 2 art  
 the morning after -- apa'asan u  
 the most -- pinaka-  
 there is -- teiwadde exist  
 there is -- tey exist  
 therefore --  
 they -- siddé pron  
 thick -- mekápal st; me'nèg st  
 thickness -- kápal u  
 thigh -- pu'él u  
 thin -- menépis st  
 thing -- bágay 2 u; ngaddén 3 pro-form  
 think -- isípen v

thinness -- gong u  
 thirsty -- me'úhaw st  
 thirty -- trenta u  
 this -- en dem; iná dem; i'én dem; i'i'é  
           dem; i'iná dem  
 this -- ni'niná dem  
 this morning -- kanáni a papa'ás adv  
 Thistle of the mountains -- ádat u  
 thorn -- set u  
 thought -- ísip u  
 thousand -- libu u  
 threshing -- pen'agíh acw  
 throat -- etlenán u  
 through the means of -- pamamaqítan u  
 throw -- tèg'udèn v  
 throw away -- ibút v  
 throw something -- ite'nag v  
 thumb -- hindada'él u; kamún de'él u  
 thunder -- idúl u  
 thus --  
 tickle -- gité"èn v  
 tie -- gepettán v; pinúngus v  
 tie in a bundle -- bigkisen v  
 tie something -- ikkabít v  
 tie somewhere -- kabítan v  
 tight -- mehigpít st  
 time -- panáhon u; tegéd u  
 time -- béses u  
 tin -- láta u  
 tired -- mepágal st  
 today -- dya'yay 2 adv  
 toe -- gurámut ni ti'éd-i u  
 toilet -- kubéta u  
 tomato -- kamátis u  
 tomorrow -- ududmá adv  
 ton -- tons u  
 tongue -- diláh u  
 tool -- gámit u  
 tool for cutting -- pentabás acw  
 tool for digging -- peng'ut'út acw  
 tool for hunting -- penghúli acw  
 tool for weeding -- pengamás acw;  
           pengháwi acw  
 tooth -- ngipén u  
 topic -- tópik u  
 torch -- sulu u  
 towel -- twálya u

town -- bánuwan 2 u  
 trade -- isá'lat v  
 trade something -- ipalít v  
 trade with someone -- palitan v  
 traditional medicine -- pa'dáng u  
 transfer -- lípat u  
 transfer something -- ilipát v  
 trawl -- malakáya 1 u  
 tree -- ayúh 1 u; pon 1 u  
 tree trunk -- pon 2 u  
 tremble --  
 trembling -- ngingín u  
 tribe -- tribu u  
 trip -- biyáhe u  
 trousers -- pantalón u  
 true --  
 truth -- talód u  
 try -- subuk u  
 t-shirt -- bádo u  
 tuberculosis -- tibi u  
 tumor -- buklul u; busádih u  
 turn -- ikod u; lumékoh v; toka u  
 turn around something -- lipóngen v  
 turtle -- bao'o'úl u  
 twelfth -- inlabindúwa u  
 twin -- kambál u  
 twist -- menlóló v; pilipit u  
 two -- dúwa u

#### U u

ugly -- medú'es 2 st  
 umbrella -- páyong 1 u  
 uncle -- dilá'i u  
 under -- disálad 2 u  
 underbrush -- edét 2 u  
 unhappy -- medlá v  
 unit --  
 unload -- diskárga u  
 unmarried girl -- madí'it u  
 unripe (coconut) -- múra 2 u  
 until -- hangán 2 prep  
 upper stalk -- ubúd u  
 uproot -- baklás u  
 upstream -- dingáto u  
 urinate -- isbú u; umisbú v  
 usage as medicine -- kagamotan u  
 use -- isdép 1 v; tapde u  
 use something -- gamítan v

used --  
 usually -- kalimítan adv  
 V v  
 vagina -- kíki u; ubêt u  
 vegetable -- gúlay u  
 vein -- lítid u  
 very -- itég u  
 very fat -- me'etabdé st  
 very little -- baba'ik u  
 very old --  
 very soon -- menánanih adv  
 vetsin -- bitsín u  
 viand -- úlam u  
 village -- báryo u  
 violet -- báyolet u  
 visit -- dumáyo v  
 visitor -- bisíta u  
 voice -- bósis u  
 vomit -- útah u

#### W w

waist -- sèpang u  
 wait -- mentanod v  
 wait for something or someone --  
tanódan v  
 wake up -- lumemyá v  
 walk -- menlá'ad v  
 walk -- lá'ad u  
 walk a certain time or distance --  
la'áden v  
 wall -- dingding u  
 wandering around -- palípat-lípat u  
 want -- budí v  
 war -- gerra u  
 ward --  
 warm by fire -- mendengdeng v  
 wart -- taling u  
 wash -- mengólas v  
 wash clothes -- labá u; menlaba v  
 wash face -- menhilámos v  
 wash something -- ulásan v  
 washed clothes -- labáda u  
 washing machine -- wasingmasín u  
 watch -- relóh u  
 water -- waqét 1 u  
 water container -- tubung u  
 water jar -- bèngáh u  
 water plants -- dilig u

waterfall -- taqpó u  
 watering of the plants -- pendiligen acw  
 wave -- álu u  
 way -- penlaádam acw  
 way -- elsotan u  
 weak -- mehína 1 st  
 wealth, treasure -- kayamanan u  
 wear -- menbádo v  
 wear G-string -- menbál v  
 wear panties or string -- menpánti v  
 wear the G-string 'bal' -- me'ebál v  
 wear the katsa clothing -- me'ekatsá v  
 weave -- menladdé v  
 wedding -- kasal u  
 wedge -- pan'ukbé u  
 weed -- mengamás v  
 weed a land -- gamasan v  
 week -- lingo 1 u  
 weight -- dalmèt u  
 welcome someone -- tangapen v  
 west -- albógan u  
 wet -- lepét u; nalpét st  
 what -- ahéno int  
 whatever -- aseséno pro-form; kung  
ahéno u  
 what-you-may-call-it -- uwáh u  
 when -- bágay 1 subordconn  
 when -- kung 4 subordconn; nu'ánu 1 int;  
pag 2 subordconn; ten 2 adv  
 where -- adíno int  
 wherever -- adidíno adv  
 whether -- kung 2 subordconn  
 while -- hábang subordconn  
 whim -- sumpung u  
 white -- mepóti st; poti u  
 whiten -- pumóti v  
 who -- ti ahéno int  
 whole -- púro adv  
 why -- anompan int; anón int; má'in int  
 wide -- melápad st  
 widow -- bélúh u  
 width -- lapad u

wife -- be'és 2 u  
 wild boar -- lamán u  
 wild cat -- alé'en u  
 wild cucumber -- ampalayá u  
 wild pig -- bungótung u  
 wild sugarcane -- ti'él u  
 wildchicken -- manú' 2 u  
 wind -- pagód u  
 wine -- álak u  
 wing -- payá u  
 winnow -- mèntáp v  
 winnowing basket -- bila'uh u  
 wipe -- pahídan v  
 with -- tidde'  
 woman -- kadebdí u  
 wood -- apóy 2 u; ayúh 2 u  
 word -- salétah u  
 word related with a ritual -- basi'lang u  
 work -- mentarábaho v; tarabáho u  
 worm -- uléd u  
 wound -- metalengowan v; taléngo u;  
táma2 u  
 wound on hands -- ababáyo u  
 wrap -- pusútan v  
 wrestle -- menbones v  
 wrestle -- bónes u  
 wrinkled -- kinumbèt u  
 write -- menbate' v  
 Y y  
 yawn -- umkab v  
 yesterday -- tempuláb adv  
 you -- =a pron; si'áw pron  
 you guys -- =amyú pron; si'am pron  
 youn man -- ulétaw u  
 young -- bebba'ík u  
 younger sibling --  
 youngest child -- bunsó u  
 your -- =m pron; =mo pron  
 yours -- =miyú pron; di'áw pron  
 Z z  
 zeal, dilligence -- sikap u



# 10. Conclusions

## 10.1 Summary

The first chapter of the dissertation provides a description of the sociolinguistic background of Northern Alta and subsequently presents the methods used to collect data in the field, including recording methods, elicitation techniques, and type and level of annotations added to each recording. The structure and outputs of the documentary collection, including the metadata structure and organization of the data using the ELAN software, are then described. Finally, the way in which the data is presented in this dissertation is discussed at the end of the first chapter.

Chapter 2 deals with the phonology of the language and discusses the orthography used in the corpus of annotated recordings.

Chapter 3 examines morphology, with a focus on the morpho-phonological alternations occurring frequently in the language, which include assimilation, gemination, consonant deletion, epenthesis, nasal substitution, aphaeresis, stress change, syncope, vowel lengthening and vowel lowering. The chapter ends with a preliminary analysis of reduplication patterns.

Chapter 4 discusses the types of phrases attested in Northern Alta, describing their possible constituent structure and syntactic functions. The second part of the chapter provides an overview of the possible clause types, which are defined in terms of the type of predicates they have. Three main clause types are defined: clauses with voice-marked predicate, clauses with voice-unmarked predicate and clauses with an Existential as predicate.

Chapter 5 presents a classification of the parts of speech. The first part of the chapter deals with proforms, which include Personal Pronouns, Demonstratives and Interrogative Pronouns. The second part of the chapter introduces the different classes of function words. The third part of the chapter discusses the problems related to the classification of Northern Alta content words, and defines two major classes on the basis of morphological criteria, V-words and U-words. Other classes of content words include Adverbs, Existentials and another group of content words that we refer to as content words derived by affixes.



Chapter 6 presents an analysis of case relations, conducted on the basis of the syntactic functions and semantic roles of the different case-marked constituents, such as Determiner Phrases, Pronouns and Demonstratives. The results of the analysis distinguish four different cases: Absolutive, Genitive, Oblique and Locative.

Chapter 7 deals with the classification of V-words, distributed in four main classes, non-derived words, Potentive words, Stative words and Causative. Since V-words are defined in terms of their voice and aspectual morphology, we discuss voice affixation and aspectual inflection for each subclass, and illustrate them with glossed examples.

Chapter 8 provides interlinear morpheme glossing for a twenty-five minute monologue that was recorded with native speaker Ginalyn Garcia. The monologue was recorded in a place called Minero, an area where the Alta used to dwell in the past but decided to abandon when they settled in the barangays. The text is interesting from a linguistic perspective as it contains a high number of Demonstratives, including phrases where the Demonstrative appears in the article slot of a DP. The video provides an additional value to the text given that many of these Demonstratives are accompanied by gestures, i.e. pointing to a certain location in order to tell a story. The text is also valuable from a historical perspective as it offers a number of stories from the time the Alta were living there.

Finally, Chapter 9 provides a glossary of the language which was compiled by extracting the lexical data of the database that was created using the SIL software Fieldworks Language Explorer. The chapter begins with an introduction to the glossary, in which the sources of words, the content of an entry, as well as other related problems are discussed. The second part of the chapter contains the Northern Alta-English glossary and the third part of the chapter provides an English-Northern Alta reversal index.

## **10.2 Future research**

This five year project had two main goals: the documentation and the description of the Northern Alta language. This chapter addresses a number of limitations identified throughout the dissertation and suggests key areas for further research.

Several aspects of the grammar represent parts of the limitations of the present study and also constitute opportunities for future research.

We could not for instance provide at this stage any explanations for the alternation between [s] and [h] when describing the phonology of the language. The fact that the alternation only occurs in words belonging to closed classes makes it particularly interesting. Besides, as mentioned in Chapter 3, there was not enough time to conduct a thorough analysis of clitics and only a table of the main reduplication patterns was provided. Both clitics and reduplication would be interesting topics for future research.

Another opportunity for future research is to extend the understanding of Demonstratives. As shown in Chapter 5, the system is rather complex, and the semantic differences between the members of one subset, which were interpreted as a distinction for distance, are not at this stage fully understood. With the video recordings we have produced, a corpus-based study of Demonstratives in relation to gestures would be possible in the future.

Other parts of speech requiring further investigation include the Specificity Marker, in particular its scope and semantics. In addition, a number of Enclitic Adverbs require further semantic analysis, these include the Adverb =d, and also the following three adverbs =na, =nen and =Ce, all of which are translated as 'already' in this grammar and lexical database, in spite of the fact that the differences in the usage and meaning are not understood. A corpus-based analysis of their meaning and distribution would require time and might need to be complemented with some elicitation sessions with a native speaker.

Other issues that we described as requiring further research include the Locative Article ta and its [tə] variant in Chapter 6. The aspect system in Chapter 7 also needs additional research, including the formation of progressive aspect in certain V-words, for example meng- words, and also in potentives, statives and causatives. Finally, subjecthood and syntactic processes which have not been discussed in this dissertation also constitute important areas for future research on the Northern Alta language.

Fortunately, the present work includes the collection of data for the grammatical description the language, as well as a compilation of a language documentation corpus and a documentary collection; a tool which will allow further investigation not only on the grammar, but also from typological or anthropological perspectives



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# Appendix A: list of all abbreviations in this dissertation

Table A.1 Full list of abbreviations in this dissertation

Abbreviation	Meaning
§	Followed by a number, the section sign refers to a chapter, a section or a subsection in this dissertation.
ABS	Absolutive case
Acw	affixed content word
ADV / adv	Adverb
AdvP	Adverb Phrase
ART / art	Article
AV	Actor voice
AyP	ay Phrase
C	consonant
CAU	Causative
CNTR	contrast
coordconn	Coordinate Conjunction
CV	Conveyance voice
CWA	content word affix
D	deictic
DEM / dem	Demonstrative
DemP	Demonstrative Phrase
der. of	derivative of
discconn	discourse connective
DIST	distal (Demonstrative)
DP	Determiner Phrase
DYAD	kinship term expressing a dyadic relation
ELAN	Eudico Linguistic Annotator
ELAR	Endangered Languages Archive
ELDP	Endangered Languages Programme
EMPH	emphatic

<b>ERG</b>	ergative
<b>exist</b>	Existential
<b>FDIST</b>	far distal
<b>fr. var of</b>	free variant of
<b>GEN</b>	Genitive case
<b>GER</b>	gerund
<b>ifx</b>	infix
<b>[ilk]</b>	Ilokano borrowing
<b>INDEF</b>	indefinite
<b>INST</b>	instrumental
<b>int</b>	Interrogative Pronoun
<b>INTJ / intj</b>	Interjection
<b>[jen]</b>	word collected by trainee Jennifer Marques
<b>[lar]</b>	word extracted from Reid (1991b)
<b>KWF</b>	Komisyon Sa Wikang Filipino (KWF)
<b>LC</b>	locative content word
<b>LK / lk</b>	Linker, ligature
<b>LIT</b>	literal translation
<b>LOC</b>	Locative case
<b>LP</b>	Linker Phrase
<b>LPROX</b>	less proximal
<b>LV</b>	Locative voice
<b>MED</b>	medial
<b>MP</b>	minimal pair
<b>n</b>	noun (morphologically defined) /U-word
<b>NCIP</b>	National Commission on Indigenous Peoples
<b>NEG / neg</b>	Negator
<b>NSP</b>	non-specific
<b>OBL</b>	oblique case
<b>PAN</b>	Proto-Austronesian
<b>PL / pl</b>	plural
<b>PL / pl.m</b>	Plural Marker
<b>pfx</b>	prefix

<b>PM / pm</b>	Predicate Marker
<b>PMP</b>	Proto-Malayo-Polynesian
<b>POT</b>	Potentive
<b>PP</b>	Pronoun Phrase
<b>PPh</b>	Proto-Philippines
<b>prep</b>	Preposition
<b>regex</b>	regular expression
<b>PRF</b>	perfective
<b>PRG</b>	progressive
<b>pron</b>	Personal Pronoun
<b>PROX</b>	proximal
<b>PrP</b>	Prepositional Phrase
<b>PV</b>	Patient voice
<b>PWMP</b>	Proto-Western-Malayo-Polynesian
<b>Q</b>	question particle
<b>QUOT</b>	quotative
<b>RDP</b>	reduplication
<b>REC</b>	reciprocal
<b>REF</b>	referential
<b>say. of</b>	saying of
<b>SML</b>	similative
<b>sfx</b>	suffix
<b>[sp]</b>	Spanish borrowing
<b>SPEC</b>	Specificity Marker
<b>ST</b>	Stative
<b>subordconn</b>	Subordinate Conjunction
<b>[tag]</b>	Tagalog borrowing
<b>U</b>	U-class of content words
<b>UP</b>	Unmarked Phrase
<b>V / v</b>	V-class of content words
<b>[v]</b>	word extracted from Vanorverbergh (1937)
<b>VP</b>	Voice-marked Phrase
<b>VOC</b>	vocative



## Appendix B: glossing of word classes

This section explains the system we have used to gloss the examples in this dissertation. The first subsections present the word classes which have more complex glossing because the gloss has several components. The last section presents the word classes for which the gloss carries a single element.

### Personal Pronouns

The glossing of Personal Pronouns includes two parts which are separated by a period. The first part of the gloss specifies the person and number of the Pronoun. The second part of the gloss includes the case. Unmarked Pronouns do not carry any indication for case. Table B.1 provides all the abbreviations appearing in glosses of Personal Pronouns.

Table B.1 Abbreviations in Glosses of Personal Pronouns

Abbreviation	Meaning
1s	1st person singular Pronoun
2s	2nd person singular pronoun
3s	3rd person singular Pronoun
1p	1st person plural Pronoun
1pi	1st person plural inclusive Pronoun
1pe	1st person plural exclusive Pronoun
2p	2nd person plural Pronoun
3p	3rd person plural Pronoun
ABS	Absolutive case
GEN	Genitive case
LOC	Locative case

### Demonstratives

The glosses of Demonstratives includes three main parts and main include a fourth one. The first part of the gloss consists of the degree of distance (PROX, LPROX...), the second part

is the word class (DEM), and the third part shows the case (ABS, GEN...). When one of the sets distinguishes number, the gloss PL is added. Table B.2 shows the abbreviations appearing in glosses of Demonstratives.

**Table B.2 Abbreviations in glosses of Demonstratives**

<b>Abbreviation</b>	<b>Meaning</b>
<b>DEM</b>	Demonstrative
<b>PROX</b>	proximal
<b>LPROX</b>	less proximal
<b>MED</b>	medial
<b>DIST</b>	distal
<b>FDIST</b>	far distal
<b>ABS</b>	Absolutive
<b>GEN</b>	Genitive
<b>LOC</b>	Locative
<b>SML</b>	similative
<b>PL</b>	plural

## Articles

The glossing of Articles is composed of one main part, which is the case marked by the Article. Some Articles may also carry additional elements which indicate that it is a plural Article or that it is deictic. In this case, the additional element precedes the case. Table B.3 provides the abbreviations appearing in the glosses of Articles.

**Table B.3 Abbreviations in the glosses of Articles**

<b>Abbreviation</b>	<b>Meaning</b>
<b>PL</b>	plural
<b>D</b>	deictic
<b>ABS</b>	Absolutive
<b>GEN</b>	Genitive
<b>OBL</b>	oblique
<b>LOC</b>	Locative

<b>NSP</b>	non-specific Article
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## V-words

The glossing of V-words is as follows, the root of the word is glossed with an English rough equivalent. In addition, the gloss also carries an indication of the type of voice, and it may also carry an indication of the aspect. In case the word is Potentive or Stative it carries the glosses POT and ST respectively. Finally, if the V-word carries a Causative affix, the gloss also indicates it with the gloss CAU. Table B.4 includes all the abbreviations appearing in the glosses of V-words.

**Table B.4 Abbreviations in the glosses of V-words**

<b>Abbreviation</b>	<b>Meaning</b>
<b>AV</b>	Actor voice
<b>PV</b>	Patient voice
<b>LV</b>	Locative voice
<b>CV</b>	Conveyance voice
<b>PRF</b>	perfective aspect
<b>PRG</b>	progressive aspect
<b>RDP</b>	reduplication
<b>POT</b>	Potentive word
<b>ST</b>	Stative word
<b>CAU</b>	Causative word

## Affixed content words

Affixed content words carry the abbreviation of the affix that marks them. In addition, the root of the word is glossed a single-word English translation. Table B.5 below provides the abbreviations appearing in the glosses of affixed content words.

**Table B.5 Abbreviations in glosses of affixed content words**

<b>Abbreviation</b>	<b>Meaning</b>
<b>CWA</b>	content word affix



<b>GER</b>	gerundive
<b>LC</b>	locative
<b>INST</b>	instrumental
<b>DYAD</b>	kinship term expressing a dyadic relation

## Glossing of other word classes

As for the rest of word classes, some of them were glossed with a single-word English translation, while others were glossed with the abbreviation of their word class. Table B.6 shows which classes are glossed with an English translation and which ones are glossed with an abbreviation.

**Table B.6 Glosses of other word classes**

<b>Word class</b>	<b>Glossing</b>
Adverb	single-word English translation
Coordinate Conjunction	
Existential	
Interrogative Pronoun	
Irregular content word	
Subordinate Conjunction	
U-word	
Interjection	<b>INTJ</b>
Linker	<b>LK</b>
Negator	<b>NEG</b>
Plural Marker	<b>PL</b>
Predicate Marker	<b>PM</b>
Preposition	<b>PREP</b>
Specificity Marker	<b>SPEC</b>

## Appendix C: list of recordings of the language

Table C.1 Table of recordings of the language

Session Number	Title	Language Consultant	Length (min)
1	basic word order, person Pronouns, Interrogatives, volitive <i>budi</i>	Renita Santos	44
2	vocabulary (clothes and colors), Interrogatives (2), [adj – noun] structures, asking and expressing time, improvised conversation	Renita Santos	69
3	[adj - noun] structures (2), [num – adj – noun] structures, Existentials <i>maiwadde</i> and <i>awon</i> , vocabulary of furniture, locating objects in the house, the verb <i>mannol</i> (to be able, to know)	Renita Santos	91
4	communitacting acceptability judgments, person Pronoun allomorphy, verb <i>mannol</i> (2), body parts	Renita Santos	57
5	body parts (2), numerals, properties of verbs, =i enclitic,	Renita Santos	96
6	Interrogative sentences, Interrogative Pronouns: <i>aheno</i> , <i>adino</i> , <i>nuano</i> , <i>saano</i> , <i>ma'in</i>	Renita Santos	78
7	open content questions, ligatures	Renita Santos	11
8	Interjections, expressing disagreement, some colors, vocabulary of food	Renita Santos	43
9	comparative and superlative sentences	Renita Santos	35
10	vocabulary Pronunciation	Renita Santos	53
11	verb inflection and derivation: ated ('to give') iyated, atdan, inatdan	Renita Santos	108
12	transcription session of Erlinda Ganarrial	Renita Santos	51
13	Elicitation session (first elicitation session) numerals, num – noun structures, basic sentences, Interrogative sentences	Pelcito Marquez	108
14	The name of Diteki	Perlita, Violeta	4'09
15	The plane story	Prodencio Galvan	2'15
16	The typhoon story	Carmelita Balansio	1'49
17	How I proposed to my wife	Pelcito Marquez	1'05
18	Why the Alta population is decreasing	Prodencio Galvan	1'30
19	A day in my life	Prodencio Galvan	1'08
20	I am grateful to this project	Renita Santos	1'08
21	Alex, you should give up smoking!	Erlinda Ganarrial	2'02
22	wordlist 1	Prodencio Galvan	18'36
22	wordlist 2	Prodencio Galvan	12'42
23	wordlist 1	Erlinda Ganarrial	11'12
23	wordlist 2	Erlinda Ganarrial	8'02
24	wordlist 1	Renita Santos	9'36

24	wordlist 2	Renita Santos	7'29
25	wordlist 1	Carmelita Balansio	12'05
25	wordlist 2	Carmelita Balansio	10'35
26	wordlist: expressions of time	Renita Santos	9'30
27	names of plants	Renita Santos	1'55
28	clothes and colors	Renita Santos	2'13
29	furniture of the house	Renita Santos	1'29
30	bodyparts	Renita Santos	2'54
31	expressions of time, Interjections	Renita Santos	2'54
32	consonants	Renita Santos	2'08
33	adjectives	Renita Santos	5'32
34	syllable final consonants	Renita Santos	2'51
35	Interjections	Renita Santos	2'43
36	minimal pairs	Renita Santos	1'23
37	numerals	Renita Santos	5'20
38	Lin! Wash the dishes and clean the house!	Erlinda Ganarrial	2'28
39	The story of miy family	Renita Santos	3'31
40	Planting rice	Rogelio Ganarrial	2'28
41	How I learned to speak Alta	Mila Lazam	0'59
42	a typical day in Dianed	Mila Lazam	1'08
43	Alex, please stay a bit more in Decoliat	Erlinda Ganarrial	1'17
44	Introducing Carmelita Balansio	Carmelita Balansio	3'09
45	A Northern Alta song	5 speakers	0'50
45	A Northern Alta song	4 speakers	0'59
46	When I was hunting for the soldiers	Elena, Violeta	4'55
47	One day in Dianed	Pelicito Marquez	1'06
48	A children song	Erlinda Ganarrial	0'50
49	Speaking Alta in the community	Balong	4'53
50	Hunting story: when my wife was bitten by a snake	Balong	0'56
51	Collecting and selling orchids	Balong	0'44
52	About Jimena and Ma'leg'eg	Elena, Violeta	9'22
53	A love story: Don Pepe	Elena, Violeta	5'26
54	Hunting and offerings to the Anito spirits	Di'et Lazam	4'08
55	How to make charcoal	Prodencio Galvan	1'56
56	If all the Alta lived in the same community...	Prodencio Galvan	1'53
57	Welcome to Diteki	Perlita, Violeta	2'23
58	I am thankful that you came to Decoliat	Erlinda Ganarrial	4'17
60	Interviewing Emelita, a young Alta speaker	Emelita Wangit, Erlinda	5'25
61	A recoding session with Rose Domingo	Rose Domingo	12'30
62	Violeta describes the kinship system	Violeta Fernandez	10'00

<b>63</b>	Hunting with dogs, by Elena Maximino	Elena, Violeta	9'49
<b>65</b>	Our life is better now	Pelcito Marquez	0'48
<b>66</b>	A conversation at night	Mila, Pelito, Violeta	14'25
<b>67</b>	It is more convenient to record here in Decoliat	Prodencio Galvan	0'42
<b>68</b>	Presentation of myself	Prodencio Galvan	3'36
<b>69</b>	Presenting Inelda & Antonio Andon	Inelda & Antonio Andon	16'00
<b>70</b>	Describing pictures: Spain-Philippines friendship day 2015	Violeta fernandez	4'06
<b>71</b>	Describing pictures: a picnic at the river	Violeta fernandez	2'29
<b>72</b>	Describing pictures: inside the house in Diteki	Violeta fernandez	2'01
<b>73</b>	Describing pictures: de-flea by the river	Violeta fernandez	1'57
<b>74</b>	Describing pictures: a pot cooking meat, rice and vegetables	Violeta fernandez	1'05
<b>75</b>	Describing pictures: the day we had a flat tire	Violeta fernandez	2'58
<b>76</b>	Interview with Violeta Andon Mariano	Violeta Andon (interviewed by VF)	27
<b>77</b>	Preparing 'suman' cake	VAM, VLF, AGL	10'41
<b>78</b>	Pointing at locations in Diteki	Nelita Cristobal	3'08
<b>79</b>	Pointing at locations in Diteki	Nelita Cristobal	7'52
<b>80</b>	Spearfishing demonstration at the river	Nelita Cristobal	3'03
<b>81</b>	Ginalin and Conchita talk about locations for hunting, rattan, fishing and planting	Ginalyn Garcia, Conchita Genes	13'16
<b>82</b>	A story by Dominga Lazam	Dominga Lazam, Coralyn Manzano	6'37
<b>83</b>	Coralyn's love story	Coralyn Manzano, Dominga Lazam	11'17
<b>84</b>	Introducing Dominga Lazam	Dominga Lazam, Coralyn Manzano	1'14
<b>85</b>	Describing pictures: spearfishing	Nelita Cristobal	39
<b>86</b>	The times when we were working with rattan	Rebeca Huego, Nelita Cristobal	36
<b>87</b>	A conversation about past experiences in the mountain	Elizabeth Querijero, Coralyn Manzao	29
<b>88</b>	Past and present of the Alta	Aning, Conchita Genes	52'12
<b>89</b>	Collecting and selling orchids	Coralyn Manzano, Conchita Genes	16'22
<b>90</b>	Past and present of the Alta (part II)	Aning, Conchita Genes	9'5
<b>91</b>	A conversation with two Alta men	Arturo Priginal, Renato Genes	53'34
<b>92</b>	Producing medicines with dears' horns	Arturo Priginal, Renato Genes	36'35

<b>93</b>	Gardening with Nene: techniques, names, and use of the plants	Coralyn Manzano, Conchita Genes	37'88
<b>94</b>	Gardening with Ginalyn: techniques, names, and use of the plants (Genalyn's garden)	Ginalyn Garcia, Coralyn Manzano	42'49
<b>95</b>	Wild plants in Diteki	Ginalyn Garcia, Coralyn Manzano	16'13
<b>96</b>	Long time no see! (Role Play)	Ginalyn Garcia, Coralyn Manzano	16'50
<b>97</b>	Interviewing community elder Elena "Buldozer" Maximino	Elena Maximino, Dominga Lazam	60
<b>98</b>	Ate Inga interviews her sister Ate Ligaya	Dominga Lazam, Ate Ligaya	21
<b>99</b>	Kuya Ino and Kuya Ikkaw: past experiences in the mountain	Regino Sindak, Gabriel Lasam	60
<b>100</b>	Ate Reny and Ate Evelen: past experiences in the mountain	Renita Santos, Evelyn Priginal	67
<b>101</b>	Orchids and other plants, gardening and sellin in the market	Alvin Mariano (Balong)	68
<b>102</b>	Ate Tikkay interviews Ate Emel	Nelita Cristobal, Emelda Pujeda	67
<b>103</b>	History of Minero, a place in the Alta ancestral domain	Ginalyn Garcia	25
<b>104</b>	Kuya Renato explains how to build the tool for "pangoriente" fishing	Renato Genes, Coralyn Manzano	50
<b>105</b>	Pangoriente fishing demonstration at the river	Renato Genes, Coralyn Manzano	10
<b>106</b>	Describing pictures: cooking fish at Ate Udang's	Nelita Cristobal	16
<b>107</b>	Describing pictures: cooking upo and shrimp at Ate Beth's	Nelita Cristobal	4'47
<b>108</b>	Describing pictures: Cooking baye, pilengan and udang at the river	Nelita Cristobal	2'42
<b>109</b>	Describing pictures: the Agta from Casiguran	Nelita Cristobal	16'3
<b>110</b>	How to carve a spoon on with a palm's branch	Nelita Cristobal	1'49
<b>111</b>	2016 fieldtrip photos (Canon Camera)		
<b>112</b>	2016 fieldtrip photos (Xiaomi 2)		
<b>113</b>	2015 fietrlip photos		
<b>114</b>	June 2014 fieldtrip photos		
<b>115</b>	January 2014 fiedtrip photos and videos		
<b>116</b>	September 2013 fieldtrip photos		
<b>117</b>	Legal Documents: ELDP application, community permissions, NCIP		
<b>119</b>	Lorenzo Delacruz explains how to work with rattan	Lorenzo Delacruz	9'37
<b>120</b>	Presenting the marine water fishing Spear (paná)	Pelicito Marquez	7'20
<b>121</b>	Interview with Pelicito's wife	Mila Lazam	9'20
<b>122</b>	Conversation with Pelicito and Carmelita at Dianed Tribal Hall	Carmelita Muhar, Pelicito Marquez	21'35
<b>123</b>	A conversation about Makadipa and other Alta divinities	Kuya Ino, Alex	
<b>124</b>	Kuya Juani doing handmade sweeps 'walis'	Kuya Juani, Rubena	41
<b>125</b>	Kuya Juani, past and present life	Kuya Juani	6'50

126	Emily describes the water marine fishing rod	Emily Villaflor, Antonio Priginal	4'40
127	Interview with Carmelita Muhar	Carmelita Muhar	8'26
128	Handmade sweeps at Barangay Villa	Jovito and Pepito	27'39
129	Ate Tikkey interviews Pepito Dandan Sarmiento	Nelita Cristobal, Nelito Sarmiento	5'36
130	Interviewing Dominga Prinigal	Dominga Priginal	6'32
131	About the IPRA law, with barangay Chieftain Lorenzo Delacruz	Lorenzo Delacruz Sarmiento	19'56
132	Interview with Lusviminda Campos	Lusviminda Campos Sarmiento	10'15
502	What does Genalyn think of Alex?	Ginalyn Garcia	2'04
503	Experience of tita Ginalyn Garcia	Ginalyn Garcia	2'10
504	How to court an Alta	Ginalyn Garcia	
505	the 3 sisters	Ginalyn Garcia	
506	History of uman (the way Alta chew Betel leaf)	Nelita Cristobal	
507	Elena describes Alex	Elena Maximino	
508	How to prepare the 'eman' betel chew	Ginalyn Garcia	
509	How to harvest and use the Salago plant	Nelita Cristobal	
510	Our trip to Dimani	Nelita Cristobal	
511	The llus plant, and old Alta food	Nelita Cristobal	1'25
512	Process how to use and get the Nami and how does it taste	Nelita Cristobal	1'55
513	How to harvest the Blongay (Balobo) and how to use	Antonio Andon	14 sg
514	Interview about the Salago plant	Coralyn	
515	Interview about the Blongay tree	Coralyn	

